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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by

Mr. RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH, with Additional NOTES, by

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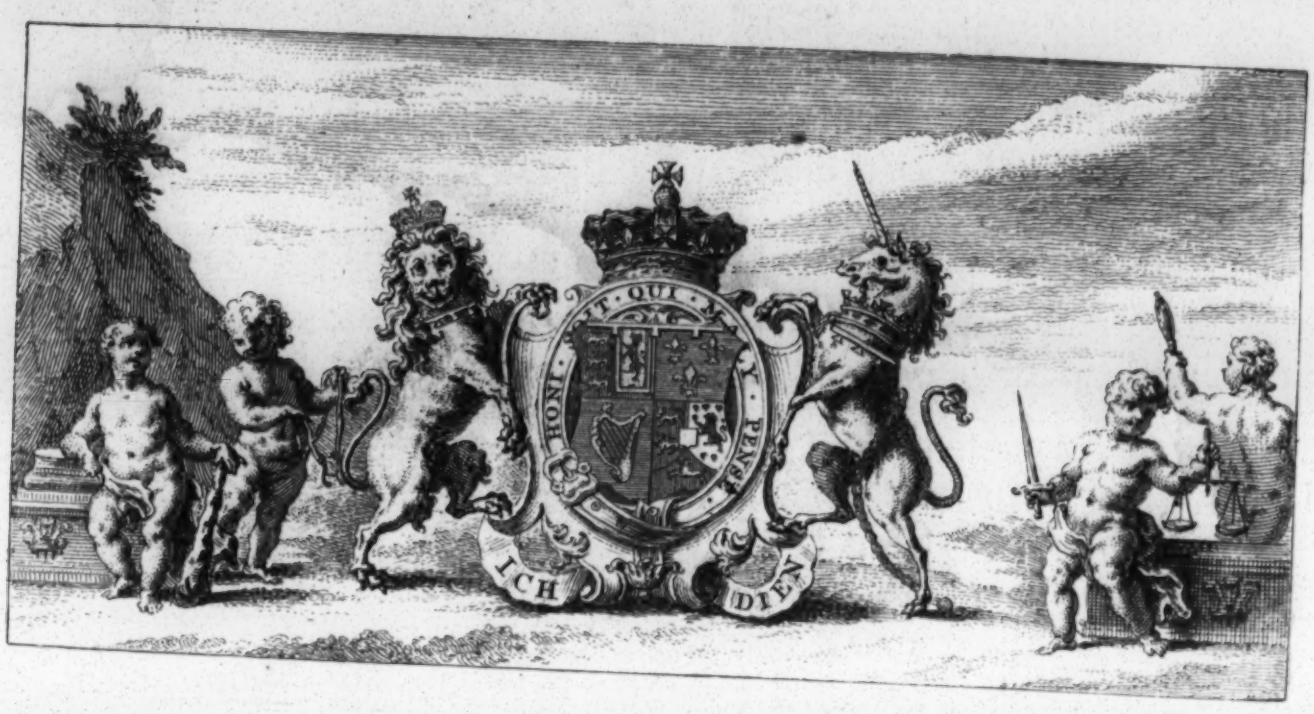

TO HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

FREDERIC

PRINCE of *WALES.*

SIR,

MY presuming to offer to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS this Translation, is in some measure justified by the Nature of the Subject, and Reason of the Thing. For History, however useful to others, is infinitely more so to a Prince, and particularly the History of that Crown He is born to wear. How instructive, as well as agreeable, must a fair and impartial Narration of the Lives and Actions of a long Series of Predecessors be to Him? And that Such is the following History, originally penned by a Foreigner, who had no Party to serve, or Interest to promote, may be undoubtedly concluded from the universal Approbation it every where meets with.

HERE then, as from a faithful Monitor, uninfluenced by Hopes or Fears, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS will learn, in general, That to a Prince nothing is so pernicious as Flattery; nothing so valuable as Truth: That proportionable to his People's Liberty and Happiness will be his

Glory and Strength: That true Valour conſiſts not in deſtroying, but protecting Mankind; not in conquering Kingdoms, but defending them from Violence: That a Prince's moſt ſecret Counſels, Motives and Purſuits, will probably one day be publiſhed and rigorouſly judged; and, however flattered whilſt living, yet when dead, he will be treated as his Actions have deſerved, with Honour or Reproach, with Veneration or Contempt.

More particularly, Your Royal Highness will Here perceive, that foreign Acquiſitions and Conqueſts were generally fatal to *England*; all Increaſe of Empire burdenſom to her, except That of the Ocean, which can never be too extenſive, as it enlarges and protects her Trade, the principal Fountain of her Riches and Grandeur.

But above all, you will Here ſee the Origin and Nature of our Excellent Conſtitution, where the Prerogatives of the Crown, and Privileges of the Subject are ſo happily proportioned, that the King and the People are inſeparably united in the ſame Intereſts and Views. You will obſerve that this Union, though talked of by even the moſt Arbitrary Princes with reſpect to their Subjects, is peculiar to the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and the moſt ſolid Foundation of the Sovereign's Glory, and the People's Happineſs.

Accordingly, you will Here conſtantly find, that in the Reigns where this Union was cultivated, the Kingdom flouriſhed, and the Prince was glorious, powerful, truſted, beloved. On the contrary, when, by an Arbitrary Diſpoſition, or evil Counſels, it was interrupted, the Conſtitution languiſhed, mutual Confidence vaniſhed, Diſtruſt, Jealouſy, Diſcord aroſe; and when entirely broken, as was unfortunately ſometimes the Caſe, Confuſion and Civil Wars enſued.

As this Union, ſo eſſential to our Government, was by Your *Royal Grandfather*, and is by His *Preſent Majeſty*, Your Royal Father, ſteddily adhered to, ſo it is with extreme Satisfaction preſumed, that the ſame Adherence will diſtinguiſh Your Royal Highness's future Reign, a Preſumption grounded upon Your many noble Endowments, but chiefly on that Foundation of all other, as well as Royal, Virtues, a generous Mind, which naturally abhors Oppreſſion and Tyranny.

Presuming on this known Generoſity, I moſt humbly intreat Your Royal Highness's gracious Acceptance of this Addreſs and Tranſlation, and beg leave to have the Honour of ſubſcribing my ſelf, with profound Reſpect and Submiſſion,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's

Moſt humble, moſt dutiful,

And moſt obedient Servant,

N. TINDAL.

THE

PREFACE.

WHEN Mr. *Rapin* firſt begun this Work, he little thought of writing a compleat Hiſtory of *England*. His long ſtay in our Iſland giving him an opportunity of learning our Language; and his Poſt in the Army, during the War in *Ireland*, even obliging him to it, he diligently applied himſelf to the reading of *Engliſh* Books, and particularly of ſuch as treated of the Government and Hiſtory of *England*, after the *Norman Conqueſt*. As the deſire of knowledge continually increaſes, and being maſter of his time, he was not ſatisfied with underſtanding the Nature, but wiſhed alſo to know the Original, of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. To this end, he thought it neceſſary to peruſe carefully the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons*, who introduced this form of Government into *Great-Britain*. He found this Study to be very diſcouraging, the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons* being like a vaſt Foreſt, where the Traveller, with great difficulty, finds a few narrow paths to guide his wandering ſteps. It was this however that inſpired him with the deſign of clearing this part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, by removing the rubbiſh, and carrying on the Thread ſo, as to give at leaſt a general Knowledge. For this purpoſe, he was indiſpenſably obliged to ſhow, how the *Saxons* came to ſend Troops into *Great-Britain*, and why a Conqueſt, which had coſt them ſo much, was abandoned by the *Romans*. In a word, he fixed the beginning of his Hiſtory to the time of *Julius Cæſar*, who firſt attempted to conquer our Iſland, intending to conclude with the *Norman Conqueſt*. But not knowing how to employ his time better, and beſides finding, that after the Conqueſt, the Scene was changed, and from a wild Foreſt he was entered into a cultivated Country, where the way was eaſy, he reſolved to proceed. However, when he came to the Reign of *Henry* II, he was upon the point of relinquiſhing his Work, of which the beginning gave him no incouragement, when an unexpected aſſiſtance, not only induced him to continue it, but alſo to form the project of a much larger Hiſtory than what he at firſt intended. This aſſiſtance was RYMER's FOEDERA, communicated to our Author by the famous *le Clerc*, to whom, being then publiſhing at the Government's charge, the Volumes were ſent by the Lord *Haliſax*, a great Promoter of that noble Work.

This Collection, conſiſting then of ſeventeen Folios, which are lately reprinted with two additional Volumes, was of infinite ſervice to our Author in compiling his Hiſtory, and enabling him to clear numberleſs things which remained in obſcurity. It afforded him means, 1. To rectify the Dates in many places. 2. To diſcover a great number of errors in the beſt *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians. 3. To decide, on many occaſions, concerning the contrarieties between the Hiſtorians. 4. To inſert in his Hiſtory many Events, wholly omitted, or but ſlightly mentioned by others. In a word, it is This that chiefly diſtinguiſhes his Hiſtory from all that have appeared before this Collection was publiſhed. For it is eaſy to ſee what an advantage it was to him, ſince it contains Treaties of Peace, Truce, League, Marriages, Commerce, made by the Kings of *England* with other Princes; Ambaſſadors Inſtructions; their Letters and Informations, as well concerning their own Negotiations, as the affairs of the Courts to which they were ſent; very inſtructive Memoirs upon affairs confuſedly ſpoken of by the Hiſtorians; Letters Patents; Orders; Safe-Conducts; with numberleſs other Papers, which cannot be ranged under general Heads, and which are of great uſe to a Hiſtorian. All theſe Mr. *Rapin* was ſo well acquainted with, that he has publiſhed Abſtracts of ſeventeen Volumes, to ſhow the relation of theſe Acts to the Hiſtory of *England*. This Work to a Man leſs verſed in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory than Mr. *Rapin*, would require his whole life; but to him, who knew the intent and motive of every Act, it was only a diverſion. By the way, it may be added, that Mr. *Rapin* had a thorough knowledge of our Parties and Factions, as appears in his *Diſſertation on the Whigs and Tories*, publiſhed in 1717, and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Daniſh*, and twice into *High-Dutch*.

The advantage which the uſe of RYMER's Collection, gave Mr. *Rapin* over all our Hiſtorians, ſerves, in great meaſure, to remove the objection of his being a Foreigner, which naturally ariſes in the mind of an *Engliſhman*. But if it is farther conſidered, that beſides this advantage, he not only carefully peruſed all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, but alſo confronted them with thoſe of the neighbouring States, whether they wrote in *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, or *Spaniſh*, it muſt be owned this objection entirely vaniſhes, and that ſuppoſing his judgment and capacity equal to the Work, (which the Publick by an uncommon approbation ſeems to allow) he was in all other reſpects as well qualified as any *Engliſhman* can be.

As his aſſiſtances were extraordinary, ſo there's reaſon to believe his impartiality uncommon. For beſides his privilege, as a Foreigner, of freely ſpeaking the truth, without fear of offending any Party, he had no motive or intereſt to induce him to be partial to *England*, or any of the neighbouring States. His Life was equally ſpent in *France*, *England*, *Holland*, and *Germany*. During the ſeventeen years he was employed in this Work, he had no Poſt or Penſion, nor exerciſed any Profeſſion, which might bias him to one Nation more than another, and as he had no particular obligations to any of the forementioned States, ſo he had no reaſon to complain of ever receiving the leaſt injuſtice.

But notwithſtanding his endeavours to be entirely impartial, he plainly foreſaw, People's prejudices in favour of their own Nation, would prevent them from doing him juſtice upon ſeveral occaſions. But this was a Rock he could not avoid. How is it poſſible, for inſtance, to relate the Conteſts between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, to the ſatisfaction of both? The War between them in the XIVth Century, concerning the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland*, cannot be deſcribed with its Cauſes and Circumſtances, without exaſperating the one or the other. The *Scots* are perſuaded, *Edward* I. acted very unjuſtly with their Anceſtors, and that his Grandſon *Edward* III was not more ſcrupulous. The *Engliſh*, on the contrary, believe, their Kings had Then and long Before an unconteſtable right of Sovereignty over all *Scotland*, and that *Edward the Firſt*'s War upon that account was very lawful. Our Author has declared for the *Scots*, as believing the Truth on their ſide. For which reaſon he has endeavoured to ſet this whole affair in the cleareſt light poſſible, thinking it the duty of a Hiſtorian, to correct ſuch errors

as have gathered ſtrength from Time, or from the negligence and prejudices of former Writers.

The quarrel between *Edward* III and *Philip de Valois*, in which ſo much blood was ſpilt, is another inſtance wherein it is almoſt impoſſible to pleaſe both the *Engliſh* and *French*. Among the *French*, the *Salic* Law is a *Noli me tangere*. To ſatisfy them, not only the Antiquity of that Law muſt be acknowledged, but the Senſe and Extent muſt alſo be left unexamined. The *Engliſh*, on their ſide, are no leſs prejudiced. Without conſidering that *Edward* could have no right to the Crown of *France*, but on ſuppoſition of the authority of the *Salic* Law, they alledge againſt it ſuch reaſons, as are not only unſerviceable, but even prejudicial, to that Prince's Rights. Our Author however, without being reſtrained by the Fear of diſpleaſing either, has explained, in a Diſſertation at the end of *Edward the Third*'s Reign, what is meant by the *Salic* Law, wherein conſiſted the Difference between the two Kings, and ſhown, that their Rights were ſo litigious, as to be very difficultly decided by that Law.

If it is hard to ſatisfy two different Nations in the recital of their Conteſts and Quarrels, it is no leſs ſo to content the *Engliſh* themſelves, in things wherein their opinions are divided; as for inſtance, the Prerogatives of the King, the Privileges of Parliament, the Succeſſion of the Crown, and the like. Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, that diſputes on theſe points were firſt ſet on foot among us in the laſt Century, by two oppoſite Parties, one whereof was for an abſolute and arbitrary Power in the King, whilſt the other endeavoured not only to diveſt him of his juſt Prerogatives, but even to render him dependent on the Parliament. Theſe two extremes he equally condemned, and as he had no motive or intereſt to incline him to either Party, he has done his utmoſt to diſcover the Truth, through the Paſſions and Prejudices of the Writers on both ſides. He has fairly confronted the Facts laid down by the ſeveral Hiſtorians, received for true, ſuch as they all agree in, and of ſuch as are variouſly related, he has admitted only thoſe that are ſupported by ſtrong evidence. The Barons Wars are alſo a Subject that can hardly be treated to the ſatisfaction of all Readers; ſome conſidering as Rebellion, what others deem a juſt defence of Liberty and Property. Mr. *Rapin* has declared for neither of theſe Opinions, farther than induced by ſolid reaſons, and, by means of the *Fœdera*, has clearly accounted for the Riſe and Progreſs of theſe Wars, which, for want of that aſſiſtance, are very confuſedly explained by others.

What moſt embaraſſed our Author, is the national Partiality of the Hiſtorians, chiefly upon two Articles, *The Violation of the Treaties*, and, *the Succeſs of the Battles*. For the firſt, where the Truth was no other way to be diſcovered, he has frequently made uſe of a very natural maxim; namely, that it is not likely the Party, to whom a Treaty is advantagious, ſhould be the firſt to break it. As for the ſecond Article, nothing is more common than to ſee Hiſtorians ſtick to own their Nation vanquiſhed, and think it incumbent on them to diminiſh its loſſes, or magnify its victories. On theſe occaſions, when our Author could not fix the ſucceſs of a Battle by the Conſequences, he has taken care to inform the Reader of the diſagreement between the Hiſtorians.

Mr. *Rapin*, profeſſing to write for the information of Foreigners, was obliged to give a particular account of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. The following Diſcourſe therefore was ſolely deſigned for the inſtruction of ſuch as are ſtrangers to our Government, which, being different, as he obſerved, from all others, the Reader, as well as Hiſtorian, muſt always have it in ſight, leaſt wrong Ideas lead them into great Errors.

Origin and Nature of the Engliſh *Conſtitution.*

The Government of *England* is a mixt and limited Monarchy, as it is certain, all the Governments in *Europe* eſtabliſhed by the northern Nations formerly were. They were Monarchies, inveſted, not with abſolute and arbitrary, but with a power bounded by the national Laws. Such is ſtill the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, whatever changes have happened in the other *European* Kingdoms. The King and People make but one Body, of which the King is Head. He directs and gives motion to all the other Members, takes care of their Welfare, and ought always to have an eye to the Publick, to procure their good, and guard them againſt all impending evils By watching thus for the publick, he conſults his own intereſt, ſince, being ſtrictly united with his Subjects, he is ſure to be gainer by all the advantages he procures them.

But to enable the King to labour effectually for the good of the Kingdom, it was neceſſary to cloath him with a great Power, and aſſign him a Revenue ſufficient to live in ſplendor, in order to attract the veneration of the People. It was neceſſary to grant him Privileges approaching abſolute Power; as the command of the Armies and fortified Places; the execution of the Laws, and the adminiſtration of Juſtice in his own Name; the pardoning of condemned Criminals; the diſpoſal of all the high Offices; the calling and diſſolving of the Parliament; the rejecting of Bills he thinks contrary to the publick Good; the proclaiming Peace and War: Theſe are called the Prerogatives of the King, or of the Crown. I do not pretend to give an exact Liſt of them. I am ſenſible ſome extend them much farther: but all I mean here is, that the King has great Prerogatives, which were the effect or conſequence of the mutual agreement of the firſt *Anglo-Saxon* Kings with their People. The King wants nothing to render him happy and powerful. His Revenues are more than ſufficient for his ordinary expences, and to reward thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their merit, beſides the preferments in the Church, State, and Army, which he may beſtow as he pleaſes. Has he a juſt War to maintain? He is not obliged to burden his People with Taxes and Impoſitions. It is the People themſelves that voluntarily furniſh him with every thing neceſſary. Thus, without ever being under a neceſſity of heaping up riches for the future, he is ſure of finding in the purſes of his Subjects wherewithal to ſupply his preſent occaſions.

There are but two things, the *Saxons* did not think proper to truſt their Kings with, by reaſon of the ill conſequences, for being of like paſſions with other Men, they might very poſſibly abuſe them; namely, The Power of changing the Laws enacted by conſent of King and People; and the Power of raiſing Taxes at their pleaſure. From theſe two Articles ſpring numberleſs branches concerning the Liberty and Property of the Subject, which the King cannot touch, without breaking the Conſtitution, and they are the diſtinguiſhing character of the *Engliſh* Monarchy. The Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Rights and Privileges of the People, flowing from the two fore-mentioned Articles, are the Ground of all the Laws that from time to time have been made by the unanimous conſent of King and People. The *Engliſh* Government conſiſts in the correſpondence and ſtrict union of the King's Prerogatives with the People's Liberties. So far are theſe from deſtroying one another, that they are rather the ſtrongeſt cement of that ſtrict union, ſo neceſſary between the Prince and People. The King, by means of his Prerogatives, is able to protect his Subjects; to ſee the Laws duly executed, and Juſtice impartially adminiſtred; to defend the Weak againſt their powerful oppreſſors; to aſſiſt the Unfortunate, and puniſh the Diſturbers of the Society. On the other hand, the People, whilſt in poſſeſſion of their Liberties, confiding in the Laws and the King's care to execute them, live ſecurely without any fears for their Lives or Properties. They enjoy the fruits of their induſtry, which turns to the King's advantage, ſince from the People it is, that the King's occaſions are ſupplied. If they make their court to the Nobles, it is only when their intereſt or aſſiſtance may be neceſſary, and not out of fear of being oppreſſed, ſince the Greateſt are equally ſubject to the Laws, with the Meaneſt.

It cannot be denied, ſuch a Government is extremely proper to render both Prince and People happy. But when Kings aroſe, as ſome there were, that aimed at abſolute Power; by changing the old, and making new, Laws, at pleaſure; by impoſing illegal and arbitrary Taxes on the People; this excellent Government being, in ſome meaſure, diſſolved, by theſe deſtructive maxims, confuſion and civil Wars enſued, which ſome very wrongfully aſcribe to the fickle and reſtleſs temper of the *Engliſh*. On the other hand, the People have not always been contented with maintaining their Privileges, when once infringed by the King, but, for fear of the like attempts for the future, have proceeded to meaſures very deſtructive of the juſt Rights of the Crown. And this is the reaſon why the Prerogative, abuſed by ſome former Kings, runs not at preſent ſo high as formerly.

Since then the *Engliſh* Conſtitution conſiſts in an intimate union between the Prince and People, as between the Head and Body, it is conſequently in its utmoſt perfection and ſtrength whilſt this union ſubſiſts, and both, without mutual ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and fears, ſecurely enjoy their reſpective Rights. On the contrary, it decays and degenerates, when one endeavours to invade the Privileges of the other.

To preſerve a perfect union between the King and the People, it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a way of communication between them. This was done by means of a *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Aſſembly of Wiſe Men*, who repreſented the whole Nation. This method the *Saxons* brought with them from *Germany*, where all publick affairs were decided in ſuch an Aſſembly, of which their Generals, choſen in time of war, were Preſidents. However, they were obliged to make ſome alterations, becauſe in *Germany* they had no Kings, the ſupreme Power being lodged in the *Wittena-Gemot*; whereas in *England*, their Chiefs or Leaders aſſumed the Title of Kings. *Hengiſt*, who firſt led

led *Saxon* Troops into *Britain* as Auxiliaries, was the firſt that aſſumed this Title, probably with the approbation of the *Saxons* under his command. For ſince he was not naturally their King, how could he become ſo without their conſent? But it muſt be obſerved, *Hengiſt* may be conſidered in a double capacity. At his arrival in *Great-Britain* he was certainly only General of the *Saxons*. But after receiving the Grant of *Kent* from *Vortigern* King of the *Britons*, he became as much Sovereign of that Country as *Vortigern* was before him, and accordingly aſſumed the Title of King of *Kent*, but this new Title did not make him King of the *Saxons*, of whom he was only intruſted with the command. So, it is likely, the *Saxons*, in conſenting, their General ſhould become their Sovereign, did not give him an abſolute power over their Lives and Properties, ſuppoſing, what would be extremely difficult to prove, he was inveſted with ſuch a power over his *Britiſh* Subjects. There is a remarkable paſſage in the Hiſtory of *France* to this purpoſe. *Clovis* was King of the *Francs*, before he led his Army into *Gaul*, and his large Conqueſts there gave him no more power over his own Countrymen than he enjoyed before. This is evident from his being prevented by a common Soldier, from preſenting the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, with a piece of Plate taken among the Plunder. The Soldier could not bear, the King ſhould appropriate to himſelf what belonged to all in common, ſo hewed it in pieces with his Battle-Ax [and took his ſhare.] The King, who knew he exceeded his Power, did not dare to puniſh him upon the ſpot, and though he afterwards took an occaſion to put him to death, it was upon ſome other account, wherein he might lawfully do it. It may then with good reaſon be affirmed, that the *Saxon* Generals, in aſſuming the Title of King, acquired not a deſpotick Power over their own Followers, by whoſe aſſiſtance they conquered *Britain*. Since therefore the firſt Kings had not ſuch a Power, it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome way to prevent their uſurping it; and that could not be done better, than by general Aſſemblies, which conſiſting of the King, and the chiefs of the People, kept the balance even betwixt both. It muſt be further obſerved, there is one material difference between the ſettlement of the *Francs* in *Gaul*, and of the *Saxons* in *Britain*. In *Gaul*, the number of the Conquered was always ſuperior to that of the Conquerors. Whereas in *Britain*, if any *Britons* remained in the conquered Provinces, they were but few, and in a ſtate of Slavery. So, the Country was properly inhabited only with *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles*, over whom the Conqueſts made by their own Arms, gave to their firſt Kings no power but what they conſented to. We are ignorant indeed of the particulars of the agreement between the Kings and their reſpective People, but the proofs that afterwards appear, of the People's Liberty, leave no room to doubt, there was at firſt ſome regulation thereon.

It is not eaſy to know diſtinctly, who the *Witan* or Wiſemen were that compoſed their *Wittena-Gemots*. At firſt, theſe Aſſemblies might only conſiſt of the *Saxon* Officers, among whom the conquered Lands were divided, and who from thence became the Princes or Chiefs in the ſeveral States. In proceſs of time, the *Britons* having entirely abandoned their Country, the Conquerors, finding themſelves too few to cultivate the whole, ſent for a great number of Families from *Germany*, to whom the reſt of the Lands were given. Theſe diſtributions were thus made. The new King gave to thoſe of his Followers, who were diſtinguiſhed by their Birth, Services, or perſonal Merit, ſuch a portion of Land, on condition they ſerved the Crown on certain occaſions; which theſe parcelled out again to others, with a reſervation of ſuch and ſuch Services to themſelves. Theſe two ſorts of Poſſeſſors were called *Thanes*, that is, Servants: but the firſt were diſtinguiſhed by the Title of King's Thanes, which anſwers to that of the immediate Vaſſals of the Crown. Theſe, after the *Norman Conqueſt*, were called Barons, and afterwards Peers of the Realm. For Earl and Duke were only honorary Titles or names of Offices. It is not denied, the King's Thanes were Members of the *Wittena-Gemots*: but that the other Thanes were ſo, is greatly diſputed, as will be ſeen in the Diſſertation on the Government, Laws, and Cuſtoms of the *Saxons*. It ſuffices at preſent, that there was in each Kingdom an Aſſembly of *Witan* or Wiſemen, who, jointly with the King, regulated all important Affairs, made Laws and Ordinances, and impoſed Taxes. As nothing was decided but by the mutual conſent of the King and the Aſſembly, their intereſts not being ſeparate, and their aims the ſame, namely, the good of the publick, this is a clear evidence, that the eſſence of the Government conſiſted in the ſtrict union between King and People. If we look into the Hiſtories of the other *European* Kingdoms founded by the northern Nations, we ſhall find the like Aſſemblies under different names, as *Diets* in *Germany* and *Poland*, and *Cortez*,

in *Spain*. It is not therefore ſtrange, the *Saxons* ſhould eſtabliſh in *England* the only form of Government known to them.

After the *Norman* Conqueſt theſe Aſſemblies were called Parliaments. If *William the Conqueror* continued them, which perhaps is not very eaſy to prove, it was not with the ſame Rights and Privileges they enjoyed under the *Saxon* Kings. It is true, in the following Reigns, ſome traces of them appear, which make it thought, they were not entirely aboliſhed. However, Parliaments were not frequent till King *John*, and *Henry* III, in whoſe Reign, ſeveral affirm, and perhaps not without reaſon, that the Commons, for the firſt time, ſent Repreſentatives to Parliament. Probably, the Lords and Commons, after their ſeparation, the time whereof is unknown, met in two different Houſes, ſince the *Engliſh* ſtill call Houſes the two Rooms, where they aſſemble, though under the ſame Roof. They ſay, the Upper Houſe, or Houſe of Lords, and the Lower Houſe, or Houſe of Commons, to denote what is expreſſed in *French* by the word Chamber. It is but ſince the Reign of *Edward* I, ſucceſſor to *Henry* III, that there has been an uninterrupted ſeries of Parliaments.

After the Commons became a diſtinct Houſe from the Lords, they pretended to be the ſole Repreſentatives of the People, by whom they were choſen. The Lords could pretend only to act for themſelves, or for the Body of the Nobility, as making a conſiderable part of the Nation. However this be, the Barons, of whom very likely the Parliament at firſt conſiſted, loſt by degrees many of their antient Rights, and the Houſe of Commons came to be conſidered as the Guardians of the People's intereſts. However, the Lords ſtill retain very great privileges; they are, for inſtance, the higheſt Court of Juſtice in the Kingdom; they have a power to bring in, approve, and throw out Bills; in a word, they always make an eſſential part of the Parliament. The Biſhops and Abbots, who had all along a Right to ſit in Parliament, had it continued to them after the Conqueſt. It cannot well be doubted that they ſate in the *Wittena-Gemots*, as King's Thanes, or Barons, ſince they were the immediate Tenants of the Crown: but it is not ſo certain, that they enjoyed this Right, as Repreſentatives of the Clergy.

The Commons, as a conſequence of their being the Repreſentatives of the People, claim an undiſputed Right of laying Taxes, and granting Money to the King. So that the Houſe of Lords in this caſe have no other power than to paſs, or throw out, the Bill, without offering to make any alterations or amendments.

Thus, the two Houſes of Parliament compoſe the Body of the Nation, jointly with the King, who is the Head. The cloſe and abſolutely neceſſary union between the King and the Parliament, appears in nothing ſo much as in the manner of making an Act of Parliament, or Law. When either of the two Houſes deſigns to bring in a Bill (for ſo is an Act called before it is paſſed) after examining and debating every Clauſe, it is ſent to the other Houſe for their approbation. If it paſſes there, it is brought to the King for the Royal Aſſent, after which, and not before, it has the form and force of a Law. But if either of the Houſes throw it out, or the King refuſes his aſſent, it comes to nothing, as if it had never been mentioned. Nothing more plainly demonſtrates, that the eſſence of the *Engliſh* Government conſiſts in the union between the King and his People. Take away this Union, and it becomes Confuſion and Anarchy.

Whether the Commons originally ſate in Parliament, or only ſince the Reign of *Henry* III, it is certain, their power by degrees is very much encreaſed, to which the maxim, that their Houſe ſolely repreſents the People, has greatly contributed. This maxim was not yet eſtabliſhed in the Reign of *Henry* VIII, ſince we find he applied to the Barons for a ſupply of Money. But this is not the only new Privilege they have acquired. Upon their ſeparation from the Lords, the intereſts of the two Houſes were not the ſame upon all occaſions. They have had frequent conteſts concerning their reſpective Rights. But generally the Commons had the advantage of the Lords; and no wonder, ſince they alone diſpoſe of the Nation's Money.

On the other hand, as great alterations have happened with regard to the Lords or Peers. Formerly all the immediate Vaſſals of the Crown were Barons, and, as ſuch, had a ſeat in Parliament. But now, as there are none of thoſe Lands that were called Fees of the Crown, the right of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords is annexed to the bare honorary Titles of Duke, Marquiſs, Earl, Viſcount and Baron, which give thoſe that are inveſted therewith, no power over the Shires, Cities, or Lands, whoſe names they bear, and which the King may beſtow on whom he pleaſes. However, when once theſe Titles are conferred on a Family, the Head cannot be deprived of his right to ſit in Parliament, unleſs he has been judicially condemned by

his Peers, for ſome crime that renders him unworthy. But it muſt be obſerved, it is in the King's power to extend or limit, many ways, the right of ſucceeding to theſe Honours; ſo that ſometimes, though rarely, he extends it to the female, in default of the male, Line. Though a Peer only has a right to ſit in the Houſe of Lords, the King may, if he pleaſes, call the Son of a Nobleman to the Houſe of Peers in his Father's life-time. The inferior Titles are always included in the ſuperior, ſo that every Duke is at the ſame time Marquiſs, Earl, Viſcount and Baron (1). Thus all the Lords are Barons, and properly as ſuch, are Members of the Parliament, according to antient uſage. For before and long after the Conqueſt, the Lords of Parliament were conſidered only as the King's Thanes or Barons. For this reaſon, the civil Wars in the Reigns of King *John* and *Henry* III, are called, the Barons Wars. The Title of Duke was firſt conferred in *England*, after the Conqueſt, by *Edward* III, on his eldeſt Son, whom he made Duke of *Cornwal*. The Title of Marquiſs is much later. In the time of the *Saxons*, Earls or Counts were properly Governors or Chiefs of Shires or Counties, ſo called from them. *William the Conqueror* having diſtributed the Lands of the *Engliſh* among his Followers, they on whom he conferred the Title of Earl or Count, became really and truly Lords of thoſe Lands whoſe Titles they bore, ſo that they were hereditary in their Families. Afterwards, but at what time is not known, they loſt this privilege, and the Title of Earl, as was before obſerved, is become only honorary. The Viſcounts, under the *Saxon* Kings, were Lieutenants to the Earls in their Counties. They diſcharged the Office of High-Sheriff, which is now left to inferior Officers, whilſt the Viſcounts are ranked among the Peers, and have even the precedence of the Barons. This laſt Title was formerly general, and included the whole Body of the Nobility or Peers of the Realm, of whom the Upper Houſe of Parliament conſiſts. Next to theſe are what they call in *England*, the Gentry, who, though diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral Titles, as Knight, Eſquire, *&c.* are all included in the Body of the Commons, who in *France* are called, the Third Eſtate. From among theſe are choſen the Knights of the Shires, Citizens and Burgeſſes, who compoſe the Lower Houſe, to the number of five hundred and thirteen: but it ſeldom happens that all are preſent, and forty are ſufficient to make a Houſe.

What has been ſaid ſhows, how the two Houſes of Parliament are part of the Legiſlature, ſince by them the Laws are made with the Royal Aſſent. Accordingly, the Parliament has ever been very careful to preſerve its Privileges, and hinder the leaſt breach, for fear of loſing them inſenſibly, as it has happened in other Kingdoms. On the other hand, moſt of the Laws tend to maintain the Liberty and Property of the Subjects, ſo that they can be deprived of them only by Law. There are abſolutely but two ways to deprive the *Engliſh* of their Liberties. Either by laying aſide Parliaments entirely, or by bribing the Members to ſacrifice their Country to their ambition or avarice. Both theſe methods have been tried more than once, and for ſome time with ſeeming ſucceſs, but in the end have turned to the Confuſion and Ruin of the Projectors. The *Engliſh* have ever been extremely jealous of their Liberties, and this jealouſy has frequently cauſed violent motions in the Kingdom, when they have ſeen or ſuſpected a tendency to undermine their Privileges, and they have thereby preſerved the Conſtitution of their Government in much the ſame ſtate as in the beginning of the Monarchy.

In this Second Edition, the Tranſlation, which in the firſt was not ſo correct, is thoroughly reviſed and compared with the Original; but if the Stile be not yet ſo lively and agreeable as ſome could wiſh, it muſt be remembered that a fine Stile cannot be expected from one who is ſuppoſed to tranſlate Mr. *Rapin*. For though he was a very judicious, he was certainly no elegant, Writer. And perhaps it would be difficult to find a greater inſtance of the power of Truth on the minds of Men, than the univerſal approbation given to a Hiſtory penned in ſo naked and unadorned a manner. Indeed, Hiſtory does not require that nicety of Expreſſion, which is neceſſary in other Works; but may be read with benefit, though it wants that Perfection. However this be, care has been taken in the Tranſlation to avoid all low expreſſions, and to preſerve an even and unaffected Stile.

As it is almoſt impoſſible for a Foreigner not to fall into ſome little miſtake, particularly as to our Cuſtoms, Laws, Names, Families, and the like, theſe are all carefully noted and rectified.

Though Mr. *Rapin* depended not on any modern Hiſtorian in what paſſed before *Henry* VIII, but conſulted the antient and cotemporary Writers, and accordingly placed their Names in the Margin of his Manuſcript, yet many of theſe references are wanting, which happened, as he ſays himſelf, by the following accident. Having employed a young Man to tranſcribe his Hiſtory for the Preſs, and ordering him to leave a Blank for ſuch proper Names as he could not readily read, the Blanks in the Body of the Hiſtory were filled up by the Author, whilſt Thoſe in the Margin were forgot. This omiſſion is with great labour and pains ſupplied in the Tranſlation, and the Names of the Authors every where quoted in the Margin.

As Mr. *Rapin* wrote his Hiſtory for the inſtruction of Foreigners, he has paſſed over in ſilence numberleſs Facts, Particulars, and Circumſtances, which, though of little moment or uſe to a Stranger, may be agreeable, and even neceſſary to an *Engliſhman*. This want is in ſome meaſure ſupplied, at leaſt as far as the intended compaſs of the Work would allow, by many additional Notes.

In a word, the Tranſlator, in his eight years application to this Work, has endeavoured to render it as uſeful as he could to his Countrymen, and thinks himſelf obliged publickly to acknowledge the aſſiſtance he has received, in this ſecond Edition, from the Reverend Mr. PHILIP MORANT, Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church at *Amſterdam*, who, beſides reviſing the Sheets as they came from Preſs, has been at the pains to compare every Paragraph with the antient Hiſtorians, and examine all the Quotations from the *Fœdera*, and thereby been enabled to correct ſome miſtakes, and add ſeveral Notes.

(1) This is not ſo, unleſs they have had each Title diſtinctly conferred on them. There are few Dukes that are Marquiſſes, and many Earls not Viſcounts.

Omiſſions of the PRESS.

Page 270. *Col.* 2. *Line* 57. *after* abſolving, *read*------*John*'s Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and enjoining them------ *Page* 697. *Col.* 1. *Line* 34, *after the word* [Reformation?] *inſert.* [Is it all Chriſtians in general agreeing together, as by a ſudden Inſpiration, to reform the abuſes?]

N. B. The reſt of the Errata will be printed at the end of Vol. II.

SOME

Some PARTICULARS of the LIFE of Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

In a Letter to-----

SIR,

I Imagined you would be ſurprized at my backwardneſs to ſecond your deſign of writing the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN. This has given me ſome concern, for I wiſh to be of your mind, but muſt confeſs, I have hitherto been unreſolved. I know not how the publick ſtands affected; and though I ſuppoſed, with you, that the World would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. DE RAPIN, I ſhould think nothing can better ſatisfy their Curioſity, than his new Hiſtory of *England*; it not being poſſible, in my opinion, but in ſo voluminous a Work, an Author (undeſignedly) draws his own Picture himſelf, more to the Life than any other can do. If you ſay, this is not ſufficient, becauſe his Family and Actions are not ſeen there; I anſwer, the two Panegyricks on Mr. DE RAPIN, (in the xth Volume of the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, and in the *Hiſtoire Literaire* of *February* 1726) ſeem to contain all that is proper to be ſaid on theſe two heads. By this, you ſee I have not the ſame ſcruple concerning your preſent propoſal, that theſe Panegyricks may at leaſt be re-publiſhed and prefixed to his Hiſtory of *England*. Indeed I think it very requiſite, and, what is more, am reſolved to publiſh them my ſelf, with ſome alterations, that is, of the two I deſign to make one Diſcourſe, borrowing from each what ſhall occur to my mind, without affecting either to ſwerve from, or copy them, that there may be room to inſert ſome particulars that are paſſed over in ſilence. It may be, I ſhall go too far, contrary to my firſt intention, but however, you may be aſſured, I ſhall ſay nothing but what I have been fully informed of, and what Mr. DE RAPIN's Family are ready to juſtify. Nevertheleſs, as in all this my ſole aim is to oblige you, uſe this Letter as you pleaſe; ſuppreſs what you do not like; nay, if you think fit, be ſatisfied with the Panegyricks alone as firſt publiſhed, which perhaps would be beſt. But to begin.

Mr. DE RAPIN, counted among his Anceſtors and Relations many eminent Perſons as well of the Sword as the Gown. His Family is originally from *Savoy*, where it flouriſhed time out of mind (1), and enjoyed ſeveral honorable Poſts (2). As I am ignorant of their perſonal qualities, I cannot ſay whether it was through a wiſe precaution, or to perpetuate an ill-grounded enmity, that a Biſhop of *Maurienne* cauſed to be ingraved, in the Epiſcopal Palace, the following Inſcription ſtill to be ſeen, *Caveant Succeſſores noſtri a familiâ Rapinorum*, i. e. *Let our Succeſſors beware of the* RAPINS. On the other hand, this Family pretends, that their external Luſtre was impaired ſolely by their ſteady adherence to the Laws of Honour and Juſtice. This is inſinuated by the Author of the following Verſes, which are not quoted for their Elegance.

Pour n' avoir ſans beſoin ſu prendre,
On voit tomber cette maiſon:
Si l' Effet eut ſuivi ſon nom,
Elle auroit de quoi ſe defendre.

i. e. *This Family, for being too honeſt to invade the Property of others, is gone to decay. Had they been given to what their Name implies, they would have wherewithal to ſupport themſelves.*

But to draw nearer to Mr. DE RAPIN, I ſhall proceed to four Brothers of that name, who ſettled in *France* in the Reign of *Francis* I. (3)

One, a Clergyman, was Almoner to Queen *Catharine de Medici*, who deſired him of the Duke of *Savoy*. Beſides the Preferments he enjoyed in his own Country, he was called the King's Orator, but what that means I cannot tell.

His Brothers (of whom but one has left Iſſue) were all three Soldiers, and embraced the Reformed Religion; for the ſake of which, very probably, they abandoned their Country.

The eldeſt was a Colonel of Foot, and Governor of *Montauban*, with authority over the neighbouring Governors. His Name is among thoſe of the Viſcounts, who commanded the Troops of the Reformed in the Southern Provinces of *France*. Letters, ſtill extant, ſhow how well known he was to King *Henry* IV, to *Lewis* and *Henry* Princes of *Condé*, to Admiral *Chaſtillon*, and many other Perſons of the firſt Quality.

All we know of one of his Brothers, called *Peter*, is, that a Commiſſion of Captain of Horſe muſt, by all circumſtances, belong to him; but of this we cannot be ſure, becauſe the Name is not expreſſed.

Philibert, another Brother, was Gentleman to the Prince of *Condé*, and afterwards his Steward (4). He had no leſs reputation in military (5), than capacity in civil, affairs (6): but both proved fatal to him, as they drew upon him the enmity of the Catholicks, and particularly of the Parliament of *Toulouſe* (7), who cauſed his head to be ſtruck off at the very time he was come, by the King's Order, to regiſter the Edict of Peace of 1568.

The *French* Hiſtorians frequently ſpeak of theſe two Brothers. Father *Daniel* alone does not mention them, and paſſes over in ſilence, this cruel execution (8). The reaſon does not appear at firſt, for he cannot ſay, this Sen-

(1) By the Titles of this Family it appears that the *Rapins* were Noble in the year 1250. The Branches that are in *Savoy* pretend to a greater Antiquity: But of that I can ſay nothing.

(2) It is known in general, that ſome of the *Rapins* at ſeveral times were *Syndics* of the Nobles of their Country; others were deputed by the Nobility to go in their Name and do Homage to the Duke of *Savoy* their Sovereign.

(3) Between the Years 1525 and 1547.

(4) *Maitre d' Hôtel de ſa Maiſon*, that is, he had the management of the Prince's Houſe in the higheſt Senſe of the Word, and not as we underſtand the Term *Steward* at preſent.

(5) *Bello ſtrenuus*, ſays *Thuanus*, lib. 32.

(6) *In fine*, Rapin *was in great Repute amongſt his own Party. The Conſpirators of* Toulouſe *made choice of him to treat in their Name with* Fourquevaux, *which is a clear Evidence that he had a Head to manage, as well as a Hand to act.* Annals *of* Toulouſe, *Ann.* 1568. The Conference ſpoken of in this Paſſage, was held to ſee whether there was any way of Accommodation between the two Parties; but it proved fruitleſs, and only ſerved to exaſperate them more than ever. Shortly after a Battle was fought in the City, which laſted ſome Days, wherein the Proteſtants, who were numerous there, but however inferiour to the *Catholicks*, loſt three thouſand Men, and were in the end chaſed out of the City. A ſolemn Proceſſion was inſtituted in Commemoration of this Event. When Peace was reſtored, the Reformed complained of this Proceſſion, as a thing which revived the Memory of the Troubles, whereupon it was prohibited for the future; nevertheleſs it has been all along continued; only it was removed from the 12th of *May*, to the 17th, on ſome pretence or other.

(7) *Homo bellis ſuperioribus----clarus ob idque Toloſanis inviſus.* Thuan. lib. 32.

(8) It might be alledged there are no proofs of it. But ſince *Thuanus* and *Mezerai*, with whom few Writers can be compared for Faithfulneſs, ſpeak of it, it muſt be interred either there were proofs in their Days, or they were warranted by the Notoriouſneſs of the Fact. And what puts it out of all queſtion is, that M. *de la Faſile*, who writ laſt at *Toulouſe*, the Annals of that City, of which he was *Syndic*, though he takes notice that the *Arret* againſt *Rapin* is not to be found (having been doubtleſs razed out of the Regiſters for the Parliament's Honour) yet ſays more of the Matter than all thoſe that went before him.

tence,

tence, how unjuſt ſoever it may be ſuppoſed, is only a private affair, which therefore he might omit if he pleaſed; ſince it is viſible, on the contrary, that ſuch an Event, rendered memorable (1) by its circumſtances and conſequences, ought neceſſarily to have place in Hiſtory. But when we conſider, we find this able Hiſtorian has very artfully managed this omiſſion for two uſes; firſt, to extinguiſh, as far as in him lay, all remembrance of a rage which caſts a blemiſh on the Papiſts; ſecondly, to render the Reformed odious, when he comes to ſpeak of the ravages committed by the Admiral's Army, ſome time after, about *Toulouſe* Mean while, with regard to theſe ravages, he was not ſo free as he deſired, but was obliged to ſpeak of them in general terms, for he could not deſcend to particulars, without diſcovering the connexion between theſe ravages and RAPIN's death, by which they were both occaſioned and juſtified. But what he ſlightly mentions, *Thuanus* (2) and *Mezerai* relate more at large, and ſet in a true light. *Mezerai*, who is more circumſtantial, and informs us, there were then in *Toulouſe* eight thouſand regular Troops, which added to the great number of Inhabitants, deprived the Reformed of all hopes of becoming maſters of the City, ſays expreſsly, that the *Hugonots---- ſet fire to all the Lands and Houſes of the Counſellors, on the Ruins whereof the Soldiers writ with ſmoaking Coals*, RAPIN'S REVENGE.

Peter de Rapin, Baron of *Mauvers*, Son of *Philibert*, was Governor of *Mas-Granier*, one of the Cautionary-Towns granted to the Reformed in *Guienne*. He was a Soldier from his youth, and attended King *Henry* IV in all his expeditions. Moſt part of that time, he received not a Farthing from his Eſtate, which threw him into great ſtraits, as well as many others for the ſame reaſon. The King himſelf was in no better circumſtances, as may be inferred from his anſwer to Mr. DE RAPIN, who having loſt his Horſe, beſought his Majeſty to give him wherewithal to buy another: *I would*, ſays he, *with all my heart, but ſee, I have ſcarce a Shirt to my back*. But Mr. DE RAPIN's ſufferings in the religious Wars were not confined to what paſſed in the Army. He thrice ſaw his Houſe burnt and battered down in his life, and every thing plundered. It is true, he had amends made him the laſt time, as far as was poſſible, and in a manner which muſt have been very agreeable to him: for the Catholick Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, by whom he was eſteemed and beloved, meeting together, reſolved to ſupply him with neceſſaries to plough and ſow his Lands; and as thoſe troubles laſted but eight months, when they were appeaſed, he found a Crop ready, and all his Eſtate, except his Houſe, in as good condition as the moſt diligent Owner could have kept it. On another occaſion, he had a pleaſure without any allay: upon a rumour of his death, he read himſelf a Letter from Queen *Mary de Medici*, expreſſing her great ſorrow to his Family. He married a Daughter of Mr. *de Lupé*, Lord of *Maravat*, Captain of fifty Men at Arms, Governor of *Mauvezin* a Cautionary-Town, and a Major-General.

He left a numerous Iſſue, of whom his ſecond Son *James*, *Sieur de Thoyras* (3), was the darling of his Parents. His Father left him more than any of the other younger Children, and his Mother gave him moreover that portion of the Eſtate of *John de la Ferriere*, Vidame (4) of *Chartres*, and one of the Heads of the *French* Proteſtants, which fell to her in right of her Mother. He was deſigned for a Soldier, like his Brothers; but his Mother willing to have him near her, was for breeding him a Scholar, to which the Father conſented. After he had finiſhed his Studies, he was admitted Advocate in the Court of the Edict (5) of *Caſtres*, and, contrary to the cuſtom of the Country, where Perſons nobly deſcended are never of that Profeſſion, he practiſed it both at *Caſtres* and at *Caſtelnaudary*, and *Toulouſe*, above fifty years, to the day of his death. It is true, I include the four years he ſpent at *Paris*, where he went, upon news of Mr. *Pelliſſon* his Brother-in-law, being arreſted with Mr. *Fouquet*. Nothing paſſed in that famous affair, but what he was privy to, and he was very ſerviceable in many reſpects. He was one of the three concerned in the *Factum*, and ſupplied all we find there relating to the *Roman* Law. I ſaw in *France* a Letter ſent to him by Mr. *Fouquet* from the *Baſtile*, thanking him for it in the moſt affectionate manner. All that knew him, of whom ſeveral are now living, have always deſcribed him as one of the prime Advocates of his time, and very eminent for his impartiality and integrity. His Wife, who died at *Geneva*, where ſhe was ſent by the King's order, for refuſing to turn Papiſt, was Siſter of *George* and *Paul Pelliſſon*, whoſe Memory is ſtill recent. Her Father and Grandfather were Judges in the Parliament of *Toulouſe*, and in the Court of the Edict of *Caſtres*. *Raymond Pelliſſon* her Great Grandfather, after having been Maſter of the Requeſts, and Ambaſſador to *Portugal*, was at laſt firſt Preſident of the Senate of *Chamberi*, and Commandant in *Savoy*, whilſt in poſſeſſion of the *French*. I ſay nothing of a very extraordinary affair that befell him, and on which ſeveral Authors (6) have enlarged, nor of his Deſcendents above-named, becauſe I ſhould only copy what is to be found in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary printed at *Amſterdam* in 1716. This Family, from whence have ſprung ſeveral illuſtrious Perſons (7), is originally *Engliſh* (8), and comes from an Attorney-General to the Prince of *Wales* when in *Guienne*.

I proceed now to Mr. DE RAPIN, who is properly the ſubject of my Letter. PAUL DE RAPIN, *Sieur de Thoyras*, younger Son of *James*, was born at *Caſtres*, *March* 25. 1661. He began to ſtudy *Latin* under a Tutor, his Father kept in the Houſe, after which he was ſent to *Puylaurens*, and from thence to *Saumur*. At this laſt place, when about ſeventeen, he had a quarrel with a Friend, upon a ſlight occaſion, and they immediately challenged each other. But whether they loſt time in fetching their Swords, for being Students they ſeldom wore any, or the Duel held long, Night came whilſt they were engaged, and then, Mr. DE RAPIN's Sword broke near the hilt without his perceiving it. His Adverſary immediately ſeeing it, generouſly told him. Whereupon the Combat ceaſed, and embracing each other, they returned together to Town. Some time after he had another quarrel with a perſon much older than himſelf, who rudely joſtled him as he was walking through a narrow and difficult paſſage. Mr. DE RAPIN fell upon him, but they were quickly parted by the People there preſent. He ran for his Sword, and ſpeedily returning, found the Perſon gone, neither could he meet with him, though he carefully ſought him ſeveral days. Some time after, he heard the Man was gone to *Paris*, where Mr. DE RAPIN followed him. He was no ſooner arrived, but he was ſeized by a Guard of the Marſhals of *France*. This accident, which he did not expect, believing his deſign very ſecret, becauſe he had not imparted it, was occaſioned by the advice his Uncle *Pelliſſon* received from *Saumur*, from whence he was informed of the ſuppoſed cauſe of his Nephew's journey, which might be of ill conſequence, and withal, of the place where his antagoniſt might be heard of. Mr. *Pelliſſon* fearing a Duel would enſue, which, however it ended, would ruin his Nephew, acquainted the Marſhals of *France* with the matter, Mr. DE RAPIN, who was yet very young, affording them opportunity to ſecure him, by going directly to his Uncle's. The Marſhals having heard both Parties, condemned the aggreſſor to lie in Priſon at *Fort-l'Eveque*, till Mr. DE RAPIN ſhould conſent to his diſcharge, which he did about a month after, at the deſire of the Prince of *Furſtemberg* Biſhop of *Strasburg*, who was then at *Paris*. Mean while, the next day after the ſentence, the Priſoner's Brother, who was reckoned a good Sword's-man, meeting Mr. DE RAPIN in the Street, accoſted him, and, talking to him ſo as to renew the quarrel, Mr. DE RAPIN anſwered him by drawing his Sword, and wounded him before they were parted. But this rencounter was kept ſecret by the advice of the Friends of both Parties, for fear of incenſing the Marſhals.

The beginning of the year 1679, Mr. DE RAPIN returned to his Father's, in order to apply himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the Law. But before he had made any progreſs, he was obliged, with many other young Gentlemen, to commence Advocate, upon notice of an Edict which was publiſhed ſoon after, that a Doctor's Degree ſhould not be given to any perſon, who had not ſtudied five years in ſome Univerſity.

This ſame year, the Courts of the Edict were ſuppreſſed, by which Mr. DE RAPIN's Family were forced

(1) *This Execution of* Rapin *made a great Noiſe, and the Prince very juſtly complained of it to the King and Queen. Their Majeſties alſo expreſſed great Reſentment againſt the Parliament of* Toulouſe, *in their Letters to them on that occaſion.* Annals *of* Toulouſe. *Ann.* 1568. It is left to the Reader to judge whether any thing like this would have happened for a private concern.

(2) Incenſis oppidanorum et ſenatorum, præcipuè circa urbem, prædijs, quòd eos à publicâ quiete maximè omnium abhorrere dicerent Proteſtantes, recenti adhuc ob oculos obverſante *Rapini*, ante biennium à Rege et Cendæo ut Edicti pacificatorii promulgationem urgeret, in urbem miſſi, & immani perfidiâ igrominioſo ſupplicio affecti, memoriâ; cujus indignam necem illi, inauditis et jure belli inconceſſis vaſtaticnibus, ultum iri teſtabantur. *Thuanus*. lib. 42.

(3) The Name of a Village belonging to his Family.

(4) That is, Judge of a Biſhop's Temporal Juriſdiction.

(5) *Les Chambres de l' Edit* were Courts of Judicature erected in ſeveral Towns, in behalf of the *Hugonots*, the Judges being half Reformed, and half Catholics.

(6) *Recueil d' Arrêts* de *Papon*, Liv. 19. Art. 9. *Hiſtoires Admirables* de *Simon Goulart*, Tom. I. p. 6.

(7) See *Recherche des Antiquitez de la Langue Franſoiſe, ou Dictionaire Gaulois*, by *Borel*.

(8) *Borel* in the ſame place, p. 377.

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to remove to *Toulouſe*. Not long after, Mr. DE RAPIN perceiving the ill ſtate of the Reformed, and that, probably, it would daily grow worſe, deſired his Father's conſent to quit the Profeſſion of Advocate for That of Arms. His Father, without abſolutely denying his requeſt, returned ſuch an anſwer, as only tended to gain time. Not that the Requeſt ſeemed to him unreaſonable and ill-grounded: but he was apprehenſive this new way of life, where ambition is more fired than in any other, would expoſe his Son to great temptation, when he ſhould find by daily experience, that it would not be poſſible to riſe to any tolerable Poſt, ſo long as he adhered to his Religion; whereas that obſtacle being removed, he might hope to be advanced like the reſt. This ſtate of Uncertainty made him very remiſs in the ſtudy of the Law. He pleaded however one cauſe as Advocate, but ſtopped there, and applied himſelf more cloſely than ever, to the reading of good Authors, to the Mathematicks and Muſick, in which he acquired great skill.

In the year 1685 his Father died, and two months after, the Edict of *Nantz* was revoked. Whereupon Mr. DE RAPIN retired into the Country with his Mother and Brothers. But as the perſecution, ſhortly after, was at the higheſt, he departed with his youngeſt Brother and arrived in *England*, in *March* 1686.

Not long after, there came to *London* a *French* Abbé of Quality, and Friend of Mr. *Pelliſſon*, who made Mr. DE RAPIN frequent viſits, and introduced him to Mr. *de Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, from whom Mr. DE RAPIN received great civilities. Theſe Gentlemen would have perſwaded him to wait upon the King, aſſuring him of a gracious reception. Mr. DE RAPIN, who could not ſee what pretenſions he had to ſuch an honour, and beſides, was apprehenſive that a Propoſal ſeemingly ſo advantagious might tend to his prejudice, excuſed himſelf in the handſomeſt manner he could. This affair put him upon ſeriouſly reflecting on his preſent ſituation, continually teazed about his Religion, by the Marquiſs of *Seiſſac* and other *French* Catholicks then at *London*, but eſpecially by the Abbé, who, though extremely courteous and civil, always turned their Converſation to Controverſy. Perceiving therefore it was not poſſible for him to defend himſelf unprepared, againſt a Man who was maſter of theſe Subjects, and managed them with great art, he returned into the Country, from whence he was come to viſit the Abbé, without taking leave. He knew himſelf guilty of ill manners, but choſe to be ſo, rather than remain any longer expoſed.

As he had then no expectations in *England*, he made but a ſhort ſtay, and going over to *Holland*, where he had relations, he liſted himſelf in a Company of *French* Voluntiers at *Utrecht*, commanded by Mr. *de Rapin* his Couſin German.

The ſame year, Mr. *Pelliſſon* publiſhed his *Reflections on Religious Differences*, and ſent them to Mr. DE RAPIN, charging him to tell him his opinion, which he did very largely, as he ſaid himſelf, retorting, in ſeveral places, Mr. *Pelliſſon*'s expreſſions. But nothing of this appears among his Papers. Not that I think it either loſt or miſlaid, but rather believe that out of modeſty he never took a Copy, imagining that what he could ſay on ſuch a Subject was not worth preſerving.

He was ſtill in the Company of Voluntiers when they went into *England* with the Prince of *Orange*. But in 1689, the Lord *Kingſton* made him Enſign in his own Regiment, with which he paſſed into *Ireland*. At the Siege of *Carrickfergus*, juſt after his arrival, he had the good fortune to gain the eſteem of the Officers of the Regiment, and eſpecially of Lieutenant Colonel *Fielding*, who, in leſs than a year, procured him a Lieutenancy.

In the beginning of 1690, the Regiment to which Mr. DE RAPIN belonged, was given to Lieutenant General *Douglas*, who, upon the recommendation of three *French* Colonels of the Army, took more notice of him than of the reſt of the Subalterns, and afterwards put a very great confidence in him.

After the battle of the *Boyne*, in which Mr. DE RAPIN was preſent, General *Douglas* was detached with his own, and twelve other Regiments of Horſe and Foot, to make a diverſion about *Athlone*, and, if poſſible, ſurprize the Town. He appointed Mr. DE RAPIN and Mr. *Carles*, now Lieutenant General in *Portugal*, to act as Quarter-Maſter General of his little Army. This Siege not proving ſucceſsful, the Town being ſtrongly garriſoned, General *Douglas* was recalled. Mr. DE RAPIN, who was ſent before to receive orders, found the King at the head of a Line, who ſtopping him, asked ſeveral Queſtions, to which Mr. DE RAPIN made ſuch anſwers, as ſerved to remove ſome ill impreſſions infuſed into his Majeſty concerning *Douglas*'s Conduct.

At the aſſault of *Limeric*, he was ſhot in the Shoulder, and next day the Siege being raiſed, was forced to ride four miles on Horſeback in great anguiſh. He was left with the reſt of the wounded, (among whom was his Brother, who was ſhot through the Body) and ſo loſt his Regiment, which was ordered to the North. But ſhortly after, he heard General *Douglas* had procured him a Company, and cauſed him to be admitted, though abſent. It was the ſame Company where he had been Enſign, and where was ſtill the ſame Lieutenant which made Mr. DE RAPIN extremely uneaſy.

The next year, General *Douglas* had orders to go to *Flanders*. Mr. DE RAPIN, whom he deſigned for his *Aid de Camp*, not being in a condition to attend him, by reaſon of his wound, adviſed him to take another, to whom the General ſoon gave a Company in the *Scotch* Guards, of which he was now Colonel. The Campain opened in *Ireland* with the taking of *Baltimore*, where Mr. DE RAPIN had the ſatisfaction to be ſerviceable to a poor diſtreſſed captive Family, with whom he was acquainted the foregoing year. He was afterwards at the Siege of *Athlone*; and in the aſſault, made through the River that runs under the ſtrongeſt Rampart of the Town, a bold and brave action, and which ſucceeded, as it is thought, contrary to the expectation of the Generals. In this Town were left two Regiments of different Nations, commanded by the Lieutenant Colonels, who underſtood not each other's Language, and were both very jealous of their Power, which might have occaſioned diſputes. Happily, Mr. DE RAPIN belonged to one, and his intimate Friend, a Captain of good ſenſe, to the other, who were both equally eſteemed by their reſpective Commanders; ſo whenever any accident happened that was like to breed a quarrel, theſe two Officers, who were unprejudiced, agreed between them upon what was to be done, and adviſed it each with conſtant ſucceſs.

After that, Mr. DE RAPIN was ſent ſucceſſively to ſeveral Garriſons, and among the reſt to *Kilkenny*, where he frequently waited on the Biſhop, who ſeemed pleaſed with his Converſation. This commerce would have been very agreeable, could he have peaceably enjoyed it, but the warm and daily conteſts between the Mayor and the Officers, ſcarce allowed him a moment's repoſe. He often uſed his endeavours to ſtifle them, and prevented their proceeding to extremities. Mean while, his fear that things would be brought to a deſperate paſs, made him gladly embrace the opportunity of commanding two Companies in another place. Some time after, he rejoined his Regiment at *Kingſale*, where he contracted an intimate Friendſhip with Sir *James Waller* who commanded there.

About the end of the year 1693, he received an order to repair to *England*, without any reaſon aſſigned; but at the ſame time, a Letter from Mr. *Belcaſtel* informed him, he was to be Governor to the Earl of *Portland*'s Son. He could not conceive whence this proceeeded, having never had any ſuch thoughts; and it was ſome time before he knew, he was recommended by the Lord *Galloway*. He came therefore to *London* and entered upon his Office. Here was an end of all his hopes of riſing in the Army, to ſuch Poſts as ſeveral younger Officers of his acquaintance have obtained. All the amends he received, was leave to reſign his Company to his Brother, who died in 1719, Lieutenant-Colonel in a Regiment of *Engliſh* Dragoons. It is true, ſome time after, the King granted him a Penſion of a hundred Pounds a year, till he ſhould better provide for him, which never happened. So he enjoyed his Penſion ſeveral years, but upon that Prince's death, it ceaſed, and a Place was given him, which brought him in but a moderate income.

His new Employment obliged him to be ſometimes in *Holland*, often in *England*, and alſo in *France*, whilſt the Earl of *Portland* was Ambaſſador, till the young Lord was fixed at the *Hague*, where he learned his Exerciſes. Whilſt he was there, in the year 1699, Mr. DE RAPIN married *Mariamne Toſtart*, an advantagious match, of whom I ſhall ſay nothing, as ſhe is living. This did not hinder him however from minding his Pupil, and attending him in his Travels. He began then with *Germany*, where they made ſome ſtay at ſeveral Courts, and particularly at *Vienna*. From thence they paſſed into *Italy*, by way of *Tyrol*, where they ſaw Marſhal *Villeroy* a Priſoner, who gave Mr. DE RAPIN a Letter for Cardinal *d' Etrées* then at *Venice*.

At his return, his employment ceaſing, he repaired to his Family, who in his abſence lived at the *Hague*, where he ſpent ſome years. During that time, he improved his leiſure Hours, as far as the common duties of Life would allow, in reſuming the ſtudy of Fortification, and eſpecially of Hiſtory, which led him to draw many general and particular Genealogical and Chronological Tables. But what was moſt agreeable to him, and, as he thought, moſt inſtructive, was his being Member of a Society or Club ſtill in being, to the erecting of which he was proud of contributing, where ſeveral Perſons of Learning and

Merit reaſoned upon ſuch Subjects as occurred, and ſpoke their opinion on ſuch queſtions as were uſually propoſed. Mean while, as he found his Family increaſe, he reſolved to ſacrifice to the good of his Children the pleaſures of the *Hague*, by retiring to a cheaper Country. Accordingly, he removed in 1707 to *Wezel* in the Duchy of *Cleves*. He found there a good number of *French* Refugees, among whom were ſeveral Officers, Men of Quality, with whom he lived very friendly; and he was alſo received as kindly as could be expected, by Perſons of the higheſt rank, who were chiefly concerned in the Government of the Country, and who, on all occaſions, gave him marks of their favour.

The way of living at *Wezel*, different in many reſpects from that of the *Hague*, rendered him more than ever maſter of his time, and allowed him almoſt as much leiſure as he could deſire, to ſtudy the Hiſtory of *England*, and the nature of the Government. This was a more extenſive deſign than perhaps it ſeems at firſt, for it obliged him, not only to peruſe all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, but alſo thoſe of other Nations, who had any affairs with the *Engliſh*, in order to procure light, and be aſſured of the truth of the facts, by confronting the ſeveral Authors. He would have found it very difficult to ſucceed, or rather would, probably, have miſcarried, had he not before qualified himſelf for reading, in their original Tongue, all the Books he was obliged to conſult. Beſides *Greek* and *Latin*, which he learnt at the College, and had ſince improved, he underſtood *Italian* and *Spaniſh*, not to mention *High* and *Low-Dutch*, of which indeed he was not ſo much maſter. As for *Engliſh*, which was the moſt neceſſary of all, he had made that his particular Study.

Though he was of a very ſtrong conſtitution, yet a ſeventeen years conſtant application to compoſe his Hiſtory, entirely ruined his health. About three years before his death, he found himſelf quite ſpent, and frequently ſeized with violent pains in his Stomach. He might have recovered if he would have relinquiſhed his Work, and unbent his mind for a time. Of this he was ſenſible, but could not reſolve it, as he ought. All he indulged himſelf in, was, not to riſe before ſix a-Clock, after which it was impoſſible for him to ſleep or lie in his bed. As to his diverſions, of which walking was the moſt uſual, he was quickly tired of them, and, if his indiſpoſition permitted, returned to his Work, which was the cauſe of his illneſs, and properly his ſole delight. At laſt, a violent Fever, attended with an oppreſſion upon his Lungs, carried him off the ſeventh day, being the 16th of *May* 1725.

He has left one Son and ſix Daughters.

From what has been ſaid, it appears that Mr. DE RAPIN was naturally grave. This led him, whilſt he was in the ſervice, to ſeek the converſation of the Serious, which prejudiced not only ſeveral of his Comrades, but even ſome of his Superiors, againſt him, who would have had him partake of all their diverſions. But, on the other hand, it gained him the Eſteem and Friendſhip of many Perſons of Merit, who were in conſiderable Poſts. We are not however to imagine, he was an enemy to Mirth: he could be merry on occaſion, though not ſo frequently, nor ſo immoderately as many are. Nay, he writ ſeveral little things in Proſe and Verſe, with humour and gaiety: but as they were on light or ludicrous Subjects, and deſigned only for a preſent amuſement with his Friends, he never thought them worth reviſing, and I queſtion whether there is one to be found among his Papers. What has been ſaid of his application to his Study, and Works, is alſo to be underſtood with this limitation, that it never hindered him from embracing all opportunities to ſerve his Friends, and reconcile their differences.

Thus have I done what lies in my power, to make known Mr. DE RAPIN's Character. I am ſenſible, that to have a compleat Idea of him, we muſt, beſides what I have ſaid, conſider him in his Writings, but this is what I ſhall not undertake. It belongs to the Publick to declare what opinion he there gives of himſelf, and to determine whether he ſhows good Senſe and Judgment in his manner of diſcovering the motives of Actions; and above all, whether he has juſtly obſerved an entire Impartiality, ſo eſſential to a good Hiſtory.

This is all I have to ſay to you concerning Mr. DE RAPIN. I wiſh it may be ſatisfactory, and am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

INTRO-

To be Placed before the Introduction.

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Ebudes

Insula

Caledonij

Agricolas fort
Lollius Urbicus's Rampart

Gulf of Edinburg

Edingburg

Picti

Gulf of Dunbritton

Scoti

VALENTIA

Ottadini

Adrian's Rampart
Severus's Wall

Tyna Flu.

FLAVIA

Brigantes

Mona Ins.

CÆSARIENSIS

Ordovices

York or Eboracum

IRELAND

Mona I.
now
Angleſey

Bangor

Humber Flu.

Coritani

BRITANNIA SECUNDA

MAXIMA

Silures

Catieuchlani

Iceni

CÆSARIENSIS

Dimetæ

Dobuni

Trinobantes

Camelodunum now Maldon

London

Attrebatij

Cantij

Sabrina Flu.

BRITANNIA PRIMA

Regni

Sarum

Winchester

Durotrigæ

Danmonii

I. of Wight or Vecta

Gallia

4

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

CONTAINING

The Extent of Great-Britain *or* Albion. *Whence ſo called. The* Firſt Inhabitants, Cuſtoms, *and* Manners *of the* Britons. *Their Way of* Fighting, *and* Commerce. *Their* Religion. *The* Druids. *Their* Government. Original *of the* Iriſh, Scots, *and* Picts.

GREAT-BRITAIN is, without contradiction, the largeſt, fineſt, and moſt conſiderable Iſland in *Europe:* Nay, one might venture to affirm, *ſhe* holds the firſt Rank among all the Iſles of the known World; and it would be, perhaps, no difficult taſk to prove, *ſhe* juſtly deſerves this Preference. But not to enter into ſo needleſs a Diſcuſſion, it ſuffices to ſay, very few can be compared to *her* for Temperateneſs of Air, Number of Inhabitants, and all the Neceſſaries as well as Comforts of Life. If *ſhe* wants any thing of foreign growth, *her* Wants are eaſily and plentifully ſupplied by *her* Commerce, which brings home to *her* whatever is rare and excellent in all Parts of the World.

I ſhall not undertake to diſplay here all that may be ſaid to the Advantage of this Iſland, or repeat all the Encomiums beſtowed on *her*, as well by the Ancients as Moderns. The preſent flouriſhing State of *Great-Britain* ſufficiently ſpeaks for *her*. *Her* Fleets, by which ſhe reigns Sovereign of the *Britiſh* Seas (1); *her* Troops, whoſe Valour makes them every where dreaded; *her* illuſtrious Generals, who have carried the Terror of *her* Arms to the utmoſt Bounds of *Europe*, exalt *her* much Higher than all I can ſay in *her* Praiſe. Beſides, every one knows, this truly *fortunate* Iſle, by *her* Riches and the excellent Conſtitution of *her* Government long ſince eſtabliſhed, enjoys a Happineſs unknown to the reſt of the World.

I don't queſtion but the Figure *England* has made for ſome time, inſpires many Perſons with a Curioſity to learn by what Steps *ſhe* is arrived to that Height of Grandeur and Power, which renders her ſo formidable to *her* Neighbours. It was this Imagination that led me to publiſh the preſent Hiſtory in *French*, for the Benefit of thoſe who not underſtanding the *Engliſh* Tongue, cannot ſatisfy their Curioſity by reading the Hiſtories writ in the Language of the Country. I am apt to believe this Work muſt needs meet with a favourable Reception, if the Hiſtory itſelf does not ſuffer by the Hiſtorian's Defects. But

As *Great-Britain* has all along been divided into two Parts, namely, *England* and *Scotland*, I muſt warn the Reader, that my Deſign is only to write the Hiſtory of *England* in particular. Though the Neighbourhood of theſe two States has been productive of ſeveral Events common to Both, their Hiſtories are nevertheleſs diſtinct from each other. And therefore, I ſee no ſufficient Reaſon to induce me to imitate ſundry Hiſtorians who have joined them together, on pretence that the two Kingdoms in the laſt Century were united under one and the ſame Sovereign. As for the particular Hiſtory of *England*, to which I intend to confine myſelf, I will venture to ſay, it contains as great Variety, with as many entertaining and remarkable Events, as moſt Hiſtories hitherto extant. It is true indeed, it has its dry and barren Places, eſpecially in the Beginning; but this is an Imperfection common to it with the Hiſtories of *France*, *Spain*, and all the reſt of the Kingdoms founded by the Northern Nations. As there were but few Men of Letters among the Nations, that, like a Deluge, over-ran the *Roman* Empire, there were conſequently but few Writers who took care to tranſmit to Poſterity, Memorials of their Hiſtories. This Hiſtory, like moſt others, may be compared to a River which ſwells in proportion to its Diſtance from the Fountain-Head, and grows immenſely great where it falls into the Ocean. But as *England* is a Part, and That the moſt conſiderable of *Great-Britain*, it will not be improper to prefix to the Hiſtory of that Kingdom, a general Account of the Iſland, of the firſt Inhabitants, their Cuſtoms, Manners, Government and Religion.

THE ISLAND of ALBION or BRITAIN was ſcarce known to the *Romans* till the Time of their Emperors. *Julius Cæſar* was properly the firſt that diſcover'd it to them, by carrying thither the *Roman Eagles*, and by the Account of his two *Britiſh* Expeditions, the Particulars whereof he

(1) Well may the *Engliſh* be called Lords of the *Britiſh* Seas, ſince the Royal Navy of *England* conſiſts of 7 Men of War of 100 Guns, 13 of 90, 16 of 80, 23 of 70, 19 of 60, 47 of 50, (that is, 125 of the Line of Battle) beſides 23 of 40, 9 of 30, and 25 of 20: In all 182. *See Burchett's Preſ. to his Hiſtory.*

has

has given in his *Commentaries*. He ſays, it is an Iſland in the ſhape of a Triangle: He ſets down the Length of each Side, and tells us, the whole Circuit of the Iſle meaſures about fifteen hundred Miles, or five hundred *French* Leagues. After ſuch a Deſcription, one cannot but wonder at what *Tacitus* ſeems to aſſert, and *Dion Caſſius* poſitively affirms, that *Britain* was not diſcovered to be an Iſland till the Government of *Julius Agricola*, that is, in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, or *Domitian*. Was it poſſible for *Cæſar's Commentaries* to be unknown to theſe Hiſtorians? (1)

Tac. *Life of* Agric. Dio. Caſſ. l. 39.

Extent of Great-Britain.

Great-Britain, as *Cæſar* obſerved, being almoſt Triangular, if it be conſidered as bounded by three Right-lines, forming a perfect Triangle, the three Sides together may be reckoned about fifteen hundred Miles. But allowing for the Windings of the Coaſt, they are found to make about eighteen hundred Miles, or ſix hundred *French* Leagues in Compaſs. The ſhorteſt Side, which looks towards *France*, and reaches from the *North-Foreland* in *Kent* (2) to the *Land's-End* (3) in *Cornwall*, contains about three hundred Miles. The Weſtern Side, over againſt *Ireland*, from the *Land's-End* to the northermoſt Point of *Scotland*, may be about eight hundred Miles in length, and the third or Eaſtern Side about ſeven hundred.

Camd. Brit.

Etymology of the Word Albion. Camden.

The Names of *Albion* and *Britain*, by which this Iſle has been known, are both of ſo ancient a Date, that their Origin is not to be trac'd. To Conjecture only, recourſe has been had in this Caſe. The firſt of theſe Names, ſay ſome, was received from a certain Giant, Son of *Neptune*. Others derive the Name *Albion* from the *Greek* Word *Alphon*, ſignifying *White*, becauſe the Coaſts, when viewed at a diſtance, look of that Colour. Some again imagine *Albion* comes from the *Celtick* Word *Alp* or *High*, the Land appearing ſo as you approach it from the Continent (4).

Etymology of the Word Britain.

As for the Origin of the Name *Britain*, we find, among the Antiquaries, variety of Opinions or Conjectures, the Principal of which are theſe Four. The firſt, that the Name of *Britain* was given to the Iſland by *Brutus*, a *Trojan* Prince.

Somner.

The ſecond is *Somner's*, a learned *Engliſhman*, who ſuppoſes that becauſe of the violent Motion of the Sea which waſhes the Coaſts of *Great-Britain*, this Name may come from the *Britiſh* Word *Brydio* or *Rage*. The third, eſpouſed by *Camden*, Sir *William Temple*, and others, is founded upon the Word *Brith*, ſignifying in the *Britiſh* Tongue, *Woad*, becauſe the ancient *Britons* uſed to dye their Skins blue with that Plant.

Bochart in Canaan.

The fourth is *Bochart's*: That famous Antiquary believed, the *Phœnicians* coming to buy Tin in the Iſland of *Albion*, gave it the Name of *Barat-Anac*, that is, the *Land* or *Country of Tin*, which being by the *Greeks* mollified into *Britannia* (5) was adopted by the *Romans*. This *Etymology* ſeems to be confirmed by the *Græcians* calling the Iſles of *Scilly*, *Caſſiterides*, which ſignifies in *Greek* the ſame as *Barat-Anac* in *Phœnician*.

Strabo, l. 2.

Examination of the four Etymologies.

If I may be allowed to ſpeak my Opinion of theſe four Etymologies, the Firſt ſeems to be founded altogether upon a *Fable*. The Second, deriving the Name, *Britain* from a *Britiſh* Word ſignifying *Rage*, is, I think, unwarrantable; becauſe the Iſland receiving this Name from Foreigners, as will be ſhown preſently, it is not likely they ſhould take it from the *Britiſh* Language, of which probably they were ignorant: Beſides, it is not Fact that the Sea rages more on the Coaſt of *Great-Britain* than in other Places. Conſequently its Motion not being uncommon, could not give occaſion to derive this Name from a Word ſignifying *Rage*. The Third, deriving the Name from the Word *Brith* or *Woad*, is the moſt generally received. But however, it is liable to one Objection, which thoſe that embrace it, ought to remove: and that is, the Name of *Britain* was certainly given to the Iſland by Foreigners. This is evident from the Natives never ſtiling their Country *Britain*, or themſelves *Britons*. Their true Name is *Cumri* or *Cumbri*, from whence *Cambria*, the Name of *Wales* to this Day among the *Welſh*. Now it is by no means probable, that Foreigners ſhould make uſe of a *Britiſh* Word to form the Name of this Iſland. So, the Fourth Opinion, *viz. Bochart's*, ſeems to me the moſt natural. It can't be ſaid to be unlikely that the *Phœnicians*, the firſt Traders to this Iſland, ſhould give it the Name of *Barat-Anac*, or *the Land of Tin*. Suppoſing this, it is probable the Name paſſing from the *Phœnicians* to the *Grecians*, and from theſe laſt to the *Romans*, was changed into That of *Britannia* (6). However this be, we have nothing to truſt to in this Matter but very doubtful Conjectures. The late Inſtances of the Names given to new-found Lands are ſo many Demonſtrations, that Caprice has as great a ſhare as Reaſon in coining theſe new Names. A *Saint's* Day, the Name of a *Leader* or *Pilot*, the firſt Object that chanced to preſent itſelf to view, an Accident happening at the Time of the Diſcovery of theſe new Lands, have uſually ſerved for Foundation to the Names aſſigned them. So that perhaps the Conjectures of *Camden* and *Bochart* are as little to the Purpoſe with reſpect to *Britain*, as Ours would be, if ignorant of the occaſion of the Names given to the ſeveral Parts of *America*, we ſhould endeavour to trace them from the Language, Cuſtom, or Commerce of the Natives.

Origin of the Britons.

We are as much in the Dark concerning the Origin of the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Albion*, for in all likelihood it was peopled by Colonies from different Places, and at different Times. Endeavours therefore have been uſed to give us ſome light into this Matter from their Cuſtoms, Manners, Religion, and Form of Government. But before I proceed to what has been conjectured on this Head, it will be neceſſary juſt to touch upon the Fabulous Story of *Brutus*, publiſhed by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, a Writer of the XIIth Century. Not that it deſerves Notice; but being mentioned by almoſt all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, it ſeems hardly pardonable to paſs it over in Silence. Beſides, it is the part of a good Hiſtorian not only to relate Matters of Fact, but alſo to guard his Readers againſt the Fictions obtruded upon the World for Truths.

Cæſar. Tacitus.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, a *Benedictin* Monk, penned in *Latin* a Hiſtory of *Britain*, and dedicated it to *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* natural Son of *Henry* I. King of *England*. In this pretended Hiſtory *Britain* is ſaid to receive *her* Name from *Brutus*, the Firſt of *her* Kings. What the Hiſtorian relates is as follows:

The Story of Brutus.

Brutus, Son of *Sylvius*, Grandſon of *Æneas*, had the misfortune to kill his Father as he was ſhooting at a Deer. As he could not or would not, after this fatal Accident, ſtay any longer in *Italy*, he retires into *Greece*, where gathering together the Deſcendants of the *Trojans* that were brought thither after the Deſtruction of their City, he puts to Sea with them, and after long wandering on the *Mediterranean*, enters the *Atlantick* Ocean, and performs Wonders in ſeveral Places, particularly in *Gaul* againſt *Goffarius* King of *Aquitain*. At length, guided by an Oracle, he comes and lands in the Iſland of *Albion*, at a Place where *Totneſs* now ſtands in the County of *Devon*. The Iſland was at that time inhabited by Giants of the Race of *Cham*, whoſe Chief or King was *Gog-Magog*. *Brutus* and his Companions, though few in Number, not only keep their ground, but root out the Giants and get poſſeſſion of the Iſland, which *Brutus* from his own Name called *Britain*. Before his Death, he divided his Dominions among his three Sons. *Locrin* or *Loegrin* had for his Share *Loegria* ſo called from him, the ſame with *England* now, excluſive of *Wales*, which was the Share of *Camber*, *Brutus's* ſecond Son, and from him named *Cambria*. *Albanact* the youngeſt, had the Country ſince called *Scotland*, to which he gave the Name of *Albania*. (7)

Having laid theſe Foundations, the Author continues his Hiſtory, giving an Account of the various Revolutions that happened in the Iſland, under the Kings Succeſſors of *Brutus*, whoſe Names he relates with ſome of their Actions. But as to the Time of their Reigns he is not ſo exact, ſetting down neither when they began, nor how long they laſted. He is contented with ſaying, *Brutus's* Arrival in *Albion* was twelve hundred years after the Flood, and ſixty-ſix after the Deſtruction of *Troy*. This Hiſtory, publiſhed in ſo dark an Age, was greedily received, particularly by the *Welſh*, the Poſterity of the antient *Britons*. But it brings with it ſo many Marks of Forgery, that it is looked upon by all that have examined it with any Attention, as a Fiction of *Geoffrey* himſelf, or ſome other Author, whom he has too implicitly followed.

After rejecting this Fable, I wiſh it were in my Power to give a ſatisfactory Account of the Origin of the *Britons*. But that is impoſſible. We muſt be ſatisfied with the Conjectures of *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, and ſome more modern Authors: The moſt probable Accouut ſeems to be this:

(1) *Tacitus* ſays, Hanc oram noviſſimi maris, *tunc primum* Romana Claſſis circumvecta, Inſulam eſſe Brittanniam affirmavit. *Theſe Words*, tunc primum, *as appears by the Context, muſt refer to the Government of* Agricola. This is *Rapin's* Obſervation. But after all *Tacitus* might ſay this, and yet have ſeen *Cæſar's Commentaries*. For in *Cæſar's* Time *Britain* was only ſuppoſed to be an Iſland, but not known to be ſo by the *Romans*, till *Agricola's* Fleet ſailed round it. *Dion Caſſius* lived about a hundred Years after *Tacitus*; in the latter end of the 2d, and the beginning of the 3d Century.

(2) Called by the *Romans Cantium*.

(3) *Belerium*.

(4) *Alpin*, in the *Phœnician* Tongue, ſignifies a *High Mountain*; and *Albin*, in the ſame Language, ſignifies *White*. The Derivation from *Albin* ſeems to be countenanced by the *Britiſh* Poets, who call *Britain*, *Inif-wen*, i. e. *the White-Iſland*. See *Selden's* Notes on *Poly-olbion*, p. 20.

(5) The Termination —*tania*, ſignifying in *Greek*, *Region*, ſhows, according to *Camden*, that this Word was formed by the *Greeks*, juſt as *Mauritania*, *Luſitania*, *Aquitania*, &c. *Rapin*. It is a queſtion whether there is any ſuch *Greek* Word as —*Tania* ſignifying a *Country*.

(6) A modern Author gives the following Derivation. The *Phœnicians* having paſſed the *Streights*, met with no Iſland in the Ocean comparable to theſe now called the *Britiſh Iſles*. Theſe therefore by way of Eminence they called *Britban*, that is, *Outer*, or Iſlands in the *Outer-Sea*, in Oppoſition to thoſe in the *Mediterranean*, which they called the *Inner-Sea*. From *Britban*, *Britannia* naturally flows. *Le Clerc*.

(7) The Name of *Loegria* is loſt; *Cambria* is retained by the *Welſh*, as *Albany* is by the *Scots*. But this is no Proof of the Origin of theſe Names, being ſuch as *Geoffrey of Monmouth* related. *Rapin*.

That

That *Great-Britain* was peopled by the *Celtæ* or *Gauls*, deſcended from *Gomer* Son of *Japhet*, is univerſally acknowledged. Of This the Name *Cumri* (1), by which the *Welſh* call themſelves ſtill in their Language, and ſeveral other Reaſons, will not ſuffer us to doubt. Beſides, the numerous ſwarms of *Gauls* that over-ran ſo great a Part of *Europe* and *Aſia*, make it credible, they neglected not to ſend Colonies into *Great-Britain* which lay ſo near them. The Affinity, taken notice of by Antiquaries, between the *Gauls* and *Britons* with reſpect to Religion, is a farther Confirmation of this Opinion. It is true indeed, the *Belgæ* are ſaid by ſome Writers to ſettle in the *Eaſtern*, the *Spaniards* in the *Weſtern*, and the *Hibernians* or *Iriſh* in the *Northern* Parts of *Great-Britain*. But this is not inconſiſtent with the common Opinion. The *Belgæ* were no other than *Gauls*, and the *Spaniards*, as well as the *Iriſh* or *Scots*, were, according to ſome Writers, Colonies of the *Celtiberian-Gauls* that inhabited along the *Weſtern* Coaſts of *Spain*. But ſuppoſing it were not very certain, that theſe *Spaniards* were *Celtiberians*, it can't be denied, that the *Southern* Part, now called *England*, was peopled by the *Gauls*. This is the moſt probable Account of the Origin of the *Britons*.

Camden. Brit. p. xiv. &c.

Manners and Cuſtoms of the Britons.

As for their Manners, Cuſtoms, Religion, and Government, though mentioned by *Cæſar* in his *Commentaries*, ſhould we confine ourſelves to what he has ſaid, our Knowledge would be but very imperfect. A fuller Diſcovery of theſe things muſt be drawn chiefly from the Authors who writ after the *Romans* were become Maſters of *Britain*. As the *Britons* did not at once, but by degrees, alter their Cuſtoms and Manners, what theſe Authors ſay of the *Britons* of thoſe Days, may be preſumed to agree in many reſpects with the antient Inhabitants of the Iſland.

Cæſar Com. l. v. Tacit. vit. Agricol.

The *Britons* were generally tall and well-made, and, like moſt of the *Iriſh* at this Day, yellow-hair'd. Their Conſtitution was ſo good, that, according to *Plutarch*, they frequently liv'd a hundred and twenty Years. This length of Days was probably owing to their Sobriety and Temperance as much or more than to the Wholſomneſs of the Air. The uſe of Cloaths was ſcarce known in the Iſland. None but the Inhabitants of the Southern Coaſts cover'd their Nakedneſs with the Skins of wild Beaſts careleſly thrown over them, not ſo much to defend themſelves againſt the Cold, as to avoid giving Offence to the Strangers that came to traffick with them. They were wont by way of Ornament to make Inciſions in their Bodies in the Shape of Flowers, Trees and Animals, which with the Juice of *Woad* they painted of a Sky-colour that never wore out. Theſe Scars are by *Tertullian* term'd *Britannorum Stigmata*.

Solinus Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. xxii. c. 1.

They liv'd in Woods, in Hutts cover'd over with Skins, Boughs or Turf. There are People now in the North of *Scotland* that are ſaid to have no other Houſes. I remember alſo to have ſeen in *Ireland* poor People living in a Hutt cover'd only with green Turf, and not above three or four times bigger than their Body. I was told, they liv'd quietly in theſe Habitations, without ſtirring abroad unleſs to provide for their Subſiſtence, and, contented with Milk and *Potatoes*, gave themſelves no farther trouble. This may ſerve to give us an Idea of the way of living as well among the antient *Britons*, as, perhaps, among many other Nations. Their uſual Food was Milk, and Fleſh got by Hunting, their Woods and Plains being well ſtock'd with Game. As for domeſtick Fowls, Hens and Geeſe, if they bred any, it was for their pleaſure, being ſtrictly forbid by their Religion to eat them, as *Cæſar* expreſly obſerves. Neither did they eat any Fiſh, though the Rivers and the Sea that ſurrounded them, were plentifully ſtor'd with them. Their Towns or rather Villages were only a confus'd parcel of Hutts plac'd at a little diſtance from each other, without any Order or Diſtinction of Streets. They generally ſtood in the Middle of a Wood, the Avenues whereof were defended with ſlight Ramparts of Earth, or with the Trees that were fell'd to clear the Ground. Notwithſtanding this their plain and ſimple Manner of living, ſo remote from the Luxury of other Nations, they were as quick of Apprehenſion as their Neighbours the *Gauls*, and, if *Tacitus* may be credited, of greater Penetration. *Diodorus Siculus* does not ſcruple to prefer their Honeſty and Integrity before That of the *Romans*. One Cuſtom however they had that ſeem'd deteſtable to other Nations, though for their part they thought it very innocent: And that was, for ten or a dozen Brothers or Friends to live all together and have their Wives in common. This Cuſtom continued a long time among them, though in other reſpects they were grown very civiliz'd by their Commerce with the *Romans*, when Maſters of this Iſland. A *Britiſh* Lady being upbraided one day by *Julia*, *Severus*'s Empreſs, with a Cuſtom ſo contrary to the Practice of other Nations, is ſaid, by an Hiſtorian, to return this bold Anſwer, *The* Roman *Ladies have little Reaſon to reproach us upon this Account, ſince we do publickly with the beſt of our Men no more than what they do privately with the worſt of Theirs, Freedmen and Slaves*. The *Britons*, without doubt, differ'd from more civiliz'd Nations in many other Cuſtoms (2). But their Country being little frequented by Foreigners, we know but few Particulars about them, eſpecially with regard to the Time before the Arrival of the *Romans*. We muſt therefore be ſatisfied with what we find ſcattered here and there in Authors, who it may be, for the moſt part, knew but little of the Matter.

Dio l. lxxvi.

The Britons *manner of Fighting.*

Cæſar gives a great Character of the Valour of the *Britons*, and their going to Battle with undaunted Bravery. But it is hard to underſtand his Deſcription of their way of Fighting. He ſays, they fought for the moſt part in Chariots, from whence, furiouſly driving among their Enemies, they flung their Darts: but when they had to deal with the Horſe, they left their Chariots to fight on Foot with Advantage. Now this ſeems very ſtrange. For my part, I own I can't conceive what Advantage they could have to engage the *Horſe* rather on foot that in their Chariots.

Cæſar Com. l. iv.

Their Trade.

As well ſituated for Trade as the *Britons* were, we don't find they had any large Veſſels, or ventur'd to Sea beyond the Coaſts of *Gaul*. Their chief Commerce was with the *Phœnician* Merchants (3), who, after the Diſcovery of the Iſland, exported every Year great Quantities of Tin, with which they drove a very gainful Trade with diſtant Nations. But notwithſtanding all their Care to conceal the Fountain-Head, the *Greeks* (4) diſcovered it at length, and came and traded alſo to the ſame Place.

Their Religion.

This Commerce being carried on in the furtheſt Parts of *Cornwal* only. Foreign Merchants had no Opportunity to know exactly the State of the Iſland. For which Reaſon we are ignorant at this day, of many Particulars, concerning the Religion and Government of the *Britons*, that probably would have been tranſmitted down to us, if other Nations had met with Information. A full account therefore muſt not be expected of theſe Matters, ſince Here, as well as in many other Caſes, Conjectures only are all we have to go upon. Thus much however is known, that the *Britons* had in a manner the ſame Gods with the *Gauls*. For Inſtance, *Dis* and *Samothes* were Deities equally worſhipped by both Nations. But the *Britons* had a very particular Veneration for *Andate*, Goddeſs of Victory, to whom they ſacrificed their Priſoners of War.

The Druids. Cæſar, l. vi. Pliny, l. xvi. c. 44.

We know moreover the *Druids*, as well among the *Britons* as *Gauls*, had the Care and Direction of all Religious Matters (5). The Name *Druid* comes from the Word *Deru*, ſignifying in the *Britiſh* or *Celtic* Language, an *Oak*, like *Drus* in the *Greek* (6). For the *Miſletoe* that grows on the Oak was looked upon by them as a moſt ſacred Thing, and the greateſt Bleſſing from Heaven (7). The *Druids* were held in ſuch Veneration by the People, that their Authority was almoſt abſolute. No publick Affairs were tranſacted without their Approbation: not ſo much as a Malefactor could be put to death without their Conſent. Religion not only afforded them a Pretence to

(1) That is, *Indigenæ*, or the firſt and moſt antient Inhabitants of *Britain*, in Oppoſition to thoſe that came over from *Belgium*. *Mag. Brit.* p. 8.

(2) Another Cuſtom they had, *viz.* If a Wife was found acceſſary to her Huſband's Death, ſhe was proceeded againſt with *Fire*. Hence, ſays *Coke*, our preſent Law of *burning* Women that have kill'd their Huſbands.

(3) The *Phœnicians* firſt came to *Britain* before the *Trojan* War. *Sam. Brit.* p. 47.

(4) The *Greeks* came hither 160 Years before *Julius Cæſar*. Sam. Brit. *p.* 74.

(5) Et vos, Barbaricos ritus moremque ſiniſtrum Sacrorum, Druidæ, poſitis repetiſtis ab armis. Solis noſſe deos, &c. *Lucan.*

The *Druids*, now, while Arms are heard no more,
Old Myſteries and barb'rous Rites reſtore:
A Tribe who ſingular Religion love,
And haunt the lonely Coverts of the Grove.
To theſe, and theſe of all Mankind alone,
The Gods are ſure reveal'd, or ſure unknown.
If dying Mortals Doom they ſing aright,
No Ghoſts deſcend to dwell in dreadful Night:
No parting Souls to griſly *Pluto* go,
Nor ſeek the dreary ſilent Shades below:
But forth they fly Immortal in their Kind,
And other Bodies in new Worlds they find.
Thus Life for ever runs its endleſs Race,
And like a Line, Death but divides the Space;
A Stop which can but for a Moment laſt,
A Point between the Future and the Paſt.
Thrice happy they beneath their Northern Skies,
Who that worſt Fear, the Fear of Death deſpiſe:
Hence they no Cares for this frail Being feel;
But ruſh undaunted on the pointed Steel;
Provoke approaching Fate, and bravely ſcorn,
To ſpare that Life which muſt ſo ſoon return. *Lucan.*

(6) Father *Pezron*, in his Book of *the Original of the* Celtic *Language*, will have both *Greek* and *Latin* to come from *Celtic*. If ſo, the *Greek* Word *Drus* muſt come from the *Celtic Deru*. Rapin.

(7) *Ad Viſcum Druidæ, Druidæ cantare ſolebant*. Ovid. They called the Miſletoe, as they ſtill call it in ſome Part of *Wales*, the *Pren-Awyr*. Theſe Groves where they worſhipped were called *Lhwyn*, thence probably the Word *Llan* ſignifying now in *Welſh* a Church. Theſe Groves were Incloſements of ſpreading Oaks, ever ſurrounding their ſacred Places. In which were 1. *Gorſeddau*, or Hillocks where they ſat and pronounced their Decrees, and ſpoke Orations to the People. 2. *Carneddi*, or Heaps of Stones on which they had a peculiar Mode of Worſhip. 3. *Cromlechi*, or Altars on which they perform'd the Solemnities of Sacrifices. *Rowland*, p. 69.

concern themſelves in the Government, but authorized them, as they pretended, to intermeddle in private Affairs. Under colour that there is hardly any caſe but where Religion may be concerned, they clamed a Power to exclude from the Sacrifices all ſuch as refuſed to ſubmit to their Determinations. By that means they became very formidable, this ſort of *Excommunication* being deemed ſo infamous, that the Perſon on whom it was pronounced, was avoided by All. The *Chriſtian Clergy* in this Point have but too cloſely imitated the antient *Druids*. The Chief of the *Druids* was a ſort of *Pontiff* or *High-Prieſt*, who had Authority over all the reſt. This Dignity was Elective: and ſometimes when the Candidates were of equal Merit, ſuch Heats and Broils have raged among them, that they have fallen to Blows before the Election was over.

The Bards. Cæſ. Com. l. ix.

The *Bards* among both *Britons* and *Gauls*, were Prieſts of an inferior Order to the *Druids*. Their Buſineſs was to celebrate the Praiſes of their Heroes in Verſes and Songs, which they compoſed and ſung to their Harps (1). They continued in being a long time. There were ſome even after the *Romans* had entirely abandoned the Iſland.

The Eubates.

A third ſort of Prieſts, as well in *Britain* as *Gaul*, were the *Eubates* (2), who applied themſelves chiefly to the Study of Philoſophy, and the Contemplation of the wonderful Works of Nature, as *Marcellinus* informs us.

Religion of the Gauls *and* Britons.

In ſhort, as the *Britons* and *Gauls* had properly but one and the ſame Religion, 'tis very probable one of theſe Nations received it from the other. *Cæſar* was of Opinion, that the *Gauls* had it from *Britain*, becauſe, as he obſerves, thoſe that were deſirous to have a thorough Knowledge of this Religion, went thither to ſtudy it. But this Argument at moſt ſerves only to prove, that their religious Myſteries were celebrated with greater Exactneſs in *Britain*, it may be by reaſon of the Revolutions that happened in *Gaul*, by the Wars raiſed there by the *Romans*. *Buchanan*, not ſo poſitive as *Cæſar*, ſays, it can't certainly be known which of the two Nations received it from the other. 'Tis very likely however, the *Gauls* when they peopled *Britain*, brought their Religion with them. Be that as it will, ſince the *Britiſh* and *Gauliſh Druids* had the ſame Notions, and there is nothing certain concerning the Firſt, we can form no Idea of their Religion, but by that of the *Gauls*, which is a little better known to us. This Knowledge however is of no great Extent, the *Druids* having left nothing in Writing, it being their Cuſtom to teach their Diſciples every thing by heart. A *Burgundian* Author has been at the Pains to collect ſome of the *Druidical* Maxims or Rules, of which the moſt remarkable are theſe:

Gollut. Mem. de Franch. Comt.

Maxims of the Druids.

None muſt be inſtructed but in the Sacred Groves.

Miſletoe muſt be gather'd with reverence, and if poſſible in the Sixth Moon. It muſt be cut with a Golden Bill.

Every thing derives its origin from Heaven.

The Arcana of the Sciences muſt not be committed to Writing, but to the Memory.

Great Care is to be taken of the Education of Children.

The Powder of Miſletoe makes Women fruitful.

The Diſobedient are to be ſhut out from the Sacrifices.

Souls are immortal.

The Soul after Death goes into other Bodies.

If the World is deſtroyed, it will be by Fire or Water.

Upon extraordinary Emergencies, a Man muſt be ſacrificed.

According as the Body falls, or moves after it is fallen; according as the Blood flows, or the Wound opens, future Events are foretold.

Priſoners of War are to be ſlain upon the Altars, or burnt alive incloſed in Wicker, in Honour of the Gods.

All Commerce with Strangers muſt be prohibited.

He that comes laſt to the Aſſembly of the States, ought to be puniſhed with Death.

Children are to be brought up apart from their Parents, 'till they are fourteen Years of Age.

Money lent in this World wil be repaid in the next.

There is another World, and they who kill themſelves to accompany their Friends thither, will live with them there.

Letters given to dying Perſons, or thrown on the funeral Piles of the Dead, will faithfully be delivered in the other World

The Moon is a Sovereign Remedy for All things, as its name in *Celtic* implies.

Let the Diſobedient be excommunicated; let him be depriv'd of the Benefit of the Law; let him be avoided by All, and render'd incapable of any Employ.

All Maſters of Families are Kings in their own Houſes, they have a Power of Life and Death over their Wives, Children and Slaves.

Theſe Articles may ſerve to give us a Specimen of the Principles and Religion of the *Druids*, which flouriſh'd a long while in *Great-Britain* as well as in *Gaul*. It ſpread as far as *Italy*, as appears by *Auguſtus*'s Injunction to the *Romans* not to celebrate its Myſteries. There were Women, as well as Men, *Druids*. It was a female *Druid* of *Tungria* (3), that according to *Vopiſcus* foretold to *Dioclefian* (when a private Soldier in *Gallia*) that he would be Emperor of *Rome* (4).

The Government of the Britons.

If the Religion of the *Britons* may be learnt by That of the *Gauls*, an Idea of their Goverment may likewiſe be formed the ſame way. As both Nations were of *Celtic* Extraction, they had, very probably, the ſame Form of Government. In order therefore to know the Nature of the *Britiſh* Government, recourſe may be had to what was in uſe among the *Gauls*. From the Time of the founding of *Rome*, the *Gauls* were divided into ſeveral petty States, with a *Head* or King over each. Some of theſe being more powerful than the reſt, kept their Neighbours in a ſort of Dependance, and one of them, upon great and imminent Dangers, was by common Conſent choſen chief Commander, whoſe Power was limited, as well as the Time of his Adminiſtration. During his Office, he was conſidered as a Soveriegn Magiſtrate, having Power to put the Laws in Execution, and act as Captain-General of all their Forces. *Livy* (according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*) calls this Magiſtrate, *King*. But a modern Author, who believed he underſtood better the Nature of that Dignity, affirms the Title of King not to be at all proper for the Perſon inveſted with it, and therefore calls him only *Paramount*, or *one ſuperiour to the reſt*. However this be, the *Britons* may be ſuppoſed to have had much the ſame Form of Government, ſince we find the whole Country between the *Tine* and *the Channel* was divided into ſeventeen petty States, with each its Head, dignified by Authors with the Name of *King*. When *Julius Cæſar* invaded *Britain*, the Command of their Army was conferred by the *Britons* on *Caſſibelanus* King or Chief of the *Trinobantes*; and in the Time of *Claudius*, *Caractacus* King of the *Silures* was choſen General. In the *Map* annexed, the Names, and Situation of theſe States are laid down. Theſe Nations without doubt, depending on each other no farther than Neceſſity compell'd them, had frequent Quarrels and Conteſts. But we have no certain Knowledge of their Affairs; and therefore the Beginning of their Hiſtory can be dated no farther back than *Cæſar*'s Invaſion. From thence to the Time of their being freed from the Dominion of the conquering *Romans*, the Thread may in ſome meaſure be carried on, though ſeveral large Gaps occur, which 'tis not poſſible to fill up, by reaſon of the Fewneſs of the Authors that have treated of this Subject. But before I begin, it will be neceſſary to premiſe a brief Account of the *Picts* and *Scots*, Inhabitants of *North-Britain*.

S. Julian Orig. *of the* Burgund.

Pomp. Mel. l. iii.

If the *Britons* aſpire to a very ancient Original, by calling themſelves Deſcendants of *Brutus*, Great-Grandſon of *Æneas*, the *Scots* ever jealous of the Glory of their Neighbours, reſolve not to yield to them even in this imaginary Honour: Nay, they go beyond them, and lay Claim to a much greater, but withal a no leſs fabulous Antiquity. Their Hiſtories are full of their Nation being founded by *Gathelus* Son of *Cecrops*, King of *Athens*; or, as ſome ſay, Son of *Argus*, fourth King of *Argos*, jointly with *Scota* Daughter of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*. This Fable is dreſſed up in the following Manner.

The fabulous Origin of the Scots. Hector Boethius. Buchanan.

Gathelus being forced to quit his native Country, to avoid the Perſecution of his Enemies, puts to Sea in company with ſome Friends who would not forſake him. After ſeveral Adventures too long to relate, he comes into *Egypt* and ſerves under *Moſes* in *Pharaoh*'s War with the *Ethiopians*. At length, upon *Moſes* leaving *Egypt*, *Gathelus*

(1) Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum, vates diffunditis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina, Bardi. *Lucan.*

You too, you Bards! whom ſacred Raptures fire,
To chaunt your Heroes on your Country's Lyre,
Who conſecrate, in your immortal Strain,
Brave Patriot-Souls in Righteous Battle ſlain.

(2) Ουατεῖς. *Strabo.* In *Welſh* or *Britiſh*, *Offwyr* or *Offyddion*. *Mon. Antiq. p.* 65.

(3) The preſent Biſhoprick of *Liege*.

(4) *Rowlands* in his *Mona Antiqua* imagines the *Second Sight* (which he ſeems to believe) called *Taiſh* in *Scotland*, to be a Relick of *Druidiſm*, and builds his Conjecture upon this noted Story related by *Vopiſcus*, who ſays, *Dioclefian*, when a private Soldier in *Gallia*, on his removing thence, reckoning with his Hoſteſs, a *Druid* Woman, ſhe told him he was too penurious, but that he needed not to be ſparing of his Money, for after he ſhould kill a *Boar*, ſhe aſſured him (looking ſtedfaſtly in his Face) he would be Emperor of *Rome*. Theſe Words made great Impreſſion upon him, and he was afterwards much delighted in hunting and killing Boars, often ſaying when he ſaw many made Emperors, and his own Fortune not much mending, *I kill the Boars but 'tis others that eat the Fleſh*. However, many years after, one *Arrius Aper*, Father-in-law of the Emperor *Numerianus*, graſping for the Empire, treacherouſly ſlew him, for which Fact being brought by the Soldiers before *Dioclefian* (then become a prime Commander in the Army) he aſked his name, and being told he was called *Aper* (*i. e.* Boar) without further Pauſe ſheathed his Sword in his Bowels, ſaying, *Et hunc aprum cum cæteris*, which done the Soldiers ſaluted him Emperor.

having

having ſignaliz'd himſelf by many brave Actions, ſucceeds him in the Command of *Pharaoh*'s Army, who gives him his Daughter *Scota* in marriage. Thirty-nine Years after, *Gathelus*, terrified by an Oracle foretelling the Deſtruction of *Ægypt*, ſails from thence with a great Number of *Greeks* and *Ægyptians* who adhere to his Fortune. He makes ſeveral Attempts to ſettle in *Africa*, but not ſucceeding, roves about uncertain of his Fate, and at laſt lands at a Port on the weſtern Coaſt of *Spain*, calling the Place *Portus Gathali*, from whence came the Name of *Portugal*. [*Here the Author of this Fable forgot that* Gathelus *ſpoke* Greek *and not* Latin.] After ſome ſtay, *Gathelus* leaving a Colony here, ſteers his Courſe farther Northward, and ſettles in a Country, from his own Name call'd *Gathelicia*, or *Galicia*. Some time after, his Son *Hiberus* embarking with ſome of his Father's Followers, ſails towards the North, and leads a Colony to an Iſland by him nam'd *Hibernia*, and afterwards *Ireland*. As this Iſland was not then very populous, the Natives gladly receive the New-comers, and mixing with them, ſoon became one Nation under the general Name of *Scots*, from *Scota* Mother of *Hiberus*.

It would be loſt time to refute a Fable that brings its own Confutation along with it. Neither ſhould I have mention'd it, had not *Buchanan* inſerted it in his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, and ſhewn the Abſurdities of it to remove the Prejudices of Thoſe of his Countrymen who ſtood up in its defence. This may be call'd the fabulous Origin of the *Scots*. The Account given for Truth by the Writers that are leſs prepoſſeſs'd in favour of the Antiquity of their Nation, is as follows:

A probable Account of the Origin of the Scots.

The Iſland of *Iren*, called by the *Romans Hibernia*, and by the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, *Iren-landt* or *Ireland*, had been long poſſeſs'd by the *Scots* from *Scythia* in *Europe*, when a Colony of *Spaniards* came with a deſign to ſettle there, much about the time that the *Carthaginians* became Maſters of *Spain*. The Number of theſe Foreigners not being very conſiderable, the Natives, far from being alarmed, willingly admitted them, and aſſigned them Lands to cultivate. *Buchanan* ſuppoſes theſe *Spaniards* to be deſcended from a Colony of the *Celtiberians* that were ſettled in *Spain*. The good Reception theſe met with in *Ireland*, drew others thither: inſomuch that in the end the Iſland grew very populous, and the two Nations mixing together became one People under the Name of *Scots*. In proceſs of time, the Land being over-ſtockt, abundance of Families threw themſelves into the *Ebudes* or *Hebrides*, Iſlands ſituated North of *Ireland*, which being ſmall, were likewiſe in time as well peopled as *Ireland* itſelf. The *Scyths* or *Scots* are ſaid to land in *Ireland* not long after the Flood, and the *Spaniards* to arrive there in the Year of the World 3380.

Arrival of the Picts *in* Britain. Bede, l. 1. c. 1.

The *Hebrides* being thus peopled by the *Scots*, certain ſtrange Ships came and offer'd to land. Theſe Ships were fill'd with *Picts*, a *German* Nation inhabiting the Countries now called *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerania*. They were roving about according to the Cuſtom of the northern Nations, in queſt of new Habitations, their Country being too populous to find them a Subſiſtence (1). They demanded of the *Scots* ſome part of their Iſles to ſettle in. The *Scots* replied, the Soil was ſo barren, that it was incapable of ſupplying them all with Neceſſaries. But withal inform'd them, that a large Iſland call'd *Albion* lay not far diſtant, where the northern Parts being thinly inhabited, they would infallibly find room enough, offering them aſſiſtance in caſe of Oppoſition. The *Picts* ſatisfied with this Diſcovery, ſteer'd directly to *Albion*, and finding but few Inhabitants where they landed, ſettled without much trouble in the northern Parts.

The *Scots*, having been long deſirous to extend their Habitations into *Albion*, where they hoped to find greater Plenty than in their Iſlands, laid hold of this Opportunity to ſhare in the new Settlement (2). The *Picts* were not diſpleaſed to ſee ſuch Numbers flock over, for beſides the Buchan. Need they ſtood in of their Aſſiſtance againſt the Attacks of the Natives of *Albion*, they could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted long in that Country, if the *Scots* had not ſupplied Picts *and* Scots *unite*. them with Wives to perpetuate their Colony. But this was done upon condition the Heirs of the Women ſhould have the Preference before thoſe of the Men in the Succeſſion to the Kingdom they were going to eſtabliſh. This Law, *Bede* ſays, was in force in his time. The two Nations, being thus united together in one common Intereſt, compell'd by degrees the antient Inhabitants of *Albion* to retire to the Southward, and leave them in poſſeſſion of all the Country lying North of the *Tine*. At length, their *They ſeparate*. Numbers being mightily increas'd, they agreed to ſeparate; whether the Difference of their Laws and Cuſtoms occaſioned frequent Quarrels, or for ſome other unknown Reaſons. The *Scots* choſe the *Weſtern* Part, as neareſt *Ireland*, with the *Hebrides*, and the *Picts* took the *Eaſtern* as oppoſite to *Germany* (3). After the Separation, the two Nations began to be diſtinguiſhed from one another, and govern'd each by their own Laws. The *Scots* that inhabited *Albion* began to be diſtinguiſhed from Thoſe that remained in *Ireland* and the adjacent Iſles. The Former were called *Albins*, and the Latter, *Iriſh*. Hence comes likewiſe the Diſtinction between *Great Scotland* or *Ireland*, and *Little Scotland* or *North Britain*. The *Albin Scots* ſtrengthned by continual Supplies from their Brethren the *Iriſh*, increas'd to ſuch a degree, that in the end growing much more powerful than the *Picts*, they utterly deſtroy'd them. But this happened not 'till many Ages after their Separation.

Diſtinction between the Scots, *and* Great *and* Little Scotland. Camd. Deſc. *of* Scot.

It is difficult for Amity and a good Underſtanding to remain long between two bordering Nations. Jealouſy and oppoſite Intereſts furniſh them with too frequent Occaſions of Quarrel. The *Picts* and *Scots* were no ſooner parted, but they began to fall at variance about ſome trifling Affair. The Conteſt being inflam'd, they were upon the point of coming to an open Rupture by the Inſtigations of the antient Inhabitants, who fomented the Diviſion to the utmoſt of their Power. Theſe laſt, whom I ſhall for the future call *Britons*, though I know not when that Name was firſt given them, began to repent of ſuffering theſe Foreigners to ſettle in the Iſland. Wherefore, at this ſo ſeemingly favourable an Opportunity, they thought it their Intereſt to kindle a War which could not fail to be fatal to both Parties, and might even prove equally deſtructive of Both. As the *Britons* were in moſt danger from the *Scots* by reaſon of their Neighbourhood to *Ireland*, they offer'd their Aſſiſtance to the *Picts* to drive the *Scots* out of the Country, in expectation afterwards to find an opportunity to do the ſame by thoſe they were now ſo deſirous to ſide with. The *Scots* being inform'd of this Alliance, turn'd their Thoughts to *Ireland*, and applied for Aid to King *Ferchard*, who ſent over his Son *Fergus*. This young Prince finding the *Albin-Scots* in a ſort of Anarchy, without a Chief or Head but what they choſe upon extraordinary Occaſions, and repreſenting to them the Inconveniences attending ſuch a State, they reſolved to inveſt him with Sovereign Authority. *Fergus* therefore was the firſt King of *Scotland* properly ſo call'd, for *Great Scotland* or *Ireland* not only had been govern'd by Kings many Ages before; but if the *Iriſh* are to be credited, was the moſt antient Monarchy in the World. *Fergus* is ſaid to arrive in *Scotland* in the Year of the World 3627, about the Time *Alexander the Great* made his Entrance into *Babylon*. But this Pretenſion is ſo ſtrongly conteſted, it muſt not be too eaſily admitted.

Conteſt between the Scots *and* Picts.

The Picts *make an Alliance with the* Britons.

Fergus *ſent from* Ireland *to aid the* Scots,

is made King of Scotland. Buchan.

Buchan.

Fergus, as ſoon as he was ſeated in his Throne, made great Preparations for the War againſt the *Picts*, without neglecting however the Means to avoid it. He repreſented to them by his Ambaſſadors that the Conteſt between the two Nations being of little moment, might eaſily be decided without coming to Blows, would both ſides but agree to hearken to reaſon: That it was to be feared their weakening one another, would afford their Neighbours and common Enemies the *Britons* an opportunity to deſtroy both Nations, which it was eaſy to perceive was their Intention. This Remonſtrance made ſuch Impreſſion on the *Picts*, that ſuddenly altering their firſt Deſign, they entered into a ſtrict Alliance with the *Scots* againſt the *Britons*. *Fergus* thus ſtrengthened by the Aſſiſtance of the *Picts*, march'd againſt the *Britons*, and gave them Battle, in which their King *Coilus* was ſlain. After this Defeat, the *Britons* finding themſelves too weak to reſiſt the two northern Nations, ſue for Peace. *Fergus* ſhortly after, returning to *Ireland*, was caſt away and drowned near the Place where *Carick-Fergus* now ſtands (4).

Fergus *joins with the* Picts *againſt the* Britons.

This is the Account of the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians concerning the Settlement of the two Nations that inhabited *North-Britain*. From the Arrival of *Fergus* to the *Roman* Invaſion, they pretend things remained in much the ſame State without any conſiderable Alteration in the Iſland, or of the Inhabitants. From the *Channel* to the *Tine*, the Country was poſſeſſed by the *Britons*, and divided into ſeventeen petty States or Kingdoms. From the *Tine* to the utmoſt Bounds of the North, the *Picts* (5) inhabited the *Eaſtern*, over againſt *Germany*, and the *Scots* the *Weſtern* Parts, oppoſite to *Ireland*, from which they were parted by a very narrow Channel. The *Scots* count fifteen Kings from *Fergus* to *Ederus*, who reigned in *Scotland* when *Cæſar* invaded *Britain*.

(1) In *St. Kilda* the moſt weſtern Iſle of the *Hebrides*, the Inhabitants now live upon Eggs, which the wild Geeſe come and lay conſtantly at a certain Seaſon. *Martin*'s Voyage to *St. Kilda*, printed at *London* 1698. *Rapin.*

(2) This is ſtrongly conteſted, for it is pretended by many that the *Scots* did not ſettle in the northern Parts of *Britain* till the beginning of the Sixth Century. *Buchanan*'s Account is followed here. *Rapin.*

(3) They were parted by *Grantſbain* Hills, called by *Tacitus* in the Life of *Agricola*, c. 25. *Mons Grampius.*

(4) This was the firſt Place beſieged by Duke *Schomberg* at his Arrival in *Ireland* in 1689. *Rapin.*

(5) The name of *Picts* is firſt mention'd by *Eumenius* in his Panegyrick to *Maximian*, about the Year 286. *Tyrrel*, p. 92.

Though

Diſpute about the Settlement of the Scots *in* Great-Britain.

Though one ſhould think the *Scots* beſt knew the Origin of their own Monarchy, yet this Antiquity of Theirs is greatly conteſted by ſeveral famous and learned *Engliſh* Writers. Inſtead of admitting what the *Scots* advance, they pretend to demonſtrate that the Nation was not ſettled in *Great-Britain* 'till the beginning of the Sixth *Century*. This Diſpute appears at firſt ſight to be of little Conſequence, the *Scots* being able to plead too long a Preſcription to apprehend their Right of Poſſeſſion may be called in queſtion. On the other hand, it does not ſeem to be of much Benefit to the *Engliſh* to conteſt with them the Honour of this Antiquity, ſuppoſing it to be imaginary. Notwithſtanding, as Religion was concerned in the Caſe, the Diſpute was carried on with great Warmth. The *Presbyterians* among their Objections againſt *Epiſcopacy* advance, that the Church of *Scotland* was governed by *Presbyters* only, call'd *Culdees* (1), before there were any Biſhops in the Country; whence they would infer that *Eſpiſcopacy* is not of *divine Inſtitution*. The *Engliſh* Biſhops anſwered this Objection by denying the Fact, affirming, the Church of *Scotland* was ſo far from being govern'd by *Presbyters*, that it was not yet in being, the *Scots* not ſettling in the Iſland before the Year of our Lord 503. According to the *Engliſh* then, eight hundred Years of the Time the *Scots* aſcribe to their Settlement in *Great-Britain* muſt be taken away. This Difference is ſo conſiderable, that one can hardly think the *Scots* ſhould be ſo much miſtaken. Is it poſſible, the forty Kings that are pretended to ſit on the Throne of *Scotland*, from *Fergus* I. to *Coran*, who reigned in the Year of *Chriſt* 501, were imaginary Kings only? On the other ſide, it is no leſs difficult to believe that their learned Adverſaries would lay ſo great an Error to their Charge, were they not perſuaded they had good Proofs to ſupport their Opinion. As the Generality of my Readers are but little concerned in this Diſpute, it is not, I ſuppoſe, expected that I ſhould fully relate the Arguments urged on both Sides, they being the Subject of many Volumes. I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with briefly ſhowing how this Diſpute was managed.

Had the *Scots* been obliged to prove directly their Settlement in *Great-Britain* from the Time of *Alexander the Great*, I am afraid their Arguments would not have been altogether ſatisfactory to unprejudic'd Judges. But they wiſely gave the Diſpute another Turn. When a Nation, *ſay they*, aſcribes any thing to itſelf in an hiſtorical Way, it ought not to be denied without ſufficient Evidence to the contrary. By this means they put their Adverſaries upon proving a *Negative*, which every one knows to be a very difficult Taſk. However, this is what they have undertaken to do. Their main Argument is drawn from no Writers mentioning the *Scots* as Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* 'till the Sixth *Century*. They alledge on the contrary ſeveral Paſſages from *Latin* Authors, wherein you have a Liſt of the Nations that inhabited the northern Parts of the Iſland, without the leaſt mention of the *Scots*. But the *Scots* maintain that this negative Proof deſtroys not their Pretenſions, for their Nation not being ſubdued by the *Romans* 'till the Reign of *Severus*, and remaining but a very ſhort Space under their Dominion, it is no wonder they knew ſo little of it, and conſequently gave ſo imperfect an Account. They add moreover, tho' the *Deucaledonians*, *Meatæ*, *Attacotti*, are mentioned by *Tacitus* and other Hiſtorians, as inhabiting the northern Parts of *Great-Britain*, it does not follow that theſe Nations were not *Picts* or *Scots*, juſt as the *Iceni*, *Trinobantes*, *Silures*, were truly *Britons*, though diſtinguiſh'd by particular Names. Among the Adverſaries of the *Scots* in this Diſpute, the moſt conſiderable are *Uſher*, *Lloyd*, *Stillingfleet*, Authors of great Note. In their Defence the principal Writers are *Hector Boethius*, *Buchanan*, *Mackenzie*, all three very eminent in *Scotland*.

Like Diſpute concerning the Picts.

If the *Picts* were ſtill in being, they would have the like Charge to maintain. For the ſame *Engliſh* Authors affirm, the *Picts* were no other than *Britons*, who to avoid the Tyranny of the *Romans*, retir'd into the northern Parts of the Iſland; where continuing to paint their Bodies with *Woad*, the *Romans* gave them the Name of *Picts*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that, after their Submiſſion to the *Roman* Power, had left off that Cuſtom. This Opinion is not groundleſs, ſince it is certain, many *Britons*, unwilling to ſubmit to the *Roman* Yoke, retir'd northward, as the Conquerors advanc'd in the Iſland. But as the *Romans* ſubdued the Seventeen *Britiſh* Nations, not all at once, but by degrees, it may be aſk'd why they gave the Name of *Picts* to Thoſe only that fled beyond the *Tine*, and not to the other Nations before they were conquer'd, to diſtinguiſh them alſo from ſuch as had ſubmitted. The *Scots* further reply, *that* the Argument alledg'd by the *Engliſh* is more ſpecious than ſolid, being entirely built upon the Conformity of the Name *Picts* with the *Latin* Word *Picti: That* many *Britons*, it is true, retir'd among the Inhabitants of the North, but to prove *Theſe* to be the ſame with them that were afterwards call'd *Picts*, it muſt be ſhown how they came to be a ſeparate Body, and a diſtinct People from the other northern Nations, as it is certain the *Picts* were for ſeveral Ages, with Laws and Cuſtoms different from *Thoſe* of the *Britons* and *Scots*: *That* ſeeing nothing like this can be ſhown, it is more natural to think theſe fugitive *Britons* retiring among the *Picts* were incorporated with them. This Opinion, to which I confeſs I am inclin'd, may be farther confirmed, by conſidering that the *Scots*, not being conquered 'till the Reign of *Severus*, and remaining but a very little time under the Dominion of the *Romans*, called their Neighbours *Pehiti*. Now if this Name be the ſame with that of the *Picts* from the *Latin* word *Picti*, how can it be conceiv'd that the northern People, whether *Scots* or others, ſhould give their Neighbours a *Roman* Name? But if it be a different Name, it muſt then be owned, the *Picts* were not *Britons*, nor receiv'd their Name from the Cuſtom of painting their Bodies. *Buchanan*, who takes the Name of the *Picts* to be *Roman*, confeſſes however his Ignorance of the Name they gave themſelves. But on the other hand, he pretends they came from certain *Gauliſh* Colonies ſettled in *Thrace*, where they painted their Bodies as well as in *Britain*. The *Picts*, continues he, ſpoke the ſame Language as the *Britons* and *Scots*, ſince we don't find in Hiſtory that theſe three Nations had occaſion for Interpreters to trade together. I own this does not ſeem to me to be a ſatisfactory Reaſon, it being very poſſible theſe Nations might ſpeak different Languages, and yet Hiſtorians make no mention of Interpreters (2). *Buchanan* however concludes from hence they were originally *Celtæ*. *Verſtegan*, an *Engliſh* Author, ſays the Name of the *Picts* comes from a Word in their own Language, ſignifying *Warrior*. I don't think it neceſſary to examine any farther the Origin of a Nation that has now been entirely extinct without the leaſt Remains almoſt nine hundred Years.

This is all I could find worth notice concerning the *Picts* and *Scots*, who are to make ſo conſiderable a Figure in the following Hiſtory. It is time now to return to the *Britons*, and ſhow in what manner they were ſubdued by the *Romans*.

(1) Biſhop *Lloyd* ſays they were call'd *Kelledei*, or in old Scotch, *Kyldees*, from *Cylle*, a Cell, and *Tee* or *Dee* a Houſe, that is, *a Houſe of Cells*. But afterwards when it was uſual to find out *Latin* Derivations for thoſe Words of which Men did not know the Original. *Kyldees* or *Kylledei* came to be called *Culdei* or *Colidei*, that is, *Worſhippers of God*. Either way it appears they were Monks. Now the firſt Monks among the *Scots* were St. *Martin*'s Diſciples, who died in 401. Conſequently the *Culdees* were not of ſo antient a Date as pretended by *Selden* and the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians. They are not mentioned by *Bede* or *Nennius*.

(2) *Bede* ſays, in his time God was ſerved in five ſeveral Languages in *Britain*, namely, *Anglorum*, *Britonum*, *Scotorum*, *Pictorum*, & *Latinorum*, l. 1. c. 1. Huntingd. p. 299.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK I.

From the first Invasion of Britain *by the* Romans *under* JULIUS CÆSAR, *to the Calling in of the* SAXONS. *Containing the Space of about Five Hundred Years.*

THE *Romans* were become Masters of almost all *Europe*, of the best Part of *Africa*, and of the richest Countries of *Asia*, before they undertook the Conquest of *Great-Britain*. While so many Kingdoms were by these Conquerors continually added to their Empire, *Great-Britain* preserv'd *her* Liberty: but it was owing rather to *her* Situation than Strengh. She was consider'd as a separate World by herself, to which the Inhabitants of the Continent seem'd to have no Pretensions, or at least, knew nothing there capable of exciting their Desires. Besides, the Wars with the *Gauls* kept the *Romans* so long employed, that they had not leisure or opportunity to think of the *Britons*. *Julius Cæsar* was the first that form'd the Project of that Conquest, during his Government of *Gaul*, where he caus'd the *Roman* Arms to triumph. His frequent Victories over the *Gauls* had extremely increas'd his Fame, and procur'd great Advantages to the Commonwealth. But he was not himself satisfied with the Reputation he had lately acquir'd in *Gaul*. His Thirst of Glory and Desire of enlarging the Bounds of the Empire, inspired him with the Design to extend his Conquests, and bring the *Britons* under the Dominion of the *Romans*. Some accuse him of being influenc'd by a more ignoble Motive, and of aiming in this Enterprize at the enriching himself with the Spoils he hoped to find in the Island (1). But this Imputation cannot be said to be well-grounded. However this be, *Great-Britain*, tho' little known in those days, had charms sufficient to raise the Ambition of that renowned Warrior. His Pretence for invading the *Britons* was their assisting the Enemies of the Commonwealth: a Pretence frequently us'd by the *Romans* to carry their Conquests into the most remote Countries. Upon this Ground he made two Expeditions into the Island, the Particulars whereof are thus related in his *Commentaries*.

Cæsar forms the Design to conquer Britain.

Sueton. Mela.

Cæsar, tho' he had spent part of the Summer in making an Irruption into *Germany*, resolv'd to employ the rest in the Execution of his Design upon *Britain*. He was very sensible however, the Season was too far advanc'd to expect to make any great Progress. Nevertheless, he consider'd it would be no small advantage if he could take a View of the Island, almost wholly unknown to all but the Merchants that traded on the Coasts. And these Merchants themselves were so little acquainted with what *Cæsar* wanted to know, that sending for some of them, he could learn neither the Extent of the Island, nor whether it was well-peopled or not. Much less could they give him any Information concerning the Ports and Havens, and whether there were any fit to receive Ships of Burthen. This Uncertainty made him resolve to send *Volusenus* to view the Coasts as far as was possible without danger, whilst his Troops were marching to the Place of Imbarkation (2).

Account of his first Expedition into Britain. Ant. Chr. 55. Cæsar Com. l. iv.

The *Britons*, receiving Intelligence by the Merchants of *Cæsar*'s Design, endeavour to divert him from his purpose, by sending Ambassadors with Offers of Obedience to the *Romans*, and the Delivery of Hostages. *Cæsar* gives the Ambassadors a very civil Reception, but exhorting them to persist in their Resolution, dismisses them without Answer, or at least without telling them positively what he intended to do. With them however he sends *Comius* (whom he had a few days before made King of the *Attrebates*) (3) with Instructions to persuade the *Britons* to make an Alliance with the *Romans*, and acquaint him with his Design to come over into their Island. They were by no means pleas'd with the News, for they expected what they had done would have induc'd the *Roman* General to alter his Resolution. So, whether *Comius* spoke to them too haughtily, or they had a mind to let the *Romans* see they did not fear them, they committed the Ambassador to Prison, loading him with Irons.

The Britons *send Ambassadors.*

Mean while *Volusenus* having coasted along the southern Parts of the Island without landing, returns and gives an

B. C. 55. Cæsar *imbarks with two Legions.*

(1) Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus. *Sueton.* in J. Cæs. c. 47. *Rapin.*

(2) *Suetonius* says nothing of *C. Volusenus* being sent to make Discoveries, but rather intimates, that *Cæsar* undertook to do this in person. *Neque in Britanniam tranavenit, nisi ante per se portus & navigationem & accessum ad insulam explorasset.* Vit. Jul. Cæs. c. 58. But according to *Cæsar*'s own Account *Suetonius* was mistaken.

(3) Inhabitants of the Country about *Arras*.

Account of the Diſcoveries he had made. Whereupon, every thing being ready to begin the Expedition, *Cæſar* imbarked two Legions on board eighty Tranſports, leaving order for the Horſe to follow with all ſpeed in eighteen more that could not yet join the Fleet, and were expected every moment: but his Orders were not timely enough executed. At his Arrival on the Coaſts of *Britain*, he ſees the Hills and Cliffs that ran out into the Sea, cover'd with Troops that could eaſily with their Darts prevent his landing (1). Upon which he determines to look out for ſome other place, where he may land his Army with leſs danger. However, he lies by 'till Three in the Afternoon (2), expecting ſome Ships that were not yet come up. Upon their joining the Fleet, he makes a Signal for the principal Officers, and giving them his laſt Inſtructions concerning their landing, makes ſail and comes to an Anchor about two leagues farther, near a plain and open Shore (3). The *Britons* perceiving his Intent, ſend their Chariots and Horſe that way, whilſt the reſt of their Army advance to ſupport them. The main difficulty in landing proceeded from the Largeneſs of the Veſſels which hinder'd them from coming near enough to the Shore; ſo that the *Roman* Soldiers ſaw themſelves under a Neceſſity of leaping into the Sea arm'd as they were, in order to attack their Enemies who ſtood ready to receive them on dry Ground. *Cæſar* perceiving his Soldiers did not exert their uſual Bravery on this occaſion, orders ſome Gallies to get as near the Shore as poſſible, and ſet upon the Enemy in the Flank. This Precaution had the deſired Effect. For the Slings, Engines, and Arrows were ſo well employed from theſe Gallies, that the Courage of the *Britons* began to abate. But the *Romans* ſtill demurr'd upon throwing themſelves into the Water, and it may be would hardly have done it at all, had not the Standard-Bearer of the Tenth Legion ſhown them the way, by leaping in firſt with his Colours in his Hand, crying out aloud, *Follow me, Fellow-Soldiers, unleſs you will betray the* Roman Eagle *into the Hands of the Enemy. For my part I am reſolv'd to diſcharge my Duty to* Cæſar *and the Commonwealth.* Upon theſe Words, he leaps into the Sea and advances with his Eagle towards the Barbarians. Emulation and Shame cauſing the Soldiers to forget the Danger, they couragiouſly follow him and begin the Fight. But their Reſolution was not able to compel the *Britons* to give ground: Nay, it was to be feared that the *Romans* conſtrained thus to fight in the Water without keeping their Ranks, would in the End have been repuls'd, had not *Cæſar* caus'd ſome armed Boats to ply about with Recruits, which made the Enemy fall back a little. The *Romans* improving this Advantage advance with all poſſible Expedition, and getting firm footing, preſs the *Britons* ſo vigorouſly, that at length they put them to rout. They durſt not however purſue them, becauſe the Horſe were not yet come. Which *Cæſar* ſays, was the only thing that hinder'd the Victory from being compleat (4).

He lands with great Difficulty.

The Britons *are routed.*

They ſue for Peace.

The *Britons*, aſtoniſh'd at the *Roman* Valour, and fearing a more obſtinate Reſiſtance would but expoſe them to greater Miſchiefs, ſet *Comius* at liberty, and ſent him back to *Cæſar*, throwing the Blame of his ill Treatment on the Fury of the Populace. At the ſame time Ambaſſadors are diſpatch'd to ſue for Peace and offer Hoſtages. *Cæſar* very readily pardons them, on condition they ſend him a certain Number of Hoſtages. Part of them were immediately delivered with a Promiſe of ſending the reſt.

Cæſar grants their Requeſt.

The Romans *ſuſtain a great Loſs by a Storm.*

Peace being thus concluded four days after landing, the *Britiſh* Troops were diſmiſs'd, and ſome of their chief Men came to *Cæſar* to manage the Concerns of their Nation. Mean while, the Ships that were tranſporting the *Roman* Horſe putting to Sea meet with a violent Storm, which forces them back again into the Ports of *Gaul*. The ſame Storm falls likewiſe upon *Cæſar*'s Fleet lying in the Road, ſome whereof are daſhed in pieces, others loſe their Anchors, Cables and Rigging. And what added to the Misfortune, the ſame night the Tide of Flood roſe ſo high, (as is uſual at the full of the Moon, a thing then unknown to the *Romans*) that the Gallies, having been drawn aſhore were filled with Water. This Accident threw the *Romans* into great Conſternation, for they had not brought with them wherewithal to repair their ſhatter'd Veſſels, nor any quantity of Proviſions, *Cæſar* having all along intended to winter in *Gaul*.

The Britons *break the Treaty.*

The *Britons* that were with *Cæſar* ſoon perceiv'd his want of Proviſions, Ships and Cavalry. Beſides, it was eaſy to gueſs, by the ſmall extent of their Camp, that the Number of the *Romans* was not conſiderable. Having made theſe Obſervations, they ſteal away by degrees, and repreſent to their Countrymen, "what a favourable Opportunity offer'd to free themſelves from Servitude: How the *Romans* were few in Number, without Proviſions and Horſe: How they had juſt loſt their Ships, and with them all hopes of retiring." Upon this the *Britons* reſolve to uſe all poſſible means to cut off the *Romans* Proviſions, and amuſe them 'till Winter come on. *Cæſar* gueſſing their Intentions by what had happen'd to him, took all imaginable Care to lay in as great a Stock of Proviſions as he could, and put them under a ſtrong Guard within the Camp. Then ſending to *Gaul* for part of what he had occaſion for to refit his Fleet, he made uſe of the Timber and Iron of the broken Veſſels to repair the reſt. The Soldiers labour'd with ſo uncommon a Diligence, (as their Safety was at ſtake) that in a few days the Fleet was in condition to ſail, twelve Ships only having been loſt.

Cæſar *repairs his Fleet.*

The ſeventh Legion attack'd by the Britons,

Mean while, the ſeventh Legion being ſent out to forage, News was brought to *Cæſar*, that a Cloud of Duſt was ſeen to riſe from that quarter. He ſuſpected immediately what was the matter; and taking with him two Cohorts (5) that guarded the Camp, ordered the reſt of the Forces to follow with all expedition. When he came to the Place, he found the Legion ſurrounded by the Enemy, and overpower'd with Numbers. As the Harveſt was brought in every where elſe, the *Britons* did not queſtion but the *Romans* would come and forage there, ſo lay in a Readineſs to fall upon them. It was very eaſy to put Soldiers in Diſorder that had quitted their Arms, and were diſpers'd up and down to gather the Corn. They kill'd ſome at the firſt Onſet; and to prevent the reſt from eſcaping, began to ſurround them with their Chariots. *Cæſar* came very ſeaſonably to the Relief of the Legions, and ſaved them from being all taken or ſlain. Having brought them off, he ſtood ſome time in order of Battle in ſight of the Enemy, but at length retreated to his Camp, not deeming it proper to engage, unleſs compell'd to it.

who obtain ſome Advantage.

The Britons *attack the* Roman *Camp.*

The *Britons*, fluſh'd with this Succeſs, drew together a greater Body of Troops, with a Reſolution to attack the *Roman* Camp. Tho' *Cæſar* had but thirty (6) Horſe in all, he drew up his Men, that the Enemy might not think he was afraid of them. They attack'd him as he foreſaw. But inſtead of forcing the Camp, they were vigorouſly repuls'd and purſu'd for ſeveral Miles. The *Britons* were ſo diſheartned at their Loſs, that they ſent the ſame Day Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to ſue for Peace. The Poſture of *Cæſar*'s Affairs would not ſuffer him to improve his Victory, becauſe he had no Horſe to oppoſe to thoſe of the Enemy. This Conſideration induc'd him to conclude a Treaty with them, whereby they were bound to deliver a greater Number of Hoſtages, and ſend them to *Gaul*, where he intended to go as ſoon as poſſible. Tho' the Paſſage was not long, the Fear of expoſing his Fleet to another Storm, if he ſtay'd 'till the Equinox, made him haſten his Departure (7) The *Britons* neglecting to ſend their Hoſtages, he puts his Troops into Winter Quarters, and forms the Deſign of a more important Expedition in the following Spring. Mean while, the Senate being inform'd of *Cæſar*'s Exploits in *Britain*, a *Proceſſion* of twenty Days is decreed for him, though the Advantages

They ſue for and obtain Peace.

Cæſar *returns to* Gaul.

(1) This agrees ſo exactly with the *Cliffs* of *Dover* towards the South-foreland, that all Men of Judgment believe this to be the Place.

(2) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays, Four. See *Cæſar*'s *Comment.*

(3) Such is the Shore at the Mouth of the River that goes up to *Richborough*, called in *Latin*, *Rhutupiæ*, *Rutupæ*, or *Portus Rutupenſis*. Dr. *Gale* calls it *Ritupæ*, which ſuits beſt with the modern Name.

——————Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos. *Lucan.* lib. vi.

Richborough or *Portus Ritupenſis* is plac'd in the 2d *Iter* of *Antonine*'s Itinerary at twelve Miles diſtance from *Durovernum* or *Canterbury*. Twelve *Roman* are about nine computed Miles.

(4) The Time of *Cæſar*'s landing in *Britain* is thus known. His firſt Expedition was, as he ſays himſelf, in the Conſulate of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, that is, according to Dr. *Halley*, in the Year of *Rome* 699. But *Auguſtus* died in the Year 767, that is, Sixty-eight Years after *Cæſar*'s Deſcent. Upon News of *Auguſtus*'s Death, there was a Mutiny in the *Pannonian* Army, which was quieted by *Druſus*, by help of an Eclipſe of the Moon. Now from this Eclipſe it is certain that *Auguſtus* died in the 14th Year of Chriſt, conſequently *Cæſar*'s firſt Deſcent, which was Sixty-eight Years before, muſt be in the 55th Year current before the Chriſtian Æra. And as the Year, ſo may the very Day and Hour when he landed, very probably, be fix'd. For *Cæſar* having mention'd the 4th Day after his landing, ſays, the Night after *it was full Moon*. Now, the Summer being far ſpent, this full Moon muſt have been in *July* or *Auguſt*. But the full Moon of *July* was in the beginning of the Month, and of the two full Moons that Year in *Auguſt*, that on the 1ſt Day was at Noon, wherefore it muſt be the other a little after Midnight of the 30th. Hence it is plain, *Cæſar* landed four Days before, on the 26th of *Auguſt*, about five in the Afternoon. See *Lowthorpe*'s Abridgm. Phil. Tranſ. Vol. III. p. 412.

(5) It was the Cuſtom of the *Romans* to place whole *Coborts* before the Gates of their Camp. Hence our *Engliſh* Phraſe, *Court*, or *Cohort of Guard*. A Cohort was the 10th Part of a Legion, about ſix hundred Men. The firſt or chief Cohorts are ſaid to contain ſometimes above a Thouſand Men. *Brady*, p. 8.

(6) *Brady* conjectures, after *Hottoman*, that 30 is put by miſtake for 300. *p.* 5.

(7) The Equinox, which now falls upon the 11th of *September*, muſt in *Cæſar*'s Time have been on the 25th of that Month. (This Difference is occaſioned by our reckoning the Year to be about 11 Minutes more than it really is.) So that probably *Cæſar* left the Iſland about the 20th of *September*, about twenty-five Days after his landing, and as he ſays, a little before the Equinox.

he had gain'd were of little Conſequence to the Commonwealth (1).

B. C. 54. *Cæſar's ſecond Expedition.* Comm. l. v.

Cæſar, according to his Cuſtom, went and paſſed part of the Winter in *Italy*, leaving Orders with his Officers to repair the old, and build ſome more new Ships. When he had received Advice that his Orders were executed, he came to *Portus Itius* (2), where he found ſix Hundred Ships (3), and twenty-eight Gallies, on board of which he put five Legions, and two Thouſand Horſe. He conducts this numerous Fleet to a Place on the *Britiſh*-Coaſt, mark'd by him the Summer before, and lands his Forces without Oppoſition. For the *Britons*, as he was told afterwards, at the ſight of ſo mighty an Armament, thought fit to retire into the Country behind ſome Hills. *Cæſar*, according to the *Roman* Cuſtom, fortifies his Camp, and leaving a Guard, ſets out in the Night in queſt of the Enemy. Having marched about twelve Miles, he ſees them poſted on the other ſide of a River (4) to oppoſe his Paſſage. As reſolute as they ſeemed at firſt, they could not withſtand the furious Charge of the *Roman* Horſe, but were forc'd at length to quit their Poſt. They retir'd a little farther into a Wood, the Avenues whereof were block'd up with huge Trees laid a-croſs one another, and which ſeemed to be fortified in ſome former War. Tho' it appeared very difficult to force theſe Intrenchments, the ſeventh Legion however performed that Service, and obliged the *Britons* to betake themſelves to flight. But Night coming on, and the Country unknown, *Cæſar* forbids all Purſuit.

He lands without Oppoſition.

The Britons *are worſted.*

The Roman *Ships are ſhattered by a Storm.*

Next Day, he divides his Army into three Bodies, which march at ſome diſtance from each other in purſuit of the Enemy. During the march, he received the melancholy News that his Fleet was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a violent Storm, moſt of the Ships being daſh'd in pieces or driven aſhore. As this Accident might be attended with ill Conſequences, he reſolved to haſten back to the Sea-ſide. Here he finds forty of his Ships deſtroyed, and the reſt ſo damag'd, that they were hardly repairable. However, Neceſſity compelling him to go about it without loſs of time, he ſets all the Carpenters in the Fleet and Army to work, ſending for others at the ſame time from *Gaul*. To prevent the like Misfortune again, as ſoon as the Ships are refitted, he employs his Soldiers, Night and Day, to draw them by Strength of Arms into the midſt of the Camp. This Work, notwithſtanding the difficulty of it, was finiſhed in ten Days (5). Mean while, he writes to *Labienus* his Lieutenant in *Gaul*, to build more Ships and ſend them over when ready. Then leaving a ſufficient Force to guard the Camp, he reſumes the Deſign interrupted by the Misfortune befallen his Fleet.

Cæſar repairs the Fleet, and draws the Ships within the Camp.

Caſſibelanus General of the Britiſh *Forces, attacks the* Romans.

He had not march'd far, before he was informed that the Enemies Forces were much increas'd, under the Conduct of *Caſſibelanus* King of the *Trinobantes*, whoſe Kingdom lay beyond the *Thames*, about eighty Miles from the Sea (6). This Prince had hitherto wag'd continual Wars with his Neighbours; but upon the *Romans* Approach, they had concluded a Peace with him, and choſen him Commander in Chief. Whilſt the *Roman* Army was on the march, they found themſelves attacked on a ſudden by the *Britiſh* Horſe and Chariots. But this attack, tho' vigorous, was repuls'd with great loſs on their Side. Nevertheleſs, they were not diſheartened. Some Days after, whilſt the *Romans* were employed about their Intrenchments, a Body of their Troops that lay concealed in the neighbouring Woods, fell furiouſly upon thoſe that guarded the Camp, and put them into great Diſorder. *Cæſar* ſeeing this, immediately ſends two *Cohorts* to their Aſſiſtance, who, ſurpriz'd at the *Britiſh* manner of fighting, are routed at the firſt Charge. *Quintus Laberius Durus* a Tribune was ſlain in the Action. As this Battle was fought in ſight of the Camp, *Cæſar* ſaw plainly the great Diſadvantage the *Romans*, encumber'd with their heavy Armour, lay under, againſt ſwift and light-arm'd Enemies that engag'd in ſmall Parties only, with a Body of Reſerve in their Rear, from whence they were continually recruited. The *Roman* Horſe were no leſs embarraſs'd than the Foot. As the *Britons* frequently counterfeited a Retreat, the Horſemen detach'd to purſue them were immediately cut in pieces; ſo that it was equally dangerous to purſue the Enemy or to retire. The confus'd manner of *Cæſar*'s relating this Affair, is a clear Evidence that the *Romans* were worſted, tho' he does not ſay it in ſo many Words. Beſides, the Reaſons he alledges to excuſe his ill Succeſs are very weak; or if they are of any weight, whence is it that he did not meet with the ſame Difficulties in ſo many other Actions, wherein he pretends the *Britons* were routed Horſe and Foot?

He is repuls'd.

Another Skirmiſh, where the Britons *have the Advantage.*

Another Conflict, wherein the Britons *are defeated.*

On the morrow, the *Britons* poſted themſelves on ſome Hills within ſight of the *Roman* Camp. As they appear'd to be but few in Number, 'twas thought they had no Deſign to engage a ſecond Time. Mean while, *Cæſar* ſending out all the Horſe to forage, with three Legions to guard them, the *Britons* fall with great Fury upon the Foragers, who were defended by their Guard. The Reſiſtance made by the Legions giving *Cæſar* time to advance with the reſt of the Army, a great Battle enſu'd, wherein the *Britons* were entirely defeated.

Cæſar *paſſes the* Thames *in ſight of the enemy.*

After this Victory, *Cæſar* marches towards the *Thames* with intent to penetrate into *Caſſibelanus*'s Dominions. When he comes to the River Side, at a very difficult Ford, he ſees the Enemy drawn up on the oppoſite Bank. Beſides their great Numbers, they had fortified that Part of the River with ſharp Stakes (7), driven ſo deep that ſome of them did not appear above the Water, as Deſerters ſaid afterwards. Notwithſtanding theſe Obſtacles, *Cæſar* reſolves to attack them, and orders the Horſe to ride in, and the Foot to follow, the Soldiers being ſcarce able to hold their Hands above Water to carry their Arms. The Attack was made with ſuch Reſolution that the *Britons* at length were forced to quit their Poſt and leave the *Romans* a free Paſſage (8). *Caſſibelanus* finding he could not hinder *Cæſar*'s paſſing the *Thames*, diſmiſſes his Army, reſerving only Four Thouſand Chariots with which he harraſſes the *Romans* and endeavours to cut them ſhort of Proviſions, by carrying off all the Corn and Cattle that lie in their Rout. The *Romans* were great Sufferers in this March; for they did not dare to make the leaſt Excurſions in ſearch of Proviſions, for fear of Sallies from the Woods and By-places.

The Trinobantes *ſubmit to Cæſar,*

who takes Caſſibelanus's *chief city.*

Mean while, the *Trinobantes*, upon *Cæſar*'s approaching their Country, ſend Deputies to him to ſue for Peace, praying him withal to take into his Protection *Mandubratius* their King, who fled into *Gaul* upon *Caſſibelanus*'s murdering his Father *Immanuentius*, and depriving him of his Dominions. *Cæſar* promiſes to ſend back *Mandubratius*, if they will ſupply him with Proviſions and deliver forty Hoſtages, to which they immediately agree. Several other States following the Example of the *Trinobantes*, *Cæſar* found himſelf in condition to attack the Capital City of *Caſſibelanus*, where the Country People were retir'd with their Flocks and Herds (9). What the *Britons* called a City was only a Wood ſenc'd with a Ditch to defend them againſt the Incurſions of their Enemies. Tho' this Intrenchment ſeemed very ſtrong, *Cæſar* ordered it to be ſtorm'd ſo briſkly at two different Places, that the *Britons* not being able to ſtand the Aſſault, fled out at one of their

(1) *Cæſar* had no great Cauſe to boaſt of this his firſt Expedition, ſince, according to *Bede*, he loſt the greateſt Part of his Ships, with many of his Men, and all his Horſe. l. 1. c. 2. *Oroſius* ſays, the Ships that were to bring the Horſe were caſt away in the Storm. *Tyr.* p. 30, 35. About three hundred Soldiers that were in two of the Tranſports not being able to reach the ſame Port with the reſt, were upon their landing ſet upon by the *Morini*, but reſcu'd by a Party of Horſe ſent to their Relief. This Paſſage of *Cæſar* gives ſome light into the Number of Men in a Legion. Theſe two Ships are expreſly call'd *Onerariæ*, or *Ships of Burthen*. Now if theſe two held Three hundred, the whole Eighty deſign'd for the Tranſportation of the Foot of two Legions, would carry Twelve thouſand, and conſequently there were about Six Thouſand Foot in a Legion. And to compute the Number of Horſe belonging to a Legion, we may conſider that a Tranſport, ſufficient for a Hundred and fifty Foot, will carry between forty and fifty Horſe. Conſequently the Eighteen Tranſports deſign'd for the Horſe had about Eight hundred on board, and ſo Four hundred will belong to each Legion. The Foot then in a Legion ſeems generally to have been about fifteen times as many as the Horſe.

(2) *Boulogne*, ſays *Tyrrel* and *Brady*; about *Calais*, ſays *Horſley*. *Rowlands* in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 24, derives it from *Porth-eilba*, i. e. *the utmoſt*, or *furtheſt Paſſage*, obſerving that *Cæſar* only latinized the antient *Gauliſh* or *Britiſh* Names, leaving us to ſeek their *Etymons* not in the *Roman* but in the *Britiſh* Language. *Horſley* obſerves, that *Cæſar* calls the Paſſage the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt, being about thirty Miles. Now by an accurate Survey the Diſtance at *Calais* from Land to Land is twenty-ſix *Engliſh* Miles, or twenty eight and a half *Roman*, which ſhows how near *Cæſar* came to the Truth.

(3) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays Six-ſcore.

(4) This River could not be the *Thames*, that being too diſtant, but the *Stour*. So that the Battle very probably was fought on the Banks of the *Stour* to the North of the Town towards *Sturry* or *Fordwich*. The ſtrong Place to which the *Britons* retreated after their Defeat, muſt have been *Durovernum*, or *Canterbury*, (twelve Miles from the Place of *Cæſar*'s landing) which was taken (and poſſibly kept till *Cæſar*'s Return) by the ſeventh Legion. This might afterwards be converted by the *Romans* into a Station, as they treated ſeveral other Towns of the *Britons*, as *Camelodunum*, *Verulamium*, *Iſurium*, and others, the Capital Towns of ſeveral States. *Horſley*, p. 14.

(5) Upon the Shore about *Deal*, *Sandon* and *Walmer*, are a long Range of Heaps of Earth, where *Camden* thinks this Ship-Camp was, which, he ſays, by the People thereabouts was call'd *Rome's-Work*.

(6) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays twenty. *Cæſar*'s Words are, *a mari circiter millia paſſuum octoginta*. The Borders of *Caſſibelanus*'s Territories extended to the *Thames* in *Surry*, over-againſt *Oatelands*, which lies Eighty Miles from the Eaſt Shore of *Kent*, where *Cæſar* landed. The *Trinobantes* inhabited *Eſſex*, with part of *Hertfordſhire*, *Verulam* being the chief Town of their Kingdom.

(7) Theſe Stakes are juſt above *Walton* in *Surrey*, and the Meadow facing them is call'd *Coway*. They are even now to be ſeen at Low-water, and one of them was pulled out of the *Thames* laſt year, but with great Difficulty: They are of *Oak*, and though they have lain ſo long in the Water, are as hard as *Brazil*, and as black as Jett. At *Shepperton* they have ſeveral Knife-handles made of them. See *Camden*, p. 155. *Bede*, l. i c. 2. *Tyrrel*, p. 34.

(8) *Cæſar* does not mention a Stratagem he is ſaid to make uſe of upon this Occaſion. He cauſed an Elephant well-fenced with Iron, with a wooden Tower on his back full of Men, to be forced into the River; the ſight of which monſtrous Creature, that look'd like a walking Battery, did not a little contribute to frighten the *Britons* from the oppoſite Shore. *Polyænus Stratag.* l. viii.

(9) This is ſuppoſed to be *Verulamium*, or the preſent St. *Albans*. It is certain *London* was not ſo conſiderable in *Cæſar*'s Time as *Verulamium*, this laſt appearing to have been more antient, and was a *Municipium* or Colony, when *London* was not.

Avenues,

Avenues, but not without great Numbers ſlain and taken, and leaving behind them abundance of Cattle.

Four Kentiſh Kings attack the Roman *Camp.*

Whilſt *Cæſar* was advancing into the Enemies Country, the *Kentiſhmen* inhabiting on the South-Coaſt over againſt *Gaul*, drew their Forces together, with deſign to cut off the *Romans* that were left to guard their Ships. As ſoon as they were ready, they marched under the Conduct of four Kings, namely, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, and furiouſly attacked the *Roman* Camp; but after a long and obſtinate Fight were repulſed, and King *Cingetorix* taken Priſoner.

They are repuls'd, and one taken Priſoner.

Caſſibelanus *begs Peace,*

After ſo frequent Defeats, *Caſſibelanus*, conſidering that moſt of his Kingdom was now in Subjection to the *Romans*, and ſeveral neighbouring States had made, or were ready to make their Submiſſion, treats with them likewiſe, by the Mediation of *Comius*. He eaſily obtains a Peace, *Cæſar*'s Reſolution to return to *Gaul* not permitting him to purſue his Conqueſts in *Britain*. Beſides, he conſider'd that the Weather beginning to grow bad, would help *Caſſibelanus* to defend himſelf the reſt of the Campaign, as well as the whole enſuing Winter. By the Conditions of the Treaty, the *Britons* are annually to pay the *Romans* a certain Tribute; *Caſſibelanus* is to deliver ſuch a Number of Hoſtages, and leave *Mandubratius* in quiet Poſſeſſion of his Dominions (1.) Tho' *Cæſar* had ſcarce Ships enough to tranſport his Army, he choſe rather to ſtow his Men on board what Veſſels he had, than run the hazard of being ſurpriz'd by the Autumnal Equinox. He embark'd them therefore in the beſt manner he could, and receiving the Hoſtages, puts to Sea, and ſafely arrives in *Gaul* (2).

and obtains it.

Tribute impoſ'd upon the Britons.

Remarks on Cæſar's *Account of his two Expeditions.*

This is the Account given by that great General of his two Expeditions into *Britain*. And here we may obſerve, that tho' out of an affected Modeſty, he refrains from all Commendations of himſelf, yet by the bare Recital of his Actions, he gives himſelf the higheſt Praiſes. For to make a Deſcent with two Legions only, in an Enemy's Country, in ſight of an Army formidable for Number, Bravery, and Way of fighting; to force Enemies entrench'd on the Side of a River, and what is more wonderful, to paſs the *Thames* at a Ford guarded by a numerous Army, ſtuck full of ſharp Stakes, and withal ſo deep as to take the Soldiers up to their Chins; theſe, I ſay, are Actions that ſufficiently ſpeak their own Praiſe, and need no amplification. And if *Cæſar* in penning his own Hiſtory, is charged with turning every thing to his Advantage, this Imputation ſeems to be no where more juſtly caſt upon him than in the preſent Caſe. Indeed, one can't read the Particulars of his two *Britiſh* Expeditions, without being ſenſible that ſomething is wanting, and what is paſs'd over in ſilence was not to his Honour. I forbear to inſiſt upon the great difficulty of knowing where the Ford he mentions could be, ſince in the very place he is thought to paſs the *Thames*, there is no leſs than ſix Foot Water. But what I have been ſaying will appear ſtill more evident, if we conſider *Cæſar*'s Deſign in attacking the *Britons*, and the Iſſue thereof. He ſails from *Gaul* with a Reſolution to conquer *Great-Britain*, and reduce the whole Iſland to a *Roman* Province. This is what *Dion Caſſius* poſſitively aſſerts. He every where gets the better of the *Britons*. He paſſes the *Thames* in ſpite of all Obſtacles. *Caſſibelanus*, vanquiſh'd and routed, diſbands his Forces, not believing himſelf able to ſtand againſt him. *Cæſar* becomes Maſter of his Capitol, and the *Britons* ſubmit and ſue for Peace. With all theſe Advantages he is contented to impoſe an eaſy Tribute on *Caſſibelanus*, and without fortifying any one Place, or leaving any Troops in the Iſland, drops his firſt Deſign, ſatisfied with reſtoring *Mandubratius*, as if the War had been undertaken purely for his ſake. Does not this ſhow that he was forc'd to be ſatisfied with ſo inconſiderable an Advantage? *Lucan*'s Teſtimony is a further Confirmation of the Matter, who taxes him plainly with turning his Back to the *Britons* (3). Tho' *Lucan* was no Friend to him, he would not however have ventur'd to upbraid him with running away, without ſome Ground. *Dion Caſſius* ſays, that in a Battle the *Britons* utterly routed the *Roman* Infantry, but were afterwards put in Diſorder by the Cavalry (4). *Horace* and *Tibullus* intimate in ſeveral Places of their Works, that in their Days the *Britons* were not conſider'd as a conquer'd Nation (5). All which evidently ſhows that the Fame acquir'd by *Cæſar* in theſe two Expeditions came far ſhort of the Idea he would give of it in his *Commentaries*. But however this be, moſt certainly the Common-wealth reap'd no great Benefit by them; which doubtleſs was the Reaſon of *Tacitus* ſaying, Cæſar *rather ſhow'd the* Romans *the way to* Britain *than put them in Poſſeſſion of it.* Vit. Agricol.

After *Cæſar*'s Death, who had render'd himſelf Sovereign of that Common-wealth whereof he was born a Subject, the Empire was ſo torn with Civil Wars that it was not poſſible for the *Romans* to think of *Britain*. So that Tribute was not paid, nor, it may be, demanded for twenty Years. But when, after the Defeat and Death of *Mark Anthony*, *Auguſtus* was firmly ſettled in the Poſſeſſion of the Empire, he undertakes to compel the *Britons* to ſtand to their Agreement with his Predeceſſor, and to that end advances as far as *Gaul* twice in order for *Britain* (6), but is prevented the firſt time, by a Revolt in *Pannonia*, and the ſecond, by the Submiſſion of the *Britons*, who ſend Ambaſſadors to ſue for Peace, which he very readily grants. *Britain*, conſider'd then as a wild uncultivated Country, did not ſeem to him worth the pains of conquering. Beſides, he was determined not to enlarge the Bounds of the Empire, wiſely conſidering that a State, like a Ship, cannot be managed when too vaſt and unweildy: Yet as the *Britons* neglected to perform their Promiſe, he reſolves in good earneſt to go and ſubdue them: But hearing of his Deſign, they find means to appeaſe him. *Tenuantius*, Succeſſor of *Caſſibelanus*, ſends the ſame Emperor rich Preſents, which were laid up in the Capitol. *Cunobelinus* his Succeſſor, following his Example, keeps fair with the *Romans*. Nay, he orders Money to be coin'd, ſome Pieces of which are ſtill to be ſeen in the Cabinets of the Curious, with the five firſt Letters of his Name, C. u. n. o. b. or C. a. m. the three firſt of *Camelodunum*, his capital City on one Side, and on the Reverſe, a Man ſitting and coining Money with theſe Letters, T. A. S. C. I. A. by which Antiquaries underſtand that this Money was deſigned for the Payment of the Tribute (7).

Auguſtus State *of* Britain *under him.*

Dion Caſſius, l. xlix, & liii.

Camden *in* Middleſex.

Tiberius *neglects* Britain. Tac. Annal. l. xi.

Tiberius, Succeſſor of *Auguſtus*, neglected *Britain* as a Country of little Conſequence, it being unknown to him. Satisfied with the Reſpect ſhown him by the *Britons* in ſending back ſome of *Germanicus*'s Soldiers that were ſhipwreck'd on their Coaſt, he left them to enjoy their Liberty.

40.

Caligula *his ridiculous Expedition againſt the* Britons. Sueton. Dion Caſſ. 49.

Caligula, his Succeſſor, would not doubtleſs have turned his Eyes towards *Britain*, if he had not by a *Briton* himſelf been drawn into the Project of conquering the Iſland. *Adminius*, Son of *Cunobelinus*, incurring his Father's Diſpleaſure, and flying to *Rome* for Protection, finds means to perſwade the Emperor that nothing was more eaſy than this Conqueſt. *Caligula*, whoſe Folly is well known, imagines, upon what the young Prince tells him, that the Sight of him is ſufficient to ſubdue the *Britons*. Full of this Notion, he advances in Perſon to the Coaſt of *Belgick Gaul*, where he had ordered his Army to march. But being told, as he was embarking his Men, that the *Britons* ſtood ready to receive him on the other Side of the Water, his warlike Ardour cool'd, and he deſiſted from an Enterpriſe which began to appear too hazardous. However, as he was led by his Caprice to the moſt extravagant Actions, he went on board a Galley, ordering the People to row with all ſpeed towards *Britain*, as if he intended to have alone the Glory of conquering the Iſland. But preſently after, he is ſeen to return back as faſt as he went off. As ſoon as he lands, he harangues his Troops, as if he were going to employ them in ſome important Expedition. Having ended his Speech, a Charge is ſounded juſt as if the Enemy were in view. Upon which, the whole Army, purſuant to an Order given to the principal Officers, fall to gathering of Cockleſhells in their Helmets. The Emperor pleas'd with the Alacrity of his Soldiers on this Occaſion, liberally rewards them, and ſends Letters to *Rome* of his Succeſs, wiſhing the *Senate* to decree him a *Triumph*. But being informed the *Senate* made ſome Difficulty to comply with his Order, he reſolves to put all the Senators to Death. He would doubtleſs have executed his barbarous Purpoſe, had he not been depriv'd of the Power with his Life, by a Conſpiracy ſoon after form'd againſt him.

After *Julius Cæſar*'s ſecond Invaſion, to which ſome very improperly give the Name of *Conqueſt*, the *Britons* preſerv'd their Liberty above ninety Years, during the

(1) *Geoffrey of Monmouth* ſays, *Mandubratius* was not reſtor'd to his Kingdom, but leaving *Britain*, betook himſelf again to *Cæſar*, and attended him to *Rome*. *Caſſibelanus* reigned ten Years after *Cæſar*'s Departure.

(2) It is conjectur'd that *Cæſar*'s 2d Expedition was in *May*, and that he return'd to *Gaul* about the middle of *September*. For in a Letter to *Cicero* from *Britain*, dated *September* 1, *Cæſar* ſays, *He was come to the Sea-ſide in order to imbark.*

(3) Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis. *Lucan.*

(4) He ſays elſewhere, ſpeaking of the *Britons* when purſu'd by *Plautius*, "They fled into Marſhes and Woods, in hopes the *Romans*, tired with waiting "to no purpoſe, would, like *Julius Cæſar*, retire *without affecting any thing.*"

(5) Intactus aut Britannus ut deſcenderet
Sacra catenatus viâ. *Hor. Epod.* viii. 7. *Rap.*
Te manet invictus Romano marte Britannus. *Tib.* l. iv.

(6) Serves iturum Cæſarem in ultimos orbis Britannos. *Hor.* lib i. 35. *Rap.*

(7) The Payments of the *Britons* were uſually made in pieces of Braſs and Iron Rings, and probably this Coin ſtamp'd by *Cunobelin* was for Tribute only, which the *Romans* exacted in Gold and Silver, as may appear by the Word *Taſcia*, which in *Britiſh* (ſays *David Powel*) ſignifies a *Tribute Penny*, perhaps from the Latin *Taxatio*. For the *Britons* do not uſe the Letter *X. Brad.* p. 11. *Tyr.* p. 37. *Camden*, p. 109.

Reigns of the four first Emperors; their Subjection to the *Romans* not commencing till the time of *Claudius*. The occasion of that Emperor's undertaking the Conquest of *Britain*, and the cause of the *Britons* losing their Liberty was this:

22. CLAUDIUS *He forms the Design of conquering* Britain. Dion. l. 60. Sueton. in Claudio. c. 17.

Cunobelinus leaves two Sons, *Togodumnus* and *Caractacus*, who both succeeded him: but whether they reign'd jointly or separately, or whether one was superiour to the other, is unknown. In their Reign it happens that one *Bericus* (1), being forc'd to depart the Kingdom for endeavouring to raise a Sedition, flies for Refuge to *Claudius* the Emperor at *Rome*. His extreme desire of being reveng'd of the two Kings his Sovereigns, inspiring him with a Design to betray his Country to the *Romans*, he frequently talks to the Emperor of the Conquest of *Britain*, as of a thing very easily to be accomplish'd. By his Description of the Island and Posture of the *British* Affairs, he intimates to him that he would meet with little or no Opposition. The Emperor giving Credit to what he says, resolves to acquire Fame by an Enterprize seemingly difficult, but, according to the *British* Lord's Account, very practicable. Having taking this Resolution, he gives the Ambassadors of the two *British* Kings a very ill Reception, who are sent to demand the Fugitive *Bericus*, refusing to deliver up one whom he intends to make his chief Instrument in the Execution of his Project. Shortly after, he himself sends to the *Britons* and demands the Tribute due to the Empire: but finds them not at all ready to give him Satisfaction. Besides that this Tribute was never regularly paid, the haughty Treatment they had just met with in the Persons of their Ambassadors, by no means dispos'd them to pay him any great Deference. They refuse therefore, and very justly, as they think, to pay the Tribute, and moreover prohibit all Commerce with the *Romans*. As *Claudius* wanted only a Pretence for the War, he was not sorry they afforded him so plausible a one. Shortly after, he orders *Plautius* to begin the Expedition, whilst he is preparing to follow when there should be Occasion. *Plautius* accordingly draws an Army together in *Gaul*, and advances to the Sea-side. But when the Soldiers came to imbark, they refuse to obey him, declaring, *They will not make War out of the Compass of the World*. The Emperor hearing of this Mutiny, sends *Narcissus* his *Freedman* to appease it. *Narcissus*, tho' a great Favourite with his Master, when he would have harangu'd the Troops, could not prevail with them to hear him. The Moment he opened his Mouth, the Soldiers cried out, *Io Saturnalia*, alluding to the Custom, during that Feast, of the Slaves taking the Place and Habit of their Masters. However, the Mutiny went no farther. The Soldiers suddenly altering their Resolution, of their own accord obey the Orders of their General, who immediately puts them on board whilst they are in the Mind. He sails from three Ports in order to land at three different Places. But this Precaution was needless. The *Britons* inform'd of the Mutiny in the *Roman* Army, and not expecting so sudden an Alteration, neglect to prepare to oppose their Landing. So the *Roman* General lands his Forces without any Resistance. He was very desirous to come to a Battle at his Arrival; but the *Britons* were resolved to avoid it, and keep themselves in separate Parties, behind their Morasses, or on their Hills. Their Aim was to make the *Romans* lose Time, in Expectation that *Plautius*, after the Example of *Julius Cæsar*, would go and winter in *Gaul*. This Resolution gave the *Roman* General a great deal of Trouble, being forc'd to hunt after Enemies dispersed in several Places, whom he could, as he flatter'd himself, easily vanquish at once, were it but in his Power to bring them to a general Battle. In spite of these Difficulties, he finds means to attack *Togodumnus* separately, and entirely routing him, goes in quest of *Caractacus*, and obtains the like Victory over him. The *Britons*, pursuant to their first Design, retire beyond a River, where they encamp in a careless manner, imagining the *Romans* could not pass without a Bridge. But *Plautius* had, in his Army, some *German* Soldiers that were us'd to swim the strongest Currents. These Soldiers, though few in Number, swimming the River in their Arms, so astonish the *Britons* that they quit their Post and retire at a greater distance (2). The *Roman* General improving this Advantage, sends over a considerable Body of Troops under the Command of *Vespasian*, and his Brother *Sabinus*. These two brave Leaders advancing towards the Enemy, engage them and put them to flight. The *Britons* however are not discouraged. Next Day, they attacked a *Roman* Detachment commanded by *Sidius Geta*, so vigorously that the *Romans* were immediately put in Disorder; their Commander himself was engag'd in such a manner amongst the Enemies, that he was thought to be dead or taken. But the Scale was soon turned against the *Britons*. *Geta* happily escaping out of their Hands, heads his Troops again, and charges the *Britons*, now sure of Victory, so briskly, that after an obstinate Fight, he compels them at last to take to flight. This Affair was so well manag'd, and *Geta* acquir'd so great Reputation on this Occasion, that the Honour of a *Triumph* was granted him by the Senate, tho' he had never been *Consul*. The vanquish'd *Britons* retire towards the Mouth of the *Thames*, and being perfectly acquainted with the fordable Parts of the River, cross'd over with Ease, whilst the *Romans* following them at a Distance, fall into the Bogs and Morasses, from whence they very hardly disentangle themselves. At last, the *Germans* lighting upon a Ford, and the rest of the Army passing over a Bridge a little higher up, the *Britons* are surrounded on all Sides, and great Slaughter made of them (3).

He passes a River in sight of the Enemy.

The Britons *attack the* Romans *and put them in disorder, but are defeated at last.*

They retire beyond the Thames.

Plautius thought it now time to send to the Emperor to come and reap the Honour of putting an End to the War. *Claudius* having every Thing ready, sets out immediately, and embarking at *Ostium*, arrives in a few Days at *Marseilles*. Then pursuing his Journey by Land, he re-embarks at *Boulogne* (4) to go and head his Army on the other Side of the *Thames*. Whilst the Emperor was on his Way, *Plautius* had it in his Power to attack the *Britons*, who deceived by his seeming backwardness, resumed their Courage, fancying it proceeded from his Fear. But *Plautius* took care not to rob his Master of the Honour of a Victory he thought himself sure of. As soon as *Claudius* arrives he heads his Troops, approaches the *Britons*, and forcing them to come to a Battle, entirely routs them. After this Victory, he advances to *Camelodunum* (5), where he meets with little Resistance, and pushing his Conquests, subdues some of the neighbouring States. Upon these Successes he is by the Army saluted *Imperator* several times, contrary to the *Roman* Custom, which allowed no General to be honour'd with that glorious Title above once in the same War.

Plautius passes the Thames. D. Cass. l. 60.

44. *He sends to the Emperor to come into* Britain.

Claudius *arrives and defeats the* Britons.

If by this Expedition, which was finished in fifteen Days, *Claudius* acquir'd great Fame, his Moderation was no less honourable and advantagious to him. The vanquish'd *Britons*, touch'd with a Sense of his Generosity in leaving them the Possession of their Goods, which he might have taken from them, carried their Gratitude so far as to erect a Temple to him, and pay him Divine Honours. After this successful Expedition, the Emperor committing the Government of *Britain* to *Plautius*, sets out for *Rome*, where he safely arrives after a six Months Absence only. At his Return, the Senate decreed him the Honour of a Triumph, and the Sirname of *Britannicus*, in Memory of his subduing the *Britons*. The Publick Rejoicings on this Occasion held several Days, and the Poets display'd in lofty Strains the Greatness and Importance of his Victories. And yet, *Suetonius* says, he became Master of Part of *Britain* without Battle or Bloodshed (6). But it is more probable, as *Dion Cassius* affirms, that it cost him a bloody Battle.

Claudius's *Moderation to the* Britons; *Who worship him as a God.*

He returns to Rome.

Suet. in Claudio, c. 17.

45. Plautius *continues the War.* Sueton. in Vespasian, c. 4.

Plautius carried on the Conquests begun by the Emperor, being bravely seconded by *Vespasian*, and his Son *Titus*, who served under him. *Titus*, then a Tribune only, signalized himself on all Occasions. He had even the good Fortune to save his Father's Life in a Battle. *Vespasian*, who had a large Command, was often detached by the General on Expeditions of Moment, which gained him great Reputation.

43. Plautius *is sent thither with an Army. A Mutiny in the Army.*

Is is appeased.

Plautius *defeats the two* British *Princes one after another.*

(1) This *Bericus* perhaps was the same with *Adminius* Son of *Cunobelin*, mentioned by *Suetonius*, or one of the Fugitives that accompanied him.

(2) This River is suppos'd to be the *Severn*, and consequently this Battle was fought on the West-side upon the Borders of the *Silures*. *Horsley*, p. 30.

(3) Notwithstanding the Authority of *Dion Cassius*, it is very difficult to conceive that the *Thames* should be fordable near its Mouth, or a Bridge stand a little higher up. He must have confounded some River that runs into the *Thames* with the *Thames* itself. (This is *Rapin*'s Observation.) But the Passage in *Dion Cassius* is capable of another Sense. His Words are, Ἀναχωρησάντων δ' ἐντεῦθεν τῶν Βριτανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμεσιν ποταμὸν καθ' ὃν ἐς τὸ ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει, πλημμυροντός τε αὐτῦ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτὸν διαβάντων, ἅτε καὶ τὰ σίρφα τά τε ὕφορα τῦ χωρίου ἐιδότων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, &c. Which may be thus render'd, "The *Britons* retreated to the River *Thames*, where it falls into the Sea, and *That* [the River] overflowing stagnates, or forms a "Lake, which having pass'd, as knowing those Places that were firm at bottom and fordable, the *Romans*, &c." The Words being thus understood, it is manifest, that it was the Land-water or Lake, over which the *Britons* pass'd and the *Germans* swam. And probably there might be a Bridge cross this Water further up from the Shore, where some of the *Romans* might also pass. There is a Passage in *Herodian* relating to *Severus*, which seems to add much light to this Passage of *Dion*, Μάλιστα ὃ γεφύρας, &c. *Lib.* III *c.* 47. That is, "*Severus* took care in the first Place to lay Bridges through the fenny Grounds, "that the Soldiers might pass them with Safety, and might stand upon a solid Bottom when they fought. For many Places of *Britain* being overflowed by the "Sea, upon the Recess of the Tide become fenny, which the Barbarians are accustom'd to swim over or wade through." To this may be added, that the Mouth of the *Thames* in *Dion*'s Time was as well known to the *Romans*, as the Mouth of the *Tiber*. *Horsley* takes these Fens to have been on the South-side of the River.

(4) *Gessoriacum*. Dr. *Halley* takes *Gessoriacum* to be *Gravelin* or *Dunkirk*. *Claudius* in all probability landed at *Portus Rutupensis*, called afterwards *Portus Britanniarum*.

(5) According to some *Maldon*, according to others *Colchester* in *Essex*. Dr. *Gale* will have it to be *Walden*.

(6) Mr. *Wright* of *Stretton* in *Cheshire* has lately published in his Travels, an Inscription which confirms this account of *Suetonius*. He took a Copy of it,

Tacit. Agric. Reputation. He fought thirty Battles with the *Britons*, ſubdued two powerful Nations, and conquered the *Iſle of Wight*. As all this was done under *Plautius* the Commander in Chief, he acquir'd great Reputation in this War. At length, being recalled, he goes and receives at *Rome* the Reward of his Services, the Senate having decreed him the Honour of an *Ovation*, or inferior Triumph. He was met by the Emperor without the Gates, who gave him the Right Hand as they walked, in Token of his great Eſteem for him (1).

50. Oſtorius Scapula *Governor of* Britain. Tacit. Ann. l. 12. & vit. Agric.

Oſtorius Scapula was ſent into *Britain* in the room of *Plautius*. He arrives in the midſt of Winter, and finds the *Britons* making continual Inroads into the *Roman* Conqueſts. They never imagin'd the new Governor would march his Army at ſuch a Seaſon in an unknown Country. But he does not ſuffer them long to continue their Ravages. Drawing his Troops together, he forthwith marches againſt them with all Expedition, and defeating the firſt that ſtand their Ground, ſo diſperſes the reſt in the end, that he has no more to fear from their Incurſions. However, not to be expoſed to continual Alarms, he reſolves to confine them between the *Avon* and *Severn*, by means of Forts built between the two Rivers. Before he puts this Reſolution in practice, he makes *Camelodunum* a military Colony. Much about the ſame time *London* was alſo made a [Trading] Colony, and that Part of *Britain* lying between the *Thames* and the Sea, was reduced into the Form of a Province, and called *Britannia Prima*.

Camelodunum *is made a Colony, and likewiſe* London. Stillingfleet. *Part of* Britain *made a Province.*

The *Iceni* (2) not yet weakened by the foregoing Wars, having from the beginning been in Alliance with the *Romans*, were the firſt that oppoſed *Oſtorius*'s Deſign. Some neighbouring Nations followed their Example, and joining their Forces under one General, they encamp'd upon advantagious Ground, throwing up in haſte a Breaſtworſt of Flints, to prevent the Attempts of the Horſe. Tho' *Oſtorius* was then without any but the auxiliary Forces (3), he attack'd them however, ordering the Horſe to diſmount and ſupport thoſe that were to charge firſt. The Reſiſtance of the *Britons* was more obſtinate than expected. Nevertheleſs their Intrenchments were forced at laſt with great Slaughter on their Side. After this Victory, *Oſtorius* turns his Arms againſt the *Cangi* (4), who keeping in ſmall Parties, are quickly diſperſed. The *Roman* Army was not far from the Sea that parts *Ireland* from *Great-Britain*, when the General is informed that the *Brigantes* (5) are in Arms. This News obliging him to defer the Execution of his firſt Deſign, he marches with all ſpeed againſt the *Brigantes*, being willing to ſecure the Old, before he proceeds to new Conqueſts. The Inſurrection is appeas'd by the Death of the chief Revolters. But the *Silures* (6), the braveſt and moſt powerful of all the *Britons*, could not be tam'd, either by Clemency or Severity. Their Forces were ſo conſiderable that the Legions were obliged to march againſt them. They were headed by their King *Caractacus*, famous for his great Exploits, and univerſally eſteemed by his Countrymen, being accounted the beſt General *Britain* had ever produced. This Prince, whom the Nations in Alliance with the *Silures* had made Commander in Chief, was retired into the Country of the *Ordovices* (7), where aſſembling all his Forces, he reſolves to expect the *Romans*. To that end he chuſes an advantagious Poſt of very difficult Acceſs, and draws up his Army on the Side of a ſteep Hill, with a little River (8) at the bottom, which tho' fordable in many Places, was of great Service to him. Moreover his Camp being ſurrounded with a ſort of Rampart of Flints and Stones, he ſeem'd, thus poſted, to be out of all Danger (9). Theſe Difficulties are not ſufficient to check the *Romans*, who appear before their Enemies with their wonted Bravery, and reſolved to exert their utmoſt in Expectation of ending, by a ſingle Battle, a War that kept them, as it were, in another World. The *Britons* on their part prepare for Battle with all poſſible Ardor, not queſtioning but they ſhould free themſelves that Day from the *Roman* Yoke. Their Leaders ride up and down, exhorting them to do their Duty, by all the Motives that could enflame their Courage, and excite them to brave Actions. *Caractacus* tells them, "This is the Day that "will give them Liberty or perpetual Slavery; and bids "them call to mind the Glory of their Anceſtors, who "drove *Cæſar* out of *Britain*, and freed their Country "from the Dominions of the *Romans*." The Soldiers with loud Acclamations declare, they are ready to ſhed the laſt Drop of their Blood in Defence of their Liberty. The Reſolution that appear'd in the Looks of the *Britons* ſtartled the *Roman* General at firſt. But finding his Army extremely eager to engage, he makes the Signal of Battle, having firſt obſerved in what Places the River might beſt be forded. The *Romans* paſs it without much Difficulty, but before they can approach the Enemy's Camp, they are expoſed to a Shower of Darts by which many are kill'd and wounded. In ſpight of theſe Difficulties, they make ſeveral Breaches in the Rampart, which being nothing but looſe Stones, is eaſily thrown down. As ſoon as they could uſe their Swords, it was not poſſible for the *Britons* to ſtand againſt the warlike and veteran Troops who quickly put them to flight. Beſides the Loſs ſuſtained by the *Britons* in the Action, their Defeat was the more conſiderable by the taking of the Wife, Daughters and Brothers of *Caractacus*. This Victory was followed, in a few Days, with an unexpected Happineſs to *Oſtorius*. *Caractacus* flying for Protection to *Cartiſmandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, was by her deliver'd up to the *Romans*, for fear doubtleſs of drawing a victorious Army into her Country, ſhould ſhe think of protecting the vanquiſh'd Prince. He had now commanded the confederate Army of the *Britons* nine Years; and his Fame had reach'd as far as *Rome*, where all were ſurpriz'd at his ſo long reſiſting the *Roman* Power. When the Emperor had notice of the Victory and taking of *Caractacus*, he order'd the Captives to be ſent to *Rome*, that he might behold in Chains a Prince that had been talk'd of as a very formidable Enemy. On a Day appointed, the People being all preſent, and the Emperor ſeated on his Throue, there came firſt *Caractacus*'s Vaſſals and Retinue, with the Capariſons and other Spoils of War, then his Wife, Daughters and Brothers, and laſtly *Caractacus* himſelf, walking with a ſettled Countenance, without holding down his Head, or appearing too much dejected at his Misfortune. When he came near the Emperor, he made the following Speech, if it be true that *Tacitus* did not make it for him.

The Britons unite againſt Oſtorius.

They are defeated.

is defeated by Oſtorius,

and deliver'd up to the Romans.

Caractacus *General of the* Britons

His Speech to Claudius.

"If my Moderation had been as great as my Birth or "Fortune, *Rome* had ſeen me this Day her Ally and not "Captive, and perhaps ſhe would not have diſdain'd to "rank in the Number of her Friends a Prince royally "deſcended, and who commanded many Nations. My "preſent Condition is as diſhonourable to me, as it is glo"rious to you. I had Arms, Horſes, Riches, and Gran"deur. Is it ſtrange I ſhould part with them unwillingly? "Does it follow, becauſe you have a mind to rule over "All, that therefore every one muſt tamely ſubmit? "Had I ſooner been betray'd to you, neither your Glory "nor my Misfortunes had been render'd ſo famous, and my "Puniſhment would have been buried in eternal Oblivion:

it himſelf from the Palace of *Barberini* at *Rome*. It is as follows:

TI. CLAVDIO. CÆS.
AVGVSTO.
PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P. IX.
COS. V IMP. XVI. P. P.
SENATVS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES. BRITANNIAE. ABSQ
VLA. IACTVRA. DOMVERIT.
GENTESQVE. BARBARAS.
PRIMVS. INDICIO. SVBEGERIT.

(1) From the following Words of *Tacitus*, the Wife of *Plautius* is ſuppoſed to be a Chriſtian, and the firſt in *Britain*. *Pomponia Græcina* inſignis Fœmina, *Plautio*, qui ovans ſe de *Britannis* retulit nupta, ac *ſuperſtitionis externa rea*, mariti judicio permiſſa, *Annal.* l. 18. c. 32. This *Pomponia Græcina* Wife of *Plautius*, and *Claudia Ruffina* a *Britiſh* Lady, are ſuppoſed to be of *the Saints that were in* Cæſar's *Houſhold*, mention'd by St. *Paul*. *Claudia* is celebrated by *Martial* for her admirable Beauty and Learning in the following Epigram.

Claudia cæruleis cum ſit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus Formæ! Romanam dicere Matres.
Italides poſſunt, Atthides eſſe ſuam.

From painted Britains *how was* Claudia *born?*
The fair Barbarian *how do Arts adorn!*
When Roman *Charms a Grecian Soul commend,*
Athens *and* Rome *may for the Dame contend.*

(2) The Inhabitants of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire* and *Huntingdonſhire*. *Rowland* obſerves, that *Cyn* or *Kyn* ſignifies in *Britiſh*, *Firſt* or *Foremoſt*. Hence *Kynta*, or *Kent*, ſo called from being the Firſt in Situation from the Continent, and *Ucb-Kyn* (*Icenorum regio*) *i. e.* next to *Kyn* or *Kent*.
(3) Every Legion had ſo many Auxiliaries, the Number of which is ſuppos'd, as to the Foot, to be the ſame with the Legion, but double, as to the Horſe. *Horſley*, p. 87. The Auxiliaries were Foreigners, whereas the Legions were *Romans*.
(4) Generally ſuppos'd to be Inhabitants of the weſtern Parts of *Wales*, but *Horſley* places them about *Derbyſhire*, near the *Brigantes*, p. 35.
(5) Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*.
(6) Inhabitants of *Herefordſhire*, *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Monmouthſhire*, *Glamorganſhire*.
(7) Inhabitants of *Montgomeryſhire*, *Marionethſhire*, *Caernarvonſhire*, *Flintſhire*, *Denbighſhire*.
(8) *Horſley* takes this River to be the *Severn* rather than the *Dee*.
(9) In the Edge of *Shropſhire* where the Rivers *Clune* and *Temd* meet, is a Hill to which there is no Acceſs, but at one place call'd *Caer-Caradoc*, ſo named from *Caractacus*, where yet are to be ſeen the Relicks of theſe Stone-Rampatts. *Horſley*, p. 31.

" But now if you preſerve my Life, I ſhall be a ſtanding " Monument of your Clemency to future Ages." The Emperor moved with theſe Words generouſly pardons the Captives, and orders their Chains to be taken off. The firſt Uſe they make of their Liberty is to go and fall at the Empreſs's Feet, who, in all appearance, interceded for them. The Senate being aſſembled to conſider of a due Reward for *Oſtorius*, his Victory was ſpoken of in Terms very much to his Advantage. It was declar'd to equal *Scipio*'s over *Syphax*, and *Paulus Æmilius*'s over *Perſeus*; and therefore it was reſolv'd that the ſame Honours ſhould be decreed him.

52. *The Britons reſume their Courage.* Mean while, *Oſtorius*'s Reputation began to ſink, either becauſe he grew remiſs after acquiring ſo great Fame, or becauſe the *Britons* had exerted themſelves more vigorouſly to repair the Diſgrace of their late Defeat. They ſucceſsfully attack'd the Troops that were left to build Forts in the Country of the *Silures*, and had not timely Relief come from the neighbouring Garriſons, would have cut them in pieces. The Commander and eight Captains, with a good Number of Soldiers, were ſlain. Another time they defeated the *Roman* Foragers, and put the Horſe that guarded them in diſorder. In this Action they improv'd their Advantage in ſuch manner, that *Oſtorius* was obliged to advance with the *Legions*, after having tried in vain to reſtore the Battle with Supplies of the light-armed Troops. The coming of the *Legions* revived the Courage of the *Romans*, and forc'd the *Britons* to retreat though with little Loſs. After that there were ſeveral Conflicts with various Succeſs, according to the Circumſtances of Time and Place.

The Silures are intractable. The *Silures*, of all the *Britiſh* Nations, were the moſt obſtinate, being exaſperated at the Emperor's ſaying, *Britain* would have no Peace, till, like the *Sicumbri*, they were tranſported into ſome foreign Country. They ſurpriz'd two *Cohorts*, that by the Avarice of the Officers and greedy Deſire of Pillage, were advanced too far into the Enemy's Quarters. By diſtributing the Spoil and Priſoners, they endeavour to draw in the reſt of the Nations to revolt. *Oſtorius* dies about this time with vexation for not being able to put an end to the War. The *Britons* rejoice at his Death, and the more for their aſcribing it to his Grief that he could not ſtop the Progreſs of their Victories.

Oſtorius *dies.*

53. *Aulus Didius ſucceeds him.* As it was dangerous, in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, for the Emperor to leave the Army long without a General, *Aulus Didius* is immediately ſent over, who finds Matters in a worſe Condition than ever, a *Legion* commanded by *Manlius Valens* having been defeated. The Loſs however was not ſo great as reported. Nevertheleſs *Didius* himſelf magnified it very much, that he might gain the more Honour in reſtoring Affairs, or leſſen the Diſgrace, if the War ſhould continue any time. His Arrival was a Check to the *Silures*, who, exalted with their late Succeſs, were making Inroads into the Frontiers of the *Roman* Province.

The War kindles afreſh. Mean while *Venutius* King of the *Brigantines*, Succeſſor of *Caractacus*, in the Command of the Army, is perſwaded by the Inſtigation of *Cartiſmandua* his Queen, (the ſame that betray'd *Caractacus*) to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*. As long as this Prince lived in a good underſtanding with his Queen, he ſuffered the *Romans* peaceably to enjoy their Conqueſts. Satisfied with preſerving his own Dominions, without troubling himſelf about the Concerns of the other Nations. A Quarrel ariſing between him and his Queen, and ending in a domeſtick War, cauſed him to take other Meaſures (1). Though hitherto he had no Averſion to the *Romans*, he is now forced to declare againſt them, they having impolitickly eſpouſed the Cauſe of his Queen. This Partiality of theirs ſo enrages him that he uſes all his Intereſt with his Countrymen to ſtir them up to a Revolt. The War is kindled afreſh with greater Fury than ever, though in the abſence of *Didius*, who, being very old, managed Affairs by his Lieutenants.

Tacit. Hiſt. l. 3.

57. Veranius *ſucceeds Didius and dies.* Tacit vit. Agricol. *Veranius* who ſucceeded him in the Reign of *Nero*, died before he had done any thing remarkable. 'Tis true, his Head was full of vaſt Projects, and the Fame he had acquired in other Poſts, gave Occaſion to think him capable of executing the greateſt Undertakings. But his *Will*, ſtuffed with flattering Praiſes of the Emperor, and full of vain Boaſts, that in caſe he had lived but two Years longer he would have ſubdued all *Britain*, made him forfeit the good Opinion People had conceived of him.

58. *Suetonius Paulinus* was appointed to fill his Place. Great Matters were expected from this General, whoſe Merit was compar'd with *Corbulo*'s, who had lately conquer'd *Armenia*. As he himſelf looked with Emulation on the Glory acquir'd by that great Man, he burn'd with deſire to confirm by freſh Exploits, the good Opinion the World had entertain'd of his Experience and Bravery. The Moment he comes to his Government, he forms the Project of conquering the Iſle of *Mona* (2), now called *Angleſey*. To that end, he paſſes the Foot over in flat-bottom'd Boats, the Sea being very ſhallow in that Place, the Horſe following, ſome ſwimming, others fording (3.) The Iſlanders are drawn up on the other Side, with the Women running up and down, dreſs'd like *Furies*, their Hair hanging looſe, Firebrands in their Hands, and ſurrounded with the *Druids*, who with Hands lifted up to Heaven, pour out dreadful Curſes and Imprecations. The Horror of this Sight ſo aſtoniſhes the *Romans*, that they ſtand ſtock ſtill, expoſed to the Enemies Darts. But at length, the Shame of being frighted by a Company of frantick Women and Prieſts, and the Exhortation of their General bringing them to their Senſes and Courage, they fall upon the Enemy Sword in Hand, and become Maſters of the Iſland. The firſt thing *Paulinus* did was to order all the *conſecrated Groves* to be cut down, where the Iſlanders ſacrificed their Captives, and conſulted their God, by inſpecting the Entrails of Men.

Suetonius Paulinus *is ſent into* Britain. Tacit. Annal. l. 14.

He conquers Mona.

But whilſt *Paulinus* is employed in this Expedition, an unexpected Turn obliges him to leave *Mona* in an abrupt manner, to go and ſettle Affairs of much greater Moment.

60. *A general Inſurrection in* Britain. Tacitus, D. Caſſ. *The Cauſes of it.*

Praſutagus King of the *Iceni* dying, leaving by Will the Emperor and his Daughters Co-heirs to his great Treaſures, in Expectation to procure by that means *Nero*'s Protection for his Family and People. But this Precaution has a quite contrary Effect. *Praſutagus* is no ſooner lain in his Grave, but the Emperor's Officers ſeize upon all his Effects in their Maſter's Name. *Boadicea* (4) his Widow, a Woman of great Courage and a high Spirit, oppoſing theſe unjuſt Proceedings, meets with freſh Cauſe of Diſcontent in the Contempt ſhown to her Remonſtrances. As ſhe is expreſſing, by her Complaints, her reſentment of the Injury done to her Daughters, the Brutiſhneſs of the Officers is ſuch, that they order her to be publickly whipp'd. And then, not ſatisfied with ſo outragious an Affront, they cauſe her Daughters to be raviſh'd by the Soldiers.

The *Britons* look upon this ſtrange Barbarity with ſuch Indignation, that the whole Iſland is poſſeſſed with a Spirit of Revolt, which quickly breaks out into Action. The *Iceni* lead the Way, and are ſoon followed by their Neighbours the *Trinobantes*. *Venucius* and his Party join with them, and in ſhort, all the Nations in Subjection to the *Romans* riſe in Arms with one Conſent, the City of *London* only excepted. The *Roman* Hiſtorians themſelves own, that the Injuſtice and Violence of the Emperor's Officers gave the *Britons* but too juſt Cauſe to revolt. They were thruſt out of their Poſſeſſions without any Form of Law, by the *Veterans* that were ſent to ſettle in the Iſland. *Catus Decianus*, *Nero*'s Procurator, without any regard to the Ordinance of *Claudius*, that left the Vanquiſh'd in Poſſeſſion of their Goods, confiſcated their Eſtates to the Emperor's uſe. The *Petitions* preſented to him on that Occaſion were all rejected, and without alledging any other Reaſon but his Will, which he made a Law, he minded nothing but his own, and his Maſter's Profit. *Seneca* himſelf, with all his noble Sentiments of Moderation and Diſintereſtedneſs which ſhine in his Writings, but were never ſeen in his Practice, is ſaid to contribute very much to the Inſurrection, by rigorouſly exacting on a ſudden the Money he had lent ſome of the *Britons* upon Uſury (5). This Treatment bred in the Minds of the People ſo great an Averſion to a foreign Yoke, that they were all unanimouſly determined to ſhake it off. *Venutius*, mortal Enemy of the *Romans*, cheriſhes the Rebellion to the utmoſt of his Power. The very Adherents of the Queen laying aſide their domeſtick Quarrels, and renouncing the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, join with the reſt of their Countrymen for the recovery of their Liberty.

General Maſſacre of the Romans.

Boadicea, animated with an ardent Deſire of Revenge, heads the Revolters, and earneſtly exhorts them to take Advantage of the *Roman* General's Abſence to free themſelves from Slavery, by putting their Oppreſſors, the Foreigners, all to the Sword. The *Britons* immediately embrace the Propoſal, and fall in a ſudden and furious manner upon the *Romans* diſperſed in their Colonies, which were more carefully embelliſhed than fortified, maſſacring all

(1) She rejected him, and marries his Eſquire *Vellocatus*, making him King. *Tacit.* l. 3.
(2) So call'd from *Mon*, ſignifying in old *Britiſh*, the *Furthermoſt* or *End*, in reſpect of its Situation from the Continent of *Caul*. *Rowl.* p. 21.
(3) The *Romans* are ſuppos'd to have paſs'd from *Lhan vair is Gair* in *Caernarvonſhire* to *Llan Idan* in *Angleſey*, which is ſtill the ſhalloweſt Part of the *Fretum*, and there are remarkable Works yet viſible near *Lhan Idan*. See *Camden*, p. 675, 676.
(4) This Name is variouſly written, *Xiphiline Dion*'s Epitomizer, has it *Bonduca*; *Tacitus* calls her *Voadica*, and *Boudicea*; *Camden* and others, *Bondicia*, but moſt uſually *Boadicea*.
(5) *Seneca* is ſaid by *Dion Caſſius* to have in *Britain* about this time to the value of three hundred thouſand Pounds, as *Camden* computes it. *Xiphil. in Ner. Stilling. Orig. Brit.* p. 5.

without

Cruelties exercised upon the Romans.

without Diſtinction of Age or Sex. Unheard of Cruelties are acted upon this Occaſion, and ſtrange Puniſhments invented to glut the Fury of the enraged People. Wives are hung up with their Infants at their Breaſts, to make them ſuffer in ſome meaſure a double Death. Virgins have their Breaſts cut off and cramb'd into their Mouths, to make them ſeem in the Agonies of Death to eat their own Fleſh. The *Veterans* at *Camelodunum* retiring into a Temple for Sanctuary, are ſacrilegiouſly burn'd alive, rather than ſuffer'd to ſtarve to Death. In a word, the Fury of the *Britons* is carried to that height, that not a ſingle *Roman* eſcapes. Eighty thouſand (1) are computed to periſh in this Maſſacre.

Let us reflect here a little on the Politicks of thoſe Conquerors of the World, ſo great Maſters in the Art of Government. Upon their ſubduing a Country, they immediately ſent thither numerous Colonies, who by Degrees mixing and intermarrying with the Natives, ſecured to them their Conqueſts. Of this *Britain* is a remarkable Inſtance, where, though the Iſland had been conquered but eighteen Years before by *Claudius*, above eighty thouſand *Romans* were already ſettled, beſides *Paulinus*'s Army, and doubtleſs, ſome Garriſons in the fortified Places, which the Fury of the *Britons* could not penetrate.

Paulinus *leaves* Mona.

Paulinus receiving advice of this Revolution, ſuddenly quits the Iſle of *Mona* to march againſt the revolted *Britons*, who have now an Army of a Hundred Thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Boadicea*, whoſe noble Stature and heroic Courage make them hope ſhe may have likewiſe all the Qualities of a General. This Princeſs fired with the Affronts ſhe had received, ardently deſires to engage with *Paulinus*, whoſe Army is only Ten Thouſand ſtrong, in Expectation of compleating her Revenge, by the Deſtruction of ſo inconſiderable Remains of the Enemy. Mean while, *Paulinus* expecting no Succours from any Place, is in great Strait. The ninth *Legion*, commanded by *Petilius Cerealis*, was juſt then entirely defeated. *Pœnius Poſthumus*, with a conſiderable Detachment of the Second, refuſed, contrary to the Law of Arms, to obey his General's Orders, to come and join him. Thus *Paulinus* is under a Neceſſity either of marching againſt his Enemies with his little Army, or of epxecting them in ſome Town. He chuſes the latter, and ſhuts himſelf up in *London*, but quickly alters his Reſolution. Foreſeeing his Endeavours to ſave that Colony will endanger the whole Province, he marches out notwithſtanding the Cries and Intreaties of the Inhabitants not to abandon them to the Fury of the Rebels. However, with his handful of Troops, he ſeemed little able to ſtand againſt an Army of a Hundred thouſand Men. But great Men very often by their Courage and Experience find Means to extricate themſelves out of the greateſt Difficulties. *Paulinus* plainly ſees that in ſuch an Extremity he muſt either conquer or die, the relief he might expect being too far off, and the Danger at hand. Therefore, inſtead of retiring from the *Britons*, now marching towards him, he reſolves to meet them. This Reſolution inſpires his Troops with ſuch Courage, that they readily follow him; ſo powerful is an Army's good Opinion of their General. *Paulinus* ſummons all his Experience to balance by his Conduct the Advantage of the Enemy's Numbers. He pitches upon a narrow Piece of Ground for the Field of Battle, with a Foreſt behind that ſecures him from Ambuſcades in the Rear, and a large Plain before, where the *Britans* are encamp'd. He draws up the *Legions* cloſe together in the Center, the light arm'd are placed round them, and the Horſe make the two Wings. The Enemies ſwarm about the Plain in Battalions and Squadrons, exulting at their Numbers (2), and ſecure of Victory. Their Wives and Children are brought into the Field in Waggons, which line their Intrenchments, to be Witneſſes of their Actions and Partners in the Spoil.

Boadicea's *Speech to the Army.*

Boadicea, with her Daughters by her Side in the Chariot, rides up and down, addreſſing herſelf to the ſeveral Nations in the following manner, "That it was not the firſt time "the *Britons* had been victorious under the Conduct of "their Queens. That for her part ſhe came not there, "as one deſcended from Royal Progenitors, to fight for "Empire or Riches, but as one of the common People, "to avenge the Loſs of their Liberty, the Wrongs done "to her own Perſon, and the Violation of her Daughters "Chaſtity. That the *Romans* Luſt was grown to that "Height, that neither *Old* nor *Young* eſcap'd its Pollutions; "but the Gods had already begun to puniſh them ac"cording to their Deſerts; for one *Legion* that durſt ha"zard a Battle was cut in Pieces, and the reſt ſkulk'd "in their Camp (3), or fled for their Lives; ſo that "inſtead of being able to ſtand the Attack of a victorious Army, the very Shouts of ſo many Thouſands "would put them to flight. That if the *Britons* would "but conſider the *Number* of their Forces, and the *Motives* of the War, they would reſolve to *vanquiſh* or die. "That it was much better to fall *honourably* in Defence of "their Liberty, than be expos'd again to the *Outrages* of "the *Romans*. This was her Reſolution; but as for the "*Men*, they might, if they pleaſed, *live* and be *Slaves*." She is ſaid at the end of her Speech to let looſe a Hare, ſhe concealed in her Boſom, as a good Omen of Victory.

Paulinus *harangues his Army.*

Whilſt *Boadicea* is endeavouring to animate the *Britons*, *Paulinus* is not idle at the Proſpect of ſo great a Danger. Tho' he is aſſured of the Bravery of his Troops, he exhorts them to deſpiſe the Clamour and Threats of the Barbarians. He repreſents to them, that "among the Enemy "there were more Women than Soldiers, and that the "greateſt Part of them, having neither Arms nor Cou"rage, would immediately take to their Heels, when "they came to feel the Force of their victorious Arms. "That in the moſt numerous Armies, the Deciſion of "the Battle depended upon a *few*, and that their Glory "would be ſo much the greater as it was the leſs divided. "That they ſhould take care only to keep their Ranks "cloſe, and fight Sword in Hand, after they had "thrown their Darts. And laſtly, that they ſhould not "loſe time about the Spoil, which would be the certain "Reward of their Victory." Theſe Words are followed with ſuch loud Acclamations, and the Reſolution of the Soldiers appears ſo great, that the General not doubting of Succeſs, orders a Charge to be ſounded. The *Romans* dart their Javelins without quitting the Advantage of their Poſt. But their Quivers being emptied, they advance Sword in hand, ſeconded by the Auxiliaries, who fight with equal Bravery, in an Opinion there is no ſafety but in Victory. Whilſt the Fight was carried on with Darts at a Diſtance, the *Britons* were in hopes the *Romans*, daunted at the Number of their Enemies, would take to flight. But when they ſee the Legions advancing Sword in Hand, with ſhort and thick Steps, and no Signs of Fear in their Looks, they fall into Diſorder, which continually increaſes, there being no Leader or Officers capable of repairing it (4). The *Romans* ſeeing them thus ſhaken, fall upon them with great Fury, and put the whole Army into the utmoſt Confuſion, who now think only of ſaving themſelves by Flight. At the ſame time, the *Roman* Horſe in the Wings breaking through the *Britiſh* Cavalry, a terrible Rout enſues of the frighted Troops. 'Tis even with Difficulty they run away, by reaſon of the great Number of Carriages, full of unſerviceable Multitudes, which firſt retiring, became an Obſtacle to the Flight of the Army. The *Roman* Soldiers ſpare neither Age nor Sex, but ſacrifice to their Revenge the Women and Children, and even the very Horſes. This Victory equalled their moſt famous ones, if it be true, as *Tacitus* affirms, that eighty thouſand *Britons* were ſlain, with the Loſs only of four hundred *Romans*, and as many wounded. *Boadicea* eſcaped falling into the Hands of the Conquerors, but was touched with ſo deep a Senſe of her Shame and Loſs, that ſhe ended her Days with Poiſon. On the other Side, *Pœnius Poſthumus* who refuſed to obey his General, either to avoid the Puniſhment due to his Offence, or for Grief at loſing his ſhare of the Glory of the Victory, ſtabb'd himſelf.

A bloody battle.

The miſerable Condition of the Britons.

How advantagious to the *Romans* the Conſequences of ſo great a Victory were, may be eaſily conceived. The *Britons*, in the utmoſt Conſternation, without General or Army, fly before their Enemies without offering the leaſt Reſiſtance. Their Miſery is farther increaſed by a Famine, brought upon themſelves by neglecting to ſow their Lands. All their hopes are, that the inconſiderable Number of their Enemies muſt oblige them to keep together, and thereby afford time to form another Army. But theſe hopes vaniſh upon the *Romans* receiving a ſtrong Reinforcement from *Germany*. No doubt, as Matters then ſtood, *Paulinus*'s Army would have been ſufficient to compleat the Conqueſt of *Britain*, if Diſſenſions ariſing among the *Romans* had not prevented them from improving their Advantages.

Diſcord among the Romans. Tacit. Ann. l. 14.

Julius Claſſicianus, who ſucceeded *Decianus* in the Office of Procurator, diſagreeing with *Paulinus*, ſtudied to croſs him in all his Deſigns. Probably the General would not ſuffer him to continue the Oppreſſions that occaſioned the late Revolt. However this be, *Claſſicianus* conceives ſo violent a Hatred for him, that he declares publickly, and even writes to the Emperor's Miniſters at *Rome*, that there is is no Proſpect of ending the War, as long as the

(1) *Rapin* follows *Dion Caſſius*. *Tacitus* ſays only ſeventy thouſand, his Words are,——*ad Septuaginta millia Civium & Sociorum*. *Verulanium* was a *Municipium*. So that *Civium* may refer chiefly to this Place, and *Sociorum* to *London*, which was only a Trading Colony.

(2) The Army conſiſted of 230,000 according to *Dion Caſſius*.

(3) Alluding to *Pœnius Poſthumus*'s Conduct, who ſeems to have refuſed to draw his Legion out of their Station or Camp. *Horſley*, p. 29.

(4) Theſe laſt Words are not in *Tacitus*.

Management is left to *Paulinus*. In all his Reports to the Emperor's Miniſters, he imputes the good Succeſs to Fortune, and the bad to the Governor's ill Conduct, intimating, that if another General were ſent, it would be very eaſy to appeaſe the Troubles without diſobliging the Province. At laſt, *Nero* hearing of this Diſſenſion, orders his Freedman *Polycletus* to go and learn the Cauſe. The Reſpect ſhown him by *Paulinus* was ſurprizing to the *Britons*, who could not conceive that ſuch a General and a victorious Army ſhould be accountable to a Freedman. This Reſpect however was not paid in vain. *Polycletus*, in his Report to the Emperor, juſtifies *Paulinus*, and ſo manages that he keeps his Command. But in the end, *Claſſicianus* beginning afreſh, prevails by his Friends and ſecret Practices, to have *Paulinus* relieved by *Petronius Turpilianus*, who being a Perſon of no Ambition, acted nothing memorable, hiding his Love of Eaſe and Sloth under the ſpecious Name of the Love of Peace.

62. *Paulinus is relieved by* Turpilianus,

To him ſucceeds *Trebellius Maximus*, as indolent as himſelf, and famous for nothing during his Government but his Quarrel with *Cælius* Commander of the twentieth *Legion*. This Quarrel is carried ſo high, that great Part of the Army deſerting their General, he is forced at length to fly to *Vitellius*, who commanded the *Roman* Army in *Germany*.

65. *who is ſucceeded by* Trebellius. Tacit. vit. Agricol.

67.

68. 69.

In the mean time *Nero* dying, the *Britons* enjoy ſome Reſpite, during the ſhort Reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, there being neither Governor nor General. The *Roman* Army was commanded only by Tribunes, among whom *Cælius* bore the chief Sway. *Vitellius* being come to the Empire, ſends *Vectius Bolanus* into *Britain*, to take upon him the Command of the Army. The new Governor, little skilled in the Art of War, leaves the *Britons* in Quiet, and contents himſelf with gaining the Affections of the Soldiers, without having the Authority of a General. He continues in the Province till *Veſpaſian*, who ſucceeds *Vitellius* in the Imperial Throne, being informed of the Wants of *Britain*, ſends thither *Petilius Cerealis*. *Petilius*, during his Government, attacks and defeats in ſeveral Battles the *Brigantes*, the moſt numerous and conſiderable of all the *Britiſh* Nations (1). *Julius Frontinus* ſucceeds him, and acquires no leſs Glory than his Predeceſſor. He ſubdues the warlike *Silures*, whoſe Country ſeemed, by its Situation, to ſcreen them from all Attacks.

Vectius Bolanus *is made Governor.* 69.

He is ſucceeded by Petilius Cerealis,

who is ſucceeded by Julius Frontinus.

75. 78. Julius Agricola *is made Governor of* Britain. Tacit. vit. Agricolæ.

Towards the End of *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, *Julius Agricola* is ſent into *Britain* to ſucceed *Frontinus*. Here we begin to have fuller Accounts of the *Britiſh* Wars; for which we are wholly indebted to *Tacitus*, who has taken care to write the Life of his Father-in-law *Agricola*, in order to give that Luſtre to his Actions they juſtly deſerved, and which perhaps they would have wanted, had it not been for that illuſtrious Hiſtorian (2).

Some time before *Agricola* was appointed Governor of *Britain*, the *Ordovices* had ſurprized and cut in pieces a Body of *Roman* Horſe, quarter'd in their Frontiers. This Accident gave occaſion to apprehend the like again, and cauſed the *Romans* to expect with great Impatience the Arrival of a new Governor. The News that *Agricola* was to command them, revived their Courage. They did not queſtion but under a General of ſo eſtabliſhed a Reputation, they ſhould quickly put an end to the War. However, he could not come till about the middle of Summer. Tho' he finds no Magazine for the Army, diſperſed in ſeveral Places for their better Subſiſtence, he draws them together without Delay. He immediately attacks the *Ordovices*, and notwithſtanding the Difficulty of the Undertaking, by reaſon of the incommodious Places he is forced to go thro' in queſt of them, makes them pay dear for the Advantage they had lately gained. All the World was ſurprized to ſee him fighting the Enemies of the Empire upon his firſt Entrance, a Time uſually ſpent by other Governors in Feaſting and Diverſions. or in receiving the Compliments of the Province. But there was ſtill greater Reaſon to admire his Diligence, when he was ſeen, in this firſt Campaign, to attack the Iſle of *Mona*, which the *Romans* had been forced to abandon, tho' he wanted flat-bottom'd Veſſels for the Expedition. He order'd a choice Body of Auxiliaries, who were acquainted with the Shallows, to ſwim over, which they performed ſo dextrouſly, (being trained up by the Cuſtom of their native Country to manage in ſwimming themſelves, their Horſes and Arms) that the Inhabitants, aſtoniſh'd at the Sight, and never ſuſpecting any ſuch thing, ſurrender'd the Iſle to the *Romans* without obliging them to draw a Sword.

78. Agricola's *firſt Campaign.*

War was not the only Affair that employ'd the new Governor. Whilſt his Arms are triumphant, he carefully enquires about every thing relating to the Government of the Province, and the propereſt Means to keep the People in Obedience. This Enquiry ſhows him that the *Britons* are not to be tam'd by Arms alone, but that Lenity is no leſs neceſſary than Force. And therefore he ſpends the whole Winter after his firſt Campaign, in diligently regulating ſeveral Abuſes crept in by the Avarice or Negligence of former Governors. He takes care to prevent all kind of Exactions; to cauſe Juſtice to be adminiſtred punctually and impartially; in a word, to remove every Occaſion of Diſcontent from the *Britons* in Subjection to the Empire. This Proceeding gain'd their Affection to ſuch a Degree, that he had no Cauſe to fear a Revolt whilſt he ſhould be employ'd in making new Conqueſts. *Veſpaſian* dying about this Time, his Son *Titus* ſucceeds him, and knowing *Agricola*'s great Merit, continues him in his Government.

He gains the Love of his Britiſh *Subjects.*

79. Agricola's *ſecond Campaign.*

In the Spring the General takes the Field again, and marches towards the North, where he makes ſome Conqueſts. He obſerved the *Romans* commonly loſt in the Winter what they gained in the Summer, becauſe they durſt not venture to quarter in the conquer'd Countries, which were too much expoſed. To prevent this Inconvenience, he reſolved to build Forts in proper Places, where Garriſons might be kept in the Winter, always ready to repulſe the Enemy. As he was a great Maſter in the Art of Fortification, theſe Forts were built and ſituated in ſuch manner, that the *Romans* were never under a Neceſſity to quit them, nor the Enemies ever able to take them (3).

He induces the Britons *to come into the Cuſtoms of the* Romans.

During the following Winter *Agricola*'s chief Buſineſs was to ſoften the rough Manners of the *Britons*, and inſtill into them a Deſire to imitate the Cuſtoms of the *Romans*. His Pains are not beſtow'd in vain. Soon after, *Britain* is adorn'd with ſtately Temples, noble Porticos, and many fine Structures both publick and private, of a very different Taſte from what had been hitherto ſeen. The *Britiſh* Nobles even pride themſelves in ſpeaking the *Latin* Tongue, to which a little before they were utterly averſe. They dreſs likewiſe after the *Roman* Manner; and, in ſhort, as *Tacitus* obſerves, are brought to eſteem, as Politeneſs and good Breeding, what was only a Badge of their Slavery.

80. *Third Campaign.*

In his third Campaign, *Agricola* advances as far as the River *Tweed*, fortifying his Conqueſts with Caſtles and Fortreſſes in ſeveral Places.

81. *Fourth Campaign.*

The fourth Summer was ſpent in ſubduing the Nations inhabiting between the *Tweed* and the two Friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now called of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*. Theſe two Arms of the Eaſt and Weſt Seas ſhoot ſo far into the Land, that they are parted only by an Iſthmus of between thirty and forty Miles. Upon this Iſthmus *Agricola* raiſes Forts and plants Garriſons for the Security of the *Roman* Province, which he had extended thus far. By this means the Nations yet unconquer'd, were pent up as it were in a ſeparate Iſland.

82. *Fifth Campaign.*

What *Agricola* had done ſhould, one would think, have ſatisfied his Ambition: But he was labouring alſo for the Glory of the *Roman* Name, which, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it, knew no Bounds. During the fifth Campaign, *Agricola* leads his Army beyond the Friths, where he diſcovers Countries and Nations, whoſe very Names were unknown to the *Romans*. Some of them he conquers, and leaves Garriſons in the Weſtern Parts oppoſite to *Ireland*. His Deſign was to attempt the Conqueſt of that Iſland, that it might be a Check upon *Britain*, being perfectly inform'd of the State of the Country by a Lord baniſh'd from thence. *Tacitus* ſays, he heard his Father-in-law ſay, that with one Legion and a few Auxiliaries, he could eaſily become Maſter of that Iſland, the Conqueſt whereof would be of great Service to keep the *Britons* in Awe.

83. *Sixth Campaign.*

In his ſixth Campaign, the *Roman* General paſſes *Bodotria*, ordering his Fleet to row along the Coaſts, and diſcover the Creeks and Harbours in thoſe Northern Parts. This was the firſt *Roman* Fleet that appear'd on thoſe Seas, the Sight whereof inſpir'd the Enemy with Terror, but the *Romans* with Courage, who having ventur'd upon thoſe unknown Countries with ſome Dread, were extremely animated by the Communication they had with their Fleet, which always kept near the Shore.

(1) Their Capital was *Iſurium*, call'd by *Antonine Iſu-Brigantum*, now *Aldborough* in *Yorkſhire*, which appears to have been a very large Station. It muſt be obſerv'd, that Encampments upon a March were by the *Romans* call'd *Caſtra*. Winter or Summer Quarters, *Caſtra, hiberna, aut æſtiva*. The Word *Statio* is us'd by *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, &c. for the Duty of Soldiers upon Guard, or for the Men employ'd in this Duty. But afterwards *Statio* was applied to a Fort or Place where the Soldiers lodg'd, and like *Vegetius*'s *Caſtella*, were often built like Towns in the Borders of the Empire, where they were conſtant Fences againſt the Enemy. The Stations here in *England* were ſtrong Fortifications, of no great Extent, adjoining to which were uſually other Buildings, forming a ſort of Town, to which the Station was in the nature of a Citadel.

(2) *Tacitus*'s Life of *Agricola* is juſtly eſteem'd a Maſter-Piece by the beſt Judges. The Strength and Vivacity of the Expreſſion, the Beauty and Variety of Thought are almoſt inimitable. *Horſley*, p. 38.

(3) This Paſſage of *Tacitus* (ſays *Horſley*) is almoſt incredible, tho' we extend it no farther than to the Time of *Tacitus* writing his Hiſtory. There is perhaps a good deal of Compliment in it to *Agricola*, the Hiſtorian's Father-in-law and favourite Hero. It ſeems not to be well conſiſtent with another Paſſage, *perdomita Britannia & ſtatim amiſſa*. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 2. The Forts built this Year by *Agricola* are ſuppos'd to be on the Borders, eſpecially on the Weſtern Side of the Iſland, along which *Agricola* march'd. *Horſley*, p. 40.

But while *Agricola* was advancing towards the North, a Report was ſpread that the northern Nations had drawn together a formidable Army and attack'd the Forts built on their Frontiers. The News of this Armament being confirm'd a few Days after by Deſerters, the principal Officers of the Army adviſed the General to relinquiſh his Conqueſts beyond the Friths, and avoid the Shame of being compell'd to it by force. But he rejected this Advice as injurious to his Maſter's Honour and Intereſt. Whilſt he was deliberating upon this Affair, he had notice that the Enemies were coming upon him with an Army of numberleſs Multitudes, according to common Report. Apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, he divided his Army into three Bodies, hearing the Enemy had done the ſame. This Precaution had like to have coſt him dear. For the Enemies having Intelligence of it, alter their Reſolution, and with united Forces ſet upon the ninth Legion in the Night as they lie encamp'd at a good diſtance from the reſt of the Army. They ſurprized the advanc'd Guard, and attacking the Camp with great fury, had like to become Maſters of it. *Agricola*, upon notice of their march, made all poſſible haſte to the Relief of the Legion. But for fear of being too late, he order'd the Horſe to go before and maintain the Fight, till the reſt of the Army came up. He appear'd at Day-break in Sight of the Enemies, who ſeeing him advance, would have retreated, but not having time were forc'd to continue the Fight. The Battle was fierce and obſtinate. The *Romans*, that were almoſt defeated in their Camp, vigorouſly endeavour to repair their Diſgrace, at the Sight of their Companions who were coming to their Aſſiſtance. And theſe, ſeeing the ninth Legion in danger, ruſh furiouſly upon the Enemy to relieve them. Both fought with ſuch Courage and Bravery, that the Enemy began at laſt to give ground. The Fens favour'd their Retreat, otherwiſe the War had been terminated by that ſingle Battle (1).

The ninth Legion is attack'd in their Camp.

Agricola *marches to their Aid.*

The Iſlanders are defeated.

They aſſemble again.

This Defeat, tho' conſiderable, diſhearten'd not the Iſlanders. They imputed their Misfortune to Chance and other Circumſtances, rather than to the Valour of the *Romans*, and reſolv'd to try the Fortune of War once more. Having convey'd their Women and Children into the Towns, they came together from all Parts, and form'd a more numerous Army than the firſt, with a Reſolution ſtoutly to defend their Liberty.

A Cohort of the Roman *Army deſerts,*

But whilſt the *Romans* are preparing in the Winter to withſtand the Efforts of their Enemies, and even to attack them, a Cohort of *Uſiſppians*, levied in *Germany*, *form a* Deſign to return home, and execute it with that Secrecy and Expedition, that it could not be prevented. A Captain and ſome *Roman* Soldiers, placed among them to diſcipline them, were killed, leſt they ſhould oppoſe the Deſign. Which done, theſe *Germans* ſeize upon two (2) ſmall Veſſels, kill one of the Pilots, and compel the other to conduct them, threatning to ſerve him as they had done his Companion: After which they ſet ſail before their Intentions could be known. They had laid their Meaſures ſo ill that they were quickly in want of Proviſions, and reduc'd to the Neceſſity of eating ſome of their Comrades. Thoſe that remain'd alive, ignorant of the Art of Navigation, were driven aſhore on the Coaſt of *Friſeland* and made Slaves (3).

and periſh miſerably.

84. Agricola's *ſeventh Campaign.*

Upon opening the next Campaign, *Agricola* orders his Fleet to row along the Coaſt, to keep ſeveral Places in awe. At the ſame time he marches at the Head of his Troops, taking for Guides ſome Natives of known Fidelity, that were acquainted with the Ways. When he comes near the *Grampian* Mountain, he ſees the Enemies drawn up to the Number of Thirty thouſand, beſides Volunteers, who flock'd together to be at a Battle, of which Liberty or Slavery was to be the Iſſue. Upon the Armies approaching each other, *Galgacus*, Commander of the Iſlanders, repreſents to them, "That being at the Extremity of the "Iſle, they have no Refuge left if vanquiſh'd, and there-"fore nothing but victory can deliver them from perpe-"tual Bondage." On the other Side, *Agricola* exhorts his Soldiers "to do their Duty, by the Conſideration of their "paſt Victories. Particularly he ſets before their Eyes "their ſad Condition, if after being defeated, they are "forc'd to ſeek for Shelter among the *Britons*, who for "fifty Years together have felt the Force of their victorious "Arms." Whilſt the General is yet ſpeaking, the Soldiers by their Looks diſcover their Eagerneſs to fight, and their Hopes of Victory. The Army was drawn up in ſuch manner that the Auxiliary Foot were to bear the firſt Shock, in order to prevent as much as poſſible the Effuſion of *Roman* Blood. The Legions were plac'd in the Rear to ſupport the Auxiliaries in caſe of Repulſe. *Galgacus* had rang'd his Men on the Side of a Hill, that his whole Army might be viſible at once to the *Romans*, and ſtrike them with the greater Terror. The Horſe were drawn up on the Plain at the Bottom of the Hill, and the Chariots ran between the two Armies. *Agricola* apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by theſe Multitudes, widened his Front, though he thereby weaken'd it, rejecting the Advice given him of ordering the Legions to advance. Then alighting from his Horſe, full of Courage and Hopes, he went and headed the Legions. They fought ſome time with Darts, the Iſlanders being unwilling to quit the Advantage of their Poſt. Beſides, their little Targets, and unwieldy pointleſs Swords, were not ſo proper for cloſe fighting. But *Agricola* found means to compel them to it, by detaching two Cohorts of *Batavians*, and as many of *Tungrians*, who fell upon them Sword in hand. The Iſlanders, unuſed to that Way of fighting, could not long withſtand the Charge of theſe warlike Troops, who preſſing them with the Points of their Bucklers, ſoon broke their foremoſt Battalions and began even to aſcend the Hill. Thoſe that followed them, animated by their Example, fought with the ſame Bravery, and without giving the Enemies time to rally, overthrew all that withſtood them. Mean while, the *Britiſh* Horſe began alſo to give Ground, and their Chariots were forc'd to drive up the Hill to aſſiſt the Foot that were in extreme Diſorder. Tho' the Chariots at firſt ſomewhat daunted the *Romans*, yet did they but little Execution by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the Ground. The Hill being pretty ſteep, the Charioteers had no Command of the Horſes, and ran without Diſtinction over Friends and Foes according as they came in their way. The Foot that were poſted on the Top of the Hill, and had not yet engaged, ſeeing the *Romans* hotly purſuing their Victory, now made a Motion to ſurround them, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of their Number. But *Agricola* perceiving it, detach'd four Squadrons of Horſe, who not only withſtood the Charge of the Foot, but entirely routed them. Then falling upon the Enemies in Flank that were ſtill on the Plain, made great Slaughter of them. This Action compleated the Victory. *Galgacus* finding it impoſſible to renew the Fight, retreated with the Remains of his Troops. He loſt Ten thouſand Men in the Action; but on the Side of the *Romans* there fell but Three hundred and forty: Among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, Captain of a Cohort, who by the Heat of Youth, and the Unruline's of his Horſe, was carried into the midſt of the Enemies. The Conquerors paſs the following Night with Joy and Gladneſs, and the Vanquiſh'd with Lamentations and Sorrow, taking Advantage of the Darkneſs to eſcape the Purſuit of the *Romans*. Far from any Thoughts of rallying, their Flight was ſo haſty, that when Day appeared it was in vain to purſue them (4). *Agricola* ſeeing they were entirely diſpers'd, the Summer almoſt ſpent, and unſafe to ſend his Army to waſte the Enemy's Country, marched back into the Territories of the *Horeſtians* (5), from whom he received Hoſtages. He marched ſlowly, to ſtrike Terror into the *Britons*, and in Expectation of his Fleet, which having alarm'd all the northern Coaſt, returned about the End of the Summer, and anchor'd in the Port of *Trutulum* (6).

Deſcription of the Battle.

Galgacus *the* Britiſh *General prepares for Battle.*

Agricola's *Speech to his Army.*

The Romans *gain the Victory.*

Domitian, now Emperor upon the Death of his Brother *Titus*, receives the News of this Victory with a ſeeming Satisfaction, though inwardly he repines at the Reputation *Agricola* gained by it. Envy not ſuffering him to continue him in his Poſt where his Fame might ſtill have an additional Luſtre, recalls him on pretence of promoting him to the Government of *Syria*. But after cauſing the Senate to decree him a Statue crown'd with Laurel, he ſends him out of the World with a Doſe of Poiſon. In this manner he rewarded the Service that great Man had done the Empire. This unworthy Emperor could not bear the Fame of a General, whoſe noble Actions reproach'd him with the imaginary Triumph decreed him as Conqueror of the *Germans*, in which he had cauſed Slaves to be diſguiſed like Captives.

Domitian *recalls* Agricola,

and poiſons him.

Agricola gave the finiſhing Blow to the Liberty of *Britain*. By his Valour and prudent Conduct, all that Part of the Iſland lying South of the two Friths, was reduced to

Britain *is reduc'd to a* Roman *Province.*

(1) This Battle was fought, according to *Gordon*, in the County of *Fife*; for there is a *Roman* Camp in Sir *John Malcolm*'s Ground at *Lochore*, two Miles from *Lochleven*, and a large Moraſs near it, and formerly a Wood. Alſo near this Place is a ſmall Village call'd *Blair*, which in the old Language ſignifies *a Place of Battle*. *Horſley*, p. 44.

(2) *Tacitus* ſays, three. *Vit. Agr.*

(3) *Tacitus* ſays, after a ſtrange Adventure ſailing round *Britain*, they were taken firſt by the *Suevi*, then by the *Friſii*. And being bought and ſold, ſome of them at laſt in traffick were brought to the Coaſt where the *Romans* were, who told the Adventure, and were afterwards famous for it. *Tac. vit. Agr.*

(4) Mr. *Gordon* ſuppoſes this Battle to be fought in *Strathern*, half a Mile from the *Kirk* of *Comerie*, there being a remarkable Encampment in that Place.

(5) Mountaineers or Highlanders. *Camden* places them in *Eſka-dale*. But his Annotator thinks they ſhould be placed between *South-Eſka* and *North-Eſka* in *Angus*. See *Camden*, p. 845.

(6) Some read it *Rhamenſis*, moſt probably it ſhould be *Rhutupenſis* for *Rutupenſis* or *Ritupenſis*. So that when *Agricola*'s Fleet, (that lay in the *Tay* during the Battle) arriv'd here, having gone North about by the *Orcades*, 'tis plain they had ſail'd quite round the Iſland, becauſe they had ſail'd before from *Portus Ritupenſis* to *Tay*. For *Tacitus* ſays, *Trutulenſem Portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniæ lecto omni redierat*. Vit. Agric. c. 38.

a *Roman*

a *Roman* Province. As for the northern Parts, they were left to the Inhabitants as a wild uncultivated Country, not worth the conquering or keeping. Only ſtrong Garriſons were placed in the Fortreſſes built on this Side the Friths.

The Britons *begin to be civiliz'd.*

Tho' the Loſs of their Liberty ſeemed to be an irreparable Damage to the *Britons*, it was in ſome meaſure repaired by the great Alteration for the better in their Cuſtoms and Manners, after their being ſubject to the Empire. In a ſhort time they were ſeen to lay aſide their rude and ſavage Ways, and aſſume the Politeneſs of the Conquerors. Arts and Sciences, little regarded by the *Britons* before this Revolution, flouriſh'd among them as much as in any other Part of the *Roman* Dominions. In a word, from mere Savages the *Britons* were become polite and civiliz'd, an Advantage the moſt northern Parts of the Iſland have not yet attained. After this Reformation, they made but faint Struggles for the Recovery of their Liberty, being pleaſed, for the moſt part, with their Servitude. It muſt however be noted, that a great many choſe to loſe their Poſſeſſions, and retire into the North among the *Picts* and *Scots*, rather than live in Subjection to the *Roman* Yoke. Theſe were the Men that joining with thoſe that afforded them Refuge, made continual War with the *Romans*, in maintenance of that precious Liberty their unhappy Country had loſt. They ſpared not even their Countrymen, whom they looked upon with Horror for being pleaſed with their Slavery. Theſe were the Men that with the *Picts* and *Scots* obliged Emperors themſelves to come over in Perſon and oppoſe the Efforts of their invincible Courage.

Policy of the Romans *with regard to conquer'd Countries.*

As for the Subjects of the Empire, they endured all the Hardſhips that are the uſual Lot of the Vanquiſhed. Exorbitant Taxes were laid upon them on numberleſs Pretences. Their Eſtates were taken from them and given to the *Veterans*, that were continually coming to ſettle in the Iſland. The Flower of their Youth were made Soldiers, and diſperſed in the other Provinces of the Empire. Such was the *Roman* Policy. They ſent away whole Bodies levied in a conquer'd Country, into other remote Regions. For Inſtance, the *Britons* into *Pannonia*, the *Batavians* into *Illyria*, the *Germans* into *Britain*, to keep them at a Diſtance from their own Country. By thus draining the conquered Nations of their main Strength, they diſabled them from revolting, and at the ſame time made uſe of them to acquire new Conqueſts.

85. Lucullus *Governor of* Britain.

After *Agricola*'s Departure from *Britain*, we have but a ſlender Account of what paſſed in the Iſland till the Reign of *Adrian*. We only know that *Salluſtius Lucullus* was ſent thither by *Domitian*, to whoſe Suſpicions or Jealouſy he quickly fell a Sacrifice. 'Tis to be preſumed, the Subjects of the Empire were quiet, aud the Inhabitants of the North ſuffered to enjoy their Liberty in Peace. The *Roman* Hiſtorians mention alſo in the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan* ſome Commotions in the Iſland that were quickly appeaſed; but the Particulars are unknown. It may likewiſe be obſerved in this Interval, the *Romans* after their Conqueſts ſuffered Kings to be in *Britain*; for they gloried in having ſuch for their Subjects. *Juvenal* ſpeaks of King *Arviragus*, who reign'd in ſome Part of the Iſland under *Domitian* (1).

Arviragus *King of the* Britons.

Sat. IV. v. 125.

117. Julius Severus *made Governor.* Spartian in Hadriano.

In the firſt Year of *Adrian* (2), the northern People, a Mixture, as ſuppoſed, of *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Britains*, but confounded by the *Roman* Hiſtorians under the Name of *Caledonians*, made an Irruption into the *Roman* Province. Their firſt Exploit was to demoliſh ſome of *Agricola*'s Fortreſſes between the two Friths. *Adrian* being informed of theſe Commotions, appoints *Julius Severus* Governor of *Britain*; but before he has time to perform any thing, he is ſuddenly recalled and employed elſewhere (3). Mean time, the *Caledonians* continuing to infeſt the *Roman* Territories, the Emperor reſolves to go over in Perſon and ſubdue theſe fierce and troubleſome People. As ſoon as they hear of his Arrival, they relinquiſh the Country they were poſſeſſed of, and retire to the North. *Adrian* however advances as far as *York*, where he meets ſome of *Agricola*'s old Soldiers, that had been with him in the northern Parts. The Deſcription theſe give him of the Country he intended to conquer, diverts him from purſuing his Expedition. Beſides that the Bogs and Mountains he was to paſs, would have engaged him in a War more laborious than honourable, he eaſily perceived, that, ſhould his Undertaking be crown'd with Succeſs, it would procure no great Advantages to the Empire. Wherefore he comes to a Reſolution to leave to the *Caledonians* all the Country between the two Friths and the *Tine*, in hopes by thus enlarging their Bounds to keep them quiet. But at the ſame time to ſecure the *Roman* Province from their Incurſions, he cauſes a Rampart of Earth to be thrown up, covered with Turf, from the Mouth of the *Tine* to *Solway-Frith*. This Rampart was eighty Miles in length, and ran quite croſs the Country from Eaſt to Weſt, by which he ſecured the ſouthern Parts, leaving the *Caledonians* all the Lands between the new Rampart and the Iſthmus that parts the two Friths (4). Having thus ſettled Matters in the Iſland, he returns to *Rome*, and is honoured with the Title of *Reſtorer of Britain*, as appears by ſome Medals.

120. Adrian *goes over in Perſon.*

He parts the Roman *Provinces from the Northern Countries by a Rampart.*

After theſe laſt Irruptions of the northern People, there was all along a mortal Enmity betwixt them and the ſouthern *Britons*. Theſe laſt finding themſelves entirely ſeparated by Inclination and Intereſt from the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Iſland, were the more forward to embrace the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Romans*. Afterwards, by means of the Arts and Sciences, they came by degrees capable of being inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* Religion, which till then was ſcarce known in the Iſland.

Enmity between the Northern and Southern Britons.

They grew more civiliz'd.

How ſtrong ſoever *Adrian*'s Rampart might be, it was not ſufficient to prevent the Inroads of the northern People. Indeed, they behaved peaceably as long as there were *Roman* Troops enough on their Borders to defend the Rampart. But the Moment theſe were removed, as it ſometimes happened, being wanted elſewhere, they began their uſual Ravages. Nay, in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* (5), not ſatisfied with their Booty, they deſtroyed the Rampart in ſeveral Places. *Antoninus* being informed of it, and fearing their Boldneſs, if not curb'd, would carry them to greater Undertakings, orders *Lollius Urbicus* to go and quell them. The new Governor (having firſt ſubdued the *Brigantes*, who endeavour'd to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke) in order to put a ſtop to the northern Irruptions, raiſes another Rampart on the Neck of Land between the two Friths, where *Agricola* had formerly built his Fortreſſes. Thus the Inhabitants of the North were confined within narrower Bounds than before. By means of this Rampart and a Camp at a little Diſtauce, where Troops were kept ready to march on occaſion, he compelled the *Caledonians* to remain peaceably in their Country. Tho' *Antoninus* was never in *Britain* himſelf, this Expedition, as done by his Orders, and under his Auſpices, gained him the Title of *Britannicus* (6).

The Northern People deſtroy Adrian's *Rampart.*

Capitolin in Antonin.

138. Lollius Urbicus *raiſes another Rampart.*

140.

Marcus

(1) Under *Plautius* and *Oſtorius*, in the Reign of *Claudius*, ſome Places (ſays *Tacitus*) were given to King *Cogidunus*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*. Over what People he was King does not appear; *Camden* thinks the *Regni*; Dr. *Gale* the *Segontiaci*. However, there was lately found at *Chicheſter* a very curious inſcription, relating to this *Cogidunus*. The Stone was found in a Cellar under the Corner Houſe of St. *Martin's-Lane*; it is about two Feet nine Inches broad, and very near three Foot long. It is now fixed in the Wall of the Houſe where it was found. The Inſcription, ſomewhat defac'd, is as follows:

..EPTVNO. ET MINERVAE
TEMPLVM
....O. SALVTE. DOMVS. DIVINAE
....AVCTORITATE TIB. CLAVD.
....GIDVBNI. R. EGA. AVG. IN BRIT
....GIVM. FABROR. ET QVI IN EO
....D. S. D. DONANTE AREAM
....ENTE PVDENTINI. FIL.

Thus to be read according to Roger Gale, *Eſq*;

Neptuno & Minervæ templum pro ſalute domus divinæ ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni regis legati Auguſti in Britannia collegium fabrorum & qui in eo a ſacris ſunt de ſuo dedicaverunt donante aream Pudente Pudentini filio.

The Stone in digging up was broken in four Parts, of which one is not taken up, lying under the Foundation of the next Houſe. *See* Philoſophical Tranſactions, N. 379.

(2) Here is a Gap of above thirty Years, from the Year 85 to 117, during which it is ſuppos'd the *Romans* loſt much of their Conqueſts here.

(3) *Priſcus Licinius* ſucceeds *Severus* in the Government of *Britain*, in the Year 120. *Severus* was recalled to go againſt the *Jews*. *Dion.* l. 69.

(4) *Adrian*'s Wall or *Vallum* was entirely of Earth. The whole Work conſiſted of the following Parts. 1. The North *Agger*; 2. The Ditch; 3. The principal *Vallum*; 4. The South *Agger*. The Ditch at *Harlow-Hill*, where the original Breadth and Depth is very apparent, meaſures near nine Foot deep and eleven over. The Height and Thickneſs of the *Vallum* and *Aggers* cannot be exactly known. The Diſtance of the North *Agger* from the Ditch is about 24 Foot, and that of the South *Agger* was originally thirty, tho' leſſen'd at preſent by the ſpreading of the Earth.

(5) Here is another Gap of 18 Years, from 120 to 138.

(6) From *Antoninus*'s building his Wall in 140 to 165, we meet with no Occurrences, nor from thence to 183. *Antoninus*'s Wall, like *Severus*'s, had a Series of Forts or Stations, which are ſuppos'd (ſome at leaſt) to be prior to the Wall, and the ſame that were built by *Agricola*. This Wall reaches from the Frith of *Forth* to the Frith of *Clyde*, as appears by Inſcription. It begins at *Cuer-ridden*, and runs through *Munrills*, *Falkirk*, *Camelon*, *Rough-Caſtle*, *Dick's Houſe*, *Caſtle-cary-fort*, *Weſtertwood-fort*, *Crotty-hill*, *Barbill-fort*, *Auchindavy*, *Kirkintilloch*, *Calder*, *Bemulie*, *New Kirk-patrick*, *Caſtle-hill-fort*, *Duntocher*, *Old Kirk-patrick*, ending at *Dunglaſs*, near *Dumbarton*, where ſtood the old City of *Alcluith*, afterwards *Dumbritton*, i. e. *the Town of the* Britons. *Horſley* (who had it ſurvey'd) takes the Wall to have been near forty *Roman* Miles, that is (allowing fourteen *Roman* to thirteen *Engliſh*) a little above thirty-ſeven of our Miles. By the Inſcriptions ſhowing the Part that was raiſed by the Cohorts of the *Legio Secunda*, &c. the Number of Paces amount to 39726, that is thirty-nine *Roman* Miles, and ſeven Hundred and twenty-ſix Paces. It was built of Turf, upon a Foundation of Stone, four Yards thick. To this Work belongs a great Ditch, larger than that of *Severus*, on the South-ſide of which was the main *Agger*, *Vallum* or Rampart, and South of the *Vallum* a large military Way well pav'd, and is in ſeveral Places very magnificent and beautiful. How this Work came to be call'd *Grime*'s *Dike* or *Graham*'s *Dike* does not appear. It is ſaid that *Graham* in the *Highland* Tongue ſignifies *Black*, then *Graham*'s *Dike* will be the ſame as the *Black Dike*.

165. Calphurnius Agricola *is made Governor.* Capitolin. in Aurelio. Lucius *a* Britiſh *King becomes a Chriſtian.*

Marcus Aurelius his Succeſſor gave the Government of *Britain* to *Calphurnius Agricola*. This Governor checks the Inſolence of the *Caledonians*, and ſtrengthens the Emperor's Dominion over ſuch of the *Britons* as ſeem to bear their Yoke with the moſt Reluctance. It was in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, that *Lucius*, a *Britiſh* King, embraced the Chriſtian Religion, which had been long before planted in the Iſland; but for want of due Cultivation, had taken no deep Root. I ſhall ſpeak more largely of this King in the State of the *Britiſh* Church.

183. *Troubles in* Britain. D. Caſſius, l. 72. *and others.*

During the Reign of *Commodus*, Succeſſor of *Marcus Aurelius*, there were great Commotions in *Britain*. The northern Men taking up Arms, cut in pieces the *Roman* Army, commanded by an unexperienc'd General, and make great Ravages in the Province. All *Britain* was in Danger of being loſt, if the Emperor had not ſpeedily ſent *Ulpius Marcellus*, a General of great Reputation. The new Governor defeats the Rebels in ſeveral Encounters, and by his Conduct puts an end, in a very ſhort Space, to this dangerous War, that had made his Maſter extremely uneaſy. During his Stay in the Iſland, he obſerv'd that the Want of Diſcipline in the *Roman* Army, was the ſole Foundation of the Boldneſs of the Northern People, and the chief Cauſe of the Advantages gained by them over the former Governors. He undertakes therefore to bring it to its ancient Strictneſs, which he happily accompliſhes. But his Services were repaid with Ingratitude. The Emperor, not content with depriving him of his Government, was upon the Point of putting him to Death. This unworthy Prince, like *Domitian*, could not behold diſtinguiſhed Merit without Suſpicion and Envy.

184. Ulpius Marcellus *is Governor.*

185.

186. *Ill rewarded by the Emperor.*

187. *The Army mutiny on account of* Perennis, *and ſend a Detachment to* Rome.

Marcellus no ſooner leaves *Britain*, but the Army mutiny upon *Perennis* the Emperor's Favourite, breaking or calling home all the old Officers, and putting his Creatures in their Place. The Mutiny is carried ſo far, that the Army ſend a Body of fifteen hundred Men to demand Juſtice of the Emperor againſt *Perennis*. This Troop marching to *Rome* without any Obſtacle, are met by the Emperor without the City, who demands of the Leaders the Cauſe of their Diſcontent. "They were come (they "ſaid) to offer him their Aſſiſtance againſt *Perennis*, ac"quainting him withal how that dangerous Miniſter had "by degrees caſhier'd the braveſt Officers, and filled the "Army with his Creatures. a clear Evidence of his ill "Deſigns." *Commodus* having been jealous of him for ſome time, delivers him up to the Soldiers, who execute him upon the Spot.

Commodus *delivers up* Perennis.

188. Pertinax *made Governor.* Capitolin. in Pertinace. *Mutiny in the Army.*

Mean while it was neceſſary to ſend into *Britain* ſome Perſon of Authority to ſuppreſs the mutinous Temper of the Army. *Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, being pitch'd upon for this Service, reſolves to proceed according to the Rigour of military Diſcipline. Whereupon the ninth Legion raiſe a Mutiny, which is not appeaſed without Bloodſhed. The General himſelf is wounded, and ſaves his Life only for being left for dead among the Slain. However, in ſpite of all Obſtacles he gains his Point, and brings the Army at laſt to ſubmit. But, as he was not beloved by the Soldiers, he deſir'd to be diſmiſſed from his Office, and *Clodius Albinus* was ſent in his room. *Albinus* being recalled upon a Suſpicion conceived of him by *Commodus*, *Junius Severus* was order'd to go and relieve him.

190. Clodius Albinus *is made Governor, and*

192. *Succeeded by* Junius Severus. Capitolin.

Pertinax being come to the Empire, after the Death of *Commodus*, makes the ſame *Clodius Albinus*, lately recalled, Governor of *Britain*. He was continued in that Poſt by *Julian*, Succeſſor of *Pertinax*. *Albinus* gains the Affection of the Soldiers by his Liberalities, to ſuch a Degree, that after *Julian*'s Death they proclaim him Emperor. At the ſame time, *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*, and *Peſcennius Niger* in *Syria*, receive the ſame Honour from their reſpective Armies. *Severus* being neareſt *Rome*, haſtens thither to receive from the Senate the Confirmation of the Dignity conferred on him by the Soldiers. But notwithſtanding the Senate's Decree, the other two Emperors perſiſting in their Claims, put *Severus* to a ſtand. His Rivals were at the two Extremities of the Empire, and conſequently, while he marches againſt one, there was Danger of the other's making too great a Progreſs. He judges it neceſſary therefore to uſe Diſſimulation with *Albinus*, making him believe he is willing to ſhare the Empire with him. This Offer being accepted, *Severus* draws all his Forces together, and goes and fights *Peſcennius*, who at length is vanquiſh'd and ſlain in Battle; after which *Severus* conſiders how to get rid of *Albinus* likewiſe. He tries firſt to aſſaſſinate him by Villains hired and ſent into *Britain* for that purpoſe. But this Way failing, he reſolves to employ Force; and cauſing *Albinus* to be declared Enemy of the State, marches againſt him. *Albinus* was now with his Army in *Gaul*, intending to meet him and decide the Quarrel by a Battle. And accordingly it was decided near *Lyons*, where the two Emperors fought with equal Bravery, tho' not with equal Fortune. *Albinus* is defeated and ſlain, and by his Death *Severus* remains ſole Poſſeſſor of the Empire. Shortly after he divided *Britain* into two Governments. The Firſt containing the Southern Parts, was given to *Heraclitus*, and *Virius Lupus* had the Second, conſiſting of the Northern Provinces bordering upon the *Caledonians*, by whom he was ſo infeſted, that he was forced at laſt to purchaſe a Peace with Money.

Peſcennius *is ſlain.*

196. *Battle of* Lyons *between* Severus *and* Albinus. Herodian, l. 3. Severus *divides* Britain *into two Governments.* Dion. l. 75.

After this Treaty *Britain* remains in Quiet till the fifteenth Year of *Severus*, when the *Caledonians* renew their Incurſions into the *Roman* Province. The *Roman* Soldiers having enjoyed ſeveral Years Peace, were grown ſo effeminate and negligent, that they ſeemed never to have had the leaſt Tincture of Military Diſcipline. It was this that emboldend'd the *Caledonians*, and made them think they ſhould not neglect ſo fair an Opportunity to attack their Neighbours, who till then had appeared ſo formidable to them. They make ſuch Progreſs, that the Emperor, though Sixty Years of Age, and afflicted with the Gout, reſolves to go in Perſon and chaſtiſe their Inſolence. His Intent was, once for all, to put an end to the continual Commotions in *Britain*, by the entire Conqueſt of the North. To that purpoſe he draws together a numerous Army, and ſets out for *Britain*, accompanied by his Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians*, when they hear of his Arrival, ſend Ambaſſadors to demand Peace upon honourable Terms. But he refuſes to hearken to them, unleſs they will ſubmit to his Mercy; which they not conſenting to, he marches towards their Country with his eldeſt Son *Caracalla*, leaving *Geta* at *London* to take care of the Southern Parts.

205. Herodian, l. 3. c. 46, &c.

207. Severus *goes over into* Britain.

It was with infinite Toil that he penetrated to the utmoſt Bounds of the North, cutting down Woods, draining Bogs, or filling them with Bavins. By this hard Duty, and the continual Ambuſcades of the Enemy, he loſt fifty thouſand Men (1). However, notwithſtanding all Difficulties in his Way, he accompliſhes his Deſign, and ſubdues theſe fierce and hitherto unconquer'd People. But as ſoon as he had executed his Project, he perceived how fruitleſs it was, ſince he could not poſſibly keep the Country in Subjection without a great Army always on the Spot. This Conſideration made him ſenſible, it was better to relinquiſh theſe Conqueſts than to keep them. And therefore, confining himſelf to *Adrian*'s former Project, he only divides the Iſland into two Parts by a Wall (2), in the Place where *Adrian* threw up his Rampart. This Wall, of which there are ſtill ſome Remains, was called by the ancient *Britons* *Murſever*, or *Severus*'s Wall (3), and muſt not be, as it is by ſome, confounded with the Rampart rais'd by *Lollius Urbicus* between the two Friths. The Emperor having nothing more to do in the North, returns to *York*, leaving the finiſhing of the Wall and Command of the Army to his Son *Caracalla*. This Expedition got him, or cauſed him to aſſume, the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*. *Caracalla*, no longer reſtrained by the Emperor his Father's Preſence, ſuffers the Soldiers to commit all manner of Licentiouſneſs. So that the *Caledonians*, unuſed to the Yoke, take up Arms with one accord. *Severus* hearing of this Revolt, but not knowing the Cauſe, orders the Rebels to be all maſſa-

He penetrates to the utmoſt Parts of the North. Dio. l. 76. Xiphilin.

He relinquiſhes his Conqueſts, 208, 209. *and builds a Wall on* Adrian's *Rampart.* Spartian in Severo. Bede, l. 1. c. 5. Camden.

Herodian, l. 2. c. 48.

Dike. There is a military Way near *Silcheſter* in *Hampſhire*, call'd now *Grime*'s *Dike*. The 's annex'd to *Graham*, is, doubtleſs, owing to the Opinion of its being the Name of a Man. The common Story is, that one of this Name broke through the Wall, and ſo gave his own Name to it. Within ſight of the Wall ſtands an antient Building, call'd *Arthur*'s *Oven*, in the Shape of the Pantheon at *Rome*, twenty-two Foot high, and nineteen and a half in Diameter. *Horſley* takes it to have been a funeral Monument. It ſtands on the North-ſide of the Wall. *See a large Deſcription of theſe Things in* Book I. Chap. 10. *of* Horſley's Britan. Rom.

(1) *Horſley* imagines from this great Loſs of Men, that *Severus*'s Wall muſt be reckon'd among theſe Works, tho' by much the greateſt of them, p. 61.

(2) *Severus*'s Wall was of Free-Stone, as is certain from what is yet viſible. In ſome Places, where the Foundation was not good, they ſeem to have made uſe of oaken Piles. The inner Part of this Wall is filled with pretty large, and moſtly broad and thin Stones, always ſet edge-ways, ſomewhat obliquely. Upon theſe the running Mortar or Cement was pour'd, and by this Contrivance the whole Wall was bound as firm as a Rock. Theſe Stones are ſuppos'd to have been brought from *Helbeck-Scar* on the *Gelt* and *Leuge-Crag*, as appears from an Inſcription on the Rock that hangs over the *Gelt*. The Wall generally meaſures about eight Foot thick, and twelve high. Upon the Wall were plac'd Caſtles or *Cheſters* ſixty Foot ſquare, about ſix Furlongs and a half from each other, and Turrets four Yards ſquare, about three hundred Yards from each other. There ſeems to have been four Turrets between every two Caſtles. The Centinels plac'd in the Turrets being within Call, the Communication quite along the Wall might be kept up, without having Recourſe to the Fiction of Pipes laid under Ground to convey the Sound; tho' this ſeems to be credited by *Echard* and others. The Wall is trac'd from *Couſin*'s *Houſe* through *Newcaſtle*, *Berwell-Hill*, *Rutcheſter*, *Halton-Cheſters*, *Warwick-Cheſters*, *Carrawbrugh*, *Houſeſteids*, *Great Cheſters*, *Thirlwel-Caſtle*, *Burdoſwold*, *Cambeck-Fort*, *Watch-Croſs*, *Stanwick*'s, *Brugh*, *Drumbrugh*, to *Boulneſs*, ſixty-eight Miles three Furlongs. And therefore it is a wonder that ſuch great Men as *Uſher*, *Burton*, *Buchanan*, Dr. *Smith*, and others, ſhould ſay the Wall reach'd only to the *Eſk*, when the contrary, upon View, is plain to a Demonſtration. It was not built exactly upon *Adrian*'s Wall, there being a good Diſtance ſometimes between them. It is obſervable that the Legionary Soldiers were employ'd in building this Wall, as they generally were in Works of this Nature. This is evident from the *Centurial* Inſcriptions on the Stones of the Walls, ſhewing what Part was built by each *Centuria*. A good Hint how Soldiers may be uſefully employ'd in peaceable Times.

(3) The *Engliſh* call it the *Picts-wall*, becauſe it parted the *Picts* from the *Britons*. Rapin.

cred

cred (1), which made them fear he intended an utter Extirpation of them. He dies ſhortly after at *York*, and the two Princes his Sons, ſucceeding him, conclude a Peace with the *Caledonians*, and return to *Rome*.

Severus dies at York.

Remark on the Caledonians.

As nothing very memorable paſſed in *Britain* during the Reigns of *Severus*'s immediate Succeſſors, I might fill up this Void with an Inquiry, who were theſe northern People or *Caledonians* (2) ſo often mentioned? But this is a Subject fitter for a Diſſertation than a Hiſtory. It ſuffices to inform the Reader, that ſome maintain theſe *Caledonians* to be *Picts* and *Scots*, with a mixture of ſouthern *Britons*. Others affirm, the *Scots* ſettled not in the Iſland 'till the beginning of the ſixth Century, and that the *Caledonians* in *Severus*'s Time, were no other than *Britons*, that had all along inhabited thoſe Parts, or fled thither after the *Roman* Invaſion. But tho' as to the Hiſtory, the Name of theſe People be not very material, I ſhall add here, that for my part, I think the Reaſons alledged in proof of the *Picts* and *Scots* not being yet ſettled in the Iſland, to be inſufficient, though it may be, their Settlement is of a later Date than pretended by the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians (3).

Several Emperors at once, ſome of which in Britain.

259. Camden *in* Eſſex.

What is known of the Affairs of *Britain* from the Death of *Severus* to the Reign of *Dioclesian*, is inconſiderable (4), and amounts to no more than this. There is ground to ſuppoſe that ſome of the thirty Tyrants (5) who were in Poſſeſſion of the Empire for ſome time, were acknowledged, if not perſonally preſent, in *Britain*. This appears the more probable, as the Coins of *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumius*, and others of theſe pretended Emperors, are commonly found in *England*. *Bonoſus*, who attempted to uſurp the Empire under *Tacitus* and *Aurelian*, was born in *Britain*. 'Tis known moreover, that a Governor ſent hither by *Probus*, aſſumed the Imperial Purple, and was ſhortly after killed by *Victorinus*, who had recommended him to the Emperor. Two other Particulars of the Reign of *Probus* with reſpect to *Britain*, ought to be recorded.

Vopiſcus *in* Bonoſo *and* Probo.

276. Probus *gives the* Britons *leave to plant Vines, and ſends over great numbers of* Vandals *and* Burgundians. Zoſim. l. 1.

This Emperor was the firſt that permitted the *Britons* (6) to plant Vines as well as the *Gauls* or *Spaniards*. But in all appearance, no great Benefit was reaped by this Permiſſion. The Emperor *Probus* alſo, after ſubduing the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, ſent over great Number of them into *Britain* (7). Theſe new Colonies are generally thought to have been ſettled on *Gogmagog-Hill* near *Cambridge*, where there remains to this Day a Fortification, imagined to be the Work of theſe Foreigners. It is however more probably aſcribed to the *Danes*, who were long Maſters of *Cambridge*.

285. Carauſius *aſſumes the Title of Emperor.* Aur. Victor. Eutrop. l 9. c. 17.

In the Beginning of *Dioclesian*'s Reign, *Carauſius* had the Command of a Fleet, with Orders to ſcour the Seas of the pyratical *Franks* and *Saxons*, that perpetually infeſted the *Belgick*, *Armorican*, and *Britiſh* Coaſts. *Carauſius* finds means to enrich himſelf immenſely, by plundering the Pyrates, or going Shares with them in their Spoils. After which, he begins by degrees to receive the Emperor's Commands with leſs Reſpect and Submiſſion. *Maximian* was then Emperor of the Weſt, *Dioclesian* of the Eaſt. *Carauſius*'s Haughtineſs breeding in *Maximian* Suſpicions that were but too well grounded, he reſolves to have him aſſaſſinated. Upon notice hereof, *Carauſius* immediately aſſumes the Imperial Purple, purſuant to the Scheme he had laid. As his Riches had acquired him a great Intereſt in the Army, his Authority was readily acknowledged in the Iſland. *Maximian*, ſurprized at his Boldneſs, advances as far as *Gaul* with deſign to chaſtize him. But finding him too well eſtabliſhed, he alters his Reſolution, and thinks it more proper to aſſociate him into the Empire, and leave him *Britain* for his Share. There are Silver Coins ſtill found in *England* of theſe two Emperors, having on the Reverſe, two Hands joined together with theſe Words, *Concordia Augg* (8).

290. Maximian *aſſociates* Carauſius *into the Empire.*

This forced Agreement not removing *Maximian*'s deſire to be rid of his *Aſſociate*, he commits the Execution of his Deſign to *Conſtantius Chlorus* lately made *Cæſar*, giving him an Army anſwerable to the greatneſs of the Undertaking. As *Carauſius* was retired into *Britain*, *Conſtantius* thought it neceſſary in the firſt place to become Maſter of *Boulogne*, that Town being as it were the Door into *Britain* from *Gaul*. Whilſt he is employed in the Siege, *Carauſius* is ſlain by *Electus*, who aſſumes the Title of Emperor. Whereupon, *Conſtantius* raiſes the Siege of *Boulogne*, and paſſes into *Britain* in order to drive the Uſurper from thence, before he has time to fortify himſelf. Shortly after, *Alectus* is killed by *Aſclepiodotus*, who aſſuming likewiſe the Imperial Dignity, loſes his Life afterwards in a Battle.

He ſends Conſtantius *againſt him.*

Carauſius *ſlain by* Alectus, *and he by* Aſclepiodotus, *who is alſo killed.* Eutropius, l. 9.

300.

Whilſt theſe petty Tyrants are contending for the Poſſeſſion of *Britain*, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, both on a Day, reſign the Empire, one in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt. *Galerius* and *Conſtantius* ſucceeding them, the laſt, as Emperor of the Weſt, had *Britain* in his Diviſion. Some Commotions in the Iſlands obliging him to go thither in Perſon, he dies at *York* (9), in the beginning of an Expedition againſt the northern People, now diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Deucaledonians* and *Vecturions* (10). *Conſtantius*, before he expired, had the Satisfaction to ſee his Son *Conſtantine*, and appoint him his Succeſſor. Some think *Conſtantine* was born in *Britain*, of *Helena* Daughter of *Coel* King of *Colcheſter* (11). But this at beſt is only Conjecture. However, this Prince, at firſt only Emperor of the Weſt, vanquiſhed his Rivals, and became in the end Maſter of both Empires.

304. Conſtantius *is Emperor of the Weſt.* Euſebius vit. Conſtant. l. 1. c. 9.

30[illegible] *dies at* York. *His Son* Conſtantine.

State of the Empire under Conſtantine. Pancirolli Notitia Imperii Occident. Brady, Vol. 1. p. 41—48.

The *Britons*, as long as *Conſtantine* ruled, lived in profound Tranquillity. His Reign was remarkable for three Circumſtances in which *Britain* was concerned. The firſt is, the Liberty granted by this Emperor throughout all the *Roman* Empire, of profeſſing the *Chriſtian Religion*, which *Britain* enjoyed as well as the reſt of the Provinces. The ſecond is, the general Regulation made by this ſame Prince for the better Government of his Dominions. He divided the whole Empire into four large *Præfectures*, namely, *Italy*, *Gaul*, the *Eaſt*, and *Illyria*, in which were contained fourteen great *Dioceſes* or *Provinces*. *Britain*, one of the fourteen, was ſubject to the *Præfect* of *Gaul*, and governed by a *Vicarius* or Deputy under him (12). Before *Conſtan-*

(1) Repeating theſe Lines of *Homer*——Μητις ὑπεκφυγῃσι &c.
——None our Arms ſhall ſpare,
None ſhall eſcape the Fury of the War;
Children unborn ſhall die——*Il.* 2.

(2) That is, *Cilyddion*, *Borderers* in the *Britiſh* Tongue, whom Biſhop *Lloyd* ſuppoſes to be firſt called *Picts*, about the Year of our Lord 300. Though at the ſame time they that lived next the *Roman* Frontiers were ſtill called *Caledones* or *Borderers*. *Ammianus*, who writ eighty Years after, ſays there were two Nations of the *Picts* which were called *Dicaledones* and *Vecturiones*, perhaps *Deucilyddion* and *Clwithwrion*, that is, in *Britiſh*, the *Southern Caledones*, or Borderers, and the *Northern Men*, (*Deu* and *Clwith*, *right* and *left*, being anciently uſed for *South* and *North*) the ſame, no doubt, that were afterwards called the *South* and *North Picts*, ſeparated (as *Bede* ſays) by a Ledge of high and ſteep Mountains or *Grantſbain*-Hills; amongſt which Hills the Country is called *Braid-Albin*, i. e. *High-Albion*, and the higheſt of them is called *Drum-Albin*, i. e. *Ridge of Albion*. This perhaps is the only Remains of that moſt ancient Name of this Iſland. See *Amm. Marc.* l. 27. p. 346. *Uſſer. prim.* p. 80, and 586. *Bede*, Hiſt. l. 3. c. 4. *Paneg.* ad Conſt. p. 235. *Eumen. Paneg. ad Conſt.* p. 258.

(3) *Lloyd* ſeems to have ſet this Matter in a clear Light in his Proofs of the following Particulars. 1. That the Inhabitants of *Ireland* or the *Scots* were never in *Britain* before the Year 300. 2. About that time they began their Incurſions, but ſettled not here 'till after the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, when the *Saxons* conquered the beſt part of *Britain*, calling it *England*. 3. Then part of the *Scots* or *Iriſh* ſeated themſelves among the *Picts*, and about the Year 500 erected the Kingdom of *Argyle*, and held it a long while peaceably. 4. About the Year 850, they conquered all that was North of *Graham*'s *Dike*. 5. After the Year 900 they got the reſt of the Country, and it came to be called *Scotland*. This ſeems to be the moſt probable Account of this much conteſted Affair, which the Reader may ſee at large in *Lloyd*'s Hiſtorical Account, &c. p. 5—46. It may not be amiſs to lay before the Reader one Argument alledged by *Buchanan* in favour of the Antiquity of the *Scots* in *Britain*. *In Paneg. Maximiano*, A. p. 258. The Orator comparing *Conſtantius*'s Victory over *Carauſius*, with That formerly gained by *Cæſar* over the *Britons*, ſays, *Ad hoc, natio etiam tunc rudis & Soli Britanni*, Pictis *modo & Hibernis aſſueta Hoſtibus adhuc ſeminudis, facile* Romanis *armis ſigniſque ceſſerunt*. Hence *Buchanan* infers the *Scots* were in *Britain* in *Cæſar*'s Time, by ſuppoſing *Soli Britanni* to be the Genitive Caſe. For then the Senſe will be This: *Moreover the Nation* (conquered by *Cæſar*) *being yet rude, and uſed to no other Enemies but* Picts *and* Iriſh *of the* Britiſh *Stil*, &c. that is, ſays he, *Scots* ſettled in *Britain*. But the *Engliſh* Writers ſeemingly more juſtly render the Words thus: *The Nation being yet rude, and only* Britons, *uſed to no other Enemies but* Picts *and* Iriſh, *eaſily yielded to the* Roman *Arms and Enſigns*. Hence the *Iriſh* here ſpoken of are not ſaid to dwell in *Britiſh* Soil, as *Buchanan* would have it.

(4) That is, from 211, to 286. But notwithſtanding the Silence of the *Roman* Hiſtorians, we learn from Inſcriptions the Names of three Proprætors under *Gordian* III, viz. *Mæcilius Fuſcus*, *Cneius Lucilianus*, (both mentioned in two Inſcriptions found at *Lancheſter* in the County of *Durham*) and *Nonnius Philippius*, (in one found at old *Carliſle*, dated 242.)

(5) The thirty Tyrants roſe up in the Reign of *Gallienus*, about the Year 260.

(6) *Eutropius* has it, *Vineas Gallos & Pannones* (inſtead of *Britannos*) *habere permiſit*. l. 9. c. 17.

(7) Who are ſaid to be of great uſe to the *Romans* in quelling Inſurrections. *Milt. Hiſt. Eng.* p. 102.

(8) They have on the Reverſe PROVIDENTIA AVGGG, or PAX AVGGG, ſhewing there were three Emperors at this time. See *Bott. Antiq. Rutup.* p. 65.

(9) *Nennius* ſays, that in his Time the Tomb of *Conſtantius* was ſhown *juxta urbem quæ vocatur* Caer-Conſtaint, i. e. *York*, or as others, *Caer-Marthen*, c. 21. p. 103.

(10) See Note above the Word *Caledonians*.

(11) *Uſher*, *Camden* and *Stillingfleet* have endeavoured to render this Opinion probable, and pretend that *Conſtantius* was forced to put away *Helena*, Mother of *Conſtantine*, and marry a Daughter of *Maximian*. *Rapin*.

(12) 'Till *Conſtantine*'s Time the Governor of *Britain* was called the Emperor's *Proprætor* or *Lieutenant*. But afterwards (as appears in the *Notitia* of the Empire) the Iſland was governed by a *Vicar* or *Deputy*, under the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gaul*. See *Zoſim. Hiſt.* l. 2. p. 678. The Enſigns of his Government were, 1. A Draught of the five Provinces of *Britain* expreſſed in ſeveral Buildings, with their Names on the triangular Form of the Iſland, as if they comprehended the whole Iſland. 2. The Book of their Inſtructions covered with Green, and the Commiſſion in a gilt Cover, with ſeveral Letters inſcribed on the Book. The Letters were, F. L. I. N. T. A. L. L. C. O. M. O. RD. P. R. i. e. *Frons libri juſſu noſtro tranſcripti a laterculis continentis mandata ordinaria principis*. There were two Books called the *Laterculum Majus*, and the *Laterculum Minus*. The firſt contained the Names, Inſtructions, &c. of the higher Officers, as the ſecond did thoſe of the inferior Officers. See *Pancirol in Not. Imperii*.

time, *Britain* was divided into two Provinces only. But that Emperor was pleaſed to divide it into three. The firſt was called *Britannia Prima* (1), containing all the Country South of the *Thames*, the Capital *London*. The ſecond, named *Britannia Secunda*, contained all the Country Weſt of the *Severn* to the *Iriſh Sea*, now called *Wales*, the Capital *Iſca* or *Caerleon*. All the reſt lying northward of the *Thames*, and eaſtward of the *Severn*, made up the third Province, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, the Capital *York*. This laſt was afterwards ſubdivided into two Parts; the ſouthern Part retained the old Name of *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and the other more northward, was called *Flavia Cæſarienſis*. But whether this Subdiviſion was made by *Conſtantine* is uncertain. In theſe three Provinces were twenty-eight large Cities, which in time became ſo many Biſhops Seats. The Lieutenant of the *Præfect* of *Gaul* had four Magiſtrates under him, two *Conſulars*, and two with the Title of *Preſidents*. Theſe Magiſtrates, with ſeveral inferior Officers, managed all *Civil* and *Criminal* Matters.

As for the military Government, there were in the Empire two Generaliſſimo's (2); one for the Eaſt, and the other for the Weſt. Each of theſe in the ſeveral Provinces in his Juriſdiction had others under him. In *Great-Britain* there were three General Officers to command the Militia; namely, *The Count of* Britain (3), *the Duke of* Britain (4), *and the Count of the* Saxon *Coaſts* (5). The Buſineſs of the Firſt was to keep Peace in the inland Parts of the Iſland, and probably of the weſtern Coaſts. The Second's Province was to defend the North from the Irruptions of the *Picts* and *Scots*. The Third was to guard the eaſtern and ſouthern Coaſts from the frequent Inroads of the *Saxon* Pyrates. Each of theſe Generals had a certain Number of Troops under his Command, and the Three together could form a Body of twenty thouſand Foot and about two thouſand Horſe (6.)

Beſides theſe civil and military Officers, there were others for more private Concerns; for Inſtance, *The Count of the Emperor's Largeſſes*, that is, the Receiver General or High-Treaſurer (7), had in *Britain* three Officers, a *Regiſter* (8), a *Treaſurer* (9), and a *Procurator* (10). And *the Count* or *Auditor of the private Revenues* of the Emperor, had alſo one to look after the Affairs belonging to his Office. From an Inſcription found not long ſince, 'tis thought there was alſo a *Procurator of the Gladiators* (11). Theſe were the principal *Roman* Officers in *Britain*, who with numberleſs others, ſought theſe Employments only to enrich themſelves at the Expence of the Province.

I have mentioned two of the three things in *Conſtantine*'s Reign that *Britain* was concerned in. The Third is the Removal of the Imperial Seat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*. After this Removal the Emperor was frequently obliged to drain his weſtern Provinces of their Forces (12), which in the end proved extremely detrimental to them, as it gave the northern Nations Opportunity to ravage their Borders by continual Irruptions. *Britain*, though ſcreened from theſe Invaſions by the Sea that ſurrounded her, felt the Effects of them however, being often forc'd to ſupply Troops for the Defence of other Provinces. In the mean time the *Britons* were ſo expoſed to the Ravages of the *Picts* and *Scots*, that they were forced at laſt to call in a foreign Nation to their Aid, which in Time became Maſter of the Iſland.

Zoſim. l. 2.

337. *Affairs of* Britain *from* Conſtantine *to* Valentinian.

After the Death of *Conſtantine*, the *Roman* Empire was divided between his three Sons; but in a little time *Conſtantius*, one of the three Brothers, being poſſeſſed of the whole, ſent into *Britain* a *Notary*, one *Paulus* (13), who committed numberleſs Extortions. Complaints were brought to the Emperor, but he was not prevailed with to recal this Miniſter, tho' he publickly abus'd his Authority. *Martinus* then Governor of the Province, was long Witneſs of theſe Abuſes without daring to oppoſe them, *Paulus* having an independent Commiſſion. At length ſeeing no end of his unjuſt Proceedings, he could not forbear adviſing him to uſe his Power with more Moderation, declaring withal he would quit his Government rather than employ his Authority any longer in countenancing ſuch Oppreſſions. *Paulus* proud of his Maſter's Favour, inſolently told him, that they who found fault with his Conduct, deſerved to be put in Irons, ſince the daring thus to oppoſe the Execution of the Emperor's Orders, could not but proceed from a Spirit of Rebellion. The Governor, inraged at theſe Words, draws his Sword and ſtrikes at him, but miſſing his Blow, plunges it into his own Breaſt and kills himſelf.

353. *The Extortions of* Paulus. Amm. Mar.

After *Martinus*'s Death, the *Britons* were expoſed more than ever to the Oppreſſions of *Paulus*. This mercileſs Man condemned to Death, Baniſhment, or Impriſonment, all that made the leaſt Reſiſtance to his Will, and the Emperor never concerned himſelf to reſtrain him (14.)

355. About the End of *Conſtantine*'s Reign, the Government of the Weſt was conferred on *Julian*, now created *Cæſar*, who reſided at *Paris*. Shortly after his arrival there, News came that the *Picts* and *Scots* had made Incurſions into the Province of *Britain*, that it was neceſſary to ſend a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance. Whereupon *Lupicinus* receives Orders to repair thither with all Expedition; but is recalled before he reaches *London*. Probably, the northern People had appeaſed *Julian* by their Submiſſion.

Julian governs the Weſt. Amm. Mar. 360. 361. *Sends Lupicinus into Britain.*

From that time to the Reign of *Valentinian* I. nothing remarkable happened in *Britain*. But under that Emperor the Iſland was in a wretched Condition, by the joint Attacks of the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots* (15), *Franks*, and *Saxons*. All theſe Nations, by Accident or a common League, invaded the *Roman* Province at once and made great Ravages. *Nectaridius*, Count or Guardian of the Coaſts, was defeated and ſlain by theſe new Enemies, and ſoon after, Duke *Buchobaudes* had the ſame Fate. *Severus* and *Jovinus* were ſucceſſively ſent into *Britain* to put a ſtop to their Ravages, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, the Emperor *Valentinian* pitches upon *Theodoſius* the Elder, ſo called to diſtinguiſh him from his Son, the firſt Emperor of that Name, to go and command in the Iſland. *Theodoſius* behaves like a Man of Courage and Experience. At his Arrival, he divides his Army into three Bodies, the better to oppoſe thoſe of the Enemies that were diſperſed in the Iſland. Fortune favouring his Diligence and Valour, he routs them in ſeveral Encounters, and at laſt drives them out of the *Roman* Province, recovering all their Booty, with a ſmall Part of which he rewards his Troops, reſtoring the reſt to the Owners. The *Barbarians* being repuls'd, *Theodoſius* returns in Triumph to *London*, and perceiving the City to have loſt much of her ancient Splendor, omits nothing to reſtore her to her former Condition. *London* is not the ſole Object of his Care. He applies himſelf alſo to repair the other ruin'd Cities and Caſtles, and to put them in Condition to hinder another time the Invaſions of the northern People. He was not ſatisfied even with this Precaution. As the Enemies were retired beyond the two Friths, he thought it neceſſary for the ſafety of *Britain* to keep all the Country they had abandon'd. To that end, he built Fortreſſes on the Neck of Land between the two Seas, to keep them at a greater diſtance. By this means the *Roman* Territories were enlarged with a great Tract of Land, of which *Theodoſius* made a fifth Province, calling it *Valentia*, in honour of *Valentinian*. This Country was part of the Kingdom of the *Picts*, which was thereby conſiderably diminiſh'd. *Theodoſius* having thus ſettled Matters in *Britain*, returned to *Rome*, leaving the Iſland under the Command of the Governors of each of the five Provinces (16).

364. *Troubles in the Iſland. It is attack'd by ſeveral Nations.* Amm. Mar. l. 27, 28. 365. 366. 367. *Theodoſius the Elder is ſent over. He beats back the Enemy into the northern Parts.* 368. *Repairs* London *and other Places, and makes a fifth Province.*

Valentinian I. had for his Succeſſors his Son *Valentinian* II. and *Gratian*. Shortly after, *Maximus* was ſent into *Britain* upon the *Picts* beginning to ſtir. At his Arrival, he forms a Deſign to reduce the whole Iſland under the Dominion of the *Romans*. But the Union of the two northern Nations being a grand Obſtacle to the Execution of his Project, he reſolves to divide them, if poſſible, and then attack them one after the other. In order to this, deſigning to make uſe of the *Picts* to deſtroy the *Scots*, firſt, he feigns to be extremely provok'd with the *Scots*, and charges them with being the ſole Cauſe of all the Troubles in *Britain*. Then he publickly engages the *Picts* to join their Forces with his, upon a Promiſe of giving them all the Lands that ſhould be taken from the *Scots*. This Artifice has all the Succeſs he expected. The *Picts* not perceiving the latent

Maximus Governor of Britain *deſigns to reduce the whole Iſland.* Zoſim. Gild. Buchan. *He joins with the Picts againſt the Scots.*

(1) Call'd *Prima*, becauſe firſt conquer'd: as *Wales* was called *Secunda*, becauſe next ſubdued. It was always the Cuſtom of the *Romans* to divide their Conqueſts into certain Portions or Provinces, and give them new Names.
(2) Magiſtri Peditum. (3) Comes Britanniarum. (4) Dux Britanniarum. (5) Comes Littoris Saxonici.
(6) According to *Pancirollus*, the Duke had under his Command fourteen thouſand Foot, and nine hundred Horſe; the Count of *Britain* three thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe; the *Count* of the *Saxon* Coaſt two thouſand two hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe, which made in all nineteen thouſand two hundred Foot, and ſeventeen hundred Horſe, the whole *Roman* Force in this Iſland.
(7) Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. (8) Rationalis Summarum Provinciæ.
(9) Præpoſitus Theſaurorum Auguſtorum in Britannia. (10) Procurator Gyneſii. (11) Procurator Ludorum Gladiatorum.
(12) *Conſtantine* in his War with *Maxentius*, carried at once over the *Alps* into *Italy*, an Army of *Germans*, *Celtæ*, and *Britons*, conſiſting of ninety thouſand Foot and eight thouſand Horſe. *Brady*, p. 33.
(13) To inquire what Officers and Soldiers were engaged in the Rebellion of *Magnentius*, *Amm. Marcell.*
(14) *Paulus* was afterwards burnt alive. *Am. Marcel.* l. 14. c. 6.
(15) Probably the wild and mountainous *Britons*. *Camb. Brady. Tyr. Stilling.* The *Franks* are not mentioned by *Marcellinus*, who ſays, *Attacoti bellicoſa hominum natio, & Scoti per diverſa vagantes, multa populabantur.* l. 27. c. 8.
(16) The Poet *Claudian* in his Panegyrick on *Theodoſius* the Emperor, Son of this *Theodoſius*, has the following Lines generally taken notice of:

Ille Caledoniis poſuit qui caſtra pruinis,
Qui medio Libyæ ſub caſſide pertulit æſtus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni.

Poiſon, ſwallow the Bait, and readily join with the *Romans* for the ſake of the promiſed Advantage. Preſently after, the *Scots* being attacked by theſe two united Powers, are forced to abandon their Country and fly into *Ireland*, and the adjacent Iſles. *Maximus*, according to his Promiſe, ſuffers his Allies to take poſſeſſion of the Lands deſerted by the *Scots*. But whilſt he is conſidering of Means to ſubdue them in their Turn, Affairs of greater Importance relating to himſelf, oblige him to form new Projects.

who flies into Ireland.

378. Gratian *aſſociates* Theodoſius *in the Empire.* Zoſim. l. 4.

Whilſt this General was employed in inlarging the Bounds of the Empire, *Gratian*, joint Emperor of the Weſt with *Valentinian* his Brother, aſſociates *Theodoſius the Younger*, Son of *Theodoſius the Elder*, who had commanded in *Britain*. This Choice, though univerſally applauded, diſpleaſes *Maximus*, who thinks himſelf more worthy of the *Purple* than the Perſon inveſted with it. He takes the Preference given by *Gratian* to *Theodoſius* as a heinous Affront, and therefore can't bear the Thought of ſerving ſo ungrateful a Maſter, and a young Prince ſo much in his Opinion beneath him in Merit. The Vexation to ſee himſelf thus ſlighted, throws him into a Reſolution to aſſume the Imperial Dignity. and ſo put himſelf upon an Equality with the Perſon *Gratian* had given him for Sovereign. After forming this Project, he alters his Meaſures. Inſtead of making War upon the *Picts*, according to his former Reſolution, he thinks only how to gain their Friendſhip. His Intent was to leave *Britain* in quiet and attached to his Intereſt, whilſt he was elſewhere employed againſt the three Emperors, from whom he deſigned to wreſt the Empire. But an unexpected War ariſing in *Britain*, prevented him from diſcovering his Purpoſe ſo ſoon as he intended. The *Scots*, ſtrengthened with the Aſſiſtance of the *Iriſh*, make an Irruption into the North, and endeavour to recover the Dominions from whence they were chaſed. *Maximus* therefore is forced to employ againſt them the Forces prepared for the Execution of his other Projects. He defeats them ſeveral times, and at length drives them back into *Ireland*, where he makes a Show of following them, to deprive them of that Refuge, and puniſh the *Iriſh*. But the *Iriſh* dreading to ſee a *Roman* Army in their Iſland, ſend to him to make his own Terms, which he did in a much more favourable manner than they expected, with intent to ſtifle all Seeds of Diviſion and Diſcontent, that might any way fruſtrate his principal Deſign.

Maximus *forms the Project of becoming Emperor.*

The Scots *re-enter their Country.*

Are driven back into Ireland.

Maximus *grants a Peace to the* Iriſh.

After theſe Troubles are appeaſed, *Maximus* aſſumes the Imperial Purple, and quits *Britain* to go and fight *Gratian*. He leads all the *Roman* Forces into *Gaul*, with a conſiderable Body of ſuch *Britons* as are fit to bear Arms. Thus *Britain* was on a ſudden deſtitute of Soldiers, and conſequently ſo weak, that ſhe could not defend herſelf in caſe of Attack. The *Roman* Hiſtorians inform us, that *Maximus* cauſing *Gratian* to be aſſaſſinated as he was flying into *Italy*, and dethroning *Valentinian* II, was himſelf vanquiſhed and beheaded by *Theodoſius*. This Victory procured the Reſtoration of *Valentinian*, who was ſoon after murdered by *Arbogaſtes*, and *Eugenius* placed on the Throne. *Theodoſius* was therefore forced to fight the new Uſurper, who met with the ſame Fate as *Maximus*. *Eugenius* being dead, *Arbogaſtes* deſpairing to eſcape due Puniſhment, lays violent Hands on himſelf (1). Thus *Theodoſius* remains ſole Maſter of the Empire, and keeps Poſſeſſion as long as he lives. The Fame of his Victories, and the Mildneſs of his Government keep his Subjects in Obedience, and his Neighbours in Awe. The *Picts* in particular, lived peaceably in their Country without moleſting the *Britons*.

He aſſumes the Title of Emperor.

Gildas, n. 10. Bede, l. 1. c. 9.

388. *Is beheaded by* Theodoſius.

392. *Affairs of the Empire.*

After the Death of *Theodoſius*, the Empire was divided between his two Sons. *Arcadius* was Emperor of the Eaſt, and *Honorius* of the Weſt. As *Honorius* was very young, the famous *Stilico*, by the Emperor his Father's Order, was Regent during his Minority. His firſt Care was to ſend a Governor into *Britain* with a Legion, to curb the Inſolence of the *Picts*, who after *Theodoſius*'s Death, began to make Inroads into the *Roman* Province. He made choice of *Victorinus*, a Perſon of a fierce and arrogant Temper, who not ſatisfied with cooping up the *Picts* in their Country, treated them as Subjects of the Empire. He pretended to ſtretch his Authority ſo far as to forbid them to crown another King in the room of *Hengiſt*, whom Death had juſt taken out of the World. This Proceeding convinced the *Picts*, *Victorinus* had a Deſign to attack them, and laid them under Apprehenſions that after having helped to drive out the *Scots*, they ſhould be forced to follow them now that they could no longer depend upon the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours, as formerly. They conſidered, by the Retreat of the *Scots*, they were deprived of an Aid, which in time to come might be to them very neceſſary. The little Regard the *Roman* Governor had for them making them apprehenſive he had formed ſome Deſign againſt their Liberty, they thought of Means to avoid their Ruin, by repairing the Error they had committed. In this State of Fear and Uncertainty, they reſolved to recall the *Scots*. To which end they ſend an honourable Embaſſy to *Fergus*, a Prince of the Blood-Royal of *Scotland*, who was retired into *Denmark*, and invite him with his Countrymen to come and take poſſeſſion again of the Country they were forced to abandon. As a farther Inducement they promiſe him the Command of their Army in the War with the *Romans*, which to them ſeemed unavoidable. *Fergus* accepts theſe Offers, and acquaints the fugitive *Scots* that he is ready to lead them back into their Country. There could never be a more favourable Juncture. The *Roman* Empire was not only rent with inteſtine Troubles by the Diſcord which reigned among the Governors, but powerfully attacked by barbarous Nations that ravag'd the Borders. Theſe Diſorders had obliged *Stilico* to recal *Victorinus* with his Legion, and employ him in other Parts, where the Occaſion was more urgent. At this very Juncture the *Scots* re-enter the Iſland under the Conduct of *Fergus*, whom they unanimouſly chuſe for their King (2).

who recall the Scots. Gordon. l. 3. c. 1. Buchanan.

403. Fergus *conducts the* Scots *into* Scotland. Scot. chr. l. 3. c. 1.

As ſoon as *Fergus* II. is ſeated in the Throne, he meditates Revenge upon the *Romans*, which to him appears the more eaſy to effect, as they are extremely weakened by the Departure of *Victorinus*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he aſſembles the Forces of both Nations, of which he was inveſted with the Command, and after taking the Fortreſſes built by *Theodoſius the Elder*, between the two Friths, advances to *Severus*'s Wall. The ſmall Number of Troops left by the *Romans* in the Iſland not being able to defend a Wall of ſo great Length, the *Picts* and *Scots* enter the *Roman* Province with little or no Difficulty, and lay waſte the Country.

Being made King he wars againſt the Romans.

After *Britain* had ſubmitted to the *Roman* Yoke, a great Number of foreign Families removed thither, ſprung for the moſt part from the Veteran Soldiers, ſettled there. Theſe Families had ſo mixt with the Natives, that they now made but one People, governed by Officers ſent from *Rome*. I ſhall therefore call this mixt People henceforward by the Name of *Britons*, becauſe the *Romans* and other Foreigners, as well as the Natives, had the ſame Intereſt to defend *Britain*, now become their common Country. The *Britons* then finding themſelves thus harraſſed by their Neighbours, and deſpairing of Aſſiſtance from *Rome*, reſolve to elect an Emperor, whoſe Intereſt it ſhould be to protect them. Their Choice falls upon one *Marcus* an Officer of great Credit among them; but the new Sovereign not having the good Fortune to pleaſe all the World, is quickly ſlain or dethroned, and another, called *Gratian*, choſen in his Room. This laſt being a Man of a cruel and bloody Diſpoſition, meets the ſame Fate, four Months after his Election.

The Britons *a mixt People.*

408. *They chuſe an Emperor.* Oroſ.

Marcus *and* Gratian *elected and ſlain.* An. 407. Zoſim. l. 6. Bede, l. 1. c. 11.

As theſe two firſt Emperors did not anſwer Expectation, *Conſtantine* a common Soldier was next raiſed to the Imperial Dignity purely for the ſake of his Name, which was thought to be fortunate. The new Emperor being a Man of Courage, and of a Genius far above his former Condition, beats back the northern People into their Country, and then concludes a Peace with them. This Succeſs inſpiring him with a higher Conceit of his Merit and Fortune, he is not content to reign in *Britain* only, but forms a Deſign to become Maſter of the whole Empire. To this end he draws together the Remains of thoſe that can bear Arms, as well *Romans* as Iſlanders, and forming an Army, paſſes into *Gaul*. His Intention was to improve the preſent favourable Juncture. *Honorius* was then attacked by *Alaric* King of the *Goths*, who a few Years after, became Maſter of *Rome*. Whilſt *Conſtantine* is making Preparations, he ſends Ambaſſadors to *Honorius*, to acquaint him with his being choſen Emperor by *Britain*, and to excuſe his accepting the Imperial Dignity without his Knowledge. *Honorius*, now preſſed by *Alaric*, is forced to admit of *Conſtantine*'s Excuſes, and own him for his Aſſociate in the Empire. The Emperor's Condeſcention is not capable of ſatisfying the ambitious *Conſtantine*, whoſe Deſigns and Hopes are vaſtly inlarged. At his Arrival in *Gaul*, he aſſociates his Son *Conſtans*, taken out of the Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*; and leaving him an Army to maintain his Authority in theſe Provinces, marches towards the *Alps* in order to paſs into *Italy* and dethrone *Honorius*. *Conſtans* had for General of his Troops one *Gerontius*, who by his prudent Conduct, not only made his Maſter reſpected in *Gaul*, but alſo put him in poſſeſſion of *Spain*. The young Emperor was ſo exalted with this unexpected Succeſs, that for fear the Honour which he thought wholly belonged to himſelf, ſhould be aſcribed to *Gerontius*, he removed him from his Poſt. So ungrateful a Return goes not long unpuniſhed. *Gerontius*, exaſperated at the Affront, finds Means to aſſemble the Army, and cauſing *Maximus*, a

He forms a Deſign to become Maſter of the whole Empire.

409. *Goes with an Army into* Gaul. Oroſ.

Honorius *owns him for his Aſſociate.*

Conſtantine *aſſociates his Son* Conſtans, *and marches towards* Italy.

Gerontius *turns againſt* Conſtans.

Honorius *Emperor of the Weſt.* Zoſim. l. 4.

Victorinus *ſent into* Britain.

He treats the Picts *ill,*

(1) *Horſley* ſays he ſaw a curious Medal of his at *Newcaſtle*, though he could never learn where it was found, p. 74.
(2) The *Scotch* Writers are here follow'd, though accus'd by the *Engliſh* of vending many Fables. *Rapin.* See Note, p. 21.

Friend

Friend of his, to be proclaimed Emperor, gains the Majority to his Side. Then he goes and beſieges *Conſtans* in *Vienne*, where he was retir'd. That Town not being then in condition to ſtand a long Siege, *Conſtans* in a Sally wilfully ruſhes upon his Death, for fear of falling into the Hands of his Enemy.

who is killed at the Siege of Vienne.

Conſtantine *is beſieged in* Arles.

Conſtantine ſeeing the Face of Affairs altered by the Revolt of *Gerontius*, and the Death of his Son, lays aſide his Deſign of going into *Italy*, and retires to *Arles*, where he is beſieged by *Gerontius*. But while *Gerontius* is pleaſed with the Hopes of having him ſoon in his own Power, he is forced on a ſudden to raiſe the Siege, and march againſt a more formidable Enemy. Count *Conſtantius*, to whom *Honorius* had given the Command of his Armies, upon the Peace lately concluded between the Emperor and the King of the *Goths* (1), was advancing with all ſpeed to curb the Inſolence of the Tyrants of *Gaul*. Upon his Approach, *Gerontius* is ſuddenly deſerted by his Army, and forced to fly into *Spain*, where he is ſlain by his own People. *Conſtantine* had no better Fortune than *Gerontius*. He was taken at *Arles*, with his Son *Julian* and his Brother *Sebaſtian*. Though before the Surrender of the Town he had taken *Prieſts Orders*, he was nevertheleſs ſent to the Emperor and beheaded.

Count Conſtantius *leads an Army into* Gaul.

Gerontius *retires into* Spain, *and is killed.* Zoſ. l. 9. c. 15.

Conſtantine *is taken at* Arles, *and beheaded.*

410. *The northern People attack the defenceleſs* Britons. Zoſim. Niceph. Oroſ. Gildas, n. 11.

The *Britons* thus left to themſelves after the Departure of the *Roman* Soldiers, and the Flower of their Youth, are quickly reduced to great Extremities. The *Picts* and *Scots* continue their Ravages without Oppoſition, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of their Enemies. This wretched State held ſome Years, and the *Romans* were not able to help it. They were too much taken up with their own Affairs to think of *Britain*. The *Goths* had renewed the War under the Conduct of *Alaric*, and having taken and ſacked the City of *Rome*, were now in poſſeſſion of *Gaul* (2). On the other Side, the *Suevi*, *Vandals* (3), *Cotti*, and *Alani* (4), had over-run *Spain*. In vain therefore do the *Britons* implore the Emperor's Aſſiſtance. He is neither able nor willing to give them any; *Britain*, ſo carefully preſerved by his Predeceſſors, beginning now to be a Burden. Wherefore to free himſelf at once from their Importunities, he voluntarily reſigns the Sovereignty of the Iſland, and diſcharges the Inhabitants of their Allegiance to the Empire. This ſolemn Renunciation was made in the Year 410, a little after *Alaric*'s taking of *Rome*.

They implore Aid of the Romans *in vain.*

Honorius *renounces his Sovereignty of* Britain.

Miſeries of the Britons. Gildas, n. 13, 14, 15.

Ætius *ſends them a Legion,* Stilling. Orig. Brit.

The Liberty the *Britons* had thus recovered, ſerved only to render them more miſerable. Whereas before they might claim the Protection of the Emperor, they were now deſtitute of all Hopes of Aſſiſtance. However, the Affairs of the *Romans* happening afterwards to be ſomewhat reſtored under *Valentinian* III, by the Victories of the famous *Ætius* over the *Wiſigoths* and *Burgundians*, this General, out of Pity to the wretched Condition of the *Britons*, ſends them a Legion commanded by *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, or as ſome ſay, by *Maximian*. This Aid arriving unexpectedly, beat back with eaſe the northern Nations, and forced them to retire into the Country. But the Emperor having occaſion for the Legion, they were recalled, juſt as the Enemies were preparing to renew their Devaſtations.

which is ſoon recalled.

Advice of the Roman *Commander to the* Britons. Bede, l. 1. c. 21.

Before his Departure the *Roman* Commander told the *Britons* plainly, they were to expect no farther Aſſiſtance from the Emperor, who was wholly employed elſewhere againſt the northern Nations of *Europe*, whoſe Ravages extended to all parts of the Empire. After this Declaration, he adviſes them to inure themſelves to Arms, that they may be able to withſtand the continual Attacks of their Enemies; and conſidering their Weakneſs, exhorts them to repair the Wall of *Severus* to ſerve them for a Barrier; offering them the Aſſiſtance of his Soldiers and his own Direction in the Work. What could the *Britons* do in this their Extremity? They had no other Method to take, but That propoſed to them by the *Roman* Captain, and therefore fell to work upon their Wall with all poſſible Diligence, which as ſoon as they had finiſhed, the *Romans* took their laſt Farewel of *Britain* never to return more. The End of the *Roman* Dominion over *Britain* is to be fixed to the Time of this Legion leaving the Iſland, in the Year 426 to 427 (5).

They repair Severus's *Wall.*

The Romans *quit* Britain. Uſher. Gildas, n. 15. Bede, l. 1. c. 12.

The *Picts* and *Scots*, who lived in ſtrict Union after the Coronation of *Fergus*, began their Hoſtilities againſt the *Britons* with more Confidence than ever, when they heard of the Departure of the *Roman* Forces. The Wall of *Severus* lately repaired, is attacked afreſh, and abandoned at laſt, being defended only by *Britons* little uſed to war.

After which, the northern People made large Breaches in ſeveral Places, that it might be no Obſtacle to their future Incurſions into their Enemies Country. About this Time *Fergus* dies as he is returning to *Ireland*, leaving his young Son *Eugenius* II. a Minor, under the Regency of *Greham* his Grandfather by his Mother's Side.

The Weakneſs of the *Britons* was then ſo great, that deſpairing to reſiſt their Enemies, they abandoned part of their Country, and retired more Southward. Whereupon the *Picts* and *Scots*, grown more bold by their Advantages, form new Projects, and think of Means to drive the *Britons* entirely out of the Iſland. To this end they reſolve to ſend for Colonies from *Ireland* and the adjacent Iſles, to people the Lands forſaken by the *Britons*, as well as thoſe they hope to take from them hereafter. But *Greham* prevents, by his Authority, the Execution of this Project, fearing the Return of the *Romans*, and the making *Scotland* the Scene of the War. It may be, he was not altogether ignorant of the ſad Condition then of the *Roman* Empire; but knew not how low it was; and therefore, thought fit to oppoſe the Deſigns of the *Scots*, and prefer a ſolid Peace, with ſome real, though not great, Advantages, to a War which, as he imagined, might be attended with dangerous Conſequences. A Peace then was offer'd to the *Britons* upon honourable Terms, and by them gladly accepted. By the Treaty the Wall of *Severus* was to be the common Boundary of the two Nations. But for this Advantage the *Britons* were obliged to pay a conſiderable Sum of Money. The *Scots* thinking this Peace not advantageous enough, loudly murmur'd at it; but *Greham* took care to ſee it obſerved during his Adminiſtration.

The Britons *abandon part of their Country.*

Greham *Regent of* Scotland *makes a Peace with the* Britons.

As ſoon as *Eugenius* II was of Age to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, he reſolved to break a Treaty, which his Subjects had proteſted againſt. He knew the *Romans* were not in condition to aſſiſt *Britain*, and the Opportunity appeared too favourable to be neglected. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he ſends Ambaſſadors to the *Britons*, and haughtily demands all the Lands poſſeſſed by the *Scots* before the late Treaty. The Chief of the *Britons*, ſurprized at this unexpected Demand, convene a general Aſſembly to conſider of an Anſwer to the King of *Scotland*. The Majority of the Aſſembly, provoked at the Haughtineſs of their Neighbours, and knowing they only wanted an Excuſe to renew the War, were of opinion to reject their Demand. "It is eaſy (ſay they) to perceive the *Scots* "will not be ſatisfied hereafter with their preſent Demands. "Their Aim is only to have an Entrance into the Coun- "try, that they may with leſs Difficulty become Maſters "of the whole; and it will be an eaſier Taſk to prevent "them from entering, than to drive them out when once "they are ſettled. In ſhort, ſince a War is unavoidable, "it will be very imprudent to grant what they demand, "under colour of preſerving a Peace which cannot laſt "long." Others not ſo warm, knowing the extreme Weakneſs of the Nation, were of another Mind. They were for finding ſome Expedient to ſatisfy the *Scots*, and avoid, if poſſible, a War which muſt prove fatal to the *Britons*. "They deſire the Aſſembly to conſider what pro- "digious Number of Soldiers were drawn out of the "Iſland by the *Romans* to ſupply their Armies abroad; "how many *Maximus* carried with him that were ſettled "in *Gaul*; and laſtly how the Country was drain'd of all "that could bear Arms by *Conſtantine*. To this they add, "the Weakneſs of the Nation was but too viſible in their "late War with the *Scots*, when their frequent Defeats "obliged them to abandon the very Lands now demanded, "the Poſſeſſion of which was entirely owing to the Ge- "neroſity of *Greham*; it is therefore better for the *Britons* "to give up freely what they cannot keep, than for the "ſake of that, to run the Riſk of loſing their All."

Eugenius *King of* Scotland *breaks the Treaty.*

Diſſentions among the Britons.

Tho' theſe Reaſons were very weighty, they were overruled by the violent Party, and *Conan* one of the wiſeſt and moſt powerful of the Nation, for dwelling too long upon the Advantages of Peace, was deemed a Traitor, and torn in pieces by them. After that none daring to oppoſe it, the Ambaſſadors were ſent back with an inſulting Anſwer. This haſty Reſolution was followed with a War more deſtructive to the *Britons* than their former ones, and which entirely weakened them by the Loſs of fourteen or fifteen thouſand Men in one ſingle Battle. Reduc'd to Extremity, they have no courſe left but to ſue in a ſuppliant Manner for that Peace they ſo haughtily refuſed. They obtain it indeed, but upon very hard Terms. By the new Treaty, they are obliged to give up all the Country north

A War is reſolv'd.

The Britons *are beaten.*

They obtain Peace.

(1) In the Year 404 or 405. *Rapin.*

(2) In 404 or 405 *Honorius* made a Treaty with *Alaric*, who retired into *Illyria*, from whence he returned in 409 or 410, and then it was he took *Rome*. *Rapin.*

(3) Northern People from *Scythia* about the Lake *Mæotis* and River *Tanais* of *Gothic* Original, and called *Vandals* from the Word *Wandelen* to *wander* or *rove*, becauſe they often changed their Places of Abode. At laſt they fixed near the Coaſts of the *Baltic* Sea towards *Germany*, which from them was called *Vandalia*. The *Suevi* were of the ſame Original, ſo named from the Word *Schweben*, of the ſame Import with *Wandelin*. They poſſeſſed that Part of *Germany* beyond the *Danube*, now called *Suabia*. *Brady*, p. 37.

(4) The *Alani* were ſeated not far from the Head of the River *Tanais* or *Don*. *Ibid.*

(5) *Stillingfleet* thinks it was in the Year 418. *Rapin.*

of

of the *Humber*, of which the *Picts* and *Scots* as waging War in common, take poſſeſſion (1).

Cauſe of the Britons Weakneſs.

The extreme Weakneſs of the *Britons* will not be thought ſtrange, if it be conſidered in the firſt Place, they were not uſed to War. The *Romans*, who had long been Maſters of the Iſland, never ſuffered them to exerciſe their Arms; it being their Cuſtom always to employ foreign Troops in their Conqueſts. For this reaſon the Soldiers levied in *Britain* were ſent into other Provinces, from whence they never returned. Theſe Levies were ſo numerous that there were twelve conſiderable Bodies of *Britons* in the *Roman* Armies diſperſed in the ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, and always recruited from *Britain*. In the next place, *Maximus* and *Conſtantine* led ſuch great Armies from thence, as almoſt drained the Iſland of Men fit to bear Arms. In fine, if to this be added the late Loſſes ſuſtained by the *Britons* after the Departure of the *Romans*, it is no Wonder they became ſo eaſy a Prey to their Enemies.

Camden, p. 87.

Nennius, c. 23.

Confuſion in the Hiſtory of thoſe Days.

From this Time to the coming in of the *Saxons*, the Hiſtory of *Britain* is very confuſed, by reaſon of the Diſagreement of the Writers, which makes it very difficult to diſcover the Truth, and much more ſo to fix all the Dates. What can be gathered with any certainty is, that the *Britons* elected ſeveral Kings, whoſe Actions are unknown; and that theſe Kings were eſtabliſhed, and afterwards killed or dethroned, according to the Humour and Intereſt of the leading Men. Probably too, ſeveral Kings reigned at the ſame time in different Provinces, and by their Diſcord and Wars contributed to the weakening one another. To complete their Misfortunes, *Britain* was afflicted with a cruel Famine, which raged alſo in moſt Parts of the World. This terrible Scourge rendered the Country quite deſolate, People dying with Hunger by thouſands. In this extreme Diſtreſs, Multitudes of poor Wretches, to ſave their Lives, fly into *Armorica*, where great part of *Maximus*'s Army was already ſettled. Others, rather than ſtarve with Hunger, threw themſelves upon the *Picts* and *Scots*. Amidſt theſe Deſolations, the northern People, their irreconcileable Enemies, taking Advantage of their Misfortunes, break the Treaty, and paſſing the *Humber*, ravage the Country in a mercileſs manner.

Gildas, n. 6. 21, 25. Bede, l. 1. c. 13.

The Britons Letter to Ætius Gildas, n. 17.

The miſerable State of the *Britons* forces them to apply once more to the *Romans* for Aſſiſtance. They ſend, upon this Occaſion, a very moving Letter to *Ætius* then in *Gaul* (2): *We know not* (ſay they) *which way to turn us. The* Barbarians *drive us to the Sea, and the Sea forces us back to the* Barbarians; *between which we have only the choice of two Deaths, either to be ſwallowed up by the Waves, or butchered by the Sword.* *Ætius* was then preparing to repulſe *Attila*, who was entered *Gaul* with an Army of eighty thouſand Men, and therefore not being in condition to grant their Requeſt, ſent them word that the Affairs of the Empire would not ſuffer him to aſſiſt them, neither were they to depend upon him (3). So mortifying an Anſwer threw the miſerable *Britons* into the utmoſt Conſternation, not knowing what Meaſures to take, to free themſelves from their unfortunate Circumſtances. In this Diſtreſs, it is judged proper by the chief Men of the Nation to call a General Aſſembly, and conſider of ſome poſſible Remedy for their Calamities, which daily increaſe. They agreed at laſt to chuſe a Monarch (4) as the only Expedient to ſave them from Deſtruction, in expectation, that when united under one Head, their Diviſions would ceaſe, and their Enemies be more ſtrongly reſiſted. But the Diſcord that reigned among the principal Members of the State, prevented the good Effects of this Expedient. Several Great Men, having fortified themſelves in diverſe Parts, acted like Sovereigns. All theſe petty Tyrants, jealous of one another, far from owning the Monarch elect, fought only to deſtroy him, in order to be choſen in his room. It was therefore impoſſible for theſe Monarchs to ſubſiſt long, ſince not being agreeable to all, the Male-contents joined together for their Deſtruction: Thus the *Britons*, whilſt they endeavour to unite themſelves under one Head, are plunged the deeper into Anarchy and Confuſion.

They chuſe a Monarch.

Great Diſcord and Confuſion among the Britons.

We know not the Names of any of theſe Monarchs 'till *Vortigern*, Count or King of the *Dunmonij* (5), elected in the Year 445. This Prince, as he was the moſt powerful and ambitious, could never brook a Superior, and therefore was all along a profeſſed Enemy to the preceding Monarchs, and contributed to their Ruin. Nay, 'tis affirmed by Hiſtorians, that he aſſaſſinated his Predeceſſor to make room for himſelf. Thoſe that imagine *Conſtans* Son of *Conſtantine* killed at the Siege of *Vienne*, to be his immediate Predeceſſor, are certainly miſtaken, ſince there was at leaſt forty Years ſpace between the Death of *Conſtans* and the Election of *Vortigern* (6).

Vortigern is elected in 445.

The new Monarch was by no means qualified to reſtore the Affairs of the *Britons*. As he attained to the ſupreme Dignity by Artifice and Cabal, he wholly bent his Thoughts to maintain himſelf in the Throne by the ſame wicked Methods, regardleſs of the general Welfare of his Subjects. He was moreover of a cruel and avaritious Temper, addicted to many Vices; and ſo lewd, that he debauched his own Daughter, by flattering her with Hopes of being a Queen (7). Mean while there was a Neceſſity to think of repulſing the Enemies, and *Vortigern* knew himſelf incapable of ſuch an Undertaking, though he had been choſen for that very purpoſe. But what troubled and perplexed him moſt, was, his being ſo little beloved by the People, and the continual Fear of being dethroned. The Examples of the Monarchs his Predeceſſors being never out of his Mind, he was apprehenſive the ſame Courſe would be taken with him, ſince he was ſo little able to anſwer the good Opinion conceived of him when raiſed to the Throne. Living thus in equal Dread of the Enemies of the State and of his own Subjects, he fancied he had deviſed an Expedient to free himſelf from the Danger of the one, and Plots of the other. But as he could not put his Deſign in practiſe without the Conſent of the *Britons*, he calls a General-Aſſembly, and makes a long Speech, before he comes to the Point. " He deſcribes in a ſtrong and " lively Manner the extreme Miſery of the Nation: Ac- " cuſes the *Romans* of being the ſole Cauſe of the Miſ- " fortunes of the *Britons*, by draining the Iſland of all her " Youth fit to bear Arms, and then leaving her to the " Inſults of her Neighbours. He enlarges upon the great " Loſſes ſuſtained ſince by the *Britons*, and the manifeſt " Danger of being either driven out of their Country, or " utterly deſtroyed, by reaſon of their Weakneſs. For " his part, he is always ready to hazard his Life for the " Service of the Nation: but conſidering the few Troops " in his Power, and the little Union between the principal " Members of the State, he has no Hopes that his weak " Endeavours will be able to reſcue his Subjects from their " preſent Calamities. In this melancholy State of Affairs,

His Character.

Malm. l. 1. c. 2.

He fears as well his own Subjects as the Enemies of the State.

Nennius.

He calls a General Aſſembly.

He propoſes to call the Saxons *to aid the* Britons.

Gildas n. 23. Bede, l. 1. c. 15.

(1) From *Severus*'s Wall to the *Humber* is eighty Miles. *Rapin.*

(2) The *Britons* calling, in their Letter, *Ætius* Conſul, hath made ſome call this Fact in queſtion, becauſe his Name is not found in the *Roman Faſti*; but, as Mr. *Selden* obſerves, the Name of *Conſul* was frequently given to illuſtrious Perſons, tho' they were not actually *Conſuls*. Not. on *Poly-Olb.* p. 84.

(3) As this is the laſt mention of the *Romans*, it may not be amiſs to give a brief Account of the Legions that came into the Iſland. *Julius Cæſar* brought with him the firſt time the ſeventh, and tenth his favorite Legion. In his ſecond Deſcent he brought five Legions, but which they were, except the ſeventh, is unknown. All theſe return'd the ſame Year they came. Under *Claudius* came four Legions, (with their proper Auxiliaries, making an Army of about Fifty Thouſand Men) namely the ſecond, the ninth, the fourteenth and the twentieth. The ſecond called *Legio ſecunda Auguſta*, came hither under the Command of *Veſpaſian*, and continued here to the very laſt. They were concern'd in building the *Roman* Wall in *Scotland*, as appears from the Inſcriptions. Their uſual Quarters were at *Caerleon*, though they were removed from thence at laſt, being plac'd at *Rutupæ* in the *Notitia*, where they are called *Legio ſecunda Britannica* ſive *Secunda*, i. e. Thoſe of the ſecond Legion, as the *Quintani*, *Quarta-decumani*, &c. are thoſe of the fifth and fourteenth in *Tacitus*. *Ptolemy* places this Legion at *Iſca Dumnoniorum*, or *Exeter*, which might be miſtaken for *Iſca Silurum* or *Caer-leon*. The ninth was cut in pieces by *Boadicea*; it was recruited with two thouſand Soldiers, and eight auxiliary Cohorts, but attacked again, as being the weakeſt, by the *Caledonians*. After which, being no more heard of, it was either broke or incorporated with the fifth Legion brought over by *Hadrian*. It is ſuppoſed to have been ſtationed at *York*, where an Inſcription was found with theſe Words, *Legio nona Victrix*. The fourteenth was the only Legion, ſays *Tacitus*, that together with the *Vexillarii* of the twentieth (that is, ſix hundred ſelect Men of a Legion) was entirely engaged in the Battle with *Boadicea*'s Army. This Legion was recalled by *Nero*, ordered back by *Vitellius*, and ſent for again by *Veſpaſian*; after which they ſeemed never to have returned to *Britain* any more. As they left *Britain*, before the Humour of erecting Inſcriptions, it is no Wonder they are not mentioned in any. The twentieth is thus expreſſed in the *Roman* Inſcriptions, L E G. XX. V. V. That is, *Legio Viceſima Valens* (or *Valeria*) *Victrix*. The ſtated Quarters of this Legion was *Deva* or *Weſt-Cheſter*, which probably was therefore honoured with the Name of a Colony, as in one of *Geta*'s Coins with this Legend, COLONIA DIVANA LEGIO XX VICTRIX. This Legion was with the ſecond employed in building the *Roman* Forts and Walls. It does not appear when they left *Britain*. Beſides theſe four Legions, there came with *Hadrian* the ſixth, uſually thus expreſſed, L E G. VI. V. P. F. that is, *Legio Sexta Victrix Pia Fidelis*. This Legion was a long time in *Britain*. They are frequently mentioned in the Inſcriptions on *Severus*'s Wall. Their ſtated Quarters were at *York*. From what has been ſaid it appears, that for twenty five Years from *Claudius*'s Invaſion, till the fourteenth was recalled by *Nero*, and afterwards by *Veſpaſian*) there were four Legions in *Britain*. From the firſt Year of *Veſpaſian* to *Hadrian*'s Reign, only three; and from *Hadrian*'s time (when the ſixth came over) to the loweſt Empire, there were ſtill but three; the ninth being broken or incorporated with the ſixth. The Reader may ſee a large Account of theſe Things in *Horſley*, B I. c. 6.

(4) By Monarch here is to be underſtood, one ſuperior to the other Heads, or Kings, on whom they were in ſome Meaſure dependent. See *Selden* and *Malmſbury Rapin.*

(5) Inhabitants of *Devon* and *Cornwal*. *Rowland* thinks *Dannonium* is the true Word for *Cornwal*, and *Dunmoniam* for *Devonſhire*, or the *Britiſh Dyfuctint*. The *Corniſh* write and pronounce *(d)* as (2). He derives both theſe Words from *Mŏn*, ſignifying the *utmoſt* or *fartheſt*.

(6) *Alford* and others place *Vortigern*'s Election between 430 and 436. The common Opinion is followed here, which appears to be moſt probable. *Rapin.*

(7) This Story of *Vortigern*'s Inceſt ſeems altogether unlikely. At leaſt, the Dialogue between *Vortigern* and St. *Germain*, and his being condemned in a great Council of Clergy and Laity, in which St. *Germain* preſided, is certainly falſe, that Saint being dead a Year before the *Saxons* arrived in *Britain*. And indeed, when is it that he ſhould commit this Crime? Not before he married *Rowena*, for *Nennius* places it afterwards; nor could it well be during the time of his Marriage with her, ſince, as the ſame Author relates, ſhe continued his Wife long after, when he was taken Priſoner by *Hengiſt*, and it is very ſtrange he ſhould fall in Love with his own Daughter, when he had another Wife, whom he is ſaid to love ſo well, that he was divorced from his firſt for her ſake. See *Tyrrel*, Vol. I. p. 127, 128.

" he ſees but one way to ſave his Country from the De-
" ſtructions ſhe is threatened with, and That is, to call
" in to their Aſſiſtance a Nation, that by their victorious
" Arms were ſettled in *Germany*, upon the Lands of the
" *Romans*. Then tells them, he means the *Saxons*; ad-
" ding, they have indeed done ſome Damage to the *Bri-*
" *tons* by their Pyracies, but are now ready to repair it
" with Advantage; ſince they can free them from the
" continual Irruptions of the *Picts* and *Scots*. This Peo-
" ple, being parted from *Britain* by a ſmall Arm of the
" Sea only, can be as ſpeedy with their Aid as their preſ-
" ſing Occaſions require: They are already grown formi-
" dable to the northern Nations, and by the Arrival of
" ſome of their Troops the *Britons* will quickly be in con-
" dition to reſiſt their Enemies, and perhaps repay them
" in their own Coin." He concludes with repreſenting,
" The thing will hardly admit of Debate; the *Britons*
" cannot be without a foreign Aid, and none but the
" *Saxons* are in condition to give them Aſſiſtance."

His Propoſal is approved. Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit.

The Fears all were ſeized with, and the Hopes of ſtill enjoying their native Country, and recovering their loſt Eſtates, and no doubt the Deſire of Revenge, conſpired to a joyful Reception of *Vortigern*'s Propoſal. But when they came to conſider of the Terms to be offered the *Saxons*, great Debates aroſe. The Monarch, whoſe ſecret Purpoſe was to ſtrengthen himſelf as well againſt his own Subjects as foreign Enemies, mov'd, the allotting them ſome Province, that their own Intereſt might induce them to wage War more heartily and vigorouſly. But as no Lands could be aſſigned them but what belonged to ſome of the Aſſembly, it was no eaſy Matter to agree on this Point. At length, after great Diſputes. it was reſolved that the *Saxons* ſhould have the Iſle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, as being a proper Place to land their Forces, and convenient for them whenever they wanted to return into their own Country. It was farther agreed, that the *Saxon* Soldiers ſhould be allowed Pay, which ſhould be ſettled by Agreement on both Sides. After this Reſolution, Ambaſſadors were appointed to negotiate the Affair in *Germany*. *Vortigern*, pleaſed with having carried his Point without incurring Suſpicion, imagined himſelf out of the Reach of all Danger. But ſee how blind and ſhort-ſighted is human Wiſdom! This very Expedient, by the direction of divine Providence, proved his own and the Nation's Ruin.

The Iſle of Thanet *is to be given to the* Saxons.

Ambaſſadors are named to go to the Saxons.

Vortigern's Policy proves fatal to the Country.

But before I proceed to the Effects of this pernicious Advice, it will be neceſſary to give a more particular Account of theſe *Saxons*, who are to be the chief Subject of our Hiſtory. They were ſo little known before their coming into *Britain*, and what is ſaid of their Original ſo uncertain, that it is no wonder this Subject is but very ſlightly touched upon by the Generality of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. Some barely ſay, the *Saxons* were called in to the Aſſiſtance of *Britain*, without any farther Addition concerning them. Others ſay only, the *Saxons* were a *German* People, without mentioning the Parts they inhabited. Some again add, they were Pyrates from the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*, that came and ſettled on the Coaſts of the *German* Ocean. But as theſe Coaſts are of a vaſt Extent, we are not much the wiſer for that. In ſhort, the moſt probable Account I can gather from the ſeveral Authors that have writ of this People, is as follows.

Origin of the Saxons *and their Conqueſts in* Germany. Sheringham.

About this Time the *Romans* began to extend their Conqueſts into *Germany*, the Inhabitants of the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*, now called *Jutland*, leaving ther Country, advanced towards the South. They poſſeſſed themſelves at firſt of the northern Parts of *Germany*, and doubtleſs ſpent ſome Years in ſettling themſelves in thoſe Quarters. But as the *Romans* had not yet penetrated ſo far, and we have no antient Hiſtories of the northern Countries, nor even of the weſtern, but what the *Romans* have left us, there is little known of the firſt Irruptions made by the northern People into *Germany*. The *Cimbri* continually puſhing their Conqueſts to the Southward, and the *Romans* advancing to the Northward, they at laſt approached one another. Then it was that the *Romans* had Opportunity to learn in ſome meaſure, the State of theſe hitherto unknown Nations.

Their Hiſtorians however ſpeak very confuſedly of them, giving ſometimes different Names to the ſame People, and ſometimes the ſame Name to different Nations. The *Cimbri* that came from the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*, were divided into three Bands, one taking the Name of *Suevi*, another of *Francs*, and a third of *Saxons*. Some will have the *Francs* to be a Branch of the *Suevi*. However that be, theſe three Nations, continually advancing Southwards, came at length to the Frontiers of the *Roman* Empire; the *Suevi* towards *Italy*, the *Francs* to the South-Weſt, towards the Coaſt of *Belgic-Gaul*, and the *Saxons* to the Weſt, towards the *German Ocean*. The *Suevi* eſpecially were ſo terrible to the antient *Germans*, that they looked upon them as a *Match for the Immortal Gods*, as *Cæſar* ſays in his *Commentaries*. As for the *Francs*, they are known to have over-run the whole Province of *Gaul*, and founded the noble and ancient Kingdom of *France*.

Cæſ. l. 4. Stillingfleet.

Temple. Introd.

The *Saxons* poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe Tracts of Land lying between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*. Their Territories bounded on the Weſt by the *German Ocean*, extended Eaſtward to the Borders of *Thuringen*. Conſequently they were Maſters of *Saxony*, *Weſtphalia*, and all that part of the *Low-Countries* lying North of the *Rhine*. The Nations ſubdued by theſe Conquerors were in time called *Saxons*, in like manner as the Inhabitants of *Gaul* were named *Francois* or *French*, after their Subjection to the *Francs*. But however, whether the *Saxons* were not ſo rapid in their Conqueſts as the *Suevi*, or the Courſe they took made it longer before they approached the *Romans*, 'tis certain they were not ſo ſoon known. The firſt *Roman* Hiſtorians that mention them, at leaſt by the Name of *Saxons*, are *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, who inform us that *Carauſius* (as I have elſewhere taken notice) was ſent to clear the Seas of the pyratical *Francs* and *Saxons*. From that time they became formidable to the *Romans*, and obliged them to keep ſtanding Forces to guard both the *German* and *Britiſh* Coaſts, with a General Officer ſtiled the *Præfect*, or *Count of the* Saxon *Coaſts*. Upon the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, after the Death of *Theodoſius*, the *Saxons* taking Advantage of its Weakneſs, made themſelves Maſters of the whole Country along the Coaſt of the *German Ocean*, and even extended their Conqueſts as far as the Iſles of *Zealand*. Hence the *Friſons*, *Batavians*, and the neighbouring Nations were hardly known by any other Name but that of the *Saxons*.

Tho' ſeveral Authors have writ of the *Saxons*, we are ſtill in the Dark as to their Original, or how to diſtinguiſh the Nations called by that general Name. And therefore the beginning of their Hiſtory remains very confuſed and intricate, it being almoſt impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, conſidering, Authors for the moſt part have made no Diſtinction of *Times* or *Places*. One while, they are conſidered juſt as they left their own Country, and then are confounded with the *Francs* and *Suevi*, under the Name of *Cimbri*. Another while, they are viewed as beginning their Conqueſts towards the North-weſt of the Continent, and then they are repreſented as ſeated North of the *Friſons*, *Batavians*, *Marſians*, and other Nations of thoſe Parts ſubject to the *Romans*. Some have placed them at once along the Coaſt of the *German Ocean*, and Banks of the *Rhine*, and even in the Iſles of *Zealand*, as if they had from the very firſt inhabited theſe Regions. Others again, not conſidering that all their Conqueſts were termed *Saxony*, and finding *Saxons* in the eaſtern Parts of *Weſtphalia*, have imagined they were a different People from thoſe inhabiting on the *Rhine*. Juſt as if ſpeaking of the *Francs*, I ſhould make different Nations of Thoſe that conquered *Gaul* and Thoſe that ſettled in the *Narbonnoiſe*. However this be, it is certain when the *Britons* ſent to deſire their Aſſiſtance, the *Saxons* were in Poſſeſſion of *Weſtphalia*, *Saxony*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Frizeland*, *Holland* and *Zealand*.

Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. Sheringham. de Orig. Ang.

Eyndius, Chron. zel.

I could wiſh the Origin of the *Saxons* were as well known as their Conqueſts: it would be a Pleaſure to give here an Abſtract of their Hiſtory to the Time of their ſettling in *Great-Britain*. But the thing is impoſſible, ſuch Obſcurity do we meet with in the Authors that have ſtudied this Subject. Some take up the *Saxons* at the *Tower of Babel*, and leading them from Country to Country, ſettle them at laſt in *Saxony*, ſo called from them. Others derive them from the *Sacæ* or *Saſſones* of *Aſia*, mentioned by *Pliny*. There are who will have them to be originally from *Perſia*, becauſe of the Affinity between ſeveral *Saxon* and *Perſian* Words (1). But they that are willing to ſpare the Pains of ſo laborious a Search, are content to begin their Hiſtory from the time of their coming forth from the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*. It is not impoſſible, perhaps, to reconcile moſt of the Opinions concerning this Matter, tho' ſeemingly very different, if Regard be had to the Times of their ſeveral Migrations. But ſince, in the main, Conjectures only are to be had, it is better to proceed at once to what is more certain.

The *Saxons* had for ſome time been in poſſeſſion of the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*, when driven thence by the *Goths*, (from whom that Peninſula was called *Gothland* or *Jutland*) they came and ſettled in *Germany*, in the Parts now called *Lower-Saxony*. Between that Country and the *Cherſoneſus*, were a People known by the Name of *Angles*, inhabiting about *Sleſwick* in *Holſtein*. Probably the little Country of *Anglen* in thoſe Parts was ſo named from them,

The Angles.

(1) *Joſeph Scaliger* ſays, that *Fader*, *Muder*, *Broder*, *Tutchter*, *Band*, and the like, are ſtill uſed in the *Perſian* Language, in the ſame Senſe as *Father*, *Mother*, *Brother*, *Daughter*, *Bond*, are with us.

or

or they from the Country (1). However this be, the *Angles* joining with the *Saxons* when they came out of the *Cherſoneſus* to make Conqueſts in *Germany*, became in a manner but one Nation with them. Though, doubtleſs from the major Part, they were generally called *Saxons*, yet they had ſometimes the compound Name of *Anglo-Saxons* given them. Great Numbers of *Goths* mixed likewiſe with them to ſhare in their Conqueſts. Theſe are called *Wites* (2) by *Bede*, and commonly known by the Name of *Jutes*, or (which is the ſame) *Goths*. It can hardly be doubted that theſe three Nations were united before their coming into *Britain*, when we conſider the good Underſtanding between them all the while they were employed in eſtabliſhing themſelves in the Iſland, as will be ſeen in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. It will be found that they acted always in concert; that their Intereſts were never different, and that the Government ſettled by them, is a clear Evidence, they looked upon themſelves as one and the ſame People.

Etymology of the Name of the Saxons. The true Etymology of the Name *Saxon* is as difficult to be diſcovered as their Origin. They that derive them from the *Sacæ* of *Aſia*, are indeed at no great loſs in this Point. But the moſt common Opinion is, that the Word *Saxon* comes from *Seax*, which in their Language ſignifies a kind of *Weapon* or *Sword*. They had two ſorts, a long one worn by their Side or at their Back; and another ſhorter, ſerving for a Bayonet or Dagger, They were both in the Shape of a Cutlace (3).

Manners and Government of the Saxons. Not to dwell too long upon Conjectures, I ſhall briefly ſpeak of their Manners, Government and Religion. It ſuffices to obſerve, that in their Cuſtoms and Manners, they very much reſemble the antient *Germans*, as deſcribed by *Tacitus*. They were naturally brave and warlike both by Land and Sea, witneſs their many Conqueſts. But to their Enemies they were ſevere and cruel, eſpecially to their Priſoners of War, whom they ſacrificed to their Gods.

Their Government. Verſtegan. Their Dominions were divided into twelve Governments or Provinces, each of which had a Chief or Head accountable to the General-Aſſembly of the Nation. In time of War they choſe a General who commanded their Armies, and was inveſted with almoſt Sovereign Power: but at the End of the War, his Authority, like that of the *Roman Dictator*, ceaſed. The Center of their Empire was at *Brunſwick*.

Their Religion. As for their Religion, it was the ſame with that of the other northern Nations, and ſome Part of *Germany*. The *Britiſh Saxons* embraced Chriſtianity about the End of the ſixth, or Beginning of the ſeventh Century. But thoſe that remained in *Germany* were not converted 'till the ninth, by the Care or rather Violence of *Charlemain*, by whom they were ſubdued. Their principal Gods before their Converſion were the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Tuiſco*, *Woden*, *Thor*, *Friga* or *Fræa*, and *Seater*. To theſe were conſecrated the ſeven Days of the Week, as appears by the preſent names of theſe Days among the *Germans*, *Flemings*, and *Engliſh*. *Tuiſco* is ſaid to be the Grandſon of *Japhet*, and to have peopled firſt the North of *Europe*. *Teutch*, as the *Germans* call themſelves, is probably derived from *Tuiſco*. The God *Thor*, from whence comes the Word *Thunder* or *Dunder*, was the ſame among the *Saxons* as *Jupiter* among the *Romans*, that is to ſay, *the Thunderer*. *Woden* was the God of War, becauſe under his Conduct the firſt *Saxons* came forth from their Country, and made large Conqueſts. Their chief Families conſidered him as their Founder, and gloried in being deſcended from him. Probably however there were two of this Name, that are often confounded; one more antient, worſhipped as a God, another not ſo old, from whom ſprung the Families of the *Saxon* Leaders. There are ſtill in *England* ſome Footſteps of the Name of *Woden* in Thoſe of ſeveral Places, as *Wanſdike*, *Wansborough*, &c. which are Contractions of *Wodens-dike* and *Wodens-borough*. *Fræa* the Wife of *Woden* was the *Venus* of the *Saxons*. She was worſhipped in the Shape of an *Hermaphrodite*, as being Goddeſs of both Sexes. *Ermenſwol*, the ſame as *Mercury*, was another of their Gods, with others common to them with all the northern Nations. This is the beſt and cleareſt Account I could meet with of the *Saxons*, whom the *Britons*, by *Vortigern*'s Advice, called in to their Aſſiſtance.

THE STATE of the *BRITISH-CHURCH*, FROM *The Converſion of the* BRITONS, *to the Calling in of the* SAXONS.

State of the Church. AFTER Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in the World, the *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs of Kingdoms were ſo interwoven, that there was no knowing the one, without being acquainted with the other. It is neceſſary therefore to add to our Hiſtory, a general Knowledge of the Progreſs of the *Chriſtian Religion* in *Great-Britain*. I intend to do this from time to time, by ſhort Abſtracts, ſhewing the Situation of the Affairs of the *Church* in every *Century*, and withal their Relation to thoſe of the State. But as I ſhall not have occaſion to ſpeak of the *Engliſh* Church before the Converſion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, it will not be improper to repreſent firſt the State of the *Britiſh* Church under the *Romans*.

The State of the Britiſh Church. Gildas, n. 2. Before the Birth of our Saviour, the *Britons*, like the reſt of the World, the *Jews* only excepted, were *groſs* Idolaters. They not only worſhipped *falſe* Gods, but, if their own Hiſtorians are to be credited, had as *many* and as *extravagant* ones as the *Ægyptians* themſelves. *Andate* the Goddeſs of *Victory*, was one of their principal

(1) This Country (*Camden* obſerves) reaching into the more inland Parts of *Germany*, at ſo great a Diſtance from the Sea, we muſt ſeek ſome other Place where to ſeat our *Angles*; and *Bede* has directed us to look for them between the *Saxons* and *Jutes*. "The *Angles* (ſays he) come out of that Country, "which is called *Angulus*, and is ſaid from that time to lie waſte, between the Countries of the *Jutes* and *Saxons*." Seeing between *Jutland* and *Holſatia* (the ancient Seat of the *Saxons*) there is a ſmall Province in the Kingdom of *Denmark* under the City of *Flemſburg* called at this Day *Angel*, which *Lindebergius* in his Epiſtles terms *Little-England*. I am pretty well aſſured, ſays *Camden*, that I have found the ancient Seat of our Forefathers; and that from this very Place the *Angles* came into our Iſland. "Old *Anglia* (ſays *Ethelwerd* an ancient Author) is ſituated between the *Saxons* and *Giots*, the Capital "Town whereof is called in *Saxon*, *Sleſtwick*, but by the *Danes*, *Haithby*." In the very ſame place, *Ptolemy* ſeems to ſeat the *Saxons*. So that the middle-age Poet is probably in the right.

——Saxonia protulit Anglos;	*Their Riſe to* Saxony *the* Angles *owe*
Hoc patet in linguâ, niveoque colore——	*Their Language, this; and native Whiteneſs ſhow.*

(2) So it is in the old Edition of *Bede*; but in Mr. *Wheloc*k's, inſtead of *Vitis* there is *Jutis*.

(3) This Etymology gave occaſion to theſe Verſes in *Engelbuſius*:

Quippe brevis gladius apud illos *Saxa* vocatur,	*The* Saxon *People did, as moſt believe,*
Unde ſibi *Saxo* nomen traxiſſe putatur.	*Their Names from* Saxa, *a ſhort Sword, receive.*

Camden approves of the Conjecture of thoſe learned *Germans*, who imagine that the *Saxons* are deſcended from the *Sacæ*, the moſt conſiderable People in *Aſia*, that they are ſo called, as if one ſhould ſay, *Sacaſones*, that is, *Sons of the Sacæ*; and that out of *Scythia* or *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, they came by little and little into *Europe* along with the *Getes*, the *Suevi* and the *Daci*, this in my Judgment (ſays *Camden*) deſerves credit the beſt of any other. But his Annotator obſerves, This Original of the *Saxons* from the *Sacæ* of *Aſia* may be thought too far fetched, unleſs there were ſome fair hiſtorical Account, how the *Saxons* came to be propagated by thoſe *Sacæ*, and no ſuch Account being given, it may ſeem to be little more than a poſſibility. Nor may that other Original from the ſhort Swords called *Sachs*, ſeem altogether vain, when it is conſidered, that the *Quirities* had their Name from *Quiris*, *a ſhort Spear*; and the *Scythian* from *Scytton*, *to ſhoot with a Bow*. *Tacitus* alſo ſpeaking of ſome of the Northern *Germans*, ſays, "That the common Badges they wear, are round "Shields and ſhort Swords;" and the *Arms* of *Saxony* to this Day, as *Pontanus* obſerves, are two ſhort Swords a-croſs. See *Camd.* Vol. I. p. CLVI.

Deities.

Deities (1). They had alſo Gods, to whom they attributed the ſame *Powers* the *Greeks* and *Romans* did to their *Apollo* and *Diana*. But ſeeing the *Druids*, who had the ſole Management of *Religious* Affairs, never committed any of their Myſteries to Writing, it is no wonder we know nothing more concerning their *Worſhip* and *Ceremonies*, than what has already been taken notice of in the Introduction.

The Converſion of the Britons. Uſher. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit.

Though it be difficult to know the preciſe time, yet all agree the Goſpel was preached in *Great-Britain* ſoon after our Saviour's Death. But thoſe who place this Event in the Reign of *Tiberius*, don't conſider the firſt *Gentile*, *Cornelius*, was not converted 'till the year of our Lord 40, that is, three Years after the Death of that Emperor. *Baronius*, upon the queſtionable Authority of *Simeon Metaphraſtes* (2), which he himſelf juſtly rejects on ſeveral other Occaſions, ſays, St. *Peter* firſt preached to the *Britons*. This Opinion is the more improbable, beauſe it is certain St. *Peter* performed the Office of an Apoſtle chiefly in the *Eaſtern* Countries. Others affirm, that *Simon Zelotes*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, undertook the Converſion of the *Britons*. *Nicephorus Calliſtus* (3), *Dorotheus*, in his *Synopſis*, and the *Greek Kalendar* (4) ſay, this Apoſtle was crucified and buried in *Britain*. At the ſame time we find in the *Roman Martyrology*, and in thoſe of *Bede*, *Adon*, and *Uſuard*, that St. *Simon* ſuffered Martyrdom in *Perſia*.

Whether the Britons *were converted by* Joſeph *of* Arimathea. Malm. de Antiqui. Glaſton. Eccleſ.

The moſt current Opinion for ſome time was, that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* firſt preached to the *Britons*. Tho' this Tradition, ſupported by the ſole Teſtimony of *William of Malmsbury*, a Writer of the XIIth *Century*, ſtands upon no better Foundation than thoſe above-mentioned, it has however been deemed inconteſtable. *Malmsbury*, in proof of the Antiquity of the Church of *Glaſton* or *Glaſſenbury*, ſays, after *Freculphus*, that upon the Martyrdom of St. *Stephen*, the Apoſtles were diſperſed throughout the whole World. St. *Philip* (continues the Hiſtorian) at his coming among the *Francs*, ſent twelve of his Diſciples, with *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* as their Head, to propagate the Goſpel in *Great-Britain*, where they arrived in the Year of our Lord 61. After ſome Oppoſition, from the Inhabitants, a certain King gave them a little Spot of Ground, ſurrounded with Fens and Buſhes to dwell in. Not long after, two other neighbouring Kings having allowed them twelve *Hides* of Land for their Subſiſtence, the Angel *Gabriel* commanded them from God, to build a Church in a Place now called *Glaſton*, but at that time *Inſwitrin* (5). This Church was finiſhed in the Year 63, and as the Hiſtorian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour himſelf, as a Mark of Diſtinction, to the *Virgin Mary*. In proof of this Relation in the firſt Place, is produced a *Manuſcript* Chronicle in the Abbey of *Glaſſenbury*, in which it appears that the King's Name, who made the firſt Preſent to *Joſeph*, was *Arviragus*. To this may be anſwered, that indeed *Juvenal* mentions a *Britiſh* King by that Name in the Reign of *Domitian*. But this is nothing to the purpoſe, unleſs it can be proved that *Arviragus* lived in the time of *Nero*, ſince it is ſuppoſed the Land the Church ſtood upon was given to *Joſeph* in the Year 61. In the next place is alledged St. *Patrick's Charter*, wherein it is ſaid, that *Glaſton* Church was founded by twelve Diſciples of St. *James* and St. *Philip* the Apoſtles. But beſides ſeveral Marks of Forgery, there is no mention in this *Charter* of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*. In the third place is produced a *Charter* of *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who lived in the VIIIth *Century*, which makes the Church of *Glaſton* the moſt antient of all the *Britiſh* Churches. But neither in this *Charter*, whoſe authenticknes is ſtill more queſtionable, is there any mention of *Joſeph*. To ſtrengthen all theſe Proofs, a Charter of *Henry* II, King of *England* is produced, wherein King *Henry* aſſures us, that upon Examination he found it well atteſted, that the Church of *Glaſſenbury* was founded by the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, and conſecrated to the *Virgin Mary* by *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf. But this Aſſertion of King *Henry*, being grounded unly upon the foregoing Proofs, is not to be regarded. Moreover it is certain, that the *Francs* were unknown, at the time St. *Philip* is ſaid to come into their Country. Beſides, *Euſebius* and ſeveral others affirm, that this Apoſtle went and preached in *Phrygia*, and ſuffered Martyrdom at *Hierapolis*. Then for the *Hydelands* given to the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, the Word *Hyde* alone is a ſufficient Refutation of that Story, ſince it is a *Saxon* Term; and every one knows the *Saxons* came not to *Britain* 'till the Year 449. I think it needleſs to dwell any longer upon this Subject. Whoever has a Mind to ſee the Reaſons more at large againſt this Tradition of *Joſeph of Arimathea*, will find them in *Collier*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

See Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*

The Britons *were converted ſoon after the Death of* Chriſt. Stillingfleet. Grig. Brit.

Though the exact time of the Converſion of the *Britons* be uncertain, it is very probable the Goſpel was preached in the Iſland not long after the Death of Chriſt. *Theodoret* aſſures us, the *Britons* were converted by the Apoſtles. *Euſebius* ſpeaking of the Dangers the Apoſtles were expoſed to in propagating the *Goſpel* in the moſt remote Countries, mentions among the reſt, the *Britiſh* Iſles. Now the likelieſt time to be aſſigned for the Converſion of the *Britons*, if it was in the Apoſtles Days, is that between the Victory of *Claudius* and the Defeat of *Boadicea*. For at the time of the General Revolt, there were in the Iſland above 80,000 *Romans*, among whom very probably were ſome *Chriſtians*; the Goſpel having now got footing in many places, particularly at *Rome*. Upon this Suppoſition, there is no Abſurdity in aſſerting with ſeveral modern Authors, that St. *Paul* firſt preached the Goſpel in *Britain*. It is certain this Apoſtle, in the eight Years between his firſt Impriſonment at *Rome*, and his Return to *Jeruſalem*, propagated the *Chriſtian* Religion in ſeveral Places, eſpecially in the *Weſtern* Countries. He informs us of his Deſign of going to *Spain*; and it is not unlikely but his Deſire of converting the *Britons* might carry him into their Iſland. This Opinion may be ſupported by the Teſtimony of *Venutius Fortunatus* in his Poem upon the Life of St. *Martin*, where he ſpeaks of the Travels of St. *Paul* (6). But after all, theſe are only Conjectures, and of no other uſe but to make it more credible that the Goſpel was planted in *Britain* ſoon after the Death of our *Lord*.

The Converſion of King Lucius, Bede, l. 1. c. 4.

But ſuppoſing this Opinion were proved beyond all Diſpute, it may be preſumed the *Chriſtian Faith* had taken no deep Root in the Iſland; ſince, according to ſeveral Authors, *Lucius* a *Britiſh* King, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Pope Eleutherius* to deſire him to ſend over ſome *Miſſionaries* to inſtruct him in the Chriſtian Religion. Now is it likely that *Lucius* ſhould ſend ſo far for what he might have had in his own Country, had there been at that time any Churches, or even any conſiderable number of *Chriſtians* in *Britain?* However this be, *Lucius* having ſome Knowledge of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and deſiring to be more fully inſtructed, ſends *Elwan* and *Medwin* to *Eleutherius* the twelfth Biſhop of *Rome*, to crave the wanted Aſſiſtance. *Eleutherius* very joyfully embraces the Opportunity of replanting Chriſtianity in *Great-Britain*, where probably it had been rooted out by the Violence of Perſecutions. He immediately ſets about inſtructing *Elwan* and *Medwin* the two Ambaſſadors; and after baptizing and conſecrating them *Biſhops*, ſends them back to their own Country. By their Means the Goſpel flouriſhed again in *Britain*, where it afterwards ſpread far and wide. I omit the many things that are ſaid of this *Lucius*, particularly his building great Numbers of Churches in *London*, becauſe it is not likely the *Romans* would ſuffer it. Neither ſhall I ſay any thing of his Travels, wherein he is ſaid to convert ſeveral Nations, eſpecially the *Griſons*, in whoſe Country he was martyred, there being no Grounds for theſe Things. It is poſſible however, ſome Chriſtian named *Lucius* might preach the Goſpel to the *Griſons*, and ſuffer Martyrdom at *Coire*.

From the Converſion of *Lucius* to the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory of *Britain* is intirely unknown. It is very probable however, that during that Interval of eight Years, the *Chriſtian* Religion made great Progreſs in the Iſland, as appears from *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Bede*, and *Gildas*. But what puts the thing out of all diſpute, is, the Multitude of *Britiſh Martyrs* that ſuffered during the dreadful Perſecution under *Dioclefian* and *Maximinian* his *Collegue*. Among theſe Martyrs St. *Alban* converted at *Verulam* (7) by a Prieſt, whom he had harboured in his Houſe, is reckoned the firſt. He was followed by a great many more, as Hiſtory informs us. How well inclined ſoever *Conſtantius Chlorus* might be to favour the Chriſtians, he could not, whilſt Governor of *Britain*, diſpenſe with *Edicts* of the Emperors, having then the Title of *Cæſar* only, which gave him no Power to oppoſe their Laws. But as ſoon as he came to the Empire, he put a ſtop to this violent Perſecution, and gave the Chriſtians ſome reſpite. *Conſtantine* his Son did yet more, for under him the *Chriſtian* Religion flouriſhed throughout the *Roman* Empire, particularly in *Great-Britain*, where ſome pretend he was born.

St. Alban *the firſt* Britiſh Martyr. Gildas, n. 8. Bede, l. 1. c. 7.

(1) She had a famous Temple at *Camelodunum*. *Tyr.* p. 24.
(2) A Writer of the Xth Century, ſo called from the Writing the Lives of the Saints. He was a Lay-man.
(3) A *Greek* Hiſtorian of the XIVth Century. He wrote an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of which there is only extant to the Year 610.
(4) Or Martyrology. (5) That is, in the *Britiſh* Language, *The Town of Glaſs*. *Glaſton* or *Glaſs-town* means the ſame in *Engliſh*. *Rapin.*

(6) Tranſit & Oceanum, vel quâ facit Inſula Portum,
Quaſque Britannus habet terras, quaſque ultima Thule. *Rapin.*

(7) Called afterwards from him *St. Albans*. *Rapin.*

After

Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion in Britain. Spelman. Conc. Vol. I.

After this happy Change the Chriſtians multiplied exceedingly, and the Iſland abounded with Churches. Some affirm there were *Britiſh* Biſhops at the Council of *Nice* in 325. But though this cannot be ſufficiently proved, it is not at all unlikely, ſince twenty two Years after there were for certain three *Britiſh* Biſhops at the Council of *Arles* (1); as there were alſo ſome at the Council of *Ariminum* in 359, but ſo poor that their *Charges* were born by their Brethren (2). Their ſigning at this Council the *Confeſſion of Faith*, wherein the Term *Conſubſtantial* was omitted, gave Occaſion to ſome to imagine that *Arianiſm* was ſpread in *Britain*. But a modern Author has made it appear that the *Faith* of the *Britiſh* Church was the ſame in this Reſpect both before and after this Council, which had not the Effect the *Hereticks* promiſed themſelves.

Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Ec. l. 2.

The Britiſh *falſly charged with.* Arianiſm. Stillingfleet.

The *Britiſh* Church was much more juſtly accuſed of *Pelagianiſm*. Certain it is, ſeveral Biſhops were ſeduced, not by *Pelagius* himſelf, who, though a Native of *Britain*, never returned to propagate his Errors, but by *Agricola* one of his Diſciples. The *Orthodox* Biſhops perceiving the Infection to ſpread, ſent to deſire their Brethren in *Gaul* to aſſiſt them in confuting this *Hereſy*. The *Gauliſh* Prelates touch'd with the Danger of the *Britiſh* Church, met in Council, and deputed *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Biſhop of *Troye* to go and aſſiſt their Brethren in *Britain*. At *Verulam*, in a Conference with the *Pelagians*, they defended the Truth with ſuch Strength and Evidence, that they turned many from their Errors. But after their Departure, the *Hereticks* gaining Ground again, *Germanus* was deſired once more to come over. Though he was now very old, he undertook a ſecond Voyage into *Britain*, in Company with *Severus* Biſhop of *Troye*. *Germanus* deſpairing to convince the *Hereticks* by Arguments, becauſe of their Obſtinacy, cauſed the *Edict* of *Valentinian* III, that condemns all *Hereticks* to Baniſhment, to be put in Execution againſt them. Before he left *Britain*, he erected Schools, which produced afterwards many Biſhops famous for their Learning and Piety.

Pelagianiſm *in* Britain. Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit.

Bede, l. 1. c. 14.

Id. c. 21.

From this time to the Arrival of the *Saxons* we know but little of the Affairs of the *Britiſh* Church. No doubt the frequent Wars with the *Picts* and *Scots*, by deſtroying their Churches, and what is worſe, by introducing a Corruption of Manners among the *Clergy* as well as *Laity*, were very prejudicial to the Chriſtians. However, if we may believe *Gildas* and *Bede*, it was not ſo much the Wars as the exceſſive Plenty immediately after the Famine, that corrupted the Manners of the *Britons*. The People, ſay theſe Hiſtorians, from a State of extreme Want, being on a ſudden ſurrounded with Plenty, abandoned themſelves to all manner of Wickedneſs. The quiet they enjoyed by their Peace with the northern Nations, was ſpent only in ſinking deeper into Exceſs and Debauchery. The *Clergy* outdoing even the *Laity*, became exceeding vicious. Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Avarice, Luxury, reigning among the *Eccleſiaſticks*, they no longer preached to their Flocks the Precepts of the Goſpel, which they themſelves ſo little regarded. To this general Corruption, according to theſe two Hiſtorians, are to be aſcribed the Calamities which fell upon the *Britiſh* Nation, and which are the Subject of the following Book.

Corruptions of the Britons *the Cauſe of their Miſeries.*

Gildas, n. 19. Bede, l. 1. c. 14.

(1) The Council of *Arles* was in 314, about twelve Years before the Council of *Nice*. The three Biſhops are ſuppoſed to be Thoſe of *London*, *York*, and probably *Caerleon*. They had with them a Prieſt and a Deacon.

(2) *Du Pin* ſays, the Biſhops of *France* and *Britain* choſe rather to bear their own Expences than accept of the Emperor's Allowance, which they thought was beneath them. But it is more likely they accepted of the Emperor's Allowance, ſince they were but poorly endow'd under the *Roman* Emperors. And this perhaps may be the Reaſon why we find ſo few of them at any of thoſe Councils that were held beyond the Seas.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK II.

From the Arrival of the SAXONS *to the Retreat of the* BRITONS *into* Wales. *Containing about the Space of a Hundred and Thirty Years.*

The Britons *unadviſedly call in the* Saxons *to their Aid.*

IN a deſperate Diſeaſe, a deſperate Remedy is us'd without ſcruple, becauſe the Benefit only is conſider'd that may be receiv'd by it. The *Britons*, tho' frequent Sufferers by the Incurſions of the *Saxons*, fix'd their Thoughts ſolely on the Valour of that Nation, believing them alone capable of freeing them from their preſent Calamities. Had there been a Choice to make, perhaps they would have weighed the Inconveniences as well as Conveniences of calling in the *Saxons* to their Aid. But as they had no other Courſe to take, they never attended to what a juſt Fear might have ſuggeſted to them. Beſides, *Vortigern* ſtrove to divert them from the Conſiderations that might have induc'd them to alter their Reſolution, by carefully diſplaying the Advantages that would be procur'd by the Aſſiſtance of the *Saxons*. By feeding their Hopes with his flattering Speeches, he prevented them from maturely reflecting on the Conſequences of their Proceedings. Every Man therefore being wholly intent upon freeing himſelf from the preſent Evils, the Ambaſſadors were ſent away in all haſte, and the Negotiation ſtrongly recommended to their Care, on the Succeſs whereof entirely depended, as they imagin'd, the Safety of their Country. The Dominion of the *Saxons* reach'd then to the *German* Ocean, and their Conqueſts had been carried even into *Zealand*. Upon the Arrival of the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, *Witigiſil*, General of the *Saxons*, having called an Aſſembly to hear what they had to propoſe, the Head of the Ambaſſy made the following Speech:

The Ambaſſadors are ſent away.

Their Speech to the Saxons.

" Illuſtrious and Generous *Saxons*, the *Britons*, harraſs'd " and oppreſs'd by the continual Inroads of the *Picts* and " *Scots*, their Neighbours and Enemies, ſent us to you to " implore your Aſſiſtance. The Fame of your Victories " has reach'd our Ears. We are ſenſible your Arms are " irreſiſtible, and therefore are come to ſue for your Pro- " tection. *Britain* for many Years made a conſiderable " Part of the *Roman* Empire; but our Maſters having " abandon'd us, we know no Nation more powerful than " your ſelves, or better able to protect us. Grant but " our Requeſt, and in return we offer all that a rich " and fertile Country, ſuch as ours is, can afford. Put " what Price you pleaſe on our Protection: We ſhall " ſubmit to what Terms you yourſelves ſhall judge rea- " ſonable, provided by your Aid we are enabled to drive " the Enemy out of our Country." (1)

The *Britons* having thus declared the Cauſe of their coming, the *Saxon* General return'd this ſhort Anſwer; " Be aſſured the *Saxons* will ſtand by you in your preſſing " Neceſſities." So favorable an Anſwer inſpiring the Ambaſſadors with hopes of Succeſs in their Negotiation, they us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to bring it to a ſpeedy Concluſion. At laſt they had the Satisfaction to obtain an Aid of nine thouſand Men, on certain Terms, the principal whereof was, That the *Saxons* ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Thanet*, adjacent to *Kent*, where they were to land, and their Troops paid and maintain'd by the *Britons*.

Nenn. Malm. l. 1. de Reg. Hunt. l. 2. Bede, l. 1. c. 15.

The Saxons *form the Project of ſettling in* Britain. Geoff. Mon. Malm.

Britain was not unknown to the *Saxons*. They had long before begun to render themſelves formidable to the Eaſtern Coaſts of the Iſland, where they had even made ſeveral Deſcents. If they had not yet attempted any Conqueſts there, it was becauſe Thoſe they had undertaken on the Continent were thought to be of more Importance. It may be too, as they were hitherto ignorant of the Weakneſs of the *Britons*, they were afraid of ingaging in any great Enterprize. However this be, the preſent Ambaſſy, at ſuch a Juncture, was extremely proper to raiſe a Deſire to ſettle in their Country. The *Britons* were themſelves the Diſcoverers of their Weakneſs. On the other Hand, the *Saxons* were now ſeated along the Coaſts of the *German* Ocean, from whence they might always have an Eye to what paſs'd in *Britain*. It is no wonder therefore, if without much Deliberation, they promis'd their Aſſiſtance to the *Britons*, ſince they intended to improve ſo fair an Opportunity of ſettling in the Iſland. *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* (2), both Sons of *Witigiſil*, were appointed to command the Troops deſigned for the Aid of the *Britons*.

Hengiſt and Horſa command the Saxon Troops.

(1) *Witechind*, a *Saxon* Hiſtorian, puts theſe Words in the Mouth of the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, and it can't be denied that they are very natural, conſidering the deplorable Condition of the *Britons*. *Rapin*. *Witechind* liv'd in the IXth Century. The abſolute Subjection in this Speech is thought to be more than the *Britons* promis'd, it not being mention'd by *Bede* or *Ethelwerd*, both *Saxons*. Their quarrelling with the *Britons* afterwards about their Pay, as *Gildas* expreſly ſays, ſhews they came over as *Mercenary* Soldiers. See Note below from *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, p. 19.

(2) *Hengiſt* ſignifies a *Stone-Horſe*, and *Horſa* a *Horſe*. It was uſual with the *Saxons* to give their Children the Names of Animals. *Rapin*. Hence among us at this Day, the Names *Lamb*, *Bear*, *Fox*, *Buck*, &c. The *Romans* had the ſame Cuſtom, witneſs *Catulus*, *Aper*, &c.

Hengiſt

BRITANNIA SAXONICA

A Scale of English Miles. 5 10 20

Monasteries · Fields of Battle
Antient Bishoprick · Country Seat
Castle · City or Town

Coldingham · Lindisfarne · Brinaspurg · Malvoisin · Bamburg · Heve · Tine R. · Wall · Severus · Carlisle · Hagulstad · Tinmouth · Eirkley · Durham · Whitby · Rippon · York · Driffield · Stamford bridge · Whaley · Winedsfiel · Beverly · Holdernes · Fotketh · Manchester · Rumcefa · Thelwel · Hatfield · Humber · Lindsey · Griffith caſtle · Edeſtury · Chester · Bakewel · Gainſborough · Toreſey · Lincoln · Bardney · Suadfare · Stafford · Burton · Repton · Secandune · Riall · Stanford · Croyland · Wisbich · Elm · Thetford · Yarmouth · Spronestury · Litchfield · Tamworth · Weſtchester · Hundcou · Undal · Willesmere · Thorney · Ely · Dunwich · Buttington · Montgomery · Pontesbury · Churbury · Bridgnorth · Wedsboron · Coventry · Northanton · Huntingdon · S.Edmondstury · Ipſwich · Wigmore · Warwick · Tocester · Vaed · Hameſford · Cambridge · Sudbery · Stour R. · Worceſter · Pershore · Bamtury · Bedford · Hochenorton · Buckingham · Kintington · Woodſtock · Aldſtury · Charlton · Aſton · Hatfield · Colchester · Witham · Marſey · Maldon · Qſyth · Glocester · Burford · Cirencester · Oxford · Dorchester · Mereton · Ensham · Lame · St Albans · Barkley · Farrington · Abington · Denſington · Walingford · Beverton · Bredon Forest · Eſsedun · Brentford · Weſtminſter · London · Bamfleet · St Shobery · Thames R. · Thanet I. · Briſtol · Bath · Bradford · Wodensbery · Caine · Marlborough · Cosham · Kennet · Bedwin · Ingleſield · Reading · Finchamſtead · Windſor · Chertſey · Kingſton · Lambeth · Beckenham · Rochester · Feverſham · Folkſton · Canterbury · Sandwich · Wippads fleet · Tunbridge · Folkſton · Dover · Romney · Hyde · Aſhford · Haſtings · Pevenſey · Chichester · Arundel · Southampton · Rumſey · Andreſ · Winchester · Drevet · Aſton · Riley · Oxford · Wells · Wedmor · Glaſtenbury · Pen · Brixton · Ilchiſter · Aſbery · Selwod Forest · Portlok · Wachet · Bampton · Taunton · Uthelney · Somerton · Shafteſ bury · Sherborne · Kirton · Cherdſtock · Badbury · Wintburn · Frome R. · Fromouth · Axminſter · Charmouth · Exeter · Waſham · Corfe · Carisbrook · Hingeſford · Portſmouth · Cimenſhow · Camelsford · Lydford · Launceſton · Henglton · Wenſtury · Eſkmouth · Portland Iſle · Lands end · St Michaels mo. · Lamer R. · St Valery · FRANCE

KINGDOM OF MERCIA · KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND · KINGDOM OF EAST ANGLES · KINGDOM OF KENT · KINGDOM OF SUSSEX · KINGDOM OF ESSEX · KINGDOM OF WEST SAXONS

CUMBERLAND · WESTMORLAND · CHESHIRE · LINCOLNSHIRE · NORFOLK · SUFFOLK · SURREY · WORCESTERSHIRE · GLOCESTERSHIRE · OXFORDSHIRE · BUCKINGHAMSHIRE · BEDFORDSHIRE · HERTFORDSHIRE · MIDDLESEX · HUNTINGDONSHIRE · CAMBRIDGESHIRE · NORTHAMPTONSHIRE · WARWICKSHIRE · STAFFORDSHIRE · DERBYSHIRE · NOTTINGHAMSHIRE · YORKSHIRE · DURHAM · ANGLESEY · CARNARVAN · MERIONETH · DENBIGH · FLINT · CARDIGANSHIRE · PEMBROKESHIRE · CARMARTHENSHIRE · BRECKNOCKMERE · MONTGOMERYSHIRE · SHROPSHIRE · HEREFORDSHIRE · WORCESTERSHIRE · GLOCESTERSHIRE · SOMERSETSHIRE · DORSETSHIRE · WILTSHIRE · DEVONSHIRE · CORNWALL · HAMPSHIRE · IRELAND · ISLE OF MAN · WIGHT ISLE

Hengiſt's *Character.* Verſteg.

Hengiſt was about thirty Years old. He firſt bore Arms under his Father *Witigiſil*; after which, for his Improvement in the Art of War, he went and ſerved in the *Roman* Armies, where the Emperors generally kept ſome *Saxon* Troops in their Pay. This young Warrior was endowed with all the neceſſary Qualifications for accompliſhing the Undertaking committed to his Management. His Valour and Experience, the Solidity of his Judgment, his Addreſs, his eaſy and engaging Behaviour, warranted in ſome Meaſure his Succeſs. All theſe excellent Qualities determined the *Saxon* General to procure for his Son ſo fair an occaſion to diſplay his Talents. As for his Brother *Horſa*, nothing particular is ſaid of him.

The *Saxons*, notwithſtanding their Promiſe, did not think proper to ſend over at once ſo conſiderable a Body of Forces as nine thouſand men, into a Country but imperfectly known to them. Wherefore, pretending the reſt were not ready by reaſon of their great Diſtance from the Place of Imbarkation, they cauſed only a Part to be put on board three Veſſels (1) The very Name of theſe Veſſels plainly enough demonſtrates they could hold but a very inconſiderable Number (2). The Hiſtorians have not expreſly marked the Place of this firſt Imbarkation. It may very probably be conjectured to have been in *Zealand*, as that Country was then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Saxons*. Beſides it would have been difficult to chuſe a more convenient Place, or one nearer the Iſle of *Thanet*, where theſe Forces were to land.

Eyndius. Chron. Zel.

Vortigern, having his own, much more than the Nation's Intereſt at Heart, was highly delighted with the Succeſs of his Ambaſſy. He was not ignorant how his Subjects ſtood affected towards him. And this no leſs than the Deſire of repulſing the common Enemy had moved him to ſue for the Aſſiſtance of the *Saxons*, flattering himſelf that he ſhould eaſily engage theſe Foreigners to grant him a particular Protection. With this View and Expectation he goes to the Sea-ſide, and waits their coming, to prepoſſeſs them in his Favour, by his Civility and Reſpect.

449. *The* Saxons *arrive in* Britain. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 309.

Mean while *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* ſetting ſail, arrive at *Ebbesfleet* in the Iſle of *Thanet*. Theſe firſt *Saxon* Troops are ſaid by moſt Hiſtorians to land in the Year 449, though by ſome this Event is placed a few Years ſooner or later. *Vortigern* receives his new Friends with extraordinary Careſſes, putting them immediately in poſſeſſion of the Iſle according to Agreement. When they had refreſhed themſelves a little, he led them againſt the *Picts* and *Scots* that were advanced as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnſhire*. In the firſt Battle, the Iſlanders, according to Cuſtom, began with throwing their Darts, which made but little Impreſſion on warlike Troops that deſpiſed that way of fighting. The *Saxons* having ſtood this firſt Charge without the leaſt Motion, advanced in good Order, and coming to cloſe fight, quickly routed Enemies already terrified by their very Looks. The northern Men frighted at the Sight of theſe Foreigners, and forc'd to engage in a different Manner from what they were uſed to, made but a faint Reſiſtance, and ſoon left their new Enemies in poſſeſſion of the Field of Battle. Their future Attempts had no better Succeſs, and in all their Encounters with the *Saxons*, they were continually worſted. Being quite diſcouraged by theſe frequent Defeats, they abandon their Conqueſts by degrees, and retire into their own Country, dreading nothing ſo much as engaging with the *Saxons*.

First battle between the Saxons *and northern People.*

Malm. l. 1.

Vortigern *gives* Hengiſt *ſome Lands near* Lincoln. Nenn. C. Monm. l. 3. c. 2. Langh. Chron. Reg.

Vortigern was overjoyed to ſee his Projects ſucceed thus far ſo happily. But his main Point, the winning the *Saxons* to his particular Intereſt, was yet unexecuted. To that end, he preſents the two *Saxon* Brothers with ſome Lands in *Lincolnſhire*, where they gave the Enemies the firſt repulſe (3). But if *Vortigern* was purſuing his Ends, *Hengiſt* was no leſs mindful of his own Intereſt. The Moment he perceives the Weakneſs of the *Britons*, he entertains Hopes of procuring a Settlement in *Britain*, and begins to lay his Meaſures accordingly. But he muſt proceed by degrees, and find means to execute his Deſign, without diſcovering his Intentions. The Lands given him by *Vortigern*, furniſh him with an Opportunity to cauſe the *Britons* to fall into the Snare he intends to lay for them. He repreſents to the King, that the Service he was doing the *Britons* in the North, keeping him at a Diſtance from the Iſle of *Thanet*, he had no place to ſecure the Booty taken from the Enemies, and therefore had reaſon to fear that whilſt he was employed in the northern Wars, he might be deprived of the Fruits of his Labours. For this Cauſe, he deſires leave to build a little Fort ſomewhere on the Lands lately given him. *Vortigern*, who ſought all Occaſions to pleaſe him, readily complies with his Requeſt. If moſt of the Hiſtorians may be credited, he only deſired to wall in as much Land as an Ox-hide could ſurround, which being granted, he cut the Hide into ſmall Thongs, and encloſing with them a Space large enough for his purpoſe, haſtily ran up a Fort, before the *Britons* had time to oppoſe it. This Circumſtance ſeems to be confirmed by the Name of the Fort itſelf, *Thong-caſter* (4), that is, *the Caſtle of Thongs* (5). It may indeed be objected, that the Name of this Caſtle gave occaſion to apply it to the Story *Juſtin* relates of *Dido* when going to build *Carthage*. But on the other hand, *Hengiſt* whilſt he ſerved in the *Roman* Armies, might, very poſſibly, be informed of this Artifice of *Dido*'s, and practiſe it in *Britain*.

Hengiſt *builds* Thong-caſter.

Juſt. l. 18.

The Britons *complain of* Vortigern.

The *Britons* ſeeing a Caſtle built in the Heart of their Country, begin to murmur againſt their King, and ſuſpect him of ſecretly favouring the *Saxons*. Theſe Murmurs gave *Hengiſt* Opportunity, who had now div'd into *Vortigern*'s private Intentions, to make an Advantage of that Prince's Circumſtances. He repreſents to him,

Hengiſt *offers him Aſſiſtance.* Nenn. c. 37.

" That the *Britons* are grown ſo inſolent ſince their Deli-
" verance from their Enemies, that they only wait an Op-
" portunity to rob him of his Crown, and give it to ano-
" ther. That this Intimation, coming from good Hands,
" ought to make him ſenſible that the Rebellion of his
" Subjects is no leſs to be feared, than the Invaſion of the
" *Picts* and *Scots*; and therefore adviſes him to ſecure
" himſelf from the approaching Storm, by ſending for more
" *Saxons*, and ſtrengthning himſelf with their Aid againſt
" the ill Practices of his Subjects. The reſt of the *Saxons*,
" (continues he) deſign'd for the Aſſiſtance of *Britain*, are
" all ready, and only wait your Orders." *Vortigern* glad ly embraces this Advice, which ſuits ſo well with his Projects. Inſtead of raiſing Objections, he himſelf preſſes the *Saxon* General to execute a Deſign which to him ſeems ſo advantagious. *Hengiſt* having thus obtain'd *Vortigern*'s Conſent, deſires his Father *Witigiſil* to ſend over the reſt of the Forces out of Hand. He acquaints him with the Fruitfulneſs of the Country, and Effeminacy of the Inhabitants, aſſuring him, if the *Saxons* wiſely improved this Opportunity, they might hope for a Settlement in *Britain*, no leſs advantagious and glorious than what they enjoy'd in *Germany*. *Witigiſil*, who had great Expectations from his Son's Expedition, ſends the deſired Supplies without Delay. He equips ſixteen large Veſſels to tranſport the Forces, and with them ſends *Eſcus* and *Rowena*, eldeſt Son and Niece (6) of *Hengiſt*. This ſecond Body of *Saxons* arriv'd in *Britain* in 450, about a Year after the firſt.

Vortigern *accepts it.*

Hengiſt *inſtills a Deſire into the* Saxons *to ſettle in* Britain. Malm. l. 1.

Arrival of a freſh Body of Saxons, *with* Eſcus *and* Rowena.

450. Malm. l. 1. c. 1.

As ſoon as the *Britiſh* Monarch and the *Saxon* General ſaw themſelves thus ſtrengthen'd, they behav'd in a very different Manner to the *Britons* from what they had done before. *Vortigern* grown more powerful, renders himſelf more abſolute. He treats his Subjects with great Haughtineſs, and thereby more ſtrongly confirms their Suſpicions of him. He even makes no ſcruple to aſſign Habitations for the New-comers, without ever adviſing with his Subjects. From that time a ſtrict Union is form'd between *Vortigern* and *Hengiſt*. They had need of each other for their mutual Defence againſt the *Britons*, who publickly expreſs'd their Diſcontent.

Vortigern *and* Hengiſt *behave haughtily to the* Britons. Flor. Wig.

Mean while, *Hengiſt* forgot nothing that could promote his Deſigns. Above all, he ſtudies to know the Humour and Character of *Vortigern*, and eaſily perceives *Love* and *Pleaſure* to be his predominant Paſſion. Accordingly he lays a Snare, which he thinks, the Monarch can hardly eſcape falling into. Having expreſs'd on ſeveral Occaſions, his Acknowledgments for the many Favours receiv'd at his Hands, he intreats him to honour him with his Company at *Thong-caſter*, where he earneſtly deſires to entertain him, and ſhew him ſome Marks of his Reſpect and Gratitude. *Vortigern* readily accepts of this Invitation, conſidering it as a freſh Means to ſtrengthen the Friendſhip contracted with the Heads of the *Saxons*, and which is ſo expedient for him. *Hengiſt* receives him with all the Reſpect due to a great King, his Friend and Benefactor. A ſplendid and exquiſite Entertainment is prepared for him, but nothing pleaſes the Royal Gueſt ſo much as the young *Rowena*, the

Hengiſt *lays a Snare for* Vortigern. Malm.

He invites him to Thong-caſter.

Vortigern *agrees to it.*

(1) *Geoffrey of Monmouth* ſays, theſe three Ships, full of armed Men, happen'd to come to *Kent* by chance, and that the Generals *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* being brought before *Vortigern*, he retained them and their Troops in his Service, l. 6. c. 10.

(2) They are call'd by the Hiſtorians in *Latin*, *Ciulæ*; in *Daniſh*, *Iols*: in *Engliſh*, *Keels*. *Rapin*. It is ſaid in *Camden*, p. cxxii. that *Kiulæ* was a general Name for their Ships, ——*Cyulis*, *noſtrâ linguâ*, *longis navibus*——*Gild*. p. 7. *Malm*. p. 8. *Bede*, l. 1. c. 15. It muſt be noted, that *ce*, *ci*, in *Saxon*, is pronounced like *ke*, *ki*.

(3) Some ſay theſe Lands were in *Kent*. But *Geoffrey of Monmouth* affirms, they were in *Londeſiâ Regione*, or rather *Lindeſiâ* in *Lindſey*. *Lindum* is *Latin* for *Lincoln*, *Geoff. Mon.* l. 6. c. 11. *Rapin* by miſtake quotes *Nennius*.

(4) Accepitque ſolum facti de nomine Thongum
Taurino quantum poterat circundare tergo. *Epit. of the Hiſt. of* Eng. *in* Latin *Verſe*. Rapin.

(5) *Caſtor*, (in *Saxon Thuang-caſter*, in *Welſh Caer-Egarry*, both ſignifying the ſame Thing) lies about ſix Miles from *Grimſby* in *Lincolnſhire*.

(6) *Ulitarpius*, it ſeems, is the only one who affirms ſhe was *Hengiſt*'s Niece. See *Speed*, p. 283. But *Malmſbury*, p. 9. *Matt. Weſtm.* p. 156. *Hunting.* p. 310. *Geoff. Monm.* l. 6. c. 12. all agree in ſaying ſhe was *Hengiſt*'s Daughter.

greateſt

greateſt Beauty of her time. *Hengiſt* her Uncle, under colour of doing Honor to *Vortigern*, but in reality that he might, during the Feaſt, feed his Eyes with ſo lovely an Object, ordered her to place herſelf juſt before the King. *and falls in Love with* Rowena. The Contrivance ſucceeded as *Hengiſt* expected. *Vortigern* keeps his Eyes continually fix'd on *Rowena*, who by her Looks gives him to underſtand, ſhe is not inſenſible of the Honor he does her. *Hengiſt* perceiving with Joy the ſudden Effect of *Rowena*'s Charms on the King, is unwilling to give his growing Paſſion time to cool. He makes a Sign to his Niece, who immediately going to the Side-Board, fills a Gold Cup with Wine, and preſents it on her Knees to the King, ſaying in her Language, *Liever Kyning, waſs heil*, that is, *Lord King, your Health*. *Vortigern* agreeably ſurprized, turns to his Interpreter and asks what ſhe ſaid, and how he muſt anſwer her after the *Saxon* manner. Being informed, he looks very amorouſly on *Rowena*, and anſwers in *Saxon*, *Drinck Heil*, that is *Do you your ſelf drink the Health*. Whereupon, *Rowena* juſt putting the Cup to her Lips, preſents it to the King, who taking it, riſes up immediately and gives her a Salute. *Rowena* receives it in a very reſpectful manner, as ſenſible of the great Honour done her, and making a profound Reverence, withdraws, leaving the Monarch full of Love and Deſire. This may be called a very fatal Moment for *Britain*, as will be ſeen hereafter. So true it is, the greateſt Events ſpring ſometimes from Things that appear at firſt of very little Conſequence.

Geoff. Mon. l. 6. c. 12.

He demands her in Marriage. From that time *Vortigern*'s Thoughts are wholly employed how to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of *Rowena*. Tho' he has a Wife, his Paſſion cauſing him to overlook all Obſtacles, he demands her in Marriage. But *Hengiſt*, willing by Difficulties to inflame the King's Deſires, anſwers, he cannot, contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Saxons*, give his Niece to a Prince already married, adding, *Rowena* was not entirely in his diſpoſal; and the Princes of his Nation, and particularly his Father, would not perhaps ever conſent ſhe ſhould be married to a Chriſtian Prince, how honorable ſoever the Alliance might be. But the amorous *Vortigern*, who burns with exceſſive Deſire to enjoy *Rowena*, finds Expedients to overcome all theſe Difficulties. He begins with divorcing his Wife, by whom he had ſeveral Children. Then he promiſes *Rowena* the free Exerciſe of her Religion, and to ſtop the Mouths of the *Saxon* Princes, whoſe Reproaches *Hengiſt* ſeems to fear, deviſes an Expedient, (or perhaps it is ſuggeſted to him) by which, as he imagines, he may reconcile Love and Policy. And this was to inveſt *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* with the Sovereignty of *Kent*, and give them leave to people it with *Saxons*. The Moment he came to this Reſolution, all Obſtacles began to vaniſh, and the politick *Saxon*, who had ſeem'd backward only to make the better Bargain, thought it time to give his Conſent. He delivers therefore his Niece to the amorous Monarch, and takes Poſſeſſion of *Kent*, magnifying this Proof of his Reſpect and Gratitude, as if the King were highly obliged to him. *Vortigern* was ſo blinded by his Paſſion, that he thought himſelf a great Gainer by the Exchange (1). This Agreement was made ſo privately, that *Gerongus* (2), Prince or Governor of *Kent*, was diſpoſſeſſed before he could take any Meaſures to oppoſe it. So impatient was *Vortigern* to conclude this fatal Bargain!

Hengiſt *ſtarts Difficulties.*

Vortigern *finds means to remove them all.*

He promiſes Hengiſt *the Province of* Kent.

Whereupon the Marriage is concluded, and Hengiſt *takes Poſſeſſion.* Nenn. Geoff. Mon. l. 3. c. 1.

The Britons *murmur againſt* Vortigern. In vain did the *Britons* murmur againſt this Marriage, and complain of the King's Bounty. *Hengiſt*, regardleſs of their Murmurs, ſtrengthened himſelf as much as poſſible in his new Sovereignty, conſidering withal of freſh means to aggrandize himſelf. But before he diſcovered his Intention, he wanted to be out of danger from the *Britons*, who plainly ſhewed how they ſtood affected towards him. Ever ſince it was known he intended to ſettle in the Iſland they could no longer rely on him, or rather, look'd upon him as a profeſſed Enemy.

Hengiſt *forms new Projects.* G. Mon. l. 4. Malm.

Whilſt the *Britons* were venting their fruitleſs Complaints againſt their Monarch and the *Saxons*, *Hengiſt* was ſeriouſly thinking of his Concerns. Tho' he had a good Body of Troops under his Command, that was not ſufficient to enable him to execute his vaſt Projects. He thought it properer therefore to conceal them till he was in condition to declare his Intentions. The Situation *Vortigern* was in, made him hope it was not impoſſible to make that Prince ſubſervient to his Deſigns, whilſt he ſhould imagine he was labouring only for himſelf. To that end, he pretended to be more attach'd than ever to his Perſon and Intereſt, and endeavoured by ſundry means to perſuade him he was entirely devoted to his Service. His Aim was to induce him gradually by theſe Marks of Affection, to be wholly guided by his Counſels. When he thought he had ſufficiently gained his Confidence, he repreſented to him, "That his Subjects were diſpleaſed "with him, and in all appearance waited only for a favorable Opportunity to execute the ill Deſigns they had "form'd: That an Opportunity would infallibly offer "when the *Saxon* Troops ſhould be employed in the "northern Wars; and then being deſtitute of the Aſſiſt-"ance of his Friends, he would be in danger of being ex-"poſ'd to the Inſults of thoſe that hated him: That he "thought himſelf obliged to acquaint him, his Subjects "held Intelligence with *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, who was at "the Court of *Aldroen* King of *Armorica*, and probably "had conſpired to ſet that Prince on the Throne." There was ſome ground for *Hengiſt*'s thus artfully hinting the Danger *Vortigern* was in from *Ambroſius*. That Prince was of *Roman* Extraction, and according to the general Opinion, Son of one of the Monarchs elected by the *Britons* after the Departure of the *Romans* (3). As he was very young when his Father died, his Youth ſcreened him from the Jealouſy of thoſe that aſcended the Throne immediately or ſhortly after. But it was otherwiſe when *Vortigern* came to the Crown. A ſtrong Party being form'd in favour of *Ambroſius*, the new Monarch was ſo filled with Suſpicions, that he ſought means to deſtroy the young Prince. The Danger *Ambroſius* was expoſed to obliging him to quit *Britain*, he retired to *Aldroen* his Relation, where he was waiting for a favourable opportunity to come and head his Party. This being the Caſe between *Vortigern* and *Ambroſius*, what the *Saxon* Prince ſaid could not but make deep Impreſſion on his Mind.

Ambroſius, *who he was.* Stillingfleet. Orig. p. 319. Gild. p. 9.

By theſe continual Marks of a ſeemingly diſintereſted Friendſhip, *Hengiſt* led the *Britiſh* Monarch by degrees to ſeek of his own accord, the means he deſign'd to furniſh him with, namely, the ſending for a greater Number of *Saxon* Troops. His Aim was to put himſelf in condition to have nothing to fear from the *Britons*, and withal to be independent of the King; which he could not attain to but by the means he intended. *Vortigern*, deſpairing ever to regain the Affection of his Subjects, and conſidering *Ambroſius*, though abſent, as a very dangerous Rival, ſaw his whole Refuge lay in the *Saxon* Prince, whom he deemed his beſt Friend, and accordingly to him it was he applied for Advice and Aſſiſtance. *Hengiſt* tells him, "All the "*Saxons* in *Britain* are at his Devotion, but their Num-"ber is too inconſiderable to protect him." Adding, "The *Britons*, in all likelihood, will not fail to ſhew "their Diſcontent, whilſt the *Saxons* are in the North, "and therefore he ſees but one way to ſecure the King "from their Plots, which is, to ſend for more *Saxons* to "be commanded by truſty Leaders, who will implicitly "follow his Orders." This Advice being agreeable to *Vortigern*'s Intentions, he immediately cloſes with it. *Hengiſt* promiſes to ſend the new Troops into the North, againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, whilſt he ſtays himſelf in *Kent* to have an Eye upon the Male-contents. This Precaution ſeem'd very proper to prevent the Inſurrection of the *Britons*, who by that means would be hemm'd in by the *Saxon* Forces.

Brit. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 1.

Hengiſt having obtained the King's Conſent, ſent for a Fleet of forty Ships, conducted by *Octa* his Brother, who brought with him his Son *Ebuſa*, and a great Number of *Saxon* Troops. Theſe New-Comers begin with raviſhing the *Orcades*, then making a Deſcent on the Coaſts of the *Picts*, oblige the Inhabitants to retire Northwards. As ſoon as the *Picts* had thus deſerted part of their Country, the *Saxons* ſeated themſelves there ſo ſtrongly, that it was not poſſible to diſpoſſeſs them. At firſt they ſettled on the North-ſide of the *Tine* towards the Eaſt. Afterwards they advanced towards the *South*, and drove the *Britons* beyond the *Humber*; but this was done by degrees. This third Body of *Saxons* arriv'd in 452, three Years after the Firſt. With theſe freſh Supplies, *Hengiſt* found himſelf ſtrong enough to be in no great fear of any Attempt from the *Britons*: Nay, he began to ſhew leſs Reſpect for *Vortigern*, and under colour of wanting frequent Recruits to keep up the Number of his Forces, ſent for continual Supplies from *Germany* without asking his Leave. At length he throws away the Mask, and making bitter Complaints that the *Saxons* were not duly paid according to Agreement, boldly demands the Arrears, threatening, without prompt and full payment, to do himſelf Juſtice.

452. *Octa and Ebuſa come and ſettle in the North with Saxon Troops.* Nenn. Geoff. Mon. Cam.

Gild. Bede, l. 1. c. 15.

The *Britons*, ſurprized at theſe Menaces, and greatly mortified to ſee *Hengiſt* in a condition to do as he proudly threatned, began to rouſe themſelves, and think of means to free themſelves from theſe Foreigners. *Vortimer*, eldeſt Son of *Vortigern*, had beheld hitherto with extreme Regret, how the *Saxons*, by his Father's Fault, ſtrengthened themſelves daily, and had very much dreaded the Conſequences thereof. As ſoon as he ſaw the *Britons* in Emotion, he improv'd the Opportunity, and repreſented to the leading Men that it was time to apply an effectual Remedy to the Evils they lay under. He told them, his Father's Cowardice, or perhaps Treachery, had been the Occaſion of the *Saxons*

453. *Vortimer encourages the Britons to drive out the Saxons.* Malm. l. 1.

(1) This Story of *Rowena* is the leſs authentick, for not being mentioned by *Bede* or *Gildas*, and related by *Malmſbury* as a Report only.
(2) *Camden* takes *Gorongus* to be the Name of an Office or Employment. See *Langborn, Chron. Reg. Ang. Rapin.*
(3) He is ſaid by ſeveral to be Son of *Conſtantine*, beheaded by *Honorius*. *Rapin.*

becoming

becoming ſo powerful; that it was neceſſary therefore to prevent *Vortigern* from heaping any more Favours on theſe Foreigners, to the Prejudice of the *Britiſh* Nation, which was in danger of being over-run, if Meaſures were not taken to put a Stop to their growing Power. The *Britons*, convinc'd by theſe Reaſons, awak'd at laſt out of their Lethargy, and by *Vortimer*'s Inſtigations, the moſt powerful of them having entered into a private Confederacy, of which *Vortigern* had not the leaſt Notice, ſuddenly compell'd him to make his Son Partner with him in the Government, and to leave the Adminiſtration of Affairs to his Care. The Plot was ſo well laid, that in an Inſtant *Vortigern* ſaw himſelf without either Fortreſs, or Troops, or Credit, and conſtrain'd to do whatever was deſir'd, he not having time to call the *Saxons* to his Aid. As he had not miſtruſted his own Son, he had taken no care to guard againſt him. Thus *Vortimer* was inveſted with the whole royal Authority, leaving his Father only the empty Title of King without any Power (1).

454. Vortigern *is compell'd to aſſociate his Son.*

The War againſt the Saxons *reſolv'd upon.*

The new Monarch found no great Difficulty to perſuade the *Britons*, that nothing but Force could drive the *Saxons* out of their Country. It was but too plain, from their Proceedings, that they did not deſign to go away voluntarily. The War therefore being reſolv'd, the *Britons* made Preparations to rid themſelves of their Gueſts, whom they look'd upon as their mortal Enemies. *Hengiſt*, for his part, finding he was like to have a fierce War upon his Hands, made haſte and concluded a Peace with the *Picts*, who were proud of having for Allies Men ſo formidable for their Arms. This Precaution enabled him to make a powerful Diverſion in the *North* by the Help of the *Picts*, aſſiſted by the *Saxons* lately ſettled in thoſe Parts. As for *Kent*, *Hengiſt* look'd upon himſelf to be ſtrong enough there to make head againſt *Vortimer*, who was preparing to attack him.

I am now going to enter upon the Recital of a War, which, after numberleſs Engagements, render'd the *Saxons* Maſters of *Britain*. An Event ſo remote from the Expectations of the *Britons* when they ſent for the *Saxons* to aſſiſt them, affords Matter of Wonder and Admiration at the Short-ſightedneſs of Men, and the Uncertainty of their Counſels! But before I relate the Iſſue of this War, it will be proper to acquaint the Reader that he is not to expect a full and particular Account of Matters. Hiſtorians have been contented with relating ſome certain Facts, which juſt ſerve to carry on the Thread of the Hiſtory, but hardly give us a general *Idea* of that Revolution which peopled *Britain* with new Inhabitants, and introduced a new Face of Things over the whole *Iſland*.

455. *The Battle of* Egleſford. Aſſer. Menev. Gab. Athelwendus. Flor. Wigorn. Annal. Sax. Ranulph. Ceſtr. Polychron. G. Malmſb. *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

The *Britons* and *Saxons* being prepared for War were not long before they came to an Ingagement. In the firſt Campaign, the two Armies met at *Egleſford* (2) in *Kent*, the *Saxons* being commanded by *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, and the *Britons* by *Vortimer*. The firſt Battle, according to the Hiſtorians, was very bloody. *Hengiſt* loſt *Horſa*, (3) his Brother, and with his own Hand ſlew *Catigern* (4), youngeſt Brother of *Vortimer*. If we may believe the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians, *Vortimer* not only obtain'd a compleat Victory over the *Saxons*, but driving *Hengiſt* as far as the Iſle of *Thanet*, compell'd him to imbark and fly into *Germany*. But by what follow'd after this Battle, it is evident, if the *Saxons* were not victorious, at leaſt they were not vanquiſh'd (5), ſince all their Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, that this very Year 455, immediately after the Battle, *Hengiſt* firſt took upon him the Title of King of *Kent*, which doubtleſs he would not have done, had he been defeated and obliged to fly into *Germany*.

Hengiſt *takes the Title of King of* Kent. Bede. Ann. Sax.

One muſt not be ſurprized to find ſo great Contrariety among the Hiſtorians concerning Events ſo remote from our Time; when even the Authors that write of what has paſs'd in our Days, very rarely agree in Facts, which by their late Date, might eaſily be known.

457. *The Battle of* Crecanford. Gildas. Bede, *l.* 1. Hen. Huntingd. *l.* 2. Sax. Ann.

Two Years after, another Battle was fought near *Crecanford* (6) in *Kent*, wherein *Vortimer* was entirely defeated with the Loſs of more than 4000 Men and his beſt Officers. Not being able to keep the Field, he was forced to ſhut himſelf up in *London*, till he could draw another Army together. In the mean while *Hengiſt*, to ſtrike the greater Terror into the *Britons*, ravaged the Country in a mercileſs manner. They that were moſt expos'd to the Fury of the *Saxons*, quitted their Houſes, and fled to the Woods for Refuge. Some abandon'd their Country, and retir'd into *Armorica*, where they were civilly receiv'd by King *Aldroen*. During theſe Devaſtations, the very Churches were not ſpared, but all that were in the Neighbourhood of the *Saxons* were reduc'd to Aſhes. Theſe barbarous *Pagans*, joining to their natural Fierceneſs a *Religious Zeal*, thought they honoured their Gods, by inhumanly treating the *Chriſtians*, eſpecially the *Eccleſiaſtics*, who were moſt cruelly dealt with.

The Britons *deſire the Aſſiſtance of the King of* Armorica, *by the Advice of the Biſhop of* London. G. Monm. Mat. Weſt. Hunting.

The *Britons* being reduc'd to this Extremity, their Chiefs aſſembled themſelves to conſider of Means to prevent their total Ruin. *Guithelin*, Archbiſhop of *London*, and Head of *Ambroſius*'s Party, adviſed them to apply to the King of *Armorica* for Aſſiſtance. He repreſented to them, "That as "*Aldroen* had always ſhewn great civilities to the *Britons*, "there was Room to hope he would not abandon them in "this their preſſing Neceſſity." Adding, "that ſince *Vorti*-"*gern* and *Vortimer* were no longer to be depended upon, he "thought it neceſſary to invite over *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, "who being ſprung from illuſtrious *Anceſtors*, and having all "the Qualifications to be deſir'd in a General, would, in all "Probability, by his Valour and Conduct, free them from "their preſent Danger." As they had always hated *Vortigern*, and, ſince his laſt Defeat, were diſſatisfied with *Vortimer*, the common, though unjuſt Fate of vanquiſh'd Generals, they readily embrac'd the Archbiſhop's Advice, and deſired him to go himſelf and negotiate the Affair; which he gladly undertook, as enabling him to accompliſh a Deſign he had long been forming. He ſets out immediately for *Armorica*, and laying before *Aldroen* the deplorable Condition of the *Britons*, obtain'd with eaſe the Aid he demanded. *Aldroen*, who had ſo generouſly receiv'd all the fugitive *Britons*, was willing to give the Nation a farther Proof of his Friendſhip, by granting them an Aid of ten thouſand Men. He plac'd *Ambroſius* at their Head, who conducted them ſafely to *Totneſs*. This General was receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy, being look'd upon as the only Support of the ſinking *Britons*. But this Joy was not univerſal: *Vortimer*'s Party, ſtill powerful, conſider'd *Ambroſius* as one come to uſurp the Crown, under colour of defending it. And *Vortimer* himſelf threatned to puniſh ſeverely thoſe that ſhould join him. Thus the miſerable *Britons*, always a Prey to their inteſtine Diviſions, inſtead of uniting againſt the common Enemy, prepared to deſtroy one another.

458. *Ambroſius lands with* 10,000 *Men.* G. Monm.

Ambroſius and Guithelin conſpire the Ruin of the two Britiſh *Kings.*

Mean while, *Ambroſius* and *Guithelin* perceiving the Conjuncture to be favorable, conſpir'd the Ruin of *Vortigern* and *Vortimer*. They began with repreſenting to their Party, "that vain were the Hopes of driving out the *Saxons*, under "the Conduct of theſe two Kings, the Son being a Prince "without Courage or Experience, and the Father an Ene-"my to the Nation, as appear'd by his ſtrict Union with "the Enemies of the State; not to mention his exceſſive "Liberalities, which obliged his Subjects to take the Ad-"miniſtration out of his Hands. That in vain therefore "were their Preparations to drive out the Foreigners, if "theſe two domeſtick Enemies were not firſt deſtroy'd; "who were in Arms only to favour and aſſiſt them." On the other hand, *Vortigern* and *Vortimer* told their Friends, "that *Ambroſius*, under pretence of aſſiſting, was come to "ſubdue them: That the Archbiſhop was an ambitious "Man, who ſought to put the Crown on the Head of *Am-*"*broſius*, only to get the Adminiſtration of the Govern-"ment into his own Hands; than which, ſuch was his Arro-"gance, nothing ſhould more be dreaded by the *Britons*: "That they muſt wilfully ſhut their Eyes not to ſee, that "the Deſigns of theſe two Heads of their Party, were "directly oppoſite to the Good of the Kingdom: That "inſtead of marching their *freſh* Troops againſt the *Saxons*, "they had done nothing ſince their Arrival, but caball'd "with the People, and taken Meaſures to oppreſs thoſe "who were in Arms for the Defence of the Country.

They accuſe Ambroſius *of aſpiring to the Crown.*

Civil Wars among the Britons.

The mutual Animoſity of the two Parties was ſo violent, that they ſoon came to Blows, each preferring his private to the public Intereſt. The firſt Battle was fought near *Catgwaloph* (7) in *Carmarthenſhire*. As it is difficult from the confus'd Accounts of Hiſtorians, to know on which ſide Victory inclin'd in this and ſeveral other Engagements, I ſhall only obſerve that the civil Wars laſted till the Year 465, to the great weakening of the *Britons*, whilſt the *Saxons* had time to ſtrengthen themſelves both in *Kent* and beyond the *Humber*. To ſo wretched a State were the *Britons* at laſt reduc'd, that numbers of them, harraſs'd one while by the Civil War, another while by the *Saxons*, abandon'd their native Country, where they could no longer ſubſiſt.

458. *Battle of* Catgwaloph. Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 22. Hunting. *l.* 2.

A Band of Britons *flee into* Holland. Joh. Leyden.

A *Dutch* Writer informs us, that ſome of thoſe unfortunate Wretches going on board of a Galley, and rowing towards the mouth of the *Rhine*, landed at *Catwick* near *Leyden*, where they ſettled by the Sea-ſide in an old *Roman* Camp, to which they gave the Name of *Brittenburge*.

465. *The End of the Civil Wars.* Nennius.

Thus *Britain* for ſeven or eight Years ſuffer'd all the Calamities of a Civil War. At length the wiſeſt of both Parties, conſidering their Diſſention would be the Cauſe of their common Ruin, made up the Breach by parting the Kingdom between the contending Princes. The two *Britiſh* Kings had the *Eaſtern*, and *Ambroſius* the *Weſtern* Part, divided from

(1) All Hiſtorians agree not in this Point. Some will have it that he voluntarily made his Son Partner with him. *Rapin.*
(2) Now *Aylesford.* (3) He was buried at *Horſted*, ſo called from him.
(4) He was buried near *Aylesford*, where four great Stones ſtand an-end, with others a-croſs them, like *Stone-henge.* Camden.
(5) R. *Higden* expreſly ſays, that *Hengiſt* got the Victory, *p.* 223.
(6) Now *Crayford*, from the River *Crecan* now *Creece.* See *Camden.* *Rapin.*
(7) Perhaps the Town now call'd *Kydwelly*; Lat. *Catguilia*, Lambard's *Dict. Topogr.*

one another by the *Roman* High-way, called afterwards *Watling-ſtreet* (1). From hence may be dated the beginning of the Reign of *Ambroſius*.

466. *The War againſt the* Saxons *begins again.* Hen. Hunting. *l.* 2. *Battle of* Wipped's-Fleet. Nennius. G. Monm. Sax. Ann.

The *Saxons*, upon the Union of the two Parties, join'd their Forces alſo. In the firſt Engagement, *Hengiſt* loſt *Wipped*, one of his principal Officers, from whom the Field of Battle was called *Wipped's-Fleet* (2). Here the *Britiſh* and *Saxon* Hiſtorians, according to Cuſtom, give us contradictory Accounts. The laſt ſay, their Countrymen obtained that Day a ſignal Victory. Whereas the others affirm, that *Vortimer*, who commanded the Army, routed the *Saxons*, and compelled *Hengiſt* a ſecond time to fly into *Germany*. But it appears by what followed, that the Advantage was on the Side of the *Saxons*. I will even venture to ſay, contrary to the Opinion of ſome noted Hiſtorians, that in all likelihood *Hengiſt* never returned to *Germany*. Not ſo much as one Author marks either the Time or Place of his ſecond Landing, tho' they were no leſs neceſſary to be obſerv'd than *Thoſe* of his firſt.

Arthur *firſt appears.* Langh. Chron. Reg. Ang.

In this War it was, that the famous *Arthur*, at fourteen Years of Age, made his firſt Appearance in the *Britiſh* Armies, under *Ambroſius*. His Inclination for War made him take upon him betimes the Profeſſion of a Soldier, which he never quitted during his Life. He ſucceeded *Gorlous* his Father in the Kingdom of *Danmonium* (3) in 467. He was no ſooner on the Throne, but he had a War to maintain againſt *Howel* King of *Areclute* (4), in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*. This Prince is ſaid, out of Envy to the Glory *Arthur* had acquired, to enter into an Alliance againſt him with the *Saxons* in the *North*. But inſtead of leſſening his Reputation, he ſerved to increaſe it conſiderably. *Arthur* beating him back to the Iſle of *Mona*, gave him Battle, and ſlew him with his own Hand. He gain'd this Victory in 470, being then about eighteen Years old. We ſhall ſee him hereafter ſignalizing himſelf by Actions more glorious, as well as more beneficial to his Country.

470. Priſæus Hiſt. Britt Def.

473. *The fourth Battle between the* Saxons *and* Britons. Flor. Wigorn. Vortimer. *dies.* Sax. Ann.

The War continuing between the two Nations, a Battle loſt by the *Britons* in 473, put their Affairs in extreme Diſorder, and gave the *Saxon* Prince Opportunity of enlarging his Territories. At length *Vortimer*, the principal Promoter of the War, died in 475, poiſon'd, as ſome ſay, by *Rowena* his Mother-in-law, thro' the Suggeſtion of *Hengiſt* (5). The *Britiſh* Hiſtorians would fain make, at any rate, a Hero of *Vortimer*, by attributing to him many ſignal Victories over the *Saxons*. But the Growth of theſe laſt in Power and Dominion, notwithſtanding their pretended Defeats, is a clear Evidence, that the Advantages of *Vortimer* were neither conſiderable, nor even real. His Death brought ſome Quiet to *Britain*, if a deceitful Calm, that prov'd the Ruin of the *Britons*, may be ſo call'd.

Treaty of Peace between the Saxons *and* Britons.

After a twenty Years War, both Sides began to ſhew an Inclination for Peace, which *Vortimer* had always ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, fearing when the War was over with the *Saxons*, he ſhould be obliged to begin another with *Ambroſius*, who had the Hearts of the People, and could hardly bear to ſee *Vortigern*, and his Son on the Throne, though deprived of half their Dominions. The Peace was concluded, on condition each Party ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed. *Hengiſt*, who had entertain'd Hopes of conquering all *Britain*, was not a little concerned to find himſelf ſo much diſappointed. He comforted himſelf however with the Thoughts of doing by *Policy*, what he could not effect by *Force*.

Reflections on the Reſiſtance of the Britons.

When we reflect on the Weakneſs and Diſpiritedneſs of the *Britons* before the arrival of *Hengiſt*, it muſt be ſurprizing to ſee them able to ſtand againſt the *Saxons* in the firſt War, which laſted ſo long. Thoſe very *Britons*, who after the Departure of the *Romans*, ſcarce dared to look the *Picts* and *Scots* in the Face, ſucceſsfully defended themſelves againſt both *Saxons* and *Picts*: Nay, they even frequently ventur'd to attack the *Saxons* in the Height of their Strength, and put them in fear of loſing the Country of *Kent*, delivered to them by *Vortigern*. And if they could not wreſt it from them, at leaſt they prevented them from enlarging their Conqueſts. A long War teaches at length the moſt unwarlike Nation the Uſe of Arms, and very often enables them to repair in the End the Loſſes they ſuſtain'd in the Beginning.

Had the *Saxons* invaded *Britain* at firſt with a numerous Army, in all Appearance they would have conquered the Whole in a very little Time. But ſending over only a ſmall Number of Supplies, they ſpun the War out to a great Length, and by that Means taught the *Britons* a Trade, which the *Romans* had done all they could to make them forget. Of This, there have been many other Inſtances. It may be ſaid perhaps, that whilſt they defended themſelves in the *South*, they loſt Ground in the *North*. But it muſt be conſidered, the Country beyond the *Humber* was loſt to them, before the Coming of *Hengiſt*, and that the *Saxons* took it from the *Picts* and *Scots*, and not from the *Britons*. We are ignorant of what *Octa* and *Ebuſa* did during this long War. It is to be ſuppoſed they aſſiſted *Hengiſt* by frequent Diverſions, and even ſent him Supplies by *Sea*, which they could not do by *Land*, becauſe of marching through the Enemy's Country.

Hengiſt *barbarouſly murders* 300 Britons. G. Monm. Nennius Malm. M. Weſtm.

Hengiſt, after all his Hopes of becoming Maſter of *Britain*, ſaw himſelf with extreme Regret reduc'd to the Kingdom of *Kent*. He had acquainted the *Saxon* Princes in *Germany*, that, provided they ſent him Supplies, he could eaſily procure them a laſting Settlement in the Iſland. And yet after twenty Years War, he found there was but little Appearance of his being as good as his Word. The falling off of *Vortigern*, and the Valour of *Ambroſius*, join'd to a Conduct which equalled him to the moſt famous Generals, ſeemed to lay invincible Obſtacles in his Way. However, he was reſolv'd not to give over his Deſign, but endeavour to do that by Fraud which he could not accompliſh by Force. To this end he contrived a Plot, that by its Blackneſs ſullied the Glory of all his former Actions. As ſoon as the Peace was concluded, he pretended to be mighty well pleaſed with it, and behaved in ſuch a manner as ſhowed he had no Deſign of enlarging his Conqueſts. The *Britons*, charm'd with this ſeeming Moderation, were eaſily comforted for the Loſs of *Kent*, imagining they knew the worſt, and, perhaps, hoping one Day to meet with a favourable Juncture to recover it again. In the mean Time, not to provoke a Prince whoſe Valour they had ſo often experienced, they lived in an amicable manner with him. In ſhort, their Animoſity againſt the *Saxons* by degrees entirely vaniſhed. *Hengiſt* omitted nothing to keep them in a Security, which would lead them into the Snare he was preparing for them. He let them know, his Intention being to live in perfect Union with them, he ſhould be glad from Time to Time to keep up the good Underſtanding between the two Nations by Parties of Pleaſure. *Vortigern*, a paſſionate Lover of ſuch Diverſions, joyfully accepted his Propoſal, and went ſo far as to pay him the firſt Viſit, accompanied with 300 of his principal Subjects. *Hengiſt* receiv'd them ſeemingly in a very reſpectful and cordial Manner, which charmed the *Britiſh* Lords. His Entertainment was ſplendid, and nothing was wanting to divert them. But towards the End of the Feaſt, the Scene was changed. *Hengiſt* had ordered Matters ſo, that having artfully raiſed ſome ſubject of Diſpute, at a certain Signal given, the *Britiſh* Lords were all murther'd (6). *Vortigern*, becauſe *Hengiſt* had need of him, was only made Priſoner. In vain did he complain of this baſe Treachery; he could not obtain his Liberty without delivering up to the *Saxons* a great Tract of Land bordering upon *Kent*, with which *Hengiſt* enlarged his narrow Territories. This was afterwards divided into three Provinces, called by the *Saxons*, *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, and *Middleſex*, which Names they retain to this Day. Moreover, not content with this Acquiſition, *Hengiſt* ravaged the neighbouring Country in a mercileſs Manner, and became Maſter of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Wincheſter*.

G. Malm. G. Monm.

Vortigern *is forc'd to give up a large Country to* Hengiſt.

His Subjects abandon him, and go over to Ambroſius.

The Indignation of the *Britons* at this barbarous Action was ſo great, that they could not look upon a *Saxon* without Horror. But this fatal Event was attended with farther Conſequences. *Vortigern*, as he had given his Subjects, more than once, cauſe to think him a Friend to the *Saxons*, was reckoned an Accomplice in the Maſſacre, ſince he alone was ſpared. And therefore they all deſerted him, and acknowledged *Ambroſius* (7) for their Sovereign, except a few Friends, who were of little Service to him in his ſinking Condition.

(1) The *Romans*, for the more convenient going from Colony to Colony, had their publick Highways called *Viæ Conſulares*, *Prætoriæ*, *Regiæ*, &c. but by *Bede* and the Moderns, *Stratæ*, or *Streets*. (Hence the many *Strettons*, i. e. *Towns on thoſe Streets*). There were four in *England*, *Watling-Street*, *Ikenild-Street*, *Ermin-Street*, and *Foſs-way*. Two of theſe Ways are extended croſs the Breadth of the Kingdom, the other two thro' the Length of it. The Tracts of theſe four Ways, are, and have been, for many Ages, very obſcure; and it is not yet ſufficiently clear'd, where any one of them diſtinctly went. *Brady*, p. 45. *Hiſt. Eng.*

(2) *Wippedi fluentum.* See *Gloſſar. Saxon.* In all probability *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*. See *Langhorn*. *Camden* thinks it was in the Iſle of *Thanet*, but that could not be. *Rapin.*

(3) *Cornwall* and *Devon*. There were ſeveral petty Kings dependant on the chief Monarch. *Rapin.*

(4) Or *Alcluid*. This Kingdom contain'd Part of *Cumberland* and *Lenox*. *Dunbritton* was afterwards the Name of the Capital. *Camd.* p. 918.

(5) He was buried at *Lincoln*. Nennius, *c.* 46.

(6) The Signal was, *Nimed eure Seaxes, (i. e.) Pull out your Daggers*. *Stillingfleet* doubts the Truth of this Fact, becauſe *Witechind* relates one like it that happen'd in *Germany*. But it might be repeated in *Britain*. Rapin. This Maſſacre was committed on the 1ſt of *May*. Higd. In Memory of it, *Ambroſius* is ſaid to have built *Stonehenge* near *Saliſbury*. *G. Monm. l.* 8. As it has been juſtly wonder'd at how Stones of twenty or thirty Tons could be rais'd ſo high as they are, it won't be amiſs to give the Reader Mr. *Rowland*'s *Hypotheſis* in his *Mona Antiqua*. Small Mounts were thrown up with ſloping ſides and level at the Top. Up theſe Sides with great Leavers and Pullies by little and little they roll'd and heav'd up the Stones they deſign'd to erect; then laying them along on the Top of the Hillock, they dug Holes in the Earth at the End of the Stones, as deep as the Stones were long, into which they let them ſlip ſtrait on Ends with their Tops level with the Tops of the Mount, then placing other Stones upon theſe, and taking away the Earth almoſt to the Bottom of the Supporters, there appear'd what we call *Stone-henge*, *Rollrick* or *Cromlech*.

(7) *Baronius* confounds *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, with another *Aurelian*. Rapin.

476. Ambrosius *assumes the Title of Emperor.*

Ambrosius, as soon as he saw himself sole Monarch of the *Britons*, assumed the Imperial Purple, after the manner of the *Roman* Emperors, creating at the same time Prince *Arthur*, who had signaliz'd himself in the War by many brave Actions, a *Patrician* (1). Could *Britain* have been saved, it would doubtless have been so by these two great Princes, who had all the Qualities of the most celebrated Heroes in an eminent Degree. But its Fate was determin'd. This noble Country, was destin'd to undergo an extraordinary Revolution, and become a Prey to the *Saxons*. All that *Ambrosius* and *Arthur* could do was to put off its Ruin for a Time.

Hengist *invites over more* Saxons.

Mean while, *Hengist* was not a little perplex'd to see his Country quite dispeopled; for the Inhabitants refusing to live under a Prince that had given such evident Proofs of his Treachery and Cruelty, retir'd in Crowds into the other Provinces; so that his new Dominions were of no Use to him, there not being hands enough to cultivate the Lands.

477. Ella *arrives in* Britain. Fab. Æthelw. Flor. Wigorn. H. Huntingdon, *l.* 2. Sax. Ann.

In this perplexity, he resolv'd to send for *Ella*, a *Saxon* General, from *Germany*, promising Part of the Territories granted him by *Vortigern*. *Ella* receiv'd the Offer with Joy, and shortly after arriv'd in *Britain*, with his Sons *Baldulphus*, *Colgrin*, and *Cissa* an Infant. He landed his Troops at *Whitering* in *Sussex*, but not without Opposition. The Inhabitants of the Country rising to prevent his Entrance, he became not Master of the Shore till after a long Battle. At length he drove the *Britons* as far as the Forest of *Andredswald* (2), at that Time 65 Miles in Length, and 30 in Breadth. The Retreat of the *Britons* gave the *Saxons* Opportunity to settle by degrees along the Coast and towards the *Thames*. During the nine Years they were employ'd in extending their Conquests in those Parts, they had continual Wars with the *Britons*, the Particulars whereof are unknown. We are told, that the *Saxons* settled all along the southern Coast, were call'd *Sud* or *South Saxons*, and their Country

Sussex.

Sussex. *Hengist* took care to strengthen himself, in the best manner he could, in the rest of the Country given him, and planted Colonies of his own Countrymen. Those that were seated to the *East* were called *East Saxons*, and their

Essex. Middlesex.

Country *Essex*. The Country between *Essex* and *Sussex*, was term'd *Middlesex*. As for *Kent*, it retained its ancient Name, the only one perhaps the *Saxons* did not alter.

Hengist having thus settled Matters, gave those Soldiers, that desir'd it, leave to return into *Germany*. At their Arrival on the Continent, they built the Castle of *Leyden*,

Jo. Dousa.

which is ascrib'd to *Hengist* himself by a *Dutch* Poet, as well as by several others, who were of Opinion that he went back into *Germany* (3).

Nine Years rest from War.

The *Britons* were not then in a condition to think of recovering the Provinces usurp'd by the *Saxons*. Harrass'd by almost continual Wars for 60 Years together, it was time to breathe a while. However, they were griev'd to see the *Saxons* so firmly settled in the Country, and in a Capacity of strengthening themselves, by the Conveniency of sending, whenever they pleas'd, for fresh supplies from *Germany*. But they were forced to be patient, 'till their almost quite exhausted Forces were repair'd. Accordingly, without any previous Truce or Treaty of Peace, both Sides lay quiet for nine Years. *Hengist*, no less than the *Britons*, had need of some Respite, to put the Affairs of his Kingdom in order. During this Interval, *Ella* gain'd Ground, the *Britons* not daring to oppose him, for fear of giving *Hengist* a Pretence to renew the War, which it was their Design to avoid.

The Britons *sollicit* Ambrosius *to take up Arms.* G. Monm.

The *Britons* having had time to recover their Strength, began to sollicit *Ambrosius* to take up Arms. They represented to him, "That the longer the *Saxons* were left in "quiet, the stronger they grew: That since the War "ceas'd, *Britain* abounded with young Soldiers, fit to "fight for their Country; if this opportunity therefore "was let slip, they might perhaps expect another in vain." *Ambrosius* told them, "he was convinced, as well as "they, of the Necessity to exert their utmost to expel the "Foreigners, but there was no hopes of succeeding as long "as *Vortigern* was alive; That although he was old, and "in appearance incapable of acting, he had a powerful "Party, that would not fail of raising new Disturbances "as soon as the war broke out: That they had found by "fatal Experience, ever since the Arrival of the *Saxons*, "he had always favour'd them." In fine, "he put them "in mind, that all their Losses were owing to their Divi-"sions, and as these Divisions still prevail'd, it was to no "purpose to expect any better Success." He concluded with saying, "they had but one of these two Ways to "take, either to let the *Saxons* remain in quiet till *Vor-*"*tigern*'s Death, or to rid themselves of that domestick "Enemy, and unite their Forces against the Foreigners."

The Arms of the Britons *are turn'd against* Vortigern.

Such was the Hatred of the Generality of the *Britons* against *Vortigern*, that they resolved immediately upon the latter of the two Methods, and with one Consent, prepared to put their Resolution in practice with all possible Secrecy and Expedition. *Vortigern* so little expected to be attack'd, that he was like to have fallen into the Hands of *Ambrosius*. He had but just time to throw himself into a Castle in *Wales*, where he was not very secure. *Ambrosius* willing to complete his Work, instantly went and besieged him, being resolved not to let him escape. During the Siege, the Castle, whether by Accident, or the Engines of the Besiegers, taking Fire, was burnt to Ashes, and the unfortunate *Vortigern* perished in the

485. *The Death of* Vortigern. G. Monm. Nennius. M. Westm.

Flames. This was the End of that Prince, advanced to a great Age, after a troublesome Reign of forty Years. He had, besides a Daughter, three Sons by his first Wife, *Vortimer*, *Catigern* slain in a Battle with the *Saxons*, and *Pascentius*, of whom I shall speak hereafter. By his Daughter, whom he debauch'd, he had a Son named *Faustus*, who passed his Life in a Monastery, where he was distinguished for his Piety.

Ambrosius *renews the War, and defeats* Ella *in* 487. Sax. Ann. Hunting.

Ambrosius being thus rid of a very formidable, as he ever thought, and hated Rival, renewed the War against the *Saxons*, which had been interrupted by the Weakness of both Parties, and the Divisions of the *Britons*. The Particulars of this War, after its renewal, are very imperfectly known: But considering the Valour and Activity of the two Generals, it may be supposed to have been very sharp. Historians relate but one remarkable Event, namely, the signal Victory obtained by *Ambrosius*, in the Year 487, over *Ella* and his two eldest Sons. This is properly the first Victory the *Britons* could indisputably boast of, whatever their Historians say to the contrary. This Defeat obliged the *Saxon* General to retire to his strong Holds, in expectation of fresh Supplies, sent for from *Germany*.

Hengist *dies* 488. Nennius. Flor. Wigorn. W. Malm. H. Huntingd. Ran. Cestrensis.

Hengist lived not to see the End of this War. He died in 488, aged about 69, of which he had passed 39 in *Britain*, and 33 on the Throne of *Kent*, (4). He cannot be denied the Glory of being one of the bravest and most prudent Generals of his Time. It were to be wished for the *English*, that the Founder of their Monarchy had not, as I may say, cemented his Throne with the Blood of so many *British* Lords, whom he treacherously murdered. An Action that must leave an indeliable Stain on his Memory. Had it not been for this, his Reputation would have been uncommon, since by his Conduct and Valour he happily accomplished a Design, the Execution whereof was extremely difficult. Besides *Kent*, given him by *Vortigern*, and considerably enlarged by the Acquisition of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, he was in possession of some Lands in *Lincolnshire*, where he built *Thong Castor*. The *Saxons* beyond the *Humber* acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign. He left two Sons, *Escus* who succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Kent*, and *Andoacer* who staid in *Germany*.

His Issue.

Escus *King of* Kent. Sax. Ann. G. Monm.

After the Defeat of *Ella*, about a Year before the Death of *Hengist*, *Escus* had sent him into the *North*, to assist *Octa* and *Ebusa* against the *Britons*. But as soon as he had Notice of his Father's Death he hasten'd to *Kent* to take Possession of the Kingdom. In the mean Time *Ambrosius* improving his Victory, retook *London*, *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, seiz'd by the *Saxons*, after the Massacre of the *British* Nobles. *Escus*, wanting the Qualities of his Father, never endeavour'd to recover these Places, but preferr'd his Ease before the Fatigues of War. In all Probability he obtain'd a Truce, since in the three following Years, there is no mention of any Hostilities on either Side.

490. Arthur *goes to* Jerusalem. Nennius. H. Huntingd. *l.* 2.

During this Calm, *Arthur*, who had all along assisted *Ambrosius*, finding his Presence was not absolutely necessary in his own Country, made a Voyage to *Jerusalem*. *Ambrosius*, in the mean while, by the Assistance of *Samson* Bishop of *Dol*, whom he had sent for from *Armorica*, and made Archbishop of *York*, regulated the Affairs of the Church, that were in extreme Disorder by reason of the foregoing Wars.

491. Ella *besieges* Andred-Cester. H. Huntingd. *l.* 2. Sax. Ann.

The Truce or Discontinuance of the War lasted but three Years. The *Northumbrian Saxons* beginning to stir in 491, *Arthur*, who was return'd from his Voyage, march'd against, and defeated them. At the same time *Ella* having receiv'd a strong Reinforcement from *Germany*, went and besieged *Andred-Chester* (5), situated in the Forest of *Andred*'s *Wald*. The Resistance of the Besieged, and an Army of the Enemy posted on an advantagious Ground,

(1) P. *Arthur* must have been created a *Patrician* by *Ambrosius*, since there was then no other Emperor in the *West*. *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* reigning then in *Italy*, had never any Pretensions to *Britain*. Rapin. See *Nicholson*'s *Histor. Librar.* p. 35.

(2) *Andredswald*, as *Camden* says, was 120 Miles long. It is now called *Weild* or *Wild*. Cam. p. 166.

(3) Quem circinato, mœnium ut ambitu,
Sic arcuatis fornicibus novum,
Putatur Hengistus, Britanno,
Orbe redux, posuisse victor. *Dousa. Rapin.*

The mighty Hengist, *if we credit Fame,*
On circling Arches rais'd this stately Pile;
O'er British *Seas, when he in Triumph came,*
And brought new Laurels from the conquer'd Isle.

(4) Some *British* or *Welch* Writers tell us, *Hengist* was taken Prisoner and beheaded by the *Britons*. *G. Monm. M. Westm.* But the *Saxons* unanimously assure us he died a natural Death. *Rapin.*

(5) In Latin, *Anderida*. In the Reign of *Edw.* I. a little Town called *Newenden* was built in the same Place. *Rapin*, *Somner* takes *Anderida* to be *Pemsey* or *Hastings*, in *Sussex*. *Hist. of Rom. Forts.*

made

made him loſe a great deal of Time. But at length, after a vigorous Defence, the Town was carried by Storm, and entirely deſtroy'd. Immediately after this, *Ella* aſſumed the Title of King of *Suſſex* or of the *South-Saxons*, which he durſt not do whilſt *Hengiſt* was alive. This Second *Saxon* Kingdom contain'd the preſent Counties of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*. *Ella* was alſo elected Monarch or General of the *Saxons* in the room of *Hengiſt*. For it muſt be obſerv'd, altho' *Hengiſt* was only King of *Kent*, yet was he conſider'd alſo as Head of all the *Saxons*, according to the Cuſtom of that Nation in *Germany*, where, in time of War, they had always their General in Chief, accountable only to the States. This ſame Cuſtom the *Saxons* continued in *Britain*, and always elected a General, whom ſome Writers ſtile *Monarch*, becauſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was Head over ſeveral Kings. In all appearance, *Hengiſt*'s Son thought himſelf incapable to diſcharge this High Office, ſince he ſuffer'd *Ella* to be inveſted with it.

He takes the Title of King of Suſſex.

Is elected Monarch.

494. About two Years after, *Arthur* defeated the *Northumbrian Saxons* again, on the Banks of the River *Dugles* (1), where he had routed them three Years before.

495. The Year 495 was very remarkable for the Arrival of *Cerdic*, a *Saxon* General, not only upon the Account of his Conqueſts, but chiefly becauſe from him the Kings of *England* are deſcended, in the *Male* Line, down to *Edward the Confeſſor*, and in the *Female*, down to the illuſtrious Prince, who now ſits on the Thone. If we trace him higher, we find, by the *Saxon* Annals, that he ſprung from *Woden*, the Root of all the principal Families of the *Saxons*. He was famous alſo for founding a Kingdom to which all the reſt in the end became ſubject, and conſequently, he is to be look'd upon, if not as the firſt, at leaſt as one of the principal Founders of the *Engliſh* Monarchy. This warlike Prince having acquired great Reputation in *Germany*, and finding no farther Employment there, reſolv'd to ſeek his Fortune in *Britain*, where he knew many Families of his Nation had already eſtabliſh'd themſelves. To that purpoſe he equipp'd five Veſſels, and taking his Son *Cenric*, advanced to Man's Eſtate, with him, now ſail'd for *Britain*.

Cerdic *arrives in* Britain. Flor. Wigorn. Polychron. l. 5. c. 4. G. Malmſb. Huntingd. Sax. Ann.

Ella, as I ſaid, brought with him his three Sons *Baldulph*, *Colgrin*, and *Ciſſa* who was very young; and the two Eldeſt treading in their Father's Steps, bravely aſſiſted him. They are called by ſome *Ciſmenius* and *Plentigus* (2). *Octa*, Commander of the *Saxons* in the North, having been frequently defeated by *Arthur*, and perceiving himſelf too weak to guard all his Conqueſts, had divided them into two Parts, of which the Southern was called *Deïra*, and the Northern, *Bernicia*. He had committed the Care of the Firſt to *Baldulphus* and *Colgrin*, reſerving *Bernicia* to himſelf to defend it againſt the continual Attacks of the *Northern* Nations. *Colgrin*, after the laſt Defeat of the *Northumbrians* by *Arthur*, had ſhut himſelf up in *York*, where *Arthur* immediately went and beſieged him. Nevertheleſs *Baldulphus* having been inform'd of *Cerdic*'s Deſign of coming to *Britain*, was gone into *Norfolk* to expect his Arrival, and favour his Landing. But *Cerdic*'s Arrival being delay'd by ſome Accident, *Baldulphus* marched back towards *York*, with intent to relieve it. He was met upon the Way by *Cador*, Nephew to *Arthur* who defeated him, and diſpers'd his Army in ſuch a manner, that he was forced to make his Eſcape all alone, diſguiſed like a Peaſant (3). In that Dreſs he ſafely reach'd the Walls of *York*, and making himſelf known, was drawn up with a Rope. The News he brought of *Cerdic*'s being about to arrive from *Germany* with powerful Supplies, inſtilling new Life into the Beſieged, they continued to make a vigorous Defence. *Arthur* puſh'd the Siege briſkly, in Expectation of taking the Town before the Arrival of the *Saxon* Prince. All this while *Cador* was in *Norfolk*, ready to oppoſe the Landing of the *Saxons*. But before *Arthur* had made any conſiderable Progreſs in the Siege, he receiv'd the ill News of *Cerdic*'s landing at *Yarmouth* (4), and beating the Forces ſent againſt him. Upon which he raiſes the Siege, and retires to a Place of Security, till he could learn the exact Number of the *Saxons*, which Fame had exceedingly multiplied. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* marching out of *York*, committed great Devaſtations in *Lancaſhire*, whilſt the *Britons* were diſmay'd and terrify'd at the Arrival of *Cerdic*. So great was their Terror, that *Arthur* thought fit to keep at a Diſtance from the *Saxons* for ſome Time, for fear of not being able to inſpire his Troops with Reſolution enough to look theſe formidable Enemies in the Face. But this was not All that followed upon the Arrival of *Cerdic*.

Northumberland *divided into* Bernicia, *and* Deïra. M. Weſtm.

Arthur *beſieges* York.

G. Monm.

Cerdic *arrives and defeats* Cador.

Arthur *raiſes the Siege of* York.

Paſcentius, Son of *Vortigern*, having long concealed his ſecret Diſguſt at not having any of his Father's Dominions aſſign'd him, laid hold of this Juncture to obtain what he thought his Due. With the Aſſiſtance of thoſe that, like him, were diſpleaſed with the Advancement of *Ambroſius*, he drew ſome Forces together, and being joined by *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, was reinforced by many of his Friends in *Wales*. *Ambroſius* being grown ſick and old, *Arthur* took upon him to chaſtiſe the Rebel, and marching againſt him, gave him Battle, and entirely routed him near the little River *Dugles* (5).

496. Paſcentius *revolts.* G. Monm. Nenn.

But is defeated by Arthur. W. Weſtm.

The next Year, *Arthur* in the ſame Place gained another Victory, and ſo warmly purſued the *Britiſh* Prince, that he forced him to ſubmit and ſue for Pardon. *Paſcentius* got more by his Submiſſion, than by his Arms. For beſides his Pardon, it procured him the poſſeſſion of *Brecknock* and *Radnor* (6) in *Wales*, which being erected into a Kingdom, his Poſterity enjoy'd it for many Years. I imagine that his Father *Vortigern*'s private Demeſns lay in thoſe Parts, and that *Ambroſius* did but give him the Lands belonging to his Family before *Vortigern* was King. If he inveſted him with Sovereignty, it was only to give him ſome Satisfaction concerning his Pretenſions to the Crown of *Britain*.

497. *He is beaten again, and pardoned.* Nennius.

About this Time the *Saxons* in the *North* conquered the little Kingdom of *Galway* (7) from *Galvan*, Nephew of *Arthur*. This Country, now part of *Scotland*, had remained in the Hands of the *Britons*, and withſtood the continual Attacks, as well of the *Saxons* as *Picts*. *Galvan* having loſt his Dominions, retired to his Uncle *Arthur*, to whom he was very ſerviceable in his Wars.

Galway *conquered by the* Saxons.

Shortly after, *Porta* lands at *Portland* (8), ſo call'd from him with freſh Supplies of *Saxons* from *Germany*. This at a Time the *Saxons* began to be ſuperior, obliged *Arthur* to quit the Field and retire to *London*. Tho' he had generally the better of the *Saxons* in all the Encounters, yet his Troops were conſiderably diminiſhed; whereas the Enemy's Forces were continually increaſing by freſh Recruits from *Germany*. Nay, whole Bodies, under the Conduct of famous Leaders, came over to *Britain*, in order to procure a Settlement, or for the ſake of Plunder only. *Arthur*, who had not the ſame Supplies, would have been reduced to Extremity, without the Aſſiſtance of *Hoel*, King of *Armorica*, his Nephew. This young Prince, greedy of Glory and glad of an Occaſion to ſignalize himſelf in the Service of his Uncle, put himſelf at the Head of 15000 Men, and landed at *Southampton*. With this Aid, *Arthur* went and attacked the *Northumbrians*, grown formidable by the Valour of *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, their Leaders, and meeting them in *Deïra*, obtained a compleat Victory over them. The two *Saxon* Brothers not being in condition to withſtand him after their Defeat, had no other Courſe to take, but with the Remains of their Army to join *Cerdic*, then beſieging *Lincoln*. But *Arthur*, fearing the Loſs of that Place, followed them with Speed, and ſurprized *Cerdic* in ſo ſudden a manner, that not being able to continue the Siege, or raiſe it, without Danger, he was conſtrained to hazard a Battle (9), which proved fatal to the *Saxons*. *Cerdic* being defeated, was forced to betake himſelf to the Foreſt of *Celidon*, where having ſuffered great Hardſhips, he at length found Means, tho' with great Difficulty, to retire towards the *Weſtern* Coaſts. Some Hiſtorians aſſure us, that ſeeing he muſt inevitably periſh if he ſtaid in a Place where he could neither have Proviſions, nor hope for Aſſiſtance, obliged himſelf by a Treaty with *Arthur* to return into *Germany* with the Remains of his Troops. They add, that being embark'd with Intent to perform his Promiſe, he altered his Mind at Sea, and came and landed at *Toſton* (10) in the *Weſt*. However this be, *Cerdic* certainly remained in the Iſland, and lay quiet for ſome Time, having loſt in the Battle above 6000 Men.

501. *The arrival of* Porta. H. Huntingd. Camden. Annal. Sax. Flor. Wigorn.

Arthur is aſſiſted by the King of Armorica. M. Weſtm.

Argentré. Hiſt. de Bret. *ch.* 33.

He defeats the Saxons.

And beats Cerdic.

G. Malmſb. Nennius. H. Hunt. l. 2. Polychr. l. 5. c. 6. Gal. Monm.

H. Hunt. l. 2. Polychr. l. 5. c. 6.

After *Cerdic*'s Defeat, all the *Saxons* were equally concern'd to oppoſe the Progreſs of *Arthur*, who, like an able General, wiſely improved his Victories to the utmoſt. The Dread he ſtruck them with, made them reſolve to unite all their Forces, and endeavour to retrieve their Affairs. They were ſenſible that by diſperſing their Forces in ſeveral Parts, they endangered in one Place what they had got in another, which was never the Way to procure a laſting Settlement. Wherefore *Eſcus* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of *Suſſex*, *Cerdic*, *Porta*, the *Northern Saxons* aſſembled all their Troops, and conferr'd the Command in Chief on *Cerdic*. The Infirmities and Old Age of *Ella*, who had been Monarch ever ſince 492, were probably the cauſe of his not heading the Army at this

Great Preparations on the ſide of the Saxons.

(1) In *Lancaſhire*, near *Wiggin*.
(2) So called by *Britiſh* Writers, but by the *Engliſh* ones, *Cymen* and *Pleting*, from whom *Cymenſhore* in *Suſſex*. Rapin.
(3) Like a Harper, ſays *Geoff. Monm. l.* 9. *c.* 1.
(4) He landed at a Place call'd *Cerdic's-Ora*. *Sax. Ann.* which according to *Camden*, was near *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*; but according to others, near *Southampton*. See Bp. *Gib. Gloſſ.* at the end of *Sax. Ann.*
(5) Near *Wiggin* in *Lancaſhire*, or by the River *Dug* or *Due* in *Lincolnſhire*. *Tyrr. p.* 135.
(6) In *Britiſh Bwelt*, and *Vortigern Maur*.
(7) In *Latin*, *Gallovidia*. *G. Malm.* calls it *Walvitha* and *Walvertha*.
(8) The *Sax. Ann.* and *Huntingdon*, *p.* 312. and *Matt. Weſtm. p.* 182. ſay, he landed at *Portſmouth* with his two Sons, *Bieda* and *Mægla*. It does not appear that any Writer ſays he landed at *Portland*. See *Tyrrel*.
(9) By the River *Baſſas*, which is ſuppos'd to run by *Boſton*. *Tyrr. p.* 135.
(10) Probably *Totneſs*, for *Geoff. Monm.* ſays, *l.* 9. *c.* 3. *Totoneſium Littus adiverunt*. And *in Totoneſio littore applicuerunt* ſays *Mat. Weſtm. p.* 186.

Time.

time. *Cerdic* having divided his Troops into two Bodies, gave the Command of the leaſt to *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, and headed the other himſelf with his Son *Cenric*. While *and* Britons. the *Saxons* were employed in making Preparations, the *Britons* were exerting their utmoſt to raiſe an Army capable of Nennius. H. Hunt. withſtanding ſo powerful Enemies. In this ſo preſſing an Occaſion, where they had need of all their Forces, thoſe that could bear Arms came in Crouds, and liſted themſelves under Ambroſius *heads the* Britons. their Generals. So that it was thought on both Sides a deciſive Battle would quickly enſue. *Ambroſius* called here by Hiſtorians *Nazaleod*, though very old, and almoſt paſt the Time of Action, could not ſee all theſe Preparations without having his Courage rouz'd, which Age ſeem'd to have lain aſleep. He put himſelf at the Head of his Army, and detaching *Arthur* to follow *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, who were marching towards the *Weſt*, reſolv'd to go in queſt of *Cerdic*. *Arthur*, every where victorious, coming to an Engagement with the *Saxon* Brothers in *Cornwal*, obtain'd a ſignal Victory over them (1).

580. Whilſt this great General was cauſing the *Arms* of the *The* Britons *Britons* to triumph in thoſe Parts, *Ambroſius* advanced to- *are defeated, and* Ambro- wards *Cerdic*, who had no thought of retiring. The two ſius *ſlain.* Armies being engag'd, *Ambroſius* broke through the right H. Hunt. *l.* 2. Wing of the *Saxons*, commanded by *Cerdic*, and put them to rout. But whilſt he was eagerly purſuing his Victory againſt a Body that made but a faint Reſiſtance, *Cenric* had the ſame Advantage over the right Wing of the *Britons*, which he more wiſely improv'd. Inſtead of loſing Time in purſuing the Run aways, he flies to the Aſſiſtance of his Father, and falling upon *Ambroſius* in Flank, puts him in irreparable Diſorder. By this prudent Conduct, he gave *Cerdic* Time to rally his Troops, and complete the Victory by an entire Defeat of the *Britons*.

Ambroſius, vex'd to ſee the Victory ſnatch'd out of his Hands, did all he could to renew the Fight. In ſpite of Age and Infirmities, he threw himſelf among his Enemies in order to animate his Troops by his Example. But all his Efforts ſerv'd only to crown his glorious Life with an honourable Death. The fall of *Ambroſius* cauſed an univerſal Rout among the *Britons*, who precipitately abandon'd the Field of Battle to their Enemies. The Succeſs of that Day was, by the publick Acknowledgment of his Father, attributed to *Cenric*. This Battle was fought in 508, near a Place call'd by the *Saxons*, *Cerdic's-Ford* (2).

Nazaleod *and* Ambro- ſius *the ſame Perſon.* Camden. H. Hunt. Before I proceed any farther, it will be proper to obſerve, that the Name of *Nazaleod*, given by Hiſtorians to the *Britiſh* Monarch ſlain in this Battle, has made ſome imagine it was not *Ambroſius*. But the Opinion of *Camden* and ſeveral other good Writers, who aſſert the contrary, is doubtleſs to be preferr'd. All the Hiſtorians agree that *Ambroſius* fell in Battle. Now after the beginning of this Prince's Reign, there was no other Battle except this, wherein a *Britiſh* Monarch was ſlain. Beſides, Hiſtorians would not have omitted to mark the Time of the Death of ſo famous a Prince, had it happen'd in ſome other Action.

Arthur *elected Monarch.* *Arthur* was elected Monarch in the Room of *Ambroſius*. He was doubtleſs the fitteſt Perſon to command the Army, his very Name being terrible to the *Saxons* (3). Between Uſher de Prim. *c.* 13. G. Monm. *Ambroſius* and *Arthur*, ſome Writers place *Uther Pendragon*, who, they affirm, was *Arthur's* eldeſt Brother, and both of them Sons of *Ambroſius*. Others will have it that Uſher. Stillingfleet. Langhorn. *Arthur* was Son and Succeſſor of *Uther*. But they that are moſt vers'd in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, maintain that *Uther* was only a Sirname given to the great *Arthur* on account of his Victories, the Word being capable of that Senſe in the old *Britiſh* Language.

He beats the Northumbrians. Camden. *Arthur*, after his Coronation at *Caerleon*, which he had retaken from the *Saxons*, march'd againſt the *Northumbrians*, and defeated them on the Banks of the little River *Ribroyt* that runs through *Lancaſhire*. This is reckon'd his *Tenth* Victory over the *Saxons*. In the mean time *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, invading the *Weſtern* Parts, made ſuch Devaſtations, that he was oblig'd to leave *Northumberland*, and march againſt the two Brothers. However, he left *Hoel* his Nephew in *Bernicia*, to oppoſe the *Saxons* there, who, though often beaten, were ſtill formidable. His uſual Succeſs attended him. The *And gains a Victory at* Cadbury. *Saxon* Brothers being compell'd by him to come to an Engagement, were routed near *Cadbury* in *Somerſetſhire* (4).

511. *The Battle of* Badon-Hill. Mean while, *Cerdic* having receiv'd freſh ſupplies from the *Saxon* Princes in *Britain*, as well as from *Germany*, laid Siege to *Bath*. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* having joined him alſo, with what Troops they could draw together, his Army was ſo ſtrong, that he wiſh'd the *Britons* would attempt to raiſe the Siege. His Wiſhes were accompliſh'd. *Arthur*, re- Bede. Langhorn. ſolving to hazard All to ſave that Place, came and gave him Battle, which proved the bloodieſt that had ever been fought between the two Nations. It laſted from Noon till Night, without any viſible Advantage to either Side. Both Armies kept the Field, waiting for the Day, to renew the Fight. The *Saxons*, during the Night, poſted themſelves on a little Hill, call'd *Banneſdown*, which was of great Importance, tho' it had been neglected by both Sides the Day before. As ſoon as it was light, *Arthur*, perceiving the Advantage the *Saxons* had gain'd by ſeizing that Poſt, was reſolv'd to diſlodge them, which he effected after a long and obſtinate Fight. The *Britons*, animated by the Preſence and Valour of their King, perceiving, the *Saxons* in retreating down the Hill had put themſelves in ſome Diſorder, preſs'd them ſtill more vigorouſly, and at laſt entirely routed them (5). They gained, on this Occaſion, a moſt complete Victory. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* were both ſlain, and *Cerdic*, with the Remains of his Army, retired to an inacceſſible Poſt.

An unexpected Event gave the *Saxons* time to breathe, *The Picts, make a Diverſion in the* North and prevented *Arthur* from improving his Victory. The G. Monm. *l.* 7. H. Hunt. *l.* 2. Argent. *l.* 2. *Picts*, who were in Alliance with the *Saxons*, knowing *Arthur* to be at a Diſtance, and his Nephew *Hoel* ſick at *Areclute*, reſolv'd to beſiege that Town, in Expectation of taking it before it could be reliev'd. But *Arthur* was too quick for them. Inſtead of purſuing his Advantage upon *Cerdic*, he flew to the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Armorica*, and compell'd the *Picts* to raiſe the Siege. The *Britiſh* Arthur *ravages their Country.* G. Monm. *l.* 7. Monarch was ſo provok'd with the *Picts* for this Diverſion, which came ſo opportunely for the *Saxons*, that he ravaged their Country from one End to the other, and would have entirely deſtroy'd it, had not the Biſhops by their Interceſſion diverted him from his Purpoſe.

Arthur's *Wife dies.* G. Malm. Fl. Wigorn. Heſt. Boeth. G. Monm. *l.* 7. During this Expedition, died *Gueniver* Wife of *Arthur* who was buried in the County of *Angus* (6). As ſhe had no Children, the Women of the Country fancied, All that walked over her Grave, would, like her, be barren. For which Reaſon great Care was taken to hinder the young Damſels from approaching it. *Hoel*, after this Expedition, return'd to his own Country, the Victory of *Badon* having ſecur'd *Arthur*, for ſome time, from any Attempts of the *Saxons*. *Arthur*, in his return from the Country of the *Picts*, made ſome Stay at *York*, which the *Saxons* had juſt abandon'd ſince the Battle of *Badon*. His chief Intent was to regulate the Affairs of the Church, which were, from the time the *Saxons* had been Maſters of that City, in great Confuſion.

512. Octa *King of* Kent. G. Malm. *l.* 1. *Eſcus* King of *Kent* died in 512, memorable only for leaving his Name to all his Succeſſors, Kings of *Kent*, who from him were call'd *Eſcingians*. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Octa*.

514. *The Death of* Ella. M. Weſt. Bede, *l.* 2. H. Hunt. Two Years after died *Ella* King of *Suſſex*, and Monarch of the *Saxons*, having enlarg'd his narrow Territories at the Expence of the *Britons*, during a Reign of twenty three Years. His two eldeſt Sons having been ſlain at *Badon*, *Ciſſa* the youngeſt ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Suſſex*; but the Monarchy of the *Saxons* was conferr'd on *Cerdic*.

514. Hunt. *Cerdic*, ever ſince the Battle of *Badon*, had lain quiet in his own Country, expecting a Supply from *Germany*, which arrived in 514, under the Conduct of *Stuff* and *Withgar* his Nephews (7). Upon this he took the Field again, and committed great Devaſtations in the Country of the *Britons* (8). *Arthur*, tho' weaken'd by his own Victories, not having the ſame Recruits as the *Saxons*, made however powerful Struggles to oppoſe the Progreſs of this formidable Enemy. The many and bloody Battles between the two Nations did not decide the Quarrel, ſince Victory inclin'd ſometimes on one Side, and ſometimes on the other. But at length in 519, 519. Cerdic *gains a great Victory.* *Cerdic* defeated the *Britons* in ſuch a manner, as made them deſpair of ever driving out the *Saxons* (9). Wherefore, *Arthur* ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of taking other Meaſures. As he found his Army irreparably deſtroy'd, he thought it more prudent to conclude a Peace with *Cerdic*, and grant him a Part, rather than hazard the Whole of his Dominions, by endeavouring to deprive him of All. This Conſideration moved him to ſurrender by Treaty a certain Tract of Land, containing the preſent Counties of *Hampſhire* and *Somertſhire*. Higden. The *Saxon* Prince was pleas'd with theſe Terms, being deſirous after ſo long a War, of enjoying ſome Repoſe in his declining Age. As ſoon as he was in Poſſeſſion of his new Territories, he founded the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, or of the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſo call'd becauſe it lay *Weſt* of *Kent* and *Suſſex*.

(1) Near *Gainsford*, ſays Dr. *Gale* in his Notes upon *Nennius*, p. 131.
(2) *Chardford* in *Hampſhire*. There were 4000 *Britons* ſlain with him. *Sax. Ann.*
(3) *Arthur* ſignifies a *horrible Bear*, or an *Iron Hammer*, from the *Britiſh* Word *Arth* a *Bear*. *Still. Orig. Brit.*
(4) *Rapin*, by Miſtake, ſays in *Cornwall*.
(5) *Malmſbury* ſays, *Arthur* ſlew 400 with his own Hand, *p.* 7. *Uſher* places the Battle of *Badon* in 520; but *Langberne's* Opinion, who places it in 511. ſeems to be beſt ſupported. See *Langb.* p. 62.
(6) In *Scotland*.
(7) They landed at *Cerdic's-Ora* with three Ships. *Sax. Ann.* *In occidentali parte Britanniæ* with two Ships, ſays *M. Weſtm.* p. 184. So that *Cerdic's-Ora* was probably *Calſhot*, or near it, in *Hampſhire*. *Gibſon's Gloſſar.* at the End of the Annals.
(8) *Fortitudo Cerdici facta eſt terribilis, pertranſitque terram, in fortitudine magna.* H. Huntingd.
(9) At *Chardford* in *Hampſhire*. Sax. Ann. Hunt. *p.* 313.

Cerdic *crown'd King of* Weſſex.

He was crown'd at *Wincheſter*, twenty three Years after his Arrival in *Britain* (1). Thus by his Valour and Perſeverance, he procured himſelf a Settlement in the Iſland, as well as his Countrymen *Hengiſt* and *Ella*.

Chron. Rudborn. l. 2.

Arthur took this Opportunity to rebuild ſome of the Churches deſtroy'd by the preceding Wars, and to repair, as far as lay in his Power, the Damages Religion had hitherto ſuſtain'd.

527. Erchenwin *firſt King of* Eſſex. Huntingd. l. 2.

From the time *Hengiſt* had peopled *Eſſex* and *Middleſex* with *Saxons* and *Jutes*, they had been govern'd by a Deputy under the King of *Kent*. But in 527 *Erchenwin*, deſcended from *Woden*, aſſum'd the Title of King of *Eſſex*, or of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. This Kingdom lying *Eaſtward* of the other three, contain'd the two Counties of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, of which *London* was the Capital. Who *Erchenwin* was, how long he had been in *Britain*, and what Right he had to this new Kingdom, Hiſtorians inform us not. I ſuppoſe he was Governor under *Octa* King of *Kent*, and taking advantage of his Weakneſs, engag'd the People to acknowledge him for King.

The Arrival of the Angles. Bede. G. Malm. M. Weſtm.

About this time Multitudes of *Angles* under the Conduct of twelve Chiefs, all of equal Authority, but whoſe Names, except *Uffa*, (of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter,) are unknown, landed at ſome Port on the *Eaſtern* Coaſt of *Britain*, where, without much difficulty, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of ſome Poſt; thoſe Parts being ill guarded by the *Britons*. In time, as they were continually enlarging their Conqueſts towards the *Weſt*, they compell'd the *Britons* at length to abandon the Country along the *Eaſtern* Shore. The *Angles*, thus ſituated, had an Opportunity of ſending from time to time for freſh Colonies from *Germany*, with which they founded a fifth Kingdom, by the Name of the Kingdom of *Eaſt-Anglia*, or of the *Eaſt-Angles*. But as their firſt Chiefs aſſum'd not the Title of King, the Beginning of this Kingdom is generally brought down to the Year 571.

They ſettle on the Eaſtern *Coaſt.* M. Weſtm.

G. Monm.

During the eight Years Peace between *Arthur* and *Cerdic*, the King of *Armorica* being diſturb'd by the Rebellion of *Frollon*, one of his Subjects, ſent to his Uncle *Arthur* for Aid. As *Britain* was then in a State of Tranquillity, *Arthur* would go in Perſon, and aſſiſt the King his Nephew. To that end he paſſes into *Armorica*, where he revenges *Hoel*, by ſlaying *Frollon* with his own Hand in the firſt Battle they fought.

527. *The Battle of* Cherdſley. Huntingd. l. 2. Sax. Ann.

Arthur was ſtill with *Hoel* when the *Angles* arriv'd in *Britain*. His Abſence very probably gave them an Opportunity of making greater Progreſs than they would have done, had he been in the Country. *Cerdic* alſo taking Advantage of *Arthur*'s Abſence, and of the *Angles*, broke the Peace, and made ſome farther Conqueſts. He was conſtantly attended by his Son *Cenric*, who bravely ſeconded him in all his Undertakings, and by his Valour and Conduct caus'd him to gain a ſignal Victory in *Buckinghamſhire*, at a Place call'd *Cerdic's Lega*, now *Cherdſley* (2).

528. Arthur *renews the Treaty with* Cerdic.

Arthur at his Return found his Affairs in extreme Diſorder, by reaſon of *Cerdic*'s new Conqueſts, and the Arrival of the *Angles*. However, perceiving himſelf unable to renew the War with his Enemies, whoſe Number was continually encreaſing, he choſe to make a new Treaty with *Cerdic*. Immediately after this Treaty, *Arthur* is ſaid to aſſume the Title of Emperor, of which his Seal found at *Weſtminſter* is pretended to be a Proof. *Leland* ſays, he ſaw the Impreſſion of it on red Wax, with theſe Words round it: *Patr. Arthurius. Britann. Gall. Germ. Dac. Imper.* that is, *Patricius Arthurius*; *Britannicus. Gallicus. Germanicus. Dacicus. Imperator.* Theſe proud Titles perhaps were the Occaſion of aſcribing to him ſo many pretended Victories in foreign Countries, and of ſtyling him Conqueror of the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and *Dacians*. But whether this Seal be genuine or not (3), there is Foundation enough for theſe Titles from the Exploits now related of this Prince. He might be call'd *Britannicus* from his being Monarch of the *Britons*. The Title of *Gallicus* might be owing to his Expedition into *Gaul*. The Surname of *Germanicus* was no leſs proper, ſince he frequently defeated the *Saxons*, who came from *Germany*. Laſtly, his being ſtyled *Dacicus* might be founded on his Victory over the *Jutes*, who were mix'd with the *Saxons*, and by ſome have been confounded with the *Danes* and *Dacians*. Be this as it will, if he aſſum'd the Title of Emperor, as it is very likely, ſince *Ambroſius* did the ſame, the four different Times of his attaining to the four ſeveral Dignities, muſt be carefully diſtinguiſh'd. 1. He mounted the Throne of *Danmonium* 467, at fifteen Years of Age. 2. In 476, he was created *Patrician* by *Ambroſius*. 3. In 508, he was elected Monarch of *Britain*. 4. In 528, he aſſumed the Imperial Purple. Theſe *Epocha's* thus diſtinguiſh'd, remove, in great meaſure, the Confuſion in the Hiſtory of this great Prince, with reſpect to *Chronology*.

Aſſert. Arthuri.

Four Epocha's *of the Reign of* Arthur.

Hoel, King of *Armorica*, was enjoying the Repoſe procured him by *Arthur*, when he heard that the *Wiſigoths*, then in Poſſeſſion of Part of *Gaul*, were preparing to invade his Dominions: Wherefore he deſired *Arthur* to come, once more, in Perſon to aſſiſt him againſt ſo formidable Enemies, that were already Maſters of Part of *Gaul*. How neceſſary ſoever *Arthur*'s Preſence might be in his own Kingdom, he readily gave *Hoel* this full Proof of his Affection and Gratitude. As he was like to be detain'd abroad ſome time by the Affairs of *Armorica*, he left *Modred* his Nephew, whom he deſign'd for his Succeſſor Regent in his Abſence, at the ſame time entruſting him with the Care of the Queen his Wife.

Arthur *returns into* Armorica. G. Monm. l. 7. Annal. Sax. Langhorn. p. 78.

530. Cerdic *takes the* Iſle *of* Wight.

Arthur was no ſooner gone, but *Cerdic*, taking advantage of his Abſence, attacks and ſubdues the *Iſle of Wight*, deſtroying almoſt all the Inhabitants in a cruel Manner. But this Loſs was nothing to *Arthur*, in compariſon of what ſhortly after follow'd by the Treachery of *Modred*, to whoſe Care he had committed what he held moſt dear. This Traitor, finding the Wife and Kingdom of *Arthur* in his Power, falls in Love with both, and not ſatisfied with debauching the Queen in private, publickly marries her. In order to avoid by a ſecond Crime, the Puniſhment of the firſt, he reſolves moreover to ſeize the Crown of his Uncle, his King, and Benefactor. The more eaſily to accompliſh his Deſign, he judges it neceſſary to make *Cerdic* his Friend, and by his Means to gain all the reſt of the *Saxon* Princes to his Intereſt. He was very ſenſible, it wou'd be very difficult to ſupport himſelf in his Uſurpation, if he were immediately forc'd to engage in a War with the Foreigners. Beſides, he could not find a readier or more powerful Protection. But the *Saxon* Prince not being of a Humour to neglect his own, for the ſake of another's Affairs, *Modred* could not poſſibly obtain this Protection, without paying dear for it. However, as he had no other way to ſupport himſelf, he reſigns to *Cerdic* one part of the Dominions, uſurp'd upon his Uncle, and enters into a League offenſive and defenſive with him. What the *Saxon* Prince got by this Treaty, lay extremely convenient for him, and vaſtly exceeded what was before given him by *Arthur*. It contain'd, beſides Part of *Danmonium*, or *Cornwal*, the preſent Counties of *Berkſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and *Dorſetſhire*. This, with *Hampſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, which he was before poſſeſs'd of, render'd his Kingdom much larger and more conſiderable, than the three other *Saxon* Kingdoms already eſtabliſh'd. The Treaty being executed, *Modred* was crown'd at *London*; thoſe who privately abhorr'd his treacherous Doings not daring to oppoſe it, for fear of being oppreſs'd, before the Return of their lawful Prince.

Treachery of Modred. G. Monm.

Modred *leagues with* Cerdic.

Ran. Ceſtr. G. Malm. Antiq. Glaſt. Polychr. Ricard. Diviſien.

He is crown'd at London.

In the mean time, *Cerdic*, after having much enlarg'd his Dominions, was incumbred with his Greatneſs. As moſt of his Subjects were *Britons*, on whoſe Loyalty he could not wholly rely, he believ'd it neceſſary, in order to preſerve his new Dominions, to people them with *Saxon* Colonies. To that end he ſent Word into *Germany*, that All who were willing to come and ſettle in his Kingdom, ſhould meet with great Encouragement. This Invitation induces a great many of the *Saxons* and *Jutes* to embrace the preſent Opportunity. Soon after, above eight hundred Veſſels are ſeen to arrive, freighted with Families in queſt of Settlements, in *Cerdic*'s new Kingdom. Theſe Colonies were joyfully receiv'd and planted in Habitations, from whence *Cerdic* took care to drive ſuch *Britons* as he moſt ſuſpected, eſpecially upon the Frontiers. Thus *Britain* was fill'd by degrees, with new Inhabitants, and began to loſe the Superiority in Number ſhe had hitherto had above the Foreigners.

Cerdic *invites over more* Saxons. G. Malm. Antiq. Glaſt. *Many* Saxons *and* Jutes *come and ſettle in* Britain.

Cerdic *crown'd again.*

Cerdic having ſettled theſe New-Comers, was crown'd a ſecond time at *Wincheſter*, the Metropolis of his Dominions, by the ſame Title of *King of Weſſex*, or *of the Weſt-Saxons*, that he had before aſſum'd. This Ceremony was thought neceſſary, by reaſon of the great Number of his new Subjects, *Saxons* and *Jutes*, that were lately added to the old. This Kingdom was very advantagiouſly ſituated, being bounded on the *North*, by the *Thames*; on the *Weſt*, by the *Severn*; on the *South*, by the Sea; and on the *Eaſt*, by the Kingdom of *Suſſex*. As for the *Britons* that were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of *Danmonium*, they cou'd not be very formidable to *Cerdic*, being divided from the reſt of their Nation by this new Kingdom and the *Severn*.

Advantageous Situation of the Kingdom of Weſſex.

Cerdic *provides againſt* Arthur.

Cerdic was but too well acquainted with the Valour and Activity of *Arthur*, to imagine he would ſit ſtill at his Return; and therefore us'd all his Endeavours to put himſelf in a Poſture of Defence. To that end, he repairs all his ſtrong Holds, adds new Works, and takes all other Precautions his Prudence ſuggeſts to him, not to be ſurpriz'd when he comes to defend his Dominions. Every thing being put in order, he rewarded his Nephews *Stuff* and *Withgar*,

He gives the Iſle *of* Wight *to his Nephews.* Sax. Ann.

(1) Some place this Fact ſooner, ſome later. *Rapin.*
(2) *Milton* confounds this with the Battle of *Badon-Hill*. Rapin.
(3) There is great Reaſon to ſuſpect its Genuineneſs; very probably it was the Invention of ſome Monk of *Glaſſenbury*. See *Nicolſon*'s Hiſt. Librar. *p.* 31.

who had faithfully ſerved him ever ſince their Arrival, with the *Iſle of Wight*. As in all likelihood they were *Jutes*, *Cerdic*, in the Diſtribution of his new Colonies, had taken care beforehand to people that little Iſland with their own Countrymen (1).

534. *The Death of* Cerdic. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 6. Sax. Ann. Thus *Cerdic* was prepared againſt the Attacks of *Arthur*, when Death took him out of the World in the Year 534, ſixteen Years after his firſt Coronation, and thirty-nine after his Arrival in *Britain*. He muſt have been of a great Age when he died, for thirty-nine Years before, *Cenric* his Son was able to aſſiſt him in his Wars. The Time this Prince paſſed in *Britain* was a continued Scene of good and bad Succeſs, which ſerv'd equally to ſhew his Ability to improve his Advantages, and to repair with a wonderful Readineſs, the Diſorder his Affairs were frequently thrown into by the Fortune of War. *Cenric*, his Son, the faithful Companion of all his Labours, ſucceeded him, both in the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, and alſo in the Monarchy or Generalſhip of the *Saxons* and *Angles*. *Cerdic*'s Succeſſors were ſirnamed *Gewiſhians*, from *Gewiſh* one of their Anceſtors, famous no doubt in his Generation.

He is ſucceeded by Cenric.

Polychr. l. 5. c. 4. The ſame Year died *Octa* King of *Kent*, after a Reign of twenty-two Years; wherein nothing remarkable occurs but the diſmembring of the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, which he, for ſome unknown Reaſon, did not think fit to oppoſe. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Hermenrick*.

535. Arthur *returns*, *Arthur*, after a four Year's Abſence, at length quitted *Armorica*. We are ignorant of the Cauſe of his long Stay there, ſo very prejudicial to his Affairs, which at his Arrival were in a deſperate Condition. *Modred* was in poſſeſſion of his Throne, and moreover in ſtrict Alliance with the *Saxons*. On the other hand, theſe laſt being now Maſters of good part of the Iſland, were led by their own Intereſt to ſupport the Uſurper, and maintain him on the Thone. However, *Arthur*, tho' broken with Age, and almoſt deſtitute of Friends, reſolv'd to undertake the Recovery of his Kingdom, and to puniſh the treacherous *Modred*. This bold Reſolution rouz'd the Courage of thoſe that dar'd not at firſt to declare for him. A great Number of Officers and Soldiers, who could not bear the Thoughts of fighting againſt him that had taught them to conquer, deſerted the Uſurper, and came and liſted themſelves under the Banner of their lawful Prince. Thus *Arthur* ſaw himſelf on a ſudden at the Head of an Army capable of making *Modred* uneaſy, if not by the Number, at leaſt by the Bravery of the Troops, and the Valour and Experience of the Leader. *Modred*, on his part, omitted nothing for his Defence. As he was not ignorant of the People's Inclination to his Uncle, he had reaſon to apprehend a general Defection; and therefore had ſtrengthen'd himſelf with the Aſſiſtance of the *Saxons*; and upon the ſame Account made an Alliance with the *Picts* (2). He eaſily engaged the *Picts* to his Intereſt, ſince they paſſionately deſir'd to be revenged of *Arthur*, who had formerly carried Fire and Sword into their Country. Thus *Arthur*, with a handful of Friends was forced to ſtand againſt the *Saxons* and *Picts*, in conjunction with the *Britons* that ſided with *Modred*. But the want of Numbers was ſupplied by his Courage and Experience. Tho' his Troops were much inferior to thoſe of his Enemy, he found Means however to engage him in a very diſadvantageous Poſt, and obtain a ſignal Victory. In this Action he loſt *Galvan* and *Anguſel*, two Princes of his Blood, who had faithfully ſerv'd him both in Proſperity and Adverſity.

and defeats Modred.

Tho' *Modred* was defeated, the Supplies he receiv'd from the *Picts* and *Saxons* ſoon enabled him to give his Uncle a ſecond Battle, but with no better Succeſs. As the Particulars of this War are confuſedly deliver'd, and beſides contain nothing material, it will ſuffice, I believe, to relate the Iſſue. *Modred*, tho' conſtantly worſted, found means to prolong the War ſeven Years, without *Arthur*'s being able to deſtroy the Uſurper, much leſs wreſt out of the Hands of the *Saxons*, what had been ſurrender'd to them. During this War, there happen'd two Eclipſes of the Sun, which credulous Hiſtorians have expreſly remark'd, fancying they were Preſages of the utter Ruin of the *Britons*, which fell out ſoon after.

537. Arthur *gains a ſecond Victory over* Modred.

542. *The laſt Battle, wherein* Arthur *and* Modred *were both ſlain.* G. Monm. H. Hunt. The Superiority of *Modred*'s Forces being balanced by the Valour and Experience of *Arthur*, the War had now laſted ſeven Years without any thing deciſive. *Modred*, tho' ſeveral times vanquiſh'd, was ſtill at the Head of a very numerous Army. On the other hand, *Arthur*, tho' extreme old, and with an Army weaken'd by the ſeveral Battles he had given his Enemy, ſupported himſelf by his great Experience in the Art of War. At laſt the fatal Blow was given in the Year 542. *Arthur* purſuing his Enemy from place to place, drove him to the Extremity of *Danmonium*, where he could not avoid fighting. This laſt Battle was fought by the River *Cambalon* (3), near *Camelford*. It prov'd fatal to the two Leaders, as well as to all the *Britons*, who having loſt their beſt Troops, were never after able to ſtand againſt the *Saxons*. During this bloody Battle, the Uncle and Nephew happening to meet, ruſhed upon one another ſo furiouſly, that nothing but Death could part them. *Modred* was ſlain upon the Spot, and *Arthur*, mortally wounded, was carried to *Glaſſenbury*, where he died, aged 90 Years, 76 of which he had ſpent in the continual Exerciſe of Arms. Tho' he had reigned but 34 Years, yet before he mounted the Throne, he had long commanded the *Britiſh* Armies under *Ambroſius*. Some have put an Interval of ſeveral Years between *Ambroſius* and *Arthur*, becauſe they were at a loſs where to place their *Uther Pendragon*, whom they will have, at any rate, to be a King different from *Arthur*. But the beſt Authors are of Opinion, that the Name *Uther*, ſignifying in *Britiſh* a Club, was given to the great *Arthur*, for the ſame reaſon that *Charlemain*'s Grandfather was call'd *Martel*, or *Hammer*. As to the Sirname of *Pendragon*, it owes its Origin, as 'tis pretended, to *Arthur*'s wearing a Dragon on the Creſt of his Helmet.

Arthur was undoubtedly a great General. It is pity his Actions have ſerv'd for Foundation to numberleſs Fables, that have been publiſh'd concerning him: whereas his Life was worthy of being recorded by the graveſt and moſt able Pen. He is ſaid to have inſtituted the Order of *the Knights of the Round Table*, ſo famous in *Romances*. Tho' this Inſtitution has given occaſion for many fabulous Relations, it is not therefore to be deem'd altogether chimerical. For where is the Improbability that *Arthur* ſhould inſtitute an Order of Knighthood in *Britain*, when we learn from the Letters of *Caſſidorus*, that *Theodoric*, King of the *Oſtrogoths*, inſtituted one in *Italy* in the ſame Century?

Arthur's *Encomium.*

Such was the Love and Eſteem of the *Britons* for this Hero, that many would never believe he was dead. Nay, there were ſome for ſeveral Ages after, that imagining he was travell'd into foreign Parts, expected his Return (4). This would ſeem incredible, had there not been, in the 16th Century, an Inſtance of the like Folly with regard to *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*. It is this perhaps that gave occaſion to ſome Writers, deſirous of pleaſing the *Britons*, to invent *Arthur*'s Travels and numberleſs Victories in foreign Countries. The Titles of *Germanicus*, *Gallicus*, *Dacicus*, aſſum'd by that Prince, might ſerve for Foundation to ſuch Fictions. Theſe pretended Voyages and imaginary Victories, have prov'd an inexhauſtible Fountain of abſurd and ridiculous Things, aſcrib'd to him by the Writers of *Romances*. Hence it is, that his Hiſtroy has been ſo diſfigur'd, as to cauſe many to doubt, whether there was ever ſuch a Man as *Arthur* in the World; and no wonder, for it is impoſſible to reconcile all the Contradictions that occur in his fabulous Hiſtory. But if we diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, and reject what ſavours too much of the *Romance*, we meet with nothing in the Life of this Hero, unbecoming the Character of a great Prince. The Times of his Life and Reign are ſo confounded by theſe fabulous Writers, that they are very difficult to be clear'd, and therefore Recourſe muſt be had to the four ſeveral *Epocha's* before-mention'd. He was born at *Tindagol* in *Cornwall* in 452, or 453, and died in 542. He was buried in the Monaſtery at *Glaſſenbury*, by *Gueniver* his ſecond Wife. He had two others of the ſame Name, the firſt died in the Country of the *Picts*, and the third prov'd falſe to him. By this laſt he had a Son call'd *Nocm*, who died an Infant. *Arthur* when he was about to expire, ſent his Crown to *Conſtantine* his Couſin, Son of *Cador*, and Grandſon of *Ambroſius*, declaring him his Succeſſor; which muſt be underſtood only of *Danmonium*, for the Monarchy of *Britain* was extinct by his Death. It is pretended, that his Body was found whole and entire in *Glaſſenbury* Monaſtery in the the Reign of *Henry* II, with the viſible Marks of ten Wounds, one whereof only ſeemed mortal. But what is ſaid of his Stature is unqueſtionably fabulous, namely, that the Diſtance between his Eye-brows was a Span, and the reſt of his Body in Proportion. We have the particular Names of his Arms in the antient *Romances*. His Shield was called *Pridwin*, his Lance *Ron*, and his Sword *Caliburn*. This laſt was preſented in 1191 to *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, by *Richard* I. King of *England*.

Uſher de Prim. &c. Giral. Cambr. in Spec. Eccl. l. 2. c. 11.

Roger de Hoveden.

After *Arthur*'s Death, by whoſe Valour and Experience the Affairs of the *Britons* had been ſupported, they were no longer able to reſiſt the *Saxons*. Indeed, the *Saxons* had been great Sufferers too in the frequent Battles between the two Nations: but the Circumſtances of the two Parties were unlike. Whatever Loſs the *Saxons* ſuſtained, it was ſoon retrieved by means of their continual Supplies from *Germany*. But it is eaſy to perceive, the *Britons*, being deſtitute of foreign Aid, muſt have been drained by the inceſſant Wars they had main-

Cauſes of the Weakneſs of the Britons.

(1) There were abundance of *Jutes* alſo in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and *Suſſex*. Rapin.

(2 He engaged in his Party, the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Iriſh*; ſo that there was an Army of 80,000 Men to oppoſe *Arthur*'s Landing, according to *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, l. 11. c. 1.

(3) *Cam* ſignifies *winding* in *Saxon*. It is call'd alſo *Camel*.

(4) Hiſtorians aſſure us, this Notion was not entirely rooted out till his Tomb was found in the Reign of *Henry* II. 600 Years after his Death. *Rapin.* Occultavit ſe Rex moribundus ne caſui tanto inſultarent inimici, amicique moleſtarentur. Unde quoniam de morte *Arthuri* vel ejus ſepultura nihil referunt hiſtoriæ, Gens *Britonum* ipſum adhuc vivere præ magnitudine dilectionis contendunt. *M. Weſtm.* p. 192.

Withgaraburgh, now contracted into *Careſbrook*, was ſo named from *Withgar*, who was buried there. *Sax. Ann.*

tain'd

tained ſince the Departure of the *Romans*. Nay, they could not make uſe of all the Soldiers *Britain* might have ſupply'd them with; for many of their Countrymen, ſeeing no End to their Miſeries, were fled for Refuge to the *Picts*, or into *Armorica*. Such Numbers retired to *Armorica*, that by their Junction with the *Britiſh* Families long before ſettled there, they became more numerous at laſt than the Natives. Hence 'tis pretended, that this Province of *Gaul*, called *Armorica*, that is, *Maritime*, by reaſon of its Situation, took the Name of *Bretagne* from the great Number of *Britons* that fled thither. *Argentre*, who wrote the Hiſtory of that Country, pretends, *Armorica* was antiently called *Bretagne*, and that the Inhabitants ſending Colonies into *Albion*, gave that Iſland the Name of their own Country (1). It is probable indeed, the *Armoricans* peopled ſome part of *Great-Britain*; but in all that this Author alledges in proof of his Aſſertion, there is no ſufficient Reaſon to ſhew, that, before theſe Colonies, *Armorica* was called *Bretagne*, much leſs, that the *Armoricans* altered the old Name of the Iſland of *Albion*.

The Britons *give the Name of* Bretagne *to* Armorica. Mezerai, Abr. Chron. Tom. VII.

537. *The Arrival of* Ida. G. Monm. Ann. Sax. Flor. Wigor. H. Hunt. M. Weſtm.

As ſoon as it was rumoured in *Germany* that *Arthur* was dead, and the diſmay'd *Britons* had neither Power nor Courage to defend themſelves, great Numbers of People reſolv'd to go over and ſettle in *Britain*. *Ida*, by Nation an *Angle*, and deſcended from *Woden*, having embark'd on board forty Veſſels, abundance of Families of his own Countrymen, landed at *Flamborough* in *Yorkſhire*, then in Poſſeſſion of the *Northumberland Saxons*, who received them as Friends. The *Northumbrians*, ſo called from inhabiting *North* of the *Humber*, had maintained themſelves in that Country ever ſince the Time of *Hengiſt*, and had all along been in ſome Dependence on the Kings of *Kent*. They had often favour'd the Enterprizes of their Countrymen in the Southern Parts, by frequent Diverſions, which had ſeveral times drawn into the *North* the Arms of *Ambroſius* and *Arthur*: but tho' frequently defeated, they had however kept Poſſeſſion of theſe *Northern* Countries, without its appearing how they were governed from the Death of *Octa* and *Ebuſa* to the Year 547. *Ida*, when he firſt arrived in their Country, (whether he had made an Agreement with them before he left *Germany*, or they were tired with being in Subjection to the Kings of *Kent*, from whom, by reaſon of their Diſtance, they could expect no Aſſiſtance) found them ready and willing to obey him. It may be, they were not in condition to oppoſe *Ida*, who had brought with him a ſtrong Army. However this be, *Ida* was acknowledged for Sovereign of the *Northumbrians*, as well as of the *Angles* his Followers, under the Title of King of *Northumberland* (2). The Readineſs of the *Saxons* to mix with the *Angles*, and obey a King of that Nation, confirms what I have elſewhere obſerved, That the *Saxons* and *Angles* were in *Germany* but one and the ſame People. The Name of the *Saxons* ſtill remains in *Germany*, whilſt that of the *Angles* is entirely loſt; and on the contrary, this latter is perpetuated in *Britain*, where the former is almoſt forgotten. *Northumberland* was the fifth Kingdom founded by the *Anglo-Saxons*. *Ida*, the firſt King, was a Prince of great Fame; and yet, as he eſtabliſhed himſelf without any Obſtacle, there is but one particular recorded of him in Hiſtory, and that is, his building the City of *Bebbanburgh*, ſo called from his Queen *Bebba*. This City, after many Years, was deſtroy'd: however, there ſtill remains the Caſtle of *Bamborough*.

Ida *firſt King of* Northumberland. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. G. of Monm. Flor. Wigor. M. Weſtm.

The Memoirs concerning the Settlement of the *Anglo-Saxons* in *Britain*, are ſo ſhort and imperfect, that it is impoſſible to frame a regular Hiſtory of them. We muſt therefore be ſatisfied with a certain Number of Facts tranſmitted to us; by the Help whereof, the Thread of the Hiſtory may, in ſome meaſure, be purſued.

552. Cenric *repulſes the* Britains. Sax. Ann.

In the Year 552, notwithſtanding their weak Eſtate, the *Britons* made an Effort to recover part of their Lands from *Cenric* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, but were repuls'd with great Loſs near *Salisbury*.

555. G. Monm. l. 8. c. 1.

We find alſo in the *Saxon Annals*, (3) that three Years after two Sons of *Modred*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Saxons*, attempted to dethrone *Conſtantine*, to whom *Arthur* had bequeath'd the Kingdom of *Danmonium*. But *Conſtantine*, being better prepared than they expected, not only put them to rout, but purſued them to *Glaſſenbury*, ſtabb'd them himſelf in the Arms of the Abbot, who interceded for them in vain (4).

559. Ida *dies*. Sax. Ann.

Ida, King of *Northumberland*, died in 559, having reigned twelve Years. Tho' the profound Peace he enjoyed during his whole Reign, gave him no Opportunity of ſhewing his Valour, yet all the Hiſtorians agree, he was a moſt accompliſhed Prince (5). 'Tis pity we have not a fuller Account of his Life. After his Death, *Northumberland*, for ſome unknown Reaſon, was divided into two Kingdoms. *Adda*, Son of *Ida*, was King of *Bernicia*, or the *Northern* Part, and *Alla*, deſcended from *Woden*, of *Deïra* or the *Southern* Part. *Ida* left twelve Sons, half by Wives and half by *Concubines*, who formed ſeveral Branches, as may be ſeen in the Genealogy of the Kings of *Northumberland*, which the Reader ſhould now and then take a View of, if he deſires to underſtand fully the Hiſtory of theſe *Saxon* Kingdoms.

560. *Death of* Cenric. Bede, l. 2. c. 5.

The next Year *Cenric* King of *Weſſex*, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, died, after a Reign of twenty-ſix Years. The Reputation he had gained during his Father's Life, made it believed he would puſh his Conqueſts farther. But when he was on the Throne, he ſhewed no Signs of Ambition, and employed himſelf wholly in promoting Peace and good Order in his Dominions. He took up Arms but once to repel the *Britons*, who came and attack'd him. Of the four Sons he left, *Ceaulin*, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him both in the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, and the Dignity of Monarch of the *Saxons*.

Ceaulin *ſucceeds him. He forms the Deſign of aggrandizing himſelf.*

Ceaulin was no ſooner on the Throne, but he formed vaſt Projects to enlarge his Dominions by new Conqueſts. He was an ambitious Prince, who, not content with the Prerogatives he was veſted with as Monarch, conſidered the other *Saxon* Kings as his Vaſſals, pretending to keep them in a rigorous Dependence. As he was ſenſible it would be very difficult to obtain the Submiſſion he expected from them, he made extraordinary Preparations, which alarmed both the *Saxon* and *Britiſh* Princes. The laſt eſpecially could not but be in extreme Conſternation, by reaſon of their deplorable State. After the Death of *Arthur*, they lived in a ſort of Anarchy. What remained of their Country, was cantled out into little independent States, which weakened one another by the Diſcord that reigned among their reſpective Princes. The *Britiſh* Hiſtorians give ſuch a Character of theſe petty Sovereigns, that the Nation in general could have but ſmall Hopes of Aſſiſtance from any one, or all of them together. *Conſtantine* King of *Cornwall* was a cruel and bloody Prince, polluted alſo with abominable Luſts. *Aurelius Conanus*, whoſe Kingdom lay eaſtward of the *Severn*, was guilty of Parricide, and reigned with unheard of Tyranny. *Vortipore* King of *Demetia* [or *South-Wales*] was overgrown with Pride; he gloried alſo in having no Religion, and perſecuting the Clergy. *Cuneglas*, whoſe Dominions were *North* of *Cambria* (ſo the Country was called between the *Severn* and the weſtern ſea) was grown old in Vice, and famous for his wicked Deeds. *Maglocun* or *Malgo* (6) King of *Mona* or *Angleſey*, thought of nothing but pillaging his Neighbours and Subjects, and heaping up Riches by Rapine and Violence. In a word, *Britain* was in a terrible Confuſion. After *Arthur*'s Deceaſe, every one lived as he pleaſed, and the Authority of the Tyrants was in Proportion to the Licenſe their Subjects were ſuffered to take. Theſe Sovereigns were divided among themſelves, and, as they had no Confidence in one another, could not agree upon proper Means to free themſelves from the impending Calamities. Each therefore purſuing only his own Intereſt, the *Saxons* were left at liberty to eſtabliſh themſelves upon their Ruins.

Gildas.

Ceaulin's Preparations, however, rous'd them a little out of their Lethargy, and obliged them to think of their Defence. To that end they choſe *Malgo* to command them, purely for the Sake of his Giant-like Stature. But what could this unexperienced General have done, if the *Saxons* had united their Forces againſt him? He would have loſt, perhaps, in a ſingle Battle, what the Great *Arthur* had taken ſo much Pains to preſerve. But happily for him and the *Britons*, the *Saxon* Monarch was poſſeſſed with the Project of ſubduing his Countrymen firſt, ſo turned againſt the *Saxons* the Arms that ſhould have been employed againſt the common Enemy. He could not diſcover his Deſigns, without incurring the Enmity and Jealouſy of the neighbouring Princes. But as no one of them in particular was able to withſtand him, his Kingdom being much ſtronger than any of the reſt, each dreaded being oppreſſed, ſhould he declare againſt him ſingly. They were therefore by degrees forced to ſubmit to a much greater Dependence on their *Monarch* or *General*, than their Laws and Cuſtoms required. Mean while, they grieved in private to be thus kept under, fearing withal that *Ceaulin*'s Deſigns would extend farther.

564. Ethelbert *becomes King of* Kent. G. Malm. l. 1.

At length, *Hermenric* King of *Kent*, dying in 564, *Ethelbert*, his Son and Succeſſor, could not bear the proud and haughty Proceedings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, which were the more grievous to *Ethelbert*, as being a Deſcendant of *Hengiſt*, he thought he had a better Right to the Dignity of Monarch than any other Prince. Prepoſſeſs'd with this Notion, he re-

567.

(1) The firſt time we find the Name of *Bretagne* given to *Armorica*, is in the Subſcription of *Manſuetus* to the Council of *Tours* in 461, where he is named *Epiſcopus Britannorum*. After which time it was frequently called *Britannia Ciſmarina*, *Minor*, *Celtica*, &c. See *Concil. Gall.* Tom. I. p. 126.

(2) This *Ida* was the firſt that took upon him the Title of King; yet there were *Saxon* Princes in that Country many Years before. *Tyr.* p. 142. *Malm.* p. 16.

(3) It is not in the *Saxon* Annals, but *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, l. 10. c. 3, 4. and *M. Weſtm.* p. 192.

(4) *Matthew of Weſtminſter* ſays, one of them fled to *Winchester*, where taking Shelter in the Church of St. *Amphibalus*, he was ſlain before the Altar. The other took Refuge in a Monaſtery in *London*; but being found near the Altar was killed. *M. Weſm.* p. 162. *Geoff. Monm.* l. 11. c. 4.

(5) Ida ætate & moribus integer, puris & defœcatis moribus, multum ſplendoris generoſis contulit natalibus, adeo bello invictus, domi ſeve'tatem regiam genuina animi magnitudine temperabat. *Malm.* l. 1. c. 3.

(6) *Arthur*'s Siſter's Son, who fided with *Modred* againſt his Uncle. *Gild.*

ſolves to revive the Pretenſions of the Kings of *Kent*, neglected by his Predeceſſors, and declares War with *Ceaulin*, not conſidering the Diſproportion between his Forces and thoſe of his Enemy. *Ceaulin*, diſdaining to be attacked by a young Prince of no Reputation, marched towards *Kent* with deſign to prevent him, and meeting him at *Wibbandune* (1), entirely routed him. *Ethelbert* being defeated a ſecond time, was totally diſabled, and forced to ſue for Peace. His Vexation at ſo unexpected a Diſappointment, was increaſed by the Jeſts of the other Princes, who rallied him for his Preſumption. He had occaſion for his Leſſon, to teach him that Courage alone is not ſufficient for War, but muſt be accompanied with Prudence and Strength. He improved ſo much by it, that he afterwards became one of the wiſeſt and moſt illuſtrious Princes of his Nation. This was the firſt Civil War among the *Saxons*, which was followed by many more, cauſed by the Reſtleſſneſs and Ambition of their Princes. As ſoon as they were out of Danger from the *Britons*, they quarrell'd among themſelves, with ſuch Animoſity, that if another *Arthur* had appeared, the *Britons* might have recovered all they had loſt. But Divine Providence had otherwiſe decreed.

Flor. Wigor.

Malmſb.

571. Uffa *firſt King of the* Eaſt Angles.

Uffa, the only Survivor of the Twelve Chiefs of the *Angles* before-mentioned, aſſumed in 571 the Title of *King of the Eaſt-Angles*, and his Kingdom was called *Eaſt-Anglia*. As this was forty Years after his Arrival in *Britain*, he muſt have been of a great Age when crown'd. This was the ſixth Kingdom founded by the *Anglo-Saxons* (2).

The Ambition of Ceaulin.

Ceaulin was ſo elated with his Succeſs againſt *Ethelbert*, that he look'd upon the neighbouring *Saxon* Princes as his Subjects and Vaſſals. Indeed the King of *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, being ſeparated from him by a large Tract of Land poſſeſſed by the *Britons*, had not much to fear from his Ambition. But the Kings of *Kent*, *Eſſex* and *Suſſex* were forced to ſubmit to him, as ſuperior to each of them in Extent of Dominions. After this he turned his Arms againſt the *Britons* with deſign to make new Conqueſts. I can't poſſibly relate the Particulars of this War, being very ſlightly paſſed over by the Hiſtorians. They only tell us, that *Cutha*, Brother of *Ceaulin*, frequently defeated the *Britons*, and would, in all probability, have very much enlarged his Brother's Dominions, had not Death ſnatched him away in the midſt of his Victories (3).

He attacks the Britons. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wigorn. H. Hunt. *l.* 2.

578. Titilus Mor. Wig.

Before this War was ended, *Uffa*, firſt King of the *Eaſt-Angles* died in 578, leaving his Crown to his Son *Titilus*.

The Britons *ſend to the* Scots *for Aſſiſtance.* Huntingd. Fordun.

Such was the deplorable Condition of the *Britons*, that the time of their utter Deſtruction ſeemed to approach. Preſſed on the South by the *Saxons* of *Weſſex*, *Suſſex* and *Kent*; on the Eaſt, by thoſe of *Eſſex* or *Eaſt-Anglia*; and on the North, by the *Northumbrians*; they were, in a manner, ſurrounded by their Enemies. There was, however, one Refuge left, which helpt to keep alive, for a while, their faint Expectation of being able to withſtand ſo many Misfortunes. As the Neceſſity of their Affairs had formerly obliged them to ſend for the *Saxons* to defend them againſt the *Scots*, a no leſs preſſing Occaſion compelled them at this time, to implore the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* againſt the *Saxons*. This Reſolution being unanimouſly taken, Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Aidan* King of *Scotland*, to engage him in their Quarrel. "They "repreſented to him, that *their* Ruin would infallibly draw "on *his*; for the *Saxons* had in view no leſs than the Con- "queſt of the whole Iſland, great part whereof was now in "their poſſeſſion: That if theſe Foreigners ſhould at length "over-run what remained in the Hands of the *Britons*, the "*Scots* were to expect no better Quarter than the *Picts*, who "were already diſpoſſeſſed of part of their Country." To this they added, "That the *Saxon* Monarch was an active "and ambitious Prince, capable of forming Deſigns, the "Conſequences whereof were to be equally dreaded by all "his Neighbours, if care were not taken in time to put a "ſtop to his Progreſs." *Aidan*, prevailed upon by theſe Conſiderations, puts himſelf at the head of a powerful Army, and joins the *Britons*, in order to attack the common Enemy. *Ceaulin* having notice of his March, made all poſſible Speed to meet him, with what Troops he could aſſemble. But as the neighbouring Kings, his Countrymen, were not very forward to lend him Aſſiſtance, his Forces were far from being equal to thoſe of the *Britons* and *Scots*. How great ſoever the Superiority of his Enemies might be, he courageouſly attacks them: But, after long diſputing the Victory, his Army, overpower'd by Numbers, is cut in pieces, his Son *Cuthwin* ſlain, and himſelf narrowly eſcapes. The *Britons* were ſo elevated with their Succeſs, that they began now to form

Aidan marches to their Aſſiſtance,

and defeats Ceaulin. H. Hunt. *l.* 2.

Projects to drive the *Saxons* entirely out of the Iſland; but they were far from being able to put them in practice. The *Saxon* Princes, though well enough pleaſed to ſee *Ceaulin* humbled, thought it not for their Intereſt to let the *Britons* and *Scots* enjoy the Advantage they had gain'd by their Victory; and therefore ſoon put their Monarch at the head of a much more numerous Army than the former. Upon which impatient to be revenged, he goes in queſt of his Enemies, and meets them without delay. In a ſecond Battle, he repaired, by a ſignal Victory, his former Diſgrace, and convinced the *Britons* of the Vanity of their Projects. *Aidan* retiring into *Scotland* after his Defeat (4), the *Britons*, who ſaw all their meaſures broken, thought only of preſerving what they had left, content with dividing their Country with the *Saxons*, ſince they were unable to expel them. But Divine Juſtice that had long purſued them, was not yet ſatisfied. They were ſtill to be reduced to greater Diſtreſs, and behold the beſt and richeſt part of their Iſland taken from them by a Nation whom God had choſen for the Inſtrument of his Vengeance.

Aidan *is vanquiſhed, and retires into* Scotland.

584. *The Arrival of* Crida, Huntingd. Fl. Wig.

Scarce were the unfortunate *Britons* recovered from their late Conſternation, when a great Fleet appearing on their Coaſts, quite ſunk their Courage. This Fleet, the moſt conſiderable of any that had come from *Germany*, brought great Numbers of *Angles*, conducted by *Crida* a Leader of the ſame Nation, of the Race of *Woden*. I have not been able to learn where they landed, but probably it was in *Eaſt-Anglia*, and having marched croſs that Kingdom, they advanced towards the middle of the Iſland, upon the Territories of the *Britons*, who were unable to oppoſe their Arms. As *Crida* advanced in their Country, Diſorder and Conſternation increaſed among the miſerable *Britons*. Some vainly projected to defend themſelves, whilſt others ſought only to ſave their Goods, their Wives and Children, abandoning their Lands to the *Angles*. *Crida* taking advantage of their Terror, ſpread himſelf far and wide, and becoming Maſter of the Field, drove his frighted Enemies before him. In vain did they fly to their wall'd Towns; the want of Proviſions for ſuch Multitudes, ſoon compelled them to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

who makes great Conqueſts.

The Britons *retire into* Wales.

The *Britons* being unable to defend themſelves againſt theſe new Invaders, ſupported by their Countrymen already ſettled in the Iſland, took the only courſe left them, and retired into *Cambria* beyond the *Severn*. They had no other Retreat, being preſſed on all other Sides by the *Saxons* and *Angles*. Their Flight put *Crida* in poſſeſſion of all the Country lying between the *Humber*, the *Severn*, and *Thames*, by which he was bounded on the *North*, *Weſt*, and *South*. To the *Eaſt* of him lay the Kingdoms of *Eſſex* and *Eaſt-Anglia*.

The founding of the Kingdom of Mercia.

Out of all theſe Conqueſts, *Crida* formed a Kingdom larger and more conſiderable than any of the other ſix, by the Name of *the Kingdom of the middle-Angles*. This Kingdom was afterwards more generally called *Mercia*. *Crida* the firſt King was crowned in 584.

The State of the Britons.

Cambria not being ſufficient to contain ſo many Families, Multitudes of miſerable *Britons* fled into *Armorica*, where great Numbers of their Countrymen were already ſettled. Others ſubmitted to the *Saxons* or *Angles*, content to become *Hewers of Wood* and *Drawers of Water* for a wretched Subſiſtence. Thoſe that remained in *Cambria*, a Country defended by Nature, kept their ground againſt all the Power of the Conquerors, who could not, till long after, extend their Conqueſts beyond the Mountains. This little corner of the Iſland, where the *Britons* were cooped up, was afterward divided into ſeveral petty Kingdoms, which were one while ſeparated, another while united, according to the Ambition or Power of their Kings (5). Here I ſhall leave the *Britons* for the future, as making a State by themſelves, and having no relation to the Hiſtory of *England*, but what is commonly found between two neighbouring Nations. It is true they made from time to time ſeveral Attempts to recover what they had loſt: But their Efforts proved ineffectual, as did the Endeavours of the *Anglo-Saxons* to force them in theſe Retreats.

The Saxons *change the Name of* Cambria *into* Wales.

The *Saxons* gave the *Britons* the Name of *Gwalliſh*, or *Walliſh*, that is, *Gauls*; taking them to be, as in all appearance they were, of *Gauliſh* Extraction. For this reaſon *Cambria* was by them termed *Walliſh-Land*; from whence came the Name of *Wales*, us'd by the *Engliſh* at this day, and chang'd by the *French* into *Galles*, upon account of their being deriv'd from the *Gauls*. The *Walloons* alſo, and *Wallachians*, have ſtill kept theſe Names, and in ſome Places in *Germany*, the *Italian* Tongue is called *Welſh*, becauſe of *Gallia Ciſalpina*

(1) *Wimbleton* in *Surry*.

(2) The Kings his Succeſſors were from him call'd *Uffings*. Hig. *p.* 224.

(3) Anno 571, *Cutha* defeated the *Britons* at *Bedicanford* (*Bedford*,) and took from them the Towns of *Lygeanburh* (*Layton Buzzard* in *Bedfordſhire*,) *Aylesbury* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Benſington* and *Eynſham* in *Oxfordſhire*.) Anno 587, *Ceaulin* and *Cutha* defeated the three *Britiſh* Kings, *Commail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmail* at *Deerham* in *Gloceſterſhire*, and took from them *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter* and *Bath*. Again, *Anno* 584, there was another Battle between the *Britons* and *Saxons* at *Fethanleagh* (*Fretherne* in *Gloceſterſhire*) wherein *Cutha* was ſlain; but however the *Saxons* got the Victory. *Camd*, p. 291, 238. Anno 591, there was another Battle between them, wherein the *Saxons* were beat: it was fought at *Wodneſbirne*, (*Wodenſburge* or *Wanſdike* in *Wiltſhire*. Camd. *p.* 85, 100.) *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 315. *Malmſb.* p. 12. *M. Weſtm.* p. 197, 198.

(4) Some ſay he was ſlain in the Battle. *Scoti-Chr. Buchan.* l. 5.

(5) The *Angles* poſſeſs'd the Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*; as the *Saxons* the other four Kingdoms on both Sides the *Thames*.

inhabited by the *Gauls*. As for the Name of *Cambria* given by the native *Britons* to *Wales*, I ſuppoſe, that before the Arrival of the *Saxons*, the *Britons*, who called themſelves *Cumri* or *Cumbri*, named their Country *Cambria*; and that after their Retreat beyond the *Severn*, the ſame Name which before was common to all *Britain*, became peculiar to *Wales*.

and of Britain *into* England. Jo. Saliſb. *in* Polychr. *l.* 5. *c.* 17.

About the ſame time, the *Anglo-Saxons* unanimouſly agreed to call the ſeven Kingdoms in general by the Name of *England*, that is, *the Country of the Angles*. Whether this was done becauſe the *Angles* were more numerous than the *Saxons* and *Jutes*, and poſſeſſed the largeſt and moſt conſiderable of the ſeven Kingdoms, or for ſome other reaſon, is uncertain. Perhaps *Engle-land* is only a Contraction of *Engle-Saxe-land*, a name derived from the two principal Nations that were ſettled in *Great-Britain*. But the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Iriſh*, were not fond of this change of Names. They continued to call the new Poſſeſſors of *Britain*, *Saxenag* or *Saxons*, and their Country *Saxeneage*. I ſuppoſe, as the *Saxons* were firſt known in *Britain*, the neighbouring Nations, accuſtom'd to that Name, did not think fit to receive the Alteration introduced by the Conquerors.

I am very ſenſible that the Changing of the Name of *Britain* into that of *England* is generally aſcribed to *Egbert* King of *Weſſex*, about two hundred and fifty Years after the time I am ſpeaking of. But this Opinion is founded on the Authority of an Hiſtorian that is far from being infallible (1). Others, who ſeem to go on much better Grounds, poſitively affirm, the Name of *England* was given to that Part of *Britain* conquered by the *Saxons*, *a little after* their Arrival in the Iſland; which may very well be underſtood of the Time immediately following the Arrival and Conqueſts of *Cerdic*. But how is it poſſible to extend this *little after* to the Reign of *Egbert*, which began not till the Year 800 (2)?

Succeſſion of the Kings of Bernicia. G. Malmſb. *l.* 1. *c.* 3.

After the Death of *Ida*, and the Diviſion of *Northumberland* before-mentioned, *Alla* reigned in *Deira*, and *Adda*, eldeſt Son of *Ida*, in *Bernicia*; who dying in 563, four Kings, all Sons or Brothers of *Ida*, ſucceſſively filled the Throne of *Bernicia* till the Year 586, when *Athelric*, *Ida*'s youngeſt Brother, was placed thereon. But as he was very old, *Adelfrid* his Son held the Reins of the Government by his Father's Authority.

Sledda *King of* Eſſex.

In the Year 587, *Ercenwin*, firſt King of *Eſſex*, died, after a Reign of ſixty Years, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Sledda*.

Thus we have run through, in this Second Book, the moſt remarkable Events that happened in *Great-Britain*, from the Arrival of the *Saxons* to their Eſtabliſhment in the Iſland, during a War of 130 Years. We have ſeen the Efforts of the *Britons*, who, after a reſolute Defence, were forced at laſt to give up their Country to the very People they had called to their Aſſiſtance. In the following Book, we ſhall ſee what paſſed in the *Heptarchy*, the Name given to the Seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, when conſidered as making but one *Body* under the ſame Government. The *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles*, that conquered the beſt part of *Britain*, looking upon themſelves as one and the ſame People, as they had been in *Germany*, eſtabliſhed a Form of Government, as like as poſſible to what they had lived under in their own Country. They formed their *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Aſſembly* of *Wiſe-men*, to ſettle the common Affairs of the Seven Kingdoms, and conferred the Command of their Armies upon one choſen out of the Seven Kings, to whom, for that reaſon, no doubt, ſome have given the Title of *Monarch*, on pretence of his having the Precedence and ſome Superiority over the reſt. But to me that Dignity ſeems rather to have been like that of *Stadtholder* of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*. There was however ſome Difference between the *Saxon* Government in *Britain*, and that in *Germany*. For Inſtance, in *Germany* the Governor of each Province entirely depended on the General Aſſembly, where the ſupreme Power was lodg'd; whereas in *Britain*, each King was *Sovereign* in his own Dominions. But notwithſtanding this, all the Kingdoms together were, in ſome reſpects, conſider'd as the ſame State, and every one ſubmitted to the Reſolutions of the General Aſſembly of the Seven Kingdoms, to which he gave his Conſent by himſelf or Repreſentative. And therefore this Form of Government may be very juſtly compar'd to that of the *United Provinces*, each whereof is *Sovereign* and *Independent*, tho' they ſubmit to the Determination of the *States-General*. A Free Election, and ſometimes Force, gave the *Heptarchy* a Chief or Monarch, whoſe Authority was more or leſs, according to their Strength. For tho' the Perſon inveſted with this Office, had no Right to an unlimited Authority, there was ſcarce one of theſe Monarchs, as will be ſeen hereafter, but what aſpir'd to an abſolute Power.

Cauſes of the Revolution that happened in Great-Britain.

If we enquire into the Cauſes of the Revolution that happen'd in *Great-Britain* by the Conqueſts of the *Saxons*, it muſt be own'd, in the firſt Place, that God was pleas'd by a juſt Judgment to puniſh the *Britons* for their enormous Crimes, from which, according to their own Hiſtorians, neither *People*, nor *Kings*, nor *Clergy* were free. Tho' the Divine Juſtice does not always puniſh, in a viſible manner, every Nation guilty of the like Crimes, yet we muſt perceive the Hand of God, when it manifeſts itſelf upon a particular Nation, by ſuch terrible Effects. But as the Divine Juſtice generally makes uſe of natural Means to execute its Deſigns, it is theſe chiefly we may and ought to look after. And firſt, it is plain, that the Diſſention of the *Britons* was the principal Cauſe of their Deſtruction. Had they been more united, they would have better defended themſelves againſt the firſt *Saxons*, and thereby, no doubt, diſcourag'd others from attempting to ſettle in their Iſland. In the next Place, their long Subjection to the *Romans* had enervated their Courage, and extinguiſh'd their natural Inclination for War. Laſtly, they long wanted a General capable of conducting them and making them ſenſible they were no leſs Brave than other Nations. For how different a People did they ſeem to be under the Conduct of *Ambroſius* and the Great *Arthur*, from what they were when unable to defend themſelves againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*? So great an Influence has the Good or Bad Qualities of Princes upon the Publick Affairs, and the very Manners of their Subjects, as is evident from the Hiſtories of all Nations. We ſhall find in the Sequel, that the Civil Wars of the *Anglo-Saxons* were no leſs fatal to them, than Inteſtine Diviſions had been to the *Britons*. They gave occaſion to the Strong to oppreſs the Weak, and at length made way for One to ſubdue All the reſt.

(1) *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*.

(2) *John* Biſhop of *Chartres* ſays, *England* was ſo call'd from the firſt coming of the *Angles*; others from the Name *Hengiſt*, (a Notion probable enough, ſays *Selden*) whoſe Reputation, Wars, and Government, being firſt inveſted by *Vortigern* in *Kent*, are above all the other *Germans* moſt notable in the *Britiſh* Stories, and *Harding*

——— He call'd it *Engeſte's Land*,
Which afterwards was ſhorted, and call'd *England*.

As for the Word *Engliſhman*, 'tis us'd long before *Egbert*'s Time, as may be ſeen in the *Saxon* Laws. And *Bede*, *l.* 2. *c.* 4. and *l.* 4. *c.* 1.

THE

THE STATE of the *BRITISH CHURCH*, FROM *The Arrival of the* SAXONS, *to the Retreat of the* BRITONS *into* Wales.

The Hiſtory of the Britiſh *Church little known.*

AFTER having ſeen what Calamities *Britain* was expos'd to by the *Saxon* Wars of 130 Years, a regular Account of the *Britiſh* Church is not to be expected during that Space. It is eaſy to perceive that the Eccleſiaſtics, who were then the only Writers, were otherwiſe employ'd than in penning Hiſtories. And tho' ſome might have found Leiſure, it would have been difficult for their Writings to deſcend to us. We muſt therefore be ſatisfied with a few traditional Events, without Order or Connexion, ſince there is no exact Hiſtory of the Affairs of the *Britiſh* Church, whilſt ſhe was thus grievouſly afflicted.

Several Schools erected. Bede, l. 1. c. 17--21.

Before the Arrival of the *Saxons*, *Germanus*, Biſhop of *Auxerre*, came twice into *Britain*, as we have ſaid, to extirpate the *Pelagian* Hereſy, that had taken deep Root. This Prelate perceiv'd, in theſe his two Voyages, that the Clergy were no leſs ignorant than corrupted, and that their Corruption was chiefly owing to their Ignorance. To apply ſome Remedy to this Evil, he believ'd the moſt beneficial Thing he could do for *Britain* would be to erect Schools for the Inſtruction of Youth, and particularly for thoſe that were deſign'd for the Service of the Church. Purſuant to this pious Reſolution, he founded ſeveral, among which, thoſe of *Dubricius* and *Iltutus* were the moſt famous. *Dubricius*, Biſhop of *Llandaff*, was made Archbiſhop of *Caerleon*, and Metropolitan of all *Cambria*. He had two Schools, where he taught himſelf, one at *Henſland*, and another at *Mockroſt*. *Iltutus* taught at *Llan-twit*, that is, *The Church of Iltutus*. There was alſo at *Bangor* in *Cambria* a famous Monaſtery where Youth were educated. It is not to be doubted that theſe Schools of *Germanus* were of great Benefit to *Britain* ſince they afterwards produced many illuſtrious Men, that govern'd the *Britiſh Churches* in the moſt perilous Times. Amongſt the Advantages the *Britons* receiv'd from the Preſence of *Germanus*, ſome reckon alſo the Change he made in the *Publick Service* of the Church, by introducing the *Gauliſh* Rites and Ceremonies. This is almoſt all we know concerning the *Britiſh* Church, during the Time the *Saxons* were employ'd in their Conqueſts. I can only add a few Particulars relating to ſome *Eccleſiaſtics* famous for their Sanctity, who flouriſh'd then in the Iſland; with which I ſhall cloſe my Account of the Church of *Britain*, till the Converſion of the *Saxons* give me occaſion to ſpeak of the Church of *England*.

Schools of Dubricius *and* Iltutus. Spelman. *Con. Vol.* I. *p.* 24.

St. Patrick.

Patrick was one of the moſt remarkable for the Converſion of the *Iriſh*, which is generally aſcrib'd to him, tho' *Anatolius* and *Palladius* preach'd in *Ireland* before him. In all Probability *Patrick* made the greateſt Progreſs, and therefore the *Iriſh* did, and ſtill do, reverence him as their Apoſtle and Protector. It is proper to obſerve, that there were three noted Men of this Name: *Patrick the Elder*, who died in 449, and is mention'd in the *Chronicle* of *Glaſſenbury* Church: *Patrick the Great*, the Converter of the *Iriſh*, who died in 493, having govern'd the Church of *Ireland* 60 Years: *Patrick the Younger*, his Nephew, who ſurviv'd his Uncle ſome Years.

Dubricius.

Dubricius, Biſhop, or rather Archbiſhop of *Caerleon*, was illuſtrious for his Piety, Learning, and the abovemention'd *Schools*; and laſtly for his *Synod* at *Brêvi* in *Cardiganſhire*, againſt the *Pelagians* (1).

St. David.

529.

David, Son of a *Britiſh* Prince, and Succeſſor of *Dubricius*, remov'd the Archiepiſcopal Seat from *Caerleon* to *Menevia*, from him call'd St. *Davids*. He was noted for his *auſtere* Life, and his *Synod* at *Vittoria*. where the *Canons* of *Brêvi* were confirm'd. Several Miracles are attributed to him, particularly his giving to the *Bath-Waters* the Virtues they ſtill retain. He is ſaid to have lived 146 Years.

Sampſon *Elder and Younger.*

Sampſon the Elder and *Sampſon the Younger*. The firſt being Biſhop of *Dol* in *Armorica*, was ſent for into *Britain* by *Ambroſius*, and made Archbiſhop of *York*. The ſecond, of Royal Race, was made an Archbiſhop, without any particular *See* aſſigned him, with Power to perform the *Archiepiſcopal* Functions where-ever he came. The *Saxon* Wars forced him to return Home, where he was made Archbiſhop of *Dol*. He is ſaid, when he left *Great-Britain*, to carry with him ſeveral *Memoirs*, that would have given us a more perfect Knowledge of the Affairs of the *Britiſh* Church, had they been carefully preſerv'd.

Cadoc.

Cadoc, Abbot of *Lancarvan*, ſpent his whole Income, which was very conſiderable, in maintaining 300 Prieſts. He lived to the Year 570.

Patern.

Patern, of a noble Family in *Armorica*, having ſtudied 20 Years in *Ireland*, came and ſettled in *Cambria*, where he uſefully employ'd his Time in promoting Peace among the ſeveral Princes. He generally reſided at *Cardigan*, where is ſtill to be ſeen *Llan-Badarn-vawr*, that is, *The Church of of Great St. Patern*, which for ſome time was a Biſhop's Seat. *Patern* died in his native Country, where he was ſo diſtinguiſh'd for Holineſs of Life, that no leſs than three Feſtival-days were dedicated to his Memory.

Petroc.

Petroc, a Native of *Cornwal*, was famous for his Piety, and gave Name to *Petroc-ſtow* or *Padſtow* in the ſame County (2).

Kentigern.

Kentigern, Son to a Princeſs of the *Picts*, was Abbot of *Glaſcow*, from whence he went into *Cambria*, and founding a Religious Society, return'd to his Monaſtery (3). His Auſterities are mightily extoll'd, and particularly his ſtrict Abſtinence from Fleſh.

Aſaph.

Aſaph, the Diſciple of *Kentigern*, wrote his Maſter's Life, by whom he was made Abbot of the Monaſtery, founded in *Cambria*; he lived to the Year 590, and left his Name to the City of St. *Aſaph*.

Columba.

Columba, nobly deſcended in *Ireland*, founded there a Monaſtery, call'd *Dearmach*, that is, *The Field of Oaks*, becauſe ſituated in a Foreſt, ſome time after he came into *Britain*, to preach the Goſpel in the *Highland-Picts*, of which they were yet ignorant. God was pleas'd ſo to bleſs his Labours, that he had the Satisfaction to ſee thoſe Savages converted to the Chriſtian Religion, with their King *Bridius*, who gave him the little Iſland of *Jona* or *Hy*, call'd ſince *Colchil*, where he founded another Monaſtery that afterwards became very famous (4). Theſe two Monaſteries for a long Time ſupplied the *Scotch* Churches both in *Ireland* and *Great-Britain*, with Biſhops and Prieſts. It is obſervable, that according to the Inſtitution of *Columba*, the Abbot of *Jona* retain'd a Juriſdiction not only over ſeveral Monaſteries which branch'd forth from that, but alſo over the *Monks* that went from thence to be Prieſts or Biſhops. *Bede*'s reaſon for this, is, becauſe *Columba* the Founder was himſelf but a Prieſt. It might be added, that the *Monks* who had vowed Obedience to the Abbot of *Jona*, when they came to be Biſhops, did not think the Epiſcopal Character freed them from their Vow. This Inſtance ſomewhat perplexes the Sticklers for the *Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy*, who endeavour to get off, by alledging it was an ill Cuſtom crept into that Country, againſt the general Practice of the Church throughout Chriſtendom (5).

522. Uſher. Brit. Antiq. c. 15.

Sax. Ann.

L. 3. c. 4.

Gildas.

Gildas of *Badon*, or *Bath*, was Scholar to *Iltutus*, and a Monk of *Bangor* Monaſtery. He was born in the Year of the Battle of *Badon*, according to *Uſher*, in 520, but according

(1) *Dubricius* died in the Iſle of *Bardſey*, in 522.
(2) He was buried at *Bodmin*.
(3) And there died in 560. *Harpſ*, c. 28.
(4) *Jona Hu*, *Hii*, or *Columb-cylle*, one of the *Hebrides*, two Miles in Length, and one in Breadth. *Camden*. "This Iſland was given by the "*Picts* to the *Scotiſh* Monks, becauſe they had received Chriſtianity through their Preaching, about *A. D.* 505. The Monarchy here, was for a "long time the Chief of almoſt all thoſe of the *Northern Scots*, and all thoſe of the *Picts*, and had the Direction of their People. (*Bede*, l. 3. c. 3, 4.) There were in it two Monaſteries, one of *Monks*, dedicated to St. *Columba* the Apoſtle of the *Picts*, (from whom this Iſland was called *Columb-cylle*) that was the See of the *Biſhop of the Iſles*; and the other of Nuns. (*Camd.* p. 1071. *Buchan.* l. 1.) This Iſland is famous for the Burial of the ancient Kings of *Scotland*, forty-four of whom are ſaid to have been buried there. (*Buchan. ibid.*) This Account ſeems more authentick than that given by *Hector Boetius*. According to him this Monaſtery was founded *A. D.* 379. when *Maximus*, or *Maximin*, having baniſhed the *Scots* out of *Britain*,——*Exulabant Chriſti ſacerdotes ac Monachi, quicunque Scotici erant nominis, quorum magna pars in Hebrides delata, in Jona inſula ſacrum conſtituêre Cœnobium*, &c.
(5) *Bede* ſays, ſpeaking of *Jona*, or *Hy*) "This Iſland is always wont to have for its Governor the Abbot or Preſbyter, to whoſe Authority all "the Province, and even the Biſhops themſelves, after an unuſual Order, ought to be ſubject, according to the Example of their firſt Teacher, who "was never a Biſhop, but a Monk." *Bede*, l. 3. c. 4. The *Saxon Chronicle* is more expreſs, and ſays. "There muſt be always in *Hy* an Abbot, "and

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ing to my Calculation built upon Reaſons, too long to be inſerted, in 511. *Gildas* wrote a Treatiſe entitled, *De Excidio Britanniæ, Of the Deſtruction of Britain*, wherein he boldly cenſures the *Britiſh* Princes of his Time, that is, thoſe who after the Death of *Arthur*, divided the Country into ſeveral *petty* States. From him chiefly it is, that we know what paſſed among the *Britons* about the Time he wrote, in 564. There is another Hiſtory, or rather Romance, under the Name of *Gildas*, who is by ſome call'd *Albanian*, and ſuppos'd to be different from him I am ſpeaking of. But the learned *Stillingfleet* aſſerts, they are Both the Works of one Author, and that there was no other *Gildas* but he of *Badon*.

Orig. Brit.

Columbanus.

Columbanus, an *Iriſhman*, Diſciple of *Congal*, Abbot of *Bangor* in *Ireland*, paſs'd great Part of his Life in *Britain* (1). From thence going into *Burgundy*, he founded the Abbey of *Luxeuil*, of which he was the firſt Abbot. Twenty Years after, *Thierri*, King of *Auſtraſia*, and alſo of *Burgundy*, baniſh'd him his Dominions, for too freely cenſuring his Conduct, and forced him to fly to *Agilulph* King of the *Lombards*. At length he founded near *Naples* the Monaſtery of *Cobio*, where he died (2).

Fechet. Antiq. Gaul.

Theſe were the moſt noted Eccleſiaſtics in the *Britiſh* Church, from the Arrival of the *Saxons* to the Retreat of the *Britains* into *Cambria*. It is obvious we have the Names only of thoſe that flouriſh'd in *Cambria*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*. As for the other Parts of *Britain*, we know nothing of what paſs'd, with reſpect to Church-Affairs. We have not ſo much as the Names of the Biſhops, except *Theon* and *Thadiock*, Archbiſhops of *London* and *York*, who were forced alſo in the end to fly into *Cambria*. It is very likely, all the Monuments of the *Britiſh* Churches were deſtroy'd, where-ever the *Saxons* became Maſters; and that it was not poſſible to preſerve any but thoſe of the Churches of *Wales*, where the *Saxons* could never penetrate. It is eaſy to imagine, that the Church was in a very mournful State, whilſt the *Saxons* were exerciſing their Fury. Theſe mercileſs Idolaters, as well out of Duty as Wantonneſs, not only trampled upon every thing relating to the Chriſtian Religion, but let looſe their Rage againſt the Chriſtians themſelves. *Gildas* and *Bede* have painted out their inhuman Proceedings in ſuch a manner, as ſhows, their Barbarities were carried to the higheſt Degree imaginable. *From the Eaſt to the Weſt*, ſays Gildas, *nothing was to be ſeen but Churches burnt and deſtroy'd to their very Foundations. The Inhabitants were extirpated by the Sword, and buried under the Ruins of their own Houſes. The Altars were daily profan'd by the Blood of thoſe ſlain thereon.* *Bede*, who was a *Saxon*, and therefore not to be ſuppos'd to aggravate the Cruelties of his Countrymen, expreſſes himſelf thus: *By the Hands of the* Saxons *a Fire was lighted up in* Britain, *that ſerv'd to execute the juſt Vengeance of God upon the wicked* Britons, *as he had formerly burnt* Jeruſalem *by the* Chaldeans. *The Iſland was ſo ravaged by the Conquerors or rather by the Hand of God, making uſe of them as Inſtruments, that there ſeem'd to be a continued Flame from Sea to Sea, which burnt up the Cities, and cover'd the Surface of the whole Iſle. Publick and private Buildings fell in one common Ruin. The Prieſts were murdered on the Altars; the Biſhop with his Flock periſh'd by Fire and Sword, without any Diſtinction, no one daring to give their ſcatter'd Bodies an honourable Burial.*

Gildas. §. 24.

Bede. l. 1. c. 15.

To theſe mournful Deſcriptions may be added, that the *Britons*, who eſcaped the Fury of their Enemies, not finding wherewithal to ſubſiſt in the Woods and Mountains, were forced at length to ſurrender to the Conquerors, deeming themſelves happy in being able to purchaſe their Lives with the Loſs of their Liberty. Some fled into foreign Parts, and thoſe whom the Love of their native Country kept at home, and the Dread of Slavery prevented from ſubmitting to the *Saxons*, dragg'd on a wretched Life, in miſerable Want and perpetual Fear. It is therefore no wonder that the Accounts of the *Britiſh* Church are ſo imperfect, ſince the *Saxons* uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to deſtroy all the Monuments, that might have been preſerv'd.

Uſher. Brit. Antiq.

" and not a Biſhop, and that all the Biſhops of *Scotland* ought to be ſubject to him." Hence ſome have inferr'd, that Biſhops were not then thought ſo neceſſary, ſince the Abbot of *Hy*, without being ordain'd Biſhop, exercis'd Epiſcopal Authority over thoſe that were Biſhops. To this *Uſher* anſwers, " That this Authority of the Abbots of *Hy*, their exereiſing Juriſdiction over the Biſhops of *Scotland*, was a Superiority of mere Juriſdiction, and not of " Order; and cites the Annals of *Ulſter* to prove that a Biſhop always reſided in *Hy*." *De Brit. Eccleſ. Ant.* c. 16. *Lloyd* proves, that *Columba* was ordain'd by *Finean*, Biſhop of *Meath*. c. 5.

(1) He came into *Britain* in the Year 589.

(2) To theſe may be added, *Taliaſſin* the famous *Britiſh* Poet, whoſe Verſes are preſerv'd to this Day. *Tyr.* p. 144.

THE

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK III.

Concerning the moſt remarkable Events during the HEPTARCHY *of the* ANGLO-SAXONS, *to its Diſſolution, and the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. Containing the Space of Two Hundred and Forty-Three Years.*

THE Revolution caus'd by the Conqueſt of the *Anglo-Saxons*, introduced a new Face of Things in *Great-Britain*. The Country formerly inhabited by the *Britons* was now poſſeſs'd by Strangers. The very Names of the Towns and Provinces were changed, and the Country divided in a very different Manner from what it was by the *Romans*. It will therefore be requiſite, before we proceed to the Affairs of the *Anglo-Saxons* (which are to be the Subject of this Third Book) briefly to ſhow the State of *Great-Britain* after this Revolution.

The State of Great-Britain.

Great-Britain, cantled out into ſeveral Kingdoms, was ſhared among four different Nations, namely, the *Britons* or *Welch*, the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Anglo-Saxons*. Under the *Britons* were compriz'd all thoſe Foreigners, *Romans* or others, ſettled in the Iſland ever ſince the Reign of *Claudius*, who being incorporated with the Natives, became one People with them. The Deſcendents of theſe Foreigners were undoubtedly very numerous, it being the conſtant Policy of the *Romans* to diminiſh, as far as lay in their Power, the Natives of a conquer'd Country, and to ſend thither large *Colonies* either of *Veterans*, or of People taken from their other Conqueſts. As *Britain* had been in their Poſſeſſion four hundred Years, very probably they had not neglected, with Regard to that Iſland, a Cuſtom they practis'd every where elſe. Before they left *Britain*, their Colonies were diſtinct from the Natives. But the War, carried by the *Picts* and *Scots* into the *Roman* Province, after *Honorius* had renounced his Right, and that of the *Britons* and *Romans* ſettled in the Iſland, with the *Anglo-Saxons*, ſo confounded them, that we don't find from thenceforward in any Hiſtory the leaſt Signs of Diſtinction between the *Roman* Colonies and *Britiſh* Natives. The *Britons* therefore, now retired beyond the *Severn*, are to be conſider'd as a People compoſed of the ancient Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* and the *Roman* Colonies. The *Vandals* ſettled about *Cambridge*, were alſo reckon'd as *Britons*, and involv'd in the ſame Ruin with them. After the Eſtabliſhment of the Seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the *Britons* had nothing left but *Cambria*, and the *Weſtern* Part of *Danmonium*. *Cambria* (the Name formerly of all *Britain*) was changed by the *Saxons* into *Wales*. As for *Danmonium*, it was, in all appearance, a *Roman* Name. The *Britons* call'd that Country *Kernaw*, from *Kern*, that is, in their Language, *Horns*, becauſe of the many Promontories that ſhoot out into the Sea like Horns. Hence doubtleſs the *Saxons* gave it the Name of *Cornwall*, that is to ſay, *the Country of Kernaw*, inhabited by *Gauls* or *Britons*. They ſeem'd to ſtudy to leave neither to the Inhabitants nor Countries, any Sign of the *Roman* Names, ſince they even ſtiled *Welſh*, a People the *Romans* had call'd *Britons* above four hundred Years. The Natives kept their Ground a good while in that Corner of the Iſland, as well as in *Wales*, till at length they were entirely ſubdu'd, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The *North* Part of *Great-Britain* was in Poſſeſſion of the *Picts* and *Scots*, ſeparated from the *Engliſh* by the *Esk* and *Tweed*, and the Mountains between theſe two Rivers. The *Picts* were on the *Eaſt*, and the *Scots* on the *Weſt* Side. The *Grampian Mountains* ſerv'd them for a common Boundary, from the Mouth of the *Nid* to the *Lake* of *Lomond*. *Abernethy*, now a ſmall Town in the Country of *Strathern*, was the Capital of the *Picts*, from whence the Biſhop's Seat was removed to St. *Andrews*. *Edinburgh* belong'd alſo to the *Picts*, and whatever the *Engliſh* poſſeſs'd beyond *Severus*'s *Wall* was taken from the ſame Nation. The Territories of the *Scots* extended towards the *North* and *Weſt*, as far as the Sea that bounds the Iſland on theſe two Sides.

The *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, who are all to be conſider'd as one People, and comprehended under the Name of *Engliſh*, had conquer'd all the *Southern* Part of the Iſland, from the *Channel* to the Wall of *Severus*, and a little beyond, towards the *Eaſt*. This Part of *Great-Britain*, poſſeſs'd by theſe three Nations, was divided into Seven Kingdoms, whereof the *Saxons* and *Jutes* had four, namely, *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Suſſex*, and *Weſſex*; the *Angles* alone had two, *Mercia* and *Eaſt Anglia*; but in *Northumberland* were mix'd with the Deſcendants of the *Saxons*

that firſt took Poſſeſſion of the Country beyond the *Humber*, under *Octa* and *Ebuſa*.

The Hiſtory of theſe ſeven Kingdoms is what I am now to give a general Knowledge of. I ſay general, becauſe it is impoſſible to be very particular, by Reaſon of the Barrenneſs of the Authors that have writ on this Subject. As the greateſt Part intended only to write bare Annals, they have omitted what might contribute moſt to the compoſing a regular and coherent Hiſtory of each Kingdom, or of all together. Some, particularly intent upon the Hiſtory of one of the ſeven Kingdoms, ſcarce make any mention of what paſs'd in the reſt. Hence it is that hardly any thing is known of the Affairs of ſome of theſe Kingdoms, the Hiſtories whereof have been neglected, or, it may be, loſt by ſome Accident.

Another greater Difficulty occurs, in the Choice of a Method. If the Hiſtory of the ſeven Kingdoms be given at once, by placing the Events, that happened in each, according to the Order of Time, the Thread of the Narration muſt be continually broken, and Confuſion introduced, which will be farther increas'd by the Difficulty of remembring Names now grown barbarous. On the other hand, if the Hiſtory of each Kingdom be given apart by itſelf, it will be hardly poſſible to avoid a tedious Repetition of Facts common to two, and ſometimes three of the Kingdoms, by Reaſon of their Wars with one another. Beſides, in this Method, the Reader will loſe the Benefit of ſeeing a perpetual Synchroniſm of the Affairs of the ſeven Kingdoms, which is no little Help to the giving a diſtinct Idea of the State of *England*, during the *Heptarchy*.

After weighing the Conveniencies with the Inconveniencies of theſe two Methods, I am reſolved in ſome meaſure to follow both. To that End, I ſhall firſt make ſome Remarks on the *Anglo-Saxons* in general. In the next place, I ſhall give a brief Summary of the Hiſtory of each of the ſeven Kingdoms in particular. Laſtly, I ſhall repreſent, in Synchronical Tables, the principal Events which happen'd in each Kingdom, that the Hiſtory of all the Kingdoms together may be ſeen at one View. I hope by this Means to give a compleat Idea, if not of all the Affairs of the *Heptarchy*, at leaſt of what is moſt material.

Of the HEPTARCHY *in General.*

BY the *Heptarchy* is meant the Government of the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, conſider'd as making but one Body and one State. The *Anglo-Saxons*, as I ſaid before, eſtabliſh'd in *England* a Form of Government not unlike what they had lived under in *Germany*; that is, conſidering themſelves as Brethren and Countrymen, and being equally concern'd to ſupport themſelves in their Conqueſts, they conceiv'd it neceſſary to aſſiſt one another, and act in common for the good of All. To that end they judg'd it proper to appoint a *General in Chief*, or, if you pleaſe, a *Monarch*, inveſted with certain Prerogatives; the Nature and Number of which we are not fully inform'd of. Upon the Death of this General or Monarch, another was choſen by the unanimous Conſent of the ſeven Kingdoms: But there were ſometimes pretty long Interregnums, caus'd by the Wars or Diviſions between the Sovereigns, who could not meet or agree upon a Choice.

Beſides this *Monarch*, they had alſo, as the *Center* of the *Heptarchical* Government, an *Aſſembly-General*, conſiſting of the principal *Members* of the ſeven Kingdoms, or their Deputies. This is what was call'd the *Wittenagemot*, or general Parliament, where the Concerns of the whole Nation only were conſider'd. But each Kingdom had a particular Parliament, much after the manner practis'd in the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*. Each Kingdom was Sovereign, and yet they conſulted in common, upon the Affairs that concern'd the *Heptarchy*; and the Acts and Reſolutions of the Aſſembly-General were to be punctually obſerv'd ſince every King and Kingdom had aſſented thereto. Such was the Form of the *Heptarchical* Government, on which I ſhall no farther inſiſt, deſigning to ſpeak more fully of it in another Place.

But as *Time* and *Circumſtances* often cauſe Alteration in the beſt *Conſtitutions*, it happen'd that the Ambition or Reſtleſſneſs of their Kings did not ſuffer the *Anglo-Saxons* to remain long in that *Union* the Form of their Government ſuppos'd. The moſt Powerful often took Advantage of the Weakneſs of the reſt to aggrandize themſelves at their Coſt. Hence their frequent Wars with one another, which ended in the Deſtruction of ſome of the ſeven Kingdoms that were annex'd to others, and at laſt in the Union of All under the Government of a ſingle Prince. Herein chiefly conſiſts what is tranſmitted to us of the Hiſtory of the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, I mean their continual Wars from the Beginning to the End of the *Heptarchy*.

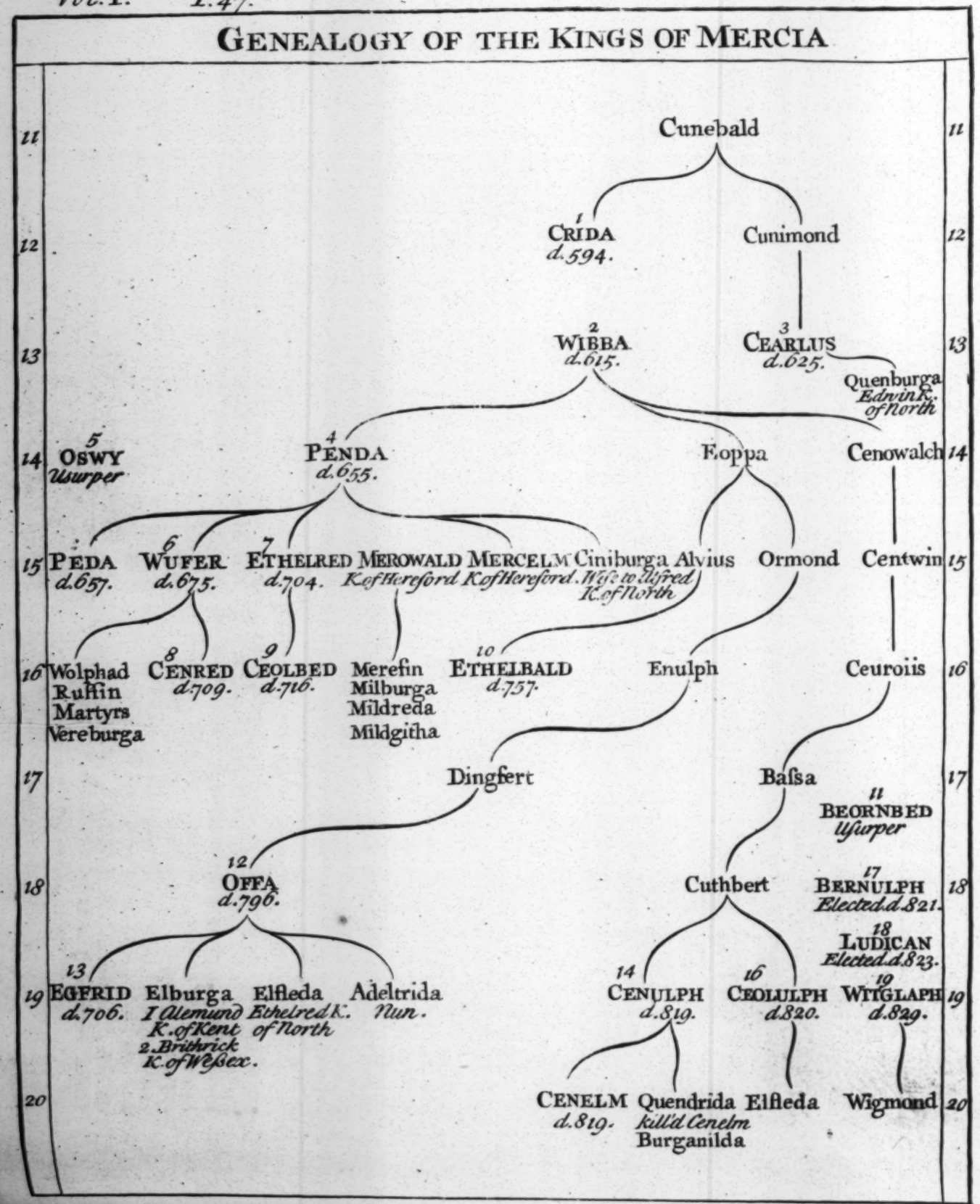
Another Cauſe of their Wars, was the Ambition of their *Monarchs*, who, not content with the Prerogatives annex'd to their Dignity, were for ſtretching their Rights. Had the Hiſtorians that writ of the *Heptarchy* been pleas'd to have given us an exact Account of the *Prerogatives* of the *Monarch*, we ſhould have been able to judge, in ſome meaſure, of the Cauſes of the Wars, ſo frequently occaſion'd by the Diſputes on that Head. But as they have only mark'd the Time and Succeſs of theſe Wars, without letting us know the Reaſons and Motives of them, the Hiſtory is render'd very imperfect, and incapable of being ſo coherent as one would wiſh, ſince the *Annals* give us only a bare Relation of Facts, without any manner of Connexion. All we can gather from them is, that the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings were naturally very reſtleſs, and Enemies to Peace. But this Character is not peculiar to them, ſince in the following Ages there has been no greater Union among the Princes of *Europe*.

Beſides theſe Wars, to which the *Hiſtorians* and *Annaliſts* have chiefly confined themſelves, there were, no doubt, many more agreeable and affecting Events, that would have embelliſh'd and enliven'd their Hiſtories. But unhappily theſe Writers being all Monks, had not Judgment enough to make Choice of ſuch Matters as would have render'd their Works entertaining. The Affairs of Religion, and eſpecially the Founding of the Monaſteries, and the Privileges of the Monks and Clergy, were the only Things they enlarged upon. As their ſole View was to ſhow the Origin of theſe Foundations, and the Endowments of Monaſteries; in doing this, they could not help informing Poſterity that there were in *England* ſeven different Kingdoms; whoſe Kings founded ſuch and ſuch Monaſteries, and granted them ſuch Revenues and Immunities. By this they were led to write a kind of Hiſtory of the *Heptarchy*, otherwiſe the Ground of their Rights would not have appear'd. But on the other hand, as their Deſign requir'd nothing more, they were ſatisfied with relating the Succeſſion of the Kings in the ſeveral Kingdoms, with ſome of their principal Actions. This is properly all the Aſſiſtance we have for the Hiſtory of the *Heptarchy*, the chief Subject whereof conſiſts of Religious Affairs. Of which therefore it will be neceſſary to ſay a few Words.

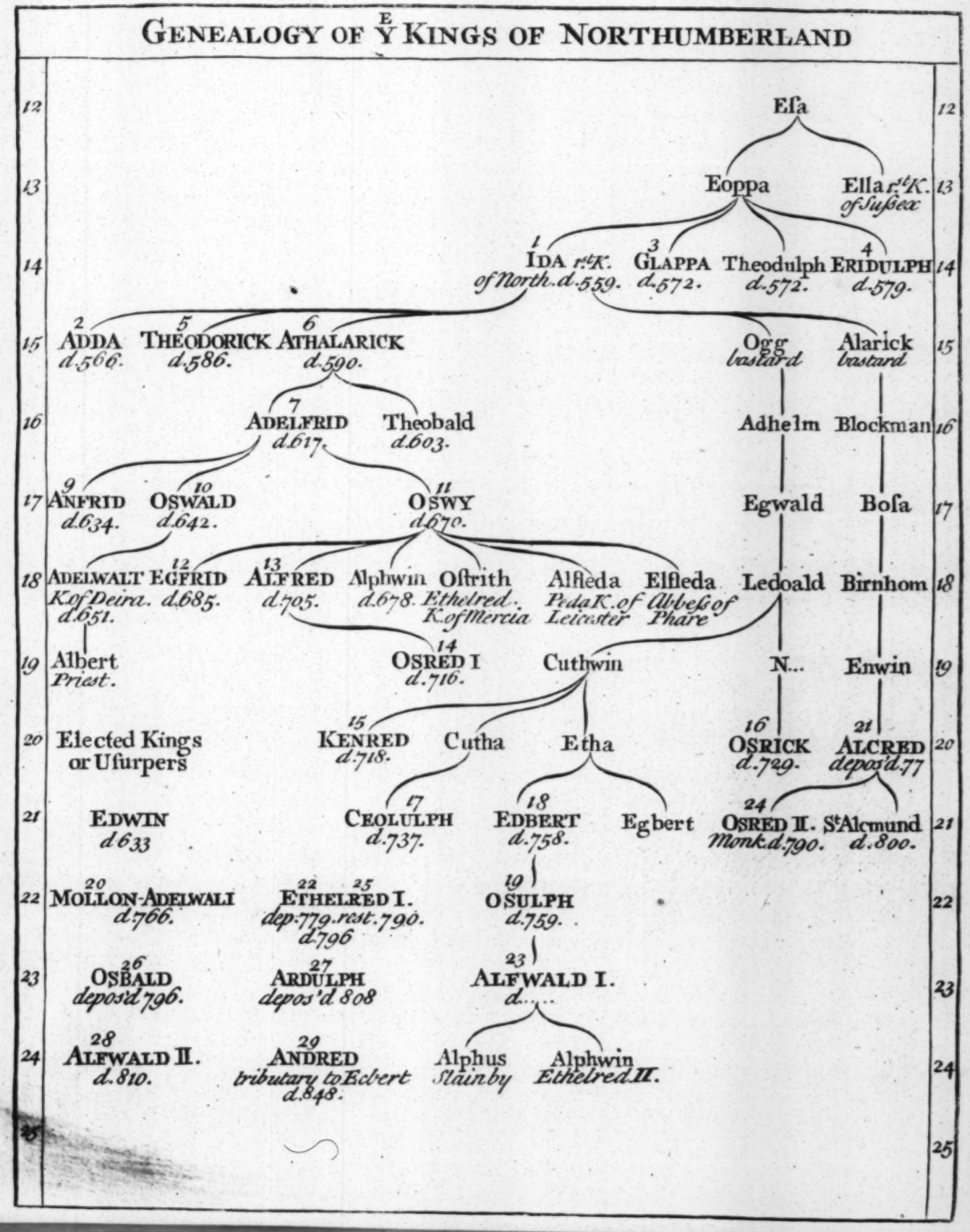
When the *Saxons* arriv'd in *England*, they were all *Pagans* and Idolaters. It was one Hundred and Fifty Years after their Arrival, before they were inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion. Their Converſion began in 597, with the Kingdom of *Kent*, by *Auſtin* a *Benedictine* Monk, ſent by Pope *Gregory* I. and ended in 653 with the Kingdom of *Mercia*, by the Miniſtry of certain Miſſionaries from *Northumberland*. During theſe 56 Years ſpent in propagating the Goſpel, Revolutions happen'd in ſome of the ſeven Kingdoms, whereby Chriſtianity was ſo rooted out, that it was again to be planted, as if it had never been heard of. This was the Caſe of the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*. So from the beginning of theſe Converſions to the end, there was in *England* a mixture of *Chriſtians* and *Idolaters*; ſome of the Kingdoms being converted, whilſt others remain'd in *Paganiſm*; neither were all of the ſame Kingdom converted at once.

Auſtin preach'd to the *Saxons* of *Kent*, *Mellitus* to the *Eaſt-Saxons*, *Paulinus* to the *Northumbrians*, *Birinus* to the *Weſt-Saxons*. *Wilfrid* to the *South-Saxons*, *Felix* to the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and the *Northern* Monks to the *Mercians*. But all theſe preach'd not with the ſame Succeſs, becauſe the Conjunctures were not every where alike favourable. However, in the Space of about 60 Years after the coming of *Auſtin*, all *England* was converted. But no more of this at preſent, as I intend to ſpeak more largely of the Church of each Kingdom.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MERCIA



GENEALOGY OF YE KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND



I have another, and no inconſiderable Remark to make, and that is, the Monks, in converting the *Anglo-Saxons*, took care to inſpire them with Reverence for *Monaſteries* and the *Monaſtick* Life. They wrought ſo upon the Minds of the Kings and Great Men, that it is aſtoniſhing what Number of Monaſteries from the Converſion of the *Engliſh* to the Diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, that is, in 200 Years, were founded in *England*, and what immenſe Riches the *Monks* had acquired in that Time. Religion ſeem'd to conſiſt in enriching the *Monks*, and the higheſt Perfection in embracing a *Monaſtick* Life. For this Cauſe Kings, and Queens, Princes and Princeſſes, ſtript themſelves of all their worldly Grandeur, to paſs the Reſidue of their Days in a Monaſtery; ſome to expiate their enormous Crimes, others as believing it the readieſt Way to Heaven. The Monks did not neglect to cheriſh the Fervour of this Sort of Devotion, extolling to the Skies thoſe that reſolv'd to offer ſuch Sacrifices to God, and Sainting all that died in theſe pious Diſpoſitions. Hence the great Number of Saints of both Sexes, recorded in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of *England*, among whom are ſeveral Kings, as being of all the others the beſt able to purchaſe a *Saintſhip* this way.

After theſe general Remarks, I proceed now to the particular Hiſtory of each of the ſeven Kingdoms, of which I ſhall relate only what is material, to avoid as much as poſſible, the Dryneſs which uſually attends ſuch kind of Summaries.

SUMMARY of the HISTORY OF *NORTHUMBERLAND.*

Northumberland, *its Bounds.*

THE Kingdom of *Northumberland* was ſituated on the *North* of the *Humber*, as its Name imports. It was bounded on the *South* and parted from *Mercia* by that River, on the *Weſt* by the *Iriſh* Sea, on the *North* by the Country of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and on the *Eaſt* by the *German* Ocean. It contained the preſent Counties of *Lancaſhire*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Northumberland*, *York* and *Durham*. The principal Cities were *York*, *Dunelm*, (ſince called *Durham*,) *Carliſle*, (named by the *Romans*, *Luguballia*) *Hexham* or *Hagulſtadt*, *Lancaſter*, and ſome others of leſs Note. This Country was divided into two Parts, *Deïra* and *Bernicia*, each for ſome time, a diſtinct Kingdom of itſelf. *Bernicia* was partly ſituated on the *North* of *Severus*'s Wall, and ended in a Point at the Mouth of the *Tweed*. *Deïra* contained the *Southern* Part of *Northumberland*, as far as the *Humber*. The greateſt Length of the whole Kingdom, including both Parts, was 160 Miles, and its greateſt Breadth 100.

IDA.

547. Sax. Ann. *Ida*, the firſt King, began his Reign in 547, and died in 559. After his Death *Northumberland* was divided into two Kingdoms, namely *Bernicia* and *Deïra*. *Adda*, Son of *Ida*, was King of *Bernicia*, and *Alla* of *Deïra*, but the Occaſion of this Diviſion is unknown.

In *Bernicia*.	In *Deïra*,
559. *ADDA.*	559. *ALLA*,
566. *GLAPPA.*	died in 588.
572. *FRIDULPH.*	
579. *THEODORIC.*	
586. *ATHELRIC.*	

Of all theſe Kings there is nothing known but the Time of their Death.

Athelric being very old when he came to the Crown, his Son *Adelfrid* governed the Kingdom in his Name, without the Title of King; and having eſpouſed *Acca*, Daughter of *Alla* King of *Deïra*, who died in 588, got poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, tho' *Alla* left a Son of three Years old, named *Edwin*.

ADELFRID.

Adelfrid (1), ſucceeding his Father in 590, became very powerful and formidable to his Neighbours, particularly to the *Welſh*, as well as to the *Scots* and *Picts*. But of his Wars, Hiſtorians have related only this remarkable Particular: *Adelfrid* preparing to lay Siege to *Cheſter*, then in the Hands of the *Welſh*, theſe laſt were bent to give him Battle; and to procure the Bleſſing of God on their Arms, twelve hundred and fifty Monks from the Monaſtery of *Bangor* were ordered to pray near the Field of Battle, during the Fight. The Monks making too much haſte to the Place appointed, were met by *Adelfrid*, who being told the Reaſon of their leaving their Monaſtery, put them all to the Sword. This Maſſacre was followed with a ſignal Victory over the *Welſh*; after which *Adelfrid* entered *Wales*, and entirely demoliſhed the Monaſtery of *Bangor* (2), where was ſtill above 1000 Monks, ſince *Bede* aſſures us they were divided into ſeven *Claſſes*, the leaſt of which conſiſted of above 300. Two of the Gates of this immenſe Edifice were above a Mile aſunder. As this was a very antient and famous Monaſtery, in all probability the Monks driven out of *Britain* by the *Saxons* had taken refuge there.

590. Ann. Sax. 613. Bede, *l.* 2. *c.* 2. Malmſb.

Whilſt *Adelfrid* was aggrandizing himſelf by his Conqueſts, and growing formidable to all his Neighbours, *Edwin*, Son of *Alla* King of *Deïra*, wandered from Place to Place, deſtitute of the neceſſary Aſſiſtance to recover his Father's Dominions. Nay, it was even difficult for him to find where to remain in Safety. *Adelfrid* his Enemy was ſo powerful and ſo dreaded, that not one of the *Engliſh* Princes cared to hazard his Dominions in Defence of a diſtreſſed Orphan. At length *Redowald* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, pitying his Condition, afforded him a Retreat at his Court. He was then about 30 Years old, of a noble Preſence, and withal poſſeſſed of ſuch good Qualities, as gained him the Love and Eſteem of *Redowald* and his Queen. Scarce had he begun to enjoy the Sweets of his Retreat, when he ſaw himſelf on the brink of Deſtruction by *Adelfrid*'s Enmity and *Redowald*'s timorous Conduct. *Adelfrid* fearing the King of *Eaſt-Anglia* was forming ſome Project for the Reſtoration of *Edwin* to the Throne of *Deïra*, ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to deſire him to deliver up *Edwin*, or put him to Death; and in caſe of Refuſal, to proclaim War againſt him. *Redowald*, ſurpriſed at this Demand, was ſome time

Bede, *l.* 2. *c.* 12.

(1) *Adel*, *Athel*, *Ethel*, ſignify *Famous* or *Noble*: *Fred*, *Frid*, *Freth*, *Frith*, ſignify *Peace*: *Adelfrid* or *Ethelfrid* (*i. e.*) famous for Peace: *Athelric*, *Nobly Strong*; *Ric* ſignifying, *Strong* or *Powerful*.

(2) This Monaſtery was in *Flintſhire*, near the River *Dee*. *Camden*. p. 556. *Tyrr.* p. 164. One may judge of the Magnificence of this Monaſtery, by *Malmſbury*'s Deſcription of it; *Quorum incredibilem noſtrâ ætate numerum fuiſſe, indicio ſunt in vicino cœnobio tot ſemiruti Pariates Eccleſiarum, tot anfractus porticuum, tanta turba ruderum, quantùm vix alibi cernas.*

before

before he could reſolve what to do. As his Forces were not equal to the King of *Northumberland*'s, he dreaded the expoſing his Dominions to the Ravages of that incenſed Prince, ſhou'd he afford him a Pretence for a War. On the other hand, Honour, Honeſty, the Laws of Hoſpitality, *Edwin*'s Innocence pleaded againſt his being deliver'd to an Enemy that demanded him only to take away his Life. *Redowald* conſider'd likewiſe what a Diſparagement it would be to ſubmit to the Orders of one that had no Right to command him. Theſe various Reflections made him extremely uneaſy, and caus'd him to incline ſometimes to the Side of Generoſity, and ſometimes to that of political Intereſt.

Whilſt *Redowald* was thus in ſuſpence, *Edwin*, inform'd by the Queen of the King's Irreſolution, was in great perplexity. For twenty-ſeven Years he had wander'd thro' divers Kingdoms, without meeting with other Sanctuary than what the King of *Eaſt-Anglia* had generouſly granted him, but which now, by reaſon of the Neighbourhood of *Northumberland*, was like to prove fatal to him. He ſaw his Ruin unavoidable, if *Redowald* deliver'd him to his Enemy; but on the other hand, that Prince's Irreſolution made him hope for ſome advantagious Change in his Fortune. He conſider'd if *Redowald* reſolv'd to protect him, the War that wou'd infallibly attend his Refuſal, might prove a means to raiſe him to his Father's Throne. Beſides, he was not ſure of avoiding by flight the Danger that threatned him, or of finding another Retreat. He determin'd therefore to wait the Event, and truſt to the Generoſity of *Redowald*, who as yet, ſeem'd unreſolv'd. *Redowald* was naturally generous: but the fear of engaging in ſo dangerous a War, made him at laſt reſolve to ſacrifice *Edwin* to the Intereſt of the State. *Edwin* inform'd of this by the Queen, gave himſelf over for loſt; and the more, becauſe the very moment *Redowald* reſolv'd to make this Sacrifice to the King of *Northumberland*, he took all poſſible care to prevent the Victim's Eſcape.

Hitherto nothing but what is natural has been related of *Edwin*. But in the Days of *Bede*, who hath given us a large Account of this Prince's Adventures, Miracles were ſo much in vogue, that there was ſcarce any remarkable Event, in Hiſtory, but what was ſeaſon'd with ſome *Prodigy* or *Apparition*. Accordingly, that Writer, who ſeems a little too credulous in this Point, wou'd not neglect to embelliſh his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory with a miraculous Event told him, as he ſays, by ſome *old Men* of his time. Beſides, being himſelf a *Saxon*, and born in *Northumberland*, a Miracle wrought in favour of the firſt Chriſtian King of that Kingdom, cou'd not but redound to the Honour of his Country. He has related many more, which he was not ſo much concern'd in, and are no better ſupported than this on the preſent Occaſion. I would willingly have paſs'd it over in ſilence, as I have many others that occur in his Hiſtory, if I had not obſerv'd that later Hiſtorians have affected to copy it, ſo leaving the Reader to believe as he pleaſes, I ſhall continue the Hiſtory of *Edwin*, as related by *Bede*.

Edwin, after his melancholy News from the Queen, went and walk'd in the Palace-Garden during the Night, to conſider of his Affairs. Whilſt he was deeply buried in Thought, he ſaw a Man, in a very ſtrange Dreſs, coming towards him, who ask'd him, *What kept him thus awake, when all the World was aſleep?* The Prince anſwer'd, he was ſurpriſed to ſee a ſtranger ſo inquiſitive about the Affairs of one that was unknown to him. *Think not*, replied the Stranger, *that I am ignorant of what employs your Thoughts: I know all that has befallen you to this Hour, and am come to bring you Conſolation in your Misfortunes. What now will you give to him that ſhall aſſure you of, one Day, mounting the Throne, and becoming the moſt powerful and glorious King that has hitherto reign'd in* England? *If ever that happens*, anſwer'd *Edwin*, *I will liberally reward all that ſhall have done me any ſervice, as well as the Perſon that foretells my good Fortune. He who is able and willing to raiſe you to this height of Grandeur*, continued the Stranger, *requires nothing of you but to embrace his Doctrine and obey his Precepts. I ſhou'd be a Wretch indeed*, reply'd *Edwin*, *ſhould I refuſe to be rul'd by ſo true a Friend.* Then the Stranger laying his Hand on the Prince's Head, told him, *Remember what I am now doing, and when the like ſhall happen to you, think then of performing your Promiſe without delay.* Upon theſe Words, the Stranger diſappear'd in an extraordinary manner, to convince *Edwin* there was ſomething *ſupernatural* in this Adventure (1).

Huntingd. l. 3. *Edwin*'s Surpriſe was farther increas'd by the coming of a Meſſenger from the Queen, to let him know *Redowald* had alter'd his Mind. She had ſo livelily repreſented to him the Horror of the Action he was about to commit, that he reſolv'd to hazard all, rather than be inſtrumental in deſtroying the Innocent. *Redowald* having taking this generous Reſolution, ſent back the Ambaſſadors, declaring he cou'd not think of delivering up *Edwin*, much leſs of putting an innocent Prince to death, that had fled for Refuge to his Palace. He did not queſtion but this Refuſal would kindle a bloody War. *Adelfrid* was fierce and powerful, and as he could not but be provok'd, the King of *Eaſt-Anglia* rightly judg'd he wou'd do his utmoſt to be reveng'd. But as uſually the Party that thinks himſelf injur'd, is apt to imagine the Injurer ſtands only upon the defenſive, *Redowald* believ'd *Adelfrid*, not expecting to be attack'd, might be eaſily ſurpriz'd before he cou'd draw his Forces together. For this reaſon, he reſolves to prevent him, and carry the *War* into *Northumberland*.

This Reſolution being taken, an Army was levied with all Expedition, and divided into three Bodies, that were to march at ſome diſtance from each other. The Command of the firſt was given to *Reyner* his eldeſt Son, with Orders to march before and ſecure a certain Paſs. He follow'd himſelf at the Head of the ſecond, leaving *Edwin* in the Rear with the third. *Reyner*, deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by ſome brave Action, before the Arrival of the other two Bodies, advanc'd with more ſpeed than his Orders requir'd. He hop'd to ſurprize the King of *Northumberland*, who did not expect to be attack'd. And indeed, *Adelfrid* had not yet aſſembled all his Forces; but finding *Reyner* too far advanc'd to be ſupported, took advantage of his Raſhneſs, and attack'd him before it was in the power of *Redowald* to join him. As *Reyner*'s Conduct was entirely owing to his Exceſs of Ambition and Courage, he ſuſtain'd the Efforts of *Adelfrid* with great Bravery; but having too much expos'd himſelf to Danger, was ſlain, and his Army put to rout.

Redowald, extremely concern'd for the loſs of his Son, thought of nothing but Revenge. Having join'd *Edwin* he march'd with all Expedition to attack his Enemy, who, being now too far advanc'd, had not time to retreat. Nay, he could not think of retiring, after all his proud Threats, had it been in his power: and therefore, inſtead of retreating, he fiercely march'd towards the *Eaſt-Angles*. The two Armies ſoon coming to an Engagement (2) *Adelfrid* perform'd Wonders to preſerve his Reputation; but finding he was overpower'd by Numbers, choſe rather to die than out-live the Shame of his Defeat. With this Reſolution he threw himſelf among the thickeſt of his Enemies, and fell in the midſt of their Ranks, cover'd with Wounds. The *Northumbrians* immediately threw down their Arms, and betaking themſelves to flight, left their Enemies Maſters of the Field. Bede. G. Malmſb. 617. Sax. Ann.

After this great Victory, to which *Edwin* had not a little contributed, *Redowald* march'd into *Northumberland* without Oppoſition. *Adelfrid* had left three Sons, *Anfrid*, *Oſwald*, and *Oſwy*, who finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the Conqueror, fled into *Scotland*. The *Northumbrians*, thus abandon'd, without General or Army, and in the uſual Confuſion on ſuch Occaſions, choſe to ſubmit to *Redowald*. This generous Prince would neither puniſh them for the Inſolence of their King, nor make the beſt for himſelf of the advantage acquir'd by his Victory. From an uncommon greatneſs of Soul, he not only gave *Edwin* the Kingdom of *Deïra*, for which he had ſome Pretenſions, but likewiſe that of *Bernicia*, reſerving to himſelf only the Glory of ſo heroical an Action; for which and upon account of his late Victory, he obtain'd the Dignity of *Monarch* then vacant.

EDWIN.

Edwin (3), who a little before was an Object of Pity, by one of thoſe ſurpriſing Revolutions that are beyond the reach and foreſight of Man, but are ever ſubſervient to the Deſigns of Providence, ſaw himſelf on a ſudden at the Head of a powerful Kingdom. One can't help ſeeing in the Advancement of this Prince, the hand of God, diſpoſing all things, by degrees, for the Execution of his Purpoſes. It appear'd in the Sequel, that God was pleas'd to make uſe of *Edwin* to lead the *Northumbrians* to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, as he had already made uſe of *Ethelbert* for the Converſion of the *Saxons* of *Kent*. This is what we ſhall ſee more fully in the Hiſtory of the Church. Sax. Ann. Bede. G. Malmſb. Huntingd.

Upon the Death of *Redowald*, in 624, *Edwin* openly aſpired to the Monarchy; and indeed there was then no *Saxon* or *Engliſh* Prince able to diſpute that Honour with him, except *Cinigiſil*, and *Quicelm*, joint Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*. *Quicelm* eſpecially oppos'd him to the utmoſt of his Power, and thereby drew upon himſelf from that Prince, then in league with the King of *Mercia*, a War that put him in danger of loſing his Dominions, and oblig'd him humbly to ſue for Peace. The War being thus ended, *Edwin* met with no farther Oppoſition, and ſaw himſelf at length inveſted with the ſo much deſir'd Dignity of Monarch. The very *Welſh*, to prevent an Invaſion, threatned by *Edwin*, conſented to pay him Tribute.

(1) Ut ferunt, repentè diſparuit. *Bede.*
(2) Near the River *Idel* in *Nottinghamſhire.*
(3) *Ed* or *Ead* (i. e.) *Happy, Bleſſed. Win* or *Wine, War*, or *Beloved.*

624. This Prince carried the *Prerogatives* of the Monarchy higher than any of his Predeceſſors. He claimed an abſolute Power over the other Kings, and treated them with little or no reſpect. He ſhowed the moſt regard for *Ebald* King of *Kent*, whoſe Siſter *Ethelburga*, a Princeſs of great worth, he deſigned to eſpouſe. He imagined, his being Monarch would cauſe his propoſal to be gladly received; but he met with more difficulty in his Courtſhip than he expected. *Ethelburga*, being a zealous Chriſtian, would not hear of marrying an idolatrous Prince, tho' otherwiſe never ſo much to her advantage. Her Brother was no leſs averſe to the match, and when propoſed to him, refuſed to give his Conſent, unleſs his Siſter had free Liberty publickly to profeſs her Religion. Though this Condition was by no means pleaſing to the Monarch, yet the deſire of poſſeſſing a Princeſs, whoſe Worth was univerſally known, induced him to agree to whatever was required. On the other hand, *Ethelburga* was prevailed with to conſent, in expectation that after the Example of *Bertha* of *France*, her Mother, who had procured the Converſion of the *Saxons* of *Kent*, ſhe ſhould be able likewiſe to lead her Spouſe, and his
625. Subjects, to the knowledge of the Truth. Every thing being ſettled to the King of *Kent*'s ſatisfaction, *Ethelburga* ſet out for *Northumberland* accompanied with ſome Eccleſiaſticks, and particularly *Paulinus*, conſecrated Biſhop by *Juſtus* Archbiſhop of *York*. This was the ſame *Paulinus* that converted *Edwin* and the *Northumbrians* to the Chriſtian Religion, as will be more fully related in the Hiſtory of the Church.

Bede, l. 2. c. 9.

Edwin lived ſeveral years in profound Peace, both feared and eſteemed by all the Kings of the *Heptarchy*. He improved theſe favourable Junctures, not only in maintaining his Dominion over the other Kings, but alſo in eſtabliſhing good Order in the State, and enacting wholſome Laws, which he cauſed to be ſtrictly obſerved. Hiſtorians remark, that in his reign Juſtice was adminiſtred with that impartiality and rigour, that a Child might have gone over the whole Kingdom of *Northumberland* with a Purſe of Gold in his hand, without danger of robbing. But *Edwin*'s chief Care, after his Converſion, was to ſpread the Chriſtian Religion where it was yet unknown, and replant it, where it had been aboliſhed. By his Inſtigation, perhaps by his abſolute Order, it was, that *Erpwald* King of *Eaſt-Anglia*, permitted the Goſpel to be preached again in his Dominions, and at length turned Chriſtian himſelf. *Edwin*, who could but ill brook the leaſt oppoſition to his Will, pretended to have an Authority over the reſt of the Kings, of which he was extremely jealous. By an Enſign carried before him in the form of a Globe (1), as a ſymbol of the Union of the *Heptarchical* Government in his Perſon, he gave them to underſtand, he would be conſidered, not only as their Head, but their Maſter.

Bede. Malmſb. Huntingd.

633. Of all the *Anglo-Saxon* Princes, *Penda* King of *Mercia* was the moſt uneaſy at *Edwin*'s Greatneſs. This Prince being naturally reſtleſs and proud, and looking upon his dependence on the King of *Northumberland* as diſhonourable, was extremely deſirous to caſt off that Badge of Slavery. But as he did not dare to undertake alone ſo great an Enterprize, he impatiently waited for a favourable opportunity to act. At that very time, there was another Prince in the Iſland, who, being in the ſame caſe, no leſs ardently deſired to throw off the *Engliſh* Monarch's Yoke. This was *Cadwallo* King of *Wales*, who deemed it a diſhonour to him and his Country, to pay tribute to a foreign Prince. Theſe two Princes knowing at length each other's thoughts (2), enter into a League againſt *Edwin*, and make preparations, which as they could not be concealed, cauſed *Edwin* to reſolve to prevent them if poſſible. Accordingly he advances as far as *Heathfield* (3), where meeting the confederate Kings, the two Armies came to an Engagement. The Battle was fought on both ſides with deſperate fury. The *Mercians* and *Welſh* confided in their numbers, and the *Northumbrians* in the valour and prudence of their King. *Edwin*, tho' inferior in number of Troops, ſupplied that defect by his courage and conduct, and kept the balance even, which made him hope Victory would at laſt incline to his ſide. But a fatal Accident robb'd him of that preſence of Mind he had all along preſerved, and which was then more than ever neceſſary. *Offrid*, his eldeſt Son, bravely ſeconding him, was ſlain at his feet with an arrow, which threw him into ſuch a rage, that he ruſhed among the thickeſt of his Enemies, without minding, whether he was followed by his Soldiers. He was immediately run through in many places, and with his Life loſt the Victory. Upon *Edwin*'s diſappearing, the diſmayed *Northumbrians* begin to fall into diſorder, and at laſt relinquiſh the Field of Battle, and take to flight.

633. Bede, l. 2. c. 2.

Malmſb.

Sax. Ann.

Thus fell *Edwin*, in the forty-eighth year of his Age, the ſixteenth of his Reign, and the ninth of his Monarchy. By his firſt Wife, Daughter of *Cearlus* King of *Mercia*, he had two Sons, *Offrid* and *Edfrid*. By his ſecond, *Ethelburga* of *Kent*, he had two other Sons, and two Daughters, who all died in their Infancy, except *Anfleda*, Wife of *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland*. *Edwin* reſided at *Derventio*, now *Auldby* (4) in *Yorkſhire*.

INTERREGNUM.

The two conquering Kings behaved upon their Victory with all imaginable Cruelty. As the *Northumbrians*, after the Loſs of their King and Army were unable to reſiſt them, they entered *Northumberland* and ravaged the Country in a terrible mander. *Cadwallo*, though a Chriſtian, carried his Barbarity to that height, that *Edfrid*, Son of *Edwin*, dreading to fall into his Hands, ſurrendered himſelf to *Penda*, from whom he expected more favour. He was received at firſt with ſome Civility, but was afterwards, by *Penda*'s Command, murdered in his Preſence. Queen *Ethelburga* and *Paulinus* fled to the King of *Kent*, who gave his Siſter ſome Lands to found a Monaſtery, where ſhe paſſed the reſidue of her Days. As for *Paulinus*, he was by the ſame King's means made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Bede, l. 2. c. 20.

Bede. Thorn. Hiſt. Abb. Canterb. Cam. in Kent.

The *Northumbrians* were ſo weakened by their defeat, and the cruelty, or rather fury, of the two victorious Kings, that they remained a long time before they recovered themſelves. At length, ſeeing no end to their Misfortunes, they judged it more honourable to die with their ſwords in their Hands, than periſh by the barbarity of the two Tyrants, who breathed nothing but blood and ſlaughter. Accordingly, being reſolved to ſell their lives dear, they conſidered of chuſing a Leader. But when they came to the Election, the old jealouſies between the *Bernicians* and *Deïrians* reviving, they could not agree upon chuſing a King in common. The Men of *Deïra* choſe *Oſric*, a relation of *Edwin*; and the *Bernicians* ſet *Anfrid* on the Throne. This laſt, after the defeat and death of his Father, retired into *Scotland* with *Oſwald* and *Oſwy*, his Brothers, where they were all three Baptized.

Sax. Ann. Bede. Malmſb.

OSRIC *in Deïra.* — ANFRID *in Bernicia.*

Theſe two Kings were no ſooner on the Throne, but they abjured the Chriſtian Religion, which they had before profeſſed. But if their Rebellion againſt God was ſudden, their Puniſhment was no leſs ſo, being both ſlain in the firſt year of their reign. *Oſric* raſhly beſieging *Cadwallo* in *York*, with an Army of undiſciplined Troops, the *Welſh* King, diſdaining to be thus braved, ſallies out and attacks him ſo briſkly, that his Army is routed, and himſelf ſlain on the ſpot. After which he marched againſt the King of *Bernicia*, who was at the head of twelve thouſand Men, and amuſing him ſome time with propoſitions of Peace, till he was within diſtance, fell upon him unexpectedly, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the *Northumbrians*, *Anfrid* himſelf being killed in the Battle.

633. Bede, l. 1. c. 1.

634. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3.

INTERREGNUM.

It is eaſy to conceive the wretched condition of *Northumberland*, after ſo many ſucceſſive Loſſes. *Cadwallo*'s rage being inflamed by the efforts of the *Northumbrians*, ſeemed incapable of being glutted with leſs than the entire deſtruction of the miſerable Nation. His barbarities at length obliged *Oſwald*, Brother of *Anfrid*, to reſolve to hazard all, in order to relieve a People ſo cruelly oppreſſed. In this generous reſolution, he aſſembles a ſmall body of Forces, with which he boldly oppoſes the Uſurper. Tho' the King of *Mercia* was now returned to his Kingdom, *Cadwallo* looking upon *Oſwald*'s Army with the utmoſt contempt, marched againſt him, not doubting of Succeſs (5). *Oſwald* being informed of his approach, intrenched himſelf in an advantagious Poſt, where he reſolutely expected him. But as he relied more on the aſſiſtance of Heaven than his own ſtrength, he erected a Croſs before the Camp, and falling down on his knees with the whole Army, humbly implored a Bleſſing on his Arms. In the mean time, *Cadwallo* advanced full of Confidence, not queſtioning in the leaſt but the Superiority of his Forces

Sax. Ann. Bede, l. 2. c. 3. Polychron. l. 5. c. 12.

(1) In *Latin*, *Tuffa*; *Lipſius* on *Vegetius* ſpeaks of it.
(2) *Cadwallo* (ſays *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*) being forced by King *Edwin* to fly into *Ireland*, ſoon after returned with a great Army of *Iriſh*, and overcoming *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, obliged him to join his Forces againſt *Edwin*.
(3) Now called *Hatfield*, in the Weſt-Riding of *Yorkſhire*. *Camden*.
(4) Six Miles from *York*.
(5) *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays, *Penda* was then General of *Cadwallo*'s Forces; though *Bede* ſeems to affirm, the Battle was fought againſt *Cadwallo*.

would procure him the Victory. In this Belief, to encourage his Men by his Example, he attempts in perſon to force the Enemy's Intrenchments, wholly intent upon ſatisfying his furious Rage. But whilſt he is endeavouring to open a Paſſage to join his Enemies, he is ſhot through the Body with an Arrow, which puts an End to his Projects and Life. His Death cauſes a great Diſorder among his Troops, who begin by degrees to retreat. Then the *Northumbrians* ruſhing out of their Reintrenchments, fall upon their Enemies ſo vigorouſly, that they are entirely routed. The Victory was ſo compleat, and the Protection of Heaven appeared ſo viſibly in Favour of the *Engliſh*, that the Field of Battle was named *Heoſen* or *Heaven-Field*, the ſame that is now called *Haledon* (1).

OSWALD.

634. Flor. Wig. M. Weſt. After this great Victory, *Oſwald* took Poſſeſſion of the two Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, to which he was Heir, namely, to *Bernicia* by *Adelfrid* his Father, and to *Deïra* by *Acca* his Mother, Siſter of *Edwin*. He was the moſt knowing, as well as moſt pious Prince of his Age, having been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion whilſt in *Scotland*. His ſtrict Virtue, great Humility, and Zeal for the Advancement of the true Religion, gained him, to ſuch a degree, the Love and Eſteem of his Subjects, that they reverenced him as a Saint after his Death. He had the Happineſs and Satisfaction to free his Country from the Tyranny of *Cadwallo*, to unite the two Kingdoms of *Northumberland* under his Dominion, and moreover to be elected Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*. It is even pretended that the *Welſh*, *Scots*, and *Picts* were tributary to him. Bede, l. 3. c. 1, 2. He took particular Care to reſtore the Chriſtian Religion in his Dominions, from whence the late Troubles after *Edwin*'s Death had entirely baniſhed it.

This Prince ſpent ſeveral Years in this ſo pious and neceſſary a Work: but at length was obliged to leave off, in order to oppoſe the Deſigns of the King of *Mercia*, who was preparing to attack him. *Penda*, ever reſtleſs and haughty, could not bear to ſee *Oſwald* his Superior, as Monarch; and therefore, to free himſelf from ſo uneaſy a dependence, without any Declaration of War, he ſuddenly takes up Arms to ſurprize him. *Oſwald* being ſenſible, that it was of the utmoſt Conſequence ſpeedily to oppoſe the King of *Mercia*'s Deſigns, made haſte to meet him, before he had aſſembled all his Forces. *Penda* taking Advantage of this Precipitation, which rendered him ſuperior to his Enemy in Number of Troops, gave him Battle, and obtained a ſignal Victory; which would have redounded more to his Glory, had he not ſullied it by his Cruelty. The Body of *Oſwald*, who was ſlain in the fight, being found among the dead, the inhuman Conqueror cut it in ſeveral Pieces, and fixing them on Stakes, erected them in the Field of Battle like ſo many *Trophies*. This Battle was frought at Bede, l. 3. c. 9. *Oſweſtree* (2). *Oſwald* left a Son called *Adelwalt*, ſome time after King of *Deïra*.

Bede, l. 3. c. 16. *Penda*, after his Victory, behaved with his uſual Barbarity. Having ravaged *Northumberland*, he laid ſiege to *Bamborough*, a ſtrong Town built by *Ida*, where meeting with more Reſiſtance than he expected, he reſolved to reduce it to Aſhes. To that End, having laid under the Walls a great Quantity of Wood, he ſet Fire to it as ſoon as the Wind favoured his Deſign. But hardly was the Fire lighted, when the Wind came about and blew the Flame directly into his Camp, by which the Beſiegers were great Sufferers. This Stratagem failing, he raiſed the Siege, and quitting *Northumberland*, carried the War into *Eaſt Anglia*. *Penda*'s Retreat affording the *Northumbrians* a little Reſpite,
642. the *Bernicians* place *Oſwy*, Brother of *Oſwald*, upon the
644. Throne; and the next Year *Oſwin*, Son of *Oſric*, ſlain by
Sax. Ann. *Cadwallo*, was crowned King of *Deïra*.

643. OSWY *in Bernicia.* 644. OSWIN. *in Deïra.*

Oſwy thought he was very unjuſtly dealt with, in being deprived of Part of his Brother's Dominions; but as he dreaded another Invaſion from *Penda*, it was no proper Seaſon to do himſelf Juſtice. As long therefore as he was under that Apprehenſion, he lived in a good Underſtanding with the King of *Deïra*. But the Moment he ſees *Penda* engaged in other Wars, he aſſerts his Claim to *Deïra*, and picks a Quarrel with *Oſwin*; who, after trying ſeveral Ways to ſatisfy his Enemy, is forced at laſt to take up Arms in his own Defence. *Oſwin* was a mild and peaceable Prince, 650. more devout than brave, and tho' drawn into the War purely by Neceſſity, yet for all that he could not conquer his G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3. Scruples. He verily believed, the ſhedding his Subjects Blood in his Quarrel, was the greateſt of Sins, and therefore withdrawing privately from his Army, he retired to a certain Earl's Houſe (3), whom he ſuppoſed to be his beſt Friend, with deſign to betake himſelf from thence to ſome Monaſtery. But before he could put his Project in execution, 651. his treacherous Friend betrayed him to *Oſwy*, who order- Bede, l. 3. c. 14. ed him to be inhumanly murdered, in expectation of ſeiz- Sax. Ann. Huntingd. ing his Kingdom with the greater eaſe. This barbarous Action did not however procure him the Advantage he hoped for. The People of *Deïra* exaſperated againſt him, and dreading to fall under the Dominion of ſo cruel a Prince, immediately ſet *Adelwalt*, Son of *Oſwald* his Brother, upon the Throne, who was better able to defend himſelf than his Predeceſſor. Some Time after, *Oſwy*, touched with Remorſe, founded a Monaſtery in the very Place where *Oſwin* was murdered (4), flattering himſelf he ſhould atone for his Crime by this ſlight Penance.

OSWY *ſtill in Bernicia.* 652. ADELWALT *in Deïra.*

It was hardly poſſible for *Oſwy* and *Adelwalt*, tho' very near Relations, to live in a good Underſtanding. *Oſwy* ſtill preſerved his Claim to the Kingdom of *Deïra*, and *Adelwalt* could not be ignorant of it. Conſequently it was his Intereſt, not only to ſuſpect his Uncle's Deſigns, but even to put it out of his Power, if poſſible, from giving him any Diſturbance. For this Reaſon, he readily liſtened to the Propoſal of a League with the Kings of *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, againſt *Oſwy*. *Penda*, tho' ſeventy-eight Years old, was the Author of this League. *Oſwy* being informed of it, did all that lay in his Power to divert the impending Storm, even to the offering Money to *Penda*, to bribe him to deſiſt from his Enterprize. But nothing could appeaſe that Prince, the irreconcileable Enemy of the *Northumbrians*, who ſeeing himſelf ſupported by the Armies of *Eaſt-Anglia* and *Deïra*, believed, he had now a favourable Opportunity to gratify his Paſſion. *Oſwy* therefore found, 655. he was obliged to ſtand alone againſt theſe three Enemies, G. Malm. whoſe united Forces could not but inſpire him with ſome l. 1. c. 4. Dread. In this preſſing Neceſſity, he made a Vow to found a dozen Monaſteries, and make his Daughter a Nun, if God would give him the Victory. To this Vow it is that Hiſtorians aſcribe the Succeſs, God was pleaſed to vouchſafe him in this War.

Whilſt the two Armies were advancing towards one another, *Adelwalt* formed new Projects. He conſidered, to which Side ſoever the Victory inclined, it would prove equally dangerous to him, ſince he had the ſame Reaſon to fear his being deprived of his Dominions by *Penda* as by *Oſwy*: And therefore he reſolved to ſave his own Troops, and ſtand neuter during the Battle, that he might be in Condition to defend himſelf againſt the Conqueror. When the two Armies came in ſight, *Penda*, who had not dived into *Adelwalt*'s Deſign, boldly attacked the King of *Bernicia*, not doubting of being ſeconded by the *Deïrians* and *Eaſt-Anglians*. But when the *Mercians* ſaw *Adelwalt* draw off his Troops, their Ardor abated, and thinking they were betrayed, began to give ground. Mean while, the Kings of *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* did their utmoſt to revive the Courage of the frighted Troops. But being both ſlain in endeavouring to renew the Fight, their Army was put to rout. Bede, l. 3. This Battle was fought in *Yorkſhire* on the Banks of the *Are*, c. 24. and the Place was afterwards called *Winwidfield* (5).

After this Victory, *Oſwy* without loſs of Time, marched into *Mercia*, and became Maſter of that Kingdom, which he enjoyed but three Years. In that Interval, the Monarchy, vacant ever ſince the Death of *Oſwald* his Brother, was conferred upon him. *Penda* was properly the only Prince that could juſtly pretend to it, but withal the moſt dangerous to be intruſted with it.

Oſwy held *Mercia* by Right of Conqueſt, whilſt the Sons of *Penda* were forced to ſeek for Refuge among their Friends. Their Misfortune would doubtleſs have been of longer Continuance, had not the rigorous proceeding of *Oſwy*'s Officers compelled the *Mercians* to take up Arms. They concerted their Meaſures ſo well, that when *Oſwy* leaſt expected it, the *Northumbrians* were on a ſudden driven out

(1) *Bede* ſays, the Battle was fought at *Deniſſburna*, (ſuppos'd to be *Dilſton*) and relates many very incredible and ſuperſtitious Miracles concerning this Place and the Croſs erected by *Oſwald*, whoſe chief Merit with the Monks, was his introducing *Monkery* with the Chriſtian Religion, which makes the Story of the Croſs to be conſider'd as a monkiſh Fiction, as well as the Name of *Heaven-Field*.

(2) In *Shropſhire*, then call'd *Maſerfield*. 'Tis incredible to think how many Miracles were aſcribed to him after his Death by his Friends the Monks; particularly the Wonders perform'd by his Right-hand, which *Bede* ſays, was preſerv'd uncorrupt in the Church of *Peterborough* in his Time. It ſeems he ſent one Day a large Silver Diſh, full of Meat to ſome poor People to his Gate, ordering the Diſh to be broken in pieces, and diſtributed among them. Whereupon *Aidan* taking him by the Right-Hand, ſaid, *Let this Hand never corrupt*. Which ſay the Monks, accordingly happen'd.

(3) He is call'd by *Bede*, Earl of *Hunwald*. *Brompton* ſays, he was betray'd by one *Condebere*, a Soldier, *p.* 787.

(4) *Ingetblingum*, according to *Bede*, l. 13, c. 14, 24; afterwards *Yeding* Priory in *Yorkſhire*. *Lamb. Top. Dic.*

(5) That is, *The Field of Victory*, now *Leeds*. Camden.

of

of *Mercia*, and *Wulpher*, Son of *Penda*, placed on the Throne.

A few Years after, *Oſwy*, in ſome meaſure repair'd this Loſs, by the acquiſition of *Deïra*, upon the Death of *Adelwalt*, who died without Heirs. Thus *Northumberland* was once more united into one Kingdom.

OSWY *alone.*

This Re-union however did not hold long. *Oſwy*'s tender Affection for his natural Son *Alfred*, induced him to divide *Northumberland* again, and make him King of *Deïra*, though contrary to the People's Inclination.

OSWY *in Bernicia.* — ALFRED *in Deïra.*

Oſwy, after he had reigned twenty-eight Years, died in 670 (1). The beginning of his Reign was diſturbed with Wars, but his good Fortune prevailed at laſt, and procured him ſome Quiet. *Bede*, for Reaſons taken Notice of in the Hiſtory of the Church, ranks him among the moſt illuſtrious Kings of the *Heptarchy*, and loads him with Praiſes, tho' his Reputation was very much ſullied by the Murder of *Oſwin*. By *Anfleda*, Daughter of *Edwin*, he had two Sons and three Daughters. *Egfrid* his Son ſucceeded him both in his Kingdom, and in the Monarchy of the *Angle-Saxons*. The *Deïrians*, upon *Oſwy*'s death, revolted againſt *Alfred*, and put themſelves under the Dominion of *Egfrid*, who thereby became King of all *Northumberland*. *Alfred* retir'd into *Ireland*, where he applied himſelf chiefly to his Studies, in expectation of a favourable Opportunity to recover his Dominions.

EGFRID *alone.*

670. G. Malmſb. l. 3. de Pontif. *Egfrid*, tho' he came to the Crown young, ſoon made himſelf both eſteem'd and fear'd. The *Picts* invading his Territories, were defeated ſeveral times, and forced in the end to purchaſe a Peace with Part of their Country. *Wulpher*, King of *Mercia*, thought likewiſe to make ſome Conqueſts in *Northumberland*; but before the End of the War, was very glad to preſerve his own Dominions. *Egfrid*'s good Succeſs in the beginning of his Reign, procured him the Dignity of Monarch, which his Father enjoy'd before him.

684. Bede, l. 4. c. 26. In the Year 684. he ſends an Army into *Ireland* for the Conqueſt of that Iſland, under the Conduct of *Bertfrid*, whoſe Cruelties to the *Iriſh*, eſpecially in not ſparing their very Churches and Monaſteries, cauſe the Enterprize to miſcarry. The *Iriſh* recovering out of their firſt Surprize, defend themſelves ſo well, that *Bertfrid* is forced to return home with his almoſt ruin'd Army.

Egfrid not being able to gain any thing from that Quarter, reſolves to enlarge his Bounds towards the *North*, and to that end carries his Arms into the Country of the *Picts*, who little expected an Invaſion. For which Reaſon, they betake themſelves to their Moraſſes and Fens, to avoid the firſt Attacks of their Enemies. *Egfrid* was ſo unwiſe as to follow them, and lead his Men into unknown Defiles, which he could not get clear of. Whereupon the *Picts*, who were perfectly acquainted with the Country, haraſs'd his hunger-ſtarv'd Troops in ſuch a manner, that he loſt above half his Army. And at laſt, to open a Paſſage, he was forced to come to a very unequal Engagement, wherein he loſt his Life, in the fortieth Year of his Age, and fifteenth of his Reign.

Egfrid was twice married; *Adelfrida* his firſt Wife, Daughter of *Annas* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and Widow of *Thombert* an *Engliſh* Lord, is ſaid to remain a Virgin, tho' ſhe had two Huſbands, and at laſt to be entirely parted from *Egfrid*. She founded a Monaſtery at *Ely*, and was the firſt Abbeſs herſelf. She was reverenced in *England* by the Name of St. *Auldry*.

The Death of *Egfrid*, and Loſs of his Army, were extremely prejudicial to the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, which from that time never recovered its former Luſtre. The *Picts* improv'd their Victory by the Conqueſt of Part of *Bernicia*, which lay convenient for them. The *Welſh*, on the other hand, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the two Provinces, that formerly compos'd the Kingdom of *Areclute*, and out of them erected the Kingdoms of *Lenox* and *Cumberland*; the firſt of which was taken from them ſome Years after.

Egfrid leaving no Iſſue, the *Northumbrians* recall'd *Alfred* from *Ireland*, and crown'd him King of both Kingdoms, which from thenceforward remain'd always united.

ALFRED.

The *Picts* and *Welſh* having had Time to ſecure their Conqueſts before *Alfred* was ſettled in his Throne, it was not poſſible for him, after *Egfrid*'s Death, to recover them out of their Hands. All he could do, was to defend, and that with great Difficulty, the reſt of his Dominions from the frequent Attacks of his Neighbours. The Monarchy of the *Angle-Saxons* went to the Kings of *Weſſex*. 685. Bede, l. 4. c. 26.

Alfred ended his Days in 705, having reigned twenty Years after his Reſtoration. He left his Son *Ofred* to ſucceed him at eight Years of Age, under the Guardianſhip of a Lord named *Brithric*. 705. Ann. Sax. Flor. Wig.

OSRED.

The *Minorities* of Princes being generally attended with Troubles, it happen'd in the beginning of This, that *Edulph*, a certain Lord of the Country, taking Advantage of *Ofred*'s Youth, made an Attempt upon the Crown. A powerful Party having own'd him for King, *Ofred* and his *Guardian* were obliged to retire to *Bamborough-Caſtle*, where they were immediately beſieged by *Edulph*. The Length of the Siege giving *Brithric* Time to look about him, and his Friends an Opportunity of riſing in Favour of their lawful King, *Edulph* found himſelf deſerted on a ſudden, and forced to raiſe the Siege in confuſion and hurry. Whereupon, *Brithric* improving this happy Turn, ſallied out in purſuit of the Uſurper, and taking him Priſoner, ordered him to be beheaded, about two Months after his Revolt. G. Malm. l. 3. de Pont. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Bede, l. 5. Flor. Wig.

When *Ofred* came of Age, and was Maſter of himſelf, he fell into a wicked and lewd Courſe of Life; but eſpecially he had little or no Regard for the Monks, which was look'd upon *Then* as the height of Impiety. He made no Scruple, as 'tis pretended, to debauch the *Nuns*, and even to force them, when fair Means would not prevail. Tho' this Imputation cannot be ſaid to be certainly true, yet the Effects of it were great. After *Alfred*, *Oſwy*'s natural Son, came to the Crown, all the Baſtards of the Kings, or their Deſcendants, imagin'd they had the ſame Right to aſpire to the Throne. This prov'd the Occaſion of many Troubles in the Kingdom. *Cenred* and *Oſric*, Deſcendants of *Ogga*, natural Son of *Ida*, ſeeing *Ofred* was neither eſteem'd nor belov'd, form'd a Party againſt him, which was abetted to the utmoſt of their Power by the *Regular* and *Secular* Clergy, whoſe Intereſt it was to have a new Sovereign. This Party became at length ſo ſtrong, as to be able to give *Ofred* Battle, wherein he was ſlain, in the nineteenth Year of his Age, and eleventh of his Reign, *Cenred*, the principal Author of the Revolt, was his Succeſſor. Flor. Wig. 716. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3. H. Hunt. l. 2.

CENRED.

This Prince died in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and *Oſric* that aſſiſted him in obtaining the Crown, mounted the Throne after him. 716.

OSRIC.

He reign'd eleven Years, without doing any thing remarkable, and left his Crown to his Couſin *Ceolulph*. 718. Sax. Ann. Bede.

CEOLULPH.

This Prince turning Monk, in the ſeventh or eighth Year of his Reign, paſs'd the reſidue of his Days in the Monaſtery of *Lindisfarn*. *Edbert* aſcended the Throne after him. 730.

EDBERT.

The Coronation of *Edbert* was immediately follow'd by an Invaſion of the *Picts* in the northern Frontiers. This War obliging him to march all his Forces towards the *North*, the King of *Mercia*, taking Advantage of their diſtance, fell upon the ſouthern Parts of *Northumberland*, and carried off a great Booty. 737. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3. H. Hunt. l. 4. 740.

Edbert, towards the End of his Reign, having made a League with *Oengusſa* King of the *Picts*, recover'd the City of *Areclute* (2), Capital of the Kingdom of *Lenox*, taken by the *Welſh* in the Reign of *Alfred*. *Deovama*, General or Prince of the *Welſh*, endeavouring to relieve *Areclute*, was defeated by the Confederate Kings. Shortly after, *Edbert* retired into a Monaſtery leaving his Crown to his Son *Oſulph*. 756. Malmſb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

(1) And was buried in *Whitby* Monaſtery in *Yorkſhire*, call'd in *Saxon Streaneſheal*, founded by his Daughter *Elfleda*. *Malm.* p. 20. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 24.

(2) Or *Alcuith*, the ſame with *Dunbritton*.

OSULPH.

758. *Osulph* was assassinated in the first year of his Reign; and *Mollon-Adelwald*, though not of the Blood-royal, was rais'd to the Throne.

MOLLON-ADELWALD.

759. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Hunting. *Mollon-Adelwald*'s Election was a fresh occasion of sundry Calamities that afflicted *Northumberland*, and prov'd in the end the destruction of the Kingdom. The *Northumbrians* having been guilty of the error of placing on the Throne a King not of the Royal Family, all the *Great Men* thought themselves entitled to the Crown, as well as the Princes of the Blood. Hence those many Factions, that ended at last in the entire loss of the publick Liberty. Some

761. S Dunelm. of the Nobles finding *Mollon* had rais'd himself to the Throne by help of a powerful Party, believ'd it allowable for them to do the same. *Oswy*, one of these Lords, led the way, but death freed the King from this Competitor. Afterwards, *Alcred*, descended from *Ida* by *Alaric*, one of his natural Sons, following the example of *Oswy*, and secretly conspiring against *Mollon*, found means to insnare him and put him to Death; after which he was crown'd in his stead.

ALCRED.

765. *Mollon*'s Faction, that was very much humbled by his death, having in time recover'd the superiority they had lost, *Alcred* was forc'd to fly to the King of the *Picts*, for fear of falling into the hands of his Enemies. As soon as he was gone, *Ethelred*, Son of *Mollon*, was plac'd on the Throne by his Father's Party.

ETHELRED.

774. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. S. Dunelm. Hunting. As *Ethelred* had been rais'd to the Crown by the interest of his Faction, he judged the best way to fix himself in the Throne, would be by the death or banishment of the Heads of the contrary Party. Accordingly, three of the principal opposers of his Election were put to death, for forg'd or slight Crimes. But this method, instead of having the expected Effect, serv'd only to hasten the plots of his Enemies, whom the death of the three innocent Lords furnish'd with a plausible pretence to take up Arms. In a short time, they were able to bring into the Field an Army, that gave the King some Uneasiness. The King however sending his best Troops against them under the Command of a General entirely devoted to his Service, was in hopes of speedily reducing them to obedience. But his army was overthrown by the Rebels. This Defeat, which was soon follow'd by a second, threw himself into such an ill Situation that he was oblig'd to fly for refuge to some of the neighbouring Kingdoms. Upon his retiring, *Alfwald*, Son of *Osulph*, and Grandson of *Egbert*, was placed on the Throne by the victorious Party.

ALFWALD I.

779. H. Hunt. l. 4. R. de How. *Alfwald* I. reigned eleven years with great Justice and Moderation. But however, it did not prevent his being assassinated by one of the contrary Faction. He was honoured by his Followers as a Saint after his death.

OSRED II.

789. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3. *Osred*, Son of King *Alcred*, was chosen in his room, who, very unlike his Predecessor, became so contemptible, that he was confin'd to a Monastery the first year of his Reign. *Ethelred*'s Party was deeply concern'd in deposing *Osred*, and had interest enough to recall and place him again on the Throne, after fifteen years exile.

ETHELRED *restored.*

Ethelred began his new Reign with two acts of Cruelty, that very much exasperated his Enemies against him. He put *Osred* his Predecessor to death, who, tho' a Monk, made him uneasy (1): And then dispatch'd out of the way *Alphus* and *Alfwin*, Sons of the good King *Alfwald*.

During this Reign, the *Danes* made a descent ito *Northumberland*, and burnt *Lindisfarn* Monastery. Allur'd by the booty, taken in this first Expedition, they came again next year, and pillaged *Tinmouth* Monastery, founded by King *Egfrid*. *Ethelred*, by the assistance of his Father-in-law, *Uffa* King of *Mercia*, prevented them from carrying their Ravages any farther, and drove them back to their Ships, where almost all of them perish'd in a sudden and violent storm on the *English* Coast. 794. 795.

After *Ethelred* was recall'd, his cruel and revengeful temper very much inflam'd the enmity of the opposite Faction towards him. Mean while, regardless of the murmurs of his Enemies, he thought only of glutting his Revenge, and establishing himself in his Throne, by the death or banishment of those he most fear'd. At length, attempting to send *Ardulph*, one of the principal Lords of the Country, into exile, he gave the contrary Party an occasion to rebel. After the civil War had lasted two years, the *Malecontents*, finding they had taken a tedious, and uncertain way to get rid of their King, caus'd him to be assassinated. However his Faction was still powerful enough to place *Osbald*, one of their own Party, on the Throne. 796. Sim. Dunelm. Rog. Hov.

Charles the Great, *Ethelred*'s Friend, was so incens'd with the *Northumbrians*, that he was going to proclaim war against them, as appears in *Alcuin*'s Letter, on this occasion, to *Offa* King of *Mercia*. Alcuin. Ep. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3.

OSBALD *or* OSRED.

Whilst people were intent upon the publick rejoicings at the election of the new King, the opposite Party laid their measures so well, that *Osbald* was dethron'd, twenty-seven days after his Election, and *Ardulph* chosen in his room. 796.

ARDULPH.

The Divisions that prevail'd in *Northumberland*, still continued to rend that unfortunate Kingdom. *Ardulph* was supported in the Throne only by one of the Factions that was then the most powerful. But this did not hinder the other Party from frequently attempting to get uppermost. *Alcred*, formerly King of *Northumberland*, left a Son nam'd *Alcmund*, who was head of this Party. This Prince begin- 796. 800. ning to grow formidable, *Ardulph* put him to death, judging it necessary to sacrifice him to his Safety. His death being look'd upon by his Friends as a Martrydom, *Alcmund* was rank'd in the Number of the *Saints*. But this was not all that follow'd upon his death. It afforded the King's enemies a pretence to rise in arms, and set *Alaric*, a Lord, at their head. But this General being vanquish'd, and slain in battle, the Male-contents remain'd quiet for some time, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. And indeed, the face of Affairs was quickly chang'd. For the opposite party became at length so powerful, that the King was glad to escape out of his Enemies hands, by flying to the Court of *Charles the Great*, where the *English* were always welcome. Sim. Dunelm.

ALFWALD II.

After the Retreat of *Ardulph*, *Alfwald* II. who had chac'd him away, was plac'd on the Throne, and reigning about two years, by his Death left the Crown to *Andred*. 808.

ANDRED.

In *Andred*'s Reign it was that *Northumberland* submitted to the dominion of *Ecbert*, King of *Wessex*, who put an end to the *Heptarchy*. 810.

(1) *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Hoveden* say, that *Osred* went from his Monastery into exile. From whence being invited over by some of his Party, but afterwards deserted by them, he was taken by *Ethelred* and put to death. *S. Dunelm* p. 112. *Howed* p. 405. So that he was no Monk, as *Rapin* supposes.

THE

THE

Hiſtory of the Kingdom of *MERCIA.*

Kingdom of Mercia.

THE Kingdom of *Mercia* was bounded on the *North* by the *Humber*, by which it was ſeparated from *Northumberland*; on the Weſt by the *Severn*, beyond which were the *Britons* or *Welſh*; on the South by the *Thames*, by which it was parted from the Kingdoms of *Kent*, *Suſſex* and *Weſſex*; on the Eaſt by the Kingdoms of *Eſſex* and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Thus *Mercia* was guarded on three Sides by three large Rivers that ran into the Sea, and ſerved for Boundaries to all the other Kingdoms. Hence the Name, *Mercia*, from the *Saxon* Word, *Merc*, ſignifying a *Bound*, and not, as ſome fancy, from an imaginary River called *Mercia*. The Inhabitants of this Kingdom are ſometimes termed by Hiſtorians, *Mediterranei Angli*, or the *Mid-land Engliſh*, and ſometimes *South-Humbrians*, as being South of the *Humber*; but the moſt common Name is that of *Mercians*. The principal Cities of *Mercia* were *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, *Leiceſter*, *Coventry*, *Lichfield*, *Northampton*, *Worceſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Derby*, *Cheſter*, *Shrewsbury*, *Stafford*, *Oxford*, *Briſtol*. Of all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* this was the fineſt and moſt conſiderable. Its greateſt Length was a hundred and ſixty Miles, and its greateſt Breadth about one hundred.

H. Hunt. Fl. Wig. *CRIDA*, firſt King of *Mercia*, arrived in *England* in 584. He was crown'd the ſame or the following Year, and died in 594 (1).

INTERREGNUM.

After *Crida*'s Death, *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, made himſelf Maſter of *Mercia*, and kept it ſome Time, as will be related in the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of *Kent*. But afterwards he reſtored it to *Wibba*, Son of *Crida*, reſerving however ſome Right of Sovereignty, the Nature of which Hiſtorians have neglected to explain.

WIBBA.

597. H. Hunt. l. 2. Polychr. l. 5. c. 12. This Prince reigned nineteen Years, and died in 615. He left a Son called *Penda*, who ſhould have ſucceeded him, but *Ethelbert* being ſtill alive, and dreading his reſtleſs and turbulent Spirit, left *Mercia* about a Year without a King. After that he placed *Cearlus*, Couſin-german of *Wibba*, on the Throne.

CEARLUS.

616. Malmſb. G. Thorn. After the Death of *Ethelbert* in 616, *Cearlus* freed *Mercia* from the Dominion of the Kings of *Kent*, he reigned nine Years, and died in 624. As he left no Children, *Penda*, Son of *Wibba*, poſſeſſed the Throne after him.

PENDA.

625. H. Hunt. l. 2. Malmſb. This Prince was fifty Years old when he came to the Crown. *Ethelbert* had not without Reaſon paſſed him by after his Father's Death, he being the moſt reſtleſs and ſtirring Prince that ever reigned before or ſince in *England*. He hated Peace worſe than Death. I have already, in the Hiſtory of *Northumberland*, ſpoken of his Wars with *Edwin*, *Oſwald* and *Oſwy*. His War with the Kings of *Weſſex* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, to avoid Repetition, ſhall be related in the Hiſtory of theſe two Kingdoms.

653. Bede, l. 3. c. 21. In 653, *Penda* cauſed *Peda* his eldeſt Son to be crown'd King of *Leiceſter*, and then ſent him into *Northumberland* to eſpouſe the Daughter of King *Oſwy*, where he was converted to Chriſtianity. He brought back with him ſome *Miſſionaries*, who preached the Goſpel in *Mercia* with good Succeſs. But *Penda* lived and died a *Pagan*.

Bede, l. 3. c. 24. Malmſb. At length *Penda* was ſlain in Battle in the eighteenth Year of his Age, as was related in the Hiſtory of *Northumberland*. He left five Sons, *Peda*, *Wulfer*, *Ethelred*, *Merowald*, and *Mercelm*, and two Daughters, *Ciniburga*, and *Ciniſwintha*.

INTERREGNUM.

After the Defeat and Death of *Penda*, *Oſwy* became Maſter of *Mercia*, and kept it three Years. However he left *Peda* his Son-in-law the little Kingdom of *Leiceſter*. But *Peda* being ſoon after poiſoned by his Wife, *Oſwy* ſeized that too, and held it with the reſt of *Mercia*, till he was driven thence by *Wulfer*, as we have ſeen in the Hiſtory of *Northumberland*. 657. Bede, Polychr. Flor. Wig.

WULFER.

Wulfer was almoſt as much a Stranger to Peace as his Father *Penda*. He waged War, at ſeveral times, with all the neighbouring Princes, with various Succeſs, one while Conqueror, another while vanquiſhed. As the Particulars of theſe Wars are not very material, and beſides are but lamely related by the Hiſtorians, it is needleſs to inſiſt upon them. I ſhall only obſerve, that he took *Adelwalch*, King of *Suſſex*, Priſoner, and brought him to *Mercia*, after having conquered his Kingdom (2). Some Time after, *Adelwalch* turning Chriſtian during his Impriſonment, *Wulfer* gave him the Iſle of *Wight*, which he had likewiſe ſubdued. There is Room to conjecture, that *Wulfer* had alſo conquered the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, ſince it is well known he diſpoſed of the *Biſhoprick* of *London* in Favour of one *Wina*. 659. M. Weſt. 663. Bede, l. 4. c. 3. & 7. Fl. Wig. 666.

Wulfer was ſtill an Idolater when he came to the Crown; but ſhortly after was converted, and his Children were brought up in the Chriſtian Religion (3). *Vereburga*, one of his Daughters, was honoured as a Saint. He died in 675, thinking to leave his Crown to his Son *Cenrid*; but his Brother *Ethelred* found means to ſupplant his Nephew and obtain the Kingdom. Malm. l. 1. c. 4. Flor. Wig.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the Throne, erected *Herefordſhire* into a Kingdom, and gave it to *Merowald* his Brother (4), who dying without Heirs, left it to his younger Brother *Mercelm*. But he dying alſo without Children, this little Kingdom was reunited to *Mercia*. 675.

In 679, *Ethelred* invaded *Kent*, and made great Devaſtations (5). After that he turned his Arms againſt *Northumberland* (6), and compelled *Egfrid* to reſtore certain *Mercian* Towns, taken during the Reign of *Wulfer*. *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, greatly contributed to the Peace concluded between theſe two Kings. 679. Bede, l. 4. c. 21. G. Malm. l. 3. de Pont. Bede. Fl. Wig. M. Weſt.

In 697, *Oſtrith*, Wife of *Ethelred*, was aſſaſſinated (7), and the little Care taken to diſcover the Murderer, gives room to ſuſpect the King himſelf was not innocent. However that be, *Ethelred* growing weary of the World, reſigned his Crown to *Cenred* his Nephew, Son of *Wulfer*, and turned Monk in *Bardney* Monaſtery, of which ſhortly after he was made Abbot. 704. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 4.

CENRED.

Nothing remarkable was done by this Prince, during his four Years Reign, but the exchanging his Crown for the *Monkiſh* Habit, after the Example of *Offa*, King of *Eſſex*, who was come to his Court to demand *Ciniſwintha* his Aunt, Daughter of *Penda*, in Marriage. By the Perſuaſions of this Princeſs, both Kings were prevailed upon to turn Monks, and go to *Rome*, and receive the *Tonſure* at the Pope's Hands. *Ceolred*, Son of *Ethelred*, ſucceeded his Couſin *Cenrid*. 704. Bede, l. 5. c. 20.

CEOLRED.

Ceolred had a terrible War to ſuſtain againſt *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. Hiſtorians, according to Cuſtom, without relating the Motives or Particulars of this War, only ſay, the two Kings, at *Wodenburg* in *Wiltſhire*, fought a 709. Ann. Sax. Fl. Wigg. H. Hunt. l. 4.

(1) The *Saxon Annals* ſay in 593.
(2) He alſo defeated *Cenowalch*, King of *Weſſex*, at *Aſton*, near *Wallingford*. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Tyrrel*, p. 188.
(3) He married *Ermenilda*, the Daughter of *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*. *Higd. Polychron.* p. 236.
(4) He married the Daughter of *Ermenred*, King of *Kent*. *Higd. Polychron.* p. 240.
(5) Particularly, he deſtroy'd *Rocheſter*. *Huntingd.* p. 318. p. 184.
(6) In this Battle was ſlain *Elfwin*, King *Elfrid*'s Brother, near the River *Trent*. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd.* p. 184.
(7) By the *South-Humbers*, i. e. the *Mercians*, South of the *Trent*. *Sax. Ann. Tyrrel*, p. 210.

bloody Battle with ſuch equal Succeſs, that neither could boaſt of the Victory.

715. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 4. *Ceolred* was far from being of his Predeceſſor's Mind to prefer the *Monks* Habit before a Crown. He not only diſregarded the *Monks* and the reſt of the *Clergy*, but, if the Hiſtorians are to be credited, violated their Privileges without any ſcruple. This Behaviour, ſo contrary to that of all the other *Engliſh* Princes, raiſed great Clamors againſt him. The Monks in particular took all occaſions to paint him in the blackeſt Colours. Their Animoſity follow'd him even in the other World. After his Death, which

Epiſt. Bon. 19.

716. happen'd in 716, they gave out that he reſign'd his laſt Breath, blaſpheming and talking with the Devil. Such kind of Reports againſt thoſe that were not in the Intereſt of the Monks, were not ſpread without Deſign. The Hiſtories of thoſe days are full of the like Tales. *Ethelbald*, Grandſon of *Eoppa*, Brother of *Penda*, mounted the Throne after *Ceolred*.

ETHELBALD.

716. This Prince was one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings that had hitherto worn the Crown of *Mercia*, to which he added the Dignity of Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, reſigned by *Ina* King of *Weſſex*, when he turned Monk. This Dignity ſeems to have conſiſted originally only in preſiding at the general Aſſemblies, and commanding the Armies of the ſeven Kingdoms, and ſome other *Prerogatives*, which conferr'd no Right of Sovereignty over the other Kings. At leaſt, the Electors look'd upon it in this Light. But the *Monarchs* generally conſider'd it after a very different manner. They were no ſooner inveſted with it, but their firſt care was to graſp at an unlimited Power, to which they thought themſelves intitled by the Examples of the preceding

Bede, l. 5. c. 24. H. Hunt. Monarchs. *Ethelbald*, improving ſome favorable Junctures in his Reign, carried the *Prerogatives* of the Monarchy to the higheſt degree, and thereby grew very troubleſome and formidable to the other Kings (1). For which reaſon the Kings of *Weſſex* and *Northumberland* agreed to attack him from two different Quarters at once. As *Mercia* was ſituated between theſe two Kingdoms, *Ethelbald* was obliged to ſend half his Army towards the *North*, whilſt with the other half he marched himſelf againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*

752. Ann. Sax. H. Hunt. commanded by *Ethelun*. The Particulars of this War are unknown, except that *Ethelbald* was vanquiſhed and his Army put to rout (2).

757. M. Weſt. Four Years after, this Prince was ſlain (3) in a Mutiny of the Army raiſed by a Lord named *Beornred*, who was proclaim'd King by the Soldiers.

BEORNRED, *the Uſurper*.

757. G. Malm. l. 3. c. 4. Bede, Epit. *Beornred*'s Election by the Army, who had no right to aſſume ſuch an Authority, was very diſpleaſing to the *Mercian* Lords, eſpecially as the King elect was no ways related to the Royal Family. And therefore, before *Beornred* had time to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Uſurpation, they forthwith placed on the Throne *Offa* Nephew of the late King. Preſently after, *Offa* drawing an Army together, gave the Uſurper Battle, and obtained a complete Victory. Some ſay, *Beornred* was ſlain, and others, that he maintain'd his Ground for a while in ſome part of *Mercia*.

OFFA.

757. G. Malm. l. 4. Flor. Wig. Huntingd. M. Paris. *Offa* was one of the moſt famous Kings that reigned in *England* during the *Heptarchy*, not only for his being inveſted with the Dignity of Monarch, but for his Victories over the *Welſh* and the neighbouring *Saxon* Princes (4), and for ſeveral other things which I ſhall briefly relate. One of his greateſt Victories was that over *Aldric* King of *Kent*, in 774.

Nothing was more common than to ſee thoſe who were inveſted with the *Monarchy*, aſpiring to a ſovereign Authority over the other Kings. *Offa*, treading in the Steps of his Predeceſſors, never ceaſed to diſturb his Neighbours on that occaſion, and was engaged by his Ambition in continual Wars with ſuch Princes as diſputed his pretended Rights. But theſe Wars are ſo confuſedly and lamely related by the Hiſtorians, that all I could ſay would not ſuffice to give a clear Notion of them. We muſt therefore be contented with what has been ſaid of him in general, which may ſerve to diſcover the Character of King *Offa*.

Whilſt *Offa* was employed in ſubduing the *Saxon* Kings, the *Welſh*, always upon the Watch to improve the Advantages afforded them by the frequent Diſſenſions of the *Engliſh*, thought they had now a fair Opportunity to attack him. This unexpected War, wherein the *Welſh* at firſt were ſucSim. Dun. ceſsful, caus'd *Offa* to conclude a Peace with the *Engliſh*, in order to turn his Arms againſt the *Welſh*. He quickly reduc'd them to ſuch a Condition that they were forced to abandon not only their late Conqueſts in *Mercia*, but alſo part of their own Country beyond the *Severn*, which *Offa* ſeiz'd and peopled with *Engliſh* Colonies. But to prevent the *Welſh* from ever retaking it, he threw up a Rampart, defended by a large Ditch, by means of which he parted his Conqueſts from the reſt of *Wales*. This Rampart, in length twenty four Miles, reaching from the Mouth of the *Dee*, to the place where the *Wye* runs into the *Severn*, was called *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offa's Dyke* (5).

In 786, *Offa* made his Son *Egfrid* Partner with him in Ann. Sax. the Government, and gave his Daughter *Edburg* in Mar- M. Paris. riage to *Brithric* King of *Weſſex*.

What caſt the greateſt Blemiſh on *Offa*'s Reputation was M. Weſt. his Treachery to *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*. This Ann. Sax. young Prince deſigning to marry, came to the Court of *Offa* and demanded his Daughter *Adelfrida* in Marriage. He was receiv'd at firſt with great Marks of Affection and Eſteem. But ſoon after the Scene was changed, *Offa*, by the preſſing and repeated Inſtigations of *Quendrida* his Wife (6), who repreſented to him that he ought by all means to embrace ſo fair an Opportunity of becoming Maſter of *Eaſt-Anglia*, was perſuaded to break the moſt ſacred Laws of Honour and Hoſpitality, by the Murder of *Ethelbert* (7). Which done he marches into *Eaſt-Anglia* with Brompton. a numerous Army, before the *Eaſt-Angles* had time to prepare for their Defence, and meeting with no Oppoſition, ſeizes the Kingdom, and unites it to *Mercia*.

He had no ſooner committed this Horrid Fact, but he was tormented with cruel Remorſe. His Crime was continually before his Eyes, and tortured him to ſuch a Degree, that he could not enjoy a Moment's Eaſe. To appeaſe his raging Conſcience, he reſolv'd upon a Journey to *Rome*, 794. (which he perform'd in 794) to obtain a *Pardon* from the *Pope*, and ſecure himſelf from the Puniſhment due to his Crime. The *Pope* (8) granted his Requeſt, on condition he would be liberal to the *Churches* and *Monaſteries*: for that was the only way *then* of atoning for Sins. It were to be wiſh'd that Reſtitution had alſo been enjoined as a neceſſary and previous Condition.

Among the Liberalities of *Offa* to the Churches of *Rome*, we muſt not omit one of great Conſequence for *England*. *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, had now founded at *Rome* a College for the Education of *Engliſh* Youth; for the Maintenance whereof the Founder order'd a *Penny* to be collected yearly of every Family in his Dominions (9). This kind of Charity was term'd *Romeſcot*, that is, *Tribute of Rome*, or *ſent to Rome*. *Offa* extended this Tax through- M. Paris. out *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, the Lands belonging to the M. Weſt. Monaſtery of St. *Albans* only excepted: And becauſe this Money was paid at *Rome* on a Holy-day, call'd St. *Peter*'s *ad vincula* (10), this Tax was nam'd *Peter-Pence*, inſtead of *Romeſcot*. By this Means the Directors of the College were abundantly ſupplied wherewithal to defray the Expence they were at from the great Concourſe of the *Engliſh*, who came to ſtudy at *Rome*. In proceſs of Time, the *Popes* pretending it was a Tribute paid by the *Engliſh* to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors, converted it to their own uſe, 'till it was entirely aboliſh'd by *Henry* VIII (11).

Before *Offa* left *Rome*, he obtain'd of the *Pope* the Canonization of St. *Alban*, the firſt *Britiſh* Martyr, whoſe Relicks were pretended to be found at *Verulam*. At his re- 795. turn, he built there a fine Church and a ſtately Monaſtery, Bede, l. 1. to which he granted great Privileges and a large Revenue. c. 7. From that time *Verulam* was call'd St. *Albans*. *Offa* was alſo very munificent to the Church of *Hereford*, where the Body of the King of *Eaſt-Anglia* lay buried, that Prayers

(1) Anno 733, He took *Somerton*: In 742 defeated the *Welſh*, and made all the Kings and Provinces of *England*, South of the *Humber*, acknowledge him for their Sovereign. *Huntingd. Brompt. Sax. Ann.*

(2) At *Beorgford*, or *Burford*, in *Oxfordſhire*. *Tyrrel*, p. 226. *Huntingd.* p. 341, ſays it was at *Hereford*. See *Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Brompt.*

(3) At *Secandune*, now call'd *Seckington*, in *Warwickſhire*, *Camden*, p. 507, 515; and was buried at *Reopandune*, or *Repton*, in *Derbyſhire*, *Camden*, p. 491: See *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Ingulph. Brompton*, &c.

(4) He conquer'd the Kings of *Kent*, *Weſſex* and *Northumbria*. *Hunting. Sax. Ann. M. Paris. Malmſb.* Anno 778, he defeated the *Weſt-Saxons* at *Benſington* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Huntingd.* p. 343. *Tyrrel*, p. 230.

(5) This *Dike* may be ſeen on *Bracby* Hill, and near *Rhyd ar Helig* and *Lanterden* in *Herefordſhire*: and is continued northwards from *Knighton* over a part of *Shropſhire* into *Montgomeryſhire*, and goes over the long Mountain of *Kevn Digoth*, to *Harden Caſtle*, croſs the *Severn* and *Lhau-Drinio* Common; from whence it paſſes the *Vyrnwy* again into *Shropſhire*, not far from *Oſwaldſtry*. In *Denbighſhire* it is viſible along the Road between *Rhyawabon* and *Wrexham*, and being continued through *Flintſhire*, ends a little below *Holywell*, a place formerly the ſite of the Caſtle of *Baſingwerk*. See *Camd.* p. 698.

(6) *Matt. Paris* ſays, that he ſhut her up, and would never let her come nigh him again, p. 981.

(7) He was murder'd at *Mardon*, about three Miles from *Hereford*. *Lewis's Hiſt. of Gr. Brit. Introd.* p. 43. (8) *Adrian.*

(9) It was in all upon twenty-three of our preſent Counties, for ſo far his Dominions extended. (10) Firſt Day of *Auguſt*.

(11) *Nich. Bacon* in his hiſtorical and political Diſcourſes, c. 9. makes it appear it was far from being a Tribute. *Rapin.*

might

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POSTERITY OF WODEN

- Woden = Friga
  - Veldeg
    - Vecta
      - Vita
        - Witigisil
          - HENGIST 1st K. of Kent
  - Caseras
    - Tilmon
      - Trisigil
        - Rothimund
          - Hirp
            - Quicelm
              - UFFA 1st K. of East-Anglia
  - Saxonetha
    - Gesack
      - Andesk
        - Sweppa
          - Sigefugel
            - Bedican
              - ERCENWIN 1st K. of Essex
  - Witelgetha
    - Vaga
      - Witleg
        - Veremund
          - Offa
            - Angongetha
              - Eumer
                - Icel
                  - Knobba
                    - Cunewald
                      - CRIDA 1st K. of Mercia
  - Webdeg
    - Sigar
      - Swebded
        - Siggoth
          - Sebbald
            - Setugel
              - Swartha
                - Somel
                  - Westrofalenas
                    - Wilgild
                      - Buscreas
                        - Iffius
                          - ALLA 1st K. of Deira in Northumberland
  - Beldeg
    - Brando
      - Benae
        - Beorna
          - Wegbrand
            - Ingebrand
              - Aloc
                - Angongetha
                  - Ingongetha
                    - Ethelbert
                      - Esa
                        - ELLA 1st K. of Sussex
                        - Eoppa
                          - IDA 1st King of North.
      - Fredegar
        - Frewin
          - Wigga
            - Gewisch
              - Esla
                - Elisius
                  - CERDICK 1st K. of Wessex

Tab. 1.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF EAST ANGLIA

1. UFFA 1st K. of East Anglia d 578.
   - 2. TITIL d. 599.
     - 3. REDOWALD d. 624.
       - Reyner d. in Battle.
       - 4. ERPWALD d. 633.
       - 5. SIGEBERT d. 644.
       - N. Wife of Redowald
         - St Germanus Erkenwald Bishop of London.
         - Saxburga Ercombert K. of Kent.
         - Adeltrida or St Audry
         - Ethelburga Witburga Nuns
     - N... 1st Husband
       - 6. EGRICK d. 644.
     - Ennius
       - 7. ANNAS d. 654.
         - 10. ALDULPH d. after 680.
         - 11. ALFWALD d. 749.
           - 12. BEORNA d. 756.
             - 13. ETHELRED d about 790.
               - St ETHELBERT II 14. Slain by Offa K. of Mercia 792.
             - N...
               - Alemund = Siwara W. of Alemund
                 - St EDMUND 15. Kill'd by the Danes 870
                 - St Edwold Hermit.
       - 8. ETHELBICK d. 655.
       - 9. ADELWALT d. 664.
         - 12. ETHELBERT I d. 757.

FOREIGN KINGS

- GURTHURM or GODRIM Made K. of E. Anglia by the Danes.
- ERICK K. of East Anglia for a little time.

Tab. 2.

might be inceſſantly made for the *Murdered* and *Murderer*.

l. 1. c. 4. *William of Malmsbury*, ſpeaking of King *Offa*, doubts whether he ſhould rank him among the good or bad Princes (1). The Canonization of St. *Alban*, procured by his means, and the founding a noble Monaſtery in Honour of that Saint, being put in the Balance againſt the Murder of *Ethelbert*, is the Ground of that Hiſtorian's Uncertainty.

The Reign of *Offa* is memorable upon ſeveral Accounts: His *Dike*: The Union of *Eaſt-Anglia* to *Mercia*: The erecting of *Lichfield* into an Archbiſhoprick (2), of which I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere: *Peter-Pence*: A Body of Laws publiſh'd under the Title of *Mercens Leaga*, (i. e.) *Laws of the Mercians* (3), which ſerv'd for Pattern to his Succeſſors, and the greateſt part whereof were inſerted in King *Alfred*'s Laws, publiſhed about the end of the next Century (4).

Lambert. Sax. leg. Spelman. Concil.

G. Malm. l. 1. c. 4. *Offa* had contracted a cloſe Friendſhip with *Charles the Great*. We meet with ſome of their Letters in *the Life of Offa* at the end of *Matthew Paris*'s Hiſtory: A *Life* wherein are almoſt as many *Fables* as *Truths*.

This Prince died in 796, after a Reign of thirty-nine Years. *Egfrid* who had already been crowned as his Partner ſucceeded him both in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and Dignity of Monarch.

EGFRID.

796. M. Weſt. H. Hunt. Flor. Wig. Brompton. *Egfrid*, who ſurvived his Father but four or five Months, employed that time in enriching the *Monks*, and particularly thoſe of St. *Albans*. *Cenulph*, deſcended from *Wibba* by another Branch, ſucceeded him in both his Dignities.

CENULPH.

796. Sim. Dun. R. de Hov. *Cenulph* was no ſooner on the Throne, but he declared War againſt *Edbert-Pren* King of *Kent*, the motive whereof is unknown (5). We are only told, it proved fatal to the King of *Kent*, who being taken Priſoner, was carried to *Mercia*, where *Cenulph* ordered his Eyes to be put out (6), after he had placed another King (7) on the Throne of *Kent* (8).

Cenulph died in 819, after a glorious Reign of twenty four Years. He left a Son very young, named *Cenelm*, and two Daughters, *Quendrida* and *Burganilda*. G. Malm. Polychr.

CENELM.

Quendrida, eldeſt Siſter of *Cenelm*, hoping to mount the Throne, if her brother was out of the way, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated by one *Aſcebert*, who threw his Body into a Well, where it was found as it is pretended by a Miracle. *Quendrida* did not reap that Benefit from her Crime, ſhe expected; for the *Mercians* placed on the Throne *Ceolulph* Uncle of the late King. 819. Higden.

CEOLUPH.

This Prince after a Year's Reign was depoſed by *Bernulph*, one of the principal Lords of the Country. 819. An. Sax.

BERNULPH, 821. LUDICAN, 823. WITGLAPH, 825.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of theſe three laſt Kings of *Mercia*, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the Hiſtory of the Kings of *Weſſex*.

THE Hiſtory of *EAST-ANGLIA*.

East-Angles. THE Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* was bounded on the North by the *Humber* and the *German Ocean*: On the Eaſt by the ſame *Ocean*, which ſurrounded it almoſt on two ſides: On the South by the Kingdom of *Eſſex*; and on the Weſt by *Mercia*. Its greateſt length was eighty, and its greateſt breadth fifty five miles. It contained the two Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with part of *Cambridgeſhire*. The chief Towns were *Norwich*, *Thetford*, *Ely*, and *Cambridge*. I have already related, how this Kingdom was founded by the *Angles* that landed on the eaſtern Coaſts of *Britain*, under twelve Chiefs, the Survivor of whom, *Uffa*, aſſumed the Title of *King of the Eaſt-Angles*.

UFFA.

571. We don't find this Prince acted any thing remarkable after his being King. He died in 578, leaving his Son *Titilus* to ſucceed him.

TITILUS.

578. All we know of this King is, that he died in 599, and had for Succeſſor his Son *Redowald*.

REDOWALD.

599. Lang. Chr. Reg. This Prince was the moſt illuſtrious of all the Kings of *Eaſt-Anglia*, if not of the whole *Heptarchy*. As I have had occaſion to ſpeak of him largely in the Hiſtory of *Northumberland*, I ſhall only obſerve here that he died in 624, leaving his Crown to his Son *Erpwald*.

ERPWALD.

624. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 3. *Erpwald* made but a very indifferent Figure in the *Heptarchy*, being all along in Subjection to *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, who might have depriv'd him of his Kingdom, with the Conſent of the *Eaſt-Angles*, if the Obligations he had received from *Redowald* his Father would have ſuffered him to have been guilty of ſo black an Ingratitude. However he was in reality the Sovereign of *Eaſt-Anglia*, though he left *Erpwald* the Title of King. *Erpwald* was aſſaſſinated in 633, after he had reign'd about nine Years. Bede, l. 2. c. 15.

INTERREGNUM.

After his Death, *Eaſt-Anglia* had no King for three Years, the Reaſon whereof is unknown. In 636 the *Eaſt-Angles* placed on the Throne *Sigebert*, half Brother of their laſt King. 633.

SIGEBERT.

636. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 5. Fl. Wig. Bede, l. 3. c. 18. H. Hunt. l. 3. This Prince who was baniſhed by *Erpwald* his Brother by the Mother's Side, on ſuſpicion of aſpiring to the Crown, had retired into *France*, where he became a Chriſtian. As ſoon as he was King of *Eaſt-Anglia*, he made it his chief Buſineſs to bring his Subjects to the Knowledge of the true God; which indeed was planted among them in the Reign of *Redowald*, but having made no great Progreſs, was now almoſt extinguiſhed. After he had effected this Work by the Aſſiſtance of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Prieſt, he retired into a Monaſtery, reſigning his Crown to *Egric* his Couſin.

EGRIC.

644. Bede. *Egric* ſoon after his Coronation, being attacked by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, the *Eaſt-Angles* having no great Confidence in their new King, petition *Sigebert* to quit his Monaſtery, and put himſelf at the Head of their Army. He ſtood out a good while againſt their Intreaties: But poſſeſs'd with a Notion that Heaven muſt crown ſo pious a Prince

(1) Probably the true Reaſon why *W. Malmsbury* gives him an indifferent Character, is becauſe he ſeized the Lands of ſeveral Monaſteries, particularly of that at *Malmsbury*. See *W. Malmsb.* p. 30.
(2) Upon his conquering *Kent* he remov'd the Archiepiſcopal See from *Canterbury* to *Lichfield*. See *M. Paris*, p. 978, 979. *Malmsb. de Pontif.* p. 199.
(3) Concerning this Matter, ſee *Nicholſon*'s *Hiſt. Libr.* p. 45. and his Preface to Dr. *Wilkins*'s *Saxon-Laws*.
(4) *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, l. 1. c. 20; and *Ranulph of Cheſter*, l. 1. c. 50. confound theſe *Mercian* Laws with the Laws of one *Marcia*, Wife of *Guithelin* a *Britiſh* King. *Alfred the Great* ſays in his Preface to his Laws, That he had taken them from the Laws of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, *Ina* King of *Weſſex* and *Offa* King of *Mercia*. *Rapin*.
(5) *Malmsbury* aſſigns no other Reaſon for it, but that he was puſh'd on by an inveterate Animoſity againſt them, which he inherited from *Offa*, p. 33.
(6) *W. Malmsbury* ſays, that he ordered him to be ſet at Liberty ſoon after, p. 33.
(7) *Cuthred*. *Malmsbury*.
(8) He reſtored *Adelard*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Dignity of *Metropolitan*. *Malmsb. ibid.*

with

with Victory, they preſt him ſo earneſtly, that at length he yields to their Requeſt, and heads the Army with *Egric*, carrying nothing but a Switch in his Hand. God, who is not directed by the Imaginations of Men, gave the Victory to the *Mercians*, both the *Eaſt-Anglian* Kings being ſlain on the Spot. They were ſucceeded by *Annas*, Son of *Ennius*, Nephew of *Redowald*.

ANNAS.

644. *Annas* was one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings of *Eaſt-Anglia*. By his Aid it was, that *Cenowalch*, King of *Weſſex*, who fled to him for Refuge, was reſtored to his Kingdom, of which he had been depriv'd by *Penda* in 645.

654. Ann. Sax. Flor. Wig. Polychr. This Action drew upon him the Hatred of *Penda*, who, out of Revenge, reſolv'd to carry Fire and Sword into *Eaſt-Anglia*. *Annas* died whilſt he was preparing for his Defence, leaving the Management of this dangerous War to *Ethelric*, his Brother and Succeſſor (1).

ETHELRIC.

654. *Ethelric* dreading the Valour and Power of *Penda*, bribes him with a Sum of Money to deſiſt from his War with the *Eaſt-Anglians*, and to induce him to invade *Northumberland*, offers to accompany him with all his Forces. I have already related how they were both ſlain in an Engagement with *Oſwy*. *Adelwald*, Brother of *Ethelric*, mounted the Throne after him.

ADELWALD.

655. We know nothing more of this Prince, but that he died in 664, leaving his Crown to *Aldulph* his Nephew, Son of *Ethelric*.

ALDULPH.

Of this Prince all we can learn is, that he was alive in 680, and aſſiſted at the Council of *Hatfield*. His Succeſſor was *Alfwald*. 664.

ALFWALD.

Alfwald died in 749, and was ſucceeded by *Beorna* and *Ethelbert*, who divided the Kingdom. Flor. M. Weſt.

BEORNA and ETHELBERT.

Ethelbert dying before the Year 758, *Beorna* reign'd alone. But we know nothing more of him, but that he was ſucceeded by *Etheldred*. 749.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred dying about the Year 790, left the Crown to *Ethelbert*.

ETHELBERT.

This is the Prince that *Offa* King of *Mercia* put to death in order to ſeize his Kingdom in 792 (3). From that Time *Eaſt-Anglia* and *Mercia* made but one Kingdom.

THE Hiſtory of the Kingdom of *ESSEX*.

Kingdom of Eſſex. THE Kingdom of *Eſſex* or the *Eaſt-Saxons* was bounded on the North by *Eaſt-Anglia*, on the Eaſt by the *German Ocean*, on the South by the *Thames*, and on the *Weſt* by *Mercia*. Its greateſt Length was ſeventy-five Miles, and its Breadth thirty-eight. It contain'd the Counties of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, and Part of *Hertfordſhire*. The principal Cities were *London* and *Colcheſter*; the firſt of which became afterwards the *Metropolis* of all *England*. It had formerly been very conſiderable, by reaſon of its Situation, in the Time of the *Romans*, who made it a *Colony*. But in all Probability it was reduced very low after the Arrival of the *Saxons*.

This Country having been extorted from *Vortigern* by *Hengiſt*, after the Maſſacre of the *Britiſh* Lords, was erected into a Kingdom by *Erchenwin* the firſt King. Hiſtorians have neglected to inform us of the Occaſion and Manner of founding this Kingdom, by which the Succeſſors of *Hengiſt* were depriv'd of almoſt as large a Tract of Land as the Kingdom of *Kent*. Had a Monaſtery been in the caſe, we ſhould have had all the Particulars.

ERCHENWIN.

527. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 6. *Erchenwin* began his Reign in 527, and died in 587, after he had reign'd ſixty Years. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Sledda*.

SLEDDA.

587. It is not known in what Year this Prince died, but only that his Son *Sabert* or *Saba* reign'd in 599.

SABERT.

604. Bede, l. 2. c. 3. *Sabert* was the firſt Chriſtian King of *Eſſex*, being converted by the preaching of *Mellitus*, and Sollicitation of *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, his Uncle, by his Mother's Side (4). He was noted for his Piety and Zeal for the true Religion. He died in 616, and was ſucceeded by his three Sons (5).

SAXRED, SEWARD, *and* SIGEBERT.

616. Brompt. M. Weſt. Theſe three Princes reigning together, forſook with one Conſent the Chriſtian Religion, which they had profeſs'd during their Father's Life. After they had reign'd ſeven Years, they raſhly came to an unequal Engagement with *Cinigiſil* and *Quicelm* Kings of *Weſſex*, and were all three cut off, with their whole Army. Their Succeſſor was *Sigebert the Little*. Bede, l. 2. c. 15. M. Weſt.

SIGEBERT *the Little*.

Sigebert the Little. Nothing particular is known concerning this Prince, not ſo much as the Time of his Death, but only that he was ſucceeded by *Sigebert the Good*, Grandſon of a Brother of pious King *Sabert*, and was on the Throne in the Year 653. 623.

SIGEBERT *the Good*.

Sigebert reſtor'd the Chriſtian Religion in his Dominions, from whence it had been expell'd ever ſince the Death of *Sabert*. He was aſſiſted therein by *Cedd*, a *Northumberland* Prieſt, conſecrated Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. This Prince was aſſaſſinated in 655, by two Counts his Relations, who, having been excommunicated by *Cedd*, complain'd that the King, inſtead of avenging their Quarrel, had caſt himſelf at the Feet of the Biſhop, begging Pardon for converſing with them after their Excommunication. His Succeſſor was *Swithelm* his Brother. 653. Flor. Wig. in Geneal. G. Malm. l. 1 c. 6. Bede, l. 3. c. 22.

SWITHELM.

There is nothing particular concerning this Prince, except that *Sebba* and *Siger* ſucceeded him. 655. Flor. Wig. G. Malm.

SEBBA *and* SIGER.

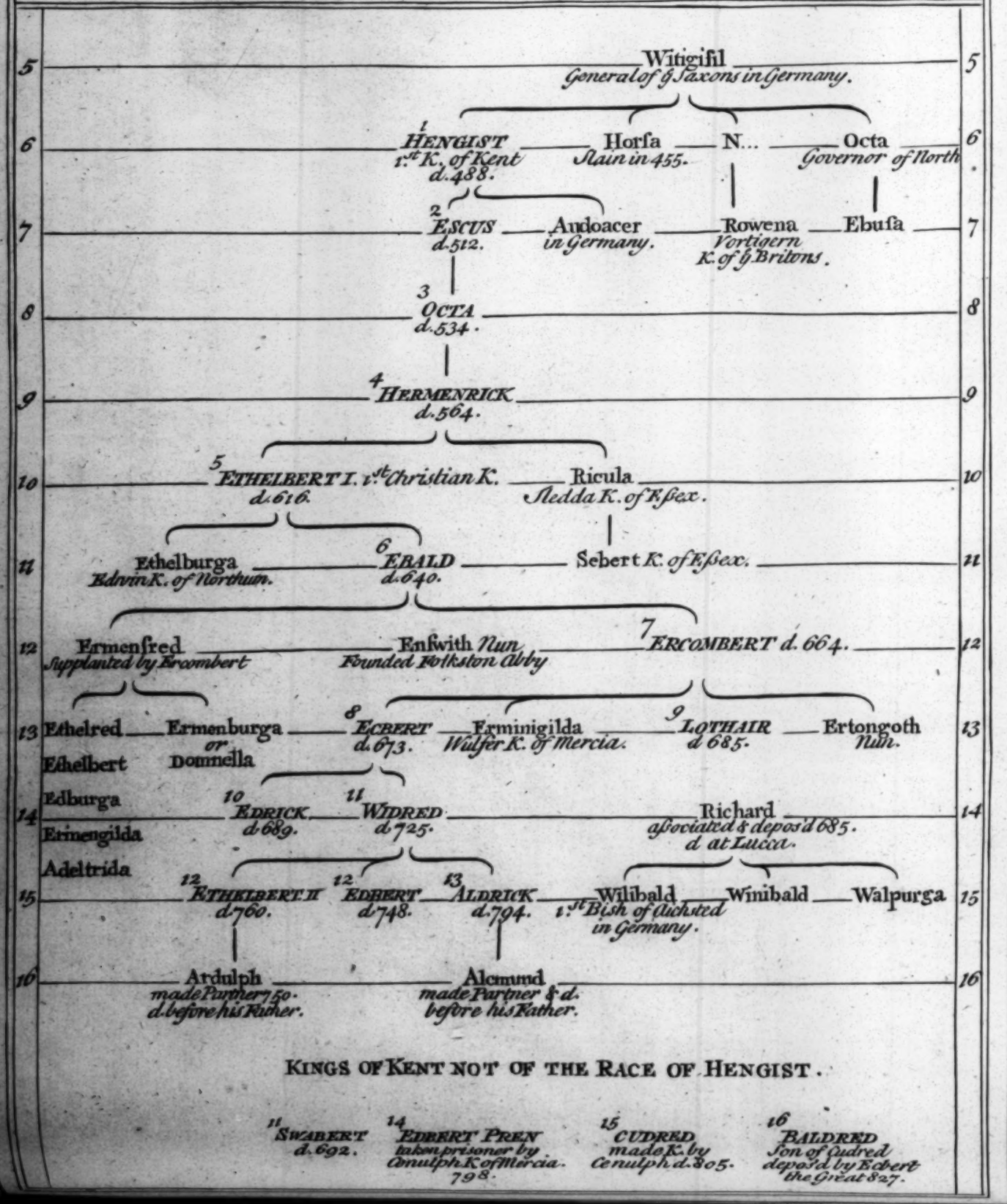
Sebba was Son of *Seward*, and *Siger* of *Sigebert the Little*, Son of the ſame *Seward*. *Siger* return'd to Idolatry; but *Sebba* ſtedfaſtly adhered to the Chriſtian Religion. They were Vaſſals to the King of *Mercia*, as was before obſerv'd in the Reign of *Wulfer*. *Siger* dying in 683, *Sebba* remained ſole King of *Eſſex*.

SEBBA *alone*.

Sebba reigned about eleven Years longer, and then, 683.

(1) The *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 327. and *Malmsbury* ſay, that he was ſlain in a Battle with *Penda*.
(2) *Tyrrel* ſays, he ſaw in a Chronicle of *Mailroſe* a King nam'd *Switheard*, who reign'd in 749. He might have ſucceeded *Alfwald*, *Rapin*.
(3) He was ſainted after his Death. *Malmsb. Brompt.*
(4) *Ricula*, Siſter to *Ethelbert*, was *Sabert*'s Mother. *Rapin*.
(5) He was buried in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, which, according to ſome, he built. *Higd. Polychr.* p. 228.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF KENT.



KINGS OF KENT NOT OF THE RACE OF HENGIST.

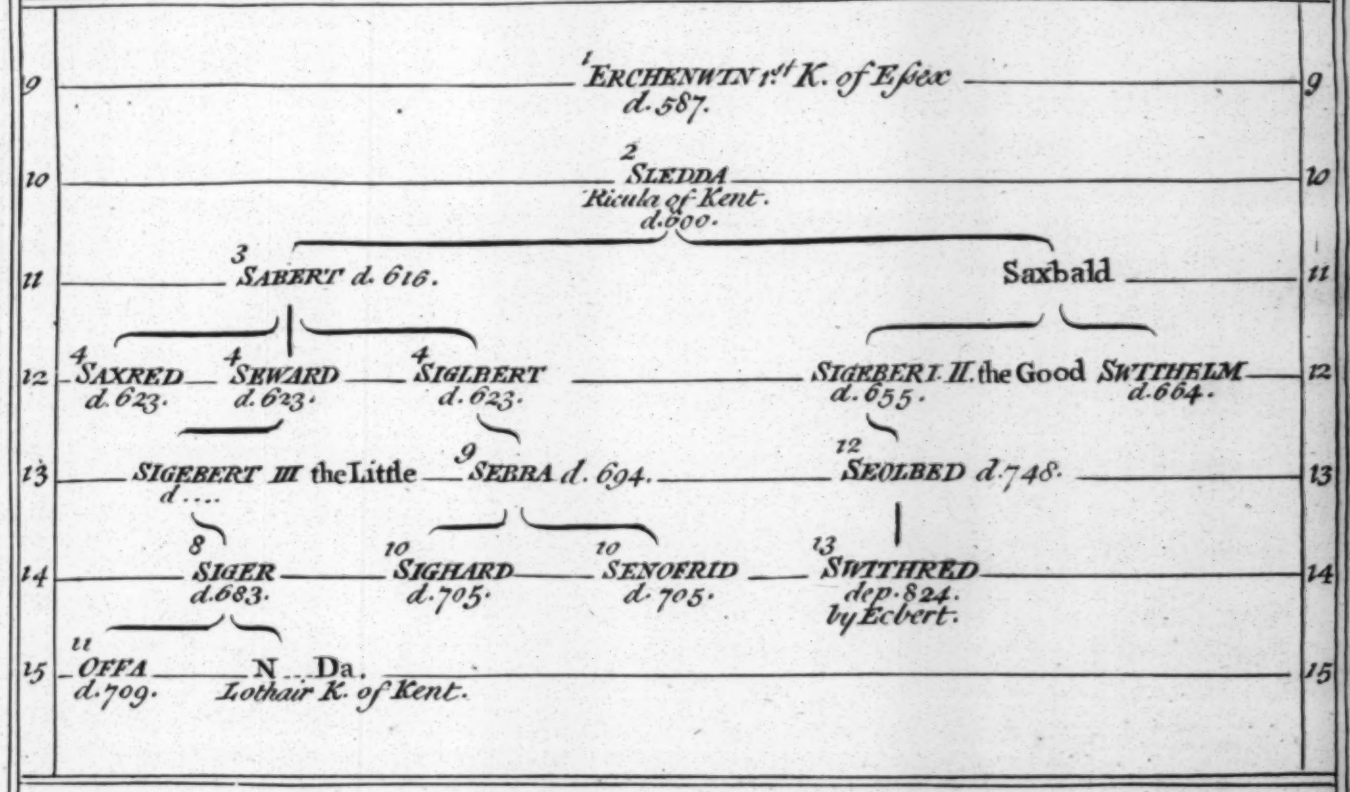
11 SWABERT d.692.

14 EDBERT PREN taken prisoner by Cenulph K of Mercia. 798.

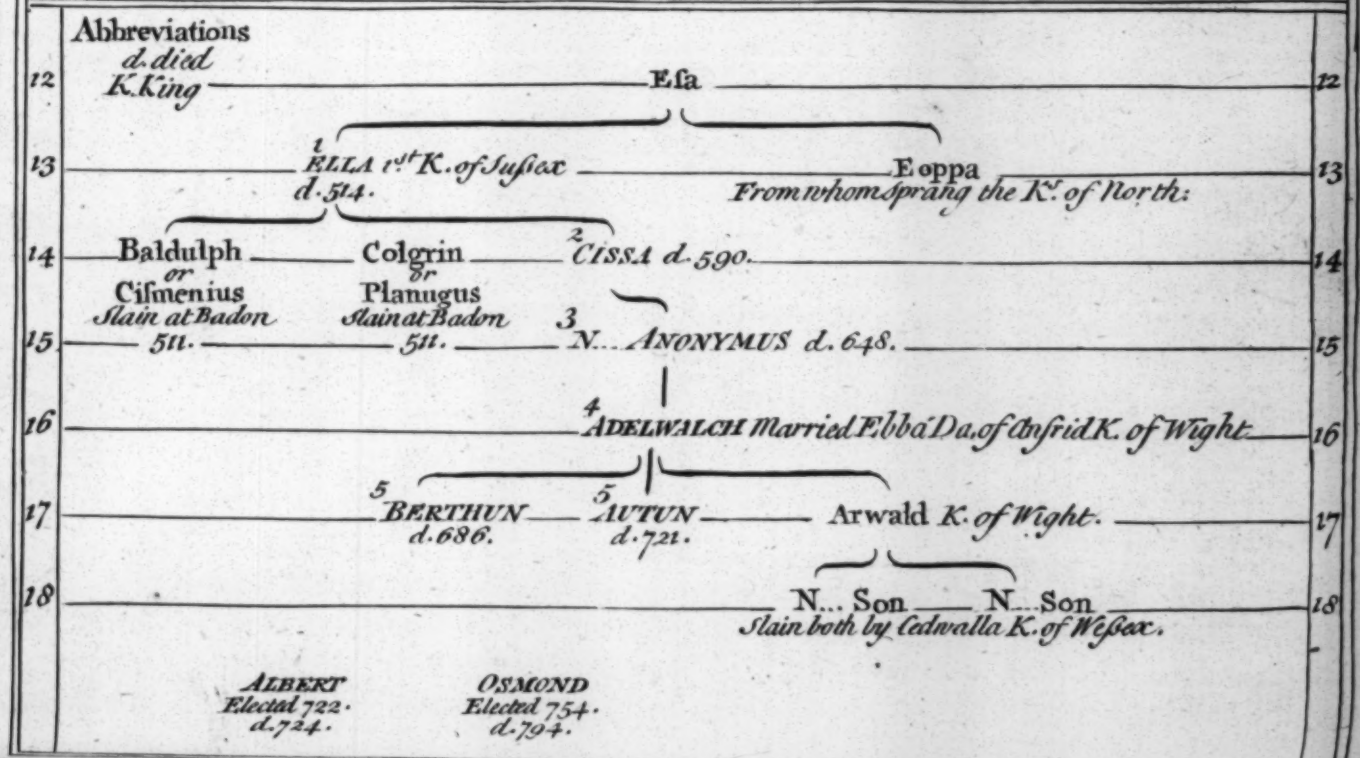
15 CUDRED made K. by Cenulph d. 805.

16 BALDRED Son of Cudred depos'd by Ecbert the Great 827.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF ESSEX.



GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SUSSEX.



being very old, turn'd Monk in 694. He left his Crown to *Sighard* and *Senofrid* his Sons.

SIGHARD *and* SENOFRID.

694. These two Brothers reigned, snd very probably died, together about the Year 705. *Offa*, Son of *Siger*, mounted the Throne after them.

OFFA.

705. Bede, l. 5. c. 23. This Prince desiring to marry, and casting his Eyes on *Ciniswintha*, Daughter of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, goes to the Court of *Cenred* to demand this Princess his Aunt in Marriage. But *Ciniswintha*, being very religious and not young, persuades her Lover to turn Monk, as she does likewise her Nephew King of *Mercia*. These two Princes went to *Rome* together, and received the *Tonsure* at the Pope's Hands. *Offa* is said by some to be succeeded by *Seolred* or *Selred*, Son of *Sigebert the Good*.

SEOLRED.

Seolred reigned thirty eight Years, and was killed at last, but by whom, or in what manner, is unknown. *Swithred* his Son succeeded him, as some say. 707. G. Malm. H. Hunt.

SWITHRED.

This is the last King of *Essex*, whose Name occurs in History or the *Saxon Annals*. He began his Reign in 746, and in case he was alive at the time of the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, must have reigned seventy eight Years. 746.

Of all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, there is none whose History is so imperfect as that of the Kingdom of *Essex*.

THE

History of the Kingdom of *KENT*.

Kingdom of Kent. THE Kingdom of *Kent*, the first that was founded by the *Saxons*, being neither large nor very considerable, made no Figure in the *Heptarchy*, only during the Reigns of *Hengist* and *Ethelbert*. It was very advantageously situated, having the Sea on the South and East; the *Thames* on the North; and the little Kingdom of *Sussex* on the West. As long as this last subsisted, it served as a Bulwark to the Kings of *Kent*, against the Ambition of the Kings of *Wessex*. But after it was subdued by the *West-Saxons*, the Kingdom of *Kent* was in continual Danger of falling under the Dominion of these powerful Neighbours. The Truth is, the Jealousy between the Kings of *Wessex* and *Mercia*, and the Equality of their Forces, were the only things that long prevented this little Kingdom from becoming a Prey to one or other of them. It was not above sixty Miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The chief Towns were *Dorobern* or *Canterbury* the Capital, *Dover*, *Rochester*, and some others not so large indeed, but considerable however for their Situation and Harbours, as *Sandwich*, *Deal*, *Folkstone*, *Reculver*, &c.

HENGIST, *first King.*

455. *Hengist* arrived in *Great-Britain* in 449. He assumed the Title of *King of Kent* in 455, and died in 488. He was succeeded by his Son *Escus*.

ESCUS.

488. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 1. As the *Saxons*, after the Death of *Hengist*, conferred the Command of their Armies on *Ella* King of *Sussex*, *Escus* very likely was not in so great Esteem as his Father. I know of nothing remarkable concerning his Reign (1), which lasted to the Year 512. His Successor was *Octa* his Son.

OCTA.

512. Flor. Wig. Malmsb. Polychron. This Prince suffered, or at least could not prevent the dismembring of *Essex* and *Middlesex* from the Kingdom of *Kent*, to form the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons*. This is the only Particular we meet with during this twenty two Years Reign. After *Octa*, his Father *Hermenric* ascended the Throne of *Kent*.

HERMENRIC.

534. There is nothing particular concerning this Prince, who reigned however thirty Years. Before his Death he associated *Ethelbert* his Son and Successor.

ETHELBERT.

568. *Ethelbert* was one of the most celebrated Kings, not only of *Kent*, but of the whole *Heptarchy*. He was famous upon many Accounts, particularly for his being the first Christian King of his Nation. But as I intend to speak elsewhere of the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, I shall relate here only such of *Ethelbert*'s Actions as respect not Religion.

This Prince, who had a great and an aspiring *Genius*, beheld with regret, that his Predecessors had lost the Dignity of Monarch and the Superiority *Hengist* had over all the *Saxons*, settled in his time in *Great-Britain*. At his coming to the Crown, he finds *Ceaulin* King of *Wessex* in possession of this Superiority as Monarch. He resolves to dispute it with him, but is twice worsted. For this cause he remains quiet till the Year 593, when he takes up Arms again, not singly as before, but in conjunction with all the other Kings, who are displeased with *Ceaulin*'s seizing the Kingdom of *Sussex*. *Ethelbert* being declared General, defeated *Ceaulin*, who died soon after. Flor. Wig. H. Hunt. l. 2. M. West. 568. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 1.

After *Ceaulin*'s Death, *Ethelbert* being elected Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and forgetting the Fall of *Ceaulin*, of which he himself was the cause, exercised an almost absolute Power over all the Kingdoms lying South of the *Humber*, the *Northumbrians* alone having found means to keep themselves independent. All the rest chose rather to submit than contend with him (2). Bede, l. 1. c. 25. G. Thorn.]

Besides his being formidable to his Neighbours for his great Accomplishments, he had moreover the Advantage of being allied to *France* by means of his Marriage with *Bertha*, Daughter of *Cherebert* King of *Paris*. This Alliance procured him great Respect, the Kings his Neighbours having reason to dread the introducing the *French* into *England*, as he might easily have done. But though the Haughtiness wherewith *Ethelbert* treated them, after several Victories, made them exceeding uneasy, they had still a much greater Occasion to be alarmed.

Upon the Death of *Crida* King of *Mercia*, *Ethelbert* seized that Kingdom, though the deceased King had left a Son of fit Age to succeed him. In this *Ethelbert* trod exactly in the Steps of *Ceaulin*, though he had himself stirred up the other Kings against that Monarch, on account of his Ambition. Thus Men, for the most part, condemn in others what they approve in themselves. *Ethelbert* it seems pretended that he had a Right as Monarch, or as Descendent of *Hengist*, to succeed to all the vacant Thrones in the *Heptarchy*. For when Fortune smiles on a Man, he easily finds Reasons, *good or bad*, to support the most exorbitant Pretensions. However this be, the *Anglo-Saxon* Princes, alarmed at this open Usurpation, began to stir and take Measures to put a stop to this formidable Power, before it grew to a greater Height. The Monarch dreading they would all join in a league against him, and serve him as they did *Ceaulin*, thought it not Prudence to expose himself to the same Danger. Accordingly, to make them easy, he restored the Kingdom of *Mercia* to *Wibba*, Son of *Crida*, reserving however such an Authority over him, that he durst not undertake any thing without his Order or Leave. Satisfied with this kind of Moderation, the *English* Princes laid aside all thoughts of a War, which Necessity alone had driven them to. 594.

Nothing very remarkable happened in the rest of *Ethelbert*'s Reign, except what relates to Religion, of which I shall speak in the History of the Church. This Prince had two Wives, the first was *Bertha* of *France* Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig.

(1) *H. Huntingdon* says, that he enlarged his Dominions, by conquering the Kingdoms of the *Britons*, p. 312.

(2) *Malmsbury* observes, that King *Ethelbert*, in the beginning of his Reign, was a Scorn to the neighbouring Princes; for being beaten in one or two Battles, he could scarce defend his own Territories: but when in his riper Years he had learned more Experience in War, he soon brought under his Subjection all the Nations of the *Anglo-Saxons*, except the *Northumbrians*. *Rapin.*

by whom he had *Edbald* his Succeſſor, and *Ethelburga*, married to *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*. The Name of his ſecond Wife is unknown. He died in 616 (1), after he had reigned fifty two Years.

EDBALD.

916. G. Malmſb. G. Thorn. Hiſt. Ab. S. Aug.

Edbald was very unlike his Father. As ſoon as he became his own Maſter, he forſook the Chriſtian Religion and turned Heathen. He is even ſaid to have married the Queen his Mother-in-law. His Vices rendering him ſlothful and unactive, all the *Engliſh* Sovereigns caſt off the Yoke they had worn during the Life of *Ethelbert*. The King of *Mercia* in particular having freed himſelf from the Servitude *Ethelbert* had kept him in, *Edbald* had neither the Power nor Courage to maintain what the King his Father thought he had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed. I don't know whether Hiſtorians are not agreed in giving this Prince an exceeding bad Character, in order to ſet off his Converſion the more. However this be, they aſſure us, that by the Pains of *Laurentius*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was brought to a ſenſe of his Errors, and returning to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, ſpent the remainder of his Days in the Practice of its Precepts. He left two Sons (2), *Ermenfred* and *Ercombert*, which laſt ſucceeded him, and a Daughter named *Enſwith*, Foundreſs of the Abby of *Folkſtone*.

Bede, *l.* 2. *c.* 6.

ERCOMBERT.

640. M. Weſt. G. Malm. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. G. Thorn.

Ercombert, though the youngeſt of *Edbald*'s Sons, found means to aſcend the Throne, in prejudice of his elder Brother (3). This Prince ordered the Temples of the falſe Gods to be razed to the Ground, and the Idols broken in Pieces, leſt they ſhould prove a Snare to the People. *Ermenfred* his Brother being ſeized with a Diſtemper that brought him to his Grave, he promis'd to leave the Crown, which of right belonged to him, to his Children. But he was not ſo good as his Word: Perhaps it was too late when he came to think of it juſt before his Death, in the Year 664 (4). He left two Sons, *Egbert* and *Lothair*, and two Daughters; *Ermenilda* the eldeſt was Wife of *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*: The other was a Nun.

EGBERT.

664.

Egbert was no ſooner on the Throne, but he put two Sons of his Uncle *Ermenfrid* to Death, for fear they ſhould diſturb him in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown. He preſented their Siſter *Domnena* with ſome Lands in the Iſle of *Thanet*, where ſhe founded a Monaſtery. This Prince died in 673, leaving two Sons, *Edric* and *Widred*, who were not his immediate Succeſſors, the Crown being ſeized by their Uncle *Lothair*.

LOTHAIR.

673. Vit. Richar. 685. G. Malmſb. *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

After *Lothair* had reigned ten Years unmoleſted (5), to ſecure the Succeſſion in his Family, he made his Son *Richard* Partner with him in the Government. This Proceeding obliges his Nephew *Edric*, Son of his Brother *Egbert*, to withdraw from Court, and apply to *Edelwalch* King of *Suſſex* for Aid, who puts him at the Head of an Army; with which entring *Kent*, he vanquiſhed *Lothair*, who died of the Wounds he received in Battle. After this Victory, *Edric* was crowned without Oppoſition. *Richard* Son of *Lothair* fled into *Germany*, where *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, an *Engliſhman*, gave him his Siſter in Marriage, and cauſed him to be elected King of *Suabia*, if we may believe ſome Hiſtorians. I don't know how he came to die at *Lucca* in *Tuſcany*, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen. They ſtile him King of *England*, though at moſt he was but King of *Kent*.

Offici. Eccl. Andr. in Feſto Ric. 685. G. Malmſb.

EDRIC.

This Prince reigned but two Years (6), and as he had no Children, left the Crown to his Brother *Widred*, who was forced to make *Swabert* his Partner, whoſe Extraction is unknown.

WIDRED *and* SWABERT.

686.

After *Edric*'s Death, Troubles and Commotions aroſe in the Kingdom of *Kent*, occaſioned by the Ambition of ſome Nobles who fortified themſelves, and refuſed to acknowledge *Widred* for King. In all probability *Swabert* was one of the principal of the Rebels, ſince he was aſſociated into the Government. It is not known whether he was any way related to the Royal Family.

In the Reign of theſe two Kings, *Cadwallo* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* imagining the inteſtine Diviſions of *Kent* would render the Kingdom an eaſy Conqueſt, ſent an Army thither under the Command of his Brother *Mollon*, who overran great part of the Country. But at length, the two Kings joining Forces, vanquiſh him in Battle. *Mollon* perceiving he was cloſely purſued, took ſhelter with twelve others in a Houſe which they valiantly defended: But the *Kentiſh* Soldiers ſetting fire to it, they all miſerably periſh'd in the Flames. *Cadwallo* ſoon revenged the Death of his Brother, whom he tenderly loved. He entered *Kent* with a formidable Army, and never left till he had deſtroyed the whole Country with Fire and Sword. After this Invaſion, *Kent* was reduced ſo low, that it never more made any Figure in the *Heptarchy*.

H. Hunt. *l.* 4. 678. G. Malmſb. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. Brompt. G. Thorn. Polychr. *l.* 5. *c.* 20.

The two Kings enjoyed no Repoſe till the Year 691. This perhaps is the reaſon of *Bede*'s placing the beginning of *Widred*'s Reign in this Year, tho' he was crowned five Years before. *Swabert* died in 695, and *Widred* remained ſole King of *Kent*.

Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. Polychr.

WIDRED *alone.*

He reigned twelve Years alone, and died in 725 (7), leaving three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Edbert* and *Aldric*: The two eldeſt jointly ſucceeded him.

695. Spel. Conc.

ETHELBERT *and* EDBERT.

Theſe two Brothers reigned together till the Year 748, when *Edbert* died.

725. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig.

ETHELBERT *alone.*

This Prince reigned ten or twelve Years alone, and after a Reign of thirty ſix Years, left his Crown to his Brother *Aldric*. He had aſſociated his Son *Ardulph*, who died before him (8).

748. Ep. Bonif. 40 *and* 77.

ALDRIC.

Aldric was frequently attacked by his Neighbours, who ſeeing the weak Eſtate of the Kingdom of *Kent*, improv'd the Opportunity to ſubdue it. *Offa* King of *Mercia* was one of the moſt forward. He gained a Battle upon *Aldric*, which ſunk the Affairs of *Kent* very low, but however the Jealouſy of the other Kings would not ſuffer *Offa* to become Maſter of the Kingdom. Beſide, he was diverted from the War by a *Welſh* Invaſion in *Mercia*, as hath been related in the Hiſtory of that Prince. Had it not been for this, he would in all likelihood have united *Kent* to *Mercia*.

760. Fl. Genal. Malmſb. *l.* 1. *c.* 3.

Aldric had aſſociated his Son *Alcmund*, but that Prince dying before him, he left no Heirs, and with him ended the Race of *Hengiſt*. After his Death, *Edbert*, ſirnamed *Pren*, was placed on the Throne.

EDBERT-PREN.

The Kingdom of *Kent* being extremely weakned, *Cenulph* King of *Mercia*, making uſe of ſo fair an Opportunity, ravaged it from one end to the other; and at laſt having defeated and taken *Edbert* Priſoner, carried him into *Mercia*, where he ordered his Eyes to be put out. After that he placed on the Throne *Cudred*, who was in abſolute Dependence upon him, and paid him Tribute.

794. G. Malmſb. *l.* 1. *c.* 11.

CUDRED.

This tributary King reigned eight Years as Vaſſal of the King of *Mercia*, who permitted, after his Death in 805, his Son *Baldred* to ſucceed him.

879. S. Dunelm. Reg. Hov.

BALDRED.

In the Reign of *Baldred* it was that the *Heptarchy* was diſſolv'd. The Diſſolution began with the Conqueſt of *Kent* by *Ecbert* King of *Weſſex*; as will be ſeen hereafter.

805.

(1) *Bede* places his Death in 613. *Feb.* 24.
(2) By *Emma* Daughter of the King of the *Francs*. *Malmſb.* He reigned twenty-three Years. *Huntingd.* p. 317.
(3) Through the Aſſiſtance and Appointment of his Father. *S. Dunelm.* p. 86.
(4) *Malmſb.* p. 10. gives this Character of him, "That he was famous both for his Piety towards God, and his Love to his Country."
(5) This could not be, if *Malmſbury*'s Account be true, *viz.* That he was moleſted for *eleven* Years by *Edric* the Son of *Egbert*, and that they had ſeveral Engagements, with various Succeſs, *p.* 11.
(6) For he was deprived both of his Kingdom and Life, ſays *Malmſb.* p. 11. but how, he does not mention.
(7) According to this Computation, he muſt have reigned forty Years, whereas *Malmſbury* ſays he reigned but thirty three, *p.* 13.
(8) In this Reign *Canterbury* was burnt. *Malmſb.* p. 12.

THE

THE

Hiſtory of the Kingdom of *SUSSEX.*

The Kingdom of Suſſex.

THE Kingdom of *Suſſex* was one of the moſt inconſiderable of the *Heptarchy*. It contained only the two Counties of *Suſſex* and *Surry*, the greateſt part of which conſiſted of the large Foreſt of *Andredſwald*, ſo called by the *Saxons* from *Anderida*, the Name it had in the time of the *Romans*. As this Foreſt ſtood untouched when *Ella* conquered *Suſſex*, we may ſuppoſe it was cleared by degrees. This Kingdom was not above fifty Miles long and forty broad. It was bounded on the North by the *Thames*, on the South by the Sea, on the Eaſt by the Kingdom of *Kent*, and on the Weſt by *Weſſex*. The capital City was *Chicheſter*, built by *Ciſſa* the ſecond King of this Kingdom. He built alſo *Ciſsbury*, whoſe Ruins are ſtill to be ſeen.

ELLA, *firſt King.*

491. *Ella* arrived in *Britain* in 476, and was crowned King of *Suſſex* in 491. He was a Prince of ſo great Reputation among the *Saxons*, that they judged him worthy to ſucceed *Hengiſt* in the Command of their Armies. He met with ſome ill Succeſs, having to deal with ſo experienced a General as *Arthur*. But however it did not hinder him from ſettling in the Country where he firſt landed, and founding there the Kingdom of *Suſſex* or of the *South-Saxons*. I have largely ſpoken of *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* his Sons, ſlain in the Battle of *Badon*. This Prince dying in 514, left the Crown to his only ſurviving Son *Ciſſa*.

Huntingd.

B. II.

CISSA.

514. *Ciſſa* was memorable only for his long Reign of ſeventy ſix Years, and, I may add, his great Age. For ſuppoſing him but a Year or two old when his Father brought him over in 476, he muſt have been at leaſt one hundred and fifteen, or one hundred and ſixteen Years of Age when he died in 590. But it is not very likely *Ella* ſhould bring with him a Child of a Year old.

M. Weſt.

590. *Ciſſa* leaving no Iſſue, *Ceaulin* King of *Weſſex* and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons* ſeized the Kingdom of *Suſſex*. This occaſioned the League againſt him. But notwithſtanding his being vanquiſhed, *Ceolrick* his Nephew and Succeſſor remained in Poſſeſſion of *Suſſex*.

Flor. Wig. H. Hunt. l. 2.

From that time the *South-Saxons* made ſeveral Attempts to ſhake off the Yoke of the Kings of *Weſſex*. And herein properly conſiſts the Hiſtory of *Suſſex*, till the Kingdom was entirely ſubdued.

In 607 they revolted againſt *Ceolric* King of *Weſſex*, but were reduced to Obedience.

In 648 they made another Struggle with better Succeſs. *Cenowalch* King of *Weſſex* continuing ſtill in *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Penda* King of *Mercia* being Maſter of *Weſſex* the *South-Saxons* took that Opportunity to place on their Throne a King named *Adelwalch*.

ADELWALCH.

684. The Kingdom of *Weſſex* having ſuffered much by *Penda*'s Invaſion, who ſeized and kept it three Years, *Cenowalch* was little able, after his Reſtoration, to dethrone the new King of *Suſſex*. But *Adelwalch* however was not left in quiet. *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*, having attacked *Cenowalch* and worſted him in ſeveral Encounters, penetrated as far as *Suſſex*, where vanquiſhing *Adelwalch* in Battle, he took him Priſoner, and after that, became Maſter of his Kingdom, and the *Iſle of Wight*. *Adelwalch* having embraced the Chriſtian Religion in *Mercia*, where he was Priſoner, *Wulpher* ſet him at Liberty, and made him a Preſent of the *Iſle of Wight* (1).

661. M. Weſt.

Bede, l. 4. c. 13.

Sax. Ann.

It is very probable *Adelwalch*, after the Death of *Wulpher*, recovered the Kingdom of *Suſſex*, ſince we find in the *Saxon Annals*, that he was on the Throne in 686.

686. The ſame Year *Cedwalla*, a *Weſt-Saxon* fugitive Prince, entered *Suſſex* with an Army, and *Adelwalch* endeavouring to drive him thence was ſlain in Battle.

G. Malm. l. 1. de Pontif.

After the Death of *Adelwalch*, *Cedwalla* would fain have made himſelf Maſter of *Suſſex*, but was oppoſed by *Authun* and *Berthun*, who were returned with an Army from an Expedition in the Kingdom of *Kent*. At the ſame time, *Cedwalla*, hearing of the Death of the King of *Weſſex*, who had expell'd him his Dominions, returned thither, where he was placed on the Throne. Mean while *Authun* and *Berthun* were crowned Kings of *Suſſex*. They are ſaid by ſome to be Sons of *Adelwalch*, and by others, his Generals only.

Bede, l. 4. c. 15.

AUTHUN *and* BERTHUN.

688. Theſe two Kings did not live long undiſturbed. *Cedwalla* now become King of *Weſſex*, made war upon them, and gained a Battle, wherein *Berthun* was ſlain.

AUTHUN *alone.*

Authun very probably preſerved the Crown of *Suſſex*, by an entire Dependence on the King of *Weſſex*, who, after the Death of *Authun*, would not even ſuffer the vacant Throne to be filled.

722. The *South-Saxons* made ſeveral Attempts to recover their Liberty. They took up Arms in 722: But having taken wrong Meaſures, *Ina* King of *Weſſex* reduced them to Obedience.

Sax. Ann. H. Hunt. l. 4.

725. Three Years after, taking Advantage of ſome Troubles that broke out in *Weſſex*, they placed on the Throne a King named *Albert*. But *Ina* having defeated and ſlain the new King, united their Kingdom to his own.

Fl. Wig. Bede, l. 5. c. 9.

754. However, this prevented them not in 754, in the Reign of *Sigebert* King of *Weſſex*, afterwards depos'd, from revolting once more, and chuſing one *Oſmond* for their King. In all likelihood *Cenulph*, Succeſſor of *Sigebert*, found means to reduce them again to a ſtate of Dependence. From that time the *South-Saxons*, as far as appears, never attempted to recover their Liberty, their Country being conſidered ever after as a Province of *Weſſex*.

THE

Hiſtory of the Kingdom of *WESSEX.*

The Kingdom of Weſſex or Weſt-Saxons.

THERE were in the *Heptarchy* three Kingdoms, two of *Angles*, and one of *Saxons*, that greatly ſurpaſſed the reſt in Grandeur and Power. The two Kingdoms of *Angles* were *Northumberland* ſituated beyond the *Humber*, and *Mercia* containing all that lay between the *Humber*, the *Thames* and the *Severn*, with the two Kingdoms of *Eſſex* and *Eaſt-Anglia*. *Weſſex* the third great Kingdom, inhabited by *Saxons* and *Jutes*, was ſituated South of the *Thames*, in breadth about Seventy Miles, from the *Thames* to the *Britiſh Channel*; and in length one hundred and fifty, from the Frontiers of *Suſſex*, to the River *Tamar*, which parted it from *Cornwal*. The principal Cities were *Wincheſter*, the Capital, *Southampton*, *Portſmouth*, *Saliſbury*, *Dorcheſter*, *Sherborn*, *Exeter*, where a great many *Britons* were mixt with the *Saxons*. The *Iſle of Wight*, inhabited by *Jutes*, was alſo dependent on this Kingdom.

As each Kingdom of the *Heptarchy* derived its Name from the Inhabitants and Situation, the Kingdom of *Weſſex* or of the *Weſt-Saxons* was ſo called, becauſe it lay

(1) And of the Country of the *Meanwari* in *Weſſex*. *Bede*, l. 4. c. 13. Hundreds of *Meanborow*, *Eaſt-mean*, and *Weſt-mean*. *Camden* in *Hampſhire*, which is ſuppoſ'd to be that part of *Hampſhire*, that is now divided into the

(2) And after a Reign of eighteen Years. *Hunting*, p. 314.

Weſt

West of *Suſſex*, *Kent*, and *Eſſex*. Beſides the Extent, the Situation of this Kingdom made it alſo very conſiderable, ſince it was guarded on the North by the *Thames*, and on the South by the Sea; on the Eaſt it was bounded by the little Kingdom of *Suſſex*, not at all formidable to its Neighbours, and on the Weſt by the *Britons* of *Cornwal*, divided ſo from the reſt of their Countrymen the *Welſh*, by the Mouth of the *Severn*, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to aſſiſt one another.

CERDIC.

519. This Prince, of whom I have largely ſpoken in the ſecond Book, arrived in *Britain* in the Year 495, and was crowned the firſt time King of the *Weſt-Saxons* in 519, after *Arthur* had ſurrendered to him the two Counties of *Hampſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, the whole *then* of this Kingdom. He was crowned a ſecond time at *Wincheſter* in 532 or 533, by the ſame Title, upon the Delivery of *Berkſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and *Dorſetſhire* by *Modred*. He died in 534, leaving his Crown to his Son *Cenric*.

CENRIC.

534. H. Hunt. *Cenric*, who during his Father's Life was renowned for his Valour and Conduct, after he was King, preferred a quiet Life to the Noiſe and Hurry of Arms. We don't find he acted any thing memorable during his Reign, except defeating the *Britons*, who ventured to attack him in 552. He died in 560, and was ſucceeded by *Ceaulin* his eldeſt Son.

CEAULIN.

560. H. Hunt. Flor Wig. M. Weſt. *Ceaulin*, being elected Monarch after his Father's Death, carried the Prerogatives of that Dignity to a very great Height. Having brought the neighbouring Princes into ſubjection, he made them apprehenſive, by ſeizing the Kingdom of *Suſſex* after *Ciſſa*'s Death, that he intended to reduce all *England* into one Kingdom. The better to ſecure *Suſſex*, he went and kept his Court at *Chicheſter*, leaving the Government of *Weſſex* to *Ceolric* his Nephew, whom he deſigned for his Succeſſor. His Ambition cauſed all the other Kings, *Ceolric* himſelf not excepted, to enter into a League againſt him. He was vanquiſhed by the King of *Kent*, who commanded the confederate Army (1), and forced to fly to ſome unknown Corner, where he ended his Days ſoon after. His Wars with the *Britons* and *Aidan* King of *Scotland*, were related in the ſecond Book.

Fl. Wig. 592. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2. Flor. Wig. in Gen.

CEOLRIC.

594. Fl. Wig. G. Malm. Ann. Sax. Nothing particular occurs concerning this Prince after his Acceſſion to the Throne upon the Death of his Uncle *Ceaulin*. He died in 598 and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Ceolulph*.

CEOLULPH.

598. Fl. Wig. H. Hunt. All we know of this Prince is, that in 607 he reduced to Obedience the *South-Saxons*, who had revolted (2). He died in 611, and had for his Succeſſor *Cinigiſil* his Nephew, Son of *Ceolric*.

CINIGISIL.

611. A Year after his Coronation *Cinigiſil* aſſociated *Quicelm* his Brother, or rather divided with him the Kingdom of *Weſſex*.

CINIGISIL *and* QUICELM.

612. 614. H. Hunt. These two Brothers obtained in 614 a ſignal Victory over the *Britons* (3).

I have already given an Account of *Quicelm*'s Wars with *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, and ſhall have further Occaſion to mention him in the Hiſtory of the Church; and therefore ſhall ſay no more of him here. *Quicelm* turned Chriſtian a little before his Death, which happened in 635. 635.

CINIGISIL *alone.*

636. This Prince who had embraced the Chriſtian Religion ſometime before his Brother, in 636, reigned alone till his Death. He left his Crown to his Son *Cenowalch*.

CENOWALCH.

643. The Reign of *Cenowalch* was much troubled with his Wars with the Kings of *Mercia*. *Penda*, whoſe Siſter he had married and divorced, attacked him when he leaſt 645. expected it, and compelled him to abandon his Kingdom, and fly for Refuge to *Annas* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, where he remained the three Years *Penda* kept poſſeſſion of *Weſſex*. *Cenwalch* was converted in *Eaſt-Anglia*, and 646. at length reſtored to his Kingdom by the Aſſiſtance of 648. *Annas*.

652. In 652 he obtained a ſignal Victory over the *Britons* (4), which was followed by another in 658 (5). G. Malm.

661. Sax. Ann. H. Hunt. Æthelw. l. 2. c. 7. G. Malm. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig. H. Hunt. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2. Some Years after, he was engaged in war with *Wulpher*, Succeſſor of *Penda*: but which was the Aggreſſor, or what was the Succeſs of the War is unknown. *Wulpher* was defeated and taken Priſoner. Others affirm he had entirely the Advantage, which to me ſeems moſt likely (6). It is certain *Wulpher* conquered *Suſſex* and the *Iſle of Wight*, which he could not have done, if *Cenowalch* had been in condition to oppoſe him. However this be, *Cenowalch* died in 672, and left his Crown to his Queen *Sexburga*.

SEXBURGA.

627. She was a Princeſs of great Courage, of a very ſublime and extenſive Genius, and poſſeſſed all the Qualifications *Id.* neceſſary for well-governing a Kingdom. She reigned but *Id.* one Year, and then died, as ſome ſay; but according to others, was depoſed by the *Weſt-Saxons*, who thought it a Diſhonour to obey a Woman (7).

Fl. Wig. in Gen. After the Death or Expulſion of *Sexburga*, the Kingdom was divided among ſeveral of the *Great Men* (8), of whom *Cenfus*, a Prince of the Royal Blood, deſcended from *Cerdic*, was the chief. Nothing more particular is known concerning this diſmembring of the Kingdom, which however was united again into one Body, after theſe petty Tyrants were either Dead or expelled. 673.

CENFUS, ESCWIN, *and* CENTWIN.

674. H. Hunt. l. 2. In 674, *Cenfus* aſſociated his Son *Eſcwin*, and probably was forced to let *Centwin* Brother to the late King *Cenowalch* reign alſo over ſome part of the Kingdom.

The next Year *Wulpher* attacked the Kings of *Weſſex*, whoſe Army was commanded by *Eſcwin*. A bloody Battle was fought, in which *Wulpher* had the Advantage; though the Loſs on both ſides was very great (9).

Cenfus died two Years after, and *Eſcwin* his Son did not long ſurvive him. Thus *Centwin* remained ſole King of *Weſſex*.

CENTWIN *alone.*

676. H. Hunt. Sax. Ann. M. Weſt. Fl. Wig. Hiſtory inform us, that in 682 *Centwin* obtained a ſignal Victory over the *Welſh* (10), upon which *Cadwallader* their King was forced to go and ſue for Aſſiſtance from the King of *Armorica*: The *Welſh* Prince afterwards took a Journey to *Rome*, where he died.

Fl. Wig. Sax. Ann. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2. About the end of *Centwin*'s Reign, *Cedwalla* a Prince of the Blood-Royal of *Weſſex* had ſo gained the People's Affection, that the King being jealous of him ordered him to depart the Kingdom. As *Cedwalla* could not diſpute the King's Command, he retired into *Suſſex*, and being well beloved, a great many young People choſe to accompany him, and follow his Fortune, inſomuch that he entered *Suſſex* with a fort of Army (11). *Adelwalch*, then King of *Suſſex*, angry at *Cedwalla*'s preſuming to enter his Dominions in a warlike Manner, and without his Permiſſion,

Id. l. 3. de Pont.

(1) This Battle was fought at *Wodenſdike*. *Malmſb.* p. 12. now call'd *Wanſdike* in *Wiltſhire*. See *Camden* in *Wiltſhire*.
(2) *Huntingd.* ſays, that during his whole Reign, he was engaged in Wars either with the *Engliſh*, the *Scots*, or the *Picts*, p. 315. And *Malmſb.* that he ſpent his whole Life in Wars, and was never idle, being always employed, either in defending or enlarging his Dominions, p. 12.
(3) At *Beamdune*, *Sax. Ann.* which Mr. *Camden* takes to be *Bampton* in *Devonſhire*, or *Bindon* in *Dorſetſhire*, p. 54, 56. They had alſo a Battle with *Penda* King of *Mercia*, who attempted to take *Cirenceſter* from them. *Malmſb.* p. 12.
(4) At *Witgeornesbrug*, ſays *Malmsb.* p. 13. The *Saxon Annals* ſay at *Bradenford*, now *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*. See *Camden*.
(5) Near the Hill call'd *Peue*, in *Somerſetſhire*; the *Welſh* were driven back as far as the River *Parret*. *Huntingd.* p. 317. *Malmſb.*
(6) *Malmſbury* ſays, that *Cenowalch* depriv'd *Wulpher* of the greateſt part of his Kingdom, p. 13. But *Huntingdon* affirms, that *Cenowalch* was defeated p. 317.
(7) *M. Weſtminſter* ſays, ſhe was expell'd the Kingdom by the Nobles, who deſpis'd *female* Government. But what Authority he had for This does not appear. *Malmſbury* gives her a great Character.
(8) For about the Space of ten Years. *Bede*, l. 4. c. 12.
(9) At a Place call'd in the *Sax. Ann. Bedanheaſde*, now *Bedwin* in *Wiltſhire*. *Camden*.
(10) He ravag'd their Country, and purſued them as far as the Sea, or St. *George*'s Channel. *Huntingd.* p. 318. *Malmſb.* p. 14.
(11) According to *Malmſbury*, he carried away all that were able to bear Arms, that he might leave the Country defenceleſs, p. 14.

would

would have driven him thence, but was ſlain in the fight.

Bede, l. 4. c. 15. After this Victory, *Cedwalla* would have ſeized the Kingdom, but was prevented by *Authun* and *Berthun*, as before related in the hiſtory of *Suſſex*. Mean while, *Centwin* happening to die, *Cedwalla* returned to *Weſſex*, and was

Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig. plac'd on the Throne.

CEDWALLA.

686. Fl. Wig. *Cedwalla* was not only King of *Weſſex* but likewiſe Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*. His firſt war was with *Authun* and *Berthun* Kings of *Suſſex*, ſpoken of before.

Having ended this war to his advantage, he turn'd his Arms againſt *Kent* (1), from whence he carried off a great Booty. Then he attack'd the Iſle of *Wight*, which belonged to the King of *Suſſex* ever ſince *Wulpher*'s Grant to *Adelwalch*. *Alwald*, Brother to *Authun*, being then Governor of the Iſle, undertook its defence; but as *Cedwalla*'s Forces were much ſuperior to his, he was forc'd at laſt to abandon the Iſle to the Mercy of the Conqueror. The Inhabitants being yet Idolaters, *Cedwalla* thro' a falſe Zeal for Religion, reſolved to root them out, and people the Iſland with Chriſtians. He would have executed this barbarous Reſolution, had not *Wilfred*, formerly Biſhop of *York*, and then Biſhop of *Selſey* in *Suſſex*, repreſented to him that it would be much better to endeavour to convert them. Upon the Biſhop's Remonſtrances, *Cedwalla* relented, but on condition the Inhabitants would be inſtantly baptiz'd. The poor Wretches, who had no time to deliberate, embraced the Chriſtian Religion at the firſt preaching of *Birwin* a Prieſt, Nephew of *Wilfred*, who was entruſted with their Converſion, if the bare Declaration of People threatned with death in caſe of refuſal, may be called by that Name.

687. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 1. Brompt. Polych. Some time after *Cedwalla* ſent his Brother *Mollon* with an Army into *Kent*. The miſerable death of *Mollon* there, and the terrible manner *Cedwalla* reveng'd it, have already been related in the hiſtory of that Kingdom.

688. Bede, l. 5. c. 7. At length, *Cedwalla* reſolved to take a Journey to *Rome* to receive Baptiſm at the hands of the Pope; for altho' he was a Chriſtian and a great zealot, he had never been baptized. He perform'd this Journey in 688. As he travelled thro' *France* and *Lombardy*, he was every where very honourably received. *Cunibert* King of the *Lombards* was particularly remarkable for the noble Entertainment he gave him. When he came to *Rome*, he was baptiz'd by Pope

M. 688. *Sergius* II, who gave him the name of *Peter*. He had all along wiſhed to die ſoon after his Baptiſm, and he had his deſire, for he died a few weeks after at *Rome*. He was buried in St. *Peter*'s Church, where a ſtately Tomb was erected to his Memory, with an *Epitaph* ſhewing his name, quality, age, and time of his death (2). He left, by *Cendrith* his Queen, two Sons, who did not ſucceed him by reaſon of their tender age. *Ina* his Couſin mounted the Throne after him.

INA.

688. Of all the Kings that reign'd in *England* during the *Heptarchy*, *Ina* was one of the moſt famous and illuſtrious: He muſt needs have been of great repute, ſince the ſame year he was crowned he was declared Monarch of the *Anglo-*

Aſſ. Men. *Saxons* in a General Aſſembly, where *Sebba* King of *Eſſex*, his Friend, ſerved him effectually.

Ina's Wars with the *Britons* in *Cornwal*, the Kings of *Kent*, the *South-Saxons*, and King of *Mercia*, rendred his valour, merit, and abilities, more and more conſpicuous. But as Hiſtorians have only told us the Succeſs, without mentioning the motives and circumſtances of theſe Wars, it is impoſſible to give a particular account of them. They

694. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2. Polychr. l. 5. c. 20. An Sax. H. Hunt. l. 4. only inform us that he carried his Arms into *Kent*, from whence nothing could drive him but the bribing him with a large Sum of Money (3); that in 710, he conquered part of *Cornwal:* That in 715, *Ina* and *Ceolred* fought a bloody Battle at *Wodensburgh* in *Wiltſhire*, with equal loſs on both ſides. That laſtly, he reduced to obedience the *South-Saxons*, who had revolted, and plac'd one *Albert* on their Throne (4).

An. Sax. Fl. Wig. H. Hunt. l. 4. Theſe are the military Exploits that gained *Ina* his Reputation for War. But the *Panegyricks* beſtowed on him by Hiſtorians, were not owing to theſe ſo much as to four other particulars, which to them ſeemed of greater importance, and which they have chiefly dwelt on. Firſt, he rebuilt *Glaſſenbury* Monaſtery, and augmented the Revenues and Privileges in ſuch a manner, that it became one of the moſt conſiderable in all *England* (5). In the ſecond place, he publiſhed a Body of Laws, entitled, *Weſt-Saxon Leaga* (6), that is, *Laws of the Weſt-Saxons*, which ſerved for foundation to that publiſhed in the next Century by *Alfred the Great* his Succeſſor. Thirdly, *Ina* ſignalized his Piety by quitting his Crown and turning Monk, which was then looked upon as an undoubted mark of Religion. This reſolution was taken by the perſuaſions of his Queen *Ethulburga*, who had prepared him for it, by frequently repreſenting to him the Examples of ſo many Kingss his Predeceſſors, that had run the ſame Race before, and were honoured as *Saints*. But laſtly what contributed moſt to *Ina*'s Fame, was this: before he ſhut himſelf up in a Mo-

727. M. Weſt. naſtery, he went to *Rome*, where after conferring with Pope *Gregory* II. he built a large College for the Inſtruction and Reception of the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſticks that ſhould come to ſtudy at *Rome*, and for the Entertainment and Lodging of the Kings and Princes of the ſame Nation, that ſhould viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles. Adjoining to the College, he built alſo a ſtately Church, and appointed a certain number of Prieſts to officiate. Beſides the Charge of the Buildings, of the ornaments of the Church, and of the neceſſaries of the College, there was an abſolute neceſſity of ſettling a ſtanding Fund for their maintenance, according to the intent of the Founder. Now *Ina* had taken care of this, by laying a Tax of a Penny on every Family in the Kingdom of *Weſſex* and *Suſſex*, which was to be ſent yearly to *Rome*, under the name of *Romeſcet*. Some time after *Offa* King of *Mercia* impos'd the ſame Tax on the Kingdom of *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, and term'd it *Peter-Pence*. Some ſay, *Ina* returned into *England* to have this Tax ſettled by the General Aſſembly, or Parliament of *Weſſex*, and to get the Charter ſigned by all the Nobility of the Kingdom (7). After which he return'd to *Rome*, where he took upon him the *Monkiſh* Habit (8). *Ethelburga*, who adviſed him to it only becauſe ſhe had a mind to become a *Nun* herſelf, put on the Veil in the Monaſtery of *Barking*.

Malmsbury is miſtaken in ſaying *Ina* was ſixty two years on the Throne of *Weſſex*, ſince it is certain he had reigned but thirty-ſeven, or at moſt but thirty-nine years when he reſigned his Crown to his Couſin *Adelard*.

ADELARD.

727. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2. Though *Adelard* was placed on the Throne with the conſent of the *Aſſembly General*, *Oſwald*, one of the Royal Family (9), diſputed the poſſeſſion of it with him. Their quarrel was decided by a Battle, wherein the King was victorious over his Rival, whoſe Death, which happened ſhortly after, reſtored peace and tranquility to the Kingdom. *Adelard* died in 740, and was ſucceeded by *Cudred* An. Sax. his Brother or Couſin.

CUDRED.

740. We have only the following particulars of the Reign of *Cudred:* for we muſt not expect to find any connexion between the Facts related by the Hiſtorians, or Annaliſts.

743. In 743, this Prince obtained a ſignal Victory over the *Corniſh* Men. Two years after, *Ethelun*, a *Weſt-Saxon* Lord, diſſatisfied with the King, raiſed a ſedition among the Soldiers, in which *Cenric* Son of *Cudred* was ſlain. This Action was followed by a *Civil* War, which laſted An. Sax. H. Hunt. l. 4. ſome time. *Ethelun* being at the Head of the Rebels, dared to give his ſovereign Battle, wherein the King, though not without great danger of being vanquiſhed, gained the victory. During the Fight, *Ethelun* gave ſuch notable proofs of an undaunted Courage, and extraordinary Conduct, that the King choſe rather to receive him into favour, than deſtroy a Subject that might be ſerviceable to him. And indeed, it was the ſame *Ethelun*, that in 752 vanquiſhed *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*, in a Battle 750. Bed. Ep. contin. mentioned in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom (10).

(1) For which no other Reaſon is aſſign'd but his inveterate Hatred againſt the Inhabitants of that Kingdom. *Malmſb.* p. 11.

(2) Hic depoſitus eſt *Cedwalla*, qui & Petrus, Rex Saxonum. Sub. xii. Cal. Maii Indictione Secundâ qui vixit annos plus minus triginta, imperante Domino Juſtiniano Piiſſimo Auguſto, Anno ejus conſulatus quarto, Pontificante Apoſtolico viro Sergio Papa Secundo. *Rapin.*

(3) Thirty thouſand Pounds, ſays the *Sax. Ann.* And according to *Malmsb.* thirty thouſand Marks of Gold, p. 14.

(4) He alſo drove all the Nobility of *Eaſt-Anglia* out of their Poſſeſſions, and afterwards defeated them in Battle. *Malmsb.* p. 14.

(5) By *Malmsbury*'s Account one would be inclin'd to think that he was the firſt Founder of it. See *Malmsb.* p. 14. The Charter confirm'd by a great Council of the whole *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Baldred* King of *Kent*, with other Biſhops and Great Men, is in Manuſcript in the Library of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and alſo publiſhed by Sir *H. Spelman*, in his firſt Volume of *Britiſh* Councils. But after all this Charter ſeems to be the Forgery of the *Benedictin* Monks.

(6) See Biſhop *Nicholſon*'s Hiſtorical Library, p. 45.

(7) There is no Authority for this. *Polidore Virgil* (who was the Pope's Collector of the Tax) allows it indeed, but it is not confirmed by any ancient Author or Council.

(8) Plebeio cultu amictus inter medicos conſenuit. *Higden. Polychron.* p. 248.

(9) He was the Son of *Ethelbald*, of *Cynebald*, of *Cuthwin*, of *Ceaulid*. *Malmsb.* p. 15. *Huntingd.* p. 338.

(10) This Battle was fought at *Beorgford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Camden.*

753. Ann. Sax. *Cudred* turned his victorious Troops againſt the *Britons* of *Cornwal* (1), and conquer'd Part of their Country, which he united to *Weſſex*. He died ſhortly after, and left his Crown to his Nephew *Sigebert*.

SIGEBERT.

754. H. Hunt. l. 4. Fl. Wig. *Sigebert*, very unlike his Predeceſſor, by his Vices and Cruelties (2), drew on himſelf the hatred and contempt of his Subjects. A certain *Count* (3) having expoſtulated with him concerning his Conduct, he ordered him to be put to Death in his Preſence. This Action made the *Weſt-Saxons* loſe all Patience; they publickly depoſe him, and place on the Throne *Cenulph*, Son of *Adelard*. *Sigebert* finding he could have no Redreſs, was forced to ſubmit to the ſentence of the States, and betake himſelf to a Foreſt (4), where he was killed by a Swineherd (5).

CENULPH.

754. Ann. Sax. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2. H. Hunt. l. 4. R. de Hov. *Cenulph* became very famous for his frequent victories over the *Britons* (6).

After he had reigned thirty Years, he grew jealous of *Cunehard*, Brother of *Sigebert*, and perhaps not without Reaſon. *Cunehard* having notice of the King's ſuſpicions, and knowing he intended to diſpatch him out of the way, reſolved to prevent him. To this End, diſcovering him one Day, as he went alone (7) to viſit a certain Lady whom he admired, he followed him, with ſome of his Friends (8), into the Houſe and attacked him, *Cenulph* defended himſelf furiouſly, and even wounded his Enemy, but at laſt, overpowered with Numbers, ſunk down with his Wounds. The King's officers and domeſticks running in at the Noiſe, and finding him dead, fell upon *Cunehard* and ſlew him, not regarding the large offers he made them to ſpare his Life, and place him on the Throne (9). *Brithric*, Son of *Cenulph*, ſucceeded his Father.

BRITHRIC.

784. 787. Fl. Wig. *Brithric*, three years after he was on the Throne, married *Edburga*, Daughter of *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, and about the ſame time baniſhed *Egbert* the Kingdom. *Egbert*, a Prince of the Royal Family (10), by his noble Qualities had gained the Affection of the *Weſt-Saxons* to ſuch a degree, that the King could not help being jealous. This was a ſufficient inducement to *Brithric* to free himſelf from the Uneaſineſs occaſioned by that Prince, by removing him from his Preſence (11). *Egbert* retired at firſt to the Court of *Offa* King of *Mercia*: but did not meet there with the Reception he expected, *Offa* being unwilling to diſoblige his Son-in-law *Brithric* by harbouring a Prince that was hateful to him. Whereupon *Egbert* reſolved to retire into *France*, where he was very civilly received by *Charles the Great*, who ſhowed him, on ſeveral Occaſions, marks of his Eſteem. During *Egbert*'s twelve years abode at this Prince's Court, he very much improved his natural Abilities (12), and rendered himſelf capable of executing the grand Deſign of uniting the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons* into one Monarchy, as will be ſeen preſently.

During the Reign of *Brithric*, the *Danes* made their firſt deſcent in the Kingdom of *Weſſex* (13). They began then to be formidable, not only at Sea, but on the Coaſts of ſeveral *European* Kingdoms. As in proceſs of time, they did the *Engliſh* incredible Damage, it is not without reaſon that Hiſtorians have been very exact in marking the time of their firſt Deſcent.

799. or 800. G. Malm. l. 2. c. 1. Aſſ. Men. *Brithric* in 799 was poiſoned by *Edburga* his Wife (14). The *Weſt-Saxons* were ſo provoked at this Action, that before they proceeded to the Election of a new King, they made a Law prohibiting the Wives of their future Kings from taking the Title of *Queen*, and ſitting on the Throne with their Husbands. And leſt the complaiſance of the Kings to their Wives might occaſion the breaking of this Law, it was further enacted, that hereafter, if any King of *Weſſex* ſhould diſpenſe with the Obſervance of it, he ſhould, *ipſo facto*, be deprived of his Royal Rights, and his Subjects abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance.

This affair being ended, an honourable Ambaſſy was ſent by the *Weſt-Saxons* to *Egbert*, to offer him the Crown. *Egbert* was *then* at *Rome* with *Charles the Great*, who received there, ſoon after, the Imperial Crown. Here he took his leave of that great Prince, who had been a Father to him, and at his departure gave him freſh marks of his Affection.

Queen *Edburga* having left *Weſſex* upon poiſoning her Husband, fled alſo to *Charles the Great*, who, in conſideration of the Friendſhip between him and her Father *Offa*, gave her a rich *Abbey*, where ſhe might have ſpent the remainder of her Days in Peace (15). But that way of Life not being agreeable to her Conſtitution, ſhe behaved ſo ill in it, that being ſurprized in an intrigue with a young *Engliſh* Gentleman, the Emperor was forced to ſend her away. She wandred about from place to place for ſome time, and at laſt went and ended her Days at *Pavia* in great want.

EGBERT.

800. *Egbert*, beſides the Valour natural to all the *Saxon* Princes, had one qualification that gave him a ſuperiority above the other Kings his Cotemporaries, which was, his great Knowledge in *Politicks*, acquired during his abode at the Court of *Charles the Great*, whoſe Example and Inſtructions, no doubt, had greatly contributed towards it. He was no ſooner on the Throne of *Weſſex*, but he perceived himſelf ſuperior to the other Kings, and reſolved to make the beſt Uſe of it (16). But like an able Politician, he judged it neceſſary to proceed by degrees in the execution of his Projects. Accordingly, he ſpent the firſt ſeven years of his Reign in ſettling the affairs of his Kingdom, and in gaining the love and eſteem of his own Subjects, in which he ſucceeded to his Wiſh.

The Kingdom of *Weſſex* being bounded on the South by the Sea, and on the North by the *Thames*, *Egbert* muſt of courſe begin the extending his borders either Eaſtwards or Weſtwards. To the Eaſt lay the Kingdom of *Kent*, which would have been very convenient for him; but as this Kingdom was then in ſubjection to *Cenulph*, King of *Mercia*, a Prince of diſtinguiſhed Worth, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, to begin with *Kent* would have been the ready way to ruin his Deſigns. And therefore, in expectation of a more favourable juncture, *Egbert* thought it proper to carry his Arms firſt towards the Weſt, againſt the *Britons* of *Cornwal*. His ſucceſs was ſo great in a war 809. undertaken in 809, that in one Campaign he reduced all Malmſb. *Cornwal* to his Obedience (17).

The *Welſh* intending to aſſiſt their Brethren in *Cornwal*, 810. gave *Egbert* a pretence to attack them the next Year. He defeated them ſeveral times, and at laſt ſubdued the Kingdom of *Venedocia* (18), one of the three, *Wales* was then divided into (19). The ſtruggles of the *Welſh* afterwards 811, to ſhake off their Yoke, ſerved only to make it the hea- 812, vier. *Egbert* re-entring their Country, deſtroyed all 813. with Fire and Sword, which made them take care how they provoked him a third time to come among them.

At length the death of *Cenulph* in year 819, gave 819. *Egbert* room ſeriouſly to conſider of executing his deſigns. He was immediately inveſted with the dignity of Monarch, to which none had a better claim than himſelf. His Kingdom was in a flouriſhing condition, whilſt the reſt, weakned by inteſtine diviſions, daily loſt ſomewhat of their luſtre and power. The *Heptarchy* was reduced to five Kingdoms,

(1) He and *Ethelbald* being reconcil'd, join'd their Forces againſt the *Britons*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.*

(2) Puffed up with his Predeceſſor's Victories, he became intolerable to his Subjects. Particularly he altered the Laws according to his own Pleaſure. *Huntingd.* p. 341. *Sax. Ann.*

(3) *Cumbra* ——— prece totius populi querimonias eorum [ſc. ſubditorum] Regi fero intimavit. *Hunting.* p. 341. *Tyr.* p. 226.

(4) The Foreſt of *Andredſwald*. *Hunting.* p. 342.

(5) Belonging to the late Count *Cumbra*. *Hunting.* p. 342.

(6) Anno 778, *Cenulph* fought a Battle with *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, at *Benſington* in *Oxfordſhire*; in which *Offa* got the Victory. *Brompt.* p. 770. *Malmſb.* p. 15.

(7) To *Merton* in *Surrey*. *Hunting.* p. 343.

(8) With ſeventy, ſays *Higden*, p. 251.

(9) *Cenulph* was buried at *Winchеſter*, and *Cunehard* at *Axminſter*. *Hunting.* p. 343; or at *Repton* according to *Malmſb.* p. 16.

(10) He was the Son of *Alcmund*, *Eſa*, *Eoppa*, *Inigiſil*, *Cenred*, who was the fourth from *Ceaulin*. *See the General Table of the Kings of* Weſſex.

(11) *Brithric* had form'd a Deſign of removing him out of the way; which *Egbert* being aware of, he fled to *Offa*; where Meſſengers ſoon came from *Britbric* to demand him; but he eſcaped into *France*. *Malmſb.*

(12) *Higden* ſays that there----*Scolam militarem exercuit*, p. 251, 252.

(13) At *Portland*. *Aſſer Ann. Malmſb.*

(14) He was buried at *Warham* in *Derſetſhire*. *Malmſb.* p. 16.

(15) At her Arrival ſhe made the Emperor many great Preſents, and he bidding her chuſe whom ſhe would have for a Huſband, himſelf, or his Son, ſhe fooliſhly choſe his Son; whereupon the Emperor laughing, ſaid, *If thou hadſt choſen me, thou ſhouldſt have had my Son, but now thou ſhalt have neither*. *Aſſer Annal. S. Dunelm.* p. 118.

(16) He took a particular Care to train up his Subjects, in the firſt place, into that Skill in *military Affairs*, which he had learnt at the Court of *France*. *Higden*, p. 252. *Malmſb.* p. 36.

(17) One of the Battles was fought at *Camelford* in *Cornwal*; ſeveral thouſands fell on both ſides. *Huntingd.* p. 345.

(18) In *Britiſh*, *Gwynedh*. The three Principalities *Wales* was divided into, were *Debeubarth* or *South-Wales*, *Gwynedh* or *North-Wales*, and *Powis* or *Powisland*. *Venedotia* was ſo named from the *Veneti* in *Armorica*, as ſome imagine. *Camden*, Vol. II. p. 778.

(19) He alſo took *Cheſter* from them. *Higd.* p. 252.

of which he poſſeſſed one of the moſt conſiderable. In the other four, the race of their antient Kings being extinct, nothing enſued but quarrels and diſſentions among the principal Lords, who all thought they had a right to aſpire to the Crown. And therefore ſo far were they from conſulting in common the publick good, that they regarded only their own Intereſts, and the forming of Parties to ſupport them in their ambitious Pretenſions. On the contrary, the Kingdom of *Weſſex* became every day more powerful by the weakneſs of the reſt, and the prudent adminiſtration of the Perſon that governed it, whoſe valour was equal to his Judgment and Ability, to ſet in motion the Springs of the moſt refined Politicks. Wherefore *Egbert* reſolved to haſten the execution of his Project of reducing *England* into one Kingdom. Almoſt all the preceding Monarchs had form'd the ſame deſign, and their not ſucceeding was entirely owing to unſeaſonable junctures. But ſoon after *Egbert*'s being declared Monarch, every thing conſpir'd to favour him. *Northumberland* had been long rent by two Factions, who, little attentive to what paſſed abroad, were only watching opportunities to ſupplant one another. *Mercia* was in no better condition. *Bernulph*, who had depos'd *Ceolwulph*, reigned only by the ſupport of a powerful Party, who indeed had Intereſt enough to raiſe him to the Throne, but found it difficult to uphold him, by reaſon of the envy of the nobles at his advancement. For which cauſe, tho' that Kingdom was conſiderably enlarged by the Acquiſition of *Eaſt-Anglia*, and tho' the King of *Kent* was become its tributary, it was far from being ſo powerful as *Weſſex*. The *Eaſt-Angles*, not yet thoroughly ſettled in the ſtate of ſubjection *Offa* had reduced them to, were waiting for a favourable Opportunity to throw off the *Mercian* Yoke, which to them was intolerable. The wars of the Kings of *Kent* with the *Weſt-Saxons* and *Mercians*, had brought them ſo low, that they could not avoid being tributary to the King of *Mercia*, and conſequently were not in condition to ſtand againſt *Egbert*. As for the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, beſides the probability of its being in Subjection to *Mercia*, it had long made but a very inconſiderable figure, and if it was ſtill governed by *Swithred*, which is uncertain, that Prince muſt have been of an extreme old Age.

Theſe conſiderations inflaming *Egbert*'s Ambition, he began his Preparations, which raiſing ſuſpicions in the King of *Mercia*, he thought betimes of providing for his ſafety. Tho' he was ignorant that *Egbert* intended the Conqueſt of all *England*, he could hardly doubt but he deſign'd to enlarge his dominions at the expence of his Neighbours. And therefore, dreading the Storm might ſuddenly fall on him, he believed that by attacking him before he was ready, he ſhould break his meaſures and compel him to be quiet. To this end, he advanc'd with his Army as far as *Ellandunum* near *Salisbury* (1), where contrary to his expectation he met his Enemy, whom he thought to have ſurpriz'd unawares. The two Armies coming to an Engagement, the *Mercians* were routed with ſo great Loſs, that it was not poſſible for *Bernulph* ever to retrieve it.

Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd.

This Victory procur'd *Egbert* two great Advantages. Firſt, As it very much weakened the King of *Mercia*, who alone was able to withſtand him. Secondly, As it opened the way to the Conqueſt of *Kent*, for which *Bernulph* himſelf had given a pretence, by attacking him firſt. This Conqueſt was abſolutely neceſſary to his becoming maſter of all the Country between the *Thames* and the Sea. Beſides, by beginning the execution of his Deſigns with the Kingdom of *Kent*, he was the leſs apprehenſive of alarming the *Northumbrians*, who were too remote to concern themſelves with what was tranſacting beyond the *Thames*.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, *Egbert* ſent his Son *Ethelwolph* with a powerful army into *Kent*. *Baldred*, unprepared againſt an Invaſion, preſſed in vain the King of *Mercia* to come and aſſiſt him. *Bernulph* was diſabled, by his late defeat, from bringing an army ſo ſoon into the field. Beſides, *Egbert* had ſo poſted himſelf, that it was not poſſible to relieve *Kent* without overcoming his army, which as *Bernulph* could not pretend to attempt, the burden of the war, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, was to be ſuſtained by *Baldred* alone. However he hazarded a Battle; but being vanquiſhed, retired into *Mercia*, leaving his Kingdom to the young *Weſt-Saxon* Prince, who became maſter of it without any difficulty. Thus the Kingdom of *Kent* was united to thoſe of *Weſſex* and *Suſſex*, and by that means *Egbert* ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole Country lying South of the *Thames*.

This firſt ſtep being taken, *Egbert* rendred himſelf alſo maſter of the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, which is all Hiſtorians ſay of it, without mentioning any one Circumſtance: So imperfect is the Hiſtory of that Kingdom.

Tho' the Conqueſt of theſe two Kingdoms was a great ſtep towards ſubduing the reſt, yet the moſt difficult Task was ſtill behind; namely, the Conqueſt of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Had theſe three Kingdoms been in their former ſplendor, each of them in particular would have kept *Egbert* fully employed. Nay, had they but entered into a ſtrict Alliance for their common defence, when they were going to be attacked, they would perhaps have cauſed that ambitious Prince to deſpair of ſubduing them. But their diviſions prevented them from making ſo neceſſary an Alliance. The *Eaſt-Angles* were waiting for an opportunity to revolt againſt the King of *Mercia*. The *Northumbrians* for ſome time had lived in a ſort of Anarchy, which diſabled them from taking any meaſures with regard to foreign Affairs. So far were they from any thoughts of aſſiſting their neighbours, that they were wholly intent upon deſtroying one another, in which they were but too ſucceſsful. *Mercia* indeed ſeemed ſtill very powerful, but the *Mercians* were in no greater Union among themſelves than the *Northumbrians*, and beſides, the battle of *Ellandunum* had conſiderably weakened them; whereas *Weſſex* was grown ſtronger by the Conqueſt of two Kingdoms.

Egbert beholding with pleaſure how all things conſpired to favour his deſigns, reſolved to invade *Mercia* in the firſt place, plainly foreſeeing, could he conquer that Kingdom, the reſt would make no long reſiſtance. *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* made but one body ever ſince their union by *Offa*. But as this union was not cemented by the mutual Affections of the two Nations, it was rather deſtructive than advantageous to the State. The *Eaſt-Angles* looked upon the *Mercians* as their hateful maſters; whilſt the *Mercians* on their part, treated the *Eaſt-Angles* with haughtineſs, as a conquered Nation. This being the Caſe, it was much more eaſy for *Egbert* to foment their mutual Enmity, than for them to reap the benefit of their Union. For this reaſon *Egbert*, to accompliſh his ends with the more eaſe, increaſed their animoſity to the utmoſt of his power, not doubting but, could he once bring them to an open rupture, they would ſo weaken one another, as never more to be able to reſiſt him. It is ſtrange, ſince this maxim is univerſally known, *We muſt divide thoſe whom we would deſtroy*, it ſhould ſo frequently happen that they againſt whom it is practiſed, ſhould attend ſo little to it. That the *Eaſt-Angles*, blinded by their extreme deſire of freeing themſelves from the *Mercian* Yoke, without a moment's conſideration followed the advice ſecretly given them by *Egbert*, of taking up Arms for the recovery of their Liberty. Their attention to their preſent Intereſt, prevented them from reflecting, that after they had been ſubſervient to *Egbert*'s deſign, they would be ſtill leſs able to withſtand him than the *Mercians*. It is true, *Egbert*, pretending to have no other view but their Intereſt, cauſed whatever was moſt capable to excite them to a revolt, to be laid before them. His Emiſſaries told them, there never was ſo favourable an opportunity of recovering their Liberty: That the *Mercians* were ſo extremely weakened ſince the battle of *Ellandulum*, that they were hardly able to maintain their tyranny over the *Eaſt-Angles*: That beſides, *Egbert* was ſo incenſed againſt *Bernulph* that he would readily aſſiſt them, having publickly declared as much. This was ſufficient to induce the *Eaſt-Angles* to revolt. The pleaſure of thinking they ſhould be freed from their dependance on the *Mercians*, baniſhed from their thoughts the fear of becoming ſubject to the *Weſt-Saxons*. Thus reſolved, they took up Arms, and choſe a General, whoſe Name Hiſtorians have neglected to relate. *Bernulph* informed of their motions, thought he could not be too ſpeedy in putting a ſtop to an evil that ſeemed of ſo dangerous a conſequence. With the firſt Troops he could draw together, he marched againſt the *Eaſt-Angles*, but inſtead of chaſtiſing them, as he vainly hoped, was defeated and ſlain.

The *Eaſt-Angles* were mightily encouraged by this Succeſs, without diſheartning however the *Mercians*, who made freſh attempts to reduce the Rebels. They forthwith elect a King, named *Ludican*, who endeavours to continue the War, whilſt the *Eaſt-Angles* are preparing to receive him, in expectation the King of *Weſſex* would not fail them upon occaſion according to his Promiſe. *Ludican* actually entered *Eaſt-Anglia* with a numerous Army; but Death prevented him from making any Progreſs, and rendered his preparations for that Campaign of no Effect. Some ſay, he was ſlain in a Battle: Others affirm, the *Eaſt-Angles* found means to free themſelves from the dread of this Prince, by cauſing him to be aſſaſſinated. Malmſb. Aſſer. Ann.

Whether the *Mercians* diſcovered that *Egbert* privately aſſiſted the *Eaſt-Angles*, or the Conqueſts already made by that Prince, opened their Eyes, they were ſenſible at length, the maintaining their dominion over *Eaſt-Anglia*, was not ſo much the buſineſs of the preſent War, as the preſervation of their own Liberties. In this belief, they reſolved to exert their utmoſt, and chuſe a King of known valour, without regarding the Intereſts of the ſeveral Factions, which till then had kept them divided. Their choice

(1) *Higden* ſays, that *Elindon* (as he calls it) was in *Hamptunenſi provinciâ*, p. 252. The Annotator upon *Camden* thinks it was *Elingdon*, near *Highworth*. *See Camden in Wiltſhire.* Mr. *Lambard*'s Suppoſition is moſt probable, That it was *Elliſfield* near *Wincheſter*. *Diction. Topograph.*

ſell

fell upon *Witglaph*, a Lord of great Merit, whoſe Son had married a Daughter of King *Cenulph*. If the new King had been to deal with the *Eaſt-Angles*, probably he would have ended the war to his advantage. But inſtead of aiming at the reduction of *Eaſt-Anglia*, he was very much embaraſſed to defend his own dominions. *Egbert* fearing the ſtate of affairs might be changed under a new Prince, whoſe valour he was no ſtranger to, no longer delayed to declare openly for the *Eaſt-Angles*. Hitherto he had only aſſiſted them privately, at leaſt he had not appeared as a party in the war, raiſed by him between them and the *Mercians*, with the ſole aim that they might weaken one another. But as ſoon as the preparations of the *Mercians* gave him room to fear the balance would incline too much on their ſide, he thought himſelf obliged to take other meaſures, by publickly aſſiſting the *Eaſt-Angles*, and declaring war with the *Mercians*. *Witglaph* uſed his utmoſt endeavours to withſtand the united Forces of the *Eaſt-Angles* and *Weſt-Saxons*. He even frequently tried the fortune of his Arms in skirmiſhes and conflicts, but always with ill ſucceſs. At length, having loſt a great battle, and finding his caſe deſperate, he fled to the Abby of *Croyland*, where he lay concealed three Months. In the mean time, *Egbert* purſuing his victory, became maſter of *Mercia*, without any oppoſition. He deſigned to unite it to the reſt of his dominions, but by the mediation of *Siward* Abbot of *Croyland*, *Witglaph* was reſtored to his Kingdom, on condition of paying homage, and becoming tributary to the Conqueror.

Ingulph. Sax. Ann.

After the *Eaſt-Angles* had been ſubſervient to *Egbert*'s Deſigns, they were glad to be received into his Protection, on almoſt the ſame Terms with the *Mercians*, ſo that all the advantages procured them by the War, was the change of one Maſter for another.

Northumberland alone remained as yet free from the dominion of *Egbert*. But that Kingdom was little able to preſerve her Liberty, conſidering the ill ſituation of her Affairs. *Andred*, who then reigned, was a King in name only. His Faction had placed him on the Throne, not that he, but themſelves might reign in his Name. Beſides, the Kingdom was all along rent by Parties, and frequently invaded by the *Scots*, who had over-run great part of its Territories. It was not poſſible therefore for the *Northumbrians* to withſtand the victorious Arms of the King of *Weſſex*, or rather, of all the reſt of *England*, which was in that Prince's Power. Accordingly, when *Egbert* approached with an Army that had already conquered four Kingdoms, *Andred* and the *Northumbrians* in great Conſternation, and unable to make head againſt him, ſubmitted, and accepted of the ſame Terms granted the *Mercians* and *Eaſt-Anglians*.

Malmſb.

Thus ended the *Heptarchy* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, by the reduction of the ſeven Kingdoms, under the Dominion of the King of *Weſſex*. Indeed *Mercia*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, ſtill preſerved a Shadow of Liberty; but very probably *Egbert* would not have ſuffered other Kings to be choſen, after the Death of thoſe who were then on the Throne, if the *Danes*, who ſhortly after began their Invaſions, had given him Time to take other Meaſures.

The Government of the *Heptarchy*, reckoning from the founding of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, the laſt of the ſeven *Anglo-Saxon* Kingdoms, held two hundred and forty three Years. But if the time ſpent by the *Saxons* in their Conqueſts, be added, from the Arrival of *Hengiſt* to that of *Crida*, the *Heptarchy* will be found to have laſted three hundred and ſeventy eight, from its beginning to its Diſſolution.

If we enquire into the Cauſes of the Diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, they will very readily occur. It is eaſy to perceive one of the principal was, the great Inequality amongſt the ſeven Kingdoms, three whereof vaſtly ſurpaſſed the reſt in Extent and Power. Hardly was the *Heptarchy* founded, when the Kings of *Weſſex* looked upon *Suſſex* and *Kent* as extremely convenient for them, and accordingly both the one and the other were ſubdued by them at different times. The Kings of *Mercia* had all along an Eye on the Kingdom of *Eſſex*. Nay, it appears they were Maſters of it for ſome time, and in all likelihood it was not entirely free, when conquered and united to his other Dominions by *Egbert*. *Eaſt-Anglia* was an Object that continually inflamed the Deſires of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, the firſt of whom carried it at length.

Another Cauſe of the Diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, was the default of the Male-Heirs in the Royal Families of all the Kingdoms, *Weſſex* excepted. Hence aroſe thoſe Diſſentions among the *Great Men*, which exceedingly weakened their reſpective States. We may aſſign moreover as another Cauſe, the Concurrence of various Circumſtances, which never met but in the time of *Egbert*. But chiefly this Diſſolution was owing to the Direction of the *Providence* of God, whoſe good Pleaſure it was to raiſe *England* by degrees, and after ſeveral Revolutions, to her preſent height of Grandeur and Power.

The Conqueſts of *Great-Britain*, and the relinquiſhing of the ſame by the *Romans*, is the Subject of the firſt Book of this Hiſtory. In the ſecond the largeſt and nobleſt Part of the Iſland is repreſented ſtruggling with the *Anglo-Saxons*, and at laſt obliged to ſubmit to their Yoke. In the third, I have related, though in a very general Manner, the Affairs of the *Heptarchy* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, their Wars, the Succeſſion of their Kings in each of the ſeven Kingdoms, and have concluded with ſhowing this ſame *Heptarchy* turned into a real Monarchy.

It remains now that I ſpeak of the Converſion of the *Anglo-Saxons* to the Chriſtian Religion, and give a Repreſentation of the *Church of England* in her *Primitive* State, wherein conſiſts the principal part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory during the *Heptarchy*.

THE

THE

STATE of the Church of ENGLAND,

FROM THE

Converſion of the Engliſh, *to the Diſſolution of the* Heptarchy.

WE have ſeen, in the ſecond Book, the horrid Deſolation of the *Britiſh* Church, whilſt expos'd to the Barbarity of the *Saxons*, who thought it their Duty to perſecute the *Chriſtians*. We ſhall now behold theſe very *Saxons* from Perſecutors grown Chriſtians, by the Direction of divine Providence, which inceſſantly watches for the Welfare of Mankind, forming a flouriſhing Church in the ſame Places where they had exercis'd their Cruelties. 'Tis not our Buſineſs to dive into the Reaſons of God's aſſigning different Periods to the ſeveral Nations of the World, for leading them into the way of Salvation. It is ſufficient for us to know and admire, that when the happy time is come, not only no Obſtacle can obſtruct the Execution of his Deſigns, but on the contrary, every thing helps to accompliſh them: Nay, the weakeſt Inſtruments, in the hands of the Almighty acquire an irreſiſtible Force.

In order to have a clear and diſtinct Knowledge of the manner of the Converſion of the *Anglo Saxons*, and of the moſt remarkable Occurrences from the Foundation of their Churches, to the Diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, *England* muſt be conſider'd not, as it is at preſent, one Realm, but as divided into ſeven diſtinct Kingdoms. Theſe Kingdoms being converted at different times, it will be neceſſary to treat of each of them by itſelf. And therefore, I am now about to relate how the Goſpel was received by every one of them in particular, with the moſt memorable tranſactions in reſpect to Religion, from their Converſion to their being reduced under the Dominion of *Egbert*, the firſt real Monarch of *England*.

The CHURCH *of* KENT.

The State of the Church of Kent.

AS *Kent* was firſt converted, I ſhall begin with that Kingdom. But becauſe ſeveral Accidents conſpired to this Event, it will be proper, in order to have a juſt Notion of the Thing, to ſet them all in one View before the Reader.

I have ſpoken in the Hiſtory of *Kent*, of *Ethelbert*'s Power over the reſt of the Kings of the *Heptarchy*, and intimated, that his Neighbourhood to, and Alliance with *France*, did not a little contribute towards it. For this Reaſon he omitted nothing to cultivate a ſtrict Friendſhip with the *French*, well knowing how much it might turn to his Advantage. The Means he judged moſt proper to this End, was the demanding a *French* Princeſs in Marriage; accordingly he caſt his Eyes on *Bertha*, Daughter of *Cherebert*, King of *Paris*. He at firſt met with ſome Obſtacle. *Chilperic*, who, after his Brother *Cherebert*'s Death, had been as a Father to this Princeſs, would not hear a word of the Match, on account of *Ethelbert*'s being an *Idolater*; and this for ſome time put a ſtop to the Matter. But *Ethelbert* found Means to remove this Difficulty, by promiſing to let *Bertha* have the free Exerciſe of her Religion, and bring over with her a certain Number of Eccleſiaſticks. Upon theſe Terms the Princeſs was given him in Marriage. *Chilperick* her Uncle, was in hopes that as ſhe was thoroughly grounded in her Religion, ſhe would be ſo far from turning Heathen herſelf, that ſhe would contribute to the Converſion of the *Engliſh* Monarch. And in this his Expectations were anſwered. As ſoon as they came together, ſhe ſpared no pains to gain his Love and Eſteem by her affable and condeſcending Behaviour. *Ethelbert*, charm'd with the good Qualities of his Spouſe, had all the Value and Affection for her ſhe could deſire. In this agreeable Situation *Bertha* juſtly hoped to bring the King at length to have favourable Thoughts of the Chriſtian Religion, and therefore took all Occaſions to diſplay the *Goſpel Truths* in the moſt affecting manner. Beſides, the Converſations *Ethelbert* had from time to time with *Luidhard* Biſhop of *Soiſſons*, who came over with the Queen, contributed very much to her Deſign. In a ſhort time, *Ethelbert* was ſo wrought upon, that if he had not yet Reſpect enough for the Chriſtian Religion to embrace it, at leaſt he had no Averſion to the Goſpel or thoſe that profeſſed it.

Thorn. Bede, l. 1. c. 25.

Thorn.

In this favourable Juncture it was that Pope *Gregory* I. 596.
ſent *Miſſionaries* into *England* to inſtruct the *Engliſh* in the Knowledge of the Goſpel. *Gildas* and *Bede* reproach the *Britons* bitterly for ſuffering their Neighbours to live ſo long in *Paganiſm*, without offering them their Aſſiſtance to free them from their Errors. But they blame them without Cauſe. It is eaſy to ſee, that whilſt the *Saxons* oppreſſed the Natives with all imaginable Cruelties, theſe laſt were very unfit Inſtruments to inſtruct their Perſecutors. Beſides, their continual Wars gave the *Saxons* no time to turn their Thoughts to religious Affairs. But when they came to be ſettled, Aſſiſtance was not wanting, and though it came from far, it was no leſs effectual than if it had flowed from their Neighbours. As this here is a very remarkable *Epocha* in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, it will be proper to ſhow the ſecret Ways made uſe of by Providence in the Execution of its Deſigns in favour of this Nation. In order to this, it will be neceſſary to look back a little to what happened before.

Bede, l. 1. c. 22.

About eighteen or twenty Years before the Arrival of the *Roman Miſſionaries*, in the Reign of *Alla* King of *Deira*, ſome young Children were ſent from thence to *Rome* to be ſold. That ſort of Trade was *then* commonly drove by the *Engliſh*, who made no ſcruple of ſelling their Children, when over-ſtocked. Theſe young Slaves, being expoſed to ſale in the publick Market, drew the Eyes of vaſt Numbers of People upon them, who could not admire them enough. Among the reſt, *Gregory*, Archdeacon of *Rome*, beheld them very attentively. He enquired particularly after the place of their Birth, and the Religion there profeſſed. As ſoon as he knew they were *Engliſh* (1), and born of idolatrous Parents, he reſolved to go and preach the Goſpel to that Nation; and having obtain'd the *Pope*'s Licenſe, prepared for his Journey. But the *Romans*, who had a great Veneration for him, petitioned the *Pope* not to deprive them of ſo uſeful a Paſtor; and the *Pope* complied with their Requeſt. Thus *Gregory*'s Deſign remained unexecuted. The time appointed by God for the Converſion of the *Engliſh* was not yet come; and probably, ſuch were then the Circumſtances of the Nation, *Gregory*'s Undertaking would have met with great Difficulties. All *England* was troubled with Wars and Commotions, which broke out afreſh continually. *Ethelbert* had not yet eſpouſed *Bertha*; his Mind as yet was unprepared for the Reception of the Goſpel, and being Vaſſal to *Ceaulin*, he had but little Power to encourage *Gregory*'s Deſign. But afterwards, all Circumſtances were equally favourable, and helped to promote it. *Gregory*, now become Biſhop of *Rome*, called to mind his former Project of converting the *Engliſh*; and though by reaſon of his Dignity, which obliged him to reſide at *Rome*, he could not go in Perſon, he ſent thoſe whom he thought capable of inſpiring the People with a Reliſh for the Goſpel. He choſe for this Purpoſe forty *Benedictine* Monks, with *Auſtin* at their Head, in quality of Abbot (2). In all appearance, *Bertha* had acquainted the *Pope* how well affected the King her Husband ſtood

Bede, l. 2. c. 1.

Brompton. Malmſb.

Thorn.

(1) *Bede* has either invented or elſe heard that Pope *Gregory* made divers *Latin* Alluſions upon the Anſwers to his Queſtions concerning thoſe Boys. Particularly being told they were *Angli*, he replied, *Bene, nam Angelicam habent faciem.* Hence ſome have imagined (particularly *Verſtegan*) that the Name of *Angli* comes from *Angelus*. Whereas it is plain, their being call'd *Angli* gave occaſion to *Gregory*'s Pun.

(2) He was then Abbot of St. *Gregory*'s at *Rome*. *Spelman. Conc.* Vol. 1. p. 92. *Rapin.*

with regard to Religion, ſince they were ordered to land in *Kent*. *Auſtin* and his Companions (1) having paſſed through *France*, where they were ſupplied with Interpreters, arrived at the Iſle of *Thanet* (2), in the year of our
597. Lord 597. As ſoon as they were landed, he ſent the
Bede, l. 1. c. 25. King word, that he was come into his Dominions with a Company of very honeſt Men, to bring him a meſſage of the greateſt Importance, and inſtruct him in what would procure him everlaſting Happineſs. Upon this Information, *Ethelbert* ordered them to ſtay where they were, deſigning to go himſelf and hear from their own Mouths the occaſion of their Journey. Some few days after, he went to the Iſle of *Thanet*, in company with the Queen, who, in all likelihood, was not ignorant of the Reaſon of *Auſtin*'s coming. As ſoon as the King arrived, he ſeated himſelf in the open Air, being apprehenſive, as *Bede* ſays, of *Charms* or *Spells*, which in the open Field, he thought, could have no Power over him. Then ordering the Strangers to be called before him, he asked them what they had to propoſe. *Auſtin*, who was the Spokeſman, made a long Harangue, preaching the Goſpel in a forcible and zealous manner, ſays the ſame Hiſtorian, though he relates not one word of his Sermon. *Ethelbert*, informed by the Interpreters what *Auſtin* had ſaid, returned him this Anſwer: "Your Propoſals are noble, and your Promiſes "inviting. But I cannot reſolve upon quitting the Reli- "gion of my Anceſtors, for one that appears to me ſup- "ported only by the Teſtimony of Perſons that are en- "tire Strangers to me. However, ſince, as I perceive, "you have undertaken ſo long a Journey on purpoſe to "impart to us what you deem moſt important and valua- "ble, you ſhall not be ſent away without ſome Satisfaction. "I will take care you are treated civily in my Domini- "ons, and ſupplied with all Things neceſſary and conve- "nient. And if any of my Subjects, convinced by what "you ſhall ſay to them, deſire to embrace your Religion, "I ſhall not be againſt it."

This firſt Step being taken, the Queen got leave for the *Miſſionaries* to ſettle at *Canterbury*, the Capital of *Kent*, where ſhe took care to provide them with convenient Lodgings, and procure them the liberty of preaching to as many as had the Curioſity to hear them. They made ſo good uſe of this favourable Juncture, that in a ſhort time ſeveral of the principal *Saxons* embraced the Chriſtian Faith. The ſwift Progreſs of the Goſpel at *Canterbury*, raiſed the King's Curioſity to be more particularly inſtructed in the
598. nature of the Religion thoſe Strangers preached. At length,
Bede. Fl. Wig. Thorn. by the Perſuaſions of the Queen, and frequent Conferences with *Auſtin*, he received Baptiſm, about a year after the arrival of the *Miſſionaries*. The Converſion of the King being followed by that of Multitudes of his Subjects, the Queen's Chapel, which ſtood without the City (3), ſoon became too little to hold them. And therefore they were obliged to turn one of the Heathen Temples into a Church,
Bede, l. 1. c. 33. which was dedicated to St. *Pancrace*. Shortly after ſeveral other Temples were ſerved in the ſame manner by *Ethelbert*'s Order, and the Foundations of *Canterbury* Cathedral were laid; which was dedicated to St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and was afterwards called St. *Thomas*. *Auſtin* began alſo a Monaſtery which he had not the Satisfaction to ſee finiſhed. *Peter*, one of his Companions, was the firſt Abbot. It was called the Monaſtery of St. *Auguſtin*, from its Founder. *Ethelbert* at length leaving *Canterbury* to the
Cam. in Cant. *Italian* Monks, went and kept his Court at *Reculver*.

Thus began the Converſion of the *Saxons* in *England*. *Auſtin* and his Fellow-labourers were the Inſtruments made uſe of by Divine Providence to turn them from their idolatrous Superſtitions to the Light of the Goſpel; a Bleſſing their Brethren in *Germany* enjoyed not till Two hundred years after, in the reign of *Charles the Great*. *Ethelbert* promoted to his utmoſt the Converſion of his Subjects, but without uſing the leaſt Violence or Compulſion, having learnt of his Inſtructors, as *Bede* expreſly obſerves, that
Bede, l. 1. c. 26. Gregor. Ep. L. vii. Ep. 30. God requires none to ſerve him, but thoſe who do it with a willing Mind. It were to be wiſhed, all Chriſtian Princes would follow his Example! The *Saxons* were ſo eager to embrace the Goſpel, that, if Hiſtorians may be credited, *Auſtin* in one day baptized Ten thouſand in the River *Swale*, which runs into the *Thames*.

This ſwift Progreſs of the Goſpel in *Kent* making *Auſtin* believe he ſhould meet with the ſame Succeſs every where, he looked upon all *England* as already converted. Poſſeſſed with this Notion, he haſtened to *Arles*, to get himſelf conſecrated Archbiſhop of the *Saxons*, by *Etherius* [or *Vigilius*,] then Archbiſhop of that Place. Had he been contented with the bare Title of *Biſhop*, one ſhould not have wondered at it (4). But it is really ſurprizing, that he ſhould aſpire to the *Archiepiſcopal* Dignity, at a time when he had no Biſhop under his Juriſdiction. It is true the Pope had promiſed to make him an Archbiſhop, in caſe his *Miſſion* met with Succeſs. But in all appearance, *Gregory*, by Succeſs, meant the Converſion of the *Engliſh* Nation in general, and not of a part only of one of the leaſt Kingdoms in the *Heptarchy*. How great Progreſs ſoever *Auſtin* had made for the time he had been in *England*, yet was it nothing in compariſon of what remained to be done. His haſte therefore to be made *Archbiſhop* and *Primate* of *England*, when there was but one ſingle Church there, does not redound much to his Credit. All that can be ſaid in his Juſtification, is, that the Progreſs of Chriſtianity at *Canterbury*, made him imagine the Converſion of all *England* was at hand. And indeed, not long after his return from 603.
Arles, he erected an *Epiſcopal See* at *Rocheſter*, of which *Juſtus*, one of his Companions, was the firſt Biſhop. Hence it is plain, the Goſpel had alſo been preached in that City, and made ſome Progreſs there.

Auſtin muſt needs have entertained great Hopes of his
Bede, l. 1. c. 27. *Miſſion*, ſince fearing he ſhould want *Labourers* in the approaching *Harveſt*, he ſends *Peter* and *Laurence*, with two others of his Companions, before-hand to *Rome*, to acquaint the *Pope* with his Wants, and inform him how Matters ſtood. He took this Opportunity alſo to deſire the *Pope*'s Reſolution of certain Queſtions, which appeared to him difficult, and might, he foreſaw, puzzle him in the Government of the *new* Church.

The Letters of *Auſtin*, and the Accounts of thoſe he had ſent, inſpired *Gregory* with ſo high a Conceit of this *Miſſion*, that looking upon the Converſion of the *Engliſh* as accompliſhed, though it was but juſt begun, he ſent the *Pall* (5) to *Auſtin*, as a Mark of Diſtinction and Honour to this *new Apoſtle*. He ordered him alſo to erect *Biſhops Sees*
Greg. Ep. 15. l. 11. in ſeveral Places, particularly at *York*, where was to be a *Metropolitan* with twelve *Suffragans*, and that after the Death of one of the two Archbiſhops, the Survivor ſhould conſecrate another in his Place, and have the Precedence of him (6). The reaſon of this Preference with regard to *York*, was, becauſe it had formerly, under the *Romans*, been an Archbiſhoprick as well as *London* and *Caerleon*. As for this laſt, it being then in the Hands of the *Britons*, and already an Archbiſhop's *See*, though not under the *Pope*'s Juriſdiction, there was no occaſion to mention it. *Gregory*'s Intent therefore in making *London* an Archbi-
Rog. Wen. M. Weſt. G. Malmſb. l. 1. c. 4. ſhoprick, was to reſtore Things to their former State. But however, he afterwards altered his Meaſures at the inſtance of *Auſtin*, who was deſirous of procuring that Honour for *Canterbury*, the *Metropolis of Kent*, where he had begun to exerciſe his *Miniſterial Functions*. The *Pope*'s View then, was only to put Things upon an antient foot, when in his Anſwer to *Auſtin*, he told him he meant, that the two Archbiſhops of *London* and *York* ſhould be independent of one another, however, that *Auſtin* during Life, ſhould have Juriſdiction, as well over them, as all the reſt of the Biſhops of *Great-Britain*.

But all the Pains *Gregory* was at, came to nothing for the preſent, ſince the *Chriſtian* Religion was far enough from extending to *Northumberland*. However, the great Hopes he had conceived from the Letters and Meſſengers of *Auſtin*, induced him to give Directions concerning the *Engliſh* Churches, juſt as if they had been really formed. Beſides theſe general Orders, he exhorted *Auſtin*, in the ſame Letter (7), not to be elated at his having received from Heaven the Gift of Miracles, which makes it probable, word had been ſent him, that ſeveral Miracles had been wrought by *Auſtin*. He charged him alſo, not to pull down ſuch *Idol Temples* as were fit to be converted into Churches, but to conſecrate them by ſprinkling *Holy-Water*, and placing *Relicks* under the Altars. And ſince the *Saxons* had been accuſtomed to offer Sacrifices to their

(1) After they were got ſome way on their Journey, reflecting upon the Difficulties and Dangers of their Undertaking, they unanimouſly reſolved to return home. And accordingly ſent *Auſtin* to the Pope, to deſire him to excuſe them from ſo fatiguing and dangerous a Journey. But *Gregory* ſent them a Letter, wherein he exhorted them to go on, which they accordingly did. *Bede*, l. 1. c. 23.

(2) And landed in a Place called *Reteſhourgh*. *Thorn*, p. 1759. *X. Script.*

(3) It was dedicated to St. *Martin*, and had formerly been a Church in the time of the *Romans*. *Bede*, l. 1. c. 26.

(4) *Bede* ſays, that he was appointed by *Gregory* to be only *Biſhop*, l. 1. c. 23; but afterwards he informs us, that he was conſecrated Archbiſhop, c. 27. *Collier* ſays, he was conſecrated Biſhop by the *German* Prelates, before he came over to *England*. This he grounds on *Gregor. Epiſt.* l. vii. Ep. 30. Which ſee in *Spelman Concil.* Vol. I. p. 80.

(5) The *Pall* is a white piece of Woolen Cloth, about the breadth of a Border, made round, and thrown over the Shoulders. Upon this are two others of the ſame *Matter* and *Form*, one of which falls down on the Breaſt, and the other on the Back, with each of them a red Croſs, ſeveral Croſſes of the ſame Colour being likewiſe upon the upper part of it about the Shoulders. This *Pall* is laid upon St. *Peter*'s Tomb by the Pope, and then ſent away to the reſpective *Metropolitans*, which till they have received from the See of *Rome*, they can't call a *Council*, bleſs the *Chriſm*, conſecrate *Churches*, or a *Biſhop*, ordain a *Prieſt*, &c. At the delivery of it they are to ſwear *Fealty* to the *Pope*. The antient *Pall*, from the *Latin Pallium*, was an entire and magnificent Habit, deſigned to put the Biſhop in mind that his Life ſhould anſwer up to the Dignity of his Appearance. *Pet. de Marca.*

(6) His words are——Sit vero inter *Londinenſis & Eboracenſis* civitatis Epiſcopos in poſterum honoris iſta diſtinctio, ut ipſe prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus, *Bede*, l. 1. c. 29.

(7) It is in another. See *Bede*, l. 1. c. 31. *Spelman Conc.* p. 83, 90. *Brompt.* p. 230.

Gods

Gods on their feſtival Days, he adviſes that [upon the Anniverſary of the Saints, whoſe *Relicks* were lodged there, or upon the return of the Day of the Church's Conſecration] they ſhould kill ſome Cattle and provide an Entertainment, to which they were to invite the *Poor*. At the ſame time he writ to *Ethelbert* and *Bertha*, exhorting them to perſevere in the true Religion, and promote the great Work undertaken by *Auſtin*. *Peter* and *Laurence*, accompanied with *Mellitus*, *Paulinus*, *Ruffinianus*, and ſome other new *Miſſionaries*, brought back theſe Letters, together with *Sacred Veſſels*, and *Ornaments* for the *Altars*, *Veſtments* for the Prieſts, *Relicks*, *Books*, and other Things neceſſary for celebrating *Divine Service*. *Auſtin* received alſo the Reſolution of the Queſtions he had ſent to the *Pope*, which, with their Anſwers, were to this Effect.

Greg. Ep. l. 9. Ep. 59, 60.

601. Bede.

1. *Queſtion.* How are Biſhops to behave with reſpect to their *Clergy?* Into how many Portions are the *Offerings* at the Altar to be divided? And how ought a Biſhop to act in the Church?

For Satisfaction in the firſt Point, the *Pope* refers him to St. *Paul's Epiſtle to Timothy*. To the ſecond he anſwers, That it was the Cuſtom of the Church to divide the *Offerings* into four Parts, one for the Biſhop; another for the Clergy; a third for the Poor; and a fourth for the Repairs of the Churches. As to the laſt Article, which would have been very obſcure, had not the *Pope* cleared it in his Anſwer, he replies, That *Auſtin* being a *Monk*, ought not to live apart from the reſt of the *Clergy*, but according to the Practice of the *Primitive* Chriſtians,

Act. iv. 32. *ſhould have all things in common* (1). He adds, if there were any *Clerks* not admitted into *Holy Orders*, who could not live continently, they were to marry, and receive the Stipends at their own Houſes, according to the words of Scripture, *Diſtribution was made to each of them according to every one's Wants*. As for other Chriſtians, he ſays, there was no need to preſcribe any Rules in relation to their *Alms-giving*, ſince our Saviour himſelf ſays, *Give Alms of ſuch things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you*.

II. *Queſtion.* Since there is but one Faith, how comes it that there are different Cuſtoms in Churches, one manner of ſaying *Maſs* in the *Roman*, and another in the *Gallican* Church?

The *Pope* adviſes him to ſelect from each Church, what he thought moſt convenient for the Church of *England*.

III. *Queſtion.* What Puniſhment ought to be inflicted on him that has ſtole any thing from the *Church?*

Gregory replies, The Motives of the Theft muſt be conſidered, whether it was done out of Neceſſity or Covetouſneſs, and the Puniſhment to be proportioned accordingly, with Charity and Temper. As for Reſtitution, God forbid the Church ſhould receive more than ſhe loſt.

IV. *Queſtion.* Whether two Brothers may marry two Siſters, that are no way related to them?

Gregory anſwers, This may be done very lawfully.

V. *Queſtion.* To what Degree of Conſanguinity are Marriages forbid?

The *Pope* anſwers, To the ſecond Degree incluſively and no farther. He would not however have thoſe ſeparated who have married within the prohibited Degrees before their Converſion, becauſe they did it out of Ignorance. But he would have all the *new Converts* charged not to preſume to do any ſuch thing, and in caſe they did, to be debarred the *Communion*.

VI. *Queſtion.* Whether a ſingle Biſhop may ordain another, without the Aſſiſtance of other Biſhops, when the Length of the Journey makes it inconvenient for them to meet?

Gregory replies, That ſince *Auſtin* was now the only Biſhop in *England*, he might *conſecrate* others without any Aſſiſtance. But in order to avoid the like Inconvenience for the future, he would have him place Biſhops ſo, as that they might not be at too great a Diſtance from one another.

VII. *Queſtion.* How ought I to manage with the Biſhops of *Gaul?*

The *Pope* tells him, That he allows him no manner of Juriſdiction over them, becauſe he had no deſign to deprive the Archbiſhop of *Arles* of the Authority he was in poſſeſſion of.

VIII. *Queſtion.* Whether a Woman with Child ought to be baptized?

The *Pope* anſwers, He ſaw no Inconvenience attending it.

IX. *Queſtion.* How long after her lying in, ought a Woman to come into the Church?

Anſwer. If ſhe comes into the Church the minute after her Delivery, ſhe ſins not.

X. *Queſtion.* How long after the Birth, ought the baptizing of an Infant to be deferred?

Anſwer. A Child may be baptized the Moment he is born.

XI. *Queſtion.* How long, after a lying-in, muſt it be before a Man and his Wife come together again?

Gregory is very large in his Anſwer, and takes occaſion to blame Mothers for not ſuckling their own Children, attributing the Riſe of ſo ill a Cuſtom to their Incontinency. And therefore he decides, that the Husband ought not to have to do with his Wife till the Child is weaned (2).

XII. *Queſtion.* May a Woman, during ſome certain times, come into the Church?

The *Pope* ſays a great deal on this head, and concludes, Womens *Infirmities* ought to be no Obſtacle to their going to Church and praying to God.

XIII. *Queſtion.* May a Man that has lain with his Wife, come into the Church or receive the Sacrament, before he has waſhed himſelf?

The *Pope* here, as uſual, makes a great many Diſtinctions, and concludes, ſuch a Man had better abſtain from both for ſome time.

XIV. *Queſtion.* May a Man after an *Impure Dream*, receive the Communion, or if he be a Prieſt, adminiſter it?

The *Pope*'s Anſwer is full of Diſtinctions about what is, and what is not Sin: And concludes at laſt, a man in the Caſe mentioned ought not to *communicate*. He gives leave however, for a Prieſt in the ſame Caſe, to adminiſter the Sacrament, if there is no other in the way to officiate for him.

Theſe are the Difficulties *Auſtin* wanted the *Pope* to reſolve, which don't ſerve to give us any great Idea of the Abilities of this famous Apoſtle. However, *Gregory* thought fit to anſwer them fully and diſtinctly, as if they had been of the utmoſt Importance. He had the Converſion of the *Engliſh* ſo much at heart, that inſtead of giving *Auſtin* the leaſt Diſcouragement, he extolled him mightily.

Auſtin's Care was not confined to the Converſion of the *Saxons* only. He undertook alſo, what ſeemed to him no leſs worthy of his Zeal, the bringing the *Britiſh* Biſhops to a conformity with the *Roman* Church (3), and the making them acknowledge the Pope's Juriſdiction. As this is a remarkable Circumſtance of *Auſtin*'s Life, it will be neceſſary to enlarge upon it a little. This Deſign of his was not eaſy to be executed. The *Britons* thought they could juſtify their adhering to the ſame Rites and Cuſtoms they had practiſed ever ſince the Converſion of *Britain*. Beſides, they could not conceive, upon what grounds they were obliged to conform to a Church ſo remote, or what Advantage the owning the *Pope*'s Authority would be to them. Theſe Difficulties did not diſcourage *Auſtin*. He had, beſides his Zeal for the *See of Rome*, another, and perhaps no leſs powerful Motive, to induce him to this Undertaking, which was his Claim to the *Primacy* of all *Britain*, by virtue of the *Pope*'s Grant. Now, this he could never hope to attain, whilſt the *Britiſh* Churches were independent of the *Pope*. He applied therefore all his Endeavours to accompliſh this Enterprize, which coſt him more Pains and Trouble than the Converſion of the *Saxons*, without having after all the Satisfaction of reaping the Fruits of his Labour.

Bede, l. 2. c. 2.

The Goſpel, as I before obſerved, was preached in *Britain*, either by the Apoſtles themſelves, or by ſome of their Diſciples. From thoſe early Days, the *Britons* had conſtantly adhered to the Cuſtoms and Rules preſcribed to them by their firſt Teachers. But *the Church of Rome* had made ſeveral Innovations in the *Divine Service*, to which they pretended all other Churches ought to conform. The Oppoſition the Biſhops of *Rome* every where met with, was not capable to make them drop their Pretenſions. Altho' this Difference was of no great conſequence, it cauſed however, towards the end of the ſecond *Century*, a moſt ſcandalous Quarrel between *Pope Victor* I, and the Churches of *Aſia*; which roſe to that Height, that the *Pope* for no other reaſon, excommunicated them All. This Affair had never been judicially decided: yet for all that the Biſhops of *Rome* ſtuck to their Claims, and did all that lay in their power to compaſs their Ends. The *Weſtern* Churches, as neareſt *Rome*, were leaſt difficult to be prevailed with. Almoſt All, except the Churches of *Gaul* and *Milan*, conformed at length to the *Roman Ritual*.

(1) Here in ſome Books is the ſecond Queſtion inſerted, which runs thus: *I deſire to know, whether Clergymen that cannot contain, may marry; and if they marry, whether they muſt return to a ſecular Life?* See *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 96.

(2) However, he allows thoſe that do not ſuckle their children, to come together after the uſual time of Purgation.

(3) *Viz.* about the Celebration of *Eaſter*, *Bede*, l. 2. c. 2. *Huntingd.* p. 325. The *Britons* uſed, for finding *Eaſter*, the Cycle of eighty-four years, which was called the *Roman Account*. But about eighty years after the renting of the *Roman* Empire, the *Romans* left off the uſe of that Cycle, and took up another of nineteen years; and when they had uſed this about eighteen years, coming then to have to do with theſe *northern Nations*, they would needs have impoſed the uſe of it upon them, as a Condition of their Communion; and this was what *Auſtin* attempted to do. See Bp *Lloyd*'s *Hiſtor. Account*, p. 67, &c.

But

But *Britain*, being ſtill as it were out of the World, had, ſince the Embaſſy of *Lucius* to Pope *Eleutherius*, held very little Communication with the Biſhops of *Rome*. The *Britons* conſidered them only as Biſhops of a particular *Dioceſe*, or at moſt but as *Patriarchs*, on whom the *Britiſh Church* had not the leaſt Dependance. So far were they from owning the Pope's Authority, that they did not ſo much as know he pretended to have any over them. But *Auſtin*, out of the abundance of his Zeal for the *See of Rome*, took upon him to bring them to acknowledge the Pope as *Head* of the Church in general. It is a difficult matter to know how far *Auſtin*'s Deſigns reached, ſince it does not appear he had any *Inſtructions* from *Gregory* I. who aſpired not to that exorbitant Power attributed afterwards to his Succeſſors. It muſt however be owned, that *Gregory* laid claim to a Superiority over the *Britiſh* Churches, ſince in his Letter to *Auſtin*, he put the whole Iſland entirely under the Juriſdiction of the new Archbiſhop. Indeed it is not to be ſuppoſed *Auſtin* would have inſiſted ſo much upon that Point, had he not been ſure of being ſupported in it. However this be, he left no Stone unturned to attain his Ends.

The beſt way, as he thought, of proceeding in this Affair, was to get the *Britiſh* Biſhops to meet him in a *Synod*, in order to debate upon what he had to propoſe to them. This being agreed to, he omitted nothing that might win them to do as he deſired. But neither Promiſes nor Threats could prevail with the *Britiſh Prelates*, to admit of the leaſt Change in their antient Cuſtoms. *Bede* tells us that *Auſtin*, finding no good was to be done by Arguments, cauſed a *Saxon* blind Man to be brought into the Aſſembly, and when the *Britons* had tried in vain to cure him, he reſtored him to his Sight by his Prayers. But, whether the Miracle admitted of ſome Diſpute, becauſe the blind Man was a *Saxon*; or *Bede*, who lived long after the Fact, was wrong informed; the *Britons* ſtood out againſt this Evidence. All *Auſtin* could obtain, was, that they would meet again, and determine the Matter in a more numerous *Synod* (1). At this ſecond Council were preſent ſeven *Britiſh* Biſhops (2), accompanied with *Dinoth* Abbot of *Bangor*, who brought ſeveral of his Monks along with him. Before they came to the *Synod*, they adviſed with a *Hermit* of great Repute among them, how they ſhould behave in this Affair. The good old Man told them, he ſaw no reaſon to admit of any Alterations in their *Divine Service* upon the bare Requeſt of a Man to them entirely unknown: But however, as the Eſſence of Religion conſiſted in Union and Charity, it would not be amiſs to comply in ſome meaſure with *Auſtin*, provided he was a *Holy Man*, and one ſent from God. Whereupon the Biſhops deſired to be informed how they ſhould know whether he was ſuch a Perſon or not. He replied, they ſhould know it by his *Humility*, the moſt unqueſtionable Mark of a true Chriſtian: and they would ſee whether he was endued with this Virtue, by his reſpectful riſing up to ſalute them at their coming into the *Council-Room*; for if he paid them not that Civility, it was a ſure Token of his Pride. Purſuant to this Advice, they took care to come laſt upon the Place. And upon *Auſtin*'s not ſtirring from his ſeat to ſalute them, they conceived an invincible Prejudice againſt him. Thus for a Default in point of Civility, his whole Scheme that had coſt him ſo much Pains and Trouble, fell to the Ground.

602. Uſher de Prim. Bede, l. 2. c. 2.

Reg. de Hov.

G. Monm. M. Weſt.

Dinoth's *Speech to* Auſtin. Spelman Conc. Vol. I. p. 108.

Bede, l. 2. c. 8.

As *Auſtin* in the *Synod* was earneſtly preſſing the *Britons* to ſubmit to the Pope, and carrying the Papal Prerogatives to a great height, *Dinoth*, Abbot of *Bangor*, made him this Anſwer: "You propoſe to us Obedience to the "Church of *Rome*; are you ignorant that we already owe "a Deference to the Church of God, to the Biſhop of "*Rome*, and to all Chriſtians, of Love and Charity, "which obliges us to endeavour by all poſſible means to "aſſiſt and do them all the good we can? Other Obedience than this to him you call *Pope*, we know not "of, and this we are always ready to pay. But for a "*Superior*, what need have we to go ſo far as *Rome*, "when we are governed, under God, by the Biſhop of "*Caerleon*, who hath Authority to take care of our "*Churches* and *Spiritual* Affairs? (3)." It is ſaid *Auſtin* deſpairing to overcome their Obſtinacy, after a long Diſpute, cried out, full of Indignation, *Since you refuſe Peace from your Brethren, you ſhall have War from your Enemies; and ſince you will not join with us in preaching the Word of eternal Life to your Neighbours, you ſhall receive Death at their Hands.* Hence it appears, that *Auſtin* had not only preſſed the *Britons* to a Conformity with the *Church of Rome*, and Obedience to the *Papal* Authority, but alſo had reproached them for their Negligence and want of Zeal, in not promoting the Converſion of the *Saxons*. Perhaps he deſigned to intimate to them, that the Converſion of all *England* ſtuck only at the Union he propoſed to them. However this be, theſe Words of *Auſtin* were looked upon as a Prediction of the *Maſſacre* of the Monks of *Bangor*, mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Northumberland*. I leave the Reader to judge whether the Non-compliance of the Abbot of *Bangor* to *Auſtin*'s Propoſal, was a Crime of ſuch a Nature as to deſerve ſo ſevere a Puniſhment.

Auſtin not having the Succeſs he expected in this Affair, confined himſelf within the true Bounds of his Miſſion, and cauſed the Goſpel to be preached to the *Eaſt-Saxons* by *Mellitus*, one of the *Miſſionaries* ſent him by the Pope, of whom I ſhall ſpeak more fully, when I come to the Converſion of that Nation. 604.

Theſe, in ſhort, are the Tranſactions of *Auſtin*, commonly called the *Apoſtle of the Engliſh*, during the eight Years he lived in *England*. He arrived in 597, and died in 605, according to the generally-received Opinion. Some affirm he died ſooner, and others, though without grounds, bring his Death down to 613 (4). He was buried at *Canterbury* near the *Cathedral*, which was not then finiſhed, with this Inſcription on his Tomb (5).

Here lies Auguſtin, *the firſt Archbiſhop of* Dorobern, *who having been ſent hither by* Gregory *Pontiff of* Rome, *and ſupported by the Co-operation of God with Miracles, converted King* Ethelbert *and his Nation to the Faith; and having accompliſhed the Days of his Miniſtry, departed this Life the 7th of the Calends of* June, *in the Reign of the ſaid King.* Bede, l. 2. c. 3.

Auſtin was ſucceeded by *Laurentius* (6), who was as ſolicitous to reduce the *Britons* to the Obedience of the Pope, and a Conformity to the *Roman* Church in the Celebration of *Eaſter*. He wrote very preſſing Letters to them, wherein he upbraided them for their Obſtinacy, bitterly complaining, that a *Scotch* Biſhop, *Dagham* by name, paſſing through *Canterbury*, had refuſed to eat with him, on account of their difference of Opinion concerning *Eaſter-Day*. But his Letters proved of no Effect. Malmſb. G. Pontif. Gervas. Bede, l. 2. c. 4.

Gregory I. pretended not to a Juriſdiction over the *Britiſh* Churches, as *Univerſal Biſhop*; a Title he was ſo far from aſſuming, that he had declaimed againſt it with great Diſlike. However, in all appearance, he believed he might as *Patriarch* of the Weſt, claim the Obedience of the *Britiſh* as well as *Engliſh* Biſhops, to his ſpiritual Juriſdiction. But *Boniface* IV, who not long after *Gregory* I, was promoted to the *See of Rome*, being ſupported by the Emperor *Phocas*, took upon him the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*. This was a freſh Motive for the *Miſſionaries* in *England* to renew their Endeavours to bring the *Britons* to own his Authority; but they could not prevail with them. And therefore *Mellitus* was ſent to *Rome* for *Inſtructions* from the Pope upon this Head. But the Death of *Ethelbert* (7), which happened in the mean time, cauſed them to lay aſide all Thoughts of this Matter, and reduced the Chriſtians to a deplorable condition. *Edbald*, Son and Succeſſor of *Ethelbert*, being turned Pagan again, the *Miſſionaries* loſt that powerful Protection they had till then ſo proſperouſly enjoyed. To compleat their Misfortunes, *Sebert* King of *Eſſex*, who had been converted by *Mellitus*, dying alſo a little after (8), his three Sons who jointly ſucceeded him, apoſtatiz'd from Chriſtianity, and forbad *Mellitus*, who was come back from *Rome*, to remain in their Dominions. He fled to *Laurentius* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as did alſo *Juſtus*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Inhabitants of that Place having in all appear- 606. 610.

(1) This Synod was held at *Auguſtin's-Ac*, or *Oak*, on the Frontiers of the *Weſt-Saxons*, very likely in *Worceſterſhire*. Bede, l. 2. c. 2. *Spelman* ſuppoſes it was at *Auſric*, (contracted for *Auſtin's ric*) on the Borders of *Worceſterſhire*, towards *Herefordſhire*. *Concil.* Vol. I. p. 107.

(2) Thoſe of *Hereford*, *Landaff*, *St. Paterns*, *Bangor*, *Clwyd*, *Worceſter*, *Morgan*. See *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 106; and *Camden*.

(3) *Eman. Schelſtrate*, and other *Romiſh* Writers, pretend, that this Speech was forg'd ſince the Reformation. *See Biſhop Nicolſon's Hiſtor. Librar.* p. 91. and *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 108, 109.

(4) *Bede* ſays he died in 604, l. 2. c. 3. *M. Weſt.* in 608. *Hoveden* in 610. *Trivet* and *Polyd. Virg.* in 611. *Malmſb.* in 612. See *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 93.

(5) The Inſcription put upon his Tomb at firſt, was,

Inclytus Anglorum præſul, pius, & decus altum,
Hic Auguſtinus requieſcit corpore ſanctus.

His Body was after the finiſhing of the Cathedral, removed by his Succeſſor *Laurentius*, into the North Porch of it, and the other Inſcription put upon his Monument. *Bede*, l. 2, c. 3. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 93.

(6) Whom he had conſecrated Archbiſhop before his Death. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 3.

(7) *Rapin* places *Ethelbert*'s Death ſeveral Years ſooner here than he did before in the Hiſtory of *Kent*. He died in 613, ſays *Bede*, l. 2. c. 5. *Rapin* places it above in 616. So doth *Brompton*, p. 737, 738.

(8) *Brompton* ſays, that he died about the ſame time as King *Ethelbert*; which, according to him, was *Anno Dom.* 616. p. 737, 738.

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ance abandoned the Faith. These three Prelates, having consulted together, resolved upon going into *France*, and leaving the reprobate *Saxons* to themselves. This shows either that the people of *Kent* and *Essex* went all back to *Paganism*, or that there were not so many converts as *Gregory* was made to believe. *Mellitus* and *Justus* went off, according to their Resolution; but *Laurentius* staid behind, though with intent to follow them in a short time.

Bede, l. 2. c. 6. When he was ready to depart, it is affirmed, that lying one night in his Church, St. *Peter* appeared to him, and scourged him severely, as a punishment for offering to abandon his *Mission*. The day after he went to *Edbald*, and having shewn him the marks of the scourge, he converted him, and persuaded him to disengage himself from his unlawful marriage; he having taken his Father's widow to wife. So far is certain, *Edbald* was converted: All Historians are unanimous in That: but I cannot warrant the truth of St. *Peter*'s apparition. *Edbald* being thus returned to the Faith, recalled *Justus* and *Mellitus*, and restored them to their respective Dioceses of *Rochester* and *London*. But the *East-Saxons* at *London* refusing to admit *Mellitus*, he returned to *Kent*, where he soon after succeeded *Laurentius* in the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* (1).

Bede, l. 2. c. 7. He is said by his prayers to have put a stop to a great fire, that in all probability would have reduced the City to ashes, and to have wrought several other

619. miracles, with which I intend not to swell this abridgment.

624. *Mellitus* was succeeded by *Justus* Bishop of *Rochester* (2),

Bede, l. 2. c. 8. 18. Sax. Ann. to whom the Pope sent the *Pall*. After him came *Honorius*, whose successor was *Deusdedit*. After his death, there was a vacancy for four years (3). *Egbert* and *Oswy*, Kings of *Kent* and *Northumberland*, having held a conference together about the affairs of the Church, resolved to send *Wighard* a *Kentish* Priest to be consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury* at *Rome*. *Wighard* dying there, *Vitalian* the Pope cast his eyes upon *Adrian* and *Andrew*, two Monks, who both refused the Archbishoprick, as too great a burden

668. for them. *Theodorus* a *Greek*, Native of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*,

Bede, l. 4. c. 1. to whom it was also offered, not having the same scruples, was consecrated at *Rome*, and departed for *England*. The Pope ordered *Adrian* to go with him, lest, says a Historian, *Theodorus*, being a *Greek*, might introduce customs in *Britain* contrary to those of the Church of *Rome*. As this Prelate was the most famous that in those early times filled the *See* of *Canterbury*, it will not be amiss to take a fuller view of him.

Theodorus was a Prelate of distinguished worth, as well for learning, as greatness of mind, and solidity of Judgment. But he was of a warm and imperious temper, a lover of power, and could ill brook any opposition to his Will. Whilst he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he had frequent opportunities of extending his jurisdiction over all *England*, which he never neglected, as we shall see hereafter in the account of the ecclesiastical affairs of the other kingdoms, particularly of *Northumberland*. I shall only observe here, that during his Life, he alone exercised the *archiepiscopal* functions, which gave him an opportunity of

Bede, l. 1. c. 29. incroaching upon the rights of the *See* of *York*; though

669. *Gregory* I. had ordered, that after the death of *Austin*, the two Archbishopricks should be independent of each other. As soon as he came into *England*, he made a *Visitation* of all the Churches in his jurisdiction, and brought the People to a thorough conformity in the *divine Service*, to the usage of the Church of *Rome*.

As the *English* were yet very ignorant, *Theodorus* endeavoured to the utmost of his power to instruct them, by erecting a *School* or *Seminary* at *Crecklade* (4), where he and *Adrian*, besides *Divinity*, taught *Arithmetick*, *Musick*,

Bede, l. 4. c. 2. *Astronomy*, *Greek* and *Latin*. *Bede* assures us, he knew several of their Scholars, that could express themselves as readily in *Greek* and *Latin* as in their own Language. *Theodorus* was not satisfied with promoting the love of learning among the *English*, by Exhortations and Instructions only, but also by the Books he brought, and sent for, into *England*; some of which are still extant in *Manuscript*, as *David*'s *Psalms*, St. *Chrysostom*'s *Homilies*, and *Homer*, all written in a beautiful Hand. He composed himself a large work called *Pœnitentiale*, which remained not long since entire at *Cambridge* (5), but is not to be

Journ. des. Scav. 1678. found there now. In 1677, extracts of it, with some other of his treatises, were published at *Paris*, with notes by *Jacobus Petitus* (6).

Theodorus died in 690; but the *See* was not filled till two 692. years after, by *Berthwald* Abbot of *Reculver* (7), who, Bede, l. 5. having been Archbishop thirty-eight years (8), gave place c. 9. 24. by his death to *Tatwine*, a person of great *Learning* and 731. Probity. He exercised his *archiepiscopal* functions near two years before he received the *Pall*; which is a clear evidence it was not yet thought an absolutely necessary qualification for an Archbishop. *Tatwine* dying in 735, *Nothelm*, 735. a priest of the *Diocese* of *London*, succeeded him, and went and received the *Pall* at *Rome*, where he was consecrated by *Gregory* III. He died in 741, and the year 742. following, *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, was chosen in his room. To him succeeded *Bregwin* of a noble family in 759. *Germany*. This Prelate was exemplary for his religious Gervas. and holy life, during the two years he held the *See*. *Jambert* [or *Lambert*] Abbot of St. *Austin*'s, was his successor. He had the mortification to see the Churches of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* wrested from his jurisdiction, by the erecting *Lichfield* into an Archbishop's *See*, in the reign of *Offa*. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could neither prevent it, nor recover his rights. *Athelard* his successor was more fortunate, for he obtained what his predecessor had sued for in vain. So the Churches of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* were again subject to the jurisdiction of the *See* of *Canterbury*. *Wulfrid* who succeeded him in 804, was living at the time the *Heptarchy* was reduced to a Monarchy.

Before we leave the Church of *Kent*, it will be proper to observe, that *Gregory*'s scheme, who had ordered *Canterbury* and *York* should be both Archbishops *Sees*, and independent of one another, remained unexecuted, upon several accounts. In the first place, the *Northumbrians* did not receive the Gospel so soon as that *Pope* expected. Again, They all deserted the *Faith*, after the retreat of *Paulinus*, who had received the *Pall*. Lastly, the troubles *Northumberland* was continually disturbed with, prevented the first Bishops of *York*, from taking advantage of the *Pope*'s *regulation*, which besides they did not much regard. This was the reason *Theodorus* became possessed of all the Authority, as well over the northern, as southern Churches, and that his successors making him their precedent, laid claim to the *Primacy* of all *England*, exclusive of the Archbishop of *York*. This proved, in process of Stubbs. time, the ground of great disputes between the two Archbishops.

The Church of NORTHUMBERLAND.

HAving already given an account of *Edwin*'s marriage with *Ethelburga* of *Kent*, I shall only add, that *Paulinus*, who accompanied her into *Northumberland* as Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, spent a whole year at *Edwin*'s court, without making any great progress among people not yet disposed to receive his Instructions. But at length several accidents concurred to encourage his zeal and promote his designs, of which I shall give a particular relation.

Quicelm, one of the Kings of *Wessex*, bore the yoke of Bede, l. 2. c. 9. *Edwin* with that impatience, that he resolved to free him- Sax. Ann. self from it, by means of an Assassin, whom he sent to him on some pretence, privately armed with a poisoned dagger. The Ruffian being introduced into the presence-chamber, took his opportunity, and made so furious a *Pass* at the King, that he was wounded through the body of *Lilla* his Favourite, who interposed himself, and received the Blow. *Paulinus* being informed of this accident, hastily ran into the room, and finding *Edwin* in a great rage with the King of *Wessex*, told him, God, to whom such wretches were an abomination, would not fail to punish so horrid a villany. It is said that *Edwin*, whom the Queen had hitherto sollicited in vain, promised at the same time to renounce Idolatry, if the God of the Christians would revenge him of his enemy. At the same instant, news was brought him, that the Queen, after a hard labour, was brought to bed of a Princess, for which he returned thanks to his Gods. *Paulinus* for his part, having been in great fears for the Queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked God for her deliverance. The Prelate's zeal was so pleasing to the King, that immediately conceiving a favourable opinion of the Christian Religion, he consented *Paulinus* should baptize the newborn infant. The young Princess, who was named

(1) According to *Malmsb.* *Laurentius* was Archbishop five years, p. 196. So *Gervasius* also says. But *Brompton* makes him to have been Archbishop sixteen Years, p. 739.

(2) *Mellitus* was Archbishop five years; *Justus* three, and, according to others ten; *Honorius* twenty-six; and *Deusdedit* ten. *Malmsb.* p. 196. *Brompt.* *Gervas.*

(3) *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, who reigned from 642 to 664, ordered *Lent* to be kept throughout his Kingdom; which, as far as appears, was the first Institution of it in *England*. *Malmsb.* p. 11. *Brompt.* p. 740.

(4) About twenty Miles from *Oxford*, in *Wiltshire*, from whence that University might be afterwards supplied.

(5) In *Bennet College Library*, in Sir *Henry Spelman*'s time. *Conc.* Vol. I. p. 154.

(6) *Theodore* is said to have been the first that divided the Province of *Canterbury* into *Parishes*. See *Beda*, *Edit. Wheloc*, p 399. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 152.

(7) *Berthwald* was the first *Saxon* Archbishop, all the rest having been sent from *Rome*. *Brompt.* p. 747.

(8) *Malmsb.* says, thirty-seven, (p. 196.) and *Gervas*, thirty-seven years and six months, (p. 1649.)

Anfleda was the firſt that received baptiſm in *Northumberland* (1).

Edwin however, not forgetting the perfidiouſneſs of the King of *Weſſex*, marched with an army into his dominions, and, after defeating him ſeveral times, compelled him humbly to ſue for peace, and make him ample ſatisfaction. But though he returned with victory according to his wiſh, he deferred the performance of his Promiſes (2). When the Queen and *Paulinus* preſſed him upon that head, he told them, the quitting his religion ſeemed to him to be of that importance, that he could not reſolve upon it without a thorough examination of matters. And indeed he heartily ſet about it, and frequently conferred with *Coifi* the *Pagan* high-prieſt, upon the reaſons alledged by *Paulinus* in favour of Chriſtianity. *Coifi*, perceiving the King was very near turning Chriſtian, reſolved with himſelf to make his court to him betimes, by conforming to his will. It would not perhaps be impoſſible in the like caſe, to find ſome of this character among the Chriſtian *Clergy*.

Bede, l. 2. c. 10. 626. Mean time, the Queen and *Paulinus* continued to ſollicit the King to perform his promiſe; and to give the greater weight to what they ſaid to him, they got the *Pope* to write him a Letter. But all would not do; *Edwin* ſtill demurred, and could not come to a reſolution. At laſt the circumſtances of the *Viſion* he had formerly ſeen in the *Garden* of *Redowald*, being, as it is pretended, revealed to *Paulinus*, the work was accompliſhed in an extraordinary way. *Bede* relates, how that one day as the King was ſurrounded with a croud of Courtiers (3), *Paulinus* came in ſuddenly, and laying his hand on *Edwin*'s head, asked him whether he underſtood the meaning of that *Token?* At theſe words, *Edwin* recollecting what had paſſed between him and the *Stranger* in *Redowald*'s garden, threw himſelf at *Paulinus*'s feet, who, with an air of authority, ſaid to him thus: *My Lord, you have eſcaped the hands of your Enemies, and are become a great King. All that was foretold you is come to paſs; it is your duty now to make good your promiſe.* Upon hearing this, *Edwin* is ſaid to reply, He was fully ſatisfied, and ready to receive the *Chriſtian Faith.* From that moment he ſtrove not only to be better informed himſelf, but alſo to prevail with his ſubjects to follow his example, and embrace the Goſpel. To that end, he believed the beſt way would be, before he publickly declared his intent, to gain ſome of his principal courtiers, whoſe example he did not queſtion, would have a great influence on the reſt of the nation.

l. 2. c. 12.

Bede, l. 2. c. 13. The greateſt oppoſition was moſt likely to come from *Coifi*, becauſe it was his intereſt to keep the people attached to the worſhip of Idols. But the King was agreeably ſurprized to find, that inſtead of oppoſing, he was ready to comply with his deſire. One day as the King was diſcourſing with him (4) upon this ſubject, the High-Prieſt, like a good Courtier, ſaid to him: "I have for a good "while been ſeriouſly reflecting on our religion, and on "the nature of our Gods, and muſt own I am not at all "ſatisfied in theſe points, neither can I forbear calling in "queſtion their goodneſs, juſtice, or power. Never per"haps did any perſon ſerve them with greater zeal, re"ſpect and aſſiduity than myſelf. You, Sir, are a wit"neſs with what devotion and care I have all along per"formed the functions of my office; and yet I never "got any thing by it: Neither is there a Man in your "court but what is better preferred than I am. Now, "can I help concluding, that ſince our Gods take ſo "little care of their moſt ſincere worſhippers, they "muſt be either unjuſt, or weak, or rather no Gods at "all?"

Edwin, extremely well pleaſed with this anſwer of the High-Prieſt, had a mind likewiſe to know the ſentiments of another Prieſt (5) that was next in dignity to *Coifi*; who, encouraged by the example of his *Superior*, told the King: "Sir, the more we reflect on the nature of our Bede, l. 2. c. 13. "Soul, the leſs we know of it; it is with our Soul, as "with the little Bird that came in the other day at one "of the windows in the room where you ſat at dinner, "and flew out immediately at the other. Whilſt it was "in the room, we knew ſomething about it; but as ſoon "as it was gone, we could not ſay whence it came, or "whither it was flown. Thus our Soul whilſt it ani"mates our Body, we may know ſome of its properties, "but when once ſeparated, we know not whither it goes, "or from whence it came. Since then *Paulinus* pretends "to give us clearer notions of theſe matters, it is my opi"nion that we give him the hearing, and laying aſide all "paſſion and prejudice, follow that which ſhall appear "moſt conformable to right reaſon."

This advice, that agreed ſo well with the King's intentions, being approved of, it was reſolved *Paulinus* ſhould explain himſelf upon the ſubject of *Religion*, in the preſence of the *Pontiff* and other Prieſts, which was accordingly done. As ſoon as *Coifi* had heard the Biſhop out, he declared aloud, He could ſee no manner of reaſon to doubt of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. *Edwin* being thus ſure of the concurrence of the High-Prieſt and ſome of his principal courtiers, called a *Wittenagemot* or Parliament, to debate, whether the Chriſtian Religion ſhould be received or not. But the majority being determined already for the *affirmative*, it paſſed without any oppoſition. *Coifi* was one of the moſt forward to attack the *Pagan* worſhip; and being deſirous to ſhow ſome marks of the ſincerity of his converſion, put himſelf at the head of his Prieſts, and marching toward the Heathen temple, darted his Javelin againſt the *Idol:* After which it was broke in pieces by the 627. King's order, and the temple burnt to the ground (6). The Bede, l. 2. ſame day *Edwin* was baptized (7), with his niece *Hil*- c. 14. *da* (8) afterwards abbeſs of *Whitby*.

The *Northumbrians* following the example of their King, *Paulinus*, who till then had lain idle, on a ſudden found himſelf fully employed, by the prodigious crowds that daily came to be taught and baptized (9). But if it be true, as ſome affirm, that he baptized in one day ten thouſand, his inſtructions muſt needs have been very conciſe (10). A Church of timber was haſtily run up at *York* for the new converts, who were very numerous. Shortly after, *Edwin* laid the foundation of a Church of free-ſtone round the former, which ſtood till the other of ſtone was built. He had not the ſatisfaction to finiſh it, which was done by *Oſwald* his ſucceſſor. *Paulinus* is ſaid to have 628. preached alſo at *Lincoln*, where he converted *Blecca* the Bede, l. 2. *Saxon* Governor. c. 16.

Thus was *Northumberland* converted to the Faith of *Chriſt*. But ſome time after, *Edwin* being ſlain in bat- 633. tle, ſuch deſolation enſued, that *Paulinus* being compelled Id. c. 20. to leave the kingdom, the *Northumbrians* fell back again to idolatry. *Anfrid* and *Oſric*, Kings of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, followed the example of their ſubjects, though they had been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion in *Scotland*, where they had lived in exile. The apoſtatizing of theſe two princes, and the barbarity of *Cadwallo* after their death, almoſt quite rooted out Chriſtianity in *Northumberland*. During theſe calamities, neither Prieſt nor Monk had the courage to attempt the reſtoring the *Northumbrians* to the *Faith*. *James* the deacon, whom *Paulinus* left at *York*, was not able alone to put a ſtop to the general revolt (11). Things remained in this ſad 634. ſtate, till *Oſwald* aſcended the throne, who, as ſoon as Bede, l. 3. he had reſtored peace and tranquillity, laboured with all c. 1, 3. S. Dunelm. his power to make religion flouriſh again. To that end, he deſired the King of *Scotland* to ſend ſome Perſons of learning to inſtruct his ſubjects. Accordingly *Corman*, a Monk of *Jona*, of whom I have elſewhere ſpoken, was ſent with ſome others; but he being a Man of a rugged temper, and diſliked by the *Engliſh*, returned to his monaſtery; and making his report of his *Miſſion* in a full *Chapter*, *Aidan*, one of the *Brotherhood*, found by Bede, l. 3. what he ſaid, that he had not uſed that condeſcenſion to c. 5. the *Engliſh* their circumſtances required, and therefore told him, "It is my opinion, Brother, that you have "dealt a little too roughly with thoſe you deſigned to "convert; not remembring that the Chriſtian Religion "ought to be infuſed in the Mind, not by violent, but "mild and gentle methods." Upon theſe words, the Monks unanimouſly declared *Aidan* was the fitteſt perſon

(1) She was baptized on *Whitſunday*, with twelve other perſons belonging to the Court. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 9.

(2) *Bede* ſays, the reaſon of it was, becauſe he would not embrace Chriſtianity without due and mature deliberation, and without being ſufficiently inſtructed in the grounds of his Faith. *Ibid.*

(3) *Bede* ſays, he was ſitting alone ſeriouſly pondering with himſelf. *Rapin.*

(4) In a General Aſſembly. *Habito enim cum Sapientibus Conſilio*, ſciſcitabatur ſigillatim ab omnibus, qualis ſibi, doctrina hæc catenus inaudita, & novus divinitatis qui prædicabatur cultus videretur. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 13.

(5) *Bede* ſays, it was one of the King's *Grandees*:——alius *Optimatum* Regis. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 13.

(6) The Temple was a very famous one, it ſtood at *Godmanham*, i. e. a receptacle for Gods, in *Yorkſhire*: Near it is *Wighton*, that is, a place of Idols. *Camden*, p. 738.

(7) Which was on *Eaſter-Day*, *April* 12. Shortly after his two Sons *Offrid* and *Eadfrid*, and ſeveral of the Nobility, were baptized. *Paulinus* preached ſix years together in *Northumbria*. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 14.

(8) She was daughter to *Hereric*, *Edwin*'s nephew. *Bede.*

(9) *Bede* ſays, that *Paulinus* coming one time with the King and Queen to a place called *Adregrin*, ſpent there thirty-ſix days from morning till night, in inſtructing and baptizing (in the River *Glen*) the people that flocked to him from all quarters, l. 2. c. 14. This *Adregrin*, as *Bede* obſerves, *ibid.* was deſtroyed in his time: but *Camden* affirms, that it was where *Yeverin* in *Northumberland* now ſtands.

(10) The ſame is ſaid of *Auſtin*; and both the rivers are called *Swale*. *Rapin.* It may ſeem incredible, that *Paulinus* ſhould baptize ſo many in one day. But this Difficulty is removed in an antient Fragment quoted by Mr. *Camden*. "The Archbiſhop, after he had conſecrated the River *Swale*, "commanded, by the Cryers and principal Men, that they ſhould with Faith go in two by two, and in the Name of the Holy Trinity, baptize each "other." *Introduct.* p. clxvi. 2*d Edit.*

(11) And yet *Bede* ſays, that—magnas antiquo hoſti prædas docendo & baptizando eripuit. l. 2. c. 20.

to

to be ſent to the *Northumbrians*. He undertook the affair, and being conſecrated Biſhop, ſet out for *Northumberland*.

635. *Bede* gives *Aidan* the character of a pious and religious perſon, but adds, his zeal was without knowledge, becauſe he kept *Eaſter* after the manner of the *Eaſtern* Chriſtians, and not according to the cuſtom of the *Church of Rome*. However, as much a *Schiſmatick* as he was in *Bede*'s opinion, nothing can be added to his commendation of him for holineſs of life. He not only,

l. 3. c. 5. *ſays he*, inſtructed Chriſtians in their duty, but alſo gave them an example of a good life, and fervent charity, which charmed the very *Heathens*, and allured them to the *Faith*. His ſucceſs was ſo great among the *Northumbrians*, that they returned in crowds to the profeſſion of Chriſt. *Oſwald*, who was extremely deſirous of the converſion of his Subjects, did all he could to promote the Work, even to the becoming *Aidan*'s Interpreter, in explaining his diſcourſes to the people. It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that *Oſwald* ſhould not recall *Paulinus*, who was then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, or make uſe of the miniſtry of *James*, who was left by *Paulinus* in *Northumberland*. But it muſt be remembred, that *Oſwald*, having been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion in *Scotland*, had an averſion for the *Roman Miſſionaries*, on account of the difference between the *Romaniſts* and *Scots* about *Eaſter*,

652. and the *Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure*. *Aidan* dying after he had governed the Church of *Northumberland* ſeventeen years; *Finan*, another Monk of *Jona*, was ſent to ſupply his place. He fixt the *Epiſcopal See* in the little Iſland of *Lindisfarn* (1), contrary to *Gregory*'s regulation, who ordered that the principal *See* for the *northern* parts ſhould be ſettled at *York*.

This was not the only thing wherein *Finan* and the other *Scotch* Eccleſiaſticks ſhowed their independance on the *Church of Rome*. Their obſtinate refuſal to conform to the *Roman* cuſtom of keeping *Eaſter*, was an article of much more importance, at leaſt in the opinion of the *Italian* Prieſts, by whom it was conſidered as a principal point. *England* was then divided into two *Parties* or *Sects*, who firmly adhered to their reſpective opinions. All the *Scotch* Prieſts and Monks, who were very numerous in *Northumberland*, and all their converts, followed the *Eaſtern* Churches; but the *French* and *Italian* Eccleſiaſticks, in that and all other points, ſtuck to the Church of *Rome*, branding with the name of *Schiſmaticks* thoſe who refuſed to do the like. And therefore they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring the *Engliſh* Churches to a conformity with them, which they thought might eaſily be done, could they but once gain over *Finan* to their ſide. To this end they ſent to him a *Scotch* Prieſt, that had been educated in *France*, to lay before him the reaſons alledged by the Church of *Rome* upon that head. But ſo far was *Finan* from being prevailed upon, that he became a more profeſſed and open oppoſer of the *Roman* cuſtoms.

This diſpute was then carried on with great vehemence, not only among the *Clergy*, but even among the moſt ignorant of the *Laity*, as it uſually happens in *Religious Differences*. As long as *Aidan* and *Finan* lived, the *Ro-*

Bede, l. 3. c. 23. *maniſts*, ſays *Bede*, on account of the veneration all Men had for theſe two holy Biſhops, bore with patience this

661. diverſity of opinion. But when *Kolman*, another *Scotch* Monk, ſucceeded *Finan* in the reign of *Oſwy*, the diſpute was renewed with more warmth than ever. The *Romaniſts*, deſirous of bringing over their adverſaries to their opinion at any rate, never left till they had got *Oſwy* to call a *Synod* [in the Nunnery of *Hilda*] at *Streanes-halh*

664. or *Whitby*, in order to decide this affair. The *Synod*

Bede. being met, each party endeavoured to procure as many votes as they could; but, as it appears from the accounts of Hiſtorians, the *Romaniſts* were much more active and zealous than the others; and managed ſo, that *Agilbert* Biſhop of *Paris*, formerly Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, came to the Synod on ſome pretence, with *Agathon* one of his Prieſts. At the head of the *Scotch* Party were King *Oſwy*, *Colman* Biſhop of the *Northumbrians*, and the reſt of the *Scotch* Prieſts and Monks (2), with all that had received their ordination from them. On the other ſide appeared *Anfleda*, *Oſwy*'s Queen, *Alfred* King of *Deira*, *Oſwy*'s natural Son, *Wilfrid* a Prieſt his preceptor, who had ſtudied at *Rome*, *Agilbert* Biſhop of *Paris*, and *Agathon* a Prieſt of the ſame Church, *Ronan* a *Scotch* Prieſt, *James* the Deacon, and all who had been diſciples of the *Italian* Prieſts and Monks.

To ſee with what eagerneſs this diſpute was managed, one would have thought the very Eſſence of Religion had been at ſtake. And indeed the *Romaniſts* were of that opi-

l. 3. c. 25. nion, as appears from the words of *Bede*, *it was not without reaſon*, ſays he, *that this queſtion diſturbed the minds of a great number of Chriſtians, who were apprehenſive, leſt after they had begun the race of Salvation, they ſhould be found to have run in vain.* However, this Hiſtorian, though he thought all did run in vain who conformed not to the *Church of Rome*, gives *Aidan* and *Finan*, who were of that number, the higheſt praiſes for holineſs of life. He attributes to them the gift of miracles, which leaves no room to doubt, but that he looked upon them as Saints; notwithſtanding they were, according to his notion, actually involved in *Schiſm*. *Baronius* treads in the ſteps of *Bede*. When he mentions the *Scots* and *Britons* of thoſe days, he calls them *Schiſmaticks*, for refuſing to obey the Pope: But when he ſpeaks of *Aidan* and *Finan*, he makes no ſcruple of *ſainting* them, though they ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the independancy of their Churches. Hence it follows, either theſe two Biſhops were not really *Schiſmaticks*, or if they were ſo, their *Schiſm* hindred them not from being great Saints, from being aſſiſted by God in working miracles, and converting nations. But to return to the *Synod* of *Whitby*; ſince the diſpute about *Eaſter* was the occaſion of their meeting, and the cauſe of great commotions in *England*, it will not be amiſs briefly to relate the firſt riſe of it.

Towards the end of the ſecond *Century*, a controverſy aroſe in the *Church*, concerning the day on which the *Eaſter Feſtival* was to be celebrated. The Churches of *Aſia* were of opinion, it was to be kept on the fourteenth day of the Moon, according to the cuſtom of the *Jews*, on what day of the week ſoever it ſhould chance to fall. The *Weſtern* Churches on the contrary, put it off till the *Sunday* after the fourteenth day, becauſe our Saviour's reſurrection wes on that day. Several councils were held about this matter, as well in the Eaſt as in the Weſt; but neither party would recede from their opinion, each pleading *apoſtolical* tradition in their behalf, the Eaſtern Biſhops from St. *John*, and the Weſtern from St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*. Suppoſing the truth of both theſe traditions, the inference was plain, that either of them might indifferently be followed, and that it was no material point, ſince the Apoſtles had not ſettled it among themſelves. And in fact, this diverſity of cuſtom, prevented not the two parties from holding communion with each other, till *Victor* I. Biſhop of *Rome* made a rupture, by excommunicating the *Quartodecimans*, or thoſe that keep *Eaſter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon. This Proceeding of *Victor* gave ſo great offence, that *Irenæus*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, tho' of the ſame opinion with *Victor*, ſeverely reprimanded him for breach of charity, on account of a thing of ſo little moment. He alledged the example of *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Teleſphorus*, *Xiſtus*, predeceſſors of *Victor*, who, notwithſtanding this difference, brake not communion with the Churches of *Aſia*. Adding, he would have acted much better in imitating *Anicetus*, who gave the Euchariſt with his own hand to *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, though of a different opinion from him in this very point.

Victor's haughty treatment of the Churches of *Aſia*, inſtead of bringing them to his opinion, only made them adhere ſtill more firmly to their own. They believed, they were ſo much the leſs obliged to conform to the practice of *Rome*, as the Pope, after all, could produce no authentick proof of his tradition from St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; as the *Aſiaticks*, on their part, would have been as hard put to it to make out *Theirs* from St. *John*. What *Socrates* the Hiſtorian ſays upon this ſubject is very remarkable: *Neither* Chriſt *nor his* Apoſtles *have ordered any thing concerning the Paſchal Feaſt, as* Moſes *did to the* Jews, *their deſign being not to determine circumſtances about* Holy-Days, *but to inſtruct Chriſtians in the precepts of piety and a good life. It is my opinion therefore, that as certain cuſtoms have been introduced in each country, this of the paſchal Solemnity was one of them, and not built upon the authority of the Apoſtles. The* Quartodecimans *tell us, the keeping the fourteenth day was inſtituted by St.* John. *The* Romaniſts *maintain, they had their practice from St.* Peter *and St.* Paul: *But neither of them have proved by any authentick record their aſſertion: Whence it is clear, the Eaſter Feſtival may be kept in every place according to the cuſtom firſt introduced there.*

From this paſſage it is evident, that they who were no lovers of wrangling, looked upon this controverſy as of little importance to religion. However, to avoid a diverſity even in the ſmalleſt matters, the council of *Arles* in 314, ordered that *Eaſter* ſhould every where be kept on the *Sunday* after the fourteenth day of the Moon, which happened next after the *Vernal Equinox* or 21ſt of *March*. This *Canon* was confirmed by the council of *Nice* in 325, and the Emperor ſent orders throughout all the *Roman* Empire to have it put in practice. His letter upon this occaſion to the Governors and other Magiſtrates, ſhowed that

(1) Or *Holy-Iſland*, on the Coaſt of *Northumberland*. It was not *Finan* that fixed the Epiſcopal See there, but his predeceſſor *Aidan*. What *Finan* did, was to erect there a Cathedral Church; which was built after the *Scottiſh* faſhion, not of Stone, but of Timber, and thatched. *Edbert*, one of *Finan*'s Succeſſors, covered the Walls and Roof with Lead. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 3. and 25. *S. Dunelm. Hunting.* p. 333.

(2) Particularly *Ceadda*, or *Cedd*, Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. *Brompt.* p. 778. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 25.

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the reaſons the Council went upon, were, that the *Quartodecimans* were feweſt in number, and ſtood too near the *Jewiſh* cuſtom. Upon the ſame account it was, that the Council ordered, *Eaſter* ſhould be the *Sunday* after the full Moon in *March*. But it is uncertain whether it was meant, people ſhould reckon from the beginning of the fourteenth of the Moon, or from the evening and beginning of the fifteenth (1). Purſuant to this determination, all the Churches kept *Eaſter-Day* on a *Sunday*. One thing however, namely, what was to be done when the full Moon fell out on a *Sunday*, not being ſettled, cauſed ſome diverſity. In this caſe, ſome Churches, among which was that of *Scotland*, began their *Eaſter* that very day, and conſequently at the ſame time with the *Jews*. But the Church of *Rome* deferred it till the *Sunday* following. Since that time, there have been ſome alterations which produced different cuſtoms in the Churches. Whereas for a long while a *Cycle* of eighty-four years was every where made uſe of to find the preciſe time of *Eaſter*, the *Church of Rome* invented a *Cycle* of nineteen years, much more proper for that purpoſe, and obliged all the Churches under her juriſdiction to conform to the ſame. Although without doubt this was the beſt method, and calculated neareſt the truth; yet as it was unknown to the *Britons* and *Scots*, who held but little correſpondence with *Rome*, they ſtuck to their old way.

Bede, l. 3. c. 25. By theſe various manners of finding *Eaſter-Day*, it ſometimes happened in *Oſwy*'s court, that whilſt the King was celebrating the *Paſchal Feaſt*, the Queen, who followed the cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, was ſtill keeping *Lent*. This confuſion made *Oſwy* deſirous of fixing *Eaſter-Day* ſo, as all ſhould keep it at the ſame time. At the opening of the Council, having made a ſhort ſpeech upon that head, he ordered *Colman* to alledge what he had to ſay in defence of the cuſtom of the *Scotch* Church. *Colman* ſaid, it had been all along the practice of his predeceſſors, and of thoſe by whom he was ordained in *Scotland:* That *Columba*, *Aidan*, and *Finan* had always kept to the old way; but if their Authority was not ſufficient, he could alledge that of St. *John* the beloved Apoſtle. After he had enlarged upon this Argument, *Agilbert*, Biſhop of *Paris*, was deſired to ſet forth what was to be ſaid againſt *Colman*'s aſſertion. But the Biſhop having excuſed himſelf on account of his unskilfulneſs in the *Engliſh* tongue, requeſted that *Wilfrid* might be allowed to ſpeak the ſenſe of the *Church of Rome*. *Wilfrid*, having the King's permiſſion, anſwered *Colman* with great warmth. He explained the manner of fixing *Eaſter* practiſed by the *Church of Rome*, and affirmed that all the Churches in the World conformed to it, except only the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britons*, who ſtill perſiſted in their fooliſh obſtinacy. *Colman* replied, Talking in that manner very much reflected on the memory of St. *John*, who would never have eſtabliſhed a cuſtom that was chargeable with folly. *Wilfrid*, being ſenſible he had ſpoke a little too freely, endeavoured to juſtify St. *John*, by ſaying, he was obliged to retain ſomething of *Judaiſm*, for fear of giving offence to the *Aſiatick Jews*, as St. *Paul* upon the like account had circumciſed *Timothy*. He concluded with aſſerting, that the *Church of Rome* exactly followed what was preſcribed by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* in this matter.

It appears from the fore-cited paſſage of *Socrates*, that it was as difficult for *Wilfrid* to prove that the cuſtom of the *Church of Rome* had its riſe from St. *Peter*, as for *Colman* to make out, that the practice of the *Church of Scotland* came from St. *John*. Beſides, the *Cycle* of nineteen years then made uſe of by the *Romaniſts*, was moſt aſſuredly invented after the time of St. *Peter*. But as *Colman* and the reſt of the *Scotch* party knew little of what paſſed *abroad*, and as their aim was not ſo much to bring the *Romaniſts* to their cuſtoms, as to perſuade them to let them go on peaceably in their own way, they perſiſted in appealing to the authority of St. *John* and *Columba*. But *Wilfrid*, after juſtifying St. *John* in the manner above-mentioned, demanded of *Colman*, with an air of triumph, whether he pretended to compare *Columba* with St. *Peter* the prince of the Apoſtles, to whom our Saviour ſaid, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church?* Hiſtory informs us not what anſwer *Colman* made; for it muſt be remembred, we know nothing of this Council, but what we have from the Partiſans of *Rome*. However this be, *Oſwy* ſeemed to be convinced St. *Peter* had ſome prerogative above the other Apoſtles, ſince he declared at laſt for the cuſtom eſtabliſhed by St. *Peter* at *Rome*, before *that* of St. *John*. *Bede* ſays, he was brought to it by being told, that as St. *Peter* had the *Keys* of heaven, he would refuſe him entrance if he obſtinately held out againſt the Apoſtle's own inſtitution. *Oſwy*'s declaration immediately gained a majority of *Voices* for the *Romaniſts*. Thus *Colman* and his party loſt their cauſe in this Point.

c. 25.

In the ſame *Synod* was debated alſo the controverſy about the *Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure*. The *Romaniſts* maintained, that the head ought to be ſhaved round juſt in the place where our Saviour wore the *Crown of Thorns*, of which it was the *Emblem*. But the *Scotch* Prieſts ſhaved the fore-part of the head from ear to ear. *Bede* does not tell us how this matter was decided; but very probably it was determined in favour of the *Romaniſts*. l. 3. c. 25.

The diſpute about *Eaſter* being thus ended to the diſadvantage of the *Scots*, *Colman* and all his adherents retired into *Scotland*, not being able to prevail with themſelves to ſubmit to a deciſion that appeared to them ſo unjuſt. Thus is it in matters of religion, things that ſeem at firſt perfectly indifferent, become at laſt of the greateſt conſequence by the pride and uncharitableneſs of the Clergy. *Cedd* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who had been interpreter to both parties in the *Synod*, was the only one of the *Scotch* party, that thought it his duty not to leave his flock for a thing of ſo little moment, though he was of a contrary opinion to the *Romaniſts*. *Tuda* ſucceeded to *Colman*'s *See*, and *Eatta* was made Abbot of *Lindisfarn* in the room of him that went off with *Colman*. Bede, l. 3. c. 25.

Thus was the ſtorm raiſed by this controverſy appeaſed at laſt, to the great ſatisfaction of the Pope and his party, who were very ſenſible, that their ſucceſs in this affair would greatly contribute to the eſtabliſhing the *Papal* authority over the northern Churches, as it really did. The Church of *Northumberland* had been governed for thirty years by *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, whom their adverſaries could charge with nothing, but their firm adherence to the cuſtoms of their anceſtors in relation to *Eaſter*. After *Colman*'s retiring into *Scotland*, the government of the Church of *Northumberland* was always put into the hands either of *Saxons* or foreigners bred up in the principles of the *Church of Rome*, the *Scots* being entirely excluded.

Tuda dying ſoon after, *Alfred* King of *Deira* was deſirous of having *Wilfrid* his preceptor made Biſhop of *York*, the *See* whereof was *then* at *Lindisfarn*. To that end he ordered him to go into *France* to be conſecrated by *Agilbert* Biſhop of *Paris*. But *Wilfrid* making a long ſtay in *France*, *Chad* then Abbot of *Leſtingham* was made Biſhop of the *Northumbrians* (2). *Chad* being gone into *Kent* to be conſecrated by *Deuſdedit* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and finding he was lately dead, applied to *Wina*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* for conſecration, and then returned into *Northumberland*. *Bede* tells us, he was a very religious perſon, without pride or ambition, and one that accepted of the *epiſcopal* dignity purely in obedience to the King's order. Eddius. Bede. S. Dunelm. Malmſb.

In the mean while, *Wilfrid* being returned into *England*, remained ſome time at *Canterbury*, to take care of that *Dioceſe* till the arrival of *Theodorus*, whom the Pope had made Archbiſhop. After a few months ſtay at *Canterbury*, he went on to *Northumberland*; where finding *Chad* was made Biſhop of *Lindisfarn*, and not daring to complain of the inconſtancy of the King of *Deira*, he retired to his monaſtery at *Rippon* (3). Some time after, *Theodorus* in his viſitation of all the Churches in *England* coming to *York*, ſeverely reprimanded *Chad* for being conſecrated by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Chad* humbly ſubmitted to his cenſure, and without endeavouring to juſtify himſelf, did all the Archbiſhop required of him. *Theodorus*, charmed with his modeſt Behaviour, conſecrated him anew; but ordered him to return to his Monaſtery (4), and make room for *Wilfrid* whom the two Kings of *Northumberland* had deſigned for the Biſhoprick of *York* or *Lindisfarn*. Though *Bede* does not ſay for what reaſon *Chad* was ſent back to his Monaſtery after his ſecond conſecration, yet it is plain *Theodorus* was gained by the two Kings, who were for *Wilfrid*. And indeed there ſeems to be no reaſon for depoſing of *Chad*, ſince all the defects of his former ordination, ſuppoſing there were any, were removed by the latter.

Wilfrid was a Man of a very proud and haughty temper, one of thoſe that are for domineering where-ever they come, and cannot bring themſelves to uſe towards others that condeſcenſion they expect from all the world. His pride for ſome time was ſupported by his intereſt with the two Kings of *Northumberland*. But at length *Oſwy* being dead, *Alfred* his Son depoſed, and *Egfrid* who had no opinion of this prelate, in poſſeſſion of the throne, *Wilfrid* found he had not that reſpect ſhown him, as in the reign of *Oſwy*. This gave him great uneaſineſs, and not being able to forbear ſhowing it, perhaps in too in- Malmſb. G. Pontif. l. 3. p. 262.

(1) An *Eccleſiaſtical Day* begins at ſix a-clock the evening before.
(2) *Eddius* ſays, he was made Biſhop at the requeſt of the *Quartodecimans*, c. 14. *Malmſb.* p. 259.
(3) Where he remained three years. *Eddius*, p. 58.
(4) *Malmſbury* ſays, that he retired to *Lichfield*. *De Pontif.* p. 261.

ſolent

ſolent a manner, he incurred the King's diſpleaſure. Some time after, *Theodorus* coming again into *Northumberland*, *Egfrid* complained to him of *Wilfrid* (1), and let him know, that inſtead of ediſying the People, he brought a great ſcandal on religion by his pride and arrogance. The King did not accuſe him without ground. Hiſtorians are all agreed, that *Wilfrid* was exceſſive proud; that he affected to live in a royal manner; that he never went abroad without a numerous retinue; and that he was ſerved in *Gold*. *Theodorus*, finding this a fit opportunity to improve the rights of his *See*, and leſſen thoſe of *York*, which had been dignified with the title of an Archbiſhoprick in the time of *Paulinus*, was reſolved not to let it ſlip. Accordingly, without hearing what *Wilfrid* had to ſay for himſelf, he depoſed him, and obtained the King's leave to divide *Northumberland* into two Dioceſes. *Boſa*, who reſided at *York*, was Biſhop of the firſt, containing the Churches of *Deira*. Over the other *See*, which continued fixed at *Lindisfarn*, and conſiſted of the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, was placed *Eatta*. As *Egfrid* had for ſome time conquered *Lincolnſhire* from the King of *Mercia*, he made a third Biſhoprick of it, of which *Ethedus* was the firſt Biſhop.

Wilfrid enraged at his diſgrace, ſet out immediately for *Rome*, to lay his caſe before the *Pope*. *Theodorus* not liking his going thither, ſent a Monk to inform the *Pope* of the reaſons of his depoſing him. However, fearing *Wilfrid* might gain the Pope to his ſide, on account of the ſervice he had done the *Church of Rome* at the council of *Whitby*, he wrote to *Ebroine*, Mayor of the Palace to the King of *France*, to ſtop him in his journey. *Wilfrid*, informed of this, reſolved to go by the way of *Frieſland* (2), where *Adalgiſus* the King hoſpitably received him, and diſcovered to him that *Ebroine* had deſired him to detain or murder him. He is ſaid, whilſt he ſtaid in *Frieſland*, to make a great many converts. At length, taking his leave, he went on to *Strasbourg*, from whence he was ſafely conducted to *Rome* by the King of *Auſtraſia*.

Malmſb. p. 262.

Spelman. Conc. Vol. I. p. 157.

Agatho, who was then Pope, having heard *Wilfrid*'s complaints, held a *Synod* upon them, who unanimouſly declared that *Wilfrid* ſhould be reſtored to his Biſhoprick. *Wilfrid* having thus ſucceeded in his Suit, returned home, and preſented to the King the decree of the *Synod* at *Rome*, with a letter from the Pope. But *Egfrid* had ſo little regard to this decree, that after he had upbraided the Biſhop for procuring it by bribery, he put him in priſon, where he kept him a whole year, and would not then have releaſed him, had it not been for the preſſing inſtances of his Aunt *Ebba*, and upon condition he would never more ſet foot in *Northumberland*.

Wilfrid, meeting with all theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, withdrew to the Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*, where *Berthwald* the Abbot gave him a ſafe retreat; but it laſted not long, for *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, and Uncle to *Berthwald*, deſired him to diſmiſs him, on account of the King of *Northumberland*. In this perplexity *Wilfrid* fled for refuge to *Adelwalch* King of *Suſſex*, who was converted during his impriſonment in *Mercia*, but his ſubjects were ſtill idolaters. This Prince having granted him his protection, deſired him to endeavour the converſion of the people, in which he happily ſucceeded. In a little time the *South-Saxons*, as well as the inhabitants of the Iſle of *Wight*, embraced the Chriſtian Faith, by the pains and inſtructions of *Wilfrid*. At leaſt this is what the writer of his Life relates, though to ſpeak the truth, it is very difficult to clear up the *Chronology* of theſe facts. *Wilfrid* remained ſome years in *Suſſex*, where he was made Biſhop of *Seſſey*, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Eddius.

During his abſence, *Theodorus* having taken a third journey to *Northumberland*, erected a new Biſhoprick at *Hagulſtad* [or *Hexham*] of which *Thumbert* was the firſt Biſhop. This he did to make amends for *Lincoln* now in the hands of the *Mercians*. Some time after *Theodorus* went thither once more, and called a council, wherein he got *Thumbert* to be depoſed, for daring to take it ill that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould exerciſe his juriſdiction over the Churches of the North. It was indeed contrary to the regulations of *Gregory* I; and the *Pall* ſent to *Paulinus* firſt Biſhop of the *Northumbrians*, plainly ſhewed, it was not the intent of the court of *Rome* that the Churches of the North ſhould have any dependance on *Canterbury*. But *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, not having vouchſafed to demand the *Pall* of the Pope, *York* or *Lindisfarn* had only the bare title of a Biſhoprick, which theſe three *Scotch* Prelates never minded, the lording it over the Church being what was far from their thoughts. And therefore *Theodorus* finding he was the ſole Archbiſhop in *England*, embraced the opportunity to extend his juriſdiction over the North. For that purpoſe probably it was that he depoſed *Wilfrid*, from whoſe temper and character he expected oppoſition, that he divided *York* into three Biſhopricks, on pretence it would be more convenient for the people; and laſtly, that he depoſed *Thumbert*, who had openly cenſured his uſurpations.

Richard. Hagulſtad.

The ſame Council that depoſed *Thumbert*, choſe in his room *Cuthbert* a Monk of *Lindisfarn*, who was the only perſon that oppoſed his own election, out of an exceſs of modeſty and humility. The Biſhops, who all judged him worthy of the *Epiſcopal* character, found it a very difficult matter to bring him to a compliance; and at laſt were forced to conſent he ſhould remain at *Lindisfarn*, where he had lived a long time; for which reaſon *Eatta* was tranſlated to *Hagulſtad*. 685.

Some time after, *Theodorus* being grown very old, and finding he had not long to live, was touched with remorſe for what he had done to *Wilfrid*, and wanted to be reconciled to him. To this purpoſe he interceded for him ſo earneſtly with *Alfred*, ſucceſſor to *Egfrid*, that he was recalled. The Biſhoprick of *Lindisfarn* being then vacant by the voluntary reſignation of *Cuthbert*, *Boſa* was tranſlated thither, and *Wilfrid* reſtored to *York*. 686.

Cuthbert being returned to his Monaſtery at *Lindisfarn*, died ſoon after. In proceſs of time, his body being removed to *Durham*, became ſo famous for miracles, that among all the *Engliſh* Saints he had the greateſt veneration paid him. 687.

Wilfrid was no ſooner ſettled in his *See*, but he undertook the annulling all that had been done during his diſgrace. He attempted the uniting again to *York* the Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*, and claimed the revenues that had been taken from his Church, and appropriated to that Biſhoprick. In fine, he pretended that all the regulations of *Theodorus* were null and void; and perhaps he was in the right; but his haughty way of proceeding made him meet with oppoſition from all quarters. Even *Alfred* his Pupil and Sovereign, not being able to bear any longer his imperious temper, drove him once more from his Church. Thus this reſtleſs Prelate was reduced to ſeek for ſhelter from *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, formerly his enemy, but now his friend. *Mercia* being then divided into four Biſhopricks, and *Leiceſter*, one of them, happening to be vacant, *Ethelred* promoted *Wilfrid* to that *See*, which however he enjoyed but a very little while. His haughty temper was ſo diſpleaſing to the King of *Mercia*, that he diſpoſſeſſed him of it in a few months. Not content with incurring the diſpleaſure of the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, he took occaſion alſo to fall out with *Berthwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and by that means forfeited his protection, which he then ſtood in great need of. The two Kings his enemies laid hold of this opportunity to humble him. They requeſted *Berthwald* to call a council, in order to examine into the life and actions of *Wilfrid*. The Archbiſhop, as matters ſtood between him and *Wilfrid*, readily complied with their deſire. Accordingly a council was held at *Oneſtresfield* in *Northumberland*, where *Wilfrid* was obliged to appear, and was charged with crimes that deſerved degradation. However, the Biſhops unwilling to carry matters to that extremity, endeavoured by intreaties and threats to induce him to reſign his Biſhoprick of his own accord. But nothing could bring him to that; he told them, it was a great piece of ingratitude in the *Engliſh* to uſe him in that manner, after all the ſervices he had done the Church. The Services he boaſted of were, his contributing the moſt of any towards fixing *Eaſter-Day*, according to the uſage of *Rome*, his introducing the *Roman Ritual* into the Churches of the North, and his bringing the *Scotch* Monks to conform to the *Rules* of the *Order* of St. *Benedict*. *Upon theſe accounts*, ſaid he, *you ought to reward me, inſtead of threatning to depoſe me unjuſtly for imaginary crimes. But if you will dare to go on, know I'll appeal to the Pope againſt your proceedings. None other has power to condemn me, and he it is alone I acknowledge for my Judge.* The Council not regarding his appeal, unanimouſly depoſed him. However, this did not in the leaſt humble him. Though he was ſeventy years of age, he reſolved to go to *Rome* for redreſs. The Pope, always favourable to thoſe that appealed to him, convened a *Synod* of the neighbouring Biſhops, wherein *Wilfrid*, upon his ſingle repreſentation of matters, was fully acquitted. After which, the Pope gave him recommendatory letters to *Berthwald*, and the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, requiring them to reſtore *Wilfrid* in purſuance to the decree of the *Synod*. 703.

Eddius, vit. Wilf. c. 49.

As ſoon as *Wilfrid* was returned to *England*, he waited on the Archbiſhop, who finding he came with the Pope's recommendation, began to relent, and promiſe his friendſhip. On the other hand, *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, who was now turned Monk, promiſed *Wilfrid* his interceſſion. But *Alfred* at firſt ſeemed inflexible. He ſaid he could ſee

(1) By the Inſtigation of his Queen *Ermenburga*, ſays *Eddius*, p. 63.
(2) *Eddius*, *in Vit. Wilf.* ſays he went firſt to *France*, where he was waylaid, and his company and equipage plundered.

no manner of reaſon for reſtoring, upon the Pope's letter, and the ſentence of a foreign Council that knew but little of the matter, a man that had cauſed ſo many diſturbances, and after having been baniſhed ſeveral times, had at length been lawfully depoſed by a *Synod*. But he was not long of this mind. Soon after falling ſick, it was put into his head, that his diſtemper was a puniſhment from God, for his diſobedience to the Pope's orders; and this made ſo deep an impreſſion upon him, that he vowed to reſtore *Wilfrid*, in caſe he recovered. Death prevented him from performing his vow; however, he ordered *Brithric*, whom he left Guardian to his Son *Oſred*, to ſee it put in execution out of hand.

Although *Alfred* had been poſitively promiſed, the affair of *Wilfrid* ſhould be ſoon ended, it was not poſſible to think of it immediately, by reaſon of a civil war raiſed by *Edulph*, who had uſurped the crown. *Wilfrid* behaved upon this occaſion in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed to deprive him of all hopes of ever being reſtored. As he did not doubt but *Edulph*, who was then beſieging the King and *Brithric* in *Bamborough* Caſtle, would ſucceed in his deſigns, he went in all haſte to him, in order to make him his friend betimes, and ſecure his protection. This proceeding had like to have proved his ruin. *Edulph*, knowing he was hated by the *Northumbrians*, to do them a pleaſure, gave him a very ill reception, forbidding him ever to appear in his preſence. On the other ſide, *Brithric* informed of *Wilfrid*'s conduct, loſt all kindneſs for him. However, after the war was ended by the death of the Uſurper, *Brithric* was prevailed upon, though with ſome difficulty, to conſent *Wilfrid* ſhould be reſtored. To this end a council was held near the river *Nydd*, where it was agreed *Wilfrid* ſhould be Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, with which he was obliged to be ſatisfied. *John*, then Biſhop of that *See*, was removed to *York*, vacant by the death of *Boſa*.

Eddius, c. 58. 708.

Thus *Wilfrid*'s affair, after many difficulties, was at length determined. *John* in 721 reſigned his Biſhoprick, and retired to the monaſtery of *Beverly*, of which he was Abbot. He was canonized after his death, and became very famous, by the name of St. *John* of *Beverly*. He was ſucceeded in the *See* of *York* by *Wilfrid the Younger*, his Chaplain. To *Wilfrid the Elder*, ſucceeded in his *See* of *Hagulſtad*, *Acca* one of the Prieſts that had attended him in his journey to *Rome*, where he became a great proficient in *Church-Muſick*, which, ſays *Bede*, it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country. *Wilfrid the Younger* was ſucceeded in the *See* of *York* by *Egbert*, Brother to *Edbert* King of *Northumberland*.

Bede, l. 5. c. 6. l. 5. c. 21.

It was neceſſary to be thus particular about the eſtabliſhment of the northern Biſhopricks, the ſucceſſion of the firſt Biſhops, and the alterations occaſioned by *Wilfrid*; without all which, it would be difficult to give a diſtinct notion of the Churches of theſe parts. Hence alſo may be ſeen, how the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had opportunity of exerciſing his juriſdiction over all *England*, contrary to the regulation of *Gregory* I. To which, the enterpriſing genius of *Theodorus*, and the depoſing of *Wilfrid*, likewiſe contributed. Had this laſt continued in the *See* of *York*, he would doubtleſs have obtained the *Pall*, and by that means put a ſtop to *Theodorus*'s proceedings.

The dignity of *Archbiſhop of York*, and *Metropolitan of the* North, vaniſhed with *Paulinus*. After that *Prelate* left *Northumberland*, and the *Northumbrians* deſerted the *Faith*, the Monks ſent for from *Scotland* by *Oſwald* to inſtruct the people, were contented with the bare title of Biſhop, without applying to the *Pope* for the *Pall*, whoſe juriſdiction they did not acknowledge. Afterwards *Wilfrid*, ſucceſſor to *Colman*, having been depoſed, the Biſhoprick of the *Northumbrians* was divided into four, namely, *York*, *Whithern*, *Lindisfarn*, and *Hagulſtad*. This diviſion was a freſh obſtacle to the Biſhop of *York*'s deſiring the *Pall*, his *See* being ſo conſiderably leſſened by it. Beſides, *Boſa*, *John* and *Wilfrid the Younger*, who were ſucceſſively Biſhops of *York*, were pious and good Men, who thought of nothing leſs than aſpiring to more honourable titles. But *Egbert*, who was Biſhop of *York*, whilſt his Brother ſat on the throne of *Northumberlaud*, having more ambition than his predeceſſors, improved the reſpect they had for him at *Rome* on account of his birth, and procured the *Pall* with the *Archiepiſcopal* dignity: By which means he acquired a juriſdiction over the three other *northern* Biſhops, who became his *Suffragans*. From that time the Archbiſhops of *York* began to be upon a *Level* with thoſe of *Canterbury*, and to inſiſt on *Gregory*'s regulation, whereby it was ordered, there ſhould be an entire equality and independency between the two Archbiſhops. On the other hand, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* pleaded the juriſdiction exerciſed by *Theodorus* over the North, and all the reſt of *England*. Hence aroſe a conteſt between the two *Metropolitans*, which was not decided till many ages after. *Alcuinus* gives *Egbert*, whom he calls his maſter, the character of an able and learned Prelate, and takes notice of his building a library at *York*, and furniſhing it with a noble collection of Books. *Eanbald*, who ſucceeded *Egbert*, was living at the time of the diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*.

Malmſb. l. 1. c. 3. 744.

The CHURCH *of* WESSEX.

IT does not appear, that *Auſtin* ſent any of his companions to preach the Goſpel in the kingdom of *Weſſex*. It was not till forty years after his arrival in *Britain* that the *Weſt-Saxons* were converted by the miniſtry of *Birinus*. This Prieſt, zealous for the advancement of the kingdom of Chriſt, being informed there were ſtill in *England* nations to whom the Goſpel was unpreached, deſired Pope *Honorius* to ſend him thither (1). His requeſt being granted, he received the *epiſcopal* character, and ſet out for *England*, not knowing for certain on what nation providence would throw him, or on whom in particular he deſigned to lay out his charitable care. He accidentally arrived in the kingdom of *Weſſex*; and finding the inhabitants Idolaters, reſolved to ſtay among them and endeavour their converſion. After ſome time he had the ſatisfaction to baptize *Cinigiſil* the King, and *Quicelm* his Brother (2). Soon after *Birinus* found his *Audience* very numerous, multitudes following the example of their Kings. He continued for fourteen years to *edify* his converts by his diſcourſes and example, and at length, after a conſiderable progreſs, died at *Dorcheſter*, where he had built a Church and fixed his *epiſcopal See*.

634. Bede, l. 3. c. 7. 635. Aſſer. Ann. 636. Bede, l. 3. c. 7.

After *Birinus*'s death, *Weſſex* was involved in freſh troubles. *Cenowalch*, who ſucceeded his father *Cinigiſil*, being as yet a *Pagan*, was no favourer of the Chriſtians. But what was ſtill worſe, *Penda* King of *Mercia* became maſter of the kingdom and kept it three years, *Cenowalch* being forced to fly into *Eaſt-Anglia*. It may be eaſily judged Chriſtianity, during theſe three years, made no great progreſs. Beſides *Penda*'s being an Idolater, it is unlikely religion ſhould flouriſh in the midſt of wars and commotions. *Cenowalch* had the good fortune to be converted during his retreat in *Eaſt-Anglia*, and afterwards to be reſtored to his dominions. The peaceable times that enſued afforded him means to promote religion again in *Weſſex*, where, after *Birinus*'s death, none had been very forward to go and ſtrengthen the new Chriſtians. Whilſt the King was looking out for ſome fit perſon to preach to his ſubjects, *Agilbert* a *Frenchman*, who was juſt come from his ſtudies in *Ireland*, paſſed through *Wincheſter* in his way home. *Cenowalch* having ſeen him, invited him to ſtay with him, and inſtruct the people. *Agilbert* complied with his requeſt; and being conſecrated Biſhop, went and reſided at *Dorcheſter*. But as he had not the gift of languages, he made but little progreſs. *Cenowalch* perceiving he could not learn the *Engliſh* tongue, and that it was impoſſible his ſubjects ſhould edify by the inſtructions of one who ſpoke to them in a foreign dialect, began to grow weary of him. At length he divided his kingdom into two *Dioceſes*, and leaving *Agilbert* at *Dorcheſter*, made one *Wina* a *Saxon*, that had been bred and conſecrated in *France*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (3). *Agilbert* could not bear the King ſhould make this partition without conſulting him, much leſs that he ſhould give the preference to the new Biſhop by placing him in his capital. His complaints upon this occaſion not being much regarded, he took his leave and retired into *France*, where he was made Biſhop of *Paris*. He returned afterwards into *England*, to aſſiſt at the council of *Whitby*. In the mean time, *Cenowalch* not agreeing with *Wina*, diſmiſſed him alſo.

630. 660. 666.

Weſſex remaining thus without a Biſhop (4), and Eccleſiaſticks fit for ſuch an employment not being very common in *England*, *Cenowalch* would have recalled *Agilbert*, who did not think proper to quit *Paris* for *Wincheſter*. However, he made an offer to the King of his Nephew *Eleutherius*, a Prieſt, whom he recommended, as well qualified for the *epiſcopal* function. *Eleutherius* being accepted of, and conſecrated by *Theodorus*, became ſole Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

670.

After the death of *Cenowalch*, *Weſſex* was troubled with civil wars for ten years. *Eleutherius* dying during the troubles, was ſucceeded by *Heda*; after whoſe death, the number of Chriſtians being very much increaſed in *Weſſex*, it was found neceſſary to divide the kingdom

Bede, l. 5. c. 19.

(1) *Bede* ſays, he undertook their Converſion by the Advice of Pope *Honoriut*, l. 3. c. 7.
(2) *Higden* relates from ſome antient Chronicles, that King *Cinigiſil* gave all the Lands ſeven Miles round *Wincheſter* for the erecting an Epiſcopal See in that City, and for the Maintenance of the Perſons that were to officiate in the Cathedral, *p.* 232.
(3) Where *Cenowalch* built a fine *Cathedral*. *W. Malmſb.* p. 13.
(4) And that for a conſiderable time. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 7.

again

again into two *Dioceſes*, the *Sees* whereof were fixed at *Wincheſter* and *Sherborn*. *Daniel* was made Biſhop of the firſt, and *Aldhelm* of the laſt, who was nephew to King *Ina*, and the firſt *Engliſhman* that wrote in Latin, a language he was better skilled in than any of his countrymen before him. When he was promoted to his Biſhoprick, he was Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Malmsbury*, ſo named from *Maidulph* a *Scotchman* the firſt Abbot, and *Aldhelm*, his ſucceſſor (1). *Forthere*, who, according to *Bede*, was well verſed in the Holy Scriptures, was Biſhop of *Sherborn* after *Aldhelm*, and to *Daniel* ſucceeded *Almund* in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*. From that time to the diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, I meet with nothing in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Weſſex* worth notice.

The CHURCH *of* MERCIA.

IT was above fifty years after the converſion of *Kent*, that the *Mercians* embraced the *Chriſtian Faith*. *Penda*, who ſat on the throne of *Mercia* above thirty years, was of a too haughty and turbulent ſpirit to embrace a religion ſo contrary to his temper and character. However, Divine Providence ſo ordered matters, that this Prince was induced, though not to profeſs, yet at leaſt to tolerate the Chriſtian Religion in his dominions. *Penda* his eldeſt Son, whom he had made King of *Leiceſter*, being gone to *Northumberland* to demand *Alfleda* King *Oſwy*'s daughter in marriage, could obtain her upon no other terms but his turning Chriſtian (2). Whether the young Prince was apprehenſive of the ſame obſtruction to his marriage in all the other kingdoms, which were already converted, or had a favourable opinion of Chriſtianity, he received baptiſm before he left *Northumberland* (3). At his return, he brought with him four Prieſts, *Cedda*, *Adda*, *Beti* and *Diuma*, to preach the Goſpel to the *Mercians:* Which the King his father oppoſed not, either out of complaiſance to his Son, or becauſe all religions were indifferent to him (4). *Diuma*, who was a *Scotchman*, and the only Biſhop of the four, governed the *Mercian* Church proſperouſly for ſome years; he and his companions having met with a plentiful harveſt in *Mercia*, the largeſt of the ſeven kingdoms, and the laſt that was converted. *Cellach* ſucceeded *Diuma*.

Bede, l. 3. c. 21, 24.

644.

Bede, l. 3. c. 24.

After the death of *Penda*, *Mercia* was ſubject three years to *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland:* but he being a Chriſtian, religion received no detriment from that revolution. But when *Wulpher* aſcended the throne, being yet an idolater, he was carried by a falſe zeal to perſecute his Chriſtian Subjects, even to the putting to death two of his own Sons, who refuſed to renounce their *Faith*, if they may be credited who relate this fact, which does not ſeem to be well ſupported. Happily for the Chriſtians this ſtorm was ſoon blown over, *Wulpher* being converted preſently after.

659.

Rob. de Swapham.

During the perſecution, *Cellach* retired into *Scotland:* So that *Mercia* being without a Biſhop when *Wulpher* embraced the Goſpel, he ſent for an *Engliſh* Prieſt, named *Trumhere*, who had been educated in *Scotland*, and cauſed him to be conſecrated Biſhop of *Mercia*. To him ſucceeded *Jaruman*, who had the honour of replanting the Chriſtian Religion in the kingdom of *Eſſex*, as will be related hereafter. Upon *Jaruman*'s death *Wulpher* deſired *Theodorus* to ſend him a Biſhop. *Theodorus* gladly complied with his requeſt, as giving him a good opportunity of promoting *Chad* (5), whom he had deprived of the *See* of *York*, in the manner before related in the hiſtory of the Church of *Northumberland*. *Chad* being come to *Mercia*, fixed his *See* at *Lichfield* (6), where he died, after he had governed the Church prudently and happily for many years. I am perſwaded it will not be taken amiſs, that I refer thoſe to *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who are deſirous of ſeeing a liſt of St. *Chad*'s miracles, and the hymns the Angels ſung in the air over his houſe when he lay a dying.

664.

Bede, l. 3. c. 28, 30. and l. 4. c. 3.

669.

l. 4. c. 3.

Upon the death of *Chad*, *Theodorus* promoted to the *See* of *Lichfield Winfrid* a Prieſt, whom he depoſed ſoon after for daring to expoſtulate with him for aſſuming too great authority over the other Biſhops. He had ſerved another in the ſame manner in *Northumberland* upon the like account. *Saxulph*, Abbot of *Medes-hamſted* (7), was made Biſhop in *Winfrid*'s room. But as the Chriſtians daily increaſed in *Mercia*, *Ethelred*, ſucceſſor to *Wulfer*, finding, one Biſhop was not ſufficient for ſo large a flock, divided his kingdom into four *Dioceſes*, the *Sees* whereof were eſtabliſhed at *Lichfield*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Leiceſter* (8). *Saxulph* continued at *Lichfield*. *Faddric* was ſent to *Worceſter*, but dying before he was conſecrated, *Boſelus* was put in his place. *Cuthwin* was Biſhop of *Leiceſter*, and *Putta* of *Hereford*. After *Cuthwin*'s death *Leiceſter* was united to *Lichfield*; but ſome time after they were ſeparated again upon *Wilfrid*'s account, who was diſpoſſeſſed of the *See* of *York*, and held not this long. *Hedda* ſucceeded *Saxulph* in the Biſhoprick of *Lichfield* (9).

675.

Bede, l. 4. c. 6.

680.

I paſs over in ſilence the particulars of no moment relating to the *Mercian* Churches, with the ſucceſſion of their Biſhops (10), to come at the change that happened in the reign of *Offa*, by the erecting of *Lichfield* into an *Archbiſhoprick*. *Offa*, jealous of the authority exerciſed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* over the Churches of *Mercia*, and having beſides a particular quarrel to *Lambert* who *then* filled the *Archiepiſcopal See*, reſolved to withdraw the Churches of *Mercia* from his juriſdiction. To this end, he privately ſollicited *Pope Adrian* I. to make the Biſhop of *Lichfield* an Archbiſhop, and the Biſhops of *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* his *Suffragans*. The Pope willingly conſented to his requeſt, as glad of the opportunity, by obliging this Prince, to extend over the Church of *England* his juriſdiction, which was not yet thorougly ſubmitted to, or at leaſt not to that degree he deſired. With this view he ſent *Gregory* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Theophylact* Biſhop of *Todi*, with the character of *Legates* to tranſact this affair. To prevent *Lambert* from taking meaſures to avoid the blow that was aiming at him, the ſending of theſe *Legates* was pretended to be on account of calling *Synods* in *England* for confirming the Churches in the Faith. Upon the arrival of the *Legates*, *Theophylact* ſtayed ſome time with *Offa* to concert meaſures how to accompliſh their deſigns, whilſt *Gregory* went on to *Northumberland*, where he convened a *Synod*, of which I ſhall ſpeak in another place. At his return to *Mercia*, the two *Legates* ſummoned a national council of the ſeven kingdoms at *Calcuith*, where King *Offa* was preſent. After ratifying the Canons of the *Northumberland-Synod*, the erecting of *Lichfield* into an *Archiepiſcopal See* was propoſed. *Lambert* oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power, but all in vain. The matter having been ſettled before-hand, the authority of *Offa* and the *Legates* bore down all oppoſition. *Higbert*, then Biſhop of *Lichfield* was declared an Archbiſhop, and the Biſhops of *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* were made his Suffragans (11). He was prevented by death from receiving the *Pall*, but *Adulph* his ſucceſſor, had that honour from the *Pope*, who ratified what the council had done. Some are of opinion *Offa* purchaſed this favour with the tax of the *Peter-Pence* levied on *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia:* but this is only a groundleſs conjecture. *Lichfield* enjoyed the title of an Archbiſhoprick not above fourteen years. After the death of *Offa* and *Egfrid* his Son, *Cenulph* was ſo far prevailed upon by the preſſing inſtances of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, who repreſented to him, that according to the regulation of *Gregory* I, there ought to be but two Archbiſhops in *England*, that he wrote to the Pope with his own hand, to deſire him to put things upon the antient foot again. *Adelard*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, took upon him the management of this affair at *Rome*, where (after a nine years ſollicitation) he obtained of Pope *Leo* III, that *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* ſhould again be under the juriſdiction of the *See* of *Canterbury*. From that time to the reign of *Egbert* nothing remarkable relating to the Church happened in *Mercia*, except the Councils, of which I intend to ſpeak elſewhere.

Spelman Conc. Vol. I. p. 291.

784.

785.

800.

(1) *Maidulph-Aldhelm-bury*, by contraction *Malmſbury*, i. e. the tomb of *Maidulph* and *Aldhelm*. *Rapin*. *Aldhelm* was alive in *Bede*'s time, l. 5. c. 19.

(2) *Bede* ſays, that upon his having preached to him the doctrines of a *heavenly Kingdom*, of a *Reſurrection*, and *future Immortality*, he declared he would embrace the Chriſtian Religion, even though he were not to have the young Princeſs in marriage. *Bede*, l. 5. c. 21.

(3) With all his Attendants. *Bede*, *ibid.*

(4) He ſeems to have acted upon another principle, if what *Bede* relates be true, that he hated and deſpiſed thoſe, who, after they had embraced Chriſtianity, lived in a manner unbecoming their profeſſion; ſaying, They were deſpicable wretches, who would not obey their God in whom they believed. l. 3. c. 21.

(5) Or *Ceadda*. *Bede*.

(6) This was a very large Dioceſe, comprehending the country of the *Mercians*, *Middle-Angles*, and what was afterwards called *Lincoln*. For ſo far King *Wulfer*'s dominions extended. *Bede*, l. 4. c. 3.

(7) Afterward *Peterborough*.

(8) Or rather *Cheſter*.

(9) *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, diſcharged all the *Monaſteries* and *Churches* of his kingdom from all publick *Taxes*, *Impoſitions*, &c. except *Pontage*, and the Tax for building of Forts. *Ingulph*, p. 5. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 257.

(10) See them in *Malmſb. de Geſtis Pontif. Gervas*, &c.

(11) *Viz.* the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Sinaceſter*, *Hereford*, *Helmham*, *Dommuc*. Vit. *Offæ* apud *Mat. Paris*. See alſo *Spelm. Conc.* Vol. I. p. 302. and *Camden*.

The

The CHURCH *of* ESSEX.

MELLITUS, one of the *Miſſionaries* ſent over to *Auſtin*, was the firſt that preached the Goſpel to the *Eaſt-Saxons*, particularly at *London*. As far as can be judged, he made no great progreſs among the people. Probably what ſucceſs he met with was entirely owing to the authority of *Sebert* King of *Eſſex*, and *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (1); ſince upon their deaths, all the *Eaſt-Saxon* Chriſtians fell back to *Paganiſm*, and expelled *Mellitus* (2), without ever admitting him any more. The converſion therefore of the *Eaſt-Saxons* is not properly to be dated from this time, but rather from the reign of *Sigebert the Good*. This Prince living in ſtrict friendſhip with *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland*, and paying him frequent viſits, had the good fortune to be inſtructed in the knowledge of the Goſpel at his court, where he was baptized. He brought home with him *Cedd*, a *Northumbrian* Prieſt, of whom I have ſpoken before, and who being conſecrated Biſhop, heartily ſet about inſtructing the *Eaſt-Saxons*, among whom in a ſhort time he made a very great progreſs (3). He was the only *Scotchman* that after the council of *Whitby* was unwilling to leave his flock, though the controverſy about *Eaſter* was decided contrary to his opinion. Nay, he went ſo far as to blame *Colman* and the reſt of his countrymen, for deſerting their flocks for a matter of ſo little moment. His ſtrict adherence to *eccleſiaſtical diſcipline* was the occaſion of *Sigebert*'s death, or at leaſt was pretended to be ſo, as was ſaid in the hiſtory of the kingdom of *Eſſex*. As *Cedd* went often to *Northumberland*, where he had ſpent great part of his life, *Adelwalt* King of *Deira*, made him a preſent of certain lands lying near *Leſtingham*, where he founded a monaſtery. Thither he uſed to retire and practiſe the greateſt *Auſterities*. Here alſo it was that he died of the plague after he had governed the Church of *Eſſex* ſeveral years. *Bede*, who gives *Cedd* great encomiums, and mentions his auſtere way of living, takes occaſion from thence to ſay, that *Faſting* was religiouſly practiſed by all who pretended to any thing of a regular life, and adds, that ſome faſted every *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, till three o'clock in the afternoon. The *Saxon Homilies* alſo moſt earneſtly recommend *Faſting*; but withal take care to warn Chriſtians againſt over-acting their part in this reſpect, as ſome did, and talk very rationally upon this article.

640. Bede, l. 1. c. 29. and lib. 2. c. 3, 5, 6. 614. Bede, l. 3. c. 22.

After the death of *Sigebert the Good*, and *Swithelm* his brother, it happened that in the reign of *Sebba* and *Siger* the plague raged terribly in the kingdom of *Eſſex*, particularly at *London*. *Siger* being perſuaded that the plague was ſent upon the *Eaſt Saxons*, as a puniſhment from the Gods for abandoning the religion of their anceſtors, returned to idolatry, and drew after him thoſe of his ſubjects who had not been thoroughly converted. But *Sebba* ſtedfaſtly adhered to the Chriſtian Religion. *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*, on whom theſe two Princes were then in dependance, having been informed of what paſſed in *Eſſex*, ſent thither *Jaruman* his Biſhop to endeavour to reſtore the *Eaſt Saxons* to the way of truth. *Jaruman*'s pains were crowned with ſo good ſucceſs, that the people at length returned to the Faith. Shortly after *Wulpher*, who acted as he pleaſed in the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, gave the firſt inſtance of *Simony* in *England*, by ſelling the Biſhoprick of *London* to *Wina*, who had been driven from *Wincheſter*. He governed the Church of *Eſſex* till his death in 675. His ſucceſſor was *Erkenwald*, famous for his great affection to the city of *London*, as well as for the holineſs of his life, on account of which he was enrolled in the catalogue of the Saints. After his death a great conteſt aroſe between the Canons of St. *Paul*'s at *London*, and the Monks of *Barking*, who ſhould bury him. The firſt carried their point, and interred him in their Cathedral, where it is affirmed he wrought ſeveral miracles (4). It will be needleſs to carry down the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *London* to the diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, ſince nothing remarkable happened concerning them (5).

Bede, l. 3. c. 30. 664. Id. c. 23. 666. Malmſb. G. Pontif. l. 2.

The CHURCH *of* EAST-ANGLIA.

THE firſt converſion of the *Eaſt-Angles* is ſaid to be in the reign of *Redowald*; but by whom is not known. There is reaſon to believe, that during this Prince's life the Chriſtian Religion made no great progreſs in *Eaſt-Anglia*. All that can be probably conjectured is, that *Redowald*, out of reſpect for *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (at whoſe court ſome ſay he was baptized) gave leave to ſome of *Auſtin*'s companions to preach in his dominions, and perſecuted not thoſe who had a mind to embrace the Goſpel. What is ſaid of his ſuffering the true God and the *Pagan* deities to be worſhipped in the ſame temple, ſeems to infer that he was not himſelf a Chriſtian (6), and that the number of converts in *Eaſt-Anglia* was very inconſiderable. Thus much at leaſt is certain, Chriſtianity flouriſhed not in that kingdom, in his or his Son *Erpwald*'s reign (7). And therefore we can't be greatly miſtaken in placing the converſion of the *Eaſt-Angles* in the reign of *Sigebert*, ſucceſſor to *Erpwald*.

Bede, l. 2. c. 15. Bede, ibid. and l. 3. c. 18.

Sigebert, who had ſpent great part of his time in *France*, where he had been baptized, was thoroughly inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion. When he returned to *England* to take poſſeſſion of the crown, he brought along with him a *Burgundian* Prieſt, named *Felix*, whom he got to be conſecrated Biſhop of *Canterbury*. *Felix*, upon his arrival in *Eaſt-Anglia*, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring back to the right way ſuch as were gone aſtray, and inſtruct thoſe that had not yet any knowledge of the truth. His endeavours met with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time he had the pleaſure to ſee the *Eaſt-Angles* come in crowds to be baptized. In the mean time, *Sigebert* knowing nothing would make more for the benefit of his ſubjects, than permanent and continual inſtructions to confirm them in the Faith, erected ſchools, after the manner of thoſe he had ſeen in *France* (8). Some will have it (9) that the Univerſity of *Cambridge* owes its original to theſe ſchools; but this opinion ſeems not to be well grounded.

Whilſt *Sigebert* was thus employed in works of piety, he received farther aſſiſtance from one *Furſeus* an *Iriſh* Monk, who preached to the *Eaſt-Angles* with good ſucceſs. *Bede* gives him an extraordinary commendation; attributes ſeveral miracles to him, and aſſures us he was, like St. *Paul*, *wrapt up into Heaven*. This ſame *Furſeus* built a monaſtery at *Cnobersburgh* (10), which was largely endowed at ſeveral times by the Kings of *Eaſt-Anglia*. The troubles that aroſe after *Sigebert*'s reſigning the crown, obliged *Furſeus* to retire into *France*, where he founded the monaſtery of *Lagny* in the juriſdiction of *Meaux*.

l. 3. c. 19.

Felix was Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles* ſeventeen years; his *See* was fixed at *Dummoc*, a little town by the Sea-ſide, now called *Dunwich* (11). Here it was he had the ſatisfaction to convert and baptize *Cenowalch* King of *Weſſex*, who had fled for refuge into *Eaſt-Anglia*. *Felix* was ſucceeded by *Thomas* a deacon of his Church; after him came *Berchtgiſlus*, ſirnamed *Boniface*, whom *Biſus* ſucceeded. *Biſus* being grown old and infirm, *Becca* and *Badwin* were made his aſſiſtants, and *Eaſt-Anglia* divided into two *Dioceſes*. *Becca* reſided at *Dummoc*, and *Badwin* at *Elmham*, a poor village now in *Norfolk*. Theſe two Biſhopricks continued in being, till the *Danes* becoming maſters of *Eaſt-Anglia*, they both lay *vacant* for above one hundred years. After which the *Dioceſe* of *Dummoc* was united to that of *Elmham*: From whence the *Epiſcopal See* was removed to *Thetford* (12), and afterwards to *Norwich* (13), where it remains to this day.

Malmſb. G. Pontif.

(1) This King *Ethelbert* founded the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s, about the year 610. See *Stow*'s *Survey*, l. 3. p. 141. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 3. *Malmſb.* p. 235. Though others ſay it was done by King *Sebert*. See *Higden Polychron.* p. 227, 228.

(2) In the year 614, *Mellitus*, with the aſſiſtance of King *Ethelbert*, founded a Church and Monaſtery near *London*, in a place called *Thorney*; which he dedicated to St. *Peter*: As it lay Weſt of *London*, it came afterwards to be called *Weſtminſter*. *Malmſb.* p. 235. See *Stow*'s *Survey*, l. 6.

(3) He built ſeveral Churches, *Bede*, l. 3. c. 22. He taught and baptized chiefly at *Ithanceſter*, near the river *Pent*, ſuppoſed to be about St. *Peter*'s *on the Wall* in *Dengy-Hundred*; and at *Tilaburg*, or *Tilbury*, near the *Thames*. One may infer from *Bede*'s words, that he erected ſome kinds of Monaſteries, or rather *Schools*, there. See *Bede*, l. 3. c. 22. *Camden*, in *Eſſex*. *Huntingd.* p. 333. *Brompton*, &c.

(4) In regard of the miracles wrought at his tomb, as was generally believed, the Corpſe was encloſed in a very rich Shrine, and a great many offerings of value made at it. In the year 1386, *Robert Braybroke* Biſhop of *London*, made a Conſtitution for the revival of St. *Erkenwald*'s holy-day, which of late had been neglected. The ſolemnity was kept upon the laſt day of *April*. *Dugdale*'s *Hiſt. of St. Paul*'s, p. 20, 181.

(5) De geſtis vel ſepulchris ne verbum quidem. *Malmſb.* p. 236.

(6) Some ſay he was baptized in the court of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*. *Rapin.*

(7) *Erpwald* embraced Chriſtianity at the perſuaſion of King *Edwin*. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 15.

(8) And put maſters in them, as there was in thoſe of *Kent*. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 18.

(9) *Polydore Virgil*, *Leland*, *Bayle*, &c. are of this opinion: But their authority is much weakened by the ſilence of *Bede*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Malmſbury* and *Huntingdon*, who make no mention of *Cambridge*.

(10) Now *Burgh-Caſtle* in *Suffolk*.

(11) It is in *Suffolk*, and is ſaid to have had fifty Churches. *Camden*.

(12) *Theodford*, i. e. *the Ford of the People*, in *Norfolk*.

(13) *Norwich*, i. e. *the North-Caſtle*. *Wic* ſignifying among other things a Caſtle.

The

The CHURCH *of* SUSSEX.

Bede, l. 4. c. 13. IT is no wonder the kingdom of *Suſſex* continued ſo long after the reſt in an idolatrous ſtate, ſince it was in ſubjection to *Weſſex*, where the Goſpel was not preached till forty years after the arrival of *Auſtin*. If we may credit the author of *the Life of Wilfrid* Biſhop of *York*, the converſion of the *South Saxons* about the year 686, was owing to the diſgrace of that Prelate, who fled for refuge into their country. *Adelwalch* King of *Suſſex*, who received him into his protection, had already attempted the converſion of his Subjects, by founding a Monaſtery in his little kingdom (1); but his endeavours anſwered not expectation. Perhaps *Wilfrid* himſelf would have found it a difficult matter to have made any impreſſion upon them, had not a favourable juncture unexpectedly paved the way for him. Not long after his arrival, the country being miſerably diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he taught the inhabitants the art of fiſhing in the Sea, their skill before going no farther than the catching of Eels. This improvement greatly relieving them, wrought ſo upon their minds, that they liſtened with the ſame attention to his inſtructions about their *ſpiritual*, as they had before to *thoſe* about their *bodily* wants. But to compleat the matter, ſeaſonable ſhowers, after a three years drought, reſtoring to the earth its former fruitfulneſs, they were thoroughly convinced that *Wilfrid* was an extraordinary perſon, and highly favoured by *Heaven*. At leaſt this is what the writer of his *Life* would fain make us believe. *Wilfrid* perceiving the Chriſtians daily to encreaſe, eſtabliſhed his epiſcopal *See* at *Selſey* (2), a ſmall *Peninſula* given him by *Adelwalch*. He founded there a Monaſtery alſo, which he furniſhed with the Monks he had brought with him from *Northumberland*. Here he uſually reſided during the time of his baniſhment. At length being recalled into his own country, *Selſey* remained a long while without a Biſhop, becauſe the *South-Saxons*, after their becoming ſubject to the King of *Weſſex*, were put under the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*. Some time after *Weſſex* being divided into two *Dioceſes*, *Suſſex* was annexed to the *See* of *Wincheſter*; where it continued till a *Synod* held in *Weſſex*, in the time of *Daniel*, decreed *Suſſex* ſhould be a diſtinct *Dioceſe* again, and the *See* fixed at *Selſey* as formerly. *Edbert* was the firſt Biſhop. His ſucceſſors reſided at the ſame place, down to the year 1070, when the *See* was removed to *Chicheſter* (3), where it continues to this day.

Eddius.

Bede, l. 4. c. 13.

686.

Malmſb. G. Pontif. l. 2.

As for the *Iſle of Wight*, after it was converted by the furious zeal of *Cedwalla*, it remained all along under the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

After this account of the moſt remarkable particulars relating to the converſion of the *Seven Kingdoms*, it will be neceſſary to take a general view of the *Councils* held in *England*, during thoſe early times of the Church.

COUNCILS.

I Have already ſpoken of the two *Synods* convened upon *Auſtin*'s requeſt, in order to endeavour to bring the *Britons* to the obedience of the *Pope*. Though theſe were not properly *Engliſh*, but rather *Britiſh* Councils, I ſhall not however paſs them over without making this one obſervation. *Bede*, in his *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory tells us, that *Auſtin* required of the *Britiſh* Biſhops theſe four things (4): That they would celebrate the *Paſchal Feaſt* the ſame day with the *Romaniſts*: That they would conform to the ceremonies practiſed by the *Church of Rome* in adminiſtring *Baptiſm*: That they would aſſiſt the *Roman Miſſionaries* in converting the *Saxons*: That they would ſubmit to the *Papal Authority*. Had *Auſtin* equally inſiſted on theſe four Articles, *Bede* would naturally have related the ſentiments of the *Britiſh*, concerning the three *firſt*, and yet we find he ſpeaks only of the *laſt*. Hence we may conclude, that this was the *main* point, and what *Auſtin* chiefly dwelt upon. For the ſame reaſon alſo the Abbot of *Bangor* anſwered only to this point, being very ſenſible, that was the principal thing in diſpute.

l. 2. c. 2.

There is no occaſion to add any thing to what has already been ſaid of the Council of *Whitby* or *Streneaſhalh*, and the other *Synods* that were held upon *Wilfrid*'s account.

In 673, *Theodorus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, convened a *national Synod* at *Hertford*, at which were preſent all the *Engliſh* Biſhops, with a great number of other *Eccleſiaſticks*. The Archbiſhop, who was preſident, put the queſtion to the Biſhops, whether they were willing, the *Church of England* ſhould be governed by the *Canons* of the *antient Councils*. To which they all having agreed, he produced a liſt of the *Canons*, and pitching upon ten of them, ordered them to be read before the *Council*, and asked their conſent to each of them.

The Council of Hertford. 673. Spelman Conc. Vol I. p. 152.

I. That the *Feſtival of Eaſter* might be uniformly kept in all the *Engliſh* Churches, on the firſt *Sunday* after the full Moon in *March*.

Bede, l. 4. c. 5.

II. That no Biſhop ſhould encroach upon the juriſdiction of another.

III. That Biſhops ſhould not meddle with the temporal concerns of the Monaſteries.

IV. That no Monk ſhould have the liberty to quit his Monaſtery, without leave from the Abbot.

V. That it ſhould not be lawful for any of the *Clergy* to abandon their *Dioceſe*, without the Biſhop's leave, and that they ſhould not be received into another *Dioceſe*, without a recommendation under the Biſhop's own hand.

VI. That Biſhops and Clergy, who are out of their *Dioceſe*, ought not to execute any part of their function, but ſhould be contented with an hoſpitable reception.

VII. That a Synod ſhould be convened twice a year. *This Canon was altered to once a year.*

VIII. That the Biſhops ſhould take their places at Councils according to their ſeniority.

IX. That new *Sees* ſhould be erected, as the number of Chriſtians increaſed. *This was thrown out.*

X. That no marriage ſhould be annulled but on account of adultery. That if a Man put off his wife, he ought not to marry another, but either be reconciled or live ſingle.

Nine of theſe *Canons* being agreed to, the Council denounced *Excommunication* and *Degradation* upon all that ſhould infringe them, and then broke up.

Baronius pretends, This *Council* was convened by the Pope's order, and that *Theodorus* preſided as *Legate* of the *Holy See*. But when we examine the grounds of his aſſertion, we find he builds it only upon *Theodorus*'s ſaying in his harangue, at the opening of the council, *that he was conſecrated by the Pope* (5), as if that were equivalent to his being made *Legate*. *Bede*, *Malmsbury*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, who ſpeak of this council, ſay not a word to ſupport the *Cardinal*'s notion.

Theodorus ſummoned another *Council* or *Synod* at *Hatfield* (6) in 680, at the requeſt of the Pope, who wanted to know the ſentiments of the *Church of England* with reference to the *Hereſy* of the *Monothelites* (7), which *then* made a great noiſe in the world. The Pope had all the ſatisfaction he deſired, the *Engliſh* being entirely free from that *error*. This *Synod* received the five firſt *general Councils* (8), together with the *Synod* held juſt before at *Rome*, againſt the *Monothelites*.

The Council of Hatfield. 680. Bede, l. 4. c. 17 & 18. Spelman Vol. I. p. 168.

The next council was convened at *Becanceld* in 694 (9), by *Withred* King of *Kent*, who preſided himſelf, the council being compoſed of the Clergy and Nobility. The Conſtitutions were all drawn up in the form of a *Charter*, wherein the King granted ſeveral privileges to the Church, particularly an exemption from the payment of taxes and other Services and Incumbrances incident to a *Lay-fee*. He declares moreover that the Church has power to govern her own body, the *Prerogative Royal* not reaching to religious matters. This article has given occaſion to ſome to call in queſtion the *genuineneſs* of this council (10). They object, for inſtance, that the five Abbeſſes, who ſubſcribed this charter, not only ſigned before all the Prieſts, but alſo before *Botred* a Biſhop, contrary to all precedent. On the other hand, others (11) are as zealous in the defence of it, as making for the independency of the Church. It

The Council of Becanceld 694. Id. p. 189.

(1) At *Boſenham*, where *Bede* ſays, one *Dicul* a *Scotchman* with five or ſix Monks lived, but could not prevail with the *South Saxons* to turn Chriſtians.
(2) i. e. *Seals*. The ruins of this City are to be ſeen at Low-water. It contained, when it was given to *Wilfrid*, eighty-ſeven families. *Bede*, l. 4. c. 13.
(3) *Ciſſan Ceſter*, i. e. *the City of Ciſſa*, the Son of *Ella*, firſt King of *Suſſex*.
(4) *Bede* mentions only the *three* firſt: But that there was another required of the *Britiſh* Biſhops is evident from hence, that *Bede* relates only the Anſwer that was given to the fourth article, by thoſe Biſhops. See *Bede*, l. 2. c. 2.
(5) Ego quidem Theodorus, quamvis indignus, ab Apoſtolicâ ſede *deſtinatus* Dorovernenſis Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus,——are *Bede*'s words, l. 4. c. 5.
(6) Now *Biſhop's-Hatfield* in *Hertfordſhire*.
(7) They held that *Chriſt* had but *one Will*.
(8) The *Council* of *Nice* in 325, of *Conſtantinople* in 381, of *Epheſus* in 431, of *Chalcedon* in 451, and of *Conſtantinople* in 553.
(9) Suppoſed to be *Beckenham* in *Kent*. See *Tyrr.* Vol. I. p. 209.
(10) Dr. *Wake*, our preſent Archbiſhop, has wrote againſt it. *State of the Church*, &c. p. 149.
(11) *Collier* defends it, p. 114. *Eccl. Hiſt.*

would carry me too far from my preſent deſign to examine the reaſons *pro* and *con*. It is ſufficient to acquaint the Reader there is ſuch a diſpute.

The Council of Bergham-ſted. 679. Spelman. Vol. I. p. 194.

The next year the *Synod* of *Berghamſted* (1) was held in the reign of the ſame King. It was compoſed, like the foregoing one, of Clergy and Laity. Its canons related chiefly to the Sin of adultery, and the privileges of the Clergy. As for adultery, it was enacted, that the offender ſhould be put under penance; and if he refuſed to ſubmit to that diſcipline, he ſhould be excommunicated. If he was a ſtranger, he was to forfeit one hundred ſhillings.

As for the Clergy, it was decreed, that the Church ſhould be free and enjoy all her privileges.

That the breach of the Church's peace ſhould be puniſh'd with a fine of fifty ſhillings (2).

That the bare affirmation of the King or a Biſhop ſhould be equivalent to their oath.

That if a Biſhop, Abbot, or Deacon, is charged with any crime, and being brought to the altar, he declares ſolemnly, *he ſpeaks the truth:* This declaration ſhall be the ſame as his oath.

That if any Clergyman ſhould be proſecuted, the *cogniſance* of the cauſe belongs to the Church.

Thus by degrees the *Clergy* obtained their privileges, which they have but too often abuſed (3).

The two *Councils* that are pretended to be held at *London* and *Alne* (4) in 714, being looked upon by the beſt authorities as forged, it would be loſt time to ſay any thing of them.

The Synod of Cloveſhoo. 747. Malm. de G. Pontif. l. 4. Spelm. Conc. Vol. I. p. 242.

In 747 was held at *Cloveſhoo* or *Cliff* (5) in the kingdom of *Kent* a *national Synod*, at which *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* was preſent, with twelve Biſhops, and a great number of Lords. *Cuthbert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was preſident, read Pope *Zachary*'s letter, wherein the Pope admoniſhed the *Engliſh* to reform their lives, and threatned thoſe with excommunication that continued in their wicked courſes. They drew up a body of twenty-eight *Canons*, moſt of them relating to *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, the Government of Monaſteries, the Duties of Biſhops, and other Clergymen, the Publick Service, Singing Pſalms, Keeping the Sabbath, and other Holidays.* I ſhall mention the three following ones, as containing ſomething particular.

The Xth orders the Prieſts to be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and to teach the people the *Apoſtles Creed*, and the *Lord's Prayer* in *Engliſh*. Agreeable to this was *Bede*'s advice to *Egbert* Archbiſhop of *York*; that it was abſolutely neceſſary Chriſtians ſhould know what they ſaid when they prayed to God; and that they ſhould be inſtructed in their own native tongue, and therefore that he himſelf had tranſlated the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer* into *Engliſh* for the benefit of thoſe that did not underſtand *Latin*.

Bede, Ep. 2d Egb.

The XXVIth warns Chriſtians from vainly imagining that by giving *Alms* they can compound for their ſins, or diſpenſe with the *Diſcipline* of the Church.

The XXVIIth was made upon the account of a rich *Layman*, who having been excommunicated, requeſted to be admitted again into the Church, upon his having procured ſeveral perſons to faſt in his ſtead; alledging that the Penance they had undergone in his name, was more than he could have done himſelf in three hundred years. The *Canon* declares with great indignation againſt this intolerable preſumption, ſince at that rate, the *Rich* might much more eaſily get to heaven than the *Poor*, contrary to the expreſs declaration of our Saviour.

Spelman, p. 253.

In this *Canon* we have the form of a Prayer for the *Dead*, which runs thus: *O Lord, we beſeech thee, grant that the ſoul of ſuch a perſon may be ſecured in a ſtate of repoſe, and admitted, with the reſt of thy Saints, into the regions of Light and Bliſs.*

The Council of Calcuith. 785. Spelman. Vol. I. p. 291.

The *Council of Calcuith* or *Calchite*, held in 785, or according to others in 787, on account of erecting *Lichfield* into an Archbiſhoprick, ratified the *Canons* of a *Synod* that had been convened juſt before in *Northumberland*. *Gregory* and *Theophylact*, who preſided as the Pope's *Legates*, acknowledged in their letter to the Pope, that they were the firſt that had been ſent into *England* with that character. Theſe are ſome of the *Canons* of the *Synod* of *Northumberland*, ratified by the council of *Calcuith*.

I. That all in holy orders ſtrictly adhere to the *Council* of *Nice*.

II. That *Baptiſm* is only to be adminiſtred at *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, unleſs in caſe of neceſſity. That it is the duty of *Godfathers* to teach their *Godchildren* the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer*, both which all Chriſtians are obliged to have by heart.

VIII. The antient privileges of the Church are carefully to be preſerved.

This was a never-failing Canon in all the Councils.

IX. The Prieſts are not to eat in *private*, unleſs indiſpoſed. By this one would think the *Clergy* were not diſperſed in Pariſhes, but lived all in the Capital of the *Dioceſe* in common.

The Xth forbids the Clergy to perform the *divine Service* without *Stockings*, and to uſe a *Chalice* or *Pattin* of *Horn*.

The XIth exhorts Princes to govern their kingdoms by the directions of the Biſhops, to whom the power of *binding* and *looſing* is delivered.

The XIIth excludes *Baſtards* from ſucceeding to the Crown.

The XVth condemns marriages within the prohibited degrees.

The XVIth makes *Baſtards*, particularly the children of *Nuns*, incapable of inheriting.

The XVIIth urges the payment of tithes from the authority of the law of *Moſes*.

The XVIIIth preſſes a ſtrict performance of vows.

Some irregularities in the *Subſcription Liſt* in the ſeveral *copies* of the *Canons* of this council (6), have cauſed the council itſelf to be called in queſtion. But I doubt whether theſe irregularities are ſufficient to render the whole queſtionable (7).

The Synod of Finchale, Spelman, p. 304, 316.

In 798 a *Synod* was held at *Finchale* in *Northumberland* (8), by *Eanbald* Archbiſhop of *York*. The deſign of this meeting was to make ſome regulations with regard to diſcipline: but here occaſionally the Archbiſhop ordered the *Canons* of the firſt *five General Councils* to be read, which were unanimouſly received.

The Synod of Cloveſhoo. 800. Id. p. 318.

The council held at *Cloveſhoo* or *Cliff* in 800, under *Adelard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was convened for the recovery of certain Church-Lands uſurped by the Kings of *Mercia*.

Another at the ſame Place. 803. Id. p. 324.

Three years after, another *council* was held at the ſame place, wherein, according to Pope *Leo*'s conſtitution, and with the conſent of *Cenulph* King of *Mercia*, the Archbiſhoprick of *Lichfield* was reduced to a Biſhoprick, as formerly.

The Council of Calcuith. 816. Id. p. 327.

In 816, *Wilfrid* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſummoned a council at *Calcuith*, at which *Cenulph* King of *Mercia* and Monarch, was preſent, with all the *Engliſh* Biſhops except thoſe of *Northumberland*. There are eleven *canons* drawn up by this *Synod*. whereof the IId and Vth ſeem to be the moſt remarkable.

The IId orders all Churches to be conſecrated by the Biſhop of the *Dioceſe*, with the following *Formalities*. The Biſhop ſhall bleſs the *Holy Water*, and ſprinkle the Church with it, according to the directions of the *Ritual*. Then having conſecrated the *Euchariſt*, he ſhall put it in a *Box* with ſome *Relicks* to be laid up in the Church. In caſe there are no *Relicks*, the conſecrated *Elements*, being the *Body* and *Blood* of our Lord, ſhall be ſufficient. Every Biſhop ſhall be obliged to have drawn upon the *Altar*, or upon the Wall, the *Figure* of the *Saint* to whom the Church is dedicated.

The Vth declares againſt allowing all *Scotchmen* to *baptize*, or read the *divine ſervice* in *England*.

Spelman, p. 332, 334.

There is mention of two *Councils* more convened in *Mercia* in the reign of *Bernulph*, one in 821, and the other in 824. Probably the firſt is a forgery; but they are both of ſo little conſequence, as not to be worth taking notice of.

(1) This was not *Berkhamſted* in *Hertfordſhire*, as ſome have imagined, but *Berghamſted*, a Place in *Kent*. See *Tyrr.* Vol. I. p. 210. and *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 194.

(2) The ſame as the King's. See *Spelman.*

(3) Xth, XXVth, and XXVIIIth Articles, having ſomething particular in them, it will not be amiſs to lay them before the Reader. The Xth runs thus: If, on *Saturday* Evening, after Sun-ſet; or *Sunday* Evening after the ſame time, a Servant or Slave *(Servus)* ſhall do any ſervile work, let his maſter be fined eighty Shillings.

XXVth. If a Lay-man kill a Thief, let him lie without any *Wiregild*, that is, without any ſatisfaction being made to the Thief's relations.

XXVIIIth. If a ſtranger wanders about, and does neither hollow nor ſound a Horn, he is to be accounted as a Thief, and to be either ſlain or baniſhed. *Spelman Conc.* Tom. I. p. 194——197.

(4) Suppoſed to be *Aulceſter* in *Worceſterſhire*. See *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 212.

(5) *Cliff at Hoo*, is a Town on a Rock near *Rocheſter*. But the preſence of the King of *Mercia* at this, and ſome other Councils, held at *Clovesho*, makes it ſuppoſed that it is the ſame with *Abington* in *Berkſhire*, about the middle of the Nation, antiently written *Shoveſham* by miſtake for *Cloveſham* or *Cloveſhoo*.

(6) *Ditcberch* Biſhop *Auguſtadenſis* (or *Hagulſtadenſis*) *Eccleſiæ*, ſigns before *Eanbald* his Metropolitan of *York*.

(7) About the year 757, the Monks of *Lindisfarn*, who, from the firſt time of their inſtitution were allowed to drink nothing but Milk or Water, obtained (through the means of King *Ceolwulf* who was become a Monk of that Houſe) permiſſion to drink *Wine* or *Beer*. *S. Dunelm*, p. 139. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 289.

(8) Nowcalled *Finckley* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 305.

RE-

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Primitive State of the ENGLISH CHURCH.

I SHALL close my account of the *Primitive* State of the *Engliſh* Church, with a few remarks that may ſerve to give a juſt notion of the thing. It is a great miſtake to imagine, the Primitive Church of the *Engliſh* correſponded in all points with the Church founded by the Apoſtles immediately after our Saviour's death. The *Chriſtian Church*, in her infancy, was *perfect*, without *ſpot* or *wrinkle*; but in proceſs of time, ſhe loſt by degrees ſomething of her *primitive* purity. From the days of the *Apoſtles* to the VIIth *century*, errors and abuſes crept in, which ſtrangely disfigured her, and which daily increaſed during the VIIIth and IXth *centuries*, ſo that true religion by little and little degenerated into ſuperſtition. Our *idea* therefore of the *primitive* Church of *England* muſt be conformable to the ſtate of the *Chriſtian Church* at that time. I ſhall not here undertake to ſhow wherein thoſe *innovations* in the doctrines and ſervices of the Church conſiſted; but content myſelf with obſerving the *Chriſtian Church*, at the time of the converſion of the *Engliſh*, was far gone from its original purity. It can't, for inſtance, be denied, that the Monks, who were grown exceeding numerous all over *Chriſtendom*, had introduced ſeveral *religious practices* that were not of *divine* or *apoſtolical* inſtitution, as if our Saviour and his Apoſtles had forgot or neglected to give mankind *full inſtructions* in theſe matters. Theſe voluntary acts of devotion, tho' introduced with a good intent, were now carried to ſo great a height, that the generality of Chriſtians looked upon them as the life and ſoul of religion. I ſhall not inſiſt any farther on this ſubject, ſince I have no deſign to enter into the controverſy, but only to make this obſervation, That the *Engliſh* converted in the VIIth *century*, are to be conſidered as in the ſame *State* with the reſt of the Chriſtian World at that time, ſeeing it was not in their power to know more than their maſters taught them.

Auſtin and his companions were the firſt that preached the *Goſpel* to the *Anglo-Saxons*. However the honour of their converſion ought not to be aſcribed to them *alone*. The *Scotch* Monks of St. *Columba* had at leaſt as great a ſhare in it as the *Italians*. For after theſe laſt had begun to make *Converts*, the *new* Chriſtians being ſunk again into idolatry, the *Scotch* Monks were the perſons that ſet them right again, or rather that converted them *anew*. This was the caſe in the kingdoms of *Eſſex*, *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*, as hath been related. As for the converſion of the *Mercians*, the *Italian Miſſionaries* had no hand in it at all. And yet *Auſtin* had run away with the honour of converting the *Engliſh*, when in the main the progreſs he made was not very conſiderable. 'Tis true he preached to the *Saxons* of *Kent*, as *Mellitus* did to thoſe of *Eſſex*, and that with good ſucceſs. But then very probably this work was already begun, and even in great forwardneſs, when *Auſtin* arrived in *England*. It is hard to conceive how theſe Monks, who were forced to make uſe of *interpreters*, could poſſibly have converted ſuch numbers of *Pagans*, even to the baptizing ten thouſand in one day, in a *few* months after their arrival, if the *Saxons* had not been prepared before-hand. This conjecture is farther confirmed by the letters of *Gregory* I. to *Theodoric* King of *Auſtraſia*, to *Theodobert* his brother, and to Queen *Brunichild*, to deſire them to aſſiſt *Auſtin* in his journey to *England*. The Pope tells them he was informed for certain that the *Engliſh* earneſtly deſired to turn *Chriſtians*. Now is it not evident, that, if they had a ſtrong deſire to embrace the goſpel, they were as good as half converted? There is great reaſon to preſume, King *Ethelbert* had already ſome liking to the *Chriſtian Religion* infuſed into him by his Queen, and eſpecially by *Luidhard*, Biſhop of *Soiſſons*, who had attended her into *England*. This is what the author of *The Hiſtory of* St. Auſtin's *Monaſtery* poſitively affirms; and *Malmsbury* ſays little leſs, when he tells us, that *Ethelbert* was very deſirous to hear what *Auſtin* had to propoſe. Beſides, if the perſon, character and conduct of *Auſtin*, are conſidered, it will be hard to believe, he made the progreſs aſcribed to him. *Bede*, who does not ſeem willing to leſſen his reputation, ſays nothing that is very apt to raiſe in us an eſteem for his *preaching*. Inſtead of imbelliſhing his hiſtory with the heads of *Auſtin*'s firſt diſcourſe before *Ethelbert*, he is contented with relating only the King's anſwer. This gives occaſion to ſuſpect, he was not over-ſatisfied with that *harangue*. Moreover, the queſtions which *Auſtin* wanted the *Pope* to ſolve, do not much redound to his honour. This, no doubt, was the reaſon why *Bede* abridged them as much as poſſible, even to the rendring them ſometimes ſo obſcure, that the meaning of the queſtion muſt be learnt by the anſwer.

To theſe conſiderations may be added, that *Auſtin* in the height of his ſucceſs, for which he is ſo greatly honoured, eſtabliſhed but two Biſhops only, *Juſtus* at *Rocheſter*, and *Mellitus* at *London*, though the Pope had expreſly ordered him to ſettle Biſhops where-ever there ſhould be occaſion. This is a clear evidence, that the progreſs aſcribed to him was not ſo conſiderable as *Gregory* imagines. But what can one think of this ſame *Auſtin*, who the very firſt year deſerts his *miſſion*, and goes to *Arles* to get himſelf conſecrated Archbiſhop, when as yet there was but a handful of Chriſtians in *England*, or rather in the alone kingdom of *Kent*? To what end the title of *Archbiſhop* and *Primate*, at a time when there was not ſo much as one Biſhop in being? What can one think moreover of the Pope's anſwer to him concerning the Biſhops of *Gaul*, *That he allows him no manner of juriſdiction over them?* May it not be preſumed, that *Auſtin*, not content with the *Primacy* of *Great-Britain*, wherewith the Pope had honoured him, wanted to extend his juriſdiction over *Gaul* too? In fine, what can one think of *Gregory*'s letter to him, exhorting him not to be elated at the *Gift of Miracles* God had beſtowed on him, unleſs *Auſtin* had ſent him word he had wrought ſeveral? But what were theſe miracles? Would *Bede*, who has carefully related thoſe of *Adian*, *Finan*, *Furſeus*, and the other *Scotch* Monks, whom he looked upon as *Schiſmaticks*, have omitted thoſe of *Auſtin?* And yet he gives us only *one*, and *that* of a *later* date than *Gregory*'s letter, and the moſt ſuſpicious that ever was, ſince by the confeſſion of the ſame hiſtorian, it was wrought in order to bring the *Britons* to the obedience of the *Pope?* What opinion can one have of *Auſtin*, when it is conſidered with what zeal he laboured to reduce the *Britons* under the juriſdiction of the *See of Rome*, whilſt five *Saxon* kingdoms were ſuffered to grovel in *darkneſs* and *idolatry?* To what purpoſe did he complain to the Pope of the want of *labourers* in ſo plentiful an *harveſt*, if he did not employ thoſe he already had? And if he did employ them, where are the fruits of their labours? What were their names? Where did they preach the goſpel? No hiſtorian ſays a word of theſe things; and except *Juſtus* and *Mellitus*, who preached at *Rocheſter* and *London*, it is not known where he ſent his companions, who according to the geaeral opinion, were forty in number.

Ep. l. 5. c. 58. and 59.

Again, the *Converts* made by theſe *Italian* Monks were not, 'tis to be feared, well grounded in their religion. This is a natural inference from the apoſtacy of the people of *Eſſex*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, *Northumberland*, and *Kent* itſelf, at a time when, had they been *true* Chriſtians, they would have given marks of the *higheſt* zeal. This makes one think, their *converſion* was without any *previous* inſtruction, and rather the effect of *fear* or *complaiſance* to their Kings, than of a *thorough* perſuaſion

perſuaſien and knowledge of the truth. It is therefore ſurprizingly ſtrange, that the *Converſion* of the *Engliſh* ſhould be aſcribed to *Auſtin*, rather than to *Aidan*, to *Finan*, to *Colman*, to *Cedd*, to *Diuma* and the other *Scotch* Monks, who undoubtedly *laboured much more abundantly* than he. But here lies the caſe. Theſe *laſt* had not their *Orders* from *Rome*, and therefore muſt not be allowed any *ſhare* in the glory of this work.

Let us *now* reflect a little on the *manner* of the converſion of the *Engliſh*. In the beginning of *Chriſtianity*, and even for the firſt three hundred years, the *converts* generally conſiſted of people of the *loweſt* rank, and we hear of nothing but *Perſecution* and *Death* from the Princes and Magiſtrates. Whereas in *England*, the Kings were the *firſt* that embraced the *Faith*, and by their *authority* and *example* induced their ſubjects to do the ſame. In the beginning of the Church of *England*, we meet with no *Martyrs*, except the two Sons of *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*, whoſe ſtory is of very doubtful authority. Whence could proceed this difference between the *Church* founded by the *Apoſtles* themſelves, in ſo many parts of the world, and *That* founded in *England* in the VIIth *Century*? What is the reaſon the *Devil* leſs vigorouſly obſtructed the *converſion* of the *Engliſh*, than *That* of ſo many other nations, during the life and after the death of the *Apoſtles*? Theſe things afford matter for many reflections, which I ſhall not here enter into, but leave to the conſideration of the reader. I ſhall only remark, that the *eaſe* wherewith the *converſion* of the *Engliſh* was brought about, extremely weakens the force of the argument drawn in favour of the *Chriſtian Religion*, from the perſecutions of the *Roman* Emperors.

Penſées de Paſch.

Let a Man conſider, ſays a famous writer, *the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, that a religion ſo contrary to nature* (1), *ſhould make its way in the world, by ſuch mild and gentle means, without any violence or conſtraint, and yet ſhould be ſo firmly rooted withal, that it was not in the power of the moſt barbarous torments to compel the* Martyrs *to renounce their Faith; and that all this ſhould be done not only without the aſſiſtance of any Prince, but in direct oppoſition to all the Kings of the Earth*, &c. It is eaſy to ſee this argument loſes much of its ſtrength when applied to the converſion of the *Engliſh*.

What ſtill affords further matter for our wonder is this: The *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* ſpeaks of ſeveral Saints in different parts of the world; but withal tells us, that ſcarce one of them eſcaped being terribly perſecuted, or even loſing his life in the cauſe of Truth. Whereas in *England* alone, we find in the ſpace of two hundred years an incredible number of *Men* and *Women* Saints, who never knew what *Perſecution* meant. Moreover, if Hiſtorians may be credited, theſe *Saints*, for the moſt part, were endued with the gift of Miracles, though the ſwift progreſs of the Goſpel ſeemed to render them of little uſe. But what is more; a conſiderable number of theſe ſame *Saints* were *Kings*, *Queens*, *Princes*, *Princeſſes*, or perſons of the higheſt birth and ſtations. In the *Period* abovementioned we have ſeven Kings and ſeven Queens, together with eight Princes, and ſixteen Princeſſes, diſtinguiſhed with the title of *Saints*: Beſides ten Kings and eleven Queens, who reſigned their *Crowns* to turn *Monks*, and who, according to the notions of thoſe days, might well be ranked in the number of the *Saints*. If it be asked, whence is it that in the VIIth and VIIIth *Centuries* it was ſo eaſy for the *Great* to procure a *Saintſhip*, I can alledge no other reaſon, but that *Sanctity* conſiſted *then* in enriching the *Churches* and *Monaſteries*, which the *Rich* were much better able to do than the *Poor*.

The *Engliſh* were no ſooner converted, but innumerable miracles were wrought among them. They were ſo much in vogue during the two forementioned *Centuries*, that one or other happened (if I may ſo ſay) every day. *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is full of them; for he was exceeding credulous in ſuch matters, as well as *Gregory* I, whoſe *Foible* in that reſpect is viſible in his works. It is no wonder therefore the *Miſſionaries* he ſent into *England* ſhould take after him, or that the *Engliſh* ſhould be as *eaſy of belief* as their *Teachers*. The *Benedictine* Monks were the perſons that ſet all theſe Miracle on foot: Some out of pure ſimplicity, others with deſign to attract to the *Monaſteries* the liberalities both of *High* and *Low*. Before the *Benedictines* were ſpread over the Iſland, the Monks of St. *Columba*, leſs given to gain and worldly views, attended wholly to the ſervice of God in the places where they lived in common. But the *Benedictines* never reſted till they had procured great numbers of Monaſteries with large revenues, and cauſed the *Papal Authority* to be recognized throughout the *ſeven kingdoms*.

It was not however without great difficulty that the Popes extended their juriſdiction over the *Northumbrians*, *Picts* and *Scots*, though the *Roman Prieſts* and *Monks* laboured at it inceſſantly. The *northern* nations could not conceive the neceſſity of owning the Biſhop of *Rome* for *univerſal Biſhop*; and it is certain, before the *Synod* of *Whitby*, the *Britons*, *Picts*, *Scots*, *Iriſh* and *Nrthumbrians* unanimouſly declared againſt the Pope's authority. *Bede* ſays as much, when he tells us, ſpeaking of King *Oſwy*; *He was at length convinced, that the Church of* Rome *was the true catholick and apoſtolical Church, though he had been educated in* Scotland. As ſoon as this Prince was prevailed with, he did all he could to eſtabliſh the *Papal Authority* in his dominions; and *Scotland* at laſt was carried away with the torrent, after *Egbert* an *Engliſh* Prieſt had gained the Monks of *Jona*.

Upon the *Engliſh* ſubmitting to the juriſdiction of the Pope, all imaginable care was taken to keep them from falling off. One of the moſt effectual means made uſe of for that purpoſe, was, the not admitting into the government of the Church any but *Italian* Prieſts or Monks, or *Engliſh* ones educated at *Rome* or in *France*. This is evident from the Vth *Canon* of the ſecond Council of *Calcuith*, which forbids the allowing any *Scotchman* to perform *divine ſervice* in *England*. *Bede* plainly diſcovers the policy of *Rome*, when he ſays, the Pope ordered Abbot *Adrian* to attend *Theodorus* into *England*, that he might have an eye over him, for fear that Prelate, being a native of *Cilicia*, ſhould introduce into the *Church of England* any thing contrary to the cuſtoms of *Rome*.

I have but one remark more to make relating to the doctrine of the *Church of England* in the VIIth and VIIIth *Centuries*, and the beginning of the IXth. It is a great miſtake to think the *Articles of Faith* in the *Engliſh* Church were the ſame with thoſe in the *Roman* at this day. For inſtance, it would be very wrong to imagine the *Engliſh* believed, at that time, the abſolute neceſſity of *Baptiſm* as the *Romans* do at this preſent. If this doctrine had been received among them, the Council of *Calcuith* would not have ordered that ſacrament to be adminiſtred only at *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*. As far from the truth is it to believe the *Engliſh* worſhipped *Images*. The contrary is evident from a letter the famous *Alcuin* an *Engliſhman* wrote to *Charles the Great* concerning the ſecond Council of *Nice*, where *Image-worſhip* was carried to a monſtrous height. The neceſſity of Prieſts *living ſingle*, is alſo a doctrine unknown to the *Church of England* in thoſe days, ſince it was not received there till at leaſt five hundred years after their converſion. To theſe I might add ſeveral other inſtances; but as they are not peculiar to *England*, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that all the innovations in the doctrines of the *Church of England*, from the converſion of the *Engliſh* to the Reformation, owe their original to *Rome*.

I don't find the *Church of England* had any thing to do in the controverſies that were on foot in the Church during the VIIth and VIIIth *Centuries*. Among all the *Councils* convened in *England* within that ſpace, not one decreed any thing relating to the doctrines of Religion, except the *Synod of Calcuith*, where the condemning the *Monothelites*, was ratified. Their way was to read the *Canons* of the *General Councils*, and agree to them. Thus during theſe two Centuries, it does not appear that the *Church of England* was troubled with *Hereſies* or Diſputes on the *fundamental* doctrines of religion. In thoſe days, the *Biſhops*, *Prieſts* and *Monks* were more intent upon the ways and means of augmenting their revenues, than upon the ſtudy of divinity. There were ſome alſo that were diſtinguiſhed for holineſs of life, or for zeal in propagating the Goſpel. I have already mentioned ſome few; but as I had not an opportunity of making them all known, I ſhall here ſubjoin a brief account of three or four that make a conſiderable figure in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of *England*.

Egbert. 716. Bede, l. 5. c. 27. l. 5. c. 10.

Egbert, an *Engliſh* Prieſt, retiring into *Ireland* to follow his ſtudies, paſſed ſome time after into *Scotland*, where he prevailed with the Monks of *Jona* to receive the rules of the Order of St. *Benedict*, and acknowledge the *papal authority*. Perhaps to this *ſervice* done the *See of Rome*, a good part of the encomiums beſtowed upon him are owing. However this be, it is ſaid that havieg a deſign to go and preach the Goſpel to the *German Saxons*, he was diverted from his purpoſe by an expreſs order from heaven. But, as he had the converſion of that Nation very much at heart, he pitched upon *Wilbrod* to go in his place.

692. Wilbrod. Bede, l. 5. c. 11.

Wilbrod being arrived in *Germany*, *Pipin*, Mayor of the Palace of *France*, ſent him into *Frieſland*, which he had lately ſubdued, to preach the Goſpel. After *Wilbrod* had

(1) This by the By ſuppoſes the *Chriſtian Religion* in its primitive State to be clogged with all thoſe *Abſurdities* it now labours under, particularly among the *Romaniſts*. For ſurely nothing worſe can be ſaid of *Revealed Religion*, than that it is contrary to *Nature*, *Senſe* or *Reaſon*.

made

A Chronological and Synchronical Table of the Seven Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, from ye Founding to the Dissolution of ye Heptarchy.

| The Year of Christ | | |

480 5 Vortamers Death. 6 Massacre of the Britons 7 Ella's Arrival | | | | | | | | 9 Congallus I | | | 480
490 5 Vortigerns Death. Ambrosius alone 8 Arthurs Voyage to Jerusalem | | | 8 Escus | | | 8 Ella K. of Sussex | | | 3 Clovis 1st Christian K. of France | 3 Felix III | 490
He defeats Saxons 5 Raises the Siege of York Cerdicks Arrival 6 Arthurs Victories 7 War with Pascentius | | KINGS OF SUSSEX 1 Ella 1st King | | | | | | | | 1 Gelasius 6 Anastatius 8 Symmachus
500 3 Howel King of Armorica brings succors to Arthur 5 Death of Ambrosius. Arthur K. of Britain | | | | | | | | 1 Coran | | | 500
510 11 Battle of Badon 12 Arthur ravages the Country of the Picts | KINGS OF WESSEX 9 Cerdick 1st K. | 4 Ciſſa | 12 Octa | | | 4 Cerdick K. of Wessex | | | 4 Childebert | 4 Hormisda | 510
520 | | | | KINGS OF ESSEX 7 Erchenwin 1st King | | | | | | | 520
8 Takes the Title of Emperor | | | | | | | | | | 3 John I 8 Felix IV Boniface II | 530
530 He goes into Armorica & Modred seizes the Crown 5 Arthurs Return War with Modred | 3 The Kingdoms much enlarged 4 Kenrick | | 4 Hermenrick | | | 4 Kenrick K. of Wessex | | 5 Eugenius III | | 1 John II 5 Agapetus I 6 Silverius 8 Vigilius | 540
540 2 Battle of Camb-alan Death of Arthur & Modred Interregnum | | | | | KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND 7 Ida 1st K. of North: | | | | | | 550
550 1 Malgon Elected | | | | | Bernicia 9 Adda | Deira 9 Alla | | | | 8 Clothayre | 5 Pelagius 9 John III | 560
560 | Keaulin | | 8 Ethelbert | | 6 Glappa | | Keaulin K. of Wessex | | 8 Kinathal 9 Aydan | 2 Cherebert | | 570
570 | | | | KINGS OF EAST ANGLIA 1 Uffa 1st K. 8 Titil | 2 Fridulph 9 Theodorick | | | | | 3 Chilperic II | 3 Benedict I 7 Pelagius II | 580
580 5 Malgons death The Britons retire into Cambria, call'd Wales by the Saxons | | 90 Dies | | KINGS OF MERCIA 5 Crida 1st K. | 6 Athalarick | 98 Alla dies | | | | 7 Clothayre II | | 590
590 ARCHBISHOPS 8 Augustin | He gets possession of SUSSEX 8 Ceolulph | | 7 Sledda | 5 Webba | 3 Athelfrid | | 3 Ethelbert K. of Kent | THE CHURCH 97 Augustin arrives 8 Consecrated Archb. at Arles. | | | Gregory I | 600
600 5 Laurentius | | 7 Revolt Reduc'd by Ceolulph | | | | | | 1 Pope sends him the Pallium 2 Synods of Austin. Conversion of the East Saxons 5 Austins death. | 4 Keneth I 5 Eugenius IV | | 4 Sabinian 6 Boniface III 7 Boniface IV | 610
610 | OF YORK | 11 Cinigisil 12 Wulcelm | | 6 Ebald | 16 Saxred Sewerd and Sigebert 3 Sigebert the Little | 4 Cearlus | | 7 Redowald K. of E. Anglia | 4 Falling off of East Saxons 5 Ebalds Conversion | | | 4 Deus dedit 7 Boniface V | 620
620 9 Mellitus | Paulinus | | | | | | 7 Edwin | | | | | | 630
630 4 Justus 8 Honorius | | | | | 5 Penda | 4 Erpwald | | 4 Edwin K. of North: | 5 Paulinus Bish. of North. 7 Conversion of the North ps | 2 Ferchard I | 8 Dagobert | 6 Honorius I | 640
640 | | 6 Cinigisil alone | | | | 3 Interregnum | Interregnum Bernicia divid 4 Oswald | Deira Osrick | 3 Interregnum 8 Oswald K. of North: | 2 Their falling off again Paulinus's Flight 4 Oswald restores Relig. & No Conversion of the W. Saxons 5 East Angles 630 | 3 Donald IV. | 8 Clovis II | 8 Severinus 8 John IV | 650
650 | Vacancy | 3 Cenowalch 5 Dethron'd by Penda & Restor'd | Adewalch | Ercombert | | 4 Egrick 4 Annas | 3 Oswy | 4 Oswin | 2 Interregnum | | 50 Ferchard II | | 2 Theodorus 9 Martinus | 660
660 1 Deus dedit | Bishops of York 6 Ceadda 9 Wilfrid | | | | Sigebert the Good 5 Sebbi the Im | 5 Interregnum Osmy Rules 9 Wulfer | 4 Ethelrick 5 Adelwalt | | 2 Athelwalt | 5 Osny K. of North: | 3 Conversion of the Mercians 5 —— of the E. Saxons 9 Wulfer persecutes, is converted | | 5 Clothayre III | 2 Eugenius I 5 Vitalian | 670 |
670 4 Vacancy 8 Theodorus | | | 4 Egbert | Sebba and Siger | | 4 Aldulph | Deira united to Bernicia Alfred | | 6 He Sells the Bish.k of London 8 Theodorus arrives | 8 Maldwyn | Childeric | 9 A Deodatus | 680 |
680 | 8 Bosa | 2 Saxburga 3 Centwis Escwin 4 Centwin 6 Centwin alone | | 3 Lothair | | 5 Ethelred | | 70 Egfrid | Egfrid K. of North. | 8 Wilfrid Bp. of York depos'd Council of Hatfield | | Theodoric I | 6 Domnus 8 Agatho | 690 |
690 | | 5 Cedwalla 8 Ina | 6 Authun & Berthun Authun alone | 5 Edrick 6 Widred & Swabert | Sebba alone | | | 5 Alfred | 6 Cedwalla K. of Wessex 9 Ina K. of Wessex | 5 Cuthbert Bp. of Lindisfar 6 Wilfrid restor'd Theodores death 6 Council of Berghamsted | 8 Eugenius V. | | 3 Leo II 4 Benedict II | 700 |
700 3 Bartwold | | | | 3 Widred alone | 4 Sighard & Cenofrid | | Alfwald | | | 2 Eugenius VI. | 1 Clovis III 5 Childebert II | 85 John V 86 Conon 87 Theodorus II 87 Sergius I | 710 |
710 | John of Beverly | | | | 5 Offa 9 Ceolred | 4 Kenred 9 Ceolred | | 5 Osred | | 3 Wilfrid depos'd 8 Council of Nydd Wilfrid restor'd to Hagulstad | 2 Ambir Keleth 5 Eugenius VII | | 1 John VI 5 John VII 6 Sisennius 8 Constantine | 720 |
720 | | Albert | | | | 6 Ethelbald | | 6 Kenred 7 Osrick | | | | 1 Dagobert II 5 Chilperic II | 4 Gregory II | 730 |
730 | 9 Wilfrid | 22 Ina Subdues SUSSEX and unites it to WESSEX. 7 goes to Rome 7 Adelard | 5 Ethelbert II & Edbert | | | | | | 7 Ethelbald K of Mercia | 1 John of Beverly resigns his Bishoprick 7 Romescot by Ina | 3 Mordac | 2 Theodoric II | | 740 |
740 2 Tatwine 3 Nothelm Cuthbert | ARCHBISHOPS 5 Egbert | Cudred | | 6 Swithred | | Beorna and Ethelbert | 2 Ceolulph 7 Edbert | | 5 Bede dies | Elfin 3 Interregnum | 3 Interregnum | 1 Gregory III | 750 |
750 | | | 8 Ethelbert alone | | | | | | 4 York made an Archbis. 7 Synod of Clift 2 | | 2 Childeric II | 1 Zacharias | 760 |
760 9 Bergnvin | | 4 Sigebert depos'd 4 Cenulph | | | 7 Beornred Usurper 7 Offa | Beorna alone | 8 Osulph 9 Mollon Adelwalt | 7 Offa K of Mercia | | | 2 Pepin | 2 Stephen II 3 Stephen III 7 Paul I. | 770 |
770 2 Jambert or Lambert | 7 Athelbert | | Aldrick | | | Ethelred | 5 Alcred | | | 1 Eugenius VIII 4 Fergus III 7 Solvathius | 8 Charlemain | 8 Stephen IV | 780 |
780 | | | | | | | | 4 Ethelred 9 Alfwald I | | | 1 Achaius | | 2 Adrian I | 790 |
790 | 1 Eanbald Lichfield Arch. Higbert Ardulph | 4 Brithrick | | | | | 9 Ethelbert | 9 Osred | | 4 Gregory & Theophilact Legates 5 Lichfield Arch.p at Calcuith | | | | 800 |
2 Adelard | | | 4 Edbert Pren 8 Cudred | | 6 Egfrid 6 Cenulph | 2 Kill'd by Offa who Seizes East Anglia | 90 Ethelred restor'd 6 Osred or Osbald 6 Ardulph | 6 Egfrid 6 Cenulph K.s of Mercia | 3 St Albans Tomb discovered 4 Peter Pence establish'd 8 Councils of Cliff & Beconsfield 9 Synod of Finchale | | | 6 Leo III | 810 |
800 | Ecbert | | | | | | | | | | | | |
4 Wilfrid | | | 5 Baldred | | | | 8 Arfwald II | | 3 Synod of Cliff 3 Lichfield reduc'd to a Bishoprick | | | | 820 |
810 | 12 Volvius | | | | 9 Cenelm | | 10 Andred | | | 9 Congal | | | 830 |
820 | | | | | 9 Ceolulph | | | | Council of Calcuith | 4 Dongal | 4 Lewis le Debonnaire | 6 Stephen V 7 Paschal I | |
9 Theolagild Ceolnoth | | | Conquer'd by Ecbert | Conquer'd by Ecbert | 1 Bernulph 3 Ludican 5 Wiglaph Mercia made Tributary by Ecbert | | Northumberland becomes tributary. | Ecbert K. of Wessex | | | | 4 Eugenius II 7 Valentinus I 7 Gregory IV | |
830

To be placed at the end of Book III. Rapin's Hist.

Book II

Winfrid.

made some stay there, he took a Journey to *Rome*, where he was consecrated by Pope *Sergius* I, Bishop of the *Friesslanders*. He fixed his *See* at *Utrecht*, of which he was the first Bishop.

Winfrid. *Winfrid*, an *English Benedictine* Monk, was sent into *Germany*, where he assumed the Name of *Boniface*. His preaching having met with great Success, he was made the first Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Pope's *Legate* for all *Germany*. It is said he was the Son of a *Cartwright*, and that the Archbishops of *Mentz* for that reason bear *Wheels* in their Arms. *Boniface* was barbarously murdered by the *Pagans* in *Friesland* in 754 (1). 754.

Guthlack. *Guthlack* (2) was the first *Anchoret* in *England*. He made choice, for his Retirement, of a Fenny Place in *Mercia*, called *Croyland*, where the famous Monastery of that name was afterwards built (3). 754. Ingulph.

(1) *Pits* says, he was of Royal Extraction. There is a Collection of his Letters extant, particularly his Letter to *Etheldred* King of *Mercia*, publish'd at *Mentz* by *Serrarius*. *Du Pin*. Cent. VIII.

(2) He had been a Soldier seven Years, and out of Humanity us'd to return the Enemy a third part of the Plunder taken from them.

(3) As the Translator designs to take notice of all the Historians omitted by *Rapin*, he begins with

NENNIUS, Abbot of *Bangor*, supposed to be one of the fifty Monks that escaped, when twelve hundred of their Brethren were slain by *Adelfrid* King of *Northumberland*. He flourish'd about the Year 620; tho' it is said in the best Copies of his Book, that he wrote in 850, in 24 *Mervini Regis*. There is nothing published of his but his *Historia Britonum*.

Next after him comes *BEDE*, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History of *England*, from *Julius Cæsar*'s Invasion, to the year of our Lord 731, at the Request of *Ceolulph* King of *Northumberland*, to whom it was dedicated. He was born in 673, in the Precincts of the Monastery of *Jarrow*, near the Mouth of the *Tine* in *Northumberland*. He was bred up from his Childhood in the said Monastery, where he lived all his Life. He was ordained at nineteen a *Deacon*, and at thirty a Priest; from which time, till the fifty-ninth of his Age, he never ceas'd writing. His Works are printed in eight *Tomes*, besides his *Opuscula*. He died in 735, aged sixty-two. His Body was removed from *Jarrow* to *Durham*, and placed in the same Coffin with St. *Cuthbert*'s.

Cotemporary with *Bede* liv'd *Stephen EDDI*, *Heddi*, or *Eddius*, in the Reign of *Osric* King of *Northumberland*, he died in 720. *Bede* says, he was the best singer in the North; on which account he was invited to *York* by *Wilfrid* the Bishop, whose Life he wrote in *Latin*, in somewhat a better Stile than could be expected from that Age. This Treatise, which contains several material Passages relating to the *Ecclesiastical* as well as *Civil* State, having continued in Manuscript in the Library of Sir *John Cotton*, and also that of *Salisbury*, was published by Dr. *Gale* in his last Volume of *English* Writers.

In the VIIIth *Century* liv'd *ALCUIN*, or *Albin*, a famous *Northumbrian*. He was bred a *Benedictine*, and was made Abbot of St. *Augustine*'s *Canterbury*. He was Disciple to *Egbert* Archbishop of *York*. Being sent Ambassador by *Offa* to *Charles the Great*, that Prince got leave for him to stay at his Court, and was taught by him *Logick*, *Astronomy*, and *Mathematicks*. By his Persuasion the Emperor founded the University of *Paris*, and likewise of *Pavia*. He wrote a great many Books, as says *Pits*. He died in 804. Malmsb.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK IV.

Origin of the Danes. *Their continual Irruptions from the Reign of* Egbert *to* Edward the Martyr, *with whoſe Reign this Book concludes. A particular and curious Account of the* Laws *and* Cuſtoms *introduc'd by* Alfred the Great, *which are the* Baſis *of the preſent* Laws *of* England. *The State of the* Church *and* Religion, *from* Egbert *to* Edward the Martyr *inclusive.*

H. Hunt. l. 5.

ENGLAND now grown more powerful by theUnion of the ſeven Kingdoms, ſeemed to be better ſecured than ever from foreign Invaſions. And yet, preſently after this Union it was, that the *Danes* began their Deſcents with a Fury, equal to that wherewith the *Engliſh* themſelves had formerly attacked the *Britons*. For above two hundred Years theſe new Enemies were ſo obſtinately bent upon the ruin of the Iſland, that it can't be conceived, either how their Country could ſupply them with Troops ſufficient for ſo long and bloody a War, or the *Engliſh* hold out againſt ſo many reiterated Attacks. ThisWar is to be the chief ſubject of our fourth Book, and of great part of the fifth. But before I enter upon particulars, it will be neceſſary to premiſe ſome account of theſe *Danes*, who in the IXth *Century* became ſo formidable to all *Europe*, and eſpecially to *England*.

Origin of the Danes.

Scandia or *Scandinavia* (1), ſituated in the North of *Europe*, contains a Tract of Land in length from North to South about four hundred Leagues, and in breadth from Eaſt to Weſt about one hundred and fifty. If the northern Hiſtorians are to be credited in what they ſay of the Origin of their Anceſtors, this Country was peopled ſoon after the flood, by two Nations, or rather two branches of the ſame Nation, I mean, the *Goths* and *Swedes*, who founded two large Kingdoms in this part of the World. From theſe two Nations, who were ſometimes united and ſometimes divided, ſprung, as they ſay, all thoſe *Colonies*, which after the decline of the *Roman* Empire, over-ran the reſt of *Europe*. But without ſtaying to examine, whether all they advance concerning the Conqueſts of theſe Adventurers is built on good Authority, I ſhall take them for Guides in what they ſay of thoſe that remained in the northern Countries.

In the reign of *Eric* the ſixth King of the *Goths* (2) *Gothland* was become ſo exceeding populous, that the Country was unable to maintain its Inhabitants. To remedy this Inconvenience, which daily increaſed, *Eric* was compelled to ſend away part of his Subjects to ſeek their fortune in the neighbouring Iſles (3). Theſe Colonies at length not only peopled the Iſlands, but alſo *Jutland* on the Continent, formerly known by the name of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. The People thus ſpread over the Iſles and the *Cherſoneſe*, acknowledged above ſeven hundred Years the Kings of *Gothland* for their Sovereigns. *Humel* the ſixteenth King of the *Goths*, firſt made them independent, by letting them have for their King, *Dan* his Son, from whom *Denmark* received its name (4). *Norway* alſo very probably was peopled by *Gothic* Colonies, ſince it remained a long while under the Dominion of the Kings of *Gothland*. In proceſs of time, and after many Revolutions, *Norway* was governed by Judges independent of *Gothland*, till about the end of the IXth *Century*, when it became ſubject to a King.

Janus Kelding.

Saxo Gram. Chron. Dan.

The *Danes* and *Norwegians*, being thus ſeparated from their Anceſtors the *Goths* and *Swedes*, became ſo powerful as to be in condition to make head againſt them both in ſeveral Wars. The ſituation of their Country, and the great plenty of all things neceſſary for building and equipping a Fleet, ſoon made them ſuperior at Sea to all their Neighbours. In time, they employed all their naval Forces in plundering of Ships, and ravaging the Coaſts of *Europe*. *France*, *England*, and the *Low Countries*, were moſt expoſed to their Robberies. For above one hundred and fifty Years the Sea was covered with *Daniſh* Pyrates. They were grown ſo powerful, that *Charles the Great* could never ſubdue the *Saxons*, whilſt aſſiſted by the *Danes*. Hiſtory obſerves, that this Emperor having ſent his Son *Pepin* to make War upon the *Saxons*, this Prince was prevented in his deſigns by *Gothric* King of *Denmark*'s ſending a

Meurſius Hiſt. Dan.

(1) It contain'd *Norway*, with as much of *Sweden* as lay Weſt of the *Golf of Bothnia*. It was alſo called *Baltia*, whence the *Baltick Sea*.
(2) They pretend he was Cotemporary with *Terah*, *Abraham*'s Father. *Rapin*.
(3) As in thoſe days none had a permanent Intereſt in Land, which was canton'd out to the People to be poſſeſſed for one Year only, it was decided by Lot, who were to leave their Country to go in queſt of new Habitations. *Cæſ. de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 20. & *P. Warnfrid, de Geſtis Longobard.* c. 2.
(4) *Dan*, according to northern Hiſtorians, was Cotemporary with *Gideon*. *Rapin*.

reinforcement

EGBERT

King of the WEST SAXONS

first Monarch of all ENGLAND

EASTSEX

WESTSA

SUDSEX

NORDUM

MERCIA

KENT

EASTANG

HIC TREX EGBERHT

NORTHUMB

MERCIA

EASTANG

EASTSEX

KENT

SUSSEX

WESTSEX

BRITANNIS

Desig. et Sculp. G. Vertue

reinforcement of *Danes* on board three hundred Veſſels. A northern Hiſtorian affirms, that *Charles the Great* was never better pleaſed than at the news of *Gothric*'s death, having deſpaired of accompliſhing his ends, as long as that Prince was alive.

Jo. Magnus, l. 17. c. 1.

As People encreaſe and multiply exceedingly in cold countries, it often happened that *Denmark* and *Norway* were overſtocked with Inhabitants, and therefore forced, in order to make room for the reſt, to ſend away large *Colonies*. Their natural Inclination to a *Sea-faring* Life made theſe *Colonies* readily abandon their Country, as it procured them greater Liberty of roving and playing the Pyrate, on pretence of looking out new Habitations. This was chiefly the riſe of thoſe Pyracies committed by the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, in the IXth *Century*, in *France*, *England*, the *Low-Countries* and *Germany*. The great Booty the firſt Adventurers brought off, tempted the richeſt and moſt powerful of their Countrymen to try their Fortune in the ſame manner. They entered into Aſſociations, and fitted out large Fleets to go and ravage foreign Countries. Theſe Aſſociations were much of the ſame nature with thoſe entered into now a-days in time of war, by the inhabitants of the Sea-port Towns in *France* and *Flanders*, and always by the *Corſairs* of *Barbary*. In ſhort, they were ſo uſed to this gainful way of trading, that very conſiderable Fleets were put to ſea. They had the Authority of their Kings for what they did, who, having always a ſhare in the ſpoils, provided them with Admirals and Generals, and when a conſiderable Booty was in view, made no ſcruple even to command them in Perſon. Theſe are the Fleets that made ſuch Devaſtations in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, and cauſed the Inhabitants of *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, to make ſad Lamentation for the miſeries brought upon them by the northern Nations (1). They were called in *France*, *Normans*, that is to ſay, *Men of the North*; but in *England*, they were generally ſtiled *Danes* or *Goths*. There is no doubt but the *Swedes* and *Goths* very often joined with the *Danes* in order to go ſhares in the Booty. Nay, it appears that the *Frieſlanders* were concerned with the *Danes* in ravaging the Coaſts of *France* and *England*. This doubtleſs is the reaſon the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians call them indifferently, *Getes*, *Goths*, *Jutes*, *Norwegians*, *Dacians*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Vandals*, *Frieſlanders*, their Armies being compoſed of theſe ſeveral Nations.

Rog. de Hov.

It is eaſy to ſee, from what has been ſaid of the *Danes*, that their Intent, when firſt they invaded the Coaſts of *England*, was only to plunder. And therefore they made War, not like regular Troops, with ſome fixed and ſettled Deſign, but like Pyrates, ſacking and deſtroying what they could not carry away. As they were divided into ſeveral independent bands, it frequently happened that no ſooner was *One* gone, but *Another* came; by which means the Inhabitants had ſcarce any reſpite from their Incurſions. This way of making War was very inconvenient for the *Engliſh*, it obliging them to be upon their guard at all Times and in all Places, ſince the Iſland was liable to be attacked on every Side. On the other hand, their Enemies, whoſe numbers were continually increaſing, being headed by leaders who had no authority over each other, there was no entering into Treaty with them, one *Band* not looking upon it ſelf bound by what another did. Thus the *Engliſh* having nothing to gain, but much to loſe, were at a loſs what meaſures to take againſt theſe Enemies, who carried deſolation wherever they came. I am very ſenſible the *Daniſh* Hiſtorians ſet theſe matters in quite another Light. They expreſs the advantages the *Danes* had over the *Engliſh* in their firſt Incurſions, by the name of *Conqueſts*, and ſtile the ſtruggles of the *Engliſh* to free themſelves from Oppreſſion, ſo many revolts.

Six. Gram. Magnus. Jornandes. Meurſius. Pontanus.

But notwithſtanding their giving things theſe *ſpecious* Names, their advantages are to be conſidered as before repreſented, at leaſt for the firſt hundred years after they began their ravages.

Before I leave this Subject it will be proper to obſerve that the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* Hiſtorians give very contradictory accounts of theſe Wars. Each endeavours to the utmoſt of his Power, to magnify the advantages of his own Nation, and leſſen thoſe of the oppoſite Party. However it is but too viſible that the *Danes* could not have got ſuch footing in *England*, had not victory generally inclined to their Side. But this is not all wherein Hiſtorians diſagree. They differ chiefly in *Chronological* Matters, and in the names of the Perſons of whom they are ſpeaking, which muſt of neceſſity breed the greateſt confuſion in Hiſtory.

Through all theſe difficulties am I obliged to ſteer my Courſe, with all imaginable circumſpection and warineſs, leſt I ſhould be put to a ſtand by the obſtacles that every Moment occur. If the Readers do not find that Connection, and thoſe other Embelliſhments they could wiſh for, it muſt be remembered, that the narration of a War, carried on for the ſake of plunder only, is hardly capable of Connection or Embelliſhment.

After theſe Remarks, which ſeemed to me neceſſary for the better underſtanding of the Sequel, it is time to return to the Reign of *Egbert*, which was left unfiniſhed in the foregoing Book, where he appeared only as King of *Weſſex*. He is now to make his appearance as King of all *England*, and as real Monarch of the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*.

EGBERT, firſt King of ENGLAND.

EGBERT, firſt King of England. 828. Tyrrel. p. 254.

EGBERT, who began his Reign over the *Weſt-Saxons* in 800, finiſhed not his Conqueſts till 827 or 828, from which time his Title of *King of England* is to be dated. But to avoid miſtakes, it muſt be remembred, that the Kingdom this Prince was in actual poſſeſſion of, conſiſted of the ancient Kingdoms of *Weſſex*, *Suſſex*, *Kent* and *Eſſex*, that were peopled by *Saxons* and *Jutes*. As for the other three Kingdoms, whoſe Inhabitants were *Angles*, he was contented with reſerving the Sovereignty over them, permitting them to be governed by Kings who were his Vaſſals and Tributaries (2).

It has been ſeen how this Prince, before he turned his Arms againſt his Countrymen, attacked and ſubdued the *Britons* of *Cornwal* and *Wales*. Though his Power, after that, was exceedingly encreaſed, yet the *Welſh* by their proceedings plainly ſhowed they deſigned to ſhake off his Yoke. *Egbert* informed of their Intent, gave them no time to put it in Execution. He marched into their Country with ſo numerous an Army, that they were forced to ſubmit, without offering to come to a Battle.

The Danes *make a Deſcent.* 833. Ann. Sax. Malmsb. l. 2.

Whilſt *Egbert* was enjoying the Fruits of his Victories, the *Danes*, who had before made two deſcents on *England* (3), arrived at *Charmouth* (4) with thirty five Veſſels. As they met with no Oppoſition, they landed and fell to ravaging the Country. *Egbert*, upon the firſt news of this Deſcent, marched againſt them with what Troops he could haſtily draw together, verily believing at his approach they would repair to their Ships; which though he found they did not do, but on the contrary firmly ſtood their Ground, he reſolved to attack them. But he ſoon experienced he had to deal with much more formidable Enemies than he imagined. After a long and bloody Battle (5), he had the vexation to ſee them victorious, and his own Army entirely routed. Nay, he found himſelf ſo very hard preſſed, that he was forced at length to follow his flying Troops; being indebted to the darkneſs of the night for his very Life. This mortification, very grievous to a Prince hitherto ever victorious, cauſed him to take other meaſures for his defence againſt theſe new Iuvaders. In the mean time the *Danes*, having no deſign to make Conqueſts, were ſatisfied with plundering the Country, and returning to their Ships.

Egbert *worſted by the* Danes.

The Danes *make another Deſcent.* 835. Sax. Ann.

Two years after, another band of *Daniſh* Pyrates, having been informed by their Spies, that the *Corniſh Britons* (6) were extremely deſirous of throwing off the yoke of the *Engliſh*, went and landed in their Territories, where they were received with Joy. Being reinforced with ſome *Britiſh* Troops, they began their march in or-

(1) A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine. *Rapin.*

(2) It is to be obſerved, he was not perfectly abſolute, though he became *Monarch of England*; for ſome, if not all the petty Kings, notwithſtanding they were Tributaries, held their Titles for many years, and ſome Succeſſions of Monarchs after him; as *Witlaf* King of *Mercia* under *Egbert*; and *Berſulph* under *Ethelwulph* his Son, *Beorred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; and ſo they continued, at leaſt until *Edward the Elder*. See *Ingulph*. p. 8, 11, &c. *Brady*, p. 111.

(3) *Viz.* in 789, at *Portland*; and in 832, in the Iſle of *Sheppy*, which they laid waſte. *Aſſer. Ann.* p. 154. *Sax. Ann. Hunting.*

(4) In *Dorſetſhire*.

(5) There were ſlain in this Battle, among others, the two Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Sherborne*, *Hereferth* and *Wigforth*, and the two Earls *Dudda* and *Oſmod*. *Huntingd.* p. 345. *Sax. Ann.*

(6) For they ſtill inhabited *Cornwal*, paying Tribute to *Egbert*. *Rapin.*

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der to give the *Engliſh* Monarch Battle. They were in hopes to ſurpriſe him, but were themſelves aſtoniſhed to hear he was marching directly towards them with the ſame Intent. His former Misfortune having made him more cautious, he had kept his Army in readineſs to march upon the firſt notice of their Arrival. Accordingly being informed they were landed in the *Weſt*, he haſtened thither with all his Forces. He engaged them near *Hengiſtdun* (1) in *Cornwal*, and obtained a ſignal Victory, which quite effaced the diſhonour of his former Defeat.

Egbert *gains a great Victory.*

After this fortunate Blow, which delivered the *Engliſh* for a ſhort ſpace from the *Daniſh* Invaſions, we find but one remarkable particular in *Egbert*'s Reign. It is ſaid that this Prince, by a publick Edict, approved by the general Aſſembly of the Nation, ordered, That for the future the name of *England* ſhould be given to that part of *Great-Britain*, conquered by the *Anglo-Saxons*, and erected into ſeven Kingdoms (2). But it is much more likely, he only confirmed or revived this Name, which certainly is older than the Reign of *Egbert*. We find in *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that before that time the three Nations ſettled in *Great-Britain*, are indifferently called *Angli* or *Engliſh*. And indeed *Bede* himſelf, who wrote long before *Egbert*, gives his Hiſtory the title of *the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation*, though it much more relates to the Churches of *Kent*, *Weſſex*, *Suſſex* and *Eſſex*, than to thoſe of *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*. I have already ſaid, that the change of the name of *Britain* into that of *England*, ought to be carried back to the Year 585 or 586. In confirmation of which, and to ſhew the improbability of *Egbert*'s being the Author of this Change, I ſhall alledge the following Proofs, which to me ſeem very ſtrong. In the firſt place, *Egbert* had no reaſon to call the *ſeven* Kingdoms *England*, ſince he himſelf was a *Saxon*, and the Provinces, his own Kingdom conſiſted of, were peopled with *Saxons* and *Jutes*. Beſides, the *Angles* or *Engliſh*, inhabiting *Mercia*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, were his Vaſſals and Tributaries. Now is it at all likely, that the *Conqueror* ſhould impoſe on his victorious Subjects the Name of thoſe they had ſubdued? This might indeed be done inſenſibly, but it is not probable a Conqueror ſhould enjoin it by an Edict; but as this amounts to no more than Conjecture, I ſhall proceed to more ſubſtantial Proofs. An Hiſtorian poſitively affirms, that a *little after* the founding of the ſeven Kingdoms, the name of *England* was given to *Britain* by the unanimous conſent of the ſeven Kings. But this can by no means be applied to the time of *Egbert*, (above two hundred and fifty Years after) ſince that Prince could not have publiſhed this Edict till after the diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*. Beſides, how came *Bede*, who lived one hundred and fifty Years before *Egbert*, to call the three Nations ſettled in *Britain*, *Engliſhmen*, if that Monarch was the Author of that Name? But what is ſtill more convincing, though the Subjects of *Ina*, King of *Weſſex*, were *Saxons* or *Jutes*, that Prince however, in his *Laws* enacted for the *Weſt-Saxons*, only ſtiles them *Engliſhmen*. *If an* Engliſhman, ſays he, *commits Theft.*——Again, *If a Welſh Slave ſhall kill an* Engliſhman.——Is it not plain, that unleſs this name had been common to the three Nations, *Ina* would not have called his Subjects *Engliſhmen*, but *Saxons*? In ſhort, it is not at all ſtrange that immediately after founding the ſeven Kingdoms, the *Anglo-Saxons* ſhould term their Conqueſt, *England*, ſince the *Angles* were in poſſeſſion of a larger and more conſiderable Tract of Land than both the *Saxons* and *Jutes*. But it was not natural this Name ſhould be introduced in the Reign of *Egbert*, when the three Kingdoms of the *Angles* were gone to decay, and the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* in a flouriſhing Condition.

Egbert *confirms the changing the Name of* Britain *into that of* England.

Proofs of his not being the firſt Author of that Change.

Jo. Sariſb.

Brompt. Leges Inæ. l. 26. lex. 78.

Egbert died in 838 (3), after he had reigned thirty ſeven Years, twenty Years as King of *Weſſex* only, ſeven Years with the dignity of Monarch, and ten Years as real Sovereign of all *England*. *Redburg* his Spouſe had never aſſumed the Title and Port of a Queen, becauſe of the Law made in *Weſſex*, on account of the death of *Brithric*. She is ſaid to have perſuaded the King to forbid the *Welſh* on pain of Death to come beyond *Offa's Dike*, the Boundary of *Mercia* and *Wales*.

The Death of Egbert. 838. Sax. Ann. J. Beaver.

Egbert left but one Son, named *Ethelwulph*, who ſucceeded him both as King of *Weſſex*, *Eſſex*, *Kent* and *Suſſex*, and as Sovereign of the other three Kingdoms. *Egbert* had doubtleſs another Son, ſince this was deſigned for the Church. A modern Author gives the Name of *Ethelbert* to *Egbert*'s eldeſt Son; but I know not whence he had his Information. Some ſay he had alſo a Daughter called *Edgith*, who founded the Abbey of *Polleſworth* (4), but this is uncertain.

Rudb. Hiſt. Mon. Wincheſt. Tyrrel. J. Tinmuth.

By all that has been ſaid of *Egbert*, it is eaſy to ſee this Prince had all the Qualifications of a great Warrior. He accompliſhed his Ends, not by ſuch methods as *Hengiſt* and *Offa* had taken, but by way of Arms, which tho' no leſs Criminal, tarniſhes not the Reputation of thoſe that make uſe of it, eſpecially when crowned with Succeſs. It is a lamentable thing that Ambition, by which Princes are led to invade the Property of others, ſhould paſs in the World for a Virtue, and that an Hiſtorian, by reaſon of Men's depraved Notions, ſhould not dare to repreſent it in its true colours, ſince, generally ſpeaking, they are your ambitious Princes that are honoured with the Sirname of *Great*.

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2. *ETHELWULPH.*

ETHELWULPH, 2d King of England. 838. An. Sax. H. Hunt. l. 5.

ETHELWULPH, *Egbert*'s only Son, came to the Crown after his Father's Death. Some ſay he was forced to have a Diſpenſation from the Pope, becauſe he was in *Holy-Orders*. But it is not very likely, that after the Death of his elder Brother, *Egbert* would ſuffer him to be bred a *Churchman*, ſince he had no other Son to ſucceed him (5).

The Danes *land at* Southampton. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. l. 3.

Ethelwulph was hardly warm in his Throne, when a Fleet of *Danes* (6) appeared near *Southampton*. After they had roved up and down for ſome time, they landed and ravaged the flat Country. *Ethelwulph*, a lover of Peace and his Eaſe, ſent *Wulfherd* his General againſt them, who beat them back to their Ships. But the King had not reaſon long to rejoice at this Victory. Before his Army returned, News was brought him, that more *Daniſh* Forces, having landed at *Portland*, were plundering and deſtroying the Country. Though he had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with *Wulfherd*, (7), he ſent Earl *Ethelhelm* to command the Army, who was ſhamefully beaten and put to flight (8). *Herbert* the ſucceeding General was ſtill more unfortunate, for he was not only vanquiſhed, but loſt his Life in the Battle. Theſe two Victories gave the *Danes* opportunity to overrun ſeveral Counties, particularly *Kent* and *Middleſex* (9). *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* were great ſufferers on this occaſion, the Enemy committing unheard-of Cruelties before they returned to their Ships.

Some make *Witglaph* King of *Mercia* die this Year 839. Others place his Death two Years ſooner in 837. But this difference is of little moment, this Prince making but a very mean Figure after he became Vaſſal to the King of *Weſſex* (10). *Berthulph* his Brother ſucceeded him.

839.

Berthulph. King of Mercia. 840. Aſſer. Ann. Huntingd.

The next Year *Ethelwulph*, not at all ſatisfied with his two laſt Generals, was reſolved to go in Perſon againſt a Body of *Danes* that were arrived in thirty five Ships, and landed on the Coaſt of *Weſſex*. The two Armies engaging at *Charmouth*, the *Engliſh* were worſted, and thought

(1) Now called *Hengſton-hill*. Rapin.

(2) The whole Account of this Matter is thus; "*Egbert* having ſubdued the Six *Saxon* Kingdoms, and forced them to ſubmit to his Dominions, called a "Great Council at *Wincheſter*, whereto were ſummoned all the Great Men of the whole Kingdom; and there, by the general Conſent of the Clergy and "Laity, *Egbert* was crowned King of *Great-Britain*: And, at the ſame time, he enacted, That it ſhould be for ever after called *England*; and that thoſe "who before were named *Jutes* or *Saxons*, ſhould now be ſtiled *Engliſhmen*." *Annals of the Cathedral Church of Weſtminſter in Monaſtic. Anglican.* Vol. I. p. 32. *R. de Diceto.* p. 449. *Chronol. St. Auguſtin's Monaſt. Cant. in X. Script.* p. 2238; and after them all our modern Chroniclers. *Egbert* may indeed have publiſhed an Edict for the *confirming* or *reviving* of that Name; but that it was in uſe long before this time, is evident (as *Rapin* obſerves) from the Laws of King *Ina*; from *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; from *Matt. Weſtm.* p. 200, &c.

(3) Some place his death in 836 or 837. He was buried at *Wincheſter*. *Malmſb.* p. 37. *Brompt.*

(4) In *Warwickſhire*.

(5) *Brompton* and *Huntingdon* ſay, that he had been conſecrated Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but, upon his Father's Death, other Heirs failing, he took upon him the Reins of the Government, p. 802, 348.

(6) Of thirty three Sail. *Sax. Ann.*

(7) *Wulfherd* was probably then dead; for he died in 837, according to the *Saxon Annals*, which place *Egbert*'s death in 836.

(8) In this Battle Earl *Ethelhelm* was ſlain. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 347.

(9) They killed abundance of People in *Lindſey*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Kent*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 347.

(10) He was buried at *Rependum*, or *Repton* in *Derbyſhire*. *Flor. Wig.*

themſelves

themſelves happy that the Enemies, after their Victory, were contented with carrying off their Booty, the only end of theſe *Daniſh* Expeditions.

Deſtruction of the Picts.

This year (or as ſome ſay the year before) was very remarkable for the entire deſtruction of the *Picts*. After a long War with the *Scots* their neighbours, they loſt two ſucceſſive Battles, which diſabled them from making any farther Reſiſtance. *Keneth* II. King of *Scotland*, exaſperated againſt them for having ſlain his Father, and inhumanly mangling his corps, told the *Scots* they ought not to loſe the preſent opportunity of rooting out a nation that had been their perpetual Enemies. His advice was approved of, and executed with ſuch a barbarous Fury, that from that time nothing remains but the bare memory of that miſerable Nation, which had ſo long flouriſhed in *Great-Britain*. It is chiefly owing to his extirpating the *Picts*, that *Keneth* II. was looked upon by the *Scots* as an illuſtrious Prince, and one of the Founders of their Monarchy.

Buchan. Boeth. Holling.

The *Danes* continuing their Incurſions, *Ethelwulph*, who was naturally ſlothful, thought himſelf unable to govern alone all his dominions, expoſed as they were to the perpetual Inſults of Foreigners. This conſideration, and perhaps his tender Affection for *Athelſtan* his natural Son (1), made him reſolve to reſign to him the Kingdoms of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and *Suſſex* (2), with the Title of *King of Kent*, reſerving to himſelf the Sovereignty of all *England*, with the Kingdom of *Weſſex*.

Ethelwulph reſigns part of his Dominions to his Natural Son.

ETHELWULPH in *Weſſex*. ATHELSTAN in *Kent*.

841. *Ethelred King of Northumberland. G. Dunelm. M. Weſt.*

ANDRED King of *Northumberland* died in 841, and was ſucceeded by *Ethelred* his Son.

Roderic, ſirnamed *Mawr*, (i. e.) *the Great*, was then King of *Wales*. This Prince, to whom the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians give the higheſt Commendations, attacked *Berthulph* King of *Mercia* with great ſucceſs. As little inclined to War as *Ethelwulph* was, he was obliged to march in perſon into *Mercia*, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Welſh* prince. He eaſily ſaw the dangerous conſequence of ſuffering the *Welſh* to recover any part of the country taken from them by the *Engliſh*. And therefore, without ſtaying to be ſollicited, he went and joined Forces with the King of *Mercia*. Whilſt *Roderic* had to deal with *Berthulph* alone, he imagined he was powerful enough to diſpoſſeſs him, if not of the whole, yet at leaſt of good part of his Kingdom. But when he found *Ethelwulph* engaged in the quarrel, he deſiſted from his Enterprize and ſued for Peace, which he obtained without any difficulty, both the Sovereign and his Vaſſal deſiring only to live in peace and quiet. This ſame *Roderic* left three Sons, among whom he ſhared his dominions, which by that means were divided into the three Kingdoms of *Venedotia*, *Demetia*, and *Powis*.

Ethelred King of Northumberland expell'd and reſtor'd. M. Weſt.

Ethelred, who aſcended the Throne of *Northumberland* in 841, was driven out of the Country three years after, by one of the Factions that for a long time prevailed by turns in that Kingdom, and *Redowald* put in his place. The new King being ſlain ſhortly after by the *Danes*, in a deſcent made on *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* was recalled by his Party, who were now become powerful enough to ſupport him in the Throne.

845. *The Danes defeated. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig.*

The *Danes* never failed to viſit *England* once a year, purely for the ſake of plunder. In 845 the Earls *Enulph* and *Oſric*, with Biſhop *Alſtan*, gave them battle near the River *Parret* (3), and obtained a ſignal Victory, which probably was the reaſon the *Engliſh* remained unmoleſted for ſome years.

Osbert King of Northum. 848. *G. Dunelm. Fl. Wig.*

The King of *Northumberland* reigned but three years after his Reſtoration. The oppoſite Party having put him to death, a Lord, named *Osbert*, was placed on the Throne. The troubles and diviſions in that Kingdom gave the *Danes* opportunity of making frequent Incurſions. Whenever they came, they were ſure of being welcome to the weakeſt Party. Neither of the Factions ſcrupling to join with the *Danes* in order to get uppermoſt.

851. *The Danes land in Weſſex, and are defeated. Sax. Ann.*

Whilſt the *Danes* were thus employed in the North, the Southern Provinces enjoyed ſome Tranquility. But at length, in 851, they landed on the Coaſt of *Weſſex*, where they committed unſpeakable Cruelties. After ravaging the Country, they were met as they were returning to their Ships with their Booty, by Earl *Ceorle*, *Ethewulph*'s General (4), who waited for them at *Wenbury* (5). Being incumbred with their Spoils, they fought in ſuch diſorder, that they were entirely routed. Some time after, King *Athelſtan* going on board his Fleet, fought the *Danes* near *Sandwich*, and took nine of their Ships. He could not however prevent another Band from wintering in the Iſland of *Shepey*.

Aſſer. vit. Alf.

The ill Succeſs the *Danes* met with, did not in the leaſt diſcourage them. The next Spring they came up the *Thames* with three hundred Sail (6), and nothing being able to oppoſe them, landed near *London*, where they began their uſual Ravages. The two Kings, not expecting this ſudden Invaſion, did not dare to take the Field, till they had an Army capable of withſtanding them, which they endeavoured to have with all poſſible expedition.

852. *Another Deſcent of the Danes. Aſſer. Huntingd.*

Whilſt the two Princes were making preparations, the *Danes* made uſe of their time to plunder: They were not content with ravaging the Country, but attacked the Towns, which, for the moſt part, not being in condition to ſtand a Siege, were forced to open their Gates to their mercileſs Enemies. *London* and *Canterbury* were great ſufferers on this occaſion. Having pillaged theſe two Cities, they marched into *Mercia*, and overthrew an army led againſt them by *Berthulph*, in defence of his Country (7). Nothing more oppoſing their progreſs, they would have over-run all *England*, if the news that *Ethelwulph* and *Athelſtan* deſigned to intercept them in their return, had not made them halt. They repaſſed the *Thames*, with deſign to give the two Kings battle, now encamped at *Okely* in *Surrey*. They committed in their march ſuch barbarities, that the very mention of them would ſtrike one with horror. In ſhort, they engaged the two Kings in the very place where they had encamped in expectation of the Enemy. Here a bloody Battle was fought, wherein the *Engliſh* at length were victorious, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter of the *Danes*, that very few eſcaped.

Battle of Okely. Fl. Wig. Huntingd. l. 5.

Berthulph King of *Mercia* died this year, and was ſucceeded by *Buthred*, with the conſent of *Ethelwulph*, whoſe Daughter he had married.

Buthred King of Mercia. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Fl. Wig.

After the Battle of *Okely* we hear no more of *Athelſtan*, and therefore preſume he did not long ſurvive that great Victory, to which his Valour greatly contributed. Although *Ethelwulph* had ſeveral Sons born in wedlock, that were old enough to aſſiſt him in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, yet he would not give *Ethelbald* his eldeſt, *Athelſtan*'s Kingdom. Beſides his having no great Affection for him, he dreaded his reſtleſs and turbulent Spirit. The young Prince, who thought himſelf no leſs worthy of a Crown than *Athelſtan* his Baſtard-brother, was very much diſguſted at this pretended Injuſtice.

Athelſtan's Death. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2.

(1) The *Sax. Ann. W. Malms.* and *Ethelward*, call him only the Son of *Athelwulph*, p. 37, and 841. *Chronic. de Mailros* ſtyles him *Ethelwulph*'s Brother, p. 37. and *Mat. Weſtm.* ſays, that he was his *natural Son*, p. 301. So little Agreement is there between the ancient Hiſtorians in this and other Matters.

(2) Together with *Surrey*. *Sax. Ann.*

(3) In *Somerſetſhire*.

(4) He was Earl of *Damnonium*, or *Devonſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Aſſer. S. Dunelm. Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I.

(5) In *Devonſhire*, not far from *Plymouth*. It is called in *Saxon Wicganbeorche*. See *Sax. Ann.* and *Camden*.

(6) *Aſſer*, and *Sax. Ann.* ſay with three hundred and fifty, *Ann.* p. 155. and *Huntingd.* only with two hundred and fifty, p. 348.

(7) After which he never made any Figure. *Hunting.* p. 348.

ETHELWULPH alone.

Character of Ethelwulph, and his two Favourites.

ETHELWULPH was extremely addicted to Religion, both by Temper and Education. He would willingly, if permitted, have ſpent whole Days together in converſation with the Monks, whilſt the *Danes* were ranſacking his Kingdom in a mercileſs manner. The Victory of *Okely* procuring him ſome reſpite from thoſe formidable enemies, he was at liberty to follow his natural Inclination. He had two Favourites who equally ſhared his Affection and Confidence. They were both Biſhops, but of very different Characters. The firſt named *Swithin*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, was continually entertaining the King upon the Vanity of all worldly Glory, and the Joys of Heaven. The ſecond called *Alſtan*, Biſhop of *Sherborn*, was not at all pleaſed with the King's giving himſelf up wholly to his Devotions. He could have wiſhed he would have exerted himſelf more vigorouſly in repulſing the *Danes*, and employed his time in making preparations againſt their next return. To that end he never ceaſed animating him, by laying before him the *glorious Deeds* of his Anceſtors, particularly thoſe of his Father *Egbert*, in which he was moſt nearly concerned. He was not ſatisfied with ſtirring him up by lively Exhortations, but furniſhed him alſo with Money to haſten his warlike Preparations.

H. Hunt. G. Malm. l. 2. c. 2. & de Pontif.

Theſe two Prelates bore an abſolute ſway over the King, who was naturally of a ſlothful and indolent Temper. The one had the aſcendant in Peace, the other in War. *Alſtan* kept his ground a long while, by reaſon of the frequent Invaſions of the *Danes*, which robbed the King of great part of the time he would have employed in his Devotions. But as ſoon as he found he was like to enjoy ſome Quiet, he was entirely guided by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This Prelate, taking advantage of the King's religious Diſpoſition, ſo engroſſed him to himſelf, that *Alſtan*, whoſe advice was not ſo conformable to the King's Inclination, found his credit by degrees to diminiſh. *Swithin*, all in all with the King, confirmed him more and more in his natural *Biaſs* to a religious Life. Above all, he inſtilled into him an extreme affection for the *Church* and *Clergy*, wherein the main of Religion was *then* made to conſiſt. By his advice it was that this Prince, as it is pretended, granted to the *Church* the *Tithes* of all his Dominions (1). Hitherto the revenues of the Church were not very conſiderable; but by this new grant they were increaſed to that degree, that *Ethelwulph*'s ſucceſſors had frequent occaſion to wiſh, he had left the *Clergy* in their former State.

A Grant of the Tithes to the Clergy. Ingulph. p. 17. Malmſb. Huntingd.

853. Alfred *ſent to* Rome. Fl. Wig. Aſſer.

To this zeal for Religion it was owing alſo that he ſent to *Rome* his youngeſt Son *Alfred*, then about five Years of Age. As he was very fond of this Child, he imagined, no doubt, the *Pope's Bleſſing* would be ratified in Heaven, and procure him great Happineſs. If we may believe certain Hiſtorians, *Leo* IV, did not only *bleſs* the young Prince, but gave him alſo the ceremony of the *Royal Unction* (2). But this appears to have no foundation, unleſs it is pretended the Pope knew by *Revelation*, that *Alfred* ſhould one Day come to the Crown, though the youngeſt of four Brothers. Beſides, *Alfred* had not the Title of King till long after, when the Crown was devolved to him by the Death of his three elder Brothers. There are ſome who, on ſuppoſition of this ſame *Unction*, maintain that the Pope only anointed him with *Chriſm* at the ceremony of his Confirmation, which gave occaſion for ſome to imagine that *Alfred* received the *Royal Unction* before-hand, becauſe he was one Day to aſcend the Throne of *England* (3).

Tyrrel.

853. *He goes himſelf to* Rome. Aſſer. S. Dunelm. Malmſb.

Ethelwulph's great zeal for Religion would not let him be eaſy, without the ſatisfaction of paying a viſit to the *Pope* in perſon, and receiving his *Benediction*. As *England* was then in profound Peace, he reſolved upon going to *Rome*, and accordingly did ſo in 855 (4). At his arrival, *Leo* gave him an honourable Reception, and in return met with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion that could be expected from ſo *devout* a Prince. During his ſtay at *Rome*, he diligently viſited the *Churches*, *Chapels*, *Holy Relicks*, and every thing capable of feeding his *Devotion*. The *Engliſh College*, founded by *Ina* and enlarged by *Offa*, having been burnt down [the Year before] he cauſed it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner than before; and deſiring to endow the *College* with greater revenues than his Predeceſſors had done, extended the Tax of *Peter-Pence* all over his Dominions, which till then had been levied only in *Weſſex* and *Mercia*. He obliged himſelf moreover to ſend to *Rome* yearly the Sum of three hundred *Mancus*'s [or Marks] (5), two hundred whereof were to be expended in *Wax Tapers* for the Churches of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and the remaining one hundred for the *Pope's* private uſe. Theſe are the *Liberalities*, that gave occaſion to certain Hiſtorians to aſſert, that *Ethelwulph* made his Kingdom tributary to the *Holy See*. But what wrong uſes ſoever might be made of them in Time, it is certain they were no more originally than *charitable* Donations to the *Churches* and *Engliſh College*.

Peter-pence extended over all England. Brompton. Malmſb.

Sigonius de Reg. Ital.

Ethelwulph having ſatisfied his *Devotion* and *Curioſity* by a twelve Months ſtay at *Rome*, returned home through *France*, where he married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles the Bald* (6), a young Princeſs of twelve Years of Age (7). This unſuitable as well as unſeaſonable Match, he having already ſeveral Children, was made another pretence for the Conſpiracy forming againſt him in *England*.

He marries Judith, Daughter to Charles the Bald. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

Whilſt *Ethelwulph* was buſied at *Rome* in Acts of Devotion, *Alſtan* Biſhop of *Sherborn*, formerly his Favourite, but ſince the loſs of his Credit, his Enemy, took advantage of his Abſence to ſeduce *Ethelbald* his eldeſt Son, by way of Revenge (8). This young Prince, being of an evil Diſpoſition, was already very angry with his Father, for not inveſting him with the Kingdom of *Kent* after *Athelſtan*'s Death; and therefore very readily cloſed with *Alſtan*'s pernicious Counſels. The Prelate repreſented to him, that *Ethelwulph* lived more like a *Monk* than a King, and by his negligence would, it was to be feared, expoſe his Kingdom to Dangers and Ruin; that ſince he delighted ſo much in converſing with the Monks, it was fit he ſhould paſs the reſidue of his Days in a Monaſtery, and leave his Kingdom to a Son, more capable than himſelf of governing it. The young Prince, burning with deſire and impatience to enjoy the Crown, was ſhaken with this Diſcourſe. As his Heart was not ſound, there was no need of repeating it often in order to gain him: The news of *Ethelwulph*'s Marriage coming juſt at that very time, put the finiſhing ſtroke to the Matter. He thought he had reaſon to fear that, if there ſhould be any Children by this ſecond Marriage, they would be able to diſpute with him the ſucceſſion to the Crown, by help of the King of *France*. Theſe conſiderations moved him to cabal with the *Nobles* how to prevent the King's return. *Alſtan*, author of the Plot, did all that lay in his power to gain the Nobles and People to the Prince's Intereſt, and it was not long before he formed a powerful Party in his favour. *Ethelwulph*, informed of theſe Proceedings, immediately left *France*, and arrived in *England*, before his Son had taken all neceſſary meaſures to hinder his landing. However, *Ethelbald* purſued his Deſign, and openly declared his Intent to dethrone his Father. As *Ethelwulph* had dignified his new Wife with the Title of *Queen*, in conſideration of her illuſtrious Birth, *Ethelbald* made uſe of that pretence to give ſome colour to his Revolt. He alledged, that by the expreſs terms of the Law made upon the account of *Brithric*'s Murder, the *Weſt-Saxons* were abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance to the King. All things now tended to a *Civil War*, which could not but prove fatal to *England*, ſince, beſides other Miſchiefs, it would undoubtedly bring on freſh Invaſions from the *Danes*. But ſome of the wiſeſt of the Nobility of both Parties, foreſeeing the Calamities that might enſue, by their mediation endeavoured to bring matters to an Accommodation. Though right and juſtice were entirely on the King's ſide, yet he conſented to peaceable Meaſures. But as he was old and eaſy-natured, and his

Ethelbald *conſpires againſt his Father.* Aſſer. vit. Ælfr. Malm. l. 2. c. 2.

The King returns.

Ethelbald *purſues his Revolt.* Selden, *Titles of Honour.* c. 6. p. 83. G. Malm. l. 2. c. 2.

(1) In the Laws of *Ina* and *Offa*, Tithes are ſettled on the *Clergy*. But in all likelihood theſe Laws were not obſerved, or perhaps *Ethelwulph* extended the Law all over *England*. *Rapin.* This Charter is at length in the State of the Church.

(2) The Words of the Hiſtorians are: *Leo——infantem ordinans unxit in Regem, & in filium adoptionis ſibimet accipiens confirmavit.* *S. Dunelm.* p. 120. *Aſſer. vit. Ælfr. Sax. Huntingd.* &c.

(3) This ſame year 853, Earl *Alcher* with the Inhabitants of *Kent*, and Earl *Huda* with thoſe of *Surrey*, fought with an army of *Danes* in the Iſle of *Thanet*: The *Engliſh* got at firſt ſome Advantage, but great Numbers were killed and drowned on both Sides; and the two *Engliſh* Generals at length loſt their Lives. *Sax. Ann. Aſſer. S. Dunelm.* p. 120. *Huntingd.* p. 348. The next year they wintered, for the firſt time, in the Iſle of *Sheppy*. *Sax. Ann.*

(4) Carrying his Son *Alfred* along with him. *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 2.

(5) *John Brumpton* is miſtaken in calling them three hundred Talents, p. 802. *Rapin.*

(6) She is called *Leotheta* in the *Saxon Annals*. *Rapin.*

(7) This does not appear from our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. *R. Higden* ſays, that he married her in the 12th year of his Reign, p. 253. *Ethelwulph*'s firſt Wife was *Oſburga*, the Daughter of *Oſlac* his Cup-bearer, who was deſcended from *Stuff* and *Withgar*. *Aſſer. vit. Alf.* p. 1.

(8) With them joined *Enulph* Earl of *Somerſet*. *Malmſb.* p. 40.

Son

Son highly threatned his oppoſers, the Balance very much inclined to *Ethelbald*'s ſide. By the Treaty, which was managed by the Umpires, *Ethelwulph* was obliged to reſign to his Son the ancient Kingdom of *Weſſex*, and to ſit down contented with that of *Kent* for himſelf, under which were compriſed alſo *Eſſex* and *Suſſex*. Some of his Courtiers adviſed him not to ſign ſo partial and unequal a Treaty; but he would not hearken to them. He told them, he did not ſet ſo high a value on the Dominions allotted to his Son, as to purchaſe them at the Price of a *Civil War*; and though it might be in his Power to recover them, yet his death would ſoon put his Son in poſſeſſion again.

ETHELWULPH in *Kent*. ETHELBALD in *Weſſex*.

Ethelbald's *Character.*

ONE would think *Ethelwulph* foreſaw his death was not far off, ſince he out liv'd this *Partition* but two years, which he ſpent in a manner worthy of a Chriſtian Prince, in doing Acts of Charity, adminiſtring Juſtice to his Subjects, and endeavouring, by the force of his Example, to induce them to lead Lives conformable to the Precepts of the Goſpel. *Ethelbald*, on the contrary, depending upon many years to come, thought only of ſpending his days in licentiouſneſs and debauchery.

Edmund *King of* Eaſt-Anglia Ann. Sax. Fl. Wig. J. Tinmouth in Sanctis.

The *Saxon Annals* tell us, that about this time, *Edmund*, a youth of fifteen years of Age, was crowned King of *Eaſt-Anglia*. He was Son to *Alcmund*, a Prince of the Royal Blood, who fled into *Germany* when *Offa* ſeized upon *Eaſt-Anglia*. It is not ſaid whether this was done with the conſent of *Ethelwulph* and *Ethelbald*, or whether taking advantage of the diſſenſion between the Father and Son, the *Eaſt-Angles* reſolved to have a King of their own. *Edmund* was guided, during his Youth, by the advice of Biſhop *Humbert*, who took care to form him to a virtuous Life, and inſtil into him Sentiments of Juſtice and Equity, of which his Subjects reaped the benefit. I paſs over in ſilence all the Miracles that are ſaid to attend his birth, and ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of his tragical end, honoured with the name of Martyrdom.

Ethelwulph, finding death approaching, made his Will (1), wherein he diſpoſed of his dominions to *Ethelbert* his ſecond Son, and after his deceaſe to *Ethelred* his third Son, and after him to *Alfred* his youngeſt. I am not ſure, whether it was cuſtomary then for the Kings to diſpoſe of their Dominions by Will, or whether *Ethelwulph* was the firſt that did ſo. However this be, it is certain *Ethelwulph*'s Sons ſucceeded one another by virtue of this Will. Wherein he alſo order'd his Heirs to maintain one poor Perſon for every *Tithing* in his *Hereditary* Lands. He died ſoon after in 857, having reigned twenty years (2), leaving behind him four Sons and one Daughter, who was married to *Buthred* King of *Mercia*, and died at *Pavia* in 888. *Ethelbald*, eldeſt Son of *Ethelwulph*, being already in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, *Ethelbert* his Brother had only for his ſhare *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, compriſed under the name of *The Kingdom of Kent*. As for *Ethelred* and *Alfred*, his other Sons, they were at firſt but ill provided for; but in the end they mounted the Throne alſo. Beſides *Athelſtan* ſpoken of before, ſome give *Ethelwulph* another natural Son called *Neot*, who was afterwards Profeſſor at *Oxford*. But I very much doubt whether *Neot* was his Son. It is more likely he was only his Relation, of the Blood-Royal of *Weſſex*.

Ethelwulph's *laſt Will.* Aſſer. vit. Ælfr.

Malmſb. M. Weſtm.

His death. 857.

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3. ETHELBALD in *Weſſex*. ETHELBERT in *Kent*.

Malmſb. l. 2. c. 3. Aſſer. Ann. Ingulph.

ETHELBALD's Reign was remarkable neither for any event of moment, nor for any Action of his own, worth recording. All Hiſtorians agree, that he was a Prince of little Merit, and of an evil Diſpoſition. He is ſaid by the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians to make no ſcruple of marrying *Judith* of *France* his Father's Widow. But the *French* writers mention not this Marriage. They tell us her Marriage with *Ethelwulph* not being conſummated by reaſon of her Youth, ſhe returned to *France*, from whence ſhe was carried away by *Baldwin Iron-hand* Earl of *Flanders*. Perhaps they knew nothing of her ſecond Marriage; or, it may be, did not think proper to mention it, as reflecting on the Family of *Charles the Great*. Be this as it will, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſpeak of it as certain. And one of them adds (4), *Ethelbald* was brought to a Senſe of his Fault, by *Swithin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and underwent a ſevere Penance for it. This Penance, which probably conſiſted in ſome *Grants* or Donations to the Monaſteries, made an Hiſtorian (5) ſay, his Death which happened in 860, was exceedingly lamented. He had reigned two Years in *Weſſex* during his Father's Life, and about two Years and a half after his Deceaſe. *Ethelbert* his Brother, already in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Kent*, ſucceeding to *Weſſex*, by virtue of their Father's Will re-united the two Kingdoms.

He dies in 860.

(1) ——Hereditariam, immò commendatoriam, ſcribere imperavit Epiſtolam—— *Aſſer. vit. Alf.* p. 4.

(2) The *Saxon Annals* allow *Ethelwulph* to have reign'd but eighteen years, and yet tell us his Father began to reign in 800, and that he reigned thirty-ſeven years ſeven months, and that *Ethelwulph* died in 857. *Rapin.* The *Saxon Annals* ſay he reigned eighteen years and a half. He was buried at *Wincheſter* with his Father *Egbert*. *Sax. Ann. Aſſer.* in the Life of *Alfred*, ſays he was buried at *Stemrugan*; and in his Annals, he calls the place *Steningham*, which Mr. *Camden* takes to be *Stening* in *Suſſex*, p. 205.

(3) Here the *Saxon Ann.* inform us, that when the Pope heard of *Ethelwulph*'s Death, he anointed *Alfred* King, and preſented him to a Biſhop to be confirmed, as his Father, when he ſent him thither, had ordered, p. 77.

(4) *Thomas Rudbourne* in his Hiſtory of *Wincheſter*——*M.* and alſo *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*. But *Aſſer*, who liv'd in thoſe days, ſays no ſuch thing.

(5) *Huntingdon*, who tells us he was buried at *Sherborn*. See *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 42.

4. *ETHEL-*

4. ETHELBERT alone.

The Danes *return to* England. Sax. Ann.

THE *Danes*, having left *England* for ſome years unmoleſted, immediately after *Ethelbert*'s Coronation renew'd their Invaſions (1). As they had not been heard of for ſome time, they were almoſt forgotten, and conſequently no preparations were made to repulſe their Attacks. This neglect gave them great advantages, and helped them to penetrate as far as *Wincheſter*, the Metropolis of *Weſſex*, which they reduced to aſhes. They would have proceeded to much greater Miſchiefs, had not *Oſric* and *Ethelwulph*, two *Weſt-Saxon* Earls, with ſome Troops drawn together in haſte, beat them back to their Ships.

They burn Wincheſter.

They are repulſed.

Another Deſcent.

Another time they came in Autumn, and landed in the Iſle of *Thanet*, where they winter'd in order to begin their Incurſions in the Spring. *Ethelbert*, very uneaſy at their being ſo near him, but not knowing how to help it, offer'd them a Sum of Money to go off quietly (2). They accepted of his offer; but when they had finger'd the Money, they ruſhed into *Kent* and deſtroyed all (3) with Fire and Sword, *Ethelbert* not being in condition to be reveng'd of them. However, having learnt by this Treachery, that nothing but Force could free him from his Enemies, he ſet about levying an Army, to intercept them in their retreat, and prevent them from carrying off their Booty. The dread of theſe preparations made them embark with their plunder ſo haſtily, that it was not poſſible to hinder them.

Ethelbert *gives them Money to go off.*

Which they take, and fall to plundering. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Hunting.

Ethelbert's Reign, which laſted but ſix years, affords little matter for Hiſtory. He died in 866 (4), leaving two Sons, *Adhelm* and *Ethelward*, who did not ſucceed him, his younger Brother *Ethelred* aſcending the Throne by virtue of *Ethelwulph*'s Will.

He dies in 866.

5. ETHELRED I.

THE Reign of *Ethelred* was ſhort and troubleſome. From his Coronation to his Death, he had one continued Conflict with the *Danes*. They began with attacking *Northumberland*, which at length they became Maſters of. They proceeded next to *Eaſt-Anglia*, which they alſo ſubdued. And after extorting Money from the *Mercians*, they enter'd *Weſſex*. Notwithſtanding the valour of *Ethelred*, and the many battles he fought, he had the vexation at his Death to leave them in the heart of his Kingdom, and in condition of ſoon compleating the Conqueſt of the whole. Theſe are the principal Events during this Reign, the moſt remarkable Circumſtances whereof I am going to relate.

Malmſb. l. 2. c. 3.

The Authority reſerved by *Egbert* over the Kingdoms of *Mercia*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, and enjoyed alſo by his Son *Ethelwulph*, was now much weakened, by reaſon of the frequent Invaſions of the *Danes*. Whilſt the Kings of *Weſſex* were employed in the defence of their own dominions, it was hardly poſſible for them to think of improving their Sovereignty over the three Kingdoms of the *Angles*, to whom *Egbert* was willing to leave a ſhadow of Liberty. And therefore, by degrees, the *Northumbrians*, as moſt remote from *Weſſex*, had freed themſelves from Servitude. The Factions that had long reign'd among them were grown cooler, and ſo far agreed at laſt, as with unanimous conſent to place *Osbert* on the Throne. This happy Union would have reſtored *Northumberland* to its ancient ſplendor, if an unexpected Accident had not revived their Diſſenſions, and plunged the Country into a gulph of remedileſs Miſery. The occaſion of theſe new Troubles, which proved not only deſtructive of *Northumberland*, but fatal to all *England*, was this (5).

The Northumbrians *ſhake off the Yoke of the King of* Weſſex.

Freſh Troubles there, which draw the Danes *thither.*

The Cauſe of theſe Troubles.

Osbert, who kept his Court at *York*, returning one day from hunting, had a mind to refreſh himſelf at the Houſe of a certain Earl named *Bruern-Bocard*, Guardian of the Coaſt againſt the Irruptions of the *Danes*. The Earl happening to be from home, his Lady, to whoſe charming Beauty was joined the moſt engaging Behaviour, entertained her Sovereign with the reſpect due to his Quality. *Osbert*, raviſh'd at the ſight of ſo much Beauty, became in an Inſtant deſperately in Love with her, and reſolved, let the Conſequence be what it would, to gratify his Paſſion without delay. Accordingly, on pretence of having ſome matters of Importance to communicate to her, in the Abſence of the Earl, he led her inſenſibly into a private Room, where after ſeveral attempts to bring her to comply by fair means, he fell at length to downright Force. Intreaties, Tears, Cries, Reproaches, were ineffectual to put a ſtop to his raging Paſſion. After the commiſſion of this infamous Deed, he left the Counteſs in that exceſs of Grief and Vexation, that it was not poſſible for her to hide the cauſe from her Husband. So outragious an Affront is hardly ever forgiven. Though *Osbert* was King, and Earl *Bruern* his Subject, he reſented ſo highly this Injury, that he reſolved not to ſtick at any means to be revenged. He had a great Intereſt with the *Northumbrians*, and the baſe Action of *Osbert* was naturally apt to alienate the minds of his Subjects from him. Accordingly, by the management of the Earl, the *Bernicians* in a little time revolted; and looking upon *Osbert* as unworthy to govern them, elected another King named *Ella*, whom they placed on the Throne, with reſolution to ſupport him in it. Thus the old Diviſions, which ſeemed to be quite extinguiſhed, were kindled afreſh; and *Northumberland* once more divided between two Kings and two Factions, who continually aiming at each other's Deſtruction, were but too ſucceſsful in their Endeavours.

Ella *choſen King of* Bernicia. Sax. Ann.

A *Civil War* was the fatal conſequence of this diſcord. The two Kings frequently ſtrove to decide their Quarrel by Arms; but the equality of their Forces preventing the ſcale from inclining to either ſide, they both maintained themſelves in the Throne. The injured Earl, one would think, ſhould have been ſatisfied with *Osbert*'s loſing half his Dominions. But his revenge ſeemed to him incomplete, whilſt he ſaw him on the Throne of *Deïra*. Mean while, deeming it very difficult to carry it any farther, without a foreign Aid, he fatally reſolved to go and procure the Aſſiſtance of the *Danes*. This was not the firſt time the like Injury had produced the like Effect. *Spain*, under the Dominion of the *Moors*, felt at that very time the miſchiefs an affair of this nature had occaſioned. As ſoon as the Earl arrived in *Denmark*, he immediately applied to King *Ivar* [or *Hinguar*] (6), and giving him a particular Account of the diſtracted State of *Northumberland*, intimated to him, that if he would improve the preſent Juncture, he might with eaſe become Maſter of the Kingdom. *Ivar* very readily came into an Enterprize, to which he was prompted by the deſire of Revenge as well as Ambition. *Regnerus*, his Father, having been taken Priſoner in *England*, was thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents, where he miſerably periſhed. So barbarous a treatment having inſpired *Ivar* with a furious hatred againſt the *Engliſh*, he embraced, without heſitation, the preſent opportunity of being revenged.

Earl Bruern *brings the* Danes *into* England.

(1) They landed at *Southampton*. *Malmſb.* p. 42. *Huntingd.* p. 348.
(2) The *Sax. Ann.* ſay, it was the *Kentiſh* Men that offer'd them Money, and made a Peace with them.
(3) All the Eaſtern Part of *Kent*. *Sax. Ann.*
(4) And was buried at *Sherborn*. *Malmſb.* p. 42.
(5) Tho' *Rapin*, as the moſt probable Opinion, makes *Osbert*'s raviſhing Earl *Bruern*'s Lady the occaſion of the *Danes* coming to *Northumberland*, there is alſo another reaſon given of that, and the barbarous Murder of *Edmund*. The Story goes, that *Lodebrock* King of *Denmark* going a Hawking in a Boat was driven out at Sea by a Storm, and caſt upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt near *Yarmouth*. He was ſeiz'd and brought to *Edmund*'s Court, then King of *Eaſt-Anglia*, who finding him a great Sportſman, was pleaſed with his Company. *Bern*, the King's Faulconer, perceiving himſelf outdone in his own Buſineſs by this Stranger, drew him into a Wood, on pretence of ſhewing him *Game*, and barbarouſly murder'd him. *Lodebrock*'s Dog, almoſt ſtarv'd, comes to the Palace, and being fed, goes away again. The Dog doing this ſeveral times, made the King's Servants follow him, and thus were brought to a Sight of the Corpſe. *Bern* was tried for the Murther, and being found guilty, was condemned to be put into *Lodebrock*'s Boat, and committed to the Mercy of the Sea, without Tackling or Proviſion. He had the good Fortune to be carried to the *Daniſh* Shoar. The Boat being known, *Bern* was apprehended and examined about *Lodebrock*. He told them, that being caſt on the Coaſt of *Eaſt-Anglia*, he was put to death by King *Edmund*'s Order. Upon which, *Ivar* and *Hubba*, *Lodebrock*'s Sons, ſail'd for *Eaſt-Anglia*, with a numerous Army, but were forc'd by bad Weather into *Northumberland*. *Brompton. M. Weſt. Ingulph* only ſays, that they ſlew him upon account of the Faith of Chriſt, and for his ſtanding up in the defence of his Country, p. 24.
(6) *Pontanus*, in his Hiſtory of *Denmark*, places not *Ivar* among the Kings of that Country: But *Meurſius* aſſures us, that this Prince was crown'd in 836, wherein he agrees not in his *Chronology* with the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. *Rapin.*

With

With this view he concerted with Earl *Bruern* all neceſſary meaſures to put their deſign in execution. In the Spring he entered the *Humber* with a numerous Fleet, which ſpread a Terror all over *England*. He was conducted by *Bruern*, and attended by his Brother *Hubba*, the moſt valiant Perſon of his Time. As the *Northumbrians* had received no Intelligence of this Invaſion, they were in no readineſs to diſpute his landing. So *Ivar* without any difficulty became maſter of the northern ſide of the *Humber* (1). From whence he marched directly (2) to *York*, where *Osbert* was preparing an Army to oppoſe him.

Ivar makes a Deſcent on Northumberland. S. Dunelm.

867.

In this great extremity *Osbert* applied to *Ella*, though his Enemy, for Aſſiſtance. *Ella*, conſcious of his cruel Treatment of *Ivar*'s Father, and dreading the Son's revenge, very willingly agreed to ſuſpend their private Quarrel, and join their Forces againſt the common Enemy. Accordingly, he proceeded with all poſſible Expedition to bring him a powerful Reinforcement. If *Osbert* could have reſolved to ſtay in *York* till *Ella*'s Arrival, who was upon the March, he would doubtleſs have embarraſſed the King of *Denmark*, who by that means would have been forced to oppoſe the Enemy in two Places at once. But his great courage would not ſuffer him to take ſo good a Reſolution. Perhaps it was with regret that he ſaw himſelf conſtrained to have recourſe to his Enemy, or it may be, was afraid of ſome Treachery. However this be, without expecting *Ella*'s approach, he ſallied out of *York*, and attacked the *Danes* ſo vigorouſly, that they could hardly ſtand the ſhock, and were very near being put in diſorder. But their obſtinate reſiſtance having at length cooled the Ardour of their Enemies, they preſſed them in their turn, and compelled them at laſt to retire in confuſion into the Town (3). *Osbert* inraged to ſee a certain Victory, as he thought, ſnatched out of his hands, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to rally his Troops, but was ſlain in the retreat with abundance of his Men.

Osbert applies to Ella for Aid. Aſſer.

Malmſb. Sax. Ann.

Osbert defeated and ſlain.

This Victory having opened the Gates of *York* to the *Danes*, they entered the Town to refreſh themſelves, whilſt *Ella* was advancing in hopes to repair the loſs occaſioned by *Osbert*'s Precipitation. *Ivar* having juſt triumphed over one of the Kings, and not believing the other to be more formidable, ſaved him ſome trouble, by going to meet him. This Battle was no leſs bloody than the firſt, nor leſs fatal to the *Engliſh*. *Ella* loſt his Life, and his Army was entirely routed. Some ſay, this Prince was not ſlain in the Battle; but being taken Priſoner, *Ivar* ordered him to be flead alive, in revenge for his Father's Death. The Field of Battle was called *Ellefcroſt*, that is, *Ella*'s *Overthrow*.

Meurſius. Hiſt. Dan.

Defeat and Death of Ella.

868.

After thoſe two ſignal Victories, *Ivar* without any difficulty, took poſſeſſion of all *Northumberland*. But this not ſatisfying his Ambition, he marched into *Mercia*, plundering and ravaging without mercy, whatever came in his way. *Buthred* King of *Mercia*, having had time to prepare, had called to his aſſiſtance *Ethelred* his Brother-in-law, who was come to join him with all the Forces of *Weſſex*. *Ivar* was now advanced as far as *Nottingham* (4), in expectation to ſurprize the King of *Mercia*; but when he was informed *Ethelred* had joined him, he ſtopp'd ſhort, being ſurprized to find his Forces inferior to thoſe of the *Engliſh* Princes. The two Armies ſtood near one another for ſome time, expecting every moment to engage. But the conſequence of a Battle, which in all likelihood would determine the Fate of both ſides, kept them in ſuſpence. At laſt, having faced one another a good while, they parted without fighting. *Buthred* choſe rather to bribe the Enemy to retire, than hazard a battle, the ſucceſs whereof was doubtful. Beſides, he was ſenſible there was nothing to be got by the *Danes*, though Fortune favoured him, whereas his all was at ſtake in Caſe of a Defeat (5).

Ivar enters Mercia. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

Ethelred aſſiſts the King of Mercia.

Buthred buys the Danes off with a Sum of Money.

Ivar, from the time he arrived in *England*, had cruelly ravaged all the Places wherever he came, particularly the Monaſteries, where the *Engliſh* endeavoured to conceal the moſt valuable Effects. It may eaſily be conceived, the idolatrous *Danes* had no great regard for the *Nuns*, and that Multitudes of them were expoſed to their brutal Luſt. We have a remarkable Story upon this Subject: The Abbeſs of *Coldingham* (6), upon the Approach of the *Daniſh* Army, prevailed with her *Nuns*, to cut off their Noſes and Upper-Lips, in order to ſcreen themſelves from the outrages they were threatened with. This notable Expedient, it is true, preſerved their Honour, but coſt them their Lives. The Soldiers beholding, contrary to their expectations, ſuch monſtrous Viſages, ſet fire to the Monaſtery, cauſing them in the Flames to compleat the Sacrifice of their Perſons, which they had already begun offering to God.

Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.

Mat. Weſt. *Monaſtery of* Coldingham *deſtroy'd.*

870.

Ivar not having all the Succeſs he expected in *Mercia*, turned his Arms another way, where in all likelihood he ſhould meet with leſs Oppoſition. He left *Hubba* his Brother in *Northumberland*, and embarking with the flower of his Troops, made a Deſcent on *Eaſt-Anglia* (7), where *Edmund* was King, of whom I have already ſpoken. This young Prince, more uſed to Acts of Devotion, than to the exerciſe of Arms, having given the *Danes* Battle, was eaſily overthrown and compelled to ſave himſelf by Flight. He thought of concealing himſelf in a Church, but being diſcovered, was brought before *Ivar* at *Hegilſdon* (8). The Conqueror offered to leave him in poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, provided he would acknowledge him for Sovereign, and pay him Tribute. *Edmund* refuſing theſe Terms, *Ivar* ordered him to be tied to a Tree, and ſhot at with arrows, and then to have his Head cut off. *Humbert* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles* was alſo put to Death by *Ivar*'s Order. *Edmund*'s Head being found ſome time after, was interred with his Body at St. *Edmund's Bury*, ſo called from him. Whilſt the *Roman Catholick* Religion flouriſhed in *England*, great Numbers of Miracles were pretended to be wrought at his Tomb. I do not know by what accident his Corps came to be at *Toulouſe*, where it is ſaid to be diſcovered in 1667.

Ivar *ſubdues* Eaſt-Anglia.

Aſſer. Annal.

An. de Toul. de la Faille.

Ivar being thus Maſter of *Eaſt-Anglia*, appointed a *Daniſh* Captain, one *Godrim* or *Gothurn*, Governor of it. Afterwards, having recalled his Brother *Hubba* from *Northumberland*, to be near his Perſon, he made *Egbert*, by birth an *Engliſhman*, but entirely at his devotion, King of that Kingdom.

Ingulph. Brompt.

871.

The good ſucceſs the *Danes* had met with, during this War, inſpiring them with hopes of becoming Maſters of all *England*, they began to form new Projects. *Ivar* (9), having perfect Information of the State of the Iſland, found he muſt begin with *Weſſex*, in order to accompliſh his deſigns. He was in hopes, could he once ſubdue that Kingdom, the reſt would follow of courſe. On the other hand, he was ſenſible that all his Conqueſts elſewhere would be unſecure, as long as the King of *Weſſex* was in condition to aſſiſt his Neighbours. Theſe Conſiderations having determined him to attack *Ethelred*, he embarked his Troops and ſailed for the Coaſt of *Weſſex*, where landing his Army, he advanced as far as *Reading*. *Ethelred*, who had foreſeen his deſign, marched his Army towards that quarter, accompanied by *Alfred* his Brother. It would be tedious, and perhaps impracticable, to relate the particulars of this War (10). It is ſufficient to ſay in few words, that within the compaſs of one Year, *Ethelred* fought nine pitched Battles, and upon all occaſions gave ſignal proofs of his Courage and Conduct, tho' Fortune did not always prove favourable. In the laſt Battle, which

Ivar invades Weſſex. Sax. Ann. Aſſer. Ann.

Malmſb. l. 2. c. 3. Aſſer. Ann. Sax. Ann.

(1) They came over the Autumn before, and wintered in *Eaſt-Anglia*. (*Sax. Ann. Aſſer. vit. Alfr. S. Dunelm.*) Entering into a Treaty with the *Eaſt-Angles*, they got Horſes from them; which put them into a Capacity to over-run the neighbouring Counties. *Huntingd.* p. 348. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) By all the Accounts of the ancient Hiſtorians, it appears, that in the Spring of the Year 867, *Ivar* marching from *Eaſt-Anglia*, paſſed the *Humber*, and ravaged all the Country northwards, &c. See *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Hoved. Flor. Wig.* M. *Weſtm.* &c.

(3) Into which the *Engliſh* ſhut themſelves up; but the *Danes* ſetting that City on fire, moſt of the *Engliſh* periſhed in the Flames. *Malmſb.* p. 42.

(4) Where the *Danes* took up their Quarters, and wintered: Here they were beſieged by the *Engliſh*, but neither ſide being very forward to come to an Engagement, they ſtruck up a Peace. *Sax. Ann. Aſſer. Ingulph.* &c.

(5) After the Concluſion of the Peace, the *Danes* went back to *York*, where they remained one Year. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 124.

(6) A famous Nunnery in the County of *Merch* in *Scotland*.

(7) The *Danes* paſſed through *Mercia*, and wintered at *Thetford*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 349. But the fulleſt Account of this and other Matters within this Period, being given by *Ingulph*, it will not be improper to give an Abſtract of his Relation. In the Spring of the Year 869, the *Daniſh* Army putting out to Sea, landed at *Huberſtan*, and deſtroyed the whole Country, and *Bardney* Monaſtery in particular, killing every one of the Monks. Then, about *Michaelmas*, they paſſed into *Keſteven*, and there deſtroyed every thing that came in their way. About a Year after Earl *Algar*, and ſome others, aſſembled an Army, and coming to an Engagement with the Heathens, defeated them, and ſlew three of their Kings [or Chiefs] but *Algar* himſelf was ſoon after ſlain. Whereupon the *Danes* continued their Ravages, and plundered and burnt the Monaſteries of *Croyland*, *Peterburgh*, and *Ely*; killing every Perſon they met there. From thence paſſing into *Eaſt-Anglia*, they cut off, with all his Forces, Earl *Ulfketull*, who was come out againſt them, and ſo taking poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, winter'd there. *Ingulph.* p. 14—24. *Brompt.* p. 807.

(8) Now called *Hoxon* in *Suffolk*.

(9) *Huntingdon* calls the two *Daniſh* Generals *Eafreg* and *Aldene*, p. 349. The *Sax. Ann. Bacſæg.* and *Healfden*.

(10) The Particulars, deliver'd by *Huntingdon* and the *Saxon Annals*, are as follows:——The firſt Battle in theſe Parts, between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, (three Days after the coming of theſe) was fought at *Ingleſield* in *Berkſhire*; in which the *Engliſh* got the Victory. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 349. Four Days after, there was another Fight at *Reading*, in which *Ethelred* and *Alfred* were overcome. But, four Days after, they defeated the *Danes* at *Aſton* near *Wallingford*; and *Baſreg*, [ſo in the Originals] the two *Sidrocs*, and ſeveral thouſands of *Danes* were then ſlain. A fortnight after, the *Engliſh* were beat at *Baſing* in *Hampſhire*; and again, two Months after, at *Marden* in *Wiltſhire*; in which laſt Battle *Ethelred* received his death's wound. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 349. *Spelman's Life of Alfred*, p. 43.

After the Battle of *Baſing*, there came a freſh Army of *Danes* from beyond Sea, and joined thoſe that were already in *England*. *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 7.

872. Ethelred's *Death.* Brompton.

was fought near *Wittingham*, he received a mortal Wound, whereof he died in 872 (1), after a reign of five Years (2).

Ethelred seems not to be entirely free from blame, for ſuffering the *Danes* to over-run *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, without endeavouring to ſtop their progreſs. But probably this Prince, ſurprized at the defeat of the two Kings of *Northumberland*, and the ſwift progreſs of *Ivar*'s Arms, did not think himſelf in condition to repair the misfortunes cauſed by the diſſenſions of the *Northumbrians*. Beſides, he did not care, doubtleſs, to expoſe in the defence of *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, the Forces he foreſaw he ſhould want for the preſervation of his own Kingdom. It may be farther ſaid in his Juſtification, that the Terror, ſpread over all *England*, put it out of his Power perhaps, to diſpoſe of his Army as he could have wiſhed. This Terror was ſo great, that it was no eaſy matter to prevail with the *Engliſh* to march againſt ſo formidable Enemies, till compelled to it in their own neceſſary defence.

Ethelred's *Piety.* Aſſer de Altr. Reb. Geſt. p. 7.

Tho' *Ethelred* was noted for his great Bravery, yet his Piety is ſaid to ſurpaſs even his Valour. An Hiſtorian tells us, that being at Prayers on a Day of Battle (3), he reſolved not to move till the Service was over, tho' the Fight was begun, and the *Danes* had ſome Advantage. He adds, God rewarded his Piety with a ſignal Victory that Day.

Ethelred left ſeveral Children, of whom *Alfred*, the great Grandfather of *Ethelwerd* the Hiſtorian, was one. Some ſay alſo he had a Daughter called *Thyra*, married to *Frotho* VI. King of *Denmark*. *Ethelred*'s Sons were deprived of the Crown for the ſame reaſons the Sons of his elder Brother *Ethelbert* were ſet aſide, I mean, *Ethelwulph*'s Will. After his death, *Alfred* his Brother was placed on the Throne without any one's queſtioning his Title.

Several Monaſteries deſtroyed. Ingulph. S. Dunelm.

During *Ethelred*'s reign, the *Danes* demoliſhed the famous Monaſteries of *Croyland*, *Ely*, *Peterborough* or *Medeſhamſted*, beſides that of *Coldingham* before mentioned. It is chiefly on the deſcription of what befel the Abbies that Hiſtorians have enlarged, whilſt doubtleſs, they omitted Events more remarkable, and more worthy the notice of a curious Reader.

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6. *ALFRED the Great.*

ALFRED the Great.

ALFRED was no leſs infeſted with the *Danes* than his Predeceſſor. This Prince, as well as his Brother *Ethelred*, had frequent occaſion of exerciſing his Valour, Firmneſs, and all the other Virtues Heaven had adorned him with. Their Fortune however was different; as *Ethelred* was never reduced to ſo deplorable a Condition as *Alfred*, ſo on the other hand, he was never raiſed to that height of Glory. Divine Providence ſeems to have ſhown in the Perſon of *Alfred*, with what eaſe God caſts down and ſets up Princes, according to his good Pleaſure. This is what I am going to ſhow in the Life of *Alfred*, taking for my principal Guide a celebrated Hiſtorian, who has given an exact account of his Actions.

Spelman.

The State of the Kingdom.

Ethelred had left the Affairs of his Kingdom in a deplorable Condition. The *Danes*, already maſters of *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, were in the very heart of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*. Notwithſtanding the many Battles *Ethelred* had fought with them, they were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral Towns, and not only kept their footing in the Country, but had reaſon to hope they ſhould ſoon go thro' with the Conqueſt of it. *Alfred* had ſcarce been a Month on the Throne (4), when he found himſelf obliged to take the Field (5) againſt theſe formidable enemies, who were advanced as far as *Wilton* (6). Thither it was that he marched to attack them the firſt time, after his Brother's death (7). He flattered himſelf for ſome time that Victory would incline to his ſide; but the Scene changing on a ſudden in favour of the *Danes*, he was forced at length to leave them maſters of the field of Battle. However, his loſs was not ſo conſiderable, as to make him deſpair of being revenged. As the *Danes* had alſo loſt abundance of Men, he laboured inceſſantly to put his Army in condition to give them Battle again, before they ſhould be reinforced. They were aſtoniſhed at his Expedition, and tho' victorious, ſued for Peace, finding they were unable to continue the War. How much ſoever *Alfred* confided in his Troops, who appeared eager to engage, he thought proper to embrace the preſent opportunity of getting rid of his Enemies, without hazarding a ſecond Battle. As they offered to march out of his dominions, on condition he would moleſt them in no other part of *England*, he gladly accepted their offer, looking upon it as very advantageous, in his preſent Circumſtances. And indeed, this Treaty gave him time to prepare againſt a freſh Invaſion, which he had all the reaſon in the World to expect. But had he been bent upon engaging again and loſt the day, his whole Kingdom would infallibly have fallen into the hands of his Enemies.

The Battle of Wilton, *wherein* Alfred *is worſted.* Sax. Ann. Aſſer.

He makes a Treaty with the Danes. Aſſer.

The *Danes* quitting *Weſſex* retired to *London* (8), which they had taken during the late War. *Ivar* was gone back to *Denmark*, having left the Command of the Army to his Brother *Hubba*, who being tied up from attacking *Weſſex*, turned his Arms againſt *Mercia*. *Buthred* knowing he was unable to reſiſt, ſince *Alfred* was bound not to ſend him any Succours (9), thought it his wiſeſt courſe to buy off the *Danes* with a ſum of Money, and ſave his Country from their Depredations. Upon the receipt of the Money, they marched towards *Northumberland*, deſigning to take up their Quarters with their Countrymen. But Proviſions running ſhort, by reaſon of the Devaſtations themſelves had made there, they were under a ſort of neceſſity to return into *Mercia* (10). Before they left *Northumberland*, they depoſed *Egbert* whom they had placed on the Throne, and put *Ricſige*, a *Daniſh* Earl, in his room (11). *Buthred* finding they were come again into his Dominions, complained of their breach of Faith; but without minding his Complaints, they obliged him to give them another conſiderable Sum to ſave his Country from the Deſtruction it was threatened with. But no ſooner was the Money paid, but they fell to plundering and ravaging, and let *Buthred* know that even his own Perſon was in Danger. The fear of falling into their hands obliged him to abandon his Kingdom, and retire to *Rome*, where he ſpent the reſidue of his Days in the *Engliſh College*. *Mercia* being thus left without a King, and *Alfred* under an obligation to ſend no Aſſiſtance, the *Danes* without difficulty became maſters of that ſpacious Kingdom. However, not to frighten the *Mercians* too much, they ſet over them for King, *Ceoluph* one of *Buthred*'s Domeſticks. Tho' the new King was an *Engliſhman*, yet holding the Kingdom in truſt only, till his maſters ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of it, he reſolved to make uſe of his time to fill his Coffers: So that the *Mercians* ſuffered as much by the continual Rapines and Extortion of their Countryman, as they would perhaps have done by the hands of a Foreigner.

872. *The* Danes *enter* Mercia, *and are bought off with Money;* Sax. Ann. Aſſer.

873. Sax. Ann. Aſſer. *but return again.*

S. Dunelm.

Buthred flies his Country, and goes to Rome. Aſſer. Sax. Ann.

Ingulph.

The Danes *maſters of half* England.

Tho' the *Danes* were maſters of *Mercia*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, they were not yet contented. They could not forbear looking upon *Weſſex*, which contained the other four Kingdoms, with a greedy Eye. But as they had always met there with Princes that diſputed every

(1) The *Sax. Ann.* place his Death under the Year 871, after *Eaſter*. Neither they, nor *Aſſer*, *Ingulph*, or *S. Dunelm* mention of what Death he died.

(2) He lies buried at *Winburn* in *Dorſetſhire*, where this Inſcription was formerly to be read on his Tomb: In hoc loco quieſcit Corpus S. Ethelredi Regis Weſt-Saxonum, Martyris, qui anno Domini DCCCLXXII. xxiii Aprilis per manus Danorum Paganorum occubuit. *Camb.* This Inſcription was taken away in the late Civil Wars. See *Spelman Life of Alfr.* p. 43. Note. Some call this Epitaph in queſtion, and ſay he died of the Plague which happened at that time.

(3) The Battle of *Aſton* juſt now mentioned. The thing is alſo mention'd by *S. Dunelm*, p. 125, 126. *Brompt.* p. 808, 809. *Higden*, p. 255.

(4) *Spelman* ſays, that *Alfred* (who had been crowned at *Rome*, as related above) was crowned a ſecond time at *Wincheſter*. *Life of Alfr.* p. 45.

(5) He marched againſt them with too few Forces, and that bore no manner of proportion to thoſe of the Enemy; which undoubtedly was the Cauſe of his overthrow. *Aſſer. Ann.* p. 164, *& vit. Alfr.* p. 7. *S. Dunelm.* p. 127.

(6) *Brompton* ſays *Walton* in *Suſſex*, p. 809.

(7) *Ethelwerd* ſeems to intimate that *Alfred* was not in this Battle in Perſon, being buſied about his Brother's Funeral, l. 4. c. 3.

(8) Though *London* lay within the Precincts of the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, yet it was then in Subjection to *Mercia*, where it has continued ever ſince as part of *Middleſex*.

(9) *Aſſer* affirms, that *Buthred* applied to King *Alfred* for Succours; who accordingly ſent him a very conſiderable Army, that went and beſieged the *Danes* in *Nottingham*, and forced them to make Peace. *vit. Alfr.* p. 6.

(10) They wintered at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*; which, according to *Spelman*, was within the Kingdom of *Northumbria*. *Spelman*, p. 46. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* The next Year, 874, they wintered at *Hreopedun*, or *Repton* in *Derbyſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Aſſer. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.*

(11) *S. Dunelm* ſays, that *Ricſige* reigned three Years, and was ſucceeded by *Egbert*, p. 145. See *Hoved.* p. 417. and *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 144.

inch

ALFREDUS MAGNUS REX ANGL
Desig. et Sculp. G. Vertue

inch of ground with them, they were forc'd to make an Alliance with *Alfred*, till a favourable opportunity presented itself of executing their designs upon that Kingdom. Mean while, they fell to manuring their Lands, and began to consider the country, they had so often and so terribly laid waste, as their own. *England* being thus divided between the *English* and *Danes*, Peace and Tranquility seemed to be going at last to be restored. The *Danes* appear'd satisfied with their Lot, and *Alfred* thought himself happy in the preservation of his paternal Dominions. But the Calamities *England* was afflicted with, were far from being at an end.

Halfden *arrives in* East Anglia. 875. Asser. vit. Alf. Huntin l. 5.

Whilst *Alfred* flatter'd himself with the enjoyment of some quiet, new troubles were preparing for him in *Denmark*. *Halfden*, a *Danish* General, had fitted out a Fleet, with which he came and made a descent on *East-Anglia* (1). The Season being far advanced, he lay still all the Winter, expecting the Spring in order to invade *Wessex*. The Arrival of *Halfden* with fresh *Danish* Troops, ought to have put *Alfred* upon his guard, since it was but too plain they were designed against him. However, trusting to the Treaty he had lately made with the *Danes*, he remained unconcern'd, of which *Halfden* did not fail to take the Advantage. In the beginning of the Spring, he put to Sea, and went and took by surprize *Warham-Castle* (2), the strongest Place in all *Wessex*. The *English* hitherto seemed not to know what sort of Enemies they had to deal with. They considered the *Danish* Irruptions as a regular War, wherein the whole Nation was concern'd. Accordingly they imagin'd that a Treaty concluded with one Band or Party, was obligatory to all the rest. But the *Danes* had other Thoughts of these Matters. They enter'd, with the consent of their Kings, into private *Associations* to man out Fleets and go shares in what Booty they could get in *England* and other Countries. For this reason, the several Bands were independent of one another, each thinking themselves bound by no other Treaty but what they entered into themselves. *Alfred* had made an Agreement with *Hubba*; but *Halfden* did not look upon himself as included in it. However, the *English* considering the surprize of *Warham* as a real Treachery, called Heaven and Earth to witness the Violation of the *Treaty*. But *Halfden*, regardless of their Complaints, was about to penetrate farther into *Wessex*, had not *Alfred* prevented him by entering into a particular Treaty with him (3). The Author of his Life says, the *Danes* swore by the *Holy Relicks* of the Church, that they would never set foot again in *Wessex* (4). Probably it cost the King *dear* to bring them to these Terms. It is something strange that *Alfred* should insist upon Mens swearing by the *Holy Relicks*, who being yet *Pagans*, could not think themselves more strongly bound by this, than their usual Oath, *by their Bracelets*. Perhaps his Reason was, that in case they should break their Oath, he thought Heaven would the more assuredly punish them for it. However this be, they made no more conscience of this, than of their former Oaths, but broke it even before they were out of *Wessex*. As they were marching towards *Mercia*, they met a Body of *English* Horse, who were riding in a careless Manner, by reason of the Treaty's being concluded, and unexpectedly setting upon them, slew the greatest Part of them (5). The Horses they took upon this occasion, were of service to carry them with the more speed towards the *Western* Parts of *Wessex*, where they laid Siege to *Exeter* (6).

Takes Warham.

Alfred *treats with* Halfden; Asser. S. Dunelm. Huntingd.

who breaks the Treaty.

Asser. Fl. Wig.

and besieges Exeter.

876. *The War is renewed.*

Alfred finding it was in vain to conclude Treaties with such perfidious People, resolved to take more effectual measures to secure himself from their Treachery. To this purpose, he convened a general Assembly, and in a pathetick Speech plainly shewed them, they had nothing to trust to but their Valour and Courage, to deliver them from their Miseries; that upon so urgent an occasion there was a necessity of venturing their Lives in defence of their Country, and of sacrificing Part of their Estates to preserve the rest; in fine, that a generous Resolution was the only means left to avoid the Calamities their Neighbours were fallen under. These remonstrances having produced the Effect he expected, an Army was levied, with which he engaged the Enemy seven times in one Campaign. But as fortune was not equally favorable to him in all these Ingagements, he was once more constrained to treat with the *Danes*. Though he could have no great dependance upon their Promises, it was the best way he could take to put an end to this dangerous War. The new Treaty, by which the *Danes* were obliged to return no more into *Wessex*, was better kept than the former.

Alfred *makes a new Treaty with the* Danes. Sax. Ann. Asser. vit. Alfr.

The *West-Saxons* looked upon the Retreat of these formidable Enemies as a great Deliverance. But they were not yet at the end of their Miseries. This band, that had struck them with such Terror, were scarce gone, when a new swarm arrived under the command of *Rollo*, the famous *Norman* General, that became afterwards the scourge of *France*. By good fortune, *Alfred* was prepared to receive them. After some attempts, *Rollo* despairing of procuring a settlement in *England*, resolved to go in quest of one in *France*. In all probability, finding the best Part of *England* in possession of his Countrymen, and *Alfred* ready to dispute the rest with him, he imagined he had a better prospect in *France*. Some affirm, it was revealed to him in a dream what great Success he should meet with on the other side of the Water.

Rollo *arrives in* England. 876. Asser. An.

Goes to seek his Fortune in France.

After *Rollo*'s departure, *Alfred* enjoyed some Repose, which afforded him leisure to think of means to prevent these frequent Invasions. He found no better or readier way than to equip a good Fleet, and engage the *Danes* before they came to land, where they generally had the Advantage. As hitherto, the ingaging them at Sea had not been thought of, their Ships were only fit for *Transports*, whereas those, now built by *Alfred*, were contrived on purpose for *Service*. It was not long before he reaped the Fruit of this wise Precaution. His Fleet meeting with six (7) *Danish* Vessels, gave chace to them, and one of the largest being taken, the Soldiers and Mariners were thrown overboard. This first Engagement was followed by a much more considerable one. An hundred and twenty Sail of *Danish* transport Ships making to the Shore in order to land their Men, the King's Fleet attacked them, and sunk the greatest part of them. The next year another *Danish* Fleet sailing *Westward*, met with so violent a Storm, that all the Ships perished, except a few which fell into the hands of the *English*.

Alfred *fits out a Fleet.* Asser. vit. Alf. Sax. Ann. Asser.

Alfred encouraged by these Successes, resolved to attack the *Danes* in the *West*, where they had fortified themselves by the taking of *Exeter*. Besides, the *Cornish Men* had all along sided with them. He executed this resolution with that Courage and Success, that in the end he obliged the *Danes* to give him *Hostages*, and entirely abandon *Wessex*. They retired into *Mercia* (8), where being weary with leading such unsettled lives, they were incorporated with their Countrymen, who were in possession of that Kingdom. After that, they deposed, with one consent, *Ceoluph*, and divided the Land among themselves (9). What kind of Government they established we know not; the *English* Historians, passing over in silence the *Civil* Affairs of the *Danes*, relate only their Wars. Thus an end was put to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, after having subsisted near three hundred Years.

The Danes *quit* Wessex. Sax. Ann.

877. *The End of the Kingdom of* Mercia, Sax. Ann. Asser. Huntingd.

The year before (10), the Kingdom of *Northumberland* had met with the same Fate. *Halfden*, who was gone thither, made *Egbert* King in the room of *Ricsige*, who died in 876. The new King or Vice-Roy was of no long Continuance. In the first year of his Reign, *Halfden* dethroned him, and divided the Land among his Countrymen: Which no doubt gave occasion to the *Danes* in *Mercia* to do the same thing. Thus the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, which had lasted three hundred and thirty years from the time of *Ida* the first King, was cantled out among the *Danish* Officers. It proved a very difficult matter to drive them thence, as will be seen hereafter.

and of Northumberland. Asser. Sax. Ann.

Though the *Danes* were in possession of three of the antient Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, yet was there not room enough for all those that were already in *England*, and for those which were continually coming over with intent to settle. The new-comers beheld *Wessex* with a

The Danes *invade* Wessex.

greedy

(1) This does not appear from the antient Historians: On the contrary they affirm, That *Anno* 875, the *Danes* left *Repton*, and dividing themselves into two Bands, one part went along with *Halfden* to *Northumberland*, and wintered there near the *Tine*: These plundered the *Picts* and *Strecledenses*, i. e. the Inhabitants of *Galway*; and *Halfden* making himself Master of *Northumberland*, divided it amongst his Followers, who began to cultivate it. The other Body of *Danes*, with their three Generals *Godrun*, *Oscytel*, and *Anand*, went and wintered at *Cambridge*, where they staid about a twelve month; and the next year went out privately from *Cambridge*, and seized *Warham* Castle; without any mention of *Halfden*'s being concerned in that Expedition. See *Sax. Ann. Asser. Hunting.* p. 349. *S. Dunelm.* What *Rapin* says here of *Halfden*, *Huntingdon* relates it of *Halfden*'s Brother, p. 350.

(2) In *Dorsetshire*.

(3) *Asser.* and *Hunting.* say, this Treaty was made with the *Danish* Army. *vit. Alf.* p. 8. *Hunt.* p. 350; and the *Sax. Ann.* that it was with the *Heathens*; without the least mention of *Halfden*.

(4) The most solemn manner of Swearing among the *Danes* and other northern Nations was *by their Arms*. *Olaus Mag.* l. 8. c. 2.

(5) *Asser.* and *Flor. of Worcester.* say, they slew all *Alfred*'s Horse.

(6) *Huntingdon* and *Saxon Annals* tell us that they who had Horses, breaking the Treaty, rode to *Exeter* in the Night (by which, it seems probable, it was only the *Danish* Cavalry that went and seiz'd *Exeter*, where they wintered.) The next year, part of the Foot that remained at *Warham*, march'd to *Exeter*, and were pursued by *Alfred*, but got into *Exeter* before he could come up with them; the other part, going by Sea, were shipwrack'd near *Swanwich* in *Hampshire*, and a hundred and twenty of their Ships lost. *Hunting.* p. 350. *Asser. vit. Alfr.*

(7) The *Sax. Ann.* say *Seven*.

(8) In *August*. *Asser. Sax. Ann.*

(9) *Ingulph* says, *Alfred* annexed it to his Dominions.

(10) This is placed by *Asser*, and *Sax. Ann.* under the year 875. *Asser. vit. Alfr.* p. 8.

greedy eye. On the other hand, they, who had ſhared the Lands of the other Kingdoms among them, perceiving their Countrymen envied their good Fortune, were apprehenſive they might think of diſpoſſeſſing them, if they were not otherwiſe provided for. This made them all agree to invade *Weſſex*, and exert their utmoſt to conquer that Kingdom, which hitherto had ſo
878. bravely withſtood their Attacks. They carried on their deſign with all poſſible Secrecy and Expedition. On a
Aſſer. vit. Ælfr. ſudden appeared in the Field a more formidable Army of *Danes* than had yet been ſeen (1), advancing towards *Weſſex* (2) before *Alfred* could poſſibly put himſelf in a poſture of Defence. They marched directly to *Chippenham* (3), one of the fineſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of
and take Chippenham. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. the Kingdom. The taking of this Place, which the *Danes* made themſelves maſters of in few Days, inſpired the *Weſt-Saxons* with ſuch a Terror, that they had no longer the Courage to defend themſelves. Some fled into
Alfred *deſerted by all* Aſſer. *Wales* or beyond Sea, whilſt others ran over to the *Danes*, and ſwore Allegiance to them. In this ſo general a Revolt, *Alfred* was left alone with a few Domeſticks, who, out of Duty and Affection, were unwilling to abandom him in his Adverſity. But as they were chargeable to him, and could do him little Service, he diſmiſſed them all, that he might with more eaſe ſhift for himſelf.
Is forced to lie conceal'd at a Neat-herd's. Such was his Diſtreſs, that he was forced to go and conceal himſelf at a *Neat-herd*'s (4) in the Iſle of *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire* (5). This place was ſurrounded with a large Moraſs, through which there was but one narrow *Foot-Path* leading to the *Neat-herd*'s Cottage, that was hid by Buſhes and Briars. In this place the King lay concealed for ſome time, from his Friends as well as Enemies, without being ſo much as known by the *Neat-herd*'s Wife, who employed him about her little houſhold Affairs (6). This was a wretched Situation for a Prince. But God, who deſigned only to exerciſe his Patience, left him not long in theſe Circumſtances. He had not been ſix Months in his Retreat, when the Scene was ſhifted by a lucky and unexpected Turn in his Affairs. It is pretended that this happy Change was revealed to him in a Dream by St. *Cuthbert*, formerly Biſhop of *Lindisfarn*, who appeared to him and told him, he ſhould ſuddenly be raiſed to an infinitely more glorious State than that from whence he was fallen. But without inſiſting on theſe *idle Tales* of the Monks, who could not find in their Hearts to paſs over an extraordinary Event without introducing ſome *Apparition* or *Miracle*, I ſhall relate how this great Revolution was brought about by means of a *deſperate* Undertaking.

Hubba *ravages* Wales, *and enters* Weſſex. Sax. Ann. Aſſer. *Hubba*, who command the *Daniſh* Troops in the abſence of his Brother *Ivar* (7), had invaded *Wales*, and deſtroyed all with Fire and Sword. After which he entered *Devonſhire* in the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, with the ſame Intent. At his Approach, the Earl of *Devon* (8) with a handful of brave Men, retired into *Kinwith Caſtle* (9) to avoid the firſt Shock of the *Daniſh* Fury. *Hubba* was not long before he laid Siege to the Caſtle, not doubting but the Gariſon, being few in Number, would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender. The Earl of *Devon*, finding all the Defence he could make would be to no purpoſe, took a ſudden Reſolution. He repreſented to the Beſieged the Danger they were in of falling into the hands of their mercileſs Enemies, and aſſured them they had but one way to eſcape, which was, by opening themſelves a paſſage with their Swords thro' the Enemy's Army. He told them the Enterprize was not ſo raſh and deſperate as they might imagine; that undoubtedly the *Danes* were very negligent and ſecure, not regarding a handful of Men pent up within Walls; that therefore what he propoſed was far from being impracticable, provided they gave the Enemy no time to prevent it; that after all they ventured only their Lives and Liberties, which would be in much greater danger by ſtanding a Siege. This Remonſtrance had ſuch an effect upon the Beſieged, that without farther deliberation, they ſallied out Sword in hand upon the *Danes*, and by their ſudden and furious attack put them immediately in extreme diſorder. This happy beginning made them forget their firſt deſign, and inſpired them with a reſolution to purſue their Advantage. They continued therefore to preſs the *Danes* with a freſh Impetuoſity, without giving them time to recover themſelves, and having at length entirely diſperſed them, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them (10). *Hubba* was ſlain (11), and his famous Standard, called *Reafan*, or the *Raven*, fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*. The *Danes* had a Notion, there was a ſecret virtue in this Standard, which *Ivar*'s Siſters had wrought with their own hands (12). By the help of a ſtrong fancy, or the deluſion of the Devil, they imagined they ſaw this *Raven* before a Battle, *clap his Wings* in token of Victory, or *hang down his Head*, as a preſage of their Defeat. This at leaſt is what Hiſtorians tell us, adding, that the loſs of their Standard did not a little contribute to diſhearten them afterwards.

Hubba *ſlain, and his famous Standard taken.* Aſſer. vit. Ælf.

The news of this defeat, and the death of the *Daniſh* General, having reached *Alfred* in his Retreat (13), he immediately conſidered how to turn this ſeaſonable Defeat to his Advantage. He ſent word to his Friends, where he was, to the end they might come and conſult what was to be done in this Juncture. After he had conferred with them, he gave them orders to draw together in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, ſmall Bodies of Troops, which at a minute's Warning might be ready to join one another (14). The moſt difficult as well as moſt important Point was, to know exactly the poſture of the Enemy, that meaſures might be concerted accordingly. *Alfred*, not knowing who to pitch upon for this neceſſary Service, took the boldeſt Reſolution that ever entered into the thoughts of a Prince, which was, to go himſelf into the *Daniſh* Camp, and be informed by his own Eyes of the condition of the Enemy. To this end, having diſguis'd himſelf and taken a Harp in his hand, as if he had got his livelihood by playing on that Inſtrument, he entered the *Daniſh* Camp, and ſtay'd there ſeveral days, obſerving, to the utmoſt of his power, every thing he wanted to know. Among other things, he took notice, that whereas generally the *Danes* were wont to encamp and intrench themſelves on a Hill, they had neglected to do ſo now. They had not ſo much as placed any advanc'd Guards to ſecure the Avenues to their Camp, as having nothing to fear, ſince the Enemy had no Army in the Field (15). Having obſerv'd every thing, he returned to his Friends at *Athelney*, and appointed *Selwood Foreſts* (16) for the general Rendezvous of all their Troops. This Affair was tranſacted ſo ſecretly and expeditiouſly, that in a little time the King at the head of an Army (17) appeared near the *Danes* before they had the leaſt Intelligence of the matter. They were in the utmoſt Conſternation when they ſaw on a ſudden the *Engliſh* Army approaching to attack them. *Alfred* was unwilling to give them time to come to themſelves; and therefore briefly exhorting his Troops not to have the leaſt dread of an Army already vanquiſh'd by their Fears, gave the Signal of Battle. The *Danes*, tho' aſſaulted thus unexpectedly, defended themſelves however with a greal deal of Courage. But whether they had not time to draw up their Troops in order, or the loſs of their Standard had poſſeſſed them with a notion that their Gods were averſe to them, they were at length entirely routed, and almoſt their whole Army cut in pieces: The few that eſcaped betook themſelves to a Caſtle, where they were immediately beſieged. *Alfred* taking advantage of their Conſter-

Alfred *conſults how to regain his Kingdom.*

Goes to the Daniſh *Camp in diſguiſe.* Ingulph. Malm.

Gains a compleat Victory. Aſſer. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd.

(1) *Aſſer* ſays, it was the Army that left *Exeter. vit. Alfr.*
(2) It was about *Chriſtmaſs. Sax. Ann.*
(3) In *Wiltſhire*, by the *Saxons* called *Cyppanham*, now only famous for its Market, whence it had its Name; for *Cyppan* ſignifies to *traffick*, and *Cypman* a *Merchant*; and we ſtill retain *Cheapen* and *Chapman. Camb.* Of the ſame Original is *Cheapſide, London.*
(4) One belonging to him. *Aſſer.*
(5) Formerly called *Athelingey*, i. e. the *Iſland of Nobles.* It lies near *Taunton*, where the *Thone* and *Parret* join. The firm ground is not above two Acres.
(6) She having one day ſet a Cake on the Coals, and being buſied about ſomething elſe, the Cake happen'd to be burnt; upon which ſhe fell a ſcolding at the King for his Careleſneſs in not looking after the Cake, which ſhe told him he could eat faſt enough. *Alfred* was then ſitting in the Chimney-corner, making Bows and Arrows, and other warlike Inſtruments. *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 9.
(7) The *Sax. Ann. Aſſer. Huntingd. Flor. Worc. &c.* ſay, it was the Brother of *Ivar* and *Halfdene*: But *S. Dunelm.* and *Chron. de Mailros* affirm, it was *Ivar* and *Halfdene* themſelves, with twenty three Ships, p. 144, 146.
(8) *Odda.* See *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 12.
(9) Which ſtood on the River *Tau* below *Raleigh.* There are at preſent no footſteps of it. *Camd.* p. 35. See *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 10.
(10 There were twelve hundred ſlain. *Aſſer. Ann.* 167. *Flor. Worc.* p. 590. Twelve hundred and twenty. *Chron. Mailros*, p. 144. The *Sax. Ann.* and *Huntingd.* ſay, but eight hundred and forty. The Place was afterwards called *Hubbeſtowe* or *Hubbelow*, from the Mount raiſed on the place where *Hubba* was buried. For it was the common way of burial among the *Danes* to raiſe Mounts upon the Bodies of the famous Men, which were called *Lowes.* See *Spelman Lif. Alfr.* p. 61. note. *Brompt.* p. 809. *Camden.*
(11) *S. Dunelm.* ſays, that *Inguar* and *Halfdene* were alſo ſlain in this Battle, p. 146.
(12) They pretend it was work'd *magically* in almoſt an inſtant, in one Forenoon. *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 10.
(13) *Brompton* affirms, that *Alfred* was in the Battle, p. 809.
(14) In 878, about *Eaſter*, *Alfred* erected a Fortification at *Athelney*, from whence he often ſallied out, with a Body of *Somerſetſhire-men*, and defeated the Enemy. *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*
(15) This Relation is not in *Aſſerius* or *Ethelwerd*, but in *Ingulph*, *Malmſbury*, and moſt of the modern Hiſtorians.
(16) That is, the *Great Wood* in *Somerſetſhire.* This was done ſeven Weeks after *Eaſter*, and the *Rendezvous* was *Petra Ecbrichti*, ſuppoſed to be *Brixſtan* in *Somerſetſhire*: Staying there one Night, he marched away the next Morning to *Æglea*, or *Okely*, where he encamped one Night: The next day he came to *Ethandun*, or *Edington* in *Somerſetſhire*, where the Battle was fought. *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*
(17) Conſiſting of the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, and *Hampſhire*, that had not fled beyond Sea. *Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p 10.

nation,

nation, preſs'd them ſo briskly, that they were ſoon brought to capitulate (1). The Terms, he granted them, were more advantagious than they had room to expect in their Circumſtances (2). He articled to give up the Lands of *Eaſt-Anglia* to thoſe that were willing to turn Chriſtians, but required the reſt immediately to quit the Iſland, never more to ſet foot in *England*, and to give Hoſtages for the performance of the Articles. *Guthurm*, Governor of *Eaſt-Anglia*, who ſince the Death of *Hubba* commanded the *Daniſh* Army, agreed to theſe Conditions, and came to *Alfred*, with thirty of his chief Officers, having imbarked all thoſe that refus'd to be baptiz'd (3).

Grants the Danes advantagious Terms.

He confirms to the Danes the poſſeſſion of Eaſt-Anglia, and gives them Guthurm for King.

This great Victory ſet *Alfred* at the height of his wiſhes. He had, by one ſingle Battle, driven out the *Danes*, and recovered his Kingdom, and ſaw every day his Subjects flock to him, whom fear had diſpers'd or conſtrain'd to ſubmit to the Enemy. He gave *Guthurm* and his Officers a very civil Reception, and kept his Word faithfully with them. All the Hiſtorians agree, that he inveſted the *Daniſh* General with the Title of *King of Eaſt-Anglia* (4). But it is not known, whether he did this by virtue of ſome private Treaty made before with him, or deſigned by it to gain his Affection to that degree that he might entirely confide in him. However this be, it is certain *Guthurm* held with the Title of King, the Kingdom of *Eaſt-Anglia*, which was wholly inhabited by *Danes*, and whereof *Ivar* had made him Governor. He divided the Lands among his Countrymen, and exerciſed the Regal Authority, as long as he lived. Some, particularly *Aſſerius*, add, that *Alfred* gave *Guthurm* the Kingdom of *Northumberland* alſo. But this is very improbable, ſince the *Danes* had long been Maſters of *Northumberland*, and had ſhared the Lands among themſelves (5). The caſe was not the ſame with reſpect to *Eaſt-Anglia*, where the *Danes* had no fix'd abode, and which was ſtill conſider'd as part of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, tho' the *Danes* were moſt powerful there. So that *Alfred* did nothing more than confirm them in the poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, by granting them a King of their own Nation, who was to be his Vaſſal (6).

Malmſb.

All the Danes own Alfred for their Sovereign.

In all that has hitherto been ſaid it may be obſerv'd, that at the time of the laſt Battle, there were in *England* two ſorts of *Danes*, thoſe that were already ſettled, and thoſe that were endeavouring to procure themſelves Habitations. With theſe laſt it was properly that *Alfred* treated. As for the others, having ſeen their Brethren ſo roughly handled, they thought themſelves happy in the enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions. As the Event was uncertain, they choſe rather to ſit down contented, and acknowledge *Alfred* for their Sovereign, than run the risk of loſing their all, by continuing the War. Accordingly, the *Danes* ſettled in the three Kingdoms of the *Angles*, ſubmitted to *Alfred*, and ſwore Allegiance to him. It was however next to impoſſible that all ſhould be equally ſatisfied with their Lot. Several accepted of the Terms of the laſt Treaty, only becauſe they knew not where to go, having elſewhere neither Houſe nor Home. If they ſeemed deſirous to turn Chriſtians, it was to procure a Subſiſtence, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to return to their old courſe of Life. That this was the caſe, evidently appeared from
879. what followed. When it was leaſt expected, the moſt conſiderable among them, headed by one *Haſtings*, earneſtly ſollicited *Guthurm* to renew the War in *Weſſex* (7); but not prevailing (8), they put to Sea, and went and ravaged the Coaſt of *Flanders*. Shortly after, another and
Aſſer. S. Dunelm. no leſs numerous Troop, informed of the great Booty the firſt Ravagers had met with at *Gant*, embarked to join them. Theſe two Bands thus united over-ran *Brabant*, *Hainault*, *Flanders*, *Picardy*, and *Artois*, acting unheard-of Cruelties. After which, being again divided into two Bodies, one of them ſailed back for *England*, in hopes of

The Danes return to England, and are repulſed.

plundering the Country, where they imagined they ſhould come unexpected. Having landed in *Kent*, they marched towards *Rocheſter*, with deſign to ſurprize the City. But *Alfred*, who, contrary to their expectation, had his Army in a readineſs, ſpeedily marching that way upon the firſt notice of their arrival, his approach made them fly to their Ships in ſuch haſte, that they left their Plunder behind them (9). The vigilance of this Prince having prevented their deſigns upon *England*, they returned to *France*, and rejoining their Companions, continued their Devaſtations in that Kingdom.

Hitherto the *Engliſh* had been only upon the *Defenſive*. 882.
Alfred *increaſes his naval Forces.* Sax. Ann.

Expoſed to the continual Invaſions of the *Danes*, and uncertain where the Enemy would land, they were generally ſurprized, before it was in their power to defend themſelves. The Sea-Coaſt remaining uninhabited, there was nothing to hinder theſe Rovers from landing where they pleaſed. *Alfred* being in Peace, which he had never enjoyed 'till now, reſolved to put his Affairs in better order. His firſt care was to equip a conſiderable Fleet, the advantage of which he had already experienc'd. As ſoon as his Fleet was in a condition to ſail, the Admiral had orders to cruiſe along the Coaſts, and attack all the *Daniſh* Ships in what place ſoever he ſhould meet them. He ſurprized ſixteen in the Port of *Harwich* (10) in *Eaſt-Anglia*, of which taking ſome and ſinking the reſt, he brought off a conſiderable Booty (11). *Guthurm* incenſed at this act of Hoſtility in one of his Habours, and as it were before his Face, ſuffered the Parties concerned to endeavour to retrieve their Loſſes, and even furniſh'd them with means. It was not long before they found an opportunity of attacking in the night the King's Ships (12), and had ſome advantage over them. However, the Fleet kept the Rovers in awe, and freed *England* from their ravages.

Alfred fits out a Fleet.

Sax. Ann.

Alfred having thus ſecured the Sea-Coaſts, diligently ſet about fortifying the reſt of the Kingdom with Caſtles and walled Towns, which he ſtood in great need of. He repaired thoſe that were gone to ruin (13), and built others in ſo ſtrong a manner, that they could not eaſily be aſſaulted. In a word, there was not a *Paſs* or *Avenue* capable of being fortified, but what was defended by ſome Works, to prevent the ſudden Incurſions of the *Danes*. But however, he could not be entirely guarded againſt them, without one important Place, the poſſeſſion whereof would be of great conſequence to him in all reſpects. This was the City of *London*, conſiderable both for largeneſs and ſituation, and which being in the hands of the *Danes* would give them a free paſſaſſe into *Weſſex*, whenever they had a mind to invade his Dominions. This conſideration made him reſolve to inveſt it, knowing the Gariſon to be weak and unable to ſtand a long Siege. Accordingly, the Beſieged were in a little time obliged to capitulate. He was no ſooner maſter of this great City, but he very much added both to its ſtrength and beauty (14). He committed the Government of it to *Ethelred*, who had married his Daughter *Elfleda*, or rather gave it him in *Fee*, with the Title of *Earl of Mercia* (15). Some will have it he conferred on him the Title of King; but I doubt they have no ground for what they advance. By creating *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, he did not inveſt him with power over any part of *Mercia*, but only over *London*. All the reſt of *Mercia* was in poſſeſſion of the *Danes*, over whom he aſſerted no other right but that of Sovereignty, to which they had lately conſented. *Ethelred* therefore was honour'd with an empty Title, 'till ſuch time as by his Valour he became maſter of good part of that Province.

He fortifies ſeveral Towns. 887.

Aſſer.

Beſieges and takes London, and gives it to his Son-in-Law Ethelred. Aſſer. Fl. Wig.

The great number of Towns repaired and fortified by *Alfred*, found him employment ſome years. Theſe Fortifications ſerved equally to defend the Kingdom againſt the foreign *Danes*, and to keep thoſe in awe that were ſettled

The Danes ſtood in awe of Alfred. Aſſer. Ann.

(1) In fourteen days time. *Aſſer.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) See the Treaty between *Alfred* and *Guthurm*, among *Alfred*'s Laws, in Dr. *Wilkins*'s and *Lambard*'s *Leg. Sax.* and in *Brompt.* p. 828, 829.

(3) *Alfred* ſtood Godfather to *Guthurm*, and named him *Ethelſtan*. He was baptized about three Weeks after the Concluſion of the Treaty at *Alre*, near *Athelney*, with thirty of his Officers. *Aſſer.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*——And with almoſt all his People. *Malmſb.* p. 43. *Hoved.* p. 418. *Alfred* made him very conſiderable Preſents, and alſo to his People. See *Aſſer.* p. 11. *S. Dunelm.* p. 129. *Huntingd.* p. 350. *Sax. Ann.*

(4) In which *Eſſex* was alſo included. See the *Treaty in Wilkins and Lambard. Tit.* 1.

(5) In the year 883, *Alfred* having ſlain the two *Daniſh* Generals, *Hinguar* and *Halfdene*, cauſed the waſted parts of *Northumberland* to be again inhabited; and *Gutbred*, a youth, Son of *Ardecnute*, who had been ſold to a Widow at *Whitingham*, being redeemed by Abbot *Edred*, was made King of *York*, and *Egbert* of *Northumberland*, *Chr. de Mailros*, p. 145. *S. Dunelm.* 147.

(6) *Anno* 879, the *Danes* removed, in purſuance of the Treaty, from *Chippenham* to *Cirenceſter*, where they ſtaid one year; and from thence went away to *Eaſt-Anglia* where they ſettled. *Sax. Ann. Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 11.

(7) They came up the *Thames*, and wintered at *Fulham*. *Aſſer. Sax. Ann.*

(8) The *Daniſh* Army here, was not ſo ſcrupulous; for they joined them, notwithſtanding their Oaths and Engagements to *Alfred*. *Aſſer.* p. 11. *S. Dunelm.* p. 129. *Brompt.* p. 812.

(9) Conſiſting of the Priſoners they had taken, and abundance of Horſes they had brought over from *France* or *Flanders*. *Aſſer.* p. 11.

(10) In *Eſſex*, famous for its Harbour, its name importing an *Haven where an Army may lie*. The Walls are built and the Streets pitch'd with a ſort of petrified Clay falling from the Cliffs thereabouts. From the Side of the Cliff between the Beacon and the Town, iſſues a Spring that petrifies Wood as well as Clay: A large piece ſent from hence is reſerved in the *Repoſitory* of the Royal Society. *Camd. Addit. to Eſſex.*

(11) *Aſſer* ſays, that all their Ships and Booty were taken, and *Alfred* ordered all the men to be put to death. *Vit. Alfr.* p. 11. *Flor. Worc.* p. 592.

(12) They attacked them in the Mouth of the *Thames*, when the Soldiers were aſleep and defenceleſs. *S. Dunelm.* p. 130. *Huntingd.* p. 350.

(13) Particularly *Shafiſbury*. *Spelman*, p. 161.

(14) We have no certain Account of the Original of this famous City. But as it is not evident there was any ſuch Place in *Cæſar*'s Time, and yet a great Town in *Nero*'s, it is probable it was founded in the Reign of *Claudius*, and inhabited by the *Britons* and *Romans* together, being a *Trading*, though not a *Military* Colony from the very beginning. The Walls are ſaid to be built by *Conſtantine the Great*, at the Requeſt of *Helena* his Mother, containing within them an oblong Space of three Miles in Compaſs. That part which ran along the Side of the *Thames* is quite waſh'd away, the reſt remains to this day. There are ſeven Gates, *Ludgate*, *Newgate*, *Alderſgate*, *Cripplegate*, *Moregate*, *Biſhopſgate*, and *Aldgate*. The Origin of its Name is unknown. *Cæſar*'s ſaying, the *Britons* called the Places fenc'd round with Woods and Groves, Cities or Towns, made *Camden* conjecture *London* was ſo named from *Llowan*, which ſignifies in *Britiſh* ſuch a Town, as if we ſhould ſay by way of Eminence, *The City*. *Camd. Addit. to Midd.* See *Stow*'s *Survey*, B. 1.

(15) See *Dugdale*'s *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 7. *Aſſer. Malmſb.*

in the Iſland; who ſeeing all the Precautions taken by this wiſe Prince, were much more diſpoſed to remain in ſubmiſſion. They even permitted ſeveral of the *Engliſh*, whom they had driven from their habitations, to return and live among them under the King's Protection (1).

England is in quiet twelve years.

Then it was that *Alfred* had the ſatisfaction to ſee Peace and Tranquility reſtored, after ſo many years of Troubles. This happy calm laſted twelve years (2), during which this Monarch had leiſure to rectify the diſorders introduced by ſo long a war both in Church and State. As I deſign hereafter to give a particular account of the Regulations made by this Prince during the Peace, I ſhall paſs over theſe twelve years, and finiſh the relation of his Wars. It ſuffices at preſent to ſay, that in this Interval he laid out his conſtant Endeavours in procuring the good and benefit of his Subjects, till he was interrupted by freſh Invaſions, of which I am now going to ſpeak.

893. *The* Danes *renew their Invaſions*; Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. Huntingd.

The *Danes*, who, under the conduct of *Haſtings*, ravag'd for twelve or thirteen years together *France* and the *Low-Countries*, were not ſatisfied with the prodigious Booty they had gained. According to the cuſtom of Pyrates, as they prodigally ſquandered away what they had acquired without pains or labour, they were always under a neceſſity of renewing their Ravages in order to have wherewithal to ſubſiſt. However, diſheartned by two terrible checks given them by *Eudes* and *Arnulph* Kings of *France* and *Germany*, they reſolved to return into *England*, not ſo much for the ſake of ſettling there, as plandering the Iſland. To that purpoſe, they fitted out three hundred Ships, which they divided into two Fleets. With the firſt, conſiſting of two hundred Sail (3), they arrived on the Coaſt of *Kent* (4), and took *Appledore* (5). This place, which was then very conſiderable, made them maſters not only of that Province, but alſo of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*. The other Fleet commanded by *Haſtings* (6), entered the *Thames* and landed at *Middleton* (7). It would be difficult to deſcribe the Miſeries inflicted on the Inhabitants of theſe unfortunate Provinces by the Barbarians. But when we conſider, they were idolatrous *Rovers* and *Pyrates*, we ſhall eaſily conceive they made no ſcruple of committing the moſt enormous Crimes. *Alfred* was then in *Eaſt-Anglia*, on account of *Guthrum*'s death (8). As he had received no Intelligence of their deſigns, he had made no Preparations for his defence. All he could do for the preſent was to take a new Oath of Fidelity from the *Eaſt-Anglian Danes*, which they regarded only whilſt he ſtayed with them. After his departure, being no longer reſtrained by his preſence, they went and joined *Haſtings*, in order to go ſhares in the Plunder. *Alfred*, amidſt all theſe dangers was not however diſcouraged. He drew together what Troops he could, and marched againſt the *Danes* who were pillaging *Kent*. But being informed by the way, that another Body of *Danes* had entered *Weſſex*, he altered his courſe, and advanced towards theſe laſt, as judging them moſt dangerous. The *Danes*, who were now before *Exeter*, haſtily raiſed the Siege, and went and vented their Fury in ſome other Place.

and take Appledore *and* Middleton.

The Danes *of* East-Anglia *join them.*

Confuſion in the Hiſtory of thoſe Wars.

It is impoſſible to give the particulars of this War, ſo confuſedly are they related by the Hiſtorians. The Reaſon no doubt was, becauſe there were ſeveral Bands of *Danes* ravaging *England*, one in *Kent*, and another in *Weſſex*, and roving continually from place to place. This is what the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians could not have a very diſtinct knowledge of, ſince a War undertaken ſolely for Plunder, muſt needs be very irregular. Accordingly we find in their Hiſtories, the ſame Leaders, ſometimes in one Province, ſometimes in another, without being able to perceive when or how they got thither.

The Danes *go off on a ſudden.*

We are ignorant alſo by what fortunate Accident *Alfred* ſaw himſelf freed on a ſudden from his cruel Enemies, who were ſpread over his whole Kingdom. Thus much however is certain, after they had reduced *England* to a deplorable State, the laſt comers retired, though Hiſtorians have not been pleaſed to tell us the cauſe of their retreat. I am apt to believe their ſudden departure was owing to the Plague, which raged then in *England*, and ſwept away great numbers of *Danes* as well as *Engliſh*. To this may be added, their having plundered the Country in ſuch a manner, that there was nothing left to pillage. The greateſt part of the *Daniſh* Rovers returned to *France*, under the command of *Haſtings*; but they did not ſtay there long. Preſently after, *Haſtings* had new Projects on foot. The Terror he had every where ſpread along the Sea-Coaſts having put all upon their Guard, he reſolved to ſteer his Courſe where he was not expected, and ſailed for the *Mediterranean*. Whilſt there, he found means, by an impious and perfidious Stratagem, to become maſter of *Luna*, ſituated on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*. He pretended to be mighty deſirous of turning Chriſtian, and was actually baptized by the Biſhop, whom he had ſent for. Some days after, the Biſhop was told, his new Convert was departed this Life, and died like a good Chriſtian, earneſtly deſiring to be buried in the Church of *Luna*, to which he had bequeathed a conſiderable Legacy. By this Device, a great number of *Danes*, on pretence of attending the Corpſe, entered the City, and immediately fell to murdering and plundering the Inhabitants.

Haſtings *retires to* Chartres, *and ends his days thereabouts.*

Haſtings, after ſo much miſchief done to *England*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, choſe at length for his Retreat, the City of *Chartres* (9), which *Charles the Simple* preſented him with, on purpoſe to keep him quiet. Here it was he ended in Peace, a Life almoſt wholly ſpent in plundering the maritime Countries of *Europe*. The *Danes*, that refuſed to follow him when he left *England*, put themſelves under the command of one *Sigefert* ſettled in *Northumberland*. For ſome time, theſe likewiſe committed ravages on the Coaſt of *Weſſex* (10), without venturing however to advance into the Country, by reaſon of their ſmall number, and at laſt they retired to ſeek their Fortune elſewhere.

The Kingdom is freed from the Danes.

Alfred, being at length freed from his Enemies, paſſed the reſt of his days in profound Tranquility. Hitherto I have conſidered this Prince as a Warrior only, ſometimes victorious, and ſometimes vanquiſhed; but, whether proſperous or unfortunate, ſhewing on all occaſions ſignal marks of valour and military Conduct (11). It is now time to diſplay his other Virtues, and ſet him in another Light. Henceforward he is to appear as a juſt, learned, and religious Prince, a lover of his Subjects, and an indefatigable promoter of Arts, Sciences, Juſtice and Religion. But, not to confound his *Political* with his *Moral* Virtues, I ſhall begin with what he did for the good of his People, as Sovereign, and then ſpeak of his *private Life*, and manner of regulating his domeſtick Affairs.

The Danes *acknowledge* Alfred *for their Sovereign.*

As ſoon as the *Danes*, ſettled in *England*, found they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of their Countrymen, they bethought themſelves how to ſecure their preſent Poſſeſſions. The continuation of the War was ſo far from being likely to increaſe their Advantages, that they had reaſon to fear they ſhould by that means loſe what they already poſſeſſed. But ſuppoſing they were able to maintain their ground by force of Arms, yet a War, which obliged them to have always their Swords drawn, and preventing them from manuring their Lands, could not but be very prejudicial to them. Theſe conſiderations induced them at length to ſubmit to the Dominion of *Alfred*, and acknowledge him for Sovereign of all *England*. Hiſtorians do not inform us whether he was obliged to uſe Force to bring them to this: But it is certain, his authority was acknowledged, as well in *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*, as in *Weſſex* (12). The *Welſh* themſelves, who had been terribly plundered by the *Danes*, finding they were in no condition to reſiſt, became his Tributaries (13). It is further added, the King of *Scotland* paid him Homage alſo. But this is too diſputable a Point to be affirmed for Truth (14).

(1) In the Year 890, or 891, died *Guthurm* King of *Eaſt-Anglia*, and was buried at *Headleaga*, (perhaps *Hadley* in *Suffolk*) *Aſſer. Ann.* p. 171. *Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc.* p. 595.

(2) *Spelman* ſays it laſted ten or twelve Years, p. 77. But he, *Milton*, and others, ſay, the *Danes* infeſted *England* in 885, and in 893 they came again. So there could be but eight Years peace.

(3) Of two hundred and fifty, ſay the *Saxon Annals*, and *Flor. Worc.*

(4) In the Mouth of the River *Limine*, ſuppoſed by *Spelman* to be the *Rother*, p. 78. See *Camden*.

(5) Where they built a ſtrong Caſtle. *Aſſer. Ann.* p. 172. See *Huntingd.* p. 351. *Sax. Ann.*

(6) And conſiſting of eighty Sail. *Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. Mat. Weſtm.*

(7) Now *Milton* in *Kent*. The *Danes* built a Caſtle here, part whereof is ſtill remaining at *Kemſley-Downs*. They now call it *Caſtle-Ruff*. On the other ſide of the Water, the Ditches of *Alfred*'s Fortifications, with ſome Stone-work, remain alſo by the Name of *Bavord-Caſtle*, near *Sittingbourn*. *Camd. Add. to Kent.*

(8) And upon ſome Complaints of his Subjects againſt the inland *Danes*. *Spelman*, p. 79.

(9) Forty-two Miles from *Paris*.

(10) But *Alfred* having cauſed Ships, twice longer, taller, ſwifter, and more ſteady than thoſe the *Engliſh* or *Danes* uſed to have; and of *forty* Oars, and above, he puts to Sea, with nine of them, took twenty or more of the Enemies Ships, and ordered the Men to be hung up along the Sea-coaſts, for a Terror to the reſt. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 351. *S. Dunelm.* p. 151. *Spelman*, p. 90.

(11) He is ſaid to have fought fifty-ſix pitch'd Battles with the *Danes*.

(12) And *Eſſex*, which was part of the Kingdom of *Eaſt-Anglia*, was taken into *Alfred*'s hands; who created *Berthwulf*, a *Saxon*, Duke or Earl of it. *Spelman*, p. 91. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. I. p. 16.

(13) This is to be underſtood of the Inhabitants of *South-Wales*, who, though they had been reduc'd before, obſerving *Alfred* engag'd in other Wars, had thrown off their Obedience. As for *North-Wales*, the *Ordovices*, People of a fierce and troubleſome Spirit, are ſcarcely to be reckon'd entirely ſubdu'd before *Edward the Firſt*'s Time, two hundred Years after the *Norman Conqueſt*. *Spelman.*

(14) It is ſaid that *Gregour* King of the *Scots* obey'd him and ſerved him in all his Wars, and that *Donald* his Succeſſor aided him with five thouſand Horſe, and died in his Service. *Spelman, Hollingſh.* p. 421. See *Buchan.*

The

Alfred makes a Body of Laws.

The first thing *Alfred* had in his thoughts, the moment he saw himself thus peaceful and absolute, was to make use of his power for the good and benefit of his Subjects. As the Laws, during the Wars, had been very much trampled upon, and were become almost unknown to the People, he laid out his pains for some time, in making a Collection of the best Laws he could find. He inserted some of the *Judicial Laws* (1) of the *Old Testament*, and several of those formerly enacted by *Ina* King of *Wessex*, and *Offa* King of *Mercia* (2) in their respective Kingdoms. To these he added many of his own, adapted to the Circumstances of his People. Throughout these Laws may easily be observed, an ardent zeal for Justice, and a sincere desire of rooting out Oppression and Violence (3). They were indeed *mild*, if compared to those of later Ages, seeing they punished most Offences by *Mulcts* and *Fines* (4). But the strictness wherewith *Alfred* caused them to be observed, counterbalanced their Lenity. If with respect to *private* Persons the rigour of the Law was somewhat abated, it was not so with regard to corrupt Magistrates; to such *Alfred* was ever inexorable. He was very sensible it would be in vain to oblige his Subjects to an exact observance of the Laws, if care were not taken that the Magistrates should give them a good example. History takes notice of his executing four and forty Judges within the space of a Year, for not doing Justice (5).

Institution of Juries.

These Precautions seemed to be sufficient to hinder the *Poor* and *Low*, from being oppressed by the *Rich* and *Great*. But as *Alfred* was sensible, the Spirit of oppression naturally grew upon Men in Authority, he studied to prevent that Inconvenience. To that end, he ordered, that in all *Criminal Actions*, twelve Men, chosen for that purpose, should determine concerning the Fact, and the Judge give sentence according to their *Verdict*. This Privilege, enjoyed by the *English* to this day, is doubtless the noblest and most valuable, that Subjects can have. An *Englishman* accused of any Crime, is to be tried only by his *Peers*, that is, by Persons of his own Rank. By this means, he is out of all danger of being oppressed, how powerful soever his accusers may be. These twelve Men, chosen out of many others, with the approbation of the Person accused, are called by the collective name of *Jury*. These are properly the Persons, by whom the life or death of the party accused is determined. Happy the People that enjoy so glorious a Privilege!

Division of the Kingdom into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings.

The Wars had caused such disorders and licentiousness in the Kingdom, that *Vagabonds* and *Vagrants* every where abounded, who committed all manner of Crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition screening them from Justice. As they had no settled abode, upon committing any Offence they shifted their quarters, and went where it was difficult to discover them. *Alfred* beholding with Indignation honest Men thus exposed to the insults of Villains, was extremely desirous to put a stop to so great Mischief. Having consulted those whom he judged capable of giving him good Advice, he took the following method to prevent any Person from living in his Dominions, without being obliged to give an Account of his Actions. He divided all *England* into *Shires* (6) or *Counties*, the *Counties* into *Hundreds*, and the *Hundreds* into *Tithings*. This being done, all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom were obliged to belong to some *Tything*; whoever did not, were looked upon as Vagabonds, and as such denied the protection of the Law. Every Householder was to answer for his Wife, his Children under fifteen years of Age, and his Domesticks. If any one by his way of living fell under suspicion, he was obliged to give security for his good Behaviour: In case he could find none, the *Tything* threw him into Prison, to prevent their being liable to the penalty he should incur by any Offence (7). Thus the *Householders* being responsible for their Families, the *Tything* for the *Householders*, the *Hundreds* for the *Tythings*, and the *Counties* for the *Hundreds*, every one was watchful over his Neighbours Actions. If a Stranger guilty of any Crime made his Escape, information was taken of the House where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the Master of the Family was condemned to pay his *Fine*. But in case he had not stayed so long as three days, the Householder was acquitted upon making Oath he was not privy to his Crime. I might add here abundance of particulars not so entertaining to *Foreigners*, as to the *English*, who behold with pleasure in these regulations, the origin of those Laws they so happily live under at this present Time. But it suffices to say, these wise Institutions produc'd such good Order and Tranquility as the like had never before been known in *England* (8).

Ingulph. Malm. l. 2.

Alfred regulates the Militia.

In short, to prevent the Kingdom from being infested any more by foreign *Enemies*, *Alfred* disposed the *Militia* in such manner as enabled him to make head against an Invasion, in case the *Danes* should renew their Incursions. He kept in each County a body of Troops always ready to march under the conduct of the Earl or Governor. Upon the first notice of an Invasion, the Earls had orders to join Forces at certain Places, under the command of a *Generalissimo* appointed by the King. By this means, together with a numerous Fleet, which was always either ready to put to Sea, or cruising round the Island, he kept the foreign *Danes* so in awe, that during the rest of his Reign, they durst not attempt to make a Descent. And for the same reason, those that were settled in the Island, found themselves constrained to be quiet.

He causes trading Ships to be built.

When by these wise regulations *Alfred* had provided for the Safety of the State, he endeavoured to make the People relish the Fruits of Peace, by introducing Trade and Commerce. He ordered a good number of Merchant-ships to be built, which he let out to the principal Merchants, for the encouragement of Traffick. So that by degrees the *English* were in a condition to repair by this means the losses occasion'd by so long a War. It is affirmed that some of these Merchants traded as far as the *East-Indies*, from whence they imported several things, before unknown to the *English* (9).

Trades to the East-Indies. Sax. Ann.

Alfred invites several learned Men into England. Asser.

After this great Prince had thus regulated Matters, he turned his thoughts to the *Arts* and *Sciences*, which the Wars had almost entirely frightned from the Land. To this end he invited over from foreign Countries learned Men, to whom he gave Pensions, and dispersed them in the several *Dioceses*, to instruct the People. But not satisfied with this, and desirous of having in his own Kingdom a *Nursery* of Learning, he founded four *Schools*, or *Colleges* at *Oxford*. In the first, the Abbot *Neots* and *Grimbald* read *Divinity*. In the second, *Asserius*, a *Benedictine* Monk, taught *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*. In the third, *John*, a Monk of St. *David*'s, set up a Chair for *Logick*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musick*. In the fourth, *Johannes Scotus* professed *Geometry* and *Astronomy*. This last was surnamed *Erigena*, that is, the *Irishman*, from the word *Erin* or *Irin*, the true name of *Ireland*. He was also called *Scotus* no doubt upon the same Account, the Inhabitants of *Ireland* being then termed *Scots*. It is related of this *Johannes Scotus*, so famous in the republick of *Letters*, that he was stabbed to death by his Pupils with Pen-knives. But some say, he taught in *Malmsbury-Abby*, and not at

886.

He founds the University of Oxford.

(1) With the *Decalogue* at their Head. See them in *Wilkins Leg. Saxon.* and *Lambard.* These *Laws* of *Alfred* were used at *Westminster*, as low as the Reign of *Edward* IV. *Spelman.* p. 99. Note.

(2) And likewise *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who was the first that reduced the *Saxon Laws* into *Writing*.

(3) If King *Alfred*, as is supposed, drew up a compleat *Body of Laws*, 'tis now lost; for those lately publish'd by Dr. *Wilkins*, (who has given us all the Laws extant from *Ethelbert*, the first Christian Lawgiver in *England*, down to the *Magna Charta* of *Henry* III) fall short of an entire System of *Law*. *Alfred*'s Laws are rank'd under two Heads, 1. *The Laws of Alfred*, forty in Number. 2. *The League between Alfred and Gutburm*, which seems to be no more than Articles of *Pacification*, and *Conditions* on which *Gutburm* was to hold *East-Anglia*. The 37th Law secures the *Entail* of Estates, and enacts, *That those who have Bock-land (or Estates in Land) left them by their Parents, should not annihilate it from their Heirs, provided there could be proof made that he that first granted the Estate, settled it upon condition of Non-alienation.* Another Law forbids, *the buying a Man, a Horse, or an Ox, without a Voucher to warrant the Sale.* The Occasion of this Law was this: When the *Danes* first settled in *England*, it was a common Practice between the two Nations, not only to steal Horses and Oxen, but also Men and Women, and sell them to one another. By which means, Owners not only lost Cattle, but Men were wrongfully made Slaves. To remedy which this Law was enacted. Afterwards *Fairs* and *Markets* obtained the same Privilege, of *Vouchers*. But as to Horses, the Frauds were so common, that the Statute of 31 *Eliz.* 12. reviv'd the express Law of *Alfred*.

(4) The 40th Law sets a certain Value upon every Limb and Member, as well as upon every Person, from a King to a Bond-Slave.

(5) He us'd to re-examine the *Causes* tried in his Absence, and in case he found any Injustice done out of *Favour* or *Interest*, he punished the Judges severely. If they pleaded Ignorance, he sharply reprimanded them, and ask'd how they durst presume to take a Commission to determine about *Life* and *Property*, when they knew themselves so wretchedly unqualified! and ordered them either to know better or quit their Post. Thus the *Earls* and *Great Men*, rather than be turn'd out of their *Office* with Disgrace, applied themselves to Study. See *Mirror of Justice*, c. 20. and *Malm.* l. 2. p. 25. *Brompton* says, *Justice* was so strictly administred in *Alfred*'s Reign, that though there were gold Bracelets hung up at the parting of several Highways, no Man durst touch them, p. 818.

(6) From the *Saxon* Word *Scyre*, i. e. to *branch* or *divide*. *Spelman* says, that *Alfred* was not the first that divided the Kingdom into *Shires*, but only fix'd their Number and Limits. *Rapin.*

(7) There is much the same Regulation in *China*. See *Hist.* of *Menaaca*. *Rapin.*

(8) *Spelman* ascribes also to *Alfred* the Institution of *Sheriffs*, *Under-Sheriffs*, and *Original Writs*, &c. p. 113, 114.

(9) It is not likely they traded to the *Indies* by Sea, at a time the *Mariner's Compass* was not found out. *Rapin.* You have a large Account of this Matter in *Spelman*'s Life of *Alfred*, l. 2. c. 28. *Malmsbury* says, he sent a Present to the *Indies* in honour of St. *Thomas*. *Sigelin* Bishop of *Sherborn* was employed to deliver it, who performed the Voyage successfully, and brought back *precious Stones*, *Perfumes* and other *Commodities*, which were then great Curiosities in *England*. It was thought *Alfred* caused with these Diamonds a more *August* and *Imperial* sort of Crown than had been used before to be composed. For in the arched Roof in the Cloisters of *Westminster-Abby*, where the ancient *Regalia* of the Kingdom are kept, upon a Box, the Cabinet of the most ancient Crown, there are these Words, *Hic est principalior Corona cum qua coronabantur Reges* Alfredus, Edwardus, *&c.* This Crown is of a very ancient Work, with Flowers adorned with Stones of somewhat a plain Setting. *Spelman.*

Oxford.

Oxford (1). We find moreover among the learned Men encouraged by *Alfred*, *Plegmund* a *Mercian*, who became Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome others, whoſe Names, as they will not ſerve to make them more known, it is needleſs to repeat. It is alſo unneceſſary to ſtay to examine, whether the *Colleges* founded by *Alfred* were the firſt Foundations of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, or whether before that, there were at a Place called *Greeklade* the like Schools, which were removed from thence to this City. Beſides that the diſpute would lead me too far, it would be of little uſe to examine it throughly, conſidering how few are concerned in it. It is enough to obſerve, that from theſe ſmall beginnings, the *Univerſity of Oxford*, famous throughout all *Europe*, has grown up to its preſent Height.

Brompt.

Original of the ſeveral Councils.

Though *Alfred* was very capable himſelf of knowing the beſt means of promoting his Deſigns for the good of his People, yet he conſulted others, eminent for their Abilities, and paid a great deference to their Opinions. He had ordered matters ſo that all reſolutions relating to the publick were to paſs thro' three ſeveral *Councils*. The firſt was a *Cabinet* Council, to which none but thoſe the King had a particular Eſteem for, were admitted. Here all Affairs were firſt debated that were to be laid before the ſecond *Council*, which conſiſted of *Biſhops*, *Earls*, *Viſcounts*, *Judges*, and ſome of the principal *Thanes*, called afterwards *Barons*. This reſembled the preſent *Privy-Council*. None belonged to it but thoſe the King was pleaſed to appoint. The third was a general *Council* or *Aſſembly* of the Nation, called in *Saxon*, *Wittena Gemot*, to which *Quality* and *Offices* gave a right to ſit, independent of the King. This Aſſembly, ſtiled at preſent the *Parliament*, a name taken from the *French*, was compoſed of the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the *Biſhops*, *Earls*, *Viſcounts* or *High-Sheriffs* of the Counties, and the *Thanes* of the firſt rank or *Barons*. It is now diſputed with great warmth, whether the People had a right to ſend *Repreſentatives* to this Aſſembly. But this point ſhall be diſcuſſed in another Place. However this be, we behold in theſe three *Councils* the original of the *Cabinet* and *Privy* Councils, as well as the Antiquity of *Parliaments*. Theſe *Councils*, and particularly the *Wittena Gemot*, which was conven'd generally once a Year, being for the moſt part held at *London*, it is eaſy to conceive that the City received by it a greater air of ſplendor than before. The *Danes*, who had been Maſters of it for ſome time, had demoliſhed it in ſuch a manner that it was hardly to be known. It was a pleaſure to *Alfred* to beautify it and augment its Privileges. The Figure it afterwards made, and ſtill continues to make, is in ſome meaſure owing to the care of this Prince (2).

Alfred *introduces the way of building with Brick and Stone.* Aſſer. vit. Alfr.

Matters of greater moment being ſettled as well as could be deſired, *Alfred*, ever mindful of what might be advantagious to his People, believed he ought not to be forgetful of one thing in itſelf uſeful and to the Kingdom very ornamental; and that was to induce the *Engliſh* to build their Houſes for the future in a ſtronger and more regular manner, than they had been uſed to. At that time, there were ſcarce any but Timber-Houſes. It was a rarity to ſee a Houſe built with other Materials. *Alfred* having raiſed his Palaces with Stone or Brick, the Nobility by degrees began to follow his Example. But this Cuſtom did not become general 'till ſeveral ages after. The Monaſteries, we may believe, that were deſtroyed by the *Danes*, and afterwards rebuilt, had their ſhare of this Improvement, as places that were held in a ſtill greater veneration in the following than in the preſent *Century*. The religious Houſes however did not begin to be inhabited again 'till the following Reigns. At the time I am ſpeaking of they were almoſt forſaken, for the Lands deſigned for the maintenance of the Monks being waſted by the *Daniſh* Wars, there was ſcarce a Man to be found willing to embrace a monaſtick Life; which is a clear Evidence, that it was not ſo much Devotion, as the hopes of being maintained without Labour, that filled the religious Houſes. During the Reign of *Alfred*, the backwardneſs to a monkiſh Life was ſo great, that the King was forced to ſtock the Monaſteries with Foreigners, there being ſcarce ſuch a thing as a Monk in the Kingdom. But after his Death, when the Lands were reſtored to the Monaſteries, the zeal for that way of Life began to rekindle. Whereas in *Alfred*'s Days, there were more Monaſteries than Monks, in a few years after the Monks were grown ſo numerous, and encreaſed daily in ſuch a manner, that there were not religious Houſes enough to contain them.

Aſſer.

Hitherto we have conſidered *Alfred* ſo taken up with the care of the publick, that he ſeems to have had no time or leiſure for his own private concerns. But we muſt have a very different Idea of this Prince. He was one of thoſe happy Geniuſes that ſeem born for whatever they do, and are continually employed, without appearing to be ſo. He knew too well the value of time, to loſe any part of it. So far was he from being like moſt Princes, who imagine their high Station gives them a Privilege of ſpending all their time in diverſions and trifles, that he endeavoured to improve every moment. Whilſt he lay concealed in the Iſle of *Athelney*, he made a vow to dedicate to the Service of God, the third part of his time, as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtored to a State of Tranquility. Accordingly he was punctual to his Vow, and allotted eight hours every day to acts of Devotion, eight hours to publick Affairs, and as many to ſleep, ſtudy, and neceſſary refreſhment. As the uſe of *Clocks* and *Hour-Glaſſes* was not as yet introduced into *England*, he meaſured the time by means of Wax-Candles, marked with circular lines of divers Colours, which ſerved as ſo many *Hour-lines* (3). And to prevent the wind from making them burn unſteadily, it is ſaid he invented the expedient of encloſing them in *Lanthorns* (4). But it is a queſtion whether this Invention be of ſo modern a date.

His private Life.

The Diſtribution of his Time.

Aſſer.

Origin of Lanthorns *in* England.

His Charities were very extraordinary conſidering his Revenues, and ſo much the more praiſe-worthy, as they were done privately, or at leaſt without Oſtentation. He educated, at Court or at *Oxford*, a great many young Noblemen, who were inſtructed in all things neceſſary to render them one day ſerviceable to their Country. But this was not his only method to cauſe the Arts and Sciences to flouriſh: His own Example greatly contributed towards it, for never was Prince more given to his Studies. The progreſs he made in Learning, notwithſtanding his being ſo long employed in his Wars and the adminiſtration of the Government, demonſtrate how well he improved his Intervals from publick Buſineſs. The Author of his Life aſſures us, he was the beſt *Saxon* Poet of his time, an excellent *Grammarian*, *Orator*, *Philoſopher*, *Architect*, *Geometrician*, and *Hiſtorian*. He compoſed ſeveral Works, that were in great Eſteem. Among others, he tranſlated into *Saxon*, *Gregory*'s *Paſtoral*, *Boetius de Conſolatione* (5), and *Bede*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* (6). What a ſhame and reproach was it for the *Engliſh* Nation to be ſo ignorant, when they had ſo learned a King at their Head? This excellent Prince complained bitterly (7) that from the *Humber* to the *Thames* there was not a Prieſt that underſtood the *Liturgy* in his *Mother Tongue*, and that from the *Thames* to the *Sea*, there was not one that knew how to tranſlate the eaſieſt Piece of *Latin*. This univerſal Ignorance, and the little reliſh the *Engliſh* had then for the *Arts* and *Sciences*, cauſed the King to ſeek all occaſions, of earneſtly inviting into his Dominions Foreigners that were eminent in their Profeſſions. He took particular care to have always about him the moſt noted Workmen and *Architects*, and to keep them employed, with the ſole view of improving their Skill. He placed in the *Chairs* at *Oxford*, Men famous for their Learning, and allowed them handſome Salaries. His aim was to ſtir up the Emulation of the *Engliſh*, and provoke them to uſe their Endeavours to come out of that ſtate of groſs ignorance they were in. The Fame of his great Wiſdom and Piety reaching as far as *Rome*, the *Pope* ſent him a large Quantity of *Relicks*, and upon his account granted ſome new privileges to the *Engliſh College*. *Abel* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, willing alſo to ſhow him marks of his Eſteem, ſent him a preſent of *Relicks*, which the King received with great Satisfaction.

His Charities,

and Inclination for Study.

Aſſer.

Ethelwerd.

Aſſer.

It is time now to take a view of the manner of his ordering his *Domeſtick* Concerns, where his Prudence was no leſs conſpicuous than in his Management of State Affairs. He made three Diviſions of his Attendants, who were to

His Diſtribution of the Revenues. Aſſer.

(1) *Camden* ſays, *Alfred* founded but three *Halls* or *Schools*; the firſt at the end of *High-ſtreet* for *Grammarians*, was called *Little-Univerſity-Hall*; the ſecond in *School-ſtreet* for *Philoſophy*, was ſtiled *Leſs Univerſity-Hall*; and the third in *High-ſtreet*, more to the Weſt than the firſt, for *Divinity*, was named *Great Univerſity-Hall*, now *Univerſity-College*.

(2) He repaired alſo, or rebuilt *Wincheſter* and *Norwich*, *Spelman*, p. 162, 164.

(3) He ordered juſt ſuch a quantity of Wax to be made into ſix Candles, each twelve Inches long, with the Diviſion of the Inches mark'd out diſtinctly. Theſe being lighted one after another, did orderly burn four Hours apiece, that is, every three Inches an Hour, ſo that the whole ſix Candles laſted juſt twenty four Hours, the watching of which was committed to the Keepers of his Chapel, whoſe Office it was to put him in mind how each Hour paſſed. *Spelman.*

(4) Glaſs was then a great Rarity in *England*, ſo that the King was forc'd to order ſome fine white Horn to be ſcraped ſo thin as to become tranſparent, and put into cloſe Frames of Wood, which defended the Candles from the injury of the Wind. Thus *Lanthorns*, tho' of vulgar Uſe and Eſtimation, were the Invention of a King. *Spelman. Aſſer. vit. Alfr.* p. 20.

(5) Publiſhed at *Oxford*, *An.* 1698, 8*vo.* by *Chriſtopher Rawlinſon*, Gentleman-Commoner of *Queen's* College. Some ſay it was tranſlated by *Werefrid*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; but Dr. *Plot* tells us *Alfred* did it at *Woodſtock*. *Alfred* was ſo delighted with this Book, that he always carried it about him in his Boſom.

(6) Publiſhed at *Cambridge* in 1644, by Mr. *Whelock*, who obſerves, 'tis rather a *Paraphraſe* than a *Tranſlation*. He is likewiſe ſaid to have *tranſlated* the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. However 'tis on all Hands agreed he undertook a *Verſion* of the *Pſalms*, but died when it was about half finiſhed. See *Spelman*'s Life of *Alfred*, l. 3. c. 100. For an account of the reſt of his Works, ſee the ſame Author, p. 210, 211, 212.

(7) In his Preface to *Gregory*'s Paſtoral; which ſee in *Spelman*, p. 141, &c. and at the end of *Aſſer*'s Life of *Alfred*.

wait

wait monthly by turns: A Cuſtom, which tho' not practiſed then in other Courts, was afterwards followed by other Princes. As for his Revenues, he divided them in two Parts, one whereof was wholly aſſigned for charitable uſes, and ſubdivided into four Portions. The firſt for Alms to the Poor: The ſecond for the maintenance of the Monaſteries he had founded: The third for the Subſiſtence of the Profeſſors and Scholars at *Oxford:* The fourth for poor Monks, as well Foreigners as *Engliſh* (1). The other half was thrown into three diviſions; one was expended in his Family; another in paying his *Architects*, and other curious Workmen; and the reſt was beſtowed in Penſions upon Strangers, invited to his Court for the encouragement and inſtruction of his Subjects. When I ſpeak of his Revenues, I mean his own *hereditary* Eſtate. It was not cuſtomary in thoſe days, for Princes to levy Taxes upon the People, in order to ſquander the Money in Luxury and Extravagancies.

What has been ſaid of this illuſtrious Prince, may ſuffice to make known the principal events in his Reign, and to give an Idea of his perſonal Qualities. I might add many more particulars, ſince his *Life* alone affords matter for a large *Volume.* But I believe I may venture to ſtop here, without injuring the memory of this Monarch, who is juſtly diſtinguiſhed with the Sirname of *Great.* No Hiſtorian charges him with any Vice, but all unanimouſly agree to repreſent him as one of the moſt glorious Princes that ever wore the Crown (2).

He died in 900, and in the 52d year of his Age, after a reign of twenty-eight years and ſix months (3), the greateſt part whereof was ſpent in wars and troubles, and the reſt in peace (4). His Hiſtory ſhews, that both in War and Peace, he govern'd with prudence and ſteadineſs. But what chiefly diſtinguiſhes him from the generality of Princes, was his ſincere and conſtant love for his People. Of this he gave demonſtration, not by words only, as is too commonly the caſe, but by real and ſubſtantial deeds. Accordingly never was Prince better beloved by his Subjects. No doubt this mutual Affection contributed to deſtroy in the *Danes*, ſettled in *England*, all hopes of ſhaking off his Yoke, when once they had ſubmitted to it. 900. *His Death.*

Alfred had ſeveral Children by *Alſwitha* his Queen. Some of them, particularly *Edmund* his eldeſt Son, whom he deſigned for his Succeſſor, died before him. Of thoſe that ſurviv'd him, *Edward* mounted the Throne after him. *Ethelward*, who was bred a ſcholar at *Oxford*, was a very learned Man, and died in the fortieth year of his Age, in 922. *Elfleda*, his eldeſt Daughter, Wife to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, became very famous in her Brother *Edward*'s Reign. *Alſwitha* or *Ethelſwitha*, called alſo *Eltrude* by the *Flemiſh* Writers, married *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. *Ethelgitha*, who choſe to be a *Nun*, was made *Abbeſs* of *Shaftſbury* Nunnery, founded by the King her Father (5). *His Children.* Aſſer.

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7. *EDWARD the Elder.*

The State of the Kingdom. 900.

WHEN *Edward* aſcended the Throne, *England* was almoſt equally divided between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. The *Danes* inhabited *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, from whence they had driven the *Engliſh* during the wars. The *Engliſh* were ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Weſſex*, containing the ancient Kingdom of *Eſſex*, and all the Country lying South of the *Thames*. As for *Mercia*, it was peopled with a mixture of *Danes* and *Engliſh*, but in ſuch manner, that the *Engliſh* were ſuperior in the South and Weſt Parts, and the *Danes* in the Eaſt and North. During the latter part of *Alfred*'s Reign, the *Danes* had remained very quiet, out of fear of provoking that Prince to invade their poſſeſſions. Beſides, they were very well pleaſed to enjoy ſome repoſe, in order to fortify their Settlements in *England*. For this reaſon, the retreat of their Countrymen was to them rather an occaſion of Joy than Sorrow. Indeed, they could never have attained to their ends, if the War had been continually renewed by the arrival of other *Danes*, who under the name of Friends, would have been as incommodious to them as to the *Engliſh* themſelves. The retreat of theſe dangerous Gueſts, and the profound Tranquility ſpread over the whole Kingdom, by *Alfred*'s juſt Adminiſtration, having given them time to cultivate their Lands, and augment their Riches by Commerce, they began to entertain thoughts of ſhaking off the *Engliſh* Yoke. Accordingly, they embraced the firſt favourable occaſion to excite new Troubles in *England*, not doubting in the leaſt but they would prove the means of putting their deſign in Execution.

Ethelward pretends to the Crown. 901. Sax. Ann. A. Hunt. l. 5.

I have obſerved that King *Ethelbert*, elder Brother to *Alfred*, left two Infant Sons. *Ethelward*, the eldeſt, being grown, at the death of *Alfred*, to Man's Eſtate, thought it time to aſſert his right to the Crown. He pretended, that *Ethelwulph* his Grandfather could not with Juſtice ſettle the Kingdom upon all his Sons ſucceſſively, to the prejudice of the Children of the eldeſt. That granting he had a power to do this, there was no reaſon the Succeſſion, after the death of the four Brothers, ſhould continue in the Family of the youngeſt, when the Heirs of the ſecond were alive. That beſides, at moſt he could but intail the Kingdom of *Kent*, which he was in poſſeſſion of, and not the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, which belonged not to him when he made his Will. Theſe reaſons appeared very plauſible; yet *Ethelward* could meet with no encouragement from the *Engliſh*. Doubtleſs, the great Veneration they had for *Alfred*'s Memory, made them adhere to his Son, or it may be, they did not queſtion *Ethelwulph*'s power of ſettling the Succeſſion as he pleaſed. The ancient Hiſtorians not having expreſſed themſelves clearly upon this point, it would be difficult to decide the matter by the publick Laws of the *Saxons*, which are not ſufficiently known. And therefore, to confine my ſelf to the bare relation of Facts, I ſhall only ſay, that *Ethelward*, finding his Countrymen unwilling to ſupport his Title, was forc'd to apply to the *Danes*, who probably had put him upon this undertaking.

Ethelward began his deſign upon the Crown, with ſeizing *Winburn*, a fortified Town in *Dorſetſhire* (6). He expected to be attacked; but hoped, if that place made never ſo little Reſiſtance, the *Danes* would keep *Edward* ſo much employed in other parts, that it would not be poſſible for him to retake it (7). But his hopes were all in vain. *Edward* came upon him with ſuch Expedition, that he was like to have ſurprized him in *Winburn*, before he had taken neceſſary meaſures for his defence. He had hardly time to get out of the Town (8) and fly to the *Danes* (9), who were now up in Arms. Upon this Prince's coming among them, they proclaimed him King of *England*, pretending, as they were in poſſeſſion of half the Kingdom, they had as much right to make a King as the *Weſt-Saxons*. Ethelward *takes Winburn.* Sax. Ann. Huntin. l. 5. Brompt. *Loſes it again,* *and flies to the* Danes, *who proclaim him King.* Sax. Ann.

The retreat of *Ethelward* among the *Danes*, made the King ſenſible he was going to be involved in a troubleſome War, the conſequences whereof were to be dreaded. Not that he thought himſelf unable to withſtand the *Danes* ſettled in *England*, but was apprehenſive the foreign *Danes* would take this opportunity to plunge the Kingdom again into its former Calamities. This Conſideration made him reſolve to do his utmoſt to put an end to the War, before the *Danes* had time to ſend for their Countrymen to their Aſſiſtance. Immediately after the taking of *Winburn*, he marched towards *Northumberland* (10), at the head of his Army, which daily encreaſed, by Troops coming in from all Parts. The *Danes* were aſtoniſhed at this Expedition, and finding themſelves in no condition to reſiſt him, were conſtrained to abandon and baniſh from their Country, the Prince they had undertaken to protect. They had ſoon reaſon to repent of eſpouſing his Cauſe, or not defending it better. This fruitleſs attempt of 902. *The* Danes *abandon him.* Brompt.

(1) He ſent Money to the Monaſteries throughout his Dominions; and alſo in *Wales*, *Ireland*, *France*, *Armorica*, &c. *Aſſer.* p. 20.
(2) We have the Sum of his Character given us by a great Man, to the following Effect: *O Alfred*, the Wonder and Aſtoniſhment of all Ages! If we reflect on the devout part of him, he ſeems to have lived always in a *Cloyſter*. If on his Conduct and Exploits in the Field, one would think he had ſpent his Days in a Camp. If on his Writings and Studies, one would conclude the *Univerſity* had engroſſed him. And laſtly, if we regard his Prudence and Skill in the Adminiſtration of Government, he ſeems to have made *Law* and *Politicks* his whole Study.
(3) *Aſſer. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wigorn.* &c. ſay he reigned twenty-nine Years and a half; and the two laſt place his Death under the Year 901.
(4) He was born at *Wanating*, now *Wantage* in *Berkſhire*, which was formerly a *Royal Manor*. His Body was buried firſt at *Wincheſter*, next removed into the Church of the *New Monaſtery*; and laſtly, his Body, Monument, Church and Monaſtery were all removed (about two hundred Years after) without the North Gate of the City, ſince call'd the *Hide*.
(5) Beſides this *Nunnery*, *Alfred* built two Monaſteries, one at *Athelney*, and another at *Wincheſter*. *Aſſer.*
(6) Beſides *Winburn*, *Ethelward* ſeized upon *Twineham*, i. e. *Chriſt-Church* in *Hampſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Camd.*
(7) *Ethelward* ſhut himſelf up in the Town, and ſwore he would either conquer or die. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 352. *Brompt.* p. 838.
(8) He eſcaped in the Night. *Huntingd.* p. 352. *Brompt.* p. 832. *Flor. Wigor.*
(9) That is, the *Danes* in *Northumbria*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 352. *Aſſer. Ann.* p. 174.
(10) The *Sax. Ann.* and *Flor. Worc.* ſay only, that the King ordered his Men to purſue *Ethelward*, but they could not overtake him.

Edward *ſecures ſeveral Towns in* Mercia.

theirs coſt them ſeveral ſtrong-holds in *Mercia*, which *Edward* deemed neceſſary to ſecure. He did not think proper to chaſtiſe them more ſeverely at this time, leſt the War, which ſeemed to be over, ſhould break out afreſh, if he reduced them to a neceſſity of ſending for Succours from *Denmark*. He was ſatisfied with repairing ſome Fortreſſes in *Mercia*, in order to confine them within narrower Bounds (1). *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, and the Princeſs *Elfleda* his Wife, were very ſerviceable to the King in this War, by making head againſt the *Mercian Danes*, and preventing the *Welſh* from coming to their Aid. It is related of *Elfleda*, that having had a very hard Labour with her firſt Child, ſhe made a reſolution never to come into the like Caſe again, and was as good as her Word. From thenceforward ſhe wholly devoted herſelf to Arms, and like a true *Amazon*, gave proofs of her courage in all the King her Brother's Wars with the *Danes*. She was generally ſtiled [not only *Lady* and *Queen*, but] *King*, in admiration of her *Manlike* and *Royal* Abilities.

Matt. Weſt.

903. *The Commendation of* Elfleda *the King's Siſter.* Malmſb. Huntingd. Brompt.

Mean while, *Ethelward*, though abſent, was not idle. Upon leaving *England*, he applied to *France*, and obtained a powerful aid of *Normans*. With theſe forces he landed in *Eſſex* (2), and eaſily became Maſter of that Kingdom. *Edward*, not expecting his Enemy could have been ſo ſoon ready to make a freſh attempt, had taken care only to guard *Mercia* againſt the *Northumbrian-Danes*, imagining *Eſſex* to be in no danger. The arrival of the *Normans* rouzed the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, and cauſed them to reſolve to make a diverſion in favour of *Ethelward*. Accordingly they take up arms again, and throwing themſelves into *Mercia*, ravage the Country inhabited by the *Engliſh* in a mercileſs manner (3). *Edward*, not without extreme regret, ſaw himſelf forced to bear their Inſults, till he could draw his Troops together, which he had diſmiſſed, as believing he ſhould not want them ſo ſoon. The moment he was at the head of his Army, he made the *Danes* pay dear for the miſchief they had done the *Engliſh*. In this War he gained ſo many Victories, that the *Danes* loſt all hopes of throwing off the *Engliſh* yoke, and his Couſin of mounting the Throne. At length *Ethelward* being ſlain in Battle (4), and the *Daniſh* forces conſiderably diminiſhed, they were not able to carry on the War with that vigour they begun it. However, they continued it two years after *Ethelward*'s Death. But having in vain endeavoured to repair their Loſſes, they ſued for Peace (5); which *Edward* readily granted them, on condition they would acknowledge him for Sovereign as they had done his Father, and the *Normans* forthwith return to *France*.

904. Ethelward *returns into* England *with* Norman *Troops.* Sax. Ann. Huntingd. l. 5. *The* Danes *riſe in his favour.* Sax. Ann.

905. Ethelward *ſlain.* Sax. Ann. Pont. Hiſt. Dan.

907. Edward *makes a Peace with the* Danes.

The War is renewed.

This Peace could not hold long between two neighbouring Nations ſo exaſperated againſt one another. Accordingly after three years, the War was renewed (6). It proved fatal to the *Danes*, who loſt in a very little time two Battles (7). *Edward*, who knew how to improve his Victories, took from them ſeveral Towns in *Mercia*, and at length drove them quite out of that Kingdom.

910.

912. Ethelred *Earl of* Mercia *dies.* Sax. Ann.

Then it was that *Ethelred*, who had all along bravely ſeconded the King his Brother-in-law, became in reality *Earl of Mercia*; but was not long ſo. He was taken out of the World by Death, almoſt as ſoon as that whole Province was united under his Government. This Earl was not barely *Governor or Viceroy of Mercia:* He had ſome particular Power, the nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the Hiſtorians that ſpeak of it. *Malmsbury* ſays he held the Country as a *Fief* of the Crown, much in the ſame manner as the *German Princes* hold their Territories of the Empire (8). Of this, *Elfleda* his Widow's ceſſion to the King her Brother of the Cities of *London* and *Oxford*, is a farther Proof. If *Ethelred* had been only *Governor* or *Viceroy*, *Elfleda* would have had no right to reſign theſe two Places, ſince they would not have belonged to her (9).

Elfleda having taken upon her the Government of *Mercia*, after *Ethelred*'s Death, followed the example of her Father and Brother, in fortifying Towns, to take away from the *Danes* all hopes of ſettling in *Mercia* again. Among the Places ſhe repaired, or fortified, theſe are the Chief, *Warwick*, *Tamworth*, *Wedensbury*, *Charbury*, *Eadsbury*, and *Cheſter* (10). This laſt had lain in ruins for ſome Time (11). When *Elfleda* had taken theſe Precautions, ſhe carried her Arms into *Wales* (12), and after ſeveral victories, obliged the *Welſh* to become her Tributaries. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd.

The year 915, as ſome affirm, is memorable for the founding of the *Univerſity of Cambridge* by King *Edward*. But all agree not in this Matter. Some maintain the Origin of this famous Univerſity is of a much later date. Others, on the contrary, carry its Antiquity a great deal higher, and attribute the founding of it to one *Cantaber*, a *Spaniard*, three hundred and fifteen years before the birth of our Saviour. Some again, cutting off almoſt a thouſand years of this Antiquity, are contented with aſſerting, that *Sebert*, who reigned in *Eſſex* in the beginning of the VIIth *Century*, was the firſt Founder. I ſhall not take upon me to decide this Diſpute, rendered very warm by the emulation between *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. It is ſufficient to have briefly mentioned the diverſity of opinions in this matter. However, I cannot forbear obſerving, that if the *Univerſity of Cambridge* was in being in King *Sebert*'s Time, or even in *Alfred*'s, it is very ſurprizing, that neither *Bede* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, nor *Aſſerius* in his *Life of Alfred*, ſhould take the leaſt notice of it.

915. *The founding of the Univerſity of* Cambridge.

From the year 910, when the War between the *Engliſh* and *Danes* was rekindled, to the year 922, we find in Hiſtory nothing but a long ſeries of Battles, the relation whereof muſt be unpleaſant to the Reader (13). I ſhall therefore without any ſcruple paſs them over in Silence, and mention only the moſt remarkable Conſequences.

The Princeſs *Elfleda*, Siſter to King *Edward*, died during this War (14), leaving an only Daughter, named *Elfwina*, then marriageable. *Elfleda*, as was ſaid, ſucceeded her Husband in the Sovereignty of *Mercia:* I ſay *Sovereignty*, becauſe it was certainly more than a bare *Government*. But not to give wrong notions of this matter, it will be proper to conſider the ſtate of *Mercia* at the Time I am ſpeaking of. Hiſtorians not having clearly expreſſed themſelves, have left us very much in the dark as to this Point. It muſt be remembred, that *Ethelred*, with the Title of *Earl of Mercia*, was in poſſeſſion only of *London* and its Territory, or at moſt of the County of *Middleſex*, and that *London*, the *Capital* formerly of the Kingdom of *Eſſex*, was become the *Metropolis* of *Mercia*. Afterwards, *Ethelred*'s narrow territories being much enlarged by his conqueſts upon the *Mercian-Danes*, *Alfred*'s preſent to his Son-in-law was become ſo conſiderable, as to raiſe the jealouſy of the new King, and make him apprehenſive of *Ethelred*'s ſucceſſors growing too power-

918. *The Princeſs* Elfleda *dies.* Sax. Ann. Huntingd. l. 5.

(1) This year, 902, a Battle was fought between the *Kentiſhmen* and the *Danes* at *Holme*, or *Holewood* in *Suſſex*. *Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc.* places it under the year 904, and *Huntingd.* in the 12th year of King *Edward*, p. 353.

(2) *Brompton* ſays, he landed in *Northumbria*, the ſame year he went away, and came the next year by Sea to *Eſſex*, p. 832.

(3) They over-ran and ſpoiled all *Mercia*, as far as *Creeklade* in *Wiltſhire*, and there paſſing the *Thames*, carried away whatever they could find in *Brædon* Foreſt in the ſame County. In the mean time King *Edward* purſued them, and waſted all the Country that lies between the *Devil's Ditch* upon *New-market* Heath, and the *Ouſe*. *Edward* recalled his Forces from thence, but the *Kentiſhmen* ſtaying behind, were ſurrounded by the *Danes*; whereupon there followed a ſmart Engagement, in which ſeveral were killed on both Sides, and among the reſt *Ethelward*; but the *Danes* got the Victory. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 352.

(4) The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Battle was obſtinate and bloody on both Sides; the King loſt the Earls *Sigulf* and *Sigelm*, with many more of his *Nobles*. On the *Danes* part was ſlain *Eolrick* their King, with a greater number than of the *Engliſh*, though they had the honour of keeping the Field and burying their dead. *Sax. Ann.* 905.

(5) *S. Dunelm.* ſays, that *Edward* was forced to make Peace, p. 133. This Peace was concluded at *Tettingaford*, ſuppoſed to be *Ifford* near *Chriſt-Church* in *Hampſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 352. *Hoved.* p. 421. *Brompt.* p. 832.

(6) The *Annals* ſay not by whom the Treaty was broken; but *Hoveden* lays it to the Charge of the *Danes*, p. 421. Upon the renewing of the War, King *Edward* ſent, *Anno* 910. an Army of *Weſt-Saxons* and *Mercians* into *Northumbria*, who plundered that Kingdom for five weeks, and ſlew many of the *Danes*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 352.

(7) The *firſt* was in 911, at *Wodnesfield*. For the *Daniſh* Army in *Northumberland* not regarding the Peace which King *Edward* and his Son had made with them, waſted again the Province of *Mercia*. In this Battle were ſlain ſeveral thouſands of the *Danes*, with their Kings *Ecwils* and *Healfden*. They were ſucceeded by one *Reginald*. The *ſecond* Battle was fought at *Teotenhale*, or *Tetnal* in *Staffordſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. Huntingd.* p. 352. *Brompton. Camden.*

(8) *Ethelred* bore the Title of *Subregulus Merciorum*. *Selden* affirms, *Subregulus* is the ſame with *Ealdorman* or *Count*. *Du Cange* ſays, it ſignifies ſometimes *Earl*, ſometimes *Semi-Rex* or *Demi-King*. In this laſt Senſe, it muſt be underſtood with reſpect to *Ethelred*, according to this Paſſage of *Malmſbury*, *Edwardus duo Regna Merciorum & Viſi-Saxonum conjunxerat, Merciorum nomine tenus, quippe commendatum Duci Ethelredo. Rapin.*

(9) *Anno* 913, in *November*, King *Edward* built a Caſtle at *Hertford*.———The next Summer he built *Witham* in *Eſſex*, and lay encamped at the ſame time with his Forces at *Maldon:* And the greateſt part of *Eſſex*, which then belonged to the *Danes*, came in to him. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 353. *Brompt.* p. 833.

(10) She alſo built or repaired Caſtles at *Stafford*, *Bridgenorth*, *Runckborne* in *Cheſhire*, and at *Scoriate* or *Seagate*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Hoved.* Theſe Caſtles were built to ſecure the *Mercian* Frontiers againſt the *Daniſh* and *Welſh* Incurſions. *Tyr.* p. 316.

(11) It was demoliſhed by *Ecfrid* King of *Northumberland*, and afterwards by the *Danes*.

(12) And took *Brecenanmere* (ſuppoſed to be *Brecknock*.) She alſo took, in 918, *Derby*, and, in 920. *Leiceſter*, *York*, &c. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.*

(13) *Anno* 917, the *Danes* ſlew many of the *Engliſh* at *Hocnorton* in *Oxfordſhire*; but a Body of them was defeated the ſame year at *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*. *Anno* 921, the *Danes* beſieged *Toceſter* in *Northamptonſhire*, and *Wigmore* in *Hereford*ſhire, but were repuls'd. The ſame year they took *Colcheſter*, and killed all the People in it; but making an attempt upon *Maldon*, they were beaten back and loſt ſeveral Hundreds of Men. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 353. *Brompt.*

(14) *Ingulph* ſays, that in reſpect of the Cities ſhe built, the Caſtles ſhe fortified, and the Armies ſhe managed, it might have been thought ſhe had changed her Sex. She died at *Tamworth* in *Staffordſhire*, and was buried in the Porch of the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* in *Glouceſter*, which ſhe and her Husband had built. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* l. 5, c. 5.

ful.

ful. However, whilſt *Elfleda* lived, *Edward* ſeemed not to be jealous of her Proſperity, and had no thoughts of diſpoſſeſſing her of what ſhe had gained in great meaſure by her own Valour. But after her Death, he did not think fit to leave her daughter *Elfwina* in poſſeſſion of a *Demeſn*, which put it in her power to raiſe new troubles in *England* by ſome ill-contrived Match. And indeed, there are Hiſtorians who affirm, the young Princeſs had reſolved upon marrying a *Daniſh* Prince (1), and that therefore her Uncle deprived her of her Dominions. He was afraid no doubt, ſhe would introduce the Enemies of the Kingdom into thoſe very Places, that with ſo much difficulty had been wreſted out of their Hands. However this be, after *Elfleda*'s Death, he ſeized upon *Mercia*, and carried his Niece with him into *Weſſex*. In all likelihood ſhe paſſed the reſt of her days in a *Nunnery*. Whether *Elfwina*'s deſign of marrying a *Dane* was matter of fact, or an invention to vindicate the King's proceedings againſt his Niece, it equally proves what was before obſerved, that *Ethelred* and *Elfleda* were proprietors of *Mercia*. If they had been no more than Governors, *Edward* would have had no occaſion to alledge her intended marriage as a reaſon to deprive her of the Government; as, on the other hand, there would have been no neceſſity of inventing ſuch a Pretence, ſuppoſing there was no Foundation for it. I have enlarged a little on this Subject, becauſe of the great variety of opinions concerning the *Right* of Earl *Ethelred*.

Edward is apprehenſive his Niece will deliver Mercia to the Danes; and therefore ſeizes upon it himſelf. J. Bevour. Sax. An.

In their wars with *Edward*, the *Danes* daily loſt ground, whilſt the King, who knew how to improve his Advantages, puſhed them inceſſantly without giving them time to breathe. By which means he at length compelled them to ſubmit, and own him once more for their Sovereign. The *Mercian-Danes* were the firſt that threw down their Arms. The *Eaſt-Angles* followed ſoon after, and ſubmitted without Terms. The *Northumbrians* were the laſt, as being the moſt powerful, almoſt all *Northumberland* being inhabited by *Danes*. The progreſs *Edward* had made in the other Provinces, convinced them, it would be better to ſubmit than continue a war, which muſt end in their ruin. They were then governed by three Kings. *Sithric* and *Nigel* his Brother reigned beyond the *Tine*, and *Reginald*, who reſided at *York*, ruled all the Country between the *Tine* and the *Humber*. Some time after, *Sithric* having ſlain his Brother *Nigel*, became ſole King of the North.

921, & 922. *The Danes ſubmit to* Edward. Flor. Wig. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. M. Weſt.

The ſtate of the *Welſh* depended in ſome meaſure on that of the *Danes*. As long as the *Danes* were in Arms, the Kings of *England* left the *Welſh* peaceably to enjoy their Liberty. But as ſoon as they had nothing to fear from the North, they ſeldom failed to attack them. At ſuch a juncture it was, that *Elfleda*, aſſiſted by the Troops of the King her Brother, compelled them to become her Tributaries. After her death the *Welſh* endeavoured to free themſelves from the Tribute ſhe had laid upon them, and to keep *Edward* employed, ſent a powerful Aid to the *Danes*. *Edward*, having then other affairs upon his hands, took no notice of it: but as ſoon as he had concluded a Peace with the *Danes*, marched againſt *Rees ap Madoc* (2) King of *Wales*, who was aſſiſted by *Leoffreth* a *Daniſh* General. After ſeveral indeciſive Skirmiſhes, *Edward* at laſt obtained a ſignal Victory, which reduced the *Welſh* King to a neceſſity of ſuing for Peace, with a promiſe of paying the uſual Tribute. In fine, the *Britons* of *Cumberland*, who had put themſelves under the Protection of the *Danes*, ſubmitted alſo to *Edward*. Some Hiſtorians pretend, the King of *Scotland* following their Example, did Homage for his Kingdom to the King of *England*. But the *Scots* not only deny the Fact, but maintain it could not poſſibly be, ſince the word *Homage* was never uſed in *Great-Britain* 'till after the *Norman Conqueſt*. But this reaſon is not deciſive, for the thing ſignified by that Term might be in uſe under another name. And indeed, the Sovereignty of *Alfred* and *Edward* over the *Northumbrian Danes* and the *Mercians* in the time of *Ethelred* and *Elfleda*, was nothing elſe but a right of *Homage* from thoſe Countries, though perhaps the word was not then in uſe.

Edward ſubdues the Welſh.

J. Bevour.

The Cumberland Britons *ſubmit, and likewiſe the King of* Scotland. Flor. Wig. M. Weſt.

Edward was enjoying the Fruits of his Victories, feared and reſpected by all that could give him any umbrage at home, and greatly eſteemed by all Princes abroad, when death took him out of the World in 925, after a reign of twenty four years (3). He gained as great a Reputation by his Arms as the King his Father, ſince, like him, he gave Law to all *England*, and procured the Kingdom a reposé. But if he equalled the great *Alfred* in military Virtues, it muſt be owned he was far ſhort of his illuſtrious Father in all other reſpects (4).

925. Edward's *Death.*

He had Children by three Wives, the firſt named *Egwina*, a Shepherd's Daughter, was only a *Concubine*. An Hiſtorian relates concerning this Woman, a ſort of *Romance*, which, on account of the Sequel, it will be neceſſary to inſert. I call it a *Romance*, ſince by the Author's own confeſſion, it has no better Foundation than ſome *old Songs* handed down to his time (5); much the ſame with your *Spaniſh Romances*, wherein are related ſeveral Stories of their ancient Kings. The Hiſtorian ſays, *Egwina*, a Shepherd's Daughter, as ſhe lay aſleep in the Fields, dreamt that the Moon ſhone out of her Womb ſo bright that all *England* was enlightned by the Splendor. Some time after, ſhe took occaſion to relate her Dream to an old Woman that had been King *Edward*'s Nurſe. This Woman, who pretended to interpret Dreams, imagining there was ſomething extraordinary in this, took *Egwina* into her Houſe, and educated her not as a Country Wench, but as a Perſon of Quality. *Egwina* anſwered all the old Nurſe's care and pains about her, and in time became an accompliſhed Beauty. Whilſt ſhe was in the Houſe of her Benefactreſs, Prince *Edward*, before he was King, happening to paſs by the place where his Nurſe lived, made her a Viſit. He caſt his Eyes on *Egwina*, and immediately fell deſperately in Love with her. His paſſion was ſo violent, that in the moſt moving and affecting manner he ſollicited the Nurſe to put him in poſſeſſion of the charming *Egwina*. The old Woman, who had a great affection for *Edward*, and had always the Dream in her Thoughts, yielded to his requeſt, and brought *Egwina* to conſent to what he deſired ſo paſſionately. From that Time, *Edward* was extremely fond of *Egwina*, and had by her three Children, of whom *Athelſtan*, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. *Alfred* the ſecond died before his Father. The third was a Daughter, called by ſome *Editha*, by others *Beatrix*.

The Story of Edward *and* Egwina. Malmſb. Brompt.

Children of Edward *by* Egwina.

By another Wife, *Edward* had two Sons and ſix Daughters, *Elfward* the eldeſt Son died at *Oxford* a few Days after his Father; ſo that he had no time to taſte the ſweets of a Crown. *Edwin* the ſecond was deprived of his juſt Rights, and came to a tragical End, as ſhall be related hereafter. Of the ſix Daughters, ſome were married to powerful Princes, by the care of their Brother *Athelſtan*, and others became *Nuns*. *Elfleda* the eldeſt was Abbeſs of *Ramſey* (6). *Ogina* was married to *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, and was Mother of *Lewis d'Outre Mer*. *Edilda* paſſed her Days in a Monaſtery. The fourth, of the ſame Name, was married to *Hugh the Great*, Earl of *Paris*, Father of *Hugh Capet*. *Edgitha* was Wife of *Otho* Emperor of *Germany*. *Edgiva* the youngeſt eſpouſed *Lewis the Blind*, King of *Provence*, who had a Son by her, named *Conſtantine*.

Children by another Wife.

By *Edgiva* his third Wife, *Edward* had two Sons and two Daughters. *Edmund* and *Edred* the two Sons were both Kings of *England*. *Edburga* was a *Nun*, and her Siſter *Edgiva* was married to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain*.

Children by his third Wife.

It is very probable, this *Edgiva* was confounded with her Siſter of the ſame name by the ſecond Wife, who was married to *Lewis* King of *Provence*, becauſe there was *then* no Prince of *Aquitain* mentioned in Hiſtory.

The *Daniſh* Hiſtorians give *Edward* another Daughter named *Thyra*, who, as they affirm, was Wife of *Gormon* III, one of their Kings. It is ſtrange they ſhould ſpeak ſo poſitively of a Princeſs of *England*, unknown to all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

During the reign of *Edward the Elder*, *Rollo* chief of the *Normans* in *France*, had gotten ſuch firm footing in *Neuſtria*, that it was not in the Power of the *French* to drive him thence; *Charles the Simple*, then King of *France*, was forced, in order to free himſelf from the continual fears of ſo troubleſome a Neighbour, to give him a grant of that part of *Neuſtria* he was poſſeſſed of, lying between the *Seine* and the *Epte*, with the Title of *Duke of Normandy*. The conditions were, that *Rollo* ſhould do *Homage* to the Crown of *France*, be baptized and marry *Giſelle* the King's Daughter. *Rollo* died, according to *Mezerai*, in 917. Some place his death in 924, and others with ſtill leſs reaſon in 928. *William* his Son, by *Poppa* Daughter of the Earl of *Bayeux*, was his Succeſſor.

Rollo *gets poſſeſſion of* Normandy. Mezerai. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 5.

His Death.

William *ſucceeds him.*

(1) *Reginald* King of the *Danes*. See *Tyrrel*.
(2) i. e. *Rees* the Son of *Madoc*. *Rapin*.
(3) He died at *Farringdon* in *Berkſhire*, and was buried at *Winchester* by his Father. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.*
(4) He built and repaired ſeveral Caſtles and Towns; *viz. Anno* 918, he built two Caſtles at *Buckingham*, one on each Side the River *Ouſe*. *Anno* 919, he built one at *Bedford*, on the South Side of the River. *Anno* 920, he repaired and fortified *Maldon* in *Eſſex*. *Anno* 921, he did the ſame at *Toceſter* in *Northamptonſhire*, *Wigmore* in *Herefordſhire*, *Colchester* in *Eſſex*, and *Huntingdon*. *Anno* 922, He built a Caſtle at *Stamford*. *Anno* 923, he repaired *Thelwall* in *Cheſhire* and *Manchester*. *Anno* 924 he built a new Town at *Nottingham*, on the South Side of the *Trent*; and alſo one near *Bakewell* in *Derbyſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.*
(5) Magis ex cantilenis, quam ex libris, ſays *Malmſbury*. The Story is told at large in *Brompton*, p. 831.
(6) In *Hampſhire*.

8. ATHELSTAN.

925. Athelſtan *is elected King of* England. Sax. Ann.

ELSWARD, *Edward*'s eldeſt Son, ſurviving his Father but a few Days, and the reſt of the legitimate children being all under Age, *Athelſtan*, Son of *Egwina*, was placed on the Throne, with the Conſent of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*. Though this Prince had a mixture of *Baſe* and *Royal* Blood in his Veins, the laſt had ſo far the aſcendant, that the blemiſh of his Birth was entirely effaced by his noble Qualities. *Alfred* his Grandfather had conferred the honour of *Knighthood* upon him, by girding him with a Sword according to the Cuſtom of thoſe days. *Edward* his Father had committed the care of his Education to Earl *Ethelred* his Brother-in-law, and the Princeſs *Elfleda* his Siſter, who did their utmoſt to train him up to Virtue. As he had been preſent at all their *Councils*, and attended them in all their warlike expeditions, he had acquired ſo great experience both in *Military* and *Political* Affairs, as joined to his natural Parts, gained him the eſteem of all the World. So that when he mounted the Throne, he was not only of a fit age, being then in his thirtieth year, but alſo very capable to govern. Hiſtory does not inform us what determined the *Engliſh* to give the Crown to this Prince, notwithſtanding his *illegitimate* Birth (1). However, his Father thought this defect a ſufficient Reaſon to ſet him by, and name for his Succeſſor another of his Sons born in Wedlock, though younger than *Athelſtan*. In all likelihood, after the death of *Elfward*, *Athelſtan*'s mature Age and noble Qualities gained him the preference before *Edwin*, the eldeſt of the *legitimate* Sons, but too young to govern (2).

Malmſb. l. 2. c. 6.

A Plot againſt the King. Malmſb.

This Election however was not pleaſing to all. Some of the principal Lords diſdaining to be governed by a Baſtard conſpired to dethrone *Athelſtan*, and place *Edwin* in his room. *Alfred*, chief of the Conſpirators, had even taken private meaſures to ſeize *Athelſtan* at *Wincheſter*, and put out his Eyes. This Plot being diſcovered, he was apprehended by the King's Order, but would confeſs nothing. He obſtinately perſiſted in proteſting his Innocency, and offered to purge himſelf by Oath in the preſence of the *Pope*. Although this way of juſtifying himſelf was far from being a proof of his Innocence, *Athelſtan* was ſatisfied with it, and ſent him to *Rome*, to take his Oath before Pope *John*. Perhaps he was unwilling to begin his Reign with Blood, or it may be, was apprehenſive, the treating too ſeverely a perſon of the firſt Rank, would draw upon him the ill-will of the *Nobles*. Shortly after, word was ſent him from *Rome*, that *Alfred* having ſworn his Innocence before the Pope, ſuddenly fell into a fainting fit, which laſting three days, ended with his Life; and that the Pope, convinced by this accident of *Alfred*'s Perjury, had ordered his Body to remain in the *Engliſh College* 'till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known. *Athelſtan*, pleaſed with being thus rid of his Enemy without having directly contributed to his death, conſented he ſhould have Chriſtian burial. However, his Lands were confiſcated, and given to *Malmsbury Monaſtery*. The King took care to inſert in the Grant the whole Conſpiracy, to teſtify to the world that he dedicated to God what was his own.

The Danes *begin to ſtir.*

In the mean time, new troubles were preparing for the King. As the *Danes*, ſettled in *England*, had been ſubdued by force, they thought it lawful to make uſe of the ſame means to ſhake off their yoke. The death of *Edward*, and the conſpiracy of *Alfred*, affording them, as they imagined, a favourable opportunity to revolt, they had begun to take ſuch meaſures as obliged *Athelſtan* to march into their Country. He would doubtleſs have met with more reſiſtance, had he given them time to make greater Preparations. But as they had not yet drawn their Forces together, they were ſo ſurprized by the arrival of the King on their Frontiers, that without endeavouring to defend themſelves, they returned to their Allegiance. *Sithric*, one of their Kings (3), went and ſued for Peace, upon what terms the King was pleaſed to impoſe. *Athelſtan* being deſirous to live in Peace with the *Danes*, that he might have time to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Throne, not only pardoned his Revolt, but gave him his Siſter *Editha* in Marriage, on condition he would receive Baptiſm (4).

Athelſtan *marches into* Northumberland.

They are forced to ſubmit. Malmſb. Fl. Wig.

The troubles in the North being thus appeaſed, *Athelſtan* marched back to *Weſſex*, where advice was brought him ſoon after of *Sithric*'s Death, who by a former Marriage had left two Sons (5), *Anlaff* and *Godfrid*. As the Hiſtories of thoſe times are not very particular, we are ignorant of the reaſon of *Athelſtan*'s reſolving to deprive theſe two Princes of their Father's Dominions. However that be, as ſoon as he heard of *Sithric*'s Death, he returned at the head of his Army into *Northumberland*. His March was ſo expeditious, that *Anlaff* and *Godfrid* (6), as well as *Reginald*, another *Daniſh* King reſiding at *York*, had ſcarce time to eſcape falling into his hands. Their haſty flight gave him opportunity of becoming maſter of all *Northumberland*, except the Caſtle of *York*.

Athelſtan's ſecond expedition to the North. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd. Hoved.

He ſeizes all Northumberland.

Though he had taken care to ſecure his Conqueſt, by placing ſtrong Gariſons in all the Towns, he was uneaſy at the eſcape of the three *Daniſh* Princes. He would have been very glad to have them in his power; but, with regard to two, the thing was impoſſible. It was not known what was become of *Reginald*, and *Anlaff* was fled into *Ireland*, where it was no eaſy matter to come at him. *Athelſtan* therefore was forced to be ſatisfied with requiring *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland* to deliver up *Godfrid*, who had retired into his Dominions. *Conſtantine* being ſenſible, he was not in condition to deny any thing to a Prince at the head of ſo powerful an Army, promiſed to deliver the Prince into his hands, and give him a meeting at *Dacor* (7). But whilſt he was preparing for his Journey, *Godfrid* made his eſcape, either through the negligence or connivance of *Conſtantine*, who however went to meet *Athelſtan* accompanied with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*. *Athelſtan* admitted *Conſtantine*'s excuſes for the *Daniſh* Prince's eſcape. But if the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians are to be credited, he obliged both the Kings to do Homage for their Kingdoms (8). However, the *Scots* poſitively deny that *England* had ever any right of Sovereignty over *Scotland* 'till the twelfth *Century*. But this diſpute, which was never decided, will for the future be dropt, ſince *England* and *Scotland* make now but one Kingdom.

An interview of the Kings of England *and* Scotland. Malmſb.

Remarks on the pretended homage of Conſtantine. Buchanan.

Before *Athelſtan* quitted the *North*, *Godfrid* made an Attempt upon *York*, by means of the Caſtle, where he had ſtill ſome Friends (9). But miſſing his aim, he put to Sea, where for ſome time he exerciſed Piracy. At length, tired with that way of Life, he ſurrendered himſelf to the King of *England*, who received him kindly, and allowed him a handſome Penſion. Some time after, upon ſome diſguſt or ill-grounded ſuſpicion, he withdrew again, and was never more heard of.

Godfrid's deſtiny.

Anlaff, a Prince of greater Abilities than his Brother, took better meaſures for his Reſtoration. He had retired into *Ireland*, where being informed that the King of *Scotland* was diſpleaſed with *Athelſtan*, believed he might make uſe of this opportunity to perſuade him to eſpouſe his Cauſe. To that end, he came into *Scotland* and intimated to *Conſtantine*, that he had reaſon to fear the worſt from the King of *England*. He repreſented to him, that *Athelſtan* having by ſurprize ſeized upon *Northumberland*, without any the leaſt pretence, might proceed in the ſame manner with regard to *Scotland*, and therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent him. To this he added the offer of a powerful aid from *Ireland*, aſſuring him, with that increaſe of ſtrength he might eaſily drive *Athelſtan* out of *Northumberland*, and free himſelf from a troubleſome and dangerous Neighbour, by reſtoring that Kingdom to the *Danes*, who would ſerve as a barrier againſt *England*. *Anlaff* found no great difficulty to prevail with the King of *Scotland*, who, beſides his being ſecretly exaſperated at the haughty reception he met with at the late Interview, was grown uneaſy at *Athelſtan*'s Succeſſes, and apprehenſive of being invaded himſelf. He reſolved there-

Anlaff *and* Conſtantine *join againſt* Athelſtan. Malmſb. Hoveden.

(1) *Malmſbury* ſays, that there was no other Objection againſt him but this, If it was true, p. 48.

(2) *Athelſtan* was crowned at *Kingſton upon Thames* by *Athelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Ceremony of Crowning and Anointing the *Engliſh* Kings was, in all probability, firſt uſed in the Reign of *Alfred*.

(3) King of the *Northumbrians*. *Malmſbury*, p. 48.

(4) She was Daughter to *Edward* and *Egwina*. After *Sithric*'s Death, (who lived but one Year after his Marriage,) ſhe became a Nun at *Polefworth* in *Warwickſhire*. *Flor. Worc. Malmſb. Jo. Wallingford* ſays, that *Sithric* upon his Marriage with *Editha*, was advanced by *Athelſtan* to the Title of *King*, and that he gave him for his Kingdom all the Country from the River *Tees*, as far as *Edinburgh*; from which time the *Danes* began to ſettle in thoſe Parts, who before rambled about all over *England*. See *Tyrrel*, p. 330.

(5) *Flor. Wor.* more probably ſuppoſes *Anlaff* not to have been the Son of *Sithric* King of *Northumberland*, but of another of that name, King of *Ireland*, and who had married the Daughter of *Conſtantine*, p. 603. *Brompt.* 839.

(6) *Huntingdon* and *Brompton* call him the Father of *Reginald*, p. 354, 838. *Malmſbury* calls him *Aldulph*, p. 48.

(7) *Dacre* in *Cumberland*. *Camd.*

(8) This Homage is mentioned neither in the *Saxon Annals*, nor in *Marianus Scotus*, nor *Florence* of *Worceſter*.

(9) But *Athelſtan* took it and pulled it down. *Malmſbury*, p. 50.

fore

fore to imbark in this Enterprize; and having concerted Meaſures with *Anlaff*, they parted in order to go and prepare what each had engaged to provide.

Athelſtan *defeats* Howel *King of* Wales. Malmſb.

Mean while *Athelſtan*, having viewed his Garriſons, and taken all the Precautions he thought proper to ſecure his late Conqueſts, was returned into *Weſſex*, where he remained in Peace, not knowing what his Enemies had plotted againſt him. Shortly after, he was engaged in a War with *Howel* King of *Wales*. This new Enemy was raiſed by *Conſtantine*, to keep him employed againſt the *Welſh*, whilſt he and *Anlaff* ſhould invade *Northumberland*. *Athelſtan*, by his expedition, broke all the meaſures of the King of *Scotland*. The moment he was informed of the Motions of the *Welſh*, and the Aid ſent them by *Conſtantine*, he marched into *Wales*, and giving *Howel* Battle obtained a complete Victory (1). After this happy Succeſs, he augmented the Tribute paid by that Prince to *England* (2).

Brompt.

934. *He marches into* Scotland, Sax. Ann. Fordun, l. 4. c. 22.

This War being thus ended, *Athelſtan* approached the Borders of *Scotland*, to make *Conſtantine* repent of his aſſiſting the *Welſh*. As ſoon as he entered the Enemy's Country. he took ſome Towns, and gave the *Scots* reaſon to dread more conſiderable Loſſes. As *Anlaff* was not yet arrived with the promiſed Supplies, *Conſtantine* durſt not venture to engage alone in this War againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, who was already in his Dominions, and in condition to carry on his Conqueſts much further. Wherefore, to gain time till the *Iriſh* joined him, he ſued for Peace. *Athelſtan* readily granted his requeſt, being extremely deſirous to make that Prince his Friend, for fear he ſhould countenance the Inſurrections of the *Northumbrians*. For this reaſon he reſtored to him all the Places he had conquered in *Scotland*, in expectation of gaining by this Generoſity a Prince whoſe Friendſhip it was his Intereſt to cultivate. Some Hiſtorians however affirm, *Athelſtan* obliged *Conſtantine* to do him *Homage* for *Scotland*. But this is what the *Scots* will never allow.

and makes a Peace with Conſtantine.

938. Conſtantine *renews the War.*

Athelſtan's Generoſity was not ſufficient to hinder *Conſtantine* from purſuing the Execution of his firſt Projects. He rather haſtened his Preparations the more, being extremely vexed, he ſhould be forced to receive Obligations from a Prince whom he always conſidered as his Enemy. Mean while, *Athelſtan* was returned to *Weſſex*, where he hoped to enjoy ſome Repoſe, as he ſaw nothing about him likely to give him any Diſturbance. But he met at home in his own Family with what troubled him more than any thing the War could occaſion.

Athelſtan *puts his Brother* Edwin *to Death*, Brompt. Malmſb.

A certain Court-Lord, Enemy to Prince *Edwin* the King's Brother, accuſed the young Prince of being concerned in *Alfred*'s Conſpiracy. The King too readily gave Ear to this Accuſation. He was eaſily induced to believe that a Prince in whoſe favour the Conſpiracy was formed was not innocent. It may be too, he was not ſorry to find him guilty, as it gave him an Opportunity to diſpatch him out of the way. However, he would not put him to death publickly, but ordered him to be expoſed to the Fury of the Waves in a Veſſel without Sails or Rudder. The young Prince went on board proteſting his Innocence, but finding the King inexorable, he caſt himſelf headlong into the Sea (3). *Athelſtan* at firſt was ſecretly pleaſed with this Occaſion to deſtroy his Brother; but the moment he had gratified his Paſſion, was ſeized with grievous Remorſe. To quiet his Conſcience he was adviſed to atone for his Crime by ſome meritorious Act. With this View he founded the Abby of *Middleton* in *Dorſetſhire* (4), where Prayers were offered to Heaven, Day and Night, for him and his Brother's Soul. The Hiſtorians add (5), that, not content with this, he ſubmitted to a ſeven Years Penance, but do not inform us wherein it conſiſted. *Edwin*'s Accuſer had not reaſon long to rejoice at the Succeſs of his malicious Calumnies. One day as he waited at Table with the King's Cup, one of his Feet ſlipping, he would certainly have fallen, had he not by the Nimbleneſs of the other recovered himſelf. Whereupon he jokingly ſays, *See how one Brother helps another*. This Jeſt coſt him his Life. *Athelſtan*, who overheard what he ſaid, taking it for a Reproach or Banter upon him, ordered him to be executed immediately, and thus revenged his Brother's Death by That of his falſe Accuſer (6).

and repents of it.

Conſtantine *and* Anlaff *invade* Northumberland Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Ingulph. Hoved.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at Court, *Conſtantine* continued his Preparations for the execution of the Project concerted between him and *Anlaff*. This laſt, whom ſome groundleſly ſtile *King of Ireland*, had found means to engage in the League, the *Iriſh*, *Welch*, and *Northumbrian Danes*, who ardently deſired to have a King of their own Nation on the Throne. *Anlaff* appeared as head of this League, though *Conſtantine* was no leſs concerned in it, the War being carried on chiefly at his Expence. This Project was managed ſo privately, that *Anlaff* entered the *Humber* with a Fleet of ſix hundred Sail, and invaded *Northumberland* before *Athelſtan* had any Intelligence of his Motions. With ſo conſiderable Forces, and the Aſſiſtance of the *Danes* ſettled in thoſe Parts, he eaſily became Maſter of ſeveral ſmall ill-guarded Towns. But the fortified Places that were well garriſoned by the *Engliſh*, ſtopped his Progreſs, and gave *Athelſtan* time to draw his Army together. He uſed ſo great expedition, that he ſurpriſed the two confederate Princes. They were now upon the March towards *Bernicia*, in order to conquer it for the King of *Scotland*, but found they were obliged to turn back and oppoſe King *Athelſtan*, who was very near them, when they imagined him as yet employed in his Preparations. The two Armies met at *Brunanburgh* (7), where a bloody Battle was fought. Victory declared for *Athelſtan*, and the Allies loſt *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, ſix other *Iriſh* or *Welſh* Kings, and twelve Earls and General Officers. This Victory was chiefly owing to the Valour of *Turketul*, the King's Couſin, who was afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*. *Athelſtan* after winning this Battle, eaſily extended his Conqueſts farther into *Scotland*, and chaſtiſed the *Welſh* by raiſing their Tribute to twenty Pound weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and twenty five thouſand Head of Cattle. Beſides, they were pent up beyond the *Wye*, and loſt all the Country between that River and the *Severn*. As for the *Northumbrian Danes*, who had openly ſided with the Allies, *Athelſtan* for a Puniſhment encreaſed their Yoke, and kept for the future a ſtricter hand over them. After he had ſettled the Affairs of the North, he marched againſt the *Corniſh Britons*, who had likewiſe aſſiſted the Confederates. He took *Exeter*, formerly deſtroyed by the *Danes*, and cauſed it to be carefully repaired and fortified. From that time, the *Britons* were forced to retire beyond the *Tamar*, which ſerved for a Boundary to the two Nations. They were, before this Expedition, mixed with the *Engliſh* in ſome of the *Weſtern* Counties.

Malmſb.

Miracles done in favour of Athelſtan. Brompt. Fordun, l. 4. c. 23.

In almoſt every page of the Hiſtories of thoſe Days, we meet with Miracles wrought in favour of the Friends and Protectors of the Monks. *Athelſtan* who had been a good Benefactor to them, with intent to atone for the murder of his Brother, was a great favourite with them. Accordingly they have not failed to give him the uſual marks of their Gratitude. They ſay, at the word of St. *John of Beverley*, he ſtruck his Sword three Yards deep in a ſolid Rock, which yielded like Butter. They tell us alſo, that having loſt his Sword in the Battle of *Brunanburgh*, another from Heaven came and ſheathed itſelf in his Scabbard. But it would be loſt time to relate all the Miracles the Monks have thought fit to ſtuff their Hiſtories with. It will not be amiſs however to note, that the Cuſtom of embelifhing all remarkable Events with Miracles, was in faſhion for ſeveral Ages.

He avoids being ſlain by the Advice of a Soldier. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 6.

I ſhall conclude the Reign of *Athelſtan* with an Incident, the beſt Hiſtorians have thought worth their Notice. A few days before the Battle of *Brunanburgh*, *Anlaff* wanting to know the Poſture of the Enemy, went into the *Engliſh* Camp diſguiſed like a Harper, as *Alfred the Great* had formerly done. But notwithſtanding his Diſguiſe, he was known by a Soldier, who however ſuffered him to go away

(1) But he reſtored *Howel* (and *Conſtantine*) to their Kingdoms, ſaying, *It was more glorious to make a King, than to be one.* *Malmſb.* p. 48. *Brompt.* 838.

(2) *Malmsbury* intimates it was he who firſt laid it on. See him p. 50.

(3) With the Prince was put on board his Eſquire, who after the Prince had caſt himſelf into the Sea, was reſolved to ſave himſelf if he could, and meeting with better Fortune, was driven on Shore at a Place call'd *Whitſand*, on the Coaſt of *Picardy*. *Malmſb. Brompt.*

(4) Now called *Melton Abby*; it lies three Miles North of the *Piddle*. The greateſt Part of it is ſtill ſtanding, as having been the Seat of the *Tregonwells* ever ſince its Diſſolution; from whom it is lately come to the *Lutterells* of *Dunſter Caſtle*, by the Marriage of the Heireſs of Sir *John Tregonwell*. *Camd. Add. to Dorſetſhire.*

(5) *Brompt.* and *Malmſb.*

(6) As the Affair of *Edwin* is the only thing that ſullies the Memory of *Athelſtan*, *Malmsbury*, who relates it, diſbelieves the whole Story, becauſe of his great Kindneſs to his other Brothers and Siſters, and owns it was grounded only on ſome *Old Ballads*. *Huntingdon* ſpeaks of the Loſs of *Edwin* by Sea, but mentions it as a ſad Accident, and a great Misfortune to *Athelſtan*. *Brompton* indeed delivers it as a certain Truth. But *Buchanan* the *Scotch* Hiſtorian (ſuch was his Malice to this King's Memory) makes *Athelſtan* not only to have procured the Death of his Brother *Edwin*, but alſo of his Father King *Edward*, whom he therefore fancies to have been call'd the *Martyr*; and not content with this neither, adds, that he put to Death his Brother *Edred* alſo. More Miſtakes can ſcarce be committed in ſo few Lines; for in the firſt Place, it is agreed by all our Hiſtorians, that King *Edward* died a natural Death; and as for him whom he calls the *Martyr*, he was Son of King *Edgar*, nor did he begin to reign till above a hundred and fifty Years after. But as for what *Buchanan* objects againſt ſome of our late Hiſtorians for making *Conſtantine* to do Homage for *Scotland* to *Athelſtan*, he ſeems to be in the right. *See Note above.*

(7) Suppoſ'd to be *Bromford*, near *Bromridge*, in *Northumberland*; though ſome think it was ſomewhere nearer the *Humber*. In the Deſcription of this Battle, the Hiſtorians and Poets of that Age are extraordinary full of Rapture and Bombaſt. The *Saxon Annaliſt*, wont to be ſober and ſuccinct, launches out ſtrangely upon this Occaſion. *Sax. Ann.* 938. *Axminſter* in the Borders of *Devonſhire* is famous for the Tombs of the *Saxon* Princes ſlain in this Battle of *Brunanburgh*, and brought hither after their Death. *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 44. After this Victory, *Athelſtan* took *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* from the *Scots*, and recovered *Northumberland* from the *Danes*.

undiſcovered. As ſoon as the Soldier thought him ſafe, he told *Athelſtan* what had happened, and adviſed him to remove his Tent, judging *Anlaff* had ſome deſign upon that Quarter. He excuſed himſelf for not having diſcovered this Secret ſooner, by ſaying, *he had formerly given his* Military *Oath to* Anlaff, *and therefore could not reſolve to betray him.* *Athelſtan* forgave him, and followed his Advice, which he ſoon found to be of great conſequence. The next Night the *Daniſh* Prince, with a Body of choſen Troops, attacked the *Engliſh* Camp, and penetrated to the very place where he had ſeen the King's Tent. A Biſhop (coming to the Camp that Night, and) accidentally pitching his Tent in the ſame place, was ſlain with all his Followers.

941. Athelſtan's *Death.*

Athelſtan out-lived the Victory of *Brunanburgh* but three Years. He died a natural Death in 941, in the forty ſixth year of his Age, and the ſixteenth of his Reign (1). Hiſtorians have dilated on the glorious Succeſs of his Arms, but much more on the Miracles Heaven wrought in his favour. But without inſiſting on the wonders his Hiſtory abounds with, I ſhall content my ſelf with giving him this Commendation: His Merits made him to be equally feared by his Neighbours, beloved by his Subjects, and reſpected by the greateſt Princes in *Europe* (2). The Emperor *Otho*, and *Hugh the Great* his Brothers-in-law, gave him frequent demonſtrations of their Eſteem, by making him conſiderable Preſents. The noble Matches he made for thoſe of his Siſters who preferred the Marriage-ſtate to a *Cloyſter*, are clear Evidences of his great Reputation in the World. His Siſter *Ogina*, Widow of *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, being obliged to fly for refuge into *England* with her Son *Lewis*, who from thence had the Sirname of *Outremer*, he gave them an honourable Reception and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary during their *Exile*. It is even affirmed, his Application and Credit did not a little contribute to the reſtoring the King his Nephew to the Throne of his Anceſtors. Tho' he ſeemed to be intirely engroſſed by military Affairs, he found time however to cauſe Juſtice and Civil Government to flouriſh in his Dominions; witneſs the excellent Laws he from time to time added to thoſe of *Alfred* his Grandfather. It appears from theſe Laws, ſeveral whereof are ſtill extant, that his Intent was, all Perſons, *Eccleſiaſtical* as well as *Civil*, ſhould be ſubject to them. He was no Friend to thoſe *Privileges* and *Immunities*, the Clergy have ſo much improved, and which very often ſerve only to authorize Wickedneſs, and prove a *Sanctuary* to Criminals.

His Character. Malmſb. Ingulph.

Amongſt all the Monuments of his Piety, which for the moſt part conſiſted only in building and endowing Monaſteries, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Days, the Tranſlation of the Scriptures into *Saxon*, the then vulgar Tongue, is one, the Uſefulneſs whereof appears to be leaſt dubious. He took particular care to have it well done, employing thoſe that were deemed the moſt learned Perſons in the Kingdom. Hence it is evident, how much the State of Learning had been improved by the wiſe regulations of the *Great Alfred*, ſince in his time it would have been impoſſible to find any *Engliſhman* capable of undertaking a Work of that nature. *He gets the Bible tranſlated into* Saxon.

The famous *Dunſtan*, ſo often mentioned hereafter was born in the firſt Year of this Reign. *Birth of* Dunſtan.

Athelſtan having no Iſſue, *Edmund*, the eldeſt of the legitimate Sons of *Edward the Elder*, was unanimouſly placed on the Throne. Edmund *made King.*

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9. EDMUND I.

Edmund I.

ATHELSTAN left *England* in profound Tranquility. The *Welſh* paid their Tribute regularly. *Anlaff*, after his Defeat, was retired into *Ireland*, where he ſeemed to lay aſide all Thoughts of any further Projects; and the *Danes* remained in ſubjection. But as ſoon as this Prince was laid in his grave, theſe laſt prepared for a Revolt. *Edmund*'s Youth made them hope, they ſhould at length be able to accompliſh their long projected Deſign of having a King of their own Nation, and throwing off the *Engliſh* Yoke. *Anlaff* having perfect Intelligence how they ſtood inclined, reſolved to make uſe of this Juncture to recover the Crown of *Northumberland*. But as he was ſenſible this grand Undertaking could not be executed without a foreign Aid, he found means to perſuade *Olaus*, King of *Norway*, to eſpouſe his Cauſe, who promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. With the Troops lent him by this Prince, he once more entered *Northumberland*, and appearing before *York*, the Gates were opened to him, by means of the good underſtanding between him and the principal Inhabitants. The Example of the *Metropolis* was followed by moſt of the other Towns, whoſe Garriſons were either expelled, or cut in pieces by the Citizens, who were generally of *Daniſh* race. *Anlaff*, not content with being maſter of *Northumberland*, marched into *Mercia* (3), where his Countrymen received him with open Arms, and aſſiſted him in recovering ſeveral places which *Edward the Elder* had formerly taken from them.

Anlaff *invades* Northumberland, Six. Aun. Malmſb. S. Dunelm. J. Wallingford.

and makes great Progreſs.

942. Tho' *Edmund* was not above ſeventeen or eighteen Years of age, the Progreſs of the Enemy was ſo far from daunting him, that it rather made him more eager to decide by a Battle, to whom a Country, ſo often and ſo long contended for, ſhould belong. As ſoon as he had drawn all his Forces together, he reſolutely marched towards the North, though he well knew the Superiority of his Enemy. On the other hand, *Anlaff* hearing *Edmund* was advancing with long Marches to give him Battle, went to meet him with the ſame Reſolution. The two Armies meeting near *Cheſter* (4), came to an Engagement, wherein Victory held the Balance ſo even, that when Night came, neither could boaſt the leaſt Advantage. Both Sides prepared to renew the Fight as ſoon as Day ſhould appear. But the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York* (5), who were in the two Armies, laboured ſo earneſtly to make Peace, that a Treaty was begun that very Evening, and concluded by break of Day. This Peace was the more eaſily made, as neither of the Parties could inſiſt upon any Advantage gained in that Day's Action, ſince neither of them could know either their own or the Enemy's Loſs. By this Treaty, *Edmund* was obliged to deliver up to the *Danes* all the Country lying North of the *Roman* High-way, called *Watlingſtreet*, which divided *England* into almoſt two equal parts, running from North *Wales* to the moſt ſouthern parts of *Kent*, quite to the Sea. *Edmund* was not at all pleaſed with theſe Terms, but was in a manner forced to accept them by the Nobles that were in his Army. The Lords, weighing the hopes of recovering what was loſt, with the Apprehenſion of being ſtill greater Loſers, judged it better to end the War on theſe Conditions, than continue it with the Hazard of what might happen. Doubtleſs the Remembrance of the Calamities *England* was formerly expoſed to, made them the more willing to come to this Reſolution. Accordingly, *Anlaff* was put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, whoſe Bounds by this Treaty were enlarged with ſeveral Counties which his Father *Sithric* had never enjoyed. Edmund *and* Anlaff *divide* England *between them.*

A doubtful Battle produces a Peace.

S. Dunelm. Hoved.

The *Northumbrian Danes* had not reaſon long to rejoice at the Reſtoration of *Anlaff*, which they had ſo ardently deſired. This Prince having contracted a large Debt with the King of *Norway* for the Troops he had lent him, was willing to pay it. To this end, he laid heavy Taxes on the People, by which he forfeited their Affection. The Inhabitants of the ancient Kingdom of *Deïra* were the firſt that revolted, and having ſent for *Reginald*, his Brother *Godfrid*'s Son, crowned him King at *York*. *Reginald* was no ſooner on the Throne, but he made Preparations for the War againſt his Uncle, who was alſo preparing to diſpoſſeſs him. The Quarrel between theſe two Kings, put *Edmund* upon marching towards the North, at the head of an Army, as well to improve the preſent Opportunity, if there was any Appearance of Succeſs, as to appeaſe the Troubles there, being apprehenſive they might give occaſion to the foreign *Danes* to return into *England*. He arrived upon the Borders of *Northumberland* when the Uncle and Nephew, wholly intent upon their private Quarrel, thought of nothing leſs than repulſing the *Engliſh*. Probably, he might with eaſe have made himſelf maſter of that Kingdom; however, he was ſatisfied with procuring Peace between the two Kings, in ſuch a manner that *Reginald* was to keep the Crown he had lately received. 944. *Diviſions in* Northumberland. Edmund *marches thither,* *and ſubjects the two Kings who are baptized.*

(1) He died at *Gloucester*, and was buried with a great many *Trophies* at *Malmſbury*.
(2) *Malmſbury* concludes King *Athelſtan*'s Character with this Sentence: *His Life was little in Time, but great in Action*, lib. 2.
(3) Where he beſieged *Northampton*; from thence he went to *Tamworth*, and ravag'd all the Country round about. *S. Dunelm.* p. 134. *Hoved. Chron. de Mailros.*
(4) Ancient *Cheſter*, called by the *Romans*, *Urbs Legionis*, *Rapin*. It was ſo named from the twentieth *Legion*, who were encamp'd here to keep the *Ordovices* in awe; for the ſame Reaſon it was call'd by the *Britons* or *Welſh*, *Caer-leon*, and by the *Saxons*, *Legeo-ceſter*, ſuppoſ'd to be built about that time. *Rapin*.
(5) *Odo* and *Wulſtan*.

But

But at the ſame time, *Edmund* obliged them both to ſwear Allegiance to him, and be baptized, himſelf ſtanding Godfather.

The War breaks out afreſh. Sax. Ann. Huntin. l. 5.

This forced Peace laſted not long, *Edmund* was hardly return'd into *Weſſex*, when the two *Daniſh* Princes took up Arms with one Conſent to free themſelves from his Yoke, having engaged the *Mercian Danes* and the King of *Cumberland* to eſpouſe their Quarrel. Whereupon, *Edmund* immediately marched into *Mercia*, and before the *Danes* there could be joined by the *Northumbrians*, took from them *Leiceſter*, *Stafford*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and ſome other Places of leſs Note. Then advancing with the ſame Expedition towards *Northumberland*, he ſurprized the two Kings before they had drawn their Forces together. This ſudden Attack threw the *Northumbrians* into ſuch diſorder, that the two Kings fearing to fall into the hands of *Edmund*, believed it their only Refuge to abandon the Iſland, where they could not poſſibly remain in Safety, ſo cloſely were they purſued. Their Flight depriving the *Danes* of all Hopes of withſtanding *Edmund*, they threw down their Arms, and ſwore Allegiance.

The two Daniſh Kings fly out of England.

945. *Edmund ſubdues Cumberland and gives it to the King of Scotland.* Sax. Ann. Jordan. l. 4. c. 24.

Before he returned to *Weſſex*, *Edmund* reſolved to puniſh the King of *Cumberland*, who, without Cauſe, had ſided with the *Danes*. He eaſily ſubdued that little Kingdom, whoſe Forces bore no Proportion to his. However, he kept it not for himſelf, but thought it more for his Advantage to preſent it to the King of *Scotland*, in order to attach him to his Intereſt, and prevent him from aſſiſting the *Northumbrians* (1). However, he reſerved the Sovereignty of it, and obliged that Prince to do him Homage, and appear at the King of *England*'s Court, at the time of the ſolemn Feſtivals, if ſummoned. This perhaps is what gave occaſion to ſay, that from thenceforward the Kings of *Scotland* were Vaſſals to the Kings of *England*. They were certainly ſo with regard to *Cumberland*; but it does not follow from hence they did Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Edmund's Succeſſes, his Valour and Abilities, rendered him famous both at Home and Abroad. The King of *Denmark*, though frequently ſollicited by the *Danes* in *England*, did not think proper to aſſiſt them againſt a Prince of ſo great Reputation, and from whom there was ſo little to be got.

Edmund was not wholly employed in military Affairs; there are ſome of his Laws ſtill in being, which demonſtrate how deſirous he was of his People's Welfare and Happineſs. Having obſerved, *Pecuniary* Puniſhments were not ſufficient to put a ſtop to Robberies, which were generally committed by People who had nothing to loſe, he ordered, that in Gangs of Robbers, the oldeſt of them ſhould be condemned to the Gallows. This was the firſt Law in *England* that made it Death to rob or ſteal.

The Laws of Edmund. Brompton.

Probably this Prince would have render'd his People happy, had his Reign been longer; but a fatal Accident robbed him of his Life, when he began to enjoy the Fruits of his Victories. One day, as he was ſolemnizing a Feſtival (2) at *Pucklekirk* in *Glouceſterſhire* (3), he ſpied *Leolf*, a notorious Robber, who, though baniſhed the Kingdom for his Crimes, had the Impudence to come and ſit at one of the Tables in the Hall where the King was at Dinner. Enraged at his Inſolence, he commanded him to be apprehended (4). But perceiving he was drawing his Dagger to defend himſelf, the King leap'd up in great Fury, and catching hold of him by the Hair, dragged him out of the Hall. This imprudent Action coſt him his Life. Whilſt he was wholly intent upon venting his furious Paſſion, *Leolf* ſtabbed him in the Breaſt with his Dagger, ſo that he immediately expired upon the Body of his Murderer. This was the tragical End of King *Edmund* in 948, in the twenty-fifth Year of his Age, and the eighth of his Reign (5). By *Elgiva* his Wife he had two Sons, *Edwy* and *Edgar*, who did not ſucceed him by reaſon of their Minority. *Edred* his Brother was placed on the Throne by the unanimous Conſent of the *Clergy* and *Nobility* (6).

948. *The tragical End of* Edmund. G. Malm. S. Dunelm, Brompt. Malm.

His Wife and Children.

During this Reign *Dunſtan* began to appear in the World. He was in great Favour with *Edmund*, who made him Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*.

Dunſtan.

About this time *William Long-Sword*, ſecond Duke of *Normandy*, was aſſaſſinated by *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*, in a little Iſland of the *Somme* over-againſt *Pequigni*. *Richard* I. his Son, a Minor, ſucceeded him. As the Affairs of *Normandy* will hereafter be often mixed with thoſe of *England*, it is neceſſary to give an Account before-hand of the Succeſſion of the *Dukes* in that *Dukedom*.

The Affairs of Normandy.

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10. *EDRED.*

EDRED. *War of* Northumberland.

THE *Northumbrian Danes* bore the *Engliſh* Yoke with extreme Impatience. Nothing but Force was ſufficient to keep them in Subjection. Whenever they thought they had a favourable Opportunity to revolt, they ſeldom failed to embrace it. Though during *Edmund*'s Reign they had been very ſucceſsful, yet upon news of his Death they began to think of Means to recover their Liberty. They hoped his Succeſſor, whom as yet they knew not, would not have his Bravery, or at leaſt wanting his Experience, would not have the ſame Advantage over them. The better to execute their Deſigns, they gained to their Side *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who looked upon all Obligations to be cancell'd by the Death of *Edmund*. This Prince, as well as the *Danes*, was perſuaded, *Edred*, by reaſon of his Youth, would be ſo embaraſſed at this unexpected Attack, that it would not be poſſible for him to make any Reſiſtance. But the Succeſs was not anſwerable to their Expectations, *Edred*, not being inferior to his Predeceſſor, either in Conduct or Courage, was ſo very expeditious, that he was in the Heart of *Northumberland*, before the *Danes* were ready to oppoſe him. They were extremely ſurprized to find themſelves thus attacked, when as yet they had hardly diſcovered their Intention to revolt. However, as *Edred* was in the midſt of their Country, they were forced to ſubmit and ſue for Peace upon what Terms he pleaſed (7).

Sax. Ann. Huntin. l. 5.

Edred chaſtizes the Danes. S. Dunelm.

After having chaſtized the *Danes*, by fining ſome, and puniſhing others of the principal Authors of the Revolt, *Edred* advanced towards *Scotland*, to be revenged of the ungrateful *Malcolm*. But *Malcolm* ſeeing the *Northumbrians* ſubdued, and himſelf deſtitute of Aſſiſtance from that Quarter, concluded a Peace with *Edred*, paying him the *Homage* due to him.

He puniſhes the Danes. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

This Expedition being ended, *Edred* returned into *Weſſex*, imagining he had nothing more to fear from the North. But he was unacquainted with the *Danes*. He had ſcarce begun to enjoy ſome Repoſe, when they revolted again and recalled *Anlaff*. Their Meaſures were ſo juſt, and *Anlaff*'s Expedition ſo great, that he made himſelf Maſter of the moſt conſiderable Places before *Edred* could draw his Army together. Whilſt he was preparing to ſave *Northumberland*, *Anlaff* continued his Conqueſts and put his Affairs in ſuch condition, that his Enemy ſaw no Poſſibility of recovering that Kingdom out of his hands. But the turbulent and tyrannical Temper of the new King would not ſuffer him to treat his Subjects more gently than formerly. In a little time ſo ſtrong a Party was formed againſt him, that he was forced once more to retire to *Ireland*, and one *Eric* was placed on the Throne.

949. Anlaff *is recalled, and recovers* Northumberland, Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

is driven out by his Subjects.

952.

Mean while, Part of the *Northumbrians* ſtill adhering to *Anlaff*, *Northumberland* was divided into two Factions, who endeavouring to deſtroy one another, gave *Edred* an Opportunity, he very well knew how to improve. He marched his Army without loſs of time into the North, whilſt all was in Confuſion there, and before the *Northumbrians* had taken any Meaſures to reſiſt him (8). At his Approach, *Eric* fled into *Scotland*, leaving his People to the Mercy of *Edred*, who threaten'd utterly to deſtroy their Country. Though they had no room to expect a ſecond

Edred *ſubdues* Northumberland, *and reduces it to a Province.* Ann. Sax.

950. S. Dunelm.

(1) He had it, upon condition of aſſiſting *Edmund* in his Wars both by Sea and Land. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 53. *Huntingd.* p. 355.

(2) In Memory of St. *Auguſtin*, who firſt preached the Goſpel to the *Anglo-Saxons*. *Malmſb.*

(3) Now *Puckle-Church*, a ſmall Village only, the Seat of the *Dennis*'s, whoſe Family have been eighteen times Sheriffs of that County. *Camd.*

(4) *Malmſb.* and *Brompton* ſay, that the reſt of the Gueſts being drunk, he was the only one that ſpied him, and flying upon him in a violent Paſſion, was ſtabb'd, p. 54, 858. But *Hoved. Chron. de Mailros*, &c. ſay, that he received the Wound as he was endeavouring to reſcue *Lean* his *Sewer* out of *Leolf*'s Hands. *Brompton* relates, that, according to ſome, *Leolf* eſcaped during the Confuſion and Hurry occaſion'd by this tragical Action, p. 838.

(5) He was buried at *Glaſſenbury*, where *Dunſtan* was Abbot; and the Town where he was kill'd was beſtow'd upon the ſame Monaſtery to ſing Maſſes for his Soul.

(6) And crown'd at *Kingſton* by *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 156. *Hoved.*

(7) Accordingly, *Anno* 947. *Wulſtan*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and all the *Northumbrian* Lords, ſwore fealty to him in a Town called *Tadenceſter*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 156. This Submiſſion of theirs was brought about by means of *Turketule*, Chancellor to *Edred*, who was ſent to reduce the *Northumbrians* to their Duty. See *Ingulph.* p. 30.

(8) And deſtroyed all the Rebels in a mercileſs manner. He waſted the Country ſo that it remained uncultivated for many Miles a long while after. In this general Devaſtation, *Ripon* Monaſtery was burnt. *Malmſb.* p. 155. *Ingulph.* p. 41. *S. Dunelm.* p. 156.

Pardon,

Pardon, after ſo notorious an Abuſe of the firſt, yet as they had no Refuge left, they caſt themſelves upon *Edred*'s Mercy, and amuſed him with the ſtrongeſt Proteſtations and moſt ſolemn Oaths. As this Prince was naturally of a generous Diſpoſition, he was moved with their ſubmiſſive Behaviour, and replaced *Eric* on the Throne, ſatisfied with impoſing a Tribute, and making him ſwear Allegiance, when he had, as he thought, allayed theſe Commotions, and he returned towards *Weſſex*, marching in a careleſs manner, not miſtruſting any Treachery from a People that had juſt received ſuch ſenſible Marks of his Clemency. But the *Danes*, who had been rather compelled by his Arms than gained by his Mildneſs, laid hold of the preſent Opportunity to attack him with Advantage. They privately came together, and laying an Ambuſh in his way, ſuddenly fell upon his Rear, and put them in extreme Diſorder. Had it not been for the Valour, Conduct, and Reſolution of the King, his Army had infallibly been cut in pieces; and it was not without great difficulty, that he eſcaped the preſent Danger. Enraged at their Perfidiouſneſs, he returned to *Northumberland*, with a Reſolution to puniſh them without Mercy. His Return cauſed an univerſal Conſternation. They beheld him ready to take Vengeance on them for their Breach of Faith, without being able to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. Their Ruin was unavoidable, if they offered to defend themſelves. In this Extremity, Submiſſion was their only Refuge (1). But being very ſenſible *Edred* would not be impoſed upon any more by general Proteſtations and Oaths, they humbly implored his Pardon upon what Terms he ſhould pleaſe to enjoin them. And to convince him further of their Sincerity, they ſolemnly renounced their Allegiance to *Eric*, and put *Amac*, Son of *Anlaff*, to death; charging them with being the principal Authors of their Treachery (2). *Edred* was appeaſed by theſe Submiſſions. However, to prevent the like Revolts, he ſecured all their Towns, and garriſon'd them with *Engliſh*. After that, having entirely diveſted it of its Royalty, he reduced *Northumberland* to a Province, and made Earl *Oſulf*, an *Engliſhman*, the firſt Governor. From thenceforward the *Northumbrians*, kept in awe by ſtrong Garriſons and the *Engliſh* Earls or Governors, gave *England* no further Diſturbance, till ſuch time as the foreign *Danes* once more became Maſters of *Northumberland*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

He makes Eric *ſwear Allegiance.*

He is ſuddenly attacked by the Danes, *and in great Danger.*

He returns into Northumberland.

The Danes *ſubmit to his Mercy.* Huntingd.

Northumberland *is made a Province.* S. Dunelm. Ch. Mailros.

After the *Northumbrians* were thus quelled, *Edred* lived in profound Peace. Abſolute Lord of all *England*, and dreaded by the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales* his Neighbours, he governed his Dominions in perfect Tranquillity. This great Calm was the Occaſion of his turning his Thoughts entirely to religious Affairs, being guided by the Advice of *Dunſtan* Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, who had great Influence over him. The Abbot knew ſo well how to improve his Credit with the King, that he became Maſter of his Conſcience, and conſequently of all State-Matters. When once a Prince ſuffers his Conſcience to be governed by his *Ghoſtly Father*, he will find it very difficult to with-hold from him the Management of his temporal Concerns, there being hardly any one thing but what may be made to relate to Religion in ſome reſpect or other. The Truſt *Edred* placed in *Dunſtan* was ſo great, that not content with being adviſed by him in all things, and making him *Treaſurer*, he ſubmitted ſometimes even to receive *Diſcipline* from his Hands. He was perſuaded, this blind Submiſſion to *Dunſtan* was the readieſt way to Heaven. To gratify this Favourite it was that he undertook the rebuilding of *Glaſſenbury* Church and Monaſtery, in a very ſumptuous and magnificent manner. He laid out immenſe Sums upon this Work, without having the Satisfaction however to ſee it finiſhed (3).

Edred *turns his Thoughts to religious Affairs.* *Is guided by the Advice of* Dunſtan. Malmſb. l. .. c. 7.

Dunſtan's *great Credit.*

The Monks made uſe alſo of *Dunſtan* their Protector's Intereſt, to get into the *Eccleſiaſtical Benefices*, which they conld never have done without him. Though *Dunſtan*'s Proceedings in this Affair raiſed the Clamours of the *ſecular* Clergy, he gave himſelf no trouble about them ſo long as he could obtain his Ends. However, his haughty manner of acting procured him many Enemies, who in the following Reign made him feel the Effects of their Hatred, which they had taken care to conceal during *Edred*'s Life. If *Dunſtan* favoured the Monks, they were no leſs zealous upon all Occaſions to promote his Glory. They every where proclaimed that *Dunſtan* was a *great Saint*, that Heaven daily wrought Miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honoured with *divine Revelations*. In their Account, neither the *Saints* of the firſt Rank, nor the *Apoſtles* themſelves, were Partakers of ſo many *Graces* as he. Though all they ſaid of this Prelate was aggravated to the laſt degree, it failed not however to make impreſſion on the Minds of the generality of the People, who were more eaſily confirmed in their Belief of what they were told; as they who knew better things, durſt not contradict the Monks, for fear of incurring the Diſpleaſure of the King and his Favourite.

He introduces the Monks into the Benefices.

They proclaim Dunſtan's *Sanctity.*

Had *Edred* lived any time, *Dunſtan* and the Monks would doubtleſs have carried all before them. But this Prince died when the Monks were but juſt beginning to creep into the *Benefices*. Thoſe Hiſtorians who have made it their buſineſs to extol the *Merits* and *Sanctity* of *Dunſtan*, tell us, that *Edred*'s Death was revealed to him by a Voice from Heaven, as he was coming to ſee him. They add, his Horſe fell down dead under him, at the prodigious Noiſe the Voice made (4). But judicious Authors have taken care not to ſtuff their Writings with *Tales* of this nature.

955. Edred's *Death.*

Edred reigned but ten Years (5). *Elfrid* and *Bedfrid*, his two Sons, whom he left very young, did not ſucceed him. His Nephew *Edwy*, Son of *Edmund* his elder Brother, was placed on the Throne after him. This Election, by the way, ſeems equally to favour thoſe who are of Opinion, that in the *Saxon* Times the Succeſſion to the Crown depended entirely on the Suffrages of the Clergy and Nobility, and thoſe who maintain it belonged of right to the next Heir. On one hand, we find *Edred*'s Sons deprived by the great Men of the King their Father's Inheritance, and, at the ſame time, the Crown given to the Son of the elder Brother, in prejudice of thoſe of the younger.

Edwy *his Nephew ſucceeds him.*

We find in one of *Edred*'s Charters, that he took the Title of *Monarch of Albion*; and in another, that he ſtiled himſelf *King of Great Britain* (6), in which he was followed by *Edgar* his Nephew. If theſe Charters were not forged, it may be inferred from thence, that *Edred* ſubdued *Scotland*. But this is no proper place to examine this matter, which has cauſed ſuch warm Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*. However this be, the Title *Edred* and *Edgar* affected to uſe, was neglected by their Succeſſors, till the time of *James* I. about the End of the ſixteenth Century.

Ingulph. Dugdale's Monaſt. Vol. I.

II. EDWY.

955. EDWY. Dunſtan's *Diſgrace.*

EDWY (7) came to the Crown at fourteen Years of age, with very different Notions of *Dunſtan* from thoſe of his Predeceſſor. Whether he was prepoſſeſſed by the Enemies of that Miniſter, or had ſome particular Cauſe of Complaint againſt him, he was no ſooner on the Throne, but he ordered him to give an account of the Sums the late King had entruſted him with. *Dunſtan* replied, the Money that had paſſed thro' his Hands, having been laid out in *pious Uſes*, he was not accountable for an Adminiſtration ſolely relating to Religion. As he urged the building of *Glaſſenbury*, which the late King had ſo much at heart, *Edwy*'s Council thought it not proper to puſh the Affair any farther, leſt the People ſhould eſpouſe the Abbot's Cauſe. The founding and repairing of Monaſteries were at that time ſuch ſacred things, that there was no ſpeaking againſt them, without being branded with the Name of impious and prophane. And therefore the King's Council finding there was no attacking *Dunſtan* on that head, without running ſome risk, took another Courſe to undermine his Credit, which was

Malmſb.

(1) They made him alſo very conſiderable Preſents. *Hoved.* p. 413.

(2) *Wulſtan*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was taken into cuſtody for abetting this Rebellion. But after he had been in Priſon ſome time, *Edred* ſet him at Liberty in reſpect to his Character. However, he is ſaid to take his Diſgrace ſo to heart, that it occaſioned his Death ſoon after. *Malmſb.* l. 2. *Mat. Weſt.* ſay, he was impriſon'd for cauſing ſeveral of the Inhabitants of *Thetford* to be put to death, in revenge for their having murder'd Abbot *Aldelm*, p. 189.

(3) He alſo rebuilt *Croyland* and *Abingdon* Monaſteries. *Ingulph.* p. 41. The laſt was founded by *Ina*, and had been deſtroyed by the *Danes*. *Speed*, p. 346. *Hollingſh.* Vol. I. p. 158.

(4) Some think this was a Contrivance of *Dunſtan*'s, to keep the Treaſure *Edred* had committed to his Truſt. See *Hollingſh.* Vol. I. p. 158. Col. 2.

(5) He was buried in the old Minſter at *Winchester*. *S. Dunelm.* His Bones, with thoſe of other Kings, are preſerved in a gilt Coffer fixed upon the Wall, in the ſouth Side of the Quire. *Speed*, p. 346.

(6) *Buchanan* ſays, that by *Great Britain* is meant, that Part of *Britain* lying on the South of *Adrian*'s Wall, which the *Britons* inhabited.

(7) He was ſo extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtained the Sirname of *Pancalus*, or, *The Fair*. *Ethelwerd*, l. 4. c. 8. He was crowned at *Kingſton* by *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 157. *Brompt.* p. 862.

to

to reverſe whatever had been done in favour of the Monks. Accordingly, the Monks were turned out of their Benefices, and the ſecular Prieſts put in their room. By this notable Proceeding, three things were intended: Firſt, to mortify *Dunſtan*, which it muſt do in a very ſenſible manner. Secondly, to leſſen the People's Eſteem for him, ſince the pulling down what he had ſet up, was a clear Evidence, the Court had no very great Opinion of his Sanctity. Beſides, the reſtoring the Benefices to the ſecular Clergy, plainly intimated it was wrong to diſpoſſeſs them. Laſtly, as *Dunſtan* and the Monks were in ſtrict Union. Their Diſgrace could not but reflect upon him. The Perſecutions of the moſt cruel Tyrants againſt the Church, never extorted from the primitive Chriſtians ſuch bitter Invectives, as this pretended Perſecution did from the Monks. As they repreſent the Matter, Religion was never in ſo great danger. The moſt pernicious Hereſies were nothing in compariſon of what was then acted. The Monks of *Malmsbury*, who were the moſt concerned, made the greateſt Noiſe of all, and for that reaſon were turned out of their Monaſtery, which was given to the ſecular Prieſts. *William of Malmsbury* upon this occaſion ſays, that *after it had been inhabited by Monks two hundred and ſeventy Years, it was made a Stable of Clerks* (1) Whether *Dunſtan* ſtirred up the Monks to make theſe Complaints, or the charging him with it was made a Pretence to puniſh him, he was baniſhed the Kingdom. Some ſay he voluntarily went into Exile, without any previous Condemnation. However this be, he retired to a Monaſtery in *Flanders* (2), where he lived in expectation of being recalled by ſome favourable turn of Affairs.

Malm. l. 2. c. 7.

Dunſtan *baniſh'd.* Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Dunſtan's Enemies gloried in his Diſgrace. The King himſelf was highly delighted with being freed from a Man whom he hated, and who, in the former Reign, had ſhown him Marks of Diſreſpect. But he ſoon learnt how dangerous ſuch kind of Enemies are. He found, by fatal Experience, there is no giving Offence to *Eccleſiaſticks* with Impunity, and to *Saints* leaſt of all others. The Monks, enraged to the laſt degree for the Loſs of their *Benefices*, cried down, to the utmoſt of their power, the Adminiſtration of the young King, whom they looked upon as the principal Author of their Diſgrace. By their Lies and Calumnies which they every where ſpread, they at length perſuaded their *Votaries*, he was the moſt impious of Men. The Conſequence of which was, that great Numbers of *Malecontents* appeared in *Mercia*, of whom *Edgar*, the King's Brother, was declared Head and Protector. Perhaps he was made to believe, by the Suggeſtions of the Monks, that he would do God ſervice in depoſing his wicked Brother: Or rather he uſed that Pretence to mount the Throne, of which he had yet but a very diſtant Proſpect. However this be, having ſecured *Mercia*, he went into *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, where he found the *Danes* ready to join him. They deſired nothing more than to ſee the *Engliſh* involved in Trouble and Confuſion. This Inſurrection was the more ſurpriſing to *Edwy*, as he had never given his People, much leſs his Brother, any juſt Cauſe of Complaint. Beſides, he never imagined the Monks could have Intereſt enough to raiſe ſo great Diſturbances. However, it was but too true, and as he was taken unprepared, he was not in condition to extinguiſh the Flame already kindled. In this Extremity, not knowing how to recover what he had loſt, he choſe to reduce himſelf to the ſole Kingdom of *Weſſex*, which continued faithful to him, and deliver up all the reſt.

957.

An Inſurrection againſt Edwy. Edgar *heads it.* Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Edwy *delivers up* Mercia.

In the mean time, the Rebels dreading to fall again under the Dominion of *Edwy*, came to a reſolution of having a King of their own, whoſe Intereſt would oblige him to protect and defend them. But as they were a mixture of *Engliſh* and *Danes*, each Nation was deſirous the Choice ſhould fall on one of their Conntrymen. The *Danes*, to attain their Ends endeavoured to make it be believed, that the only way to be ſafe from *Edwy*'s Attacks, was to call in the Aſſiſtance of *Denmark*. But in truth, their Aim was only to carry the Election. The *Engliſh*, on the contrary, perceiving their Intent, did all they could to haſten the Election, repreſenting how fatal their preſent State of *Anarchy* might prove. But the more forward the *Engliſh* appeared to be, the more full of Delays were the *Danes*, who daily raiſed freſh Obſtacles, in hopes there would be a Neceſſity at laſt of ſending for Aid from *Denmark*. At length, after a year ſpent in Debates, *Edwy* making no Efforts for the Recovery of his Dominions, and conſequently the Aſſiſtance of *Denmark* becoming unneceſſary, Prince *Edgar* was choſen with the Title of *King of Mercia*, by which was meant all the Country lying North of the *Thames*, except the ancient Kingdom of *Eſſex*. To heighten the Merit of the new King, it was given out, that whilſt the great Men were deliberating on the Choice of a King, a Voice was heard from Heaven, commanding them to elect *Edgar*. The Revelation was eaſily ſwallowed by the People, at a time when it was the general Opinion, that every the leaſt remarkable Event was attended by ſome Miracle.

The Rebels chuſe a King.

959. Edgar *elected King of* Mercia. S. Dunelm. Ch. Mailros. Knighton.

EDWY in *Eſſex*. EDGAR in *Mercia*.

Edwy's *Death.*

959.

THIS *Partition* of *England* laſted not long. The being deprived of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the ſeeing the Monks triumphing over his Misfortunes, ſat ſo heavy upon *Edwy*'s Mind, that he fell into an exceſs of Melancholy, which brought him to his Grave, after he had reigned four Years and ſome Months (3).

Vit. Dunſtan. Malmsb. l. 2. c. 7.

If we believe the *Monkiſh* Writers, *Edwy* was a very wicked Prince. Indeed, how was it poſſible for a King that did not pleaſe them, to be reckoned otherwiſe? However, when we examine all they ſay to blacken his Reputation, we find but One thing which can have any foundation, and which after all has very much the Air of a Fiction, or at leaſt, is greatly aggravated. They ſay, he kept the Wife of one of his *Courtiers* for his *Miſtreſs*, and on the very Day of the Coronation, whilſt the great Men were debating the Affairs of the Kingdom, he abruptly withdrew to the Apartment of this Woman, from whence he was brought back by *Dunſtan*, who alone had the Boldneſs to reprimand him for this infamous Action (4). From that time, if we may believe them, the King and his Miſtreſs were ſo incenſed againſt this holy Man, that they would have proceeded to the taking away his Life, had he not prevented their wicked Deſign by voluntary Exile. But to give ſtill a more convincing Proof of the Diſſoluteneſs of *Edwy*, and the Holineſs of *Dunſtan*, they have vented a Thing which plainly ſhows what ſpirit they were of. They ſay, after *Edwy*'s death, his Soul being dragged into Hell by a Legion of Devils, one of them was diſpatched with the good News to *Dunſtan*. But far from rejoicing at it, the *Saint* prayed ſo intenſely for the Soul that was going to be eternally miſerable, that God, moved by his Zeal, ſnatched it from the Devils, and tranſlated it into Paradiſe. This laſt Inſtance of the Animoſity of the Monks againſt *Edwy*, renders their charge of Adultery very ſuſpicious, eſpecially if we conſider he was not above fourteen Years of Age when he aſcended the Throne. Moreover, there are Hiſtorians who aſſure us, this pretended Miſtreſs was his lawful Wife (5). However this be, we may be certain *Edwy* might have had one or more Miſtreſſes, without all that Clamour againſt him, had he been a Favourer of the Monks. For they were not at all offended at the *Amours* of his Brother *Edgar*, who was much more guilty than he in that reſpect. But the one was their Friend, and the other their Enemy. All Hiſtorians however have not been guilty of this Injuſtice to *Edwy*. Some have been more favourable to him, either paſſing over in ſilence theſe frivolous Accuſations, or giving him the Commendation he deſerved (6).

Brompt.

Malmsb.

Huntingd. l. 5.

(1) Malmeſburienſe Cœnobium plus quam 270 annis a Monachis habitatum Clericorum ſtabulum feeit. *Malm.* l. 2. c. 7.

(2) *S. Dunelm.* and *Hoved.* call it the Monaſtery of *Blandunum*, or *Blandinum*, p. 157, 425. *Hollingſh.* and *Brompt.* ſay it was the Monaſtery of St. *Amande* at *Gant*, p. 863. 159.

(3) He was buried at *Wincheſter*, in the new Monaſtery. *Hoved.* p. 425.

(4) Some, to make the Matter worſe, ſay, he kept not only the Daughter, whoſe Name was *Elgiva*, but the Mother too, and that he was on the Bed between them both when *Dunſtan* came to fetch him. *M. Weſt.*

(5) Some ſay ſhe was his Wife, but too near a-kin, and therefore, that *Odo* the Archbiſhop ſeconding *Dunſtan*, put the King under the leſſer Excommunication, and branded *Elgiva* in the Forehead with a hot Iron, and then baniſhed her to *Ireland*. After her Return, his Heat againſt her continuing, he hamſtring'd her, ſays *Malmsbury*, but *Osbern* lays it upon the Revolters. *Vit. Dunſt.* l. . *Hoved.*

(6) *Huntingdon*, who was no Party in the Quarrel, gives him a handſome Character, and ſays, the Country flouriſhed under his Government, and ſeems to lament he lived no longer. *Hunt.* l. 5. p. 204.

12. *EDGAR the Peaceable.*

957. *Qualities of* Edgar. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

EDWY dying without Iſſue, his Brother *Edgar* ſucceeded him, and united the two Kingdoms that were lately divided. Though he was not above ſixteen Years old, his great *Genius* and ſolid Judgment rendered him more capable of governing than many other Princes of a more advanced Age. It cannot be denied, there are ſome Men born with ſo good natural Parts, that their Judgment is ripe before the uſual time. *Edgar* was one of this Number. If he had given proof of his Ability in depriving his Brother of the Half of his Kingdom, he continued to do the ſame when he came to reign alone. He knew how to make himſelf obeyed by his Subjects, and feared by his Enemies, two things that undoubtedly demonſtrate the great Capacity of a crowned Head.

Sax. Ann. The firſt thing *Edgar* did, after he was elected King of *Mercia*, was to recall *Dunſtan* from Baniſhment, and promote him to the *See* of *Worceſter*, then vacant (1). The Suddenneſs wherewith this Prelate was recalled, gives room to ſuſpect, he was, though abſent, concerned in the Inſurrection that placed *Edgar* on the Throne of *Mercia*. His great Intereſt at Court during this Prince's Reign, ſtrengthens this Suſpicion.

Edgar's great Preparations procured him a conſtant Peace. The Reign of *Edgar* is chiefly remarkable for the continual Peace the Kingdom enjoyed; from whence he was ſirnamed *the Peaceable*. This uninterrupted Calm was owing neither to his Victories nor Slothfulneſs, but to his extraordinary Preparations for his Defence, in caſe he ſhould ever be engaged in a War. By this means he became ſo formidable, that no one durſt venture to attack him. He always kept a ſtanding Army in the northern Provinces, as well for a Terror to the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales*, as to keep in awe his own Subjects, particularly the *Danes*. This Precaution was ſo much the more neceſſary, as he was very ſenſible they were always ready to take advantage of any Troubles and Commotions in the State. His own Experience had taught him ſo much, ſince by their Aſſiſtance it was, that he triumphed over his Brother. On the other hand, to prevent the Invaſions of the foreign *Danes*, who were no leſs to be feared, he took the moſt effectual Method. He is ſaid to have fitted out, great and ſmall, four thouſand Ships. Some have even raiſed the Number to four thouſand eight hundred (2). It is probable, this thing has been very much magnified: However, it ſhews at leaſt the number of his Ships was extraordinary. This numerous Fleet, being diſtributed in all the Ports of the Kingdom, and cruiſing inceſſantly round the Iſland, made the Pyrates beware of making Deſcents, and ſuffered no Ship to come upon the Coaſt unexamined. Theſe Precautions produced the Effect intended by *Edgar*. They prevented Invaſions from abroad, and kept all quiet at home, by cutting off all Hopes of foreign Aſſiſtance. With ſuch an Army and Fleet, this Prince, without once drawing his Sword, obliged the Kings of *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the *Iſle of Man*, to ſwear Allegiance to him, and acknowledge him for Sovereign. As a Proof of his Superiority over the Kings his Neighbours, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians relate a very extraordinary Fact, which, if true, fully make good what they aſſert. They tell us this Prince keeping his Court at *Cheſter*, and having a mind to go by Water to the Monaſtery of St. *John Baptiſt*, was rowed down the *Dee* in a Barge by eight Kings, himſelf ſitting at the Helm (3).

Hit prodigious Fleet. Flor. Wig. Malmsb. M. Weſt. Ethelred Rievall. Hoved.

Sax. Ann.

Edgar rowed by eight Kings. Malmsb. l. 2. c. 6. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

961. *He frees* England *from Wolves.* Brompt.

Edgar, not content with having ſecured *England* from all foreign Aſſaults, thought it neceſſary, for the further repoſe of his Subjects, to free them from two domeſtick Plagues, by which they were infeſted. The one was a horrible multitude of Wolves, which coming down in droves from the Mountains in *Wales*, made ſuch a terrible Havock among their Flocks and Herds, that the Country was in a continual Alarm. Hitherto they could find no Remedy for this Evil: but *Edgar* bethought himſelf of an Expedient, which quickly cleared the Country of them. In the firſt place he converted the Tribute of Gold, Silver, and Cattle, paid him yearly by the *Welſh*, into three hundred Wolves-Heads. In the next place he publiſhed throughout all *England*, a general Pardon for all paſt Offences on condition each Criminal brought him by ſuch a time a certain number of Wolves-Tongues, in proportion to his Crimes. Upon publiſhing this *Act of Grace*, the Wolves were hunted and deſtroyed in ſuch a manner, that in three Years there was not one left in the Kingdom.

Edgar's Severity to corrupt Magiſtrates. Malmsb. S. Dunelm.

The other Plague that infeſted *England* was no leſs grievous, it was another ſort of Wolves, who, not ſatisfied with eating up Flocks and Herds, devoured Houſes and Families. I mean the Magiſtrates appointed in the Cities and Provinces to adminiſter Juſtice to the People. Theſe mercenary Judges, abuſing the exorbitant Power *Edgar*'s Predeceſſors had ſuffered them to uſurp during the Wars, were become intolerable to the Nation. Without any regard to Law or Juſtice, they conſulted only their own Intereſt. They who made them the largeſt Preſents, were ſure to be favoured; and though by that means the Poor were moſt oppreſſed, the Rich were not entirely ſcreened from their partial Proceedings. *Alfred the Great* endeavoured, by an extraordinary Act of Severity, to put a ſtop to this Evil; but the enſuing Wars prevented his Succeſſors from executing his Laws. *Edgar*, undertaking to reform this Abuſe, ſet about it himſelf with great application. To this end he took a Progreſs every Year through ſome part of the Kingdom, on purpoſe to hear the Complaints that were made againſt thoſe Judges who abuſed their Authority. He was not ſatisfied with inſpecting himſelf into their Miſdemeanors, but thought it farther neceſſary to redreſs them for the future, by making a Law, that every Judge convicted of giving Sentence contrary to the Laws, ſhould be fined twenty ſix Shillings (4), if he did it ignorantly; but if knowingly, ſhould be caſhiered for ever. It cannot be denied, that in this he acted as became a great Prince, and that Subjects, who enjoy the double Privilege, of being guarded againſt Invaſions from abroad, and Oppreſſion at home, are perfectly happy. Such is the State of the *Engliſh* at this Day under the preſent Government.

Ethelred Rievall. Lex. 8. apud Brompt.

Proof of Edgar's *being thought a courageous Prince.* Malmsb. l. 2. c. 8.

If *Edgar* was a Lover of Peace, it was not for want of Courage; That was never laid to his Charge. There is a Story related of him, which, though it has the Air of a Fiction, proves at leaſt, he was reckoned a courageous Prince. It is ſaid, that being informed, *Keneth* III. King of *Scotland* had jeſted on the Littleneſs of his Stature, he ſent for him to Court, and walking with him in a certain Place where he had ordered two Swords to be hid, he bid him take his Choice, telling him withal, he ſhould ſee if he pleaſed, what a *little Man* could do. *Keneth*, as the Story goes, was ſo far from accepting the Challenge, that he threw himſelf at his Feet and begged his Pardon. I obſerve this Relation is very improbable. In the firſt place, it is generally referred to the Beginning of *Edgar*'s Reign; whereas *Keneth* III came not to the Crown of *Scotland* till five or ſix Years before that Prince's Death. In the ſecond place, the Character the *Scotch* Hiſtorians give *Keneth*, will not ſuffer us to think him capable of ſuch a piece of Cowardice. Laſtly, this Adventure ſeems to have been confounded with one of the ſame nature, between a King of *Scotland*, and one of the Lords of his Court, related by *Buchanan*.

Edgar's Attachment to the Monks contributed to his great Fame. Malmsb. Ingulph. S. Dunelm.

Edgar's noble Qualities, and the Tranquility *England* enjoyed during his Reign, render him, no doubt, very praiſe-worthy. But perhaps they would have been buried in eternal Oblivion, had not his extraordinary Attachment to the Monks engaged them to proclaim his Praiſes, even to an extravagant degree. His Bigotry to them, which paſs'd then for the moſt ſublime Virtue, was the principal reaſon of the Commendations given him by Hiſtorians, and of his being honoured with the Title of *Saint* after his Death. He is ſaid to have founded forty Monaſteries (5), and repaired and beautified many more, particularly that of *Glaſſenbury* built by his Uncle *Edred*. In ſhort, he was ſo very liberal to the Monks, that it was hardly in his power to do more for them than he did. *Ingulphus*, in his Hiſtory of the Abby of *Croyland* (6) ſays, that in the Reign of *Edgar*, the Treaſure of that Monaſtery amounted to ten

(1) A great Council being held at *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*, *Dunſtan* was, by the general Conſent of all there preſent, choſen Biſhop. *Vit. Dunſtan.*

(2) *S. Dunelm.* and *Chr. Mailros* have three Thouſand ſix Hundred, *p.* 150, 160. *W. Thorn* ſays, the whole number was but three Hundred, which is moſt probable. See *Stow*, p. 83. To maintain the Charge of this Fleet, beſides the Contributions of his Subjects, he enter'd into a Treaty at *Cheſter* with ſix Kings, who engag'd to aſſiſt him both by Sea and Land. *Sax. Ann.* With this Fleet he uſed to ſail round *England* every Year after *Eaſter*. *Flor. Wore.* p. 607.

(3) Theſe might be the Kings of the ſeveral Kingdoms in *Wales*, of *Angleſey*, *Man* and *Ireland*. Some reckon among them *Kenneth* III. of *Scotland*, who was Vaſſal to *Edgar* for *Cumberland*. *Hoved. Rapin.* There was no ſuch Man as *Keneth* cotemporary with *Edgar*. See *Anderſon's Tables*. Theſe eight Kings were *Malcolm*, King of *Cumberland*; *Mackus*, Lord of the Iſles; and theſe ſix *Welſh* Princes, *Dufnal*, *Sifert*, *Huwel*, *Jago*, *Incbill*, *Jewaf*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 159. *Malmsb.* p. 56. *Brompt. Tyrrel*, p. 8, 9.

(4) His Law ſays a hundred and twenty. See in *Brompt. Lex.* 8. And in *Wilkins*.

(5) Above forty eight. *Ingulph.* p. 45.

(6) He obſerves that in 974, in *Edgar*'s Reign, one *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland* died in the hundred and forty ſecond Year of his age, another in the hundred and fifteenth, which is the more remarkable, becauſe that Abby was ſituated in a fenny and watery place in *Lincolnſhire*. p. 51.

thouſand

thouſand Pounds, beſides *Holy-Veſſels*, *Shrines*, *Relicks*, and the like. This was a very great Sum, conſidering that Houſe had been rebuilt but thirty Years. Hence may be gueſs'd the immenſe Riches of the Monaſteries in thoſe Days.

Edgar forms the Scheme of replacing the Monks in the Benefices. Sax. Ann.

Edgar, not content with being thus liberal to the Monks, undertook to put them in poſſeſſion again of the *Eccleſiaſtical Benefices*, which he performed with a high hand. *Dunſtan*, whom he had made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was the principal Author of this Project. This Prelate was ſo much in his Favour, that *Edred*'s Affection to him was nothing in compariſon of *Edgar*'s. As he made a very conſiderable Figure both in this and the following Reign, it will not be improper to take a nearer View of him. Beſides he paſſed for a Saint of the firſt Claſs, and nothing can be added to the Praiſes beſtowed on him by Hiſtorians.

Dunſtan: An Account of him. Oſbern vit. Dunſt. Malmſb. G. Pontif. l. 1.

Dunſtan, Son of *Herſtan*, and Nephew of *Athelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was born at *Glaſſenbury* in 925. He ſpent his youthful Years with his Uncle the Archbiſhop, who took care to have him inſtructed in all the Sciences, as far as that Age of Ignorance would permit. He excelled particularly in *Muſic*, *Painting*, and *Engraving*, in which he took great delight all his Life. As ſoon as he had finiſhed his Studies, the Archbiſhop recommended him to King *Athelſtan*, who ſent for him to Court, but however gave him no Preferment. The Author of his Life (1) pretends, the Courtiers envying his *Virtue* and *Learning*, maliciouſly repreſented him to the King as a diſſolute and ſcandalous Liver: Which the King believing, forbad him the Court, without examining the Truth. Some time after the Archbiſhop finding means to undeceive the King, *Dunſtan* was reſtored to Favour, and preſented with ſome Lands near *Glaſſenbury*. Here he ſpent ſeveral Years in Retirement, with certain devout Men, whom he had drawn thither, living with them a ſort of monaſtick Life. *Glaſton* or *Glaſſenbury* was anciently a ſmall Church, founded, according to the vulgar Opinion, by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as hath been obſerved elſewhere. This Church having been deſtroyed, *Devy* Biſhop of St. *David*'s built another in the ſame Place. This being alſo gone to ruin, was repaired by twelve Devout Perſons, who coming from *Armorica*, ſettled in this Place. *Ina* King of *Weſſex*, having pulled it down to the ground, raiſed a ſtately Church, and dedicated it to *Chriſt*, St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*. Several Perſons famous for their Piety, moſt of them *Iriſh*, retired to this Church, where they were maintained by *Edgar*'s Bounty. From that time there were always Devout Perſons, who made choice of this Place for their Retreat (2).

Glaſſenbury Church and Monaſtery.

Dunſtan made Abbot, Malmſb. l. 2. c. 8.

After *Dunſtan* had been ſome time at *Glaſſenbury*, *Edmund*, Succeſſor of *Athelſtan*, having conceived an Eſteem for him, built there a Monaſtery (3) and made him Abbot. As *Dunſtan* was a Perſon of great Addreſs, he knew how to manage this Prince ſo dexterouſly, that he was very much in Favour all his Reign. His Intereſt at Court ſtill encreaſed under *Edred*, to whom he was *Prime Miniſter*, *Favourite* and *Father Confeſſor*. *Dunſtan*'s extreme fondneſs for a monaſtick Life, made him uſe, without any caution, all his Intereſt to reſtore the Monks to the *Benefices* and eject the *Secular Prieſts*, whom he heartily deſpiſed and at length mortally hated. This Attachment to the Monks, added to his haughty carriage, procured him abundance of Enemies, and drew upon him the Diſpleaſure of *Eduy*, Succeſſor of *Edmund*, as we have ſeen. The haſte *Edgar* was in to recall this Abbot from *Flanders*, is a clear Evidence, he was indebted to him for the Crown of *Mercia*. Upon *Dunſtan*'s return to *England*, *Edgar* promoted him to the *See of Worceſter*. Some time after, the *Biſhoprick of London* being vacant, he was entruſted with the Management of it. This has led ſome Writers into the Miſtake, of imagining he was Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *London* at the ſame time. *Edgar* never ceaſed to give him freſh marks of his Eſteem; and his high conceit of him was the more confirmed by the Miracles attributed to him. The Monks took all imaginable care to ſpread the Fame of theſe Miracles every where, and were ſo very particular in their Circumſtances, that one muſt have been much freer from Prejudice than they generally were in thoſe Days, not to have believed them. It is however very unlikely, that *Edgar* himſelf, who was not of the number of thoſe weak People that ſuffer themſelves to be ſo eaſily deceived, was thoroughly convinced of the Truth of all thoſe Miracles. But perhaps he was of opinion, thoſe *Pious Frauds* were no detriment to Religion. Be this as it will, he had a very great opinion of *Dunſtan*'s Sanctity. After *Athelm*'s Death, *Odo*, by Birth a *Dane*, was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but lived not long after his Inſtallation. To him ſucceeded *Elfin*, who died as he was going to *Rome* for his *Pall* (4). This happening in the beginning of *Edgar*'s Reign, *Brithelm* Biſhop of *Bath* was elected to the vacant *See*. But *Edgar* being deſirous of having *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop, called a general Council, where he repreſented *Brithelm* as unqualified for ſo great a Poſt; whereupon he was ordered to return to his old *Dioceſe*, and *Dunſtan* was choſen in his room. This Election not being exactly Canonical, it was thought fit *Dunſtan* ſhould go to *Rome*, on pretence of receiving his *Pall*, that he might at the ſame time juſtify theſe Proceedings. The Pope, who was not ignorant how great a Sway *Dunſtan* bore at the Court of *England*, and with what Zeal he had eſpouſed the Intereſt of the *Church of Rome* and the Monks, readily confirmed his Election, conſtituting him moreover his *Legate* for *England*, with a very extenſive Authority. At his Return, *Oſwald* his Relation was through his means made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Ethelwald* his intimate Friend, of *Wincheſter*. Theſe three *Prelates*, by holding together intirely governed the *Church* during this Reign. *Edgar* committing to them the Management of all *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs, was not contented with granting whatever they deſired, but even took a pleaſure in doing them Favours, unasked.

959. S. Dunelm. Dunſtan *made Archbiſhop.*

963. Sax. Ann. Oſwald *is made Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and* Ethelwald *of* Wincheſter.

As ſoon as *Dunſtan* ſaw his Credit firmly eſtabliſhed, he returned to his grand Project in favour of the Monks, which he had been forced to lay aſide during the Reign of *Edwy*. This Affair was not without its Difficulties. The great Men of the Nation look'd upon it as a Misfortune, that the guidance of the *Churches* ſhould be wreſted out of the Hands of the *antient* and *lawful* Governors. They were ſtill leſs pleaſed with its being committed to the Monks, who, by the Rules of their Order, and according to the Cuſtom hitherto obſerved, were excluded from the *Paſtoral Functions*, in order to employ themſelves wholly in Prayer within the Walls of their Monaſteries. Beſides, they were of opinion, that inſtead of encouraging and inriching the Monks, it would be much better to put a ſtop to the People's Zeal, who were perpetually bequeathing to them conſiderable *Legacies*, whereby Eſtates were paſſed away in *Mortmain*, to the great Prejudice of the Nation. It was eaſy therefore to ſee this Project would meet with great Oppoſition from the Nobles. But on the other hand, the People, who did not look ſo far before them, were intirely in the Intereſt of the Monks, and extremely offended at the ſcandalous Lives of the *Secular Clergy*, who applied the Revenues of the Church to uſes directly contrary to the intent of the *Donors* (5). It muſt be confeſt, the *Clergy*, at that time were very ill Livers, and that Pride, Avarice, Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Luxury, openly reigned among them. *Dunſtan* and his Party did all that lay in their power to expoſe theſe Irregularities, in order to irritate the People againſt their *Paſtors*. They ſucceeded ſo well in their Deſign, that Multitudes eſpouſed the Cauſe of the Monks, purely out of contempt of the *Secular Clergy*. But what did the Monks moſt Service, was the King's being ſo vigorous a Champion for them. His good Opinion of them was ſtill increaſed by comparing them with the *Seculars*, who indeed obſerved no Meaſures in their Exceſſes. And therefore this Prince thought to do the *Church* ſignal ſervice in putting it under the Government of the Monks, whom he looked upon as ſo many *Saints*. *Edgar* being thus inclined, *Dunſtan* found no Difficulty to perſuade him to countenance a Reformation he believed ſo advantagious to the Church. To give the finiſhing ſtroke to this Work, he cauſed a Council to be aſſembled, in hopes their Authority, together with the King's, would ſurmount all Obſtacles. *Edgar* was pleaſed to aſſiſt in Perſon at this Council, and made a Speech, which plainly ſhowed how greatly he was prejudiced in their favour. As this *Harangue* manifeſtly diſcovers the Diſpoſition of the King, of *Dunſtan*, and of the other *Directors* of the Affairs of the Church, with regard to the *Secular Clergy*, it

964. Dunſtan *returns to his Project of ejecting the Secular Clergy.* Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

969.

and Biſhop of Worceſter.

Malmſb. G. Pontif.

(1) *Oſbern.* (2) They are ſaid to teach here the *Liberal Sciences*, *Muſick*, *Engraving*, and the like.

(3) Mr. *Camden* ſays *Dunſtan* introduc'd into this Monaſtery a new Order of Monks, *viz. Benedictines*, who by the Bounty of Princes got ſo much Wealth as exceeded that of Kings. After they had as it were reign'd here for above ſix hundred Years (for all their Neighbours were at their Beck) they were driven out by *Henry* VIII. and the Monaſtery, which was environ'd with a Wall of a Mile in compaſs, and repleniſh'd with ſtately Buildings, was by Degrees entirely demoliſh'd. In his time here was a *Wall-nut* Tree in the Church-yard (but it is now gone, and a young one in its Place) that was ſaid never to bud before *Barnabas* Day 11 of *June*, and always to ſhoot out its Leaves on that very Day. And alſo a *How-Thorn-Tree* (in *Wirral Park* hard by) that budded on *Chriſtmas* Day as if it were in *May*. This Tree has been cut down many Years; but there are ſome ſtill growing in the *County* from Branches of the old Tree, particularly one in the Garden of *William Stroud*, Eſq; Poſſeſſor of the Ground where the other ſtood, and another in the Garden of the *White-Hart* Inn in *Glaſſenbury*. Theſe Things ſeem to be Relicks of *Monkery*.

(4) He was frozen to Death on the *Alps*, which the *Monkiſh* Hiſtorians interpret as a Judgment for his Diſreſpect to *Odo*'s Grave. *Malmſb.* l. 1. *de Geſt. Pont. Angl.* Others for his *Simony*. *M. Weſt.*

(5) It muſt be obſerved, that after the demoliſhing of the Abbeys in *Alfred*'s Time, the *Secular Clergy* repak'd ſome of the Monaſteries, took Poſſeſſion of them, were incorporated under certain Regulations, perform'd *Divine Service* in their reſpective Churches, liv'd ſingle or married as they thought fit, and ſtood in the ſame Condition with our preſent *Prebendaries*.

will

will not perhaps be amiſs to give the Reader the whole of it; and the rather, as it relates to one of the principal Events of this Reign.

Edgar's *Harangue to the Council.* Ethelred. Rievallenſis, p. 360.

"Almighty God having vouchſafed of his infinite "Mercy to ſhew his Goodneſs to us in a remarkable "manner, 'tis moſt reaſonable, *Reverend Fathers*, we "ſhould exert our Endeavours to make a ſuitable Re- "turn. That we are in poſſeſſion of this plentiful "Country is not owing to any Strength of our own, "but to the help of his all-powerful Arm, who has "been pleaſed to manifeſt his Loving-kindneſs towards "us. 'Tis but juſt therefore we ſhould bring our ſelves, "our Souls, and Bodies, in Subjection to him, who has "ſubdued all things for us, and ſhould take care that "all that are under us ſhould be obedient to his Laws. "It is my Office, *Reverend Fathers*, to adminiſter "Juſtice without reſpect of Perſons; ſuppreſs the Re- "bellious; to puniſh the ſacrilegious; to protect the "Poor and Weak from the Hand of the Oppreſſor. "It is my Buſineſs alſo to take care that the Church "and her Miniſters, the holy Fraternities of the *Reli-* "*gious*, have all things neceſſary to their Subſiſtence and "well being. But it is your Duty to examine into "the Life and Converſation of the *Clergy*. To you it "belongs to ſee that they live agreeably to their Pro- "feſſion: That they are ſober, temperate, chaſte, hoſ- "pitable to the *Poor* and the *Stranger*: That they are "careful in the Adminiſtration of their Office, conſtant "in their Inſtructions to the People. In a word, that "they are worthy of the glorious Character of the Mi- "niſters of Jeſus Chriſt. With ſubmiſſion be it ſpoken, "*Reverend Fathers*, had you taken due care of theſe "things, I ſhould not have had the Diſſatisfaction of "hearing from all hands the enormous Crimes daily "committed by the *Clergy* of this Land. I inſiſt not "on the Smallneſs of their *Tonſure*, contrary to the "Canons of the Church, or their Effeminacy in their "Habits, or their Haughtineſs in their Geſtures, or their "immodeſt Diſcourſes, which plainly ſhew all is not right "within. I omit their Negligence with regard to *Di-* "*vine Service*: Hardly will they vouchſafe their Com- "pany at the *publick Prayers*, and when they come to "Church to celebrate the *Holy Myſteries*, one would think "they were going to *act a Play*. But the chief Subject of "my Complaint, I ſpeak it with extreme Regret, is what "miniſters occaſion of Grief to the *Good*, and of Joy to "the *Prophane*, I mean the lewd and ſcandalous Lives of "the *Clergy*. They ſpend their Days in Diverſions, En- "tertainments, Drunkenneſs and Debauchery. Their "Houſes may be ſaid to be ſo many *Sinks* of Lewdneſs, "*Publick Stages*, and *Receptacles* of Libertines. There "they have *Gaming*, *Dancing* and *obſcene Singing*. There "they paſs the Night in Rioting and Drunkenneſs. 'Tis "thus, *Reverend Fathers*, 'tis thus the Bounty of my Pre- "deceſſors to the Church, and their Charities for the "Maintenance of the Poor, and what is more the ado- "rable Blood of our Saviour, are conſumed. Was it for "this that our Anceſtors exhauſted their Treaſures; Was "it for this they were ſo liberal of their Eſtates? Was it "to deck the Concubines of their Prieſts, to provide for "them ſplendid Entertainments, to furniſh them with "*Dogs* and *Hawks*, that our Foreſathers diſplay'd their "Munificence to the Church? Theſe are the Crimes "which the People complain of in private, and the Sol- "diers in publick; which are ſung in the Streets, and "acted on the Stage; and yet they are forgiven, they are "overlook'd, they are conniv'd at by you! Where is "now the Sword of *Levi*, and the Zeal of *Simeon*? "Where is the wrath of *Moſes* againſt the Worſhippers of "the *Golden Calf*? Where is the Indignation of St. *Peter* "againſt *Simon* the *Magician*? Imitate, *Reverend Fa-* "*thers*, imitate the Zeal of theſe holy Perſons, and fol- "low the way of Righteouſneſs, ſhewn you by the "Lord. It is high time for you to draw the Sword of "St. *Peter*, whilſt I make uſe of the great *Conſtantine*'s. "Let us join our Forces to expel the *Lepers* out of the "Temple, to cleanſe the Sanctuary, and to cauſe the

Deut. xxxvi. 9.

"Lord to be ſerved by the true Sons of *Levi*, *who ſaid* "*to his Father, and to his Mother, I know you not, and* "*to his Brethren, I know not who you are?* Let the Diſ- "reſpect to the *Relicks* of the *Saints*, and the daily Pro- "phaning of the holy Altars, rouſe you up. Be moved "at the great Abuſe of the Piety of our Forefathers. One "of my Anceſtors, you all know, dedicated to the "Church the *Tithes* of the Kingdom: The glorious *Al-* "*fred*, my great Grandfather, laid out his Revenues in "religious Uſes. You are not ignorant of the great Be- "neſactions of my Father and Uncle, which it would be "highly diſhonourable ſo ſoon to forget, ſeeing the Al- "tars are ſtill adorned with them. You, *O Dunſtan*, "Father of Fathers, raiſe your Imagination a little I pray "you, and fancy you behold my Father looking down "from Heaven, and expoſtulating with you in this Man- "ner: *It was you that adviſed me to the Building of ſo many* "*Churches and Monaſteries: It was you I made Choice of* "*for my ſpiritual Guide, and the Inſpector of my Beha-* "*viour. Did not I always obey your Voice? Did I not* "*always prefer your Advice before Wealth? How frankly* "*did I lay out my Treaſures, when you ſaid the Word?* "*My Charities were always ready when you called for them.* "*Whatever was deſired for the Churches was immediately* "*granted. If you complained the Monks were ſhort in their* "*Conveniencies, they were forthwith ſupplied. You uſed to* "*tell me, ſuch Liberalities brought forth immortal Fruit,* "*and were highly meritorious, ſince they were expended in* "*ſupporting the Servants of God, and maintaining the Poor.* "*And is it not an intolerable Shame they ſhould be laid out* "*in adorning and decking a Pack of Proſtitutes? Are theſe* "*the Fruits of my Benefactions? Are theſe the Effects of* "*your glorious Promiſes?* Theſe, *O Dunſtan*, are the "Complaints of the King my Father. What can you an- "ſwer to this Charge? I am convinced that you have "hitherto been unblameable, when *you ſaw a Thief you* "*conſented not to him, neither have you been partaker with* "*the Adulterer*. No, you have endeavoured to cor- "rect theſe Abuſes. You have argued, exhorted, threat- "ned. But ſince theſe means have proved in vain, 'tis "time to apply more effectual Remedies. You have here "ready to aſſiſt you the Reverend Father *Ethelwold* Biſhop "of *Wincheſter*, and the venerable *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Wor-* "*ceſter*. To you three I refer the Management of this "important Affair. Exert the *Epiſcopal* in Conjunction "with the *Regal* Authority, to expel from the Church of "God the diſorderly Clergy, and put in ſuch as live regu- "larly in their Room (1).

After the King had made ſo full a Declaration of his Mind, the Friends of the *Seculars* durſt no longer oppoſe *Dunſtan*'s Deſigns, perceiving it would be to no purpoſe. Shortly after, the *ſecular Prieſts* were expelled from the Monaſteries, and the *Regulars* put in their place. *Ethel-* 964. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 8. S. Dunelm.
wold Biſhop of *Wincheſter* leading the way in his Dioceſe, was quickly followed by *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, and all the other Biſhops, who being Monks, without much ſolici- tation, imitated theſe three Prelates. The antient Hiſto- rians, for the moſt part, repreſent thoſe Days as the *Golden Age*, and as the happieſt *England* ever knew.

Remarks on the Invec- tives againſt the ſecular Clergy.

Perhaps it will ſeem ſtrange that the *ſecular Clergy* ſhould at this time be more bitterly inveighed againſt than in the following Centuries, when the Lives of the Prieſts were no leſs ſcandalous. To account for this, it muſt be ob- ſerved, the Popes had for ſome time prohibited the Clergy from marrying, and were very ſevere to all who refuſed to comply with their Decrees. This Prohibition, which at preſent is a *fundamental* Article in the *Church of Rome*, met at firſt with great Oppoſition, eſpecially in *England*, which ſet the *Popes* upon uſing all means to bring the *Eng- liſh Prieſts* to a Compliance. *Dunſtan*'s Intereſt, and his Addreſs to ingage *Edgar* in the Project, were mighty Helps to them. We muſt therefore carry in our Minds this Prohibition againſt the Clergy's marrying, in order to com- prehend the Occaſion of the Complaints of the Monks and their Favourers againſt the *Seculars*. and to judge how far they are to be credited. Though it is but too true, the Prieſts at that time led very diſorderly Lives, yet that was not the thing that drew this Storm upon them. It was their Marriage which gave the Offence, and which their Enemies would fain have to be thought a more heinous Crime than *Concubinage*, or any other they could lay to their Charge. Their Wives were always called *Concubines*, or by a more opprobrious Name. But notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of the Court of *Rome*, this pretended Abuſe could not be reformed till the End of the twelfth *Century*, when the *Celibacy* of the Clergy was eſtabliſhed after a three hundred Years Struggle.

Obſervation on Edgar's Character and Encomi- um given him by the Monks.

The Monks were bound in Gratitude to make a ſuitable Return for the ſervice *Edgar* had done them. Accordingly, the *Monkiſh* Hiſtorians have endeavoured by their exceſſive Commendations, to make him paſs for a real *Saint*. But whether for want of Attention, or ſome other reaſon, they have related ſome Particulars of his Life, which beget not that Idea they intended to give of him. Indeed, to conſider only his *Political* Actions, it muſt be confeſt, he was a great Prince. But a *great King* and a *great Saint* are two very different Characters. For inſtance, it is dif-

(1) *Collier* obſerves this Speech is rais'd and poliſh'd in the Original above the *Elocution* of the *Tenth Century*; and therefore ſays, he ſhould have ſup- pos'd *Joſſelin* might have work'd the Matter he found into a brighter Form, had he not met with this Harangue in *Rievallenſis*, an ancient Hiſtorian, l. 3. p. 190.

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ficult to juſtify, by the Rules of the Goſpel, a bloody Execution (1) done by *Edgar*'s Order in the *Iſle of Thanet*, upon a very ſlight Occaſion, as Hiſtorians do allow. What might not theſe ſame Hiſtorians have ſaid of his *unruly* Luſt, and *vicious* Inclination to Women (2), of which I am now going to give a few Inſtances, who publiſh'd to the World that the Soul of his Brother *Edwy* was about to be dragged into Hell, for having had but a ſingle Miſtreſs?

It was eaſy to ſee if *Edgar* had not purchaſed the good Opinion of the Monks by his exceſſive Complaiſance, they would have given him no better Quarter than his Predeceſſor, who was much leſs faulty in that reſpect.

Edgar's *Amours.*

To conclude the Reign of *Edgar*, which was diſturbed neither by foreign nor domeſtick Wars, it remains only that I give an account of his Amours, which are ſomething uncommon, and ſhew his good Qualities were not without a great mixture of Failings. His firſt Miſtreſs was a *Nun* (3), whom he took by Force out of a Convent, and could not be prevail'd with to ſend back again by the Solicitations of *Dunſtan*. He had a Daughter by her named *Editha*, who was greatly celebrated for her Sanctity. It is true, he aton'd for his Crime by not wearing his Crown during the ſpace of ſeven Years. A ſevere Penance indeed for a Fault his Confeſſor ought to have looked upon as a *Sacrilege!* But this is not the firſt time the Sins of Princes have been extenuated, and the Rigour of their Penance magnified. His ſecond Miſtreſs, whom ſome however call his lawful Wife, was *Elfleda*, ſirnam'd *the Fair*, from her Complexion. By her he had a Son called *Edward*, who ſucceeded him. An extraordinary Adventure gained him a third Miſtreſs. Going one day by *Andover*, he took up his Lodging at a Lord's Houſe, who had a very beautiful Daughter, with whom he fell paſſionately in love at firſt Sight. As he was very violent in his Paſſions, he reſolved to gratify his Love without delay, ſo commanded the young Lady to be brought to his Bed, without troubling himſelf to obtain her Conſent. The Mother of the Lady being utterly againſt her Daughter's being the King's Concubine; but withal dreading, by her Denial, to draw down his Diſpleaſure upon herſelf and Family, deviſed this Expedient. She prevailed upon one of her waiting Women to lie with the King inſtead of her Daughter. At Break of Day the King perceiving his Bedfellow was going to riſe, would not let her, by which means ſhe was forced to diſcover the Cheat. He was at firſt very angry at being thus deceived. But the good-liking he had taken to the Girl, moderating his Anger, and giving him time to reflect on the Diſhonour he intended his Hoſt, he readily forgave the Trick he had been ſerved. He kept this Girl as his Miſtreſs till he married.

Malmſb. l. 2. c. 8.

Malmſb. ibid.

Edgar's *Marriage.* Malmſb. l. 2. c. 8. Brompt.

As all *Edgar*'s Amours, it ſeems, were to have ſomething particular in them, ſo his very Marriage was not to be in the common way. He was informed that *Ordang*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, had a Daughter the greateſt Beauty in *England*, upon which he reſolved to marry her, if ſhe anſwered the Deſcription given of her. However, as he was unwilling to make any Advances he might have reaſon to repent of, he communicated his Deſign to Earl *Ethelwold* his Favourite, and order'd him to go upon ſome pretence, and ſee whether the Lady's Beauty was as great as Fame reported. *Ethelwold* being arrived at the Earl of *Devonſhire*'s, had no ſooner caſt his Eyes on *Elfrida* his Daughter, but he fell deſperately in love with her. His Paſſion was ſo ſudden and violent, that forgetting all the King his Maſter's Favours, he demanded *Elfrida* for himſelf. His Suit being granted, he was married as privately as poſſible, making his Father-in-Law believe he had important Reaſons for not divulging his Marriage. Returning ſoon after to Court, he told the King there was nothing extraordinary in *Elfrida*; that he was amazed the World ſhould talk ſo much of her Charms; that probably, the Fame of her Beauty was owing more to her Father's Riches than any thing elſe. This Report, which was far from inflaming the King's Love, had the Effect *Ethelwold* expected. *Edgar*, growing out of conceit with the Match, laid aſide all thoughts of it. *Ethelwold* perceiving the King was grown perfectly cool upon the matter, repreſented to him one day, that though the Fortune of the Earl of *Devonſhire*'s Daughter was nothing to a King, yet it would be the making of a Subject; and therefore humbly deſired his Leave to make his Addreſſes to her, as being the greateſt Heireſs in the Kingdom. *Edgar*, who had loſt all Inclination to *Elfrida*, very willingly granted his Favourite's Requeſt, and even appeared extremely well pleaſed that he was likely to marry to ſo great an Advantage. *Ethelwold*, as ſoon as he had obtained the King's Conſent, returned to his Wife, and publickly ſolemniz'd his Wedding. But fearing his Spouſe ſhould appear too beautiful in the King's Eyes, he kept her on ſome pretence at his Country Seat, without ſuffering her to come to Court.

How cautious ſoever *Ethelwold* had been, it was not poſſible his Treachery ſhould be long a Secret. Favourites are ſeldom without private Enemies, who deſire nothing more than to have an Opportunity of ruining them. *Edgar* at length was informed of the Truth; but diſſembling his Reſentment, he was willing, before he ſhewed it, to be ſatisfied with his own Eyes of the Truth of what had been told him. To that end, he took occaſion to go into thoſe Parts where *Ethelwold* kept his Wife, and when he came near the Place, told him he had a mind to viſit his Lady, of whom he had formerly heard ſo many fine things. *Ethelwold* was thunder-ſtruck at this, and did all he could to divert the King from his purpoſe; but his Artifices were all in vain, and ſerved only to confirm the King the more in his Reſolution. All he could obtain, was Leave to go before, on pretence of preparing for the King's Reception. As ſoon as he came home, he threw himſelf at his Lady's Feet, and confeſſing what he had done for the ſake of poſſeſſing her, conjur'd her to uſe all her Endeavours to conceal her Charms from the amorous King. *Elfrida* promiſed him whatever he deſired, but was bent however to break her word. No ſooner was he gone to meet the King, but ſhe ſet off her natural Beauty with all the Art ſhe was Miſtreſs of. The Event anſwered her Expectation. The moment *Edgar* caſt his Eyes on her, he fell deſperately in love, and from that Inſtant was reſolved to make her his own. The better to effect his Deſign, he pretended to ſee nothing extraordinary in *Elfrida*'s Beauty; at which the Husband was overjoyed. Accordingly he took his Leave of her with a ſeeming Indifference, but at the ſame time in his Heart raged Love and Revenge; which of all the Paſſions raiſe the moſt violent Emotions in the Soul of Man. Quickly after, he ordered *Ethelwold* to go for *Northumberland*, on pretence of ſome urgent Affairs. But the unfortunate Earl never performed his Journey. He was found dead in a Wood, where he was thought at firſt to be murder'd by Robbers. But People's Eyes were ſoon opened, when they ſaw that the King, inſtead of making inquiry after the Murderers, married the Widow. Some ſay, that *Edgar* ſlew *Ethelwold* with his own Hand at a hunting Match (4).

Edgar's *Character.*

After what has been ſaid, it is eaſy to ſee there was a great Mixture of good and bad Qualities in this Prince, and that the Commendations given him are in many reſpects carried too far. This was the Effect of the Prejudice of the Monks in his Favour, for his ſo vigorous eſpouſing their Cauſe. This Prejudice was ſo great that one of them makes no ſcruple to ſay, *Edgar* was to the *Engliſh*, what *Romulus* was to the *Romans*, *Cyrus* to the *Perſians*, *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, *Arſaces* to the *Parthians*, and *Charlemain* to the *French*. But one plainly perceives, this Encomium raiſes his Character too high, ſince he came infinitely ſhort of the great Men he is compared with. Accordingly, After-ages, leſs prepoſſeſſed in his Favour, have ranked him among more ſuitable Company, in a much lower Claſs. Very judicious Hiſtorians have taken him from among the *Saints*, where his Flatterers placed him, and have not ſcrupled to rank him in the Number of the vileſt of Princes (5). This Notion of him may be grounded on what is related of *Canutus the Great*, who upon mention of the *Sanctity of Editha*, *Edgar*'s Daughter, ſaid, *He could never believe it poſſible for the Daughter of ſo wicked a Father to be a Saint.* This leaves room to ſuſpect, the Monkiſh Hiſtorians have paſſed over in ſilence ſeveral of *Edgar*'s Actions, which would have made us conceive a very different Idea of their Hero, from what they have given us.

S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Brompt. p. 909.

Edgar reigned ſixteen Years from the Death of his Brother *Edwy*. He died in 975, in the thirty-ſecond Year of his Age, leaving two Sons and a Daughter. *Edward*, his eldeſt Son, was born of a Concubine, or at leaſt of a very doubt-

975.

Edgar's *Death and Children.*

(1) *Edgar* in the *Saxon Annals*, Anno 969, is ſaid to have ordered all *Thanet* to be laid waſte. *Brompton* ſays, it was for inſulting his Laws. *M. Weſtminſter* affirms, it was for ſeizing and plundering ſome *York* Merchants that touched upon the Iſland.

(2) *Malmſbury* owns, that he was reported to have been *Laſcivious* and *Cruel*, p. 59.

(3) *Wilfrida.*

(4) *Malmſbury* ſays, he took *Ethelwold* into a Wood (*Harwood Foreſt*) upon pretence of Hunting, and killed him there with his Lance. The natural Son of this Nobleman happening to come in at this Accident, and viewing the dead Body of his Father, the King ſternly aſked him, *How he hit the Game?* The Youth replied calmly, That whatſoever pleaſed the King ought not to be diſpleaſing to him. This courtly Anſwer, on ſo moving an Occaſion, ſurprized the King, and gave him a ſtrong Affection for the young Man ever after. *Elfrida* built a Nunnery in the Place where her Huſband was ſlain. *Malm.* l. 2. *de Geſt. Reg. Angl.*

(5) Dr. *Burnet*, in his Preface to the Hiſtory of the Reformation, places *Edgar* in the ſame Claſs with *Brunichild* and *Irene*. *Rapin.*

ful Marriage, *Ethelred*, his youngeſt, was the Son of the beautiful *Elfrida*. *Editha* his Daughter by his firſt Miſtreſs paſſed her Days in a Nunnery, and after her Death was honour'd with the Title of *Saint* (1).

Edgar had too well deſerved of Them, who looked upon themſelves as authorized to reward their *Votaries* with a *Saintſhip*, not to have a place in the *Calendar*. But, as there are no other Proofs of his *Sanctity* during his Life, but his Affection to the *Monks*, and his founding Monaſteries (2), it is pretended, he gave more ſubſtantial ones after his Death. It was reported, when his Body was taken out of the Coffin, to be put into a ſtately *Shrine*, it was as freſh as when he reſign'd his laſt Breath. It was further affirmed, that the *Shrine* being made too ſhort, though he was very little of *Stature* (3), and ſome body daring to ſever his Head from his Body, the Blood guſhed out in great abundance. After ſuch convincing Proofs as theſe of the *Sanctity* of this Prince, his Body was placed near the *High Altar* of *Glaſſenbury* Church, where it was ſaid to work afterwards ſeveral Miracles. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 8.

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13. *EDWARD* II. *the Martyr.*

Diſſenſions on account of the Monks. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 9. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

UPON *Edgar*'s Deceaſe, they who had with Impatience born the great Power of the Monks, thought it a fair Opportunity to reduce them to their primitive State. *Elfer*, Duke of *Mercia*, their ſworn Enemy (4), turn'd them out of all the Benefices they poſſeſs'd in that Province, and replaced the Seculars in their room. Some other Lords did the like in other Places. But the Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia* (5), and ſeveral other great Men, firmly adher'd to *Dunſtan* and his Party. This Diverſity of Opinion, on account of the Monks, cauſed ſuch Heart-burnings among the Nobles, that they were upon the point of coming to Blows. The Breach ſtill grew wider, when they came to chuſe a Succeſſor to the deceaſed King. That Prince had left two Sons, who had both their Adherents, though their Age would not permit them to proſecute their reſpective Titles to the Crown. Many believed it was devolved to *Ethelred*, pretending there was a Flaw in *Edward*'s Birth, and that his Mother was never lawfully married to *Edgar*. But *Dunſtan* and all the Biſhops were for *Edward*, pleading his being named his Succeſſor by *Edgar* in his laſt Will and Teſtament. To this was added another, and no leſs powerful Motive to them that eſpouſed his Intereſt, namely, their Expectation of governing the Kingdom under this young Prince, which they could not hope for, if they placed his Brother on the Throne, becauſe his Mother *Elfrida* did not ſeem much inclined to be guided by their Counſels.

Dunſtan *crowns* Edward *by his own Authority.* S. Dunelm. Brompt.

In the mean time *Ethelred*'s Party being moſt numerous, *Edward* was in danger of being excluded, if *Dunſtan* his Supporter did not find Means to break their Meaſures. As he ſaw himſelf favour'd by the People from their high Conceit of his Sanctity, he made uſe of their Inclination to execute his Deſigns. In the midſt of the publick Debates which of the two Princes ſhould ſucceed, *Dunſtan* ſuddenly riſing up, and taking Prince *Edward* by the Hand, leads him towards the Church, attended by the other Biſhops and a great Crowd of People. As ſoon as he comes there, he anoints the young Prince King, without regarding the Oppoſition of the contrary Party. The Nobles bemoan'd their falling once more under the Government of that imperious Prelate. But, as they ſaw the People ready to ſupport him, they were forced to ſubmit.

The Conteſt between the Prieſts and the Monks is revived.

Edward was but fourteen Years old when he began to reign under the Guardianſhip of *Dunſtan*, who immediately took all the Power into his Hands. As ſoon as he was fixed in the Regency, he uſed all poſſible Endeavours to keep the Monks in Poſſeſſion of the Benefices, they had acquir'd in the laſt Reign, and made uſe of the King's Authority to that end. But he met with greater Oppoſition than he imagin'd. As the King was but a *Minor*, the Orders given in his Name were not ſo readily complied with. *Dunſtan* aſſembled ſeveral Councils about this Affair (6). But perhaps his Endeavours would have all proved ineffectual, if, by means of ſeveral Miracles, which were never wanting upon occaſion, he had not brought the People to believe that Heaven interpoſed in the Affair.

Several Councils about it.

Miracles in favour of the Monks. Malm. l. 2. c. 9. Eadmer. J. Pike.

In one of theſe Councils held at *Wincheſter*, the Majority being againſt the Monks, they would have infallibly loſt their Cauſe, if, on a ſudden, a Crucifix that hung aloft in the Room had not pronounced theſe Words with an audible Voice; *It ſhan't be done, it ſhan't be done: You have decided the Matter well hitherto, and would be to blame to change.* Aſtoniſh'd at this Oracle, the moſt obſtinate came in and voted for the Monks.

Another time at an Aſſembly in the ſame Place, *Dunſtan* uſed all his Endeavours to have one *Elphegus* a Monk choſen Dean of that Church; but the People were for having that Dignity conferred on a ſecular Prieſt. The Conteſt ran ſo high, that there was like to be a Sedition, which might have been of dangerous Conſequence. But St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle on a ſudden revealing to St. *Dunſtan*, in the Audience of all the People, that the Monk ought to be elected, he was immediately inſtalled. Theſe and ſeveral other Miracles, too many to be inſerted here, not being however ſufficient to unite all Men in favour of the Monks, there was one at laſt that ſtopped the Mouths of their moſt ſtrenuous Oppoſers.

978. *A remarkable Accident at the Council of* Calne. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd.

Dunſtan had called a Council at *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*, to decree that the Monks ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of their Benefices. This was one of thoſe mix'd Councils ſpoken of hereafter, where the King and all the Nobility were preſent, as well as the Biſhops and Abbots. Probably the Affair would have been decided againſt the Monks, conſidering the great Number of their Oppoſers in this Aſſembly. But whilſt they were warmly diſputing on both Sides, the Floor of the Room happened to break under the Company, and cruſhed ſeveral to Death. The Beam on which *Dunſtan*'s Chair was placed, was the only one that did not give way, ſo that he came off unhurt (7), whilſt ſcarce a Man beſides himſelf in this numerous Aſſembly eſcaped being either killed or bruiſed. This was ſufficient to convince the People, the Monks were the Favourites of Heaven, ſince their Head and Protector was ſo wonderfully preſerv'd. There were ſome malicious People however, who inſinuated that *Dunſtan* prevented the King, contrary to Cuſtom, from being in the Council that Day. After this ſeaſonable Accident the Monks were left unmoleſted; whether the miraculous Preſervation of *Dunſtan* had made an Impreſſion upon the Minds of his Enemies, or their moſt potent Oppoſers periſh'd in their Fall. Eadmer.

979. *The tragical End of King* Edward. Sax. Ann. Malm. l. 2. c. 9.

Beſides theſe Eccleſiaſtical Matters, we find nothing remarkable in the Reign of *Edward*, but his tragical Death in 979, four Years after he aſcended the Throne. The Story is thus related by the greateſt Part of Hiſtorians. *Edward* paſſing one Day, as he was returning from hunting, near *Corf-Caſtle* (8), where his Mother-in-law *Elfrida* reſided with her Son *Ethelred*, rid off from his Company in order to pay her a Viſit. *Elfrida* being told the King was at the Gate, ran to receive him, and urged him very earneſtly to unlight, and come in to

(1) By *Elfleda* (whether his Wife or Concubine is uncertain) he had *Edward* who ſucceeded him. *Hoved.* p. 426 —— By *Wilfrida*, a Nun, he had *Editha*. Malmſb. p. 60. —— And by *Elfrida*, Earl *Ordgar*'s Daughter, he had *Edmund*, who died in his Infancy in 971, and *Ethelred*. Sax. Ann.

(2) It is obſerved that his building ſo many *Monaſteries* (forty-eight, ſays *Ingulphus*, p. 45.) proved one great Occaſion of the *Danes* conquering *England*; for by theſe means he exhauſted the Treaſury, and gave great Portions of Lands for the Maintenance of the Monks, who refuſed his Son *Ethelred* Aſſiſtance according to his Neceſſity. *Brady*, p. 122.

(3) Tho' *Edgar* as to his Perſon was both low and ſlender, yet was he ſo well proportioned, that he is ſaid to contend often with ſuch as were thought ſtrongeſt in his Court; and diſliked nothing more than that they ſhould ſpare him out of Reſpect, or Fear of hurting him.

(4) And ſeveral others of the great Men. *S. Dunelm.* p. 160.

(5) *Ethelwin.* He, and Others, aſſembled an Army, and protected the Monaſteries in *Eaſt-Anglia*. S. Dunelm. p. 160.

(6) Particularly one in 977 at *Kirding* in *Eaſt-Anglia*, ſays *S. Dunelm.* p. 160. and *Chron. Mailroſs.* p. 161. (now *Kirtling* or *Catlidg*, in *Cambridgeſhire*. *Camd.*) The *Sax. Ann.* call the Place *Kyntlingtune*, which is ſuppoſed to be *Kyrlington* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Tyrrel*, p. 16. Another of theſe Synods was held at *Ambreſbury*. Flor. Worc.

(7) *Huntingdon* ſays, he ſaved himſelf by taking hold of a Beam, p. 357.

(8) In the Iſland *Purbeck* in *Dorſetſhire*. This Caſtle is a conſiderable Piece of Antiquity; the Foundation whereof is not cleared by Hiſtory. After the Strength and Safety of the Realm began to conſiſt in Caſtles, this was one of the moſt principal belonging to the Crown. It was repaired by *Henry* VII. and in the Civil Wars was a Garriſon for the King, defended by the Owner, Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*. *Camd. Add. to Dorſet.*

refreſh

refreſh himſelf. But as the King's Deſign was only to pay his Reſpects to his Mother-in-law as he went by her Caſtle, he only deſired a Glaſs of Wine to drink her Health. Whether *Elfrida* had already form'd a Deſign of deſtroying the King, to make way for her Son to the Crown, or that favourable Opportunity put the Thought in her head, the young King had no ſooner lifted the Glaſs to his mouth, but a Ruffian ſtabb'd him in the Back with a Dagger (1). Perceiving himſelf wounded, he ſet ſpurs to his Horſe, which ſoon carried him out of ſight. But not being able to keep his Saddle by reaſon of the Loſs of Blood, he fell off his Horſe. To complete his Misfortunes, his Foot hung in the Stirrup, and by that means he was dragged a good way before his Horſe ſtopped, juſt by a poor blind Woman's Houſe that ſtood in the road. To this Houſe, the People ſent after him by *Elfrida* tracing him by his Blood, found him dead, and his Body miſerably torn. *Elfrida* imagining ſhe could conceal this horrid Deed, known only to her Domeſticks, ordered the Corpſs to be thrown into a Well. But it was found there a few Days after, and carried to *Warham* (2), from whence it was removed to *Shaftsbury*, and laid in a Monaſtery founded by King *Alfred*. It is pretended to have worked many Miracles there; that a blind Man was reſtored to his Sight, and a Cripple to his Limbs, by only touching the Body. The poor Woman alſo, in whoſe Houſe his Body lay one Night, is ſaid to be cured by his Interceſſion; and the Well into which he was thrown, endued with the virtue of healing ſeveral ſorts of Diſtempers. In fine, it is reported that *Elfrida*, curious to know herſelf the truth of theſe Miracles, reſolved to go to the Place, but her Horſe, in ſpite of all her Endeavours, would not ſtir one Step forward. With ſuch Prodigies as theſe do the Hiſtories of thoſe Times abound. Thus far is certain, *Elfrida*, willing to atone for her Crime, founded two Nunneries, one at *Ambresbury* (3), and another at *Whorwel* near *Andover*. In this laſt ſhe ſhut herſelf up, in order to do Penance the reſidue of her Days. She is ſaid to have frequently covered her Body all over with little Croſſes to keep off the Devil, whom ſhe had but too much reaſon to fear.

Brompton. Malmſb.

I do not know upon what Foundation *Edward* was made both a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, unleſs it was pretended, he was murdered out of Revenge for his great Affection to *Dunſtan* and the Monks. Indeed that was ſufficient then to procure him theſe glorious Titles. It is certain, in thoſe Days all the Favourers of the Monks paſſed for ſo many Saints, and their Enemies for the Objects of God's Wrath. However this be, the young Prince, whoſe Reign I have gone through, is generally known by the Name of *Edward the Martyr* (4).

THE STATE of the Church of ENGLAND,

FROM THE *Union of the* Seven Kingdoms, *to the End of the Reign* of EDWARD the Martyr.

State of the Church.

THE continual Wars in *England* during the hundred and fifty Years we have juſt run through, were no leſs fatal to the *Church* than the *State*. They produced an extreme Corruption of *Manners*, and a profound Ignorance all over the Kingdom. The Deſtruction of the *Churches* and *Monaſteries*, the plundering what was deſigned for their Subſiſtence, and the Neceſſity of defending themſelves againſt the *Danes*, and being wholly employed in the Exerciſe of Arms, turned Multitudes from the Study of Religion. It is no wonder therefore, if during ſuch troubleſome times, we meet with very few Materials for an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. To this may be added, the greateſt part of the Monaſteries, where the Memoirs of what paſſed in Church and State were laid up, having been demoliſhed, the Hiſtorians who have wrote of thoſe Times, were deprived of that Aſſiſtance. The Reader therefore muſt expect to find but few remarkable Events relating to Religion, but few Councils to inform us of the Doctrine and Faith of the *Church of England*, and but very few learned Men, whoſe Writings might afford us ſome light. It will be neceſſary however to relate the principal Circumſtances tranſmitted down to us, as they will be of ſervice in clearing the Events of future and more happy times.

During the Reign of *Egbert*, nothing happened in the Church worth notice. *Ethelwulph*'s Reign furniſhes us with a Subject, which, though mentioned elſewhere, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a little more largely of in this Place; I mean the Grant of the Tithes. The Charter runs thus.

Ethelwulph's Charter for the Tithes.

"I, *ETHELWULPH*, by the Grace of God "King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, &c. with the Advice of the "Biſhops, Earls, and all other Perſons of Diſtinction in "my Dominions, have, for the Health of my Soul, the "Good of my People, and the Proſperity of my Kingdom, taken the prudent and ſerviceable Reſolution of "granting the tenth Part of the Lands throughout my "whole Kingdom, to the Church and Miniſters of Religion to be enjoyed by them, with all the Privileges of "a free Tenure, and diſcharging from all Services due to "the Crown, and all other Incumbrances incident to "Lay-Fees. The Grant has been made by us to the "Church, in honour of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Bleſſed Virgin*, "and *All Saints*, and out of regard to the *Paſchal Solemnity*, and that Almighty God might vouchſafe his Bleſſing to us and our Poſterity."

Dated at the Palace of Wilton, *in the Year* 854, Indiction *the ſecond, at the Feaſt of* Eaſter.

Remarks on this Charter.

The Terms, Date and Subſcriptions of this Charter, have induced ſeveral learned Men to believe it ſpurious. But without entering into the Controverſy, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that long before this Charter, the Clergy of *England* claimed a Right to the Tithes, if they were not already in actual Poſſeſſion of them.

(1) *Knighton* ſays, that *Elfrida* herſelf ſtabbed him. *p.* 2313.

(2) In *Dorſetſhire*. Part of his Body was buried in *Leot* or *Leof*'s Monaſtery, (perhaps *Leominſter*) near *Hereford*; and the other Part at *Abington*. *Knighton*. p. 2314. and *Higden*. p. 269.

(3) In *Wiltſhire*, ſo called from *Ambroſius*, who built there a Monaſtery for three hundred Monks, to pray for the Souls of the *Britiſh* Noblemen ſlain by *Hengiſt*. The Tomb of *Quinever*, *Arthur*'s Wife, was found here within this laſt *Century*, and this Inſcription on the Wall in maſſy Gold Letters, *R. G. A. C.* 600. The Antiquity of which is very ſuſpicious, ſince ſhe muſt have out-lived *Arthur* fifty Years, and beſides, ſhe is ſaid by Hiſtorians of Credit to have been buried at *Glaſſenbury*. Queen *Elfrida*'s Nunnery is famous for Queen *Eleanor*'s being a Nun there; and alſo *Mary* Daughter to *Edward* I. with thirteen Noblemen's Daughters, were veiled here on *Aſſumption Day*, p. 1285. *Camd. Add. to Wilt.*

(4) King *Edward*'s Martyrdom was kept on three ſeveral Days; on the Day he was murdered, and at the two removes of his Body. See *Martyr. Engl.* 18 of *March*, and *Feb.* and *June* 20. He has likewiſe the Honour of ſtanding in the *Roman Martyrology*, *March* 18, where *Baronius* takes Notice of a Letter in Pope *Innocent* V's *Regiſter*, for the keeping St. *Edward*'s *Feſtival*, Coll. I. 3.

This

This is evident from the ſeventeeth Canon of the Council of *Calcuith*, held in 785, where we find they urged the Payment of Tithes from the Law of *Moſes*. It is true, King *Ethelwulph* might have a mind to confirm the Rights of the Clergy, by granting them a Charter for the ſame. But in that caſe, it is ſomething ſtrange he ſhould paſs over in ſilence the Divine Right of Tithes, on which the Clergy chiefly inſiſted. If this Charter therefore is not to be conſidered as a Forgery, it ſeems at leaſt to be of very doubtful Authority. Add to this, that by the tenth Part of the Lands muſt neceſſarily be meant the tenth Part of the Profits; which muſt be owned to be a very forced Interpretation, eſpecially in a primordial Act, ſuch as this (1).

In the Reigns of *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert* and *Ethelred* I, we have nothing relating to the Church, but the Deſtruction of the Monaſteries, and the pathetick Deſcriptions made by the Hiſtorians, of the *Daniſh* Fury exerciſed upon the Monks. This they chiefly inſiſt upon, as being, in their Opinion, the moſt material hiſtorical Events. They particularly lament the three famous Monaſteries of *Croyland*, *Ely* and *Medeſhamſted*, whoſe Monks were all maſſacred, and the Libraries burnt (2).

Remarks on Edmund's *Martyrdom.*

The pretended Martyrdom of *Edmund* King of *Eaſt-Anglia* would require our notice, had it not been ſpoken of elſewhere (3). I call it pretended, becauſe it does not appear, this Prince loſt his Life in any of thoſe Cauſes which make the Sufferer a *Martyr*. Otherwiſe, we muſt ſay that there were in *England* as many *Martyrs* as there were Chriſtians put to death by the *Danes*. However, he ſtands in the Calender with that Title, and Miracles were affirmed to be frequently wrought at his Tomb during ſeveral Ages (4).

Tho' I have amply inſiſted on every thing relating to the Reign of *Alfred*, it will not be improper to remind the Reader of two things, which may be of uſe hereafter. The firſt is, the Ruin of the Monaſteries; which was ſo great, there was not a Monk left in *England*, being all ſlain by the *Danes*, or forced to fly out of the Kingdom. Some of them perhaps took other Profeſſions when they ſaw the loſs of their Revenues had deprived them of their Subſiſtance. As ſoon as *Alfred* was rid of the *Danes*, he built Monaſteries, and furniſhed them with foreign Monks, there being none to be found in the Kingdom. It will ſeem ſtrange, no doubt, that he ſhould chuſe to be at the charge of new Monaſteries, rather than repair the old, whoſe Walls, for the moſt part, were ſtill remaining. But it muſt be obſerved, the Secular Clergy had taken poſſeſſion of them, and lived there in common under the Direction of an Arch-Prieſt. It is plain, *Alfred* ſaw ſome Inconveniency in diſlodging them.

The other thing I would put the Reader in mind of, is, the groſs Ignorance the *Engliſh* were fallen into during the War with the *Danes*. We have already ſeen in the Life of *Alfred*, how that Prince himſelf complained of it; and reſolved for that reaſon to invite into his Dominions as many learned Foreigners as poſſible, to found the Univerſity of *Oxford* (5), and uſe ſeveral other means to reſtore the *Sciences* in his Kingdom.

Edward the Elder, following the example of his Father, founded, for the ſame reaſon, the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, as ſome aſſert (6). I ſhall not here alledge the Arguments for and againſt the Antiquity of this illuſtrious Univerſity, as being a matter attended with great Difficulties, and beſides, not immediately relating to the ſtate of the Church. But we have another particular belonging to this Reign, where Religion is more concerned, by reaſon of the Conſequences pretended to be drawn from thence, and which it will be proper to inſiſt upon a little.

Obſervations on the pretended Bull of Pope Formoſus. Malm. l 2. de Geſt. Reg. Ann.

Malmsbury relates in his Hiſtory, that in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*, Pope *Formoſus* being informed there had been a ſeven Years Vacancy in the *Weſt-Saxon* Sees, ſent a *Bull* into *England*, excommunicating the King and all his Subjects. Whereupon the King aſſembled a general Council, and *Plegmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, cauſing the *Bull* to be read, it was reſolved the Vacancies ſhould be filled, and three new *Sees* erected in *Weſſex*. *Plegmond* (continues the Hiſtorian) went afterwards to *Rome*, to get the *Cenſure* taken off, and at his return, conſecrated ſeven Biſhops in one Day. An antient Regiſter of the *Priory* of *Canterbury* ſays much the ſame thing, with this Addition, that the Council made a particular Proviſion for the *Corniſh* Men to recover them from their Errors. By the way, we are to underſtand by the Errors of the *Corniſh*, who were ſome of the Remains of the old *Britons*, their refuſing to acknowledge the *Papal Authority*.

Spelm. Conc. Vol. I. p. 387.

The Catholick Divines Anſwer to Sir Edward Coke, p. 36, 137. Spelman. ibid.

The *Roman Catholick* Writers make a great flouriſh upon this *Bull*, and produce it as a ſtrong Inſtance of the Pope's Authority, not only over the Biſhops, but the Kings of *England*. But after all, this *Bull* upon examination will be found inconſiſtent with *Chronology*. *Malmsbury* dates it in 904, But Pope *Formoſus* died in 896, and was dragged out of his Grave in 897, by *Stephen* his Succeſſor. *Baronius*, to ſolve this Difficulty, ſays the Date in *Malmſbury* is falſe, and ſhould be written 894 inſtead of 904. 'Tis true, this Correction ſets the matter right as to *Formoſus*, but then the Cardinal falls into another *Anachroniſm* with regard to *Edward*, who did not aſcend the Throne till the Year 900. *Edward* therefore muſt be changed into *Alfred*. But no Hiſtorian mentions *Alfred*'s being excommunicated. Notwithſtanding all this, they are extremely loth to part with this pretended *Bull*. Some have ſuppoſed two Excommunications; one by Pope *Formoſus* in 894, againſt the Biſhops only, without any mention of King *Edward*: Another by Pope *John* IX, which threatned the King. To ſupport this Suppoſition, *Malmſbury*, who ſpeaks of *Formoſus*'s *Bull*, and *Polydore Virgil*, who mentions Pope *John*'s, are cited. But theſe Authorities are very inſufficient, ſince *Malmsbury* is plainly miſtaken, either in the Date, or in the Name of the Pope; and *Polydore Virgil* does not ſay it was *John* IX, as is pretended, but *John* X, that threatned *Edward* with Excommunication, as indeed it muſt be, if the *Bull* was dated in 904. Thus this *Bull*, which has been ſo much

(1) The *Charter* here tranſlated is in the *Monaſticon*, p. 100. and is dated at *Wilton* in 854. Whereas there is another *Charter* very different from this in *Ingulphus* and *Matthew of Weſtminſter*, dated at *Wincheſter* in 855. To ſolve this Difficulty, it is ſuppoſed that *Ethelwulph* repeated this Grant firſt at *Wilton* for the Tithes only of his own *Demeſne*, and the Year following at *Wincheſter* for the Tithes of the whole Kingdom. Though it muſt be owned that they both ſeemed equally to extend to all his Dominions. See *Ingulph.* p. 17. *Edit. Gal. & M. Weſt. Flor. Hiſt. An.* 854. *Ingulphus* ſays, this *Charter* was made after *Ethelwulph*'s Return from *Rome*; but that could not be, ſeeing he was then only King of *Kent*.

(2) See *Ingulphus*, p. 22, 23, 24. where you have a lamentable Account of the Deſtruction of theſe three Monaſteries.

(3) *Anno* 945. K. *Edward* I. gave one of his Royal Towns, then called *Beadriceſworth*, with divers other Lands to build a Church and Monaſtery, in memory of St. *Edmund* the Martyr, whoſe Body was there enſhrined; which Town was from him called *St. Edmundſbury*. *Mat. Weſt.*

(4) *Matthew Weſtminſter* ſays, his Head being thrown among the Briars and Thorns in the ſame Wood where *Ledebroch* was murdered by *Bern*, the *Eaſt-Anglians*, after the *Danes* were gone, went out to ſee for it, and having ſought in vain for ſome time, the Head at laſt cried out, *Here, Here, Here*, and never ceaſed till they came to the Place. The Head was put to his Body, and buried with it. When they came to take up his Corpſe, many Years after, it was found whole and entire, and the Head grown to the Body, without the leaſt Scar, only a Mark round the Neck like a ſcarlet Thread. *Mat. Weſt. Fl. Hiſt. Ann.* 870. *Malmsb. Geſt. Pontif.* l. 2.

(5) There is a Paſſage in *Aſſerius*'s Life of K. *Alfred* publiſhed by Mr. *Camden*, p. 16. that talks of a Diſpute between *Grimbald*, whom *Alfred* had ſent to *Oxford*, and the old Scholars ſettled there before. From whence it is inferred, that *Alfred* was not the firſt Founder of this *Univerſity*. On the other hand, it is objected, that this Paſſage in *Aſſer* is ſpurious. That it is not in the Copy publiſhed by Archbiſhop *Parker*; that *Uſher* is poſitive for its being interpolated, and that it ſpeaks of things done after *Aſſer*'s Death, *&c.* It is farther objected, both againſt the Antiquity of *Cambridge*, as well as *Oxford*, that neither of them are mentioned by *Bede*; that *Alcuin* paſſes them over in ſilence, and talks of *York* as the Seat of Learning *then*: That *Ingulphus*, in his Deſcriptions of the Burning of the *Libraries* and *Monaſteries* by the *Danes*, ſays not a Word of any Damage done to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*: That *Alfred* complains there were very few on this ſide the *Humber* that underſtood the *Church-Prayers* in *Engliſh*, or could conſtrue *Latin*. Laſtly, That had there been then in being two famous *Univerſities* in *England*, what Occaſion was there for his ſending beyond Sea for learned Men to inſtruct his Subjects? The moſt probable Opinion therefore is, that the *Univerſity of Oxford* was firſt founded by *Alfred* in 886. See Book of *Winch. Higden.* l. 6. *Harpſfield. Malm.* The firſt time *Oxford* is mentioned in the ancient Hiſtorians, as an Univerſity or School of Learning, is in *Ingulph*, Abbot of *Croyland*, who lived in the Reigns of *William* I. and II. Speaking of himſelf, he ſays, "Ego Ingulphus,—pro literis addiſcendis in teneriori ætate conſtitutus, primum Weſtmonaſterio. poſtmodum "Oxonienſi ſtudio traditus eram. Cumque in Ariſtotele arripiendo ſuprà multos cœtaneos meos profeciſſem, etiam Rhetoricam Tullii primam, & ſecundam "talo tenus induebam." *Ingulph. Edit. Oxon.* p. 73.

(6) There is a Manuſcript *Charter* of Privileges, lodged in the Library of *Clare-Hall*, ſaid to be granted to *Cambridge* by this King *Edward*. But however, ſome have carried back the Antiquity of this *Univerſity* to the Year 394 before *Chriſt*, pretending it was then founded by one *Cantaber*, a *Spaniard*, and that it was reſtored by *Sigebert* King of *Eaſt-Anglia*, in 630, whom others account the Founder. But it is plain from the Reaſons in the Note above, that there was no no ſuch Thing as any *Univerſity* at all till *Alfred*'s Time. And as ſome ſay, (*Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 299.) we have no authentick Teſtimony of any *Univerſity* at *Cambridge* till the Year 1110, (Xth *Hen.* I.) when *Joffred*, Abbot of *Croyland*, ſent one *Giſlebert*, a *Divine*, and three others to *Cambridge*, to teach the *Sciences*. Theſe Monks coming to *Cambridge*, hired a *Barn* to teach in, and in a Year's time their *Audience* ſo encreaſed, that no *Houſe* or *Barn* was big enough to contain them. From this ſlender Beginning, ſays *Petrus Bleſenſis*, the *Univerſity* of *Cambridge* grew up to a noble Seat of Learning. The firſt *College*, viz. *Peter-Houſe*, was founded by *Hugh Balſham*, Biſhop of *Ely*, in 1284.—

boaſted

boasted of, falls to the ground, as inconsistent with *Chronology*.

As to the Consecration of the seven Bishops mentioned by *Malmsbury*, there is not the same reason to question the matter of fact. Tho' as to the time, this circumstance is somewhat perplexed, it is certain however, in the beginning of the Xth *Century* there were six Bishops in *Wessex*, whereas a little before there were but three. *Ralph de Diceto* places the erecting of the three new *Sees* in 909. To reconcile this Historian with *Malmsbury*, who fixes the date of them to 904, this expedient is proposed, which, if it has no foundation, is at least not improbable. It is thought, that in the *Synod* or *mixt Assembly* held at *Winchester* in 904, the erection of the three new Bishopricks was resolved. But as these new *Sees* were to be taken out of the Dioceses of *Wincheſter* and *Sherburn*, it was agreed, this should not be done 'till after the death of the present Bishops, that the Revenues they had hitherto enjoyed, might not be lessened. Both these Bishops happening to die in 909, or perhaps a little before, and the Bishopricks of *Worcester* and *Sussex* being also vacant at the same time, *Plegmund* consecrated seven Bishops at once, namely, *Fridstan* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, *Werestan* of *Sherburn*, *Kenulph* of *Worcester*, *Beornock* of *Selsey* in *Sussex*, *Eadulph* of *Crediton*, or *Kirton*, *Athelm* of *Wells*, and *Athelstan* of *Petrockstow* or *Padstow* in *Cornwall*. The three last *Sees* were the newly erected. Tho' *Malmsbury* and *Higden* affirm the new erected Bishopricks had the Pope's Confirmation, it is certain at that time, and for more than two hundred years after, there was no such thing requir'd. And therefore very probably, when these two Historians mentioned the Pope's Confirmation, they had an Eye to the Custom of their own Times.

We meet with very few particulars of moment, except some Councils spoken of hereafter, in the Reigns of *Athelstan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*. The most remarkable thing was the *Charter* of *Privileges* granted by *Edmund*, on account of *Dunstan* the first Abbot, to *Glassenbury Abby*, after it was rebuilt. These Privileges were so extensive, that the King seemed to intend to invest the Abbot with a sort of sovereign Power within the Precincts of his Jurisdiction (1).

Great Privileges granted Glassenbury Abby. Malm. l. 2. c. 7.

The Abby of *Croyland* was also rebuilt in the Reign of *Edmund* by *Turketul* the King's Cousin and Chancellor. He afterwards turned Monk himself, and was made Abbot by *Edred*, who put him in possession, by the delivery of a *Pastoral Staff*, according to the custom of those days. *Turketul* obtained a very advantagious Charter for his Abby. However, *Edred* refused to grant him the Privilege of *Sanctuary*, which that Abby had enjoyed before its destruction, being unwilling Malefactors should be protected from Justice.

Turketul rebuilds Croyland; Ingulph.

but is refused the Privilege of Sanctuary.

This Prince was entirely swayed by *Dunstan*, who made use of his Interest, not only to put the Monks in possession of the Abbies, which the secular Clergy had appropriated to themselves, but also of the Benefices. If *Edred* had not died so soon, *Dunstan* would doubtless have settled this Affair in such a manner, as to have made it unalterable. But this Prince dying before it could be compleated, *Edwy* his Successor turned the Monks out of the Benefices, and even out of some of their Monasteries. To read the tragical Complaints of the Monkish Historians upon this occasion, and their bitter Invectives against *Edwy*, one would imagine this Prince had utterly rooted out the Christian Religion. Whereas upon a closer Inquiry, it will appear, the Monks were dispossessed only of the two Monasteries of *Abington* and *Malmsbury* (2). This Loss however was so grievous to them that they stirred up the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians* to a revolt, as hath been related.

It is needless to repeat here what has already been said of the great Interest of *Dunstan* in the Reign of *Edgar*, and what he did in favour of the Monks. The Truth is, he can't be blamed for exerting his power in replacing them in the Monasteries. Though the religious Houses were deserted during the wars, they belonged not to the secular Clergy, since they were founded for the Monks. But he can't be so easily excused, for endeavouring to introduce the Monks into the Benefices, on pretence that the secular Priests were most of them married. I shall not examine here upon what ground the Councils and Popes prohibited the Clergy from marrying. This matter has been so fully handled by several Authors, that nothing new can be added. I shall only remark, that from the Conversion of the *English* to *Dunstan*'s time, the Clergy of *England* were not obliged to *Celibacy*, and that *Dunstan* undertook an unprecedented thing, when he attempted to bind them to it, in pursuance of the *Papal Decrees*. It has been observed in the Reign of *Edgar*, how *Dunstan*, countenanced by that Prince, gained his point so far, as, not indeed to oblige them to put away their Wives, but to expel them their Benefices for keeping them. However notwithstanding his great Interest and Affection to the Monks, he could never reinstate them in the northern Monasteries. For above two hundred years the Abbies in those parts were uninhabited, and the very name of a Monk was scarce heard of there.

The Removal of the Episcopal Sees.

I have but little to say (3) concerning the new Bishopricks, or the removal of the Episcopal Sees from one place to another, at a time when one half of the Kingdom was in the hands of the *Danes*, who as yet were Pagans. *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East Anglia*, being expos'd to their continual ravages, it is not to be expected the affairs of the Church should proceed in a regular course. *East-Anglia* had never a Bishop for above two hundred years, and in *Northumberland*, the *See* of *Hagulstad* was reduc'd to so wretched a state, that having long been without a Bishop, it was forced at last to be united to *York*. During *Alfred*'s Reign, the Bishopricks of *Leicester* and *Lincoln* were united in one, and the *See* remov'd to *Dorchester* (4), where it continued 'till the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, when it was translated again to *Lincoln*. I have already mention'd the erection of the three new Bishopricks in *Wessex*, and therefore it is needless to say any thing more of them. This is all that occurs, unless I were to give a List of the Names of the Bishops that succeeded in each *See*; which would lead me too far. Those who have a mind to it, may consult Dr. *Heylin*, who has published a Book upon that subject, where you have the year of the Instalment of each Bishop.

Help to *English* History. Lond. 1709.

The Councils.

The Councils held in this interval, were properly mixt *Assemblies*, consisting of the Clergy and Nobility, and term'd in *Saxon*, *Wittena-Gemot*, that is, *an Assembly of wise Men*, or rather *Micel-Synod*, which signifies in the same Language, *the Great*, or *General Assembly*. Both these names were rendered in *Latin* by the word *Concilium*. But because in these Assemblies, Laws and Ordinances relating to the Church as well as the State, were enacted, several of them are reckon'd among the Councils or Synods. As for Councils purely Ecclesiastical, it does not appear there were any, from *Egbert* to *Edward the Martyr*.

Synod of Graetley. 928. Spelman. Conc. Vol. I. p. 396.

Next to the Assembly at *Wincheſter*, where *Ethelwulph* is said to have given a Grant of the Tithes, the most considerable with regard to religious Affairs, was the Synod of *Graetely*, in the Reign of *Athelstan*. The Canons or Laws of this Council are Nine.

The Ist enjoins the Payment of Tithes (5).

The IId commands the Magistrates to put the Laws in execution against those that were convinced by all the Circumstances of an *Ordeal* Trial (6).

The IIId is against Witchcraft and Highwaymen.

The IVth relates to the Towns where the Money was to be coined. At *Canterbury* there were to be seven Mints, *four* for the King, *two* for the Archbishop, and *one* for the Abbot of St. *Augustine*'s. *Rochester*

(1) This *Charter* was engrossed in *Letters of Gold* in a Book of the *four Gospels*, and presented to the *Abby* by the King.

(2) And perhaps *Glassenbury*, which were all the Monks had in *Edwy*'s Time, the rest were in Possession of the *Seculars*. See *Tinmouth. Hist. Aur.* MS. l. 21. *Wulstan. Vit. Ethel.*

(3) *Edred* founded a Bishop's See at St. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, which was afterwards annexed by *Canute* to the See of *Crediton* or *Kirton*. *Speed*, p. 341.

(4) In *Oxfordshire*.

(5) To which is added the King's Order to all his Officers and Governors, to maintain a poor Man in Diet and Clothes; namely, that out of every two of his *Villæ*, or Towns, there should be given an *Amphora*, or nine Gallons of Meal, a Gammon of Bacon, or a Ram worth *four Pence*. They were each of them also to manumise a Slave. *Spelman. Conc.* Vol. I. p. 398.

(6) See the Manner of this Trial at length, in the *Dissertation on the Government and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons*.

was to have three, two for the King, and one for the Biſhop (1).

The Vth regulates the Circumſtances and Formalities of the *Ordeal* Trial, to know whether the Perſon accuſed were guilty or not. And here we have two things worth remarking. The firſt is, That the Prieſts are ſpoken of as fixed or ſettled in certain places. Whence it is plain, that in thoſe days they did not live together in common; but each had his particular Church. The ſecond is, that the accuſed Perſon was to receive the conſecrated Bread. Whence it may be inferred, that ſince the Euchariſt was called Bread after the Conſecration, the Church of *England* was far from believing *Tranſubſtantiation*.

The VIth forbids buying and ſelling on *Sunday*.

The VIIth is againſt Perjuries and falſe Witneſſes (2).

Brompt. The VIIIth orders the Biſhops to aſſiſt the Judges in the execution of the Laws, and to ſit upon the Bench with them (3).

The IXth lays a Fine upon remiſs and negligent Magiſtrates, which was to be paid to the Biſhop (4).

Spelman, Vol. I. P. 425. We find another Synod, or mixt Aſſembly, in the Reign of *Edmund*, wherein the Ceremonies of Marriage, and Preliminary Securities the Parties to give one another, are ſettled.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of the Council where *Edgar* harangued ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt the ſecular Prieſts, and of ſeveral others, that were aſſembled on occaſion of the Controverſy between the Monks and Clergy, and therefore ſhall ſay nothing more of them here.

Odo's *Conſtitutions*. 923. Spelman, Conc. Vol. I. P. 415. To the *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws paſſed at theſe General Aſſemblies or Councils, may be aptly ſubjoined certain Conſtitutions made in thoſe days. The ten following are *Odo*'s, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The firſt threatens all thoſe who injure the Church in her Property with Excommunication.

The IId exhorts Princes [and other great Men] to be governed by the directions of the Biſhops, becauſe God has entruſted them with the *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.

The IIId admoniſhes Biſhops to diſcharge their Duty (5), without any mercenary Views, or reſpect of Perſons.

The IVth and Vth give good Advice to the Clergy.

The VIth does the ſame with regard to the Monks.

The VIIth prohibits unlawful Marriages, upon the ſcore of nearneſs of Relarion: But the degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity are not recited.

The VIIIth recommends Unity and Charity among Chriſtians.

The IXth preſſes faſting on *Wedneſdays*, *Fridays*, and the four *Ember Weeks*.

The Xth enjoins the punctual Payment of Tithes, from Reaſons taken out of the Old Teſtament, without any mention of *Ethelwulph*'s Charter. Mal. iii. 12.

There are other Conſtitutions, publiſhed under King *Edgar*, but the Author of them is unknown. The principal are, *Other Conſtitutions*. Spelman, P. 444.

The Iſt, which confirms the Civil Privileges and Immunities of the Church, and orders the payment of Tithes (6).

And the Vth, by which the Solemnity of *Sunday* is to begin at three o' Clock on *Saturday* in the Afternoon (7).

In this Reign were publiſh'd a Body of Canons (8), of which the following are particularly remarkable.

By the Vth, if a Prieſt receiv'd any Injury, the Complaint was to be preferr'd to the Synod, who were to treat the Caſe, as if the Injury had actually been done to the whole Body of the Clergy, and take care that ſatisfaction be made at the Diſcretion of the Biſhop of the Dioceſe.

The XIth enjoins the Prieſts to learn ſome employment, in order to get their livelihood in caſe of misfortune.

The XVIIth orders Parents to teach their Children the Lord's-Prayer and the Apoſtles-Creed, without which they were neither to be admitted to the Euchariſt, nor buried in conſecrated ground.

The XXIXth forbids the burying in Churches all thoſe that were not of known and approv'd Probity.

The XXXIId prohibits the Prieſts from officiating without the Service-Book before them, for fear the truſting to their Memories might make them miſtake.

By the XXXVIth, no Perſon was to eat or drink before the receiving the Communion.

The XXXVIIIth enjoyins the Prieſt to have the holy Euchariſt (9) always ready by him: But in caſe it grew ſo ſtale that it could not be eaten without diſguſting the Palate, it was to be burnt in a clear Fire, and the Aſhes laid under the Altar. Heuce it is eaſy to ſee what the Church's Opinion was then of the Euchariſt, ſince it was believ'd it could grow ſtale, and was to be burnt after it was ſpoil'd (10).

The LIIId forbids the eating of Blood (11).

After theſe Canons, there follows a very particular Form of Confeſſion, with what Penances the Confeſſor is to enjoin. We find here that the Penitent was order'd to ſay the Lord's Prayer threeſcore times a day,

(1) *London* was to have eight, *Winchester* ſix, *Lewis*, *Southampton*, *Exeter*, *Shaftſbury*, *Wareham*, two each, and every other great Town was to have one. If any Perſon belonging to theſe *Mints* was found guilty of debaſing the Coin (which was to be all of one Sort) his right Hand was to be cut off, and nailed upon the out-ſide of the *Mint*. See *Spelman*, *Conc.* Vol. I. *p.* 399. The ſame Appointment was made by *Athelſtan*, only he ordered that (beſides the Places here mentioned) *Canterbury* ſhould have ſeven, *Rocheſter* three, *Haſtings* and *Chicheſter* one each, *&c.* See *Leg.* 64. in *Wilkins*.

(2) The Penalty is, not to be believed afterwards, and to be debarred of Chriſtian Burial.

(3) In this ſame Council were ſome remarkable Civil Laws enacted, particularly one againſt Thieves, requiring, That if a Thief be taken in the fact no man ſhall ſpare him, if he be above twenty years old, and had ſtole any thing above the value of eight pence. If any one do contrary thereto, he ſhall pay the value of the Thief's head, and make amends for the fault, and yet the Thief himſelf ſhall not be ſpared; who if he contumaciouſly make reſiſtance, or fly for it, ſhall find no favour. A Thief caſt into Priſon ſhall there ſtay forty days, and then after the payment of one hundred and twenty Shillings be diſcharged; but his Kindred muſt give ſecurity for his good behaviour; after which if he ſteal again, they muſt either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Priſon; and in caſe one reſiſt, he ſhall pay to the King, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own Head; and if any defend him, he ſhall pay to the King one hundred and twenty Shillings.

(4) Namely, of the Dioceſe where the Magiſtrate lived.

(5) That is, to go and preach about their Dioceſe every Year, *&c.*

(6) The IIId orders the Payment of the Tithe of Cattle before *Whitſuntide*, of the Fruits of the Earth before the Equinox, and of Seeds at the Feaſt of St. *Martin*. *Spelman*, p. 444.

(7) And to continue 'till break of Day on *Monday*, *Spelman*, p. 445. *Edgar* made ſeveral other *Conſtitutions* for the Regulation of *Religious Houſes*. In thoſe in the Book belonging to *Winchester* Cathedral, *Edgar* makes himſelf General of the *Monks*, and Queen of the *Nuns*. *Spelman*, p. 447.

(8) Theſe Canons were tranſlated by Sir *H. Spelman*, from a *Saxon Manuſcript* in *Bennet-College* in *Cambridge*. 'Tis not known where or by what Authority they were drawn up. *Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 186.

(9) That is, the *conſecrated Bread*. Had they thought then, that our Saviour's *Fleſh* and *Bones*, as the *Trent Catechiſm* words it, had been preſent under the Appearance of Bread, they would never have burnt the Euchariſt in this manner.

(10) The LIId orders Prieſts to preach every Sunday. *Spelman*, p. 454.

(11) The LXIVth declares *Hunting* and *Hawking* are improper Diverſions for a Prieſt, who is to make Books his Entertainment. *Spelman*.

but

but not ſo much as one *Ave Maria*; a clear evidence, that the praying to the *Virgin Mary* was not yet introduced into the Church.

Nothing more remains relating to the Church of thoſe Days, but to give a brief account of the moſt noted Perſons for Piety and Learning.

Swithin. The firſt Saint we meet with is *Swithin* or *Swithun* (1,) who having been Preceptor to King *Ethelwulph*, was promoted to the See of *Wincheſter*. By his advice *Ethelwulph* is ſaid to have granted a Charter of the Tithes to the Church. This alone was ſufficient to gain him a Saintſhip, though he had been diſtinguiſhed upon no other account. But beſides this, he is affirmed to have wrought abundance of *Miracles*, with which I do not think proper to ſwell this Abridgment.

Humbert. *Humbert*, Biſhop of *Eaſt-Anglia*, maſſacred, or, if you will, martyr'd by the *Danes*, with King *Edmund*, has the Honour alſo of being rank'd with the Saints.

Alfred. *Alfred the Great*, independently of his Royal Dignity, was one of the moſt conſiderable for his Piety and Learning (2).

Scotus. Aſſer. vit. Alfr. *Johannes Scotus*, ſirnamed *Erigena*, that is, *Iriſhman*, [*Ireland* being then called *Erin*] liv'd at this time. He had acquired a great Reputation in *France*, where *Charles the Bald* entertained him at his Court, and uſed to converſe with him with great Familiary (3) when *Alfred* invited him into *England*. At firſt he was the King's Preceptor in Languages and the other Sciences; afterwards he taught at *Oxford*, from whence, in all probability, he was removed to *Malmsbury*, ſince it was in this Monaſtery that he is ſaid to be ſtabb'd to death by his Scholars with Penknives. Before he left *France*, he was engaged by the Emperor's Order in the Diſpute concerning the Nature of the Euchariſt. In his Treatiſe (4) upon this Subject, he ſtrongly argued againſt *Paſcaſius*'s Doctrine, who maintained, the Body of Chriſt in the Euchariſt to be the ſame that was born of the Bleſſed Virgin. It muſt needs be, that the contrary Opinion defended by *Scotus*, was not look'd upon then as heretical, ſince it prevented not *Alfred* from inviting him into *England*, from having a very great eſteem for him, and entruſting him with the Education of Youth. Nay it is certain, he was honoured as a Saint and a Martyr after his Death. *Roger de Hoveden* ſays, *Scotus* at firſt had an obſcure burial; but afterwards a miraculous Light ſhining over his Grave for ſeveral Nights together, the Monks of St. *Lawrence*'s removed his Body into their Church, and buried it cloſe by the Altar. His Epitaph alſo, the antiquity whereof, according to *Malmsbury*, appears from the Structure and Diction of the Verſes (5), is expreſs for his paſſing for a Saint, when that was made. All theſe Circumſtances are a ſtrong Preſumption, at leaſt, that *Tranſubſtantiation* was not the Doctrine of *the Church of England* at that time. For had it been ſo, how was it poſſible the *Engliſh* ſhould honour as a Saint one that had ſo openly combated their Opinions? This inference a little perplexes the *Roman Catholicks*. However, one of their Hiſtorians does not ſcruple to own, that *the Name of* Scot *is regiſtred in the* SUPPLEMENT *of the* Gallican Martyrology, *and commemorated among the Saints on the fourth of the* Ides *of* November. He moreover adds, *that his Name had been inſerted even in the* Roman Martyrology, *and did remain there 'till expung'd by* Cardinal Baronius. This Hiſtorian indeed pretends, *Scotus* retracted his former Errors: but gives us no Authority for what he ſays. He only alledges, that without a Recantation it is not likely the Church would have honoured his Memory. But this is ſuppoſing that *Tranſubſtantiation* was the Doctrine of the Church at that time, which muſt firſt be proved, before this Argument can be of any force.

Creſſy's Church Hiſtory of England, p. 772.

Grimbald liv'd alſo in the ſame Century: He was one of the firſt Claſs for his Learning, and had a great Reputation. He was invited into *England* by *Alfred the Great* (who was acquainted with him at *Rheims*) and preferred to the Government of the new Abby at *Wincheſter*. Grimbald. Aſſer.

Among the *Engliſhmen*, eminent for their Learning, *Aſſerius* was one of the moſt conſiderable. He wrote the Life of *Alfred the Great* in 893, and died Biſhop of St. *David*'s in *Wales* (6). He muſt not be confounded with another of the ſame Name, Biſhop of *Sherburn*, who died in 883. Aſſerius Menevenſis.

Werefrid, Biſhop of *Worceſter* in *Mercia*, lived in the Reign of King *Buthred*. When the *Danes* became Maſters of *Mercia*, he retired into *France*, from whence he was recalled by King *Alfred*. He tranſlated the Dialogues of *Gregory the Great* into *Saxon*; and having acquired a great Reputation when living, he was regiſtered a Saint, after his Death. Werefrid. Aſſer.

Plegmund, who was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, paſſed for a very learned Prelate, and was particularly eminent for his Skill in Divinity. Plegmund. Id.

Dunulf had been an Herdſman. He is affirmed by ſome to be the ſame that ſheltered *Alfred*, whilſt the *Danes* were Maſters of the Kingdom. However this be, he had the good fortune to be known to this Prince; who finding him a Perſon of a Genius ſuperior to his Birth and Employment, got him inſtructed in Learning, and promoted him afterwards to the *See* of *Wincheſter*. As this City was then the *Metropolis* of *Weſſex*, where *Alfred* kept his uſual Reſidence, he uſed the Advice of this Prelate in Affairs of the greateſt Moment. Dunulf.

Wulfig Biſhop of *London*, had alſo a great ſhare in *Alfred*'s Eſteem, as appears by his Letter to this Prelate prefixed to his Tranſlation of *Gregory's Paſtoral*. Wulfig.

Neots was an Abbot diſtinguiſhed for his Birth, Learning, Regularity, and Zeal for promoting the Intereſt of the true Religion. Some ſay, he was nearly related to King *Alfred*, and others that he was deſcended from the Blood-Royal of *Eaſt-Anglia*. He died in 890 in *Cornwall*, where he left his Name to the Town of *Neotſtow* or *St. Neods* (7). Neots.

Odo, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was the Son of an *Eaſt-Anglian-Dane*. Though he was born of *Pagan* Parents, he had the good Fortune to know and reliſh the Chriſtian Religion, and for that reaſon was expelled his Father's Houſe. In this extremity, he put himſelf into the Service of an *Engliſh* Nobleman, who had him baptized, and ſent him to School. When he became capable he entered into Orders, in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*. His zeal, virtue, and capacity, gained him ſo great a Character, that *Athelſtan* made him Biſhop of Odo.

(1) He was bred a *Monk* at *Wincheſter*, where he was made Abbot. *Malm.*

(2) He was twelve Years of Age before he could read, which he firſt began to learn upon this Occaſion. His Mother ſeeing him one Day mightily delighted with a little Book, beautifully adorned with Capital Letters in Gold and other Colours, ſaid, in his and his Brother's hearing, *She would give that Book to him that ſhould firſt get it by Heart. Alfred*, who knew not ſo much as his Letters, though twelve Years old, applied himſelf ſo diligently to his Buſineſs, that he never left 'till he could read and repeat the Book to his Mother. From this time, he had a great Reliſh for Books, and ſtudied hard. There is extant of this Monarch's Work relating to Hiſtory, a *Paraphraſtical Tranſlation of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, and a ſhort *Genealogy* of the Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*. Poſterity had ſo great a Veneration for his Memory, that he has the Title of *Saint* ſometimes beſtowed upon him, and what is more, his Name ſtands in the Calendar of the *Engliſh Martyrology*, printed in 1608, and in two *Saxon Calendars* cited by the *Annotator* on the *Saxon* Tranſlation of the N. T. The Day of his Death is regiſtered on the 26th of *October*.

(3) The Emperor one Day, as he was ſitting oppoſite to him at Table, aſking him merrily, *Quid intereſt inter* Scotum & Sotum? He replied, *Menſa tantum*. Which the Emperor took in good part. *Howed.*

(4) This Book was condemned by the Council of *Vercelli* in 1050, *Bering. Epiſt. ad Rich.* 'Tis now loſt, though ſome will have it be the ſame with that which goes under the Name of *Ratram* or *Bertram*. But *Mabillon* confutes this Opinion.

(5) Clauditur hoc Tumulo ſanctus Sophiſta Johannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Chriſti conſcendere Regnum,
Quo meruit, Sancti regnant per Sæcula cuncti. *Malm.*

(6) He was bred a Monk of *Menevia* or *St. David*'s, whom the King prevailed upon, with much ado, to come to Court, on condition he ſhould ſtay there ſix Months, and at his Abby ſix Months, by turns. He wrote the Life of *Alfred* to the 45th Year of his Age, *i. e.* to the Year 893, according to his Computation. It was continued to *Alfred*'s Death by ſome later Hand. He ſhows through the whole a great deal of Modeſty. He mentions nothing of the viſionary Dialogue betwixt *Alfred* and *St. Cuthbert*, which other Hiſtorians largely inſiſt on. He is copied by *Florence of Worceſter* and others. This Treatiſe was firſt publiſhed by Archbiſhop *Parker* in the old *Saxon* Character. A new Edition is lately put out by Mr. *Wiſe*, Fellow of *Trinity College Oxford*, with a Vindication of the conteſted Clauſe about the Antiquity of *Oxford*. Another Piece has been publiſhed by Dr. *Gale*, under the Title of *Aſſerius*'s *Annals*. The learned Editor does not queſtion but 'tis the true Off-ſpring of *Aſſerius*. *Leland* calls it the *Chronicle* of *St. Neot*'s, becauſe he found it in that Monaſtery.

(7) Where he was buried, and when Earl *Alric*'s Seat in *Huntingtonſhire* was turned into a Monaſtery upon his Account, his Body was removed thither, and the Town before called *Ainulphſbury*, was from him named *St. Neot*'s. From whence his Bones were a third time removed to *Croyland Minſter* in 1217.

Sherburn.

Sherburn. Some aſcribe to the efficacy of his Prayers, the glorious victory, obtained by that Prince over the *Danes* at *Brunanburgh*. *Odo* had no leſs Intereſt with King *Edmund*, who reſolved to promote him to the Archiepiſopal See of *Canterbury*. But *Odo* modeſtly excuſed himſelf, telling the King his Abilities were too ſlender for ſo high a Poſt. The King not admitting his excuſe, he further alledged, that Tranſlations were not warrantable by the Canons. This ſcruple being removed, by the Examples of *Juſtus* and *Mellitus* who were tranſlated from *Rocheſter* and *London* to *Canterbury*, he ſtarted another Objection, and alledged, that the Archbiſhops from *Auguſtin* downwards having been all *Monks* (1), he looked upon himſelf as unqualified for that Station, ſince he had not been educated under any religious Rule. This new difficulty was alſo got over by ſending to the Abbot of *Fleury* in *France*, and entreating him to admit *Odo* into his Society. Thus the Prelate having nothing more to object, accepted at length, though with great Reluctance, the *See of Canterbury*. As he became afterwards a vigorous Champion for the Monks, it may be preſumed, this was one of the chief Reaſons of placing him among the moſt illuſtrious Eccleſiaſticks of his time. He is ſaid alſo to have the Gift of Miracles, which the Favourers of the *Monks* ſeldom fail to be honoured with.

Dunſtan would make a large Article here, did I not think what I have elſewhere ſaid of him ſufficiently makes known his Character. There are modern Hiſtorians, even among the Proteſtants themſelves, who, carried away by the Teſtimonies of the antient Writers, have given great Commendations to this pretended Saint, without conſidering upon what doubtful Authorities they proceed. It is highly probable, that *Dunſtan*'s firm adherence to the *Monks*, was the Ground of thoſe exceſſive praiſes beſtowed on him, of which, perhaps, he would otherwiſe have been deemed unworthy (2). Dunſtan.

The ſame may be ſaid of *Ethelwald*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* firſt, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*. Their great Zeal in the Cauſe of the *Monks*, is doubleſs what contributed moſt to their Reputation. The *Monks*, being almoſt the only Writers in thoſe Days, have drawn the Characters of Perſons according to their Prejudices or Intereſts. Ethelwald *and* Oſwald.

Turketul, King *Edmund*'s near Relation and Chancellor, became famous in this Age, for preferring a Cloyſter to a Court, where he lived in great Reputation. But what raiſed his Merit moſt with the Hiſtorians, was his rebuilding and reſtoring to its former ſplendor, the Abby of *Croyland* (3), demoliſhed by the *Danes*. Turketul.

(1) There were ſeveral that in all probability were not Monks, as *Wigberd*, whom *Bede*, l. 4. c. 1. calls a Prieſt, and *Nothelm*, who ſucceeded *Tatwine*.

(2) The famous Story of St. *Dunſtan* and the *Devil* is thus related by the Monkiſh Hiſtorians. As St. *Dunſtan* was one Day buſied in his Cell near *Glaſſenbury*, in making a Gold Cup of a curious Workmanſhip, the *Devil* appeared to him in a beautiful Form, tempting him to Sin. *Dunſtan* perceiving in Spirit who it was, takes up a red-hot pair of Tongs, and catching hold of the *Devil* by the Noſe, made him howl in ſuch a terrible manner, that he was heard all over the Neighbourhood. *Hig. Polych.* p. 270. *Edit. Gale.* *Brompt.* p. 878, 879.

(3) *Turketul* left the Monaſtery at his Death in Poſſeſſion of many curious *Relicks*; among the reſt *Ingulphus* (p. 51. *Hiſt. Croyl. Edit. Gale.*) mentions the *Thumb* of St. *Bartholomew* the Apoſtle, given him when Chancellor by the Emperor; he had ſo great a Veneration for it, that he always carried it about him, and when in any Danger, croſs'd himſelf with it. The *naming of Bells*, together with the *Benediction*, as a defenſative againſt Thunder and Lightning, being introduced in this Age by Pope *John* XIV. *Turketul* caſt a great *Bell*, which he called *Gutblac*. His Succeſſor taking the hint, added ſome more to it, and made the firſt tuneable *Ring of Bells in England*. *Ingulph.* p. 53.

THE

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK V.

Containing the Reigns of the Kings of ENGLAND, *from* ETHELRED II. *to the* Norman Conqueſt, *being the Space of about Eighty Eight Years.*

14. *ETHELRED* II.

978. ETHELRED II. *crown'd.*

AFTER the murder of *Edward*, there was not the leaſt pretence to refuſe the Crown to his Brother *Ethelred*, who was the only Prince of the Royal Family, and too young to be accuſed of partaking in his Mother's Crime. Accordingly, *Dunſtan* could not help crowning him (1), being then but twelve years of age, though he plainly foreſaw it would prove fatal to his whole Party. It is affirmed, that *Dunſtan* at his Coronation foretold, by the Spirit of *Prophecy*, the Calamities *England* was going to be expoſed to in his Reign. But Predictions of this Nature are always to be ſuſpected, when attributed to *Saints*, ſuch as *Dunſtan*, by Authors who wrote after the Event. However this be, the People had very different thoughts of this new Reign. They flattered themſelves, they were about to enjoy a ſtate of Tranquillity, under a Prince who had already given an Inſtance of his good Nature, in bitterly lamenting the Death of the King his Brother, though it procured him the Crown. An Hiſtorian ſays, his Tears appeared ſo unſeaſonable to his Mother, that catching up a Wax-taper in a paſſion, ſhe beat him ſo unmercifully with it, that he could not endure the ſight of a Wax-light ever after.

Malm. l. 2. c. 10.

Hoveden. Ingulph. p. 54.

Sax. Ann.

Malmſb. & Brompt.

980. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

His Character. Malmſb.

The firſt thing *Ethelred* did after his Coronation, was to remove the Body of the late King to *Shaftsbury* Church. Hardly had he performed this Office, but he found himſelf attacked by the *Danes*, who ſuffered him to enjoy no repoſe during the reſidue of his Life. If this Prince had followed the ſteps of his Predeceſſors, perhaps he would have cauſed the old Invaders to lay aſide all thoughts of any new attempts upon *England*. But his natural Cowardice, joined to an extreme Sluggiſhneſs (2), and inſatiable Avarice, and many other Failings, ſoon let them ſee, he was not like to prove a very formidable Enemy. For ſixty years paſt they ſeemed to have forgot *England*, and the *Engliſh* on their ſide, to have loſt all remembrance of the Calamities they had ſuffered from the Hands of thoſe cruel Enemies. However, after ſo long an Interval, during which the *Danes* ſettled in *England*, ſeemed to have entertained the ſame affection for this their ſecond Country, as the Natives themſelves, the foreign *Danes* took it in their heads to renew their Invaſions. They no ſooner appeared, but the others, reſuming their old Inclinations, joined their Countrymen, in order to improve the preſent Opportunity, and free themſelves from the Dominion of the *Engliſh*.

981. *The Danes renew their Invaſions.* Sax. Ann. Malmſb. S. Dunelm.

The *Daniſh* rovers made their firſt Attempt on *Southampton*, where they arrived with ſeven Ships, and after plundering the Town and the adjacent Country (3), they carried the ſame devaſtations into *Cornwall*.

This year another band landed at *Portland*, pillaged, and ſacked the Country round about, after which they proceeded elſewhere to increaſe their Spoils (4).

982. *The Advantages of the Danes in the War.*

Theſe frequent deſcents were ſo much the more incommodious to the *Engliſh*, as having ſo many Coaſts to guard, they knew not where to aſſemble and expect the Enemy. If at any time they happened to have it in their power to give them Battle, all the advantage they could gain, in caſe fortune favoured them, was to recover the Plunder. But when they themſelves were worſted, the Country was ſure to be expoſed to all imaginable cruelties before another Army could be drawn together. Very often, whilſt the *Engliſh* Troops were upon the march, to oppoſe one of theſe Bands, they were forced to change their Rout, and march where the danger ſeemed more preſſing. Thus, what care ſoever might be taken, one part of the

(1) He was crowned at *Kingſton*, *April* 25. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* l. 5. *Brompt.* p. 877.

(2) This cowardly and ſluggiſh Temper of his was predicted by *Dunſtan*, when at his *Baptiſm* (like *Conſtantine* the Emperor, from thence called *Copronymus*) he bewrayed the Font, which, *Malmſbury* ſays, diſturbed *Dunſtan* ſo, that it made him ſwear *by God and St. Mary*, this Boy will prove a *Poltron*, lib. 2. c. 10. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang.* But this has very much the Air of a Monkiſh Aſperſion.

(3) They either ſlew, or carried captive, almoſt all the Inhabitants. They came from thence to the Iſle of *Thanet*, and plundered it; and another Band ravaged *Cheſter*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 161. *Brompt.* p. 877.

(4) This year alſo the City of *London* was deſtroyed by Fire, but by what Accident is unknown.

Kingdom was always expoſed, ſince there was no foreſeeing where the Pyrates would land. There was but one Way to remedy this Inconvenience, which was, to keep a Fleet at Sea ſtrong enough to engage the *Danes*, before they diſembarked their Troops. But a time of Minority was not very proper to take ſuch a Precaution.

In this manner paſſed the firſt ten Years of this Reign. It would be needleſs to deſcribe at length the Ravages committed by the *Danes* during that Time. It is eaſy to imagine the whole Kingdom was a Scene of Murders, Conflagrations, Plunderings, and other Devaſtations, which, after ſome ſhort Intermiſſions, were continually renewed.

983. *The Death of* Elfric *Duke of* Mercia. Sax. Ann. Hoved.

During theſe Troubles, *Elfric*, Duke of *Mercia*, one of the beſt Supports of his Country, died in 983. His little Regard for the Monks after *Edgar*'s Death, was probably the Reaſon of their reporting among their Votaries, that he was eaten up of Lice. *Alfric* his Son ſucceeded him.

984. *Death of* Ethelwold *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

The next Year, *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, one of *Dunſtan*'s Confidents, and a great Friend of the Monks, departed alſo this Life. He is ſaid to have founded a dozen Monaſteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, aſſiſted by the Liberality of the two former Kings, with whom he was in great Favour (1).

Monkery goes to decay.

The Credit of the Monks declined very much in the Reign of *Ethelred*, as well by reaſon of the frequent Invaſions of the *Danes*, as becauſe the People, full of their Misfortunes, were regardleſs of every thing elſe. Nay, they began to miſtruſt the *Sanctity* of the Monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that Men who had obtained from Heaven ſo many Miracles on their own private Account, could not by their Merits and Prayers ſecure the Kingdom from the Calamities it was inceſſantly expoſed to. On the other hand, as their Credit with the former Kings had helped to acquire them a great Reputation, ſo this King's Diſinclination to them turned greatly to their Prejudice. *Ethelred*, whoſe Thoughts were not taken up with Religion, put the *Monks* and other *Eccleſiaſticks* upon a level with the reſt of his Subjects. He gave a convincing Proof how little he regarded the *Clergy*, in a difference between him and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. The Biſhop having haughtily refuſed to comply with ſome Demand of the King's, he ordered the Soldiers to lay waſte the Lands belonging to the *Cathedral* dedicated to St. *Andrew* (2). In vain did the Biſhop threaten him with Vengeance from the Apoſtle, and cauſe Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* to interpoſe in his Quarrel; *Ethelred* ſlighted both, nor could be appeaſed but by Money (3). *Dunſtan*, diſpleaſed to the higheſt degree at this Behaviour, denounced upon the King and his Council the Judgments of God, ready to fall on their Heads, for preſuming to lay ſacrilegious Hands on the Church's Property; but he was not heard. His Credit was ſunk ſo low, that hardly was he known to be alive, ſo careful were the new Miniſters to depreſs him. He died quickly after in the Year 988; not ſo much of old Age, as of Grief and Vexation to ſee himſelf no longer diſtinguiſhed as formerly.

986. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Knighton.

Dunſtan *loſes his Credit.* Dunſtan's *Death.* Sax. Ann.

Oſwald *Archbiſhop of* York *dies.* Sax. Ann.

Oſwald Archbiſhop of *York* ſoon followed him. He was his particular Friend, and one of the three Prelates that governed the Church during the Reign of *Edgar*. The Death of theſe Patrons of the Monks, a contagious Diſtemper (4), which ſwept away multitudes, and moreover the continual Invaſions of the *Danes*, put an end to the Quarrel between the ſecular and regular Clergy, in ſuch manner, that it was never more heard of.

991. *The* Danes *invade* England *again.*

After the *Danes* had pillaged the Coaſts of *England* ten Years together, they gave over their Ravages for about two Years. This Intermiſſion put the *Engliſh* in hopes, their Enemies having turn'd their Thoughts to ſome other Country, would for the future leave them in quiet. But theſe Hopes were ſhort-liv'd. In 991, *Juſtin* and *Guthmund*, two *Daniſh* Captains, landed a great Body of Troops at *Gipſwich* (5). Whilſt they were buſy in plundering, *Brithnoth*, Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, advanced towards them, in expectation to ſurprize them, but found them too well prepared. He was overthrown, and his Defeat expoſed the adjacent Country to greater Devaſtations. The victorious *Danes* having nothing more to fear, penetrated ſtill farther into the Country, where they committed terrible Ravages. *Ethelred*, being without an Army, and unable to ſtop their Progreſs, was perſuaded by *Syric* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (6), to give them a large Sum to be rid of them (7). Perhaps he would have acted wiſer, if in Imitation of *Alfred* and *Edgar*, he had laid out the Money in fortifying the Kingdom againſt their Inſults. However this be, the Archbiſhop's Advice was deem'd afterwards very fatal to *England*. The Preſent given to this Band, ſerved only to allure others, who being no leſs greedy of Money, thought they had an equal Right to make advantage of the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh*.

Sax. Ann. Hoved. S. Dunelm.

Ethelred *gives them Money.*

993. *Another* Daniſh *Fleet.* Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Two Years after, another of their Fleets ſailing up the *Humber*, the Pyrates landed on the north Side, and ravag'd in a mercileſs manner all that belong'd to the *Engliſh* in thoſe Quarters. *Ethelred* ſent an Army againſt them, under the Command of three Earls, *Frœna*, *Frithegiſt*, and *Goodwin*. But the Generals, having led their Forces in Sight of their Enemies, were the firſt that turned their Backs, and by their ſhameful Cowardice occaſioned the Loſs of the Army. The King had imprudently truſted theſe three Lords with his Troops, who, being of *Daniſh* Extraction, were ſuſpected of Treachery.

994. Sweyn *and* Olaüs *invade* England.

How great ſoever the Miſeries inflicted hitherto on *England* by theſe Foreigners might be, it is certain, they were nothing in compariſon of what followed. *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, and *Olaüs* (8) King of *Norway*, allured by the good Succeſs of their Subjects in *England*, wanted to ſhare in the Spoil brought from thence every Year. To that purpoſe, fitting out a numerous Fleet, they enter'd the *Thames*, and landed their Troops near *London*. They made ſeveral Attempts to become Maſters of the City, but meeting with a braver Reſiſtance than they imagined, retired. To make themſelves amends for the time ſpent in vain before *London*, they went and plundered *Kent*, *Hampſhire*, and *Suſſex*, threatening to lay waſte the whole Kingdom. *Ethelred*, who had no more Conduct than Courage, not knowing how to put a Stop to theſe Ravages, had recourſe to the ſame Means made uſe of before on a like Occaſion. He bound himſelf by a Treaty to pay a certain Sum of Money (9) within ſuch a Time, on condition they left his Subjects unmoleſted, and departed the Kingdom. Whereupon, the two foreign Kings cauſed all Hoſtilities to ceaſe, and retired to *Southampton*. Shortly after the King of *Norway* paid a viſit to *Ethelred* (10), who perſuaded him to be baptized, and ſtood himſelf Godfather. At his Departure, *Olaüs* obliged himſelf by Oath never to infeſt *England* more, and performed his Promiſe.

S. Dunelm. W. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 10.

Ethelred *promiſes them a Sum of Money.*

Olaüs *turns Chriſtian.*

The two Kings return home.

It would have been happy for the *Engliſh*, if *Sweyn*, who departed at the ſame time, would have followed his Example. For they would have eſcaped all thoſe Calamities, that Prince afterwards brought on the Land. When he ſailed for *Denmark*, he left a Fleet at *Southampton* to keep the *Engliſh* in awe, and oblige them to perform the Articles of the Treaty. After his Departure, his Admiral very earneſtly preſſed the Payment of the Money. But, as there was no haſte made to comply with his Demands, he took their Delay for a Refuſal, and reſolved to renew the War. Mean while, to deceive the Vigilance of the *Engliſh*, he ſet ſail, as if he deſigned for *Denmark*; but on a ſudden he unexpectedly enter'd the *Severn*, and after deſtroying the Country of the *Welſh* with Fire and Sword, croſs'd the River and penetrated into *Dorſetſhire* (11), where he committed the ſame Ravages. All the Forces that could be brought againſt the *Danes* were as ſoon defeated as levied. They ſacked whole Counties, it being impoſſible to oppoſe them. At laſt, finding nothing more to plunder in thoſe Parts, they put to Sea again, and landed in *Kent* (12). The Inhabitants, by endeavouring to make ſome Reſiſtance, only increaſed the Fury of their Enemies, who treated them with the utmoſt Barbarity. To compleat their Misfortunes, a Fleet equipp'd by *Ethelred* to engage them at Sea, was render'd uſeleſs by the Diſſenſions and Unskilfulneſs of the Commanders. In this melancholy Situation, *England* would have irretrievably periſhed, if the *Danes* by a lucky and unexpected Accident had not been called to the Aſſiſtance of *Richard* II, Duke of *Normandy*, whom the King of *France* would have diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions. *Ethelred* took this Opportunity to go

997. *The War is renewed.* Sax. Ann.

998. *The* Danes *ravage* England.

999. *Are unexpectedly called off.* Sax. Ann.

(1) He had the King's Purſe at Command, beſides thoſe of moſt other People, who then looked upon ſuch Works as meritorious. *Tyr.* p. 21.
(2) He firſt laid Siege to *Rocheſter*, but not being able to take it, he waſted the Lands of the Cathedral. *Malmſb. S. Dunelm.*
(3) One hundred Pounds. *Knighton*, p. 2314. *Malmſb.* p. 62.
(4) A bloody Flux. *S. Dunelm.* p. 161. *Ingulph*, p. 55.
(5) *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, wherein are twelve Pariſh-Churches, with the Ruins of ſix or ſeven religious Houſes. In *Camden*'s Time it had fourteen. As for the Antiquity, we find no mention of it before this *Daniſh* Invaſion.
(6) And by the Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, and the reſt of the Nobility. *S. Dunelm.* p. 162. *Chron. Mailros*, p. 152.
(7) Ten thouſand Pounds. *Sax. Ann.* 991.
(8) Some pretend *Olaus* or *Olaph* was the ſame with *Anlaff* mentioned in the Reigns of *Edmund* and *Edred*. But beſides that one was King of *Norway*, which can't be ſaid of the other, *Anlaff* muſt have been exceeding old, ſince ſeventy Years before he was a General. Hiſtorians not carefully diſtinguiſhing the Princes that were called *Anlaff* or *Olaf*, made *Selden* ſay, it was a Name that bred great Confuſion in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. *Rapin.*
(9) Sixteen thouſand Pounds. *Sax. Ann.* 994.
(10) At *Andover* in *Hampſhire*. *Sax. Ann.*
(11) As alſo into *Devon* and *Somerſetſhire*. See *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 882.
(12) They went up the *Medway* to *Rocheſter*. *Sax. Ann.*

and

and ravage *Cumberland*, but for what reaſon is unknown (1). After that, he returned to *London*, where he kept his uſual
1000. Reſidence.

The Quiet *Ethelred* enjoyed was of no long Continuance; the *Danes* ſtaying in *Normandy* no longer than was neceſ-
1001. ſary to put the young Duke out of Danger, returned into
They return into England. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. *England*. *Cornwall* felt the firſt Effects of their Fury; then entering *Weſſex*, they became Maſters of *Exeter*. The Conſternation of the *Engliſh* was ſo great, that they made but a faint reſiſtance. Whether *Ethelred* was betrayed by his Generals, or the long Peace enjoyed by the *Engliſh* during the foregoing Reigns, had enervated their Courage, they were conſtantly vanquiſh'd. The King himſelf was ſeized with ſuch Terror that he durſt not venture to be preſent in the Battels for fear of falling into the hands of the *Danes*, who probably would have ſhown him no favour. In fine, the *Danes*, ever victorious, got poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Wight*, *Hampſhire*, and *Dorſetſhire*, where they had their Magazines. From hence they made continual Incurſions into the neighbouring Counties, without any one daring to
The miſerable Condition of England. oppoſe them. *England* was then in a deplorable Condition. The ſouthern Counties were perpetually ravag'd by the foreign *Danes*, and the northern People by the ſame Nation, whom the *Engliſh* could not but look upon as their Enemies. For, they not only refuſed to fight againſt the Foreigners, whom they ſtill conſidered as their Countrymen, but joining with them, even helped to deſtroy a Country they ought to have defended with all their power, ſince it was become their own. In this extremity, *Ethelred*, who had no reſolution, was far from imitating the Firmneſs of his Anceſtors, who in like circumſtances, were never daunted by Misfortunes. This
Sax. Ann. timorous Prince, ſeeing no other way to avoid the ſtill greater miſeries the Nation was threatned with, yielded at laſt to pay the *Danes* thirty thouſand Pounds (2). This
1002. Sum, which in thoſe Days was very conſiderable, was levi-
Origin of Danegeld. ed by a Tax, called *Danegeld*, that is, *Daniſh Money*, or *Money for the Danes* (3). This was the original of that famous Tax which afterwards became ſo extremely burthenſome to the Nation, even long after the *Danes* had quitted *England*. But the Clergy and Monks always found means to be exempted.

The Danes *return home, but ſeveral ſtay behind,* The *Danes*, ſatisfied with this Agreement, ceaſed their ravages, and return'd home. However, abundance of them, perceiving *England* to be much preferable to *Denmark*, ſtaid behind, and lived among the *Engliſh*. Their number indeed was not ſo great as to render them very formidable, conſidering they were diſperſed; but then they were ſupported by their Countrymen of *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Beſides, the *Engliſh* dreaded nothing
who behave inſolently. ſo much as the renewal of the war, which made the *Danes* very inſolent. They did what they pleaſed, without any controul. The *Engliſh*, diſpirited by their paſt Calamities, were afraid, on the leaſt Occaſion, of drawing into the Kingdom freſh Armies of Foreigners. Thus whilſt the *Danes* abounding in wealth and eaſe, paſſed their Time agreeably, the *Engliſh* were forc'd to labour and toil inceſ-
Hect. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. J. Walling. ſantly, to ſatisfy the Avarice of their new Maſters. In
are thence called Lord Danes. ſhort, the whole Kingdom ſtood in ſuch fear of the *Danes*, that they had always the appellation of *Lord-Danes*. The Word it ſelf, as well as the Meaning, was altered a little after. At this day, in ſome parts of *England a rich idle Man* that takes upon him, is by way of deriſion called a *Lurdane*. But notwithſtanding this alteration, the traces of its original ſignification are ſtill viſible in the word.

Ethelred *marries* Emma *of* Normandy. Huntingd. l. 6. Brompt. *Elgiva*, *Ethelred*'s Queen, dying, whilſt the *Danes* were thus inſolently domineering in *England*, the King demanded *Emma* (4), Siſter of *Richard* II, Duke of *Normandy*, in marriage. His ſuit being granted, and the Marriage conſummated, he thought himſelf out of danger, depending upon the aſſiſtance of the Duke his Brother-in-Law, when there ſhould be Occaſion. This expectation inſpired him with the barbarous and furious reſolution of deſtroying the *Danes* by a general Maſſacre. To execute
Maſſacre of the Danes. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Mat. Weſt. this Project, orders were ſent ſo privately (5) throughout the Kingdom, that in one day all the *Danes* were ſlain with ſuch implacable Fury and Cruelty, that the particulars cannot be read without Horror (6). *Sweyn*'s Siſter (7), who was married to an *Engliſh* Lord, having at firſt been ſpared, *Ethelred* was ſo barbarous as to cauſe her Children to be murdered in her preſence, and then her Head to be cut off. This Princeſs, who met her death with an heroic Conſtancy, was ſeverely revenged ſhortly after.

Remarks on this Maſſacre. This bloody Tragedy, acted on the thirteenth of *November* 1002 (8), was very like the Maſſacre of the *Romans* by the *Britons* under *Boadicea*; not only the ſame Barbarities, but the ſame conſequences alſo attended both. The *Engliſh*, as the old *Britons*, were ſo far from throwing off their Yoke by this wicked Expedient, that it ſerved only to make it more heavy and inſupportable. Though Hiſtorians aſſure us, all the *Danes* in *England* were maſſacred on this occaſion, it is hard to conceive how this could be effected in *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, where the *Danes* were moſt powerful. Was it poſſible they ſhould ſtand ſtill and ſuffer their Throats to be cut, without making any reſiſtance worth notice? This conſideration makes me apt to believe, that by all the *Danes*, we are to underſtand only thoſe, lately ſettled in *England*, and diſperſed in *Weſſex* and *Mercia*.

Ethelred's *falſe views.* *Ethelred* was perſuaded, this bloody Maſſacree of ſo many Thouſands, would procure him ſome Repoſe. He could not imagine, the *Danes* would ever think of any future Invaſions. At leaſt, he hoped, in caſe the deſire of revenging their Brethren ſhould bring them to *England* again, the *Engliſh* would ſee the neceſſity of ſhedding the laſt drop of their Blood to prevent falling into the hands of their incenſed Enemies. He relied moreover on the Aſſiſtance of his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Normandy*, a powerful Prince, intereſted in his Defence. But ſuch a deteſtable Policy rarely produces the intended Effects, or rather, ſeldom fails of ending in the ruin of the Projector. God, who beholds ſuch Tragedies with horror, does not often ſuffer them to go unpuniſhed. Of this we have an inſtance in the miſeries that befel *Ethelred* and his Subjects, who were almoſt as guilty as their King.

Sweyn *reſolves upon Revenge.* Mat. Weſt. Walſing. J. Walling. *Sweyn* received the news of this Maſſacre by ſome *Danes*, who eſcaped by getting on board a Veſſel ready to ſail for *Denmark*. Their relation of the Cruelties of the *Engliſh* to thoſe of his nation, would have been ſufficient to throw him into reſolutions fatal to *England*. But when he was informed of his Siſter's death, and the barbarous manner of it, he was ſeized with a raging Fury. Every thing contributing to ſtir him up to revenge, he ſolemnly ſwore he would never reſt till he had ſatisfaction for ſo bloody an Outrage. It was not therefore with intent to plunder, that he made a ſecond expedition into *England*, but to deſtroy the whole Country with Fire and Sword. However, as he did not doubt but *Ethelred* had taken all poſſible precautions to oppoſe his Entrance, he would not ſail without being ſure beforehand of a place where he might ſafely land his Troops. *Cornwall* was then governed by Earl *Hugh*, a *Norman*, whom the Queen had placed in that poſt as a Man the King might perfectly confide in. To this Governor *Sweyn* diſpatched a truſty Meſſenger, to endeavour to gain him to his Intereſt, by the offer of a great Reward. *Hugh* yielding to the Temptation, promiſed to admit the *Daniſh* Fleet into his Ports, and ſuffer the Troops to land without Moleſtation.

Sweyn *lands in* Cornwall, *and burns* Exeter. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Upon this, *Sweyn*, having equipped a Fleet of three hundred Sail, landed in *Cornwall* with a numerous Army, and meeting with no oppoſition, marched directly to *Exeter*. As this City was in no apprehenſion of an Attack, he eaſily became maſter of it, and putting the Inhabitants to the Sword, reduced it to Aſhes. This firſt exploit was followed by ſeveral others, no leſs fatal to *England*. Where-ever *Sweyn* carried his Arms, revenge and not con-

(1) Though not one of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have mentioned on whom or for what this War was made, *John Fordun* in the *Scotiſh* Hiſtory gives this Account of it: *Ethelred* having paid large Sums to the *Danes*, ſent to *Malcolm* Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Grymo* King of *Scotland*, to pay his Share; which he refuſed to do, and aſſerting he was only bound to make War with the reſt of the Kingdom, when required, *Ethelred* invaded his Country, on pretence he favoured the *Danes*: but preſently after the two Princes ſtruck up a Peace, and became Friends. See alſo *S. Dunelm.* p. 79, 80.

(2) All Hiſtorians agree in ſaying that it was done by the Advice of the *Wittena-Gemot*, or Council —— à Rege & Proceribus (*Wittan*) decretum eſt. *Sax. Ann.*——habito Concilio cum regni ſui Primatibus——*S. Dunelm.* p. 164. *Hoved.* p. 429——Conſilio Primatum ſuorum——*M. Weſt.* p. 386.

(3) For the Payment of this Money every *Hide* of Land was taxed yearly Twelve-pence. A Hide of Land is ſuch a quantity of Land as may be ploughed with one Plough in a Year. *Bede* reckons it as much as will maintain a Family. Some ſay it was an hundred Acres, others, that it contained no certain Number of Acres. The Diſtribution of *England* by *Hides of Land* is very ancient, mention being made of it in the Laws of *Ina*. *Danegeld* was the firſt Land-Tax in *England*. It was afterwards called *Hidagium*, which Name remained afterwards upon all Taxes and Subſidies impoſed on Lands. The *Normans* called theſe ſometimes Taxes, ſometimes Tallages, and *Auxilia & Subſidia*. The *Saxon* Kings before this had their Levies of Money and *Perſonal Services*, towards the building and repairing Cities, Caſtles, Bridges, Military Expeditions, &c. which from the Word *Bote*, that is, repair, were termed *Burghbote*, *Brigbote*, *Heregeld*, &c. *Danegeld* was releaſed by *Edward the Confeſſor*, but levied again by *William* I. and II. Then it was releaſed again by *Henry* I. and finally by King *Stephen*. This antient Tax probably might be a Precedent for our Land-Tax for three or four Shillings in the Pound, when firſt granted. See *Leg. Edw. Confeſ.* c. 12.

(4) In *Saxon*, *Elgiva*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 164. She was called from her extraordinary Beauty, *The Pearl of* Normandy. *Ran. Higd.* l. 6. *Huntingd.* l. 6.

(5) *Huntingdon* ſays, that he himſelf, when a Child, heard it from certain old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were privately diſpatched all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night. The *Saxon Annals* add, it was becauſe the King was told the *Danes* deſigned to deprive him and his Nobles of their Lives, and to ſeize the Kingdom. *Anno* MII.

(6) Among other Cruelties, the *Daniſh* Women were plac'd in Holes in the Earth, as deep as their Waſtes, and then had their Breaſts torn off by Maſtiff Dogs. See *Job. Walling.* p. 547. *Edit. Gale*. *M. Weſt.* lays the Odium of this whole Scene of Barbarity on *Huna*, General of the King's Forces, one of his evil Counſellors, p. 391. *Brady* queſtions the Truth of it, p. 124. Note (m).

(7) Her Name was *Gunilda*; ſhe is ſaid to have been married to a noble *Dane* of great Power and Wealth, who had been ſettled for ſome time in *England*, his Name was *Paleng*. She was a Chriſtian, and had been a great Inſtrument in making Peace between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. *Mat. Weſt.* p. 392.

(8) On the Feaſt of St. *Bricius*, upon a *Sunday*. *Wallingf.* ibid.

queſt

Kingdom was always expoſed, ſince there was no foreſeeing where the Pyrates would land. There was but one Way to remedy this Inconvenience, which was, to keep a Fleet at Sea ſtrong enough to engage the *Danes*, before they diſembarked their Troops. But a time of Minority was not very proper to take ſuch a Precaution.

In this manner paſſed the firſt ten Years of this Reign. It would be needleſs to deſcribe at length the Ravages committed by the *Danes* during that Time. It is eaſy to imagine the whole Kingdom was a Scene of Murders, Conflagrations, Plunderings, and other Devaſtations, which, after ſome ſhort Intermiſſions, were continually renewed.

983. *The Death of* Elfric *Duke of* Mercia. Sax. Ann. Hoved.

During theſe Troubles, *Elfric*, Duke of *Mercia*, one of the beſt Supports of his Country, died in 983. His little Regard for the Monks after *Edgar*'s Death, was probably the Reaſon of their reporting among their Votaries, that he was eaten up of Lice. *Alfric* his Son ſucceeded him.

984. *Death of* Ethelwold *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

The next Year, *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, one of *Dunſtan*'s Confidents, and a great Friend of the Monks, departed alſo this Life. He is ſaid to have founded a dozen Monaſteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, aſſiſted by the Liberality of the two former Kings, with whom he was in great Favour (1).

Monkery goes to decay.

The Credit of the Monks declined very much in the Reign of *Ethelred*, as well by reaſon of the frequent Invaſions of the *Danes*, as becauſe the People, full of their Misfortunes, were regardleſs of every thing elſe. Nay, they began to miſtruſt the *Sanctity* of the Monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that Men who had obtained from Heaven ſo many Miracles on their own private Account, could not by their Merits and Prayers ſecure the Kingdom from the Calamities it was inceſſantly expoſed to. On the other hand, as their Credit with the former Kings had helped to acquire them a great Reputation, ſo this King's Diſinclination to them turned greatly to their Prejudice. *Ethelred*, whoſe Thoughts were not taken up with Religion, put the *Monks* and other *Eccleſiaſticks* upon a level with the reſt of his Subjects. He gave a convincing Proof how little he regarded the *Clergy*, in a difference between him and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. The Biſhop having haughtily refuſed to comply with ſome Demand of the King's, he ordered the Soldiers to lay waſte the Lands belonging to the *Cathedral* dedicated to St. *Andrew* (2). In vain did the Biſhop threaten him with Vengeance from the Apoſtle, and cauſe Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* to interpoſe in his Quarrel; *Ethelred* ſlighted both, nor could be appeaſed but by Money (3). *Dunſtan*, diſpleaſed to the higheſt degree at this Behaviour, denounced upon the King and his Council the Judgments of God, ready to fall on their Heads, for preſuming to lay ſacrilegious Hands on the Church's Property; but he was not heard. His Credit was ſunk ſo low, that hardly was he known to be alive, ſo careful were the new Miniſters to depreſs him. He died quickly after in the Year 988; not ſo much of old Age, as of Grief and Vexation to ſee himſelf no longer diſtinguiſhed as formerly.

986. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Knighton.

Dunſtan *loſes his Credit.* Dunſtan's *Death.* Sax. Ann.

Oſwald *Archbiſhop of* York *dies.* Sax. Ann.

Oſwald Archbiſhop of *York* ſoon followed him. He was his particular Friend, and one of the three Prelates that governed the Church during the Reign of *Edgar*. The Death of theſe Patrons of the Monks, a contagious Diſtemper (4), which ſwept away multitudes, and moreover the continual Invaſions of the *Danes*, put an end to the Quarrel between the ſecular and regular Clergy, in ſuch manner, that it was never more heard of.

991. *The* Danes *invade* England *again.* Sax. Ann. Hoved. S. Dunelm.

After the *Danes* had pillaged the Coaſts of *England* ten Years together, they gave over their Ravages for about two Years. This Intermiſſion put the *Engliſh* in hopes, their Enemies having turn'd their Thoughts to ſome other Country, would for the future leave them in quiet. But theſe Hopes were ſhort-liv'd. In 991, *Juſtin* and *Guthmund*, two *Daniſh* Captains, landed a great Body of Troops at *Gipſwich* (5). Whilſt they were buſy in plundering, *Brithnoth*, Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, advanced towards them, in expectation to ſurprize them, but found them too well prepared. He was overthrown, and his Defeat expoſed the adjacent Country to greater Devaſtations. The victorious *Danes* having nothing more to fear, penetrated ſtill farther into the Country, where they committed terrible Ravages. *Ethelred*, being without an Army, and unable to ſtop their Progreſs, was perſuaded by *Syric* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (6), to give them a large Sum to be rid of them (7). Perhaps he would have acted wiſer, if in Imitation of *Alfred* and *Edgar*, he had laid out the Money in fortifying the Kingdom againſt their Inſults. However this be, the Archbiſhop's Advice was deem'd afterwards very fatal to *England*. The Preſent given to this Band, ſerved only to allure others, who being no leſs greedy of Money, thought they had an equal Right to make advantage of the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh*.

Ethelred *gives them Money.*

993. *Another* Daniſh *Fleet.* Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Two Years after, another of their Fleets ſailing up the *Humber*, the Pyrates landed on the north Side, and ravag'd in a mercileſs manner all that belong'd to the *Engliſh* in thoſe Quarters. *Ethelred* ſent an Army againſt them, under the Command of three Earls, *Frœna*, *Frithegiſt*, and *Goodwin*. But the Generals, having led their Forces in Sight of their Enemies, were the firſt that turned their Backs, and by their ſhameful Cowardice occaſioned the Loſs of the Army. The King had imprudently truſted theſe three Lords with his Troops, who, being of *Daniſh* Extraction, were ſuſpected of Treachery.

994. Sweyn *and* Olaüs *invade* England.

How great ſoever the Miſeries inflicted hitherto on *England* by theſe Foreigners might be, it is certain, they were nothing in compariſon of what followed. *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, and *Olaüs* (8) King of *Norway*, allured by the good Succeſs of their Subjects in *England*, wanted to ſhare in the Spoil brought from thence every Year. To that purpoſe, fitting out a numerous Fleet, they enter'd the *Thames*, and landed their Troops near *London*. They made ſeveral Attempts to become Maſters of the City, but meeting with a braver Reſiſtance than they imagined, retired. To make themſelves amends for the time ſpent in vain before *London*, they went and plundered *Kent*, *Hampſhire*, and *Suſſex*, threatening to lay waſte the whole Kingdom. *Ethelred*, who had no more Conduct than Courage, not knowing how to put a Stop to theſe Ravages, had recourſe to the ſame Means made uſe of before on a like Occaſion. He bound himſelf by a Treaty to pay a certain Sum of Money (9) within ſuch a Time, on condition they left his Subjects unmoleſted, and departed the Kingdom. Whereupon, the two foreign Kings cauſed all Hoſtilities to ceaſe, and retired to *Southampton*. Shortly after the King of *Norway* paid a viſit to *Ethelred* (10), who perſuaded him to be baptized, and ſtood himſelf Godfather. At his Departure, *Olaüs* obliged himſelf by Oath never to infeſt *England* more, and performed his Promiſe.

S. Dunelm, W. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 10.

Ethelred *promiſes them a Sum of Money.*

Olaüs *turns Chriſtian.*

The two Kings return home.

It would have been happy for the *Engliſh*, if *Sweyn*, who departed at the ſame time, would have followed his Example. For they would have eſcaped all thoſe Calamities, that Prince afterwards brought on the Land. When he ſailed for *Denmark*, he left a Fleet at *Southampton* to keep the *Engliſh* in awe, and oblige them to perform the Articles of the Treaty. After his Departure, his Admiral very earneſtly preſſed the Payment of the Money. But, as there was no haſte made to comply with his Demands, he took their Delay for a Refuſal, and reſolved to renew the War. Mean while, to deceive the Vigilance of the *Engliſh*, he ſet ſail, as if he deſigned for *Denmark*; but on a ſudden he unexpectedly enter'd the *Severn*, and after deſtroying the Country of the *Welſh* with Fire and Sword, croſs'd the River and penetrated into *Dorſetſhire* (11), where he committed the ſame Ravages. All the Forces that could be brought againſt the *Danes* were as ſoon defeated as levied. They ſacked whole Counties, it being impoſſible to oppoſe them. At laſt, finding nothing more to plunder in thoſe Parts, they put to Sea again, and landed in *Kent* (12). The Inhabitants, by endeavouring to make ſome Reſiſtance, only increaſed the Fury of their Enemies, who treated them with the utmoſt Barbarity. To compleat their Misfortunes, a Fleet equipp'd by *Ethelred* to engage them at Sea, was render'd uſeleſs by the Diſſenſions and Unskilfulneſs of the Commanders. In this melancholy Situation, *England* would have irretrievably periſhed, if the *Danes* by a lucky and unexpected Accident had not been called to the Aſſiſtance of *Richard* II, Duke of *Normandy*, whom the King of *France* would have diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions. *Ethelred* took this Opportunity to go

997. *The War is renewed.* Sax. Ann.

998. *The* Danes *ravage* England.

999. *Are unexpectedly called off.* Sax. Ann.

(1) He had the King's Purſe at Command, beſides thoſe of moſt other People, who then looked upon ſuch Works as meritorious. *Tyr.* p. 21.
(2) He firſt laid Siege to *Rocheſter*, but not being able to take it, he waſted the Lands of the Cathedral. *Malmſb. S. Dunelm.*
(3) One hundred Pounds. *Knighton*, p. 2314. *Malmſb.* p. 62.
(4) A bloody Flux. *S. Dunelm.* p. 161. *Ingulph*, p. 55.
(5) *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, wherein are twelve Pariſh-Churches, with the Ruins of ſix or ſeven religious Houſes. In *Camden*'s Time it had fourteen. As for the Antiquity, we find no mention of it before this *Daniſh* Invaſion.
(6) And by the Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, and the reſt of the Nobility. *S. Dunelm.* p. 162. *Chron. Mailros*, p. 152.
(7) Ten thouſand Pounds. *Sax. Ann.* 991.
(8) Some pretend *Olaus* or *Olaph* was the ſame with *Anlaff* mentioned in the Reigns of *Edmund* and *Edred*. But beſides that one was King of *Norway*, which can't be ſaid of the other, *Anlaff* muſt have been exceeding old, ſince ſeventy Years before he was a General. Hiſtorians not carefully diſtinguiſhing the Princes that were called *Anlaff* or *Olaf*, made *Selden* ſay, it was a Name that bred great Confuſion in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. *Rapin.*
(9) Sixteen thouſand Pounds. *Sax. Ann.* 994.
(10) At *Andover* in *Hampſhire*. *Sax. Ann.*
(11) As alſo into *Devon* and *Somerſetſhire*. See *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 882.
(12) They went up the *Medway* to *Rocheſter*. *Sax. Ann.*

and

and ravage *Cumberland*, but for what reaſon is unknown (1). After that, he returned to *London*, where he kept his uſual Reſidence.

1000.

1001. *They return into* England. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

The Quiet *Ethelred* enjoyed was of no long Continuance; the *Danes* ſtaying in *Normandy* no longer than was neceſſary to put the young Duke out of Danger, returned into *England*. *Cornwall* felt the firſt Effects of their Fury; then entering *Weſſex*, they became Maſters of *Exeter*. The Conſternation of the *Engliſh* was ſo great, that they made but a faint reſiſtance. Whether *Ethelred* was betrayed by his Generals, or the long Peace enjoyed by the *Engliſh* during the foregoing Reigns, had enervated their Courage, they were conſtantly vanquiſh'd. The King himſelf was ſeized with ſuch Terror that he durſt not venture to be preſent in the Battels for fear of falling into the hands of the *Danes*, who probably would have ſhown him no favour. In fine, the *Danes*, ever victorious, got poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Wight*, *Hampſhire*, and *Dorſetſhire*, where they had their Magazines. From hence they made continual Incurſions into the neighbouring Counties, without any one daring to oppoſe them. *England* was then in a deplorable Condition. The ſouthern Counties were perpetually ravag'd by the foreign *Danes*, and the northern People by the ſame Nation, whom the *Engliſh* could not but look upon as their Enemies. For, they not only refuſed to fight againſt the Foreigners, whom they ſtill conſidered as their Countrymen, but joining with them, even helped to deſtroy a Country they ought to have defended with all their power, ſince it was become their own. In this extremity, *Ethelred*, who had no reſolution, was far from imitating the Firmneſs of his Anceſtors, who in like circumſtances, were never daunted by Misfortunes. This timorous Prince, ſeeing no other way to avoid the ſtill greater miſeries the Nation was threatned with, yielded at laſt to pay the *Danes* thirty thouſand Pounds (2).

The miſerable Condition of England.

Sax. Ann.

1002. *Origin of* Danegeld.

This Sum, which in thoſe Days was very conſiderable, was levied by a Tax, called *Danegeld*, that is, *Daniſh Money*, or *Money for the Danes* (3). This was the original of that famous Tax which afterwards became ſo extremely burthenſome to the Nation, even long after the *Danes* had quitted *England*. But the Clergy and Monks always found means to be exempted.

The Danes *return home, but ſeveral ſtay behind,*

The *Danes*, ſatisfied with this Agreement, ceaſed their ravages, and return'd home. However, abundance of them, perceiving *England* to be much preferable to *Denmark*, ſtaid behind, and lived among the *Engliſh*. Their number indeed was not ſo great as to render them very formidable, conſidering they were diſperſed; but then they were ſupported by their Countrymen of *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Beſides, the *Engliſh* dreaded nothing ſo much as the renewal of the war, which made the *Danes* very inſolent. They did what they pleaſed, without any controul. The *Engliſh*, diſpirited by their paſt Calamities, were afraid, on the leaſt Occaſion, of drawing into the Kingdom freſh Armies of Foreigners. Thus whilſt the *Danes* abounding in wealth and eaſe, paſſed their Time agreeably, the *Engliſh* were forc'd to labour and toil inceſſantly, to ſatisfy the Avarice of their new Maſters. In ſhort, the whole Kingdom ſtood in ſuch fear of the *Danes*, that they had always the appellation of *Lord-Danes*. The Word it ſelf, as well as the Meaning, was altered a little after. At this day, in ſome parts of *England a rich idle Man* that takes upon him, is by way of deriſion called a *Lurdane*. But notwithſtanding this alteration, the traces of its original ſignification are ſtill viſible in the word.

who behave inſolently.

Heſt. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. J. Walling. *are thence called* Lord Danes.

Ethelred *marries* Emma *of* Normandy. Huntingd. l. 6. Brompt.

Elgiva, *Ethelred*'s Queen, dying, whilſt the *Danes* were thus inſolently domineering in *England*, the King demanded *Emma* (4), Siſter of *Richard* II, Duke of *Normandy*, in marriage. His ſuit being granted, and the Marriage conſummated, he thought himſelf out of danger, depending upon the aſſiſtance of the Duke his Brother-in-Law, when there ſhould be Occaſion. This expectation inſpired him with the barbarous and furious reſolution of deſtroying the *Danes* by a general Maſſacre. To execute this Project, orders were ſent ſo privately (5) throughout the Kingdom, that in one day all the *Danes* were ſlain with ſuch implacable Fury and Cruelty, that the particulars cannot be read without Horror (6). *Sweyn*'s Siſter (7), who was married to an *Engliſh* Lord, having at firſt been ſpared, *Ethelred* was ſo barbarous as to cauſe her Children to be murdered in her preſence, and then her Head to be cut off. This Princeſs, who met her death with an heroic Conſtancy, was ſeverely revenged ſhortly after.

Maſſacre of the Danes. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Mat. Weſt.

This bloody Tragedy, acted on the thirteenth of *November* 1002 (8), was very like the Maſſacre of the *Romans* by the *Britons* under *Boadicea*; not only the ſame Barbarities, but the ſame conſequences alſo attended both. The *Engliſh*, as the old *Britons*, were ſo far from throwing off their Yoke by this wicked Expedient, that it ſerved only to make it more heavy and inſupportable. Though Hiſtorians aſſure us, all the *Danes* in *England* were maſſacred on this occaſion, it is hard to conceive how this could be effected in *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, where the *Danes* were moſt powerful. Was it poſſible they ſhould ſtand ſtill and ſuffer their Throats to be cut, without making any reſiſtance worth notice? This conſideration makes me apt to believe, that by all the *Danes*, we are to underſtand only thoſe, lately ſettled in *England*, and diſperſed in *Weſſex* and *Mercia*.

Remarks on this Maſſacre.

Ethelred was perſuaded, this bloody Maſſacree of ſo many Thouſands, would procure him ſome Repoſe. He could not imagine, the *Danes* would ever think of any future Invaſions. At leaſt, he hoped, in caſe the deſire of revenging their Brethren ſhould bring them to *England* again, the *Engliſh* would ſee the neceſſity of ſhedding the laſt drop of their Blood to prevent falling into the hands of their incenſed Enemies. He relied moreover on the Aſſiſtance of his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Normandy*, a powerful Prince, intereſted in his Defence. But ſuch a deteſtable Policy rarely produces the intended Effects, or rather, ſeldom fails of ending in the ruin of the Projector. God, who beholds ſuch Tragedies with horror, does not often ſuffer them to go unpuniſhed. Of this we have an inſtance in the miſeries that befel *Ethelred* and his Subjects, who were almoſt as guilty as their King.

Ethelred's *falſe views.*

Sweyn *reſolves upon Revenge.* Mat. Weſt. Walſing. J. Walling.

Sweyn received the news of this Maſſacre by ſome *Danes*, who eſcaped by getting on board a Veſſel ready to ſail for *Denmark*. Their relation of the Cruelties of the *Engliſh* to thoſe of his nation, would have been ſufficient to throw him into reſolutions fatal to *England*. But when he was informed of his Siſter's death, and the barbarous manner of it, he was ſeized with a raging Fury. Every thing contributing to ſtir him up to revenge, he ſolemnly ſwore he would never reſt till he had ſatisfaction for ſo bloody an Outrage. It was not therefore with intent to plunder, that he made a ſecond expedition into *England*, but to deſtroy the whole Country with Fire and Sword. However, as he did not doubt but *Ethelred* had taken all poſſible precautions to oppoſe his Entrance, he would not ſail without being ſure beforehand of a place where he might ſafely land his Troops. *Cornwall* was then governed by Earl *Hugh*, a *Norman*, whom the Queen had placed in that poſt as a Man the King might perfectly confide in. To this Governor *Sweyn* diſpatched a truſty Meſſenger, to endeavour to gain him to his Intereſt, by the offer of a great Reward. *Hugh* yielding to the Temptation, promiſed to admit the *Daniſh* Fleet into his Ports, and ſuffer the Troops to land without Moleſtation.

Sweyn *lands in* Cornwall, *and burns* Exeter. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Upon this, *Sweyn*, having equipped a Fleet of three hundred Sail, landed in *Cornwall* with a numerous Army, and meeting with no oppoſition, marched directly to *Exeter*. As this City was in no apprehenſion of an Attack, he eaſily became maſter of it, and putting the Inhabitants to the Sword, reduced it to Aſhes. This firſt exploit was followed by ſeveral others, no leſs fatal to *England*. Where-ever *Sweyn* carried his Arms, revenge and not con-

(1) Though not one of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have mentioned on whom or for what this War was made, *John Fordun* in the *Scotiſh* Hiſtory gives this Account of it: *Ethelred* having paid large Sums to the *Danes*, ſent to *Malcolm* Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Grymo* King of *Scotland*, to pay his Share; which he refuſed to do, and aſſerting he was only bound to make War with the reſt of the Kingdom, when required, *Ethelred* invaded his Country, on pretence he favoured the *Danes*: but preſently after the two Princes ſtruck up a Peace, and became Friends. See alſo *S. Dunelm.* p. 79, 80.

(2) All Hiſtorians agree in ſaying that it was done by the Advice of the *Wittena-Gemot*, or Council —— à Rege & Proceribus (*Wittan*) decretum eſt. *Sax. Ann.*——habito Concilio cum regni ſui Primatibus——*S. Dunelm.* p. 164. *Hoved.* p. 429——Conſilio Primatum ſuorum——*M. Weſt.* p. 386.

(3) For the Payment of this Money every *Hide* of Land was taxed yearly Twelve-pence. A Hide of Land is ſuch a quantity of Land as may be ploughed with one Plough in a Year. *Bede* reckons it as much as will maintain a Family. Some ſay it was an hundred Acres, others, that it contained no certain Number of Acres. The Diſtribution of *England* by *Hides of Land* is very ancient, mention being made of it in the Laws of *Ina*. *Danegeld* was the firſt Land-Tax in *England*. It was afterwards called *Hidagium*, which Name remained afterwards upon all Taxes and Subſidies impoſed on Lands. The *Normans* called theſe ſometimes Taxes, ſometimes Tallages, and *Auxilia & Subſidia*. The *Saxon* Kings before this had their Levies of Money and *Perſonal Services*, towards the building and repairing Cities, Caſtles, Bridges, Military Expeditions, &c. which from the Word *Bote*, that is, repair, were termed *Burghbote*, *Brighote*, *Heregeld*, &c. *Danegeld* was releaſed by *Edward the Confeſſor*, but levied again by *William* I. and II. Then it was releaſed again by *Henry* I. and finally by King *Stephen*. This antient Tax probably might be a Precedent for our Land-Tax for three or four Shillings in the Pound, when firſt granted. See *Leg. Edw. Confeſ.* c. 12.

(4) In *Saxon*, *Elgiva*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 164. She was called from her extraordinary Beauty, *The Pearl of* Normandy. *Ran. Higd.* l. 6. *Huntingd.* l. 6.

(5) *Huntingdon* ſays, that he himſelf, when a Child, heard it from certain old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were privately diſpatched all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night. The *Saxon Annals* add, it was becauſe the King was told the *Danes* deſigned to deprive him and his Nobles of their Lives, and to ſeize the Kingdom. *Anno* MII.

(6) Among other Cruelties, the *Daniſh* Women were plac'd in Holes in the Earth, as deep as their Waſtes, and then had their Breaſts torn off by Maſtiff Dogs. See *Joh. Walling.* p. 547. *Edit. Gale.* *M. Weſt.* lays the Odium of this whole Scene of Barbarity on *Huna*, General of the King's Forces, one of his evil Counſellors, p. 391. *Brady* queſtions the Truth of it, p. 124. Note (m).

(7) Her Name was *Gunilda*; ſhe is ſaid to have been married to a noble *Dane* of great Power and Wealth, who had been ſettled for ſome time in *England*, his Name was *Paleng*. She was a Chriſtian, and had been a great Inſtrument in making Peace between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. *Mat. Weſt.* p. 392.

(8) On the Feaſt of St. *Bricius*, upon a *Sunday*. *Wallingf.* ibid.

queſt

queſt being his chief Aim, he deſtroyed all with Fire and Sword. Towards the end of the Summer, being informed *Alfric*, Duke of *Mercia*, was advancing with a powerful Army (1) to give him Battle, he reſolved to meet him. *Ethelred* acted very unadviſedly in giving the Command of his Army to this Lord, whom he had formerly baniſh'd the Kingdom out of mere Caprice, and whoſe Son's Eyes he had ordered to be put out (2). The Remembrance of this Injury being ſtill freſh in the Duke's Mind, he was pleaſed with having ſo fair an Opportunity to revenge it. As ſoon as he was in ſight of the Enemy, he feigned himſelf ſick on a ſudden, and pretending he was unable to fight in his preſent Condition, ordered a Retreat, which he took care to make with ſo much Confuſion, that the *Danes* very eaſily routed his Army. After this Victory, *Sweyn* took ſeveral Towns (3), with an immenſe Booty. But, as he had no deſign to keep them, he ſet them on fire, and went and paſſed the Winter in *Denmark*.

Sax. Ann.

Sweyn *retires.*

He returns and burns Norwich *and* Thetford. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

The Calm *England* enjoyed upon *Sweyn*'s Departure, laſted not long. In the following Spring he landed in *Eaſt-Anglia*, and taking *Norwich*, burnt the whole Town to the ground. *Ulfketel*, Governor of *Eaſt-Anglia*, unable to reſiſt him, gave him a great Sum of Money, to prevent his doing any further Miſchief (4). But upon Receipt of the Money, *Sweyn* breaks the Treaty, and takes *Thetford* by Surprize, a Town then of great Note, and ſerved it as he had done *Norwich*. Incens'd at this Breach of Faith, *Ulfketel* levied ſome Troops with wonderful Expedition, and poſted himſelf between the *Daniſh* Army and Fleet. *Sweyn* perceiving he intended to cut off his Retreat to his Ships, marched back to give him Battle, before he ſhould be reinforced with more Troops. He found the *Engliſh* very advantageouſly encamp'd, expecting him with a Reſolution to ſtand their ground, and exert their utmoſt in Defence of their Goods and Chattels, which their Enemies were carrying away before their face. The ill Fortune of the *Engliſh* was come to that height, that it was almoſt impoſſible they ſhould ſo much as once get the Advantage. The *Danes* obtained a ſignal Victory, though not without great Loſs on their ſide. They even own'd they were never in more danger of being defeated (5). *Ulfketel*, though of *Daniſh* Race, was the faithfulleſt as well as the braveſt of all *Ethelred*'s Subjects, and did him the moſt Service. But it was not ſo with the other Lords. All the Hiſtorians agree, *Ethelred* was betray'd by all that approach'd him. *Sweyn* had his Spies, not only in his Court, but in his very Council. The *Great Men*, for the moſt part, were brib'd, or at leaſt there was ſcarce one that ſerv'd the King heartily, by reaſon of their little Eſteem for him. Whatever Councils were held to conſider of Ways and Means to reſiſt the *Danes*, the Diſſenſions between the *Nobles*, too common in the Courts of Princes ſo little reſpected, prevented them from coming to any Reſolution, or putting what was reſolved in Execution. The Avarice of the Clergy, and particularly of the Monks, very much helped to increaſe the Diſorder. Notwithſtanding their great Riches, they refuſed to contribute their *Quota* in Defence of the Kingdom, pleading their Privileges and Immunities, as if they had no Share at all in the Danger. It is no wonder therefore the *Danes* obtain'd ſo many Victories in a Country ſo ill defended by them, who were ſo much concern'd for it's Preſervation. The Famine that happen'd ſoon after, would have compleated the Misfortunes of the *Engliſh*, had it not accidentally proved the Occaſion of *Sweyn*'s returning to *Denmark* for want of Subſiſtance in *England*.

Defeats the Duke of East-Anglia. 1004.

Ethelred *betrayed on all hands.*

1005. *Famine in* England, *upon which* Sweyn *retires.* Sax. Ann.

Upon the Retreat of the *Danes*, and ceaſing of the Famine, the *Engliſh* began to entertain Hopes of enjoying ſome Tranquillity, when they ſaw another *Daniſh* Fleet arrive at *Sandwich* in *Kent*. *Ethelred* immediately levied an Army (6) to give the new Invaders Battle: But, after committing ſome Ravages, they retired to the Iſle of *Thanet*, where it was not poſſible to attack them. They knew the *Engliſh* Army, conſiſting only of *Volunteers* who ſerv'd at their own Expence, would ſoon disband themſelves, as it actually happened. Winter coming on, the *Engliſh* returned to their Homes, it not being in the Power of the King to keep them any longer together. Then the *Danes* iſſuing from their Retreat, renew'd their Ravages in *Kent* (7) and the neighbouring *Counties*, well aſſured they ſhould meet with no Oppoſition. *Ethelred* ſaw no other Courſe to ſtop the Progreſs of a Miſchief that threatned the whole Kingdom, but to give them the Sum of thirty thouſand Pounds, with which they were very well ſatisfied. 1007.

Another Daniſh *Fleet.* Sax. Ann.

The King, being freed from this Incumbrance, celebrated the Wedding of one of his Daughters with *Edric* ſirnamed *Streon* (8), a very powerful Lord, whom he had juſt made Duke of *Mercia*. If hitherto *Ethelred* had lived in continual Fears and Troubles, it was nothing in compariſon of the Misfortunes he drew on himſelf by this fatal Marriage. He had inconſiderately taken into his Family a Traitor ſold to the *Danes*, who never failed on all Occaſions to betray the King and Kingdom to the Foreigners.

The King marries his Daughter to Edric, *who proves a Traitor.* Malmſb. l. 2. c. 10. Huntingd. M. Weſt.

Hardly was a Year paſſed ſince the laſt Treaty with the *Danes*, when they demanded the ſame Sum again (9), pretending it to be a yearly Tribute due by Contract from *Ethelred*. This Demand was accompanied with Threats of deſtroying the whole Kingdom with Fire and Sword, if the Money was not immediately paid. This new Pretenſion of the *Danes* convincing the King and his Council, there was no Poſſibility of ever contenting their inſatiable Avarice, it was judged the Money would be better laid out in equipping a Fleet capable of defending the Kingdom from their Incurſions. Neceſſity made them put this Reſolution ſo ſpeedily in practice, that quickly after the King had a Fleet well mann'd and victuall'd (10), the Command whereof was given to *Brithric*, Brother of *Adric Streon*, Duke of *Mercia*. Theſe Meaſures obliged the *Danes* to retire for fear of being forced to a Sea-Engagement, which their Ships were not ſo fit for as thoſe of the *Engliſh* (11). 1008. Ethelred *fits out a great Fleet.* Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

The firſt thing *Brithric* did, after his being made Admiral, was to uſe all his Intereſt to ruin *Ulnoth*, a Lord of diſtinguiſhed Quality (12), but his Enemy. He accuſed him to the King of I know not what Crimes, of which *Ulnoth* did not think fit to purge himſelf by a publick Trial, being ſenſible his Condemnation was already concerted. He reſolved therefore upon a voluntary Exile, to skreen himſelf from this Perſecution; and perſuaded nine Captains (13) to follow him with their Ships. After which he infeſted the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and did as much miſchief as the *Danes*. *Brithric*, enraged at his Enemy's Eſcape, and his daring to brave him thus, put to Sea with eighty Sail to give him chace, and endeavour to ſeize him alive or dead. But he met with ſo violent a Storm, that the greateſt part of his Ships were loſt, or fell into the Hands of *Ulnoth*. Thus this great Fleet, which could not be fitted out without a prodigious Expence, was render'd unſerviceable by the Admiral's Paſſion. The Loſs became ſtill more irretrievable, by the Diſſenſion among the Sea-Officers; ſeveral of whom went and join'd *Ulnoth*.

The Fleet comes to nothing. Sax. Ann.

Hoved.

In the mean time, the *Danes* took advantage of theſe Diſorders. The next Spring two of their Fleets arrived in *England*, one in *Eaſt-Anglia* under *Turkil*, another in the Iſle of *Thanet* under *Heming* and *Anlaff*. Theſe Leaders joining their Forces in *Kent*, plunderted the Country, and then laid ſiege to *Canterbury*. The City would have infallibly fallen into the hands of the *Danes*, if the Inhabitants had not purchaſed a Peace with a large Sum of Money (14). 1009. *The* Danes *arrive in* Kent. S. Dunelm. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.

Whilſt the *Danes* were pillaging *Kent*, *Ethelred* drew an Army together to oppoſe their Ravages. As ſoon as he was ready, he poſted himſelf between them and their Ships to prevent their embarking and carrying off their Booty. Probably, he would have executed his Project, and perhaps gained ſome further conſiderable Advantage, conſidering the Superiority of his Forces, if *Edric* had not found Means to bring off the *Danes*. The Traitor perceiving their danger, repreſented to the King, his Father-in-law, that it would be more advantageous to let them retire than hazard a Battle, which might prove fatal to him. This pernicious Advice made ſuch Impreſſion on the King, that he ſuffered them to march by, with all their Plunder, unmoleſted. But inſtead of ſailing for *Denmark*, as 'twas expected, they threw themſelves into the Iſle of *Thanet*; from Ethelred *levies an Army*; Hoved, *but ſuffers the* Danes *to paſs by him unmoleſted by* Edric's *advice.*

(1) Which was drawn up in *Wiltſhire* and *Hampſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 360.
(2) Though the *Annals* tell us not the Reaſon, *Malmſbury* ſays it was for his Father's Perfidiouſneſs, who had revolted ſeveral times.
(3) Particularly *Wilton* and *Sarum*. *Sax. Ann.*
(4) But before that ——— conſilium iniit cum Proceribus in *Orientalibus Anglis*, quibus optimum viſum eſt. *Sax. Ann.*
(5) The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Fight was very ſharp, and ended in a great Slaughter on both Sides, wherein abundance of the *Engliſh* Nobility were kill'd. But if all the *Engliſh* Forces had been there, the *Danes* had never reach'd their Ships. *Anno* 1004.
(6) Conſiſting of the Militia of *Weſſex* and *Mercia*. *Sax. Ann.*
(7) This was about *Chriſtmas*; they plundered [not *Kent*] but *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire*, as far as *Reading*, and burnt *Wallingford*. See *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 360. *S. Dunelm.* p. 166.
(8) *Camden* ſays, *Streon* ſignifies *the Acquirer*, and therefore it was not a Proper, but a Sirname only. *Rapin.*
(9) Which was paid them. *Sax. Ann.* (10) Which was ſtation'd at *Sandwich*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 360. *S. Dunelm.* p. 166.
(11) The *Saxon Annals* tell us, this was the largeſt and beſt Fleet *England* had ever ſeen. It was built after this manner all over *England*; every hundred and thirty *Hides of Land* were obliged to find one Ship, and every eight Hides a *Helmet* and *Breaſt-Plate*. *An.* MVIII, MIX. It muſt be obſerv'd that the *Annals* tell us, the ſeveral Sums paid to the *Danes*, as well as this Tax for building a Fleet, were all levied with the joint Conſent of the King and his Great Council, or *Wittena-Gemot*.
(12) *Thane* of *Suſſex*, Earl *Goodwin*'s Father. *Sax. Ann.*
(13) The *Saxon Annals*, and the reſt of the Hiſtorians ſay twenty. See *Huntingd.* p. 360. *S. Dunelm.* p. 166.
(14) Three thouſand Pounds. *Sax. Ann.* MIX. After they had got theſe three thouſand Pounds, they ſailed round to the Iſle of *Wight*, and plundered *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, burning ſeveral Towns. And here it was that *Ethelred* drew an Army againſt them, not whilſt they were ravaging *Kent*. See *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 361. *S. Dunelm.* p. 167. *Brompt.* p. 887.

whence

whence, during the whole Winter, they made incurſions into the neighbouring Counties. They even made ſeveral attempts upon *London*; but were always repuls'd.

Ulfkesel defeated.

Mean while, *Ulfketel*, Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, willing once more to try the fortune of a battle in defence of his government, had the misfortune to be overthrown, and by his defeat left them maſters of the country, he intended to defend.

The Danes mount ſome of their Troops, and become Maſters of almoſt all Weſſex. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompton.

Hitherto the *Danes* wanted *Cavalry*, by reaſon of the difficulty of tranſporting Horſes from *Denmark*. But as ſoon as they were in poſſeſſion of *Eaſt-Anglia*, a country abounding with Horſes, they mounted part of their troops, and by that means extended their conqueſts. Shortly after they ſubdued *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire* (1), *Bedfordſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, and *Devonſhire*, whilſt *Ethelred*, who had ſcarce any thing left, kept himſelf ſhut up in *London*, without daring to take the field and ſtop their progreſs. In all the abovenamed Counties, *London* and *Canterbury* were the only places in the King's power. But at length they attack'd the laſt ſo vigorouſly, that they took, plundered, and reduced it to aſhes. *Elphegus* the Archbiſhop being taken priſoner, was afterwards murdered by theſe Barbarians (2). They proceeded with the ſame cruelty towards the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s, whom they put under a decimation, deſtroying nine parts in ten (3).

1012. *They burn* Canterbury. Thorn.

England being reduced to this deplorable ſtate, all the great Men of the kingdom aſſembled at *London* with the King, to conſult upon a remedy for ſuch violent evils. The beſt expedient they could find, was to bribe theſe foreigners with money to leave the kingdom. The ſum agreed upon amounted to 48,000 pounds (4), which having received they departed with their booty (5).

Money is given them.

They retire. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

Though the retreat of the *Danes* coſt *England* dear, the people thought themſelves happy to be thus freed from their enemies, hoping they ſhould repair by a peace, the damages ſuſtained by the war. But they were far from ſeeing yet the end of their miſeries. Hardly had they enjoyed any quiet, when news came that *Sweyn* (6) was entered the *Humber* (7) with a powerful fleet, threatning the whole kingdom with deſolation and ruin. As this Prince found the country unprovided with troops, and unable to defend itſelf, he quickly became maſter of *Northumberland*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, in a word, of all the Counties lying north of *Watling-Street*. But theſe conqueſts not ſatisfying his ambition, he takes hoſtages of all the principal towns; and leaving his Son *Canute* to command the newly conquered Counties, he advances ſouthward, and on a ſudden lays ſiege to *London*, where *Ethelred* was ſhut up. Though he was but ill provided with neceſſaries to beſiege in form a place of that importance, he imagined the citizens would be terrified at his Menaces. But finding they were not moved by them, he deſiſted from his enterprize, and went and ravag'd the weſtern parts of *Weſſex*, where he found no oppoſition to his arms. However, as he could not be eaſy whilſt *London* was out of his power, he reſolved to beſiege it once more. But whilſt he was preparing for the ſiege with greater precaution than before, he had information of *Ethelred*'s departure from thence. This unfortunate Prince ever dreading to fall into the hands of an enemy he had ſo heinouſly injured, and perceiving himſelf unſafe at *London*, retired into *Normandy* with all his family. Whereupon the *Londoners* being left to take care of themſelves, judged it a raſh undertaking to maintain alone the rights of a Prince relinquiſhed by himſelf. They reſolved therefore to ſubmit to the King of *Denmark*, to whom all the reſt of the kingdom was now ſubject. Preſently after the ſurrender of *London*, *Sweyn* was proclaimed King of *England* without any oppoſition, no one perſon in the kingdom daring to diſpute his title.

He becomes Maſter of ſeveral Counties. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

1013. *Sweyn returns into* England.

15. *SWEYN* King of *Denmark*, and firſt of the *Daniſh* Kings in *England*.

SWEYN *impoſes a great Tax.*

THE firſt act of Sovereignty exerciſed by the new King, was an immenſe tax on the kingdom for payment of the *Daniſh* troops who aſſiſted him in his conqueſts. No Hiſtorian mentions the coronation of this Prince. Perhaps he neglected this ſolemnity, believing it unneceſſary; or, it may be, matters of greater importance afforded him no time to think of it, during his ſhort reign of leſs than a year. Some ſay he died a natural death, being choak'd by a rheum. Others believe he was poiſoned. Whatever was the Cauſe, 'tis certain he died ſuddenly, which gave occaſion to the legend Writers to ſay he was killed with a Club or Lance by St. *Edmund*, formerly King of *Eaſt-Anglia*. It is pretended, this Saint did it to ſave the town, where his Body lay buried (8), from being plundered for refuſing to pay the tax impoſed by the new King. The ſhortneſs of his reign, and perhaps his not being crown'd, are the reaſons Hiſtorians, for the moſt part, have not reckon'd this Prince in the number of the Kings of *England*.

1014. *He dies ſuddenly.* Malmſb. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

ETHELRED II. reſtor'd.

ETHELRED II. 1014.

UPON the death of *Sweyn*, his Son *Canute* was proclaimed King of *England* by the *Danes*. But the *Engliſh* recalled *Ethelred*, promiſing to ſupport him in the throne, againſt all the attempts of the *Danes*, whoſe government was become inſupportable. *Ethelred* at firſt was loth to truſt to their promiſes, being apprehenſive of a deſign to deliver him into the hands of his enemies. But being encouraged by the good reception his Son met with, whom he had ſent before to ſound the people's inclinations, he returned to *England*. He was received with great demonſtrations of joy; and his Subjects ſwore allegiance to him again, as if he had begun a new reign, his flight being conſidered as a ſort of abdication of the crown. For his part, he promiſed to reform whatever was amiſs in the adminiſtration of the government before his retreat. The eagerneſs of the *Engliſh* to throw off a foreign yoke, made them flock to the King with ſuch zeal and haſte, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army. His firſt expedition plainly ſhowed, his misfortunes had made no great alteration in him. Inſtead of marching againſt the *Danes*, he made uſe of his Forces to be reveng'd on the Men of *Lindſey* (9), who had ſome way diſpleaſed him. After he had gratified his paſſion by the chaſtiſement of theſe people, he prepared to march and fight the *Danes*, who little expected ſo ſudden a revolution. Though *Canute* had for

He chaſtiſes the Lindſeymen.

Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

(1) *Oxford* being burnt that year by the *Danes*, all ſtudies ceaſed there till the year 1133. *Tho. Redburn.*

(2) He was killed at *Greenwich*, to which place, the ſtation of their Ships, they had brought him priſoner. And therefore in the old Church of *Greenwich*, on the top of the partition Wall, between the Nave of the Church and the Chancel, was this inſcription, *This Church was erected and dedicated to the Glory of God, and the Memory of St.* Alphage, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *here ſlain by the* Danes; *becauſe he would not ranſom his Life by an unreaſonable Sum of Money.* An. 1012. He was firſt buried at St. *Paul*'s in *London*, and afterwards removed to *Canterbury*. He was honour'd as a Martyr, and ſtands in the *Roman Martyrology* on the 19th of *April*.

(3) *Florence of Worceſter* ſays, the Burghers were ſerved in the ſame manner; ſo that only four Monks, and about eight hundred Laymen were left alive. *Lambard* ſuppoſes there were about forty three thouſand two hundred perſons maſſacred. *Peramb. of Kent.*

(4) *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 361. and *Brompton* ſay but eight thouſand.

(5) Forty five of their Ships ſubmitted to *Ethelred*, and promiſed to defend the Kingdom, provided he would allow them Victuals and Cloathes. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 361.

(6) The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have not told us the Reaſon why *Sweyn* ſtaid away ſo long, as from 1005 to 1013, eight years.

(7) He came firſt to *Sandwich*, and from thence ſailing to the Mouth of the *Humber*, he went up the *Trent*, as far as *Gainſborough*. *Sax. Ann. Malmſbury. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.*

(8) St. *Edmund's-bury.*

(9) One of the three Diviſions of *Lincolnſhire*, viz. *Holland*, *Keſteven*, and *Lindſey*. The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Men of *Lindſey* had provided the *Danes* with Horſes, and deſigned to join with them in their Ravages. *An.* MXIV.

him all the *Danes*, and the ſame forces his Father *Sweyn* had conquer'd *England* with, he did not think fit to hazard a battle. On the contrary, before *Ethelred* was advanc'd near enough to oblige him to fight, he led his Troops to the ſea-ſide, and embarking them, ſet ſail for *Denmark*. But before his departure, he ordered the hands and feet of the hoſtages he had in his power, to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the ſhore (1).

Canute returns into Denmark: *The Reaſon of it.*

The Cauſe of his leaving England.

The retreat of this Prince cannot but ſeem ſtrange, ſince he had never been worſted, and beſides, had many ſtrong places ſtill in his hands. It is no leſs to be wonder'd, that the *Engliſh* hiſtorians ſhould not explain the cauſe of ſo haſty a retreat. But what the *Engliſh* hiſtory paſſes over in ſilence, is ſupplied by the *Daniſh*. We are there informed, that *Canute* had a younger brother. named *Harold*, who being regent in the abſence of his Father *Sweyn*, ſeized upon the Kingdom for himſelf. 'Twas this that obliged *Canute* to leave *England*, with a precipitation that ſeemed to be an effect of fear rather than ſound Policy, as it really was. This Prince did not believe he ought to abandon the kingdom of his anceſtors, for the ſake of a ſtrange and newly conquer'd country, ripe for a general defection. And indeed, if the revolt of the *Engliſh* had engaged him in a long war, as was but too probable, what aſſiſtance could he expect from *Denmark*, whilſt the kingdom was in the hands of his Brother? He made it but too viſible afterwards, when having ſettled his affairs in the North, he returned with his victorious Troops to *England*, that he was incapable of the fear that was laid to his charge.

Avarice and Cruelty of Ethelred. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

As ſoon as *Ethelred* ſaw himſelf freed from the *Danes*, he never thought of performing his promiſe to his Subjects. On the contrary, he reſum'd his old maxims, and impoſed, on ſeveral pretences, exceſſive taxes (2), which raiſed great murmurings among the Nobles and People.

Puts two Earls to Death for their Eſtates. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. M. Weſt. S. Dunelm.

To theſe occaſions of publick complaint, he added others of a more private nature, which deſtroyed all the hopes entertained of his amendment. *Morcard* and *Sifferth*, Lords of *Daniſh* extraction, who had all along firmly adhered to the intereſt of the King and their new Country, were ſacrificed to his avarice. To draw theſe two Earls into his ſnare, the King conven'd a great Council at *Oxford* (3), where he cauſed them to be murdered, and then ſeized their Eſtates, as if they had been condemned by the common forms of *Juſtice* (4). *Algitha*, Widow of *Sifferth*, was ſhut up in a Monaſtery, to which confinement ſhe was indebted for her after greatneſs. *Edmund*, the King's eldeſt Son paſſing that way, ſome time after, had a mind to ſee a Lady ſo renown'd for her beauty, and fell ſo deſperately in love with her, that he married her, even againſt his Father's conſent.

The Marriage of his Son Edmund. Malmſb.

1016. Canute *returns to* England. *Is favoured by* Streon. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

The calm *England* enjoy'd after the retreat of the *Danes*, laſted but one year. *Canute* having got poſſeſſion of the throne of *Denmark*, immediately ſet out for *England*, and, when leaſt expected, landed a numerous Army at *Sandwich*. *Ethelred*, being then out of order, *Edmund* his Son, with *Streon* Duke of *Mercia*, his Son-in-law, had the command of the army againſt the *Danes*. *Edmund* ſoon perceiv'd his Brother-in-law was a friend to *Canute*. This diſcovery made him invent ſome pretence to divide the army into two bodies, that he might be ſeparated from him, not daring to puniſh the traytor, for fear of exciting a revolt in *Mercia*, where *Streon*'s Power was exceeding great. Beſides, he dreaded his Father's diſpleaſure, who would never be perſuaded his Son-in-law held intelligence with the *Danes*. *Canute* taking advantage of this diviſion of the *Engliſh* forces, made large conqueſts immediately; and the treacherous *Edric*, who had join'd *Edmund* with no other view but to betray him, finding he had loſt his aim, openly declar'd for *Canute*. This would have been rather an advantage than a detriment to the King's affairs, if the Traytor had not carried with him a conſiderable body of troops, with forty ſhips of war. This deſertion, which prov'd very ſerviceable to *Canute*, was a mortal wound to *Ethelred*. The People went over in crowds to the *Danes*, in proportion as the King's affairs fell to decay. Even *Weſſex* itſelf was not very ſecure (5).

Canute's expectations daily increaſing by theſe ſucceſſes, he turn'd his arms againſt thoſe of the *Mercians* who continued their allegiance to the King, and at length, with the aſſiſtance of *Streon*, entirely ſubdu'd them. After which he form'd a deſign to attack *Ethelred* in *Weſſex* itſelf. He had the more reaſon to expect ſucceſs in this enterprize, as *Edric* had artfully inſtilled into the *Mercians* that were in the *Engliſh* army, a notion that it was a ſin to bear arms againſt a Prince, in poſſeſſion of their country. All that *Edmund* could obtain of theſe troops, was that they would follow the King when he commanded the army in Perſon, refuſing to fight under any other General. In this extremity, *Edmund* uſed all poſſible endeavours to perſuade the King his Father, who feign'd himſelf ſick at *London*, to take the command of the army. But the more *Ethelred* was preſs'd, the more he was confirm'd in his Suſpicion of a deſign to deliver him to the *Danes*, imagining the *Engliſh* had no other way to make a peace with them. As he durſt not quit *London* where he thought himſelf ſafe, he refus'd to go to the army; and the Prince his Son had the vexation to ſee his troops diſperſe, without being able to oblige them to ſtand a battle. In the mean time, *Canute* taking advantage of theſe diſorders, enlarged his conqueſts with great rapidity.

Canute *ſubdues all* Mercia, *and reſolves upon attacking* Weſſex. Streon *does him great Service.* Sax. Ann.

Ethelred's *Fears.*

He promiſes to head the Army. Sax. Ann.

In theſe wretched circumſtances, *Edmund* ſaw no remedy but to go himſelf to *London*, and try to perſuade the King to head the army. He prevail'd at laſt with great difficulty, and by his extraordinary care, rais'd another army more numerous than the former. His deſign was to give *Canute* battle, perſuaded as he was, that nothing but a ſignal victory could retrieve the affairs of the *Engliſh*. *Ethelred* came to the army according to his promiſe, but upon his arrival was ſeized by his old fears. Whether he had any ground for his ſuſpicion, or it was inſtill'd into him by the Traytors about his Perſon, he made but a very ſhort ſtay, returning to *London* with all imaginable ſpeed. After his departure, the army being much weaken'd by the retreat of the *Mercians*, who obſtinately refus'd to fight without the King at their head, *Edmund* was oblig'd to keep at a diſtance from the *Danes*, for fear of engaging at a great diſadvantage. Then *Canute* finding no farther oppoſition, became maſter of ſeveral counties in *Weſſex*, and ſoon ſaw himſelf in condition to compleat the conqueſt of the whole Kingdom.

He goes, but ſuddenly retires.

Edmund perceiving he was unable to ſtop the progreſs of the Enemy, reſolved to go and join *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had levied ſome troops in the North. They ravag'd together thoſe parts of the country that ſided with the *Danes* (6), whilſt *Canute* and the Duke of *Mercia* laid waſte the ſouthern counties that perſiſted in their obedience to *Ethelred* (7). But *Canute* did not long ſuffer his Friends to be expos'd to the ravages of the *Engliſh*. The moment he was informed, of what paſſed in the North, he march'd thither with the utmoſt expedition, and compelled *Edmund* and *Uthred* to retire into *Lancaſhire*, where they were not very ſecure. *Uthred*, finding he was no match for *Canute*, thought beſt to ſubmit to the *Daniſh* King, who continued him in his government, though but for a little while. As he plainly ſaw the Earl had changed ſides purely by compulſion, and had reaſon to fear he would not remain faithful, he cauſed him to be put to death, and placed *Eric* a *Daniſh* Lord in his room.

Edmund *goes into the* North, *and joins* Uthred. Sax. Ann.

Canute *follows him.*

Uthred *ſubmits to him,*

and is put to Death.

Edmund being at a loſs what to do, retired to his Father at *London*, and earneſtly preſs'd him to exert himſelf on the preſent occaſion; but all to no purpoſe. *Ethelred*, who till then had feigned himſelf ſick, fell dangerouſly ill in good earneſt, and died ſoon after in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his Reign (8). Never was *England* in a more deplorable ſtate, than in the Reign of this Prince.

1006. Ethelred *dies.*

He had by his Wife *Elgiva* (9) *Edmund*, who ſucceeded him; *Athelſtan*, who died in his child-hood; ano-

His Iſſue.

(1) He ſailed to *Sandwich*, where he ſet the Hoſtages on Shore, and then went away to *Denmark*. The Hiſtorians ſay, he cut off their Hands, Noſes, and Ears, without any mention of their Feet. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 71. *S. Dunelm.* p. 171. *&c.*

(2) Particularly twenty one thouſand Pound, for his Fleet and Army that was at *Greenwich*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 362. *S. Dunelm.* and *Hoved.* ſay, it was thirty thouſand Pound, p. 141. 433.—*Anno.* 1014. *Sept.* 8. There was ſuch an Inundation of the Sea, that it overflowed ſeveral Towns, and drowned abundance of People. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 71.

(3) Of *Engliſh* and *Danes*. *Malmſb.* p. 71. *M. Weſtm.* 395.

(4) *Florence of Worceſter*, and *Matthew Weſtminſter* relate, that theſe two Earls were privately accuſed by *Edric*, who gaped after their Eſtates, of treaſonable Practices againſt *Ethelred*, by whoſe Order *Edric* invited them to a Feaſt, where he cauſed them to be treacherouſly murdered. Their Dependants, who went about to revenge their Deaths, were forced to fly into St. *Frideſwide*'s Church in *Oxford*, which being ſet on fire, they periſhed in the Flames. But the King repenting of his Cruelty, cauſed the Church to be rebuilt. In this, and ſeveral other Particulars, it is plain, that *Ethelred* was egged on by the treacherous *Edric*, to make him odious to the People; and that he was not ſo bad as is repreſented, as appears from the good Laws he made, which are ſtill extant. He was ſo particularly careful of the due Execution of Juſtice, that having found one *Walgeatus*, a Judge, whom he loved, guilty of Injuſtice, he depoſed him from his Office.

(5) *Canute* plundered *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, and *Somerſetſhire*. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 71. *S. Dunelm.* p. 172.

(6) *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*. Sax. Ann.

(7) *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Lincoln*, *Nottinghamſhire*; and ſo through *Northumbria* towards *York*. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 71, 72. *S. Dunelm.* p. 172. *Brompt.*

(8) He was buried in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral. *Malmſb.* p. 72.

(9) Or *Ethelgiva*, the Daughter of Earl *Egbert*. *Brompt.* p. 877. He ſays in the ſame place, that he had his firſt Children by a Foreigner, that was his Concubine:—by the Daughter of Earl *Toreth*, ſays *Rievallenſis*, p. 362.

ther

ther Son call'd *Edwy*, and three Daughters. *Edgiva* the eldeſt was married to an *Engliſh* Earl, who was ſlain in Battle. *Edgith* his ſecond, had the misfortune to fall to the lot of the Traitor *Edric* Duke of *Mercia*. *Edgina* the youngeſt was Wife of *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*. By *Emma* of *Normandy* his ſecond Wife, he had *Alfred* and *Edward*, and a Daughter named *Goda*, who was firſt married to *Walter* Earl of *Mantes*, and afterwards to *Euſtachius* Earl of *Boulogne*.

Ethelred has commonly the firname of *the Unready* given him by Hiſtorians, either becauſe he was often ſurpriz'd by the *Danes*, or was never *Ready* when he was to go to the Wars. At his coming to the Crown, he found the Kingdom in a rich and flouriſhing Condition, but left it at his Death in extreme Poverty and Deſolation.

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16. *EDMUND* II. Sirnam'd *Ironſide*.

Edmund *proclaimed King by the* Engliſh. Higden. Polychron. *The* Danes *declare for* Canute. Sax. Ann. G. Malm. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

AFTER *Ethelred*'s Death, the City of *London* and all the Lords there preſent proclaimed his Son *Edmund* King of *England*, who had already given ſignal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. But the *Danes* and all the Counties in their Poſſeſſion declared for *Canute* (1). However as the *Engliſh* obeyed him againſt their Wills, abundance of them came and offered their Service to *Edmund*, whom they looked upon as their lawful Prince, though they were conſtrained to ſwear to his Rival. By this means the two Kings were more upon an equality, which occaſioned many engagements with various Succeſs, that ſerved only to prolong the war, but not to decide the Quarrel. The City of *London* being a great ſupport to *Edmund*, the *Daniſh* King thought of taking it from him, believing the depriving him of his chief Strength would put a ſpeedy End to the War. With this view, whilſt *Edmund* was elſewhere employed (2), he approached *London*, and forming the Siege, carried it on vigorouſly. But the brave Reſiſtance of the Citizens giving *Edmund* time to throw in Succours from the other Side of the *Thames*, *Canute* ſaw himſelf obliged to raiſe the Siege. Having thus loſt his aim, he uſed many Stratagems to ſurprize the Enemy, or draw him off from *London*. This laſt Project ſucceeding, he went and laid Siege a ſecond Time to the City. But he met with the ſame Difficulties as before; the Inhabitants, by a very obſtinate Defence, giving *Edmund* time to come to their relief.

London *beſieged twice, and both times relieved.*

A Battle where neither Side had the Victory.

Canute vexed to ſee his meaſures thus broken, ſuddenly raiſed the Siege, to go and offer *Edmund* Battle (3), who was no leſs deſirous of deciding the Quarrel, by one ſingle Action, and therefore, inſtead of retreating, marched towards him. In this Battle, which was very bloody, they both gave ſignal Proofs of their Conduct and Courage, without either of them being able to make Victory incline to his Side. After a long Fight, the two Armies were obliged to part with almoſt an equal Loſs. The *Engliſh* Army however had like to have been worſted by the Artifice of *Edric Streon*, who was on the Side of the *Danes*. This Lord perceiving the *Engliſh* Troops, contrary to his Expectation, fought in ſuch a manner as made the Victory dubious, cut off the Head of one *Oſmer* a Soldier, who very much reſembled *Edmund*, and fixing it on the Top of his Lance, advanced to the foremoſt ranks, and expoſing it to the View of the *Engliſh*, cried out aloud, *Fly, fly, you Scoundrels, behold the Head of your King, in whom you truſt.* The *Engliſh* were thunder-ſtruck at this Sight, which would have occaſioned their defeat, had not the King ſhewn himſelf with his Helmet off to his aſtoniſhed Troops, and by that means revived their Courage, which the Belief of his Death began to cool. The Battle laſting till Night, without any viſible Advantage on either Side, *Edmund* prepared to renew the Fight next Morning. But *Canute*, who had other Deſigns, retired, during the Night (4), to his Fleet that expected him, and imbarking his troops, rowed along the Coaſt for ſome time, to amuſe the Enemy, who could not gueſs his Intention. When he thought he had deceived *Edmund*, he landed his forces, and beſieged *London* a third time. But ſucceeding no better than formerly, he retired elſewhere.

Artifice of Edric *to diſhearten the* Engliſh. Malmsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Matt. Weſt. Brompt.

Canute *withdraws in the night;*

and beſieges London *again without ſucceſs.*

Five Battles between Edmund *and* Canute *in one Year.*

The Particulars of this War would be curious enough, if it were poſſible to give a clear Account of them. But we meet with extreme Confuſion in this Part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. What may be gathered from Hiſtorians for certain, is this, that the two contending Princes fought within the Space of one Year, five pitched Battles. One of theſe Battles, fought in *Eſſex*, would have infallibly proved fatal to *Canute*, had it not been for the pernicious Advice of *Edric Streon*, who continually changing Sides, was then in the *Engliſh* Army. *Edmund* had been ſo generous as to pardon him, and ſo eaſy as to give Credit to his Oaths of being entirely devoted to his Service for the future. Nevertheleſs, this Traytor, who was a Creature of the King of *Denmark*, let no opportunity ſlip of ſerving the *Dane*. As he ſaw the *Danes*, hard preſſed by the *Engliſh*, retreating in great diſorder, he artfully perſuaded *Edmund* to ſtop the Purſuit of the Fugitives, by making him apprehenſive their Deſpair might cauſe them to rally, and the Victory, by ſome unforeſeen Accident, be ſnatched out of his Hands. This Artifice, which had formerly taken effect with *Ethelred*, wrought likewiſe with *Edmund*, who ſuffered himſelf to be guided by this fatal Advice. One is at a loſs which to admire moſt, *Edmund*'s Imprudence in being governed by a Man of known Diſloyalty, or the Traytor's Boldneſs and Confidence. Tired at length with diſſembling his real Sentiments, he threw away the Mask in the laſt Battle near *Aſſandun* (5). Whilſt the two Armies were engaged, he ſuddenly deſerted his Poſt, and joined the *Danes*, who received him as their real Friend. This treachery cauſed ſuch Conſternation among the *Engliſh*, that throwing down their Arms, they thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves by flight. *Edmund*'s loſs upon this Occaſion was irretrievable, the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility being ſlain in this unfortunate Battle. The Earls *Alfric*, *Goodwin*, *Ulfketel*, *Ethelward*, all of diſtinguiſhed Valour and Loyalty, fell that Day with their Swords in their Hands in Defence of their King and Country.

1016. Sax. Ann. G. Malm. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

The fatal Advice of Edric *to the King.*

The Battle of Aſſandun, *wherein* Canute *gains the victory by the treachery of* Edric. Sax. Ann. Brompt. M. Weſt. Huntingd.

After this important Victory, *Canute* looked upon himſelf as irreſiſtible. He could not conceive, *Edmund* would ever be able to bring another Army into the Field that durſt look him in the Face. But as the *Engliſh* were in extreme Danger, they made extraordinary Efforts for their Deliverance. *Edmund* had for him the Hearts of his Subjects, and particularly the *Londoners*, who were always ready to give him effectual Proofs of their Affection and Loyalty. And therefore, ſo far was he from being caſt down by this grievous Misfortune, that he rallied his diſperſed Troops, and drawing together a more powerful Army than what he had loſt, went in queſt of his Enemy, who was marching to *Glouceſter*. *Canute*, for his part, unwilling to give him Time to augment his Forces, made haſte to meet him with intent to offer him Battle. The two Kings ſtood in Sight of each other for ſome Time, at the Head of their reſpective Armies (6), without either giving the Signal of Battle. The Dread of the Event held them equally in Suſpence. *Edmund* was ſenſible, he ſhould be irretrievably undone, if he loſt the Day; and *Canute* foreſaw a general Defection of the *Engliſh*, in caſe he were vanquiſhed. Thus, in all Appearance, the Gain or Loſs of a great Kingdom depended on the Succeſs of that important Day. At laſt, *Edmund*, who was ſtrong and robuſt of Body, and for that reaſon ſirnamed *Iron-ſide*, ſent *Canute* Word, that to prevent the great effuſion of Blood, that was going to be ſpilt in their Quarrel, he judged it proper for them two to decide it by ſingle Combat. *Canute* returned in Anſwer, that, though he came not be-

The fatal Advice of Edric *to the King.*

Sax. Ann.

Edmund *ſends a Challenge to* Canute, *who refuſes to accept it.* Malmsb.

(1) *Simeon of Durham*, and others, ſay, that the Biſhops, Abbots, and many of the *Engliſh* Nobles coming to *Southampton*, abjured the Race of *Ethelred*, at the ſame time they choſe *Canute* for their King, and ſwore Fealty to him; who alſo ſwore to them in Matters *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, to be their faithful Lord.

(2) He was gone to ſecure *Weſſex*, which ſubmitted to him. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 362. *S. Dunelm.* p. 173.

(3) This was about Midſummer. *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 904.

(4) This Battle was fought at *Scoerſtan*, which *Camden* ſuppoſes to be *Sherſton* in *Wiltſhire*; others think it to be the Place where four Stones, called *Shire-ſtones*, part the four Counties of *Oxford*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Warwick*. *Milton* makes the Battle to have laſted two whole Days, and *Canute* to have marched off the ſecond Night: ſo doth *Matt. Weſtminſter*, p. 498. and he relates *Edric*'s Stratagem under the ſecond Day.

(5) *Aſſdon* in *Eſſex* near *Walden*. *Canute* built a Church here in memory of this Battle to pray for the Souls of the ſlain; and cauſed four Hillocks to be thrown up, as Monuments of thoſe that were killed in the Battle. Two of theſe Monuments being opened, and ſearched into, there were found three Stone-Coffins, with abundance of Pieces of Bones in them, and many Chains of Iron, like thoſe on Horſes Bits. Theſe Hills are commonly called *Bartlow-Hills*, though they lie in *Aſſdon* Pariſh. Some think it was *Bartlow* Church that was built by *Canute*. See *Magna Britannia*, Vol. I. p. 670. and *Camden*.

(6) The Place was *Deerhurſt* in *Glouceſterſhire*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 175. *Brompt.* p. 905.

hind

hind his Antagoniſt in Courage, yet being of a weak Conſtitution and ſmall Stature, he ſhould take care how he engaged in ſo unequal a Combat. Adding, if *Edmund* was deſirous to prevent any further effuſion of Blood, he was ready to refer the Deciſion of Matters to the principal Officers of the two Armies. This propoſal was received with Joy by the Nobles of *Edmund*'s Party, who paſſionately deſired to find ſome expedient to put an end to ſo fatal a war. *Edmund*, on the contrary, would fain have decided the quarrel by arms, but however, durſt not oppoſe the Nobility, for fear it ſhould occaſion their deſertion. Plenipotentiaries therefore were nominated on both ſides, who met in a little Iſle in the *Severn*, called *Alney*, overagainſt *Glouceſter*, to conſult about ſettling the pretenſions of the two Princes. After a ſhort conference, the peace was concluded by the partition of the kingdom. *Weſſex*, that is, all the country South of the *Thames*, with the city of *London*, and part of the antient kingdom of *Eſſex* (1), was aſſigned to *Edmund*. *Canute* had for his ſhare the kingdom of *Mercia*, including *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Every thing being ſettled, the two Kings met in the Iſle of *Alney*; and mutually ſwearing to preſerve the peace, *Edmund* retired into *Weſſex* (2).

The Peace is made by the diviſion of the kingdom. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Edmund's challenging *Canute* has given occaſion to ſome Hiſtorians to affirm, the two Kings actually fought a duel in the Iſle of *Alney*. And to make this appear the more probable, they have taken care to be very particular in the circumſtances of this mighty combat. They tell us, after it had laſted a good while without any advantage on either ſide, *Canute* finding his ſtrength to fail him, lifted up the Viſor of his Helmet, and propoſed the diviſion of the kingdom, which *Edmund* conſented to immediately. It is further added, at the ſame inſtant, they ran to embrace one another, to the aſtoniſhment of the two armies, who were ſpectators. But the beſt Hiſtorians not mentioning this ſingle combat, it can't be conceived they would have neglected to embelliſh their Hiſtories with ſo notable an event, had there been any foundation for it (3).

Remarks on the pretended Duel between the two Kings. Huntingd. Brompton. M. Weſt. Ethel. Rieval.

Edmund did not long enjoy the peace, that coſt him ſo much pains. *Edric Streon* his Brother-in-law, fearing the union of the two Kings might prove fatal to him, bribed two of the King's Chamberlains to aſſaſſinate him. Some report, he employed his own Son in this execrable treaſon. Thus died that brave Prince, who deſerved a better fate (4). He had not ſat on the throne a whole year. But in ſo ſhort a reign, he had given frequent proofs of an undaunted courage, a conſummate prudence, and a generous temper.

1017. *Edmund's Death.* G. Malmſb. Huntingd. M. Weſt. R. de Diceto.

He left, by *Algitha* his Wife, two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edward*, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. He had alſo a natural Son, named *Edwy*, who was afterwards put to death by *Canute*.

The Duke of *Mercia*, who was mightily pleaſed with doing *Canute* ſo ſignal a ſervice, made haſte to bring him the firſt news of it; but *Canute* deteſted ſo barbarous a deed. However he concealed his ſentiments, becauſe he thought he ſhould have further occaſion for the Traitor, and even promiſed *to advance him above all the Peers of the Realm.* He kept his word with him; but in a very different manner from what the Villain expected.

Canute's Promiſe to Edric. Huntingd. Ethel. Rievallenſis. M. Weſt.

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17. *CANUTE the Great*, the ſecond *Daniſh* King of *England.*

1017. *Canute gets himſelf acknowledged King of all England.*

THE death of *Edmund* furniſhed *Canute* with an opportunity and pretence of becoming Maſter of *Weſſex*, which the lawful Heirs were little able to diſpute with him. It was not properly by force of arms, that he undertook to carry his point, but by extorting the conſent of the Nobles. How averſe ſoever the *Engliſh* might be to the *Daniſh* government, he was in hopes, the dread of plunging the kingdom into freſh calamities, would make a ſtill deeper impreſſion on them, and conſtrain them to comply with his deſires. Wherefore he required a general aſſembly to be called in *Weſſex* (5), in order to ſet forth his claim, reckoning it would be always ſeaſonable to uſe force, if he met with too ſtrong an oppoſition. *Edmund* having left two Sons and two Brothers, *Canute* did not ſeem to have any right to pretend to the Crown. But he maintained, that in the treaty of the Iſle of *Alney*, the agreement was, the Survivor of the two Kings ſhould ſucceed the other. He moreover plainly intimated, he ſhould not ſtand to the determination of the aſſembly, if the matter were decided againſt him. *Edmund*'s two Sons were very young, and his Brothers in *Normandy*, where they thought of nothing left than obtaining the crown of *Weſſex*. On the other hand, *Canute* was in great power, and threatened very hard. Beſides his poſſeſſing half the kingdom, he had many friends among the *Weſt-Saxons* themſelves, without reckoning thoſe who were perſuaded any expedient was preferable to the renewing of the war. It was therefore ſcarce poſſible for the friends of the *Engliſh* Princes to ſurmount ſo great obſtacles. Had they been obſtinately bent to continue the ſucceſſion in the family of *Edmund*, they would have, probably, rekindled in the kingdom a war, which muſt have ended in its deſtruction. In this perplexity, they were contented with inſinuating, that they wonld agree, *Canute* ſhould be declared Protector of *Edmund*'s children, till the eldeſt was of age to govern. By this means, though they placed not theſe Princes on the throne, at leaſt they preſerved their rights entire. But *Canute* was not ſatisfied with a borrowed power. He was willing to ſucceed *Edmund* in his own right, by virtue of the treaty of *Alney*; a right which though all did not acknowledge, yet none durſt openly conteſt. Though the treaty did not expreſly ſay what he aſſerted, he maintain'd it to be the true ſenſe thereof, and that it could not be otherwiſe underſtood without infringement. To prove this to be the deſign and intent of the parties concerned in the treaty, he called to witneſs all thoſe that were preſent at the concluſion of the peace, and demanded of them, whether there was any thing ſtipulated in favour of *Edmund*'s Sons? And upon their anſwering, there was no mention at all of the Princes (6), he inferr'd from thence they had no right to ſucceed their Father. This reaſoning, weak as it was, being ſupported by the votes of his party, and moreover by the fears of the *Engliſh* in general, was ſufficient to determine the aſſembly to comply with his will. His reaſons were thought, or feigned to be thought, very ſolid; and without a cloſer examination, he was acknowledged and proclaimed King of all *England*, and all the Lords, both *Engliſh* and *Daniſh*, ſwore allegiance to him. Then he was crowned, and immediately after, he divided the kingdom into four governments, *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, *Eaſt-Anglia* and *Weſſex*. The firſt he gave to *Edric Streon*, the ſecond to *Eric*, the third to *Turkill*, reſerving *Weſſex* to himſelf, without appointing either Duke or Earl.

S. Dunelm. Hoved. Brompt.

S. Dunelm. Hoved.

He divides England into four Parts. G. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 11. Huntingd. Sax. Ann.

Canute was too politick not to know the motive of the *Engliſh* acknowledging him for their Sovereign. Tho' all that came near him, took care to hide their ſentiments, he was ſenſible an Enmity of near two hundred years ſtanding, and fomented by continual wars, could not be extinguiſhed in ſo ſhort a ſpace. For this reaſon, he reſolved to uſe all poſſible precautions to hinder the revolt of the *Engliſh*. To this end two things were equally neceſſary, namely, the gaining the affection of his new Subjects, and the getting rid of thoſe that could give him any uneaſineſs. Tho' theſe two projects ſeemed inconſiſtent, he deſpaired not however of accompliſhing them, and accordingly ſpent the beginning of his reign to that purpoſe. As he well knew, the moſt effectual means of becoming popular, was to cauſe Juſtice to be adminiſtred fairly and impartially, he publickly declared there ſhould be, for the

He lays a Scheme to get rid of his Enemies, and gain the Love of the People. G. Malmſb.

(1) And all *Eaſt-Anglia*. *M. Weſt.* p. 401. *Flor. Worc.* p. 618.

(2) And *Canute* into *Mercia*. *Sax. Ann.*

(3) *Ethelred* Abbot of *Rievalle*, gives a very particular account of what paſſed before, at, and after this famous duel. With him agree *Huntingdon*, and *Matthew of Weſtminſter*. *Malmſbury* ſays, *Edmund* challenged *Canute*, but he declined the combat, and offered to divide the kingdom. *Simeon of Durham*, and *Hoveden*, mention nothing of the challenge or duel, but only ſpeak of the diviſion of the kingdom by the perſuaſion of *Edric*, in the ſame manner as the *Saxon Annals*. So great is the uncertainty of this fact.

(4) *Malmſbury* and *Brompton* relate, that the two Villains ſtabbed him with a ſharp piece of Iron, as he was eaſing Nature. Some will have him to be taken off by poiſon: Others to be ſlain by an Arrow ſhot by an Image made on purpoſe, which diſcharged itſelf upon the King's touching it. But this is improbable. (See the various opinions about his death in *Brompton*, p. 906.) The *Annals* ſay only, he died ſuddenly. He was buried by his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Glaſſenbury*. With him fell the Glory of the *Engliſh Saxons*, and by his death the *Danes* prevailed, and the *Saxon Monarchy* in a manner ended, after it had laſted one hundred and ninety years from the eſtabliſhment by *Egbert*, four hundred thirty two from the founding of the *Heptarchy*, and five hundred ſixty eight from the arrival of the *Saxons* under *Hengiſt*.

(5) It was at *London*. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 175. *Hoved.* p. 436.

(6) *S. Dunelm.* and *Hoved.* plainly ſay, that they lyed, *p.* 175, 436.

future,

KING CANUTE DANE

In: et Sculp: G. Vertue.

future, no diſtinction between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. After this, he publiſhed an Edict (1), ordering that every County ſhould be governed by the ſame laws as in the time of the *Saxon* Kings. He excepted however the northern Counties, becauſe they were peopled with ſcarce any other but *Danes*, who had introduc'd particular laws of their own, which there was no occaſion to alter. The ſame Edict denounc'd the ſevereſt puniſhments againſt Malefactors, of what nation ſoever; the King's aim being to let the *Engliſh* ſee, they had no reaſon to fear any reſpect of perſons. Theſe wiſe precautions produced the intended effect. The people were never weary of teſtifying their ſatisfaction to ſee themſelves govern'd by their ancient laws, under the protection of an equitable Prince, who ſeem'd to have no other view but the happineſs of his ſubjects.

S. Dunelm. Brompt.

As ſoon as *Canute* ſaw the progreſs he had made in the hearts of the *Engliſh*, he believed he might venture without danger upon the ſecond branch of his project, the freeing himſelf from thoſe that gave him moſt uneaſineſs, and particularly the *Saxon* Princes. *Alfred* and *Edward*, Brothers of the late King, were retired into *Normandy*, with their Mother *Emma*, plainly foreſeeing it would not be in the power of the *Weſt-Saxons* to do juſtice to the royal family. As for *Edmund*'s two Sons, they remain'd in *England*, being too young to think of providing for their ſafety. Theſe two Princes, notwithſtanding their youth, made the new King ſomewhat uneaſy, by reaſon of the People's affection for them. He would not have ſcrupled to put them to death; but he could not take ſuch a ſtep in *England*, without running the risk of becoming odious to the *Engliſh*, which was deſtroying his deſigns. However, as he did not think himſelf perfectly ſafe, whilſt theſe two Princes were alive, he gave them in charge to one of his domeſticks to carry them into *Denmark* (2), under colour of ſending them abroad to travel. But in reality it was only to have it in his power the more eaſily to diſpatch them out of the way, when their abſence ſhould have leſſened the affection of the people. The perſon entruſted with the Princes, being conſcious of the King's deſigns, was touch'd with compaſſion for theſe Innocents, and inſtead of carrying them to *Denmark*, conducted them to the King of *Sweden*, diſcovering at the ſame time his Maſter's intentions. The King of *Sweden* gave the *Engliſh* Princes a very civil reception; but however, not to quarrel with *Canute*, he ſent them to the court of *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, his relation, who was willing to take care of their education. In proceſs of time, *Solomon* gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Edmund*; and to *Edward*, his Siſter-in-law *Agitha*, daughter of the Emperor *Henry* II. *Edmund* died ſoon after his marriage; but *Edward* had five children, of whom two died in *Hungary:* The reſt were, *Edgar Athelling*, *Margaret*, and *Chriſtian*.

He endeavours to get rid of the Anglo-Saxon *Princes.* Sax. Ann.

Sends Edmund's *two Sons into* Denmark. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Knighton. M. Weſt.

But they are carried to Sweden;

and from thence to Hungary, *where* Edmund *dies.* Brompt.

There were ſtill in *England* two Sons of *Ethelred* II, both nam'd *Edwy*, of whom one was born in wedlock, the other a Baſtard. This laſt was call'd, but for what reaſon I know not, *The King of the Clowns*. *Canute* was no leſs troubled about theſe than the other Princes, every thing contributing to the ſuſpicions of a Prince, who, not being ſatisfied with the lawfulneſs of his title, thinks himſelf unſecure in the throne. And therefore to make himſelf eaſy in this reſpect, he baniſh'd them the realm. But ſome time after, recalling the firſt, under pretence of being reconcil'd to him, found means to diſpatch him out of the way. Th other, after enduring many hardſhips in exile, return'd into *England*, were he kept himſelf concealed, being privately ſupplied by his friends with neceſſaries for his ſubſiſtence (3).

The two Edwy's *are baniſh'd.* Sax. Ann. Sim. Dun.

Recalls one, and puts him to death. Malmſb. Mat. Weſt.

*Canute would have been very glad to be freed with the ſame eaſe, from the trouble occaſion'd by *Alfred* and *Edward*, Brothers of King *Edmund*, who were retir'd into *Normandy* with their Mother. But he knew not how to get them out of the hands of Duke *Richard* II, their uncle. He was even apprehenſive, the Duke, whoſe forces were not to be deſpis'd, would one day eſpouſe their cauſe. To prevent this danger, he bethought himſelf of gaining the Duke of *Normandy* to his intereſts, by demanding in marriage his Siſter *Emma*, widow of *Ethelred* II, and by offering him at the ſame time *Eſtritha* one of his Siſters. Theſe Propoſals being accepted, the two marriage-ſolemnities were celebrated in a magnificent manner. If *Emma* was pleas'd with being once more Queen of *England*, it was not ſo with *Alfred* and *Edward* her Sons, who openly ſhew'd their diſlike. *Edward* eſpecially, never forgave her for thus ſcandalouſly eſpouſing the mortal enemy of her firſt Husband. Both of them were alſo extremely incens'd againſt her for conſenting, the ſucceſſion to the Crown of *England* ſhould be ſettled, by the marriage-articles, on the Heirs of her body by *Canute*. This was cutting off, as far as lay in her power, from the family of *Ethelred*, all hopes of ever mounting the throne.

Canute marries Emma of Normandy. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

One of the Marriage-Articles.

After *Canute* had by theſe precautions ſecured himſelf from all dangers from the *Saxon* Princes, he thought it time to get rid of ſome Lords, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, or whoſe power made him uneaſy. The three principal ones were, the Duke of *Mercia*, the Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*. Theſe Lords had done him ſignal ſervices; but this was the thing that render'd them formidable to him, being ſenſible how it lay in their power to hurt him, if they ſhould undertake it. He knew *Edric Streon* was a Villain, and as he could not rely on his fidelity, ſince he had ſo often betray'd the two former Kings, notwithſtanding the obligations that ought to have attached him to their intereſts, he reſolved to begin with him. He quickly found a fair opportunity to execute his deſign, by even doing an act of Juſtice very acceptable to the *Engliſh*. This Lord, having one day the inſolence to upbraid him publickly, for not rewarding him for his paſt ſervices (4), and particularly for freeing him from ſo formidable a rival as *Edmund*, afforded him the pretence he had ſome time been ſeeking. *Edric* had no ſooner dropt theſe words, but the King anſwer'd in a rage, ſince he was ſo audacious as openly to avow ſo black a treaſon, of which he had hitherto been only ſuſpected, he ſhould receive his due puniſhment. At the ſame inſtant, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be immediately beheaded, and his body thrown into the *Thames* (5). It is ſaid he ordered his Head to be fix'd on the higheſt part of the *Tower* of *London* (6), that he might perform his promiſe to the traitor, *to raiſe him above all the Peers of the realm.* Thus *Edric* received at laſt the juſt reward of his treacheries. *Eric*, Earl of *Northumberland*, was baniſhed the kingdom ſhortly after, under ſome pretence. *Turkil*, Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, frighted by theſe examples, and perhaps by the King's emiſſaries, voluntarily abſented himſelf (7), for fear ſomething worſe might befal him. Several other Lords of leſs note falling in like manner a ſacrifice to the King's jealouſy or ſuſpicions, their poſts were fill'd with thoſe in whom he placed greater confidence. From this time the *Engliſh* began to enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity, which appear'd the ſweeter to them, as they had been many years ſtrangers to it, and had no reaſon to expect it. However they were forced to pay a tax of fourſcore thouſand pounds (8) for the arrears due to the *Daniſh* army, great part of whom were ſent back to *Denmark* (9).

Canute *diſpatches ſome Lords he was jealous of.* Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd.

Brompt. Mat. Weſt. Knighton.

Edric Streon *put to death.* Brompt.

1018.

Canute finding the whole kingdom in profound tranquillity, and having no reaſon to fear a revolt, reſolv'd upon a voyage to *Denmark* (10). His preſence was abſolute neceſſary there, on account of the *Danes* and *Vandals* being at war. He took with him ſuch of the *Engliſh* Lords as he ſuſpected, left his abſence ſhould encourage them to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom. For this reaſon alſo he carried with him the flower of the *Engliſh* troops, under the command of Earl *Goodwin*, Son of *Ulnoth*, mentioned in the reign of *Ethelred* II. *Goodwin*, who was a perſon of great experience, ſignalized himſelf in this war, by a very bold though ſucceſsful action. The two armies of the *Danes* and *Vandals* being near one another, *Canute* deſigned to attack the enemies early the next morning. Whilſt his troops were refreſhing themſelves, in expectation of the battle, *Goodwin* privately withdrawing from the Camp, with the

1019. Canute *goes to* Denmark, *to war againſt the* Vandals. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.

A bold Action of Earl Goodwin.

(1) This was done by a *Wittena-Gemot* at *Oxford*. *Brompt.* p. 908.

(2) All the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians affirm, That *Walgar* (for that was the Domeſtick's name) had orders to carry them to the King of *Sweden*, *Swanorum* or *Suevorum*. *Hoved.* p. 436. *M. Weſtm.* p. 206. *Flor. Worc.* p. 619, *&c.*

(3) Theſe two *Edwy*'s are confounded by ſeveral Hiſtorians; but they are plainly diſtinguiſhed in the *Saxon Annals*, and in the *Genealogy* at the end of the Hiſtory of *Alfred*, written by *Spelman*. *Rapin*. As alſo in *H. Huntingdon*, who calls the firſt *Edwiadelinge*, and the ſecond *Edwicheorleging*, p. 363. *Malmſbury* ſays, *Edwy-adelinge* was buried at *Taviſtock* in *Devonſhire*.

(4) He upbraided him for having deprived him of the Earldom of *Mercia*. *M. Weſtm.* p. 402.

(5) He was beheaded in the King's Palace, and his Body flung out of a Window, into the *Thames*. *Malmſb.* p. 73. *M. Weſtm.* p. 402. So that the King's Palace ſtood cloſe to the *Thames*. Other Hiſtorians ſay, That the Body was caſt upon the Wall of the City, and left there unburied. *S. Dunelm.* p. 177. *Hoved. Brompt.* 908.

(6) That could not be, ſince the Tower of *London* was not built till the Reign of *William* I. *Huntingd.* ſays, he ordered it to be fixed *on the higheſt Tower in London*. p. 363. and *Brompton*——on the *higheſt Gate in London*, p. 908.

(7) He went to *Denmark*, where, as ſoon as he landed, he was taken, and put to death. *Malmſb.* p. 73.

(8) The *Saxon Annals*, Anno MXVIII. ſay, it was ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, *Huntingd.* and *Brompt.* eighty thouſand pounds, beſides eleven (*Florence* ſays fifteen) thouſand paid by the City of *London*. Hence may be ſeen the flouriſhing condition of that City in thoſe days, ſince it could pay almoſt a ſixth part of this great Tax.

(9) By the perſuaſion of Queen *Emma*. *M. Weſtm.* p. 403. *Canute* kept forty Ships in *England*. Sax. Ann.

(10) Where he wintered. *S. Dunelm.* p. 177.

Body under his Command, fell upon the *Vandals* in the Night, and putting them in diſorder by this ſudden Attack, made great ſlaughter of them, and routed the whole Army. At break of Day, *Canute* preparing for the Battle, and not finding the *Engliſh* at their Station, did not queſtion but they were revolted to the Enemy. While he was perplexed in his Thoughts at this unexpected Accident, he ſaw the *Engliſh* General arrive, who was come himſelf to bring him News of his Victory (1). Though this Action was of a dangerous Conſequence, the King however was very willing, upon this Occaſion, to diſpenſe with the Rules of Military Diſcipline, which requir'd that *Goodwin* ſhould be puniſh'd for daring to Fight without Orders. He received him with abundance of careſſes, and as a Reward for ſo ſignal a Service, created him Earl of *Kent*. I ſhall have frequent Occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of this Earl, who became at length the greateſt Lord in *England*.

Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

This War being happily ended, *Canute* returned into *England*, where immediately after his arrival he convened the great Council (2), to confirm the *Daniſh* Laws, which, for ſome time, had been obſerved in part of the Kingdom, and particularly in *Northumberland*. There were then in *England* three ſorts of Laws, namely, the *Weſt-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Daniſh* Laws (3). But theſe laſt had not the Sanction of publick Authority, till *Canute*, at his return from *Denmark*, put them upon a Level with the antient Laws of *England*.

Three ſorts of Laws in England.

1025. *Expedition of* Canute *againſt the* Swedes. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. M. Weſt.

Canute, after his return into *England*, lived in profound Tranquillity, wholly employed in cauſing Juſtice and Peace to flouriſh, and rendering his Subjects happy. But ſome time after he was obliged to diſcontinue theſe pacifick Employments, and take a ſecond Voyage to *Denmark*, then invaded by the *Swedes*. This Expedition was not very proſperous. The *Engliſh* Troops he carried with him were great Sufferers; and he had the Mortification to meet with Misfortunes he had not been uſed to.

1027. *He becomes Maſter of* Norway. Sax. Ann. Hoved. Malmſb. Sim. Dun. Brompt.

Two Years after, unmindful of his ill Succeſs in the laſt War with the *Swedes*, he entered into another, which made him emple Amends for his former Loſſes. He reſolved to revive ſome old Pretenſions to *Norway*, which had never been fully cleared. *Olaüs*, who then ſat on the Throne of *Norway*, was a weak and unwarlike Prince. *Canute* thought it would be eaſier for him to proſecute his Pretenſions in the Reign of ſuch a Prince, than at any other time. He began the Execution of his Deſign with privately forming a ſtrong Party among the *Norwegian* Lords (4). As ſoon as Matters were ripe, he ſailed for *Denmark* with a conſiderable Body of *Engliſh* Troops (5), and ſuddenly landed them in *Norway*. *Olaüs*, who had no intelligence of his Practices, ſurpriz'd at this Attack, and more ſo, to ſee the major Part of his Subjects ſide with the Enemy, found there was no Remedy but to abandon his Kingdom, and ſave himſelf by flight. Upon his retreat, *Canute* was crowned King of *Norway*, regardleſs of the Right, ſo long as he had the Power in his Hands. Two Years after the diſpoſſeſſed Prince attempting to recover his Dominions, was ſlain by his own Subjects, and *Canute* remained peaceable Poſſeſſor of the Kingdom. *Olaüs*, after his Death, was ranked among the Saints, and honoured with the glorious Title of *Martyr*.

Canute *turns his thoughts to Acts of Devotion.*

The Conqueſt of *Norway* fully ſatisfied *Canute*'s ambition. From that time, laying aſide all Thoughts of warlike Affairs, he gave himſelf up to Acts of Devotion: That is to ſay, he made it his principal Buſineſs to enrich the Churches and Monaſteries; as if the Uſurpation of two Kingdoms, and all the conſequent Evils could be repaired by ſo ſlight a Satisfaction. Among other things he took particular Care to give publick Marks of his Reſpect to St. *Edmund*, formerly King of *Eaſt-Anglia*, ſlain by the *Danes*. Perhaps he gave ſome Credit to the Story of his Father *Sweyn*'s being killed by that Saint, or rather, was willing to ſtifle the Report. However this be, he built a ſtately Church over the Grave of that Prince, and very much enlarged the Town where his Body lay buried, which from him had the Name of St. *Edmundsbury*. The Monaſtery, which was in the ſame Place, and called *Breadicſworth*, had been endowed by *Edward the Elder*. *Canute* enlarging the Building, and augmenting the Revenues, this religious Houſe became one of the fineſt and richeſt in the Kingdom (6).

Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontific. l. 2. Brompt.

After he had ſhewn, as he thought, viſible Marks of his Devotion, he reſolved upon a Journey to *Rome*, which he performed in 1031. Whilſt he ſtaid there, he made many rich Preſents to the Churches, and confirmed all the Grants of his Predeceſſors to the *Church of Rome* and the *Engliſh College*. He obtained, for his Part, certain Privileges for the *Engliſh Churches*, and ſome Advantages for thoſe who came to viſit the *Tombs of the Apoſtles*. But the moſt material Privilege procured for the *Engliſh*, was an Exemption from paying any Toll as they paſſed through *Italy*. The Emperor *Conradus* I, who was then at *Rome*, and with whom he had contracted a ſtrict Friendſhip, granted him the ſame Privilege. The King of *France* was pleaſed alſo on his Account, to grant the ſame Favour to the *Engliſh* in his Dominions. By this means the *Engliſh* Pilgrims and Travellers were eaſed of a great Expence, and freed from a thouſand Inſults and Oppreſſions to which they were moſt liable in *France*, *Italy*, *and Germany*. We have a large Account of theſe Matters in a Letter writ by this Monarch from *Rome*, to the Aſſembly-General of the *Engliſh* Nation, informing them what he had done in Favour of his Subjects. In this Letter he profeſſes a great Piety, and a fixed Reſolution to govern his Kingdom after the moſt exact Rules of Juſtice, deſiring withal his Nobles to aſſiſt him in this good Deſign (7).

1031: *He goes to* Rome. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

His Letter to the Engliſh. Ingulph. Malmſb. P. 75.

As ſoon as he came back to *England*, he applied himſelf to the Dedication of the Church of St. *Edmund*, which he had begun before his Journey to *Rome*. In fine, having ſpent ſome Years longer in continual Acts of Devotion (8), he died in 1036, in the nineteenth Year of his Reign (9).

He returns to England.

1036. *He dies.*

Hiſtorians have not failed to give this Prince the ſirname of *Great*, a Title, which ſeems peculiar to Conquerors, as if true Grandeur conſiſted in invading the Rights and Properties of others. But, not to confine Grandeur within ſuch narrow Bounds, *Canute* may be ſaid to merit this glorious Title, if we conſider only the latter Part of his Reign. The End of his Life was very different from the Beginning. One would have thought he had not been the ſame Prince, who, to gain Kingdoms that belonged not to him, had cauſed ſo much Blood to be ſpilt, and trampled upon Religion and Juſtice. Some Years before his Death, he became Humble, Modeſt, Juſt, and truly Religious. If there be no Exaggeration in what Hiſtorians ſay of him, from the time he was thoroughly ſettled on the Throne of *England*, he gave daily Marks of Piety, Juſtice, and Moderation, which gained him the Affection of his Subjects, and an univerſal Eſteem among Foreigners. We have the following Story of him, which ſhews at once his good Senſe, and to what heighth Courtiers are apt to carry their Flatteries. One Day, as he was walking by the Sea-ſide (10), his Attendants extolled him to the Skies, and even proceeded to compare him with God himſelf. Offended at theſe extravagant Praiſes, and willing to convince them of their Folly and Impiety, he ordered a Chair to be brought, and ſeating himſelf in a Place where the Tide was about to flow, turned to the Sea, and ſaid; *O Sea, thou art under my Dominion, and the Land I ſit on is mine: I charge thee not to preſume to approach any further, nor to dare to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign.* Having ſaid this, he ſat ſtill for ſome time, as expecting the Sea ſhould obey his Commands. But the Tide advancing as

His Character.

Malmſb.

Huntingd. Brompt. M. Weſt.

(1) *Huntingd.* and *Brompt.* ſay, that *Canute* himſelf advanced as far as the Enemies camp, where he found nothing but Slaughter, *&c.*

(2) At *Cirenceſter*, at Eaſter: and there —— Omnes leges ab antiquis regibus latas obſervari præcepit. —— *Enjoined the Obſervation of the Laws made by his Predeceſſors. Malmſb.* p. 75. *Flor. Worc.* ſays it was at *Oxford*, and that the *Engliſh* and *Danes* unanimouſly agreed to obſerve the Laws of *Edgar*, p. 619.

(3) *Weſt-Saxenlaga*, *Merchenlaga*, and *Denalaga*. Biſhop *Nicolſon* in his Letter to Dr. *Wilkins*, perfixed to his Edition of the *Saxon* Laws, makes it appear that this threefold diviſion of the *Engliſh* Laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the *Norman* Interpreters miſtaking the meaning of the Word *Laga*, which they thought was the ſame with *Ley* or *Law*. Whereas *Laga* ſignifies *Region*, *Territory*, or *Province*, as is plain from ſeveral places in the *Saxon* Laws, wherein *Denalaga* means the ſame as *among the Danes*, or *in the Territories of the* Danes. See p. 53, and 135, of Dr. *Wilkins*'s *Anglo-Saxon* Laws. The Author of the Dialogue *De Scaccario*, was the firſt that led the way in this Error, l. 1. c. 16.

(4) By ſending them large Sums of Money. *S. Dunelm.* p. 170. (5) With forty Ships. *S. Dunelm. Brompt.* p. 911. with fifty. *Flor. Worc.*

(6) *Leland*, who was an Eye-witneſs of this Town and Monaſtery in their Splendor, gives this deſcription of them, *A City more neatly ſeated the Sun never ſaw, hanging upon a gentle Deſcent, with a little River on its Eaſt-ſide; nor a Monaſtery more great and ſtately, whether we conſider the Endowments, Largeneſs, and unparallelled Magnificence. The Monaſtery itſelf looks like a City, ſo many Gates it has (ſome whereof are Braſs) ſo many Towers, and a Church, than which nothing can be more ſtately, to which as Appendages, there are three more of admirable Beauty and Workmanſhip in the ſame Church-yard.* There are two ſtill entire; *viz.* St. *Mary*'s and St. *James*'s; the third, which lies in ruins, was the great Church of the Monaſtery. Beſides the immenſe value of the Gifts at St. *Edmund*'s Tomb, the Revenues at the Diſſolution amounted to one thouſand five hundred and ſixty pounds a Year; a large Sum in thoſe Days. See *Camden* in *Suffolk*.

(7) This Epiſtle, which is extant in *Malmſbury*, was ſent into *England* by *Livingus* Abbot of *Taviſtock*. It was addreſſed thus; *To* Æthelnoth *Biſhop of* Canterbury, *to* Alfric *of* York, *with all the Biſhops and Primates; and to all the* Engliſh *Nation, as well Nobles as Plebeians, Health*, &c. In it he gives an account of the valuable Preſents made to him, whilſt there, in Gold and Silver Veſſels, in curious Garments, *&c.* by the Emperor, and other Princes who were there at that time.

(8) He founded alſo the noted Abby of St. *Bennet*'s in *Holme* in *Norfolk*. He gave rich and extraordinary Jewels to the Church at *Wincheſter*, of which one is recorded to be a *Croſs*, worth one Year's Revenue of the Kingdom. It was conſumed with the Abby by Fire in *Henry* I.'s Time. He gave alſo to *Coventry* the Arm of St. *Auguſtin* the great Doctor, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, and is ſaid to give for it a hundred Talents of Silver and one of Gold. *Malmſb.* p. 75. *Brompt.*

(9) He died at *Shafteſbury* the 12th of *November*, and was buried in the old Monaſtery in *Winchester*. (10) At *Southampton*.

uſual

uſual, he took Occaſion from thence, to let his baſe Flatterers know, that the Titles of *Lord* and *Maſter* belong only to him whom the Land and the Sea obey. He is ſaid, from that Moment, never to wear his Crown again, but ordered it to be put on the Head of the *Crucifix* at *Wincheſter*.

He left three Sons, all of a fit Age to govern, to whom he bequeathed his three Kingdoms by Will. *Sweyn* the Eldeſt, and a Baſtard, had *Norway* for his Share: Some affirm he was not his Son, but impoſed upon him for ſuch by the Mother (1). To *Harold* his ſecond Son, by the ſame Woman, he gave *England*; and to *Canute* or *Hardicanute*, whom he had by *Emma* of *Normandy*, the Kingdom of *Denmark*. *Gunilda* his Daughter by the ſame Princeſs, was Wife of the Emperor *Henry* IV.

R. de Diceto Brompt. Knighton.

As I ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to mix the Affairs of *Normandy* with thoſe of *England*, it will not be improper to give ſome Account beforehand of what paſſed among the *Normans*.

Affairs of Normandy. W. Gemiticenſis, l. 5. c. 10.

Richard II. Duke of *Normandy*, dying in 1026, *Richard* III. his Son ſucceeded him, who reigned but one Year, and by his Death left the Dukedom to *Robert* his Brother; who was no ſooner in Poſſeſſion, but he ſhewed an Inelination to eſpouſe the Intereſt of *Alfred* and *Edward* his Couſins, Sons of his Aunt *Emma* and *Ethelred* II. As they were both at his Court, and he could not help pitying their Caſe, he believed his Recommendatien might procure them ſome Favour in *England*. Perſuaded of this, as ſoon as he heard of the Death of *Edmund*'s Sons, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Canute*, to intreat him to give the two Princes ſome Part of the Kingdom of their Anceſtors. This Ambaſſy arrived in *England*, when *Canute* found himſelf ſo firmly ſeated in his Throne, that he thought he might ſafely diſregard the Sollicitations of the Duke of *Normandy*. *Robert* was ſo incenſed at his refuſal, that he reſolved to compel him to do Juſtice to the *Engliſh* Princes. To that purpoſe he fitted out a powerful Fleet, and embarking with a numerous Army, reſolved to make a Deſcent upon *England*, where he did not queſtion but the *Engliſh* would readily join him. But meeting with a violent Storm, he had the Mortification to behold the greateſt Part of his Fleet periſh; a Loſs which could not be eaſily retrieved. In the mean time, theſe Preparations ſatisfying *Canute*, that the Duke of *Normandy* really intended to attempt the Reſtoration of his Couſins, he endeavoured to amuſe him with offering them Part of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*. But *Robert* would not have been impoſed upon by this offer, had not his Misfortune at Sea conſtrained him to ſuſpend the Execution of his Deſign, as it induced *Canute* alſo to go from his Word. Some time after, *Robert* took a Reſolution to go in pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, deferring, till his return, his intended Invaſion of *England*. But he died in his way home. He left only a natural Son, called *William*; on whom, before his departure, he ſettled the Succeſſion. This is the ſame *William the Baſtard*, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the Throne of *England*.

His Fleet is deſtroyed by a Storm.

He dies and is ſucceeded by William *his Baſtard.*

Robert *Duke of* Normandy *proteſts the two Brothers of* Edmund. Brompt.

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18. *HAROLD* I. Sirnamed *Harefoot*, the third *Daniſh* King of *England*.

HAROLD I. 1039.

WHEN *Canute* eſpouſed the Princeſs of *Normandy*, it was agreed, that the Children by this Marriage ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *England*. Notwithſtanding this agreement, *Canute* left *England* to his Son *Harold* born in *Denmark*, and gave *Denmark* to *Hardicanute*, his Son by *Emma* of *Normandy* (2). In all appearance, he did not think the *Engliſh* had been ſufficiently inured to the *Daniſh* Yoke, to venture to place on their Throne his youngeſt Son, who was not above fifteen or ſixteen Years of Age, and of no great genius. However this be, that Article of his Will met with great Oppoſition from the *Engliſh*. They looked upon *Hardicanute*, born in *England*, of a lawful Wife, Widow of one of their Kings, as the only Perſon capable of ſucceeding; whereas *Harold* was conſidered but as a Foreigner and a Baſtard. The *Danes*, on the contrary, were firmly bent to perform *Canute*'s laſt Will and Teſtament. This difference might have been of ill conſequnce, if *Harold* had not with the utmoſt Expedition ſeized the Treaſure laid up by the King his Father at *Wincheſter* (3). By the help of this, he was enabled to make himſelf feared, and to gain ſeveral of his Oppoſers. Conſequently, in a General Aſſembly in *Mercia* (4), he ſecured a Majority of Voices, and got himſelf proclaimed King of *England*. The *Danes* were all for him to a Man, and of courſe, the *Engliſh Mercians*, or the Inhabitants on the North of the *Thames*, who looked upon the *Danes* as their Maſters, durſt not directly oppoſe their Will.

Harold *proclaimed in* Mercia, Sax. Ann. G. Malmſb. Ingulph.

Mean time, the *Weſt-Saxons*, who did not think themſelves conquered, as ſoon as they came home, convened an aſſembly of the States of *Weſſex*, and by the management of Earl *Goodwin*, *Hardicanute* was elected and proclaimed King of *Weſſex*, the *Weſt-Saxons* leaving the *Mercians* free to acknowledge *Harold* for their King (5). For the better underſtanding this matter, it muſt be remembred, there were *Danes*, or People of *Daniſh* Extraction, diſperſed all over *England*, but their chief Settlements were in *Mercia*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*. And therefore, in all the Country North of the *Thames*, called then by the general Name of *Mercia*, there were more *Danes* than *Engliſh*. On the contrary, in *Weſſex*, that is, South of the *Thames*, the *Engliſh* were the moſt numerous, having admitted among them ſuch of their Countrymen, who, to avoid living under the Dominion of the *Danes*, had quitted the northern Parts. By this means *Weſſex* was exceeding populous, and become more powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the Field as great Armies as the reſt of *England*. After this manner the Kingdom of *Judah* in old time grew ſtrong at the Expence of that of *Iſrael*. The Forces therefore of the *Weſt-Saxons* and *Mercians* being equal, it is no wonder they were jealous of one another, and every one deſired to have for Sovereign, him of the two Princes that was like to be moſt favourable. It was very probable, this Diviſion would cauſe a War between the two Nations. But *Harold*, who was not poſſeſſed of his Father's Qualities, imagined he was not ſtrong enough to undertake the Conqueſt of *Weſſex*. It was owing therefore to the equality of their Forces, that the two Kingdoms remained in Peace.

Ingulph.

and Hardicanute *in* Weſſex. Sax. Ann.

Hardicanute, who was in *Denmark* (6), made no haſte to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Weſſex*; whether he was detained by other Affairs, or on this, as well as on all other Occaſions, gave way to his natural Sluggiſhneſs. During his Abſence, Earl *Goodwin* held the Reins of the Government in an abſolute manner, independent of *Emma*, the Queen-Mother, who was not beloved by the *Weſt-Saxons*. Mean while *Harold* was contriving to gain by ſecret Practices, a Kingdom which he found himſelf unable to ſubdue by Arms. As he had been deprived of it by the ſole Credit of Earl *Goodwin*, he believed there was no readier way to aſcend the Throne of that Kingdom, than by gaining the Earl to his Intereſt. He took advantage therefore of his Brother's abſence, to make *Goodwin* his Friend, by means, which, though not declared in Hiſtory, may be eaſily gueſſed at (7). Be this as it will, he ſucceeded to his wiſh. *Goodwin*, who was not very ſcrupulous, finding his accouut in what was propoſed to him by *Harold*, promiſed to place him on the Throne of *Weſſex*. This affair was ſo dexterouſly managed, that ſuddenly, on pretence that *Hardicanute* neglected to come into *England*, *Goodwin* procured *Harold* to be acknowledged King of *Weſſex*. This change however was not made

Earl Goodwin *Regent of* Weſſex.

Delivers up the Kingdom to Harold.

(1) She is called by the Hiſtorians *Algiva*, *Ailiva*, or *Alwina*, (*M. Weſtm. Hunting.*) and by *Flor. Worc.* p. 622. and *Brompt.* ſaid to be the Daughter of *Alfhelm* Earl of *Northampton*: being barren, ſhe feigned a Lying-in, and got a Prieſt's, or a Nun's, Son newly born, to be put upon her credulous Huſband. *R. de Diceto*, who calls her *Queen*, ſays ſhe did the ſame by a Shoemaker's Son alſo, which was *Harold*, p. 470.

(2) She is called *Elgiva* by the *Saxon Annals* and others, which is the *Saxon* Name for *Emma*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 164. *Tyrrel.* l. 6. p. 64.

(3) And which he had left to his Queen *Emma*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 179. *Brompt.* p. 932.

(4) At *Oxford*, *Ann. Sax.* MXXXVI. This Conteſt about the Election of a King, very much weakens the Authority of *Simeon of Durham* and others, in relation to *Canute*'s Will, eſpecially conſidering the Marriage Articles with *Emma*, and the Silence of the *Saxon Annals*. Beſides, the States of the Kingdom very ſeldom or never failed to elect whom the laſt King appointed in his *Will*.

(5) It was agreed among them, that *Emma* ſhould live in *Wincheſter*, and keep poſſeſſion of all *Weſſex*; and that *Goodwin* ſhould be General of the Forces. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 76. *Huntingd.* p. 364. *Brompt.*

(6) *Ingulph* ſays, that he was in *England* at the time of the Election, and went back to *Denmark*, p. 61.

(7) He is ſaid to have promiſed the Earl to marry his Daughter.

with

with the unanimous consent of the *West-Saxons*, but by the sole contrivance of *Goodwin* and some other Lords, who engaged so heartily in the Affair, that it was done before any measures could be taken to obstruct it. Thus the *West-Saxons* saw a new King on the throne, without having the liberty to deliberate whether they should approve or reject him. This is not the only instance of the like intrigues producing the like events.

Emma *forms a design to place on the throne one of her Sons by her first Husband.* S. Dunelm. Ch. Mailros. Hoved. M. West.

Emma, Mother of *Hardicanute*, was extremely surprised at this revolution, which not only depriv'd her Son of the crown of *Wessex*, but herself also of the hopes of ever having any share in the government. She perceived, as matters stood, there was no possibility of recovering the crown for her Son *Hardicanute*; and therefore turning her thought another way, she formed a project, the execution whereof seemed to her very practicable, which was, to cause one of her Sons by *Ethelred*, to mount the throne. She was in hopes, the *English* would countenance with all their power an enterprize, tending to set the crown on the head of a Prince of the race of their antient Kings. Perhaps the desire of pulling down *Goodwin* influenc'd her project as much as her Son's advancement. To succeed in this design, there was need of great prudence and dissimulation. Above all it was necessary to find some pretence, without raising the King's jealousy, to send for the two Princes her Sons, who were in *Normandy*, that they might form a party for themselves. With this view, she feigned to be unconcerned at the expulsion of *Hardicanute*, confining herself to *Winchester*, where she daily frequented the Churches, and seemed to be wholly taken up with the care of her Salvation. When she imagined the King was sufficiently convinced of her disregard of State-affairs, she begged leave to send for the two Princes her Sons to *Wincheſter*, whom she had not seen since her second marriage. Her request being granted, *Alfred* and *Edward* arrived soon after in *England*, without discovering any other intention but to visit their Mother. They were caressed by great numbers of people, who, having *English* hearts, always firmly adhered to the antient Royal Family.

Alfred *and* Edward *come into* England.

Goodwin *acquaints the King with the Queen's designs.*

Goodwin, who was a person of great sagacity, quickly perceived the Queen's design. It was difficult to impose in ihis manner upon so refin'd a Politician. As soon as he began to suspect her, he employed so many Spies, that he found at length his suspicions were not groundless. He acquainted *Harold* with the matter, who seemed startled at it. But the Earl, who was not so easily alarmed, gave him to understand, the conspiracy was yet but in embryo, and might with ease be prevented; that the difficulty did not lie so much in avoiding the present, as in guarding against future danger: That to screen himself, once for all, from the like practices, he saw no better expedient than to make away with the two *Saxon* Princes, since so fair an opportunity offered. *Harold* approving of this project, *Goodwin* advised him to put on a seeming security, to draw them the more readily into the snare. This resolution being taken, *Harold* made as if he were ignorant of the Queen's designs, and the two Princes continued some time at *Winchester*, without his shewing the least uneasiness up-

He advises the murder of the two Princes. Brompt.

on their account. At last, making use of an occasion, which naturally offered itself, he invited them to come and pass a few days at Court, before they returned into *Normandy*, where he feigned to believe, they intended to go very shortly. *Emma* was in great suspence on this occasion. She was very sensible it would be difficult for her Sons to gain a powerful party among the Nobility, without appearing at Court; where the Lords of the greatest credit were usually present. But on the other hand, she could not resolve to deliver them into the hands of a Prince whose interest it was to destroy them. In this perplexity, she took a course, which she judged proper to prevent the apprehended danger. This was, to send *Alfred* her eldest Son to the King, and detain *Edward* under some pretence: She imagined in case *Harold* had any ill design, he would defer the execution till he had both the Brothers in his power, seeing it would be to no purpose to make away one, whilst the other was alive. *Goodwin*, pleased that his advice had thus far succeeded, managed so that he was sent to meet *Alfred*, seemingly to do him honour, but in reality, because he was unwilling to trust another with the execution of his designs. *Alfred*'s little train, composed of *Normans*, were at first charmed with the respect *Goodwin* paid to the Prince. But their satisfaction was quickly turned into a great consternation, when the Prince and all his attendants were stopped at *Guilford* castle, where they had been carried under colour of refreshing themselves. *Alfred* was immediately conducted to *Ely*, and, after his eyes were put out, shut up in the Monastery (1). The unhappy Prince had scarce time to be sensible of his misfortune, since he died a few days after, either out of grief, or by some more violent means. At least *Goodwin* was afterwards charged with his murder (2). As soon as *Edward* was informed of his Brother's tragical death he speedily returned into *Normandy*, for fear of the like treatment. Shortly after, *Emma*, receiving orders to depart the Kingdom, retired to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who assigned her the city of *Bruges* to reside in. It seems somewhat strange, she should not go to *Normandy* to Duke *William* her Nephew; but probably, they who had the administration of affairs during the Duke's minority, did not think proper to receive her. And indeed, it was to be feared this intriguing Princess would increase the troubles of the Dukedom, where *William* was not yet firmly established.

1037. Alfred's *death.*

Edward *returns to* Normandy. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

M. West.

Whilst these things were transacting, *Hardicanute* waking at length from his lethargy, formed a design of recovering by arms the kingdom of *Wessex*, usurped by his Brother. For that purpose he came to *Bruges*, to consult with the Queen his Mother. In all appearance, he would have found it very troublesome to execute this design, had not the death of *Harold*, which happened at that very time, removed all difficulties. This Prince died (3) in 1039 without issue, and without having done any thing memorable (4). He was sirnamed *Harefoot*, because his Foot was all over hairy, or, as others affirm, because he was light and swift of Foot (5). His death happened in one of the hardest Winters that had ever been known in *England* (6).

1039. Harold *dies.* S. Dunelm. Brompt. Sax. Ann.

Knighton.

(1) His attendants were tortured in the most cruel manner by *Goodwin*'s order, and decimated, that is, nine were killed, and the tenth only saved; six hundred are said to have been put to death in that manner. *S. Dunelm.* p. 179. *M. West.* p. 410. *Knighton* and *Brompton* mention one hellish kind of Torture, which, it may be supposed, was only practised then, and in the *Irish* Massacre in 1641. They rip up some of the People's Bellies, and tying one end of their Bowels to a Post, made them turn round that Post till they were all wound up upon it. *Brompton*, p. 935. *Knighton*, p. 2326. *Rushworth*, Hist. Col. Vol. IV. p. 411.

(2) This account of *Alfred*'s death, *Malmsbury* says, was built on common Report, and not being recorded, refuses to vouch the Fact. But *Matthew Westminster*, and others, relate it without diffidence. Most of the ancient *Manuscript Annals* in the *Cottonian* Library, as also a Treatise called *Encomium Emmæ* (which, 'tis plain, *Malmsbury* never saw) being a *Panegyrick* wrote on that Queen, by a Monk of her own time, relate the matter thus. *Harold* seeking by treachery to get these two young Princes into his power, forg'd a Letter in the Name of *Emma* their Mother, earnestly inviting them into *England*, wherein, (personating her) "She gently chides them for their delay, in not coming over to inspect their own affairs, since they could not but "know that it daily confirmed the Usurper in his power, who omitted no artifice to gain the chief Nobility over to his party: Yet assured them the "*English* had much rather have one of them to reign over them; and therefore urged them to come as speedily and as privately as they could, to consult "what Measures were most proper to be taken." This Letter was sent to *Normandy* by an express Messenger, and received by the Princes with joy, who sent word by the same Hand, That one of them would be with her shortly, naming both time and place. Accordingly *Alfred* the youngest, (by others said to be the eldest) at the appointed time, with a few ships, and a small number of *Normans*, sailed for *England*; where they were no sooner landed, but they fell into the hands of *Goodwin*, who served them as *Rapin* has above related. What makes this account the more probable, is, that had both the Princes come over in the manner-above-mentioned, *Harold* would certainly have put them both to death, since it would have been in his power. The *Saxon Annals* say nothing of *Alfred*'s death, and some place it after *Harold*'s decease. Such is the uncertainty of this Matter; which makes it appear, how little traditional accounts are to be depended upon, though of no long standing, since this Story, transacted but a few years before the *Conquest*, is told so many ways. *Malmsb. Knighton. Brompt.*

(3) He died at *Oxford*, in the fourth year of his reign, and was buried at *Winchester*; or, according to *Brompton*, at *Westminster*.

(4) He laid a Tax of eight Marks on every Port, towards fitting out sixteen Ships. He made but one Law, mentioned by *Selden*, which was, that if any *Welshman* coming into *England* without leave, was taken on this side *Offa*'s *Ditch*, he should have his Right Hand cut off by the King's Officer.

(5) *Brompton* says, he had his Sirname for refusing to ride on Horse-back, and chusing always to walk on foot, which, says he, was very unbecoming his Royal State.

(6) The *Saxon Annals* MXXXIX, say, that this year a *Sester*, or Horse-load of Wheat, was sold for fifty-five Pence, and more.

19. *CANUTE*, II. or *HARDICANUTE*, the fourth *Daniſh* King of *England.*

1039. Hardicanute is acknowledged King of all England. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. S. Dunelm.

AFTER the death of *Harold*, the great Men of both Nations unanimouſly made an offer of the crown to *Canute*, ſirnamed the *Hardy*, not to denote his courage, but his ſtrong conſtitution (1). He was then at *Bruges*, concerting meaſures with the Queen his Mother, for the recovery of the kingdom of *Weſſex*, by means of a powerful aid promiſed him by the Earl of *Flanders*. The news of *Harold*'s death putting an end to their conſultations, he came to *England* with forty Ships. he had brought from *Denmark* (2). He was received with great demonſtrations of joy, both by the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. Earl *Goodwin* himſelf, though he had no reaſon to rejoice at his arrival, after what he had acted againſt him, was the foremoſt to do him homage.

He digs up his Brother's Corps. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 12. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

The new king began his reign with an uncommon act of cruelty. The ceremony of his coronation was hardly over, when out of impatience to be revenged on his Brother, though dead, he commanded his body to be dug up and thrown into the *Thames* (3). But all his care to prevent the Body from being buried again, proved ineffectual. Some Fiſhermen finding the corps floating on the water (4), delivered it to the *Danes*, who interred it in the burying-place of their Nation in *London* (5). It is further added, the King being informed of it, ordered the Body to be thrown once more into the River; but, being found again, it was privately buried at *Weſtminſter*.

1040. *He impoſes a heavy tax.* Sax. Ann. Malmſb. *Sedition at Worceſter on that account.* Camden *in* Worceſter.

Shortly after, *Hardicanute* impoſed an exorbitant tax on the kingdom (6), for the payment of the fleet ſent back to *Denmark*. Though the *Engliſh* had often paid the like tax, termed *Danegeld*, they were diſſatisfied to have it renewed on this occaſion, when there appeared no neceſſity for it. The inhabitants of *Worceſter* oppoſed the levying this tax with the greateſt heat. They even proceeded ſo far as to kill two of the Collectors (7). Whereupon the King immediately ordered *Goodwin* Duke of *Weſſex*, *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, to draw their forces together, march to *Worceſter*, and deſtroy the City with fire and ſword. Theſe Lords executed in part the King's orders, though with great reluctance. The City was burnt, after having been plundered four days together. But the inhabitants had leave to retire into a ſmall Iſland in the *Severn*, named *Beverly*, till the King was appeaſed (8).

The City burnt.

Not long after Prince *Edward*, Son of *Ethelred* II, and Brother of the King by the ſame Mother, appeared at court. He met with a very civil reception, and preſently demanded juſtice againſt *Goodwin*, charging him with the murder of his Brother *Alfred* (9). The King was well enough pleaſed with having an opportunity to puniſh the Earl, not ſo much perhaps for the death of Prince *Alfred*, as for what he had done in favour of the late King. He was cited therefore to appear and anſwer to what was alledged againſt him. But *Goodwin*, who knew the covetous temper of the King, wiſely diverted the ſtorm by a magnificent preſent before his tryal. This preſent was a Galley, with a gilt Stern, manned with fourſcore choice ſoldiers, every one of whom had upon his arm a gold Bracelet weighing ſixteen ounces, with Helmets and Swords all gilded, and a *Daniſh* Battle-ax adorned with Gold and Silver, hanging on his left ſhoulder, and a Lance of the ſame in his Right-hand. Every thing in the Galley was anſwerable to this magnificence. By means of this noble preſent, the Earl was acquitted, upon taking his oath, he had no hand in the death of Prince *Alfred* (10).

Prince Edward *comes to Court.* S. Dunelm.

Demands Juſtice againſt Goodwin.

Who gets off by a noble Preſent to the King. Malmſb. S. Dunelm.

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a crown he was unworthy to wear. He died ſuddenly in the third year of his reign (11), at the nuptual feaſt of a *Daniſh* Lord at *Lambeth* (12). Perhaps his death was haſtened by poiſon (13); but his exceſſive cruelty and gluttony rendered him ſo odious, that he died unlamented, neither was any inquiry made into the manner of his death. All Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, he ſpent whole days and nights in feaſting and carouſing (14). There is one however that praiſes him for keeping open table four times a day, and exclaims againſt the niggardlineſs of the Kings his ſucceſſors who aboliſhed ſo laudable a cuſtom.

1041. *Death of* Hardicanute.

Huntingd.

20. *EDWARD* III. *the Confeſſor.*

EDWARD III. *Difficulties concerning the Succeſſion.*

HARDICANUTE leaving no iſſue, *Edward*, Son of *Ethelred* II. and *Emma* of *Normandy*, was the only Prince then in *England* that had any pretenſions to the crown. It was but reaſonable the race of the *Saxon* Kings ſhould be reſtored to the throne of which they were unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed. But then it was no leſs right to recall out of *Hungary* Prince *Edward*, Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, and place him on the throne preferable to his uncle, who was one degree farther removed. On the other hand, the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of four *Daniſh* Kings, who had poſſeſſed the throne for the ſpace of twenty-eight years (15), with the conſent of the *Engliſh*, bred another difficulty, ſeeing *Sweyn*, Son of *Canute the Great*, was ſtill alive. It is true, he was reckoned by ſome as a Baſtard. But beſides that the King his Father had not treated him as ſuch in the partition of his dominions, it might be ſaid in his favour, he ought to have the ſame privilege with his Brother *Harold*, to whom his being born of the ſame Mother was no obſtacle to his mounting the throne. It was therefore no eaſy thing to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the ſatisfaction of all parties. On the contrary, it was to be feared that, on this occaſion, the old animoſities between the two nations would be re-

(1) The Word *Hardy*, is rendered by thoſe that wrote in *Latin*, by *Durus*, and not by *Audax*. See *Pontanus*. Hiſt. Dan. *Rapin*.

(2) And landed at *Sandwich*, ſeven Days before Midſummer. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 365. *S. Dunelm.* p. 110.

(3) The Perſons employed in this Affair, were *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York*, Earl *Goodwin*, *Styr* the Steward, *Edric* the *Sewer*, and *Troudb* the Executioner: They cut the Head off, and flung the Body at firſt into a Sink, and afterwards into the *Thames*. *Malmſb.* p. 76. *S. Dunelm.* p. 180. *M. Weſt. Brompt.*

(4) They pulled it up in their Nets. *S. Dunelm. Malmſb.* p. 76.

(5) Which conſtant Tradition affirms to be the Church and Church-yard of St. *Clement Danes*. *Brompt.* p. 933.

(6) Of twenty-one thouſand and ninety-nine Pounds, for the Army; and eleven thouſand forty-eight Pounds, for his thirty-two Ships. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 365. *Malmſbury* ſays, he gave twenty Marks to every Sailor; but others affirm, it was eight Marks to every Sailor, and ten or twelve Marks to each of the Captains. *S. Dunelm.* p. 180. *M. Weſt.* p. 412.

(7) Who was too buſy and exacting. *Malmſb.* p. 76.

(8) This City, the *Brannonium* of *Antoninus*, and *Branogenium* of *Ptolemy*, whence called by the *Welſh* at this day, *Cair Vrangon*, was named by the *Saxons*, *Wogar-Cheſter*, *Wegorna-Cheſter*, and *Wire-Cheſter*, perhaps from the Foreſt *Wire* hard by. It was built by the *Romans*, as a Frontier Town againſt the *Britons* or *Welſh*. It was fenced formerly with high *Roman* Walls, and has now a ſtrong Wall. It was made an *Epiſcopal See* by *Sexwulfus* Biſhop of the *Mercians*, in 980. It was ſoon rebuilt after being burnt here by the *Danes*. *Camden.*

(9) *Simeon of Durham* ſays, it was *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York* that accuſed *Goodwin* and *Livingus* Biſhop of *Worceſter* of this murder. *S. Dunelm.* p. 180.

(10). This Year alſo, as *Brompton* tells us, *Hardicanute* ſent over his Siſter *Gunilda* to the Emperor *Henry*, to whom ſhe had been betrothed in her Father's time; before ſhe went, the King kept her nuptial Feaſt with that magnificence, in Cloaths, Equipage, and Feaſting, that *Matthew Weſtminſter* ſays, it was remembered in his days, and ſung by Muſicians at all great Entertainments. After the Princeſs had been ſome time in *Germany*, ſhe was accuſed of Adultery, and could find, it ſeems, no better Champion than *Municon*, a little Page ſhe had brought with her from *England*, to vindicate her Honour. She took it ſo heinouſly to be accuſed, that ſhe forſook her Huſband, and retired to a Monaſtery, where ſhe ended her days. *M. Weſtm.* and *Brompton.*

(11) Or rather in the *Second*; for he reigned but two years wanting ten days. *Sax. Ann.*

(12) (*i. e.*) *A dirty Station.* *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, exchanging a *Manor* with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, began here a Palace in 1183.

(13) Moſt probably he died in a drunken Fit. *S. Dunelm.* p. 179. He was buried in the old Monaſtery in *Wincheſter* by his Father *Canute*.

(14) He allowed his Court *four* Meals a Day. *Huntingd.* p. 365. *Knighton.* p. 2329. *John Rouſe* relates, that the day of King *Hardicanute*'s death was kept by the *Engliſh* as a *Holy-Day* in his time, four hundred years afterwards, and was called *Hog's-Tide*, or *Hock-Wedneſday*. *De Regib. Angliæ.*

(15) *Rapin* ſays forty-four, which is a miſtake, for from *Sweyn*'s being proclaimed in 1014, to *Hardicanute*'s death in 1041, was but twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight years at moſt.

1041. viv'd, and the kingdom plunged into its former calamities. *Edward*, Son of *Ethelred* II, having ſpent moſt part of his days in *Normandy*, was little known in *England*. Beſides, his merit, which was not very conſpicuous, was incapable of adding any thing to his right. However, a fortunate advice, which neceſſity conſtrain'd him to follow, procur'd him a ſupport, by which alone he was enabled to maintain his pretenſions: I mean, Earl *Goodwin*. Though it was but a few months ſince, that *Edward* had proſecuted this Lord as the murderer of his Brother, he was adviſ'd to court his protection, which he obtained with greater eaſe than he durſt have expected. *Goodwin* was ſo powerful, and of ſo ſuperior a Genius to the reſt of the Nobility, that it would have been almoſt impoſſible for *Edward* to ſucceed in his deſigns, if he had not gained him to his intereſt. He was already diſtinguiſhed as well by his merit, as birth, when *Canute the Great* intruſted him with the command of the *Engliſh* troops, in the war againſt the *Vandals*. After that expedition, wherein he gloriouſly ſignalized himſelf, *Canute* made him Earl of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surrey*, and gave him in marriage *Thyra*, Siſter of Earl *Ulphon*, to whom *Canute* had given his own Siſter *Eſtrith*, widow of the Duke of *Normandy* (1). *Goodwin* had by his wife a Son, drown'd in the *Thames* by an unruly horſe. His ſecond wife was *Gith*, Siſter of *Sweyn*, who was King of *Denmark* after the death of *Hardicanute*. By this wife he had ſeven Sons, *Harold*, *Toſton*, *Swane*, *Ulnoth*, *Gurth*, *Elfgar*, *Lewin*, and a daughter nam'd *Editha*. His credit with *Canute the Great*; the ſuperiority of his genius; his noble alliances; his dignities of Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Weſſex*, and High-Treaſurer, conferred on him by King *Harold*; and laſtly the government of the counties of *Oxford* and *Hereford*, in the hands of his eldeſt Son, had raiſed his fortune to ſuch a degree, that it would hardly admit of any addition. His intereſt was ſomewhat eclips'd in the reign of *Hardicanute*; but he had the addreſs to divert the danger he was threatned with. How great a grudge ſoever the late King bore *Goodwin*, he was ſuch an enemy to buſineſs, that he could not reſolve to undergo the neceſſary fatigue of governing a large kingdom, but left all to his management, as knowing him to be the moſt able of his ſubjects. *Goodwin* knew ſo well how to improve theſe favourable junctures to ingratiate himſelf with the Nobles and People, that his power far exceeded that of all the other *Engliſh* Lords. From what has been ſaid, it plainly appears how neceſſary *Goodwin*'s aſſiſtance was, in order to *Edward*'s mounting the throne, though his pretenſions had been ſtill better grounded. However, *Goodwin* was not one that neglected his own, in promoting the intereſt of others. Before he engaged in *Edward*'s cauſe, he required certain conditions, and made him ſwear to marry his daughter *Editha*. The Prince complied with theſe terms, notwithſtanding his inward reluctance to eſpouſe the daughter of a Man, whom he looked upon as the murderer of his Brother *Alfred*.

Edward *cloſes with* Goodwin. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 13. Annales Winton.

Goodwin's *Riſe*.

Edward *promiſes to marry* Goodwin's *daughter*.

As ſoon as *Goodwin* had received from *Edward* the aſſurances he demanded, he conven'd a general-aſſembly (2), where, by his management, that Prince was acknowledged (3) and proclaimed King (4), with unanimous conſent (5). It was happy for the *Engliſh*, there was then in the kingdom never a Prince of the family of *Canute the Great*, whom the *Danes* might have ſet up in oppoſition to *Edward*. If *Sweyn* King of *Norway* had been on the ſpot to head the *Danes*, it may reaſonably be preſum'd, either that his pretenſions would have cauſed a civil war, or *England* been once more divided into two kingdoms. Without doubt, the *Danes* would never have ſuffer'd the rights of the royal family of *Denmark*, four Princes whereof had ſucceſſively ſat on the throne, to be thus deſtroy'd. On the other hand, the *Engliſh* were ſo averſe to a *Daniſh* government, that probably they would have ventured all to free themſelves from that yoke. But the preſent juncture proving favourable to the *Engliſh*, they not only place on the throne a Prince of their own Nation, but alſo deliver themſelves from the fear of falling again under the dominion of the foreigners.

He is proclaimed King. Malmſb. Sax. Ann. Ailred Rievallenſis. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.

1041.

In the general-aſſembly above-mention'd, to which, in all likelihood, the *Danes* being then without a Leader, were not called, *Goodwin* ſtrenuouſly harangu'd, to demonſtrate to the *Engliſh*, "that a favourable opportunity "now offered, to free themſelves from the oppreſſions "under which they had groaned for ſo many years. He "deſcrib'd with his natural eloquence, the calamities "their country was overwhelm'd with, whilſt in ſub-"jection to foreigners. He diſplayed the extreme pride "of the *Danes*, who, not content with ſharing the king-"dom with the *Engliſh*, treated them like ſo many ſlaves. "He called to their remembrance the ſad times, when "an *Engliſhman* and a *Dane* meeting on a Bridge, the "former durſt not ſtir a ſtep till the latter was paſſed "over. That if an *Engliſhman* did not make a low re-"verence to a *Dane*, he was ſure to be ſoundly cudgel'd. "To all theſe miſeries he added that of the exceſſive "taxes they had been oblig'd to pay, particularly *Dane-*"*Gelt* (6), which was impos'd for no other end but to "ſatisfy the inſatiable avarice of their greedy Maſters." In fine, he omitted nothing that could inflame the rage of the *Engliſh*. This harangue wrought ſo upon the Hearers, that it was reſolved, no *Dane* for the future ſhould ever ſit on the throne of *England*. Some add, the enumeration of the calamities they had ſo long groan'd under, made ſuch an impreſſion on their minds, that with one conſent, they came to a reſolution to drive all the *Danes* out of the kingdom, and accordingly put it in execution forthwith.

Goodwin's *Speech againſt the* Danes.

Brompton. *They reſolve to expel the* Danes, *and do ſo.*

The difficulties in this Paſſage of the Engliſh *Hiſtory.*

This is one of the moſt difficult paſſages in the whole *Engliſh* Hiſtory; which way ſoever it is view'd, inſurmountable difficulties occur. In the firſt place it is hard to conceive, how in a general-aſſembly of the kingdom, it was poſſible to come to a reſolution to deſtroy all the *Danes*, and much more, how it came to be in the power of the *Engliſh* to put it in practice. The *Danes* alone were in a manner poſſeſſed of all the eaſtern and northern Counties, and in *Mercia*, that is, in the heart of the kingdom, were as numerous as the *Engliſh*. Four Kings of their nation had ſucceſſively reign'd, who far from humbling them, had no doubt ſhown them great favour, and given them the ſuperiority. And yet, without any extraordinary event, except the death of *Hardicanute*, a Prince of little merit and reputation, the *Engliſh* are ſaid to become on a ſudden ſuperior. But this is not all, 'tis affirm'd, this ſuperiority was ſo great as to enable them to expel all the *Danes* out of the kingdom. How is it poſſible to believe, the *Danes* ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be thus maſter'd, without making the leaſt reſiſtance? For it does not appear, there was any war or commotion in the kingdom on this occaſion. The *Daniſh* Hiſtorians make the matter ſtill more improbable. They ſay, all the *Danes* in *England* were maſſacred in one night by the treachery of *Harold* Son of *Goodwin*, who ordered all the *Daniſh* ſoldiers to march out of the gariſons, under pretence of ſolemnizing the funeral of the late King (7). But this account has not the leaſt appearance of truth: for, in the firſt place, *Harold*, who was then very young, had no ſhare in the government, and conſequently could give no ſuch orders to the *Daniſh* officers. In the next place, how was it poſſible that all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, *Brompton* only excepted, who however ſays much leſs of the matter, ſhould agree to paſs over in ſilence ſo remarkable an event? Nay, how could they write their Hiſtories without ever making the leaſt alluſion to it. If 'tis objected, they were ſilent, as aſham'd of their Nation for ſo barbarous an action, what is the reaſon they had not the ſame ſcruple with regard to the Maſſacre in the reign of *Ethelred*? Theſe are difficulties that are not eaſily to be clear'd. There ſeems, at firſt ſight, to be a plauſible way

Pontanus. Meurſius.

p. 934.

(1) Mr. *Tyrrel*, and others ſay, that *Goodwin*'s firſt Wife was *Canute*'s Siſter; but according to *Pontanus*, ſhe was only Siſter to *Ulphon*, Brother-in-Law to *Canute*, which is moſt probable. *Rapin.* See *Malmſb.*

(2) At *Gilingeham*, or *London*. *Malmſb.* p. 80.

(3) And choſen by the Clergy and People. *Ingulph.* p. 62. *Sax. Ann. M. Weſtm.* p. 412, *&c.* He was advanced to the Throne, chiefly through the Intereſt of *Leofric* Earl of *Cheſter*, of *Goodwin* Earl of *Weſſex*, and *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*. *Ingulph.* ibid. *Knighton.*

(4) He was crowned at *Winchеſter*, in 1042. on Eaſter-day. *Malmſb.* p. 80. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.*

(5) *Brompton* and ſome others relate this Matter otherwiſe: Upon *Hardicanute*'s death, *Alfred* (whom ſome affirm to be ſlain in *Harold*'s, ſome in *Hardicanute*'s reign) being invited into *England*, *Goodwin* repreſented to the Lords that he was coming with great Numbers of *Normans*, to whom he had promiſed to give Eſtates. Upon which *Goodwin* was ſent to meet him at *Southampton*, where, in order to make way to the Crown for his own Son by *Canute*'s daughter, he ſerved him in the barbarous manner before related in the reign of *Harold*. The *Engliſh* Nobles, who had not approved of this Treachery of *Goodwin*'s, vowed revenge, which *Goodwin* being informed of, fled into *Denmark*, and his Eſtate in *England* was confiſcated. After this, the *Engliſh* ſent over to *Edward*, to deſire him to come and take poſſeſſion of the Crown. Shortly after his coronation, *Goodwin* hearing of King *Edward*'s gracious temper, return'd into *England*, to petition for his Pardon and Eſtate again, and was accuſed by the King before an aſſembly held at *London*, of his Brother *Alfred*'s murder. But with much ado, by the Interceſſion of *Leofric* and other Peers, the matter was made up, and he was reſtored to all his Lands. *Brompton Chron.* p. 934, *&c.* *Huntingdon* agrees in the main with this relation, but ſays, that *Goodwin* murdered *Alfred*, becauſe he thought him of too high a Spirit to marry his daughter, whom he aimed to make Queen of *England*, by marrying her to *Edward*, an eaſy and ſimple Prince. But this, *Milton* obſerves, is contrary to all records.

(6) This Tax amounted to forty thouſand Pounds a year. King *Edward* releaſed the Nation of this heavy burden in the year 1051. The occaſion of his ſo doing, though related by *Ingulphus*, will ſcarce be credited. As the King was one day brought to ſee the huge heap of Money collected by this Tax, he ſtarted back as in a great Fright, and being aſked the Reaſon, proteſted he ſaw the *Devil* capering and dancing over the Money. Upon which he ordered it to be all paid back to the People, and *Dane-Gelt* to be aboliſhed for ever, after it had been paid thirty-eight years. *Ingulph.* p. 65. *Edit. Gale.*

(7) Eaque nox, exiguo temporis momento, vetuſtam Danorum dominationem, ac longo multoque Majorum ſudore & ſanguine partum Imperium ita peſſumdedit, ut vix unquam poſtea Danos fortuna reſpexerit. *Pont. in vit. Mag. Boni.* l. v. An. 1045. *Rapin.*

to

to reſolve them, namely, to accuſe the Hiſtorians, as well *Engliſh* as *Daniſh*, of not telling the whole truth, or aggravating the facts they relate. But by this courſe, we run into ſtill greater difficulties. It is moſt certain, ſince the beginning of the reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, the *Danes* have been ſo far from making any figure in *England*, that they are not mentioned in hiſtory any more than if they had never been known, though juſt before they were maſters of the whole kingdom. But whence could proceed ſo ſudden a fall, or rather, how could they all vaniſh in a moment, if neither expelled nor maſſacred? Hiſtorians do not ſay, war was made againſt them, their ſtrong-holds taken, and they brought under new laws. But, all on a ſudden, theſe ſo powerful and formidable *Danes* are reduc'd to nothing, in the reign of a Prince the moſt unwarlike that had ever ſat on the throne. Theſe are hiſtorical difficulties, the ſolution whereof I am forc'd to leave to others. But to return to *Edward*.

King Edward's Character.

He was a Prince of a weak conſtitution, and a narrow genius, not at all qualified to rule a large kingdom. His unſteadineſs on important occaſions, his inability in publick affairs, and his continual attachment to trifles, gave the Nobles opportunity of aſſuming an almoſt ſovereign power. As ſoon as they perceived the weakneſs of this Prince, they became ſo arbitrary in their governments, that they obeyed the King's orders no farther than was conſiſtent with their own intereſt. Earl *Goodwin* eſpecially uſurp'd by degrees ſo great an authority, that he had almoſt the ſame deference paid him as the King himſelf. Perhaps the meanneſs of *Edward*'s genius was the principal motive of his procuring him the crown, to the end he might govern in his name. Nevertheleſs, how fair ſoever the King carried it towards him, in his heart he utterly hated him and his whole family. This was the true reaſon of his deferring his marriage with *Editha* as long as he could. But as he ſtood in fear of the Earl, he durſt not break his word with him; and therefore after ſtaying two years on ſeveral pretences, he eſpouſed his daughter, according to his promiſe. However, he did not conſummate the marriage, ſo great was his averſion to all that belong'd to *Goodwin*. The Queen, who was a perſon of ſtrict virtue, and endow'd with a greatneſs of Soul, bore this uſage with a wonderful patience. Inſtead of complaining of her hard treatment, ſhe never open'd her mouth about it; but finding it was not in her power to gain the affection of the King her Husband, diverted her thoughts with ſtudy and acts of devotion (1).

Ailred. p. 80.

The author of the life of *Edward* pretends, this Prince made a vow of chaſtity, long before his marriage, and perſuaded the Queen to do the like. But *Malmsbury* does not know what to think of this ſtrange proceeding, and ſhews a ſtrong inclination to believe, *Edward*'s hatred to *Goodwin* was the real cauſe of his abſtaining from his daughter. He durſt not venture however to divorce her, for fear the Earl, by whoſe Intereſt he had mounted the throne, might ſtill have it in his power to depoſe him, or at leaſt create him a great deal of trouble. For this reaſon he continued to conceal, in all other reſpects, his averſion to him, and even to heap favours on him, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to ſhew his reſentment. But he did not conſider his diſſimulation increaſed the Earl's credit with the people, who imagining he was in great favour with the King, more firmly adher'd to him.

The State of the Court.

Goodwin wiſely improved theſe advantages, and became every day more formidable to the King, by the great number of friends he acquir'd. In all probability, he would have grown in time, as powerful as the *Mayors of the Palace* were formerly in *France*, if he had not met with a counter-weight, which prevented his riſing to that degree of power, ſo fatal to the royal authority; I mean, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*. *Siward* had the reputation of the braveſt and moſt worthy Peer in the kingdom. His excellent qualities gave him great authority at court, and among the *Northumbrians*, who were under his government. *Leofric* was univerſally eſteemed and reſpected for his merit. His power was ſo great in *Mercia*, that he was more a King there than *Edward* himſelf. Theſe two Lords uniting together, to prevent *Goodwin* from ſoaring too high, firmly adher'd to the perſon of the King, and endeavoured to the utmoſt of their power, to ſupport his authority. Without their aſſiſtance, *Edward*, who was naturally weak, would have found it very difficult to ſecure himſelf againſt the artifices of ſo able and powerful a ſubject as *Goodwin*. Thus matters ſtood at the court of *England*, during the firſt years of his reign. It was neceſſary to premiſe this, for the better underſtanding the ſequel.

Edward takes from the Queen his Mother all her Eſtate. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Edward, to whom is given the glorious titles of Saint and Confeſſor, mounted the throne with diſpoſitions repugnant to ſanctity. Beſides his hatred to *Goodwin* and his own wife, he cheriſhed in his breaſt againſt his Mother a deſire of revenge, which agreed no better with the maxims of the goſpel. It is true, his Mother who had never any great affection for him, had done enough to exaſperate her Son in marrying *Canute the Great*, mortal enemy of her firſt Husband. She had moreover given her conſent, that the children of her ſecond marriage ſhould ſucceed to the crown of *England*, which ſhewed but little friendſhip for thoſe of the firſt. This thing made ſo deep an impreſſion on *Edward*'s mind, that all her endeavours afterwards to procure him the throne, were not able to efface it. As ſoon as he found it in his power to make her feel the effects of his reſentment, he delay'd not to ſatisfy his paſſion. On a ſudden, when ſhe leaſt expected it, he came to *Wincheſter*, where her treaſures lay, and without ſhewing the leaſt regard for her, ſtript her of All, leaving her only a moderate penſion for her ſubſiſtence (2). Thus this Princeſs, widow of two Kings, Mother of two more, and daughter of a Duke of *Normandy* little inferior to a King, ſaw herſelf in the latter end of her days, reduced to extreme poverty by the rigour of her own Son (3).

Sax. Ann. 1042.

And makes her go thro' the Ordeal Trial. Brompt. Knighton. Camden.

But *Edward* was not content with ſhewing, by this act of violence, the little regard and affection he had for his Mother. Several Hiſtorians aſſure us, he moreover cauſed her to be accuſed of Incontinence with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. They even ſay, that, regardleſs of her quality, he was ſo hard-hearted as to make her undergo the Ordeal trial. This trial conſiſted in obliging the party accus'd to walk bare-foot and hood-wink'd over nine red-hot Plough-ſhares. It is pretended, *Emma* came off unhurt, and gave in memory of this deliverance nine Manors to the next monaſtery (4). But, we have juſt obſerved, ſhe had none left to give. However this be, ſhe paſſed ten years in the ſad condition ſhe was reduced to by the King her Son, living in *Wincheſter* as a ſort of priſon, from whence ſhe was delivered by her death in 1052 (5).

Sweyn *King of* Norway *prepares to invade* England. S. Dunelm. Hoved.

Whilſt *Edward* was thus venting his reſentment upon his Mother, he received certain advice, that a great ſtorm was gathering in the North. *Sweyn* King of *Norway*, Son of *Canute the Great*, deſigning to proſecute his claim to the crown of *England*, was preparing for an invaſion with all expedition, which put the *Engliſh* in dread of the like miſeries, they had ſo long experienced, and from which for ſome time they had been happily freed. *Edward*, who was no leſs terrified than his ſubjects, made ſome preparations to repulſe an attack which he was extremely alarmed at (6). *Gunilda*, niece of *Canute the Great*, fell a ſacrifice to his fears. She was conſtrained to abandon the kingdom and her family, to prevent her contriving ſome plot in favour of the *Danes*. But by an unexpected happineſs, a war, which ſuddenly aroſe between the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, broke the meaſures of the latter, and brought peace to the *Engliſh* contrary to their expectation. Some time after, *Sweyn* was depoſed by *Magnus* Son of *Olaüs the Martyr*, whom *Canute the Great* had diſpoſſeſſed of *Norway*. *Magnus* was no ſooner maſter of that kingdom, but he carried the war into *Denmark*; with intent to dethrone the King, whoſe name was alſo *Sweyn*. This laſt demanding aſſiſtance of *England*, *Goodwin* was of opinion, that to keep up the war between theſe two Princes, an aid of fifty ſail ſhould be ſent him. But *Siward* and *Leofric*, for reaſons unknown, prevented the

Gunilda *baniſhed.*

1043. Norway *and* Denmark *at war.*

S. Dunelm.

(1) *Ingulphus* ſays, ſhe was not only the moſt beautiful, chaſte, humble and modeſt Lady of her time, but alſo very learned, inſomuch that he tells us, when he was but a Boy, and lived at court with his father, ſhe was uſed to meet him coming from ſchool, and took delight in poſing him not only in *Grammar*, but in *Logic* alſo. And when ſhe had done, would order her ſervant to give him ſome pieces of Money. He farther ſays, ſhe had nothing of her Father in her. Whence it was become a ſaying, *Sicut Spina Roſam, genuit* Goodwinus Editham. Ingul. p. 62. *Edit. Gale.* See *Ailred Rievall.* p. 377.

(2) —— Præcepit ſufficienter ei neceſſaria miniſtrari. *M. Weſtm.* p. 415.

(3) This *Edward* did by the advice of the Earls *Leofric*, *Goodwin*, and *Siward*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 182. *Hoved.*

(4) In *Wincheſter*.

(5) This trial of *Emma* is related by *Brompton* and *Knighton*, and embelliſhed with ſome trivial circumſtances by *Harpſfield*. They tell us, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a *Norman*, (whom *Edward* had brought over with him) accuſed the Queen of conſenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, of endeavouring to poiſon her Son *Edward*, and of maintaining an infamous commerce with Biſhop *Alwin*. For which ſhe was condemned by a *Council* held on purpoſe to purge herſelf by the trial of *Fire Ordeal*, as ſhe had offered to do, and as it is related above. But this whole matter admits of great Diſputes, for *Malmſbury*, *Florence of Worceſter*, *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden*, and *Weſtminſter*, who lived neareſt the time, ſay not a word of this miraculous purgation. Then again *Brompton* ſays, *Robert* immediately fled the kingdom; whereas he went not off, as *Malmſbury* aſſures us, till ſeveral years after upon another occaſion, as we ſhall ſee: Moreover he could not be Archbiſhop then, ſince *Edſius* lived till 1050, which was three years after *Alwin*'s death, (according to *Flor. Weſt. Hoved. Chron. Mailr.*) whom *Brompton* ſuppoſes to be alive at the trial, for he ſays, he alſo gave nine *Manors* to the Church of *Wincheſter*. The *Saxon Annals* ſay, *Edſius* died in 1047, and *Alwin* in 1045; and therefore *Robert* could not be Archbiſhop till two years after his death, according to the *Annals*. Thus this whole ſtory ſeems to be a mere fiction.

(6) He went to *Sandwich* with thirty-five Ships. *Sax. Ann.*

Council

Council from coming to this reſolution. For want of this aſſiſtance, *Sweyn* was dethroned, but reſtored to his kingdom, after the death of his enemy.

The Daniſh *Pyrates make a Deſcent on* England. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

The troubles in *Denmark* hindered not the *Daniſh* Pyrates from putting to Sea, and carrying terror to the *Engliſh* coaſts. In the year 1046, twenty-five Sail of *Danes* arrived unexpectedly at *Sandwich*, from whence they carried off a great booty. Then ſailing for *Eſſex*, they carried away great numbers of Slaves of both Sexes, and all conditions. The *Engliſh* were extremly terrified; but *Goodwin*, *Siward*, and *Leofric* took ſo juſt meaſures that the *Danes*, alarmed in their turn, haſtily retired, and carried their ravages elſewhere.

Swane, *the Son of Earl* Goodwin *baniſhed.* Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

The retreat of the *Daniſh* Pyrates did not entirely reſtore peace to the kingdom, the coaſts being that ſame year infeſted by a new enemy. *Swane*, Son of *Goodwin*, having deflowered an Abbeſs (1), with whom he was in love, and not daring to ſtay in *England* after ſuch an act, retired into *Denmark*, where he in vain expected his pardon, by the mediation of the Earl his Father. But whether *Goodwin* was willing he ſhould be chaſtiſed, or found the King inexorable, *Swane* was not able to procure a pardon ſo ſoon as he imagined. When he ſaw, contrary to his expectation, he was made to wait for it a long while, he manned eight Ships, and made open war upon the *Engliſh*, plundering the Merchants, and committing ſuch barbarities on the inhabitants of the Sea-coaſts, as exceeded thoſe of the moſt cruel enemies. His inſolence gave *Goodwin*'s enemies a great advantage, who took occaſion from thence to exaſperate the King more and more againſt the Earl and his Family. He himſelf was in great perplexity about this affair. He was not willing to appear oppenly for his Son, leſt he ſhould be charged with abetting his rebellion. On the other hand, he could not but be extremely concerned at *Swane*'s being conſidered as an enemy to the Publick. To free himſelf from this ſituation, he deſired Earl *Beorn*, Son of *Ulphon* and *Eſtrith*, Siſter of *Canute the Great*, to uſe his intereſt with the King in behalf of his rebellious Son. Though *Beorn* had openly declared againſt *Swane*, he was prevailed with by *Goodwin* to ſpeak to the King, who complied with his requeſt upon certain conditions. The matter being thus in a fair way, *Beorn* went to *Swane*, to perſuade him to ſubmit to the King's mercy; but *Beorn* was ill rewarded for his pains. *Swane* imagining the Earl was come to betray him, ſlew him with his own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the Sea (2). This brutal action prevented a reconciliation for the preſent. But the King forgave him afterwards, notwithſtanding the complication of his crimes: So much did this weak Prince ſtand in fear of *Goodwin*'s revenging himſelf, in caſe he continued inflexible. Thus *Goodwin*, tho' hated by the King, obtained as many favours as if he had been really beloved by him. But theſe favours, inſtead of producing a mutual affection, ſerved only to foment their diſ-union. The Earl did not think himſelf at all obliged to the King for Benefits proceeding from the ſole motive of Fear; and the King increaſed his hatred, in proportion as he was forced to conceal it.

He infeſts the Engliſh *Coaſts.*

He kills Earl Beorn.

1048. *Great Intereſt of the* Normans *with the King.* Malmsb. Ingulph.

Beſides the private reſentment of the King towards *Goodwin*, the Earl had alſo to deal with other enemies, who were continually ſtirring up that Prince againſt him. I mean the *Normans*, who were very numerous at court, and in great credit there. Theſe looked upon *Goodwin* as a profeſſed enemy, becauſe he loudly complained of the great regard the King had for them, and made no ſcruple to ſay, they would ſoon become as troubleſome as the *Danes*. His complaints were not altogether groundleſs. *Edward*, who was educated among the *Normans*, went into all their manners, and expreſſed ſuch an affection for them, as raiſed the jealouſy of the *Engliſh*. The *Norman* language was more generally ſpoken at court than the *Saxon*. The King's favour to the *Normans* rendering them inſolent, they would have all the World cringe to them. They who could not bring themſelves to this, ſeldom failed of feeling the effects of their reſentment. *Goodwin* was of this number. He believed he was powerful enough to ſupport himſelf without their aſſiſtance. Inſtead of ſeeking their protection, he affected by his continual railleries to ſhew, he thought it not in their power to hurt him. *Robert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of all the *Normans*, was in greateſt credit at court. The King had taken him from a Monaſtery in *Normandy* (3) to promote him to the Biſhoprick of *London*, and afterwards to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, to the great regret of ſeveral *Engliſh* Biſhops, who aſpired to that dignity. This Prelate, who was naturally haughty, and whom the royal favour made ſtill more arrogant, kept no meaſures with *Goodwin*, who, on his part, ſhewed the utmoſt contempt for him. The Archbiſhop, incenſed to ſee himſelf thus treated, made uſe of all his addreſs to have a wrong interpretation put on all the Earl's actions, and to inflame the King's hatred to him to a higher degree.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *enemy to* Goodwin.

Matters ſtanding thus at court, an accident happened when leaſt expected, which brought Earl *Goodwin* to the brink of deſtruction, and gave the King room at laſt to diſcover his enmity to him. *Euſtace*, Earl of *Boulogne* (4), being come to viſit the King his Brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly received, *Edward* having a particular affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the road, in his return to *France*, one of his people, who was ſent before to provide lodgings at *Dover*, picked a quarrel with a townſman and killed him (5). This accident making a great noiſe among the inhabitants, they ran to arms, to ſeize the Murderer, who ſtood upon his defence, with ſome of the Earl's domeſticks that were with him. *Euſtace*, entering the town in the midſt of this tumult, and ſeeing his people attacked, was obliged to take their part, without having time to enquire into the occaſion of the quarrel. But being overpowered with numbers, twenty of his retinue were killed on the ſpot, and himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life. Inraged at this affront, he returned to the King at *Glouceſter*, where the court then reſided, and loudly demanded ſatisfaction. *Edward*, willing to do him juſtice, ordered *Goodwin* to march immediately with ſome forces, and chaſtiſe the rioters that were under his government. But inſtead of obeying the King's order, the Earl warmly replied, "It "was not the cuſtom in *England* to puniſh people un- "heard, and the rights and privileges of the ſubjects "ought not to be violated; that the accuſed ſhould be "ſummoned, and make ſatisfaction with their bodies or "eſtates if guilty, or if innocent, ſhould be diſcharged. "Adding, in a very haughty tone, that being Earl of *Kent*, "'twas his buſineſs to protect thoſe that were under his go- "vernment, againſt the inſults of foreigners." Some ſay, he even charged the King to deliver up the Earl of *Boulogne* into his hands, that he might be puniſhed upon the place, if found guilty of this riot. *Edward* was extremely provoked with this bold anſwer, which was not only a refuſal to obey his commands, but alſo a ſtinging reproach for his partiality to foreigners. The Archbiſhop and the reſt of the *Normans* eagerly improved this occaſion to exaſperate him againſt the Earl, and to blow up a flame, which was already but too much kindled.

Earl of Boulogne *comes into* England. Malmſb. Sax. Ann.

Quarrel between him and the Townſmen at Dover. Sax. Ann, Malmſb.

He demands Juſtice.

Goodwin *refuſes to obey the King.* S. Dunelm. Brompt. M. Weſt.

How angry ſoever the King might be, he was forced to conceal it, not being in condition to puniſh on the ſpot, a Lord who rival'd him in power. *Siward* and *Leofric* being abſent, there was no appearance of ſucceeding, ſhould he attempt any thing againſt *Goodwin*, without being firſt aſſured of their concurrence. Mean while, as he was in the utmoſt impatience to be revenged, he diſpatched truſty meſſengers to theſe two Lords, to inform them of his reſolution to chaſtiſe *Goodwin*, and to order, or rather deſire them, to repair to him immediately. How privately ſoever this matter was tranſacted, *Goodwin* had notice of his deſign, and took his meaſures accordingly. As he was very ſenſible he ſhould be infallibly ruined, was he not beforehand with his enemies, he drew together ſome troops, which were ſoon reinforced with others from his Son's government (6). An incurſion of the *Welſh* at the ſame time into *Herefordſhire*, furniſhed him with a pretence to levy this army. He pretended theſe forces were deſigned to drive the enemy out of the kingdom, though he had received no orders to that purpoſe. In the mean time, the King cauſing him to be ſummoned before a general aſſembly convened at *Glouceſter* (7), he came with his Sons, but ſo well attended, that he had nothing to fear. Thus guarded as he was, it would have been ſo dangerous

The King is reſolved to puniſh Goodwin.

Goodwin *prepares to defend himſelf.*

(1) The Abbeſs of *Leon* (or *Leominſter* in *Herefordſhire*). He left *England* becauſe he could not obtain leave to marry her. *S. Dunelm.* p. 183.

(2) The *Annals* ſay, they buried his Body in a certain Church; but that afterwards his Relations and the Mariners of *London* digged up his Body and buried it at *Winchеſter* by King *Canute*. *Sax. Ann.* 1066.

(3) *Jumiege*. Gemeticum. *Malmſb.* p. 80.

(4) He was Father to the famous *Godfrey* of *Boulogne*, who won *Jeruſalem* from the *Saracens*.

(5) *Euſtace*'s Man inſiſted upon having Lodgings in the *Dover*-man's Houſe, in ſpite of his teeth, and wounded him in the Struggle; whereupon the Townſman killed the other upon the ſpot. In this Fray were nineteen *Dover* People ſlain, and twenty-one of *Euſtace*'s, many others being wounded. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 81. *S. Dunelm.* p. 184. *Brompt.* 942.

(6) He drew together ſome Troops out of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and *Weſſex*; as his eldeſt Son *Swane* did out of his Earldom, *i. e.* out of *Oxford*, *Glouceſter*, *Hereford*, *Somerſet*, and *Berkſhire*; and *Harold* out of his, *i. e.* out of *Eſſex*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdonſhire*: All theſe Forces met at *Beverſton* in *Glouceſterſhire*. King *Edward* hearing of *Goodwin*'s great preparations, ſent orders to *Siward* and *Leofric* to raiſe likewiſe an army, which they did out of *Mercia* and *Northumbria*. *Sax. Ann. Brompton.*

(7) And to come attended only with *twelve* Perſons, but he refuſed to appear. In the mean time finding his Army had deſerted, he fled in the Night to *Thorny*-Iſland, and from thence went and imbarked at *Boſenham* in *Suſſex*, with his Son *Swane*. *Harold* and *Leofwin* came to *Briſtol*, and finding there a Ship got ready by *Swane*, they went over to *Ireland*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 185. *Brompt.*

to

to call him to an account, that the King was adviſed by the moſt prudent to hide his reſentments. They repreſented to him, if the Earl ſtood on his defence, as he ſeemed reſolved, it was to be feared, he would draw to his ſide the majority of the people, whoſe intereſts he ſeemed to eſpouſe; and therefore the affording him a pretence to carry his audaciouſneſs any farther, could not be done without danger. In purſuance of this advice, ſuch a peace was patched up as *Goodwin* deſired, that is, he was cleared for ſome excuſes which related more to his manner of acting, than the thing in queſtion.

Is reconciled to the King.

This reconciliation was of no long continuance. *Edward*, who could not digeſt the affront he had received, took new meaſures againſt *Goodwin*, in gaining ſome of his principal friends by preſents and promiſes. As ſoon as matters were ordered to his mind, he convened a general-aſſembly, where *Goodwin* and his Sons were ſummoned to appear. But being informed a deſign was laid to apprehend them, they refuſed to come, without a ſafe-conduct, and hoſtages for their ſecurity. Upon which, they were baniſhed the kingdom, and the combination againſt them was ſo ſtrong, that they ſaw themſelves abandoned on a ſudden by their principal adherents, and forced to ſubmit to the ſentence paſſed upon them. *Edward* not content with being thus freed from *Goodwin*, ſhut up the Queen in the nunnery of *Wharwel* (1), with deſign, in all appearance, never to take to her again. *Goodwin* retired to the Earl of *Flanders*, Father-in-law of his Son *Tonſton*, and *Harold* ſailed for *Ireland*, where he hoped to meet with aſſiſtance. To deprive the Earl and his Sons of all hopes of returning, the King diſpoſed of all their Poſts, the chief whereof were conferred on *Alfgar* Son of *Leofric*.

He is proſecuted again and baniſhed. Sax. Ann. G. Malmſb.

Edward ſends away the Queen.

1052. *Goodwin takes meaſures to reſtore himſelf to his former State.* Sax. Ann. G. Malmſb.

In the mean time, *Goodwin*, who thought himſelf unjuſtly oppreſſed, took meaſures to right himſelf by arms, there being no other remedy, as matters ſtood between the King and him. The Earl of *Flanders* furniſhing him with ſome Ships, he infeſted the Eaſtern Coaſts of *England*, whilſt *Harold* his eldeſt Son did the ſame to the Weſtern. But theſe faint attempts were to little purpoſe, ſeeing their forces were not very conſiderable. Wherefore *Goodwin* returned to *Flanders*, where for two years together, he left no ſtone unturned to perſuade the Earl his protector, it was for his intereſt to lend him a powerful aſſiſtance, and to have ſuch a friend as he in *England*. *Baldwin* being at length prevailed with, granted him an aid capable of rendering him formidable, whilſt on the other hand, *Harold* equipp'd a good number of Ships in *Ireland*. *Edward* having intelligence of theſe proceedings, fitted out a fleet with all expedition, the command of which was given to *Randulph* of *Mantes* his nephew (2), and another Lord named *Odda*. Theſe two admirals hearing *Goodwin* had been ſeen off *Rumney* point, reſolved to go and attack him, but he had time to retire elſewhere. His meaſures being thus broken by the King's expedition, he ſteer'd his courſe again for *Flanders*, and ſent back *Harold* into *Ireland*. His view was to make the King believe, he gave over his undertaking, by reaſon of the obſtacles he met with. Mean while, he kept his fleet always ready, that he might improve any occaſions that ſhould offer. Shortly after one preſented itſelf, which he did not fail to make advantage of. Whether the two admirals were wanting in point of duty or conduct, or through court intrigues, which hiſtory has not taken care to diſcover, *Edward* on a ſudden removed theſe two Lords from the command of the fleet. This alteration, and the breaking ſome of the inferior officers, raiſed ſuch diſcontents among the Sailors, that they deſerted in crowds. Thus the King's Ships not being in condition to keep the Sea, were brought up the *Thames* in order to be new-manned. *Goodwin* by his ſpies being informed of this diſorder, puts to Sea immediately, and makes a deſcent on the Iſle of *Wight*, where he extorted great ſums from the inhabitants, whilſt he waited for his Son *Harold* to join him. After their junction, they ſailed up the *Thames*, and advanced towards *London*, where the King's fleet lay. *Edward* giving way to his paſſion, would have gone himſelf with ſuch Ships as were ready (3), and tried the fortune of a battle; but his council oppoſed it. They repreſented to him, that inſtead of hazarding his perſon in an action, the conſequences whereof might prove very fatal, it would be more for his own and the kingdom's advantage, to try to make *Goodwin* return to his obedience, by gentler methods. This was wholſome advice; but the King would hardly have followed it, had not *Goodwin*, who was informed of what was tranſacting at court, ſmoothed the way, by ſaving him the ſhame of making the firſt advances. He ſent the King word, that he was not come to fight againſt his Sovereign, but moſt humbly to intreat him to hear his juſtification: That his coming thus armed was only to defend himſelf againſt the inſults of his enemies, and he ſhould always glory in being the moſt faithful of his ſubjects. How reſpectful ſoever this meſſage might be, *Edward*, looking upon it as a ſort of banter, flatly refuſed to hearken to any accommodation; affirming, he could not reſolve to pardon his Brother's murderer. His obſtinacy had like to have produced a fatal effect. *Goodwin*'s army, entirely conſiſting of foreigners, who were in hopes of enriching themſelves with the plunder of *London*, they were for engaging the King's fleet without delay. But the Earl, who was perfectly informed how the council ſtood diſpoſed, check'd the ardour of his ſoldiers, and behaved in a very ſubmiſſive manner with regard to the King, His moderation was attended at laſt with the ſucceſs he expected. *Edward* was prevailed with by the principal Lords, and eſpecially *Stigand* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a great friend of *Goodwin*'s, to receive the Earl into favour again, at leaſt, as to outward appearance. He even agreed, he ſhould be acquitted, by the general aſſembly of the kingdom, of the murder of Prince *Alfred*, which he was charged with afreſh, but on condition he ſhould give hoſtages for his good behaviour for the future (4). *Goodwin* ſubmitting to the King's terms, put into his hands his Son *Ulnoth*, and his Grandſon *Hacune*, who were immediately ſent into *Normandy*, *Edward* not thinking he could ſecure them in *England*. *Goodwin* and his Sons were reſtored to their eſtates and dignities, and the King honourably took again the Queen his Wife, whom he thought he had been rid of for life.

Goodwin makes his Peace with the King; and gives him hoſtages. Sax. Ann. Knighton. Brompt.

Upon the firſt news of the agreement between the King and the Earl, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* retired to the monaſtery of *Jumiege* in *Normandy*. Shortly after his departure, he was baniſhed the kingdom by an aſſembly general, as an incendiary and fomenter of diviſions between the King and his Subjects (5). *Stigand* was made Archbiſhop in his room, on ſuppoſition the *See* was become vacant by his baniſhment, a ſuppoſition that the court of *Rome* would by no means allow. Thus ended the affair of *Goodwin*. This Lord ſeemingly was very like to have been undone for ever; but, contrary to the expectation of his enemies, his diſgrace tended only to render him more powerful and formidable. This ſame year he loſt his third Son *Swane*, who going in pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, died on the road in ſome place in *Syria*, where he fell into the hands of robbers (6).

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury baniſhed. Sax. Ann. Malm. S. Dunelm. *Stigand is made Archbiſhop.*

Malmſb.

Edward prepares to repulſe him.

The court of *England* enjoying a profound quiet after *Goodwin*'s return, *William the Baſtard*, Duke of *Normandy*, took this opportunity to pay a viſit to *Edward* (7). Some ſay, *Edward* ſent him word by Archbiſhop *Robert*, that he deſigned to make him his heir, and that his aim in this viſit was to get a confirmation of this promiſe. But this is only conjecture. However that be, during *William*'s ſtay in *England*, the King took a pleaſure in ſhowing his gratitude for all the civilities he had received, both from him and the Duke his father. It is pretended, after having thus publickly teſtified his gratitude, he privately gave him a more ſubſtantial mark of his affection, by making his will, and nominating him his heir and ſucceſſor (8). If it be true that *Edward* made ſuch a will, which however no body ever ſaw, it is more probable he did it at this time, than when he was in *Normandy*. Whilſt the throne of *England* was filled by the *Danes*; whilſt *Alfred* his eldeſt Brother, and alſo the children of *Edmund Ironſide* were alive; how could *Edward* foreſee he ſhould ever be King of *England*? But at the time *William the Baſtard* was in *England*, *Edward*, bearing ſtill a mortal hatred to *Goodwin* in his heart, notwithſtanding their feigned reconciliation, might ſuſpect the Earl of aſpiring to the crown, and hope by this ſettlement to beak his meaſures. But after all, it is much more probable he made no will, but contented himſelf with giving the Duke of *Normandy* ſome verbal promiſe.

The Duke of Normandy viſits Edward. Ingulph. S. Dunelm. Brompt. R. Higden.

Edward's pretended Will in his favour.

Goodwin enters the Thames, and comes up to London.

(1) In *Hampſhire*; of which his Siſter was Abbeſs. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 82.

(2) He was Son to *Goda* Siſter of *Edward*, and the Earl of *Mantes*. *Rapin.*----In 1052. *Emma*, King *Edward*'s Mother, died at *Wincheſter*, where ſhe was buried. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 266. *Ingulph.* p. 65. *M. Weſtm.*

(3) Which was fifty. *Sax. Ann.*

(4) Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour*, p. 525. refers that Relation in *Brompton*'s Chronicle, taken notice of in Note (9) p. 129. to this *Aſſembly General*. See more of it in the *Diſſertation on the Government of the Anglo-Saxons*, under the Article of their *Laws*.

(5) And the reſt of the *Frenchmen* that were in *England* fled, and were alſo baniſhed. *Sax. Ann.* See the Names of ſuch *Normans* as ſtaid in *England*, in *S. Dunelm.* p. 186, 187. *Brompt.* p. 944.

(6) *Simeon of Durham* ſays, being pricked in Conſcience for the murder of Earl *Beorn*, he went from *Flanders* bare-foot as far as *Jeruſalem*, and in his return homeward died of a Cold he got in *Syria*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 186. *Brompt.* p. 944.

(7) *Brompton* ſays, he came in 1050. and *S. Dunelm.* 1051 (p. 944, 185.) They all agree, that it was during *Goodwin*'s baniſhment. See *Higden*, p. 279.

(8) *Ingulph* expreſly ſays, that *William* had then no hopes of ſucceeding to the Crown, neither was there the leaſt mention made of it between them at this time.----De ſucceſſione autem regni ſpes adhuc, aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit. p. 65.

However this be, it was this Will, real or forg'd, or this verbal promiſe, that furniſhed the Duke with a pretence of becoming maſter of *England* after the death of *Edward*. But it is very likely *Goodwin* knew nothing of this Will, or verbal promiſe; which may be plainly inferred from his taking no meaſures to prevent a *Norman* Prince from reigning over the *Engliſh*, though he was a ſworn enemy to the *Norman* nation. By the way, the ſituation of affairs then in *England*, where *Goodwin* almoſt equalled the King himſelf in power, renders incredible what ſome have ventured to advance, that *Edward* got his Will in favour of Duke *William* confirmed by a general aſſembly.

1053. Goodwin's *Death.* Brompt. Rievallenſis. M. Weſt. Huntingd. Ingulph.

Edward in vain uſed all ſorts of means to obſtruct *Goodwin*'s advancement. This Earl's power was grown to ſuch a height, that it might have proved of dangerous conſequence, had not death freed the King from this hated, and then moſt formidable, Subject. If we believe certain Hiſtorians, *Goodwin*'s death was attended with extraordinary circumſtances, deſerving a ſerious regard, were they better atteſted. They ſay, as the King was one day ſitting at table with the Earl, he let fall ſome words, which plainly ſhowed, the murder of the Prince his Brother was not yet thoroughly blotted out of his mind. They add, *Goodwin* taking it as a reflection upon him, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to the King, *I perceive, my Lord*, (ſays he with great emotion) *by what you juſt now ſaid, you ſtill think me guilty of the death of the Prince your Brother, though I have been publickly acquitted of it. But to give you a freſh proof of my innocence, I pray God that this morſel I am going to eat may choak me this moment, if I had any hand in the death of that Prince.* It is pretended, that upon ſaying theſe words, he went to ſwallow the fatal morſel, but it ſtuck in his throat and choaked him immediately, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Standers-by. But this circumſtance, had it been true, was too remarkable to be omitted by the Hiſtorians of the beſt credit, who make no mention at all of it. They agree, *Goodwin* died ſuddenly, as he ſat at table with the King, but ſay not a word of the above-mentioned circumſtances, which probably were invented to blacken the memory of the Earl and his Family (1).

Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Harold *his Son ſucceeds him.* Sax. Ann.

Harold his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him in all his Poſts, thoſe he had himſelf before his Father's death being given to *Alfgar*, Son of *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*.

Harold's *prudent Conduct.*

The death of *Goodwin* cauſed no great alteration. *Harold* had the ſame Friends, the ſame creatures, and the ſame intereſt as the Earl his Father when alive. All the difference to be obſerved between the Father and Son, was, that the Son was of a temper more courteous and pliable, carried himſelf with much leſs pride, and behaved in a more reſpectful and ſubmiſſive manner to the King. He was in hopes, by this carriage, to remove the King's inveterate hatred to his family; but it was to no purpoſe. *Edward* perhaps had not ſo great an averſion for him as he had for his Father; but he feared him as much, and indeed very juſtly. *Harold*, of as great parts and abilities as his Father, but withal of more honour and conſcience, firmly gained to his intereſt both the Nobles and People, by his civil and obliging behaviour; whereas *Goodwin*'s haughtineſs and pride frequently loſt him many friends. Mean while the ſame reaſons that conſtrained the King to carry it fair with the Father, obliged him to do the ſame with the Son. Though he loved him not, he durſt not ſhew his ill-will, leſt it ſhould prove the occaſion of a rupture, which muſt have been of very bad conſequence, conſidering *Harold*'s great credit at court and with the people.

1054. *War for* Cumberland. S. Dunelm. Huntingd. Brompt. Ingulph.

If the overgrown power of the *Goodwin* family created uneaſineſs in the King, it was in ſome meaſure alleviated by the ſatisfaction he had to ſee his kingdom exempt from war, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne. But this tranquillity, which could not but be very grateful to a Prince of ſo unwarlike a temper, was a little diſturbed by a quarrel with *Mackbeth* King of *Scotland*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Cumberland*. This little kingdom, which had been long under the protection of the crown of *England*, was contended for between *Mackbeth* and *Malcolm*, a Lord of the royal family of *Cumberland*. *Edward* eſpouſing the cauſe of *Malcolm*, commiſſioned *Siward* to reſtore him to his kingdom. This war was of ſhort duration. *Siward* by one deciſive battle obliged *Mackbeth* to abandon *Cumberland*, and leave his rival in poſſeſſion (2). *Siward* had ſcarce finiſhed this affair, when he was ſeized with a diſtemper (3) that laid him in his grave. When he found he was near his end, he got upon his legs, and cauſing his armour to be put on, expired in that poſture, declaring it diſhonourable for a brave Man to die in his bed (4).

1055. *Death of* Siward. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.

After the death of *Siward*, the government of *Northumberland* was conferred on *Toſton*, Brother of *Harold* (5), *Edward* not having reſolution enough to refuſe him that favour, though he dreaded nothing more than the advancement of that family. Some will have it, this was done out of policy. They pretend, the King, by feigning to gratify *Harold*, filled the vacant poſt with the propereſt perſon to give a check to his ambition, by reaſon of the mutual jealouſy between the two Brothers. But it does not appear *Harold* and *Toſton* were then at variance, tho' it be true, they became enemies afterwards. 'Twas therefore great imprudence to truſt any one family with two ſuch important poſts as Duke of *Weſſex*, and Earl of *Northumberland*, which put one moiety of the kingdom in the power of the two Brothers. Thus the King, tho' he ſtood in the greateſt dread of the *Goodwin* Family, either out of weakneſs, or ill policy, did every thing to render them more powerful.

Toſton *Harold's Brother made Earl of* Northumberland. Sax. Ann. Ingulph. Brompt.

It was not only by the King's favours that Earl *Harold* daily got ground. His perſonal merit and liberal temper daily procured him ſuch friends, as were able to ſupport him againſt the attempts of the King himſelf. Though he had married the Duke of *Mercia*'s daughter, *Alfgar* his Brother-in-law carried it very coldly towards him, purely out of envy at his greatneſs. This Lord, being of a reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit, entered into a dangerous conſpiracy, and privately held intelligence with *Griffin* King of *Wales*, to the detriment of the publick. *Edward* being informed of it, cauſed him to be accuſed of treaſon, and condemned to baniſhment. *Alfgar* retired to his friend *Griffin*, who received him with open arms, and cheriſhed his diſcontent to the utmoſt of his power (6). Some time after they made an inroad together into *Herefordſhire* and defeated *Radulph* of *Mantes* Earl of that County, who had attempted to drive them thence. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they began to make farther advances (7), when they met Earl *Harold*, who ſtopt their career. He had of his own accord levied an army in his governments, and boldly marched towards them, to give them battle. They quickly found the difference between him and *Radulph*. *Harold*, ſuperior in valour and conduct, put them to rout, and compelled them to retire into *Wales*, from whence they durſt not come forth any more. A peace being the conſequence of this victory, *Harold* made uſe of all his intereſt to obtain a pardon for *Alfgar*, and got him at length reſtored to his eſtate and honours. By this uncommon act of generoſity, he gained the friendſhip of *Alfgar*, and exceedingly increaſed the eſteem people already had for him.

Harold's *Credit increaſes.*

Alfgar *Leofric's Son baniſhed.* Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

Retires to Wales, *and joins King* Griffin.

They are defeated by Harold.

Alfgar *reſtored.*

1057. *The people talk of* Harold's *ſucceeding to the Crown.*

The reputation acquired by *Harold* in his laſt expedition, his generoſity to *Alfgar*, his affable and obliging behaviour, his beneficent temper, entirely gained him the hearts of the people. It began to be the publick diſcourſe, that

(1) The *Saxon Annals* ſay only, This year Earl *Goodwin* deceaſed the 17th of the *Kalends* of *May*, and was buried in the old Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, Anno MLIII. Almoſt all our Hiſtorians ſays, King *Edward* celebrating the Feaſt of *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter* (ſome ſay *Windſor*) Earl *Goodwin* was taken ſpeechleſs as he ſat at table; and being carried into the King's Chamber by his Sons, he lay in a languiſhing condition four Days, and died the fifth. This is the account of his death; but the *Norman* Monks, and ſuch as write in favour of them, add the above circumſtances, which ſhow either his Guilt or their Malice. He was a Man of an active or turbulent Spirit, not over conſcientious in getting or keeping what he could. But had he not been ſo great a Lover of his Country, and an Enemy to Foreigners, thoſe who wrote in the *Norman* times would have given him a fairer Character. *S. Dunelm.* p. 187. *Chr. Mailros.* p. 158.

(2) *Matthew Weſtminſter* ſays, but without any Authority, that King *Edward* conquered all *Scotland*, and beſtowed it on *Malcolm* to hold it of him. Others ſeem to ſay he deſtroyed *Mackbeth*, and made *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*. S. Dunelm. But moſt probable it was only of *Cumberland*.

(3) A bloody Flux. He was buried in the Cloyſter of St. *Mary*'s Monaſtery, without the Walls of *York*, which he had built. *Brompt.* p. 946. *Ingulph.* p. 66.

(4) *Simeon of Durham* ſays, Earl *Siward*'s Son was ſlain in the Battle with *Mackbeth*; and *Huntingdon* adds, that when the News was brought him, he aſked, *whether he had received the Wound before or behind?* and being told, *Before*; he only replied, *I am glad to hear it.* *Brompton* ſays, he was a Man of almoſt *gigantick Stature*, and gives us this ſtrange account of his Grandmother the Daughter of a certain *Daniſh* Earl. As ſhe was one Day walking in a Wood near her Father's Houſe, accompanied only with her Women, a huge Bear ruſhing from among the Trees, and frightening away her Attendants, carried off the young Lady alone; and getting her with Child, ſhe had a Son by him, named *Bernus*, who was born with Bear's Ears; however by his Mother's right he ſucceeded to her Father's Earldom. In proceſs of time he proved a valiant Soldier, and marrying, begot the brave Earl *Siward*, who came and ſettled in *England*. Brompt. p. 945.

(5) Becauſe *Waltheof*, *Siward*'s Son, was too young; but to make ſome amends, *Edward* gave him the government of the Counties of *Northampton*, *Huntingdon*, &c. *Brompt. Huntingd.* p. 366. *Ingulph.* p. 66.

(6) Hiſtorians are divided in their Opinions, whether this Earl was baniſhed juſtly or not. The *Sax. Ann.* and *Huntingd.* (p. 366.) ſay, that he was convicted of treaſon: But *S. Dunelm.* (p. 187.) *Brompton* and *Ingulph* affirm, he was *unjuſtly baniſhed*. *Simeon of Durham* and *Brompton* ſay, he went to *Ireland* firſt, and procured eighteen Ships, went and joined *Griffin*. He was baniſhed again in 1058, but, by the Aſſiſtance of *Griffin*, and of a *Norwegian* Fleet, was reſtored. *S. Dunelm.* p. 189. *Ingulph.* p. 66.

(7) They took and ſacked *Hereford*, burning the Church and Monaſtery with the Relicks of King *Ethelbert*, treacherouſly ſlain by King *Offa*. *Hereford* (i. e. *the Ford of the Army*,) was built as a Frontier in the time of the *Heptarchy*. This was the only Misfortune that ever happened to this City. *Camden.*

ſince

ſince the King had no heirs, no one was more worthy to ſucceed him than *Harold*. The affection of the *Engliſh* for the Earl, very ſenſibly touched *Edward*, who had all along lived in expectation of an occaſion to ruin him. Hitherto this Prince ſeems to have intended to leave the crown to the Duke of *Normandy*, ſince he was not ignorant he had a Nephew in *Hungary*, and yet had never once thought of recalling him home, and ſecuring him the ſucceſſion. But the moment he found Earl *Harold* aſpired to the crown, or at leaſt, that the people marked him out for his ſucceſſor, he judged it would be very difficult to ſet up a foreign Prince, againſt an *Engliſh* Earl of ſo great power and credit. This conſideration probably induced him at laſt to ſend for his Nephew *Edward*, Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, out of *Hungary* (1). He ſhould have done this long before, had he not deſigned to diſpoſe of the crown in favour of another. Prince *Edward* came into *England* in 1057, bringing with him his young Son *Edgar*, with *Margaret* and *Chriſtiana* his Daughters, who were all three born in *Hungary*. The arrival of this Prince, Son of a King of *England*, whoſe memory was dear to the Nation, could not but be very agreeable to the *Engliſh*; and therefore, without heſitation, they conſidered him as the King's preſumptive heir, their eſteem for *Harold* giving place to their affection for the royal family. Indeed, there was no conteſting this young Prince's right to ſucceed his Uncle, ſince, had he not been abſent when it was debated who ſhould ſit on the throne after *Hardicanute*, he would have been unqueſtionably preferred even to King *Edward* himſelf. Which conſideration was probably the reaſon of his Uncle's leaving him ſo long in *Hungary*, leſt his preſence might occaſion ſome dangerous commotions. But this Prince, who ſeemed deſigned for the crown, died ſoon after his arrival in *England*, leaving his juſt, though empty title to *Edgar* his Son, ſirnamed *Atheling* (2).

Edward *ſends for his Nephew from* Hungary. Sax. Ann. Knighton. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Death of Prince Edward,

and of Leofric, *Duke of* Mercia. Sax. Ann. Godiva's *Adventure.* Brompton. M. Weſt.

Leofric, Duke of *Mercia*, quickly followed him, this ſame year (3). Hiſtorians give this Lord a great character; but eſpecially they extol *Godiva* his wife, above all the Women of her time. It is related of this Lady, that in order to free the inhabitants of *Coventry* from a heavy tax laid on them by her Husband, ſhe readily conſented to a very extraordinary condition, on which the Earl promiſed to eaſe them of their burden, namely, that ſhe ſhould ride ſtark naked from one end of the town to the other. This condition gave the *Burghers* little hopes of being relieved. But *Godiva* perform'd it, covering her Body with her hair, and commanding all perſons to keep within doors, and from their windows, on pain of death. Notwithſtanding this ſevere penalty, there was one, who could not forbear giving a look, out of curioſity, but it coſt him his life. In memory of this event, there is a Statue of a Man looking out of a window, always kept in a certain houſe at *Coventry* (4). *Alfgar* ſucceeded to his Father's Earldom, by *Harold*'s intereſt, who earneſtly interceded for him (5).

Sax. Ann.

1062. Harold *aſpires to the Crown, and demands the Hoſtages given the King by* Goodwin. Eadmer.

but can't obtain them.

Harold's ambition and hopes were revived by Prince *Edward*'s death. That Prince indeed had left a Son who inherited all his rights, but ſo young, that it ſeem'd very eaſy to ſupplant him. Beſides, he might poſſibly die before the King. Accordingly, *Harold* reſolved to improve the preſent favourable conjuncture. But before he openly diſcovered his deſigns, he thought it requiſite to get out of the hands of the Duke of *Normandy*, *Ulnoth* his Brother, and *Hacune* his Nephew, whom the Earl his Father had given for hoſtages to the King. But tho' he demanded them very urgently, alledging, ſince *Goodwin* was dead, there was no reaſon to detain them, and unjuſtly deprive them of the benefit of an *Engliſh* education, yet he could not prevail with the King. *Edward* always put him off with ſaying, they were not in his power, but the Duke of *Normandy*'s, and therefore to that Prince he muſt make application. In fine, *Harold* perceiving he could obtain no other anſwer from the King, deſired leave to go into *Normandy*, and ſolicite the Duke for their deliverance. His requeſt was readily granted. Nothing could be more agreeable to the King, than the Earl's reſolution of going to *Normandy*, where he did not queſtion but the Duke would detain him. At leaſt, he hoped Duke *William* would take ſuch meaſures as would free him from all obſtacles the Earl might lay in his way.

He ſets out for Normandy. Malmsb. Brompt. S. Dunelm.

Harold having obtained the King's conſent, embarked for *Roan*, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of the danger he was running into, being ignorant of the King's intention concerning the ſucceſſion (6). Hardly was he at Sea, when a tempeſt aroſe, which drove him into *Picardy*, and compelled him to put in at one of the Ports of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, where he was immediately ſeized. As ſoon as he was known, he was carried to the Earl of *Ponthieu*, who, glad to find himſelf maſter of ſo rich a prize, reſolved to ſet a round price on his head. It would have been difficult for *Harold* to get off, had he not, whilſt he pretended to treat about his ranſom, found means to inform the Duke of *Normandy* of the accident befallen him. As ſoon as the Duke received the news, he ſent and demanded the priſoner of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, telling him he had no right to detain a ſtranger that was coming to *Roan*, and by a tempeſt caſt on his coaſts. The Earl not daring to diſpute with the Duke, ſet the priſoner at liberty, who immediately went on to *Roan*. Duke *William* not being ignorant of *Harold*'s deſign with reſpect to the crown of *England*, was at a loſs how to behave. He had but two ways to take, both equally dangerous. *Harold* was either to be detained by force, or gained by fair means. If he took the firſt method, he was apprehenſive of declaring too ſoon, ſince it was not for his intereſt the *Engliſh* ſhould yet know, he had any thoughts of the Crown. Beſides, *Harold* had ſo many friends in the kingdom, that it was to be feared, his detention would occaſion a rupture between *England* and *Normandy*, which would break all the meaſures the King ſhould take in his favour. And indeed, in caſe *Edward* died during the war, how was it poſſible for him to leave the crown to a Prince actually in arms againſt the *Engliſh* Nation? Moreover, *Harold* being Duke of *Weſſex* and Earl of *Kent*, all the ſtrong places in the ſouthern parts were in the hands of his creatures, and it was this chiefly that could moſt obſtruct the Duke's deſigns. In fine, the Duke had not perfect information what ſteps *Harold* had made to pave his way to the crown; as on his part, *Harold* was ignorant of the deſigns of the King and Duke. The Duke conſidered further, that by detaining *Harold*, he ſhould break the moſt ſacred rights of hoſpitality, which a great Soul cannot be guilty of without offering extreme violence to it ſelf. Theſe conſiderations induced him to take the other courſe, tho' it was no leſs dangerous. By diſcovering his intentions to *Harold*, he put it in his power to prevent their execution. However, believing he ſhould gain him by this proof of his confidence, he plainly told him his hopes, of one day mounting the throne of *England*, founded on the Good-will the King bore him (7). This diſcovery was followed with promiſes, in caſe he would ſupport his pretenſions, and the aſſurance of a reward proportionable to ſo important a ſervice. He let him know moreover, that his ambition to aſpire to the crown, tho' not of the royal family, was no ſecret to him, and endeavoured to make him ſenſible, how difficult it would be to attain his ends. To divert him from his purpoſe, he repreſented to him all the obſtacles he was of courſe to expect, as well from *Edgar*, as the other *Engliſh* Lords, who would look on his ambition with a jealous eye. To theſe conſiderations he added another that was no leſs urgent. He plainly told him, tho' he ſhould be ſo fortunate, as to ſurmount all other obſtacles,

Is ſeiz'd by the Earl of Ponthieu.

Is ſet at Liberty, and comes to Roan.

The Duke at a loſs how to act.

He endeavours to gain him, by diſcloſing to him his Deſigns.

(1) *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was ſent to fetch him. *Brompt.* p. 945.

(2) (*i. e.*) *Truly noble*, to denote his being of *Royal Blood*. His Father, Prince *Edward*, ſirnamed the *Outlaw*, was buried at St. *Paul's London*. Sax. Ann. MLVII.

(3) He was buried in *Coventry*-Monaſtery, which he and *Godiva* built; and to which they gave ſo much Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, that it was reckoned the richeſt in *England*. *Huntingd.* p. 366. *S. Dunelm.* p. 189.

(4) But whether this be ſo or no, there is a *Proceſſion* or *Cavalcade* ſtill made there every year, in memory of *Godiva*, with a *Figure* repreſenting a *naked Woman* riding through the City. The Pictures of *Leofric* and *Godiva* were alſo ſet up in the Windows of *Trinity Church*, with this inſcription:

I Luric, *for the Love of thee,*
Do ſet Coventry *Toll-free.*

This City had its Name either from the *Convent* new-built and richly endowed by *Leofric*, or as ſome will have it from a Rivulet running through, now called *Sherburn*, but in an old *Charter* of the *Priory*, *Cuentford*. This City was famous for its Walls, which were demoliſhed in *Charles* the IId's time, and the Gates only left ſtanding. In one of which named *Goſſard*, is to be ſeen the vaſt *Shield-bone* of a Boar, which they tell you was ſlain by *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, after he had with his *Sword* turn'd up the *Pool* or *Pond* now called *Swanefwill Pool*, but in antient *Charters*, *Swineſwell*. Here is alſo a fine *Croſs* built (33 *Hen.* VIII.) by Sir *William Hollies* Lord Mayor of *London*. Camb.

(5) He died in 1059, and was buried at *Coventry* by his Father. *Ingulph.* p. 66.

(6) *Harold*'s going to *Normandy* is variouſly related as to the Time, Manner, and Occaſion of it. With our Author agree *Simeon of Durham*, *Brompton*, and *Eadmer*, only with this addition, that King *Edward* foretold him what would happen to him. *Malmſbury* ſays the occaſion of it was this. *Harold* being at his Houſe at *Boſenham* in *Suſſex*, had a mind to go out in a Fiſher-boat for his diverſion, but ſailing farther than he was aware, a tempeſt aroſe and drove him as is here related by *Rapin*. *Matthew Paris* believes alſo he was driven by a tempeſt to *Normandy*, where to gain his liberty he was forc'd to do as is here related. So uncertain are traditional Accounts! Our Author's conduct through this whole affair ſeems to be moſt natural and likely.

(7) *Simeon of Durham* ſays, the Duke told *Harold* that *Edward*, whilſt at his Court, promiſed to ſettle the Crown of *England* on him. *p.* 196.

he

he would ſtill find in him an enemy, who wanted neither money, nor arms, nor friends to ſupport a right he was reſolved to defend to the laſt drop of his blood. In ſhort, he repreſented to him, that if he was bent to purſue his firſt project, inſtead of ſecuring, as it was in his power, a grandeur, ſecond to none but the ſupreme, he hazarded a certain good, for a very uncertain proſpect.

Harold *diſſembles the Matter, and promiſes to ſtand by the Duke.*

Harold was too wiſe not to ſee, that, on this occaſion, he had but one courſe to take; which was, to pretend to be convinced by the reaſons the Duke had alledged. He returned him therefore in anſwer, that indeed, before the arrival of Prince *Edward*, he had believed if the King died without heirs, he was as worthy to aſcend the throne as any other nobleman of the kingdom. He even owned, he had begun to take ſome meaſures, which inſpired him with hopes of ſucceſs; but had dropt his deſign ſince the coming of *Edward*, being ſenſible there was no room to pretend to the crown, as long as there were Princes of the royal family in *England*. He added, ſince he was acquainted with his pretenſions, and the King's pleaſure, which till then he had been ignorant of, he had much rather the kingdom ſhould be governed by ſo great a Prince as the Duke, than by *Edgar Atheling*, who ſcarce knew how to govern himſelf. To convince him the more of his ſincerity, he required certain conditions, and among others, demanded one of his daughters in marriage, as a reward for his future ſervice. Whatever *Harold* required was immediately and gladly complied with. But as the Princeſs, the Duke deſigned for him, was too young, the intended marriage was deferred till a more convenient time. Mean while, Duke *William* not truſting wholly to *Harold*'s bare word, made him ſwear on the Goſpels, that he would punctually perform his promiſes, eſpecially, that he would never attempt to mount the throne of *England*. This agreement being made, they parted both of them extremely well ſatisfied in outward appearance, and *Harold* returned into *England* (1).

Harold *takes new Meaſures to ſecure the Succeſſion to himſelf.*

He was no ſooner at liberty, but he looked upon his oath as extorted, and conſequently not binding. He could not underſtand upon what foundation the Duke of *Normandy* pretended to the crown of *England*, or by what right *Edward* could transfer it to a foreigner. And therefore, ſo far was he from any thoughts of ſtanding to his engagements, that he reſolved to take advantage of the Duke's confidence, and contrive juſter meaſures to fruſtrate his deſigns. From thence-forward he uſed a double diligence to ſtrengthen his party in ſuch a manner, as ſhould put it out of the power of the King or Duke to lay any obſtacle in his way. If hitherto he had entertained any ſcruple with regard to Prince *Edgar*, it entirely vaniſhed upon conſideration that in mounting the throne himſelf he ſhould do no injury to that Prince, ſince the crown would be otherwiſe diſpoſed of even by his uncle the King. He laboured therefore more and more to ſecure an intereſt in all the great Lords of the kingdom, to which he found the way very open. The Duke of *Normandy* was abſent, and but little known in *England*, where moreover the *Normans* were extremely odious. Prince *Edgar*, by reaſon of his youth, was in no condition to oppoſe deſigns ſo detrimental to him. As for the King, he was ſo unreſolved in the affair of the ſucceſſion, that he promoted the intereſt neither of the Prince his nephew, nor of the Duke. He was no doubt at a loſs how to reconcile his promiſe to the Duke of *Normandy*, with his recalling his nephew from *Hungary*. He thought only of paſſing his days in peace, without troubling himſelf about what ſhould happen after his death. Thus every thing concurring to favour *Harold*'s deſigns, he neglected nothing that might ſerve to confirm the good opinion conceived of him by the *Engliſh*. Two opportunities that offered themſelves preſently after, were extremely favourable to him.

1063. Harold *ſubdues the* Welſh. S. Dunelm. Flor. Wig. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

The *Welſh* renewing their incurſions under the conduct of *Griffin* their King, *Harold* and his Brother *Toſton* joined their forces to repulſe them. They were ſo fortunate in their expedition, that, after ſeveral advantages gained upon the *Welſh*, they compelled them to dethrone *Griffin*, and become tributary to *England*. *Griffin* being afterwards reſtored, and renewing the war with the *Engliſh*, *Harold* marched to the frontiers, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Welſh*, that they ſent him the head of their King (2). This event which ſhowed how formidable *Harold* was to the enemies of the State, confirmed the *Engliſh* in their opinion, that he, who knew ſo well how to defend it, deſerved to wear the crown.

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Edward

OMNIBVS:INSIGNIS:VIRTVTVM:LAVDIBVS:HEROS:SANCTVS:EDWARDVS:

THE MONUMENT of KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

G. Ferne Sc.

he would ſtill find in him an enemy, who wanted neither money, nor arms, nor friends to ſupport a right he was reſolved to defend to the laſt drop of his blood. In ſhort, he repreſented to him, that if he was bent to purſue his firſt project, inſtead of ſecuring, as it was in his power, a grandeur, ſecond to none but the ſupreme, he hazarded a certain good, for a very uncertain proſpect.

Harold *diſſembles the Matter, and promiſes to ſtand by the Duke.*

Harold was too wiſe not to ſee, that, on this occaſion, he had but one courſe to take; which was, to pretend to be convinced by the reaſons the Duke had alledged. He returned him therefore in anſwer, that indeed, before the arrival of Prince *Edward*, he had believed if the King died without heirs, he was as worthy to aſcend the throne as any other nobleman of the kingdom. He even owned, he had begun to take ſome meaſures, which inſpired him with hopes of ſucceſs; but had dropt his deſign ſince the coming of *Edward*, being ſenſible there was no room to pretend to the crown, as long as there were Princes of the royal family in *England*. He added, ſince he was acquainted with his pretenſions, and the King's pleaſure, which till then he had been ignorant of, he had much rather the kingdom ſhould be governed by ſo great a Prince as the Duke, than by *Edgar Atheling*, who ſcarce knew how to govern himſelf. To convince him the more of his ſincerity, he required certain conditions, and among others, demanded one of his daughters in marriage, as a reward for his future ſervice. Whatever *Harold* required was immediately and gladly complied with. But as the Princeſs, the Duke deſigned for him, was too young, the intended marriage was deferred till a more convenient time. Mean while, Duke *William* not truſting wholly to *Harold*'s bare word, made him ſwear on the Goſpels, that he would punctually perform his promiſes, eſpecially, that he would never attempt to mount the throne of *England*. This agreement being made, they parted both of them extremely well ſatisfied in outward appearance, and *Harold* returned into *England* (1).

Harold *takes new Meaſures to ſecure the Succeſſion to himſelf.*

He was no ſooner at liberty, but he looked upon his oath as extorted, and conſequently not binding. He could not underſtand upon what foundation the Duke of *Normandy* pretended to the crown of *England*, or by what right *Edward* could transfer it to a foreigner. And therefore, ſo far was he from any thoughts of ſtanding to his engagements, that he reſolved to take advantage of the Duke's confidence, and contrive juſter meaſures to fruſtrate his deſigns. From thence-forward he uſed a double diligence to ſtrengthen his party in ſuch a manner, as ſhould put it out of the power of the King or Duke to lay any obſtacle in his way. If hitherto he had entertained any ſcruple with regard to Prince *Edgar*, it entirely vaniſhed upon conſideration that in mounting the throne himſelf he ſhould do no injury to that Prince, ſince the crown would be otherwiſe diſpoſed of even by his uncle the King. He laboured therefore more and more to ſecure an intereſt in all the great Lords of the kingdom, to which he found the way very open. The Duke of *Normandy* was abſent, and but little known in *England*, where moreover the *Normans* were extremely odious. Prince *Edgar*, by reaſon of his youth, was in no condition to oppoſe deſigns ſo detrimental to him. As for the King, he was ſo unreſolved in the affair of the ſucceſſion, that he promoted the intereſt neither of the Prince his nephew, nor of the Duke. He was no doubt at a loſs how to reconcile his promiſe to the Duke of *Normandy*, with his recalling his nephew from *Hungary*. He thought only of paſſing his days in peace, without troubling himſelf about what ſhould happen after his death. Thus every thing concurring to favour *Harold*'s deſigns, he neglected nothing that might ſerve to confirm the good opinion conceived of him by the *Engliſh*. Two opportunities that offered themſelves preſently after, were extremely favourable to him.

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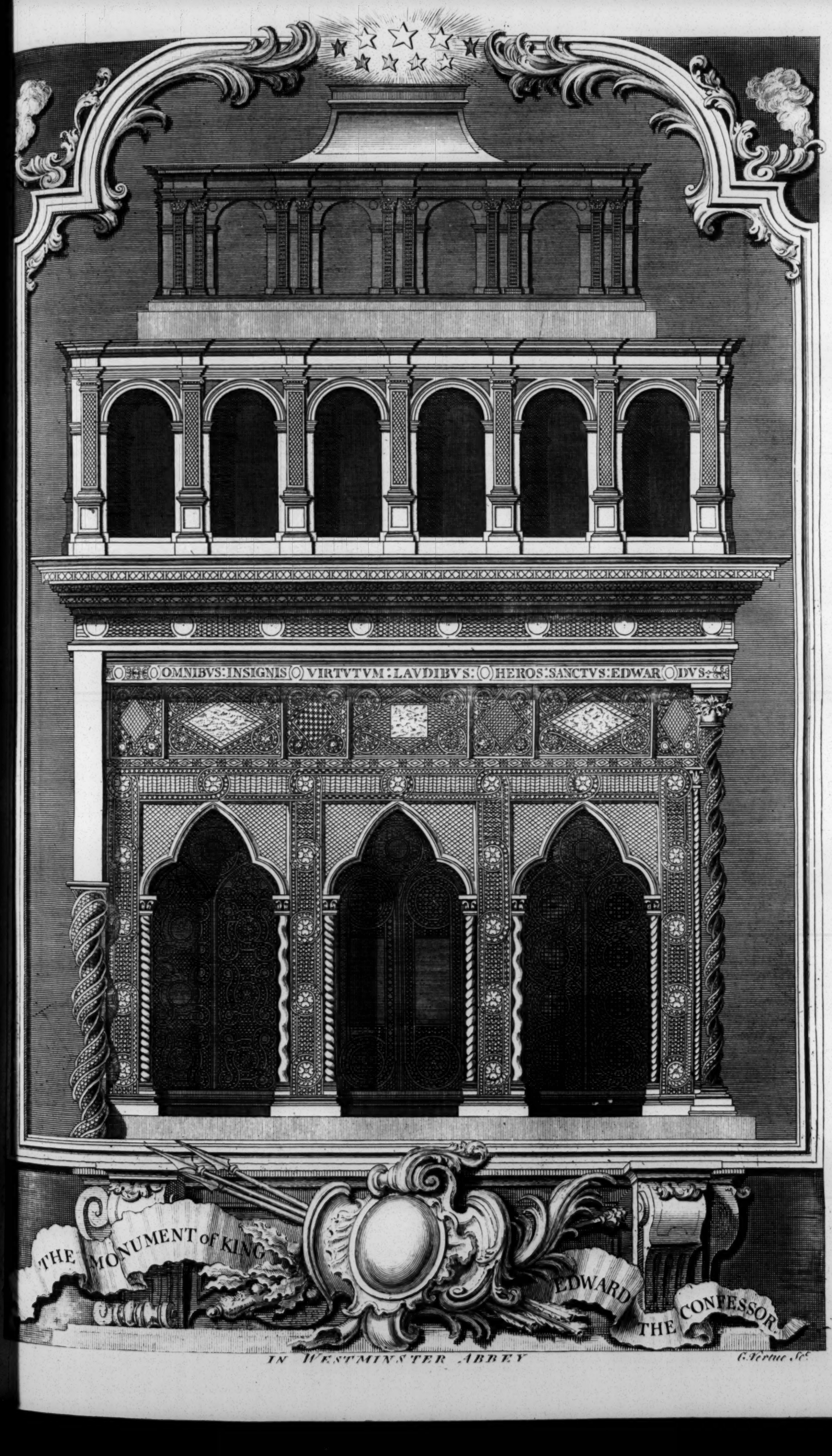
OMNIBVS: INSIGNIS VIRTVTVM: LAVDIBVS: HEROS: SANCTVS: EDWARDVS:
THE MONUMENT of KING
EDWARD
THE CONFESSOR.
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY
G. Vertue Sc.

Edward was deſirous the dedication ſhould be performed in a very ſolemn manner (1). To this end he ſummoned to meet at *London* a general aſſembly, at which were preſent all the Biſhops and great Men of the kingdom, to be witneſſes of this ceremony. At this very time it was, that the King was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, of which he died in a few days. As ſoon as he found the time of his diſſolution approaching, his principal care was to finiſh the ceremony for which the great Men were aſſembled (2). As for the ſucceſſion, he would not meddle with it, ſurrounded as it was with ſo many difficulties. In his own mind he was for the Duke of *Normandy*: The right was manifeſtly in Prince *Edgar* his Nephew; but *Harold* had the hearts and hands of the *Engliſh*. So many difficulties, upon which he could never determine whilſt in health, becoming inſurmountable in his preſent condition, he reſolved to leave the deciſion to God alone. Knighton.

Harold's Cabals. The Nobles ſend a deputation to the King, who leaves it to them to chuſe a Sovereign.

Mean while, *Harold* was not idle. Almoſt all the Lords of the kingdom, both ſpiritual and temporal, being then aſſembled at *London*, he found means to induce them to act in his favour, and come to a reſolution of ſending deputies to the dying King to intreat him to name a ſucceſſor. But withal, theſe deputies had orders to inſinuate to the King, that in caſe he nominated any but *Harold*, he would infallibly involve the kingdom in endleſs troubles, which would be inconſiſtent with his wiſdom, and the affection he had all along expreſs'd for his people. *Edward*, not being then in a condition to examine a propoſal of this nature, replied, That ſince they were met in a body, he left it to them to chuſe the perſon they judged moſt worthy to rule over them. He died a few moments after (3), leaving the ſucceſſion as unſettled at his death as it was during his life.

Edward's Death.

This Prince, who was born at *Giſlip* (4) near *Oxford*, reigned twenty-four years, without ever ſuffering any misfortune from foreign enemies. However, he cannot be ſaid to have reigned happily, ſince he lived in continual fears, occaſioned by the over-grown power of Earl *Goodwin* and his family. His mild and peaceable temper were a great means however to procure him ſome tranquillity. Had he attempted to humble *Goodwin*'s pride, and leſſen *Harold*'s power, he would certainly have been involved in troubles, from whence he would have found it difficult to extricate himſelf. But by ſhutting his eyes at their ſecret practices, and feigning to know nothing of their deſigns, he prevented them from acting more openly, cauſed them to lay more diſtant ſchemes, and thereby gained time to arrive at the end of his days. He was remarkable neither for his Virtues or Vices; and his natural parts were but mean. His piety has been exceedingly cried up, and has acquired him the glorious title of *Confeſſor*; and yet we do not find he was any ſufferer on account of religion, unleſs we conſider as a ſort of Martyrdom, the mortifications he privately laid upon himſelf from a religious motive. It is certain he was very charitable, and expended in alms the Sums vainly laviſhed away by other Princes upon their pleaſures. This joined to his Good-nature, of which he gave from time to time uncommon inſtances, made him paſs for a Saint among the people, and particularly among the Monks, who reaped great advantages from his liberal diſpoſition. They have not been ſatisfied with extolling his Virtues to the Skies, but have even, if I may ſo ſay, canoniz'd his very faults, and endeavoured to repreſent them as ſo many proofs of his Sanctity. Of this we need no other witneſs but his own Hiſtorian or rather Panegyriſt, who attributes his voluntary chaſtity to a vow made before his marriage. This Writer aſſures us, *Edward* eſpouſed *Editha*, daughter of *Goodwin*, purely to exerciſe his Virtue by a continual temptation. But it is eaſy to ſee he acted from a very different motive, ſince he parted with his wife the moment he thought he could do it with ſafety. However, the opinion of his ſanctity taking by degrees deep root in the minds of the people, he was canonized by Pope *Alexander* III, under the name of *Edward the Confeſſor* (5). Ailred.

His Character.

It was not thought ſufficient to allow this Prince all the Virtue neceſſary to carry him to Heaven, unleſs he had a place given him alſo among the Saints of the firſt claſs. We are told he was favoured with ſeveral revelations, with the gift of propheſy, and many other miraculous powers, in proof of which ſuch weak and trifling inſtances are produced, as are not worth mentioning. However, I can't paſs over in ſilence one ſpecial privilege he is ſaid to receive from Heaven, of curing the *King's Evil*. Nay, it is affirm'd, this privilege has deſcended to the Kings of *England* his ſucceſſors. Hence the cuſtom in *England* of the King's *Touching for the Evil* at a certain time of the year (6). But the late King *William* III. of glorious memory, was ſo perſuaded he ſhould do no injury to perſons afflicted with this diſtemper, by not touching them, that he refrained from it all his reign. The Kings of *France* alſo have claimed the ſame privilege ever ſince the time of *Clovis*, the firſt Chriſtian King of that kingdom (7). Ailred. Malmſb.

What has been moſt commended in King *Edward*, was his Good-nature, the exceſſiveneſs whereof has been carefully inſinuated by ſeveral circumſtances of his Life, of which I ſhall content my ſelf with producing two as a ſpecimen of the reſt. One day being laid down upon the bed, one of his domeſticks, who did not know he was in the room, ſtole ſome money out of a cheſt he found open, which the King let him carry off without ſaying a word. Quickly after, the Boy returning to make a ſecond attempt, the King call'd to him without the leaſt paſſion, *Sirrah, you'd beſt be ſatisfied with what you've got, for if my Chamberlain comes and catches you, he'll not only take away all you have ſtol'n, but whip you ſeverely* (8). Another time, as he was hunting, a countryman maliciouſly ſpoiling his ſport, he gallop'd up to him, and ſaid to him in anger, *By our Lady, I would be revenged on thee if it was in my power*. Theſe are the inconteſtable proofs of his extraordinary Good-nature, which, according to his Panegyriſts, advanc'd him ſo far above all other Men. Ailred. Rievallenſ. Malmſb.

Edward was the laſt King of *Egbert*'s race, though not the laſt *Saxon* King, as ſome have affirmed, ſince his ſucceſſor was of that nation. Had not this weak Prince prepoſterouſly abſtain'd from converſing with his Queen, a very beautiful and virtuous Lady, he might perhaps have had children, and thereby prevented a revolution, which involv'd the *Engliſh* in Slavery.

Union of three ſorts of Laws under Edward. Brompt. Knighton.

Before the reign of *Edward*, the *Weſt-Saxon*, *Mercian* and *Daniſh* Laws were obſerved in *England*, namely, the firſt in *Weſſex*, the ſecond in *Mercia*, and the laſt in *Northumberland*. This Prince reduced them all into one body; and from that time they became common to all *England*, under the name of the *Laws of Edward*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the *Normans*, introduced afterwards (9).

(1) The dedication was performed *December* 28. *Sax. Ann. M. Weſtm.* p. 431.

(2) The *Great Men* alſo ſigned the *Charter* of the Privileges and Immunities granted to the Church, to which was annexed, as is ſaid, the firſt *Great Seal* uſed in *England*. Though *Tyrrel* thinks other Kings might have *Seals* to their *Charters*, though they are now defaced. B. VI. p. 99.

(3) On *January* 5. 1066. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 193.

(4) Now *Iſlip*. In the Chapel here, called the King's Chapel, not many years ſince ſtood a Font, the ſame, as tradition has conſtantly delivered it down, wherein *Edward* the Confeſſor was baptized. But being put to an indecent uſe, was at laſt removed to the Garden of Sir *Henry Brown*, Bart. of *Nether Riddington* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Add.* to *Camd.*

(5) About two hundred years after his death. There was likewiſe a *Bull* of Pope *Innocent* IV. to fix the *Anniverſary*, and order the ſolemnity of the *Feſtival*. *Martyrol. Rom. Baronius, Jan.* 5.

(6) It will not be amiſs to relate the firſt Inſtance of this *Hereditary Miracle*, as Mr. *Collier* calls it. A young married Woman having the misfortune to be barren, and troubled at the ſame time with the diſtemper ſince called the *King's Evil*, was, after all human means had been tried in vain, admoniſhed in a Viſion to go to the King, by whoſe merits ſhe ſhould be cured upon his *Waſhing, Touching, and Signing with the Croſs* the Parts affected. The Woman runs to Court next Morning overjoyed, and tells the King the whole matter; who thereupon diſdains not to *Waſh, Touch* and *Croſs*, her putrified Sores, which immediately breaking, and Corruption and Worms burſting out, the Parts were in a few days healed without the leaſt Scar remaining; and moreover, her barrenneſs was removed, and ſhe ſoon became the joyful Mother of Children. This is the firſt Act, as it is given us by *Ailred* in his Hiſtory of *the Life and Miracles of* Edward *the Confeſſor*, of that *Supernatural* Power, enjoyed by the Kings of *England* ever ſince. But though Mr. *Collier* ſays, to diſpute this Matter is to go to the Exceſſes of *Scepticiſm*, yet there are ſome, who doubt of it on the following accounts.

I. This Power is generally fixed to the *Lineal Succeſſion*; whereas it is plain, there was no ſuch thing in thoſe days, neither was *Edward* himſelf the next Heir.

II. It is plain from *Ailred*, that this privilege was given him not as a King, but as a *Saint*; and *Malmſbury* ſays, they are to be blamed that attribute it to his *Royalty* and not to his *Sanctity*. Conſequently there is no Reaſon his Succeſſors, who were certainly no *Saints*, ſhould be ſo highly favoured of Heaven.

III. *Ailred* reckons up many other Miracles which he performed; as the reſtoring to their Sight ſix or ſeven blind Men, *&c.* but does not ſay a word of his Power of curing the *Evil* deſcended to his Succeſſors, any more than his Power of reſtoring the Blind to their Sight, or of his removing Barrenneſs, which one would think ſhould be joined to the other, ſince they were cured both by the ſame *Touch*.

IV. As there is no evident Reaſon why the Kings of *England* ſhould have this privilege above any other Chriſtian Prince, ſo if Heaven had granted ſuch a Power to our Kings, one would think they ſhould have it in ſuch a degree as to render it viſible to all, and that the Cure ſhould immediately follow the *Touch*: Whereas Multitudes are not cured at all, and thoſe that are pretended to be ſo, not till a conſiderable time after they have been *Touched*.

(7) This Miracle is appropriated by *Laurentius*, Phyſician to *Henry* IV. to the Crown of *France*; but Dr. *Tucker* is even with him, for he makes the Kings of *France* to do it by virtue of their Alliance to the *Royal Family* of *England*. And Mr. *Collier* will have the antiquity of this Power to be on the ſide of *England*, ſince he ſays, *Lewis the Godly* was the firſt that *Touched for the Evil* two hundred years after our *Edward*. *Eccl. Hiſt.*

(8) The Story goes on, that the Chamberlain coming in after the Boy was gone, and miſſing the Money, fell into a great rage; but the King calmly ſaid to him, *Be contented, it may be the poor Rogue that has it wants it more than we do; there's enough left for us.* Ailred. Vit. Edit. p. 376. X. Scrip.

(9) Concerning this *threefold* diſtinction of the Laws, ſee what has been ſaid above, and alſo in the following Diſſertation, under the Head of the *Laws of the Anglo-Saxons*.

21. *HAROLD* II.

HAROLD II. 1066.

IF the great Men aſſembled to appoint a ſucceſſor to *Edward*, had been ſwayed only by juſtice, equity, and the antient cuſtoms of the kingdom, they would not have long debated, to know to whom the crown was devolved. *Edgar Atheling* was the only Prince of the family of their antient Kings, and conſequently, the only perſon who had a right to lay claim to the crown. But *Harold* had ſo well laid his meaſures, that he was unanimouſly elected, without any regard to the right of the lawful heir. As for the Duke of *Normandy*, his pretenſions grounded on the late King's promiſe, do not ſeem to have been conſidered at all. It is certain this Prince had never publickly declared his deſign of aſpiring to the crown of *England*. Accordingly, the *Engliſh* Lords might be ignorant of the matter, or at leaſt pretend to be ſo. But ſuppoſing they had been informed of his pretenſions, it would have ſerved only to furniſh them with a freſh motive, to place on the throne a King more capable than *Edgar Atheling*, of defending the kingdom againſt the attacks of a foreign Prince.

Elected by the Aſſembly-General. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Various opinions about Harold's *ſucceeding to the Crown.* Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Malmſb. Mat. Weſt. Brompt.

The manner of *Harold*'s ſucceeding to the crown is variouſly related by Hiſtorians: Several affirm (1), he was elected with one common voice, and without any conſtraint, by the *Wittena-Gemot* then aſſembled, and crown'd the day after his election by the Archbiſhop of *York*. Others ſay, he uſurped the crown by compelling the great council to elect him, after extorting his nomination from the late King juſt as he was dying (2). There are ſome, who look upon this election as a fiction, affirming, *Harold*, without troubling himſelf about the conſent of the Nobles or People, put the Crown on his head himſelf without any formality (3). The reaſon of this diverſity among the Hiſtorians, proceeds from their eſpouſing either the right of *Harold*, or of the Duke of *Normandy*, as if Prince *Edgar*'s claim was to be reckoned as nothing; whereas in truth he alone had a right to ſucceed to the crown. But as among this variety of opinions, a Man is in danger of being ſwayed by the paſſions and prejudices of the Hiſtorians, rather than by juſtice and equity, it will not be amiſs to explain this matter, by laying before the reader, what might be alledged for and againſt each of the three competitors.

Edgar's *title.*

As for Prince *Edgar*, it ſuffices to ſay for him, he was the ſole Prince of the royal race. It is true, his being born out of the kingdom might be objected againſt him. But as Prince *Edward* his Father was not legally baniſhed, his being forced by *Canute* to live in exile, ought not to have prejudic'd his Son's right.

The Duke of Normandy's *Right enquired into.* Knighton. Brompt. Ann. Margam.

As for the Duke of *Normandy*, he can hardly be imagined to aſpire to the crown of *England* without ſome foundation, and yet it cannot be conceived upon what title he ſupported his pretenſion; ſo great is the diverſity of opinions upon this ſubject. Some tell us, he was invited over by the *Engliſh* to free them from the tyranny of *Harold* (4). Others ſays, *Edward*, when in *Normandy*, promiſed him, if ever he came to the crown, to make him his heir. In fine, ſeveral affirm, that *Edward* appointed him his ſucceſſor by his laſt Will; and ſome even aſſure us, this Will was confirmed in *Edward*'s life-time by the general aſſembly of the Nation; but this pretended Will was never produced. Neither does it appear that Duke *William* ever founded his claim upon any ſuch thing, as if it were known, or he had it in his hands. In all probability therefore the foundation he went upon, was ſome verbal promiſe made him by *Edward*, when he was in *England*. It was doubtleſs in conſequence of this promiſe, that he required *Harold* not to riſe up in competition againſt him. Had the *Engliſh* done *Edgar* juſtice, and placed him on the throne, it is not likely Duke *William* would have attempted, upon ſo trifling a pretenſion, to wreſt the crown from a Prince to whom of right it belonged. But he had to deal with *Harold*, who, being only a private Man, had procured himſelf the crown by indirect practices, and without any manner of right. Accordingly, ſetting aſide Prince *Edgar*, he compared his right only with that of the reigning King. His intereſt induced him to think, that *Edward*'s promiſe was equivalent to an election, ſince it was thought proper to exclude the lawful heir. To this may be added, that he looked upon the crown of *England* as what he could not miſs of, eſpecially after binding *Harold* by an oath. And therefore, the indignation at being deceived, the deſire of Revenge, and chiefly his Ambition, the root of the quarrel, all concurred to inſpire him with a reſolution to make an attempt upon the *Engliſh* crown, in ſpite of all oppoſition. Perſuaded as he was, that he had no leſs right than *Harold*, he thought he might uſe force to wreſt the crown from a Prince, who had naturally no title to it. Theſe, probably, were the motives that engaged Duke *William* in ſo great an undertaking, the ſucceſs whereof ſeemed however very doubtful.

The examination of Harold's *title.*

As for *Harold*'s right it ought alſo to be conſidered under a double view, with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, and with regard to Prince *Edgar*. If we examine the election of this King, in oppoſition to the Duke, we find nothing but what was regular and according to form, and againſt which the Duke could have any juſt reaſon to object. It is certain, ſuppoſing *Edward* had nominated Duke *William* his ſucceſſor, either by Will, or otherwiſe, the nomination would have been of no force, unleſs confirmed by the aſſembly of States (5). Accordingly this is what ſome affirm, being ſenſible the Duke's title without this approbation was little worth. And in truth, where is the nation, that, without being forced to it, would ſuffer their King, by his own bare nomination, to ſubject them to a Foreigner, in excluſion of the Princes of the royal Blood, or even of the moſt worthy Lords of the kingdom? If this were ever the caſe, it was done by ſurprize, before the people had time to oppoſe it. The election therefore of *Harold* was very lawful, at leaſt with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, ſince it was made by the aſſembly-general, whoſe power Duke *William* had no right to diſpute.

But in comparing *Harold*'s title with Prince *Edgar*'s, it is hard to give it ſo favourable a conſtruction. It may indeed be ſupported by the opinion of thoſe who maintain, that during the *Saxon* government, the crown was elective, and the Nobles and People had a power of giving it to whom they pleaſed. But beſides the difficulties attending this opinion, ſuppoſing that were ſo, this argument would not be ſufficient to juſtify *Harold*'s election. How extenſive ſoever ſome would make the privileges of the aſſembly-general in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, yet no one, I believe, will affirm they had a power of beſtowing the crown on a private perſon, in prejudice of the Princes of the royal family. At leaſt it would be exceeding difficult to produce any inſtances from the hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons*, to eſtabliſh this opinion. The queſtion then amounts to this, whether the Nation had a right to elect *Harold* on excluſion of *Edgar*, or whether, on this occaſion, they did not ſtretch their power beyond its natural bounds. As I deſign to treat of this matter in another place (6), I ſhall not undertake to decide the queſtion at preſent, but only remark, that ſuppoſing the Nation had ſuch a power, yet it muſt be owned it was abuſed at this juncture, and that *Edgar* had great injuſtice done him. But notwithſtanding all its defects, this election gave *Harold* an incomparably better title than the bare nomination of King *Edward* gave Duke *William*, granting the forementioned Will was as real, as it appears to be imaginary. From what has been ſaid, it is eaſy to ſee, the Duke of *Normandy*'s claim was built on a weak foundation. But to return to our hiſtory.

Toſton prepares to diſturb his Brother.

After *Harold* was crown'd, there was not a perſon in the kingdom, but what owned him for ſovereign, and paid him obedience. But tho' he found no oppoſition at home, it was otherwiſe abroad. Not to mention the Duke of *Normandy*, who, before he diſcovered, put himſelf in a condition to execute his deſigns, Earl *Toſton* was preparing to diſturb the King his Brother in the poſſeſſion of his new dignity. He could not forgive him his impartial proceedings, when, in favour of the *Northumbrians*, he diſpoſſeſs'd him of his government. Though *Harold*'s acceſſion to the crown ſhould have rendered him more formidable to him, this conſideration ſerv'd only to inflame his hatred the more, and put him upon deviſing all poſſible means to dethrone him. As he was not ignorant of the Duke of *Normandy*'s intentions, with whom he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip, on account of their marrying two Siſters, Daughters of the Earl of *Flanders*, he S. Dunelm. Malmſb.

(1) *Saxon Annals*, and *Hoveden*, with ſome other of the *Engliſh* Writers. The Biſhops were all for *Harold* to a Man.
(2) *William of Malmſbury*, and ſuch as eſpouſed the title of the Duke of *Normandy*.
(3) *Huntingdon* is of this opinion, and adds ſeveral were for ſetting up *Edgar Atheling*. *Ingulphus* more cautiouſly ſays, *Harold* forgetting his oath made to Duke *William*, intruded himſelf into the throne.
(4) I believe *Knighton* to be the only one that ſaid this. *Rapin.*
(5) See more of theſe matters in the following diſſertation under the head of *the Succeſſion to the Crown.*
(6) In the place mentioned in the Note before this.

went

went to him to concert measures with him against the King his Brother. There is no doubt but Duke *William* encouraged him to execute his design (1). But it does not appear that he furnished him with any Money, Troops, or Ships, of all which he had himself so great need against his intended invasion. Probably therefore it was the Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-law, that supplied *Toston* with Ships, by means of which he infested the *English* coasts, and plundered the Isle of *Wight*. After which, he landed some troops at *Sandwich*. But being informed the King was marching towards him, he set sail for the North, and entering the *Humber* with his little fleet (2), made a descent on *Yorkshire*, and commited ravages as if he had been in an enemy's country. *Harold*, not thinking it adviseable to leave the southern parts, commissioned Earl *Morcard* to go against his Brother; who, having been made governor of *Northumberland* in the room of *Toston*, was particularly concerned to put a stop to his incursions. As for the King, he remained at *London*, that he might have an eye to *Edgar*'s party, and prevent them from exciting any troubles upon that young Prince's account. This seemed to him, at that time, to be what he had most to fear; being sensible, the injustice done *Edgar* sat heavy upon the minds of those who were well-affected to the ancient royal family. Accordingly, to prevent their discontents from breaking out into action, he caressed the Prince as well as those of his party. He even insinuated from time to time, that he had accepted the crown purely on account of *Edgar*'s youth, willing they should understand, as if he meant to restore it to the Prince when he was of age to govern. With this view, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, and seemed to take a very particular care of his education, as it were to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

He plunders the Isle of Wight, *and lands at* Sandwich, *and then in the North.*

Harold's behaviour to Edgar.

Mean while *Morcard*, accompanied with his Brother *Edwin*, Earl of *Chester*, marched with all expedition against *Toston*, who was now on the south side of the *Humber*. He came upon him unawares in *Lincolnshire*, and put his little army to flight, compelling him to betake himself to his Ships. *Toston* finding he could do nothing considerable with so small a number of forces, steered towards *Scotland*, in expectation of assistance from thence (3). But perceiving the King of *Scotland* was not disposed to support him, he puts to Sea again, with design to make another descent upon *England*. Prevented by contrary winds, he was driven on the coast of *Norway*, where he accidentally stumbled upon what he had been seeking so industriously.

Morcard drives Toston *to his Ships.* Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

He is driven to Norway. Sax. Ann.

Harold Harfagar King of *Norway*, had lately taken some of the *Orcades* (4), which belonged to *Scotland*, and was fitting out a more numerous fleet in order to carry on his conquests. *Toston* being informed of this Prince's designs, went directly to him, pretending he was come on purpose to propose to him a more noble undertaking. He represented to him, that a favourable opportunity offered to conquer *England*, if he would but turn his arms that way. The better to persuade him, he told him, there were in the kingdom two powerful factions, both enemies to the King, the one for Prince *Edgar*, the other for the Duke of *Normandy*, and therefore, the *English* being thus divided, it would not be difficult to subdue them. Adding, that he himself had a strong party in *Northumberland*, which would very much promote the execution of his design. In fine, he made him believe the King his Brother was extremely odious to the *English*, and would be certainly deserted by them, as soon as there appeared in *England* a foreign army strong enough to support his enemies. *Harfagar*, greedy of fame, and already devouring in his imagination so noble a prize, wanted not much solicitation to engage in this project. Prepossessed by *Toston* of the practicableness of the thing, he resolved to employ all his forces in making so glorious a conquest.

The Duke of Normandy *prepares for the Invasion of* England. Dunelm. Camden. M. West. Ingulph.

Whilst the King of *Norway* was making his preparations, the Duke of *Normandy* was no less seriously thinking of means to wrest from *Harold* a crown, he had so long been in expectation of, and which he could not bear to see on his Head without extreme regret. Though his Rival, in all appearance, was firmly seated in his throne; the Duke imagined he was able to pull him down, since the way by arms was still open; when all other methods failed. However, to proceed regularly, he sent ambassadors to *Harold*, to require him to deliver him up the crown, and in case of refusal, to charge him with the breach of his oath, and declare war against him. *Harold* told the ambassadors, "Their master had no manner "of right to the crown of *England*: That supposing the "late King had disposed of it in his favour, a thing "the *English* knew nothing of, it was contrary to the "laws of the Land, which allowed not the King to give "away the crown according to his fancy, much less to "a Foreigner. As for his part, he had been elected by "those, who had the power of placing the Kings on the "throne, and therefore could not resign it, without the "breach of that trust reposed in him by the *English*. "As for the oath, the violation whereof he was charged "with, it having been extorted from him at a time "when he had not the power to help himself, it was null "and void, by the laws of all the Nations in the "World. In fine, he added, that he knew how to de"fend his right against any person that durst dispute "it with him." This quarrel being of too great consequence to be decided without coming to blows, each party took such measures as he judged most likely to prove successful (5).

The Duke's vexation to be deceived, the desire of revenge, the shame of renouncing his pretensions, and the pleasing hopes of being master of *England*, spurred him on to use all possible endeavours to succeed in his designs. On the other side, *Harold* finding he was like to have so formidable an adversary, thought nothing would be of more service to him, than gaining the people to his interests. To this purpose, he made himself more popular than ever. He lessened the taxes, and caused justice to be duly and impartially administred. In fine, he forgot nothing that might serve to confirm his Subjects in the esteem and affection they already had for him. His labour was not in vain. The *English*, charmed with his first proceedings, which afforded them so pleasant a prospect, resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to support him on the throne to which they had raised him. Duke *William* for his part, not being ignorant of the resolution of the *English*, perceived he had no other way to attain his ends, but by setting on foot forces proportionable to those of the enemies he was resolved to attack.

Duke William *continues his preparations.* Harold *gains the Affections of the People.* Dunelm. Brompt.

The main difficulty was, to raise a sum of money sufficient for the charge of so great an undertaking. His first method was, to convene an assembly of the States of *Normandy*, to obtain their concurrence. But he found them very backward to comply with his desires. They told him, that "*Normandy* having been drained "of Men and Money by the late wars, they were so "far from being in a condition to think of making "new conquests, that they were hardly able to defend "their own territories against the attacks of a power"ful Invader. Besides, how just soever the Duke's "claim to *England* might be, they could not see that "any advantage would accrue to their country from this "expedition. In fine, that they were not obliged by "their allegiance to serve in foreign wars, wherein the "State had no concern." This stout answer destroying the Duke's hopes of raising money in a publick way, he bethought himself of an expedient, which succeeded to his wish. This was to borrow money of private persons; and gaining some of the chief Men, the rest were inspired with an emulation who should be most zealous in assisting their Prince. *William Fitz-osbern* undertook to fit out forty Ships at his own expence. The most wealthy, every one according to his ability, subscribed very large Sums: So that the Duke by this method raised more money than he could have done by a pub-

Duke William *endeavours to raise Money.*

The States *refuse to contribute.* Camd. Brit. Normans. Brompton.

(1) See *Wil. Gemiticen.* p. 665. and *Daniel Hist. de France.* Vol. III. p. 90.

(2) It consisted of sixty Ships. *Malmsb.* p. 94. *Sax. Ann.* Others say of forty. *Brompt.* p. 958. *M. Westm.* p. 433.

(3) He sailed to *Scotland*, with twelve Ships, the rest having forsaken him; and there staid all the Summer. *Sax. Ann. Malmsb.* p. 94. *S. Dunelm.* p. 194.

(4) They are now called the *Isles of Orkney*. Whatever the Antients have said of their Number, there are but twenty-six inhabited, the rest are used only for Pasturage, and are called *Holmes*. *Orkney* lies North of *Caithness*, in the Latitude of fifty-nine and sixty Degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here, and do so much mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a Hen from every House in the Parish. The largest of these Isles is *Mainland*, anciently *Pomonia*, twenty-four Miles long, whereon stands the only remarkable Town, called *Kirkwal*, famous for St. *Magnus*'s Church, and the Bishop of *Orkney*'s Palace. The Isles were first inhabited by the *Picts*, who kept possession of them till destroyed in 839, by *Kenneth* II. of *Scotland*, from which time they were subject to the *Scots*, till delivered up by *Donald Ban* the Usurper in 1099, to *Magnus* King of *Norway*, but in 1263, they were surrendered to *Alexander* III. King of *Scotland*, by treaty with St. *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who is said to build the stately *Cathedral* at *Kirkwal*. They have since remained annexed to the Crown of *Scotland*. In *Hoy*, one of these Isles, lies a Stone called *Dwarfie Stone*, thirty-six Foot long, eighteen broad, and nine thick, hollowed by Art with a square Hole of two Foot high for the Entry. Within, at one end, is a Bed big enough for two Men, excellently hewn out of the Stone, with a Pillow; at the other end is a Couch, and in the middle a Hearth for a Fire, with a Hole over it for the Chimney. *Orkney* gives title to an Earl.

(5) *Brompton* says, Duke *William* sent a second Message to King *Harold*, offering to desist from his Claims, provided he would marry his Daughter. But this is very improbable; for besides that our best Historians tell us the young Lady was dead, it is not likely the Duke's Ambition would be so easily satisfied.

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lick tax. But as this was not ſufficient, he engaged ſeveral of the neighbouring (1) Princes to furniſh him with troops and tranſports, on condition of their having Lands aſſigned them in *England* after the conqueſt. He even demanded the aſſiſtance of *France*; but it was not the intereſt of that crown that the Duke of *Normandy* ſhould become more powerful. Very fortunately, King *Philip*, who was then a Minor under the care of the Earl of *Flanders*, obſtructed not his proceedings, which a Prince that had been old enough to have known his own intereſts, would infallibly have done. It is true indeed, the court of *France* endeavoured to diſſuade the Duke from this enterprize, but to no purpoſe (2).

France lets him proceed without obſtruction.

The Pope applauds his deſign. Malmſb. Ingulph.

Mean time Duke *William*, who was too wiſe not to be ſenſible of the weakneſs of his title, omitted nothing that might ſerve to give it ſome colour of juſtice. With this view he bethought himſelf of an expedient very proper to blind the eyes of the world; which was, to procure the Pope's approbation of his undertaking, to whom, it is ſaid, he made promiſe of holding the kingdom of *England* of the Apoſtolick See. However this be, the Pope very heartily eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſent him a conſecrated Banner (3), as a mark of his approbation. Moreover, willing that all Chriſtians ſhould know that Religion was concerned in this affair, he ſolemnly excommunicated all that ſhould dare oppoſe the Duke in the execution of this project. This approbation was of great ſervice to the Duke, as it furniſhed him with means to juſtify his intended expedition, and at the ſame time removed the ſcruples of ſuch, as he was endeavouring to engage in his quarrel. But it had not the ſame effect in *England*. Whether the *Engliſh* knew nothing of the Pope's excommunication, or looked upon it as a great piece of partiality, it prevented not *Harold* from equipping a large fleet, and raiſing a numerous army, with which he reſolutely expected his enemy.

Harold diſmiſſes his Army upon a falſe information. Camden.

The charge of keeping ſo conſiderable an armament, could not but be very burthenſome to the people, a thing the King would have been glad to avoid. After he had in vain expected ſome months the arrival of Duke *William*, finding he did not appear, and the autumnal Equinox approaching, he imagined, purſuant to ſome falſe informations he had received, that the Duke had deferred his expedition till the Spring. Accordingly, he thought he might ſafely lay up his Ships for the Winter, and disband his troops (4), to ſave an unneceſſary expence.

The King of Norway *ravages* Northumberland. S. Dunelm.

But as he was returning to *London* out of *Kent*, where he had given his laſt orders for disbanding the army, news was brought him that the King of *Norway*, accompanied wish Earl *Toſton*, was entered the *Tyne*, with a fleet of five hundred ſail (5). Surprized at this unexpected invaſion, he haſtily drew his army together again, which were diſperſing themſelves. But before they were ready to march, the *Norwegians* had made a great progreſs. Having ſacked the Counties on both ſides the *Tyne*, they put to Sea, and entering the *Humber*, landed their forces on the North ſide (6), and ravaged the country with inexpreſſible cruelties. *Morcard* and *Edwin*, who were upon the ſpot, endeavoured to ſtop their career, with ſome troops levied in haſte; but were ſo beaten, that their whole army was deſtroyed (7). Fluſht with this ſucceſs, the *Norwegians* advanced towards *York*, and laid ſiege to the City, which they quickly became maſters of; the inhabitants, who were unprovided with all things neceſſary for their defence, chuſing rather to ſurrender upon terms, than expoſe themſelves to certain ruin. Mean while, *Harold* having drawn his army together, advanced with all expedition, to give the *Norwegians* battle, who having left their fleet in the *Humber*, were marching towards the North, to compleat the reduction of *Northumberland*, before they proceeded to other conqueſts. As they marched but ſlowly, and as *Harold* made all poſſible haſte, he came up with them at *Stanford* Bridge, on the River *Derwent*, a little below *York* (8). The *Norwegians*, upon his approach, intrenched themſelves in ſo advantagious a poſt, that it ſeemed impoſſible to force them. They were poſted on the other ſide of the river, where there was no attacking them but by the bridge, of which they were maſters. Notwithſtanding this, *Harold*, who was very ſenſible how much it behoved him to come to an engagement, ordered the bridge to be attacked without delay. The *Norwegians* ſtoutly defended it, but could not withſtand the efforts of the *Engliſh*, though animated by the aſtoniſhing valour of one of their own Men, who defended the bridge alone againſt the *Engliſh* army for a conſiderable time. At length, the brave *Norwegian* being ſlain (9), *Harold* became maſter of the bridge, and paſſed his army over. Then furiouſly falling upon the enemy, after an obſtinate fight, entirely routed them. There had never been ſeen in *England* an engagement between two ſo numerous armies, each having no leſs than threeſcore thouſand Men. The battle, which was very bloody, laſted from ſeven in the morning till three in the afternoon. *Harfagar* and *Toſton* were both ſlain, and *Harold* obtained a compleat victory. Of the whole army that came from *Norway* in five hundred Ships, the remains were carried off by *Olaüs*, Son of *Harfagar*, in twenty Veſſels, with the Conqueror's leave. The booty which was taken upon this occaſion was very great, ſince there was found in the camp all that the *Norwegians* had brought from home, and all they had plundered in the kingdom (10). But *Harold* having been ſo impolitick as to retain the ſpoil to himſelf, raiſed ſuch diſcontents in his army, as proved of very ill conſequences to him afterwards (11). One would think this Prince, who was naturally generous, ſhould have ſecured the hearts of his Soldiers, by a liberality which would have coſt him nothing, eſpecially at a time when he ſtood in ſo great need of their ſervice. But he conſidered, the expending this booty in the war againſt the Duke of *Normandy*, would very much eaſe the people, whoſe affection he was deſirous to preſerve at any rate. Nevertheleſs, he ſhould have conſidered the gaining the hearts of his ſoldiers was no leſs neceſſary. Doubtleſs it would have been better for him to cultivate their affection, as he too plainly diſcovered to his coſt on another occaſion. It has been often obſerved, that ſoldiers are never ſo little regarded, as when by their bravery they have procured their Maſters ſome ſignal advantages, becauſe their own victories ſerve to render them uſeleſs. But 'tis no leſs certain, that ſooner or later a diſcontented army give their Prince or their General cauſe to repent of uſing them ill.

The Battle of Stanford-Bridge.

Malmſb. Brompt. Huntingd.

Harfagar *and* Toſton *ſlain.*

Malmſb.

Whilſt *Harold* was buſied in the North, in rectifying the diſorders occaſioned by the *Norwegian* invaſion, the Duke of *Normandy*, who had long waited for a wind at St. *Valery*, ſet ſail about the end of *September*, and had a ſpeedy paſſage to *Pevenſey* (12) in *Suſſex*. 'Tis affirmed, that in leaping aſhore, he fell all along on his face; at which one of the ſoldiers ſaid merrily, *See, our Duke is taking poſſeſſion of England*; which the Duke took as a good omen. No body appearing to oppoſe his landing, his firſt care was to run up a fort near the place where he diſembarked (13), to favour his retreat in caſe of neceſſity. Some however will have it, that he ſent his Ships back to *Normandy*, to let his army ſee they had nothing to truſt to but their valour (14). After ſome days ſtay at *Pevenſey*, he marched along the ſhore as far as *Haſtings* (15), where he built a ſtronger Fort than the former, reſolving there to expect his enemy of whom he had no intelligence. 'Twas here he publiſhed a Manifeſto, ſhowing the reaſons of his coming into *England*; namely, firſt, to revenge the death of Prince *Alfred*, Brother of King *Edward*. This, if ever any, was a frivolous pretence, ſince Earl *Goodwin*, the contriver of that murder, was dead, and *Harold* never charged with it. Secondly, To reſtore *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his See. This was no better reaſon than the firſt, for *Robert* was baniſhed by the general aſſembly in *Edward*'s reign, and conſequently the preſent King could not be blamed for it. 'Tis very likely this article was inſerted in the Manifeſto on the Pope's account, to ſerve as a cover for his partiality to the Duke. Thirdly, and principally, to offer the *Engliſh* his aſſiſtance to puniſh *Harold* for pre-

The Duke of Normandy *invades* England. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt. Malmſb.

Huntingd.

He publiſhes a Manifeſto. Camden. Brompt.

(1) The Earls of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Maine*, *Boulogne*, and *Alan* Earl of *Bretagne*. *Camd. Introduc.* p. clviii. *Conan* Earl of *Bretagne*, *Alan*'s Father, demanded, and threatned to invade *Normandy*, in order to divert *William* from his attempt on *England*; but *William* had him poiſoned. *Wil. Gemiticenſis*, l. 6. c. 33. *P. Daniel.* Vol. III. p. 91, 92. Which ſhews what a terrible Monſter is an ambitious Prince!

(2) *William*, and the Emperor *Henry*, entered into a League, by which *Henry* bound himſelf to march with all the *German* forces, againſt any one that ſhould attack *Normandy*, during *William*'s expedition into *England*. *P. Daniel.* Vol. III. p. 93.

(3) With a Golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. *Peter*'s Hairs.

(4) This was about *September* 8. *R. de Diceto.* p. 479. *Brompt.*

(5) *Malmſb. Huntingd.* and *Sax. Ann.* ſay it conſiſted only of three hundred; and *Ingulph* ſays of two hundred, *p.* 69.

(6) At a Place called *Richale* in the *Eaſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 194. *Camden.*

(7) The Place was *Fulford* near *York*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 194.

(8) Which *Camden* ſays, is alſo called *Battle-Bridge*, from this engagement between *Harold* and the *Norwegians*. In *Latin*, *Pons belli.*

(9) He is ſaid to have killed forty Men with his own hand. *Brompt.*

(10) *Adam Bremenſis* ſays, they took ſo much Gold among the Spoil, that twelve young Men could hardly bear it on their ſhoulders. This Battle was fought nine days before *William the Conqueror* landed.

(11) It was the cuſtom in thoſe days for all the Spoils to be fairly divided among the Officers and Soldiers.

(12) Now *Pemſey*. He landed *September* 29, after having been near a Month upon his paſſage. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 100. *Knighton* ſays, that he landed part of his Forces at *Pevenſey*, and the other part at *Sandwich*. p. 2341.

(13) In which he lay for fifteen Days, and kept his Soldiers from plundering the neighbouring parts. *Malmſb.* p. 100.

(14) *Camden* ſays, he ordered his Ships to be burnt.

(15) The chief of the *Cinque-ports*, whoſe Burgeſſes retain the old title of *Barons*.

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ſuming to ſeize the Crown, without any right, and directly contrary to his Oath. It is to be obſerved, he made no mention either of *Edward*'s Will, or verbal Promiſe, and that his Silence on that head renders this third motive very trifling. For indeed, without ſuch a Will or Promiſe, what pretence could the Duke of *Normandy* have to concern himſelf with the affairs of *England*? Some affirm he founded his right on his Kindred to *Edward*; but he was no way related to the late King, only by *Emma* of *Normandy*, who had never any title to the Crown; and beſides, he was himſelf a Baſtard. But he did not ſo much build his hopes on his Manifeſto, as on the ſtrength of his Army. He was very ſenſible, if he obtained the Victory, his reaſons would be readily admitted. Mean while, not to terrify the *Engliſh*, he charged his Army to injure none, but ſuch as were actually in Arms againſt him. But neither this precaution, nor his Manifeſto gained him any Friends. The *Engliſh* could not conceive upon what Foundation he had entered the Kingdom with an Army, or what advantage any one could have by taking his Part.

Harold comes to London. *G. Dunelm.*

The news of the deſcent of the *Normans* was quickly brought to *Harold*, who was ſtill in the North, little expecting this Invaſion till the Spring. As ſoon as he was informed of it, he marched to give theſe new Enemies Battle, whom he did not think more formidable than the *Norwegians*. By haſty marches, he came to *London*, where, upon a Review, he found his Army very much diminiſhed, not only by the Battle of *Standford*, but by unuſual deſertions, occaſioned by the diſcontent of his Troops. *The Nobility come in to him.* However, all the Nobility of the Kingdom repaired to him, and offered their Aſſiſtance on an occaſion where it was no leſs their Intereſt than his to repel the Foreigners. Whilſt *Ambaſſadors from the Duke,* he expected at *London* ſome of his Troops that were behind, Duke *William* ſent Ambaſſadors to require him to reſign the Crown, and to charge him with breach of Oath. He was ſo moved at the haughtineſs wherewith the Ambaſſadors addreſs'd him, that he could hardly refrain from uſing them ill. However he governed his Paſſion; but *and from Harold to the Duke.* was even with his Enemy, by ſending him a menacing and inſulting Meſſage. The Duke patiently heard what *Harold* ordered to be ſaid to him, and diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors without any anſwer.

Harold encamps near the Normans. Malms. M. Weſt.

Mean time, *Harold* having drawn all his Forces together, encamped about ſeven Miles (1) from the *Norman* Army, with a reſolution to give them Battle. Whilſt the two Armies lay thus near one another, Spies were continually ſent out on both Sides, each Leader being equally deſirous to know the ſtrength and poſture of his Enemies. But the *Engliſh* Spies magnified in ſuch a manner the number and diſcipline of the *Normans*, that the principal Officers began to doubt of the ſucceſs of the War (2). *Gurth*, Brother to *Harold*, took occaſion from theſe reports, to perſuade the King to defer the Battle. He repreſented to him, "That by prolonging the time, "he would find his Army to increaſe continually, whereas "the Enemy's Forces would daily be diminiſhed. That "nothing could annoy the *Normans* more than wintering "in an Enemy's Country, where they had not yet ſo "much as one fortified Town, and from whence, in all "probability, the want of Neceſſaries would compel them "to retire. That, as he was accuſed of breach of Oath, "he had reaſon to fear, in caſe he was guilty of the "Charge, Heaven would not proſper his Arms: Nevertheleſs, if he was abſolutely bent to come to an Engagement without any farther delay, it would be moſt "prudent for him, not to be preſent himſelf in the Battle, that he might diſcourage the Enemies with the dread "of having a freſh Army to deal with, though they were "ſo fortunate as to obtain the Victory. In a word, if he "would truſt him with the Command of his Forces, he "would promiſe him, not indeed the Victory, which "was in the hand of God alone, but to die in the de"fence of his Country." The King was deaf to all his Brother's reaſons, replying, "That by his former Acti- *Harold's Anſwer.* "ons he had gained the eſteem of the *Engliſh*, and there"fore could not think of loſing it again by an inglorious "Flight. That he had rather run the hazard of a "Battle, the ſucceſs whereof was yet uncertain, than "forfeit his Reputation, as he ſhould moſt aſſuredly do, "if after ſo near an approach to the Enemy, he ſhould "be known to withdraw. That after all, the *Nor*"*mans* were not more formidable than the *Norwegians*; "and if he was to fight, he could not do it at a better "time, than whilſt his Army was fluſh'd with their late "Succeſs. In ſhort, that he was reſolved to let his ſub"jects ſee he was not unworthy of the Crown he wore." Duke *William* perceiving by all *Harold*'s Motions, that *Gurth's Speech to his Brother. Malmſb. W. Weſt.*

he was bent to give him Battle, advanc'd a little to ſeize an advantagious Poſt, where he could conveniently draw up his Army.

Whilſt they were preparing for a Battle, which was to decide the fate of both Princes, Duke *William* ſeem'd to abate ſomething of his haughtineſs. 'Tis to be preſum'd, the thoughts of a Battle in an Enemy's Country, where his loſs would be irretrievable, inſpir'd him with ſome dread of the Iſſue. On the other hand, he could not well forbear reflecting beforehand on the blood that was going to be ſpilt in a quarrel, the Juſtice whereof he could not be thoroughly convinced of, how much ſoever he ſeem'd to be ſo. Be this as it will, before they engag'd, he ſent the King by the hands of a certain Monk theſe four Propoſals, for him to take his choice. The firſt was, to reſign the Crown, as he was bound by Oath. By the ſecond, he offered to return into *Normandy*, provided *Harold* would do him Homage for the Kingdom of *England*. By the third, he was ready to refer the differences to the Judgment of the Apoſtolick See. Laſtly, he propoſed the deciding of their quarrel by ſingle Combat. 'Tis no wonder, *Harold* rejected theſe four Propoſals, ſeeing they were all ſo advantagious to the Duke. As for the two firſt, 'tis viſible, how detrimental they were to *Harold*. The third ſeemed at firſt ſight ſomething fairer; but the Pope having already declared in favour of the Duke, what Juſtice could *Harold* expect from him? As for the fourth, the advantage plainly lay on the Duke's ſide, ſince in a ſingle Combat, he hazarded only his Perſon, whereas *Harold* ventured his Crown with his Life. The Victory would have procured the Duke of *Normandy* a noble Kingdom, whereas it would have only acquir'd the King the bare glory of conquering. Beſides, *Harold* was of opinion, the deciſion of an Affair, where the whole Nation was concerned, ought not to depend on the ſtrength and ſkill of a ſingle Arm. His anſwer therefore was, God ſhould determine on the morrow the Juſtice of their Rights. *The Duke ſends Propoſals to Harold.* *Malmſb. M. Weſt.*

The *Engliſh* ſpent the whole night in carouſing and ſinging, as if they were ſure of the Victory. The *Normans*, on the contrary, were employed in preparing for the Battle, and offering up Prayers to God for Succeſs. At length, on the 14th of *October*, *Harold*'s Birth-day, but much more memorable for one of the greateſt Events that ever happened in *England*, the two Armies engaged. In the Front of the *Engliſh* ſtood the *Kentiſh* Men, a Privilege they had enjoyed ever ſince the time of the *Heptarchy*. *Harold* placed himſelf in the Center, and would fight on foot, that his Men might be the more encouraged, by ſeeing their King expos'd to equal danger with the meaneſt Soldier. The *Normans* were drawn up in three Bodies. *Montgomery* and *Fitz-osbern* conducted the firſt. *Geoffrey Martel* commanded the ſecond, and the Duke himſelf headed the Body of Reſerve, to ſuccour thoſe who ſhould moſt want it (3). The *Normans* began the fight with a volley of Arrows, which being ſhot upward, were like a thick Cloud over the heads of the foremoſt Body of the *Engliſh*. As their Ranks were very cloſe, the Arrows did great execution. The *Engliſh* not being us'd to this way of fighting, were at firſt put into ſome little diſorder. The *Normans* willing to take advantage of it, vigorouſly attack'd them. But the *Engliſh* immediately falling into good order again, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were obliged to draw back and take breath. Quickly after, they renewed the attack, but met with as brave a reſiſtance as before, neither was it in their power to break their Enemy's Ranks. The *Engliſh* chuſing rather to die than give way, and the *Normans* aſham'd to retreat, both ſides fought ſtoutly for a conſiderable time, without either gaining ground. The preſence of their Leaders animating the Soldiers, they every where fought with equal Bravery, without the leaſt ſigns of advantage on either ſide. We may judge of the valour of the Troops in both Armies by the length of the Fight, which began at ſeven in the Morning, and laſted till Night. *The Battle of Haſtings. Malmſb. M. Weſt.* *The Victory a long time doubtful*

I ſhall not take upon me fully to deſcribe this bloody Battle. I find ſo much confuſion in the accounts of the Hiſtorians, that I dare not flatter my ſelf with being able to give a clear and diſtinct Notion of the thing. I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with the mention of two Circumſtances, which, all Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, gave the *Normans* the Victory. The Fight had laſted all day, and the Succeſs was yet very uncertain; when Duke *William* bethought himſelf of a Stratagem, which made Victory incline to his ſide. This Prince, who was very experienc'd, perceiving there was no breaking the *The Duke's Stratagem.* *Hunting'd.*

(1.) All the Hiſtorians ſaye *Nine*. See *Dunelm.* p. 194. *Brompt.* &c.

(2.) Some of the Spies took the *Normans* to be an Army of Prieſts, becauſe they were ſhaven, it being the Cuſtom then among the *Engliſh* to wear long Beards. *Mat. Weſt.* p. 436. *Malmſb.* p. 100.

(3.) The chief of *William*'s Generals were, *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologne*, *William Fitz-Richard* Earl of *Evreux*, *Geoffrey* Son of *Rotrou* Earl of *Mortaigne*, *Robert* Son of *Roger* Earl of *Beaumont*, *Aimeri* de *Touars*, *Hugh* Earl of *Etaples*, *Walter Giffard*, *Hugh* de *Grentemeſnil*, and *William* de *Warren*. *P. Daniel Hiſt. of France*, Vol. III. p. 94.

ranks of the *Engliſh*, ordered his Troops to retreat as they fought, as if they were diſcouraged, but withal, to be very careful to keep their Ranks. This order being executed, the *Engliſh* looked upon the Enemies Retreat as the Beginning of their Victory. Poſſeſſed with this notion, they encouraged one another with reiterated ſhouts, to preſs the retiring Enemies. Their eagerneſs made them break their Ranks, that they might puſh them with the greater Impetuoſity, imagining they were upon the point of taking to flight. Then it was, that the *Normans*, finding their Stratagem had taken effect, ſtood their ground, and by a Diſcipline they had long been uſed to, cloſed their Ranks, and falling on the diſordered *Engliſh*, made a terrible Slaughter of them. *Harold*, enraged to ſee the Victory, which a moment before he thought himſelf ſure of, ſnatched out of his hands, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to rally his Troops that were in extreme Diſorder. His labour was not altogether in vain, for at laſt he drew up, on a riſing ground at a little diſtance from the field of Battle, a good Body of Foot, which became at length very conſiderable, by being continually joined by the flying Troops. The Duke of *Normandy's* Victory being yet far from complete, whilſt ſo ſtrong a Body of the *Engliſh* kept together, he ordered them to be attacked with great Fury. But the *Engliſh* received them with that Bravery, and the *Normans* loſt ſuch numbers of their Men, that the fortune of the Day ſeemed ſtill very doubtful. The approach of the night, and the reſolution of the *Engliſh*, making the Duke deſpair of penetrating their Ranks, he began to think himſelf conquered ſince he was not entirely victorious. Probably, the *Engliſh* Army might have retreated in good order, by favour of the Night, if *Harold* could have reſolved to leave his Enemy in poſſeſſion of the Field of Battle, at a time when the loſs on both Sides was pretty equal. But apprehending his retreat might be prejudicial to his Affairs, and derogatory to his Reputation, he would maintain his Poſt, and not give the enemy that advantage. Beſides, he was in hopes of rallying his whole Army during the Night, and renewing the fight the next Morning.

Harold rallies his Troops again,

and repulſes the Normans.

He could not think of retreating.

Mean time, the Duke perceiving the Night was like to rob him of the glory of a complete Victory, made one effort more to drive the *Engliſh* from their Poſt. In this laſt onſet, *Harold* was ſlain by an Arrow ſhot into his Brains (1.) His Troops diſheartned at this fatal accident, began to give ground, and betake themſelves to flight. Thus *Harold's* death was the ſecond thing that procured the *Normans* the Victory, and put the *Engliſh* entirely to rout. They were purſued as long as day laſted; and in this Purſuit it was, that a terrible ſlaughter was made of the Fugitives, the Conquerors killing without mercy all they could overtake, to ſave the trouble of guarding the Priſoners. The darkneſs of the Night however ſaved a good part of the *Engliſh* Army, who retreated under the Conduct of *Morcard* and *Edwin*. Theſe two Lords, who had all along firmly adhered to *Harold*, ſeeing he was ſlain, as well as *Gurth* and *Lewin* his Brothers, ſubmitted at length to Providence, having given, the whole day, viſible marks of their Valour. This long and bloody Battle coſt the Duke of *Normandy* ſix thouſand Men (2); but the *Engliſh* loſt a much greater number (3).

Harold's ſlain, and the Engliſh entirely routed. Malmſb. Huntingd.

S. Dunelm.

Duke *William*, at the height of his Wiſhes, gave orders for the whole Army to fall on their Knees, and return God Thanks for ſo ſignal a Victory. After diſcharging ſo juſt a duty, he cauſed his Tent to be pitched in the Field of Battle, and ſpent the reſidue of the Night among the ſlain. On the morrow, he ordered his own dead to be buried, and gave the *Engliſh* Peaſants leave to do the ſame office for the others. The Bodies of the King and his Brothers being found, he ſent them to *Gith* their Mother, who gave them as honourable a burial as the circumſtance of the time would permit, in *Waltham-Abbey*, founded by the King her Son (4). Malmſb.

Thus fell *Harold*, with his Sword in his Hand, in defence not only of his own, but of his Country's Cauſe, againſt the ambition of the Duke of *Normandy*. The Hiſtorians, who wrote in the Reigns of the Conqueror and his Sons, have endeavoured to blacken the memory of *Harold*, thereby to juſtify, in ſome meaſure, the ambition of the Duke. But all they have ſaid againſt this laſt *Saxon* King, tends only to the imputation of breach of Oath, on which we have ſeen what he alledged in his own vindication. He might have been much more juſtly blamed for his ſecret practices, in procuring Prince *Edgar* to be excluded from the Throne, who alone had a Right to aſpire to it. But the Sticklers for the Duke took care not to dwell on that head, ſince their Reproaches againſt *Harold* would have touched the Duke no leſs than his Adverſaries. However this be, *Harold* may be ſaid to have been more worthy of the Crown, had he been leſs forward to obtain it. He gained the love and eſteem of the *Engliſh* whilſt he was but a private Man, and acted nothing during his ſhort Reign (5), which tended to leſſen their affection. He fought within the ſpace of a few days, two great Battles, with very different Succeſs. In the firſt, his conduct and valour procured him a ſignal Victory over the King of *Norway*; and his unhappy Succeſs in the laſt muſt be wholly aſcribed to his ill Fortune. As for his other perſonal Qualities, he was Honeſt, Obliging, Affable, exceeding Generous, in a word, he was endowed with all the Virtues which form a great Prince. *Harold's Character.*

Harold was twice married. By his firſt Wife, whoſe name is unknown, he had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Goodwin*, and *Magnus*, who retired into *Ireland* after the death of their Father. By his ſecond Wife, *Algitha*, Siſter of *Morcard* and *Edwin*, he had a Son called *Wolf*, who was but a Child at the time of the Battle of *Haſtings*, and was afterwards knighted by *William Rufus*. By this ſecond Marriage, he had alſo two Daughters; of whom *Gunilda*, the eldeſt, falling blind, paſſed her days in a *Nunnery*. The youngeſt was married to *Waldemar* King of *Ruſſia*, by whom ſhe had a Daughter, who was Wife to *Waldemar* King of *Denmark* (6). *His Iſſue.*

Thus ended in *England* the Empire of the *Anglo-Saxons*, which began above ſix hundred years before in the Perſon of *Hengiſt* the firſt King of *Kent*. We ſhall ſee in the following Book how *England* fell under the dominion of the *Normans*.

(1) *R. de Diceto* (p. 480.) and *Huntingd.* (p. 369.) ſay, that *Harold* was not killed outright, but the Multitude ruſhing on made an end of him.

(2) He had three Horſes killed that Day under him, without loſing one drop of his Blood. *Malmſb.* p. 101.

(3) This Battle was fought near *Heathfield* in *Suſſex*, in the place where the Town of *Battle* now ſtands, ſo called from this Day's Action, wherein our modern Hiſtorians ſay were ſlain above threeſcore Thouſand *Engliſh* Men.

(4) An antient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library relates, that the King's Body was hard to be known by reaſon of its being covered with Wounds, but was at laſt diſcovered by one who had been his Miſtreſs, by the means of certain private Marks known only to herſelf. The Duke ſent the Body to his Mother without any Ranſom, though ſhe is ſaid to have offered him its weight in Gold. But though all others agree that *Harold* fell in this Battle, yet *Knighton* from *Giraldus Cambrenſis* aſſerts he was not ſlain, but eſcaping retired to a Cell near St. *John's* Church in *Cheſter*, and died there an Anchoret, as was owned by himſelf in his laſt Confeſſion when he lay a dying. In memory whereof they ſhewed his Tomb when *Knighton* wrote.

(5) Of nine Months and nine Days.

(6) *Tyrrel* ſays, (from *Speed*) ſhe was Mother to *Waldemar* the firſt King of *Denmark* of that Name. From whom the *Daniſh* Kings for many Ages after ſucceeded.

THE

THE

STATE of the CHURCH,

FROM THE

Reign of ETHELRED II, *to the* Norman *Conqueſt*; *that is, from* 979, *to* 1066.

State of the Church.

AFTER ſeeing what paſſed in *England* from the beginning of the Reign of *Ethelreld* II, to the end of the Empire of the *Saxons*, it is not to be expected that this period ſhould afford much matter for an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: In general, this Century may be termed the Age of ignorance, with reſpect to all *Europe*, but more eſpecially with regard to *England*. If there was occaſion, it would be very difficult to aſſign the cauſes of this univerſal ignorance, not only in this Kingdom, but in all other Chriſtian States. But it will ſuffice to alledge one, peculiar to *England*; I mean the Wars the Kingdom was inceſſantly troubled with. The Arms of the Pagans, which triumphed throughout the whole Kingdom, ſcarce left the *Engliſh* the liberty of profeſſing their religion, and conſequently, our knowledge of the affairs of the Church in thoſe days muſt be very imperfect. Accordingly, I ſhall confine what I have to ſay on this ſubject to a few Heads, concerning the Doctrines, Councils, ſome particulars relating to certain Sees, and the Perſons that were moſt diſtinguiſhed among the Clergy.

The Senſe of the Church of England *relating to the* Euchariſt

What attempts ſoever have been made at ſundry times to prove the antiquity of Tranſubſtantiation, it could never be ſhewn to be the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, before the time I am ſpeaking of. On the contrary, it evidently appears from the Homilies or Sermons which were read in Churches for the inſtruction of the People, that the Church in thoſe days was very far from believing any ſuch Thing. There is ſtill extant a Tranſlation of thoſe Homilies (1), attributed to *Elfric*, who lived under *Ethelred* II; from whence any Man may be convinced, that the Church of *England* was then of a quite contrary Opinion. But that the Reader may judge for himſelf, it will not be amiſs to lay before him an Extract of one of theſe Homilies relating to this Subject.

Extract of a Saxon Homily on this Subject.

" There is a great difference between the inviſible " virtue of this Sacrament, and what it appears to us in " the qualities of its own Nature. In its own Nature 'tis " corruptible Bread and Wine, but by virtue of the di- " vine inſtitution, 'tis truly the Body and Blood of our " Lord Jeſus Chriſt, after conſecration, not in a Corpo- " real but Spiritual Manner. The Body in which Jeſus " Chriſt ſuffered, and the Euchariſtical Body are widely " different. The firſt was born of the Bleſſed Virgin, " and conſiſted of Blood, Bones, Nerves, Limbs, ani- " mated with a rational Soul. But the Body which we " call Euchariſtical, is made up of ſeveral grains of " Wheat. It has neither Blood, Bone, Nerve, Limb, " nor Soul in it. We are therefore not to form any " Corporeal Idea of it, but to underſtand it wholly in " a ſpiritual Senſe. In the Euchariſt, whatever repairs " our Nature, and forms us to a better Life, proceeds " entirely from a myſtick virtue, and ſpiritual Opera- " tion. For this reaſon the Euchariſt is called a Sacra- " ment, becauſe one thing appears to our Senſes, and " another to our Underſtanding. What in the Sacrament " is the object of Sight, has a corporeal Figure: But " what is repreſented to our Underſtanding has a ſpiritual " force and efficacy. Moreover the Body of Chriſt, " which ſuffered and roſe from the dead, is eternal and " impaſſible, and no more ſubject to decay or death; " whereas the Euchariſt is not eternal, but corruptible, " ſubject to the force of time, and diviſible into many " Parts. 'Tis ground by the Teeth, and paſſes through " the common Channels of the Body; but notwith- " ſtanding, the ſpiritual efficacy of it remains in every " Part. A great many Perſons receive this Holy Body " or Euchariſt, and yet the multitude of receivers wea- " kens not the force of the Operation, the virtue of the " Sacrament being lodged in every part of what is conſe- " crated, the leaſt part having as much Efficacy as the " greateſt. The reaſon is, becauſe the virtue does not " operate in proportion to the corporeal magnitude, but " by means of the Divine Inſtitution.

" The Sacrament is a Type and Pledge, but the Body " of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the Truth and Reality of the " repreſentation. God has vouchſafed to give us this Pledge " or Earneſt, till we come to the Truth itſelf, and then " the Pledge will diſappear. For, as hath been obſerv- " ved; *the Holy Euchariſt is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt not* " *corporeally but ſpiritually* (2). The Apoſtle St. *Paul*, " ſpeaking of the *Iſraelites*, has theſe Words: *I would* 1 Cor. x. " *not that you ſhould be ignorant, how that all our Fathers* " *were under the Cloud, and paſſed through the Sea; and* " *were all baptized unto* Moſes, *in the Cloud and in the* " *Sea; and did all eat the ſame ſpiritual Meat; and did* " *all drink the ſame ſpiritual Drink: For they drank of the* " *ſpiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was* " *Chriſt.* That Rock, from whence the water flow'd, " was not Chriſt in reality, but a type and repreſenta- " tion of Jeſus Chriſt, who made this gracious Declaration " to all the faithful; *If any Man thirſt let him come to* John vii. 38. " *me and drink; and out of his Belly ſhall flow Rivers of* " *living Water.* By this he underſtood the *Holy Ghoſt*, " which thoſe that believ'd on him ſhould receive. The " Apoſtle declares, that the *Children of Iſrael*, who were " in the *Wilderneſs, eat the ſame ſpiritual Meat, and drank* " *the ſame ſpiritual Drink*, becauſe the Manna, with which " they were ſupported forty years together, and the water " which flow'd from the Rock, were types of the body " and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, which are daily offered in " the Church. That Manna and that Water were the " ſame which we now offer, not corporeally, but ſpi- " ritually. To underſtand this, obſerve that our Lord " Jeſus Chriſt, before his Paſſion, conſecrated the Bread " and Wine into the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, and " ſaid, *This is my Body*; *This is my Blood*: Although his " Paſſion was not over when he pronounced theſe words, " yet by a myſtical Operation, he changed the Bread into " his Body, and the Wine into his Blood, juſt as he had " done in the Wilderneſs before his Incarnation, when he " turned the Manna into his Fleſh, and the Water that " flow'd from the Rock, into his own Blood."

As this Explanation is a clear evidence, that at the time this Homily was penn'd, the Church of *England* believed not Tranſubſtantiation, ſo it is no leſs manifeſt that *Elfric*, who tranſlated it into *Latin*, was of the ſame opinion with the Author. 'Tis true, there is ſome diſpute about the Perſon of the Tranſlator. Some believe him to be *Elfric* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Others ſay it was *Elfric* the Grammarian, ſirnam'd *Putta*, who was Archbiſhop of *York*. But which ever of the two it was, they both liv'd in the reign of *Ethelred* II, and neither of them was ever accus'd of *Heterodoxy*. But as it might be objected, that *Elfric* was not of the ſame opinion with the Author, whom he tranſlated, tho' that is not very likely, the contrary is evident from the following words of the ſame *Elfric*, in one of his Letters to the Clergy. *The Sacrifice of the Euchariſt is not the Body in which our Saviour ſuffered for us, nor the Blood he ſhed for our ſakes; but 'tis the ſame Body and the ſame Blood ſpiritually, juſt as the Manna was which fell from Heaven, and the Water which flow'd from the Rock.* 'Tis therefore moſt certain, from the Teſtimony of a Prelate, who was at the head of the Church of *Eng-* Anglia Sacra. Vol. I. p. 125.

(1) Theſe Homilies are in *Latin* ſtiled *Sermones Catholici*: The Tranſlation of them into *Old Engliſh* is preſerved in the *Bodleian Library*, and in that of *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*.

(2) Non *Corporaliter* ſed *Spiritualiter*.

land,

land, that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was not introduced into that Church in the time of *Ethelred* II, who aſcended the Throne in 979. There is no way to evade the force of this proof, but by aſſerting the Homily beforementioned to be ſpurious. But this is much eaſier ſaid than prov'd.

Invocation of the Virgin Mary, *and of the* Saints. Conc. Vol. I. P. 537.

It is not the ſame with regard to the Invocation of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of the Saints in Glory, ſince, on the contrary, we find it was practiſed in *England* in this very Century. This is manifeſt from *Canute the Great*'s Charter to the Abbey of *Glaſſenbury*, where there is mention of the Bleſſed Virgin, and all the other Saints. But as the Authority of the Charters of thoſe days are not equally admitted by all, the ſame thing may be proved from a publick Litany then read in the Church. Here we ſee that after the Invocation of the Holy Trinity, theſe words are thrice repeated, *O Holy Mary, pray for us:* After which the Angels and Saints were addreſſed to [by name]. It is to be obſerved, when this Practice was firſt introduced, the Application to the Bleſſed Virgin and Saints was not ſo direct; *May the Holy Virgin the Mother of God, and all the Saints intercede for us.* Theſe are the words in the publick Office of canonical hours uſed by the *Anglo-Saxons* (1). This Office, which is in *Latin*, affords this remark, that although the Leſſons, Prayers, Pſalms, Lord's Prayer and Creed, are in the ſame Tongue, yet at the end of each Article of Verſe, there follows a *Saxon* Tranſlation in a paraphraſtical way, that the people might underſtand what was ſaid.

Elfric's Canons. Spelman. Conc. Tom. I. P. 572. *Extreme Unction.*

Among the Canons, which go under the name of *Elfric*, of whom I have already ſpoken, and who lived in the reign of *Ethelred* II, the XXXIIId obliges Prieſts to have by them two ſorts of conſecrated Oil, one for Children, and another for the ſick; and enjoins that the ſick ſhould be always anointed upon their beds, and ſhould confeſs themſelves before the Ceremony of anointing paſſed upon them, which no Prieſt was to preſume to perform till deſired by the ſick perſon. Whence it may be inferred, they did not ſtay till the ſick were in their laſt Agonies, before they adminiſtred the extreme Unction (2).

In the XXXIIId Canon, the four firſt General Councils (3) are put upon the ſame foot with the four Goſpels; but thoſe of later Ages are not of ſo great Authority. Hence 'tis evident that the Author of theſe Canons did not think all the general Councils were infallible. Had he been of this opinion, he would not have given a greater Authority to the four firſt than to the other Councils (4).

From the beginning of the Reign of *Ethelred* II, to the *Norman* Conqueſt, we find in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *England* but two Councils. In all appearance, the wars with the *Danes* prevented the Biſhops from aſſembling more frequently, or rather were the reaſon that the acts of theſe Conventions are loſt. Both theſe Councils (5), one at *Engſham*, and the other at *Haba*, were held, whilſt *Elphegus* was Archbiſhop. The moſt remarkable Canons are as follow.

The Synod of Engſham. Spelman. Conc. Tom. I. P. 513.

In the Council of *Engſham*, the IId Canon enjoins the Celibacy of the Clergy.

The IXth forbids all Perſons to do any wrong to the Church, or eject a Clergyman out of his Benefice without the Conſent of the Biſhop.

By the XVIIth, every *Friday* was to be a Faſt, unleſs it fell upon a Holiday (6).

The XXth enjoins frequent Confeſſions, and the People are ordered to receive the Sacrament three times, at leaſt, in a year (7).

Synod of Haba.

The Council of *Haba* has but one Canon worth notice. By the ſecond, every Chriſtian was obliged to faſt three days with Bread and Water, before the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, and to diſtribute among the poor what he ſhould have eaten in theſe three days.

This is all worth remarking in theſe two Synods. But to ſupply the want of Councils, we have the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of *Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confeſſor*; ſome of which I ſhall inſert, to ſhew the great regard theſe two Princes had for the Clergy. The following ones are *Canute*'s (8).

Canute's Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

The IVth enjoins all Chriſtians to pay great reſpect to the Clergy, becauſe their Sacerdotal Functions are extremely beneficial to the People.

By the Vth, if a Prieſt was accuſed of any crime, he had the liberty of purging himſelf by ſaying Maſs, and receiving the Euchariſt.

The XIIth recommends Celibacy to the Clergy, and ranks them among the *Thanes* of the ſecond Claſs, that is, among the Gentry (9).

The XXth ordains, that at Funerals the Dues ſhall be paid upon the breaking up of the ground; and that the Dues ſhall be paid to the pariſh the deceaſed belonged to, tho' he was buried elſewhere.

The XXIId enjoins the obſervance of *Sunday* from *Saturday* three a-Clock in the afternoon, till *Monday* break of Day.

The XXIIId determines the times of Faſting, and places the Vigils of the Feſtivals of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of the Apoſtles among the Faſts.

There are ſeveral others, relating to the payment of Tythes and *Peter-Pence*, the Violators of the Privileges of the Clergy, and the like, in favour of the Church.

It is likewiſe decreed by theſe Laws, that every Chriſtian ſhould learn the *Lord's-Prayer*, and the *Apoſtles Creed*; otherwiſe, they were allowed neither to ſtand Godfather, nor receive the Communion, nor have Chriſtian Burial.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of Edward. Spelman. P. 625.

The Eccleſiaſtical Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor* run chiefly upon the protection of the Church and Clergy.

The Iſt forbids the moleſting a Clergyman, contrary to the tenour of the Privileges of the Church.

The IId appoints certain Days, whereon all proceedings in the Courts of Juſtice were to ceaſe.

By the IIId, the Church's Cauſes are to be tried firſt.

The IVth firmly eſtabliſhes the immunities of thoſe who in any wiſe depend on the Church, and ordains that they ſhall not be obliged to anſwer any Plea, *&c.* except in the Eccleſiaſtical Court.

The Vth confirms the Privilege of Sanctuary to Churches, and extends it even to Prieſts Houſes.

By the VIth, if any Perſon broke in upon the Privileges of the Church, he had no way to get off, but by ſubmitting to the ſentence of the Biſhop.

The VIth orders the punctual payment of Tythes, and ſets forth what is to be paid.

The IXth determines the circumſtances relating to the Ordeal Tryal.

The XIIth ſettles the fine of *Manbote*, or the ſum to be paid to the Lord for killing any of his Vaſſals or Slaves: The King's and the Archbiſhop's *Manbote* is fixed at the ſame Sum.

By the XIIIth all found treaſure belongs to the King, unleſs it be found in a Church or Church-yard; then the Gold is the King's, and the Silver the Church's (10).

It is viſible throughout theſe Laws, that the Clergy took care of themſelves, when they met with devout and eaſy Princes, or ſuch as ſtood in need of their Intereſt.

Elections of Biſhops and Abbots.

But notwithſtanding the great condeſcenſion of the *Saxon* Kings for the Clergy, they could not retain the privilege of chuſing their Biſhops and Abbots. Whilſt the Prelates confined themſelves within the bounds of their paſtoral Functions, and meddled not with civil Matters, the power of electing was freely left to the Chapters. But when the Biſhops were become rich and popular, and began to interpoſe in State-Affairs, by reaſon of the Fiefs they were poſſeſſed of, it was of great conſequence to the Kings, to have ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as were in their Intereſt, or at leaſt, were obliged to them for their Preferments. Accordingly, the Kings began to interpoſe in Elections, by way of canvaſſing, or recommendation, and very often by refuſing to put in poſſeſſion of the Fiefs belonging to the Church or Abbey, ſuch Prelates and Abbots

(1) *Sancta Dei Genetrix Virgo Maria & omnes Sancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad Dominum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari & ſalvari, qui vivis & regnas Deus.* Now this amounts to no more than a Wiſh for their Interceſſion, and is far from a direct Invocation. This *Office* is tranſlated by Mr. *Elſtob*. Immediate Addreſs, as far as we can diſcover, did not prevail in *England* till the tenth *Century*: At which time, in the Homily of the *Aſſumption* of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, there is a direct Prayer to the *Bleſſed Virgin* to intercede for them. *Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 214.

(2) The XXIIId orders the Prieſt to read, on Sundays and Holydays, the *Goſpel*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Creed*, in *Engliſh*.

(3) *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcedon*.

(4) This is directly oppoſite to the Doctrine of the Modern *Church of Rome*, which pays the ſame ſubmiſſion to the Decrees of the *Council of Trent* as of *Nice*, and reckons the *Church* in all Ages alike infallible.

(5) They were made up of *Seculars* as well as *Eccleſiaſticks*, and the *Conſtitutions* paſſed there related both to Church and State. *Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 208.

(6) The XIXth enjoins Widows to ſtay twelve Months after the Death of their Husbands, before they marry again.

(7) The XXIIId orders, that the yearly naval Expedition be performed ſooner after *Eaſter*.

(8) In the Preamble, it is ſaid theſe Laws were drawn up at *Wincheſter* by the Advice of the Wiſe Men of the Nation, that is, the Prelates and Nobles.

(9) This in Dr. *Wilkins* is the VIth. The Law ſays, if a Prieſt abſtains from a Woman, may God have mercy upon him, and let him have the world'y Honour of a *Thane*. *Wilkins*, p. 129. c. 6.

(10) The original Law in Dr. *Wilkins*, p. 199. c. 14. ſays, the Gold is all the King's, and half the Silver, and the other half goes to the Church.

as they did not like. In fine, the authority of the Court by Degrees prevailed ſo, that in the time of *Ethelred* II, the Monks had entirely loſt the privilege of chuſing their Abbots, as appears from *Ingulphus*. *In thoſe days*, ſays he, *the Monks and Abbots ſeldom reſorted to Court. But ever ſince the Monks and Abbots ſeldom reſorted to Court. But ever ſince the Kings have diſpoſed of the Abbies, the Monks have made intereſt with the Courtiers, which ſometimes coſt them very dear.* This Hiſtorians loudly complains of this abuſe, though he himſelf was inſtalled in the Abbey of *Croyland* by the ſame method, that is, by the ſole will and pleaſure of *William the Conqueror*.

Ingulph. p. 63.

Tranſlations of Sees.

There were but two removals of Biſhops Sees within the Period I am going over. The See of *Kirton* in *Weſſex* (1) was removed to *Exeter* (2), and the See of *Lindiſfarn* in *Northumberland* to *Durham*. *Aldhun* Biſhop of *Lindisfarn*, being diſturbed in that little Iſland by the Incurſions of the *Danes*, reſided at *Durham*, carrying with him the Relicts of St. *Cuthbert*. He built a Cathedral, and fixed his See there, where it has remained to this day (3).

S. Dunelm.

The Biſhops of Landaff *firſt conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

In 981, the Archiepiſcopal See of *Canterbury* acquired a new Juriſdiction in *Wales*. *Gucan*, a *Welſh* Prieſt, being choſen Biſhop of *Landaff*, and conſecrated by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, this Precedent was followed by his Succeſſors, who like him owned the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for their *Metropolitan*. Some infer from hence, that all the *Britiſh* Biſhops at the ſame time owned the Superiority of the Church of *Rome*. But this conſequence cannot be admitted. It is certain, the Biſhops of St. *Davids* all along exerciſed the Archiepiſcopal Functions in *Wales*, till the time of *Henry* I, and that without the ornament of the *Pall*, the mark of ſubmiſſion to the Pope (4).

As the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York* made the greateſt Figure among the *Engliſh* Prelates, during the laſt Period of the *Saxon* Monarchy, it will not be amiſs briefly to carry down the Succeſſion of each of theſe Sees. This will be of ſervice towards clearing what has been already, or ſhall be hereafter, related of the Affairs of the Church.

Succeſſion of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury. Malmſb. de Pontific. Gervaſii. Act. Pont.

Ethelgar, *Dunſtan*'s Succeſſor, was Archbiſhop but one year and three months, and was ſucceeded by *Siricius*. This Prelate is blamed by all the Hiſtorians, for adviſing *Ethelred* to give Money to the *Danes*, which ſerved only to allure them hither, inſtead of keeping them away. But perhaps they who exclaim againſt him moſt, would have given the ſame advice, had they been in his place. *Elfric*, Tranſlator of the *Saxon* Homilies, whom I mentioned elſewhere, ſucceeded him in 995, and was followed in 1006, by *Elphegus*, who was murderded by the hands of the *Danes*. *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the Conqueror's time, very much queſtioned whether *Elphegus* might properly be called a *Martyr*, ſince he was not maſſacred on account of Religion, but only becauſe he would not conſent the People of his Dioceſe ſhould be taxed to pay his Ranſom. *Anſelm*, Abbot of *Bec*, whom he conſulted on this occaſion, told him, he who choſe to die rather than do an unjuſt thing, received by his death the Crown of Martyrdom. *Livingus* ſucceeded *Elphegus* in 1013. He was kept Priſoner ſome time by the *Danes*, and after the recovery of his Liberty, retired into *France*, till the Storm was over. Afterwards, he returned to his See, and died in 1020. *Egelnoth*, called *the Good*, was his Succeſſor. In the time of theſe two Archbiſhops, St. *Auguſtin*'s Monaſtery was much degenerated, by the licentious Lives of the Monks, who indeed wore the religious Habit, but with little obſervance of the rule. The cauſe of this alteration was, the maſſacring of all the Monks, except four, when *Canterbury* was taken by the *Danes*. The ſecular Clergy, who afterwards ſupplied the place of the dead Monks, were willing to enjoy the Revenues and Privileges of the Monaſtery, but not to be ty'd to the rule obſerved there before. They took greater liberties than the old Monks, and gave the Title of *Dean* to their ſuperior, inſtead of that of Abbot, which remained till the time of Archbiſhop *Lanfranc*, who changed it into *Prior*. But to return to *Egelnoth*: This Prelate rais'd the See of *Canterbury* to its former Luſtre, being ſupported by *Canute the Great*, with whom he was much in favour (5). He was ſucceeded by *Edſius*, who had been King *Harold*'s Chaplain (6). He governed the Church till the year 1050, either by himſelf, whilſt his Health permitted, or by a *Chorepiſcopus*, when diſabled by ſickneſs. This *Chorepiſcopus*, who exerciſed all the Archiepiſcopal Functions, reſided at St. *Martins in the Fields* (7). *Robert*, a *Norman* Monk, made Biſhop of *London* by *Edward the Confeſſor*, was by the ſame Prince promoted to the See of *Canterbury* after *Edſius*. He was driven from thence, in the manner before related, and baniſhed the Kingdom by an Aſſembly General, and *Stigand* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* placed in his room. *Robert* appealed to the Pope againſt theſe Proceedings; but *Stigand*, notwithſtanding the Appeal, and without ſtaying for the Pope's determination, who for that reaſon ſuſpended him, got himſelf conſecrated. But, notwithſtanding his Suſpenſion, and tho' he had never applied to *Rome* for the *Pall*, he exerciſed all the Metropolitical Functions, till he was depoſed in *William* the *Conqueror*'s time (8). Very probably, in thoſe days, the *Engliſh* were not of opinion, that the Archbiſhops elect could not exerciſe their Functions till the Pope was pleaſed to impower them, or that the Pope's bare ſuſpenſion was ſufficient to put a ſtop to their acting as Primates.

Malmſb. l. 2. Geſt. Reg. c. 13.

Stigand, *tho' ſuſpended, and without the Pall, exerciſes the Functions of* Archbiſhop.

Succeſſion of the Archbiſhops of York. Stubbs.

The Succeſſion of the Archbiſhops of *York* was as follows. After the death of *Oſwald* (9), mentioned in the foregoing Book, *Adulph* ſucceeded him in 993, and governed his Church till 1002, when by his death he made room for *Wulſtan* II, who, after twenty one years, was ſucceeded by *Elfric Putta*, ſirnamed the *Grammarian*, thought by ſome to be the Author of the Tranſlation of the *Saxon* Homilies. To him ſucceeded *Kinſius* (10), in 1050, after whom came *Aldred*, who was alive at the Conqueſt.

Among the Biſhops of note in thoſe days, *Wulfſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was a Perſon of an extraordinary Character in ſome Mens opinion, tho' *Lanfranc* thought him unqualified for the Office of a Biſhop, for his Stupidity and want of Learning. But this is not the firſt time that weak Men have been made to paſs for Saints. This Prelate being conſecrated by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, made his profeſſion of canonical obedience to *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though ſuſpended by the Pope. To account for this diſregard of the Pope's ſuſpenſion, 'tis pretended, the ſubmiſſion was made to the See of *Canterbury*, and not to the Perſon of *Stigand*: But when ſuch like Aſſertions are advanc'd, they ſhould be ſupported with ſome Authorities, whereas this here is deſtitute of all.

Wulfſtan *Biſhop of* Worceſter. S. Dunelm. Knighton. Brompt.

Creſſy, p. 984.

Osbern. Hoveden. Eadmer.

Edmund Biſhop of *Durham* was remarkable for the manner of his Election. The Chapter of *Durham* being met to elect a Biſhop, and not being able to agree upon their Man, *Edmund*, a Prieſt of that Church, ſaid jeſtingly, that ſince they were at a loſs whom to chooſe, they had as good take him and make him a Biſhop. As Miracles were then much in vogue, the Chapter looked upon this motion as a divine impulſe, and ſo unanimouſly agreed to elect him. *Edmund* became famous for his courage and boldneſs in reprimanding Vice, even in Perſons of the higheſt birth and ſtations.

Edmund *Biſhop of* Durham. S. Dunelm. p. 30.

A great Change in St. Auguſtin's *Monaſtery.* Gervas.

We muſt alſo reckon in the number of illuſtrious Perſons of that Age, certain *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſticks, who flouriſhed in *Sweden* and *Norway*. *Olaus Scot-Kunung*, King of *Sweden*, deſigning to turn Chriſtian, deſired *Ethelred* to ſend him ſome Miſſionaries to inſtruct him in the Goſpel. *Sigefrid*, Archdeacon of *York*, (and not Archbiſhop, as a *Swediſh* writer will have it,) *Eskil*, *Gunichild*, *Rudolf*, and *Bernard*, or *David*, undertook this Miſſion. *Sigefrid* was made Biſhop of *Wexia*, a City in the Province of *Smaland* in *Sweden*, and baptiz'd *Olaus*. Some ſay however, he received Baptiſm at the Hands of *Bernard*; but

Engliſh *Miſſionaries in* Sweden. Jo. Magn. l. 17. c. 19, & 20. Loccenius Hiſt. Suec. Sax. Gram. l. 10.

(1) *Crediton* or *Kirton* ſtands on the *Creden* in *Devenſhire*; there are now no Footſteps of its having been a Biſhop's See, but a great Meadow, called *My Lord's Meadow*.

(2) This City ſtands on the River called *Iſc* by the *Britons*, and *Ex* by the *Saxons*, whence the Names *Iſca* and *Exan-ceſter*. The *Welſh* call it to this Day *Caeriſc*. It was made a Biſhop's *See by Edward the Confeſſor*, in 1048. *Leofric* a *Burgundian* was the firſt Biſhop. Here are fifteen Churches. The Organ in the Cathedral is the largeſt in *England*, the greateſt Pipe being fifteen Inches Diameter. This City is about a Mile and half in Compaſs.

(3) *Durham* being almoſt ſurrounded with the River *Were*, was called by the *Saxons*, *Dunholme*, *Dun* ſignifying a Hill (the City being ſeated on one) and *Holme*, that is, a River Iſland; it was built about the Year 995.

(4) *See* Giraldus Cambrenſis de Jure & Statu Menevenſis Eccleſiæ, p. 518, &c. Anglia Sacra P. II. Marca de Concord, &c. l. 1. c. 7. Anno 983.

(5) *Egelnoth*, who was Archbiſhop ſeventeen Years, refuſed to Crown King *Harold*, telling him he was enjoined by *Canute* his Father to ſet the Crown upon none but the Iſſue of Queen *Emma*. Then laying the Crown on the Altar, he denounced an Imprecation againſt any Biſhop that ſhould venture to perform the Ceremony. *Harpsfield. Hiſt. Eccl.* Sec. X, c. 10. This, if true, is another Argument againſt *Canute*'s Will. See p. 127. Not. (4).

(6) *Edſius* crowned or anointed King *Edward the Confeſſor*, on *Eaſter-Day*, and then preached upon the Occaſion. *Sax. Ann.* MLXII. This is the firſt *Coronation-Sermon* we meet with.

(7) Near *Canterbury*. *Gervas Act. Pontif.* p. 1650. The Archbiſhops formerly had a *Chorepiſcopus*, or Aſſiſtant; but this Office was extinguiſhed by *Lanfranc. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 213.

(8) *Malmſbury* ſays, he procured a *Pall* five Years after from *Bennet* the *Antipope*. *De Geſt. Pontif.* l. 3. He was impriſoned at *Wincheſter* by *William* I, where he died. *Malmſb.* ibid.

(9) He was buried at St. *Mary*'s in *Worceſter*, which he built. *Stubbs*.

(10) Chaplain to *Edward the Confeſſor*: *Stubbs* ſays, he ordained one *Magſues* Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, and *John* his Succeſſor, and received an Acknowledgment of his Metropolitical Juriſdiction in writing, which was loſt with many other Inſtruments, when *York* was ſet on Fire by the *Normans* ſoon after the Conqueſt. *Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Eborac.* p. 1700.

this is not very material. The greateſt part of theſe Miſſionaries were martyr'd by the *Pagans*, to whom they preached (1).

I have ſpoken elſewhere, though in a very general manner, of the diviſion of the Kingdom into Pariſhes. But ſince I am arrived at the end of the *Saxon* Empire, it will not be foreign to the purpoſe to conclude what I have to ſay of the *Anglo-Saxon* Church, with a more particular account of this matter.

The Diviſion of Pariſhes when ſettled. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.

Auguſtin, the firſt Biſhop of the *Saxons*, received from the King of *Kent* ſome Lands, for the maintenance of himſelf and the Monks he brought with him, diſpoſed of the Profits of theſe Lands, and the offerings of Chriſtians as he thought fit. But becauſe he wanted Inſtructions in this matter, he conſulted *Gregory* I, who told him, it was the cuſtom in the Church of *Rome*, to divide the Offerings into four Portions, and diſtribute one of them for the maintenance of the *inferior Clergy*. However, as *Auguſtin* and his Companions were Monks of the ſame Order, the Pope exhorted them to live together as Brethren. Thus alſo lived *Aidan* and *Finan* Biſhops of the *Northumbrians*, who were Monks as well as *Auſtin*, though of a different Order. But it cannot be inferred from hence, that in all the Churches, the Biſhop and his Clergy lived in common, as ſome pretend. On the contrary, it ſeems to follow, from the Biſhop's being obliged to diſtribute the fourth part of the Church's Revenues among the Clergy, that they did not live in common. Be this as it will, the Biſhop and Clergy were maintained as well out of the profits of the Lands given to the Church, as by the daily offerings of the People.

The number of Chriſtians encreaſing every day, and there being at firſt in each Dioceſe, which contained a whole Kingdom, but one Church, it could not but be very incommodious to many of the new Converts to reſort thither. It was neceſſary therefore that others ſhould be built, and Prieſts ſent to officiate in them. Theſe Prieſts were not however fixed upon any particular Church, but kept with the Biſhop, who ſent out ſometimes one, ſometimes another, to miniſter in the remote Churches, after which they returned to him. In proportion therefore as Chriſtians encreaſed, new Churches were erected for the conveniency of thoſe who lived at a diſtance from the Cathedral. Theſe Churches were no more than Chapels of eaſe to the principal Church, to which belonged all the Offerings that were made in the others. Accordingly the Prieſts at their return, put the Offerings they had received into the Biſhop's hands, which ſerved for the maintenance of the Biſhops, and the Clergy that were about him. The Prieſts then at firſt had no other Titles, but that of belonging to a certain Dioceſe: for theſe firſt rural Churches are not to be conſidered as diſtinct Pariſhes, but as Chapels belonging to the Cathedral.

Stillingfleet.

Theſe rural Churches were not at firſt very numerous. The reaſon is, becauſe the Lords who had large Eſtates, were the only Perſons that founded them, and generally were contented with building one ſingle Church for the uſe of their Vaſſals. The number of Chriſtians being exceedingly encreaſed, it was become neceſſary to provide for the conſtant reſidence of a Prieſt in each of theſe Churches. But as the great Men, as well as the People, did not care to have a new Prieſt at every turn, the Biſhops were willing to continue the ſame to them; and from this time, Pariſhes may properly be ſaid to commence. However, leſt the Prieſts, thus fixed to one Cure, ſhould be unmindful of their dependance on the Cathedral, the Biſhops reſerved in their own hands the Revenues and Oblations theſe Churches were endowed with. This gave the Founders ſome uneaſineſs. They could not bear to ſee the Prieſt, who did all the duty, have ſo ſmall a ſhare of their Donations. Wherefore, the zeal of erecting new Churches beginning to cool, at a time when there was moſt need of them, the Biſhops thought fit to yield a little. To this purpoſe, they compounded with thoſe who had a mind to build Churches, and were ſatisfied with reſerving to the Cathedral, a third or fourth part of the Incomes, with the right of Baptiſm and Burial. This obſtacle being removed, theſe private Oratories became very numerous, almoſt every great Man building one for the conveniency of himſelf and Vaſſals. Moreover, when any Lord alienated part of his Eſtate, the Purchaſer ſeldom failed of erecting a Church in his new Purchaſe. On the other hand, the Biſhops being greatly enriched by the Grants made to their Churches, built likewiſe Churches on their Lands, as well for the conveniency of their Tenants, as to imitate the Nobles, among whom they themſelves began to be ranked. By all theſe means the rural Churches abounding every where, there was no neceſſity of ſending Prieſts from place to place, ſince each Church, as was before obſerved, had one of its own. And thus by degrees the Parochial Diviſion was ſettled. However, the Biſhops were long in poſſeſſion of the Tithes and Oblations, till at length, in order to quicken more and more the zeal of Chriſtians, they removed this difficulty which obſtructed the building and endowing of Churches. They not only left to the Parochial Prieſts the Revenues the Founders were pleaſed to aſſign, or at leaſt, the much greater part, but alſo granted them the power of adminiſtring the Sacraments in their reſpective Churches. This is the riſe and progreſs of the Parochial Diviſion, which was almoſt quite ſettled in the Reign of *Edgar*, or perhaps of *Canute tho Great*. Between that time and the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, there were ſome farther Subdiviſions; but, in all appearance, there were few new Pariſhes after the *Norman Conqueſt*. At leaſt, we find by ſeveral Charters of the latter *Saxon* Kings, that the Pariſhes of *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingdonſhire* and *Lincolnſhire*, were the ſame as at preſent. Whence it may be preſumed the Pariſhes of the other Counties agreed with our modern Diviſion (2).

Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities*. p. 81.

Monaſt. Angl. *under* Ely, Croyland, *&c.*

(1) Through the Lazineſs or Ignorance of the Monks, the only Writers in thoſe Days, we have but few Hiſtorians from *Aſſer* to the *Norman Conqueſt*. Next to *Aſſer* was *Ethelward*, who wrote in the Reign of *Edgar*, and lived till 1090, though he did not continue his Chronicle ſo far. He was (as he himſelf ſays) deſcended of the Blood Royal. His Works conſiſt of four Books, which were publiſhed by Sir *H. Savil*. Biſhop *Nicolſon* ſays, the whole is an imperfect Tranſlation of the *Saxon Annals*. His Style is boiſterous and obſcure, and in ſome Places hardly Senſe; and therefore but of little uſe, unleſs in ſettling the Reigns and Deaths of ſome of our *Saxon* Kings, who lived about his Time, concerning which the Copies of the *Saxon Annals* differ. From him to the Conqueſt we meet with no Hiſtorians, except *Oſbern*, who has wrote the Lives of St. *Dunſtan* and St. *Alphage*, which are publiſhed in the firſt Volume of *Anglia Sacra*; and the Author of a Treatiſe called *Encomium Emmæ*, being a ſhort Account of the Times immediately preceding the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*.

(2) As may be farther ſeen from *Dooms-Day* Book, where the Pariſhes are very near the ſame at this Day.

A DIS-

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF WESSEX AND OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HEPTARCHY

Abbreviations
E. Earl.
D. Duke.
d. Died.
N. Name unknown
North. Northumberland.
K. King.

Elistus

1 CERDICK I.st K. of Wessex d.534 — N.

2 CENRICK d.560 — Stuff — Whitgar
K.s or Governors of y.e Isle of Wight.

3 KEAULIN Vanquish'd in 592 — Quicelm he follow'd Keaulin — Cutulph d.571 — Ceolulph

Cuthwin — 4 CEOLRICK d.598. — Ceolulph d.611. — Cuthigisil

Ceadda — Cutha — Ciniwald — 5 CINIOISIL d.643 — 5 QUICELM Assoc.d in 614 d.636 — Censert

Cenbert — Ceolwald — Æthelbald — 6 CENOWALCH Associated 642 d.672 — 7 SEXBURGA Queen — 8 CENTWIN K. of some p.t of Wessex d.685 — St Agelwin — N Oswald K. of North. — Da — Cudred d.621. — 8 CENTUS K. of some p.t of Wessex

9 ESCUIN Assoc.d 674 d.677

CEDWALLA d. at Rome 689 — Mollon slain in Kent 687 — Cenred — Cenulph st. by Ina. — Oswald disputed y.e Crown with A. delard. — Albert K. of Sussex. — Pyonnas Assoc.d before his Father.

Nunnas — Baldred — 10 INA turn'd Monk 727. — Quenburga or Vereburga — Cuthburga Alfred K. of North. Found.rs of Winburn Mon. — Inigisil — Sigerick — Ethelburga Ina K. of Wessex — 11 ADELARD d.741. — 12 CUDRED d.754. — Hildelild Abbess of Berking.

Eoppa — 13 SIGEBERT dep.755. — Cunehard Kill'd Cenulph & was kill'd 784. — Sigebald Assoc.t & d.bef. his Father. — 14 CENULPH d.784. — Cenrick d.749.

Esa — 15 BRITHRICK Edburga of Mercia d.800.

Alemund

16 EGBERT y.e Great I.st K. of all England d.838. — St Albhura Founded the Monastery of Wilton. — Ethelstan

Ethelbald d. before his Father. — 2 ETHELWOLPH d.857. — Editha Founded y.e Monastery of Polisworth. — N

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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

Government, Laws, Manners, Customs, and *Language*

OF THE

ANGLO-SAXONS.

The greateſt Part of the Laws in Europe *from the North.*

THE Revolution that happened in *Europe*, about the beginning of the fifth Century, is one of the moſt remarkable events in Hiſtory. The *Roman* Empire, which was almoſt of equal extent with the known World, was then divided into two Empires, one containing the eaſtern, the other the weſtern Provinces. The weſtern Empire was ſo harraſſed by the continual Invaſions of the northern Nations, that loſing by degrees all its Provinces, it was reduced to nothing, and the very name of Emperor of the Weſt vaniſhed with that Empire. This great Revolution quite altered the State of *Europe*, by introducing new Inhabitants, who raiſed new Kingdoms upon the ruins of the *Roman* Empire, brought at the ſame time new Laws and Cuſtoms into the conquered Countries. *Spain* was peopled with Colonies of *Wiſigoths*, *Catti*, *Alani*, and *Suevi*. *Gallia* was overwhelmed with a deluge of *Wiſigoths*, *Burgundians*, and *Francs*. *Italy* was ſo expoſed to the ſucceſſive Invaſions of the *Heruli*, *Oſtrogoths*, and *Lombards*, that the antient Inhabitants, inſtead of preſerving the ſuperiority of Number, made no figure at all. The *Saxons*, *Suevi*, and *Bavarians*, ſpread themſelves over all *Germany*, and became Maſters of that vaſt Tract of Land. In a word, *Great-Britain* was ſo over-run with *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, that hardly could any remains of the antient *Britons* be diſcovered. It was very natural for theſe Conquerors to eſtabliſh in their new erected Kingdoms their own Country Cuſtoms. And therefore it may be advanced for certain, that the Laws now in force, throughout the greateſt part of *Europe*, are derived from the Laws thoſe antient Conquerors brought with them from the North. This might be eaſily proved with reſpect to all the Countries concerned in this great Revolution. But at preſent I ſhall confine my ſelf to *England* alone. By what I am going to ſay, whoever has any knowledge of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, will eaſily be convinced, that the Cuſtoms now practiſed in that Kingdom, are, for the moſt part, the ſame the *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from the northern Countries, and laſtly from *Germany*.

The Laws of England *derived from the* Saxons.

In the ſecond Book of this Hiſtory we have ſeen how the *Saxons* were no ſooner arrived in *Great-Britain*, but they formed a deſign of ſettling there, and at length ſucceeded after a War of 150 years. This long War bred ſuch Enmity between them and the *Britons*, that there is no probability the *Saxons*, who in the end proved victorious, ſhould borrow from the vanquiſhed the Form of Government, eſtabliſhed in their Conqueſts. If therefore we would trace the Origin of the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, we muſt ſearch for it in *Germany* and the northern Countries, rather than among the antient *Britons*. And indeed, ſuch is the reſemblance between the Laws of the *Saxons*, *Francs*, *Suevi*, *Lombards*, and the other northern Nations, that it muſt neceſſarily be concluded, they had all the ſame Origin, of an older date than the ſeparation of theſe People. This reſemblance is ſtill much ſtronger between the Laws of the *Anglo-Saxons* in *Great-Britain*, and thoſe of the *Saxons* in *Germany*, ſince they were both the ſame Nation, part whereof ſettled in *England*. An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, by comparing the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Germans* with thoſe of the *Engliſh*, has plainly ſhown, the *Engliſh* introduced into *Great-Britain* the ſame Laws that were in uſe in their own Country. Nay, he affirms, that till the *Norman* conqueſt, there was not ſo much as one Law in *England*, but what, in the main, the *Germans* had the ſame. 'Tis true, as the *Anglo-Saxons* conſiſted of three ſeveral Nations, who had alſo their ſeparate quarters in *England*, there might be ſome difference, upon that account, among the ſeven Kingdoms of the Heptarchy. But this difference could not be very great, ſince the three Nations were united in *Germany*, before their coming into *England*, and made but one and the ſame People under the general name of *Saxons*. All that can be inferred from hence, is, that the Laws eſtabliſhed by the *Anglo-Saxons* in *England*, were compoſed of thoſe of the *Angles*, *Saxons*, and *Jutes*. But to look for the Origin of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution among the antient *Britons*, would be without Foundation, though 'tis not impoſſible

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impossible but their forms of Government might in some respects be alike. The Laws and Customs therefore, introduced into *Great-Britain* by the *Anglo-Saxons*, are to be considered, as composed of the Laws their Ancestors brought into *Germany*, and of those they found among the antient *Germans*. And indeed, what *Tacitus* says of the *German* Customs, corresponds so exactly with several of the *Saxon* ones, that it can hardly be doubted that the *Saxons* borrowed many things from the *Germans*, unless we should chuse to say, the customs of both Nations flowed from the same Fountain. But to trace back these matters to their first original, would be a work of infinite Labour. It suffices to give a general Idea of them. And therefore, without carrying this inquiry any further, let us be satisfied with seeing what was the form of Government, established by those Conquerors in *England*.

The Title of King among the Saxons.

The *Saxons* had no Kings in *Germany*, when they sent their first Troops to the assistance of the *Britons* under the conduct of *Hengist* (1.) Their Territories were divided into twelve Provinces, over each of which a Head or Governor was appointed by the Assembly-General of the Nation, wherein the supreme Power was lodged. This Assembly was called *Witten-a-Gemot*, that is to say, the *Assembly of the wise Men* (2); and also, the *Mycel-Synod*, that is, *the Great Assembly*. Besides the Governors of the Provinces, there were others also set over the Cities and Boroughs. In time of war, the Assembly elected a General to command the Army, and to be the Chief or Head of the Commonwealth (3). Doubtless this General had great Prerogatives; but we are ignorant of their number and extent. It even appears, by the perpetual contests in *England*, between the Princes invested with this high dignity and the other Kings, that these Prerogatives had no fixed and settled Bounds.

Though the Title of King was not in use among the *Saxons*, it was however assumed by *Hengist* as soon as he was in possession of *Kent*. Indeed, it would have been difficult for him to have found any other so proper to express his Sovereignty over that Province. 'Tis true, the Titles of Duke and Earl, or, their equivalent *Heretogh* and *Ealdorman*, were not then unknown. But they were not yet used to signify Sovereigns. 'Twas not till long after, that certain Dukes and Earls being invested with Sovereign power, these titles were made use of to denote the supreme Authority. The other *Saxon* Leaders, who settled in *Great-Britain* after *Hengist*, followed his example, in assuming the title of King. Thus, whereas in *Germany*, the *Saxon* Territories were divided into twelve Governments, their conquests in *England* were parted into seven Kingdoms; but with this difference, that in *Germany*, each Governor depended on the Assembly-General of the Nation, whereas in *England*, each King was Sovereign in his petty Kingdom. However this did not exempt him from all dependance on the *Witten-a-Gemot* of his own State, which in conjunction with him regulated all important affairs. Moreover, by mutual consent, there was established a General Assembly of the whole seven Kingdoms, where matters relating to all in common were settled. Hence this form of Government, which considered the seven Kingdoms as united in one Body, was called the *Heptarchy*, that is, the Government of seven.

The form of Government established by the Saxons *in* England.

These first Kings having scarce any other Subjects but their own Countrymen, durst not think of assuming a despotick Power. Perhaps they had never any such thoughts, having been accustomed to the contrary in their own Country. They established therefore, or rather continued, each in his own Kingdom, a *Witten-a-Gemot*, where the same affairs were determined, as were wont to be in the like Assemblies in *Germany*. As for what concerned the common Interest of the seven Kingdoms, it was debated in a General Assembly of the Kings and great Men of the Heptarchy. 'Tis not precisely known what were the Rights and Privileges of the General *Witten-a-Gemot*. Probably, they were much the same the States-General of the United Provinces enjoy at this day. Each King was Sovereign, but executed the determinations agreed upon in common, to which he had given his consent, either in Person or by Proxy. Be this as it will, the common opinion is, that there was a *Witten-a-Gemot*, for each Kingdom in particular, and a General one for all the seven (4).

A Witten-a-Gemot in each Kingdom.

Upon this supposition it is easy to define the nature of the *Anglo-Saxons* Government. 'Twas Monarchical, as each Kingdom had its King; but then it was also Aristocratical, as the King had not the power of making Laws without the consent of the Assembly General, consisting of the chief Lords of the Nation. Several believe too, it was partly Democratical, and that the People sent their Representatives to the *Witten-a-Gemot*, as they now do to the Parliament. This opinion shall be fully examined hereafter. Mean time, it will be necessary to take a view first of the several ranks and degrees of Men among the *Anglo-Saxons*, since otherwise there is no having a distinct Knowledge of the nature of their Government.

The Nature of the Saxon *Government.*

The several Degrees and Orders of Men among the Anglo-Saxons.

The King.

I shall say nothing here of the King, because I shall have occasion elsewhere to speak of his Power and Prerogatives.

The Queen.

The Queen was the second Person in the State; tho' only with regard to the respect that was paid her, for she had no share in the Government. If sometimes the Queens sign'd the Charters with the Kings, it was not because it was necessary, but on account of their Rank. During the whole time of the *Saxon* Government, we find but one Queen invested with the Sovereignty; I mean, *Sexburga*, Queen of *Wessex*. However some Historians assure us, she was deposed by the *West-Saxons* purely because she was a Woman. Nay, we have seen that on occasion of *Brithric*'s death, *Egbert*'s immediate Predecessor, the *West-Saxons* deprived their Queens of the Prerogatives they had till then enjoyed. The Title of Queen, which was, and still is, given to the King's Wife, means no more, originally, than a Companion, in *Latin*, *Comes*. In process of Time, this Term was made use of to denote more particularly those who were nearest the King's Person; from whence it came to have a more general signification, and to mean the great Lords. Thus we find in the old *French* Romances, and Poets, *Li Queen de Flandre*, *Li Queen de Leicester*, instead of, *the Earls* of *Flanders* and *Leicester*. The word Queen then was common to Men and Women, just as *Comes* in *Latin*. At length, the Term *Count* or *Earl* being substituted in its room, when applied to Men, Queen was appropriated to

Remarks on the Word Queen.

(1) It is observable, that in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, they have no Word that signifies *King*, but what is borrowed from the *Latin*, a Language these Invaders were Strangers to, when they settled in their Conquests.

(2) In like manner our *Parliament* is sometimes stiled, *The Wisdom of the Nation*.

(3) This *General* was chosen out of the Twelve Governors.

(4) In order to have a clear Notion of the *Gothick Model* of Government established in the several Kingdoms of *Europe*, it will be necessary to consider the Nature of their Armies that were sent out in quest of new Habitations. As their whole Nation was divided, like the *Israelites*, into so many distinct *Tribes* with each its own Judges, without any common *Superior*, unless in time of War, like the *Roman Dictator*: So in like manner the Armies or Colonies sent out, upon their Countries being overstocked with Inhabitants, were not Armies of *Hirelings*, who conquered for the Benefit of their *Paymasters*, but *voluntary Societies* or *Partners* in the Expedition, consisting of so many distinct Armies, out of every *Tribe*, conducted each by their own Leaders, and united under one common General or Superior chosen by consent, who was also Head or Captain of his own *Tribe*. This then being the Nature of the confederate Army, it is evident that upon their conquering a Country, the Property of the *Land* was in the whole *Collective* Body, and that every Individual had a Right to share in what he had helped to conquer. Accordingly to fix this undetermined Right, the conquered Country was divided into as many *Shares* (called afterwards *Shires*, *Counties*, &c.) as the *General* or *King* had Companions, or as the Army was composed of *Tribes*, that each *Tribe*, as they had lived together in their own Country, might do the same in their new Settlement. After this general Division, the Lands were portioned out among the Leaders and Officers, who subdivided them among their Followers. These Allotments, while annual, or for life, were called in *Latin*, *Beneficia* (a Word appropriated since to *Church Preferments*) and afterwards *Feoda*, that is, *a Gift of Possessions*; from the *Teutonick*, *Fee* a Gift, and *Od* a Possession; in our Language they are still called *Fees*. As it was necessary upon their settling in a newly subdued Country, to continue their General, he may be considered in two respects; first, as Lord of a private District divided among his own particular Followers, and as Lord or Head of the great Seigniory of the Kingdom. Thus we may frame an Idea of the Nature of the Governments settled in *Europe* by the Northern Nations. Over each District or Country presided an *Ealdorman* or *Earl*, who with an Assembly of the *Landholders* or *Vassals*, (so called from *Gesell*, the Name they went by in their own Country) regulated all Affairs relating to the *Country*. And over the great Seigniory of the Kingdom presided the General or King, who with a General Assembly of the *Wites* or *Vassals* of the Crown, regulated the Affairs relating to the whole Community. How this was done in *England*, and who were the Members of the *Country-Courts* or *Assemblies*, as well as of the *Great Court* of the Kingdom, will be shown under the next Head of the *Courts of Justice*. From what has been said, many useful Remarks may be made. Hence we see the Origine of the *Principalities*, *Dukedoms*, *Counties*, and the like, that the several *European* Kingdoms are divided into. From hence we may also observe that the Property or *directum Dominium* of the Land was in the Collective Body of the Publick, and that the *Tenants* in *Fee* were only invested with the *Dominium utile*; and therefore that the *Great Lords* held their *Seigniories* of the Publick or Kingdom, and not of the King. Thus the *German* Princes hold of the Empire, not of the Emperor; and this is the Reason of the *English* Lords being called *Peers of the Realm*, though they are now commonly thought to have held of the King. After the *Fees* from being annual became Estates of *Inheritance*, many Differences arose between the two Superiors and the Vassals, and between the Vassals themselves, upon which their reciprocal Rights and Duties were inquired into and settled. The Rules collected from such Decisions by Degrees, were termed the *Feudal Law*, and prevailed over *Europe* for many Ages. This Law is distinguished by Bishop *Nicolson* into these Periods: its Birth from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to 650; its Infancy, from thence to 800; its Youth, from thence to 1027; And lastly, its State of Perfection soon after that Time. The Princes of *Europe* and their People being linked together by *Feudal Tenures* (which if duly considered will effectually show the true Nature of the *Royal Power*, and the *Measures* of the Peoples Obedience) remained for a long Time in a happy State, there having been no Prince in *Europe* that ever imagined he had a Title to arbitrary Power, till the *Civil Law*, which had been buried in oblivion for some Time after the settling of the Northern Nations in the western Empire, was brought to Light. Then some Princes made *Lex Regia* a handle to assume a despotick Power, and introduced the *Civil Law* purely upon that Account into their Kingdoms. This was unsuccessfully attempted in *England*; but it prevails in other Parts of *Europe*, even in *Spain* itself, where the Reading it purely for this Cause, was once forbid on Pain of Death. See St. *Amand's Essay on the Legislative Power of England*, p. 46.

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the Women only. Afterwards coming to have a more restrain'd signification, it was used only to denote the Companion of the King, or the Queen. But it must be observed, this appellation is common to all Queens, whether they hold their Dignity of their Husbands, or of their own Right.

The Princes. The King's Sons and the Princes of the Royal Family held the third rank. They were distinguished by the Title of *Clyto*, taken from a *Greek* word, signifying, *Illustrious*. 'Tis something difficult to know the reason why the *Saxon* Princes affected a *Greek* Title. One would be apt to think the word *Clyto* came from some old *Saxon* term, if *Edgar*'s Title of *Totius Angliæ Basileus* (1), were not a demonstration that they had a view to the *Greek*. As this Title was peculiar to the Princes, the word *Clyto* alone came by degrees to denote a Prince of the Royal Blood. Accordingly nothing is more common with the ancient *English* Historians than to use the Terms *Clytones*, *Clytonculi*, for the King's Sons. In process of time, the *Saxon* Term *Atheling*, from *Athel*, that is, Noble, was substituted in its place. As for the termination *Ing*, it denotes the extraction or descent, as *Malmsbury* informs us. *The Sons of the Kings of* England, says he, *were wont to assume Names which shew'd their Extraction. Thus, the Son of* Edgar *named himself* Edgaring, *the Son of* Edmund, Edmunding, *and so of the others. But they had all one common Title, namely, that of* Atheling. As the *French*, which settled in *Gaul*, came from *Germany*, probably the termination *Ing*, in the words, *Merovingians*, and *Carlovingians*, that is, the descendants of *Merovius* and *Charles* is derived from the same original.

Remark on the Titles of Clyto. Selden, Titles of Honour. Malmsb. de Reg. l. 1. c. 3.

Ealdorman. Next to the Princes, the first degree of the Nobility was that of Ealdorman (2). This word, which in its primary Signification means only an aged Man, came by degrees to stand for Persons of the greatest Distinction; apparently because such were chosen to discharge the highest Offices, whose long experience had rendered them most capable. 'Tis not only among the *Saxons* that this word is used in these two different Senses. We find in Scripture, that the Elders of *Israel*, of *Moab*, and of *Midian* were taken for the chief Men of their respective Nations. The word, *Senator*, *Senor*, *Signor*, *Seigneur*, in *Latin*, *Spanish*, *Italian* and *French*, signify the same thing. The Ealdormen therefore in *England* were the most considerable of the Nobility, discharged the highest Offices, and consequently had the largest Estates. As they were generally intrusted with the Government of the Counties, instead of saying the Governor, it was said, the Ealdorman, of such a County. Hence by degrees this word came to signify the Governor of a County, or even a single City. Whilst the *Heptarchy* lasted, these Officers were only during the King's Pleasure, who turn'd out the Ealdormen when he thought proper, and placed others in their room. At length, they became during Life, at least for the most part. But however, this did not hinder the Ealdormen from being displaced upon several accounts. We have seen Instances of this in the Reigns of *Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confessor*. After the *Danes* were settled in *England*, the Title of Ealdorman was by degrees changed into that of *Earl*, a *Danish* word of the same import (3). Afterwards, the *Normans* introduced that of Count, which, though different in its original Signification, meant however the same Dignity. But for reasons too long to be explained, the *Danish* Term *Earl* is still used to denote the same Person, expressed by the word Count in other Countries.

Several sorts of Ealdormen. There were several sorts of Ealdormen. Some were properly only Governors of a Province or County. Others were Owners of their Province, holding it as a Fee of the Crown, so that it was always considered as Parcel of the State. The History of *Alfred the Great*, affords an Instance of this last sort of Ealdormen, which were very rare in *England*. We find this Prince gave the Property of *Mercia* to Earl *Ethelred*, and that *Elfleda* his Widow kept possession in the reign of *Edward the Elder*. Nay, it was by force that *Edward* dispossessed his Niece *Alfwina* after the death of *Elfleda*. *Malmsbury*, speaking of *Edward the Elder*, expresses himself thus: *He united the two Kingdoms of* Mercia *and* Wessex; *but as to the first, he was only* titular King, *because it was given to a Lord named* Ethelred. And to shew in what manner this Lord held *Mercia*, the same Historian speaking of *Alfred the Great*, says, *He gave* London, *the Capital of* Mercia, *to a Lord, called* Ethelred, *who had married* Elfleda *his Daughter, to hold it of him by* Fealty *and* Homage. Hence, 'tis plain, *Ethelred* held *Mercia* as a Fee, in the same manner that *Octa* and *Ebusa* had formerly held *Northumberland* of the Crown of *Kent*, as this Historian assures us. Thus also in *France*, about the beginning of the third Race of their Kings, the Dukedoms, and Earldoms, which before were only bare Governments, were made hereditary, on condition of Homage. These Ealdormen or Earls were honoured with the Titles of *Reguli*, *Subreguli*, *Principes*, *Patricii*. Nay, there are Instances of their having the Title of *Rex* (4). As for the others, who were only Governors, they had the Title of Ealdorman of such a County, expressed sometimes in *Latin* by the Term *Consul*. The first administred Justice in their own name, and appropriated to their own use all the Profits and Revenues of their respective Counties. The last administred Justice in the King's name, and had only a certain share of the Profits assigned them. Earl *Goodwin*, how great a Lord soever he might be in other respects, was of this rank. To these may be added a third order of Ealdormen, who had the Title, though without a Government, on account of their high Birth, and out of these the Governors were usually chosen. Thus the Title of Ealdorman denoted sometimes only a Person of Quality.

Dufresne *voce* Par.

Inferior Ealdormen. There were also inferior Ealdormen in Cities and Burroughs. But these were only subordinate Magistrates, who administred Justice in the King's name, and were dependent on the great Ealdormen or Earls. The name of Ealdorman or Alderman is still given to these inferior Offices, whilst the others have the Title of Earl or Count.

Dukes or Heretogan. The Office of an Ealdorman was wholly Civil, and had nothing to do with Military Affairs. There was in each Province a Duke, who commanded the Militia. The name of Duke, taken from the *Latin Dux*, is a modern Term. The *Saxons* called this Officer *Heretog* (5). He had no right to meddle with civil Matters. His business was of a quite different nature from that of an Earl, as he was also independent of him. *Hengist* and *Horsa* are called in the *Saxon Annals*, *Heretogan*, or Dukes, because they were sent into *Great-Britain*, not to govern the Country, but to command in the War. On the contrary, *Octa* and *Ebusa* have always in the same *Annals* the title of Ealdormen, because they were Governors of *Northumberland*, under the Kings of *Kent*. It is true, they might also be stiled Dukes, as they had the command of the Army. Accordingly we find in our Histories, sometimes the title of Duke, sometimes of Earl, given to the same Person, when these two Offices were united into one, as they frequently were about the end of the *Heptarchy*. Thus the Governors of *Wessex*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, are indifferently called Dukes or Earls. But I don't know the reason why Historians never give the title of Duke to the Governor of *Northumberland*. And yet some of these Governors had the command of the Armies, as is plain from the example of *Siward*, to whom *Edward the Confessor* committed the management of the War with *Cumberland*. (6)

Ealdorman of all England. There was moreover among the *Saxons* three very considerable Offices, two whereof were Civil, and the third Military. The first, which very few Subjects were ever invested with, was that of *Ealdorman of all England*. This Office answers to that of Chief Justiciary of *England*, the King's Lieutenant, Viceroy or Guardian of the Realm. This was so high a Dignity, that the Person invested with it was honoured with the Title of *Half-Kyning*, or *Demi-King*. We find in the History of the *Anglo-Saxons*, but two Lords who were raised to this Post, namely *Athelstan* Earl of *East-Anglia*, and *Alwin* his Son, who were stiled *Totius Angliæ Aldermannus* (7).

Chancellor. The second great Office was that of Chancellor (8). He finally determined all Causes that were brought to the King's Court, and from him lay no Appeal. It was his business also to draw up, and sign all the King's Charters, Selden, *Titles of Honour.*

(1) King *Edgar* stiles himself thus in his Charter to *Glassenbury-Abbey*, as it stands in *Malmsbury*'s Antiquities of that Monastery.

(2) Our Author calls them *Earlderman*; but I cannot find the Word is so spelt in any Writer. The *Saxon Annals*, &c. style them *Ealderman*.

(3) For *ar* or *ear*, i. e. *Honour*, and *arlic*, or *earlic*, *Honourable*. In the *Danish* Language to this Day, *erligis* signifies *Noble*, or *Honourable*, as *Erlig radman* for *Nobilis Decurio* in St. *Mark*, cap. 15, v. 43. *Selden*, *Titles of Honour*, p. 638.

(4) *Ethelred*, *Ealdorman* of *Mercia* under King *Alfred*, is so called by *Ethelward*, and his Earldom is, in *Florence of Worcester*, called *Regnum* and *Rit*, (which is the same) in the *Saxon Annals*. See *Ethelw.* l. 4. c. 3.

(5) That is, publick Leader, or Captain. In the *Saxon* Psalms, both *Ealderman* and *Heretoga* thus occur, *Aldermannum Juda*, *Heretogan Heara*, i. e. *the Princes of Juda*, *their Captains*. Psalm lxvii. 27.

(6) The Union of these two Offices in one Person was no more than what was practised among the *Romans* in the Person of their *Consul*. The Art of War in the *Saxons* Time was not arrived to that Degree of Nicety as it is at present. You have at large the Duty of the *Heretog*, and the manner of his being elected by the County-Assembly at a full *Folc-mote*, in the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*. See Dr. *Wilkins*, p. 205. *De Heretochiis*.

(7) *Selden* thinks this *Alwin* to be the same that subscribes a Charter of *Edgar*'s in *Ingulphus*, with *Ego Alwinus Dux consensi*. At *Ramsey* Abbey was formerly this old Inscription:

HIC REQUIESCIT AILWINUS INCLYTI REGIS ÆDGARI COGNATUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ ALDERMANNUS, ET HUJUS SACRI COENOBII MIRACULOSUS FUNDATOR. He died in the Year 992. *Cod. Remsciensis* in *Arch. Scaccarii*.

(8) So called from the barbarous *Latin* Word *Cancellare*, from his *Cancelling* or Striking out what he pleased in Men's Grants and Petitions. *Tyrrel*, *Introd.* p. 73.

otherwiſe they would have wanted a neceſſary Formality. The firſt Chancellor, mentioned in the *Saxon* Hiſtory, was *Turketule*, Couſin to *Edward the Elder*, who was afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*. However, I am apt to think this Office was of a more modern Inſtitution (1).

Kyning's-Hold, *Or* Generaliſſimo.

The third conſiderable Officer was the General of the Army, in *Saxon Kyning's Hold*, that is, the King's General. He was chief of the Dukes, or the *Generaliſſimo*, like the High-Conſtable of *France*. This Office laſted only during war. In time of peace, or when the King did not think fit to have a *Generaliſſimo*, the Holds or Dukes of each County had the Care of the Militia.

High-Sheriffs or Viſcounts.

Next to the Earls and Dukes were the High-Sheriffs of the Counties. Theſe were Officers ſent by the King into ſuch Counties as had no Earls, to adminiſter Juſtice in his name and ſtead. They were called in *Latin*, *Summi Præpoſiti*, *Cuſtodes Provinciarum*, and afterwards, *Vicecomites* (2), not that they were under the Earls or Counts, but becauſe they performed the Office of Earl in the Counties where there was no Earl. It is very true, there were ſometimes High-Sheriffs in thoſe Counties, where there was alſo Earls; but *Selden* ſuppoſes it was becauſe ſuch Counties were by ſome peculiar Privilege under the immediate Juriſdiction of the King. But however this be, hence came the title of Viſcount, the next in order to that of Earl or Count. As for the name of Sheriff (3), it is continued to inferior Officers, who, in each County, perform the Office of the antient Viſcounts: Theſe laſt having been long ſince ranked among the Peers of the Realm.

Thanes.

After the High-Sheriffs came the *Thanes*, a name in *Saxon* ſignifying Miniſter or Servant. There were two ſorts: *Maſs-Thanes*, that is, *Eccleſiaſtical Thanes*; and *Werold-Thanes*, that is, *Lay-Thanes*. The *Thanes* in general were divided into three Claſſes. The firſt were the King's *Thanes*, the immediate Tenants of the Crown, who did Homage to the King only. Theſe were properly what were afterwards called Peers of the Realm, and made the Body of the greater Nobility. Conſequently, Dukes, Ealdormen, and Viſcounts, were ranked among the *Thanes* of the firſt Claſs, as well as they who, having no Offices, were the immediate Tenants of the Crown. The *Normans* changed the Term *Thane* into Baron, and ſtiled the Lands Baronies, which the *Saxons* called *Thane-lands*. Hence it has been the cuſtom for a long while in *England*, to rank all the greater Nobility under the general title of Barons, becauſe all the great Men were *Thanes* (4). The ſecond Claſs of *Thanes* were what they called *Middle-Thanes*, becauſe there being others of an inferior degree, theſe were in the middle Claſs. If they held Lands of the King himſelf, they were inconſiderable, and generally what they poſſeſſed was held of the Earls or Barons. The *Normans* gave them the name of *Vavaſors*, and their Lands *Vavaſories*. The Signification of this word may, I think, be expreſſed by that of Under-Tenants (5). The third Claſs of *Thanes* were ſuch as held their Lands of the *Middle-Thanes*, or *Vavaſors*. Theſe were not ranked among the leſſer Nobility. They were properly ſuch as lived upon their own Eſtates, and being of no profeſſion, were diſtinguiſhed from the meaner ſort of People. If I am not miſtaken, to theſe belonged particularly the title of Gentlemen; whereas the *Middle-Thanes* were in the ſame rank with the preſent Knights and Squires. I am very ſenſible, ſeveral are of opinion,

Selden.

the title of Gentleman is equivalent to that of *Nobilis*, and conſequently, they were a part of the Nobility. The affinity between the words *Gentleman* and *Gentilhomme* ſeems to countenance this Opinion. I intend not to diſpute this pretenſion with them. I ſhall only obſerve a remarkable difference between a *Gentilhomme* of *France*, and a *Gentleman* of *England*. In *France* there being but one body of Nobility, every *Gentilhomme* is a member of that Body, and no leſs noble than a Duke. But a *Gentleman* in *England* can at beſt be ranked but in the ſecond order of Nobles, that is, among the leſſer Nobility or Gentry. Beſides, in *England* abundance of People of very mean Birth are called *Gentlemen*, who moſt certainly in *France* would have no right to be ſtiled *Gentilhommes*.

The Ceorles.

The loweſt order among the *Saxons*, I mean of Freemen, was that of the *Ceorles*, that is, Merchants, Artificers, Countrymen and others. Hence no doubt is derived the word *Churle* or *Carle*, a name given by way of contempt to People of mean condition. The *Ceorles* were equally free, as to their Perſons, with the *Thanes* of the third Claſs; however with this difference; the *Thanes* held ſuch Eſtates as were called *Boc-Land*, conveyable by Deed or otherwiſe, upon paying a certain Sum to the Lord: But the *Ceorles* were poſſeſſed only of what they called *Soclands*, or *Lands of the Plow*, which they could not alienate, becauſe they were properly but Farmers. Among the *Ceorles*, thoſe that held this ſort of Lands were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt that were poor, and had none of theſe poſſeſſions, or exerciſed ſome Trade for their livelihood, by the honourable name of *Socmen*. In general, all under *Thanes* and above *Slaves* were in the rank of *Ceorles*, who [as to their Perſons, though not Lands] were as free as the *Ealdormen* and *Thanes* themſelves. They might even arrive at the Dignity of a *Thane* of the third Claſs, if they ſo thrived as to be in poſſeſſion of five Hydes of Land, a Houſe with an enclos'd Court, a Kitchen, a Hall, and a Bell to call their domeſticks together (6). *Selden* thinks a Hyde of Land was ſuch a quantity as could be managed with one Plow (7).

Of Bondmen two Sorts.

The loweſt order of Men were the Slaves or Bond-men, of whom there were two ſorts; ſuch as were really Slaves, who, poſſeſſing nothing of their own, worked only for their Lords, by whom for that reaſon they were maintained. The others, who were properly Servants, had ſmall Holdings at the Will of their Lords, for which they did all the ſervile Country Works that were ſet them. As for the Original of theſe Slaves, ſome think they were the deſcendants of the meaner ſort of *Britons*, who ſubmitted to become Slaves, to ſave their lives during the fury of the firſt *Saxons* in *England*. Others are of opinion, they came from the Slaves brought into the Iſland by the *Saxons*. However this be, theſe [*Prædial*] Bondmen, not quite ſo much Slaves as the others, managed their Lords Lands, from whence they reaped ſome advantage themſelves, without having the Liberty of quitting the Place of their abode, and ſettling elſewhere, unleſs with their Lord's Conſent. They were afterwards called Villains, that is, Villagers, from the Villages where they lived and worked. We ſtill meet in ſeveral parts of *Germany* with ſuch ſorts of Peaſants, who are ſubject to great Drudgery, and generally are treated very harſhly by their Lords. When a Slave had his freedom, he was immediately rank'd among the *Ceorles*, the freedmen, not conſtituting, as ſome pretend, a new order of Men. 'Tis

(1) *Lombard* affirms the uſe of the *Great Seal*, and with it the name of Chancellor was brought out of *Normandy* by *Edward the Confeſſor*. See his *Archaionom.*

(2) *Vice* does not denote here a Subordination to any *Comes*. As in that of *Horace*, *utar vice cotis*, and as in *Vice-Cancellarius* in the Court of *Rome*, where there is no Chancellor. *Vicecomes* therefore means here, one appointed *Supplere Vicem Comitis*. See *Selden Tit. of Hon.* p. 646.

(3) *Sheriff*, as if *Shire-Reve (i. e.)* Præfect of the *Shire*, from the *Saxon*, *Gerefa* contracted into *Grefa*, and *Greve*, and by the *Normans*, into *Reve*; thus *Portgreve* is *Præfectus Portus*, from the *German* Word *Grave*, which ſignifies a Judge. Whence the old Words *Gent-Grave*, *Tun-grave*, &c. for the chief Magiſtrates in the Hundreds and Tythings. Thus in *Germany* the Judges of the Boroughs and Marches were called *Bur-Graves* and *Mark-Graves*, and *Grave* is ſtill uſed there to ſignify the *Sovereign Princes* of the Territories it is applied to. The *Saxon Sheriffs* were choſen by the Aſſembly of the County. See Dr. *Wilkins*, p. 205.

(4) It is the common Opinion that the *Barons* after the *Conqueſt*, were the ſame with the *Thanes* in the *Saxon* Times; but upon Examination it will appear otherwiſe. The Word *Thane* occurs not in the oldeſt *Saxon* Monuments, and their Original ſeems to be this. When time had poliſh'd the *Anglo-Saxons*, many Offices that the great Men diſcharged at firſt in their own Perſons, were for Eaſe and Grandeur by them devolved on others. And, as in thoſe Days there was but little Money, ſuch Perſons were rewarded for their Services, by having Land given them. Such Lands were called Train-Land, which paid no Rent, the Superior having the Tenant's Service in lieu of it. Thus a great Lord's Chamberlain, Hawker, Hunter, were called the *Thanes*. Theſe *Thanes* were divided into greater or leſſer, only differing in this, that the greater held of the King, and the leſſer of ſome Subject. Hence it appears that the *Thanes* were no other Perſons than thoſe the *Normans* called Tenants by Serjeanty; when the Service was of a publick Nature, that is, Steward of the Houſhold, Maſter of the Horſe, theſe reſpecting only the Perſon of the King, ſuch Services made only a Tenure of Petit-Serjeanty. Now the firſt of theſe only, as holding on the Publick, were ranked among the Barons. Serjeanty is *French* for *Servitium*, ſo that *Thanes* and *Serjeants* mean the ſame thing, *viz.* Miniſters or Servants. See *St. Amand.* p. 112.

(5) The *Vavaſors* in *Lombardy*, from whence they ſeem originally to come, were inferior to the *Capitanei*, theſe laſt comprehended Dukes, Marqueſſes, Counts, and other great Titles; but the *Vavaſors* were ſuch as were inveſted, either by the Sovereign or ſome Duke, Count, *&c.* with ſome Territory of feudal Command, without any of thoſe Titles. So that *Vavaſor* means as if, *Validus Vaſſallus* or powerful ſort of *Vaſſals*. See *Selden Tit.* of *Hon.* p. 488.

(6) The Lands among the *Saxons* were diſtinguiſh'd into *Bocland* and *Folcland*, (and not *Soc-land*, as *Rapin* ſays.) The *Bocland*, or Hereditary Lands, were poſſeſſed by the nobler Sort, free of all Service. Theſe were divided into two ſorts, *Inland* and *Outland*. The *Inland* was that which lay next or moſt convenient for the Lord's Manſion Houſe, and therefore was kept in their Hands for ſupport of their Family. This was managed by the Bondmen and Slaves, and was afterwards called by the *Normans*, *Terras Dominicales*, the *Demeans*, or Lord's Land. *Outland* was that which lay beyond the *Inlands* or *Demeans*, and was granted out to any Tenant Hereditarily, but at the Pleaſure of the Lord. Part was diſpoſed among ſuch as attended their Lords either in War or Peace, (called *Theodens*, or *Leſſer Thanes*,) after the manner of *Knights-Fees*. The other Part was allotted to Huſbandmen, who were termed *Ceorles*, and were to pay their Lord a certain Portion of Victuals and things neceſſary for Hoſpitality. This Rent was called *Feorm* or *Farm*, (a *Saxon* word ſignifying Meat or Victuals) which ever ſince *Henry* IId's Time, has been changed into Money, though we ſtill retain the word *Farmers*. Theſe *Outlands* were what they called *Folcland*. The word *Lord* is a Contraction of the *Saxon Hlaford*, i. e. *a Giver of Bread*, *a Maintenance*, becauſe they granted to their *Ceorles* or *Socmen*, Land ſufficient to ſupply themſelves and Families with Bread and Neceſſaries. *Soc* ſignifies in *Saxon* a Liberty of judging and determining Cauſes within the Precinct of the *Soc* or *Manor*. Hence *Socman* were thoſe that owed ſuit to the Lord's Court, or *Mallemote*, where the Lord determined all differences between his *Men* in their Civil Rights, and alſo puniſhed Criminals with the Advice and Conſent of his Freemen. Life and Death were at firſt within the Juriſdiction of the *Hall-mote*. (7) See p. 129. Not. (3).

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true they were called *Freolætan*, that is, Freedmen; but it was only to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that were Free-born, who however had no peculiar Privilege. Among the *Anglo-Saxons*, the Lords had not the power of Life and Death over their Slaves. Nay, the Laws provided they ſhould not cripple or maim them without incurring a Penalty. They who made ſuch Laws, imitated in ſome meaſure the Law of God, without knowing it (1).

Freeholders. All the King's Subjects, except Slaves and Villains, were Freedmen and Freeholders. But though Earls and Barons, or *Thanes* might be included under this general Appellation, yet by Freeholders is commonly meant the *Thanes* of the ſecond and third Claſſes, with the *Ceorles*.

Burghers and Aldermen. The Inhabitants of Towns, who were call'd *Burghwitan* or *Burghers*, had the Privilege of being governed by Magiſtrates choſen out of their own Body, to whom was given the Title of Aldermen; and of forming a Society, from whence is derived what is called in *England* a Corporation (2). This Privilege was granted them for the Encouragement of Arts, and eſpecially of Trade and Commerce, which was juſtly deem'd of very great advantage to the State. For the farther encouragement of Trade, it was alſo enacted by Law, that if a Merchant croſs'd the wide Sea three times, he ſhould be honoured with the Title of *Thane*, and admitted to all the Privileges of that Order. I don't know what is meant here by the wide Sea, unleſs it be the *German* Ocean, ſince in thoſe days, *America* was not diſcovered. From the time of the *Saxons*, Merchants have been in great repute in *England*, ſince we find ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves in Trade, are frequently honoured with Knighthood by the King.

Having now gone through the ſeveral Orders and Degrees of Men among the *Anglo-Saxons*, I ſhall in the next place, conſider how they were governed, and chiefly the method of adminiſtring Juſtice. To this end, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of the different Courts they erected in *England*, whereby will be ſeen the Origin of the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice now in that Kingdom.

The Courts *of* Justice.

I Have already obſerved in the Life of *Alfred the Great*, that this Prince divided *England* into *Shires*, the *Shires* into *Trythings*, *Laths*, or *Wapentakes*, theſe into *Hundreds*, and the *Hundreds* into *Tythings*. However it muſt not be imagined that in this diviſion, he introduced ſomething entirely new to the *Engliſh*. He only ſettled the bounds of the former diviſions, making ſome alterations for conveniency's ſake. At leaſt, as to the Diviſion of the Kingdom into Shires, 'tis certain he only proportioned it in a better manner than before. This is evident from there being Earls of *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire* in the reign of *Ethelwulph*, as *Aſſer* relates, who lived about that time. But *Alfred* uniting all *England* into one Monarchy, made a more exact and extenſive diviſion of his dominions. The Shires contained a whole Province ſubject to the Juriſdiction of an Earl or Count, and therefore were alſo called Counties. Some of theſe Shires being divided into *Trythings*, others into *Laths*, and others into *Wapentakes*, each of theſe diviſions, which were the ſame thing under different names (3), conſiſted of three or four hundreds of Families, and each Hundred was ſubdivided into *Tythings*. The Courts of Juſtice were formed with reſpect to theſe ſeveral diviſions, that is, there was a Court for each *Tything*, *Hundred*, &c. to the end Juſtice might be adminiſtred with leſs charge, greater diſpatch, and more exactneſs.

The Tything Court. The loweſt of theſe Courts was the *Tything* Court. It conſiſted of ten heads of Families, who were mutual Sureties for one another, as each of them in particular was for all that were under him (4). Every Subject in the Kingdom was regiſtred in ſome *Tything*. Only Perſons of the firſt rank had the Privilege that their ſingle Family ſhould compoſe a *Tything*, for which they were reſponſible. Each *Tything* had a Preſident, ſtil'd *Tything-Man*, or *Burg-holder*, who took care to hold a Court, when occaſion required. The method of proceeding was as follows.

If any Perſon accuſed of a Crime, refuſed to appear, the other nine Sureties were bound to ſee him forth-coming to Juſtice. If he ran away, he was not ſuffered to ſettle in any other Town, Borough or Village; becauſe no one could change Habitation, without a Teſtimonial from his *Tything*, for want of which they that received him were puniſhed. By the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Tything* had thirty Days (5) allowed them to ſearch for the Criminal. If he was not to be found, the *Tything-Man*, taking with him two of his own, and nine of the three next *Tythings* (6), theſe twelve purged themſelves by Oath of the offence and flight of the Malefactor. If they refuſed to ſwear, the *Tything* the offender belonged to, was obliged to make ſatisfaction in his ſtead.

This Court frequently met, as well to decide the Differences among the Members of the *Tything*, as to concert meaſures againſt ſuch, whoſe behaviour created a ſuſpicion of their committing ſome crime, for which the reſt might be in danger of incurring the Penalty. In this caſe, the ſuſpected Perſon was obliged to find particular ſecurity for his good Behaviour, without which he was confined. This Court was a terror to People of mean Condition, as they ſaw they could not commit any offence with impunity. Before this Order was eſtabliſhed, the meaner ſort of People might eaſily ſhift their quarters by reaſon of their obſcurity, which prevented them from being taken notice of. But it was impoſſible for them to change their Habitation, after they were obliged to bring a Teſtimonial from their *Tything*, to enable them to ſettle or be regiſtered in another.

Theſe ten heads of Families, of whom the *Tything* conſiſted, were called Free-Burghs, that is, Free-Pledges, Burgh ſignifying Surety or Pledge. Hence the word Neighbour, which originally ſignifies a near Pledge. In all appearance *Barman*, which ſignifies a Neighbour among the *Dutch*, is derived from the ſame ſource, I mean, from the ſame cuſtom which was obſerved in *Germany*, and ſerved for a model to King *Alfred*. We find in the Hiſtory of the Cuſtoms of *China*, written in *Spaniſh* by *John Gonçalez de Mendoſa*, an *Auguſtin* Monk, that the like Cuſtom is now in uſe in that Empire. The likeneſs is ſo perfect between what is practiſed by the *Chineſe* and the *Anglo-Saxons*, with reſpect to theſe *Tythings* or mutual Pledges, that it is wonderful, how two Nations ſo remote from each other, and between whom there was never any communication, could thus have the ſame Thoughts. Hiſt. de los Ritos y Coſtumbres de la China. l. 3. c. 16.

The Hundred Court. The next Court was that of the *Hundred*. It was held once a Month, and had for Preſident one of the moſt noted Aldermen of the *Hundred*. The Biſhop or Archdeacon was obliged to ſit with him, to determine with the other Judges, all matters Eccleſiaſtical and Civil relating to the *Hundred*.

Trything-Court. The third Court was that of the *Trythings* (7), *Laths*, or *Wapentakes*, according to the Name given theſe diviſions in the ſeveral Counties. Here were decided the Cauſes between private Perſons, belonging to different *Hundreds* of the ſame *Trything* or *Lath*. Beſides this Court, each *Thane* of the firſt rank, or Baron, held one like it, wherein he determined the Controverſies between his Vaſſals. From whence the preſent Court-Baron takes its Original. Lambard. Dugdale.

The Shire-gemot *or* Folcmote. But when a Suit commenced between Perſons of different *Trythings*, it was brought to the County-Court, called in *Saxon*, *Shire-gemot*, or *Folcmote*, which was held twice a year, or oftner, upon occaſion. Herein preſided

(1) There were in *England* two Sorts of *Villains*, a *Villain in Groſs*, who was immediately bound to the Perſon of his Lord, and his Heirs. The other, a *Villain regardant to a Manor*, that is, belonging and being annexed to a *Manor*. There are not truly any *Villains* now; though the Law concerning them ſtands unrepealed. The Succeſſors of the *Bond-Men* or *Villains* are the *Copy-holders*, who, though Time has dealt favourably with them in other reſpects, yet they ſtill retain one Mark of their original Servitude. For as of old *Villains* were not reckoned as Members of the Commonwealth, but *Part* and *Parcel* of the Owner's Subſtance, ſo were they therefore excluded from any ſhare in the Legiſlature, and their Succeſſors ſtill continue without any Right to vote at Elections, by vertue of their *Copy-holds*.

(2) After Lands were appropriated and become *Eſtates of Inheritance*, Neceſſity obliged many People to deviſe Ways and Means for miniſtring to the Occaſions, Eaſe and Pleaſures of the Rich, to obtain by ſuch Services a Maintenance to themſelves. Hence aroſe the Invention and Encouragement of Arts and Sciences. This laid the Foundation of the many Cities or Burroughs which were formed throughout *Europe*, which formerly in other Kingdoms, as well as in *England*, by being neceſſary and uſeful became conſiderable. *S. Amand.* p. 132.

(3) The *Wapentakes* are the ſame as the *Hundreds*, and not as the *Laths*, or *Trythings*, as Mr. *Rapin* ſeems to think here and elſewhere. This word is ſtill in uſe North of the *Trent*.

(4) By Ten Families we are not to underſtand Ten Houſe-keepers, but Ten Lords of Manors, with all their Vaſſals, Tenants, Labourers, and Slaves, who, though they did not all live under their Lord's Roof, were all counted part of his Family. As there were no little Free-holders in thoſe early Times, nor for long after, Ten ſuch Families muſt occupy a large Space of Ground, and might well conſtitute a *rural Tything*. In like manner the *Town Tythings* or *Burroughs* conſiſted not of Ten Shop-keepers or Traders, but of Ten Companies or Fraternities, called in *Saxon*, *Guilds*: Perhaps ſome more eminent than the reſt might employ great Numbers of Artificers, Hirelings or Slaves; and if we underſtand by Ten Families, Ten ſuch, we may well conceive they conſtituted *Towns* and *Burroughs*. Every *Tything* was as it were a little Republick which exerciſed a judicial Power within the Precincts of its own Territories, and different from a Shire in nothing but extent of Ground and Number of Inhabitants. For as the Earl preſided in the general Aſſembly of every County, ſo there was one choſen annually out of the Ten to preſide in the *Tything-Court*. Theſe Preſidents were called *Sapientes*, and by the *Saxons*, *Witan*. After the Conqueſt, theſe preſiding Officers were made for Life, for the ſake of the *Normans*, who would not otherwiſe be choſen, and inſtead of Wites were called Barons, and the Ten Manors, or *Tything* they preſided over, an Honour or Barony. But the *Town-Tythings* or *Burroughs* remained on their ancient foot, and choſe their Preſident yearly. Vide *St. Amand. Eſſay on Legiſlative Power of England.*

(5) One and Thirty Days. (6) That is, of each the chief *Tything-Man* and two others.

(7) The *Trything* was a third Part of the County, ſome Footſteps of which ancient Diviſion ſtill remain in the *Ridings* of *Yorkſhire*: For *Eaſt-Riding*, *Weſt-Riding*, and *North-Riding*, are manifeſt Corruptions of *Eaſt-Trything*, *Weſt-Trything*, and *North-Trything*.

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the Biſhop and the Earl or Ealdorman; but in the abſence of the Earl, the High-Sheriff or Viſcount ſupplied his place. In this Court were regiſtred all the *Tythings* of the County, with the Names of the Members. Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes were tried generally in the firſt place; next thoſe the King was concerned in; and laſtly, ſuch as related to private Perſons. *William the Conqueror* diſpenſed with the Biſhops ſitting in this Court, and granted them the Privilege of holding Courts of their own for the determining Eccleſiaſtical Matters. Appeals lay from the *Tything*, *Hundred*, or *Trything* Courts, to the *Shire-gemot*. Here alſo all Perſons of what rank ſoever were to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

The King's Court.

How great ſoever the Power of this Court was, there was one above it, which they called the *King's-Court*, becauſe the King himſelf preſided there in perſon, or in his abſence, the High-Chancellor. In this Court were examined the Judgments of the inferior Courts; and it was apparently this Court that condemned the four and forty Judges put to death by *Alfred*'s order, as has been related in his Life. From this Court the *Common-Pleas* and *King's-Bench* derive their Original.

The Wittena-Gemot.

I come now to the Great Court, or Aſſembly General of the Kingdom, called in *Saxon*, *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel Synod*. As there are great diſputes about the Exiſtence, Origin, Nature, and Authority of this Aſſembly General, it will be proper in this place, to ſet forth the various Sentiments concerning theſe Matters, with the Reaſons and Anſwers of ſuch as maintain the contrary Opinions. For my part, as I am wholly unconcerned in the deciſion of the Queſtions formed upon this Subject, I ſhall content my ſelf with ſtating fairly and impartially the reaſons alledged on both Sides. To proceed regularly, I ſhall divide this matter into four heads, which will comprize whatever has been ſaid of moment on this point. Firſt, The Origin of the *Wittena-Gemot*. Secondly, Who were the Members of this great Council. Thirdly, Their Authority, and the Affairs there debated and concluded. Fourthly, Their Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

I. *The ORIGIN of the* WITTENA-GEMOT.

I. Opinion that the Wittena-Gemot *is owing to the Conceſſion of our Kings.*

THERE are who believe, the *Wittena-Gemot* or *Parliament*, to be of later date in *England* than the Royal Power, and to owe its original to the condeſcenſion of the Kings. They pretend, the Sovereign having from time to time, freely ſummoned the chief Men of the Nation, to conſult with them about important Affairs, this at laſt was turned into Cuſtom: That in proceſs of time, the People improving ſome favourable Junctures, claimed, as their Privilege, the right of having a Parliament; though at firſt it depended entirely on the King's Pleaſure, whether he would conſult it or not. The main reaſon they ground their Aſſertion upon, is, that till *Edward the Confeſſor*, *England* was hardly ever, or but for a little while, united into one State. During the *Heptarchy*, it was divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, which made ſo many diſtinct States. Of theſe Kingdoms, *Egbert* united but four, whilſt the other three remained ſeparate. Afterwards, the *Danes* became Maſters of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*, and ſhared the Lands among them. So that from the *Saxon* Conqueſt to the ſecond *Daniſh* Invaſion, we do not find *England* was united into one Body, but during the ſhort Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar*, and *Edward the Martyr*. However, the Government did not long continue in this poſture. The *Danes* renewing their ravages in the Reign of *Ethelred* II, *England* was quickly divided into two Parts, whereof one was ſubject to the *Danes*, the other to the *Engliſh*. It is true indeed, after the Death of *Edmund Ironſide*, the Kingdom was re-united under *Canute the Great*; but this Union ended with his Reign, and the Kingdom was once more divided amongſt his Sons. In a word, it is maintained that *England* was never thoroughly united into one Kingdom till the time of *Edward the Confeſſor*. It is moreover pretended to be ſhewn, from the ſeveral ſorts of Laws, namely, the *Weſt-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Daniſh*, that this *Heptarchial* Government is all a *Chimæra*, and conſequently the preſent Parliament cannot take its riſe from an Aſſembly-General of all *England*, which never had a being during the dominion of the *Saxon* Kings.

To this it is anſwered, they who talk thus confound two things which ought carefully to be diſtinguiſhed, namely, the *Wittena-Gemot* or particular Parliament of each of the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, and that of the ſeven Kingdoms together, as making but one Body and one State. Though this laſt never exiſted, yet might the preſent Parliament derive its Original from the other. On ſuppoſition that each Kingdom had its own *Wittena-Gemot*, thoſe of *Suſſex* and *Weſſex* became one, when theſe two Kingdoms were united under *Ina*. Afterwards, when *Egbert* annexed to his own Kingdom thoſe of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, the four Kingdoms of *Weſſex*, *Suſſex*, *Kent* and *Eſſex*, made but one State, and conſequently had but one Parliament. In proportion as this Kingdom was enlarged by the Conqueſts of *Alfred the Great*, *Edward* and *Athelſtan*, the *Wittena-Gemot* increaſed in its Members, and at length compriſed all *England* in the Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar*, and *Edward the Martyr*. Indeed, in the Reign of *Ethelred* II, the Wars with the *Danes* broke in upon this Regulation, and *England* was divided into two Parts. But under *Canute the Great* the Kingdom was once more united, and conſequently there was but one and the ſame *Wittena-Gemot*, which was again divided into two, though but for a ſhort ſpace, under *Harold* and *Hardicanute*. In fine, after *Harold*, by the intereſt of Earl *Goodwin*, was put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, there was but one *Wittena-Gemot* in all *England*, till the *Norman* Conqueſt.

Proofs for a Wittena-Gemot *in each Kingdom.*

To prove therefore that the preſent Parliament derives not its Origin from the *Wittena-Gemot* of the *Saxons*, either the time muſt be aſſigned when Parliaments firſt began after the Conqueſt, or it muſt be denied, there was ever any ſuch thing as a *Wittena-Gemot* in each of the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*. The former of theſe is hardly poſſible, unleſs bare Conjectures are allowed inſtead of ſolid Arguments. As for the latter, the Aſſertors of the antiquity of Parliaments produce, againſt ſuch as deny the being of the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot*, ſeveral proofs which they look upon as demonſtrative. The firſt is taken from the Title of the Laws of *Ina* King of *Weſſex*, wherein are theſe Words: *I* Ina, *by the Grace of God*, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *with the Advice of* Cenred, *my Father*, Hedda, *my Biſhop*, *with all my Ealdormen*, *Seniors*, *and wiſe Men of my Nation*, *willing to eſtabliſh good order in the State*, *have ordained*, &c. Hence it is plain, that *Ina* in making his Laws had the advice of the Aſſembly-General of *Weſſex*. That the ſame method was eſtabliſhed in *Mercia*, is ſhewn from *Bertulph*'s Charter to the Abbey of *Croyland*, wherein are theſe Words, *with the unanimous Conſent of the preſent Council aſſembled at* Kingsbury, *to debate on the Affairs of the Nation.*

In this Charter, after the Biſhops and Lords had ſet their Hands, the King ſubſcribed in this Manner: *I* Bertulph, *in the Preſence of all the Biſhops and great Men of my Kingdom.* This is a clear Evidence that the Charter was granted in the Aſſembly-General or *Wittena-Gemot* of *Mercia*. The ſame might be ſhewn, with regard to each of the other Kingdoms; but, ſay they, the Caſe is ſo evident, as not to admit of diſpute.

The Proofs of a general Wittena-Gemot *of the ſeven Kingdoms.*

They pretend likewiſe to prove, there was a general *Wittena-Gemot* of the ſeven Kingdoms, from the very name of *Heptarchy*, which implies that the ſeven Kingdoms had ſomething in common, and conſequently, there was an Aſſembly, where their common Affairs were conſidered. For inſtance, how could the Monarchs or Generals for the ſeven Kingdoms be elected, if there was not an Aſſembly for that purpoſe? Moreover, they pretend to have more direct proofs, of the holding from time to time ſuch Aſſemblies for the common affairs of the ſeven Kingdoms. Several Hiſtorians aſſure us, there was a general Aſſembly held in *Glouceſterſhire*, where *Ina* King of *Weſſex* was choſen Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, by the Intereſt of *Sebba* King of *Eſſex*, who was preſent with all the other Kings. They produce alſo from *Ingulphus*, *Witglaph* King of *Mercia*'s Charter, where are theſe Words: *In the preſence of* Egbert *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *of* Ethelwulph *his Son*, *and of the Biſhops and great Lords of* England, *aſſembled at* London. Hence it is plain, this Aſſembly convened at *London*, and compoſed of all the Biſhops and great Men of *England*, was a general *Wittena-Gemot* of the Nation.

The Anſwer to the Objection from the Diverſity of the Laws.

In anſwer to the objection taken from the diverſity of the Laws then in *England*, it is ſaid, It is not at all ſtrange, that *Mercia* and *Weſſex*, being two diſtinct States, ſhould have different Laws; much leſs, that the *Danes* ſhould eſtabliſh their own Laws in their Conqueſts (1). But it is maintained, it cannot be reaſonably inferred, from this Diverſity, that there was no ſuch thing as a *Wittena-Gemot* in each Kingdom, or a general one for all the Seven. This Inference would be as abſurd, as if a Man, from the different Laws and Cuſtoms in the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, ſhould conclude there was neither a Convention of the States in each Province, nor an Aſſembly of the States-General.

(1) See Note in the Reign of *Canute the Great* concerning this threefold Diſtinction of the Laws.

To

To ſtrengthen all theſe Proofs, moreover is urged the Conformity in this reſpect between *England* and the other *European* Kingdoms. The *Saxons* had the like Aſſemblies in *Germany*; the *Oſtrogoths*, and after them, the *Lombards* in *Italy*: The *Francs* had their *Fields of Mars* or of *May* (1), their *Sanes*, their Parliaments, and the *Spaniards* their *Cortez*.

This Conformity plainly ſhews, there was no other form of Government then in *Europe*. It is further added, that to deny with any foundation theſe Aſſemblies to be as ancient as kingly Power, it muſt be ſhown who are the Sovereigns that firſt eſtabliſhed them in each Kingdom. But how came it to paſs, that all the Kings in *Europe* ſhould agree together at the ſame time, to become ſo very gracious and condeſcending to their Subjects? There is doubtleſs more reaſon to ſuppoſe they would have all joined in aboliſhing, rather than in granting a Privilege of this Nature.

II. *The Conſtituent Parts or Members of the* Wittena-Gemot.

ALL agree, the greater Nobility were Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*. By the greater Nobility I mean the Ealdormen and *Thanes* of the firſt Rank, afterwards ſtiled Earls and Barons. But the difficulty is to know, whether the *Thanes* of the ſecond and third Claſs, and the *Ceorles*, of whom the Houſe of Commons at preſent conſiſts, had a Right to ſit there by their Repreſentatives or not. Tho' this Inquiry ſeems to be of little moment, at a time when the Commons inconteſtably enjoy this Privilege, yet it is not entirely needleſs to know, whether they uſurp'd it; whether it was given them by the conceſſion of the Kings; or whether it is of the ſame ſtanding with the Monarchy. How undeniable ſoever the Right of the Commons may be at preſent, there are ſome who are perſuaded 'twould be of dangerous conſequence to ackowledge it to flow from the Condeſcenſion of the Sovereigns, leſt the ſame Power that is ſuppoſed to have granted it, ſhould think of revoking it when a favourable opportunity offered (2). And indeed this is the true motive of all the attempts to prove, the Commons have not been all along in poſſeſſion of this Privilege. 'Tis but too apparent, this queſtion has been ſtarted only to gratify ſuch of the Kings as have endeavoured to ſtretch the Royal Prerogative beyond its due bounds.

Firſt Argument againſt the Commons.

Be this as it will, they who maintain the Commons had no right to ſit in the *Wittena-Gemot*, in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, alledge for their firſt reaſon, that the *under Thanes* and *Ceorles* were not Proprietors of Land. From whence they infer, it would have been of no uſe to the Commons to have a place in theſe Aſſemblies, whoſe ſole Buſineſs was to regulate the Affairs of a Country which properly belonged to the King and the Nobility. They add, 'tis incredible that the Nobles of the firſt rank, ſhould agree to make their Vaſſals their Companions: That ſince in the diſtribution of their Lands they were at liberty to give them on what Conditions they pleaſed, 'tis not at all probable they ſhould place the Tenants in the ſame Rank with the Lords. To render this opinion more probable, they ſay further, it is not to be imagined, that in thoſe days the People were upon the ſame foot as at preſent; that although they were free, their Freedom was confin'd within narrow bounds; that the Superiority of the Nobles over them was vaſtly greater than at this day, and for that reaſon the People were little regarded: They ſerved in the Wars for foot Soldiers, who were looked upon as Servants. Accordingly they had the name of *Knechten* [that is, Servants] given them.

Anſwer to the firſt Argument.

To this the Aſſertors of the Rights of the Commons reply, That ſince the Nobles, who held their Lands of the King, had a right to a place in the *Wittena-Gemot*, the Commons, who held their Lands of the Nobles, might very well have the ſame Privilege too. The reaſon alledged in the Objection not holding good againſt the Lords, ought not to be of more force againſt the Commons. They add, that the main Buſineſs of the general Council was the making Laws as well for the People as for the Nobility; the ſettling the Rights of the Subjects; the preſerving Peace in the State; and the raiſing Taxes, whereof the People paid the largeſt ſhare. Hence they infer, it was very natural, and extremely conſonant to the Cuſtom of the *Saxons*, that the People ſhould give their conſent to all thoſe things that concerned them no leſs than the Nobles. In a word, they ſay, if the People aſſiſted not at the Debates of the great Council, 'tis not to be conceived whence ſhould proceed the great care of ſecuring their Rights and Liberties, and preventing their being oppreſſed by the Great. 'Tis well known that Men, eſpecially the Great, are not wont to labour ſo heartily to leſſen their Power, but rather endeavour to increaſe their Authority as much as poſſible.

But as this point, being a matter of Fact and not of Right, can't be decided by bare Reaſonings, both Parties endeavour to ſupport their Opinions with more ſuitable Proofs, namely, Authorities. To this end, each Side lays great ſtreſs upon certain Terms in the Charters of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, and upon certain Expreſſions in the Hiſtorians who ſpeak of the Government of thoſe days. 'Twill be neceſſary therefore to produce ſome of theſe Proofs, for the Reader's better underſtanding the Queſtion, and to enable him the better to judge of the Reaſons alledged on both Sides. I ſhall begin with what is urged againſt the Commons, or their Repreſentatives, being Members of the General Aſſembly.

In the firſt place it is ſaid, the very name of *Wittena-Gemot* plainly implies, that the great Council conſiſted only of ſuch as were ſtiled *Witten*. Now 'tis pretended, the preciſe meaning of that Word is *Majores Natu*, *Seniores*, *Ealdormen*, by which are underſtood only the Earls and Barons, or in the Language of the *Saxons*, the *Ealdormen* and *King's Thanes*, Spiritual and Temporal. To make this appear, a Paſſage is cited out of *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory as tranſlated by King *Alfred*. *Bede* ſays, King *Oſwald* applied to the *Majores Natu* of *Scotland* for a Biſhop; and *Alfred* has rendered the Terms, *Majores Natu* by Ealdormen. The ſame Hiſtorian ſaying in the ſame place, that *Oſwald* made uſe of *Suis Ducibus & Miniſtris* for Interpreters, *Alfred* has tranſlated theſe Words by, his *Ealdormen and Thanes*. Hence it is inferred, that the Term *Wittan* is to be underſtood only of Ealdormen and Barons, or in general, of the chief Men of the Nation. And accordingly it is concluded, the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Aſſembly of wiſe Men*, conſiſted only of ſuch. This Explanation of the Word *Wittan* is farther confirmed, by the Hiſtorians rendering it in *Latin* by *Principes*, *Optimates*, *Proceres*, *Magnates*, *Duces*, *Comites*, *Præpoſiti*, *Miniſtri Regis*, *Nobiles*, *Milites*, which can by no means be underſtood of the People, or their Repreſentatives.

Bede, l. 3. c. 3.

Anſwer to this Proof.

They who are of the contrary Opinion, alledge, in their turn, the ſame Authorities to prove the greater Nobility were not alone ſummoned to the national Council. They pretend, theſe very Expreſſions, on which their Adverſaries ground their Opinion, are not to be ſo reſtrained to the Nobility, as to be unapplicable to the Magiſtrates and chief Men among the People. To prove what they advance, they cite numberleſs Paſſages from the *Latin* Authors, where the Words *Principes*, *Nobiles*, *Milites*, are to be taken in that Senſe.

Reply of the Firſt.

To this the others reply, the Word *People* may be underſtood in two different Senſes; firſt, as it ſignifies a Nation in general, in which ſenſe they own that by *Magnates*, *Proceres*, *Nobiles*, &c. may be meant the chief Men of the People, or of the whole Nation. The other ſenſe of the Word *People* is more reſtrained, and ſignifies only a part of the People, as ſeparate or different from the Nobility, as when one ſays, the *Nobles and People*. This is the meaning in queſtion, to which it ſhall be proved that the cited Paſſage can be applied. Now this is what they think impoſſible, affirming, there is no ſuch thing to be met with in the *Latin* Authors, as *Optimates Plebis*, but always *Populi*, that is, of the People in general. But ſuppoſing it were true, that the Expreſſions did ſometimes denote the chief Men among the People, as diſtinguiſhed from the Nobles, it would ſtill remain to prove, that, in the alledged Paſſages, the Word *People* muſt be taken in that Senſe, unleſs the very thing in diſpute be ſuppoſed.

But to this the Aſſertors of the Rights of the Commons anſwer, They readily agree theſe Expreſſions are principally to be underſtood of Noble Perſons; but affirm withal, their meaning is not to be confined to the Nobles of the firſt rank. They ſay, that although in *England*, the greater Nobility, or Peers of the Realm, are a diſtinct Order from the leſſer, who are rank'd with the Commons, it does not follow that the *Latin* Terms are to be explained by a diſtinction no where elſe to be found. For inſtance, in *France*, the loweſt *Gentilhomme* belongs as much to the Nobility, as to the higheſt Lord; the greater and leſſer Nobility making but one and the ſame Body.

Remark on the foregoing Proofs.

It is a ſad thing to ſee an Inquiry of this Nature reduced to a Grammatical Diſpute. But ſince I have undertaken to relate the Arguments of both Sides, I thought my ſelf obliged not to paſs over in ſilence thoſe taken from the fore-mentioned Terms. However, in what has been ſaid, the one Side ſeems to me plainly to prove that the

(1) *Campus Martii*, et *Madii* vel *Magi*, Comitia publica, ſeu generales Conventus quos ſolebant primi Francorum Reges quotannis circa anni principium et Martio menſe indicere, qui in patenti campo et ſub dio peragebantur, ex quo *Campi Martii* vulgo appellantur, a Scriptoribus. *Greg. Turon.* l. 2. *Hiſt. Fran.* c. 27.

(2) This is what happened in the Reign of King *James* I. this Prince having often given the Commons to underſtand that he thought it in his Power to revoke their Privileges, which, in his Opinion, had no other Foundation than the Conceſſions of his Predeceſſors. *Rapin.*

great Lords had a right to ſit in the *Wittena-Gemot*, which no body ever denied. But I can't ſay it neceſſarily follows from what they alledge, that the Commons were excluded, which is the point in queſtion. On the other hand, what is urged on the other ſide tends rather to ſhow, that the Reaſons for the Excluſion of the Commons are not ſatisfactory, than to prove directly, they had a Place in the *Wittena-Gemot*. Let us therefore proceed to another ſort of Arguments, alledg'd in favour of the Commons.

Another Argument for the Commons.

The firſt is taken from *Henry of Huntingdon* the Hiſtorian, who, ſpeaking of the depoſing of *Sigebert* King of *Weſſex*, expreſſes himſelf thus: *King* Sigebert *growing incorrigible, the* great Men *and* People *of* Weſſex *aſſembled together in the beginning of the ſecond Year of his Reign, and depos'd him with unanimous Conſent.* In this Paſſage it is pretended, the People being put in oppoſition to the great Men, can mean only the Commons, and conſequently they gave their Votes in the General Aſſembly.

This Explanation is ſupported by a Paſſage of another Hiſtorian, who ſays: *In the Reign of* Edward the Elder, *were aſſembled the Biſhops, Abbots, the faithful Subjects or Vaſſals, the great Men and the People, in the Kingdom of* Weſſex. It is maintained, that by the *Fideles*, or faithful Subjects, which may be explained by Vaſſals or Liege-Men, are to be underſtood the People, as diſtinct from the Nobles, ſince in this place the *Fideles* and the People are diſtinguiſhed from the great Men.

To theſe Authorities they add another from *Ethelwulph*'s Charter of Tythes, where it is ſaid, *Theſe things were granted by the King, Barons, and People.*

Theſe Proofs are confirmed by two Charters; the firſt whereof is King *Ethelred*'s, in favour of the Abbey of *Wolverhampton*, which concludes with theſe Words: *Theſe are the Decrees of* Sigeric *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *in the Court held before King* Ethelred, *the Archbiſhop of* York, *the Biſhops, Abbots, Senators, the Chiefs and People of the whole Country.*

The other granted by *Edward the Confeſſor* to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, runs thus: *I have ordered therefore this Charter of my Donation to be read on the day of the Dedication of the ſaid Church, in the preſence of the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and great Men of* England, *and in the Sight and Hearing of all the People.*

Anſwer againſt the Commons.

But the Oppoſers of the Commons pretend to invalidate the force of all the Arguments drawn from Paſſages of Hiſtorians and Charters ſeveral ways. In the firſt place, they obſerve, the greateſt part of theſe Hiſtorians lived when the Commons ſat in Parliament, and therefore it is no wonder when they ſpeak of the *Anglo-Saxon* Affairs, they ſhould repreſent things as they were in their own Times. In the ſecond place, they ſay, nothing can be inferred from any Expreſſions in theſe Charters, becauſe they were not originally writ in *Latin*, but in *Saxon*. Conſequently, the *Latin* Quotations from thence are only Tranſlations, the faithfulneſs whereof cannot be judged of, without confronting them with the Originals, which is impoſſible, ſeeing they are all loſt. For inſtance, it is certain, the *Saxons* never made uſe of the term Baron, which was brought in by the *Normans*, and yet we find it in one of the above-mentioned Charters. In the third place, they ſay, ſome of the Paſſages alledged do but ſhow at moſt, that the Reſolutions of the *Wittena-Gemot* were taken in the ſight of the People, who perhaps expreſſed their ſatisfaction by Shouts and Acclamations. But they maintain this to be no proof of the People's giving their Votes, or that their Conſent was neceſſary, ſince they were preſent only as Witneſſes. This manifeſtly appears, ſay they, in the forementioned Charter of *Ethelwulph*, which runs thus: *There were preſent the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of* England, Buthred *King of* Mercia, Edmund *King of* Eaſt-Anglia, *and of Abbots, Abbeſſes, Dukes, Earls, and great Men of the whole Kingdom, and other faithful Subjects, a great Multitude, who all approved of this royal Act, to which the dignified Perſons ſubſcribed their Names.* It is pretended, ſince the great Men only ſigned the Charter, their approbation alone was neceſſary. Beſides, what can be the meaning of *a great Multitude of faithful Subjects?* Was it the whole Body of the People? This they won't ſay, who maintain that the Commons ſat in the *Wittena-Gemot* by their Repreſentatives, as they do at this day. And indeed, this *great Multitude* cannot well be applied to a very limited number of Repreſentatives, but may very aptly be uſed to denote Crowds of People, got together to make Acclamations. In fine, it is obſerved, that in all the forecited Paſſages, a forced meaning is given to the Term, *Fideles*, to make it ſignify the Repreſentatives of the Commons, ſince that Word is applicable to all Subjects in general, as well to the Body of the Nobles as of the People.

Another Argument for the Commons.

To come therefore to more direct Proofs, the favourers of the Commons alledge other Paſſages, where they pretend the meaning of theſe Terms is fixed to the Repreſentatives of the People, by the Word *Procuratores*. In a Charter (1) dated 811, it is ſaid, Cenulph *King of* Mercia *aſſembled, for the Dedication of the Monaſtery of* Winchelcomb, *the great Men of the Kingdom, the Biſhops, Procurators*, &c.

Anſwer.

To this it is anſwered, That the dedication of a Church and Monaſtery was the only Buſineſs in hand, for which purpoſe *Cenulph* had aſſembled a multitude of People, and particularly ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their Birth or Offices. But ſuppoſing it to have been a real *Wittena-Gemot*, the Term, *Procuratores*, is too undeterminate to denote the Repreſentatives of the Commons, unleſs it be joined with ſome other Word that fixes its ſignification.

Reply for the Commons.

To refute this Objection, a Charter is produced by the other Side, where they maintain, The Term *Procuratores*, muſt be underſtood of the Repreſentatives of the People. This *Charter*, granted by King *Athelſtan* (2), concludes thus: *Granted at the Royal Vill* Ætwelope, *in the Preſence of the Biſhops, Abbots, Dukes, Earls, and* Patriæ Procuratoribus. Now, ſay they, who can theſe *Patriæ Procuratores* be, but the Repreſentatives of the People? But they who are of the contrary Opinion, ſay, this is only a bare conjecture, which can be of no force, unleſs this Expreſſion be ſhown to be common at that time.

The Anſwer.

The laſt Argument for the Commons.

Laſtly, a Proof is alledged in Favour of the Commons, that ſeems to be ſtronger than any of the former. It is ſaid, there are now ſeveral Hamlets (3), that ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament, which Right muſt have been received in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, when they were conſiderable Cities or Burroughs. Indeed, it is very improbable this Privilege ſhould be granted them after they made ſo deſpicable a figure in the Kingdom.

The Anſwer.

To evade this Argument, it is replied, It cannot take place, unleſs it be proved that theſe Burroughs, now become Hamlets, were gone to decay before the Conqueſt. They add, that even this would not be ſufficient, becauſe very poſſibly they might have been rebuilt and deſtroyed again during the Civil Wars *England* was ſo often troubled with, after the Commons were in poſſeſſion of the right of ſending Repreſentatives to Parliament.

To all theſe Arguments alledged in behalf of the Commons, it is added as a favourable Precedent, that in all the other States in *Europe*, the People were ſummoned to the General Aſſemblies. Though hitherto I have only related the Reaſons of both Parties, I can't help remarking upon this laſt, that it is groundleſsly alledged, without pretending however thereby to weaken the reſt. And this I ſhall plainly ſhow, at leaſt with regard to *France*, by the Authority of three Writers, who are looked upon as thoroughly verſed in the cuſtoms of that Kingdom.

Mezerai Abſtract, &c. of the Cuſtoms of the VIIIth *Century.*

The firſt is *Mezerai*, who diſcourſing of this Subject, ſays, "I meet with three ſorts of Aſſemblies in thoſe "Days; the *General Courts* of the Provinces; the *Champs* "*de Mai*, at which were preſent the *Seniores* and *Ma-* "*jores Natu* of the People, where military Affairs were "chiefly debated; and the *Conventus, Colloquia, Par-* "*liaments*, where the Biſhops, Abbots, and other great "Men met to make Laws, and regulate matters relating "to the adminiſtration of Juſtice, the Civil Government, "and the Publick Revenues, *&c.* Theſe two laſt Aſ- "ſemblies were confounded in one." In the Opinion therefore of this Hiſtorian, none but the great Men were Members of the Parliaments. But ſince it may be objected, that by the *Seniores* and *Majores Natu* that aſſiſted at the *Champs de Mai*, are to be underſtood the Repreſentatives of the People, let us ſee what Preſident *Fauchet* ſays upon this head.

Fauchet's Antiquities of France, l. vi.

This learned Hiſtorian mentions a certain Speech, ſhown him as made by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, where that Prelate told *Pepin*, that the *Gauls*, *omnium Ordinum*, of all Orders and Degrees, had given him the Crown. "This Speech, *ſays the Author*, is moſt cer- "tainly ſpurious. Firſt, becauſe the *Francs* never called "themſelves *Gauls*. Secondly and principally, becauſe "of the Words *omnium Ordinum*; for at that time there "was no talk either of Orders or Degrees, none but "Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Nobles having a place in the "*Sanes*, General Courts, or Parliaments, and the Earls, "Commiſſioners or Church-advocates, to report the Com- "plaints of the People of their reſpective Territories."

Paſquier, Recherches, &c. l. 2. c. 7.

Paſquier, the third Writer, whoſe Authority I would alledge, expreſſes himſelf ſtill more plainly and fully in this matter. His Words are: Although ſome, who

(1) In the *Annals of Winchelcombe* in the *Cottonian* Library.
(2) To the Abbey of *Abbington* in 931, which Charter is entered in the great Regiſter that belonged to that Abbey, and is now in the *Cottonian* Library.
(3) Of which Sort are *Gatton* in *Surry*, and ſeveral Boroughs in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and other Counties.

"pre-

" pretend to be well vers'd in the Hiſtory of *France*, be-
" lieve the Aſſembly of the States-General is of a very
" long ſtanding, nay found the Liberties of the People
" upon it, yet is neither the one nor the other true.
" I am ſenſible, and ready to own, that formerly in *Gaul*,
" before the Conqueſt of *Julius Cæſar*, there were Ge-
" ral Aſſemblies, which were continued by him under
" a pretence, familiar to the *Romans*, of leaving us in
" poſſeſſion of our antient Rights and Liberties. But in
" all theſe Aſſemblies you'll find none of the common
" People, whom they looked upon as ſo many Cyphers.
" In like manner, you'll find, under the firſt and ſecond
" Race of our Kings, ſolemn Conventions, which were
" called Parliaments, the principal Sinew of our Mo-
" narchy. But to theſe were ſummoned only the Princes,
" Great Lords, Nobles and Dignified Churchmen. Now
" in our Aſſemblies of the three Eſtates, not only the
" common People have a place with the Clergy and No-
" bility, but what is more, make the greateſt and beſt
" Part. Whence it is then that within ſome Centuries
" of Years the Commons have had a Right to ſit in our
" Conventions, where are debated the Affairs relating to
" the good of the Nation in general: This is what I
" ſhall account for." Then he ſhows the Reaſons of the Common People, or Third Eſtate, being firſt called to the Parliaments, and fixes the Original of it to the time of *Philip le Bel*, who began his Reign in 1286. Theſe are the Teſtimonies of three very judicious Writers, thoroughly vers'd in the Hiſtory of *France*. So far therefore is the antient practice of *France* from being a proof of the Antiquity of the right of the Commons of *England*, that it rather ſerves to weaken the ſame.

Remarks on this Diſpute.

After ſeeing the Arguments made uſe of For and Againſt the Antiquity of the Commons Right to ſit in Parliament, it is doubtleſs very ſurprizing that both Sides ſhould be forc'd to diſpute upon bare Conjectures, and the meaning of certain Terms in the Tranſlations of Charters. One would think, in a matter of this nature, each Side ſhould produce more ſubſtantial Arguments. However this be, the Reader may now form his Judgment upon what has been ſaid, wherein I believe nothing material is omitted, of what has been alledged Pro and Con, tho' I have done it very compendiouſly.

Obſervation concerning the Charters.

But as the greateſt part of the Arguments uſed by both Parties, are taken from the Charters of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, I ſhall make one remark, which ought to be conſidered before Judgment is given upon this diſpute. And that is, the Authority of all theſe Charters is queſtioned by ſuch as are moſt verſed in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. The reaſon they alledge for it, is, that in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the uſe of Charters was unknown in *England*. When the King made a Grant to the Church, or to any private Perſon, he put them in poſſeſſion by the delivery of a *Green Turf*, *Bough*, or the like. *Formerly*, ſays Ingulphus, *Poſſeſſion of Lands was given by bare Words without any Charters or other Writings. They only delivered to the Donee or Purchaſer, a Helmet, Sword, Horn, Cup, ſometimes a Spur, Bow, Arrow*, &c. From this Cuſtom it is inferred, that the Charters alledged as granted by the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, were all forg'd long after their Time. But as it may ſeem ſtrange, there ſhould be now ſo many Charters bearing date before there was any ſuch thing in uſe, a matter of Fact is advanc'd, which, if true, ſhows the reaſon of ſuch numbers being forged. 'Tis affirm'd, *William the Conqueror* finding great part of the Crown Lands to be alienated, particularly to the Monaſteries, ſummoned the Abbots to appear at his Court, and produce the Titles by which they held their Eſtates. Some, who had nothing to plead but long poſſeſſion, being diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe the King would allow no Title good, but what was in form, great numbers of Monks ſet about forging Charters, to which they gave all the appearance of Truth that was poſſible. In this manner they deceived that Prince, and his *Norman* Council, who were unacquainted with the Hiſtory, Language, and Cuſtoms of the *Saxons*. Some produced their Charters in *Latin*, but theſe were rejected, on account of the Improbability the *Saxon* Kings ſhould make uſe of a Language, little underſtood, and ſtill much leſs uſed in their Time. But whether this be true or not, 'tis however certain, ſeveral of thoſe Charters, which are by ſome thought authentick, were forg'd, and that long after their date. At leaſt it was very difficult to be convinc'd by good Arguments, that thoſe from whence the Teſtimonies to decide the preſent queſtion are taken, are ſo antient as the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*.

Hiſtory of Croyland, p. 70.

From what has been ſaid, this appears to be a very intricate Caſe. Neither is there any likelihood of its being ever ſet in a clearer light. Almoſt all the antient Monuments which might ſerve to unfold the Difficulties were buried in the Ruins of the Monaſteries, either before, or after the *Norman* Conqueſt (1).

(1) As there are no *Saxon* Monuments older than the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and but little Light to be had from thoſe that are after, recourſe muſt be had to Inference from thoſe few Truths that are known, in order to diſcover who were the Members of the *Saxon* Legiſlature. Now the moſt probable *Hypotheſis* ſeems to be this. Power reſults from and is the natural Conſequence of Property or Eſtates, and in all Places where Tyranny does not prevail, the Perſons who compoſe the Legiſlature, derive that Power from the Intereſt they have in ſome Lands, or elſe from ſome Diſtinction of Rank and Order, which diſcriminate the Members of a Society. As therefore our *Saxon* Anceſtors in their own Country, did all perſonally meet for the enacting Laws; ſo after their coming into *England* all to whom the Land was apportioned perſonally aſſiſted in the *Saxon* Parliaments, which were held at firſt, during the *Heptarchy*, in open Places capable of receiving all that had a Right to be there, becauſe there were no *Minute* Freeholders in thoſe early Days. By the *Feudal* Law all Land-holders were obliged to attend at the *Feudal* Courts, and had a Right to give their Aſſent or Diſſent to any Laws or Orders there propoſed: Whence we yet retain the Expreſſion of the *Convention of the Eſtates*. After the Union of the ſeven Kingdoms, when the Exerciſe of the Legiſlative Power in the Perſon of every Individual became impracticable by reaſon of their Remoteneſs and Number, ſome Change in the outward form was neceſſary in order to preſerve the Commonwealth on the ſame Principles it was at firſt eſtabliſhed; and as the whole Kingdom was divided into ſo many little Republicks or Tythings, ſome Perſon out of every Tything or Burrough came to the *Wittena-Gemot*, to take care of the Concerns of the Society he belonged to: Theſe were called *Witen* or *Wiſemen*, and were no other than the preſiding Judge or *Gereſa* of every Tything, who was annually choſen, both in the Rural and Town Tythings. As therefore the Earls, Biſhops, and Abbots (who were the preſiding Judges in the Communities both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, that the People were originally divided into) were undoubtedly Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*, ſo it is reaſonable to think that the *Witan* (who were the preſiding Judges in the leſſer Communities that were afterwards made) were ſo too. For it was but natural when every Individual could not appear in Perſon, that the Delegates or Repreſentative of each Community ſhould be the Perſon, to whom they had by their own free Choice given the Precedency amongſt themſelves. Hence it is plain that the Commons or Land-holders were ever a Part of the Legiſlature; becauſe though the Earls perhaps might not be Elective or annual Officers, after the Diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, as they were before, yet the *Graves* of the Tythings, who were Elective, being Members of the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot*, the Commons remained a conſtituent Part of the *Saxon* Legiſlature. Hence the *Ceorles* (who were the ſame as our Farmers, only paying their Rent in Corn, Hay, &c. inſtead of Money) and alſo the *Thanes* (who had Lands aſſigned them by the King or great Men in recompence for their Service, and in lieu of Wages, and conſequently were no more than Part of the Family of him they had their Lands of) were not Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*, except ſuch *Thanes* who held their Lands of the Crown for their Service which related to the Publick. (See p. 150, 151. note 4.) A *Wittena-Gemot* then was no other than an Aſſembly of all the preſiding Judges of the Nation, Earls, Biſhops and *Wites*, or the annual Magiſtrates of the Tythings and Burroughs, who repreſented all the Proprietors of Land in their reſpective Tythings. Thus Matters ſtood till the Conqueſt. King *William* I, having aſſumed the regal State as his own by Right, treated all that had oppoſed him as Rebels, and diſpoſſeſſing them of their Lands, diſtributed them amongſt his own Confederates, who held them of the Crown by a Service of a determined Number of Soldiers, in caſe of an Invaſion or a Rebellion, and they enfeoffed their own immediate Followers with ſome Portions of what was aſſigned to them under reſervation of ſuch Service. Theſe Lands were called *Knights Fees*, (each *Fee* was about twenty Pounds a Year then, which is equal to four or five hundred Pounds now.) As the *Normans* were much inferior to the *Engliſh* in Numbers, their Buſineſs was to ſecure all the Power they could in their own hands. Accordingly, over moſt of the Tythings was placed a *Norman* Chief, whoſe Power was to be the ſame as the *Saxon Gereſa*, with this Difference, that it was to be Hereditary. Theſe Chiefs were called Barons, and their Eſtates Baronies or Honours. The Conqueror to undermine the Power of the *Saxon* Earls, which he could not ſafely deſtroy, diſmembered the Barons Eſtates in a manner from the Counties, and made them recognize no Superior but the Crown. By which means there was no difference between an Earl and a Baron, but only in Extent, the Power of both (which was exceeding great) being the ſame over their Vaſſals. As for the Burroughs they were left in the ſame Condition as in the *Saxon* Times, and governed by annual Magiſtrates of their own chuſing. The Conformity then between the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot* and *Norman* Parliaments ſtood thus: The Eccleſiaſticks and Earls were the ſame in both; the Burroughs were repreſented in both by one of their own chuſing, who was ſtiled *Burgeſs*, inſtead of *Wite*, probably becauſe the Magiſtrate was not always choſen Repreſentative; and as the *Saxon Wites* or preſiding Judges of the Tythings, were Members of the Legiſlature, ſo were the *Norman* Chiefs or Barons, with this Difference only, that as the firſt had their Right by Election and for a Time, the others had theirs in Succeſſion. And as the *Saxon Wites* ſerved for their Tythings, ſo the Barons were intended by Law to ſerve for the Tenants of their Baronies, which is the Reaſon why they were exempted from contributing to the Wages of the Knights of the Shire. Thus every Spot of Land was ſtill repreſented; for as every Part was within ſome Tything in the *Saxon* Time, ſo in the *Norman* every Part of the whole Kingdom was within ſome Barony or ſome Burrough. Things continued upon this ſolid Foundation during the Reigns of *William Rufus* and *Henry* I. But the Barons, who were ſo many petty Princes, being divided in the Civil War betwixt *Stephen*, *Maud* and *Henry* II, each Party treated thoſe of the other Side as Rebels, which brought the Poſſeſſion of much Land to the contending Parties. And as each Side had experienced the Power of the Barons over their Vaſſals, and having beſides many Friends to remunerate, they ſplit the Baronies into ſmaller Tenancies in Chief, who all held immediately of the Crown. Hence aroſe the Diſtinction of Fees of the old Feoffments and Fees of the New, and alſo of the greater and leſſer Barons. By granting thus ſmall Fees in the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry* II, and King *John*, Tenants in *Capite* or Barons, were ſo multiplied, that a very unequal Repreſentation of the Kingdom aroſe, theſe leſſer Barons having an equal Share in the Legiſlature with the moſt Potent. This Grievance being grown to the greateſt Height, when King *John* was reduced to Reaſon, there was a Clauſe inſerted in his *Magna Charta*, whereby all the greater Barons were to be ſeverally ſummoned to Parliament, and the leſſer in general, by which means theſe laſt were excluded from ſitting in Parliament ſingly and in Perſon; but however the being ſummoned in General, gave them a Right to do this as a Community, and by Repreſentation; and as theſe leſſer Barons were co-ordinate in Rank, the Right of repreſenting them naturally devolved on ſuch of their Body as the reſt conferred it on. The Perſons ſo choſen, were called from the Tenure of their Lands, and from their repreſenting the reſpective Counties for which they ſerved, *Knights of the Shire*. Theſe were to be choſen at the County Courts, where none but the immediate Tenants of the Crown (the leſſer Barons) came, and none other had Votes till by the eighth of *Henry* VI, all Free-holders of forty Shillings *per Annum* had a Right to Vote at the Election of *Knight of the Shire*. Thus we find both before and after the Conqueſt all Proprietors of Land had a Share in the Legiſlature. The Reader may ſee theſe Things more at large in St. *Amand's Eſſay on the Legiſlative Power*, &c.

III. *The Authority of the* WITTENA-GEMOT, *and the Affairs there debated.*

THERE is no treating this Subject with any clearneſs, without examining three Queſtions, which are as warmly controverted as the former.

I. In whom was lodged the Legiſlative Power? Whether in the King, in the great Council, or in both together?

II. Whether the King had a Power to tax the People without the Conſent of the *Wittena-Gemot*?

III. Whether the General Aſſembly had a Right to elect and depoſe the Kings?

I. In whom was lodged the Legiſlative Power.

They who moſt ſtretch the Prerogative Royal, pretend, the Legiſlative Power was wholly lodg'd in the King. In proof whereof, they urge the Terms made uſe of by the *Saxon* Kings in their Laws, by which they ſeem to declare themſelves the ſole Enactors, without giving room to believe the General Aſſembly had any hand in the matter. To this it is anſwered, Though there is no mention in theſe Laws of the Conſent of the great Council, it does not follow, that their Concurrence was not neceſſary; no more than it can be inferred at this day from our ſaying the Statutes of King *Charles* I, or of King *Charles* II, that theſe Statutes were enacted without the Conſent and Authority of Parliament. If we were literally to underſtand all the Expreſſions uſed in ſpeaking of, and to the King, we ſhould doubtleſs aſcribe greater Power to him than he is actually inveſted with. But to give more direct Proofs, that the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot* was neceſſary in making new Laws, ſeveral Teſtimonies are produced, ſhewing that the Kings acted nothing in this reſpect without the Conſent of the Eſtates. Among the many that are alledged, I ſhall only chuſe a few, and inſert the ſubſtance of them.

In the title of the *Weſt-Saxon* Laws publiſhed by King *Ina*, it is ſaid, They were made with the Advice and Conſent of the Biſhops, Great Men, Earls, Wiſe-men, Seniors, and People of the whole Kingdom.

Egbert ſays in one of his Charters; *I* Egbert, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *with the Permiſſion and Conſent* (1) *of our whle Nation, and unanimous Advice of all the Great Men*, &c.

But ſeeing it may be objected, that this is a Charter and not a Law, the teſtimony of King *Alfred* is alledged, who, in the Title of his Laws, ſpeaking as if he acted by his ſole Authority, concludes with theſe Words; *I* Alfred, *King of the* Weſt Saxons, *ſhewed theſe Laws to my Wiſe-men, and They ſaid*, they all lik'd, *or*, were pleas'd, *they ſhould be obſerved.*

At the end of *Athelſtan*'s Laws we have theſe Words: *All theſe things were confirmed and ordained by a General-Aſſembly, or Synod, held at* Graetly, *at which was preſent Archbiſhop* Elfin, *with all the great Men King* Athelſtan *could aſſemble.*

The Title of ſome other Laws made by this King runs in this manner: *Theſe are the Laws that were inſtituted by the Wiſe-men at* Exeter.

Much the ſame Expreſſion is prefixed before the Laws of *Edgar*, and *Ethelred* II.

In a Charter of *Canute the Great*, we have theſe Words: *I* Canute, *King of the whole Iſland of* Albion, *and many other Nations, by the Advice and Decree of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and all my other faithful Subjects, have ordain'd*, &c. This Authority is of the greater force, as *Canute*, aſcending the Throne by right of Conqueſt, would not probably have ſought the Concurrence of the Eſtates, had he not found it cuſtomary ſo to do.

In a word, it is pretended, if ſome of the Kings expreſs themſelves in ſuch a manner, as would induce one to believe they acted by their ſole Authority in the Promulgation of the Laws, their Words are not to be taken in the literal Senſe. The reaſon is, theſe Expreſſion are explained and limited by thoſe of ſome other Kings, who own'd, they acted in concert with the *Wittena-Gemot*. Now there is no likelihood, Sovereign Princes would ever acknowledge their Power to be limited, if it was not ſo in reality. If any one will inſiſt upon this ſort of Expreſſions, which ſeem to imply that the Kings make Laws without the Conſent and Approbation of Parliament, it may by the ſame method be proved, that the King at this very day is inveſted with an abſolute Power in this reſpect. And indeed, in ſome certain Acts, which are preſented to him by the Parliament, he ſays, *that he wills and requires*, though it is well known, his Will would be of no force, unleſs preceded by the Conſent of the two Houſes.

II. Raiſing Taxes.

The ſame Reaſonings and Reflections occur with regard to the ſecond Queſtion, or the Impoſition of Taxes. If the *Saxon* Kings ſeem in ſome Paſſages to levy Taxes by their own Authority, we are to underſtand it was not till after the previous Conſent of the Eſtates, as we find upon other Occaſions.

I ſhall not inſiſt here on the third Queſtion, concerning the electing and depoſing of the Kings, becauſe I intend to treat of theſe Points under the Article of the Succeſſion.

IV. *The Authority of the* WITTENA-GEMOT *in Eccleſiaſtical Matters.*

BEFORE the *Anglo-Saxons* embraced the Chriſtian Religion, one of their fundamental Maxims (aſcribed alſo by *Tacitus* to the antient *Germans*) was, that all important Affairs relating to the whole Nation, were brought to the General-Aſſembly, where they were debated in common, that they might be ſettled with the unanimous conſent of all that had a Right to vote. 'Tis no wonder therefore that Religious Affairs were regulated in the *Wittena-Gemots*, as I have elſewhere obſerved, ſince they are of the greateſt importance to Mankind. Accordingly, *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, being deſirous, after his Converſion, to eſtabliſh the Chriſtian Religion in his Dominions, did not undertake it till he had conſulted his *Wiſe-men*, that is, his *Wittena-Gemot*, as *Bede* relates it. The Maxim, that no Laws are binding but what the whole Nation has conſented to, has all along been looked upon in *England* as the Foundation of Liberty, and the Baſis of Government.

Eccleſiaſtical Affairs may be ranked in two Claſſes. Firſt, ſuch as relate to the Clergy alone, as making a diſtinct Body from the Laity. Theſe were left, as they now are, to the ſole management of the Eccleſiaſticks, who held their Councils or Synods, where the Laity had nothing to do. Secondly, ſuch as concerned the Body of the People, as Chriſtians. Theſe were regulated in the mixt Councils, conſiſting of the chief Men of the Clergy and the Nobility. Herein, the Rules of Equity were perfectly followed. It was not thought juſt to enact civil Laws, that were obligatory to the Clergy as Members of the State, without their concurrence. On the other hand, it was deemed unreaſonable, that the Clergy ſhould have a power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws that were binding to the Laity, as Chriſtians, without the Conſent of the *Wittena-Gemot*, or Repreſentative of the Nation. Thus, in both theſe reſpects, the ſame Principles were followed, namely, that no Man was bound by any Laws, to which he had not given his Conſent, either by himſelf or his Repreſentative. Hence it is, that the *Wittena-Gemots* were for the moſt part mixt Aſſemblies, where all important Affairs, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, were treated, and that theſe Aſſemblies had no leſs Authority in Spirituals than in Temporals.

Wittena-Gemot was a mixt Aſſembly.

Proofs of it.

To be convinc'd of this, we need only caſt an eye on the Laws of the *Anglo-Saxons*, where we find a perpetual mixture of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Matters. I ſhall produce a few inſtances, which ſeem to be inconteſtable. In the Year 673, a Council was convened, where *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preſided, and ten Canons of the aneient general Councils were aſſented to, as hath been related in the Hiſtory of the Church of that time. But this Aſſembly was not purely an Eccleſiaſtical Synod; for beſides the Biſhops, *all the Kings and great Men of* England *were preſent*, as an Hiſtorian relates it. And therefore 'twas a mixt Council, a *mycel Synod*, a real *Wittena-Gemot*. We muſt take care not to be led into error by the Words Council or Synod, which at preſent denote an Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſticks; whereas in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, theſe Terms were not underſtood in ſo limited a Senſe, but ſerved to expreſs all ſorts of great Aſſemblies. Whoever carefully examines the nature of theſe antient Aſſemblies, which by Hiſtorians are called Councils, he will find, they were mixt Conventions; ſince they were ſubſcribed, approved, and aſſented to, by the Kings, Princes, and great Men there preſent. In the reign of *Edward the Elder*, an Aſſembly was held, where the Articles of a Treaty were ſettled between that Prince and *Guthurm*, to whom *Alfred* had given *Eaſt-Anglia*, a State Affair, if ever there was any. And yet, in this very Aſſembly were enacted ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which in the Preamble are called *Senatus Conſulta*, becauſe made by the *Witan*, that is, by

M. Weſt.

(1) *Cum Licentiâ & Conſenſu*, Great Regiſter of *Abingdon*, before-mentioned.
(2) To the Abbey of St. *Edmundſbury*, now in the Office of the King's *Remembrancer* of the Exchequer.

the

the great Men of *Weſſex* and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Among theſe Laws, beſides ſeveral that were purely political, there are ſome with theſe titles, *Of Apoſtates, Of the Puniſhment of ſuch as are in Orders, Of Inceſts, Of Faſts*, &c. From whence it is manifeſt, theſe Political Aſſemblies made Laws concerning Religion. An Hiſtorian ſays, King *Athelſtan* convened a Council, in which many Laws both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil were enacted: Conſequently this was not an Aſſembly of Churchmen, ſince it was never pretended, the Clergy had a power to make Secular Laws.

The Wittena-Gemot often elected Biſhops.

But this is not all. It is ſhewn by ſeveral inſtances, that the *Wittena-Gemot* elected and deprived the Biſhops. *Wilfrid* Biſhop of *York*, whom I have had frequent occaſion to mention, was elected by the two Kings of *Northumberland*, and the General Council of that Kingdom, as the Author of his Life relates. *Erkenwald* Biſhop of *London* was elected with the Conſent of King *Sebba* and the Advice of all the People. *Wulſtan* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter in Curiâ*, that is, in the great Aſſembly, which was called the Court, or the King's Court. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland* ſpeaks in this manner of the Elections of the Biſhops and Abbots: *For many Years, there was no Election abſolutely free and canonical: But all Eccleſiaſtical Dignities were conferred by the King's Court, according to their good pleaſure* (1).

Eddius vit. Wilf. c. 11. p. 46.

And deprived them alſo.

As the *Wittena-Gemot* was concerned in the Election, ſo was it alſo in the Deprivation of Biſhops. Of which I ſhall give the following inſtances. *Brithelm*, Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, being promoted to the See of *Canterbury*, *Edgar*, who had a mind *Dunſtan* ſhould be Archbiſhop, cauſed *Brithelm* to be ſent back to his former Biſhoprick. How this was done we are informed by *Osbern* the Monk, who wrote the Life of *Dunſtan*: *Within a few days after* Brithelm *was made Archbiſhop, not thinking himſelf fit for ſo great a Charge, he departed to the Church he had lately left, by the Command of the King and People.* Another Hiſtorian relates this matter in the manner following: Edgar *made* Brithelm *deſcend the ſame way he was raiſed: For a Council being convened for this very purpoſe, he objected ſeveral Articles again* Brithelm, *and by the Order and Conſent of his Barons, ſent him back to the Cure of his former Church of* Dorcheſter. *Brithelm* therefore was both elected and deprived by the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot*. In the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was removed from his See by a Degree of the *Wittena-Gemot*, and *Stigand* being elected in his place, the papal power could neither procure this Election to be annulled, as long as the Dominion of the *Saxons* laſted, nor prevent the *Engliſh* from acknowledging *Stigand* as lawful Archbiſhop, tho' ſuſpended by the Pope.

J. Wallingford.

Theſe Inſtances ſhow, the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel-Synod* was an Eccleſiaſtical and Political Aſſembly at the ſame time, and that all Affairs relating to the Church and State were indifferently treated there. 'Twas not till long after, when the Papal Authority was grown to a great height, under the *Norman* and *Angevin* Kings, that the Clergy claimed the Privilege of debating apart all matters any ways relating to Religion, in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies or Synods.

It is time now to ſpeak of the King in particular, his Prerogatives, Revenues, and Succeſſion to the Crown.

Of the KING.

The Power of the King was bounded.

I Have already obſerved in another place, that the *Saxon* Government in *Germany* was *Ariſtocratical*, and that they had only a General who commanded their Armies in time of War. The *Saxon* Leaders themſelves erected their ſeveral Conqueſts in *Great-Britain* into Kingdoms, and aſſumed the title of King. But with this new title, they were however conſidered at firſt by their Subjects upon the ſame foot only with their Governors in *Germany*, whoſe power was far from being Deſpotical. Nevertheleſs, ſome pretend, the right of Conqueſt gave theſe firſt Kings an unlimited power, from whence it would follow, that the Privileges of the *Engliſh* Subjects were either Conceſſions of the Kings, or Uſurpations of the People. This Argument, drawn from the right of Conqueſt, might have ſome weight, if the Privileges of the *Britons*, who were ſubdued, was the point in queſtion. But the Buſineſs in hand is the Privileges of the *Saxons* or *Engliſh*, who were themſelves the Conquerors, and over whom Conqueſt gave no power to their Kings. I ſay, we are to conſider here the *Saxons* only, ſince there remained in the Country they became maſters of, but very few *Britons*, who were looked upon but as ſo many Slaves. As therefore the *Anglo-Saxons* can't be ſaid to loſe their Rights by making Conqueſts, they are to be conſidered upon the ſame foot as in *Germany*, that is, as a free People under the conduct of a Head or Chief, whoſe power was limited by Law.

There is no doubt, that in *England*, as in all other Kingdoms, the Royal Authority by degrees exceeded the Bounds at firſt preſcribed. But, the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons* being very imperfect, there is no giving a particular Account of this matter. I muſt therefore content my ſelf with ſhowing in general ſome of the chief Prerogatives enjoyed by the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings during their Dominion, which laſted above 600 Years, without being able ſo much as to obſerve the alterations that may have been in this reſpect in ſo long an Interval.

The King's Prerogatives.

One of the moſt conſiderable of the King's Prerogatives was the Power of appointing the Earls, Viſcounts, Judges, and other Officers as well Civil as Military. Some however aſſert, that the military Poſt of the Dukes or Holds of each County was conferred by the *Shire-Gemot*. Very probably, it was in the King's power to change theſe Officers according to his pleaſure, of which we meet with ſeveral inſtances in Hiſtory. But after all, it can't be poſitively affirmed; becauſe when ſuch an Officer is found to be turned out by the King, it does not neceſſarily follow, it was done without the Conſent or previous Sentence of the *Wittena-Gemot* (2). 1.

Another great Prerogative of the Crown, was that the Laws made in the *Wittena-Gemot* were of no force without the Aſſent of the King, to whom was committed the Executive Power. 2.

The King had alſo power to pardon Malefactors. But as Offences may be conſidered in a double view, namely, as they concern the publick, or as being prejudicial to ſome private Perſon, the King could only pardon them in the firſt reſpect. The King's pardon prevented not the offended Party from demanding ſatisfaction for the wrongs he had received. This ſatisfaction was called in *Saxon*, *Wiregeld*, that is, a Reparation, made to the injured party or his friends and relations. Hence doubtleſs came the Cuſtom in *England* at this day, of the Wife's or Son's appealing in caſes of Murders. For the ſame reaſon alſo this Clauſe is uſually inſerted in Pardons: *Ita tamen ut ſtet rectò in curiâ noſtrâ, ſi quis verſus eum loqui voluerit.* 3.

The power of coining Money was another of the King's Prerogatives, which he could grant by Charter to whom he pleaſed, as we find ſeveral of the *Saxon* Kings granted the ſame to the two Archbiſhops and others. But the King had not the power of enhancing or debaſing the Coin. The *Mirror of Juſtice* recites it as an old Law, that the King could not change the Money, or make other Coin than of Silver, without the Conſent of all the Counties. 4.

It is uncertain, whether it was abſolutely in the Power of the *Saxon* Kings, to make War or Peace, without the Conſent of the *Wittena-Gemot*. It is true, indeed, the Power of making War was, as it is now, of little conſequence; ſince the King not being able to raiſe Money without the Conſent of the Eſtates, could not bear the expence, if his Subjects refuſed to aſſiſt him. But as for making Peace, the caſe is quite different, ſince on a good or bad Peace, depends the welfare of a whole Kingdom, as hath been too often experienc'd. And therefore, theſe two Prerogatives, which are commonly joined together, widely differ in their Conſequences. It lies in the People's Breaſt to contribute to the Wars the King is pleaſed to undertake of his own accord, and, by refuſing their Concurrence, have it in their power to prevent the miſchiefs that an unjuſt or unneceſſary War may occaſion. But how ſhall they hinder the effects of a pernicious Peace, concluded without their Knowledge?

The King's Revenues.

The King's Revenues were of three ſorts. The firſt conſiſted in certain things, furniſhed him by the States, for the maintenance of his Houſhold, as Corn, Hay, Cattle, and the like, which were uſually paid in kind. The ſecond Branch was the produce of certain Demeſnes or Lands annexed to the Crown, and deſigned to ſerve for publick Uſes, it not being in the power of the King to grant any part of them, not even to the Church, without the Conſent of the Eſtates. Hence it is that we find the antient Charters of the *Saxon* Kings to the Churches or Monaſteries, confirmed by the principal Members of the General Aſſembly, who ſigned them in this manner. *I N------have ſubſcrib'd, confirm'd, approv'd, corroborated*, or other the like Expreſſions. It cannot be doubted

(1) After which the Perſon ſo elected being firſt conſecrated, the King inveſted him with the Temporalities, by the Delivery *Baculi* and *Annuli*, as you may ſee in the ſame Author.

(2) As the Earls in thoſe Days held their Earldoms of the Community and not of the King, there is no doubt but they were both made and turned out with the Conſent of the Great Council. But as a Body Politick cannot act it ſelf, when any particular Act is to be done, the Execution thereof naturally devolves on the King as Lord or Head of the great Seignory of the Kingdom. And therefore when he is ſaid to make or put out an Earl, the Aſſent of the *Wittena-Gemot* is always to be ſuppoſed. For *Feudal* Earls (and all were ſo in thoſe Days) could not be made without the Conſent of the Peers.

but this Branch of the King's Revenue was applied to publick Uſes, when it is conſidered, that ſo late as the end of the XIVth Century, in the Reign of *Richard* II, the Parliament order'd, that for the future the Revenues of the King's Demeſnes ſhould go towards defraying the charge of the Wars he ſhould be engaged in. The third Branch conſiſted, as at this day, of certain Taxes or Impoſts, which were laid from time to time on the People upon urgent occaſions, by the Authority of the *Witten-Gemot*.

We don't find, during the *Heptarchy*, the Kings affected any ſwelling Titles, as ſome did afterwards. They were all contented with the Title of King of their reſpective Kingdoms; and the Prince who was elected Monarch did not imagine he had a Right to diſtinguiſh himſelf upon that account. *Egbert* himſelf, after acquiring the Sovereignty of the Seven Kingdoms, made no Alteration in his uſual Title of *King of the* Weſt-Saxons. *Athelſtan* was the firſt that ſtiled himſelf *Imperator*. *Edmund* was ſatisfied with, *Rector & Gubernator Angliæ*. *Edgar* called himſelf, *King of the whole Iſland of* Albion. *Canute the Great* aſſumed the Title of *King of* Albion *and many other Nations*. Some affected a *Greek* Title, as *Edgar*, who ſtiled himſelf, *Totius Angliæ Baſileus*.

The Coronation of the Kings.

As for the Coronation of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, there was no time fixed for this Ceremony, either during the *Heptarchy*, or after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. Each was crowned when he thought it moſt convenient. Before *Egbert*, the Kings of *Kent* were crowned by the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury:* The Kings of *Northumberland*, by the Archbiſhops of *York*; and the reſt commonly by the Biſhop of their Capital. After *Egbert* united the *Heptarchy*, or at leaſt four of the Kingdoms into one, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* claimed the Privilege of crowning the Kings; but this pretenſion was founded only on a Cuſtom, which, tho' uſual,' was not however neceſſary. And indeed we find, after the Union, ſeveral Kings were crowned by the Archbiſhops of *York*, or even by other Biſhops. Some ſay, *Harold* put the Crown on his own head himſelf. *Sweyn*, the firſt *Daniſh* King, was not crowned at all, and yet was owned for King. *Edgar* reigned ſeveral years in *Weſſex* before he was ſolemnly crowned. *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Coronation was not performed till ſix Months after he was proclaimed. This neglect is a clear Evidence this Ceremony was not then deemed abſolutely neceſſary. And therefore they who date the beginnings of the Reigns from the Coronation-days, only breed confuſion in Chronology, from a miſtaken nicety. This way of reckoning is ſo much the more liable to Error, as there were ſeveral Kings who repeated the Solemnity of their Coronation ſeveral times; for inſtance, *Cerdic* firſt King of *Weſſex*. This Ceremony was not at firſt performed in a Church, but in the open Air. Thus it is expreſly ſaid by the Hiſtorians, that *Athelſtan*, *Edmund* and *Edred* were crowned in an open Place (1).

Form of the Crown.

As for the Form of the Crown, it was not over-curious, at leaſt it was not uniform, as may be ſeen from many Impreſſions of Heads of the *Saxon* Kings, given us by *Camden* and *Spelman* (2). Some have only a Diadem of Pearls. Others a Coronet with ſix Rays or Points, with *Flower de Luces* between, or Pearls upon them. *Edward the Confeſſor* has an Imperial Crown. This variety ſhows, that in *England*, as well as in other places, there was not then any ſettled Form for the Crowns, but that each Prince pleaſed his own fancy (3).

The SUCCESSION *to the CROWN in the Time of the* ANGLO-SAXONS.

Three Opinions concerning the Succeſſion.

THERE are three different Opinions upon this Subject. The firſt is, that the Crown was all along Hereditary, as well during the *Heptarchy* as afterwards. The ſecond, that the Crown was always Elective, and in the diſpoſal of the People; ſo that, although the Son ſucceeded the Father, it was however by Election. The third, that the Crown was neither Hereditary nor Elective, but the Kings had power to give it by Will to any one of their Sons or Relations, whom they thought moſt worthy. But how confidently ſoever each aſſerts his Opinion, it is eaſily perceived that to eſtabliſh any one of the three, is more difficult than to combat the other two. This difficulty ariſes from our imperfect Knowledge of the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and perhaps from their not proceeding regularly themſelves in this matter. The Arguments uſed by each Party in defence of his own, and againſt the Opinions of his Adverſaries, are as follow.

Proof of the Crown's being Hereditary.

The firſt ſay, we need only run over the Hiſtory of the *Heptarchy*, to be convinced that in each of the ſeven Kingdoms, the Crown remained in the Family of the firſt Kings, as long as there were any Male Heirs in being. And that after the Union of the ſeven Kingdoms, there was no alteration in this reſpect, the Race of *Egbert* ſitting on the Throne down to *Edward the Confeſſor*. 'Tis true indeed the *Daniſh* Kings are to be excepted: but as they intruded themſelves by force of Arms, nothing can be inferred from thence againſt the Crown's being Hereditary.

Proof that it was Elective.

They who believe the Crown was Elective, ground their Opinion upon the ſame Hiſtory, by ſhowing that the Lineal Succeſſion from Father to Son was not always preſerved. And indeed, they demonſtrate, by undeniable Proofs, that the King's Brother often ſucceeded before the King's Sons, and diſtant Branches of the Royal Family were preferred before the neareſt; whence they conclude, this was occaſioned by the right of Election reſiding in the People. They further add, that although the Son ſucceeded the Father, ſometimes even for ſeveral Generations, it does not neceſſarily follow, that the Crown was Hereditary; as the Imperial Crown of *Germany* can't be ſaid to be ſo, though it has now continued two hundred and fifty years in the Houſe of *Auſtria*. To ſupport their Opinion concerning the Right of Election, they alledge ſeveral Paſſages of the Hiſtorians, who, ſpeaking of the Kings that ſucceeded their Fathers, uſe this Expreſſion, *electus eſt in Regem*, *He was elected King*.

Anſwer.

To this the others reply, That indeed upon certain occaſions, Fraud and Violence took place: But however, the Lineal Succeſſion, tho' broken for ſome time, preſerved its Rights, ſince quickly after we find things were reſtored to their former State. I think it needleſs to produce the Inſtances alledged by both Parties. Beſides their having been related in the Hiſtory, the Reader may eaſily refreſh his Memory by caſting his Eye on the Genealogical Tables of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, where the Order of the Succeſſion is ſet down. As for the Expreſſion of the Hiſtorians, *He was elected*, they ſay, theſe Words are to be found only in Authors who wrote long after, and made uſe of them without conſidering the Conſequences, as not treating expreſly of this matter. Beſides, 'tis pretended, theſe Authors have not rightly tranſlated the original Terms in the *Saxon Annals*, *Feng to Rice*, which properly ſignify *Regnum capeſſit*, *he took upon him the Kingdom*.

That the Crown was diſpoſed of by the King.

They who are of the third Opinion, alledge againſt the firſt, that the Crown was not therefore Hereditary, becauſe it continued long in one Family, as appears from the example of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. To the ſecond they object, that after proving the Crown not to be Hereditary, their Inference, that it was therefore Elective, is not juſt, for there is another way, which excluded the other two, namely, the Kings diſpos'd of the Crown as they thought fit. To confirm their Opinion, they alledge the example of *France*, where they pretend, the Kings, even as low down as ſome of the ſecond Race (4), enjoyed the Privilege of diſpoſing of their Dominions, which occaſioned the ſo frequent diviſion of that Kingdom. For, ſay they, had it been the eldeſt Son's Right always to ſucceed his Father, 'tis inconceivable that the younger Brothers ſhould ſo frequently riſe in Arms to compel their elder to ſhare the Kingdom with them. On the other hand, they obſerve, if the Crown of *France* had been Elective, 'tis not likely the *French* would have always elected as many Sovereigns, as the former Kings had left Sons. From all which they conclude, that the frequent Partitions during the firſt and ſecond Race, were ſolely owing to the teſtamentary diſpoſition of the Kings. Agreeable to this, is, what *Mezerai* ſays, ſpeaking of *Aribert* King *Dagobert*'s Brother. His words are: *But as* Aribert *was young, and the King his Father perhaps had left him no Part of the Kingdom in his Will, it was to no purpoſe that* Bernulph, *his Mother's Brother, endeavoured to perſuade the* Neuſtrians *to riſe in his favour*. This Cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the *French* from the beginning of their Monarchy, as it is pretended to be proved, is doubtleſs a ſtrong Preſumption that the *Anglo-Saxons* did the like, ſeeing they lived at the ſame time, and came, as well as the *Francs*, from *Germany*, in the ſame

(1) They were crowned in the Market-Place of *Kingſton upon Thames*.

(2) Theſe Impreſſions were taken from old *Saxon Coins*.

(3) *Tyrrel* looks upon it as Fiction in them who will needs have it that *Alfred* was crowned with a Crown wrought with *Flower de Luces*, becauſe ſuch a Crown was kept among the *Regalia* at *Weſtminſter* before our late Civil Wars. (See Note (9) p. 95.) The Inſcription, *Hæc oſt*, &c. being in all probability put on the Box wherein it was kept by ſome Monk of After-Times, to give the greater Air of Antiquity to the Crown.

(4) The Crown of *France* has been enjoyed by three Royal Families: Firſt, the *Merovians*, begun by *Pharamond*, and ended in *Childeric* III, twenty one Kings: Second, the *Carolinians* from *Charles Martell* to *Lewis* V, fourteen Kings: Third, begun in *Hugh Capet*, of which there have been thirty one Kings.

Century.

Century. But if it be objected, there are no Inſtances to be found then in *England* of the like Partitions, in the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, it is replied, there were ſome, tho' not many. The Kings of the *Heptarchy*, who were but petty Princes in compariſon of the Kings of *France*, took care not to divide their Dominions, otherwiſe there would quickly have been as many Sovereigns as Cities. However there were ſome that did ſo: For Inſtance, *Penda* King of *Mercia*, placed in his Life-time, his eldeſt Son *Peda* on the Throne of *Leiceſter*, having erected that City, and the adjoining Country into a Kingdom. *Ethelred* his Son and Succeſſor, gave his Brother *Merowald* part of his Dominions, with the Title of King of *Hereford*, which little Kingdom was left by *Merowald*, to his Brother *Mercelm*. *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland*, gave the Kingdom of *Deira* to *Alfred* his Natural Son, as *Ethelwulph* did the Kingdom of *Kent* in his Life-time to *Athelſtan*. For a farther Confirmation of this Opinion, *Ethelwulph*'s Will is produced, who diſpoſed of his Dominions in ſo abſolute a manner, that his four Sons were to ſucceed one after another, whether the firſt had Children or not; which was accordingly done. Theſe are the Arguments alledged in Proof of the third Opinion; but they have not remained unanſwered.

Anſwer. It is ſaid firſt, thoſe Princes, who were crowned in their Father's Life-time, were properly but ſo many *Viceroys*: and they, who, contrary to the eſtabliſhed order, ſucceeded by virtue of a Will, were admitted to the Throne by the Authority, or at leaſt, not without the Conſent of the Eſtates, which implies a Right of Election in the Subjects.

Another Proof in favour of the Kings. But it is more difficult to anſwer the Arguments drawn from the Proceedings of *Canute the Great*, who, towards the latter end of his Life, very carefully avoided every thing that might make the *Engliſh* apprehenſive of his intending to alter the form of Government. 'Tis well known, this Prince annulled his Marriage Articles with *Emma* of *Normandy*, by making his Will, and appointing *Harold* his Succeſſor, inſtead of *Hardicanute*, who by the Marriage-Contract was Heir to the Crown. This ſeems to demonſtrate, the King was entirely free to chuſe his Succeſſor. It is true, after his death Diſputes aroſe; but however that be, it appears at leaſt, this Prince thought he might diſpoſe of the Crown by Will. The ſame thing may be ſaid of *Edward the Confeſſor*. Whether this Prince made a Will in favour of the Duke of *Normandy*, or deſigned it only, or even gave him but a bare verbal Promiſe, it may be inferred from thence, that he imagined he had a Right to ſettle the Succeſſion that way.

Theſe are the Reaſons alledged to ſupport the three Opinions, in this important Inquiry. I call it important with regard to thoſe who really think it ſo. For my part, I can hardly be perſuaded there is any occaſion to recur to the Cuſtoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, to eſtabliſh thoſe that are to be followed at this day.

The three Opinions may be united. It would not, perhaps, be impoſſible to form an Idea of the *Anglo-Saxon* Government, with regard to the Succeſſion, by uniting the three foregoing Opinions. It ſeems to me that from all the reaſons alledged, it may be inferred in favour of the reſt, that the Crown was Hereditary in the Family of the *Saxon* Kings, as well during the *Heptarchy*, as after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. In favour of the ſecond, it may be granted, that upon extraordinary occaſions, the *Wittena-Gemot*, conſidering itſelf as Supreme Legiſlator, aſſumed an abſolute Authority, and went beyond the uſual Bounds. With the third it may be ſaid, the Kings had power of nominating their Succeſſor, provided, when they deviated from the common Practice, which was to prefer the next in Blood, they took care to have their Choice confirmed by the Great Council of the Kingdom. This is the Reaſon why thoſe Kings who were not the next in Blood, never failed of making uſe of the Conſent of the Eſtates, thereby to rectify the Irregularity of their acceſſion to the Throne. This we ſee alſo in *Alfred*'s Will, at the end of his Life publiſhed by *Spelman* (1). By uniting thus the three Opinions, the Rules for the Succeſſion in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, will be found to be much the ſame with thoſe at preſent. It is conſeſt, the Crown is Hereditary. But however, this prevents not the Parliament in extraordinary caſes, from claiming a Power to over-rule Cuſtom, and ſettle the Succeſſion on a more diſtant, in prejudice of a nearer Relation. Of this the Hiſtory of *England* ſince the Conqueſt affords many Inſtances and Precedents, without inſiſting on thoſe of our own Times. If it is objected, all do not allow the King and Parliament to have a right to ſuch a Power; it may be replied, till the contrary is determined by a lawful Authority, it is reaſonable to preſume this Power is rightfully lodged in the Nation. According to theſe Principles, they, who labour to prove the Crown was Elective in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, don't ſeem to do much in favour of the Parliament, which claims a Power to alter the Succeſſion but on certain occaſions. On the other hand, they, who undertake to prove the Crown was Hereditary at that time, do no great prejudice to the Authority aſſumed by this Auguſt Body only in extraordiny Caſes. In fine, as they who pretend to prove the *Saxon* Kings had an abſolute Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, probably do not mean that the preſent Kings have the ſame Power, they ſeem to me to debate a Queſtion of more Curioſity than Importance.

Of the LAWS of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

Several ſorts of Laws. DURING the *Heptarchy*, there were no Laws common to all the ſeven Kingdoms; but each had its own in particular. It is very likely however, theſe Laws were not very different, ſince the Inhabitants of the ſeven Kingdoms had the ſame original. But there is nothing certain in this matter. The firſt Laws, we have any Knowledge of, are thoſe publiſhed by *Etherbert* King of *Kent*, about the time of the Converſion of the *Saxons*. We have likewiſe *Ina*'s King of *Weſſex*, and *Offa*'s King of *Mercia*; and there is no doubt but ſome of the other Kings made Laws, though they are not tranſmitted to us. Bede, l. 2. c. 3.

After the Union of the ſeven Kingdoms, *Egbert*'s Succeſſors explained or extended the Laws already eſtabliſhed, or made new ones. The moſt famous are thoſe of *Alfred the Great*, taken, as he himſelf ſays, from the beſt he could find, and particularly from *Ina*'s and *Offa*'s abovementioned. *Edgar*, with ſuch Additions and Emendations as he thougt fit, cauſed the Laws of *Alfred* to be ſtrictly obſerved. But it muſt be remembred, when *England* was divided into two Kingdoms, namely, *Weſſex* and *Mercia*, each had their Laws apart, and *Canute the Great* cauſed thoſe that were introduced by the *Danes* into *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, to be approved by the General Aſſembly. There were therefore in *England* three ſorts of Laws, the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Mercian*, and *Daniſh*, till *Edward the Confeſſor* united them all in one Body (2). As I propoſed only to give a general Notion of the Government of the *Anglo-Saxons*, my deſign is not to enter into a particular Account of all theſe Laws. I ſhall content my ſelf with relating ſome Circumſtances, which ſeem to me to merit the Curioſity of ſuch as are Strangers to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and are intelligible to all the World. *Laws of Alfred.* *Of* Edgar. *Three ſorts of Laws.*

The Laws were divided into Civil and Criminal. The firſt concerned the Lands or Eſtates, which were of two ſorts *Bocland* and *Socland*. *Bocland* was much of the ſame Nature with the Lands we call *Allodial* (3). It was Free and Hereditary, and might be alienated by the Owner, though he held in Fee of a ſuperior Lord. This is properly what is elſewhere called, *Feudum honoratum*. This ſort of Land was poſſeſſed by the Nobles and moſt conſiderable among the People. *Socland* was poſſeſſed by the *Ceorles*, and held of the Lord by payment of a certain annual Rent, and performance of certain perſonal Services. This ſort of Land is the ſame with what is called

(1) *Ego Ælfredus*——*totius Weſt-Saxoniæ Nobilitatis* Conſenſu *pariter & Aſſenſu*, *Occidentalium Saxonum Rex*, &c. Whence it is manifeſt, that though he was nominated in his Father's Will to ſucceed his Brothers, yet he was elected or at leaſt confirmed by the Great Council in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown ſo bequeathed to him by his Father. And therefore it is plain, that though the King had the Power to diſpoſe of the Crown by Will, yet it could not be done without the Conſent and Aſſent of the Eſtates.

(2) See what Biſhop *Nicholſon* ſays of this threefold Diſtinction of the Laws in p. 126. Note (3). To which may be added here the Opinion of *Spelman*: "Our *Saxons*, though divided into many Kingdoms, yet were they all one in Effect, in Manners, Laws, and Language; ſo that the breaking of their Go-"vernment into many Kingdoms, or the re-uniting of their Kingdoms into a Monarchy, wrought little or no Change among them touching Laws. For "though we talk of the *Weſt-Saxon-Law*, *Mercian-Law*, and *Dane-Law*, whereby the ſeveral Parts of *England* were governed, yet they all held an "Uniformity in Subſtance, differing rather in their Mulcts than in their Canon; that is, in the Quantity of Fines and Amerciaments, than in the Courſe "and Frame of Juſtice." *Reliq. Spel.* p. 49.

(3) The Northern Nations neither incorporating nor deſtroying the Inhabitants in their Conqueſts, divided the Land into three Parts; one they left to the old Poſſeſſors, the other two they took themſelves. Theſe Diviſions are called by the Writers of thoſe Ages, *Sortes Gothicæ*, and *Sortes Romanæ*, in *Italy*. The *Franci* proceeded in the ſame manner in *Gaul*. What they took to themſelves was termed *Terra Salica*, the reſt was called *Alodium*, from the negative Particle *A* and *Lend*, which ſignifies in *Teutonick*, Perſons linked by *feudal* Tenures, who only had a Share in the Legiſlature. So that *Allodial* Lands were ſuch as were not ſubject to *feudal* Duties; yet before Tenants were oppreſſed, the Term *Allodarii* was a Term of Reproach, as it diſcriminated the Vanquiſhed from the Victors. Though their Land was at firſt free from all Service, many Poſſeſſors for their better Security gave their *Allodial* Lands to the Chiefs of great Lordſhips to take them back under *feudal* Tenures. Others, without diveſting themſelves at all of their antient Poſſeſſion, placed themſelves under ſuch Superiors, and then came in uſe the Phraſe *tenere in Allodio*, frequent enough in our Doomſday Book, and in foreign Writers; for all Protection and Subjection was ſuppoſed then to be founded on Tenure. St. *Amand*, p. 26, 27.

a Rural

a Rural Fief. I don't think it neceſſary to enquire here into the original of Fees, which would lead me too far, and beſides would contain nothing peculiar to *England*. I ſhall only ſay, in *Selden*'s opinion, Fees derive their origin from the *North*, and from thence paſſed into *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *England*, where the northern Nations ſettled. It would alſo be too long a Digreſſion from my purpoſe, to recite all the Laws concerning the poſſeſſion of the two ſorts of Lands before-mentioned, eſpecially as theſe things are underſtood by few People. 'Tis ſufficient to have given a general Idea of them, and therefore I ſhall proceed to what is much more intelligible, the Criminal Laws.

The Criminal Laws. Trial by Peers.

By the regulations of *Alfred the Great*, all Perſons accuſed of any Crime were to be tried by their Peers. This Privilege which the *Engliſh* have preſerved to this day, is one of the greateſt a Nation can enjoy. It ſcreens the ſmall from the Oppreſſion of the great, and from the Caprice or Paſſion of the King himſelf, of which there have been ſeveral Inſtances in *England*. But as the Term Peers may not be rightly underſtood by many Readers, it will be proper briefly to explain the meaning of the Word. It is to be obſerved, that in *England* there are but two Degrees or Orders of Men, namely, the *Peers of the Realm*, and the *Commons*. Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Barons, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, are Peers of the Realm, and Peers among themſelves; inſomuch that the loweſt of the Barons is the Peer of the higheſt Duke. All the reſt of the People are ranked with the Commons. So that in this reſpect, the meaneſt Artificer is Peer of all below the rank of a Baron. When therefore it is ſaid, every one is tried by his Peers; the meaning is, the Peers of the Realm are judged by thoſe of their own Order, that is, by the other Lords; who, like them, are Peers of the Realm. In the ſame manner, one of the Commonalty is tried by ſuch as are of the order of the Commons, who, in this reſpect, are his Peers or Equals, how much ſoever they may differ with regard to Birth or Fortune. There is however this difference between the Peers of the Realm and the Commons; every Peer of the Realm has a right to vote at the Tryal of another Peer, whereas the Commons are tried but by twelve Perſons of their Order, whoſe Verdict concerns only Fact. Theſe twelve Perſons, after hearing the publick Examination of the Witneſſes for and againſt the Party accuſed, only bring him in Guilty or not Guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge; after which, the Judge condemns or acquits him according to Law. Such is the Privilege enjoyed by the *Engliſh* ever ſince the Time of King *Alfred*. And perhaps this Prince only revived and rectified a Cuſtom eſtabliſhed by the *Saxons* Time out of Mind (1).

Meaning of the Word Peer.

Means of diſcovering the Truth.

When the Crime was not clearly proved, or ſufficient Evidence found to condemn or acquit the Accuſed, two Methods were uſed, by which, it was thought, the Truth might be diſcovered.

By Oath.

The firſt was the Oath of the Party accuſed, to purge himſelf of the Crime he was charged with. But his ſingle Oath was not ſufficient: He was to bring with him a certain Number of Perſons who were [and ſtill are] called *Compurgators*, who alſo ſwore to his Innocence.

Ordeal Tryals.

The ſecond Method was by *Ordeal* (2), that is, Trial by Fire or Water. The Trial by Fire was performed two ways. The Perſon accuſed held in his Hand a red-hot piece of Iron of one, two, or three Pounds weight, according to his Crime, or according to the Evidence againſt him; or elſe he was made to walk barefoot and blindfold over nine red-hot Pow-ſhares placed at a ſtated diſtance. If he had the good fortune to come off unhurt, he was declared Innocent: But in caſe he was burnt, he was pronounced Guilty. Perſons of Quality were tried by *Fire-Ordeal*, of which *Emma*, Mother to *Edward the Confeſſor*, is an Inſtance. Trial by *Water-Ordeal* was made either by cold or ſcalding Water. Peaſants and Slaves were put upon this Trial. In the Trial by cold Water, the Party ſuſpected had his Hands and Feet tied together, and ſo was thrown into a Pond or River. If he ſunk, he was adjudged Innocent; but if he floated on the Surface of the Water, he was declared Guilty (3). When ſcalding Water was the Teſt, the Perſon accuſed was to plunge his Arm into it as far as the Wriſt, and ſometimes up to the Elbow. The Trial by cold Water was introduced by *Lewis le Debonnaire*, and by Pope *Eugenius* II, inſtead of an Oath, which was but too often the occaſion of the guilty Perſons perjuring themſelves; and the *Engliſh* followed their Example.

Single Combat.

The third way of Trial was by ſingle Combat. When the Evidences of the Accuſation were not ſtrong, the Party was allowed to vindicate his Innocence by challenging his Accuſer to ſingle Combat. If a Woman was accuſed, ſhe had the Privilege of ſubſtituting one in her room, who was called her Champion. This Cuſtom was not introduced into *England* till towards the End of the Empire of the *Saxons*: But it continued a long time in being.

Corſned.

A fourth way of Trial was by giving the Party ſuſpected a bit of Bread or Cheeſe (4), conſecrated with abundance of Ceremonies. If he was guilty, it was believed the Bread or the Cheeſe would ſtick in his Throat and choak him; but if innocent, he would readily ſwallow it. Part of the Imprecations uſed upon delivering him the Bread, (after receiving the Communion) was as follows: *May this Bread* [or *this Cheeſe*] *which is given him in order to bring the Truth to light, ſtick in his Throat and find no Paſſage if he is guilty* (5). *But if innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, may he eaſily ſwallow this Bread* [or *this Cheeſe*] *conſecrated in thy Name, to the end all may know*, &c. This way of Trial was evidently in Imitation of the *Waters of Jealouſy* among the *Jews*. They who forged the Circumſtances of Earl *Goodwin*'s death, as related in the reign of King *Edward*, had probably an eye to this Cuſtom. This conſecrated Bread or Cheeſe was called *Corſned*, from the word *Snide* or *Snidan*, which ſignifies *to cut a bit off*, and *Corſe*, that is, to *curſe*, becauſe 'twas believed it brought a Curſe on the guilty Perſon. The Church not only approved of all theſe ways of Trial, but preſcribed the Ceremonies and Form of Prayers to be uſed on theſe occaſions, and even conſented that the Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould officiate. There is a Law of *Canute the Great* concerning the *Corſned*, to this effect: *If a Man be accuſed of Murder, or of having any hand in it, let him clear himſelf to the Relations and Friends of the murdered Perſon, and, if neceſſary, let him be put to the Trial of the* Corſned. It is very wonderful, the *Saxons* and other Nations, among whom theſe Trials were common, could for ſo long together fancy they were infallible ways of diſcovering the Truth. On the contrary, one would think the numberleſs Experiments, they muſt needs have had of their uncertainty, ſhould have opened their Eyes and made them ſee their Error.

Numb. 5.

When the Charge was fully proved, the Law ordained ſeveral ſorts of Puniſhments, according to the Quality of the Offence: The greateſt part whereof conſiſted in Fines, which the guilty Perſon was condemned to pay to the injured Party, to the King, to the Earl or to his Lord. There were ſome Crimes however, that were looked upon as *Capital*, and puniſhed with Death. Such were Treaſon againſt the King, or Lord, wilful Murder and Theft. Though Treaſon was Death by the Law, yet the guilty Perſon had the Liberty of redeeming his Life by paying the Valuation of the King's or Lord's Head: I ſhall explain this hereafter. Coining of Money was not originally a *Capital* Crime; but the Conſequences made the Penalty very great. The firſt Law that made it Death was in the Reign of *Ethelred* II, though it was left in the King's Power to commute the Puniſhment for a Fine. As for Murder, the Laws diſtinguiſhed killing a Man in a ſudden and unforeſeen Quarrel, from wilful and premeditated Murder. The Puniſhment of the former was only pecuniary, the latter was Death. This Diſtinction ſtill ſubſiſts in the Laws of *England*, where the firſt is called, Manſlaughter, and the other, Murder. Theft or Robbery was not till after ſome time puniſh-

Treaſon.

Coining.

Murder and Manſlaughter.

Theft.

(1) Sir *William Temple* ſays, Traces are not wanting of this Cuſtom, from the very Inſtitutions of *Odin*, the firſt Leader of the *Aſiatick Goths* or *Getæ* into *Europe*, and Founder of that mighty Kingdom round the *Baltick Sea*, from whence all the *Gothick* Governments in theſe North-Weſt Parts of the World were derived. This is the Reaſon that it is known to have been as antient in *Sweden* as any Records, or Traditions of that Kingdom, and ſtill remains in ſome Provinces. The *Normans* introduced the Terms of Jury and Verdict as well as many other Law-Terms; but the Trials by Twelve Men are expreſly mention'd in *Alfred*'s and *Ethelred the Firſt*'s Laws.

(2) *Somner* in his *Gloſſary* derives this Word *Or*, a Privative, and *Dal*, that is, Diſtinction or Difference, as much as to ſay, an impartial Judgment, without any Diſtinction.

(3) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays *Sinking* was a Sign of *Guilt*, and *Swimming* of *Innocence*. The Cuſtom among the Country-People of trying *Witches*, by throwing them into the Water with their Thumbs and Toes tied together, is perhaps a Relict of *Water Ordeal*. Theſe Trials were made with great Solemnity, and were always managed by the Clergy. The Perſon accuſed was obliged to ſwear to his Innocence, and ſometimes, eſpecially if in Orders, to receive the Sacrament. After the Charge was legally brought in, the Perſon impeach'd was to ſpend three Days in Faſting and Prayer. At the Day of Trial, which in the *Fire Ordeal* was made in the Church, the Prieſt in his Habit took up the Iron which lay before the Altar, and repeating the Hymn of the Three Children, put it into the Fire: Then uſing ſome Forms of *Benediction* over the Fire and Iron, he ſprinkled the Iron with *Holy Water*, and made the Sign of the Croſs in the Name of the *Trinity*: Which done, the Party accuſed paſſed through the Teſt. The Ceremony of the *Scalding Water-Ordeal* was much the ſame. But when the Trial was by *Cold Water*, the three Days Faſt and other Circumſtances being premiſed, the Perſon ſuſpected drank a Draught of *Holy Water*, to which the Prieſt added an Imprecation, in caſe he was Guilty: Then the Water into which he was to be thrown, had a ſort of exorciſing Form of Prayers ſaid over it: All theſe ways of Trial continued long after the Conqueſt. The firſt publick Diſcountenance from the State was in the third Year of *Henry* III.

(4) He was to take an Ounce of either faſting.

(5) The Imprecations go on thus: *May his Face turn pale, his Limbs be convulſed, and an horrible Alteration appear in his whole Body.*

able

able by death, and even the firſt Laws that made it ſo, permitted the Thief to redeem his Head with a ſum of Money.

Fines for other Crimes. All other Offences were puniſhed only by Mulcts or Fines, 'till the Reign of *Canute the Great*, who ordered in the caſe of Adultery, that a Woman ſhould have her Noſe and Ears cut off, and the Man be baniſhed the Realm. Theſe Fines were not left to the Will of the Judge, but were ſettled by Law, according to the Quality of the injured Party, from the King to the Peaſant; and with regard to the Malefactors, from the Ealdorman to the Slave. Upon ſome certain occaſions, they who had incurred the Penalty of Death, might buy off their Puniſhment by giving the King part of their Eſtates. But this ſeldom happened, except where the Quality, or Power of the guilty Party, rendered the execution of the Laws difficult or dangerous. We have a remarkable inſtance of this in the Trial of Earl *Goodwin* in the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*. This Lord, as was ſaid in the Life of King *Edward*, entering the *Thames* with a Fleet, the King was forced to reſtore him to his Honours. But having been baniſhed by the *Wittena-Gemot*, he was to be recalled by the ſame Authority. It was neceſſary therefore to uſe ſome Formality, which ſhould ſcreen him from all future enquiry; and the method taken was this. The Earl being come to *London*, where the great Council was aſſembled, the King himſelf turned his Accuſer, and ſaid, "Thou Traitor *Goodwin*, I charge thee with "the death of *Alfred* my Brother, whom thou haſt trai-"terouſly murdered." "My Lord (anſwered the Earl) "ſaving the Reverence I owe you, I have neither mur-"dered, nor betrayed your Brother, and am ready to re-"fer myſelf to the Judgment of your Court." Upon which the Witneſſes were produced and examined, and then *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia* ſpoke thus: "It ſeems evi-"dent to me that Prince *Alfred* was put to death by the "Advice of Earl *Goodwin*. But as he is one of the great-"eſt Lords in the Kingdom, it is my opinion, that twelve "of us Earls, who are his Relations and Friends, ſhould "take as much Gold as we can carry in our hands, and "humbly preſenting it to the King, ſupplicate for his "Pardon and Reſtoration to his Honours, upon his taking "the Oath of Allegiance.". This being agreed to, twelve of the Lords offered a certain ſum to the King, which he accepting, pardoned the Earl. But this whole Proceeding was all a Farce. *Goodwin* knew before-hand how matters would go, otherwiſe he would never have ventured to ſtand a Trial.

Before I conclude this Head, it will be proper to remark, that ſeveral, upon reading the *Saxon* Laws, prepoſterouſly imagine, the Murder, as well of the King, as of any other Subject, was puniſhable only by Fine. But this miſtake proceeds purely from not attending to the fore-mentioned diſtinction between wilful Murder and Manſlaughter. Of this laſt, we are to underſtand *Athelſtan*'s Law (1), which ſettles the Fines to be paid for the killing any Perſon from the King to the Slave.

The Cuſtoms *and* Manners *of the* Anglo-Saxons.

THE *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from *Germany* their own Country's Virtues and Vices, and tranſmitted them to their Poſterity. Their Valour, to which they were indebted for their Conqueſts, as well in *England* as *Germany*, was what they valued themſelves moſt upon. They were bred up to Arms from their Infancy, and War may be ſaid to be their only Profeſſion. They came to their General Aſſemblies armed; and ſhewed their Approbation of what was propoſed by ſtriking their Javelins one againſt another. Their uſual Arms were the Sword, Club, Battle-Ax, or Bill, and Javelin. As they had no Bows and Arrows, their Battles were the more bloody. After darting their Javelins, they came to cloſe Fight, where their dexterity in handling their Arms, gave them a great advantage. Indeed, towards the end of their Empire, they were frequently worſted by the *Danes*, and at length vanquiſhed by the *Normans*. But where is the Nation, how famous ſoever for Bravery, that has not experienced the like turns of Fortune? Among the *Saxons*, a Man without Courage was looked upon with the utmoſt Contempt. This high Conceit of martial Valour was the cauſe of their being very hardly reconciled after a quarrel. Every one dreading the name of Coward, ſhould he make the firſt advances, the Quarrel was perpetuated from Father to Son, and very ſeldom ended but with the Extinction of one of the Families (2). It is eaſy to imagine, that people of this Temper, accuſtomed from their Childhood to fear neither Blows nor Wounds, and continually encouraged by the examples of their Relations and Friends, encountered Dangers with great reſolution. Accordingly there never was any Nation that looked death in the face with greater Intrepidity than the *Saxons*. And all the World knows this is the Character of the *Engliſh* at this very day.

The *Saxons* were extremely addicted to Religion, even before they had the happineſs of becoming Chriſtians. When they ſettled in *Great-Britain*, they were not only Idolaters, but of all the Heathens were the moſt attached to the Service of their Gods; even to the ſacrificing of the Priſoners of War on their Altars. As ſoon as they embraced the Goſpel, the ſame Inclination cauſed them to receive and practiſe, with equal zeal, the Duties of the Chriſtian Religion, and whatever the Monks, their firſt Teachers, were pleaſed to inculcate upon them. It was their unhappineſs not to come to the Knowledge of God, 'till the Monks began by degrees to diſfigure Religion by ſuperſtitious Practices. As the *Saxons* were Men of no Learning and conſequently incomplete Judges of what they were taught, they entirely gave themſelves up to the management of their Guides. Hence their great zeal in founding and endowing Monaſteries. They were made to believe, that enriching the Monks was the main of Religion, or at leaſt would ſupply all defects. This is alſo the reaſon that in the two firſt Centuries after their Converſion we find among them ſo many Saints of diſtinguiſhed Birth and Fortune. Indeed, ſince a Saintſhip might be purchaſed by liberal Benefactions to the Monaſteries, it was an eaſy way for the Rich and the Powerful to attain it. But although they were attached to many unneceſſary things, yet even in that may be ſeen their Biaſs to Religion. This natural Inclination, no doubt, was the reaſon ſo many of their Kings voluntarily exchanged their worldly Grandeur for a Cloiſter. They who are acquainted with the Temper of the *Engliſh* at this day, will readily own, no Nation can produce more Inſtances of fervent and ſolid Piety. My long abode in *England* makes me affirm this the more boldly. Indeed, God has permitted Libertiniſm in point of Religion to make ſome progreſs there of late Years. But it would be very unjuſt to judge of a whole Nation by a few that are infected with it, and of whom one ſingle Perſon makes more noiſe in the world by his pernicious Maxims, than many thouſands of pious and ſincere Chriſtians.

Common ſwearing not frequent among the Saxons. The *Anglo-Saxons* were ſo little accuſtomed to Swearing and Blaſpheming, which are grown ſo common now-a-days in Converſation, that among all their Laws there is not one againſt this Vice. This cannot be ſaid to be owing to the negligence of the Legiſlators, ſince we ſee in thoſe very Laws great Penalties laid upon ſuch as violated the Sabbath, or a Faſt.

Given to Drunkenneſs. Edgar's Laws about it. Drunkenneſs was their reigning Vice. They were uſed to drink out of large Cups, and take great Draughts, 'till *Edgar*, willing to reform this Abuſe, ordered certain Marks to be made in their Cups at ſuch a height, above which they were forbid to fill under ſuch a Penalty. But this Regulation was not long in force.

The Sciences. Although the *Engliſh* in general, before the *Norman* Conqueſt, were not very famous for Learning, it is not to be aſcribed to their want of Genius, but rather to their Education, which was entirely turned to Arms. Beſides, the time of the Dominion of the *Saxons*, eſpecially after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, was not a time wherein the Sciences greatly flouriſhed.

They reckoned Time by Nights. I have but two Obſervations more to make on the Cuſtoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*. The firſt is, they reckoned the time by Nights, which is ſtill obſervable in ſome *Engliſh* Expreſſions. For inſtance, inſtead of two Weeks they ſay a *Fortnight*, or fourteen Nights. *Mezerai* ob-

(1) In this Law we have the Valuation of Men's Heads of all Orders and Degrees. This Valuation was called in *Saxon*, *Wiregild*. The King's Head was valued at thirty thouſand *Thrimſa's* (that is, in our Money, three hundred and ſixty Pounds, each *Thrimſa* being ſuppoſed worth about our three Pence, the ſame as their *Peninga* or *Sceat*) half of which was to be paid to his Relations, and half to the State. An Atheling or Prince's was valued at fifteen thouſand *Thrimſa's*: A Biſhop's and Ealdorman's, at eight thouſand: A General's, at four thouſand: A Spiritual and Temporal *Thane's*, at two thouſand: (Hence it is evident, that a *Thane* was far from being the ſame with a Baron, whoſe Valuation would have been at leaſt as much as a Biſhop's) the *Ceorle's* Head was valued at two hundred ſixty-ſeven, but if he was ſo rich as to poſſeſs five Hides of Land, at two thouſand, the ſame as a *Thane's*. The *Saxon* Money is thus calculated by Mr. *Camden*; a *Peninga*, three of our Pence. A Shilling, three *Peninga's*, or fifteen Pence; a Pound, forty eight Shillings, or three of our Pounds; *Manca*, *Mancuſa*, or *Marca*, twelve of our Pence. *Manca* of Gold, thirty *Peninga's*, or ſeven Shillings and Six-pence.

(2) Theſe are what we call *deadly Feuds*, that is, Quarrels which end not but in Death. The thirty eighth Law of *Alfred* is concerning theſe deadly Feuds, and gives a ſtrange Licenſe for Men to take Satisfaction on their Enemies, even without the Preſence of any Officer. Nay, ſo far did they proceed, that if one Man killed another, his Kindred revenged his Death upon any of the Murderer's Relations (as they do among the *Indians*) 'till King *Edmund* ordered by a Law, that the Murderer alone ſhould bear the deadly Feud or Enmity of the Kindred of the Party ſlain.

ſerves the ſame thing of the antient *Francs*. This, with ſeveral other Cuſtoms common to the *Francs* and *Saxons*, is a ſtrong Preſumption, theſe two Nations had the ſame Original, as Sir *William Temple* aſſerts in his *Introduction to the Hiſtory of* England.

The Saxon *Dikes.*

My ſecond Obſervation is, that the *Anglo-Saxons* were wont to ſeparate their Lands by large and deep Ditches. This was not only practiſed by private Perſons; but the Kings themſelves took care to raiſe Ramparts with large Ditches on the Frontiers of their Dominions, to part them from the neighbouring States, when there was no Mountains or Rivers to ſerve for Boundaries. *Offa's Dike* made to divide *Mercia* from *Wales*, was twenty-four miles long. There was another between the *Thames* and the *Severn*, ſeparating *Mercia* from *Weſſex*. It was called *Woden's Dike*, but contracted now into *Wanſditch*. *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* were parted by a like Ditch. Aterwards, the *Eaſt-Angles* making Conqueſts upon the *Mercians*, made another Ditch ſeven Miles further into the conquered Country. The firſt was called, but for what reaſon I know not, the *Devil's Dike*, and the other *the Seven Mile Dike*. They had this cuſtom from the antient *Saxons*, who practiſed the ſame thing in *Germany*. We are informed by ſome Hiſtorians, that the *Saxons* of *Sleſwick* threw up a large Rampart from Sea to Sea, to defend themſelves againſt the Incurſions of the *Danes*, who were in poſſeſſion of the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſus* or *Jutland*. *Pepin* King of *France* was long prevented from entring *Saxony*, by one of theſe Ramparts, and it was with great difficulty that he made his way over it at laſt.

The Language *of the* ANGLO-SAXONS.

The ſeveral Dialects of the Anglo-Saxon *Language.*

TO ſay in general, the *Anglo-Saxons* ſpoke *Engliſh* or *Saxon*, would not be ſhewing with ſufficient exactneſs what their Language was. To give a fuller Idea of it, it will be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral Tongues uſed in *England* after the arrival of the firſt *Saxons*. The *Engliſh* Tongue originally differed but little from the *Daniſh*, ſince the ancient Writers call them indifferently *Cimbric*, *Scandinavian*, *Gothic*: But this Language was not the ſame with the *Saxons*. In the parts lying North of the *Thames*, was ſpoken pure *Engliſh* or *Daniſh*, and South of the *Thames* pure *Saxon*. Though theſe two Languages were different, they ſo far agreed however, as to be underſtood by both Nations. In proceſs of time, and eſpecially after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, *Saxon* prevailed in all *England*, becauſe the Kings were of that Nation. Thus pure *Engliſh*, [or the Language of the *Angles*] was by degrees diſuſed, or at leaſt baniſhed from common Converſation. Afterwards the *Danes* ſettling in *England*, brought their Language, which was not the ancient *Daniſh* or *Engliſh* abovementioned, but a modern *Daniſh*, mixt with the Language of ſeveral neighbouring Nations of *Denmark*. This modern *Daniſh* was chiefly uſed in *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*, wherein the *Danes* were Maſters. Though, out of complaiſance to the *Engliſh*, *Canute the Great* publiſhed his Laws in *Saxon*, yet the *Daniſh* Tongue was ſtill retained in the North, where the People were moſtly *Danes*. As it was alſo the Court Language during the Reigns of *Canute the Great* and his two Sons, it became neceſſary for the *Weſt-Saxons*, who adopted ſeveral Words and Idioms of it into their own Language. But upon *Edward the Confeſſor*'s acceſſion to the Throne, *Saxon* prevailed again at Court. Hence the Inhabitants of the North were under ſome neceſſity of learning it, juſt as the *Gaſcons* in *France* are obliged to learn *French*.

In the Reign of King *Edward*, the *Norman* Language began alſo to be introduced into *England*. As his Mother was a *Norman*, and he had lived many Years in that Court, he was very fond of the *Norman* Language. Moreover, the great number of *Normans* that flocked into *England*, very much helped to introduce this Language among the perſons of Quality, who took a pride in ſpeaking it well: The *Norman* Tongue being at that time a mixture of *Daniſh* and *French*, the laſt began to prevail, ſo that the ancient *Daniſh* brought by the *Normans* into *Normandy*, daily loſt ground. As ſoon as *William the Conqueror* was ſeated in the Throne of *England*, he uſed all poſſible means to bring his native Tongue in vogue throughout the Kingdom. He publiſhed his Laws in *Norman*, which, with the ſettlement of multitudes of *Norman* Families in *England*, made that Language as common as the *Saxon*.

The Language then of the *Anglo-Saxons* juſt before the Conqueſt was a mixture of the following Dialects. 1. Of *Britiſh* or *Celtic*, from whence no doubt the *Saxons* borrowed ſome Words and Phraſes. 2. Of *Latin*, which was common in *Great Britain* when the *Saxons* arrived. 3. Of the ancient *Engliſh* or *Daniſh*. 4. Of the modern *Daniſh*. 5. Of pure *Saxon*. 6. Of *Norman* mixed with *Daniſh* and *French*. They who have carefully ſtudied this matter, diſtinguiſh three principal Dialects in the *Anglo-Saxon* Language. The firſt was compounded of *Britiſh*, *Latin*, and *Saxon*, but in ſuch manner that the *Saxon* was predominant. The only remains of this Dialect, which was in uſe above three hundred Years, is a Fragment of the Writings of *Cedmon* the Monk, inſerted by *Alfred the Great* in his Tranſlation of *Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. The ſecond Dialect, which may be termed *Dano-Saxon*, was uſed in the northern Parts, from the firſt Invaſions of the *Danes*, to the *Norman* Conqueſt. They are ſtill preſerved in ſome Libraries, two Manuſcript Verſions of the Goſpels in this Language. The third Dialect was compoſed of the other two and the *Norman*. This Dialect, which was introduced chiefly in the Reigns of *Edward the Confeſſor* and *William the Conqueror*, has admitted of great alterations, by the addition of many *French* Words, particularly, after *Henry* II's Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*. They who are ignorant of the *Engliſh* Tongue, hardly believe, that a mixture of ſo many Languages can have any extraordinary Beauties. But the *Engliſh* pretend, their Language, for that very reaſon, muſt be more Beautiful and Expreſſive, ſince they have adopted only the more refined part of other Tongues, and rejected what is rude and unpoliſhed. Be this as it will, they have a great value for their Language, and, if a Foreigner may be allowed to give his Opinion, I think, very juſtly.

Sterling Money.

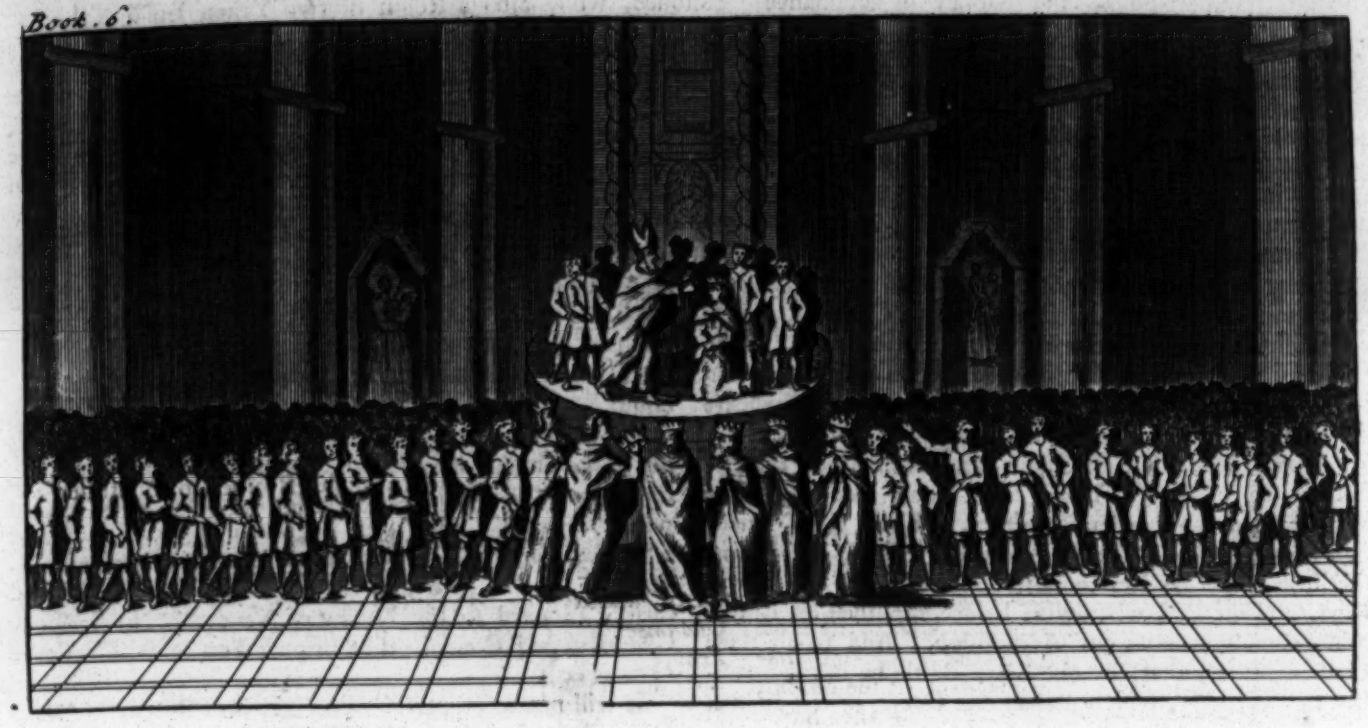
I ſhall conclude this Article with a word or two concerning the Name of *Sterling*, given to the *Engliſh* Money. Some believe this word comes from the Town of *Striveling* or *Sterling* in *Scotland*, where they pretend, but without any ground, that the beſt and pureſt Money was formerly coined. Others ſay, with much greater probability, that *Sterling* is derived from the *Saxon* Word *Steore*, which ſignifies Rule or Standard: So that according to this opinion, *Sterling* Money means no more than Money made according to a ſettled Standard. *Camden* and ſome others imagined this word was of a more modern date, and taken from certain *Flemiſh* Workmen, who in the Reign of King *John* were invited into *England* to reduce the Money to its due fineneſs, in which they were more expert than the *Engliſh*. As the People of that Country were generally called *Eaſterlings*, on account of their Situation Eaſtward of *England*, 'tis pretended, the Money they coined, was called *Eaſterling* or *Sterling*; that is, *made by the Eaſterlings*, or *Flemiſh*, and conſequently purer than what had been hitherto coined (1).

Brady.

(1) It is believed, that in the moſt ancient Times, when Money was firſt coined in this Iſland, it was made of pure Gold and Silver, like Moneys now current in *Hungary* and *Barbary*: And that afterwards, in making the Moneys, it being found convenient to have a certain Quantity of baſer Metal to be mixed with the Gold and Silver, the word *Sterling* was introduced, and hath ever ſince been uſed, to denote the certain Proportion or Degree of Fineneſs which ought to be retained in the reſpective Coins compoſed of ſuch Mixture. *Sterling* and *Standard* are therefore ſynonymous Terms. It is probable the word *Sterling* was unknown in the time of the Conqueror, as there is no mention of it in *Doomſday*, which values every Manor in Money, *ad Numerum*, *ad Penſam*, *ad Pondus*, but not in *Sterling*. But however this Term was ſoon after introduced, becauſe the Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* III, refers to ancient *Sterling*. Some imagine the Word is derived from *Star*, which they ſuppoſe to have been impreſſed on the Money.

A New Map of ENGLAND SCOTLAND and IRELAND

del. et Sculp: G. Vertue.



THE

HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK VI.

The Norman *Line: From the Reign of* WILLIAM the Conqueror, *to the Death of King* STEPHEN, *containing the Space of about Eighty Eight Years. With the State of the* CHURCH *during the ſaid Space.*

I. *WILLIAM* I. *Sirnamed the* BASTARD, *or* CONQUEROR.

Reflections on the Duke of Normandy's *Attempt upon* England.

WHEN a Man impartially conſiders the Attempt formed by the Duke of *Normandy* upon *England*, he is at a loſs which to admire moſt, either the Ground, or the Boldneſs, or the Succeſs. In the firſt place, it muſt be very ſurprizing, he ſhould build his Right upon ſo ſandy a foundation as the bare Will of King *Edward*; of which too it does not appear in Hiſtory, he ever offered to give the leaſt Proof, or produce any Evidence. In the next place, it is as hard to conceive, how this Prince, who paſſed for one of the moſt politick of his time, could form a Deſign to ſupport his pretended Right by Arms, notwithſtanding all the Obſtacles that ſeemed to conſpire to divert him from it. Never Project ſeemed more raſhly form'd, or with leſs appearance of Succeſs. The Forces of *Normandy* were not comparable to thoſe of *England*, neither had Duke *William*, in the Country he undertook to conquer, any ſtrong Holds, or Friends, or Correſpondence, whereon to ground the hopes of ſucceeding. Even after he had landed a powerful Army, not a ſingle Lord declared in his favour. Far from reaſonably expecting any Aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh*, he could not poſſibly be ignorant how well they ſtood affected to *Harold*. Indeed ſome among them, from a Senſe of Juſtice and Equity, might be diſpleaſed with the new King's uſurping the Crown upon *Edgar*. But they were far enough from blaming him for ſupplanting the Duke of *Normandy*, whoſe very Pretenſions were unknown to them. They were ſo little inclined to reject the King they had choſen, that, on the contrary, they had juſt given him ſenſible marks of their Fidelity, by their zeal and readineſs in his defence againſt the King of *Norway*. On the other hand, the Obſtacles Duke *William* was naturally to expect from the neighbouring Princes, were no leſs apt to deter him from his purpoſe. Their Intereſt required, that inſtead of promoting his Enterprize, they ſhould oppoſe his growing Power. The *French* in particular could not, without running counter to the moſt obvious Maxims of Policy, forbear endeavouring to blaſt a Deſign, the Succeſs whereof would infallibly be very prejudicial to them. But ſuppoſing he could have been ſure, the Princes his Neighbours would voluntarily ſhut their eyes againſt their own Intereſt, how could he expect to ſucceed, ſince the States of *Normandy* refuſed to aſſiſt him in an Undertaking, which to them ſeemed equally unjuſt and raſh? Laſtly, in the execution of this Deſign, it is ſurprizing to ſee, contrary to all expectation, the greateſt Difficulties inſenſibly vaniſh before him, and the very things, which ſeemed moſt oppoſite to his Deſigns, help to accompliſh them. The States of *Normandy* refuſing him the Aſſiſtance he wants, private Perſons voluntarily drain their Purſes and ſupply him more plentifully than he could have expected from the States. The Court of *France* lets him act unmoleſted, and even ſuffers the *French* to aid him in procuring a Crown which might one day render him equal to his Sovereign, or at leaſt enable him to diſpute his Superiority. All the reſt of the neighbouring Princes ſtrive with emulation to forward a Deſign, the ſucceſs whereof muſt be fatal to them. He is aſſiſted by the Earls of *Bretagne* (1) and *Anjou*, who a little before were his mortal Enemies. In a word, with-

(1) As an Addition to Note (1), p. 140. The Reader is deſired to obſerve, out of *D'Argenté*, That it was *Conan* II. who was poiſoned by his Chamberlain that had been bribed by *William*. *Hoel* his Son raiſed a numerous Army to go and aſſiſt *William*, and gave the Command of it to his eldeſt Son *Alan Fergent*. He was rewarded with the Title of Earl of *Richmont*, and with the Inheritance of Earl *Edwin* in *Yorkſhire*, which from his Title was called the *Honour of Richmont*. After *William*'s Victory, moſt of *Alan*'s Forces returned into their own Country, except a few of the meaner Sort who ſettled in *England*. *D'Argenté*, p. 173—177. Edit. 1611.

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in the ſpace of a few Months, he has a numerous Army (1), a thouſand Tranſport-Ships, and Money in abundance. Even *Harold*'s late Victory over the King of *Norway* contributed as much as any one thing to the Duke of *Normandy*'s Succeſs, though ſeemingly it ſhould have deſtroyed all his hopes. In that action, *Harold* loſt his beſt Troops, diſpleaſed the reſt by with-holding the Spoils, and by his Victory was inſpired with a fatal contempt of the *Normans*, that proved his ruin. Had it not been for this Contempt, he would have avoided coming to battle, according to his Brother's advice; and ſuffered the *Norman* Army to dwindle away in an Enemy's Country, where no Aſſiſtance could be found. And if afterwards, Duke *William*, conſtrained to fight with diſadvantage, had been vanquiſhed, what could he have urged to vindicate the Injuſtice and Raſhneſs of his Attempt? But the event has diſpell'd all theſe Reflections, and determined the Hiſtorians to extol an Action they would infallibly have blamed, had it proved unſucceſsful. Thus, the Foundation on which the Duke of *Normandy* built his Petenſions, the little reaſon he had to flatter himſelf with the happy Iſſue, and the Eaſe wherewith he accompliſhed his Enterpriſe, equally deſerve our Admiration. Add to all theſe Conſiderations, that, by one ſingle Battle he became maſter of a Country, which neither the *Danes*, or the *Saxons*, nor the *Romans* themſelves, could ſubdue till after numberleſs Engagements, and in the ſpace of ſeveral Ages. All this obliges us to own, he was guided by the hand of the Almighty, the only Giver of Victory, and who exalts and humbles Nations according to his good pleaſure. God, no doubt, was pleaſed to make uſe of this Conqueror, to render the *Engliſh* Nation more illuſtrious than ever. The *Engliſh*, hitherto almoſt unknown to the reſt of the World, began after this Revolution to make a conſiderable figure in *Europe*. This may be ſaid to be the firſt Step by which *England* is arrived to that height of Grandeur and Glory we behold it in at preſent. This will evidently appear in the whole courſe of the Hiſtory, the principal Events of which I am going to deſcribe. But ſince I am to begin with the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, it will not be improper to give ſome farther account of this Prince, who was two and forty Years old at the time of the Battle of *Haſtings*, and had been now three and thirty Years Duke of *Normandy*. It will be neceſſary therefore, before we enter upon his Reign, to conſider by what degrees Divine Providence raiſed him to the Throne of *England*, of which his Birth ſeemed to give him no manner of proſpect.

The Affairs of Normandy *from* Rollo *to* William *the* Baſtard. Gul. Gemiticen. Walſing. Upodig. Neuſtr.

Normandy, one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable Provinces of *France*, was poſſeſſed by the *Normans* ever ſince the forced Grant made by *Charles the Simple* to *Rollo the Dane*, the firſt Duke. *Rollo* and his immediate Succeſſors, content with this noble Acquiſition, were leſs ſollicitous about enlarging their Bounds, than ſecuring the Poſſeſſion to their Poſterity. By means of numerous Colonies of their own Nation, who by reciprocal Marriages were incorporated with the Natives, they ſoon cauſed the two Nations to become one People under the common Name of *Normans*; for ſo the *French* called the Foreigners lately ſettled in *Neuſtria*, which from them took alſo the Name of *Normandy*. The firſt Dukes made it their principal care to gain the affection of their Subjects, by cauſing them to enjoy as much as poſſible, the ſweets of Peace, and governing them with Juſtice and Equity. By this prudent conduct they not only deſtroyed the ſeeds of Rebellion, which might lurk in the hearts of the ancient Inhabitants; but alſo ſcreened themſelves from the ſecret Practices of the Kings of *France*, who grieved to ſee ſo noble a Province torn from their Monarchy. Accordingly, when the *French*, at any favourable Juncture, attempted to recover it, they always found the Dukes of *Normandy* able to defend themſelves with their own Forces, becauſe they were aſſured of the People's affection.

From *Rollo* to *William the Baſtard* there were ſeven Dukes, among whom *Richard* II, who was the fourth, was one of the moſt illuſtrious. His firſt Wife was *Judith* of *Bretagne*, by whom he had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert* and *William*. After the Death of *Judith*, he made a double Alliance with *Canute the Great*, giving him his Siſter *Emma*, Widow of *Ethelred* II, King of *England*, and taking himſelf *Eſtrith* Siſter to that Prince. How honourable ſoever this Match might be, his Love of a young Damſel called *Pavia*, cauſed him to divorce *Eſtrith* and marry his Miſtreſs. By this ſecond Wife he had *William* Earl of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbiſhop of *Roan*.

After the death of this Prince, his Son *Richard* III ſucceeded him, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of his younger Brother *Robert* to ſupplant him. *Robert*, not being able to accompliſh his deſigns, was forced to deſiſt; or rather, as ſome affirm, went a ſurer and more ready way to work. 'Tis ſaid, he procured his Brother to be poiſoned, who, after a Reign of two Years, left him the poſſeſſion of the Dukedom he had ſo ardently wiſhed for. Whether Duke *Robert*'s crime was never fully proved, or his juſt Government blotted out the remembrance of it, he found means to gain the affection of his People at home by his Juſtice and Liberality, whilſt his Valour made him reſpected abroad. By his aid it was that *Henry* I, King of *France*, took poſſeſſion of the Throne, notwithſtanding the Pretenſions of *Robert* his younger Brother, who was ſupported by a powerful party. The Intrigues of Queen *Conſtance* their Mother, who eſpouſed the Intereſt of her younger Son, obliging *Henry* to implore the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Normandy*, he came to him at *Roan*, and obtained an Aid of five hundred Spear-Men. This firſt Aid was ſoon followed by a more conſiderable Supply, led by the Duke himſelf into *France*, where he placed *Henry* on the Throne, compelling the younger Brother to be ſatisfied with *Burgundy*. *Henry*, in a grateful ſenſe of ſo ſignal a Service, proteſted, he would have it in eternal remembrance: And to give him an effectual Proof of his Sincerity, annexed to the Duchy of *Normandy* the Cities of *Chaumont* and *Pontoiſe*, then in poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*.

It will not be proper here to enter into the particulars of Duke *Robert*'s Wars with ſome rebellious *Norman* Lords, and with the Duke of *Bretagne* for refuſing Homage. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay in a word, he was ſucceſsful in taming the Rebels, and reducing the Duke of *Bretagne* to his Duty. I have already mentioned his deſign of cauſing Juſtice to be done to his Couſins, Sons of *Ethelred* II, and how his Enterprize miſcarried; wherefore it is needleſs to ſay any more of it.

It is hard to conceive why this Prince who was a Lover of his People, ſhould never think of marrying, though he might plainly foreſee, in caſe he died without Heirs, great Confuſion and Trouble would enſue. There were in *Normandy* ſeveral Branches of the *Ducal* Family, who might pretend to the Succeſſion if he died without Children. Conſequently their ſeveral Pretenſions would, very probably, occaſion a Civil War, which *Robert* might prevent by marrying. Notwithſtanding this, he was reſolved to live ſingle. One would be apt to think, this reſolution was owing to his Inſenſibility for the fair Sex, had we not a proof to the contrary, in his paſſion for a young Damſel, with whoſe graceful Mein he was charmed as he ſaw her dancing. The Damſel, who was called *Arlotta* (2), a Skinner's Daughter of *Falaiſe*, thinking herſelf extremely honoured by the Duke's Addreſſes, readily yielded to his Sollicitations. 'Tis ſaid the firſt night the Duke took her to his Bed, ſhe dreamt her Bowels were extended over all *Normandy* and *England*. This Dream was very naturally interpreted afterwards, if it be true that it was not forged after the Event. Malmsb. Brompt.

Robert had by this Miſtreſs a Son called *William*, of whom 'tis related, that, the Moment he was born, laying hold of ſome Straws, he held them ſo faſt, that his Fiſt was forc'd to be unclinch'd before he would let them go. This made the good Women ſay, he would one day prove a great Acquirer, ſince he began ſo early. *Robert* educated his young Son with all imaginable care, deſigning him for his Succeſſor. But whilſt he was laying out his pains in his Education, the fancy took him to go in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. This act of Devotion was looked upon as the effect of his remorſe for the murder of the Duke his Brother, and of his deſire to attone for his Crime by this ſort of Penance. Be this as it will, before he ſet out, he took all neceſſary meaſures to ſecure the Succeſſion to his Baſtard Son. He was very ſenſible how difficult it would be for young *William* to take poſſeſſion, if the *Normans* were not prepared beforehand to acknowledge him. And therefore, he ſummoned the States of *Normandy*, and communicated to them his deſign of going to the *Holy Land*, conjuring them, in caſe he ſhould never return, to receive, after his death, his young Son *William* for their Sovereign. The States did all that lay in their power to divert the Duke from his Journey; but finding, he was not to be prevailed upon, gave him their Promiſe with an Oath, if any ill Accident befel him on the road, they would conform to his Will. To convince him of their Sincerity, they ſwore Fealty to *William* as the preſumptive Heir of the Duke his Father. This Affair being ſettled to *Robert*'s Satisfaction, he appointed *Alain* Duke of *Bretagne*, his Relation and Vaſſal, *Seneſchal* of *Normandy*, giving him power to govern, in his abſence, with an abſolute Authority. Then he carried his Son to *Paris*, and delivered him into the hands of the King of *France*, who took charge of his Education. Before he left the Court of *France*, he made young *William* do Homage to the King, as if he had been in actual poſſeſſion of *Normandy*.

Chron. of Normandy. Malmsb.

Robert *prepares to go to* Jeruſalem.

Cauſes his Son William *to be acknowledged his Succeſſor.*

Carries him to Paris.

(1) It conſiſted of fifty thouſand Men, ſays *P. Daniel, Hiſt. of France*, Vol. III. p. 91, 92.

(2) From whence it is ſaid came the Word *Harlot*. *Malmſbury* and *Ingulphus* ſay, Duke *Robert* took her to Wife, *Malmſb.* p. 95.

The

Troubles in Normandy.

The Abſence of Duke *Robert* occaſioned Troubles in his Dominions, which obliged the Duke of *Bretagn* to uſe ſome Severity, and exert the Authority he was intruſted with. But whilſt he was earneſtly endeavouring to reſtore Peace and Tranquillity, he was taken off by Poiſon. This Accident was ſoon followed with a Report of the Duke's being dead on the road. Notwithſtanding the uncertainty of this News, it was the cauſe of Commotions ſo much the more dangerous, as there was no body in *Normandy* capable of appeaſing them. They who had the Adminiſtration of Affairs in their hands, were themſelves engaged in Factions, which had been forming ever ſince the Duke's departure, and thereby help'd to increaſe the Confuſion.

Robert's Death.

Whilſt things were in this ill ſtate, ſome of the Duke's Retinue arrived, and confirm'd the news of his death. Upon which ſeveral of the principal Lords, deſcended from the antient Dukes, began to cabal openly, to exclude the Baſtard from the Succeſſion. Plauſible pretences were not wanting; but the States declared, they could not without Perjury violate the Oath they had bound themſelves by. The Reſolution being taken of acknowledging *William* for Sovereign, Ambaſſadors were diſpatch'd to the King of *France* to demand the young Prince. After *Henry* was informed of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Death, the Shame of doing an ill Action, and the deſire of becoming maſter of *Normandy*, kept him in ſuſpence. He was in hopes the Troubles of that Dukedom would turn to his advantage, and began to lay his Schemes accordingly. However, when he found the States of *Normandy* had declared in favour of *William*, he thought proper to defer the execution of his Deſigns, 'till a more convenient Seaſon. He choſe therefore to conceal his Intentions, and ſend home the young Prince. As ſoon as *William* came to *Roan*, the States ſwore Fealty to him, and gave him for Governor *Raoul de Gace*, Conſtable of *Normandy*.

William is acknowledged Duke of Normandy.

New Troubles in Normandy.

The Troubles were not allay'd by the Arrival of the new Duke. The Lords who claimed the *Ducal* Crown, could not reſolve to drop their Pretenſions. They imagined the preferring a Baſtard before them, was a manifeſt Injuſtice. But, as they who held the Reins of the Government, were Men of great prudence and intereſt, and thought to be ſupported by *France*, the Claimants durſt not openly avow their deſigns. Mean time, King *Henry* burnt with deſire to make an advantage of theſe diſſenſions. The death of Duke *Robert* made him forget the great Service received from that Prince. In fine, not being able to reſiſt the Temptation any longer, he ſuddenly laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Tilliers*, to which he had ſome Pretenſions. This Place being very ſtrong and well provided with Ammunition, would have held out a long time, if the Duke's Miniſters had not ordered the Governor to ſurrender it, on Condition the Caſtle ſhould be demoliſhed. *Henry* very readily agreed to theſe Terms, and commanded the Walls to be actually raz'd; but on ſome ambiguous Clauſe in the Capitulation, cauſed them to be immediately rebuilt. This good Succeſs inſpiring him with great hopes of his Enterprize, he ſeizes alſo upon *Argenton*. Then marching to *Falaiſe*, he became maſter of the Town with the ſame eaſe. He would have made farther Progreſs, if *Raoul de Gace*, having drawn together a powerful Army, had not compelled him to retire. His retreat gave the Conſtable opportunity of retaking *Falaiſe*, the *French* not having time to lay in any Stores.

Chron. Norm.

The King of France attacks Duke William.

Revolt of Roger de Treſney.

As ſoon as the Claimants ſaw, the King of *France*, inſtead of protecting the young Duke, was making War againſt him, they began to ſtir again and proſecuted their reſpective Pretenſions. The firſt that appeared, was *Roger de Treſney*, Standard-bearer of *Normandy*, deſcended from an Uncle of *Rollo*. This Lord, who had amaſs'd great Riches in *Spain*, where he had long bore Arms againſt the *Saracens*, returning home during Duke *Robert*'s Abſence, put himſelf at the head of one of the Factions that diſturbed the State. As ſoon as he heard of that Prince's Death, he formed the Project of ſeizing the Dukedom. But his Apprehenſion of the King of *France*'s aſſiſting Duke *William* prevented him then from purſuing his Deſigns. But this Apprehenſion being removed by the Proceedings of King *Henry*, he drew ſome Troops together, imagining the Duke's Forces would be ſufficiently employ'd againſt *France*. But he was preſently after defeated and ſlain by *Roger de Beaumont*, who commanded the Duke's Army.

Malmſb.

Revolt of the Earl of Arques.

William, Earl of *Arques*, Son of *Richard* II, by *Pavia*, was not diſcouraged by this Example. As he found himſelf ſupported by the King of *France* who put him upon action, he boldly ſent a defiance to the Duke. But the Duke, heading his Army in Perſon, puſh'd him ſo vigorouſly, that he compelled him to ſhut himſelf up in the City of *Arques*, where he beſieged him. *Henry*, who had engaged the Earl in this Enterprize, thought himſelf obliged in Honour to raiſe the Siege. To this end he march'd into *Normandy*, where he received two Overthrows, and was conſtrained at laſt to abandon the Rebel, who, upon the City's being taken, was ſent into Exile.

and of Guy de Burgundy.

Guy of Burgundy, Son of a Daughter to Duke *Richard* II, was the next that appeared on the ſtage. He had concerted his meaſures ſo well, that he was like to have ſurpriz'd the Duke's Perſon, who was then at *Valogones* without any Guard, ignorant of what was practiſing againſt him. But a certain *Fool*, whom the Conſpirators did not miſtruſt, hearing their deſign, travelled all night to give the Duke notice, who had but juſt time to put on his Cloaths, and ride full ſpeed to *Falaiſe*. What haſte ſoever he might make, he was ſo cloſely purſued, that he muſt have been taken, his Horſe not being able to carry him thither, had he not been aſſiſted by a Gentleman whom he accidentally met on the road. This Conſpiracy ſeemed to him ſo dangerous, that he applied to the King of *France* for Aid. *Henry*, either out of Generoſity, or for ſome other unknown Reaſons, being unwilling to ſuffer the young Prince to be oppreſſed, brought him ſome Troops himſelf, which enabled him to give his Enemy Battle. *Guy* being vanquiſhed and taken Priſoner, Duke *William* by an Act of Generoſity, which redounded no leſs to his Honour than the Victory, freely gave him his Pardon.

Chron. of Normandy. Mezerai.

and of the Earl of Eu.

William Guerland, Earl of *Mortagne*, and another *William*, Earl of *Eu*, Son to a natural Brother of *Richard* II, were likewiſe for attempting to diſpoſſeſs the young Duke. But being prevented by his Diligence, they were ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment.

League of the French King with the Earl of Anjou againſt Duke William.

The Vigour and Conduct ſhown by Duke *William* during all theſe Troubles, made his Subjects conceive great Hopes of him. His Neighbours began alſo to conſider him as a Prince of diſtinguiſhed Merit, and capable in time of giving them trouble. The King of *France*, in particular, grew extremely jealous of him, and blamed himſelf exceedingly for aſſiſting him againſt *Guy of Burgundy*; but to retrieve that Overſight, he raiſed him a freſh Enemy, the Earl of *Anjou*; whom however he only privately aſſiſted at firſt. Afterwards he openly eſpouſed his Quarrel, and made a fierce War upon the Duke, which laſted ſeveral Years, but in the end turned to the diſadvantage of the two Allies. Duke *William* gaining two ſucceſſive Battles, they ſued for Peace, which the King of *France* could not obtain but by the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Tilliers*, taken by him during the Duke's Minority.

The War ends to his Honour.

He chaſtiſes the Inſolence of the Men of Alençon.

During this War, as the Duke was beſieging *Alençon*, ſome of the Inhabitants came upon the Walls with Skins in their hands, by way of Reproach, for his Mother being a Skinner's Daughter. He was ſo provoked at this Inſult, that he ſwore by the *Splendor of God*, his uſual Oath, he would be reveng'd. Some time after, becoming maſter of the Town, he accompliſh'd his Oath by putting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Hands and Feet of two and twenty of the inſolent Burghers.

Death of Henry I. King of France. Philip I. ſucceeds him.

Henry died ſoon after this War. He was ſucceeded by *Philip* I. his Son, a Minor, under the Guardianſhip of *Baldwin*, the fifth Earl of *Flanders*; who had lately given his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage to the Duke of *Normandy*. The relation the Regent ſtood in as well to the King his Pupil, as to the Duke his Son-in-law, made him take all neceſſary Precautions to keep up between the two Princes a good Underſtanding, which laſted many Years.

Duke William deſpoils his Father's, and inriches his Mother's Relations.

Duke *William* took this Opportunity to extinguiſh all remains of Rebellion among his Subjects. He baniſhed great numbers, who, for the moſt part, retired into *Apulia*, to *Robert Guiſcard*, a *Norman* Gentleman, who made then a great Figure in that Country (1). The Duke's Relations by his Father's Side giving him the moſt diſturbance, he obliged almoſt all of them to quit *Normandy*. Their Eſtates being confiſcated to his uſe, he enriched with them his Mother's Relations, who 'till then were but in mean Circumſtances. *Robert*, his uterine Brother, had the Earldom of *Mortagne*, forfeited by *William Guerland*. *Odo*, his Brother, partook alſo of his Bounty, and moreover was made Biſhop of *Bayeux*. Two of their Siſters were married to the Earls of *Aumale* and *Albemarle*.

He deprives his Uncle Mauger.

Mauger his Uncle, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, was not only concerned in all the Plots againſt the Duke, but had alſo the boldneſs to excommunicate him, on pretence of the too near Relation between him and *Matilda* his Wife (2). As ſoon as the Duke was in a ſtate of Tranquillity, he reſolved to be revenged on this Prelate. To that end, having aſſembled all the Biſhops of *Normandy* at *Liſieux*, he cauſed him to be accuſed before them of ſeveral Miſdemeanors, particularly, his ſelling the conſecrated Chalices to ſupply his Luxury. Upon theſe Accuſations, ſupported

(1) The *Normans* made themſelves Maſters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Sicily*, *Normandy*, and *England*, in leſs than two hundred Years.
(2) She was his firſt Couſin, being Daughter to *Eleonora* Duke *William*'s Father's Siſter.

with all the Duke's Intereſt, *Mauger* was ſolemnly deprived and *Maurillus* elected in his room.

He viſits King Edward.

After *Duke William* had thus humbled, or diſperſed all that could create him any Diſturbance, his Circumſtances were ſuch, that he might have ſpent his Days in profound Tranquillity, ſince he had nothing to fear either at Home or Abroad. But as he was of a covetous and ambitious Temper, this Tranquillity, which only procured him what he already enjoyed, was far from contenting him. It was probably with a view to new Acquiſitions, that he went to viſit King *Edward* his Couſin, who had no Children, and perhaps had given him ſome hopes of being his Heir. However this be, it is generally believed, *Edward* during the Duke's ſtay at the Court of *England*, promis'd him to make a Will in his favour. But though this Will never appeared, and no proof of it was ever produced by the Duke, it was however, according to all the Hiſtorians, the Pretence, uſed by him, to undertake the Conqueſt of *England*. Nevertheleſs, in the Manifeſto publiſhed upon his Landing, he ſays not a Word of this ſame Will or Promiſe, of which he could not produce any Evidence. We have ſeen in the foregoing Book, what Duke *William* did to ſupport his pretended Right 'till the Battle of *Haſtings*. It is time now to ſee, how he improved the Succeſs of that Day to mount the Throne of *England*, and the Methods he uſed to ſecure the poſſeſſion, in ſpite of all Oppoſition.

Hoved. S. Dunelm.

1066. *Duke* William's *Conduct after the Battle of* Haſtings. W. Pictav.

It is eaſy to conceive the Conſternation of the *Engliſh*, after the Loſs of the Battle of *Haſtings*, and the Death of their King. They were deſtitute of Men, Arms, and Ammunition; but chiefly of a Leader that had a Right to command them, and take Care of their preſent Wants. On the other hand, the victorious *Normans* were not far from *London*, the only place where neceſſary Meaſures could be taken to prevent the Calamities the Kingdom was threatned with. *Harold*'s Sons were fled into *Ireland*. *Edgar Atheling* was too young, and beſides of too narrow a Genius, to give them any proſpect of Aſſiſtance in this their preſſing Neceſſity. It is true, the Earls *Morcar* and *Edwin* were ſtill alive, and retired to *London* with part of the fugitive Army. But to take proper Meaſures on ſuch an occaſion, more time was required than, probably, the Conqueror would afford them. Thus the Affairs of the *Engliſh* were in a terrible Confuſion; all the Methods propoſed to free them from Danger, being clogg'd with inſurmountable Difficulties. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Normandy*, willing to make Advantage of the *Terror* of the *Engliſh*, was now marching towards *London* (1) to increaſe, by his approach, the Trouble and Confuſion that prevailed in the Metropolis. But on a ſudden he altered his Reſolution: He conſidered, though the loſs of a Battle had thrown the *Engliſh* into aſtoniſhment, yet there was no likelihood of their being entirely diſcouraged: That their Caſe not being yee deſperate, they might eaſily bring into the Field freſh Armies, and try again more than once the fortune of War: That in ſuch a caſe, ſhould he chance to receive but one Overthrow, he had no-where to retreat to, nor any Opportunity of ſending for ſupplies from *Normandy*. Theſe Reflections made him reſolve to beſiege *Dover*, before he advanced any farther, to ſecure a Retreat in caſe of Neceſſity, and a Port, where his Convoys might eaſily come from *Normandy*. This Precaution, even after his Victory, is a clear Evidence of the Boldneſs, or rather Raſhneſs of his Enterpriſe, ſince, had he been vanquiſhed, he would not have had a ſingle Spot in the Kingdom to retire to. He marched therefore directly to *Dover*, a Place naturally very ſtrong, but that was become more ſo by the great Number of *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers fled thither after the Battle. For this Reaſon it might have ſtood a long Siege; but the Conſternation was ſo great, that it ſurrendered in a few Days. As ſoon as the Duke was in poſſeſſion, he ordered the Town to be more ſtrongly fortified, and ſpent eight Days there to forward the Works. After which he marched for *London* (2).

W. Pictav.

Kent *ſends Deputies to him.* Thorn.

We find, in ſome Hiſtories, that the Duke as he was marching at the Head of his Army, ſaw at a diſtance a great Multitude of People coming towards him with Boughs in their hands, who, looking like a moving Foreſt, at firſt ſomewhat alarmed him. But this Surpriſe ceaſed, when he found they were Deputies of the County of *Kent*, attended with great Crowds of People, who were come to aſſure him of the Submiſſion of the County, and withal to demand the Preſervation of their antient Privileges. They who relate this Adventure, add, the Duke received them very graciouſly, and granted their Requeſt. But as *William of Poictiers*, who was then with the Duke, makes no mention of this Fact, there is reaſon to think it a Forgery (3).

1066.

Great Confuſion at London. W. Pictav.

Whilſt the Duke was before *Dover*, or on his march towards the *Thames*, the Trouble and Confuſion at *London* continually increaſed by the diverſity of Opinions preventing them from coming to any Reſolution. Some were for ſubmitting to the Duke without loſs of time: Others believed it more adviſeable to treat with him firſt, and procure ſome aſſurances for the Preſervation of the Privileges, not only of the City, but the whole Kingdom. Some intimated, that things were not yet deſperate; that the Winter, which was begun, might give them time to concert Meaſures for their Defence: and with this view laboured heartily to get *Edgar Atheling* placed on the Throne. *Edwin* and *Morcar* were at the head of this laſt Party. But, how great ſoever their Credit might be, it was not poſſible for them to carry their Point. All they could obtain of the Citizens, was, to ſhut the Gates againſt the Duke, 'till ſome Reſolution was taken. Mean while, the Duke approaching the City, encamped in *Southwark*, ſeparated from *London* by the *Thames*. He hoped his approach would oblige the *Londoners* to a voluntary Submiſſion, and in that belief lay quiet ſome Days. This Proceeding had a quite contrary Effect to what he expected, *Morcar* and *Edwin* took this Opportunity to excite the People to take Arms and ſally out to ſurpriſe the *Normans*, who were on the other ſide the Bridge. This ſally, which was eaſily repulſed, convinced the Duke that other Meaſures were to be taken, and the City vigorouſly puſh'd, of which he could have but ſmall hopes of being maſter, if he gave the Inhabitants time to recover out of their Conſternation. However, he was under ſome Perplexity, as may well be thought, if it is conſidered, that although he had gained a Battle, he was ſtill very far from his ends. He had but one ſingle Caſtle, ſituated in the utmoſt Bounds of the Kingdom. All the reſt of the Country was againſt him, and there were ſeveral remote Counties, where the *Engliſh* might draw an Army together without moleſtation. And indeed there was no advancing towards the middle of the Kingdom and leaving *London* behind him, without being expoſed to manifeſt Danger, and loſing the Communication with *Dover*, ſo abſolutely neceſſary for him. On the other hand, it was hardly poſſible for him to undertake the Siege of *London*, during the Winter, beſides that the ſituation of the City would have neceſſarily obliged him to leave a conſiderable Body of Troops on the South-ſide of the *Thames*, which would very much have weakened his Army. In fine, a Siege of that importance, which probably would have laſted ſeveral months, would have given the *Engliſh* time to recover, and raiſe Armies in other parts of the Kingdom. By which means he would have been obliged to conquer *England* inch by inch, as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes* had done. But he was by no means in condition to maintain ſo tedious a War. He had therefore properly but one way to compaſs his ends; which was, to take Advantage of the Conſternation of the *Londoners*, and oblige them, rather by terror than force, to ſubmit to his Laws. With this view it was, that he poſted himſelf at *Wallingford*, from whence he continually ſent Detachments to ravage the Counties adjoining to *London*, in order to terrify the Citizens, cut off their Proviſions, and prevent them from laying in Stores (4). At the ſame time, he cauſed *Southwark* to be reduced to Aſhes, to let them ſee what they were to expect, if they obſtinately perſiſted in the defence of the City. But perhaps all his Efforts would have been ineffectual, if the *Clergy*, who were at *London*, had not broken all the Meaſures *Morcar* and *Edwin* would have taken to cruſh his Deſigns.

The Duke approaches London.

S. Dunelm.

Morcar and Edwin *endeavour to place* Edgar *on the Throne.* Malmsb.

The Aim of theſe two Lords and ſome other zealous Aſſertors of their Country's Liberty, was to place *Edgar Atheling* on the Throne. They repreſented to the People, that the only way to avoid the preſent Danger, was firſt to come out of that ſtate of Anarchy they were in: That, whilſt there was no body who had a right to command, it was impoſſible to take juſt meaſures to reſiſt the *Normans*, now at their Gates: But as ſoon as there ſhould be a King, he would ſend Orders into all Parts of the

(1) He marched in the firſt Place to *Rumney*, where he revenged himſelf on the Inhabitants for having killed ſome of his Men, who by miſtake landed at that Place. *W. Pictav.*

(2) But left in *Dover* his ſick Men, who had many of them been taken with the bloody Flux, by reaſon of the too much freſh Meat they had eaten. *W. Pictav.* p. 204.

(3) This Story is repeated by *William Thorn* (See X Scriptores) from a Manuſcript Hiſtory of the Monks of St. *Auguſtine's Canterbury*, written by *Thomas Spot*, who in all probability invented it to magnify the Valour of their Abbot and of the *Kentiſh-Men*. *Tyrrel* obſerves the improbability of it from the Green Boughs in the beginning of *November*. *Somner* has alſo in his Treatiſe of *Gavelkind* confuted this Relation. However *Pictavienſis* ſays, That, not far from *Dover*, the People of *Kent* came, of their own accord, in to him, ſware Fealty, and gave Hoſtages; and the City of *Canterbury* ſent Deputies to preſent him with her Submiſſion.

(4) He reduced to his Obedience, and waſted, the Counties of *Suſſex*, *Kent*, *Hampſhire*, *Surrey*, *Middleſex*, and *Hertfordſhire*, and did not ceaſe burning Towns and killing Men, 'till he came to *Berkhamſtead*. S. *Dunelm.* p. 199. *Hoved.* p. 450.

Kingdom

1066. Kingdom to levy Troops, and the Duke of *Normandy* would then find to his coſt, the gaining a ſingle Battle was not ſufficient to render him Maſter of *England*; but in caſe they continued inactive, they could expect nothing but total Ruin, and to ſee the Kingdom fall under a foreign Yoke: In a word, that Prince *Edgar* had an inconteſtable Right to the Crown of *England*, and could not be refuſed poſſeſſion without great Injuſtice. The Majority of the People approved the propoſal of the two Earls; but the Clergy openly rejected it, not thinking proper to expoſe their Lands and Repoſe to the Chance of War. *Edgar* was little able to protect them. On the other hand, the Duke of *Normandy* had the name of a Religious Prince, well-diſpoſed to the Church, and his Enterprize had received the Pope's Approbation. This was ſufficient to oblige all the Clergy, who were then in *London* with the two Archbiſhops at their head, to cabal among the People in order to hinder *Edgar*'s Election. They were in hopes, their Submiſſion to the Duke of *Normandy* would turn to a better account than a War, which, in all appearance, would be of long continuance, in caſe a Reſolution was taken to reſiſt him. However this be, or whatever their Motive was, they made ſo ſtrenuous an Oppoſition, that *Edwin* and *Morcar* deſpairing of ſucceſs, retired into the North (1), imagining, it would be long before the Duke could follow them thither. They were no ſooner gone, but *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, repaired to the Duke, then at *Berkhamſtead*. He was quickly followed by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (2), and at laſt by Prince *Edgar*, who ſuffered himſelf to be guided by their Counſels. The Duke received them in a very civil and courteous manner. He granted all their Requeſts, among which there were ſome that concerned the whole Nation: Nay, it is added, he confirmed his Promiſes by a ſolemn Oath. It is not known what were the Terms theſe Prelates obtained of the Duke; but it is to be preſumed, the Church's Intereſts were not forgotten. Be this as it will, they ſwore Fealty to the Duke, as if he were already their Sovereign, and induced Prince *Edgar* to do the ſame. Their Example influencing many Perſons of Diſtinction, in a few days the *Londoners* found themſelves deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of thoſe they could chiefly rely on, in caſe they reſolved upon a vigorous Defence.

The Clergy oppoſe it. Malmſb.

The two Archbiſhops and Prince Edgar ſubmit to the Duke. S. Dunelm. Hoved.

Mean time, as the Citizens were ſtill in ſuſpenſe, and as the poſſeſſion of the Metropolis, before the reſt of the Kingdom had taken any Reſolution, would be of the utmoſt Importance to the Duke, he drew nearer the City as if he intended to beſiege it. His approach immediately determined the Magiſtrates, who, finding they were in no condition to defend a City, where all was in confuſion and deſpair, choſe to go and preſent him with the Keys of the Gates. He gave them a very favourable Reception, and, it is ſaid, promiſed with an Oath to preſerve their Privileges. They had gone too far to draw back. The Duke's whole conduct diſcovering he aſpired to ſomething more, they thought it beſt to prevent his Wiſhes, ſince it was not in their power to hinder the Execution of them. To this purpoſe, after adviſing with the Prelates and Lords, who had now ſubmitted, they unanimouſly reſolve to place the Duke on the Throne. Accordingly, they all went in a Body, and made him an offer of the Crown, telling him, *They had always been accuſtomed to live under kingly Government, and they knew no Perſon more worthy than him to govern them.* The Duke, forgetting on this occaſion, or pretending to forget, that he had entered the Kingdom in arms, by virtue of his pretended Right to the Crown, ſhowed at firſt ſome doubt, whether he ſhould accept of the Honour. He told them, their Offer was of ſo great moment, that he deſired, before he reſolved, to adviſe with his Friends. The Reſult of which was, that he ought by no means to refuſe the Dignity voluntarily offered him by the *Engliſh*, ſince, by ſuch a Refuſal, he would put it out of his power to reward his Followers, who had engaged in his Cauſe, with the ſole Proſpect of placing him on the Throne. He was entreated therefore not to reject what Providence had been ſo kind as to throw in his way, and what had coſt him ſo much Blood already. The Duke, eaſily yielding to theſe agreeable Sollicitations, returned in Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Lords and the Magiſtrates of *London*, That he was ready to conſent to their Requeſt. Accordingly, he accepted the Crown, as their Gift, and tacitly acknowledged a Right of Election in the People of *England*, though the manner in which he cauſed himſelf to be elected, was no great

The Duke approaches London. W. Pictav.

The Keys are deliver'd to him.

The Crown is offered him.

He heſitates to take it.

He accepts of it. Malmſb. M. Paris.

ſign of his being perſuaded of that Right. And indeed, what Authority could the Magiſtrates of *London* and a few Biſhops and Lay-Lords have to diſpoſe of the Crown without the Concurrence of the Eſtates? Notwithſtanding the eſſential Defect in this precipitate Election, the Duke appointed *Chriſtmas-day* following for the Ceremony of his Coronation. Mean while, as this Solemnity was to be performed at *London*, the Inhabitants whereof he ſuſpected, he ordered a Fortreſs to be run up in haſte, which he garriſoned with *Normans*. 1066.

His Coronation. W. Pictav.

Stigand, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was then ſuſpended by the Pope, as an Intruder into that See, in the room of *Robert*, who was never canonically deprived. But notwithſtanding this Suſpenſion, he exerciſed the Archiepiſcopal Function, the *Engliſh* not being yet convinced, the Pope's Power was ſo extenſive as he pretended. However, the Duke who was obliged to the Pope, and beſides was willing to avoid the Objections that might be made to his Coronation, if performed by a ſuſpending Biſhop, would not receive the Crown from the hands of *Stigand*. *Aldred* therefore, Archbiſhop of *York*, performed the Ceremony. Before he ſet the Crown on his head, the Archbiſhop, addreſſing to the *Engliſh*, asked them, whether they would have the Duke of *Normandy* for their King? All the People conſenting by their Acclamations, the Biſhop of *Conſtance* put the ſame queſtion to the *Normans*, who anſwered in the ſame manner as the *Engliſh* (3). This laſt Circumſtance evidently ſhows the Duke had even then reſolved to make the *Engliſh* and *Normans* but one and the ſame People. Otherwiſe, there was no occaſion to ask the Conſent of the *Normans*, to make him King of *England*. What followed, plainly diſcovered this to be his real intention. The Archbiſhop of *York*, continuing the Ceremony, placed the Duke on the Throne, and adminiſtred to him the Oath uſually taken by the *Saxon* Kings. The Subſtance of the Oath, was, "That he would protect the Church and its "Miniſters; That he would govern the Nation with "equity; That he would enact juſt Laws, and cauſe "them to be ſtrictly obſerved; and that he would forbid "all Rapines and unjuſt Judgments." *Malmsbury* adds, he promiſed to behave himſelf mercifully to his Subjects, and govern the *Engliſh* and *Normans* by the ſame Laws (4). If this Hiſtorian do not deceive us, it may be inferred from this laſt Article, that this Prince had already determined to ſettle the *Normans* in *England*. There are Writers however that affirm, King *William* took no Oath at all, as unwilling to be bound to receive Law from a conquered Nation. But very probably they are miſtaken. King *William* accepted the Crown as a Gift, and conſequently had no reaſon to diſpenſe with the uſual Oath. In the next place, only the *Londoners* can be ſaid to have acknowledg'd him for Sovereign. All the reſt of the Kingdom being ſtill to conquer, what likelihood is there that a Prince of his Abilities ſhould, at ſuch a juncture, let the *Engliſh* ſee he intended to rule with an arbitrary Sway. In fine, tho' the Sirname of *Conqueror* is given him, it is certain, he never openly pretended to poſſeſs the Crown by right of Conqueſt, but rather, took great care that this Title ſhould never be clearly explained. 1066.

Takes the Uſual Oath. Flor. Wig. S. Dunelm.

Malmſb. p. 271.

Ingulph.

Brady.

Among the things which, contrary to all appearance, promoted the execution of King *William*'s Undertaking, That which I am now going to relate, is one of the moſt ſurpriſing. He had indeed gained a Battle, which gave him Opportunity of approaching *London*; and tho' he could ſcarce have taken that City, if the Citizens and the reſt of the Kingdom would have done their Duty, the Gates were opened to him, and the Crown ſet on his head. But as he was crowned without the Advice and Conſent of the reſt of the Kingdom, he ſtill ſeemed to have a great deal to do to compleat the Conqueſt of a Country that reſiſted whole Ages, the Arms of the *Romans*, *Saxons* and *Danes*. And yet, as ſoon as it was known that he was crowned at *London*, all the reſt of *England* ſubmitted to the new Sovereign, without any one offering to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of a Crown, which no body knew by what Title he could claim. Probably, if the *Engliſh* had reſolved to elect a King of their Nation, whether *Edgar* or any other, King *William* would have ſtill found many difficulties to ſurmount. Let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, this King to have drawn together an Army in ſome remote place from *London*, what a Perplexity would King *William* have been under? He could not have removed from *London* and *Dover*, without a manifeſt Hazard of loſing the capital City; nor have ſtaid at *London* without giving the Enemies Army time to increaſe. The bare mention of this conſideration ſufficiently ſhows how fortunate King *William* was

(1) Whilſt the reſt were preparing for Battle, *Edwin* and *Morcar* withdrew with their Forces, and returned home. *S. Dunelm.* p. 195. *Brompt.* p. 961.

(2) The antient Hiſtorians do not mention him; but only ſay, That *Wulſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Walter* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and the moſt eminent Perſons in *London*, with ſeveral others, repaired to him; and giving Hoſtages, ſubmitted, and ſwore Fealty to him; and he entered into a Covenant with them,——cum quibus & ipſe Fœdus pepigit——*S. Dunel.* p. 195. *Hoved.* p. 450.

(3) Thus *William* was *elected* King. ——electus in Regem. *W. Pictav.* p. 206. —— Rex conclamatus —— *Malmſb.* p. 102. *M. Paris.* p. 4.

(4) —— Quod ſe modeſte erga Subjectos ageret, & æquo jure Anglos quo Francos tractaret. *Malmſb.* p. 271.

to

1066. to meet with no oppoſition. The Reader, of his own accord, may reflect on a thouſand difficulties King *William* would have found in his way, if the *Engliſh* had determined, even after the Battle of *Haſtings*, to make a vigorous ſtand. Moſt certainly, the more this Enterpriſe with all its conſequences are conſidered, the more extraordinary and almoſt ſupernatural it appears.

1067. *The King diſtributes Harold's Treaſures.* W. Pictav.

The new King's firſt care after his Coronation, was to ſeize on the Treaſure laid up by *Harold* at *Wincheſter*. He diſtributed part among the principal Officers of his Army, and part to the Churches and Monaſteries, to gain the reputation of a pious and religious Prince. The Pope had alſo a ſhare, whether he had lent the King Money, or the King was willing to ſhow his Gratitude for Favours received, when he embarked in this Enterpriſe. At the ſame time, he ſent to *Rome* the late King's Standard, as a ſort of Homage to the Holy See, and a Teſtimony that the Conqueſt of *England* was undertaken with the Pope's approbation. *Harold*'s Treaſures being thus diſtributed, ways and means were to be deviſed to fill the new King's Coffers. To this end, it was intimated to the Cities, Corporations, and moſt wealthy of the Subjects, that it would not be amiſs to gain the Good-will of their new Maſter by ſome Preſents. Every one chearfully conſenting, theſe Preſents yielded the King a very conſiderable Sum.

The Cities and Corporations make him Preſents.

W. Pictav.

The King's moderation to the *Engliſh*, in the beginning of his Reign, gave them room to hope they were going to enjoy a ſolid Happineſs under the Government of a Prince who ſeemed to have their Intereſts at heart. Indeed he exhorted the principal Officers of his Army to treat the Vanquiſhed with the Moderation due from one Chriſtian to another. He intreated them to refrain from all kind of Inſults to the *Engliſh*, leſt by Injuries they ſhould be provoked to revolt. As for the inferior Officers and Soldiers, he publiſhed ſevere Orders againſt ſuch as ſhould violate the Chaſtity of the Women, or give the leaſt cauſe of complaint to the Natives. Then he confirmed by a publick Edict the People's Privileges, and all the Promiſes he had made in that reſpect. If we were to judge of Princes by their *Manifeſto's*, or the expreſſions in their Edicts, we ſhould be apt to imagine, they always make Juſtice and Equity the ſole Rule of their Conduct. But their Actions too frequently ill correſpond with their Words. Theſe ſorts of publick Acts ſeldom fail however of producing a preſent Effect, which is generally the only end propoſed. King *William* found the *Engliſh* diſpoſed to truſt to his magnificent Promiſes. They were ſo far from taking any meaſures for the Preſervation of their Liberties, that they ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by this ſeeming Indulgence. Theſe happy beginnings made them believe, the *Conqueror*, in imitation of *Canute the Great*, who behaved in the ſame manner, would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to gain the People's Affection, that he might enjoy his Conqueſt in Peace.

He protects the Engliſh *from violence,*

and confirms their Privileges.

He is jealous of them. W. Pictav.

How great a regard ſoever the King ſhowed for the *Engliſh*, he could not forbear miſtruſting them, perſuaded as he was, that their Submiſſion proceeded rather from fear than good-will. A few days after his Coronation he retired from *London* to *Berking* (1), not daring to ſtay in that great City, whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected. But as he was not more ſure of the reſt of the Nation, he placed ſtrong Garriſons in *Haſtings*, *Dover*, and *Wincheſter*, to take away from the *Engliſh* the deſire of ſhaking off their new Yoke. Mean while, theſe Precautions had no ill effect on their Minds. They conſidered them as abſolutely neceſſary, in the beginning of ſo great a Revolution, and were not at all alarmed at them. On the contrary, they who had hitherto refuſed to acknowledge the new King, came and ſubmitted to him in Crowds. *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had begun to concert meaſures for the Defence of their Country, altered all their Projects. As they were convinced of the King's Sincerity, like the reſt of their Countrymen, they went and ſwore fealty to him at *Berking* (2). He forgot nothing that could help to keep them in this mind. He not only aſſured them of his Protection, but even in their preſence beſtowed on Prince *Edgar* large Poſſeſſions (3), who was the Idol of the *Engliſh*, and generally ſtiled *England's Darling*.

1067. Edwin *and* Morcar *ſubmit.* S. Dunelm.

The Victory of *Haſtings* was too glorious for the King to neglect to tranſmit the Memory of it to Poſterity. For that purpoſe he laid the Foundations of a Church and Abbey, in the very place where *Harold* was ſlain (4), and ordered, when they ſhould be finiſhed, the Church to be dedicated to St. *Martin* (5), and the Monaſtery called *Battle-Abbey* (6). Though the deſire of Prayers for his own and *Harold*'s Soul was the Pretence he uſed to make this Foundation, probably Vain-Glory had no leſs a ſhare in it than Devotion. The three firſt months of this new Reign paſſed in this manner to the mutual Satisfaction of the *Engliſh* and *Normans*. The former believed they were no great Loſers by the great Revolution, and the latter liv'd in hopes the King would perform the Promiſes made them, when they engaged in his Service.

The Founding of Battle-Abbey. M. Paris.

King *William*'s Precautions procuring him an univerſal Submiſſion, he thought his happineſs incompleat, if he had not the pleaſure to go to *Normandy*, and appear in his new Grandeur. This Journey was not only unneceſſary, but ſeemingly very dangerous, in the beginning of an Empire eſtabliſhed by Arms. He imagined however he could prevent all Revolts during his abſence by two Precautions. Firſt, by placing ſtrong *Norman* Garriſons in all the Caſtles. Secondly, by carrying along with him ſuch of the *Engliſh* Lords as were moſt ſuſpected. Of this number were Prince *Edgar*, *Stigand*, *Morcar*, *Edwin*, *Waltheoff* Son of *Siward*, formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, with ſeveral others of the prime Nobility. Theſe Lords were not over-pleaſed with the Honour he did them, being ſenſible he carried them into *Normandy* but as ſo many Hoſtages, and to add to the Glory of his Triumph. However, they were forced to comply, for fear of giving him occaſion to ſuſpect them by an unſeaſonable Oppoſition to his Will. Before he left *England*, he committed the Government of the Kingdom to his Brother *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and *William Fitz-Osbern* (7). There was no end of the Rejoicings among his old Subjects upon his arrival in *Normandy*. He ſpent his *Eaſter* (8) at *Feſcamp*, where the *French* Ambaſſador (9), attended with a numerous Retinue of Nobles, came to congratulate him in his Maſter's Name upon his new Dignity. On this occaſion, the King affected to appear before the *French* with all the magnificence he thought capable of advancing the Luſtre of his Glory. He paſſed all that Summer, and part of the following Winter in *Normandy*, where he ſeemed to forget his New, amidſt the Acclamations of his Old Subjects.

The King goes into Normandy, *and carries with him ſeveral of the* Engliſh *Nobility.* Malmſb. Brompt. W. Pictav. S. Dunelm.

He appoints two Regents. Walſing. Ypodig.

Whilſt he was giving the *Normans* marks of his Affection by his ſtay among them, his Abſence proved fatal to *England*. *Odo* his Brother, and *William Fitz-Osbern*, who governed the Kingdom, abuſed their Authority without any diſcretion (10). Wholly taken up with enriching themſelves by all manner of means, inſtead of protecting the *Engliſh* who made their complaints to them, they not only ſuffered them to be grieved with a thouſand Injuſtices, but oppreſſed them by continual Acts of Tyranny themſelves. To ſee theſe two Regents proceed with ſo little caution, one would have thought they had Orders to ſtir up the People to revolt, on purpoſe to make them incur the Puniſhment. The moſt prudent however preſerved their Allegiance, in a belief that the King, at his return, would rectify theſe Diſorders. But others, more impatient, were of opinion, they ought to take the advantage of his

The Regents oppreſs the People. Vital. Malmſb. Fl. Wor.

Inſurrection in Kent.

(1) Where he ſpent his Time in rural Sports, until the Fortreſs he had begun in *London* was finiſhed. *W. Pictav.*

(2) *S. Dunelm.* and *Hovedan* ſay, That they ſware Fealty to him at *Berkhamſted*, with *Alred* and the reſt. *S. Dunelm.* p. 195. *Hoved.* p. 450. With *Edwin* and *Morcar* came many other Noblemen of great Eſtates, particularly Earl *Coxo*, to all of which he reſtored their Eſtates, and having taken their voluntary Oaths of Fidelity, received them into his Favour. After this he made a Progreſs into ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, ordering every where ſuch things as were not only profitable to himſelf, but for his People in general; looking upon the common People with a benign Aſpect, pitying their Condition, and ordering his Men to treat them with Mercy. *W. Pictav.*

(3) And likewiſe gave Lands to many of the *Engliſh*, as a Token of his Royal Bounty: He alſo diſtributed great Rewards to many of his Followers; but however did not, for that purpoſe, take any thing unjuſtly from the *Engliſh*. Nulli tamen Gallo datum eſt quod Anglo cuiquam injuſtè fuerit ablatum. *W. Pictav.*

(4) The High-Altar was ſet upon that very Spot of Ground, where *Harold*'s Body was found; or, according to others, where his Standard was taken up. *Tyrrel*, p. 13.

(5) To St. *Mary* and St. *Martin*. It was filled with *Benedictin* Monks from the greater Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, and was exempted from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction whatſoever. *Tyrrel*, p. 13. See *William*'s *Charter* to it in *Monaſtic. Anglican.* and *Selden*'s Notes on *Eadmer.* p. 165.

(6) In this Abbey was kept an ancient Liſt of all the Noble Families that came over with King *William*, it was called *Battle-Abbey-Roll*, of which *Stow* and *Hollinſhead* have given us Copies, tho' with ſome little Difference. The Authority of this Roll (tho' it hath been cried up by ſome People) is ſo very indifferent, that it cannot be depended upon. "There are, ſays the learned Sir *William Dugdale*, great Errors or rather Falſifications in moſt of the Co-"pies of it; by attributing the Derivation of many from the *French*, who were not at all of ſuch Extraction, but merely *Engliſh*. For ſuch hath been "the Subtilty of ſome Monks of old, that, finding it acceptable unto moſt, to be reputed Deſcendants to thoſe who were Companions with Duke *William* "in his Expedition, therefore to gratify them, they inſerted their Names into that ancient Catalogue." *Preface to the firſt Volume of his* Baronage.

(7) *Odo* was placed in *Dover-Caſtle*, and had the Government of *Kent*, with the adjoining South-Coaſt; and *Fitz-Oſbern* at *Wincheſter*, in the Caſtle the King had built there, with Directions to look after the North-Parts.

(8) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays his *Chriſtmas*; but that could not be, ſince he went over in *March*, and returned again to *England* in the beginning of the Winter following. *Gu. Pictav.*

(9) *Rodolph* the Potent, Father-in-law to the King of *France*.

(10) *Rapin* here follows the account of *Ordericus Vitalis*, which is the moſt probable. *W. Pictav.* lays the blame on the *Engliſh*, and ſays they could neither by fear or favour be kept quiet.

Abſence

1067. Gemet.

Abſence to attempt the recovering of his Liberty. The *Kentiſhmen* led the way, and called to their Aſſiſtance *Euſtace* Earl of *Boulogne*, who endeavoured to ſurprize *Dover*-Caſtle (1). But not ſucceeding according to his expectation, he retired to his Ships, leaving the *Kentiſhmen* to the mercy of the Regents, who treated them very ſeverely.

Edric's Revolt. Flor. Wor. Hoved. The King returns.

Notwithſtanding this Example, *Edric*, an *Engliſh* Lord (2), to whom Hiſtorians give the Sirname of *Foreſter*, took up Arms in the County of *Hereford*, and barbarouſly uſed all the *Normans* that fell into his hands. News being brought the King he immediately embarks for *England* (3), committing the Government of *Normandy* to *Matilda* his Wife, and *Robert* his eldeſt Son. His return appeaſed the Storm raiſed by his Abſence. But theſe two Attempts filled him with ſo many Suſpicions of all the *Engliſh* in general, that he began from that time to conſider them as ſo many ſecret Enemies, who ſought an Occaſion to revolt. This Opinion of his was not groundleſs. When one conſiders his Temper, and how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected towards him, it is eaſy to conceive, the mutual Confidence, neceſſary for their common Tranquility, could hardly ſubſiſt. The King was naturally miſtruſtful and rigid. On the other hand, his great Armament had plunged him deeply in Debt. Beſides, he was under a Promiſe of liberally rewarding the Officers who had engaged in his Service, and all this muſt be done at the Expence of the *Engliſh*. To this may be added, he was naturally covetous, greedy of Money, not to expend but hoard it in his Coffers. In fine, his Partiality to his own Nation was exceſſive, and prevented him often from giving Ear to the Complaints of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Normans*, who made a very ill Uſe of the King's Favour. On the other Side, the *Engliſh* were extremely prejudiced againſt the *Normans*. This Prejudice, begun in the Reign of King *Edward*, and fomented by Earl *Goodwin* and his Son *Harold*, was farther encreaſed ſince the late Revolution. How careful ſoever the King was to recommend Moderation to the *Normans*, there was no hindering them from abuſing the Superiority, their Victory gave them over the *Engliſh*, and inſulting them in their Misfortunes. This was not very proper to maintain a good intelligence between the two Nations. Beſides, the King had built his Right to the Crown upon ſo ſlight a Foundation, that the *Engliſh* muſt have conſidered him as a greedy and ambitious Prince, who had formed the Project of his Enterprize upon *England*, from the ſole Motive of gratifying his Paſſions. In a word, the Adminiſtration of the two Regents during his Abſence, gave Occaſion to think, they would not have carried their Exceſſes and Rapines to that Height, had they not been aſſured of their Maſter's Approbation. However, the Conſideration of the Mildneſs of his Government for the three firſt Months of his Reign, had in ſome Meaſure cauſed theſe Reflections to vaniſh, and diſſipated all their Fears. But when they found, after his Return, he not only neglected to puniſh the Regents, but even approved of their Conduct, they could not contain any longer. They every where ſpread their Complaints and Murmurs, and openly ſhewed their Diſcontent. Then it was, that the King's Suſpicions daily increaſing, made him reſolve to be on his Guard, and uſe all poſſible Means to prevent the Diſcontent of the *Engliſh* from breaking out into a Flame. As his Temper inclined him to Severity, his Methods were rigorous. To which he was alſo prompted by the *Normans*, whoſe Intereſt it was that he ſhould ſubdue the *Engliſh* by Force, rather than gain them by fair Means. This is the moſt that can be ſaid in his Favour, though there are ſome, who charge him with a ſettled Deſign of reducing *England* to a State of Slavery, before ever he received any Provocation. Be this as it will, the Confidence between the King and his new Subjects was ſoon broken (4), and from that Time the King thought only of uſing all proper Means to eſtabliſh himſelf on the Throne, without nicely examining whether thoſe Means were conſonant to Juſtice and Equity.

Reaſons of the Miſunderſtanding between the King and the Engliſh.

Brady.

Not long after the King's Return (5), *Maltida* his Queen came into *England*, and was crowned with great Solemnity, this ſame Year She brought into the World a Son, named *Henry*. Her other Sons were born in *Normandy*, namely, *Robert*, *Richard*, and *William*, the eldeſt of whom was about Twelve Years old.

Maltida is crowned. Birth of Prince Henry. Flor. Wor. S. Dunelm.

1067.

1068

The King had hitherto delayed to ſatisfy thoſe who had voluntarily aſſiſted him in his Expedition into *England*. Beſides the Stipends due to them, they expected to be rewarded in Proportion to their Services, and the Power he had acquired by their Means. His ordinary Revenues not being ſufficient for this, there was a Neceſſity of having recourſe to the *Engliſh*, whoſe Misfortune it was to be vanquiſhed. To this End, he bethought himſelf of an Expedient, which could not but be very ungrateful to them. And that was, to revive *Dane-gelt* (6), aboliſhed by *the Confeſſor*, which brought to their Remembrance the Calamities they had ſuffered under a foreign Power. He plainly foreſaw, the People would be extremely diſſatisfied, and therefore endeavoured to prevent the ill Effects of their Diſcontent, by careſſing the principal *Engliſh* Lords, as far as his reſerved Temper would permit. He was moſt apprehenſive of Earl *Edwin*, who by his Birth, Honours, and perſonal Merit was in great Credit with his Countrymen. In order to prevent the Earl's uſing the preſent Occaſion to raiſe new Commotions, he thought proper to ſecure him to his Intereſt, by promiſing him one of his Daughters in Marriage. *Edwin* was very well pleaſed with the Offer, and inſtead of fomenting the Diſſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*, did all he could to appeaſe them. *Aldred*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was not ſo eaſily managed. This Prelate had entertained ſo great an Opinion of the King, that he was continually ſpeaking in his Praiſe. But when he ſaw him begin to pull off the Mask, by renewing a Tax ſo odious to the Nation, he was quite of another Mind. He ſent one to repreſent to him in his Name, the Injury he was doing the *Engliſh*, and the Inconveniencies that might follow. The King was offended with this Remonſtrance, and ſharply rebuked the Perſon that dared to deliver it. It is ſaid, *Aldred* was ſo ſenſibly touched with this Proceeding, that he could not forbear curſing the King and all his Race. There was Danger of the Archbiſhop's Reſentment occaſioning ſome Troubles in the North. At leaſt the King ſeemed to be uneaſy on that Account, by his ſending one of his Officers to endeavour to appeaſe him. But the Death of *Aldred*, which happened at that Time, freed the King from his Fears, and *Dane-gelt* was levied with all the Rigour imaginable. From thence-forward nothing was heard but Murmurings and Complaints, which incenſing the King, cauſed him to conſider the *Engliſh* but as ſo many Rebels, as they, on their Side, looked upon him under the odious Idea of a *Conqueror*.

1067.

The King rewards his Troops. Flor. Wor.

Reſtores Dane-gelt.

Promiſes his Daughter to Edwin. Orderic. Vital.

Archbiſhop of York *ſends a Remonſtrance to the King,* Malmsb. P. 271.

which is ill received.

Death of Aldred.

Dane-gelt *levied.*

Before I enter upon the Relation of the Troubles in this Reign, it will be proper to remark, the Hiſtorians are very much divided concerning the Cauſes that produced them. Some caſt the Blame on the *Engliſh*, and intimate the King uſed not Severity till he found milder Means were ineffectual. Others maintain, the King's ill Uſage of the *Engliſh* was the ſole Cauſe of their Revolts. To decide this Queſtion, it would be neceſſary to examine the Extent of a Prince's Power that had acquired the Poſſeſſion of the Crown in the manner we have ſeen, and how far the Obedience of a Nation was due, who had ſubmitted partly by Compulſion, partly of their own Accord. But upon theſe very Points, there would be perhaps no leſs Diverſity of Opinions. It is ſufficient therefore to obſerve, that among the Hiſtorians who have writ of *William the Conqueror*, ſome have ſtudiouſly diſplayed all his good Qualities, and but ſlightly touched upon his Faults. Others have endeavoured to miſrepreſent all his Actions, and aggravate even ſuch as may be eaſily juſtified. So far is certain, the *Engliſh* were ill-treated in his Reign. This the greateſt Sticklers for the *Conqueror* and his Race cannot deny, but alledge in his Excuſe, the Neceſſity he was under of guarding againſt the *Engliſh*, ever prone to revolt. Others, on the contrary, aſcribe the Ill-treatment of the *Engliſh* ſolely to the avaricious Temper of the King, and affirm, their Revolts were entirely owing to their Deſpair. Amidſt theſe various Opinions, the Courſe I ſhall take, will be, plainly to relate ſuch Facts as are uncontеſted, without making any Reflections, that the Reader may be at Liberty to judge as he ſhall think proper.

Divers Opinions about the King's Conduct to the Engliſh.

As Matters ſtood between the King and the *Engliſh*, it was very hard for them to ſit ſtill and not endeavour to

Flor. Wor. Huntingd.

(1) He came over in the Night, but the Garriſon ſallying out, and driving moſt of his Men down the Precipices, he was forced to retire with a few Men. *W. Gemeticenſ.* p. 667. *Walſing. Ypodigma.* p. 436.

(2) Son of *Alfric*, *Edric Strton*'s Brother. *Richard Fitz-Scroop*, and the *Norman* Garriſon at *Hereford*, waſted his Eſtate, becauſe he would not ſubmit to King *William*, but were always forced to retire with great Loſs: therefore the better to ſecure himſelf againſt the *Normans* for the future, he called in to his Aſſiſtance *Blethyn* and *Rywalhon*, Princes of *Wales*; and about the middle of *Auguſt*, invaded and pillaged the County of *Hereford*. *Flor. Wigorn* p. 635. *S. Dunelm.* p. 197. *M. Weſt.*

(3) About the Beginning of Winter, and landed at *Winchelſea*, from whence he went to *London*, where he was received with all Signs of Reſpect: He then treated the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobility with great Affability and outward Kindneſs, granting them whatſoever they asked, and readily hearing what they offered to him; he alſo cajoled the *Welſh*. *Ord. Vitalis*, p. 509.

(4) *William Gemeticenſis* ſays, That after *William*'s Return out of *Normandy*, there was diſcovered a Conſpiracy of certain *Engliſh*, who had contrived to deſtroy him and his Followers, as they were to go to Church bare-foot on *Aſh-Wedneſday*; but the Conſpirators being diſcovered, fled into the North, *L.* 7. *c.* 39. *Walſingh. Ypodigma*, p. 437.

(5) The next Year, after *Eaſter*. She was crowned on *Whitſunday*, 1068. by *Alfred*, Archbiſhop of *York*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 197. *M. Weſtm.*

(6) The ancient Hiſtorians only ſay, that he impoſed on his Subjects *an intolerable Tribute*——importabile tributum——*Flor. Wor.* p. 635 *S. Dunelm.* p. 197. *Hoved. Brompt.* p. 863.

1068 Exeter revolts.

ſhake off a foreign Yoke, which to them ſeemed inſupportable. The Inſurrections began in the *Weſtern* Parts, where the Inhabitants of *Exeter* refuſed to take their Oath to the King and admit a *Norman* Garriſon (1). *William*, ſenſible of what Importance it was to put a Stop to this Evil before it ſpread any farther, marched in the midſt of Winter to reduce *Exeter* to Obedience. Upon his Approach, he was met by ſome of the principal Citizens, to petition him for Pardon in the Name of the Corporation, and give him Hoſtages. But, whilſt the Deputies were with the King, the ordinary Sort of Townſmen being ſuperior, diſapproved of their Proceedings, and reſolved to ſtand upon their Defence. *Githa*, Mother to King *Harold*, who was then in the City, encouraged the Inhabitants in their Reſolution, and probably, was the Perſon that put them upon it. Mean-time, the King being too far advanced to retire with Honour, found himſelf obliged to beſiege the Town in Form, notwithſtanding the Sharpneſs of the Winter. The Approaches being made, and the battering Engines beginning to play, the Citizens ſaw no other Remedy but to implore the King's Mercy. How much ſoever the King was bent to make an Example of them, he yielded to the Intreaties of the Clergy, who were very urgent for their Pardon (2). *Githa* had the good Fortune to eſcape into *Flanders* with a great quantity of Money. To prevent a ſecond Inſurrection, *William* ordered a Caſtle to be built in the City, and left it to the Care and Management of *Baldwin*, Son of Earl *Gilbert*, with a *Norman* Garriſon.

They ſubmit, and are pardoned.

The King builds a Caſtle.

He ſeeks means to pay his Debts.

The King could no longer delay the Payment of his Debts, and the Rewards ſo often promiſed to his Troops. The Sums raiſed by the late Tax of *Dane-gelt*, which at firſt were deſigned for this Uſe, had been paid into the King's Treaſury, and he could not bear the Thoughts of parting with the Money again. He believed it abſolutely neceſſary to have a Reſerve upon any ſudden Occaſion; eſpecially as the Diſcontents of the *Engliſh* gave him room to dread a general Revolt. And therefore, without meddling with that Money, other means were to be uſed, which very much inflamed the Diſcontent of the *Engliſh*. Commiſſioners were ſent into all the Counties, to enquire who ſided with *Harold*, and confiſcate their Eſtates. The *Engliſh* loudly exclaimed againſt this ſeemingly very unjuſt Enquiry. They alledged, when they took Arms for *Harold*, that Prince was in actual Poſſeſſion of the Throne, having been elected at a Time when *William*'s Pretenſions to the Crown were even unknown. That before the Battle of *Haſtings*, they had never taken their Oath to the Duke of *Normandy*, and conſequently their Eſtates could not be liable to Confiſcation for bearing Arms againſt him. That beſide, ſuppoſing they were guilty, they had made ample Amends for their Fault by ready Submiſſion, which the King had accepted of; and even promiſed to protect them in their Rights and Privileges. Theſe Reaſons were very ſtrong. But on this Occaſion, the King acted with a view to Politicks rather than Juſtice. His Intent was not to puniſh them for their pretended Crime, but to have a plauſible Pretence to raiſe Money, and withal to put it out of their Power to hurt him, by depriving them of their Eſtates, a Thing, he judged abſolutely neceſſary for his Safety and Quiet. Accordingly this Fact is ſlightly paſſed over by the King's Friends, and by way of Diverſion, an Act of Juſtice done by the King on this Occaſion, is mightily extolled, namely, the reſtoring a confiſcated Eſtate to an *Engliſh* Lord, who proved he was never in Arms for *Harold* (3). However, we may be aſſured, this was one of the moſt remarkable Events of this Reign, ſince the confiſcated Lands paſſed into the Hands of the *Normans* and other Foreigners, who thereby became more conſiderable in *England* than the *Engliſh* themſelves. From theſe deſcended many noble Families now in being. However this be, theſe Confiſcations were of great Service to the King upon two Accounts. Firſt, as they enabled him to pay his Debts, and reward his Followers. Secondly, as they gave him an Opportunity of filling the Counties with ſuch as were devoted to him, and whoſe Intereſt it was to ſupport him in the Throne.

W. Pictav.

1063.

Whilſt the King was thus guarding againſt the *Engliſh*, he daily forfeited their Eſteem and Affection, and naturally led them to deviſe means for the Recovery of their Eſtates. *Edwin*, Earl of *Cheſter*, one of the moſt conſiderable among them, thought it his Duty to attempt the reſtoring of the almoſt deſperate Affairs of his Country. The King had amuſed him with Hopes of one of his Daughters; but there was no Likelihood he intended to perform his Word. On the Contrary, the King ſeemed to want only ſome Pretence to involve him in the ſame Ruin with the reſt. *Morcar*, his Brother, Earl of *Northumberland*, who was in much the ſame Situation, very readily engaged in the Plot. As theſe two Lords had a very great Intereſt in the Kingdom, they ſoon raiſed an Army which was reinforced by *Blethwin* King of *Wales*, their Nephew, with a good number of Troops (4). The King had Reaſon to fear this Revolt would become general, unleſs he timely oppoſed its Beginnings. Accordingly he drew his Forces together with the utmoſt Expedition, before the Evil ſpread any farther. In his March towards the Rebels, he fortified the Caſtle of *Warwick*, and made *Henry de Beaumont* Governour, who was alſo the firſt Earl of *Warwick* (5). At the ſame Time he built likewiſe *Nottingham-Caſtle* (6), to ſecure a Retreat in caſe of Neceſſity, by means of theſe two Places. Having taken theſe Precautions, he continued his March towards the North, to engage the Rebels, or beſiege *York*, which had ſided with them.

Edwin *and* Morcar *revolt.*

Vital. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Brady. *The King marches againſt them.*

He builds Caſtles.

Mean-time, the two Earls hoping the reſt of the Kingdom would follow the Example of the North, were very much deceived in their Expectations. The King's great Diligence, and the Superiority of his Forces breaking all their Meaſures, they found themſelves unable to reſiſt him. In this Extremity, they had but two Ways to take, either to fly the Kingdom, or ſubmit to the King's Mercy. They choſe the laſt, and found their Account in it. How much ſoever the King might be incenſed, he very readily pardoned them, with a View to reclaim the *Engliſh* by this Act of Clemency. He purſued however his March towards *York*, the Inhabitants whereof, little able to ſuſtain the Burden of the War alone, came out to meet him, and delivered up the Keys of their City. By this Submiſſion they were pardoned as to corporal Puniſhments; but were forced to pay a large Fine, and had the Mortification to ſee a Caſtle built in their City (7), and garriſoned with *Norman* Soldiers. *Archil*, a *Northumbrian* Lord, who had been concerned in the Revolt, was alſo received into Favour upon delivering his Son in Hoſtage (8). *Egelwin*, Biſhop of *Durham*, made his Peace likewiſe upon the ſame Account (9).

Edwin *and* Morcar *ſubmit, and are pardoned.*

York ſurrenders; where the King builds a Caſtle.

The King's Clemency to the Heads of the Rebels might have a good Effect, if at the ſame Time that he pardoned ſome, he had not puniſhed others who were much leſs guilty. He ordered great Numbers to be ſhut up in Priſon, who had no Hand at all in the late Inſurrection (10), and thereby gave Occaſion to think the Mercy ſhewn to the Leaders was only a Strain of his Policy. This Conduct ſpread a Terror throughout the Kingdom, which was ſtill increaſed, when Caſtles were ſeen building at *Lincoln*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, which were evidently deſigned to keep the *Engliſh* in Awe. *Morcar* and the other *Northumbrian* Lords (11), dreading their Puniſhment was only deferred till a more convenient Seaſon, retired into *Scotland*. Earl *Goſpatric* was under the ſame Apprehenſions, and inſtilled them into Prince *Edgar*, who by his Advice, fled to the Court of *Scotland*, with his Mother and Siſters (12). *Malcolm Canmore* (13), who was then on the Throne, received them with the Reſpect due to their Rank, and conſidering their

The King's Clemency ſeems doubtful.

He builds Caſtles in ſeveral Places.

Several Lords with Prince Edgar *retire into* Scotland. S. Dunelm. M. Paris.

(1) Though they offered to pay him Tribute. *Tyrrel*, p. 16.

(2) They had their Goods ſecured from the Violence of the Soldiers, by placing Guards at the Gates to keep them out. *Ibid.*

(3) *Sharnburn* in *Norfolk*, which the Conqueror had given to *Warren* the *Norman*. But *Edwin*, the Lord of it, proving he had not ſided with *Harold*, it was reſtored to him. *Tyrrel* calls this Fact in queſtion, becauſe this Eſtate is not mentioned in *Doomſday-Book*, as in Poſſeſſion of the ſaid *Edwin*. *Introduct.* to Vol. II. p. 51, 52.

(4) *Bletkwin*'s or *Bliden*'s Father married *Editha*, *Edwin*'s Siſter, after whoſe Death ſhe was married to *Harold*. *Ord. Vit.* 311.

(5) He was Brother of *Roger de bello monte*, Son to *Humfrid de Vetulis*, Son of *Turolf* of *Pont Adomar*, by *Wewa*. He was called *Henry of Newburgh*, from the Place of his Birth, a Caſtle in *Normany*, and was made Earl of *Warwick*, after the Survey. *Gemet.* l. 7. c. 4.

(6) And gave the Cuſtody of it to *William Pendel*.

(7) He built two Caſtles there, in which he put five-hundred Soldiers. *S. Dunelm.* p. 197. *Hoved.* p. 450.

(8) *Archil* married *Sigrid*, Daughter of *Egfrid*, Daughter of *Aldun* Biſhop of *Durham*. This *Archil* ſeized part of *Northumberland* that was waſte, and inhabited it. By *Sigrid* he had a Son, named *Goſpatrick*, and he another of that Name, afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 80. n. 34.

(9) And by his Mediation, Conditions of Peace were offered to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, which he accepting, a Peace was concluded between the two Kings. *Ord. Vital.*

(10) And the Lands of thoſe who were concerned in it, he plentifully diſtributed among his Followers, that had aſſiſted him at the Battle of *Haſtings*. As for the little which was left to the antient Inhabitants, he put it under the Yoke of perpetual Servitude, that is, encumbred it with *Knight's Service*, *M. Paris*, p. 4. *M. Weſt.* p. 225. *Brompt.* p. 965. *Tyrrel*, p. 16, 17. Vol. II.

(11) *Marleſwein*, *Merter*, *Wetthers*, and other Lords, as well as Biſhops, Clergy, and others, afraid of being impriſoned on account of the late Inſurrection, retired, ſome to the King of *Scots*, others into Woods and Deſarts, from whence they frequently ſallied out, and annoyed the *Normans*, who were poſſeſſed of their Eſtates. *M. Paris*, p. 4. *S. Dunelm.* p. 197. *Brompt.* p. 965.

(12) He embarked, with his Mother *Agatha*, and his Siſters *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*, in order to return into *Hungary*, his native Place; but was driven by a Storm into *Scotland*, where he ſtaid. *M. Paris*, p. 4. *Brompt.* p. 965. *Knighton*, p. 2344.

(13) *Rapin*, by Miſtake, ſays *Macmair*. See *Buchanan*, *&c.* *David Scott*, *&c.*

Birth

1068. Sax. Ann. Malcolm marries Edgar's Sister.

Birth rather than their Fortune, married ſoon after *Margaret Edgar*'s eldeſt Siſter. From this marriage ſprung *Matilda*, Grandmother to *Henry* II. King of *England*, in whoſe Perſon the *Saxon* and *Norman* Royal Families were united.

1069. The King takes from the Engliſh their Arms, and eſtabliſhes the Curfew. Pol. Virg.

The King was not ſorry to ſee himſelf thus rid of his ſecret Enemies, who gave him much leſs uneaſineſs being in *Scotland*, than if they had ſtaid in *England*. However, the Flight of theſe Lords diſcovering how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected towards him, he reſolved to take all poſſible meaſures to ſcreen himſelf from their Reſentment. For that purpoſe, he took two Precautions which were equally inſupportable to them. The firſt was to take away their Arms (1). The ſecond to forbid them any Lights in their Houſes after eight a-Clock. At which hour a Bell was rung to warn them to put out their Fire and Candle, under the penalty of a great Fine for every offence. The ſound of this Bell, called the *Curfew*, was for a long while very grating in the ears of the *Engliſh*. When they reflected on the Sweets of Liberty, enjoyed under their antient Kings, they could not without extreme Grief behold themſelves reduced to ſuch Slavery. If this Order was not moſt punctually obſerved, they were ſure to be immediately puniſhed as if guilty of ſome heinous Crime. This Bell therefore was as a Signal, which being repeated every day, conſtantly put them in mind of their Slavery. This Oppreſſion joined to a thouſand others which they daily ſuffered from the hands of the King, as well as from the Foreigners, imbittered their Lives and made them deplore their ſad and helpleſs condition. In this manner ſeveral Hiſtorians repreſent the State of the *Engliſh* at that Time.

Harold's Sons make a Deſcent. S. Dunelm. Flor. Worc. Malmſb. p. 104.

Whilſt the King was thus guarding againſt the ſecret Practices of his Subjects, *Goodwin*, *Edmund* and *Magnus*, Sons of *Harold*, made a deſcent in *Somerſetſhire*. The only Oppoſition, they met with, was from *Ednoth*, formerly Maſter of the Horſe to the King their Father, who was willing to give King *William* a proof of his Fidelity by encountring theſe Princes. His Zeal for the new King proved fatal to him, for he was ſlain in the Battle; after which, they retired laden with Booty.

Engliſh and Normans complain one of another.

If the Hiſtorians on the ſide of the *Engliſh* may be credited, *England* was then in a pitiable ſtate. The *Normans* ſupported by the King's Favour and Protection, daily committed Outrages upon the *Engliſh*, for which theſe laſt could expect no Redreſs. Others, more Friends to the *Normans* than the *Engliſh*, aſſure us, the *Engliſh* vexed that the King's meaſures ſhould put it out of their power to ſhake off a Yoke which they bore with extreme Impatience, found fault with the *Normans* in general. They add, ſcarce a day paſſed but the dead Bodies of aſſaſſinated *Normans* were found in the Woods or Highways, without any poſſibility of diſcovering the Authors of theſe Murders, ſo firmly did the *Engliſh* ſtand by one another. In all appearance the King was perſuaded, the *Engliſh* were wholly to blame, ſince he publiſhed a ſevere Edict, ordering that when a *Norman* ſhould be ſlain or robbed, the Hundred where the Act was done ſhould be reſponſible for the Crime, and pay a large Fine. This Law was not new to the *Engliſh*. From the time of *Alfred the Great*, it had been in force in the Kingdom (2). But what extremely provoked them, was, that this Edict was made in favour of the *Normans* only.

Edict in favour of the Normans. Leges Will. cap. 53.

Several Normans quit England. Ord. Vital.

How gracious ſoever the King might be to the Foreigners, many of them deſired leave to return home (3). The King readily granted their Requeſt, paying the Arrears due to them, and rewarding them beyond their expectation. All this was done at the expence of the *Engliſh*, on whom were levied the Sums neceſſary to defray this charge.

Occaſions of complaint continually encreaſed on both ſides. The King complained, the *Engliſh* appeared ready upon all occaſions to rebel; and the *Engliſh* thinking themſelves unjuſtly oppreſſed, loudly murmured at it. The *Northumbrians* were the moſt impatient. We have already ſeen in ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory, that they were wont to be, as it were, their own Maſters, and could not bear a ſtate of Slavery. The ſame Spirit ſtill reigned among them. They could not refrain expoſtulating upon the leaſt occaſion, and often uſhered in their Complaints with ſome Inſurrection. The turbulent Temper of theſe People, and the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, creating ſome dread in the King, he reſolved to appoint them for Governor, *Robert Cumin*, a *Norman* Lord, whoſe rough Diſpoſition ſeemed proper to tame their Fierceneſs. They heard this News juſt as a Project of calling in the *Danes* was going to be executed. Some of them who had taken refuge in *Denmark*, had perſuaded King *Sweyn*, he might eaſily conquer *England* (4). Nay, they had brought Aſſurances from the *Northumbrians*, that they would aſſiſt him in his Undertaking. Whereupon *Sweyn* fitted out a Fleet of two hundred Sail (5), which was ready to put to Sea when *Cumin* with ſeven hundred *Normans*, came and took poſſeſſion of his Government. As his Arrival might prove very prejudicial to the Deſigns formed in the North, the principal Contrivers of the Plot reſolved to rid themſelves of ſo troubleſome an Inſpector with his Attendants. Though he had notice of their Inrent (6), he thought it ſo little in their power to hurt him, that he neglected the Intelligence. Mean time the Conſpirators privately drawing ſome Troops together, came to *Durham*, where *Cumin* lay in a careleſs manner, and put him and his *Norman* Followers all to the Sword (7). Preſently after arrived the *Daniſh* Fleet under the command of *Osbern*, Brother to the King of *Denmark* (8). Upon News whereof all the Malecontents went and joined the *Daniſh* General, who had now landed his Troops (9). *Edgar Atheling*, *Goſpatric*, *Merlefweyn* (10), and all the other Lords who had retired into *Scotland*, brought him Reinforcements, which rendered his Army very formidable. As all *Northumberland* was for the *Danes*, and the King had not in thoſe Parts any Forces capable of withſtanding ſo numerous an Army, *Osbern* marched directly to *York*. The *Norman* Garriſon upon the approach of the *Danes*, reſolved to hold out to the laſt Extremity, not doubting but the King would come to their Relief with all poſſible expedition. In this expectation they ſet Fire to the Suburbs at the foot of the Caſtle, that the Houſes might not be of Service to the Beſiegers. But the Fire ſpreading farther than was deſigned, a great part of the City was reduced to aſhes. The Cathedral-Church, the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, and a famous Library begun by Archbiſhop *Ecbert* about the Year 800, entirely periſhed in the Flames. Mean while the *Danes* taking advantage of the Confuſion, cauſed by this Accident, entered the City without oppoſition. As ſoon as they were maſters of it, they attacked the Citadel ſo vigorouſly, that they took it at the firſt Aſſault, and put the Garriſon to the Sword (11). After this, the *Daniſh* General underſtanding the King was preparing to march againſt him, went and encamped in an advantagious Poſt (12), leaving in *York* Earl *Waltheff* with an *Engliſh* Garriſon.

1069. Robert Cumin made Governor of Northumberland. S. Dunelm.

Sax. Ann.

The Northumbrians call in the Danes. Huntingd.

Sax. Ann.

Cumin ſlain and the Danes land, and are joined by the Malecontents. Sax. Ann. Mat. Paris.

They beſiege York. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

The News of this Invaſion ſomewhat ſhook the King's reſolution. He was afraid the *Danes* were called in by a general Combination. Poſſeſſed with this Notion, he durſt not quit the Heart of the Kingdom, for fear his abſence would give the reſt of the Male-contents an opportunity to riſe. On the other hand it was no leſs dangerous to neglect the Affairs of the North, which might be attended with ill conſequences. In this perplexity, he believed it adviſeable, before all things, to endeavour to pacify the *Engliſh* by ſome Acts which ſeemed proper to that end.

The King dreads an univerſal Revolt.

M. Weſt.

(1) This doth not appear from the ancient Hiſtorians. And as for what follows about the *Curfew* (qu. *Couvre-feu*, or *Covre-fire*) *Polydore Virgil* is the firſt who mentions it. There is a paſſage quoted out of *William Malmsbury*, p. 156. to countenance that Notion, but whether it does any way confirm it, I leave the Reader to judge:—*Lucernarum* uſum noctibus in Curiâ reſtituit qui fuerat tempore fratris intermiſſus,—i. e. *He* [Henry I.] *reſtored in his Court the Uſe of Lights at Night, which had been left off in his Brother* [William Rufus's] *Time*. But is this any thing like a *Curfew*?

(2) In the Time of the *Danes*, when the Body of an unknown Perſon was found murdered, it was taken for granted it was a *Dane*, and the *Hundred* paid the Mulct. Thus *William* only revived an old Cuſtom, by changing the Name of *Dane* into that of *Norman*. *Bacon*'s Hiſt. c. 40. p. 62. *Rapin*.

(3) About this Time (ſays *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 512) ſome of the *Norman* Ladies wanting their Husbands, ſent for them to return, and withal let them know if they returned not, they muſt have other Men to relieve their Neceſſities. *Hugo de Grentmeſmil*, who preſided at *Wincheſter*; *Humfrid de Teliolo*, Governor of *Haſtings*, with many others, returned into *Normandy*. His Soldiers likewiſe, wearied with the Deſolation of the Country, importuned him for their Releaſe that they might retire to a fixed Place of Abode; which he granted, and diſmiſſed them with plentiful Rewards. *Ibid.*

(4) *M. Weſt.* ſays, they came either to conquer *England*, or to take *William* or drive him out of the Kingdom. p. 226.

(5) Of two hundred and forty, ſays *Flor. Worc. S. Dunelm*, p. 198, &c. Of three hundred, according to *Sax. Ann. Malmsb.* p. 106. *Huntingd. M. Paris*, p. 5. *M. Weſt.*

(6) From *Egelwin*, the Biſhop, who went out to meet him, and adviſed him to beware of Treachery. The *Northumbrians* unanimouſly reſolved beforehand never to ſubmit to a Stranger, and therefore agreed either to kill him, or to die themſelves. The Earl coming to *Durham*, ſuffered his Men to treat the People like Enemies, killing ſome of the Biſhop's Tenants. *S. Dunelm.* p. 198.

(7) They flocked to *Durham* in the Night, and forcing the Gates in the Morning, ruſhed in, and ſlew as many of the Earl's Attendants as they could meet with. *Cumin* fled for refuge into the Biſhop's Palace, but it being ſet on Fire by the Conſpirators, all that were in it periſhed in the Flames. Of the ſeven hundred *Normans*, but one eſcaped. This was done *January* 28. *S. Dunelm.* p. 38. 198.

(8) There came *Sweyn*'s two Sons, *Harold* and *Canute*; Earl *Turkill*, and *Chriſtian* their Biſhop. *S. Dunelm.* p. 198. *Brompt.* p. 965.

(9) In the Mouth of the *Humber*. *Huntingd.* p. 368. *S. Dunelm.* p. 198.

(10) With *Waltheff*, theſe brought him ſeveral thouſands of armed Men. *S. Dunelm.* ibid. *M. Paris*, p. 5.

(11) More than three thouſand *Normans* were killed. *William Malet* the *Vice-comes*, and his Wife and Children, with *Gilbert de Gaunt*, and ſome few others were ſpared. *S. Dunelm.* p. 199.

(12) They wintered between the *Ouſe* and the *Trent*. *Huntingd.* p. 369. *M. Paris*, p. 5. *Sax. Ann.*

He

1069. He recalled ſeveral whom he had baniſhed, ſet others at Liberty, and affected by ſome inſtances of ſeverity to repreſs the Inſolence of the *Normans* (1). His Fears being ſomewhat abated by the good effects of theſe Proceedings, he ſent the Queen and the Princes into *Normandy*, and then marched againſt the *Danes*. He was ſo provoked with the *Northumbrians*, that he was heard to ſwear by God's Splendour, he would not leave a Soul alive. As ſoon as he entered *Yorkſhire*, he began to execute his Threats by terrible ravages. Mean time the *Danes* kept their Poſt, where he durſt not attack them, well knowing, by hazarding a Battle, he ſtaked his all againſt little or nothing. To extricate himſelf out of this difficulty, he believed the beſt courſe he could take would be to bribe the General by Preſents. For that purpoſe he ſent private Emiſſaries to offer him a large Sum of Money, with leave to plunder the Country along the Sea Coaſt, provided he would depart when Winter was over. This Negotiation ſucceeding to his wiſh, *Osbern* retired in the beginning of the Spring, for which he was ſeverely puniſhed by the King his Brother (2). The *Danes* being gone, The King marched to *York* to beſiege the City, defended by an *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Garriſon, under the command of a brave Governor (3). This was Earl *Walthoff*, who by his Courage and Conduct, rendered the Siege ſo long and difficult, that the King began to deſpair of Succeſs, when the want of Proviſions obliged the beſieged to capitulate. How incenſed ſoever the King might be, he readily granted honourable Terms to this brave Governor, whoſe Valour he had ſo often admired during the Siege. He was not ſatisfied with ſhewing him this mark of his Eſteem, but gave him in marriage his own Niece, Daughter to the Counteſs of *Albemarle* (4). Some time after, he made him alſo Earl of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon*, and laſtly of *Northumberland*. He received likewiſe into favour Earl *Goſpatric*; but puniſhed ſeverely the reſt of the Officers and Soldiers of the Garriſon, laying a heavy Fine upon the Citizens of *York*. As ſoon as the Siege was over. and the King found it in his power to be revenged of the *Northumbrians*, he ravaged their Country in ſo mercileſs a manner, that for ſixty Miles together, between *York* and *Durham*, he did not leave a ſingle Houſe ſtanding (5). He ſpared not even the Churches and other publick Edifices. This is what *William* of *Malmsbury*, though a *Norman*, durſt not deny. His Pretence for thus laying the Country waſte, was, to prevent a ſecond *Daniſh* Invaſion. But the method he took, was a clear evidence, it was to glut his revenge, and ſtrike a Terror into the reſt of the Kingdom, It is impoſſible, according to Hiſtorians, to deſcribe the Miſeries of the northern Counties. The Lands lying untilled (6), and the Houſes being deſtroyed, People died in heaps, after having endeavoured to prolong a wretched Life, by eating of the moſt unclean Animals, and ſometimes even human Fleſh (7.)

Hoved.

He bribes the Daniſh *General to go off.* Flor. Wor. S. Dunelm.

The King beſieges York.

Malmſb. Walthoff *bravely defends it. Capitulates, and is pardoned.* Ord. Vital.

Marries Judith *the King's Niece.*

The King ravages Northumberland.

Malmſb. p. 103. Brompt. Ingulph.

1070. *The king treats the* Engliſh *very ill.*

The Step lately taken by the *Engliſh* in calling the *Danes* into the Kingdom, thoroughly convinced the King, he ſhould never be in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Crown till he had intirely put it out of their Power to execute the Projects formed againſt him. This made him reſolve to humble in ſuch a manner all that had any Intereſt with the People, that they ſhould not be able to make any conſiderable Effort. It is true, many innocent Perſons were to ſuffer in the execution of this Deſign. But at that time, it is certain the King thought only of his own ſafety, without troubling himſelf, whether the means he made uſe of were conſiſtent with Juſtice. To accompliſh his ends, he ſuddenly removed the *Engliſh* from ſuch Poſts as gave them any Power over their Countrymen. After which he diſpoſſeſſed them of all the Baronies and the Fiefs of the Crown in general, and diſtributed them to the *Normans* and other Foreigners who had followed him into *England*. But as theſe laſt were not ſo many in number as thoſe that were deprived of their Eſtates, he was obliged to load them, as I may ſay, with Benefits. in order to draw all the Crown-Lands out of the hands of the *Engliſh*. We may be ſatisfied by the following inſtances, how profuſe the King was in this Diſtribution. *Robert*, his uterine Brother, had the Earldom of *Cornwall*, in which were two hundred and eighty eight Manors (8), beſides five hundred aad fifty eight (9), which he poſſeſſed in other Counties. *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, his other Brother, was made Earl *Palatine* of *Kent*, and Juſticiary of *England*. This Prelate had one hundred and eighty Fiefs in *Kent* alone (10), and two hundred and fifty five in ſeveral other Places. *William Fitz-Osbern* was rewarded with the whole Earldom of *Hereford* (11). *Hugh Lupus* of *Almonches* the King's Siſter's Son, was preſented by his Uncle with the County Palatine of *Cheſter*, with all the Royal Prerogatives, to hold it in full Sovereignty as the King himſelf held his Crown. *Alan Fergeant* Duke of *Bretagne*, the King's Son-in-law, had all Earl *Edwin*'s Eſtate with the ſame Privileges as were granted to the Earl of *Cheſter* (12). *Roger de Montgomery* had firſt *Arundel*, *Chicheſter*, and afterwards *Shropſhire*. *Walter Giffard* had *Buckinghamſhire*, and *William Warner*, the County of *Surrey*. *Eudes*, Earl of *Blois*, was put in poſſeſſion of the Lordſhip of *Holderneſs*. *Ralph de Guader* (13) a *Breton*, was made Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and Lord of *Norwich*. *Henry de Ferrariis* received *Tutbury-Caſtle* (14). *William* Biſhop of *Conſtance* was poſſeſſed of two hundred and eighty *Fiefs*, which he left at his Death to *Robert Mowbray* his Nephew. It would be endleſs to mention all the Donations granted by the King to the Foreigners, at the Expence of the *Engliſh*. Thoſe above-mentioned are ſufficient to ſhew, the Intent of this Profuſion was ſolely to deprive the *Engliſh* of their Eſtates. This therefore is a memorable Epocha, when, to ſpeak in the Language of the Hiſtorians, *England* was delivered into the hands of Foreigners. It may eaſily be conceived, the Lords, to whom the King diſtributed ſo many Eſtates, ſuffered none to hold of them but thoſe of their own Nation. Accordingly from that time, we hear no more of *Ealdormen*, or *Thanes*, but of *Counts*, or *Earls*, *Viſcounts*, *Barons*, *Vavaſſors*, *Eſquires*, and other Titles taken from the *Norman* or *French* Tongue, which began to be introduced into *England* inſtead of the *Saxon* Names. So that *England* may be truly ſaid to become *Norman*. Perhaps even its own Name would have been changed for that of *Normandy*, if ſome things, ſpoken of in the following Reigns, had not made the *Normans*, ſettled in *England*, deſirous of being conſidered as *Engliſhmen*, and even taking the Name. Be this as it will, from the Foreigners, who were then put in poſſeſſion of theſe Lands, are derived a great part of the moſt eminent Families this day in the Kingdom.

1070. *He gives their Places and Eſtates to Normans.*

Brad. Vol. I. p. 197.

Brady. Vol. I. p. 270.

It was not only the *Engliſh* Nobility that were ſufferers by the Conqueror's new Plan: The Clergy met with no better quarter. The *Saxon* Kings had granted to ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots Lands exempted from all military Service, denouncing in their Charters Imprecations againſt ſuch of their Succeſſors as ſhould dare to violate theſe Privileges. But King *William*, not being one of thoſe ſcrupulous Princes who looked upon what their Predeceſſors have ſettled as unalterable, cancelled all theſe Immunities (15). Church-Lands as well as the reſt, were obliged to find, in time of War, a certain number of Horſemen, notwithſtanding the Clauſes in their ancient Charter to the con-

The King breaks thro' the Clergy's Charters. M. Paris.

Ingulph.

(1) To this Time Mr. *Tyrrel* refers that conſiderable Tranſaction related by *Roger de Hoveden*, That *William* cauſed certain wiſe and noble *Engliſhmen* throughout all *England* to be ſummoned, that he might hear from them the Laws and ancient Cuſtoms thereof, and confirm them. *Tyrrel*, p. 21. See *R. Hov.* p. 601. &c.

(2) He was baniſhed. *Malmſb.* p. 106.

(3) But he took *Oxford* in his Way, which had revolted againſt him, and ſoon reduced it. From *Oxford* he marched on by *Nottingham* towards *York*, when he came into *Yorkſhire*, he ſlew the greateſt part of the People, and laid the Country waſte; and engaging the Enemy at *York*, he put tho ſtrongeſt to flight, and deſtroyed all the reſt with the Sword. *Ord. Vital. Mat. Paris.* p. 4, 5.

(4) His Siſter by the ſame Mother. His Niece's Name was *Judith*. *Gemet.* l. 8. c. 17.

(5) About this time *Egelric* Biſhop of *Durham* was deprived, and his Brother *Egelwin* put in his room. *Paris*, p. 5.

(6) This occaſioned a terrible Famine, of which there is a melancholy Account in *S. Dunelm.* p. 199, &c. The Lands lay untilled for nine Years. *S. Dunelm.* ibid. *Brompt.* p. 966.

(7) King *William*, as ſoon as he came to *Durham*, ordered a Caſtle to be built there. *S. Dunelm.* p. 45. *Chriſtmas* approaching, he cauſed his Crown, &c. to be brought to *York*, where he kept that Feſtival. As ſoon as the Holidays were over, he marched againſt a Party, who had fortified themſelves in an inacceſſible Angle of that Country, and having purſued them as far as the *Tees*, he marched over Mountains, and thro' Woods, almoſt croſs the Kingdom into *Cheſhire*, to be revenged on the *Welſh*, who had lately beſieged *Shrewſbury*; but upon his Arrival with his Army at *Cheſter*, he thereby quieted the whole Province of *Mercia*: And *Edric* the *Foreſter* having now made his Peace, the King built a Caſtle there, and another, in his Return out of thoſe Parts, at *Stafford*, putting ſtrong Garriſons into both. From thence he came to *Saliſbury*, where he kept his *Eaſter*, and largely rewarding his Soldiers, he diſmiſſed them. *Ord. Vit.*——During *William*'s Abſence in the North, the Sons of the late King *Harold*, having procured from *Dermet* King of *Ireland* a Fleet of ſixty Sail, landed again not far from *Exeter*, plundering and burning wherever they came: But *Brien* Son to *Eudo* Earl of *Bretagne*, fought them twice in one Day, killing ſeven hundred of their Men, with divers of the *Iriſh* Nobility, the reſt flying to their Ships, returned into *Ireland*. *W. Gemeticenſ.* l. 7. c. 40. *Ord. Vital.* See *Tyrrel*. p. 23, 24, 25.

(8) *Brady* ſays two hundred and forty eight.

(9 According to the ſame Author, it was but five hundred and forty five: And in all ſeven hundred and ninety three.

(10) *Brady* ſays one hundred and eighty four; in all four hundred and thirty nine. *Brady*, p. 195, 196.

(11) And alſo the Iſle of *Wight*. He was *Sewer of Normandy*, and placed with *Walter Lacy*, the King's Standard Bearer, to oppoſe the *Welſh*. *Rot. pen. Epiſ. Elien.*

(12) *Rapin*, by Miſtake, ſays *Morcar*'s Eſtate. The Words of the Grant are. *Ego* Gulielmus *cognomine* Baſtardus *do*, &c. Alano, &c. *omnes villas & terras quæ nuper fuerunt Comitis* Edwini *in* Eboraſcira *cum feodis militum*, &c. Theſe Lands, when given, were gildable, but by the King's Favour were changed into a Liberty or Honour, now called *Richmondſhire*, from a Caſtle of that Name, built by Earl *Alan*.

(13) Now *Guaer*, a Caſtle in *Bretagne*.

(14) Though he was no Earl at the Time of the *Survey*, he had then an hundred and ſeventy ſix Lordſhips, beſides *Tutbury* Caſtle.

(15) Mr. *Selden* is of Opinion, That this Burden was not laid upon the Biſhopricks and greater Abbies, without their own Conſents, given in a Synod or Great Council of the Kingdom, which the King held this Year at *Wincheſter*. *Titles of Honour*, p. 578. See *Tyrrel*, p. 25.

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1070. trary. Such of the Clergy as refuſed to comply, only gave the King what he wanted, a Pretence to diſpoſſeſs them and place Foreigners in their room. Moreover, he quartered upon the Monaſteries almoſt all his Troops, and obliged the Monks to find them in Neceſſaries. By this means, he kept his Army without any charge, and had Spies in all the Religious Houſes, who watched the Actions of the Monks.

He ſeizes the Money and Plate in the Monaſteries. S. Dunelm. Sax. Ann.

All this not ſufficing to make the King eaſy, he bethought himſelf of another Expedient, which drew upon him the Imprecations of the People, and eſpecially of the Monks. Some of his Emiſſaries (1) informing him that many Perſons had lodged their Money and Plate in the Monaſteries, he took occaſion to order all the Religious Houſes to be ſearched, and every thing of value to be ſeiz'd, on pretence it belonged to the Rebels. Some Hiſtorians affirm, he did not ſpare even the Shrines of the Saints and the conſecrated Veſſels. Very probably, the Clergy's Zeal, after the Battle of *Haſtings*, to place this Prince on the Throne, was entirely owing to the fear of loſing their Effects. But on this laſt occaſion, they had but too much reaſon to perceive how greatly they were miſtaken in their Politicks.

Several Biſhops and Abbots are depoſed. Ingulph. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Malmſb. de Pontif.

How ſeverely ſoever the King had uſed the Clergy, he was not yet ſatisfied. The great Credit of the Biſhops and Abbots ſtill making him uneaſy, he reſolved to be rid of the moſt ſuſpected. To proceed in the leaſt blameable manner, he ſent for two Legates from *Rome* (2), who convened a Council at *Wincheſter* (3), where every thing paſſed to his wiſh. *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was degraded for intruding into the See, *Robert* his Predeceſſor not having been canonically depoſed. This was probably a Sacrifice offered by the King to the Pope, for it does not appear he had any reaſon to complain of the Archbiſhop. The ſame Council alſo depoſed *Egelmer*, Biſhop of *Eaſt-Anglia*, whoſe See was at *Helmham*. *Agelric*, Biſhop of *Selſey* (4), and ſome others, whom the King did not like, were likewiſe ſacrificed to his Jealouſy. As for others, againſt whom the Council had nothing to alledge, the King, by his ſole Authority, baniſhed ſome the Kingdom, and threw the reſt into Priſon, without any legal Proceedings, or giving other reaſon than his Good-Pleaſure. After he was thus clear of all that gave him any Uneaſineſs, he placed in their room *Normans* or other Foreigners (5), for all were acceptable but *Engliſh*. He promoted *Lanfranc*, an *Italian*, Abbot of a Monaſtery at *Caen*, to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* (6), and *Thomas*, a Canon of *Bayeux*, to that of *York*. Three of his Chaplains were made Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Helmham*, and *Selſey* (7), and *Norman* Abbots were placed in the Monaſteries, from whence the *Engliſh* were removed. This however muſt be ſaid for the King, that he made choice of Perſons of eminent worth to fill up the Vacancies.

Lanfranc made Archbiſhop. Hoved. M. Weſt. Eadmer. Sax. Ann.

Let it not be imagined that I have uſed any exaggeration, in what has been ſaid concerning the uſage of King *William* to the *Engliſh*, or affected to follow thoſe who made it their buſineſs to blacken his Reputation. Whoever will be at the pains to conſult the original Hiſtorians, will eaſily be convinc'd of the contrary. They will ſee, there is not a ſingle Circumſtance but what occurs in the Hiſtories, written during his Life, or ſhortly after his Death, by Authors moſt deſirous to juſtify his Conduct. 'Tis therefore a groundleſs Aſſertion of ſome of our modern Writers, to ſay, this Prince never acted as *Conqueror*, but conſtantly followed the ancient Laws and Conſtitutions of the Realm.

The Revolt of the Abbot of St. Albans. M. Paris. p. 1000.

The King's whole Conduct demonſtrating to the *Engliſh* that his Deſign was to reduce them ſo low that they ſhould never more be able to hold up their Heads, ſome of the principal among them thought now was the time or never, to make a vigorous Effort to prevent their utter ruin. *Fretheric*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, was one of the moſt zealous to inſpire his Countrymen with this Reſolution, and by means of his Intereſt and Riches it was that a freſh Combination was formed to drive the King and the *Normans* out of the Kingdom. Matters were carried on with that Secreſy, that the Conſpirators ſuddenly drew an Army together, before the King had any notice of it. This Army growing very numerous in a few days, the Abbot of St. *Albans* ſent for *Edgar Atheling* out of *Scotland*, and put him at the head of the Malecontents, by whom he was acknowledged for King, and proclaimed in all the Places they were maſters of. This bold Enterprize made the King extremely uneaſy, who was ever apprehenſive of ſome ſudden Revolution robbing him of the Fruit of all his Labours. He communicated his Thoughts to *Lanfranc* the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who adviſed him to deal more gently with the *Engliſh*; intimating the abſolute neceſſity of a ſpeedy Negotiation with the Revolters, leſt the Flame, already kindled, ſhould over-ſpread the whole Kingdom. The King took his advice, and after many fair Promiſes, found means to engage the Heads of the Malecontents in a Conference at *Barkhamſtead*. He calmly heard all their Complaints, and promiſed to redreſs their Grievences. Nay, he ſwore on the Holy Evangeliſts, to eſtabliſh the antient Laws of the Realm, which went under the name of *Edward* his Benefactor. This Condeſcenſion ſatisfying the Malecontents, they returned to the Army to diſmiſs their Troops, believing they had no further occaſion for them. But the King had not the leaſt thought of keeping an Oath, which he looked upon as extorted. Preſently after, he ordered a great Number of thoſe that had taken up Arms againſt him, to be apprehended, ſome of whom were put to death, and others baniſhed or impriſoned. Upon this *Edgar* fled into *Scotland* (8), and the reſt took refuge in *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*. The Abbot of St. *Albans* retired to the *Iſle of Ely*, where he died with Grief. As ſoon as the King heard of his death, he ſeized the Goods of the Monaſtery, and took from thence all the valuable Effects: He was reſolved to deſtroy it utterly, if *Lanfranc* had not prevailed upon him to deſiſt from his Deſign (9).

1070. Edgar *proclaimed.*

The King appeaſes the Malecontents with Promiſes.

1071. *Another Revolt.* S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

The King's Behaviour to the Malecontents variouſly wrought on the minds of the *Engliſh*. Some, terrified by his Severity, reſolved to endure all things for fear of increaſing their Afflictions by fruitleſs Attempts. Others, not ſo paſſive, determined to try all ways to free themſelves from a Yoke they could no longer bear. Theſe retired to the *Iſle of Ely*, where was a rich Monaſtery, the Abbot of which was their Friend. But this was not the only reaſon of their chuſing that Retreat. This Place, called an Iſle from its being ſurrounded with a Moraſs, was very ſtrong, and ſeemed proper to ſhelter them ſeom the King's Rigours, when filled with a ſufficient number of Men to defend it. *Edwin* and *Morcar* choſe to join them (10), being ſenſible they ſhould be the firſt Victims of the King's Suſpicions, and not daring any longer to truſt to his Promiſes. Some time after, *Edwin* reſolving to go into *Scotland*, where he thought he might be more ſerviceable to his Party, was murthered on the road by his own treacherous Followers. *Morcar* his Brother found in the *Iſle of Ely*, many Perſons of Quality, with *Egelwin* (11) and *Walter*, Biſhops of *Durham* and *Hereford*, all reſolutely bent to oppoſe to their utmoſt the deſpotick Power aſſumed by the King. Their Number being conſiderably increaſed by Multitudes of Male-contents flocking to them (12), they choſe for their Leader *Hereward* (13), Nephew to the Abbot (14) of *Peterborough*, who was looked upon as the braveſt and beſt Soldier in the Kingdom. He was baniſhed in the Reign of King *Edward*, for ſome Outrages committed in his Neighbourhood, and retired into *Flanders*, where his Valour gained him great

The Revolters retire to Ely.

Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.

Ingulph.

(1) Particularly *William Fitz-Oſbern*, Earl of *Hereford*, &c. *S. Dunelm.* p. 200.
(2) *Hermenfred* Biſhop of *Sedan* and *John* and *Peter*, Cardinals. *S. Dunelm.* p. 201, &c.
(3) *Rapin* by Miſtake ſays *Weſtminſter*. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 201. *Brompt.* p. 967. *M. Weſt. R. de Diceto*, p. 482.
(4) He was afterwards unjuſtly impriſoned at *Marlborough*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 292. *Rapin* calls him by Miſtake, Biſhop of *Durham*; whereas the Biſhop of *Durham* then was *Egelwin*, who fled into *Scotland* at this time. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 200. *Brompt.* p. 966.
(5) He uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to have as many of the *Engliſh* turned out as he could, that he might put ſome of his Countrymen in their room. *S. Dunelm.* p. 202.
(6) Mr. *Tyrrel* thinks, that *Lanfranc* was elected, or at leaſt confirmed by the great Council of the Kingdom, according to the *Sax. Ann. in Marg.*—— In this Council he likewiſe ſuppoſes, That the Biſhops and greater Abbots gave their Conſents that, for the future, their Lands ſhould be held by Knight's Service: From which time, the Biſhops and Abbots, who ſat before in our Councils and Synods as mere ſpiritual Perſons, appeared henceforward in the great Councils of the Kingdom among the Lay-Nobility, as the Biſhops do to this day. *Tyrrel*, p. 28, 29.
(7) *Walkelin* was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Arfaſt* of *Helmham*, and *Stigand* of *Selſey*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 202. *Brompt.* p. 968.
(8) To this Time may moſt probably be referred what *Buchanan* relates, That *William* ſent a Herald to demand *Edgar*, denouncing War againſt *Scotland*, unleſs he were ſurrendred up. *Malcolm* looked upon it as a cruel and faithleſs thing, to deliver up his Gueſt and Kinſman to his capital Enemy, to be put to Death, and therefore reſolved to ſuffer any thing, rather than ſo to do: And thereupon he harboured and detained *Edgar*. *Buchanan*, p. 216. *Engl. Edit.* Folio.
(9) The Account of this Revolt is only related by *Matthew Paris* in the Life of *Fretheric*, and for that reaſon is by ſome called in queſtion. But as he could not well invent this Story, it is moſt probable he found it in the *Annals* of his Monaſtery of St. *Albans*. *Tyrrel* obſerves, *Edgar Atheling* could not be concerned in it, ſeeing he had fled into *Scotland* near two Years before, and did not return into *England* till three after, though this Author makes him to come back the Year before.
(10) Underſtanding that *William* intended to put them in Priſon, they privately withdrew from *Court*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 203. *Malmſb.* p. 104. *Ingulph.* p. 70.
(11) Who was come thither from *Scotland*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 203. *M. Paris*, p. 5.
(12) The *Sax. Ann.* ſay, that they were joined by *Swane* King of *Denmark*, *Chriſtian* a *Daniſh* Biſhop, Earl *Oſbern*, and ſeveral other *Danes*; but *Swane* having concluded a Peace with *William*, the *Danes* went off with a large Booty they had taken out of *Peterborough* Monaſtery, which they plundered and burnt. See *Ingulph.* p. 71.
(13) He was younger Son to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and Brother to *Algar* Earl of *Mercia* after *Leofric*.
(14) *Rapin* ſays, Biſhop, but there was no ſuch Biſhoprick then. He was Nephew to *Brand* Abbot of *Peterborough*. See *Ingulph.* p. 70, 71.

1071. Reputation, and raiſed him to eminent Poſts. The Death of his Father obliging him to return into *England*, he found his Eſtate given to a *Norman*. He demanded Reſtitution, but not obtaining it by a legal Proceſs, drove out the Foreigner by force, and took Poſſeſſion. It was preciſely at this Juncture that coming to *Ely* to avoid the King's Reſentment, he was choſen General by the Male-contents. As he had a great Reputation, and as the courageous and reſolute were as much dreaded by the King, as thoſe that dar'd not to oppoſe him were deſpiſed, he made the King extremely uneaſy. The Honour he had juſt received animating him with freſh Ardour, and with a Deſire to ſhew he was not unworthy of it, he prepared for a vigorous Defence, foreſeeing he ſhould not be long in that place without being attacked. Whilſt he was laying in warlike Stores, he cauſed all the acceſſible Parts of the Iſle to be carefully fortified, and took all other Precautions, that might render a Siege the more difficult. King *William* knowing whom he had to deal with, marched with all poſſible ſpeed to attack him, in expectation to ſurprize him unprepared. But *Hereward* had already taken care to oppoſe his Entrance into the Iſle, by ordering a Caſtle of Wood to be run up in the Moraſs, which could not be aſſaulted, and which defended the only Paſſage to the Beſieged. In ſpite of theſe ſeemingly inſurmountable Difficulties, the King was bent upon a Siege, or rather a Blockade. He was in hopes to reduce them by Famine, and have them all at his Mercy, the ſame thing that prevented his Approaches, being alſo an invincible Obſtacle to their Flight. With this view he built a Bridge over the Moraſs two Miles in length, by means of which he depriv'd the Beſieged of all hopes of Relief (1). However, though he had now ſpent a great deal of time in the Siege, he was never the nearer, ſince the Rebels had provided great ſtore of Proviſions. This Delay made him very uneaſy, as well upon account of the Affair in hand, as becauſe it prevented him from marching againſt the King of *Scotland*, who had taken this opportunity to make an Inroad into the northern Counties. At length, when he began to deſpair of the Succeſs of his Enterprize, a happy thought made him maſter of the Place.

Where they are blocked up by the King. M. Paris.

The King of Scotland *invades the* North. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

The Abbot of Ely *delivers up the Iſle.* Hiſt. Elienſis.

The Monaſtery of *Ely* holding without the Limits of the Iſle many Manors, from whence the greateſt part of their Revenues aroſe, the King was adviſed to ſeize them, in order to reduce the Monks to obedience out of fear of loſing them. He had no ſooner put this advice in practice, and diſtributed the Lands to his Courtiers, but *Thurſtan* the Abbot, not being able to withſtand the Clamours of the Monks, ſought means to recover their Eſtates. He could think of no properer method than procuring the King's Favour by ſome conſiderable Service. To this end, he privately ſent and offered to put the King in poſſeſſion of the *Iſle* of *Ely*, with all that were in it, and pay him a thouſand Marks (2), on condition the ſeized Lands were reſtored to the Monaſtery. This offer was gladly accepted, and the Abbot performed his Promiſe: but Hiſtorians have neglected to inform us of the means he uſed to accompliſh it. However that be, the Male-contents were conſtrained by the Abbot's Treachery to ſubmit to the King's mercy. *Hereward* alone eſcaped, having opened a way with his Sword through the Guards that defended a certain Paſs. Of thoſe that were taken in the Iſle, ſome had their Eyes put out, or their Hands cut off, others were ſhut up in divers Priſons. Among theſe laſt were Earl *Morcar*, with *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham*, who having been ſo hardy as to excommunicate the King (3), was ſent to *Abington*, and there ſtarved to Death (4). The Monks of *Ely* were likewiſe chaſtiſed, though they had taken all imaginable care to perform their Capitulation. When they came to pay the ſtipulated Sum, for the want of a Groat only, they were forced to pay another thouſand Marks (5). Moreover the King quartered upon them forty Knights, for whom they were obliged to find all Neceſſaries.

Puniſhment of the Rebels, Hoved. M. Paris.

and of the Monks of Ely. Flor. Wor.

The King of Scotland *continues his Ravages.* S. Dunelm. Hoveden.

Whilſt the King was employed in the Siege of *Ely*, *Malcolm* continued his Ravages in the *North* (6), with a Barbarity unworthy a Chriſtian Prince, if it was ſuch as is deſcribed by the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. They tell us, the *Scots* ripped up the Bellies of Women with Child, cut the Throats of the old Men, and toſſed young Children into the Air to receive them on the Points of their Swords. But very likely, this Account is exceedingly aggravated, as well as the Number of *Engliſh* Slaves, carried into *Scotland*, where it is pretended every Houſe was furniſhed with one. *Goſpatric*, who was then Governor of *Northumberland* (7), not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt the King of *Scotland*, made an Incurſion into *Cumberland*, where he revenged on the *Scots* the Calamities inflicted by their Countrymen, on the *Engliſh*. This Expedition ſerved only to inflame the King of *Scotland*'s Reſentment (8), who took occaſion from thence to encreaſe his Ravages in *Northumberland*. The King could not bear theſe Inſults; but the Affair of *Ely* ſeeming of greater importance, he was willing to ſee the End. As ſoon as it was over, he marched into *Galloway*, where however he only fatigued his Army to little purpoſe. Mean time *Malcolm*, who was retired into *Scotland*, endeavoured to prolong the War, in hopes ſome new Troubles, of which he might take advantage, would ariſe In *England*. The ſame reaſon obliged the King to put an End to it as ſoon as poſſible. The readieſt way to ſucceed, as he thought, was to follow the *Scots* into the heart of their Country, that the Dread of a Battle, which to them might prove fatal, might compel them to a Peace. This Reſolution procured him the expected Advantage. *Malcolm*, unwilling to hazard a Battle in his own Kingdom, offering to accommodate Matters by a Treaty, he was of Opinion, he ought immediately to end a War, which the Circumſtances of his Affairs made him look upon as extremely dangerous. Beſides, he ſeemed, ever ſince the Battle of *Haſtings*, reſolved never to run any hazard. This was what had formerly prevented him from fighting the *Danes*, and probably the ſame reaſon cauſed him to behave in like manner with the *Scots*. Be this as it will, the bounds of the two Kingdoms were ſettled (9), by the Treaty, and *Malcolm* did him Homage (10). Some *Engliſh* Writers (11) pretend this Homage concerned all *Scotland*; but the *Scots* affirm it was only for *Cumberland*. And indeed that is moſt likely, ſince there is no appearance that *Malcolm*, who had not received the leaſt check, ſhould humble himſelf to do Homage for his whole Kingdom. I am very ſenſible, King *William* is ſaid to have a right to demand it: But this is not a Place to examine this Point, the Diſcuſſion whereof will more properly come in elſewhere.

1071. Goſpatric *invades* Cumberland.

1072. *The King marches into* Scotland. Sax. Ann. Ingulph. Hoved. Pol. Virg.

A Treaty between the two Kings. Ingulph. M. Paris. M. Weſt. Malmſb. Buchanan.

The good reception *Malcolm* gave all the *Engliſh* Fugitives, drew great Numbers into his Dominions, where ſome procured Settlements which obliged them to continue there. From theſe are derived ſeveral conſiderable Families at this day in *Scotland* (12). Some will have it, that the *Engliſh* brought thither their Language, with the Titles of Duke, Earl and Baron; but *Buchanan* affirms, they were in uſe there before that time. He freely owns indeed, that the *Engliſh* introduced into *Scotland* Luxury, Pride, Wantonneſs, Drunkenneſs and other Vices, to which he pretends, his Countrymen were Strangers before. Among the chief of theſe *Refugees* was Earl *Goſpatric*, who had been deprived of his Government, under colour of his being concerned in the Death of *Cumin*, tho' he had ſince that done the King very ſignal Services. He was ſucceeded by Earl *Walthoff* (13), the only *Engliſh* Lord, for whom the King yet ſhewed any Regard. But he did not keep long in his Favour, for which he was principally indebted to his Wife, who was the King's Niece.

Several Families ſettle in Scotland. Veſtegan.

S. Dunelm.

Walthoff *made Earl of* Northumberland.

The *French* had afforded King *William* ſufficient time to ſettle himſelf in the Throne of *England*, without giving him the leaſt moleſtation. He hoped therefore, as they had not taken advantage of the late Troubles in *England*, they would be ſtill leſs inclined to diſturb him, after the entire Reduction of his *Engliſh* Subjects. But on a ſudden *Philip*'s Jealouſy reviving, he could not bear to

1073. *The King of* France *attacks* Normandy. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. M. Paris.

(1) Alſo at this time he built *Wiſbich* Caſtle. *Tyrrel.* p. 34.
(2) But ſeven hundred. See *Tyrrel, ex Hiſt. Elienſi*, p. 35.
(3) When he went away firſt to *Scotland*. *M. Paris*, p. 5. *M. Weſt.*
(4) He ſtarved himſelf to death. *Brompt.* 969.
(5) They were only forced to pay three hundred more, to make it up one thouſand; to raiſe which, they were forced to ſell their Plate, to ſtrip their Images of the Gold and Silver they were covered with, *&c. Tyrrel*, p. 35.
(6) He waſted *Teſedale, Cleveland*, and all the neighbouring parts; burnt ſeveral Churches, killed abundance of Noblemen, *&c. S. Dunelm.* p. 200. *Brompt.* p. 966.
(7) Having bought that Government of the King. *S. Dunelm.* p. 200. *Hoved.*
(8) After having ravaged *Cumberland*, he ſhut himſelf up in *Bamborough* Caſtle, from whence he made ſeveral Incurſions, *S. Dunelm.* and *Hoved.* ibid.
(9) *Hector Boetius* ſays, that in Memory of this Peace, there was a Stone-Croſs erected in the middle of the Mountains of *Stanemore* in *Yorkſhire*, which we call *Rere-Croſs*, and the *Scots*, *Rey-Croſs*, that is, *Royal-Croſs*, having the Arms of both Kings engraved on the ſeveral Sides of it, which was for the future to ſerve as a Boundary to the two Kingdoms, the Remainders of which Croſs is ſtill to be ſeen. *Camden.*
(10) He met him for that purpoſe at a place called *Abernethy*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 203. *Hoved.* p. 454.
(11) *Hollingſhead* and other modern Authors. *Ingulphus* ſays only *Malcolm* did Homage, without telling us what, p. 79. See *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 103. *S. Dunelm.* p. 203. *Huntingd.* p. 369. *Brompt.* p. 972.
(12) Of thoſe who came into *Scotland* at this time, are derived the Families of *Lindſay, Tower, Ramſay, Preſton, Sandiland, Biſſet, Wardlow, Maxwell, Fowllis*, and *Lovell*, &c. About the ſame time came ſeveral People out of *Hungary*, at the Requeſt of Queen *Margaret*, of whom were the Sirnames of *Crighton*s (or *Crichton*s) *Fotheringham, Borthwick, Giffard, Melvil*, [theſe two laſt are rather *Normans*] As alſo out of *France* and *Normandy* came the Sirnames of *Fraſer, Sinclair* (or *St. Clair*,) *Boſwell, Mountgomery, Cambell, Boiſe, Beton, Talziour*, and *Bothwell*. *D. Scot's Hiſt. of Scotland*, p. 141.
(13) That Government was due to him both by his Father and Mother's Side, for he was the Son of Earl *Siward*, by *Elfreda* the Daughter of Earl *Aldred*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 205.

ſee

1073. see the King of *England* in so prosperous a Condition. He blamed himself for being so impolitick as not to assist the *English* Malecontents, and resolved to retrieve his Error by attacking *Normandy*. He expected no doubt the *English* would take Advantage of this Diversion to revolt, and keep the King employed in *England*. Whatever his Thoughts were, he suddenly invaded *Normandy*, without any Declaration of War. Upon which, the King went over with an Army wholly consisting of *English* (1), not daring to carry his *Norman* Troops out of the Kingdom. Besides, he chose rather to expose the *English* than *Normans*, who were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of his Conquest. With these Forces he retook *Mans* and all the Province of *Maine*, which had lately revolted, the *English* glorying in faithfully serving him in *Normandy*, whilst in *England* he treated them with great Rigour. *Philip* not succeeding according to his Expectation, soon grew weary of the War, and put an End to it by a Peace with the King of *England*.

Edgar Atheling submits to the King. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. M. Paris.

Shortly after this Treaty, Prince *Edgar*, tired with living like a Fugitive in a Foreign Country, came to the King, and, begging his Pardon, submitted to his Will. He met with a favourable Reception, and was allowed a Pound of Silver a-Day. From that Time he ever remained in Obedience without giving the King the least Cause of Uneasiness. If he had Occasion to complain, it was not so much of the King as of the *English*, who, after the Death of *Edward*, had preferred a private Person before him. It was not *Edgar*, that King *William* had deprived of the Crown, but *Harold*, who probably, had he been able to keep it, would have left it to his Son, regardless of the Rights of the *Saxon* Prince. On the other Hand, it must be confest, *Edgar* had Reason to be satisfied with the King's Clemency, who was very willing to receive him into Favour, notwithstanding the Mistrust he might justly entertain of him.

The Pope demands Homage of the King. Hoved. Eadm. Brady. Gregor. 7. Ep. Lib. VII. Ep. 27.

While the King was in *Normandy*, *Gregory* VII, the boldest and most enterprizing Pope that ever sat in the Papal Chair, sent his *Nuntio* to summon him to do him Homage, pretending, *England* was a Fief of the Holy See. He demanded likewise the Arrears of *Peter-Pence*, which had not been paid for several Years. Some pretend the Pope's Demand as to the first Article, was not groundless, but was the Condition, on which the King had obtained the Pope's Approbation for the Conquest of *England*. Others derive the Pope's Sovereignty over *England* from the voluntary Grant of *Romescot*, or *Peter-Pence* made to the Church of *Rome*, by *Ina* and *Offa*, Kings of *Wessex* and *Mercia*. They pretend it was a real Tribute by which they became Feudataries to the Holy See. In fine, there are some who giving up this Pretension, content themselves with dating this Sovereignty from the Time of *Ethelwulph*'s Journey to *Rome*. But tho' perhaps at the Time King *William* was meditating his Enterprise, he did not dispute the Pope's Claims, yet when he found himself well fixed in the Throne, he was otherwise disposed. He plainly told the *Nuntio*, he held his Crown only of God and his Sword, and would not make it dependent on any Person living. Nay, he went further: For, upon the *Nuntio*'s daring to threaten him, he published an Edict, forbidding all his Subjects to acknowledge any Pope but whom he allowed of, and receive any Orders from *Rome* without his Leave. This was to make *Gregory* sensible, who had then a Competitor, how great a Risk he run of being towered in his Turn, if he persisted in his Claims. As for the Arrears of *Peter-Pence*, he promised to pay what was due, and to be more punctual for the Future. This Firmness convincing the Pope, the King was not swayed by superstitious Scruples, much less to be awed by Threats, he desisted from his Pretensions.

The King resolutely refuses it. Eadm. p. 6. *and* Not. Selden, p. 164.

1074. *Conspiracy of the Normans against the King.* Malmsb. Hoved. Sax. Ann. M. Paris. Fl. Wigor. Huntingd.

The King's long Stay in *Normandy* occasioned in *England* a fresh Conspiracy; so much the more dangerous as the most considerable of the *Norman* Lords were the Contrivers. *Ralph de Guader*, a *Briton*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Roger de Bretevil* Earl of *Hereford* (2), resolving to unite their two Families by the Marriage of *Ralph* with the Daughter of *Roger* (3), the King for Reasons unknown, put a Stop to their Proceedings. The Earls, who durst not complete the Marriage whilst the King was in *England*, took the Opportunity of his Absence to accomplish their Design. They made a splendid Entertainment upon this Occasion, to which were invited several Persons of Quality, and, among the rest, Earl *Walthoff*. As they knew the King's Temper, they formed at the same Time the Project of a Conspiracy to depose him, perceiving no other Way to avoid the Effects of his Anger. The present Occasion seeming favourable to draw their Guests into their Plot, as soon as they saw them heated with Wine, they began to talk of the King, and dwelt upon such Subjects as were most likely to exasperate them against him. They pretended to pity the *English*, who from being always a free People, were now reduced to a shameful Servitude. As for the *Normans*, they stirred them up with a Consideration of the King's severe Government, who by the excessive Impositions laid on Estates, took from them with one hand what he had given them with the other. In fine, perceiving they were heard with Pleasure, they openly declared, it was unworthy of Persons of Honour to be governed by a Bastard, who had usurped the two Crowns he possessed. Their Discourse had so sudden an Effect upon Men who in their Cups thought nothing difficult, that with one consent they resolved to take Arms and oppose the King's return. Earl *Walthoff*, warmed with Wine like the rest, came into the Plot without reflecting on the Consequences. But on the morrow, the Fumes of the Liquor being dispersed, he considered more maturely, that he had embarked in an Enterprize, which instead of freeing the *English* from Oppression, could not but encrease their Misery. He foresaw the Difficulties which would naturally occur in the Execution. But supposing it chanced to succeed, he plainly perceived, *England* would not be the better for it, since she would become a Prey to several petty Trrants who would complete her ruin. Moreover, he considered, in case the Conspirators were crushed, which was very probable, the Vengeance would all fall on his Head, as being an *Englishman*, whereas the Foreigners might find some Favour with the King. He could not likewise forbear acknowledging he was much indebted to the King, who not only pardoned him once before, but also distinguished him by many Favours from all his Countrymen. These Reflections working in his mind a hearty Repentance for what he had done, he went to *Lanfranc* and imparted to him all that had passed. He alledged his drinking too much permitted him not to reflect on what was proposed to him, and intreated him to intercede for his Pardon. The Archbishop commended his Repentance, and advised him to repair forthwith to the King, and inform him of all the Circumstances. He put him in hopes of easily obtaining a Pardon for a Crime done with so little premeditation, at such a time, and for which he was so soon sorry, and even wrote to the King in his behalf. *Walthoff* taking this Advice, set out immediately and went and threw himself at the King's feet, who received him very kindly, and pardoned his Imprudence, after he was informed of all the Particulars of the Conspiracy.

1074.

Walthoff engages in the Plot.

Repents of it,

and is pardoned.

The Plot is crushed.

The King was very much alarmed at this News, and resolved to return into *England*, without delay, to appease the Troubles occasioned by his Absence. But his Presence was not necessary. The Conspiracy was stifled almost in its very birth by the Vigilance of the Bishop of *Bayeux* the Regent (4). The two Earls had concerted their Measures so ill, that they could not even join the Forces each had assembled, so that *Ralph de Guader* found himself constrained to retire to *Norwich* Castle, where he was immediately besieged. As he despaired of pardon, in case he fell into the King's hands, he did not think fit to wait the Issue of the Siege, but finding means to escape, fled into *Denmark* (5). After his departure, his Countess defended the Castle some time, but at length surrendered upon Terms. She had liberty to follow the Earl her Spouse, who had now procured a powerful Aid from the King of *Denmark* to support the Revolters. And indeed, soon after a *Danish* Fleet appeared on the Coast of *England*, but not finding the *English* inclined to rise, sailed back immediately (6).

Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

(1) This doth not appear from the antient Historians, but rather the contrary. They tell us, That this Year King *William* carried a great Army of *English* and *French* beyond Sea. *Sax. Ann. Hunting.* p. 369. *Brompt.* p. 972. Some of them indeed say, That *William* reduced *Mans* with auxiliary Forces that he carried over from *England*. *Malmsb.* p. 105. *S. Dunelm.* p. 205. But this is not saying that his Army wholly consisted of *English*.

(2) *Bretevil* a Seignory in *Normandy*. He was Son to *William Fitz-Osbern* Earl of *Hereford* in *England*, and from him it was that the same Laws and Customs, observed in *Bretevil*, were also observed and practised in *Hereford* after the *Conquest*. *Domesday. Cestresc. Terr. Hug.*

(3) She was Daughter to *William Fitz-Osbern*, and *Roger*'s Sister, not his Daughter. The Marriage was celebrated at *Ixningeham* near *Newmarket*. *W. Malmsb.* p. 104. *Brompt.* p. 974. *M. Paris*, p. 7.

(4) And by the help of *Wulstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Agilwin* Abbot of *Evesham*, *Urso* Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, and *Walter de Lacy*; who drew together some Forces, and prevented the Earl of *Hereford* from passing the *Severn*, and joining Earl *Ralph*; while *Odo*, and *Godfrey* Bishop of *Constance*, marched with an Army of *English* and *French* against Earl *Ralph*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 208.

(5) He went first to *Bretagne*, and thence to *Denmark*, where he prevailed upon the King of *Denmark* to lend him Succours; which accordingly came some time after, in two hundred Ships, under the Command of *Canute*, King *Sueyn*'s Son, and Earl *Hacune*; but not finding the *English* disposed to take Arms, they sailed to *Flanders*, after having staid two Days in the *Thames* Mouth. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 208. *M. West.* p. 5, 6.——The *Sax. Ann.* and *M. Paris* say, that they had sent before this to the King of *Denmark* for assistance. *M. Paris*, p. 7.

(6) In the Year 1074, a week before *Christmas*, died *Edgitha*, Relict of *Edward the Confessor*, and was buried by the King her Husband in *Westminster* Abbey, where a fine Monument was afterwards erected to her Memory. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 209. *Malmsb.* p. 111.

Mean

1074. *Some of the Conſpirators puniſhed.*

Mean time King *William* being returned to *England*, was informed, there were ſtill ſome remains of the Conſpiracy in the *Weſtern* Counties (1). To prevent the Fire from rekindling, he marched with all ſpeed to thoſe parts, and ſeverely puniſhed all whom he ſuſpected to be concerned in the Plot. Some he ordered to be hanged, others, to have their Feet and Hands cut off, or their Eyes put out. Thoſe that were moſt favourably treated were baniſhed the Kingdom. The Pardon granted Earl *Walthoff* going for nothing, he was apprehended, carried to *Wincheſter*, publickly beheaded and buried under the Scaffold. His Riches are ſaid to be the principal Occaſion of his Death, the King having a longing Deſire to his great Eſtate (2). Others add, that *Judith* his Wife did not a little contribute to his Ruin, exaſperating the King by falſe Reports, that ſhe might be at liberty to marry elſewhere. Be this as it will, the unhappy fate of this brave Earl was univerſally lamented. Every one thought he was too ſeverely dealt with for ſo ſlight a Crime, even ſuppoſing he had not obtained his Pardon. Some time after (3) his Body was removed to *Croyland Abbey* (4), where it was pretended to work divers Miracles, and accordingly this Earl paſſed with the People for a true Martyr. The Abbot of *Croyland*, encouraging this Belief, was turned out of his Monaſtery, by the King's order, and *Ingulphus*, a Monk of *Fonteveraud*, was put in his room. This is the ſame *Ingulphus* who, notwithſtanding his Obligations to King *William*, has not failed to atteſt, in his Hiſtory of *Croyland*, the Miracles wrought at *Walthoff*'s Tomb.

1075. Hoved. Ingulph. Pol. Virg. Walthoff. *beheaded.* Ingulph. Malmſb. Brompt.

Paſſes for a Martyr.

The Engliſh *are hardly dealt with.*

Tho' the *Engliſh* were not concerned in the late Conſpiracy, but rather refuſed to join the Male-contents, yet were they no leſs puniſhed. The King took it for granted, they had privately fomented the Rebellion, and conſequently, deprived ſome of their Eſtates, and others of their Liberty. From this time *William of Malmsbury* dates the Servitude of the *Engliſh*. As much *Norman* as he was, he plainly enough intimates that from thence-forward the King had no manner of Regard for them. Hence it may be conjectured, this Prince's Severity to the *Engliſh* was very great and univerſal, ſince this Hiſtorian reckons as a Trifle, what the King had already done with reſpect to the Spiritual and Temporal Lords.

Malmſb. p. 104.

William *goes to* Normandy. Hoved. Huntingd. Sax. Ann.

The Precautions taken by the King, to remove from the *Engliſh* all thoughts of a revolt, rendering him eaſy, he went beyond Sea, to be revenged of *Ralph de Guader*, who was retired to his City of *Dol* in *Bretagne* (5). He was not ſatisfied with ſeizing all his Eſtates in *England*, but reſolved to deprive him alſo of his Hereditary Poſſeſſions. For that purpoſe, he laid Siege to *Dol*, which however he could not take, the Reſiſtance of the Beſieged giving the King of *France* time to come to their Relief. King *William* miſſing his Aim, returned to *England*, where during the reſt of that and the following Year, nothing remarkable happened, except a Council held at *London*, where was ſettled the Precedency of the Biſhops.

Beſieges Dol, *and raiſes the Siege.*

1076. Brompt.

1077. The King enjoyed then a Tranquillity which ſeemed to promiſe a long Continuance, when it was diſturbed by an unexpected War. *Robert* his eldeſt Son encouraged by the King of *France* (6), pretended his Father ought to reſign *Normandy* to him, in purſuance of a poſitive Promiſe, made him, as he ſaid, to that purpoſe (7). Upon this Pretenſion (8) he attempted to render himſelf maſter of the Dukedom, and even treated very ill ſuch as refuſed to own him for Sovereign. The King ſurprized at this Audaciouſneſs, immediately drew an Army together conſiſting entirely of *Engliſh*, for the reaſon before-mentioned, and paſſed into *Normandy* to put a Stop to his Son's Proceedings. *Robert* was not deterred from his Deſign by his Arrival; but vigorouſly oppoſed his Father, who ſaw himſelf forced to carry on the War in form, finding in his own Son no contemptible Enemy. He happened one day to fall into an Ambuſh, where he was obliged to expoſe his Perſon as much as the meaneſt Officer. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo by his Valour, that *Robert*, who knew him not, deemed him the moſt formidable of his Enemies, aſſaulted him, and wounding him in the Arm, diſmounted him with his Lance. The King was in great Danger of loſing his Life, if, by good fortune, *Robert* had not known him by ſome Mark on his Arms. Then the young Prince, haſtily alighting, raiſed him up, and ſet him on his own Horſe, to reſcue him from the preſent danger. Mean time, the *Engliſh* Troops being roughly handled by the *Normans*, the King was obliged to retreat in Diſorder (9). *Robert*'s being like to kill his Father, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon his mind, that, to ſhew the Sincerity of his Sorrow, he ſubmitted entirely to his mercy. But this Generoſity was not ſufficient to recover the King's Favour, who never after had any Affection for him. Nay, 'tis ſaid, in the firſt Emotions of his Paſſion, he denounced his Curſe againſt him, which all the Submiſſions of the young Prince could not prevail with him to retract. However he gave him a kind reception; but carried him into *England*, on pretence to ſend him at the head of an Army againſt *Scotland*. Accordingly, next Year (10) *Robert* was commiſſioned to bring the *Scots* to reaſon, who had renewed the War (11).

1077. Robert *the King's Son wars againſt his Father.* Brompt.

Malmſb. Hoved Flor. Wig.

Wounds him without knowing him. Hoved. S. Dunelm.

Submits.

M. Paris.

Pol. Virg. S. Dunelm.

Brompt.

1078. *Sent to* Scotland. Huntingd. M. Weſt.

He did nothing remarkable in this Expedition (12), except founding the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, in the ſame Place where the Abbey of *Monkceſter* ſtood, famous for the Auſterity of the Monks. This War ended in a Treaty between the two Nations.

Founds New-Caſtle. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Before the Army was diſbanded, the King being deſirous to make himſelf ſome amends for the Charges in raiſing it, turned his Arms againſt the *Welſh*, in order to chaſtiſe them for ſome Incurſions into his Dominions (13). The *Welſh* Princes finding themſelves unable to withſtand him, voluntarily ſubmitted, and obliged themſelves to pay an annual Tribute to the Crown of *England*.

The Welſh do Homage to the King. Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. M. Paris.

About this time King *William* built the famous Tower of *London*, to keep the Citizens in awe, whoſe Fidelity he had ever ſuſpected (14). Some pretend, this Citadel was founded by *Julius Cæſar*; but it would be difficult to prove *Cæſar* was ever at *London*, and more ſo, that he undertook this work, of which he makes no mention in his Commentaries.

The Tower of London *built.* Stow.

(1) Amongſt the *Welſh* who had joined in it. *Sax. Ann. M Paris*, p. 7.

(2) And ſeveral of the *Normans* alſo gaping after his Eſtate and Preferments, particularly *Two de Talbois*. He was beheaded *May* 31. 1075. *Ingulph.* p. 72.

(3) A fortnight after. *Ingulph.* p. 72.

(4) To which he had been a great Benefactor. *Ingulph.* p. 73.

(5) *P. Daniel* gives a different Account of this Matter: He ſays, That *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, and *Hoel*, Duke of *Bretagne*, having aſſiſted the Inhabitants of *Mans*, *William* was preparing to invade their Dominions: But a Pope's Legate, that happened to be then in *France*, perſuaded them to a Peace, which *William* readily came into, upon the News of the Conſpiracy in *England*. As ſoon as that was quelled, he came back to *Normandy*, and ſent *Hoel* orders to come and do him Homage, as his Predeceſſors had done to the firſt Dukes of *Normandy*. The Duke of *Bretagne* refuſes; upon which *William* goes about to compel him to it, and beſieges *Dol*. He comes with numerous forces to the Relief of the Beſieged, whoſe brave Reſiſtance had very much leſſened King *William*'s Army, and forces him to raiſe the Siege. As he was retiring, the confederate Troops fell upon him, and killed abundance of his Men, and withal became Maſters of his Baggage, the Loſs of which was computed at 15000 *l.* *Ord. Vitalis*, l. 4. *Malmſb.* l. 3. *Huntingd.* l. 7.

(6) He was encouraged and aſſiſted by him underhand. See *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 112, 113. It was thought that *Robert* was the Author of the Inſurrection at *Mans*; and that he likewiſe ſtirred up the Duke of *Bretagne*, Earl of *Anjou*, and King of *France*, in order to compel his Father to deliver up to him *Normandy* and *Maine*. *Ord. Vital. P. Daniel*, ibid.

(7) When the Inhabitants of *Mans* ſubmitted to Duke *William*, one of the Conditions was, That the County of *Maine* ſhould be given to *Robert*; and King *Philip* made *William* likewiſe promiſe, immediately before his Expedition into *England*, that he would leave the Dukedom of *Normandy* to *Robert*: Accordingly the great Men and Barons of *Normandy* did the young Prince Homage. But *William* meant that he would leave it to him after his death, and in caſe he were ſlain in his Attempt upon *England*. *Robert*, thinking it long, could not forbear once to put his Father in mind of his Promiſe; but King *William* gave him no other Anſwer, than, that he *never uſed to ſtrip till he went to bed*. S. *Dunelm.* p. 209. *Ord. Vitalis. Hemingford*, p. 464, *Walſingh. Ypodigma.* p. 439. *P. Daniel.* p. 113.

(8) He received an Affront from his Brothers *William* and *Henry*; upon which he repaired to *Roan*, and attempted to ſeize the Caſtle: But *Roger d' Ivry* the Governor fruſtrated his Deſigns. In the mean time, *William* having been informed of the whole Matter, haſtened to *Roan*, from whence *Robert* eſcaping, began to make Incurſions in *Upper-Normandy*, and to gather Forces together, which daily encreaſed, by means of the Supplies the King of *France* ſent him under-hand; and for the Maintenance whereof his Mother *Matilda*, that loved him better than the reſt of her Children, furniſhed him with Money privately. Finding himſelf purſued by his Father, he deſired King *Philip* to give him ſome ſafe place to fly unto, and he granted him *Gerberoi* in *Beauvoiſis*. Here his Father attacked him, and in a Sally that was made, *Robert* wounded him, *&c. P. Daniel*, p. 113, 114. *Malmſb.* p. 106. *Huntingd.* p. 369. *Ord. Vital. Brompt. M. Paris*, &c.

(9) Or to raiſe the Siege, as ſays *P. Daniel*, p. 114. Vol. III. His Horſe was killed under him, his Son *William* wounded, and he loſt abundance of Men. *Sax. Ann.* 1079. *S. Dunelm.* p. 210. *Malmſb.* p. 206.——Upon King *William*'s Defeat, (which, as Mr. *Tyrrel*, p. 47. obſerves, was the only conſiderable one he ever received in his Life) there followed ſeveral Inſurrections in *Bretegne*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and even in *Normandy*. But through the Mediation of ſeveral *Norman* and *Engliſh* Lords, and the Interceſſion of the King of *France*, *William* was reconciled to his Son. *Ord. Vitalis. P. Daniel*, ibid. p. 115.

(10) It was in the Year 1080, in *Autumn*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 211. And it was the Year before, 1079, in *Auguſt*, that *Malcolm*, breaking the Peace lately made, invaded *Northumberland* as far as the River *Tine*, killed a great many Men, and carried away Multitudes of Priſoners, returning home with large Spoils. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 210.

(11) In *May* 1080, *Walcher* Biſhop of *Durham*, (to whom King *William* had, in 1075, committed the Care of *Northumberland*) was ſlain in *Goatſhead*, near the *Tine*, with a hundred Men, all *French* or *Flemings*. Which when King *William* heard of, he ſent down *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, with a conſiderable Force to revenge it, who waſting great Part of *Northumberland*, killed all thoſe whom he could find to have been any ways concerned in it. *S. Dunelm.* p. 209. 211. *Malmſb.* p. 110. *Sax. Ann.*——*Walcher* was ſucceeded by *William*, who was either the Founder or Reſtorer of *Univerſity College* in *Oxford*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 13.

(12) He went as far as *Eggleſbreth*, but not having ſufficient Forces, he could do nothing. *S. Dunelm.* p. 211. *Chr. Mailros.* p. 160. *Brompt.* p. 977.

(13) And penetrated as far as St. *David*'s, compelling the *Welſh* to ſet at Liberty ſeverl Priſoners they had taken. *Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. Girald. Lancarvan.* p. 115.

(14) *Gundulph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was the chief Surveyor of the Building. See *Tyrrel*, p. 47.

The

1078. *The King's Conduct during the Peace.*

The Peace with *Scotland*, and the Submiſſion of the *Welſh*, introduced a State of Tranquillity which laſted ſome years. The King took the opportunity of this calm to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom. Since his acceſſion to the Crown, *England* had been in extreme confuſion, by reaſon of divers Alterations as well in the Government, as in the Laws and methods of adminiſtring Juſtice. But this confuſion was ſtill encreaſed with regard to the Debts of private Perſons. The Creditors imagined, they who were put in poſſeſſion of the Lands were to pay the Debts of thoſe that were turned out, and accordingly to them were they ſent by the Debtors. But the Poſſeſſors refuſed to meddle with matters that were liable to ſo many Frauds; and maintained, the King granted them the Lands free from all demands. Beſides, the Juriſprudence of the *Normans* being different from that of the *Engliſh*, there was no knowing how to proceed, the King not having yet determined any thing on that ſubject. If he had made any Regulations, it was in caſes where his own Advantage and Intereſt were concerned. As for private Perſons, it does not appear that he had hitherto given himſelf much trouble about them. 'Tis true indeed, they who make it their Buſineſs to extol him on all occaſions, remark the ſtrict Juſtice that was exerciſed in his Reign, with reſpect to Crimes (1), as an argument of his Affection for his Subjects. But this proof is not ſo ſtrong as they imagine, for this Strictneſs turned no leſs to the King's, than to the People's advantage; as the ſuffering Crimes to go unpuniſhed muſt tend to the prejudice of the ſupreme Authority. Beſides, Offences for the moſt part being then puniſhable by pecuniary Fines, all the profit accrued to the King, who had deprived the Earls, Barons, and Biſhops of the ſhare they enjoyed under the *Saxon* Kings (2).

Malmſb. M. Weſt. Sax. Ann. Leges Gulielmi.

Malmſb. Sax. Ann.

However this be, it can't be denied that the King's predominant Paſſion was a greedy deſire to heap up Riches. He was never weary with inventing new Expedients to gratify his covetous Temper (3). We have already ſeen how he impoveriſh'd the *Engliſh*. But in this he acted as much or more for the advantage of the *Normans* and other Foreigners, than for his own. He therefore judged it reaſonable, that the Foreigners who were Proprietors of the Eſtates in *England*, ſhould be liable to the ſame Impoſitions as the *Engliſh*. But that he might proceed in due Proportion, he wanted to know the Value of every Perſon's Eſtate. To this end he ordered an exact Survey to be taken of the Lands, Goods and Chattels of all his Subjects. This Survey contained the number of Acres in each man's Eſtate, what he was wont to pay in the *Saxon* Reigns, and how much he had been taxed of late years ſince the Revolution. Moreover, what Stock each had of Horſes, Cattle, Sheep, *&c.* how much ready Money in his Houſe, what he ow'd, and what was owing to him. All this was ſet down in great Order in a Book called *Dooms-day Book*, that is, *The Book of the Day of Judgment*, apparently to denote that the Means of the *Engliſh* were ſifted in that Book, as the Actions of Mankind will be at that great Day. This general Regiſter, which ſome term the *Great Terrar*, or *Land-Book of England*, was laid up in the Exchequer or King's Treaſury, to be conſulted upon occaſion; that is, as an Hiſtorian expreſſes it, when it was required to know, of how much more Wool the *Engliſh* Flocks might be fleec'd. The King's ſtrict orders to take this Survey with all poſſible exactneſs, were punctually executed (4), the Commiſſioners as well as private Perſons, having cauſe to dread an exemplary puniſhment, in caſe they uſed any Fraud, or were guilty of the leaſt Connivance on this occaſion (5).

S. Dunelm. Hoved. Ingulph.

Dooms-day Book.

1078.

Pol. Virg.

The King's Revenues. Brady.

We may eaſily gueſs, this Survey was not taken purely to ſatisfy the King's Curioſity. The Taxes laid afterwards upon almoſt all the Effects of private Perſons, were a clear Evidence that his Intent was to leave the *Engliſh* no more than what was abſolutely neceſſary for their Subſiſtence. This Monarch, conſidering *England* as a conquered Country, imagined himſelf the Proprietor of all the Lands in the Kingdom, and that the vanquiſhed were to receive what he was pleaſed to leave them, as a ſignal Favour. According to this Rule, 'tis eaſy to ſee, his Revenues were to be proportionable to the Eſtates of the *Engliſh*, and his own Avariciouſneſs. Not to enter into a particular Account of the ſeveral Branches of his Revenues (6), it will ſuffice to obſerve, that it amounted annually to four hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, which Sum, according to a moderate computation, was equal to five Millions now of the ſame Money. Beſides theſe ſettled Revenues, he had a great many Perquiſites, as Mulcts and Fines, which were very frequent in thoſe days. But what is further remarkable in this matter, is, that none of this Money was employed in paying the Army that was kept on foot. In the diſtribution of the Lands taken from the *Engliſh*, the King had taken care to charge them with the maintenance of his Troops. The new Proprietors were very willing to accept of the Eſtates upon that condition, ſince having no right, they were wholly indebted to his Liberality for them. By this means, he maintained, without any manner of charge to him, threeſcore thouſand Men, ready to march upon the firſt notice. 'Tis not at all ſtrange, he paſſed for the richeſt Prince in his time, ſince his Incomes vaſtly exceeded the Expence of his Houſehold, in which he ſpent but a ſmall part of the yearly Profits of the whole Kingdom.

Ord. Vitalis. Sax. Ann.

1079. *The King extremely fond of Hunting.* M. Paris. Sax. Ann.

After the King had thus ſettled his Revenues, he ſought means to gratify another Paſſion, which was almoſt as ſtrong as the former. I mean his fondneſs for Hunting, which cauſed him to commit a world of unjuſt Acts. By theſe Acts I don't underſtand thoſe ſevere Laws he made on that account (7), though they were exceeding rigorous. This does not properly diſtinguiſh him from many other Princes, who look upon the Breaches of the *Game-Laws*, as a moſt capital Offence, and more readily pardon the killing of a Man than a Stag. What I ſpeak of, was the prodigious Deſolation King *William* ordered to be made in *Hampſhire*, by diſpeopling the Country for above thirty Miles in Compaſs, demoliſhing the Churches and Houſes to make a Foreſt for the Habitation of wild

Makes the New-Foreſt. Knighton.

(1) During his Reign, People could go about any where ſafe and unmoleſted, even though they were loaded with Gold; whereas before, every Wood was a Neſt of Robbers. *Sax. Ann. M. Weſt.* p. 229. *Bromp.*

(2) See the foregoing *Diſſertation*, p. 151, 152. It does not appear that *William* aboliſhed the *County*, *Hundred*, and other Courts, (which did not grow into diſuſe till King *John*'s Reign. See *St. Amand.* p. 161.) or that he abſolutely deprived the *Ealdormen* or Earls of the Profits that accrued to them from Fines, *&c.* But he ſeems rather by his Laws to have confirmed them in the Poſſeſſion thereof. As for the Biſhops, it is certain, that, whereas they uſed, under the *Saxon* Kings, to ſit in the *County*, *Hundred*, and *Sheriff*'s Courts, with the Earl or Sheriff, and there jointly determine both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Cauſes; King *William* did in the Year 1085. ordain, That no Biſhop or Archdeacon ſhould, for the future, hold Pleas in any of thoſe Courts, concerning Epiſcopal Laws or Canons; but that every one who had tranſgreſſed the Epiſcopal Laws, ſhould be judged in ſuch place as the Biſhop ſhould appoint; which gave Riſe to the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*. The Order whereby the Biſhops were deprived of this valuable Privilege, and had their Juriſdiction confined to ſpiritual Matters, is in *Selden*'s *Notes on Eadmer*, p. 167. and *Brady*, Vol. II. p. 214.

(3) *W. Malmſbury* owns that he was juſtly blameable upon that account, and that he had no regard for what he ſaid or did, though never ſo unbecoming his Royal Character, ſo as he could but be a Gainer by it. *Malmſb.* p. 112. *Sax. Ann.*

(4) Yet this is not ſo exact a Survey, as ſome Hiſtorians would repreſent it, if we may judge of the reſt by what *Ingulphus*, p. 79, relates about his own Monaſtery of *Croyland*. That the Commiſſioners were ſo kind and civil, as not to give in the true Value of it. And we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that other Monaſteries found the like favour. See *Tyrrel*, p. 55.

(5) This Survey was begun in the year 1080, and finiſhed in 1086. It was made by Verdict or Preſentment of *Juries*, or certain Perſons ſworn in every Hundred, Wapentake, or County, before Commiſſioners, conſiſting of the greateſt Earls or Biſhops, who enquired into, and deſcribed as well the Poſſeſſions and Cuſtoms of the King, as of his great Men. They noted, what, and how much arable Land, Paſture, Meadow, and Wood every Man had, and what was the extent and value of them in the Time of *Edward the Confeſſor*, (expreſſed by the Letters *T. R. E.* i. e. *Tempore Regis Edwardi*) and at the time of making the Survey. This Survey was made by Counties, Hundreds, Towns or Manors, Hides, Half-hides, Virgates, and Acres of Land, Meadow, Paſture, and Wood. Alſo they noted what Mills and Fiſheries, and in ſome Counties what and how many Freemen, Socmen, Villains, Bordars, Servants, young Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, working Horſes, *&c.* in every Town and Manor, and who they belonged to. Always ſetting down the King's Name firſt, then the Biſhops, Abbots, and all the great Men that held of the King in chief. *Brady*, p. 205, 206. [*See the Liſts themſelves in Brady*, Vol. I. *Appendix*, No. 1. and Vol. II. No. 10. and *Selden*'s *Preface to Eadmer*, p. 3—5.] This Survey was chiefly intended to give the King a true Account of his own Lands or Demeſnes, as alſo what were held by his *Tenants in Capite*. It is therefore no wonder, if many of thoſe Towns or Villages, which were then held by their Feudataries or Under-Tenants, are quite left out and omitted in it. Some Cities and Towns of note are not mentioned therein, as any one may find, that will but take the Pains to compare it with an exact Catalogue of the antient Towns and Villages in *England*, the greateſt part of which he will not be able to find there. All *England* (except *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*,) was deſcribed, with part of *Wales*; and the Deſcription or Survey written in two Books, called the *Great* and *Little Doomſday* Book, now in the *Exchequer*. The little Book contains only *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Eſſex*. This being the higheſt Record in the Kingdom, it was then (and is to this day) a deciſive Evidence in any Controverſy in which there may be occaſion to make uſe of it.

(6) They are ſet down by *Brady* as follows. 1. A *Land-Tax*, called Hidage, which he found here before his Arrival in the time of *Edward the Confeſſor*, or rather which he ſet up again. 2. *Reliefs*, or Fines for giving the Poſſeſſion of Hereditary Fees, Aſſignation of Dower out of the Huſband's Eſtate, Compoſition for Licence to marry, and to have the Wardſhips of Heirs, or Entrance upon Farms due to him from all Tenants *in capite*. Alſo penal Fines, Forfeitures of Goods, and pecuniary Mulcts for Crimes, *&c.* Tolls and Cuſtoms for Paſſage and Puntage, for Liberty of buying and ſelling; Exciſe, beſides the antient Cuſtoms upon Merchandize. 3. *Crown Lands*, being fourteen hundred and twenty-two Manors or Lordſhips in ſeveral Counties, beſides abundance of Farms and Lands in *Middleſex*, *Shropſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, in the laſt of which he had alſo a hundred and fifty Pounds of Rent in white Money. To which finally add Eſcheats and Forfeitures.——In ſhort, his Revenue was ſo great, that *Ordericus Vitalis* (p. 523.) ſays, it was reported to be one thouſand and ſixty Pounds of Sterling-Money, thirty Shillings and a Penny half-penny of the juſt Rents and Profits of *England* every day of the year, beſides his Gifts and Preſents, and pecuniary Puniſhments, which, if we reckon ten times as much now, according to the Rate of things in his time, his yearly Revenue amounted to 3,874,497 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.* But allow it to be fifteen times ſo much now as then, as may very well be done, and not over-rate it, then his yearly Income was 5,811,746 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d.* half-penny, beſides Free-gifts, Fines, and Amerciaments for Offences. *Brady*, Vol. II. p. 204——211.

(7) Namely, That whoever killed a Deer ſhould have his Eyes put out. *Sax. Ann. M. Paris*, p. 9. *Bromp.* p. 981.

1079. Beaſts (1). If we may believe certain Hiſtorians, he did not make the Owners of the Lands or Houſes the leaſt amends. This Tract of Land, called before *Ytene*, was afterwards termed the *New-Foreſt*. Some affirm, beſides the Diverſion of Hunting, the King had another Inducement to depopulate theſe Parts. They pretend his aim was to give a free Acceſs to the Troops, which, in caſe of Neceſſity, he might ſend for from *Normandy*. But this Motive, which ſeems to be very trifling, was doubtleſs invented by thoſe who, having entertained a great Idea of this Prince, were perſuaded, he was guided in all his Actions by Prudence and Policy; as if Princes were not as ſubject to Paſſions as other Men. Others obſerving, that two of his Sons (2) and one of his Grandſons (3) loſt their Lives in this very Foreſt by extraordinary Accidents, conclude from thence, that Heaven took Vengeance for the Injuries done to the Proprietors of the Lands.

M. Paris. Malmsb. Hayward. Ord. Vital.

His Affection for Normandy. Brady. Tyrrel.

The King's great Affection for *Normandy* was another of his governing Paſſions. Every Thing practiſed there was, in his Opinion, the Pattern of Perfection. Accordingly he endeavoured to aboliſh the *Saxon* Laws, and eſtabliſh the *Norman* in their room (4). Perhaps he would have puſhed this matter further, had it not been repreſented to him, that the Laws of *England*, bearing the Name of his Benefactor, all the World would look with Horror upon his Ingratitude. However, he made ſeveral Innovations in the *Engliſh* Laws, and the Methods of adminiſtring Juſtice. For Inſtance, he would not ſuffer the Biſhops to preſide at the *Shire-gemots*, or County-Courts, but aſſigned them a Court of their own. His Pretence for ſo doing was, that the Eccleſiaſtical matters might not be intermixed with the Civil. But the true Motive was, becauſe he had a mind to deprive the Biſhops of their ſhare of the Fines and Mulcts. He erected alſo ſeveral Courts before unknown to the *Engliſh* (5), and which were very incommodious to them. They were not only ignorant of the Rules and Practices of theſe Courts; but, as they always attended the Prince, the Suitors were obliged to follow him wherever he went, to proſecute their Suits. Amongſt theſe ſeveral Courts there was one however which became very advantageous to the People; ſince it was deſigned to moderate the Rigour of the Laws by Equity, I mean, the *Court of Exchequer*, which is ſtill in being (6).

Selden. Not. ad Eadmer. p. 167.

1079.

1080. *He erects Courts.* Pol. Virg.

King *William* was not ſatisfied with obliging the *Engliſh* to try their Cauſes in theſe Courts, but forced them alſo to make uſe of the *Norman* Language, and did all he could to aboliſh the *Engliſh* Tongue. With this view it was he erected in all the Cities and Boroughs Schools (7) where *Nerman* was taught, and obliged Parents under heavy Penalties to ſend their Children thither. I have elſewhere obſerved the Nature of the *Norman* Language, which was very difficult, and hard to be underſtood by the *French* themſelves, by reaſon of the great mixture of *Daniſh* with the *French*. However, the King was ſo bent to introduce his native Tongue, that he made it his chief buſineſs. They who had any Concerns at Court, and did not ſpeak *Norman*, were looked upon with an evil eye, as Perſons that had no complaiſance for the King. The moſt effectual means he made uſe of to oblige the *Engliſh* to learn *Norman*, was the publiſhing his Laws in that Tongue (8), the Ignorance of which was no ſufficient Excuſe for the Violators. Some have accuſed him of acting in this par-

He endeavours to aboliſh the Engliſh *Tongue.* Ingulph. Halkot.

(1) There were thirty-ſix Pariſh Churches demoliſhed. In this Foreſt are now nine Walks, and to every one a Keeper, two Rangers, a Bow-bearer, and a Lord-Warden. On the North-ſide of *Malwood* Caſtle is the Oak that buds on *Chriſtmas-Day*, and withers again before Night. *Camden Add.* to *Hamp.*

(2) *Richard* his ſecond Son, and *William Rufus*. *Camden. Ord. Vital. Sanford. Malmsb.* p. 111.

(3) *Richard* Son of Duke *Robert*. *Malmsb.* ibid. *S. Dunelin*, p. 225.

(4) This is more than is advanced by the antient Hiſtorians: *William* had indeed the Laws tranſlated into *French*, but ſtill theſe were *the Laws of the Land*, and the *Statutes of the* Engliſh *Kings*. For this, we have the Authority of *Ingulphus*. *Ipſum etiam Idioma tantum abhorrebant* [*Normanni*] *quod leges Terræ, ſtatutaque Anglicorum Regum linguâ Gallicâ tractarentur*, p. 71. Sir *Edward Coke* ſays, King *William* I. liked the *Engliſh* Law ſo well, that he cauſed it to be written in the *Norman* Tongue, and eſtabliſhed a great Part of it in *Normandy*. But there is no Authority for This, it not being mentioned by any coeval Hiſtorian or other Writer, either of *England* or *Normandy*. It will not be amiſs to inſert here the Obſervation or Conjecture of a learned Gentleman as related by *Madox*, p. 123. *Hiſt. of the Exchequer*. It ſeemed to him, by the Courſe of *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and otherwiſe, that after the *Norman* Conqueſt, there enſued a great Alteration in the old *Engliſh* Laws, Manners and Uſages. Nevertheleſs, that Alteration with reference to the Laws, was not compleatly brought about and ſettled till the Reign of *Henry* II. The Reign of *William* I. was moſtly employed in quelling the Diſcontents and Inſurrections of his *Engliſh* Subjects, and in getting and ſecuring to himſelf and his Heirs, a full and faſt Poſſeſſion of the Regal and other Revenues of *England*. The next King (*viz. William* II.) reigned under a Title controllable by the juſt Pretenſions of his elder Brother *Robert*; yet being a ſtately, reſolute and ſubtle Prince, partly by Power, and partly by Policy, he kept the *Engliſh* under the Yoke, and continued to ſtrengthen himſelf in the new Acqueſts, and to form the Laws and Manners of this Country after the *Norman* Faſhion. The next King (viz. *Henry* I.) was a mild Book-learned Prince, and reigned likewiſe for ſeveral Years under a diſputed Title: He continued, as far as his Affairs would permit, to eſtabliſh the *Norman* Laws and Cuſtoms, as *William* I, and *William* II, had done. In his Time many of the *Anglo-Norman* Lords, who had great Eſtates in *Normandy* as well as in *England*, might probably be, and were inclinable to favour the Title and Intereſts of *Robert* Earl of *Normandy*, which might give Umbrage to King *Henry*. King *Henry* to win the Affections of the *Engliſh* Natives, who made the Bulk of the People, and thereby to check or ballance the *Anglo-Norman* Lords, commanded a Body of Laws to be compiled, which were agreeable to the Laws of the old *Engliſh*, or *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, and called the Laws of *Henry* I. However, theſe Laws of *Henry* I. relate chiefly to Criminal Matters, and were never, for ought that appears, duly publiſhed, much leſs put in Practice amongſt the *Engliſh*. The Reign of the next King (viz. *Stephen*) was nothing in effect but a State of War. *Henry* II, the next Succeſſor, came to the Crown by an undoubted Title, and ſurpaſſed all his Anceſtors in Power and Extent of Dominion; he was King of *England*, Earl or Duke of *Normandy*, Lord of *Ireland*, *Anjou*, and the *Aquitannick* Tract of Land; inſomuch that he was at that Time the greateſt King in *Chriſtendom*. This Prince did put the laſt or finiſhing Hand to the *Norman* Eſtabliſhment, or in ſpecial to the Alteration thereby made in the *Engliſh* Laws; as will in ſome meaſure appear from theſe Conſiderations following; namely, The *Statutes* or *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*, made in, or about the Eleventh Year of *Henry* II, are, both for Phraſe and Subſtance, more entirely *Normannick* than any Laws or Publick Acts from the *Conqueſt* to that Time. And *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* who was the firſt native *Engliſhman* that had been Archbiſhop of that See, ſince the *Conqueſt*, oppoſed certain Articles of thoſe Conſtitutions, as they were, in his Opinion, prejudicial or derogatory to the ſuppoſed Rights of the Clergy, and to the old Law and Uſages of the *Engliſh* Nation. The *Norman* Laws, and Cuſtoms were ſettled by conſtant uſe during the Reign of *Henry* II; and at the latter end of his Reign *Ranulf de Glanvil*, a great Man in the Law, and a Juſticier, drew up a Compendium of the Laws of *England*, fitted for publick Uſe; which he probably did by the King's Command, that it might ſerve as a *Code* or *Syſtem* for the Direction of ſuch as dealt in Law-proceedings; and this Syſtem of *Glanvil's*, is in effect nothing elſe but a Tranſcript of the *Norman* Law; as will readily appear to any Man who pleaſes to compare it with the *Grand Cuſtumier of Normandy*. In fine, this *Normannick* Model of Laws continued, and was indeed firmly ſettled in *England* during the Reign of *Henry* II, and his two Sons, *Richard* and *John*, and of the ſucceeding Kings, bating the Alterations that were made therein, at the end of the Reign of King *John*, in the Reign of *Henry* III, and in ſubſequent Ages.

(5) Theſe ſeveral Courts were only the *King's Court*, and the *Exchequer*.

(6) At, and ſome time after the Conqueſt, it does not appear that there was more than one ſupreme ordinary Court of Judicature, namely, *Curia Regis*, or the *King's Court*, which was always at the Place of his Reſidence. At his Court, more eſpecially at ſome Solemnities of the Year, the King held his Great Councils, and tranſacted Affairs of great Importance, attended by his great Lords and Barons. There Coronations, *&c.* were celebrated: There was placed the Throne, a ſovereign ordinary Court of Judicature, wherein Juſtice was adminiſtred to the Subjects: and there the Affairs of the Royal Revenue were managed. To the King's Court belonged the following great Officers. I. The *Chief Juſticier*. He was next the King in Power and Authority, and in his Abſence governed the Realm as Viceroy. If the King was not preſent in Perſon, in *Curia Regis*, he was chief both in criminal and civil Cauſes. II. The *Conſtable*, or *Conſtabularius Regis*, or *Angliæ*. He was a high Officer both in War and Peace. This Office was antiently Hereditary. III. The *Mareſchal*. This Office was and is ſtill Hereditary. As an Officer in the King's Court he was to provide for the Security of the King's Perſon in his Palace, to diſtribute Lodgings there, to preſerve Peace and Order in the King's Houſhold, and aſſiſt in determining Controverſies there, *&c.* IV. *Soneſchal* or *Steward*. This Office was likewiſe Hereditary. He is called in *Latin*, *Dapifer*. V. The Chamberlain, of *Camerarius Regis*. It may be obſerved, the great Offices are diſtinguiſhed from the ſubordinate Offices of the ſame Name, by the Epithet of *Magiſtratus*, *Magiſterium*. As the Office of King's Chamberlain is called *Magiſtra Cameraria*, in like manner, *Magiſtra Mariſcalcia*, &c. VI. The Chancellor, who was uſually ſtiled *Cancellarius Regis*, to diſtinguiſh him from the inferior Chancellors of Dioceſes, *&c.* Little is ſaid of his Office. However, we find he was wont to ſuperviſe the Charters to be ſealed by the King's Seal, and likewiſe to ſuperviſe and ſeal the Acts and Precepts that iſſued in Proceedings depending in *Curia Regis*. He was one of the King's prime Counſellors. VII. The Treaſurer. He was for the moſt part a Prelate or Eccleſiaſtical Perſon. For ſome time after the Conqueſt, the *Juſticier* uſed to do many Acts, afterwards pertaining to the Treaſurer's Office. The *Curia Regis*, where all the Liege-men of the Kingdom repaired for Juſtice, was undoubtedly eſtabliſhed in *England* by the *Normans*, there being no notice of any ſuch Court in the *Anglo-Saxon* Times. All Pleas or Cauſes then were determined below in a plain manner, in the Courts within the ſeveral Counties, Towns or Diſtricts. And indeed at firſt there were but few Cauſes reſerved to the King's Courts after the Conqueſt, till the *Norman* Lords who were poſſeſſed of the large Seigneuries, carried it with ſo high a Hand towards their Vaſſals and Neighbours, that the latter could not have Right done them in the ordinary way, and ſo were conſtrained to ſeek for Juſtice in the King's Court. And this was likewiſe done when Contentions aroſe between the great Lords themſelves. However, few or no Cauſes were brought thither without permiſſion, and the Party's making Fine to the Crown to have his Plea in *Curia Regis*. Theſe were ſometimes called *oblata*, or *voluntary Fines*. When the *Pleas* in the King's Court became very numerous, there were certain *Juſticiers* appointed to go *Iters* through the Realm, to determine Pleas and Cauſes within ſeveral Counties. Theſe were veſted with great Authority. It is not known when theſe were firſt inſtituted: But they were new-modelled, and their new Circuits appointed by *Henry* II. A Branch of the King's Court was the *Exchequer*. It was a ſort of ſubaltern Court, reſembling in its Model the *Curia Regis*. For in it preſided and ſat the great Officers above-mentioned, and ſometime the King himſelf. It was called *Scaccarium*, becauſe a chequered Cloth, figured like a Cheſs-board, was antiently wont to be laid on the Table in the Court; which Cuſtom continues to this Day. This Court is thought to be firſt inſtituted about the Time of the Conqueſt, though it is not known for certain. The great Perſons that aſſiſted at this Court were called *Barones Scaccarii*. To theſe was left the Care and Management of the Crown Revenue, *&c.* The *Chief Juſticier* let to farm the King's Manors, held Pleas at the *Exchequer*, and made due Allowances to the Accomptants. The other great Officers had likewiſe their Part in Affairs tranſacted at the *Exchequer*. As to Cauſes, the *Exchequer* at firſt was alſo a Court having Juriſdiction in *Common-Pleas*. Matters remained in this Poſture till the Diviſion of the *King's-Court*, and Separation of the *Common-Pleas* from it, of which notice ſhall be taken hereafter. *Madox's Hiſt. of the Exchq.*

(7) This is more than can be found in the ancient Hiſtorians. He ordered indeed *French* to be taught in all Schools, as *Ingulph* teſtifies, *Ipſum Idioma tantum abhorrebant, quod* ——— *pueris etiam in Scholis principia Literarum Grammatica Gallicè ac non Anglicè traderentur*, p. 71. But this doth not prove that he erected thoſe Schools.

(8) The ſingle Inſtance of his Laws being in *French* in *Ingulph*, is of no conſiderable Force; for the Laws of King *Edward* confirmed by King *William*, were written in *Latin*, and not in *French*; as were alſo the Body of Laws of this King granted by way of a Charter. The like may be ſaid concerning thoſe of his Succeſſors: For all our antient *Laws* and *Statutes*, from the Reign of King *Henry* I. to the Statute of *Weſtminſter* 1, which was made in the Third Year of *Edward* I, are drawn up in *Latin*, and none of them in *French*: as are alſo all their Charters, except ſome few of the three firſt *Norman* Kings, which are either written in *Engliſh Saxon* alone, or in *Latin* with the *Engliſh* Verſion under them. *Tyrrel's Introduction to* Vol. II. p. ci.

ticular

1080. ticular from a worſe Motive. They pretend his Aim was to inſnare the *Engliſh* by cauſing them to commit Offences which were generally puniſhed by Mulcts and Confiſcations to his uſe. But ſuppoſing this were not ſo, as it muſt be confeſſed it cannot be proved, his covetous Temper, and all his other Ways to heap up Riches, are but too juſt Grounds for ſuch an Accuſation.

To return to the *Norman* Language. There are thoſe who affirm, that in Spite of all his Pains the King could not introduce it into *England*. On the contrary, they maintain, the *Normans* by Degrees learnt to ſpeak *Engliſh*, their ſmall Number being carried away by the Bulk of the Nation. Others, who are of a contrary Opinion, endeavour to demonſtrate the *Norman* Tongue was eſtabliſhed upon the Ruins of the *Engliſh*. But it is difficult for either to prove their Aſſertions. Thus much is certain, the Language ſpoken in *England* after the Conqueſt, was not exactly the ſame with what was uſed in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings. However, the *Normans* can't be ſaid to learn *Engliſh*, or the *Engliſh* to admit of *Norman*, but rather out of the two Languages was formed a third, which was neither one nor other, but partook of both. Nevertheleſs, all publick Acts were in *Norman* till *Edward the Third*'s Time (1).

Remark on the Engliſh Tongue.

1081. *The King's Partiality for the Normans.* Ingulph. p. 86.

The King's Partiality to the *Normans* was ſo great, that he could not forbear ſhowing it upon all Occaſions. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*, gives us an Inſtance which deſerves Notice. He ſays, he appeared one Day before the Council, where the King was preſent, to demand certain Lands belonging to his Monaſtery (2), then in poſſeſſion of *Talboys* a *Norman*, who had ſettled there ſome Monks of his own Nation. The King, continues the Hiſtorian, examining the original Charter or Grant of the Abby-Lands, judged at firſt that the Demand was right and juſt. But *Talboys* alledging in his Defence, that the Monks ſettled on theſe Lands were *Normans*, and hearty Friends to the King, whereas thoſe of *Croyland* were *Engliſh*, this ſingle Argument was ſufficiently ſtrong to induce the King to give Sentence in Favour of the *Normans*. Herein, he was biaſſed by his natural Inclination and Intereſt. The former made him favour his own Nation, and the latter inclined him to put it as much as poſſible out of the Power of the *Engliſh* to revolt.

Odo aſpires to the Papacy.

What has been hitherto ſaid of the Oppreſſions of the *Engliſh*, ſuffices to ſhow, they did not complain without Cauſe. Perhaps their impatient Behaviour occaſioned theſe Oppreſſions. But, be this as it will, it is certain they were extremely impoveriſhed, whilſt they beheld the *Normans* enriched by their Spoils. A ſingle Inſtance will demonſtrate how much they were pillaged by thoſe who were moſt in favour with the King. *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, his

1082. Ord. Vital. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. half-Brother, after an Abode of fifteen or ſixteen Years in *England*, thought himſelf rich enough to purchaſe the Papacy. To that end, he bought a ſtately Palace at *Rome*, where he deſigned to reſide and convey all his Treaſures, that he might be ready upon the Pope's Death to put his Deſign in execution. Mean-time, as he was willing to conceal his Intentions, he took the Opportunity to begin his Journey during the King his Brother's Abſence in *Normandy*, and went to the Iſle of *Wight*, where his Ships lay ready for him. Contrary Winds preventing him from embarking ſo ſoon as he expected, he was forced to remain ſome time in the Iſle. His Stay there broke all his Meaſures. The King having Intelligence of his Deſign, came over with all Speed, and ſurprized him juſt as he was going to ſail. He ordered him to be ſeized immediately. But finding Fear and Reſpect hindered his Officers from doing their Duty, he laid Hands on him himſelf. In vain did the Prelate plead the Privileges of his Order. The King told him, he ſeized him not as Biſhop, but as Earl of *Kent*,

The King ſeizes him, and confiſcates his Eſtate.

and commanded him to Priſon, this Seizure was quickly followed with a Confiſcation of all his Effects to the King's Uſe, the Prelate being convicted of numberleſs Extortions and Rapines (3). 1082.

Nothing remarkable happening in the reſt of this, and the next Year, I ſhall proceed to the Occurrences of the Year 1084, in which we meet with the Death of Queen *Matilda* (4), and the King's Preparations againſt an Invaſion he was threatned with. The *Engliſh* who had taken Refuge in *Denmark*, perſuaded King *Canute* that their Countrymen waited only for an Opportunity to throw off the *Norman* Yoke. The preſent Juncture ſeeming very favourable, he formed a Project to conquer *England*, to which he had ſome Pretenſions, that being ſupported with Force, appeared very plauſible. To this End he fitted out a Fleet (5), and levied Troops, whoſe Numbers plainly ſhowed he had ſome great Deſign in hand. Thoſe Preparations gave King *William* ſome Uneaſineſs; the Advices from *Denmark* putting it out of Doubt that this Armament was deſigned againſt him. As he durſt not confide in the *Engliſh*, he brought into the Kingdom a numerous Army of Foreigners (6), and laid upon his Subjects a Tax of Six Shillings upon every Hide of Land, which was three Times as much as *Dane-gelt* uſed to be. Whether *Cannte* was diverted from his Purpoſe by the Preparations in *England*, or by ſome other unexpected Affairs (7), he gave it over without making any Attempt. The King, on his part, disbanded his Army (8); but the Money, levied for their Pay, was not reſtored. On the contrary, he impoſed a new Tax, on Account of the *Order of Knighthood*, he intended to confer on *Henry* his youngeſt Son (9). The *Norman* Cuſtom of making the Prince Preſents, when he knighted any of his Sons, tended too much to the King's Benefit for him to neglect to introduce it into *England*, where it was never practiſed before (10).

1084. *Death of the Queen.* Malms. Hoved. Ingulph. *King of* Denmark *about to invade* England. S. Dunelm. Malmſb.

Fl. Wig. Hoved. Huntingd.

It was not difficult for the King to lay what Burthens he pleaſed on his Subjects, ſince he was ſure to be obeyed in whatever he enjoined. The *Normans* took care not to oppoſe his Will, for fear of loſing their Eſtates the ſame Way they acquired them, I mean, by a bare Act of his good Pleaſure; and the *Engliſh* were unable to throw off his oppreſſive Yoke. There was ſcarce a Lord of that Nation, but what was impriſoned or baniſhed. If any ſtill preſerved their Liberty, they were watched ſo narrowly, that the leaſt Oppoſition, or the leaſt Suſpicion given the King, was ſufficient to ruin them. *Edgar Atheling*, who ſeemed the moſt formidable, ſubſiſted entirely upon his Penſion from the King. Beſides, ſince 1085. his voluntary Submiſſion to the *Conqueror*, he had forfeited the Hearts and Affection of the *Engliſh*, who looked upon him now with the utmoſt Contempt. An Hiſtorian even aſſures us, he was in ſome Meaſure ſtupid. And for Proof alledges, that for a Horſe preſented him by the King, he remitted the Penſion given him for his Livelihood. The ill State of his Affairs, and perhaps the Fear of falling a Sacrifice to the King's Suſpicions, made him reſolve to go into the Eaſt and bear Arms againſt the Infidels (11). The King readily giving him Leave, he ſet out attended with two hundred Knights, who having loſt their Eſtates in *England*, were willing to ſeek their Fortune elſewhere. Having ſpent two Years in the Eaſtern Parts, where, it is pretended, he ſignalized himſelf by many brave Actions, he returned to *England*, regardleſs of the Eſtates and Honours offered him by the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

The State of England. Malmſb.

Edgar *goes into the Eaſt.* Malmſb. S. Dunelm.

Edgar's Departure freeing the King from all Uneaſineſs 1086. on his Account, every one imagined, that Monarch would for the Future turn his Thoughts to Peace, to which he was a Stranger almoſt from his very Birth. Beſides, he

William *wars againſt* France. Malmſb.

(1) Till the Thirty-third of that King. As for Pleadings in *French*, they were in uſe only in the King's own Court (now called the *King's-Bench*) or elſe in the *Exchequer*; but in inferior Courts in the County, where far the greater Part of the Law-Buſineſs of the Kingdom was diſpatched, it was otherwiſe——The antienteſt Law-Books we have, viz. *Glanvil*, *Bracton*, and *Fleta*, are in *Latin*; the firſt we can find in *French* being *Breton*, and *Horn's Mirror of Juſtices*, both which were written in the Time of *Edward* I, when it became very much the Faſhion to write, not only our Laws in *French*, but our very *Parliament-Rolls* of *Edward* III, and great Part of *Richard* IId's Reign in that Language. The Reaſon of which Mr. *Tyrrel* goes on to aſſign. p. ci. *Introduction*. (2) The Cell of *Spalding*, *Ingulph*, p. 71, 86.

(3) *Odo* had engaged *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, with a great many Knights and other Perſons of Quality, to attend him in his Journey to *Rome*. *Ord. Vital.* He was ſent Priſoner to *Normandy*, and being ſet at Liberty after the Death of *William* I. went along with Duke *Robert* to *Jeruſalem*, where he died at the Siege of *Antioch*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 212. *Malmſb.* p. 112.

(4) She died on the firſt of *November*, after a lingering Illneſs; and was buried in the Nunnery of the *Holy Trinity* near *Caen*, which ſhe had founded. *Ord. Vital. Brompt.* p. 977. *Malmſb.* p. 111. See her *Epitaph* in *Sanford*, p. 3, 4. out of *Orderic. Vital.* p. 647.

(5) Conſiſting of above ſixteen hundred Ships. *Malmſb.* p. 107.

(6) Of *French* and *Normans*, which he quartered all about *England*; and ordered the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Viſcounts, &c. to find them in Proviſions. He ordered at the ſame Time, the maritime Places to be laid waſte, that the Enemy, at their firſt landing, might find no Suſtenance. *S. Dunelm.* p. 213. *Malmſb.* p. 107. *Brompt.* p. 978. *Ingulph.* p. 79, &c.

(7) He was detained by contrary Winds for near two Years together. *Malmſb.* p. 107.

(8) He ſent back part of the Army, and kept the reſt with him all the Winter. *S. Dunelm.* p. 213.

(9) He was knighted in *Whitſun* Week, at *Weſtminſter*, where the King held his Court. Soon after King *William* ordered the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Viſcounts, *cum ſuis militibus*, to attend him at *Saliſbury*, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, where he made them all ſwear Fealty to him. And from thence went to the Iſle of *Wight*, in order to paſs into *Normandy*; and whilſt he lay there, he extorted a great Sum of Money from his Subjects, not minding whether he did right or wrong; and ſo he went into *Normandy*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 213. *Brompt.* p. 979, 980. *M. Paris*, &c.

(10) Among the antient Aids payable to the King from the immediate Tenants of the Crown (and likewiſe to inferior Lords from their immediate Tenants,) were theſe three, namely, To make his eldeſt Son a Knight, to marry his eldeſt Daughter, and to ranſom his Perſon when taken in War. It does not appear what Author *Rapin* follows in ſaying this Aid was levied by the *Conqueror*, to make his youngeſt Son a Knight, which was never practiſed. Neither is it mentioned in *Madox*, or other authentic Authors. See *Madox*, ch. xv. *Hiſt. of the Exch.*

(11) Along with *Robert* Earl *Goodwin*'s Son. *Malmſb.* p. 103. His Siſter *Chriſtiana* was, before this, veiled a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Brompt.* &c.

1086. was grown so corpulent and unweildy, that a quiet Life seemed absolutely necessary for him. But he was far from any such thought. All on a sudden he is seen to make extraordinary Preparations, which plainly shewed he was meditating some great Undertaking. *Philip*, King of *France*, easily guessed this Armament was designed against him. And indeed, quickly after, King *William* sets out for *Normandy*, in order to make fierce War with *France* (1.). But *Philip* prevented the impending Storm, by offering Propositions, which were followed by a Truce. The King, whose Corpulency was extremely troublesome to him, taking this opportunity to go through a Course of Physick, a Jest of King *Philip* occasioned the breaking of the Truce. This Prince asking one that was come from *Roan*, *Whether the King of* England *was delivered yet of his great Belly?* King *William* being informed of it, sent him word (2), as soon as he was up again, he would come and offer in the Church of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*, ten thousand Lances by way of Wax-lights (3).

A Truce. Malmsh. M. Paris. *Broken by a Jest.*

1087. His Words were soon followed by Deeds; for marching in the very hottest time or the Summer (4), he ravaged *le Vexin* in a terrible manner, and then laid Siege to *Mantes*. He was so provoked, that after taking the City, he reduced it to ashes, without sparing the very Churches, in one of which two *Hermits* were burnt (5). The warmth of the Season, and the great Fire, which he stood very near to see his Orders executed, threw him into a Fever, which interrupted his Progress. This was attended with another accident, no less fatal to him. Whilst he was on the road in his return to *Roan*, leaping a Ditch on Horse-back, he so bruised the Rim of his Belly against the Pummel of the Saddle, that the Violence of the Blow very much increased his Fever. After this Accident, not being able to mount his Horse, he was carried in a Litter to *Roan*, where he grew worse and worse. As soon as he found he was near his End, he began seriously to reflect on all the past Actions of his Life, and view them in a different Light from what he had hitherto done. He ordered large Sums to be given to the Poor and the Churches, particularly for rebuilding those he had burnt at *Mantes*. He set at Liberty all the Prisoners, among whom were *Morcar* and *Ulnoth* (6). This last, Brother to King *Harold*, had been detained in Prison in *Normandy* from his Childhood when he was given in Hostage by Earl *Goodwin* to *Edward the Confessor*. It was much more difficult to obtain the like Favour of the King for the Bishop of *Bayeux* his Brother, because he had sworn never to release him. However, he was prevailed upon by the Importunities of the Bishop's Friends (7). His Distemper, which daily increased, leaving him no hopes of Recovery, he ordered his principal Officers to stand round his Bed, and notwithstanding his Weakness, made them a long Discourse, wherein he greatly extolled the Reputation he had gained by his warlike Actions. Nevertheless, he could not forbear owning, he had unjustly usurped the Crown of *England*, and was guilty of all the Blood split upon that occasion. Adding, as he would not presume to bequeath a Crown, which of Right did not belong to him, he left it to God's disposal: but if he might have his Wish, *William*, his second Son, should wear it after him. In his Will, which he made just before he died (8), he left *Normandy* to his eldest Son *Robert*, not so much out of Affection (9), as because he foresaw great Obstacles in the execution of his Will, should he have ordered it otherwise. *Henry* his third Son, had for his share an Annuity of five thousand Marks (10), with all his Mother's Effects (11); this was all his Portion. It is said, the young Prince complaining that he was so ill provided for, the King told him by a prophetick Spirit, he should one day be King of *England*, and excell his Brothers in Glory and Riches. But one can hardly believe, God so intimately revealed himself to such a Prince as this (12).

1087. *William burns* Mantes. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Falls ill. Hurts himself against his Saddle. Ord. Vital.

Gives Alms. Sets the Prisoners at Liberty. Malmsb.

Ord. Vital.

Ord. Vital.

Owns his usurping the Crown of England.

Pol. Virg. Malmsb.

Ord. Vital. Brompt.

Though the dying King left his Crown to God's disposal, he did all that lay in his power to procure it for his second Son. He wrote upon that subject to *Lanfranc* a very pressing Letter (13), which he ordered his Son *William*, even before his Death, to carry himself. No doubt, he thought that Prince would meet with too strong an Opposition in *England*, in case necessary Measures were not taken before-hand, to gain the Consent of the *Normans* and *English*. Having thus settled his Temporal Affairs, he caused himself to be removed to *Hermentrude*, a Village near *Roan*, that he might be more at Liberty to think of his Spiritual Concerns. Here this Prince ended his Days on the ninth of *September*, in the Sixty-fourth Year of his Age, after a Reign of Fifty-two Years in *Normandy*, and Twenty-one in *England* (14). If some of his Historians are to be credited, he expressed on his Death-bed a hearty Sorrow for all the Injuries he had done the *English*. His Body was removed to *Caen* without any Ceremony, and deposited in the Abbey-Church, built by himself, where he had chosen to lie. *Robert*, his eldest Son, being then in *Germany*, and *William* in *England*, his youngest Son *Henry* took care of his Funeral. The Corps was but meanly attended for so great a Prince, his principal Officers having abandoned him before he expired, some to make their Court to *Robert*, others to *William* (15). An extraordinary Adventure rendered the Funeral of this Monarch very remarkable. Just as they were going to lay him in his Grave, [*Anselm Fitz-Arthur*] a *Norman* Gentleman, stands up and forbids the Burial in that Place, claiming the Ground as his Inheritance, and alledging, the deceased had built the Church upon it, without paying him for it. Whereupon, they were forced to stop, according to the Laws of the Country, in order to examine this Pretension; which proving well grounded, *Henry* was obliged to make the Gentleman Satisfaction (16), and then the Corps was interred (17).

1087. Ord. Vital. *He dies.* Ord. Vital. M. Paris. Brompton. Malmsb. Ord. Vital. M. Paris. Brompton. Eadmer. Eadmer.

Thus lived and died *William* I. surnamed the *Bastard* and *Conqueror*, if this last Title may be justly ascribed to him, which all Historians are not agreed in. They that maintain this Title perfectly suits with him, ground their Opinion upon his having no Right to the Crown, and the Severity of his Government, which was all along Arbitrary. Others affirm, his Election entirely cancelled his Right of Conquest. This uncertainty gives occasion to compare him to the Emperor *Augustus*, of whom it is said, that he came to the Empire neither by Conquest nor Usurpation, nor Inheritance, nor Election, but by a strange mixture of these Rights. However this be, or in what manner soever King *William* may be accused or justified upon this head, he kept Possession of the Throne, by such Politick Methods as are practised by the most able Princes, but which are seldom consonant to the Maxims of Justice and Equity.

Remarks on the Surname of Conqueror.

This Prince's Character is variously drawn by the Historians, according to the different Faces, under which they were pleased to view him. Some considering him only as a Conqueror of a great Kingdom, extol him to the skies for his Valour and Prudence, and slightly pass over the rest of his Actions. Others considering the same Conquest as a real Usurpation, and reflecting chiefly on the Means he made use of to preserve it, scruple not to represent him as a real Tyrant. It is certain, they may be all in the right, since there was in this Monarch a great mixture of good and bad Qualities. He was reckoned one of the wisest Princes of his time. Ever vigilant and active, he shewed as great Resolution in executing, as Boldness in forming his Designs. He saw Danger at a distance, and generally endeavoured to prevent it. But when that could not be done, no Man faced it with greater Intrepidity. On the other hand, his extreme covetous Temper, and Partiality to his Countrymen, led him to the commission of many things, which can hardly be justified.

Character of William the Conqueror. Malmsb. Sax. Ann.

(1) He would have been, long before, revenged of the King of *France*, for assisting his Son *Robert*, and exciting him to frequent Revolts; if he had not been afraid of a Civil War in *Normandy*, which might have been attended with another in *England*; both which would have found him more Work than he could well have dispatched. But at last, in the Year 1087, they came to Blows. *Robert* was the occasion of it; for he revolted again, and retired to the King of *France*, who furnished him with Troops, wherewith he ravaged *Normandy*. *W. Gemeticen.* l. 7. c. 43. *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 115.

(2) Swearing by *the Resurrection and Splendor of God*, his usual Oath. *Malmsb.* p. 112.

(3) Alluding to the Custom of lying-in Women in those Days, who were wont to offer lighted Candles at their Churching.

(4) In *August*. *Malmsb.* p. 112. *Sax. Ann.*

(5) The *English* Historians say two Nuns. *Huntingd.* p. 370. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* &c.

(6) And *Roger* and *Seward*, surnamed *Barn*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 213.

(7) Particularly of his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Mortaigne*. *Ord. Vitalis.*

(8) And which is extant in *Order. Vitalis*, as also among *Camdeni Anglica, Normannica*, &c.

(9) *Malmsbury* says, that he did it much against his Will, ——— *invitus & coactus* ——— *Malmsb.* p. 112. *M. Westm.* See *Ord. Vitalis.*

(10) *Vitalis* says, he left him only 5000 Marks in Money.

(11) He had his Mother's Possessions, *viz.* the County of *Maine*, and Money and Jewels which amounted to a very great Sum. *Brompt.* p. 980. *Ingulph.* p. 94. *Malmsb.* p. 112. *M. Westm.*

(12) He left part of his Treasure to some poor *English*, and to several Churches and Monasteries in *England*. *Brompt.* p. 980.

(13) Epistolam de constituendo Rege scrit. *Ord. Vital.*

(14) He reigned twenty Years, ten Months, and twenty-six Days, reckoning from the Battle of *Hastings*. *R. de Diceto*, p. 481. *M. Westm.*

(15) And the inferior Officers fell a plundering whatever stood in their way, so that the King's Corpse was left almost naked. *Ord. Vitalis.*

(16) He paid him sixty Shillings for the Place where the Grave was, and promised to see him farther satisfied for the rest of the Ground. *Ord. Vitalis. Malmsb.* p. 133. and *M. Paris*, p. 11. say, he paid him a hundred Pounds of Silver.

(17) *William Rufus* caused a most stately Monument to be erected for his Father, before the High-Altar of St. *Stephen*'s Monastery, which was adorned with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. This stately Monument stood till the Year 1562, and then *Chastillon* taking the City of *Caen*, certain Soldiers opening it, and not finding the Treasure they expected, broke it to pieces, and threw about *William*'s Bones; some whereof were afterwards brought into *England*. But the Monks in the Year 1642, in the Place thereof caused a plain Altar-Tomb to be built. See the Figure of it in *Sandford*, p. 7.

In

HOC SEPVLCHRVM INVICTISSIMI IVXTA ET CLEMENTISSIMI CONQVESTORIS GVILLELMI, DVM VIVERET ANGLORVM REGIS, NORMANDORVM COENOMANORVMQ; PRINCIPIS, HVIVS INSIGNIS ABBATIÆ PIISSIMI FUNDATORIS, CVM ANNO 1562 VESANO HÆRETICORVM FVRORE DIREPTVM FVISSET, PIO TANDEM NOBILIVM EIVSDEM ABBATIÆ RELIGIOSORVM GRATITVDINIS SENSV IN TAM BENIFICVM LARGITOREM INSTAVRATVM FVIT, ANNO DOM. 1642, DOMNO IOANNE DE BAILHACHE ASCETORII PROTOPRIORE.

P. D. D. D.

EPITAPH
by THOMAS *Archbishop of York*

Qui rexit rigidos Northmanos atque Britanos,
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cœnomanenſes virtute coercuit enſes,
Imperiiq; ſui legibus applicuit;
Rex magnus parva jacet hac GUILLELMUS in Urna
Sufficit & magno parva domus Domino.
Ter ſeptem gradibus ſe volverat atq; duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obiit.

Gravelot. del. *C. Dui. Boſſe. ſecit.*

The MONUMENT *of K. William ye* Conqueror.
at CAEN *in* NORMANDY.

1087. In his younger years, he was handſome and well proportioned. He had rather a ſtern and majeſtick, than a mild and taking countenance; however, he could ſometimes put on ſuch ſweetneſs and gentleneſs in his looks, as were hardly to be reſiſted. We may gueſs his great ſtrength and vigour from Hiſtorians aſſuring us, none but himſelf could bend his Bow. The ſame Hiſtorians are very much divided concerning his chaſtity. Some ſay, he was very much addicted to Women in his youth: Others tell us, his little inclination that way, gave occaſion to call his manhood in queſtion. Some affirm, after he was married, he never gave his Queen cauſe to be jealous. Others aſſure us, he kept for his miſtreſs a Clergyman's daughter, whom *Matilda* ordered to be ham-ſtringed. Be this as it will, after he was on the throne of *England*, Hunting was obſerved to be his ſole diverſion. His houſhold was perfectly well regulated; but his expences were not anſwerable to his greatneſs and riches. Nevertheleſs, upon ſolemn occaſions, he loved magnificence, and took a pleaſure in appearing in all his grandeur. Seldom did he fail of being crowned every year (1), at the three great feaſts of *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*, which he generally ſpent at *Glouceſter*, *Winchеſter*, and *Weſtminſter*. During theſe feſtivals he kept a ſplended court, was much more eaſy of acceſs and liberal of his favours. The great Men of the Kingdom (2) were uſually about him whilſt theſe ſolemnities laſted; but one can hardly believe it was in order to hold a *Wittena-Gemot* or Parliament, as ſome do pretend (3). And indeed, there is no likelyhood, that after depriving the *Engliſh* of their eſtates, he ſhould leave them in poſſeſſion of the greateſt of their privileges. It is ſtill leſs probable he would tranſfer this right to foreigners, ſince he was at liberty to grant them the *Engliſh* eſtates on what terms he pleaſed. Now it is certain, his temper was ſuch, that he would never voluntarily render himſelf dependant on his own Subjects. However this be, if the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot* ſubſiſted in his reign, it may at leaſt be affirmed, its authority was very limited, and its nature very different from what it had been.

Malmſb. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

There are Hiſtorians who greatly commend this Prince's clemency, on account of his being very often ſatisfied with puniſhing the *Engliſh* rebels, by the confiſcation of their eſtates. It cannot be denied, what they ſay is true, with regard to perſons of the firſt rank. Indeed, except Earl *Walthoff*, who was publickly beheaded, and *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham*, who was ſtarved in priſon, we don't find any of the principal *Engliſh* Lords put to death in this reign. But his clemency with reſpect to perſons of a lower rank cannot be juſtly extolled. It is certain he puniſhed great numbers with death, put out the eyes or cut off the hands of many others, and condemned multitudes to perpetual impriſonment for very ſlight crimes. All the Hiſtorians unanimouſly upbraid him with the death of Earl *Walthoff*, as an action the moſt heinous; ſince he beheaded him for what he had already pardoned. But this ſeverity was in ſome meaſure balanced by his moderation to Prince *Edgar*, who had furniſhed him with ſufficient pretences to ſacrifice him to his jealouſy. Perhaps, the little merit of this Prince was the ſole motive of this moderation; ſince the King never conſidered him as a very formidable rival. However, I think he ought to be praiſed for his clemency in this reſpect, ſince the motive is unknown. How little formidable ſoever *Edgar* might be, with regard to his perſonal qualities, he can't be denied to be ſo on account of his birth. He was the only ſurviving Prince of the royal family of the *Saxons*, and as he ſerved for a cloak to ſeveral inſurrections, the King could not be entirely aſſured of him.

1087. Sax. Ann. Brompt.

King *William* had by *Matilda*, daughter to the Earl of *Flanders*, four Sons and five Daughters. *Robert* was Duke of *Normandy*. *Richard* was killed by a Stag in the new Foreſt, or, as others ſay, by a diſtemper caught in hunting, of which he died in his Father's life-time (4). *William* mounted the throne of *England*, and was ſucceeded by *Henry* his Brother. *Cicely* his eldeſt daughter was Abbeſs of the Holy-Trinity at *Caen*. *Conſtance* was married to *Alan Fergeant* Duke of *Bretagne*. *Adela* was wife to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and by him had a Son of the ſame name, whom we ſhall ſee King of *England*. *Adeliza*, promiſed to *Harold*, died young (5). *Alphonſo* King of *Gallicia* married the fifth, whoſe name was *Agatha* (6). She is ſaid to remain a Virgin after marriage, and, being entirely devoted to the ſervice of God, ſpent her days in the conſtant exerciſe of Prayer (7).

His Iſſue. Malmſb. Sanford.

2. *WILLIAM*

(1) He wore his Crown; that is, kept his Court, or Great Councils then.

(2) The great Men of the whole Kingdom, namely, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Thanes, and Knights. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 112. *Knighton*, p. 2354.

(3) And yet this is what *Brady*, who was no great Friend to thoſe Aſſemblies, thinks fit to own. The *Conqueror*, ſays he, commonly kept the *Eaſter* at *Winchеſter*, &c. *as above*, p. 178. Note (6), at which time were preſent in Court, all the temporal Nobility, Biſhops, Abbots, *&c.* through all *England*; ſo that at thoſe Feſtivals he could call a Great Council, or Synod, at a Day's warning, and at thoſe times were commonly held the Great Councils for all publick Affairs. *Brady*, Vol. II. p. 214. Note (o). The ſame is alſo confirmed by the late learned Mr. *Madox*. At this Court, and more eſpecially at ſome ſolemn times in the year, the King held his Great Councils, and ordinarily tranſacted ſuch Affairs as were of great Importance, or required Pomp and Solemnity, according to the Cuſtom of the Times. *See* p. 178. Note (6). The Baronage attending on his royal Perſon made a conſiderable Part of his Court. They were his Homagers; they held their Baronies of him; he was their Sovereign or chief Lord, and they were his Men, as to Life, Limb, and earthly Honour. With them the King conſulted in weighty Affairs, and did many ſolemn Acts in their Preſence, and with their Concurrence. *Madox, Hiſt. of the Exchequer*, p. 2.—6. The Places at which King *William* is recorded to have held his Court, are as follow: In the Year 1069, at *York*. (*Ord. Vitalis.*) In 1072, at *Winchеſter*, at *Eaſter*; and the *Whitſuntide* following at *Windſor*. In 1074, at *Weſtminſter* (*S. Dunelm.* p. 209.) In 1084, at *Chriſtmas*, he held it (*de more*) at *Glouceſter*. In 1085, at *Winchеſter* at *Eaſter*; at *Whitſuntide* at *London*. (*Huntingd.* p. 370.) And at *Chriſtmas* (*de more*) at *Glouceſter*, for five days, where he was attended by his great Men; and the Clergy afterwards held a Synod for three Days. (*Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 979.) In 1086, at *Winchеſter* at *Eaſter*; and at *Whitſuntide* at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann.*) See *Madox's Hiſt. of the Exchеq.* p. 5, 6.

(4) *W. Malmſb.* p. 111, ſays, he was a very promiſing Youth. He was buried on the South-ſide of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of *Winchеſter*. His Epitaph is, *Hic jacet Ricardus Willi. Senioris Regis Fill. & Beorn. Dux.* i. e. Duke of *Berney* in *Normandy*. See *the Figure of his Tomb in Sandford*, p. 10.

(5) *Rapin*, miſled by *Baker*, or other modern Authors, calls her *Margaret*, reckoning her the ninth, whereas ſhe was the third Daughter. See *W. Gemiticen.* p. 685, and *Sanford*, p. 8.

(6) *Agatha*, falſely called by *Rapin*, *Eleanor*, was the ſixth Daughter. She was affianced to *Alphonſo*, but died in her Journey to *Spain*. Her Body being brought back into her native Country, was buried at *Bayeux*. *Sanford*, p. 12. The fifth was *Gundred* Counteſs of *Surry*, married to *William Warren*, made Earl of *Surrey*, by King *William Rufus*. She died in Childbed at *Caſtle-Acre* in *Norfolk*. 1085.

(7) I. The *Juſticarii Regis*, during the Reign of *William* I. were; 1. *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*. 2. *William Fitz-Oſbern*. 3. *Goiſfrid* Biſhop of *Coûtance*. *Madox's Hiſt. Exchеq.* p. 743.

II. The moſt remarkable Occurrences not mentioned by Mr. *Rapin*, are theſe: 1. King *William* brought the *Jews* from *Roan* to inhabit in *England*. *Stow's Chron.* p. 103. 2. In his Reign, or much about that time, *Sirnames* came firſt to be uſed. 3. *Trial by Battail* was introduced into this Kingdom. 4. The *Normans* brought in a new way of creating *Knights*; and alſo the Uſe of *Seals* and *Witneſſes* in all Deeds and Inſtruments. Before that time, or at leaſt before the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, the Perſons concerned, only ſet down their Names, with a Croſs before them. *Ingulp.* p. 70, 71. Laſtly, the *Normans* brought in the ſhocking Vice of *common Swearing*.—In the Year 1076, there was an *Earthquake* in *England*; and a *Froſt* from the beginning of *November*, 'till the middle of *April*. In 1077. *Aug.* 14. there was a very great Fire in *London*. *Sax. Ann.* And again in 1087, the greateſt Part of that City was burnt down (with St. *Paul's* Cathedral;) as were alſo moſt of the chief Towns in *England*. *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 982 *S. Dunelm.* p. 213.

W. 2.

III. As the Tranſlator intends to give a ſhort account of the Coin in every Reign, he begins with obſerving, That, probably, the *Britons* never coined any Money, but in *Cæſar's* time uſed only *Iron Rings* and ſhapeleſs Pieces of Braſs, and that even their Tribute-Money afterwards was the ordinary current Coin brought in or minted here by the *Romans*, as long as this Iſland continued a Province. For among the many thouſand *Roman* Coins, there was never one undoubted *Britiſh* Coin yet produced; thoſe of *Cunobelin* be liable to unanſwerable Objections. After the *Saxons* were ſettled in *England*, their Silver Coins were generally all of a ſize and ill-minted, which they called *Penniet*, worth about Three-pence of our Money. They had alſo *Half-Pennies* and *Farthings*, (as appears from the *Saxon* Goſpels) and Half-Farthings, called *Stica's*. Of which kind Biſhop *Nicolſon* takes thoſe Braſs Pieces to be that were found ſome Years ſince at *Rippon* in *Yorkſhire*, and communicated by Sir *Edward Blacket* the Owner to ſeveral curious Antiquaries. After the *Norman Conqueſt*, a Pound of Gold being divided into twenty-four *Carats*, (or half Ounces) and every *Carat* into four Grains, the *old Sterling*, (as it was afterwards called) or *Right Standard of Gold*, conſiſted of twenty-three *Carats*, and three Grains and half of fine Gold, and half a Grain of Allay of Copper or Silver. Again; a Pound of Silver being divided into twelve Ounces, and every Ounce into twenty Penny-weights, and every Penny-weight into twenty-four Grains, a Pound weight of *Old Sterling* conſiſted then (as it does now) of eleven Ounces two Penny-weights of fine Silver, and eighteen Penny-weights of Allay. The firſt eight Kings after *the Conqueſt* continued to coin Money much like their *Saxon* Predeceſſors, only a little lighter; for of the *Saxon Pennies* there are ſome at this Day that weigh more than a Penny-weight, whereas few of thoſe of the *Norman* Kings reach twenty-two Grains 'till *Edward* I, when the *Engliſh* Pennies were to weigh a Penny-weight. The *Normans* alſo continued the like Method with the *Saxons* as to Inſcriptions, having round the King's Head his Name and Stile; which was very ſhort, only REX or REX ANGL. and on the Reverſe, the Name of the Mint-

2. WILLIAM II. Sirnamed RUFUS.

WILLIAM II. 1087.

WHILST the *Conqueror* was taken up in *Normandy* with the thoughts of dying, *William* his Son was concerting in *England* all neceſſary meaſures to ſecure the crown, purſuant to his Father's intention. Diſpatch was ſo much the more neceſſary on this occaſion, as he had reaſon to fear, in caſe his Brother *Robert* could come in time, he would gain the people to his ſide. His buſineſs therefore was to ſecure, beforehand, the *Normans* to his intereſt, who being poſſeſſed of all the Fiefs and Places in the kingdom, were properly to diſpoſe of the future election. However, the *Engliſh* were by no means to be neglected, leſt joined to *Robert*'s friends, they might turn the Scale to his ſide. Mean while, young *William* was beloved by neither. The *Engliſh* thought him too like the King his father, and the *Normans*, who knew him ſtill better, dreaded his rough temper. On the other hand, *Robert* had birthright to plead in his favour; whereas *William* could ſupport his pretenſions only by his Father's bare deſire of having him for ſucceſſor. But this bare indication of his Will, without an expreſs nomination, was very inſufficient. Nay, in all likelihood it would never have produced the effect, the dying King promiſed himſelf, if, before the news of his death reached *England*, care had not been taken to diſpoſe Men to a compliance. It was with this view, he ſent over his Son with all ſpeed (1), to endeavour, with *Lanfranc*, and ſome other Lords, to accompliſh his project. *Eudo* High-Treaſurer (2), and *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were very ſerviceable to young *William* on this occaſion. The firſt had ſecured *Dover*, *Wincheſter*, *Pevenſey*, *Haſtings*, and other places on the South-coaſt. Moreover, he delivered to him the late King's treaſures, which amounted to ſixty thouſand pounds in money, beſides plate and jewels of a much greater value. *Lanfranc*, who was eſteemed and beloved as well by the *Engliſh* as *Normans*, uſed all his credit in his favour. His pains were crowned with ſo good ſucceſs, that in a little time he drew to his party the leading Lords of both Nations. To theſe were added other means, which helped to incline people to *William*'s ſide. It was rumour'd among the *Engliſh*, that this Prince had made a firm reſolution to govern in a very different manner from the King his father; that he would hearken to their juſt complaints, and aboliſh the too rigorous laws enacted ſince the revolution, particularly the laws relating to the Game. In ſhort, it was promiſed in his name, that they ſhould be reſtored to a part of their eſtates, and to their ancient privileges. On the other hand, the *Normans* were told, the beſt way to preſerve their poſſeſſions, was to confirm the *Conqueror*'s choice; that the young Prince, being placed on the throne, would be led by his own intereſt to ſupport them, ſince his and their rights would ſtand on the ſame foundation, namely, the Will of the late King. *Robert*, being abſent, had but few friends to ſpeak for him. As it was uncertain how he would behave after his return, thoſe that would have been inclined to favour him, did not dare to declare for him openly. They foreſaw the ill conſequences of ſuch a proceeding, in caſe he ſhould not think fit to ſupport them. Beſides, this party had no head. *William* had taken care to keep *Ulnoth* and *Morcar* in priſon (3), notwithſtanding his Father's orders to the contrary, for fear they ſhould head the *Engliſh*, whom he did not take for his friends. All theſe Circumſtances well managed by *Lanfranc* and other adherents to Prince *William*, concurring to pave his way to the throne, he was crown'd the 27th of *September*, eighteen days after his father's death (4). 1087.

Brompt.

Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Ingulph.

Eadmer. Daniel. M. Weſt.

Brompt.

S. Dunelm. Hoved.

William crowned. Eadmer. Ord. Vital.

This Prince, ſirnamed *Rufus* from being red-haired (5), was thirty years of age when he aſcended the throne. Probably, he was indebted for his good fortune to *Robert*'s diſobliging the King his father, who never forgave his revolt. And indeed, the younger had nothing to give him the preference to the elder. The only good quality remarkable in him, was his great courage, which however was hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from a brutiſh fierceneſs. He was of a very ill diſpoſition, which being never corrected by education, frequently led him to actions unworthy of a Prince. Bred up to arms from his youth, and at a court, where he continually beheld inſtances of ſeverity and abſolute power, he became a perfect Brute in his behaviour and manners. To theſe ill qualities he joined a great indifferency for religion, and his whole conduct ſhewed him to be regardleſs of honour or honeſty. He was as greedy of money as his father, but with this difference, the Father heaped up money purely for the ſake of hoarding, and very unwillingly parted with it; whereas the Son loved it only to ſquander it away in vain expences, wherein he was guided more by caprice than reaſon. However, in the beginning of his reign, as it was his intereſt to hide his inclinations for fear of alarming his ſubjects, he put on a maſk for ſome time. It was even obſerved with pleaſure, that he affected to be guided by the counſels of *Lanfranc*, who was univerſally eſteemed and beloved. It was chiefly the reſpect he at firſt paid this wiſe Councellor, that filled the *Engliſh* with hopes of a happy change in their fortune, and prevented them from giving ear to the ſollicitations of thoſe that would have engaged them in *Robert*'s cauſe. His Character. S. Dunelm. Hoved.

But whilſt the confidence he placed in this Prelate was ſerviceable to him, with regard to the *Engliſh*, it occaſioned ſuch troubles from another quarter, as ſhook him in his throne. *Odo* his Uncle, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, who was lately releaſed out of priſon, could not bear to ſee *Lanfranc* in ſo great favour (6). He had harboured a ſecret animoſity againſt the Archbiſhop, ever ſince his adviſing the King to ſeize him, as he was embarking for *Rome*. This private enmity, joined to a deſire of ruling again as he had done formerly, threw him upon the project of dethroning the King, and ſetting the crown on the head of *Robert*, who was lately returned to *Normandy*. He did not want a pretence to countenance his enterprize. *Robert*'s birthright furniſhed him with a very plauſible one. As ſoon as he had taken this reſolution, he drew into his Plot ſome of the principal *Norman* Lords. It was neceſſary to begin with them, ſince, without their aid, the *Engliſh* were able to do nothing. Theſe *Normans* being gained with many others, by their means, it was not very difficult to perſuade the *Engliſh* to join with them. As the greateſt part were diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, they expected ſome relief from the troubles that were going to be raiſed in the Kingdom, by the diſſention between the two Brothers. In order to confirm both *Engliſh* and *Normans* in their late reſolution, *Odo* repreſented to them, there was no living happily under the government of a capricious and brutiſh Prince, without religion or honeſty: That they had reaſon to dread the worſt, if they gave him time to eſtabliſh himſelf in the throne, and therefore, ſhould they delay to take proper meaſures to ſcreen themſelves from the impending Evils, it would perhaps be too late, when they had a mind to undertake it. 1088. Conſpiracy againſt William. Malmsb. Hoved. S. Dunelm. Or. Vital. M. Paris.

Maſter and Place of Coinage. The Coins of the two firſt *Williams* were very rare, 'till a Neſt of them was accidentally found at *York* 1703-4. On their Coins they both appear in a Pearl Diadem with *Labels* at each Ear, and an Arch croſs the Head, conſequently they are impoſſible to be diſtinguiſhed. Mr. *Thoreſby* indeed aſcribes thoſe with a full Face to the *Conqueror*, and thoſe with the half Face and Scepter to *Rufus*. The Inſcription on the *Conqueror*'s Money is, WILLEM. WILLEM V. (miſtaken by Dr. *Nicolſon* for WILLEM II.) or WILLEMVS. PILLEM. PILLEMV. PILLEMVS. (P. being the *Saxon* W) REX. REX. A. ANGL. ANGLO. or ANGLOR. Reverſe, a Croſs Fleuree with four Scepters quarterly, or a Croſs with four Pellets in each Quarter, the Name of the Mint-Maſter and the Place of Mintage; as HEREFORD. LVNDEN. LOND. LVNDRE. LVNDR. for *London*; C. for *Canterbury*; EO or EOFER for *York*; LINCOLN. EXETER LEOYNC. for *Lancaſter*; PINC. for *Wincheſter*; DEOTFORD. for *Thetford*. See the Coin in the foregoing Page, which hath on one Side PILLEM REX ANGLOR. and on the Reverſe GODICON LUNDNEN.

(1) He was attended by *Robert Bloet* his Father's Chaplain. *Ord. Vitalis.*

(2) He was the King's Steward. *William de Ponte-Arche* gave him the Keys of the Treaſury at *Wincheſter*: After which going to *Dover*, *Haſtings*, *Pevenſey*, and other Caſtles on that Coaſt, he made the Keepers promiſe not to deliver them without his Knowledge, ſtill concealing the King's Death; which done he returned to *Wincheſter*, and diſcovered that the King was dead. *Hiſt. of Colcheſter-Abbey* in *Monaſtic. Angl.* P. 2. p. 889.

(3) He brought them over with him, and put them in Priſon at *Wincheſter*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 214.

(4) After his Coronation he went to *Wincheſter*, and diſtributed his Father's Treaſure, according to his laſt Will, *viz.* to ſome of the chief Cathedral Churches and Monaſteries ten Marks of Gold a-piece; to ſome ſix, and to others leſs, beſides rich Croſſes, Candleſticks, *&c.* and to ſmaller Churches in the Country five Shillings a-piece; he alſo ſent a hundred Pound to each County to be diſtributed among the Poor. *S. Dunelm.* p. 214. *Brompt.* p. 983. *Malmſb.* p. 113. *Sax. Ann.* &c.

(5) Or from his red Complexion. *Tyrrel*, p. 73.

(6) He was come over to *England*, and had been confirmed in the poſſeſſion of his Earldom of *Kent*. *Malmſb.* p. 120. *M. Paris*, p. 11.

He

K. WILLIAM II. surnam'd RUFUS.

del. et Sculp. G. Vertue.

1089. He added, Juſtice itſelf required the crown to be given to the firſt-born, to which he had a lawful right, and of which he had not deſerved to be deprived. Theſe conſiderations were ſtrengthened with aſſurances of the uprightneſs and generoſity of *Robert*. He ſet forth his mild and gracious diſpoſition, which put them in hopes of enjoying, under his government, the tranquillity they ſo earneſtly longed for.

Whether birth-right had any weight with theſe Lords, or *William*'s ill temper made them wiſh for a new maſter, they readily came into the Prelate's meaſures. Each promiſed to do his utmoſt to promote the deſign, provided *Robert* would exert himſelf likewiſe, and bring over ſupplies from *Normandy*. The *Norman* Lords, who were in the conſpiracy, beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that they quickly gained almoſt all the leading-men of their nation. As ſoon as the Biſhop was ſecure of the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, whom he judged much more capable of ſerving *Robert* than the *Engliſh*, he ſent that Prince word, that nothing was wanting but his preſence, with a body of *Norman* troops, to recover the crown unjuſtly uſurped by his Brother. As this news could not but be very agreeable to the Duke, he came immediately to a reſolution upon ſo advantagious a propoſal. But as he had not Money ſufficient to defray the expences of ſo great an undertaking, he borrowed [three thouſand pounds] of his Brother *Henry*, for which he mortgaged to him the country of *Cotentin* (1). Then he ſent his Uncle word, he would not fail of coming to *England*, as ſoon as poſſible, deſiring him to prepare every thing for the execution of their deſigns.

Robert borrows Money of his Brother Henry. Brompt.

As ſoon as the *Norman* Lords were certified of *Robert*'s reſolution they began to ſtir (2). The Biſhop of *Conſtance*, with his Nephew *Mowbray* (3), made themſelves maſters of *Bath* and *Barklay* Caſtle, and ſtored *Briſtol* with ammunition, intending that place for their chief magazine. *Roger Bygod* in *Norfolk*, *Hugh Grantmenil* in *Leiceſterſhire*, ſeized ſeveral places. *Roger de Montgomery* (4), *William* Biſhop of *Durham* (5), *Bernard* of *Newark* (6), *Roger Lacy*, *Ralph Mortimer* ſecured *Worceſterſhire*. In a word, there was not a Lord among the conſpirators but what fortified himſelf in ſome city. Had *Robert* arrived at that time, probably he would have dethroned his Brother. But his natural ſlothfulneſs, and unneceſſary expences made him loſe ſo fair an opportunity. On the contrary, the King, who was of a quite different temper, omitted nothing to ſtifle the conſpiracy, whilſt his Brother's indolence afforded him time. The moſt effectual means he made uſe of, was the gaining the *Engliſh* to his ſide, in which *Lanfranc*'s intereſt was very ſerviceable to him. This prelate, who in a late reign had ſhewn great regard for the *Engliſh*, made uſe of their confidence in him, to induce them to aſſiſt the King in ſo urgent a neceſſity. By his ſollicitations and pains, he reclaimed the conſpirators, and perſuaded the reſt to continue firm to the King (7). So that in a very ſhort ſpace *William* was enabled to ſend out a fleet, whilſt with an army of *Engliſhmen* (8), he marched againſt *Odo* his Uncle, whom he juſtly conſidered as the Ring-leader of the rebels. The Prelate had fortified himſelf in *Kent*, where he had made himſelf maſter of *Rocheſter*, and *Pevenſey*. As ſoon as he heard of the King's approach, he ſhut himſelf up in *Pevenſey* (9), where he was in hopes to hold out a ſiege, 'till the Duke of *Normandy* ſhould come to his relief. But as he was more hot than couragious, and for want of fore-ſight, had even neglected to provide things neceſſary for his defence, the town was taken in a few days (10) by the furious aſſaults of the King. *Odo* could obtain his pardon upon no other terms but the procuring the ſurrender of *Rocheſter*, where the chief of the *Norman* Lords were ſhut up, under the command of *Euſtace* Earl of *Boulogne*. To this purpoſe he was conducted to the gates of *Rocheſter*, where he feigned to perſuade the governour to deliver up the city. But *Euſtace* obſerving by his looks, that he did not ſpeak from his heart, detained him priſoner, and ſo furniſhed him with a plauſible excuſe for the breach of his promiſe.

The Conſpirators take up arms. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Lanfranc *does the King great Service.* Malmſb. Sax. Ann.

The King attacks Odo. Sax. Ann. Ord. Vitalis.

Hoved. Brompt.

M. Paris. Malmſb.

William deſpairing of becoming maſter of *Rocheſter* this way, was obliged to beſiege it. He was ſix weeks before the town without making any progreſs (11), the Beſieged defending themſelves with ſuch bravery, that he began to loſe all hopes of ſucceſs. But at length a contagious diſtemper, which daily weakened them, compelled them to deſire a capitulation. It was no eaſy matter to agree upon the terms. At length, after many debates, the King granted them the liberty to march off with their horſes, without hopes of being ever reſtored to their eſtates and employments. The Biſhop of *Bayeux*, being reduced to a very low condition, retired to the Duke of *Normandy*, who committed to him the adminiſtration of his affairs. The ſiege of *Rocheſter* had furniſhed the Duke with a fair opportunity to make a diverſion in ſome other part of the kingdom. But by an inexcuſable negligence, he loſt the advantage of ſo favourable a juncture. Inſtead of going himſelf into *England* with forces proportionable to the greatneſs of his enterpriſe, he contented himſelf with ſending a ſingle Ship with ſome ſoldiers, who were all taken and drowned (12).

1088. *He beſieges* Rocheſter. Huntingd. Ord. Vital. *Negligence of* Robert. Brompt. Hoved.

William being maſter of *Rocheſter*, marched his army towards *Durham*, to chaſtiſe the Biſhop, who was one of the rebels. As the Garriſon was very weak, the city was quickly obliged to ſurrender, and the Biſhop with all that had taken arms againſt the King, were baniſhed. Thus, this conſpiracy, which ſeemed ſo dangerous, was cruſhed by the vigour and good conduct of the King, who equally made uſe of prudence and force to bring the Rebels to reaſon. He not only gained by his addreſs *Montgomery* (13), but alſo ſeveral other *Norman* Lords, whoſe defection was very prejudicial to *Robert*'s party. By his ſecret emiſſaries, he made them ſenſible, they were extremely in the wrong to act againſt him: That, ſeeing they held their Eſtates by virtue of the ſame right that procured him the crown, it was manifeſtly their intereſt to ſupport him. On the other hand, he gave an inſtance of the greateſt prudence in beginning with his Uncle's deſtruction, who was the author of the Conſpiracy. But his ſucceſs on this occaſion was chiefly owing to his diligence.

The King goes againſt the Biſhop of Durham, *and baniſhes him.* Brompt. S. Dunelm. G. Malmſb. M. Paris.

As the *Engliſh* had ſhewed themſelves ready to aſſiſt him in his neceſſity, they expected a ſuitable reward. But it was not long before they perceived they flattered themſelves with vain hopes. Whilſt he wanted their aſſiſtance, he gave them fair words; but as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf well ſettled in the throne, he forgot his promiſes. He even began to oppreſs them with ſeveral impoſitions; in which he ſhewed ſtill leſs moderation than the late King. He was gently admoniſhed of theſe proceedings by *Lanfranc*, who could not forbear putting him in mind of what he had promiſed. How careful ſoever this Prelate might be to make uſe of the moſt reſpectful terms, *William* was extremely offended, and asked him in an angry tone and with an oath, *Whether he thought it poſſible for a King to keep all his Promiſes?* From that time the Archbiſhop was quite out of favour, neither did the King ever afford him one kind look. But his diſgrace was of no long continuance. He died quickly after, lamented by both Nations, as one of the moſt worthy Prelates, promoted to the See of *Canterbury* ever ſince the converſion of the *Saxons*.

William *oppreſſes the* Engliſh. Hoved. Eadmer. Malmſb. Lanfranc *admoniſhes him about it, falls into diſgrace and dies.*

Whilſt *Lanfranc* was alive and at court, the preſence of ſo venerable a Man was ſome check to the King's vicious inclinations. But as ſoon as he was clear of this Prelate, who had an awe over him, he threw off all reſtraint. More eſpecially he gave a looſe to his natural deſire of heaping up money in order to ſquander it away in a vain and extravagant manner. Avaricious without frugality, covetous and prodigal at the ſame time, continually ſcraping up money without ever filling his coffers, he was always in want, and under a neceſſity of inventing perpetually new ways and means of raiſing money. One of his methods, never before practiſed in *England*, was to ſeize the vacant benefices. He was not ſatisfied with having the *Firſt-Fruits*, but appropriated the whole profits to himſelf for ſeveral years to-

Tyrannical Proceedings of the King. Malmſb. Eadmer. *He ſeizes the vacant Benefices.* Thorn. M. Paris.

(1) The County of *Conſtantin* (now *Cotentin*) was then the third part of *Normandy*.
(2) The Conſpiracy was formed in *Lent*, and about *Eaſter* they began to ſtir. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 214.
(3) *Geoffrey* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, (of *Exeter*, ſays *Brompt.* p. 984.) and *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberlund*. *Malmſb.* p. 120. *R. de Dicete*, p. 489. *M. Paris*, p. 11.
(4) Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewſbury*. *Brady*, p. 218. Note (b).
(5) Whom *William* II. had made *Juſticiar*. *M. Paris*, p. 11.
(6) Or rather of *Newmarket*. *Brompt.* p. 984. *R. de Diceto*, p. 489.
(7) He promiſed them that the King would make good Laws, aboliſh the Taxes, and give them free liberty of Hunting. *Malmſb.* p. 120. *Sax. Ann.* &c.
(8) And *Normans*. *R. de Diceto*, p. 489.
(9) Which belonged to his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Mortaigne*. *R. de Diceto*, p. 489.
(10) It held out about ſix Weeks. *Huntingd.* p. 372. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 215. Seven Weeks, ſays *Brompton*, p. 895.
(11) This does not appear from any of the ancient Hiſtorians. It is probable *Rapin* hath confounded the account of the Siege of *Pevenſey* with this.
(12) The Hiſtorians ſay, that he ſent over part of his army, but King *William*'s Fleet deſtroyed an innumerable multitude of his Men: Which ſhews *Robert* muſt have ſent a conſiderable number of Troops. *Brompt.* p. 985. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 372. See *Malmſb.* p. 121.
(13) *Roger de Montgomery*, Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewſbury*. *Malmſb.* p. 120.

gether

1088. gather without filling them. And after conveying away every thing that was convertible into Money, he ſold them ſo pilled to ſuch as bid higheſt, without regarding their merit or capacity. As ſoon as the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* was vacant by *Lanfranc*'s death, he ſeized the temporalities, and kept them in his hands four years. He did the ſame with the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, and all others that became void in his Reign. This Prince's Hiſtorians, moſt part Monks or Eccleſiaſticks, bitterly inveigh againſt him upon this account. They ſo frequently inſiſt on this point, that there is no room to doubt, it was one of the principal motives which induced them to blacken his reputation to the utmoſt of their power. However this be, theſe proceedings occaſioned loud clamours among the Clergy; but they were diſregarded by the King. It was in vain they carried their complaints to the Pope. The Court of *Rome*, as matters then ſtood, durſt not intermeddle in this affair. The Church was rent by a *Schiſm*, wherein *England* was yet unengaged. Beſides, *Urban* II, to whom the *Engliſh* Clergy made application, was then projecting the recovery of the Holy-Land, in which enterpriſe he intended to engage all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*. It was not poſſible therefore for the Pope, nor conſiſtent with his intereſt, to fall upon *William* at ſuch a juncture.

A Schiſm in the Church hinders the Pope from intermedling.

1090. This Monarch had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of a Crown, which he had no right to expect. This ſingle conſideration, doubtleſs, ought to have bred in him ſo much regard for his Brother *Robert*, as might have helped to make him eaſy under the injury he had done him. But neither duty nor brotherly affection could balance in his mind the deſire of becoming maſter of all his Father's dominions. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſettled in the throne of *England*, but he formed a deſign to conquer *Normandy*. Perhaps, to his avidity was added the deſire of being revenged for the Duke his Brother's attempt to dethrone him. Be this as it will, after making extraordinary preparations, the intent of which *Robert* never ſuſpected, he made a deſcent in *Normandy*. He immediately became Maſter of *St. Valeri*, *Albemarle*, and ſome other Places, whilſt *Robert* was unprovided of forces to oppoſe this invaſion (1).

William *has a Deſign upon* Normandy.

Malmſb. Hoved. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Ord. Vital.

He takes Valeri *and* Albemarle.

The preſſing neceſſity the Duke was in of applying to a foreign power, obliged him to implore the protection of the King of *France*, who came in perſon to his aſſiſtance. But he reaped no great advantage from thence. *William*, who underſtood how to uſe cunning as well as force, found means to make *Philip* his friend (2), who retired without doing any thing, leaving *Robert* expoſed, as before, to the inſults of his Brother. By the King of *France*'s retreat, the Duke's affairs were in a worſe condition than ever, for relying on that aid, he had taken no other meaſures. *William* took from him ſeveral other Places, and bribed certain Burghers of *Roan*, who promiſed to deliver the Metropolis of *Normandy* into his hands (3).

Robert *implores Aid from the King of* France, *who is brib'd by* William. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. S. Dunelm.

Plot to deliver up Roan. Ord. Vital.

Mean time, *Robert* was in great Straits (4). He had no other refuge than the aſſiſtance of *Henry* his youngeſt Brother; but he had little reaſon to expect any favour from him. *Henry* was exaſperated at the Duke's taking poſſeſſion of *Cotentin* without paying what he owed him, and was preparing to do himſelf juſtice by force. Nevertheleſs, *Robert*'s promiſe to make him ſatisfaction, as ſoon as the war was ended, diſarmed him, and even engaged him in his quarrel. This aid came very ſeaſonably, to free the Duke from his preſent danger. *Henry* hearing of the plot that was contrived at *Roan*, ſuddenly entered the city, and ſeizing *Conon* Chief of the Conſpirators, threw him headlong from a Tower. By this bold action, he quaſhed the conſpiracy, which, had it taken effect, would have robbed the Duke of his Capital, and probably, of all his other dominions.

Prince Henry *joins his Brother* Robert.

He ſaves Roan. Ord. Vital. p. 690.

1091. The union of the two Brothers, and the ill ſucceſs of the *Roan* conſpiracy, put a ſtop to *William*'s progreſs, who, quickly after, was obliged to conclude a peace with the Duke. The articles of the treaty were, that *Robert* ſhould deliver up to the King the Country of *Eu* and Towns of *Feſcamp* and *Cherburgh*, with all the Places he had taken on the Coaſt of *Normandy*. *William* on his part, obliged himſelf to aſſiſt him in reducing the Province of *Maine* which had revolted, to reſtore to the *Normans* all their confiſcated Eſtates in *England*, and to grant certain Fiefs to his Brother in the ſame kingdom. Laſtly, it was agreed, if either of the two Brothers died without heirs, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to all his dominions. This treaty was ſolemnly ſwore to by twelve Barons on each ſide, and the Brothers ſeemed perfectly reconciled. 1091.

Peace between the King and Duke. Fl. Wig. Ord. Vital. Malmſb. Sax. Ann.

But if theſe two Princes were pleaſed, their younger Brother was not ſo. He was not only omitted in this treaty, but found *Robert* by no means diſpoſed to keep his word with him. Incenſed at this treatment, he thought he might lawfully right himſelf ſome other way, and, on a ſudden, ſurprized Mount *St. Michael*. This unexpected blow ſtartled *Robert*, who not caring to leave a place of that importance in the hands of his Brother, deſired *William*'s aſſiſtance to retake it. Though *William* had no concern in this affair, he readily accompanied *Robert* (5) to the Siege, or rather Blockade of this place, ſituated on a rock, which the Sea, by flowing round it twice a day, renders inacceſſible.

Henry *ſeizes upon Mount* St. Michael. Malms. Ord. Vital.

He is beſieged there.

Whilſt the two Brothers lay before Mount *St. Michael*, *William*, as he was riding alone at ſome diſtance from the camp, chanced to ſee two Horſemem (6) coming from the town. As he was of an impetuous temper, he rid up to them to try to take one of them Priſoner, that he might be informed of the ſtate of the place. The Soldiers, finding themſelves attacked by a ſingle perſon only, ſtood upon their defence, and in the firſt encounter his Horſe was killed under him, and himſelf thrown on the ground with his foot intangled in the ſtirrup. This accident would have coſt him his life, if, the moment one of the Soldiers was going to kill him, he had not cried out, *Hold, Raſeal, I am the King of* England, upon which, they were ſtruck with fear and reſpect, and helping him up, gave him one of their Horſes. He nimbly leaped into the Saddle, and then addreſſing himſelf to the perſon that diſmounted him, *Come*, ſaid he to him, *thou ſhalt be my Soldier for the future, and enjoy the reward of thy valour.*

An Adventure of William's. Knighton. Malmſb.

Though the ſiege went on but ſlowly, *Henry* was driven to great ſtraits for want of water. However, as he knew *Robert*'s good nature, he did not deſpair of ſome relief, by repreſenting to him, it would be more glorious to ſubdue him by arms than by thirſt. *Robert*, who was naturally generous, ſent him immediately a tun of wine (7), with leave to ſupply him with as much water as was neceſſary. *William* upbraided him as guilty of folly in this complaiſance. *What*, replied he, *is the quarrel between us and our Brother of that importance, that we ſhould deſire he ſhould die with thirſt? We may have occaſion for a Brother hereafter, but where ſhall we find another when we have deſtroyed this?* But *William* not at all pleaſed with this, as he thought, unſeaſonable generoſity, quitted the ſiege and returned to *England*. However, *Robert* perſiſted, notwithſtanding all difficulties, to carry on the ſiege, till the place was ſurrender'd upon terms. *Henry* having liberty to go where he pleaſed, wandered up and down for ſome time without any fixed abode, attended only by a chaplain and three or four domeſticks.

Generoſity of Robert *to* Henry.

Robert *takes the* Mount. Ord. Vital.

About the ſame time *Robert* baniſhed *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*, and *William* forbad him ever returning into *England*. The cauſe of his diſgrace is unknown; it is only ſaid, he retired into *Scotland*, his only refuge in his misfortunes.

Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Hoved.

Whilſt *William* was employed in *Normandy*, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* took advantage of his abſence, to make an incurſion into *Northumberland* (8), from whence he had carried away a great booty. The northern people loudly complained of the King's amuſing himſelf beyond Sea, whilſt his frontiers were plundered by foreigners. Theſe complaints apparently haſtening his return, he was no ſooner arrived (9), but he made great preparations to be revenged of the King of *Scotland*. But fearing his Brother *Robert*, who was become maſter of Mount *St. Michael*, would take advantage of his abſence and ſeize his Caſtles in *Normandy*, he deſired him to come and join him. He pretended, his valour and experience were abſolutely neceſſary to put an honourable end to the war. But to engage him by a more powerful Motive, he promiſed as ſoon as the affair was over, he would punctually perform his part of their late treaty. *Robert* being prevailed upon by this promiſe, and the good opinion the King his Brother ſeemed to have of him, ſpeedily repaired into *England* and attended him to *Scotland*.

Flor. Wor. Brompt.

William *and* Robert *march into* Scotland.

The ſucceſs of the war did not anſwer *William*'s preparations. The great part of the fleet, fitted out to annoy the Coaſts of *Scotland*, was deſtroyed by a

Their ill Succeſs. Brompt.

(1) *Stephen* of *Albemarle*, Son of *Odo* Earl of *Champagne*, at King *William*'s charge, fortified and mann'd his Caſtle for him. *Ord. Vital.* p. 608.
(2) He bribed him with Money. *Flor. Wig.* p. 664. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 216.
(3) *William* came over to *England*, and kept his Court at *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, grievouſly oppreſſing his Subjects with Taxes; and then at *Candlemas* went back to *Normandy*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 216. *Brompt.* p. 986.
(4) King *William* was come over with a great Fleet, on purpoſe to deprive him entirely of *Normandy*. *Ord. Vitalis.*
(5) *Malmſb.* ſays, that he was come over from *England*, (where he had probably been ſince the concluſion of the treaty) that he might, according to his engagement, help to reduce the Inhabitants of *Maine*. *Malmſb.* p. 121. (6) *Malmſb.* ſays, that he alone ruſhed upon many, p 121.
(7) It doth not appear that he ſent him either Wine or Water; but only that he ordered his Men to keep ſuch a negligent Watch on one ſide, as that *Henry*'s Men might have an opportunity to provide themſelves with Water.
(8) He waſted a great part of it in *May*, but was beaten back by the Inhabitants. *S. Dunelm.* p. 216. *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 987.
(9) He came over in *Auguſt*. *S. Dunelm. Brompt.* ibid.

Storm.

1091. Storm (1), his Army ſuffered no leſs in marching over the Moraſſes and Mountains. The want of Proviſions in thoſe almoſt deſolate Places he was engaged in, and the Roads, grown impaſſable by reaſon of the bad Weather, viſibly deſtroyed ſo many of his Men, that he often repented of this Expedition. He would have been very hard put to it, by theſe Accidents, had not *Malcolm* been apprehenſive of the ill Conſequences of a War, that had drawn the Enemy into his Country. And therefore, chuſing rather to oblige *William* to leave *Scotland* by fair Means, than venture to drive them thence by Force, he ſent him Propoſals (2), which being gladly accepted, were ſoon followed by a Treaty of Peace. The Conditions were, that *Malcolm* ſhould pay *William* the ſame Homage his Father had done: That twelve Manors, held by him in *England* before the Rupture, ſhould be reſtored to him, and that *William* ſhould pay him yearly twelve Marks (3) in lieu of all other Claims. Prince *Edgar*, who was employed in this Negotiation, behaving to the Satisfaction of both Parties, *William* and *Robert* received him into Favour, and he had Leave to return into *England*. The Duke of *Normandy* was in hopes the War being over, the King his Brother would ſeriouſly think of ſatisfying him. But perceiving at length he fought only to amuſe him, he returned home (4) in great Anger, taking Prince *Edgar* along with him.

A Peace is made. Hoved.

Edgar refuſed to favour. Brompton. Hoved.

Whilſt *William* was in *Scotland*, *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, conquered *Glamorganſhire*, in *South-Wales*. He had ſerved *Jeſlyn*, Lord of *Glamorgan*, againſt *Rees* King of *Wales*, on certain Terms, which the *Welch* Lord refuſed to execute, after the War was ended. This Breach of Faith cauſing *Fitz-Hamon* to reſolve to right himſelf by Arms, he drew his Friends together, attacked *Rees*, ſlew him in the Fight, and ſeized his Country. Twelve Knights, who accompanied him in his Expedition, were rewarded each with a Manor, which they and their Poſterity enjoyed (5),

Glamorganſhire conquered by the Engliſh. Welſh Chron.

1092. Malmſb. Ord. Vital. The next Year, Prince *Henry* took by Surprize *Domfront*, a ſmall Town in *Maine*, where he retired in expectation of a better Fortune.

William rebuilds Carliſle. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig. S. Dunelm. The frequent Irruptions of the *Scots* into the northern Parts of *England*, convincing the King of the Neceſſity of ſtopping their Progreſs by a ſtrong Barrier, he ordered the City of *Carliſle upon the Tine* to be rebuilt. This City which had been deſtroyed by the *Danes*, and lain two hundred Years in ruins, was peopled again, and endowed with great Privileges which it enjoys to this Day (6). The Epiſcopal See of *Dorcheſter* was removed to *Lincoln*, and that of *Wells* to *Bath* about this Time, with the King's Conſent, which was purchaſed with a large Sum of Money.

1093. *He falls ill.* S. Dunelm. Eadmer. Sax. Ann. This Monarch was become ſo abſolute, that he met with no Oppoſition to his Will. Taxes and Impoſitions were renewed every Day on diverſe Pretences. Nothing happened but what the King made an Occaſion to levy Money upon the Cities, Boroughs, private Perſons, without favouring the *Normans* any more than the *Engliſh*. None daring to oppoſe theſe Oppreſſions, the People expected no other Remedy for their Evils, but the Death of the King, which they heartily prayed for in private. A Diſtemper, which ſeized him at *Glouceſter* (7), gave them hopes their Prayers were going to be heard. He himſelf thought he had not long to live. The approach of Death, which to him ſeemed certain, and the Exhortations of the Biſhops about him, threw him into Reflections, which were followed by ſome Signs of Repentance. He appeared firmly reſolved to correct the Miſmanagements in the Government, if it pleaſed God to reſtore him to his Health. The Biſhops improving theſe good Motions, admoniſhed him to fill the vacant Benefices. They repreſented to him what an Obſtacle it was to his Salvation, to apply the Church's Revenues to Uſes contrary to the Intent of the Donors. The Condition he was in, made him readily comply with whatever was deſired. He nominated *Robert Bloet*, one of his Counſellors, to the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, and for Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, made choice of *Anſelm*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, who was then at the *Engliſh* Court. It was with great difficulty that *Anſelm* was prevailed upon to accept of this Dignity. He was a zealous Aſſertor of the Rights of the Church, and as he knew *William* was not very ſcrupulous in theſe Matters, he dreaded the taking upon him a Burden, which to him ſeemed too weighty in ſuch a Reign. However, the Perſwaſions of the Biſhops, and ſeeming Repentance of the King, brought him at length to a Compliance. Before he was conſecrated, he requeſted the King, to reſtore to the Church of *Canterbury* all that belonged to it in *Lanfranc*'s Time; which was poſitively promiſed. Mean time, *William*, finding he was out of Danger, and perceiving he daily gathered Strength, uſed delays, to avoid reſtoring the Church-Lands. At length, as the Archbiſhop preſſed him continually upon that Subject, he frankly declared his Intent was, that the Perſons to whom he had granted the Lands ſhould enjoy them, they and their Poſterity. He even told the Archbiſhop, he expected his Conſent. But *Anſelm* would never be brought to this Compliance, which he looked upon as a downright Prevarication. Hence the great Conteſt between the King and him, which occaſioned a world of Trouble to both. 1093.

Shews ſigns of Repentance. Eadmer.

Makes Anſelm Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Huntingd. Knighton. Brompt. Brady.

In the mean time, *William*, whoſe Repentance proceeded entirely from the fear of Death, finding himſelf perfectly recovered, forgot all his Promiſes, and fell to his former Courſes. The Priſoners, commanded to be freed, were, by his Order, more cloſely confined, and thoſe that were ſet at Liberty, were again thrown into Priſon. Extortion, Injuſtice, and Rapine, were as prevalent as ever. The Adminiſtration of Juſtice was in the Hands of ſuch as took more Care to enrich themſelves, than diſcharge the Duties of their reſpective Offices: All were Poor, but thoſe who had the fingering of the Publick-money. To be in Favour with the King, it was neceſſary to be without Honour or Conſcience. None but Informers met with Encouragement. Theſe Diſorders forced many honeſt Men to reſolve to quit the Kingdom, and ſeek elſewhere that Tranquillity they could not find in their native Country. But even this Liberty, which they imagined they could not be abridged of, was denied them by an Edict, forbidding all Perſons to go out of the Kingdom without the King's Leave.

The King continues his Oppreſſions. Eadmer. Sax. Ann.

Pol. Virg.

Whilſt *England* was in this wretched Condition, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* came to *Glouceſter*, according to an Agreement made with *William*, to ſettle ſome Affairs that were left undetermined in the late Treaty. As ſoon as the King had notice of his arrival, he ſent him Word, that he expected before all Things, to receive his Homage. *Malcolm* replied, he was ready to do it on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, according to Cuſtom. *William*, not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, let him know further, he would have it done in *Glouceſter*, the Vaſſal not being to appoint where he was to do his Homage. *Malcolm*, looking upon this as a Pretence to affront him, returned home without ſeeing the King, provoked at the Haughtineſs ſhown him. He was no ſooner in *Scotland*, but he began his Revenge with invading *Northumberland*. This was the fifth Time he had ravaged that Country, revenging on the innocent Subjects the Wrongs pretended to be received from the Sovereign. *Robert de Mowbray* was then Governour of the northern Parts. He was a Perſon of Courage and Conduct, and finding the King's Forces were too remote, took upon him ſpeedily to remedy the Evil his Government was afflicted with. He drew together a Body of Troops with ſuch diligence, that he fell on the *Scots* when they thought themſelves moſt ſecure. This unexpected attack throwing the *Scots* into Diſorder and Confuſion, they ran away without making ſcarce any Reſiſtance. *Malcolm* and *Edward* his eldeſt Son, vexed to ſee their flying Troops, and endeavouring to rally them, were both ſlain on the Spot. The *Scotch* Hiſtorians pretend the *Engliſh* ow'd their Victory to a notorious treachery (8). Perhaps it was becauſe the *Scots* ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized. However this be, this fatal Battle was the Occaſion of numberleſs Evils to *Scotland* ſhortly after. *Malcolm* had with him a General called *Walter*, to whom, in reward of his Services, he had given the Office of *Steward*

King of Scotland *comes to* Glouceſter. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 218. Brompt. R. de Hag. Flor. Wig.

Returns home and invades Northumberland. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Is ſlain with his Son. Hoved. Brompt. W. Gemiticen. Malmſb.

Origin of the Family of the Stuarts. Buchanan.

(1) A few Days before *Michaelmas*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.*

(2) This Peace was brought about by means of Duke *Robert* and *Edgar Atheling*. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 216. *Brompt. Sax. Ann.*

(3) Of Gold. *S. Dunelm. ibid. Brompt.* (4) Two Days before *Chriſtmas*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 217.

(5) There is a Book written on this Subject by Sir *Edward Stradling*, or Sir *Edward Manſel*, (for it is aſcribed to both) wherein you have the Names of the twelve Knights. Their Names; and the Lordſhips each of them had, are as follow: 1. *William de Londres*, had for his Share the Manor of *Ogmor*. 2. Sir *Richard Granville*, that of *Netb*. 3. Sir *Pain Turbervil*, had *Coyty*. 4. Sir *Robert St. Quintin*, *Llan-blethyan*. 5. Sir *Richard Syward*, *Talavan*. 6. Sir *Gilbert Humfreville*, *Penmark*. 7. Sir *Reginald de Sully*, *Sully*. 8. Sir *Roger Berkrolles*, *Eaſt-Orchard*. 9. Sir *Peter le Soor*, *Peterton*. 10. Sir *John Fleming*, *St. George*. 11. Sir *John St. John*, *Fonmon*. 12. Sir *William Stradling*, *St. Donates*. See *Hiſt. of Wales*, and *Camden in Glamorganſhire*.

(6) *Carliſle* (the *Luguballum*, or *Lugballia*, or *Luguvallium* of the *Britons* and *Romans*, and the *Luel* of the *Saxons*) ſtands near the Confluence of the Rivers *Eden*, *Peterill*, and *Caude*, and not on the *Tine*. The Colony ſent thither by *William Rufus*, of Huſbandmen, are by all Records ſaid to be the firſt that tilled the Land thereabouts.

(7) It ſeized him at the Manor of *Alvanſtan* in *Glouceſterſhire*, from whence he was carried to *Glouceſter*, where he lay ſick all the *Lent*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 217, 218.

(8) *Boethius* and *Buchanan* ſay, that *Malcolm* having reduced the Caſtle of *Alnewick* to Extremity, the Beſieged were forced to ſurrender, and only deſired that the King in Perſon would receive the Keys of the Gates, which were brought by a Soldier upon the Top of a Lance, who ſtanding within the Wall, thruſt the Point of the Lance into the King's Eye as he was going to take them. Upon which *Edward* his Son falling too raſhly upon the Enemy, received a Wound of which he ſoon after died. See *Malmſb.* p. 103.

1093. or *great Maſter of his Houſhold* (1). From this Officer ſprang the Family of the *Stuarts*, who long ſwayed the Scepter of *Scotland*, and for a Century that of *England* (2).

Queen Margaret *dies.* *Margaret*, King *Malcolm*'s Queen, and Siſter of *Edgar Atheling*, ſurvived the melancholy News of the Death of her Husband and Son but three Days. Though *Malcolm* left

Donald *made King.* S. Dunelm. three other Sons of fit Age to govern, the *Scots* placed the Crown on the Head of *Donald* his Brother. This Prince was no ſooner on the Throne, but he expelled all the *Engliſh* out of the Kingdom. Among whom was *Edgar Atheling*, who taking with him the Sons of *Malcolm* his Nephews, retired into *England*.

He invades England. The *Scots* delayed to take Vengeance of their Defeat only whilſt they were employed in the Coronation of their new King. Towards the End of the Summer, *Donald*, at the Head of his Army, made an Irruption into *England*, where he cruelly revenged *Malcolm*'s Death. As ſoon as *William* had notice of it, he ſent an Army into the North under the Command of *Duncan*, natural Son of the late King of

Is defeated. *Scotland*. At the approach of theſe Forces, *Donald* haſtily retired into his Kingdom; but was ſo cloſely purſued, that he could not avoid coming to a Battle. As his Army was much inferior to that of the *Engliſh*, he was defeated and

Duncan *crown'd.* Sax. Ann. forced to betake himſelf to one of the *Hebrides* (3). This Misfortune throwing the *Scots* into great Conſternation, *Duncan* improved the Juncture, and got himſelf crowned in the room of *Donald*.

War with Wales. Fl. Wigor. About the ſame time, new Troubles ariſing in *Wales*, the *Engliſh* Army marched thither. This War proved fatal to the *Welſh*, who loſt Part of their Country, with *Rees* their King ſlain in a Battle (4).

1094. William *wars againſt his Brother* Robert. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig. M. Paris. S. Dunelm. The Affairs of *Scotland* and *Wales* being ended to *William*'s Satisfaction, it was not long before he ſought freſh Occaſions to exert his Activity. *Robert* his Brother being diſpleaſed that their late Treaty was not executed, was making Preparations, which made *William* apprehenſive, he deſigned to retake the Places yielded to him by the ſame Treaty. Therefore, without troubling himſelf to ſatisfy him, he reſolved to lead an Army into *Normandy* to ſecure his Fortreſſes, and make new Conqueſts. As he went to imbark, he paſſed through *Haſtings*, where he viſited *Battle-Abby*, and cauſed the Church to be conſecrated, which was dedicated to St. *Martin*, as the King his Father had ordered. Upon his arrival in *Normandy* (5), he wanted to hold a Conference with his Brother, wherein he endeavoured to amuſe him with freſh Promiſes. This Interview proving ineffectual, they agreed upon a Second, in the Preſence of the twenty-four Barons, who had ſworn to the Treaty. *William*'s ſole Aim was to intimidate theſe Barons, that they might lay the Fault on his Brother. But finding that, inſtead of blaming *Robert*, they openly declared in his Favour, he broke off the Conference and began Hoſtilities. He immediately became Maſter of ſome Places, the Governors whereof he had

Robert *aſſiſted by the* French. brib'd. But afterwards, *Robert* receiving Aſſiſtance from *France*, retook *Argentan*, and made the Garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred Men, Priſoners. After that, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Holms*, which ſurrendered at Diſcretion. Theſe Succeſſes made *William* ſenſible, he ſhould find it difficult to be clear of this War without Loſs, if the *French* Troops continued in his Brother's Service. Having learnt by Experience that *Philip* was not Proof againſt Preſents, he reſolved to try the ſame Way that had formerly ſucceeded ſo well. But after the exceſſive Taxes laid on the Kingdom, it ſeemed impracticable to raiſe the Sum he then wanted. However, as he had a fertile Invention on theſe Occaſions, he bethought himſelf of a new Expedient

S. Dunelm. which ſucceeded to his Wiſh. Under Pretence that there was an urgent Occaſion for Supplies, he ſent Orders into *England* to levy with all poſſible Speed twenty thouſand Men. In raiſing this Army, ſuch were purpoſely taken for Soldiers as were well to paſs, or to whom it was very inconvenient to leave their Families. When theſe Levies

Who are brib'd by William. were going to embark, the King's Treaſurer told them, by his Order, that they might every Man repair to his own Home upon the Payment of Ten Shillings each (6). This News was ſo acceptable to theſe Soldiers liſted againſt their Wills, that there was not one but what was glad to be diſmiſſed at ſo eaſy a Rate. By this means *William* raiſed the Sum of ten thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, with which he brib'd the *French* to retire, who were an Obſtacle in his way. 1094.

The Departure of the Auxiliaries put *Robert*'s Affairs in a very bad State. Probably, it would have occaſioned the Loſs of all his Dominions, if the King had not been obliged to return into *England* to quell the *Welſh* who were ravaging *Shropſhire* and *Cheſter*. Never could a Diverſion come more unſeaſonably, ſince it made him loſe the Conqueſt of *Normandy*, which he now thought infallible. He left *Normandy* therefore with extreme Indignation, after a Reconciliation with his Brother *Henry*, who croſs'd the Seas with him. 1095. *War with the* Welſh. Chron. Cambr.

The King's two Expeditions into Wales. At his arrival in *England*, he march'd into *Wales*, where he rebuilt the Caſtle of *Montgomery* that had been demoliſhed. At his approach, the *Welch*, according to Cuſtom, retired to the Mountains, where it was impoſſible to reach them. As that difficult Country was unknown to him, he loſt ſo many of his Men in obſtinately purſuing the Enemy in their lurking Holes, that he was at laſt compelled to retire without doing them much Damage.

In ſpite of the Difficulties he had ſtruggled with in this Expedition, he reſolved upon a Second, the ſame Year, after ſtrenthening his Army with new Levies. But he was ſcarce entered *Wales*, when he was called off from his Enterprize by Affairs of greater Importance, which more nearly concerned him.

Mowbray's *Revolt.* Malmſh. Hoved. S. Dunelm. Brompton. Sax. Ann. *Robert de Mowbray* had done the King ſignal Service by his Victory over the *Scots*. Blown up with this happy Succeſs, he imagined *William* could not ſufficiently reward ſo important a Service, that had freed him from a very troubleſome Neighbour. But the King, who had no Generoſity in him, expreſſed ſo little Gratitude, that the Earl's haughty Spirit led him to deviſe Means to make him repent of this Contempt. Nothing leſs would ſatisfy his Revenge than the dethroning of *William* and ſetting the Crown on the Head of *Stephen*, Earl of *Albemarle*, Nephew to *William the Conqueror*. He drew into this Conſpiracy a great Number of Lords, who, as well as he, were diſſatisfied with the harſh and ſcornful Behaviour of the King. *William* received the firſt News of this Conſpiracy as he was marching into *Wales*. But this War ſeeming to him of little Importance in Compariſon of the gathering Storm, he altered his Courſe (7), and

The King had like to fall into an Ambuſh. Ord. Vital. marched with all ſpeed to the North. His Deſign was to cruſh the Head of the Male-contents, before the reſt could join him. The Conſpirators foreſeeing he would march that Way, laid an Ambuſh for him, which he would have certainly fallen into, if *Gilbert de Tunbridge* (8), one of the Rebels, had not given him Notice of it. This

He beſieges Bamborough Stratagem failing, *William* continued his March, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Bamborough*, where *Mowbray* was (9). This Place, which was ſtrong and well ſtored with Neceſſaries, holding out longer than was expected, he reſolved to change the Siege into a Blockade, that he might go in queſt of the other Conſpirators, who were now

and builds Mal-Voiſin. Huntingd. Hoveden. up in Arms. To this Purpoſe he built near *Bamborough* a Fortreſs which he called *Mal-Voiſin*, [or *Bad-Neighbour*,] becauſe it took away all poſſibility of throwing any Succours into the Caſtle. Some time after, *Mowbray* going out upon a falſe Information (10), had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the Beſiegers. As ſoon as

Mowbray *taken and impriſoned.* Brady. the King heard of it, he ordered the Priſoner to be carried to the Foot of *Bamborough*-Walls, and, in caſe the Beſieged refuſed to ſurrender, to have his Eyes put out before their Faces. This Order produced the expected Effect, the Caſtle was ſurrendered upon Terms, and *Mowbray* confined in *Windſor-Caſtle*, where he remained a Priſoner thirty Years. His Companions in the Revolt

His Accomplices are all puniſhed. Malmſb. Sax. Ann. met with no better Treatment. *Roger Lacy* was diſpoſſeſſed of all his Lands (11). *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter* redeemed his Life with the Sum of three thouſand Pounds Sterling.

(1) This Magiſtrate (ſays *Buchanan*) was to gather in all the King's Revenues; alſo he had a Juriſdiction, ſuch as the Sheriffs of Counties have, and he is the ſame with that which our Anceſtors called a *Thane*, p. 217.

(2) *Camden* ſays, *Malcolm* made *Walter* Steward of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that he was Son to *Flean* by *Neſta* Daughter to *Griffith ap Llewelin*, Prince of *North-Wales*. *Flean* was the Son of *Banquo*, ſlain by *Mackbeth*.

(3) A Cluſter of *Iſles* called by the Inhabitants *Inch-Gall*, who retain the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Habit of the ancient *Scots*, and ſpeak the *Iriſh* Language. They are commonly thought to be forty-four in Number, though they that have travelled them, reckon them to be about three hundred. They are called by the *Engliſh*, *The Weſtern Iſles*.

(4) From this time there were no more Princes in *South-Wales*, but the Kings of *England* were accounted their chief Governors.

(5) He came there about the middle of *Lent*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 219.

(6) *Simeon of Durham*, and the reſt of the Hiſtorians ſay, That *Ranulf Flambart*, the Treaſurer, took from them the Money that had been paid them for their Maintanance. *S. Dunelm.* p. 220. *M. Paris*, p. 14. *Sax. Ann.* Sir *Henry Spelman* ſuppoſes they were raiſed not by the way we call *Preſſing*, but through the King's earneſt Sollicitations; and that the Money the King took from them, was what the Country had allowed them for their Subſiſtence. *Spelmanni Codex.* p. 296.

(7) And in the mean time ſent his Brother *Henry* into *Normandy*, with a large Sum of Money, to haraſs that Country, *Huntingd.* p. 373. *Sax. Ann.*

(8) *Rapin* by miſtake calls him *William*. See *Ord. Vital.* p. 704.

(9) He beſieged *Newcaſtle* firſt. *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* 991, *&c.*

(10) *Sim. Durham* ſays, ſome Soldiers belonging to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine* promiſed to give him entrance into the Town, if he would come thither privately with a few Followers. Upon which he went out one Night with thirty Soldiers, but being betrayed by his own Men, was purſued and taken by the Garriſon of *Mal-voiſin*, p. 221.

(11) Which was given to his Brother *Hugh*, who adhered to the King. *Ord. Vital.* p. 704.

1095. Sterling. The Count of *Eu* chuſing to vindicate his Innocence in ſingle Combat againſt his Accuſer, and being overcome, was condemned to loſe his Eyes, and be caſtrated. *William of Ardres* accuſed of the ſame Crime, was ſentenced to be hanged, though he proteſted his Innocence with his laſt Breath. All the reſt were condemned to divers Puniſhments, not one eſcaping.

Quarrel between the King and Anſelm. Dunelm. Hunt. Hoved. Eadmer. Malmſb.

The King was no ſooner out of this Trouble, but he fell into another, occaſioned by the renewal of his Differences with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. He had no great regard to the Church's Immunities, which *Anſelm* too haughtily ſupported. This Prelate had even preſumed to acknowledge *Urban* II. for lawful Pope, though he very well knew the King was rather inclined to *Clement* his Antagoniſt. In vain was it repreſented to him, that by a Law made in the late Reign, no Perſon was to acknowledge a Pope without the King's Conſent. This Argument was of no force with him, who pretended the King had no Right to meddle with Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. But upon what ground did he himſelf pretend to determine for the whole Church of *England?* The King, for his part, was not willing to give way to his Subject, and as he began to treat him a little roughly, *Anſelm* deſired leave to go to *Rome*. *William* at firſt denied him, but at length conſented, being glad to be clear of him. However, not to let him depart without further Marks of his Diſpleaſure, he ſent an Officer after him, who overtaking him juſt as he was going to ſail, ranſacked his Baggage, and took away all the Money he could find, pretending it was againſt the Law to carry the Coin out of the Kingdom. After *Anſelm*'s departure, the King ſeized the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick, and enjoyed them as long as he lived. This Prelate continued ſome time at *Rome*, where he did all that lay in his Power to ſtir up the Pope againſt the King. But at length, finding *Urban* did not care to engage in his Quarrel, he retired to a Monaſtery at *Lyons*, where he remained 'till *William*'s Death.

M. Paris.

1096. *The Holy War.* Flor. Wig. Eadmer. M. Paris. Malmſb.

Urban II. was then going to diſcover the grand Deſign which he had been long revolving in his Mind. I mean the famous *Cruſade*, undertaken for the Recovery of the *Holy-Land* out of the Hands of the *Saracens* (1). This great Affair is ſo well known, that there is no Occaſion to deſcend to Particulars. It will be ſufficient to remind the Reader, that *Peter the Hermite* firſt ſet this Project on foot; that Pope *Urban* II. preached it himſelf at the Council of *Clermont*; and that numberleſs Perſons of all Nations and Ranks in *Europe* zealouſly imbarked in it. The Badge of thoſe that engagaed in this Undertaking, was a *Red Croſs* wrought in their Habit, and worn on the right Shoulder, from whence they were called the *Croiſées* [or the *Croſſed*,] and the Expedition, the *Cruſade*. Their Motto was, *It is God's Will*. The Heads of the *Croiſées* were, *Hugh* of *France* (2), *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, *Raimund* of *Tholouſe* Count of *St. Giles*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Haynault*, *Bohemond* Prince of *Tarentum*, *Tancred* his Nephew, and *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* (3). This laſt burned with a Deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in this War, which made ſo much Noiſe in the World: But Money was wanting to defray the neceſſary Charge. The only Means he had to ſupply this Want, was to borrow a Sum of the King his Brother (4), and give him *Normandy* for his Security (5). *William* gladly received the Propoſal. But as his Kingdom was exhauſted by the great Levies of Money already raiſed, he was forced to recur to new Methods. The readieſt way, as he thought, was to deſire the richeſt of his Subjects, particularly the Nobility and Clergy, to furniſh him with the Sum required. His Requeſt being equivalent to a Command, ſuch as were unwilling to comply were forced to it, without reſpect of Perſons. This Compulſion gave the Lords a Pretence to treat their Vaſſals in the ſame Manner, and oblige them to contribute to the King's Wants. Several Eccleſiaſticks not having by them what was demanded, were, or pretended to be, under a Neceſſity of melting down the Church-Plate, and even the *Shrines* of the Saints (6).

Robert *mortgages* Normandy *to the King his Brother.* S. Dunelm. Hoved. Brompt. W. Gemit.

Malmſb. S. Dunelm. Eadm.

The different Tempers of the two Brothers.

Let us here reflect a Moment, on the different Temper of theſe two Sons of *William the Conqueror*. The firſt makes a Conſcience of oppreſſing his Subjects to ſupply the Charges of an Expedition approved by all the World, chuſing rather to Mortgage his Dukedom than raiſe the Money upon them. The other makes no ſcruple to extort Money from his People, to acquire a Good, of no Advantage to them, but purely to gratify his Ambition. Hence we may judge how great an Injury *the Conqueror* did the *Engliſh* in preferring the younger to the elder Brother. 1096.

As ſoon as *Robert* was gone, *William* taking Poſſeſſion of *Normandy* (7), demanded of the King of *France* the *French Vexin* (8), which he pretended belonged to the Dukedom. This pretenſion occaſioned a War, which, having nothing remarkable in it, ended the next Year in a Treaty of Peace.

William *wars with* France. Ord. Vital.

The great eaſe wherewith *William* had lately acquired *Normandy*, ſerved only to inflame his Deſire and ſet him upon the Conqueſt of *Wales*. To that End, he made, on ſome other Pretence, extraordinary Preparations, imagining he could not fail of Succeſs, as he hoped to ſurprize the *Welſh*. He reſolved to extirpate all the Males of that Nation, whoſe Neighbourhood had all along been very troubleſome to the *Engliſh*. But the Honour of this Conqueſt was not reſerved for him. Though by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Deſerters, he penetrated a good way into that difficult Country (9), he loſt more of his own Men than he deſtroyed of the Enemies. So that he was forced once more to deſiſt from this Undertaking, without doing any thing conſiderable. 1097.

His War with the Welſh. Brompt. Hoved. Huntingd. Sax. Ann.

Shortly after, a new Revolution in *Scotland* made him reſolve to ſend an Army thither under the Command of *Edgar Atheling*. *Donald*, who was driven out of *Scotland*, finding means to re-enter, compelled *Duncan* to leave the Kingdom, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Throne. The greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians pretend, that *William*, as Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, made himſelf Judge of this Difference. They add, that doing *Edgar*, eldeſt Son to *Malcolm Canmore*, the Juſtice due to him, he ordered his Troops to march into *Scotland*, and put that Prince in poſſeſſion of the Crown. However this be, without ſtaying to examine the Matter, I ſhall only ſay, *Edgar Atheling* by help of the *Engliſh* Army, placed young *Edgar* his Nephew on the Throne of his Anceſtors. *William* could not undertake this Expedition in Perſon, the Revolt of the Province of *Maine* obliged him to go thither (10) and lay Siege to the Capital. 1098.

The Affairs of Scotland. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Bucanan.

S. Dunelm.

During the King's Abſence, *Wales* was again expoſed to the Inſults of the *Engliſh*, or rather *Normans*, who began to be confounded with the *Engliſh*. *Owen*, a *Welſh* Lord, Father-in-law of *Griffith* and *Cadagan* (11), Kings of *Wales*, having been diſobliged by his Sons-in-law, privately invited the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Shrewſbury* into his Country, promiſing them a great Booty. The two Earls levying ſome Troops, were received by *Owen* into *Wales*, where they committed unſpeakable Cruelties. The two Kings ſurprized by this unexpected attack, were forced to fly into *Ireland*, and leave their Country to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. Their flight giving their Enemies an Opportunity to continue their March, they penetrated as far as the Iſle of *Angleſey*, where they deſtroyed all with Fire and Sword. Whilſt they were exercifing their Cruelties, *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who had lately made himſelf Maſter of the Iſle of *Man*, advanced as far as *Angleſey*. As he offered to land, the *Engliſh* endeavoured to hinder him, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* (12) was ſlain in the Skirmiſh. His Death was looked upon as a juſt Judgment for the horrid Barbarities committed by him in the Iſle. This Accident cauſing ſome diſorder among the *Engliſh* Troops, they were conſtrained to abandon the Shore. *Magnus* landing in the Iſland, and finding the *Engliſh* had left nothing to plunder, re-imbarked, and the *Engliſh* retired laden with Spoil.

The Engliſh *invade* Wales. Chron. Gal. Sax. Ann. Hoveden. Malmſb.

The King of Norway *attacks* Angleſey. Pol. Virg. Hoveden. Brompt. Du Cheſn.

Theſe little Advantages were not capable of balancing the Evils the *Engliſh* ſuffered this ſame Year. Beſides a great Scarcity, occaſioned by bad Weather, which laſted ſeveral Months, the King laid heavy Taxes upon them, ſo much the more grievous, as the Money was to be expended in Works that were unneceſſary, or at leaſt might have been deferred to ſome other time. He not only rebuilt *London*-Bridge, which had been carried away by an unuſual Flood, but choſe this time of Scarcity for other

William *repairs* London-Bridge, *builds* Weſtminſter-Hall, *and a Wall round the* Tower. Sax. Ann.

(1) For a full account of it, ſee *M. Paris*, p. 19—44. *Malmſb.* p. 130, &c.
(2) *Hugh Magnus*, Count of *Vermandois*, *Valois*, *Chaumont*, *Amiens*, Brother to *Philip* I. King of *France*.
(3) The chief Head of the Cruſade was *Adhemar* Biſhop of *Pui* in *France*. *Fleury's Eccl. Hiſt.*
(4) Ten thouſand Marks of Silver. *S. Dunelm.* p. 222. (5) For three Years. *Eadmer*, p. 35.
(6) He took at that time four Shillings upon every Hide of Land; from which the Eccleſiaſticks themſelves were not exempted. See *Leges Edw. Conſeſſ.* c. 11.
(7) He took poſſeſſion of it before *Robert* ſet out, in *September*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 222. *Brompt.* 993. *R. de Diceto*, p. 493. *Robert* wintered in *Apulia*. *Sax. Ann.*
(8) The *Norman Vexin* is ſeated between the River *Andelle* and the River *Epte*. The *French Vexin* lies between the *Epte* and the *Oyſe*.
(9) He continued there from Midſummer 'till *Auguſt*, and ordered Caſtles to be built upon the Frontiers. *Sax. Ann.*
(10) About the middle of *November*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 377.
(11) He was Father-in-law to *Griffith*, and Uncle to *Cadagan*, having married his Aunt *Ewerytb*, the Daughter of *Conwyn*. See *Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 155.
(12) *Hugh de Montgomery*, youngeſt Son to *Roger de Montgomery*, Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewſbury*. *Dugdale's Barons*, Vol. I. p. 28. The *Welſh* called him *Hugh Goch*, i. e. the Red-headed.

Works,

1098. Works, which required vaſt Sums of Money. He raiſed a new Wall round the Tower, and built a great Hall at *Weſtminſter* two hundred and ſeventy foot long, and ſeventy broad (1). How ſpacious ſoever this Hall was, *William*, at his return from *Normandy*, thought it too little, and ſaid it hardly deſerved to be called a Bed-chamber, in compariſon of the extent he deſigned it. It is affirmed, he undertook this building purely to raiſe money, and for the ſame reaſon reſolved to pull it down and build it larger, but was prevented by other affairs.

Huntingd.

1099. About Midſummer the next year, *William*, as he was hunting in *New Foreſt*, was told by a meſſenger that *Helias* Count *de la Fleſche* had ſurprized and taken the city of *Mans*, and was then beſieging the caſtle, which would ſoon be forced to ſurrender, if not timely relieved. This news obliging him to break off his ſport, he ſent the meſſenger back that inſtant, ordering him to tell the Beſieged he would be with them in eight days. At the ſame time, he turned his Horſe's head towards the Sea-ſide, crying out, *He that loves me, follow me*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* that very day, where he would have imbarked immediately: But the wind was ſo contrary, that the maſter of the Ship repreſented to him, he could not put to Sea without manifeſt danger. *Tuſh*, replied the King, *ſet forward, thou never yet heardſt of a King that was drowned:* And compelling him to ſail, he ſafely arrived at *Barfleur*. On the morrow he ſent for the troops he had in *Normandy*, to attend him on the road to *Mans*, and in a few days marched to the relief of the Beſieged. By this extreme diligence, he ſurprized the Beſiegers in ſuch a manner, that he not only relieved the caſtle, but took the Count of *Fleſche* priſoner. Exulting at his ſucceſs, he could not forbear jeſting on the misfortune of his enemy. But the Count, far from being caſt down at what had happened, fiercely replied, *He had no reaſon to glory in an advantage which he had gained by ſurprize*, adding, *were he at liberty again, he would let him ſee, it would not be ſo eaſy a matter to vanquiſh him another time.* The victorious King, piqued with theſe bold words, ſet his priſoner free upon the ſpot, telling him, *He deſired no return, but exhorted him to do his worſt.* After this, returning to *England* (2) with the ſame expedition, he went and purſued his diverſion, which this affair had interrupted.

William *relieves* Mans. Malmſb. S. Dunelm. M. Paris. W. Gemot. Huntingd. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. &c.

Jeruſalem *taken.* M. Paris. Malmſb. M. Weſt.

The ſame year the *Croiſées* took *Jeruſalem* by ſtorm, and put forty thouſand *Saracens* to the ſword. When they came to elect a King to govern the country conquered upon the Infidels, the majority of the Leaders of the Chriſtian army gave their votes for *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*. But this Prince, for reaſons unknown, refuſed this dignity (3). Whereupon, the famous *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* was choſen, who by his valour and conduct had greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of that expedition.

1100. *Earl of* Poitiers *mortgages his Dominions to the King.* Malmſb. Ord. Vital.

Fortune ſeemed to take a pleaſure in heaping favours on *William*. After having acquired the poſſeſſion of *Normandy* by a happy chance, which he had no room to expect, an opportunity was put into his hands of becoming alſo maſter of the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and Earldom of *Poitou*. *William* Earl of *Poitiers*, animated by the example of ſo many Princes engaged in the holy war, reſolved to join them, and lead a powerful reinforcement to the *Croiſées*. As this deſign could not be executed without great expence, he applied to the King of *England* for the ſum he wanted, offering to mortgage his dominions (4) for his ſecurity. *William* readily cloſing with ſo advantagious a propoſal, ſpeedily raiſed the Money. He deſigned to carry it himſelf to the Earl, that he might at the ſame time take poſſeſſion of his dominions, conſiſting of *Guienne* and *Poitou*, two of the richeſt provinces of *France*. Whilſt he was preparing for his voyage, he had a mind to take the diverſion of hunting in *New-Foreſt*, where an unforeſeen death put an end to all his projects.

1100. *William killed by accident as he was hunting.* Hoved. Malms. Knighton. Brompt.

It is ſaid, as the King was going to mount his horſe, he was told a certain Monk had dreamt a dream which portended ſome great misfortune to him. As he gave but little heed to ſuch preſages, he anſwered jeſtingly, he plainly ſaw the Monk wanted money, ſo ordered him a hundred ſhillings; but however ſent him word, to dream better dreams for the future (5). Whether this is to be conſidered as an omen, or the pure effect of chance, it was that very day fulfilled. Towards the evening *William* having wounded a Stag, was purſuing him full ſpeed, when *Walter Tyrrel*, a *French* Knight (6), ſhooting at the ſame Stag, pierced the King through the heart, upon which he fell down dead without ſpeaking a word (7). The murderer, though he knew his own innocency, fled for it however, without any body endeavouring to ſeize him. Every one was buſy about the King, whoſe body was laid in a Cart, which accidentally came by, and carried to *Wincheſter*, where it was buried the next day. *Henry* his Brother, fearing the meaſures he had taken to ſecure the crown might be retarded, diſpatched the funeral as ſoon as poſſible, which was celebrated without much ceremony, no one lamenting the loſs of a Prince ſo little beloved.

Character of William Rufus. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Thus fell *William Rufus* on the ſecond of *Auguſt* of the year 1100, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty days. His tragical death, in the very place where his Brother and Nephew (8) periſhed by no leſs extraordinary accidents, gave occaſion for many reflections. It was publickly ſaid, that God was pleaſed to take vengeance upon the Conqueror's family, for his deſtroying and laying waſte the country in ſo prodigious a manner to make the *New-Foreſt*. But there is no need to have recourſe to the Father's faults; enough might be found in the Son, not to wonder at his periſhing by an uncommon death. Accordingly Hiſtorians, without heſitation, rank *William Rufus* among thoſe Princes who are no great ornament to the throne of *England*.

This Prince had all the vices of his Father without his virtues. *William* I. balanced his faults, by a religious outſide, a great chaſtity, and a commendable temperance. But by the deſcription given of his Son by Hiſtorians, it appears, he was neither religious, nor chaſte, nor temperate. He was profuſe to his favourites and ſoldiers, and magnificent in his buildings and cloaths. It is ſaid, his Valet bringing him one day a new pair of breeches which coſt but three ſhillings, he fell into a paſſion (9), and ordered him never to bring him any but what coſt at leaſt a Mark. It is added, he was contented with a pair not worth ſo much, being valued to him at a Mark. If we may believe thoſe who have writ his Life, he had neither honour nor conſcience, nor faith, nor religion, and that he took a pride in appearing as ſuch. It is related that one day [fifty *Engliſh*] Gentlemen accuſed for hunting and killing the King's deer (10), having paſſed through the trial of the *Fire Ordeal* untouched, he ſwore, *He could not believe God was a juſt Judge, ſince he protected ſuch ſort of people.* *Eadmer*, who lived in his time, ſays, the King took money of the *Jews* at *Roan*, to compel ſuch as were baptized to return to *Judaiſm* (11). *Malmsbury* adds, *William* ordered ſome Biſhops and Rabbies to meet together and diſpute in his preſence upon religion, promiſing the Rabbies he would be circumciſed, if their arguments ſeemed to him ſtronger than thoſe of the Chriſtians. Indeed, the Hiſtorian ſays, it is to be ſuppoſed this promiſe was only in merriment. He is charged with denying a Providence, and openly maintaining that prayers addreſſed to Saints were vain and impertinent.

Malmſb.

Eadmer.

p. 123.

Remarks on the Hiſtorians who have given us the Character of Rufus.

But to judge impartially of the teſtimony of theſe Hiſtorians, who were all either Monks or Eccleſiaſticks, it muſt be conſidered they may very poſſibly have drawn

(1) Seventy-four, ſays *Sandford*, p. 21.

(2) At *Michaelmas*. *Sax. Ann.*

(3) At leaſt this paſs'd current in *England*, as we ſhall ſee in the Year 1106. It is ſaid he did it out of expectation of the Crown of *England*, and our Hiſtorians obſerve, that he never after proſpered in any thing he undertook.

(4) *Aquitain*, containing the Countries of *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, *Angoumois*, *Perigort*, &c. with his Territories. *Brady*, p. 224.

(5) The Monk dreamt that he ſaw the King gnaw a Crucifix with his Teeth, and that he was about to bite off its Legs, the Image ſpurn'd him to the Ground, and as he lay groveling on the Earth, there came out of his Mouth a Flame of Fire, with abundance of Smoak. *Malmſb.*

(6) *Ord. Vitalis* calls him a rich native of *Pontoiſe*, a valiant Knight, dextrous in Arms; and therefore very intimate with the King, by whom he had been invited over. See *Malmſb.* p. 126. *P. Bleſenſis*, p. 110. After the Fact, he eſcaped into *Normandy*. *Knighton*, p. 2373. *Tyrrel*, p. 108, 109.

(7) The Circumſtances of this Matter are thus related by Sir *John Hayward*. As the King was hunting at *Charingham* in the *New-Foreſt*, he ſtruck a Deer lightly with an Arrow; and ſlay'd his Horſe to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes to keep off the Sun-beams which dazzled his Sight; another Deer croſſing the way, Sir *Walter Tyrrel* ſhooting at it too careleſly, or too ſteadily at the King, hit him full in the Breaſt. Mr. *Tyrrel* obſerves, though *Florence of Worceſter*, *Malmſbury*, and *Simeon of Durham*, (who wrote within forty Years after this Accident) do all agree in the Place and Perſon who had the Misfortune thus to kill this Prince, yet there are Authors of that very Age, who not only doubt, but poſitively deny that this *Walter* had any hand in it. *Eadmer* ſays, *Whether the Arrow was ſhot at him, or, as moſt affirm, ſlew him by falling down upon it*———His Tomb of Grey-marble (ſomewhat raiſed from the Ground) remains at this Day in the midſt of the Choir of *Winchester* Cathedral. This Monument being broke open by the Parliamentarians in the Reign of *Charles* I, was found to contain the Duſt of that King, ſome Relicks of Cloth of Gold, a large Gold-Ring, and a ſmall Chalice of Silver. *The Reader may ſee a Draught of this Tomb in* Sanford's *Gen. Hiſt.* p. 23.

(8) *See* Page 178. *Note* (2) and (3).

(9) Calling him Son of a Whore. *Malmſb.* p. 123.

(10) *Knighton* ſays, That he made killing of a Deer a capital Crime; whoever killed a Hare was fined twenty Shillings, and a Rabbit ten Shillings, p. 2373.

(11) This Story is thus related: A young *Jew* being converted, as is ſaid, by a Viſion of a Saint, his Father preſented the King with ſixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son return to his old Religion. The King ſends for the young Man, and commanded him without more ado to turn *Jew* again; which he refuſing to do, and wondering the King, who was a Chriſtian, ſhould propoſe ſuch a thing to him, he was bid to be gone. The Father perceiving the King could do no good upon his Son, deſired to have his Money again. *Nay*, ſaid the King, *I have taken Pains enough for it all: However, that thou may'ſt ſee how kindly I will uſe thee, thou ſhalt have one half, and the other half thou can'ſt not in conſcience deny me for my Pains.* Eadmer. p. 47.

him

Rex cervum insequitur, Regem vindicta Tyrellus
Non bene provisum transfixit acumine ferri.

Gravelot del

C. Du Bosc. Excit

The MONUMENT *of* K. WILLIAM RUFUS
in the Cathedral Church of Winchester.

BRITISH MUSEUM

him in blacker colours than he deſerved. For he was the firſt King of *England* that ſeized the Church's revenues, without regarding the clamours of the clergy. This was unpardonable with them. Their ſtrong prejudices againſt him on that account, might perhaps make them think, that a Prince, guilty of ſo heinous a crime, muſt have been without faith or religion. This conjecture may be ſupported by obſerving that the writers, who charge him with prophaneneſs, produce no other evidence than ſome publick rumours. As for incontinency, which he is alſo accuſed of, they alledge no inſtances, nor ſo much as name any of his miſtreſſes, though the amours of Kings are not eaſily concealed. It is true, they father a Baſtard Son upon him, called *Berſtrand* (1). But this alone would not have been ſufficient to put them ſo much out of humour, had not his other actions, which more nearly concerned them, ſtirred their choler. However, that is only a conjecture, which the reader may value as he pleaſes. Nevertheleſs, as I find in the Life of this Prince but few laudable actions to balance theſe accuſations, I do not ſee how he could poſſibly be juſtified, ſince all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree in ſaying ſo much ill of him.

His ordinary revenues were probably the ſame with his Father's. But as he ran into many more needleſs expences, he often increaſed them by extraordinary impoſitions, which were very frequent in his reign. To theſe were added the profits of the vacant benefices, which brought him very large ſums. At the time of his death, he had in his hands the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter* and *Salisbury*, and twelve rich Abbies, beſides many other benefices of leſs value. When, after enjoying the incomes ſome years, he thought fit to diſpoſe of the benefices, he never regarded the merit of the perſons, but only the ſum they bid for them. However, it is related, that one day two Monks ſtriving to out-bid one another for a rich Abbey, he perceived a third ſtanding by, of whom he demanded how much he would give? The Monk replied, he had no money, and, if he had, his conſcience would not ſuffer him to lay it out in that manner; whereupon the King told him, ſwearing by St. *Luke's Face*, his uſual oath, that he beſt deſerv'd it, and ſhould have it for nothing. 1100.

Ranulph Flambart, a Man of mean birth, was his treaſurer, and the contriver of moſt of the extraordinary ways practiſed by the King to extort money from his Subjects. He was rewarded for his ſervices with the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, conferred on him by the King a little before his death. Ranulph *Prime Miniſter.* Malmſb. Eadmer. Sax. Ann. Speed.

Among his charitable works are reckoned, the Hoſpital he founded at *York*, and a Church in *Southwark* for the uſe of the Monks called *de Charitate* (2).

This Prince was of a middle ſtature, but being very fat, look'd ſhorter than he was. His hair a deep yellow, inclined to red; his eyes of two different colours, ſpeckled with ſmall black ſpots. He was generally of a very ruddy complexion. Though he was far from being eloquent, he talked a good deal, eſpecially when angry. His countenance was ſevere, and his voice ſtrong, which he would exalt ſometimes on purpoſe to frighten thoſe he was ſpeaking to. He is ſaid however to converſe affably enough with his courtiers, who eaſily found the way to ſoften his fierce temper. Malmſb.

Thorn. Baker.

Hiſtorians relate ſeveral extraordinary accidents in this reign, as earthquakes (3), comets; and a ſpring, which ran blood three days together (4). But what cauſed the moſt damage was, firſt a great fire in 1092, which burnt down great part of *London*. In the next place, the Sea riſing to an extraordinary height (5), overflowed the coaſt of *Kent*, and ſwept away abundance of people and cattle. This inundation covered the Lands that belonged formerly to Earl *Goodwin* in the reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*. This Place, called at this day *Goodwin's Sands*, is famous for Shipwrecks innumerable. *Extraordinary Occurrences in his Reign.* Malmſb.

Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 378. M. Paris. p. 46.

Malmsbury obſerves of the reign of *William Rufus*, that notwithſtanding Mens minds were turned to war, yet exceſs and ſenſuality prevailed in a very ſcandalous manner among the Nobility, and even among the Clergy. Vanity, luſt and intemperance reigned every where, ſays that Hiſtorian. The Men appeared ſo effeminate in their dreſs and converſation, that they ſhowed themſelves Men in nothing but their daily attempts upon the chaſtity of the women (6). p. 23. *Remarks of an Hiſtorian on the Corruption of Manners in this Age.* Eadmer.

Huntingd. M. Paris.

Higden.

(1) *Baker* is the only one (as far as can be found) that mentions this Child. But the Monks give King *William* a bad Character as to his Incontinency. *Brompt.* p. 996. *M. Paris*, p. 46.

(2) Alſo of an old Monaſtery in the City of *York*, he founded an Hoſpital for the Support of poor Perſons, and dedicated it to St. *Peter*. This Hoſpital was afterwards augmented by King *Stephen*, and by him dedicated to St. *Leonard*. Sir *John Hayward* in the Life of *Will.* p. 220.

(3) One in the Year 1089, which was followed by a Dearth.

(4) At *Finchamſtead* in *Berkſhire*. *Malmſb.* and other Hiſtorians ſay, it ran for a Fortnight together. *Malmſb.* p. 125. *Huntingd.* p. 378. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 225, affirms, it ran for three Weeks together. In 1091, there was ſo terrible a Storm at South-Weſt, that it blew down above ſix hundred Houſes, and ſeveral Churches in *London*. It took off the whole Roof of St. *Mary-le-bow* Church, and carried it a good way. There were four Beams in it twenty-ſix Foot long, that fell with ſuch force in one of the Streets (which were not then paved, but a mooriſh Ground) that they ſunk above twenty Foot in the Street. As they could not be pulled up again, People were forced to ſaw them even with the Ground. *S. Dunelm.* p. 217. *Hoved.* p. 462. See *Stow's Survey*, Vol. I. p. 21.

(5) On *Novemb.* 11. ſay the *Sax. Ann.* But *Flor. Wor.* places it on the 3d.

(6) The Places at which *William Rufus* is recorded to have held his Courts, are as follows. In the Year 1087 at *Chriſtmaſs*, at *London*. (*Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 371. *Brompt.* p. 983.) In 1090, at *Weſtminſter*, at *Chriſtmaſs*, (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1092, *pro more* at *Chriſtmaſs*. (*Eadmer*, p. 15--20.) In 1093, at *Chriſtmaſs*, at *Glouceſter*, (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1095, at *Wincheſter*, at *Eaſter*; at *Whitſuntide*, at *Windſor*; and at the ſame place again at *Chriſtmaſs*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1096, in the beginning of *January*, at *Saliſbury*. (*Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 222. *Eadmer*, &c.) In 1097, at *Eaſter*, at *Windſor*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1099, at *Whitſuntide*, in his new Hall at *Weſtminſter*, for the firſt time; (*Sax. Ann.*) and at *Chriſtmaſs*, at *Glouceſter*. In 1100, at *Wincheſter*, at *Eaſter*; and at *Whitſuntide*, at *London*, *patrio more*. (*Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 996.)

W. 2

As there is but little to ſay of this King's Coin, it may not be amiſs to ſhow how the King's Revenue was paid in thoſe antient times. At firſt, The Tenants of *Knight's Fees* anſwered to their Lords by military Services; and the Tenants of *Socage* Lands and *Demeſnes* in great meaſure by Work and Proviſions: Afterwards, the Revenue of the Crown was anſwered in Gold and Silver, and ſometime in *Palfreys*, *Deſtriers*, *Chaſeurs*, *Leveriers*, *Hawks*, &c. (that is, in Horſes, Dogs and Birds of Game) and the like. Sometime in both together. When a Man paid Money into the *Exchequer*, it was ſaid, *In Theſauro liberavit* ſo much; and the ſame Phraſe continueth to this Day. Theſe Payments were made *ad Scalam* and *ad Penſum*; and in *Blank* Silver and *Numero* by Tale. *Ad Scalam* was by paying Sixpence over and above each Pound or twenty Shillings, which at firſt was thought ſufficient to make good the Weight. *Ad Penſum* was the Perſon's making good the Deficiencies of Weight, though it was more than Six-pence *per* twenty Shillings. But as the Money might be deficient in Fineneſs as well as Weight, a third way of Payment was by *Combuſtion*, or melting down part of the Money paid in, and reducing it to Plate of due Fineneſs. When the Ferm was melted down, it was ſaid to be *dealbated* or *blanch'd*. As ſuppoſe a Ferm of a hundred Pounds was paid into the *Exchequer*, after the Combuſtion it was ſaid to be a hundred Pound *Blank*. Frequently the twentieth Part of one Shilling was accepted in lieu of Combuſtion, to ſave Trouble and Charges. The Payment by *Numero* or Tale needs no Explanation. Payments, or at leaſt Computations, were made by Marks, and Half-Marks; Ounces, and half Ounces of Gold: And in Pounds, Marks, Half-Marks, Shillings, Pence, &c. of Silver. The Mark of Gold was equal to a hundred and twenty Shillings of Silver. The Ounce of Gold was equivalent to fifteen Shillings of Silver. The Pound of Silver by Tale was twenty Shillings; the Mark thirteen Shillings and Four-pence; and the Shilling conſiſted of Twelve-pence; and a Penny was the twentieth part of an Ounce, equal to our Three-pence.

The Coins of *William Rufus* are exceeding rare, if, as is juſtly believed, all thoſe with the Full Face are to be aſcribed to the *Conqueror*: However, ſeveral Authors place one with the Full Face to this King, inſcribed PILLEM. REX. AN. a Croſs, or a Star, on each ſide the King's Head: Reverſe, a Croſs compoſed of double Lines, as in the Figure here annexed.

3. *HENRY* I. *Sirnamed* BEAU-CLERK.

HENRY I. 1100.

THE *Engliſh* conſidered the death of *William Rufus* as a great deliverance, though the preſent advantage reaped by it, was not to continue long. The *Norman* yoke was not broken by the death of this Prince, ſince there ſtill remained two Sons of *William the Conqueror*, of whom one was ſoon going to be their Sovereign. Indeed this might have been a favourable juncture, if they had deſigned to throw off this yoke, or the two former Kings had left it in their power to attempt it. But depreſſed as they were, and ſtript of their eſtates and all offices, ſuch a thought could ſcarce come into their minds. Their only courſe was to be guided by the proceedings of the *Normans*, who were maſters of the Kingdom. In all likelihood, theſe laſt were in great perplexity on account of the two Brothers, who might both claim the Crown. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, by his Birth, ſeem'd to have an inconteſtable right, which was further ſtrengthen'd by his late Treaty with *William Rufus*, wherein it was agreed that the Survivor ſhould be heir to all their father's inheritance. Beſides, his mild and generous temper, which had gained him a ſtrong party in *England*, ſeemed to give him a great advantage over his Brother *Henry*, whoſe diſpoſition was unknown. But on the other hand, his ſlothfulneſs and negligence, of which he had given too many inſtances, form'd a diſadvantageous prejudice againſt him. His very friends were backward to declare in his favour, fearing he was not ready to proſecute his right. His departure from the *Holy Land* was known, but where he was at preſent none could tell. Nay, his friends were in pain about him. Moreover, after his great expence in his voyage, it was reaſonable to preſume that, at his return, he would find himſelf deſtitute of all neceſſary means to diſpute the crown with his Brother. On the contrary, *Henry* had the advantage of being born in *England* (1), whilſt his Father was on the throne, which went a great way with ſome people. Then, his pretenſions were ſtrengthened with his preſence, and poſitive promiſe both to the *Normans* and *Engliſh* (2) to abrogate all rigorous Laws made ſince the Conqueſt, to reſtore the government as in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, to aboliſh all unjuſt and arbitrary taxes, to reinſtate the Clergy in their privileges, to fill the vacant benefices, and recall the baniſh'd Eccleſiaſticks. But all theſe promiſes would not perhaps have produced the effect he expected, if his diligence and vigour at this juncture had not added weight to his reaſons. Immediately after the death of *William* he poſted to *Wincheſter*, where the Crown and Sceptre were kept with the royal treaſure, and would have taken poſſeſſion, but was ſtoutly oppoſed by *Roger de Bretevil* (3), one of *Robert*'s adherents. This Lord alledged, they were bound by oath to acknowledge the Duke of *Normandy* for King, in caſe *William* died without heirs. That beſides, the Law of Nature gave *Robert* a right, which could not be juſtly diſputed. During this conteſt, ſeveral other Lords being come to *Wincheſter*, there was quickly a great concourſe of people, flowing in from all parts to know what was tranſacting. If the choice of a King had ſolely depended upon the Lords, then at *Wincheſter*, the Duke of *Normandy*'s right would doubtleſs have been preſerved. But *Henry* gave them not time to take neceſſary meaſures to execute ſuch a deſign. As he obſerved the people were in his intereſt, he improved that advantage, and drawing his ſword, ſwore no Man ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Crown. The diſpute ſtill growing warmer, the Lords that were preſent thought fit to retire into a private room, to conſult more calmly together what was to be done on this emergency. Whilſt they were debating, the people made the name of *Henry* reſound in their ears by their loud acclamations, and gave them reaſon to dread it would be extremely dangerous to declare for *Robert*. So preferring their own ſafety to juſtice and equity, they reſolved, (in order to prevent a civil war which ſeem'd unavoidable, if they perſiſted in aſſerting the rights of the Duke of *Normandy*,) to place *Henry* on the throne. This was enough to ſatisfy the Prince that his right was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. Without ſtaying for the confirmation of the eſtates, he ſet out immediately for *London*. On the morrow after his arrival, *Maurice*, Biſhop of that city (4), in conſequence of this haſty and irregular election, put the crown on his head, adminiſtring to him the uſual oath.

The Diſpoſition of the Engliſh *and* Normans, *with regard to the Succeſſion.*

Robert's *advantages.*

His Diſadvantages.

Advantages of Henry.

Sax. Ann. M. Paris. S. Dunelm.

His Diligence to get the Crown. Ord. Vital.

He meets with Difficulties.

He ſhows great Vigour and Reſolution.

1100.

Henry *is elected, in a tumultuous manner,*

and crown'd. Sax. Ann. Eadm.

The ſhort ſpace between the death of *William* and *Henry*'s coronation (5) is uſed as an argument by thoſe that maintain the right of electing the Kings was then confined to a few of the principal Lords. At leaſt, they infer from hence that the Commons were not concerned in the elections. *Henry* had it not in his power to ſeize the crown by mere force. Neither can it be ſaid to have fallen to him as next Heir, for his elder Brother was alive. He obtained it therefore only by election. This being granted, to ſay he was choſen by the nation repreſented, as at this day, by a Parliament, it ſhould be proved, ſuch a Parliament was then ſitting. But that is impoſſible. Much leſs can it be ſaid, that in three days ſpace, the eſtates could be ſummoned and aſſembled. This is a plauſible argument: But the truth is, nothing can be concluded from it, becauſe there was yet no regulation made ſince the *Conqueſt* about the ſucceſſion of the crown (6).

Remark on this Election.

As *Henry*'s pretended election interrupted the natural order of the Succeſſion, it was to be feared, it would make dangerous impreſſions on the minds of the people. It was therefore highly neceſſary he ſhould enter upon his reign in ſuch manner as might give his ſubjects room to hope well of his government. The performance of his promiſes being the teſt that was to demonſtrate the ſincerity of his intentions, he began his reign with that, in order to gain the people's affection. He ſet about, in the firſt place, reforming his court, where the King his Brother had ſuffered many abuſes to creep in. The courtiers, for the moſt part, ſure of impunity, were wont to tyrannize over people in a ſhameful manner. Not content with oppreſſing them by unjuſt and violent methods, and ſecretly attempting the chaſtity of the women, they publickly gloried in it, inſtead of dreading a puniſhment. To cure theſe diſorders, *Henry* publiſhed a very ſevere edict againſt all offenders in general, but particularly againſt adulterers. As for thoſe that abuſed their power in oppreſſing the people, he ordered them to be put to death without mercy. Some who were already notorious upon that account, were driven from court, and *Ranulph* Biſhop of *Durham*, the deteſted *Miniſter* of the late King, was thrown into priſon (7).

Henry *reforms Abuſes.* Malmſb. Brompt.

Huntingd.

If this firſt proceeding of the new King gave the *Engliſh* a good opinion of his reign, what he added ſoon after was no leſs acceptable to them. To convince them of his real intent to perform what he had promiſed, he aboliſhed the *Couvre-feu*, which they could not but conſider as a conſtant badge of their ſervitude (8). This favour was followed by another of much greater importance: I mean, a Charter, confirming divers privileges enjoyed under the *Saxon* Kings, and renouncing all thoſe unjuſt prerogatives uſurped by the two late Kings. By this Charter, *Henry* reſtored the Church to her antient liberties, and freed her from all thoſe oppreſſions ſhe had for ſome time been ſubject to, particularly during the vacant Sees and Abbies. He conſented that the Heirs of Earls and Barons upon

Grants his Subjects a Charter.

Subſtance of the Charter. M. Paris. p. 55.

(1) He was born at *Selby* in *Yorkſhire* in 1070, *Sandford*, p. 24. *M. Paris* ſays it was in 1068, p. 5.
(2) To the Clergy and Laity (*populo univerſo*) which he aſſembled at *London*. *M. Paris*, p. 5. *Eadmer*, p. 55. *S. Dunelm.* p. 255, *&c. Sax. Ann.*
(3) *William de Bretevil*, and not *Roger*. He was Son of *William Fitz-oſbern* Earl of *Hereford*, and had his Eſtate in *Normandy*, of which *Britolium* was the chief Seat, from whence he was ſirnamed *William de Britolio*, now *Bretevil*.
(4) And *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York*. *R. de Diceto*. p. 498. *M. Paris*, p. 46. *P. Bleſenſis*, p. 111.
(5) *William* died the ſecond, or, according to ſome, the firſt of *Auguſt*, and *Henry* was crowned the fifth. *S. Dunelm.* p. 225. *M. Paris*, p. 46. *Brompt.* p. 997. The Perſon that aſſiſted *Henry* moſtly in getting the Crown was *Henry de Bello Monte*, or *Beaumont* Earl of *Warwick*. *Malmſb.* p. 156. *Brady*, p. 235.
(6) This Diſpute whether the Commons had any ſhare in the electing of the Kings, ſeems to proceed from not conſidering that the Barons had all the Lands in their hands in thoſe days, and that there was no ſuch thing then as what we call *Commons* now, nor till ſome time after. See *Note*, p. 155.
(7) This was done by the advice of the Great Council of the Kingdom. *M. Paris*, p. 47. *Sax. Ann.*
(8) *See* page 171, *Note* (1).

HENRIC I REX
Desig. et Sculp. G. Vertue.

1100. a death, ſhould not be obliged to *redeem* their eſtates, but pay only a lawful *Relief* (1). And at the ſame time required the Lords to deal in like manner with their Vaſſals. He agreed that the Nobles might marry their Daughters without asking the King's conſent, provided it was not to the enemies of the State. He appointed the Mothers, or neareſt relations, guardians to Minors. He made a ſtandard for weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom, and ordained that Coiners ſhould be puniſhed with loſs of limbs. In fine, having granted a general pardon for all crimes committed before his coronation, and remitted all arrears and debts due to the crown, he added a very material article, which was no leſs ſatisfactory to the *Normans* than *Engliſh*; which was, the confirmation of the Laws of King *Edward*, that is, of the Laws in force during the empire of the *Saxon* Kings, and entirely laid aſide or expreſly aboliſhed ſince the Conqueſt. The native *Engliſh*, could not but be extremely well pleaſed to ſee their antient Laws reſtored. And the *Normans* were no leſs gainers by it. Hitherto they held their eſtates at the will of the *Conqueror*, conſequently were liable to be diſpoſſeſſed at his pleaſure. But by this charter, which confined the royal authority within its antient bounds, they were ſettled in their poſſeſſions, and ſcreened from the violence of arbitrary power. This charter being approved and ſigned by the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſeveral copies were tranſcribed and depoſited in the principal Monaſteries to be conſulted upon occaſion (2).

Anſelm recalled.

This beginning of government gave the people room to hope a happy continuance, ſince they already ſaw ſo advantagious alterations. But ſtill one thing was wanting to compleat their ſatisfaction, namely, the recalling of *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had gained their eſteem and affection, by his vigorous oppoſition to the late King's oppreſſions. *Henry*, unwilling to refuſe them this pleaſure, writ a Letter to the Archbiſhop, who was ſtill at *Lyons*, to invite him to return to his *Dioceſe*; intimating withal, he deſigned to be guided by his directions, and entruſt him with the adminiſtration of affairs. *Anſelm*, to whom this news gave wings, returned forthwith into *England* (3), to the great joy of the people.

The King marries Matilda of Scotland.

The arrival of this Prelate was no leſs agreeable to the King. He had need of him in an affair which could not be managed without his aſſiſtance. As his deſign was to attach the *Engliſh* to his intereſt, he believed nothing was more capable to gain their affection, than his marrying *Matilda*, Daughter to *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* by *Margaret*, Siſter to *Edgar Atheling* (4). Indeed this alliance could not but be very grateful to the Nation, ſince it would be the means of reſtoring the *Saxon* royal family to the crown.

Obſtacles to the Marriage. Eadmer.

Henry had now demanded the Princeſs of King *Edgar* her Brother; but there occurred a great obſtacle to the execution of this project. *Matilda* had been educated in *England* in the Monaſtery at *Wilton*, where ſhe had put on the veil. Indeed, to remove this difficulty, it was alledged ſhe had not taken the vow, and had been veiled only to preſerve her chaſtity, ſuppoſed to be in danger in the beginning of *the Conqueſt*. But this reaſon did not appear to the two Kings ſufficient to authoriſe any farther proceedings, though they were both equally deſirous of the match. Every one knew, *Matilda* had put on the veil, and, it was generally believed, had vowed chaſtity. Some even affirm, ſhe excepted againſt her marriage as unlawful, and add, that, when preſſed at laſt with reaſons of State, ſhe yielded to the inſtances of her Brother and Lover, ſhe curſed the Line that was to ſpring from her, as abominable in the ſight of God. The deciſion of this affair, which appeared ſo difficult, being left to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he would not undertake it alone, but called in the aſſiſtance of a council which met at his palace at *Lambeth*. This aſſembly being entirely inclined to the King's ſide, the arguments for *Matilda*'s liberty to marry, were ſo well managed, that the council declared the intended marriage to be good and lawful. Purſuant to this declaration, it was ſhortly after ſolemnized to the general ſatisfaction of both kingdoms (5).

M. Paris. Pol. Virg.

1100. Eadmer, p. 57.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, Duke *Robert* was returned to *Normandy* (6), and had taken poſſeſſion of his dominions without oppoſition. Though *Normandy* was mortgaged to the late King (7), *Henry* did not think fit to diſpute it with his Brother, at a time when he was apprehenſive of being attacked himſelf upon the account of *England*. Duke *Robert* in his way home from the *Holy-Land*, made ſome ſtay in *Apulia*, where he married a wife (8), which delay helped his Brother to rob him of the crown. He was no ſooner arrived, but he openly ſhowed his reſentment at being ſupplanted, and a firm reſolution to attempt the recovery of what he had been deprived of in his abſence. The Biſhop of *Durham*, who, finding means to eſcape out of priſon (9), was retired to *Normandy*, did not a little contribute to confirm him in that deſign. Moreover ſeveral *Norman* Lords, who had conſented to *Henry*'s election by a ſort of compulſion, began to contrive how to place *Robert* on the throne (10). They had already been tampering with ſome of the principal *Engliſh* Lords, to draw them into their plot. As they knew him to be a mild and good-natured Prince, they promiſed themſelves much greater happineſs under his Government than under *Henry*'s, who appeared to have more vigour and reſolution. Mean time, the rumour of *Robert*'s preparing to aſſert his rights, wrought variouſly on the minds of the people. Some were for continuing firm to the King, and keeping the Oath they had taken to him. Others, on the contrary, though ſatisfied with the King's proceedings, reſumed their former inclination for the Duke his Brother, ſo that *Henry* was under great perplexity. If he was loth to truſt to the fidelity of the *Engliſh*, they were no leſs ſo to rely on his ſincerity. What they had experienced from the two late Kings, gave them but too much reaſon to dread, that whatever the preſent King had hitherto done, was only to amuſe them and prevent their ſiding with his Brother. In this ſtate of uncertainty, *Anſelm*'s aſſiſtance was of great uſe to *Henry* in fixing the *Engliſh* (11), who ſeemed to be wavering. The Archbiſhop, who was indebted to the King, was very glad to ſhow his gratitude on this occaſion. He aſſembled the principal *Engliſh* and *Norman* Lords, and ſo poſitively aſſured them, the King would punctually perform all his promiſes, that they ſeemed very well ſatisfied. And yet, no ſooner was it known that the Duke of *Normandy* was going to embark for *England*, but the greateſt part of the Nobles declared for him, and part of the fleet (12) followed their example. This defection gave the Duke opportunity to land at *Portſmouth* (13), where he was received without oppoſition. He was not ignorant how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected. Such as came to him every day, aſſured him of the good wiſhes of their countrymen. They made him hope, the King would quickly be deſerted by the whole Nation, who looked upon their oath of allegiance as involuntary. Mean time, *Henry* took all the meaſures he thought requiſite to fruſtrate the deſigns of his Brother, by making uſe of *Anſelm*'s credit, in whom the people ſeemed very much to confide. As

1100. Malmſb. Malmſb. Eadmer.

1101. *Duke Robert claims the Crown.* Or. Vital. Eadmer. Malmſb. W. Gemet. M. Paris. Sax. Ann.

(1) When the King's *Tenant in Capite* died, his Lands were in the King's Hands till the Heir had done Homage and was of Age. When the Heir ſued to have his Eſtate out of the King's Hands, his obtaining it was called *Livery*, and the Profits received in the mean time by the King, were called *Primer Seiſin*. Now, according to Sir *Henry Spelman*, *redeeming Lands* was a Compoſition with the King for *Primer Seiſin*, *Livery* and *Relief*; for the two firſt of which by *Henry*'s Charter, the Heir was not to pay any thing for the future. *Spelman*'s *Feuds*, &c. p. 30. c. 16. The Relief of an Earl, as ſet down in the Laws of *the Conqueror*, was, eight Horſes ſaddled and bridled; four Helmets; four Coats of Mail; four Shields; four Spears; four Swords, four Chaſers, and one Palfrey bridled and ſaddled. That of a Baron half as much, with a Palfrey. That of a Vavaſor to his Lord, his beſt Horſe, his Helmet, Coat of Mail, Shield, Spear, Sword, or in lieu of theſe a hundred Shillings. That of the Countryman, his beſt Beaſt; and of him that farmed his Lands, a Year's Rent. Theſe were afterwards turned into Money; and no doubt both Money and Arms were extorted in an arbitrary manner, as appears by the Words of the Law, *LL. Gul.* c. 12, c. 23, c. 24, c. 29. *Robert de Beleſme* Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewſbury*, upon the death of his Brother *Hugh de Montgomery*, paid for the ſaid Earldom, as a Relief, three thouſand Pound Sterling, in the tenth of *William Rufus*. *Ord. Vital.* p. 708.

(2) There were as many Copies as Counties, which were ſent to certain Abbies in each County: And yet there was ſcarce one to be found in the Reign of King *John*, whoſe *Magna Charta* was founded upon it. There is a Copy at this Day in the *Red Book* of the *Exchequer*. And *Matthew Paris* (p. 55.) has given us a Tranſcript of that which was ſent into *Hereford*ſhire, which you may find tranſlated by *Tyrrel*, p. 114. B. III. Vol. II.

(3) Before *Michaelmaſs*, and landed at *Dover*, *Octob.* 24. *Eadmer*, p. 55. *Sax. Ann.*

(4) *Brompton* ſays, he did it by the Advice of his great Council, p. 998. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 226. They were married, *Nov.* 11. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 156.

(5) *M. Paris* his account of *Matilda*'s being againſt marrying and declaring herſelf a Nun, and curſing her Iſſue ſeems to be groundleſs. For *Eadmer* ſays, ſhe privately applied to *Anſelm*, confeſſing ſhe had been veiled indeed, but againſt her Will, and had never worn her Veil unleſs in the Preſence of the Abbeſs *Chriſtina* her Aunt; and alſo that the King her Father ſeeing it once on her Head, pull'd it off, and tore it, proteſting to *Alan* Earl of *Bretagne*, he intended to marry her, and not to make her a Nun. *Eadmer*, p. 56.

(6) In *Auguſt*. *Huntingd.* p. 378. *Brompt.* p. 998.

(7) It was only for three Years. *See above*, p. 187. *Note* (5).

(8) *Sibilla* Daughter to *Geoffrey*, and Siſter to *William* Earl of *Converſana*, a Prince of *Italy*, with whom he had a fine Fortune. *Malmſb.* p. 153.

(9) By bribing his Keepers, *M. Paris*, p. 47. They brought him a Rope in a Pitcher of Water, by which he let himſelf down. *Malmſb.* p. 156.

(10) The chief of thoſe that remained faithful to *Henry*, were *Robert Fitz-hamon*, *Richard de Redvers*, *Roger Bigot*, *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, with his Brother *Henry*. *Malmſb.* p. 156.

(11) The King and they ſeem to have entered into a Covenant. See *Eadmer*, p. 59.

(12) Which *Henry* had fitted out upon News of *Robert*'s Preparations. *S. Dunelm.* p. 226. *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 998.

(13) In *Auguſt*: He was convoyed thither by that part of *Henry*'s Fleet which had revolted. From *Portſmouth*, *Robert* immediately marched towards *Wincheſter*, and encamped near that City. *S. Dunelm.* p. 226. *Brompt.* p. 998.

1101. ſoon as the army was ready to march, the Archbiſhop came and called the principal officers together, to whom he ſo ſenſibly repreſented the heinouſneſs of breaking their oath, that he confirmed them in their duty; ſo that they unanimouſly promiſed to hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of the King (1). *Robert*, who expected the contrary, plainly ſaw this change would prove very prejudicial to his affairs. He relied not on his own forces, but on the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*. In expectation that the majority would abandon the King and join him, he had proceeded ſo far as to threaten ſuch as perſiſted to ſupport the Uſurper, as he ſtiled his Brother. But when he found the bulk of the Nation declared for the King, and the army had juſt renewed their oath of allegiance, he perceived the execution of his deſign was impracticable. Thus, falling on a ſudden from all his hopes (2), he cloſed immediately with the propoſals of peace ſent him by the King. An accommodation appeared to him ſo much the more neceſſary, as he ſaw the moſt zealous for him at firſt, began to waver. Matters ſtanding thus, and the two Brothers equally wiſhing to come to a treaty, the Lords of both parties met together to conſider of the means. It was eaſy to ſee, *Robert* did not expect to obtain by treaty a crown, which he could not acquire by arms. So, in conſideration that *Henry* was already crowned, and born in the kingdom after his Father was on the throne, the reſult of the conference was, that he ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the crown. He promiſed for his part (3) to reſign to *Robert* the Caſtles in *Normandy* garriſoned with *Engliſh*, and to pay him the yearly Sum of three thouſand Marks. It was ſtipulated alſo, that if one of the Brothers died without children, the other ſhould ſucceed him. This agreement being ſigned and ſworn to by twelve Lords of each ſide, the armies were disbanded (4). *Robert* ſtaid two full months (5) at the court of *England*, living in perfect union with his Brother.

Robert ſtrikes up a Peace with his Brother.

Sax. Ann. Mat. Paris.

1102. This accommodation was very advantagious to the King in many reſpects. It not only ſecured him the crown which he was in ſome hazard of loſing, but rendered him alſo more feared and eſteemed, when it was ſeen that by his prudence and ſteddineſs, he got clear of ſo dangerous an affair. However, he could not forget the peril he had been in. As he was apprehenſive his enemies might hereafter make freſh attempts to dethrone him, whenever an opportunity offered, he reſolved to prevent them, by ruining them one after another. It was no hard matter for him to make them feel, by turns, the effects of his reſentment. Opportunities of being revenged are ſeldom wanting to thoſe who have the power in their hands. Soon after the treaty, he attacked, on divers pretences, *Hugh de Grantmeſnil*, *Robert de Pontfract*, and ſome others, who eaſily perceived, their greateſt crime conſiſted in their good-will to the Duke of *Normandy*. He was particularly exaſperated with *Robert de Beleſme* (6), becauſe he had ſhown him the leaſt reſpect, and ſtill continued to diſcover his deſire of exciting new troubles. This young Lord, Son to the late Earl of *Montgomery*, publickly declared, *Henry* was an Uſurper, and that it was diſhonourable for the *Normans* as well as the *Engliſh*, to ſuffer him to take the crown from his elder Brother. He was not ſatisfied with talking thus indiſcreetly, but rendered himſelf formidable, by ſtoring and fortifying his Caſtles in *Shropſhire* (7). The King, who had determined his ruin, was glad, he gave him ſo fair an opportunity by theſe imprudent proceedings. To complete his deſtruction, ſpies were ſet upon him, who, feigning to come into his meaſures, obſerved all his actions, and took care to talk to him, before ſuborned witneſſes, of things that ſerved to render him criminal. When the King thought he had ſufficient evidence againſt him, he ordered him to be accuſed of five and forty articles, the leaſt of which was enough to condemn him. *Beleſme* being obliged to appear in court, deſired time to prepare his anſwer; which being granted, he took the opportunity to make his eſcape and retire to *Shrewsbury*, where he hoped to defend himſelf by the aſſiſtance of the *Welſh*, who eſpouſed his cauſe. When he took this reſolution, he relied on the aſſiſtance of ſeveral other Lords, who ſeemed to be entirely of his ſentiments. But whether he was deceived, or not deemed a fit perſon to be head of ſuch an enterprize, he found himſelf abandoned by all, and thereby ſaw, though too late, the vanity of his projects. The King proclaiming him a traytor, marched againſt him with ſo ſuperior a force, that in few days he became maſter of *Shrewsbury*, where the rebel did not dare to expect him (8). After which, he took all his other caſtles, and compelled him to relinquiſh whatever was held by the Earl his Father in *England*, and retire to *Normandy*, where he carried his ill temper. *Henry* confiſcated all his Lands, and involved his Brothers in the ſame puniſhment, notwithſtanding their innocency, ſo deſirous was he of expelling this family out of his dominions (9).

Henry revenges himſelf on his Enemies.

He attacks Robert de Beleſme.

Who retires to Shrewſbury. Ord. Vital. S. Dunelm. Sax. Ann.

1102. *He goes into* Normandy. *His Eſtates are confiſcated.*

The inſolence of this Lord did not give the King ſo much trouble, as the haughtineſs of Archbiſhop *Anſelm*, with whom he had a conteſt that threw him into great perplexities. The Archbiſhop had conceived two projects, which could not, in all likelihood, be accompliſhed without great difficulties. The firſt was to oblige the Clergy to live unmarried, and the ſecond, to wreſt from the King the inveſtiture of Biſhops and Abbots. To attain his ends, he convened a Synod, where, in the firſt place, he cauſed all the married Prieſts to be excommunicated, though they were then very numerous in *England*. *Henry*, who was not much concerned in this affair, being unwilling to give the Archbiſhop any diſtaſte, the decree paſſed in the Synod, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition of the inferior Clergy, who in vain tried to ward off this blow. An Hiſtorian remarks, that, although *Anſelm*'s good intentions were generally applauded, it was thought to be a thing of dangerous conſequence, to compel the Prieſts to a continency, of which many of them were not capable; and adds, it was juſtly feared, this rigour would occaſion their committing uncleanneſs of a more criminal nature than the prohibited marriage.

1103. *Conteſt between the King and* Anſelm *about Inveſtitures.*

Eadmer.

Huntingd. M. Paris.

Anſelm ſeeing his firſt project ſucceed, undertook the execution of the ſecond, and would have proceeded to excommunicate the Biſhops inveſted by the King. But here the caſe was quite altered. The King was too much concerned, not to oppoſe to the utmoſt of his power the aboliſhing a prerogative his predeceſſors had quietly enjoyed. But how vigorouſly ſoever he exerted himſelf, he could not prevent ſome Biſhops who had received their inveſtitures from him, from reſigning their Biſhopricks out of fear of excommunication. On the other hand, *Anſelm* refuſed to conſecrate ſuch as were nominated to their Sees by the King, unleſs he would give up the right of inveſtiture. This new claim, which the Archbiſhop, finding himſelf ſupported by the Court of *Rome*, very boldly aſſerted, occaſioned a many years quarrel between him and the King. As *Henry* would not depart from his prerogative, *Anſelm* pretended he could not ſubmit without betraying the cauſe of God. All hopes of accommodation being taken away by the obſtinacy of both parties (10), the Archbiſhop reſolved to carry his complaints to *Paſchal* II, who was then Pope. In all appearance, it was by his orders that he imbarked in this enterprize. He was attended in his Journey by the Prelates that had reſigned their Biſhopricks, and upon his arrival at *Rome*, inſtantly demanded of the Pope that he would be pleaſed to reſtore them by his authority: *Then*, ſays an Hiſtorian, *the Holy See, whoſe clemency is open to all the world, provided care be taken to prepare it beforehand by a certain dazzling Metal, reſtored the Biſhops, and ſent them back to their reſpective Churches.* The King being informed that *Anſelm* was gone to *Rome*, ſent alſo three agents to plead his cauſe, namely, *Gerard* Archbiſhop elect of *York*, *Herbert* Biſhop of *Thetford*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, with *William de Warelwaſt*, an Eccleſiaſtick of great learning, to aſſiſt them with his advice (11). Though theſe agents maintained the King's cauſe with a great zeal and reſolution, *Paſchal* would abate nothing of his pretenſions. The affair was carried ſo far, that the King was going to be excommunicated. On the other hand, the Archbiſhop was deprived of his temporalities, during his abſence from the kingdom. At length, after many conteſts for near three years together, the King and Pope happening to be in ſuch circumſtances, as made them equally wiſh to ſee an

Anſelm applies to the Pope. M. Paris.

M. Paris.

(1) *Henry* encamped with a very large Army, near *Haſtings*, about *Midſummer*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 226. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) *Eadmer* ſays, he was afraid of being excommunicated by *Anſelm*, p. 49.

(3) See the Conditions at length in the *Sax. Ann.*

(4) *Robert* ſent part of his Army back into *Normandy*, and kept the reſt with him, which committed great Ravages whilſt they ſtaid in *England*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 227. *Sax. Ann.*

(5) Till *Michaelmas*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 378.

(6) *De Beleſme*, or *de Belliſmo Caſtello*, a fair Caſtle in *Perch*: He was Son of *Robert de Montgomery*, and upon the Death of his Brother *Hugh de Montgomery*, the Earldom of *Shrewſbury* and *Arundel* came to him in the tenth of *W. Rufus*.

(7) Thoſe of *Shrewſbury* and *Bridgnorth*, as alſo thoſe of *Tikhill* in *Yorkſhire*, and *Arundel* in *Suſſex*. *Ord. Vital.*

(8) The King went firſt and beſieged *Arundel* Caſtle in *Suſſex*, which (being blocked up by ſeveral Forts about it) ſurrendered with the Earl's Leave. From hence the King marched to *Bridgnorth*, and ſpent three Weeks before it, and at laſt took the Caſtle by bribing the *Welſh*. After this the King demanded *Shrewſbury* of *Robert de Nevil* and *Ulger de Venables*, (placed there as Governors by the Earl) and threaten'd, if it were not delivered up in three Days, he would hang all he ſhould take therein. Upon which they treated with the King, and the Keys of the Caſtle were ſent to him, by *Ralph* Abbot of *Seys*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Ord. Vital.* p. 806, &c.

(9) This Earl had a vaſt Eſtate in *Normandy*. His Brothers were *Arnulph* and *Roger* of *Poictou*.

(10) This Matter ſeems to have been debated in a Great Council of the Nation. See *Eadmer*, p. 62, 65, 66, 69.

(11) *Rapin*, who calls theſe Agents, Ambaſſadors, has named them wrong, following ſome modern Hiſtorians; and therefore the Names are here inſerted as they ſtand in *Eadmer*, p. 63.

1103. End of the Quarrel; the Pope permitted the Biſhops to do Homage to the King, and *Henry* gave up the Right of Inveſtiture. Thus ended this Affair, which I have but juſt mentioned here, intending to treat more fully of it in another Place.

1104. Though the King's Conteſt with the Court of *Rome* gave him a great deal of Trouble whilſt it laſted, it did not hinder him from minding his other Affairs. *Robert* his Brother, who was then in *England* (1), found by Experience how attentive this Monarch was to whatever might turn to his Advantage. The Reaſon of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Viſit was to preſs the Payment of his Penſion. But *Henry* knowing his Brother's mild and generous Temper, careſſed him in ſuch manner, and gave him ſo good Words, that he inſenſibly drew him in to deſiſt from his Demands (2). This unſeaſonable Generoſity coſt the imprudent Duke very dear, ſince it proved in the end the occaſion of his Ruin. His eaſy and liberal Temper had always ſpoiled his Deſigns. We have already ſeen, in the beginning of the Reign of *William Rufus*, how ill he conſumed the Money lent him by *Henry*, inſtead of employing it in keeping up his Party in *England*; by which indiſcreet Management he loſt the Crown for that Time. Afterwards, he borrowed ten thouſand Marks of King *William* for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*. This Sum not ſufficing to defray the great Expence he was at, he contracted ſo many Debts during the Voyage, and ſince his Return, that he was forced to mortgage almoſt all his *Demeſns*. He had nothing left but the City of *Roan*, which he would have alſo mortgaged, if the Burghers would have given their conſent. His wants, which daily increaſed, ſoon made him ſenſible of his overſight in not inſiſting upon the Penſion, he might juſtly demand of his Brother He complained, his eaſy Nature was abuſed, and adding to his Complaints ſome imprudent Menaces, gave *Henry* a Pretence openly to act againſt him. The King did not want much ſolliciting to break entirely with his Brother. Ever ſince he found himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of *England*, he began to caſt a greedy Eye on *Normandy*, and was extremely deſirous of annexing it to his Crown. *Robert*'s ill Conduct ſtrengthened his hopes of being one day Maſter of that Dukedom. And as he waited only for a favourable Opportunity to execute this Deſign, he did not fail to embrace the firſt that offered.

Robert visits the King his Brother. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

Gives up his Penſion.

W. Gemit.

Reports of it, and complains of the King.

It has been related, that *Robert de Beleſme*, after the Loſs of his Eſtates in *England*, retired into *Normandy*. He was no ſooner arrived there, but he endeavoured to be revenged on the King, by fiercely falling upon ſuch of his Subjects as had lands in that Country (3), under a Pretence of making himſelf amends for what the King had taken from him in *England*. The Duke's Indolence, who neglected to oppoſe theſe Outrages at firſt, rendered this Lord the more fierce and preſumptuous. He committed ſo many Violences, that Complaints were brought againſt him from every Quarter. At length *Robert*, rouzed by the People's Murmurs, reſolved to chaſtiſe him, and levied an Army to put a ſtop to theſe Diſorders; but had the Misfortune to be defeated (4). The Rebel, exalted with this Succeſs, carried his Boldneſs and Ambition ſtill farther, formed a Project of becoming Maſter of the whole Dukedom. Whilſt he was purſuing his Deſign, he ſaw himſelf ſtrengthened with the Aſſiſtance of another male-content Lord: Namely, *William* Earl of *Mortagne*, Son of Duke *Robert*, the eldeſt of *William the Conqueror*'s Half-Brothers. This Lord not being ſatisfied with the Earldom of *Cornwall*, pretended, the King ought to give him alſo the Earldom of *Kent*, which his Uncle the Biſhop of *Bayeux* had enjoyed. But meeting with an unexpected Denial, he fell into ſo great a Fury with the King, as even to threaten him. His inſolent Behaviour cauſed the King to diſpoſſeſs him of the Earldom of *Cornwall*, as a Puniſhment for his Raſhneſs. Whereupon he retired, in great diſcontent, into *Normandy*. As ſoon as he arrived, he joined *Robert de Beleſme*, and ſtrengthened his Party in ſuch a manner, that the Duke was obliged to conclude a Peace with them on Terms very diſhonourable to a Sovereign Prince (5).

Beleſme raiſes Troubles in Normandy. Ord. Vital.

Defeats the Duke, and aſpires to the Dukedom.

He is joined by the Earl of Mortagne. Malmſb.

who makes Peace with him. Ord. Vital. p. 812.

1105. This Peace, inſtead of reſtoring Tranquillity to the Country, ſerved only to increaſe the Inſolence of the two Earls; who contemned the Duke's Orders, continued daily to commit Ravages inſupportable to the Nobles and People. At length, ſome of the chief Men of the Country finding themſelves thus oppreſſed by theſe two Tyrants, without any hopes of Protection from the Duke, reſolved to apply to the King of *England* for Relief. Their Suit was very welcome to *Henry*, who only wanted a Pretence to interpoſe in the Affairs of *Normandy*, in order to have an Opportunity of ſeizing the Dutchy. But as this Deſign was in itſelf very odious, he endeavoured to give it a Colour of Juſtice, by pretending to act upon quite another Motive. To this Purpoſe, he writ a Letter to his Brother (6), repreſenting to him, that his Conduct gave the *Normans* juſt Cauſe of Complaint, ſince he protected Perſons who ought to be deemed Enemies to the Publick: That the Peace he had made with them, leaving the Country expoſed to their Ravages, his Subjects could no longer conſider as their Sovereign, a Prince from whom they could expect no Protection: That he entreated him therefore to redreſs the Grievances complained of by the *Normans*, or not think it ſtrange, that upon his Neglect, he ſhould himſelf eſpouſe the Cauſe of thoſe that applied to him. To theſe Remonſtrances, he added Complaints of certain Injuries, which he pretended to have ſuffered himſelf, and demanded ſpeedy Satisfaction. He would doubtleſs have taken it very ill, if the Duke had thus meddled with his Affairs. But ſuch is the unreaſonableneſs of moſt Men, that they practiſe without ſcruple what they condemn in others, and fancy, the World is ſo blind as not to ſee the Injuſtice of their Actions, becauſe they are artfully covered with the Cloak of Charity.

1105. Henry *ſeeks a Quarre with his Brother, to take* Normandy *from him.*

Whilſt *Henry* feigned to have no other Deſign but to relieve the diſtreſſed *Normans*, he himſelf oppreſſed his own Subjects, by an exorbitant Tax. He pretended to be forced to go and wage War with the two Tyrants of *Normandy*; a War, wherein the *Engliſh* however were wholly unconcerned. Notwithſtanding all his Promiſes to the People, this Tax was levied with all imaginable Rigour, even to the impriſoning and plaguing various ways ſuch as refuſed, or had not wherewithal, to pay it. As ſoon as his Preparations were finiſhed, he paſſed into *Normandy* with a numerous Army (7), carrying with him large Sums of Money, with which he bribed the Nobles and Governours of the Caſtles. He could the better do this, as *Robert* was not in condition to croſs his Deſigns, or ſecure the Allegiance of his Subjects by the ſame Method. The preſent poſture of Affairs favouring the King more than at any other time, he ſeized upon *Caen* and ſome other Cities (8). The Duke of *Bretagne* and the Earl of *Anjou*, even permitted him to garriſon ſome of their Frontier-Towns, for fear of drawing upon themſelves the burden of the War, deſigned againſt *Robert*. On the other hand, they that had invited him to their Aſſiſtance, plainly foreſeeing, if the Quarrel was made up, it muſt be to their Prejudice, never ceaſed exhorting him to puſh his Conqueſts, and make himſelf Maſter of all *Normandy*. They repreſented to him, it was the only way to eaſe them of the Oppreſſions they lay under, ſince they could expect no Aſſiſtance from their Sovereign. The Biſhop of *Seez*, ſworn Enemy of the two Earls, who had turned him out of his Dioceſe, blew up the Flame to the utmoſt of his Power, and loſt no Opportunity to excite *Henry* to purſue his Undertaking. One day, as he was with him in the Church of *Carenton*, he cauſed him to obſerve how full the Church was of Goods, brought thither by the People, to ſecure them from the plundering Tyrants. This afforded him a Petence to make a long Speech repreſenting to the King, that the Riſe of all their Miſeries was owing to the Careleſſneſs or Connivance of the Duke; adding, that the Country would never be reſtored to its former Tranquillity, till they had another Maſter. In fine, he conjured the King to take upon him the Government, and free the *Normans*, the antient Subjects of his Family, from the wretched State they were reduced to. *Henry*, who only wanted a Cloak for his Injuſtice, liſtened very attentively to this Speech; and pretending to be touched with Compaſſion for the *Normans*, promiſed to exert his utmoſt to procure the Relief they expected at his Hands. However, he expreſſed an extreme Concern that he was forced to deprive his Brother of his Dominions, who by his Incapacity was running headlong into Deſtruction. Purſuant to this Reſolution, which he pretended to take purely out of Neceſſity, and in Compliance to the Intreaties of the *Normans*, he continued the War. *Robert* made but a weak Defence; for, not ſuſpecting the King's Deſigns, he had no time to pre-

Henry *levies an Army in* England. Ord. Vital. Eadmer.

and paſſes over into Normandy, *where he makes great Progreſs.*

Ord. Vital. p. 815.

Malmſb.

1105. *The Normans apply to the King of* England. Or. Vital. Malmſb.

(1) He came over in the Year 1103. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) It was the Queen that prevailed upon him to deſiſt from it. See *W. Gemiticen.* p. 675. *Malmſb.* p. 156. *Knighton.* p. 2376.

(3) He burnt many Towns and Churches, with the People that had fled to them for ſafety; and the Abbey of *Almaniſca*. *Ord. Vital.*

(4) At *Hieſmes*. After which *Robert de Beleſme* took the Fortreſs of *Hieſmes* and *Gontel* Caſtle, and many other Garriſons round about: and the neighbouring Territories ſubmitted to him. *Ord. Vitalis.*

(5) He granted *R. de Beleſme* his Father's Honours and Eſtates, the Biſhoprick of *Seez*, the Foreſt of *Golfer*, &c. *Ord. Vitalis.*

(6) He paſſed himſelf into *Normandy*, with a great Fleet, and viſited *Damfront*, and other Towns ſubject to him; after which he had an Interview with his Brother, and reproved him for making a Peace with *Robert de Beleſme*. *Ord. Vitalis.* (7) In Lent. *Sax. Ann.*

(8) He firſt took *Bayeux*, and burnt it almoſt to the Ground; at which the Inhabitants of other Places, particularly thoſe of *Caen*, were ſo frightened, that when *Henry* marched againſt them, they yielded to him, and expelled their Governor: for which good Service he beſtowed on four of the chief Citizens of *Caen* the Manor of *Dallington* in *Suſſex*, worth eighty Pounds *per Annum* Rent. *Ord. Vitalis.*

1105. Sax. Ann. Eadmer.

pare. Wherefore, *Henry*, having put his Affairs upon ſo good a foot, in his firſt Campaign, returned to *England* (1) with intent to raiſe, during the Winter, the Money and Forces, he wanted to finiſh the Work, ſo happily begun.

1106. Robert *ſues for Peace.* M. Paris. Ord. Vital. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig.

The Duke of *Normandy* was then in a very deplorable Condition. He perceived at length, his Ruin was determined, but knew not how to prevent it. In this Perplexity, he reſolved to repair to the King his Brother, and try to move him by his Submiſſions. As he was himſelf of a kind and generous Diſpoſition, he could not believe but the King was ſo too. Poſſeſſed with this Notion, he came to *England* (2), and ſued for Peace, in a manner ſuitable to his Condition, but unbecoming the Son of *William the Conqueror*. *Henry*, who was not of ſo eaſy a Nature, was deaf to all his Intreaties. He bethought himſelf of improving the preſent Juncture, to become Maſter of *Normandy*. Accordingly, nothing could bring him to an Accommodation, which would have very much leſſened his Pretenſions. For this reaſon, he obſtinately refuſed to enter into any Negotiation, and thought he dealt very kindly by his Brother, in permitting him to return. *Robert* deſpairing to prevail, departed, full of Rage and Vexation; and uttering great Threats, which *Henry* little regarded. An Hiſtorian aſſures us however, the King felt ſome Remorſe for the Injury he was doing his Brother, who had never given him any juſt Cauſe of Complaint, and from whom he had already taken a Crown. But if he had any ſuch Reflections, they were very ſhort-lived (3). The only Effect they produced, was to inſpire him with a Dread, that his Brother's Wrongs would move the Compaſſion of the *Engliſh*, and revive the Affection they had formerly ſhewn for that Prince. This Thought giving him ſome Uneaſineſs, he judged it neceſſary to prepoſſeſs his Subjects in his favour, by renewing his Promiſes. To this end, he convened the Great Council or Parliament (4), and endeavoured, in a ſtudied Speech, to demonſtrate the Juſtice of his Undertaking. He repreſented to them, "That *Robert*'s refuſal of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* "had drawn down on his Head the Vengeance of God; "by whom, ever ſince that Time, he had been viſibly "forſaken, as a Prince unworthy of his Care, after de"ſpiſing ſo great a Favour (5). He aggravated the Op"preſſions, the *Normans* groaned under, and ſtrove to "make the *Engliſh* believe, it was incumbent on them "to take in hand the Defence of a miſerable People. "He deſired the Lords to conſider his own peaceable "Temper, and how patiently he had taken his Bro"ther's Menaces, to which he had made no other re"turn but brotherly and gentle Admonitions. He en"larged upon the Duke's ill Qualities. He diſplayed his "exceſſive Profuſeneſs, which made him a continual "Burden to all the World. Moreover, he accuſed him "of extreme Arrogance, and of ſhewing on all Occa"ſions an utter Contempt for the *Engliſh* Nation. He "aſſured them, for his Part, he ſtill perſiſted in his Re"ſolution to govern by juſt Laws, of which the Char"ter, he had granted, was an undeniable Argument. "In fine, he added, provided he was ſure of the Hearts "and Affection of the *Engliſh*, he valued not any thing, "his Enemies could do againſt him." This Speech had the Effect he expected. All the Lords thinking themſelves honoured by the Confidence he placed in them, and flattering themſelves, that he would perform his Promiſes, unanimouſly declared they would live and die in his Service.

but can't obtain it.

Malmſb. M. Paris.

M. Paris.

The Engliſh promiſe to ſerve the King againſt his Brother.

Remark on the King's Speech.

What Colour ſoever the King might give his Ambition, it was eaſy to diſcover the weakneſs of the Reaſons, alledged in Vindication of his Undertaking. The Truth is, theſe Reaſons were not ſo much as plauſible. The pretended Refuſal of the Crown of *Jeruſalem* had no better Foundation than an uncertain Rumour ſpread in *England*, which, in all likelihood, was falſe, for the beſt Hiſtorians make no mention of this Fact (6). But ſuppoſing the Thing had been as true, as it was doubtful, *Robert* poſſibly might have refuſed the Crown, out of Modeſty, as well as from a Principle of Pride or Irreligion. But be this as it will, *Henry* could have no Right from thence to deprive him of his Dominions. It was evident therefore the ſole Motive that ingaged the *Engliſh* Lords to aſſure him of their Aſſiſtance, was his ſolemn Promiſe to ſee his Charter obſerved, which had been hitherto very much neglected. 1106.

Henry made uſe of the Declaration of the *Engliſh* in his favour, to obtain a grant of freſh Supplies, by means of which he made a conſiderable Addition to his Troops. As ſoon as the Seaſon permitted (7), he croſſed the Sea with a numerous Fleet (8), in order to complete the Conqueſt of *Normandy*. He opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Tinchebray*, where the Earl of *Mortagne*, who had ſided with the Duke, had thrown in a ſtrong Reinforcement. As this Place was of great Strength, and well provided with Neceſſaries, it held out long enough for *Robert* to come to its Relief. Ever ſince the Duke parted from the King his Brother without being able to prevail with him, he had joined with the Earl of *Mortagne*, and *Robert de Beleſme*, who had led all their Forces to his Aſſiſtance. The King of *France* had alſo ſent him ſome Troops, and ſeveral *Norman* Lords (9) came to him with conſiderable Bodies, as ſoon as they perceived, *Henry* was not acting for them, but for himſelf. All theſe Succours enabling the Duke to give his Brother Battle, he marched towards him with that Reſolution. The two Armies were almoſt equal in Number. *Robert* had more Foot, but not ſo many Horſe as the King. So, each Side might flatter themſelves with hopes of Succeſs. However, the Battle, which was fought under the Walls of *Tinchebray*, did not laſt long. The *Norman* Horſe being put in Diſorder at the firſt Onſet, and the Foot not being able to maintain the Fight without their Aid, the whole Army was entirely routed, and the *Engliſh* had nothing to do but to kill or take Priſoners. The Duke of *Normandy* perceiving there was no poſſibility of rallying his Troops, and reſolving not to turn his Back, choſe rather to be taken than ſhew the leaſt Signs of Cowardiſe. *Edgar Atheling*, the Earl of *Mortagne* (10), four hundred Knights, and ten thouſand Soldiers had the ſame Fate. As the Battle of *Haſtings* made the *Normans* Maſters of *England*, ſo this, which was fought forty Years after, put the *Engliſh* in poſſeſſion of *Normandy*. Prince *Edgar*, who had ſo often been the Sport of Fortune, was immediately releaſed, and went and paſſed the reſidue of his Days in *England*, where he died of extreme old Age. The Duke of *Normandy*, and Earl of *Mortagne*, were not ſo favourably treated. The Earl was ſhut up in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiffe-Caſtle* in *Wales*, where he remained a Priſoner to his Death, which happened not till twenty ſix Years after. Some ſay, this unfortunate Prince attempting to make an Eſcape, *Henry* ordered his Sight to be taken away by applying a burning-hot Braſs Baſon to his Eyes (11). But the Silence of the beſt Hiſtorians render this Fact ſomething improbable. I do not pretend to excuſe the Hard-heartedneſs of the King, who ought to have called to Mind *Robert*'s Generoſity to him, during the Siege of Mount St. *Michael*, though he had forgot he was his Brother. In vain does an Hiſtorian endeavour to juſtify him, by obſerving *Robert* never loved him during their younger Years, and had done him many Injuries. Such a Reaſon will ſcarce ſerve the Purpoſe, for which it is alledged by that Auther.

Henry returns to Normandy. Sax. Ann. Vital. Fl. Wiger. W. Gemt.

Battle of Tinchebray, *where* Robert *is taken Priſoner,*

Malmſb. Sax. Ann.

and ſhut up in Cardiffe *Caſtle.* Mezerai. M. Paris.

Malmſb.

The Victory of *Tinchebray* having acquired the King the Poſſeſſion of all *Normandy*, he returned in Triumph to *England* (12). Upon his Arrival, his firſt Care was to make ſome Regulations for his Court, where ſeveral Abuſes had long ſince crept in which called for Reformation. In the former Reign, when the King took a Progreſs, thoſe who followed the Court, committed all manner of Outrages in the Places where they lodged. They ſhamefully extorted what they pleaſed from their Hoſts, and attempted the Chaſtity of the Women, without any Reſtraint (13). Coyners of falſe Money were grown very numerous and bare-faced, being ſecure of the Protection of the Great, who ſet them at work in their Houſes, where no Body dared to ſearch for them. Theſe Diſorders not ceaſing upon the King's Edict in the Beginning of his

Henry becomes Maſter of all Normandy. M. Paris. Eadmer. Malmſb.

(1) In *Autumn*. *Sax. Ann.* (2) Before *Lent*, to *Henry*, who was then at *Northampton*. *Sax. Ann.*
(3) The Pope helped to diſperſe them, ſatisfying him that it would not be a civil War, but a very great Advantage to the Country. See *Malmſb.* p. 157.
(4) At *London*. *M. Paris.*
(5) Hence it is plain, it was believed in *England* that *Robert* had refuſed the Crown of *Jeruſalem*; otherwiſe *Henry* could not have urged it againſt his Brother. *Rapin.*
(6) It is mentioned by no Author older than *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, conſequently, 'tis only to be looked upon as a common Tradition.
(7) Before *Auguſt*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 229.
(8) And the principal Nobility of the Kingdom. *Flor. Worc. Ord. Vitalis.*
(9) Particularly *Robert de Stuteville*, and *William de Ferrars*. King *Henry* had on his ſide *William* Earl of *Evreux*, *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, Earl of *Maine*, &c. *Ord. Vitalis.*
(10) And of *Norman* Barons, *William Criſpin*, *William de Ferrars*, *Robert de Stuteville*, Senior. *Eadmer.* p. 90.
(11) Hence the *Italian* Word, *Abacinare*, to blind. *Menage, Orig. de la Lan. Ital. Rapin.*
(12) In *Lent*, 1107. *Sax. Ann.*
(13) In the King's Progreſs, his Attendants plundered every thing that came in their way, ſo that the Country was laid waſte where the King travelled. For which cauſe, People, when they knew of the King's coming, left their Houſes, carrying away what Proviſions they could, and ſheltering themſelves in the Woods and By-places. The King ordered, that whoever ſpoiled any Goods of thoſe that entertained them, or abuſed their Perſons, ſhould, if proved, have their Eyes put out, or their Hands or Feet cut off. *Eadmer.*

Reign,

1107. Reign, he publiſhed a ſecond with ſtill greater Penalties. Severity was neceſſary to check the Licenſe that was introduced into the Kingdom, by the Connivance that Offences of this Nature had hitherto met with (1).

1108. *He becomes more haughty towards his Subjects.* Before the War in *Normandy*, *Henry* had poſitively aſſured his Subjects he would govern according to Equity, and maintain them in their Privileges. But Proſperity made him forget his Promiſes. Immediately after his Return, he was obſerved to be grown more haughty, and leſs popular than before. He treated the Nobles with an intolerable Arrogance, even to the uſing, when ſpeaking to them, very abuſive Language. Beſides, he little regarded his own Charter, nor corrected any Abuſes that turned to his Profit. *Anſelm* was the only Perſon he ſhewed any Value for. The Trouble that Prelate had given him, made him look upon all Occaſions of quarrelling with him as ſo many dangerous Quick-ſands, which he was reſolved to avoid. Eadmer. But his Precautions ſerved only to render *Anſelm* more haughty and imperious than before the Conteſt. *Anſelm perſecutes the married Prieſts.* The Archbiſhop perceiving the King, for fear of being ingaged in freſh Diſputes, refrained from meddling with Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, took the Opportunity to proſecute, with the utmoſt Rigour, the Prieſts who obſtinately perſiſted in keeping their Wives. His Diſgrace and long Abſence made them hope, they ſhould at length be freed from his Perſecutions. But he quickly let them ſee, that, when once he began a thing, he never left it unfiniſhed. S. Dunelm. Eadmer. Some time after his Return, he called a Synod (2), where, at his Inſtance, ſevere Penalties were decreed againſt all Clergymen, who lived in the State of Matrimony. There were even ſome that were deprived of their Livings. But ſo far was this Rigour from having any good Effect, that it only proved the occaſion of the Clergy's committing real Crimes, in order to avoid the pretended Exceſs they were ingaged in before.

The King of France has a Deſign upon Henry. Eadmer. Ord. Vital. Huntingd. Malmſb. The King did not much concern himſelf in this Regulation of the Synod. It was indifferent to him, whether the Clergy married or lived ſingle. And therefore he left the Archbiſhop to act as he pleaſed, without interpoſing in an Affair that concerned him not. He was going to have another upon his Hands more worthy his Regard. *Lewis the Groſs*, King of *France*, who had juſt ſucceeded his Father *Philip*, looked upon *Henry*, ſince his Acquiſition of *Normandy*, as a very formidable Neighbour, was ſeeking means to humble his overgrown Power (3). To execute this Project, he deſigned to make uſe of *William* ſirnamed *Crito*, Son of *Robert*, a young Prince of great Hopes, but under Age. How careful ſoever he was to conceal his Deſigns, *Henry* had Notice of them, and paſſed ſuddenly into *Normandy*; where he ordered his Nephew to be taken into Cuſtody (4), to prevent any Inſurrection upon his account. *Lewis*, by this Proceeding, perceiving his Deſign had taken Air, deferred the Execution of it to a better Opportunity. Mean time, the young Prince having made his Eſcape, by means of his Tutor, was carried to *Paris*, and other Courts, where he in vain ſollicited for Aſſiſtance to recover the Duke his Father's Dominions. The neighbouring Princes ſtood too much in Awe of *Henry* to ingage in ſuch an Undertaking. As for the *Normans*, though many of them were well inclined to the Son of their Sovereign, and ſeveral even contributed privately towards his Maintainance, they durſt however not openly declare in his Favour.

1109. *Henry* having ſpent the Winter and part of the Summer in *Normandy*, returned to *England* (5), where ſoon after Ambaſſadors came to him from the Emperor *Henry* IV. to demand his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage. He very joyfully received the Propoſal, and as ſoon as the Articles were agreed upon, the Wedding was celebrated by Proxy. But as the Princeſs was very young, ſhe continued in *England* till the Year following, when ſhe was ſent to the Emperor her Spouſe with a magnificent Retinue, and a very conſiderable Sum for her Portion.

1109. *Matilda, Henry's Daughter, married to the Emperor Henry IV.* Huntingd. M. Paris.

Money raiſed to pay her Portion. Brompton. Brady. p. 270. The Neceſſity of paying his Daughter's Marriage-Portion furniſhed the King with a Pretence to lay a Tax of three Shillings on every Hide of Land. This Tax brought him in an immenſe Sum, if it be true, as ſome pretend to calculate it, that it was equal to 824,850 *l.* of our preſent Money. The Cuſtom of raiſing Money for the Marriage of the King's eldeſt Daughter was introduced by this Prince, and very duly practiſed by his Succeſſors, who found it too beneficial to ſuffer it to be loſt (6). Hence may be ſeen how prejudicial to a free People ſuch Innovations are, that become as a Law by one ſingle Precedent. 1109.

Before the Marriage was ſolemnized, Death took out of the World *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (7), a learned Prelate of that Age, but haughty and bigotted to the laſt Degree. 'Tis very reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, his Firmneſs in the Affair of *Inveſtitures*, and his conſtant Endeavours, to eſtabliſh the Celibacy of the Clergy in *England*, entitled him to a Place in the Calendar. As ſoon as *Anſelm* was laid in his Grave, the King ſeized the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick, and kept them in his hands for five Years. *The King takes care to make the Prieſts obſerve Celibacy.* Eadm. The Clergy were in hopes, the Perſecution they had ſuffered, during his Life, would end with his Death; but the Court of *Rome* was no leſs zealous to ſupport what the Archbiſhop had done ſolely by her Orders. Beſides, the King, who was very unwilling to break with the Pope, ſtrictly enjoined the Execution of what was eſtabliſhed. So that the Clergy were obliged to obſerve a ſeeming Continency, by being debarred from marrying. But they privately made themſelves amends for this Reſtraint, in the Commiſſion of the moſt enormous Crimes. At leaſt, this is what the Authors of that Age make no Scruple to lay to their Charge. *Anſelm's Death.* Eadmer. Sax. Ann.

1110. The Year 1110 was memorable for the Revival of Learning at *Cambridge* (8), from whence it had been long baniſhed. *Reſtoration of Learning at Cambridge.* Echard. P. Bleſenſis. According to the general Opinion, *Edward the Elder* had formerly founded an Univerſity there. But the Town had ſuffered ſo much by the *Daniſh* Wars, that Learning fell to decay, and never flouriſhed again till the time we are ſpeaking of (9).

1111. The following Year *Henry* croſſed the Sea (10), to ſtop the Progreſs of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had cauſed the City of *Conſtance* in *Normandy* to revolt. *Elias* Earl of *Maine*, having eſpouſed the Intereſt of *Fulk*, and being taken Priſoner in a Battle, was put to death (11). *Henry* thought this Inſtance of Severity neceſſary to ſtrike a dread into the *Normans*, whoſe Revolt he was apprehenſive of; well knowing, *France* would be ready to protect them. *Henry puts the Earl of Maine to Death.* Malmſb. Huntingd. Fl. Wig.

1112. Before the King went to *Normandy*, he admitted into *England* great Numbers of *Flemings*, who by the Inundation of the Sea in their own Country, were compelled to ſeek for new Habitations. He planted them at firſt in the waſte Parts of *Yorkſhire* (12). But upon the Complaints made to him after his Return, he removed them to the Country conquered from the *Welſh*, about *Ros* and *Pembroke*. Their Poſterity continue there to this Day, retaining ſo much of their old Cuſtoms and Language, as diſtinguiſhes them plainly from the *Welſh*, and ſhews they are of foreign Extraction. *Henry settles a Colony of Flemings in Wales.* Malmſb. Brompt.

1113. *Henry* had not time to make a long ſtay in *England* (13). The Year after, he was obliged to paſs into *Normandy*, where the King of *France* had kindled a freſh War, by perſuading the Earl of *Anjou* to take up Arms again. This War gave him ſome Trouble, but he happily ſurmounted all Difficulties. *Lewis* had even the Mortification to ſee the Earl of *Anjou* deſert him, who, by that Defection, reaped the Advantage of marrying his Daughter to Prince *William*, Son of King *Henry*. During the King's ſtay in *Normandy*, he had the Satisfaction of having his moſt inveterate Enemy *Robert de Beleſme* fall into his hands, who was ſent into *England*, and kept Priſoner all his Life (14). Theſe Troubles being over, *Henry* returned to *England* (15), where he lived in Peace the five following Years, without any Diſturbance, except from the *Welſh*, who now and then made ſome Incurſions. *He goes again into Normandy, and marries his Daughter to the Earl of Anjou.* Ord. Vitalis. Malmſb.

1114. During this Calm, the Pope and Clergy (16) at laſt prevailed upon him to permit the Vacancies in the Church to be *He fills up the Vacancies in the Church.* Sax. Ann. Eadmer.

(1) Counterfeiters of Money were puniſhed with Loſs of Eyes and Genitals, *Eadmer*.——In the Year 1107, died *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, and was ſucceeded by *Alexander*. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) Or rather a Great Council, at *London*. See *Eadmer*, p. 94, 95.

(3) The Fortreſs of *Giſors* was the Occaſion of the War between the two Kings. See *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 197—202.

(4) He ordered *Robert Beauchamp*, Viſcount *d'Archet*, to do it. *Ord. Vital.* (5) Before *Whitſuntide*. *Sax. Ann.*

(6) This was one of the ancient Aids due to the King from all his Tenants; and was practiſed in *Normandy*, and alſo in *Naples*, where the *Normans* ſettled. It was no otherwiſe introduced by *Henry* I, but as he happened to be the firſt *Norman* King that married his eldeſt Daughter.

(7) He died *March* 22. *Sax. Ann.*

(8) Or rather firſt Inſtitution. See *Petr. Bleſenſis*, p. 114, 115. *And above*, p. 112. *Note* (6).

(9) This ſame Year King *Henry* married *Robert* his natural Son to *Maud*, Daughter and Heir of *Robert Fitz-haymon*, late Earl of *Glouceſter*, and then inveſted him with that Earldom. He alſo held his Court at *New Windſor*, which he had built, and there diſinherited *Philip de Brauſe*, *William Mallet*, and *William Bainard*, becauſe they had ſided with *Helias* Earl of *Maine*. *Huntingd.* p. 379. *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 1004.

(10) In *Auguſt*. *Sax. Ann.*

(11) He being put to Death in 1110, *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had married *Elias*'s only Daughter, ſeized upon the Earldom, and refuſed to do *Henry* Homage for it. *Huntingd.* p. 379. *Brompt.* p. 1004.

(12) Many of them flocked over in the Reign of King *William* his Father, and alſo lately in his own: As they came in very great ſwarms, they became a Burden to the Nation: Whereupon *Henry* at firſt planted them in the waſte Parts of *Northumberland*, and afterwards removed them into *Wales* in the Year 1111. What drew them over here, was, that Queen *Maud*, *Henry*'s Mother, was Daughter to *Baldwin* V, Earl of *Flanders*. The *Flemings-way*, a Work of theirs, is to be ſeen in *Pembrokeſhire*, extending thro' a long Tract of Land. *Malmſb.* p. 158. *Flor. Wig. Camden.*

(13) It does not appear he was in *England*, from *Auguſt* 1111, to *July* 1113. See *Sax. Ann.*

(14) In the Caſtle of *Warham*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 380. (15) In *July*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 236.

(16) *Eadmer* ſays, he did it by the Perſuaſion of his Biſhops and Great Men, p. 110.

be

1114. be filled, particularly the See of *Canterbury*, the Revenues of which he had now enjoyed five Years. As ſoon as he had given his Conſent, a Synod was convened, where *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was unanimouſly choſen Archbiſhop to the great Satisfaction of the People, by whom he was very much eſteemed. *Thurſtan*, one of the King's Chaplains, was nominated to the See of *York*. At the ſame time all the other Vacancies were filled, but with ſuch Partiality to the *Normans*, as gave the *Engliſh* juſt cauſe to complain.

Henry *invades the* Welſh. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

The *Welſh* growing more and more troubleſome on the Borders, *Henry* determined not to chaſtiſe them only, but root them out entirely. To execute this barbarous Reſolution, he entered *Wales* with a numerous Army, divided into three Bodies, in order to ſurround them on all ſides. But upon his Approach, they having retired to their Mountains, it was not poſſible for him to attack them. However, he kept them long inveſted, but at laſt finding there was no drawing them from their Retreat, conſented to make Peace. At his Return to *London*, he received News of the Conſummation of his Daughter *Matilda*'s Marriage, and her Coronation at *Mentz*.

Brompt. S. Dunelm.

1115. *The* Normans *take the Oath to Prince* William, Sax. Ann. Malmſb. *and likewiſe the* Engliſh.

Shortly after, *Henry* paſſed once more into *Normandy* (1), where he cauſed the States to ſwear Fealty to Prince *William* his Son, who was then twelve Years of Age. The next Year (2), he took the ſame Precaution with regard to *England*, in order to ſecure the Crown in his Family. To this end he ſummoned a General Aſſembly at *Salisbury*, where all that were preſent promiſed to acknowledge Prince *William* for their Sovereign, after the Death of the King his Father, and accordingly took their Oath to him. From this Aſſembly, ſome pretend to date the Original of the Right of the Commons ſitting in Parliament. They maintain, that in Imitation of what was practiſed in *Normandy*, *Henry* ſummoned the Commons as well as the Nobility and Clergy; and that this was the firſt time the Repreſentatives of the People were admitted to ſit in Parliament (3). Others affirm, the general Aſſemblies of the Nation had been diſuſed before this. In fine, there are who aſſure us, this Aſſembly was the firſt that was ſtiled a Parliament. Of theſe three Opinions the firſt can never be proved, the ſecond is evidently falſe, and the third very uncertain (4).

1116. Eadmer.

1117. Henry *is revenged on* Lewis *for creating him Troubles.*

Ever ſince *Lewis the Groſs* came to the Crown of *France*, he had never ceaſed to diſturb *Henry*, either by countenancing the Male-contents in *Normandy*, or ſtirring up the neighbouring Princes againſt him. Though he generally took care to act underhand, yet *Henry* was not ignorant that this Prince was the ſole Support of all theſe little troubleſome Enemies, and therefore, to be even with him, undertook to combat him in his own way. *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, his Nephew, Son to his Siſter *Adela*, being diſpleaſed with the King of *France*, *Henry* excites him to Revenge; and perſuading him to take up Arms, lends him a powerful Aid. *Lewis*, on his Part, inveſted *William Crito*, Son of *Robert*, with the Dutchy of *Normandy*, promiſing to aſſiſt him with all his Forces to take poſſeſſion. Supported by *France*, and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, the young Prince attempted to wreſt *Normandy* from the King his Uncle (5). *Lewis* did not now proceed underhand, but openly. He claimed, as Sovereign Lord of *Normandy*, a Right to diſpoſe of that Dutchy, and eſpecially in favour of the only Son of Duke *Robert*, unjuſtly detained in Priſon. His Army being reinforced by a conſiderable Body of Troops, brought him by the Earl of *Flanders*, he entered *Normandy* with deſign to put *William* in poſſeſſion.

Ord. Vital. Sax. Ann. M. Paris.

Lewis *inveſts* Crito *with* Normandy.

1118.

As ſoon as *Henry* was informed of his Enemies Projects, he made great Preparations for the War, of which the *Engliſh* were obliged to bear the whole Charge. When all was ready, he croſs'd the Sea (6), and joining Forces with the Duke of *Bretagne* (7) and Earl of *Blois*, he advanced towards the Enemies to give them Battle. But *Lewis* not thinking proper to expect him, choſe to retire (8), covered with Confuſion at his own ill Meaſures, and the ruin of his Projects by *Henry*'s Diligence (9). Inſtead of maintaining what he had undertaken, he ſent Propoſals of Peace to *Henry*, which were accepted on Condition he reſtored *Giſors*, then in his Hands. After ſigning the Treaty, *Henry* ſpeedily returned into *England* (10), to prevent the entrance of a Legate, ſent by the Pope without his Permiſſion. Queen *Matilda* died ſome Months after (11), lamented by all the *Engliſh*, as well for her Merit as Deſcent from their ancient Kings.

1118. Henry *goes to* Normandy. *Makes Peace with* Lewis. Huntingd. Brompt.

Matilda *dies.* Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

Mean time, the King of *France* had ſtill his former Project in view. *Henry* neglecting to demoliſh the Caſtle of *Giſors* according to the late Treaty, *Lewis* took occaſion from thence ſuddenly to invade *Normandy*, and commit great Ravages. However *Henry* remained quiet in *England* (12), ſeeming to take no notice of this Inſult. All the World was amazed at his Careleſſneſs: Nay, many aſcribed it to want of Courage. At length, one of his Courtiers taking the Freedom to repreſent to him, how much he wronged his Reputation; he mildly anſwered, he had learnt of the King his Father, that the beſt way to vanquiſh the *French*, was to let them vent their firſt Fury. But to ſhew his ſlowneſs was not the Effect of Fear, he ſoon after paſſed into *Normandy* (13) with a powerful Army, and offered his Enemy Battle. *Lewis* accepting the Challenge, the two Armies engaged. During the Fight, a *French* Cavalier, named *Criſpin*, perſonally attacked the King of *England*, and ſtruck him twice on the Head with ſuch force, that notwithſtanding his Helmet, the King was all over Blood. However he continued this ſingle Combat. The ſight of his Blood rouzing his Courage, he diſcharged ſo furious a Blow at his Adverſary, that he tumbled him from his Horſe and took him Priſoner. This Action raiſed ſuch Emulation among his Troops, that at laſt, after a ſharp Engagement, the Enemy was obliged to quit the Field (14). The Standard of *France* was taken and ſent in Triumph to *Roan* (15). Some time after, the two Kings came to a ſecond Battle (16), the Succeſs whereof was doubtful, both ſides pretending to the Victory. In a word, this War proved very ſharp, and not a little troubleſome to the two Monarchs.

Lewis *renews the War*, Malms.

and is defeated by Henry. Huntingd. R. Diceto. Brompt.

Ord. Vital. p. 858.

Whilſt Hoſtilities were continued on both Sides with equal warmth, *Lewis* endeavoured to take Advantage of the Reſidence of Pope *Calixtus* II, then in *France*, to embroil his Enemy in new Troubles. He was in hopes, the Pope, being of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, would be eaſily induced to favour his Deſigns. And therefore, without diſcovering his Intentions, he prevailed with him to convene a Council at *Rheims*, to which the *Engliſh* Biſhops were ſummoned. *Henry* not miſtruſting any thing from that Quarter, readily permitted them to be preſent at the Council. He only ordered them, when they took their leave, to ſalute the Pope in his Name, to hearken to his Apoſtolical Precepts, but to take care to bring none of his new Inventions into the Kingdom. The Council conſiſted moſtly of *French* Biſhops, ſome of whom being intruſted with their King's Secret, made heavy Complaints againſt *Henry*. They even propoſed to excommunicate him, for unjuſtly detaining the Perſon and Dominions of the Duke of *Normandy* his Bro-

1119. *Council of* Rheims.

Ord. Vital. p. 885.

It is moved to excommunicate Henry.

(1) He ſailed from *Portſmouth*, *October* 11, 1114. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) He returned into *England* in *July* 1115. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 237.

(3) *Malmſbury* ſays, "All the Freemen of *England* and *Normandy*, of whatſoever Order or Dignity, or to what Lord ſoever they were Vaſſals or Tenants, were made to do Homage, and ſwear Fealty to *William*, Son of King *Henry* and Queen *Matilda*." But this is nothing like a *Parliament*. *Polydore Virgil*, and from him *Stow* and *Speed*'s Chronicle, commence the beginning of our Parliaments from this Aſſembly, but without citing the leaſt Authority for it.

(4) In the Year 1116, after *Eaſter*, King *Henry* went into *Normandy*, where he ſtaid till *November*, 1120, *Sax. Ann.*————in Normanniâ toto hoc tempore moratus. *Malmſb.* p. 165.

(5) And even *Fulk*, Earl of *Anjou*, thinking it hard that he ſhould be obliged to do King *Henry* Homage for the Earldom of *Maine*, entered into the League: As did alſo *Almeric de Montfort*, who was diſcontented becauſe *Henry* refuſed to inveſt him with the Earldom of *Evreux*. As ſoon as the Confederacy was formed, *Lewis* ſent to require *Henry* to ſet *Robert* at Liberty; which he refuſing to do, the Earls of *Anjou* and *Flanders* advanced towards the Frontiers of *France*, where they no ſooner appeared, but *William*'s Party riſe up in Arms, and proclaimed him Duke of *Normandy*. But what troubled *Henry* moſt, was, That a Conſpiracy was formed againſt him, wherein one of his Favourites, and ſome of the Officers of his Bed-Chamber were concerned. See *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 205—212.

(6) He was there already, and had been ever ſince the Year 1116, after *Eaſter*. *Sax. Ann.* (7) *Alan* III. See *P. Daniel*, p. 209.

(8) He ſtaid but one Night in *Normandy*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 380. *Brompt.* p. 1006.

(9) The *French* Hiſtorians make no mention of this Retreat, or of the Peace that followed it, and confounded this War in 1118, with that which was renewed the ſame Year after the delivering up *Giſors*. *Rapin.*

(10) It does not appear that King *Henry* returned to *England* upon this occaſion. *Eadmer* expreſly ſays, that the Legate waited upon the King at *Roan*. p. 118. This Legate was *Anſelm*, Nephew to the late Archbiſhop of that Name.

(11) She died the firſt of *May*, and was buried in *Weſtminſter* Abbey. She was a pious and charitable Princeſs. Among other Works, ſhe built an Hoſpital for *Lepers* in *London*; and the Priory of *Chriſt Church* within *Aldgate*. *Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 1007. *M. Paris*, p. 51, 56. *Malmſb.* p. 165. Once as ſhe was croſſing the River *Lea* at *Oldford* near *London*, ſhe was well waſhed, and in danger of being drowned: Whereupon ſhe cauſed two Stone-Bridges to be built, in a Place one Mile diſtant from the *Oldford*; one over the *Lea* at the Head of the Town of *Stratford*, and the other over another Stream thereof, commonly called *Channel's Bridge*, and made the King's Highway of Gravel between the two Bridges. She gave alſo certain Manors, and a Mill called *Wiggon-Mill*, to the Abbeſs of *Barking*, for repairing of the ſame Bridges and Way. Theſe were the firſt *Stone-Bridges* in *England*. And becauſe they were arched like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterwards called *Bow*. *Stow's Annals*, p. 139. *Hayward's Life of Henry* I. p. 305. —This Year alſo died *Robert* Earl of *Mellent* the King's Counſellor. *Huntingd.* p. 308.

(12) This is a miſtake. He lay ſtill at *Roan*————Apud Rothomagum ſe continebat. *Malmſb.* p. 160.

(13) This likewiſe is a miſtake. He was there already. (14) The *French* loſt a hundred and forty Horſe. *Ord. Vitalis.*

(15) The King gave twenty Marks to the Man that brought it. His Horſe was alſo taken, and ſent back to him next Day by *Henry*. *Lewis* was left alone, and loſt himſelf in a Wood, from whence a Countryman conveyed him, without knowing him, to *Andely*, where the Remains of his Army were retired. *Ord. Vitalis.* p. 885. (16) It does not appear that it was any thing like a Battle, *Lewis* ſent indeed and challenged *Henry* to a ſecond Fight, but he did not think fit to accept of the Challenge. See *P. Daniel*, p. 211.

ther

1119. *The Pope is againſt it.*

ther, who as one of the *Cruſade*, was under the Church's Protection. This Motion would, doubtleſs, have been approved by the Majority, had not the Pope, who was unwilling to break with *Henry*, evaded it, by undertaking to exhort him himſelf to do Juſtice to his Brother. Some time after, *Calixtus* came to *Giſors*, where he had a long Conference with the King, intimating, it was the Council's deſire that *Robert* ſhould be reſtored to his Dominions. *Henry* replied, He had not taken *Normandy* from his Brother, but from diſſolute Men and Robbers, that were conſuming the Inheritance of his Anceſtors, given up to them by *Robert*. Adding, he had not proceeded of his own Head, but by the Sollicitations of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of *Normandy*, who earneſtly beſought him to prevent the utter Deſolation of the Church. He took care to ſtrengthen theſe Reaſons with magnificent Preſents, which wrought ſo upon the Pope and the Cardinals his Attendants, that at their Return, they gave out, they had never ſeen a more eloquent Prince. Thus *Calixtus*, relinquiſhing the Intereſt of the impriſoned Duke, uſed his Endeavours to procure a Peace between the two (1) Kings, in which he ſucceeded the next Year (2).

Malmſb.

1120. *Prince William crowned.* Malmſb. Eadmer. Brompt. Huntingd.

As ſoon as the Peace was concluded, *Henry*, impatient to return to *England*, from whence he had been long abſent (3), embarked at *Barfleur* (4) with a numerous Retinue of Nobles. *William* his Son, who was then ſixteen years of Age (5), took with him in his Veſſel, all the young Nobility, to render his Paſſage more agreeable. As he ſailed laſt, he had a mind to overtake the King his Father, and promiſed the Seamen a Reward if his Ship arrived firſt. This idle Emulation was probably the Cauſe of the Misfortune that befell him. As the Pilot, in order to get before the King, kept too near the Shore on the Coaſt of *England* (6) the Ship touched upon a Rock (7) and ſplit. In the Fright cauſed by this Accident, the Seamen's firſt Care was to hoiſt out the Boat, in order to ſave the Prince, and indeed, by their Diligence he was now out of Danger. But as he was making off, the Cries of *Matilda*, his natural Siſter, prevailed with him to row back to take her in. His Approach, giving others opportunity to leap in, the Boat ſunk with its Load, without any poſſibility of ſaving the Prince. Of all that ſtayed in the Ship, there were but very few (8) that eſcaped by ſwimming. From theſe the Circumſtances of this tragical Accident came to be known. Among thoſe that periſhed in the Waves, were, beſides the Prince, one of his natural Brothers called *Richard*, *Matilda* his Siſter Counteſs of *Perche*, *Lucia* the King's Niece, the Earl of *Cheſter*, and ſeveral Lords, whoſe debauched Lives, as is pretended, but too juſtly brought down this Judgment on their Heads (9).

1121. *Henry marries Adeliza of Louvain.*

This unexpected Accident made ſuch Impreſſion on the King, that he was never after ſeen to laugh. However, his extreme deſire to repair his loſs, made him reſolve to marry *Adeliza* Daughter of *Geoffrey* Earl of *Louvain*. But he had not the Satisfaction he expected from this Marriage, ſhe never proving with Child.

1121. *War with the Welſh.* Dr. P's Chron. 184.

The ſame Year the *Welſh* made an Incurſion into *Cheſhire*, under the Conduct of *Griffin* Prince of *North-Wales* (10). They burnt ſeveral Caſtles, and committed ſuch Ravages that they drew the *Engliſh* Arms into their own Country. *Henry*, at the Head of his Troops, made ſome Progreſs at firſt, but one Day, wanting to ſeize a certain Paſs, he fell into an Ambuſh, where he loſt many of his Men, and was ſhot himſelf by an Arrow on his Breaſt-Plate. This Accident, and the fear of not ending the War ſo ſucceſsfully as he expected, prevented him from proceeding any further, he made a Peace with *Griffin*. However, he obliged him to give Hoſtages, and a thouſand head of Cattle, to deſray the Charges of the War.

1122.

Shortly after, Death took out of the World *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (11). This Prelate was of an unblameable Life, but ſo great a Stickler for the Prerogatives of his See, that he could not bear the leaſt Infringement, even in things of the ſmalleſt Conſequence. For Inſtance, on the ſolemn Feſtivals, when the King was wont to wear his Crown, he would not ſuffer him to put it on himſelf, pretending that Office belonged, on all occaſions, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The metropolitical See continued vacant till the next Year, when *Corbet* (12), Abbot of St. *Bennet*'s was elected by a Synod held at *Winchcſter* for that purpoſe (13).

Eadmer. Brompt.

Sax. Ann.

1123. *Henry prevents the Revolt of the Normans.* S. Dunelm. Hunt. Ord. Vital.

Henry imagined by the Peace with the King of *France*, he had removed all occaſions of War beyond Sea, and that none would dare for the future to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of *Normandy*. Nevertheleſs, *Robert de Mellent*, Lord of *Pont Audemer* created him freſh Troubles, which obliged him to paſs once more into that Dutchy (14). This Lord, who was in great Credit with the *Normans*, and ſecretly countenanced by the King of *France*, undertook to reſtore *William Crito* to his Dominions. This Project was in ſuch forwardneſs, that the Country was going to revolt, if the King had not ſpeedily repaired thither (15). On his Arrival, he laid Siege to *Pont-Audemer* and took it. After which, he added ſome Works to the Caſtles of *Caen*, *Roan* and *Arques*, and reinforced the Garriſons. Theſe Precautions put a ſtop to the *Normans*, who did not think themſelves able to execute their Deſigns. However, *Robert de Mellent* and the Earl of *Montfort* his Aſſociate, kept the Field with ſome Troops. But being drawn into an Ambuſh, they were both taken Priſoners, and the reſt remained quiet.

M. Weſt.

1124. Robert de Mellent *taken.*

1125. *The Pope's Legate arrives in* England. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. M. Paris. *Synod againſt the Prieſts Marriage.* S. Dunelm.

Whilſt the King was in *Normandy*, Cardinal *John de Crêma*, the Pope's Legate, came into *England*. The deſign of his coming was to compleat the Reformation of the pretended great Abuſe of the Clergy's marrying, which they ſtill did, notwithſtanding all the Precautions to the contrary. The Legate was received with great Pomp, though the People were little pleaſed with it, not being uſed to ſee Legates exerciſing their Authority in the Kingdom. A Synod being convened by the Legate at *London*, he cauſed ſeveral rigorous Canons to be paſſed againſt ſuch Eccleſiaſticks, as perſiſted in keeping their Wives (16). Theſe Canons however were not capable to ſtop this pre-

(1) The Articles of which were, 1. That all Caſtles and ſtrong Holds taken in the late War ſhould be mutually reſtored, and the Priſoners on both Sides ſet at Liberty without Ranſom. 2. That *Henry* ſhould do Homage for *Normandy*. But *Henry* thinking it a Diminution of his Royal Dignity to do this Homage in Perſon, he made his Son *William* do it; who then received the Inveſiure of that Dutchy from the Hands of the King of *France*; and all the great Men of *Normandy* ſwore Fealty to him. *Ord. Vital.* See *Tyrrel*, p. 163. *P. Daniel*, p. 212. *S. Dunelm.* p. 242. *Brompt.* p. 1012. *Malmſb.* p. 165—— Prince *William* went, in the Year 1 19, in *May*, to his Father in *Normandy*, and there married in *June* the ſame Year, *Matilda*, Daughter of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*; the Marriage was ſolemnized at *Liſieux* in the County of *Burgundy*. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 265. *Sandford*, p. 29. *Ord. Vital.* See *Tyrrel*, p. 157.

(2) Father *Daniel* ſays, the Pope threatened *Henry* to excommunicate him, and did ſo. But the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſpeak in a different manner of this Interview. *Rapin.* (3) Almoſt five Years; namely, ever ſince after *Eaſter*, in 1116.

(4) On the 26th of *November*. *Ord. Vital.* The 25th ſays *Malmſb.*

(5) He muſt have been near Eighteen, ſince he was born in 1102. *Sandford*, p. 28. *S. Dunelm.* p. 242. *Hoveden*, p. 476.

(6) It was in or near the Harbour of *Barfleur*. *Chr. T. Wikes*, p. 26. *Ord. Vitalis.* (7) Called *Chateraſe*. *Hoveden*, p. 476.

(8) All the Hiſtorians agree there was but one eſcaped, and that a Butcher. *Malmſb.* p. 165. *S. Dunelm.* p. 142. *Eadmer*, p. 135. *Brompt.* p. 1012.

(9) There periſhed in this Shipwrack a hundred and forty Officers and Soldiers; fifty Sailors, with the Officers belonging to the Ship; many of the Nobility of both Sexes, *&c.* about three hundred in all. Moſt of them were drunk. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 243. *Ord. Vitalis.* This was looked upon as a juſt Judgment by our Hiſtorians, for their being polluted with the Sin of *Sodomy*. The loſs of this young Prince was not very unhappy for the *Engliſh* Nation, if that be true which *Brompton* relates from *Malmſbury*, (though we can't find it in his Hiſtory) that he had ſuch an Averſion to the *Engliſh*, that he threatened, *if ever he came to be King, he would make them draw the Plough like Oxen.* By this fatal Accident, the Perſons, Honours, and Eſtates of the Heirs of moſt of the great Men were in *Henry*'s Power; by which means he ſtrengthned his Intereſt in *England* by marrying their Widows, Daughters, and Siſters, to his Courtiers and Officers. *Ord. Vital. Brompt.* p. 1012. *Huntingd. M. Paris.*

(10) Being encouraged thereto by the Death of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, drowned with Prince *William*.

(11) He died the twentieth of *October*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 246.

(12) All the Hiſtorians call him *William de Curboil*, or *Curbuil*. See *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 382. *S. Dunelm.* p. 247. And then he was Prior of *Chich*, or St. *Oſith* in *Eſſex*, not of St. *Bennet's*. *Hoveden*, p. 477. *R. de Diceto.* p. 504. *Brompt.* p. 1024.

(13) At *Glouceſter*. See *Sax. Ann.* The ſame Year King *Henry* cut a *Dike* from *Torkſey* to *Lincoln*, between the *Witham* and the *Trent*, ſeven Miles in length. It is called *Foſi-Dike*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 243. *Camden.* And the ſame Year *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham* laid the Foundation of *Norham* Caſtle, upon the *Tweed*. *S. Dunelm.* ibid.

(14) The firſt that declared for *William Crito* was *Almeric* Earl of *Montfort* and *Evreux*; who was joined by *Waleran* and *Robert*, the Sons of *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*; *William de Romara*; *Hugh de Montfort*; *Hugh* of *Newcaſtle*; *William Lupell*; *Baldri de Braye*; *Pagan de Giſort*, &c. *Ord. Vitalis. Sax. Ann. P. Daniel*, p. 214. &c. King *Henry*, finding that theſe Barons were ſupported by the King of *France*, declared War againſt him; and not long after both Armies came to an Engagement near the Village of *Teroude*, about two or three Leagues from *Roan*, on *March* 26; wherein the *French* were routed. Earl *Waleran*, *Hugh de Montfort*, and *Hugh* of *Newcaſtle*, with eighty other Knights, were taken Priſoners. Againſt whom King *Henry* proceeded with great Severity, notwithſtanding the Interceſſion of the Earl of *Flanders*, who was then at his Court. The Earl of *Mellent* was forced to ſurrender his whole Inheritance to *Henry* to ſave his Life; though he was reſtored to it in 1129. *Hugh* of *Newcaſtle* was kept a Priſoner five Years; and *Hugh* of *Montfort* eighteen at *Glouceſter*. *Geoffroy de Tourville*, *Odard de Pine*, and *Luke de Barre* had their Eyes put out. Thoſe that ſignalized themſelves in this Battle, were, *Eudo de Borling*, *William de Tancarville*, King *Henry*'s Chamberlain, *William de Grandcourt*, &c. *Ord. Vitalis. Sax Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 250. *P. Daniel*, &c.

(15) He ſpent his *Eaſter* at *Winchcſter*, and from thence went to *Portſmouth*, where he remained all *Whitſun*-Week, and from thence paſſed into *Normandy*. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 250. *Brompt.* p. 2014

(16) The Legate having ſeverely inveighed againſt the Prieſts marrying, alledged, *It was a horrid Sin for a Prieſt to riſe from the the Side of a* Harlot, *and then to make the Body of Chriſt*; yet the next Night, (having ſaid Maſs that very Day) he himſelf was taken in Bed with a *Whore*. *Huntingdon, and then to make the Body of Chriſt*; who was himſelf a Prieſt and the Son of a Prieſt, and living at this very time, (after an Apology for making ſo bold with the Fathers of the Church,) is the firſt that gives us this Story at large, and concludes, that *the Thing was too notorious to be denied, neither ought it to be concealed*, p. 382. See *Brompton*, p. 1015.

1125. *The King gained some advantage by it.*

tended Licentiouſneſs, though the King ſtrictly enjoin'd their obſervance. But *Henry*'s Aim was not ſo much to prevent the Clergy from marrying, as to obtain of the Pope, by this ſeeming Zeal, a Power to execute the Decrees of the Councils on this article, as it happened in the Year 1129. When once he was inveſted with this Authority, he gave the Prieſts leave, without ſcruple, to keep their Wives, upon Payment of ſo much Money for a Diſpenſation (1).

1127. Henry *gets* Matilda *acknowledged his Heir.* Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

The King, had now, for ſix Years, been expecting in vain that God would bleſs him with Children by his ſecond Wife. When he found, after ſo long a time, there was no likelihood of obtaining what he deſired, he was quite out of Hopes. However, to ſecure the Succeſſion in his Family, he reſolved to have his Daughter *Matilda*, who ſince the Emperor's Death was returned to *England* (2), acknowedged the preſumptive Heir to the Crown. The Advantage, this Princeſs had, of being deſcended by the Mother's Side from the antient *Saxon* Kings, endeared her to the *Engliſh*, who were not yet inured to the *Norman* Yoke. On the other hand, for want of a Prince of their own Nation, it was the Intereſt of the *Normans* to place on the Throne a Grandaughter of *William the Conqueror*. to whom they were indebted for all their Poſſeſſions in *England*. The Caſe ſtanding thus, the King was in hopes to ſucceed in his Deſign, and aſſembled all the immediate Vaſſals of the Crown (3). Among the Lords, preſent at this great Council, were, *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne*, the King's Nephew, and *David* King of *Scotland* (4), on account of the Fiefs he held in *England* (5). All the Members of the Aſſembly conſenting to the King's Propoſal, *David* and *Stephen* were the firſt that took the Oath to *Matilda*, in caſe the King her Father died without Iſſue Male.

Matilda *married to* Geoffrey Plantagenet. Huntingd. Hoved. M. Paris.

This Affair being tranſacted to the King's Satisfaction, he married the Empreſs to *Geoffery Plantagenet*, Son of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* (6), who had reſigned his Dominions to his Son, in order to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Jeruſalem*, upon the Death of *Baldwin* II. his Father-in-law. The King, in making choice of Earl *Geoffrey* for his Daughter, conſulted his own Intereſt more than *Matilda*'s Inclination. This Princeſs, Widow to an Emperor, thinking it a Diſparagement to marry the Earl of *Anjou*, very unwillingly gave her Conſent, and not without ſome Compulſion from her Father. As he was in continual Apprehenſions that *William Crito* his Nephew, would take *Normandy* from him, he thought he could not do better than ſecure *Geoffrey* in his Intereſt, that he might be always ready to aſſiſt that Dutchy in caſe of Attack.

The Barons are diſſatisfied with the Match.

If *Matilda* ſhowed ſome Reluctance to comply with her Father's Will, the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Barons ſeemed no leſs diſſatisfied with this Alliance. They imagined, they ought to have been conſulted in an Affair, which was to give them a King. Moreover, ſome had ſecretly flattered themſelves with one Day mounting the Throne, by marrying the Empreſs. It was eaſy therefore to foreſee, that the Oath by which the King meant to bind them, would be of little Force after his Death. But beſides that he imagined none would venture to break it, his dread of the King of *France* and *William Crito*, cauſed him to conſider only the preſent Advantages procured him by the Marriage of his Daughter.

1128. Crito *made Earl of* Flanders. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

He was very juſtly apprehenſive of a League between *Lewis* and *William Crito*. The King of *France* no longer concealing his Deſign of putting the young Prince in poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions, had now inveſted him with the Earldom of *Flanders*, the better to enable him to wage War with the King his Uncle. To prevent his Enemy's Deſigns, *Henry* uſed two Methods with equal Succeſs. The firſt was, to carry the War into *France*. The ſecond, to engage the *Flemings* to riſe againſt their new Earl, and join with *Theodoric* of *Alſatia*, who pretended to *Flanders*. Purſuant to his Scheme, he entered *France* with a powerful Army, whilſt, on the other hand, the Towns of *Flanders* openly declared againſt his Nephew. *Aloſt* was the firſt, *William* undertook to reduce to Obedience by a Siege, which laſted long enough to give his Rival time to come to its Relief. *William* having Intelligence of *Theodoric*'s Approach, went to meet him, and gaining a compleat Victory, returned to carry on the Siege. The Defeat of the *Land-grave* of *Alſatia* would have diſabled the Beſieged to hold out any longer, if in one of their Sallies *William* had not received a Wound (7), of which he died in a few Days. This young Prince was endued with Courage, and ſeveral other good Qualities. But, to avoid the Misfortunes, the Duke his Father had drawn upon himſelf by his Profuſeneſs, he ran into the contrary Extreme (8). This Failing, joined to ſome Acts of Violence committed by him in *Flanders*, and his immoderate Love of Women, gained him the hatred of the *Flemings*, and diſpoſed them to liſten to the Sollicitations of the King his Uncle. The unlucky Accident of this Prince's ſudden Death, and the Preſence of the *Engliſh* Army in *France*, obliged *Lewis* to deſiſt from his Projects and conclude a Peace with *Henry*. From that time to the Day of his Death, the King had no more Quarrels with *France*. Neither do we find in the Reſidue of his Reign, which laſted ſix Years longer, but very few Occurrence worth Notice, the principal of which I am going to relate.

1128. Brompt. *Is ſlain at the Siege of* Aloſt. S. Dunelm. Huntingd.

1130. Henry *owns* Innocent II. *for Pope.* Malmſb.

In the 30th Year of his Reign, being likewiſe the 30th of the *Century*, *Henry* went over to *Normandy*, where he ſpent the beſt Part of a Year. His main Buſineſs was an Interview with Pope *Innocent* II. whom at length he owned for the true Pope, though *Anacletus* his Rival was Maſter of *Rome*. The chief difficulty of this Affair, conſiſted in the Acknowledgment of *Innocent* by *France*, and, in *Henry*'s inclining, for that Reaſon, to *Anacletus*. But *Innocent* managed him ſo artfully, that he was owned by him for Pope, which did not a little turn to his Advantage.

Barons renew their Oath to Matilda. Malmſb. Huntingd.

Henry, when he returned to *England* (9), brought with him his Daughter *Matilda*, who upon ſome Diſguſt was parted from the Earl her Husband. Upon his Arrival, he called a General Aſſembly (10), where the Oath of Fealty to the Empreſs was renewed, after which ſhe went back to he Husband, who deſired her Company.

1132. Huntingd. M. Weſt.

The Year 1132 was remarkable for the founding of an Epiſcopal See at *Carliſle*, and the burning great Part of *London*. As the Houſes were moſtly built of Wood, this City was frequently ſubject to the like Accidents.

1133. *Birth of Prince* Henry. Huntingd. R. Diceto. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The next Year, a new occaſion of Joy blotted out the Remembrance of this Misfortune. *Matilda* was brought to bed of a Prince, named *Henry* after his Grand-father. Immediately after the Birth of this Prince, the King aſſembled all the great Men, and cauſed them to renew the Oath of the Succeſſion, in which the new-born Prince was included. This was the third time he made them take this Oath, which however was never the better obſerved. *Matilda* had two Sons more, namely, *Geoffrey* and *William*, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Henry *goes into* Normandy. Malmſb. Sax. Ann.

Towards the latter End of the Summer, the King went over for the laſt time to *Normandy*. The Day he embarked, there was an Eclipſe of the Sun, and two Days after a great Earthquake, Flames of Fire iſſuing out of the Cleſts of the Earth with great Violence. Some will have theſe Accidents to be Preſages of the King's Death, which however did not happen till two Years after. *Robert* his eldeſt Brother died before him at the Caſtle of *Cardiff*, where he had been Priſoner twenty ſix Years (11). He was a Prince of great Courage, and for ſome time, of great Reputation. His eaſy, careleſs, and profuſe Temper, made him loſe twice the Opportunity of acquiring the Crown of *England*, which he had a better Claim to, and perhaps was more deſerving of than his Brothers. He was ſirnamed *Courte-hoſe*, either for wearing his Breeches very ſhort, or becauſe his Legs were not long enough in proportion to the reſt of his Body (12). Some give him the Sirname of *Courteous*, miſtaking the meaning of the Word *Courte-hoſe*, and becauſe that Name was ſuitable to his generous Temper.

Robert *his Brother dies.* M. Weſt. M. Paris.

Malmſb.

(1) In 1126, *Septemb.* 11. King *Henry* returned to *England* from *Normandy*, having been there ever ſince *Whitſuntide*, 1123. See *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 254. *Brompt.* p. 1015. *Huntingd.* p. 383.

(2) After her Huſband's Death in 1125. She came to the King her Father in *Normandy*; and in 1126, came over to *England* along with him. *Brompt.* p. 1015. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 175. *S. Dunelm.* p. 251.

(3) The Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Thanes. *Sax. Ann.*

(4) He came to *England* in 1126, after *Michaelmas*, and ſpent a whole Year here. *Sax. Ann.*

(5) Namely, *Huntingdonſhire*, *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*.

(6) He ſent her, after *Whitſuntide*, to *Normandy*, where ſhe was attended by *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, and *Brian*, Son of *Alan Fergeant* Earl of *Richmond*, with Orders that the Marriage Ceremony ſhould be performed by the Archbiſhop of *Roon*. *Henry* himſelf went over into *Normandy*, *Auguſt* 26, to ſee the Marriage concluded. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 175. *Huntingd.* p. 383. *S. Dunelm.* p. 255. *Geoffrey*, Earl of *Anjou*, was but fifteen Years old. *P. Daniel*, p. 223.

(7) Taking hold of a Man's Lance, he was wounded in the Ball of the Thumb; which turning to a Gangrene, he died five days after in St. *Bertin*'s Monaſtery, on *July* 27. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 255. *P. Daniel*, p. 225. *See his Tomb and Epitaph in Sandford*, p. 17.

(8) Upon which account he is, in the *Belgick* Hiſtories, ſirnamed *Miſer*. *Tyrrel*, p. 172.

(9) About the beginning of *July*, in 1131. *S. Dunelm.* p. 256. *Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 177.

(10) At *Northampton*. *Huntingd.* p. 384. *Malmſb.* p. 177.

(11) It was about twenty-ſeven, namely, from 1107 to 1134, *Feb.* 10. *Ord. Vitalis. W. Gemiticens.*

(12) *Malmſbury* ſays he was ſo named, becauſe he was ſmall of Stature, p. 153.

He

1133. He was buried at *Glouceſter* in the Choir of the Cathedral, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen (1).

1135. *The Death of Henry.* The Death of *Robert* was quickly followed by that of the King his Brother. About the latter End of *Auguſt*, 1135, he was ſeized with a violent Illneſs, which carried him off in ſeven Days. It is ſaid, he was the Occaſion of it himſelf, by eating to Exceſs of ſome Lampreys, of which he was very fond. He was then at the Caſtle of *Lyon* near *Roan*, a Place he much delighted in. When he found, he was near his End, he ſent for the Earl of *Glouceſter* his natural Son, and earneſtly recommended to him the Concerns of the Empreſs his Daughter, without mentioning the Earl of *Anjou* his Son-in-law, with whom he was diſpleaſed. After this, he made his Will, leaving to his Domeſticks above ſixty thouſand Pounds Sterling. He ordered his Debts to be punctually paid, and all Arrears due to him to be remitted. He died on the ſecond of *December*, (2) in the ſixty eighth Year of his Age, and the thirty ſixth of his Reign. His Body was cut in Pieces in order to be embalmed (3), after the rude Manner of thoſe Days, becauſe he was to be buried in *England*, in the Abbey of *Reading* (4).

Ord. Vital.

His Character. We find in this Prince a great Mixture of good and bad Qualities. He was very couragious, and of a great Capacity, both in Military and Civil Affairs. His Prudence in the Adminiſtration of his Government appeared chiefly in that during his frequent Voyages to *Normandy*, there was never any Inſurrection in *England*, though the Kingdom did not want Male-contents. He was exceeding regular in his Diet. Never was he known to be guilty of any Exceſs in eating or drinking, except that which coſt him him his Life. He was inexorable to all Malefactors, being perſuaded, Severity was abſolutely neceſſary to curb the Licentiouſneſs introduced in the late Reign. His Education was the reverſe of that of *William Rufus*: Whereas this laſt had no Learning at all, *Henry* was brought up to Letters, and made great Progreſs in his Studies. Hence he acquired the Sirname of *Beau-Clerc*, that is, the Scholar, for in thoſe Days none but Eccleſiaſticks troubled themſelves about Books, and Princes leaſt of all others. He retained all his Life long a reliſh for the Sciences, imbibed in his Youth. He had even built a Palace at *Oxford*, where he often retired to divert himſelf with the Converſation of the Learned. His handſome Face, his ſweet and ſerene Looks, his free and open Countenance, his affable Carriage and agreeable Converſation, prepoſſeſſed at firſt Sight all the World in his Favour. Theſe fine Qualities would have rendered him an accompliſhed Prince, had they not been ſullied with many Faults, among which, Cruelty, Avarice, and an inordinate Love of Women, were moſt predominant. The firſt appeared in his barbarous uſage of his elder Brother. The ſecond, in his exorbitant and frequent Taxes on the People. The third, in the great Number of Baſtards by ſeveral Miſtreſſes. I ſhall not ſtay to remark here his Uſurpation of the Crown; becauſe it may be objected, *Robert*'s Claim was not inconteſtable, by reaſon of the Diverſity of Opinions on that Subject. But for his Injuſtice to his Brother, in depriving him of his Dominions, and detaining him Priſoner twenty ſix Years, I think nothing can be alledged to excuſe it. In order to repar in ſome meaſure his Miſdemeanours, he founded the Epiſcopal Sees of *Ely* and *Carliſle*, and the Abbeys of *Reading*, *Hyde*, *Cheſter*, with the *Priory* of *Dunſtable* (5). This was the Method of atoning for Offences, much in vogue in thoſe Days, which being very eaſy for the Rich and Powerful, was long in uſe and is ſtill practiced to this Day. The Charter this Prince granted to the Nation upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, is one of the moſt remarkable Particulars of his Reign, during which *England* enjoyed a prodigious Plenty of all Things. For a Shilling might be bought as much Corn as would ſerve one hundred Men a Day; and for a Groat, which was alſo the Price of a Sheep, as much Hay and Oats as twenty Horſes could eat in the ſame Time. It is true indeed, Money was then much ſcarcer than at preſent.

1135.

His Iſſue. *Henry* left only one legitimate Daughter, namely, the Empreſs *Matilda*, and twelve natural Children. Among whom *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter* made the greateſt Figure (6), as well on account of his perſonal Merit, as for his ſteddy Adherence to the Empreſs his Siſter, as will be ſeen in the following Reign (7).

The

(1) He lies in the middle of the Choir, where, not long after, was erected for him a Tomb of Wainſcot in the form of a Cheſt, with his Image thereon Croſs-legged, carved to the Life in heart of Oak. Upon the Pannels of the Cheſt are pencilled the Arms of ſeveral of the Worthies, and at the Foot, the Arms of *France* and *England* Quarterly, which ſhow theſe Eſcutcheons to be painted ſince the Reign of *Henry* IV. The Parliament Soldiers in *Charles* I's time tore it to pieces, but the Parcels (ready to be burnt) were bought of the Soldiers by Sir *Humphrey Stracy* of *Stanway*, and after the Reſtoration, put together again, and beautified at his own Charge, and defended with a Wire-ſkreen. *Sandford*. *Huntingdon* ſays he died of Grief for being forced to wear a caſt-off Coat of the King his Brother.

(2) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays *September*. He died about Midnight of the firſt of *December*, being *Sunday*.

(3) *Gervaſe* of *Canterbury* gives us the barbarous manner of embalming the King's Body. They cut great Gaſhes in his Fleſh with Knives, and then powdered it well with Salt, wrapped it up in tanned Ox-hides to avoid the Stench, which was ſo infectious, that a Man who was hired to open his Head died preſently after.

(4) Though there is no mention of this King's Monument, the Monks of *Reading* are thought to erect a Tomb anſwerable to the Dignity of their Founder. Upon the Suppreſſion of the Abbeys, his Bones are ſaid to be thrown out to make room for a Stable of Horſes. The Monaſtery is now a dwelling Houſe. *Sandford*.

(5) Among his other Buildings was a magnificent Palace at *Woodſtock*, to which he adjoined a large Park, incloſ'd with a ſtone Wall, which is affirmed to be the firſt Park in *England*. Though there were afterwards ſo great a Number, that there were computed more in this Kingdom than in all the Chriſtian World beſides.

(6) The reſt of his natural Children were; II. *Richard* by the Widow of *Anſkil* a Nobleman in *Oxfordſhire*. He was drowned with Prince *William*. III. *Reynald* created Earl of *Cornwall* in the Vth of *Stephen*, by *Sibil* Daughter of Sir *Robert Corbet* of *Alcieſter* in *Warwickſhire*. IV. *Robert* by *Editha*, Daughter of a northern Gentleman. V. *Gilbert*, mentioned without any Particulars by *W. Gemet*. VI. *William de Tracy*, ſo named from a Town in *Normandy*. VII. *Henry*, by *Neſta* Daughter of *Rhees ap Tudor*, Prince of *South-Wales*. (Wife afterwards of *Gerald* of *Windſor*, Conſtable of *Pembroke*-Caſtle, and Anceſtor of the Earls of *Kildare* in *Ireland*.) He was born and bred, and liv'd and married in *Wales*, having two Sons *Meiler* and *Robert*. He loſt his Life in the Conflict betwixt *Magnus* Son of the King of *Norway*, and *Hugh Montgomery* Earl of *Shrewſbury*, 1097. VIII. *Maud*, Wife of *Petro* Earl of *Perch*. She was drowned with Prince *William*. IX. Another *Maud* married to *Conan the Groſſe*, Earl of *Bretagne*. X. *Julian* married to *Euſtace de Pacie*, natural Son of *William de Bretevil*, eldeſt Son and Heir of *William*, and elder Brother of *Roger* Earl of *Hereford* in *England*. XI. *Conſtance* Wife of *Roſcelin*, Viſcount *Beaumont* (a Town of *Maine* in *France*) and by him Mother of *Richard* Viſcount *Beaumont*, Father of *Ermengard* Queen of *William* King of *Scotland*, and of *Conſtance de Toen*, to whom King *John* confirmed the Eſtate of her Grandmother *Conſtance*. XII. *Elizabeth*, by *Elizabeth* Siſter of *Waleran* Earl of *Mellent*, married to *Alexander* King of *Scots*. Theſe, with two other nameleſs Daughters, are mentioned by *Gemeticenſis*, l. 8. c. 29.

(7) I. The Places at which *Henry* I. is recorded to have held his Court, are as follows. In 1100, at *Chriſtmas*, at *Weſtminſter*. 1101, at *Eaſter*, at *Winchеſter*; and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 278. *S. Dunelm.* p. 226.) In 1102, at *Eaſter*, at *Winchеſter*; at *Michaelmas*, at *Weſtminſter*, or *London*; and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 227.) In 1103, at *Eaſter*, at *Winchеſter*. (*Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 228.) at *Chriſtmas*, at *Weſtminſter*. In 1104, at *Eaſter*, at *Winchеſter*; at *Whitſuntide*, at *Weſtminſter*; and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Windſor*. (*Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 228, 229.) In 1105, at *Chriſtmas*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1106, at *Eaſter*, at *Bath*; and at *Whitſuntide*, at *Saliſbury*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1107, at *Eaſter*, at *Windſor*; at *Whitſuntide*, at *Weſtminſter*; in the beginning of *Auguſt*, at the ſame Place again: (*Sax. Ann. Eadmer*, p. 90, 91. *Diceto*, p. 500. *S. Dunelm.* p. 230.) as alſo at *Chriſtmas*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1108, at *Eaſter*, at *Winchеſter*; and at *Whitſuntide*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1109, at *Whitſuntide*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann. Brompt.* p. 1003. *Eadmer*, p. 102.) and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann. Eadmer*, p. 105.) In 1110, at *Eaſter*, at *Marlborough*; and at *Whitſuntide*, at *New Windſor*, which he built. (*Huntingd.* p. 379. *Brompt.* p. 1004.) In 1113, *Septem.* 16, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Eadmer*, p. 114.) and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Windſor*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1115, at *Chriſtmas*, at St. *Albans*. (*Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 380.) In 1116, at *Eaſter*, at *Odiham* in *Hampſhire*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1118, at *London*. (*Eadmer*, p. 118.) In 1120, at *Chriſtmas*, at *Brampton*. (*Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 381.) In 1121, in *Epiphany*, at *London*. (*Eadmer*. p. 136.) at *Eaſter*, at *Berkley*; at *Whitſuntide*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 381.) and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Norwich*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1122, at *Eaſter*, at *Northampton*; at *Whitſuntide*, at *Windſor*. (*Sax. Ann. Hoved.* p. 477. *Huntingd.* p. 382. *Brompt.* p. 1014.) and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Dunſtable*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1123, at *Woodſtock*. (*Sax. Ann.*) at *Berkhamſted*. (*Huntingd.* p. 382. *Hoved.* p. 477.) at *Candlemas*, at *Glouceſter*. (*Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.* p. 247.) In 1124, in the beginning of *December*, at *Huncot* in *Leiceſterſhire*. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1126, at *Chriſtmas*, at *Windſor*. (*Sax. Ann.*) *S. Dunelm.* p. 254.) In 1127, at *London*, in *May*. (*Huntingd.* p. 383. *Hoved.* p. 478.) In 1129, at *Chriſtmas*, at *Worceſter*. (*Huntingd.* p. 384. In 1130, at *Eaſter*, at *Woodſtock*; and in *May*, at *Canterbury*. (*Huntingd.* ibid.) In 1131, at *Northampton*, *Septemb.* 8; and at *Chriſtmas*, at *Dunſtable*. (*Huntingd.* p. 384, 385.) In 1132, at *Eaſter*, at *Woodſtock*; and after *Eaſter*, at *London*; at *Chriſtmas*, at *Windſor*. (*Huntingd.* p. 385.) In 1133, at *London*, in *Lent*; at *Eaſter*, at *Oxford*; and in *May*, at *Winchеſter*. (*Huntingd.* p. 385. *Brompt.*)

II. The moſt memorable Occurrences not mentioned by Mr. *Rapin*, are theſe. In the Year 1112, there was a Plague in *England*. (*Sax. Ann.*) And in 1113, *Worceſter* was burnt to the Ground, in *June*. (*S. Dunelm.* p. 236. *Brompt.* p. 1005.) In 1114, *October* 10, the Water was ſo low in the *Thames*, for near twenty-four Hours, that People could not only ride through between the Bridge and the Tower, but great Numbers of Men and Boys, even paſſed it there on Foot, the Water hardly reaching up to their Knees. It was the ſame in the *Medway*, at *Yarmouth*, and other Places. (*Sax. Ann. Eadmer*, p. 111. *S. Dunelm.* p. 236. *Brompt.* p. 1005.) In 1119, and 1122, there were two Earthquakes in *Glouceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Somerſetſhire*, (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1122, King *Henry* ordered a Wall to be built round *Carliſle*. (*S. Dunelm.* p. 246.) In 1123, *May* 19, the City of *Lincoln* was almoſt all burnt down. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1124, there was ſo great a Dearth in *England*, that a Horſe-load of Wheat was ſold for ſix Shillings. (*Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 38.) In 1131, *January* 11, there was a remarkable *Aurora Borealis*. (*Sax. Ann. Malmſb.* p. 177.

III. The manner of paying in and computing the King's Money being ſhown in the Note at the end of *William Rufus*'s Reign, it may not be amiſs to ſhow here how the Royal Revenue was levied and the manner of iſſuing it. Firſt, as to the *levying*, the Perſons principally intruſted, was the *Sheriff* of each County, who in thoſe Days was an Officer of great Authority. However there were ſeveral other ſtated Collectors and Accomptants, namely, the *Eſcheators*, the *Fermers*, (or *Cuſtodes* of ſuch Towns and Boroughs as were not within the Sheriff's Receipt) the *Cuſtodes Cambij*, or Cuſtomers, the Keepers of the Wardrobe, and in general, all Perſons who held Bailywicks from the King, or received any of his Treaſure or Revenue by Impreſt or otherwiſe, were obliged to render an Account thereof, and in ſucceeding Times the Collectors of *Tallages*, *Diſmes*, *Quinzimes*, &c. But in caſe theſe Officers could not enforce the King's Debtors to make Payment, the Sheriff was arm'd with ſufficient Power to do it. The moſt antient Proceſs made uſe of was the *Summonce* of the *Exchequer*, which iſſued twice a Year into all the Counties of *England*, and was returnable againſt the Times of holding the *Duo Scaccaria*, namely, the *Scaccarium*

4. *The Reign of King* STEPHEN.

1135. Henry's *Precautions ineffectual.*

HENRY imagined he had taken ſo juſt Meaſures to ſecure the Succeſſion to the Empreſs his Daughter, that he could not believe they would ever fail. The triple Oath, by which he had bound the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, ſeemed to him a ſufficient Fence againſt their Ambition. At leaſt, he could not think, that ſuppoſing, ſome one ſhould irreligiouſly violate ſo ſolemn Engagements, the reſt would be willing to favour his Deſigns. And yet, this Tie, which appeared ſo ſtrong, could not hinder thoſe whom he leaſt miſtruſted, from contriving, even before his Death, how to render all his Precautions ineffectual. We may have obſerved, in the three foregoing Reigns, with what Partiality Riches, Honours, and Places, were beſtowed upon Foreigners, particularly upon thoſe that had any Relation to the Royal Family. Theſe three laſt Kings, by excluding the *Engliſh* from their Favours in order to laviſh them on the *Normans*, were in hopes, by that means, to ſecure the Crown in their Family. But on the contrary, by heaping Eſtates and Honours on their Relations, inſtead of gaining their Children Friends, they created them Rivals. By ſtrengthening the Foreigners againſt the *Engliſh*, they unadviſedly cheriſhed the Ambition of the former, and put it out of the Power of the latter, to ſupport the Royal Family, when moſt in need of Protection.

Falſe Meaſures of the Norman *Kings.*

Among thoſe that ſhared the late King's Favours, *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne* his Nephew, was the moſt conſiderable. *Adala* his Mother, Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, brought the Earl of *Blois* her Husband four Sons, of whom *Theobald*, the ſecond, ſucceeded his Father, the eldeſt being incapaciated by ſome natural Defects. *Stephen*, the third Son, was ſent into *England* to the King his Uncle. *Henry* the youngeſt, was a Monk in the Monaſtery of *Clugni*. *Stephen*'s noble Qualities ſoon gained him the Eſteem and Affection of the King, who took a Pleaſure in making him rich and powerful. Beſides, he politickly thought he could do no better than enable his Nephew to ſupport his Family. With this view, he conferred on *Stephen* the Lands, taken from the Earl of *Mortaign*, and ſending for *Henry* from the Monaſtery of *Clugni*, made him Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, and, ſome time after, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The King's Favour gaining the two Brothers great Credit and Intereſt in *England*, they formed ſo ſtrong a Party, that they thought themſelves able to take advantage of the Diſaſter befallen the Royal Family, in the Death of Prince *William*. It is true, when the late King was deſirous to ſecure the Crown to *Matilda*, *Stephen* was the firſt that ſwore to that Princeſs. But, beſides that he could not be excuſed, it was not yet time to diſcover his Deſigns. Perhaps too he hoped the King out of Affection, might give him his Daughter. However this be, his hopes, if he had entertained any, vaniſhing with *Matilda*'s Marriage with the Earl of *Anjou*, he turned his Thoughts to the accompliſhing of his Project. By means of ſecret Emiſſaries, he fomented the Diſcontent cauſed by this Marriage among the Nobility, and made ſure beforehand of the Aſſiſtance of thoſe, who were beſt able to place him on the Throne after the King's Death. He acted however with ſo much Caution, that his Uncle never once ſuſpected his Intentions. On the contrary, a little before his Death, he gave him a freſh Mark of his Affection, by marrying him to *Matilda*, only Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Boulogne*, by which he became more powerful and in greater Credit than ever.

1135.

Stephen, *Nephew to* Henry, *aſpires to the Crown in his Uncle's Life Time.*

Brompton.

As the King's laſt Sickneſs appeared at firſt very dangerous, *Stephen*, who attended him into *Normandy*, ſent ſpeedy notice to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Brother, that he might renew his Intrigues to procure him the Crown. This Prelate had now gained to his Intereſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who had both a great Influence on the Clergy. The laſt was the wealthieſt Subject in *England*, having had Opportunity to amaſs vaſt Riches in the Adminiſtration of Affairs Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, which the late King had entirely entruſted him with. The Occaſion of his Riſe was ſomething particular. Whilſt he was only a Pariſh-Prieſt in *Normandy*, *Henry*, who had then no Proſpect of mounting the Throne, chanced to come into the Church, where he was ſaying Maſs. The great Care wherewith the Prieſt performed the Service, pleaſed the King ſo, that he deſired to have him for his Chaplain (1). *Roger* did not want much Intreaty to accept of an Honour he ſo little expected. Though he was no Scholar, he was naturally of ſo affable a Diſpoſition, and ſo much a Courtier, that he quickly gained the good Graces of his Patron, who loaded him with Favours. As ſoon as he came to the Crown, his firſt care was to preſer his Chaplain, by promoting him to the See of *Salisbury*. But not ſtopping there, he committed to him afterwards the Management of all important Affairs in Church and State, and made him his Chief Juſticiary. This high Poſt furniſhed the Biſhop with an Opportunity of heaping up immenſe Riches, which he expended not ſo much in Acts of Charity, as in building ſtately Palaces, and keeping as ſplendid an Equipage almoſt as the King himſelf.

The firſt Riſe of Roger *Biſhop of* Saliſbury. Brompt. Malmsb. Huntingd.

It was a great Advantage to *Stephen* to have for him three Prelates, whoſe Intereſt ſecured him the Suffrages of all the Clergy. This Body was then ſo powerful, that the Lay-Lords that were not in the Plot did not think themſelves able to oppoſe the Deſign, which they ſaw was entirely formed, of placing *Stephen* on the Throne, ſince all the Biſhops declared in his Favour. Not one attempted to ſpeak for *Matilda*; ſo great an Influence had the Example and Authority of the Clergy over the Minds of the Nobles and People. In the mean time, *Henry* dying in *Normandy*, *Stephen* forthwith repaired into *England* to back his Pretenſions with his Preſence (2).

The Clergy declares for Stephen.

rium Paſchæ, or *Exchequer of Eaſter*, and the *Scaccarium St. Michaelis*, or *Exchequer of Michaelmas*, which were the general Terms for the Sheriffs and other Accomptants to pay in their Fermes or Rents, and other Iſſues of their Bailywicks. This was the ordinary Proceſs, but upon urgent occaſions the King ſometimes iſſued ſpecial Writs to the Sheriffs and others concerned in collecting the Revenue, commanding them to levy Debts, *&c.* with all ſpeed. Secondly, As to the manner of *iſſuing* the King's Money: This was done ſeveral ways. Whilſt the Money remained in the Hands of the Sheriff, Fermers and others, it was uſual for the King, his Chief Juſticier, Great Officers of his Court, Treaſurer or Barons of the *Exchequer*, to order them by Writ, to make Proviſions and Payments out of the Money in their Hands. This Writ was ſometimes called *Warrantum, the Sheriff's Warrant*, for upon producing it, he had Allowance made to him *de tanto* upon his Accompt. Sometimes the King's Money was iſſued by way of *Preſt* or *Impreſt*, *de Præſtito*, either out of the Receipt of *Exchequer*, the Wardrobe, or other the King's Treaſuries. *Impreſt* ſeems to have been of the Nature of a *Concreditum* or *Accommodatum*, and when a Man had Money impreſted to him, he became accountable to the Crown for the ſame. In the fifth Year of King *Stephen*, an Accompt was rendered at the *Exchequer* of certain Moneys impreſted to the Accomptant, when the Empreſs came into *England*. *Mag. Rot. 5 Steph.* According to antient uſage, the King's Treaſure was to be iſſued by Virtue of a Writ or Mandate under the Great or Privy-Seal, and directed ſometimes to the Chief Juſticier and Barons of the *Exchequer*, but moſt commonly to the Treaſurers and Chamberlain of the *Receipt*. And the Writ was founded upon a Bill or Certificate from the Exchequer or Wardrobe, or other Matter of Record. But the uſual Writ for iſſuing the King's Money out of the Exchequer was the *Liberate*, (ſo called from that Word uſed in it,) directed to the Treaſurer and Chamberlain. This Writ was of two ſorts: a *Liberate* for paying a Sum *hac vice* only; and a *Liberate* Current or Dormant for paying in Continuance or more than once. The Reader may ſee Inſtances of all theſe Things in *Madox's Hiſt. of the Exchq.* ch. vi. 2.

H1.

The Coins of *Henry* I, are of the ſame ſhape and ſize with thoſe of the *Conqueror*, and inſcribed HENRIC. REX ANGL. The King's Full-Face, Sceptre and Croſs, and an open Crown with three Flower-de-lis (which diſtinguiſhes his Coin from thoſe of *Henry* II,) on one Side; and the Reverſe, a Croſs Potent in each Quarter of a large Croſs, as in the Figure annexed.

(1) *Malmſbury* ſays, he was firſt brought into *Henry*'s Family, while Prince, as a Steward; and recommended to him as a fit Perſon to manage his Affairs. p. 184.

(2) He took a light Ship at *Witſands*, and repaired forthwith to *London*. *Malmſb.* p. 178.

Supported

del. et Sculp. G. Vertue.

1135. Supported as he was, he found no great difficulty to carry the Prize from an abſent Princeſs, whoſe capricious and haughty Temper had already formed a great prejudice againſt her. If the Nobility had really that attachment for Religion, which they affected to ſhow, their repeated Oaths to *Matilda* would have been an inſuperable obſtacle to *Stephen*'s Election. But they were then as well skilled, as now, in the Art of evading the moſt ſolemn Oaths by Diſtinctions and mental Reſervations, which render the uſe of an Oath of no effect. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* affirmed, the Oath taken to *Matilda*, was null and void, as being directly contrary to the Cuſtoms of the *Engliſh*, who had never ſuffered a Woman to reign over them. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* maintained, the Oath was not binding, becauſe *Matilda* was married out of the Realm, without the conſent of the Barons, whoſe Intent, when they ſwore, was, not to give themſelves a King but of the race of *William the Conqueror*. In fine to remove all Scruples, *Hugh Bigod*, the late King's Steward, ſwore on the Holy Evangeliſts, that *Henry* before he died diſinherited *Matilda*, and nominated his Nephew *Stephen* for his Succeſſor. This was ſufficient to palliate the Diſloyalty of the Barons. On theſe weak grounds they rejected *Matilda*'s Right, which they had thrice ſworn to maintain, and crowned *Stephen* the 26th of *December* (1), twenty-four days after *Henry*'s Death. Thus this Princeſs ſaw herſelf deprived of the Crown, by thoſe whom the King her Father thought moſt firmly engaged to ſtand by her. So true it is, that the Precautions ſuggeſted by human Prudence are very little to be relied on (2).

Malmſb. p. 175. R. de Diceto. Gervaſ. M. Paris. He is crown'd. Brompt. Malmſb. Hoved.

Stephen was then one and thirty years old, and in great Eſteem with the Nobility. But his Age and noble Qualities were no addition to his Right. His Title was ſo weak, that, to ingage the Barons to ſupport it, he was forced to promiſe them more Privileges under his Government, than they had enjoyed in the Reigns of the *Norman* Kings his Predeceſſors, and doubtleſs, more than ever he intended to grant. This was the ſole Motive of their concurring ſo heartily in his Election. They imagined, his being indebted to them for the Crown, would always diſpoſe him to be grateful. But they could not expect the like from *Matilda*, who, having a clearer Title, would not think herſelf under the ſame Obligations. *Stephen* therefore, willing to ſpare nothing for a Crown, that might ſo juſtly be diſputed with him, promiſed to reform whatever was amiſs in the three foregoing Reigns; and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Brother, paſſed his Word for him. This Juncture was too favourable for the Barons to let it paſs without Improvement. When the Oath came to be adminiſtred to the new King, much more was required of him than of his Predeceſſors, The Import of the Oath was, "That he would, with- "in ſuch a Time, fill the vacant Biſhopricks, and "leave the Temporalities in the hands of ſome Eccleſiaſ- "tick, who ſhould take charge of them till the Vacan- "cy was filled. That he would not ſeize the Woods of "any Clerk or Layman, upon frivolous Pretences, as his "Predeceſſors had done; but be content with the Fo- "reſts, which belonged to the two *Williams*, and make "Reſtitution of ſuch as *Henry* had uſurped. Laſtly, "that he would aboliſh *Dane-gelt*, which was inſupport- "able to the Nation, and being taken away by King *Ed-* "*ward*, was reſtored by the *Norman* Kings." The Biſhops, on their part, took an Oath which was no leſs uncommon, for they ſwore Allegiance no longer than he ſhould continue to maintain the Church in her Privileges. The Lay-Lords acted with the ſame caution, if we may judge by the Oath of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, natural Son of the late King. He ſwore Fealty to the King, but on condition he would preſerve his Eſtates and Honours entire, and obſerve the Covenants made with the Barons. *Stephen* promiſed to do whatever was required of him, and moreover to grant an authentick Charter for the Security of the Liberties of the Nation, and the Privileges of the Church.

He makes large Promiſes to the Barons. Malmſb. Brompt. Huntingd. Malmſb. p. 178. He takes an unuſual Oath. Hunt. The Oath of the Biſhops and Barons. Malm.

The Coronation being over, the new King poſted to *Wincheſter*, to take poſſeſſion of the Treaſure of the late King, which amounted to a hundred thouſand Marks (3), beſides Plate and Jewels. With this Money he levied an Army of *Britons*, *Picards*, *Flemings*, and other Foreigners, whoſe Aſſiſtance he thought he might want, not having yet any great Confidence in his own Subjects. At his return from *Wincheſter*, he went to meet the Corps of the late King, which was coming from *Normandy*, in order to be interred at *Reading*, according to his own Directions. 1135. Brompt.

Stephen ſeizes the late King's Treaſures. Malmſb. Gervaſ. Sax. Ann.

Hitherto *Stephen* had met with no oppoſition (4). But he plainly foreſaw it would be otherwiſe hereafter. It was very likely *Matilda* and *Geoffrey* her Husband would not fail to attempt the Recovery of a Crown taken from them. It was requiſite therefore to endeavour to gain the Good-will of the People; and the moſt proper means to that end, was to ſhow, he really intended to perform his Promiſes. With this view, he convened a General Aſſembly at *Oxford*, where he ſigned the promiſed Charter; the chief Articles of which are as follows: "He acknowledges his being elected King, by "the Aſſent of the Clergy and People. He confirms "all the Liberties, Privileges and Immunities of the "Church, and conſents that all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes "and Perſons ſhall be tried by the Clergy. He promi- "ſes, not to meddle in any manner with the Tem- "poralities of vacant Biſhopricks, or Eſtates belonging "to the Eccleſiaſticks. He aboliſhes all Laws relating to "Hunting and the Foreſts (5), enacted ſince the Con- "queſt. Laſtly, to gain entirely the Affection of the "*Engliſh*, he revives the antient *Saxon* Laws." This Charter was very advantagious for the People, had it been punctually obſerved. But, as an Hiſtorian remarks, as the *Engliſh* elected *Stephen* purely for their own intereſt, ſo this Prince granted all they required, rather to amuſe them, than to bind himſelf with theſe Parchment-Chains. The Solidity of this Remark is viſible in the Behaviour of the King a few Months after. The Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* becoming vacant by the Death of *Corbet* (6), the King ſeized the Revenues, and kept them in his hands above two Years. Neither did he reſt there. As the Archbiſhop died inteſtate, he ſeized his Effects, pretending it was the Prerogative of the Crown. It is true, he only followed the Example of the three former Kings. But ſuppoſing he was poſſeſſed of that Right, he had promiſed ſo poſitively to give it up, that this Proceeding could not be conſidered but as an expreſs Breach of his Charter and Oath. 1136. *He grants a very advantagious Charter.* Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Malmſb. Brompt. M. Paris. J. Hagulſt. Malmſb. p. 199. *The King ſeizes the Revenues of the See of* Canterbury. Huntingd. M. Paris. Malmſb.

Diſpoſitions to Troubles.

The beginning of this Reign was very peaceable; but this Tranquillity laſted not long. The Subjects, grown inſolent, ſet too high a value on the Service they had done the King. There were ſome alſo, who, being forced to comply with the Sentiments of the Majority, were waiting for an opportunity to take away the reproach the Nation lay under for the Breach of their Oath. The King, who was not ignorant how matters ſtood, did all he could to gain the People's Affections, for whom he foreſaw he ſhould ſoon have occaſion. With this view it was that he conferred Titles and Honours on ſeveral Perſons, and alienated abundance of the Crown-Lands, to ſuch as might be ſerviceable to him. Mean time, this Bounty had not the effect he propoſed. Thoſe that partook of his Favours, conſidered them as their due Reward; whilſt others that were neglected, entertained a Jealouſy, which in the end proved very fatal to him. But his greateſt overſight was ſuffering the Barons to fortify their Caſtles (7), which put it in their Power to revolt whenever they pleaſed. In a little time, there were above a thouſand fortified Caſtles in divers parts of the Kingdom. Malmſb. Brompt.

Earl of Devonſhire *revolts.* G. R. S. p. 933. Brompt. Huntingd. *Incurſion of the* Welſh.

The Inſolence of *Baldwin de Redvers* (8) Earl of *Devonſhire*, quickly made *Stephen* ſenſible of his error. The Earl taking it as an affront, that the King ſhould deny him ſome Favour, openly declared he would obey him no longer. Purſuant to this reſolution, he fortified his Caſtle at *Exeter*, where he acted as Sovereign, exerciſing a tyrannical Power upon the Citizens. This Revolt was the more dangerous, as the *Welſh* at the ſame time made an Irruption into the Frontiers, and carried away a great Booty. The King, judging *Baldwin*'s Affair to be of greater importance than the Inroads of the *Welſh*, went and laid Siege to *Exeter*, which took him up a conſiderable time. At length becoming maſter of the Place, he purſued the Rebel to the *Iſle of Wight*, and compelling him to fly from thence, baniſhed him the Realm (9), but pardoned all the other Offenders. This 1137. *The Earl baniſhed.* Hunt. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

(1) *W. Malmſbury* ſays, he was crowned the twenty ſecond, p. 178.

(2) The Author of *Geſta Regis Stephani* teſtifies, That moſt of the Nobility did not only find it neceſſary, immediately to elect a valiant and worthy King, for the common Benefit and Peace of the Kingdom; but that they ſuppoſed it to be their Right and Privilege, upon the Death of their King, to provide another of the Royal Blood to ſucceed him. *Apud Ducheſne*, p. 928.

(3) *W. Malmſbury* ſays, a hundred thouſand Pounds, p. 179.

(4) *March* 21. 1136. *Matilda*, *Stephen*'s Queen, was crowned. *Gervaſe*, p. 1340.

(5) He alſo aboliſhes *Danegeld* for ever. *Brompt.* p. 1024.

(6) Or rather *Curboil*, as has been obſerved above, p. 197. *Note* (11).

(7) This he did in order to ſecure himſelf againſt any Attempts from *Matilda*. He not only gave the Barons leave to fortify their Caſtles, but alſo to build new ones on their Eſtates. *Brompt.* p. 1024.

(8) Or *de Reveers*. *R de Diceto*. p. 560. *de Rivers*. *Ann. Wav.* p. 152. He was alſo Lord of the Iſle of *Wight*, *Tyrrel*, p. 204.

(9) And diſinherited him. *Diceto*. *Ibid.*

1136. Indulgence proved very prejudicial to him, as it ſerved to imbolden the diſcontented Party.

The Engliſh *defeated by the* Welſh Pow. Chro. Gervas.

The *Welſh* War ended not ſo ſucceſsfully. In a Battle fought near *Cardigan*, the King's Troops were ſo roughly handled, that very few eſcaped (1). It is ſaid, the *Engliſh* Soldiers were ſtruck with ſuch a Pannick, that they ſuffered themſelves to be taken Priſoners by the very Women.

1137. *The King of* Scotland *invades the North.* Huntingd. Malmſb. Sax. Ann. Brompt.

Whilſt the *Engliſh* Arms were employed in *Wales*, *David* King of *Scotland* made an Incurſion into the northern Counties of *England*, under pretence of revenging the Wrong done to the Empreſs his Niece. He immediately became maſter of *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*, and puſhing his Conqueſts, advanced as far as *Durham*. As ſoon as *Stephen* could get clear of the *Welſh*, he marched into the North (2), to repel the King of *Scotland*. The particulars of this War, of little moment in themſelves, are variouſly related by the Hiſtorians of the two Nations, who agree in nothing but the concluſion. They unanimouſly tell us, it ended in a Treaty of Peace, whereby the King of *Scotland* was to have *Carliſle*, and Prince *Henry* his Son the Earldom of *Huntingdon* (3), for which he did Homage to the King of *England*. The reaſon of the Son's being inveſted, was, becauſe the Father refuſed to accept it on that condition, alledging he had ſworn to acknowledge no other Sovereign in *England* but *Matilda*, in caſe King *Henry* died without Iſſue-Male (4).

An advantagious Peace to the King of Scotland. J. Hag. p. 312. Ric. Hag. p. 258.

The King taken ill; the Conſequences of it. Hoved. Brompt.

Stephen was no ſooner returned from his northern Expedition, but he fell into a Lethargy, which made it thought his Death was at hand. The ſuppoſed certainty thereof cauſed in *England* as well as *Normandy*, ſuch Troubles as were not eaſily allayed. The King's Friends were diſheartened, and *Matilda*'s Party conſiderably increaſed by the Rumour of the King's having reſigned his laſt Breath. On the other hand, the *Welſh*, looking upon this as a favourable Juncture, renewed the War; whilſt the Earl of *Anjou* entered *Normandy*, to take poſſeſſion of that part of the King his Father-in-Law's Inheritance. But, for what reaſon I know not, this Prince was become ſo odious to the *Normans*, that, to avoid falling under his Government, they called in *Theobald*, Earl of *Blois*, *Stephen*'s Elder Brother. *Theobald*, taking them whilſt they were in this mind, came to *Liſieux*, where the Earl of *Gloceſter* delivered him the Keys of *Falaiſe* (5). This Earl remembring the laſt Commands of the King his Father in behalf of *Matilda*, had with great reluctancy taken the Oath to *Stephen*. But as it was not in his power to ſupport alone the Empreſs's Right, he choſe to diſſemble in expectation of a favourable opportunity to declare in her favour. He believed he had found one by introducing the Earl of *Blois* into *Normandy*; imagining this Prince, who looked with an envious eye on his Brother's Greatneſs, would raiſe ſuch Troubles, as might turn to *Matilda*'s advantage.

Ord. Vital. M. Paris.

The Normans ſend for Theobald *Earl of* Blois. M. Paris. Waſſing. Gloceſter *delivers up* Falaiſe *to him.*

Mean time, *Stephen* being perfectly recovered, found his Affairs in the utmoſt confuſion. The great Men, who had depended upon the King's Death, were already entered into ſeveral Factions, from whence he foreſaw, it would be difficult to diſengage them. *Theobald* his Brother, creating him moſt Uneaſineſs, he reſolved to attack him firſt, before he was ſtrengthened with the Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, who alone was able to ſupport him. To this end, he went into *Normandy* (6), carrying with him large Sums of Money, with which he prevailed upon the chief Men of the Country to abandon the Earl of *Blois*. This change ought not to have ſurprized the Earl, ſince the *Normans* had not called him in but on ſuppoſition that *Stephen* was dead or dying, and to avoid being ſubject to the Earl of *Anjou*.

Stephen *recovers; and drives his Brother out of* Normandy. Ort. Vit. p. 902. Huntingd. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

He makes an Alliance with France. Ord. Vital. p. 909. Hoved.

The *Normans* thus deſerting the Earl of *Blois*, was a great advantage to *Stephen*. But, to deprive him of all Support, the King employed part of his Money in gaining the *French* King to his intereſt. This Expedient ſucceeding to his wiſh, he made an offenſive League with *France*, which put it out of the power of his Enemies to hurt him. However, as *Lewis* could not, without ſome Uneaſineſs, ſee *England* and *Normandy* in the hands of the ſame Perſon, *Stephen* reſigned the laſt to *Euſtace* Earl of *Boulogne* his eldeſt Son, who did Homage to the King of *France* for it. *Theobald* finding he was not ſtrong enough to ſtand againſt the two Monarchs, thought fit to retire. However, he ſent word to the King his Brother, that although he was forced to give way, he did not deſiſt from his Pretenſions, as eldeſt, both to *Normandy* and *England*. But he acted not according to this ſtout Meſſage. For ſhortly after he renounced his pretended Right for the annual Penſion of two thouſand Marks (7).

1137. *Gives* Normandy *to his Son,* Huntingd. Ord. Vital. p. 911. Brompt. M. Paris.

and makes up Matters with his Brother, and with the Earl of Anjou. Hunt. M. Paris.

The Union of the two Kings had the ſame effect with regard to the Earl of *Anjou*, whoſe Pretenſions, as Husband to *Matilda*, were much ſtronger. It is true, he made ſome farther Attempts upon *Normandy*. But after trying in vain to gain it by way of Arms, he was forced to accept, as a Favour, a Penſion of five thouſand Marks.

1138. *King of* Scotland *attacks* England. G. R. S. p. 937. Hunt. J. Hagulſt. Brompt. Gervaſe. M. Paris.

Matters being thus ſettled in *Normandy*, *Stephen* hoped to enjoy ſome Repoſe in *England*, when Advice was brought him that the King of *Scotland* had made an Irruption into *Northumberland* (8). Nay he was made to fear, and very juſtly too, that he was invited by the *Engliſh* Barons to ſupport the Empreſs's Right. For whilſt *David* was ravaging the northern Borders, ſome *Engliſh* Lords had ſeized *Bedford*, and probably, did not intend to ſtop there. Upon this News *Stephen* ſpeedily returned into *England*; and, though it was in the midſt of Winter (9), laid Siege to *Bedford*, never quitting it till he was maſter of the Place (10). After which, he marched towards *Scotland*, where *David* was retired.

A general Revolt in England. Brompt.

Whilſt he was employed in revenging on the *Scots* the Miſchiefs they had done the *Engliſh*, he was recalled (11), by an Inſurrection of almoſt all the Barons. This News ſurprized him; though one would think he ſhould not wonder at the Barons breaking their Oath, ſince he himſelf had done the ſame with regard to *Matilda*. The Male-contents complained, he had violated his Promiſes in many particulars relating as well to the People as the Church. But this was only a Pretence to cover their private Reſentments. The true reaſon of their Diſcontent was, their not being rewarded in the manner they expected. Ever ſince the King's Acceſſion to the Crown, they had continually teazed him with their Requeſts, though he endeavoured one while by Arguments, another while by Promiſes, and very often by actual Grants, to ſatisfy the moſt importunate. But all this was not able to ſecure their Allegiance, which was wholly grounded upon the expectation all had, of obtaining the ſame Honours, the ſame Eſtates, the ſame Poſts, which was impoſſible.

Gervaſe. S. Dunelm. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. l. 2. p. 180.

The Earl of Glouceſter *head of the Revolters.* Malmſb. Gervaſe.

At the head of the Revolters was *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* (12), who had artfully improved theſe diſpoſitions to form a Party in favour of the Empreſs his Siſter, ſtrong enough to place her on the Throne. He is ſaid to embark in this Enterprize at the Inſtances of certain Monks, who repreſented to him how much he hazarded his Salvation in obeying an Uſurper, contrary to his Oath to *Matilda*. Hence it is evident, the Monks were deeply concerned in the Plot, and the Earl of *Gloceſter* probably, was not the only Perſon to whom they had made the like Remonſtrances. Some Hiſtorians add, the Earl acted on this occaſion from a motive of Revenge for the King's attempting to poiſon him. But if it be true that *Stephen* had ſuch a Deſign, it is not likely, it was before the Earl had taken Arms againſt him. Be this as it will, as ſoon as *Robert* was ſufficiently ſupported, he went to the Empreſs and informed her of what he had done for her. After that, he wrote an abuſive Letter to *Stephen* himſelf, upbraiding him for the Breach of his Oath to *Matilda*, and charging him with drawing him, by his Seducements, into the ſame crime. To this Letter he added a Manifeſto, calling *Stephen* an Uſurper, and declaring War againſt him. The

He writes an abuſive Letter to the King, and publiſhes a Manifeſto. Malmſb. Gervaſe.

(1) Above three thouſand of them were ſlain on the ſpot, with two Barons, *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Pain Fitz-John*, beſides a great Number drowned by the Fall of a Bridge over the River *Temd*. After this Victory, the *Welſh* Princes over-ran the *Engliſh* Territories, and returned home with a great Booty. *Br. Powel's Chron. Gervaſe*, p. 1341. *J. Hagulſtad.* p. 258. This laſt Author adds, That *Ranulph*, Earl of *Cheſter*, leading an Army into *Wales*, was entirely defeated, and hardly could eſcape with five of his Men, all the reſt being ſlain.

(2) With the largeſt Army that had ever been known in *England*. *Hoved.* p. 482.

(3) With the Town of *Doncaſter*, and all that belonged to it.

(4) The King at his Return kept his Court the *Eaſter* following at *Weſtminſter*, with greater Magnificence than had been uſually ſeen in his Uncle's Reign. At theſe ſolemn Meetings the great Affairs of the Kingdom were tranſacted, there being no other *Parliaments* in thoſe Days, not till King *John* or *Henry* III. This Expedition is generally placed before the Affair of Earl *Redvers*.

(5) But *Robert* carried off a great deal of Money out of King *Henry*'s Treaſure there. *M. Paris*, p. 75. Mr. *Tyrrel* ſays, that *Robert* could not deliver up *Falaiſe*, for he was then in *England*, p. 206.

(6) In *March*. *Malmſb.* p. 180. *Huntingd.* p. 387. In *Auguſt*, ſays *J. Hagulſt.* p. 259.

(7) Of Silver for three Years. *R. de Diceto.* p. 506. (8) He demanded *Northumberland* for his Son *Henry*. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 259.

(9) He returned to *England* about *Chriſtmas*; having made a two Years Truce with the Earl of *Anjou*. *Huntingd.* p. 387. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 259.

(10) It was held againſt him by *Milo de Beauchamp* for the King of *Scots*, becauſe *Stephen* would have taken the Government of that Place from him. The King ſat down before the Caſtle on *Chriſtmas-Eve*. (11) About *Eaſter*. *Hoved.* p. 483.

(12) The other Ringleaders, were, *William Talebot*, who ſeized the Caſtle of *Hereford*; *William Luvel*, who ſecured that of *Cari* (perhaps *Carew* Caſtle in *Pembrokeſhire*); *Paganel*, that of *Ludlow*; *William de Moun*, that of *Dunſter*; *Robert de Nichole*, or *Lincoln*, *Warham* Caſtle; *Euſtace Fitz-John*, that of *Melton*; *William Fitz-Alan* that of *Shrewſbury*. *Huntingd.* p. 388. *M. Paris*, p. 76.

King

1138. King returned him no anſwer, but confiſcated all his Eſtate in *England* (1).

He gets poſſeſſion of Briſtol. Or. Vital. Gervas.

Mean time, *Matilda*'s Party daily growing ſtronger by the Junction of the moſt powerful among the Barons, the Earl of *Glouceſter* came into *England* (2), and got poſſeſſion of *Briſtol* (3). At the ſame time other Lords (4) ſeized upon ſeveral Caſtles that the former Kings had cauſed to be fortified for the Security of the Crown, but which, on this occaſion, ſerved only to put it in danger. *Stephen* finding himſelf thus forced to wage War with his own Subjects, retook and razed ſeveral of theſe Caſtles. Though he had great reaſon to fear in this ſo general a Defection, yet he ſupported himſelf with his Army of Foreigners (5); ſhowing on all occaſions an extraordinary Courage, and a ſteddy Reſolution to loſe his Life with his Crown. He thought it ſtrange, that the very Perſons who had ſhown the moſt zeal to raiſe him to the Throne, ſhould be the firſt to pull him down (6). As one is always inclined to flatter one's ſelf, he could not ſee any thing in his Conduct that deſerved this return, and therefore aſcribed it wholly to the caprice and fickleneſs of the Barons. Nevertheleſs, their complaints were not entirely groundleſs. Beſides that the King had not punctually obſerved his Charter, the extraordinary Favours beſtowed on the Foreigners, particularly on *William* of *Ypre* his Favorite, gave his Subjects a very plauſible pretence to complain. The Severity alſo he uſed, upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, in ſeizing the Perſons and Eſtates of ſome of the Barons on bare Suſpicions, added freſh Fuel to the Fire that was already too much kindled. In fine, the diſſention grew to that height by mutual Reproaches and daily Acts of Hoſtility, that the Male-contents ſent *Matilda* word, they were ready to own her for Sovereign (7), according to the Promiſe made the King her Father.

Malmſb.

Matilda invited over.

The King of Scotland breaks the Peace Hoved. Huntingd. M. Paris. Brompt. J. Hagulſt.

The King of *Scotland* fomented theſe Troubles in favour of the Empreſs his Niece, though he was alſo Uncle to *Stephen*'s Queen (8). When he found matters ripe, he once more entered *Northumberland*, and cruelly ravaged that County, which generally felt all the effects of the Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland*. As *Stephen* could not then leave the heart of the Kingdom, to go to the relief of the North, *Thurſtan* Archbiſhop of *York* undertook to oppoſe this invaſion (9). He aſſembled the Barons and Gentlemen of the northern Parts, and repreſented to them, That in this emergency, they were to depend upon themſelves, it not being in the King's power to ſend them Aſſiſtance. This conſideration having the effect he expected, they unanimouſly engaged to exert their utmoſt to repulſe the Enemy. Shortly after, each appearing with his Troops at the general Rendezvous, they all ranged themſelves under the command of *Walter de Eſpec* and *William* Earl of *Albermarle* (10), and advanced as far as *Alverton* (11). Having reſolved to expect the Enemy in that place, they ſet up a Maſt, on the top of which they placed a Silver *Pix* with a conſecrated Hoſt, and the Banners of St. *Peter* and St. *John of Beverly*, to ſerve as an Enſign where they were to meet again and rally in caſe of need. Hence this War was called *the War of the Standard*. *Ailred* Abbot of *Rievalle* has given a particular deſcription of the Battle; but, as it ſeems to me of little moment, I ſhall only relate the Succeſs. The *Scots*, much ſuperior in number, attacking the *Engliſh* in their Intrenchments, were repulſed with the loſs of twelve thouſand Men (12). Though the King of *Scotland* and *Henry* his Son gave on this occaſion aſtoniſhing proofs of their Valour, they could not prevent their Army from being entirely routed. It is ſaid a Biſhop's (13) Harangue to the *Engliſh*, promiſing Heaven to all ſuch as were ſlain in the Battle, did not a little contribute to the Succeſs of that day.

The War of the Standard. Ailred.

The Scots are defeated. Hunt. Hoved.

Whilſt his Affairs were thus proſperous in the North, *Stephen* ſpread the Terror of his Arms in the heart of the Kingdom. The Male-contents not daring to keep the Field, gave him time to reduce their Caſtles one after another without oppoſition (14). Theſe Conqueſts joined to his late victory over the King of *Scotland*, aſtoniſhed the Earl of *Glouceſter*. He expected quite another iſſue of this War, but when he ſaw his Party daily diminiſhing, he had no other refuge but to go and ſollicite the Empreſs to come into *England*, and encourage her Friends by her Preſence.

Stephen reduces the Barons to Obedience. Hunt.

1138.

The Retreat of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and the Flight of ſome other Lords of his Party, procuring the King ſome reſpite, he reſolved to purſue the *Scotch* War, ſo ſucceſsfully begun. To that end, he advanced towards the North, and in his way took the Caſtle of *Leeds*; after which, he continued his march to *Scotland*, where *David* retired after his Defeat. His intent was to give the *Scotch* King battle. But as *David* was unwilling to run any hazard in his own Country, he carefully avoided all opportunities of fighting. However, fearing he might be at length compelled to it, he reſolved to ſue for Peace. At any other time, *Stephen* would have made him pay dear for it, but at that juncture did not think proper to ſtand off. The truth is, the Advantages he could expect from that War were not comparable to the Miſchiefs his Abſence might occaſion: And therefore he concluded a Peace with *David* (15), whereby Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* was put in poſſeſſion of the County of *Northumberland*, and Earldom of *Huntingdon*. In return for theſe Advantages, *David* ſwore never more to concern himſelf in the Quarrel between *Stephen* and the Empreſs.

He marches into Scotland J. Hagulſt. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

Makes Peace with David. Hunt.

The War being thus ended, the King returned into his Dominions, attended by the Prince of *Scotland*, who by his noble and generous Carriage, had ſo won the heart of *Stephen*, that he loved him as if he had been his own Son (16). The King's careſſes to the young Prince raiſed the Jealouſy of the Earl of *Cheſter* and ſome other Lords, who, on pretence that the King placed him above them at his Table, retired from Court. But, ſuppoſing *Henry*'s Birth did not require that diſtinction, yet his Merit deſerved the King's particular regard; for, according to all the Hiſtorians, he was an accompliſhed Prince. *Stephen* continued therefore, notwithſtanding the Jealouſy of the *Engliſh*, to ſhow him marks of his Eſteem, particularly in a caſe, which demonſtrated his Sincerity. This young Prince, who had accompanied the King to the Siege of *Ludlow*, approaching too near the Walls, was like to have been pulled from his Horſe by an Iron Hook at the end of a Rope, if *Stephen*, with the hazard of his own Life, had not reſcued him. An action which redounded as much to the honour of the King as of the Prince for whom he teſtified ſo great an Affection.

His Affection for the Prince of Scotland raiſes the Jealouſy of the English *Barons.*

Stephen gives the Scotch Prince a ſingular Mark of his Affection. Hunt. Brompt. Hoved.

This ſame Year *Alberic*, the Pope's Legate in *England*, called a Synod, where *Theobald* Abbot of *Bec* was elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Engliſh* who beheld the Metropolitan See vacant for two Years.

Theobald elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury. R. Hagulſt.

1138.

Stephen's late Peace with *Scotland*, and his Advantages over his domeſtick Enemies, procured him a Tranquillity which ſeemed likely to continue. And probably, it would not have been diſturbed, if an unſeaſonable Quarrel with the Clergy, had not hurl'd him down from the height of Grandeur and Glory to the moſt deplorable State a Sovereign could poſſibly be reduced to. The Biſhops had been very inſtrumental in placing him on the Throne. From that time their Power was ſo much increaſed, that it was no leſs dangerous for the King to make them his Enemies, than it was advantagious to have them in his Intereſt at the time of his Election. Nevertheleſs, his Jealouſy of their Power, ſuffered him not to conſider, with his wonted prudence, the danger he expoſed himſelf to, in reſolving to humble them. *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* had two Caſtles as ſtrong as they were ſtately, one at the *Devizes* (17), and the other at *Sherburn*, and was building a third at *Malmſbury*. *Alexander* his Nephew, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, had built one at *Newark*, not ſcrupling to declare openly, it was deſigned as much for the Security as the Dignity of his

The King falls out with the Clergy. Malmſb. Ord. Vital. Gervaſe.

Their great Pride. Malmſb. Huntingd, Brompt.

(1) And razed his Caſtles, but thoſe of *Briſtol* and *Slede*. *Malmſb.*

(2) *September* 30 *Malmsb.* p. 183.

(3) In which, and the other Caſtles belonging to him, he put ſtrong Garriſons. *Gervaſe*, p. 1345.

(4) Even *Milo*, the High Conſtable, forſook King *Stephen*. *ibid.*

(5) Of *Flemings*, which were commanded by *William d' Ipres*. ibid.

(6) Upon the firſt News of the Barons riſing, it is reported he ſhould ſay, *Since they have choſen me their King, why do they now forſake me? By the Birth of God*, (his uſual Oath) *I will never be called an* abdicated *King*. *Malmsb.* p. 102.

(7) Promiſing to get her the Crown in five Months. *Gervaſe*, p. 1346.

(8) *Mary* of *Scotland*, Siſter to the Empreſs's Mother, married *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologne*, by whom ſhe had *Matilda*, Wife of *Stephen*. *Rapin.*

(9) He was the King's Leiutenant in thoſe Parts.

(10) The other great Men in this Battle, were, *Walter de Gant*, *Robert de Brus*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *William de Percy*, *Barnard de Baliol*, *Richard de Curcy*, *William Foſſard*, *Robert de Stuteville*, *Robert de Leſcy*, *William Peverel*, *Robert de Ferrers*, *Geoffrey Halſalin*, &c. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 262. *William de Albemarle* was created Earl of *Yorkſhire*, and *Robert de Ferrers* Earl of *Derbyſhire*, for their Bravery in this Battle. *J. Hagulſt.* ibid.

(11) Now *North-Allerton* in *Yorkſhire*.

(12) Ten Thouſand, ſays *Brompton*, p. 1027. *Gervas.* This Battle was fought *Auguſt* 22. *Huntingd.* p. 329. *Hoved.* p. 484.

(13) The Archbiſhop of *York* being diſabled by Sickneſs, appointed *Ralph* Biſhop of the *Orcades* to command in his ſtead, who made a long Oration againſt the *Scottiſh* Barbarities, and at the Concluſion abſolved all from their Sins that ſhould chance to fall in Battle. *Hunt. Hoved.* The *Orcades* were not then under the Dominion of *Scotland*. *Huntingd* p. 388. *Brompt.* p. 1026.

(14) After *Chriſtmas* he took the Caſtle of *Slede*, ibid.

(15) This Peace was concluded at *Durham*, *April* 9. *J. Hagulſtad.* p. 265.

(16) He married, during his ſtay in *England*, *Ada* Siſter of *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Waleran* Earl of *Mellent*, and *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, by whom he had three Sons, *Malcolm*, *William*, and *David*. *J. Hagulſt.* ibid.

(17) King *Stephen* was informed they were fortifying that Caſtle againſt him, which was the Reaſon of his ſeizing it. *Gervas*, 1345.

Church.

1139. Church. *Nigel*, Biſhop of *Ely*, another of *Roger*'s Nephews, imitating the ſtate of his Uncle and Couſin, affected a magnificence in his Retinue and Houſe, that excited the Envy of ſome, and the indignation of all. When theſe three Prelates came to Court, they were attended with many armed Followers, as if they deſigned rather to brave the King, than to pay him their reſpects. This Pomp and Grandeur procuring them abundance of Enemies, there were ſome that took occaſion to whiſper in the King's ear, that he could not be ſafe as long as the Biſhops were ſo powerful. His Suſpicions were further confirmed by the Rumour of *Matilda*'s preparing to come into *England*, where ſhe had a ſtrong Party. Though the Biſhop of *Salisbury* had been a principal Inſtrument of *Stephen*'s Election, yet he fancied him gained by *Matilda*; and in this belief formed a deſign to humble the Pride of the Biſhop and his Nephews. It was not long before an opportunity offered. In a general Aſſembly held at *Oxford* (1), the Retainers of the Biſhop of *Salisbury* quarrelling with thoſe of *Alan* of *Bretagne*, Earl of *Richmond*, one of the Earl's Knights chanced to be killed in the ſcuffle, and many wounded on both ſides (2). The Biſhop's Men had the advantage, being aſſiſted by thoſe of the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Lincoln*, and of the Chancellor, who paſſed for *Roger*'s Nephew, though in truth he was his Son (3). The King, willing to improve this occaſion to mortify the whole Family, ſummoned them all four to appear at his Court, and anſwer for this Riot of their Domeſticks. This Summons was juſt and legal, but the ſatisfaction demanded by the King was exceſſive. He was not content with the penalty enjoyn'd by the Law in the like caſes; but inſiſted upon the Biſhops delivering into his hands all their Caſtles, as a Security for their future Allegiance. This Demand ſeeming too exorbitant to the Prelates, they deſired time to conſider of the matter. Whilſt the King waited for their Anſwer, the Biſhop of *Ely* abſented himſelf, and retired to *Roger* his Uncle's Caſtle at the *Devizes*. This Flight breaking off the Accommodation, the King went immediately and laid Siege to the Caſtle, where was alſo *Matilda*, Wife or Concubine of the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*. This Place being very ſtrong, the King, who foreſaw the difficulty of the Siege, bethought himſelf of an Expedient to put an end to it without loſs of time. He ordered the Biſhop of *Salisbury* and the Chancellor to be led up cloſe to the Wall (4), and ſent word to *Matilda*, unleſs ſhe delivered up the Caſtle, the Chancellor ſhould be immediately hanged, neither ſhould the Biſhop eat or drink till it was ſurrendered. Theſe Threats producing the effect he expected, ſhe delivered up the Caſtle (5), where he found forty thouſand Marks in ready Money. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* purchaſed his Liberty, by ſurrendering to the King his Caſtle of *Sleaford*. Shortly after, *Stephen* became maſter likewiſe of the Caſtles of *Salisbury*, *Malmſbury* and *Sherborn*. With the Money, found in theſe Places, where the Biſhops kept their Treaſures, he purchaſed the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, and made an Alliance with him. This Alliance was cemented by the Marriage of *Euſtace*, Son of *Stephen*, with *Conſtantia* Siſter to *Lewis the Young*, who ſucceeded *Lewis the Gros*, his Father.

The King grows ſuſpicious of them.

Upon a Quarrel at Oxford, *the King ſummons them to appear at his Court.* Gervaſe.

Malmsb.

Hunt. Gervaſe.

Brompton.

Euſtace his Son married.

The King's Severity to the Biſhops very much diſpleaſed all the Clergy, who made loud complaints. The Archbiſhop of *Roan*, being then in *England*, was the only one not offended at it. He was of opinion that, without ſtriking at the Immunities of the Church, the King might diſpoſſeſs the Biſhops of their fortified Caſtles, which concerned not their Privileges as Churchmen. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, lately made Legate for *England*, was not of his mind. This Prelate was ſecretly diſpleaſed with the King his Brother, for not admitting him into the adminiſtration of Affairs (6). He expected otherwiſe, when he laboured ſo heartily to place him on the Throne. But finding there was no likelihood of his having for the future any ſhare in the Government, he eagerly embraced this opportunity of creating him Trouble, under pretence of maintaining the Rights of the Church. To that purpoſe, he called a Synod at *Wincheſter*, and ſummoned the King to appear and give an account of his Actions. At the opening of the Synod, he aggravated in a virulent *Latin* Speech all that *Stephen* had done againſt the three Biſhops. He exhorted the Prelates vigorouſly to maintain the Rights of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and the Privileges of the Church (7); proteſting he would put in execution the Decrees of the Council, though it coſt him the Friendſhip of the King, the Loſs of his Eſtate, and even Life itſelf. *Stephen* had ſent to the Council ſome Lords, with *Alberic de Vere* a famous *Civilian* (8), As ſoon as the Legate had ended his Speech, theſe Lords demanded, why the King was ſummoned thither. The Legate anſwered, to give a reaſon of his impriſoning the Biſhops, and deſpoiling them of their Eſtates; a Crime, added he, hitherto unheard of in the Chriſtian world. *Alberic*, taking him up, ſaid, the Prelates were puniſhed not as Biſhops, but as the King's Servants. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* not reliſhing that Diſtinction, roundly told him, the Biſhops could not, in any reſpect, be conſidered as the King's Servants. The Majority of the Synod being much of the ſame Opinion, the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, who thought, the *Epiſcopal* Dignity did not render a Subject independent, endeavoured to ſet them right. He demanded, whether they could clearly prove by the Canons, that Biſhops ought of Right to have fortified Caſtles? *But, ſuppoſe* (ſays he) *you can prove ſuch a Right by the* Canons, *ought you not to commit your Caſtles to the King's diſpoſal, when the Kingdom is threatned with an Invaſion? Is it not the King's Buſineſs to take care of the Safety of the State? And can Subjects refuſe to admit him into their Caſtles without incurring the Guilt of Rebellion?* Theſe Arguments not prevailing with the Biſhops to deſiſt from their Pretenſion, the Legate moved to excommunicate the King, and ſend Deputies to *Rome* to carry their complaints to the Pope. Then the Lords ſent by the King, thought it time to ſpeak in a higher tone. They declared, if the Synod offered to excommunicate the King, the Biſhops would ſoon have cauſe to repent; and if any preſumed to go to *Rome*, on ſuch an occaſion, their return would be very difficult. This Declaration made ſuch impreſſion on the Biſhops, that none of them were willing to expoſe themſelves to the King's reſentment, to gratify the Legate. Accordingly, the Synod being ſatisfied with ordering a Deputation to the King to demand a ſuitable Reparation, broke up (9) after a three day's Seſſion. Purſuant to this reſolution, the Legate and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* went to the King, and earneſtly beſought him to prevent a rupture between the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Powers. Which was, in plain *Engliſh*, requiring him to make ample Satisfaction to the Clergy, otherwiſe a rupture was unavoidable; for this was the real meaning of their Words. It cannot be conceived on what other Foundation the Clergy then pretended to be independent of the Crown, than their being grown ſo powerful that they thought, the King could not ſtand without them. Formerly, during the Empire of the *Saxons*, the Biſhops thought it an Honour to be ranked with the *Thanes*, that is, with the King's Servants. After the *Norman Conqueſt*, *William* I. threw the Biſhops into Priſon upon bare Suſpicions: Some he baniſhed, others he deprived of their Biſhopricks, without any one's daring to ſtir, and the People looked on unconcerned. But in the Reign of *Stephen*, it was an unheard of Crime to diſpoſſeſs the Biſhops of their Caſtles, and an unpardonable Raſhneſs to ſtile them the King's Servants. For ſome time paſt, the Clergy had eſtabliſhed it as a Maxim, that the main of Religion conſiſted in upholding the Church in all the Privileges and Immunities ſhe herſelf was pleaſed to aſſume.

The Clergy are diſſatisfied. Malmsb. Brompt. Hoved.

The Biſhop of Winchester *undertakes the Cauſe of the Clergy, and cites the King before a Synod.* Malmſb. Hoved. M. Paris.

1139.

M. Paris. p. 77.

Archbiſhop of Roan *pleads for the King.*

The Legate propoſes to excommunicate the King.

Deputation to the King M. Paris.

Be this as it will, the People were all in combuſtion upon this occaſion, as if themſelves had been deprived of their Liberties. The whole Kingdom ſwarmed in an inſtant with Male-contents, who only wanted a Leader to command them. In fine, the Clergy's Faction was ſo ſtrong, that moſt of the Lay-Lords came over to their ſide and eſpouſed their Cauſe. The Empreſs thinking this a favourable juncture, reſolved to improve it and go into *England* (10), though ſhe had but one hundred and

The People ſide with the Clergy. Malmſb. Ord. Vital.

Matilda comes into England. Ord. Vital Brompt. Malmſb. p. 185.

(1) *Auguſt* 27. *Malmsb.* p. 182.

(2) *Gervaſe* gives this Account of the Matter, The King, when he heard that the Caſtle of *Devizes* was fortifying againſt him, ſends for *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* to come to him at *Oxford*. The Biſhop ſuſpecting the King meant him no good, brings along with him his two Nephews, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Ely*, and a very large Retinue well-armed. The King, upon their approach, being afraid of ſome Treachery, orders his Men to ſtand upon the Defenſive. Whilſt the King and the Biſhops were conferring together, a Quarrel aroſe between the King's and the Biſhop's Attendants, &c. p. 1345.

(3) *Roger* the King's Chancellor, was the Biſhop's Son by *Maud* of *Ramesbury* his Concubine. *Tyrrel*, Vol. II. p. 220.

(4) The Biſhop was unbound. but the Chancellor was led in Fetters with a Halter about his Neck. *Malmsb.* p. 181.

(5) *Maud* delivered up the *Keep* or chief Place of Strength, and ſo forced the Biſhop of *Ely* to ſurrender the whole Caſtle, in conſideration he might have his Liberty. *Ord. Vital.* p. 920. *Nigel* was baniſhed. *R. de Diceto.* p. 508.

(6) Or rather, becauſe he had not been made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Gervas.* p. 1348.

(7) He inſiſted chiefly on the Biſhop of *Salisbury* being ſeized in the very Chamber of the *Court* or *Great Council*, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* in his Lodging. *Malms.* p. 182.

(8) Anceſtor of the Earls of *Oxford*.

(9) *September* 1. *M. Paris*, p 77.

(10) In *July*, *Gervas.* She landed at *Portſmouth*, *Septemb.* 30. *Malmsb.* p. 183. *Brompton* and *Gervaſe* ſay, that ſhe landed with a great Army, p. 1029, 1349.

forty

1139. forty men to accompany her. This was a very inconsiderable Troop for the undertaking, she was meditating; but she relied on a powerful Aid from the Male-contents. She took up her first quarters at the Castle of *Arundel*, belonging to the Queen Dowager, as part of her Dowry (1). The Earl of *Gloucester*, who came with his Sister, thinking her safe in a place where she was received with all the respect due to her Rank, left her and went to *Bristol* (2). Mean while, *Stephen*, who was besieging *Marlborough*, being informed of *Matilda*'s arrival, suddenly raised the Siege and marched towards *Arundel*. Upon the King's approach, the Queen Dowager repented of admitting *Matilda*, fearing it might occasion the loss of her Castle, with all the Privileges she enjoyed in *England*. On the other hand, Honour and Honesty would not suffer her to deliver her Guest into the hands of her Enemy. To get clear of this perplexity, she sent the King word, if he insisted upon the delivery of the Empress, she was no less bent, on her side, to protect her, till some or other came to her relief. But withal desired him to consider, she had not entertained her as an Enemy to the King, but as her Daughter-in-law, Widow of a great Emperor, to whom she could not be excused from paying the Respect due to her. That her intent was not to countenance her designs against him, but only to prevent any Ill from befalling her whilst under her roof. In fine, she proposed to the King that *Matilda* might have leave to retire to some other place, where it would be as easy to besiege her as in *Arundel* Castle. That by this Generosity he would oblige a Queen, Widow of a great Monarch, his Uncle and Benefactor, without the least detriment to himself. Whether *Stephen* was sensible it was not in his power to take the Castle before it was relieved, or thought himself bound to oblige the Queen so far, he gave his word, *Matilda* should be safely conducted to *Bristol*; which was accordingly done (3). But he had too much reason to repent afterwards of his being so generous. *Matilda*, after some stay at *Bristol* (4), removed to *Gloucester* (5). Whilst she remained in these two Cities, she so artfully managed, in her favour, the Discontents of the Clergy and Nobility, that she gained them both to her Interest, and by their means, almost the whole body of the People (6). There adhered to the King only a few Barons, and his foreign Army, which though ill paid, served him faithfully (7).

Gervase. M. Paris. Huntingd. — Malmsb. — *Besieged by the King in Arundel Castle,* Gervas. — *and conducted safely to Bristol.* Malm. ibid. — *Matilda wins both the Nobles and Clergy.* Sax. Ann.

1140. I shall not undertake to relate the Particulars of this Civil War, which, like the rest of that kind, furnishes more Instances of Treachery and Cruelty, than of glorious Actions. I shall content my self with observing the principal Events. Whilst it lasted, the whole Kingdom was divided, every City, County, and Person siding with the King or the Empress, according as they were swayed by Passion or Interest. The Lords, nearest in Neighbourhood and Blood, fell upon one another in a cruel manner, burning the Houses, and pillaging the Vassals of each other, so that a terrible confusion was quickly spread over the whole Kingdom. In this fatal Anarchy, the Barons, acting as Sovereigns, grievously oppressed the People, and were so presumptuous as to coin their own Money. On the other hand, the King and *Matilda*, instead of redressing, connived at these Proceedings, fearing the calling their Friends to account would make them change sides. Moreover, the foreign Soldiers, of whom *Stephen*'s Army entirely consisted, occasioned still further Disorders. As the King was not able to pay them duly, he was forced to suffer them to plunder the Poor People (8), who, though innocent, felt the greatest share of the Calamities such a War brings with it (9).

A Civil War. Malmsb. Sax. Ann. Gervas. — Gervas.

Mean time, the Bishop of *Winchester*, being at last sensible of his Error, in raising a Storm, which he foresaw would infallibly overwhelm the King his Brother, suddenly changed sides. He reflected, that being Brother to *Stephen*, he himself would certainly be involved in the same Ruin with him, and consequently, it was his Interest to support him, instead of promoting his destruction. And therefore, desirous of regaining the King's confidence by some important Service, he drew to *Winchester* a good number of Lords, Friends to *Matilda*, and detained them Prisoners, till they delivered their Castle to the King. 1140.

The Bishop of Winchester sides with the King. Malmsb.

Amidst all his difficulties, *Stephen* showed a Firmness that kept many from deserting him, which, doubtless, they would have done upon the least Signs of Faint-heartedness. For it is always the case, when, on the like occasions, Princes seem to distrust their Fortune or Abilities. Instead of being daunted at the violent Shocks he received, *Stephen* daily endeavoured to remedy, by his valour and prudence, the Evils he suffered by the revolt of his Subjects. He even hoped to put an end to them at once, by laying Siege to *Wallingford*, where *Matilda* and the Earl of *Gloucester* were shut up. But meeting with more difficulties in this Siege than he imagined, he turned it into a Blockade (10). He was no sooner retired, but the Earl of *Gloucester* got out of the Castle, and went and seized *Worcester*, whilst the Barons of his Party ravaged the Counties of *Chester* and *Nottingham*.

Stephen's *Undauntedness.* — *He besieges* Matilda *in* Willingford, *and changes the Siege into a Blockade.* Sax. Ann. Gervas.

Mean time *Matilda*, being too closely pent up in *Wallingford*, found means to get from thence and retire to *Lincoln*. As soon as the King had notice of it, he formed the design of surprizing her; well knowing, *Lincoln*, where he had many Friends, could not be defended by the few Troops *Matilda* had with her. He would have taken his Rival in that place, which held out but a few days (11), had she not contrived to escape, whilst the Articles of the Capitulation were drawing. *Stephen* missing his Aim, retired without leaving a Garrison in the Town for fear of weakening his Army. He was hardly gone, when he was informed that the Earl of *Chester* (12), Son-in-law of the Earl of *Gloucester*, was come thither with his Wife and Brother (13), to keep their *Christmas*. His great desire to have these three Persons in his power, made him march back with such speed that the Earl had but just time to retire into the Castle, which was immediately invested. However, he found means to escape and get to the Earl of *Gloucester*, to desire him to come to the relief of the Besieged, who could not hold out long. The Earl of *Gloucester*, willing to deliver his own Daughter, drew all his Troops together, and marched to *Lincoln* with that speed, that he was like to surprise the King, who never imagined him so near. Having forded the River *Trent*, a thing the King thought impracticable, he came on a sudden so close to the Royal Army, that neither Side could possibly avoid fighting. The two Armies being drawn up, the Battle began, which for a long time was fought on both Sides with equal bravery (14). But at length the King's Horse, consisting of *Flemings* and *Bretons*, giving ground, they were so vigorously pressed, that they could never rally more. The Earl of *Gloucester* improved this Advantage, not to pursue the flying Horse, who were incapable of hurting him, but to fall on the King's Infantry, who being destitute of the assistance of the Cavalry, took to Flight also.

Matilda *retires to* Lincoln, *where she is besieged, but escapes.* Malmsb. Hunt. M. Paris. Brompt. Gervase. Hoved. — Ord. Vital. p. 921. — Stephen *besieges the Castle of* Lincoln. — *The Earl of* Gloucester *comes to its Relief.* — *Battle of* Lincoln. Gervase. Malmsb. Huntingd. Brompt. J. Hagulst. — *The King's Army is routed.*

Mean time *Stephen*, who could not bear the Thoughts of flying, was left almost alone, and on foot, in the midst of the Field of Battle, assaulted by Multitudes, but resisting all their Efforts with an astonishing Valour. If the Horse had rallied in the mean while, he might have freed himself from this Danger, to his immortal Fame. But destitute of all Assistance, he was forced at length to yield to Numbers, being surrounded on all sides. However, it was not till the last extremity; for his Battle-Ax breaking by the force of his Blows, he drew his Sword, and defended himself for a considerable time, foaming with Rage to see himself thus abandoned by his Army. At length, after performing more than could naturally be expected from a single Person in his Con-

Stephen *taken Prisoner.* Malmsb.

(1) *Adeliza*, the beautiful Daughter of *Godfrey* first Earl of *Brabant*, was Wife of *Henry* I. fourteen Years, who gave her in Dower the Castle and Earldom of *Arundel*. She was afterwards married to *William de Albini*, in her Right Earl of *Arundel*, by whom she had *William* (and from him, by the *Fitz-Alans* Earls of *Arundel*, *Thomas Howard* the present Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Arundel* derives his Descent) and *Godfrey de Albini*, and *Alice* Wife of *John* Earl of *Augie*. *Sandford Geneal.* p. 27.

(2) Being attended only by twelve Persons. *Malmsb.* p. 184.

(3) By the Bishop of *Winchester*. *Gervase*, p. 1349. The Anonymous Author of this King's Actions, says *Stephen*, was persuaded to it by the Bishop of *Winchester*, for fear the Earl of *Gloucester* might subdue great part of the Kingdom, whilst the Siege should last. This Advice, whether given sincerely or to ruin the King, the Author does not determine, p. 947. (4) Two Months. *Gervase*, p. 1349.

(5) Where she was received by *Milo* the King's Constable, who was Deputy Governor of the Castle under *Robert*. *Malmsb.* p. 184. It was in *October*. *Gervase*, p. 1349. This *Milo* is called *de Gloceſtriâ Comes Conſtabularius*; and *Regis Conſtabularius*. *Con. Flor. Wig.* p. 673.

(6) Not long after her Arrival, *Brian-Fitz-Count* declared for her, and victualled and fortified the Castle of *Wallingforde*. *Gest. R. Steph.*

(7) This Year, one *Ralph*, a Clergyman belonging to the Bishop of *Ely*, formed a Conspiracy to kill all the *Normans* in *England*. *R. de Diceto*, p. 508.

(8) *W. Malmsbury* says, that he was also forced upon that account to clip, or make the Money lighter, p. 185.

(9) See a dismal Account of it in *Sax. Ann. Gervase*, &c.

(10) And went and laid Siege to *Malmsbury*, *Troubridge*, and *Cerne* Castles. *Gervase*, p. 1350.

(11) From *Christmas* till the beginning of *February*. *Huntingd.* p. 390.

(12) *Ranulph de Geroniis* fourth Earl of *Chester*. He is said to be poisoned in 1155, by *Maud* his Wife, (youngest Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Chester*) and *William Peverel* Lord of *Nottingham*. (13) *William de Romara*. *Sax. Ann.*

(14) The King's chief Officers in this Battle, were, *Alan* Earl of *Richmond*, *Robert* Count de *Mellent*, *Hugh Bigod*, Earl *Simon*, the Earl of *Warren*, Earl of *Albemarle*, *William of Ypres*. *Gervase*, p. 1353. *M. Paris*, p. 78.

1140. dition, his Sword flying in pieces, and little more than the Hilt remaining in his hand, he was knocked down on his knees with a Stone. Whereupon *William de Kains* a valiant Knight ran in, and ſeizing him by the Helmet preſented his Sword to his Throat, threatning to kill him unleſs he yielded himſelf Priſoner. Notwithſtanding the extreme danger he was in, he refuſed to ſurrender to any but the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who by good fortune was near at hand. As ſoon as the Earl had him in his power, he conducted him to the Empreſs (1), who ordered him to be confined in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, where he was ignominiouſly laid in Irons (2).

Huntingd. Gervaſe. Hoved.

and laid in Irons. Malmſb. Gervaſe.

1141. Whilſt this unfortunate Prince was in ſo deplorable a condition, *Matilda* improved the Advantages lately gained by her Arms. All *England* deſerted the captive King, except *London* and *Kent*, where he had ſtill ſome Friends left by the means of the Queen his Spouſe, *Euſtace* his Son, and *William de Ypres* his Favourite. The Barons that preſerved their Allegiance, retired to *London*, where they had Intereſt enough to gain admittance, and prevail with the Citizens to make a Confederacy with them in favour of the King. *Normandy* ſoon followed the Example of *England*. No ſooner had the Earl of *Anjou* received advice of the King's Impriſonment, but he repaired to *Normandy*, to cauſe the Empreſs his Wife to be acknowledged, which he eaſily accompliſhed. At the ſame time, the King of *Scotland* breaking the late Treaty, invaded the northern Counties, under pretence of aſſiſting the Empreſs, but in reality for his own private advantage.

Matilda *makes a great Progreſs.* Huntingd. Brompt. M. Paris.

Earl of Anjou ſeizes Normandy. Malmſb. Gervaſe.

The Victory of *Lincoln* ſeemed at once to place *Matilda* on the Throne; but there was one Obſtacle more to ſurmount, before ſhe could hope to enjoy the Fruits of her Succeſs, which was, to gain the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This Prelate, who, by his dignity of Legate was at the head of the Clergy, might poſſibly ſet that powerful Body againſt her, whoſe Example had great influence upon the Nobles and People. She deemed it neceſſary therefore to endeavour before all things to win him from the King, and with this view went to him at *Wincheſter*. He made ſome difficulty at firſt to hearken to her Propoſals. But upon her offering him the diſpoſal of all the Church-Preferments, he threw up the Cauſe of the King his Brother, and promiſed to uſe his endeavours to procure *Matilda* the ſuffrages of the Clergy. He even took his Oath to her beforehand (3), but with this limitation, that it ſhould be binding no longer than ſhe kept true to her Promiſes. On the morrow, he received her with great pomp in the Cathedral Church, where he ſolemnly excommunicated all the King's Friends, and abſolved all thoſe that ſhould abandon his Party and come over to the Empreſs. Shortly after the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſwore likewiſe to *Matilda* (4). But he was ſo ſqueamiſh as to procure the King's conſent firſt, which he went to ask himſelf of *Stephen* in priſon.

The Biſhop of Winchester *comes over to Matilda.* G. R. S. P. 963. Malmſb. J. Hagulſt.

Gervaſe.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *ſwears to* Matilda. Malmſb. Gervaſe.

There was nothing more wanting to *Matilda* but the ſeal of publick Authority to be really Queen of *England*. But, though ſhe was ſure of the Conſent of the Temporal Lords, ſhe was apprehenſive of meeting with oppoſition from the Clergy, who probably, would be more ſcrupulous on account of their Oath to the King. The Legate taking upon him to accompliſh this Affair, called a Council at *Wincheſter*, where all the Biſhops and Abbots were preſent, with the Archdeacons as Repreſentatives to the Inferior Clergy. The day before the opening of the Synod, the Legate privately conferred, firſt with the Biſhops, then with the Abbots, and laſtly with the Archdeacons. It is not known what paſſed at theſe private Conferences, but it was plain, next day, what uſe the Legate was willing to make of them. As ſoon as the Council was aſſembled, he made a long Speech, endeavouring to ſhow that the Male-Adminiſtration, Inſincerity, and Tyranny of *Stephen*, had been the ſole cauſe of all the Troubles in the Kingdom. He owned that indeed he had pledged his Faith for him, when the Neceſſity of Affairs had, as it were, compelled the *Engliſh* to place the Crown on his head: Adding, he was deceived the firſt, and with extreme grief ſaw himſelf obliged to revoke his engagement. He inſiſted upon his former Oath to *Matilda*, adding it was more reaſonable to regard the Orders of his eternal Father, whoſe Will it was that Juſtice ſhould be done the Empreſs, than the Intereſts of a natural Brother. Then he ſaid, he had done all that lay in his power to make *Stephen* ſenſible of his Errors, even to the ſummoning him before a Synod, but that all his brotherly and kind Admonitions had proved ineffectual. That this Obſtinacy was a clear Evidence to the *Engliſh*, what Calamities they would have been expoſed to under the Government of ſuch a Prince, if it had not pleaſed divine Providence to give Sentence againſt him by ſuffering him to be impriſoned. In fine, ſince God's Judgments were now fallen on the King whom they had elected, they were to atone for their Fault, by reſtoring the Crown to the Princeſs, to whom of Right it belonged. *I have therefore*, continues he, *convened you, by virtue of the Apoſtolic Power committed unto me, to conſult about the means of appeaſing the Troubles of the State. This Affair was debated yeſterday in the Preſence of the greateſt Part of the Clergy, who beyond all diſpute have a principal Share in the Election of the Kings. And therefore, after mature Deliberation, we have determined to acknowledge* Matilda, *Daughter to the incomparable King* Henry, *for Queen and Sovereign of* England (5).

1141.

Moſt of thoſe that were preſent, and not in the Secret, were extremly ſurprized at this Speech; and much more to ſee an Election tranſacted in private by the Clergy, after an unprecedented manner. Nevertheleſs, every one keeping a profound Silence, for ſome were gained, and others dared not to oppoſe it openly for fear of not being ſeconded, the Silence was interpreted for an approbation. The Legate told them further, he had ſummoned the Magiſtrates of *London*, and that they had promiſed to ſend their Deputies. And indeed on the morrow the Deputies arrived, but inſtead of conſenting to what the Council had done, they declared they were ordered by the City and the Barons that were retired thither, to petition the King's Liberty. The Legate replied, it became not the *Londoners* to ſide with the Barons, who had baſely deſerted their King in Battle, and were endeavouring to embroil the Kingdom in freſh Troubles. This Anſwer, ſo far from the point, not being ſatisfactory to the Deputies, they demanded one more direct, but in vain. The Legate did not think fit to re-examine a thing, which he pretended was already decided. Before the end of the Synod, a Chaplain to *Stephen*'s Queen (6), offered to the Council a Letter, which he delivered to the Legate. But becauſe the Prelate, after peruſing it himſelf, would not communicate it to the Aſſembly, the Chaplain boldly took it out of his hand, and read it aloud. This Letter, wherein the Queen earneſtly intreated them to ſet the King at Liberty, proving of no effect, the Council broke up, after excommunicating all *Stephen*'s Adherents (7).

Deputies from London *in vain petition the King's Liberty.* Malmſb.

As does the Queen.

Stephen's *Adherents excommunicated.*

This affair being thus ended, the Empreſs wanted only the Conſent of the *Londoners*, in order to her Coronation. For that purpoſe, ſhe was obliged to enter into a Negotiation with the City, which laſted ſome time. Mean while, *Matilda* advanced as far as *Reading*, where *Robert de Oyly* Governor of *Oxford* came and offered her the Keys of his Caſtle, humbly intreating her to honour that City with her preſence. She readily complied with his requeſt, and, after receiving the Oath of the Inhabitants of *Oxford*, and the adjacent Country, removed to St. *Albans*, where ſhe waited for the Reſolution of the *Londoners*. The City was then over-run with troubles and confuſion. Some were for continuing ſtedfaſt to the King, though a Priſoner: Others for giving way to the times, and recognizing *Matilda*. Theſe laſt prevailing at length, the Empreſs came to *London*, where ſhe was magnificently received amidſt the great numbers of Barons that attended her. The City of *London* declaring thus for *Matilda*, there was no farther oppoſition, and now the Preparations for her Coronation were begun. Mean while *Matilda* was every where acknowledged for Sovereign (8).

London *declares for* Matilda. Malmſb. Gervaſe. R. de Dicet.

During this interval, *Stephen*'s Queen came to the Empreſs, to try to prevail with her for ſome condeſcenſion to her Husband. As ſhe deſpaired of ever ſeeing him

Matilda. *treats the Queen ill.* Con. Flor. Wig. Brompt. Gervaſ.

(1) Who was then at *Glouceſter*, *Gervaſe*, p. 1354. This Battle was fought on *Candlemas-day*. *Sax. Ann.* The chief Perſons made Priſoners, were, *Bernard de Baliol*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *Richard de Courcey*, *William Foſſart*, *Baldwin*, *Richard Fitz-Urſin*, *William Peverel*, *William Clerfeith*, &c. *William* Earl af *Albemarle*, retired during the Fight. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 269. *Gervaſe*, p. 1354.

(2) *Malmſbury* ſays, he was honourably uſed at firſt, but at length, by the Inſtigation of ſome who pretended, he had been ſeen ſeveral times beyond the Bounds of his Confinement, he was put in Irons. *Malmſb.* p. 187. He was not laid in Irons till after *Matilda*'s Flight from *Oxford*. *Gervaſe. M. Paris*, p. 78.

(3) And likewiſe *Matilda* herſelf, *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, *Brian Fitz Count* Marqueſs, *i. e.* Governor of *Wallingford*, and *Milo* (afterwards Earl of *Hereford*,) &c. bound themſelves by Oath to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that he ſhould have the chief Management of Affairs, the Diſpoſal of Church-Preferments, &c. For this Purpoſe there was a Convention in the Fields near *Wincheſter*. *Malmſb.* p. 180.

(4) Waiting upon her at *Wilton*. *Gervaſe*, p. 1354.

(5) -----Filiam pacifici Regis —— in Angliæ Normanniæque dominam eligimus, & ei fidem & manutenementum promittimus. *Malmſb.* p. 189.

(6) Named *Chriſtian*. *Malmſb.* p. 189. (7) Particularly *William Martel* Sewer to the King, *ibid.*

(8) She made *Robert de Sigillo*, a Monk of *Reading*, Biſhop of *London*. *R. de Dicето*, p. 508. *Gervaſe*, p. 1355.

on

1141. on the Throne again, ſhe deſired nothing more than his Liberty. She promiſed, in the name of that unhappy Prince, that, content with living as a private Perſon, he would renounce the Crown, and to remove all ſuſpicion, depart out of the Kingdom, and paſs the reſidue of his Days in a Monaſtery. He even offered to ſwear never to return more, and give Hoſtages for the performance of his Promiſes. But ſuch were the times, that there was no reliance on Words or Oaths, there having been ſo many late Inſtances of the ready Violation of both. Accordingly *Matilda* rejected all theſe Propoſals with great haughtineſs, forbidding the unfortunate Queen ever to come into her preſence again.

Matilda falls out with the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Malmſb. Gervaſe. J. Hagulſt.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* became alſo a Petitioner to her, but had as little reaſon to be ſatisfied with her Generoſity. He imagined, the Service he had lately done her, highly deſerved ſome return. Accordingly, he deſired ſome Favour for *Euſtace* his Nephew, which was proudly denied him (1). This was ſufficient to ſtir up the Biſhop to a Revenge. He was in hopes, the new Queen would be guided by his Councils; but plainly ſaw, ſhe looked upon him as an Enemy. His turbulent and vindictive Temper not ſuffering him to reſt under theſe Circumſtances, he began from that inſtant to plot againſt *Matilda*, burning with Deſire to make the ungrateful Princeſs know, it was no leſs in his power to pull her down, than to ſet her up. But perhaps he would have found it difficult to accompliſh his Project, if the Empreſs herſelf had not furniſhed him with the means, by her extreme Pride, which made her regard her Subjects as ſo many Slaves. Fatal Policy! Which created her many Enemies, at a time when ſhe ought rather to have laboured to gain the *Engliſh* by mild and popular methods. She drew upon herſelf chiefly the Hatred of the *Londoners*, by refuſing to grant the only thing they petitioned, and which the King her Father had poſitively promiſed, namely, to mitigate the Severity of the *Norman* Laws, and revive thoſe of King *Edward*. This ill-adviſed Princeſs thought herſelf ſo far above all contradiction, that ſhe neglected to imitate the Conduct of her Predeceſſors, in amuſing her Subjects with Promiſes at leaſt, till her Authority was more firmly eſtabliſhed. Her haughty Carriage ſoon wrought a great change in the Minds of the *Engliſh*. They began to be ſenſible what Danger they were in, of being unhappy under her Government, unleſs timely care was taken to prevent the impending Evils. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* cheriſhed, to the utmoſt of his power, theſe Diſcontents; and by ſecret Emiſſaries at *London*, ſtirred up the Citizens to revenge the Contempt *Matilda* had ſhown them. His Cabals were carried ſo far, that he drew them into a Plot to ſeize the Empreſs's Perſon. What care ſoever was taken to conceal this deſign, ſhe had timely notice of it, and left the City in ſuch haſte and in ſo great a fright, that her Palace and Goods were expoſed to the Fury of the Populace (2). Though the Legate miſſed his Aim, he thought, he had not a little forwarded the execution of his Project, in ingaging the *Londoners* againſt *Matilda*. Secure of their Aſſiſtance, he privately concerted meaſures with the Queen his Siſter-in-Law. After which, he ſent word to *Euſtace* to be ready to march with the *Kentiſh-men*, promiſing him, he ſhould ſoon be at the head of a more conſiderable Army. Having taken theſe meaſures, and ſecretly gained to the King's Party ſeveral Lords that were diſpleaſed with the Empreſs, he ordered the Caſtle of *Wincheſter*, and ſome others that were at his diſpoſal, to be ſtored with Proviſions and Arms.

and likewiſe with the Londoners, Brompt. Gervaſe. G. R. S.

who lay a Plot to ſeize her Perſon. Sax. Ann. Brompt. Gervaſe.

The Legate confers with the Queen his Siſter-in-law. Malmſb.

Matilda *tries in vain to ſeize the Legate. Malmſb. Brompt.*

As all this could not be tranſacted without *Matilda*'s knowledge, ſhe put herſelf at the head of her Troops, attended by the Earl of *Glouceſter* (3) and the King of *Scotland*, who was come into *England* to aſſiſt at the Coronation (4). As ſoon as ſhe approached *Wincheſter* (5), ſhe ſent the Biſhop word, ſhe had ſomething to communicate to him, and therefore deſired him to come to her. The Prelate ſuſpecting ſhe was informed of his Proceedings, eaſily perceived this was only an Artifice to enſnare him. Accordingly, inſtead of waiting upon her, he ſent her an ambiguous Anſwer (6). At the ſame time he ſtole out of the Town at an oppoſite Gate, and drew his Friends together, who only waited his Orders to put themſelves in motion. As they were all ready, they were quickly in Arms. The *Kentiſh-men* joining the *Londoners*, *Stephen*'s Queen, *Euſtace* his Son, and *William d' Ypres*, headed them, and marched to *Wincheſter* with the utmoſt ſpeed. They had like to have ſurprized the Empreſs, who ſcarce had time to retire into the Caſtle. As the Inhabitants of *Wincheſter* appeared a little too zealous in her cauſe, the Biſhop, out of revenge, ſet fire to the City, though the Capital of his Dioceſe. Twenty Churches were burnt to aſhes, with a Nunnery, which bore the Name of St. *Grimbald* (7).

1141. *He draws an Army together. Gervaſe. Huntingd. J. Hagulſt. Brompton.*

Parts Wincheſter. Malmſb. Gervaſe.

The Biſhop's care to provide the Caſtle well with Ammunition, rendered the Siege very long and difficult. The Beſiegers applied themſelves cloſely to it for two months (8), in hopes of putting an end to the War at once, by taking the Heads of the contrary Party. The ſame reaſon obliged the Beſieged to think of their ſafety. When they found there was no poſſibility of holding out any longer, they reſolved to hew themſelves a paſſage with their ſwords, and run all Risks to ſecure the Empreſs's Perſon. To that purpoſe they ſallied out in good Order, *Matilda* and the King of *Scotland* marching in the front (9), and the Earl of *Glouceſter* bringing up the rear (10). They were no ſooner out, but the King's Troops cloſely purſued, endeavouring by frequent Attacks to retard their march, whilſt the reſt of the Army was advancing to ſurround them. In all theſe little ſkirmiſhes, the Earl of *Glouceſter* vigorouſly oppoſed his Enemies, and gave ſignal marks of his conduct and valour. But his efforts, which indeed were very ſerviceable to *Matilda*, as they gave her time to retire, proved fatal to himſelf. As the Empreſs's danger made him neglect his own Safety, he would march the laſt through a narrow Defile, where his Troops were hard preſſed by the Enemies, and himſelf unfortunately taken Priſoner (11). *William de Ypres*, to whoſe charge he was committed, ordered him to be forthwith conducted to *Rocheſter* in *Kent*, where the King had more Friends than in any other part of the Kingdom.

Matilda beſieged in the Caſtle. Malmſb. Gervaſe.

Marches out with her Troops, and is purſued. Malmſb. Huntingd.

Earl of Glouceſter taken Priſoner. R. Dicето. Prompt.

Mean time, *Matilda* making all poſſible ſpeed, eſcaped with a few Followers to the Caſtle of *Lutgerſhall*, and from thence to the *Devizes*. Here ſhe repoſed herſelf a little, thinking ſhe had time enough to reach *Glouceſter*. But when ſhe came to purſue her Journey, ſhe had intelligence, the road was lined with the King's Soldiers. If we may believe a Hiſtorian, much given to the marvellous, ſhe eſcaped their Vigilance, by being carried to *Glouceſter* in a Coffin, which no body would ever have thought to ſearch. Be this as it will, it is certain ſhe found means to avoid this danger.

Matilda eſcapes by a Stratagem. Gervas.

Brompt. p. 1032. Gervas. Knighton.

Whilſt the Empreſs was deviſing Expedients to reſiſt her Enemies, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the reſt of the King's Friends, were endeavouring to diſengage the Earl of *Glouceſter* from his Siſter's party. But all their ſollicitations, and the conſiderations of his preſent State, could not ſhake him. He firmly perſiſted in his Allegiance he had ſworn to her, and would not even diſſemble to procure his Liberty. In fine, after ſix months impriſonment, *Matilda*, who had a tender Affection for him, and very juſtly, and beſides could not well proceed without him, conſented he ſhould be exchanged for the King (12). In vain, were endeavours uſed on this occaſion, to make Peace between *Stephen* and the Empreſs. As the thing they both claimed was of a nature not to admit of Diviſion, there was no poſſibility of ſucceeding. The Exchange therefore was all that could be done, each being left at liberty to purſue the War.

The King is exchanged for the Earl of Glouceſter. Malm. Brompt. Gervas.

After the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* reſolved to abandon the Empreſs, he writ to the Pope, to entreat him to authorize his Proceedings in behalf of the King his Brother. As the Pope had no information of what paſſed in *England*, but from his Legate, he did not fail to anſwer him ac-

The Pope writes to the Legate in favour of the King. Malm.

(1) The Biſhop petitioned the Empreſs to confirm the Titles of Earl of *Mortagne* and *Boulogne* to *Euſtace*, whoſe Mother was Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Boulogne*. *Malmſb.* p. 107.

(2) She fled to *Oxford*, and from thence in a great Hurry went to *Glouceſter*, where having conferred with *Milo*, ſhe returned to *Oxford*; and, after ſome time, advanced towards *Wincheſter*, where ſhe came about *Auguſt* 1; but finding that City was againſt her, ſhe took her Lodging in the Caſtle. *Gervaſe*, p. 1355. (3) *Gervaſe* ſays, he knew nothing of it. ----- Ignorante fratre ſuo *Roberto*, p. 1355.

(4) There was likewiſe with the Empreſs, *Milo* (whom ſhe had lately made Earl of *Hereford*) her conſtant Friend, and who had born the Expences of her Houſhold from her firſt coming to *Glouceſter*, which was then two Years: And this the Continuator of *Florence* of *Worceſter* ſays he had from his own Mouth.

(5) Or rather, after ſhe was got into the Caſtle, *Malmſb.* p. 190. (6) Parabo me, *I will prepare my ſelf*. *Malmſb.* p. 190.

(7) *Malmſbury* ſays, whilſt the Empreſs was blocked up, Fire was thrown from the Biſhop's Tower upon the Citizen's Houſes, becauſe they were more inclined to her than to him. This Fire took hold of a Nunnery within the City, and burnt it down, with the Abbey called the *Hide* without the City, and above twenty Churches. *Malmſb.* 190. *Gervaſe*, p. 1356. This City was burnt down, *Auguſt* 2. *Gervaſe*, p. 1355. *Andover* was alſo burnt; and *Wherwell* by *William d' Ipres*. *Malmſb.* p. 190.

(8) Seven Weeks. *Gervaſe*, p. 1356. (9) And *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwal*, her Brother, *ibid.*

(10) He went out another way, and was taken in a place called *Stoubregge*, with the Earl of *Warren*, *ibid.*

(11) *Milo* the Conſtable eſcaped, and came, almoſt naked, to *Matilda* at *Glouceſter*. Gervaſe, 1356. This Skirmiſh happened on the 14th of *September*. Malmſb. p. 190. (12) About the beginning of *November*. Id. p. 191.

cording

1141. cording to his wish. His Answer was received a little after *Stephen*'s release. In this Letter he blamed the Prelate for neglecting so long to replace his Brother on the Throne, ordering him to try all ways for his restoration. To this he added an express Permission to use both Temporal and Spiritual Arms to accomplish that end. Supported with this Authority, the Legate summoned a Council at *Westminster* (1), where the Pope's Letter was read. The King, who was present, bitterly complained of some of his Subjects, who not content with waging War against him, had long detained him in a dishonourable Imprisonment. Then the Bishop of *Winchester* in a Rhetorical Harangue, endeavoured to justify his late conduct and the frequent breach of his Oaths. But he would have found it very difficult to purge himself, had he not been favoured by the present juncture. He concluded his Speech with excommunicating all the Adherents of the Empress as so many Enemies to the publick Peace. The People were not pleased to see themselves thus liable to such opposite Excommunications, according to the humour of the Legate. However no one dared to complain, well knowing it would be to no purpose. Only a Lay-Messenger of the Empress, by her order, charged the Legate to his face, that it was by his invitation, she came into *England*. He had even the boldness to tell him, his Brother's hard treatment in his Imprisonment was owing to his advice. The Legate made no reply to these Reproaches, but resolved to complete his Revenge by entirely ruining *Matilda*'s affairs.

Synod at Westminster, Malmsb. Gervase.

where Matilda's *Adherents are excommunicated.*

Malmsb.

1142. Upon *Stephen*'s recovering his Liberty, *Matilda*'s party declined so visibly, that the Earl of *Gloucester* was afraid it would come to nothing, unless supported by foreign Aid. This apprehension made him resolve to pass into *Normandy*, and sollicit the Earl of *Anjou* (2) to maintain his Wife the Empress's Right, which was also his Son's. But the Earl was too much embroiled in domestick troubles to send any great Succours into *England*. The *Angevin* Nobility were dissatisfied with him, and the *Normans* were not yet sufficiently settled in his obedience, for him to venture to remove from them, or leave their Country unprovided with Troops (3). He contented himself therefore with sending an inconsiderable Aid (4) to *Matilda*, with *Henry* his eldest Son, to try whether his Presence would have any influence on the *English*.

The Earl of Gloucester *demands Aid of the Earl of* Anjou. Malmsb. Gervase. M. Paris.

Matilda *besieged in* Oxford. Huntingd. Malmsb. M. Paris. Gervase. J. Hagulst. Brompt.

During the Earl of *Gloucester*'s absence, *Matilda* retired to *Oxford* (5), where she thought herself safe, till the Succours, expected from *Normandy*, should arrive. The King looking upon this as a favourable juncture, resolved to lay Siege to that City, in expectation of having his Rival in his power, before the Earl's return (6). The Siege was carried on with all possible vigour and diligence, and maintained in the same manner by the Empress, who had no other refuge, but a stout defence, in order to avoid the impending disaster. The approach of Winter gave her some hopes, the King would be obliged to retire. But *Stephen* being resolutely bent to continue his attacks notwithstanding the rigour of the Season (7), she was at last reduced to a necessity of desiring to capitulate. As she dreaded, above all things, the same lot she had inflicted on her Enemy, she did not think fit to wait the issue of the Capitulation, which could not but prove fatal to her. Whilst she amused the King with Demands that he would never grant, she took advantage of a dark Night, and went out of the City (8), cloathed in white, to deceive the Centinels, by reason the ground was then covered with snow. She passed the *Thames* on the Ice, and walked above six Miles on foot, with the Snow beating in her face all the way. In spite of these difficulties, she came to *Abington*, and taking horse rid that same night (9) to *Wallingford*. The King was extremely surprised to find himself thus disappointed. He did not value the taking of *Oxford*, since it put not *Matilda* in his power. Mean time Prince *Henry* and the Earl of *Gloucester*, who were just arrived in *England*, being informed of the Empress's happy escape, waited upon her at *Wallingford*, where the sight of her Son blotted out, for a time, all remembrance of her Misfortunes. Here ends the History of *William of Malmsbury*, one of the most exact and judicious Writers of those days, and whom, for that reason, I have chiefly taken for my Guide.

She escapes with great Difficulty. Malm. Huntingd. Hoved. M. Paris. Gervase.

1142. Gervase.

In the beginning of the Year 1143, the Legate summoned a Council at *London* (10), where the King was present. He made a long Speech tending to convince the Bishops of the necessity of exerting themselves more vigorously than they had hitherto done, in order to put a speedy end to a War, so prejudicial to the Kingdom. He declared, he was ready to persevere in exposing his Life for the service of the State; but added, he could not flatter himself with any hopes of Success, without the Assistance of his Subjects. And therefore required, those that were able to bear Arms should attend him in his military Expeditions, and the rest furnish him with Money. This was addressed particularly to the Clergy, who, being entirely guided by the Bishop of *Winchester*, promised to grant an Aid (11). It was however upon this condition, that the Church should be better protected for the future. The King assuring them, it was his Intention, and that the Canons should be strictly observed, the Council passed two relating to the times. By the first it was declared, whoever killed an Ecclesiastick, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself. The second ordained, that the Husbandman and Plough should be under the same protection as was enjoyed by those that were retired into a Church or Church-yard.

1143. *A Synod at* London *grants the King a Subsidy.* Hunt. l. 8. Brompton. M. Paris.

Hoved. p. 279. M. Paris, p. 79.

The rest of this Year's Occurrences consists only of a tedious account of the Civil War, which laid waste the Kingdom. We meet with nothing but taking and surprising Castles (12), some little Skirmishes of no consequence, and many Barbarities committed on both sides. Not to tire the Reader with the recital of Matters of no moment, I shall only observe, that in this and the three next years, *Stephen*'s Party visibly prevailed. To which the Death of the Earl of *Gloucester* (13), and of *Milo* Earl of *Hereford* (14), her chief Councellors and most faithful Friends, greatly contributed. After the loss of these two Earls, *Matilda* seeing no way to defend herself any longer, left *England* and retired to *Normandy*, where she had already sent the Prince her Son. The Earl of *Anjou* his Father had earnestly desired it, perceiving he fruitlesly exposed himself to continual Danger, to wrest from a Prince a Crown, on whose head it seemed to be too firmly fixed.

Continuation of the War. Bromp. Gervas.

1144.
1145.
1146. *Death of the Earl of* Gloucester. J. Hagulst. Gervase. Matilda *goes into* Normandy. Sax. Ann.

Upon the Empress's departure, *Stephen* finding himself in peaceable possession of the Crown, thought of means to secure it, after his death, to *Eustace* his eldest Son. For that purpose, he caused some of the Barons to take the Oath to him, imagining that Precaution capable to lead him to the end he proposed. But his own Experience should have taught him the insufficiency of that means.

1147. Stephen *Master of the whole Kingdom.* Hunting. Gervase, Hoved.

Towards the latter end of the Year 1147, he kept his *Christmas* at *Lincoln*, where he affected to wear his Crown, notwithstanding a certain Prophecy, foretelling great misfortunes to the Kings, who should venture to appear crown'd in that City.

He wears his Crown at Lincoln *notwithstanding a certain Prophecy against it.* Huntingd. Brompt. Gervase.

Whilst *Stephen* was enjoying the repose procured by *Matilda*'s retreat, the Zeal of the Christian World rousing itself again, a fresh Crusade was undertaken against the *Saracens*. *Lewis the Young*, King of *France*, signalized himself in this Expedition, by the great number of Troops, he led in Person to the *Holy-Land* (15). He was

1148. *A new Crusade, wherein* Lewis *of* France *distinguishes himself.*

(1) About the end of *November*, *Malmsb.* p. 191. *Stephen* about this time built a Castle at *Wilton*, but was soon beat out thence by *Matilda*'s Party. *Huntingd.* p. 392.

(2) He sent Ambassadors before in *Lent*; but the Earl of *Anjou* refused to treat with any but the Earl of *Gloucester*; so he went over about Midsummer, and embarked at *Warham*: In his Absence King *Stephen* burnt that Town and seized the Castle. *Malmsb.* p. 193, 194.

(3) The Earl of *Anjou* had taken Advantage of the King's Imprisonment, and conquered the greatest Part of *Normandy*. *Ord. Vital.*

(4) Between three and four hundred Men in fifty two Ships. *Robert* landed at *Warham*, which he retook. *Malmsb.* p. 194. *Gervase.*

(5) About *Michaelmas*, *Gervase*, p. 1357.

(6) He burnt that City, *Septemb.* 26. and then laid Siege to the Castle. *Malmsb.* p. 194.

(7) He besieged it from *Michaelmas* to *Christmas*. *Brompt.* p. 1032. *Gervase.*

(8) At a Back-gate attended only with four Persons, *Malmsb.* p. 195. The *Sax. Ann.* say, she was let down from a Tower by a Rope.

(9) The *Sax. Ann.* say, she went on foot.

(10) In *Lent*. *M. Paris.* p. 79. ------- This Year King *Stephen* seized *Geoffrey de Magnaville*, and before he would release him, made him surrender the Tower of *London*, and his Castles of *Walden* and *Plaisseiz*, *Huntingd.* p. 393. *R. de Dicto*, p. 508. *Brompt.* p. 1033. *Hoved. Gervase* says, he did it out of Necessity; for if he had not secured him, he would have been deprived by him of his Kingdom, p. 1360.

(11) It does not appear whence *Rapin* had this Particular, for no Historian mentions any Scutages, Subsidies or Taxes during this Reign; both Armies living by Plunder, and maintaining themselves chiefly by the Ruin of their Adversaries, their Men and Tenants.

(12) In 1144, King *Stephen* tried to take *Lincoln*, but was repulsed. *Hunt. Brompt.* In 1145, he took the Castle of *Farringdon*. *Gervase.*

(13) He was Son of *Nesta*, Daughter of *Rhees* Prince of *South-Wales*. King *Henry* I, his Father procured him in Marriage *Mabel*, or *Maud*, the Heiress of *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, Lord of *Carboil* in *Normandy*, *Cardiff* in *South-Wales*, and *Tewkesbury* in *England*. By her he had *William*, Earl of *Gloucester*, after him, *Roger* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Richard* Bishop of *Noyon*, *Hamon*, *Mabel*, Wife of *Aubrey de Vere*, and *Matilda* of *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*. Earl *Robert* died of a Fever at *Gloucester*, *October* 31. 1147, (*Gervase* says in *November* 1146. p. 1362.) and was buried at *Bristol* in St. *James*'s Monastery which he built, and also *Cardiff* Castle.

(14) He was slain *December* 24, with an Arrow at a hunting Match. *J. Hagulstad.* p. 273. *Milo* was created Earl of *Hereford* by Patent from *Matilda*, being the first of that Kind that we know of. *It is to be seen in Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. I. p. 8. *Rapin.* The Patent begins thus: *Matilda* imperatrix *Henrici* regis Filia, & Anglorum Domina, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus Baronibus, &c. salutem. Sciatis me feciſſe *Milonem de Gloceſtria Comitem de Hereford*, & dediſſe ei totam *Hereford*, cum toto Caſtello, in feodo & hæreditate ſibi & hæredibus ſuis ad tenendum de me & hæredibus meis. Dedi etiam ei tertium denarium redditus Burgi *Hereford*, &c. Vide *Selden Titles of Honour*, p. 681.

(15) He was attended, among others, by *William* Earl of *Warren*, who was slain in this Expedition; and *Roger de Mowbray*, who signalized himself in it. *J. Hagulst.* p. 275, 276.

accompanied

1148. accompanied by *Eleanor* of *Guyenne* his Queen, Heireſs of the Houſe of *Poictiers*, with whom he had the Earldom of *Guyenne* with its Appurtenances, and all *Poictou*. During the voyage, which laſted near two years, *Lewis* fell out in ſuch a manner with his Queen, upon ſome Suſpicion, well or ill-grounded (1), that he reſolved to divorce her as ſoon as he returned to *France*.

Falls out with his Queen. Hunting'd.

1149. Since *Matilda* had in a manner relinquiſhed all pretenſions to *England*, *Stephen* thought only of reaping the fruits of his Labours, and repairing the miſchiefs the Kingdom had ſuffered by a long war. But a new Rival, who was preparing to diſpute the Crown with him, ſoon made him ſenſible, he was ſtill far enough from the tranquillity he had flattered himſelf with. *Henry*, eldeſt Son of *Matilda* by the Earl of *Anjou*, a young Prince of ſixteen years of age, and of a lively and enterpriſing Genius, thought he ſhould not be diſcouraged by the Difficulties which the Empreſs his Mother met with in *England*. He did not queſtion but the Perſons that ſupported the Right of the lawful Heir, would always continue in the ſame mind, and a new Leader of more youth and vigour inſpire them with freſh Courage. In this belief, he reſolved to go to the King of *Scotland* his great Uncle, and concert meaſures with him to accompliſh this deſign (2). *David*, having notice of the Prince's coming, met him in *Northumberland* (3). After conferring with him about their affairs, he knighted him according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, when this Ceremony was deemed neceſſary for all that took upon them the profeſſion of Arms (4). Mean time, *Stephen*, who had received intelligence of this Interview, fearing they had ſome deſign upon *York*, ſpeedily marched thither and reinforced the Garriſon (5). Upon his approach the two Princes parted, *David* returning to *Scotland*, and *Henry* to *Normandy* (6). He was ſcarce arrived at *Roan*, when *Geoffrey* his Father departed this Life (7), leaving him the Earldom of *Anjou*, till the Empreſs his Mother's death ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of *Normandy*, after which he was to reſign *Anjou* to *Geoffrey* his younger Brother.

Prince Henry forms a Deſign of aſſerting his Claim to England. Huntingd. Hoved. Brompt. Gervaſe.

He confers with the King of Scotland. W. Neub. Huntingd. Gervaſe. J. Hagulſt.

1150. *Earl of Anjou dies.* Hunting. Sax. Ann. J. Hagulſt. Gervaſe.

1151. *Lewis divorces Eleanor.* Gervaſe.

Henry takes the Title of Duke of Normandy, and marries her. Brompt. Gervaſe. *Lewis and Stephen grow jealous of Henry.* C. N. Hunt. Hoved.

They enter into a League. C. N. Gervaſe. M. Paris.

Huntingd. M. Paris.

Stephen tries to get his Son crowned, but cannot. Huntingd. Gervaſe. Col. 1371.

1151. *Lewis* had deferred parting with *Eleanor* his wife only till he had brought her back to *France*. Immediately after his return, he put his reſolution in practice, and generouſly reſtored to her *Guyenne*, *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, with all the Dominions ſhe had brought him in marriage, providing alſo for the two Daughters he had by her. As ſoon as this Divorce became publick, *Henry*, who with his Mother's conſent had aſſumed the Title of *Duke of Normandy*, conſidered how to ſecure the poſſeſſion of this rich Heireſs (8). Matters were carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, that the firſt News *Lewis* heard, was, that the Duke was gone to the Queen at *Bourdeaux*, where their Nuptials were ſolemnized with extraordinary magnificence. This was a great mortification to that Monarch, who could not bear to ſee another deckt with his Spoils, though voluntarily relinquiſhed by himſelf. Beſides, he was ſenſible how formidable *Henry* would he to *France*, in caſe he ſhould one day add to his preſent Dominions the Kingdom of *England*, to which he had ſo juſt a claim. On the other hand, this ſame Marriage made *Stephen* no leſs uneaſy, who could not behold this increaſe of Power in his Rival without dreading the conſequences. This jealouſy of theſe two Monarchs being rouſed on this occaſion, it was not long before they made an Alliance, the deſign of which was to humble a Prince who was grown very formidable to both. *Lewis* raiſed him diſturbances in *Anjou* by means of *Geoffrey* his Brother, who thought he had a Right, by virtue of his Father's Will, to take poſſeſſion of that Earldom. At the ſame time he inveſted once more *Euſtace*, Son of *Stephen*, with *Normandy*; that *Henry*, attacked from two Quarters, might afford the King of *England* time to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Throne. On the other ſide, *Stephen* took all the meaſures he thought capable of ruining the Duke's Party in *England*, in order to deſtroy his Hopes of ever coming to the Crown. The moſt proper means to this end was, in his opinion, to cauſe his Son *Euſtace* to be crowned before-hand (9). But he met with unexpected obſtacles. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* flatly refuſed to comply with his requeſt, and his reaſon was ſtill more offenſive than the denial itſelf. He told him, the Pope had expreſly forbidden him to crown the Son of a Prince, who, contrary to his Oath, had uſurped the Kingdom. If the Pope really gave any ſuch Orders to the Archbiſhop, his ſentiments were very different from thoſe of his Predeceſſor *Innocent* II. But, very likely, this Prelate, as well as the reſt of the Biſhops, made uſe of this pretence to cover their Engagements with the Duke of *Normandy*. Be this as it will, the King, incenſed at the obſtinate denial of the Biſhops, cauſed them all to be ſhut up in one Houſe, reſolving to keep them there till they complied with his Will. This was a very extraordinary way to obtain his deſire; accordingly it proved unſucceſsful. The Houſe, where the Biſhops were detained, not being carefully guarded, the Archbiſhop found means to eſcape and fly into *Normandy*. By his flight, the King's project entirely vaniſhed.

1151.

1152. *Stephen* was extremely offended with the Clergy's preſumption, who claimed a Power of making and unmaking Kings as they pleaſed, or as it ſuited with the intereſts of ſuch as governed the reſt. As he did not queſtion but the Duke of *Normandy* had gained the Biſhops to his party, and did not dare to attack them directly, he thought to bring them back to their duty, by ſeizing ſome Caſtles, ſtill in the hands of the Duke's Friends, in order to deprive the Clergy of that Protection. At the ſame time, he ſent his Son *Euſtace* into *Normandy* to join the King of *France* and invade that Duchy. *Stephen*'s aim was to prevent *Henry* from coming into *England*, to the aſſiſtance of his Friends. But this War laſted not ſo long as he expected. *Henry*, by his extraordinary courage and diligence, drove out of *Anjou* his Brother *Geoffrey*, who was become maſter of ſome Places. Then he marched back to *Normandy*, where he found means, by making him ſome ſatisfaction, to conclude a Peace with the King of *France*. After that, it was eaſy to drive out *Euſtace*, who was not yet firmly ſettled in that Duchy. *Euſtace* finding no farther refuge there, returned to *England*, and joined his Father, who was then beſieging *Wallingford*. This was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the Kingdom. Accordingly, the King ſpent ſo much time in the Siege, that the Duke had leiſure to come to its relief, after ſettling his affairs in *Normandy*.

He forms a Deſign of humbling the Clergy. Diceto. Gervaſe. Huntingd.

He involves the Duke of Normandy in Troubles, who happily gets clear of them.

He beſieges Wallingford. Huntingd. Gervaſe.

The young Duke, perceiving of what importance it was to relieve his Friends in *England*, led over (10) ſo conſiderable a number of Forces (11), that he gave new life to his Party, which, ſince *Matilda*'s departure, ſeemed to be quite diſcouraged. Several Barons immediately joined him, and put into his hands thirty fortified Caſtles, whoſe Garriſons he reinforced (12). Then he haſted to the relief of *Wallingford*, which was vigorouſly preſſed, through the abſence of the King, who was gone to *London* to make freſh preparations. *Henry* approaching the Town, and finding it very difficult to aſſault the Beſiegers in their Intrenchments, contented himſelf with ſecuring the Avenues, through which they were ſupplied with Proviſions. This precaution would ſoon have been fatal to them, had not *Stephen* poſted to their Succour. He approached the Duke of *Normandy*, and without attacking him, brought him into the ſame ſtraits, as the Beſiegers had ſome days laboured under.

Henry *goes over into* England, *and is joined by ſome of the Barons. He marches to* Wallingford. R. Diceto. Hunt. Gervaſe. Brompt.

It was ſcarce poſſible for the Armies to part without fighting. Accordingly the two Leaders were preparing for Battle with equal ardour, when by the prudent advice of the Earl of *Arundel*, who was on the King's ſide, they were prevented from coming to blows. He repreſented to the King the miſeries the Kingdom was going to be expoſed to, by a Battle, which muſt be very bloody, and almoſt as fatal to the Vanquiſhers as Vanquiſhed. Adding it would be more becoming Chriſtians to try, whether matters could not be adjuſted by a Treaty,

The two Armies being juſt going to engage, the Earl of Arundel *perſuades the King to Peace.* R. Diceto. Gervaſe. M. Paris.

(1) He ſuſpected her of Adultery with a young *Saracen*; but the Pretence he made uſe of to divorce her was that they were Couſins in the fourth Degree.

(2) He had been abſent from *England*, two Years and four Months: He now returned in the middle of *May*, with a choice Body of Troops; being ſent by his Mother. *Gervaſe*, p. 1362, 1366. *Brompt.* 1036.

(3) He met him at *Carliſle* about *Whitſuntide*, having with him, *Ranulph* of *Cheſter*, *Roger* Earl of *Hereford*, Son of *Milo*, and others. *W. Neub. David* and *Henry* marched to *Lancaſter*. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 277, 278. *Huntingd.* p. 395.

(4) This was about *Whitſuntide*. *Gervaſe.* p. 1366.

(5) He ſtaid during the Month of *Auguſt*. *Huntingd.* p. 395. *Gervaſe.* p. 1366. This ſame Year he took and burnt *Worceſter*. *Hunt.* ibid.

(6) He went back in the beginning of *January*. *Gervaſe.* p. 1367.

(7) He died in 1151, and was buried at *Mans*. *R. de Diceto.* p. 510. *Gervaſe.* p. 1370. In 1152. ſays *J. Hagulſt.* p. 279.

(8) *Gervaſe* ſays, ſhe offered herſelf to him, p. 1371. *Hoved.*

(9) King *Stephen*, by means of *Henry* Archbiſhop of *York*, who went to *Rome*, applied to the Pope, to deſire him to appoint, by his Apoſtolical Authority, *Euſtace* to be his Succeſſor. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 279.

(10) In the middle of *Winter*. *Huntingd.* p. 396. In the beginning of *January*. *Gervaſe.* 1372.

(11) He came with one hundred and forty Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, in thirty two Ships. *Brompt.* p. 1036. *M. Paris*, p. 86. *Huntingd.* ſays, he came over with a few Perſons, p. 396. Soon after his landing he took *Malmſbury* Caſtle; and then *Stamford*, and *Nottingham*. *R. Diceto.* p. 510. *Brompt.* 1037.

(12) He coined then new Money; for at that time, the great Men, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons coined their own Money. *Hoved.* p. 490.

1152. which would reſtore Peace to the unfortunate Kingdom. In fine, he plainly told him, it was not reaſonable, a whole Nation ſhould be expoſed to the greateſt calamities, on account of two Princes who aimed more at gratifying their own Ambition, than the Happineſs of the *Engliſh*. Whether *Stephen* was moved by theſe remonſtrances, or apprehenſive of being deſerted, in caſe he was bent upon fighting, he conſented that an Accommodation ſhould be propoſed to the Duke. The young Prince, who had prepared for battle, was with difficulty brought to hearken to the King's propoſal. But perceiving, the *Engliſh* Lords preſſed him very earneſtly to it, he thought proper to yield to their importunity, and conſent to the Interview deſired by *Stephen*. In a ſhort conference between theſe two Princes on the oppoſite banks of the *Thames*, which is very narrow at that place, they agreed upon a Truce, in order to have time to negotiate a Peace.

Henry conſents to it with difficulty.

A Truce made.

1153. Earl *Euſtace* could not ſee this Truce without trouble, knowing it would probably end in a Peace which muſt be prejudicial to him. And indeed, it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the Duke of *Normandy*, being unconquered, would depart from his pretenſions to the Crown. To be excuſed from ſigning the Treaty, or perhaps to try to obſtruct it, *Euſtace* ſuddenly left the Army, and retired into *Suffolk* (1). Shortly after (2), as he was going to ſit down at Table in the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury*, he fell into a frenzy, and died in three days, being eighteen years of age. He was buried in the Abbey of *Feverſham* with the Queen his Mother, who died a few months before (3). *Conſtantia* his Widow, daughter of *Lewis the Groſſe*, was afterwards married to *Raymond* Earl of *Thouloufe*.

1153. Euſtace *retires from the Army.* Gervaſe. p. 1374.

He dies. Gervaſe. Brompt. J. Hagulſt. Huntingd.

Stephen was extremely concerned for the loſs of his Queen and Son, which ſeemed to portend ſome farther misfortunes. And indeed, the Nobility openly abandoned him and went over to the Duke of *Normandy*. As there were few Barons but what were guilty of diſloyalty, their dread that the King might think of being revenged, made them judge it neceſſary for their ſafety to put themſelves under the Duke's protection. Their ſuſpicions were confirmed by what had lately happened to the Earl of *Cheſter*. This Earl waiting on the King to offer his Service, was taken into cloſe cuſtody, from whence he could not free himſelf but by the delivery of *Lincoln* Caſtle into the King's hands (4). It was not however without cauſe that the King was willing to ſecure himſelf againſt the Earl, who was entered into private Engagements with the Duke of *Normandy*, as appears from a Charter in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, where *Henry* promiſes him the poſſeſſion of certain Lands. It is probable therefore, *Stephen* had ſome intelligence of this matter (5). But whether he neglected to publiſh the Reaſons of his ſuſpecting the Earl, or could not convict him, this Action was conſidered by the reſt of the Barons, as a preſage of what they themſelves were to expect. And indeed many of them, having entered into the like Engagements with the Duke, believed it ſafer to declare for him openly (6), than expoſe themſelves to the King's reſentment by ſtaying at Court.

The Barons ſide with the Duke. The Reaſon of it.

Gervaſe. Huntingd. J. Hagulſt.

Acta. Publica. Tom. I. p. 12.

David King of *Scotland* died this year (7), leaving only ſome Grandchildren by *Henry* his Son, who died before him (8). *Malcolm* and *William*, the two eldeſt, ſucceſſively mounted the Throne, and *David* their Brother was Earl of *Huntington*.

David *King of* Scotland *dies.*

Stephen *reſolves to make Peace with* Henry. Sax. Ann. Brompton.

The Truce between *Stephen* and *Henry* was renewed ſeveral times, by reaſon of the great difficulties which occurred in the negotiation of the Peace (9). The main Obſtacle ſprung from *Stephen*'s deſire to ſettle the Succeſſion on his Son *William*, to which *Henry* would never conſent. He was willing, *Stephen* ſhould enjoy the Crown during his Life; but after his death, inſiſted upon ſucceeding him. Nay, he thought he had yielded very much in obliging himſelf not to diſturb a Rival, who was not yet fifty years old. In fine, *Stephen* reflecting on the ſtate of his Affairs, and ſeeing the great obſtacles in his way, reſolved to purchaſe Peace by relinquiſhing his deſign. He was ſenſible, the Duke's noble qualities, and Title to the Crown, a Title powerfully ſupported, were difficulties that could not eaſily be ſurmounted. The inclination of the Nobles and People gave him further occaſion to dread, they would not ſtay for his death, to put the Scepter into the hands of the young Prince. Theſe conſiderations induced him at length to conſent to the Peace, as propoſed by *Henry* (10). As ſoon as it was ſigned, *Stephen* performed the ceremony of adopting the young Duke, who paid him the Reſpect due to a Father. On the other hand, *William* the King's Son, did Homage to the Duke; who promiſed on his part, to maintain him in the poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of his Family (11), and of thoſe, granted him by the King his Father, ſince his acceſſion to the Crown (12). 1153.

The Terms of it. R. Dicето. *He adopts* Henry. Gervaſe. p. 1375. Huntingd. Brompt. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 13.

This Treaty was concluded and ſigned at *Wincheſter* (13), in an Aſſembly, convened for that purpoſe, of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. After this, the two Princes made their publick appearance together in the principal Cities, where they were received with great demonſtrations of Joy. The People could not ſufficiently expreſs their ſatisfaction at ſeeing Peace and Tranquillity at length reſtored to the Kingdom after ſo many years of Troubles and Confuſion. An Hiſtorian affirms, that amidſt theſe rejoicings, *Henry* diſcovered a Conſpiracy againſt him by *William* the King's Son (14); and adds, the Plot would have been executed, had not *William* accidentally fallen off his horſe (15) and broke his thigh. To this he attributes the ſudden departure of the Duke of *Normandy*; who, without ſhowing any ſigns of miſtruſt, took his leave of the King, and returned to his Dominions, till *Stephen*'s death ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of the Throne of *England*. Another Hiſtorian does not ſcruple to aſſert, *Henry* was *Stephen*'s Son, with whom the Empreſs had lived too familiary before her Second Marriage. But we are by no means to truſt to this Author's account, ſince, by his own confeſſion, it was entirely grounded on common report.

Gervaſe. ibid.

Huntingd.

The People rejoice at the Peace.

Plot againſt Henry, *who returns to* Normandy. Gervaſe. Sax. Ann.

Although, after his Agreement with *Henry*, *Stephen* could have no hopes of leaving the Crown to his Son, he was ſo touched with the miſeries, the Kingdom endured, that he reſolved to uſe all his endeavours to repair them. He even ſeemed to take proper meaſures to that end. But death, which ſurpriſed him unawares, prevented him from executing ſo generous a deſign. He died (16) in the fiftieth year of his age, on the 25th of *October* (17) 1154, eleven months after the Treaty with *Henry*. He was buried by his Queen and Son *Euſtace* in the Abbey of *Feverſham*, which he himſelf had founded (18). 1154. *Stephen's Death.*

If this Prince's Character be conſidered in general only, he may be ſaid to be worthy to live in better times, and his good qualities to outweigh his defects. However it would be very difficult to juſtify all his proceedings in acquiring the Crown, and particularly the breach of his Oath. Accordingly, though the conſent of the Barons may ſeem to be of ſome weight, yet as the Crown was procured by unjuſt practices, many are of opinion, he ought, for all that, to be deemed an Uſurper. His breaking his word on certain occaſions, is moreover a ſtain to his memory. Perhaps the circumſtances of the Times and Affairs hurried him beyond his natural inclination. But however, the commendations due to his Valour, Clemency, and Generoſity, cannot be denied him. The firſt of theſe Vertues appeared chiefly at the Battle of *Lincoln*, where he was taken priſoner, The other two muſt be owned, when it is conſidered, that throughout his Reign there is not a ſingle inſtance of Severity to be found, though ſeveral of the Barons, whom the chance of War

His Character.

(1) Threatning to lay the whole County waſte. *Gervaſe.* p. 1734. (2) In 1154. *J. Hagulſtad.* p. 282.
(3) She died *May* 11. 1152. at *Heningham*, a Caſtle belonging to *Alberic de Vere*. *Gervaſe.* p. 1372. *M. Paris.* p. 85.
(4) He was very ill uſed, and forced to give his Nephew *Gilbert*, Earl of *Clare*, for Hoſtage. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 278. The only Remedy he could find was to invite *Henry* into *England* ibid.
(5) Earl *Ranulph* came to the King with his Men at the Siege of *Wallingford*, and made his Peace. A little after coming to the King's Court at *Northampton*, he was taken and kept in Priſon till he delivered to the King the Caſtle of *Lincoln*, in which City he kept a moſt ſplendid *Chriſtmas*; and wore his Crown in 1147. This was before the Earl's Ingagements with *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*. *Gervaſe.* p. 1341.
(6) Particularly *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 279.
(7) He died *April* 22. 1154. (or according to others *June* 1.) at *Carliſle*. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 281. *Hoved.* p. 490.
(8) Who died about *Whitſuntide*, in 1153. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 280.
(9) In the mean time *Henry* took *Stamford*, &c. and *Stephen Ipſwich*. *Gervaſe.* p. 1374.
(10) The chief Promoters of the Peace were *Theobald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Gervaſe.* p. 1374. *Huntingd.* p. 397.
(11) The Earldom of *Warren*, County of *Norfolk*, *Pevenſey*, *Dover*, *Feverſham*. See *Brompt.*
(12) This Agreement is recited and confirmed by *Stephen*'s Charter or Declaration under his Seal, in *Brompton*'s Chronicle. [p. 1037, 1038.] directed to all the faithful People of *England*. The Articles of the Treaty were: I. That King *Stephen* ſhould enjoy the Crown during Life. II. That after his Deceaſe Duke *Henry* ſhould ſucceed him as his Lawful Heir. To this *Hoveden* adds, that the King appointed the Duke Juſticiary of *England* under himſelf. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. 1. p. 13.
(13) About *Chriſtmas*. *Huntingd.* p. 397. *J. Hagulſt.* p. 282. In the end of *November*. *Gervaſe.* 1375.
(14) And the *Flemings*. *Gervaſe.* p. 1376. (15) Upon *Barham-Down*. ibid.
(16) Of the Cholick and Piles, at *Canterbury*, where he was come to have an Interview with the Earl of *Flanders*. *Gervaſe.* ibid. *Huntingd.* p. 398.
(17) The twenty third, ſays *Diceto*, p. 529. and *Huntingd.*
(18) And there he lay till the Suppreſſion of the Abbeys, when for ſo ſmall a Gain as the Leaden Coffin, wherein his Body was wrapped, it was taken up and thrown into the next Water. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 42.

had

1154. had put in his power, had given him but too much reason to use them with Rigour. It is true, there are Historians, that made it their business to blacken his Reputation. But it must be observed, most of them wrote in the Reign of *Henry* II, or his Sons. As for *William of Malmsbury*, who was Cotemporary with *Stephen*, he is known to be the Earl of *Gloucester*'s Creature, to whom he dedicated the last part of his History. This alone should make us read with Caution, what he relates to *Stephen*'s disadvantage. After all, it is not easy to determine whether the Crown justly belonged to *Matilda*, or *Stephen*'s Election entitled him to take possession. What may be said with more certainty, is, that, after the Conquest, the *Saxon* Laws were no longer observed, and it does not appear that the *Normans* had yet any settled Rules concerning the Succession to the Crown.

The Canon-Law received in England. Gervase. Act. Pontif. Cant. p. 1665.

The Troubles during this Reign furnished the Clergy with a favourable opportunity to exalt the Mitre above the Crown. The Court of *Rome* improved also these Junctures, to introduce into *England* new Laws, which the *English* doubtless would have opposed at any other Time. The Canon-Law compiled by *Gratian* in 1151, by the Authority of *Eugenius* III, was brought into *England*, on occasion of the Contests between the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* about the Legateship. These Differences gave the *Italian* Canonists opportunity to settle in *England*, and introduced by degrees the Study of the Canon Law into the University of *Oxford*, where *Vacarius* was the first Professor (1). 1154.

Stephen's Issue.

Stephen left one legitimate Son, called *William*, who was Earl of *Boulogne* in right of the Queen his Mother. He had also one Daughter named *Maria*, who after she had put on the Veil, was, notwithstanding, married to *Philip* of *Alsatia*; but upon the death of her Husband returned to the Nunnery (2).

A natural Son of *Stephen*'s, called also *William*, has given occasion to some, deceived by the likeness of Names, to affirm this Prince left behind him only a Bastard Son (3).

(1) The Canon and Imperial Law prevailed here, and were promiscuously used with the ordinary Law, from the time of King *Stephen* to the Reign of *Edward* III. See *Selden's Dissertation in Fletam.* c. 8.

(2) King *Stephen*'s legitimate Issue was as follows: I. *Baldwin*, bearing the Name of his Mother's Uncle, King of *Jerusalem*. He died an Infant, and was buried in the Priory of the *Trinity*, without *Aldgate* in *London*, now called *Duke's Place*. II. *Eustace* Earl of *Boulogne*, he married *Constance*, Sister of *Lewis* VII, who died and was buried as before-related. III. *William* Earl of *Mortagne* and *Boulogne*, Lord of the Honour of *Eagle* and *Pevensy*, and (in Right of *Isabel* his Wife) fourth Earl of *Warren* and *Surry*; she being Heir of *William* the third Earl of *Warren* and *Surry*. He died accompanying King *Henry* II, at the Siege of *Thoulouse* 1160, without Issue. IV. *Maud*, she died young, and was buried with her Brother *Baldwin*: She is reported by some to have been Wife of the Earl of *Milan*. V. *Mary*, first a Nun and Abbess of *Ramsey* Nunnery in *Hampshire*, afterwards secretly taken from thence and married to *Matthew* of *Flanders*, younger Son of *Theodoric* Earl of *Flanders*. After her Brother *William*'s Death, she was Countess of *Boulogne* and *Mortagne*, and had two Daughters, *Ida*, (Wife of *Reginald de Trie*, Earl of *Dammartin*, with whom he had the Earldom of *Boulogne*,) and *Maud*, Wife of *Henry* the first, Duke of *Brabant*. *Mary*, by the Censure of the Church was separated from her Husband, and sent back to her Monastery; but her Children were legitimated by Parliament, 1189. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 44.

(3) His natural Issue were: I. *William*, who is distinguished from the legitimate Son *William*, Earl of *Boulogne*, in an antient Charter of the Earl's now extant, where the Earl names him for a Witness, and calls him Brother. II. *Gervase*, begotten on a Gentlewoman named *Dameta*, born in *Normandy*, and brought into *England* by his Father in 1140, and made the same Year Abbot of *Westminster*; and so continued for twenty Years. He lies buried in the South-Part of the Cloyster, under a black Marble Stone, which yet remains. His Epitaph almost defaced, was this Distich:

De regum genere Pater hic Gervasius ecce,
Monstrat defunctus, mors rapit omne genus. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 44.

I. The Places at which King *Stephen* held his Court or Parliaments, are as follows: In 1135, at *Christmas*, at *London* or *Westminster*. (*Huntingd.* p. 387. *Annal. Waverl.* p. 152.) In 1136, at *Easter*, at *Westminster*. (*R. de Diceto.* p. 505. *Brompt.* p. 1024. *Huntingd.* ibid. *Ann. Waver.* ibid.) In 1137, at *Dunstable*. (*Gervase.* p. 1343. *Huntingd. Ann. Waver.* p. 152.) In 1140, in *Lent*, at *London*. (*Ann. Waver.* p. 153.) In 1143 was held a Council at *London*, in *Lent*; (*Ann. Wav.* p. 153. *Huntingd.* p. 393. *Hoved.* p. 488.) and the same Year again at St. *Albans*. (Ibid.) In 1146 at *Northampton*; (*Ann. Wav.* p. 155. *Hunt.* p. 394.) and at *Christmas*, at *Lincoln*. (*Gervase.* p. 1361. *Brompt. Huntingd.* p. 394.) In 1152, at *London*. (*Huntingd.* p. 395. *Gervase.* p. 1371. *Ann. Waver.* p. 157.) In 1153, at *Winchester*. (*Hunt.*) In 1154, at *Oxford*. This Reign having been full of perpetual Troubles and Commotions, no regular Parliaments can be supposed to have been held in every Year of it. This the *Annals* of *Waverley* expressly observe under the Year 1140: *Jam quippe Curiæ solemnes, & ornatus regii scematis prorsus evanuerant*, p. 153. The few here set down are the only ones extant upon Record.

II. The most remarkable Occurrences in this Reign were these: In 1136, there was a great Fire in *London*, which consumed part of that City, from *Aldgate* to St. *Paul*'s Church; and also the *Bridge*, which was then of Timber. In 1137, *June* 3, the Cathedral of *Rochester* was burnt down: As was also, the next Day, the whole City of *York*, with the Cathedral, and thirty-nine Churches: And so was also the City of *Bath*, on the 27th. *Stow*'s *Chron.* p. 144. In 1150, and 1151, there was a great Famine in *England*. *Ann. Waver.* p. 157.

III. Having shown before, how the Money was paid in and issued out of the *Exchequer*, it may not be amiss now to set down the particular Branches of the Royal Revenue; namely, I. The Demeans of the Crown. II. Escheats. III. Feudal and other Profits arising out of the Demeans and Escheats. IV. The yearly Ferms of Counties and Towns. V. Fines and Amerciaments. VI. Aids, Scutages, Tallages and Customs. VII. Casual Profits of divers Kinds. These Particulars will give great Light to several Parts of the *English* History. First, Of the antient Demean of the Crown, it appears, at the time of the *Conquest* and afterwards, the *Demean* Lands were considerable for Extent and Income. *Doomesday* Book shows what they were in the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, and serves to distinguish the King's Demeans from his Escheats and other Lands, and from the Lands of other Men. II. The second Branch of the Revenue arose by *Escheats*, under which Term are comprehended not only those Lands most properly so called, but those also which at sundry times after the *Conquest* became vested in the Crown, either by Devolution, Forfeiture, Seizure, or perhaps by some other Title. By the Revenue-Rolls of the *Pipe* of the Reign of *Stephen* and *Henry* II, (which next to *Doomesday* are the most ancient Rolls of Records now extant) and likewise by those of the next succeeding Kings, we find the Crown then in possession of several great Honours, Baronies and Lands, of that sort, which are usually stiled *Honor*, *Baronia*, or *Terra* of such a one, with the Addition sometimes of *quæ est in manu Regis*, without expressing by what Title they became vested in the Crown. These great Escheats were antiently committed usually by the King to certain Persons in Ferm or Custody, who answered at the *Exchequer* yearly for the Issues or Ferm thereof. Besides these greater Fees, the Lands of lower Persons, and sometimes of hereditary Offices and Serjeanties, with the Lands appertaining thereto became forfeited to the Crown. As the King had the full Dominion in all these *Escheats*, after they had been long vested in the Crown, they were hardly to be distinguished from the King's antient Demean. About the latter End of *Henry* II's Reign, they began to form an *Escheatry*, which in subsequent times was managed by Officers called at first *Custodes Escaetriæ*, and afterwards *Escheators*. However, some of the smaller *Escheats* were usually holden by the Sheriffs. When *Escheats* came to the Crown, the Justices Itinerant took care within their several Circuits, to have them seized to the Crown, and put in charge to the Sheriffs or other Officers to the King's Profit. III. Some Revenues likewise accrued to the Crown from vacant Bishopricks and Abbeys of royal Foundation and Patronage. For in antient times, when such Bishop or Abbot happened to die, the King used to seize the Temporalities into his Hands, and receive the Profits till the Vacancy was filled. *Ordericus Vitalis* ascribes this Practice first to *William* II. He says, before the *Norman* Invasion, the Bishop of the Diocese took care of the Revenues of a vacant Abbey, as the Archbishop did of those of a Bishoprick till fill'd. In 1164, (10 *Hen.* II.) by the Constitutions of *Clarendon*, an Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, Abbey or Priory of royal Foundation becoming void, the same was to be in the King's Hands, and he might receive the Issues thereof as if he had held them in Demean. And so, it seems, the Usage was, both before and after the Council of *Clarendon*. In the 5th of *Stephen*, the Manors of the Bishoprick of *Durham* then vacant are said, in the Roll, to be in *Dominio Regis*, and therefore discharged of *Danegelt*. In the Statute *de Provisoribus* (25 *Edward* III.) it is declared, That the Kings, Earls, Barons, as Lords and Advowees, had, and ought to have the Custody of vacant Prelacies, &c. This Power was often abused by the King, as well as private Lords and Patrons, by keeping the Benefices void several Years together. However this be, the Crown was wont to take into its Hands the Temporalities of the vacant Bishopricks and Abbeys, which were at first committed to a *Custos*, who accounted to the Crown for the same. And afterwards, when the Office of *Escheatry* was settled, the *Escheators* used, upon a Voidance, to seize them for the King, and answer for the same as part of their Escheatry. The succeeding Bishop could not meddle with the Temporalities thus seized, without a Writ to give him Possession, called a Writ of Restitution of Temporalities, which continues in use to this Day. The Kings in five or six Successions after the Conquest, made a considerable Revenue this way, as appears by the Revenue Rolls. The rest of the Branches will be continued in the following Coin-Notes.

In King *Stephen*'s Time there seems to have been a great deal of Money coined. For thus writes *William of Newbury*: "Erant in Anglia quodam modo tot "Reges, vel potius Tyranni, quot Domini *Castellorum*, habentes singuli percussuram proprii numismatis & potestatem subditis Regio more dicendi jus." And yet we have very few Remains of their Treasure. His Penny, in *Speed*, is no bigger than his Predecessors. It is the first after the Conquest that's half-faced with this Inscription, STIEFN. EI. and, on the Reverse, SPTIDETS: DN. V. which *Nicolson* takes to be the blundered Name of some of his above-mentioned royal Lords. Different from this is another which gives both his Eyes, though even here the Face is somewhat side-ways. The Crown is much the same with *Henry* I, only the Flowers are raised higher. *Tanner* met with one, which instead of the King's Head, bore two Angels with STIEFFN R E. with a Reverse like that of *William the Conqueror*. Mr. *Thoresby* has one with both the Figures of *Stephen* and *Henry*, and likewise of EISTAOTHIUS (*Eustatius* Son of *Stephen*) with a Horse on one Side, and a large Cross of *Flower-de-lis* on the other. Another of *Eustatius* with a Sword in his Hand: Reverse EBORACI. ED. TS. a Pellet in each quarter of a Cross, surrounded with a Rose. (See the Figure above.)

THE

THE

STATE of the CHURCH,

DURING THE

Reigns of WILLIAM I. WILLIAM II. HENRY I. *and* STEPHEN.

The different Character of the Saxon *and* Norman *Kings, with regard to the* Church.

THE Revolution in *England* by the *Norman* Conqueſt introduced a great change both in Church and State. More eſpecially the Pope and Clergy were conſiderable loſers by it. Inſtead of the devout and ſubmiſſive *Saxon* Princes, who were ready to embrace all opportunities, of augmenting the privileges and revenues of the Church, there aroſe in *England* a race of *Norman* Kings of a quite different character. Solely employed in graſping at arbitrary Power, they could not bear any diſtinction between the Clergy and Laity as to point of obedience. They challenged an equal authority over both. What Schemes ſoever the Court of *Rome* had formed to render the Clergy independent of the Crown, the reigns of the two *Williams* were not thought to afford any favourable opportunities to haſten their Execution. The *Normans*, out of intereſt, were entirely attached to their Sovereigns, and the *Engliſh*, in their low condition, were no proper Inſtruments to promote the cauſe of the Court of *Rome*. Matters ſtanding thus in *England*, the moſt vigorous efforts of the Popes to enlarge their Power, would have been ineffectual. This probably was the reaſon that obliged *Gregory* VII, with all his Haughtineſs, to ſtoop to the reſolute and ſteddy temper of *William the Conqueror*. This Monarch not content with boldly refuſing the homage required by *Gregory*, openly contemned the Papal Decrees. He governed the Clergy of his Kingdom like the reſt of his Subjects, with an abſolute ſway. If he ſuffered the Pope's Legates to preſide at a Council, it was only to be freed with more eaſe from ſome Biſhops that gave him diſturbance. But when he found this ſame Synod unwilling to come into all his meaſures, he exerted his abſolute Power. By his ſole authority, he baniſhed or impriſoned ſuch Biſhops as he did not like, without ſtaying for a Canonical Sentence. On the other hand, whilſt the Pope was thundring out Anathema's againſt the Emperor, and compelling him to diſhonourable homage; *William* peaceably enjoyed, in his Dominions, the right of Inveſtiture, which was the ſubject of the quarrel between the Emperor and the Court of *Rome*. He made the Church-Lands liable to the ſame ſervices with the Lay-Fees. He ſeized the Gold and Silver depoſited in the Monaſteries, and ſpared not even the conſecrated Veſſels. Nothing was tranſacted in the Church but by his direction, and the Synodal Conſtitutions were no longer in force than during his pleaſure. He went ſtill further, and ſet himſelf, in ſome meaſure, above the Popes, by forbidding his Subjects to receive their orders, or acknowledge their authority, without his permiſſion.

Eadmer. p. 6.

Eadmer. ibid.

William Rufus had no greater regard to the Church's Immunities. All the Pope's Menaces were ineffectual to prevent him from keeping the vacant Biſhopricks and Abbeys in his hands, and to diſpoſe of them afterwards to the beſt bidder. I do not pretend to excuſe the conduct of the two Monarchs in all theſe reſpects. My deſign is to ſhow by theſe Inſtances, that the Court of *Rome* owes the progreſs and growth of its Power purely to its political Prudence. The Popes wiſely gave way to Princes of Reſolution and Steddineſs, whilſt at the ſame time they vigorouſly proceeded againſt ſuch, whoſe circumſtances would not permit them to oppoſe their deſigns. We have a plain inſtance of this Policy in the different behaviour of the Court of *Rome* with regard to the four firſt *Norman* Kings. After yielding to the two *Williams*, ſhe ſtruggled a long time with *Henry* I. But when ſhe ſaw, he was not to be conquered, ſhe contented herſelf with what ſhe would have ſcorned, in the beginning of the Conteſt. She compounded the matter with that Monarch, and conſented the Biſhops and Abbots ſhould do him homage; at the very time ſhe obſtinately refuſed the ſame Terms to the Emperor, whoſe affairs were not in ſo proſperous a State. As for *Stephen*, ſhe knew how to improve the Troubles in his Reign, by the help of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. As ſhe was ready to make uſe of all the advantages that offered, ſhe took occaſion from theſe Troubles to appoint a Legate, different from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which ſhe durſt not to have done at any other time. This Incroachment ſeemed at firſt of little conſequence, but had afterwards too great an influence upon the affairs of *England*. By the means of theſe Legates it was that at length ſhe ſet her Foot on the Necks both of the Kings and the Clergy. I ſay of the Clergy, ſince 'tis manifeſt, ſhe aimed no leſs at humbling the Biſhops and Archbiſhops than the Sovereigns.

The prudent Policy of the Court of Rome *to eſtabliſh her Authority.*

She aims at humbling the Clergy as well as the Kings.

We have a remarkable proof of this deſign in the haughty Treatment of *Lanfranc* by the Court of *Rome*, when nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, upon *Stigand*'s Deprivation. *Lanfranc* was a Prelate of diſtinguiſhed Worth, equally eſteemed by the King, the *Engliſh*, and the *Normans*, and conſequently of very great Credit in *England*. And yet, he could never prevail to be excuſed going to *Rome* in Perſon, to receive the *Pall* at the Pope's hands. *Hildebrand*, then Archdeacon of *Rome*, and afterwards promoted to the Papal Chair, under the name of *Gregory* VII, wrote him a Letter on that ſubject, endeavouring to ſoften the Refuſal. He told him, if there had been any Inſtance of the like favour being granted to his Predeceſſors, it would have been refuſed. But, either he was not well verſed in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *England*, or elſe, ſuppoſed *Lanfranc* not to know of the *Palls* being ſent to *Auſtin*, *Juſtus*, *Honorius*, all three Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*. It was not therefore from a ſcruple to introduce a new Cuſtom, that *Lanfranc* was denied this favour, but for fear the Archbiſhops ſhould by degrees forget their Dependance on the Pope. We ſhall frequently ſee in the courſe of this Hiſtory, how much the *Roman* Pontiffs abuſed their exorbitant power over the Clergy of *England*. It is not yet time to inſiſt on this Point. But, in order to give a general Knowledge of the moſt material Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *England*, during the Interval we have paſſed through, it is neceſſary to ſhow the riſe of the diſpute between the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*. This long Conteſt is one of the chief Articles of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *England*.

The Pope refuſes to ſend the Pall *to* Lanfranc.

The Reaſons of it.

Bede. l. 1. c. 29. l. 2. c. 8. c. 18.

Whilſt *Lanfranc* was preparing for his Journey to *Rome*, *Thomas*, Canon of *Bayeux*, one of *William the Conqueror*'s Chaplains, was nominated to the See of *York*. Shortly after, the new Prelate came to *Canterbury* to be conſecrated according to Cuſtom. But *Lanfranc* requiring him to make a Profeſſion of Canonical Obedience to him in Writing, he refuſed to comply, and went away without Conſecration. This Conteſt making a great noiſe, the King wanted to be informed of the matter, ſuſpecting *Lanfranc* had carried his Prerogatives too high. But after ſeveral *Engliſh* Lords had ſhown that *Lanfranc* had Cuſtom on his Side (1), *William*, without taking upon him to de-

The Riſe of the Diſpute between the two Archbiſhops.

Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontif. Sax. Ann. Brompt. Gervaſe. Act. Pontif.

(1) *Lanfranc* came himſelf to the King's Court, (or Great Council,) and there gave his Reaſons, which being atteſted by the *Engliſh* that were preſent, ſatisfied the King. *Malm. de Geſt. Pontif.* l. 1. p. 206.

cide

cide the Diſpute, found an Expedient to ſatisfy the two Archbiſhops. This was, that *Thomas* ſhould return to *Canterbury*, and deliver a written Profeſſion of Obedience to *Lanfranc*, as ſenior; and that the ſettling the Rights of the two Sees ſhould be referred to the Pope (1). This Expedient being approved of, the two Prelates ſet out together for *Rome* to receive the *Pall*, and cauſe both this Controverſy and another concerning the Juriſdiction over the Sees of *Lincoln*, *Lichfield* and *Worceſter*, to be decided. *Alexander* II, who was then Pope, received *Lanfranc* with particular marks of Reſpect. As ſoon as he ſaw him, he roſe up from his Chair to embrace him, declaring however, he did not treat him thus on the account of his Dignity, but for his Merit. *Thomas* met with a very different Reception. The Pope voided his Election, becauſe he was incapable, as being the Son of a Prieſt, to hold any Church Preferment. However, a few days after, he was reſtored by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*. As for the Differences between the two Archbiſhops, not being perfect Maſter of the Caſe, he referred the Deciſion to the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Abbots.

Malmſb. p. 206.

Malmſb. p. 206. &c.

This Affair not being decided at *Rome*, the two Archbiſhops returned to *England*. As they were equally deſirous to ſee the Iſſue of their Difference, at their arrival they waited upon the King at *Windſor*, where, on account of the *Paſchal* Solemnity, moſt of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal were aſſembled (2). The Cauſe was argued before the King with great Warmth on both ſides. *Lanfranc* founded his Claim upon the following Reaſons.

Reaſons for Canterbury.

1. That the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was to be conſidered as if the See was at *London*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, ſeeing *Gregory* I deſigned to fix it there. 2. That the Church of *Canterbury* was the moſt ancient in the Kingdom, and the Mother of all the reſt. 3. He alledged the Conſtitutions of ſeveral Popes, granting the Prerogative in queſtion to his See. 4. He maintained that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had exerciſed Juriſdiction within the Province of *York*. To this purpoſe he produced the Example of *Theodore*, who had even deprived ſeveral Biſhops in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. 5. Laſtly, he added, the Archbiſhops of *York* had made to his Predeceſſors a Profeſſion of the Canonical Obedience, which *Thomas* refuſed. In proof of this, he inſtanced in *Ealdulph*, who made no ſcruple to profeſs Obedience to *Adelard*.

Reaſons for York.

The Archbiſhop of *York* replied it was true, *Gregory* I did deſign to fix the Archiepiſcopal See at *London*, but was very far from intending to give that See any Pre-eminence over *York*. To prove his aſſertion he cited the Authority

l. 1. c. 29.

of *Bede*, who ſays in expreſs Terms, *Gregory* decreed, that after the Death of *Auſtin*, the two Archbiſhopricks ſhould be independent of each other. *Thomas* inferred from thence, that, ſuppoſing the Archiepiſcopal See was at *London*, it would be no advantage to *Lanfranc*. 2. He ſaid, it was not true, that the Church of *Canterbury* was the Mother of that of *York*, ſince every one knew, the Church of *York* was founded by the *Scotch* Monks, who had no relation to the Church of *Canterbury*. As for the Juriſdiction exerciſed by *Theodore* in *Northumberland*, he maintained, that Prelate took advantage of the Troubles then in the Church of that Kingdom, to extend his Authority; and a Right could not be built on a manifeſt Uſurpation. *Lanfranc* would have found it difficult to anſwer the Argument brought by *Thomas*, from *Gregory*'s Regulation concerning the Independency of the two Archbiſhops, if the Conſtitutions of ſeveral Popes had not been for him. Moreover, he ſupported his Right by Cuſtom, for which the *Engliſh* gave Teſtimony. And by this it

The Sentence of the King and Lords.

was that he carried the Cauſe. It was judged that the Popes, Succeſſors to *Gregory*, had power to annul his Conſtitutions, and therefore the King and Lords thought it juſt that the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould make Profeſſion of Canonical Obedience to the See of *Canterbury*. The other Controverſy about the three Biſhopricks, was decided likewiſe in favour of *Lanfranc*, and the Archbiſhop of *York* acquieſced in both theſe Sentences. But, to avoid any future Diſputes, there was drawn up, in the name of the two Archbiſhops, a form of Canonical Obedience, adjuſting their Differences. *Thomas* was made to own, he was in the wrong, to diſpute *Lanfranc*'s Superiority and Juriſdiction over the whole Church of *England*: Declaring that as Archbiſhop of *York* he owed Canonical Obedience, not only to the Perſon of *Lanfranc*, as his Senior, but to all the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, as ſuch. He dropped all his Pretenſions to the three Biſhopricks in queſtion.

Agreement between the two Archbiſhops. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont. l. 1.

Lanfranc, on his part, yielded to the Archbiſhops of *York*, the Juriſdiction over all the Sees North of the *Humber* to the fartheſt Parts of *Scotland*. It was likewiſe agreed, that if the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould call a National Synod, the Archbiſhop of *York* and his Suffragans, ſhould be obliged to make their Appearance, in what part ſoever of the Kingdom the Synod ſhould be held. The two Archbiſhops further covenanted, that upon the deceaſe of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould repair to that City, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Suffragans of the Southern Province, ſhould conſecrate the Primate-Elect. And that the Perſon nominated to the See of *York*, ſhould be obliged to come and be conſecrated within the Province of *Canterbury*. In fine, *Lanfranc* omitted nothing that ſhould eſtabliſh the Superiority of his See over that of *York*. As for the Oath *Lanfranc* required of *Thomas*, it is ſaid in the Writing, that the King deſiring it ſhould be diſpenſed with, *Lanfranc* readily conſented, reſerving however a Right, to require this Oath of all future Archbiſhops of *York* (3).

Thus the Controverſy between the two Metropolitan Sees was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, determined; for it was afterwards frequently renewed. Indeed, this was not a Regulation made by a Synod, but an Agreement between the two Archbiſhops, authorized by the King (4). Accordingly the Archbiſhops of *York* uſed this Pretence to revive the Diſpute. They alledged, as the Sentence was not Synodal, their Right remained intire. In the time of *Anſelm*, another *Thomas*, nominated to the See of *York*, refuſed to take the Oath, but at length was conſtrained to it.

Eadmer. l. 4. p. 97. p. 102.

The Diſpute revived by Thurſtan. Vide X. Script. p. 1735, &c. Eadmer. Hoved.

Notwithſtanding theſe two Precedents, *Thurſtan* being elected Archbiſhop of *York* in the Reign of *Henry* I, refuſed to make the cuſtomary Submiſſions to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But the King gave him to underſtand, he muſt either comply, or renounce his Archbiſhoprick. *Thurſtan*, however grievous it might be to him, choſe the latter. Nevertheleſs, he cauſed the Chapter of *York* to ſend Deputies to *Paſchal* II, to repreſent the Wrong done to their See. Theſe Deputies remonſtrated, the King had exceeded his Power, in compelling *Thurſtan* to renounce his Election, for refuſing to ſubject the See of *York* to an obedience, which was never canonically enjoined. This Argument prevailing with the Pope, he writ to the King, exhorting him to reſtore *Thurſtan*; adding, that in caſe the Archbiſhops had any Diſpute about Privileges, he himſelf would equitably decide it. *Paſchal* being dead, and *Gelaſius* II ſucceeding him, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent his Agents to *Rome*, to ſound the new Pope's Sentiments concerning this Conteſt. Theſe Agents reported, that they found by what the Pope ſaid, he deſigned to ſend a Legate into *England* to decide the Controverſy. But he was prevented by Death, which ſurprized him as he was travelling to *France*.

Calixtus II, Succeſſor to *Gelaſius*, repairing to *Rheims* to hold a Council, *Thurſtan* obtained the King's Leave to go thither; but upon condition he would not receive Conſecration from the Pope or any other Biſhop. However, the King not confiding altogether on this Prelate's Word, ſent a Letter to the Pope, proteſting, if *Thurſtan* was conſecrated by any but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſhould never more ſet foot in *England*. Notwithſtanding this Proteſtation, *Calixtus* himſelf conſecrated *Thurſtan* in the preſence of the Council. The Archdeacon of *Canterbury* would have oppoſed it, but was told by the Pope, he deſigned no manner of Injury to the See of *Canterbury*. *Henry* not having been able to prevent *Thurſtan* from being conſecrated, baniſhed him the Kingdom with his whole Family. But he did not long remain in exile. The Pope, willing to ſtand by what he had done, threatned the King with Excommunication, and his Kingdom with an Interdict (5). The Pope's Reſoluteneſs cauſed *Henry* to yield at length, that *Thurſtan* ſhould be inſtalled, without making the cuſtomary Submiſſion to the See of *Canterbury*. It is true, to ſave the King's Honour, this Prelate promiſed, not to perform any of his Archiepiſcopal Functions out of the Dioceſe of *York*. Thus the See of *York* recovered, in ſome meaſure, part of the Ground it had loſt. This Conteſt was afterwards revived ſeveral times: But there is no Neceſſity of purſuing this Subject any farther. What has been ſaid is ſufficient to ſhow the State of the Caſe between the

X. Scriptor. Eadmer. p. 124.

Eadmer. p. 136. Hoved. p. 273.

(1) The Matter was to be referred to a Synod of Biſhops, and not to the Pope. *Malm. de Geſt. Pontif.* l. 1. p. 206.

(2) The Cauſe was firſt debated at *Wincheſter*, at the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; and afterwards at *Windſor*, where it received a final Determination at the Feaſt of *Penteceſt*. *Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont.* l. 1. p. 212.

(3) King *William* I, atteſted and confirmed the Supremacy of *Canterbury*, by a Deed, which is in *Spelman. Concil.* Vol. II. p. 5, 6. [if not forged.]

(4) The agreement was ſubſcribed by the King and Queen, *Herbert* the Pope's Legate, the two Archbiſhops, thirteen Biſhops, and eleven great Abbots, who all of them added the Croſs after their Names, according to the *Saxon* Cuſtom.

(5) By virtue of this Interdict, all Divine Service was to ceaſe, and no part of the ſacerdotal Office to be exerciſed, unleſs in the Baptiſm of Infants and Abſolution of dying Penitents.

two Primates, and the Grounds on which each built his Pretenſions.

The See of Canterbury *by degrees extends its Juriſdiction over* Wales. Eadmer.

Before we leave this Diſpute concerning the Juriſdiction of the two Sees, it will not be improper to ſpeak of ſome other matters relating to that Affair. We have ſeen, in the foregoing Book, that *Gucan*, a *Welſh* Prieſt, nominated to the Biſhoprick of *Landaff* in *Wales*, was conſecrated by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' the Biſhop of St. *David*'s exerciſed the Archiepiſcopal Functions in that Country. This was a new acquiſition of Power to the See of *Canterbury*, which 'till then had no Juriſdiction over the *Welſh* Biſhops. *Gucan*'s Succeſſors following his Example, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* claimed the ſame Power with regard to all the Biſhops in *Wales*. But they met with great Oppoſition. At length, in the Reign of *Henry* I, *Bernard* the Queen's Chaplain, being nominated to the See of St. *David*'s, was conſecrated by *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Proceeding greatly ſtrengthen'd the Archbiſhop's pretenſions, who maintain'd, that ſince his Juriſdiction was own'd by the chief of the *Welſh* Biſhops, the reſt could not be excus'd from profeſſing Obedience. However, as *Bernard* repented afterwards of what he had done, a long Conteſt aroſe, which was not decided 'till *Wales* was united to *England* in the Reign of *Edward* I.

Conteſt about the Juriſdiction of York *over* Scotland. Eadmer.

Whilſt *Ralph* ſat in the Chair of *Canterbury*, he received a Letter from *Alexander* I, King of *Scotland*, acquainting him with the Death of *Turgot* Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and deſiring his Recommendation of a worthy Succeſſor. He pray'd him withal to remember, that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had been poſſeſſed, time out of mind, of the Right to conſecrate the Biſhops of St. *Andrew*'s; and that *Lanfranc* was the firſt that yielded that Privilege to the See of *York*. Wherefore, he declared, his intent was to ſet things upon their antient foot, and begg'd his Advice and Aſſiſtance. *Ralph* perceiving by this Letter, that *Alexander* ſought occaſion to vex the Archbiſhop of *York*, was unwilling to concern himſelf in the affair. And indeed *Alexander*'s Suppoſition, that the *Scotch* Biſhops were dependent on the See of *Canterbury*, was entirely groundleſs. On the contrary, 'twas very certain, the Popes had long put the Church of *Scotland* under the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *York*. Theſe antient Papal Conſtitutions were the foundation of the Agreement between *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*. However, in proceſs of time, there were *Scotch* Biſhops who refuſed to acknowledge the Archbiſhop of *York* for their Primate, and by that means were the Occaſion of violent Conteſts. But at length Pope *Paſchal* II's Bull, making them Suffragans to the See of *York*, put an end to the Diſpute (1).

Though the Controverſy between the two Archbiſhops about their Juriſdiction, does not ſeem to be very material, 'twas neceſſary however to ſhow the Riſe of it, by reaſon of the frequent alluſions to theſe Differences in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. It is time now to proceed to matters wherein the whole Church was concerned, and in the front of which ſtands the Celibacy of the Clergy. So many Attempts were made to eſtabliſh it in *England*, and ſuch Obſtacles rais'd againſt it, that it would be neglecting a conſiderable Article of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, not to deſcend to Particulars.

The Celibacy of the Clergy.

It has been ſeen, how zealouſly *Dunſtan* and the Partiſans of *Rome* laboured to introduce the Celibacy of the Clergy, and how the *Daniſh* Wars obliged them to ſuſpend their Deſign. From that time to the *Norman Conqueſt*, the *Engliſh* Prieſts lived on in a ſtate of Marriage, notwithſtanding the ſundry Attempts of the Popes to put a ſtop to that pretended Licentiouſneſs. It is difficult at firſt to conceive why the Popes were ſo obſtinately bent upon this Undertaking, becauſe one ſees not immediately how much the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome* was concerned in the Caſe. But our wonder at their labouring ſo heartily in this Affair will ceaſe, when we conſider, it was a great Step towards executing the Project, of rendring the Clergy independent of the Civil Power, and making them a ſeparate Body to be governed by their own Laws. And indeed, whilſt the Prieſts had Children of their own, it was difficult to prevent them from depending on the Princes, whoſe Favour has ſo great an influence on the Fortune of private Perſons. But being without Families, and conſequently in expectation of no great matters from their Sovereign, they were more free to adhere to the Pope, who would be conſidered as the Sovereign of the Clergy. Be this as it will, after the Popes had undertaken this Work, nothing was forgot to compleat it. *Gregory* VII, who came to the Papacy in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, ſet his Heart more upon this Affair than any of his Predeceſſors. He called a Council at *Rome*, where the Clergy were forbid to marry under heavy Penalties. The *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Germans*, ſubmitted at length, after long ſtruggles. But the *Engliſh* not being of opinion, that a Council conſiſting moſtly of *Italian* Biſhops, had power to enact Laws for all *Chriſtendom*, were much more difficult. However *Lanfranc*, either to make his Court to *Gregory*, or becauſe he was perſuaded of the Juſtice of the thing, endeavoured to introduce into *England* the Decrees of the Council of *Rome*. To this purpoſe he convened at *Wincheſter* a national Synod, where this Affair was debated. He met with ſo ſtrong oppoſition, that he was going to deſiſt from his deſign. Nevertheleſs, finding he could not bring the Synod, to prohibit all the Clergy in general from marrying, he procured, on what pretence I know not, a Decree that all Prieſts who had their Cures in Cities, ſhould put away their Wives. But the Country Incumbents were not ſo rigorouſly uſed. However, to prevent for the future the married Prieſts from holding any Cures, the Synod ordained, by *Lanfranc*'s ſuggeſtion, that none ſhould be admitted into Orders, without a ſolemn Declaration againſt Marriage (2). This Reſtraint diſcouraging many Perſons of merit from taking Orders, the Church of *England* was, in a little time, ſo ill provided with able Miniſters, that there was a Neceſſity of relaxing a little on this point. This evidently appears in a Letter of *Paſchal* II, to *Anſelm*, *Lanfranc*'s Succeſſor. The Pope ſaid, that being informed, moſt of the *Engliſh* Clergy were Sons of Prieſts, he was afraid it would prove a great Prejudice to the Church, if the Canons were rigorouſly executed. For this reaſon he gave a diſpenſing Power to the Archbiſhop, when the Church's Intereſt, and the Untractableneſs of the *Engliſh* ſhould call for it. But inſtead of making uſe of this Power, *Anſelm*, who was of an inflexible Temper, ſummoned a Synod at *London*, where the Marriage of Prieſts was condemned. This was incapable of entirely redreſſing the pretended Diſorder. But, doubtleſs, *Anſelm* would have carried matters much farther, if his Conteſt with King *Henry*, and his Death, which happened in 1109, had not hindered him from proſecuting his Deſign.

S. Dunelm. Brompt.

1076.

Reaſons of the Popes forbidding the Prieſts to marry.

To complete the Work ſo far advanced by *Lanfranc* and *Anſelm*, *Honorius* II, ſent Cardinal *de Cremâ* into *England*, with the Character of Legate. The Cardinal called a Council at *Weſtminſter*, where he ſtrenuouſly inveighed againſt the married Clergy. Among other things he ſaid, It was a horrible Crime to riſe from the Side of a Harlot, and then handle the *conſecrated Body of Chriſt*. And yet, after all his Invectives, he was caught that very Night in bed with a common Woman. *A Thing*, ſays an Hiſtorian, *too notorious to be concealed, neither ought it to be paſſed over in ſilence.* *Baronius* in vain attempted, many Ages after, to deſtroy the Credibility of this Fact by negative Proofs, which concluded nothing againſt the poſitive Teſtimony of thoſe that relate it. But however, the Legates Incontinency prevented not the Synod's paſſing a Canon againſt the Prieſts Marriages. On the other hand, the Canon could not entirely ſtop this pretended Evil.

Huntingd.

Five years after, *William de Curboil* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſummoned another Council, where an admirable Expedient was thought to be found, to cauſe the Canons relating to this Subject to be ſtrictly obſerved. This was to put the Execution of them in the King's Hands, who very readily took the trouble upon him. But it was purely with a view to increaſe his Revenues, by ſelling to the Prieſts a diſpenſation to keep their Wives. Accordingly we find abundance of the inferior Clergy married in *England*, after the Prieſts of other Countries had ſubmitted to the Pope's Decree.

The Popes Legates.

Celibacy was not the only Grievance inflicted by the Court of *Rome* on the *Engliſh* Clergy. To reduce them to an entire Obedience, another Expedient was uſed, which at firſt was not minded, but in the end was ſeen to have terrible Conſequences. This was the frequent ſending of Legates. During the Empire of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Kings, we find very rarely any Inſtances of the Pope's ſending *Legates* into *England*. Though they had, in thoſe days, formed the Project of becoming abſolute in the Church, they had not yet bethought themſelves of this method which was made uſe of ſo ſucceſsfully afterwards. Perhaps they dared not put it in practice too frequently, for fear of alarming the Metropolitans, whom it was neceſſary to reduce firſt by other ways. In thoſe days, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, as

(1) Within this Period the See of *Canterbury* extended alſo its Juriſdiction over *Ireland*; or rather continued to do it, *ex antiquo more*. See *Eadmer*, p. 35, 36.

(2) The Form ran thus: *Ego Frater*, N. *Promitto Deo, omnibuſque Sanctis ejus, Caſtitatem Corporis mei ſecundum Canonum Decreta, & ſecundum Ordinem mihi imponendum ſervare, Domino Præſule*, N. *præſente. Spelman. Conc.* Vol. II. p. 11.

Primates

Primates of the Church of *England*, were looked upon as the natural Legates of the Popes, who generally entruſted them with the execution of their Orders. But as they had for the moſt part two oppoſite things to manage, namely, the Intereſt of the Church of *England*, and that of the Pope, and as theſe very often claſhed, it frequently happened that they gave the Preference to the former. This was the reaſon that the Popes ſo earneſtly ſought occaſions of ſending other Legates, who ſhould have no other views but their Maſter's Intereſt. Accordingly, when, in the Reign of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, *Lichfield* was going to be erected into an Archbiſhoprick, the Pope embraced that opportunity. As it was not proper to commiſſion the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom it was intended to deprive of part of his Juriſdiction, the Court of *Rome* eaſily obtained the King of *Mercia*'s Conſent to receive *Italian* Legates, to facilitate the Execution of that Deſign. This firſt Inſtance however was not followed by any other, 'till the time of *Edward the Confeſſor*, that is, for above two hundred and fifty Years. In the Reign of that Prince, *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, lying under the Church's Cenſures, the Pope took occaſion to ſend into *England* two Legates, to execute a Commiſſion, which *Stigand* could not be charged with. S. Dunelm. p. 201. Hoved. p. 453. *William the Conqueror*, wanting to be rid of this *Stigand*, and ſome other troubleſome Biſhops, ſent himſelf for Legates, to preſide at a Council, where he deſigned to have theſe Prelates depoſed. It is thus that Princes, to gratify their Paſſions, have all along been ſubſervient to the growth of the Papal Power, without troubling themſelves about the Conſequences. We find moreover that in the ſame Reign, *Gregory* VII, ſent a Legate into *England* called *Hubert*. But as this was done on account of ſome political Affairs, the *Engliſh* were not alarmed at it, never imagining, ſuch a Legateſhip could any ways tend to their prejudice. But the Court of *Rome* had other aims. In proceſs of time, theſe few Precedents were deemed a ſufficient Ground for ſending Legates, whenever the Pope ſhould think fit. This Right however lay dormant during the Reigns of the two *Williams*, the Temper and Character of theſe Princes affording the Popes no proſpect of Succeſs in their Undertakings.

Eadmer. p. 58. *Henry* I. was hardly warm in his Throne, when the Pope ſent *Guido* Archbiſhop of *Vienne* to reſide at *London*, with a Legatine Power over all *Great-Britain*. The Clergy of *England* looked upon this Commiſſion as an attempt upon their Privileges; neither could the King and Council be prevailed with by former Precedents, to allow the Legate to exerciſe any part of his Office in the Kingdom. *Alford* the Jeſuit, who has writ the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *England*, plainly perceiving the great Difficulty of reconciling this Refuſal with the Papal Authority, is forced to have recourſe to a precarious Suppoſition, in order to clear this Point. He will have it that the Legate's Commiſſion was rejected, becauſe his Powers were not penned with a *Non obſtante* to the Privileges of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But as he cites no Authorities in ſupport of his Aſſertion, we are not obliged to believe him on his bare Word. Cardinal *Baronius* gets clear of this Difficulty more dextrouſly, by taking no notice at all of this Legateſhip.

Eadmer. p. 116. *Henry* I. had ſome farther Conteſts with the Court of *Rome* upon the ſame occaſion. *Paſchal* II, ſending into *France* a Legate, called *Cono*, this Prelate convened ſeveral Councils, at which he pretended, the Biſhops of *Normandy* were obliged to be preſent; and upon their refuſing to obey his Summons, excommunicated them. *Henry*, offended at the Legate's Raſhneſs, ſent the Biſhop of *Exeter* to complain to the Pope. In all likelihood he received ſome Satisfaction, ſince the Hiſtorian, who mentions this Particular, ſays not a word of the Succeſs of the Embaſſy.

Eadmer. p. 118, 119, &c. In the Year 1116, King *Henry* being in *Normandy*, Abbot *Anſelm*, Nephew to the Archbiſhop of the ſame Name, came to him and produced a Commiſſion from the Pope for Legate in *England*. But the King would not ſuffer him to go over in that Character. The *Engliſh* Biſhops, whom the King conſulted on this occaſion, unanimouſly declared, this Legateſhip was contrary to the Privileges of the Church of *England*. They deſired the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as the Perſon moſt concerned, to wait upon the King with their Anſwer, and, in caſe the King ſhould think proper, to go on unto *Rome*, to remonſtrate againſt thoſe Encroachments. The Archbiſhop actually ſet out for *Rome*; but hearing the Pope, hard preſſed by the Arms of the Emperor, was retired to *Beneventum*, purſued not his Journey. He contented himſelf therefore with repreſenting to him in a Letter, what he deſigned to tell him by word of mouth. The Circumſtances of Pope *Paſchal*'s Affairs at that time, would not permit him to inſiſt on his pretended Right, as he wouid doubtleſs have done at any other time. He was unwilling to diſoblige the *Engliſh*; but on the other hand, could not reſolve to give up the Privilege of ſending Legates when he ſhould think proper. He choſe therefore to return an ambiguous Anſwer, which, without binding him to any thing, might afford them a ſeeming Satisfaction. This Anſwer, which was not directly to the point, was not ſatisfactory to the Biſhops. But the King, taking advantage of the Pope's Circumſtances, underſtood it in a Senſe the moſt favourable to the Church of *England*, and prevented the Legate from executing his Commiſſion. Nevertheleſs, as he ſaw the Pope's Anſwer was too general, to be able from thence to infer that he deſiſted from his Pretenſions, he demanded one more preciſe. At an Interview ſome time after with *Calixtus* II, at *Giſors*, he very earneſtly preſſed the Pope on this head, but to no purpoſe. All the Satisfaction he could obtain, was, that the Pope gave his Word to ſend no more Legates into *England*, except in a caſe of Neceſſity. Eadmer. p. 125.

Some Years after, *Honorius* II ſent Cardinal *John de Crema* into *England* with the Character of Legate. However, it was with great difficulty that he was received as ſuch, after waiting a long time in *Normandy*. This Legate ſummoned a Council at *London*, as hath been ſaid, on account of the Prieſts Marriages. In his Summons to the Biſhops, he ſays in expreſs Words, this Council was convened by the Order and Concurrence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This appears by a Citation ſtill extant, addreſſed to the Biſhop of *Landaff*. Though the Legate might plainly ſee he was not very welcome to the *Engliſh*, he affected, in the exerciſe of his Function, a haughty demeanour, which very much increaſed their diſlike. He would officiate in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, in the Place of the Archbiſhop, though he was only a Presbyter. In the Council of *London*, he ordered his Seat to be raiſed, like a ſort of Throne, above the two Archbiſhops and all the Nobility that were preſent at the Synod. This proud Carriage gave great Offence to the *Engliſh*, who were not wont to ſee the Pope's Legates exalted ſo high. They openly ſhewed their Regret for their Condeſcention to this Legate, well knowing of what dangerous conſequence Precedents were in things where the Court of *Rome* was concerned. However, this did not prevent, in the Reign of *Stephen*, *Alberic*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, from being received in *England* as Legate. *Stephen* was not firmly enough fixed in his Throne to venture to diſoblige the Court of *Rome*. Gervaſe. p. 1663. Gervaſe.

During this Reign, the Pope conferred the Dignity of Legate on the Biſhop of *Winchеſter*, the King's Brother, in prejudice of *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Diſtinction occaſioned between the two Prelates a Conteſt, of which the Court of *Rome* made great advantage. For, on this occaſion it was, that the two Parties frequently appealed to *Rome*, a thing very rarely practiſed in *England* before. At length, after long Diſputes, the Legateſhip was taken from the Biſhop of *Winchеſter* by Pope *Celeſtine* II, and given to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, not as his Right, but as the free Gift of the Holy See. Thus the Popes artfully improved all occaſions to extend their Authority. The Reader will ſee in the courſe of the Hiſtory, the reaſon of my inſiſting thus on the Affair of the Legates. For by their means chiefly it was, that, in ſome of the following Reigns, the Popes rendered *England* liable to numberleſs Oppreſſions. Gervaſe. p. 1665.

The Court of *Rome* would doubtleſs have run greater lengths in her Uſurpations, if the frequent Schiſms in thoſe Days had not cauſed her to loſe a great deal of ground. To gain or preſerve the Obedience of the Chriſtian Princes, the Popes were often forced to paſs by many things, which they would not have done in other junctures. However, when they could not help making Conceſſions to their diſadvantage, they ſeldom failed, of adding ſome ambiguous Clauſe, which left room to explain them in their own favour at a more proper Seaſon. I have related an Inſtance in the Proceeding of *Calixtus* II, when he promiſed to ſend no more Legates into *England*, except in caſe of Neceſſity: For the Popes themſelves were afterwards Judges when it was neceſſary. If all the Kings had been like the two *Williams*, they would have put their own Conſtruction upon theſe Clauſes. But as ſome were weak or ſuperſtitious, and others, that had more Reſolution, often embroiled in Troubles, which obliged them to keep fair with *Rome*, the Popes never failed of improving theſe Junctures. We are now going to ſee, in what manner the four firſt *Norman* Kings behaved with regard to the Pope, during the Schiſms which happened in their Reigns. Schiſms.

England acknowledged *Gregory* VII, who came to the Papacy in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. And yet, the Election of the Anti-pope *Clement* III, was no ſooner over, but *William* reſolved to ſtand neuter, 'till the Affair was decided. On occaſion of this Schiſm it was, that he forbad his Subjects to own any Pope without his permiſſion. Eadmer. p. 6.

This

This Neutrality of *England* evidently appears in *Lanfranc*'s Anſwer to Cardinal *Hugo Candidus*, who ſollicited him to ſide with *Clement* III. The Letter runs thus in *Baronius*.

Baron. Ann. 1092.

"I received your Letter, but can by no means approve of part of the Contents. Your Invectives againſt *Gregory*, whom you affect to call *Hildebrand*, and the ſtrange Names you give his Legates, is what I don't underſtand. On the other hand, your exceſſive Commendations of *Clement*, and the extraordinary Character you give him, are doubtleſs carried too far. It is written, *We are not to pronounce a Man happy before his Death*, neither are we to detract from our Neighbour. The Merit of Men is a thing that lies out of ſight: And therefore we cannot pronounce with truth upon their future Condition. However, I am perſuaded the Emperor would not have embarked in ſo great an Undertaking, without having good reaſons, nor could have thus proſpered, without the ſignal Bleſſing of the Almighty. As for the Voyage you deſign to take into *England*, I would not adviſe you to it, unleſs the King's Leave can be firſt obtained. For as yet we have not entirely diſclaimed *Gregory*, nor declared for his Competitor. But when the Cauſe of both Sides ſhall be maturely examined, we ſhall then be better able to come to a Reſolution."

Gregory VII was ſucceeded by *Victor* III, who died in 1087, about the Year before *William the Conqueror*. *Urban* II was choſen in his room, and preſently after *William Rufus* aſcended the Throne of *England*, whilſt the Schiſm ſtill continued between *Urban* and *Clement*. The *Engliſh* may be ſaid to be for ſome Years without a Pope, ſince they recognized neither of the two Competitors. When *Anſelm* would, by his own Authority, have owned *Urban* II, *William* oppoſed it, 'till by an Artifice, mentioned hereafter, *Urban* gained him to his Obedience. This Step being made, *England* remained under the Juriſdiction of this Pope, and his Succeſſors *Paſchal* II, *Gelaſius* II, and *Honorius* II. After the death of this laſt, a freſh Schiſm was formed, by the double Election of *Innocent* II, and *Anacletus*. Theſe two Popes, having each their Adherents, divided all *Europe*. *Innocent* ſtood in need of all the Credit and Eloquence of St. *Bernard* to be acknowledged in *France*, where was a ſtrong Party againſt him. It was a long while before that Kingdom, as well as *England*, declared for either of the Rivals, ſo difficult was it to judge which had the beſt Title. Each alledged Reaſons, which ſerved rather to deſtroy his Adverſary's Right than ſupport his own. It may be eaſily gueſſed, that during the uncertainty with regard to theſe Popes, recourſe was had to neither. A galling Circumſtance to thoſe that aſſert the neceſſity of a Pope in the Church.

Eadmer. p. 25.

Cruſades.

If the Popes loſt ground by theſe Schiſms, the Loſs was amply repaired by the *Cruſades*, which furniſhed them with Opportunities of extending their Authority. 'Tis foreign to my purpoſe to examine what Right the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe* had to *Paleſtine*, conquered by the *Saracens* upon the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. It ſuffices to ſay, that the Project of wreſting from the Infidels the Country bedewed with the Blood of *Chriſt*, ſeemed ſo noble and meritorious, that all the Princes of Chriſtendom gloried in promoting it with their Wealth and Forces, and ſome even with their Perſons. The People, in imitation of their Sovereigns, blindly engaged in this Undertaking upon *Peter the Hermit*'s (1) ſetting forth the Miſeries to which the Chriſtians in *Paleſtine* were expoſed under the Empire of the *Saracens*. *Urban* II, was the firſt that formed the Project of uniting all the Chriſtians in *Europe*, to attempt the Deliverance of their Brethren in the Eaſt from Servitude, and to that purpoſe preached, in 1095, the firſt *Cruſade* at the Council of *Clermont*. His Exhortations were ſo ſurpriſingly effectual, that in a ſhort time was ſeen marching towards the *Holy Land* a prodigious Army, the Succeſs of which is known to all the World. The *Saracens* were driven out of *Paleſtine*, and a Chriſtian Kingdom founded, which laſted but fourſcore and ten Years. The Infidels becoming maſters of the Country again, the Popes never ceaſed exhorting the Chriſtians, to recover what the Church had loſt in thoſe Parts. This occaſioned ſeveral freſh *Cruſades* which procured the Popes many Advantages. In the firſt place, as they declared themſelves Heads of theſe Expeditions, they took into their Protection all that were willing to embark in the ſame. By this means they had opportunity to interpoſe in all Affairs, there being few of any moment, but what ſome one of the *Croiſés* were concerned in. In the ſecond place, as theſe Expeditions could not be undertaken without an immenſe Charge, the Popes took occaſion to impoſe on the Clergy, under the Name of *Tenths*, Taxes, of which they had the whole diſpoſal. In the next place, after once they were poſſeſs'd of the Privilege of publiſhing a *Cruſade* whenever they thought fit, they drew from thence a Conſequence of very great uſe to them. They pretended, the Extirpation of Heretics, tended as much to the Glory of God as that of Infidels. Now as they aſſumed to themſelves the Power of declaring what was Hereſy, the moment any Prince offered to oppoſe their Encroachments, they pronounced him Heretic, excommunicated him, and publiſhed a *Cruſade* againſt him. Of this we ſhall meet with ſeveral remarkable Inſtances in the courſe of this Hiſtory. It is no wonder then, the Popes ſtirred up and cheriſhed this frentick Zeal for *Cruſades*, ſince they turned it ſo much to their Advantage. Thanks be to God, the Blindneſs of Chriſtians in this reſpect has long ſince been cured.

The Council during the four Reigns.

In proportion to the Growth of the Pope's Authority, the Power of the Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Provincial or National Synods, viſibly decreaſed. The reaſon is, becauſe their Decrees and Canons were liable to be annulled upon the leaſt Appeal to the Pope. Accordingly in the Interval I am now going thro', we find but very few Councils worth notice.

Synod of Wincheſter. S. Dunelm. Spond. Hoved.

The Firſt was held at *Wincheſter* in 1070. *Hermenfred* Biſhop of *Ciſteron*, *John* and *Peter*, Cardinal Prieſts, preſided as the Pope's Legates. As nothing material was tranſacted in this Synod, beſides the depriving *Stigand* and ſome other Biſhops, it is needleſs to ſay any more of it. I ſhall only take occaſion from this Council to remark, that in thoſe Days a Biſhop was above a Cardinal, ſince in the Acts of this Synod, the Biſhop of *Ciſteron* is always named beford the Cardinals his Collegues.

Council of London. Malm. G. Pontif. Brompt. Spelman. Con. Vol. II. p. 7, &c.

In 1075, *Lanfranc* called a Synod at *London*, where it was ordained, that for the future, Provincial and Dioceſan Synods ſhould be held more frequently, the uſe of them being diſcontinued ſince the Conqueſt. The Precedency of the Sees was alſo regulated according to the Decrees of the VIth Council of *Toledo* and others, and every Prelate was to take Place according to the Priority of his Ordination. It was agreed, that in the Councils, the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould be ſeated on the Right, and the Biſhop of *London* on the Left Hand of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (2), and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, next the Archbiſhop of *York* (3). Some Canons were alſo paſs'd; the moſt remarkable are as follows:

The Vth forbids all Perſons, Biſhops and Abbots, excepted, to ſpeak in the Councils without leave from the Preſident.

By the VIth, Marriage is prohibited to the ſeventh Degree, for which the Authority of *Gregory the Great* is vouch'd. But we have ſeen that, according to the teſtimony of *Bede*, this Pope, in his Anſwer to *Auſtin*'s Queſtions, limits the Prohibition to the ſecond Degree only.

The VIIth is againſt Simony. This Canon, for ſome time, had paſs'd in all the Councils. In all appearance this Diſorder was become very common; or perhaps 'twas to prepare the way for the Prohibition of taking the Inveſtiture of Benefices from the Hands of Lay-men, to which Simony ſerv'd for pretence.

The VIIIth is levelled againſt Sorcery and Divination, and the like ſuperſtitious Practices.

By the XIth no Eccleſiaſtick is to give his Vote to ſentence a Perſon to die, or loſe his Limbs.

Spelman. p. 11.

In the following Year 1076, the ſame Archbiſhop conven'd a Synod on occaſion of the Marriage of Prieſts.

Reckingham *Synod.* Id. p. 16, &c.

In 1094, a Synod was held at *Rockingham* on occaſion of the Conteſt between *William Rufus* and *Anſelm*.

National Synod at London. Flor. Wig. Spelm. p. 21. Eadmer. p. 67.

Eight Years after, in 1102, in the Reign of *Henry* I, *Anſelm* ſummoned a national Synod, to which the temporal Lords were invited, to be Witneſſes of the Proceedings. Some Canons were paſs'd, the principal of which are:

The Iſt againſt Simony.

The IVth forbids Archdeacons, Prieſts, Deacons, and Canons to marry, or to live with their Wives if already married. This was the firſt general Prohibition againſt the *Engliſh* Prieſts keeping their Wives, which was diſapproved by many People.

(1) He was a *French* Prieſt, and had travelled in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, where he was extremely affected with the Miſeries the Chriſtians endured. He pretended that our Saviour appeared to him in a Dream, and commanded him to go and engage the weſtern Chriſtians to undertake their Deliverance, promiſing him Succeſs.

(2) Becauſe he is Dean of the See of *Canterbury*.

(3) Becauſe he is Chantor of the ſame See. *Gervaſe*. p. 1429.

By

By the VIth, Sons of Prieſts were not to ſucceed to their Fathers Churches.

The IXth enjoins the Prieſts to have open Crowns, that the Tonſure might be the more apparent.

The XIIIth forbids the Abbots to make Knights, tho' they had, 'till then, enjoyed that Privilege (1).

The XIVth declares all Promiſes of Marriage made without Witneſs to be void, in caſe either of the Parties denies the Engagement.

The XVth forbids Monks or Nuns to be Godfathers or Godmothers.

The XVIIth confirms the Prohibition of marrying within the ſeventh Degree.

The XVIIIth forbids the Burying the Dead of out their Pariſh (2).

The XIXth thunders Anathema's againſt ſuch as ſold Men like Horſes. Notwithſtanding this Canon, the Lords of Manors ſtill retained the Right of Villanage, that is, of ſelling their Villans, who were conſidered as a ſort of Slaves.

The XXth was againſt Sodomy. 'Tis remarkable, that Canons againſt this Crime were never thought of 'till the Clergy were obliged to Celibacy, it being ſcarce heard of in *England* before.

S. Dunelm. I have ſpoken elſewhere of the Council in 1125, on occaſion of the Marriage of Prieſts, in which Cardinal *John de Crema* preſided.

The Council at Weſtminſter. Cont. Flor. Wigor. In 1127 *William Curbeil*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held a Synod at *Weſtminſter*, where he preſided as the Pope's Legate. The moſt conſiderable of the Canons that were paſſed are theſe:

The IIId forbids the taking Money for the receiving Monks and Nuns into religious Houſes.

The VIth forbids a Plurality of Archdeaconries, under pain of Excommunication.

The VIIth makes it unlawful for Eccleſiaſticks to turn Farmers.

The VIIIth enjoins the punctual Payment of Tithes, and calls them, *the Demeſnes of the moſt High*.

Gervaſe. Spelman. Conc. Vol. II. P. 39. In 1138, *Alberic*, the Pope's Legate, convened a Synod of ſeventeen Biſhops and thirty Abbots. But this, which was ſummoned only to chuſe an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral others, in the Reign of *Stephen*, aſſembled for political Affairs, have nothing worth noting.

Tranſlations of the Sees. Brompt. As, after the *Conqueſt*, we find the Names of ſome Biſhopricks to diſappear, and others, unknown in the *Saxon* time, to ariſe, it will not be improper to mention thoſe Alterations, in order to avoid obſcurity.

Brompt. P. 975. In 1075, the See of *Shirborn* was removed to *Saliſbury*; that of *Selſey* to *Chicheſter*; and that of *Lichfield* to *Cheſter*.

In 1092, in the Reign of *William Rufus*, the See of *Dorcheſter* was removed to *Lincoln* (3), and the See of *Wells* to *Bath*. The Popes were not well pleaſed with theſe Removals, being done without their Leave. *Paſchal* II loudly complained of it to *Henry* I; but as there was then a Schiſm on foot, he dared not to puſh the matter any further.

Ely made a Biſhop's See. S. Dunelm, *and* Carliſle. Brompt. In 1108, in the Reign of *Henry* I, *Ely* Monaſtery was erected into a Biſhoprick, with the Approbation of the Pope, and Conſent of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who reſigned part of his Dioceſe, for that purpoſe.

In this ſame Reign *Carliſle*, called by the *Romans*, *Luguballia*, which had been deſtroyed by the *Danes*, and re-built by *William Rufus*, was made an Epiſcopal See, *Adelwalt* being the firſt Biſhop. This Dioceſe was taken from that of *Durham*.

A Project of erecting Wincheſter int. an Archbiſhoprick. We find in *Anglia-Sacra*, and the Hiſtory of the Church of *Wincheſter* by *Rudburn*, that in 1144, Pope *Lucius* ſent the *Pall* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, King *Stephen*'s Brother, with intent to erect that See into an Archbiſhoprick, and annex it to the ſeven Dioceſes of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*. But this Proceeding being generally diſliked, and the Biſhop fearing to meet with too ſtrong oppoſition, deferred to another time the execution of his Project, which vaniſhed by the Death of *Lucius*.

Abbeys. *Battle-Abbey* was founded by *William the Conqueror*, as was ſaid in his Life. In 1101, *Henry* I founded the Monaſtery of *Clerkenwell*, and the Priory of St. *John of Jeruſalem*. The Abbey of *Reading* was alſo of this King's founding (4).

New Orders of Monks. Knighton. Towards the end of the eleventh, or in the beginning of the twelfth Century, were inſtituted the Orders of the *Carthuſians* (5), *Ciſtercians* (6), *Præmonſtratenſes* (7), who afterwards ſettled in *England*. To theſe may be added the Regular Canons reformed by *Ivo* of *Chartres* in 1098 (8).

Diſpute about Tranſubſtantiation. Amongſt the remarkable Occurences in the Church, during the four Reigns we are going through, the famous Controverſy about the Holy Euchariſt is by no means to be paſſed over in ſilence. Though it made not ſo much noiſe in *England* as it did in *France*, yet being a Point wherein the whole Church was, and ſtill is, greatly concerned, it will not be improper to give a brief Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this Diſpute.

Towards the latter end of the eighth Century, *Paſchaſius Radbert*, a Monk of *Corbey*, publiſhed a Treatiſe, aſſerting that the Bread in the Euchariſt was the ſame Body of Chriſt that was born of the Virgin, and that the Wine was the ſame Blood which was ſhed on the Croſs. This Opinion ſeemed to be entirely New to ſeveral learned Men, who vigorouſly and ſharply wrote againſt it. *Johannes Scotus*, ſirnamed *Erigena*, that is, of *Iriſh* Extraction, *Raban* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and *Bertram* the Monk, were the principal Oppoſers of this Doctrine. On the other ſide, there were ſome that undertook its Defence. Without entering into the Arguments of both Parties, I ſhall content my ſelf with making two Remarks. The firſt is, If Chriſtians had all along been of *Paſchaſius*'s Opinion, it is hard to conceive, that ſo many Perſons of Learning ſhould look upon his Doctrine as a Novelty. In the ſecond place, it muſt be confeſs'd, *Paſchaſius*'s Notion prevailed in ſuch a manner over the other, after the eighth Century, that when the Controverſy was revived two hundred Years after, the Doctrine contrary to *Paſchaſius*'s, had generally the imputation of Novelty fixed upon it.

This Diſpute being at length ended, either becauſe People were tired with it, or their Minds taken up with other matters, it lay dormant for near two hundred Years. In 1035, *Berengarius* Archdeacon of *Angers*, who had a great Character for his Learning, perceiving *Paſchaſius*'s Opinion gained ground, attempted to ſtop its progreſs. He publiſhed a quite contrary Doctrine, and was ſuffered to ſtrengthen himſelf in it for twelve or fifteen Years, without any oppoſition. The firſt that attacked him was *Adelmand*, a Prebend of *Liege*, and afterwards *Bedwin* Biſhop of the ſame Church, who endeavoured to make him alter his Sentiments.

Baſnage Hiſt. de l'Egliſe. Mean time, *Berengarius* held a Correſpondence with *Lanfranc*, then Abbot of St. *Stephen*'s in *Caen*. The ſubject of their Letters ran upon the nature of the Euchariſt. *Lanfranc* maintained *Paſchaſius*'s Opinion; and *Berengarius*, on the contrary, vindicated the Doctrine lately publiſhed by himſelf. One of *Berengarius*'s Letters happening to fall into the Hands of Pope *Leo* IX (9), he thought fit to call a Council upon that occaſion. *Beren-*

(1) *Brand* Abbot of *Peterborough*, knighted his Nephew *Hereward*, in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. The manner was, by Confeſſion of his Sins, and Watching, and Praying in the Church, the whole foregoing Night; then in the Morning before Maſs, he offered up his Sword on the Altar, and after reading the Goſpel, the Prieſt firſt having bleſſed the Sword, put it over the new Knight's Neck, and ſo having communicated, he was ever after held a lawful Knight. The word *Knight*, ſignifies a *Servant*, *Attendant*, or *Soldier*; hence *Knights*, and *Knights Fees*, for ſuch as held their Eſtates by military Service, and were obliged to attend the King in his Wars. But the Honorary Knights were ſuch as were *Gladio Cinti*, as above. And we find not only Princes but Subjects, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Lay*, had Power to confer Knighthood. *Lanfranc* knighted *William Rufus*, and *John* Duke of *Bedford*, gave the ſame Dignity to *Henry* VI. As gilt Spurs were uſed on this Occaſion, they were *Milites Aurati*. See *Selden*'s *Titles of Honour*.

(2) In order to deprive the Miniſter of the Pariſh of his Dues. *Spelman*, p. 24.

(3) By *Remigius* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, who built *Lincoln* Cathedral. *Hunt*. p. 371. *M. Paris*, p. 10.

(4) For an Account of the other Monaſteries founded within this Period; ſee *Dugdale*'s *Monaſtic. Anglican*.

(5) So called from *Chartreuſe* in *Grenoble*, where they were firſt eſtabliſhed in 1086, by one *Bruno* of *Cologn*, Canon of *Rheims*. They are ſaid to ſettle in *England* in 1180. They followed St. *Bennet*'s Rule.

(6) They had their Name from *Ciſtercium* or *Citeaux* in the Dioceſe of *Chalons*, where they firſt aſſembled under *Harding*, an *Engliſhman*, in 1097. St. *Bernard* was ſoon after received into their Society, whence they were ſtiled *Bernardines*. Theſe refined alſo upon St. *Bennet*'s Rule. They came hither in 1128, being brought in by *William Giffard*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and were firſt ſettled in the Abbey of *Waverley* in *Surrey*. In 1151. their Chapter made an Injunction, that there ſhould be no more Monaſteries of that Order founded; there being already five hundred at that time. *M. Paris*, p. 83.

(7) This Order was founded by St. *Norbert* of a noble Family in *Cologn*, in 1120, at a Place ſaid to be pointed out to him by the *Bleſſed Virgin*, thence called *Præmonſtratum*, that is, *Foreſhown*. They were brought into *England* in 1146, and ſettled at *Newhouſe* in *Lincolnſhire*. They followed the Rule of St. *Auguſtin*. *Brompt*.

(8) The Canons were diſtinguiſhed into Regular and Secular; the firſt reforming upon the laſt, gave them that Name by way of Reproach. They pretended to receive their Rules from St. *Auguſtin*. ------- In this Reign alſo was founded the famous Order of *Sempringham*, whoſe Origin was this: *Joceline*, a Knight of *Lincolnſhire*, having a Son named *Gilbert*, whom, for ſome imperfection in his Limbs, he thought unfit for the World, he made him a Prieſt, and gave him a Benefice in a Town of his in *Lincolnſhire*, called *Sempringham*. This *Gilbert* was Founder of the Order of the *Gilbertines*, or of *Sempringham*. He incloſed within one Houſe both Men and Women; but ſeparated them with Walls, that they might neither ſee, nor hear one another. This Order in his Life-time increaſed to ten Houſes, containing in all ſeven hundred Brethren, and one thouſand five hundred Siſters. *Stow*'s *Chron*. p. 144. See alſo *Monaſtic. Anglican*. Vol. II. p. 669, &c.

(9) It was directed to *Lanfranc* in *Normandy*; but he being gone to *Rome*, it was ſent by ſome Adverſary to the Pope.

garius was condemned for differing from the common Opinion, and for alledging, in his Letter, the Arguments, formerly uſed by *Scotus* againſt *Paſchaſius*. *Lanfranc*, who was preſent at the Synod, was obliged to purge himſelf of the Suſpicion of holding too cloſe a Correſpondence with this pretended Heretick. However, as *Berengarius* was condemned unheard, the Pope held another Synod at *Verceil*, and ſummoned him to appear. He came not in Perſon, but ſent two Eccleſiaſticks to make his Defence, who, as *Lanfranc* teſtifies, gave up their Maſter's Cauſe. *Berengarius* was therefore condemned a ſecond time, and *Scotus*'s Book, from whence he had borrowed his Arguments, involved in the ſame Sentence. Inſtead of ſubmitting to the Deciſion of theſe two Synods, *Berengarius* wrote in Defence of *Scotus*, and dropped ſome ſatyrical Expreſſions againſt *Paſchaſius*, the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*. His Arguments appeared ſo convincing, that ſeveral openly declared for his Opinion, and even wrote in his favour. It is true indeed, all thoſe Writings were ſuppreſſed; but the Fact, for all that is not the leſs certain. An antient Author remarks, all *France* was in combuſtion on account of *Berengarius*; many learned Men diſputed for and againſt him, both by word of mouth and in writing. *Sigebert.*

The Doctrine of *Berengarius* muſt needs have ſpread it ſelf in ſeveral places, ſince *Victor* II, *Leo*'s Succeſſor, thought it neceſſary to hold another Council at *Tours*, to decide this Controverſy. *Berengarius* not being able to avoid appearing at this Synod held in his Neighbourhood, it is pretended, he durſt not maintain his Opinion, but acquieſced in the Deciſions of the two former Councils. But we have only his Adverſaries word for this. However, if he did recant, he repented of it afterwards, and continued, as before, to maintain his Opinion. Whereupon he was cited by *Stephen* X, to a Council held at *Rome* in 1059. *Berengarius* appeared, and if we may believe the remaining Hiſtorians, moſt of whom were his bitter Enemies, he durſt not defend his Cauſe. Nay, he ſubſcribed a Writing, wherein he is made to ſay, that *the Body of* Jeſus Chriſt *was handled in a ſenſible manner by the Prieſts, and ground by the Teeth of the Communicants.* Afterwards, he was compelled by threats, to burn with his own Hand *Scotus*'s Book, from whence it was pretended, he had ſucked his Errors. It muſt be obſerved, that though ſome ſay he durſt not defend his Cauſe, yet others affirm, he diſputed a good while with *Lanfranc* and *Alberic* a Monk of *Mount Caſſin*. However, his ſigning the Writing was not ſo much owing to his Adverſaries Arguments, as to his being over-awed by their Threats. *You did not do it* (ſays *Lanfranc* to him in one of his Letter.) *for the ſake of Truth, but to avoid the Death you were threatned with.* Accordingly we find afterwards his Heart conſented not to what his Hand had done, ſince, notwithſtanding his many Recantations, he perſiſted in his old Opinion to his dying day.

1063. In 1063, a Council was held at *Roan* upon the ſame occaſion, and another at *Poictiers* in 1075. *Berengarius* was preſent at the latter, and even ran ſome riſk of his Life, which ſerved only to give him a worſe Opinion of the other Party. At laſt *Gregory* VII, coming to the Papacy, and being deſirous by all means to end this Affair, which was ſo often renewed, held a Council at *Rome* in 1079. Before the opening of the Synod, he proclaimed a Faſt for thirty days, to beſeech God, that he would be pleaſed to grant this Council the Grace to diſcover the Truth. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, after ſo many Deciſions, conformable, as it is pretended, to the Doctrine of the Church in all Ages, they ſhould ſtill be in ſuſpence what to believe in this matter. *Berengarius* made his appearance, and ſigned a Recantation more full and explicite than any of the former. He declares, that *the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, are ſubſtantially changed, by the miraculous Operation of the Words of our Saviour, into the true, viſible, and living Body of* Jeſus Chriſt, *not figuratively, and ſacramentally, but truly, properly, and ſubſtantially.* This Recantation was as far from cauſing him to alter his mind, as the others. This appears from his being cited once more to a Council at *Bourdeaux*, where he came and was condemned. He paſſed the reſt of his Life in Retirement [near *Tours*,] where he died in peace in 1088.

Reflections on this Diſpute. Theſe particulars afford matter for ſeveral Reflections. In the firſt place, if the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was manifeſtly contrary to the Belief of the Univerſal Church, ſince the time of the Apoſtles, it muſt be ſurpriſing, there ſhould be occaſion for ſo many Councils on this Subject. In the ſecond place, the great Number of Councils, is a clear evidence that *Berengarius*'s Opinion was ſpread far and wide, ſince ſo much pains was taken to ſtop its Progreſs. Thirdly, it is no leſs ſtrange, that neither *Berengarius*, nor any of the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſticks his Friends, were ever deprived. If *Berengarius* had ſincerely recanted, it would be eaſy to gueſs the Reaſon of his being ſo favourably dealt with by the Popes and Councils. But beſides that theſe frequent Recantations were a preſumption, that the laſt was no ſincerer than the former, there are very ſtrong Proofs of his dying in his old Opinion. And indeed, notwithſtanding his recanting, *Lanfranc* always conſidered him as a *Schiſmatic*. An Anonymous Author, who wrote eight years after his laſt Recantation, calls him a *Heretic* (1). An evident Sign that he went out of the World in his pretended Error. It is true *Malmsbury* affirms, *Berengarius* died a Catholick, that is, in the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*. But he was led into this Miſtake, either by believing his laſt Recantation real, or from the honourable Epitaph *Hildebrand*, Biſhop of *Mans*, made for him after his death (2). Without doubt *Malmsbury*, who has inſerted his Epitaph in this Hiſtory, could not imagine that a Biſhop would beſtow ſo great Commendations on a Man that was actually a *Heretic*.

Laſtly, It may be further obſerved, that although the Account we have of *Berengarius*, is from his Adverſaries, ſeveral of them could not forbear mentioning the prodigious Progreſs of his Doctrine in *Germany*, *Italy*, and particularly in *France*. As for *England*, it is no wonder, this Controverſy made leſs noiſe there than elſewhere. The late Revolution in that Iſland kept the *Engliſh* intent upon other matters. I ſhall cloſe my Remarks with obſerving, that *Berengarius*'s frequent Recantations were extremely prejudicial to his Doctrine. In an Age like that, few Perſons being capable of judging for themſelves in ſo intricate a Caſe, Example and Precedent ſwayed more in this matter than Knowledge and Conviction. Now it is certain, the Appearances were againſt *Berengarius*, becauſe it was carefully given out, he recanted upon ſeeing his Error. Not a word was ſaid of the Threats that extorted his Recantations, though nothing was more certain, as we have ſeen, by the Teſtimony of *Lanfranc* himſelf.

Moſt noted Eccleſiaſticks. To finiſh what I have to ſay concerning the State of the Church, during the four firſt *Norman* Reigns, nothing remains, but to ſubjoin a brief Account of the moſt noted Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſticks.

Aldred Archbiſhop of *York*, who crowned *William the Conqueror*, was a good and pious Prelate. He had been Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, where he built the Cathedral. Afterwards he purchaſed ſeveral Eſtates in the Neighbourhood of *York*, and annexed them to his Archbiſhoprick. He was likewiſe a great Benefactor to the Abbey of *Beverley* (3). *Aldred.*

Tho' *Stigand*, according to the Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, intruded himſelf into the Archiepiſcopal See of *Canterbury*, and was for that reaſon ſuſpended by the Pope, he performed however the Functions of a Metropolitan, during the Reigns of *Edward* and *Harold*. If *William the Conqueror* refuſed to be crowned by his hand, it was purely to avoid a Conteſt with the Court of *Rome*; for otherwiſe he treated that Prelate at firſt with great Diſtinction. When *Stigand* attended him into *Normandy*, the Clergy there, without regarding the Pope's Cenſures, paid him all the Reſpect due to his Rank and Dignity. Afterwards, *the Conqueror* had quite other thoughts of him, and cauſed him to be deprived by the Council of *Wincheſter*. As ſoon as this Prelate was removed from his Dignity, the King no more regarded him, but threw him into Priſon to force him to diſcover his hid Treaſures, which were very conſiderable. But nothing being able to wreſt this Secret from him, he ended his Days in Priſon. After his Death a little key was found about his Neck, with a Note directing to the place where his Money was lodged, which was all ſeized to the King's uſe. *Stigand.* *Malmſb.* *Brompt.*

Marianus Scotus, born in *Scotland* in 1028, being thirty years of Age, retired to a Monaſtery at *Cologn*. He was afterwards removed to the Abbey of *Fulde*, where he wrote a general Hiſtory of *Europe* from the Creation to the Year of our Lord 1082. He died four Years after in 1086. The *Scots* were at that time very well received in *Germany*, where a Prince of that Nation, who had ſerved under *Charles the Great*, founded fifteen Monaſteries, whoſe Abbots were all to be *Scotchmen*. *Marianus Scotus.*

Wulſtan Biſhop of *Worceſter*, had a great Character for his Piety, which ſome have carried too far. It is pretended he wrought ſeveral Miracles, as well in his Life-time as after his Death. It appears however, that *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had no great Opinion of this Prelate's Merit, ſince he would have had him deprived by a Synod for Inſufficiency and want of Learning. This gives room to ſuſpect *Wulſtan*'s Virtue conſiſted in a great *Wulſtan.* *S. Dunelm.* *Brompt.*

(1) *Baronius* calls him a *Rotten Heretic*.
(2) He gives him a great Character for his Learning and Morals.
(3) He went in Pilgrimage through *Hungary* to *Jeruſalem*, which no *Engliſh* Biſhop was ever known to have done. *S. Dunelm.* p. 189. *Hoved.* p. 444.

Simplicity,

Simplicity, which is induſtriouſly made to paſs for an extraordinary Sanctity. *Malmsbury*, who has writ his Life, relates a Circumſtance, which plainly ſhows this Prelate's great conceit of his own Merit. As the Monks, who ſtood by at his Death, expreſſed great Sorrow for the Loſs of him, he comforted them by aſſuring them, they ſhould have in him a more powerful Patron after his Death than during his Life.

Lanfranc. *Lanfranc*, whom I have had frequent occaſion to mention, was born at *Pavia*. After finiſhing his Studies, he
Eadmer. turned Monk, chuſing the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*, where he taught Logick, and gained a great Reputation. His frequent reproaching the reſt of the Fraternity for their Ignorance, was the cauſe of his Fortune. The Monks preferring a Complaint againſt him to *William the Baſtard*, who was then only Duke of *Normandy*, he was obliged to go to Court to juſtify himſelf. In his Converſation with the Duke, that Prince was ſo charmed with his Merit, that inſtead of puniſhing him, as his Accuſers expected, he made him Abbot of St. *Stephen*'s at *Caen*, from whence he afterwards promoted him to the See of *Canterbury*. *Lanfranc*'s Credit, which was very great in the *Conqueror*'s Reign, declined under *William Rufus*, for whom however he had procured the Crown. His Death, which happened ſoon after in 1089, ſaved him, it may be, a great deal of trouble. He re-built the Church of *Can-*
Eadmer. p. 5. *terbury*, burnt by the *Danes* in Archbiſhop *Elphegus*'s time, and fixed the Number of the Monks of St. *Auguſtin* at one hundred and fifty, which before was not limitted. He gave them alſo a Prior, inſtead of a Chorepiſ-
Ib. p. 9. copus. A famous Trial, wherein he got the better of *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux* and Earl of *Kent*, put him in poſſeſſion of twenty five *Manors*, which that Biſhop had ſeized. He paſſed for a great Stateſman, as well as for an able and learned Divine. His Commentary on St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which is not extant, were Works of great Repute. But of all his Writings, his Treatiſe againſt *Berengarius, concerning the Body and Blood of* Jeſus Chriſt *in the Sacrament*, was the moſt remarkable. Notwithſtanding this teſtimony of the Conformity of his Sentiments to thoſe of the *Roman* Church, *Gregory* VII would fain have obliged him to come to *Rome*, and give an account of his Faith. Nay, he let him know, after ſeveral Summons, that he ſhould be ſuſpended, in caſe he came not to *Rome* within four months. But *Lanfranc* never went, though he had time enough for the Journey, for he did not die 'till eight Years after (1).

Anſelm. *Anſelm*, who was Abbot of *Bec* before he was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was the moſt famous of all the *Engliſh* Biſhops, for his Conteſts with *William Rufus* and
Eadmer. *Henry* I. The former of theſe Diſputes being of little conſequence, I ſhall not loſe time in deſcending to particulars, having elſewhere related what is material. I ſhall only obſerve one Circumſtance, which ſhows Pope *Urban*'s Addreſs to get himſelf owned in *England*.

Eadmer. *Clement* the Anti-Pope being ſtill alive when *Urban* II
p. 25. was choſen, *England* refuſed to acknowledge either of the Popes. In the mean time, *Anſelm* falling at variance with *William Rufus*, openly declared for *Urban*, contrary to the King's Will and Pleaſure. As their Quarrel daily increaſed, the King ſought means to humble him. To that end, he let *Urban* know, if he would ſend him the *Pall* deſigned for *Anſelm*, that the Archbiſhop might be obliged to receive it from him, he ſhould be owned
p. 32. for Pope in *England*. *Urban* liking the Propoſal, ſent the Biſhop of *Alba*, to do as the King deſired. However this *Nuncio*, without ſaying any thing of his having the *Pall*, only told the King, the Pope was ready to comply with his Requeſt, provided *England* would acknowledge
p. 34. his Authority. Upon this aſſurance, the King performed his Engagement, and then wanting to have *Anſelm*'s *Pall* in his diſpoſal, the *Nuncio* told him, the thing was impracticable, becauſe *Anſelm* refuſed to receive the *Pall* from the hands of a Layman. In this manner was the King impoſed upon, and forced to agree, the Archbiſhop ſhould take up the *Pall* himſelf from the Altar, where the *Nuncio* had laid it [by Conſent.] He never forgave the Archbiſhop, who, as has been related, was obliged to go to *Rome*, and afterwards to retire to *Lyons*, where he remained 'till the King's death.

Conteſt between Henry and Anſelm about Inveſtitures. Eadmer. p. 50----70. During *Anſelm*'s ſtay at *Rome*, he was preſent at a Council, where it was decreed, that all Eccleſiaſticks, who for the future received the Inveſtiture of the Benefices from the hands of a Layman, ſhould be excommunicated. In obedience to this Decree, after his return into *England* by *Henry*'s own ſollicitations, he refuſed to do Homage to that Prince, and conſecrate the Biſhops inveſted by the King. This Refuſal was the ground of a more important Diſpute than that with *William Rufus*, ſince the Point in queſtion was a Prerogative, which the Kings of *England* had been long poſſeſſed of. However, *Henry* being willing to act with caution, at a time when the Court of *Rome* was grown very formidable by prevailing over the Emperor, conſented that *Anſelm* ſhould ſend Agents to *Rome*, whilſt himſelf diſpatched Ambaſſadors thither to plead his Cauſe, and perſuade the Pope to leave him in peaceable poſſeſſion of his Right. *Paſchal* II ſent word, p. 62.
he could not grant the King a thing ſo expreſly forbidden by ſeveral Councils. Notwithſtanding this refuſal, *Henry* was firmly reſolved to preſerve a Privilege received from his Predeceſſors. Accordingly, he com- p. 66.
manded the Archbiſhop to do him Homage, and conſecrate the Biſhops inveſted after the uſual manner. *Anſelm* made Anſwer, he could not obey the King without diſobeying the Pope and the Decrees of the Synod of *Rome*, to which he had himſelf given his Vote. *What's* p. 69.
this to me, reply'd the King, *is the Synod of* Rome *to deprive me of the Prerogatives of my Predeceſſors? No, I will never ſuffer any Perſon, who refuſes me the Securities of a Subject, to enjoy Eſtates in my Dominions.* And then ordered the Archbiſhop to do as he required, or depart the Kingdom. *Anſelm* anſwered, he could do neither; but would go down to *Canterbury*, and there wait God's good Pleaſure. The King and the Lords of the Coun- p. 72.
cil were ſhocked at this Anſwer. After debating the matter, the Council was of Opinion, that the King ſhould not have ſo great Regard to *Anſelm* or the Pope himſelf, but ſhould drive the one out of the Kingdom, and diſengage himſelf from all dependance on the other. The King, not thinking it adviſeable to proceed to theſe Extremities, of his own accord, ſummoned a general Aſſembly or Parliament. He repreſented to them the Attempts of the Pope upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Arrogance of the Archbiſhop, who behaved to him, not as a Subject but as an Equal, or rather a Superior. Upon theſe Complaints the Aſſembly agreed, that *Anſelm* ſhould be allowed a longer time for deliberation; that in the mean while the King ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to the Pope, to try to perſuade him to deſiſt in an amicable manner from his Pretenſions. The Archbiſhop p. 72.
of *York*, and two other Biſhops were charged with this Ambaſſy, and accompanied with two Agents for *Anſelm*. The Ambaſſadors had Inſtructions to offer the Pope this alternative; either to relax in the point of Inveſtitures, or be contented with the Baniſhment of *Anſelm*, loſe the Obedience of the *Engliſh*, and all the Profits accruing from thence. When theſe Prelates had their Audience of the Pope, they repreſented to him the Danger he expoſed himſelf to, in caſe he refuſed to comply with the King. *Paſchal* made anſwer, he would not only loſe p. 73.
England, but his Dignity too, rather than yield in the leaſt. *Anſelm*'s Agents had likewiſe their Audience apart. After which, the Pope ſent two Letters by them, p. 74.
one for the King, exhorting him to deſiſt from his Claim to Inveſtitures; the other for *Anſelm*, enjoining him to perſiſt in his ſupporting the Cauſe of Truth. The King by no means reliſhing this Letter, would not communicate it to the Lords. But *Anſelm* cauſed his to be publickly read.

Mean time, the King's Ambaſſadors and *Anſelm*'s Agents differed very much in their Reports. The Biſhops declared, the Pope at a private Audience told them, he was willing to indulge the King the Liberty of Inveſtitures, provided he would in return give him Satisfaction in other Points: But that he durſt not openly declare ſo much, leaſt other Sovereigns ſhould claim the ſame Privilege. *Anſelm*'s Agents, on the contrary, proteſted, the Pope ſaid nothing like it, and appealed for the Truth of what they aſſerted to the Letter ſent to the Archbiſhop. What they alledged was the more probable, as the King refuſed to produce the Pope's Letter. Nevertheleſs, there was no queſtioning the teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of *York* and the two other Biſhops, without accuſing them withal of falſhood and ſhameful prevarication. Even *Anſelm* was in ſuſpence, ſince they appealed to the Pope himſelf for the Truth of what they delivered. In this uncertainty he thought it moſt adviſeable to prolong the time, 'till he was better informed of the Pope's Intentions. To that purpoſe, he offered to communicate with the Biſhops who had received Inveſtiture from the King, which he had hitherto refuſed, on condition he ſhould not conſecrate them, before he had heard from the Pope. This temper giving the King and Council ſome ſatisfaction, he had time allowed him to ſend freſh Agents to *Rome*.

Whilſt the Agents were at the Court of *Rome*, the King, who bore theſe Delays with impatience, ſent to

(1) *Lanfranc* exempted all the Clerks, or Pariſh Prieſts of the Towns belonging to him, or where he was Lord, or preſented to the Living in any Dioceſe, from the Juriſdiction and Viſitation of the Biſhops, which might be the Original of *Peculiars*. *Eadmer*, p. 12. *Brady*, p. 215.

the

the Archbiſhop to conſecrate the three Biſhops elect. *Anſelm* anſwered, he was ready to conſecrate one of the three, who had refuſed to be inveſted by the King: But for the others, he could not do it without the Pope's Conſent. Upon his declining the Office, the King commanded the Archbiſhop of *York* to perform the Solemnity. But the Biſhops who were to be conſecrated, renounced the Authority, and would not ſubmit to it. This Regard for the Pope provoked the King to that degree, that he confiſcated all their Eſtates.

As ſoon as *Anſelm*'s Agents were returned from *Rome*, the King went down to *Canterbury*, and ſent to the Archbiſhop to give him ſatisfaction, unleſs he would provoke him to new meaſures. *Anſelm* anſwered, he had receiv'd a Letter from the Pope, which was yet unopen'd; that he would open it in his preſence, and govern himſelf according to the Pope's Directions. *Henry*, inraged at the Preference the Archbiſhop always gave to the Pope's Orders, reply'd, The point in queſtion was not to know what the Pope enjoined, for he did not intend to ſubmit his Prerogatives to his Determination. However, the Archbiſhop was not to be prevailed with, but remained firm to his Reſolution. At laſt, *Henry* willing to try all ways before he proceeded to other meaſures, advis'd *Anſelm* himſelf to take a Journey to *Rome*, to ſee if he could perſuade the Pope to relax. *Anſelm* was very loth to go, but at length was prevailed upon, at the requeſt of the Biſhops and Barons, who repreſented to him, that the Journey could not poſſibly do him any Diſſervice.

Eadmer. p. 70.

1103. As ſoon as he was arrived in *Normandy*, he open'd the Pope's Letters, where he found an abſolute Denial of all that the King's Ambaſſadors had reported. However, he purſued his Journey to *Rome*, where he was quickly follow'd by *William Warelwaſt* the King's Ambaſſador, formerly employed at the Court of *Rome* by *William Rufus*. The Ambaſſador being admitted to Audience, repreſented to the Pope, that he was in danger of loſing *England*, if he perſiſted in depriving the King of his juſt Prerogatives: Adding, his Maſter was reſolved to loſe his Crown rather than part with the Right of Inveſtitures. *And I*, anſwer'd *Paſchal*, *will ſooner loſe my Life, than ſuffer the Church's Privileges to be thus uſurped.* This ſo poſitive an Anſwer entirely breaking off the Negotiation, the Ambaſſador ſet out for *England*, and *Anſelm*, who did not dare to return to his Church, went and ſtaid at *Lyons*.

Eadmer. p. 73.

Eadmer. p. 78. This Attempt not ſucceeding, *Henry* ſent another Embaſſy to *Rome*. But as nothing new was propoſed, it ſerv'd only to exaſperate the Pope, who excommunicated the Earl of *Mellent* and ſome other Lords of the Council. He even threatned *Henry* with the Church's Cenſures, but however declin'd pronouncing any againſt him. Mean time, *Anſelm* perceiving the Pope dilatory in his Proceedings, grew apprehenſive, he might long continue in Exile, and, ſooner or later, the Pope and King come to an Accommodation, of which he might well be the Victim. Wherefore, he reſolved to ingage the Pope ſo deeply in the Affair, that there ſhould be no poſſibility of drawing back. For that purpoſe, he went and made a Viſit to *Adela*, Counteſs of *Blois*, *Henry*'s Siſter, and told her, that after a great deal of Patience he muſt now be forc'd to excommunicate the King, unleſs he would forthwith deſiſt from his Pretenſions. *Adela* being extremely troubled at this Menace, endeavour'd to procure an Accommodation. To that end, ſhe deſired the King her Brother, who was then in *Normandy*, to come to her at the Caſtle of *l'Aigle*, where ſhe deſigned to bring *Anſelm*, that they might confer together. At this Interview, things began, by means of the Counteſs of *Blois*, to be in a better way. The King fearing the Archbiſhop's Threats, treated him very civilly. *Anſelm* in return ſhew'd greater Reſpect to the King than he had hitherto done. They were not long together before they perceived in each other an equal Deſire to put an end to the Conteſt in an honourable manner. Thus diſpoſed, they amicably ſought means to adjuſt the Affair to their mutual ſatisfaction. As ſoon as an Expedient was agreed upon, *Henry* ſent *William de Warelwaſt* to the Pope for his Approbation. *Paſchal*'s Affairs were then in ſuch a ſituation, that he did not care to break with *England*. He was hard preſſed by the *Germans*, who ſhortly after compelled him to fly for refuge into *France*. Matters therefore were accommodated upon theſe Terms; The King was to renounce the Right of Inveſtitures, and the Pope to give the Biſhops and Abbots Leave to do Homage to the King for their Temporalities. Thus the Pope and King equally got clear of this troubleſome Buſineſs, by a method as juſt as it was natural, and which ſhould have been taken at firſt, if both had acted fairly and honeſtly. This will evidently appear, if we impartially inquire into the State of the Queſtion, which perhaps may not be amiſs, ſince this Affair formerly made ſo great noiſe, and *Anſelm* was ſo much concern'd in it.

p. 80.

The King and Anſelm *agree.* p. 82.

The true State of the Queſtion.

In the firſt place, I ſhall lay down what ſeems to me undeniable, that ever ſince the time of *Charles the Great*, Sovereign Princes had enjoyed the Right of Inveſtitures to Biſhopricks and Abbeys, by the delivery of the Ring and Paſtoral Staff (1.) *Gregory* VII was the firſt that attempted to deprive them of this Privilege, about the latter end of the XIth Century. The Popes, his Succeſſors, purſued the execution of this Project with the ſame earneſtneſs. It muſt be confeſs'd, the Kings themſelves gave the Popes but too frequent occaſion to exclaim againſt their Abuſe of this Prerogative. Under pretence, that the Biſhops and Abbots could not take poſſeſſion of their Benefices before they had received Inveſtiture, the Princes publickly ſold the Biſhopricks and Abbeys to the beſt Bidder. I ſay, ſold them; for, though the Elections appeared Canonical, yet the Sovereigns over-ruled them, by having it in their Power to refuſe Inveſtiture to thoſe they did not like. This alone was ſufficient to obtain the Election of ſuch as they recommended, no Eccleſiaſtick deſiring to be Biſhop or Abbot without enjoying the Temporalities. It was neceſſary therefore, in order to be elected, to have the King's Conſent, after which, the Biſhop or Abbot, even before Conſecration, received Inveſtiture in the manner above-mentioned. But beſides that Simony had too often a place in theſe Elections, there was another reaſon, which ſeemed to juſtify the Popes in their Attempts to aboliſh Inveſtitures; namely, the Princes, by inveſting the Eccleſiaſticks not in the ſame manner as the Laymen, and even before their Conſecration, ſeemed as if they aſſumed to themſelves a Power to grant Spiritual Juriſdiction. And this the Popes repreſented as a clear Uſurpation of the Church's Privileges. And indeed, it looked ſomething like it, becauſe of the two Characters which were confounded in the Prelate elect; namely, as Miniſter of the Church, and as Temporal Lord of the Lands annexed to his Dignity. If the Pope's and Princes had acted fairly, they would have carefully diſtinguiſhed theſe two Characters; but, on the contrary, each thought it his Intereſt to leave them undiſtinguiſhed. By that means the Princes over-ruled the Elections, and the Popes took occaſion to diſpute with the Sovereigns the Right they were poſſeſſed of. For want of diſtinguiſhing therefore, aroſe all thoſe Conteſts between the Princes and Popes. The former declared, they would never ſuffer any Perſon to take poſſeſſion of Lands, held of the Crown, without receiving Inveſtiture at their hands. The Popes, on their part, maintained, it was unreaſonable, Princes ſhould interpoſe in Elections, or pretend to convey a Character, which the Church alone had Power to confer. Thus both ſides equally deviated from the true State of the Caſe. For it was very poſſible for a Man to be a Biſhop or Abbot, without being poſſeſſed of the Lands held of the Crown, in which caſe the Prince had nothing to do. On the other hand, Princes would have received no manner of Detriment from any one's conveying a Spiritual Character without their Conſent, as long as it was in their Power to ſecure themſelves, before they put the Prelates in poſſeſſion of the Temporalities. But there was no poſſibility of bringing them to this Point, whilſt both ſides remained inflexible. Thus, it is manifeſt, the Expedient practiſed by *Paſchal* II, and *Henry* I, was very reaſonable, and not at all prejudicial to the Church's Rights, or the King's Prerogative. But in all appearance, this Affair would not have ended ſo happily, if the Pope's Circumſtances had not forced him to relax. This may be inferred from his Behaviour to the Emperor on the ſame occaſion, to whom he could never be brought to grant, what he had now yielded to the King of *England*.

Anſelm's Life and Writings. Eadmer. p. 12, 13.

I have dwelt the longer on this part of *Anſelm*'s Life, becauſe it diſcovers the Character of this Prelate, who was honoured with the glorious Title of Saint, as all were that zealouſly adhered to the Court of *Rome*. He was born in the Year 1033, at *Aoſt*, a ſmall Town in *Italy*, belonging now to the Duke of *Savoy*. At ſeven and twenty Years of Age he turned Monk in the Abbey of *Bec*, of which *Lanfranc* was Prior. When *Lanfranc* was made Abbot of St. *Stephen*'s at *Caen*, *Anſelm* became Prior, and afterwards Abbot of *Bec*, from whence he was promoted to the See of *Canterbury*. He compoſed ſeveral Theological Treatiſes, of which Father *Gerberon* publiſhed the largeſt Edition in 1676. His Writings, according to the teſtimony of *du Pin*, are full of Metaphyſical

(1) *Sigebert* of *Gemblours* (*ad An.* 773.) relates that Pope *Adrian* I, at a Council of one hundred and fifty three Biſhops and Abbots, granted *Charles the Great* the Privilege of electing the Pope, and the Right of Inveſtitures. *Baronius* and *Peter de Marca* deny the Authority of this Council, and affirm, it was forged by *Sigebert* to ſerve the Intereſt of the Emperor againſt *Paſchal* II.

Queſtions, argued with the appearance of a great deal of *Logic*. The ſame Author obſerves, that *Anſelm*'s Letters are written in a leſs elaborate Style than his other Works. He is alſo the firſt who compoſed long Prayers, in the form of Meditations. He paſſed for a Prelate of great Learning and an unblameable Life. He has been much applauded for his Firmneſs in his Conteſts with *William Rufus* and *Henry* I. But this ſame Firmneſs in maintaining the Cauſe of the Pope, which was gloried in for ſo many Centuries, would not meet with that approbation at preſent. *Anſelm* died in 1109, and was canonized in the Reign of *Henry* VII, at the inſtance of Cardinal *Morton* [then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.]

Gilbert Biſhop of London.

Gilbert Biſhop of *London*, was famous in the Reign of *Henry* I, chiefly on the account of his Learning, which gained him the appellation of Univerſaliſt. Theſe kind of Names were much in vogue at that time, as Marks of Honour for ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed in the Sciences. He wrote a Commentary on *David*'s Pſalms; and an Expoſition on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, which are ſtill extant in Manuſcript.

Oſmund Biſhop of Sarum. Brompt. Knighton.

Oſmund Biſhop of *Salisbury*, by birth a *Norman*, was Earl of *Dorſet*, and Privy-Counſellor to *William the Conqueror*, when he was made a Biſhop. As in thoſe days every Dioceſe had a different Liturgy, *Oſmund* undertook the correcting that which was uſed in his. He render'd it more pure than it was before, by diſcharging a great many barbarous and rude Expreſſions, and digeſting the whole in a more commodious method. This Liturgy, *Secundum uſum Sarum*, with theſe Emendations, was quickly received in the other Dioceſes, and at length became common to all the Churches of the Kingdom. It is affirmed, that after *Oſmund*'s death, in the Year 1099, there were ſeveral Interpolations thrown in, which are by no means approved of at preſent.

Malachy Archbiſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, is famous for his Prophecy, concerning the Popes which were to ſucceed to the Papal Chair after his time. Theſe Predictions are ſtill extant (1), and are a ſort of Riddles, of which endeavours are uſed to give ſome Interpretation. He died in 1150, at the Monaſtery of *Clareval* in *France*. St. *Bernard* has given us his Life. Manchy. J. Hagulſt.

Ingulphus was known to *William the Conqueror*, when that Prince, then Duke of *Normandy* only, came into *England* to viſit King *Edward*. He attended him into *Normandy* as Secretary; but, ſome time after, reſigning this Office, went in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. At his return, he turned Monk in the Abbey of *Fontevraud*, from whence he was ſent for, and made Abbot of *Croyland*, by *William the Conqueror*. He died in 1109, after writing the Hiſtory of his Monaſtery, which is inſerted in the Collection of the antient *Engliſh* Hiſtorians (2). Ingulph. Ingulph. p. 71.

Joffrid Abbot of the ſame Monaſtery, and immediate Succeſſor to *Ingulphus*, was the firſt, as ſome pretend, that erected Schools at *Cambridge*, where he ſettled four of his Monks as Profeſſors. If this be true, that famous Univerſity falls very ſhort of the Antiquity generally aſcribed to it (3). Joffrid. P. Bleſenſis.

Godfrid Prior of *Wincheſter*, was one of the beſt Writers of his Time, if we may believe *William* of *Malmſbury*, who affirms, he writ with great Elegance and Politeneſs. He compoſed, amongſt other Things, a Panegyrick upon the *Engliſh* Primates. But what is more conſiderable, he reformed the Breviary, by diſcharging all the barbarous Terms; and making the Style more pure and neat. *Alford* conjectures, this Prior had a principal Hand in correcting the Liturgy of *Sarum*, which went under *Oſmund*'s Name (4). Godfrid.

(1) They were publiſhed by *Arnold Wyon*.

(2) Publiſhed by Dr. *Gale*. INGULPHUS was born at *London* in 1030. His Father was one of King *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Courtiers. He was the firſt our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians after the Conqueſt. In his Hiſtory of *Croyland*, he has occaſionally intermixed the Story of our Kings from the Year 664, to 1091. Biſhop *Nicholſon* obſerves, that the Relation he bore to the *Conqueror*, manifeſtly biaſſes him in the ill Account he gives of *Harold*.

(3) This JOFFRID, about the Year 1114, began a Cuſtom which was afterwards practiſed by all the Monks. Upon *Good-Friday*, ſtripping himſelf every Year to the Waſte before all the Convent, he was ſeverely ſcourged. This was done as a *Penance* for their Sins, and to make a deeper Impreſſion of our Saviour's Sufferings.

(4) The principal Writers during the four firſt *Norman* Reigns not mentioned by *Rapin*, amongſt his Perſons of Note, are:

Pictavienſis. WILLIAM of POICTIERS or PICTAVIENSIS, who, though a Foreigner, and Chaplain to the *Conqueror*, has given us ſo fair an account of the *Norman Revolution*, that he has found good Credit with moſt of our Hiſtorians.

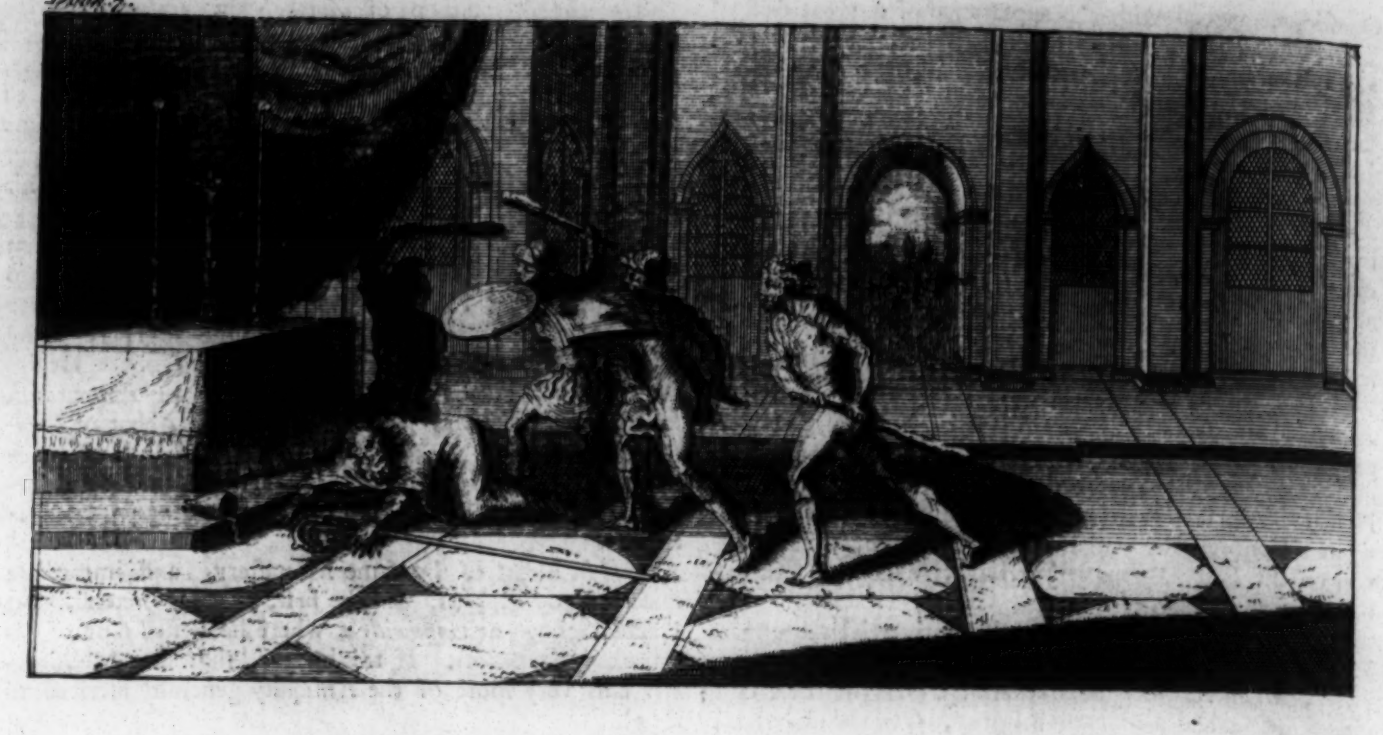
Florence of Worceſter. FLORENCE, a Monk of WORCESTER, wrote a *Chronicle*, which ended with his Life, in 1119; but was continued fifty Years farther by another Monk of the ſame Monaſtery. He epitomized or tranſcribed *Marianus*, adding very many Collections out of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and other Writers with much Care and Judgment. He is blamed for adhering ſo ſcrupulouſly to his Authorities, as ſometimes to retain their Miſtakes.

Eadmer. EADMERUS, a Monk of *Canterbury*, in his *Hiſtoria Novorum*, &c. publiſhed by Mr. *Selden*, has given us the Story of the two *Williams* and *Henry* I. from the Year 1066, to 1122. It is a Work (as Biſhop *Nicholſon* obſerves) of great Gravity and unqueſtionable Authority. Tho' he was intimately acquainted with *Anſelm*, yet he has given a fair Account of the mighty Diſpute about *Inveſtitures*. *Selden* ſays his Stile equals *Malmſbury*, his Matter and Compoſure exceeds him.

Vitalis. ORDERICUS VITALIS was a Monk of St. *Evrole*'s in *Normandy*, where he lived fifty ſix Years. He wrote an *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory in thirteen Books, wherein he has intermixed a great many things relating to our Hiſtory. He is ſaid to be immoderate in the Praiſe of his Friends, and the Diſpraiſe of his Enemies; and to be too large in his Deſcription of little Matters, whilſt he paſſes too curſorily over things of Moment.

Malmsbury. WILLIAM (Monk and Library-keeper) of MALMSBURY, in his Account *de Geſtis Regum Anglorum* in five Books, with an *Appendix* in two more, which he ſtiles *Hiſtoriæ Novellæ*, has made a judicious Collection of whatever he found on Record, from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the eighth Year of the Reign of King *Stephen*, 1142. He has had the higheſt Commendations given him by ſome of our beſt *Criticks* in *Engliſh* Hiſtory. He is called *Elegant*, *Learned* and *Faithful*. *Uſher* ſtiles him the *Chief of our Hiſtorians*.

Saxon Chronicle. The moſt noble Monument extant is the old SAXON CHRONICLE, or ANNALS. It begins from the Birth of our Saviour, and ends with *Stephen*'s Death in 1154. By the difference of the Style, and other infallible Marks, it is plain theſe *Annals* were compoſed at ſeveral Times. To the Year 731, they chiefly follow *Bede* as to Church-Affairs: But their Account of the Wars between the *Anglo-Saxons* and *Britons* is borrowed from no Writer that we know of, and therefore to them it is that we are indebted for the Relation of what paſſed in thoſe Days. *Aſſerius*'s Hiſtory of *Alfred* and the *Annals* correſpond in ſo many Things, that the one ſeems to be a Tranſlation of the other. In a Word, they have been the Foundation of all our Hiſtories to the *Norman Conqueſt*. They were publiſhed at *Oxford* in 1692, by Dr. *Gibſon*, the preſent Biſhop of *London*, who from all the *Manuſcripts* has made up the *Text* as entire and complete as poſſible, with an elegant and proper *Verſion*, void of affected Strains and unlucky Miſtakes which uſed to abound in Works of this Kind.



THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK VII.

The Reſtoration of the Saxon Line: *The Reigns of* HENRY II. *and* RICHARD I. *Containing the Space of Forty Five Years.*

5. *HENRY* II. *Sirnamed* PLANTAGENET.

1154. *Duke* Henry *comes to the Crown without Oppoſition.* Gervaſe. Brompt. R. Diceto.

THE *Engliſh* were too weary of the Civil Wars, that had ſo long afflicted the Kingdom, willingly to run the Hazard of ſeeing them renewed. Though the death of *Stephen* might have eaſily furniſhed an occaſion for freſh Commotions, they peaceably waited for the Duke of *Normandy*, who could not come into *England*, till ſix Weeks after he had received the News (1). During this interval, not a Man offered to diſpute his Title. Beſides, that Prince *William*, Son of the deceaſed King, was a Prince of little Merit, the late Proceedings of moſt of the Barons againſt the King his Father, kept them from adhering to the fortune of the young Prince, for fear of putting it in his power to be revenged. Moreover, *Henry* was not only powerful beyond Sea, but had alſo a great Party in the Kingdom, and the ſtrongeſt Places were in the hands of his Creatures. And therefore, ſuppoſing *William* had been willing to try to place himſelf on the Throne, he would have wanted the neceſſary Aſſiſtance to accompliſh his Deſign (2).

1155. *He is crowned.* Gervas.

Henry then was crowned (3) the next Day after his Arrival, purſuant to the Agreement made with *Stephen*, of which all the Barons of the Realm were Guarantees (4) It was with extreme Satisfaction, that the *Engliſh* beheld on the Throne, a Prince deſcended by his Mother from their ancient Kings, and who gave the Crown a brighter Luſtre than ever. He added to it, as ſo many new Gems, *Poictou*, *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Normandy*, of which he was in actual poſſeſſion. Mean time *England*, the moſt conſiderable Part of his Dominions, had endured ſuch violent ſhocks in the late Reign, that, in order to recover its ancient Splendor, ſome Reſt was entirely neceſſary. The moſt proper means to that end, was the putting it out of the power of the Factious to excite new Troubles. Accordingly *Henry* made That his chief buſineſs from the firſt hour of his Reign. He began with demoliſhing the great number of Caſtles that were fortified in *Stephen*'s Reign, and ſerved only for Sanctuaries to Robbers, and Diſturbers of the publick (5). The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* alone had ſix of the moſt conſiderable, which he forfeited for going out of the Kingdom without Leave. This firſt ſtep, which demonſtrated to the Barons the King's Reſolution to keep them in Obedience, was followed by another no leſs beneficial to the Kingdom; and that was, the ſending away the foreign Troops entertained by *Stephen*. Theſe Soldiers, known in the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians by the name of *Brabanſons*, and in *French* by that of *Routiers* or *Cotteraux*, were a mixture of People from ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, and particularly from *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*. As they profeſſed themſelves independent of any particular Prince, they ſerved indifferently whoever had a mind to employ them, provided they found their account in it. Not to be regularly paid they even conſidered as an Ad-

1155. Brompt.

He demoliſhes the Caſtles. Brompt. Gervaſe. Hoved. R. de Diceto. M. Paris.

He diſbands the foreign Troops. Gervas. Brompt. M. Paris. Hoved.

(1) When he received the News he was beſieging a Caſtle in *Normandy*; and, though perſuaded to do it, would not quit the Siege till he had reduced the Place. After that he came to *Barbfleet* (now *Barfleur*) where he waited above a Month for a good Wind. *Brompt.* p. 1043. *Gervas.* 1376. *R. Diceto*, p. 529. *M. Paris.* p. 92. He landed at *Hoſtrebam*. *Gervas* ibid.

(2) After his Landing, gathering together his Attendants that had been diſperſed by a Storm, he came to *Wincheſter*, where he received the Fealty of the great Men, who came to wait upon him there. *Gervas. Col.* 1376.

(3) By *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on the nineteenth of *December*, in the twenty third Year of his Age, at *Weſtminſter*. Some Hiſtorians ſay, he landed *December* the 7th, and was crowned the 19th. *R. Diceto.* p. 529. *M. Paris.* p. 92. *M. Weſt.* p. 246. But, according to *Gervaſe*, he landed the 8th, and was crowned the 17th. p. 1376. His Queen *Eleanor* was crowned with him. *Id.* p. 1377. *Roger*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was not at the Coronation. *Diceto.* ibid.

(4) He was choſen by all with common Conſent, and anointed King. *R. Diceto.* p. 529.

(5) He reſerved however a few, that had been built by peaceable Men, and kept them in his own hands, *Brompt.* 1043. *Hoved.* p. 421.

vantage,

From the Effigie on his Monument at Font-evraud in Anjou, where he was buried.

1155. vantage, becauſe they took occaſion from thence to plunder the Friends as well as Enemies of thoſe that entertained them. So that uſually the Aſſiſtance of theſe Troops became very burthenſome to the Princes themſelves for whom they fought, as the *Engliſh* had frequently experienced. *Henry*, willing to eaſe his people of this dead weight which had ſo long oppreſſed them, diſmiſſed all the Foreigners, without ſuffering ſo much as one to remain in the Country. *William* of *Ypres*, their General, did not ſtay to be order'd to depart; the cold Reception he met with at Court, having already convinced him, his Abſence would be very acceptable (1).

He recalls the Grants made by Stephen. Brompt. Mat. Paris.

Had the new King ſtopped here, he might have been juſtly ſuppoſed to have no other view but the Welfare and Tranquillity of the Kingdom. But he plainly diſcovered, he was ſwayed by more ſelf-intereſted Motives when, ſhortly after, he revoked all the Grants made by his Predeceſſor, and reſumed all the Lands, alienated from the Crown. The Poſſeſſors were extremely mortified, and loudly murmured, affirming, it was very unjuſt to deprive them of the Reward of their Services (2). Thoſe, eſpecially, that had ſided with the King and the Empreſs his Mother, were filled with indignation, to ſee themſelves thus confounded with *Stephen*'s Adherents. Theſe laſt, on the other hand, maintained, that in ſerving the King who was actually on the Throne, they had done the part of faithful Subjects, and in depriving them of their Eſtates, a Precedent was eſtabliſhed, which might one day be very prejudicial to the reigning King. There were ſeveral that even refuſed to comply; but upon the King's approach with an Army to compel them, they were unable to reſiſt. Only *Hugh Mortimer* preſumed to hold out one of his Caſtles, which coſt him the loſs of all his others (3).

M. Paris.

William Son of Stephen, diſpoſſeſſed like the reſt. G. Neub. Mat. Weſt.

William of *Blois*, Son of King *Stephen*, fared no better than the reſt. *Henry* deſpoiled him of whatever was given him by the King his Father (4), and of all his Lands, left him none but thoſe that belonged to his Family, before *Stephen*'s acceſſion to the Crown. And yet, he had an inconteſtable Title by the Agreement of the King his Father made with *Henry*. But of what force are Treaties againſt Breach of Faith ſupported with Power? Thus the Nobility, enriched by the Liberality of the late King, or of the Empreſs *Matilda*, were ſuddenly impoveriſhed by *Henry*'s Policy, who had frequent occaſions to remark, how arrogant their Riches had made them. *Henry* ſhowed alſo, that he acted from a principle of Revenge, in depriving the Barons of the new Creation, of the honorable Titles conferred on them by *Stephen*, on pretence they were beſtowed, as a recompence for favoring an Uſurper.

M. Paris.

He chuſes a Council.

After the King had taken all the Precautions he thought proper for reſtoring Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he choſe a Council, of the moſt eminent Perſons as well of the Clergy as the Nobility. *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Thomas Becket* Archdeacon of the ſame See, lately made Chancellor; *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Chief Juſticiary of the Realm, were the principal. At the head of the Cabinet-Council was *Matilda* his Mother, whom long Experience and her own Misfortunes had rendered wiſe at her coſt. Theſe two Councils being eſtabliſhed, *Henry* convened an Aſſembly-General or Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he cauſed the Barons to take the Oath to *William* and *Henry* (5) his Sons, the firſt of which died a few days after this Ceremony. Before the Aſſembly broke up, the King conſented that the Laws of *Edward* ſhould be in force, and, of his own accord, confirmed the Charter of *Henry* I, his Grandfather. Theſe firſt Proceedings of the new King gave great hopes to the honeſt and peaceable, whilſt they ſtruck the wicked and injurious with Terror, who found themſelves obliged either to abandon the Kingdom, or behave very differently from what they had hitherto done. They were very ſenſible, they had to deal with a Prince, who was fully reſolved to root out the Licentiouſneſs introduced in the late Reign.

The Barons ſwear Fealty to the King's Sons. Gervaſe. Hoved. p. 491.

Adrian IV. *Pope.* Hoved.

Pope *Anaſtaſius* dying this Year, *Adrian* IV, an *Engliſhman*, ſucceeded to the Papacy (6).

1156. *Henry goes into Normandy.* Hoved. Dicето.

As ſoon as *Henry* had ſettled his Affairs in *England*, he croſſed the Sea, to do Homage to the King of *France* for the Provinces he poſſeſſed in that Kingdom (7). Theſe Poſſeſſions rendered him the moſt powerful Vaſſal of the Crown of *France*, and almoſt equalled him to the Sovereign himſelf, whoſe *Demeſns* were inconſiderable, in compariſon of what they were afterwards. As the Dominions, *Henry* and his Succeſſors were poſſeſſed of in *France*, proved the occaſion of numberleſs Wars between the *French* and *Engliſh*; it will not be improper briefly to explain, wherein conſiſted at that time the Strength of the Kings of *France*. Hence we ſhall be able to form a juſt Idea of their Power, and ſee withal the wide Difference, in that reſpect, between the firſt Succeſſors of *Hugh Capet*, and thoſe who, in theſe latter days, have ſwayed the Scepter of that Kingdom. 1156.

Reflections on the Strength of the King of France.

When *Hugh Capet* uſurped the Crown upon the Houſe of *Charles the Great*, he thought the beſt way to fix himſelf on the Throne was to make the late Revolution turn to the advantage of the *French* Nobility. To engage them therefore to ſupport his Uſurpation, he granted the Provinces, of which they were only Governors, to them and their Heirs, by the Name of Fiefs. Theſe Grants he confirmed by authentick Charters, ſtipulating, that the Fiefs ſhould devolve to the Crown in default of Heirs. Moreover, he reſerved the Right of confiſcating them for Rebellion and other Crimes ſpecified in the Charters. By this immenſe Bounty, he filled *France* at once with great numbers of powerful Lords, or rather Princes; who holding their Lands by Hereditary Right, became ſo many Sovereigns. The Crown therefore had nothing left, but the Governments *Hugh Capet* was poſſeſſed of before he mounted the Throne. But theſe *Demeſns*, to which he added ſome vacant Governments, were very conſiderable, becauſe his Family was grown exceeding powerful upon the decline of the Houſe of *Charles the Great*. I am well aware, that all are not agreed *Hugh Capet* firſt changed the Governments into Fiefs; that ſome make this Alteration more remote; and others affirm it to ſpring from ſome of the firſt Kings of that Race. But, beſides that the Opinion I have followed, is the moſt probable, the difference of a few Years, more or leſs, is of no moment with regard to the General State of *France*, of which I mean to ſpeak.

Among theſe Fiefs, there were ſome diſtinguiſhed for their great Extent, which were ſtiled Peerdoms. Of this ſort there were ſix Eccleſiaſtical, and ſix Lay. But as the firſt have little Relation to the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, it will be needleſs to mention them (8). Of the ſix Lay-Peerdoms, three were Dukedoms, *viz. Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Guienne*; and three Earldoms, namely, *Flanders*, *Thouloufe*, and *Champagne*. Each of theſe ſix Peers had Vaſſals which held their Lands of him, in the ſame manner as he himſelf held his Peerdom of the Crown. For inſtance, the Duke of *Normandy* had for Vaſſal the Duke of *Bretagne*, by the Conceſſion of *Charles the Simple*, who annexed this Right to the Grant made to *Rollo*. Hence we may ſee, how naked the Crown of *France* was, and how inconſiderable its Revenues, in compariſon of what they were afterwards. To the Time of *Lewis* VII, ſirnamed *the Young*, who reigned in *France* when our *Henry* mounted the Throne of *England*, the Kings of *France* had not yet united any of theſe great Fiefs to their *Demeſns*. It is eaſy therefore to perceive, that the new King of *England*, who held the two moſt conſiderable Peerdoms, beſides many other Provinces, was poſſeſſed of as much, or more Lands in the Kingdom, than the King of *France* himſelf. But, notwithſtanding the narrow Extent of the *Demeſns* of the Crown, the King of *France* was a very potent Prince, by the Aids he received from his Vaſſals; Aids that were furniſhed ſometimes out of duty, and ſometimes voluntarily. When the Kingdom was engaged in a War, with the Advice and Conſent of the States, each Vaſſal was obliged to find a certain Number of Troops; and then it was, the Sovereign appeared at the head of a formidable Army. But when the King undertook a War of his own accord, or for his own private Intereſt, the Vaſſals were at liberty to ſupply or refuſe their Quota of Troops. Nay, they looked upon themſelves as privileged to take up Arms againſt him, in caſe of Oppreſſion, or even for a bare denial of Juſtice. Such being the nature of the *French* Conſtitution, it is no wonder, that in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom, we find their Kings marching one while with very inconſiderable Forces, and another while at the head of numerous Armies. Their main Strength conſiſted in the Aids

M. Zeraï.

(1) This Year *William Peverel* was diſinherited for poiſoning *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*: he turned Monk, to avoid the Puniſhment he juſtly deſerved. *R. Dicето*, p. 531. *Gervas.* 1377.

(2) *William* Earl of *Albemarle* very unwillingly reſigned to him his Caſtle of *Scarborough*. *Brompt.* p. 1046.

(3) Thoſe of *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Bridgnorth*, *Wigmore*, and *Cleoberi*, or *Colcburgh*. *R. Dicето*, p. 531. *M. Weſt.* p. 246. *Gervas.* p. 1378. *M. Paris.*

(4) The Caſtle of *Norwich*, &c. *Tyrrel*, p. 299.

(5) This Prince was born this Year, *Feb.* 28, in *London*. *M. Paris.* p. 94. *Gervaſe* ſays, it was in *March*, p. 1377.

(6) His Name was *Nicholas Break-ſpear*, ſaid to be the Son of a *Bondman*, belonging to the Abbey of St. *Albans*, where being refuſed to be made a Monk, he went beyond-Sea, and improved ſo in Learning, that the Pope made him Biſhop of *Alva*, and his Legate to *Germany*, and afterwards a Cardinal. *M. Weſtm.* ſays, he was deſcended of a noble Family, in the Territory of St. *Albans*, p. 246. He proved a ſtout and active Pope: Though he held the Chair but four Years, he put the City of *Rome* under an *Interdict*, for inſulting one of his Cardinals, and excommunicated *William* King of *Sicily*. *Brompt* p. 1047.

(7) *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, with all that belonged to them. *Hoved.* p. 491.

(8) They were the Archbiſhopricks of *Rheims*, *Laon*, and *Langres*, and the Biſhopricks of *Beauvois*, *Noyon*, and *Chalons*.

they

1156. they received from their Vaſſals. But matters were otherwiſe, when ſome of theſe large *Demeſns*, granted in Fee, came to be united to the Crown. Then by degrees they found means to aboliſh the Diſtinction between a neceſſary, and an unneceſſary War. Without regarding the approbation of the States, they obliged their Vaſſals to furniſh them with Aids at all times, confounding inceſſantly the private Views of the King, with the Intereſt of the Publick. They even made uſe of ſome of their Vaſſals to oppreſs the reſt. This, added to the Opportunities that offered of courſe, to unite ſeveral Provinces to the Crown for want of Heirs, ſo encreaſed their Strength, that they were able at length to keep Great Men in obedience; but it was by degrees, and after a long ſpace of time, that they arrived at this height of Power.

Henry *wages War with his Brother* Geoffrey. Gervas. Brompt.

The deſign to do Homage to the King of *France* was not the ſole motive of *Henry*'s croſſing the Sea. His chief aim was to recover *Anjou*, ſeized by his Brother *Geoffrey*, upon the following Claim. *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, Father of theſe two Princes, ordered by his laſt Will, that *Henry* his eldeſt Son ſhould inherit the Poſſeſſions of *Matilda* their Mother, which included *Normandy*, and her Right to *England*. To *Geoffrey* his ſecond Son, he left *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*; and to a third Son named *William*, gave only the Earldom of *Mortagne*. But, as it was unreaſonable the Empreſs his Wife ſhould be deprived of her Poſſeſſions during her Life, or *Henry* made to wait for her Death without any Inheritance; he added another Clauſe in his Will, namely, that *Henry* ſhould enjoy, till the Empreſs's Death, the three Earldoms aſſigned to *Geoffrey*, reſerving to this laſt the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, till his elder Brother ſhould reſign him the paternal Eſtate, when in poſſeſſion of *Normandy*. To ſecure the performance of this Will, the Earl cauſed his Barons ſolemnly to ſwear, never to ſuffer his Body to be buried, till his eldeſt Son had taken an Oath to execute his laſt Will. It was with great difficulty, *Henry* was perſuaded to take this Oath. He was of opinion, the Earl his Father egregiouſly wronged him, in depriving him of theſe three Earldoms, which, according to Cuſtom, ought to devolve to the eldeſt Son. However, rather than leave his Father's Body unburied, he ſwore to execute his Will. Some time after, his Mother *Matilda* reſigning *Normandy* to him, *Geoffrey* thought he might juſtly take poſſeſſion of *Anjou:* but, as was related before, *Henry* drove him out of that Province. As ſoon as his Brother was on the Throne of *England*, *Geoffrey* renewed his Pretenſions, and, whilſt the King was employed in his Iſland, once more took poſſeſſion of *Anjou*. The *Anjevins* eſpouſed his Cauſe, chuſing rather to have a private Earl, than be in dependance on the Crown of *England*. Beſides he was aſſiſted by the King of *France*, who was ever ready to leſſen *Henry*'s Power, whom he looked upon as a very formidable Neighbour. When the Earl of *Anjou* made his Will, there was little appearance of his eldeſt Son's ever mounting the Throne of *England*; for *Stephen*'s Affairs were in a proſperous Condition. For this reaſon he conſidered that Kingdom, only as a thing to which indeed his Son had a Right to aſpire, but from which he was very remote. It was not reaſonable therefore that *Henry*, whilſt he waited for the Empreſs's death, ſhould be deprived of his Father's Inheritance, and This was the ground of his Father's leaving him the three Earldoms during his Mother's Life. To conſider only the intent of this Will, it was manifeſt, that as ſoon as *Henry* was in poſſeſſion of *Normandy* and *England*, he ſhould have reſigned *Anjou* to *Geoffrey*, eſpecially as he had bound himſelf by Oath. But he affirmed, the Will was void, and his Father had not power to deprive the Firſt-born of the Patrimony received from his Anceſtors. His Oath therefore was the only thing that gave him any trouble. But he found means to free himſelf from that Scruple, by the Pope's Diſpenſation, which he very eaſily obtain'd. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf ſupported by this Authority, he immediately reſolved upon a War with his Brother, the proſecution of which was the chief motive of his leaving *England*. After doing Homage to the King of *France*, he marched towards *Poictou*, and took from his Brother the Cities of *Mirebel*, *Chinon*, and *Lodun*; then entring *Anjou*, notwithſtanding *Geoffrey*'s reſiſtance, he became maſter of all the fortified Places, and drove him out of the Country (1).

Brompt.

Henry *diſpoſſeſſes* Geoffrey *of* Anjou. R. Diceto. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The diſpoſſeſſed Prince would have been in a wretched Condition, had not fortune thrown in his way the Earldom of *Nantes*, the Inhabitants whereof voluntarily ſubmitted to him. As this Event had very remarkable Conſequences, it will not be improper to clear this matter a little. *Conan the Groſs*, Duke of *Bretagne*, had a Son named *Hoel*, and a Daughter called *Bertha*, married to *Eudo* Earl of *Pontievre* her Relation, by whom ſhe had a Son called *Conan*, from his Mother's Father. Some Suſpicions, well or ill-grounded, inducing *Conan the Groſs* to diſown and diſinherit his Son, *Eudo*, Husband of *Bertha*, got poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, after the death of his Father-in-law, notwithſtanding *Hoel*'s Efforts, who had only the City of *Nantes* from him. *Bertha*'s death, four Years after, was the occaſion of freſh Pretenſions. *Conan* her Son, ſirnamed *the Little*, pretending *Bretagne* was his Mother's Inheritance, to which *Eudo* his Father had no manner of Right, aſſumed the Title of Duke of *Bretagne*. *Eudo* on his ſide, reſolving to keep poſſeſſion of the Dukedom, there aroſe between the Father and Son a War which laſted many Years, and ended in the entire Defeat of *Eudo*, who was obliged to fly for Refuge to the Court of *France*. 1156.

Conan the Little was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, but he undertook to reduce to his Obedience the City of *Nantes*, which, ſince the Death of *Conan the Groſs*, made a ſeparate State under the Dominion of *Hoel*. When the Inhabitants of *Nantes* eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Hoel*, they did it from a motive of Juſtice, being perſuaded, the Duke his Father had wronged him very much in diſinheriting him. Afterwards, they found themſelves ſo deceived in the good Opinion they had entertained of him, that they expelled him, believing him incapable of defending them againſt *Conan*, who was preparing to attack them. From that time, *Hoel* is no more mentioned in Hiſtory. Mean while, the People of *Nantes*, not being able to reſolve to ſubmit to *Conan*, call in *Geoffrey*, Brother of the King of *England*, and own him for Sovereign. Thus *Geoffrey* became Earl of *Nantes* immediately after his Expulſion out of *Anjou*, but he did not long enjoy his new Earldom.

Geoffrey *made Earl of* Nantes. Brompt.

After *Henry* had reduced *Anjou*, he returned to *England*. Upon his arrival he made a very advantagious Treaty with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who reſigned to him *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Bamborough-Caſtle*, contenting himſelf with the Earldom of *Huntington*, which Prince *Henry* his Father had poſſeſs'd. This Reſtitution was doubtleſs very juſt, ſince *David*, Grandfather of *Malcolm*, cauſed them to be ſurrendered to him by Treaties, at a time when *Stephen* regarded his own Intereſt more than the publick Good. But in all appearance *Henry*'s great Power contributed more than any thing elſe to the King of *Scotland*'s Moderation (2).

Henry *recovers* Northumberland. M. Paris. Hoved Brompt. R. Diceto. Mat. Weſt.

1157. It is ſurprizing that the *Welſh*, when *Henry* was grown ſo formidable, ſhould cauſeleſly venture to attack him, and make Incurſions into his Frontiers. The Ravages they committed ſo provoked the King that he reſolved to be ſeverely revenged. To this end he drew together a powerful Army, and marched into *Wales*, where he put all to fire and ſword. Upon his approach the *Welſh* retired to their Mountains, where it was not poſſible to reach them, how much ſoever he endeavoured it. Nay, it happened one day, that his Van-guard running into a narrow Defile, were intirely routed. The Terror this Accident ſtruck into the reſt of the *Engliſh* Troops, was farther increaſed by the imprudent Conduct of *Henry de Eſſex*, Hereditary Standard-Bearer of *England*. Upon a Rumour which run through the Army that the King was ſlain, he threw down the Standard, and fled, crying out *the King is dead*. This Action, for which he was afterwards puniſhed (3), threw the *Engliſh* into ſo great Conſternation, that, had not the King ſhewn himſelf to them to revive their Courage, he would have run the hazard of loſing that day his whole Army. Notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, the *Welſh* thought themſelves very happy that the King, weary of ſo troubleſome a War, was pleaſed to grant them a Peace (4). By the Treaty he reſerved to himſelf the Liberty of cutting through their Woods large Roads, which might, whenever he had a mind, give him entrance into their Country. He cauſed them alſo to ſurrender certain Caſtles (5), taken by them during the Troubles of the late Reign (6).

War with the Welſh. M. Paris. Brompt. Gervas. R. Diceto. M. Paris.

1158. In the beginning of the next Year, *Henry*'s Family was encreaſed by the Birth of a ſecond Son (7), who was named *Richard*. A few days after he renewed the Ceremony of his Coronation in the Suburbs of *Lincoln* (8), not daring to do it within the Walls of the City. He ſhewed himſelf more ſuperſtitious in this point, or perhaps

The Birth of Prince Richard. Fr mot. Hoved.

(1) *Thomas Becket*, (made Chancellor in 1155. See *M. Paris*, and *Tyrrel*, p. 301.) was of great Service to King *Henry* in this War. *Gervas.* p. 1378.
(2) This Year was born *Maud*, the King's Daughter. *R. Diceto.* p. 531.
(3) He was ſhut up in the Monaſtery of *Reading*, and had his Eſtate confiſcated. *Brompt.* p. 1048. *R. Diceto.* p. 535. *M. Paris.* p. 99.
(4) He ordered a Fleet to be got ready, in order to invade them by Sea; whereupon they ſubmitted to him, *Brompt.* p. 1048.
(5) Next Year he repaired *Ruthlan* and *Baſingwerk* caſtles, and founded *Baſingwerk* Monaſtery. *Brompt.* ibid. *M. Paris.* p. 96.
(6) This Year alſo *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, came to King *Henry* at *Cheſter*, and did him Homage,——*Salvis omnibus dignitatibus ſuis.* The next Year they met at *Carliſle*, but parted not very good Friends. *Hoved.* p. 491.
(7) In *September*, at *Oxford*. *Brompt.* p. 1047. *M. Weſt.*
(8) At *Wickford*.

1158. more condeſcending to the prejudices of the People than his Predeceſſor *Stephen*.

1159. *Birth of Prince Geoffrey.* R. Diceto. M. Paris. M. Weſt. A year after, a third Son was born to the King, who was called *Geoffrey*. This ſame year he was crowned a third time at *Worceſter*, together with the Queen. Theſe ſuperfluous Coronations, very frequent in thoſe days, ſeem to be deſigned only to amuſe the People, and intimate to them, that the King really intended to keep the Oath which was taken on theſe occaſions. At this laſt ſolemnity, the King and Queen coming to the Oblation, laid their Crowns on the Altar, and vowed never to wear them more. From thenceforward the cuſtom of the Kings wearing their Crowns during the celebration of the great Feſtivals, was by degrees diſuſed; at leaſt we find but few inſtances in the following Reigns. About this time *Henry* ordered the Money to be new coined, the current Coin of the Kingdom being very much adulterated during the Reign of *Stephen* (1).

The King and Queen never wear their Crowns again. Hoved.

Chr. Nor. *New Money.* Hoved. R. Diceto. M. Paris.

The Death of Geoffrey the King's Brother. These peaceful employments not at all ſuiting the warlike temper of this Monarch, the death of his Brother *Geoffrey*, which happened ſoon after, gave him an opportunity of entering upon action. As ſoon as this Prince was laid in his grave, the Duke of *Bretagne* ſeized the City of *Nantz*, with the whole Earldom of that name (2). But *Henry* claimed it as heir to his Brother, and to proſecute his pretenſions, he paſſed into *Normandy*, with ſo conſiderable Forces, that it plainly appeared he would not be diſappointed. Whilſt he waited for the Seaſon's permitting him to enter upon his Expedition, he made a viſit to the King of *France*, with deſign to gain him to his ſide, or at leaſt prevail with him to ſtand neuter. He was very ſenſible, if *Lewis* interpoſed not in this affair, the Duke of *Bretagne* could not give him much trouble. Amidſt the Civilities he received from *Lewis*, he ſo artfully flattered him, that before they parted, a Marriage was concluded between *Henry*'s eldeſt Son, who was but five years of age, and *Margaret* the *French* King's Daughter, an Infant of five or ſix months old. Having thus ſecured *France*, he went and headed his Army, with a reſolution to take the City by force, if *Conan* refuſed to give him peaceable poſſeſſion. As *Conan* was by no means a match for the King of *England*, he was conſtrained to give way to his Power. But the conqueſt of *Nantz* was not the only benefit *Henry* reaped by this Expedition. Before he quitted *Bretagne*, he made a Treaty with *Conan*, whereby the Duke obliged himſelf to give his Daughter *Conſtance* in marriage to *Geoffrey*, *Henry*'s Son, who was yet in his Cradle. By this marriage, celebrated five years after, notwithſtanding the Bridegroom's Youth, *Geoffrey* became Duke of *Bretagne* upon the death of his Father-in-law.

Affairs of Bretagne. Brompton. Gervaſe. Diceto. M. Paris.

Marriage of Henry's eldeſt Son with Margaret of France. Diceto. Brompton. M. Paris. Argentré. l. 2. c. 15.

Henry's *Deſign upon Tholouſe.* M. Weſt. The large Dominions *Henry* poſſeſſed, and the Earldom of *Nantz* which he had lately acquired, with hopes of adding one day to it all *Bretagne*, were not ſufficient to content him. His Ambition ſtill increaſing as he made new Conqueſts, he undertook to revive his Queen's title to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*, which was of a very great extent. His late Alliance with *Lewis the Young*, made him hope that Monarch would give him as little diſturbance in *Languedoc* as in *Bretagne*, and leave him at liberty to extend his Frontiers on that ſide. But he was miſtaken in his conjectures. I ſhall firſt clear Queen *Eleanor*'s Title to *Tholouſe*, and then ſee what was the iſſue of that Expedition.

The Queen's Title to Tholouſe. Cat. Hiſt. des Comm. de Toul. Pol. Virg. Chr. Nor. Brompt. *William* IV, Earl of *Tholouſe*, cotemporary with the *Conqueror*, had but one Daughter called *Philippa*, married to *William* VIII, Earl of *Poictiers*, *Eleanor*'s Grandfather. By this marriage the Earldom of *Tholouſe* was to fall one day to the Houſe of *Poictiers*, which was alſo in poſſeſſion of *Guienne*. But *William*, Father of *Philippa*, imagined he could ſecure it in his own Family, by ſelling it to *Raymond* of St. *Giles* his younger Brother. This Sale, real or pretended, would have been but a weak means to deprive the Counteſs of *Poictiers* of her Father's Inheritance, if certain Accidents had not favoured *Raymond*, who continued in poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Tholouſe*, after his Brother's death. The deſign of the Earl of *Poictiers*, Husband to *Philippa*, of mortgaging his Demeſns to *William Rufus*, in order to equip himſelf for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, being fruſtrated by the death of *William*, he applied himſelf elſewhere; and at length raiſed the Money by mortgaging his Revenues for ſeveral years. His Expences on this occaſion, and his misfortune in loſing all his Equipage, conſtrained him to return home, where however he could expect no Supplies, by reaſon his Revenues were all mortgaged. *Raymond* of St. *Giles* embracing this juncture, offered him a conſiderable Sum, to renounce his Right to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*. As matters then ſtood with the Earl of *Poictiers*, he readily liſtened to this propoſal, and made an Agreement with *Raymond*. By this Agreement, *Raymond* kept poſſeſſion of the Earldom, which his Poſterity enjoyed after him, without any diſturbance from the Earl of *Poictiers*, or his Son *William* IX. After the death of this laſt, *Lewis the Young*, who married *Eleanor* his only Daughter and Heir, revived the pretenſions of the Houſe of *Poictiers* to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*. He maintained that the Sale made by Earl *William* to *Raymond* was a feigned thing. And ſecondly, that *Raymond* impoſed upon the eaſy nature of the Earl of *Poictiers*, and purchaſed his Right at too cheap a rate. Laſtly, That he had not even paid the whole of the covenanted Sum. From hence he inferred, that the bargain was void, and conſequently *Eleanor* ought to poſſeſs whatever *Philippa* her Grandmother was entitled to, repaying to the Earl of *Tholouſe* what the Earl of *Poictiers* had received. *Raymond* V, who was then Earl of *Tholouſe*, was extremely embarraſſed on the account of theſe pretenſions. In vain did he plead Preſcription which is ſometimes of ſervice in private Affairs. That was too weak a fence againſt a Prince, who was able to break through it by force of Arms. However, after a long Negotiation the Affair was ended, by a marriage between Earl *Raymond* and *Conſtance*, Siſter of *Lewis*, and Widow of *Euſtace*, Son of King *Stephen*. On account of this marriage *Lewis* dropped his pretenſions, and as long as he lived with *Eleanor*, the Earl of *Tholouſe* remained unmoleſted.

1159.

Eleanor's ſecond marriage created *Raymond* freſh diſturbances. *Henry*, who was poſſeſſed of the ſame Rights the King of *France* had relinquiſhed, laid claim to the Earldom of *Tholouſe* for the ſame reaſons *Lewis* had before urged. *Raymond* again pleaded the Sale made to his Grandfather; the Reſignation of the Houſe of *Poictiers*; beſides a long Poſſeſſion, which exceeded the time allowed by the Laws for a preſcription. Upon theſe grounds he reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of the Earldom. This was the ſtate of the caſe, which was to be decided by Arms. To execute his project the more eaſily, *Henry* made an Alliance with *Raymond* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, and ingaged the King of *Scotland* to lend him a powerful Aid (3). As ſoon as his Army was ready, he marched towards *Languedoc*, took *Cahors* in his way, and went and ſat down before *Tholouſe*.

Catel. Pol. Virg.

1160. *Lewis the Younger*, who could not behold *Henry*'s Greatneſs without jealouſy, had uſed ſuch expedition, that he had thrown himſelf into *Tholouſe* a few days before. The large extent of that City, and the *French* King's Succours, rendered the Siege ſo difficult, that *Henry* did not think himſelf able to accompliſh his Undertaking. Wherefore, he raiſed the Siege, and returned into his own Dominions. *Mezerai* ſays, he might eaſily have taken the City, if he had not made a conſcience of beſieging his Sovereign. But one can hardly believe this to be the real motive of his retreat, ſince on other occaſions he did not ſeem to have ſo great a regard for the King of *France*. Be this as it will, he marched back to *Normandy*, leaving the cuſtody of *Cahors* to *Thomas Becket* his Chancellor. In his return, he went into *le Beauvoiſis*, where he committed great Ravages, in revenge of the King of *France*'s breaking his meaſures. At the ſame time, *Simon*, Earl of *Montfort*, delivered to him his Caſtles in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, by means of which the communication with *Orleans* was entirely cut off. The advantage theſe Caſtles gave him, forced *Lewis* to ſend Propoſals for a ceſſation of Arms, which was agreed upon for a year. During the Truce, the two Monarchs concluded a Peace, which confirmed the Treaty made at *Paris*, without any mention of *Tholouſe*. So that *Henry* preſerved, during his life, his pretenſions to that Peerdom, and by his death left them to his Succeſſor, who thought fit to reſign them.

1160. 1161. 1162. Henry *beſieges* Tholouſe. Gervas. Mezerai. Brompt. Hoved. R. Diceto. Fitz. Step. *Peace between* Henry *and* Lewis. Brompt. Hoved.

William Earl of *Blois*, Son of King *Stephen*, died in his return from the *Tholouſe* Expedition, where he had attended the King.

Diceto. Hoved.

Pope *Adrian* dying in 1159, the election of a new Pope occaſioned a Schiſm, which long divided Chriſtendom. The majority of the Cardinals elected *Roland* a Native of *Siena*, who took the name of *Alexander* III. The reſt choſe Cardinal *Octavian*, who ſtiled himſelf *Victor* V. Almoſt all the Chriſtian Princes owned *Alexander* for Pope. But the *Germans* eſpouſed the cauſe of *Victor*, who finding himſelf ſupported by the Emperor *Barbaroſſa*, drove his Rival out of *Rome*, and forced him to ſeek for ſhelter in *France*.

Death of Adrian IV. *Schiſm.* M. Paris. Hoveden. Brompt. Gervas.

(1) See note on the Coin, at the end of this Reign, *&c.*

(2) Whereupon *Henry* deprived him of the Earldom of *Richmond*, of which he was poſſeſſed in *England*. *Brompt.* p. 1049.

(3) He was accompanied, beſides, with one of the Kings of *Wales*, and all the Earls and Barons of *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Gaſcogne*, &c. For the Charge of this War, he raiſed a Scutage, which amounted to one hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds. At this Siege died *Hamo*, Son of the Earl of *Glocester*. *Gervas.* p. 1381.

1162. The laſt Peace between the Kings of *France* aud *England* was only, as hath been ſaid, a confirmation of the Treaty of *Paris*; wherein a marriage between *Henry*'s eldeſt Son and *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis*, was agreed upon. The Princeſs was to have for her Dower the City of *Giſors*, and part of the *Vexin*, which, for that purpoſe, were to remain in the cuſtody of the Knights Templars (1), till the marriage was ſolemnized. Purſuant to this Treaty, Chancellor *Becket* was ſent to *Paris*, with a magnificent retinue, to demand the young Princeſs, who was to be educated in *England* till ſhe became marriageable.

Chr. Nor. Hoved.

Brompt.

Marriage of the young Prince. Hoved. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Shortly after her arrival at *London* (2), *Henry* ordered the Nuptials to be celebrated, though the Bridegroom was but ſeven, and the Bride but three years old. Upon which the Knights Templars, thinking he had ſufficiently performed his Promiſe, put him in poſſeſſion of *Giſors*. This precipitation occaſioned the renewal of the War between the two Kings. *Lewis* complained that the King of *England* had bribed the Grand Maſter of the *Temple*. *Henry* maintained, that, having performed his part of the Treaty, he had not injured the King of *France* in taking poſſeſſion of *Giſors*. This war, which laſted but a very little while, was ended by the mediation of *Alexander* III, lately arrived in *France*. His Legates, who were ſent before, preparing the way for an Accommodation, the two Kings went together to receive the Pope at *Torcy* upon the *Loire*. When they came near him, they both alighted, and, each taking hold of a rein of his Bridle, conducted him to the Lodgings prepared for him.

A War between Lewis *and* Henry. Hoved.

Treaty of Peace. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The Pope [illegible] *ſaid the Pope by the two Kings.*

Uncertainty of the Dates of the foregoing Events.

All theſe events, namely, the Conqueſt of *Nantz*, the Siege of *Thouloufe*, the marriage of Prince *Henry*, and the war with *France*, paſſed between the Years 1159 and 1163. I have ſuſpended my judgment upon the particular Dates of each, by reaſon of the diverſity among Hiſtorians on that head. Upon this account perhaps it is, that a famous Modern has compriſed all theſe particulars within the compaſs of eight or nine Lines.

Echard.

1163. *The flouriſhing Condition of* Henry,

After ſettling the Affairs which detained him in *France* four years, *Henry* returned into *England* in 1163. His preſent condition gave him room to hope nothing could diſturb his Happineſs. He had juſt made a Peace with *France*, which probably would be laſting. The *Welſh* remained quiet in their own Country. The King of *Scotland* had given a ſenſible proof of his deſire to live in Peace, by reſtoring all the Places that might have occaſioned a War. On the other hand, *England* was in a profound tranquillity, the *Normans* and *Engliſh* being equally ſatisfied with their Sovereign. In this ſo quiet a ſituation, *Henry* thought he might congratulate himſelf upon his happineſs, when on a ſudden the pride and obſtinacy of one of his Subjects raiſed a ſtorm, the allaying of which coſt him a thouſand vexations, with the loſs of his Honour: I mean *Thomas Becket*. He was ſon of a Citizen of *London* (3) by a *Syrian* Woman (4), and ſpent his youth in the ſtudy of the Law. He grew ſo famous at the Bar, that he was taken from thence, and made Archdeacon of *Canterbury* (5). In the beginning of this reign he had certain Affairs to manage at Court, which gave him opportunity of making himſelf known to the King, and gaining his eſteem and good-will. *Henry* conceiving a great opinion of his merit, quickly gave him a ſenſible mark of his Eſteem, by conferring on him the dignity of High-Chancellor (6). In the diſcharge of this eminent Office, *Becket* behaved to all the World with ſo much pride and haughtineſs, as rendered him extremely troubleſome to his Equals, and inſupportable to his Inferiors. Above all things, he was a lover of Pageantry and Show (7). He is ſaid in the War of *Tholouſe*, where he attended the King, to maintain at his own expence ſeven hundred Knights, and twelve hundred Foot. But if he was haughty to all others, he was not ſo with regard to the King. Upon all occaſions he ſhewed himſelf ſo entirely devoted to his Will, that the King conſidered him as one always ready to ſacrifice every thing to his ſervice. Whilſt he was thus prepoſſeſſed in his favour, he received the news, in *Normandy*, of the death of *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This appearing to him a favourable juncture to execute certain premeditated deſigns, he reſolved to procure the Archbiſhoprick for *Becket*, as a Perſon who might be very ſerviceable to him. How little Inclination ſoever the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s had for *Becket*, whom they thought too much a Courtier, the King's Recommendation was ſo urgent in his behalf, that he was elected and conſecrated a little before that Prince's return (8). As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf fixed in that high ſtation, he ſent the Great Seal to his Benefactor, who little expected it; and ſuddenly altering his manner of living, he wore a Monk's Habit with Sackcloth next his skin, and kept only a few Domeſtick Servants cloathed very plain. By theſe and ſeveral other things of the like nature, he ſhewed, that he was reſolved thoroughly to reform his Life, or had ſome great deſign in his head. It was ſome time before his intentions could be diſcovered, till at length it was perceived, that on all occaſions he was aſpiring to an independent Power.

Fitz. Steph. p. 8.

Hoved. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

and Archbiſhop.

1163.

Made High-Chancellor, Gervas. Brompt.

disturbed by Becket.

An account of him. Brompt. M. Paris.

Sends the Great Seal to the King, and alters his way of Living. M. Weſt. Gervas. M. Paris.

I have already remarked in ſeveral places, how much the Power of the Clergy was increaſed to the prejudice of the Royal Authority. *Henry*, who had ſeen very bad Effects of it in the Reign of *Stephen*, reſolved at his acceſſion to the Crown to endeavour to reduce this exorbitant Power within due bounds. For that purpoſe, he began with the Nobility, that their Union with the Clergy might the leſs obſtruct his deſigns. The Affairs which employed him ſome years in *France*, prevented him from immediately ſetting about this Work. But as ſoon as he was clear of theſe Hindrances, he reſolved to loſe no time, and begin it the moment he returned to *England*. This was the cauſe of his ſo earneſtly recommending *Becket* to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, becauſe he expected a greater Compliance from him than any other. The buſineſs in hand was the reforming ſeveral Abuſes very detrimental to the State, but advantagious to the Clergy, and conſequently very difficult to be remedied, unleſs the Biſhops themſelves lent their aſſiſtance. There was need therefore of great Addreſs, and of acting in concert with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in ſo nice an affair. To that end, it was neceſſary to fill the See with a Perſon on whom he could depend, and none ſeemed ſo proper as *Becket*, whom he had loaded with Favours. The Archbiſhop's returning the Great Seal, made the King imagine he was miſtaken in his conjectures. Perhaps his vexation at this Proceeding cauſed him not to humour the pride of this Prelate, to whom he could not forbear, at his arrival in *England*, to ſhow ſome Coldneſs. In all likelihood, *Becket* had been acquainted with the King's Deſigns whilſt Chancellor, and was then diſpoſed to approve them; but, after his promotion to the Archbiſhoprick, had taken a contrary reſolution. Notwithſtanding his Obligations to the King, he was determined to croſs him in the execution of his Projects. He flattered himſelf with gaining immortal glory in a vigorous defence of the Cauſe of the Clergy, which was affectedly called the *Cauſe of God*.

The Reaſon of the King's promoting Becket.

Gervas.

Becket reſolves to oppoſe the King.

One of the greateſt Grievances to be redreſſed, was the remiſsneſs in puniſhing Prieſts convicted of any Crime. The Clergy having by degrees acquired an abſolute Power over all that belonged to their Body, when a Clergyman was accuſed, the matter was tried in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, from whence lay no appeal; but the Trials were formed with ſuch indulgence to thoſe the Court could not but condemn, that the moſt enormous Crimes were puniſh'd only with Degradation, and others with a ſhort Suſpenſion, or eaſy Confinement. The Laity could not, without extreme concern, ſee themſelves ſubject to the utmoſt rigour of the Laws for Offences, which rendered Clergymen liable only to ſome very ſlight Corrections, and loudly complained of it. On the other hand, the Clergy, ſure of impunity, daily committed upon the Laity Outrages which they durſt not repel, for fear of incurring a Puniſhment. This Abuſe, which was already carried too far, increaſed every day. It was proved in the preſence of the King, that ſince his acceſſion to the Crown, above a hundred Murders were committed in the Kingdom by the Eccleſiaſticks, of whom not one was puniſh'd ſo much as with Degradation, which was the uſual penalty enjoined in the like caſes, by the Canons. What was ſtill more aſtoniſhing, the Biſhops gloried in this their indulgence: They were of opinion they could not give ſurer marks of their Zeal for Religion and the Service of God, than by maintaining, to the utmoſt of their power, theſe pretended Immunities of the Clergy, and conſequently all the Abuſes that ſprung from thence.

An Abuſe the King proposed to redreſs. Brompt. Hoved.

Brompt.

(1) The *Order* of the *Knights Templars*, inſtituted by *Gelaſius* in 1119, had the Name from dwelling in a part of the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*, aſſigned them by King *Baldwin*. They were but nine at firſt, and their Buſineſs was to lead in their Armour, Chriſtian Strangers and Pilgrims through the *Holy-Land*. They increaſed ſo at length that they had great Eſtates in all Parts of *Chriſtendom*; and growing too potent they were ſuppreſſed by *Clement* V, 1300, and by the Council of *Vienna* 1312. The *Maſter of the Temple* here in *England*, was ſummoned to Parliament; from whom the Miniſter of the *Temple-Church* has his Name.

(2) *Brompton* ſays, that it was not till ſome Years after,——*Aliquot annis elapſis*, p. 1050.

(3) *Gilbert Becket*. He lived where St. *Thomas's Hoſpital* ſtands. *Brompt.* p. 1052, 1054.

(4) Her Name was *Matildis*, ſaid to be Daughter of a *Saracen*, who had taken *Gilbert* Sheriff of *London*, *Becket*'s Father, Priſoner, when he went in Pilgrimage to the *Holy-Land*. *Brompt.* p. 1052. *&c.*

(5) The firſt Preferment he had was the Living of *Bradfield*, to which he was preſented by the Abbey of St. *Albans*. *M. Weſtm.* p. 247.

(6) Upon the Recommendation of *Theobald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Gervas.* p. 1377. *Brompt.* p. 1057. *Hoved.* p. 491.

(7) He had Silver Bits in his Horſes Bridles, and exceeded any Earl in his Expences. *Brompt.* p. 1058.

(8) After the See had been vacant one Year, one Month, and fourteen Days.

Things

1163. *The first Occasion of the Quarrel between the King and Becket.*

Things standing thus, it happened, a little after the King's return, that a Clergyman of the Dioceſe of *Sarum* (1) committed a murder. The matter being brought to the Archbiſhop's Court, it was decreed, the Murtherer, as a puniſhment for his Crime, ſhould be deprived of his Benefice, and confined to a Monaſtery (2). The King being informed of this ſentence, very warmly expoſtulated with the Archbiſhop (3), for puniſhing ſo ſlightly a Crime which was Death by the Laws of the Land. *Becket* received this expoſtulation as if it had been entirely groundleſs, and boldly aſſerted the immunities of the Church, and Privileges of the Clergy. He affirmed, an Eccleſiaſtick ought not to be put to death for any Crime whatever. *Henry* replied, that being appointed by God to adminiſter Juſtice to all his Subjects, without diſtinction, he did not underſtand why theſe intended Immunities ſhould ſcreen Malefactors of what Order ſoever, from the puniſhments they deſerved: That it was improbable God ſhould take pleaſure in authorizing Offences in his Miniſters, who rather ought to be puniſhed more ſeverely than Laymen. Then, he declared, that ſince the Eccleſiaſtical Court was ſo favourable to Clergymen, his intent was, that heinous Offences, ſuch as Murder, Robbery, and the like, ſhould be tried in his Courts. *Becket* made anſwer, he would never allow that the Clergy ſhould be tried any where but in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, where care ſhould be taken to puniſh them according to the Canons. That if they were condemned to be degraded, and afterwards committed other Crimes, the King's Judges might puniſh them as they thought fit; but it was unjuſt to puniſh them twice for the ſame Offence. This Diſpute being carried on with great warmth, the King and the Archbiſhop parted extremely diſſatisfied with one another. Nay, *Becket* had ſo little regard for the King, that, without conſidering the Paſſion he had put him into, he took this occaſion to upbraid him for unjuſtly depriving him of the cuſtody of the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, and thereby notoriouſly violating the Privileges of the See of *Canterbury* (4). To theſe occaſions of Complaint, which he then gave the King, he quickly added two others. He ſummoned the Earl of *Clare* to do him Homage for the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, which he pretended was a Fief of the Archbiſhoprick, without vouchſafing to acquaint the King with his pretenſions. The Earl anſwered, he held his Caſtle of the King by Knight's Service, which had no relation to the Archbiſhoprick (5). If we may judge by *Becket*'s temper, his Claim to the Caſtle muſt have been very doubtful, ſince he let the affair drop without puſhing it any farther. This attempt failing, he took occaſion to extend his Juriſdiction, by collating one *Lawrence* a Prieſt to the Rectory of *Ainesford*, without regarding the Patron's right of Preſentation. But the Patron, who was a Baron of the Realm, being unwilling to loſe his right, hindered *Lawrence* from taking poſſeſſion of the Benefice. The Archbiſhop looking upon this as an heinous offence, excommunicated the Patron, who applied to the King. As matters then ſtood with *Henry*, he was extremely provoked at the little regard ſhown him by the Archbiſhop. For, ſince *William the Conqueror*, it had been the Prerogative Royal, that no Tenant in *Capite* ſhould be excommunicated without the King's knowledge. But this was the very thing *Becket* deſigned to diſpute. And perhaps he had made this Step purely to have occaſion to move the Queſtion.

The King would have the Clergy tried in the Civil Courts. Diceto. M. Paris.

Becket oppoſes it.

Hoved.

Another Reaſon of their Conteſt.

Gervaſe.

R. Diceto.

Henry was extremely mortified to find himſelf ſo far from the execution of his Project. He was incenſed to the laſt degree againſt *Becket*, who ſeemed to make it his buſineſs to croſs him upon all occaſions, and diſpute even his very Prerogatives. And therefore he reſolved to take new meaſures to accompliſh his deſign. He was ſenſible, it would be in vain to expect any compliance from the Clergy, as long as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſo plainly oppoſed him. However, not to be too haſty, he was willing firſt to try gentle methods. He cauſed the Archbiſhop to be put in mind of the many Favours received from his Sovereign, and the miſchiefs his Obſtinacy was probably going to bring on the Church and Kingdom. But theſe Remonſtrances proving ineffectual, he found himſelf obliged to contrive means to execute, in ſpite of the Archbiſhop, what he had reſolved to accompliſh with his help. So far was *Becket*'s Oppoſition from cauſing him to alter his mind, that it made him the more eager to reduce the Power of the Clergy within its juſt bounds. To that purpoſe, he aſſembled the principal Lords of the Kingdom, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to conſider of methods to redreſs the Grievances introduced into the State. When they were met, he complained of the proceedings of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and endeavoured to make them ſenſible, that if care was not taken to curb that haughty and enterpriſing Prelate, he would at length uſurp all the Prerogatives of the Crown, under vain pretences of Religion. He added, that the Steps already taken by the Archbiſhop, were plain indications of his Deſigns, which could not be too ſpeedily prevented. The majority of the Temporal Lords, among whom were few but what were offended at *Becket*'s haughtineſs, rejoiced at this Occaſion to humble him. Beſides, they deſired nothing more, than to have it in their power to clip the wings of the Clergy, who miſſed no opportunity to ſoar above the reſt of the Nation. The King perceiving them thus diſpoſed, moved a Regulation, which he aſſured them was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of good Order and Tranquillity in the Kingdom. This Regulation conſiſted of five Articles, called by the King the Cuſtoms of *Henry* I. his Grandfather (6), becauſe they were obſerved in the Reign of that Prince. The I. was, that none ſhould appeal to *Rome* without the King's leave. II. That no Archbiſhop or Biſhop ſhould go to *Rome*, upon the Pope's ſummons, without the King's licenſe. III. That no Tenant in chief, or any other of the King's Officers, ſhould be excommunicated, or his Lands put under an interdict, without the King's Conſent. IV. That all Clergymen charged with capital Crimes ſhould be tried in the King's Courts. V. That the Laity, whether the King or others, ſhould hold Pleas of Churches and Tithes and the like (7). Theſe Articles were approved of without any difficulty by the Temporal Lords; but the Biſhops and Abbots refuſed to ſubſcribe them, unleſs this Clauſe, which rendered them of no effect, was added, *Saving the Rights and Privileges of the Clergy and Church* (8). The King provoked at their refuſal, ſuddenly quitted the Aſſembly, and went to *Woodſtock*, after having however given the chief among the Clergy to underſtand, he would take effectual meaſures to ſet bounds to their Pride (9). The Prelates were ſo terrified at this Threat, that before they broke up, they reſolved to ſend Deputies to the King to beg his Pardon, and aſſure him they were ready to comply with his will. *Becket* long oppoſed this reſolution, but at laſt preſſed by his Brethren, yielded to their Importunity, and conſented the Articles ſhould be admitted without the Saving Clauſe. All his Party following his example, a Deputation was made (10), with which the King ſeemed highly ſatisfied, and the more, becauſe it was done with unanimous conſent. Nevertheleſs, fearing *Becket* might fly from what he had done, on pretence this Convention was not ſufficiently authorized to enact Laws of this kind, he reſolved to have them ratified by an Aſſembly-General, or Parliament. To this end he called a Parliament at *Clarendon* (11), and propounded the ſame Articles that were ſubſcribed by the former Aſſembly. All the Lay-Lords ratifying them, the Prelates durſt not openly oppoſe it. But when they came to ſign, *Becket* and his Party ſcrupled it (12); and it was not without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to comply (13) at the inſtances of the other Biſhops (14).

1163.

He convenes the Lords, and complains of Becket.

He propoſes five Articles to be enacted into a Law. M. Paris. Gervaſ.

The Biſhops try to inſert a Clauſe to render them of no effect.

The King threatens them.

They ſubmit. Gervaſe. Hoved.

Doceto. Fitz-Steph. Newb. *Parliament at* Clarendon. Gervas. R. Diceto. Hoved. M. Weſt.

Henry *ſets about reducing the Power of the Clergy within due Bounds.*

How unwillingly ſoever the Archbiſhop ſubſcribed the Articles (15), the King was highly pleaſed with it. He did not queſtion in the leaſt but the Pope would conſent to Laws deemed neceſſary by the Biſhops themſelves. In this belief, he reſolved to have them confirmed by a *Bull*,

The Pope condemns the Articles. Hoved.

(1) *Philip de Broc*, Canon of *Bedford*. *M. Paris*. p. 102.

(2) He was baniſhed, ſays *M. Paris*. ibid.

(3) Who was convened at *Weſtminſter* for that purpoſe, with the reſt of the Biſhops. *Gervas*. p. 1384.

(4) He alſo demanded *Saltwood* and *Hetbe*, as belonging to his See; and the Lands of *William de Roſs*. *Gervas*. p. 1384.

(5) Theſe laſt Words are erroneouſly added by *Rapin*. For moſt certainly the Archbiſhop had many Knight's-Fees, and conſequently they were held by Knight's Service. The Earl only alledged he held the Caſtle of the King, and not of the Archbiſhop.

(6) *M. Paris* calls them a Renewal of ſome Part of the Cuſtoms and Liberties of King *Henry*'s Predeceſſors; namely, of his Grandfather *Henry* I. and others. *M. Paris*. p. 100.

(7) Theſe Articles are obſcurely tranſlated by *Rapin* out of *Echard*, and therefore are not rendered here literally. Both *Echard* and *Rapin* are miſtaken, in ſaying they were the ſame with the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*.

(8) Salvo ordine ſuo,——& bonâ fide. *Gervas*. p. 1385. Salvo in omnibus ordine ſuo, & honore Dei, & Sanctæ Eccleſiæ. *Hoved*. p. 492.

(9) Pope *Alexander*, and the College of Cardinals, ſent a Legate, to order *Becket* to make Peace with the King, and to promiſe him to obſerve his Laws without any exception. *Hoveden*. p. 493.

(10) *Becket* himſelf waited upon the King at *Woodſtock*. *Hoveden*. ibid.

(11) *January* 25. *R. Diceto*. p. 536.

(12) He ſwore he would never ſign, nor put his Seal to them. He had before accepted them. *Hoved*. p. 793.

(13) The Perſons that prevailed upon him, were: The Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Norwich*; *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*; *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwal*; and two Templars, *Richard de Haſtings*, and *Toſtes de St. Omer*. *Hoved*. 493.

(14) The Laws made in this Aſſembly are called the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*, and are well worth peruſing, becauſe they contain the chief *Prerogatives* and *Privileges* that were claimed as well by the King as the Clergy. They are divided into ſixteen Articles, of which ten were voided by the Pope. The Reader may find them in *Gervaſe*'s Chronicle, and in *Matthew Paris*, from whence they are tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Tyrrel*, Vol. II. B. 5. and in *Collier* Eccl. Hiſt. p. 351.

(15) He did not ſubſcribe them, but only promiſed to do it; or at moſt aſſented to them. See *Gervas*, p. 1386, 1388. *Hoved*. p. 493, *&c.*

in

1163. in order to take from the Prelates all pretence of recanting; but upon ſeeing the Articles, the Pope not only refuſed to give them the ſanction of his Authority, but even condemned them as very prejudicial to the Church, and deſtructive of her Privileges. Shortly after, *Becket* openly declared, he repented of ſigning the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, and thought himſelf guilty of ſo enormous a Crime, that he could hope for Pardon only from the Pope's mercy. Accordingly he ſuſpended himſelf (1), as unworthy to perform the Archiepiſcopal Functions, till the Pope (2) ſhould be pleaſed to abſolve him. The Pope's Abſolution being readily obtained, he reſumed his Functions, upon the Pope's Aſſurances he ſhould be ſupported. Mean while, *Alexander*, who was ſtill in *France*, willing to make *Henry* believe he intended to keep fair with him, ſent the Archbiſhop of *Roan* with propoſals of Accommodation; but as he had nothing poſitive to offer, and the King would not hearken to any propoſals, unleſs the Pope would confirm the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, there was no poſſibility of an Agreement.

Becket repents of his ſigning. Gervas. Hoved. M. Paris.

Hoved.

When the King found the Archbiſhop, proud of the Pope's protection, daily grew more obſtinate, he ſought means to humble him. To this end, he involved him in Troubles, which indeed gave him great vexation, but were incapable of cauſing him to deſiſt from his pretenſions (3). Among ſeveral Actions that were entered againſt him, there were two of moment. The firſt related to a certain Manor which he was poſſeſſed of, and which [*John* the King's Marſhal] pretended was unjuſtly detained from him. The Archbiſhop ſtanding a tryal, was caſt and condemned in a Fine of five hundred Pounds. This Sentence convinced him, that a reſolution was taken to plague him all manner of ways, and that he ſhould loſe all the Suits commenced againſt him. In this belief he reſolved not to plead, chuſing rather to be condemned for Non-appearance, than by a peremptory Decree. The King ſeemed hitherto not to intend to make him feel the whole weight of his reſentment; but ſoon after it appeared his deſign was to cruſh him. To this purpoſe he ordered him to be accuſed (4) of two capital crimes: The firſt was, for converting to his own uſe the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, of which he had the cuſtody whilſt he was Chancellor (5). In the ſecond, he was charged with imbezzeling thirty thouſand Pounds Sterling of the King's money. Inſtead of clearing himſelf from theſe Accuſations, he anſwered, That when he was made Archbiſhop, Prince *Henry*, the King's Son, and the Juſticiary (6) had acquitted him of all accounts. Adding, that ſuppoſing he had not been acquitted, he was not bound to anſwer before Laymen, ſince he was inveſted with the firſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignity in the Kingdom. The former part of his Anſwer was certainly to his diſadvantage, ſince the Prince, from whom he had his Acquittance, was but ſeven or eight Years old, though he had the Title of *Guardian of the Realm*, in the abſence of the King his Father. Beſides, one would think, a Perſon of his character ſhould have been always ready to render an account of his Adminiſtration, with regard both to the Profits of the vacant Benefices, and the King's Treaſure; though from an Exceſs of Complaiſance thoſe that governed had diſpenſed with it. As for the latter part of his Anſwer, he himſelf had cut off that plea, by ſigning the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*. But to this he replied, That the Pope having condemned theſe Conſtitutions, his Sentence was of more force than all the Laws of the Land. How proper ſoever this reply might be to gain the Pope's Favour, it could be of no uſe to him in the King's Court, where Judgment was to be given purſuant to the ſame Conſtitutions paſſed into a Law. He was therefore deemed not only as contumacious, but moreover as a Rebel againſt the authority of the Laws. All poſſible endeavours were uſed, to perſuade him to own the Juriſdiction of the Court, but there was no obtaining that of him. He even refuſed to wait on the King (7), who ſent for him (8) to try, whether, by diſcourſing with him in Perſon, he could bring him to ſome Temper (9).

The King proſecutes Becket.

Gervas. R. Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris.

Becket refuſes to plead.

Diceto. Hoved.

He refuſes to go to the King.

This Refuſal furniſhed the King with a freſh pretence to accuſe him; firſt, for flying from Juſtice on frivolous Excuſes; ſecondly, for diſobedience to the King. Upon theſe Charges, to which he would not plead, all his moveable Goods were confiſcated. How ſevere ſoever this Sentence might be, the King was not ſatisfied. As he obſerved the accuſation was ſo formed as not to reach *Becket*'s Perſon, he ordered him to be accuſed of Perjury and Treaſon, for violating the oath taken to his Sovereign, and refuſing to pay the obedience due to him. The Archbiſhop was then thoroughly ſatisfied, the King was bent upon his ruin: But this belief, inſtead of inducing him to ſubmit, ſerved only to confirm him in his obſtinacy. Perhaps his proud and wilful Spirit would not ſuffer him to bend; or rather, he was reſolved to render himſelf famous, by a Firmneſs, which, in his opinion, ought to rank him among the moſt renowned Confeſſors in the Church. When it was found, there was no poſſibility of conquering him, the Court declared him guilty of Perjury; and the Biſhops in particular ſent him word, they conſidered him not as their Primate, neither would they hold communion with him any longer. All this not moving him in the leaſt, he looked upon the Sentence paſſed upon him as void, and continued his Functions, regardleſs of the King's diſpleaſure.

1163. *He is charged with two freſh Crimes. His Goods are confiſcated. Charged with Perjury and Treaſon.* Gervas.

The Court declares him perjured. Gervas.

The Court of Peers ſeem to have avoided giving ſentence on the charge of Treaſon, which would have been Death, on purpoſe to leave him room to come off by ſubmitting to the King. But finding he was ſtill the ſame, the Court met once more to think of means to ſubdue his perverſeneſs. As ſoon as he was informed, the Barons were aſſembled in the preſence of the King, he went to Church, and ordered theſe Words of the ſecond *Pſalm* to be ſung; *The Rulers take Counſel together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed* (10). Then taking his Croſs in his hand, he entered the Room where the King and the Lords were, without being ſent to, or asking leave, tho', ſince the Sentence paſſed upon him, he had no right to be there. The Archbiſhop of *York* ſeeing him enter in that poſture, ſeverely reprimanded him (11). He told him, that coming into the Royal Preſence in that manner was bidding defiance to the King; and bid him conſider, his Sovereign's weapon was ſharper than his. *Becket* replied, *It was true, the King's Weapon could kill the Body, but his deſtroyed the Soul and ſent it to Hell.* This Anſwer, which ſeemed to threaten the King with Excommunication, ſo provoked that Monarch, that he ordered the Lords to paſs Sentence immediately on the new Crime *Becket* had juſt incurred. The Court, after a long debate, declared, he deſerved to be committed to Priſon and puniſhed according to Law, for inſulting the King, and coming into the Aſſembly in ſuch manner as might raiſe a Sedition among the People. This being reſolved, the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Cornwall* were ſent to ſummon him to appear and hear his Sentence; but he refuſed to come, declaring the Peers had no Authority to judge him, and that he appealed to the Pope. The two Earls repreſenting to him, that by refuſing to ſubmit to the Laws of the Realm, he incurred the Guilt of Treaſon; he replied, That were it not for the reſtraints of his Character, he would vindicate himſelf in ſingle Combat againſt thoſe that ſhould charge him with that Crime, and make them repent of their Calumny. However, he did not think proper to wait the iſſue (12), but privately departed that very night in diſguiſe, in order to retire into *Flanders*, going by the Name of *Dereman* (13).

Gervas. Hoved.

Hoved. M. Paris.

He is condemned to Impriſonment. Gervas.

Hoved.

M. Paris.

Gervas.

Goes into Flanders in Diſguiſe. Gervas. Hoved.

The King of *France* gladly heard that the Quarrel between *Henry* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was not like to be adjuſted. He was in hopes, *Becket*, being ſupported, would imbroil his Sovereign in troubles, of which *France* might make an advantage; and therefore, ſent him an offer of his Protection, and a refuge in his Dominions. *Henry* being informed of *Lewis*'s proceedings, ſent Ambaſſadors (14) to repreſent to him, that it was very unbecoming a Sovereign to ſhelter Perſons guilty of High-Treaſon. *Lewis* made anſwer, He could not diſpenſe

1164. *The King of France protects him.* Diceto. Gervas. Hoved.

(1) For forty Days. As ſoon as the Articles were read, he retired from Court, and went to *Wincheſter*. *Gervas*, p. 1388.

(2) Who was then at *Sens* in *France*. *Ibid.*

(3) He demanded the King's leave to go to Pope *Alexander*, but was refuſed: Whereupon he embarked at *Rumney*, in order to depart out of the Kingdom; but the Sailors dreading the King's Indignation, pretended there was no Wind, and brought him back. *Hoved.* p. 494. *Gervas*, p. 1389. *M. Paris*, p. 102.

(4) In a great Council at *Northampton*, *October* 13. *M. Paris*, p. 102. *Hoved.* p. 494. *R. Diceto*, p. 537.

(5) He was alſo called to an Account for the Caſtles of *Eye* and *Berkhamſtead*, with the Revenues belonging to them, which he had enjoyed for ſeveral years. *M. Paris*, p. 192.

(6) *Richard de Lucy*.

(7) He really was, or pretended to be ill of the Cholick. *Gervas*, p. 1391. *Hoved.* p. 494.

(8) By *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwal*. *Ibid.*

(9) His Friends told him, that if he came to Court, he ſhould either be impriſon'd or murder'd. *Hoved.* p. 494.

(10) *Hoveden* ſays, he celebrated the Maſs of St. *Stephen*, whoſe Office is, *Princes ſat together, and ſpake againſt me.* p. 494.

(11) As did alſo *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*. *Hoved.* ibid.

(12) But immediately took his Horſe, and rid away, the People crying out after him, Stay, Traitor, and hear thy Sentence. *Hoved.* p. 495.

(13) He went firſt to *Lincoln*, attended only by three Perſons; from whence he travelled, through by-ways, and in diſguiſe, till he came to *Sandwich*, where he embarked, and went over to *Flanders*. *Hoved.* ibid. *Gervas*, p. 1393. *R. Diceto*, p. 537. This Year was born *Eleanor* the King's Daughter. *Brompt.* p. 1038.

(14) *Gilbert Foliot* Biſhop of *London*, and *William* Earl of *Arundel*. *Hoved.* p. 495.

1164. with affording a Sanctuary in his Kingdom to the unfortunate: that *Becket* was of that number, and he could not but conſider him as ſuch, till condemned by the Pope. It was thus that Jealouſy and political Intereſt induced that Prince to urge the Pope's Authority in a thing ſo prejudicial to all Sovereigns. His Paſſion prevented him from reflecting that in this affair he could not wound *Henry* but thro' his own ſides. But his extreme deſire to embarraſs that Prince made him overlook theſe conſiderations. He was not content with ſheltering the fugitive Prelate, but even importuned the Pope to eſpouſe his cauſe, and turned ſolicitor againſt *Henry*, whoſe Intereſt, in good policy, he ought to have maintained.

Stirs up the Pope againſt Henry. R. Diceto. Gervas. M. Paris.

There was no need of much entreaty to gain the Pope (1). He was of himſelf very ſenſible, that a favourable opportunity offered to enlarge his Authority. Beſides, he was apprehenſive that in caſe he deſerted the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, none of the Clergy for the future would ſupport the Rights of the Church. So that the downfall of this Prelate could not but prove of very dangerous conſequence to the Intereſts of the Clergy. As ſoon as he heard *Becket* was condemned, and forced to fly like a Criminal, he was exceeding angry with *Henry* and the Barons of *England*, and threatned to make them repent of their Raſhneſs. Mean time *Henry*, in hopes of prepoſſeſſing the Pope in his favour, ſent Ambaſſadors (2) to inform him of all particulars, and deſire him to ſend Legates to *England* with full Powers finally to decide the affair. The Archbiſhop of *York*, who was at the head of this Embaſſy, ſpoke with great vehemence againſt *Becket*. He charged him with want of Reſpect to the King, and even of threatning him with Excommunication. He maintained, the Archbiſhop was guilty of Rebellion, in refuſing to ſtand to the Judgment of the Court of Barons, under the ridiculous pretence he was their Father, and that it was againſt decency for a Father to be judged by his Sons. *Becket*, who was preſent at this Audience (3), ſpoke likewiſe for himſelf, and endeavoured to juſtify his conduct. He ſaid in the firſt place, he could not be obliged to anſwer in a Civil Court, without a direct violation of the Canons of the Church. Secondly, ſuppoſing he had thought proper to own the Authority of the Court, he ſhould have been prevented from ſubmitting to their Judgment by his certain knowledge of their Reſolution to condemn him. Laſtly, he declared, he could not ſee wherein he had done amiſs in appealing to the Pope; ſince it could not be denied that he was the proper Judge from whom he expected an impartial Sentence. Then addreſſing himſelf to the Pope and Cardinals, he intreated them to conſider the dangerous conſequences this Affair might be attended with, if they ſuffered him to be oppreſſed: That they were not to look upon this buſineſs, as a conteſt between a Subject and his Sovereign, but as the Cauſe of the Univerſal Church; ſince it was certain, the King's intention was to ſtrip the Clergy of their Privileges. The Ambaſſadors perceiving by this Diſcourſe, that his deſign was to engage the whole Church in his Quarrel, took occaſion from thence to inſiſt ſtill more earneſtly on the King's requeſt, that the affair might be tried in *England* by the Legates of the Holy See. By that they ſhewed, the King their Maſter had no deſign againſt the Church, ſince he was willing to abide by her Judgment. This demand was ſo reaſonable, that the Pope had no other way to evade it, than by ſaying, he would take cognizance of the matter himſelf; adding, to juſtify this reſolution, that, in imitation of the Almighty, *he would not give his Glory to another*. The Reaſon why the Pope declined ſending Legates, was the fear of their being bribed. Mean while, he put off the Trial to a more convenient ſeaſon. For the preſent conjuncture allowed him not leiſure to examine a Cauſe which required ſo much time to diſcuſs. He was impatient to be at *Rome*, where he was recalled upon the death of *Victor* his Rival. However the Schiſm was ſtill kept on foot, by the Cardinals of the oppoſite Party electing another Pope, who aſſumed the Name of *Paſchal* III.

Henry ſends an Embaſſy to the Pope. Gervas. *Becket accuſed.* R. Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris.

He defends himſelf.

Tries to engage the whole Church in his Quarrel. Gervas.

The Ambaſſadors deſire Legates may be ſent to decide the Matter. Gervas.

The Pope refuſes, and why.

Hoved. P. 496.

The Pope ſent for to Rome. Gervas. Hoved.

1165. *Henry's Proceedings againſt the Pope and Becket.* Gervas. Hoved. P. 496.

Henry being extremely incenſed at *Alexander*'s proceedings, as a mark of his Reſentment, forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, all Appeals to *Rome* (4). This prohibition was quickly followed by an expreſs order to commit to priſon all the Relations of thoſe that accompanied *Becket* in his flight, or were gone to join him ſince his departure. After this, he ſequeſtred, in the hands of the Biſhop of *London*, the Revenues of all the Eccleſiaſticks that openly eſpouſed the Archbiſhop's Quarrel, to put it out of their power to aſſiſt him. Moreover he enjoined the Magiſtrates to puniſh upon the ſpot, as Traytors, all Perſons that ſhould be taken either with the Pope's or *Becket*'s Letters or Mandates about them, importing the Excommunication of any private Perſon, or an Interdict upon the Kingdom. He ordered likewiſe the Revenues of the See of *Canterbury* to be ſeized, with all the Archbiſhop's Effects (5). Laſtly, not content with forbidding Prayers for him in the Church, he baniſhed all his Relations, not ſparing even the moſt diſtant.

1165. M. Paris. Hoved.

Theſe rigorous Proceedings ſerved only to exaſperate the Archbiſhop the more, who, on his part, excommunicated all that adhered to the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, and particularly ſome Lords of the Council (6), who however deſpiſed his Cenſures. At length, finding the King was bent to maintain his ground, he took the liberty to ſend him a threatning Letter, which it will not be amiſs to inſert, as a Piece very proper to diſcover the Character of that Prelate.

Becket excommunicates the Lords of the Council. M. Weſt. Fitz-Step. Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris.

THOMAS *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to the* KING *of* England.

His Letter to the King. R. Diceto. Hoved. p. 496, &c. M. Paris.

" I Have moſt earneſtly deſired to ſee you; and although I cannot deny, that in this I had a view to my own, yet was it your Intereſt that lay neareſt my heart. I was in hopes that when you ſhould ſee me again, you would call to mind the many Services I have done you, with all imaginable regard and affection. For the Truth of which I appeal to him who is to judge all mankind, when they ſhall appear before his Tribunal, to be rewarded according to their deeds. I flattered myſelf that you would be moved with compaſſion towards me, who am forced to beg my Bread in a ſtrange Land, though, by the Grace of God, I have Plenty of all things neceſſary for my ſubſiſtence. I receive however great conſolation from the words of the Apoſtle, *They that live in Chriſt ſhall ſuffer Perſecution*; and likewiſe from that Saying of the Prophet, *I never ſaw the Righteous forſaken, nor his Seed begging their Bread.* As to what relates to you, I cannot but be ſenſibly affected with it for three reaſons: Firſt, becauſe you are my Liege-Lord: Secondly, becauſe you are my King: Thirdly, becauſe you are my Spiritual Son. As my Liege-Lord, I owe and offer you my beſt advice, ſuch however as is due from a Biſhop, ſaving the Honour of God, and the Head of the Church. As my King, I owe you a profound Reſpect, and withal am bound to direct my Admonitions to you. As my Son, it is my duty to correct and exhort you. Kings are anointed in three Places; the Head, the Breaſt, and the Arms, which denote Glory, Holineſs, and Power. We find from ſeveral inſtances taken from the Scriptures, that the Kings who deſpiſed the Commandments of the Lord, were deprived of Glory, Underſtanding, and Might: Such were *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Solomon*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and many others. On the contrary, they that humbled themſelves before God, received a larger meaſure of Grace, and in greater perfection. This was experienced by *David*, *Hezekiah*, and ſome others. Take therefore, my Liege-Lord, the advice of your Vaſſal; hearken, my King, to the admonitions of your Biſhop; and receive, my Son, the corrections of your Father; leſt you are drawn aſide into Schiſm, or perſuaded to hold Communion with Schiſmaticks. All the world knows with what honour and devotion you received the Pope; how reſpectfully and zealouſly you protected the Church of *Rome*; and what ſuitable Returns the Church and Pope have made you. Remember therefore the declaration you made, and even laid upon the Altar at your Coronation, to protect the Church of God in all her Immunities. Reſtore the Church of *Canterbury*, from which you received your Authority, to the ſtate it was in under your Predeceſſors and mine; Otherwiſe be aſſured, that you will draw down on your head the Wrath and Vengeance of God."

This Letter was little capable of appeaſing the incenſed King. And truly, it is very hard to believe, the Writer

(1) He was ſtill at *Sens*. *Gervas.* p. 1394.
(2) The Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *London*, *Chicheſter*, and *Exeter*; and *Wido Rufus*, *Richard de Iveceſtre*, and *John de Oxford*, Clergymen; and *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Hugh de Gundeville*, *Bernard de St. Valery*, and *Henry Fitz-Gerald*. *Hoved.* p. 496.
(3) *Hoveden* ſays he did not come to the Pope till four Days after. *Ibid.*
(4) This he did before he went into *Normandy* this Year. *Hoved.* p. 496.
(5) He ordered alſo *Peter-Pence* to be collected, and not to be ſent out of the Kingdom. *Hoved.* ibid.
(6) *Richard de Luci*, *Richard of Poictiers*, *Jocelin de Bailul*, *Alan de Neville*: As alſo *John de Oxford*, *Richard de Iveceſtre*, *Ranulf de Broc*, *Hugh de St. Clare*, *Thomas Fitz-Bernard*, &c. *R. Diceto.* p. 539. *M. Paris.*

1166. thought it proper for that end, or penn'd it with that Intent. Mean time, *Henry* knowing the King of *France* cherished the discord between him and the Court of *Rome*, by offering to assist the Pope, was willing to let his Holiness see on how weak a support he relied in case things came to an open rupture. To this end he levied a numerous Army (1), as well to prevent any Revolt the Pope might excite in his Dominions, as to be in a readiness to oppose the King of *France* in case of an attack (2). This precaution hindered, no doubt, *Alexander* from proceeding so vigorously as he intended, and made him sensible of the Danger of precipitating matters. The truth is, a Prince supported with a strong Army, has it always in his power to render himself formidable to those who have none but spiritual Weapons to brandish. Mean while, the Bishop of *London* and the rest of the Suffragans of the Province of *Canterbury*, wrote to the Archbishop, on occasion of his Letter to the King, and remonstrated to him his Pride in writing to his Sovereign without the customary Salutations, as if he had written to an inferior. They represented to him, moreover, the mean estate from whence the King had raised him to such Grandeur; his Ingratitude to a Prince whom he was so much indebted to; and his Arrogance in daring to threaten a Monarch so far exalted above him. In fine, they gave him notice, they appealed to the Pope from whatever he should act for the future against them or the Kingdom, and appointed *Ascension* Day to produce the reasons of their Appeal.

Henry screens himself from the Attacks of the Pope. Gervas.

Letter of his Suffragans to Becket. Hoved. p. 498, 509. R. Diceto. M. Paris.

They appeal to the Pope.

The Pope amuses the King with sending Legates. R. Diceto. Gervas. Hoved. M. Paris.

The King of *England*'s Army threw the Pope under great apprehensions. He was afraid, *Henry* would at length unite with the Emperor, and if so, the King of *France* would not be able, or at least, willing to protect him. This consideration induced him to try to divert *Henry* from such a thought, with the hopes of seeing this Contest speedily ended to his advantage. Accordingly, when *Henry* least expected it, *Alexander* appointed Legates (3) to go and decide the affair in *England*, and ordered them to depart forthwith. He greatly extolled to the King this condescension. But the Legates were hardly set out, when he clogged their Powers with restrictions, that prevented them from giving a decisive Sentence. The Legates being arrived at *London* (4), and setting about the Business they were come upon, a fresh obstacle unexpectedly occurred. *Becket* refused to put his Cause into their hands, unless the King would first restore whatever he had taken from him or his Friends. He further insisted upon a general revocation of all the King's Orders since the beginning of the Contest; that is, in a word, that he would condemn himself beforehand. This is a clear evidence, the Legates had not full Powers to decide the matter, since the Archbishop's refusal to stand to their Judgment, without these Conditions, was sufficient to stop their Proceedings. Accordingly the King easily saw the Pope intended only to amuse him. Mean time, *Becket*'s own Friends, dreading the King would go to extremities, advised him to give his Sovereign some satisfaction. He told them he was ready to comply with the King's Will, *Saving his Honour, the Church's Possessions, and his own, and the Right of others.* So many Salvo's must have shown, he was not inclinable in the least to relax. However, these same Friends, who had so good an opinion of him, as to believe he was willing to sacrifice his private Interest to the Church's Peace, made him another Proposal. They asked him, whether he would agree to resign the Archbishoprick, in case the King would, upon that Condition, give up the Constitutions of *Clarendon?* But they did not find him at all disposed to show that Proof of his Disinterestedness. He plainly told them, the Proposal was unequal, since he could not renounce his Dignity without betraying the Cause of God and of the Church; whereas the King was bound in conscience to annul his new Laws. This Reply, and the limited Powers of the Legates, entirely destroyed all the King's hopes, and made him resolve to create the Archbishop as much trouble as possible. To that end, he sent word to the Abbot of *Pontigni*, who had for two Years entertained *Becket* in his Monastery, that if he sheltered him any longer, he would expel his Dominions all the Monks of his Order (5), and seize their Estates. Upon this, *Becket* was forced to quit the Abbey; but it was not long before he met with another retreat. The King of *France* admitted him into *Sens* (6), where he often resided, and handsomely furnished him with all things necessary. His frequent Conversations with that Monarch, were a great means of increasing the jealousy and animosity he had already entertained against *Henry* (7).

Becket refuses to stand to their Sentence.

They try in vain to make up Matters.

Becket is inflexible.

The Pope amuses the King with sending Legates. R. Diceto. Gervas. Hoved. M. Paris.

The King threatens the Abbot of Pontigni *upon* Becket's *Account.* Diceto. Gervas. Hoved. M. Paris.

1166.

Towards the latter end of this year Queen *Eleanor* was delivered of a fourth Son, called *John*. The Birth of this Prince was quickly followed by the death of the Empress *Matilda*, the King's Mother, in the sixty-seventh Year of her Age (8). She left in her Will very considerable Legacies to the Poor and the Churches, and bequeath'd a large Sum for finishing the Bridge of *Roan*, of which she had laid the foundation.

Prince John born. Mat. West. 1167. Mat. Paris. Diceto. M. Paris. Brompt. M. West.

Hitherto the Pope and Archbishop had but little reason to boast of the Success of their Contest with *Henry*. *Becket*, deprived of his Revenues, languished in a melancholy exile, whilst the Pope received no profits from *England*. His Holiness easily foresaw, if things remained in this state, his Authority was like to be contemned, not only in *England*, but in other parts of *Christendom*. Besides, he was of an exceeding haughty Temper. This is the same *Alexander*, that some years after, treated so shamefully the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* at *Venice* (9). There was no hopes therefore, that a Pope of his character would suffer the King to get the victory without long and violent struggles. Accordingly, as soon as his affairs were something settled, he began seriously to think of means to end this Contest to his advantage. To make the King uneasy, he shewed an extraordinary regard for *Becket*, and confirmed to him all the Privileges enjoyed by his Predecessors, affecting by this unseasonable Respect to insult the King. And indeed, there was no occasion of making this step, while the Archbishop was in exile, and out of favour with his Sovereign. *Henry* willing to be even with him, caused it to be rumoured, that he was going to withdraw his Obedience from *Alexander*, and recognize *Paschal* III. Nay, he even went so far as to write to some of the Princes of *Germany*, to acquaint them, he was just upon the point of taking this Resolution. The truth is, if the thing had been in his power, he would very probably have taken that step, without farther consideration; but it would have been difficult to bring the Nation to this change, and especially the Clergy. He had but few Bishops on his side. All the rest of the Clergy were for the Pope and *Becket* in their hearts, though Fear kept them from showing it openly. *Alexander*, knowing their inclinations, was the more stout, and expressed less regard for the King than he would have done, without doubt, had he been in any danger from that side. To let the King see his Threats gave him no concern, he sent a Letter to the Bishop of *London*, wherein he seemed to throw off all regard for that Prince. He commanded the Bishop boldly to admonish him, and enjoin him, in his name, to restore the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his See, and annul the Constitutions of *Clarendon*. The Bishop discharged his Commission, though not so imperiously as the Pope had commanded. However, he writ to him afterwards, to represent that the King had made no Innovations, but only trod in the steps of his Predecessors; that his Conduct could not in reason be blamed, since he offered to submit to the Judgment of the Church, provided the affair was tried in the Kingdom (10).

The Pope shews a great Regard for Becket.

Henry threatens to own Paschal for Pope. M. West.

The Pope despises his Threats, and sends to the Bishop of London *to admonish him.* Hoved. Diceto.

The Bishop's Answer to the Pope. Hoved.

Whatever advantage the King had hitherto gained, he wanted to clear his hands of this troublesome Business, which obstructed the execution of the Design he had formed to conquer *Ireland*. Besides, he foresaw, this Dispute would in the end turn to his disadvantage, and be very prejudicial to the Nation. In this belief, he desired the King of *France* to appoint a Place where they Two

1168.

Conference between the King and Becket *before the King of* France. Gervas. M. Paris.

(1) Wherewith he went and attacked the *Welsh*, that had pillaged *Flintshire*, which then belonged to *England*. *Gervas.* p. 1398.
(2) King *Henry* went into *Normandy* in 1165. in *Lent*, and returned to *England* the same Year. *Hoved.* p. 496, 500.
(3) *Gratian* Nephew of the late Pope *Eugenius*, and *Vivian* Advocate of the Court of *Rome*. *Gervas.* p. 1407.
(4) *Gervase* says they met in *France*, between *Gisors* and *Trie*, *November* 18. p. 1402. *Hoved.* p. 516.
(5) Cistercians. (6) Where he staid four Years. *Gervas.* p. 1402.
(7) This Year King *Henry* and his great Council granted *Four-pence*, out of every *Carrucate* in *England*, for the *Crusade*. *M. West.* p. 249.
(8) She was buried, (says *Sandford*,) aged about sixty four Years, in the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*, with Funeral Pomp. But *Gabriel de Moulin* tells us, she was interred in the Church of *Notre Dame du Prè*, in the Suburbs of *Roan*. On account of her being the Daughter of a King, Wife of an Emperor, and Mother of a King, she had, according to *M. Paris*, these Words engraven on her Tomb:

Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet HENRICI Filia, Sponsa, Parens. *p.* 143.

Great born, matched greater, greatest brought to bed,
Here Henry's *Daughter, Wife, and Mother's laid.*

Her Issue by the Earl of *Anjou*, was: I. *Henry* Fitz-Empress, King of *England*. II. *Geoffrey* Earl of *Nants*, who died 1157. III. *William*, called by *Speed* Earl of *Poictou*; but he does not appear to be otherwise mentioned, than *Willielmus* frater Regis *Henrici*. He died in 1163. IV. A Daughter, is said by *Hoveden*, to be Wife of *Owayn* Prince of North *Wales*. But she is mentioned by no other Author.
(9) He was the nineteenth Emperor of *Germany* from *Charles the Great*. Upon a Quarrel with *Alexander*, he was excommunicated, and at length forced to submit to the Pope, who insolently trod on his Neck.
(10) In 1167. the Kings of *England* and *France* came to blows; the *Normans* burnt *Chaumont*, and took several Prisoners in *Perche*; the King of *France* burnt *Andeli*, &c. *R. Diceto*, p. 547. *Hoved.* p. 517. *M. Paris*, &c.

might

1168. might have an interview with the Archbiſhop, to hear what he had to ſay in his defence. *Lewis* agreeing to this requeſt, *Becket* appeared before the two Kings (1), and very boldly pleaded his Cauſe. After which, being asked whether he would own that he ought to obey his Sovereign, he made anſwer, he was ready to pay obedience to him in all things, *ſaving the Honour of God*. How reaſonable ſoever this Salvo might appear, *Henry* looked upon it as an evaſion. He told the King of *France* what *Becket* ſeem'd to promiſe was nothing at all: ſince by this reſtriction, he reſerved a power to pronounce whatever diſpleaſed him, contrary to the Honour of God: But, continued he, I ſhall make him this Offer, which cannot be ſuſpected of a double meaning: *There have been in* England *Kings not ſo powerful as my ſelf, and Archbiſhops that have been great and holy Men; let him but pay me the ſame Regard as the Greateſt of his Predeceſſors paid the Leaſt of mine, and I will be ſatisfied.* This was not what *Becket* wanted. He knew very well, it would be difficult to juſtify his pretenſions by any former precedents. And therefore he rejected the Offer, on pretence that the affair being now before the Pope, he could agree to nothing without his conſent. How great Partiality ſoever the King of *France* had all along ſhown to *Becket*, he could not help owning on this occaſion, that the Archbiſhop's Obſtinacy was the ſole Obſtacle to a Peace. This Confeſſion was very ſerviceable to *Henry*, as it quaſhed, in great meaſure, the Report ſo induſtriouſly ſpread in the world, of his deſigning to aboliſh in *England* the Privileges of the Clergy. However, it made no impreſſion on *Becket*, as well knowing the Pope was too much intereſted, and too deeply engaged in the Affair ever to draw back.

Dicto.

Gervas. p. 1405.

1169. It plainly appeared *Becket* was not miſtaken; for preſently after, *Alexander* ſent the King notice he could not diſpenſe with granting the Archbiſhop a power to revenge with the Sword of Excommunication the Injuries done the Church and his own Perſon. As ſoon as *Becket* received the Pope's Leave, he thundred Anathema's againſt ſuch numbers of the Clergy, that there was ſcarce enough left unexcommunicated to officiate in the King's Chapel. Though moſt were inclined to favour the Cauſe he maintained, he was not ſatisfied, but charged them with ſhameful prevarication, in not openly eſpouſing his Quarrel. *Henry*, provoked at theſe proceedings, appealed to a future Council, and ſent the Pope word, that unleſs he immediately diſpatched Legates, with power to decide the affair, he ſhould take ſuch meaſures as would not be agreeable to him. This pretence threw *Alexander* into great perplexity, becauſe he could not help fearing the Union of the King with the Emperor. On the other hand, he was ſo engaged in the defence of the pretended Rights of the Church, that he could not deſiſt without great prejudice to the Holy See. To free himſelf from this uneaſineſs, he had recourſe to the uſual methods always ſucceſsfully practiſed by the Court of *Rome* on the like occaſions. He feigned to be willing the affair ſhould be tried in *England*; and, to allure *Henry* with theſe hopes, ſent away Legates, who met the King in *Normandy*. But as they were preparing to wait on him, they received freſh Inſtructions, forbidding them to give a final Sentence, without imparting it to the Archbiſhop of *Sens*. This was ſufficient to blaſt all hopes of a ſudden Peace, none being more averſe to it than that Prelate.

Becket excommunicates the Engliſh Priſts. Paris. Dicto. Gervas.

Henry threatens the Pope, which puts him in great Perplexity. Act. Pub. T. 1. p. 28.

He ſends Legates. Dicto. Gervaſe.

And ſends them new Inſtructions.

Some time after, the Pope willing to keep *Henry* ſtill in a belief that matters might be amicably adjuſted, deſired the two Kings of *England* and *France* to conſider of means to end the Diſpute. Whereupon, *Henry* repairing to *Paris*, *Becket* was ordered to appear once more before theſe two Princes. This Conference, purpoſely intended to amuſe *Henry*, ſucceeded no better than the former (2). The Archbiſhop, without yielding the leaſt point, ſtill inſiſted, that before a Treaty was begun, the King ought to make entire Reſtitution (3), to which *Henry* would not conſent, without knowing firſt the Terms of Reconciliation. This was all *Becket* could have expected by way of compenſation, in caſe he himſelf had made any Conceſſions. But to pretend that the King ſhould begin with condemning himſelf by this Reſtitution, without any Advances on his Part, was in effect to declare, he would come to no agreement. The only thing he offered as a ſign of his Inclination to Peace, was that he would ſtand to the Judgment of the *French* Divines. But this offer being rejected, the Negotiation broke off, with ſome Advantage however to the King, as it rendered his Diſpoſition to Peace more conſpicuous. 1169.

Another Conference between the King and Becket to no purpoſe. M. Paris.

There is no adjuſting a Quarrel with the Clergy, unleſs their Demands are all anſwered. Their Cauſe, as they pretend, is the Cauſe of God, and conſequently no Conceſſions can be made without ſin. Upon this principle it was that the Archbiſhop of *Sens* preſſed the Pope to put *England* under an Interdict, and excommunicate *Henry* for an obſtinate Heretick. *Henry* having advice of what this Prelate was ſolliciting at *Rome*, publiſhed a freſh Edict in *England*, forbidding the receiving any Orders from the Pope or *Becket*, and declaring, in caſe a Letter of Interdict ſhould come into the Kingdom, all that ſubmitted to it ſhould be immediately hanged, as Traytors to their King and Country. In fine, he enjoined all abſent Clergymen to return to their Churches on pain of forfeiting all their Revenues, and ſuſpended the Payment of *Peter-Pence* till further Orders. Theſe vigorous Proceedings making the Pope apprehenſive of ſome dangerous Revolution, ſhould he carry things to extremity, he left the Affair undetermined, in expectation of an Opportunity to puſh it with more advantage to himſelf.

Gervas.

Vigorous Proceedings of the King againſt the Pope. Gervaſe.

The Pope gains Time.

During this calm *Henry*, who had ſpent near four years in *France*, returned home (4) in order to regulate ſome matters, which his Abſence had hindered him from attending to. The Adminiſtration of Juſtice was ſo ſhamefully neglected, that at his arrival he found himſelf obliged to ſend Commiſſioners (5) into all the Counties, with full Powers to enquire into the miſdemeanors of the Magiſtrates (6), and to puniſh the guilty. 1170.

Henry returns to England. Gervas. Hoved.

This and ſome other Affairs concerning the publick Good being ſettled to the People's ſatisfaction, *Henry* convened a General Aſſembly (7), at which were preſent the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Aldermen of the principal Cities of the Kingdom. Before this numerous Aſſembly he cauſed *Henry* his eldeſt Son to be crowned (8) by the Archbiſhop of *York*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London* and *Durham* (9). The next day the young King received the Fealties of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Magiſtrates of the Cities and Counties, who were ſummoned on purpoſe to be preſent at the Coronation. At the feaſt, made upon this occaſion, the King himſelf would carry up the firſt Diſh, and ſpeaking to his Son, told him, *Never was Monarch ſerv'd in a more honorable manner.* Inſtead of returning his Compliment, the young King, who was of a very haughty Spirit, turning to the Archbiſhop of *York*, who ſtood by him, ſaid in a low Voice, *It was no ſuch great Condeſcenſion in the Son of an Earl to ſerve the Son of a King.*

Henry *the King's eldeſt Son crowned.* Hoved. Brompt. Gervas. M. Paris.

Pride of the young King. Pol. Virg.

This Coronation, performed with an univerſal approbation, gave the King a double ſatisfaction. He not only by that means ſecured the Crown in his Family, but moreover extremely mortified *Becket*. Indeed that Prelate was exceedingly vexed to hear that a Ceremony of that importance was ſolemnized without him; being, as he pretended, an Office annexed to the Dignity of Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (10).

Becket *is mortified.*

The King of *France* took great offence at his Daughter's not being crown'd with the Prince her Spouſe. This diſguſt, joined to ſome other Occaſions of Quarrel, which are but too frequent among neighbouring Princes, cauſed him to take up Arms (11). But this War was of ſo little conſequence and ſhort continuance, that it is entirely needleſs to deſcend to particulars. It ſuffices to ſay in two words, that it was almoſt as ſoon ended as begun, by a Treaty of Peace between the two Monarchs.

Lewis *complains of* Henry. Gervas. Pol. Virg. Brompt. Hoved.

They are Friends again.

Shortly after *Henry* was ſeized with a violent Fever at *Domfront*, in the Province of *Maine*. He was ſo dangerouſly ill, that believing he was near his End, he haſtily made his Will. To *Henry* his eldeſt Son he gave *England*, *Normandy*, *Maine* and *Anjou*; and to *Richard* his ſecond Son *Guienne* and *Poiétou*. As for *Geoffrey*, he thought *Bretagne* ſufficient for him, which he was to enjoy

Henry *falls ſick, and makes his Will.* Brompt. Gervas. Hoved.

(1) Near *Paris*, about the middle of *November*. *R. de Diceto*, p. 550. *M. Paris*. p. 116.
(2) It was held at a Place called *Mons Martyrum*. *Gervas*. p. 1408.
(3) *Becket* computed his Loſſes at thirty thouſand Marks; and the King offered him ten thouſand for the Charges of his Journey. *Gervas*. ibid.
(4) In *Lent*. He landed at *Portſmouth*, *March* 3, after a very bad Paſſage, one of his Ships being loſt, and ſeveral of his great Men drowned. *R. Diceto*, p. 551. *Brompt*. p. 1060. *Gervas*. p. 1410.
(5) The Commiſſioners ſent into the Counties of *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Middleſex*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Buckingham*, and *Bedford*, were; The Abbot of St. *Auguſtin's* in *Canterbury*; the Abbot of *Cherſey*; the Earl of *Clare*; *William de Abrancis*; *Maneſier de Dammartin*; *Gerold Fitz-Ralph*; *Gilbert de Pinkeni*; *William Fitz-belt*; *William Fitz-Nigel*; *William Fitz-Martin*; *Ralph de Hoſpital*; *Ralph de Dene*; and ſo in the other Counties. *Gervas*. p. 1410.
(6) Sheriff and other Officers. The Reader may ſee the *Articles of Enquiry* at large in *Gervas*. p. 1410, and *Tyrrel*, Vol. II. p. 463, which give great Light into the Miniſterial Part of the Law in thoſe Days.
(7) At *Windſor*. *Brompt*. p. 1060. From thence he came to *Weſtminſter*, where his Son was crowned: At this Coronation were preſent *William* King of *Scotland*, (who did King *Henry* Homage) and his Brother *David*, who was knighted by *Henry*. *Hoved*. p. 518.
(8) With the Aſſent and Conſent of the Clergy and People. *Clero & Populo conſentientibus & aſſentientibus*. *Hoved*. p. 518.
(9) And alſo thoſe of *Rocheſter* and *Saliſbury*. *Hoved*. p. 518.
(10) And therefore he deſired the Pope to excommunicate the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the four Biſhops that had been concerned in it; which was accordingly done. *Hoved*. p. 518.
(11) Whereupon King *Henry* went over into *Normandy* about *Midſummer*. *Brompt*. p. 1061.

1170. after the death of Duke *Conan* his Brother-in-law. As for *John* his fourth Son, he was ſatisfied with recommending him to be provided for by his eldeſt Brother.

He reſolves to make up matters with Becket. Hoved. Brompt. Gervaſe.

Henry's indiſpoſition produced another conſiderable effect. The approach of death having raiſed Scruples in the King, to which he was a ſtranger whilſt in health, he reſolved to be reconciled, at any rate, with *Becket*, in caſe he recovered. He conſidered, the Archbiſhop had been ſufficiently puniſhed by a ſix years Exile, during which he had been deprived of his Revenues. Beſides, he was deſirous, if God pleaſed to prolong his days, to enjoy himſelf a Repoſe, which the Pope threatened continually to diſturb, by thundering the Church's Cenſures againſt him. Purſuant to this reſolution, as ſoon as his Health permitted, he held a Conference with the King of *France* at *Montmirail*, where *Becket* was preſent alſo. As the King then ſtood diſpoſed, he agreed to almoſt every thing required by the Archbiſhop. But after all the Articles were ſettled, juſt as *Becket* was ſtepping up to the King to give him the Kiſs of Peace, he took it in his head to ſay, that he was going to ſalute him to the Honour of God. The King, who was not thoroughly ſatisfied of his Sincerity, imagining there was ſome hidden Myſtery in that Expreſſion, refuſed to receive his Salute accompanied with thoſe words, which to him ſeemed ſuperfluous. The Archbiſhop on his part, inſiſting upon ſaying them, all the Pains taken to adjuſt matters became of no effect, by the over-ſtrained Nicety of both Parties. However, *Henry* willing upon any terms to get clear of this buſineſs, ordered it ſo that another Interview was agreed upon at *Amboiſe* (1), where the King of *France* came attended by ſeveral Princes and Lords. Here at length all Difficulties were ſurmounted. *Henry* was ſincerely reconciled with *Becket* (2), and ſwore to reſtore him to the ſame ſtate he enjoyed before his Baniſhment; and likewiſe make reſtitution to his Relations and Friends of all that was ſeized ſince his departure. Thus this Conteſt ſeemed to be happily ended by the King's Generoſity, who proteſted, he heartily forgave all that was paſſed (3).

A Conference at Montmirail, *comes to nothing by accident.* M. Paris p. 122.

The Quarrel is decided. R. Diceto. Brompt Hoveden. M. Paris.

The revengeful Proceedings of Becket. R. Diceto. Brompt. Gervaſe. Hoved. M. Paris.

But the Archbiſhop was not ſo eaſily appeaſed. Tho' he obliged *Henry* to pardon all thoſe that had offended him, he himſelf could not reſolve to forgive thoſe whom he thought he had reaſon to complain of. He was chiefly exaſperated againſt the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Exeter*, who had acted the moſt openly againſt him. Before he left *France* to return into *England*, he obtained the Pope's Licence to ſuſpend the firſt, and excommunicate the others, and accordingly executed it the moment he landed (4). He had even no regard to the intreaties of the young King, who having notice of his Deſign, ſent Meſſengers to divert him from it. Though by this refuſal he gave that Prince juſt Cauſe to complain of him, he would go and ſalute him at *Woodſtock*, where he reſided. Some ſay, the deſire of paying his Reſpects to the young King was not the principal motive of his intended Viſit; but his real aim was to make a triumphant Entry into *London*, through which he was to paſs. Be this as it will, he lodged in *Southwark*, with deſign to be at *Woodſtock* next day; but he received a Letter from the young King (5), ordering him to repair forthwith to *Canterbury*. Though this was a great mortification to him, he thought fit to obey the Order. Accordingly he ſet forward for the Capital of his Dioceſe, where he made his entry with the Acclamations of the meaner ſort of People, whilſt the more conſiderate were ſorry to ſee him thus triumphant; who, far from being humbled by his long Exile, was grown more proud and haughty. This they had quickly reaſon to perceive more particularly, when mounting his Archiepiſcopal Chair on *Chriſtmas-Day*, he ſolemnly excommunicated *Nigel de Sackvil* and *Robert Brock*, both diſtinguiſhed by their Birth and Stations. He accuſed the former of unjuſtly detaining a Manor belonging to the Archbiſhoprick, and the latter of cutting off the Tail of a Horſe that was carrying Proviſions to his Palace. This Proceeding was a plain indication, he was not humbled by his Diſgrace, but was ready to revive the Quarrel whenever he ſaw occaſion. The truth is, had he intended to keep fair with the King, he would not have excommunicated for ſuch Trifles, two of the immediate Vaſſals of the Crown, ſince that was one of the Articles which occaſioned his Conteſt with *Henry*.

Hoved.

Tyrrel.

The young King refuſes to ſee him. R. Diceto. Gervaſe.

He enters Canterbury *in Triumph.* Hoved.

He excommunicates two Barons. Fitz. Step. Gervaſe. R. Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris.

1170.

The excommunicated Biſhops complain to the King. Brompt. Gervas. Fitz-Step. M. Paris.

Mean time, the ſuſpended and excommunicated Prelates were gone to carry their complaints to the King, who was ſtill in *Normandy* (6). When they came into his preſence they threw themſelves at his feet, and complained, the Peace made with *Becket* redoubled the Terrors and Troubles of thoſe that had ſacrificed themſelves to his ſervice (7). The Archbiſhop of *York* added, as long as *Becket* was alive it was impoſſible for *England* to enjoy any repoſe. *Henry*, exaſperated by theſe complaints, and tired with being thus inceſſantly plagued, by the Inſolence of a Subject whom he had raiſed from the duſt, could not help uttering theſe words aloud: *I am very unhappy, that among the great numbers I maintain, there's not a Man that dares undertake to revenge the Affronts I perpetually receive from the hands of a wretched Prieſt.* Theſe words were not dropt in vain. Four of the King's Domeſticks (8) reflecting on the King's reproaches combined together to free him from this Enemy. To this end, they came to *Canterbury*, where they agreed upon the method to execute their Deſign. One day, when the Archbiſhop was gone to the Cathedral (9) with few Attendants, they entered the Church armed, and came up to the Altar where he was ſtanding. They began with outragiouſly upbraiding him for his Pride and Ingratitude: To which he returned ſo reſolute an Anſwer, as gave them occaſion to execute their Purpoſe. As they were not there with intent to reproach him only, they broke his Skull with their Clubs (10) in ſo violent a manner, that the Blood and Brains flew all over the Altar. After committing this action, they peaceably retired, no body offering to ſtop them (11). The Reſolution, *Becket* ſhowed on this occaſion, the Zeal he expreſſed by recommending to God, with his laſt breath, the Cauſe of the Church, the time and manner of his Death, aggravated the guilt of his Murderers, and gained him more Friends after he was dead, than ever he had during his life.

Indiſcreet Words of the King. Gervas. p. 1414.

1171.

Four of the King's Domeſticks plot againſt Becket. R. Diceto. Gervas. Hoved, *and murder him at the Altar.* Brompt.

Thus died this famous Archbiſhop, whom ſome have ranked among the moſt illuſtrious Martyrs, whilſt others believed they might, without any injuſtice, deny him the Character of an honeſt Man, and a good Chriſtian. About fifty years after his death, it was the Subject of a publick Diſpute at the Univerſity of *Paris*, whether *Becket* was in heaven or hell, ſo ambiguous a point was his Sanctity. Some aſſerted, that for his extreme Pride, he deſerved to be damned. Others on the contrary maintained, that the Miracles wrought at his Tomb, were undoubted proofs of his Salvation. This laſt Argument indeed would have been unanſwerable, if theſe Miracles were as evidently proved, as induſtriouſly ſpread. However this be, it is confeſſed *Becket* ſuffered Martyrdom; but it remains to determine, whether it was indeed for the Cauſe of God and Religion, or only for that of the Pope and Clergy. I ſhall leave the Reader to make what Reflections he thinks proper on this ſubject; whilſt I content my ſelf with relating the Conſequences of this Prelate's death, which are no leſs remarkable than the incidents of his Life. He had deſerved too well of the Court of *Rome*, not to have a place in the Catalogue of the Saints. There were many in that Liſt, who, in the opinion of that Court it ſelf, were not ſo worthy of the Honour, as one that had ſpilt his Blood in defence of the Church. He was therefore canoniz'd two or three years after his death. However deſirous the Pope was to ſhow his Gratitude to the memory of ſo faithful a Servant, the world muſt be firſt convinced that the Cauſe he died in, was approved by God; other-

Reflections on his Character.

(1) *Hoveden* ſays, this Interview was *October* 12. upon a Hill between *Tours* and *Amboiſe*, called *Mons Laudatus*. p. 520. *Brompt*. p. 1062. But *Gervaſe* ſays, it was *July* 22. near *Mans*, in a Meadow called the *Traytors Meadow*. p. 1412.

(2) Chiefly through the Means of *Rotrou* Archbiſhop of *Roan*. *R. de Diceto*. p. 552.

(3) And held *Becket*'s Stirrup, whilſt he was getting on Horſeback. *Gervas*. p. 1412.

(4) Several Perſons went to oppoſe his landing in *England*. See *Gervas*. p. 1413. He landed at *Sandwich*, *November* 30. ibid. *Hoved*. 520. *M. Paris* ſays, it was *December* 1. p. 122.

(5) By *Gocelin*, the Queen's Brother. *Hoved*. p. 521.

(6) At *Argenton Diceto*. p. 556.

(7) Whereupon *Becket* was ordered not to ſtir out of the Bounds of his Church. *Brompt*. p. 1062. *Gervas*. p. 1414.

(8) *Fitz-Stephens* calls them Barons and Servants of the Bed-chamber; *Brompton*, four Knights, belonging to the King's Houſhold. p. 1063. and *Hoveden*, Men eminent for their Birth. p. 521. Their Names were *Reginald Fitz-Urſe*, *William Tracy*, *Richard Britton*, and *Hugh Morvill*. *Diceto*. p. 555. *Hoveden*. p. 521.

(9) They went firſt to his Houſe, and expoſtulated with him about the excommunicated Biſhops, *&c.* after which they retired. The Archbiſhop in the mean while going into the Cathedral to *Veſpers*, they followed him there, *&c.* *R. Diceto*. p. 555. *Gervas*. p. 1415. *Brompton* ſays, they directly went into the Church, where he was. p. 1062.

(10) They uſed only Swords. See *Gervas*. p. 1415, 1416. *Brompt*. p. 1063, &c.

(11) Not daring to return to the King, they went and ſtaid a Year at *Knareſborough* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, belonging to *Hugh Morvill*; (*M. Paris* calls it a Caſtle of the King's. p. 125.) after which, *Hoveden* ſays, they went to *Rome* for Abſolution, and were enjoined to go to *Jeruſalem* and do Penance on the Black Mountain for Life. We have an Account of the Manner of the Archbiſhop's Death at large, by *Gervaſe of Canterbury*, and *Edward Ryme*, who were Eye-Witneſſes. This laſt had his Arm almoſt cut off by receiving the firſt blow that was made at *Becket*'s Head, occaſioned, as he ſays, by the Archbiſhop's calling *Fitz-Urſe*, *Pimp*. The Manuſcript Relation of the Life and Sufferings of this Archbiſhop, written in a Hand of that Age, is preſerved in the Library of *Greſham-College*. He was aſſaſſinated in the fifty third Year of his Age, on the 30th of *December*, 1171. reckoning the Beginning of the Year from *Chriſtmas-Day*. *Gervas*. p. 1418. *Brompt*. p. 1064. Some Chroniclers ſay, that all who were concerned in *Becket*'s Murther, died miſerably in three or four Years. See *M. Weſtm*. p. 250. But the Annotator on Mr. *Camden* well obſerves, that this is falſe; for *William Tracy* retired, twenty three Years after the Fact, to *Mort* in *Devonſhire*. See *Camden* in *Devonſhire*.

1171. wise, his Canonization might have been objected againſt. Nothing was more proper to infuſe this Belief into the minds of the People than Miracles. Accordingly, ſuch multitudes were forthwith wrought at the Tomb of the new Martyr, that in any other Age, the number and nature of theſe Miracles, inſtead of ſatisfying the World, would have had a quite contrary effect. Neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles worked the like, or ſo many, to prove the Truth of Chriſtianity, as this new Saint did to authorize the Privileges and Immunities of the Clergy. It was not thought ſufficient to aſſert his reſtoring dead Men to life; but it was farther affirmed, he raiſed the very Beaſts. It was given out for certain, that being expoſed to view in the Church before he was buried, he roſe out of his Coffin, and went and lighted the Wax-Candles which had been put out. It is ſaid alſo, after the Funeral Ceremony was over, he held up his Hand to bleſs the People. To all theſe Miracles, many others are added, equally becoming the Majeſty of God. Mean while, they were ſpread with that confidence, that not a Man was found hardy enough to ſhew the leaſt ſign of Doubt. The Pope's Legates, ſent ſome time after to examine theſe matters, found the People of *Canterbury* ſo perſuaded of the Truth of all theſe Facts, that, upon ſuch publick Evidence, his Holineſs thought he ſhould run no great Hazard in canonizing *Becket* by the Name of St. *Thomas of Canterbury*. The Tomb of the new Saint was at firſt adorned with few Ornaments; but fifty years after his Death, his Body was laid in a *Shrine*, inriched with a prodigious Quantity of precious Stones. As a farther Honour to his memory, the Pope ordered every fiftieth year a Jubilee to be ſolemnized in the Church where he lay. From thenceforward Miracles became ſo common at his Tomb, and their fame ſpread ſo far, that they drew Votaries from all parts of *Chriſtendom*, who came to *Canterbury* to obtain the Interceſſion of this new Saint. In 1420, they kept an Account of above fifty thouſand Foreigners, of all Ages and Sexes, that came in Pilgrimage that Year to this renowned Tomb.

Abundance of Miracles attributed to him after his Death. Gervas. R. Diceto.

He is canonized.

To avoid interrupting the Narrative of this famous Conteſt, I was obliged to defer 'till now to ſpeak of certain Occurrences which happened in that Interval, the moſt remarkable whereof were as follow:

Marriage of Matilda the King's Daughter with the Duke of Saxony. Diceto. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

In 1165, during the heat of the Diſpute, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* came into *England*, to conduct *Matilda* the King's Daughter to the Duke of *Saxony*, to whom ſhe was betrothed. As all the Princes of *Germany* were then for the Antipope *Paſchal*, they were conſidered as Schiſmaticks in all Places where *Alexander* was acknowledged. This is the reaſon, why after the departure of the Archbiſhop, the Churches, where he and the Prieſts that attended him ſaid Maſs, were all re-conſecrated. The King durſt not oppoſe this Reſolution, for fear of making the Breach wider between him and *Alexander*, whom he was willing to keep fair with (1).

German *Hereticks arrive in* England, *and are condemned at* Oxford. Brompton. Neubrig. Diceto. M. Paris.

In 1166, certain Hereticks arrived from *Germany* in *England*, about thirty in number, being headed by one *Gerhard*. It is not diſtinctly known wherein their Hereſy conſiſted; in all likelihood there were fathered upon them, by forced Inferences, Opinions which they entertained not. However this be, they were ſummoned before a Council held on purpoſe at *Oxford*, where they were condemned, and delivered over to the ſecular Power. The King, unwilling to give the Pope any handle againſt him, treated theſe People very ſeverely. After branding them in the Cheek with a hot Iron, he forbad all his Subjects to give them any Relief. This Prohibition being punctually obſerved, all thoſe Wretches miſerably periſhed with Hunger, without being heard to utter the leaſt Complaint of this moſt inhuman Uſage. This is not the only Inſtance of its being the worſt time for ſuch as the Court of *Rome* marks out for Hereticks, when Princes are at variance with the Pope (2).

King of Scotland *dies.* Brompton.

Malcolm King of *Scotland* died much about this time (3), and was ſucceeded by *William* his Brother (4).

Eleanor's Marriage.

The Marriage of *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Henry*, with *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, was concluded in 1169, a little before *Becket*'s return into *England*.

Conan dies, and is ſucceeded by Geoffrey, Henry's *Son.*

Conan the Little, Duke of *Bretagne*, dying in 1171, Prince *Geoffrey*, who had married his Daughter, ſucceeded him. But, as he was not above twelve Years old, the King his Father took the Guardianſhip upon himſelf, and went in Perſon into *Bretagne*, to receive the Fealty of the Barons. 1171.

Theſe are the moſt conſiderable Events, during the Difference between the King and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. I proceed now to what followed upon the Death of that Prelate.

Henry *charged with* Becket's *Murder.* Diceto. Brompt. Hoved.

Henry being freed from the diſturber of his Quiet, was in hopes to enjoy ſome tranquillity. But he found that *Becket*, when dead, created him no leſs Trouble than when alive. His Enemies, the chief of whom were the King of *France*, and Archbiſhop of *Sens*, omitted not this opportunity to raiſe him new Diſturbances. They boldly charged him with being the Author of *Becket*'s Murder, and endeavoured by all ſorts of means to ſtir up the Pope to revenge the Death of his faithful Servant. Though it was difficult to prove that *Henry* had any hand in the Aſſaſſination, *Alexander* was willing however to believe him guilty, that he might have occaſion to humble a Prince that all along ſtoutly oppoſed him. He was ſenſible, this was a favourable Juncture to procure Advantages which that Monarch could never be brought to yield at any other time. Wherefore he threatned to excommunicate him, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict, unleſs he gave marks of a ſincere Repentance. Had this Prince been more weak, or leſs able, he would never have got clear of ſo ſlippery and dangerous an Affair. But his Reſolution on this occaſion (5), his Preſents to the Cardinals (6), and his repeated Proteſtations, to ſubmit to the Sentence that ſhould be pronounced in *England*, averted this terrible Blow (7).

The Pope intends to puſh him vigorouſly.

Henry *acts with Addreſs and Reſolution.* Brompton. Gervas. Hoved. M. Paris.

He forms the Deſign of conquering Ireland. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

Whilſt this Affair was tranſacting at *Rome*, *Henry* reſumed the Project of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, formed ſome years before, but deferred on account of his Quarrel with *Becket*. The *Iriſh* taking ſome *Engliſhmen* Priſoners, and afterwards ſelling them for Slaves, furniſhed him with a Pretence to form this Enterprize. But the real motive was the Deſire of enlarging his Dominions by the Conqueſt of an Iſland adjacent to *England* (8). Two favourable conjunctures induced him to think of this Conqueſt. In the firſt place, he was at Peace with all his Neighbours. And ſecondly, *Adrian* IV, a native of *England*, being then Pope, he hoped eaſily to obtain his Approbation. Though the Outrages committed by the *Iriſh* upon his Subjects might be one reaſon of his intended Expedition, that was not the thing he alledged to the Pope to obtain his conſent. The Glory of God and the Salvation of Souls, plauſible Pretences, but which rarely ſet Princes upon Projects of this nature, were the Arguments he urged to prevail with *Adrian* to approve his Deſign. To theſe he added another, and no leſs powerful Motive, the enlarging the Juriſdiction and Revenues of the Holy See. He pretended, the *Iriſh* being Schiſmaticks and bad Chriſtians, it was neceſſary to put them in the right way, and oblige them to acknowledge the Papal Authority, which 'till then had been diſregarded by them: That the propereſt means to that end was to bring them into ſubjection to the Crown of *England*, which had ever been devoted to the Holy See. This is what we find in the *Bull* ſent him by *Adrian* on this occaſion, where we may further obſerve, what Power the Popes aſſumed to themſelves, and how attentive they were to every thing that might help to increaſe their Authority.

This Project had been approved by Adrian IV.

ADRIAN,

SERVANT *of the* SERVANTS *of* GOD,

To his Son, in CHRIST JESUS, HENRY *King of* ENGLAND;

Sends Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.

Adrian's *Bull to encourage the* Iriſh *Expedition.* Gir. Camb. An. 1154. Diceto. M. Paris. p. 95.

"THE deſire your Magnificence expreſſes to advance the Glory of your Name on Earth, and "to obtain in Heaven the Prize of eternal Happineſs, de- "ſerves

(1) This Year the *Welſh* broke the Peace, and made Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Territories, but were ſoon reduced to Obedience; and the ſame Year was born *Johanna*, the King's Daughter. *Brompt.* p. 1059.

(2) This Year King *Henry* raiſed, by the Advice and Conſent of his Parliament, *Two-pence* in the Pound, and for the four following Years *One-Penny* for the *Holy-War*. See *Gervas.* p. 1399.

(3) In 1165. *Brompt.* p. 1059.

(4) In 1168, died *Robert de Bellomonte*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, and chief Juſticiary of *England*. *Hoved.* p. 512.

(5) He ordered, that if any Perſon brought into *England* Letters of Excommunication from the Pope, he ſhould be proceeded againſt as a publick Enemy, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1069. *Hoved.* p. 527.

(6) The Perſons he ſent to the Pope, were the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, the Biſhop of *Evreux*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Richard Barre*, &c. *Hoved.* p. 526. The Pope refuſed at firſt to ſee them; but when they found no other Means would prevail, they began to intreat after the *Roman* manner, (as *Gervaſe* expreſſes it,) that is, they diſtributed *five hundred Marks* amongſt the Pope and Cardinals, which ſoon gained them an Audience. *Gervas.* p. 1419.

(7) He returned to *England*, *Auguſt* 5, and viſited *Henry* Biſhop of *Winchеſter*, who was at the Point of Death. *Brompt.* p. 1069. *R. Diceto.* p. 557. *M. Paris*, p. 125.

(8) *Gervaſe* aſſigns this as the Reaſon of it, *Richard*, Nephew of *Hervey de Mont-Maurice*, having incurred King *Henry*'s Indignation, could no way be reſtored to his Favour; whereupon going to his Uncle *Hervey* to *Ireland*, he ſettles there, and in a little time, becomes maſter of large Dominions, and even takes *Dublin*: In order therefore to ſtop his Progreſs, the *Iriſh* invite *Henry* over, &c. *Gervaſe* thinks, another Motive of this Expedition was that *Henry* might the better ſecure himſelf againſt the Pope's Interdict, p. 1420. But ſee *Girald Cambrens.*

1171. "ſerves, no doubt, great Commendations. As a good "Catholick Prince, you are very careful to enlarge the "Borders of the Church, to ſpread the knowledge of the "Truth among the barbarous and ignorant, and to pluck "up Vice by the roots in the Field of the Lord: And "in order to this you apply to us for Countenance and "Direction. We are confident therefore, that by the "Bleſſing of the Almighty, your Undertaking will be "crowned with a Succeſs ſuitable to the noble Motive "which ſets you upon it. For whatever is taken in "hand from a principle of Faith and Religion, never "fails to ſucceed. It is certain, as you yourſelf acknow-"ledge, *Ireland*, as well as all other Iſlands which have "the Happineſs to be enlightned by the Sun of Righte-"ouſneſs, and have ſubmitted to the Doctrines of Chri-"ſtianity, are unqueſtionably St. *Peter*'s Right, and be-"long to the Juriſdiction of the *Roman* Church. We "judge therefore, after maturely conſidering the Enter-"prize you propoſe to us, that it will be proper to ſettle "in that Iſland Colonies of the Faithful, who may be "well-pleaſing to God.

"You have advertiſed us, moſt dear Son in Chriſt, of "your Deſign of an Expedition into *Ireland*, to ſubject "the Iſland to juſt Laws, and to root out Vice, which "has long flouriſhed there. You promiſe to pay Us out "of every Houſe a yearly Acknowledgment of one "Penny, and to maintain the Rights of the Church, "without the leaſt Detriment or Diminution. Upon "which Promiſe, giving a ready ear to your Requeſt, "we conſent and allow that you make a Deſcent in "that Iſland, to enlarge the Bounds of the Church, to "check the Progreſs of Immorality, to reform the Man-"ners of the Natives, and to promote the Growth of "Virtue and the Chriſtian Religion. We exhort you "to do whatever you think proper to advance the Ho-"nour of God and the Salvation of the People, whom "we charge to ſubmit to your Juriſdiction, and own you "for their Sovereign Lord; provided always that the "Rights of the Church are inviolably preſerved, and the "*Peter-Pence* duly paid. If therefore, you think fit to "put your Deſign in execution, labour above all things "to improve the Inhabitants of the Iſland in Virtue. "Uſe both your own and the Endeavours of ſuch as you "ſhall judge worthy to be employed in this Work, that "the Church of God be enriched more and more, that "Religion flouriſh in the Country, and that the things "tending to the Honour of God and Salvation of Souls, "be in ſuch manner diſpoſed, as may entitle you to an "eternal Reward in Heaven, and an immortal Fame "upon Earth."

Remarks on this Bull.

Theſe are the Foundations of *Henry*'s Pretenſions to *Ireland*. In reading the *Bull*, it is hard to know, which of the two acted with the greateſt Diſſimulation, the King or the Pope. *Henry* alledged falſe Pretences to cover his Ambition, and *Adrian* pretended to believe him, in order to have the Diſpoſal of a Country which belonged not to him, and the transferring it to a Prince who had no manner of Right to it. But it is eaſy to diſcover, through all theſe Diſguiſes, the Motives which influenced the Pope. *Ireland* had not yet acknowledged the Superiority of the *Roman* See over the whole Chriſtian Church. That was the Immorality which was to be rooted out of the Field of the Lord. Submiſſion to the Biſhop of *Rome*, was the Seed that was to be carefully ſown and cheriſhed, to the end the *Roman* Church might reap a plentiful Harveſt. What elſe can be meant by ſpreading the Knowledge of the Truth, where the Chriſtian Religion was ſo long before embraced? However this be, *Henry* ſupported with the Pope's Approbation, and authorized by his Exhortations, waited only a favourable opportunity to execute his Deſign, which was obſtructed ſome Years by *Becket*'s Affair. He was no ſooner clear of that Incumbrance, but he reſumed the ſame Project, bent upon executing it, the moment he ſhould make a Peace with *France*, with which he was then at War. However, though the War was not yet ended, an opportunity offered, which he failed not to embrace. But before I relate the Succeſs of this Undertaking, it will be neceſſary to give ſome Account of that Iſland, which we ſhall ſoon ſee united to the *Engliſh* Monarchy.

Situation, Largeneſs, and Advantages of Ireland *Camden in Ireland.*

Ireland is ſituated on the Weſt of *Great-Britain*, from which it is parted by an Arm of the Sea, called St. *George*'s *Channel*, in ſome Places not above three Leagues wide. The Iſland is in length from South to North, about three hundred, and in breadth from Eaſt to Weſt, two hundred Miles. It is certain, in all *Europe* there is not a more temperate Climate than that of *Ireland*. Exceſſive Heat and Cold are ſeldom known there, becauſe the Vapours, riſing from the ſurrounding Sea, generally quallify theſe two Extremes. The ſoil is very fertile, eſpecially in the ſouthern Parts. They who ſay no wheat grows there, mean no doubt, the northern Parts, where the People commonly live upon Oat-Bread. But every where elſe there is good Wheat, and in Plenty ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the Natives. However the Iſland abounds moſt with Paſture-Grounds, and its chiefeſt Wealth conſiſts in a great Breed of Cattle. The Sea is ſtocked with ſuch Plenty of Fiſh, that were the Inhabitants deſtitute of all other Food, that alone would be ſufficient to ſuſtain them. But the moſt conſiderable Advantage this Iſland enjoys, is a commodious Situation for Trade and Commerce, not only with all *Europe*, but other Parts of the World. Add to this the great Number of good Ports which facilitate the Exportation of its Commodities. Theſe Advantages have ſo raiſed the Jealouſy of the *Engliſh*, that ever ſince their Conqueſt of the Iſland, they have had nothing more at heart than the preventing of the *Iriſh* from extending their Commerce, leſt the Trade of *England* ſhould thereby receive too great a Prejudice. It is no wonder, an Iſland ſo fertile, ſo well ſituated, and ſo near *England*, ſhould attract the Eyes of *Henry* II, who ſet no bounds to his Ambition. 1171.

Gir. Cam. in Topog. Hibern.

Its firſt Inhabitants.

If we may believe ſome *Iriſh* Hiſtorians, the firſt Inhabitants of this Iſland are to be traced beyond the Flood. But others leſs prejudiced in this Point, give the following Account of their Origin. They pretend, that from the third Age of the World, *Ireland* was inhabited with *Scyths*, whoſe Number, in the fourth (1), were conſiderably augmented by Colonies of *Spaniards*. Theſe two Nations, in proceſs of time, not only peopled *Ireland*, but the *Hebrides* alſo, from whence part of them went and ſettled in *North-Britain*, as was obſerved in the Introduction.

Divers Names of this Iſland.

Several Names have been given this Iſland, all formed from the Word *Erin*, the Name given it by the Natives themſelves. Such as *Ierna*, *Juverna*, *Iouernia*, *Ouernia*, *Bernia*, *Hybernia*, which plainly own all the ſame Origin. The *Britons* ſtiled it in their Language *Yverdon*. The *Romans*, *Hybernia*, and the *Saxons*, *Iren-landt*, that is, *the Country of Iren* or *Erin*. The Etymology of the Word *Erin* is not well known; but *Camden*'s Conjecture, who derives it from an *Iriſh* Word ſignifying *Weſt*, ſeems very probable, becauſe in reality *Ireland* is the moſt weſtern Iſland of *Europe* (2). *Iſidore* and *Bede* call it *Scotia*, with reſpect to the Inhabitants, who for the moſt part came from *Scythia*, as was ſaid before, and for that reaſon were called *Scots*. The ſame Writers term it alſo *Scotia Major*, to diſtinguiſh it from *North-Britain* inhabited by the ſame Nation. Others give it the Name of *Britannia Parva*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Great-Britain*, pretending that all the Iſles in thoſe Parts ſhould be called the *Britannick* Iſlands. We are ſtill more in the dark with regard to the Origin of the *Iriſh* Tongue, which has nothing, not even its Letters, in common with the Languages of the neighbouring Nations.

Ptolem.

Its Language different from all others.

Converſion of the Iriſh. Ninnius.

Pope *Celeſtinus* I, was the firſt that undertook the Converſion of the *Iriſh* to Chriſtianity, by ſending *Palladius* to preach the Goſpel to them. But being deprived of this their firſt Biſhop by an untimely Death, *Patrick*, Diſciple of St. *Germanus*, was ſent in his ſtead, who converted moſt of the *Natives*. Their Poſterity have all along conſidered him as their Apoſtle, and ſtill hold him in great veneration. Shortly after their Converſion, *Ireland* abounded with Monks, who for the moſt part became ſo famous for their Sanctity, that they were the occaſion of the Iſland's being termed *the Country of Saints*. From hence great Numbers of learned and zealous Men came forth, who greatly promoted the Converſion of the *Albin-Scots*, *Picts*, and *Anglo-Saxons*. Such were *Columbanus*, *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colman*, *Kilian*, and many others ſpoken of elſewhere.

The great Fame of the firſt Iriſh *Monks.*

Religion and Learning which flouriſhed in *Ireland* (3), were expelled thence by foreign Invaſions, to which that Iſland was frequently expoſed. A King of *Northumberland* (4) ſent a numerous Army thither, which committed great Ravages. Afterwards, the *Norwegians* waſted the Country in a terrible manner above thirty Years, under the conduct of one *Turgeſius*, who at length was cut off by an Ambuſcade. This Devaſtation was quickly followed by an Invaſion of certain People from *Germany*, called by Hiſtorians *Eſtmanni*, that is, *the Men of the Eaſt*. Shortly after, *Edgar* King of *England* ſubdued *Ireland*, if a Charter that goes under his Name may be credited, where he makes his Boaſts of that Conqueſt. But how great ſoever

Ireland ſuffers much from Invaſions.

Girald. Cambrenſis.

(1) They have not explained what they mean by the third and fourth Ages of the World. *Rapin.*

(2) *Bochartus* derives *Hiberna* from *Ibernae*, a *Phœnician* Word, ſignifying *the farthest Habitation.*

(3) *Camden* obſerves, that the *Saxons* in thoſe Days flocked to *Ireland*, as to the *great Mart of Learning*; Which is the Reaſon why we ſo often find this in our Writers, *Such a one ſent his Son over to* Ireland *to be educated.* Vide Bed. l. 3. c. vii. and xxvii.

(4) *Egfrid.* See *Hiſtory of Northumberland*, p. 51.

the

1171. *Domeſtick Diſſentions.* the Deſolations were that this Iſland ſuffered from the hands of Foreigners, inteſtine Diviſions cauſed ſtill greater Miſchiefs. The *Iriſh* were hardly freed from the Invaſions of the Foreigners, and particularly the *Danes*, who made them, no leſs than the *Engliſh*, feel the effects of their Fury, when a Civil War broke out among them, which ended in the Partition of the Iſland into ſeveral petty States. Theſe Kingdoms, which at firſt were numerous, and conſequently very ſmall, were at length reduced to ſeven, namely, *Connaught*, *Cork*, *Leinſter*, *Oſſery*, *Meath*, *Limerick*, and *Ulſter* (1). The King of *Connaught*, the principal of theſe petty Sovereigns, kept the reſt in a ſort of Dependence, with much the ſame Authority as the *Anglo-Saxon* Monarchs formerly enjoyed during the *Heptarchy*. This is the reaſon why the *Iriſh Annals* give *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, who reigned in the Time of *Henry* II, the Title of Monarch, tho' there were more Kings beſides him in the Iſland. Such was the State and Condition of *Ireland*, when the *Engliſh* undertook the Conqueſt of it (2). A Difference between two of theſe Kings, the weakeſt of whom invited the *Engliſh* to his aſſiſtance, was the occaſion of the *Iriſh* loſing their Liberty. This was not the firſt time, the like Cauſe had produced the like Effect. An imprudence of the ſame nature furniſhed the *Moors* with an opportunity of conquering *Spain*, and the *Anglo-Saxons* of ſubduing *Britain*. Hence it appears how dangerous it is to invite Foreigners into a Kingdom, who cannot be afterwards expelled with the ſame eaſe.

Ireland parcelled out into ſeven Kingdoms.

An. 1066.

The King of Leinſter deſires Aid of Henry. Girald. Cambrenſis.

Among the Sovereigns then reigning in *Ireland*, *Dermot* King of *Leinſter* was one of the moſt conſiderable, by the Extent of his Dominions. From this Prince's acceſſion to the Throne, he had acted ſo arbitrarily, that he was grown extremely odious to his Subjects. But he made ſlight of his People's Hatred, being at Peace with his Neighbours, who concerned not themſelves with what paſſed in that Kingdom. However, he afterwards gave them occaſion himſelf, by [debauching and] carrying away the Wife of *O-Roric* King of *Meath*. *O-Roric*, to revenge the Affront, levied an Army, and with the help of *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, attacked *Dermot*, who, finding himſelf abandoned by his Subjects, was forced to leave *Ireland*, for fear of falling into the hands of his Enemy. As he had no refuge in the Iſland, where the reſt of the Kings refuſed to engage in his Quarrel, he went and implored the Protection of the King of *England*, who was then in *France*. Having informed him of his Caſe, he promiſed to become his Vaſſal, if by his Aid he was reſtored to his Throne. Nothing could be more grateful than this Propoſal, to a Prince who had been long meditating the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, and wanted only an opportunity to interpoſe in the Affairs of that Iſland.

Henry promiſes him Aid.

Mean while, as his War then with *France* permitted him not immediately to aſſiſt the fugitive King, he contented himſelf with promiſing, as ſoon as the War was over, to aid him to the utmoſt of his power. Nevertheleſs, he thought it his Intereſt to perſuade *Dermot* to begin a War, from whence he hoped himſelf to reap great Advantage. To that end, he adviſed him to go into *England*, and endeavour to obtain what Aſſiſtance he could from ſome *Engliſh* Barons, in expectation of greater Forces. *Dermot* followed his Advice, and relying on *Henry*'s Word, came into *England*, where *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Richard Strong-bow* (3) Earl of *Pembroke* agreed with him upon certain Conditions. The former was prevailed with in hopes of making a conſiderable Fortune in *Ireland*. The latter, who had large Poſſeſſions in *England* and *Wales*, was gained by *Dermot*'s Promiſe, to give him his only Daughter in Marriage, and ſettle the Succeſſion upon him.

Two Engliſh Lords make an Alliance with Dermot.

They arrive in Ireland, and take Wexford.

Theſe two Lords having drawn together ſome Troops among their Friends and Vaſſals, *Fitz-Stephen*, who was firſt ready, accompanied *Dermot* into *Ireland*, with four hundred Men (4). Being landed near *Waterford*, the King of *Leinſter* led them before the City of *Wexford*, not far from thence. The City being preſently taken, was given to *Fitz-Stephen*, who ſettled there a Colony of *Engliſh* (5). After this Exploit, the Adventurers re-inforcing their little Army to the Number of three thouſand Men by the Junction of the Natives (6), marched againſt the King of *Oſſery*. This Prince, who did not expect to be attacked, being unprepared for his Defence, was forced to ſubmit to what Terms the Conquerors were pleaſed to impoſe.

1171. *They ſubdue the King of Oſſery.*

The King of Connaught tries in vain to ſend back the Engliſh.

Mean time, *Roderic* the Monarch had convened the States of the Iſland, and cauſed them to reſolve upon a War with *Dermot* and the *Engliſh*. Indeed, it was eaſy to perceive, their Deſigns were not confined to the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Leinſter*. But as the Adventurers were now grown very formidable, he was willing, before he ran any hazard, to try by way of Negotiation, to get them out of the Iſland. He addreſſed himſelf firſt to *Fitz-Stephen*, and offered him a conſiderable Sum to retire. His Offer being rejected, he turned to *Dermot*, and endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend away the *Engliſh*, by promiſing to reſtore him to his Kingdom. *Dermot* immediately cloſed with this Propoſal; but when they came to perform their Covenants, miſtruſting each other, they could agree neither upon the Time nor the Manner. Whilſt they were employed in deviſing Expedients for their mutual Security, the Earl of *Pembroke* arrived from *England* with twelve hundred Men. His firſt Expedition was the taking of *Waterford*, and putting the Inhabitants all to the ſword. This Conqueſt breaking off the Negotiation, the Earl of *Pembroke* married *Dermot*'s Daughter, and quickly after took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Leinſter*, fallen to him by the Death of his Father-in-law. The *Iriſh* gave that Prince the Sirname of *Ningal*, that is, *The Stranger's Friend*.

The Earl of Pembroke arrives.

Dermot dies, and is ſucceeded by the Earl.

The Engliſh take Dublin.

After the Death of *Dermot*, the Adventurers prepared to carry on their Conqueſts. As they ſaw, the Terror of their Arms was ſpread over *Ireland*, they improved the opportunity, and advancing farther, became maſters of *Dublin*, and ſome other Places. *Roderic* and the reſt of the Kings were in ſuch Confuſion, that they very faintly oppoſed the Progreſs of the Foreigners. It is almoſt incredible, that the *Iriſh*, who were exceeding numerous, ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be thus over-run by a handful of *Engliſhmen*. The reaſon is imputed to their great Dread of the *Engliſh* Croſs-bows, the uſe of which, 'till then, was unknown to them.

The Reaſon of their ſwift Progreſs.

Henry jealous of the Adventurers.

Upon News of this extraordinary Succeſs, *Henry* grew jealous of the Adventurers. He was in hopes they would have wanted his Aſſiſtance, and thereby given him a Pretence to paſs into *Ireland* himſelf, and ſubdue the Iſland. But finding, the ſaint Reſiſtance of the *Iriſh* rendered his Aid needleſs, he was afraid, the Conquerors would become maſters of the whole Country, which he deſigned for himſelf. In this belief, he thought it neceſſary to oblige them to apply to him. To this end, he forbids the exporting Proviſions or Ammunition to *Ireland*, and commands all his Subjects to return from thence. Theſe Orders, which were iſſued on pretence the Adventurers had engaged in their Undertaking without his leave, ſucceeded to his expectation. As ſoon as the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Fitz-Stephen* were informed of the King's Edict, they ſent Deputies to aſſure him of their Obedience, and tell him, all their preſent and future Conqueſts were at his Command. This Submiſſion eaſily appeaſed the King, who had no farther thoughts of recalling them. Some time after, he made an agreement with them, that he ſhould have all the Sea-ports, and the reſt remain in the Conquerors, to hold of him and his Succeſſors. Matters being thus ſettled, *Henry* went over himſelf into *Ireland* with a formidable Army (7), and landed at *Waterford*. The *Iriſh*, who before could not withſtand a few private Perſons, and conſequently ſaw themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo great Forces, choſe a voluntary Submiſſion. During *Henry*'s ſtay at *Waterford*, he ſaw all the Kings of the Iſland arrive at his Court, and with emulation ſtrive who ſhould firſt ſwear Allegiance.

He calls them home.

They treat with him.

1172. *Henry goes to Ireland. Chron. Camd.*

The whole Iſland ſubmits. R. Diceto.

Thus *Henry*, without ſpilling one drop of Blood, became maſter of *Ireland* in leſs time than was ſufficient to travel over it. After he had placed freſh Garriſons in *Waterford*, *Wexford*, and ſome other maritime Towns,

Henry comes to Dublin, from whence he returns to England. Brompt.

(1) Theſe ſeven Kingdoms were reduced to four large Provinces, into which the Iſland is at preſent divided, *Ulſter*, *Leinſter*, *Munſter*, and *Connaught*. *Rapin*. To which formerly was added *Meath*, now reckoned part of *Leinſter*. Theſe four Provinces are divided into thirty-two Counties or Shires, four Archbiſhopricks, and eighteen Biſhopricks.

(2) Their Rendezvous was at *Pembroke*. *Gervas*, p. 1419. *Hoveden*, p. 527.

(3) *Richard de Clare*, ſirnamed *Strong-bow*, Earl of *Striguil*, or *Strigbul*, (a Caſtle in *Monmouthſhire*) and of *Pembroke*. See *Camden*. They were alſo joined by *Milo de Cogzebam*. *Hoved.* p. 512.

(4) About four hundred and ninety, according to *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, p. 761.

(5) Theſe were the firſt *Engliſh* ſettled in *Ireland*, where they have continued ever ſince, retaining ſtill our ancient Garb, and much of our old Language, with a mixture of *Iriſh*. *Camden* has given us a Liſt of ſuch as went into *Ireland* with *Dermot*. Who (beſides *Richard Strong-bow*, *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, *Miles de Cogban*, already mentioned) were, *Maurice de Prendergeſt*, *Hervey de Mont-Mariſh*, *Robert Barr*, *Meiler Meilerine*, *Maurice Fitz-Girald*, *Redmund*, *William Ferrand*, *Richard de Cogban*, *Gualter de Ridensford*, *Gualter* and *Alexander*, Sons of *Maurice Girald*, *William Notte*, *Robert Fitz-Bernard*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *William Fitz-Aldelm*, *William Macarell*, *Humphrey Bohun*, *Hugh de Gundevill*, *Philip de Haſting*, *Hugh Tirell*, *David Walſh*, *Robert Poer*, *Oſbert de Harlcter*, *William de Bendenges*, *Adam de Gerneu*, *Philip de Breos*, *Griffin*, Nephew of *Stephen*, *Ralph Fitz-Stephen*, *Walter Bar*, *Philip Walſh*, *Adam de Hereford*, *John de Curcy*, *Hugh Contilon*, *Redmund Continore*, *Redmund Fitz-Hugh*, *Miles* of St. *David's*, &c. *Camden in Ireland.*

(6) The Army was ſtrengthened by the Arrival (in the ſame Place) of *Maurice de Prendergeſt*, with ſome Soldiers and Archers in two Ships. It does not appear they were joined by the Natives.

(7) He went over from *Pembroke* with four hundred Sail, and landed in *Ireland*, *OS.* 18. *Gervas*, p. 1419. *R. Diceto*, p. 558. *Brompt.* p. 1070.

1172. purſuant to his Agreement with the Adventurers, he came to *Dublin*, where he made ſome Regulations for the Government of his new Conqueſt (1). Shortly after, he ſet out for *England* (2), leaving at *Dublin*, *Hugh Lacy*, to govern the Iſland in his Name, with the Title of *Juſticiary of Ireland* (3).

If they who are acquainted with the Largeneſs and Importance of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, are ſurprized at the Eaſe wherewith the *Engliſh* ſubdued it, they will have no leſs reaſon to wonder, when they ſee, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, how troubleſome it was to keep it. There are who, conſidering the Blood and Treaſure that were ſpent to maintain the *Engliſh* in their Conqueſts, ſcruple not to ſay, it would have been better for them, the Iſland had been in the bottom of the Sea. It is certain, their keeping it to this Day, is not ſo much for the Profit they receive from thence, as to prevent its falling into the hands of a foreign Power. For, it cannot become ſubject to a new Maſter, without great Detriment to the Commerce of *England*.

He meets the Pope's Legate in Normandy. Brompt. Hoved. Gervas. M. Paris.

Henry had not time to ſtay any longer in *Ireland*. He was in haſte to go to *Normandy*, to meet the Pope's Legates (4), ſent to examine into *Becket*'s Murder. Four whole Months were ſpent in this matter. Though the Legates had Orders to give the King Abſolution, they took from all hands Depoſitions, to try to prove him guilty, in order to enhance the Favor he was going to receive from his Holineſs. In ſhort, after many Difficulties and Delays, he was permitted to clear himſelf by a ſolemn Oath, that he neither commanded, nor conſented to, *Becket*'s Aſſaſſination. He publickly declared, He was extremely ſorry for being the occaſion, by the words he had imprudently dropped, and was ready to undergo what Penance the Legates ſhould enjoin. Upon this Oath and Declaration, he was abſolved from his pretended Crime (5), on Terms denoting the Pope's Favour more than his Innocence. To obtain this Abſolution, he bound himſelf, I. Never to oppoſe the Pope's Will, ſo long as he was uſed as a Catholick Prince. II. Not to hinder Appeals to the Holy See. III. To lead an Army to the *Holy-Land* againſt the Infidels, and remain there at leaſt three Years ſucceſſively. However, he was at liberty to ſend thither only two hundred Men (6), in caſe he choſe rather to go in Perſon againſt the *Saracens* in *Spain*. IV. To recall all that were baniſhed on account of the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to reſtore to them their Eſtates and Revenues. V. Laſtly, To aboliſh all Laws and Cuſtoms lately introduced to the Prejudice of the Church of *Canterbury*, or any other Church in *England*. To theſe which were made publick, was added a ſecret Article, whereby the King obliged himſelf to go barefoot to *Becket*'s Tomb, and receive Diſcipline from the hands of the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*. Thus ended this Affair, which, notwithſtanding *Henry*'s Steadineſs in the beginning, turned at length to the Pope's Advantage, and carried his Power and Authority to a greater height than ever. Indeed, this Inſtance was exceeding proper to ſtrike Terror into all the Sovereigns, being an evident Demonſtration, how dangerous it was to contradict the Pleaſure of the Court of *Rome*. How juſt Cauſe had they to fear ſo formidable a Power, which had treated with ſuch Indignity one of the moſt potent Princes in *Europe* (7)?

He ſwears to his Innocence of Becket's Murder, and is abſolved. Brompt. Diceto. Hoved.

The Terms of his Abſolution. Hoved. Brompt. Gervaſe. Diceto. M. Paris.

1173. Roger *elected Archbiſhop.* Gervas.

In the beginning of the Year 1173, *Roger* Abbot of *Beck* in *Normandy*, was choſen Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, after the See had been vacant a little above a Twelvemonth (8).

1173. *A great Conſpiracy againſt the King.* Hoved. Higd. M. Paris.

Henry imagined, after maſtering ſo many Difficulties, he ſhould paſs the reſidue of his Days in Peace, amidſt the Grandeur and Glory he was encircled with. But he quickly found, there were other Vexations, beſides thoſe in *Becket*'s Affair, capable of diſturbing his Felicity. During his Abſence, a Conſpiracy was formed againſt him, ſo much the more dangerous, as his Queen, and his own Sons were the Authors. Beſides, it was countenanced by ſome of the principal Barons of the Realm (9), and ſeveral foreign Princes. Queen *Eleanor* was moved to it by her extreme Jealouſy, of which the King had given her but too juſt Cauſe. Among his many Miſtreſſes, fair *Roſamund*, Daughter of the Lord *Clifford*, having the greateſt Aſcendant over him, became the principal Object of the Queen's Jealouſy, who could not forbear threatning her. *Henry* fancied he had ſecured her from all Attempts, by keeping her in a *Labyrinth* built on purpoſe at *Woodſtock*. But his great Care proved all in vain. Whilſt he was in *Normandy*, the Queen taking advantage of his abſence, found means to diſpatch out of the way this hated Rival that created her ſo much Uneaſineſs (10). After this deed, deſpairing of ever regaining the King's Affection, ſhe purſued her Revenge, and encouraged her Sons to revolt. *Henry*, his eldeſt Son, a young Prince of an exceeding haughty Temper, was weary of bearing the Title of King without the Authority. *Richard*, naturally turbulent and reſtleſs, was tired with being under the Diſcipline of the King, who indeed had made him Earl of *Poictou*, but ſuffered him not to enjoy that Favor. *Geoffrey* had ſtill more Cauſe to complain than his Brothers. He ſaw himſelf deprived of the Government of *Bretagne*, under the ſpecious Pretence of a Guardianſhip, for which he thought he had no longer occaſion. It was not difficult for theſe young Princes, to draw into the Conſpiracy ſeveral *Engliſh* Barons, who hoped to enjoy more Credit and Authority under young *Henry*, than under his Father. The King of *France*, ever jealous of *Henry*'s flouriſhing Condition, very readily engaged in the Project of dethroning him. He was not ſatisfied with aſſiſting the Princes himſelf, but cauſed the Earls of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Blois* his Vaſſals, (the laſt of whom was his Brother-in-law) to enter into the League. *William* King of *Scotland* was prevailed with alſo, to be concerned in an Undertaking which might procure him an opportunity of recovering the Dominions, reſigned by his Brother *Malcolm* to *England*. This Confederacy broke out on a ſudden when *Henry* leaſt expected it. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Bretagne*, were attacked all at once by the Arms of the Confederates. The King of *Scotland* invaded *Cumberland*, and *England* was divided into two Parties, one for the young King and the other for his Father. But before I deſcend to particulars, it will be neceſſary to ſee firſt what meaſures were taken by *Henry*'s Enemies to ſurprize him.

The Authors and Cauſes of it.

Brompt. A. 1151. *The Queen puts Roſamund the King's Miſtreſs to death.*

Reaſons of the Diſcontents of the King's Sons.

After the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, *Henry* intending to go to *Normandy*, paſſed through *England* to take the King his Son along with him (11), being entirely ignorant of the Plots formed in his Abſence. Upon his arrival at *Roan*, he received a Letter from the King of *France*, expreſſing an earneſt Deſire to ſee his Daughter and Son-in-law, and intreating him to let them come and ſpend a few Days at *Paris*. The young Prince, having leave, forthwith repaired to the King his Father-in-law, with whom he took meaſures that the Confederates might all act at the ſame time. Mean while, as he deferred his return under divers pretences, *Henry* grew uneaſy. Perhaps he had received

Brompt. *Henry the Son viſits the King of France, and concerts Meaſures with him againſt his Father.*

(1) And there, without the City, had a Palace built of Wattles, according to the Faſhion of that Country, where he kept his Court 'till the beginning of *February*. *Brompt.* p. 1079.

(2) And landed at *Milford-haven*, near *Pembroke*. *Girald. Cambr.* p. 778.

(3) In 1175, *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, ſent Commiſſioners to King *Henry*, who concluded with him a Treaty on *October* 6, at *Windſor*; which ſee in *Rymer*, Tom. I. p. 41. *Brompt.* p. 1106, 1107. *Hoved.* p. 546, &c.——In 1176, died *Richard* Earl of *Striguil* and *Pembroke*, Juſticiary of *Ireland*, and was ſucceeded by *William Fitz-Aldelin*. *Hoved.* p. 553.——In 1177, King *Henry*, at a Parliament at *Oxford*, divided part of *Ireland* amongſt ſeveral of his great Men. To *Hugh de Lacy*, he gave the whole County of *Meath*, with all its Appurtenances, to hold of him and his Son *John*, for the Service of an hundred Knights. He made him alſo Governor of *Dublin*, with its Appurtenances. On *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Milo de Cogham*, he beſtowed the Kingdom of *Cork*, to hold likewiſe of him and his Son *John*, for the Service of ſixty Knights: Except the City of *Cork*, and one *Cantred*, which the King retained in his hands. To *Herebert Fitz-Herebert*, *William* Earl *Reginald*'s Brother, and *Jollan de la Primerai* their Nephew, he gave the Kingdom of *Limeric*, for the ſame Service, and by the ſame Tenure as the laſt; *Limeric*, and one *Cantred* likewiſe excepted. *William Fitz-Aldelin* his Sewer, he conſtituted Guardian, or Governor of *Wexford*, with its Appurtenances; and *Robert de Poer*, his Marſhal, of *Waterford*, &c. *Hoved.* p. 567.

(4) *Theodinus* and *Albertus*. *Gervas*, p. 1421. King *Henry* went to *Normandy* about the Aſcenſion, and embarked at *Portſmouth*. *Gervas*, *ibid.* *Brompt.* p. 1080. (5) *September* 26. *Gervas*, p. 1422.

(6) He was to give the *Templars* as much Money as ſhould be thought reaſonable to maintain two hundred Soldiers for one Year. *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays, three hundred.

(7) The King of *France* in the mean while taking it ill, and being very troubleſome, becauſe his Daughter had not been crowned with her Huſband Prince *Henry*; *Rotrou* Archbiſhop of *Roan*, *Giles* Biſhop of *Evreux*, and *Roger* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, were ſent to *England* to perform that Ceremony: They landed at *Southampton* about *Auguſt* 24, and the Prince and Princeſs were crowned on the *Sunday* following at *Winchester*. *Gervas*, p. 1421, 1422. *Brompt.* p. 1080. *R. Diceto* ſays, they were crowned *Auguſt* 21. p. 560.

(8) But he refuſing to accept of it, *Richard*, Prior of *Dover*, was choſen in his room. *Gervas*, p. 1423, 1429.

(9) *Ralph de Faie* the Queen's Uncle, and *Hugh de Semtemore*. *M. Paris*, p. 126.

(10) *Tyrrel* obſerves, that our Hiſtorians are wholly ſilent as to the Queen's getting at *Roſamund*; ſo that the Story of her making her drink Poiſon, has no better Foundation than the old Ballad made upon it. It is certain, ſhe did not live long, though the Time of her Death is not mentioned. But after all, unleſs *Brompton*'s Authority is of leſs weight than that of the old Ballad, it is certain that *Roſamund* did not die in 1173, and that ſhe was not poiſoned by Queen *Eleanor*. For *Brompton* expreſly ſays, That, after King *Henry* had impriſoned his Queen *Eleanor*, he became an Adulterer, and kept publickly, for a long while, *Roſamund*. p. 1151. She was buried in the Church belonging to *Godſtow* Nunnery, near *Oxford*, where her Epitaph, which *Brompton* gives you, was to be ſeen in his Time; and is as follows:

Hic jacet in tumba, Roſa mundi, non Roſa munda;	*This Tomb doth here encloſe, The World's moſt beauteous Roſe;*
Non redolet, ſed olet, quæ redolere ſolet. p. 1151.	*Roſe paſſing ſweet e're while, Now nought but Odour vile.* Speed.

There are no remains of the Labyrinth at this Day; but her Monument has been lately repaired and beautified.

(11) He ſent for him over about *All-Saints*. King *Henry* himſelf had been ſome time in *Normandy*. *Brompt.* p. 1082. *Hoved.* p. 581.

1173. ſome dark hints of what was contriving; or was apprehenſive that by too long converſing with *Lewis*, ill impreſſions might be made upon the young Prince. Be this as it will, he ſent for him, and the young King durſt not diſobey, for fear of giving him a ſuſpicion of the Conſpiracy, which it concerned him to keep ſecret. As ſoon as he came back, the King, with his Son, ſet out for *Montferrand*, a ſmall Town in *Auvergne*, where he was to hold a Conference with *Hubert* Earl of *Maurienna*, *Alphonſus* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, *Girard* Earl of *Vienna*, and *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouſe* (1). What Buſineſs he had with theſe Princes, except the Earl of *Maurienna*, I know not. He was to treat with this laſt about a Marriage between *John* his fourth Son, and *Alice*, Daughter of that Earl. This Affair was begun at *Montferrand*, but as it could not be ended there, *Hubert* accompanied the King to *Limoges*, where he preſſed him to declare what he would do for the Prince his Son, on account of the Marriage. *Henry* offered to ſettle on *John* the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, which the young King, who was preſent, oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power. He alledged, it was very ſtrange, the King ſhould aſſign an Appennage to his youngeſt Son, whilſt he refuſed the ſame during his Life, to the eldeſt, who bore the Title of King without having wherewithal to ſupport the Dignity. This Oppoſition created a great Coldneſs between the Father and Son, which was farther encreaſed by the young King's demanding *Normandy* of his Father (2), 'till he ſhould come to the Crown of *England*. His aim in this Demand was only, to find a Pretence to complain in order to open the Scene concerted with the King of *France*.

The King ſends for him. Virg. Brompt. R. Diceto. Gervas. Hoved.

Project of a Marriage between Prince John and the Daughter of the Earl of Maurienna. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 33. R. Diceto. Hoved. Brompt. Gervaſe.

Falling out between the King and his eldeſt Son. Brompt.

The King is ſuſpicious of him.

Henry began from that time to ſuſpect what his Son had in his mind (3). As he did not queſtion but he had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the King of *France*, he cauſed him to be ſo narrowly watched, that it was eaſy to ſee he was afraid of his getting away. On the other hand, the young Prince, dreading the Conſequences if the King came to diſcover his Deſigns, reſolved to prevent the Danger. What Care ſoever the Father might take, he could not hinder his Son from privately withdrawing from Court, and poſting to the King of *France* (4). This entirely confirmed the old King in his Suſpicions. But, he was ſtill ignorant what his Son's Deſign might be. As ſoon as the Queen, who reſided at *London*, had intelligence of the King her Son's Arrival at *Paris*, ſhe ſent thither likewiſe *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, before *Henry* had time to give Orders about them. Thus the old King ſaw himſelf forſaken on a ſudden by his own Family, without knowing yet what all theſe Proceedings would tend to. His Wrath, which he could not then vent upon his Sons, fell upon the Queen, whom he cauſed to be cloſely confined; but reaped no other Benefit from thence, but the Pleaſure of being revenged (5). Quickly after, the confederate Princes attacking him in ſeveral Places, he ſtood in need of all his Reſolution to bear ſo many Vexations, and of all his Prudence, to oppoſe ſo many Enemies. *Richard* repaired to *Guienne*, where he cauſed the greateſt part of the Country to rebel. *Geoffrey* raiſing an Inſurrection in *Bretagne*, put himſelf at the head of it, with deſign to wreſt from the King his Father the Government of that Dukedom. *Normandy* was attacked by the King of *France*, aſſiſted by the Earls of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Blois*. The King of *Scotland* made an Irruption into the northern parts of *England* (6). The Earl of *Leiceſter* (7) landed at *Southampton* (8) an Army levied in *France*, in expectation of a general Revolt of the *Engliſh* againſt the King. Thus *Henry* ſaw, in all Parts of his Dominions, hoſtile Armies, againſt whom he was wholly unprepared.

Gervas. *He withdraws to the King of France.* Dicto. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

Eleanor ſends away Richard and Geoffrey, for which ſhe is impriſoned. Pol. Virg. Gervaſe.

The King is attacked in ſeveral Places. Brompt.

R. Diceto. Gervas. Brompt. M. Paris. Hoved.

Mean while young *Henry*, who continued at *Paris*, acted as if he had been ſole King of *England*. He received the Homage of the Vaſſals; made Grants and Donations of the Crown-Lands (9); aſſigned Penſions out of the publick Revenues, and had his Seal apart (10), as if the King his Father had no more Right to intermeddle in the Government of his Kingdom. He would not keep ſo much as a ſingle Perſon about him that did not ſwear Fealty to him, independent of that due to the old King. The young Prince thought he had taken ſuch ſure meaſures, that he looked upon the King his Father's Ruin as infallible. The King of *France*, willing to cheriſh this Belief, affected continually to throw out ſatirical Jeſts againſt old *Henry*, and would hardly bear he ſhould be called King in his preſence. The truth is, the Ruin of that Monarch ſeemed to be at hand, ſince he had ſo many Enemies to deal with at once. But if he had ſhown ſome want of Reſolution in his Quarrel with the Pope, it was otherwiſe on this occaſion. Never did his Virtues ſhine with more luſtre, than when he ſaw himſelf forced as it were to yield to his ill-fortune, and reduced to extremity. Animated with freſh Courage at the ſight of the impending Danger, he managed his Affairs with ſo much Firmneſs, Prudence, and Forecaſt, that in ſpite of the Obſtacles which ſtarted up inceſſantly, and from all Quarters, he obtained in the end a glorious Advantage over all his Enemies. The King of *France* was obliged to abandon *Verneuil* (11), which coſt him a long Siege (12). An Army of *Brabanſons*, ſent by *Henry* into *Bretagne* (13), vanquiſhed the Rebels, upon which they returned to their duty. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was defeated in *England*, and taken Priſoner by *Humphrey Bohun* (14) General of the *Engliſh* Army, who took the opportunity of a Truce made with the King of *Scotland*, to give the Earl Battle (15). As ſoon as the Truce was expired, *William* renewed his Ravages in *Northumberland*. But whilſt he was intent upon the Plunder, he unfortunately, or rather imprudently, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by the *Engliſh* General, who routed his Army, and took him Priſoner (16). The *Scots* pretend this was during the Truce; but the *Engliſh* affirm, it was after the expiration. However it be, the King being fallen into the hands of the *Engliſh*, was carried firſt to *Richmond* Caſtle, and from thence conveyed into *Normandy* (17).

1173. Henry *the Son acts as ſole King.* Walſing. M. Paris. Hoved. Brompton. Gervas.

The old King defends himſelf vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully. Diceto.

Brompton. Diceto. Hoved.

The Earl of Leiceſter defeated and taken Priſoner.

The King of Scotland made Priſoner. Gervaſe. Hoved. Diceto. M Paris.

Whilſt the Arms of *Henry* were thus crowned with Succeſs in *England*, he was employed in *France* in ſubduing the revolted Cities and Provinces. Though he could not be every where, he ordered it ſo, that in a few months, either by himſelf or by his Generals, he became maſter of the principal Places in *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, and *Bretagne*. Theſe Succeſſes quite broke the meaſures of his Enemies, and intirely diſſipated the Fears he was juſtly ſeized with in the beginning of the War (18).

Henry's *great Succeſs in* France. Brompt. R. Diceto.

Mean time, the King his Son, perceiving him embarraſſed in *France*, took that opportunity of raiſing an Army of *Frenchmen* and *Flemings*. As ſoon as the Troops were ready for Action, he put himſelf at their head, and marched towards *Graveling*, where he deſigned to embark. His Project was to paſs into *England*, and join the King of *Scotland* and Earl of *Leiceſter*, who were not yet defeated. Could he have croſſed the Sea at that Juncture, he would have undoubtedly have been maſter of *England*. But the Wind remained ſo long contrary, that he could not execute this Project. Whilſt he was waiting in vain for a favorable Gale, the King his Father had time to reſtore his Affairs in *France*; after which he embarked at *Barfleur*, and ſafely arrived in *England*. From *Southampton*, where he landed (16), he proceeded directly to *Canterbury*, to do Penance at *Becket's* Tomb, to which he had

Contrary Winds prevent the young King from leading an Army into England. Brompt. R. Diceto.

The old King arrives in England, *and does Penance at* Becket's *Tomb.* Hoved. Gervas. Brompt. Diceto.

(1) *Raymond*, Earl of *Tholouſe* and St. *Giles*, did Homage to King *Henry*, and his Sons *Henry* and *Richard*, for the Earldom of *Tholouſe*, upon Terms which you have in *Brompton*. p. 1082. *Diceto*. p. 561. *Hoved*. p. 533.

(2) *Brompton* ſays, the King of *France* adviſed him to demand, either all *England*, or all *Normandy*, which he accordingly did; or elſe *Anjou*, at leaſt; p. 1082, 1083. *Gervas*. p. 1424. *Hoved*. p. 531.

(3) They both came back to *Chinon* together, about the middle of *Lent*. *Brompt*. p. 1083.

(4) He went firſt to *Alenſon*, and the next Day to *Argenton*. King *Henry* his Father ſent to the Court of *France* to demand him, but received a very rough Anſwer. In the mean time he fortified his Caſtles upon the Frontiers, and provided them with all Neceſſaries. *Brompt*. p. 1083.

(5) He ſent for a Legate from *Rome*, in order to be divorced from her. *Gervas*. p. 1433.

(6) Becauſe King *Henry* refuſed to grant him what his Predeceſſors had enjoyed in *England*. *Diceto*. p. 573. *M. Paris*, p. 128.

(7) The reſt of the Conſpirators in *England*, were, *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers*, *Hugh Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *Thomas de Muſcamp*, *Robert de Lund*, *Richard de Morvill*, *Gervaſe Paynell*, &c. who held out ſome Caſtles againſt him. *Brompt*. p. 1085. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was joined by *Hugh Bigod*; they took *Norwich*, burnt *Hageneth* Caſtle, &c. but the Earl going to *Leiceſter* was defeated. *Diceto*. p. 573.

(8) At *Walton* in *Suffolk*, *September* 28. ſays *Diceto*. p. 573.

(9) To *William* King of *Scotland* he granted all *Northumberland*, as far as the *Tine*; to his Brother the Earldom of *Huntington* and *Cambridgſhire*; to *Hugh Bigod* the Caſtle of *Norwich*; to *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, a thouſand Pounds a Year in *England*, and all *Kent*, with the Caſtle of *Dover* and *Rocheſter*; to *Matthew* Earl of *Boulogne*, the *Soke* of *Kirketon* in *Lincolnſhire*, with the Earldom of *Mortagne*, and Honour of *Haie*; to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, two hundred Pounds in *Anjou*, and the Caſtle of *Amboiſe*. *Hoved*. p. 533, 534.

(10) *Richard de Barre* brought the Seal to King *Henry* the Father, upon which *Henry* his Son had a new one made. *Brompt*. p. 1084.

(11) The *Engliſh* were preparing to engage the *French* Army, but *Lewis* ſet *Verneuil* on fire, and cowardly ran away. The *Engliſh* Generals were *William de Albiney* Earl of *Arundel*, and *William* Earl of *Mandevill*. And the commanding Officers in *Verneuil*, were, *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp*. *Brompt*. p. 1086. *Hoved*. p. 534.

(12) Of a Month. *Hoved*. p. 534.

(13) Above ten thouſand. *Brompt*. p. 186. The Earl of *Cheſter*, *Ralph* Lord of *Fougeres*, *Ralph de Faia*, &c. were then taken Priſoners. *R. Diceto*. p. 574. The *Bretons* were defeated, *Aug*. 19. *Brompt*. p. 1087.

(14) The High Conſtable, and *Richard de Luci*. *Brompt*. p. 1089.

(15) This Battle was fought towards the end of *September*, at *Fornham*, near St. *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*: Above ten thouſand *Flemings* were ſlain. *Brompt*. ibid. *Hoved*. p. 526.

(16) At *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*, *July* 13. 1174. *Brompt*. p. 1092.

(17) And impriſoned at *Falaiſe*, with the Earl of *Leiceſter*. *Brompt*. p. 1090, 1096.

(18) *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* had ſworn on the Goſpels, that he would, within a Fortnight after Midſummer, ſubdue *England* for *Henry* the Son; and accordingly ſent over three hundred and eighteen choice Men, who beſieged *Norwich*. *Diceto*. p. 575.

(19) The Hiſtorians vary much about the Day. *Diceto* ſays, it was *June* 6. p. 576. *Hoved*. *July* 8, and *Brompton*, *July* 12. p. 1095.

1173. obliged himſelf upon receiving Abſolution. When he came in ſight of the Town, he alighted, though he was yet three Miles diſtant, and pulling off his Boots, walked bare-foot in extreme Pain, to the ſacred Tomb (1). There, after reſting a while, he ſubmitted to the ſhameful Penance enjoined him. He was ſcourged by the hands of the Prior and Monks of St. *Auguſtine*'s (2), and ſpent the Night in Prayer in the Cathedral, lying on the cold Pavement. On the morrow, after aſſiſting at a ſolemn Proceſſion round the Tomb, he departed for *London* (3). Care was taken, in order to magnify this new Saint's Credit in the Celeſtial Court, to remark, that *Henry* was indebted for the Victory obtained by his Arms over the King of *Scotland*, to the Interceſſion of the bleſſed St. *Thomas* (4). It was further affirmed, the King himſelf was ſo perſuaded of it, that he publickly returned him Thanks, thereby acknowledging he did not in the leaſt queſtion his Sanctity.

He is ſcourged by the Monks.

Diceto. Hoved. Walt. de Heming. Gervaſe.

He reduces all the Rebels in England.

After *Leiceſter*'s and the King of *Scotland*'s Defeat, the young King's Party not daring to keep the Field any longer, retired to their Strong-Holds and Caſtles. The King's Impatience to ſee them entirely reduced, ſuffered him not to make any Stay at *London*, a few days after his Arrival, he marched with his Army to beſiege the Caſtles, ſtill in the hands of his Son's Adherents (5). But the greateſt part ſurrendered upon his Approach, and the reſt held out but a few days (6). Mean time, the King of *France* deſpairing of Aſſiſtance from *England*, after the defeat of the Confederates, recalled his Troops from *Graveling*, and laid Siege to *Roan*. He was in hopes of being maſter of the City before *Henry* could come to its relief. But the brave reſiſtance of the Inhabitants baffled his deſigns. Upon the firſt notice of the Siege, *Henry* put to Sea (7) with a good Body of Troops, and was ſo expeditious, that he arrived in *Normandy* before *Lewis* had made any great Progreſs. His ſudden coming ſtruck ſuch a Terror into his Enemy, that he raiſed the Siege (8), and retreated in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving all his Baggage behind him. Nay, ſome ſay, he could not retire but by means of a Treaty (9), of which he afterwards made no account.

Brompt. Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris.

Lewis *beſieges* Roan. Brompt. Gervas. Hoved.

Henry *forces him to raiſe the Siege.* Diceto.

Hoved.

Henry's Affairs were then in a more flouriſhing condition than ever. Abſolute Maſter in *England*, he beheld *Scotland* diſheartened by the Impriſonment of her King. *Ireland* continued in Obedience. The *Welſh* remained quiet within their own Bounds. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the other Provinces beyond Sea, were intirely reduced, except a few Caſtles in *Poictou* ſtill in poſſeſſion of Prince *Richard*. No wonder therefore *Lewis*, now above ſixty Years of Age, deſpaired of accompliſhing what he had projected in the beginning of the War. He found, the Confederacy, which he thought capable of pulling down *Henry*, had rather fixed him more firmly in his Throne. On the other hand, he was apprehenſive in caſe he died during the War, *Philip* his Son, who was but ten Years of Age, would be too much incumbred to maintain it. Theſe Conſiderations inſpired him with a deſire to make Peace. *Henry* was of the ſame mind. He ardently wiſhed to deprive his Sons of their only Refuge, the Protection of *France*. *Richard* his ſecond Son, a Prince of a fierce and reſtleſs Temper, was the only Perſon that oppoſed the wiſhed for Peace. But neither his Brothers, nor the King of *France*, thought proper to continue the War for his ſake. They conſented therefore to a Truce, during which they obliged themſelves to give him no Aſſiſtance. *Henry* his Father improved this Juncture to reduce his obſtinate Son to obedience; who at laſt, ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of Support, came and threw himſelf at his Feet, humbly imploring his Pardon. He met with a better Reception than he expected, and attended his Father to the Place, choſen by the two Monarchs to treat in Perſon of the Terms of Peace. As they both ſtood affected, it was not difficult to ſettle the Articles. *Henry* granted a general Pardon to all the Revolters, without any exception. The young King, his eldeſt Son, promiſed to be obedient for the future, and to let Prince *John* his Brother enjoy the Appennage granted him. *Geoffrey* and *Richard* were, or pretended to be, ſatisfied with what the King their Father allotted them. In fine, the King of *France* promiſed to ſurrender to *Henry*, what Caſtles he had taken in the beginning of the War (10). To ſtrengthen the Reconciliation between the two Kings, a Marriage was reſolved upon between *Richard* and *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis*. The Princeſs, who was very young, was delivered to *Henry* the Father, to be educated in *England* till ſhe was marriageable. But he abuſed this Truſt, as will be ſeen in the Sequel (11).

Richard *in vain oppoſes the making Peace.* Hoveden. Gervas.

A Truce between the two Kings, Diceto. Hoved.

1174. *followed by a Peace.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 37. Hoved. Brompton. Diceto. M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 53.

It was further agreed by this Treaty, that all the Priſoners on both Sides ſhould be releaſed (12). But in order to exclude the King of *Scotland*, *Henry* inſerted a Clauſe, importing that thoſe whoſe Ranſoms were already treated of, were not to have the Benefit of this Article. *William* was of this number, and perhaps the only One among all the Priſoners. His Impatience to be at Liberty cauſed him to ſubmit to very hard Terms. He was to make Reſtitution of all he had taken from *England*, and do Homage for his Kingdom to that Crown. Upon his ſwearing to perform theſe Engagements, he was releaſed. As ſoon as *Henry* had ſettled all his Affairs in *France* (13), he repaired to *York* (14), attended by the King his Son, and a numerous Train of Nobility (15). Here in the preſence of the Barons of both Realms, *William* did Homage to the two Kings of *England* for the Kingdom of *Scotland* in general, and for the County of *Galloway* in particular. This Homage was confirmed by the ſolemn Oaths of the Barons of *Scotland*, that in caſe their King ſhould recede from what he had done, they would withdraw their Obedience, and conſent, the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould be put under an Interdict. But as *Henry* did not altogether rely on theſe Engagements, *William*, for his further Security, put into his hands the Caſtles of *Roxborough*, *Berwick*, *Sterling*, and *Edinburgh* (16). This Affair being ended, the young King went back to *France*, where he remained three Years, laying out his time in improving in all the Exerciſes of the Body and Mind proper for a Prince.

The King of Scotland is releaſed upon hard Terms. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 39. Diceto. Pol. Virg. Brompt. Hoved.

He does Homage to both the Henry's for Scotland. Hoved. Brompt.

He delivers up ſeveral Caſtles.

Henry *the Son goes to* France. M. Paris. p. 136.

Peace being reſtored to *England*, where it had long been a Stranger, *Henry* (17) took this opportunity to enact new Laws (18), and revive others that were neglected. Generally the Laws which are for the Advantage of the Sovereigns are very ſtrictly obſerved, becauſe they themſelves ſee it done; but they are too frequently apt to neglect thoſe that are beneficial to the People. By this means they continually enlarge their Authority. But then it is often the cauſe of Rebellions, which ſometimes are more prejudicial to Kings, than the Laws they neglect or evade. *Henry* lately experienced, in a ſenſible manner, how dangerous it is to deal with a diſcontented Nation. Moreover, his three Sons, who had improved this diſpoſition, were ſtill alive and well, and in appearance, not much altered by his late Peace with them. He thought therefore in order to prevent them from engaging in a freſh Rebellion, it was his Intereſt to gain the People's Affection by reviving the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*. As theſe Laws were very advantagious for the Subject, in compariſon of thoſe of the *Norman* Kings, which tended ſolely to the augmenting the Revenues of the Prince, and ſtretching the Royal Prerogative, both Nobles and People paſſionately longed for their Re-eſtabliſhment. They had

1175. Henry *confirms the Laws of St.* Edward. M. Paris. Brompt. p. 1108.

(1) He and his Son went again in Pilgrimage to it in 1175. *June* 10. *R. Diceto.* p. 577. *Brompt.* p. 1102.
(2) Receiving from each three or five Laſhes. *Diceto.* p. 577. *M. Paris.* p. 130.
(3) And gave forty Pounds a Year, for finding perpetual Lights round *Becket*'s Tomb. *Diceto.* p. 577.
(4) It happened, that very Day the King left *Canterbury*, being the 13th of *July*, the King of *Scotland* was taken Priſoner, which the *Monks* imputed to the Merits of *Becket*. And the ſame Day alſo, his Son *Henry*'s Ships, wherewith he intended to paſs into *England*, were diſperſed by a Storm. *R. Diceto.* p. 577.
(5) Thoſe of *Huntington*, *Framlingham*, *Bungrey*, *Northampton*, *Alverton*, *Groby*, *Mounſorell*, *Thresk*, *Tuthury*, *Duffield*. *Brompt.* p. 1095, 1096. *Diceto.* p. 577, 578. *Hoved.*
(6) *Hugh Bigod* paid the King a thouſand Marks, and was pardoned; as were alſo *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *William* Earl of *Glocester*, *Richard* Earl of *Clare*, &c. *Diceto.* p. 578.
(7) At *Portſmouth*; and landed at *Barfleur*, *Auguſt* 6. He came to *Roan* the 10th. *Brompt.* p. 1096. *Diceto.* p. 578.
(8) About the middle of *Auguſt*. *Gervaſe*, p. 142.
(9) Which was concluded between *Tours* and *Amboiſe*, *October* 11. *Diceto.* p. 578.——About this time *Adulph de Warneville*, Sacriſt of *Roan*, and Treaſurer of *York*, was made High Chancellor of *England*. *Diceto.* p. 567.
(10) See the Terms of this Peace at length in *Diceto*, p. 582. *Hoved.* p. 540, 541.
(11) In 1177, a Legate came from *Rome*, to lay *England* under an Interdict, unleſs King *Henry* would let them marry: Upon which they came to Terms of Agreement. *Gervas.* p. 1442.
(12) King *Henry* the Father, ſet nine hundred and ſixty nine at Liberty, without ranſom; but the Son made all his Priſoners pay. *Diceto.* p. 583.
(13) King *Henry* having kept his Court, during *Chriſtmas* at *Argenton*, went into *Anjou*; and *February* 24. had a Conference with *Lewis* at *Giſors*; from whence *Henry* going into *Anjou*, fortified his Caſtles, leaving his Son at *Roan*. After *Mid-lent*, he returned to *Caen*, and ſent to his Son, who was ſtill at *Roan*, orders to come along with him to *England*, but he refuſed This he did through the perſuaſion of the King of *France*, but at laſt his Father's kind Meſſages melted his Heart into a Compliance, and young *Henry* came and did his Father Homage: After which King *Henry* the Son had, with his Father's permiſſion, a Conference with the King of *France*. They ſpent their *Eaſter* at *Cherburg*, and after that, had an Interview at *Caen*, with *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, to whom they confirmed a Grant of one thouſand Marks out of the Exchequer. And then embarking at *Barfleur*, they landed at *Portſmouth May* 9. *Brompt.* p. 1110, 1111.
(14) *Auguſt* 10. *Brompt.* p. 1103. *Diceto* ſays, it was at *Valognes* in the *Conſtantin.* p. 584.
(15) See *Brompton* p. 1103. and *Hoved.* p. 545.
(16) He returned to *England December* 11. but was not quite at Liberty, till he had delivered his Caſtles. *Diceto.*
(17) He came back to *England* in *May*, and his Son *Henry* along with him. *Gervas.* p. 1429.
(18) He called a Parliament at *Northampton*, and renewed the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*. *Gervas.* p. 1433.

even

1751. even uſed ſome endeavours in the foregoing Reigns to reſtore them but with little Succeſs. Nothing therefore could be more grateful to the *Engliſh*, than to ſee them in force. But this Condeſcenſion of the King was a mere flouriſh, conſiſting only of ſome publick Orders, which were never executed (1).

1176. *Reſtitution of the itinerant Judges.* Hoved. p. 548. Diceto. p. 588. About this time alſo *Henry* divided (2) *England* into ſix Parts or Diſtricts, which were aſſigned to ſo many Judges (3), who were to go, at certain Times, and hold the Aſſizes, that is, to miniſter Juſtice to the People. This is what is ſtill practiſed at this Day. At certain Seaſons of the Year (4), the Chancellor ſends the Judges into the ſeveral Counties to do Juſtice, each in his own Circuit; for ſo the Counties aſſigned to him are called.

The King razes the Caſtles. Brompt. Diceto. *Henry* made uſe likewiſe of theſe peaceable Times, to demoliſh all the fortified Caſtles (5) ſtill remaining in private hands, which were a great check to the Power of the Sovereign (9).

The Princeſs Joanna is married to the King of Sicily. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 52. Hoved. Brompt. Whilſt the King was employed in theſe publick Affairs, the Princeſs *Joanna* his Daughter was demanded in Marriage (7) by *William the Good*, King of *Sicily*. This Match ſeeming advantagious for his Daughter, he diſpatched Ambaſſadors (8) to *Sicily* to ſettle the Articles; after which he ſent away the young Queen with a ſplendid Retinue (9).

He has a mind to erect Ireland into a Kingdom for Prince John. Brompt. Hoved. Prince *John* his fourth Son, who of all his Children, was his greateſt Favourite, being arrived at the Age of eleven Years, he reſolved to erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom on purpoſe to beſtow it on his Darling Son (10). As the Pope's Conſent was neceſſary, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to negotiate the Affair. But how impatient ſoever he might be to ſee the end, it could not be accompliſhed till ſome Years after, when it was no longer in his Power to make uſe of the Pope's Favour.

1177. *The King of France viſits Becket's Tomb.* Mezerai. 1178. 1179. Gervas. Brompt. Diceto. Hoved. About this Time, the King of *France* perceiving himſelf broken with Age, formed the Deſign of crowning his Son *Philip*, according to the cuſtom of his Predeceſſors. But a violent Diſtemper, which ſeized the young Prince, obſtructed his Project, and made him almoſt deſpair of his Life. *Lewis* was ſo affected with his Son's Danger, that he went in Pilgrimage to *Becket*'s Tomb (11), to obtain that Saint's Interceſſion for the Prince's Recovery. *Henry* met him at *Dover*, and conducted him to *Canterbury*, where they both offered up their Prayers. When *Lewis* left the City (12), he gave conſiderable Preſents (13) to the Church, where the Saint lay interred (14). 1179.

I have ſlightly paſſed over the Occurrences of theſe laſt Years, as ſeeming to me of little conſequence to Foreigners. However the *Engliſh* Reader might meet, in this Interval, with things worth his notice. For inſtance, the Aſſizes of *Northampton* (15) make a very conſiderable Article. This was a Revival of the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, except thoſe that concerned the Clergy, from whence ſprung the Conteſt between the King and *Becket* (16). We find alſo, during this Time, *Henry* make ſeveral Regulations for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice and Government of the State, which may be of uſe to the *Engliſh*, but doubtleſs are of little moment to Foreigners. Wherefore I think it needleſs to deſcend to particulars. However I muſt not omit one Event, which greatly redounds to the Glory of this Monarch. M. Paris. *The Aſſizes of* Northampton. Gervas. Brompt. Hoved.

The Kings of Caſtile *and* Navarre *make* Henry *Arbitrator of their Differences.* Hoved. p. 561, &c. Gervaſe. Brompt. Diceto. *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile* (17), and *Sanctio* (18) King of *Navarre*, having great Conteſts about certain Caſtles and Territories, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to entreat him to be their Umpire, promiſing to ſtand to his Sentence. So great a Truſt redounding very much to that Prince's Honour, he thought himſelf obliged to uſe all poſſible care to give Content to both Parties, or at leaſt to avoid the Imputation of pronouncing an unjuſt Sentence. To that end, he convened at *London* all the Barons and Judges of the Realm (19), to have their Advice. The Affair being maturely examined, he paſſed a Judgment in which both Kings thought proper to acquieſce (20).

1180. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 50 Brompt. Diceto. There is, in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, an agreement between *Lewis* and *Henry*, to go together to the Holy Land. But as this Record is without date, there is no ſetting down the preciſe Time (21). Very probably it was made whilſt *Lewis* was at *Canterbury*.

Lewis dies and is ſucceeded by his Son Philip. Brompt. Hoved. The Death of that Prince, which happened in 1180, prevented their intended Expedition. *Philip* his Son, who was afterwards ſirnamed *the Auguſt*, mounted the Throne of *France* (22).

1181. Pope *Alexander* III departed this Life alſo in the Year 1181, and was ſucceeded by *Lucius* III. (23).

Lucius made Pope. M. Paris. *The State of the Court of* England. Whatever appearance of Tranquillity there was then in the Court of *England*, Ambition, Luſt, Jealouſy; in a word, all the Paſſions that raiſe the ſtrongeſt Emotions in the Heart of Man, exerciſed their Empire over the

(1) King *Henry*'s Sons *Richard* and *Geoffrey* did him Homage at *Mans*, and his Son *Henry* did it *April* 1. *Diceto.* p. 585.——After which the two Kings, Father and Son, returned to *England May* 1. 1175. *Diceto.* ibid. *Hoved.* p. 542.

(2) This he did in a great Council at *Northampton January* 26. See *Hoved.* p. 548. *Diceto.* p. 588. *Hoveden* ſays, it was at *Nottingham*; but by what follows, it appears to be a Miſtake.

(3) *Hoveden* ſays, three Judges to each Circuit; his Words are theſe: *Juſticiarii itinerantes conſtituti per* Henricum *ſecundum, qui diviſit Regnum ſuum in ſex partes, per quarum ſingulas* tres Juſticiarios *itinerantes conſtituit*, &c. p. 548. *Diceto*'s account is yet more particular, *Rex, juxta conſilium filii ſui Regis, coram Epiſcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, & aliis hominibus ſuis in hoc conſentientibus conſtituit Juſticiarios in Sex partibus regni ſui in unaquâque tres.* Diceto. p. 588. See *a Liſt of the Diſtricts, and the Judges appointed in each, in* Hoved. p. 548.

(4) *Rapin* ſays in *Term-time*, which is a Miſtake, for it is not in *Term-time*, but immediately after *Hilary-Term* and *Trinity-Term*, that the twelve Judges go the Circuit, two by two; whence the Aſſizes, which are held but twice a Year, are called *Lent* Aſſizes, and *Summer* Aſſizes.

(5) About *Michaelmas*. He ſeized afterwards thoſe that were not demoliſhed now, and garriſoned them with his own Soldiers. *Diceto*, p. 594. *Hoved.* p. 555.

(6) Thoſe of *Huntingdon, Walton, Leiceſter, Groby, Stutesbery, Dudley, Treſc, Haie*, &c. belonging to the King of *Scotland, Hugh Bigod*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Earl *Ferrars, Gervaſe Paganel, Roger de Mowbray*. *Diceto.* p. 588. *Hoved.* p. 554. *M. Paris.* p. 132.

(7) King *Henry* aſſembled a Parliament, to conſult them about the propoſed Match. *Brompt.* p. 1112. *Diceto.* p. 590. *See the Marriage-Articles in Gervaſe.* p. 1436, 1437. *Brompt.* p. 1113.

(8) At the Head of which was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Gervas.* p. 1434. (9) *Auguſt* 27. *Diceto.* p. 594.

(10) And alſo *William*, Son of *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, appointed Prince *John* his Heir, and promiſed to give him his Daughter *Aviſa* in Marriage. *Brompt.* p. 1116. *Diceto.* p. 594. *Hoved.* p. 553.

(11) *Hoveden* ſays, he was adviſed in a Dream ſo to do. p. 592. He came to *England, Auguſt* 22d. *Brompt.* p. 1140. or, according to *Gervaſe, Auguſt* 23d. p. 1457.

(12) Which was *Auguſt* 26. *M. Paris* p. 137.

(13) He offered at *Becket*'s Tomb a maſſy Cup of pure Gold, and gave to the Monks one hundred *Modii. i. e.* ſeven thouſand two hundred Gallons of Wine yearly, and freed them from all Toll or Cuſtom, for whatever they ſhould buy in his Kingdom. All which he confirmed by a Charter under his Seal. *Hoved. Brompt.* p. 1140.

(14) Mr. *Rapin* hath omitted ſeveral remarkable Occurrences, which happened within theſe three laſt Years. The Earl of *Flanders* had in 1177. an Interview with King *Henry* at *Canterbury*, after *Eaſter*, and went in Pilgrimage to *Becket*'s Tomb. Soon after he went to *Jeruſalem*, and with him *William de Mandevill*, Earl of *Eſſex, Henry de Lacy*, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1127.——King *Henry* went into *Normandy* in 1177. about the middle of *Auguſt*, and landed again in *England, July* 15. 1178. *Brompt.* p. 1133, 1138. *R. Diceto.* p. 599.——In 1177, in *December, Audebert* Earl of *Marche*, ſold King *Henry* that Earldom. *Hoved.* p. 572.

(15) This was a great Council or Parliament; and, according to *Brompton*, was twice held; firſt in 1176, *June* 29. and ſecondly, in 1177, about *January* 14. *Brompt.* p. 1108, 1118.

(16) In this great Council at *Northampton*, King *Henry* reſtored *Robert*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, to all his Eſtates in *England*, and in his *French* Dominions, except the Caſtles of *Mounſorell*, and *Paſci*: The like he did to *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*; And to *William de Albiney*, he gave the Earldom of *Suſſex*. *Hoved.* p. 560. At the ſame Council likewiſe *Rees ap Griffin*, King of *South-Wales, David ap Owen*, King of *North-Wales, Cadwalan* Prince of *Delnain, Owen de Kevilian, Griffin de Brimfield*, and *Madoc ap Gervetrog*, and other Noblemen of *Wales*, came and did Homage, and ſwore Fealty to King *Henry*; who then gave *Rees ap Griffin, Merioneth-ſhire*, and *David ap Owen, Elleſmere*. *Hoved.* p. 566.

(17) Who had married *Eleanor*, King *Henry*'s Daughter, 1176. *Hoved.* p. 555.

(18) *Rapin* falſely calls him *Garcias*.

(19) That is, he convened at *Weſtminſter*, the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, a great Council or Parliament; or, as *Brompton* has it, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, Earls, Barons, and great Men of *England*. *Brompt* p. 1120. *Hoved.* p. 561.

(20) You have the Particulars of this Controverſy, and the King's Judgment in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. Tom. I. 42,—50. *Rapin*——In 1179. *Richard de Lucy*, reſigned his Place of Juſticier of *England*; upon which King *Henry* calling a great Council at *Windſor*, divided *England* in four Parts or Circuits, and appointed five Perſons to adminiſter Juſtice in each Diſtrict, whoſe Names ſee in *Hoved.* p. 590, 591. But the next Year *Ranulph de Glanville* was made Juſticier. *Hoved.* p. 600, 601.——*Auguſt* 27. 1179. King *Henry* called to an Account the *Vicecomites*, or Sheriffs. *Diceto.* p. 605.

(21) *Brompton* ſays, it was made *September* 21. 1178. at *Roan*. p. 1134, 1135.

(22) He and *Henry* entred into a Treaty of Peace. *Hoved.* p. 593.——Alſo this Year King *Henry* ſeverely puniſhed the Money-changers for adulterating the Coin; and in *November*, there was new Money iſſued out. *Gervas.* p. 1457——About *Mid-lent*, King *Henry* the Son came over to *England*, to have a Conference with his Father, and from thence ſoon after went back into *Flanders*. *Brompt.* p. 1139,——*January* 14. this ſame Year, were celebrated at the Caſtle of *Pleizet* in *Eſſex*, the Nuptials of *William de Magnaville*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Hadewiſa*, eldeſt Daughter of *William*, Earl of *Albemarle*, in whoſe Right he became Earl of *Albemarle*, *Diceto.* p. 609.

(23) This Year King *Henry* the Father went over into *Normandy*, where he kept his *Eaſter*, and returned to *England, July* 25. *Diceto.* 610, 612. After his Return, he ſent his Juſticiaries throughout *England*, ordering both Rich and Poor to provide themſelves with Arms, at their own Charge. His Regulations about this Matter were as follows: 1. Whoſoever hath a Knight's Fee, ſhall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance; and every Knight ſhall have ſo many Coats of Mail, Helmets, Shields, and Lances, as he hath Knight's Fees. 2. Every Free Layman, that hath in Goods or Rent, to the Value of ſixteen Marks, ſhall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance. 3. Every Free Layman, that hath in Goods ten Marks, ſhall have an Iron Gorget, an Iron Cap, and a Lance. 4 All Burgeſſes, and the whole Community of Freemen, ſhall have a *Wambais*, (*i. e.* a Horſeman's Coat) a Cap of Iron, and a Lance. *&c.* See *Hoveden*, p. 614.——This Year died *Hugh Kivilioc* Earl of *Cheſter*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Ranulph*. *Brompt.* p. 1142.——This Year alſo great Diſputes aroſe between *Philip* King of *France*, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*. King *Henry*, who was their Guarantee and Umpire, went in *March* 1182. to make Peace between them; but before he went over, he made his Will near the Sea-ſide, (perhaps at *Portſmouth*,) which is extant in *Gervas.* p. 1439. and ordered one Copy to be repoſited in his own Treaſury, one in the Church of *Canterbury*, and one in the Treaſury at *Winchester*.

1181. whole Royal Family. Young *Henry* was exceedingly diſſatisfied to have the Title of King without the Power. The King his Father, who had all his Life been a Slave to his Luſt, had not loſt his amorous Inclinations, though he was in his fiftieth Year. He was fallen in Love with *Alice* of *France*, deſigned for his Son *Richard*; and moſt Hiſtorians intimate, the young Princeſs was too condeſcending. *Richard* demanded Leave to conſummate his Marriage (1); but more to have a Pretence to complain, than from a deſire to eſpouſe a Princeſs ſuſpected by all the World of a criminal Commerce with her future Father-in-law. *Geoffrey* being now in his four and twentieth Year (2), was tired with being under the Guardianſhip of the King his Father, who on the ſpecious pretence of Protection, with-held *Bretagne* from him. *John* was ſtill more diſpleaſed to have nothing ſettled upon him, whilſt his Brothers were ſo well provided for. However, as the King ſhowed a great Affection for him, it was very probable, before his Death he would provide for a Son he ſo tenderly loved. Queen *Eleanor* was ſtill a Priſoner, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of her Sons for her Releaſe.

Brompt, p. 1151.

Hoved.

Henry *ſows Diſſention among his Sons.* Gervas. Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris.

Henry was not ignorant of the Sentiments of his three eldeſt Sons (3). Though he carefully concealed his Fears, he was apprehenſive, that another Conſpiracy, like the former, would rob him of the Crown in his old Age. To ſcreen himſelf from their Practices, he believed the beſt way would be, to ſow Diſſention among them, leſt their Union ſhould one day prove fatal to him. For that purpoſe, he hinted to his eldeſt Son, that his Brothers ought to do him Homage for the Dominions they poſſeſſed, or at leaſt, bore the Titles of. The young King gladly embraced this Propoſal, and reſolved to demand Homage of his Brothers. But they were by no means diſpoſed to comply. *Richard* affirmed, the Duchy of *Guienne*, which was to be his Portion, was not a Fief of the Crown of *England*; and in that he was very right. *Geoffrey* had not altogether the ſame reaſon to be excuſed, ſince he knew, the Duchy of *Bretagne* held of *Normandy*. But it was neceſſary the King ſhould reſign *Normandy* to his eldeſt Son, otherwiſe he could have no Right to demand Homage. Mean time the Father had no Intention, to diveſt himſelf of that Duchy before his Death, in favour of a Son, whoſe Ambition was too well known to him. And therefore, *Geoffrey* eluded his Brother's Demand. He feigned however to remain reſpectfully attached to the King his Father, though he privately held with his Brother *Richard* whoſe caſe was the ſame. Young *Henry*, whom the King his Father had politickly engaged in this Diſpute, ſoon diſcovered his Motive. However he uſed a profound diſſimulation. Whilſt he pretended to be incenſed with his Brothers, he took private meaſures with them to bereave the King of the Supreme Power, which he had long wiſhed to be inveſted with. But God permitted him not to purſue the execution of his unjuſt Deſign (4). A Diſtemper which took him out of the World (5), in the 28th Year of his Age, freed the King his Father from the impending Danger. The young Prince was now gone to *Guienne* with deſign to ſtir up the *Gaſcons* to revolt, when he was ſeized with a ſlow Fever, which conſtrained him to remain in the Caſtle of *Martel* in *Quercy*. As ſoon as he perceived his Illneſs grew daily more dangerous, and that probably he ſhould never recover, he expreſſed great Concern for all he had done or projected againſt the King his Father. He even deſired to ſee him, to give him proofs of his Repentance. Before he died, he had the Satisfaction of receiving a Ring ſent him by the King in token of his Pardon. If Hiſtorians have not aggravated the Prince's Repentance, it appears to have been very ſincere. He ſhed abundance of Tears upon receiving the Ring, and finding himſelf then at the point of Death, cauſed himſelf to be laid on a Bed ſtrewed with Aſhes, habited in Sackloth, with a Cord about his Neck, and in that poſture gave up the Ghoſt (6). The Father's Tenderneſs was renewed when he heard of his Son's Death. Though he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with him, he ſhowed an extreme Concern for his Loſs. But in all appearance, he was ſoon comforted. 1183.

Walſing.

1183. *Death of King* Henry *the Son.* Hoved. p. 620. Brompt. Diceto. M. Paris.

This young Prince was certainly endowed with excellent Qualities, perhaps he would have behaved more to his Father's Satisfaction, had he been leſs indulged in his Childhood. The King's extraordinary Fondneſs, no doubt, helped to ſpoil him; or on the other hand, the Reſtraint he was under, after his Coronation, cauſed him to conſider his own Father as an Enemy. And this led him into ſundry Plots to dethrone him, till at length Death made him ſee things in another light. *Margaret* of *France* his Wife, by whom he had a Son which died an Infant, was ſent home to King *Philip* her Brother who married her ſome time after to *Bela* King of *Hungary* (7).

The Death of young *Henry* put a ſtop for a while to the Troubles that were going to diſturb the Royal Family. *Richard*, though naturally impetuous, remained ſome time in quiet, to ſee how the King would behave to him ſince he was become his Heir apparent (8). 1184. Hoved.

During this Tranquillity arrived at Court *Heraclius*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, who was come to entreat the King's Aid in behalf of the Chriſtians of the *Holy-Land*. He preſented to him the Keys of the *Holy-Sepulcher*, and Tower of *David*, in token of their deſire of having him for their Sovereign, as being Grandſon to *Fulk* of *Anjou*, King of *Jeruſalem*. Before an Anſwer was given the Patriarch, *Henry* convened an Aſſembly of the Barons at *Clerkenwel* near *London*, where that Prelate deſcribed with tears in his eyes, the Calamities the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine* groaned under. Then he endeavoured to perſuade the King, that he had an undoubted Right to the Crown of *Jeruſalem*. But this Compliment was too groſs, ſince it was notorious that *Fulk*, Grandfather to *Henry*, wore that Crown in Right of his ſecond Wife; whereas *Geoffrey*, Father to *Henry*, was born of the firſt. To this Harangue the Patriarch added a Letter from the Pope, addreſſed to all Chriſtian Princes, to exhort them to aſſiſt their Brethren in *Paleſtine*. *Henry* asking the Opinion of his Barons upon the Patriarch's Propoſals, was told it was judged, that he ought not to venture his Perſon in an Expedition of that nature, but that a Supply of Money would ſuffice. The King followed their Advice, and furniſhing the Patriarch with a conſiderable Sum (9), contented himſelf with giving his Subjects leave to take the Croſs, without embarking himſelf in the Enterprize. Purſuant to the King's Permiſſion, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (10), ſeveral Earls, Barons, Knights, with a World of People of a lower Rank, prepared for this Voyage. But the Patriarch willing to make his Court to the King, told him, when he took his leave, that he ſhould have preferred his ſingle Perſon before all the *Engliſh* that were engaged in the *Cruſade* (11).

The Patriarch of Jeruſalem comes and demands the King's Aid. Brompt. Diceto. Gervas. Hoved. M. Paris.

The King furniſhes him with Money. M. Paris. Gervas.

Abundance of People undertake the Cruſade. Hoved.

The Pope was not pleaſed with *Henry*'s refuſing to take the Croſs. Nay, he ſhowed his Reſentment by denying him, in his turn, certain Requeſts which he would have granted, had he not been diſſatisfied. However not to diſcourage him entirely, he gave him leave to crown his youngeſt Son Prince *John* King of *Ireland*, to whom he ſent, for that purpoſe, a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold. In granting this Favour he expreſly reſerved a Penny from every Houſe in *Ireland* yearly, and ſeveral other Advantages, procuring in exchange for his Leave, which coſt him nothing, a conſiderable Addition to his Revenues. As ſoon as the King received the Pope's Anſwer, he knighted Prince *John*, and ſent him Governor into *Ireland*, not daring to have him crowned there, leſt *Richard* ſhould make it a pretence to ask the ſame favour in *England*. *John* was very well received in the Iſland, where he was conſidered as 1185.

The Pope ſends a Crown to Prince John. Hoved.

John *made Governour of* Ireland. Gervas. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris

(1) In 1177, a Pope's Legate threatned to lay all *Henry*'s Dominions under an Interdict unleſs he would let his Son *Richard* marry *Alice*: Whereupon *Henry* went over into *Normandy*, and had a Conference, *September* 21. at *Ivri*, with the King of *France*; and required him to deliver to his Son *Richard*, the Town of *Berry*, &c. according to the Articles of Marriage; and to his Son *Henry le Vexin Francois*, as had been ſtipulated between them; but *Lewis* refuſed, and *Henry* ſaid, his Son *Richard* ſhould not marry *Alice*. However the two Kings entered into a Treaty of Peace, which ſee in *Hoveden*. p. 570, 571, *&c.*

(2) King *Henry* his Father knighted him at *Woodſtock*, *Auguſt* 6. 1178. *Brompt*. p. 1138. *Diceto*. p. 600. *Hoveden*. p. 580.

(3) He went over to *Normandy*, upon that account. *Hoved*. p. 615.

(4) King *Henry* convened about this time a great Council, or Parliament at *Biſhop's Waltham*, near *Wincheſter*, and in their preſence, and with their approbation, granted Money for the Cruſade, *viz.* forty two thouſand Marks of Silver, and five hundred of Gold; and then *March* the 3d. 1183. went over from *Portſmouth* to *Normandy*. *Diceto*. p. 613.

(5) *June* 11. in 1183. *Gervas*. p. 1463.

(6) He was buried at firſt in the Church of St. *Julian* at *Mans*, but afterwards removed into the Cathedral of *Roan*. *Diceto*. p. 618. *Brompt*. p. 1143.

(7) This Year, *September* 10. King *Henry* did Homage to King *Philip* at a Conference between *Giſors* and *Irie*, for all his Dominions in *France*. *Hoved*. p. 622.

(8) This Year the King of *France*, and the Earl of *Flanders*, renewed again their Quarrels about the *Vermandois*, but King *Henry* made Peace between them a ſecond time; after which he returned to *England*, *June* 10. or 11. and ſent an Army againſt the *Welſh*, who had made ſome Incurſions. *Gervas*. p. 1465, 1466. *Diceto* p. 619. *Hoved*. p. 622.

(9) Fifty thouſand Marks of Silver. *Gervas*. p. 1474.

(10) *Ranulph* the Juſticier, the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *&c.* *Hoved*. p. 629.

(11) *Brompton* ſays, that the Patriarch gave the King very hard Words, when he went with him to the Sea ſide; and upon the King's ſtill excuſing himſelf from going to the *Holy-Land*, becauſe his Sons would rebel againſt him in his Abſence; the Patriarch in great Anger replied, *And no wonder, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would go.* This he ſaid, reflecting on an old Story of a certain Counteſs of *Anjou*, the King's great Grandmother, who being reckoned a Witch, was ſaid to have flown out of a Window, while ſhe was at Maſs againſt her Will, and was never ſeen afterwards. *Brompt*. p. 1145.

1185. *He is recalled.* Gir. Camd.

the future Sovereign. But ſuffering himſelf to be guided by the Advice of ſome young Perſons that attended him thither, he ſo alienated the hearts of the *Iriſh*, that the King was forced at length to recall him (1).

Urban III, *Pope, and* Baldwin *Archbiſhop.* Gervas.

Pope *Lucius* III. dying this Year, *Urban* III. his Succeſſor, appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Legate in *England*. *Baldwin*, a *Ciſtercian* Monk, was then Archbiſhop, having ſucceeded *Richard*, who died in 1184 (2).

Richard *raiſes Troubles in* Guienne. Gervaſe. Hoved.

The Affairs of *Ireland* created the King little uneaſineſs, in compariſon of that cauſed by the violent Temper of his Son *Richard*. This young Prince having lain quiet ever ſince his elder Brother's death (3), was at length weary of a ſtate ſo little agreeable to his Humour. He had been in *Guienne*, where he had taken upon him to rule with an abſolute Authority, without any regard to the Orders of the King his Father. In this he was ſupported by the *Gaſcons* themſelves, who choſe much rather to have a Sovereign of their own than depend on the Crown of *England*. After *Richard* had laboured ſome time to gain that Province to his intereſts, he went into *Poictou*, and drawing ſome Troops together, made war upon the *Bretons*, who had diſobliged him. *Geoffrey* his Brother, who was then in *Bretagne*, ſurprized at this unexpected Attack, ſpeedily levied a ſmall Army, and gave him battle. But as his Forces were inferior in number, he was eaſily defeated. *Richard* would have purſued his Undertaking, if the dread of his Father, who was preparing to come and chaſtiſe him (4), had not obliged him to retire into *Poictou*, where he pretended to ſtand upon his defence. In the mean time, *Henry* perfectly knowing his Son's Temper, which could not be tamed but by force, had prepared an Army ſufficient to take away all his hopes of Reſiſtance, but before he proceeded to Extremities, he ſent him word, it was his abſolute Command that he ſhould not concern himſelf any more with the Affairs of *Guienne*, which he could not enjoy till after the death of the Queen his Mother, and upon that condition, would leave him in poſſeſſion of *Poictou*. And if he refuſed to obey, he would not only compel him to it, but likewiſe diſinherit him of the Crown of *England*. *Richard*, terrified at theſe Threats, and the King's great Preparations, thought fit to comply with his Will. But as this Submiſſion was forced, he was uneaſy in his mind, the Effects of which ſoon became viſible. The Example of *William the Conqueror*, who preferred his ſecond before his eldeſt Son, ſeemed in ſome meaſure to authorize the King thus to threaten *Richard*. Accordingly the young Prince could not forbear being concerned, in a dread of being ſupplanted by one of his Brothers. This conſideration made him keep fair with the King his Father, and endeavour to curb his natural impetuoſity. But he was freed in part from his Fears by the death of his Brother *Geoffrey*, at *Paris*, where he was gone to aſſiſt at a Tournament (5). This Prince, who had a Daughter called *Eleanor* (6), left *Conſtance* of *Bretagne* his Wife big with child, who was quickly after delivered of a Son named *Arthur* (7).

1185. *He makes War with the* Bretons. Hoved.

Henry *prepares to chaſtiſe him.* Hoved.

Richard *ſubmits.*

Death of Geoffrey *Duke of* Bretagne. Gervas. Brompt. M. Paris

The Affairs *of* Bretagne. Argentre, Gervas. Hoved.

Henry was very deſirous of having the Guardianſhip of theſe Infants, for a pretence to keep *Bretagne*. With this view he took a Journey thither, in expectation of obtaining the Conſent of the States. But *Conſtance* his Daughter-in-law, ſtrongly oppoſed it. She affirmed that being Mother of the Children, it belonged to her to take care of their Education. Moreover, ſhe maintained, they had no claim to any thing till after her Death, ſince their Father was Duke of *Bretagne* only in her Right. But *Henry* as Grandfather, pretended to have an unqueſtionabe Title to the Guardianſhip of his Grandchildren. The States of *Bretagne*, who were more afraid of his Power than convinced by his Reaſons, were in great perplexity. Juſtice and their own Intereſt required, that *Conſtance*, to whom the Duchy belonged by Inheritance, ſhould have the Government. But on the other hand, it was dangerous to ſend away the King without ſome Satisfaction. In ſhort, they found an Expedient with which the King was well enough pleaſed, becauſe he ſaw it would be difficult to obtain more. The Ducheſs was made Guardian of her Children, and it was decreed, That all Orders and publick Acts ſhould run jointly in her's and her Son's name; but with this Proviſo, that nothing of moment ſhould be tranſacted, without the Advice and Conſent of the King of *England*. Before he quitted *Bretagne*, *Henry* cauſed the States to ſwear Fealty to young *Arthur* as their Sovereign. He was apprehenſive in caſe *Conſtance* ſhould marry again, and have Children by a ſecond Husband, ſhe would prefer them before thoſe by the firſt. 1186.

Philip *forms Deſigns againſt* Henry.

Henry would not perhaps have been ſatisfied with what he had obtained of the *Bretons*, had he not been afraid that *Philip* King of *France*, would have interpoſed in the affair. This Prince though very young, was meditating grand Projects. He could not help ſhowing ſome uneaſineſs, that ſo many Provinces of his Kingdom ſhould be poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*. Since his acceſſion to the Throne, he had formed a deſign to wreſt them out of their hands, and make uſe, for that purpoſe, of all opportunities that ſhould offer. Purſuant to this reſolution, he imagined, the Diſſenſion between *Henry* and his Son *Richard*, preſented him with a favorable Juncture, which he ſhould not neglect. He was perſuaded, theſe Princes being divided and unarmed, and not ſuſpecting they were going to be attacked, he might very poſſibly take from them ſome Part of their Dominions in *France*. In this Belief he made extraordinary Preparations, upon ſuch Pretences as ſerved beſt to conceal the real motive. As ſoon as he was ready to act, he ſummoned *Richard* to appear and do him Homage for *Poictou*, and required King *Henry* to reſtore the *Vexin* with all *Margaret*'s Dowry, his eldeſt Son's Widow. But for this once he found he had taken his Meaſures wrong. For *Henry* and *Richard* uniting for their common Intereſt, kept him ſo well employed, one in *Normandy*, the other in *Guienne*, that he was forced to ſue for a Truce, which was granted him for two years.

He commences a War. Gervas.

Truce between the two Kings. Dicето. Gervas.

1187. Philip *ſeduces* Richard. Hoved. Dicето.

Having experienced how difficult it would be to compaſs his Ends, unleſs he fomented the Diſcord between *Henry* and *Richard*, he did not long defer his Endeavours. To ſucceed the more eaſily, he ordered it ſo, that during the Truce, *Richard* came and paid him a viſit at *Paris*, where he ſeemingly gave him a very hearty Welcome, and even admitted him to his Bed. Theſe Careſſes wrought a ſudden effect in the mind of the *Engliſh* Prince, who never once ſuſpected the motive. In a little time he entertained ſo ſtrong an Affection for *Philip*, that he imparted to him all his Reaſons for being diſſatisfied with his Father. *Philip* improving this openneſs, pretended to pity him, and have his Intereſt very much at heart. He wondered with him, that the King his Father ſhould treat him ſo harſhly, and after crowning his elder Brother in a leſs advanced Age, ſhould refuſe him the ſame Favour. He artfully hinted, there was reaſon to fear, he had formed a deſign to place on the Throne his youngeſt Son *John*, of whom he was very fond. From theſe conſiderations it was natural to infer, a Neceſſity of taking care to prevent ſo unjuſt a Proceeding. *Richard* received theſe marks of affection with that earneſtneſs and confidence, that *Philip* was in great hopes of attaining his Ends.

Complaints of Richard *againſt his Father.* Hoved.

Mean time, *Richard*'s long Stay at *Paris* made his Father extremely uneaſy (8), who never ceaſed ſending for him (9). He was quickly ſenſible, his Suſpicions were not groundleſs. At the time the Truce was about to expire, *Richard*, without quitting the Court of *France*, openly complained of his Father's preventing him from conſummating his Marriage with the Princeſs deſigned for his Wife (10). But as *Henry* might recall him on pretence of ſolemnizing the Nuptials, he had another excuſe ready. He pretended to have private intelligence that the King deſigned to apprehend him, and keep him in cuſtody, in order to place with the more eaſe his younger Son on the Throne. Theſe Proceedings of *Richard* threw *Henry* into great perplexity. He perceived, this Affair might be attended with ill conſequences, unleſs a means was found to draw his Son from *Philip*. But this was no eaſy matter, if *Richard* himſelf was unwilling. As the main buſineſs therefore was to gain his Son, he privately diſpatched a truſty Meſſenger, who made him ſenſible, he had imprudently fallen into the King of *France*'s ſnare, whoſe ſole Aim was to ſow diſſenſion between him and his Father, in order to make an advantage of their Miſunderſtanding. *Richard* being prevailed upon by theſe Remonſtrances, ſuddenly left the Court of *France*, and returned to the King.

He returns home.

(1) This Year Queen *Eleanor* was releaſed out of Priſon, ſays *Gervaſe*, p. 1475. Though others ſay, it was not till after *Richard* the Firſt's Acceſſion to the Crown.

(2) He died *Feb.* 16. 1184. *Gervas.* 1465.

(3) He had been very ſtirring in 1176. See *Brompton*, p. 1115, &c.

(4) He went over, and gathered a great Army together. *Hoved.* p. 630.

(5) Our Hiſtorians ſay, that being flung from his Horſe, he was unfortunately trampled to death before he could be taken up. But the *French* Writers, who ſhould know beſt, tell us he died of a Fever. He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church.

(6) The King of *France* demanded the Guardianſhip of her from King *Henry*, but could not obtain it. *Hoved.* p. 633.

(7) The next Year ſhe married again *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, whom King *Henry* Knighted, and gave him the Earldom of *Richmond*, and all *Bretagne* with her. *Brompt.* p. 1149. *Hoved.* p. 637.

(8) He went over this Year into *France*, and had a Conference with King *Philip* at *Val. St. Remi*. *Hoved.* p. 634.

(9) Pretending to come to the King his Father, he paſſed through *Chinon*, and carried off moſt of his Father's Treaſure that was there. *Hoved.* p. 655.

(10) King *Henry* and *Philip* had, in the beginning of this Year, a Conference at *Giſors*, in which *Philip* ſurrendred to Prince *Richard* the Places ſtipulated in the Articles of Marriage, and *Henry* ſwore to deliver *Alice* to him. *Hoved.* p. 631.

1187. *The taking of* Jeruſalem *by the* Saracens. Hoved. Diceto. Gervas. Brompt.

The Truce being expired, the two Monarchs took up Arms again. But juſt as they were renewing their Hoſtilities, their Animoſity was ſuſpended for a while, upon the melancholy news that the City of *Jeruſalem* was taken by *Saladin* Sultan of *Babylon*, and that *Guy de Luſignan*, the laſt that ſwayed the Sceptre of that Kingdom, was in the hands of the Infidels. As the Union of the Chriſtians had formerly been the means of conquering the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, their diſſention was the cauſe of its Deſtruction, after ſubſiſting near a whole Century. This News, which threw the Princes of *Europe* into great conſternation, was particularly fatal to Pope *Urban* III, who died with Grief. He was ſoon followed by *Gregory* VIII, his Succeſſor, who ſitting in the Papal Chair but three Months, made room by his Death for *Clement* III.

Clement III. *Pope.* Gervaſe. Brompt.

Philip *and* Henry *make a Truce, and undertake the Creſs.* Mezerai. M. Paris. Gervas. Hoved

The two Kings of *France* and *England* were very ſenſibly affected with the Chriſtians late Loſs in the Eaſt. Their zeal being rouz'd upon that occaſion, they reſolved, with one conſent, to drop their private Quarrel for the cauſe of God (for ſo it was term'd in thoſe days) and meet at *Giſors* (1), to conſider of means to remedy this Misfortune. At this interview, their firſt buſineſs was to renew the Truce. Then the two Monarchs, as well as the Earl of *Flanders*, who was preſent at the Conference, took the Croſs, diſtinguiſhing themſelves by three different colours. *Philip* choſe a Red, *Henry* a White, and the Earl of *Flanders* a Grey, Croſs. Thoſe of their Subjects that engaged in the *Cruſade* imitated them in this diſtinction of Colours (2).

1188. *Quarrel between* Richard *and the Earl of* Tholouſe. Diceto. Hoved. Gervas.

But the Zeal ſhown by the two Kings was not long-liv'd. Their Ardour ſoon gave place to an Animoſity ſo much the more ſurpriſing, as the occaſion was of little moment. Prince *Richard*, who was to be in the Expedition to the Holy Land, having occaſion for a Sum of Money, came to *Poictou* to raiſe it. Whilſt he was employed in this Affair, one of *Raymund* Earl of *Tholouſe*'s Officers, paſſing through his Territories, and giving him ſome cauſe of Diſguſt, he committed him to priſon. *Raymund* having notice of it, ordered, by way of Repriſal, two *Poictevin* Gentlemen to be taken up, as they were going by *Tholouſe*, in their return from a Pilgrimage to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*. Theſe violent Proceedings cauſing a very warm Quarrel between the two Princes, *Richard* took occaſion to revive the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Poictou* to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*. This furniſhed him with a Pretence to enter Earl *Raymund*'s Country with a powerful Army, where he became maſter of *Moiſſac*, and ſeveral other Places. *Raymund* finding himſelf thus engaged in a War, of which he did not queſtion but the King of *England* was the Author, demanded the Aſſiſtance of *France*. Though *Philip* knew better than the Earl of *Tholouſe*, and was very ſenſible, *Richard* might poſſibly undertake the War without his Father's knowledge, he pretended to believe it done by *Henry*'s Orders. Accordingly, under colour of aſſiſting the Earl of *Tholouſe* his Vaſſal, he made a Diverſion in *Berri*, and took *Iſſoudun*. This was the occaſion of the freſh Rupture between the two Kings, when they ſeemed to breathe nothing but Death and Deſtruction againſt the Infidels (3).

Gervas.

The War renewed between Philip *and* Henry. Gervas. Brompt. Hoved.

The beginning of this War not being remarkable, it will be needleſs to relate the particulars. It is ſufficient to take notice of the Conſequences, which proved very fatal to the King of *England*. Whilſt it was vigorouſly proſecuted on both ſides, all on a ſudden, and when *Henry* leaſt expected it, his Son *Richard* left him, and went to the King of *France*. Very probably, this was effected by *Philip*'s Intrigues, which the Hiſtorians have not taken care to unfold. Be this as it will, *Richard* pretended to have two occaſions of complaint againſt the King his Father. The firſt was, that he detained from him the Princeſs *Alice*, and had offered *Philip*, who preſs'd him to have the Nuptials ſolemnized, to marry her to Prince *John* upon more advantagious Terms. Whether this was fact, or *Philip* had told him a Falſity to ſet him at variance with *Henry*, he believed, or feign'd to believe, that a Project was formed to deprive him of his Birth-right, and place his younger Brother on the Throne. The other occaſion of Complaint was, that *Philip* offering to conſent to a Truce, *Henry* refuſed it, affirming it was better to conlude a Peace, and adjuſt their reſpective Pretenſions, before they engaged in their Expedition to the *Holy-Land*. This diſpleaſed *Richard*, and his reaſon was, becauſe, by a Peace, he would have been obliged to reſtore his Conqueſt upon the Earl of *Tholouſe*, whereas by a Truce he would have kept poſſeſſion.

Richard's *Complaints.*

Gervas.

1188.

As much as *Richard*'s Defection diſquieted the King his Father, ſo much did it rejoice *Philip*, who, from that time, had a great Advantage over his Enemy. In withdrawing, *Richard* ſet againſt the King part of his Provinces in *France*, and thereby almoſt diſabled him to maintain the War. For this reaſon *Henry* haſtened to the utmoſt of his Power, the Concluſion of the Peace (4). But *Philip* propoſed ſuch hard Terms, that they could not be accepted. He required, that the Marriage between *Richard* and *Alice* ſhould be conſummated, and the Prince crowned before his Father's death, that his Right to the Crown might not be diſputed for the future. *Henry* could not reliſh theſe Conditions. His Love for *Alice* would not ſuffer him to ſee her in the arms of another, and perhaps there were very ſtrong Reaſons againſt his giving her to his Son. On the other hand, he had experienced to his coſt the ill Conſequences of crowning his eldeſt Son *Henry*, to be willing to run the ſame hazard for one who ſeemed no leſs dangerous than his Brother. This firſt attempt failing, *Henry* made another Effort (5) for a Peace, but found that *Philip*, grown more untractable, added a new Article. He demanded that *Henry* ſhould carry Prince *John* to the *Holy-Land*, leſt in *Richard*'s abſence he ſhould ſeize the Crown, in caſe their Father died in the Expedition. *Henry* offended at *Philip*'s interpoſing thus in his Family-Affairs, broke off the Negotiation. This Rupture confirmed *Richard* in his Suſpicion that his Father intended to deprive him of the Crown, and give it to his younger Brother.

1188.

1189. Henry *tries in vain to make Peace.* Hoved. Gervas.

Gervaſe. p. 1544. Hoved.

All hopes of Peace vaniſhing (6), *Philip* received *Richard*'s Homage for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, pretending *Henry* had incurred the guilt of Rebellion, in warring againſt his Sovereign.

Philip *receives* Richard's *Homage.* Gervaſe. Hoved.

This Step being taken, the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood was renewed with greater fury than ever, and the Zeal expreſſed againſt the Infidels inſenſibly cooled. *Henry* lay under a great diſadvantage in this War (7). Moſt of his Subjects in *France* had abandoned him and joined with his Son. This Revolt was ſo general, that keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Saumur*, he had the mortification to ſee himſelf attended but with three or four Nobles. His Vexation was farther increaſed by the ill Succeſs of the following Campain. His Troops, every where defeated, were at length reduced to ſo ſmall a number, that it was not in his power to continue the War. His Affairs being in this wretched condition, he deſired the Pope to interpoſe his Authority, and procure a Peace. But this method proved ineffectual. Indeed, the Pope ſent Legates into *France*, who threatned *Philip* with Excommunication, in caſe he prevented the King of *England* from accompliſhing his Vow. But theſe Menaces had not the expected Effect. The *French* Monarch fiercely replied, the Pope had no right to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Kingdom, eſpecially when the buſineſs in hand was the chaſtiſing a Vaſſal who had audaciouſly taken up Arms againſt him. Adding, with an inſulting air, *He did not queſtion but that the Smell of* [*the King of* England's] Sterlings *made the Legates talk in that Strain* (8). *Henry* dreading the Conſequences of ſo unfortunate a War, and finding the Pope could do him no Service, was forced at length to agree to the Terms *Philip* was pleaſed to impoſe upon him, the principal of which were theſe (9):

Henry *is deſerted by his* French *Subjects.* Hoved. p. 652. Brompt.

M. Paris.

He is every where defeated.

He applies to the Pope. Hoved. M. Paris.

Philip's *Reply to the Legates.* Hoved. p. 652.

Henry *is forced to comply with* Philip's *Terms.*

That all *Henry*'s Subjects, as well *Engliſh* as *French*, ſhould ſwear Fealty to *Richard*; and that thoſe who had ſided with the Son, ſhould not return to the Father till within one month before he ſet out for the *Holy-Land*.

The Articles of the Peace. Diceto. Bracy. Hoved. p. 653.

That the two Kings, with Prince *Richard*, ſhould meet at *Vezelay* in *le Nivernois*, in order to begin their Journey.

That all the King of *England*'s Subjects ſhould have free Paſſage all over *France*, paying only the old Cuſtoms.

(1) Between *Giſors* and *Trie*. *Gervas.* p. 1520.

(2) After which King *Henry* came to *England* and landed at *Wincheſea*, *Jan.* 29. *Gervas.* p. 1520. *Hoved.* p. 642. After his Return, he ſent his Collectors throughout *England*; and pitching upon the richeſt in every City, for inſtance, two hundred in *London*, and one hundred in *York*, obliged them to make him Preſents: Such as refuſed, were impriſoned, till they had paid the utmoſt Farthing. *Hoved.* p. 642. *Gervaſe* complains, that during the Year 1188, all *England* was grievouſly oppreſſed about the Tenths, (or Tax for the Cruſade.) The *Engliſh* paid above ſeventy thouſand Pounds towards it, and the *Jews* in *England* ſixty thouſand Pounds. p. 1530. *Hoved.*

(3) King *Henry* went over to *France*, *July* 10, and landed at *Ou*. *Gervas.* p. 1535.

(4) They had a Conference it about, *Auguſt* 19. 1188, between *Bonimoltus* and *Suleinni*. *Hoved.* p. 649.

(5) At another Conference near *la Ferte Bernard*, at *Whitſuntide*. 1189. *Hoved.* p. 652.

(6) At their firſt Conference, they agreed upon a Truce till *January* 14. 1189. *Hoved.* p. 649.

(7) He burnt *Mans*, becauſe he was afraid of being beſieged in it. *Brompt.* p. 1150.

(8) *Richard* had like to have run the Legate through with his Sword, if he had not been hindred. *M. Paris.* p. 149.

(9) This Peace was concluded about the latter end of *June*——The firſt Article was, That *Alice* ſhould be delivered to one Perſon in five whom Earl *Richard* ſhould chuſe, and that ſhe ſhould be married to him at his Return from *Jeruſalem*. *Hoved.* p. 653.

That

Genealogies Of William The Conqueror And Of Henry II The First King Of Y^e House Of Anjou Plantagenet

Anjou

Ingerger

Fulque le Roux *E. of Anjou*

Fulque le Bon *E. of Anjou*

Gesfrey Grisegonelle *E. of Anjou*

Fulque Nerra *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Martel I *E. of Anjou d. without issue.* — Hermengarde *m. Geffrey E. of Gatinois*

Geffrey le Barbu *E. of Anjou.* — Fulque le Rechin *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Martel II *E. of Anjou* — Fulque V *E. of Anjou & K. of Jerusalem.* *1. Ermengarde* *2. Melisent of Jerusalem.*

Geffrey Plantagenet *E. of Anjou* — Matilda *Da. to Hen. I. K. of Eng.*

Henry II *K. of Eng.* — Geffrey — William

Consult the line of Succession of Matilda the Wife of Geffrey.

Normandy

Rogwald *the Dane surnam'd the Rich Favorite of Harold Harfager K. of Denm^k.*

Rollo 1^st *Duke of Normandy d. 917.*

William Long Sword *D. of Norm. d. 948.* — Robert Gerlotte *E. of Corbeil. William E. of Poictiers.*

Richard I *D. of Norm. d. 960.*

Richard II *D. of Norm. d. 1026.* — Mauger *E. of Corbeil.* — Hedwiga *Geffrey E. of Bretaign.* — Emma *1 Ethelred II. K. of Eng. 2. Canute y^e great.* — Robert *E. of Eureux*

Richard III *D. of Norm. d. 1027.* — Robert *D. of Norm. d. 1034.* — Mauger *Archb. of Roan* — Alix *Renold E. of Burgundy.* — Aleanor *Baldwin E. of Flanders* — Richard *E. of Eureux.* — Raoul *Constable of Norm.*

1 *WILLIAM the Conqueror Basta D. of Normandy & K. of Eng. d. 1087.* — William *of Burgundy* — Guy — William *E. of Eureux* — John

2 Robert *D of Norm. d. 1133.* — Richard — 2 *WILLIAM RUFUS K. of England d. 1100.* — 3 *HENRY I K. of Eng. d. 1135* — Cecilia *Abbess of Caen.* — Constance *Alan D. of Bretaign.* — Adela *Stephen E. of Blois* — Adeliza *Promis'd to Harold* — Agatha *Espous'd to Alphonsus K. of Galicia.* — Gundred *W. Warren*

William *surnam'd Crito d. 1128.* — William *d. before his Fa. 1120.* — Matilda *1. Hen. V. Emper^r* *2 Geffrey Plantagen^t E. of Anjou*

Baldwin III *K. of Jerusa.* — Amauri *K. of Jerusa.*

Theobald *E. of Blois.* — Emin *Hebert E. of Vermandois.* — 4 *STEPHEN K. of Eng. d. 1154.* — Henry *Bish. of Winchester.* — Lucia *Rich E. of Chester.*

5 *HENRY II K. of Eng. d. 1189.* — Geffrey *E. of Nantz.* — William *E. of Mortaign.* — Eustace *E. of Bulloign d. 1153.* — William *E. of Surry d. 1162.*

Henry *Crown'd but d. before his Fa. 1183.* — 6 *RICHARD I K. of Eng. d. 1199.* — Geffrey *D. of Bretaign d. 1186.* — Matilda *Hen. D. of Saxony.* — Eleanor *Alphonsus IV K. of Castile.* — Joanne *1. Will. K. of Sicily. 2 Raymond E. of Tholouse.* — 7 *JOHN Lack land K. of Eng. d. 1216.* — William *E. of Surry*

Arthur *D. of Bretaign d. 1202.* — Eleanor *d. in Prison.*

8 *HENRY III K. of Eng. d. 1272.* — Jane *Alex. II. K. of Scott^d* — Isabella *Frederick II. Emp.* — Eleanor *1. W. E. of Pem. 2 Simon E. of Leicester.* — Richard *E. of Cornwal & K. of the Romans d. 1271.*

9 *EDWARD I K. of Eng. d. 1307.* — Margaret *Alex. III. K. of Scot.* — Beatrix *John D. of Bretaign.* — Edmund *E. of Lancast^r K. of Sicily* — Henry *St at Viterbo 1270.* — Edmund *E. of Cornwall d. 1308.*

10 *EDWARD II K. of Eng. dep. 1326.* — Thomas *E. of Norfolk.* — Edmund *E. of Kent beheaded.* — Margaret *John D. of Brabant.* — Elizabeth *1 John E. of Holland, 2 Humphrey E. of Hereford.* — Thomas *E. of Lancast^r beheaded.* — Henry *E. of Lancas^r* — John *E. of Derby d. young.*

11 *EDWARD III K. of Engt. d. 1377.* — Jane *David K. of Scot.* — Eleanor *Renold D. of Gueldre.* — Edmund *E. of Kent.* — John *E. of Kent.* — Jane *y^e Fair 1. W^m Montague, 2. Jo^n Holland. 3. E. of Wales Son to Edw. III.* — Henry *D. of Lancaster.* — Matilda *W. E. of Ulster.* — Jane *Jo^n Mowbray.* — Mary *Hen. Percy.*

Matilda *Will. de Bavière E. of Holland. d. without Heirs.* — Blanche *John of Gaunt Son of Ed. III.*

Abbreviations
E. Earl.
D. Duke.
d. died.

The Names written in Italick are the Husbands or Wives of the Names over them.

د

Graveldt. del. C. Du. Bosc. sculpt.

The MONUMENT of KING HENRY II. and KING RICHARD I.
at FONT EVRAUD in ANJOU.

BRITISH MUSEUM

1189. That *Henry* ſhould be obliged to pay the King of *France* twenty thouſand Marks, for the Damages ſuſtained in the War (1).

That all the Barons of the King of *England* ſhould ſwear, that in caſe he violated the Treaty, they would aſſiſt the King of *France* againſt him.

That the Cities of *Tours* and *Mans* ſhould remain in the hands of *Philip*, till the King of *England* performed all theſe Articles.

It was with extreme reluctancy that a Prince of ſo high a Spirit as *Henry*, ſtooped to ſuch hard Conditions. The remembrance of the Advantages, he had all along obtained over *France* before this fatal War, inſtead of comforting him, ſerved only to render his Cup the more bitter. Upon this mortification followed another, which he could not reſiſt. He diſcovered, that during the late War, his beloved Son *John* held intelligence with *Philip*, and was concerned in all his Brother's Plots to dethrone a Father who had ever ſhown a tender Affection for him. His Grief threw him into ſo violent a Paſſion (2), that he curſed the day of his Birth, and uttered imprecations againſt his Sons, which the Biſhops then preſent could never bring him to revoke. Shortly after he fell ſick at *Chinon*, and perceiving his End was at hand, cauſed himſelf to be carried into the Church before the Altar, where after confeſſing himſelf and expreſſing ſome ſigns of Repentance, he expired. His Eyes were no ſooner cloſed but his Domeſticks all left him, nay ſome had even the Inſolence to ſtrip him and leave him quite naked in the Church. His Corps was removed to *Fontevraud*, where he was buried according to his own Order (3). An extraordinary Accident rendered this Removal of his Body very remarkable. His Son *Richard* coming to meet the Funeral Pomp, in order to attend his Father to his Grave, upon his approach, the Blood in great abundance guſhed out of the mouth and noſtrils of the Corpſe. *Richard*, though naturally very hard-hearted, was ſo moved at this Sight, that he burſt out into Tears, and openly accuſed himſelf of being the occaſion of his Father's Death.

Henry finds that his Son John had held intelligence with Richard. Brompt. *He curſes his Sons.* *He dies at* Chinon. Brompt. Hoved. *His Corps bleed at the Approach of* Richard. Brompt. p. 1151. Hoved.

Such was the end of *Henry* II. one of the moſt illuſtrious Princes of his Time, both for greatneſs of Genius and extent of Dominions. The mixture of Vices and Virtues, in this Monarch, makes it difficult to give him a general Character that perfectly agrees with him. He was valiant, prudent, generous, politick, ſtudious, learned, and of an exalted Genius (4). On the other hand, he was exceſſive haughty, of an immeaſurable Ambition (5), and a boundleſs Luſt. Never ſatisfied with Love or Empire, he ſpent his whole Life in purſuit of new Conqueſts in both. He attempted the Chaſtity of all that came in his way, not excepting the Princeſs deſigned for his own Son (6): Failings which in great meaſure balance all his noble Endowments. In the beginning of his Reign, which was one of the happieſt for ſome Years, there was not in *Europe* a King more feared or reſpected. Encircled with Glory and Honour, which ſeemed to promſie him great Proſperity, he was looked upon as the happieſt Prince in the world, before *Becket*'s Affair interrupted his Felicity. But that fatal Quarrel, which created him ſo many Troubles, being followed by Diſſentions in his Family, he beheld the Happineſs, which till then had attended him, turned into Misfortunes. However, if this Prince was unhappy, his Misfortunes fell only on his own Head and not on his Kingdom, which had never been in ſo flouriſhing Condition as in his Reign. By his acceſſion to the Crown, *England* became one of the moſt powerful States in *Europe*, and began from that time to be on a level with *France*, to which before it was very much inferior. Beſides the large and rich Provinces annexed in his time to the *Engliſh* Monarchy, the Conqueſt of *Ireland* is what gives a great Luſtre to his Reign, and ought to render his Memory dear to the *Engliſh*. He died on the ſixth of *July* in 1189, and in the 57th Year of his Age, after a Reign of thirty four Years, eight Months and twelve Days (7).

Character of Henry II. Brompt. p. 1044, 1150, 1151. Brompton, p. 1151.

1189. Brompt. Hoved.

Of the five Sons he had by *Eleanor* of *Guienne* his Wife (8), *Richard* and *John* only ſurvived him: *Geoffrey*, his third Son, left a Son and a Daughter, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. *Matilda*, his eldeſt Daughter, married to the Duke of *Saxony* (9) died immediately after him. *Eleanor* was Wife to *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, and *Johanna* to *William* II. ſirnamed *the Good* King of *Sicily*.

His lawful Iſſue. Hoved.

Beſides his lawful Iſſue, *Henry* had two natural Sons by *Roſamond Clifford*; *William* ſirnamed *Long-Sword*, who was Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Geoffrey*, who was Archbiſhop of *York*. By a Daughter of Sir *Ralph Blewet*, *Henry* had alſo another natural Son called *Morgan*, who being elected Biſhop of *Durham*, could not obtain the Pope's Confirmation, becauſe he refuſed to take the Name of his Mother's Father.

His baſe Iſſue.

Some Hiſtorians relate, that in the Reign of *Henry* II. there was found in the Church-Yard of *Glaſſenbury* Abbey, a Grave containing three Bodies laid one upon another, each in a Coffin by it ſelf. It was pretended, the firſt was *Guinever*'s, ſecond Wife of the Great *Arthur*; the ſecond, *Modred*'s his Nephew; and the third, *Arthur*'s diſtinguiſhed by a leaden Croſs, with this Inſcription, *Here lies the illuſtrious King* Arthur *in the Iſle of* Avalon. What is further aſſerted, that his Legs were a third longer than thoſe of the largeſt Men, and that there was the diſtance of a Span between his Eye-brows, renders this Relation ſomewhat ſuſpicious. However this Diſcovery, real or pretended, ſerved to undeceive ſome weak people among the *Welſh*, who ſtill expected the Return of their Heroe.

It is pretended that the Corps of the Great Arthur *was found in this Reign.* Brompt. p. 1152, &c.

6. *RI-*

(1) Thirty thouſand Pounds to the King of *France*, and twenty thouſand to the Barons of that Kingdom. *Gervas.* p. 1544.

(2) *Brompton* ſays, that his Grief at this, was the occaſion of his Death. *Brompt.* p 1154.

(3) He was interred in the Choir of the Nunnery which he himſelf had founded, with deſign to be buried there. A ſtately Tomb has been ſince erected for him and *Eleanor* his Queen, as alſo for his Son King *Richard* and his Queen, at the Charge of the Lady Abbeſs *Jeanne Baptiſte de Bourbon*, natural Daughter to King *Henry* the fourth of *France*; their Effigies in Braſs, which before lay in other parts of the Church, being removed and placed together in one Monument. *See Sandford's Geneal Hiſt. of the Kings of England*, p. 64, 65.

(4) He was very mild towards thoſe that hunted in his Foreſts, only impriſoning them. He was very bountiful to the Widows and Orphans. There being a Famine in *Mans* and *Anjou*, in 1176, he ſupplied ten thouſand People with Food out of his Stores, from *April* 1, till the Corn was ripe. He never laid any heavy Tax or Tribute upon his Subjects. He took care to ſecure Wrecks, and laid heavy Penalties upon any that ſhould plunder upon that occaſion. *Brompt.* p. 1152. *Diceto.* p. 582, 589.

(5) He ſaid in his Proſperity, *The whole World was but ſufficient for one Great Man.*

(6) An Hiſtorian ſays, he had a mind to marry her, and applied to *Hugo* the Pope's Legate, in order to be divorced from his Queen *Eleanor*. *Brompt.* p. 1151.

(7) Seven Months and four Days, ſays *Hoveden.* p. 654.

(8) *William*, his eldeſt Son, who died in 1156, was buried in *Reading* Monaſtery. *M. Paris.* p. 96. Concerning *Henry* and *Geoffrey*, See page 240, 241.

(9) *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, King *Henry*'s Son-in-law, having been accuſed of Treaſon againſt the Emperor *Frederick*, was condemned to Baniſhment for three Years, and deprived of his Dominions. Some Years after the Emperor reſtored to him that part of them, containing at this Day the Dutchies of *Hanover Zell*, and *Wolfembuttle*. From this Duke *Henry* by *Matilda*, is deſcended his preſent Majeſty King GEORGE.

I. King *Henry* held his great Councils or Parliaments, at the following Places: In 1154, at *Chriſtmas*, at *Bermondſey*. (*Gervas.* p. 1377.) In 1155, at *Wallingford*. (*Id.* p. 1378.) In 1163, a Parliament. (*Hoved.* p. 492. *M. Paris.* p. 100.) another at *Woodſtock*. (*Hoved.* p. 493. *M. Paris.* p. 101.) one at *Clarendon*. (*Hoved. Gervas.* ibid.) one at *Northampton*. *Octob.* 13. (*Hoved.* p. 494. *Diceto.* p. 537.) In 1164, a Parliament, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Brompt.* p. 1058.) In 1166, a Parliament. (*M. Weſt.* p. 249.) In 1170, at *Windſor*, and afterwards at *Weſtminſter*. (*Brompt.* p. 1060. *Hoved.* p. 518.) one at *Chriſtmas*. (*Hoved.* p. 520, 521.) In 1171, one was held. (*Gervas.* p. 1399.) In 1173, one at *Weſtminſter*, in *April*. (*Gervas.* p. 1424.) In 1175, at *Woodſtock*. (*Hoved.* p. 545.) at *Reading* at *Whitſuntide*, (*Brompt.* p. 1102.) at *York*. (*Hoved.* p. 545.) *June* 29. at *Gloceſter*. (ibid.) *October* 6, at *Windſor*. (*Id.* p. 1106, 1107.) at *Northampton*. (*Gervas.* p. 1433. *Brompt.* 1108.) In 1176, *January* 26, at *Northampton*. (*Diceto.* p. 588. *Hoved.* p. 548.) one about *Whitſuntide*. (*Brompt.* p. 1112.) *June* 19, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Diceto.* p. 586.) *June* 29, at *Northampton*. (*Brompt.* p. 1108. at *Wincheſter*. (*Id.* p. 1109.) at *Chriſtmas*, at *Northampton*. (*Hoved.* p. 553. *Brompt.* p. 1117.) In 1177, at *Northampton*. *Jan.* 14. (*Brompt.* p. 1118.) at *Ely*, and *Windſor*. (*Brompt.* p. 1127.)

II. Remarkable Occurrences: King *Henry* brought into *England* the *Angevin* Faſhion of wearing ſhort Cloaks, or *Mantles*, for which Reaſon he is ſometimes called ſhort or *Court-Mantle*. *Brompt.* p. 1150——About 1176, *London-Bridge* began to be built with Stone, by *Peter Coleman* a Prieſt. The King contributed to the advancement of ſo good a Work: A Cardinal, who was then Legate here, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, gave one thouſand Marks towards it. The Courſe of the River was, for the Time, turned another way; by a *Trench* caſt for that Purpoſe, beginning at *Batterſea*, and ending about *Rotherith*. It was thirty three Years in Building. *Stow's Survey. Part.* I. p. 53.———In 1178. King *Henry* laid the Foundation of *Warwick* Caſtle. *Stow's Chron.* p. 152.———In 1177. the *Jews* obtained permiſſion to have a Church-yard near every Town, where they lived: Before, they had but one in *England*, namely at *London*. *Brompt.* p. 1129. 1152. *Hoved.* p. 568.

III. The two firſt Branches of the Royal Revenue being ſpoken of already; namely, the Demeans of the Crown and Eſcheats, the third Branch is the Feudal, and other Profits ariſing from thence, as *Reliefs*; upon the Death of his Anceſtor, every Heir that held his Lands by Barony, or Knight's Service, was obliged to pay a Sum of Money to the King, on his taking poſſeſſion of the Inheritance. Theſe Reliefs were at firſt uncertain till *Magna Charta*, when an Earl paid one hundred Pound, a Baron one hundred Marks, a Knight, for one Fee, five Pounds. Here it muſt be obſerved, that ſome Baronies were much larger than others, and ſo of the Knight's Fees. This difference aroſe from the reſpective Charters of the Feoffment. For if the King enfeoffed a Man of forty Knight's Fees, to hold by Barony; or ten Knight's Fees, to hold by Barony; the Tenure was Barony in each Caſe. So alſo, if the King enfeoffed a Man of twenty Carues of Land, to hold by the Service of one Knight; or forty Carues, to hold by the Service of one Knight; the Feoffee had in each Caſe, one Knight's Fee. For this reaſon, at certain times, a Diſtinction was made between the Baronies, and Fees of the old, and thoſe of the new Feoffment; the old being commonly larger than thoſe of the new. Notwithſtanding this difference, the Relief of the Barony or Fee, whether it was a greater or leſſer, was the ſame. But when two Baronies came to be veſted in one Man, he was charged with a Relief for each. 2. Another feudal Profit, was *Wardſhip* and *Marriage*. During the Nonage of the Heirs of the King's Tenants *in Capite*, the King could diſpoſe of the Cuſtody and Marriage of them to whom he pleaſed, which raiſed him a great Revenue. A fourth Branch of the Revenue, was the yearly Ferms of the Counties. From the Reign of *William* I. the King uſed to let out the ſeveral Counties, upon a yearly Ferm or Rent, or commit them to Cuſtody. The Fermer or Committee, was uſually ſtiled Sheriff. Moſt, if not all the Counties, as appears by the Revenue Rolls, were thus let at Ferm in King *Stephen*'s Reign. When a County was let for more than formerly, the Improvement was called *Cremetum*, the *Increment*; which was ſometimes anſwered

6. *RICHARD* I. *Sirnamed* COEUR-de-LION.

1189. Richard *has no Thoughts of marrying* Alice.

AS ſoon as *Henry* was laid in his Grave, *Richard*'s Complaints were eaſily perceived to be only Pretences to colour his Rebellion. He had earneſtly deſired Leave to conſummate his Marriage with *Alice* of *France*, and complained of the King his Father's great Injuſtice in obſtructing his Happineſs. And yet, when this pretended Happineſs was in his power, he thought no more of it. On the other hand, his Jealouſies and Fears on account of Prince *John* his Brother, vaniſhed on a ſudden. Inſtead of returning forthwith into *England*, as he would certainly have done, had he been apprehenſive of his Brother's cabals, he ſtaid above a month in *France* (1), after *Henry*'s Death, without having the leaſt Uneaſineſs on that Account. His firſt Care was to do Homage to *Philip*, and thank him withal for the Protection he had granted him. This Viſit procured him the Reſtitution of the Places conquered by that Monarch during the late War (2). After that, he went and received the Ducal Crown of *Normandy* at *Roan* (3), where he remained ſome time, ſhowing by that he was not afraid his Abſence might prejudice his Affairs in *England*. And indeed, ſo far were the *Engliſh* from diſputing his Right to the Crown, that his Orders were executed as if he had already received it. The firſt he ſent thither was to releaſe his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who languiſhed in Priſon ſixteen Years. At the ſame time he entruſted her with the Adminiſtration of the Government during his Abſence, and impowered her to releaſe what Priſoners ſhe pleaſed (4). The Queen, being taught by her own, to pity others Misfortunes, uſed with pleaſure, for the Relief of the unhappy, the Power given her by the King. Nay, ſhe was obſerved, during the reſidue of her Life, to omit no opportunity of exerciſing her Charity to ſuch as were debarred the Sweets of Liberty, the Value of which ſhe had but too well learnt, during her long Confinement. 1189.

and ſhows no Jealouſy of his Brother John. Diceto.

Eleanor's Compaſſion for Priſoners was very natural. But *Richard*'s treatment of thoſe that had, for his ſake, expoſed themſelves to his Father's Reſentment, was very ſurprizing (5). Inſtead of rewarding them, as they expected, he forbid them ever to appear in his preſence. At the ſame time he affected to load with Favours all that had reſiſted his Sollicitations. Hence was ſeen an Inſtance of what has been often remarked, that ſuch as make uſe of indirect means to compaſs their Ends, deteſt in their hearts the Inſtruments they employ, and approve of the Conduct of thoſe that are not to be diverted from their Duty. *He baniſhes from his Preſence ſuch as had ſided with him,* Hoved. p. 655. Brompt. p. 1154.

He does Homage to Philip, *and is crowned Duke of* Normandy. Hoved. Gervas. R. Diceto. Brompt.

After *Richard* had ſettled all his Affairs in *France*, he came to *London* (6), where he was ſolemnly crowned (7) by *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who adminiſtered to him the cuſtomary Oath (8). From *William the Conqueror*, there was no King but what had taken the ſame Oath; though not one had been careful to perform it. This the Archbiſhop took the Freedom to repreſent to *Richard*, conjuring him withal, in the name of God, to be mindful of the Vows and Oaths he had juſt taken in accepting the Royal Dignity. *Richard* made anſwer, that by God's aſſiſtance he would punctually perform them all (9). *He is crowned at* London. R. Diceto. Gervaſe. Hoved. Brompt. M. Paris.

He releaſes the Queen his Mother. Hoved. Brompt.

The

ſwered in Palfreys, Hawks, &c. 2. The yearly Ferms of the Towns, Burghs, and Gilds. It is to be remembered, that from the Time of *the Conqueſt*, the Cities and Towns were inveſted either in the Crown, or the Clergy, or the Baronage. Some of theſe Towns the King was poſſeſſed of, as part of the original Inheritance of the Crown; others by antient Eſcheat, juſt as his other Lands. When the King was ſeized of a City, or Town, in Demean, he was Lord of the Soil, *viz.* of all the Land within the Site and Precinct thereof, of all the Burgage Houſes, Sheds, Stalls and Buildings, Herbage, Profits of Fairs and Markets, Pleas and Perquiſites of Courts; in a word, of all Iſſues, Profits and Appurtenances, of the City or Town of any kind, that was not alienated by himſelf or Anceſtors. For ſometimes the Crown thought fit to grant ſome Part, or Profit, to a private Perſon or Monaſtery. Such a City or Town, was commonly ſtiled *Civitas Regis*, *Villa Regis*, *Burgus Regis*; and the Men, *Homines* or *Burgenſes Regis*. The yearly Profit, made by the King, of his Cities and Towns, was paid him ſeveral ways. The Iſſues of ſome were included in the general Ferms of the County where they lay, and were anſwered by the Sheriff. Sometimes the King committed them to *Farmers*, or *Cuſtodes*, diſtinct from the Sheriffs. In a word, ſometimes the King let his Town to the Townſmen, at Ferm for Years, or in *Fee Ferm*, that is, perpetual Ferm for ever, ſince *Feodum*, *Fee* was uſed in *England*, to ſignify a perpetual Eſtate, it has been uſed to denote perpetuity in Office and in Rent. Thus inheritable Offices have been called *Offices in Fee*. When a Town was put to *Fee Ferm*, the Tenure was *Burgage*. Particular Burgage, Tenements lying in the Town, as well as the Town itſelf, were ſaid to be ſo holden. In proceſs of Time, moſt of the Towns and Burghs, came to be let to the reſpective Townſmen or Burgeſſes at *Fee Ferm*. To the Ferms of the Towns, may be referred the Ferms or yearly Payments to the Crown, by the *Gilds* and *Meſteres*. The word *Gild*, ſignifies a *Company*, *Society*, *Brotherhood*, by which laſt Name the Religious *Gilds* were called, that were founded for Devotion and Alms Deeds, as the ſecular *Gilds* were chiefly for Trade and Alms-Deeds. Theſe Gilds could not be ſet up without the King's Warrant. The *Gilds* of Goldſmiths, Bochers, and others, were amerced in *London*, to the Crown, as Adulterine, in the Reign of *Henry* II. There was alſo in former Times a ſecular Gild, called *Gilda Mercatoria*, a *Merchant Gild*. From theſe Gilds, perhaps, ſprung the Practice of gildating or embodying whole Towns. In time, the ſeveral *Gilds* of Goldſmiths, Salters, &c. were ſtiled *Corporations* or *Companies*. All theſe Gilds paid a yearly Ferm to the King. As for the *Meſteres*, it is to be obſerved, that this Word has no relation to the Word *Myſtery*, as if there was, as it is vulgarly ſaid, ſome Myſtery in every Trade. For though Myſtery has been uſed for many Years paſt for a *Craft*, or *Occupation*, the true derivation is from the *Gallic Miſtera*, *Meſtera*, or *Meſtier*, ſignifying a Trade. Thus we find in *Edward* III. the *Miſtere* of Taylors, Armorers, and others. The other three remaining Branches of the Revenue, will be the Subject of the next Note on the Coin.

H2

King *Henry* IId's Coin is the ſame with thoſe of his Predeceſſors, giving him full-faced, with a Scepter in his Right-Hand, a Crown of a Row of Pearls of five Points, with a Croſs raiſed upon the Middlemoſt, and this Inſcription, HENRICUS. REX. on the Reverſe, a double-lined Croſs, terminating at the inner Circle, and four Pellets in each Quarter: Which on ſome are conjoined by a ſmall Stroke, in form of a Croſs. DODELM. ON. WINC. (*Wincheſter*) NICOLE. ON. LUND. one there is, ILGEH. ON. LUND. THOMAS. ON. EVE. (*York*) RENAUD. ON. EVE. Whether his Son *Henry*, who died before him, coined any Money, is uncertain, but he had a great Seal. There appears to be in this Reign a foreign current Coin, called a *Bezant*, of the Value of two Shillings. For *Creſſalin*, the *Jew* of *Wincheſter*, was amerced one hundred Marks, and he paid inſtead thereof one hundred *Bezants*, which were accepted by the King, *merâ gratiâ*. *Mag. Rot. Hen.* II. *Rot.* 10. *a. Sudhanteſcira*. This Coin was ſo called from being coined at *Bizantium*, or *Conſtantinople*, ſays *Nicolſon*, *Hiſt. Lib.* p. 252.

(1) The firſt thing he did there, was to impriſon *Stephen de Tours*, Seneſchal of *Anjou*, till he ſurrendered the Caſtles and Treaſures, which the late King had committed to his Cuſtody. *Hoved.* p. 654. *Brompt* p. 1154.

(2) The Place where they met was between *Chaumont* and *Trie*, on *July* 22. *Philip* inſiſted upon the Reſtitution of *Giſors*, and other Places; but, inſtead of them, King *Richard* agreed to pay *Philip* four thouſand Marks of Silver, beſides the twenty thouſand his Father *Henry* had engaged in the late Treaty to pay. *Hoved.* p. 654. *Brompt.*

(3) This was on *July* 20, the third Day before his Interview with *Philip*. *Hoved.* p. 654. He did not only receive the *Ducal Crown*; but, as *Hoveden* expreſſes it, *was girt with the Sword of the Dukedom of* Normandy, (for that was the Form of Inveſtiture) by the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, in the preſence of the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of *Normandy*. *Hoved.* ibid. *Brompt.* p. 1155.

(4) He alſo gave her whatever King *Henry* I. and *Stephen* had granted to their Queens for a Dower; beſides what *Henry* II, her Huſband, had allowed her. *Brompt.* p. 1169 *Hoved.* p. 663.

(5) He reſtored *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and others to their Eſtates, of which they had been deprived by his Father. *Hoved.* p. 654. *Brompt.* p. 1156.

(6) He landed at *Portſmouth*, *Auguſt* 13, (or, according to *Gervaſe*, at *Southampton*, *Auguſt* 12. p. 1549.) being attended by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Chicheſter*. From thence he went to *Wincheſter Auguſt* 15. where he took an Account of his Father's Treaſure. *Hoved.* p. 655. *Brompt.* p. 1156. *M. Paris*, p. 152. *Diceto.* p. 646.

(7) *September* 3. *Brompton*, p. 1157. *Diceto*, p. 647. *Gervaſe* ſays he came to *London*, *September* 10, and was crowned the 11th, p. 1549.

(8) The ſecond Day after his Coronation he received the Homage of all the great Men. *Hoved.* p. 657, 658. *Brompt.* p 1160.

(9) It may not be amiſs from *Hoveden* and *Diceto* (who were Eye-Witneſſes) to ſet down the Ceremonies at large, ſince we may learn from hence the whole Form of an ancient Coronation: The Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Triers*, who came over with the King) and *Dublin*, with other Biſhops and Abbots in rich Copes, and having the Croſs, Holy Water, and Cenſers carried before them, received the Duke at the Door of his Privy-Chamber, and conducted him with a ſolemn Proceſſion to the Abby-Church of *Weſtminſter*. In the middle of the Biſhops and Clergy went four Barons, each carrying a golden

Buried in the Abbey of Font-evraud, where the Statue on his Monument is still preserv'd.

1189. Some Jews slain. Neubrig. l. 4. Brompt. Hoved. Diceto.

The ceremony of the Coronation was somewhat disturbed by the maſſacre of ſome *Jews*, who by ſtriving too eagerly to get into the Church to ſee the ſolemnity (1), gave occaſion to the People to fall upon them and kill ſeveral before their fury could be reſtrained. But the Authors of this diſorder were not ſuffered to go unpuniſhed. The King ordering ſtrict Inquiſition to be made, the Chief Ring-Leaders were deſervedly put to death (2).

Brompton. p. 1171.

It is no wonder, the People ſhould fall on the *Jews* upon ſo ſlight an occaſion. Since the news of the taking of *Jeruſalem* was ſpread over *Europe*, nothing but vengeance was breathed againſt the enemies of Chriſt. Though the *Jews* were not concerned in the late revolution in the Eaſt, their not being Chriſtians was ſufficient to render them odious. At ſuch a juncture, they would doubtleſs have found themſelves expoſed to worſe Perſecutions, if the preparations for the Cruſade had not at length turned the fury of the People againſt the *Saracens*. This Zeal, eſpecially in *France* and *England*, ran ſo high, that the number of the *Croiſes* was prodigious. Every one gloried, either in liſting himſelf to go in perſon againſt the Infidels, or in advancing money for the War. *Richard* bound himſelf by the like Vow before his Father's death. He renewed his Engagement at the late interview between him and *Philip*, where theſe two Monarchs agreed to join their Forces, and go to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine*. *Richard* was ſcarce on the Throne, when, for fear of forgetting his Promiſe, *Philip* ſent to put him in mind of it (3). There was no need to uſe much ſollicitation to incline him to that Undertaking. Far from deſiring to be excuſed, he thought of only preparations for his Journey, neglecting for its ſake all his other affairs. Whether this proceeded from a pure Principle of zeal and devotion, or from an eager deſire of acquiring Fame, I dare not determine. However, if it be allowable to judge by the Character of *Richard*, it is to be preſumed Glory had a greater ſhare in it than Religion.

The Ardor of the Chriſtians for the Cruſade.

Philip puts Richard in mind of his Vow. Hoved. p. 660. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 65. Brompt. Diceto. M. Paris.

As this Prince had grand Views, and intended to lead a powerful Army into *Paleſtine*, it was neceſſary to raiſe vaſt Sums for its maintenance. Accordingly, he was wholly intent upon that, till the time came to begin his voyage. The late King left in his Coffers above a hundred thouſand Marks (4), and *Richard* drew little leſs from the Treaſurer and others, who managed the Revenues in the late reign. But thinking theſe Sums inſufficient for the Charges of his Voyage, he uſed all manner of ways to increaſe them. He ſold almoſt all the Crown-Lands to ſuch as would purchaſe them. The Biſhops and Abbots having the moſt ready Money, made a greater advantage of this opportunity than others. The Biſhop of *Durham* purchaſed the Earldom of *Northumberland* for himſelf and Succeſſors (5); upon which the King jeſtingly ſaid, *He had made a young Earl of an old Biſhop* (6). But this new Dignity was not capable of ſatisfying the Prelate's ambition: He gave moreover one thouſand Marks to be Juſticiary during the King's abſence (7). As *Richard* evidently appeared to be unwilling to omit any means that might procure him ready Money, to defray the Expences of his intended Voyage, the King of *Scotland* thought he ſhould improve this opportunity (8). To that Purpoſe, he offered him ten thouſand Marks to deliver up *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, and deſiſt from his claim to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. *Richard*, very readily accepting the offer, gave up the two Places, and by authentick Charter, diſcharged the King of *Scotland*, and his Succeſſors, from the Homage extorted from him by *Henry* II.

The Means uſed by Richard to raiſe Money. Hoved. Brompton.

1189. Brompt. M. Paris. Hoved. p. 658. Neubrig. c. 5. Diceto. Hoved. Brompt. M. Paris.

Many People were uneaſy at theſe Alienations. Nay, ſome took the liberty to repreſent to the King the ill conſequences thereof. But he ſtopped their mouths with this reply, *I would ſell* London *itſelf could I meet with a Chapman able to purchaſe it.* The ſums amaſſed by theſe extraordinary ways, not anſwering yet to the vaſtneſs of his projects, he bethought himſelf of a new Expedient to augment them. As multitudes had haſtily and unadviſedly engaged in the Cruſade, he obtained of the Pope a Power to diſpenſe with ſuch as repented of their Vow (9), by which means he raiſed very great Sums. After practiſing theſe general methods, he proceeded to exact Money from the richeſt of his Subjects. He borrowed of thoſe who led an unblameable life; but for ſuch as gave him any handle, he threatened to call them to a ſtrict account (10), and forced them to prevent it by Preſents. It was by this means that he compelled *Glanville*, a rich Lawyer, whom he had committed to priſon, to purchaſe his Liberty with fifteen thouſand Pounds Sterling (11). Though he had reſolved to leave the Great-Seal, in his abſence, with *Longchamp* his Favourite, lately made Chancellor, he demanded of him however a large Sum to continue him in that poſt (12). Whilſt he was thus heaping up Money, the Clergy were zealouſly labouring to procure him Soldiers; the Pulpits reſounding with the great merit of ſerving in the Holy War. The Confeſſors enjoined

Richard of the Deviſes. Hoved. Rich. of the Deviſes.

golden Candleſtick, with a Taper; after whom came *Geoffrey de Lucy*, bearing the Royal Cap, and *John de Marſhal* next, with a maſſy pair of Gold Spurs: Then *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Royal Sceptre: After him *William Fitz-Patrick* Earl of *Salisbury*, with a golden Rod, having a Dove on the Top: Then three other Earls, *David* Brother to the King of *Scotland*, as Earl of *Huntingdon*; Prince *John* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Derby*; with *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, each bearing a Sword upright, the Scabbards richly adorned with Gold: After them ſix Earls and Barons bearing a checkered Table, on which were laid the Royal Robes, and other *Regalia*: Then came *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle* and *Eſſex*, bearing a large Crown of Gold ſet with precious Stones: Then Duke *Richard* himſelf, (between the Biſhop of *Durham* and *Bath*) over whom a Canopy of State was born by four Barons: Then followed a great Train of Earls, Barons, Knights, *&c.* In this Order he came into the Church, where before the high Altar, laying his Hand on the Evangeliſts and Relicts of Saints, he took a ſolemn Oath, "That he would obſerve Peace, Honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, his Church, and her Miniſters, all "the days of his Life; That he would exerciſe upright Juſtice and Equity towards the People committed to his Charge; and that he would abrogate and "diſannul all evil Laws and wrongful Cuſtoms, and make, keep, and ſincerely maintain thoſe that were good and laudable." Then they put off all his Garments from his Middle upwards, except his Shirt, which was open on the Shoulders, and put on his Shoes which were of gold Tiſſue, and the Archbiſhop anointed him on the Head, the Breaſt, and the Arms; then covering his Head with a Linen Cloth, he ſet the Cap thereon which *Geoffrey de Lucy* carried; and when he had put on his Waiſtcoat, and on that his *Dalmatica*, or Upper Garment, the Archbiſhop delivered to him the Sword of the Kingdom; which done, two Earls put on his Spurs, and he was led, with the Royal Mantle hung on him, to the Altar, where the Archbiſhop charged him on God's behalf, *Not to preſume to take upon him this Dignity, except he reſolved inviolably to keep the Vows and Oaths he had juſt then made:* To which the King anſwered, *That by God's Grace he would faithfully perform them all.* Then the Crown was taken from beſide the Altar and given to the Archbiſhop, who ſet it upon the King's Head, delivering the Sceptre into his Right-hand, and the Rod Royal into his Left. Thus crowned, he was brought back to his Throne with the ſame Solemnity as before. Then Maſs began, and when they came to the Offertory, the King was led by the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Bath* to the Altar, where he offered a Mark of pure Gold, as his Predeceſſors were wont to do, and afterwards was brought back to his Throne by the ſame Biſhops. After Maſs, he was attended, thus royally arrayed, to a Chamber adjoining in like Proceſſion as before: Whence (after a ſhort Repoſe) he with the ſame Proceſſion returned into the Choir; and having put off his heavy Crown and Robes, he went to Dinner. At the Coronation-Feaſt, which was kept in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Citizens of *London* were his Butlers, and thoſe of *Winchеſter* ſerved up the Meat. Then the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſat down with the King, whilſt the Earls and Barons ſerved in the King's Palaces, as their Places and Dignities required. *Hoved.* p. 656. *Diceto.* p. 647. *Ralph de Diceto*, (who was then Dean of St. *Paul's*, and in the Vacancy of the Biſhoprick of *London* aſſiſted at the Coronation, and delivered the *Chriſm* or conſecrated Oil, with which the King was anointed) has theſe remarkable Words juſt before his Account of the Coronation, "*Richard* Earl of *Poictou*, being by hereditary Right to be made King, [*promovendus in Regem*] after a ſolemn and due Election by the Clergy and "Laity, took a threefold Oath, *&c.*" By which Words it ſhould ſeem that the Kings in thoſe Days were not conſidered as compleatly Kings, till they were actually crowned, though the Cuſtom be otherwiſe now. *Diceto.* ibid.

(1) They came to bring the King Preſents; though Orders had been given, the Day before, that neither *Jews*, nor Women, ſhould be at the Coronation. *Hoved.* p. 657. *Brompton*, p. 1159, 1160. *M. Paris*, p. 154.

(2) The Example of the *Londoners* was followed the next Year in the Towns of *Norwich*, on *February* 6; *Stamford*, *March* 7; *St. Edmundſbury*, *March* 18; *Lincoln* and *Lynn*, where the Rabble roſe upon the *Jews*; but their greateſt Fury was exerted againſt them at *York*, *March* 16, where five hundred Men, beſides Women and Children, having prevailed with the Governor to let them into the Caſtle to avoid the Rage of the Populace; the High-Sheriff came and required them to deliver it up, which they refuſing to do, the People drew up in a Body and attacked the Caſtle. At laſt the *Jews* offered a great Sum of Money to go off with their Lives; but the People denied to give them quarter. Upon which an antient *Rabbin* propoſed the killing themſelves rather than fall into the Hands of the *uncircumciſed Chriſtians*. This Motion was unanimouſly agreed to, and their Method in putting their tragical Reſolve in Execution, was thus: Every Maſter of a Family cut his Wife's and Children's Throats firſt, then diſpatched his Servants, and concluded with the Slaughter of himſelf. *Will. of Newburgh*, l. 4. c. 9. *Diceto.* p. 651. *Brompt.* p. 1171, &c. It is ſtrange (ſays *Tyrrel*, Vol. II. p. 472.) to obſerve the prepoſterous Zeal of ſome of our Monkiſh Writers, who do not only excuſe but applaud this Barbarity, becauſe (ſay they) it ſerved to deſtroy the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith.

(3) He ſent to him, in *November*, *Rotrou* Earl of *Perche*; who addreſſed himſelf not only to the King, but alſo to the Earls and Barons of *England*; whereupon King *Richard* aſſembled a Parliament at *London* or *Weſtminſter*, to conſider of this Affair. *N. B.* This is the firſt time the Word *Parliamentum* occurs in the antient Hiſtorians. *Brompt.* p. 1166. *Hoved.* p. 660.

(4) *Brompton* ſays, there was found in his Treaſury above nine hundred thouſand Pounds, beſides Jewels, *&c.* p. 1156. *M. Paris*, p. 152.

(5) He bought it only for Life. *Hoved* p. 658. *M. Paris*, p. 155.

(6) He likewiſe bought the Manor of *Sedgefield*, with the Wapentake, and ſettled it upon the See of *Durham*. *Brompt.* p. 1162. *M. Paris*, p. 154. The Biſhop of *Winchеſter* bought alſo of the King the two Manors of *Weregrave* and *Meaus*. *Brompt.* 1162. *Hoved.* p. 659.

(7) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays Ten. See *Brompt.* p. 1162. *M. Paris*, p. 154.

(8) He came to *Richard* at *Canterbury*, in *December*. *Brompt.* p. 1167.

(9) The Biſhop of *Norwich* paid him upon that account a thouſand Marks. *Brompt.* p. 1175. *Hoved.* p. 668.

(10) By this means he ſqueezed a great deal of Money out of the Sheriffs and Bailiffs; and thoſe Sheriffs that would not pay ſo much as the King exacted of them, were turned out, and others put in their room. *M. Paris*, p. 154-----The King alſo made a new Seal, and ordered all Perſons to have their Charters or Grants renewed. *M. Paris.* p. 156.

(11) This was *Ranulph de Glanville*, whom *Henry* II. made Juſticiary of all *England*, and who lately reſigned that Office. *Cujus ſapientia* (ſays *Hoveden*) *conditæ ſunt Leges ſubſcriptæ quas* Anglicanas *vocamus*; after which he gives us the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor* and *William* I, as if theſe had never been brought into any regular Form before his Time. The Book that now carries his Name has kept the ſame Title in its ſeveral Editions, viz. *Tractatus de Legibus & Conſuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, tempore Regis* Henrici II. *compoſitus*, &c. In which we have Forms of ſuch Writs as were then (and are moſtly ſtill) in uſe, upon all the ſeveral Occaſions there treated on. He is ſaid to be the Inventor of the famous Writ of Aſſize, or *de novel Diſſeiſin*. He died in his Voyage to the Holy-Land, being very aged.

(12) Three thouſand Pounds.

1189. no Penances but what tended to promote the grand design of recovering the *Holy-Land*. By these means the Army soon became very numerous, and so much better provided with all things, as there was not an Officer or common Soldier but what furnished themselves with Necessaries.

Richard *uneasy on account of his Brother.* Gervas. Hoved. M. Paris.

Amidst the King's satisfaction to see the Preparations for his Voyage in such forwardness, there was one thing that gave him disquiet. As he should probably be long absent, he was apprehensive his Brother might take advantage of his Absence and seize the Crown. He would fain have carried him along with him. But as *John* showed no inclination for the Voyage, he would not compel him to make an involuntary Vow. To free himself from this perplexity, he resolved to load with Favours the young Prince, whose Ambition was not yet known to him. He imagined the Grants he should make him would engage him to a grateful return. Accordingly he invested him with six Earldoms (1). *Cornwal*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaster* (2), and gave him to wife *Avisa*, Heiress of the House of *Gloucester*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* forbad the Marriage, by reason of their being too near a kin (3). But there was a sort of necessity for it. The late Earl of *Gloucester*, Father of *Avisa*, for reasons unknown, made Prince *John* his Heir. This Settlement would infallibly have caused a great Law-Suit, in which there was danger of the Prince's being cast, and from thence taking occasion to raise disturbances. The death of his Wife, daughter of the Earl of *Mortagne* (4), made the King easy in that respect. By her death a very natural way offered of reconciling the two Parties, by joining them in Marriage. And therefore, the Archbishop's Prohibition, though founded on the Canons, gave place for once to reasons of State (5), and *John* became also Earl of *Gloucester* in right of *Avisa*, his wife (6). Mean time, though *Richard* had, in a manner, shared his Kingdom with his Brother, he would not suffer him to have any hand in the Government during his absence, lest he should make him too powerful. Nay, led by this Fear, he caused him to swear to go and remain in *Normandy*; but before his departure released him from his Oath. To *Longchamp* his Favourite he committed the Regency (7), jointly with the Bishop of *Durham* (8). *Longchamp* was a *Norman* of mean extraction, who, by his interest with the King, was become Bishop of *Ely*, High-Chancellor, and the Pope's Legate over all *England*. All these Dignities together with the Regency, rendered him the most powerful Subject that had ever been in *England*. A Historian therefore very justly gives him the Titles of *Prince* and *Pontiff* of the *English*, since all the Power spiritual and temporal was united in his Person.

Gives him six Earldoms, and the Heiress of Gloucester *in Marriage.* Hoved. Brompt. Gervase. Dicet. M. Paris.

Hoved. Brompt.

Longchamp *and the Bishop of* Durham *made Regents.* Brompt. M. Paris. Hoved. Dicet.

Richard *makes an Alliance with the King of* Scotland. Hoved. Dicet.

After *Richard* had taken all necessary care for the government of the State, he was willing to secure its Tranquillity, by renewing his Alliance with the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales*. To that end, he desired these two Princes to come into *England*, in order to adjust every thing that might occasion Disputes; and thereby take from them all pretence of disturbing the Peace of his Subjects. The former, who had reason to be satisfied, made a strict Alliance with him, and as some affirm, sent his Brother *David* to attend him in his Voyage with a thousand *Scotchmen*. *Griffin* King of *Wales* sent into *England* his eldest Son *Rees*, but some Difference in point of Ceremony arising, that Prince returned without seeing the King (9). However, as *Richard*'s Affairs with the *Welsh* were of no great moment, that Accident caused him not to delay his Voyage (10). 1189.

Hoved.

Every thing being ready for his Departure, *Richard* passed into *France* (11) with all his Troops, and marched for *Marseilles*, where his Fleet had orders to expect him. The two Armies of *France* and *England* joined at *Vezelai*, according to agreement. As soon as the two Kings arrived there, they renewed their Alliance, and obliged themselves to protect and defend one another upon all occasions. They agreed moreover, that all Quarrels in their absence between their Subjects should be superseded till their return. The Bishops that attended them thus far, promised to excommunicate all that should attempt to disturb the Peace of the two Kingdoms. After the two Monarchs had concerted whatever was thought necessary to accomplish their designs (12), they marched together as far as *Lyons* (13), where they parted. *Philip* took the rout to *Genoa*, and *Richard* to *Marseilles* (14), where he was to meet his Fleet. But he waited there some time (15) to no purpose. A violent Storm had so dispersed his Ships, that they were not yet able to re-join. Nay, part being driven by stress of weather into *Portugal*, the King of that Country made use of the Assistance sent him by Providence, to relieve the City of *Santarin*, besieged by the *Miramolin* [or Emperor] of *Africa*. These hindrances preventing the Fleet from arriving at *Marseilles* by the time the King expected, he could not prevail with himself to wait any longer. Impatient to be at *Messina*, the general rendezvous of the *Croises*, he hired some Vessels (16) at *Marseilles*, and embarking part of his Troops, set sail for *Sicily*. Some Accident obliging him to come to an anchor at the mouth of the *Tyber*, the Pope sent the Bishop of *Ostia* to invite him to come and refresh himself a few days at *Rome*; but he refused the invitation. Presently after he had the satisfaction to see his Fleet arrive (17) with the rest of the Army, and continuing his course to *Messina*, arrived there the 20th of *September* (18). The sight of so great an armament caused no less admiration in the *Sicilians* than jealousy in the King of *France*, who was vexed to see the Forces of his Vassal superior to his own. As the stay these two Monarchs made in *Sicily* occasioned some remarkable Events, it will be necessary, for the greater perspicuity, to show whence they sprung. 1190.

He goes to France *and joins Philip at* Vezelai. M. Paris. Gervas. Hoved. Vinisauf. Brompt. Dicet. Ch. Maillres.

They part at Lioni. Brompt. Dicet. M. Par.

Richard *finds not his Fleet at* Marseilles. Brompton. Hoved.

He sails from thence with Part of his Troops.

He is joined by his Fleet. Dicet. Hoved. *and arrives at* Messina. Brompt.

Tancred, who reigned then in *Sicily*, was natural Son of King *Roger*, who left Issue *William*, surnamed *the Bad*, and *Constantia*, a Nun at *Palermo*. To *William the Bad* succeeded his Son, *William the Good*, who marrying *Joanna* of *England*, Sister of *Richard*, died without Heirs. After his death Pope *Clement* III, who sat then in the Papal chair, pretended that *Sicily*, as a Fief of the Church, was devolved to the Holy See. Mean time, *Tancred* the Bastard found means to get himself elected, on pretence that *Sicily* now wanted a King to defend her against the *Saracens*, that were possessed of part of the Island. *Clement* dying in the mean time, *Celestine* III. his successor kept up the same pretensions, and treating *Tancred* as an Usurper, resolved to exert his utmost to wrest the Crown from him. But perceiving he could not execute this design alone, he applied to the Emperour *Henry* VI. of the House of *Swabia*, and gave him the Kingdom of *Sicily*, in case he could conquer it. To add another Right to that of *Donation*, he caused the Prin-

The Affairs of Sicily. Fasello. Buonfiglio. Brompt. Hoved.

(1) *Brompton* says he confirmed to him all the Lands which his Father had granted him, *viz.* four thousand Pounds in Land in *England*, p. 1155.

(2) He gave him, besides the Earldom of *Mortagne*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tikehill*, *Hay* or *Eye*; and the Castles and Honours of *Marlborough*, *Lutgarshal*, the *Pec*, the Castle of *Bolsover*, and all the Lands of *William Peverel*. *Hoved.* p. 655. *Brompt.* p. 1157.

(3) *Henry* I. was Great Grandfather to both. *Rapin.* She is called by *Sandford*, *Isabella*, third and youngest Daughter and Coheir of *William* Earl of *Gloucester*, Son of *Robert Consul*, natural Son of *Henry* I. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 82.

(4) In *Normandy*. He is stiled in two Grants in the Chamber of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, Comes Moritonie. On the Seals of these Grants he is represented on Horseback, with a Shield hanging about his Neck, on which are *two Lions Passant*, which are the first Arms on any Seal of the Royal Family being in the Reign of *Henry* II. This Seal is falsely depicted in *Speed*'s Chronicle, the Lions being there *passant guardant*, and *John*'s Horse caparisoned, a Thing not in use till *Edward* I. The Arms for Queen *Isabel* his Wife, on the Tomb at *Fontevraud*, are *Lozengy*, *Or*, and *Gules*. *Sand. Gen.* p. 8.

(5) They were married at *Marlborough*, *August* 29. *Brompt.* p. 1157.

(6) *Richard* also gave *William Mareschal*, the Daughter of *Richard* Earl of *Striguil*, together with that Earldom; and to *Gilbert Fitz-Roger*, the Daughter of *William de Lancaster*. *Hoved.* p. 655.

(7) He made him Chancellor, and delivered to him the Custody of the Tower of *London*. *Brompt.* p. 1170.

(8) Who was appointed Chief Justiciary of all *England*, and Governor of *Windsor-Castle*, and the Forest adjoining, with the County of *Berks*. The King divided *England* between these two Regents, so as that the Bishop of *Durham*'s Jurisdiction reached from the *Humber* to *Scotland*: And *Longchamp*'s extended over all the rest of the Kingdom. *M. Paris.* p. 156.

(9) He came as far as *Oxford*; but because King *Richard* did not come to meet him, as his Father used to do, he went back in a Passion. *Hoved.* ibid.

(10) *November* 14, died at *Roan*, *William de Magnaville*, Earl of *Essex* and *Albermarl*. *Diceto*, p. 650. *Hoved.* p. 660.

(11) He arrived at *Dover*, *December* 5, and the 11th, passed over to *Calais*. Immediately after *Christmas*, he had an Interview with the King of *France* at *Val St. Remy*, and entered with him into an Alliance, the Terms of which see in *Brompton*, p. 1170. *Hoved.* p. 664. They agreed to meet at *Vezelay*, *June* 24. *Brompt.* and *Hoved.* ibid.

(12) At *Chinon* King *Richard* made some very remarkable Orders for the preserving Peace in the Navy, during the *Jerusalem* Expedition; *viz.* That if any one killed a Man in a Ship, he was to be bound to the dead Man, and flung into the Sea. If any one was convicted to have drawn his Dagger or Knife to hurt another, or fetch Blood, he was to lose his Hand. If any one struck another with his open Hand, without Effusion of Blood, he was to be ducked thrice over Head and Ears in the Sea. If any one gave his Companion opprobrious Language, so often as he did it, he was to give him so many Ounces of Silver. If any man stole any thing, his Head was to be shaved, and boiling Pitch poured upon it, and Feathers stuck therein, that so he might be known; and the first Land the Ship touched at, he was to be set on Shore. *Hoved.* p. 666. *M. Paris*, p. 158.

(13) Their Army consisted of above one hundred thousand Persons. *G. Vinisauf.* p. 305.

(14) He met there abundance of Pilgrims, who had spent all their Money, and offered him their Service, many of whom he retained. *Brompt.* p. 1173. *M. Paris.*

(15) Eight Days, *Brompt.* ibid. He sailed from *Marseilles*, *August* 7, or 9. *Brompt.* ibid. *Hoved.* p. 667. *Dicet.* 636.

(16) He hired twenty Gallies, and ten other Ships. *Brompt.* p. 1173. *Hoved.* p. 667.

(17) His Fleet came to *Marseilles*, *August* 22. and to *Messina*, *September* 14. *Brompt.* p. 1179. *Hoved.* 673.

(18) The twenty third, says *Hovedan*, p. 673.

ces

1190. ceſs *Conſtantia* to be taken out of the Nunnery of *Palermo*, and diſpenſing with her Vow, married her to *Henry*, though ſhe was fifty years old. However unlikely it was there ſhould be any Heirs, *Conſtantia* proved with child in her two and fiftieth year. And to remove all ſuſpicion of foul play, ſhe was publickly brought to bed, in a Tent, of a Son called *Frederick*. The Queen Dowager of *Sicily* being, probably, too far concerned with the Pope, *Tancred* ſhut her up in priſon, where ſhe was detained ever ſince. But upon *Richard*'s arrival ſhe was ſet at liberty, and ſent to the King her Brother, who was not contented with ſo ſlight a Satisfaction. He demanded for the Queen his Siſter the *Dower* aſſigned her by King *William* II. her Husband, and threatened to uſe Force in caſe *Tancred* refuſed to comply. This demand and the Menace that attended it, cauſed the King of *Sicily* to look upon *Richard* as his real Enemy. *Richard* finding *Tancred* was very backward to give him the Satisfaction required, and fearing perhaps ſome Treachery, thought beſt to provide for his ſafety. To that end, he ſeized a Caſtle and Monaſtery not far from *Meſſina* (1), where he laid up his Stores under a ſtrong Garriſon. *Tancred*, who was naturally miſtruſtful, did not queſtion but the King of *England* was come at the Pope's inſtance, and ſought occaſion to deprive him of his Crown. To fruſtrate his imaginary deſign, he cauſed the Inhabitants of *Meſſina*, on account of ſome diſorder in their City (2), to expel all the *Engliſh*; which could not be done without ſome effuſion of Blood. *Richard*, incenſed at this outrage, reſolved to attack *Meſſina* forthwith. But *Tancred*, who was at *Palermo*, proteſting he had no hand in the Riot, and would puniſh the Authors, he was patient, in expectation of the performance of his Promiſe. Mean time, the *Meſſinians* ſtill refuſing to open their gates to the *Engliſh*, and *Tancred* delaying too long the promiſed Satisfaction, *Richard* perceived at length, he ſought only to amuſe him. His indignation was ſo great, that without further demanding a Reparation, which he had in his power to procure himſelf, he reſolved to enter *Meſſina* by force. Accordingly, he attacked the City ſo furiouſly, that he became maſter of it in the firſt Aſſault (3). He was no ſooner entered but he ordered his Banners to be diſplayed on the Walls, even in that part of the Town which was allotted to the *French*. Upon their arrival at *Meſſina*, the two Kings agreed, that in order to prevent Quarrels among the Soldiers, the City ſhould be divided into two parts, and each Nation ſhould have one half to themſelves for their neceſſary occaſions. It was therefore manifeſt, that in ſetting up his Banners in the *French* Diviſion, *Richard* broke his Agreement with *Philip*. Accordingly *Philip* complained ſo bitterly of it, that the two Monarchs would have come to an entire rupture, had not the matter been adjuſted by the mediation of the great Men on both ſides. *Richard* at length took down his Banners, proteſting that, without any intention to affront *Philip*, he only deſigned to compel the King of *Sicily* to give him Satisfaction for the Injury done to the *Engliſh*. To ſhew his ſincerity, he delivered the cuſtody of *Meſſina* to the Templars, till the difference between him and *Tancred* ſhould be decided. This agreement being made, *Tancred*, who till then kept at *Palermo*, came to *Richard* at *Meſſina* (4), and choſe to ſatisfy his Demands in a handſome manner. He made a Treaty with him (5), obliging himſelf to pay the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, Siſter of *Richard*, twenty thouſand Ounces of Gold for her Dower, and as many to *Richard*, in lieu of certain *Legacies*, left by *William the Good* to *Henry* II. his Father-in-law. By this ſame Treaty, a marriage was agreed upon between *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, nephew to *Richard*, and *Tancred*'s daughter. Moreover, *Tancred* promiſed to fit out ten Gallies and ſix large Ships for the ſervice of the *Croiſes*. Upon theſe terms, *Richard* deſiſted from all other Pretenſions whatever, and ſubjected his Dominions to the Pope's cenſures, in caſe he violated his Oath. Theſe two Princes being, in appearance, perfectly reconciled, *Richard* made a preſent to *Tancred* of King *Arthur*'s Sword, to which the *Britons* had given the Name of *Caliburn*.

1191. Though outwardly *Tancred* ſeemed ſatisfied, he could not digeſt a Treaty which force alone had compelled him to ſign. He would fain have engaged the King of *France* in his Quarrel, and made a League with him againſt *Richard*. But this Propoſal being rejected, he went another way to work. As it was not in his power to be revenged ſeparately, either of *Richard* who had offended him, or of *Philip* who had denied him his aſſiſtance, he attempted to revenge himſelf upon both at once, by ſowing diſſenſion between them. To that purpoſe, he privately warned the King of *England*, that *Philip* had ill deſigns againſt him. He even ſhowed him a Letter, as he ſaid, from the Duke of *Burgundy*, wherein it appeared that what he told him was not groundleſs. *Richard* gave ear to this Information, and expoſtulated with *Philip*, who accuſed him of ſeeking pretences to diſſolve their Union. This Quarrel went ſo far, that the two Monarchs came at length to an open rupture. *Philip* ſent *Richard* word, that unleſs he conſummated his marriage with *Alice*, according to his Promiſe, he ſhould look upon him as his mortal foe. *Richard* as warmly replied, that he could by no means marry a Princeſs who had a child by the King his Father, offering to prove it by Witneſſes then preſent. *Philip* not thinking proper to purſue this Affair, perſuaded as he was, that the Honour of his Siſter might greatly ſuffer, deſiſted from his Demand. After ſeveral Conferences, he agreed that *Richard* ſhould have liberty to marry where he pleaſed (6), a liberty which that Prince had already taken, by concluding a marriage with *Berenguella* of *Navarre*. *Philip*'s moderation (7) ſeemed to beget an entire reconciliation between the two Kings. But *Tancred*'s late information made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of *Richard*, and what *Richard* offered to prove concerning *Alice*, ſo exaſperated *Philip*, that from thenceforward they were never more Friends. However, they made ready for the continuation of their Voyage.

An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian aſſures us, that whilſt they were preparing for their departure, *Richard* touched with remorſe for his Sins, made a general Confeſſion of all his Exceſſes, which was followed by a very viſible reformation and amendment of Life (8). It were to be wiſhed, this Author had more fully ſhewn what were the fruits of his Repentance. It is ſurpriſing to find no other effect of it, but his deſire to conſer with one *Joachim*, a *Ciſtercian* Abbot, whom he ſent for. This Abbot paſſed all over *Italy* for a Prophet; and from thence in all likelihood, ſprung *Richard*'s deſire to ſee him. It is ſaid, that preaching one day before the King, he aſſerted that *Anti-chriſt* was already born, that he was at *Rome*, that he would be placed in the Papal Chair, and exalt himſelf *above all the Gods*; that is, above all the Princes of the Earth. Shortly after the Emperor and Empreſs went and received on their knees the imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope; who after ſetting it on their heads, kicked it off with his foot to ſhow his Superiority. This Action afforded ample matter for Reflection, to ſuch as were prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Joachim*. They maintained, his Prediction was accompliſhed by that Proceeding of the Pope's.

The two Monarchs having ſpent the Winter at *Meſſina*, made ready for their Voyage, as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted. *Philip* ſailed firſt (9), *Richard* not being able to go with him, becauſe he expected his Mother *Eleanor*, who was bringing the Princeſs of *Navarre* his Bride. Theſe two Princeſſes arrived a few days after *Philip*'s Departure (10), but *Eleanor* returned home forthwith (11), leaving *Berenguella* with her Daughter the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, who was to accompany the King her Brother to the *Holy-Land*. Immediately after *Eleanor*'s departure, *Richard* put to Sea (12) with a Fleet of one hundred and fifty Sail, fifty two Gallies, ten large Ships of burden laden with Proviſions, and many ſmall Veſſels for the ſervice of the Fleet. It is no where ſaid what Forces embarked on this occaſion; but by the number of Ships employed in the Expedition, it is eaſy to gueſs, the *Engliſh* Army muſt have been very numerous. Whilſt the Fleet was rowing between the Iſlands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, a ſudden and violent Storm aroſe, which diſperſed the Ships, and drove part of them on ſhore on the coaſt of *Cyprus* (13). That Iſle was then under the dominion of *Iſaac* of the *Comnenian Race*, who from being Governour under the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, had

Hoved. p. 673. Richard *ſeizes a Caſtle near* Meſſina. Hoved. Vinis. Brompt. Dicето. M. Paris. The Engliſh *beſiege* Meſſina. Dicето. Richard *takes* Meſſina. Brompt. Dicето. *Affronts* Philip; Vinisauf. Hoved. p. 674. *who complains of it, and* Richard *gives him Satisfaction.* Hoved. p. 674. *Treaty between* Richard *and* Tancred. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 66. Vinisauf. Brompt. Dicето. M. Paris. Hoved. Brompt. 1191. Tancred *ſows Diſſenſion between* Richard *and* Philip. Hoved. p. 688. Brompt. *Agreement between the two Kings.* Act. Pub. T. . p. 69. Brompt. Hoved. Dicето. Hoved. p. 681. Brompt. p. 1190. Ibid. Hoved. Dicето. Hoved. Brompt. Iſaac *King of* Cyprus, *was cruel and avaricious.* Brompt. Hoved.

(1) *September* 30. *Brompt.* p. 1180. *Hoved.* p. 673. (2) *October* 3. *Brompt.* p. 1180.
(3) *October* 4, and 5. *Dicето.* p. 656 (4) *March* 4. *Brompt.* p. 1194. (5) In *November*. See *Hoveden.* p. 678.
(6) But King *Richard* was obliged to pay ten thouſand Marks of Silver for the Uſe of *Alice*, according to an Agreement made between him and *Philip*. *Brompt.* p. 1196. *Hoved.* p. 688. *Dicето* ſays, it was ten thouſand Pounds, p. 657.
(7) *Philip* moreover granted, that the Sovereignty of *Bretagne* ſhould, for the future, belong to *Normandy*. *Hoved.* p. 688.
(8) He confeſſed his Sins to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops that accompanied him, and, ſtripping himſelf naked, received the Diſcipline from them. *Brompt.* p. 1190. *Hoved.*
(9) *Richard* gave him ſeveral of his Ships, and diſtributed his Money about in a very prodigal Manner. *Brompt.* p. 1193. *Philip* ſailed from *Meſſina* the 28th or 29th of *March*. *Id.* p. 1197. *Hoved.* p. 687. *M. Paris.* p. 162.
(10) The very ſame Day he ſailed. *Brompt.* p. 1197. *Hoved.* p. 689.
(11) The fourth Day after. *Brompt.* p. 1197. (12) *April* the 9th or 10th. *M. Paris. Dicето* p. 660.
(13) Three were loſt, in which ſeveral Perſons belonging to the King's Houſhold periſhed; and amongſt the reſt *Roger Malus Catulus*, the King's *Vice Cancellarius*, or Deputy Chancellor, who was afterwards found with the Great-Seal about his Neck. *Brompt.* p. 1197.

uſurped

1191. usurped the supreme Power, and assumed the title of Emperor. He was a covetous and brutish Man, that by his continual Cruelties and Extortions had incurred the hatred of his Subjects; but they durst not openly shew it. They waited for a favourable opportunity to free themselves from his Tyranny, which his own Avarice, and the arrival of the *English* Fleet, furnished them with, sooner than they expected. This inhuman Prince, instead of assisting the *English* that were stranded near the Port of *Limisso*, imprisoned those that escaped, and seized their Effects. He would not so much as suffer the Ship, which had the Princesses on board, to enter the Harbour, but was so cruel as to leave them exposed to the Wind and Seas. The Fleet, which had been separated, joining again on the Coast of *Cyprus*, *Richard* heard with extreme indignation, *Isaac*'s Barbarity to the *English*. However, not to retard his Voyage, he was contented with demanding the Prisoners, and what had been seized. The insulting Answer he received making him take other resolutions, he made a descent in the Isle. The Attack was so furious, that *Isaac* was forced to abandon the shore, after seeing a great Slaughter of his Troops. The *English*, improving this advantage, went directly and assaulted the City of *Limisso*, which was carried by the first attack, and *Isaac*, with his only Daughter, made prisoners (1). A fews days after, the pretended Emperor found means to escape, but as none would harbour him, he chose to surrender voluntarily to the King of *England*, whom he earnestly besought not to put him in Irons. *Richard*, insulting over his misfortune, granted his Request in a literal Sense, by commanding him to be bound with Silver Fetters (2).

He treats the English ill. Vinisauf. Brompt. Diceto.

Richard *becomes Master of* Cyprus. Brompt. Hoveden.

The taking of *Limisso* inspiring *Richard* with the thought of subduing the whole Island of *Cyprus*, he met with few Difficulties in that undertaking. The *Cypriots* were so pleased to find themselves freed from their Tyrant, that, without making any resistance, they submitted to a Prince whom they looked upon as their Deliverer, and who confirmed to them all the Privileges enjoyed under the Emperors of *Constantinople*. During his Stay in the Island, arrived *Guy* of *Lusignan* King of *Jerusalem*, who had obtained his Liberty by the surrender of the City of *Ascalon* to the *Sultan*. *Geoffrey* his Brother, *Raymund* of *Antioch*, *Boamond* his Son, and other Princes and Lords of *Palestine*, attended the dispossessed King, who was come to implore the King of *England*'s Protection. Here it was also, that *Richard* consummated his Marriage with *Berenguella* (3), and not at *Messina*, as some have affirmed. Before he left *Cyprus*, he sent *Isaac* his Prisoner to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, to be confined there, but for his Daughter she was to go with him to *Palestine*. His regard for that beautiful Princess, gave occasion to suspect, that Compassion was not the sole motive of his keeping her near him. This Suspicion was confirmed, when he was seen to cool by degrees in his Affection to his new Queen. But these are particulars more for a Romance than a History.

Guy *of* Lusignan *comes to* Richard. Hoved. Richard *consummates his Marriage with* Berenguella. Hoved. Vinisauf. Brompt. M. Paris.

Troubles in England. Hoved. M. Paris. Neubrig.

Whilst *Richard*'s affairs were so successful abroad, *England* began to suffer by his absence. He had no sooner crossed the Sea, but the two Regents disagreeing, came at length, after several Disputes, to an open rupture. *Longchamp* had a great advantage over his Collegue (4), as well by the high Post he enjoyed, as by his Abilities, which gave him a Superiority, he knew how to improve. By pretending their Dissension was very prejudicial to the Affairs of the State, he found means to exclude him by degrees from the Administration, and assume the whole Power to himself (5). Such an arbitrary Act might have been coloured with the necessity of the King's Service, had it been done by one of another character. But *Longchamp* was known to be proud and imperious, and of a boundless Ambition, which made him look upon all his Dignities, how high soever they were, as below his Deserts. He affected to appear in publick with a retinue more numerous and splendid than a King's. This excessive Magnificence made an Historian say, that when he lodged but one single night in a Monastery, he consumed three years Revenue (6). He treated all Persons with an intolerable insolence, using his Power with a Haughtiness scarce to be born in a crown'd Head (7). Besides, he was a *Norman*, and exceeding partial to the Foreigners, Qualities, which alone were sufficient to render him odious to the *English*. The dispossessed Bishop writ to the King, who receiving his Complaints at *Marseilles*, sent him his Letters Patents appointing him Justiciary from the *Humber* to the Confines of *Scotland*. The Letters being arrived, the Bishop was so unwise as to give them into *Longchamp*'s hands, who, under colour of examining them, refused to restore them, and thereby rendered them of no effect. To this imperious Act he added a no less bold Enterprize: he ordered the Bishop to be apprehended, and detained him in prison till he had delivered certain Castles (8), which gave him too great Power in the northern Parts.

1191. *The haughty Conduct of* Longchamp. Brompton. Hoved. M. Paris.

Hoved. Brompt.

Brompton.

Richard had appointed six Lords for Counsellors to the Regents (9). But *Longchamp*, who was not willing to be advised by any Person whatever, never communicated any Affairs to these Lords. On the contrary, he affected to treat them with extreme contempt (10). These arbitrary Proceedings obliged at length the Bishop of *Durham* and the six Counsellors to carry their complaints to Prince *John*, who had still the Title of *Earl of Mortagne*, which he bore during his first marriage. The young Prince readily promised them his Protection, being glad their discontent afforded him an opportunity and pretence to interpose in the Administration, from which he thought himself unjustly debarred. From that time improving the disaffection of most of the great Men, with regard to the Regent, he managed them so dexterously that each promised to second him, and the downfal of *Longchamp* was resolved. There was nothing wanting but a Pretence, which quickly after offered.

He despises the Counsellors appointed by the King. *They complain to Prince John.* Hoved.

Some time before *Richard*'s departure to the *Holy-Land*, *Geoffrey*, his Bastard Brother, was elected Archbishop of *York*. Whether his Consent was not asked (11), or he designed that Dignity for another, this election was displeasing to the King (12.) In his Passion with *Geoffrey*, he was going to order him into custody (13.) However, upon *Geoffrey*'s protesting, he did not intend to insist upon his Election, he pardoned him, on condition he would never apply to the Pope for his Confirmation. Moreover, he enjoined him, on pain of his Displeasure, to remain in

The occasion of Longchamp's *Downfal.* Brompt. Cerves. Diceto.

(1) They were not then made Prisoners. *Isaac* having encamped about five Miles from *Limisso*, *Richard* came upon him unawares, whilst his Men were asleep; but *Isaac* escaped naked, leaving all his Riches behind him, particularly his fine Standard, which *Richard* presented to the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury*. The next Day *Isaac* came and made Peace with *Richard*, the Terms of which see in *Brompton*, p. 1199, &c. But the Soldiers that had been set to watch him, falling asleep, he escaped, and hid himself in an Abbey. Afterwards, his Daughter being taken Prisoner, and finding himself deserted by all, he surrendered, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1199, 1200.

(2) An old Poet has told us with what Weapon King *Richard* subdued *Cyprus*.

This King *Richard* I understond,
Ere he went of *Englond*,
Let make an Axe for the Nones
Therewith to cleave the *Saracens* bones.
The Head in sooth was wrought full weele;
Thereon were twenty pound of Steele.
And when he came in *Cyprus* Lond,
This ilkon Axe he took in hond. *Matt. Pride.* M. A. p. 320.

(3) *May* 12. *Brompt.* p. 1199. *Hoved.* p. 691. She was crowned at the same time. *Hoved.* ibid.

(4) In 1189, he took, for the King's Use, out of every Town in *England*, two Saddle and two Cart-Horses; out of every Abbey, one of each sort; and out of every one of the King's Manors, one likewise of each. *Brompt.* p. 1171. *Hoved.* p. 665. *M. Paris*, p. 157.

(5) Upon the Bishop of *Durham*'s Return to *England*, he carried him to *Southwell*, and there kept him Prisoner, till he surrendered *Windsor* Castle. *Hoved.* p. 665.

(6) He had usually fifteen hundred in his Retinue. And had besides Guards in his House. *Brompt.* p. 1193. He was originally but a Farmer's Son.

(7) The Laity found him more than a King, and the Clergy than a Pope, says *Brompton*, p. 1193.

(8) The Castle of *Windsor*, *Newcastle upon Tine*, the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and the Manor of *Saberg*, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1171.

(9) Their Names were *Hugh Bardelf*, *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl *Marshal*, *Geoffrey Fitz-Peters*, *William Brewer*, *Robert de Wirefield*, and *Robert Fitz-Reinfield*. *Brompt.* p. 1162, 1170. *Diceto*, p. 659. *Hoved.* p. 659, 663. Prince *John*, and other great Men, writ to the King at *Messina*, who sent from thence the Archbishop of *Roan*, and *William Mareschal* Earl of *Pembroke*, with Orders that *Longchamp* should be guided by them, and the other Counsellors here mentioned. *Hoved.* p. 687.

(10) Among other Instances of his Insolence, *Gerard de Camville* having bought of King *Richard* the Goverment of the Castle of *Lincoln*, and of the Country adjoining, *Longchamp* ordered him to resign it to him: Which *Camville* refusing to do, *Longchamp* went about to compel him thereto by Force, and besieged the Castle. Whereupon Prince *John* sent him Orders to desist, and, soon after, the Chancellor made his Peace with him. But upon the Arrival of foreign Troops, sent for by *Longchamp*, he resolved either to die in Battle, or to drive Prince *John* out of the Kingdom. At last they were reconciled. *Brompt.* p. 1223, 1224. *Hoved.* p. 700.

(11) He was elected by order of King *Richard*. *Brompt.* p. 1156.

(12) The Reason of the King's Anger was, that he having filled the Deanry, Treasureship, and some other Dignities in the Church of *York*, *Geoffrey* swore that those Promotions should not stand good without his Consent and Approbation; upon which a great Quarrel arose between the King and him. *Hoved.* p. 659. Besides, *Geoffrey* refused to be consecrated by *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and make to him Profession of Canonical Obedience. *Brompt.* p. 1161. *Gervas*, p. 1570, &c. *Diceto*, p. 653.

(13) *Geoffrey* seeing his Brother's Affection could not be obtained without Money, promised him three thousand Pounds, and then he was put in Possession of the Temporalities of the Archbishoprick. The King also confirmed to him all the Lay-Fees granted him by his Father, *viz. Wicumb* in *England*, the Earldom of Earl *Giffard* in *Normandy*, and the Honour of *Baugi* in *Anjou*. *Brompt.* p. 1169. *Hoved.* p. 665.

1191. Hoved. Brompt. *Normandy* till the Expedition to the *Holy Land* was over (1). After the King was gone, *Geoffrey*, contrary to his Promiſe, demanded and obtained the Pope's Bull, to confirm his Election; and without vouchſafing to give the Regent notice, deſigned to repair into *England* and take poſſeſſion of his Dignity. *Longchamp* being adviſed of what paſſed, ſent Orders to *Dover* to apprehend him. Accordingly, upon his Arrival (2), the Biſhop had but juſt time to get into a Church (3), where he thought himſelf ſafe from all Inſults. But this Precaution not preventing the execution of the Regent's Orders, *Geoffrey* was drawn from the Altar (4), and impriſoned in *Dover* Caſtle. Prince *John* took occaſion from this Outrage to act openly againſt *Longchamp* (5). As he found himſelf ſupported by all the Lords, he ſent him poſitive Word to releaſe the Archbiſhop. *Longchamp* not being diſpoſed to receive ſuch abſolute Orders from a Prince, who had no Right to command him, refuſed to comply (6). This was directly what *John* wanted. A few days after (7), the Regent was ſummoned to appear before an Aſſembly of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, convened at *London* in St. *Paul*'s Church. The Combination was ſo ſtrong, that *Longchamp* ſaw himſelf on a ſudden forſaken by all the World, and conſtrained to appear before the Aſſembly (8), which was bent upon his Ruin. He was charged with exceeding his Commiſſion in divers particulars, chiefly with uſurping to himſelf the Authority which ought to have been ſhared between him, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and the ſix Counſellors. The Archbiſhop of *Roan* (9), and Earl of *Pembroke* complained alſo, that having received a Patent from the King, dated at *Meſſina* (10), whereby they were made joint Commiſſioners with *Longchamp* in the Government, that Prelate would never conſent they ſhould have any concern in the Adminiſtration. Some Hiſtorians however affirm, theſe two Lords durſt not ſhew their Patent to the Regent (11), for fear he ſhould ſerve them as he had done the Biſhop of *Durham*. Be this as it will, upon theſe Accuſations *Longchamp* was turned out of the Regency (12), which was lodged in the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, till the King's Pleaſure ſhould be known (13). They took from him likewiſe the cuſtody of the Tower of *London* and of *Windſor* Caſtle (14), which the ſame Archbiſhop was inveſted with. Not content with this Severity, his Enemies compelled him by Threats to lay down his Legate's Croſs in the Church of *Canterbury*, after which, he was thrown into Priſon. Some days after he found means to eſcape; but was ſeized again on the Sea-ſide, diſguiſed in a Woman's Habit, with a Bundle of Linnen under his Arm. In this Garb he was carried to *Dover* Caſtle (15), with a great Mob at his heels (16). However, Prince *John* dreading the Pope's Reſentment, if he detained his Legate in Priſon, ordered him to be ſet at Liberty (17), with permiſſion to retire into *Normandy* (18). As ſoon as he found himſelf ſafe, he writ to the Pope and the King, ſetting forth the ill-Treatment he had met with. This Letter came very late to the King: But the Pope, who was much ſooner informed of the Affront done his Legate, was extremely incenſed at this Contempt of the Legatine Character. Without ſtaying to hear what Prince *John* could alledge to juſtify his Conduct, he ſent expreſs Orders to the Biſhops to excommunicate him. *John* terrified at the Pope's Menaces, would have reſtored *Longchamp*, if the Biſhops themſelves, who dreaded to be again under that imperious Prelate, had not oppoſed it. Thus the Pope's Orders lay unexecuted, and *Longchamp* durſt not return into *England* (19).

1191. Brompt. Hoved. Diceto.

The Pope orders the Biſhops to excommunicate Prince John, *which they refuſed to do.* Brompt.

The depoſing of the Regent procuring the Prince an opportunity of having a greater Share in the Government than the King his Brother deſired, he made uſe of it to pave his way to the Crown. If he had not then thoughts of taking advantage of the King's Abſence to mount the Throne in his Life-time, it is at leaſt certain his Aim was to ſecure it, in caſe the King died during his Expedition (20). He was ſenſible, there was another Prince that had a better Title than himſelf, namely, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, his Nephew, Son of his elder Brother *Geoffrey*. This put him upon taking beforehand ſuch meaſures as ſhould free him from the Competition of that Rival. His ſole care was to render himſelf popular, in order to gain the Affection of the *Engliſh*, particularly the *Londoners*, whoſe Rights and Privileges he cauſed to be confirmed by an Aſſembly-General. This won him the Hearts of the Citizens to ſuch a degree, that when they ſwore Fealty to the King, they voluntarily made a ſolemn Promiſe to receive *John* for their Sovereign, in caſe the King died without Iſſue. In this manner did the Prince gain ground by degrees, and endeavoured by ſecret Practices, to ſecure a Party capable of ſupporting him againſt his Nephew, and which alſo he would have afterwards uſed in much blacker Deſigns againſt the King his Brother. Mean time, *Richard* by his valiant Exploits, which attracted the Admiration of the whole World, was rendering his Name immortal (21), and inſpiring the *Saracens* with a dread of the approaching Downfal of their Empire. But before I relate that Prince's Actions in *Paleſtine*, it will be proper briefly to ſhew the then State of the *Holy Land*, and what had paſſed there ſince the Recovery of it by the Chriſtians.

John *interpoſes in the Adminiſtration.*

Forms Proje&s to ſecure the Crown. Hoved.

All the Conqueſts made by the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, were erected into a Kingdom, of which *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* was the firſt King. This Kingdom conſiſted of *Paleſtine* and part of *Syria*, taken from the *Saracens*. *Godfrey* reigned about one Year (22). *Baldwin* his Brother ſuc-

The Affairs of the Kingdom of Jeruſalem. Brompt.

Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris. *He is cited, accuſed, and condemned.* Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris. Diceto. Hoved. p. 687. Brompt. *He is outed of all his Poſts;* Brompt. *and impriſoned.* *He eſcapes, and is taken again;* Brompt.

(1) Till after three Years. *Brompt.* p. 1171. *Gervas*, p. 1576.

(2) *September* 14. *Gervas*, p. 1576.

(3) Before he landed he changed his Cloaths, and the moment he arrived, mounting a ſwift Horſe, got to the Monaſtery of St. *Martins*, in *Dover*, or rather *Canterbury*, as *Ann. Margan.* p. 10, have it; and taking Sanctuary in the Church, he was dragged from the Altar in his Epiſcopal Veſtments through the dirty Streets, and delivered to *Matthew de Clere*, Conſtable of *Dover-Caſtle*, who had married *Longchamp*'s Siſter. *Hoved.* p. 701. *Brompt.* p. 1224. *Gervas*, p. 1576.

(4) After he had been four Days there. *Gervas*, ibid.

(5) *Brompton* ſays, *Longchamp* had ſent his two Brothers to the King of *Scots*, to concert Meaſures with him to place the Crown on Prince *Arthur*'s Head, in caſe King *Richard* died in his Expedition. This Prince *John* had been informed of, p. 1194.

(6) Prince *John* gathered numerous Forces together, not only out of the Counties belonging to him, but alſo out of *Wales*; and was joined by ſeveral Earls and Barons, as alſo by the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Bath*, and *Chester* or *Lichfield*: And then ſent *Longchamp* word, That if he did not ſet the Archbiſhop at Liberty, he would come and reſcue him by force. So the Chancellor, frightened at the Prince's Threats, releaſed the Archbiſhop; who went immediately and complained to Prince *John* of the Indignity that had been offered him: For which *Longchamp* refuſing to make Satisfaction, the Archbiſhop of *Roan* and ſix Biſhops denounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, and ſummoned him to appear before Prince *John* and them at *Reading* on a *Sunday*; but he took no notice of the Summons, though he was no farther than *Windſor*. Hearing that Prince *John* was advancing towards *London*, he haſtened thither, and ſhut himſelf in the Tower. *Brompt.* p. 1225, 1226. *Gervas*, p. 1577. *Diceto*, p. 663, 664. *Hoved.* p. 701.

(7) *October* 3. *Brompton*, p. 1226.

(8) He did not appear before them, but kept himſelf ſhut in the Tower of *London*. *Brompt.* p. 1226. Prince *John*, with the Earls and Barons and the Citizens of *London*, beſieged him in the Tower. After he had held out one Night, he deſired leave to go out of the Kingdom: Which was granted him, but upon condition he ſhould reſign the Caſtles he was poſſeſſed of to ſome certain Perſons; accordingly he gave Sureties for the Performance of it. From thence he went to *Canterbury*, and afterwards to *Dover*, where he ſpent ſome time with *Matthew de Clere*, his Brother-in-Law, Conſtable of the Caſtle; and here, attempting to go out of the Kingdom after he had given caution, and after the Lords Juſtices had given the Inhabitants of *Dover* Orders not to let him go out of the Realm, he was ſerved in the manner related by *Rapin*. *Brompt.* p. 1226, 1227. *Gervas*, p. 1577, 1578. *Hoved.* p. 701.

(9) *Canterbury* is here put by Miſtake in the *French* for *Roan*; for it was the Archbiſhop of *Roan* and not of *Canterbury* that was joined in Commiſſion with *William Mareſcal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Geoffrey Fitz-Peers*; *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* went with the King, and died during the Siege of *Acon*.

(10) Which the King granted them, when he heard of *Longchamp*'s Miſdemeanors. *Brompt.* p. 1194. See the Patent in *Diceto*, p. 659.

(11) They did not ſhew it till now, when they produced it before the Parliament. *Brompt.* p. 1226.

(12) By a Parliament. See *Brompt.* ibid. *Diceto*, p. 664.

(13) *Diceto* ſays, that the King ordained in his Letters Patents, that in caſe *Longchamp* did not faithfully manage the Affairs of the Kingdom according to the Advice of his Counſellors, they might act without him; particularly he enjoined that nothing ſhould be tranſacted without the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, whom, as he ſaid, he had ſent over for the better Defence of the Kingdom; which if true, vindicates the Proceedings of that Aſſembly. *Diceto*, p. 659.

(14) And of the Caſtles of *Cambridge*, *Dover*, and *Hereford*. *Diceto*, p. 665.

(15) Into a Cellar. *Brompt.* p. 1227.

(16) As he was ſitting on a Rock, waiting for a Boat with an Ell in his Hand, and a Parcel of Linnen, as if he had been a Pedlar; a Seaman came by, and taking him for a Woman, went to kiſs him; and then offering at farther Indecencies, diſcovered him to be a Man; but however marched off without ſaying any thing. A little after, ſome Women coming by began to cheapen his Linnen; but being a *Frenchman*, and underſtanding little *Engliſh*, he could make them no anſwer. Finding he would not ſpeak, they pulled up the Hood which was over his Face, and then preſently ſaw his black Beard: upon which, crying out, the People came running in, and uſed him in the manner above. *Hoved.* p. 400.

(17) After eight Days Impriſonment. *Brompt.* p. 1228. Then a Parliament was called, which approved of, and confirmed the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, &c. as Juſticiers of the Realm. *Ibid.*

(18) He went to *Flanders*, thence to *Paris*, and afterwards to *Normandy*, *October* 29. *Brompt.* ibid. *Diceto*, p. 665.

(19) While he had the Cuſtody of the Tower of *London*, he built a Wall, and made the Ditch that is round it. *Brompt.* p. 1171. *Hoved.* p. 665. *M. Weſt.* p. 258.

(20) The Citizens of *London* ſwore fealty to him, in caſe his Brother died in his Expedition. *Hoved.* p. 702.

(21) Before he left *Meſſina*, in *October*, he made a Law concerning Shipwrecks, namely, That every Perſon which ſuffered Shipwreck, and got ſafe on ſhore, ſhould enjoy all his Goods; but if he died on Ship-board, his Children or other neareſt Relations were to have the Goods, according as they could make out their being next of kin; but if they had no Heirs nor near Relations, then the King was to have their Goods. *Brompt.* p. 1187. *Hoved.* p. 678.

(22) He was crowned with a Crown of Thorns in the Year 1099.

1191. ceeded him, and governed eighteen years, leaving the Crown by his Death to his Couſin *Baldwin* II, who enjoyed it thirteen years. *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* marrying his Daughter, became King of *Jeruſalem* after his Father-in-law's deceaſe, and reigned eleven years. He had by his firſt Wife, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, and Father of *Henry* II. King of *England*. By his ſecond Wife, *Fulk* had two Sons, of whom *Baldwin* the eldeſt ſat on the Throne of *Jeruſalem* twenty four years, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Almeric*, who reigned twelve years. *Baldwin* IV. his Son and Succeſſor, finding himſelf childleſs, and without hopes of Iſſue, made his Nephew *Baldwin*, Son of his eldeſt Siſter *Sibyl*, by *William* of *Montferrat*, his Heir. He died after a Reign of twelve years, leaving the Guardianſhip of young *Baldwin* V. and the Regency of the Kingdom, to *Raymund* Earl of *Tripoli*. Mean time *Sibyl*, the King's Mother, married *Guy* of *Luſignan*, who, in Right of the Princeſs his Wife, claimed the Guardianſhip of the King, and the Government of the State. The Earl of *Tripoli* in vain oppoſed his Pretenſions by urging the late King's Will. *Guy*, ſupported by his Wife, ſeized the Regency, and quickly after became King himſelf by *Baldwin*'s deceaſe, not without Suſpicion of having haſtened his Death by Poiſon, in order to mount the Throne.

The Cauſe of the Loſs of Jeruſalem. Viniſauf.

This Revolution ſoon proved the occaſion of one more fatal. The Earl of *Tripoli* preparing to endeavour to dethrone *Guy*, whom he looked upon as an Uſurper, and the Murderer of the late King, unfortunately for the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine*, *Guy* bethought himſelf of applying to *Saladine* Sultan of *Egypt* for aid. The Infidel Prince gladly embraced ſo fair an opportunity of recovering a Country, from whence his Predeceſſors were expelled ninety years before. Under colour of aſſiſting the King of *Jeruſalem*, he entered *Paleſtine* with a formidable Army, and immediately took *Acres* or *Ptolemais*, *Aſotus*, *Berytus*, and ſome other Places. At firſt he pretended to act only for the King; but at length thought he might ſafely pull off the mask; and openly ſhew, that his Deſign was to drive the Chriſtians out of *Paleſtine*. In vain did *Guy*, who too late was ſenſible of his Error, ſhut himſelf up in his Capital. As the City was but ill provided, it was not poſſible for him to hold out above a Month, or eſcape falling into the hands of his Enemy. After which he was forced to deliver up *Aſcalon* to the Sultan to obtain his Liberty. Thus *Saladine* found means to deſtroy at once both the Competitors, whoſe Quarrel furniſhed him with an opportunity to carry his Arms into *Paleſtine*.

Saladine becomes Maſter of Paleſtine, Viniſauf. C. Mailros. An. Margan.

and of Jeruſalem. Id.

The Chriſtians beſiege Acres. Viniſauf. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

For the recovery of this loſt Kingdom, the Kings of *France* and *England* had undertaken the preſent Expedition, with numerous Armies conſiſting of all the Nations in *Europe*, but chiefly of the *French* and *Engliſh*. Before *Philip*'s Arrival in *Paleſtine*, *Guy* of *Luſignan*, *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*, *James* of *Aveſnes*, and ſeveral other Princes and Lords, with ſome *German*, *Flemiſh*, and *Italian* Troops had begun the Siege of *Acres*, which had now laſted a whole year. As ſoon as *Philip*, who ſailed firſt from *Meſſina*, landed his Men (1), he encamped round the City, and continued the Siege, though with little Succeſs. *Richard* arriving afterwards (2) with freſh Troops, vigorouſly carried it on, and at length, after divers fruitleſs Attempts to raiſe the Siege, *Saladine* ſurrender'd the City by Capitulation (3).

Philip arrives and then Richard.

Viniſauf.

The City ſurrenders.

Richard *affronts the Duke of* Auſtria.

Among the occurrences of this famous Siege, I muſt not forget one, which though in itſelf of no great importance, was attended with Conſequences very remarkable, and withal very fatal to the King of *England*. In an Aſſault made by the Chriſtians, *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria* carrying one of the Towers, ordered his Banner to be immediately erected. *Richard* taking this Action as an Injury to the two Kings, who commanded in chief, ſent ſome of his Men to pull it down and tread it under foot. *Leopold* reſented this Affront very heinouſly, but, as it was not then in his power to be revenged, concealed his Reſentment till he had an opportunity to ſhew it. Unhappily for *Richard*, this opportunity offered when he leaſt expected it, and it will be ſeen in the Sequel, that the Duke of *Auſtria* was but too well revenged.

The taking of *Acres* ſeemed to encourage the two Kings to form freſh Projects. But juſt as the Chriſtian Army expected to march to *Jeruſalem*, the Diſſention which aroſe between the two Leaders, fruſtrated their Expectations. Since their junction, *Richard* had acquired a certain Superiority, which extremely mortified the King of *France*. The number and good condition of his Forces, his perſonal Valour, of which he had given ſeveral Proofs at the Siege of *Acres*, and the very taking of that City, of which he had all the Honour, gained the particular Eſteem and Regard of the whole Army. *Philip* could not bear to ſee a Diſtinction ſo advantagious to the King of *England*. His Jealouſy ſhewed itſelf on all occaſions, but as he durſt not openly complain that his Rival was more reſpected than himſelf, he ſought other pretences to colour his Reſentment. The firſt he uſed was to demand of *Richard* half the Iſle of *Cyprus* (4), pretending they had agreed to ſhare all their Conqueſts. *Richard* made anſwer, their Agreement related only to what was conquered upon the Infidels (5). Adding, that *Philip* underſtood it in that Senſe, ſince he had taken to himſelf what belonged to the Earl of *Flanders* (6), who died at the Siege of *Acres*, without ever thinking to give him a ſhare. To this was added another occaſion of Quarrel. The Crown of *Jeruſalem* was in Diſpute between *Guy* of *Luſignan*, and *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*. *Richard* took *Guy*'s part, and *Philip* openly declared for the Marquis. The Grounds and Reaſons of their reſpective Pretenſions were briefly theſe.

1192. *Diſſention between the two Kings.* Viniſauf. Brompt. Diceto.

Brompt. Hoved.

Brompt.

The State of the Caſe between Guy of Luſignan, *and the Marquis of* Montferrat. Viniſauf. Brompt.

Almeric King of *Jeruſalem*, had by his firſt Wife, of the Houſe of *Courtenay*, *Baldwin* IV. his Succeſſor, and a Daughter called *Sibylla*. By his ſecond Wife, Niece to *Emanuel* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, he had a Daughter named *Iſabella*. *Sibylla* was married firſt to *William* of *Montferrat*, by whom ſhe had *Baldwin* V, Heir to *Baldwin* IV, his Uncle. *Sibylla*'s ſecond Husband was *Guy* of *Luſignan*, by whom ſhe had ſeveral Children, who all died before their Mother. *Iſabella*, Siſter of *Sibylla*, by a ſecond venter, had alſo two Husbands. The firſt was *Humphrey de Toron*, who refuſed the Crown offered him by the Barons of *Jeruſalem*, after the Death of *Baldwin* V. Her ſecond Husband was *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*, who claimed the Title of King of *Jeruſalem*, in Right of his Wife, whoſe eldeſt Siſter was lately dead without Iſſue. The Queſtion therefore was to know, whether *Guy* of *Luſignan* ought to keep the Title of King of *Jeruſalem*, after his Wife *Sibylla*'s deceaſe; or reſign it to the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*, whoſe Wife was then ſole Heireſs of the Kingdom. Indeed, they were diſputing about an empty Title, for *Saladine* was Maſter of the Capital, and almoſt all the Country. But however, the Title was of conſequence, at a juncture when it was expected, the Kingdom would be reſtored by the Arms of the *Croiſes*. *Philip* eſpouſed the Cauſe of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, and perhaps for that very reaſon *Richard* ſupported *Guy* of *Luſignan*; ſo jealous were theſe Monarchs one of another: Scarce a day paſſed, but ſomething or other happened which ſerved to inflame their mutual Enmity. *Philip* was jealous of *Richard*'s Glory, who in his turn, complained that *Philip*, out of ſpite and envy, obſtructed the Progreſs of the Arms of the Chriſtians. In the midſt of theſe Conteſts, they were both ſeized with the ſame Diſtemper (7), of which they were like to die, but eſcaped with the loſs of their Hair.

Brompt.

Hoved. M. Paris. Hemingford.

Hoved. Brompt.

1192. Philip *returns Home.* Viniſauf. Brompt. Diceto. Hoved. M. Paris.

After their Recovery, *Richard* appeared more eager than ever to purſue the Conqueſts upon the Infidels. But *Philip* reſolved to return to *France*, his Weakneſs cauſed by his late Illneſs ſcarce permitting him any more to enter upon action. But he had another and no leſs powerful Reaſon, which was, his extreme Impatience to take poſſeſſion of *Artois*, fallen to him by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*. He imparted this Reſolution to *Richard* (8), who ſeemed very much ſurprized at it, fearing that *Philip* in returning to *Europe*, had ſome deſign upon his Dominions in *France*. One of the Articles of their Agreement was, that neither ſhould deſert the Cauſe without the other's Conſent. *Richard* inſiſted upon that Article, and refuſed to agree to *Philip*'s departure, before they were

(1) *March* 22. *Diceto*, p. 660. *M. Paris*, p. 163.

(2) *June* 8. *Diceto*, p. 661. *M. Paris*, ibid.

(3) This City ſurrendered, *July* 12. Upon what Terms, ſee in *Ann. Burton*, p. 251. *Brompt.* p. 1205. *Diceto*, p. 661. The Siege is ſaid to laſt above two Years, and the Author of *Richard*'s Travels to *Jeruſalem* affirms, that three hundred thouſand Pilgrims periſhed in this Siege. Among whom were many Princes and noble Perſons, viz. *Conrade* Duke of *Servia*, and ſeveral foreign Earls; *Baldwin*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Ralph de Glanville*, Chief Juſtice of *England*; *William de Mandevil*, *William* Earl *Ferrers*; and ſome whoſe Poſterity ſtill flouriſh, as *Ingelram de Fiennes*, Anceſtor of the Lord *Say* and *Seal*; the Lord *Dacres*; *Theophilus Clinton*, Earl of *Lincoln*, whoſe Arms retain the Badge of the *Holy War*, *Stars*, *Creſcents* and *Croſſes*; as alſo *St. John*, *Minſhul*, *Tilney*, *Scrope*, *Pigot*, *Laiburne*, *Mowbray*, *Talebot*, *Malet*, &c. See *Brompt.* p. 1191. *Hoved.* p. 685. *Viniſauf.* p. 334. The 13th of *July*, *Acres* was equally divided between the Kings of *England* and *France*; the Perſon appointed by the King of *England* to ſee it done, was *Hugh de Gurnay*; and by the King of *France*, *Drogo de Marlon*; each of them was attended with one hundred Soldiers. *Brompt.* p. 1206. The Earls and Barons that attended the two Kings in this Expedition, deſired, they might be Sharers in the Gains, as well as in the Labour; but receiving no Satisfaction, moſt of them were forced to ſell their Arms, and return home. *Brompt.* p. 1207. *Hoved.* p. 696.

(4) By the Perſuaſion of *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*. *Brompt.* p. 1202.

(5) The words of the Agreement were, *Upon the* Saracens *in the Land of* Iſrael. *Brompt.* ibid.

(6) King *Richard* told him, If you will give me the half of *Flanders*, and of the other Dominions you have acquired by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, I alſo will give you half of *Cyprus*. *Brompt.* p. 1202. *Hoved.* p. 693.

(7) Called by the Hiſtorians *Arnaldia*. *Brompt.* p. 1201. *Hoved.* p. 693.

(8) *July* 20. by the Biſhop of *Beauvois*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Drogo de Amiens*, and *William de Merlow*. *Hoved.* p. 696.

Maſters

1192. Philip's Oath to Richard. Vinisauf. Brompt. Hoved.

Masters of *Jerusalem*. However, as he could not constrain him to stay, he left him to do as he pleased, upon his taking a solemn Oath, in the presence of the Bishops and principal Officers of both Armies, not to attack any Place belonging to *Richard*, either in *France* or in *England*, till forty days after the return of that Prince into his own Territories. Upon quitting *Palestine* (1), *Philip* left ten thousand Men under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, publickly ordering him to pay the same Obedience to the King of *England* as to himself (2). But in all likelihood, he gave him other Instructions in private. This *Mezerai* does as good as own, when he says, *Richard* would have become Master of *Jerusalem*, if the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Jealousy had not obstructed it.

Hoved.

Mezerai.

Richard and Saladine kill their Prisoners. Hoved. Vinisauf. Brompt. Hemingford.

A little after the King of *France*'s Departure, *Richard* and *Saladine* exhibited a Spectacle of Horror to their Armies, by commanding the Prisoners each had in his power, to be put to death (3). It is difficult to determine which of the two Princes was the first Author of this Barbarity. Some Historians lay the blame on *Saladine*, others accuse the King of *England*. These last seem to me to have most reason. The *Saracen* Monarch refused to perform the Articles of the Surrender of *Acres* (4), whereas no other reason is alledged that could induce the Infidel to this Cruelty but his natural Fierceness, though he appears upon other occasions to have been a very generous Prince. Thus much is certain, the Duke of *Burgundy*, following *Richard*'s Example, ordered also what Captives were in his hands, to be beheaded. I do not pretend to determine what may be the Law of Arms, with respect to Prisoners whose Sovereign refuses to perform a Capitulation, or how far Reprisals may extend. But methinks one can hardly be mistaken in saying, that whoever goes to the extent of his Power, on such occasions, is in danger of committing a very great Injustice. Be this as it will, Instances of the like Barbarity are very rare in History.

The Siege of Ascalon resolved upon. Vinisauf. Brompt.

After the departure of the *French*, *Richard* held a great Council of War, where the Siege of *Ascalon* was resolved (5). To execute this Project, he marched along the Sea-Side, whilst his Fleet, freighted with all manner of Stores, rowed in sight of the Troops, and supplied them with Necessaries. *Saladine* having intelligence of the *Croises* Designs, posted himself advantagiously in their way, with an Army of three hundred thousand Men. Whatever disproportion there might be between their Forces, *Richard* resolved to attack him thus posted. He was sensible, could he defeat that Army, not only the taking of *Ascalon* would be the Fruits of his Victory, but even the Siege of *Jerusalem* would become much less difficult; on the contrary, if he declined the Fight, such a numerous Army of *Infidels* would continually obstruct the execution of his Designs. Pursuant to this resolution, he approached the Enemy, and drawing up his Army, undauntedly marched against them. *James de Avesnes* commanded the Right Wing, the Duke of *Burgundy* the Left, and the King headed the main Body. *Saladine* had concealed part of his Army, on his right side, behind some Hills which prevented the Christians from seeing them. As he expected great matters from this Ambuscade, he resolved not to lose the advantage of the Ground. Accordingly, without stirring from his Post, he waited for the Enemy to attack him.

Richard obtains a great Victory over Saladine. Brompt. M. Paris.

Description of the Battle. Vinisauf.

The Right Wing of the Christians beginning the Fight, the *Saracens* received *James de Avesnes* with a Resolution, which, supported by the Superiority of their Number, put that Body in such a Disorder that it could not be repaired for a considerable while. *James de Avesnes* was slain in striving to revive the Courage of his frighted Troops, and bring them again to charge. At the same time, the Duke of *Burgundy* furiously attacked the right Wing of the *Saracens*, which, pursuant to the General's Orders, retreating as they fought, caused the Duke to advance, with more Courage than Conduct, a good way beyond the Body of the Army. *Saladine*, finding all in good order on his left, and that the Duke of *Burgundy* with his left Wing was detached from the rest of the Army, ordered the Body that lay concealed to move forward. These Troops descending down the Hills in great multitudes, surrounded the Wing commanded by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and made a terrible Slaughter.

R. Diceto.

It lay then upon *Richard* to save the Honour of the Christians, and repair their Loss. He had fought on his side with better Success, and though he had met with a stout Resistance in the Body that opposed him, had compelled them to retreat in disorder. He was still pursuing his Enemies, when he was informed of the ill state of his Right Wing, and the danger of his Left. Upon which he gave over the Pursuit, and marching to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Relief, fell upon the victorious Troops of *Saladine*, in order to wrest from them a Victory of which they thought themselves sure. On this famous occasion he was seen to perform such astonishing Acts of Valour, that those who envied him most, could not but admire him. Some tell us, he was personally engaged with *Saladine*, and dismounting him would have taken him Prisoner, had not the *Saracens* used their utmost Efforts to rescue him out of his hands. Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that *Richard*'s Valour so altered the state of the Battle, that *Saladine* saw himself obliged to reinforce his Right Wing, with part of the victorious Troops of the Left. This motion, which could not be done without causing some disorder, gave the Right Wing of the Christians time to come to themselves. Finding they were not so vigorously pressed as before, they quickly rallied, and falling furiously on the *Saracen* Troops that opposed them, forced them at length to take to Flight. 1192. Brompt. p. 1215.

Mean while, *Richard* maintained the Fight on the left, with a Firmness that seemed more than natural, in spite of the Superiority of his Enemies, who had drawn all their Forces against him. He was however in danger of being over-powered by Numbers, had not his Right Wing, which met with no farther Resistance, come to his Aid. Then the *Saracens*, finding they were attacked in Flank by the fresh Troops, began to break their Ranks with such confusion, that it was not possible for *Saladine* to rally them. The Christians taking advantage of their disorder, pressed them so vigorously, that they entirely routed at length that prodigious Army. Thus *Richard* by his Valour and Conduct, obtained a complete Victory over the Enemies of the Christian Name, of whom forty thousand lay dead in the Field of Battle. *James de Avesnes* was the only Officer of Distinction that was slain on the side of the Christians. Brompton.

Richard repairs the Cities Saladine had dismantled. Vinisauf. Brompt. Diceto. Hoved.

After this important Victory, *Richard* continued his march to the maritime Cities of *Ascalon*, *Joppa* and *Cæsarea*, which *Saladine* thought fit to abandon, after demolishing their Walls. It was of the utmost consequence to the Christians to repair these Cities, and erect Magazines for the Army, when they should be farther advanced into the Enemy's Country. This probably, was the sole reason which obliged the victorious Prince to stay some time at *Joppa*. Some however have taxed him with not improving his Victory, by marching directly to *Jerusalem*. But I can't tell whether he is to be blamed upon their Authority. There are so few capable of judging rightly of these matters, especially when the Circumstances are but imperfectly known, that I do not think it Prudence to pass one's Verdict thereon.

A great Deliverance of Richard. Vinisauf. p. 1241.

During *Richard*'s stay at *Joppa*, an Adventure befel him, which had like to prove very fatal to him, and from which he was delivered by a sort of Miracle. One day, being tired with hunting, as he lay asleep under a Tree, with only six Persons about him, he was rouzed by the sudden Approach of some *Saracen* Horse, who were near the Place where he slept. As they were but few in number, he had no manner of dread upon him, but immediately mounting his Horse, rode after them; which they perceiving, feigned to fly before him, and by that means drew him into an Ambuscade, where he saw himself surrounded on a sudden by a squadron of Horse. He defended himself a long time with a wonderful Bravery, without any thoughts of retreating, notwithstanding the number of his Enemies. At length, Four of his Attendants being killed, he was upon the point of being slain or taken, when *William Despreaux* (6), one of his Company, cried out in the *Saracen* Language, *I am the King of England.* At which Words, those that were upon *Richard* left him, to have a hand in the taking of *Despreaux*, whom they imagined to be the King. This Device gave *Richard* time to ride off full speed, whilst the *Saracens* content with their

(1) Which he did *July* 31, with fourteen Gallies, and went to *Tyre*. *Brompt.* p. 1209. *Hoved.*

(2) And yet when he came to *Italy*, he complained to the Pope and Cardinals, that *Richard* had driven him out of the *Holy Land*, and desired leave of the Pope, to revenge himself for it upon *Normandy*, and his other Dominions. He arrived at *Paris*, *December* 27. 1197. *Diceto*, p. 667. *M. Paris.*

(3) This was *August* 18. *Richard* beheaded his Prisoners, *August* 20. *Brompt.* p. 1212, 1213. *Hoved.* p. 697.

(4) It was articled, that three thousand Captives should be delivered, and that the *Turks* should redeem their Heads by paying a certain Sum of Money, and remain in Custody till payment was made. And that in case these Articles were not made good within forty Days, they should be at the King's Mercy for their Lives. *Saladine* pretending these Conditions were not with his Approbation would not perform them. Upon which it is likely *Richard* began with beheading the *Turkish* Captives. *Hoveden* says, to the Number of five thousand; but *Vinisauf* reckons but two thousand seven hundred, p. 346. *Brompt.* 1212, &c.

(5) King *Richard* made *Bertrand Verdon*, and *Stephen de Munchanis* Governors of *Acre*; and left there his Wife *Berenguella*, and his Sister *Joanna*, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1213.

(6) *De Purcellis* or *Parcel.* *Brompt*, p. 1241, 1250.

Succes,

1192. Succeſs, conducted their Priſoner to *Saladine*. *Deſpreaux* had the Prudence not to diſcover himſelf till he came before the Sultan, to whom he ingenuouſly confeſſed what he had done to ſave his Maſter. *Saladine* commended his Fidelity, and did him a great deal of Honour. But as he was very ſenſible *Richard* would never ſuffer one that had done him ſo ſignal a Service to remain long a Captive, he ſet his ranſom ſo high, that he procured ten *Emirs*, or *Saracen* Princes, in exchange for that faithful Servant.

Brompt. p. 1250.

He takes the great Babylon *Caravan*
Viniſauf.
R. Diceto.
Hoved.
M. Paris.
Brompt.

As ſoon as the maritime Places were ſufficiently repaired, *Richard* marched to *Jeruſalem*, which he had reſolved to beſiege. In his way he had the good fortune to meet the *Babylon* Caravan, carrying to *Jeruſalem* a prodigious Quantity of rich Merchandizes and Proviſions of all kinds. The Caravan was guarded by ten thouſand (1) Horſe, who finding themſelves near the Chriſtian Army, would immediately have retreated. But *Richard* taking with him five thouſand choſen Horſemen, fell upon them with great Fury, and putting them to Flight, became maſter of the Caravan. He took on this occaſion three thouſand loaded Camels, and four thouſand Horſes or Mules, with an ineſtimable Booty, which he ordered to be diſtributed all among his Soldiers. After this happy Succeſs, continuing his March to *Jeruſalem*, he came to a Hill, from whence he had the Pleaſure to ſurvey that famous City, the taking of which was the chief End of his Expedition. Mean time, as the Country round was deſtitute of Forage, he ſaw himſelf under the fatal Neceſſity of deferring the Siege till the Spring. This Delay furniſhed his Enemies, and thoſe that envied him, with a Pretence to deſert him. The Duke of *Auſtria* led the Way, and the Duke of *Burgundy* quickly followed him, not being able to bear the Thoughts of contributing any longer to the Glory of a Prince whom he conſidered as the King of *France*'s Rival (2). His Death, which happened at *Acres* as he was going to embark, prevented not the *French* Troops from ſailing to *Europe*. The Retreat of the *Germans* and *French*; the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*'s Refuſal to aſſiſt with the *Italian* Troops in a Conqueſt to which he laid claim, but was deſigned for another; the News *Richard* received of what paſſed in *England*; his Apprehenſions that *Philip* would take advantage of his Abſence and declare War againſt him (3); the decreaſe of his Troops, as well by Sickneſs as Battles; all theſe reaſons were but too capable to make him think of retreating, and were ſufficient to juſtify his Truce with *Saladine*, without regarding the vain Declamations of thoſe who confidently blamed him for deſerting the Cauſe, when within View of *Jeruſalem* (4). It is eaſy to ſee, that with the few Troops that remained, it was not poſſible for him to accompliſh an Enterprize of ſo difficult a nature as was then the Siege of that City. During the whole Winter they had found time to lay in all manner of Stores, and the Garriſon was little inferior to the Chriſtian Army. *Saladine* having notice of *Richard*'s Deſign to retire, thought it his Intereſt to haſten the Departure of ſo formidable an Enemy, by offering him a three Years Truce. All the principal Officers of the Chriſtian Army, joyfully embraced this Offer. Every one was glad, after ſo many Hardſhips, to go and enjoy ſome Repoſe in his own Country. *Richard* therefore accepted of the Truce which was propoſed upon theſe Conditions: That the City of *Aſcalon* ſhould be diſmantled, and not fortified again by their Party during the Truce: That *Joppa* or *Jaffa*, and *Acres* or *Ptolemais*, ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, with the reſt of the Cities they were poſſeſſed of in *Paleſtine:* That the Chriſtians ſhould have Liberty to go in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem* without charge, and free Commerce throughout all *Saladine*'s Dominions. The Treaty being concluded, *Richard* ſent *Saladine* word, that he might depend upon ſeeing him again, to try once more to recover the *Holy Land* out of his hands. The *Sultan*, with a Politeneſs that ſavoured not of the *Barbarian*, replied, That, *if it muſt be his fate to loſe that Part of his Dominions, he had rather it ſhould be to the King of* England, *than to any other Monarch in the World*. Thus ended the famous Cruſade, which had drained *France* and *England* both of Men and Money. It proved of very little Benefit to the Eaſtern Chriſtians, whilſt it ruined thoſe of *Europe*, by the prodigious Sums therein expended. But that was not all; it became the occaſion of deſtructive Wars between *France* and *England*, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

He comes within view of Jeruſalem, *and puts off the Siege till the Spring.*
Hoved.
Brompt.

The Dukes of Auſtria *and* Burgundy *deſert.*
Hoved.
M. Paris.
Brompt.

The Italian *Troops refuſe to ſerve any longer.*
Hoved.
Vindication of Richard.

Richard *makes a Truce with* Saladine.
Hoved.
G. Viniſauf.

Articles of the Truce.
G. Viniſauf. l. 6. c. 28.
R. Diceto.
Brompton.

Viniſauf. lb. c. 28.

1192.

Richard, fearing that in his Abſence *Saladine* would break the Truce, aſſembled the principal Officers of the Army, in order to elect a General capable of commanding the Troops deſigned to be left in *Paleſtine*. The choice fell upon the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*, to *Richard*'s great ſurprize, who had openly declared againſt him. However he gave his Conſent, and ſacrificed his private Reſentment to the publick Good of the Chriſtians. Shortly after the Marquiſs was ſtabbed by two Villains, ſent for that purpoſe by the *Old Man of the Mountain*: For that was the Appellation given to the Head or chief Maſter of a ſort of People inhabiting about *Antioch*, called *Chaſſins*, or ſome ſuch Name. The *Old Man of the Mountain* always kept in his ſervice a ſet of People devoted to his Will, whom he diſpatched into all parts of the World upon the like occaſions. Hence the *French* called him the Prince of the Aſſaſſins, or perhaps the word Aſſaſſin is derived from the Name of theſe People (5). As the Author of this Murder was at firſt unknown, *Richard*, becauſe he was no Friend to the Marquiſs, was by ſome ſuſpected. But the Marquiſs himſelf was ſo far from ſuch a thought, that, juſt as he died, he ordered his Wife to deliver into the hands of the King of *England* the City of *Tyre*, of which he was in poſſeſſion. After the Death of the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*, *Richard* ſo ordered it that *Henry* Earl of *Champagne*, his, as well as the King of *France*'s Nephew, was choſen in his place. After which, he cauſed him to marry *Iſabella*, the deceaſed's Widow, who brought him for her Dowry the Titular Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. As for *Guy* of *Luſignan*, the King made up his loſs of an empty Title with the real Donation of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, though he had ſold it before to the Templars. Upon the repeated Complaints of the *Cypriots*, to whom the Tyranny of their new Maſters was become inſupportable, *Richard* thought he had a Right to revoke the Sale. Whether this was conſiſtent with Juſtice, is needleſs now to inquire. It is ſufficient to obſerve, *Guy* was put in poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, which remained near two Centuries in his Family.

The Marquiſs of Montferrat *elected General of the Chriſtians in* Paleſtine.
Brompt.

He is aſſaſſinated.
Hemingford.

Viniſauf.
Brompt.
Hemingford.

Henry *Earl of* Champagne *choſen in his Place.*
Giblet.
Hiſt. de Re Luſig. l. 1.
Brompt.

The Affairs of the Eaſt being thus ſettled (6), *Richard* impatient to return to *England*, embarked at *Ptolemais*, from whence he ſailed to *Corfu*, an Iſland ſituated at the Entrance of the *Adriatick Gulph*. Probably, his deſign was to land ſomewhere in the bottom of the *Gulph*, and continue his Journey by Land through *Germany*. However ſome ſay, he was driven againſt his Will by ſtreſs of Weather into thoſe Parts. Whatever his Deſign might be, he was expoſed to a violent Storm, which forced him on the Coaſt of *Iſtria*, and from thence between *Aquileia* and *Venice*, where the Galliot, he was on Board, ſplit upon a Rock. It was with great difficulty that he eſcaped this Danger, to run immediately into another. Whether he was ignorant of the Country, or for ſome other unknown reaſon, he entered the Territories of the Duke of *Auſtria*, and took the Road to *Vienna*. If this was not done through Ignorance, it will be difficult to dive into his deſign. Beſides that this was by no means his way to *England*, it was great Imprudence to hazard his Perſon in the Dominions of a Prince, whom he had ſo mortally offended at the Siege of *Acres*. However this be, he continued his Journey diſguiſed like a Pilgrim, well knowing he had every thing to fear from the Duke's Reſentment, ſhould he chance to be diſcovered. His laviſh Expences, and the Indiſcretion of ſome of his Attendants, were the occaſion of a Rumour's being quickly ſpread that the King of *England* was in thoſe parts. The Duke of *Auſtria* having notice of it, cauſed the pretended Pilgrim to be watched ſo narrowly, that he was ſeized (7) at a ſmall Village (8) near *Vienna* (9). The News reaching the Emperor *Henry* VI, he ſent and demanded the Priſoner of the Duke of *Auſtria*, who delivered him, upon Aſſurance of having a large Share of his Ranſom.

Richard *embarks for* Europe,
M. Paris.
Hoved.
R. Diceto.
Brompt.
againſt his Will.
An. Burton.
Hemingf.

Is ſhipwrack'd near Aquileia.

Goes into the Dominions of the Duke of Auſtria.
Brompt.
Gervas.
M. Paris.

Is diſcover'd, taken, and given up to the Emperor.
Act. Pub. T. I. p. 70.
Hoved.
Hemingford.
M. Paris.
Brompton.

(1) *Hoveden* ſays eleven thouſand, p. 716.

(2) *M. Paris* ſays *Saladine* bribed him to go away, p. 168.

(3) Immediately after his Return to his Dominions, he loaded King *Richard* with Calumnies, and had a Conference, *January* 22, 1192, between *Giſors* and *Trie*, wherein he demanded of *William Fitz-Ralph*, Seneſchal of *Normandy*, his Siſter *Alice*, but the Seneſchal refuſed to ſend her, though *Philip* ſhewed him the Convention made between King *Richard* and him at *Meſſina*. After that, the King of *France* gathered a large Army together, and would have invaded *Normandy*; but the great Men of his Kingdom would not let him. *Hoved.* p. 712, 717. *Brompt.* p. 1236.

(4) The *French* Hiſtorians have caſt many falſe and rude Aſperſions upon King *Richard*, as if it had been his Fault that *Jeruſalem* was not taken.

(5) Theſe Aſſaſſins were a preciſe Sect of *Mahometans* dwelling in ſix Cities near *Antaradus* in *Syria*, being about forty thouſand in Number. They were ready to ſtab any Prince whom the *Old Man of the Mountain* ſhould appoint them, or to go upon any other dangerous Attempt. *Conrade* Marquiſs of *Montferrat* was murdered in the Streets of *Tyre* by two of them, whom he entertained in his Service, they having pretended to turn Chriſtians. *M. Paris*, p. 83, &c.

(6) King *Richard*'s Queen, and his Siſter *Joanna* Queen of *Sicily*, embarked at *Acra*, *September* 29, and King *Richard* himſelf, *October* 9. *Diceto*, p. 668. *Hemingford.*

(7) *December* 20. *Diceto*, p. 668. *Brompt.*

(8) Called *Gynacia*. *M. Paris*, p. 172. *M. Weſt.* p. 258.

(9) Having travelled ſome time with his Attendants like ſo many Pilgrims with their Hair and Beards grown to a great length, he diſmiſſed them all, and taking Horſe with one Servant came to the Village, where ſending out his Servant to buy Proviſions, he was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Auſtria*, and being ſeized, was forced by Tortures to tell where the King was, who was taken as he lay aſleep. *Hoved.* p. 717. *M. Paris*, p. 172.

Thus

1193. Thus *Richard*, whoſe Fame filled the whole Earth, and whoſe noble Actions had exalted him above all the Princes of his time, loſt his Liberty, and ſaw himſelf in the power of the moſt ſordid and ungenerous of Princes.

The Effects of the King's Impriſonment in England. Hoved. Gervas. M. Paris. R. Diceto.

The News of *Richard*'s Impriſonment quickly flew over *Europe*, and particularly into *England*, where it cauſed a great Conſternation. Queen *Eleanor*, his Mother, immediately took all poſſible care to prevent this Accident from occaſioning ſome fatal Revolution. She repreſented to the principal Barons, that they could not give the King more effectual Proofs of their Fidelity, than by oppoſing, to the utmoſt of their power, the Attempts of Prince *John*, whoſe ill deſigns were no ſecret. That it was neceſſary to begin with this, in order to preſerve the Peace of the Realm; and that afterwards other Affairs might be taken care of. The Queen's Exhortations, the King's unfortunate Condition, and the Fame he had acquired in the *Eaſt*, concurred to keep the *Engliſh* Barons in the Fidelity due to their Sovereign. As they did not queſtion but *John* would improve this Juncture to diſturb the State, they entered into an Aſſociation to exclude him from the Government, at the very time he was taking meaſures to ſeize it. The Opportunity appearing to him very favourable, he had formed a deſign to take the Adminiſtration of Affairs into his hands, that he might more eaſily wreſt the Crown from the King his Brother. But he was prevented by the Diligence of the Queen his Mother, and the Barons. He had the mortification to ſee other Regents appointed during the King's Impriſonment. However, he forbore not to uſe his endeavours to break an Aſſociation ſo prejudicial to him. He affirmed, his ſole Aim was to ſecure himſelf againſt the Pretenſions of his Nephew, the Duke of *Bretagne*, in caſe *Richard* ſhould die in Priſon. But all his Proceedings plainly ſhewed, his deſign was rather to obſtruct the King's return, ſuppoſing he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to obtain his Liberty. And indeed he neglected nothing to become maſter of the fortified Towns, or gain the Governours to his Intereſts. It is no wonder, that at ſuch a Juncture he prevailed with ſome, but in general he met with ſo great oppoſition to his deſigns, that he found at length there was no poſſibility of ſucceeding without the King of *France*'s Aſſiſtance. As ſoon as he was determined, he departed (1) in order to confer with *Philip*. As he went through *Normandy*, he ſtaid ſome days at *Roan*, where he tried all ways to corrupt the Loyalty of the *Normans*; but not ſucceeding, repaired to *Paris*, where he made a Treaty with *Philip*, who deſired nothing more than to embroil *Richard*'s Affairs.

John tries to lay hold on his Brother's Misfortune to mount the Throne. Brompt. Gervas. R. Diceto. Hemingf.

He meets with Obſtacles.

Hoved. p. 724. *Makes a League with* Philip. Hoved. Brompt.

If certain Hiſtorians may be credited, *John* obliged himſelf to marry the Princeſs *Alice*, refuſed by *Richard*, and do Homage to the Crown of *France* for the Kingdom of *England*. I do not know whether theſe Authors had ſufficient Authority to aſſert theſe two Particulars. It is certain the Treaty itſelf, which is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſays nothing like it; neither is it probable that *John*, who was already married, ſhould promiſe to eſpouſe another Wife. It ſeems more likely therefore, that *Philip*, as the Treaty imports, was ſatisfied with admitting *John* to do Homage for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England* (2), which, as Sovereign Lord, he pretended to diſpoſe of.

Hoved. p. 724. Brompt.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 85.

He tries in vain to gain the King of Scotland.

As ſoon as *John* had finiſhed his Affairs in *France*, he embarked for *England*, with deſign to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to gain the King of *Scotland*: But *William* remembering *Richard*'s generous Uſage, would give no ear to his Sollicitations, whatever means *John* employed to make him believe the impriſoned King would never recover his Liberty. All his endeavours, as well with regard to the *Normans* as the King of *Scotland*, proving ineffectual, he bethought himſelf of another Expedient. He cauſed it to be rumoured that *Richard* was dead in Priſon, and upon that foundation, demanded the Crown. But as there was no other Advice of the King's Death, he did not find the *Engliſh* inclined to take this raſh ſtep in his favour, without further Confirmation. Mean time, their refuſal furniſhed him with a Pretence to ſeize ſome places of Strength (3), as being willing to take by Force what he could not obtain by fair Means. But his Party was ſo inconſiderable, that it was not poſſible for him to make any great Progreſs.

Pretends the King is dead, and demands the Crown, but is refuſed. Hoved.

Philip attacks Normandy. Hoved. Neubrig. Hemingf.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, *Philip* was not idle in *France*. In a belief, that the *Engliſh* employed at Home with *John*'s Pretenſions, would not be able to ſend any Succours beyond Sea, he reſolved to ſeize the Provinces held by *Richard* in *France*. Purſuant to this Project, forgetting the Oath taken upon quitting *Paleſtine*, he made himſelf maſter of *Giſors*, *Evreux*, and all *le Vexin*, after which he laid Siege to *Roan*. He hoped to ſurprize that City, the taking of which would have drawn after it all the reſt of *Normandy*, but had the mortification to miſs his Aim. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who had thrown himſelf into the City ſome days before, made ſo brave a Defence, that after an Aſſault, wherein the *French* were repulſed with great Loſs, *Philip* was forced to raiſe the Siege. 1193.

He beſieges Roan. Hoved. Gervas. *Is repulſed. Raiſes the Siege.*

Mean time, Queen *Eleanor* not content with oppoſing a ſtrong Fence againſt the Ambition of her younger Son, laboured with all her power the King's Releaſe. As the Emperor had no plauſible Colour to detain him in Priſon, ſhe imagined, a powerful Mediation, ſuch as the Pope's, might have a good Effect. In this Belief ſhe frequently writ to his Holineſs, intreating him to take in hand the King her Son's Cauſe. All her Sollicitations not prevailing, ſhe ſent him at length a very expoſtulatory Letter, plainly ſhewing how highly ſhe was provoked at his Indifference. She complained, that he was unwilling to take the leaſt Step in behalf of the impriſoned King: That he refuſed to ſend a *Nuntio* to the Emperor, though he often ſent Legates to all the Chriſtian States, on much leſs important occaſions: That this Behaviour was ſo much the more ſtrange, as it would be no Diſparagement to his Dignity, ſhould he go in Perſon and ſollicit the Releaſe of ſo great a King, who had lately expoſed his Life in the Service of the Church. In ſhort, ſhe repreſented to him, That the many good Offices for which the Holy See ſtood indebted to the Kings of *England*, well deſerved ſome return; and that the Services done the Popes during the Schiſms, could not be forgotten without Ingratitude. But all theſe Inſtances were to no purpoſe. The Pope did not think fit to concern himſelf about an unfortunate Prince, for fear of diſpleaſing the King of *France*, by whom he was preſſed, on the other hand, not to interpoſe in the Affair.

Eleanor applies in vain to the Pope. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 72, 74, 76. *Her Letter to the Pope.* Brompt.

Whilſt the Queen laboured in vain to move the Pope, the Emperor, who wanted a Cloak for his Injuſtice, ordered *Richard* to be conducted to *Haguenaw*, where the Diet of the Empire was aſſembled. The Deputies, ſent by the Queen and Council to the King to acquaint him with what paſſed in *England*, met on the road their unfortunate Prince, ignominiouſly conducted like a Criminal. This melancholy ſight drew Tears from their Eyes, at which the King could not forbear weeping. After they had, by many affectionate Expreſſions, ſhewn their Concern for his Misfortune, and aſſured him of the Loyalty of his Subjects in general, they informed him of his Brother's Attempts, and his ſtrict Union with the King of *France*. Theſe Informations made him ſenſible, that in the preſent poſture of his Affairs, it was very improper to diſpute with the Emperor, upon the Terms of his Freedom. In this reſolution, he was brought before the Aſſembly of the *German* Princes, where the Emperor charged him with ſix Articles, of which but one could concern himſelf, and none the *German* Nation in particular. I. He accuſed *Richard* of joining in a League with *Tancred* to ſupport that Uſurper in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Sicily*. II. He alledged, that by his Conteſts with the King of *France* he had obſtructed the Conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*. III. He charged him with unjuſtly invading the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and employing the Arms of the *Croiſes* to dethrone a Chriſtian Prince. IV. He taxed him with affronting the Duke of *Auſtria*, at the Siege of *Ptolemais*. V. He accuſed him of being concerned in the Murder of the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*. VI. And laſtly, he laid to his Charge, as a great Crime, the Truce concluded with *Saladine*, and accuſed him of holding intelligence with that Infidel Prince, to the great Detriment of Chriſtendom in general.

Richard *is carried before the Diet of the Empire*; Act. Pub. T. I. p. 80. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

and accuſed by the Emperor of ſix particulars. Brompt. M. Weſt. M. Paris.

Tho' neither the Emperor nor the Princes of *Germany* had any Right to ſit as Judges upon the King of *England*, *Richard* did not think proper to diſpute their Authority. He was too apprehenſive of giving occaſion for Delays, which muſt have been very prejudicial to him. In all appearance, that was the Emperor's ſole Aim. He was contented therefore with briefly ſaying, Tho' he looked upon himſelf as accountable to none for his Actions, he was willing however to vindicate himſelf before that Illuſtrious Aſſembly; not that he conſidered them as his Judges, but becauſe it greatly concerned his Honour that the World ſhould think him innocent. Then he made his Defence againſt the Em-

He vindicates himſelf.

(1) Soon after *Chriſtmas*. *Hoveden*, p. 724.
(2) *John* quitted all claim to *Giſors* and *le Vexin Normand*, and *Philip* granted him with *Alice* that part of *Flanders* which was adjoining to *France*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. I. p. 85. *Hoved.* p. 724.
(3) The Caſtles of *Walling ford* and *Windſor*, with the Aſſiſtance of ſeveral Foreigners he had brought over. But all the Great Men of the Kingdom aſſembled, and laid Siege to *Windſor-Caſtle*. *Hoved.* p. 724, 725. *Brompt.* p. 1252. *Gervas*, p. 1582.

1193. peror's six Allegations. To the first he replied, That his Treaty with *Tancred* no way related to the Emperor: That he did not make *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, but found him so; and treated with him, as with a King in actual possession of the Crown. To the second he answered, That the King of *France*'s Jealousy was the sole Cause of the little Progress in the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, and the whole Blame ought to be laid on that Prince, since he first deserted the Cause. To the third, which related to the Conquest of *Cyprus*, he made answer, That he took not that Kingdom from a lawful Prince, but an Usurper and Tyrant, who, by his Barbarity, had justly provoked his Vengeance. That he hath demonstrated, he acted not in that Affair from a principle of Ambition or Avarice, since he voluntarily resigned the Island to *Guy* of *Lusignan*, to make him amends for the loss of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. As to the fourth Article, he contented himself with saying, the Duke of *Austria* was sufficienly revenged of an Affront, for which he might have demanded Satisfaction in a more honorable manner. As for the Marquis of *Montferrat*'s Murder, he said, with some emotion, all his past Actions were so many Evidences of his being incapable to use such infamous Means to be revenged on his Enemies; adding, the Marquis himself cleared him before he expired, in desiring the Princess his Wife to put into his hands the City of *Tyre*, which doubtless he would never have done, had he suspected him to be the Author of his Death (1). He spoke more fully to the Charge of holding Intelligence with *Saladine*. He represented, though with great Modesty, the share he had in the Victory obtained over the Infidel Prince. He accused the Duke of *Burgundy* of deserting him purely out of Jealousy, when he was just going to besiege *Jerusalem*. In fine, he added, it was easy to see that in making a Truce with the *Saracens*, he had no sordid Views; since of all the Booty he acquired by taking the *Babylon* Caravan, he reserved nothing to himself but only the Ring on his Finger.

Brompt. p. 1252.

The German *Princes intercede for* Richard. Brompt.

This Defence, which very much confounded the Emperor, raised the Compassion of the *German* Princes for *Richard*. They were so convinced of the great Injury done to that illustrious Prince, that with one consent they besought the Emperor to deal more generously by him. But their Intreaties could not induce that covetous and selfish Prince to release his Prisoner, before he had extorted an exorbitant ransom. He was the more extravagant in his demands, as the King of *France* had sent the Bishop of *Beauvais* to offer him a large Sum to keep *Richard* in perpetual Imprisonment. The Captive King therefore was forced, in order to obtain his Liberty, to promise to pay a hundred and fifty thousand Marks of Silver, of which the Duke of *Austria* was to have a Third for his share. The Emperor required further, that this Sum should be brought into *Germany* at *Richard*'s Peril and Charge. To these hard Terms he added, that *Richard* should release the Emperor of *Cyprus* and his Daughter, and give his Niece *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* in Marriage to the Duke of *Austria*'s eldest Son. Some say, the Emperor, not content with these Advantages, obliged *Richard* to make him an absolute Resignation of the Kingdom of *England*; which however he presently re-invested him with, to hold of him by the annual Tribute of five thousand Pounds Sterling. Indeed, this Fact cannot be said to be altogether improbable, considering *Richard*'s sad state. However, it is hardly credible, that Prince, though a Prisoner, could be brought to so unworthy an Action. Besides, we do not find, the Emperor ever formed any Pretension upon *England*, by virtue of this pretended Resignation. Therefore, the same Historians which relate this particular, add, that *Henry*, before his Death, renounced all Right to *England*. To make the thing more probable, the Emperor's Donation of the Kingdom of *Arles* to *Richard* is urged, and pretended to be in return for the Sovereignty of *England*. But it is this that makes it presumed, *Richard*'s Homage for that Kingdom, given him by the Emperor, is confounded with the Homage for *England*. And indeed, it appears from the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Henry* conferred the Title of *King of Arles* on *Richard*; who, no doubt, did him Homage for that imaginary Kingdom, which the Emperors had not enjoyed for many Years.

Philip *and* John *make the Emperor large Offers to detain him.* Hoved. Brompt.

He requires hard terms of Richard. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 84, 85. An. Burton.

The Emperor makes him titular King of Arles. Hoved.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 81, 83.

Hoved. p. 724.

1193.

Money for the King's Ransom is raised in England. Hoved. Gervas. M. Paris.

As soon as the Treaty was signed, *Richard* sent word of it to the Queen his Mother, desiring her to use all possible means speedily to raise the Money for his ransom. This was no inconsiderable Sum at that time in *England*. *Richard* himself when he went to the *Holy Land*, almost drained the Kingdom of all the Coin. Besides, the *Croises* likewise carried away large Sums. For this reason, it was no easy matter to supply this new Expence. However, the Zeal of the Justiciaries caused them to find means to raise a hundred thousand Marks, by Taxes (2), and by borrowing one year's Wool of the Abbeys of the *Cistercians* and Religious Houses of the Order of *Sempringham* (3). To this was added the Plate belonging to the Churches, upon the Queen's Promise to restore it, after the King's Return (4).

Hoved.

1194.

Philip *and* John *endeavour to get* Richard *detained in Prison.* Neubrig. Hoved. Brompt. An. Burton.

Whilst the *English* were employed in raising the King's ransom, *Philip* and *John* tried all ways to break his Agreement with the Emperor. As soon as *Philip* heard of it, he sent *John* word, *to look to himself, since the Devil was like to get loose*. This News threw the Prince into great consternation. He saw all his hopes vanish, and himself upon the point of falling into the hands of a justly incensed Brother, without knowing how to divert the terrible Blow. In this perplexity, he had no other Remedy but to unite still more strictly with *Philip*, and endeavour, with his help, to break *Richard*'s measures for his Deliverance. As these two Princes had one common Interest, they agreed to act together to engage the Emperor by advantagious Offers, to detain *Richard* in Prison. The Bishop of *Beauvais* was again commissioned to make *Henry* the following Proposals: That provided he would promise to detain *Richard* 'till *Michaelmas*, *Philip* would pay him down fifty thousand, and *John* thirty thousand, Marks: That after that Term, they would return him monthly one thousand Pounds Sterling, as long as *Richard* was kept Prisoner: That in case he would deliver him into their hands, they would pay the whole Ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand Marks. In fine, if he refused this offer, the Ambassador was ordered to tender him the same Sum, to keep him Prisoner one Year. These offers had such an effect on the covetous Emperor, that he deferred the King's Deliverance 'till the next Diet, which was to meet at *Spires* in a few Months, though *Eleanor* was come to *Worms* with a hundred thousand Marks, and Hostages for the payment of the rest. It is easy to guess *Richard*'s Consternation, when he heard this unwelcome News. He was not ignorant of his Brother's Endeavours to seize his Crown, and was satisfied, *Philip* would employ all his Forces to support him in his unjust Designs. On the other hand, he too well knew the Emperor's Temper, to hope to soften a Heart that was a stranger to all generous Sentiments. In this melancholy State, believing himself entirely ruined, the time he passed 'till the Diet, was the heaviest and most grievous of his Life. He was very justly alarmed, for the Emperor had actually determined to comply with the King of *France*, and sacrifice his Honour to sordid Interest. The Diet being assembled at *Spires* in *February* (5), the Emperor addressed himself to the *German* Princes in Terms plainly importing, he made no Account of his Agreement with the King of *England*. Surprized at this Proceeding, they could not forbear telling him their Thoughts. They strongly represented to him, that being themselves Pledges of the Treaty, they could not in Honour see it violated, and even intimated he should not break it with Impunity. Whether *Henry* stood in fear of their Threats, or shame made some impression on his Mind, he was prevailed with to set his Prisoner free, upon receiving the hundred thousand Marks, and Hostages for the fifty thousand that were unpaid. *Richard* was no sooner at Liberty, but he speedily left *Germany*, and repaired to the *Low-Countries*, staying by the way no longer than was absolutely necessary. This speed was requisite, for *Henry* repenting of his release, sent after him to seize him, but it was too late. As soon as he came to *Antwerp*, he embarked for *England*, and safely arrived at *Sandwich* on the 20th of *March*, 1194, after a four year's Absence, fifteen Months whereof he had passed in Prison.

They make Offers to the Emperor: Hoved. Brompt. An. Burton.

Henry puts off the King's Deliverance. Hoved. Brompt. An. Burton.

He endeavours to elude the Treaty but in vain. Hoved. Brompt.

Richard *is set at Liberty.* Hoved. Brompton. M. West.

Brompt. *He arrives in* England. R. Diceto.

(1) In the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, T. I. p. 71, there is a Letter from the *Old Man of the Mountain* to the Duke of *Austria*, wherein he owns himself the Author of the Marquis's Murder: But the Authority of this Letter is doubtful upon several Accounts, particularly for being dated in the Year of the Pontificate of the Pope. *Rapin*. See it in *Brompton*, p. 1252, 1253. *Diceto*, p. 680. *Hemingford*, p. 544.

(2) *Hoveden* says, every Knight's Fee was taxed twenty Shillings; and all, as well Clergy as Laity, gave one fourth Part, and some Clergymen even the Tenth of their Revenues this Year, besides part of their moveable Goods: And the Clergy moreover gave all the Gold and Silver in their Churches. The same was done in the King's foreign Dominions. *Hoveden*, p. 726, 731, 732. Mr. *Tyrrel* observes, That this Tax was not imposed by the King's Prerogative; for, as *R. Diceto* relates, all this Money was raised, *Assensu Communi*, that is, by the Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom. *Diceto*, p. 670. *Tyrrel*, p. 521. The Money, as it was raised, was deposited in the Hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Hamelin* Earl of *Warren*, and the Mayor of *London*. *Hoveden*, p. 727. *William* King of *Scotland* paid two thousand Marks towards the King's Ransom. *Chr. Mailros*, p. 179.

(3) This Order was first established at *Sempringham* in *Lincolnshire* (now a Seat of the *Clintons* Earls of *Lincoln*) in the Year 1148. *See above*, p. 222. Note (3).

(4) It was restored afterward. See *Hoveden*, p. 753. *Brompton*, p. 1258.

(5) *Rapin* by mistake says in *September*. See *Hoveden*, p. 734.

1194. *Proceedings of the Emperor and Duke of Auſtria, relating to the reſt of the Ranſom.* Hoved. Brompt. Hemingf.

Before I finiſh what relates to *Richard*'s Impriſonment, not to return hereafter to the Payment of the reſidue of his Ranſom, I ſhall add here what paſſed on that head, both with reſpect to the Emperor and the Duke of *Auſtria*. The laſt, after frequently ſoliciting *Richard* to ſatisfy him, ſent *Baldwin* of *Betune*, one of the Hoſtages, to let him know, that he would come upon thoſe he had in his power, if the Treaty of *Haguenaw* was not ſpeedily executed. *Richard*, who knew by Experience the cruel Temper of that Prince, forthwith ſent back the ſame *Baldwin* with the Princeſs *Eleanor*, that the ſtipulated Marriage might be conſummated, 'till the reſt of the Ranſom was paid. In all appearance, the Emperor had taken for himſelf the hundred thouſand Marks, and turned over the debt to the Duke of *Auſtria*. Be this as it will, *Eleanor* and *Baldwin* found, upon their Arrival at *Vienna*, that the Duke was dead of a Fall from his Horſe. Before he reſigned his laſt Breath, he made his Will, wherein he ordered the King of *England*'s Hoſtages to be releaſed; confeſſing, he had unjuſtly detained him, and could not in Conſcience demand a Ranſom. Notwithſtanding this expreſs Order, the Prince his Son, who ſucceeded him, would have detained the Hoſtages, had not the Biſhops oppoſed it. They declared, they would not permit his Father's Corpſe to be buried 'till his laſt Will was performed. The Pope likewiſe ſent him a Letter, telling him, he had ordered the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg* to excommunicate him, if he deferred any longer the Execution of his Father's Will. Prevailed upon by theſe Menaces, he releaſed the Hoſtages, and finding he had no great Inclination for the Princeſs of *Bretagne*, ſent her back alſo to *England*. As for the Emperor, his Difference with the Pope, and the War he was meditating againſt *France*, making him ſenſible he might have occaſion for the King of *England*, he wiſhed to be reconciled to him. To that purpoſe, he ſent a Biſhop to beg his pardon, and aſſure him that he intended to reſtore what had been extorted from him. But he died ſhortly after at *Meſſina*, before he performed his Promiſe.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 88, 102.

Hoved. p. 773.

Richard *reduces his Brother's Party.* M. Paris. Hoved. Neubrig. Brompt. Ann. Burt.

Richard was received by his Subjects with Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection, which made him forget all the Diſgraces he had ſuffered during his Captivity (1). His firſt care was to diſcharge his Vow, to offer to God the rich Standard of *Cyprus* in St. *Edmund*'s Church. Which done, he marched to reduce ſome Caſtles ſtill in the Hands of *John*'s Adherents, of which *Nottingham* Caſtle was the only one that held out a Siege of ſome days. Mean time, he ordered the Prince his Brother, who was retired to *France*, to be ſummoned to appear within forty days, and anſwer the Accuſations exhibited againſt him. *John* not appearing within the Time limited, the King cauſed a ſentence to be paſſed againſt him, confiſcating all his Lands, and declaring him incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown.

John *cited and condemned.* Hoved. Brompt.

Richard *is crowned again.* Brompt. Hoved. p. 737.

This Affair being ended, *Richard* was crowned again, for fear his Impriſonment might have raiſed any Scruples in the Minds of his Subjects. *William* King of *Scotland* aſſiſted at the Solemnity, and carried the Sword of State before the King (2). This Deference, and his conſtant Attachment to *Richard* whilſt a Captive, entirely gained him the Affection of that Prince, who gave him all poſſible Marks of his Friendſhip. Indeed, he did not think fit to reſign him *Northumberland*, the Poſſeſſion whereof he very earneſtly demanded, upon a dubious Title that was even renounced by his Predeceſſor. However, to ſoften in ſome meaſure this Refuſal, he granted him a Charter of certain Honours and Privileges to be enjoyed by the Kings of *Scotland* whenever they came into *England* (3).

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 87.

1195. Richard *prepares for a War with* France. Hemingf.

Richard was too much bent upon being revenged of the King of *France*, to deny himſelf any longer that Satisfaction. The Forgiveneſs of Injuries is a Virtue too rare among Men, to be met with in a Prince who was none of the moſt ſcrupulous in point of Religion. To execute this Deſign, he ſtood in need of a powerful Army, which could be neither raiſed nor maintained without an extraordinary Charge. His Kingdom, already drained, was but little able to furniſh him with the neceſſary Supplies. How-

His means to raiſe Money. Newb. M. Paris.

ever, Money muſt be had at any rate, and for that purpoſe, divers not very honorable Ways and Means were uſed. In the firſt place, he revoked all the Alienations of the Crown-Lands made before his departure to the *Holy-Land*. His Pretence for ſo doing, was, that the Purchaſers had ſufficiently reimburſed themſelves, out of the Profits of the Eſtates, though they had enjoyed them but a very few Years. He uſed alſo another, and no leſs unlawful, means, to fill his empty Coffers. The Great Seal, which he carried with him, being loſt during his Voyage, he ordered another to be made, and obliged all thoſe that had any Patents or Commiſſions under the old, to have them renewed, and ſealed with the new Seal. His ſole Aim was, to extort Money from private Perſons for renewing their Charters. Theſe two Methods not appearing ſufficient, he invented two more. The firſt was, to prohibit Tournaments and then grant the Nobility a Licenſe to hold, or be preſent at them, upon payment of a certain Sum, in proportion to their Rank (4). The ſecond was, to reſtore to his Favour his natural Brother *Geoffrey*, and permit him to enjoy the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. The Biſhop of *Coventry*, a zealous Friend of Prince *John*, and like him condemned, received alſo the ſame Favor. But it coſt the former two thouſand Marks, and the latter purchaſed his Pardon with a preſent of five thouſand.

1195. Hoved. p. 746. Hoved. R. Diceto. Hoved.

All the Forces *Richard* deſigned againſt *France* being ready, News was brought him, as he ſat at Table, that *Philip* was beſieging *Verneuil*. His Indignation to be thus prevented, tranſported him ſo, that he ſwore he would not turn his Face, 'till he had joined his Enemies: To keep his Oath, he cauſed part of the Wall of the Room to be pulled down, and going out through the Opening, embarked immediately with his Troops which waited for him on the Sea-ſide, and ſafely arrived in *Normandy*. Upon his Approach, *Philip* raiſed the Siege, juſt as he was going to take the City. Some ſay, he was forced to it by his Army, which, being ſeized by a Pannick, took to Flight, leaving the Tents and Baggage in the Camp.

Philip *gets the Start of him, and beſieges* Verneuil. Brompt. Walſing. M. Paris. Hoved.

Richard *makes him raiſe the Siege.* Hemingf.

Some time after, *Richard* being at *Roan*, the Queen his Mother introduced Prince *John*, who throwing himſelf at his Feet, begged his Pardon. The King received him civilly, as he promiſed the Queen, but however intimated to him, he was not ſatisfied of the Sincerity of his Repentance. *I forgive you* (ſays he, raiſing him up) *and wiſh I could as eaſily forget your Offences, as you will my Pardon.*

He pardons his Brother. Hoved. An. Burt. Brompt. p. 1262.

I ſhall not undertake to relate the particulars of the War which was carried on by the two contending Monarchs. They are not material enough to deſerve inſiſting upon. I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving that the War laſted five Years, and was often interrupted by Truces, conſtantly broken by both Parties, without any poſſibility of knowing which ſide is to be blamed. The Hiſtorians of the two Nations were ſo bent upon vindicating their reſpective Kings, that it is eaſy to ſee, both were too much ſwayed by their Inclinations or Prejudices. Be this as it will, the two Princes met with frequent Occaſions in this War to ſignalize their Conduct and Courage. But as the various Succeſs of their Arms occaſioned the Continuation of the War, they may both be ſaid to loſe more by it than they gained. *Philip*, among others, ſuffered an irreparable Damage in the Loſs of all the ancient Records of the Crown, which were taken with all its Baggage in an Action near *Blois*. It was cuſtomary then for the King to carry with him where-ever he went, the Archives of the Kingdom. *Mezerai* laments the Loſs *France* ſuſtained on that occaſion, and the notable Prejudice the Hiſtory of that Kingdom received, with reſpect to the Events before that Engagement (5).

Continuation of the War. Hoved. p. 740. 1195-9. Brompt. M. Weſt.

Philip *loſes the Records of the Crown.* Hoved.

The Advantages the two Kings obtained over each other not being very conſiderable, they agreed at length upon a Truce, in order to a Peace. Some ſay, *Philip* propoſed to *Richard* to decide their Quarrel by five Combatants on each ſide; and that *Richard* conſented to it, provided the two Kings were to be of the number. If this be true, which however is queſtionable, the Propoſal, very probably, was not ſerious. Thus much is certain, many Endeavours were uſed to bring the two Monarchs to a Peace, to which it was believed, an Interview might conduce. But after ſeveral Conferences, they parted without any Determination.

A Truce between the two Kings. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 91. Hoved. R. Diceto. p. 676. Brompt. M. Weſt. Hoved. Brompt.

At one of theſe Conferences, the Princeſs *Alice* was reſtored to the King her Brother, who gave her in Marriage to the Earl of *Ponthieu*. Upon going to the *Holy*

Princeſs Alice *reſtored to her Brother.* Hoved.

(1) *April* 1. at a Parliament, King *Richard* demanded two Shillings out of every *Carucate*, a Tax formerly called *Temantale*. And then ordered all thoſe that held by Knight's Service, to give him the third part of a Knight's Fee, for his Expedition to *France*. *Hoved.* p. 737.

(2) He did this as Earl of *Huntingdon*. *Hoved.*

(3) They were to be conducted by the *Sheriffs* of every County from *Berwick* to the Court, and allowed a hundred Shillings a Day during the Journey, and thirty whilſt they ſtaid; and alſo twelve Loaves of fine Bread, twelve of the King's *Simnel*, with four Gallons of the beſt, and eight of the ordinary Wine, &c. See *Act. Pub.* Vol. I. p. 87. This was ſettled by a Parliament. *Hoved.* p. 737.

(4) An Earl twenty Marks, a Baron ten, and a Knight four, if without Land, two.

(5) In 1198, King *Richard* ordered that Weights and Meaſures ſhould be the ſame all over the Kingdom. *M. Paris*, p. 191. *Ann. Burton.* p. 253. *Hoved.* p. 774. He alſo deſired his Subjects to maintain him three hundred Soldiers for a Year, or allow him Money to maintain that Number; namely, three Shillings a Day of *Engliſh* Money, to each. *Hoved.* p. 776. The ſame Year he took five Shillings of every Carucate or Hide in *England*. *Hoved.* p. 778, 779.

Land;

1195-9. *Land*, *Richard* had committed her to the Cuſtody of the Seneſchal of *Normandy*, who had refuſed to deliver her without his Maſter's expreſs Order, though *Philip* had often demanded her.

The Queen of Sicily marries the Earl of Tholouſe. Brompt.

At the ſame time *Joanna* (1), Siſter to *Richard*, and Widow of the King of *Sicily*, married the Earl of *Tholouſe*. She obtained of the King her Brother an entire Reſignation of all Right and Title, as Heir of the Houſe of *Poictiers*, to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*.

Biſhop of Beauvais *taken Priſoner.* Hoved. Neubrig. Brompt. M. Weſt. M. Paris.

It happened, during this War, that *Philip de Dreux*, Biſhop of *Beauvais*, a near Relation of the King of *France*, being in a Battle, was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*. His Quality and Character, but chiefly ſome injurious Expreſſions in ſpeaking of *Richard*, occaſioned his Ranſom to be ſet at ſo high a rate, that he applied to the Pope for his Protection. His Holineſs ſtrongly interceded for his dearly beloved Son, as he called him, in a Letter to the King in his behalf. *Richard* in Anſwer ſent the Biſhop's Armour, all bloody as it was, and asked him, whether he knew his Son's Coat? This clear Evidence of the warlike Temper of the Biſhop, cauſed the Pope to deſiſt from his Sollicitations, and to ſay, ſince he had quitted the Warfare of Chriſt for that of the World, it was but juſt, he ſhould ſuffer the Conſequences of ſo ill a Choice. Upon this Anſwer, the Biſhop deſpairing of Aſſiſtance from *Rome*, compounded for his Ranſom, which was ſet at two thouſand Marks (2).

In the Account Hiſtorians give of this War, the *French* talk of nothing but the Advantages gained by *Philip*, and ſlightly paſs over his Loſſes. The *Engliſh*, on the contrary, taking little notice of ſeveral Engagements, where the others pretend *Richard* was worſted, carefully extoll his great Succeſs. Among other Advantages, they magnify a Victory obtained over his Enemy between *Courſelles* and *Giſors*, which the *French* ſlightly mention, as an Event of little importance. They ſay, *Philip* advancing with five hundred Horſe to view the Enemy, was like to be ſurrounded, and forced to retreat to *Giſors* with ſome precipitation. They add, the Bridge of that City falling down under him, he was in danger of loſing his Life by that Accident. It is certain, however, *Richard* ſent to *England* a Letter concerning that Action, now to be ſeen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, wherein he boaſts of gaining that day a glorious Victory. That Prince, very probably, would not have expreſſed himſelf thus, had he only routed five hundred Horſe. Some *Engliſh* Hiſtorians even affirm, that on occaſion of this Victory, *Richard* added to the Arms of *England* the Motto, *Dieu et mon Droit*. But I can hardly believe this Motto to be ſo antient, or to owe its Original to that Event.

Hoved. M. Paris. Garvaſ. Brompt.

A Victory of Richard's. Diceto, p. 704. Hoved. M. Paris.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 96. M. Paris.

A five Years Truce. Hoved. M. Paris. Brompt.

The Forces of the two Kings were too much upon an Equality for either to hope to make any great Progreſs in the War. After having ſufficiently tired one another, finding that all their Advantages amounted only to the taking ſome paltry Towns, which very often were retaken immediately, they gladly embraced an opportunity which offered to put an honorable end to the War: And that was by yielding to the Pope's Exhortations, who ſent his Legate into *France* to try to induce them to a Peace. The Pope's aim was to engage them in a freſh Cruſade for the recovery of *Jeruſalem*. But they were both too much diſcouraged by the firſt, to have any thoughts of a ſecond Expedition. The Legate's Arrival however had a good Effect, as it procured between the two Monarchs a Truce for five Years, which put ſome ſtop to the Calamities their Subjects groaned under. This Truce was concluded at a Conference, where it was agreed each ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of what was in his hands.

M. Paris. Hoved. Brompt. R. Diceto. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 98, 100, 103, 109.

At this Conference, *Philip* feigning to eſpouſe the Intereſts of *Richard*, ſhewed him ſome Papers, whereby his Brother Prince *John* appeared to have ill deſigns againſt him. *Richard* too haſtily giving Credit to him, diſpoſſeſſed his Brother once more of all he had been reſtored to. But *John* openly vindicated himſelf, in ſending to the Court of *France* two Knights who offered to maintain by Arms, that the Prince was falſly accuſed. *Philip* not thinking fit to accept of the Challenge, *Richard* perceived his Brother's Innocence, and reſtored him to his Eſtates.

1195-9. *Philip tries to ſet* Richard *at variance with Prince* John, *who juſtifies himſelf.* Hoved. Ann. Bur.

Whilſt *Richard* was employed in *France*, the City of *London* was all on a ſudden in great Danger, by reaſon of a Sedition raiſed by one *William Fitz-Osbern*, commonly called *Willian Long-Beard*, from the great Length of his Beard. This daring and ſeditious Man, by affecting continually to be an Advocate for the poor and meaneſt of the People, had gained the hearts of the Populace, who held him in extreme Veneration. He made uſe of this Advantage to ſtir up a Sedition in the City, on account of a Tax, the Burden of which, according to him, would wholly fall on the Poor. *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was then the Juſticiary, could not appeaſe the Tumult without cauſing the principal Citizens to take to their Arms. *Long-Beard* finding himſelf hard preſſed, fled to the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*, where he was ſeized, and afterwards hanged in Chains with nine of his Accomplices (3).

A Sedition at London. Hoved. R. Diceto. Knighton. Brompt. Gervaſe. M. Paris.

Richard's late Truce with *France* gave him opportunity of going to *England*, and enjoying ſome Repoſe, after all his Fatigues ſince his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown. His Preſence was moreover neceſſary in *England*, to reform divers Abuſes crept in during his Abſence. Accordingly this was what he reſolved to do, but an unexpected Accident obſtructed his Deſign. A *Limoſin* Gentleman finding in his Eſtate a Treaſure which had been hid there for many Ages, the King pretended, as it was found in a Country of which he had the Sovereignty (4), it belonged to him. The Gentleman was willing to compound the matter, by giving him part; but finding he would have the whole, applied to *Vidomar* Viſcount of *Limoges* for Protection, who ſheltered him in his Caſtle of *Chaluz*. *Richard*, who was not uſed to meet with oppoſition from his Inferiors, marched directly into *le Limoſin*, to lay Siege to the Caſtle where the Gentleman had taken refuge. When he came nigh the Place, he went round it, in order to view it. But approaching too near, one *Bertram* [*Gordon*] an Archer, who was upon the Walls ſhot him with an Arrow in the Shoulder, cloſe to his Neck (5). The Wound in it ſelf was not mortal, but made ſo by the Unskilfulneſs of the Surgeon that dreſſed it. It is ſaid, the King himſelf by his Intemperance did not a little help to inflame it. Be this as it will, the Wound gangreened, and he died of it the eleventh day (6), after enduring a great deal of Miſery. The Caſtle being taken whilſt he was yet alive (7), and the Perſon that wounded him brought into his preſence, he asked him the Reaſon why he ſought his Life. *Bertram* replied with an aſtoniſhing Boldneſs, it was in revenge of his Father and Brother, ſlain by the King's own hand; and added, he gave God Thanks for having ſo well ſucceeded, and was ready to undergo with pleaſure the moſt grievous Torments, ſince he was ſo fortunate as to free the World from ſuch a Tyrant. Though ſuch an Anſwer was very like to exaſperate the King againſt him, the dying Prince forgave him, and ordered him to be ſet at Liberty with a preſent of a hundred Shillings. But immediately after the King's Death, *Marchad* General of the *Flemings*, cauſed the miſerable Wretch to be flead alive.

The Occaſion of Richard's *Death.* Hoved. Brompt. M. Paris. Knighton.

Richard *beſieges* Chaluz, *and is wounded.* Hoved. Brompt. Knighton. Hemingf.

He dies of his Wound. Hoved. Brompt. Knighton.

Hoved. Knighton.

(1) She and Queen *Berenguella* leaving the Holy Land a little before the King, arrived at laſt in *Italy*, where having ſtaid ſix Months for fear of the Emperor, they went to *Genoa*, and embarked for *Marſelles*, from whence they came to *Poictiers*. It does not appear that *Berenguella*, *Richard*'s Queen, ever came into *England*. *Hoved.* p. 732, 733.

(2) *Neubrigienſis* ſays, he was uſed thus by the King, for having incenſed the Emperor againſt him whilſt in Durance, who cauſed him to be loaded with as many Irons as an Aſs could bear; as he ſaid himſelf to thoſe that interceded for the Biſhop.

(3) His Body being ſtolen away and buried, his Followers pretended that Miracles were wrought at his Grave; but Guards being ſet at the Place, and thoſe that came thither to pray, ſoundly beaten for their Pains, the Cheat was ſeen through, and the People quickly left off their Devotions to the pretended Saint. *Ralph de Diceto.*——About this time liv'd alſo the famous *Robin Hood*, with his Companion *Little John*, who are ſaid to infeſt *Yorkſhire* with their Robberies. Some will have him to have been of a great Family, and reduced to that Courſe of Life by riotous Living. He never hurted either Man or Woman, ſpar'd the Poor, and robbed only the Rich. Proclamation being iſſued out againſt him, he fell ſick at the Nunnery of *Berkely*, and deſiring to be let Blood, was betrayed and bled to Death.——In 1197, King *Philip* gave *Richard* Biſhop of *Durham* leave to coin Money in that City. *Hoved.* p. 768. The ſame Year there was a great Famine and Mortality throughout *England*. *Ibid.* During this Famine, King *Richard* finding Ships at *St. Valeri* full of Corn, exported from *England*, he ordered all the People belonging to thoſe Veſſels to be hanged. *Id.* p. 770.

(4) The Country of *Limoſin* was held of the Dutchy of *Guienne*. *Rapin.* *Hoveden* ſays, it was *Vidomar* himſelf that found it in his own Eſtate, p. 790.

(5) This was *March* 26. *Brompton*, p. 1277. *Diceto* ſays, the Perſon who wounded him was named *Peter Baxil*, p. 705. and *Gervaſe*, that it was one *John Sabraz*. He ſays moreover, that *Richard* was wounded not at *Chaluz*, but at the Siege of a Caſtle in *Argouleſme*, named *Nantrum*, p. 1628. *Walt. Hemingford* makes *Richard* to have been wounded near the Caſtle of *Galliard* which he had lately built in the Iſle of *Andali*. The King of *France* having ſeized that Caſtle, King *Richard* went to retake it, and there received his Death's Wound, p. 550, *&c.*

(6) He died *April* 6. *Brompt.* p. 1278. *Diceto*, p. 705.

(7) King *Richard* ordered all the Perſons in it to be hanged, except he that had wounded him. *Knighton*, 2413.

1199. *He makes John his Heir.* Hoved.

Before he died, *Richard* made his Will, leaving his Kingdom with all his other Dominions, and three Parts in four of his Money to his Brother *John*, reſerving the reſt for the Poor and his Domeſticks. He had formerly at *Meſſina* ſettled matters otherwiſe, and made his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne* his Heir. This appears in his Letter from thence to the Pope, now to be ſeen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. But probably, the Fear of raiſing Commotions in his Dominions, made him alter his mind. Indeed there could be no other reaſon to induce him to favour his Brother, whom he had no cauſe to love, to the prejudice of his Nephew, whoſe Title was no leſs juſt than Prince *John*'s. In his laſt Will he ordered his Body to be interred at *Fonteveraud*, at the Feet of his Father, to teſtify his Sorrow for the many Uneaſineſſes he created him during his Life. His Heart was to be carried to *Roan*, for a teſtimony of his Affection to the *Normans*. But his Bowels he ordered to be ſent into *Poictou*, deſigning to ſhew by that his little Eſteem for the *Poictevins*, with whom he was diſpleaſed. He left only a natural Son called *Philip*, to whom he bequeathed the Lordſhip of *Cognac* in the Duchy of *Guienne* (1).

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 68.

Brompt. M. Weſt. Hoved. M. Paris.

Such was the Life and Death of this valiant Prince, who for the Greatneſs of his Courage was ſirnamed *Cœur de Lion*. After commending his Valour, which was ſomething like a bruti ſh Fierceneſs, in vain do we ſeek in him ſome other Virtue to afford matter for his Panegyrick. Thoſe that praiſe him for his Bounty and Magnificence, do not conſider, if he was liberal and ſplendid, it was at the expence of his Subjects, from whom he extorted ſeveral large Sums by unjuſtifiable means. But on the other hand, we find in him abundance of Vices, and ſome of the moſt enormous. His Rebellion againſt his own Father is a Blemiſh, may juſtly be caſt on his Memory. It is even apparent, God was pleaſed to puniſh him for it, by a continual Scene of Troubles during his ten years Reign, and particularly by a fifteen months Captivity. We find likewiſe in this Prince an inſatiable Love of Money, which proved the cauſe of his Death; A Pride, which made him look upon his Equals with Contempt, and his Inferiors as Slaves. In fine, if what certain Hiſtorians ſay of him be true, an unbridled Luſt hurried him, not only to neglect the Queen his Wife, in order to abandon himſelf to an infamous Debauchery, but even to Sins againſt Nature. It is affirmed, a poor Hermit took the freedom to upbraid him with that deteſtable Crime before his whole Court, and conjure him, in the name of God, to reflect on the Deſtruction of *Sodom*. Be this as it will, all thoſe that have writ his Life agree, that Pride, Avarice and Luſt were his three reigning Vices. It is ſaid, that being one day admoniſhed by *Fulk*, Curate of *Neuilly* (2), a Man famous for his Zeal, to throw off thoſe wicked Habits, which were commonly called his *Three Daughters*, he replied jeſtingly, that it was his Deſign; and to that end he reſolved to give the firſt to the Templars, the ſecond to the Monks, and the third to the Biſhops.

1199.

Hoved. p. 789.

Richard's *Character.* Brompt. Viniſauf.

Richard was tall and well made. His Eyes were blue, and ſparkling, and his Hair of a bright Yellow, inclining to Red. It may be ſaid that *England*, where he never was above eight Months, during the whole courſe of his Reign, which laſted near ten Years, was very unhappy under his Government. He loaded his Subjects with frequent Impoſitions and exceſſive Taxes. And yet no other Benefit accrued to the People for theſe prodigious Sums, but a little Glory for their King, with which however they were ſatisfied, as redounding to the Honour of the Nation.

Remarks on the Uſe of the Croſs-Bow. Brompt. p. 1278.

It is remarked as a thing deſerving particular notice, that this Prince, who reſtored the Uſe of the *Croſs-Bow*, received his Death's Wound from that Inſtrument, as if Heaven intended to puniſh him for reviving that diabolical Invention. But I queſtion whether this remark is built on a good foundation. We have obſerved the *Engliſh* made uſe of the *Croſs-Bow* in the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, in the Reign of *Henry* II, and it is not likely they ſhould diſcontinue it, in the few Years that were ſince paſſed.

Arms of England.

Richard was the firſt King of *England*, who carried in his Shield *Three Lyons Paſſant*, wherein, he was imitated by his Succeſſors (3).

Companies eſtabliſhed at London. Stow's Survey.

During this Reign, the City of *London* began to put on a new Face with reſpect to its Government (4), and was divided into ſeveral Corporations or Societies, or, as they are called at preſent, Companies (5).

(1) At *Fonteveraud*, where his Body was interred with a gilt Image, where theſe ſix Verſes written in gold Letters, containing his greateſt and moſt glorious Atchievements: As his Victory over the *Sicilians*; his Conqueſt of *Cyprus*; the Sinking of the great Galeaſs of the *Saracens*; (which he met as he was ſailing from *Cyprus* to the Holy Land;) the taking of the *Babylon-Caravan*, and the defending *Joppa* againſt the Infidels.

Scribitur hoc tumulo, Rex auree, laus tua, tota
Aurea, materiæ conveniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit *Siculi*, *Cyprus* altera, *Dromo*
Tertia, *Carvana* quarta, ſuprema *Joppe*.
Suppreſſi *Siculi*, *Cyprus* peſſundata, *Dromo*
Merſus, *Carvana* capta, retenta *Joppe*. *Camd. Rem.* p. 358.

(2) He is ſaid by *Brompton* to have alſo received the ſame Admonition from the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, and to have returned the ſame Anſwer, p. 1278.

(3) See the great Seals of each King in *Sandford* and *Speed*. It does not appear that the *Norman* Kings of *England*, *Richard*'s Predeceſſors, bore any *Arms*, at leaſt ſuch as are aſcribed to them. This is atteſted by a learned Antiquary. "I cannot find (ſays he) either by Monuments, Coins, Seals, "or any cotemporary Author, that ſuch Arms as are aſſigned to our three *Norman* Kings, were in uſe with theſe ſeveral Princes, but that following "Ages did aſſign or fix them upon the *Norman* Line, to diſtinguiſh it from the ſucceeding *Plantagenets*, that did bear *Gules, three Lions, paſſant, gardant, "Or.*" *Sandford. Gen. Hiſt.* p. 1———In, or about this time, *Coats of Arms* came alſo to be hereditary in Families: They owe their Origin to the Badges, which People painted, for diſtinction ſake, upon their Shields, or Coats of Armour, in thoſe mad Expeditions in the Eaſt, called the *Cruſades*. See *Dugdale's Preface to Baron.* Vol. I. p. 4. Col. 2. *Tyrrel's Hiſt. of England*, Vol. II. p. 36. *Spelman Aſpilogia*, &c.

(4) In the firſt Year of King *Richard*, 1189, the Citizens of *London* obtained to be governed by two *Bailiffs*, or *Sheriffs*; and alſo to have a *Mayor* to be their principal Governor. The two firſt Bailiffs or Sheriffs, were *Henry Cornhill*, and *Richard Reyner*; and the firſt Mayor was *Henry Fitz-Alwin*, who continued Mayor above twenty-four Years. See *Stow's Survey*, Vol. II. Book V. p. 100, *&c.*

(5) I. The Parliaments in King *Richard*'s Reign; that is, as many of them as ſtand upon Record, were: In 1189, *September* 15, a General Convention at *Pipewell* in *Northamptonſhire*. (*Diceto*, p. 848. *Hoved.* p. 658.) In *November*, a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. (*Brompt.* p. 1166. *Hoved.* p. 660.) In 1191, one at *Reading*; (*Brompt.* p. 1225, &c.) one at *London*; (*Id.* p. 1226, &c. *Hoved.*) another there. (*Id.* p. 1228.) In 1192, at *Northampton*; (*Gervas.* p. 1569.) one at *London*; or *Weſtminſter*, *December* 10. (*Id.* p. 1580.) In 1194, at *Weſtminſter*, at *Eaſter*; (*M. Paris*, p. 176. *Hoved.* p. 735.) at *Nottingham*, *March* 30. (*Hoved.* p. 736.) at *Northampton*, *April* 10, 11. (*Hoved.* p. 737.)

II. The next great Branch of the Revenue was, V. *Fines*, *Oblatæ*, and *Amerciaments* of many Kinds, in civil and criminal Caſes, and for the Foreſt. It is ſurpriſing to ſee, how numerous the Fines and Amerciaments, appearing upon the Revenue-Rolls of the ancient Times, were. As to Fines for the Foreſt, it ſuffices to obſerve, that by the Revenue-Rolls of *Henry* II, and *Richard* I, and King *John*, an ample Revenue was raiſed, by Treſpaſſes, Defaults, Purpreſtures, &c. As to the Fines in civil and criminal Caſes, they may be reduced to theſe three general Heads: Fines for Liberties, Fines in Law-Proceedings, and Fines of a mixt Nature. But firſt it may be obſerved, after a Fine was preferred and accepted, if the Party could not have the Thing for which he fined, he was then acquitted of the Fine, in ſuch like words; *Sed non debet inde ſummoneri quia non habuit rectum nec habere potuit.* However, a ſmall Fine was ſometimes paid for ſuch acquittal. When the Party obtained the Thing for which he fined, he was wont to have the King's Charter made to him. If the Party fined, failed in payment of his Fine, he could not have his Charter for the Thing deſired. When a Fine was preferred and refuſed, if the Party offered an Addition, it was called *Cremantum Finis*. 1. As for Fines of the firſt Sort, for Grants and Confirmations of Liberties, Franchiſes and Exemptions, there are numberleſs Inſtances on the Revenue Rolls. 2. The Fines in Law Proceedings were likewiſe very numerous, and brought in a very conſiderable Revenue. The ſeveral Inſtances may be reduced to theſe Heads: Fines to have Juſtice and Right, Fines for Writs, Pleas, Trials, and Judgments; Fines for Expedition, or ſpeeding their Right. Fines for ſtopping, or Delay of Pleas, Trials and Judgments. Sometimes the Parties litigant preferr'd the Crown a certain portion out of the Debts which they recover'd. Some preferr'd Half, others a Fourth, or ſome other proportional part, in order to have or recover the ſame at Law. Here we may ſee the occaſion of this Clauſe in King *John*'s and *Henry* III's *Magna Charta*, viz. *Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum vel juſtitiam.* By means of this Clauſe, exceſſive Fines to have Juſtice were moderated, and actual denial of Right and delaying of it, which before, upon paying of Money or Fines, uſed to be practiſed, were quite taken away, or by Degrees brought into diſuſe. Moderate Fines for having Juſtice were conſtantly paid, as well after the great Charters as before. 3. Fines of a mixt nature. Many Fines were made for leave to hold or quit certain Offices or Bailywicks. For Licenſes of divers Kinds, eſpecially to Marry, or not to be compelled to Marry, *&c.* Many Fines were made relating to Trade or Merchandiſe, with its Incidents. Hither alſo refer the Fines and Diſmes, paid by Merchants upon ſeveral Occaſions, of which hereafter. Beſides theſe Fines for Licenſes, there were others, that may be called Miſcellaneous, as being of divers Sorts: As for the concord of a Duel, for opening a Mine, *&c.* There were alſo Fines for the King's Favor, and that he would remit his Diſpleaſure. For the King's Protection and Aid. To obtain his Mediation or Interpoſal in Men's Affairs. To have Seiſin or Reſtitution of their Lands or Chattels, and that Men might not be diſſeized. Fines were made that Men might be diſcharged out of Priſon, and replevyed or bailed to the Cuſtody of lawful Men. For Acquittals in divers Caſes. Concurrent Fines were, when both Parties fined to obtain the ſame Thing: Counter Fines, when two Parties fined, one for a Thing, the other againſt it. I ſhall conclude this Head with obſerving, that Men fined for Reſpite of Knighthood; and ſhall ſubjoin the Form of the Summonce, to take Knighthood directed to the Sheriff. "Rex Vicecomiti Norf. & Suff. Salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod viſis literis iſtis per "totam Ballivam tuam clamari facias, quid omnes illi qui de nobis tenent in capite feudum unius militis vel plus, & Milites non ſunt, citra feſtum Na- "talis Domini anno Regni noſtri decimo nono arma capiant & ſe milites fieri faciant ſicut tenementa ſua quæ de nobis tenent, diligunt. Teſte Rege apud "*Walling ford*, VII° die *Nov.*" *Clauſ.* 19 *Hen.* III. And as it was uſual to ſet Amercement for not taking Knighthood after Summonce, ſo the King ſometimes ſeized the Lands of military Tenants for the ſame Reaſon. I proceed now to the Revenue ariſing by *Miſericordia*'s or Amerciaments; which in ancient Times are hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from Fines by a nice Obſerver. It is likely there was ſome difference between a *Miſericordia* and an Amerciament. For Inſtance, it was called an Amerciament, after it was reduced to a certain Sum, and a *Miſericordia*, both before and afterwards. When a *Miſericordia* (or diſcretionary Fine) was reduced to a certain Sum, it was ſaid to be *admenſured*, or *affeered*, e. g. *Warinus de Quedic debet C. Marcas de Miſericordia, ſed poſtea ammenſuratas fuit per Juſticiarium et Barones ad LX Marcas.* Mag. Rot. 9 Joh. By *Magna Charta*, Earls and Barons are not to be amerced unleſs by their Peers, and according to their Treſpaſs. Concerning Amerciaments in general, it may be obſerved, it was frequent for ſome Perſons to be amerced for the Treſpaſſes or Defaults of others. Lords of Seigneuries for their Men, and for ſuch as were *de manupaſtu ſuo*; Tedings and Frank-pledges, for ſuch as were within their Teding or Frank-pledge, and the like. When general Amerciaments were ſet upon Hundreds, Towns, *&c.* for Murders or the like; ſo much thereof as were charged upon Lands, within the ſaid Hundred, *&c.* which the

the King held in Demean, was discharged of Course. Lands holden by the Queen, were also free from common Amerciament. Several Barons and Lords of Seigneuries had the like Freedom by Charter, probably from the King. Barons of the Exchequer had freedom from common Amerciaments for their Lands and Tenants, by their Privilege of sitting at the Exchequer. Ecclesiastical Fees were likewise exempt from the same, and other Persons by virtue of Charters. Divers Lords of Seigneuries were, by Charter, intitled to have to their own use the Amerciaments that arose within their Seigneury. However, the Lords were to claim the same at the Exchequer. This is frequently done at this Day. Amerciaments *pro Forsta*, and in criminal and common Pleas, are very numerous on the Revenue Rolls, these last containing many things Useful and Historical, as the curious Reader may see in *Maddox's History of the Exchequer, &c.* These Amerciaments were for Murders and Manslaughters, for Misdemeanors, for Disseisins, for Recreancy, for Non-appearance, for false Judgments, for not making pursuit on Hue and Cry: To these may be added, Miscellaneous Amerciaments for Trespasses of divers Kinds.

The next great Branch of the Revenue was, VI. Aid, Scutages, Tallages, and Customs. In former times the Prestations or Payments to the King were called by several Names, as Danegelt, Aid, Donum, *Assisa*, Scutage, Tallage; and in succeeding times, Subsidy, *Quinzime*, *Vintisme*, *&c.* several of the former then continuing in Use. I shall begin with the Aid payable out of Baronies and military Fees, which was an honourable Service or Duty, rendered by a free Vassal to his Lord. There were three Sorts of Aid due to the Crown of common Right, or by Reason of Seigneury. Aid to make the King's eldest Son a Knight, to marry his eldest Daughter, and to ransom his Person, when taken in War. These Aids were rendered to the King by all Persons, who held of him *in Capite*; that is, *immediately, sine Medio*. All the King's Tenants were to pay Aid, whether they held *in Servitio*, or *in Dominico*; that is, in elder times, Aid was to be rendered by Persons, who held of the King immediately, by Barony, or Knight's Service, or by Serjeanty, with Knight's Service annexed; and by Persons who held of the King immediately, either by Rent-Service, Socage, or other Service, that was not military, whether they lived upon the Lands that were antient Demean, or upon Honours and Lands escheated to the King, and upon Lands of his Wardships or Purchases. King *William* I. took six Shillings of each Hide, through *England*. King *Henry* I. took three Shillings for each Hide, as *aid pur fille marier*. But, for want of requisite Notices concerning these Aids, nothing distinctly can be learnt of them. The first that gives us any Insight in these Matters, is an Aid levied by *Henry* II. for the Marriage of his Daughter *Maud*, to the Duke of *Saxony*; namely, one Mark *per Fee*. It was paid by the several Barons and Knights, holding *in Capite*, according to the Number of their respective Fees. In order to the due levying this Aid, the Barons and Tenants *in Capite* were commanded to certify to the King what Fees they had, how many of the Old, and how many of the New Feoffment, and of whom the same were holden. These Certificates were called *Cartæ Baronum*, and were ordered to be laid up in the Exchequer, a Hutch being made to keep them. But the Originals are not now to be found, except that of the Bishop of *Chichester*. The Contents of many other Certificates may be seen in an orderly manner in the Red-book of the Exchequer. The Fees of the new Feoffment were small, and paid but twelve Shillings *per Fee*, when those of the old paid twenty Shillings. The Temporal Barons and Tenants *in Capite*, were generally charged to the Aid for the Number of Fees in their Certificates. But if no Certificates were sent, they were charged according to what appeared by the King's Records, or Testimony of his Officers. It was the same with the Bishops and Abbots. But it may be observed, that several Ecclesiastical Persons, besides the Aid for their Fees rendered a farther Sum, under the Terms *de Promissione sua*. The same, *Madox* observed, was sometimes paid also by Laics, and therefore thinks, when it was paid by the Laity, it was a *Donum*; and when by Ecclesiastics, *Donum Prælatorum*. When Aid was collected, if it could not by some casual Impediment, be rendered by the Tenant to his Lord, it might be paid to the King, though he was not his immediate Lord. The vacant Bishoprics and Abbeys of Royal Foundation render'd Aid, being reckon'd among the Escheats. It was also paid by the Towns and Manors, or Lands, which the King held in Demean, and was actually assessed by the Justiciers Itinerant, or with their Approbation. King *Richard* I. levied an Aid for the Ransom of his Person. It was paid by the Tenants *in Capite*, under the Name of *Scutage*, at the Rate of twenty Shillings *per Fee*. Another Part of this Aid was answered at the Exchequer, by the Name of Hidage, by which was meant the Aid charged on Lands holden by other Service, than that of the Shield. In *Edward* II's Reign, Hidage imported either Tenure in Socage, or other inferior Tenure, and was opposite to Tenure in Chivalry. This Hidage was assessed by the King's Justiciaries, and is expressly said to be raised in Aid of the King's Ransom. The Carucage paid for the same Ransom, is likewise called an Aid. King *Henry* III. had an Aid to make his eldest Son a Knight, forty Shillings of every Knight's Fee. This Aid was paid to the King by his Tenants *in Capite*, and to the King's Tenants *in Capite*, by such Persons as held of them *in Capite*, by Knight's Service. When the King's Tenants *in Capite* paid Aid to him, he used to grant them, that they might receive Aid *pro rata* of their Tenants in *Capite*. It was usual (in and after *Henry* III's Reign) for the King's said Tenants to have a Writ, commanding the Sheriff to assist them to levy the Aid on the Persons, that held of them *in Capite*. The Aid to make a Son a Knight, or for marrying a Daughter, was not demandable from Lands held either in *Frankalmoigne*, or *Socage*. Besides these three noted Aids, there were also other Aids, which appear to be of a different Kind. In the fifth of *Stephen*, an Aid was paid to the Crown by the Burghs or Towns. This Aid seems to have been a yearly Payment, and indeed, it is accounted for in the like formal Words, wherein annual Ferms are wont to be. In accounting for the Aid of the present Year, they said, *reddit compotum de auxilio*; for the Year next before, *reddit compotum de præterito auxilio*; and for the third Year, *reddit compotum de veteri auxilio*; which are the Words used in accounting for Ferms. An Aid was render'd at this time also (as it seems) by the Counties of the like Sort. These Aids were assessed by the Justiciers Itinerant. King *Richard* I. took five Shillings out of every *Carue*, or Hide of Land, through all *England*. This Aid is called *Tallagium*, by *Hoveden*. In Process of Time, the Word Aid came to be used in a large indefinite Sense; and there came into Use a new Word, *Subsidium*, which was not at all, or not frequently used in the more ancient Times. A Subsidy was granted to *Edward* II. for his War with *Scotland*. It is called a *Donum*. The City of *London* paid two thousand Marks. Besides the general Aids, or those, which were *per communem Assisam Angliæ*, extending through the whole Kingdom, there were certain Aids imposed upon the Demeans, Escheats, *&c.* of particular Counties or Places, for certain Purposes relating to those Counties or Places. An Aid by way of Hidage, was laid on *Devon* and *Cornwal*, for the Siege of the Isle of *William de Mariſco*. Inferior Lords of Seigneuries had of their Tenants, the three notable Aids, to make his eldest Son a Knight, to marry his eldest Daughter, and to ransom his Person. They had also of their Tenants upon occasion, other Aids, as to enable them to pay their Relief or Seisin, or other Fine to the King, and also to pay their Debts. This was done by the King's Letters Patent, directed to the Tenants. But it may be noted, these were only Letters of Request. For it is provided by King *John's* Charter, that the King should not for the future grant to any one leave to take an Aid of his Freemen, save in the three Cases above-mentioned. The Revenue arising from *Scutage* and *Tallage*, will be spoken of in the next Coin Note.

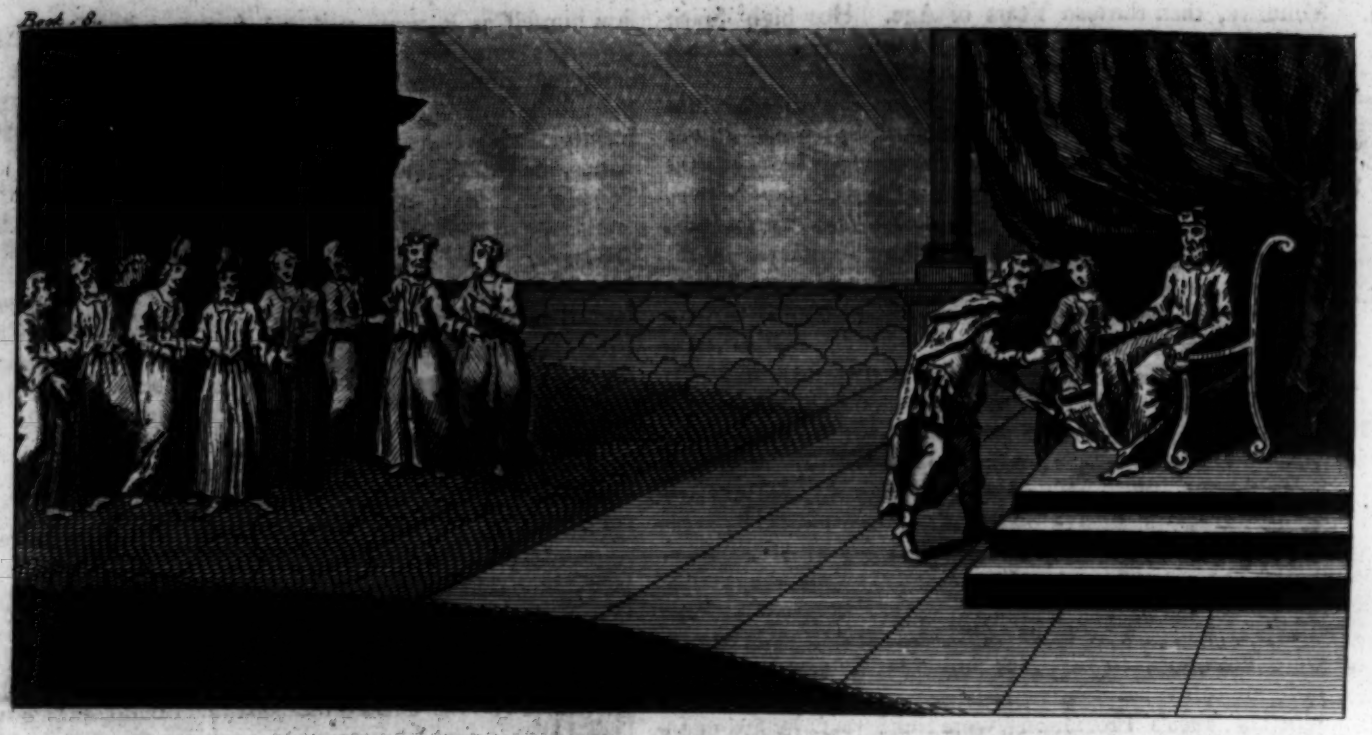
King *Richard* I. is represented a Corrupter rather than a Refiner of the *English* Coins. And indeed his Parade in the Holy Land, with his Ransom, was so very chargeable, that it is no Wonder to find him put to all imaginable Shifts for multiplying his Money at home. However his Money is very rare. His Penny, in *Speed*, is very remarkable, having two Faces, inscribed RICVS R::: S REX. And on the Reverse, AV :: ON. N :: NICO. And REX ANGL. Reverse, LONDON, three Pellets, in each Quarter of the Cross. In the fifth Year of this Reign, *Benet*, Son of *Isaac* a *Jew*, stands charged on the Revenue Rolls with a hundred Pounds and one Mark of Gold, *de Obol. Murſce* or *Murſcii* for a Fine. The Words are: "Benedictus Filius Isaac debet Cl & j marcam auri *de Obol. Muſce* vel x. Marcas argenti, pro fine suo de cartis Aaron emptis a Cancellario." Mag. Rot. 5. R. I. Rot. 3. a. m. 1. a little lower in the Roll it was written *Muſcii*. But what was meant by *Oboli de Muſce*, *Madox* says he cannot find.

THE

I.

taken From his Tomb at Worcester.

G. Vertue di: et Sculp.



THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK VIII.

The Reigns of King JOHN, *and* HENRY III. *Containing the Space of Seventy Three Years; with the State of the Church from* 1154 *to* 1272.

7. *JOHN Sirnamed* LACK-LAND (1).

1199. *Reflections on John's Right to Richard's Succeſſion.*

THOUGH *Richard* made the Prince his Brother Heir to all his Dominions, *John*'s Right was not thereby rendered inconteſtable. How abſolute ſoever a Prince may be in his Life-time, as ſoon as his Eyes are cloſed, his laſt Will is no further regarded, than as conſonant to the Laws, unleſs ſupported by Force. In the affair of the noble Succeſſion *Richard* left by his Deceaſe, two Queries offered, not eaſy to be decided. The firſt was, whether, according to Law, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, as repreſenting his Father *Geoffrey*, elder Brother of *John*, had not as much or more Right than his Uncle *John*, who was one Degree nearer. In the ſecond Query, the Buſineſs was to know, whether in caſe the Laws favoured the Nephew, *Richard* had Power to diſpoſe of his Dominions by a Will contrary to Cuſtom.

Two things rendered the Deciſion of theſe Queries exceeding difficult. Firſt the Diverſity between the Laws of the ſeveral States, this Succeſſion conſiſted of. Secondly, in the Kingdom of *England*, the largeſt and moſt conſiderable part, there was no ſettled Law concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown, by which Kings were allowed or debarred the Power of diſpoſing of it as they pleaſed. And if, for want of ſuch a Law, the *Engliſh* Hiſtory had been ſearched for Examples to eſtabliſh a Precedent, that method would have been no leſs perplexing. From the Conqueſt to the time I am ſpeaking of, there had been no occaſion to eſtabliſh or exclude the Right of Repreſentation in reſpect to the Crown. It is very true, that in running over the times of the *Saxon* Empire, ſeveral Inſtances might have been found, but as there were others directly oppoſite, it was not eaſy to decide the matter from thence. Beſides it was now above a hundred Years ſince the *Saxon* Laws and Cuſtoms were in force, the *Normans* having introduced a new Syſtem into the Kingdom. The ſtrongeſt Argument in favour of *John* was, that, there being no eſtabliſhed Law concerning this Matter, his Title was as good as *Arthur*'s; and moreover, he had for him King *Richard*'s Will. But on the other hand, in moſt of the Provinces poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* in *France*, the Right of Repreſentation in the lineal Deſcent was generally received. This Affair therefore would have been liable to great Diſcuſſions, had it been to be determined in a Court of Juſtice, or in the General Aſſembly of the States, by an impartial Judgment. But *John* not thinking proper to commit his Right to the Deciſion of any Tribunal, took a Courſe, which to him ſeemed not ſo uncertain. He believed his Right indiſputable, or perhaps his Ambition would not permit him to be more ſcrupulous to his Nephew, than he had been with regard to the King his Brother. Be this as it will, he judged that Diligence was a more effectual means to gain his Point than a Deciſion which might be to his diſadvantage. He had with him beyond Sea, two Men, who ſeemed proper Inſtruments for his Deſigns, by reaſon of their great Intereſt in *England*. The firſt was *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the other *William Marſhal*, afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*. Theſe two Lords being wholly devoted to his Service, becauſe they believed his Title good, or for other private Reaſons, promiſed to uſe all their Credit in his favour. Not to loſe time, which to him was ſo precious, he diſpatched them forthwith into *England*, enjoining them to act in concert with the Queen his Mother, and the Chief Juſticiary, who had been for ſome time in his Intereſts. As for Queen *Eleanor*, though it ſeemed ſhe ſhould have been in Suſpence, between her Son and Grandſon, there was a ſecret Reaſon which biaſſed her in favour of her Son: Namely, her Fear that if *Arthur* aſcended the Throne, his Mother *Conſtantia* would come and ſeize the Adminiſtration of Affairs, during her Son's

1199.

John takes Meaſures to ſecure the Crown.

Hoved. M. Paris.

(1) King *Henry* his Father gave him that Nickname, becauſe he left him in his Will no Lands nor Inheritance, but recommended him to be provided for by his elder Brother. *Brompt.* p. 1059, 1061. See above, p. 232.

Minority,

1199. Minority, then thirteen Years of Age. Her high Spirit would have made her extremely uneasy if she had been obliged to live under her Daughter-in-law.

His Friends serve him zealously and politickly. M. Paris. Hoved.

The four Persons on whom *John* relied, served him with zeal and success. The Justiciary had great Power during the *Interregnum*. The Archbishop was at the head of the Clergy. *Eleanor* was exceedingly beloved and respected in the Kingdom; and *William Marshal* was a Lord distinguished by his Merit, though not yet by his Dignities. After concerting together the propereſt methods to serve the Prince effectually, they laboured to gain the Magistrates of the Cities and Towns (1). Their Aim was, by their help to win the People, that they might afterwards meet with less opposition from the Nobles. Their Endeavours being crowned with all the Success they expected, they thought themselves sufficiently strong to venture upon summoning the lesser Nobility to take the Oath to *John*. There were but few that refused it, both because they imagined it agreeable to the general Sentiment of the Nation, and were unacquainted with the young Duke of *Bretagne*, who had never been in *England*. These two first steps being taken, the Bishops and Barons were summoned to take the same Oath; but these were not so easily managed. Besides, that many questioned whether *John*'s Pretensions were just, they looked upon themselves as the proper Judges in the affair, instead of being obliged to submit to the Decisions of others. However, as the Body of the People had now declared for *John*, they did not think themselves in a condition absolutely to refuse taking the required Oath. Accordingly, on pretence of examining into the Laws of the Realm they demanded a Delay. In the mean time, believing a Civil War unavoidable, they began to fortify their Castles (2), and make Preparations to support the most just Cause, or at least, that which to them seemed most agreeable to their Interest. These Proceedings alarmed the Prince's Friends: As they knew he was not beloved, they were apprehensive, the Barons were determined to oppose him. To prevent this Design they convened at *Northampton* an Assembly General, where they used their utmost Endeavours to gain those they most suspected (3). Among other things, they promised in *John*'s name, that he would fully restore all the Rights and Privileges of the Nobles and People. This Promise, joined to others privately made to the most obstinate, produced the Effect they expected. All the Lords unanimously ingaged to swear Fealty to *John*, and by that means the whole Kingdom was well disposed in his favour before his Arrival. An Embassy sent at this time from the King of *Scotland* to demand *Northumberland* (4), gave some uneasiness to those that were at the Helm. They were afraid, he intended to take advantage of so favourable a Juncture, to become master of that Country, as indeed, it would have been very easy, *England* not being then in condition to maintain a War. However, they found means to content the Ambassadors with fair Words, promising them, as soon as *John* was arrived, he would give their Master Satisfaction.

M. Paris. Hoved.

The King of Scotland's Demands eluded. Hoved. M. Paris.

John becomes Master of the late King's Treasure. Hoved. M. Paris.

Whilst *John*'s Adherents were labouring for him in *England*, he himself was not idle in *France*, where he was detained by two important Affairs. The first was a Negotiation with *Robert* of *Turnham*, who had the Custody of *Richard*'s Treasure in the Castle of *Chinon*, of which he was willing to see the Issue, before he crossed the Sea. He was at length so fortunate as to gain that Officer, who delivered him the Money in his keeping, and surrendered to him the two important Cities of *Saumur* and *Chinon*, of which he was Governor (5). The other Affair which kept *John* beyond Sea, was to cause himself to be owned for Sovereign by the Provinces the *English* held in *France*. Though in *England* every thing went to his wish, it was not so in *France*, where young *Arthur* his Nephew created him great Uneasiness. Besides his natural Right to these Provinces, it was to be feared, the King of *France* would assist him with all his Forces to take possession. And indeed, nothing could be more advantagious for that Monarch, than to see them rent from the *English* Monarchy. Moreover, all seemed inclined to favour *Arthur*. The Governor of *Angers* (6) had already delivered that Place to him, and all the Lords of *Poictou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, were resolved to acknowledge him for Sovereign (7). So that *John* now saw himself as it were excluded from a great Part of his Brother's Inheritance. As this Example might prove of dangerous consequence with regard to *Normandy*, and even have some Influence in *England*, *John* was in great perplexity. However, as he had *Richard*'s Treasure in his hands, he seasonably used it to gain the principal Lords of *Normandy*. By the same means, he levied an Army, and laid Siege to *Mans*, which had sided with the Duke of *Bretagne*. This Place not making a long resistance, he believed it necessary to strike a Terror into the *Normans*, by an Instance of Severity, which should frighten them from declaring against him. For that purpose, he ordered the Walls of *Mans* to be razed, and the chief Burghers made Prisoners. These rigorous Proceedings had the desired Effect. However inclined the *Normans* were to *Arthur*, they thought it prudent to submit to his Uncle, in order to avoid the impending Evils. As soon as they had taken this Resolution, *John* came to *Roan*, where he was crown'd *Duke of Normandy* (8) by the Archbishop of that City, who had been a great Instrument in disposing the People in his favour.

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John *takes Mans and razes the Walls.* Knighton. Hoved. M. Paris.

Mat. Paris. Hoved.

It was by no means proper for *John* to think of reducing the other Provinces in *France*, before he had taken possession of the Crown of *England*. Besides that a too long Delay might by prejudicial to him, so great an Undertaking would be impracticable, without the Assistance of the *English*. He was determined therefore to pass the Sea, and arriving at *London* the 25th of *May* (9), he caused himself to be crowned next day in *Westminster* Abbey. Before the Ceremony began, *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made the following Speech to the Lords and People assembled.

Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech. M. Paris. p. 197.

"NO Person can have a Right to the Crown of this "Kingdom, unless, after humbly invoking God's "Holy Spirit, he be first unanimously elected for his ex- "traordinary Virtues, and then solemnly anointed King "after the Example of *Saul* and *David*, whom God was "pleased to set over his People, though neither was Son "of a King, or royally descended. The former was "chosen for his Valour, the latter for his Humility and "Piety; it pleased God that such as were to be cloathed "with Sovereign Power, should be eminently distinguish- "ed by their Virtues. If therefore any one of the Fa- "mily of the late King excels the rest, we ought readily "to consent to his Election. I speak this in favour of "the noble Duke *John* here present, Brother to our il- "lustrious King *Richard*, who died without Issue. This "Prince, being endowed with all sorts of Virtues, and "particularly with great Valour and Prudence, as well in "respect of his Merits as Birth, with the Invocation of "the Holy Spirit, we elect King."

After this short Harangue, the Archbishop set the Crown on *John*'s head, having first administred to him the customary Oath. The Bishop of *Durham* protested against the Coronation, as done in the Absence of the Archbishop of *York*. But this Pretension being founded neither on Law nor Custom, was not regarded.

John *is crowned.* M. Paris. Hoved.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Speech well deserves some Remarks. Several pretend to prove from thence, that by Election only the Kings of *England* in those days ascended the Throne. They ground their Opinion upon the Archbishop's declaring it, on so solemn an occasion without any opposition. They urge likewise the Silence of the Prince elected, who must have been offended at so bold an assertion, if he had not been satisfied, the People had such a Right. But I do not see how this Consequence can be drawn. *Hubert* takes upon him to declare, *John* comes to the Crown only by Election, without the States appearing to have been first consulted about it. Nay, it does not appear, that after he had ended his Speech, he so much as asked the Assembly's Opinion, but proceeded immediately to the Coronation of the King, upon the People's Acclamations, who were got together to see the Ceremony. Besides, if *John* was elected at that time, whence is it that all *England* had already sworn Fealty to him? Was it usual to take the Oath before the Election? Do we find any such thing practised in Elective Kingdoms? Moreover, if the Right of Election was then established in *England*, what made the Archbishop alledge the Ex-

Remarks on the Archbishop's Speech.

(1) Homines regni tam de Civitatibus, quam de Burgis, & Comites, & Barones, & liberè tenentes. *Hoved.* p. 793.
(2) All the Bishops, Earls, and Barons that had Castles, furnished them with Arms and Provisions. *Hoved.* p. 793.
(3) *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*; *Richard*, Earl of *Clare*; *Ranulf*, Earl of *Chester*; *William*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Waleran*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Roger*, Constable of *Chester*; *William de Mowbray*, &c. *Hoved.* ibid.
(4) And *Cumberland*, with their Appurtenances. *Hoved.* ibid.
(5) And all the other Castles in his Custody. *Hoved.* p. 792. *M. Paris*, p. 196.
(6) *Thomas de Furnes*, Nephew to *Robert de Turnham*. *Hoved.* ibid. *M. Paris.*
(7) Declaring it to be the Right and Custom of those Territories, for the Son of the elder Brother deceased, to succeed before the younger. *Hoved.* ibid. *M. Paris*, p. 196.
(8) On *April* 25. He was *girt with the Sword of that Dukedom* (as *M. Paris* expresses it) in the Cathedral of *Roan*; and the Archbishop put on his Head a golden Circle, or Coronet, adorned all round with golden Roses, curiously wrought, p. 196. He took an Oath at the same time, which see *ibid.* and in *Hoved.* p. 792, 793.
(9) He landed at *Shoreham* in *Sussex*, *May* 25, and came the next Day to *London* to be crowned. *Hoved.*

amples

1199. amples of *Saul* and *David?* Would it not have been more to the purpoſe to produce thoſe of the former Kings of *England?* But of theſe he ſays not a word. He contents himſelf with inſiſting upon the Examples of two Kings of *Iſrael*, much more proper to eſtabliſh a new Right than to prove its Antiquity. There are even ſome Authors that affirm, the whole Aſſembly was extremely ſurprized at the Archbiſhop's Diſcourſe: Adding, that after the Ceremony, being asked the reaſon of ſo extraordinary a Proceeding, he replied, *That he foreſaw* John *would bring the Kingdom into great Confuſion, and therefore had judged it proper to let him know, that he mounted the Throne by* ELECTION, *and not by* HEREDITARY SUCCESSION, *to the end he might always remember, that thoſe who gave him the Crown, had likewiſe the Power to take it away.* If this particular was certain, the Right of Election would be overthrown by the Archbiſhop's own words. For there is no need of any private reaſons for the uſe of a Right, when it is certainly eſtabliſhed. But it is not likely that *Hubert* had the gift of foreſeeing what did not happen till ſeveral years after.

M. Paris. p. 197.

To underſtand the motive of this Speech, we need only conſider the Circumſtances of this pretended Election. *Hubert*, as was ſaid, was entirely in *John*'s Intereſt. The buſineſs was to procure that Prince a Crown, to which the Duke of *Bretagne* had Pretenſions, not altogether groundleſs. However, by Promiſes or Threats the *Engliſh* were brought to ſwear to *John*. It was not therefore proper to ſay, he aſcended the Throne by Hereditary Right, ſince the queſtion between him and *Arthur* had been neither examined nor decided. Conſequently it would have been acting contrary to *John*'s Intereſt to revive it. But it was very advantagious for him to mount the Throne by a ſort of Election, upon a double account. Firſt, as it gave him a title to his Coronation: Secondly, as it gained him the People of *England*, who were thereby more likely to ſupport their Choice, than maintain him in his pretended Hereditary Right, which was liable to many difficulties.

The three principal Events in the Reign of John.

John was thirty two years of age when he came to the ſo much deſired Crown, but which, by the juſt Judgment of God, ſerved only to render him more unhappy. During the whole courſe of his Reign, he met with nothing but misfortunes, and thoſe the moſt terrible; having to deal with three irreconcileable Enemies, namely, *Philip Auguſtus* King of *France*, Pope *Innocent* III, and the Barons of his own Realm. The firſt ſtript him of almoſt all the Provinces held by his Predeceſſors in *France*. The ſecond wreſted from him the Crown of *England*, and though he reſtored it afterwards, it was upon the Terms of a diſhonourable Homage. In fine, the Barons of *England* compelled him to give up all the Prerogatives enjoyed by his Predeceſſors ſince *William the Conqueror*. Theſe are the three principal Events of this Reign, the particulars whereof I am going to relate, as briefly as the ſubject will permit.

John rewards thoſe who had ſerved him. Hoved.

As ſoon as *John* was crowned (1), his firſt care was to reward thoſe who had been inſtrumental in placing him on the Throne. *William Marſhal* was created Earl of *Pembroke*; *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, the Juſticiary, received the title of Earl of *Eſſex:* Archbiſhop *Hubert* conſidered as a recompence, the Office of High-Chancellor, conferred on him by the King; though many were of opinion, his accepting it was a diſparagement to his Eccleſiaſtical Dignity. Indeed, Chancellors had been made Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, for inſtance, *Thomas Becket*; but this was the firſt time an Archbiſhop was inveſted with the Chancellorſhip.

Hoved. P. 793. Knighton.

He ſhifts off the King of Scotland's *demands.* Hoved.

The new King being ſecure of the *Engliſh*, ſtayed no longer in the Kingdom than was neceſſary to amuſe the King of *Scotland*. This Prince was very urgent for the reſtitution of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, and threatned to carry War into thoſe Counties, unleſs he had ſpeedy ſatisfaction. *John* had no deſign to comply with his demands, but however, he did not think proper to reject them at ſuch a juncture. To free himſelf from this difficulty, he choſe to perſuade him gently to be ſatisfied with a general Promiſe, till his urgent affairs in *France* permitted him to enter into Negotiation with him (2). Indeed, this was his only courſe, ſince he could not relinquiſh his affairs in *France*, without danger of loſing all.

The Ducheſs of Bretagne *puts herſelf and Son under the protection of* France. Hoved. M. Paris. Brompton. An. Burton.

Conſtance, Mother of *Arthur*, perceived by *John*'s Proceedings, that he deſigned to ſeize all the Provinces in *France*, poſſeſſed by *Henry* II, and *Richard*. But as ſhe found herſelf unable to oppoſe it, ſhe reſolved to put the Duke her Son under the King of *France*'s Protection. To that end, ſhe deſired that Monarch to give her a meeting at *Tours*, where ſhe delivered the young Duke into his hands (3), ſurrendering to him withal, the principal Places, of *Bretagne*, *Touraine*, *Poictou*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, to hold them for *Arthur*. 1199.

Philip *breaks the Truce.* Brompt. p. 1281.

Philip deſired nothing ſo much as the recovery of the Provinces enjoyed by the *Engliſh* in *France*. He had even undertaken ſeveral Wars to that end, though with little Succeſs. It is no wonder therefore, if he did not fail to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity. Under colour of acting for *Arthur*, he had now broke the five years Truce made with *Richard*. He had even made himſelf maſter of *Evreux*, and the Provinces of *Maine*, whilſt the *Bretons* had ſurprized *Angers*, from whence *Morchad*, King *John*'s General, had driven them a little before. News of theſe things being brought to *England*, cauſed *John* to depart with precipitation, to look after his affairs beyond Sea (4). Upon his arrival at *Roan* (5), he aſſembled an army of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, which was quickly reinforced with the Troops brought by the Lords of his Party from the other Provinces. This great Armament ſurprized *Philip*. As he was unwilling to run any hazard, he pretended to deſire to end his differences with the King of *England* by way of Negotiation, and for that purpoſe demanded a Truce for fifty days. Inſtead of improving his Advantages, *John* ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by his Enemy, and granted him a Truce. He imagined, the Terror of his Arms obliged the King of *France* to deſiſt from his Projects. Before the Truce was expired, the two Monarchs had an Interview between *Butivant* and *Gaillon*, to try to adjuſt their differences. *Philip* talked very high, and in ſuch a ſtrain, as ſhewed he was void of all fear. He demanded the *Norman-Vexin* for himſelf, and *Poictou*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, for *Arthur*, for which Provinces he had now received that Prince's Homage. A demand ſo oppoſite to *John*'s deſigns, breaking off the Conference, and cauſing to vaniſh all hopes of Peace, Hoſtilities commenced on both ſides.

John *goes into* Normandy. Hoved. M. Paris. An. Burton.

Truce for fifty days. Hoved. M. Paris.

Brompt. Hoved. P. 795. M. Paris.

Joanna Counteſs of *Tholouſe*, and Queen-Dowager of *Sicily*, Siſter of King *John*, died in the beginning of this War at *Roan* (6), where ſhe was come to viſit the King her Brother. She was buried at *Fontevraud*, in a very ſplendid manner, near the Kings *Henry* and *Richard* her Father and Brother.

Death of Joanna *the King's Siſter* Hoved. Cattel. Hiſt. des Cont. de Toul.

Philip *diſguſts* Arthur. Hoved. M. Paris.

Whilſt *John* was taken up with his Siſter's Funeral, *Philip* was in *Bretagne*, where he made himſelf maſter of certain Places that had declared for *John*. Among theſe was the Caſtle of *Belun* (7), which *Philip* ordered to be demoliſhed as ſoon as it was in his power. This Proceeding offending *William de la Roche*, Governor of the young Duke, he complained of it as a Breach of the Treaty made with *Philip*, in the name of his Pupil. Indeed, they had agreed, that all the Places, taken from the Enemy, ſhould be delivered into the Hands of the Duke, as ſoon as he came of age. But inſtead of excuſing the thing from the Circumſtances of the War, *Philip* ſcornfully replied, *It was not to be expected that the Conſideration of the Duke of* Bretagne's *Intereſt ſhould hinder him from conſulting his own.* At the ſame time, without giving the Governor other ſatisfaction, he marched on to beſiege *Lavardin*. But upon King *John*'s approach at the head of a numerous Army, he thought fit to retire into *Maine*. For the ſame reaſon, he found himſelf obliged alſo to quit that Province, and ſhelter himſelf in his own Dominions.

John *raiſes the Siege of* Lavardin. Hoved.

Conſtance *and* Arthur *reconciled to* John. Hoved.

Mean time, what he had done in *Bretagne*, and his reply upon that occaſion, opened the Eyes of *William de la Roche*. This prudent Governor, finding *Philip* had no other view than to uſe his young maſter as an Inſtrument to advance his own affairs, thought it his duty to endeavour to blaſt his deſigns. Accordingly, he carried away *Conſtance* and *Arthur* from the Court of *Philip*, and after a Reconciliation, brought them to King *John* (8). This might have proved fatal to the King of *France*, if he had not by good fortune, or perhaps by good management, recovered his loſs, which he looked upon as very neceſſary to ſerve as a mask to his Ambition. There were ſome in the Court of King *John*, who, bribed by *Philip*, or out of affection to the young Duke, intimated to *Conſtance*, that her own and her Son's Life were in danger near a Prince, who would be ſo great a gainer by their death. Theſe Intimations often repeated, made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Princeſs and the young Duke, that they privately withdrew from King *John*'s Court, and threw themſelves into the Arms of their former Protector.

They return to Philip. Hoved. M. Paris.

(1) On the day of his Coronation. *Hoved.* p. 793.
(2) King *John* ſent the Biſhop of *Durham* to meet him, thinking he would come and have an Interview with him, and went himſelf as far as *Nottingham*. *Idem.* p. 794.
(3) Who immediately ſent the Duke to *Paris*, to his Son *Lewis*. *Idem.* p. 792. *M. Paris*, p. 196.
(4) He ſailed from *Shoreham*, *June* 19, with a numerous Army. *Brompt.* p. 1282.
(5) *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* entered here into a Treaty with him. *M. Paris*, p. 198. *Hoved.*
(6) In *Septemb.* *Idem.* p. 795.
(7) He took it in *Octob.* *Hoved. Ibid.*
(8) To whom he alſo delivered *Mans.* *Ibid.*

1199. *The good State of* John's *affairs.* Hoved. P. 795.

As *Arthur*'s return furniſhed *Philip* with a plauſible pretence to continue the War, it cauſed *John* to loſe all the hopes he had entertained, whilſt the young Prince was in his cuſtody. In all appearance, this War was like to be of long continuance. *John* had ſtrengthened himſelf with the Alliance of the Emperor *Otho* of *Saxony* his Nephew, who promiſed to make a powerful diverſion in his favour. He had likewiſe gained the Earl of *Flanders*, and by an unexpected turn, all *Guienne* had juſt declared for him. All theſe Advantages were ſufficient to enable him to carry on the War without dreading his Enemy. The Province of *Guienne* was ſo conſiderable, that *John* immediately laid aſide his other deſigns to go and take poſſeſſion.

1200. Philip *ſues for Peace.*

His Affairs ſtanding thus, he had reaſon to flatter himſelf with the hopes of Succeſs in the continuation of the War. However, he choſe rather to liſten to the Propoſals of Peace, inſinuated to him from *Philip* by the Cardinal of *Capua*. The King's numerous Forces, his Alliance with the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Succours he might expect from the *Gaſcons*, made *Philip* ſenſible, it would not be poſſible at ſuch a Juncture to make any great progreſs. And therefore, finding the War promiſed him no advantage, he turned about to procure by a Peace, what he could not expect by Arms. As he conſidered the young Duke of *Bretagne*'s Intereſts, only with a view to his own, he relinquiſhed that Prince, to obtain the better Terms for himſelf. After a ſhort Truce, which brought on a Treaty, a Peace was concluded (1) by the Mediation of the Cardinal of *Capua*, the Pope's Legate, upon theſe Conditions:

Treaty of Peace between the two Kings. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 117. An. Burton. Hoved. p. 799. M. Paris.

That *Philip* ſhould give no aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Bretagne*, but ſuffer *John* to take poſſeſſion of *Poictou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Anjou*, without moleſtation.

That he ſhould reſtore to *John* the Earldom of *Evreux*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, and in general whatever was taken from the *Engliſh* ſince *Richard*'s death.

That immediately after the reſtitution of *Berry*, and *Auvergne*, *John* ſhould reſign theſe two Provinces, for a certain time, to Prince *Lewis* Son of *Philip*, and pay him twenty thouſand (2) Marks of Silver for the Dowry of *Blanche* of *Caſtile* his Niece (3), whom that Prince was to marry.

That in caſe *John* died without Iſſue, he ſhould leave theſe two Provinces to *Lewis*.

That *John* ſhould not aſſiſt, directly, or indirectly, the Emperor *Otho* his Nephew, who was at war with *France*.

This Treaty was fatal to the Duke of *Bretagne*. The young Prince finding he was too weak to reſiſt the King his Uncle, without the Aſſiſtance of *France*, quickly loſt all the Provinces that had declared for him. Nay, he ſaw himſelf obliged to do Homage for *Bretagne* to King *John*, as his Predeceſſors had always done to the Dukes of *Normandy*. However, though the King of *France* had thus deſerted him, he choſe rather to ſtay with him, than truſt himſelf with an Uncle, of whom he had entertained a Suſpicion, which could not be blotted out of his mind.

Hoved.

Prince Lewis *marries* Blanche *of* Caſtile. Hoved. M. Paris.

As ſoon as the Peace was ſigned, Queen *Eleanor* ſet out for *Spain* to fetch *Blanche* of *Caſtile* her Grand-daughter, who was to be married to Prince *Lewis*. As the Kingdom of *France* was then under an Interdict, ſhe conducted the young Princeſs to *Roan*, where the Nuptials were ſolemnized. All the Articles of the Treaty being executed, except the delivery of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, to the Prince of *France*, *John* faithfully performed his Engagement. Thus the two Courts parted, in appearance, in perfect Union.

Embaſſy from the Emperor to King John. An. Burton.

Mean while the Emperor, offended at the Peace made without conſulting him, ſent Ambaſſadors to the King his Uncle to upbraid him, and to demand withal ſome Jewels, left him by King *Richard* in his Will (4). But as *John* had no farther occaſion for his aſſiſtance, he found Reaſons or Pretences to diſpenſe with giving him ſatisfaction.

John *takes poſſeſſion of the Provinces that had ſided with* Arthur. Hoved.

If *John* faithfully executed his part of the Treaty, *Philip* was no leſs punctual to perform whatever he had promiſed. He beheld with a ſeeming Unconcern, the Progreſs of the King of *England*, who taking advantage of *Arthur*'s Weakneſs, diſpoſſeſſed him of all the Provinces that were given him. *Bretagne* alone, to which *John* could lay no manner of Claim, remained in ſubjection to the Duke. 1200.

He falls in Love with Iſabella *of* Angoulême. An. Burton.

But whilſt *John* was making all theſe Conqueſts, he himſelf was vanquiſhed by the Charms of *Iſabella* of *Angoulême*, one of the greateſt Beauties in her time. She had been contracted to *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*; but, being then too young, the Marriage was not conſummated. Several Obſtacles afterwards intervened, which prevented the Conſummation, though the Contract ſtill remained in force. The violent Paſſion *John* entertained for this Lady, made him with all imaginable ardor ſeek means to poſſeſs her. But his ends could not be attained without very great difficulties. There were no leſs than two Marriages to break through at once; namely, his own with *Aviſa* of *Gloceſter*, (who during the nine years they had been together, had never given him any cauſe to complain,) and that of *Iſabella*, with the Earl of *Marche*. However, his new Paſſion putting him in mind, that *Aviſa* was related to him within the degrees forbidden by the Canons, and that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* proteſted againſt his Marriage, he deſired the Pope to annul it. Whether the Pope was willing to do the King a Pleaſure, or was glad of an occaſion to exert the Authority of the Church, he appointed the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* and two other Biſhops, Judges of the Caſe. After a ſlender Examination, the Commiſſioners declared *John*'s Marriage with *Aviſa* null and void; which done, the King demanded *Iſabella* of the Earl of *Angoulême* her Father, who gave her to him, without ſcrupling to break his word, to procure a Crown for his Daughter.

Hoved. M. Paris. *He diveorces* Aviſa *of* Glouceſter. Diceto. An. Burton.

He marries Iſabella.

In this manner moſt Hiſtorians ſpeak of *John*'s ſecond Marriage. They aſſure us, his Love for *Iſabella* of *Angoulême*, was the real Motive of his annulling the firſt (5). There is one however, who undertakes to vindicate the King, by intimating, that *Aviſa* was divorced before his Paſſion for *Iſabella*. But I queſtion whether the Authority of a ſingle Hiſtorian can outweigh the Teſtimony of all the reſt (6).

Diceto. P. 706. M. Paris.

Conſtance *of* Bretagne *marries* Guy *of* Thouars. Argentré. Hoved. *She dies.*

A little after the King's Marriage, *Conſtance* of *Bretagne*, who was married to *Ralph* Earl of *Cheſter*, having loſt her ſecond Husband, or, as ſome ſay, voluntarily quitted him, eſpouſed for her third *Guy de Thouars*. She died in 1201, having lived about a year with her new Spouſe. By this third Marriage ſhe left a Daughter called *Alice*, who was Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, after the death of her Brother *Arthur*.

The Engliſh *have a mean opinion of* John.

John thought himſelf happy in obtaining for a moderate Sum, and the reſignation of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, the Provinces in *France*, enjoyed by his Anceſtors. But the *Engliſh* deemed the Treaty ſo diſhonourable, that they could not forbear murmuring. They conſidered their King as a ſlothful and cowardly Prince, who was ſo mean-ſpirited as to purchaſe a Peace, when all things ſeemed to promiſe him a good Iſſue of thr War. But theſe Murmurings gave him but little Uneaſineſs. He imaginged he had done enough, in depriving the Duke his Nephew of the Protection of *France*. and reducing him to *Bretagne* alone, of which alſo he did not deſpair of one day diſpoſſeſſing him.

John *returns to* England. M. Paris.

As ſoon as he had ſettled his Affairs in *France*, and ſecured his new Acquiſitions, he returned to *England* (7), where preſently after he convened an Aſſembly or Parliament, and demanded an Aid of three Shillings upon every Hide of Land, for the Dowry of *Blanche of Caſtile* his Niece, according to his Agreement with *Philip*. This demand met at firſt with great oppoſition. People could not underſtand what buſineſs the *Engliſh* had to pay the Dowry of a *Spaniſh* Princeſs, to marry her to a *French* Prince. Nevertheleſs, as it was the firſt Aid he had demanded, it was not thought proper to deny it. But it was conſented to with ſo much reluctance, that he eaſily ſaw how difficult it would be for the future to raiſe Money upon the People, unleſs he rendered himſelf abſolute. And this, it is pretended, he began from that time to labour to effect.

He demands a Subſidy, which is granted with great difficulty. Hoved. M. Paris.

The Archbiſhop of York *oppoſes the levying of the Subſidy.* Hoved. M. Paris.

Mean while, *Geoffrey* his natural Brother, who was Archbiſhop of *York*, making light of the Conſent of the States for this Tax, forbad the Collectors to levy it within his Dioceſe. Nothing could be more groundleſs than the Archbiſhop's Pretenſions. He had no right to oppoſe what was reſolved by the Body of the Nation. But he was a turbulent and ambitious Perſon, who wanting to ſet himſelf forward, would have been very glad to find himſelf

(1) *May* 22. *Hoved.* p. 802.
(2) Thirty thouſand. *M. Paris*, p. 199. *Hoved.* p. 799.
(3) She was Daughter of *Alphonſus* VIII, and *Eleanor* Daughter of *Henry* II. *Rapin.*
(4) As alſo the Earldoms of *York* and *Poictou*, which he ſaid the late King *Richard* had given him. *Ann. Burt.* p. 258. *Hoved.*
(5) *M. Paris* ſays, the King of *France* adviſed King *John* to marry her, p. 200.
(6) *Iſabella* was crowned at *Weſtminſter*, *October* 8. *M. Paris*, p. 200. *An. Waverl.* p. 166.
(7) In *October*, *Hoved.* p. 810. and ordered, That Wine of *Poictou* ſhould not be ſold in *England* for above twenty Shillings *per* Tun; Wine of *Anjou* not above four and twenty Shillings; and *French* Wine not above five and twenty Shillings. And by retail, that *Poictou* Wine ſhould not be ſold above Four-pence a Quart; and White-wine Six-pence. But this Order being found too ſtrict, it was afterwards mitigated, and People were allowed to ſell Red-wine Six-pence a Quart, and White, Eight-pence. *Hoved.* p. 796, 797. *Ann. Burton*, p. 257.

ſeconded,

1200. seconded. *John* never expected to meet with oppoſition from that Prelate, after the ſignal ſervice he had done him during *Richard*'s abſence, in delivering him from Priſon, and openly eſpouſing his cauſe againſt *Longchamp*. But however, notwithſtanding the reaſon he had to be diſpleaſed with him, he was willing to uſe him gently, and therefore was contented with requiring him to attend him in *France*, imagining that, by his abſence, this affair would fall to the ground. But the Archbiſhop refuſing to comply with his orders, furniſhed the King with a pretence to ſeize his Temporalities. This puniſhment was not capable of humbling his daring ſpirit. He excommunicated the Sheriff of the County of *York* (1), with all his Officers employed in levying the Tax, and laid his whole Dioceſe under an Interdict, becauſe the People were not forward to ſupport him. He flattered himſelf that the whole Kingdom would be ready to declare for him. But when he ſaw no body ſtir, and himſelf left to act alone, he ſought means to be reconciled to the King. The preſent juncture was favourable to him. *John*, being about to be crowned with his new Queen (2), thought it unbecoming, at ſuch a Seaſon, to refuſe a Brother the pardon he deſired.

Hoved.

John pardons him, and is crowned again. Hoved. p. 811.

M. Paris. Hoved.

Immediately after the King's Coronation, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* died at *London*, with the reputation of ſanctity.

An Interview between the Kings of England *and* Scotland *at* Lincoln. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 121. Hoved. M. Paris.

Since the death of *Richard*, the King of *Scotland* was very importunate for the reſtitution of the two Counties, to which he laid claim. He had been often amuſed with general promiſes, that were never performed. At length, finding there was no haſte made to content him, he openly threatened to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. Whereupon, *John* could no longer refuſe to ſet about this affair, which began to make him uneaſy. But, inſtead of treating by Ambaſſadors, he believed he ſhould do better by talking in Perſon with *William*; and for that purpoſe deſired him to come to *Lincoln* (3), where he went himſelf to meet him. Before the Negotiation began (4), *John* required *William* to do him homage. To which *William* conſenting, the ceremony was performed on a Hill (5), without the City, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who adminiſtred the Oath of Fealty to the vaſſal King. It is not known for what Lands *William* did this Homage. As the *Scotch* Writers have not poſitively determined the matter, the *Engliſh* infer it was for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. But this inference is not altogether juſt. Beſides, it is unlikely this Prince ſhould voluntarily return to the Vaſſalage, from which he had been freed by King *Richard*, before his departure for the *Holy Land*. And indeed it does not appear there was any alteration in this reſpect, ſince *Richard* by an authentick Charter had renounced his right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*. Be this as it will, the Homage being done, the King of *Scotland* would have moved his affair, but the King had the addreſs to refer it till another time, pretending he could do nothing without the conſent of the States (6). He even obliged *William* to ſwear he would not marry his Daughter without his approbation.

The King of Scotland *does Homage to* John. Knighton. Hoved. Brompt. Hemingford.

Remarks upon it.

John ſhifts off the King of Scotland's *demands.*

Whilſt theſe two Monarchs were at *Lincoln*, the Body of *Hugh*, late Biſhop of that City, being removed thither from *London*, they both went forth to meet it, and for ſome time bore the Coffin on their ſhoulders.

M. Paris. Hoved. Diceto.

The King receives the Ciſtercians *into favour.* Hoved.

It was here likewiſe that the *Ciſtercians*, who refuſed to pay the late Tax, ſent to the King twelve Abbots, who falling proſtrate at his Feet, humbly implored his mercy. The King, ſtruck with the ſight, fell on his Knees and asked their bleſſing, promiſing them to found an Abbey for their Order. Some time after he performed his promiſe, and built the Abby of *Bowley*, called by ſome *Beaulieu* in *Hampſhire*, which he endowed with the privilege of ſanctuary, with large revenues.

The Canons of Lincoln *refuſe to elect a Biſhop nominated by the King.* Hoved.

The reſpect ſhown by *John* to the Body of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and his condeſcenſion for the *Ciſtercian* Monks, were not ſufficient to gain him the affection of the Clergy. He fancied, the Eccleſiaſticks, prepoſſeſſed in his favour by the late proofs of his attachment to the Church, would induſtriouſly decline all occaſions of creating him uneaſineſs. But it was not long before he was ſenſible his proceedings had not the effect he expected. The See of *Lincoln* being vacant, the King, according to the cuſtom of his Anceſtors, recommended a Perſon to the Canons of that Church. But though the Prince's nomination had till then been always regarded, this was rejected with outra-

1200. gious contempt, the refuſal not being ſoftened with the leaſt civility (7). *Innocent* III, who ſat then in the papal Chair, having reſolved to deprive Princes of their ſhare in the elections of Biſhops and Abbots, had taken meaſures beforehand to cauſe the King's nomination to be rejected. For this reaſon doubtleſs, finding themſelves ſecure of the Pope's protection, the Canons ſhowed ſo little regard for their Sovereign.

Hubert *calls a Synod, notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition.* M. Paris. Hoved. p. 806.

Some time after, *John* received a freſh mortification. *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had expreſſed ſo great an attachment for him, loſt it when the rights of the Clergy, and the privileges of his See, came to be ſupported. Hitherto there had been no Synod held in *England* without the King's licenſe. This was a deference paid the King without being thought injurious to the Church or Clergy. But it ſeems *Innocent* III, mounting the papal Throne at thirty five years of age, formed the project of depriving Princes of every thing that looked like juriſdiction over the Church. *Hubert*, informed of this deſign, and directed by the Pope, began the firſt to diſregard the King's commands. He not only convened a Synod without asking his leave, but even held it notwithſtanding the King's poſitive prohibition by his Juſticiary (8). Probably, the little reſentment expreſſed by the King at this boldneſs, was very prejudicial to him afterwards. It was eaſy to ſee, that, terrified by the example of the King his Father, he reſolved to avoid all occaſions of quarrel with the Clergy. His enemies made a very ill uſe of this knowledge on more important occaſions. *Hubert*, not content with thus ſlighting the orders of his Sovereign, endeavoured to equal him in ſome meaſure, and even to ſurpaſs him in magnificence. Whilſt the King was celebrating the Feaſt of *Chriſtmaſs* at *Guilford* with great ſolemnity, the Archbiſhop affected to do the ſame thing at *Canterbury*, with ſuch pomp and ſplendor that the King was piqued at it, and conſidered it as a ſort of Bravado. To puniſh in ſome meaſure the Archbiſhop's vanity, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned again at *Canterbury*, with the ſole view of putting him to a very great expence. But this petty revenge ſerved only to ſhow, how much the King dreaded to attack directly thoſe who were in credit.

1201. Hubert *vies with the King.* M. Paris. Hoved. M. Weſt.

The King is crowned a third time. M. Paris. Hoved. Ann. Burt.

If the Treaty *John* had made with *France*, gave his Subjects an ill opinion of him, his behaviour after his return into *England* did not help to undeceive them. Moſt of the Barons were not over-ſatisfied of the goodneeſs of his title to the Crown. If they had taken the Oath to him, it was upon condition he would reſtore the privileges of the Nobles and People. But in vain had they expected the performance of this promiſe, ever ſince he was clear of the War, wherein he was at firſt ingaged. On the contrary, they ſaw him daily uſurping an arbitrary power, which made them apprehenſive of a deſign upon their Liberties. They were now highly diſpleaſed with the aid he had obtained by a ſort of compulſion. After that, he was ſeen to take a progreſs into the North, where on pretence of treſpaſſes on his Foreſts, he had, contrary to the privileges of the People, arbitrarily exacted large Sums from the northern Counties. To all this he added freſh occaſions of complaint, by debauching their Wives and Daughters, without regard to the quality or merit of thoſe that were diſhonoured by theſe actions. All theſe things together bred in the minds of the Barons a prejudice againſt him, which induced them by degrees to take meaſures to avoid greater evils, which they believed themſelves threatened with. They began to hold private conferences, where they agreed mutually to aſſiſt each other, in caſe any one ſhould be oppreſſed. At thoſe conferences it was reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity, to let the King know they never intended to ſubmit to an abſolute power. An opportunity preſented ſooner than they expected. The *Poictevins* revolting, and the King deſigning to go and chaſtiſe them, ſummoned all the Barons to appear with their arms at *Portſmouth* (9), to attend him into *France*. The Barons looking upon this as a favourable juncture, aſſembled at *Leiceſter* on ſome pretence. A few days after they ſent this meſſage to the King, *That before they went over with him, they expected he ſhould reſtore to them their privileges, purſuant to his promiſe before his Coronation.* *John* was of an impetuous temper, more capable of being governed by Counſels agreeable to his Paſſions, than of hearkening to ſober advice. Several of his Miniſters adviſed him to give the Barons ſome ſatisfaction, or at leaſt

The Engliſh are diſcontented. Knighton.

The Reaſons of the Nobility's diſguſt. Hoved. p. 817. M. Paris.

The Nobles reſolve to oppoſe the King. Hoved. An. Burton.

Hoved. An. Burton.

They refuſe to attend him into France. M. Paris. Hoved.

(1) *James de Peterne.* *Hoved.* p. 811.
(2) They were crowned, *October* 8. *Hoved.* p. 811. See Note (6), p. 262.
(3) At a Parliament holden there. *Brompt.* p. 1282. He ſent the following Perſons to him with a Safe-conduct; *Philip* Biſhop of *Durham*; *Roger Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk*; *Henry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*; *David* Earl of *Huntington*; *Roger de Laſci*, Conſtable of *Cheſter*; *William de Veſci*, and *Robert de Roſs*, the King of *Scotland*'s Sons-in-law; and *Robert Fitz-Roger*, Sheriff of *Northumberland*. *Hoved.* p. 811.
(4) Which was on *Novemb.* 2, in the preſence of the great Men of both Nations, and in the Sight of all the People. *Brompt.* p. 1283. *Hoved.* p. 811. See what perſons were witneſſes of this Homage in *Hoved.* ibid.
(5) Since called *Bore-hill.*
(6) *William* demanded all *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*. *Hoved.* p. 811.
(7) *Hoveden* ſays, the King would nominate one himſelf, and the Canons inſiſted upon a free Election, p. 816.
(8) *Geoffry Fitz-Peers* Earl of *Eſſex*. *Hoved.* p. 806.
(9) By *Whitſuntide*, with Herſes and Arms. *Idem.* 818.

ſome

1201. ſome fair promiſes till their heat was ſomewhat abated. But he was not ſo wiſe or ſo fortunate as to follow their wholſome advice. He was ſo provoked at the inſolence of the Barons, that, without conſidering he was going to draw on himſelf their hatred by his violent meaſures, he demanded of them their Caſtles as pledges of their Fidelity. At the ſame time he marched himſelf, at the head of ſome Troops, againſt *Beauvoir* Caſtle, which he took in a few Days (1). This firſt ſucceſs terrifying the Barons, who had not yet taken any meaſures for their defence, they ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity of ſubmitting, and, having put their Children into his hands, as Hoſtages, came to *Portſmouth*. Whether *John* pretended to go and chaſtiſe the *Poictevins*, in order to have a pretence to raiſe Money upon the Nobility, or was afraid to leave the Kingdom at ſuch a juncture, he diſpenſed with the Barons attendance, for two marks of Silver upon every [Knight's] Fee. However, he ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* (2) with ſome Troops into *Normandy*, and followed him in Perſon (3), as ſoon as he thought he might do it with ſafety.

He attacks the Barons, who ſubmit.

He diſpenſes with their going for Money. Hoved. M. Paris. An. Burt.

Upon his arrival at *Roan*, *Philip* deſired to have a Conference with him, in which he gave him ſuch marks of eſteem and friendſhip, that a Prince of greater penetration than *John*, would have been deceived. At this Interview the Treaty was renewed, and ſeveral great Lords of both Courts were reciprocally made Sureties, who promiſed to ſerve againſt the aggreſſor, in caſe of a rupture between the two Kings. But ſuch engagements, though very common in thoſe days, were hardly ever obſerved. And therefore Princes have long ſince ceaſed to give one another the like Securities, which they have ſo often found to be unſerviceable. Before they parted, the two Monarchs agreed to contribute the fortieth part of their Revenues to the Holy War; and exhorted the wealthieſt of their Subjects to follow their examples. *Philip*, not content with careſſing *John* in an extraordinary manner, deſired the favour of his company for ſome days at *Paris*, where he lodged him in his own Palace. In ſhort, he omitted nothing to convince him he had a real affection for him (4).

Hoved. p. 819. An. Burt.

They confirm their former Treaty.

Hoved. p. 828.

Philip *invites* John *to* Paris. Hoved.

The Friendſhip which the two Monarchs had mutually ſworn to preſerve, ſeemed indeed likely to prove firm and laſting, ſince their engagement was entirely voluntary. And yet, it quickly appeared, that *Philip*'s careſſes to his pretended friend, were only to enſnare him. At the very time he was giving him all theſe marks of affection, he was projecting to deprive him of all his Dominions in *France*. *Hugh* Earl of *Marche* was his inſtrument to begin to bring matters to the point he deſired. This Earl could not without extreme concern, ſee King *John* in poſſeſſion of a Lady that was deſigned for him. To this was added a deep reſentment of the injury received. Theſe things gave room to preſume, he would eagerly embrace any opportunity of being revenged. *Philip* forming his ſcheme upon the Earl of *Marche*'s inclination, ſpared no pains to excite him to revenge, aſſuring him of a powerful aſſiſtance. As ſoon as the Earl was ſecure of the protection of *France*, he began by ſecret cabals to corrupt the *Poictevins*. He ſucceeded ſo well, that in a ſhort time they were all ready to rebel againſt King *John*, for whom they had no affection. Upon which *Hugh*, applying himſelf to the young Duke of *Bretagne*, gave him to underſtand, the time was come, that he might with eaſe wreſt from his Uncle the Provinces he had ſeized. *Arthur* being informed by the Earl, that the King of *France* had engaged to ſupport him, was of opinion, he ought to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity. The *Bretons*, his Subjects, readily joined in the Conſpiracy, by reaſon of their good opinion of their Prince. They imagined, his name was a good omen, and for no other reaſon verily believed, he would gain as great a reputation as the famous *Arthur*, whoſe name he bore. Thus the love, jealouſy and reſentment of the Earl of *Marche*, the ambition of *Arthur*, and the avarice of *Philip*, conſpired to King *John*'s ruin. Mean while, he ſpent his time in diverſions and entertainments with his new Queen, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger. He was rouſed out of this ſupine careleſſneſs, by *Philip*'s haughty treatment at a ſecond Interview near *Gaillon*. The *French* Monarch, whoſe matters were ripe, talked very high. He demanded for *Arthur* all King *John*'s Provinces in *France*, with reaſonable ſatisfaction for the Earl of *Marche*; and in caſe of refuſal, ſummoned him to appear before the Court of Peers, and abide by their judgment. *John* was extremely ſurprized, to hear him talk in ſo different a ſtrain from what he had done in their late Interview. As he did not think his affairs were in ſo bad a ſituation, as to be obliged to purchaſe a Peace upon ſuch hard terms, he refuſed to comply with *Philip*'s demands, and diſdained his citation. His refuſal furniſhed the King of *France* with the pretence he wanted to invade *Normandy*, where he took ſeveral places (5) before *John* could oppoſe his progreſs.

Intrigues of Philip *againſt* John.

He ſpirits up the Earl of Marche *againſt him.* M. Paris.

Arthur *joins* Philip *and Earl* Hugh.

1202. *A ſecond Interview between the two Kings.* Ibid.

1202.

Philip *ſummons* John *to appear before the Court of Peers.*

John *diſdains his Citation.*

Philip *ravages* Normandy. M. Paris.

Towards the middle of Autumn, *Philip* ſatisfied with his firſt Campaign, returned to *Paris*, where he celebrated the Nuptials of *Mary* his eldeſt Daughter with *Arthur*. His aim was thereby to juſtify his preſent undertaking, under colour of maintaining the cauſe of his Son-in-law. A few days after, *Arthur* departed, attended with two hundred Lances, to take upon him the command of the revolted *Poictevins*. When he came near *Poictou*, he was informed, that Queen *Eleanor* his Grandmother was in *Mirabel* with a weak Garriſon, upon which, reſolving to ſurprize that place, he marched directly thither (6), and ſoon became maſter of the Town. But it was otherwiſe with the Caſtle, where the Queen was retired.

Arthur marries the King of France's Daughter.

Goes to Poictou;

and beſieges Mirabel. M. Paris. An. Waver.

The reſiſtance he met with, making him ſenſible it would be difficult to carry the place with ſo few Troops, he called the Earl of *Marche* to his aſſiſtance, who ran to the expedition, as to a certain Victory.

M. Paris.

Mean time, King *John*, who had received intelligence of his Mother's danger, was marching day and night to her relief. His ſpeed was ſuch, that he approached his enemies before they had made any great progreſs in the Siege. However, it was in their power to retreat, but the animoſity of the two Leaders againſt *John*, made them reſolve to give him Battle. The ſucceſs anſwered not their expectations. Upon the firſt onſet, *John* routed the *Poictevin* Troops, and drove them back to *Mirabel*, where he made a great ſlaughter (7). This Victory was rendered ſtill more compleat by the taking of the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Princeſs *Eleanor* his Siſter (8), the Earl of *Marche*, and two hundred Knights, who fell into the hands of the Conqueror. *John* believed he had reaſon to rejoice at ſo favourable ſucceſs. But the ill uſe he afterwards made of it, rendered it ſo fatal, that it would have been better for him to have been vanquiſhed. *Arthur* was immediately ſent to *Falaiſe*, and the Princeſs *Eleanor* his Siſter to *Briſtol* Caſtle in *England*, where ſhe was confined forty years. Some of the *French* Writers give another idea of this action, and ſay only that *Arthur* was ſurprized in *Mirabel*, from whence it may be inferred that he went not out to fight his Uncle. But King *John*'s Letter to *England* after the Victory, extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſhows that it was ſomething more than a ſurprize, and confirms what the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay of it. *Philip* was ſo confounded at the news of *Arthur* and the Earl of *Marche* being made Priſoners, that he raiſed the Siege of *Arques*, begun ſome days before (9), and returned to *Paris*.

John *flies to its relief.* Id. p. 174. An. Waver. M. Weſt.

Vanquiſhes Arthur, *and takes him priſoner with* Eleanor *his Siſter.*

Arthur *is ſent to* Falaiſe, *and* Eleanor *to* Briſtol. Mezerai.

Act. Pub. T. I.

John was very impatient to ſee the Duke his Nephew, in order to perſwade him to renouce the protection of *France*. He hoped by that means to deprive *Philip* of the pretence he perpetually uſed to involve him in Wars. To that end, he immediately went back to *Normandy*, not at all queſtioning but *Arthur*, in his preſent condition, would gladly embrace the opportunity of being reconciled to him. Upon his arrival at *Falaiſe*, he cauſed him to be brought before him, and in a very kind and obliging manner, endeavoured to perſwade him to relinquiſh the King of *France*. He repreſented to him, that *Philip*, under colour of protecting him, had only his own intereſt in view, and,

John *goes to* Falaiſe. M. Paris.

He tries in vain to gain Arthur. M. Paris, p. 174. M. Weſtm.

(1) But *William de Aubeny*, the Owner of it, giving his Son for an Hoſtage, remained in poſſeſſion of the Caſtle. *Hoved.* p. 818.——This year *William de Stuteville* was made Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*. *Ibid.*

(2) *William Mareſcall*, Earl of *Striguil* and *Pembroke*, and *Roger de Laſci* Conſtable of *Cheſter*, with two hundred Soldiers. *Hoved.* p. 819. He alſo delivered to *Hubert de Burg*, his Chamberlain, one hundred Knights or Horſemen, to defend the borders of *England* and *Wales*. *Ibid.*

(3) In *Whitſun* Week. *Ibid.*

(4) In order to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace, it was agreed between them, That if either of the two Kings went about to renew the War, the Barons of both Kingdoms, who were Guarantees of the Peace, ſhould immediately join and declare againſt the Prince that ſhould attempt to break it. *Hoved.* p. 123. *M. Paris*, p. 206. *Ann. Burton*, p. 262.——This year *Walter de Lacy*, a powerful Nobleman in *Ireland*, under pretence of holding a Conference with *John de Curci* Earl of *Ulſter*, fell upon him, killed abundance of his Men, and purſued him; the Earl, in his flight, being invited by *Hugh*, Brother to *Walter de Lacy*, to take ſhelter in his Caſtle, was there detained Priſoner. But his adherents waſted the Lands of *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy*, till the Earl was releaſed. However, on *Good Friday* following, when the ſame Earl was going unarmed and barefoot in Pilgrimage to a Church, he was treacherouſly taken Priſoner by his own People for a ſum of Money, and delivered to *Hugh de Lacy*, by whom he was ſent Priſoner to King *John*: Who thereupon beſtowed on this *Hugh de Lacy* the Earldom of *Ulſter*, and Lordſhip of *Connaught*, which belonged to *John de Curci*, having been conquered by him in the Reign of *Henry* II. *Hoved.* p. 123.

(5) *Butavant*, *Augi*, *Gurnai*, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 207.

(6) With *Jeoffrey de Lizenan*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 167.

(7) He entered the Caſtle with the flying Troops. *M. Paris.* This Victory King *John* obtained on *Aug.* 1. *An. Margan*, p. 13.

(8) She was called *the Beauty of Bretagne*. *M. Paris* ſays, moſt of the Nobility of *Poictou* and *Anjou* were made priſoners in this Battle, p. 174. Two and twenty of them were impriſoned in *Corf* Caſtle, and there ſtarved to death. *An. Margan*, p. 13.

(9) He beſieged it for about a Fortnight; and in his return to *Paris*, burnt ſeveral Villages and Monaſteries, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 207.

by

1202. by his Conduct hitherto; it was eaſy to ſee what he was to expect from ſuch a Protector. He tried to make him ſenſible, it was equally his Duty and Intereſt, to adhere to an Uncle, who found his own advantage in ſupporting him, and deſired nothing ſo much as to live in a good Underſtanding with him, and gave him marks of his Affection. In fine, he bid him conſider that in his preſent Circuſtances, his good or ill Fortune depended entirely on the Perſon that was ſuing for his Friendſhip. The young Prince, who was not yet well inſtructed in the maxims of Politicks, the chief of which is Diſſimulation, could not reſolve to conceal his Sentiments. Inſtead of accepting the King's offers, he took the freedom to upbraid hith with uſurping the Crown of *England*, as well as the Provinces of *France*. Without conſidering that he lay at his Mercy, he was ſo tranſported with Paſſion, as to threaten, *that to the laſt Moment of his Life he would never ceaſe ſeeking occaſion to be revenged.* After ſo plain a Declaration, *John* deſpairing of overcoming his obſtinacy, ordered him to be conducted to *Roan*, and confined in the new *Tower* under the care of *Robert de Vipont*. It is pretended, that, purſuant to the advice of ſome of his Counſellors, the King intended to put out his Eyes, and render him uncapable of having Children, in order to free himſelf from all uneaſineſs on his account, but was diſappointed by thoſe who were to be the Agents. However this be, a few days after the young Prince was brought to *Roan*, he diſappeared on a ſudden, and it could never be known for certain what became of him. The King's Friends reported, that *Arthur*, endeavouring to eſcape out of Priſon, was drowned in the River *Seine*. But very few gave credit to this Report. On the contrary, it was the general opinion, the Prince was murdered by the command of the King his Uncle (1). There are even ſome Hiſtorians (2) who relate the Circumſtances of his death. They tell us, that *John* himſelf, in a very dark night, came in a Boat to the Foot of the *Tower* where his Nephew was in cuſtody, and cauſing him to be brought before him, ſtabbed him with his own hand, and ordered his Body to be thrown into the *Seine*, ſome Leagues below the Town (3). In whatever manner this Prince's death happened, it is certain *John* never fully cleared himſelf of it. There was ſo much the more reaſon to believe him guilty, as he made no Inquiry into it, which he ſhould have done with great ſtrictneſs, had he not been concerned.

The young Duke's haughty Anſwer. M. Paris.

He is ſent to Roan. Id.

R. Coggſhal.

He diſappears. M. Paris.

John is accuſed of his Murder. W. Brito. An. Margan.

M. Paris. p. 174.

The ſame year, the Pope demanded a fortieth part of all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues in *England*, towards the charge of the Holy War.

John is crowned a ſecond time. Id. p. 175.

Immediately after the death of *Arthur*, *John* returned into *England*, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned a ſecond time (4), after which he repaſſed into *Normandy*. He found, the report of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s murder was every where ſpread, with Circumſtances very injurious to his Reputation and Honour; and yet he was in no haſte to diſcover the manner of the Prince's death. For which reaſon all the World was convinced, he himſelf was the Author of that barbarous Deed. The *Bretons* eſpecially complained of the tragical death of their Sovereign. They maintained, if *John* did not kill him with his own hand, it was at leaſt evident, the murder could not be committed without his conſent, or even his orders. The King of *France*, who wanted to improve this juncture, exaſperated them as much as poſſible, by means of his Emiſſaries. He cauſed it to be ſuggeſted to them, that in caſe they applied to him, as *John*'s Sovereign Lord, he would do them ample Juſtice. This was ſufficient Encouragement to the *Bretons*, who burned with deſire to revenge the death of their Duke. *Guy de Thouars*, Husband of the deceaſed Ducheſs, and Guardian of *Alice* her Daughter, aſſembled the Nobility of *Bretagne* at *Vannes* upon this occaſion. At this Meeting it was unanimouſly reſolved to apply to the King of *France* for Juſtice. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Biſhop of *Rennes*, and another Lord were commiſſioned to carry their Complaints to *Philip*, who gave them a very gracious Anſwer. He appeared more incenſed againſt *John* than the *Bretons* themſelves, and openly declared, that neither Honour, nor Juſtice, nor Conſcience would ſuffer him to let ſuch a Parricide go unpuniſhed. To ſhow his Threats were not in vain, he himſelf demanded Juſtice of the Court of Peers, before whom he diſplayed the barbarity of the Murder committed on the Body of the Duke of *Bretagne*, in a Place held of the Crown of *France*, and of which the King of *England* his Vaſſal was accuſed. It was not difficult to obtain whatever he deſired. The Court ordered *John* to appear before them, and anſwer to what was laid to his Charge. Upon the receipt of the Summons, *John* immediately diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Philip* (5), to repreſent to him, that their maſter could not come to *France* without a Safe-conduct; to which the King anſwered, *He may come in Peace.* But when the Ambaſſadors demanded a Safe-conduct for his return, he roundly told them, *that depended on the Sentence which ſhould be paſſed upon him.* Then the Ambaſſadors remonſtrated, their maſter was not only Duke of *Normandy*, but alſo King of *England*; and tho' he himſelf ſhould think fit to expoſe his Perſon to ſo manifeſt a danger, the Barons of the Realm would never conſent to it: *What is it to me?* replied *Philip*; *is not the Duke of* Normandy *my Vaſſal? If he has thought fit to acquire a higher Title, ought I upon that account to loſe my Right of Sovereignty!* The Ambaſſadors plainly perceiving *Philip* was reſolved to puſh the affair, retired without making any Anſwer, and returned with all ſpeed to inform their maſter how the Court of *France* ſtood affected.

1202.

They demand Juſtice of Philip. Argentré. Hiſt. de Bret.

John *is ſummoned by the Court of Peers.* M. Paris. An. Margan.

He ſends Ambaſſadors. M. Paris. p. 283.

As ſoon as the time appointed in the Summons was expired, *Philip* cauſed *John* to be condemned for Non-appearance, and ordered all his Dominions in *France* to be united to the Crown. It is remarkable, that in the Sentence (6) there is not a word of the ſatisfaction due to the *Bretons* for the death of their Sovereign, though they were Parties in the affair, and *Philip* ſeemed to concern himſelf in it only upon their account. This is a clear Evidence, his aim was not ſo much to do them Juſtice, as to make uſe of this occaſion to diſpoſſeſs the Kings of *England*. The *Engliſh* loudly murmured at theſe Proceedings, and the more, becauſe the King being actually in War with *France*, he was under an abſolute neceſſity of not appearing, both by being ſummoned before Peace was concluded, and denied a Safe-conduct for his return. But without troubling himſelf about their Complaints, *Philip* endeavoured to put the Sentence in execution (7).

John *is ſentenced to forfeit his Dominions in* France. Id. p. 284.

The Bretons *complain of the death of their Duke, and are ſtirred up by the King of* France. P. Emylius.

Whilſt the King of *France* was making his Preparations, *John* took no meaſures for his defence. He prepoſterouſly conſidered the Sentence as a Bravado of *Philip*'s, and not as a fixed reſolution to invade his Dominions. Mean time, as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, the King of *France* took the Field at the head of a powerful Army, and as he met with very little oppoſition, reduced the beſt part of *Normandy* to his Obedience. The progreſs of his Arms was uncapable of rouſing King *John*, who ſeeming inſenſi-

1203. Philip *invades* Normandy, *and conquers great part of the Country.* M. Paris. M. Weſt.

(1) *Non multò poſt* Arthurus *ſubito evanuit, modo fere omnibus ignoto, utinam non ut* Fama *refert invida.* M. Paris, p. 174.

(2) Particularly *Will. Brito de Geſt. R. Philip.* p. 166, 167. The *Ann. Margan* ſay, that his body was found by Fiſhermen, and privately buried in the Monaſtery of St. *Mary des prez.* p. 43.

(3) *D'argentrè* gives this account of D. *Arthur*'s death. *John* leading his Nephew after him, like a Lamb to the Slaughter, brought him from *Rouen* to *Cherbourg*, for more privacy and better opportunities to diſpatch him. There, late in the Evening, followed only by a few, he got on Horſeback, making the Prince ride before him. Then leaving his Attendants behind, he went on along the Coaſt, till he had found a place fit for his purpoſe, which was a high Clift hanging over the Sea. Being got there with the Prince, he ſpurred his Horſe up to him, and with his Sword ran him through the body, the poor Prince crying in vain for mercy. That done, he pulled him to the ground, and dragged him by the Feet to the brink of the Precipice, flung him into the Sea, not being yet quite dead, nor was the body ever ſeen afterwards. *Hiſt. de. Bretag.* c. 78. p. 211.

(4) *April* 14, at *Canterbury*. *M. Paris*, p. 208. *M. Weſt.* p. 264.

(5) *Euſtace* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Hubert de Burg*. *M. Paris*, p. 283.

(6) P. *Æmilius*, in his Life of *Philip*, has recorded the Sentence to this effect: *That* John *Duke of* Normandy, *being unmindful of his Oath to* Philip *his Lord, had murdered his elder Brother's Son, an Homager to the Crown of* France, *within the Seignory of that Kingdom; whereupon he is judged a Traytor, and as an Enemy to the Crown of* France, *to forfeit all his Dominions which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry be made by force of Arms.* Paulus Æmil. de vitâ Philippi.

(7) This year King *John* cauſed the following Aſſize of Bread to be proclaimed through the whole Kingdom. It was to be ſo, as that the Bakers might gain in every Quarter Three-pence, beſides the Bran, and two Loaves at the Oven: with the following Allowances: For four Servants, Two-pence; for two Boys, a Farthing; for Salt, a Half-penny; for Yeſt, a Half-penny; for Candle, a Farthing; for Wood, three Farthings; for boulting, a Half-penny. Then follows the Aſſize. When Wheat is ſold for ſix Shillings the Quarter, then a Farthing white Loaf, well baked, ſhall weigh ſixteen Shillings; and a brown one of the ſame price twenty four Shillings.

At five Shillings and Sixpence a Quarter, the Farthing white Loaf ſhall weigh twenty Shillings, and the brown twenty-eight Shillings.
At five Shillings, the white twenty-four Shillings, the brown thirty-two Shillings.
At four Shillings and Sixpence, the white thirty-two Shillings, the brown forty-two Shillings.
At four Shillings, the white thirty-ſix Shillings, the brown forty-ſix Shillings.
At three Shillings and Sixpence, the white forty-two Shillings, the brown fifty-four Shillings.
At three Shillings, the white forty-eight Shillings, the brown fifty-four Shillings.
At two Shillings and Sixpence, the white fifty-four Shillings, the brown ſeventy-two Shillings.
At two Shillings, the white ſixty-two Shillings, the brown four Pounds.
At Eighteen-pence, the white ſeventy-ſeven Shillings, the brown four Pounds eight Shillings.

The Reader, to have a right notion of theſe Weights, is to take notice, That Silver was then but at Twenty-pence an Ounce, every Pound being at that time a pound Weight (whereas now every pound of Silver makes three Pounds Sterling:) And accordingly, the Weight of every Shilling was then the twentieth part of a Pound. *M. Paris*, p 208.

1203. ble of his Losses, thought of nothing but his Diversions (1), as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous condition. When News was brought him that *Philip* had taken such a Place, he only replied with great confidence, *I will soon recover it again.* However, without stirring from *Roan*, or making the least Preparations, he gave his Enemy time to secure, and daily inlarge his Conquests. In fine, he carried his Insensibility so far, that the People said publickly, *he was bewitched.* It is easy to judge what difficulties *Philip* would have met with in his Undertaking, if he had been to deal with a less slothful Enemy, by the Resistance of one single Place called *Castle-Gailliard*, which cost him a five months Siege (2).

John's strange slothfulness. M. Paris. Mezerai. M. Paris. An. Waverl.

The English *Barons leave the King, and return to* England. Philip *continues his Progress without opposition.* M. Paris.

The *English* Barons who attended the King into *Normandy*, earnestly besought him to exert himself. But finding he was deaf to all their Remonstrances, they returned to *England*, tired with being witnesses of his invincible Sloth. Mean time, *Philip* taking advantage of his Indolence, daily gained ground (3). Not content with what be obtained by his Arms, he endeavoured, by his Emissaries, to stir up in *Normandy* a general Revolt, which might give him opportunity of becoming at once master of the whole Province. He caused it to be intimated to the *Normans*, that seeing they could hope for no assistance from *England*, it would be better for them to return freely to the Crown of *France*, from whence they were wrested, than be compelled to it by Arms: That by a voluntary Submission, they would be sure to preserve their antient Privileges, whereas a Resistance, which could not but prove ineffectual, would infallibly deprive them of their Liberties. In however deep a Lethargy King *John* seemed to be buried, his Presence kept several of the principal Cities of *Normandy* in Obedience. But the moment they saw him about to depart for *England*, they thought it lawful to provide for their safety. Hardly was he embarked (4), before they concluded a Treaty with *Philip*, obliging themselves to own him for their Sovereign, provided they were not relieved in a year. But when they heard there were no Preparations making in *England*, most of them came in before the year was expired. Thus, of all *Normandy*, the City of *Roan* only continued obedient to the King of *England*.

Id. p. 209.

He makes a Treaty with the Normans. Ibid.

John *treats his* English *Subjects ill.* M. Paris. p. 209.

That unhappy Prince was far from any thoughts of giving the *Normans* the assistance they expected. Upon his arrival in *England*, instead of trying by all sorts of ways to gain his People's Affection, so necessary at that juncture, he charged his Barons with deserting him, and occasioning the loss of *Normandy*. Under this pretence, the most unreasonable that ever was, he extorted from his Barons the seventh part of their moveables, and though he had not the same cause of Complaint against the Clergy, made them liable to the same Imposition. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was himself his Instrument in oppressing the Clergy, whilst the Justiciary rigorously exacted the Money from the Laicks. All *England* beheld with astonishment the King's Indolence. They could not conceive that a Prince, who till then had not wanted Courage, and appeared exceedingly attached to his Interest, could see *Normandy* lost with so much indifference. So strange a Conduct made most of the *English* imagine, he had some great design in his head, which would be discovered at a proper Season. This notion did not a little contritubte to his obtaining of the Parliament (5), an Aid of two Marks and a half of every Knight's Fee, which was granted, in expectation the Money would be usefully employed in the recovery of what he had lately lost. But instead of using this Aid, according to the Intention of the Parliament, he laid it out in vain Expences, being satisfied with sending Ambassadors to *France*, to endeavour to procure a Peace. *Philip*, exalted with his good Success, was so far from lessening his Demands, that he further required the Princess *Eleanor*, Sister of the late Duke of *Bretagne*, for his second Son, with all the Territories the *English* enjoyed in *France* for her Dower. This demand could not but be rejected. *John* not only could never resolve to give his Niece such a Dower, but it would have been very dangerous to deliver *Philip*, a Princess, who, since the death of the Duke her Brother, had the same Claim as he to the Crown of *England*. Thus the Negotiation broke off, and the *English* reaped no Benefit from the Aid granted the King.

1204. *He obtains an aid for the War.* M. Paris.

He tries in vain to make Peace with Philip.

Shortly after the departure of the *English* Ambassadors, *Philip* sent one into *England* as his Champion, who challenged all that should maintain the King his master was in the wrong, for what he had done against *John*. The Court of *England* did not think fit to commit to the decision of a single Combat, their Right to complain of the King of *France*'s Proceedings. However, this valorous Champion was given to understand, that since he was so desirous of fighting, a Man should be found with whom he might try his Strength. There was then confined in the *Tower*, an *Irish* Lord, *John Curcy* by name (6), Earl of *Ulster*, a Person of gigantick Stature, and of known intrepidity, who was judged very proper to quell the *French* Hector. The Prisoner being brought to Court, the King asked him, whether he would fight in his Cause? *No, not in thine*, answered the Earl fiercely, *but the Kingdom's Right I will fight to the last drop of my Blood.* But whilst he was recovering his Strength, which was much impaired by a long Imprisonment, the *French* Champion hearing of the prodigious Strength of his Adversary, privately withdrew into *Spain*, not daring to appear any more either in *France* or *England*. It is related of this same Earl of *Ulster*, that afterwards being in *France* in the *English* Army, *Philip*, at a Conference with *John*, desired to see some Trial of his Strength. The Earl being come into the presence of the two Kings, ordered a large Stake to be fixed in the ground, on which was placed a Helmet. Then looking round with a menacing Aspect, he cut the Helmet in two pieces with his Sword. The Blow was so violent, that the Sword stuck so fast in the Stake, that none but himself could remove it. *Philip* asking him, why he looked round so fiercely, he made answer, that in case he had missed his Blow, he would have cut off the Heads of all the Spectators, that no Man living might be witnes of his Shame.

1204.

An Irish *Earl is to fight him.* P. Æmyliu.

The prodigious strength of the Earl.

What *Philip* could not compass by a single Champion, he performed by the help of many. Towards the end of Autumn, he laid Siege to *Roan*, the Citizens whereof seeing no likelihood of being relieved, surrendered upon condition they should enjoy their antient Privileges. But as a famous Historian judiciously observes, *This Precaution proved as feeble against absolute Power, as Parchment against Iron.* As soon as *Philip* was master of *Roan*, he ordered the Walls to be demolished. Thus all *Normandy* was reduced under the Dominion of *France*, and united again to that Monarchy, after a three hundred years separation (7).

Philip *takes* Roan. Chr. Norm. M. West.

Mezerai.

The other Provinces submit to him. Mat. Paris. An. Waverl.

After the Conquest of *Normandy*, *Philip* invaded the rest of the *English* Provinces (8), which at length were forced to submit to the Conqueror (9), after having in vain expected assistance from *England*. Of all that *John*'s Ancestors enjoyed in *France*, nothing remained but the Duchy of *Guienne*, which *Philip* did not think fit to invade.

Death of Queen Eleanor. M. West.

Queen *Eleanor*, Widow of *Henry* II, and Mother of *John*, died this year in a very advanced Age. She had the mortification, before her death, to behold the decline of the Monarchy, to which she had given so great a Lustre, by the addition of so many Provinces.

1205. *John resolves to carry the War into* Poictou. M. Paris.

So many and great Losses, joined to the murmurs of the *English*, roused *John* from his profound Lethargy. When least expected, he seemed resolved strenuously to endeavour to regain both his Reputation, and the Territories conquered by *Philip*. The *Poictevins*, dissatisfied with being under the Dominion of the King of *France*, determining to revolt, sent to *John* for Assistance. As he imagined, all the other Provinces were in the same mind, he thought he should never have a fairer opportunity. Wherefore he summoned all the Barons to meet him with their Troops at *Portsmouth*, where he had ordered his Fleet to be ready. But as he was going to embark, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Earl of *Pembroke*, threw themselves at his Feet, beseeching him to desist from this Expedition, which he could not expect to be successful. They represented to him, that neither in *Poictou*, nor in any other neighbouring Province, had he any one Place to retire to in case of necessity: That *Philip* would make War with too much advantage, since he was master of all the fortified Towns: That it was exposing himself to manifest danger to trust the *Poictevins*, who had so often deceived him, and pretended perhaps to invite him to their assistance, only to deliver him to his Enemy. In fine, they told him, that in an Enterprize of this nature, he

He is dissuaded from it. Ral. de Coggshal. An. Margan. An. Waverl.

The King of France *sends a Champion into* England.

(1) *M. Paris* says, he continued at *Caen*, feasting magnificently with his new Queen, and lying in bed with her every day till noon, p. 175.

(2) It was defended by *Hugh*, or *Roger de Lacy*, Constable of *Chester*; who signalized himself in the defence of it. See *M. Paris*, p. 211. It was taken *March* 6. King *Richard* built it on the Rock of *Andeli*, on the *Seine*.

(3) *Hugh de Gurnai* surrendered to him the Castle of *Montfort*; and *Robert Fitz Walter*, and *Saer de Quinci* the Town and Castle of *Ruil*, of which they were Governors. *M. Paris*, p. 209.

(4) He landed at *Portsmouth*, *December* 6. *Ibid.* (5) *Colloquium.* At *Oxford*, *Jan.* 2. *Ibid.*

(6) This was the brave *John de Curcy*, who in the year 1177, conquered the Kingdom of *Ulster* in *Ireland*. See *Gir. Cambrens. Hiber. expugnata.* l. 2. c. 16, 17; and who had been treacherously taken Prisoner, as is related above, p. 264, Note (4).

(7) It had been governed by twelve Dukes of the *Norman* Race (of which King *John* was the last) for the space of three hundred and twenty years.

(8) *Normandy*, *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Poictou*, with all the Castles and Towns belonging to them, except *Rochelle*, *Thouars*, and *Niort*. *M. Paris*, p. 212. (9) Through the Treachery or ill Conduct of *William de Humat*, whom King *John* had made Governor of *Normandy*. *An. Waverl.* p. 168.

so

1205. so visibly hazarded his own life, with his and the Nation's honour, that his faithful Subjects could not see it with indifference, but must use their utmost endeavours to divert him from it. These remonstrances making no impression upon him, they talked in a higher strain, and added such threats, that he was forced at last to follow their advice. Therefore, suddenly altering his resolution, he was content with sending succours to the *Poictevins*, under the command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, his natural Brother. After which, he dismissed the Army and Fleet, who cursed the authors of this advice (1). He was no sooner returned to *London*, but he repented of following the Counsel of the Earl and Archbishop. But instead of quarrelling with them, he vented his anger on the Nobility, from whom he extorted large sums on pretence they had refused to attend him. He supposed, without any grounds, that the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* spoke for the whole Body. This was the second time he had arbitrarily exacted Money from his Subjects, without the consent of the States. But he did not do it with impunity. The sequel will show, that though vengeance was deferred, it only became the more terrible, when the Barons found an opportunity to make him feel the effects (2).

M. Paris. p. 212.

Second part of the Reign of King John.

Hitherto we have seen the first part of *John*'s misfortunes, occasioned as well by his own fault, as by the ambition of the King of *France*. But these, how great soever, were scarce to be compared with those that followed; especially, as he appeared but little sensible of the first, whereas the others created him infinite vexation and trouble. It was not the ambition of a hostile King, which threw him into a gulph of misfortunes, during the second part of his Reign, but the pride of him who called himself the common Father of all Christians: I mean Pope *Innocent* III, who, for a very slight cause, treated this Prince so cruelly, that should a Pope now behave in the like manner, there is no question but all *Christendom* would rise up against him. Let us proceed to the particulars of this affair, which makes the chief subject of King *John*'s Reign. But without dwelling on reflections, which every reader may easily make without our help, let us content our selves with relating the facts as advanced by the Historians, most devoted to the Court of *Rome*.

Death of Hubert. Knighton. M. Paris.

John scarce began to forget the loss of the *French* Provinces, when the death of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (3) threw him into fresh troubles. The election of the Archbishops had for some time been a continual subject of disputes between the Suffragan Bishops and the Monks of St. *Augustin*'s. The former claimed a right to interpose in the election, as had been several times practised. The Monks affirmed, on the contrary, that this right belonged only to them, according to ancient custom, and used their utmost endeavours to keep possession. Immediately after the death of *Hubert*, some of the Monks combined together, whether out of fear the Fraternity would not insist on their right, or for some other reason, resolved to elect themselves an Archbishop. To that purpose, meeting at midnight in the Cathedral, they chose *Reginald* their Sub-prior, in expectation of having afterwards credit enough to obtain the Pope's confirmation. This irregular election was transacted with all possible secrecy. The Sub-prior bound himself [by Oath] not to divulge it, till he had himself informed the Pope of it: So that the other Monks had not the least suspicion thereof. The electors, willing to bring their undertaking to an issue, found means to cause him to be sent to *Rome*, on some pretence, attended by some of their cabal. But he had not the power to keep the secreet. Upon his arrival in *Flanders*, he took upon him the title of Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks his Companions had no more discretion than himself.

Some of the Monks of St. Augustin's privately elect their Sub-Prior. M. Paris. Hemingford.

John threatens the Monks.

This news coming to the King's ears, he imagined the whole Monastery was concerned in this fraud, and prepared to make the Monks repent of their rashness in electing an Archbishop without his License. But they cleared themselves, and appeased him by their submissions. The clamours of the Monks, who were not in the intrigue, convincing the electors, that after the discovery of their secret, it would be very difficult to accomplish their undertaking, they chose to desist. Then the whole Society jointly proceeding to a new election, the King recommended [*John de Gray*] Bishop of *Norwich*, who was unanimously chosen, placed in the Archiepiscopal Chair, and invested with the Temporalities. Shortly after, fourteen Monks were sent to the Pope, to inform him of what had passed, and to demand his confirmation of the new Archbishop. At the same time, the Suffragan Bishops of *Canterbury* sent a deputation also to *Rome*, to complain of the Monks assuming the sole right of electing the Archbishop, and to inform his Holiness of their reasons against it.

1206.

Some Monks sent to Rome for the Pope's Confirmation.

Whilst the Deputies were on the road, the King, whose courage was somewhat rouzed, led a considerable Army into *Poictou* (4), and reduced to his obedience the greatest part of that Province. But he was so weak, as to suffer himself to be once more outwitted by *Philip*, who finding himself unprepared, demanded and obtained a Truce for two years (5).

John *recovers part of* Poictou, *and makes a Truce with* Philip. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 141. M. Paris. An. Waverl.

Mean while, the Sub-prior of St. *Augustin*'s, who was come to *Rome*, earnestly sollicited the Pope to confirm his election. But *Innocent* perceiving some irregularity in the affair, took time to consider of it. In the interim, the other Deputies being arrived, told him all the circumstances, and petitioned him to confirm the second election. On the other hand, the Agents of the Bishops brought also their complaints against the Monks, and showed him the reasons on which they built their pretensions. To decide these differences, the Pope ordered the Deputies to come on a day appointed to *Viterbo*, where he intended to pass some time. Here it was, that in the presence of the Pope, these affairs were discussed with great warmth, though as to the first, the reasons of both sides were not very effectual. *Innocent*, who was ready resolved, voided both the elections, and ordered the Deputies of the Monks to proceed to a new choice, enjoining them withal to elect Cardinal *Stephen Langton*, an *Englishman*, then at his Court. The Monks, surprized at this unprecedented Order (6), would at first have disobeyed it. They alledged in vindication of their Non-compliance, that they were not impowered by their Monastery, and besides the King's consent was necessary. But the Pope would not hearken to these reasons. He told them, as Deputies they represented the whole Monastery, and the consent of Princes was needless for elections made in his presence. Therefore, without giving them time to reply, he commanded them on pain of excommunication, to elect Cardinal *Langton* for their Archbishop. The Monks, awed by the presence and threatnings of the Pope, complied, though unwillingly, with his Orders (7). There was but one (8), who had the courage to stand out. This extraordinary election was immediately confirmed by the Pope, who would himself consecrate the Archbishop elect (9).

The affair of the Elections brought before the Pope. M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 138.

The Pope nulls the Election. M. Paris. Knighton.

And orders Langton *to be chosen.* M. Paris, p. 222.

The Suffragan Bishops lose their Cause.

According to the rule established by *Innocent*, in impowering fourteen Monks deputed by their Monastery, to elect an Archbishop, the Suffragan Bishops of *Canterbury* could not but lose their cause with the Monks. Accordingly, the Pope gave it in favour of these last, and forbid the Bishops to interpose for the future, in the election of their Metropolitans.

1207.

John *extorts a Subsidy by violence.* M. Paris.

The Clergy oppose it in vain. An. Waverl.

Whilst these things were transacting in *Italy*, *John* entirely lost the hearts of his Subjects (10), by extorting from them the thirteenth part of their moveables. In vain did the Clergy, as far as it concerned them, oppose it; the Act passed in Parliament (11), and the Tax was levied as well upon the Clergy as Laity, though the former never gave their consent, and the latter granted it by a sort of compulsion. This violence occasioned many complaints and murmurings among the Clergy, who till then had enjoyed the privilege of not being taxed without their consent (12). However, as it was not in their power to resist, they endeavoured to be revenged, by exclaiming against the King's conduct, and rendering him odious to the People. The Archbishop of *York* himself, the King's natural Brother, a Prelate of an impatient temper, excommunicated all the Collectors of the Tax, and withdrew out of the Kingdom. Though the Clergy's complaints were not groundless, the King's friends looked upon them as impertinent. They said, it was strange the Ecclesiasticks should refuse to assist the King in his necessity; when a little before they had suffered without the least murmur, a Legate to exact of all the beneficed Clergy, large sums for the pre-

M. Paris, p. 221.

A new Election. M. Paris.

(1) The Nobles and Knights having been put to vast Charges for this Expedition.

(2) This year died *Peter* of *Colechurch*, who began to build *London* Bridge with Stone, and was buried in the Chapel upon that Bridge. *Ann. Warverl.* p. 168. (3) He died at *Tenham* in *Kent*. *M. Paris*, p. 212.

(4) He embarked at *Portsmouth*, *June* 25, and landed at *Rochelle*, *July* 9. *Idem*. p. 214.

(5) The *French* Historians say, *John* sued for a Truce. We frequently meet with the like Contradictions between the Historians of the Nations. *Rigord*, Vol. III. p. 206. say, that both Armies being ready to engage, a Truce was concluded for two Years.

(6) The *Annals* of *Margan* say, it was contrary to the ancient Laws and Liberties of the King and Kingdom, p. 14.

(7) Licet inviti, & cum murmuratione, assensum præbuerunt. *M. Paris. Rapin.*

(8) His name was *Elias de Brantefield*. *M. Paris.* (9) He was consecrated, *June* 17. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 169.

(10) He returned to *England*, *December* 12. *M. Paris*, p. 214.

(11) In communi Concilio. *Annals* of *Waverl.* An. 1207.——Coadunatis Magnibus terræ apud *Oxenford*, de assensu eorum cepit xiii. partem catellorum hominum totius Angliæ. *An. Margan*, p. 14. This Parliament was held in *February*. *M. Paris*, p. 221.

(12) The *Annals* of *Waverly* say, That the King following better advice, released the Clergy from it. But afterwards he took the thirteenth part of all the Goods in general, of those that held by Knight's Service, p. 169.

tended

1207. tended occaſions of the Holy See. If the Money which accrued to the King from this Tax, had been employed in the ſervice of the State, it would have been ſome ſatisfaction to the Nation. But they had the vexation to ſee it vainly ſquandered away, in the reception of the Emperor, who was come to viſit the King his Uncle. His deſign was to perſwade him to break the Truce with *France*. But how urgent ſoever he might be, it was impoſſible to bring *John* to this rupture. However, to ſoften in ſome meaſure his denial, the King made hin a preſent of five thouſand Marks, which ſerved to pay the charges of his Journey.

The Emperor viſits the King. M. Paris.

The Pope tries to appeaſe John *about the Election of* Langton.

Innocent very much ſuſpected, *John* would not be pleaſed with *Langton*'s election, extorted by manifeſt force and an unprecedented incroachment. Indeed for ſome time after the converſion of the *Engliſh*, the Popes choſe ſuch as were capable of well-governing the riſing Church, and generally *Italians*, becauſe there were but few Eccleſiaſticks in *England* qualified for that high ſtation. But ever ſince Archbiſhop *Theodorus*, who was the laſt ſent from *Rome*, the Popes had never pretended to chuſe of their accord the Archbiſhops without the conſent of the Kings. They were ſatisfied with confirming the elections, and obliging the Archbiſhops to come and demand the Pall at *Rome*. Since the Conqueſt, they had not ſo much as nulled the election of an Archbiſhop. And therefore to mollify the King, and induce him the more calmly to overlook this incroachment, *Innocent* wrote him the following Letter, which for its ſingularity deſerves to be inſerted.

Pope INNOCENT TO *JOHN King of* ENGLAND.

Pope's Letter to the King. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 139. M. Paris. p. 223.

" AMONG the riches that Mortals prize as the moſt valuable, and deſire with the greateſt earneſtneſs, it is our opinion that pure Gold and precious Stones hold the firſt rank. Though we are perſwaded your Royal Excellence has no want of ſuch things, we have thought proper to ſend you, as a mark of our Good-will, four Rings ſet with Stones. We beg the favour you would conſider the Myſteries contained in their Form, their Matter, their Number, and their Colour, rather than their Value. Their Roundneſs denotes Eternity, which having neither beginning nor end, ought to induce you to tend without ceaſing from earthly things to heavenly, and from things temporal to things eternal. The number four, which is a Square, ſignifies firmneſs of Mind, not to be ſhaken by Adverſity, nor elevated by Proſperity, but always continuing in the ſame State. This is a perfection to which yours will not fail to arrive, when it ſhall be adorned with the four Cardinal virtues, Juſtice, Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance. The firſt will be of ſervice to you in Judgments, the ſecond in Adverſity, the third in dubious Caſes, the fourth in Proſperity. By the Gold is ſignified Wiſdom. But as Gold is the moſt precious of Metals, Wiſdom is of all endowments the moſt excellent, as the Prophet witneſſes in theſe words; *The Spirit of Wiſdom ſhall reſt upon him:* And indeed, there is nothing more requiſite in a Sovereign. Accordingly, *Solomon*, that pacifick King, only asked of God Wiſdom, to enable him to well govern his People. The green colour of the *Emerald* denotes Faith, the clearneſs of the *Saphire*, Hope; the redneſs of the *Ruby*, Charity; and the colour of the *Topaz*, Good Works; concerning which our Saviour ſaid, *Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works.* In the *Emerald* therefore you have, what you are to believe; in the *Saphire* what you are to hope; in the *Ruby* what you are to love; and in the *Topaz* what you are to practice; to the end you may proceed from virtue to virtue, till you come to the viſion of the God of Gods in *Sion*.

It is difficult to gueſs the drift of this myſterious Letter; whether it was a witty conceit of the Pope's, or an intimation to the King, that he would need all the virtues repreſented by the Rings, to withſtand his attacks. However this be, leſt *John* ſhould miſtake his meaning, he ſent him ſoon after, a more intelligible Brief (1); exhorting him to own Cardinal *Langton* for Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. He repreſented to him, that he was a Native of *England*, Cardinal of the *Romiſh* Church, and learned in all the Sciences. Moreover, he aſſured him, his exemplary Life and Chriſtian Virtues would be very advantagious for *England*, for ſpiritual, as his prudence and political virtues would be for temporal, concerns. However, as he did not intend to make *Langton*'s election depend on the good pleaſure of the King, nor ſubmit it to his examination; in another Letter he ſent his commands to the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s and the Suffragan Biſhops of *Canterbury*, to receive the Cardinal for their Metropolitan.

1207. *The Pope exhorts the King to own* Langton *for Archbiſhop.* M. Paris. p. 223.

He enjoins the Monks to receive him.

As ſoon as *John* was informed of the tranſactions at *Rome*, he fell into an inconceivable fury. He accuſed the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s of deceiving him, as well in the third as in the firſt election, and reſolved to be revenged of them. To that end he ſent two Knights (2), who entring the Monaſtery with drawn Swords, commanded the Monks, in the King's name, to avoid the place forthwith, unleſs they would have their Monaſtery burnt about their ears, and likewiſe to depart the Kingdom within three days. So terrible a threat frightned the Monks in ſuch a manner, that, without the leaſt reply, they withdrew into *Flanders* to the Abby of St. *Bertin*, and other neighbouring Monaſteries. But this revenge not procuring him all the ſatisfaction he required, he thought by vigorouſly exerting himſelf, he ſhould bring the Pope to revoke what was done. In this belief he wrote *Innocent* a very ſharp Letter, " upbraiding him with his injurious annulling the " canonical election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, without " having the leaſt pretence for it. Moreover, he com- " plained of his cauſing to be elected by violence, and con- " trary to all manner of right, a Perſon educated in " *France*, an intire ſtranger to him, and who had al- " ways held a ſtrict correſpondence with his enemies. He added, " This encroachment was directly contrary to " the Prerogatives of his Crown, from which he was re- " ſolved never to depart, nor from the election of the " Biſhop of *Norwich*. Then, he plainly told him, if " the ſatisfaction he demanded was denied, he would " break off all intercourſe with *Rome*, which was of no " ſmall conſequence, ſince it was certain, the Holy See " received more Money from *England* than from any o- " ther Chriſtian State; and for that reaſon, greater re- " gard ought to be paid the King of *England* than any " Prince whatever. He concluded with ſaying, there were " Prelates enough in the Kingdom qualified to govern the " Church, and therefore it was not neceſſary to have re- " courſe to the Popes, if they ſo manifeſtly abuſed their " authority."

The King drives the Monks of St. Auguſtin *out of their Monaſtery.* M. Paris. Knighton.

He writes a ſharp Letter to the Pope. M. Paris. p. 224.

Innocent had not undertaken this affair to deſiſt from it on the King's bare expoſtulation. He returned a very civil and mild anſwer in appearance, though, in the main, it was more proper to irritate than appeaſe him. " He begins with blaming *John* for anſwering his humble " and kind Letter in ſo rough a manner, that he ſeem- " ed rather to deſign to affront him, than require the " reaſons of his conduct. Then he proceeds to extol " the merits of Cardinal *Langton*, aſſuring he was a Pre- " late of a great underſtanding, and profound learning, " and one that had long ſtudied at the Univerſity of " *Paris*, where he had taken his degree of Doctor of Di- " vinity. He adds, that *John* was in the wrong to com- " plain, ſince the conſent of Princes was not requiſite at " Elections made in the preſence of the Pope: That " however, out of pure condeſcenſion, he had ſent two " Monks to inform him of it, who by contrary Winds " were detained at *Boulogne*. In fine, after trying to " prove *Langton*'s Election agreeable to the Canons, he re- " preſents to him that *Henry* II, his Father, and *Richard* " his Brother, had renounced the right of nominating " Biſhops and Abbots; and therefore, without meddling " with Elections, he ought to receive, without exami-

The Pope's Anſwer. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 143. M. Paris. p. 224.

(1) It muſt be obſerved, the Apoſtolical Letters are of two ſorts. Some are called *Briefs*, becauſe comprized in a compendious way of writing, and are ſealed on Wax only, *Cum annullo piſcatoris*, that is, with the Impreſſion of a Signet Ring, which the *Romaniſts* are ſo weak as to believe to be the Seal of St. *Peter* the Fiſherman. The other ſort are called *Bulls* from the Leaden *Bulla* hanging thereon. *Bulla* is thought among the Ancients to be a golden Badge, which perſons that triumph'd over their enemies wore on their breaſts like a Medal, and it came afterwards to ſignify a Deed, Inſtrument, or Writing, deſcribed on Parchment or Vellum, with a piece of Lead hanging thereto by a ſtring, and ſuch Writing is called a *Bull*, from the Lead annexed to it. On this piece of Lead, the heads of the two Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* are impreſſed from the Papal Seal, which being affixed to the Pope's Letters, they are ſaid to be compleatly finiſhed. And becauſe they carry the Papal thunder of Excommunication along with them for Non-payment of the Pope's dues, they became a terror to weak People for ſome Ages, till at length from their frequent demands, theſe Fulminations were turned into ridicule. And as they were called Bull-beggars, they were uſed as words of Scorn and Contempt, to frighten Children with. *Eubenius Cherubinus* has made a Collection (1638) of theſe Bulls in ſix Folio's, which gives a full view of the wonderful Craft of the Hierarchy, in raiſing ſuch a ſtructure of Power and Iniquity to itſelf, which none can pull down but the Almighty Hand of God alone. For therein we ſee the Church of *Rome* almoſt in its beginning, how it rear'd itſelf by degrees on Papal Bulls, and how the weak parts of the building have been ſince ſtrengthened by the cunning of the ſeveral Undertakers, the Pope and his Cardinals. *Puffendorf* made a good uſe of this Collection in his Introduction to the Hiſtory of *Europe*. *Parergon. jur. can.* p. 132.

(2) *Fulk de Cantelou*, and *Henry de Cornebelle*. *M. Paris*, p. 223.

nation,

1207. "nation, the Prelates judged by the Church capable of "directing the Spiritual affairs of his Kingdom. He "concludes with this notable threat, that Submiſſion to "him would be more for his advantage than an obſtinate "reſiſtance againſt God and his Church, in a Cauſe for "which the bleſſed *Thomas Becket* ſhed his Blood." Theſe laſt words were terrible to a Prince, whoſe Father had ſuffered ſo greatly on much the ſame occaſion. But *John*, far from being frightned, reſolved, on the contrary, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, and run all hazards, to free himſelf from the galling Yoke of *Rome*.

1208. *The Pope orders three Biſhops to interdict the Kingdom.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 447. M. Paris. Matt. Weſt.

The Pope's Letter was quickly followed by an Order to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, to perſwade the King to ſubmit to the Orders of the Church, and, if they found him contumacious, to put the Kingdom under an Interdict. The Biſhops thus commiſſioned by the Pope, being obliged to obey him, acquainted the King with his Holineſs's Orders, and intreated him to avoid by Submiſſion, a ſcandal which would fall no leſs on his Subjects than on himſelf. But the King remained inflexible. He ſwore (1), that if the Kingdom was interdicted, he would forthwith ſend all the Eccleſiaſticks to ſeek their Subſiſtance at *Rome*, and put out the Eyes, and cut off the Ears and Noſes of all the *Roman* Prieſts, that ſhould be found in his Dominions. Then he commanded the three Prelates to depart his Preſence. His Paſſion, which was already very violent, was ſtill encreaſed by the Inſolence of *Simon Langton*, Brother of the Cardinal, who inſultingly preſſed him to own his Brother for Archbiſhop. The King, tired with his Importunities, told him it was very ſtrange, an *Engliſhman* ſhould preſs him to renounce the Prerogatives of the Crown. To which *Langton* inſolently replied, nothing could be done in his behalf, unleſs he would wholly throw himſelf upon his Brother's Mercy.

The King threatens the Clergy. M. Paris.

Inſolence of Langton's Brother. Brady, p. 471.

Henry *and* Richard *born.* M. Weſt. M. Paris.

The laſt year, *John* had a Son by *Iſabella* of *Angouléme*, to whom he gave the Name of *Henry* (2). And this year (3) the Queen brought into the World another called *Richard*.

The Interdict publiſhed. M. Paris. p. 226. M. Weſt. An. Waverl. Hemingf.

Mean time, the three Prelates, who had already addreſſed the King, finding they could not prevail, pronounced at length the Sentence of Interdict upon the whole Kingdom (4), and retired beyond Sea. Immediately divine Service ceaſed in all the Churches, and the Sacraments were no longer adminiſtred, except to Infants and dying Perſons. Publick Prayers, and all Eccleſiaſtical Functions were laid aſide. The Church-yards were ſhut up, and the Bodies of the dead thrown into Ditches like Dogs, without any Prieſt daring or being willing to aſſiſt at the Funerals. It might juſtly be demanded, why the People ſhould ſuffer for the fault of their Sovereign; and certainly it would be difficult to alledge a reaſon founded on Juſtice or Equity. But the Policy of *Rome* required, that the Subjects ſhould be liable to Puniſhment, to the end that conſidering their King as the ſole cauſe of their Evils, they might be the ſooner inclined to force him to ſubmit to the Pope's Yoke. It was requiſite therefore to ſow Diſſention between the King and the People, in order to tie up his hands from reſiſting. And indeed, it is evident, Kings have no more power than private perſons, when deſerted by their Subjects. Accordingly the Popes, who intended to ſtretch their Authority, have generally taken a time of diſcord between the People and their Sovereigns. If ſometimes they have launched out at unſeaſonable Junctures, they have, for the moſt part, found their pretended Authority to be little regarded. Of this we ſhall ſee a remarkable Inſtance in the Sequel of this very Reign.

The King's Severity upon the Clergy. M. Paris. An. Waverl.

The Pope's rigour was inſufficient to bring the King to a compliance. On the contrary, *John*, finding the Court of *Rome* had thrown off all regard for him, reſolved to act with the ſame haughtineſs, and make the Pope know he was able to withſtand him. Purſuant to this reſolution, he confiſcated the Eſtates of all the Eccleſiaſticks who obeyed the Interdict, and ſent orders to the Sheriffs to make Inquiry after them, and expel them the Kingdom. But the Sheriffs perceiving they could not execute the King's Orders, without uſing great violence, durſt not puſh matters ſo far. So that, notwithſtanding the King's intention, none went out of the Kingdom, but ſuch as having too zealouſly eſpouſed the Pope's quarrel, choſe rather to go into voluntary Baniſhment, than remain expoſed to the King's Indignation. However, they who ſtayed, were in no better Circumſtances: Outrages were daily committed upon them, for which they could find no redreſs from the Magiſtrates, who always ſent them to the Pope for Juſtice. 1208.

As in thoſe days there was ſcarce a Prieſt but what kept a Concubine, the King, under pretence of cauſing the Canons of the Council to be obſerved, ordered all their Concubines to be impriſoned, who were forced to pay great Fines for their Liberty. Among the great number of Eccleſiaſticks in the Kingdom, there were ſome, who in ſpite of the Interdict, adminiſtred the Sacraments. But as they were inceſſantly expoſed to the Inſults of the Zealots, the King took them under his Protection, and ordered ſuch as ſhould do them any outrage, to be hanged upon the next Tree. The Pope was no ſooner informed of this, but he excommunicated all who diſobeyed the Interdict, or executed the King's Orders. Such was the wretched State of the People of *England*. Thoſe that were faithful to their Sovereign, fell under the Pope's Cenſures, and the King took care to perſecute thoſe who ſubmitted to the Orders of *Rome*. M. Paris. p. 227. An. Waverl.

1209. *John ſends Money to the Emperor.* M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 154.

Whilſt the Kingdom was in this ſad ſituation, *Henry* Brother of *Otho* the Emperor came to King *John*, in the beginning of the year 1209. The deſign of his Journey was, to demand, for the Emperor his Brother, an Aid of Money, which the King liberally granted him (5), though he was himſelf in extreme want.

John *levies a great Army on pretence to war againſt* Scotland. Knighton. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The Calamities of the *Engliſh* moved neither the King nor the Pope. They both continued inflexible, each reſolving to run all hazards, rather than yield to his Adverſary. However, *John* was not without his uneaſineſs. Indeed, he did not fear the Pope's Thunders with reſpect to Spirituals. But he could not ſee without extreme trouble, the generality of the People inclined to the Court of *Rome*. This obſervation inſpiring him with a dread that, ſooner or later, ſome Plot would be formed againſt him, he thought proper to prevent the deſigns of his Enemies, by raiſing an Army. For a pretence, he complained, that the King of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaty of *Lincoln*, had married one of his Daughters, without his content. It was eaſy to foreſee, that a Prince, who had ſuffered ſo many Provinces in *France* to be taken, without any reſiſtance, did not intend vigorouſly to proſecute this War, upon ſo ſlight an occaſion. Accordingly he contented himſelf with the firſt offers made him by the King of *Scotland*, to give him fifteen thouſand Marks, and his two Daughters in Hoſtage. In his return from the northern Frontiers, where he had led his Army, he ordered all the Hedges to be cut down, and the Ditches to be filled up throughout his Foreſts, that the Deer might have liberty to feed every where. In all likelihood, the People of thoſe Parts having too openly declared for the Pope, he had a mind to puniſh them for it (6). Perhaps too, he deſigned to ſhew the reſt of his Subjects, that in like caſe he would not want means to chaſtiſe them. When he came to *Northampton* (7), he was met by the Prince of *Wales*, who, fearing he intended to carry the War into his Country, made haſte to prevent him by his Submiſſion. This Prince accompanied the King as far as *Woodſtock*, where he did him Homage (8).

He grants a Peace to the King of Scotland. Act. Pub T. I. p. 155.

He chaſtiſes the northern Counties. M. Paris

The Prince of Wales *does him Homage.* Ibid.

John *cauſes all his Vaſſals to renew their Homage.* Ibid.

The continuation of the Interdict was a clear Evidence to the King, that the Pope had no deſign to deſiſt from his Pretenſions, but would, upon this means not ſucceeding, uſe more violent methods. Wherefore, he judged it requiſite to take care before-hand, to ſcreen himſelf from his Thunders. Nothing ſeemed to him more proper to fruſtrate the deſigns of the Court of *Rome* (9), than to cauſe his Vaſſals to renew their Homage. He hoped to ſecure them by that Bond, and reſtrain them from too readily joining with the Court of *Rome*.

The King excommunicated. M. Paris. p. 228.

Mean while, the Pope perceiving, the Interdict, which had now continued above a year, did not anſwer his Expectations, reſolved at length to pronounce upon *John* the Sentence of Excommunication, and committed the Publication thereof to certain Biſhops (10). But as theſe

(1) By *God's Teeth*, (his uſual Oath.) *M. Paris*, p. 226.
(2) He was born at *Wincheſter*, *October* 1. 1207, *Ann. Waverl.* p. 169. *M. Weſt.* p. 269. *M. Paris*, p. 225.
(3) *January* 5. *M. Weſt.* p. 269. (4) *March* 13. *M. Paris*, p. 226. *M. Weſtm.* p. 268.
(5) A thouſand Marks. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. I. p. 154.
(6) This year alſo the King iſſued a Proclamation at *Briſtol*, forbidding the taking of all ſorts of feathered Game throughout *England*. *M. Weſt.* p. 268. *M. Paris*, p. 227. Which was the firſt Edict of this kind made by any King before, as *Tyrrel* obſerves, *B.* vii. p. 739.
(7) Where he removed his *Exchequer* after *Michaelmaſs*, becauſe the *Londoners* had diſobliged him. *M. Paris*, p. 227.
(8) An unlucky Accident happened at this time, which was a great prejudice to *Oxford*, and ſerves to ſhow the flouriſhing Condition of the Univerſity in thoſe days. A certain Clerk having by chance killed a Woman, made his eſcape. The Mayor coming to his Lodging, found three other Clerks that lived in the ſame Houſe which they had hired together. Theſe being ſeized, were a few days after, by the King's Order, hanged up, in Contempt of the Eccleſiaſtical Liberty; upon which near three thouſand Scholars left that Univerſity, ſome going to *Cambridge*, others to *Reading*. *M. Paris*. *M. Weſt.*
(9) He made all the Freeholders in *England*, from twelve years old and upwards, renew their Homage. The reaſon of his doing it, was, that he daily feared the Pope ſhould excommunicate him, and abſolve his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. *M. Paris*, p. 228. *M. Weſt.* p. 268.
(10) *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, who were to have it publiſhed every *Sunday* and Holiday in all the Churches throughout *England*. *M Paris.*

1209. Prelates had ſtill great regard for the King, they did not think fit to execute their orders with that readineſs the Pope deſired. However, the news of the King's Excommunication was ſo ſpread over the Kingdom, that not a Soul was ignorant of it, tho' the Sentence was not yet publiſhed. The Archdeacon of *Norwich*, one of the Officers of the Exchequer, having notice of it, quitted his Office without leave, alledging, his Conſcience would not ſuffer him to ſerve an excommunicated Prince. This Proceeding coſt him dear. The King, provoked at his diſreſpect, ordered him to be confined in a cloſe Priſon (1), where it is affirmed, his death was haſtened by violent means (2).

M. Paris.

He is impoſed upon by the Biſhop of Lincoln. M. Paris, p. 229.

This Inſtance of the King's Severity was not capable of preventing *Hugh de Wells*, lately elected Biſhop of *Lincoln*, from wounding the King in a more ſenſible part. This Prelate having obtained leave to be conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, inſtead of going to *Normandy*, went directly to *Rome* (3), where he received Conſecration at the hands of Cardinal *Langton*. Had he been in the King's power, he would, doubtleſs, have been no more ſpared than the Archdeacon of *Norwich*. But the King, being all he could do, was content with ſeizing his Revenues (4). The Prelate was unconcerned, plainly foreſeeing that the King would be obliged in the end to ſubmit to the Pope; whereas by diſobeying his Holineſs, he was in danger of loſing his Biſhoprick (5).

1210. John *leads an Army into* Ireland; M. Paris. An. Waverl.

The Excommunication made no Impreſſion on the King, who ſtill remained unmoved. Beſides, as the Sentence was not yet publiſhed, and Ignorance might be pleaded, the greateſt part of the Nobility ſtill adhered to their Prince (6), notwithſtanding his being excommunicated. Nay, he was not without hopes, that the Sentence was only a penal threatning which might be revoked, upon his ſhewing ſome ſteadineſs. However, as it would have been imprudent to depend upon that, he levied a great Army, well-knowing, nothing was more capable of breaking the Pope's meaſures, than to be always well armed. Some Commotions in *Ireland* were made the occaſion and pretence for this Armament, the Charges whereof were paid by the *Jews*, not voluntarily, but by a Seizure of their Effects (7). *John* himſelf imbarking with his Army (8), ſafely arrived at *Dublin*, where he was met by above thirty (9) petty Princes, who came to ſwear Fealty to him. After receiving their Homage, he marched againſt the King of *Connaught*, Author of the diſturbances that had brought him into *Ireland*. This Prince being taken Priſoner in a Battle, the War was happily ended, and the whole Iſland reduced to the King's Obedience as formerly. Before he returned, *John* cauſed the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England* to be eſtabliſhed for the future in *Ireland*, and made the Biſhop of *Norwich* his Juſticiary (10). It was expected in *England*, that at his return the Army would be disbanded. But, to have a pretence to keep it ſtill on foot, he quarrelled with the Prince of *Wales*. In the mean time, as Money was wanted for the maintenance of the Troops, he impoſed, by his own Authority, a Tax of a hundred thouſand Marks (11) upon the Eſtates of the Eccleſiaſticks. After which he marched againſt the *Welſh*, and compelled them to deliver twenty eight Hoſtages (12).

and eſtabliſhes there the Laws of England. M. Paris.

He taxes the Clergy. Id. p. 230.

1211. *The Pope ſends two Nuntio's into* England M. Paris.

The meaſures taken by *John* to render himſelf formidable, created no ſmall uneaſineſs in the Pope, who could not bear to ſee the King's Inflexibility. He perceived, it was equally dangerous to the Holy See to give over the Conteſt, and to proſecute it any farther, uncertain of the Iſſue. And indeed, it might be of great conſequence, even with reſpect to other States. Before he came to any reſolution in this matter, *Innocent* ſent two Nuncio's into *England* (13), under colour of procuring Peace between the King and his Clergy. However, nothing was farther from his Intention, than to endeavour a reconciliation, which could not but be very prejudicial to him. His ſole aim was to diſcover *John*'s deſigns, that he might take his meaſures accordingly. The two Nuncio's being arrived, ſo wrought on the King, that at length he yielded ſo far, as to promiſe the Eccleſiaſticks leave to return to their Churches. He farther agreed, that Cardinal *Langton* ſhould take poſſeſſion of the See of *Canterbury*, and promiſed, that the Church of *England* ſhould have all the Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities, enjoyed in the time of *Edward the Confeſſor*. One would think ſo conſiderable Advances ſhould have ſatisfied the Nuntio's. And indeed, the King gave up the main Point, in offering to receive Cardinal *Langton* as Archbiſhop. Beſides, they ſhould have previouſly ſuppoſed, that in an Accommodation, it was reaſonable, the Pope and Clergy ſhould likewiſe make ſome Conceſſions on their part. But this rule takes not place in affairs where the Church is concerned. What ſhe calls an Accommodation, is an entire Submiſſion to her orders, and a perfect Compliance with all her demands. We have ſeen a remarkable Inſtance of this in the affair of *Thomas Becket*: And here is another which confirms the ſame truth, beſides thoſe that will appear in the courſe of this Hiſtory. Had *John* ſhewn more reſolution, or at leaſt ſtaid till the Nuncio's had, of themſelves, made theſe Propoſals, and then ſeemed to accept them with reluctance, perhaps there might poſſibly have been a reconciliation upon theſe Terms. But he had to deal with Perſons more ſubtle than himſelf, and whoſe ſole aim was to diſcover his Sentiments, in order to take advantage of it againſt himſelf. When they ſaw he complied ſo far, they demanded farther the reſtitution of all that was taken from the Eccleſiaſticks, and full reparation for the damages ſuſtained by them on occaſion of this Controverſy. And becauſe he would not agree to this, which in effect was impoſſible, the Negotiation broke off, and the Nuncio's returned (14), after publiſhing the King's Excommunication (15), which the Biſhops till then declined (16).

1211. John *makes advances towards an Accommodation.* M. Paris. An. Burton. p. 263.

They are rejected by the Nuntio's;

who excommunicate the King. M. Paris. An. Burton. p. 266.

The Pope ſaw, by *John*'s Advances, that he really wanted to be clear of this affair at any rate. He manifeſtly knew, it was only through Inability that he had rejected the laſt Article propoſed him. As this Pope was very politick, and had great Views, he formed the Project of reaping advantages, before unthought of, from this ſame Inability. But as the diſcovery of his Intentions might greatly obſtruct their execution, he carefully concealed them, till he had forced the diſobedient King to caſt himſelf upon his Mercy. Though he had nothing leſs in view than the Clergy of *England*'s reparation, he continued always to inſiſt on that Article, in order to have occaſion to carry things to the point he deſired. He knew *John* was not beloved by the People, and ſtill leſs by the Nobility, who had great cauſe to complain of him, and were kept in Obedience, only by their Oath of Fealty. He believed therefore, that, to alienate entirely the hearts of the *Engliſh*, it was neceſſary to break that bond by which they ſtill were attached to their Sovereign. For that purpoſe, taking occaſion from the King's Inability, which he was pleaſed to ſtile Rebellion and Obſtinacy, he publiſhed a Bull, abſolving *John*'s Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and enjoining them, upon pain of Excommunication, to refuſe him all Obedience. This terrible blow had ſo great an effect, that moſt of the Barons, overjoyed at having an opportunity to be revenged of the King, began to combine together to place another on the Throne. Some Hiſtorians even aſſure us, the Majority ſigned an Addreſs to the King of *France*, inviting him to *England*, and promiſing to own him for their Sovereign.

Freſh projects of the Pope.

He abſolves the Engliſh from their Oath of Allegiance. M. Paris. An. Bart. M. Weſt.

M. Paris, p. 232.

1212. John *deſigns to invade* Wales. M. Paris, Knighton.

Mean time, *John*, who had no Intelligence of their deſigns, lived in a Security that aſtoniſhed all the world. Far from foreſeeing the impending danger, he ſpent his time in Entertainments and Diverſions, as if he had no affairs upon his hands, and the Pope's Bull was of no conſequence. At the ſame time the *Welſh*, who could never long remain quiet, making Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Territories, *John* fell into ſo great a rage, that he com-

(1) By *William Talbot*, a Knight. *M Paris*, p. 228.
(2) A leaden Cope was put upon him, with the preſſure of which, and for want of victuals, he died in a few days. *Ibid.*
(3) He went only as far as the Abbey of *Pontigny*, where *Langton* then reſided. See *Tyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 741.
(4) *Hugh* was alſo Chancellor, but the King delivered the Seal to *Walter de Gray*, and made him Chancellor. *M. Paris*, p. 228.
(5) This year the King ſent Commiſſioners to *Canterbury*, to meet the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, who came to treat of a reconciliation between him and *Langton*; but when matters were nearly adjuſted, the Treaty broke off, and ſo nothing was brought to a Concluſion. See *Ann. Waverl.* p. 171.
(6) All the great Men of the Kingdom attended him at *Windſor* this year, notwithſtanding he was excommunicated. *M. Paris*, p. 229.
(7) *M. Paris* ſays, the *Jews* of both Sexes were ſeized all over *England*, and cruelly treated, till they would ranſom themſelves according to the King's pleaſure. Among the reſt, a *Jew* at *Briſtol*, though cruelly tormented, refuſing to ranſom himſelf, the King ordered, that his Tormenters ſhould every day pull out one of his Cheek Teeth, till he would pay down ten thouſand Marks. Accordingly they pulled out ſeven in as many days, but on the eighth day he relented, and ſo with the loſs of ſeven Teeth, parted with the ten thouſand Marks to ſave the reſt, p. 229. King *John* got from the *Jews* about ſixty thouſand Marks. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 172.
(8) At *Pembroke*, and arrived at *Dublin*, *June* 6. *M. Paris*, p. 230. He returned to *England*, *Auguſt* 20. *Ibid.*
(9) Above twenty, ſays *M. Paris*, ibid. He drove out of the Kingdom *Hugh de Lacy* Earl of *Ulſter*, and took *Carrickfergus* Caſtle. *Ann. Margan*, p. 14. *T. Wikes*, p. 36.
(10) *John de Grey*, who cauſed the Money to be coined of the ſame weight and fineneſs as in *England*; that the like Money might be common in both Kingdoms. *M. Paris*, p. 230. He left there *William Mareſcall*, as Lieutenant. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 172.
(11) A hundred thouſand Pounds, ſays *M. Paris*, p. 230.
(12) He marched into *Wales*, *July* 8. 1211. *Ibid.*
(13) *Pandulph* a Subdeacon, and *Durand* a Knight-Templar. They met the King at *Northampton*, in his return from his Expedition into *Wales*. *Ibid.*
(14) They went into *Wales*. *Ibid.*
(15) What Perſons were excommunicated with him, ſee in *M. Paris*. p. 231. *M. Weſt*. p. 270.
(16) The King took, of all thoſe that held by Knight's Service, and had not attended him into *Wales*, a Scutage of two Marks of Silver. *M. Paris*, p. 230.

manded

1212. manded the twenty-eight Hoſtages, he had in his power, to be hanged. After which, as if he had nothing elſe to do, he reſolved to carry War into their Country and utterly root them out.

He receives Intelligence of a Plot againſt him. M. Paris, p. 231, 232.

Whilſt he was preparing for this expedition, the King of *Scotland* ſent him notice of a dangerous Conſpiracy forming againſt him in *England*. But *John* imagined, none would dare ſtir, whilſt he was at the head of the Army. So without giving the leaſt heed to this information, he continued his march to *Cheſter*, with deſign to begin the War with the *Welſh*. Upon his arrival at that City, he received freſh intelligence about the Conſpiracy, which was confirmed from ſo many different places, that he could no longer doubt. Then it was, that his ſecurity giving place to his fears, he began to conſider the Officers of his Army, as ſo many ſecret enemies whom he could not truſt. Poſſeſſed with this notion, he diſmiſſed his Troops and retired to *London*, where he thought himſelf more ſafe (1). Some time after, his fears being ſomewhat abated, by certain advice, that the Barons were in no readineſs to execute their deſigns, he demanded Hoſtages of them as pledges of their obedience. There were but few that ventured to deny him (2), for fear of being ſacrificed to his ſuſpicions, before they were in a ſtate of defence. Indeed, their meaſures were yet very uncertain. If it be true, that they had applied to the King of *France*, that Monarch had not yet given them any poſitive promiſe. In all appearance, he had a mind to ſtay till matters were more embroiled, before he openly declared his intention (3).

He miſtruſts and diſbands his Army. M. Paris.

Remark on the Hiſtorians of King John's Reign. M. Paris, p. 232.

In this place it is, that *Matthew Paris* the Hiſtorian takes occaſion to diſplay the tyrannical conduct of *John* in very black colours. He ſays, that he had no manner of regard for the *Engliſh*; debauched the Wives and Daughters of the prime Nobility; baniſhed ſome the Realm, upon bare ſuſpicions, and reduced others, who were the moſt favorably treated, to extreme poverty, by the confiſcation of their Eſtates, and other illegal practices. But the ſame remark is to be made here, that was made elſewhere: Namely, we muſt read with great caution the *Monkiſh* Hiſtorians, when they relate any thing in which the Court of *Rome* was concerned. It is true, this Hiſtorian inveighs now and then very ſharply againſt the Perſon of *Innocent* III. But however, it is viſible, his aim was to vindicate the Pope's extreme rigour to King *John*. This he could not do more artfully than by blackening the reputation of that Prince, in order to divert the Reader's compaſſion.

The remarkable prediction of a Hermit. M. Paris. Ibid.

Whilſt *John* was anxiouſly waiting the Iſſue of his enemy's Plots, he met with a mortification, which troubled him very much, though he pretended to ſlight it. One *Peter de Pontfract* a Hermit, who was famous in the Kingdom for foretelling things to come, propheſied publickly, that by Aſcenſion-day following, *John* ſhould be depoſed, and the Crown transferred to another. The King being informed of it, ſent for the Hermit, who in his preſence ſtood to what he had ſaid, whereupon he was ordered to Priſon (4).

The Pope depoſes John. Ibid.

Mean time the Pope, who had no mind to halt in ſo fair a way, took at *Rome* all neceſſary meaſures to accompliſh his project. As he was deſirous, it ſhould appear to the World, that zeal for juſtice and Religion was the ſole motive of his actions, he took particular care to ſhew he had no perſonal intereſt in his quarrel with the King of *England*. The better to hide his deſign, he cauſed a Petition to be preſented him by Cardinal *Langton*, and the reſt of the proſcribed Biſhops, humbly intreating him to apply a remedy to the evils, the Church of *England* had ſo long endured. This petition furniſhing him with a pretence to call a Conſiſtory, he made a Speech to the Cardinals, aggravating to the utmoſt of his power, the injuries King *John* had done, and daily did do to the Church. He concluded with ſaying, the obſtinacy of that Prince not being to be conquered by the Church's cenſures, he had called them together to conſider of means to make this ſtiff-necked Son return to his duty. The 1212. reſult of the Council was, that *John* being convicted of Rebellion againſt the Holy See, deſerved to be depoſed, and his Holineſs ſhould place another King over *England*. Purſuant to this advice, *Innocent* thundered out the ſentence of depoſition againſt King *John*. After that, he commiſſioned *Philip* King of *France* to execute the ſentence, promiſing for reward, the remiſſion of all his Sins, together with the Crown of *England* to him and his Heirs for ever, when once he had dethroned the preſent Tyrant. A few days after, he publiſhed a Bull, exhorting all Chriſtian Princes to promote, as far as in them lay, this expedition, which was ſolely intended to revenge the injuries done to the Catholick Church. In this Bull he took into his protection whoever ſhould contribute either Money or other aſſiſtance, to ſubdue the enemy of the Church, granting them the ſame privileges, with thoſe who viſited the Holy Sepulchre (5).

And employs the King of France to execute the Sentence. M. Paris.

Towards the end of this year, *Geoffrey* Archbiſhop of *York*, natural Son of *Henry* II, departed this Life. He was a Prelate of a narrow genius, but proud, pragmatical, and exceeding paſſionate, one that would have done a world of miſchief, had he been as able as he was willing (6).

Geoffrey *Archbiſhop of York dies.* Ibid.

1213. Philip *accepts the Pope's Commiſſion*; Mezerai. *and makes great preparations.*

The Commiſſion *Philip* lately received of the Pope, ſet him at the height of his wiſhes. Not content with depriving King *John* of great part of his Dominions, he devoured already in his imagination the Kingdom of *England*. By his preparations it was evident, how extremely deſirous he was to ſucceed in this undertaking. The Ships, of which his Fleet was to conſiſt, came from all parts to the Mouth of the *Seine*, whilſt the Princes his Vaſſals, and the great Men of his Realm led their Troops to *Roan*, where he had appointed the rendezvous of his Army. Such vaſt preparations could not be long concealed from King *John*, who for his part uſed his utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe the threatned Invaſion. He ſummoned all the Tenants in chief to meet him at *Dover* with their Troops, under pain of forfeiting their Fiefs, and being exemplarily puniſhed in their Perſons. At the ſame time, he iſſued orders, that all the Ships belonging to his Subjects ſhould be ready at the ſame place, threatning to baniſh the Maſters that ſhould fail to be there on any pretence whatever. His orders were ſo urgent, and his threats had ſo ſudden an effect, that in a little time he aſſembled more Ships and Troops than he could maintain. Upon which account, he was forced to ſend away part of his Fleet, and to keep but ſixty thouſand of the moſt warlike Men (7), a ſufficient number to defend him from all inſults, had they heartily ſerved him. But this Prince knew better how to make himſelf feared, than beloved (8).

M. Paris, p. 233, 234.

Pandulph *the Pope's Legate comes to* John. M. Paris.

Whilſt the two Monarchs were with equal ardor preparing, the one to attack, and the other to defend; whilſt the Sea was covered with Ships, and both ſhores overſpread with Troops, expecting every moment to enter upon action, the Pope gave his laſt inſtructions to *Pandulph*. He was one of the two forementioned Nuntio's, who, upon this occaſion, was made Legate for *England*. His publick inſtructions, were to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevail with King *John* to ſubmit to the Church. But his private ones were, to put the laſt hand to the project framed by the Pope. He paſſed through *France*, where he beheld *Philip*'s great armament, and commended his zeal and diligence; after which he went to meet the King of *England* at *Dover*. When he came into his preſence, he repreſented to him, that his enemy's Forces were ſo numerous, that they were ſufficient to conquer *England*, though the whole Nation were united for their common defence; but that *John* was very far from being able to rely on the People's affections. And to convince him of it beyond all doubt, he diſcovered to him, that *Philip* had received private aſſurances, from moſt of the great Men of *England*, that, inſtead of oppoſing his arms, they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. This intelligence cor-

M. Paris, p. 234. M. Weſt.

(1) He ſhut himſelf in *Nottingham* Caſtle, and hired foreign Archers for his defence. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 173.

(2) *Euſtace de Veſci*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, who were concerned in the Conſpiracy againſt him, retired; the firſt into *Scotland*, and the latter into *France*. *M. Paris*, p. 232.

(3) This year, in *Lent*, King *John* knighted *Alexander*, Son to *William* King of *Scotland*, at *London*. *Idem*. p. 231.

(4) *Matthew Paris* ſays, *John* was very inquiſitive to know of the Hermit, whether it was by death or otherwiſe that he was to loſe his Crown; but all he could get from him was, that he might be aſſured he would not on that day be King; and ſaid, if he were convicted of a Lie, he might then deal with him as he pleaſed. Upon which the King had him confined till he ſhould ſee the Iſſue of his Prediction. *M. Paris.*

(5) The Pope wrote alſo to the great Men, Knights, and Warriors of divers Nations, to undertake this War, ſigning themſelves with the Croſs, as if it were for that of the *Holy Land*. *M. Paris*, p. 232.

(6) This year alſo, on *July* 10, great part of *London* was burnt down; the Fire began in *Southwark*, and having conſumed the Church of St. *Mary Overy*, went on to the Bridge; and whilſt great numbers of People ran, ſome to behold, others to quench the Flames, the Houſes on the other end of the Bridge took fire; ſo that the Multitudes being thus incloſed, many were forced to leap into the *Thames*, whilſt others crowding into the Boats that came to their relief, were the Cauſe of their own deſtruction, the Boats and People ſinking together; ſo that what with the Fire, and what with the Water, near three thouſand perſons periſhed by this unfortunate accident, which happened on the tenth of *July*. *M. Paris*, p. 233. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 173. *M. Weſt.*

(7) Who were encamped upon *Barham-Down* in *Kent*. The Biſhop of *Norwich* brought him five hundred Knights, and bodies of Horſe from *Ireland*. *M. Paris*, p. 234.

(8) The Writs, which were iſſued out upon this occaſion, (and which you may ſee at large in *M. Paris*,) plainly make appear, that there was no ſuch thing in thoſe days as ſtanding Armies either in *England* or *France*; but that the only Forces for the defence of the Kingdom were the Militia of *England*, conſiſting of the Earls and Barons, with their Tenants and Vaſſals under them, who were obliged by their Tenures to come into the Field in caſe of an Invaſion from abroad, or a Rebellion at home. The Writs are directed to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, commanding them to ſummon all the Earls, Barons, Knights, Freemen, and Eſquires. The Writs for the Ships were directed to all the Bayliffs of Sea-ports, &c. *Idem*, p. 233, 234.

reſponding

1213. responding with what *John* had already received, he was visibly shaken, neither could he hide from the Legate the fears that had seized his Soul. This was precisely the situation wherein *Pandulph* intended to put him. As soon as he saw him thus disposed, he took occasion to intimate to him, that there was but one way to secure himself from the impending danger; and that was to put himself under the Pope's protection, who, as a kind and merciful Father, was still willing to receive him with open arms. But, added he, *to deserve this favor, you must become a dutiful Son to the Church; and to that end must promise to perform faithfully whatever the Pope shall enjoyn you; who, in imitation of him, whose Representative he is on earth, desires not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he should turn from his evil ways.*

He offers him the Pope's Protection. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 166, 167.

The King's Resolution.

Never was Prince in such circumstances as *John*. Standing between two precipices equally dangerous, he was under a necessity of casting himself down one or other, without having time to consider which was most eligible. *Pandulph* pressed him incessantly to embrace the Pope's gracious offer. On the other hand, *Philip*, ready to embark, afforded him no time to consult what course he should take. But what perplexed him most, was, his distrust of his Army and his dread of a treachery, the consequences whereof stared him in the face. On which side soever he turned, he saw himself on the point, either of falling into the hands of his most inveterate enemy, or of lying at the mercy of a Pope, whom he had for so long braved, and who was the sole author of his misfortunes. Of these two extremities, the last seemed the least insupportable, because he saw not the Pope's whole design. The Legate took care, not to impart to him at first all the conditions required by the Pope, for his favour and protection. He was satisfied for the present, with obliging him by a solemn Oath, to obey the Pope in all things, for which he was excommunicated (1); to make a full satisfaction to the Clergy and Laicks for what damages they had suffered on account of the Interdict; to pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of eight thousand pounds Sterling; to receive into favour the proscribed Bishops, and others, particularly Cardinal *Langton*, and the Prior and Monks of St. *Augustin's* (2); to confirm all these things by his Letters Patents, and cause such Bishops and Barons as the Pope or his Legate should appoint to stand Sureties for him; to declare solemnly, if he, or any other by his order, should violate this agreement, he would for ever lose the custody of vacant Churches, and the Bishops and Barons his Sureties, should be authorized to serve the Pope against him. Moreover, he promised to send Letters of safe-conduct to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exiled Bishops, that they might return to their respective Churches. Lastly, he swore not to prosecute any Person, whether Layman, or Ecclesiastick, for any matter relating to the affair in hand (3).

He yields to the Terms proposed by the Legate. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 170. Forma Pacis, &c. *The Conditions.* M. Paris. p. 235. An. Burton.

Another Condition that the King should resign his Crown to the Pope. Knighton. M. Paris.

In the state *John* was reduced to, he would have thought these conditions tolerable, had there been nothing added. But the Oath exacted from him, to obey the Pope in all things, included a tacit condition, the extent whereof *Pandulph* did not think proper to tell him, before he was entirely ingaged. When this Article came to be explained, the Legate plainly told him, his offences against God and the Church were of such a nature, that there could be no atonement without a resignation of his Crown to the Pope: Adding, upon that condition only he could give him absolution. Such a proposal could not but extremely surprize the unfortunate King; but he was too far ingaged to recede. His late proceeding had entirely alienated those of his Subjects, who still preserved some remains of affection. On the other hand, he perceived, as he could not confide in his Troops, he had no other means to resist *Philip*'s powerful attacks. He lay therefore under an indispensable necessity to submit to this hard condition, which he would have infallibly rejected, could he have known the full extent of his Oath. Wherefore, on the morrow, he repaired to *Dover* Church, attended by the Legate, and a numerous train of Lords and Officers of the Army, to perform his engagements. There, in the presence of all the People, taking off his Crown, he laid it, with the other ensigns of Royalty, at the Legate's feet, as the Pope's Representative. After

He resigns his Crown, and does Homage to the Pope. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 176. M. Paris. Knighton.

which, he signed a Charter, whereby he resigned to the Pope the Kingdom of *England*, and the Lordship of *Ireland*. He declared in this Charter, that, neither out of fear or constraint, but of his own free Will, and with the advice and consent of all the Barons of the Realm, he made this resignation, as having no other way to atone for his offences against God and his Church. From that moment he acknowledged himself a Vassal of the Holy See, and, as such, bound himself to pay the yearly rent of a thousand marks; namely, seven hundred for *England*, and three hundred for *Ireland*. In fine, he agreed, that if himself, or any of his Successors, denied the submission due to the Holy See, he should forfeit his right to the Crown (4). After this, he did Homage to the Pope in the Person of the Legate; who, to shew the grandeur of his Master, spurned with his foot the Money offered him by the King as an earnest of his subjection. They that were present at this shameful Ceremony, could not behold such abject submissions without indignation; but not one dared to speak against them; only the Archbishop of *Dublin* protested against them, but to no purpose (5). The Legate having obtained whatever he desired, kept the Crown and Sceptre five whole days; and then restored them to *John*, with an intimation that he was to consider it as a singular favor from the Holy See. So extraordinary a transaction had its natural effect on the People. If hitherto the King had been little regarded, this base submission rendered him entirely contemptible. From that time he was deemed unworthy to wear a Crown, which he had so shamefully resigned to another. On the other side, *Innocent*'s extreme pride gave occasion for reflections to his disadvantage. Though *John* should seem to have been very sensibly touched with what had happened, he appeared to be the first that forgot it. He even seemed to triumph in preserving his Crown in spite of the Hermit's prediction. Though his Prophecy was but too fully accomplished, *John* was so cruel as to order him to be hanged (6) for a false Prophet.

1213. M. Paris. p. 237.

The Hermit hanged for a false Prophet. M. Paris. Knighton.

Mean time, *Pandulph*, who had no farther business in *England*, was departed from *Dover* (7), without taking off the Interdict, or giving the King Absolution. He was gone to *Philip*, who considered the Conquest of *England* as a thing certain. When he came to that Monarch, he enjoined him, in the Pope's name, to desist from the intended Expedition. He told him, the King of *England* being now a dutiful Son of the Church, and the occasion of the armament ceasing, it was no longer necessary to execute the Pope's sentence. *Philip* was extremely surprized at this discourse (8). But as he had not acted in this affair from a religious motive, he openly refused to obey the Legate's orders. He told him, he had made these preparations against *England*, at the Pope's pressing instances, for the remission of his Sins, and therefore no contrary orders, nor all the threats in the World, should hinder him from prosecuting his design. Thus resolved, he called a Council of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, and of the Princes his Vassals who were then about him. As he was extremely provoked with *Innocent*, the terms he used in speaking of him to the Assembly were not very respectful; and the more, as it was greatly for his purpose, to paint out the Pope's proceedings in the strongest and most lively colours. His aim was to perswade all the Lords to swear, they would not forsake him, though the Pope should thunder his censures against him. Accordingly this was the drift of his Speech.

Pandulph orders Philip to disband his Army. M. Paris.

Philip refuses to obey him;

and tries to bring his Peers to stand by him.

The Princes and Lords who were present at the Council seemed inclined to comply. The Earl of *Flanders* alone opposed it, and in a manner very reproachful to *Philip*. He represented, that the intended Expedition against the King of *England*, was in itself neither just nor honorable, and besides was become impracticable, since the Pope refused his approbation. He added, it would be much more agreeable to the rules of honour and equity, to restore to that Prince what had been taken from him in *France*, than to frame new projects to make an advantage of his misfortunes. *Philip* offended at these bold words, mixed with reproaches upon his conduct, thought it necessary before all things, to humble the Earl of *Flanders*. His view was to terrify the rest of his Vassals by this example, and withal deprive the King of *England*

The Earl of Flanders opposes it. M. Paris.

Philip turns his Arms against him. Rigord. Hist. of Phil. Aug.

(1) Sixteen of the chief Earls and Barons of the Kingdom, swore on *John*'s behalf, that they would do their utmost to compel him to keep what he had agreed, if he should happen to depart from it. *M. Paris*, p. 235.

(2) The Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, are mentioned by name, as are *Robert Fitz-Walter*, and *Eustace de Vesci*, who had withdrawn from the King into *France*. *Ibid.*

(3) You have these Articles at large in *M. Paris*, drawn up in the Form of a Charter, dated the 13th of *May*, being the *Monday* before *Ascension* day, in which are recited the names of four great Barons, viz. *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earl of *Boulogne*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, who all swore on the King's behalf, p. 235.

(4) *Cadet a jure Regni*, *M. Paris*, where the Charter is at large, and witnessed by the King himself, in the Presence of *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin*, *John* Bishop of *Norwich*, and divers Earls and Noblemen of the Kingdom, p. 236, 237.

(5) *M. Paris* says only, that he was offended at the haughty Carriage of the Legate in spurning the Money, p. 237.

(6) He caused him to be dragged about the Streets of *Warham*, and then hanged, with his Son. *M. Paris*, p. 237.

(7) And carried with him eight thousand Pounds to be distributed, by way of restitution, among the Archbishop, the Bishops, and others that had been banished. *Ibid.*

(8) Especially as he had spent above sixty thousand Pounds in his Preparations. *Ibid.*

of

1213. of the assistance he might receive from so firm a Friend. It may be, he was very glad, the Earl furnished him with an opportunity to free himself from his present embarassment. He could not, without dishonour, submit to the Pope's orders, neither could he make War upon King *John*, without exposing his Person to an Excommunication, and his Kingdom to an Interdict. Be this as it will, he ordered his Fleet to sail to the Coast of *Flanders*, whilst he marched himself with his Army to attack the Earl by land. The progress of his Arms was at first very considerable. Probably, the Earl of *Flanders* would have been ruined, if *John* had not sent his naval Force to his Aid. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who commanded the *English* Fleet, surprizing that of *Philip*, entirely destroyed it. It is said, the *English* took three hundred Ships, and sunk one hundred, and that the *French* themselves set fire to the rest, to prevent their falling into the Enemy's hands. This fatal loss blasted all *Philip*'s grand Projects, and obliged him to relinquish his undertaking, and return to *Paris* extremely mortified.

M. Paris.

His Fleet destroyed by the English. M. Paris. p. 238. M. Westm.

John has a mind to carry the War into France. M. Paris.

This Victory suddenly raised the Courage of King *John*. As he was assured for the future of the Pope's assistance, he resolved to carry the War into *France*, and try to recover his lost Dominions. He was the more encouraged to this Enterprize, as the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders* promised to make a powerful Diversion in his favour. Wherefore he caused his Army to march to *Portsmouth*, where he ordered his Fleet to meet him. But just as he was ready to embark, the Barons sent him word, they could not attend him, unless he was first absolved from his Excommunication (1). This Declaration made him dispatch a Safe-conduct to Cardinal *Langton*, and the rest of the Exiles, that they might come and absolve him. At the same time, he acquainted them, he was ready to perform all his Engagements, and particularly those which concerned them. Upon their arrival (2) the Bishops went to the King at *Winchester*, who, throwing himself at their feet, besought them to have pity on him and the Kingdom. The Cardinal lifting him up, led him to the Church, where in the presence of all the People, he administred to him the following Oath: "That he "would protect Holy Church to the utmost of his power; "re-establish the good Laws of his Predecessors, and espe- "cially those of King *Edward*; cause Justice to be mi- "nistred to his Subjects according to the just Judgment of "his Court; restore to Corporations and private Persons "their Rights and Liberties; and before *Easter* next, "make full Satisfaction for all the damages he had cau- "sed." This done, the King renewed his Oath of Fealty and Obedience to the Pope, according to the Tenor of his late Charter to the Legate; after which, the Cardinal gave him Absolution. The King appeared so well pleased to see himself at length freed from so many troubles, that to show the Cardinal, he bore him no secret grudge, he made him that very day dine at the same Table with him.

The Barons refuse to follow before he is absolved. M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 171.

Langton arrives, and gives the King an Oath. M. Paris. p. 239.

He absolves him. M. Paris. Knighton.

This affair being thus ended, *John* came to *Portsmouth* (3), where he unexpectedly met with fresh obstacles. When he talked of embarking, the Barons, who were there upon his Summons, declared, they could not go with him. They told him, they had stayed so long at *Portsmouth*, that all their Money, designed for the Expedition, was spent, and therefore they were unable to attend him. Though this disappointment heartily vexed him, he thought best to conceal it; and, imagining he should encourage them upon the Point of Honour, took shipping himself with his own Family, and sailed for *Jersey*. But after waiting there some days, and finding himself forsaken by all, he returned to *England*, with a resolution to chastise the disobedience of the Barons (4). Upon his arrival, he raised some Troops, and marched towards the Center of the Kingdom. His design was to have it in his power to prevent them from taking Arms, or to oppress those that should first venture to appear. The Cardinal Archbishop perceiving his Intention, came to him at *Northampton*, and represented to him, that none of the Barons having been legally (5) condemned, he could not make War upon them without violating his late Oath. The King, offended at this Remonstrance, answered with a loud Voice, he had no need of his Advice, and refusing to hear him any more, continued his march as far as *Nottingham*. *Langton*, not discouraged at this repulse, followed him next day, and declared he would excommunicate all that should take Arms before the relaxation of the Interdict. This threat making the King apprehensive his Troops would desert him, he was forced to desist from his Enterprize. However, he appointed a day for the Barons to appear and answer for their disobedience.

John resumes his former design. The Barons refuse to follow him. M. Paris. p. 239.

Ibid.

He resolves to chastise them.

Langton opposes it, and threatens him. M. Paris.

1213. *The King desists.*

Langton's Proceedings were sufficient to satisfy the King, he was not heartily reconciled to him. But he had soon a more convincing proof.

Langton gives the Barons a sight of the Charter of Henry I. M. Paris. p. 240.

In an Assembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, held at *London* about the restitution promised by the King, *Langton* took occasion to speak very warmly against him. He said, "That before he gave the King Absolu- "tion, he caused him to swear to restore the Church, "the Nobility, and the Commonalty, to their Rights "and Privileges (6): But it was visible he had not yet "made the least step towards the performance of his "Oath: That on the contrary, he would have made "War on his Barons, before they were legally tried, "which was a clear Evidence of his ill designs. And "therefore, continued he, it was absolutely necessary for "the good of the Publick, to press him to perform his "Engagements. But as difficulties might occur in the "particulars to be required of the King, he said, a Char- "ter might be used of one of their former Kings, of "which he had fortunately found a Copy, notwithstand- "ing the pains taken to bury it in oblivion." The Charter mentioned by the Cardinal, was that granted by *Henry* I to his Subjects, in the beginning of his Reign (7). Authentick Copies had been sent to all the principal monasteries, which were lost by the negligence of those who had the Custody of them, or perhaps by the means of *Henry* I himself, or his Successors. This, which perhaps, was the only one left, falling into the Cardinal's hands, he publickly caused it to be read before the Assembly. The Barons, who had only a confused Notion of this Charter, were very well pleased with its being found, but more so with the Contents. Therefore, without further consideration, they resolved to make it the Foundation of their demands. Then they entered into a Confederacy, and bound themselves by Oath, to use their utmost endeavours to obtain the Re-establishment of their ancient Privileges, and mutually stand by one another. The Cardinal promised for his part, to do all that lay in his power to promote their designs. This is the first League or Confederacy made in *England*, in defence of the Nation's Interest against the King.

The Barons league against the King.

John implores the Pope's Protection. Id. p. 245.

Though the Barons intended to keep their League private, till a favorable opportunity offered to discover their designs, the King was soon informed of it. He foresaw the consequences, but as it was not in his power to break it, believed the only way to be safe, was to put himself under the Pope's powerful Protection. Pursuant to this resolution, he sent a trusty Messenger to his Holiness, to inform him of what passed, and entreat him to grant him his assistance in so pressing a necessity. His request was attended with a very handsome Present, in order to obtain more readily what he desired (8). *Innocent* was overjoyed at the news of the Dissention, like to break out between the King and the Barons. If any thing was capable of depriving him of the Sovereignty lately acquired over the Kingdom of *England*, it was, doubtless, a strict and hearty Union between the King and the Nobles. The Resignation extorted from *John*, was of itself so repugnant to all Right, and so full of nullities, that it must have fallen to the ground, if the King and his Subjects could have been brought to so necessary a Union. And therefore nothing being more agreeable to the Pope, than to see the King and the Barons in no way to support one another, he resolved to make their Discord a means, more firmly to establish his Authority in the Kingdom (9). To that end, without discovering his knowledge of the Confederacy of the Barons, he sent (10) Cardinal *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Tusculum*, (now *Frascati*,) as his Legate into *England*, with power to relax the Interdict, and reconcile the King and the Clergy, concerning the promised restitution. *John* offering a hundred thousand Marks, the Legate seemed satisfied with the Sum; but the Bi-

1214. *The Pope sends a Legate into England.* Act. Pub. T. I p. 174. M. Paris. p. 246.

(1) *M. Paris* says, it had hitherto been deferred, under pretence that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was to come over, and perform it in Person, on the Pope's behalf.

(2) *July* 16. *M. Paris*, p. 239.

(3) After having appointed the Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Geoffrey Fitz-Peters* Regents of the Kingdom. *Ibid.*

(4) *Ralph de Coggshal* lays the miscarriage of this Voyage chiefly upon the Barons of the North, who being summoned, affirmed, they were not obliged to follow him, according to the Tenure of their Estates. This is a clear evidence, that the Barons of the Realm were not obliged to attend the King, when he made War of his own head, but only in case of an Invasion from abroad, or a Rebellion at home.

(5) Absque judicio Curiæ suæ. *M. Paris*, p. 239.

(6) His words were, That the King had sworn he would abolish unjust Laws, and restore the good ones, namely, those of *Edward*. *Idem.* p. 240.

(7) See the Charter at the end of this Reign.

(8) Noverat enim Rex, & multiplici didicerat experientiâ, quod Papa super omnes Mortales ambitiosus erat & superbus, pecuniæque sititor insatiabilis, & ad omnia Scelera pro præmiis datis vel promissis, cereum & proclivum, *&c. M. Paris*, An. 1213. *Rapin.*

(9) This year died *Geoffrey Fitz-Peters*, Justiciary of *England*. He was a generous and learned Man, and the main support of the Kingdom; so that at his death, *England* became like a Ship without a Rudder. He had the chief hand in the management of all affairs, and was more feared, than loved by the King. When News was brought to King *John* of his death, he said, *Now I shall be King and Lord of* England. *M. Paris*, p. 246.

(10) About *Michaelmas*. *Ibid.* p. 246.

1214. ſhops openly rejected this offer, chuſing rather to let the Kingdom groan under the intolerable Burden of an Interdict, than recede in the leaſt from their Pretenſions. The Legate was not diſpleaſed with their obſtinacy, which gave him an occaſion to acquaint the King with the orders he had received from the Pope. He repreſented to him, he could never expect to live in Peace, till he had put himſelf entirely under the Protection of the Apoſtolick See: "That therefore, it was neceſſary to make a ſecond "Reſignation of his Crown, the firſt being liable to many "Exceptions: That afterwards the Pope, finding himſelf "indiſpenſably obliged to ſupport him, would infallibly "free him from all his troubles."

He demands a ſecond Reſignation of the Crown. M. Paris.

John found himſelf in an ill ſituation; ſurrounded with difficulties, and having almoſt as many Enemies as Lords in the Kingdom, he had no other refuge but the Pope's Protection. Accordingly, though this Protection could not be obtained but by a ſecond reſignation of his Crown, he was once more perſwaded to that ſervile Compliance. This reſolution being taken, he convened a general Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, where, in the preſence of all the Lords, he ſolemnly reſigned a ſecond time his Crown to the Pope, with all the Formalities the Legate was pleaſed to require. He ſigned alſo another Charter, wherein care was taken to ſupply all the defects of the former. To render it more authentick, it was ſealed with Gold, the firſt being ſealed only with Wax. Then the King delivered it to the Legate, for the uſe of the Pope his maſter. It was not difficult for the confederate Barons to perceive, their Secret was diſcovered, and that *John*'s ſecond reſignation, was the price of the Pope's Protection. As nothing was more oppoſite to their deſign of recovering their antient Privileges, than the Vaſſalage to which *John* had ſubjected the Kingdom, Cardinal *Langton* ſolemnly proteſted againſt it, and laid his Proteſtation upon the Altar.

John conſents to it. Ibid.

Langton proteſts againſt it.

Innocent having notice of *Langton*'s Proteſtation, was extremely incenſed, that a Cardinal ſhould act ſo directly contrary to the Intereſts of the Holy See. He durſt not however fall upon him, for fear of putting the whole Kingdom in commotion, and inducing the *Engliſh* to join with *Langton* in defence of their Liberties. Indeed, it was by no means proper to let the Nation feel ſo ſoon the weight of their new Servitude. On the contrary, it was the Court of *Rome*'s Intereſt to let her Rights lie dormant a while, that the *Engliſh*, perceiving no alteration, might be leſs inclined to ſhake off their late Yoke. Mean time, the Pope however took occaſion to mortify the Archbiſhop, by impowering his Legate, Cardinal *Nicholas*, to fill all the vacant Benefices in *England*. The Legate abuſed his power moſt ſhamefully. Not content with conferring the Benefices on *Italians*, on his Relations and Creatures, he even gave ſome to Perſons unborn. *Langton*, angry that his Commiſſion ſhould be given to another, took occaſion from the Legate's ill Conduct to appeal to the Pope againſt his Proceedings, and ſent his Brother *Simon* to *Rome* to proſecute the Appeal. He found *Innocent* little inclined to give ear to complaints againſt the Legate, who had juſt done him ſuch ſignal Services. Beſides, *Pandulph*, who was ſent to *Rome* with the Charter ſealed with Gold, had very much blaſted the Credit of the Archbiſhop, and all the *Engliſh* Lords. He repreſented them as turbulent Perſons, and extolled the King as the moſt pious of Princes. This account cauſed *Innocent*, regardleſs of *Langton*'s Remonſtrances, to diſpatch orders to his Legate to take off the Interdict (1), which had now laſted above ſix years. As for the Satisfaction demanded by the Clergy, he ordered, the King ſhould pay but forty thouſand Marks, in lieu of all the reſtitution.

The Pope empowers his Legate to fill vacant Benefices. M. Paris.

The Legate abuſes his Power.

Langton *appeals to the Pope.* M. Paris, p. 247, 248.

The Interdict is taken off, and a very moderate Reſtitution granted to the Biſhops. Id. p. 249.

Thus ended this grand affair, which rendered the King of *England* the Pope's Vaſſal and Homager. An Event of this nature affords ample matter for reflections, which the Reader is left to make. I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving, that, if in the firſt Negotiation, the Pope would have been ſatisfied with exacting from *John* ſo moderate a reſtitution, things would then have been, doubtleſs, adjuſted. For that was the only obſtacle to a reconciliation, ſince the Nuncio's were pleaſed with all the reſt of the King's Propoſals. But *John* had not yet reſigned his Crown to the Pope, whereas after his reſignation, the hundred thouſand Marks offered by him, were reduced to forty thouſand. The Clergy, who were in hopes of receiving immenſe Sums for this reſtitution, were very much diſappointed. Nevertheleſs, not daring to contradict the Pope's expreſs orders, they were forced to be ſatisfied with a very moderate Sum, in compariſon of what they expected. The Biſhops however found means to indemnify themſelves, by not giving any ſhare of the forty thouſand Marks to the inferior Clergy and Monaſteries. Theſe laſt made their complaints to the Legate; but could get no other anſwer, ſave only, that having no orders from the Pope, it was not in his power to give them any redreſs.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 187.

1214.

John finding himſelf freed, though to his eternal ſhame, from an affair, which had created him ſo much trouble, reſolved to proſecute the deſign which the diſobedience of the Barons had obliged him to give over. He hoped to meet with more Submiſſion from his Subjects, ſince the Pope had openly declared himſelf his Protector, than whilſt he lay under the Sentence of Excommunication. After making the neceſſary Preparations for ſo important an Enterprize (2), he came to *Rochel* with a numerous Army, and entering *Poictou*, ſubdued that Province with the ſame eaſe it was taken from him. Encouraged by this good Succeſs, he marched into *Anjou*, and rebuilt the Walls of *Angers*, which he had formerly demoliſhed. This ſudden attack ſurprized *Philip*, who being then employed in the *Low-Countries*, in an important War with the Emperor, and the Earl of *Flanders*, could not timely enough oppoſe this new Enemy. However, his Son Prince *Lewis*, raiſing an Army with all poſſible expedition, advanced towards *Anjou*, whilſt the *Engliſh* were beſieging the ſtrong Caſtle of *La Roche au Moine*. The approach of the *French* Army cauſing to vaniſh *John*'s hopes of being able to continue the Siege, he reſolved to raiſe it, and give *Lewis* battle. But the *Poictevins* refuſing to follow him, he was not only forced to relinquiſh that deſign, but even to retreat with ſome precipitation. The *French* Hiſtorians ſay, he was briskly attacked in his retreat, and received a great loſs. The *Engliſh*, on the contrary affirm, that *Lewis*, ſatisfied with raiſing the Siege, retired without purſuing him. Notwithſtanding this accident, *John* had Troops ſufficient to expect a good iſſue of the War, had it continued. But the news of the Battle of *Bovines*, gained by *Philip* in *Flanders*, made him think of retreating. This Victory, the moſt conſiderable *France* had ever obtained (3), making *John* apprehenſive the whole burden of the War would lie upon him, demanded a Truce for five years, by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate. Though a famous Hiſtorian affirms, *Philip* granted this Truce only at the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, it may be preſumed, he was not very unwilling to conſent to it. For he could not deſire any thing more advantagious, than to ſee the *Engliſh* return home, ſince he could gain but little upon them, whereas he had a great deal to loſe (4).

1214.

John *carries the War into* France. M. Paris.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 181 ---- 189.

He ſubdues Poictou, *and enters* Anjou. M. Paris. p. 248.

Prince Lewis *ſtops his Progreſs.*

Rigord.

Philip *gains the Battle of* Bovines.

John *obtains a Truce.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 183 ---- 192. M. Paris, p. 250, 251. Mezerai.

We are now come to the third Period of King *John*'s Reign, which was no leſs full of troubles and misfortunes than the two former. We have ſeen him in the two firſt, ſtruggling with two foreign Powers, who triumphed over him. In this we ſhall ſee him contending with his own Subjects, and reduced, in order to ſupport himſelf in the Throne, to lay waſte his own Kingdom, with an Army of divers Nations, and at length behold a foreign Prince receive the Oath of Fealty from the *Engliſh*.

The third part of John's *Reign.*

After being expoſed to ſo many misfortunes, *John*, as it ſeemed, thought at the expence of his honour, to paſs the reſidue of his Life in Peace. But his Lot was otherwiſe. His paſt Conduct, mixt with Haughtineſs, Caprice, Tyranny, Imprudence, Cowardice, had bred among his Subjects a general diſcontent, that could not fail of producing ill Effects. As he loſt the People's Eſteem, the Barons became leſs tractable. Their hopes of ſucceeding in their deſigns, were properly built on the little Affection of the People for their Sovereign. As ſoon as the King was returned from his *French* Expedition, the Barons, who had always their former Projects in view, reſolved to demand in a Body, the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Privileges. Under colour of a Pilgrimage, the chief Earls and Barons met at St. *Emund's-bury*, where they came to a reſolution, to demand of the King the confirmation of the Charter of *Henry* I. This Charter, as was obſerved, contained in ſubſtance, the Liberties enjoyed by the People of *England*, during the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings. Before they parted, it was agreed, that immediately after *Chriſtmas*, they would go to the King in a Body, and preſent him their Petition. Mean time, every one went to his own home, to provide himſelf with Men, Horſes, and Arms, to be in condition to compel the King, if there was occaſion, to grant their deſires. But before I proceed, it will not be amiſs to examine the occaſion of this Quarrel.

The Barons league for the Reſtoration of their Liberties.

M. Paris, p. 252.

(1) It was taken off, *July* 2. *T. Wikes*, p. 37; or *June* 29, according to *M. Paris*, p. 249.

(2) He embarked, with his Queen, at *Portſmouth*, *Feb.* 2. *Idem.* p. 248.

(3) This famous Battle was fought on the 27th of *July*, between *Tournay* and *Liſle*. Though the Allies, *viz.* the Emperor *Otho*, *Ferdinand* Earl of *Flanders*, with the Dukes of *Lovain* and *Brabant*, had no leſs than a hundred and twenty thouſand Men, and though the King of *France* had not near ſo many, and was moreover thrown off his Horſe and trod under foot, yet at length he entirely vanquiſhed his Enemies. *Otho* was put to flight, and died ſome time after with grief; five Earls were taken Priſoners, one of which was *William Long-Sword*, King *John*'s baſe Brother. No Prince after that dared to withſtand *Philip*. *Chr. Mailros.* p. 250, &c.

(4) *John* returned to *England*, *Octob.* 20. *M. Paris*, p. 252.

1214. Now the foundation of the Barons pretenſions, and of the King's refuſal of what they ſo earneſtly demanded, was as follows.

Examination of the King's and Barons Pretenſions.

It cannot be denied, that in the Reigns of the firſt *Norman* Kings, and particularly under *William the Conqueror*, the *Engliſh* were oppreſſed. They were ſo unjuſtly dealt with, that not an *Engliſhman* was left in poſſeſſion of any conſiderable Fee (1). The *Normans* and other Foreigners were decked with their ſpoils. At that time the *Engliſh*, who had ſo great cauſe to complain, in vain alledged their privileges; all ears were deaf to their complaints. On the contrary, the *Normans* thought it no injuſtice for the King to uſe a deſpotick power, as long as it was for their advantage. The Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor* were in ſuch diſrepute, that it was almoſt treaſon to mention them. But when once theſe ſame *Normans* ſaw themſelves firmly ſettled on their new acquiſitions, they began to perceive how dangerous it was to live under an arbitrary Power, which might deprive them of what the Conqueror had given their Anceſtors. Therefore by degrees they put on the *Engliſh* genius, wholly addicted to liberty, and wanted to have the *Saxon* Laws re-eſtabliſhed. All diſtinction between the two Nations was intirely removed. Every one was deſirous of being *Engliſh* rather than *Norman*. Probably this was the chief reaſon why the *Norman* Language prevailed not in *England*, notwithſtanding the care and pains of *William* I. to that end. Upon all fair occaſions, the *Normans* ſpoke like true *Engliſhmen*, and earneſtly demanded the revival of the Laws of *Edward*. They particularly took advantage of the circumſtances of *William Rufus*, *Henry* I, and *Stephen*, when they mounted the Throne. As theſe Princes had not properly any right to the Crown, they were forced to be indulgent to their Subjects, and promiſe them the re-eſtabliſhment of their antient Laws. Indeed, what the Barons demanded would have been very right in the mouth of an *Engliſhman*; but theſe ſame pretenſions, with reſpect to the *Normans*, might be very juſtly conteſted. Accordingly we have ſeen in the hiſtory of theſe three Princes, though they ſolemnly promiſed to revive theſe Laws, they never heartily ſet about the being as good as their word. Nevertheleſs thoſe ſolemn and repeated engagements gave the Barons of the *Norman* Race, a right which they had not before. The circumſtances of the three firſt *Norman* Kings, when they aſcended the Throne, were therefore the true cauſe of theſe wrong proceedings, which afterwards became ſo prejudicial to their Succeſſors. They knew, their *Norman* Subjects had no right to demand the revival of the *Saxon* Laws, which muſt have been evidently violated, to ſettle them in the Eſtates they poſſeſſed in *England*. But neceſſity compelled theſe Princes to promiſe what they never intended to perform. The Charter of *Henry* I, was never executed either by himſelf or any of his Succeſſors. What care ſoever was taken to ſend Copies to the principal Monaſteries, it was with great difficulty that a ſingle one was found, a hundred years after, and ſhewn by Cardinal *Langton* to the Lords. If therefore the rights of the Barons are originally conſidered, they muſt be concluded to be built upon no good foundation; becauſe the principal Fiefs were in the hands of the deſcendents of thoſe, to whom they were granted by *William the Conqueror*. But on the other ſide, it muſt be confeſs'd, that the many ſolemn promiſes of all the Kings ſince the Conqueror, to reſtore the *Saxon* Laws, commonly called the Laws of St. *Edward*, gave the *Engliſh Normans* a very plauſible right to demand the performance thereof.

From what has been ſaid it may be eaſily inferred, that if the Barons thought themſelves intitled to demand the re-eſtabliſhment of the privileges of the *Engliſh* Nation, *John* believed himſelf no leſs authorized to refuſe it. This conteſt remaining undecided during ſeveral Reigns, both Parties had kept up their reſpective pretenſions. When the King was weak, or in ſuch circumſtances as permitted him not to contend, the Barons tried to get the Liberties of the *Engliſh* reſtored, and the Prince not knowing what to do better, put them off with fair promiſes, which he had no deſign to perform. But, under able Kings, who were in proſperity, the conteſt was ſtifled, and the Barons waited for a more favorable opportunity to compaſs their ends. They thought they had now met with one, and reſolved to improve it. *John*'s circumſtances were juſt as they wiſhed. Hated and deſpiſed by the People, to whom he had given great occaſions of diſcontent, he could never hope to regain their affection. On the other hand, he was without hopes of aſſiſtance from King *Philip*, his moſt mortal enemy. Much leſs could he expect any Succours from the Emperor his Nephew, or the Earl of *Flanders*, who were equally cruſhed by the Battle of *Bovines*. Neither was it likely, that the King of *Scotland* would eſpouſe the quarrel of a Prince, with whom he was extremely diſpleaſed. As for the aſſiſtance *John* might expect from the Pope, as it was to conſiſt only of ſpiritual Arms, the Barons were in no concern about it; well knowing ſuch Weapons have no edge, but what fear, and the circumſtances of time and place give them. But as they had reaſon to hope, the People would join with them, in defence of their common intereſts, they were not afraid the Pope's Thunder-bolts would do them much hurt. *John* therefore was neceſſarily forced to yield on this occaſion; for having loſt the *French* Provinces, he had no refuge againſt the *Engliſh*.

1214.

1215. *The Barons demand the Revival of the Laws of St. Edward.* M. Paris, p. 253.

Full of theſe hopes, and holding themſelves ſure of ſucceſs, the Barons (2) came to the King at *London* (3), and demanded in plain and expreſs terms, the re-eſtabliſhment (4) of the Laws of St. *Edward*, with the other rights and privileges contained in the Charter of *Henry* I. They alledged, they required only, what he himſelf had promiſed with a ſolemn Oath, before he received his abſolution, and for that reaſon, their moſt humble petition could not be looked upon as an innovation, much leſs as proceeding from a ſpirit of Rebellion. This petition, though expreſſed in the moſt reſpectful terms, alarmed the King. As he found, they had taken their reſolution in caſe it was rejected, he believed his beſt courſe would be to gain time. He deſired them therefore to ſtay for his anſwer till *Eaſter*, aſſuring them, he would then declare his intentions. Though it was very eaſy to ſee, the King only ſought to amuſe them, they were afraid of being blamed, ſhould they refuſe this delay, and retire (5).

The King puts off his Anſwer.

He renews the Fealty and Homage of all his Subjects. M. Paris, p. 253. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 196, 197.

Mean time, the King taking advantage of this delay, cauſed the Oath of Fealty to be renewed by all his Subjects, and Homage by all his immediate Vaſſals. After which, he took upon him the Croſs (6), as if he intended to go to the *Holy-Land*, to the end he might ſhelter himſelf under the Church's protection (7). On the other hand, the Pope being informed of the Barons petition, ſent them a Letter, exhorting them to continue in obedience to their Sovereign; but that did not hinder them from proſecuting their deſign.

The Barons preſs the King for his Anſwer. M. Paris, p. 254.

As ſoon as *Eaſter* was come, the great Men met at *Stanford*, conſiſting of almoſt all the Nobility, and making a powerful Army, in which were above two thouſand Knights, beſides other Horſe and Foot, armed with divers Weapons (8). The King, who was at *Oxford* in expectation of their coming, hearing of their number and poſture, did not think fit to expoſe his Perſon in a conference with them. Before they advanced any nearer (9), he ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* (10) to know, what the Laws and Liberties were, which they mentioned in their petition. Upon which, they delivered a long memorial of the Laws and Cuſtoms obſerved in the time of the *Saxon* Kings; declaring, if the King would not confirm them, they were reſolved to compel him, by ſeizing his Caſtles.

(1) Not only Knights Fees, and part of Knights Fees, but alſo Honours and Baronies (which were the greater Fees) were called *Fees*. And not without Cauſe, for, except they were held by grand Serjeanty only, they were uſually compoſed of Knights Fees. In general, *Fee* is a Name applicable to all Seigneuries, *Hors de ſon Fee*, *Hors de ſa Barony*, is as much as to ſay, *out of his Barony*. It may be obſerved, that *Feoffment* ſignified originally the Grant of a *Feud* or *Fee*. Nevertheleſs, by Cuſtom it came afterwards to ſignify alſo, a Grant (with Livery and Seiſin) of a free Inheritance, to a Man and his Heirs; reſpect being had rather to the Perpetuity of the Eſtate granted, than the *Feudal Tenure*. And this has been called a Feoffment in Fee ſimple. Out of the Fee-ſimple there has been derived another kind of inheritable Eſtate, which has been called a *conditional Fee*, or *Fee-Tail*. There are likewiſe Feoffments for Life. See *Madox's Diſſert. on Chart. and Inſtrum.* p. 4.

(2) The Names of the Barons were, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, *Euſtace de Veſci*, *Richard de Parcy*, *Robert de Roſs*, *Peter de Bruis*, *Nicholas de Stuteville*, *Saer* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *Robert* and *Henry* Earls of *Clare*. *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *William de Munbrey*, *Roger de Creiſſi*, *Ranulph Fitz-Robert*, *Robert de Ver*, *Fulk Fitz-Warin*, *William Mallet*, *William de Montacute*, *William de Beauchamp*, *S. de Kime*, *William Mareſchall* the younger, *William Maudut*, *Roger de Mont-Begon*, *John Fitz Robert*, *John Fitz-Alan*, *C. de Laval*, *O. Fitz-Alan*, *W. de Hobrug*, *O. de Vall*, *G. de Gant*, *Maurice de Gant*, *R. de Brackeſle*, *R. de Monfichet*, *W. de Lanvalei*, *G. de Mandeville* Earl of *Eſſex*, *William* his Brother, *William de Huntingfield*, *Robert de Greſlei*, *G.* Conſtable of *Meutum*, *Alexander de Pointum*, *Peter Fitz-John*, *Alexander de Sutun*, *Osbert de Bobi*, *John* Conſtable of *Cheſter*, *Thomas de Mulutune*, *Conan Fitz-Helias*, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 254.

(3) Who was then at the *New Temple*; which was where the *Inner* and *Middle Temple* now ſtand: They came to him in a military Apparel. *M. Paris*, p. 253.

(4) Or Confirmation. *Ibid.*

(5) *Matthew Paris* ſays, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and *William* Earl-Marſhal were Sureties for the King, that on the day appointed he would give them ſatisfaction, p. 253.

(6) On *February* 2. More out of Fear than Religion, as *M. Paris* obſerves, p. 253.

(7) About the ſame time alſo the King granted a Charter for the Freedom of Elections to Biſhopricks and Abbies, to chuſe their Biſhops and Abbots, without any Letters of Nomination or Recommendation from the King, which was contrary to the uſage of his Anceſtors. So that the nominating to Abbies, Deans, and Chapters, fit Perſons to be elected Biſhops, was never after fully reſtored to the Crown till the 25th of *Henry* VIII. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. I. p. 197. *M. Paris*, p. 262.

(8) The words of the Original, *viz. M. Paris*, are here taken inſtead of *Rapin*'s, which are not ſo clear.

(9) They were then at *Brackley* in *Northamptonſhire*. *M. Paris.*

(10) And the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c. *Idem.* p. 254.

John

1215. *He rejects their Petition.* M. Paris.

John had no ſooner read this Memorial, but he fell into a violent paſſion. He ſaid aloud, the Barons wanted no leſs than to deprive him of the Government of his Kingdom, and ſwore a great Oath, *he would never grant his Subjects ſuch Liberties as would make himſelf a Slave.*

They chuſe a General; Ibid.

The King's anſwer convincing the Barons, they expected in vain to obtain their demands otherwiſe than by force, they choſe the Lord [*Robert*] *Fitz-Walter* for their General, ſtiling him *the Marſhal of the Army of God, and of Holy Church.* At the ſame time they marched to *Northampton*, and beſieged the Caſtle fifteen days. That place holding out longer than they expected, they raiſed the Siege and went to *Bedford*, of which they became maſters (1). A few days after, they received advice, that a ſecret Negotiation with ſome of the chief Burghers of *London*, had ſucceeded to their wiſh, and that one of the Gates of the City was to be put into their hands. The hopes of ſtrengthening themſelves with the aſſiſtance of ſo rich and powerful a City, whoſe name alone would give a reputation to their Party, cauſed them to make ſuch ſpeed, that in two marches (2) they came to *Aldgate*. This Gate being opened to them, they entered the City at break of day (3), before the King, who was in the *Tower*, had the leaſt notice of their approach. So great an advantage enabling them to undertake any thing, they reſolved to beſiege the King in the *Tower*. Whilſt they were employed in the Siege, which however they could not begin without great preparations, they ſent circular Letters to all the Lords of the King's Party, and to thoſe that ſtood Neuter (4). Without any preface, they let them know, their eſtates would be plundered, and their Houſes demoliſhed, if they did not come and join with them, in ſupport of the common cauſe of the Kingdom. Theſe threats had ſo good an effect, that all the neutral Lords ſided with the Barons. Nay, ſome on whom the King chiefly relied, deſerted him for fear of the impending evils. This defection rendering the King more tractable, he ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* to inform the Barons, he was ready to grant their demands. This was properly throwing himſelf upon their mercy. But as matters then ſtood, he had no other courſe to take. After a ſhort Negotiation, it was agreed, the King and the Barons ſhould meet on a day prefixed, in a Meadow called *Runnemede* (5), to conclude this affair.

M. Paris.

and begin Hoſtilities. Ibid.

They become Maſters of London;

and beſiege the King in the Tower. M. Paris. p. 255.

John is conſtrained to yield to them.

He ſigns Magna Charta, *and the Charter of Foreſts.* M. Paris, p. 235. &c. M. Weſt.

The Barons came in great numbers to the place appointed, whilſt the King appeared attended only by five or ſix Lords. Among whom was the Cardinal Archbiſhop, who affected to perform the Office of Mediator, though he was the principal author of the troubles. It was ſoon agreed, what ſatisfaction the King ſhould give the Barons. As they would make no conceſſions, it was not in the King's power to deny any thing. Beſides, he conſidered, the higher they ran in their demands, the more plauſible would his pretence be, to retract when a favorable opportunity offered. And therefore, without objecting to any of the Articles propoſed, he pretended freely to grant, what in reality was extorted by Force. He ſigned two Charters, wherein the Barons inſerted whatever they pleaſed. The firſt was called the *Charter of Liberties*, or the *Great Charter* (6), the other, the *Charter of the Liberties of the Foreſt*. By peruſing theſe Charters, which will be inſerted at the end of this Reign, the Reader may ſee what oppreſſions the *Engliſh* had been liable to ſince the Conqueſt, and what Privileges they gained on this occaſion. From that time theſe two Charters have been the foundation of the *Engliſh* Liberties, notwithſtanding the endeavours of *John* himſelf and ſome of his Succeſſors, to annull them.

Precautions of the Barons that the Charters might be obſerved. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 201. M. Paris, p. 262.

Theſe Charters were ſigned by the King, and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Realm, ſealed with the Great Seal, and confirmed by the King's ſolemn Oath. But for the better ſecuring the obſervance thereof, there were choſen, with the King's conſent, five and twenty Barons (7), to any of whom all Perſons might apply, to complain of the breach of the Charters. It was further agreed, that the four Barons, who were firſt to be informed of any grievance, ſhould acquaint the King with it, and if it was not redreſſed within forty days, ſhould give notice of it to all the Barons, for whom, in that caſe, it ſhould be lawful to take up Arms, and ſeize the King's Caſtles, in order to oblige him to redreſs the grievance. All violence, however, to the King's Perſon, the Queen, and their Iſſue, was excepted. But to remove the People's ſcruples, about taking up Arms againſt their Sovereign, the King conſented that all Perſons ſhould ſwear to aſſiſt the Barons, in all caſes relating to the two Charters. Laſtly, To all theſe conceſſions he added Letters Patents, directed to all his Sheriffs, impowering them to take the Oaths of all his Subjects, that they would punctually obſerve the two Charters, and if it was neceſſary, to compel the King to obſerve the ſame (8).

1215. M. Paris, p. 262.

The ſaying of a Hiſtorian upon the like occaſion, is very applicable here, *that the King intended not to bind himſelf with Chains of Parchment.* All the precautions taken by the Barons to tie up their Sovereign, ſerved only to make him the more eager to find means to free himſelf from a yoke, which to him ſeemed intolerable. Thoſe that were about him being moſtly Foreigners, helped alſo to exaſperate him, by aggravating the pride and inſolence of the Barons. As they were ſenſible, theſe Charters, which ſet bounds to the Regal Power, muſt be prejudicial to them, they never ceaſed repreſenting to him the injury he had done himſelf in ſigning them. In ſhort, all their diſcourſes tended only, to put him upon meaſures to free himſelf from the ſubjection, to which his conceſſions had rendered him liable. They very eaſily ſucceeded in their deſign; but the greateſt difficulty lay in the execution. This unhappy Prince, continually tormented by his own thoughts, and the virulent reproaches of his Courtiers, grew ſo reſerved and melancholy, as ſufficiently diſcovered his vexation. He conſidered with himſelf, of means to be revenged; but knew not where to have Men and Money, to that end. And indeed he ſaw no other remedy than to apply to the Barons themſelves, againſt whom he deſigned to uſe them. But it was not eaſy to deceive them, in their continual jealouſy of him. In fine, after turning himſelf every way, his deſpair ſuggeſted to him a means of raiſing Troops, without having wherewithal to pay them; which was, to ſend ſome of his Confidents (9) into *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, with orders to promiſe ſuch as would enter into his Service, the confiſcated eſtates of the rebellious Barons, as he called them. He gave theſe Agents likewiſe a power to make Grants beforehand of the Lands of the *Engliſh* Lords, and to paſs the deeds in form (10). By the like ingagements *William the Conqueror* had formerly aſſembled a numerous Army, which rendered him maſter of *England*. They that were ingaged with that Prince were very ſucceſsful. So the conſideration of the noble Eſtates they had acquired in the Kingdom, induced great numbers to try the ſame way, in expectation of *John*'s procuring them the ſame advantages. At all times, there are but too many ambitious or deſperate Perſons, who eagerly embrace all opportunities of enriching themſelves, without regarding the juſtice or injuſtice of the ſide they eſpouſe (11).

John repents the ſigning of the Charters. Id. p. 264.

Ibid.

He endeavours to annull them.

He raiſes a Troop of Adventurers in foreign Countries. M. Paris, p. 267.

Whilſt his Agents were employed in levying Troops, *John* was taking care to ſecure the Court of *Rome*. He knew by fatal experience, how capable the Pope's formidable power was, of promoting or hindering the execution of his deſigns. And therefore he ſent the Pope a Letter (12), informing him of the conſtraint put upon him, though, as he aſſured him, he had proteſted, that, being a

He demands the Pope's Aſſiſtance. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 200, 202. M. Paris, p. 265.

(1) The Caſtle was put into their hands by *William Beauchamp* the Owner. *M. Paris*, p. 254.

(2) In the firſt day's march they came to *Ware*. *Ibid.* (3) On *May* 24. *Ibid.*

(4) Namely, to *William Mareſcall* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *H.* Earl of *Cornwall*, *W.* and *Philip de Albiney*, *Robert de Vieupont*, *Peter Fitz-Hubert*, *Brian de l'Iſle*, *G. de Luci*, *G. de Furnival*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Henry de Braibreck*, *John de Baſſingebrane*, *William de Cantelu*, *Henry de Cornbulle*, *John Fitz-Hugh*, *Hugh de Neville*, *John Mareſcall*, *William Bruwerre*, &c. *Idem.* p. 255.

(5) Between *Stains* and *Windſor*. *Runnemede*, ſays *M. Weſt.* ſignifies the *Mead of Council*; becauſe, from antient times, Treaties concerning the Peace of the Kingdom had been often held there. Both Parties met on the 5th of *June*, and pitched their Tents aſunder in the Meadow. On the King's Side appeared the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Worceſter*, *Coventry* and *Rocheſter*; *Pandulph* the Pope's Legate, and *Almeric* Maſter of the *Knights-Templars* in *England*. And of the Laity, *William Mareſcall* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earls of *Saliſbury*, *Warren*, and *Arundel*; with the Barons, *Alan de Galloway*, *William Fitz-Gerald*, *Peter* and *Matthew Fitz-Herbert*, *Thomas* and *Alan Baſſet*, *Hugh de Nevil*, *Hubert de Burgh*, Seneſchal of *Poictou*, *Robert de Roppeley*, *John Mareſcall*, and *Philip de Albiney*. As for thoſe on the Barons Side, they are ſcarce to be numbered, as you may ſee in *Mat. Paris*, under the year 1215. The chief were, *Robert Fitz Walter* the General, &c. See their Names above, in Note (2), p. 275.

(6) *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or *Magna Charta*. *M. Paris*, An. 1215. (7) See their Names in *M. Paris*, p. 262.

(8) By another Agreement, printed in Dr. *Brady*'s *Appendix*, the City of *London* was to remain in the Hands of the Barons mentioned in the Note above, till the 15th of *Auguſt* that year, and that the Archbiſhop ſhould hold the Tower for the ſame Term. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. I. p. 201.

(9) His Agents were, *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter* his Chancellor, *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Richard de Mariſco*, or *Maris*, who went to the Pope, *William Gernon*, and *Hugh de Boves*. *M. Paris*, p. 264.

(10) He ordered, that thoſe foreign Troops ſhould be at *Dover* by *Michaelmaſs*. *Idem.* p. 265. *Mat. Paris* ſays, the King counterfeited the Biſhops Seal, and wrote in their Names to all Nations, ſaying, That all the *Engliſh* were become Apoſtates; and whoever would invade them, the King, with the Conſent of the Pope and Biſhops, would give them the Lands of theſe Apoſtates, p. 255.

(11) He ſent orders alſo to all the Wardens of his Caſtles, to furniſh them with arms and Proviſions. *Idem.* p. 265.

(12) The King's Letter to the Pope concludes with theſe words: *Pro certo habentes, quod poſt Deum, perſonam veſtram, & auctoritatem Sedis Apoſtolicæ, habemus unicum & ſingulare præſidium, & ſub veſtri Confidentiâ patrocinij reſpiramus.* Rapin.

1215. Vaſſal of the Holy See, he could do nothing without his conſent. With this Letter he ſent a Copy of the Charters, and deſired the Pope to obſerve, that all the Articles were ſo many Incroachments upon the Regal Power, and conſequently upon the Lord Paramount. This was flattering the Pope in the moſt ſenſible part. Upon this foundation he entreated him to abſolve him from his Oath, that he might, with a ſafe Conſcience, uſe his endeavours to free himſelf from ſo heavy a Yoke. After taking theſe meaſures with all poſſible ſecrecy, fearing, if he appeared too much in publick, his deſigns might be diſcovered, or gueſs'd at, he choſe the Iſle of *Wight* for his reſidence. In this retirement he kept himſelf as it were concealed a good while, converſing only with Fiſhermen and Sailors, and diverting himſelf by walking on the Sea-ſhore with his Domeſticks. When the King was known to be retired to the Iſle of *Wight*, People were in vain inquiſitive about the cauſe of his retreat. Some jok'd, and ſaid he was become a Fiſherman or Merchant, others, that he deſign'd to turn Pyrate. But though he was not ignorant of theſe Scoffs, he never regarded them. During three Months, he waited patiently for the return of his Agents, and the Arrival of the foreign Troops, which he was made to expect.

He retires to the Iſle of Wight. M. Paris. p. 265.

He met with no difficulties at the Court of *Rome*, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport him. *Innocent* fell into a ſtrange Paſſion with the Barons, for daring, without conſulting him, to cauſe their King to ſign Charters of that nature, and put a conſtraint upon a Prince, who had taken the Croſs, and was under the Church's Protection. In his Rage, he ſwore [by St. *Peter*] that let what would be the conſequence, their raſhneſs ſhould not go unpuniſhed. At the ſame time he ſent them a Letter, enjoining them to renounce what they had extorted from their Sovereign, unleſs they would incur the Indignation of the Holy See. But the Barons made light of his Injunctions, and without fearing his Thunders, ſeized upon *Rocheſter* (1), which Cardinal *Langton* put into their hands (2). They found there a prodigious quantity of Ammunition, laid in by the King, to be uſed upon occaſion. This was, probably, the reaſon of their taking that place.

Innocent threatens the Barons. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 196, 197, 200, 203, 205. M. Paris. p. 266.

They make light of it, and ſeize Rocheſter. M. Paris.

Mean time the Pope annulling the two Charters, and abſolving the King from his Oath, *John*'s Affairs began to have a new face; by the advice he received, that his Agents had liſted great numbers of Adventurers in his ſervice. Whereupon, *John* haſtily quitted the Iſle of *Wight*, and went to receive them at *Dover*. In a ſhort time, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee vaſt numbers arrive from *Brabant*, *Flanders* (3), *Normandy*, *Poictou*, *Gaſcogne*, all Soldiers of Fortune, and ready to venture their lives to gain an Eſtate. The number of theſe Adventurers was ſo conſiderable, that the Hiſtorians who mention it, are ſcarce to be credited. But by an unexpected Accident, one of the Leaders, *Hugh de Boves*, with no leſs, as it is ſaid, than forty thouſand Men, periſhed in the Sea. If theſe had ſafely arrived, *John* would, doubtleſs, have had it in his power, to treat the *Normans* ſettled in *England*, in the ſame manner as *William the Conqueror* had formerly treated the *Engliſh*. But, notwithſtanding this great loſs, there were Troops enough left to enable him to trample upon the Barons, who little expected ſuch a revolution. His firſt undertaking was the Siege of *Rocheſter*, which, after a long reſiſtance, ſurrendered at laſt, in ſpite of the Barons endeavours to throw in ſome Succours. He was ſo exaſperated, that he would have hanged the whole Garriſon, if his Generals had not repreſented to him, that he would expoſe his own Troops to the ſame cruel Uſage (4). After the taking of *Rocheſter*, he divided his Army into two Bodies. He gave one to his natural Brother the Earl of *Salisbury*, to go and ravage the ſouthern Counties, whilſt with the other he marched into the northern parts, to make them feel the effects of his vengeance. Never was *England* in ſo deplorable a condition: She had two Armies of hungry Foreigners in her Bowels, ravaging the Country in a mercileſs manner. We may eaſily gueſs that they ſpared not the Houſes and Lands of the Barons, who, perceiving themſelves not ſtrong enough to appear in the Field, were retired to *London*.

The Pope annuls the Charters, and abſolves the King from his Oath. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 207. Knighton. M. Paris.

Great Numbers of foreign Troops arrive. M. Paris.

The King retakes Rocheſter, M. Paris. M. Weſt.

and ravages the Kingdom. M. Weſt.

Mean while, the Pope thundered out an Excommunication againſt the Barons, and ordered *Pandulph*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to enjoin Cardinal *Langton* in his Name to publiſh the Bull. But the Archbiſhop pretending the Pope was impoſed upon, refuſed to comply, till he himſelf had informed his Holineſs of all particulars. His true reaſon was, becauſe he could not reſolve to proceed againſt thoſe whom he had himſelf encouraged to take Arms. Upon his refuſal, the two Commiſſioners publiſhed the Excommunication themſelves, and ſuſpended the Archbiſhop, purſuant to their orders. The Barons not valuing this Cenſure, on pretence they were not particularly named in the Bull, continued their Endeavours to defend themſelves againſt the King. As for the Cardinal Archbiſhop, he was ſent for to *Rome*, where he was like to be depoſed, but the Pope relenting at the Intreaties of the other Cardinals, only confirmed his Suſpenſion. Some time after, he found another occaſion to mortify him, by voiding his Brother *Simon*'s Election, who was choſen Archbiſhop of *York*, and putting his Enemy, *Walter de Grey* in his room; from whom however he exacted [for his Pall] ten thouſand Pounds Stetling (5), for the occaſions of the Holy See. In fine, after ſeveral mortifications at *Rome*, *Langton*'s Suſpenſion was taken off, on condition, he would not return to *England* till the Troubles were entirely appeaſed.

1215. *The Pope excommunicates the Barons.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 208. M. Paris. Langton *refuſes to publiſh the Bull.* *He is ſuſpended and the Bull publiſhed.* *The Barons value it not.* *The Pope is revenged of* Langton. M. Paris. p. 271, &c. Id. p. 274.

When *Innocent* was informed of the Barons pretence for not ſubmitting to the Excommunication, he publiſhed another Bull, wherein they were all excommunicated by Name. Their Lands were put under an Inderdict, as well as the City of *London*, which had taken their part. As the Barons expected this ſecond Bull, they were reſolved not to regard it, and prevent its being publiſhed in *London*. They alledged in their vindication, that the Bull was obtained by falſe Suggeſtions, and conſequently of no force; that beſides, it was not the Pope's Buſineſs to meddle with Temporal Affairs, ſince St. *Peter* received from Chriſt only Spiritual Power; for which reaſon it was neither juſt nor right, that Chriſtians ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be governed by the Ambition and Avarice of the Popes. One would hardly believe, they who talked at this rate, were the ſame Perſons who refuſed to ſerve the King, becauſe he was excommunicated, were there not a thouſand inſtances to ſhow, how apt Men are to ſquare their opinions by their intereſts. Mean time, the Pope had the mortification to ſee his Authority contemned, without being able to help it; ſince the People were not for him, in which caſe he ever darts his Thunders to no manner of purpoſe. Whilſt the Barons and *Londoners* were taking theſe vigorous reſolutions againſt the Pope, *John* continued ravaging the Kingdom, and eſpecially the Lands of the confederate Barons (6). It is eaſy to conceive, that the manner of the foreign Troops executing his orders, was none of the mildeſt, and that numberleſs outrages and cruelties were committed on this occaſion, which increaſed the Animoſity of the Barons againſt the King (7).

The Barons are excommunicated again. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 211. *They deſpiſe the Pope's Cenſures.* M. Paris. p. 278.

John *continues his Ravages.* M. Paris, p. 274. M. Weſt.

Mean time the confederate Barons were in a deplorable condition. Inſtead of recovering their Privileges, they beheld their Eſtates plundered and given to Foreigners, whilſt the King was with pleaſure glutting his revenge. Their wretched State cauſed them at laſt to take a deſperate courſe, which engaged them to hazard their own with the whole Kingdom's Ruin, to have the ſatisfaction of being revenged on the King, though at the expence of the poor People. They acquainted the King of *France* (8), that if he would ſend Prince *Lewis* his Son, they promiſed to ſet the Crown of *England* on his head, provided he brought ſufficient Forces to free them from the Tyranny of King *John*. *Philip* did not want much intreaty to accept of the Barons Offer. He had once before thought of conquering *England*, and if the loſs of his Fleet, much more than the Threats of the Pope, had made him deſiſt from his Enterprize, he had ſtill a longing deſire to accompliſh it, if a fair opportunity ſhould offer. And as this, which the Rupture between *John* and the Barons furniſhed him with, ſeemed very favourable, he embraced it immediately. He only deſired the Barons to deliver twenty five Hoſtages,

The Barons make an Offer of the Crown to Prince Lewis *of* France. M. Paris. p. 279. M. Weſt. An. Waverl. Mezerai.

Philip *promiſes to aſſiſt them.* M. Paris. Ibid.

(1) Their Leader in this Adventure, was *William Albiney*. *M. Paris*, p 268.

(2) Qui, quâ conſcientiâ neſcio, illud Regis inimicis tradidit. *M. Paris. Rapin.*

(3) The Troops from *Brabant* and *Flanders* were commanded by *Walter Buck*, *Gerard Sottini*, and *Godeſchall*; thoſe from *Poictou* and *Gaſcogne*, by *Savaric de Maulion*, *Geoffrey*, and *Oliver de Buteville*, Brothers. *M. Paris*, p. 268.

(4) *William de Albiney*, whom the Barons had ſent for and made Governor under the Archbiſhop, *William de Lancaſter*, and *William de Emeſford*, and ſome others, were ſent cloſe Priſoners to *Corf* Caſtle. The ordinary Soldiers, except the Croſs-bow Men, were all hanged. *Ibid.* p 270.

(5) Hence may be gueſs'd what vaſt Sums of Money the Pope in thoſe Days extorted out of *England*, and what great Riches the Clergy poſſeſſed, when this Archbiſhop was to pay the Pope as much as would now be equal to fifty thouſand Pounds. He is ſaid to be promoted to the See of *York* for not having known Woman. *Ibid.*

(6) He marched through St. *Albans*, to *Dunſtable*, *Northampton*, and *Nottingham*; whilſt *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, and *Falcaſius* with an Army of Foreigners, ravaged *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Middleſex*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdonſhire*. *M. Paris*, p. 274, 275. But in return for theſe Outrages, a ſtrong Party of the Barons ſpoiled and ravaged the Counties of *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, and *Hertford*; or thoſe parts of them at leaſt, that belonged to the King's Adherents. *M. Weſt.* p. 274.

(7) *Roger de Wendover*, (who was then alive) as well as *Radulph* of *Coggeſhal*, has given us a particular Account of the Barbarities committed by King *John*'s Mercenaries, whom he calls, *The Guards of Satan, and Miniſters of the Devil.*

(8) By *Saher* Earl of *Winchester*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, who carried Letters ſealed with the Barons Seal. The reaſon of their applying particularly to him, was, That moſt of the Foreigners in King *John*'s Service, were *Philip*'s Subjects; and ſo they ſhould withdraw King *John*'s main Support, by having *Philip* on their Side. *M. Paris*, p. 279.

1215. for the performance of their Promiſe, to which they readily conſented. Upon the arrival of the Hoſtages at *Paris*, Prince *Lewis*, then in *Languedoc* warring againſt the *Albigenſes*, came to the King his Father, to prepare for this important expedition. Some Troops were immediately ſent to the Barons (1), with aſſurances that he would ſoon (2) follow in perſon with a greater Supply.

1216. *Great Preparations in* France. M. Paris.

The preparations in *France* coming to the Pope's ears, he diſpatched thither one *Gallo*, as his Legate, to try to put a ſtop to them. The Legate having an audience of the King, forbad him in the Pope's name to carry his arms into *England*, as being part of St. *Peter*'s patrimony, and threatned all perſons whatſoever with Excommunication that ſhould, directly or indirectly, aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Barons. *Philip* regardleſs of theſe Threats, replied, that *England* was no patrimony of St. *Peter*, for it was evident, King *John* could not ſubject his Kingdom, without the conſent of the States; that an Act of ſuch a nature was beyond the power of any King, and that the Maxims which the Pope would introduce, were too pernicious to all States to be received (3). The perſon that ſaid this, was however the ſame *Philip*, who three years before, by the Pope's ſole authority, thought himſelf entitled to *England*: Which is a clear evidence that the Pope's exorbitant power, was not allowed from a religious principle, but from a motive of intereſt or fear. Thus the Court of *Rome* received, at certain times, mortifications, which ſhe readily wink'd at, whilſt, on other occaſions, ſhe exerted her authority, with extraordinary haughtineſs.

The Pope forbids Philip *to war againſt* England. Philip's *Anſwer*. Mezerai. M. Paris. p. 280. M. Weſt.

Lewis *arrives in* England; M. Paris. p. 282.

The Pope's prohibition not interrupting the *French* Armament, *Lewis* was ſoon ready to ſail for *England* with a Fleet of ſeven hundred Ships (4). Mean time *John*, who went to *Dover* upon the firſt news of the deſign of the *French*, not thinking himſelf able to hinder their deſcent, was retired to *Wincheſter*; ſo *Lewis* meeting no oppoſition, landed his Troops at *Sandwich* (5) without moleſtation. After that, he marched againſt *Rocheſter*, which made but a faint reſiſtance. The taking of that City drew after it the whole County of *Kent*, except *Dover* Caſtle, where *John* had left a ſtrong Garriſon with a brave and faithful Governor (6).

and takes Rocheſter. ibid.

The Abbot of St. Auguſtin's *excommunicates* Lewis. Thorn. p. 1868.

Mean while, the Pope ſent *Gallo* his Legate orders to repair into *England*, and ſolemnly publiſh the Bull of excommunication againſt the Barons. At the ſame time he commiſſioned the Abbot of St. *Auguſtin*'s, to denounce Prince *Lewis* excommunicated, the moment he ſet foot in *England*. *Lewis* endeavoured to divert this Blow, by repreſenting to the Abbot, in a Letter (7), his right to the Crown of *England*. Among other reaſons, he alledged, that *John* mounting the Throne only by the conſent of the Barons, the ſame authority might depoſe him and put another in his place (8). The Abbot not being gained by his arguments, declared Prince *Lewis* and his Adherents excommunicated, purſuant to the Pope's expreſs orders. But this was not ſufficient to deter that Prince from his enterprize. As ſoon as he became maſter of *Rocheſter*, he marched to *London*, where the Barons (9) and Citizens ſwore Fealty to him, after his ſolemn Oath to reſtore to all their loſt Inheritances, and to the Nation their antient Privileges. It does not appear in the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians that this Prince was crowned. However he certainly acted as King, and diſpoſed of every thing relating to the Government, as if he had been lawfully inveſted with the Royal Authority (10). He made *Simon Langton* his Chancellor, who being incenſed againſt the Pope, perſwaded the Barons and *Londoners* to deſpiſe the Court of *Rome*'s Cenſures, and notwithſtanding the Interdict, to be preſent at divine ſervice, which was celebrated as uſual. *Lewis* for his part readily conſented to what was ſo agreeable to his intentions. When he reſolved upon this undertaking, he plainly foreſaw, he ſhould meet with obſtacles from the Pope, and therefore was determined not to value his Cenſures. Herein he only followed the example of his Father and the *French* Biſhops, who appealed to the Pope when better informed, from the Sentence of Interdict denounced upon the whole Kingdom (11). Appeals to a future general Council were not yet much in uſe, nor the commodious diſtinction between the Holy See and the Perſon of the Pope. 1216.

The Barons ſwear Fealty to Lewis. M. Paris. p. 282.

He makes Simon Langton *Chancellor*. M. Paris.

Lewis's Party daily increaſing, as he continued his Progreſs, he quickly became maſter of moſt of the Southern Counties. After that he marched towards *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, which likewiſe ſubmitted to him. During theſe ſucceſſes, he met with no reſiſtance except from *William de Collingham*, who with a thouſand Archers, keeping cloſe to the Prince's Army, fell upon the *French* that ſtraggled for plunder (12). Shortly after, *Lewis*'s Adherents in the North (13) took the City of *York*, and deſired him to come into thoſe parts to finiſh the conqueſt of all the Country beyond the *Humber* (14). But whilſt he was preparing for this expedition, he received a Letter from the King his Father, reproving him for leaving behind him the Caſtles of *Dover* and *Windſor*, which were of greater moment than the northern Counties. Upon this he marched back to beſiege *Dover*, whilſt the *Engliſh* Barons, with their own Troops, inveſted *Windſor*. About the ſame time, *Alexander* I. King of *Scotland*, purſuant to *Lewis*'s Summons, came and did him Homage in perſon, for the Lands he held of the Crown of *England* (15). Which done, *Lewis* and the *Engliſh* Barons ſwore, that they would never make peace without his knowledge. But this promiſe was not afterwards well performed. A little after, *John* had the mortification to ſee himſelf deſerted by the *Flemiſh* and *Poictevin* Troops, whom *Lewis* had found means to entice away from his Service.

Lewis *makes great Progreſs*. M. Paris. p. 282. An. Waverl.

He beſieges Dover, *and the Barons*, Windſor. M. Paris. p. 268. M. Weſt.

The Scotch *King does him Homage*. Id. p. 287.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the Ambaſſadors ſent by *Lewis* to *Rome*, were trying all ways, to vindicate their maſter's claim to the Crown of *England*. They founded his right chiefly upon his marriage with *Blanch* of *Caſtile*, pretending that *John* being lawfully depoſed by the Barons the Crown was devolved to *Blanch* his Niece. As the account given by a Hiſtorian (16) of the Ambaſſadors conference with *Innocent*, may ſerve to clear this affair, it will not be amiſs to relate ſome of the particulars. The Pope objected to the Ambaſſadors, that ſuppoſing *John* was lawfully depoſed, his Children ought not to be involved in his misfortune. But ſuppoſing his Children, young as they were, to be partakers of their Father's crimes, *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* (17), who was ſtill alive, preceded all others. In fine, that the Emperor *Otho*, Son of *Henry* II's eldeſt Daughter, ought manifeſtly to go before *Blanch* of *Caſtile*, who was born of the youngeſt. The Ambaſſadors replied, *Eleanor*'s Father and *Otho*'s Mother being dead, repreſentation could not take place, but the Mother of *Blanch* being ſtill living, her Daughter might juſtly repreſent her. But, anſwered the Pope, why ſhould *Blanch* be preferred to the King of *Caſtile* her Brother, and the Queen of *Leon* her eldeſt Siſter? This was a puzzling objection. But however, as on this occaſion, the thing was not ſo much to give good reaſons, as to alledge ſome good or bad, in order to ſatisfy the Pope, the Ambaſſadors were not at a loſs for an anſwer. They affirmed, that when there were ſeveral Heirs, and the next of Kin did not appear and put in his Claim, a more diſtant relation might take poſſeſſion of the Inheritance, ſaving to the other his right: That upon this foundation their maſter had entered *England*, but if afterwards a nearer than he

Lewis defends his Claim to England *before the Pope*. M. Paris. P. 283, &c.

The Objections and Replies.

(1) Under the Command of the Caſtellan of St. *Omars*, the Caſtellan of *Arras*, *Hugh Chacum*, *Euſtace de Neville*, *Giles de Melun*, *Baldwin Bretel*, *William de Wimes*, *William de Beaumont*, *Giles de Herſi*, and *Briſec de Ferſi*; who came up the *Thames* to *London* on the 27th of *February*. Some of the *Engliſh* Barons holding a Tournament with theſe *French* Noblemen, one of them mortally wounded *Geoffrey de Mandeville* Earl of *Eſſex*, to the great Grief of his Party. *M. Paris*, p. 279. (2) By *Eaſter*. *M. Paris*, p. 280.

(3) *Matthew Paris* ſays, that all the great Men of *France* unanimouſly declared, they would maintain this point even to death, *That no King or Prince, without the Conſent of his Barons, had Power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby to enſlave his Nobility.* Theſe things were tranſacted at *Lyons*, about fifteen days after *Eaſter*. *M. Paris*, p. 280. *M. Weſt.* p. 275.

(4) Six hundred Ships, and fourſcore other Veſſels, called by *M. Paris*, *Coggs*. p. 281.

(5) They firſt came to land, *May* 21. in the Iſle of *Thanet*, in a place called *Stanbore*; but finding no body to moleſt them, they came and landed at *Sandwich*. *M. Paris*, p. 282. (6) *Hubert de Burg*. *M. Paris*.

(7) This Letter is ſtill extant in *Thorn*'s Hiſtory of that Abbey. *Col.* 1868.

(8) Alluding to Archbiſhop *Hubert*'s Speech at his Coronation.

(9) The chief of the Barons that reſorted to him, were *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *William Mareſcall* the younger, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 282.

(10) He ſummoned, on the fourteenth of *June*, the King of *Scotland* and all the great Men of *England* to do him Homage, or forthwith to depart the Kingdom. *M. Paris*, p. 282.

(11) Pope *Boniface* VIII, upon a quarrel with *Philip*, excommunicated him, and abſolved his Subjects from their Allegiance, which ſo incenſed him, that he got the Pope condemned in a Synod for Simony, Murder, Atheiſm, Adultery, *&c*; and his Bull, wherein he aſſerted that he was ſupreme Lord in Temporals, was burnt by the Parliament of *Paris*, and by the States of *France*, who declared againſt the papal Uſurpations.

(12) *Hugh de Neville* ſurrendered to him the Caſtle of *Marlborough*; and *William de Mandeville*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, and *William de Huntingfield* reduced *Eſſex* and *Suffolk* to his obedience. In the mean time King *John* furniſhed the Caſtles of *Wallingford*, *Corfe*, *Warham*, *Briſtol*, the *Deviſes*, &c. with Arms and Proviſions. *M. Paris*, p. 282, 283.

(13) Commanded by *Robert de Ros*, *Peter de Brus*, and *Richard de Percy*. *M. Paris*, p. 285.

(14) *Lewis* marched through the eaſtern parts of *England*, and ſpoiled *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, ſeized upon the Caſtle of *Norwich*, reduced *Lynn*, and made all thoſe Counties tributary. *Gilbert de Gant* ſurrendered *Lincolnſhire* to him; and took *Lincoln*. *M. Paris*, p. 285, 286.

(15) He alſo ſubdued *Northumberland* for *Lewis*. *M. Paris*, p. 286.

(16) *Matthew Paris*, An. 1216, hath ſet forth at large the Reaſons preſented to the Pope on *Lewis*'s behalf, with the Pope's Replies, which contain not only the clear State of this Controverſy, but alſo many curious points in the feudal Law of that Age. See *M. Paris*, p. 283——285.

(17) *Arthur*'s Siſter, in Confinement in *Briſtol* Caſtle.

1216. ſhould claim, he ſhould be always ready to give him a reaſonable ſatisfaction. *Innocent* was forced to be ſatisfied with this reply, alledged not ſo much to prove the Juſtice of *Lewis*'s Title, as to ſhow a Deference to the Pope in debating the matter before him. Whatever his deciſion might be, *Lewis* was reſolved to proſecute his pretended right, which he grounded much more upon force than equity.

John ravages Norfolk and Suffolk. M. Paris. p. 286. M. Weſt.

The *French* and *Engliſh* Troops being employed in the Siege of *Dover* and *Windſor*, *John*, who till then thought himſelf too weak to venture to take the field, left *Winchester*, and marched into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he committed great ravages (1). But hearing the Barons had raiſed the Siege of *Windſor*, with intent to give him battle, he retired to an advantagious Poſt near *Stanford*, where it would have been very difficult to attack him (2). He took care not to hazard a battle, apprehenſive as he was, that the Officers of his Army, moſt of whom were Subjects of the King of *France*, would make their Peace with *Lewis* by ſome notable Treachery. He was further induced to avoid fighting, by the advantages he expected from prolonging the War. He believed he had reaſon to hope, the *Engliſh* would quickly grow weary of the *French*, who began already to take very much upon them, never troubling themſelves to conform to their temper and ways. *John*'s expectations were not groundleſs. The Barons were extremely grieved to ſee all the rewards diſtributed to the Foreigners, and their own Inheritance beſtowed on the Favorites of the Prince whom they had ſent for, as if the *Engliſh* had no right to the conqueſts that were making. But all this would not perhaps have been ſufficient to engage them to take other meaſures, if what they learnt from the mouth of the Viſcount *de Melun*, one of *Lewis*'s prime Confidents, had not as it were forced them to think of their ſafety. If certain Hiſtorians are to be credited, this Nobleman being ſeized by a mortal diſtemper at *London*, cauſed ſuch of the Barons as were poſted there for the ſecurity of the City, to be ſent for. When they came, he told them, he could not forbear diſcovering a ſecret, which lay heavy upon his conſcience, and if longer concealed from the *Engliſh* would infallibly bring them into utter deſtruction. Then he diſcloſed to them, that the Prince was reſolved to baniſh all the Barons that had taken arms againſt King *John*, as *Traytors to their Country* (3). He added, this reſolution was taken in a Council of ſixteen *French* Lords, (of whom he himſelf was one,) and confirmed by the Prince with an oath. He declared upon the word of a dying man, what he ſaid was true, and ought to be the leſs queſtioned as he was juſt going to appear before the Tribunal of God. The *French* Hiſtorians call this ſecret a fiction. It muſt be confeſt, it is hard to conceive what ſhould induce Prince *Lewis* to make ſuch an Oath beforehand, in the preſence of ſixteen Witneſſes, ſuppoſing he intended thereby to inſinuate, that this would be a means amply to reward their ſervices. For it would have been very imprudent to reveal ſo early ſo black a deſign. However, whether the thing was true, or invented to ſow diſcord between the *French* and *Engliſh*, this pretended ſecret being whiſpered about, made a very deep impreſſion on the minds of the Barons. It had the greater effect, as it agreed with the ſuſpicions the Barons had already conceived of the *French*. From thenceforward many began to repent of calling in the Foreigners, and ſeriouſly to think of returning to the obedience of their Sovereign. Nay, no leſs than forty privately gave the King aſſurances of their good intentions. But the reſt durſt not venture to truſt a Prince whom they had ſo grievouſly offended, and with whoſe cruel and revengeful temper they were too well acquainted.

A Secret diſcovered by the Viſcount of Melun. Knighton. M. Paris. p. 287.

Remarks on this Secret.

Several Barons think of returning to the King. M. Paris. p. 288.

John carries his Crown to Lynn. M. Paris.

Mean time that unhappy Prince was in perpetual motion, not knowing whom to truſt, being ſuſpicious of his own friends. For which reaſon he carefully avoided fighting, and inceſſantly marched from place to place, to break the meaſures of his Enemies. He thought himſelf ſafeſt in the County of *Norfolk*, where he choſe the little Town of *Lynn* to ſecure his Treaſures, his Crown, Sceptre, and other things of value. This Town had expreſſed for him ſuch Affection and Loyalty, that as a mark of his gratitude he granted it great privileges. Among other things, he made it a Mayor Town, and preſented the firſt Mayor with his own ſword, which is ſtill carefully kept there. However, as he found himſelf preſſed by the Barons, and fearing his Treaſures were not ſafe at *Lynn*, he reſolved to remove them to a certain place in *Lincolnſhire*, where he intended to retire. He very narrowly eſcaped drowning with his whole Army in the large Marſh (4), which parts the two Counties of *Lincoln* and *Norfolk*. Before he was quite over, the Tide coming up the River *Well-ſtream*, which overflows the Marſh-land at High-water put him in extreme danger. But if he eſcaped himſelf he could not ſave his Baggage, which was all ſwallowed up by the Waters. He arrived that night at *Swines-head Abbey*, where he lodged. His vexation for his loſs, which was irretrievable in his preſent circumſtances, threw him into a violent Fever, which was heightened by inconſiderately eating Peaches (5). On the morrow, not being able to ride, he was carried in a Litter to *Sleford* Caſtle, from whence the next day he proceeded to *Newark*. Here finding his illneſs encreaſe, he made his will, and appointed *Henry* his eldeſt Son, then but ten years of age, his Heir. The care of his Salvation employed his thoughts during the reſt of his ſickneſs, which put an end to his days on the 18th of *October* 1216, in the fifty firſt year of his age, after an unhappy Reign of ſeventeen years, ſeven months, and ten days. His Body was carried to *Worceſter* according to his own order, and buried with little Funeral Pomp in the Cathedral, where his Tomb [with his Image upon it] is ſtill to be ſeen (6). Some will have it that he was poiſoned by a Monk of *Swines-head Abbey*; but that is very improbable, ſince it is not mentioned by any of the Cotemporary Hiſtorians (7).

1216. Camden.

He retires into Lincolnſhire. M. Paris. p. 287.

He loſes all his Baggage and falls ſick. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

He makes his Will, and dies at Newark. M. Paris. p. 288. M. Weſt.

T. Wikes. Knighton. Hemingford.

If this Prince's character be drawn according to *Matthew Paris*, his chief Hiſtorian, he muſt be repreſented as one of the vileſt Wretches that ever lived. But, as I have elſewhere obſerved, the Hiſtories of Princes, who have had any conteſts with the Court of *Rome*, are to be read with great caution. It is better therefore, without regarding the particular Sentiments and Expreſſions of the Hiſtorians, ſolely to examine the Actions of this Monarch, in order to diſcover his Temper and Inclinations. It is certain, one muſt frame a very diſadvantagious Idea of him, when his unjuſt proceedings with regard to his Brother *Richard* are conſidered: The Death of Prince *Arthur* his Nephew, of which he never cleared himſelf thoroughly: The perpetual Impriſonment of *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* his Niece: His putting away *Aviſa* of *Gloceſter*: His extreme Indolence, when *Philip Auguſtus* was conquering his Dominions in *France*: His baſe reſignation of his Crown to the Pope: His Breach of Faith with his Barons: And laſtly, his bringing into the Kingdom an Army of foreign Mercenaries, to be revenged on his Subjects. However, if one had a mind to undertake his vindication upon moſt of theſe Articles, it would not perhaps be ſo difficult as it ſeems at firſt ſight. But without meddling with a Subject, which would lead me too far, I ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying of this Prince, what I elſewhere ſaid of *William Rufus*: That finding in King *John* ſcarce one valuable Qualification, it is not worth while to ſtay to juſtify ſome particular actions, though it evidently appears, that the Writers of his Life have drawn him in blacker colours than he deſerved. This Prince had great failings, which would not have been ſo viſible or ſo aggravated by the Hiſtorians, had he been Cotemporary with a King of *France* of leſs Policy and Ambition, with a Pope of leſs Pride and more Conſcience, and with a Nobility of a leſs turbulent Spirit. As for raiſing Taxes, without the conſent of the States, it may be ſaid, it was not very unuſual ſince *William the Conqueror*, as the Reader may have obſerved in ſome former Reigns. And yet this is what ſeveral modern Hiſtorians bitterly exclaim againſt, as if in thoſe days *England* enjoyed the ſame privileges as at preſent. It is eaſy to ſee things were then upon a different foot, when it is conſidered, that there was a neceſſity to recur to the time of the *Saxon* Kings, to find the foundations of theſe privileges.

The Character of John.

He grants that Town great Privileges.

King *John*'s fortune never agreed with his temper. He was a lover of eaſe and quiet, and his fortune was to

(1) Particularly upon the Eſtates belonging to the Earl of *Arundel*, *Roger Bigot*, *William de Huntingfield*, *Roger de Creſci*, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 286.

(2) From thence he advanced towards the Confines of *Wales*, where he took and razed the Caſtles belonging to the Barons that ſided with *Lewis*. *M. Paris*, p. 287.

(3) *Rapin* ſays, *to their King and Country*; but King is not mentioned in *M. Paris*, who adds, *and deſtroy their Poſterity*.

(4) The Waſhes between a place called the *Croſs Keys* in *Norfolk*, and *Forſdike* in *Holland* in *Lincolnſhire*.

(5) And alſo attended with a Flux. *M. Paris*, p. 286.

(6) His Tomb of grey Marble is placed between the Choir and the high Altar: The Figure of the King as big as the Life, and the Biſhops, St. *Oſwald* and St. *Wulſtan*, at his Head in little, with their Cenſers in their Hands, are carved in Stone, which ſeems to be as ancient as the time of *Henry* III. But the Altar Tomb on which 'tis placed is of a modern Fabrick. There is no inſcription. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 85.

(7) *Caxton* is the firſt that mentions it in *Engliſh*, from whom *Speed* and *Baker* have borrowed it. He ſays, that the King hearing it ſaid how cheap Corn then was, anſwered, *He wou'd e're long make it ſo dear, that a Penny Loaf ſhould be ſold for a Shilling.* At which a Monk there preſent took ſuch Indignation, that he went and put the poyſon of a Toad into a Cup of Wine, and came and drank to the King, which made him pledge him the more readily. But finding himſelf very much out of order upon it, he aſked for the Monk, and when it was told him he was dead, *God have mercy upon me*, (ſays the King) *I doubted as much.* But it is a very improbable Story, for a Man to poiſon himſelf to be revenged of another. But *Walter Hemingford* tells it a different way; he ſays, The Abbot perſuaded the Monk to poiſon the King, becauſe he would have lain with his Siſter; and that he did it by a diſh of Pears which he poiſoned all but three, and then preſenting them to the King, he bid him taſte them himſelf, which he did eating only the three that he had marked; and ſo eſcaped, whilſt the King was poiſoned with the reſt. From *Hemingford*, *Higden* and *Knighton* copied this Story, which is not mention'd by any Hiſtorian that lived within ſixty Years of that Time. See *Knighton*, p. 2425.

be

1216. be perpetually in action. He was fit neither for Proſperity nor Adverſity. The former rendered him extremely inſolent, and the latter ſurpriſingly dejected. So that a middle Fortune would doubtleſs have been moſt ſuitable to his Temper.

M. Paris. Hemingford. He is accuſed of exceeding his Father *Henry* II, in Luſt, a Failing which Princes are ſeldom very reproachfully tax'd with, unleſs there is a ſettled deſign to defame them for other reaſons. It can't be denied, that the Monks have endeavoured to paint King *John* in the blackeſt colours, in order to excuſe the Pope's proceedings againſt him. This evidently appears in the Calumny caſt on his memory, of ſending Ambaſſadors to the *Miramolin* of *Africa*, with an Offer of his Kingdom, and a Promiſe to embrace the *Mahometan* Religion, which is altogether improbable. However, as unlikely as this Charge is, there are modern Hiſtorians who ſcruple not to vent it for truth, in a belief that *Matthew Paris* (1), who wrote in the Reign of *Henry* III, Son of *John*, would not have ventured to advance it, had it been groundleſs. But this Argument ſeems of little weight, ſince that Hiſtorian dared to ſpeak in very diſreſpectful Terms of *Henry* III, himſelf, without any dread of his Reſentment, from which perhaps he was ſcreened when he wrote. Add to this, that in thoſe days, Books were not immediately diſperſed, but remained many times a long while concealed in the Monaſteries, before they were publiſhed.

M. Paris. p. 243.

John was always unfortunate, and if we may believe the Hiſtorians, always hated by his Subjects. One can't however reconcile this conſtant hatred of the *Engliſh*, with the great eaſe wherewith he levied Armies when he wanted them, and even whilſt he was under the Sentence of Excommunication. We muſt therefore diſtinguiſh two Periods in this Prince's Reign. The firſt includes the time from his Coronation, to his Reſignation of the Crown to the Pope. During this ſpace, if he was not in great eſteem, at leaſt it does not appear he was ſo odious, as his ill Conduct afterwards rendered him. The ſecond Period begins at his Reſignation, and ends with his Life. It cannot be denied, that during this Period, his Subjects had a ſtrong Averſion to him. And yet, if his Government be conſidered ſeparately from his perſonal qualities, it may be ſaid to be none of the worſt. He was the firſt or chiefeſt, that appointed thoſe excellent forms of Civil Government in *London* (2), and moſt other Cities of the Kingdom. According to *Camden*, and others, *John* was the firſt that coined Sterling Money. The Ceremonies obſerved in the Creation of Earls, had him for their Author. In fine, he eſtabliſhed the *Engliſh* Laws in *Ireland*, and gave the *Cinque-Ports* the Privileges they enjoy at this day (3). 1216.

Knighton. p. 2424.

His Wives and Iſſue.

John had no Iſſue by his two firſt Wives. *Iſabella of Augoulême* his third Wife, brought him two Sons and three Daughters. *Henry* ſucceeded him. *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwal*, and afterwards choſen King of the *Romans*. Of his three Daughters, *Joanna* was married to *Alexander* II. King of *Scotland*; *Eleanor* was married firſt to *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, and after his death to *Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*. The Emperor *Frederick* II, eſpouſed the third, whoſe Name was *Iſabella* (4).

Remarkable Events Abroad.

The moſt remarkable foreign Events during this Reign, were the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the Arms of the *French* and *Venetians* in 1204, and the Cruſade againſt the *Albigenſes* (5), which gave birth to the Inquiſition (6).

M. Paris. p. 240.

(1) He not only gives the Names of the Ambaſſadors, viz. *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas*, Knights, with *Robert* of *London*, a Prieſt, but alſo deſcribes at large the manner of the Audience, and their Converſation with the black King, and how he deſpis'd the King their Maſter for his Meanneſs of Spirit, and diſmiſs'd them with contempt. It is likewiſe recorded of King *John*, that he ſhould ſay ſome time after he had made his Peace with *Innocent*, *That nothing had proſpered with him ſince he was reconciled to God and the Pope.* Again, having been a Hunting, at the opening of the Buck, it is affirmed he ſhould ſay, *See how fat that Deer is, and yet I dare ſwear he never heard Maſs.* See *M. Paris*, p. 143, 245, 252.

(2) King *John* in the Year 1208, by his Letters Patents, granted the Citizens of *London* Liberty and Authority yearly to chuſe themſelves a Mayor, which Office before continued during Life. He alſo gave them leave to chuſe a Common Council of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens; and to elect and deprive their Sheriffs at pleaſure. See *Stow's Survey*, B. V. p. 101.

(3) On conſideration that they obliged themſelves, and their Heirs, to provide the King, upon reaſonable Summons, fourſcore able Veſſels, at their own Charges, for the Space of Forty Days, and after that to receive Wages of the King. See *Knighton*, 2424.

(4) King *John*'s natural Iſſue were: I. *Richard*, who married *Robeſia*, Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, who built *Chilham* Caſtle in *Kent*; by her he had *Lora* (Wife of *William Marmion*, from whom are deſcended the *Dimocks* of *Scrivelby* in *Lincolnſhire*, the *Ferrers* of *Tamworth* and *Baddeſly*, the *Willoughby*'s of *Wallaton*, and the *Aſton*'s of *Staffordſhire*) and *Iſabella* married to *David de Strabolgy* Earl of *Athol*, who had with her *Chilham*, whoſe Heirs general were the Lord *Burgh* and the *Zouches* of *Codnor*. II. *Geoffrey Fitz-Roy*, who was ſent over to *Rochel* and there died. III. Sir *John Courcy* (as ſays *Robert* the Monk of *Gloceſter*.) IV. *Osbert Gifford*, to whom his Father King *John*, in the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign, commanded the Sheriff of *Oxfordſhire* to deliver thirty Pounds, the Eſtate of *Thomas de Ardern* in that County. V. *Oliver*, called *Olivarius frater Henrici tertii*, in Records of *Henry* III. He was at the Siege of *Damieta*, with *Saber de Quincy* Earl of *Wincheſter*, and *William de Albiney* Earl of *Arundel*, and others. VI. *Joan*, Wife of *Lewellin* the great Prince of *North Wales*, to whom King *John* gave with her the Lordſhip of *Elleſmere* in the *Marches of Wales*. She had Iſſue by him *David* (who did Homage to *Henry* III. at *Weſtminſter*, 1229.) and two Daughters, *Wencelina*, Wife of Sir *Reginald de Brewes*, and *Margaret*, Wife of *John de Brewes*, (Son of the ſaid *Reginald*) by whom ſhe had *William de Brewes* Lord of *Gower*, &c. from whom many noble Families are deſcended. *Sandf.* p. 87.

(5) About the Year 1160, one *Waldo* a Merchant of *Lyons*, applying himſelf to the Study of the Scriptures, and finding there were no Grounds there for ſeveral of the *Romiſh* Doctrines, particularly Tranſubſtantiation, publickly oppoſed them. His Followers, from him called *Waldenſes*, being chaſed from *Lyons*, ſpread over *Dauphine* and *Provence*. Upon which *Philip Auguſtus* is ſaid, in order to ſtop their Growth, to have razed three hundred Gentlemen's Seats, and deſtroyed ſeveral wall'd Towns. But this inſtead of decreaſing their Numbers, made them overſpread a great part of *Europe*, and multiply ſo faſt, that in leſs than an hundred Years after *Waldo*, in the ſmall Biſhoprick of *Paſſau* alone, there were above eighty thouſand. It appears from the Articles of their Faith, which they drew up and dedicated to the King of *France*, that they agreed in moſt points with the preſent Proteſtants. In 1200, thoſe People in the Province of *Albigeois* in *Languedoc*, from whence they were called *Albigenſes*, ſtood upon their Defence. Upon which *Philip Auguſtus* warring againſt them, drove them into *Bohemia* and *Savoy*, and ſeveral fled into *England*. The Cruſade againſt them is ſaid to conſiſt of five hundred thouſand Men, who wore their Croſſes on their Breaſts, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe that went to the Holy Land, who wore them on their Shoulders.

(6) Pope *Gregory* IX. was the firſt that ſet on foot this horrid Tribunal, and eſtabliſhed it at *Toulouſe*, where it was ſoon pulled down for its Cruelties. *Italy* and *Spain* embraced it, but *Charles* V, endeavouring to ſet it up in the *Low-Countries*, loſt thoſe Provinces by it. This Court is in the Hands of the *Dominicans*, and takes Cognizance of Hereſy, Judaiſm, *&c.* The Delinquents are impriſoned in Dungeons, and never ſee the Light till they accuſe themſelves and their Accomplices, for they never know, or are confronted with their Accuſers. The Congregation of the Inquiſition was eſtabliſhed by *Paul* III, and confirmed by *Sixtus* V. It conſiſts of twelve Cardinals, and abundance of Prelates and Divines. The Cardinals are Inquiſitors General, and depute Subſtitutes in the Provinces. See *Relig. Cuſtoms.*

I. The Parliaments in King *John*'s Reign were as follows: In 1199, at *Northampton*; (*Hoved.* p. 793. *M. Paris*, p. 196.) another at *Weſtminſter*, *May* 26. (*M. Paris*, p. 197.) In 1200, a Parliament; (*Id.* p. 200.) another at *Lincoln*, in *November*. (*Brompt.* p. 1282.) In 1201, a Parliament at *Lue* in *Lincolnſhire*, in *Lent*. (*Hoved.* p. 803.) In 1204, *Jan.* 2. a Parliament at *Oxford*. (*M. Paris*, p. 209.) In 1207, *Jan.* 8. a Parliament at *London*; and another, *Feb.* 9. at *Oxford*. (*An. Waverl.* p. 169.) In 1209, at *Windſor*, at *Chriſtmas*. (*M. Paris*, p. 229.) In 1210, at *York*; likewiſe at *Chriſtmas*. (*Id.* p. 230.) In 1211, a Parliament at *Northampton*; (*An. Burton*, p. 263.) another at *Windſor*. (*M. Paris*, p. 231.) In 1212, in *Lent*, at *Clerkenwell*, in *London*. (*Id.* p. 231.) at *Chriſtmas*, at *Weſtminſter*. (*Id.* p. 233.) In 1213, a Parliament at St. *Albans*. (*Id.* p. 239.) at *London*, (*Id.* p. 240.) another there, (*Id.* p. 246.) one at *Reading*, *Decemb.* 6. (*Id.* p. 247.) at *Windſor*, at *Chriſtmas*, (*ibid.*) In 1214, a Parliament at *London*. (*Id.* p. 249.) In 1215, *June* 15, in *Runnemede*, near *Windſor*. (*Id.* p. 255.)

II. Having ſpoken of the Revenue ariſing from *Aids*, I proceed to *Scutages* and Tallages. Eſcuage or Scutage, was a Duty or Service, ariſing out of Baronies and Knights Fees. It denoted *Servitium Scuti*, the Service of the Shield; and was wont to be rendered thus, *viz.* for every Knight's Fee, the Service of one Knight; for every half Fee, the Service of half a Knight; and ſo in proportion. Baronies were charged after the like manner, according to the Number of the Knights Fees, whereof the Barony by its original Enfeoffment did conſiſt. This Service of Scutage was performed, either perſonally in the King's Army, or elſe by pecuniary Commutation. Indeed the word *Scutagium*, in an extenſive Senſe, did anciently ſignify any payment, aſſeſſed upon Knights Fees; whether for the King's Army, or not. But here, it will be conſidered only as a Duty, ariſing out of Baronies and Knights Fees, for the Service of the King's Army. The ancient way of charging or anſwering it was, ſo much *De Scutagio Walliæ*, &c. or *pro Militibus*, for his Knight's Fees, or *de Exercitu Walliæ*, &c. Theſe Eſcuages, *pro exercitu*, were wont to be paid by the King's *Tenants in Capite*, by Knight's Service. *Tenant in Capite*, ſignifies *immediate Tenant*. And here it may be obſerved, that a Man might hold of the King *in Capite*, either by Barony, or by Knight's Service, or by Serjeanty, or by Socage, or by Fee-Farm; conſequently it is a miſtake, that ſome great Men have been guilty of, that a Baron, and a *Tenant in Capite*, was all one. For though every Baron, properly ſo called, was a Tenant *in Capite*, yet every Tenant *in Capite*, (there being ſome of half, or quarter, or a tenth part of a Knight's Fee,) was not a Baron. The phraſe *in Capite*, was commonly uſed to ſignify *immediate*. *Alexander de Swereford*, whilſt he reſided at the Exchequer, collected out of the Revenue Rolls of the *Pipe*, many Memorials concerning the Scutages, aſſeſſed in the Reigns of *Henry* II. *Richard* I. and *John*; till the fifteenth of *Henry* III: Theſe he put together in the *Red Book*. He could it ſeems give no account of Scutages, older than *Henry* II. though it is more than probable, there were Scutages in the time of *Henry* I. The annual Rolls of his Reign are loſt. The firſt Scutage (ſays *Alexander*) was aſſeſſed 2 *Henry* II. For the Army of *Wales*, twenty Shillings for each Knight's Fee, and was aſſeſſed only upon thoſe Prelates who were bound to military Services. The ſecond Scutage, (ſays he) was for the ſame, 5 *Hen.* II. but aſſeſſed, not only upon the Prelates, but others, according to the Number of their Fees: This Scutage is entitled, *De Dono*. And here he obſerves, that the *Donum* of the Prelates makes a Sum anſwerable to the Number of Fees, held of the King *in Capite*; and therefore by him ſuppoſed to be a real Scutage. This was two Marks *per* Fee. In the 18th of *Hen.* II. the Eſcuage of *Ireland* came to be put in Charge. To this Eſcuage, ſeveral Perſons are charged, under this Title, *De Scutagio Militum qui nec abierunt*, &c. *i. e.* The Eſcuage of Knights, who did not go into *Ireland*, nor ſend thither any Knights or Money. It has been before obſerved, (in the laſt Coin Note,) that Charters or Certificates of Knight's Fees were ſent in, when *Aid* for marrying *Henry* IId's Daughter was levied; and it ſeems that in ancient times, whenever Scutages were to be levied, the Barons and Tenants *in Capite*, did ſend in Certificates of their reſpective Fee, either *Toties quoties*, or at leaſt moſt uſually. This appears by the *Red Book* of the Exchequer, and *Teſta de Nevil.* The Reader may ſee the Certificate of *Robert de Beauchamp* of *Hacche*, for his Barony, in *Madox's Formulare*, No. 11. As Eſcuage was rendered for Fees holden of the King *in Capite*, by Knight's Service, *ut de Corono*, ſo it was rendered for Fees holden of Honours and Eſcheats, which were in the King's hands, and for Fees holden of the Lands purchaſed by the King, and for Fees holden of the King's Wards. For the Tenants holding of the King's Wardſhips and Eſcheats, were immediate Tenants of the King, whilſt they reſted in him. It is to be underſtood, that in general, Eſcuage was paid according to the Sum that was aſſeſſed; ſuppoſe, at the Rate of one, two, or three Marks, for each Fee. Nevertheleſs, many doubts aroſe about the payment of it. Some times the Service due from a Tenant

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The MONUMENT of KING JOHN in ye Cathedral CHURCH of Worcester.

by Knight's Service, was uncertain; that is, it was ſometimes doubtful, of how many Knight's Fees a Man or his Anceſtor was enfeoffed, conſequently what Sum he was to pay for Eſcuage. This frequently happened in the Caſe of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, by reaſon of the antiquity of their Endowments, ſo that the Form of their Enfeoffment could not be eaſily known in ſucceeding times; and becauſe it was many times doubtful, whether they held ſome of their Lands by Barony and military Service, or in *Frankalmoigne*. Again, in the Caſe of other Perſons, ſome Honours or Baronies, conſiſted of more Knight's Fees than others did, and ſome Fees were much larger than others; inſomuch that it was doubtful, whether a Man held by Barony or Knight's Service, whether by the Service of one Knight's Fee, or of more, or of how many Knight's Fees. On the other hand, ſome Knight's Fees were remarkably ſmall; ſuch, for Inſtance, were the Fees of the Honour of *Moreton*, which were called *parva Feoda Moritonæ*, and paid leſs Eſcuage, than the generality of other Fees, about a third part leſs. As Eſcuage was paid out of Knight's Fees; ſo there were alſo ſome Serjeanties paid the ſame. Perhaps theſe Serjeanties were holden by military Tenure. For ſometimes Knight's Service was annexed to a Serjeanty; that is, Lands were holden both by Serjeanty, and the Service of a Knight's Fee, or part of a Knight's Fee. And if the Tenure (either in whole or in part) was Knight's Service, the Tenant paid Eſcuage. But Land holden by Serjeanty only, paid no Eſcuage. Eſcuage Money was in lieu of perſonal Service. And therefore, the Barons and Knights were commonly charged with Eſcuage, or Fines for Eſcuage, under the Terms, *Pro exercitu, De his qui non abierunt cum rege nec denarios nec milites pro ſe miſerunt, Fines pro Paſſagio*, or the like. But it is to be underſtood, that perſonal Service was required moſt ſtrictly, if not ſolely, of the Tenants holding by Knight's Service *in Capite et de Corona*. For if a Man held his Land of the King by Knight's Service, as of an Honour, then in the King's Hands, and not of the Crown, ſuch Tenant was not indiſpenſably obliged to do perſonal Service in the King's Army, but was to pay the King Eſcuage, when it was aſſeſſed: At leaſt, this was alledged to be the Uſage in the Reign of *Edward* II. When the King went forth with his Army, he was wont to ſummon his Barons and Tenants *in Capite* by Knight's Service, to be ready to do their Service in his Army, according to the Number of their Fees, and Quantity of their Tenure. This was called *Summonce ad habendum ſervitium*. This *Summonce* ran thus: "Vicecomiti Kanciæ ſalutem. Præ-
"cipimus tibi quod ſine dilatione Summoneri facias per totam ballivam tuam, Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Priores, Comites, Barones, Milites, &
"liberè tenentes & omnes alios qui ſervitium nobis debent ſive ſervitium militare vel ſerjeantiæ: quodque ſimiliter clamari facias per totam ballivam tuam
"quod ſint apud Wigorniam in Craſtino S. Trinitatis, anno regni noſtri Septimo omni dilatione & occaſione poſtpoſitis, cum toto hujuſmodi ſervitio
"quod nobis debent, parati cum equis & armis ad eundum in ſervitium noſtrum quo eis præceperimus. T. H. &c. apud Weſtmon. 25. die Martii."
Eodem modo ſcribitur omnibus Vicecomitibus. Cl. 7. *Hen.* 3. m. 10. *dorſo*. When a Man was to prove that he had done his Service in the King's Army, he commonly made his Proof by Certificate or Teſtimony of the commander in Chief, or of the Conſtable, Marſhal, or their Lieutenant, or by the Rolls of the Marſhalſy of the Army. If the Barons and Knights holding *in Capite*, did not go in perſon with the King in his Army, they ſometimes ſent Knights in their ſtead, and ſometimes made Fine with the King, *ne transfretent*, or *pro remanendo ab exercitu*, or *quia non abierum cum rege*, &c. When King *Edward* II, ſummoned his Army to march into *Scotland*, he commanded the Treaſurer and Barons of the Exchequer to accept of Fines at the rate of forty Pounds for each Knight's Fee, to be paid by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, the Religious, Widows, and other Women who owed Service, and were deſirous to make Fines for the ſame. 15 *Ed.* 2. Rot. 65. Sometimes the Barons and Tenants by Knight's Service were amerced for not ſending their Knights to ſerve for them in the King's Army. When they did actual Service with their Knights for ſo many Fees as they were anſwerable for, or ſent Knights in their ſtead, or made Fine for the ſame, they were wont to be acquitted of Eſcuage. Eſcuage was not chargeable upon Lands holden in *Frankalmoigne* of Royal Foundation. If a Subject gave Land to a religious Houſe in *Frankalmoigne*, ſuch Land was not to be diſtrained for Eſcuage, as long as the Donor or his Heirs had other Lands in the ſame County on which the Eſcuage might be levied. Again, Lands holden purely in Socage paid not Eſcuage, neither was it paid by Perſons to whom the King by Charter granted Freedom from Eſcuage. As the Lord who held of the King *in Capite* by Knight's Service, paid Eſcuage to the King for his Knight's Fee; ſo the Tenants of ſuch Lord, who held the ſame Fees, by Knight's Service, paid Eſcuage for the ſame to their Lord, according to the Quantity of their Tenure; and then the Lord was ſaid, *habere Scutagia ſua*, to have his Eſcuage, to wit, of his Tenants. The Tenants paid Eſcuage to their Lord, to enable him to pay his Eſcuage to the King, or re-imburſe him when he had paid it. When the Lord holding *in Capite* did perſonal Service in the King's Army, or paid or became duly charged with his Eſcuage to the King, he was entitled to have Eſcuage of his Tenants, for the Fees which they held of him, and which he held of the King *in Capite*. In this caſe, the Lord might *juſtitiare Tenentes ſuos*, compel them by diſtreſs to pay him Eſcuage: Or if he could not compel them himſelf, he often had a Writ of Aid directed to the Sheriff to aſſiſt him. But ſometimes the Lord was forced to make Fine with the King, *pro habendo Scutagio ſuo*, to have his Scutage. In ſhort, it ſeems that Eſcuage was due to the Lord from Lands which were holden by Knight's Service, *ab antiquo*, but not from Lands holden by Knight's Service newly created. For where a Manor paſſed by Grant from the King, with the Tenure of Knight's Service annexed to it, the Lord could not have Eſcuage of the Tenants of that Manor, if the Tenants were not wont to do any military Service to the King, whilſt the Manor was veſted in the King. In elder times, in caſe the Lord was entitled to receive Eſcuage of his Tenants, ſuch Eſcuage was uſually collected by the Lord, *per manum ſuam*, who uſed to juſticiate or diſtrain his Tenants to pay it. Whether it was all along neceſſary for the Lord to have the King's Leave to collect his Eſcuage *per manum ſuam* or no, ſuch Leave was ſometimes granted by the King to particular Lords. But as, in proceſs of time, it was very often doubtful, whether Lands were holden by Knight's Service, or other Tenure; or if holden by Knight's Service, whether they were holden immediately of the King or ſome other Lord, or by how many Knight's Fees they were holden, or the like: I ſay, for theſe and other Cauſes, it became almoſt neceſſary that Eſcuage ſhould be collected by the Sheriffs of Counties, who might take Inquiſition by the Oath of Jurors, concerning theſe and the like Articles. In the 19th of *Henry* III, the Earls, Barons, and all others of the Realm, granted to the King an *Efficax Auxilium*, (called in the Writ a Scutage) *viz.* two Marks of every Knight's Fee holden *in Capite*, and of his Wards: Hereupon, the Sheriff of *Somerſetſhire* was ordered by Writ, That at the inſtance of the Earls, *&c.* he ſhould diſtrain all the Knights and Freeholders, who held of them by Knight's Service, to pay the ſaid two Marks *per* Fee. To conclude, ſeveral Particulars relating to the manner of collecting the King's Eſcuage, may be obſerved from a Commiſſion (in the 10th *Edw.* II.) made to certain Perſons. Theſe Commiſſioners were appointed to levy the Eſcuages of the Armies of *Scotland* of the 28th, 31ſt, and 34th Years of *Edward* I, within the County of *York*, at the Rate of forty Shillings *per* Fee. In order thereto, they were to enquire by Oath of lawful Men of the County, what Fees were held *in Capite* of the King, at the time of thoſe Armies; and what of Eſcheats, Honours, and Purchaſes; what Heirs were under Age, and in Cuſtody of King *Edward* I; and what Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbies, Priories, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, or Offices, then void, the Temporalities whereof did belong to the King; and who held the Knight's Fees belonging to ſuch Heirs, Archbiſhopricks, *&c.* and for what portion of a Knight's Fee each one held, and where. And the Sheriff was commanded to ſummon lawful Men to appear before the Commiſſioners, to make Inquiſition touching the matters aforeſaid. And the Commiſſioners were to amerce ſeverely ſuch as they ſhould find rebellious or diſobedient. From what has been ſaid, it appears, that Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* was miſtaken in ſpeaking of Eſcuage, as if it was a Tenure. His words are: "Every Tenure by
"Eſcuage is a Tenure by Knight's Service: but every Tenure that holds by Knight's Service holdeth not by Eſcuage. For he that holdeth by Caſtle-
"guard or Cornage, holdeth by Knight's Service, and yet he ſhall pay no Eſcuage, becauſe he holdeth not to go to War." *Coke, Com.* p. 69. But the Reaſon (as Mr. *Madox* obſerves) why Eſcuage was not paid by thoſe that held by Caſtleguard, was, becauſe when a military Tenant did actual Service in an Army, or in a Caſtle, then he paid no Eſcuage. So that *Littleton*'s Words, *quo tient ſa terre per Eſcuage*, are to be underſtood as if he had ſaid, *per le Service de Eſcuage*. Having thus largely treated of Eſcuage, before I proceed to *Tallage*, I will conclude this Note with briefly ſpeaking of *Danegeld*, which was different from either *Aid*, *Eſcuage*, or *Tallage*. It was firſt ſet on foot in the *Anglo-Saxon* Times: However, it continued many Years after the Conqueſt. In the Reign of *Henry* I, in the Year 1114, it was paid throughout the Kingdom. And in *Stephen*'s, it is accounted for in every County, as if it were a ſettled yearly Revenue; that is to ſay, in the like Words which were then wont to be uſed in accounting for the yearly Revenue. *Danegeldum novum* for the firſt Year, *præteritum Danegeldum* for the preceding Year, and *vetus Danegeldum* for the third preceding Year: However, it is not certain, that *Danegeld* was a ſettled yearly Revenue. The famous Author of the Dialogue concerning the Exchequer ſeems to have thought it a yearly Revenue before, but not after the Conqueſt. It may be traced by the Rolls to the Reign of *Henry* II, but it does not appear, that *Danegeld* was paid in the latter part of *Henry* II's Reign, nor in thoſe of *Richard* I, and *John*. In all or moſt of the Accounts of *Danegeld* in 2 *Henry* II, there is a large Deduction made, under the Terms *in Waſto*, which is ſuppoſed to be by reaſon of the Realm being ſo waſted by the long inteſtine Wars between *Stephen* and *Maud*. Hence it ſhould ſeem that *Danegeld* was a ſort of Hidage, or a Revenue ariſing from Lands, as divided or meaſured by Hides. Again, it ſeems that *Danegeld* was charged upon Land, becauſe it is paid by the Men of the Counties only, the Cities and Towns anſwering at the ſame time under the Name of an *Auxilium* or *Donum*. Tallage and Cuſtom will be the Subject of the next Coin Note.

Jo.

King *John* in his Coins, gives his Face full, in a Triangle, with a Sceptre in his Right-hand, inſcribed, JOHANNES REX. On the Reverſe, another Triangle, with a half Moon and a Star, and this Inſcription: ROBERD. ON. DIVE. which laſt words ſhew the Money was coined at *Dublin*, or *Divelin*. This King was the firſt that had the Title of *Dominus Hiberniæ*, or *Lord of Ireland*; accordingly he is ſtiled on his Great Seal, JOANNES DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE; and on the Counter Seal, IOANNES DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE COMES ANDEGAVIE. It is obſervable, that all the Pennies that have the Head in a Triangle were *Iriſh* Coins. The *Iriſh* Harp was antiently of that Shape.

(1) Charta Regis WILLIELMI conquiſitoris.

WILLIELMUS rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum, omnibus hominibus ſuis Francis & Anglis, ſalutem.

De religione & pace publica.

I. Statuimus imprimis ſuper omnia, unum Deum per totum regnum noſtrum venerari, unam fidem Chriſti ſemper inviolatam cuſtodiri, pacem, & ſecuritatem & concordiam, judicium & juſtitiam inter Anglos & Normannos, Francos & Britones Walliæ & Cornubiæ, Pictos, & Scotos Albaniæ, ſimiliter inter Francos & Inſulanos, provincias & patrias, quæ pertinent ad coronam & dignitatem, defenſionem & obſervationem & honorem regni noſtri, & inter omnes nobis ſubjectos per univerſam monarchiam regni Britanniæ firmiter & inviolabiliter obſervari. Ita quod nullus alii forisfaciat in ullo ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

De fide & obſequio erga regem.

II. Statuimus etiam ut omnes liberi homines fœdera & ſacramento affirment, quod intra & extra univerſum regnum Angliæ (quod olim vocabatur regnum Britanniæ) Willielmo regi domino ſuo fideles eſſe volunt, terras & honores illius omni fidelitate ubique ſervare cum eo, & contra inimicos & alienigenas defendere.

De Normanni ſeu Francigenæ cæde.

III. Volumus autem & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes homines, quos nobiſcum adduximus, aut poſt nos venerint, ſint ſub protectione & in pace noſtra per univerſum regnum prædictum; & ſi quis de illis occiſus fuerit, dominus ejus habeat intra V. dies homicidam ejus ſi poterit; ſin autem, incipiat perſolvere nobis XLVI marcas argenti, quamdiu ſubſtantia domini illius perduraverit: Ubi vero ſubſtantia domini defecerit, totus hundredus in quo occiſio facta eſt, communiter ſolvat quod remanet.

De jure Normannorum qui ante adventum regis Gulielmi cives fuerant Anglicani.

IV. Et omnis Francigena, qui tempore Edwardi propinqui noſtri fuit in Anglia particeps conſuetudinum Anglorum, quod ipſi dicunt (2) Anhlote & Anſcote, perſolvat ſecundum legem Anglorum.

De clientelari ſeu Feudorum jure, & Ingenuorum immunitate.

V. Volumus etiam ac firmiter præcipimus & concedimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius Monarchiæ regni noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant terras ſuas & poſſeſſiones ſuas bene & in pace, libere ab omni exactione injuſta, & ab omni tallagio, ita quod nichil ab eis exigatur vel capiatur, niſi ſervicium ſuum liberum, quod de jure nobis facere debent & facere tenentur; & prout ſtatutum eſt eis & illis a nobis datum & conceſſum jure hæreditario imperpetuum, per commune concilium totius regni noſtri prædicti.

De nocturnis cuſtodiis.

VI. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes Civitates & Burgi & Caſtella & Hundredi & Wapentachia totius regni noſtri prædicti, ſingulis noctibus vigilentur & cuſtodiantur in gyrum, pro maleficis & inimicis, prout vicecomes & aldermanni, & præpoſiti & cæteri ballivi & miniſtri noſtri melius, per Commune Conſilium ad utilitatem regni, providebunt.

De menſuris & ponderibus.

VII. Et quod habeant per univerſum regnum menſuras fideliſſimas & ſignatas, & pondera fideliſſima & ſignata, ſicut boni prædeceſſores ſtatuerunt.

De Clientum ſeu Vaſſallorum præſtationibus.

VIII. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes comites & barones, milites, & ſervientes, & univerſi liberi homines totius regni noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant ſe ſemper bene in armis & in equis, ut decet & oportet, & quod ſint ſemper prompti & bene parati ad ſervicium ſuum integrum nobis explendum & peragendum, cum ſemper opus adfuerit, ſecundum quod nobis debent de feodis & tenementis ſuis, de jure facere, & ſicut illis ſtatuimus, per Commune Concilium totius regni noſtri prædicti, & illis dedimus & conceſſimus in feodo jure hæreditario; hoc præceptum non ſit violatum ullo modo, ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

Ut jura regia illæſa ſervare pro viribus conentur ſubditi.

IX. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius regni noſtri prædicti ſint fratres conjurati ad monarchiam noſtram & ad regnum noſtrum pro viribus ſuis & facultatibus, contra inimicos pro poſſe ſuo defendendum & viriliter ſervandum, & pacem & dignitatem coronæ noſtræ integram obſervandam, & ad judicium rectum, & juſtitiam conſtanter omnibus modis pro poſſe ſuo ſine dolo & ſine dilatione faciendam. [Hoc Decretum ſancitum eſt in Civitate London.]

Ne venditio & emptio fiat niſi coram teſtibus & in civitatibus.

X. Interdicimus etiam, ut nulla viva (3) pecunia vendatur aut ematur niſi intra civitates, & hoc ante tres fideles teſtes, nec aliquam rem vetitam, ſine fidejuſſore & warranto: quod ſi aliter fecerit, ſolvat & perſolvat & poſtea forisfacturam.

De emporiis & jure urbium, pagorumque notæ melioris.

XI. Item nullum mercatum vel forum ſit, nec fieri permittantur, niſi in civitatibus regni noſtri, in burgis & muro vallatis, & in caſtellis & in locis tutiſſimis, ubi conſuetudines regni noſtri & jus noſtrum commune & dignitatis coronæ noſtræ, quæ conſtituta ſunt a bonis prædeceſſoribus noſtris deperiri non poſſunt, nec defraudari, nec violari, ſed omnia rite & in aperto & per judicium & juſtitiam fieri debent. Et ideo caſtella, & burgi & civitates ſitæ ſunt & fundatæ, & ædificatæ, ſcilicet, ad tuitionem gentium & populorum regni, & ad defenſionem regni, & idcirco obſervari debent cum omni libertate & integritate & ratione.

De purgatione forenſi in judiciis publicis.

XII. Decretum eſt etiam (4) ibi, ut ſi Francigena appellaverit Anglum de perjurio aut murdro, furto, homicidio, (Ran quod dicunt) apertam rapinam quæ negari non poteſt, Anglus ſe defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri, aut duello: Si autem Anglus infirmus fuerit, inveniat alium, qui pro eo faciat: Si quis eorum victus fuerit, emendet regi XL ſolid. Si autem Anglus Francigenam appellaverit, & probare voluerit judicio aut duello, volo tunc Francigenam purgare ſe ſacramento, non ferro.

Firmantur leges Edwardi regis.

XIII. Hoc quoque præcipimus ut omnes habeant & teneant leges Edwardi regis in omnibus rebus, adauctis hiis, quas conſtituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum.

De juſtitiæ publicæ fidejuſſoribus.

XIV. Omnis homo qui voluerit ſe teneri pro libero, ſit in plegio, ut plegius eam habeat ad juſtitiam, ſi quid offenderit, & quiſquam evaſerit, talium videant plegii, ut ſolvant, quod calumniatum eſt, & purgent ſe quod in evaſo

(1) Printed in Mr. *Lambard*'s *Archaionom.* and in Sir *Roger Twiſden*'s Edition of the ſame Work, from the ancient Manuſcript Copy in the Red Book of the Exchequer. (2) *i. e.* Payment of Scot and Lot. (3) *i. e.* Pecus. (4) *i. e.* London.

nullam

nullam fraudem noverint. Requiratur hundredus & comitatus (ſicut anteceſſores ſtatuerunt) & qui juſte venire debent & noluerint, ſummoneantur ſemel; & ſi ſecundo non venerint, accipiatur unus bos; & ſi tertio, alius bos; & ſi quarto, reddatur de rebus hujus hominis quod calumpniatum eſt, quod dicitur Ceathgel, & inſuper regis forisfactura.

De ſervis & eorum manumiſſione.

XV. Et prohibimus ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam; ſi qui vero velit ſervum ſuum liberum facere, tradat eum vicecomiti per manum dextram in pleno comitatu, quietum illum clamare debet a jugo ſervitutis ſuæ per manumiſſionem, & oſtendat ei liberas vias & portas, & tradat illi libera arma, ſcil. lanceam & gladium, deinde liber homo efficitur.

De ſervis.

XVI. Item ſi ſervi permanſerint ſine calumnia per annum & diem in civitatibus noſtris, vel in burgis muro vallatis, vel in caſtris noſtris, a die illa liberi efficiuntur, & liberi a jugo ſervitutis ſuæ ſint imperpetuum.

De ſupplicorum modo.

XVII. Interdicimus etiam, ne quis occidatur vel ſuſpendatur pro aliqua culpa, ſed enervantur oculi & abſcidantur pedes, vel teſticuli vel manus, ita quod truncus remaneat vivus in ſignum proditionis & nequitiæ ſuæ, ſecundum enim quantitatem delicti debet pœna maleficis infligi: iſta præcepta non ſint violata ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam. Teſtibus, &c.

Alia charta continens inſtitutiones ſive leges Regis Willielmi; quæ videntur additiones prioribus (1).

Willielmus Dei gratia, rex Anglorum, omnibus ad quos ſcriptum hoc perveniat, ſalutem & amicitiam, quod mando & præcipio per totam Angliæ nationem cuſtodiri.

De examine forenſi.

XVIII. Si Anglicus homo compellet aliquem Francigenam per (2) bellum de furto vel homicidio vel aliqua re pro qua bellum fieri debeat, vel judicium inter duos homines, habeat plenam licentiam faciendi. Et ſi Anglicus bellum nolit, Francigena compellatus adlegiet ſe in jurejurando contra eum per ſuos teſtes ſecundum legem Normanniæ.

De eodem.

XIX. Item ſi Francigena compellat Anglicum per bellum de eiſdem rebus, Anglicus plena licentia defendat ſe per bellum vel per judicium, ſi magis ei placeat. Et ſi untrum ſit, (id eſt invalidus) & nolit bellum vel non poſſet, quærat ſibi legalem defenſorem.

De eodem.

XX. Si Francigena victus fuerit, perſolvat regi LX ſolid. Et ſi Anglicus nolit ſe defendere per bellum vel per teſtimonium, adlegiet ſemper (3) Dei judicium.

De examine forenſi.

XXI. De omnibus Utlagariæ rebus, rex inſtituit, ut Anglicus ſe purget ad judicium; & ſi Anglicus appellet Francigenam, de Utlegaria & hoc ſuper eum inveritare velit, defendat ſe Francigena per bellum. Et ſi Anglicus non audeat eum probare per bellum, defendat ſe Francigena pleno juramento, non in verborum obſervantiis.

Charta Libertatum Regis HENRICI primi.

M. Paris. p. 55.

HENRICUS Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, &c. Hugoni de Boclande vicecomiti & omnibus fidelibus ſuis tam Francis quam Anglicis in Herefordſyre ſalutem. Sciatis me Dei miſericordia & Communi Conſilio baronum regni Angliæ regem eſſe coronatum.

I. Et quia regnum oppreſſum erat injuſtis exactionibus, ego reſpectu Dei, & amore quem erga vos omnes habeo, ſanctam Dei eccleſiam liberam facio, ita quod nec eam vendam nec ad firmam ponam, nec mortuo archiepiſcopo vel epiſcopo, vel abbate, aliquid accipiam de dominio eccleſiæ, vel de hominibus, donec ſucceſſor in eam ingrediatur.

II. Et omnes malas conſuetudines, quibus regnum Angliæ injuſte opprimebatur, inde aufero, quas malas conſuetudines in parte hic pono.

III. Siquis baronum meorum, comitum, vel aliorum, qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres ſuus non redimet terram ſuam, ſicut facere conſueverat tempore patris mei, ſed juſta & legitima relevatione relevabit eam: ſimiliter & (4) homines baronum meorum legitima & juſta relevatione relevabunt terras ſuas de dominis ſuis.

IV. Et ſiquis baronum vel aliorum hominum meorum, filiam ſuam tradere voluerit, ſive ſororem, ſive neptem, ſive cognatam, mecum inde loquatur, ſed neque ego aliquid de ſuo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam ei, quin eam det, excepto ſi eam dare voluerit inimico meo.

V. Et ſi mortuo barone vel alio homine meo, filia hæres remanſerit, dabo illam cum conſilio baronum meorum cum terra ſua.

VI. Et ſi mortuo marito, uxor ejus remanſerit, & ſine liberis fuerit, dotem ſuam, & maritagium habebit, & eam non dabo marito, niſi ſecundum velle ſuum. Si vero uxor cum liberis remanſerit, dotem ſuam & maritagium habebit, dum corpus ſuum legitime ſervabit; & eam non dabo niſi ſecundum velle ſuum, & terræ liberorum cuſtos erit ſive uxor, ſive alius propinquior, qui juſtus eſſe debet: & præcipio, ut homines mei ſimiliter ſe contineant erga filios & filias & uxores, hominum ſuorum.

VII. Monetagium commune, quod capiebatur per civitates vel comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo.

VIII. Si quis captus fuerit ſive monetarius ſive alius cum falſa moneta, juſtitia recta inde fiat.

IX. Omnia placita & omnia debita, quæ regi fratri meo debebantur, condono, exceptis firmis meis, & exceptis illis, quæ pacta erant pro aliorum hæreditatibus, vel pro illis rebus, quæ juſtius alios contingebant. Et ſi quis aliquid pro hæreditate ſua pepigerat, illud condono & omnes releviationes, quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant.

X. Et ſi quis baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur, ſicut ipſe dabit vel dare diſpoſuerit, pecuniam ſuam: ita datum eſſe concedo.

XI. Quod ſi ipſe præventus, vel armis, vel infirmitate, pecuniam ſuam nec dederit, nec dare diſpoſuerit, uxor ſua, ſive liberi aut parentes, & legitimi homines ſui, pro anima ejus eam dividant: ſicut eis melius viſum fuerit.

XII. Si quis baronum vel hominum meorum forisfecerit, non dabit vadium in miſeria pecuniæ ſuæ, ſicut faciebat tempore patris, vel fratris mei, ſed ſecundum forisfacturæ modum: nec ita emendabit ſicut emendaſſet retro tempore patris mei vel fratris.

(1) Theſe are not in the Red Book of the Exchequer, but to be found in *Brompton's* Chronicle, Col. 982. and are alſo in the Manuſcript belonging to the Dean and Chapter of *Rocheſter*, called *Textus Roffenſis*, p. 47.
(2) *i. e.* Battle, or Duel.
(3) *i. e.* Ordeal.
(4) *i. e.* Tenentes.

XIII. Quod

XIII. Quod ſi perfidiæ vel ſceleris convictus fuerit, ſicut culpa, ſic emendet.

XIV. Murdra etiam retro ab illa die, qua in regem coronatus ſum, omnia condono, & ea quæ amodo facta fuerint, juſte emendentur ſecundum lagam regis Edwardi.

XV. Foreſtas Communi Conſilio baronum meorum in manu mea, ita retinui, ſicut pater meus eas habuit.

XVI. Militibus, qui per loricas terras ſuas defendunt, terras dominicarum carucarum ſuarum quietas ab omnibus geldis & omni proprio, dono meo concedo; ut ſicut tam magno gravamine alleviati ſunt, ita equis & armis bene ſe inſtruant, ut apti & parati ſint ad ſervitium meum, & ad defenſionem regni mei.

XVII. Pacem firmam pono in toto regno meo, & teneri amodo præcipio. Lagam regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus, quibus pater meus eam emendavit, conſilio baronum ſuorum.

XVIII. Si quis aliquid de modo, vel de rebus alicujus poſt obitum regis Willielmi fratris mei cepit, totum cito reddatur abſque emendatione; & ſi quis inde aliquid retinuerit, ille ſuper quem inventum fuerit, graviter mihi emendabit.

His teſtibus Mauricio Londonienſi epiſcopo, Willielmo Wintonienſi electo, Girardo Herefordenſi epiſcopo, Henrico comite, Simone comite, Waltero Giffard comite, Roberto de Monte forti, Rogero Bigod, & aliis multis.

Charta Regis STEPHANI.

3. W. Malms. de geſt. Reg. p. 179.

I. EGO Stephanus Dei gratia, aſſenſu cleri & populi in regem Angliæ electus, & a domino Willielmo Archiepiſcopo Cantuariæ & ſanctæ Eccleſiæ Romanæ legato conſecratus, & ab Innocentio ſanctæ ſedis Romanæ pontifice poſtmodum confirmatus, reſpectu & amore Dei ſanctam eccleſiam liberam eſſe concedo, & debitam reverentiam illi confirmo.

II. Nihil me in eccleſia, vel in rebus eccleſiaſticis ſymoniace acturum, vel permiſſurum eſſe promitto.

III. Eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum & omnium clericorum, & rerum eorum juſtitiam & poteſtatem & diſtributionem honorum eccleſiaſticorum manu epiſcoporum eſſe, prohibeo & confirmo.

IV. Dignitates eccleſiarum, privilegiis earum confirmatas, & conſuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere concedo & ſtatuo.

V. Omnes eccleſiarum poſſeſſiones, & tenuras, quas die illa habuerant, qua Willielmus rex avus meus fuit vivus & mortuus, ſine omnium calumniantium reclamatione eis liberas & abſolutas eſſe concedo.

VI. Si quid vero de habitis aut poſſeſſis ante mortem regis, quibus modo careat, eccleſia, deinceps repeteret, indulgentiæ & diſpenſationi meæ vel diſcutiendum, vel reſtituendum reſervo.

VII. Quæcunque vero poſt mortem regis liberalitate regum, largitione principum, oblatione, vel comparatione, vel qualibet tranſmutatione fidelium collata ſunt confirmo.

VIII. Pacem meam & juſtitiam in omnibus facturum & pro poſſe meo conſervaturum promitto.

IX. Foreſtas quas Willielmus rex avus meus, & Willielmus avunculus meus inſtituerunt & tenuerunt, mihi reſervo. Cæteras omnes, quas Henricus rex ſuperaddidit, eccleſiis & regno quietas reddo & concedo.

X. Si quis autem epiſcopus vel abbas, vel alia eccleſiaſtica perſona ante mortem ſuam rationabiliter ſua diſtribuerit, vel diſtribuenda ſtatuerit, firmum manere concedo.

XI. Si vero morte præoccupatus fuerit, pro ſalute animæ ejus, eccleſiæ conſilio eadem fiat diſtributio.

XII. Dum vero ſedes propriis fuerint paſtoribus vacuæ, & ipſæ, & omnes earum poſſeſſiones, in manu & cuſtodia clericorum vel proborum hominum, ejuſdem eccleſiæ committantur, donec paſtor canonice ſubſtituatur.

XIII. Omnes exactiones & Meſcheningas, & injuſtitias, ſive per vice-comites, vel per alios quoſlibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges & antiquas & juſtas conſuetudines in murdris, & placitis & aliis cauſis obſervabo, & obſervari præcipio, & conſtituo: apud Oxeneford anno incarnationis Domini 1136. regni mei primo.

Charta libertatum Angliæ HENRICI II.

4. Ex. Vol. II. Concil. Britan. Do. Hen. Spelman, p. 51.

HENRICUS Dei gratia rex Anglorum, dux Normanniæ & Acquitaniæ, comes Andegaviæ, baronibus & fidelibus ſuis Francis & Anglicis, ſalutem.

I. Sciatis me ad honorem Dei & ſanctæ eccleſiæ & pro communi emendatione totius regni mei, conceſſiſſe & reddidiſſe & præſenti charta mea confirmaſſe, Deo & ſanctæ eccleſiæ & omnibus comitibus & baronibus & omnibus hominibus meis, omnes conſuetudines quas rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit & conceſſit; ſimiliter etiam omnes malas conſuetudines, quas ipſe delevit & remiſit, ego remitto & deleri concedo pro me & hæredibus meis.

II. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ſancta eccleſia, & omnes comites & barones, & omnes mei homines, omnes illas conſuetudines & donationes & libertates, & liberas conſuetudines habeant & teneant, libere & quiete, bene & in pace, integre, de me & hæredibus meis, ſibi & hæredibus ſuis, adeo libere & plenarie in omnibus, ſicut rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit & conceſſit, & charta ſua confirmavit. Teſt. Richardo de Luci.

CHARTA

CHARTA Communium Libertatum; ſive MAGNA CHARTA regis JOHANNIS; ex Autographo Cottoniano (1).

‘ The CHARTER of Liberties, or ‘ the GREAT CHARTER granted ‘ by King JOHN to his Subjects ‘ in the year 1255.

JOHANNES dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hybernie, dux Normannie, Aquitanie, & comes Andegavie, archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, juſticiariis, foreſtariis, vicecomitibus, prepoſitis, miniſtris, & omnibus ballivis & fidelibus ſuis, ſalutem. Sciatis nos intuitu dei & pro ſalute anime noſtre & omnium anteceſſorum & heredum noſtrorum, ad honorem dei, & exaltationem ſancte eccleſie, & emendationem regni noſtri, per conſilium venerabilium Patrum noſtrorum Stephani Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopi, totius Anglie Primatis & Sancte Romane eccleſie Cardinalis, Henrici Dublinienſis Archiepiſcopi, Willielmi Londonienſis, Petri Wintonienſis, Joſcelini Bathonienſis & Glaſton, Hugonis Lincolnienſis, Walteri Wygornienſis, Willielmi Coventrenſis, & Benedicti Roffenſis epiſcoporum; magiſtri Pandulfi domini pape ſubdiaconi & familiaris, fratris Eymerici magiſtri militie templi in Anglia; & nobilium virorum Willielmi Mariſcalli comitis Penbrok, Willielmi comitis Sarum, Willielmi comitis Warennie, Willielmi comitis Arundell, Alani de Galweya conſtabularii Scottie, Warini filii Geroldi, Petri filii Hereberti, Huberti de Burgo ſeneſcalli Pictavie, Hugonis de Nevill, Matthei filii Hereberti, Thome Baſſet, Alani Baſſet, Philippi de Albiniaco, Roberti de Roppele, Johannis Mareſcalli, Johannis filii Hugonis, & aliorum fidelium noſtrorum, In primis conceſſiſſe deo, & hac preſente charta noſtra confirmaſſe, pro nobis & heredibus noſtris in perpetuum;

‘ JOHN by the Grace of God, King of *England*, ‘ Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, ‘ and Earl of *Anjou*: To the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Juſticiaries, Foreſters, Sheriffs, Governors, Officers, and to all ‘ Bailiffs and other his faithful Subjects, Greeting. Know ‘ ye, that we (2), in the preſence of God, and for the ‘ health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Anceſtors and ‘ Heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of ‘ Holy Church, and amendment of our Kingdom, by the ‘ advice of our venerable Fathers, *Stephen* Archbiſhop of ‘ *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Cardinal of ‘ the Holy *Roman* Church; *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dub*‘ *lin*, *William* Biſhop of *London*, *Peter* of *Winchester*, ‘ *Joſcelin* of *Bath* and *Glaſtonbury*, *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, *Wal*‘ *ter* of *Worceſter*, *William* of *Coventry*, *Benedict* of *Ro*‘ *cheſter*, Biſhops; and Maſter *Pandulph* the Pope's ‘ Sub-Deacon and Servant, Brother *Aymeric* Maſter ‘ of the *Temple* in *England*; and the noble Perſons *Wil*‘ *liam Mareſcall* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Sa*‘ *lisbury*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *A*‘ *rundel*, *Alan de Galoway* Conſtable of *Scotland*, *Warin* ‘ *Fitz-Gerald*, *Peter Fitz-Herbert*, and *Hubert de Burgh* ‘ Seneſchal of *Poictou*, *Hugo de Neville*, *Matthew Fitz*‘ *Herebert*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Alan Baſſet*, *Philip de Albiney*, ‘ *Robert de Roppele*, *John Mareſcall*, *John Fitz-Hugh*, ‘ and others our Liegemen; have in the firſt place granted ‘ to God, and by this our preſent Charter, confirmed for ‘ us and our Heirs for ever, The GREAT CHARTER.

I. Quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, & habeat jura ſua integra, & libertates ſuas illeſas; & ita volumus obſervari, quod apparet ex eo, quod libertatem electionum que maxima & magis neceſſaria reputatur eccleſie Anglicane, mera & ſpontanea voluntate, ante diſcordiam inter nos & barones noſtros motam, conceſſimus & carta noſtra confirmavimus, & eam optinuimus a domino papa Innocentio tertio confirmari; quam & nos obſervabimus, & ab heredibus noſtris in perpetuum bona fide volumus obſervari.

‘ I. That the Church of *England* ſhall be free (3), and ‘ enjoy her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable. [(4) And ‘ we will have them ſo to be obſerved, which appears from ‘ hence, that the freedom of Elections, which is reckoned ‘ moſt neceſſary for the Church of *England* (5) of our ‘ own free Will and Pleaſure we have granted and confirm‘ ed by our Charter, and obtained the Confirmation there‘ of from Pope *Innocent the Third*, before the Diſcord be‘ tween Us and our Barons, which Charter we ſhall ob‘ ſerve, and do will it to be faithfully obſerved by our ‘ Heirs for ever.]

II. Conceſſimus etiam omnibus liberis hominibus regni noſtri pro nobis & heredibus noſtris in perpetuum, omnes libertates ſubſcriptas, habendas & tenendas eis & heredibus ſuis, de nobis & heredibus noſtris.

‘ II. We have alſo granted to all the Freemen of ‘ our Kingdom, for Us and our Heirs for ever, all the un‘ der-written Liberties, to have and to hold, them and ‘ their Heirs, of Us and our Heirs.

III. Si quis comitum vel baronum noſtrorum, ſive aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite per ſervitium militare, mortuus fuerit, & cum deceſſerit heres ſuus plene etatis fuerit, & relevium debeat, habeat hereditatem ſuam per antiquum relevium, ſcilicet heres vel heredes comitis de baronia comitis integra per centum libras. Heres vel heredes baronis de baronia integra per centum libras. Heres vel

‘ III. If any of our Earls (6), or Barons, or others ‘ who hold of Us in Chief by military Service, ſhall die, ‘ and at the time of his death his Heir is of full ‘ Age, and owes a Relief, he ſhall have his Inheritance by ‘ the antient Relief (7); that is to ſay, the Heir or Heirs ‘ of an Earl, for a whole Earl's Barony, by a hundred ‘ Pounds; the Heir or Heirs of a Baron, for a whole

(1) Exactly printed from an authentick Copy of the Original in the *Cotton* Library; and carefully compared with the Original.
The Notes at the Bottom in the larger Character, referred to by the Letters (*a*, and *b*, &c.) are ſuch Paragraphs, or Articles, as occur in the *Magna Charta*, extant in *Mat. Paris*, p. 255, and are left out in the *Cottonian* Copy. And whatſoever is inſerted between theſe two Marks [ ] are ſuch Clauſes as were omitted in the *Magna Charta* of *Henry* III, and all the Charters that followed. So that the Reader hath at one View, a faithful Copy of the Original, as it is extant in the *Cotton* Library, and alſo in what Particulars the Charter in *Mat. Paris*, and that of *Henry* III do vary from it.

(2) King *John* was the firſt of the Kings of *England* (as Sir *Edward Coke* obſerves) that in his Grants wrote in the plural Number: Other Kings before him wrote in the ſingular Number; they uſed *Ego*, I; and King *John*, and all the Kings after him, *Nos*, We. 2d *Inſtitute*, p. 2.

(3) That is, all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons within the Realm, their Poſſeſſions and Goods ſhall be freed from all unjuſt Exactions and Oppreſſions; but notwithſtanding ſhall yield all lawful Duties, either to the King, or to any of his Subjects. *Coke*, ibid.

(4) No new Rights were hereby given unto Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, but ſuch as they had before, were confirmed unto them. *Coke*, p. 3.

(5) See above, p. 267. *Col.* 1.

(6) There was never a Duke, Marquiſs, or Viſcount then in *England*. The firſt Duke was *Edward* the *Black Prince*, who was created Duke of *Cornwall*, in 11 *Edw.* III. *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, was created Marquiſs of *Dublin* in 8 *Ricb.* II. The firſt Viſcount on Record, and that ſat in Parliament by that Name, was *John* Viſcount *Beaumont*, created 18 *Henry* VI. *Coke*, p. 5. For an account of the Titles of Earls and Barons, ſee above, p. 149, 150; and *Selden*'s Titles of Honour.

(7) For the underſtanding of this Article, it muſt be obſerved, That when any of the King's Tenants in chief died, the King, as Guardian to his Heir, ſeized his Lands; which remained in his Hands, till the Heir was of Age. But when the Heir came to be twenty one Years old, he could ſue to have his Eſtate, upon doing Homage to the King, and paying a certain Compoſition called *Relief*, which at firſt was ſettled, according to every Man's Degree, from an Earl to a Farmer. (See above, p. 191. Note (I); and p. 243. Note (III). But it ſeems, that ſometimes before King *John*'s Reign, there had been a heavy Incroachment of an uncertain Relief, at will and pleaſure, which, under a fair Term, was called *Rationabile Relevium*; a reaſonable Relief. This Clauſe therefore ſets this Matter again upon its ancient Footing. See Sir *Edw. Coke*'s 2d *Inſt.* p. 7.

heredes militis de feodo militis integro per centum ſolidos ad plus : & qui minus debuerit, minus det ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem feodorum.

‘ Barony, by an hundred Pounds (1); the Heir or Heirs of ‘ a Knight, for a whole Knight's Fee, by an hundred ‘ Shillings at moſt; and he that oweth leſs ſhall give ‘ leſs, according to the antient Cuſtom of Fees.

IV. Si autem heres alicujus talium fuerit infra etatem, & fuerit in cuſtodia : cum ad etatem pervenerit, habeat hereditatem ſuam ſine relevio & ſine fine.

‘ IV. But if the Heir of any ſuch be under Age, and ‘ ſhall be in (2) Ward (*a*) when he comes of Age, he ſhall ‘ have his Inheritance without Relief or without Fine (*b*).

V. Cuſtos terre hujuſmodi heredis qui infra etatem fuerit, non capiat de terra heredis niſi rationabiles exitus, & rationabiles conſuetudines, & rationabilia ſervitia, & hoc ſine deſtructione & vaſto hominum vel rerum. Et ſi nos commiſerimus cuſtodiam alicujus talis terre vicecomiti vel alicui alii qui de exitibus illius nobis reſpondere debeat, & ille deſtructionem de cuſtodia fecerit vel vaſtum, nos ab illo capiemus emendam, & terra committatur duobus legalibus & diſcretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui de exitibus reſpondeant nobis vel ei cui eos aſſignaverimus. Et ſi dederimus vel vendiderimus alicui cuſtodiam alicujus talis terre, & ille deſtructionem inde fecerit vel vaſtum, amittat ipſam cuſtodiam, & tradatur duobus legalibus & diſcretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui ſimiliter nobis reſpondeant, ſicut predictum eſt.

‘ V. The Warden of the Land of ſuch Heir, who ſhall ‘ be under Age, ſhall take of the Land of ſuch Heir only ‘ reaſonable Iſſues, reaſonable Cuſtoms, and reaſonable ‘ Services (4); and that without deſtruction and waſte ‘ of the Men or Things (*c*): And if we commit the ‘ Guardianſhip of thoſe Lands to the Sheriff, or any other, ‘ who is anſwerable to us for the Iſſues of the Land, and ‘ he make deſtruction and waſte upon the Ward-Lands, ‘ we will compel him to give ſatisfaction, and the Land ‘ ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſcreet Tenants ‘ of that Fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the Iſſues to ‘ us, or to him whom we ſhall aſſign. And if we ‘ give or ſell the Wardſhip of any ſuch Lands to any ‘ one, and he makes deſtruction or waſte upon them, ‘ he ſhall loſe the Wardſhip, which ſhall be committed to ‘ two lawful and diſcreet Tenants of that Fee, who ſhall ‘ in like manner be anſwerable to us, as hath been ſaid.

VI. Cuſtos autem quamdiu cuſtodiam terre habuerit, ſuſtentet domos, parcos, vivaria, ſtagna, molendina, & cetera ad terram illam pertinentia de exitibus terre ejuſdem, & reddat heredi cum ad plenam etatem pervenerit terram ſuam totam inſtauratam de carrucis & wainnagiis ſecundum quod tempus wainnagii exiget, & exitus terre rationabiliter poterunt ſuſtinere.

‘ VI. But the Warden, ſo long as he hath the ‘ Wardſhip of the Land, ſhall keep up and maintain the ‘ Houſes, Parks, Warrens, Ponds, Mills, and other ‘ things pertaining to the Land, out of the Iſſues of ‘ the ſame Land; and ſhall reſtore to the Heir, when he ‘ comes of full Age, his whole Land ſtocked with Ploughs ‘ and Carriages, according as the time of Wainage ſhall ‘ require, and the Iſſues of the Land can reaſonably ‘ bear (*d*).

VII. Heredes maritentur abſque diſparagatione; ita tamen quod antequam contrahatur matrimonium, oſtendatur propinquis de conſanguinitate ipſius heredis.

‘ VII. Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement (5), ‘ [ſo as that before Matrimony is contracted, thoſe who ‘ are neareſt to the Heir in Blood be made acquainted ‘ with it.]

VIII. Vidua poſt mortem mariti ſui ſtatim & ſine difficultate habeat maritagium & hereditatem ſuam; nec aliquid det pro dote ſua vel pro maritagio ſuo, vel hereditate ſua, quam hereditatem maritus ſuus & ipſa tenuerint die obitus ipſius mariti; & maneat in domo mariti ſui per quadraginta dies poſt mortem ipſius, infra quos aſſignetur ei dos ſua.

‘ VIII. A Widow, after the death of her Husband, ‘ ſhall forthwith, and without any difficulty, have her ‘ Marriage (6), and her Inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give ‘ any thing for her Dower, or her Marriage, or her In- ‘ heritance, which her Husband and ſhe held at the day ‘ of his death: And ſhe may remain in the Capital Meſ- ‘ ſuage or Manſion-Houſe of her Husband, forty days af- ‘ ter his death; within which Term her Dower ſhall ‘ be aſſigned (*e*).

IX. Nulla vidua diſtringatur ad ſe maritandum, dum voluerit vivere ſine marito. Ita tamen quod ſecuritatem faciat quod ſe non maritabit ſine aſſenſu noſtro, ſi de nobis tenuerit, vel ſine aſſenſu domini ſui de quo tenuerit ſi de alio tenuerit.

‘ IX. No Widow ſhall be deſtrain'd (7) to marry her- ‘ ſelf ſo long as ſhe has a mind to live without a Huſ- ‘ band. But yet ſhe ſhall give Security that ſhe will not ‘ marry without our Aſſent, if ſhe holds of Us; or with- ‘ out the Conſent of the Lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe ‘ holds of another.

X. Nec nos, nec ballivi noſtri ſeiſiemus terram aliquam nec redditum pro debito aliquo, quamdiu catalla debitoris ſufficiunt ad debitum reddendum : Nec pleggii ipſius debitoris diſtringantur, quamdiu ipſe capitalis debitor ſufficit ad ſolutionem debiti.

‘ X. Neither we nor our Bailiffs (8) ſhall ſeize any ‘ Land (9) or Rent for any Debt, ſo long as there are ‘ Chattles of the Debtor's upon the Premiſes, ſufficient to ‘ pay the Debt (*f*). Nor ſhall the Sureties of the Debtor ‘ be deſtrained, ſo long as the principal Debtor is ſufficient ‘ for the payment of the Debt.

XI. Et

XI. And

(*a*) [His Lord ſhall not have the Wardſhip of him, nor his Land, before he hath received his Homage; and after ſuch Heir ſhall be in Ward, and ſhall attain to the Age of one and twenty years.]

(*b*) [Yet ſo, that if he be made a Knight (3) while he is under Age, nevertheleſs the Lands ſhall remain in the Cuſtody of the Lord, untill the aforeſaid time.]

(*c*) [Upon the Eſtate.]

(*d*) [And all theſe things ſhall be obſerved in the Cuſtodies of vacant Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbies, Priories, Churches and Dignities which appertain to us; except that theſe Wardſhips are not to be ſold.]

(*e*) [If it was not aſſigned before, or unleſs the Houſe ſhall be a Caſtle; and if ſhe departs from the Caſtle, there ſhall forthwith be provided for her a compleat Houſe, in which ſhe may decently dwell, till her Dower be to her aſſigned, as hath been ſaid; and ſhe ſhall in the mean time have her reaſonable *Eſtover*, (*i. e.* competent Maintenance) out of the common [Revenue.] And there ſhall be aſſigned to her for her Dower, the third part of all her Husband's Lands which were his in his Life time, except ſhe were endowed with leſs at the Church-Door.]

(*f*) [And that the Debtor is ready to ſatisfy it.]

(1) The *Cottonian* Copy has a hundred Pounds; which ſeems to be a miſtake. For the antient Relief of an Earldom, a Barony, and the Living of a Knight, was the fourth part of the yearly Value of them. Now, the yearly Value of a Barony was to conſiſt of thirteen Knight's Fees and a quarter, which, by juſt Account, amounted to four hundred Marks a Year, therefore his Relief was a hundred Marks, and not a hundred Pounds. See *Coke*, ibid. p. 7.

(2) As long as the Heirs of the King's Tenants in chief were under Age, they were ſaid to be *in Ward*, but this *Wardſhip* was taken away by the Statute 12. *Charl.* II. c. 24.

(3) By being made a Knight, the Heir was out of Ward as to his Body; but his Land remained in the Cuſtody of the Lord, as is ſaid in this Article. See *Coke*, p. 11.

(4) By *Iſſues*, are meant, the Rents and Profits iſſuing out, or coming of the Lands or Tenements of the Ward. By *Cuſtoms*, things due by Cuſtom or Preſcription, and appendant to the Lands or Tenements in Ward; as Advowſons, Commons, Stray, *&c.* alſo Fines of Tenants by Copy of Court-Roll. By *Services*, the Drudgery and Labour due from Copy-holders to their Lords. See above, p. 150. and Notes, and *Coke*, p. 12, 13.

(5) That is, according to their Rank, *&c.* *Diſparagement* in a legal Senſe, was uſed for matching an Heir in Marriage under his Degree, or againſt Decency. *Coke Littl.* 107. *Jacob.*

(6) *Maritagium*, that is, ſhall have liberty to marry where ſhe will. It appears by *Bracton*, that a Woman who was an Heir, could not marry, without the Leave and Conſent of the Lords of whom her Eſtates were held; otherwiſe ſhe forfeited them. *Bract.* l. 2. p. 88. *Coke*, p. 16.

(7) Compelled by ſeizing her Goods.

(8) In this place the Sheriff and his Under Bailiffs are intended and meant, ſays Sir *Edward Coke*, p. 19.

(9) By order of the Common Law, the King for his Debt had Execution of the Body, Lands, and Goods of the Debtor; ſo that this is an Act of Grace, reſtraining the Power, the King had before. *Coke*, ibid.

XI. Et ſi capitalis debitor defecerit in ſolutione debiti, non habens unde ſolvat, pleggii reſpondeant de debito, & ſi voluerint habeant terras & redditus debitoris, donec ſit eis ſatisfactum de debito quod ante pro eo ſolverint, niſi capitalis debitor monſtraverit ſe eſſe quietum inde verſus eoſdem pleggios.

‘ XI. And if the principal Debtor fail in the payment ‘ of the Debt, not having wherewithal to diſcharge it (*a*), ‘ then the Sureties ſhall anſwer the Debt, and if they will, ‘ they ſhall have the Lands and Rents of the Debtor, un- ‘ till they be ſatisfied for the Debt which they paid for ‘ him ; unleſs the principal Debtor can ſhow himſelf ac- ‘ quitted thereof, againſt the ſaid Sureties.

XII. Si quis mutuo ceperit aliquid a Judeis plus vel minus, & moriatur antequam debitum illud ſolvatur, debitum non uſuret quamdiu heres fuerit infra etatem, de quocumque teneat ; & ſi debitum illud inciderit in manus noſtras, nos non capiemus niſi catallum contentum in charta.

‘ XII. [If any one have borrowed any thing of the *Jews* ‘ more or leſs, and dies before the Debt be ſatisfied, there ‘ ſhall be no Intereſt paid for that Debt, ſo long as the ‘ Heir is under Age, of whomſoever he may hold : And ‘ if the Debt falls into our hands, we will take only the ‘ Chattel mentioned in the Charter or Inſtrument.]

XIII. Et ſi quis moriatur, & debitum debeat Judeis, uxor ejus habeat dotem ſuam, & nichil reddat de debito illo; & ſi liberi ipſius defuncti, qui fuerint infra etatem, remanſerint, provideantur iis neceſſaria ſecundum tenementum quod fuerit defuncti ; & de reſiduo ſolvatur debitum, ſalvo ſervitio dominorum. Simili modo fiat de debitis que debentur aliis quam Judeis.

‘ XIII. [And if any one die indebted to the *Jews*, ‘ his Wife ſhall have her Dower, and pay nothing of that ‘ Debt ; and if the deceaſed left Children under Age, they ‘ ſhall have neceſſaries provided for them according to the ‘ Tenement (or real Eſtate) of the deceaſed, and out of ‘ the reſidue the Debt ſhall be paid ; ſaving however the ‘ Service of the Lords. In like manner let it be with the ‘ Debts due to other Perſons than *Jews*.]

XIV. Nullum ſcutagium vel auxilium ponatur in regno noſtro niſi per Commune Conſilium regni noſtri, niſi ad corpus noſtrum redimendum ; & primogenitum filium noſtrum militem faciendum ; & ad filiam noſtram primogenitam ſemel maritandam : & ad hec non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium.

‘ XIV. No *Scutage* (1) or Aid ſhall be impoſed in our ‘ Kingdom, unleſs by the Common Council of our King- ‘ dom, except to redeem our Perſon, and to make our ‘ eldeſt Son a Knight, and once to marry our eldeſt ‘ Daughter ; and for this there ſhall only be paid a rea- ‘ ſonable Aid.

XV. Simili modo fiat de auxiliis de civitate London. & civitas London. habeat omnes antiquas libertates, & liberas conſuetudines ſuas tam per terras quam per aquas.

‘ XV. [In like manner it ſhall be concerning the Aids ‘ of the City of *London* ; and] the City of *London* ſhall ‘ have all her antient Liberties and free Cuſtoms, as well ‘ by Land as by Water.

XVI. Preterea volumus & concedimus, quod omnes alie civitates, & burgi, & ville & portus habeant omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines ſuas, & ad habendum Commune Conſilium regni de auxilio aſſidendo aliter quam in tribus caſibus predictis.

‘ XVI. Furthermore, we will and grant that all other ‘ Cities and Burroughs, and Towns (*b*), and Ports, ſhall ‘ have all their Liberties and free Cuſtoms ; and ſhall ‘ have the Common Council of the Kingdom concerning ‘ the Aſſeſſment of their Aids (3), except in the three ‘ Caſes aforeſaid.

XVII. Vel de ſcutagio aſſidendo, ſummoneri faciemus archiepiſcopos, epiſcopos, abbates, comites, & majores barones ſigillatim per literas noſtras.

‘ XVII. [And for the aſſeſſing of Scutages we ſhall ‘ cauſe to be ſummoned the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, ‘ Earls, and great Barons of the Realm ſingly by our Let- ‘ ters.]

XVIII. Et preterea faciemus ſummoneri in generali per vicecomites, & ballivos noſtros omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite ad certum diem, ſcilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, & ad certum locum, & in omnibus litteris illius ſummonitionis cauſam ſummonitionis exprimemus.

‘ XVIII. [And furthermore, we will cauſe to be ſum- ‘ moned in general by our Sheriffs and Bailiffs, all others ‘ who hold of us in chief (4), at a certain day, that is ‘ to ſay, forty days before their Meeting at leaſt, to a ‘ certain Place ; and in all Letters of ſuch Summons, we ‘ will declare the cauſe of the Summons.]

XIX. Et ſic facta ſummonitione negotium ad diem aſſignatum procedat ſecundum conſilium illorum qui preſentes fuerint, quamvis non omnes ſummoniti venerint.

‘ XIX. [And Summons being thus made, the Buſineſs ‘ ſhall proceed on the day appointed, according to the Ad- ‘ vice of ſuch as are preſent, although all that were ſum- ‘ moned come not.]

XX. Nos non concedemus de cetero alicui quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus ſuis, niſi ad corpus ſuum redimendum ; & ad faciendum primogenitum filium ſuum militem ; & ad primogenitam filiam ſuam ſemel maritandam ; & ad hec non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium.

‘ XX. We will not for the future grant to any one, ‘ that he may take Aid of his own Free-Tenants, unleſs ‘ to redeem his Body ; and to make his eldeſt Son a ‘ Knight, and once to marry his eldeſt Daughter ; and for ‘ this there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable Aid.

XXI. Nullus diſtringatur ad faciendum majus Servitium de feodo militis, nec de alio libero tenemento, quam inde debetur.

‘ XXI. No Man ſhall be diſtreined to perform more ‘ Service for a Knight's Fee, or other free Tenement, ‘ than is due from thence (5).

XXII. Communia placita non ſequantur curiam noſtram, ſed teneantur in aliquo loco certo. Recognitiones de nova diſſaiſina ;

‘ XXII. Common Pleas (6), ſhall not follow our ‘ Court, but be holden in ſome certain Place : Tryals ‘ upon

(*a*) [Or will not diſcharge it when he is able.]

(*b*) [And Barons of the *Cinque Ports* (2).]

(1) *Scutage* was military Service, due to the King from the Tenants in Chief. It is to be underſtood alſo of what the Feudataries paid the King in lieu of that Service, and likewiſe of the Tax which was impoſed on each Vaſſal for the Service of the Publick. Since *William the Conqueror*, the Kings had frequently impoſed Scutages, without the conſent of the States. *Rapin.* See above, p. 258, 280. *Note* II.

(2) The *Cinque Ports* lay in the County of *Kent*. They had great Privileges, which King *John* himſelf had augmented. The Governors of them were called *Barons*, as they are at this Day. *Rapin.*

(3) That is according to Dr. *Brady*'s Explanation, *they ſhall ſend their Repreſentatives or Commiſſioners to the Common Council of the Kingdom.*

(4) It ſeems to follow from this Article, that none but Tenants in Chief had a right to ſit in the Common Council or Parliament. Otherwiſe it was natural to mention here the Repreſentatives of the Commons, had they enjoyed that Right in thoſe Days. *Rapin.*

(5) This was the ancient Law of *England*, as appears by *Glanvill*, l. 12. c. 9, 10. *Coke*, p. 21. See above, p. 154. Note.

(6) It may not be amiſs to give an Abſtract of *Madox*'s Hypotheſis concerning the Diviſion of the King's Court, and Erection of the Bank or common Bench. That the King's Court or Palace was antiently the great and principal Seat of Judicature in this Realm, has been obſerved in a former Note on the *Exchequer*. But in proceſs of time, namely, about the end of King *John*'s Reign, the Judicature of the King's Court came to be divided. And by that Diviſion, Common Pleas were reſerved to a Court then newly erected ; which Court was called the *Bank*, becauſe it was fixed at *Weſtminſter*, at which place the Juſticiars thereof were to ſit and not to follow the King's Court. The Bank was, probably, ſet up in aid of the King's Court, as the *Iters* formerly were. It has been, indeed, for ſome time paſt a received Opinion, that the four ſuperior Courts holden at this Day in *Weſtminſter* Hall are of coeval Antiquity. This may ſerve to ſilence needleſs Diſputes concerning the Pre-eminence of one or other of the King's Courts, but does not ſeem to agree with the antient Records. For the Name or Style of the *Bank*, or Juſticiars of the Bank, does not occur till long after the *Norman Conqueſt*, conſequently the *Bank* or *Common Bench* was a Court different from the *Curia Regis*, and erected at ſome ſubſequent time. And as the *Bank* hath all along, ſince the time of the firſt Notice of it, dealt only or chiefly in common Pleas ; ſo it falls out, that the *Curia Regis* ceaſed to deal ordinarily in common Pleas, about the ſame time the Bank is ſuppoſed to be erected. Now this Diviſion of the King's Court ſeems to have been begun in the Reign of *Richard* I. or King *John*, and compleated in the Reign of *Henry* III. And to this the *Great Charter*, no doubt, was very conducive. In this Article of the *Magna Charta* therefore, by *Curiam noſtram* may be underſtood the King's Court holden in his

diſſaiſina, de morte anteceſſoris, & de ultima preſentatione non capiantur niſi in ſuis comitatibus, & hoc modo: nos, vel ſi extra regnum fuerimus, capitalis juſticiarius noſter, mittemus duos juſticiarios per unumquemque comitatum, per quatuor vices in anno: qui cum quatuor militibus cujuſlibet comitatus electis per comitatum, capiant in comitatu, & in die & loco comitatus aſſiſas predictas.

‘ upon the Writs of *Novel Diſſeiſin*, and of *Mort d' Anceſter*, and of *Darreine Preſentment* (1), ſhall be taken ‘ but in their proper Counties and after this manner: We, ‘ or (if we are out of the Realm) our Chief Juſticiary, ‘ ſhall ſend two Juſticiaries through every County four ‘ times a year; who with the four Knights choſen out ‘ of every Shire, by the People, ſhall hold the ſaid Aſſizes ‘ in the County, on the day, and at the Place, appoint- ‘ ed (2).

XXIII. Et ſi, in die comitatus, aſſiſe predicte capi non poſſint, tot milites & libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerint comitatui die illo, per quos poſſint judicia ſufficienter fieri, ſecundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus.

‘ XXIII. And if any Matters cannot be determined on ‘ the day appointed to hold the Aſſizes in each County, ‘ ſo many of the Knights and Freeholders as have been at ‘ the Aſſizes aforeſaid, ſhall be appointed to decide them, ‘ as is neceſſary, according as there is more or leſs Buſi- ‘ neſs (*a*).

XXIV. Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, niſi ſecundum modum delicti; & pro magno delicto amercietur, ſecundum magnitudinem delicti: ſalvo contenemento ſuo; & mercator eodem modo ſalva mercandiſa ſua.

‘ XXIV. A Free-Man (3) ſhall not be amerced for a ‘ ſmall Fault, but according to the degree of the Fault; ‘ and for a great Crime, in proportion to the Heinouſneſs ‘ of it: Saving to him his Contenement (4), and after ‘ the ſame manner a Merchant, ſaving to him his Mer- ‘ chandiſe.

XXV. Et villanus eodem modo amercietur ſalvo wainnagio ſuo, ſi inciderint in miſericordiam noſtram; & nulla dictarum miſericordiarum ponatur niſi per ſacramentum proborum hominum de viſneto.

‘ XXV. And a Villain (*b*) ſhall be amerced after the ‘ ſame manner, ſaving to him his Wainage (5), if he falls ‘ under our Mercy; and none of the aforeſaid Amercia- ‘ ments (6) ſhall be aſſeſſed but by the Oath of honeſt Men ‘ of the neighbourhood (*c*).

XXVI. Comites & barones non amercientur, niſi per pares ſuos, & non niſi ſecundum modum delicti.

‘ XXVI. Earls and Barons ſhall not be amerced but ‘ by their Peers (7), and according to the Quality of the ‘ Offence.

XXVII. Nullus clericus amercietur de laico tenemento ſuo, niſi ſecundum modum aliorum predictorum, & non ſecundum quantitatem beneficii ſui eccleſiaſtici.

‘ XXVII. No Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhall be amerced ‘ for his Lay-Tenement, but according to the propor- ‘ tion aforeſaid, and not according to the value of his Ec- ‘ cleſiaſtical Benefice.

XXVIII. Nec villa, nec homo diſtringatur facere pontes ad riparias, niſi qui ab antiquo & de jure facere debent.

‘ XXVIII. Neither a Town, nor any Perſon, ſhall be ‘ diſtreined to make Bridges over Rivers, unleſs that an- ‘ ciently and of Right they are bound to do it (*d*).

XXIX. Nullus vicecomes, conſtabularius, coronatores, vel alii ballivi noſtri teneant placita corone noſtre.

‘ XXIX. No Sheriff, Conſtable (8), Coroners, or other ‘ our Bailiffs, ſhall hold Pleas of the Crown.

XXX. Omnes comitatus, hundredi, wapentakia, & trethingi ſint ad antiquas firmas, abſque ullo incremento, exceptis dominicis maneriis noſtris.

‘ XXX. [All Counties, Hundreds, Wapentakes, and ‘ Trethings, ſhall ſtand at the old Ferm, without any ‘ Increaſe, except in our Demeſne Lands.]

XXXI. Si aliquis tenens de nobis laicum feodum, moriatur, & vicecomes vel ballivus noſter oſtendat literas noſtras patentes de ſummonitione noſtra de debito quod defunctus nobis debuit; liceat vicecomiti vel ballivo noſtro attachiare & inbreviare catalla defuncti inventa in laico feodo ad valentiam illius debiti, per viſum legalium hominum, ita tamen quod nichil inde amoveatur, donec perſolvatur nobis debitum; quod clarum fuerit & reſiduum relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum teſtamentum defuncti, & ſi nichil nobis debeatur

XXXI. If any one that holds of us a Lay-Fee, dies, ‘ and the Sheriff or our Bailiff ſhew our Letters Patents ‘ of Summons concerning the Debt, due to us from the ‘ deceaſed; it ſhall be lawful for the Sheriff or our Bai- ‘ liff to attach and regiſter the Chattles of the deceaſed ‘ found upon his Lay-Fee, to the value of the Debt, by ‘ the view of lawful Men, ſo as nothing be removed ‘ until our whole Debt be paid; and the reſt ſhall be left ‘ to the Executors to fulfil the Will of the deceaſed: ‘ and

(*a*) 24. [Aſſizes of *Darreine Preſentment* to Churches ſhall be always taken before the Juſticiaries of the Bench.]
(*b*) [Of any other than our own.] (*c*) [Of the County.]
(*d*) 30. [No River for the future ſhall be imbanked, but what was imbanked in the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.]

his Palace; and by *aliquo certo loco*, the *Bank*. So that by this Clauſe, the Bank might be erected, or rather confirmed and eſtabliſhed. It is likely however, the Bank was not firſt erected in the ſeventeenth of King *John*. For there is mention in the twenty third and twenty fourth Chapters of that King's Charters, of the *Juſticiarii noſtri de Banco*, which ſhews, there was a Court called the *Bank*, before, or at leaſt, at that time. In truth, there was a Court called the *Bank*, and Juſticiers ſtiled *Juſticiarii de Banco* ſeveral Years before, as appears by Records. About the time the *Common Pleas* were moving off from the *King's Court*, certain Phraſes were introduced, that were not before in general Uſe. Such as *Curia Regis apud Weſtmonaſterium*, *Juſticiarii Regis de Weſt*, or *apud Weſt*, *Bancus*, and *Juſticiarii de Banco*. See *Mag. Rot.* 7 *R.* 1. *Rot.* 18. 9 *R.* 1. *Rot.* 11. 2 *J. Rot.* 3. *&c.* So that it ſeems likely, that the *Bank* not being yet completely ſettled, the Perſon who was the chief Juſticier of *England*, uſed to ſit and act at this time, as well in the Bank, as in the King's Court, and the Exchequer. Moreover, though there was a Bank in the former part of King *John*'s Reign, yet it ſeems, even at the end of his Reign, Common Pleas were not compleatly ſeparated from the King's Court. For in the Clauſe, *Communia Placita non ſequantur noſtram Curiam*, it is implied that Common Pleas did then, in ſome meaſure, follow the King's Court. Upon which ground it is ordered, they ſhould not for the future follow the King's Court, but be held in *aliquo certo loco*. However this Clauſe in King *John*'s Charter, did not preſently quite take away from the King's Court the former uſage of dealing in Common Pleas, or completely annex them to the Bank. For the ſame Clauſe was inſerted Verbatim in the Great Charter of the 9th of *Henry* III. See *Mag. Rot.* 2 *H.* III. *Rot.* 2. 10 *Hen.* III, *&c.* In the Reign of King *John*, after the erecting of the Bank, the Style of the ſuperior Court began to alter. By degrees, the Phraſe *Curia Regis*, went into diſuſe. And the Pleas and Proceedings in that Court, were frequently ſaid to be *Coram Rege*, or *Domino Rege*; and in proceſs of time, *Coram Domino Rege ubicunque*, *&c.* See *Mag. Rot.* 6 *J. Rot.* 16. 11 *J. Rot.* 4. *&c.* Againſt what has been ſaid, are urged *Glanvil*'s words, *Coram Juſticiis in Banco ſedentibus* or *reſidentibus*, which, it is ſaid, prove the Bank was in being in his Time, namely, in the Reign of *Henry* II. But *Madox* ſhows, theſe words mean only the Juſtices ſitting in the *Curia Regis* in *Banco*, upon the Bench, that is, in open and ſolemn Court. See *Hiſt. Excheq.* Chap. XIX.

(1) A Writ of *Aſſize of Novel Diſſeiſin* lies, where a Tenant, for ever, or for Life, is put out and diſſeiſed of his Lands or Tenements, Rents, Common of Paſture, Common Way, or of an Office, Toll, *&c.* that he may recover his Right. *G. Jacob.* A Writ of *Mort d' Anceſter*, is that which lies, where any of a Man's near Relations die, ſeized of Lands, Rents, or Tenements, and after their Deaths, a Stranger, ſeizes upon them. A Writ of *Darreine Preſentment*, lies, where a Man and his Anceſtors have preſented to a Church, and after it is become void, a Stranger preſents thereto, whereby the Perſon having Right is diſturbed. *Id.*——This Article tended greatly to the eaſe of the Jurors, and to the ſaving of Charges to the Parties concerned; for, before this Statute, the Writs of *Aſſize of Novel Diſſeiſin*, *&c.* were returnable, either before the King, or in the Court of Common Pleas, and to be taken there. *Coke*, p. 24.

(2) In all appearance, ſince the *Conqueſt*, the Kings had aboliſhed or very much altered this way of trying Cauſes, that they might have the Deciſion of Matters in their own Power. *Rapin.*

(3) By Freemen here and in moſt Places muſt be underſtood *Free-holders*, i. e. thoſe that held their Lands of the King or ſome other Lord by a certain Relief.

(4) *Contenementum* is to be underſtood of the Means of a Man's livelihood, as the Arms of a Soldier, the Ploughs and Carts of a Husbandman, *&c.*

(5) That is, *his Carts and Implements of Husbandry.*

(6) See above, p. 257, Note II. *Amerciament* is derived from the *French* Word *Merci*, and ſignifies the pecuniary Puniſhment of an Offender againſt the King, or other Lord in his Court, that is found to have offended, and to ſtand at the Mercy of the King or his Lord. *Jacob.*

(7) In *England* there are two Orders or Degrees of Subjects, *Peers of the Realm*, and *Commoners*. The Nobles have for their *Peers*, all the Peers of the Realm; and the *Commoners* are all reckoned *Peers* of one another. *Rapin.*

(8) Is here taken for Conſtable of a Caſtle. They were Men in antient Times of Account and Authority; and for Pleas of the Crown, *&c.* had the like Authority within their Precincts, as the Sheriff had within his Bailiwick, before this Act; and they commonly ſealed with their Portraiture on Horſeback. Regularly every Caſtle contains a Manor, ſo that every Conſtable of a Caſtle is Conſtable of a Manor.

debeatur ab ipſo omnia catalla cedant defuncto, ſalvis uxori ipſius & pueris rationabilibus partibus ſuis.

‘ and *if* there be nothing due from him to us, all the ‘ Chattels ſhall remain to the Deceaſed, ſaving to his Wife ‘ and Children their reaſonable Share.

XXXII. Si aliquis liber homo inteſtatus deceſſerit, catalla ſua per manus propinquorum, parentum, & amicorum ſuorum per viſum eccleſie diſtribuantur; ſalvis unicuique debitis que defunctus ei debebat.

‘ XXXII. [If any Freeman dies Inteſtate, his Chattels ‘ ſhall be diſtributed by the hands of his neareſt Relations ‘ and Friends by view of the Church, ſaving to every one ‘ his Debts, which the deceaſed owed.]

XXXIII. Nullus conſtabularius vel alius ballivus noſter capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus, niſi ſtatim inde reddat denarios, aut reſpectum inde habere poſſit de voluntate venditoris.

‘ XXXIII. No Conſtable or Bailiff of ours ſhall take ‘ Corn or other Chattles of any Man (*a*), unleſs he pre- ‘ ſently gives him Money for it, or hath reſpite of pay- ‘ ment from the Seller (*b*).

XXXIV. Nullus conſtabularius diſtringat aliquem militem ad dandum denarios pro cuſtodia caſtri ſi facere voluerit cuſtodiam illam in propria perſona ſua, vel per alium probum hominem ſi ipſe eam facere non poſſit propter rationabilem cauſam.

‘ XXXIV. No Conſtable ſhall diſtrain any Knight to ‘ give Money for Caſtle-Guard, if he himſelf will do it ‘ in his own Perſon, or by another able Man, in caſe he ‘ is hindered by any reaſonable Cauſe.

XXXV. Et ſi nos duxerimus vel miſerimus eum in exercitum, erit quietus de cuſtodia ſecundum quantitatem temporis quo per nos fuerit in exercitu.

‘ XXXV. And if we lead him, or ſend him into ‘ the Army, he ſhall be free from Caſtle-Guard, for ‘ the time he ſhall be in the Army, by our Com- ‘ mand (*c*).

XXXVI. Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noſter vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel caretas alicujus liberi hominis pro cariagio faciendo niſi de voluntate ipſius liberi hominis.

‘ XXXVI. No Sheriff or Bailiff of ours, or any o- ‘ ther, ſhall take Horſes or Carts of any for Car- ‘ riage (*d*).

XXXVII. Nec nos, nec ballivi noſtri capiemus alienum boſcum ad caſtra vel alia agenda noſtra, niſi per voluntatem ipſius cujus boſcus ille fuerit.

‘ XXXVII. Neither we, or our Officers, or others, ſhall ‘ take any Man's Timber for our Caſtles, or other uſes, ‘ unleſs by the Conſent of the owner of the Timber (*e*).

XXXVIII. Nos non tenebimus terras illorum qui convicti fuerint de felonia, niſi per unum annum & unum diem, & tunc reddantur terre dominis feodorum.

‘ XXXVIII. We will retain the Lands of thoſe that are ‘ convicted of Felony but one year and a day, and then ‘ they ſhall be delivered to the Lord of the Fee.

XXXIX. Omnes kydelli de cetero deponantur penitus de Thamiſia & de Medewaye, & per totam Angliam niſi per coſteram maris.

‘ XXXIX. All Wears for the time to come ſhall be de- ‘ ſtroyed in the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, and ‘ throughout all *England*, except upon the Sea-Coaſt.

XL. Breve quod vocatur precipe de cetero non fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento, unde liber homo amittere poſſit curiam ſuam.

‘ XL. The Writ, which is called *Præcipe* (1), for the ‘ future, ſhall not be granted to any one of any Tene- ‘ ment, whereby a Freeman may loſe his Cauſe.

XLI. Una menſura vini ſit per totum regnum noſtrum, & una menſura cerviſie, & una menſura bladi, ſcilicet quarterium Londonienſe, & una latitudo pannorum tinctorum & ruſſettorum & halbergettorum, ſcilicet due ulne infra liſtas. De ponderibus autem ſit ut de menſuris.

‘ XLI. There ſhall be one Meaſure of Wine and one ‘ of Ale, through our whole Realm, and one Meaſure ‘ of Corn; that is to ſay, the *London-Quarter*; and one ‘ breadth of dyed Cloth, and *Ruſſets* and *Haberjects* (2), ‘ that is to ſay, two Ells within the Liſt; and the ‘ Weights ſhall be as the Meaſures.

XLII. Nichil detur vel capiatur de cetero pro brevi inquiſitionis de vita vel membris, ſed gratis concedatur, & non negetur.

‘ XLII. From henceforward nothing ſhall be given or ‘ taken for a Writ of Inquiſition (3), from him that de- ‘ ſires an Inquiſition of Life or Limbs, but ſhall be granted ‘ *gratis*, and not denied.

XLIII. Si aliquis teneat de nobis per feodifirmam, vel per ſokagium, vel per burgagium, & de alio terram teneat per ſervitium militare, nos non habebimus cuſtodiam heredis nec terre ſue que eſt de feodo alterius, occaſione illius feodifirme vel ſokagii, vel burgagii, nec habebimus cuſtodiam illius feodifirme, vel ſokagii vel burgagii, niſi ipſa feodifirma debeat ſervitium militare.

‘ XLIII. If any one holds of us by Fee-Farm, or ‘ Socage, or Burgage (4), and holds Lands of another by ‘ military Service, We will not have the Wardſhip of ‘ the Heir or Land, which belongs to another Man's Fee, ‘ by reaſon of what he holds of us by Fee-Farm, Socage ‘ or Burgage: Nor will we have the Wardſhip of the ‘ Fee-Farm, Socage or Burgage, unleſs the Fee-Farm is ‘ bound to perform military Service.

XLIV. Nos non habebimus cuſtodiam heredis vel terre alicujus quam tenet de alio per ſervitium militare, occaſione alicujus parve ſergenterie quam tenet de nobis per ſervitium reddendi nobis cultellos vel ſagittas vel hujuſmodi.

‘ XLIV. We will not have the Wardſhip of an Heir, ‘ nor of any Land, which he holds of another by military ‘ Service, by reaſon of any *Petit-Serjeanty* he holds of ‘ us, as by the Service of giving us Daggers, Arrows, or ‘ the like.

XLV. Nullus ballivus ponat de cetero aliquem ad legem ſimplici loquela ſua ſine teſtibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis.

‘ XLV. No Bailiff for the future ſhall put any Man ‘ to his Law (5), (*f*) upon his ſingle Accuſation, without ‘ credible Witneſſes produced to prove it.

(*a*) [Who is not of the Town where the Caſtle is.]
(*b*) [But if he be of the ſame Town, he ſhall pay him within forty days.]
(*c*) [For the Fee, for which he did ſervice in the Army.]
(*d*) [Without paying according to the Rate antiently appointed, that is to ſay, for a Cart and two Horſes Ten-pence a day; and for a Cart with three Horſes Fourteen-pence a day.]
(*e*) [No Demeſne Cart of any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, or Knight, or any Lady, ſhall be taken by our Officers.]
(*f*) [Nor to an Oath.]

(1) The Writ called *Præcipe quod reddat*, from the firſt Words in it, has ſeveral Uſes. It ſignifies in general an Order from the King, or ſome Court of Juſtice, to put in poſſeſſion one that complains of having been unjuſtly outed. Apparently ſeveral Abuſes had crept in upon this Article. *Rapin.*
(2) A ſort of coarſe Cloth.
(3) This was a Writ directed to the Sheriff, to enquire, whether a Man committed to Priſon on Suſpicion of Murder, was committed on juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion, or only out of Malice and Ill-will. *Jacob.*
(4) To hold in *Fee-farm*, is when there is ſome Rent reſerved by the Lord upon the Creation of the Tenancy. In *Socage*, upon Condition of plowing the Lord's Land, and doing other inferior Offices of Husbandry: And in *Burgage*, when the Inhabitants of a Borough held their Tenements of the King at a certain Rent. See above, p. 150.
(5) To make his Law, is as much as to ſay, to take his Oath, *&c.*

 ‘ XLVI. Nullus

XLVI. Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel impriſonetur, aut diſſaiſietur, aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo deſtruatur; nec ſuper eum ibimus, nec ſuper eum mittemus, niſi, per legale judicium parium ſuorum, vel per legem terre.

'XLVI. No Freeman ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, 'or diſſeis'd (*a*), or out-law'd, or baniſh'd, or any ways 'deſtroyed; nor will we paſs upon him, or commit him 'to Priſon, unleſs by the legal Judgment of his Peers, 'or by the Law of the Land (1).

XLVII. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum aut juſticiam.

'XLVII. We will ſell to no Man, we will deny no 'Man, or defer Right nor Juſtice.

XLVIII. Omnes mercatores habeant ſalvum & ſecurum exire de Anglia & venire in Angliam, & morari & ire per Angliam, tam per terram quam per aquam, ad emendum & vendendum, ſine omnibus malis toltis, per antiquas & rectas conſuetudines preterquam in tempore gwerre, & ſi ſint de terra contra nos gwerrina.

'XLVIII. All Merchants (*b*) ſhall have ſafe and ſecure 'Conduct to go out of, and to come into *England* (2); 'and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by Land as by 'Water, to buy and ſell by the antient and allowed Cuſ'toms, without any evil Tolls, except in time of War, 'or when they are of any Nation in War with us.

XLIX. Et ſi tales inveniantur in terra noſtra in principio gwerre, attachientur ſine dampno corporum & rerum, donec ſciatur a nobis vel capitali Juſticiario noſtro quomodo Mercatores terre noſtre tractentur qui tunc invenientur in terra contra nos gwerrina; & ſi noſtri ſalvi ſint ibi, alii ſalvi ſint in terra noſtra.

'XLIX. And if there be found any ſuch in our Land 'in the beginning of a War, they ſhall be attached, with'out damage to their Bodies or Goods, until it may be 'known unto us, or our Chief Juſticiary, how our Mer'chants be treated in the Nation at War with us; and if 'ours be ſafe there, they ſhall be ſafe in our Dominions.

L. Liceat unicuique de cetero exire de regno noſtro, & redire, ſalvo & ſecure per terram & per aquam ſalva fide noſtra, niſi tempore gwerre per aliquod breve tempus propter communem utilitatem regni, exceptis inpriſonatis & utlagatis ſecundum legem regni, & gente de terra contra nos gwerrina, & Mercatoribus de quibus fiat ſicut predictum eſt.

'L. [It ſhall be lawful for the time to come, for any 'one to go out of our Kingdom, and return ſafely and ſe'curely by Land or by Water, ſaving his Allegiance to 'us; unleſs in time of War by ſome ſhort ſpace for the 'common benefit of the Kingdom, except Priſoners and 'Out-laws, (according to the Law of the Land) and Peo'ple in war with us, and Merchants who ſhall be in ſuch 'condition as is above-mentioned.]

LI. Si quis tenuerit de aliqua Eſcaeta ſicut de honore Walingeford, Notingeham, Bononia, Lainkaſtrie, vel de aliis Eskaetis que ſunt in manu noſtra, & ſunt Baronie, & obierit, heres ejus non det aliud Relevium, nec faciat nobis aliud ſervitium quam faceret Baroni ſi Baronia illa eſſet in manu Baronis, & nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo Baro eam tenuit.

'LI. If any Man holds of any Eſcheat, as of the Ho'nour of *Wallingford*, *Nottingham*, *Boulogne*, *Lancaſter*, 'or of other Eſcheats which are in our hands, and are Ba'ronies, and dies, his Heir ſhall not give any other Relief, 'or perform any other Service to us than he would to 'the Baron, if the Barony were in poſſeſſion of the Ba'ron; we will hold it after the ſame manner the Baron 'held it (*c*).

LII. Homines qui manent extra foreſtam non veniant de cetero coram Juſticiariis noſtris de Foreſta per communes ſummonitiones, niſi ſint in placito, vel Pleggii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati ſint pro foreſta.

'LII. [Thoſe Men who dwell without the Foreſt, 'from henceforth ſhall not come before our Juſticiaries of 'the Foreſt upon common Summons, but ſuch as are im'pleaded, or are Pledges for any that were attached for 'ſomething concerning the Foreſt] (*d*).

LIII. Nos non faciemus Juſticiarios Conſtabularios, Vicecomites, vel Ballivos niſi de talibus qui ſciant legem regni, & eam bene velint obſervare.

'LIII. We will not make any Juſticiaries, Conſtables, 'Sheriffs, or Bailiffs, but what are knowing in the Law 'of the Realm, and are diſpoſed duly to obſerve it.

LIV. Omnes Barones qui fundaverunt Abbatias unde habent cartas regum Anglie, vel antiquam tenuram, habeant earum cuſtodiam cum vacaverint, ſicut habere debent.

'LIV. All Barons, who are Founders of Abbies, and 'have Charters of the Kings of *England* for the Advow'ſon, or are entitled to it by antient Tenure, may have 'the cuſtody of them, when void, as they ought to have.

LV. Omnes Foreſte que aforeſtate ſunt tempore noſtro, ſtatim deafforeſtentur, & ita fiat de Ripariis que per nos tempore noſtro poſite ſunt in defenſo.

'LV. All Woods that have been taken into the Fo'reſts (*e*), in our own time, ſhall forthwith be laid out 'again (*f*), and the like ſhall be done with the Rivers that 'have been taken or fenced in by us, during our Reign.

LVI. Omnes malè conſuetudines de Foreſtis, Warennis, & de Foreſtariis & Warennariis, Vicecomitibus, & eorum miniſtris, Ripariis & earum cuſtodibus ſtatim inqui-

'LVI. All evil Cuſtoms concerning Foreſts, Warrens, 'and Foreſters, Warreners, Sheriffs, and their Officers, 'Rivers and their Keepers, ſhall forthwith be enquired 'into

(*a*) [Of his Free-hold or Liberties, or Free-Cuſtoms.] (*b*) [Unleſs they be publickly prohibited.]
(*c*) [Nor will we by reaſon of ſuch Barony or Eſcheat, have any Eſcheat or Wardſhip of any of our Men, unleſs he that held the Barony or Eſcheat, held of us in Chief elſewhere.]
(*d*) 59. [No County-Court for the future ſhall be holden, but from Month to Month; and where there uſed to be a greater Interval, let it be ſo continued. 60. Neither any Sheriff, nor his Bailiff, ſhall keep his Turn in the Hundred oftner than twice in a Year, and only in the accuſtomed place; that is, once after *Eaſter*, and once after *Michaelmaſs*; and the view of *Frank-Pledge* ſhall be held after *Michaelmaſs*, without occaſion (3), and ſo that every one ſhall have his Liberties, which he had and was wont to have in the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather, or ſuch as he obtained afterwards. 61. But the view of *Frank-Pledge* ſhall be ſo made, that our Peace may be kept, and that the Tything be full, as it was wont to be. 62. And the Sheriffs ſhall not ſeek occaſions (4), but ſhall be content with what the Sheriff was wont to have for making his View in the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather. 63. For the time to come it ſhall not be lawful for any Man to give his Land to a Religious Houſe, ſo as to take it again, and hold it of that Houſe. 64. Nor ſhall it be lawful for any Religious Houſe to receive Land, ſo as to grant it to him again of whom they received it, to hold of him. If any Man for the future ſhall ſo give his Land to a Religious Houſe, and be convicted thereof, his Gift ſhall be void, and the Land ſhall be forfeited to the Lord of the Fee (5). 65. Scutage for the future ſhall not be taken as it was uſed to be taken in the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather; [and that the Sheriff ſhall oppreſs no Man, but be content with what he was wont to have.] 66. Saving to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Templars, Hoſpitallers, Earls, Barons, Knights, and all others, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, the Liberties and free Cuſtoms which they had before: Theſe being Witneſſes, *&c.*
(*e*) [By King *Richard* our Brother.] (*f*) [Unleſs they were our Demeſne Woods.]

(1) That is, ſays Dr. *Brady*, by legal Proceſs, *&c.*
(2) By ſome antient Laws of *England*, foreign Merchants were forbid coming into the Kingdom, except in Fair Time, and then were not to ſtay above forty Days. *Coke*, p. 57.
(3) *Sine Occaſione*, i. e. without Oppreſſion. *Brady.*
(4) *Occaſiones*, Cauſes to oppreſs any Man. *Brady.*
(5) The Reaſons of theſe two Articles were, becauſe by holding their Lands of the Church, the Service due from the Fees, which were intended for the Defence of the Realm were unduly withdrawn; and becauſe the chief Lords loſt the Eſcheats, Wardſhips, Reliefs, and the like. Abundance of ways were uſed to evade the Force of this Law. But an effectual Stop was put to them at laſt by the Statute of *Mortmain*, 7 *Edw.* II.

inquirantur in quolibet Comitatu per duodecim Milites juratos de eodem Comitatu, qui debent eligi per probos homines ejuſdem Comitatus, & infra quadraginta dies poſt inquiſitionem factam, penitus, ita quod numquam revocentur, deleantur. o---

LVII. Omnes obſides & cartas ſtatim reddemus que liberate fuerunt nobis ab Anglicis in ſecuritatem pacis, vel fidelis ſervitii.

LVIII. Nos amovebimus penitus de balliviis parentes Gerardi de Athyes, quod de cetero nullam habeant balliviam in Anglia; Engelardum de Cygony, Andream, Petrum, & Gyonem, de Cancell. Gyonem de Cygony, Galfridum de Martyni, & fratres ejus, Philippum Markum, & fratres ejus, & Galfridum nepotem ejus, & totam ſequelam eorundem.

LIX. Et ſtatim poſt pacis reformationem, amovebimus de regno, omnes alienigenas Milites, Baliſtarios, ſervientes ſtipendiarios, qui venerint cum equis & armis ad nocumentum regni.

LX. Si quis fuerit diſſeiſitus, vel elongatus per nos, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, de terris, caſtallis, libertatibus, vel jure ſuo, ſtatim ea ei reſtituemus; & ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat per judicium viginti quinque Baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius in ſecuritate pacis.

LXI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis diſſeiſitus fuerit, vel elongatus, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum per Henricum regem patrem noſtrum, vel per Ricardum regem fratrem noſtrum, que in manu noſtra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warantizare reſpectum habebimus uſque ad communem terminum cruce-ſignatorum. Exceptis illis de quibus placitum motum fuit, vel inquiſitio facta per preceptum noſtrum, ante ſuſceptionem crucis noſtre; cum autem redierimus de peregrinatione noſtra, vel ſi forte remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſtatim inde plenam juſticiam exhibebimus.

LXII. Eundem autem reſpectum habebimus, ---o de foreſtis deafforeſtandis, quas Henricus pater noſter vel Ricardus frater noſter afforeſtaverunt, & de cuſtodiis terrarum que ſunt de alieno feodo, cujuſmodi cuſtodias hucuſque habuimus, occaſione feodi quod aliquis de nobis tenuit per ſervitium militare, & de Abbatiis que fundate fuerint in feodo alterius quam noſtro, in quibus dominus feodi dixerit ſe jus habere; & cum redierimus, vel ſi remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſuper hiis conquerentibus plenam juſticiam ſtatim exhibebimus.

LXIII. Nullus capiatur nec impriſonetur, propter appellum femine, de morte alterius, quam viri ſui.

LXIV. Omnes fines, qui injuſte & contra legem terre facti ſunt nobiſcum, & omnia amerciamenta facta injuſte & contra legem terre, omnino condonentur, vel fiat inde per judicium viginti quinque Baronum de quibus ſit mentio inferius in ſecuritate pacis, vel per judicium majoris partis eorundem, una cum predicto Stephano Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, ſi intereſſe poterit, & aliis quos ſecum ad hoc vocare voluerit; & ſi intereſſe non poterit, nichilominus procedat negotium ſine eo. Ita quod, ſi aliquis vel aliqui, de predictis viginti quinque Baronibus, fuerint in ſimili querela, amoveantur, quantum ad hoc judicium, & alii loco illorum per reſiduos de eiſdem viginti quinque tantum ad hoc faciendum electi, & jurati ſubſtituantur.

LXV. Si nos diſſaiſivimus, vel elongavimus Walenſes de terris, vel libertatibus, vel rebus aliis, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, eis ſtatim reddantur; & ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in Marchia per judicium parium ſuorum; de tenementis Anglie, ſecundum legem Anglie, de tenementis Wallie, ſecundum legem Wallie, de tenementis Marchie, ſecundem legem Marchie: idem facient Walenſes nobis & noſtris.

LXVI. De

'into in each County, by twelve Knights of the ſame 'Shire, choſen by the moſt creditable Perſons in the ſame 'County, and upon Oath; and, within forty days after 'the ſaid Inqueſt, be utterly aboliſhed, ſo as never to be 'reſtored (*a*).

'LVII. We will immediately give up all Hoſtages and 'Engagements, delivered unto us by our *Engliſh* Subjects, 'as Securites for their keeping the Peace, and yielding us 'faithful Service.

'LVIII. We will entirely remove from our Bailiwicks 'the Relations of *Gerard de Athyes*, ſo as that for the future 'they ſhall have no Bailiwick in *England*. We will alſo 'remove *Engelard de Cygony*, *Andrew*, *Peter*, and *Gyon*, 'de Canceles, *Gyon de Cygony*, *Geoffrey de Martyn*, and his 'Brothers, *Philip Mark*, and his Brothers, and his Ne'phew *Geoffrey*, and their whole Retinue.

'LIX. And as ſoon as Peace is reſtored, we will ſend 'out of the Kingdom all foreign Soldiers, Croſsbowmen, 'and Stipendiaries, who are come with Horſes and Arms, 'to the Injury of our People.

'LX. If any one hath been diſpoſſeſſed, or deprived by 'us without the legal Judgment of his Peers, of his Lands, 'Caſtles, Liberties or Right, we will forthwith reſtore them 'to him; and if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, let the 'matter be decided by the five and twenty Barons here'after mentioned (1), for the preſervation of the Peace.

'LXI. As for all thoſe things, of which any Perſon 'has without the legal Judgment of his Peers been diſpoſ'ſeſſed or deprived, either by King *Henry* our Father, or 'our Brother King *Richard*, and which we have in our 'hands, or are poſſeſſed by others, and we are bound to 'warrant and make good, we ſhall have a reſpite, till the 'Term uſually allowed the Croiſes; excepting thoſe 'things about which there is a Suit depending, or whereof 'an Inqueſt hath been made by our order, before we un'dertook the Cruſade. But when we return from our 'Pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we will imme'diately cauſe full Juſtice to be adminiſtred therein.

'LXII. The ſame reſpite we ſhall have for diſafforeſting 'the Foreſts, which *Henry* our Father, or our Brother '*Richard* have afforeſted; and for the Wardſhip of the 'Lands which are in another's Fee, in the ſame manner 'as we have hitherto enjoyed thoſe Wardſhips, by reaſon 'of a Fee held of us by Knight's Service; and for the Ab'bies founded in any other Fee than our own, in which 'the Lord of the Fee claims a Right: And when we re'turn from our Pilgrimage, or if we ſhould not perform 'it, we will immediately do full Juſtice to all the Com'plainants in this behalf.

'LXIII. No Man ſhall be taken or impriſoned, upon 'the Appeal of a Woman, for the death of any other 'Man than her Husband.

'LXIV. All unjuſt and illegal Fines, and all Amercia'ments impoſed unjuſtly, and contrary to the Law of the 'Land, ſhall be entirely forgiven or elſe be left to the de'ciſion, of the five and twenty Barons hereafter menti'oned, for the preſervation of the Peace, or of the major 'part of them, together with the aforeſaid *Stephen* Arch'biſhop of *Canterbury*, if he can be preſent, and others 'whom he ſhall think fit to take along with him: And 'if he cannot be preſent, the Buſineſs ſhall notwithſtand'ing go on without him. But ſo, that if one or more of 'the foreſaid five and twenty Barons be Plaintiffs in the 'ſame cauſe, they ſhall be ſet aſide, as to what concerns 'this particular Affair; and others be choſen in their 'room out of the ſaid five and twenty, and ſworn by the 'reſt to decide that matter.

'LXV. If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed the *Welſh* of 'any Lands, Liberties, or other things, without the legal 'Judgment of their Peers, they ſhall immediately be re'ſtored to them. And if any Diſpute ariſes upon this 'head, the matter ſhall be determined in the *Marches*, 'by the Judgment of their Peers: For Tenements in '*England* according to the Law of *England*: For Tene'ments in *Wales* according to the Law of *Wales*: The 'ſame ſhall the *Welſh* do to us and our Subjects.

LXVI. As

(*a*) 54. [No Freeman for the future ſhall give or ſell any more of his Land, but ſo that out of the Reſidue, the Service due to the Lord of the Fee may be ſufficiently performed.]

(1) Their Names, according to *M. Paris*, were the Earls of *Clare*, *Albemarle*, *Gloceſter*, *Winchеſter*, *Hereford*, Earl *Roger*, Earl *Robert*, Earl *Mareſcall* junior, *Robert Fitz-Walter* ſenior, *Gilbert de Clare*, *Euſtace de Veſci*, *Hugh Bigod*, *William de Munbray*, the Mayor of *London*, *Gilbert de Laval*, *Robert de Ros*, the Conſtable of *Cheſter*, *Richard de Perci*, *John Fitz-Robert*, *William Malet*, *Geoffrey de Say*, *Roger de Munbray*, *William de Huntingfield*, *Richard de Muntfichet*, *William de Albiney*, p. 262.

LXVI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis Walenſium diſſaiſitus fuerit, vel elongatus, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, ÷ per Henricum regem patrem noſtrum vel Ricardum regem fratrem noſtrum, que nos in manu noſtra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warantizare, reſpectum habebimus uſque ad communem terminum cruce-ſignatorum : illis exceptis de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquiſitio facta per preceptum noſtrum, ante ſuſceptionem crucis noſtre ; cum autem redierimus, vel ſi forte remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtra, ſtatim eis inde plenam juſticiam exhibebimus, ſecundum leges Walenſium, & partes predictas.

‘ LXVI. As for all thoſe things, of which any *Welſh-man* hath, without the legal Judgment of his Peers, ‘ been diſſeiſed or deprived, by King *Henry* our Father, ‘ or our Brother King *Richard*, and which we either ‘ have in our hands, or others are poſſeſſed of, and we ‘ are obliged to warrant it; we ſhall have a reſpite till ‘ the time generally allowed the Croiſes : Excepting ‘ thoſe things about which a Suit is depending, or where-‘ of an Inqueſt hath been made by our order, before ‘ we undertook the Cruſade. But when we return, or ‘ if we ſtay at home and do not perform our Pilgrimage, ‘ we will immediately do them full Juſtice according to ‘ the Laws of the *Welſh*, and of the Parts afore-men-‘ tioned.

LXVII. Nos reddemus filium Lewelini ſtatim, & omnes obſides de Wallia, & cartas que nobis liberate fuerunt in ſecuritatem pacis.

‘ LXVII. We will without delay diſmiſs the Son of ‘ *Lewelin*, and all the *Welſh* Hoſtages, and releaſe them ‘ from the Engagements they entered into with us for ‘ the preſervation of the Peace.

LXVIII. Nos faciemus Alexandro Regi Scottorum, de ſororibus ſuis & obſidibus reddendis, & libertatibus ſuis, & jure ſuo, ſecundum formam in qua faciemus aliis baronibus noſtris Anglie, niſi aliter eſſe debeat per cartas quas habemus de Willielmo patre ipſius, quondam rege Scottorum ; & hoc erit per judicium parium ſuorum in curia noſtra.

‘ LXVIII. We ſhall treat with *Alexander* King of ‘ *Scots*, concerning the reſtoring of his Siſters and Hoſ-‘ tages, and his Right and Liberties, in the ſame form ‘ and manner as we ſhall do to the reſt of our Ba-‘ rons of *England* ; unleſs by the Engagements which ‘ his Father *William* late King of *Scots* hath entered ‘ into with us it ought to be otherwiſe ; and this ‘ ſhall be left to the Determination of his Peers in our ‘ Court.

LXIX. Omnes autem iſtas conſuetudines predictas, & libertates quas nos conceſſiſſimus in regno noſtro tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga noſtros omnes de regno noſtro, tam clerici quam laici obſervent, quantum ad ſe pertinet erga ſuos.

‘ LXIX. All the aforeſaid Cuſtoms and Liberties ‘ which we have granted, to be holden in our King-‘ dom, as much as it belongs to us towards our People ; ‘ all our Subjects, as well Clergy as Laity, ſhall ob-‘ ſerve as far as they are concerned, towards their De-‘ pendents.

LXX. Cum autem pro Deo, & ad emendationem regni noſtri, & ad melius ſopiendam diſcordiam inter nos & barones noſtros ortam, hec omnia predicta conceſſerimus, volentes ea integra & firma ſtabilitate gaudere .·., facimus & concedimus eis ſecuritatem ſubſcriptam ; videlicet quod barones eligant viginti quinque barones de regno, quos voluerint, qui debeant pro totis viribus ſuis, obſervare, tenere, & facere obſervari, pacem & libertates quas eis conceſſimus, & hac preſenti carta noſtra confirmavimus. Ita ſcilicet quod ſi nos, vel juſticiarius noſter, vel Ballivi noſtri, vel aliquis de Miniſtris noſtris, in aliquo erga aliquem deliquerimus, vel aliquem articulorum pacis aut ſecuritatis tranſgreſſi fuerimus, & delictum oſtenſum fuerit quatuor baronibus de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, illi quatuor barones accedant ad nos, vel ad juſticiarium noſtrum ſi fuerimus extra regnum, proponentes nobis exceſſum, petent, ut exceſſum illum ſine dilatione faciamus emendari : & ſi nos exceſſum non emendaverimus, vel ſi fuerimus extra regnum juſticiarius noſter non emendaverit, infra tempus quadraginta dierum, computandum a tempore quo monſtratum fuerit nobis, vel juſticiario noſtro, ſi extra regnum fuerimus, predicti quatuor Barones referent cauſam illam ad reſiduos de viginti quinque baronibus, & illi viginti quinque barones cum communa totius terre, diſtringent & gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, ſcilicet per captionem caſtrorum, terrarum, poſſeſſionum, & aliis modis quibus poterunt donec fuerit emendatum ſecundum arbitrium eorum ; ſalva perſona noſtra, & Regine noſtre, & liberorum noſtrorum, & cum fuerit emendatum intendent nobis ſicut prius fecerunt.

‘ LXX. And, whereas for the Honour of God, and the ‘ Amendment of our Kingdom, and for quieting the Diſ-‘ cord that has ariſen between us and our Barons, we ‘ have granted all the things aforeſaid ; willing to ren-‘ der them firm and laſting, we do give and grant our ‘ Subjects the following Security ; namely, that the Ba-‘ rons may chuſe five and twenty Barons of the King-‘ dom, whom they think convenient, who ſhall take ‘ care, with all their might, to hold and obſerve, and ‘ cauſe to be obſerved, the Peace and Liberties we have ‘ granted them, and by this our preſent Charter confirm-‘ ed. So as that, if we, our Juſticiary, our Bailiffs, or ‘ any of our Officers, ſhall in any caſe fail in the perform-‘ ance of them, towards any Perſon ; or ſhall break ‘ through any of theſe Articles of Peace and Security, ‘ and the Offence is notified to four Barons, choſen out of ‘ the five and twenty aforementioned, the ſaid four Barons ‘ ſhall repair to us, or our Juſticiary if we are out of the ‘ Realm ; and laying open the Grievance, ſhall petition ‘ to have it redreſſed without delay ; and if it is not re-‘ dreſſed by us, or, if we ſhould chance to be out of the ‘ Realm, if it is not redreſſed by our Juſticiary within ‘ forty Days, reckoning from the time it has been noti-‘ fied to us, or to our Juſticiary if we ſhould be out of the ‘ Realm ; the four Barons aforeſaid ſhall lay the Cauſe be-‘ fore the reſt of the five and twenty Barons ; and the ‘ ſaid five and twenty Barons, together with the Com-‘ munity of the whole Kingdom, ſhall diſtrain and diſtreſs ‘ us all the ways poſſible ; namely, by ſeizing our Caſtles, ‘ Lands, Poſſeſſions, and in any other manner they can, ‘ till the Grievance is redreſſed according to their Pleaſure, ‘ ſaving harmleſs our own Perſon, and the Perſon of our ‘ Queen and Children ; and when it is redreſſed, they ſhall ‘ obey us as before.

LXXI. Et quicunque voluerit de terra, juret, quod ad predicta omnia exequenda parebit mandatis predictorum viginti quinque baronum, & quod gravabit nos pro poſſe ſuo cum ipſis ; & nos pubblice & libere damus licentiam jurandi cuilibet qui jurare voluerit, & nulli unquam jurare prohibebimus.

‘ LXXI. And any Perſon whatſoever in the Kingdom ‘ may ſwear, that he will obey the Orders of the five ‘ and twenty Barons aforeſaid, in the Execution of the ‘ Premiſſes, and that he will diſtreſs us, jointly with them, ‘ to the utmoſt of his Power ; and we give publick and ‘ free Liberty to any one that will ſwear to them, and ‘ never ſhall hinder any Perſon from taking the ſame ‘ Oath.

LXXII. Omnes autem illos de terra qui per ſe & ſponte ſua noluerint jurare viginti quinque baronibus de diſtringendo & gravando nos cum eis, faciemus jurare eoſdem de mandato noſtro, ſicut predictum eſt.

‘ LXXII. As for all thoſe of our Subjects, who will ‘ not, of their own accord, ſwear to join the five and ‘ twenty Barons, in diſtraining and diſtreſſing us, we will ‘ iſſue our Order to make them take the ſame Oath, as ‘ aforeſaid.

LXXIII. Et ſi aliquis de viginti quinque baronibus deceſſerit, vel a terra receſſerit, vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit, quo minus iſta predicta poſſent exequi, qui reſidui fuerint de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, eligant alium loco ipſius, pro arbitrio ſuo, qui ſimili modo erit juratus quo & ceteri.

‘ LXXIII. And if any one of the five and twenty Ba-‘ rons dies, or goes out of the Kingdom, or is hindered ‘ any other way, from putting the things aforeſaid in ex-‘ ecution ; the reſt of the ſaid five and twenty Barons may ‘ chuſe another in his room, at their diſcretion, who ſhall ‘ be ſworn in like manner, as the reſt.

LXXIV. In

LXXIV. In

LXXIV. In omnibus autem, que iſtis viginti quinque baronibus committuntur exequenda, ſi forte ipſi viginti quinque preſentes fuerint, & inter ſe ſuper re aliqua diſcordaverint, vel aliqui ex eis ſummoniti, nolint, vel nequeant intereſſe, ratum habeatur & firmum, quod major pars eorum qui preſentes fuerint proviserit, vel preceperit, ac ſi omnes viginti quinque in hoc conſenſiſſent, & predicti viginti quinque jurent quod omnia antedicta fideliter obſervabunt & pro toto poſſe ſuo facient obſervari.

'LXXIV. In all things that are committed to the 'charge of theſe five and twenty Barons, if, when they 'are all aſſembled together, they ſhould happen to diſagree 'about any matter, or ſome of them, when ſummoned, 'will not, or cannot come; whatever is agreed upon, or 'enjoyned by the major part of thoſe who are preſent, 'ſhall be reputed as firm and valid, as if all the five and 'twenty had given their Conſent, and the foreſaid five 'and twenty ſhall ſwear, that all the Premiſſes they ſhall 'faithfully obſerve, and cauſe with all their power to be 'obſerved.

LXXV. Et nos nichil impetrabimus ab aliquo, per nos, nec per alium, per quod aliqua iſtarum conceſſionum & libertatum revocetur vel minuatur, & ſi aliquid tale impetratum fuerit irritum ſit & inane; & numquam eo utemur per nos, nec per alium.

'LXXV. And we will not, by ourſelves, or others, 'procure any thing, whereby any of theſe conceſſions and 'liberties be revoked, or leſſened; and if any ſuch thing 'be obtained, let it be null and void; neither ſhall we 'ever make uſe of it, either by ourſelves, or any other.

LXXVI. Et omnes malas voluntates, indignationes, & rancores ortos inter nos & homines noſtros, clericos & laicos, a tempore diſcordie, plene omnibus remiſimus, & condonavimus. Preterea, omnes tranſgreſſiones factas occaſione ejuſdem diſcordie, a paſcha anno regni noſtri ſextodecimo, uſque ad pacem reformatam, plene remiſimus omnibus clericis & laicis, & quantum ad nos pertinet plene condonavimus.

'LXXVI. And all the Ill-will, Anger, and Malice, 'that hath ariſen between us and our Subjects, of the 'Clergy and Laity, from the firſt breaking out of the 'diſſenſion between us, we do fully remit and forgive. 'Moreover all Treſpaſſes occaſioned by the ſaid diſſenſion, 'from *Eaſter*, in the ſixteenth year of our Reign, till the 'Reſtoration of Peace and Tranquillity, we hereby entirely 'remit, to all, Clergy as well as Laity, and as far as in us 'lies, do fully forgive.

LXXVII. Et inſuper, fecimus eis fieri litteras teſtimoniales patentes domini Stephani Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopi, domini Henrici Dublinienſis archiepiſcopi, & epiſcoporum predictorum, & magiſtri Pandulfi, ſuper ſecuritate iſta, & conceſſionibus prefatis.

'LXXVII. We have moreover granted them our Let- 'ters Patents teſtimonial of *Stephen* Lord Archbiſhop of '*Canterbury*, *Henry* Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and the 'Biſhops aforeſaid, as alſo of Maſter *Pandulph*, for the 'Security and Conceſſions aforeſaid.

LXXVIII. Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus, quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, & quod homines in regno noſtro habeant, & teneant, omnes prefatas libertates, jura, & conceſſiones, bene & in pace, libere & quiete, plene & integre, ſibi & heredibus ſuis, de nobis & heredibus noſtris in omnibus rebus & locis in perpetuum, ſicut predictum eſt.

LXXVIII. Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that 'the Church of *England* be free, and that all Men in our 'Kingdom, have and hold, all the foreſaid Liberties, 'Rights, and conceſſions, truly and peaceably, freely and 'quietly, fully and wholly, to themſelves and their Heirs, 'of Us and our Heirs, in all things and places for ever, 'as is aforeſaid.

LXXIX. Juratum eſt tam autem ex parte noſtra, quam ex parte baronum, quod hec omnia ſupradicta, bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio obſervabuntur.

Teſtibus ſupradictis, & multis aliis. Data per manum noſtram in prato quod vocatur Runingmede inter Windeleſor. & Stanes quinto decimo die Junii anno regni noſtri ſeptimo decimo.

'LXXIX. It is alſo ſworn, as well on our part, as 'on the part of the Barons, that all the things aforeſaid 'ſhall faithfully and ſincerely be obſerved.'

Given under our hand, in the preſence of the Witneſſes above-named, and many others, in the Meadow called Runingmede, *between* Windeleſore *and* Stanes, *the 15th day of* June, *in the 17th year of our Reign.*

o--- *Deleantur* per eoſdem ita quod nos hoc ſciamus prius vel Juſticiarius noſter ſi in Anglia non fuerimus.

'o--- So as we are firſt acquainted therewith, or our 'Juſticiary, if we ſhould not be in *England*.

---o *Eundem autem reſpectum habebimus*, & eodem modo de Juſticia exhibenda, De foreſtis deafforeſtandis vel remanſuris foreſtis.

'---o And in the ſame manner, about adminiſtring 'Juſtice, deafforeſting the Foreſts, or letting them con- 'tinue.

÷ *Parium ſuorum* in Angl. vel in Wallia.

'÷ Either in *England* or *Wales*.----

∴ *Gaudere* in perpetuum.----

'∴ For ever.---

Examined and compared with the Original in the Cottonian *Library*,
By DAVID CASSLEY, *Deputy-Librarian.*

There are two Copies of this Charter in the Cotton *Library, which are as old as the time of King* John. *One has ſtill the Broad Seal, though ſome of it was melted by the Flames, which on* October 23. 1731, *conſumed part of the aboveſaid Library, and which alſo made a few Letters of the Charter not legible: But they were ſupplied out of the other by the learned Mr.* David Caſsley, *from whoſe Copy this is printed; and are diſtinguiſhed above by* Black Letters. *Both Charters were viſibly writ by the ſame Hand. That which hath no Seal, has two Slits at the bottom, from which, without queſtion, hung two Seals.--- The few words printed here at the end, are placed ſo in the Original, and referred to by the ſame Marks.*

THE CHARTER *of* FORESTS (1)

Granted by King JOHN *to his Subjects in the Year* 1215 (2).

JOHANNES Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis quod intuitu Dei & pro ſalute animæ noſtræ & animarum anteceſſorum & ſucceſſorum, ad exaltationem ſanctæ eccleſiæ, & emendationem regni noſtri; ſpontanea & bona voluntate noſtra dedimus, & conceſſimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, has libertates ſubſcriptas, habendas & tenendas in regno noſtro Angliæ in perpetuum.

'JOHN, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, &c. Know ye, that for the honour of God, and the health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Anceſtors and Succeſſors, and for the exaltation of Holy Church, and for the reformation of our Kingdom, We have of our free and good Will given and granted for Us and our Heirs, theſe Liberties hereafter ſpecified, to be had and obſerved in our Kingdom of *England* for ever.

I. In primis omnes foreſtæ quas rex Henricus avus noſter afforeſtavit, videantur per probos & legales homines; & ſi boſcum aliquem alium quam ſuam dominicum, afforeſtaverit ad damnum illius cujus boſcus fuerit, ſtatim deafforeſtetur. Et ſi boſcum ſuum proprium afforeſtaverit, remaneat foreſta, ſalva communia de herbagio & rebus aliis in eadem foreſta, illis qui eam prius habere conſueverunt.

'I. *Imprimis*, All the Foreſts made by our Grandfather King *Henry*, ſhall be viewed by honeſt and lawful Men; and if he turned any other than his own proper Woods into Foreſts, to the damage of him whoſe Wood it was, it ſhall forthwith be laid out again and *diſaforeſted*. And if he turned his own Woods into Foreſt, they ſhall remain ſo, ſaving the Common of Paſture to ſuch as were formerly wont to have it.

II. Homines qui manent extra foreſtam, non veniant de cætero coram juſticiariis noſtris de foreſta, per communes ſubmonitiones; niſi ſint in placito, vel plegii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati ſunt propter foreſtam: omnes autem boſci qui fuerunt afforeſtati per regem Richardum fratrem noſtrum, ſtatim deafforeſtentur; niſi fuerint dominici boſci noſtri.

'II. *Is the* LII *and* LV *of the* Great Charter *put into one Chapter.*

III. Archiepiſcopi, epiſcopi, abbates, priores, comites, barones, milites, & libere tenentes, qui boſcos habent in foreſta, habeant boſcos ſuos ſicut eos habuerunt tempore primæ coronationis prædicti regis Henrici avi noſtri; ita quod quieti ſint in perpetuum de omnibus purpreſturis, vaſtis & aſſartis factis in illis boſcis poſt illud tempus, uſque ad principium ſecundi anni coronationis noſtræ. Et qui de cætero vaſtum, purpreſturam, vel aſſartum facient ſine licentia noſtra in illis boſcis, de vaſtis, purpreſturis, & aſſartis reſpondeant.

'III. The Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Free-Tenants, who have Woods in any Foreſts, ſhall have their Woods as they had them at the time of the firſt Coronation of our Grandfather King *Henry*, ſo as they ſhall be diſcharged for ever of all Purpreſtures (3), Waſtes and Aſſarts (4), made in thoſe Woods, after that time, to the beginning of the ſecond year of our Coronation; and thoſe who for the time to come ſhall make Waſte, Purpreſture or Aſſart in thoſe Woods without our Licence, ſhall anſwer for them (5).

IV. Regardatores noſtri eant per foreſtas, ad faciendum regardum, ſicut fieri conſuevit tempore primæ coronationis prædicti regis Henrici avi noſtri, & non aliter.

'IV. Our Inſpectors or Viewers ſhall go through the Foreſts to make a View, as it was wont to be at the time of the firſt Coronation of our ſaid Grandfather King *Henry*, and not otherwiſe.

V. Inquiſitio vel viſus de expeditatione canum exiſtentium in foreſta de cætero fiat, quando fieri debet regardum; ſcilicet de tertio anno in tertium annum; & tunc fiat per viſum & teſtimonium legalium hominum, & non aliter. Et ille cujus canis inventus fuerit tunc non expeditatus, pro miſericordia det tres ſolidos; & de cætero nullus bos capiatur pro expeditatione. Talis autem expeditatio ſit per aſſiſam communiter, quod tres ortelli aſcindantur de pede anteriori ſive poleta. Non expeditentur canes de cætero, niſi in locis ubi expeditari ſolent tempore primæ coronationis prædicti Henrici regis avi noſtri.

'V. The Inquiſition, or view for Lawing (6) of Dogs which are kept within the Foreſt, for the future ſhall be when the View is made, that is, every three years, and then ſhall be done by the View and Teſtimony of lawful Men, and not otherwiſe; and he whoſe Dogs at ſuch time ſhall be found unlawed, ſhall be fined three Shillings; and for the future, no Ox ſhall be taken for Lawing, and ſuch Lawing ſhall be according to the common Aſſize; namely, the three Claws of the Dog's Foreſoot ſhall be cut off, or the Ball of the Foot taken out. And from henceforward Dogs ſhall not be lawed, unleſs in ſuch places where they were wont to be lawed in the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

VI. Nullus foreſtarius vel bedellus, faciat de cætero ſcotallum, vel colligat garbas, vel avenam, vel bladum aliud, vel agnos, vel porcellos, nec aliquam collectam faciat; & per viſum & ſacramentum duodecim regardatorum, quando facient regardum, tot foreſtarii ponantur ad foreſtas cuſtodiendas,

'VI. No Foreſter or *Bedel* (7) for the future, ſhall make any Ale-Shots (8), or collect Sheaves of Corn, or Oats, or other Grain, or Lambs, or Pigs; nor ſhall make any gathering whatſoever, but by the View and Oath of twelve Inſpectors; and when they make their 'View,

(1) The Foreſts belonged originally to the Crown, and the Kings had granted ſeveral parts and parcels to private Men, who had grubbed them up and made them Arable or Paſture. But yet all that was thus grubbed was ſtill called Foreſt. Theſe Foreſts belonging to the King as his own Demeſns, or as the Sovereign Lord, were a continual Source of vexatious Suits, as well againſt thoſe which held them of the King, as againſt the neighbouring Freemen, under pretence of the Rights of the Crown.

(2) As it is to be found in *Matthew Paris*. p. 250.

(3) *i. e.* Encroachments upon the King's Lands.

(4) *i. e.* Grubbing up Wood, and making it Arable, without Licence.

(5) Every Article of this Charter is a clear Evidence how much the Subject was oppreſſed under pretence of preſerving the Royal Foreſts.

(6) Cutting off their Claws, *&c.* (7) Bailiff of the Foreſt. (8) That is, taking Acts againſt the Offender,

cuſtodiendas, quot ad illas cuſtodiendas, rationabiliter viderint ſufficere.

VII. Nullum ſuanimotum de cætero teneatur in regno noſtro, niſi ter in anno; videlicet in principio quindecim dierum ante feſtum ſancti Michaelis, quando agiſtatores veniunt ad agiſtandum dominicos boſcos, & circa feſtum ſancti Martini quando agiſtatores noſtri debent accipere panagium ſuum. Et ad iſta duo ſuanimota, convenient foreſtarii, viridarii, & agiſtatores; & nullus alius per diſtrictionem. Et tertium ſuanimotum teneatur in initio XV dierum ante feſtum ſancti Johannis Baptiſtæ pro fœnatione beſtiarum noſtrarum; & ad iſtum ſuanimotum convenient foreſtarii, viridarii, & non alii per diſtrictionem.

‘ View, ſo many Foreſters ſhall be appointed to keep the ‘ Foreſt as they ſhall reaſonably think ſufficient.

‘ VII. No Swainmote for the time to come ſhall be ‘ holden in our Kingdom oftner than thrice a year; ‘ that is to ſay, in the beginning of fifteen days before ‘ *Michaelmaſs*, when the Agiſters, come to agiſt the ‘ demeſne Woods; and about the feaſt of St. *Martin*, ‘ when our Agiſters are to receive their Pannage (1); ‘ and in theſe two Swainmotes, the Foreſters, Verderers, ‘ and Agiſters ſhall meet, and no other by Compulſion ‘ or Diſtreſs; and the third Swainmote ſhall be holden ‘ in the beginning of the fifteen days before the Feaſt of ‘ St. *John Baptiſt*, concerning the Fawning of our Does; ‘ and at this Swainmote ſhall meet the Foreſters and ‘ Verderers, and no others ſhall be compelled to be ‘ there.

VIII. Et præterea ſingulis quadraginta diebus, per totum annum convenient viridarii & foreſtarii ad videndum attachiamenta de foreſta tam de viridi quam de venatione, per præſentationem ipſorum foreſtariorum, & coram ipſis attachientur: prædicta autem ſuanimota non teneantur, niſi in comitatibus in quibus teneri conſueverunt.

‘ VIII. And furthermore, every forty days throughout ‘ the year, the Verderers and Foreſters ſhall meet to ‘ view the Attachments of the Foreſt, as well of Vert (2), ‘ as Veniſon, by Preſentment of the Foreſters themſelves; ‘ and they who committed the Offences, ſhall be forced ‘ to appear before them: But the aforeſaid Swainmotes ‘ ſhall be holden but in ſuch Counties as they were wont ‘ to be holden.

IX. Unuſquiſque liber homo agiſtet boſcum ſuum in foreſta pro voluntate ſua, & habeat panagium ſuum.

‘ IX. Every Freeman ſhall agiſt (3) his Wood in the ‘ Foreſt at his pleaſure, and ſhall receive his Pannage.

X. Concedimus etiam quod unuſquiſque liber homo poſſit ducere porcos ſuos per dominicum boſcum noſtrum, libere & ſine impedimento; & ad agiſtandum eos in boſcis ſuis propriis, vel alibi ubi voluerit. Et ſi porci alicujus liberi hominis una nocte pernoctaverint in foreſta noſtra, non inde occaſionetur, ita quod aliquid de ſuo perdat.

‘ X. We grant alſo, that every Freeman may drive ‘ his Hogs through our demeſne Woods, freely and without ‘ Impediment, and may agiſt them in his own Woods, or ‘ elſewhere, as he will; and if the Hogs of any Freeman ‘ ſhall remain one Night in our Foreſt, he ſhall not be ‘ troubled, ſo as to loſe any thing for it.

XI. Nullus de cætero amittat vitam vel membra pro venatione noſtra; ſed ſi aliquis captus fuerit & convictus de captione venationis, graviter redimatur, ſi habeat unde redimi poſſit, & ſi non unde redimi poſſit, jaceat in priſona noſtra per annum unum & unum diem. Et ſi poſt annum unum & unum diem plegios invenire poſſit, exeat a priſona; ſin autem, abjuret regnum noſtrum Angliæ.

‘ XI. No Man for the time to come ſhall loſe Life or ‘ Limb for taking our Veniſon; but if any one be ſeized ‘ and convicted of taking Veniſon, he ſhall be grievouſly fined, if he hath wherewithal to pay; and if he ‘ hath not, he ſhall lye in our Priſon a year and a day. ‘ And if after that time he can find Sureties, he ſhall ‘ be releaſed; if not, he ſhall abjure our Realm of *Eng*‘ *land*.

XII. Quicunque archiepiſcopus, epiſcopus, comes vel baro veniens ad nos per mandatum noſtrum, tranſierit per foreſtam noſtram, licet illi capere unam vel duas beſtias per viſum foreſtarii ſi præſens fuerit; ſin autem, faciat cornari, ne videatur hoc furtive facere: item licet in redeundo idem eis facere, ſicut prædictum eſt.

‘ XII. It ſhall be lawful for every Archbiſhop, Biſhop, ‘ Earl, or Baron, coming to us by our Command, and ‘ paſſing through our Foreſt, to take one or two Deer by ‘ view of the Foreſter, if preſent, if not, he ſhall cauſe a ‘ Horn to be ſounded, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſteal them. ‘ Alſo in their return, it ſhall be lawful for them to do ‘ the ſame thing.

XIII. Unuſquiſque liber homo de cætero ſine occaſione, faciat in boſco ſuo vel in terra ſua, quam habet in foreſta molendinum, vivarium, ſtagnum, marleram, foſſatum vel terram arabilem, extra co-opertum in terra arabili, ita quod non ſit ad nocumentum alicujus vicini.

‘ XIII. Every Freeman for the future may erect a Mill ‘ in his own Wood, or upon his own Land, which he ‘ hath in the Foreſt; or make a Warren, or Pond, a ‘ Marl-pit, or Ditch, or turn it into Arable, without the ‘ Covert in the Arable Land, ſo as it be not to the de‘ triment of his Neighbour.

XIV. Unuſquiſque liber homo habeat in boſcis ſuis ærias accipitrum, ſpervariorum, falconum, aquilarum & heironum; & habeant ſimiliter mel quod inventum fuerit in boſcis ſuis.

‘ XIV. Every Freeman may have in his Woods the ‘ Ayries of Hawks, of Spar-Hawks, Falcons, Eagles, and ‘ Herons; and they ſhall have likewiſe the Honey which ‘ ſhall be found in their Woods.

XV. Nullus foreſtarius de cætero, qui non ſit foreſtarius de feudo, reddens firmam nobis pro balliva ſua, capiat cheminagium, ſcilicet pro careta per dimidiam annum, duos denarios, & per alium dimidium duos denarios; & pro equo, qui portat ſummagium, per dimidium annum, unum obolum, & per alium dimidium annum, unum obolum; & non niſi de illis, qui extra ballivam ſuam tanquam mercatores veniunt, per licentiam ſuam in ballivam ſuam, ad buſcam, meiremium, corticem, vel carbonem emendum, & alias ducendum ad vendendum ubi voluerint. Et de nulla careta alia, vel ſummagio, aliquod cheminagium capiatur; non capiatur cheminagium, niſi in locis illis, ubi antiquitus capi ſolebat & debuit: illi autem qui portant ſuper dorſum ſuum, buſcam, corticem vel carbonem ad vendendum, quamvis inde vivant, nullum de cætero dent cheminagium de boſcis aliorum; nullum detur cheminagium foreſtariis noſtris præterquam de dominicis boſcis noſtris.

‘ XV. No Foreſter for the future, who is not a Fo‘ reſter in Fee, paying us Rent for his Office, ſhall ‘ take Cheminage (4); that is to ſay, for every Cart ‘ Two-pence for half a year, and for the other half year ‘ Two-pence; and for a Horſe that carries Burthens, for ‘ half a year a half-penny, and for the other half year a ‘ half-penny; and then only of thoſe, who come as Buy‘ ers, out of their Bailiwick, to buy Underwood, Tim‘ ber, Bark, or Charcoal, to carry it to ſell in other ‘ places, where they will: And for the time to come ‘ there ſhall be no Cheminage taken for any other Cart ‘ or Carriage-Horſe, unleſs in thoſe places where anciently ‘ it was wont, and ought to be taken; but they who ‘ carry Wood, Bark, or Coal upon their Backs to ſell, ‘ though they get their livelihood by it, ſhall for the future ‘ pay no Cheminage for Paſſage through the Woods of ‘ other Men. No Cheminage ſhall be given to our Fo‘ reſters, but only in our own Woods.

XVI. Omnes utlagati pro foreſta a tempore regis Henrici avi noſtri, uſque ad primam coronationem noſtram, veniant

‘ XVI. All Perſons outlawed for Offences committed ‘ in our Foreſts from the time of King *Henry* our ‘ Grandfather

(1) Money for the feeding of Hogs with *Maſt* in the King's Foreſts.
(2) That is, the Offences that have been committed in cutting Wood, or killing Deer.
(3) That is, take in his Neighbour's Cattle to feed.
(4) Money for paſſing through the Foreſt.

ant ad pacem ſine impedimento, & ſalvos plegios inveniant quod de cætero non forisfacient nobis de foreſta noſtra.

‘ Grandfather, untill our firſt Coronation, may reverſe ‘ their Outlawries without Impediment, but ſhall find ‘ Pledges that for the future they will not forfeit to ‘ us (1) in our Foreſt.

XVII. Nullus caſtellanus vel alius teneat placitum de foreſta ſive de viridi ſive de venatione; ſed quilibet foreſtarius de feudo attachiet placita de foreſta, tam de viridi quam de venatione, & ea præſentet viridariis provinciarum; & cum rotulata fuerint, & ſub ſigillis viridariorum incluſa, præſententur capitali foreſtario cum in partes illas venerit ad tenendum placita foreſtæ, & coram eo terminentur.

‘ XVII. No *Caſtellan* or other Perſon ſhall hold Pleas ‘ of the Foreſt, whether concerning Vert or Veniſon: ‘ But every Foreſter in Fee ſhall attach Pleas of the Fo- ‘ reſt (2), as well concerning Vert as Veniſon, and ſhall ‘ preſent the Pleas or Offences to the Verderers of the ſe- ‘ veral Counties; and when they ſhall be enrolled and ‘ ſealed under the Seals of the Verderers, they ſhall be ‘ preſented to the chief Foreſter, when he comes into ‘ thoſe Parts, to hold Pleas of the Foreſt, and ſhall be de- ‘ termined before him.

XVIII. Omnes autem conſuetudines prædictas & libertates, quas nos conceſſimus in regno tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga noſtros, omnes de regno noſtro, tam laici quam clerici obſervent, quantum ad ſe pertinet erga ſuos.

‘ XVIII. And all the Cuſtoms and Liberties afore- ‘ ſaid, which we have granted to be holden in our ‘ Kingdom; as much as belongs to us towards our ‘ Vaſſals, all of our Kingdom, as well Laicks as Clerks, ‘ ſhall obſerve as much as belongs to them towards their ‘ Vaſſals (3).’

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8. *HENRY* III. *Sirnam'd of* WINCHESTER.

1216. HENRY III. *Principal Events of this Reign.*

WE are going to enter upon a long Reign embaraſſed with divers events, moſt of which have little connexion together. Were I to dwell upon every the leaſt remarkable thing occaſioned by the long Adminiſtration of *Henry* III, I ſhould, by my tedioufneſs, be more apt to tire the Reader, than give him any clear knowledge of the Affairs of thoſe days. I ſhall confine my ſelf therefore to certain principal Heads, which are, as it were, the Subſtance of what happened during this Reign. Firſt, I ſhall endeavour to repreſent the State of the Kingdom, the particular Genius of the King, and the Character and pernicious deſigns of his Miniſters. Secondly, will be ſhewn the inſatiable avarice and tyranny of the Court of *Rome*. Thirdly, the Barons League, to oppoſe the arbitrary and tyrannical Power intending to be introduced into the Kingdom. And laſtly, the Barons abuſe of the Authority they uſurped on that pretence, and the unfortunate Succeſſes which rendered all their Procceedings ineffectual. Theſe are the chief Heads we are going to run over, as briefly as the great length of this Reign will permit, and to which almoſt whatever ſhall be afterwards ſaid will refer.

The State of the Kingdom.

King *John* left his Crown to his eldeſt Son. But the young Prince, who was but ten years of age (4), was very uncapable of curing the diſorders of ſo diſtempered a State. A few Lords, who firmly adhered to the Service of the King his Father, and an Army of Foreigners, whom *John* himſelf never ventured to truſt, formed very unlikely Inſtruments to reſtore the royal Family. There was the leſs room to hope for ſo favorable a turn, as almoſt all the Peers of the Realm, ſupported with the Forces of *France*, appeared ſtrictly united againſt the Family of the late King. Beſides, *Lewis*'s great Progreſs ſeemed in ſome meaſure to promiſe him the reduction of the whole Kingdom. In ſpite of theſe ſeemingly inſurmountable difficulties, young *Henry* found in the wiſe and brave Earl of *Pembroke* (5), a loyal Subject, and capable withal of projecting and executing the greateſt deſigns. Without being diſheartned in this extremity, the generous Earl undertook to raiſe the hopes of the honeſt *Engliſh*, and drive the Foreigners out of the Kingdom.

The Earl of Pembroke ſupports Henry. M. Paris.

His Speech to the Lords of the King's Party. Hemingford. Lib. 3. p. 562.

As ſoon as *John* reſigned his laſt Breath, the Earl of *Pembroke* aſſembled the Lords, who remained firm to that Prince, and preſenting young *Henry* to them, made a Speech, beginning with theſe words: *Behold our King.* Then (after a ſhort pauſe) he repreſented to them, “ Though the Conduct of the late King gave the “ confederate Barons a plauſible pretence to complain, “ it was not reaſonable to take the Crown from a Fa- “ mily, that had worn it ſo long, much leſs to give it “ to a Foreigner. As King *John*'s faults were per- “ ſonal, it would be unjuſt to inflict a Puniſhment on “ his Son, whoſe tender years rendered him blame- “ leſs. He ſaid farther, the remedy uſed by the con- “ federate Barons was worſe than the diſeaſe, ſince it “ tended to reduce the Kingdom under a diſhonourable “ Servitude. And therefore, in the preſent poſture of “ Affairs, nothing was able to deliver them from the im- “ pending Yoke, but the firm Union, under a Prince “ who was undeniably the lawful Heir to the Crown.” This Speech met with applauſe from the whole Aſſembly, who cried out with one Voice, *We will have* Henry *for our King* (6). Whereupon, though the Earl of *Cheſter* (7) made ſome oppoſition at firſt; however, he afterwards deſiſting, a day was appointed for the Coronation. The Ceremony was performed with little pomp, by the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wincheſter*, in the preſence of an inconſiderable number of Lords (8) with *Gallo* the Legate, who eſpouſed young *Henry*'s Intereſt to the utmoſt of his power. King *John*'s Crown being lately loſt in the Well-ſtream, as was related, they were forced to uſe a plain Circle or Chaplet of Gold, becauſe they had neither time nor means to make a better. Before the Crown was ſet on his head, the uſual Oath was adminiſtred to him. Which done, the Legate, who had ever his maſter's Intereſt in view, cauſed the young Prince to do Homage to the Holy See. It was not then proper to oppoſe this Homage, for fear of loſing the Pope's Aſſiſtance, and increaſing the difficulties, *Henry* was, probably, to ſtruggle with in the beginning of his Reign.

1216. *Henry III. crowned.* M. Paris. An. Waverl. T. Wikes. M. Paris. p. 289.

The Earl of Pembroke made Regent. M. Paris. *How qualified for that Office.*

Theſe Ceremonies being over, the Aſſembly of the Lords, who repreſented at that time the whole Nation, choſe the Earl of *Pembroke*, Guardian of the King, and declared him Protector, that is, Regent of the Kingdom. They could not chuſe to that high Office, a perſon of greater Abilities, of more Zeal for the Publick Good, or a faſter friend to the Royal Family. From the beginning of King *John*'s Reign, for whom he partly procured the Crown by his diligence and addreſs, he had always remained attached to the ſervice of that Prince, without ever deſerting him in his greateſt diſtreſs. This conſtant Loyalty gaining him his maſter's favour and confidence, he was always truſted with his Secrets, and therefore was better qualified than any other to be at the Helm, in ſo tempeſtuous a Seaſon. He perfectly knew the cauſe of the troubles, and the Intereſts and Intrigues of thoſe that excited them. He was not ignorant that moſt of the Barons were

(1) That is, commit no Offence. *Brady.*
(2) May ſeize the Body or Goods of the Offenders to make them appear.
(3) There is no Original of this Charter extant, nor any Copy older than the firſt of *Henry* III.
(4) He was but in the tenth year of his Age. See above, p. 269.
(5) *William Mareſchall.*
(6) *Fiat Rex, Fiat Rex. Hemingford*, l. 3. p. 562.
(7) *Hemingford* ſays, it was the Earl of *Glouceſter*, p. 562. But that Earldom was then in the Crown. See *Tyrrel*, p. 824.
(8) The Coronation was ſolemnized at *Glouceſter*, on *October* 28. in the preſence of the Pope's Legate, *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Jocelin* of *Bath*, *Silveſter* of *Worceſter*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William Marſhall* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William de Ferrars* Earl of *Derby*, *John Marſhall*, *Philip de Albiney*, *William Briwere*, *Savaric de Malolacu*, with the Abbots and Priors. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (ſays *Walter of Coventry*) was then at *Rome*, ſoliciting the taking off his Suſpenſion. *M. Paris*, p. 289. *T. Wikes*, p. 38. *An. Waver.* p. 182.

extremely

From the Kings Monument at Westminster.

Desig. et Sculp. G. Virtue

1216. extremely diſſatisfied with the Prince they had ſent for, and upon that he chiefly built his hopes. The private ſubmiſſions of forty of them to the King, gave him room to believe that diſſentions were riſing among them, and that their example would quickly be followed by the reſt. Indeed nothing but deſpair of Pardon prevented the majority from deſerting Prince *Lewis*. And therefore, the Regent believed he had reaſon to hope, that a Declaration of the new King's readineſs to pardon, would ſoon diſſolve the Confederacy. Beſides, there was no likelihood, that after the death of King *John*, ſo many Lords could reſolve to continue in obedience to a foreign Prince, who too gave them every day freſh occaſions of Complaint. In this expectation the Earl of *Pembroke* ſent Letters to all the Barons and Corporations in the Kingdom (1), to inform them of *Henry*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, promiſing withal great rewards to ſuch as would return to their Duty (2). Theſe aſſurances, and the Regent's known probity, ſhaking many of the confederate Barons, they began to think ſeriouſly of making their Peace with their lawful Sovereign. The excommunication of Prince *Lewis*, publiſhed every *Sunday*, furniſhed them with a further, and no leſs powerful motive to change. It was not poſſible, but among all theſe Lords, there were tender conſciences, that were concerned at following the Banners of an excommunicated Prince. Much leſs could they bear to ſee themſelves involved in the ſame Sentence, what endeavours ſoever were uſed to remove their Scruples. So that *Lewis*'s affairs began to decline, at the very time they ſeemed to be moſt proſperous. The raiſing the Siege of *Dover* contributed likewiſe very much to diſconcert them. Prince *Lewis* frequently tried to corrupt *Hubert de Burgh*, Governor of that Place; but always found in that brave Man a Loyalty proof againſt all temptations. Force had been ſtill leſs available, for he was repulſed with loſs in all his aſſaults. The death of King *John* happening during this Siege, *Lewis* hoped the Governor would become more tractable. Accordingly, he ordered him to be ſummoned afreſh to ſurrender; repreſenting to him withal, that ſince, by *John*'s death, he was releaſed from his Oath, he might without ſcruple ſwear fealty to a Prince, whom his Countrymen had owned for their Sovereign, and who would be glad to ſhew him marks of his eſteem. *Hubert* anſwered, The late King having left a Succeſſor, to whom his allegiance was due, he would maintain his Cauſe to the laſt drop of his Blood: Adding, he could never believe, the eſteem of any brave Prince could be gained by a notorious baſeneſs. Promiſes proving ineffectual, *Lewis* threatned *Hubert* to put his Brother, who was in his power, to death. This Threat made no impreſſion on the faithful Governor, who continued to defend, with the ſame reſolution, the important place committed to his Truſt. *Lewis* finding he did but loſe time before *Dover*, raiſed the Siege, and inveſted the Caſtle of *Hertford*, which made but a faint reſiſtance (3). The taking of this Place, gave the *Engliſh* Lords freſh cauſe of complaint. *Robert Fitz-Walter*, claiming the cuſtody of the Caſtle, as belonging to him by antient right, had the mortification to be denied, and ſee a *French* Governor placed there with Troops of the ſame Nation. This Injuſtice cauſed great murmurings among the *Engliſh* Barons. They were extremely vexed to behold their own Inheritances given to Foreigners, without any regard to their complaints. Their diſcontent was farther inflamed by the indiſcretion of ſome *Frenchmen*, who upbraided the *Engliſh* Barons for Traytors, declaring, it was not ſafe to truſt them with the cuſtody of Caſtles. Theſe expreſſions, added to what the Viſcount of *Melun* is reported to ſay, cauſed among the *Engliſh*, and eſpecially among the Nobility, an univerſal diſſatisfaction, which *Lewis* perceived not as yet, but of which he ſoon felt the effects. Mean while, continuing his progreſs, he became maſter of ſome other places before he returned to *London*, where he came not till towards the latter end of the year.

He notifies to the Barons the Coronation of Henry. M. Paris.

Several think of deſerting Lewis. M. Paris.

Lewis tries in vain to bribe the Governor of Dover. M. Paris. p. 289.

M. Paris.

Lewis diſpleaſes the Engliſh. M. Paris. p. 290.

Ibid.

1216.

Whilſt *Lewis* was improving his advantages, the Regent omitted nothing that might help to ſupport the juſt Rights of young *Henry*. His firſt, and, as he thought, moſt neceſſary precaution in the preſent juncture, was, to ſend ſpeedy notice to the Pope of the death of King *John*, and the Coronation of his Son; intreating him withal, to take into his protection the young Prince, who was ſurrounded with foreign and domeſtick enemies. *Innocent* took care not to be wanting in what concerned his own Intereſts. The preſervation of *England*, which he conſidered as the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, and even gave it that name, was in danger. Wherefore he ſent freſh powers to his Legate to renew the Excommunication of the Prince of *France*, and the confederate Barons. *Lewis*, to whom the Legate communicated his new orders, ſolemnly proteſted againſt all that ſhould be done to his prejudice. Mean time, to prevent the new Cenſure from having any effect, he required all the *Engliſh* Lords to renew their Homage to him, on a day appointed. His Proteſtation hindered not the Legate from executing the Pope's orders. He held a Synod at *Briſtol*, where he re-excommunicated *Lewis* with all the cuſtomary formalities. He thereby furniſhed ſome of the Barons with a pretence to refuſe the Homage required by *Lewis*.

The Pope declares for Henry. M. Paris. p. 292.

Chriſtmaſs approaching, both ſides agreed upon a Truce during the Holidays. *Lewis* made uſe of that opportunity to hold a General Aſſembly at *Oxford*, whilſt the Regent held another, though much leſs numerous, at *Cambridge*. The King's party propoſing that the Truce ſhould be prolonged, *Lewis* at firſt refuſed to agree to it (4). But hearing ſoon after, that the Pope intended to confirm, in full Conſiſtory, the Excommunication denounced by his Legate, cauſed him to conſent to prolong the Truce till a month after *Eaſter*. His deſign was to go to *Paris*, and conſult the King his Father (5).

A Truce between the two Parties. Walt. of Cov. M. Paris. p. 292.

1217. This Truce was very advantagious to the Earl of *Pembroke*. He wiſely made uſe of it to reinforce his Army with new Levies, and to gain by ſecret practices ſome of the confederate Barons. On the contrary, it was extremely prejudicial to *Lewis*, whoſe abſence gave the Barons opportunity of taking meaſures to free themſelves from his Yoke, by returning to the obedience of their lawful Sovereign (6). Several took that time to treat with the King. Among whom was *William Marſhal*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who till then had been one of the moſt zealous Partiſans of *France* (7). The *Cinque-Ports* declared likewiſe for *Henry*, and ſent out a Fleet to oppoſe *Lewis*'s return. But though their Fleet fought the *French*, and deſtroyed ſeveral of their Ships, they could not hinder the Prince's landing at *Sandwich*. He was ſo exaſperated at this bold attack, that he burnt the Town where he landed, as being one of the *Cinque-Ports*.

The Truce turns to Henry's Advantage. M. Paris. p. 292.

Ibid.

Cinque-Ports *declare for the King.*

Lewis *burns* Sandwich.

Upon the expiration of the Truce, the Regent ſent the Earl of *Cheſter* (8) to beſiege *Mont-Sorel* in *Leiceſterſhire*, where was a *French* Garriſon. (9). The loſs of this Place might have proved of great prejudice to *Lewis*, not ſo much on account of its importance, as becauſe, at ſuch a juncture, it highly concerned him to hinder the King's Party from appearing to be in condition to recover themſelves. For this reaſon *Lewis* thought it neceſſary, at any rate, to raiſe the Siege. To do it effectually, he put the Earl of *Perche* (10) at the head of twenty thouſand Men, with orders to march to the enemy. Upon the approach of this Army, the Earl of *Cheſter*, who was not ſo ſtrong, raiſed the Siege and returned to the Regent (11). But the *French* General was not ſatisfied with this advantage. As he believed the Earl of *Pembroke* unable to withſtand ſo great Forces, he formed the deſign of beſieging *Lincoln* Caſtle, which held out for the King, though the City had

The Earl of Perche raiſes the Siege of Mont-Sorel. M. Paris. p. 293.

(1) As alſo to all the *Vicecomites*, or Sheriffs, Wardens of Caſtles, *&c.* *M. Paris.* p. 289.

(2) There is a Letter ſtill extant to *Hugh de Lacy* a Baron of Note, containing a Safe-Conduct to come and treat with the King, with a promiſe of the Reſtitution of his Eſtate and Privileges. The Earl of *Pembroke*'s Name is affixed alone to the Letter, which is dated *November* 18. in the firſt Year of this Reign. The Letter runs thus: *Rex Hugoni de Lacy* ſalutem. Mandamus vobis quod ſecure & ſine dilatione veniatis ad *Fidelitatem & Servitium noſtrum*, & concedimus vobis ſalvum conductum noſtrum in *veniendo* ad nos & nobiſcum *loquendo* & inde ſalvo *revertendo*. Et vos ſcire volumus quod ſi ad nos venire volueritis Jura veſtra & libertates veſtras per conſilium dilectorum fidelium noſtrorum *Ranulphi Comitis* Ceſtrie, *Willielmi Comitis* de Ferrariis, *& aliorum fidelium* noſtrorum integre vobis *reſtituemus* licet vero bone memorie *Johannes pater noſter in aliquo erga vos deliquerit ipſius delicti debemus eſſe immunes, nec delictum ſuum aliquotenus nobis debet imputari.* Et in hujus, *&c.* Quia Sigillum, *&c.* vobis inde mittimus. Teſte Comite decimo octavo die *Novembris* Anno regni noſtri primo. *Pat.* 1 *Hen.* III. *M.* 16.

(3) He alſo took the Caſtle of *Berkhamſted* in the ſame County, on *Decemb.* 12. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 182. *M. Paris*, p. 290. but not without ſome difficulty, the beſieged making a Sally, in which the Standard of *William de Mandevill* was taken. *Ibid.*

(4) And took the Caſtles of *Odiam*, *Sleford*, *Norwich*, and *Colcheſter*. *Walt. Covent.*

(5) *Walter* of *Coventry* ſays, the Pope ordered his Nuncio in *France* to hold a Synod at *Melun*, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict, unleſs *Philip* recalled his Son out of *England*. Upon which the King preſently ordered him to come over, and be himſelf in Perſon at the Synod. This Year King *Henry* held his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Briſtol*. *M. Paris.* p. 292.

(6) The Caſtles of *Marlborough*, *Farnham*, *Winchеſter*, *Chicheſter*, &c. declared for *Henry*. *Walt. Covent.*

(7) At the ſame time came over to the King, *William Longſword* Earl of *Salisbury*, with the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warren*.

(8) Together with *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl *Ferrers*, *Robert de Vieupont*, *Brian de L'Iſle*, *William de Cantelupe*, *Robert de Gaugi*, *Falcaſius*, &c. *M. Paris.* p. 293.

(9) *Henry de Braibroc* was the Commander in Chief in it. *M. Paris. Ibid.*

(10) *Mareſchal* of *France*, a young Man of great Courage, whom he had juſt brought over with him. *Saber* Earl of *Winton* was Lord of this Caſtle. They marched from *London May* 1. *M. Paris.* p. 293.

(11) At *Nottingham*. *M. Paris.* p. 294.

1217. *He beſieges* Lincoln *Caſtle.* M. Paris. p. 293. *The Regent marches to its Relief.* M. Paris. p. 294.

declared for the Barons (1). In this March, the *French* Troops committed ſuch terrible ravages, that the Hiſtorians deſcribe them as an army of *Devils* rather than Men. But perhaps things are repreſented worſe than they really were.

The Caſtle of *Lincoln* was of ſo great importance, that the Regent could not reſolve to loſe it, without uſing his utmoſt endeavours to relieve it. Whilſt the *French* were battering the Caſtle with all poſſible vigor, and the Beſieged making as brave a defence, he aſſembled all his Forces, with a reſolution to run all hazards to ſave that Place. He uſed ſuch expedition, that he advanced as far as *Newark*, within twelve miles of *Lincoln*, before the Beſiegers were determined, whether to expect him, or march and give him battle. They had all along hoped to take the Caſtle, before he could draw his Army together. Surprized at the ſudden approach of the Enemy, the *French* General called a Council of War, to conſult what was to be done on this occaſion. Some were for meeting the enemy, becauſe if a victory fortunately enſued, the Caſtle would immediately ſurrender. Adding, that by going out of the City, they might uſe their Cavalry, in which conſiſted their chiefeſt ſtrength, whereas they would be of no ſervice, if it was reſolved to expect the enemies within the Walls. This advice was the ſafeſt, but others were of a contrary opinion. They affirmed, as the Caſtle was reduced to extremities, it was better to keep within the City and continue the Siege; that it was eaſy to defend the Walls, till the Caſtle ſurrendered; after which the Earl of *Pembroke* would only think of retreating, or however, might always be fought. This advice prevailing, all things were prepared for the defence of the City, whilſt the Siege of the Caſtle was continued. Mean time, the *Engliſh* Army approaching without oppoſition, the Regent cauſed a body of choſen Troops, commanded by *Faulk de Brent*, to enter the Caſtle at a Poſtern Gate, which opened into the Fields. It is ſtrange, the Beſiegers ſhould never think of that inconvenience. *Faulk* was no ſooner entered, but, purſuant to the meaſures taken with the Regent, he ſallied out upon the Beſiegers, whilſt the King's Army ſtormed one of the Gates of the City.

The French *Army defeated at* Lincoln. M. Paris. T. Wikes. Hemingford.

The Earl of *Perche* perceiving himſelf thus attacked from two different quarters, exerted his utmoſt in his defence. But his Troops not having room to fight, and beſides, being deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Horſe, were quickly put in confuſion. On the other ſide, the Royal Army, encouraged by the preſence of the Regent, and the indulgences liberally beſtowed by the Legate upon all that ſhould be ſlain in Battle, continued in a furious manner to ſtorm the Gate. This aſſault was ſo vigorous, that, notwithſtanding the obſtinate reſiſtance of the *French*, the King's Troops at length entered the City, whilſt *Faulk de Brent* preſſed the Enemy on the other ſide. The Earl of *Perche* perceiving all was loſt, reſolved not to ſurvive the ſhame of his defeat. He was ſlain, upbraiding the *Engliſh* of his Party, for betraying him by their Counſels. After the death of the General, a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the *French* Troops, who almoſt all periſhed on this occaſion. M. Paris. The City of *Lincoln*, which had all along ſided with the Barons, was abandoned to a general plunder, where the Soldiers found an ineſtimable Booty, and therefore called it *Lincoln* Fair (2).

Lewis *raiſes the Siege of* Dover, *and retreats to* London. *He demands Succours of his Father.* M. Paris. p. 297, &c.

Whilſt the Earl of *Perche* was employed in theſe parts, Prince *Lewis* made a freſh attempt upon *Dover* Caſtle, but meeting with no leſs reſiſtance than before, made no great progreſs in the Siege. The news of the defeat at *Lincoln*, made him reſolve to retire to *London*, and take new meaſures. Upon his arrival, his firſt care was to ſend to the King his Father for ſpeedy ſupplies, and anſwerable to his wants, without which he let him know there was no likelihood of retrieving his affairs. *Philip*, willing to keep fair with the Pope, pretended he would not interpoſe any more in his Son's concerns. He publickly ſent him word, to take care of himſelf as he could. However, he ordered it ſo, that *Blanch* his Daughter-in-law, in her own name, quickly got ready a body of Troops, with Ships to tranſport them into *England*. Had theſe ſuccours ſafely arrived, they might have repaired *Lewis*'s loſs at *Lincoln*. But his fortune was no better at Sea than at Land. The Commanders of the Fleet of the *Cinque* Ports, hearing the *French* Troops were to embark at *Calais*, laid wait for them in their paſſage, and giving them battle, took and ſunk the greateſt part of the *French* Fleet (3). 1217.

They are defeated at Sea. Hemingford. M. Paris.

Theſe two ſucceſſive loſſes threw *Lewis* into great ſtraits, which were farther encreaſed by the approach of the *Engliſh* Army. He had ſcarce received news of the defeat of the ſuccours that were coming from *France*, when he ſaw himſelf beſieged in *London*, or at leaſt cloſely blocked up (4). So many misfortunes one after another; the diſcontent of the *Engliſh*, which now ſhewed itſelf openly; the Pope's Thunders, which, upon the decline of his affairs, began to inſpire him with terror, made him ſenſible it was time to think of retreating. He determined therefore to ſue to the Regent for Peace. But, notwithſtanding his ill ſituation, he intimated to him, that he would conſent to none but an honorable Peace, that ſhould ſcreen his *Engliſh* Adherents from all proſecution. By the way, this Prince's generous care of the *Engliſh* Barons, is hardly reconcilable with the reſolution, imputed to him by the Viſcount of *Melun*. The Earl of *Pembroke* immediately granted his demand. He conſidered, the King of *France* was not ſo drained of Men and Money, but that he could ſtill powerfully aſſiſt the Prince his Son. On the other hand, he was afraid the Barons would become deſperate, if they were denied a Pardon; and that too great a ſeverity would involve the Kingdom in freſh troubles. In ſhort, he ſaw the uſing his ſucceſs with moderation, would reſtore Peace to the Kingdom, and put the young King in quiet poſſeſſion of the Crown, which was the ſole aim of all his deſires. Theſe conſiderations induced him readily to agree to a Treaty of Peace (5) upon the following Terms:

Lewis is blocked up in London. M. Paris.

He ſues for Peace.

The Earl of Pembroke *conſents to it.*

Conditions of the Peace. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 221. M. Paris. p. 299.

That all Perſons who had taken part with *Lewis*, ſince the beginning of the War, ſhould be reſtored to all the Rights they enjoyed before the troubles.

That the City of *London* ſhould have her antient Privileges.

That all the Priſoners taken ſince the firſt arrival of *Lewis* into *England*, ſhould be releaſed. But as to thoſe that were taken on either ſide, before that time, Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed, to enquire whether thoſe of his Party were engaged with him, at the time of their being made Priſoners.

That the Ranſoms already paid ſhould not be returned, and that ſuch as were become due ſhould be punctually paid: But that nothing ſhould be demanded of the Priſoners, whoſe Ranſoms were not ſettled.

That all the *Engliſh*, of what rank and condition ſoever, Priſoners or others, who took up arms againſt King *John*, ſhould ſwear fealty to King *Henry*.

That the Hoſtages given to Prince *Lewis* for the payment of the Ranſoms that were become due, ſhould be releaſed immediately, upon payment of the Money.

That all the Places, Towns and Caſtles, in *Lewis*'s poſſeſſion, ſhould be delivered to the King.

That the King of *Scotland* ſhould be included in the Treaty, upon reſtoring all he had taken during the War, and that the King of *England* ſhould make the like reſtitution to him.

The ſame thing was ſtipulated in favour of the Prince of *Wales*.

That *Lewis* ſhould cauſe all the Iſlands to be reſtored that were taken in his name.

That he ſhould renounce the Homages received from the Subjects of the King of *England*.

That whatever was due to him, and of which the time of payment was expired, ſhould be punctually paid him.

That in the firſt Article, where *Lewis*'s Adherents are mentioned, Eccleſiaſticks were not included, but with reſpect to the Lay-Fees they held before the War.

An Hiſtorian adds two Articles more, which are not found in the Treaty. Firſt, That *Lewis* ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to oblige his Father to reſtore whatever was taken from King *John* beyond Sea. Secondly, That in caſe he could not prevail, he himſelf ſhould make this M. Paris. p. 299.

(1) *Gilbert de Gant* had beſieged it a long time in vain, and been vigorouſly repulſed in all his Aſſaults. He was made Earl of *Lincoln* by *Lewis*. *M. Paris.*

(2) One may gueſs at the great Riches of the Cathedral, which was pillaged, when *Geoffrey de Drapinges*, the Precentor, complained that he had loſt eleven thouſand Marks for his own Share. *M. Paris.* p. 297. The Perſons of Note taken in this Battle (which was fought on *May* 19.) were: *Saer* Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de Boum* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant* Earl of *Lincoln*, Commanders; and of the other Barons, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, *Richard de Munfichet*, *William de Mumbrey*, *William de Beauchamp*, *William Maudut*, *Oliver de Harcourt*, *Roger de Creſſi*, *William de Colville*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropeſle*, *Ralph Cheinduit*, &c. *M. Paris.* p. 296.

(3) This Sea-Engagement was about the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*. As the *Engliſh* had but forty, and the *French* eighty large Ships, the King's Fleet durſt not attack them in the Front, but tacking about, and getting to the Windward, they bore down upon them and made great ſlaughter of them with their Archers; but what contributed moſt to their Victory, was their having great Quantities of *Quick-Lime* in Powder, which being caſt into the Air, was blown by the Wind into the *Frenchmens* Eyes and blinded them. The Commanders of the *Engliſh* Fleet were *Philip de Albiny* and *John Marſhal*. The *French* Admiral was one *Euſtace*, who from a Monk turned Pirate, and at laſt was made Admiral of the *French* Fleet. *M. Paris* ſays, *Richard* baſe Son of King *John* cut off his Head. p. 298.

(4) *W. Mareſcall* the Regent, gathered a numerous Army, and beſieged him both by Land, and by Water. *M. Paris.* p. 298.

(5) Which was concluded in an Iſland in the *Thames*, near *Staines*, on *Septemb.* 11. *M. Paris.* p. 299.

Reſtitution

1217. Reſtitution whenever he came to the Crown. Though theſe two Conditions were not inſerted in the Treaty it ſelf, it is very likely, they were ſtipulated in the ſecret Articles, ſince the *French* Hiſtorians do not ſcruple to own them. Beſides, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that when *Lewis* came to the Crown, the Court of *England* called upon him to perform his promiſe, and that St. *Lewis* his Son had very great Scruples on that account.

Mezerai.

The Treaty being ſigned, and afterwards confirmed by the Authority of the Legate, the King and Prince *Lewis* ſwore to obſerve it, with the uſual Formalities. After which, *Lewis* received Abſolution from the Legate (1). Every thing being thus concluded, the Prince ſet ſail for *France*, after borrowing five thouſand Marks (2) of the City of *London* to pay his debts.

Lewis returns to France.

Henry makes his Entry into London. Walt. Coven.

Immediately after the Prince's departure, *Henry* made his Entry into *London*, where he was received with great Pomp, and demonſtrations of an univerſal ſatisfaction. It was not without reaſon that the People expreſſed ſo great Joy, ſince, nothwithſtanding the advantages lately gained by the young King, he took a ſolemn Oath, to maintain the Nation in their Privileges. Thus by the prudent management of the Regent, the vanquiſhed Barons obtained more ſolid advantages, than they could have expected from a Victory, which would have ſubjected them, and perhaps beyond all redreſs, to a foreign power.

Swears to maintain the People in their Privileges.

The Legate proceeds againſt the Eccleſiaſticks that adhered to Lewis. M. Paris.

Of all *Lewis*'s Party, the Eccleſiaſticks were the only Perſons that had no reaſon to rejoice at the Peace, which left them to the Pope's Mercy, whom they had offended in the moſt ſenſible part. He bore, with Impatience, the contempt of his Cenſures by *Lewis* and the Barons; but the Clergy's diſobedience made him ſtill more outragious. As ſoon as the Legate was at liberty to proceed againſt the Eccleſiaſticks, purſuant to the laſt Article of the Treaty, he ordered a ſtrict Inquiry to be made throughout the Kingdom, after thoſe who contemned the Interdict. All that were found guilty were ſuſpended or deprived of their Benefices, or conſtrained to repair their fault by large Sums of Money (3). A remarkable Inſtance of the wide difference between the Eccleſiaſtical and the Civil Power.

The King of Scotland does Homage to Henry. C. Mailros.

The King of *Scotland*, who was excommunicated for doing Homage to a foreign Prince, embraced the offer of being included in the Treaty. He came to *Northampton*, where he was abſolved by the Legate, after doing Homage to *Henry* for the Fees he held in *England*. Then he delivered up *Carliſle*, which he had taken during the Troubles.

HonoriusIII. *made Pope.*

Pope *Innocent* III, dying this year, *Honorius* III, was promoted to the Papal Chair (4).

1218. *Diſturbances in England.* M. Paris. p. 300.

It ſeemed that after the departure of the *French*, *England* at length would enjoy ſome repoſe, to which ſhe had been ſo long a Stranger. But it was not poſſible that a perfect Calm ſhould immediately ſucceed ſo violent a Storm. The Treaty with *Lewis* gave Birth to new Troubles, which threw the Regent into great perplexities. Thoſe Barons (5) that had faithfully ſerved King *John*, and to whom were given the confiſcated Eſtates of the Rebels, could not bear the thoughts of reſtoring them to the old Proprietors, according to the Tenor of the Treaty. On the other hand, the Eccleſiaſticks loudly complained of being abandoned to the Legate's Perſecutions, without the leaſt care being taken of their concerns. However, the Regent was reſolved, at any rate, to execute the Treaty, believing it to be the only means to root out all diſturbances. Purſuant to this reſolution, he marched with a good Body of Troops, to bring to reaſon ſuch as forcibly with-held divers Caſtles and Lands from the former Owners. *Robert de Gaugy* was the only one however that ſtood a Siege of eight days, in the Caſtle of *Newark* (6), belonging to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. But, at length, finding there was no hopes of Aſſiſtance, he ſurrendered the Caſtle to the Biſhop, upon payment of one hundred Pounds Sterling. The reſt that were in the ſame caſe, diſcouraged by this Example, made the like Compoſitions. The executing the Treaty was ſo neceſſary for reſtoring Tranquillity to the Kingdom, that the Regent thought the intereſts of a few private Perſons, how faithfully ſoever they had ſerved the King, ought not to be preferred to the general Good, which would reſult from the punctual performance of his word. Mean time, to eſtabliſh the young King firmly in the Throne, it ſtill remained to ſatisfy the Pope, who was not inclined to pardon the Eccleſiaſticks, that dared to deſpiſe the Interdict. In the beginning of a Reign, when the Fidelity of the Subjects was yet wavering, and the King a Minor, it would have been very imprudent in the Earl to exaſperate the Court of *Rome*, by maintaining the intereſts of the Clergy. On the contrary, it was but too likely, that the young King would need the Pope's Protection. For this reaſon, he readily publiſhed, at the inſtance of the Legate, a Proclamation, commanding all the excommunicated Eccleſiaſticks that were abſolved, to depart the Kingdom on pain of Impriſonment: This Severity cauſed them to make haſte and ſatisfy the Legate, who only wanted their Money.

1218. *The Regent ſtands by the Legate againſt the Clergy.*

All the Troubles being thus happily appeaſed, the *Engliſh* impatiently expected the performance of the King's Promiſes, with regard to their Liberties, the effectual Re-eſtabliſhment whereof they had been made to hope. However zealous the Regent might be for the King's Service, he did not think proper to make him violate his word. Wherefore, he ſent expreſs orders (7) to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, to ſee the two Charters of King *John* duly obſerved (8), and to puniſh without mercy all Violators thereof. How happy would the *Engliſh* have been, if the Succeſſors of this great Man in his Poſt and Credit with the King, had followed the ſame Maxims, and imbued with them betimes the mind of this young Monarch! But by taking a contrary courſe, they were the cauſe of all the troubles of this Reign.

He orders King John's *Charters to be obſerved.* An. Waverl.

Whilſt the *French* were in *England*, *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, who was in League with them, had taken ſeveral places, of which it would have been difficult to diſpoſſeſs him, without re-aſſembling the diſbanded Troops. This however the Regent was willing to avoid, that he might not be forced to diſoblige the Subjects, by levies of Men and Money; at a time when it was neceſſary to gain their Affection, by cauſing them to enjoy the Fruits of Peace. For this reaſon, he granted the Prince of *Wales* an honorable and advantagious Peace, and procured him the Legate's Abſolution, hoping thereby to induce that turbulent Prince to remain in quiet (9).

The Prince of Wales *makes Peace with the King.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 225. Hemingford.

This affair being ended, *Gallo* the Legate, who was recalled, ſet out for *Rome* (10). *Pandulph*, whom I have had frequent occaſion to mention in King *John*'s Reign, ſucceeded him in his Office (11).

Pandulph *is Legate for* England. M. Weſt.

The Orders concerning the two Charters not having been duly executed, the Regent ſent Itinerant Juſtices into all the Counties to cauſe them to be better obſerved. He was perſwaded, he could not without Injuſtice, and great Injury to the Honour and Intereſts of the young King, leave unexecuted, what the Prince and the King his Father had promiſed with an Oath. Had he lived any longer, he would have infallibly ſo ordered that affair, as not to be eaſily alterable. But this great Man, equally qualified for War and Peace, died ſhortly after, lamented by the whole Kingdom, which he had freed from Slavery, by his Prudence and Valour (12). *Peter des Roches* (13), Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was made Regent, and *Hubert de Burgh*, who defended *Dover*, Chief Juſticiary of *England* (14).

1219. *The Regent iſſues freſh Orders about the Charters.* An. Waverl.

He dies, and is ſucceeded by the Biſhop of Wincheſter. M. Paris.

Hubert de Burgh *is made Juſticiary.*

(1) The Chronicle of *Mailroſs* ſays, that Prince *Lewis* walked barefoot and ungirt from his own, to the Pavilion of the Legate, where he and his Followers were abſolved.

(2) *M. Paris* ſays, it was five thouſand Pounds. p. 299.

(3) *Hugh*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, paid to the Pope's Uſe one thouſand Marks, and one hundred to the Legate, whoſe Example being followed by many of the Biſhops, and other Religious Perſons, vaſt Sums of Money were raiſed for the Pope, who was always ſure to gain, whoever loſt. *M. Paris*, p. 299.

(4) This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Northampton*. *M. Paris*. p. 300.

(5) The chief of them were, *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *Faulk de Brent*, *Robert de Vieupont*, *Brian de L'Iſle*, *Hugh de Bailluel*, *Philip Marc*, *Robert de Gaugi*, &c. *M. Paris*. ibid.

(6) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, *Nottingham*.

(7) Theſe Letters or Orders are not to be found in our Hiſtories, but remain upon Record in the Tower on the Clauſe-Roll of this Year. See Dr. *Brady*'s *Appendix*. N°. 144. and *Tyrrell*'s *Appendix*. N°. 8.

(8) The *Ann.* of *Waverley* ſay, that the Wiſemen of *England*, or the Parliament, met at *London* after *Michaelmaſs*, and revived the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, according to King *John*'s Charter. p. 184.

(9) He had the Cuſtody of the Caſtles of *Caermarthen*, and *Caerdigan*, with the Lands and Appurtenances, delivered to him during the King's Minority, after which he was to reſtore them. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. I. p. 225.

(10) Though the Kingdom was then reduced to the loweſt degree of Poverty, yet he made a ſhift to carry off twelve thouſand Marks with him. *M. Weſt.*------This Year in *May*, *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, returned to *England*. *Chr. Mailros*. p. 196.

(11) This Year alſo was held a Common Council, or Parliament, (though the exact time is not mentioned) wherein it was ordained, that no Letters Patents ſhould be ſealed with the King's Great Seal, till he came to be of full Age. *Brady*, p. 528.------King *Henry* at *Chriſtmaſs*, kept his Court at *Wincheſter*. *M. Paris*. p. 304.

(12) He died about the middle of *March*, and his Body was depoſited, on the 16th of the ſame Month, in the Church of the Knights-Templers, (now the Temple Church,) where his Effigy in a Coat of Mail is ſtill to be ſeen in the middle of the Round. *M. Paris*. p. 304. *M. Weſt*. p. 279.

(13) *Rapin* by miſtake calls him *William*. See *M. Paris*. p. 309.

(14) The Juſticiary was as it were the King's Lieutenant General. *Rapin*. See above p. 178. Not. (6).------This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Marlborough*. *M. Paris*, p. 309.

The

1220. Henry *is crowned again.* M. Paris. T. Wikes. M. Weſtm.

The Coronation of the King had been performed at *Gloceſter* (1), in the preſence of ſo few Lords, and with ſo little Solemnity, that it was thought proper to renew the Ceremony with more Pomp, in the uſual place. Cardinal *Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who returned into *England* after the troubles were over, ſet the Crown on the King's head, having firſt adminiſtred to him the cuſtomary Oath (2).

Immediately after his Coronation, *Henry*, attended by the new Regent, made a Progreſs into ſeveral Counties (3). His deſign was to make ſome alteration with regard to the Cuſtodies of the Caſtles, committed by the King his Father to ſuch, as the new Regent thought he could not confide in. He met with no oppoſition but from *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, Governor of *Rockingham* Caſtle, who, ſetting up for a petty Sovereign, or rather a Tyrant, took little or no notice of the orders ſent from Court. The Garriſon made a ſhew of defending themſelves, but when they ſaw the whole Country in arms to aſſiſt the King, and free themſelves from this oppreſſion, they did not ſtay to be compelled to ſurrender, but choſe rather to procure ſome little advantages by a Capitulation.

1221. *The Earl of* Albemarle *reſiſts the King.* M. Paris.

M. Paris. M. Weſt.

This year, the new Building of the Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter* (4) was begun, the King himſelf laying the firſt Stone.

The Earl of Albemarle *rebels.* M. Paris. W. Coven. M. Weſt.

William [*de Forz*] Earl of *Albemarle*, was very uneaſy at the loſs of his Caſtle, of which he thought himſelf unjuſtly deprived. In revenge of this pretended Injury, he fortified himſelf in his Caſtle of *Bibam* (5), by means of which he held the whole Country round in Subjection. He even compelled Merchants and Tradeſmen to takes Paſſes of him, for leave to go through the Neighbourhood, without which they were in danger of being rifled. The complaints of theſe oppreſſions being laid before the Parliament, then aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, he was ſummoned to appear (6) and anſwer for himſelf (7). He pretended to obey, and accordingly ſet out, with deſign, as was thought, to repair to *London*. Mean time, he took the road to *Northamptonſhire*, and by ſurprize ſeized the Caſtle of *Fotheringay*, where he placed a ſtrong Garriſon, and then returned to *Bibam*. Upon this news, the Parliament reſolved, that an Army ſhould be immediately raiſed, to lay Siege to *Bibam*, and the Earl puniſhed for his Inſolence according to the utmoſt rigour of the Law. When Earl *William* found, the King's Army was on the march, he retired into the North, leaving in his Caſtle a Governor who ſurrendered not till after a long reſiſtance. It was believed, the Rebel would be purſued, or at leaſt compelled to quit the Kingdom: but he found means to make his peace by the Mediation of the Archbiſhop of *York* (8). That Prelate repreſenting in his behalf, that it was but juſt to balance this offence with the great Services he had done the late King, the Regent was prevailed with by that Conſideration. A fatal Precedent, which afterwards encouraged other Barons to commit the ſame Fault without dread of Puniſhment!

He is pardoned. M. Paris.

Joanna *the King's Siſter is married to the King of* Scotland. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 193, & 240. M. Paris.

The Court had made a Progreſs laſt year to *York*, where a Marriage was agreed upon between the King of *Scotland*, and the Princeſs *Joanna*, Siſter of the King. But as ſhe was in the hands of the Earl of *March*, to whoſe eldeſt Son ſhe was contracted, it was no eaſy matter to get her thence. However, after ſome Negotiations, ſhe was at length ſent back to the King her Brother; and her Nuptials with the King of *Scotland* were ſolemnized this year. Shortly after, *Hubert de Burgh*, Chief Juſticiary, eſpouſed the eldeſt Siſter of that Prince: An Honour, which by procuring him the Alliance of two Monarchs, might one day raiſe ſome one of his Poſterity to the Throne of *Scotland*.

Pandulph *made Biſhop of* Norwich. An. Waverl.

The Term of *Pandulph*'s Legateſhip being expired, he laid down his Office, and reſided at his See of *Norwich* (9), procured him by the Pope in reward of his Services.

A Quarrel between the Londoners *and Men of* Weſtminſter M. Paris. M. Weſt.

What care ſoever was taken by the late Earl of *Pembroke*, and the preſent Miniſtry, to keep the Peace of the Kingdom, there were Perſons who made it their buſineſs to diſturb it. They laid hold of an opportunity, which a quarrel between the Citizens of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, furniſhed them with. A great Wreſtling Match being made between the *Londoners* and the Country-People (10), abundance of *Weſtminſter* Men came to the Place appointed; and being deſirous to diſpute the Prize, had the mortification to ſee their Neighbours gain the Honour of the Victory. This Honour, though in it ſelf very ſmall, raiſed however the Jealouſy of the *Weſtminſter* Men, who were expoſed to the inſulting Raileries of the Conquerors. The Steward of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, prepoſterouſly imagining, his maſter's and his own Honour were concerned in the caſe, undertook to revenge his Fellow-Citizens, and cauſe them to be even with their Neighbours. To that end, he appointed another Match (11) at *Weſtminſter*, to which the Citizens of *London* flocked in great numbers. But as they went without arms, they were rudely attacked by the *Weſtminſter* Men, who wounded ſeveral, and put the reſt to flight. This Treachery cauſed a terrible commotion in *London*. The Mob being got together, reſolved to be revenged for this outrage; the Authority of the Mayor (12) not being able to curb them. A Citizen of *London*, one *Conſtantine*, an Incendiary, who had been a zealous ſtickler for the *French*, during the Troubles, heading the Rabble, did all he could to inflame their rage. He repreſented to them, it was in vain to expect Juſtice from Magiſtrates, regardleſs of the Honour of the City; and therefore they ought, without delay, to make their Enemies know, the Citizens of *London* were not to be attacked with Impunity. His Speech meeting with applauſe, he cried with a loud Voice, *Monjoye St. Dennis*, the Watch-word of the *French*; and marching towards *Weſtminſter* at the head of the Mob, cauſed the Steward's Houſe to be pulled down to the ground, after which he returned in Triumph to *London*. The Tumult being appeaſed, *Hubert*, Chief Juſticiary, came to the *Tower*, and commanded ſeveral of the Citizens to appear before him. *Conſtantine* was there among the reſt, and maintained to the Juſticiary's Face, that *the Citizens of* London *had done nothing puniſhable by the Law, and were reſolved to ſtand by what they had done.* *Hubert* ſeeing this Inſolence, diſmiſſed all the reſt, and detaining *Conſtantine*, ordered him to be hanged next Morning (13), tho' he offered a thouſand Marks (14) for his Life. The Juſticiary's Severity did not ſtop here. A few days after, he cauſed to be ſeized in their Houſes the chief Rioters, ſome of whom had their Hands, and others their Noſes and Ears cut off, and then were ſent back thus maimed into the City. After this he turned out all the Magiſtrates of *London*, and obliged thirty of the moſt conſiderable Citizens to be Pledges for the good Behaviour of the City, to which the Communities agreed by a Charter, ſealed with their common Seal (15). This rigour might have been juſtifiable, if *Hubert* had not acted in an arbitrary manner, and directly contrary to the Tenor of the Great Charter, which ordered, purſuant to the antient Cuſtom of the Kingdom, that every Man ſhould be tried by his Peers (16). Hence he became odious to the Nation, and eſpecially to the *Londoners*, who did not fail to make him feel the effects of their hatred, when it was in their Power.

1221.

1222. Conſtantine *ſtirs up the* Londoners *to a Revolt.*

Hubert *orders him to be hanged;*

and puniſhes ſome more of the Rioters.

1223. *The Parliament petitions the King that the Charter may be obſerved.* M. Paris. p. 316. M. Weſt.

Theſe arbitrary Proceedings of the chief Juſticiary, obliged the Parliament, which met ſome time after at *London* (17), to requeſt the King, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe *the Charter of Liberties*, which he had ſworn to confirm, to be obſerved throughout the Kingdom. This requeſt was not at all reliſhed by thoſe who were then at the Helm. Since the death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Court, with the new Miniſtry, had taken up new Maxims, inſomuch that what appeared to the former Regent to be highly juſt, ſeemed the reverſe to the preſent Miniſters. When the Parliament preſented their Petition to the King, one of his Counſellors (18) replied, *it*

(1) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, at *Winchеſter*. See above p. 296. *M. Paris*, p. 289.
(2) *Walter* of *Coventry* ſays, the King was crowned with St. *Edward*'s Crown on the 7th of *May*. See *M. Paris*, p. 309.
(3) King *Henry* took a Tallage this Year, of two Shillings upon every Carucate. *An. Waverl.* p. 185. Moreover he kept his Court at *Oxford*, at *Chriſtmaſs*, where he was attended by the Earls and Barons of the Kingdom. *M. Paris*, p. 310.
(4) Then called St. *Mary's Chapel*. See above, p. 196.
(5) In *Lincolnſhire*.
(6) He was rather ſummoned to a Parliament, which met about this time at *Weſtminſter*, but did not come. *M. Paris*, p. 310.
(7) He was joined by *Faulk de Brent*, *Philip Marc*, *Peter de Maulion*, *Engelard de Athie*, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 310.
(8) *M. Paris* ſays, it was by the Mediation of *Pandulph*. p. 310.
(9) *M. Paris* ſays, he returned to *Rome*, p. 313. *M. Weſt.* p. 280.
(10) On the firſt of *May*. Id. p. 315.
(11) *Auguſt* 1. Id.
(12) *Serlo*. Id.
(13) With his Nephew, and another Incendiary. *M. Paris*, p. 315.
(14) *M. Paris* ſays fifteen thouſand, for it ſeems he was very rich. p. 315.
(15) They bound themſelves to deliver up the Sureties to the King or Juſticiary, whenever they were called for; and if any of them died, to add others in their Stead. This is mentioned by no Hiſtorian, but the Recognizance is found upon Record in the Tower. See Dr. *Brady*'s *Appendix*. No. 147.
(16) See Chap. XLVI. of the Great Charter.
(17) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays at *Oxford*; King *Henry* kept his Court indeed at *Chriſtmaſs* at *Oxford*. But this Parliament was held at *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, in *January*. See *M. Paris*, p. 316. *M. Weſtm.* p. 281.
(18) *William Brewer*. *M. Paris*.

was

1223. *was reaſonable to deſire the execution of a Charter extorted by violence.* This imprudent anſwer gave great Offence to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſharply reproved the Counſellor, telling him, *if he really loved the King, whoſe Intereſt he ſeemed to have ſo much at heart, he would not ſeek to involve the Kingdom again in Troubles, from which it was happily freed.* *Henry*, who was then but ſixteen years of Age, approved of what the Archbiſhop ſaid, and declared, it was his Intention to cauſe the Charters of the King his Father to be ſtrictly obſerved. Accordingly ſome days after, he ſent his orders to all the Sheriffs to ſee them put in execution (1). If he had always continued in theſe Diſpoſitions, it would have ſaved him a world of Vexations and Misfortunes, to which he was afterwards expoſed. Mean time the Parliament, ſatisfied with what the King had done, granted an Aid of three Marks for every Earl, one Mark for every Baron, a Shilling for every Knight, and for every Houſe in the Kingdom one Penny (2).

W. Coven. An. Waverl.

The King of France dies, and is ſucceeded by Lewis his Son, who refuſes to perform his Oath. M. Paris. p. 317. M. Weſt.

Philip Auguſtus King of *France* dying about this time (3), and *Lewis* VIII, his Son ſucceeding him, *Henry*'s Council thought proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to the new King, to challenge the performace of his promiſe with regard to the Territores taken by *Philip* from King *John*. *Lewis* anſwered, he did not think himſelf obliged to the performance of a Treaty which the King of *England* had firſt violated, in exacting large Ranſoms of the Priſoners, and neglecting to reſtore the ancient Laws, as was agreed: That for his part, he held *Normandy* and the other Provinces taken from the *Engliſh* by right of Conqueſt, and as their Sovereign Lord; and in caſe his Right was diſputed, he was willing to ſubmit to the Judgment of his Peers. Some ſay, he alledged alſo the death of *Conſtantine*, in revenge, as he pretended, for his affection to *France*, as a reaſon why he thought himſelf free from all his Engagements; after which, he diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors without farther reply.

M. Paris.

Great credit of the Juſticiary. Id. p. 318.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the favour and credit of the chief Juſticiary were increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he openly aſſumed a Power, to which none in his Poſt had ever pretended. He was not however content, as long as there was one above him, from whom he was obliged to received Orders. This was the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who being appointed Regent by Authority of Parliament, could not eaſily be removed. As the Regency was ſtill to laſt ſome years, *Hubert* thought he had found out an infallible way to ſhorten it, by obtaining from the Pope a Bull, declaring the King of full Age. This ſame Bull authorized *Henry* to take the Reins of the Government into his own hands, without being obliged any longer to make uſe of a Regent. The Bull likewiſe enjoined all that had the Cuſtody of the King's Caſtles, forthwith to ſurrender them to the King, to be diſpoſed of according to his pleaſure. But how expreſs ſoever this Order might be, the Barons refuſed to comply (4), becauſe it was directly contrary to the Laws of the Realm, by which the King was not to be of Age till one and twenty.

He gets the Pope to declare the King of Age. ibid.

The Barons agree not to it.

Hubert's *Artifice to get the Caſtles from the Barons.* Rad. de Cog.

This artifice not having the Succeſs *Hubert* expected, he invented another to compaſs his Ends. As the Pope's declaring the King of full Age was to no purpoſe, ſince the Barons would not agree to it, and it was impoſſible to extort their conſent as long as they were maſters of the Caſtles, he deviſed this Stratagem to wreſt them out of their hands. He cauſed the King to demand of him the Caſtles of which he had the Cuſtody, to which he ſubmitted, on condition the reſt of the Barons ſhould do the ſame. Accordingly he ſurrendered to the King the Tower of *London*, and the Caſtle of *Dover*, the two moſt important Places in the Kingdom. Some of the Barons followed his Example, not imagining there was any Fraud in this Proceeding. But when once the King was in poſſeſſion of their Caſtles, he reſtored to *Hubert* all thoſe he had voluntarily reſigned, thus openly deriding their Credulity. A proceeding ſo unworthy of a Prince, began from thenceforward to breed in the Barons an ill opinion of the King. They were chiefly incenſed againſt the Favourite, whom they looked upon as the principal contriver of the Cheat. Moſt of thoſe that had Places at Court, not being able to bear the Pride and Haughtineſs of this Miniſter, reſigned them, and retired into the Country, with a Reſolution to embrace the firſt opportunity to be revenged. Mean time, all the Lords not falling into the Snare, *Hubert* tried to bring them to obedience, by cauſing them to be threatned with Excommunication. Some were frightned into a Compliance; but others reſolved to ſtand their ground, in ſpite of the King and his Juſticiary (5).

1223.

1224. *The King of France attacks Saintonge, and takes Rochelle.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 269. M. Paris. p. 320. P. Æmylius.

Theſe domeſtick Broils were ſomewhat interrupted by foreign Wars. *Lewis* VIII, King of *France*, not content with refuſing to perform what he had promiſed with an Oath, confiſcated all the Territories held by the *Engliſh* in *France*, and marched directly into *Saintonge*, where he became maſter of ſeveral Places; after which he laid Siege to *Rochelle*, where *Savary de Mallion* was Governor. It is ſaid, this Lord, who had received Intelligence of the King of *France*'s deſigns, demanding a Supply of Money of the Court of *England*, there was ſent him inſtead of the Money, a Coffer full of old Iron; So ſhameful a neglect for the preſervation of a Place, which deſerved the whole care of the Miniſtry, ſo provoked the Governor, that he ſurrendered the City in a few days, and turned to the *French* (6). *Lewis*'s pretence for breaking the Peace, was, that *Henry*, as Duke of *Guienne*, did not aſſiſt at his Coronation. But the true reaſon was, that he was willing to take advantage of that Prince's Minority, to expel the *Engliſh* entirely out of his Kingdom. This War, begun upon ſo ſlight an occaſion; of which *Lewis* had not ſo much as made any Complaint, convinced the Court of *England*, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſend an Army into *France*. Accordingly a Parliament was called to conſider of Ways and Means.

Rebellion of Faulk de Brent. M. Paris. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. An. Waver.

Whilſt the King and Parliament were employed in this affair, the outrages committed by *Faulk de Brent* interrupted their Debates. *Faulk*, encouraged by *William of Albemarle*'s Impunity, tyrannized over his Vaſſals and Neighbours, and committed ſuch Violences, that he was condemned in a Fine of a hundred Pounds Sterling, by three Judges ſent down or purpoſe (7). His fierce and haughty Temper cauſing him to conſider this Sentence as a great Injury, he reſolved to be revenged. To that end, he ſent *William* his Brother to *Dunſtable*, where the Judges were holding the Aſſizes, with orders to ſeize them by force, and bring them to him. Two of them (8) eſcaped, but the third, *Henry de Braibrock*, was taken and carried to *Bedford* Caſtle, where he ſuffered a thouſand Indignities. News thereof being brought to the Parliament (9), it was unanimouſly reſolved, that this diſturber of the Peace ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed; and all other Buſineſs laid aſide till that affair was ended. Purſuant to this reſolve, *Faulk*'s Brother who commanded in *Bedford*, being ſummoned to ſurrender the Town to the King, and refuſing to obey; was attacked ſo vigorouſly, that he was at length forced to ſurrender (10) at diſcretion. What endeavours ſoever his Friends might uſe to appeaſe the King, they could not prevent his being hanged, with four and twenty Knights found in the Garriſon; after which, the Caſtle was ordered to be raz'd to the ground (11). Mean time, *Faulk*, who was retired into *Wales*, upon Aſſurances given him by ſeveral Lords to ſupport him, finding they were not as good as their word, implored the King's Mercy by the Mediation of the Biſhop of *Coventry*. This Prelate uſing the ſame Arguments that were alledged by the Archbiſhop of *York* in behalf of *William* of *Albemarle*, obtained the Rebel's Pardon as to Life and Limbs. But he could not hinder his being delivered to the Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *London*, till the next year, when the Parliament

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 261, 272, 273, 298.

(1) According to *M. Paris*, he ſent his Letters to all the Sheriffs to make inquiry by the Oath of twelve Knights or legal Men in every County, what were the Liberties of *England* in the time of King *Henry* his Grandfather, and to ſend a return thereof to *London* fifteen days after *Eaſter*. But neither is this account exactly true, for it appears by the Writ it ſelf, ſtill extant, that the inquiry was to be, what Cuſtoms and Liberties were granted by King *John*, which ſhews of what uſe the Records are, to rectify the miſtakes of the Hiſtorians. The Writ was as follows: "Rex *Vicecomiti Suſſex*. "Salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod diligenter inquiri facias *in pleno comitatu* tuo per Sacramentum duodecim de legalioribus & diſcretioribus Militibus comi- "tatus tui per quos rei veritas melius ſciri poterit quas *conſuetudines* & quas *libertates* Dominus *Johannes* Rex Pater noſter habuit in balliva tua die qua "guerra incepit inter ipſum & Barones ſuos *Angliæ de terris & feodis* & aliis infra *Burgos* & extra, & quas *conſuetudines & libertates* ipſum Regem Patrem "noſtrum tunc habuiſſe didiceris per inquiſitionem prædictam, *clamari* & firmiter nobis *obſervari* facias in comitatu tuo, & *inquiſitionem* illam & *nomina* in- "quiſitorum nobis ſcire facias apud *Weſtmonaſterium* in craſtino *Clauſi* Paſchæ diſtincte & aperte ſub *Sigillo tuo & Sigillis eorum* per quos *Inquiſitio* illa facta "fuerit, & habeas ibi hoc breve. *Teſte H. &c.* apud *Weſt.* tricesimo die *Januarii*." *Clauſ. 7 Hen. III. M. 14. Dorſo.*

(2) *Walter of Coventry*, and the Annals of *Wavarley* ſay, it was a Poll-Tax for the Succours of the *Holy Land*. And, beſides the Sums mentioned by Mr. *Rapin*, the laſt inform us, that every Freeholder paid one Penny, and whoever had Chattels to the value of half a Mark, paid likewiſe a Penny; but this Tax was ſoon after aboliſhed. *An. Waverl.* p. 187.

(3) *July* 2. Id. p. 188.

(4) The chief of them were the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Albemarle*, *John* Conſtable of *Cheſter*, *Faulk de Brent*, *Robert de Vieupont*, *Brian de L'Iſle*, *Peter de Maulion*, *Philip Marc*, *Ingelard de Athie*, *William de Cantello*, and his Son, *&c. M. Paris*, p. 520.

(5) This Year King *Henry* kept his Court at *Northampton*, at *Chriſtmaſs*. Id. p. 319.

(6) We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter, whereby it appears, there was Treachery in the loſs of *Rochelle*, either in the Governor, or ſome of the Inhabitants. T. I. p. 269. *Rapin*.

(7) *Matthew Paris* ſays, he had thirty Verdicts given againſt him in the Trials of *Novel Deſſeizin*, in each of which he was fined a hundred Pounds; that is, in all, three thouſand Pounds. *M. Paris. An.* 1224. p. 320.

(8) *Martin de Pateſhulle*, & *Thomas de Multon*. Ibid.

(9) Which was then ſitting at *Northampton*. Ibid.

(10) *Auguſt* 16. Id. p. 321.

(11) So that, of all that ſtrong and noble Structure, no Sign, except the Mount, remains at this day; but the Scite and Lands about it, were reſtored to *William de Beauchamp*, who laid claim to the ſame.

1224. confiscated his Estate, and banished him the Realm. *Henry* obtained for the charges of this Expedition, an Aid of two Shillings upon every Hide of Arable Land (1).

1225. *A Subsidy granted on condition that the Charters were observed.* M. Paris. p. 323. M. West. An. Waver. T. Wikes.

But he wanted greater Sums to carry on the War with *France*. For the obtaining whereof he called another Parliament, of whom he demanded a Fifteenth upon Moveables. The Parliament told him, they would readily grant him the Aid he required, provided the Charters of King *John*, which had all along been neglected, were punctually observed for the future. The King's Circumstances not suffering him to deny their request, he granted it in a handsome manner, and even sent into every County Commissioners to see the Charters executed (2). But the Effects of these orders were of no long continuance. However, People were so well satisfied of the King's good Intentions, that never was Tax levied with more exactness. To smooth the way, the Bishops excommunicated all that should be guilty of any Fraud (3).

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 277. Mat. Paris. M. West.

The King made use of this Money to raise an Army, which was sent into *Guienne*, under the Command of Prince *Richard* his Brother, lately made Earl of *Cornwall*. *Richard*, having the Earl of *Salisbury* for his Lieutenant, made some progress in *Guienne*, where he took St. *Macaire*. After that, he besieged the Castle of *La Reolé*, a strong Place, which, by its resistance, gave the Earl of *Marche*, General of the *French* Army, time to come to its relief. The *English* Historians pretend, *Richard* obtained a considerable Advantage over the Earl. The *French*, on the contrary, say, that perceiving he was not strong enough to hazard a Battle, he retired beyond the *Dourdogne*, and shortly after into *England*. It is certain however, *Richard* quitted not *Guienne* till 1227, as appears from the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

T. I. p. 291.

1226. *The King is declared of Age.*

The year 1226, began with a Parliament (4), wherein the King, who was recovered from a dangerous Illness, was declared of full Age, though he was not yet so old as the Law required. But this was not the only Business for which the Parliament was called. A Legate, lately arrived from *Rome*, had an extraordinary Proposal to impart to them from the Pope, which concerned the whole Kingdom, and especially the Clergy. The Substance of the Proposal was, that, since the Holy See had long lain under the Scandal of doing nothing without Money, it was for the Honour and Interest of all Christians to wipe away this reproach, by removing the Cause. That it was notorious to all, the extreme Poverty of the Church of *Rome*, laid her under an absolute necessity of demanding some acknowledgment, for the favours she dispensed to her Sons; that she desired nothing more than to be in a Capacity to proceed with moderation; and the best means to that end would be, for the faithful to grant her Aids proportionable to her Wants. Then the Legate proposed, that, to supply the urgent occasions of the Holy See, there should be set apart for that purpose, out of every Cathedral, two Prebendaries; and out of every Monastery, two Monks Portions; and that this Grant should be confirmed by Parliament. He supported his Proposal with the most specious reasons he could devise; without promising however, that the Pope would take nothing for his future favours, but only insinuating, he would use more Moderation in that respect. It was not very difficult to perceive the Pope's Aim. Therefore all the Legate's Eloquence was not able to prevail with the Parliament, who, to his great mortification, did not even vouchsafe to give him an answer. When he would have complained of this disobliging Treatment of the Pope, he was told, the absence of the King, and some of the principal Bishops, prevented the taking into Consideration a Proposal of that nature. Not discouraged at this repulse, he required, that the Session of Parliament should be continued, till the King and the absent Prelates were come. But his Instances were not regarded, and the Parliament broke up, without coming to any resolution; so that the Legate was forced to wait with patience till the next Session. Mean time, he took a Journey into the northern Counties, where, under pretence of the Right of Procurations (5), he oppressed the Churches to such a degree, that they were forced to complain to the Pope, who recalled him for fear of exasperating the *English* at so critical a Juncture. However, the Pope, who did not yet despair of obtaining what he had demanded, enjoined the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to cause the Parliament to meet again, and require a positive answer to the Proposal made by his Legate. The King having advised with the Bishops, sent the Pope word, that, since this affair did not only concern *England*, but all *Christendom* too, he was ready to conform to the Resolutions which should be taken in other Christian Countries. This was properly a civil denial; for it was well known, a Legate had made the same Proposal in *France*, but to no manner of purpose.

An extraordinary demand of the Pope. M. Paris. p. 328. M. West.

The Parliament makes no Reply to the Legate's demand.

M. Paris. p. 330.

1226. *The Pope insists upon it.* Ibid.

Mean time, *Henry* continued his Preparations to carry War into *France*. But he found himself obliged to suspend them; for *Lewis*, engaging to command a Crusade against the *Albigenses*, had procured the Pope's express Orders to all Christian Princes, not to give him any disturbance during his Expedition. *Henry* consulting his Parliament upon these Orders, was advised to put off the War till the return of the King of *France*, who was then besieging *Avignon*, where entrance was denied him. This Prince died soon after his taking that Place, not without Suspicion of being Poisoned by the Earl of *Champagne*, who was desperately in love with the Queen. *Lewis* IX, his Son, succeeded him, under the Guardianship of *Blanch* of *Castile* his Mother, who, though a Foreigner, had Interest enough to obtain the Regency of the Kingdom.

Lewis VIII, Head of the Crusade against the Albigenses. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 304. M. Paris. M. West. An. Waverl.

He dies, and is succeeded by his Son.

Whilst the *English* Arms were suspended by the superior Orders of the Court of *Rome*, *Henry* began his majority with an Act of Injustice, for which he had not the least colour. As he durst not demand any Money of the Parliament (6), who had so lately granted him a very considerable Aid, he bethought himself of an Expedient, formerly used by *Richard* his Uncle on the like occasion, after his return from the Holy Land: Which was, to oblige all those that had Charters to renew them, upon payment of such a Sum. This Order, the only end whereof was to fill the King's Coffers, fell the heaviest upon the Monasteries. All unjust methods invented by Princes to extort Money from their Subjects, are so many inexhaustible Springs of Oppression; Successors seldom failing to follow these ill Precedents.

Henry causes all Charters to be renewed in order to raise Money. M. Paris. M. West.

In the beginning of the next year, the sudden death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, natural Son of *Henry* II, at a Banquet, to which he was invited by the Chief Justiciary, gave occasion for strong suspicions of that Minister (7). However, no Inquiry was made, none daring to attack directly a Favourite, who had an absolute Sway over the King. As *Henry* advanced in years, he was observed to have qualities little consistent with a great Prince; an extreme Avarice, an astonishing Fickleness, great Caprice and unevenness in his Conduct, an unusual easiness to be governed by those about him; and beyond all this, Principles of Oppression and Tyranny, which afforded a terrible Prospect for the future. Though he was declared of Age the last year, he kept the Bishop of *Winchester* near his Person, for the sake of his advice; but *Hubert de Burgh* would not suffer him to retain him any longer. He represented to him, that though he was declared of full Age, he would always be considered as under the Guardianship of a Regent, as long as that Prelate was at Court; and it was for his Honour and Interest to shew his Subjects he was capable of governing by himself. This Advice being readily embraced by the King, who perceived not the motive, the Bishop of *Winchester* was ordered to return to his Diocese.

1227. *Hubert is suspected of poisoning the Earl of* Salisbury. M. Paris. *Character of* Henry III.

M. Paris.

The Bishop of Winchester *is sent to his Diocese.*

The *English* would have been unconcerned, and perhaps glad at the Bishop's disgrace, if it had not been immediately followed by an Event, which convinced them, it would have been better that the King's Favour had been always divided. As soon as *Hubert* saw himself without a Rival in the Ministry, he endeavoured to set himself above the Laws, by persuading his Master, that his sole aim was to render him absolute. It was not difficult to engage in this Project, a Prince that was sufficiently inclined of himself. Besides the forementioned renewal of the Charters, he had extorted five thousand Marks from the *Londoners*, under pretence of their lending the like Sum to Prince

Hubert advises the King to become absolute. Ibid.

The King begins to oppress the People. Id. p. 336. M. West.

(1) And gave the great Men that had accompanied him in this Expedition, leave to take a Scutage of two Marks from every Knight's Fee held of them. *M. Paris*, p. 322. ——This year the King held his Court, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*, at which were present the Clergy, and People, and the great Men of the Kingdom. Id. p. 323.

(2) The King signed and sent two Charters to every County, one concerning the common Liberties, the other of the Liberties of the Forests. *M. Paris. Ann.* 1225. *Hemingford*. p. 568. *An. Burton*, p. 271, *&c.*

(3) Another Parliament was held at *Westminster*, this Year, in *March*. *M. Paris*, p. 324. (4) *January* 14. *Id.* p. 328.

(5) The Legates had a right to demand their expences to be defrayed, when they visited the Churches and Monasteries, which had been converted into ready Money. *Rapin*.

(6) This Parliament was held at *Oxford* in *February*. *M. Paris*, p. 336.

(7) He was Son of *Henry* II, by *Rosamond*. His Body was buried at *Old Sarum*, and from thence removed to the new City, and interred in a Monument, on the North-side of the Chapel of our Lady, in the Cathedral Church, in a Tomb of Wood richly painted, diapered and gilt. His Effigies lies thereon of grey Marble, in his Coat of Mail, his Sword by his Side, and upon his antique Shield, are six Lions rampant embossed; the like number of Lions are painted also upon his Surcoat, but by reason of the many foldings thereof, are not easily perceived. He married *Ela*, Daughter and Heir to *William Fitz-Patrick* Earl of *Salisbury*, by whom he had four Sons and four Daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest Son *William Longespee*, second of the Name, Earl of *Salisbury*. *Sandford's Genealog.* p. 115.

Lewis,

1227. *Lewis*, when he left *England*. The Town of *Northampton* was compelled to pay him twelve hundred Pounds, on some other no less frivolous pretence. The Monasteries had met with no better quarter. Notwithstanding their appeal to the Holy See, he had exacted from them large Sums, whilst the affair was depending before the Pope. These things were plain indications, how little he was disposed to keep any measures with his Subjects, and began to cause him to forfeit their esteem. But what he did further, by the violent Counsels of the Justiciary, entirely alienated their affection. On a sudden, when it was least expected, he annulled the two Charters of the King his Father, though he had bound himself by Oath inviolably to observe them; pretending he was not obliged to stand to what he had promised during his minority. *Hubert* for his part, regardless of the murmurs of the People, by whom he was deemed the author of these pernicious Counsels, caused himself to be created Earl of *Kent*, in reward of the great services lately done his Master, in freeing him from the yoke of these Charters.

He avoids King John's Charters.

Hubert made Earl of Kent. M. Paris.

Quarrel between the King and Prince Richard. M. Paris. P. 337.

The conduct of the King and his Minister, bred such discontent among the Barons, that it was easy to see their little affection for their Sovereign. Prince *Richard*, who arrived from *Guienne* soon after the revoking of the Charters, improved the present disposition of the Barons, to brave the King his Brother, in a contest he had with him. The occasion was this, King *John* having given one *Waleran*, a *German*, a certain Manor belonging to the Earldom of *Cornwal*, *Richard*, as soon as he was invested with that Earldom, ordered *Waleran* to appear and produce his Title, and in the mean time caused the Manor to be seized. Whether *Waleran* had lost his Charter, or thought it defective, he refused to obey the Summons. On the contrary, as if great injustice had been done him, he carried his complaints to the King, who, without examining the affair, ordered the Prince's Officers to restore the Manor. They found means however to be excused till the return of their Master. Upon his arrival, *Richard* represented to the King, that he had done *Waleran* no wrong in obliging him to shew his original title: That his intent was not to deprive him of his Lands by force, but to have the matter decided by the Laws, and to that end offered to refer it to the judgment of the Peers of the Realm. *Henry*, offended at this proposal, fell into a passion with his Brother, and commanded him to restore the Manor in dispute, by such a time, or depart the Kingdom. *Richard* boldly replied, that he would do neither without the judgment of his Peers, and immediately retired without staying for an answer. The Justiciary, who never ceased to inspire the King with violent maxims, advised him to take the Prince into custody. But whilst *Henry* considered of taking this step, *Richard* withdrew from Court, and posted to the Earl of *Pembroke*, to consult him upon this affair. *Pembroke* approved of what the Prince had done, and perceiving this to be a favourable opportunity to check the arbitrary power, the King had a mind to usurp, believed he ought to improve it. And therefore he assured *Richard*, he was ready to assist him with his Life and Fortune, and did not question but most of the Barons would do the same. Indeed, shortly after, by the diligence of the Earl-Marshal, the Earls of *Gloucester*, *Chester*, *Warren*, *Warwick*, *Ferrars*, and *Hereford*, with many other Barons (1), joined with *Richard*, and took up Arms, to compel the King to restore the Charters he had lately annulled. *Hubert* was alarmed at this Confederacy. As he foresaw it might be attended with fatal consequences, he chose to procure a reconciliation between the two Brothers. To satisfy Prince *Richard*, the chief of the Confederates, he got the King to settle upon him the Queen their Mother's Dower, to which he pretended a right; and likewise to augment his Appennage with the Lands held by the late Earl of *Boulogne*. *Richard*, content with this liberality, said no more of restoring the Charters, and the Confederacy was dissolved. Thus the Great, under the pretence of the publick good, promote their interest, or gratify their passions. But when means are found to satisfy them, as to what concerns them in particular, they discover, that the publick good was the least of their views (2).

Richard's bold Answer to the King.

He makes a League with divers Barons, who take up Arms. M. Paris.

Richard is satisfied, and the League broken.

1227.

Pope *Honorius* III, died this year, and was succeeded by *Gregory* IX. Gregory IX. *Pope.*

1228. *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, outlived *Honorius* but a few months (3). His eyes were no sooner closed, but the Monks of St. *Augustin*, willing to secure the Privileges of electing their Archbishop, immediately chose *Walter de Hemesham*, one of their fellow Monks. The King was offended at this Election being made without his License (4), and refused to confirm their choice, because, as he alledged, the Father of this Monk was hanged for theft. On the other hand, the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, angry that he was chosen without their consent, refused to accept him, because he had corrupted a Nun, by whom he had several Children. Upon this he sent Agents to *Rome* (5) to have the matter decided there. Mean time the Church of *Canterbury* remained vacant.

Death of Archbishop Langton. M. Paris.

The Election of another, whom the King refuses to confirm. M. Paris. T. Wikes.

This year the *Welsh* making irruptions into *England*, the King marched into their Country to chastise them. But after harassing his Troops to no purpose, he returned without making any progress (6).

War with the Welsh. M. Paris.

This same year, the Pope thundered out a Bull of Excommunication against the Emperor *Frederic* II, for neglecting to carry his Arms into the *Holy Land*, as he had solemnly vowed. How haughry soever this Monarch might be, he was forced to bend under the papal Power, and perform his vow next year.

Frederick II. *excommunicated.* Id. p. 345.

Whilst these things passed, the Regency of *Blanch*, Mother of St. *Lewis*, occasioned in *France* disturbances, which *Henry* might have turned to his advantage, had he known how to improve them. But this Prince was not of an enterprising genius. If ever he formed any projects, it was always in disadvantagious circumstances, whilst he neglected the most favourable. A fairer opportunity than this had never offered, to recover the Provinces the *English* had lost in *France*, had it been well managed. The *Normans* sided with the confederate Barons against the Queen Regent of *France*, sent *Henry* word, that if he would come in Person, he should be received with open Arms, and put in possession of that rich Province. On the other hand, the *Poictevins* importuned him to come and seize such of their Towns as were in the hands of the *French*, offering him their assistance. At the same time the *Gascons* sent the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* (7) to inform him, it was now in his power, by taking advantage of the commotions in *France*, to expel the *French* out of the places they were possessed of in *Guienne*. Such pressing invitations, at so favourable a juncture, should have induced *Henry* to make a vigorous push, for the recovery of what the King his Father had lost by his negligence. But, by a blindness imputed to the Counsels of the Justiciary, he answered, he would stay for a more convenient opportunity, as if he had been sure of one every day. We shall see hereafter, that he rashly embarked in this undertaking, at a time when there was not the least appearance of success. Thus did this Prince blindly suffer himself to be guided by his Ministers, who abused his easiness and weakness to advance their own affairs, without any regard to the interests of their Master.

Troubles in France, *which* Henry *takes not the advantage of.* Id. p. 353. M. West.

Mean time, the dispute concerning the Election of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was carried on at *Rome* with great warmth, though the Pope was not yet pleased to determine the matter. But at length, the King's Envoys offered the Pope a tenth of all the Moveables in *England* and *Ireland*, and this offer opening his Eyes, he voided the Election made by the Monks. At the same time, under colour of preventing any future dispute, he himself conferred the Archiepiscopal Dignity on *Richard le Grand*, Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln* (8), wherein he outdid even *Innocent* III, who was willing at least to keep up some form, in causing *Langton* to be elected by the Monks that were sent to him. Though this incroachment of *Gregory* was of a more dangerous consequence than that of *Innocent*, yet the King and the Suffragan Bishops received the new Archbishop, pleased

The Pope nominates another Archbishop of Canterbury. M. Paris. P. 355.

(1) They met at *Stanford*. *M. Paris*, p. 337.

(2) The King kept his *Christmas* at *York*, and in his return to *London*, finding the measures of Grain, Wine, and Ale, to be false, he ordered them to be burnt and broken, and others of a larger Size to be made, and the Weight of Bread to be increased. *Idem*. p. 344. *M. West*. p. 286.

(3) He died at his Manor of *Slindon*, *July* 9, and was buried at *Canterbury*. *M. Paris*, p. 350.

(4) *M. Paris* says, it was done with the King's License, but that, *Henry* not liking the Man they had chose, thought fit to set him aside. p. 350.

(5) The King's Agents were, the Bishops of *Rochester* and *Chester*, and *John* Archdeacon of *Bedford*. *M. Paris*, p. 350.

(6) This War was no more than this: There being a Wood near *Montgomery* Castle, which used to be a Receptacle for Robbers, the Garrison undertook, with the Assistance of the Country-People, to make the Road, that led through that Wood, wider, and clear it of the Thicket on each side. Whilst they were at Work, the *Welsh* came upon them, and forced them to retire into the Castle, which they besieged. But the King and *Hubert* (to whom that Castle belonged) came and raised the Siege: And then carried on the Work as far as a *Cistercian* Monastery, called *Cruile*, which they burned. *Hubert* finding the place to be impregnable, ordered a Castle to be built there; but the *Welsh* so distressed King *Henry*'s Army, which by the way inwardly favoured *Lewelin*, that *Henry* was forced to make a disadvantagious Peace; one Article whereof was, That this Castle should be demolished, and *Lewelin* should give *Henry* for his Charges three thousand Marks. *M. Paris*, p. 359.

(7) He came to *Henry* whilst he was keeping his Court at *Christmas* at *Oxford*. *M. West*. p. 287.

(8) He was consecrated *June* 4. *T. Wikes*, p. 41.

with

1228. with having voided the Monk's Election, without troubling themſelves about the prejudice the Church of *England* thereby received. Shortly after, *Gregory*, who would not long be deprived of the effect of the promiſes lately made him, ſent one of his Chaplains into *England* to collect the promiſed Tenths, which were to be expended in his War with the Emperor. The King aſſembling the Parliament (1) upon this occaſion, the Chaplain laid before them the Pope's Letters, ſtrongly urging the performance of what he had been made to expect. All Eyes were fixed upon the King, in expectation that he would oppoſe this exaction, and diſclaim his Envoys. But when he was ſeen to keep ſilence, it was eaſily perceived, the promiſe had been made by his order, or at leaſt that he had not the courage to contradict the Pope's Will. The Lords (2) therefore thought it their duty to ſhew greater reſolution than the King. The affair ſeemed to them of ſuch conſequence, that they unanimouſly reſolved, not to ſuffer their Lay-fees to be thus liable to the exactions of the Court of *Rome*. However, to ſatisfy the Pope in ſome meaſure, they propoſed to give him a certain Sum, without inquiring into the effects of each particular Perſon. In all appearance this method would have been taken, had not *Stephen de Segrave*, one of the Barons, voluntarily ſubmitted to the Pope's demands, and drawn in others by his example. The number of thoſe that ſuffered themſelves to be gained, increaſing by degrees, the greateſt oppoſers were forced to yield, that they might not incur the indignation of the King and the Pope. The Clergy durſt ſtill leſs venture to reſiſt, for fear of being expoſed to the excommunication they were threatned with. The Nuntio, having thus attained his ends, produced a full power from his Maſter to collect the Tax, which was to be paid out of all moveables whatever. He executed his orders ſo rigorouſly, that he cauſed the tenths of all ſorts of fruits, even of ſuch as were yet growing, to be paid him in Money. Neither was this all. That this Tax might be levied with the more ſpeed, he obliged the Biſhops to advance the Money for the inferior Clergy, impowering them to reimburſe themſelves in the manner they ſhould think proper. The Prelates and Abbots therefore were under a neceſſity of finding ready Money. But as ſeveral were not able to raiſe it ſoon enough, the Nuntio had provided againſt this inconvenience, by bringing with him certain *Italian* Uſurers, who lent them Money at an extravagant intereſt. Thus did the Pope abuſe the King's weakneſs, who might eaſily have prevented this exaction, by a vigorous oppoſition. For the Earl of *Cheſter*, his Subject, had the power to hinder this Tax from being levied upon his Lands, by ſtoutly maintaining, in ſpite of the Nuntio's clamours, that the Pope had nothing to do with Lay Fees. But, beſides that *Henry* was terrified by the example of the King his Father, which was ever in his thoughts, he had another reaſon that induced him to this condeſcenſion for the Pope. In his project of rendering himſelf abſolute, and raiſing Money upon his Subjects by all ſorts of ways, he was very ſenſible, he ſhould need the Pope's protection, and nothing could procure it him ſooner, than to let him ſhare in theſe exactions. Accordingly, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this Reign, that the Pope and the King mutually ſtood by one another, whenever the buſineſs was to extort Money from the *Engliſh*.

He demands the promiſed Tenths. M. Paris, p. 361. M. Weſt. An. Waverl.

He meets with oppoſition;

but gains his Point.

The Nuntio raiſes the Tenths with rigour. M. Paris. p. 362 &c.

The King and Pope ſtand by one another.

The Nation had ſcarce forgot the Pope's late oppreſſion, when they ſaw themſelves obliged to furniſh the King with means to make War upon the King of *France*. After the diſturbances in that Kingdom were appeaſed, and conſequently the opportunity of improving them was loſt, *Henry* formed the deſign of recovering by Arms the Provinces taken from the King his Father; without conſidering that the poſture of affairs in *France* was very much altered, the Lords that oppoſed the Queen-Regent being all humbled, and no longer able to aſſiſt him. To put this deſign in execution, he reſolved to make great preparations; and for that purpoſe ſummoned all the Vaſſals of the Crown (3) to meet him, after *Michaelmaſs*, at *Portſmouth*, where he aſſembled one of the fineſt Armies that had ever been raiſed in *England* (4). However, this extraordinary armament proved in vain, by reaſon when the Troops came to be embarked, there were not Ships enough to tranſport them. This diſappointment threw the King into ſuch a paſſion with *Hubert de Burgh*, who had taken upon him to get all things ready, that he called him *Old Traitor*. He charged him with receiving a bribe from the Court of *France* (5), to put a ſtop to this deſign, and in his rage drew his Sword to kill him; which he would, probably, have done, if the Earl of *Cheſter* had not interpoſed, not ſo much to ſave the Juſticiary, as to prevent the King from imbruing his hands in the Blood of one of his Subjects. It does not appear, whether *Hubert* acted out of deſign or negligence; but however that be, the embarkment was forced to be retarded the whole Winter. To this the arrival of *Peter de Dreux* Earl of *Bretagne* did not a little contribute; who perceiving, ſo much time had been loſt in waiting for Tranſport-Ships, and that the *Engliſh* Army, the ſeaſon being too far advanced, would be obliged to take up their Winter quarters in his Dominions, where they were to land, adviſed the King to defer the undertaking till the Spring. During this interval, *Hubert* found means to be received into favour again, and to have the adminiſtration of affairs as before.

1228.

The Expedition is deferred.

This ſame year, the Emperor *Frederic* carried his arms into *Paleſtine*, and compelled the Sultan of *Egypt* to ſurrender *Jeruſalem* (6). He would have puſhed his conqueſts farther, had not the Excommunication, denounced upon him by the Pope the laſt year, weighed more with the Templars and Hoſpitallers of the *Holy Land*, than the valour of that Prince. Their Prejudice againſt him roſe to that height, that they plotted to deliver him into the hands of the Sultan, to whom they had even communicated their deſign. But this Prince, though an Infidel, abhorring their Treachery, was ſo generous as to diſcover it to *Frederic*. This Generoſity turned more to his advantage, than the having the Emperor in his power. By that means he ſowed among the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine* ſuch diſcord, as was extremely prejudicial to their affairs. *Frederic* finding he could expect no aſſiſtance from the Chriſtians of the *Holy Land*, and that the Pope diverted to other uſes the Cruſades deſigned againſt the *Saracens*, made a ten years Truce with the Sultan, and returned into *Europe*.

Affairs of Paleſtine. M. Paris.

Though *Henry* waited with impatience for the Spring, in order to tranſport his Army into *France*, his ſtay in *England* during the Winter was not in vain. He procured a conſiderable preſent from the Clergy, exacted alſo a large ſum from the City of *London*, and to leave no means untried to raiſe Money, compelled the *Jews*, who were then very numerous in the Kingdom, to pay him a third part of their ſubſtance. As ſoon as the Spring was come, he embarked with his Army at *Portſmouth* (7), and landed at St. *Maloes* (8), where he was received by the Earl of *Bretagne*, who put into his hands all his ſtrong Towns and Caſtles. Mean time the *French*, having had all the Winter to prepare, were poſted near *Angers*, with deſign to hinder his march into *Poictou*. *Henry* gave them time to fortify themſelves in their Poſt, whilſt he continued at *Nants*, expecting the reſt of his Troops, which were to come from *Ireland*. Though by the prudent conduct of the Queen-Regent of *France*, the Male-contents were humbled, and had promiſed to remain in quiet, they no ſooner ſaw the King of *England* in *Bretagne*, and all *Lewis*'s Forces employed in thoſe parts, but they began to ſtir again. Upon which the King and the Queen-Regent were obliged to quit *Anjou*, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of the Male-contents, which ſeemed to them of worſe conſequence than the progreſs the *Engliſh* might make. This was the time for *Henry* to act vigorouſly, and improve the preſent juncture, eſpecially as the *Normans* preſſed him to march into their Country, where they were ready to receive him, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. But though he was inclined to turn that way, it was pretended, he was diſſuaded by his Favourite, who told him, the attempt was liable to very great difficulties. Inſtead therefore of marching into *Normandy*, he went directly into *Poictou*, and took the Caſtle of *Mirabel*. After which, as if he intended to ſhew the *French* Male-contents, they were to expect nothing from him, he came to *Guienne*, to receive the fealty of the *Gaſcons*. In ſhort, after loſing much time, he returned into *Bretagne*, where he employed himſelf in ſuch a manner, as demonſtrated his little inclination for War. This Conduct gave occaſion to ſuſpect his Miniſters, of holding intelligence with the enemy, who had ſufficient time to appeaſe the troubles of the Kingdom. Accordingly, the Queen-Regent took this opportunity, which was ſo unſeaſonably given her, to be reconciled with the confederate Barons (9).

1229.

Henry raiſes Money by unjuſt methods. Id. p. 365. M. Weſt.

Makes a deſcent into Bretagne. An. Waverl. T. Wikes. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 355.

M. Paris.

Marches into Guienne; *and from thence returns into* Bretagne, *without doing any thing againſt the* French.

The King forms the deſign of carrying War into France. Id. p. 363.

Ships are wanting to tranſport the Troops.

The King is angry, and would have killed Hubert.

(1) The Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Templars, Hoſpitallers, Earls, Barons, Rectors of Churches, and thoſe that held of him in chief, as *Mat. Paris* expreſſes it, p. 361. This Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*. Ibid.

(2) The Earls, Barons, and Laicks, as *Mat. Paris* words it. p. 362.

(3) The Earls, Barons, and Knights. *Id.* p. 363.

(4) He had Soldiers even out of *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Galway*. ibid.

(5) Five thouſand Marks. *M. Paris*, p. 363.

(6) The Emperor ſent King *Henry* a large account of his Proceedings in a Letter under his own Seal, the Copy of which *Mat. Paris* has inſerted in his Hiſtory under the Year, 1229. p. 356.

(7) *April* 30. *M. Paris*, p. 365.

(8) *May* 3. ibid.

(9) In *Septemb.* Id. p. 367.

They

1229. They readily consented to a Peace, when they found *Henry* made no Advances to support them.

At the approach of the French he retires into England.

As soon as the Queen-Regent had nothing to fear from the Barons, she ordered the Army to march towards *Bretagne*, where *Henry* was lavishing away the remains of his Money in Entertainments and Diversions, as if in leaving *England* he intended only to take a Journey of Pleasure (1). Upon the first news of the Enemy's approach, finding his Treasure spent, and fearing to draw upon himself all the Forces of *France*, he shamefully returned into *England* (2). Nay, he was very hardly prevailed with to leave part of his Army in *Bretagne*, under the Command of the Earls of *Chester* and *Pembroke* (3), to support the Earl, whom he had unseasonably engaged in the War. These Lords, less timorous than their King, with these few Troops, not only hindered the *French* from entering *Bretagne*, but made Incursions into *Anjou* and *Normandy*, from whence they carried away a great Booty. Thus ended this Expedition. Instead of procuring any advantage to *Henry*, it served only to render him contemptible to his Subjects, who would never more hearken to an Expedition against *France*, seeing he had made such ill use of so favourable a Juncture. He cast the whole blame on the Treachery of the Earl of *Marche* and the *Poictevins*, who performed not what they had promised. But he was himself the Cause of their Change, since, in all appearance, they would not have deserted him, if his Proceedings had given them any hopes of a powerful Protection.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 335.

1230. *Rebellion in Ireland.* M. Paris.

During *Henry*'s Absence in *Bretagne*, some Commotions happened in *Ireland* (4). The King of *Connaught*, willing to take advantage of the weakness of the *English*, whose best Troops were sent to the King, invaded their Territories with a great Army, or rather with multitudes of unwarlike People. But he found in *Geoffrey de Maris*, Justiciary of *Ireland* (5), a more formidable Enemy than he expected, who, killing twenty thousand of the *Irish*, took their King himself Prisoner.

1231. *Subsidy granted the King.* Id. p. 367. T. Wikes.

Though the King had consumed, in needless Expences, the Sums granted him for the *French* War, he made that dishonourable Expedition a pretence to demand a new Aid. The Parliament (6) were very unwilling to comply, but however were prevailed with at length by the consideration of his great wants, and granted him a Scutage of three Marks upon every Knight's Fee, held of the Crown (7).

Dispute of the Archbishop of Canterbury. M. Paris. p. 368. M. West.

Shortly after, *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* complained to the King, that upon the death of the Earl of *Gloucester*, *Hubert de Burgh* had seized the Castle of *Tunbridge*, though it was a Fief of the Archbishoprick. *Henry* told him, the Wardship of the young Earl of *Gloucester* belonging to him, it was his Prerogative to dispose of it to his Justiciary, during the Heir's Minority; adding, he thought it very strange that he should call his Right in question. This answer not satisfying the Archbishop, he excommunicated, without distinction, all such as wrongfully detained the Church's Lands, and immediately departed to carry his Complaints to the Pope.

He goes to Rome.

Prince Richard's *Marriage.* M. Paris. M. West. An. Waverl.

About the same time, Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, married the Countess-Dowager of *Gloucester* (8), Sister of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who died soon after his Sister's Marriage (9). He left his Estate by Will to *Richard* his Brother, who was still in *Bretagne*, where he did the State signal Services. A three Months Truce giving him leisure to return into *England*, he demanded his Brother's Inheritance, seized by the King. *Henry* wanting an excuse to enjoy the Profits, answered, That he heard his Brother's Widow was with Child, and therefore could not dispose of the Inheritance till she was delivered. But as he knew the falsehood of this, he sought a more plausible Pretence. He charged *Richard* with holding criminal Correspondence with *France* whilst in *Bretagne*; and without suffering him to vindicate himself, commanded him to depart the Kingdom within fifteen days. It was shocking to an *English* Earl to see himself treated in this manner: But it was still more so to the Son of that Earl of *Pembroke*, who had set the Crown on the King's Head, and established him in the Throne, in spite of his Enemies. *Richard* indeed quitted *England*, but it was to pass into *Ireland*, where he took possession of the Castles and Lands belonging to his Family. Which done, he levied Troops, and made himself amends out of the King's Demesns, for what was unjustly detained from him in *England*. Whether *Henry* dreaded the Consequences of this Revolt, or was made sensible that the Injustice done the Earl was too manifest to be maintained, he recalled him from Banishment, gave him possession of his Estate, and invested him with the Office of Earl-Marshal, enjoyed by his Brother. It was the Temper of this Prince, to behave haughtily to such as he thought unable to resist him, and to yield on a sudden to those that opposed him.

Death of the Earl of Pembroke. *The King defrauds his Brother of the Inheritance.* M. Paris, p. 369.

1231. *He revenges himself on* Ireland.

The King gives him his Estate.

Lewellyn Prince of *Wales* having lately made some Incursions into the Borders of *England*, *Henry* let him proceed for some time. But when he thought the *Welsh* Prince no longer expected to be attacked, he resolved to go in Person and chastise him (10). However, upon the first resistance, his warlike ardor abated, and he returned without effecting any thing.

Henry *makes War with the* Welsh, *but to little purpose.* M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 318, &c.

Though *Henry* was now in the twenty fifth year of his Age, he had been forced to live unmarried, because all his Projects on that account had miscarried. His first design was to espouse *Yolante*, Daughter of the Duke of *Bretagne*, to whom he was engaged by Oath. But whether the Pope refused a Dispensation, or for some other reason, the design was not executed. A Match was likewise proposed between him and the Duke of *Austria*'s Daughter, but with no better Success. Some time after, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Cologne*, to impart to him his intent of entering into a strict Alliance with the Empire, by marrying the Daughter of the King of *Bohemia*. But we don't find this affair was carried any farther. He had also the mortification to be disappointed this very year, in his design of espousing the second Daughter of the King of *Scotland*, Sister of the Justiciary's Wife. The Jealousy of the *English* Barons put a stop to this Marriage. As they could not bear to see the King married to the younger Sister of the Wife of one of his Subjects, they were so urgent with him to divert him from it, that he did not think fit to conclude this affair, which met with so strong opposition. I shall add here, to avoid mentioning it elsewhere, that, four years after, he would have married the Daughter of the Earl of *Ponthieu*; but this Project, like the rest, came to nothing. Though he was contracted to her, and Ambassadors were dispatched for the Pope's Dispensation, he altered his Mind whilst they were on the road, and sent them orders not to speak of the affair.

Several matches proposed come to nothing. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 271, 273, 275, &c.

P. 293.

M. Paris. M. West.

P. 330, &c.

Death of the Archbishop of Canterbury. M. Paris. p. 370. M. West. An. Waverl.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* so effectually pleaded his Cause at *Rome*, that he obtained an order from the Pope, to take possession of the Castle of *Tunbridge*, during the Non-age of the Earl of *Gloucester*. But he could not reap the benefit of this favour; death seizing him as he was returning to *England* (11). When the Monks of St. *Augustin* heard the news, they forthwith elected the Bishop of *Chichester* (12) Chancellor of the Kingdom. The King confirming their choice, invested the Prelate with the Temporalities of the Archbishoprick. But the Archbishop elect could never obtain the Pope's Confirmation, to whom it was represented (13) that he was too much a Courtier. This single reason was sufficient to induce the Pope to void the Election, and order the Monks to chuse a Person more devoted to the Holy See.

An Election confirmed by the King and nulled by the Pope. M. Paris. P. 371.

1232. *The King demands a Subsidy, but is refused.* M. Paris. M. West.

In the beginning of the year 1232, *Henry* called a Parliament (14), of whom he demanded an Aid, to enable him to pay the Debts contracted by his late Expedition into *France*. The Earl of *Chester* replied, in the Name of all the Barons, that they had assisted him not only with their Money, but also their Persons, and therefore owed him no further Aid. The Clergy, who were no better inclined to the King, desiring time to consider of the matter, the Parliament was prorogued till *Easter* (15).

(1) *M. Paris* says, the Earls and Barons spent their whole time in feasting and drinking; and the Soldiers sold their Horses and Arms, that they might have something to make merry withal, p. 367.
(2) And landed at *Portsmouth*, *October* 26. ibid.—And kept his Court at *Christmas* at *York*, where the King of *Scots* came to him. *M. West.* 288.
(3) As also *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 367. *M. West.* p. 289. In his return from this Expedition died *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloucester*, and was buried in *Tewksbury* Abbey in the same County. *An. Waverl.* p. 192.
(4) In *July*. *M. Paris*, p. 366.
(5) With the assistance of *Walter de Lasci*, and *Richard de Burgh*. ibid.
(6) Which met at *Westminster*, *Jan.* 26. *Id.* p. 367.
(7) The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some of the Bishops opposed it. *Id.* p. 368.
(8) *Isabella*, they were married in *April*. ibid.
(9) And was buried in the New-Temple, in *London*, *April* 15. ibid.
(10) He assembled a large Army at *Oxford* in *July*, where *Lewellyn* was excommunicated: From thence he advanced as far as *Hereford*, and caused *Maud* Castle in *Radnorshire* to be rebuilt. He returned into *England* in *October*. *M. Paris*, p. 368, 369, 370.
(11) He died at St. *Gemma*, three days Journey from *Rome*, on *August* 3. *Id.* p. 370 (12) *Hugh de Neville.*
(13) By *Simon de Langton*, who added, that he was unlearned and hasty; and what was worse, if he should be promoted to that dignity, would cause the Kingdom to shake off the papal yoke. *Id.* p. 371. *M. West.* p. 290.
(14) Which met at *Westminster*, *March* 7. *M. Paris*, p. 372. (15) Till a fortnight after. *ibid.*

1232. *Confederacy against the foreign Eccleſiaſticks.* M. Paris, p. 371, &c.

Beſides that the King had made an ill uſe of the Aids granted him by the Parliament, he gave the Clergy, Nobility, and People, another and no leſs grievous cauſe of diſcontent. They ſaw the King openly favoured the Uſurpations of the Court of *Rome*, and by an affected Connivance, ſuffered the Pope to trample daily upon the Rights of the Church and the Kingdom. The Popes, not contented with exacting from time to time, on divers pretences, large Sums from the Clergy, were manifeſtly aiming at getting into their hands the Collations of all the vacant Benefices, and conſequently the Rights of the Patrons were going to be quickly aboliſhed. Moreover, the conferring of almoſt all the Benefices upon *Italians*, or other Foreigners, could not but very much incenſe the *Engliſh*. This diſguſt was carried ſo far, that above fourſcore Perſons of Quality entered into a Confederacy to diſpoſſeſs the *Italian* Eccleſiaſticks, of whatever they held in *England*. The Confederates, having choſen one *Twenge* (1) for their Leader, forcibly entered ſeveral Houſes of theſe Foreigners, and carrying away what things of value they met with, diſtributed them to the poor. This was done with ſo little noiſe, that not a Soul ſtirred, either to oppoſe or puniſh the Authors. But the Pope, who was ſoon informed thereof, wrote ſo ſevere a Letter to the King, that to judge by the Contents, one would have thought the Church had received a mortal Wound. Beſides, without conſidering that the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England* required a previous Proceſs and Examination of matters, he commanded the King to puniſh immediately the diſturbers of the Church's Peace, upon pain of Excommunication and Interdict, if he deferred a moment the Chaſtiſement of the Guilty. Theſe Threats obliging the King to iſſue out Orders to make ſtrict enquiry after the Authors of this Violence, he found there were more Perſons concerned in it than he imagined, and that the Biſhops themſelves were in the Plot, or had countenanced it by their Silence. However, for the Pope's Satisfaction, the chief Leader of the Confederates was apprehended, and ſent to *Rome*, purſuant to his Holineſs's Orders. Some Sheriffs and other Officers were impriſoned, for neglecting to ſuppreſs the Riot. In all likelihood, the Number and Quality of the Parties concerned, prevented any farther proſecution of this affair (2).

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 222.

M. Paris.

Another Election of an Archbiſhop wanted by the Pope. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Monks of St. *Auguſtin* having elected another Archbiſhop (3), according to the Orders they had received, and their choice not being more agreeable to the Pope than the former (4), they were injoined to proceed to a third Election.

Diſgrace of Hubert. Ibid. An. Waverl.

How great a Calm ſoever there ſeemed to be for ſome years in the King's Court, a Storm was ſecretly gathering againſt the Juſticiary, which proved the more fatal to him, as he was not prepared for it. Ever ſince the King was perceived capable of entertaining Suſpicions of his Favourite, the Enemies of *Hubert* had not ceaſed to do him ill Offices. Their Project was ſo well managed, that the King was perſwaded to recall the Biſhop of *Winchester* to Court, and make him one of his Counſellors. This Prelate had no ſooner the King's Ear, but he laboured inceſſantly the ruin of the Favourite; being ſenſible, his own Safety depended on the downfal of his Rival. As he earneſtly ſought all occaſions to compaſs his ends, an opportunity ſoon offered, which he failed not to improve. The Prince of *Wales* having made without oppoſition ſeveral Incurſions into *England*, the Biſhop of *Winchester* repreſented to the King, how great a Reproach it was, that ſo deſpicable a People as the *Welſh* ſhould thus plunder his Subjects, and no endeavours be uſed to prevent it. The King replied, "He was ſo far from having "Money to undertake a War, that his Treaſurers had "even told him, his Revenues would ſcarce ſuffice for the "neceſſary Expences of his Family." Theſe words furniſhed the Biſhop with what he wanted, namely, a Pretence to blame the Conduct of the Prime Miniſter. He told the King, "The want he complained of, proceeded "from the Ill-management of the Treaſury: That the "Perſons through whoſe hands the Money paſſed, were "not called to an account: That the Wardſhip of Minors "was continually given to private Perſons, without any "Benefit to his Exchequer: That he received no Profit "from the Revenues of the vacant Benefices, or from "the Lands which by Death or Confiſcation fell to the "Crown." He added, "that by theſe means the Kings "his Predeceſſors were wont to fill their Coffers, and "conſequently ſtood not ſo much in need of Parliamen-"tary Aids, but lived in a greater Independence." *Henry* improving this Advice, called all his Sheriffs, and ſuch as had the management of the Treaſury, to account, and made *Peter de Rivaulx*, the Biſhop of *Winchester*'s Nephew (5), Treaſurer of his Chamber. This was only a Trial of the Biſhop's Credit, to pave the way to the execution of his main deſign. Theſe Changes were followed by ſome others, tending to remove from Court the Creatures of the Juſticiary, whoſe Intereſt viſibly decreaſed, as his Rival's gained ground. In ſhort, the Biſhop knew ſo well how to manage the King, that he cauſed *Segrave* his principal Confident to be promoted (6) to the Office of Juſticiary in the room of *Hubert*, who was turned out, though he had a Patent for that Dignity during Life.

1232.

Hubert *turned out, and* Seagrave *put in his room.* M. Paris.

It ſeldom happens that a Favourite falls eaſy. The hatred of the Prince is proportionable to his paſt Affection; the former of theſe two Paſſions hardly ever failing to be as violent as the latter. Princes generally act on theſe occaſions from a principle of Pride, very often to themſelves unperceivable. As their Affection cools, they endeavour to juſtify their Inconſtancy, and frequently upbraid the Favourite for the very thing which before was the Cauſe of their Love. Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in the ruin of *Hubert de Burgh*. Never had Favourite a greater aſcendant over his Maſter. His Counſel, which flattered all the King's Paſſions, were regarded, whilſt in favour, as ſo many Oracles. But when the King had entertained a Prejudice againſt him, he conſidered his former Advices as ſo many Treacheries. Indeed, it would be difficult to vindicate all the Actions of this Favourite. But, very probably, among the things laid to his Charge, there were many falſe Imputations. Be this as it will, a few days after his removal, the King ſent for him, and required him to give an account of all the Money that had paſſed through his hands (7); which being very hard to do, *Hubert* endeavoured to be excuſed. He produced King *John*'s Charter, declaring he was ſo well ſatisfied of his faithfulneſs, that he diſcharged him from all accounts. The Biſhop of *Winchester* replied, the Charter might be valid as to what paſſed in the late Reign, but was of no force to exempt him from giving an account of his Adminiſtration during the preſent. He added, this was not the only thing he was charged with: That he was accuſed moreover of ſeveral Crimes, and particularly of having given the King pernicious Counſels, to the great prejudice of his and the King's Affairs. *Hubert* perceiving by theſe Accuſations that his ruin was reſolved, deſired time to give in his Anſwer; which could not be refuſed him. For the Biſhop of *Winchester*, who ſtood in need of the Barons to condemn him, durſt not diſoblige them, by denying *Hubert* a Privilege common to him with all the Peers of the Realm. It may be, they would have made it their own Cauſe, if the Court had perſiſted in denying his requeſt.

The King orders Hubert *to give in his Accounts.* Hubert *endeavours to evade it.* Ibid. M. Weſt.

Whether *Hubert* was conſcious of his guilt, or deſpaired of vindicating his Innocence before Judges, ſeveral of whom were his profeſſed Enemies, inſtead of appearing on the day appointed, he took Sanctuary in the Priory of *Merton*, from whence he hoped none would dare to force him. Some time after, the Parliament being met at *Lambeth* (8), an Aid of the fortieth part of the Moveables of the whole Nation was granted to the King (9). Which done, the Lords petitioning that *Hubert de Burgh*'s Trial might proceed, he was ſummoned to appear, but refuſed to obey. Upon which the King, who was of a violent Temper, commanded the Mayor of *London* to force him from his Sanctuary, and bring him either dead or alive. The Citizens very joyfully embraced this opportunity of being revenged upon *Hubert*, for whom they had entertained a mortal hatred, ever ſince his Severity in the affair of *Conſtantine*. They immediately flocked together, to the number of twenty thouſand, with a reſolution to execute the King's Orders without Mercy. Mean time, ſome of the chief Citizens dreading the Conſequences of

Violence of the King againſt Hubert. Ibid. An. Waverl. T. Wikes.

M. Paris. p. 376.

(1) His Name, according to *M. Paris*, was *Robert de Thinge*, a Knight in the North of *England*. He declared, the reaſon of his ſtirring was, becauſe the Pope attempted illegally to deprive him of the Patronage of a Church, which was the only one he had, p. 375.

(2) *M. Paris* ſays, *Hubert de Burgh* had granted them the King's Letters Patents, as well as his own, p. 375.

(3) *John*, Sub-prior of St. *Auguſtin*'s Monaſtery in *Canterbury*. *M. Paris.*

(4) Becauſe he was too old, and ſimple. *Id.* p. 376. *M. Weſt.*

(5) Or Son, as *M. Paris* owns, p. 376.

(6) *July* 29. Ibid.

(7) Of which we have theſe particulars in *M. Paris*: 1. The Monies paid into the Exchequer. 2. His Demeſns in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, and *Poitou*. 3. Liberties in Foreſts, Warrens, Earldoms, Wardſhips, *&c.* 4. The Fifteenths, Sixteenths, and other Aids, paid into the Exchequer. 5. Preſents for deſiſting from his right in Lands, or Moveables. 6. Things loſt by his Negligence. 7. Waſtes, occaſioned by War, or otherwiſe. 8. The Revenues of Vacant Biſhopricks, *&c.* 9. Scutage, Carriages, Gifts, Aids, Iſſues of Wardſhips, *&c.* 10. Fines for Marriages of Heirs, *&c.* p. 376. See above, p. 211, 243, 257, *&c.*

(8) *September* 14. *M. Paris*, p. 377.

(9) For the payment of the Debt he owed the Duke of *Bretagne*. *M. Paris.*

1232. so rash an Order, went and advised with the Bishop of *Winchester*, who told them, let what would follow, the King must be obeyed. But the Remonstrances of the Earl of *Chester* to the King himself, had a better effect. He represented to him, that such a tumultuous Assembly might be very dangerous, and raise in the City a Sedition, which might not be easily appeased. Moreover he intimated, that so violent an action would be blamed by all the World, and especially by Foreigners, who, not being prejudiced, like the *English*, against the Party accused, would think it very strange, he should be thus treated, since other means were not wanting to punish him if he were guilty. In fine, he put him in mind of the Pope's resentment, who would never suffer the sacredness of the Sanctuary to be violated with Impunity (1). *Henry* being prevailed with by these reasons, sent a countermand to the Mayor of *London*, who found it very difficult to disperse the Mob.

Hubert is dragged by force out of a Church. M. Paris. P. 378. M. West.

Of all *Hubert's* Friends during his prosperity, there was but one left that ventured to speak in his behalf. This was the Archbishop of *Dublin*, who, by his sollicitations, obtained of the King, that he would grant *Hubert* a longer time (2) to prepare his Answer. In the interim, *Hubert* coming out of his Sanctuary, to visit his Wife at St. *Edmundsbury*, the King, who had notice of it, caused him to be pursued by some Soldiers, who found him in a small Chapel (3), where he had taken refuge, with the Cross in one hand, and the Host in the other; both which being violently wrung from him, they chained his feet (4) under his Horse's belly, and in that ignominious manner conducted him to the Tower of *London*. All Churches, as well as what belonged to them, being in those days so many Sanctuaries, not to be violated without punishment, the King's attempt alarmed the whole Body of the Clergy. M. Paris. P. 379. The Bishop of *London* was no sooner informed of the matter, but he went to the King, and declared, he would excommunicate all those that, directly or indirectly, were concerned in the breach of the Church's privileges. The King being terrified at these threats, ordered *Hubert* to be sent back to the *Chapel* (5) from whence he was forced, but commanded withal the Sheriffs of *Hertfordshire* and *Essex*, upon pain of being hanged, to guard the Church so strictly, that the Prisoner might neither escape, nor receive victuals from any Person. The Archbishop of *Dublin* perceiving his Friend could not remain in this situation, interceded for him once more, and intreated the King, with tears in his eyes, to tell him what he designed to do with the Prisoner. *Henry* replied, he intended to have him condemned for a Traytor, unless he would own himself guilty, and abjure the Kingdom for ever.

He is sent back.

The Archbishop of Dublin in vain intercedes for him. M. Paris.

He is confined in the Tower. Ibid.

Hubert thinking this condition too hard, voluntarily yielded himself to the Sheriffs, who carried him to the *Tower* fettered and chained, amidst the shouts of the People, who took a pleasure in insulting over his disgrace.

The King relents. Ibid. M. West. Brady's Appendix. No. 152.

But whilst he was anxiously expecting the rigorous Sentence he was threatned with, his affairs began to have a new face, by the fickle temper of the King, who could not long continue in the same mind. Two things farther contributed to his change. First, the death of the Earl of *Chester* (6), professed enemy of *Hubert*, though he disapproved of the illegal ways the King would have taken to destroy him. Secondly, a large Sum of Money lodged by the Prisoner in the Hands of the Knights Templars, and readily delivered by him to the King upon demand. Thus *Hubert* saw the King's anger cool by degrees, when he expected to feel the most terrible effects of his displeasure. This sudden change alarmed the Bishop of *Winchester*, who, dreading the revival of the King's affection for his old Minister, made a fresh attempt to compleat the destruction of his formidable Rival. He took occasion from the Money lodged with the Templars, to accuse him of Fraud and Rapine; alledging, it was impossible to heap up such immense riches by lawful means. This Charge was supported by all *Hubert's* adversaries, who, seeing the King began to relent, came in a body and petitioned his death. But the King resolutely

The Bishop of Winchester tries to stir him up afresh. M. Paris. P. 381.

answered, he would never consent to the death of a Person, from whom himself and the King his Father had received such signal Services (7). He ceased therefore his Prosecution, and leaving him in possession of his Estate of Inheritance, and of such Lands as he purchased with his own Money, was contented with depriving him of the rest. As soon as it was known how the King stood affected, some of the Lords (8), who till then had not dared to speak for *Hubert*, sollicited the King in his behalf, and so far prevailed, that he was sent to the Castle of the *Devises*, till it should please the King to dispose of him otherwise. Thus ended this affair which had made so much noise, to the great grief of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who expected *Hubert* would not have come off without the loss of his Head.

1232.

Hubert is sent to the Devises.

John Blund (9), Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*, being elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, immediately set out for *Rome*, with the King's License, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation.

A fourth Election of an Archbishop. M. Paris.

1233.

It seemed, that *Hubert's* disgrace should have obliged the new Minister to keep within the bounds of moderation, and behave gentlier to the *English*. But, contrary to every one's expectation, it had quite another effect. Instead of taking a different course from that of his Predecessor, the Bishop of *Winchester* thought only of governing with an absolute power, and withal to screen himself from the Plots of those that should oppose his designs. He intimated to the King, "That among the Barons, there were "few really devoted to his Service, and that their sole "aim was to make themselves independent:" Adding, "It was absolutely necessary to think of means to repress "their Insolence: But it would be almost impossible to "succeed, whilst they were, in a manner, masters of the "Kingdom, by having in their hands all the places of "Trust and Profit; in a word, whilst they possessed "what might most increase their audaciousness: That "their power therefore was to be undermined by degrees, "by turning them out of their Posts, Offices, and Go-"vernments, which might be conferred upon Foreigners "who should be invited into *England*, to the end the "King might rely on their assistance in case of neces-"sity: That the strong Places and Posts which gave most "credit and authority with the People, being in the "hands of such, as were by Gratitude and Interest devoted "to the King, it would be in vain for the *English* Barons "to attempt the re-establishment of their pretended rights."

The Bishop of Winchester forms the project of governing absolutely. Ibid.

This advice, so conformable to the King's Inclinations, could not but be very agreeable, and therefore was immediately put in practice. Quickly after were seen to arrive above two thousand Knights, *Gascons* and *Poictevins*, whom the Bishop of *Winchester* their Countryman, and *Peter de Rivaulx* his Son, who passed for his Nephew, had sent for. These Strangers not only were promoted to the most considerable Posts and Governments (10), but moreover had the Wardships of the young Nobility committed to them by the King. By that means they procured one another very advantagious Matches, to the great detriment of all the noble Families. This Proceeding very much exasperated the Barons, who plainly saw the consequences. Besides, they could not bear to see themselves removed from Places and Posts, to which they had a right to pretend, whilst the King lavished his favours on Foreigners. But the Bishop of *Winchester* prevented their murmurs from reaching the ears of the King: Or, if he could not avoid it, had the address to hinder their making any impression on his Mind.

He brings into England great Numbers of Poictevins. Ibid. M. West.

Richard Earl of *Pembroke* first ventured openly to complain of these Proceedings (11). He boldly represented to the King, that in placing his whole confidence in Strangers, he so alienated the affection of his Subjects, that in the end, their discontent must be attended with fatal consequences. He plainly told him, in case he continued thus to prefer the Foreigners before the *English*, the Barons would be forced to seek means to clear the Kingdom of these blood-suckers. The Prime Minister, who was present, did not give the King time to reply. He told the Earl, his Insolence deserved correction, in thus pretending to abridge the King of the Liberty of employ-

The Earl of Pembroke *makes a remonstrance to the King.* M. Paris, P. 384.

The Bishop's Answer exasperates the Barons. M. Paris.

(1) Two eminent Citizens of *London*, *Andrew Buckerel*, and *John Travers*, went also to the Bishop of *Winchester* at his House in *Southwark*, and remonstrated to him the ill consequences of such proceedings. *M. Paris*, p. 378.

(2) Till the middle of *January*. Ibid.

(3) At *Brentwood* in *Essex*.

(4) Or rather tied them with Thongs. See *M. Paris*, p. 379.

(5) *September* 27. Ibid.

(6) He died *October* 8, at *Wallingford* Castle, without Issue, and was succeeded in the Earldom of *Chester*, by his Nephew *John*, Son to Earl *David*, Brother of the King of *Scotland*; in the Earldom of *Lincoln* by *John de Lacy*, another Nephew of his; and to *William de Albiney*, Earl of *Arundel*, there fell, by his Death, an Estate of five hundred Pounds a year. *Id.* p. 380.

(7) Adding, he had rather be reckoned a weak and easy-natured Prince, than a cruel and bloody Tyrant. *Id.* p. 381.

(8) *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, the King's Brother, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Richard* Earl-Marshal, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his good Behaviour. *Ibid.*

(9) *Rapin* by mistake calls him *Richard*.—About this time was collected the fortieth part of all Goods lately granted by Parliament. The form of the Commission to the Sheriffs, and the manner how it was to be levied and collected, is to be seen in *M. Paris*, p. 380. under the Year 1232. to which the curious Reader is referred. The *Annals of Waverley* say, that every Body paid, who had Goods above the value of eleven Pence, p. 194.

(10) *Walter* Bishop of *Carlisle* was turned out of the Treasurer's place; and *William de Rodune* from the Office of Deputy Earl-Marshal, to make room for some of them. *M. Paris*, p. 384.

(11) Taking some great Men along with him. *Ibid.*

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1233. ing whom he pleaſed for the defence of his Crown: Adding, if the Foreigners, now in the Kingdom, were not ſufficient to reduce his rebellious Subjects to their duty, a greater number ſhould be ſent for. This haughty and imprudent anſwer cauſed a general diſcontent among the Barons. From thenceforward they began to withdraw from Court, and form a Confederacy, to put a ſtop to the deſpotick power the King was aſſuming, by the violent counſels of his Miniſter.

They refuſe to meet in Parliament; M. Paris, p. 386.

Some time after, the King ſummoning a Parliament (1), the Barons, purſuant to a reſolution taken among themſelves, refuſed to meet. They were ſummoned a ſecond time (2), but to no purpoſe. At laſt, being informed that a freſh Troop of Foreigners were landed in *England*, to ſtrengthen the Court-Party, they met in a body, to con-

and threaten to elect another King.

ſult together what was to be done. The reſult of their Conſultation was to ſend Deputies to the King, to let him know, that if he removed not from his Perſon and Counſels, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the *Poictevins*, they were reſolved to place on the Throne a Prince, who ſhould better obſerve the Laws of the Realm. So formal a Declaration furniſhing the Prime Miniſter with a plauſible pretence to exaſperate the King againſt the Barons, he omitted nothing to induce him to uſe the moſt violent meaſures to reduce them to obedience. *Henry* blindly giving himſelf up to the guidance of the Biſhop, began to practiſe this advice, with compelling ſome of the Lords to deliver their Children as pledges of their allegiance (3). After that, he prepared, very unadviſedly, to proſecute by arms ſuch as refuſed to ſubmit. When he thought himſelf in a condition to make himſelf feared, he called a Parliament (4), with deſign to cauſe the moſt obſtinate to be condemned. The Barons obeyed the Summons indeed, but came ſo well attended, that they were in no danger of violence. The Earl of *Pembroke* was on the road, in order to be preſent with the reſt, imagining it was not in the King's power to have any thing paſſed to his prejudice. But upon notice (5) that the Court deſigned to take a ſpeedier and ſurer courſe, he turned back and retired into *Wales*. The precautions of the Barons breaking the King's meaſures, he prorogued the Parliament, leſt what he had projected ſhould fall on himſelf. His deſign of cauſing the Parliament to proceed againſt the Barons not ſucceeding, he reſolved to act with open force. To that end, he ſummoned all the Vaſſals of the Crown to meet him with their Troops at *Gloceſter* (6), but the Earl of *Pembroke*, and ſome others (7), did not think fit to obey. Their refuſal furniſhing him with a plauſible reaſon to attack them, he ordered their Eſtates to be plundered, their Parks to be deſtroyed, their Houſes to be pillaged, and their Spoils to be diſtributed among his *Poictevins*. If the Barons had held together, the King would never have ventured to proceed to ſuch violence. But diſſention ariſing among them, ſome broke the Confederacy (8), and left the reſt expoſed to the King's reſentment. The Earl of *Pembroke* perceiving himſelf too weak to reſiſt, after being deſerted by the greateſt part of his Aſſociates, applied to *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, who granted him his protection and aſſiſtance.

Henry *undertakes to reduce them by force.* M. Paris.

The Earl of Pembroke *retires into* Wales. Ibid.

The King treats the Barons roughly. M. Paris.

The Earl of Pembroke *leagues with the Prince of* Wales.

The King beſieges one of his Caſtles in vain.

He propoſes an accommodation; Id. p. 381.

Mean time, *Henry* having received a freſh ſupply of *Poictevin* Troops, marched as far as *Hereford*, with deſign to ſeize the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Caſtles in that County. But his ardour quickly abated, by the reſiſtance he met with from the firſt Caſtle he beſieged. As he was loſing his time before the Caſtle, he bethought himſelf of a device which ſucceeded. He feigned to be willing to refer the deciſion of his quarrel with the Barons to the Parliament, which was to meet in *October*. Nay, he gave his royal Word, that he would conſider of their complaints; and as his paſt conduct had rendered his word doubtful, ſome of the Biſhops became Sureties for the performance of his Promiſes. Then he required the Caſtle, he was beſieging, to be ſurrendered to him, promiſing to reſtore it to the Earl of *Pembroke* within fifteen days. Theſe Conditions being approved of, the Caſtle was delivered to the King; but when the fifteen days were expired, he laughed at the Earl's credulity, and

and breaks it.

refuſed to ſtand to his engagement. Such were the Inſtructions taught him by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: I mean, not to value the breach of his Faith, and to behave ſo, as to oblige his Subjects to require pledges for the performance of his word. 1233.

The Parliament make Remonſtrances to him. M. Paris.

The Parliament meeting on the 9th of *October*, as was agreed, the King was earneſtly intreated by all the Lords, to replace his confidence in his Subjects. It was remonſtrated to him, that the adminiſtration of the publick affairs belonged more naturally to the Peers of the Realm than to Foreigners, and that he could not preſer Strangers without wronging his Barons. Above all things, he was deſired not to introduce the pernicious cuſtom of treating as Rebels and Traytors, thoſe that were not legally condemned. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who, on ſuch occaſions, never failed to anſwer for his Maſter, replied ſo, as plainly ſhewed what maxims he inſtilled into the young King. He told them, The Peers of *England* were very arrogant to put themſelves upon a level with the Peers of *France*, when there was a wide difference between the one and the other: Adding, it was a notorious incroachment upon the royal Prerogative, to pretend to deprive the King of the right of making uſe of what Judges he pleaſed, to puniſh the diſobedient. Upon theſe words, which contained maxims ſo deſtructive of Liberty, the Biſhops unanimouſly threatned the Prelate with Excommunication. But he deſpiſed their menaces, alledging, he was not ſubject to their Juriſdiction, as having been conſecrated by the Pope. However, leſt this reaſon ſhould be deemed too light, he appealed beforehand to his Holineſs, from the ſentence of the Biſhops. Appeals to the Court of *Rome* were then ſo ſacred, that the Biſhops not daring to excommunicate him by name, were contented to dart their thunders in general, upon all thoſe who alienated the King's affection from his natural Subjects.

The imprudent Anſwer of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Id. p. 389.

The Biſhops threaten to excommunicate him. ibid.

He appeals to the Pope.

The Earl of Pembroke *retakes his Caſtle.* M. Paris.

The Biſhops refuſe to excommunicate him.

Mean time, the Earl of *Pembroke* finding all his inſtances for the reſtitution of his Caſtle were fruitleſs, beſieged and took it in a few days. Upon News thereof, the King fell into a great fury with the Earl, and commanded the Biſhops to excommunicate him. But he had the mortification to be denied. They told him, they did not ſee lawful cauſe to excommunicate the Earl, who had only recovered his own Right, and what the King promiſed to reſtore. *Henry*, not being able to prevail with the Biſhops, reſolved to take arms again, and revenge this affront. For that purpoſe, he ſummoned all the Lords to meet him at *Gloceſter*, with Horſe and Arms, the day after *All-Saints*. When his Army was ready, he marched into *Wales*, but was no ſooner there, than he found himſelf in extreme want of Proviſions and Forrage, the Earl of *Pembroke* having laid waſte all the places through which the royal Army was to paſs. This diſappointment obliging him to alter his courſe, he entered *Monmouthſhire*, where he ſtaid ſome time to give orders for the ſubſiſtence of his Army. Mean while, the Earl of *Pembroke* underſtanding, that the King and moſt of the general Officers were lodged in the Caſtle of *Groſmont*, whilſt the Army was quartered without in Tents, attacked the Camp by night, and put the whole Army, who thought nothing of the matter, to rout. This accident ſo confounded the King, who loſt in the action five or ſix hundred Horſes (9), with almoſt all his Baggage, that, though his Army was ſuperior to the Earl's, he retired to *Gloceſter* (10). *Pembroke*, upon the King's retreat, reſolved to beſiege the Caſtle of *Monmouth*, commanded by *Baldwin de Guiſnes*, a *Flemiſh* Officer of great Reputation. *Baldwin* not queſtioning, but the Earl would approach with a ſmall number of Soldiers to take a view of the Caſtle, laid an ambuſh for him, which ſurrounding him on a ſudden, took him Priſoner (11). This accident would doubtleſs have proved the ruin of the Earl and his whole Party, if, by an unexpected good fortune, as he was carried to the Caſtle, *Baldwin* had not been deſperately wounded by an arrow. His wound obliging his Men to halt, in

His Army ſurpriſed, and routed. M. Paris. p. 389.

The Earl taken Priſoner, and reſcued again. Id. p. 390.

(1) To meet at *Oxford*, *June* 24. *M. Paris*, p. 386.
(2) *July* 11, at *Weſtminſter*. ibid.
(3) He vented his anger firſt upon *Gilbert Baſſet*, by ſtripping him of the Manor of *Netheraven* in *Wiltſhire*, conferred upon him by King *John*; and when *Gilbert* came to demand it again, he called him Traytor, and told him, if he would not forthwith depart out of his Court he would have him hanged. He alſo ordered *Richard Sward* to be apprehended for marrying *Gilbert*'s Siſter, or Niece, without his leave. *Id.* p. 386. *M. Weſt.* p. 293.
(4) On *Auguſt* 1, at *London*. *M. Paris*. ibid.
(5) He received the Information from his Siſter *Iſabella*, Wife of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*. ibid.
(6) The *Sunday* before *Auguſt* 15. Id. p. 387.
(7) *Gilbert Baſſet* and his Brothers, *Richard Sward*, *Walter de Clifford*, &c. ibid.
(8) *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*, forſook the Earl of *Pembroke*; and the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Lincoln* were bought off from him with a Sum of Money, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *viz.* one thouſand Marks. *M. Paris*, p. 587.
(9) This happened on *November* 12. The Earl would not ſuffer any of the King's Soldiers to be taken or hurt, by which means only two, (and they by their own fault) fell by the Sword. *Id.* p. 389.
(10) But left *John* of *Monmouth*, and *Ralph de Thoney*, to ſtop the Enemy's progreſs. *Ibid.*
(11) *November* 25. *Ibid.*

order

1233. order to assist him, the Earl's Army had not only time to rescue their General, but likewise to kill or take Prisoners all that came out of the Town.

Hubert escapes, and flies to a Church. M. Paris. p. 388. M. West. An. Waverl. T. Wikes.

Whilst these things passed in *Wales*, *Hubert de Burgh* was contriving means to free himself from a new Danger which hung over his head. He had received notice that the Bishop of *Winchester* intended to make away with him, and to compass his ends the more easily, earnestly desired of the King the custody of the Castle of the *Devises*. *Hubert*'s Danger obliging him to endeavour to avoid it, he was so fortunate as to gain some of his Guards, who gave him an opportunity to escape (1), and take refuge in a neighbouring Church. When his escape was known, the Governor ordered him to be pursued by some of the Garrison, who finding him before the Altar, dragged him thence with great violence, and brought him back to the Castle. If he had been taken any where but in a Church, few would have concerned themselves about it. But the Breach of the Privilege of Sanctuary appeared to the Clergy of so dangerous a consequence, that the Bishop of *Salisbury* made it his own Cause; for this Outrage was committed in a Church within his Diocese. He forthwith repaired to the *Devises*, and tried to perswade the Governor, to send back the Prisoner to the Place from whence he was taken. His Sollicitations proving ineffectual, he excommunicated the whole Garrison, and immediately carried his Complaints to the King. He was assisted by the Bishop of *London*, and some other Prelates, who were so urgent with the King, that he ordered the Prisoner to be sent to his Sanctuary. But this Favour was of little benefit to *Hubert*, since withal the King commanded the Sheriff of the County, to prevent any one from bringing him Victuals. However, on the morrow he was rescued by a Troop of armed Men, who afforded him means to make his escape into *Wales*, where he joined the Earl of *Pembroke*.

He is dragged thence;

and sent back again.

He is rescued. M. West.

The Pope annuls the fourth Election of an Archbishop. M. Paris. p. 385. M. West.

The Election of *John Blund* to the See of *Canterbury*, not meeting with approbation at *Rome* (2), the Pope declared it void. But for fear the Monks should mistake again, he empowered them to chuse *Edmund*, Canon of *Salisbury*. Thus by degrees the Popes became masters of the Elections of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, by annulling them, till those they intended to favour were chosen.

1234. *Progress of the Earl of* Pembroke. M. Paris. p. 394. An. Waverl. T. Wikes.

After the King's Retreat, the Earl of *Pembroke* continued his Progress, and daily gained some Advantage. In the beginning of the Year 1234, he defeated a small Army commanded by *John de Monmouth*, who thought to surprize him, but was himself surprized. After this Victory, he ravaged the Lands of the King's Counsellors (3), lying in the Marches of *Wales*, and burnt the Town of *Shrewsbury*, whilst the King, who was still at *Gloucester*, durst not take the Field. Instead of opposing the Earl's Progress, he thought himself unsafe at *Gloucester*, and therefore shut himself up in *Winchester*, leaving the Counties near the *Severn* to the Mercy of the Enemy. Several Bishops and others advised him to make Peace with the Earl. But this weak Prince, suffering himself to be entirely governed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, refused to hearken to any Accommodation, unless the Earl of *Pembroke* would come and throw himself at his Feet (4), and delare himself a Traytor. It was difficult to bring the Earl to submit voluntarily to these hard Terms: And it was no less so, to compel him, since the King had not the least Hopes of obtaining any Aids from the Parliament, to continue a War so disagreeable to all. But the Bishop of *Winchester* had a Refuge, of which he did not think fit to inform the King. As the Council consisted only of his Creatures, it was easy to engage them in a means used by him to execute his Designs. He caused to be directed to the King's Officers in *Ireland* an Order, signed by twelve Privy Counsellors, to plunder the Estates of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to take him dead or alive, if he should come into that Country (5). To this Order was added a Promise, in the King's name, of the Earl's confiscated Lands in *Ireland*, if they would faithfully execute what was enjoined them. The Governors of *Ireland*, allured by so fine a Bait, promised to use their utmost endeavours to content the King. But they wished to be secured by a Charter in form, of what was promised them. The Bishop being too far engaged to recede, caused a Charter to be drawn, and found means to get it signed by the King, among other Papers of little moment. Then, he caused the Great Seal to be affixed by the Chancellor, who, probably, was in the Plot (6). As soon as the *Irish* Governors received this Charter, they began to execute the Order. For that purpose they levied an Army on some pretence, and entring the Lands of the Earl of *Pembroke*, committed great outrages, in order to draw him into *Ireland*. This Artifice had all the Success the Bishop of *Winchester* expected. *Pembroke*, exasperated at the Injuries done him in *Ireland*, immediately repaired thither (7) with design to take Vengeance of those who thus wantonly attacked him. But instead of being revenged, he was basely betrayed by pretended Friends, who engaged him in a Battle where he lost his Life (8), by a Stab in the Back with a Dagger (9).

1234.

M. West.

The Earl is killed. M. Paris. p. 400.

The Bishop of Winchester's Plot against the Earl of Pembroke. M. Paris.

Whilst the Bishop of *Winchester* was thus using the King's Authority, without his knowledge, to free himself from his Enemies, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury* was secretly labouring to undermine him. This Prelate, out of zeal for the Good of the Publick, and for the King himself, never ceased representing, that it was his Interest to remove from his Person a Minister so odious to all his Subjects. He intimated to him, that the Foreigners who alienated his People's Affection, would infallibly prove one day the cause of his Ruin. His Instances were so urgent, that at length *Henry*'s eyes were opened, and he seemed wholly disposed to reform his Conduct. The first effect of this Change was the disgrace of the Prime Minister, who had express Orders to return to his Diocese. After that, *Peter de Rivaulx*, the Treasurer; *Segrave*, the Justiciary; *Robert de Passelew*, and all the rest of the favourite Strangers, promoted by the Bishop of *Winchester* to the principal Posts in the State, were shamefully turned out. At the same time, they were ordered to prepare to give an account of their Management, and of all the Money that had passed through their hands. The Affairs of the Court being thus settled, the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Bishops of *Chichester*, and *Rochester*, into *Wales*, to negotiate a Peace with *Lewellyn*, which they concluded to the advantage of the State.

Disgrace of the Bishop of Winchester. M. Paris. p. 396.

The other Foreigners are discarded M. Paris. p. 397.

Peace with the Welsh. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 327, 328.

The King's happy Change restored tranquillity to *England*, from whence it had been some time banished. In all likelihood the Kingdom would have recovered its former splendor, if the Prince who governed it had continued all along in the same Dispositions. Mean time, the new Ministers improved this good Interval, to make the King sensible of the Injury he had done himself, in placing his whole confidence in Strangers, who had no Affection for himself or his Kingdom. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was informed of the particulars of the Plot against the Earl of *Pembroke*, shewed him a Copy of the Order and Charter sent by the Bishop of *Winchester* into *Ireland*. *Henry*, amazed at so great a Presumption, protested he had no hand in the matter. Nay, he seemed to grieve for the Death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to be extremely incensed against his Ministers, who had so notoriously abused his Confidence (10).

The King informed of the Bishop of Winchester's *Treachery to the late Earl of* Pembroke M. Paris. p 403. 404. M. West.

The Day appointed for the old Ministers to give in their Answers (11) being come, the Parties accused, who doubtless were conscious they had nothing to say for themselves, chose to take Sanctuary in Churches, under pretence of being justly apprehensive of some violence from their Enemies. The aim of the new Ministers, being to convince the King of the Unfaithfulness of the old, they ordered it so, that the King removed the pretence for their non-appearance, by granting them a Safe-Conduct. *Peter de Rivaulx*, who appeared first, talked in so arrogant a manner, and so little suitable to his

The old Ministers prosecuted.

They take Sanctuary. M. Paris. M. West.

They have a Safe Conduct M. Paris.

(1) *September* 28. in the Night. *M. Paris*, p. 388.

(2) Either, because he had received a thousand Marks from the Bishop of *Winchester*; or, because the same Bishop had writ to the Emperor, to use his Interest with the Pope, that his Election might be approved of. *M. Paris*. p. 385.

(3) He, and his Associates, made it a Rule, not to plunder the Lands of any, but the King's evil Counsellors, by whose means they had been banished. *M. Paris*, p. 394. *Lewellyn* Prince of *North Wales* joined him, with all the Forces he could raise. *ibid.*

(4) With a Halter about his Neck. *M. Paris*. p. 394.

(5) This Order, which is in *Matthew Paris*, is directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, the King's Justiciary in *Ireland*, to *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy*, *Richard de Burgh*, and *Jeoffrey de Paris*, with others of the Earl's Liege-Men or Feudatories.

(6) *M. Paris* says, they stole the Seal from *Ralph* Bishop of *Chichester* the Chancellor; who was not concerned in this treacherous Fraud. p. 395.

(7) About the beginning of *February*. *M. Paris*, p. 397.

(8) *April* 1. *Id.* p. 400. He died *April* 16, and was buried at *Kilkenny*. *M. Paris*, p. 403.

(9) A Parliament was held in *February* this Year at *Westminster*; and it was during the Session, that *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several of his Suffragans, made that Representation to the King, which is related here. See *M. Paris*, p. 395. There was another Parliament held at *Westminster*, *April* 9. *Id.* p. 397.

(10) The King went as far as *Gloucester* to meet the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest that had been to make Peace with *Lewellyn*; and on *May* 29. restored the exiled Lords to his Favour, namely, *Hubert de Burgh*, (to whose Wife he had restored already eight Manors) *Gilbert Basset*, *Richard Seward*, *Gilbert Mareschall*, the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Brother, whom he appointed Marshal; and all these he nominated for his Counsellors. *M. Paris*. p. 404. *An. Waverl.* p. 196.

(11) *June* 24. See *M. Paris*. p. 404.

1234. Condition, that the King not being able to bear his Insolence, ordered him to the *Tower*. He remained there however but three days, being, by the Archbishop's Advice, sent back to his Sanctuary. *Segrave* required a longer time (1) to give in his Answer, which was granted him upon the Archbishop's Intercession. As for the Bishop of *Winchester*, he continued in his Cathedral, not daring to trust to his Safe-Conduct, and it was not thought proper to force him from thence (2).

1235. *The King invades* Bretagne. M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 329, 331. Whilst these domestick Affairs were transacting, the Truce with *France* being expired, *Lewis* vigorously attacked the Duke of *Bretagne*. According to the Rules of good Policy, this Ally should have been powerfully assisted. But *Henry* was contented with sending sixty Knights, and two thousand Foot. An Aid, so disproportioned to his wants, not being sufficient to protect him, he saw himself under a necessity of demanding a three Years Truce. Which however he could not obtain, but on condition, that if within that time the King of *England* did not come in Person to his relief, he should submit to whatever should be required of him. During this Interval, he used his utmost endeavours to prevail with *Henry* to come into *Bretagne*, but not succeeding, he did full Homage to *Lewis* for his Territories, which made his Subjects give him the Nick-name of *Mauclerc*, that is, *bad Scholar* (3). Thus, by his negligence, *Henry* lost an Ally, who might have been of great Service to him, in his War with *France* (4).

Henry neglects to assist the Duke. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 335.

1236. *The old Ministers make their Peace.* M. Paris. p. 409. In the beginning of the next Year, *Segrave* and *Passelew*, the King's old Ministers, found means to make their Peace by a Present of a thousand Marks each, for which they were discharged from further Prosecution.

Henry's *Sister married to the Emperor.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 346, 353, &c. M. Paris. M. West. Shortly after (5) was solemnized the Marriage of *Isabella*, the King's Sister, with the Emperor *Frederic* II (6). Tho' it was not customary to grant the King an Aid for the Marriage of a younger Sister, the Parliament was so well pleased with his late Proceedings, that they granted him two Marks on every Plough-land.

The Bishop of Winchester *sent for to* Rome. M Paris. p. 410. The Bishop of *Winchester*, who, since his Disgrace kept within his Diocese, departed from thence by the Pope's Order, who sent for him to be near his Person, on pretence he wanted his Advice in a Quarrel between him and the Citizens of *Rome*. It was not at all doubted, but the Pope used this Expedient to free him from the King's Prosecutions; and probably, the Prelate paid dearly for this Favour. He had to deal with a Pope who neglected no opportunity to heap up Money. This is evident from a Proceeding of his this same Year. The ten Years Truce, made by *Frederic* with the *Saracens*, being now almost expired, he caused a fresh Crusade to be published, as if he intended to make a vigorous Push to restore the Affairs of *Palestine*. Upon this News, the Zeal of the Christians being rouzed, great Numbers took the Cross. But whilst they were preparing to depart, another Bull appeared, to dispense with their going for a certain Sum of Money.

A Crusade published. M. Paris.

The King marries Eleanor *of* Provence. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 341, 343, 344, &c. M. Paris. p. 419. M. West. Hemingford Ann. Burt. *England* being then in profound Tranquillity, *Henry* took this opportunity to espouse (7) *Eleanor*, second Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence* (8). The Nuptials were celebrated with great Magnificence and Rejoycings, which seemed to presage to the King more Happiness than this Marriage was attended with. The Solemnity of the Wedding and Coronation (9) of the new Queen being over, the King called a Parliament at *Merton*, where divers Statutes were enacted, which long remained in force, but are now for the most part repealed (10).

The French *War ends without a Truce.* The War renewed by the King of *France*, ended with his Expedition into *Bretagne*, without any Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns. *Henry*, who was not of a martial Temper, had done nothing towards continuing it, and the Queen-Regent of *France* was very glad not to draw the *English* into *France*, during the minority of the King her Son. 1236.

State of the English *Court.* M. Paris. p. 429. But, though *England* was not troubled with foreign Wars, the Kingdom was however disturbed at home by the discontents of the Nobility, upon the promotion of a new Favourite. This was *William* of *Provence*, the Queen's Uncle (11), elected Bishop of *Valence*, but not yet confirmed by the Pope. This Prelate, lately arrived in *England*, had so gained the King's Affection, that nothing was done but by his Advice, and the Administration of the publick Affairs was entirely left to him. So great favour was very displeasing to the *English* Barons, who were reduced to the same Condition, from whence they thought to have freed themselves by the Expulsion of the *Poictevins*. At a Parliament, assembled this Year in *April* (12), they so boldly complained of these Proceedings to the King, that he thought fit to retire to the *Tower*, where he would have had the Barons to follow him. But finding none came to him, he returned of his own accord into the City, and endeavoured to satisfy them upon some of their Grievances, in order to induce them to overlook what they deemed the principal. He removed several Sheriffs who abused their Authority, and substituted others in their room. The Prince his Brother complaining of one *Richard Sward*, for shewing him some disrespect, obtained that *Sward* should be banished the Realm, for his Insolence. In short, by some changes at Court, to gratify the Barons (13), the King imagined they were pleased. But desiring to take this occasion to remove the Bishop of *Chichester* from the Chancellorship, in which Office he had worthily behaved, he had the mortification to find he refused to resign it. To justify his Refusal, he alledged, *That he had been entrusted with that Office by the Parliament, and therefore could not quit it but by the same Authority.*

The Parliament complains to the King, who gives them some Satisfaction. M. Paris. M. Paris. p. 429.

The Emperor demands the Empress's Portion. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 364. M. Paris. p. 430. M. West. Though the Parliament granted the King a considerable Aid for the marriage of the Empress his Sister, it appeared the Money was not put to that use. For Ambassadors from *Frederic* came to Court, to demand the Portion promised their master. If People's Reflections on this occasion were not to the King's Advantage, those they had cause to make soon after upon his inconstancy, were no less prejudicial to his Reputation. All on a sudden, when there seemed to be least reason to expect it, he recalled to Court *Segrave* and *Rivaulx*, whom a little before he had prosecuted for their Misdemeanours. Not content with this, he entirely trusted them again, as if he had reason to be satisfied with their former Conduct. These pernicious Ministers were hardly restored to their Posts, but the ill Effects of their Counsels on the King's mind were perceived. In a Parliament, held this Year in *June* (14), at *Winchester*, *Henry*, by virtue of a Bull from *Rome*, would have annulled all his Grants during his Nonage, because they wanted the Pope's Confirmation. This frivolous Pretence plainly shewed, how industriously he laboured to enslave himself more and more to the Court of *Rome*, instead of endeavouring to throw off its Yoke. A Proceeding so directly contrary to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, being looked upon with indignation, the Parliament refused to consent to the Revocation of these Grants, chiefly because of the Bull, upon which the King's Motion was grounded.

The King recalls his old Ministers. Id. p. 431.

He would annul all the Grants made in his Nonage. Ibid. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 368, 378.

He dreads engaging in a War. As *Henry*'s Conduct drew upon him the Contempt of his Subjects, this Contempt proved very prejudicial to him with respect to foreign Princes. They considered him as no formidable Neighbour, since he could not be sure of his People's Assistance in case of need. On the other hand, his own Knowledge how his Subjects stood affected towards him, obliged him to use all possible precautions to avoid a War with his Neighbours. He chose rather to give way to them voluntarily, than involve himself in

(1) Till *Michaelmas*. *M. Paris*. p. 405.

(2) *Hugh de Pateshulle* was made Justiciary, in *Segrave*'s room. *M. Paris*. ibid. *M. Westm.*---------This Year the King took a Tallage from all his Cities, Boroughs and Manors throughout *England*. *T. Wikes*. p. 42.

(3) It is thus he is stiled by the Historians of *Bretagne*. For though he had studied at the University of *Paris*, yet it seems he had made no Progress in the Study of Politicks.

(4) King *Henry* kept his Court at *Christmas*, this Year, at *Westminster*; at which were present the Bishops and great Men of the Kingdom. *M. Paris*, p. 409.

(5) In *February*. *M. Paris*. p. 414.

(6) The King called a Parliament to deliberate about the proposed Match: See a full Account of the whole Matter in *M. Paris*. p. 414------416. ---------The Emperor sent, by the Bishop of *Exeter* who attended the Princess into *Germany*, several Presents to King *Henry*, and among the rest *three Leopards*, alluding *to the Royal Shield, on which are depicted three Leopards passant*: From which it may be observed, that in *Henry* the IIId's Time, the bearing of the Kings of *England*, was not *three Lions*, as now, but *three Leopards*. See *Paris*, p. 416. and *Selden*'s Notes on *Poly-Olbion*. Song XI.

(7) By the Advice of his great Men, says *Hemingford*. p 573.

(8) They were married at *Canterbury*, *Jan.* 14. and the Queen was crowned the 20th at *Westminster*. *M. Paris*, p. 420.

(9) *Matthew Paris* has given us a very particular Description of the Coronation, and what each Person performed in their respective Functions, among which is this remarkable Passage, that the Earl of *Chester*, (as Lord High Constable) carried the Sword of St. *Edward*, called *Curteine*, before the King, in token *That he is Earl of the Palace, and hath by Right a Power of restraining the King if he should act amiss*. *M. Paris*, p. 420.

(10) *M. Paris* says, the same Day, after the Coronation, the King went from *London* to *Merton*, a Monastery in *Surry*, where he met his great Men, and enacted the Provisions of *Merton*, which are the most ancient Body of Laws after *Magna Charta*, and divided into eleven Articles or Chapters. p. 422.

(11) *Rapin* by mistake, says Brother. See *M. Paris*, p. 420. (12) The twenty eighth. *Id.* p. 428.

(13) He removed *Ralph Fitz-Nicolas* Steward of his Household, and some of his Counsellors, *&c.* *Id.* p. 429.

(14) *June* 10. *Id.* p. 431.

Troubles,

1236. *Makes a diſhonourable Peace with the King of* Scotland. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 334. M. Paris. p. 432. C. Mailros.

Troubles, from which he ſaw he could not free himſelf with Honour. For this reaſon he had deſerted the Duke of *Bretagne*, and ſuffered himſelf to be bullied this very Year by the King of *Scotland*, who demanded the County of *Northumberland*, with that haughtineſs as would have met with a mortifying Repulſe, had he been to deal with any other Prince (1). But how unjuſt ſoever this Pretenſion appeared, *Henry* made no ſcruple to purchaſe a Peace with the yearly Penſion of eighty Marks, which were ſettled on the King of *Scotland*. He even took a Journey to *York*, on purpoſe to negotiate this diſhonourable Treaty, pretending a fear of the *Scots* making a League with the *Welſh*. He feigned alſo to be apprehenſive that *Gilbert Marſhal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who had ſucceeded his Brother *Richard*, and married the King of *Scotland*'s Siſter, would improve this opportunity to raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom (2).

1237. *He calls a Parliament, and pretends to condemn his paſt Conduct, in order to obtain an Aid.* M. Paris. p. 435. M. Weſt.

Mean time, as the King daily perceived the great Men to be eſtranged from him, and that therefore it would be difficult to raiſe Money to fill his empty Coffers, he bethought himſelf of an Expedient, which he believed could not fail of Succeſs. He called a Parliament, to which all the Lords of the Kingdom were ſummoned (3), in order to treat about ſome weighty Affairs of State. As ſoon as they were met (4), a certain Prieſt, famed for Eloquence (5), told the Lords, "He was commanded to acquaint them with the occaſion of their Meeting." After a ſhort Pauſe, he added, "That the King having "ſeriouſly reflected on the Abuſes crept into the Government, was extremely concerned for contributing to "the ſame, by his careleſſneſs and ill conduct: That "he acknowledged, with Grief, he had made uſe of imprudent and ſelfiſh Miniſters, who never regarding the "Good of the Kingdom, to which they were Strangers, "had drawn him in by their pernicious Counſels, to do "things contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the "Realm: That to repair, as far as was poſſible, the Evils "occaſioned by his own Indiſcretion, and the unfaithfulneſs of his Miniſters, he was determined to be guided "no more by the Advice of Foreigners, but to commit "the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs to his native "Subjects: That he was perſwaded, they would labour "to the utmoſt of their Power to prevent the Oppreſſion "of the People, cauſe Juſtice and the Laws to flouriſh, "and reſtore the Crown to its former Luſtre." After laying theſe Foundations, the Orator continued, "That "the King deſired his Parliament to conſider, that the "Miſmanagement of his Treaſurer, and the Debts he had "contracted, were not the leaſt of the Miſdemeanours, "his Miniſtry might be charged with: That he hoped "they would begin with applying a Remedy to this, upon "his Aſſurance, that he would conſent to any Expedients propoſed for the redreſs of the other Abuſes: "That therefore he required an Aid anſwerable to his "preſent occaſions, and to ſhew he was in earneſt, he "conſented beforehand, that Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed, to take care that the Money ſhould be diſpoſed "of for the neceſſary Uſes of the Kingdom." If *Henry* had been leſs known, this harangue might have had a ſudden Effect on the Parliament. But as they were too ſenſible to what a height he could carry his Diſſimulation, all theſe ſubmiſſive Expreſſions were not able to move them. They anſwered, "They had often granted Aids "to the King, without ever receiving any reciprocal "Mark of his Affection; that ſince his Acceſſion to the "Crown, his Dominions were conſiderably leſſened, "though he had frequently exacted from his Subjects very "large Sums, which were only laviſhed away upon Foreigners." To this vigorous Anſwer, it was replied from the King, "That his own and his Siſter's Marriage had "entirely exhauſted his Treaſure; but if they would "grant him a Thirteenth (6) part of their Moveables, "he promiſed, upon his Honour, never to injure or oppreſs any Baron of the Realm." The Lords were not prevailed with by this Promiſe, which ſeemed to them of little moment, ſince they could not rely upon the King's Word. And therefore they replied, They had already granted the King an Aid for the Empreſs's Marriage, but he had diverted it to other Uſes, and ſince he had married without asking their Advice, he might defray the Expences of his Wedding as he pleaſed. This Anſwer convincing him, that he wanted a ſtronger Engine to wreſt from them the Aid he demanded, he attacked them in a more ſenſible Part. He promiſed to re-eſtabliſh his Father's Charters, and to ſatisfy them that he really intended to cauſe them to be obſerved, he ordered the Execration formerly denounced by Cardinal *Langton* upon the Tranſgreſſors of theſe Charters, to be publiſhed in all the Churches. In ſhort, to gain them entirely, he added to his Council three Lords (7) whom he knew to be very acceptable to the Nobility. So many Advances from a Sovereign, and eſpecially the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Charters, had at length the deſired effect. The Parliament ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by theſe pretended Demonſtrations, granted him the Aid required (8). However they clogged it with two not very grateful Conditions. Firſt, that, for the future, he ſhould reject the Counſels of the Foreigners, and adhere to the Advices of his Subjects. Secondly, that four Knights ſhould be choſen in every County to collect and ſecure the Money in ſome Monaſtery, that it might be reſtored to every one again, in caſe the King ſhould break his word. Notwithſtanding this Precaution, the Money was no ſooner raiſed, but the King ſeized it and ſquandered it away in uſeleſs Expences, even in Preſents to his favourite Foreigners, who remained in his Council as before.

1237.

The King promiſes to cauſe the two Charters to be obſerved. M. Paris. p. 436.

The Parliament grants a Subſidy upon certain Terms; Ibid. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

which the King obſerves not.

Henry's Conduct occaſioned ſuch loud Murmurs, that Prince *Richard* his Brother thought himſelf obliged, to repreſent to him very ſtrongly, to what Danger it would infallibly expoſe him. But his Remonſtrances were in vain, *Henry* liking better the Counſels of the Foreigners, which were more agreeable to his Inclinations. Among thoſe that had the greateſt Aſcendant over the King, Hiſtory particularly mentions *Simon de Montfort*, Son of the famous Earl of *Montfort*, General of the Cruſade againſt the *Albigenſes*. This young Man, who for ſome Diſguſt, had left the Court of *France* to make his Fortunes in *England*, conformed himſelf ſo to the King's Humour, that few were in greater Favour. I ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of him, in the courſe of this Reign, under the Title of Earl of *Leiceſter*.

Richard *his Brother expoſtulates with him.* M. Paris. p. 445.

Simon de Montfort. *begins to be in favour.*

The Barons Reply.

Though *Henry* little thought of extending his Dominion over the neighbouring Countries, a happy Juncture procured him, before the end of this Year, an Advantage which the moſt illuſtrious of his Predeceſſors had fought in vain. *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, grown old and infirm, and finding himſelf perſecuted by his Son *Griffyn*, could think of no better means to ſecure himſelf from his rebellious Practices, than by putting himſelf under the King of *England*'s Protection, to whom he did Homage for his Dominions. This Proceeding was the more extraordinary, as he himſelf, as well as his Anceſtors, had all along exerted their utmoſt to prevent the acknowledging of this Sovereignty. If force of Arms had at any time compelled them to it, they had always been ready to diſown their Submiſſion, when their Circumſtances were more favorable.

The Prince of Wales *does Homage to* Henry. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 368, &c. 379, &c. M. Paris. p. 437. M. Weſt.

Whilſt the *Engliſh* were loudly complaining of being expoſed to the Avarice of the King and his foreign Miniſters, a freſh Cauſe of Diſcontent unexpectedly happened by the Arrival of *Otho* the Pope's Legate, who was come to plunder them of what they had left. The Clergy juſtly dreaded theſe extraordinary Legateſhips, the ſole Aim whereof was to pillage them. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* very much blamed the King, for ſuffering the Legate to come into the Kingdom, without any apparent Neceſſity, and without the Knowlege of the Clergy and Parliament. But theſe Expoſtulations were in vain. It would not only have been difficult to perſwade the King to ſend back the Legate, but it even appeared that he himſelf had privately ſent for him. His view was to ſcreen himſelf under his Protection, from the Attempts of his Subjects. The Pope took care not to loſe this opportunity of ſending a Legate into *England*, in expectation, that by means of the King's Authority, he might with Impunity rifle the Churches. Thus the *Engliſh* ſaw themſelves at once expoſed to the Avarice of the King and the Pope, who were united together for their Deſtruction.

Arrival of a Legate. M. Paris. p. 440.

It was not upon *England* alone that the Legate caſt his eyes: His Deſign was to drain *Scotland* alſo, which hitherto had been free from the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*. He believed he had met with an opportunity at an Interview (9) which the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*

Interview of the Kings of England *and* Scotland *at* York. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 348, 374. *The Legate has a mind to go into* Scotland: M. Paris.

(1) Affirming, that King *John* had given it him when he married his Daughter *Joanna*. *M. Paris*. p. 432.
(2) This Year great Quarrels aroſe between the Scholars and Citizens of *Oxford*, ſo that the King, the Biſhops, and the great Men of the Kingdom had much ado to appeaſe them. *M. Paris*, p. 432.
(3) By his Writs, which are the firſt mentioned in the Hiſtorians. See *M. Paris*, p. 435. *M. Weſt.* p. 296.
(4) Which was on *January* 14. *M. Paris*. p. 435. *M. Weſt.* p. 296.
(5) *William de Rale*. ibid. *M. Weſt.* p. 296.
(6) A Thirtieth. *M. Paris*, p. 435.
(7) The Earl of *Warren*, *William Ferrars*, and *John Geoffrey*, who ſwore they would never be corrupted by Gifts to deviate from Truth, but would always give the King good and wholſome Advice. *M. Paris*, ibid.
(8) What Perſons they were that granted this Aid, appears from the Record extant in Dr. *Brady*, *viz.* the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights and Freeholders, for themſelves and their Vaſſals. And it was to be collected from Corn, Ploughs, Sheep, Cows, Hogs, Cart-Horſes, Studs of Mares, &c. *Brady's Appendix*. No. 159.
(9) Or rather a Parliament, held *Septemb.* 14. at which the great Men of the Kingdom were ſummoned, to treat of important Affairs. See *M. Paris*, p. 446.

had

1237. had at *York*, on account of the *Scotch* King's Pretenſions. As ſoon as the Conference, where the King of *Scotland* obtained an Augmentation of his Penſion (1), was ended, the Legate, who had found ſome excuſe to be preſent, told him he deſigned to go into *Scotland*, to regulate the Affairs of the Church. *Alexander* anſwered, he never heard of any Legate ſent into *Scotland*, and there was ſtill leſs occaſion for any in his Reign; neither would he, in ſhort, allow ſuch an Innovation, as long as he ſat on the Throne. Adding, if notwithſtanding this Declaration, he perſiſted in his deſign, he warned him beforehand, that he was not abſolute Maſter of his own Subjects, and perhaps it would not be in his power to protect him, if the People, fierce and ungovernable, ſhould fail in their reſpect due to the Pope's Legate. Theſe laſt Words were apparently the reaſon of the Legate's altering his mind, and ſtaying with the King of *England*, whom he found more obſequious.

But it oppoſed by the King.

The Earldom of Cheſter annexed to the Crown. M. Weſt.

John late Earl of *Cheſter* dying this Year (2) without Iſſue, the King annexed to the Crown that Earldom, which enjoyed very great Privileges, paying, in Money, to the Earl's Siſters what they were to receive from thence, or allowing it out of other Lands.

Birth of Henry, *Son to the Emperor.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 374. M. Paris.

About the ſame time, *Henry* received a Letter from the Emperor *Frederic*, informing him of the Birth of a Son by *Iſabella* his Wife, to whom he had given the Name of *Henry*. Adding, he deſigned the Kingdom of *Sicily* for the new-born Prince.

Corruption of the Court of Rome. P. 438, *&c.*

Matthew Paris the Hiſtorian, concludes the Occurrences of this Year, with a lively Deſcription of the Court of *Rome*. What he ſays is the leſs queſtionable, as it comes from the Pen of a cotemporary Monk. But however it is this which has gained him ſo many Enemies, who have laboured to render his Teſtimony dubious.

1238. Simon de Montfort *married a Siſter of the King's.* M. Paris. p. 465. An. Waverl.

Simon de Montfort before-mentioned, finding himſelf in great Favour at Court, ventured to caſt his Eyes on the Counteſs Dowager of *Pembroke*, the King's Siſter (3). But as he was juſtly apprehenſive of meeting with great Obſtacles, he took a ſhorter method, by ſecuring the Princeſs's Heart beforehand. In a word, he ſo managed his matters, that the King was obliged to cauſe them to be privately married in his own Chapel (4). Prince *Richard* was extremely incenſed at this Marriage (5). He bitterly complained of it to the King, and ſtrongly remonſtrated to him, that he was in the wrong to give his Siſter to a younger Brother, whoſe Fortune was no way anſwerable to a Royal Family. The King excuſed himſelf in the beſt manner he could, from the neceſſity of haſtening the Marriage; adding, there was now no remedy, ſince it was ſolemnized and the Princeſs with Child. Mean while, *Montfort* perceiving Prince *Richard* was highly exaſperated againſt him, and fearing he would endeavour to annul his Marriage, went to *Rome*, where he found means to have it confirmed by the Pope. After that he returned to the King, who gave him a very kind Reception.

M. Paris. p. 467.

His Marriage confirmed by the Pope. M. Paris. p. 468.

The Barons complain to the King. M. Paris.

This Marriage was not the only thing *Richard* thought he had reaſon to complain of. The great Credit of the Foreigners, who were always near the King, created in him no leſs uneaſineſs than in the reſt of the Barons. They all unanimouſly complained, that the King had violated his Promiſes, and that all the Money exacted from his People on divers pretences, was employed only in inriching the Queen's Relations. As Prince *Richard* ſeemed to be very much concerned for the Intereſt of the Publick, they believed that, under ſuch a Leader, it would not be impoſſible to obtain of the King the ſatisfaction they required, eſpecially with regard to the Foreigners. In this belief, they entered into a Confederacy (6), and having the Prince at their head, ſent the King word, that they prayed him to remember his Promiſes. This Confederacy, the conſequences whereof were dreaded by *Henry*, cauſed him to put on a ſeeming Moderation, as he uſually did, when he found himſelf preſſed. Inſtead of ſhewing any Reſentment, as they expected, he appointed a Day to give them a favorable Anſwer. But as they had been deceived more than once, they ſuffered not themſelves to be over-reached by this outward Mildneſs. Perſwaded as they were, that the King ſought only to amuſe them, they came to *London* on the Day appointed, guarded with Horſe and Arms, and ready to compel the King to a compliance. *Henry* took care not to reſiſt, at a time when he ſaw no power able to ſupport him. He aſſured them he really intended to redreſs all Grievances, and to convince them of his Sincerity, told them he was willing to ſubmit to the Arbitration of a certain number of Lords, the one half to be named by himſelf. This Propoſal being approved, Commiſſioners were choſen on both ſides, who drew up certain Articles, which the King was to obſerve for the future, in the Government of the Kingdom. Theſe Regulations were ſigned by the King and the Barons, and confirmed by the Legate, who, in all publick Affairs, always endeavoured to interpoſe his Maſter's Authority.

1238.

They enter into a League with Richard, *and demand Redreſs of their Grievances.* M. Paris. p. 467.

The King is forced to comply.

Regulations for the Government of the State propoſed by the King.

The Legate inſulted at Oxford. M. Paris. M. Weſt. Hemingf. T. Wikes.

This ſame Legate met not at *Oxford*, where he went upon ſome Buſineſs, with that reſpect that was paid him at Court. Though the Univerſity in a body received him with the Deference due to his Character, the Inſolence of his Domeſticks was the occaſion that certain Scholars loſt the Reſpect they owed him. Some young Students offering to enter into his Lodgings (7), were ſo uncivilly repulſed by the Porter, that they were very much out of Humour. Whilſt they were yet in the Houſe, ſome of them going into the Kitchin, found there a poor *Iriſh* Scholar begging for Relief of the Cook, who inſtead of an Alms, threw a Ladle-full of boiling Water in his face. This barbarous Action ſo provoked a *Welſh* Student, who was witneſs of it, that having a Bow in his hand, he ſhot the Cook dead on the ſpot with an Arrow. The Legate hearing of the Tumult, retired in a fright into the Tower of the Church, where he remained till night, dreading that the Inſolence of the Scholars would even extend to his Perſon. As ſoon as he thought he might retire with Safety, he haſtened to the King, and complained of this outrage, laying it to the charge of the whole Univerſity, which he had now put under an Interdict. The King appeared extremely inraged at this Inſult upon the Legate, and to give him Satisfaction, immediately ſent the Earl of *Warren* to *Oxford*, with orders to ſeize the Offenders (8). This Buſineſs, which at firſt made a great noiſe, was at length huſhed by the Mediation of the Biſhops, who prevailed with the Univerſity to make all the Submiſſions he required (9).

Coldneſs between the King and the Pope. M. Paris. P. 470. M. Weſt.

Had this Accident happened a little later, *England* would have paid dearer for it. Shortly after, *Henry* ſending the Emperor a Body of Troops, under the Command of *Henry de Turbeville* (10), the Pope, againſt whom they were employed, was ſo incenſed, that for a good while, the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſticks were denied Admittance at the Court of *Rome*. This Quarrel made the Emperor hope, he ſhould gain the King his Brother-in-law to his ſide. Accordingly, being deſirous to improve this juncture, he diſpatched Ambaſſadors to him, who did all that lay in their power, to perſwade him to join with the Emperor againſt the Pope; but it was not poſſible for them to ſucceed. The King and the Pope ſtood too much in need of each other, to remain long at variance. Though the Pope looked upon himſelf as Lord Paramount of *England*, he was not ignorant how averſe the Barons were to his Pretenſions, which the King's Authority in ſome meaſure was alone capable of ſupporting. Beſides, it was only through the countenance and connivance of the King, that he could rifle the *Engliſh* Clergy with Impunity. On the other hand, *Henry* ſaw, none but the Pope could ſupport him againſt the Barons. Moreover in his Deſign of filling the principal Church-Preferments with his Creatures, he was very ſenſible he could not proceed without the Pope's Authority. It was no wonder therefore, the King and the Pope held together, ſince it ſo greatly concerned them mutually to aſſiſt one another.

Death of the Biſhop of Winchеſter. *Henry tries to get the Queen's Brother elected, but the Monks chuſe another.* M. Paris. p. 472, 473. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. A. Waver.

The Death of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (11), during theſe Tranſactions, gave the King opportunity to make the firſt Advances towards a Reconciliation with the Pope. *Henry*, ardently deſiring to procure this rich See for the Biſhop of *Valence* his Uncle, ſtrongly recommended him to the Monks, the Electors. But, notwithſtanding his

(1) He was to have three hundred Pounds a Year in Land, ſays *M. Paris*; but by the Record (*Rot. Pat.* 21. *H.* 7. *M.* 8.) it appears to have been but two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, out of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*. See *Brady*, p. 568.

(2) About *Whitſuntide*. *M. Paris* ſays, he was poiſoned by his Wife the Daughter of Prince *Lewellyn*. p. 440.

(3) *Eleanor*. (4) In St. *Stephen*'s Chapel at *Weſtminſter*. They were married *January* 7. *M. Paris*, p. 465.

(5) Chiefly, becauſe it was done without his Knowledge, and without the Conſent of the great Men of the Kingdom; after the King had engaged, not to do any thing of Moment, without their Advice and Concurrence. *M. Paris*, p. 467.

(6) Which conſiſted of *Gilbert* Earl-Marſhal, all the Earls and Barons of *England*, and the generality of the People of the Kingdom. Of the Nobility, *Hubert* Earl of *Kent*, alone, remained faithful to the King. *Ibid.*

(7) In the Abbey of *Oſney* near *Oxford*, *M. Paris*, p. 469.

(8) Thirty-one were impriſoned in *Wallingford* Caſtle. *M. Paris*, p. 470. By reaſon of this, the Studies ceaſed there all the Summer. *M. Weſt.* p. 298.

(9) The Legate obliged all the Scholars to meet at St. *Paul*'s Church, (above a mile from his Lodgings) and go on foot to the Biſhop of *Carliſle*'s Houſe, and their putting off their Caps, Gowns, and Shoes, to go to the Legate's Houſe, and humbly crave Pardon and Abſolution. *M. Paris*, p. 470. *M. Weſt.* p. 298.

(10) With whom went *John Manſel*, and *William Hardel*, with Money to hire Troops. *Id.* p. 470.

(11) *Peter de Rupibus*. He died at *Farnham*, *June* 9. and was buried in *Wincheſter* Cathedral. He founded the Monaſtery of *Hales* in *Glocеſterſhire*, and *Tickford* in *Buckinghamſhire*, for *Premonſtratenſians*; *Selburne* in *Hampſhire*, for *Auguſtin* Monks; and a Hoſpital at *Portſmouth*. *M. Paris*, p. 472.

ſollicitations,

1238. ſollicitations, they made choice of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, High-Chancellor of *England*. Though the King was diſappointed, as to the Monks, he deſpaired not to ſucceed another way. He knew the Pope wanted nothing more than to ſee him make Advances towards a Reconciliation. The Intereſt of the Court of Rome required it, and ſeldom does that Court neglect what may turn to its advantage. In this belief, *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors thither, who, after making ſome Submiſſions in their Maſter's name (1), prevailed to have the Election of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* annulled by the Apoſtolical Authority (2).

The Biſhop of Winchester chief Cauſe of the Troubles in this Reign.

The deceaſed Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was juſtly deemed one of the chief Authors of the Troubles in this Reign. It was he that adviſed the King to annul his Father's two Charters, and ſend for Foreigners into the Kingdom, to commit to them the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs. Theſe two Articles were a perpetual occaſion of diſcontent among the Nobles, and at length were attended with very fatal conſequences. The death of this pernicious Counſellor was preceeded by that of *Joanna*, Queen of *Scotland*, Siſter to *Henry* (3).

Death of the Queen of Scotland. Mat. Paris.

Plot againſt the King. Id. p. 474. M. Weſt.

The manner in which the Kingdom was governed, was diſpleaſing to all. So that it was not ſtrange, there ſhould be People, who endeavoured to make away with the King. This year, a Villain (4), pretending to be mad, found means to get into his Chamber by night (5), with deſign to kill him; but being diſappointed by the King's paſſing that night in the Queen's Apartment, he was taken and puniſhed according to his deſert. Before he died, he declared, that *William de Marit* (6) was the Author of the Conſpiracy, in which ſeveral others were engaged. However, either out of careleſſneſs, or for ſome other reaſon, there was no Inquiry made.

1239. *Inſtances of the King's Inconſtancy.*

I ſhall begin the relation of the Occurrences of the year 1239, with obſerving ſome effects of *Henry*'s Capriciouſneſs and Inconſtancy. The Knowledge of the Character and Genius of this Prince is abſolutely neceſſary, for the better underſtanding the Springs and Cauſes of what paſſed in this Reign. As he neither loved nor hated, but according to the Suggeſtions of thoſe who had the aſcendant over him, it was no wonder he frequently altered his Inclinations and Maxims. He ſometimes loaded with Favours and Careſſes, Perſons who, within a few days, found themſelves in diſgrace; and very often he reſtored to his Service, ſuch as had been ſhamefully diſmiſſed. I have already taken notice, that, after perſecuting the Earl of *Pembroke*, he reſtored to *Gilbert* his Brother the Office of Earl-Marſhal (7). *Gilbert*, thinking himſelf in the King's good Graces, was very much ſurprized, that one day when he came to wait upon him, he was, contrary to Cuſtom, denied entrance. He complained to the King himſelf, by one of his Friends, who prayed him to tell the reaſon, why ſuch an Affront was offered to a Lord of ſo great diſtinction. *Henry* replied, It was becauſe *Richard*, the Earl's Brother, was a Traytor, and continued in his Treaſon to his death; and therefore he repented of giving him the Office of Marſhal, which however he could recal whenever he pleaſed. This anſwer obliged the Earl to withdraw from Court, and retire into the North of *England*, to ſecure himſelf from the Plots of his Enemies, who had prepoſſeſſed the King againſt him (8).

Gilbert *Earl of Pembroke diſgraced without cauſe. M. Paris, p. 483.*

The King would proſecute Simon de Montfort for his Marriage. Id. p. 497. &c. M. Weſt.

Another inſtance of this Prince's Inconſtancy may be this: So far was he from reſenting *Simon de Montfort*'s Affront to the Royal Family, that he continued him in favour as before, and at laſt made him Earl of *Leiceſter* (9), And yet, a few days after giving him this freſh Mark of his Eſteem, he publickly charged him with debauching his Siſter, and bribing the Pope to confirm his Marriage. This Accuſation could never be more unſeaſonable, ſince the time to proſecute him for this Action was paſſed; and beſides, he had cauſed the Nuptials to be celebrated in his Preſence, and in his own Chapel. The Earl, dreading the Effects of his Reſentment, departed

He retires into France.

that very day with his Lady for *France*, where he remained till the King's diſpleaſure was over (10). 1239.

Henry publiſhes the Bull of Excommunication againſt the Emperor. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 383. M. Paris, p. 490.

I ſhall relate but one Inſtance more of the capricious Conduct of this Monarch, of which there are viſible Proofs in almoſt all the Actions of his Life. He was not afraid, the year before, to break with the Pope, by ſending Succours to the Emperor. And yet, a few months after, *Frederic* being ſolemnly excommunicated, *Henry* ordered the Bull of Excommunication to be publiſhed in all the Churches of his Kingdom. This Proceeding was thought the more ſtrange, becauſe, as Brother-in-law to the Emperor, he might have plauſibly excuſed himſelf, or at leaſt been ſo tardy, as to ſhew it was done with regret.

Birth of Prince Edward. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

This ſame year the Queen was delivered of a Prince (11), called *Edward*, who in proceſs of time ſucceeding his Father, proved one of the moſt illuſtrious Monarchs that ever ſwayed the *Engliſh* Sceptre.

The Legate's Exactions. M. Paris, p. 484, &c.

The Exactions daily impoſed by *Otho* the Legate upon the Churches, compelled the Biſhop at length to carry their Complaints to the Pope, who had twice by his Letters recalled him; but the King had ſtill oppoſed it. At laſt, the Prelates, tired with the perpetual Demands of the Cardinal, who daily invented new Pretences to pillage the Clergy, reſolved to meet and conſider of ſome remedy for this Evil. They had ſcarce begun to treat of their Affairs, when the Legate came into the Aſſembly, and demanded an Aid for the preſſing occaſions of the Holy See. This freſh demand putting them beyond all patience, they plainly told him, They were determined to endure his Oppreſſions no longer; and to prevent any farther ſollicitations, broke up immediately. A denial ſo peremptory, which ſhould have convinced him how much the Clergy were diſguſted, had no other effect, but to cauſe him to turn to the Religious Houſes, who were forced to ſupply what the Biſhops refuſed.

He demands a Subſidy of the Biſhops, who deny him. Id. p. 498.

The Legate makes a freſh Attempt upon Scotland. ibid.

This Legate, like all the reſt before him, was inſatiable. After having, with impunity, extorted large Sums from *England*, he had a mind to do the ſame in *Scotland*, though he had already been refuſed entrance. But he was not a Man to be diſcouraged at one denial. For this purpoſe he departed, attended by ſome *Engliſh* Barons, without troubling himſelf firſt to obtain the King of *Scotland*'s Conſent. Upon his arrival on the Borders, he was met by the King not to do him Honour, but to hinder him from proceeding. This oppoſition, which however he had reaſon to expect, offended him ſo, that in his Paſſion he threatned *Alexander*, who anſwered him in a louder tone, and let him ſee, he did not value his Threats. They would have come to a downright quarrel, if the *Engliſh* Lords had not interpoſed to make up the difference. They prevailed at length with the King of *Scotland*, though not without great difficulty, to give the Legate leave for this once to enter into his Kingdom. But *Alexander* would not conſent to it, but on condition that the Legate ſhould acknowledge under his Hand and Seal, that it was out of a particular Condeſcenſion for his Perſon, and that this Example ſhould not be brought into Precedent. All Obſtacles being removed, the Legate came to *Edinborough*, where he exacted ſome Money from the *Scotch* Clergy, which was the ſole end of his Journey.

Is denied entrance by the King.

Finds meant to go there.

Henry proſecutes afreſh the Earl of Kent; M. Paris, p. 515. M. Weſt.

If the Clergy of *England* had to deal with a greedy Cardinal, the reſt of the King's Subjects were in no better caſe. *Henry*, who could not without great difficulties obtain Subſidies of the Parliament (12), neglected no opportunity of extorting Money from private Perſons, by all ſorts of means. *Hubert de Burgh*, whom he had left unmoleſted ſome years, was proſecuted afreſh, for the ſame Crimes he was before charged with, and which were thought to be forgotten. This Cauſe was ſolemnly tried before an Aſſembly of the Barons, where it is ſaid, he vindicated his Innocence by inconteſtable Proofs. However, as he had reaſon to dread a Sentence which the King himſelf was ſolliciting againſt him, he thought it

who compounds the Matter with the King.

(1) And diſtributed Money about plentifully. *M. Paris*, p. 472.

(2) He alſo took the Great Seal from him, which was put in Commiſſion, and delivered to *Geoffrey* a Templer, and *John de Lexintun*, but the Revenues of the Chancery were ſtill left to the Biſhop. *Id.* p. 474.

(3) She was married to *Alexander* II, King of *Scots*, at *York*, in the preſence of her Brother, *June* the 25th, 1221, and coming to viſit King *Henry*, died *March* the 4th, 1238, and was buried at *Tarente*, a Nunnery in *Dorſetſhire*, founded by *Richard* Biſhop of *Durham*. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 87.

(4) A learned Knight, ſays *M. Paris*. It was on *September* 8. at *Woodſtock*. p. 474.

(5) *T. Wikes* ſays, he was found hid in the Straw, under the King's Bed. p. 43.

(6) Who was baniſhed in the *Iſle of Lunday*, between *Wales* and *Cornwal*. Ibid.

(7) *Gilbert* was reſtored to his Brother's Office and Inheritance by the Interceſſion of the Archbiſhop, as appears by the King's Letter to *Lewellyn* ſtill extant. See Dr. *Brady*'s *Appendix*, No. 155.

(8) The King took alſo *Stephen de Segrave* again into his Council. *M. Paris*, p. 483.——He likewiſe deſired the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Chancellor to return to Court, but he refuſed. *Id.* p. 485.

(9) His Mother was *Amitia*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Robert Blanchmaines* Earl of *Leiceſter*. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 87. He was created Earl of *Leiceſter*, *February* 2, 1239. *M. Paris*, p. 483. *An. Waverl.* p. 198.

(10) He had a Son born the Year before in *December* or latter end of *November*, at *Kenilworth*. *M. Paris*, p. 481.

(11) *June* 16, at *Weſtminſter*. *Id.* p. 488. *M. Weſtminſter* ſays, it was *June* 18. p. 300. *T. Wikes. An. Waverl.*——About *April*, next year, the King his Father made the Citizens of *London*, the Wardens of the *Cinque Ports*, &c. ſwear Fealty to him. *M. Paris.*

(12) There was a Parliament this Year at *Eaſter*. *Id.* p. 484.

1239. more adviſeable to compound matters with him, than wait the deciſion of the Judges. Accordingly, he reſigned to the King four of his beſt Eſtates (1), for which *Henry* deſiſted (2).

1240. *Great Exactions of the King and Pope.* M. Paris, p. 513.

I find my ſelf indiſpenſably obliged frequently to return to the ſame Subject, I mean, the Exactions of the King and Court of *Rome*, becauſe they are the moſt conſiderable occurrences of this Reign, at leaſt to the time we are now ſpeaking of. But though theſe things ſeem of little importance, they ſerve however to diſcover the then State of the Kingdom, inceſſantly pillaged, one while by the King, another while by the Pope. Theſe Extortions were carried ſo far, that one muſt be ſurprized that the *Engliſh* ſhould bear them with ſuch Patience, under a King ſo weak as *Henry*, and deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, except from the Court of *Rome*. But this aſſiſtance was, what to them ſeemed moſt formidable, the Calamities of the late Reign making them dread involving the Kingdom in the like Confuſion. It ſeemed however, that the Biſhops ſhould have reſolved to take ſome meaſures to ſcreen themſelves from theſe Oppreſſions, in a Synod held at *London* for that purpoſe (3). They openly complained, that the King kept for his own uſe, all the vacant Benefices, and obſtructed all Elections, till ſuch were choſen as he deſired. They even proceeded to excommunicate the Authors of theſe pernicious Counſels. But *Henry* little regarded their Complaints, as long as he was ſure of the Pope's Protection; for whom, in return, he ſhewed ſo great deference, as paſſes all Imagination. When the Emperor ſent Ambaſſadors to complain of his cauſing the Sentence of Excommunication to be publiſhed againſt him, he moſt ſhamefully anſwered, That being Vaſſal to the Pope, he could not diſpenſe with obeying him. Mean time, the Legate continued his Exactions. After draining the Churches and Monaſteries of immenſe Sums, under colour of Procurations, and a thouſand other Pretences, he diſcovered, by a new ſort of oppreſſion, how little meaſures the Court of *Rome* then kept with the *Engliſh*. He ordered to be publiſhed throughout the Kingdom, that he had Power, not only to abſolve from their Vow, all that had taken the Croſs, but likewiſe to oblige them to compound for their Abſolution by Money, under pain of Excommunication.

Complaints of the Biſhops againſt the King. Id. p. 515, 524.

Id. p. 498, 515.

Id. p. 514.

The exceſſive demands of the Pope from the Clergy. M. Paris.

But this was a trifle in compariſon of what the Legate demanded ſhortly after of the Clergy (4). On pretence of ſecuring the Peace of the Church, againſt the pretended Aſſaults of the Emperor, the Pope required of all the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſticks, the fifth part of their Goods; and the King, inſtead of oppoſing, promoted this Exaction to the utmoſt of his Power. The Biſhops at firſt ſomewhat exerted themſelves, and refuſed, not only to comply with the Legate's demands, but even to contribute any thing towards the pretended wants of the Holy See. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was willing to live in quiet, and afraid of the imperious Temper of the Pope, conſenting to give in lieu of the fifth of his Goods, a fifth part of his Rents (5), the reſt followed his Example. However, the Legate refuſed a good while, to accept of an offer ſo diſproportionate to his demands, as if the Buſineſs had been to give the Clergy his Maſter's own Goods. This was the laſt Money the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* gave the Pope. This Prelate, who led a truly Chriſtian Life, perceiving it impoſſible to redreſs the Abuſes which were daily introduced, as well into the Church as State, retired into *France*, to the Monaſtery of *Pontignac*, where he died this ſame year. He was canonized by the Council of *Lyons*, ſome years after his death (6).

The Archbiſhop retires into France, *where he dies.* Id. p. 532. M. Weſt.

The Pope nominates three hundred Italians *to vacant Benefices.* M. Paris, p. 532.

Upon the Archbiſhop's retreat, the Court of *Rome* had no farther regard for the Clergy of *England*. Hardly was this Impoſition levied, when one *Peter Roſſi* (7), the Pope's Nuncio, arrived with orders to all the Biſhops and Patrons of Livings, to prefer to the vacant Benefices three hundred *Italians*, whoſe names the Pope had ſent; with an expreſs Prohibition to confer any Benefice till the Foreigners were all provided for. But this was not the ſole end of his coming. His principal buſineſs was to ſqueeze Money from the Monaſteries, under pretence that the Pope ſtood in need of an extraordinary Supply to defend her Church againſt her Perſecutors. Hitherto the Pope had acted with Authority; but on this occaſion he judged it more advantagious to uſe Artifice. To ſucceed in this deſign, the Nuncio went to all the Religious Houſes, and tried, by Promiſes and Threats, to engage every Abbot in particular, to aſſiſt the Pope in his preſſing Neceſſities. He intimated to them, that ſuch an Abbot had promiſed ſuch a Sum, and therefore it would be a ſhame, and perhaps of ill conſequence, not to follow ſo good an Example. After procuring promiſſary Notes under ſome of their hands, he uſed theſe Notes to induce the reſt to the ſame compliance, enjoining Secrecy to them all, on pain of Excommunication. But the Abbots of St. *Edmund's-bury* and *Battle*, thought theſe Proceedings ſo ſtrange and arbitrary, that they complained of them to the King, even before the Legate's face. *Henry*, far from giving ear to their juſt Complaints, received them with frowns, and even offered the Legate one of his Caſtles to impriſon them. This Stratagem being diſcovered, the Nuncio durſt not purſue what he had begun. But the Legate convened the Clergy once more, in order to obtain a freſh Subſidy, ever on pretence of the War with the Emperor. To this new demand the Clergy made anſwer, that ſince the Emperor was not excommunicated by the Church, but by the Pope alone, they would not concern themſelves in the quarrel; That beſides, they were too poor to anſwer all the Pope's Exactions, and, ſuppoſing they were able, they would no longer endure, that the Church of *England* ſhould be thus tributary to *Rome*. During the Legate's long ſtay in *England*, he had ſufficiently diſcovered the Temper of the *Engliſh*, to know, it was not prudent to exaſperate them too much, in their preſent diſpoſition, with regard to the Pope. However, not to omit any thing that might help to accompliſh his maſter's orders, he bethought himſelf of another Expedient. This was to divide the Clergy, in which the King ſerved him effectually, by promiſing ſome Penſions and Preferments, and frightening others by Threats. This way ſucceeded ſo well, that at length each complied in particular, to what in a Body they had refuſed; the moſt unwilling being forced to follow the majority.

1240. *He ſends a Nuncio, who tries to extort Money from the Abbies.* M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The King backs the Nuntio. M. Paris, p. 534.

The Legate demands a freſh Subſidy, which the Clergy deny. Ibid. An. Bert.

He finds means to divide them. Id. p. 536.

Whilſt the Clergy were thus expoſed to the Avarice of the Court of *Rome*, the King ſent Juſtices *Itinerant*, through all the Counties (8), under pretence of redreſſing Grievances, and eaſing the People. But it was ſoon perceived, that this was only a means contrived on purpoſe to oppreſs ſeveral private Perſons, by Fines and Confiſcations, which brought in very conſiderable Sums to his Treaſury. This oppreſſion cauſed loud murmurs amongſt the *Engliſh*, who ſaw themſelves expoſed at once to the Tyranny of the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Powers (9).

The King ſends Juſtices into the Counties to extort Money. Id. p. 533.

The King's natural Fickleneſs not permitting him long to love or hate the ſame Perſons, he recalled this year the Earl of *Leiceſter*; who departed ſhortly after for the Holy Land, where he made no long ſtay. *Gilbert* Earl of *Pembroke* was likewiſe received into favour, through the powerful Interceſſion of Prince *Richard*. This Prince, having the year before taken the Croſs, ſet out for *Jeruſalem*, in company with the Earl of *Salisbury*, and ſeveral other Lords.

The King recalls the Earls of Leiceſter *and* Pembroke. M. Paris, p. 527. M. Weſt.

Towards the end of this year, the Earl of *Flanders* came to *London*, and did the King Homage for a yearly Penſion of five hundred Marks (10). There are ſome who queſtion, whether it was cuſtomary in thoſe days, to grant Penſions in Fee, to be held by military Service, and Homage. But this evidently appears, in ſeveral Agreements between the Kings of *England* and divers foreign Princes, the Tenor of which is to be ſeen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* (11).

The Earl of Flanders *does Homage to the King for his Penſion.* M. Paris, p. 515, 525. M. Weſt.

In the beginning of the year 1241, *England* at length was delivered from *Otho* the Legate, recalled by an ex-

1241. *The Legate is re-called.* M. Paris, p. 539. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

(1) Four of his ſtrongeſt Caſtles, *viz. Blanch* Caſtle, *Groſmund* in *Wales*, *Skenefrith* at *Hatfield*. *M. Paris*, p. 516.

(2) This Year alſo King *Henry* repaired and fortified the Tower of *London*. *Id.* p. 486.—*December* 21, died *Henry de Turbeville*, a famous Warrior. *Id.* p. 517.— King *Henry* keeping his Court at *Chriſtmaſs*, knighted *Baldwin de Rivers*, and created him Earl of the Iſle of *Wight*. *Id.* p. 513.

(3) *January* 14. *Id.* p. 525. (4) Who were aſſembled at *Reading*. *Id.* p. 526.

(5) Eight hundred Marks. *Id.* p. 527.

(6) In the beginning of this year died *Iſabella*, Wife of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, and was buried in the Abbey of *Beulieu* in *Hampſhire*. *Id.* p. 523 — *April* 13. died alſo *Lewellyn* Prince of *North Wales*. *Id.* p. 527. *M. Weſt.* p. 302.

(7) *Petrus Rubeus*. *M. Paris*.

(8) *William* of *York*, Provoſt of *Beverley* into the Southern, and *Robert de Lexinton* in the Northern Parts of *England*. *Id.* p. 533.

(9) This Year, about *Eaſter*, King *Henry* removed *Simon* the *Norman*, and *Geoffrey* the *Templar*, who were Joint-Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, becauſe they refuſed to affix it to a Grant, made by the King to *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, of a Toll of Fourpence upon every Bag of Wool, brought from *England* into his Dominions. *Id.* p. 519. The Seal was given to *Richard* Abbot of *Eveſham*. ibid.

(10) The King made him beſides a Preſent of five hundred Marks extraordinary. *M. Paris*, p. 515.

(11) See *Act. Pub.* T. I. p. 1, 4, 23, 27, 161, *&c.* The firſt Volume begins with an agreement, dated *May* 17. 1101, between *Henry* and *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, whereby the King binds himſelf to pay the Earl four hundred Marks *per Ann.* in Fee, on Condition of his ſending the King five hundred Horſes, when he ſhould want them. *Rymer* obſerves, that this Act is a more antient proof than any the *French* can produce, that the Earls of *Flanders* were Vaſſals to their Kings.—This Year in *October*, was born *Margaret*, King *Henry*'s Daughter. *Id.* p. 537. *M. Weſt.*

preſs

1241. preſs order. Hitherto he had found means to be continued through the King's interceſſion. But now he did not think fit, to deſire him to ſpeak in his behalf. He knew the Pope was ſeized by a diſtemper, of which, probably, he would never recover: And therefore did not care to be in *England*, when the news of his death ſhould arrive (1). He had too much reaſon to fear, that, during the vacancy of the Holy See, the Money he had amaſſed, might be ſtopped. It is affirmed, he carried away more than he left to the Churches and Monaſteries. *Gregory* IX. died quickly after, as the Legate foreſaw, and the Emperor immediately adviſed the King of it, that he might ſeize the Money levied on the Kingdom, for the deceaſed Pope; but the Legate had carried all with him. He was, however, ſo unfortunate in his return to *Italy*, as to fall into the hands of the Emperor's people, who ſtripped him of all his riches. This was the fruit of the numberleſs oppreſſions and extortions committed by this Cardinal in *England*. Thus the Money exacted on pretence of employing it againſt the Emperor, turned to the Emperor's own benefit.

M. Paris, p. 349.

He is rifled by the Emperor's People. M. Paris. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

Schiſm after the Death of Gregory. *The Nuntio's continue their exactions.* M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The death of *Gregory* IX, cauſed a Schiſm which laſted till the next year. During this time, *Roſſi* and *Supine*, whom the Legate left in *England*, as Nuntio's, continued their Extortions without moderation or juſtice. *Supine* being gone to *Ireland*, with the King's permiſſion, exacted from the Clergy there fifteen hundred Marks, a very large Sum at that time, for a Country where Money was extremely ſcarce (2). So that the death of *Gregory* IX, brought but little relief to the *Engliſh*, though they imagined they had reaſon to rejoice as at a great deliverance, ſince no Pope had ever carried his exactions to that heighth. The following inſtance is a clear evidence of what he was capable of. Some time before his death, he cauſed to be propoſed to the Abbot of *Peterborough*, that if he would give him, under a borrowed name, one of the Monaſtery's Livings of two hundred Pounds (3) a year, he would farm it out to him at an hundred, and ſo they ſhould ſhare the Benefice between them. But the Abbot was too honeſt to agree to ſuch a bargain. He even acquainted the King with it, who being made ſenſible of the ill conſequences, hindered, by his authority, the Abbot from being forced to comply. Had the Pope ſucceeded in this project, all the Benefices in *England* would ſoon have been in the hands of the Pope, the Biſhops, and the Abbots. At leaſt, it is to be preſumed, *Gregory* would not have been ſatisfied with that, but deſigned it only as an Eſſay of a more general project.

Simoniacal propoſal of Pope Gregory. M. Paris, p. 554.

The King extorts Money from the Jews.

The Clergy were not the only ſufferers in *England*. The People were no leſs expoſed to the King's oppreſſions, than the Clergy to the Pope's. The *Jews* in particular were every now and then ſeverely dealt with, for out of their pockets it was that the King uſually raiſed Money to defray his extraordinary expences. *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queen's Uncle, being come this year into *England*, the King received him with ſuch magnificence, that not knowing how to provide Money for this charge otherwiſe, he forced the *Jews* to preſent him with twenty thouſand Marks, on pain of being expelled the Kingdom (4).

Arrival of the Earl of Savoy. M. Paris, p. 549, 550. M. Weſt.

Henry gets the Queen's Brother choſen Archbiſhop. M. Paris.

The King was ſo deſirous of enriching the Queen's Relations. that he was never weary of ſhewing them marks of his affection. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying the laſt year, as was obſerved, *Henry* uſed ſo many inſtances, and other leſs lawful means, that he got *Boniface*, the Queen's Brother, to be elected to the Archiepiſcopal See. Thus was ſeen at the head of the Church of *England*, a young Foreigner, ignorant of the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Language of the Kingdom, and conſequently incapable of diſcharging the Functions of that Dignity as he ought.

Death of the Earl of Pembroke, *who is ſucceeded by his Brother.* Id. p. 565, 572. M. Weſt. An. Waverl.

Gilbert, Earl of *Pembroke*, dying this year (5), *Walter* his Brother demanded of the King the Inveſtiture of the Office of Earl-Marſhal, hereditary in their Family. *Henry* at firſt in a great paſſion denied him, alledging, his two Brothers were Traitors and Rebels, and that he himſelf was preſent at a Tournament contrary to his commands. However, this Lord finding means to make the Queen his Friend, obtained at length what he demanded (6). 1241.

The Affairs of Wales.

The affairs of the *Welſh* employed the King good part of this year. *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, departing this life in a very advanced age, left two Sons, *David* and *Griffin*, who were to ſhare his inheritance. But *David* ſeized the whole, and moreover detained his Brother in Priſon. Though, ever ſince the Homage voluntarily paid by *Lewellyn*, *Henry* might juſtly look upon *Wales* as a Fief of the Crown, he would not perhaps have concerned himſelf in this affair, had he not been induced by *Griffin*'s Wife. This Princeſs imploring his protection, promiſed him in her Husband's name, a Preſent of ſix hundred Marks, and an annual Tribute of three hundred, if he would free that Prince out of Priſon, and put him in poſſeſſion of his Right. *Henry* accepting this offer, ſent to *David* to releaſe the Priſoner, and reſtore him his part of the inheritance, threatning him, in caſe of refuſal, with a fierce War, till he ſhould obey (7). *David* not being able to reſiſt, at a time when many of his Subjects were inclined for his Brother, took, as he thought, a ſurer courſe than that of Arms. He out-bid his Siſter-in-law, and made more advantagious Propoſals, which were accepted. As *Henry* had only a view to his own intereſt, in granting his protection to *Griffin*, he readily eſpouſed the contrary ſide, when he found his account in it. Accordingly, from *Griffin*'s protector, he turned his enemy; and leſt that Prince ſhould eſcape, he took upon him to ſee him ſafely confined in the Tower of *London* (8). Thus it was that this Prince made no Conſcience of ſelling his protection to the two oppoſite Parties, without troubling himſelf on which ſide Juſtice lay, or regarding his prior Engagements (9).

Brady's Appendix, No. 167. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 389, 398, &c.

Death of the Empreſs and Eleanor *of* Bretagne. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 399. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The ſame year the Empreſs *Iſabella*, the King's Siſter, died in Child-bed. Her death was ſoon followed by that of *Eleanor* of *Bretagne*, who had been Priſoner forty years in *Briſtol* Caſtle. This Princeſs, though reduced to ſo wretched a condition, could never be brought, during her long impriſonment, to recede in the leaſt from her right, in order to obtain ſome favour which ſhe could not expect upon any other terms (10).

Occaſion of a freſh War between England *and* France. M. Paris. p. 566.

Shortly after, *Henry* was engaged in a troubleſome affair, of which he got clear, as uſually, with diſhonour, and which cauſed him to forfeit entirely the little eſteem his Subjects had ſtill left for him. Before Prince *Richard*'s departure to the *Holy Land*, he inveſted him with the Earldom of *Poictou*, though *France* was poſſeſſed of good part of it, ſince the Conqueſts of *Philip Auguſtus*. This Province being thus divided between the two Crowns, *Lewis* thought likewiſe he had a right to inveſt with it his Brother *Alphonſo*; which proved the occaſion of a War between the two Monarchs.

1242.

The Earl of Marche *engages* Henry *to carry the War into* Poictou. M. Paris, p. 579. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Hemingford.

Henry being extremely provoked at *Lewis*'s inveſting the Prince his Brother with *Poictou*, reſolved to be revenged, and the more, as the Queen his Mother was concerned. This Princeſs, who, after the death of King *John*, eſpouſed the Earl of *Marche* her firſt Lover, behaved with the ſame haughtineſs ſhe had aſſumed whilſt Queen of *England*. As the Territories of the Earl her Spouſe were in that part of *Poictou* poſſeſſed by *France*, he had all along done Homage to *Lewis*: But when *Alphonſo* became Earl of *Poictou*, ſhe could not bear to ſee her Husband kneel to a Brother of the King of *France*. This was certainly a miſtaken pride, ſince there was a vaſt difference between the Sovereign and the Vaſſal. However, ſhe ſollicited her Husband ſo earneſtly, that at length ſhe prevailed with him to refuſe Homage to Prince *Alphonſo*, though he had now poſitively promiſed it. This refuſal was even accompanied with ſome offenſive words, which put the King of *France* in a paſſion, and made him reſolve to chaſtiſe the Earl's inſolence. Mean time, the Earl, maintaining what he had done, implored the protection of the King of *England*. He hinted to him, it would be very eaſy to drive the *French* out of all *Poictou*; and in caſe he would bear the expence of the War, that Province would ſupply him with Troops ſufficient for a great Army. *Henry* pleaſed

(1) He departed from *Dover*, *Jan.* 7. *M. Paris*, p. 549.
(2) *Rubeus* ſent alſo his Agents to *Scotland*, and ſcraped together there, all the Money he poſſibly could. *M. Paris.* (3) Marks. *Id.* p. 554.
(4) In the *Memor.* 25 *Hen.* III. *Rot.* 7. is a Precept ſent to certain *Jews* of *Exeter*, to take care at their Peril, about levying and anſwering to the Crown their Contingent of the Tallage of twenty thouſand Marks aſſeſſed on them, at the Terms appointed for that purpoſe. The like Precept was ſent to the *Jews* of *Wincheſter*, *&c.* For aſſeſſing this Tallage, an Extract or Tallage-Roll was delivered out by the King's order to the Perſons to whoſe care that affair was committed. See the Coin-Note at the end of this Reign.
(5) He was killed by the Unrulineſs of his Horſe, whoſe Reigns breaking at a Tournament at *Herford*, on *May* 28. he was flung down, and his Foot being hung in the Stirrup, cauſed him to be almoſt kicked to Death. He was buried at *London*. *M. Paris*, p. 565.
(6) But the King retained two of his Caſtles, *viz.* thoſe of *Caermarthen*, and *Cardigan*, in his hands. *Id.* p. 573.——This Year died *John Biſet*, chief Foreſter of *England*, on *Auguſt* 22. *Id.* p. 550. and alſo *Walter de Laſcey*. *Id.* p. 552.
(7) He went as far as *Cheſter*, in order to force him to a compliance. *Id.* p. 570.
(8) By *John de Lexington*: This Tranſaction happened between the 8th and 29th of *September*. Ibid.
(9) This Year King *Henry* placed the Body of *Edward the Confeſſor* in a rich and curious Shrine. *M. Paris*, p. 572.
(10) She died a Virgin, and lies buried in the Church of the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*, to which Monaſtery ſhe gave the Manor of *Melkeſham*. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 69.——This Year alſo, *November* 9. died *Stephen de Segrave* in *Leiceſter* Abbey, where he had lain hid ſince his diſgrace. *M. Paris*, p. 576. — And *William de Fortibus* Earl of *Albemarle*. *Id.* p. 577.

with

1242. *The Parliament refuſes to grant an Aid.* M. Paris, p. 580. M. Weſt.

with theſe hopes ſummoned a Parliament (1), and demanded an aid anſwerable to the intended expedition. But his Subjects were ſo tired with granting a Prince Money, who made ſo ill uſe of it, that he could obtain nothing (2). On the contrary, he was ſharply upbraided for laviſhing away his ſettled Revenues, and the ſums daily exacted from his Subjects by unlawful means. He was told likewiſe, that the Truce with *France* not being yet expired, the Parliament was unwilling to incur the guilt of the breach of his Oath. In fine, complaints were made of the non-performance of his promiſe, with regard to the two Charters, which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve.

Henry *raiſes Money by other means.* M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Theſe reproaches were the more grievous, as the King had nothing to reply. However, he perſiſted in his deſign, and not being able to prevail with the Parliament to grant him an aid, he ſqueezed what he could from private Perſons, by way of Gift or Loan, or other means, in which he ſpent the whole Winter. After this he ſummoned all the military Tenants of the Crown, to meet him at *Portſmouth* on a day appointed. But inſtead of Horſe and Arms, he ordered them to bring each a ſum of Money, depending upon the Earl of *Marche*'s words, that he ſhould find Men enough in *Poictou*. As ſoon as the ſeaſon was fair (3), he embarked at *Portſmouth*, attended by the Queen his Mother, and Prince *Richard* his Brother, newly arrived from the *Holy Land* (4). Upon his departure, he committed the Regency of the Kingdom to the Archbiſhop of *York* (5). He landed in *Saintonge*, where he was joined by ſome *Poictevin* Noblemen. The Earl of *Marche* met him alſo, but ſo thinly attended, that it was viſible, he was not in condition to perform his promiſe. When an Army came to be raiſed in thoſe parts, the Officers and Soldiers liſted ſo ſlowly under the *Engliſh* Banners, that it was eaſy to foreſee the enterprize would not be ſucceſsful. Mean time, the King of *France*, who was advancing with a numerous Army (6), laid Siege to *Fontenay*, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Poictou*. During this Siege, *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors (7) to him, to demand all that *Philip Auguſtus* had taken from the *Engliſh*, and *Lewis* VIII had promiſed to reſtore; and in caſe of refuſal, to declare War againſt him. *Lewis*, who was fainted after his death, being of a tender Conſcience, could hardly overcome his ſcruples, on account of his Father's Oath to reſtore theſe Provinces. In this diſpoſition, he gave the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors an honorable reception, and anſwered them with great moderation, that he much wondered, the King their maſter could break a Truce confirmed by a ſolemn Oath. Adding, that to ſhew his ſincere deſire to preſerve a good underſtanding between them, he offered to renew the Truce for three years (8). In fine, he conſented to deliver up part of *Poictou* and *Normandy*, provided *Henry* would withdraw his protection from his rebellious Vaſſals; who, for no reaſon, refuſed to pay him the obedience due to him. Theſe Propoſals were as advantagious as *Henry* could wiſh them. He might too, by accepting them, have procured for the Earl of *Marche* an honorable accommodation, which *Lewis*, as he then ſtood diſpoſed, would not, doubtleſs, have refuſed. But ſuffering himſelf to be guided by the violent Counſels of the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *Marche*, he proudly rejected theſe offers. Some days after he raſhly ſent two Knights Hoſpitallers to defy *Lewis*, though he was ill able to ſupport his haughtineſs. Notwithſtanding this Bravado, *Lewis*, who could hardly conquer his ſcruples, ſought to make Peace. But at length means were found to remove his uneaſineſs, by repreſenting to him, that his Father's Oath was no farther binding, than as the King of *England* ſhould perform on his part what he had promiſed: That the ſaid King had ſworn not to exact any ranſom from the Priſoners, nor to treat ill ſuch of the *Engliſh* as adhered to *France*: That he had violated both theſe Articles, and this breach of the Treaty of *London* had rendered void the engagements of the other Party. In all appearance, *Lewis*, as pious as he was, ſought not to eaſe his Conſcience entirely, but only to appeaſe it for the preſent, ſince he was prevailed upon by ſo poor a pretence. Be this as it will, he continued the Siege, and took the City by ſtorm. A natural Son of the Earl of *Marche* being made Priſoner with four hundred Knights, *Lewis* was adviſed to put them all to death. But he replied, the Son could not help obeying his Father, and the reſt their Sovereign; and therefore it was not reaſonable that the innocent ſhould be puniſhed for the guilty. This firſt Succeſs was followed by ſeveral others, which gained *Lewis* the poſſeſſion of divers places in that part of *Poictou* belonging to the *Engliſh*, without *Henry*'s being able to ſtop his progreſs, ſo ill had he taken his meaſures. As *Henry* endeavoured only to avoid fighting, he went and encamped near *Taillebourg*, on the Banks of the *Charente*, with the River between him and the Enemy. When *Lewis* had notice of it, he poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the ſame River, and by means of his Engines and Croſs-bow-men, compelled the *Engliſh* to remove two thouſand Paces farther. Their retreat gave him an opportunity of eaſily becoming maſter of *Taillebourg* Bridge, which was the only way he could come at the *Engliſh*. Mean time, as the day was too far ſpent to paſs his whole Army, he was ſatisfied with guarding the Bridge, reſolving to attack the Enemy by break of day. *Henry*, who was not ſtrong enough to ſtand a Battle, took the advantage of the night to retire; whilſt Prince *Richard* his Brother was endeavouring to amuſe the *French* with Propoſals of a Truce, which however he could obtain only for the reſt of that night (9). As ſoon as it was expired, *Lewis* purſued the *Engliſh*, and overtaking their Rear, made them ſuffer ſome loſs. This at leaſt is the Idea the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians give of this Action, which the *French* make much more conſiderable. But on ſuch occaſions, it is very difficult to diſcover the Truth exactly, becauſe one meets with very few impartial Hiſtorians. However, it is very likely the matter was otherwiſe than the *Engliſh* repreſent it, ſince the *French* give a particular account of this Battle, where they ſay both the Kings were preſent; that *Lewis* was in great danger; and that four thouſand *Engliſh* were taken Priſoners (10). Beſides, it is certain, the King of *England* fled as far as *Xaintes*, where he was followed by *Lewis*, and that the Earl of *Marche* making a Sally, was the occaſion of the two Kings coming to a ſecond Battle, no leſs fatal to the *Engliſh* than the former. After this, *Henry* perceiving he was like to be blocked up in *Xaintes*, fled to *Blaye*, where not thinking himſelf yet ſafe, he retired to *Bourdeaux*.

1242. Lewis *takes* Fontenay. M. Paris, p. 588.

Id. p. 589. M. Weſt.

He gains a Paſs over the Charante.

He ſets out, having made the Archbiſhop of York *Regent.* Id. p. 400, &c.

The Poictevins *join him, not as the Earl had promiſed.*

Lewis *beſieges* Fontenay. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Henry *declares War.* M. Paris, p. 587.

Lewis *makes advantagious offers, which are rejected.* M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Henry *defies* Lewis. M. Paris.

The King of *France*'s extraordinary Succeſſes in this War, terrified the Earl of *Marche*. He found that the King of *England*, not being able to protect him, as it plainly appeared, his holding out any longer would but render his condition more deplorable. Therefore reſolving, though a little too late, to provide for his ſafety, he ſent his eldeſt Son to the King of *France*, to try to obtain ſome tolerable Terms. The favourable reception *Lewis* gave the young Lord, induced the Father to go to his Camp, with his Wife and Children, and throw himſelf entirely upon his Mercy. *Lewis*, who was extremely generous, very readily pardoned him, though he had ſufficient Evidence, that the Counteſs-Queen had ſuborned People to poiſon him. He was content with having three of their Caſtles (11) for Security of their Fidelity. In all appearance, he would have enlarged his Conqueſt upon the King of *England*, who was little able to ſtand before him, if the Plague which aroſe in his Army, and a Diſtemper which himſelf was ſeized with, had not prevented him from carrying his Arms as far as *Bourdeaux*. Theſe reaſons, and perhaps ſome remains of his old ſcruples, cauſed him to conſent to a five years Truce, after having ſufficiently chaſtiſed his Enemy, by the entire Conqueſt of *Poictou* (12).

The Earl of Marche *makes his Peace with* Lewis. Will. de Nangis. M. Paris, p. 591. M. Weſt.

Id. p. 594.

A Truce for five Years. M. Paris, p. 595. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 416.

Though *Henry* had nothing more to do in *France*, he would paſs the Winter at *Bourdeaux*, where he laviſhed away the remains of his Treaſure in Entertain-

1243. *Henry paſſes the Winter at* Bourdeaux, *and ſends for Money from* England. M. Paris, p. 596. M. Weſt.

(1) At *Weſtminſter*, in the beginning of *February*, or latter end of *January*. *M. Paris*, p. 579. *M. Weſt.* p. 306.
(2) They entered, before the meeting of the Parliament, into a Reſolution, not to grant him any Money. *M. Paris*, p. 580.
(3) *May* 15. Id. p. 583. *M. Weſt.* p. 307.
(4) And about three hundred Soldiers. *M. Paris*, p. 583.
(5) And at the ſame time reſtored to his favour *Richard*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Chancellor; *Ralph Fitz Nicolas*, and others. But *Richard* Abbot of *Eveſham*, reſigned the great Seal.—About that time a Marriage was concluded between *Alexander*, the King of *Scotland*'s eldeſt Son, and *Margaret* Daughter of King *Henry*: In conſideration of which, the Cuſtody of that part of *England* which borders upon *Scotland*, was committed to the King of *Scots*. Ibid.
(6) Conſiſting of above four and twenty thouſand Men. *M. Paris*, p. 584. At the beginning of this War were ſeized the Perſons and Goods of the *Engliſh* Merchants in the *French* Dominions, and of the *French* in the *Engliſh* Dominions, to the great Injury of Trade; which ſeems not to have been practiſed before. *Id.* p. 585.
(7) *Ralph Fitz-Nicolas*, and *Nicolas de Molis*. *Ibid.*
(8) For ſix Years. *Ibid.*
(9) As ſoon as he had obtained it, he returned to King *Henry*, and adviſed him to make his Eſcape with as much ſpeed as he could, otherwiſe he would be taken Priſoner; thereupon the King took Horſe that Night, and never ſtopped till he came to *Xaintes*. *M. Paris*, p. 590. *M. Weſt.* p. 308.
(10) In this Battle, or Skirmiſh, theſe following Perſons ſignalized themſelves, *S. de Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *William Longeſpee* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, *John de Burgh*, *Warin de Montchenſil*, *Hubert Fitz-Matthew*, *Ralph Fitz-Nicolas*, *John Manſel*, &c. *Henry de Haſtings* was taken Priſoner. *M. Paris*, p. 590.
(11) Thoſe of *Arpin*, *Archard*, and one upon the River *Creuſe*. *W. de Nangis.*
(12) This Year died *Richard de Burgh*, and *Hugh de Laſcy*, two Barons of Note. *M. Paris*, p. 597. *M. Weſt.* p. 309.

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1243. ments and Diverſions, as if he had been victorious in the late Campaign. Mean while his Troops were in want of all things, the *Gaſcons* not being willing to maintain an *Engliſh* Army in time of Peace, and without any neceſſity. So that the King found himſelf obliged to ſend for Cloaths and Proviſions for the Soldiers to the Archbiſhop of *York*, his Regent in *England:* ordering him withal, to confiſcate the Eſtates of ſome *Engliſh* Barons, who were retired without Leave (1). The firſt of theſe Orders were executed. But the Regent prudently declined meddling with the laſt, for fear of raiſing Diſturbances in the Kingdom during the King's Abſence. This firſt Supply was hardly received before the King ſent freſh Orders to the Regent to demand of the *Ciſtercians* one Year's Profit of their Wool. But the Abbots excuſed themſelves in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhowed they would not be compelled to it without Force, which the Archbiſhop did not care to uſe. In fine, the Archbiſhop, continually preſſed to ſend Money to *Bourdeaux*, obtained of the Parliament a Scutage of twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, which would have been ſufficient to free the King from his preſent Straits, had it been well managed.

The Parliament grants him an Aid. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Mean time *Henry* continued ſtill at *Bourdeaux* with his Army, without having any other Buſineſs but to conſume in idle Expences the Money ſent him from *England*. When his Coffers were empty, he demanded freſh Supplies of the Regent, who was at a loſs to anſwer all theſe Demands. The only means left, was to borrow Money in the King's Name of ſuch private Perſons as were reputed rich (2). This extraordinary Proceeding cauſed great Murmurings among the People, as it has always done, whenever the Kings have made uſe of it to ſupply their Occaſions. The Regent, however, was willing to expoſe himſelf to theſe Complaints, in expectation, by that means, to draw the King from *Bourdeaux*. But withal, he ſent him word, there was no poſſibility of raiſing any more Money, and therefore it was time to think of returning home. This Declaration obliged the King in good earneſt to prepare for his Departure. As ſoon as he was reſolved, he ſent Orders to all the Barons of *England* to be ready to receive him at *Portſmouth*. They obeyed; but he made them wait ſo long, that they were extremely diſguſted, by reaſon of the Expence they were at, during their Stay. Before he left *Bourdeaux*, *Henry* ratified the five Years Truce with *France*; that diſhonourable Truce, whereby, beſides *Lewis*'s Conqueſts, *Henry* was bound to pay him yearly five thouſand Pounds Sterling (3). This was the Fruit of this ill-concerted, and ſtill worſe managed Expedition (4). However, notwithſtanding the reaſon he had to be aſhamed of the unfortunate Succeſs of this Enterprize, he would be received at *London* with extraordinary Pomp, as if it was poſſible to deceive the People by theſe outward Appearances, and make them believe, the King was returned victorious (5). All the Money that was ſent him being expended, he was no ſooner at *London*, but he picked a Quarrel with the *Jews*, who, to appeaſe him, were forced to give him a very conſiderable Sum (6). Of which, *Aaron*, a *Jew* of *York*, paid no leſs than four Marks of Gold, and four thouſand of Silver (7).

Loans for the King, which cauſe great Murmurings. M. Paris, p. 600.

Henry ratifies the Truce, and returns to England. Act. Pub. I. p. 416. M. Paris, p. 600. M. Weſt.

Extorts Money from the Jews. M. Paris, p. 605.

Henry was not long in *England*, before he found occaſion to expend what had been exacted from the *Jews*. The Arrival of the Counteſs of *Provence* his Mother-in-law, who was come to celebrate the Nuptials of her Daughter *Cincia* with Prince *Richard* (8), furniſhed him with an opportunity to conſume a larger Sum. The Charge he was at on account of this Marriage may be eſtimated by the Wedding-Dinner only, which conſiſted, as it is ſaid, of thirty thouſand Diſhes. 1243.

Marriage of Prince Richard. Act. Pub. I. p. 422. M. Paris, p. 606. M. Weſt. An. Waverl.

The Holy See, which had been vacant eighteen Months, was filled this Year by Cardinal *Senebaldo* of *Genoa*, who took the Name of *Innocent* IV. The new Pope was no ſooner conſecrated, but he confirmed the Excommunication denounced upon the Emperor (9).

Innocent IV. *Pope.* M. Paris, p. 604.

1244. Since *Henry*'s taking into his own hands the Adminiſtration of the Government, not a Year paſſed without his demanding Money of the Parliament. At firſt he generally met with a Denial: but at length the Parliament was gained by the King's Aſſurances, that he would cauſe his Father's Charters to be punctually obſerved. He had a mind this year to uſe the ſame Artifice (10), but found the Nobility and Clergy ſo ſtrictly united, that he deſpaired of ſucceeding. He even perceived it was dangerous to ſuffer them to be aſſembled too long, knowing they were taking meaſures to deprive him of the Adminiſtration of Affairs, which they deſigned to commit to four of their Body, who were to tranſact every thing in his Name. A Project of this Nature could not but alarm him; and therefore he promiſed in general to reform what was amiſs, and after ſome fruitleſs Endeavours to divide them, prorogued the Parliament (11).

The Parliament denies the King an Aid.

The Parliament's Deſign againſt the King.

The Parliament is prorogued.

Mean while, the Clergy had a violent Shock to withſtand from the new Pope, who ſent into *England* one *Martin* as his Nuntio, to exact Money from the Eccleſiaſticks, with Power to puniſh ſuch as were refractory to his Commands. The Nuntio executed his Orders ſo rigorouſly, that for the leaſt trifle he ſuſpended Prieſts, Abbots, and Biſhops themſelves; and thereby became extremely odious both to the Clergy and Laity. But it was much worſe, when he produced the Pope's Letter to demand of the Clergy an extraordinary Aid to diſcharge the Debts contracted by *Gregory* IX, in his Wars with the Emperor. He alledged, this War being undertaken in defence of the Catholick Faith, and St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, all Eccleſiaſticks, and particularly the *Engliſh*, were bound to contribute to the Expence. Before the Clergy came to any Reſolution, the King reaſſembled the Parliament (12), and renewed his Demand of an Aid. But, as he was ſenſible he ſhould obtain nothing unleſs he ſatisfied the Barons with regard to their Grievances, he promiſed with an Oath to ſee the two Charters punctually obſerved. He even conſented the Biſhops ſhould excommunicate him, in caſe he violated his Oath. Upon theſe Aſſurances, the Parliament granted him twenty Shillings for every Knight's Fee (13). But, as no preſſing Neceſſity could be alledged for this extraordinary Aid, it was ſaid, the Money ſhould be expended in the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter, though all knew it was intended for other Uſes.

The Pope vexes the Clergy. M. Paris, p. 641. M. Weſt.

The Pope's Demand of them.

The King obtains a Scutage by promiſing to keep the Charters. M. Paris, p. 643.

When the Nuntio ſaw the Parliament had complied with the King, he preſſed the Biſhops and Abbots to have the ſame Condeſcenſion for their Spiritual, as the Parliament had for their Temporal Father. But they ſlighted this frivolous Reaſon, and alledged much ſtronger to juſtify their Refuſal. The Steddineſs of the Prelates obliged the Nuntio at length to deſiſt. But he ſtill continued, by virtue of the Power received from the Pope,

The Nuntio ſollicits the Clergy in vain. Id. p. 643.

(1) *William de Ros* a Nobleman, not being able to afford to ſtay any longer with King *Henry*, came over into *England*; for which *Henry* ordered him to be diſſeized of his Lands, without the Judgment of his Peers; but he was ſeverely reproved for it by his Brother *Richard*. M. Paris, *p.* 595.

(2) Chiefly of the Citizens of *London*. M. Paris, p. 600.

(3) It was but five thouſand pounds in all, namely, one thouſand Pounds a Year. See *M. Paris*, p. 600.

(4) Whilſt the King was engaged in this War, the Queen his Wife lay in at *Bourdeaux*, *June* 25. 1242. of a Daughter called *Beatrix*. Moſt of the Nobility left the King at *Bourdeaux*; for which he ordered their Eſtates to be confiſcated as above. *M. Paris.* —— King *Henry* landed at *Portſmouth*, *September* 25. *Id.* p. 604. *T. Wikes.*

(5) He ordered alſo, that every City or Town he came through, four of the chief Inhabitants ſhould come out to meet him on Horſe-back, and richly dreſſed. *M. Paris*, p. 604.

(6) It appears by the *Memor.* 28 *Hen.* III. that at this time there was a Tallage of ſixty thouſand Marks impoſed on the *Jews*. For it is there ſaid: "*Baronibus pro Samuele filio Leonis Judæ de Eboraco.* Rex eiſdem; Sciatis quod *Samuel* filius *Leonis Judæi Eboraci* finem fecit nobiſcum per ſeptem "millia marcarum, pro *relevio* catallorum dicti *Leonis* patris ſui, & pro catallis præfati patris ſui & ſuis inventis extra archam & ut quietus ſit *de tallagio* "*Sexaginta millia marcarum* quod ſuper *Judæos* noſtros *Angliæ* aſſideri faciemus: — Et mandatum eſt Juſticiariis *Judæorum*. See the following Coin-Note.

(7) Ab uno *Judæo*, *viz. Aaron* Eboracenſi quatuor marcis auri & quatuor millia argenti emunxit, ſays, *M. Paris*, p. 535. *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, four thouſand marks of Gold, and forty thouſand of Silver, applying here what *M. Paris* ſays on another occaſion; namely, this *Jew* being fin'd (for falſifying a Charter) fourteen thouſand Marks of Silver to the King, and forty Marks of Gold to the Queen, told *M. Paris* in 1250, that ſince the King's return from beyond Sea, he had paid him at ſeveral times thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, and two hundred Marks of Gold to the Queen. *Id.* p. 785. The Reaſon of paying theſe Marks of Gold to the Queen, will be ſhown in the Coin Note at the end of this Reign. This ſame *Aaron* the *Jew*, fined with the King in one hundred Marks a Year to be quit, during Life, of *Tallage*. *Ex. Orig.* 20 *Hen.* III. M. 4.

(8) They were married at *Weſtminſter Nov.* 23. *M. Paris*, p. 606.

(9) This Year, *May* 7. died *Hugh de Albiny*, Earl of *Arundel*; and the 12th of the ſame month died alſo the famous *Hubert de Burgh*, at *Banſtide*; and was buried at *London*, in the Monaſtery of the *Friars Preachers*. M. Paris, *p.* 600.

(10) The Parliament choſe a Committee to examine the King's Propoſal, conſiſting of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, and *Worceſter*: *Richard* the King's Brother, *Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Roger Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Walter* Earl Marſhal. Of the Barons, *Richard de Munfichet*, and *John de Baillail*; and the Abbots of St. *Edmundſbury*, and *Ramſay*. *M. Paris*, p. 639.

(11) *Matthew Paris* ſays, this great Council or Parliament had contrived a new method of Government, and intended that four of the moſt potent and diſcreet Men of the Kingdom ſhould be choſen by common Conſent, who were to tranſact all Affairs relating to the King and Kingdom, and to do Juſtice to all without reſpect of Perſons. They were to follow the King, and two of them at leaſt were to be always preſent with him, that they might hear and relieve the Complaints of Perſons oppreſſed. The King's Treaſury was to be managed by them, and all Aids were to be expended as they thought moſt for the Benefit of the Nation. In a word, they were to be the Conſervators of the Publick Liberties, and as choſen by common Conſent, they were not to be removed but by the ſame Authority; when one died, another was to be choſen by the three Survivors, and without the Conſent of theſe four, the great Council was not to meet. They were likewiſe to appoint the *Juſticiary*, and *Chancellor*; and the Juſtices of the *King's Bench* and *Exchequer*, which were then two in each of thoſe Courts. *M. Paris*, p. 640, 641.

(12) Three Weeks after the Prorogation. *M. Paris*, p. 643.

(13) To be paid, half at *Eaſter*, and half at *Michaelmaſs*. Ibid.

1244. to fill the vacant Benefices, which he diſpoſed of in a ſcandalous manner (1).

Affairs of the Welſh. M. Paris, p. 617.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, an Accident happened, which broke the ſtrict Union, between the King and the Prince of *Wales* ever ſince their Agreement. *Griffin*, who was confined in the Tower of *London*, endeavouring to eſcape out of the Priſon-window, fell into the Ditch and broke his Neck. Whilſt he was alive, his Brother *David* never dared to diſpleaſe the King, for fear he ſhould ſupport him in his Pretenſions. But when *Griffin* was dead, he made an Irruption into the Borders of *England*, under colour of being revenged for certain Breaches of the late Treaty. The Borderers upon *Wales* ſeeing the King took no care to repel this inſult, armed themſelves in defence of their Country; but as they were too weak, and ill-conducted, were continually defeated (2).

The King of Scotland *refuſes to do Homage to* Henry, *who prepares for War.* Id. p. 638. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 425.

At the ſame time, *Alexander* II, King of *Scotland*, having lately married a *French* Lady (3), ſent *Henry* word, he intended to do him Homage no longer for the Lands held of the Crown of *England*. How little inclined ſoever *Henry* was for War, he could not help, on this occaſion, exerting himſelf, ſo greatly were the *Engliſh* incenſed at this Bravado. He ſummoned therefore all the Vaſſals of the Crown to meet him at *Newcaſtle*, the Rendezvous (4) of the Army deſigned againſt *Scotland* (5). When *Alexander* reſolved to refuſe the Homage due to *Henry*, he did not expect it would have involved him in a War (6). Perſuaded as he was of the Weakneſs and Irreſolution of the Prince he had to deal with, he hoped the difference would be decided as formerly, by a Negotiation which might turn to his Advantage. But when he ſaw the *Engliſh* Army ready to enter his Territories, he became more ſubmiſſive, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Newcaſtle* to ſue for Peace. *Henry* received the Propoſal with Joy. Notwithſtanding his ſeeming reſolution to puſh the War with rigour, he readily conſented to a Treaty, which afforded him an excuſe to lay down his Arms. *Alexander* ſubmitted to the ſame Homage paid by himſelf and Anceſtors, and a good Underſtanding between the two Kings was perfectly reſtored (7). Before they parted, a Marriage was agreed upon between *Alexander*'s eldeſt Son of the ſame Name with himſelf, and *Margaret*, *Henry*'s eldeſt Daughter.

M. Paris, p. 643. M. Weſt.

Alexander ſues for Peace. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 428, &c. M. Paris, ibid. &c. M. Weſt.

The Prince of Wales *offers to become Vaſſal to the Pope.* M. Paris, p. 647. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

The Army raiſed for the War with *Scotland* not having occaſion to act, the King was adviſed to make uſe of it to reduce the Prince of *Wales* to obedience. But inſtead of improving ſo favorable a juncture, he diſmiſſed the Troops (8), out of Impatience to call a Parliament, and demand an aid of Money, which however he could not obtain (9). The Prince of *Wales* ſo little queſtioned *Henry*'s uſing the means he had in his power to chaſtiſe him, that, to free himſelf from the imagined danger, he applied to the Pope, intimating that he was compelled to declare himſelf Vaſſal, and Tributary to the King of *England*. For which reaſon, he beſought the Pope to annul the Treaty, offering to become Vaſſal to the Holy See, and to pay him the yearly Tribute of five hundred Marks (10). *Innocent* IV. being no leſs greedy of money than his Predeceſſors, was pleaſed with this Propoſal. However, to ſhow he did not pretend to decide the matter without a hearing of the Cauſe, and upon the bare Suggeſtion of a Petition, he empowered two *Welſh* Abbots to take Informations concerning the pretended Conſtraint alledged by their Prince. At the ſame time he commiſſioned them to annul the Treaty, and abſolve the Prince of *Wales* from his Oath, in caſe it appeared he had been really compelled. It was eaſy to foreſee what Sentence the Judges would paſs. The two Abbots, proud of their Power, inſolently ſummoned the King of *England* to appear before them, as if he had been ſome private Perſon ſubject to their Juriſdiction. This Proceeding extremely enraged the King and his Council, as well as the whole Nation. Then they were ſorry the Army was disbanded, but as there was no remedy, it was reſolved, another ſhould inſtantly be raiſed to chaſtiſe the Prince of *Wales* as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit; for it was then the middle of Winter. At the ſame time, the great Men conferred together about means to ſtop the Attempts of the Court of *Rome*.

M. Paris, p. 634, &c. Id. p. 631, &c.

The War with Wales *reſolved upon.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 430, &c. 433.

1244.

Whilſt theſe two Affairs were in hand, the Court received intelligence, that the King of *France* had ſent away all the *Engliſh* in his Dominions. Though the Truce was far from being yet expired, *Lewis* thought fit to take this Step, to prevent the King of *England*'s Subjects in *France*, from being too well informed of the Affairs of the Kingdom. To that end, he aſſembled at *Paris* all who had Eſtates in *France*, and declaring to them, he thought it not poſſible to ſerve faithfully two Maſters at once, gave them their choice to preſer which they pleaſed. Thoſe that declared for *England*, were ordered to depart out of *France* within ſuch a time, with aſſurance of retaining their Lands. *Henry* did not act with the ſame Juſtice. As ſoon as he was informed of *Lewis*'s Proceedings, he ſeized all the Lands held by the *French* in *England*, without any regard to the Remonſtrances of the King of *France*. However, *Lewis* did not think fit to break the Truce for the ſake of ſome private Perſons (11).

Lewis expels the Engliſh *ſettled in his Dominions.* M. Paris, p. 614.

Henry confiſcates the Lands of the French.

Shortly after the Emperor *Frederic* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry*, complaining of the frequent aids of Money given the Pope. He ordered him to be told, for the future, he would treat all the *Engliſh* that ſhould fall into his hands as Enemies, ſince he could not deem them otherwiſe. His Complaints had no other effect, than that the Clergy took occaſion from thence to oppoſe the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, whoſe continual pretence was the War with the Emperor (12).

The Emperor complains of the Aids ſent the Pope. Id. p. 614.

In the beginning of the year 1245 (13), the Queen was delivered of another Son, chriſtened *Edmund*. I ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this Prince before the end of this Reign.

1245. *Birth of Prince* Edmund. Mat. Paris.

The War with the *Welſh*, which was deferred till the Spring, was accordingly begun at that time (14). But the *Engliſh* proceeded with ſo little vigour, that inſtead of attacking their Enemies, they were hardly able to defend themſelves.

The War with the Welſh. ibid. M. Weſt.

This was not ſo much owing to their Weakneſs, as to their being employed in other Affairs, which to them ſeemed of greater moment than the War with *Wales*. They at length reſolved to free themſelves from the Tyranny of the Court of *Rome*. *Martin* the Nuntio uſed his Authority with ſo little diſcretion, that it was not poſſible to bear it any longer. The Barons who ſaw with grief all the Money of the Kingdom remitted to *Rome*, and were very ſenſible, the Clergy always gave way when the Pope came to be oppoſed, were at laſt determined to exert their utmoſt to prevent ſuch common Exactions. After frequent Conferences, they reſolved to act by their own Authority. Accordingly, without waiting any longer for the King's Protection, who appeared very backward to ſecond them, they iſſued out orders to the Wardens of the Ports, to ſtop all Perſons that ſhould bring any Bulls or Mandates from the Court of *Rome*. Purſuant to theſe Orders, which were every where obeyed, without regarding whether they were approved by the King, a Meſſenger from *Rome* was ſeized with ſeveral Bulls about him, empowering the Nuntio to exact Money from the Clergy on divers pretences. The Nuntio complained to the King, who commanded every thing that was ſeized to be reſtored to him. But the Barons ſtrongly remonſtrated to him, how much he wronged his Subjects in perpetually countenancing the Rapines of the Court of *Rome*. For his conviction, they laid before him the true value of the Income enjoyed by the *Italian* Eccleſiaſticks in *England*, amounting to ſixty

Vigorous Reſolutions of the Barons againſt the Pope. M. Paris, p. 657.

A Courier from the Pope ſtopped. Id. p. 658.

Id. p. 58. M. Weſt.

(1) Among the reſt he gave the Treaſurer's place in the Cathedral of *Saliſbury* to a little Boy, who was the Pope's Nephew, againſt the Will of the Biſhop and whole Chapter. *M. Paris*, p. 644.

(2) About this time the King took into his Council *Paulin Piper*, a Knight, Steward of his Houſhold, and *John Manſel*, Chancellor of St. *Paul*'s in *London*; and appointed *Laurence of St. Martin*, Preſident of his Council and Procurator in all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. *M. Paris.*

(3) Daughter to *Engelram de Curcy* a potent Nobleman of *France*, and mortal Enemy to *Henry*. *M. Paris*, p. 638. *M. Weſt.*

(4) They came there in *Auguſt*. *M. Paris*, p. 645.

(5) The pretence uſed by King *Henry* for undertaking this Expedition, was, That *Walter Cumin*, and other *Scotch* Noblemen had fortified two Caſtles in *Galway* and *Lothian*, to the prejudice of the King of *England*, and contrary to Treaties. *M. Paris*, p. 645. And alſo that *Alexander* ſheltered *Geoffrey de Maris*, and other Rebels. *Ibid.*

(6) Though he was tolerably well provided, having one thouſand Horſe, and a hundred thouſand Foot. *Ibid.*

(7) Chiefly through the means of Prince *Richard*, and other Noblemen. *M. Paris. Ibid.*

(8) Being contented with ſending three hundred Men to ſtop their Incurſions, under the command of *Hubert Fitz-Matthews*. *Id.* p. 647.

(9) This Parliament met *November* 3. upon their refuſing the King Money, he extorted fifteen hundred Marks from the Citizens of *London*, under pretence that they had ſheltered one *Walter Buckerel*, that had been baniſhed. *Id.* p. 651.

(10) *Rapin* ſays by miſtake, five thouſand Marks that he uſed to pay to *England*. *M. Paris*'s words are, ——quod ſe ſuamque terram totam, contra regis *Anglorum* jus continuendam, eccleſiæ *Romanæ* reſignavit, ipſi tamen *David* tenendam, ſuiſque Heredibus, *reddendo inde annuatim quingentas Marcas*; p. 785.

(11) *M. Paris* ſays, that the *French* King gave the *Engliſh* in his Dominions the liberty of relinquiſhing either their Eſtates in *France*, or thoſe in *England*. And that they were forced to do one or the other. But it does not appear, he gave any Aſſurance to thoſe who quitted *France*, that they ſhould retain their Lands. The hardſhip on *Henry*'s part, was, that he left the *French* in his Kingdom no choice, but ſeized their Lands to his own uſe, p. 614.

(12) *February* 3. died *Richard* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Chancellor. *An. Waverl.* p. 204.

(13) *January* 16. *M. Paris*, p. 654.

(14) This Year in *Lent*, three hundred of the *Welſh* were ſlain by the *Engliſh* at *Montgomery*. But ſoon after *Hubert*, or *Herbert*, *Fitz-Matthew* the *Engliſh* General, was killed, and the *Welſh* became Maſters of *Montbant* Caſtle. *M. Paris*, p. 654. *M. Weſt.* p. 349.

thouſand

1245. thousand Marks *per Annum*, a Sum exceeding at that time the whole Revenue of the Crown (1). *Henry*, who had never made ſo exact a Calculation, could not help ſhowing his Surprize. But as he durſt not venture of himſelf to redreſs this Grievance, for fear of the Pope's Reſentment, he was contented with permitting the Barons to write to the General Council then aſſembled at *Lyons*, to ſet forth the intolerable Oppreſſions which *England* ſuffered from the Court of *Rome*. Accordingly the Barons wrote to the Council in the Name of the whole Kingdom, inſerting in their Letter, ſent by Ambaſſadors on purpoſe, all the Grievances complained of by the *Engliſh* (2). But as they knew that on ſuch occaſions the Court of *Rome* never failed to make uſe of Delays and Evaſions, they reſolved to take a more ſpeedy and effectual Courſe. For that purpoſe they agreed to meet under pretence of a Tournament, in order to concert the neceſſary meaſures for executing their deſign. The King dreading the conſequences of this Aſſembly, forbid them to be preſent at the Tournament; but they did not think proper to obey. They met therefore at the place appointed (3), and after ſome Conference, ſent to the Nuntio a Knight (4), who commanded him in their Name, forthwith to depart the Kingdom. The Knight diſcharged his Commiſſion ſomewhat roughly; and upon the Nuntio's demanding, who gave him his Authority? he anſwered, The whole Nation; and in caſe he ſtayed three days in *England*, he ſhould infallibly be cut in pieces. *Martin* failed not to carry his Complaints to the King. But *Henry* telling him, he was not able to protect him (5), he demanded a Paſſport, and went away immediately, to the great Satisfaction of all the People. The Pope, who had never met with ſuch a Check in *England*, was ſo enraged, that he was heard to ſay: *I ſee plainly I muſt make Peace with the Emperor, that I may humble theſe petty Princes: For the great* Dragon *being once appeaſed, I ſhall with more eaſe be able to cruſh the ſmaller* Serpents.

The Barons ſend a Letter to the General Council. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 436 &c. M. Paris, p. 659. M. Weſt.

Id. p. 660.

Mean while the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors being arrived at *Lyons*, preſented their Letter to the Council, where the Pope preſided in Perſon. The Letter being publickly read, *Innocent* was ſo ſurprized, that he ſaid not a word in his own Vindication. After the Ambaſſadors had waited ſome time, to ſee if he had any thing to alledge againſt the Contents of the Letter, one of them gave a particular Narrative of the Grievances of their Nation. He dwelt chiefly on two Articles, the firſt related to the Tribute of the thouſand Marks, which King *John* promiſed to pay every Year to the Holy See. He maintained that King *John* could not render his Kingdom Tributary, and his Engagement being never confirmed by the Barons, was to be deemed null and void. The other Article concerned the Clauſe of *Non-obſtante*, inſerted by the Pope in all his Bulls, a Clauſe entirely deſtructive of the Rights of Biſhops, Abbots, Monaſteries, and Patrons of Benefices. For inſtance; when the Pope had a mind to diſpoſe of a Benefice, he inſerted this Clauſe in his Bull, *Non-obſtante* (i. e.) *notwithſtanding the Right of Patronage or other Privilege to the contrary* (6). This was in effect to annihilate all the Rights and Liberties of the Church of *England*. To theſe two Grievances, the Ambaſſadors added many more, concerning the perpetual Extortions of the Nuntio's and Legates, and in general all the Oppreſſions to which the *Engliſh* Nation had long been expoſed.

They lay open the Grievances of the Nation, Id. p. 666. M. Weſt.

particularly the Tribute,

and the Clauſe Non-obſtante. M. Paris, p. 668.

In vain did the Ambaſſadors expect an Anſwer from the Council. The Pope continually hindered the Affair from being conſidered. At length, perceiving they were only amuſed with continual Delays, they preſented to the Council a Proteſtation againſt the Tribute granted by King *John*, and withdrew. During their Stay at *Lyons*, the Pope never made the leaſt ſtep to ſatisfy them. But when they were gone, he endeavoured to caſt a miſt before the Eyes of the Council, by making them believe he intended to redreſs the Grievances complained of. To that end, two Bulls were drawn up, the firſt whereof permitted the *Engliſh* Patrons to preſent whom they pleaſed to the Livings in their Gift. By the ſecond it was granted, that when a benefic'd *Italian* died, or reſigned his Preferment, another ſhould not immediately ſucceed (7). He made a great flouriſh on theſe two Bulls, as if he had granted ſome very ſignal Favours to *England*. But he ſtaid till the Ambaſſadors were departed, for fear they ſhould demonſtrate how diſproportionable this ſlight Satisfaction was to their Grievances. As to the Tribute, againſt which they proteſted, *Innocent* never intended the *Engliſh* Nation any Satisfaction. On the contrary, when the Council broke up, the Pope wrote thundering Letters to the *Engliſh* Prelates, expreſsly enjoining them to confirm and ſet their Seals to the Charter of Tribute granted by King *John* to the Holy See. Though the Biſhops had very ſtrong reaſons to excuſe themſelves from taking ſuch a Step, they durſt not however diſobey, for fear of the threatned Excommunication. The King appeared at firſt diſpleaſed at the Pope's haughty Proceedings, and ſeemed willing to oppoſe his Pretenſions. But he ſoon reſumed his wonted Complaiſance for whatever iſſued from the Court of *Rome*.

They proteſt againſt the Tribute, and retire. Id. p. 681.

The Pope pretends to give the Engliſh *Satisfaction.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 426, 437.

He forces the Biſhops to ſign the Charter of Tribute. M. Paris, p. 681.

The War with *Wales* was the Reaſon this Affair lay dormant ſome time. The King, who had long ſuffered the *Welſh* to infeſt his Borders with impunity, at laſt headed his Army, threatning utterly to deſtroy their Country (8). But this ſudden Blaze was quickly extinguiſhed. He was no ſooner entered *Wales*, but miſſing the Enemy, who were retired to their Mountains, he grew weary of the War, and after building the Caſtle [of *Ganoc*] on an advantageous Situation, returned to *London* (9).

War with the Welſh. Id. p. 682.

Walter Earl of *Pembroke* dying this Year (10) without Iſſue Male, *Anſelm* his Brother, then Dean of *Salisbury*, was his Heir, and ſucceeded him in his Office of Earl-Marſhal. But he did not long enjoy it, being ſeized by Death a few Months after. Thus the noble Family of *Pembroke* and *Striguil* was extinct, whereof the five laſt Earls, who were Brothers, were inveſted with the Dignity of Earl-Marſhal, Hereditary in their Family (11).

Extinction of the Family of the Earls-Marſhal. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

David Prince of *Wales* died in the beginning of the Year 1246. As he had left no Children, the Lords of that Country choſe for his Succeſſor *Lewellyn* his Nephew, Son of the unfortunate *Griffin*, killed in endeavouring to eſcape out of the Tower of *London*.

1246. *Death of* David *Prince of* Wales. M. Paris.

The Quarrel with the Court of *Rome* was ſomewhat ſuppreſſed, when the Pope renewed it, by an Impoſition upon the Eccleſiaſticks, greater and more inſupportable than all the former. The Clergy were ſo aw'd by the *Roman* Pontiffs, that they durſt not ſtir towards freeing themſelves from their Yoke. But it was otherwiſe with the Lay-Barons, who began to conſult together and take meaſures to oppoſe theſe Oppreſſions. In a Parliament aſſembled during *Lent* (12), it was reſolved that the Nation's Grievances ſhould be committed to writing, and Satisfaction demanded of the Pope in a Letter (13), ſigned by the King, Biſhops, and temporal Lords. The principal Grievances were theſe:

Freſh Exactions of the Court of Rome. M. Paris, p. 699. M. Weſt.

Grievances of the Nation.

I. That the Pope, not content with the annual Payment of *Peter-Pence*, exacted from the Clergy great Contributions, without the King's Conſent, againſt the Cuſtoms, Liberties, and Rights of the Church and Realm of *England*.

II. That the Patrons of Churches could not preſent fit Perſons to the vacant Livings, the Pope conferring them generally on *Italians*, who underſtood not the *Engliſh* Language, and carried out of the Kingdom the Money ariſing from the Income of their Benefices.

III. That the Pope oppreſſed the Churches by exacting Penſions from them.

IV. That when an *Italian* Eccleſiaſtick died, his Benefice was immediately beſtowed on one of the ſame Nation, as if the *Italians* had a Right to poſſeſs ſuch a Number of Benefices in the Kingdom. That whereas the *Italians* were inveſted without Trouble or Charge, the *Engliſh* were forced to go and proſecute their Right at *Rome*, contrary to the Indulgences granted to *England* by former Popes.

(1) Ad quam ſummam non attingit redditus annuus totius Regni Angliæ. *M. Paris*, p. 658.

(2) This bold and elegant Epiſtle was ſent by Earl *Roger Bigot*, *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, *William de Cantilupe*, *Philip Baſſet*, *Ralph Fitz Nicholas*, and Mr. *William Powerie* their Secretary. See *M. Paris*, p. 659.

(3) *June* 29. at *Luton* and *Dunſtable* in *Bedfordſhire*. M. Paris, p. 659.

(4) *Fulk Fitz Warin*. Ibid.

(5) *M. Paris* ſays, King *Henry* was in a violent Paſſion, and wiſhed the Nuntio to the Devil; but that being pacified by his Courtiers, he ſent *Robert Noris*, a Marſhal of his Palace, to conduct him ſafely to *Dover*, p. 659.

(6) This Clauſe, though copied from the Court of *Rome*, in a few Years crept into the King's Charters, as will be ſeen hereafter.

(7) Theſe Privileges ſignified nothing, by reaſon of the Bar of a *Non-obſtante*, whenever he pleaſed to make uſe of it.

(8) Whilſt he was employed againſt the *Welſh*, ſome *Iriſh* landed in *Angleſey*, and deſtroyed the whole Country with the Edge of the Sword. *M. Paris*, p. 684.

(9) *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* Juſticiary of *Ireland*, having neglected to come over to the King's Aſſiſtance, as he was ordered, is turned out, and *John Fitz-Geoffrey* put in his room. *M. Paris*, p. 685.

(10) He died *Decemb.* 4. at *London*, and was buried at *Tintern* near *Chepſtow*. His Brother *Anſelm* died the 22d of the ſame Month. *M. Paris*, p. 686.

(11) The vaſt Eſtate in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, belonging to this Family, fell among five Siſters, who were married to divers great Noblemen of *England*. The Family failed in the third Generation from *Richard Strongbow* the firſt Earl of *Striguil*.

(12) Which met at *London* about Midlent. *M. Paris*, p. 698.

(13) *Matthew Paris* ſays, the King wrote by himſelf, the Biſhops by themſelves, and ſo likewiſe the Abbots and Barons by themſelves; of all which Letters there are Copies extant in *M. Paris*, under the Year 1246, p. 699, &c.

V. That

1246. V. That in Churches filled by the *Italians* there were neither Alms, nor Hoſpitality; neither was there any Preaching, and the Care of Souls was entirely neglected.

VI. That the Clauſe of *Non-obſtante*, generally inſerted in all Bulls, abſolutely deſtroyed all Laws, Cuſtoms, Statutes, and Privileges of the Church and Kingdom.

Theſe Articles ſhew that the Bulls granted by *Innocent* at the Council of *Lyons*, were not executed, ſince the ſame Grievances, which they ſeemed to redreſs, were ſtill forced to be complained of.

The Pope continues his Oppreſſions. M. Paris, p. 681.

The Letter of the King and Barons had a contrary Effect to what was expected. The Pope accuſed the Clergy of extorting it by their Importunities, and took occaſion from thence to load them with new and unheard of Taxes. He not only compelled the Biſhops to ſign the Emperor's Excommunication (1), but moreover commanded each to find him a certain Number of Men well horſed and armed, to ſerve againſt that Prince, pretending all Churches were equally concerned in the War (2). After this, to let the *Engliſh* ſee how little he valued their Murmurs, inſtead of reforming the old, he introduced a new Grievance, by claiming the Adminiſtration of the Goods of Eccleſiaſticks dying Inteſtate. At firſt the King oppoſed the execution of all theſe Articles; but the Fear of a threatned Interdict and Excommunication, obliged him as formerly, to ſubmit to the Pope's pleaſure. This Compliance made the Pope ſo imperious (3), that he impoſed a freſh Tallage of a third part of their Moveables upon Clergymen that reſided on their Livings, and of one half upon Non-reſidents. This being the caſe, it is no wonder, if the Popes were ſo unwilling to make Peace with the Emperor, ſince the War furniſhed them with a pretence to levy ſuch frequent Taxes upon the Clergy. The Biſhop of *London* was commiſſioned to execute this new Order, with Power to excommunicate and ſuſpend the diſobedient. But whilſt this Prelate and ſome others were met upon this occaſion, the King ſent them word not to conſent to this Impoſition, whereupon they broke up their meeting. If *Henry* had as vigorouſly oppoſed all the other Attempts of the Court of *Rome*, he would have equally ſucceeded, ſince the Pope thought not fit to puſh this matter any further, when he found a reſolute oppoſition (4).

He claims the Goods of inteſtate Clergymen. Id. p. 706.

He lays a heavy Tax on the Clergy, M. Paris, p. 716. M. Weſt.

which the King effectually oppoſes.

Attempt of the Biſhop of Lincoln. M. Paris, p. 716.

The abſolute Power claimed by the Pope over Chriſtians, cauſed pernicious effects among ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops, who imagined the Church's Authority to be unlimited. Upon this ground they pretended to extend it over civil Affairs, becauſe there is hardly any thing but where Religion may be made to interpoſe. The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, prepoſſeſſed with this Notion, took upon him this Year to make ſevere Inquiſitions concerning the Life and Manners of every particular Perſon in his Dioceſe. It may be, this was done with a good Intent, but the Danger was, that this Incroachment would be imitated by others, and at length degenerate into a real Tyranny. Accordingly, it was deemed a manifeſt Uſurpation, to which the King put a ſtop by his own Authority (5).

Death of the King's Mother. Id.

Iſabella, Counteſs of *Marche*, and Queen-Dowager of *England*, the King's Mother, died this Year (6), after living in no great reputation, if we may believe certain Hiſtorians (7).

1247. *The Pope's Exactions.* M. Paris, p. 722, 723. M. Weſt.

The Year 1247, like the laſt, was ſpent almoſt wholly in Conteſts between the Pope and the Clergy; the firſt increaſing his Oppreſſions, in proportion as the others vainly ſtrove to ſecure themſelves from them (8). In the beginning of this Year, the Biſhops and Abbots were forced to make a Preſent of a thouſand Marks (9) to a new Legate, ſent by the Pope into *England*, upon no other account but to exact Money from the Clergy. At the ſame time, and for the ſame reaſon, there was a Nuntio in *Ireland*, who procured five hundred Marks (10). As the King was ever ready to countenance the Court of *Rome*'s Exactions, the Pope was willing, in his turn, to ſhew him ſome Mark of his Gratitude. To that end, he ſent him a Bull, ordaining, that for the future, no *Italian*, not even the Nephew of a Cardinal, or the Pope himſelf, ſhould be admitted to any Benefice in *England* without the King's Conſent: Ample Recompence for the vaſt Sums drawn every Year by the Pope out of the Kingdom! A Privilege beſides which ſignified nothing, for the Pope was very ſure of obtaining the King's Conſent, whenever he ſhould vouchſafe to ask it (11). 1247.

Inſignificant Privileges granted the King. M. Paris, p. 722.

To complete the misfortunes of the *Engliſh*, the King's three half-Brothers, namely, *Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar*, Sons of the Earl of *Marche* (12), came into *England*. The Earl their Father ſent them to the King, to be eaſed of their maintenance, and in expectation he would provide for them. So that when they arrived, they were deſtitute of all things, and had nothing to ſubſiſt upon but the Favours of the King their Brother. *Henry* was forced therefore not only to maintain them, but likewiſe to ſatisfy their Avarice and Ambition, with Preſents, Places, and Benefices, to the Detriment of the *Engliſh*.

The King's three half-Brothers arrive in England. M. Paris, p. 731. M. Weſt.

This ſame Year *William* Earl of *Holland*, a young Prince of twenty Years of Age, was elected King of the *Romans*, by the Intrigues of the Pope, who had depoſed *Frederic* in the Council of *Lyons*. But his Holineſs did not find it ſo eaſy to put him in poſſeſſion of the Empire, as to procure him the Votes of part of the Electors.

Earl of Holland *elected King of the* Romas. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

1248. What fair Promiſes ſoever the King made the Parliament, upon their granting him the laſt aid, he had however performed nothing. And therefore, when he demanded a freſh Supply of the Parliament aſſembled in the beginning of the Year 1248 (13), he received a very mortifying Anſwer. He was asked, how he could without bluſhing renew his Demands, after ſo frequent Breach of his Word. He was upbraided for his immoderate Kindneſs, and exceſſive Liberalities to the Foreigners; for his Contempt of his native Subjects; his negligence in encouraging Trade, and protecting Merchants, of whom he even exacted Impoſitions which were not due. Very lively Complaints were made of his keeping in his own Hands the vacant Benefices, and conferring the prime Offices of the State, ſuch as thoſe of Chancellor, Treaſurer, Juſticiary, on Perſons not qualified, without ever vouchſafing to conſult his Parliament. *Henry*, perceiving by the Boldneſs of theſe Reproaches, that it would be very difficult to bring the Barons to any Temper, prorogued the Parliament (14), in order to gain time to conſider what he ſhould do.

Henry receives a mortifying Anſwer from the Parliament. M. Paris, p. 743, 744.

During the Prorogation, the pernicious Advice of his Miniſters ſet him more and more againſt his Subjects; and induced him to be entirely governed by the Foreigners. Of this there quickly appeared a clear Evidence in the extraordinary Courage they inſpired him with, of which he was naturally incapable. When the Parliament met, he upbraided the Barons, for endeavouring to impoſe upon him Laws, to which they themſelves would think it hard to be liable: That every one of them was Maſter in his own Family; made uſe of what Counſellors he pleaſed; put in, and turned out his Domeſticks without controul; but that he alone was treated like

He is entirely guided by Foreigners.

He ſpeaks roughly to the Barons. M. Paris, p. 745.

(1) In the Council of *Lyons* the Emperor *Frederic* was again Excommunicated and Depoſed; which Depoſition the Pope made the *Engliſh* Biſhops ſign. *M. Paris*, p. 668, 681.

(2) He ordered ſome of the Biſhops to maintain him ten Soldiers, ſome five, others fifteen, for a whole Year, at their own Charges, well provided with Horſes and Arms, and to fight wherever his Holineſs ſhould think convenient. *M. Paris*, p. 701. He alſo granted the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* the firſt Fruits of all the Livings within his Province. *Ibid.*

(3) He impoſed a Tallage of ſix thouſand Marks upon the *Engliſh* Clergy; which King *Henry* forbid the Payment of, by his Letter dated at *Weſtminſter April* 1. which ſee in *M. Paris*, p. 707. This Matter was afterwards taken into conſideration by the Parliament, *ubi congregatu fuerat totius Regni tam cleri quam militiæ generalis univerſitas*, as *M. Paris* expreſſes it, and was abſolutely forbidden. p. 708. A Parliament was aſſembled again at *Wincheſter*, *July* 7. to conſider of theſe ſame Matters. p. 709.

(4) So likewiſe in the Caſe of adminiſtring to the Clergy that died Inteſtate, upon the King's Prohibition and the Mediation of the Cardinals, the Pope revoked this Order. *M. Paris.*

(5) He ſent a Writ to the Sheriff to hinder any Perſon from making Enquiry, unleſs in matrimonial and teſtamentary Cauſes; which *Tyrrel* obſerves is an Evidence of the Antiquity of the King's Prerogative to grant Prohibition to ſtop the Proceedings of Biſhops in Matters which belonged not to them. Vol. II. p. 941. *M. Paris.*

(6) She was Daughter and Heir of *Ailmer*, Earl of *Angouleſme* (by *Alice*, Daughter of *Peter* Lord *Courtney*, fifth Son of *Lewis le Groſs* King of *France*) and after King *John*'s Death remarried to *Hugh Brun* Earl of *Marche* and Lord of *Luſignan* and *Valence*, in *Poictou*, by whom ſhe had ſeveral Children advanced by *Henry* III, their half-Brother. *Iſabella*, after her ſecond Huſband's Death took the Veil in the Monaſtery of *Fontevraud*, and there dying, was interred in the Abbey-Church. The Arms of Queen *Iſabella* are enamelled in ſeveral places upon the Tomb of *William de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, her Son, in the Chapel of St. *Edmund* in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, being *Lozengy*, *Or*, and *Gules*. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 83.

(7) This Year alſo, King *Henry* granted the Office of Earl-Marſhal to *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, who had married *Maud*, eldeſt Daughter of *William* late Earl-Marſhal. *M. Paris*, p. 705.

(8) In the beginning of this Year, *Feb.* 3. a Parliament was called at *London*, from which the Biſhops abſented themſelves. *M. Paris*, p. 719 *M. Weſt.* The King was then apprehenſive that the King of *France* was preparing to invade *Gaſcogne*. Id. p. 720.

(9) He demanded ſix thouſand Marks of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* alone. *M. Paris*, p. 722.

(10) Six thouſand Marks, ſays *M. Paris*, p. 723. *M. Weſt.* p. 335.

(11) About this time a Parliament was called at *Oxford*, to conſider of ways and means how to put a ſtop to the Pope's Exactions. *M. Paris*, p. 730. *M. Weſt.* p. 337.

(12) With their Siſter *Alice*. *M. Paris*, p. 731.

(13) In the beginning of *February*. It conſiſted, according to *M. Paris*, of a great number of Barons, Knights, Noblemen, and alſo Abbots, Priors, and Clergymen. p. 743. He gives there an Account of the Biſhops and Earls then preſent.

(14) Till *June*. *M. Paris*, p. 749.

a Slave

1248. a Slave by his own Subjects (1). In ſhort, he declared, that, far from changing his Miniſtry at their pleaſure, he meant to be maſter in his own Kingdom; and that it was their duty to obey. As for the other Grievances complained of, he was contented, with returning general anſwers, without ſpecifying any thing. After that, he told them he expected a ſpeedy Aid of Money, to enable him to recover the *French* Provinces. This unſeaſonable haughtineſs ſerved only ſtill more to exaſperate the Barons. They boldly replied, Since he deſigned not to reform what was amiſs, they were not ſo ſenſeleſs as to continue to impoveriſh themſelves for the ſake of Foreigners, under pretence of an imaginary War. This anſwer leaving the King no hopes, he choſe to diſſolve the Parliament, for fear they ſhould proceed to more vigorous reſolutions. Mean time, as his Treaſure was quite exhauſted, he was forced to ſell his Plate and Jewels, which were ſoon bought up by the Citizens of *London*. He was extremely incenſed, to ſee the *Londoners* ſo readily find Money to purchaſe his Jewels, and yet continually plead Poverty, when he wanted a Supply. This conſideration put him ſo out of Humour, that he eſtabliſhed a new Fair at *Weſtminſter*, during which, all Commerce was prohibited in *London* (2). So far was he from hearkening to the Complaints of the Merchants on this occaſion, that he gave them freſh Marks of his diſpleaſure, in keeping his *Chriſtmaſs* in the City, and compelling them to preſent him with large New-Years-Gifts. Shortly after, he demanded alſo a Supply of Money, and in ſpite of their endeavours to the contrary, they were conſtrained to give him two thouſand Pounds Sterling (3).

Their Anſwer.

The Parliament diſſolved.

The King ſells his Jewels. M. Paris. p. 749.

A Fair at Weſtminſter to vex the Londoners; Id. p. 751.

of whom he extorts Preſents. Id. p. 757.

1249. But ſo trifling a Sum not ſufficing for his wants, he bethought himſelf to borrow Money of the Barons, Biſhops, Abbots, Merchants, and the richer ſort of Citizens in the Kingdom. But as he found he was unable to force People to what he deſired, he applied to them in ſo mean and cringing a manner, that one would have thought he was begging an Alms (4). Notwithſtanding this debaſing of himſelf, he was refuſed by the greateſt part, who pleaded Poverty, though he pretended to be under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of making War upon *France*. But he could not poſſibly have invented a worſe pretence. Every one knew, he was ſtrictly forbidden by the Pope to diſturb the Territories of the *French* King, during his abſence, he being gone this year to the *Holy Land*. The true reaſon that engaged him thus in ſearch of Money, was, his being deeply in debt, without having wherewithal to pay. Beſides, his Brothers, to whom he could not refuſe any thing, never regarded his wants, but continually preſſed him with their unreaſonable Demands. His fondneſs for them was ſuch, that he miſſed no opportunity of heaping favours on them, though he could not be ignorant that every favour gave freſh cauſe of diſcontent to the *Engliſh* Barons.

He makes uſe in vain of other means to raiſe Money. Id. p. 758.

Shortly after, the Biſhoprick of *Durham* becoming void (5), *Henry* earneſtly recommended *Athelmar* the youngeſt of his Brothers, though he was far from being of a ſufficient Age and Capacity to govern ſo large a Dioceſe. Accordingly that objection was made to him by the Monks of *Durham*. They moreover repreſented to him, that he had often promiſed to leave to the Churches the freedom of Elections, and therefore humbly intreated him to let them enjoy the effect of his promiſes. *Henry* offended at theſe Remonſtrances, returned in anſwer, *That ſince they thought his Brother too young, he would keep the Biſhoprick in his own hands till he ſhould be of a fit Age.*

He tries in vain to make his Brother Biſhop of Durham. Id. p. 759.

Alexander II, King of *Scotland*, died this year, leaving *Alexander* III, his Son, of eight years of Age, to ſucceed him.

Alexander III. King of Scotland. Buchanan.

About this time, the King being informed, that certain *Gaſcon* Lords were revolted, ſent into *Guienne*, *Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who reduced the Rebels to obedience, and gained a great Reputation (6). 1249.

Earl of Leiceſter *ſent into* Guienne. Act Pub. T. I. p. 449, 459. M. Paris.

In the beginning of the next year, Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, ſet out with a magnificent Retinue (7), to confer with the Pope, who was ſtill at *Lyons*. This Journey, and the extraordinary Honours paid him by the Pope, afforded matter for divers Speculations, which exerciſed the Wits of the Politicians. But the real motive thereof was unknown till ſome years after. 1250.

Prince Richard conferr with the Pope at Lyons. M. Paris. p. 772. M. Weſt.

However preſſing ſoever the King's neceſſities were, he took the Croſs from the hands of the Legate, and vowed to go and war againſt the *Saracens* of *Paleſtine*. His Example was followed by above five hundred Knights (8), and an incredible number of Eſquires and People of an inferior condition. After all the denials *Henry* had met with from the Parliament, he muſt have foreſeen how difficult it would be, to obtain an Aid ſuitable to an undertaking of this nature. And therefore his deſign was not to go the Voyage, but to draw from the Parliament a large Subſidy on that pretence, in a belief they durſt not deny him. At leaſt, he was perſwaded, the methods he ſhould uſe to exact Money from his Subjects, would be authorized by ſo plauſible a reaſon. Beſides, he was very ſenſible, that with part of the Money, he could eaſily procure a Diſpenſation of his Vow. His Conduct afterwards confirms this Conjecture.

Henry takes the Croſs. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 451, ----456. M. Paris. p. 774. M. Weſt.

Be this as it will, thoſe that had taken the Croſs with the King, prepared themſelves with all ſpeed; and perceiving he made no Preparations, offered to go without him. Their haſte was very diſpleaſing to him, as it too plainly diſcovered his backwardneſs in a Cauſe, where all the World ſtrove to ſhew marks of their Zeal. To remedy this Inconvenience, he deſired the Pope to hinder his Subjects from going, before he was ready to head them. This favour was readily granted, and the Intereſts of the King of *France*, who might have made good uſe of this Reinforcement, were ſacrificed on this occaſion to the Pope's deſire of contenting the King of *England*. *Innocent* forbid the *Engliſh*, under pain of Excommunication, to ſet out before the King, and by that means, all the Charges they had been at for their Voyage became uſeleſs. If this Prohibition cauſed many murmurs in *England*, it was not more favorably conſidered in *France*. Every one openly ſaid, it was a plain caſe, the Pope did not much trouble himſelf, whether *Lewis* ſucceeded in his Expedition, ſince he deprived him of the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Croiſes.

The Pope forbids the Croiſes to ſet out before the King. M. Paris. P. 774.

Mean time, *Henry* not daring to demand Money of the Parliament, uſed all ſorts of methods to raiſe it elſewhere. One of his moſt effectual ways was, to commiſſion a Judge entirely devoted to him, to go and make Inquiſition in all the Counties, concerning Treſpaſſes upon the Royal Foreſts. This Commiſſion was in it ſelf very odious, ſince it included all the Caſes excepted in King *John*'s Charter. But the manner in which it was executed by the Inquiſitor, rendered it ſtill more intolerable; for he puniſhed the leaſt fault by exceſſive Fines, or Confiſcation of Eſtate. By theſe arbitrary Proceedings he procured the King a large Sum of Money, but withal drew on him the hatred and curſes of the People (9).

Inquiſitions touching the Foreſts. Id. p. 652, 785.

Amidſt theſe Tranſactions, *Henry* was not unmindful of his Relations. The Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, the richeſt in the Kingdom, being vacant, the King ſtrongly recommended his Brother *Athelmar*, whom the Chapter of *Durham* had refuſed the laſt year. He was not ſatisfied with ſending recommendatory Letters, but would go in Perſon to *Wincheſter*, to ſupport his Intereſt by his Preſence. On the day of Election he came into the Chapter-Houſe, and made a ſhort Sermon upon this Text, *Righteouſneſs and Peace have kiſſed each other*, which he applied in the beſt manner he could to the

Henry cauſes his Half-Brother to be elected Biſhop of Wincheſter. Id. p 800, &c. T. Wikes.

(1) This reaſoning is very fallacious, though it has all along been uſed by thoſe, who do not conſider that a Perſon's miſmanagement of his own private Affairs affects none but himſelf; whereas the Male-Adminiſtration of a publick Miniſter is detrimental to the whole Kingdom, and conſequently it highly concerns a Nation, that the great Offices of the State be filled with good and able Men.

(2) It was to laſt fifteen Days, and began *October* 13. All Fairs that uſed to be kept at that time, ſuch as that of *Ely*, &c. were prohibited all over *England*. *M. Paris*, p 751.

(3) At this time the Money was ſo ſhamefully clipped, even within the inner Circle, by the *Jews*, *Flemings*, and Money-Changers; that an Order was iſſued out, injoining, that Money ſhould be taken only by the Weight, and no pieces ſhould paſs, but what were round. And in the new Money that was coined, to prevent clipping, the Croſs and Letters were ordered to reach quite to the edge of each piece. This order occaſioned a great deal of Confuſion, and proved a great obſtruction to trade, for ſome time. *M. Paris*, p. 733, 747. *An. Waverl.* p. 207.

(4) He not only applied to the Nobility, but alſo to all the rich Abbies in the Kingdom; and got ſixty Marks of St. *Alban*'s Monaſtery in particular. *M. Paris*, p. 758.

(5) By the Reſignation of *Nicolas de Farnham*, the Biſhop. *Id.* p. 759.

(6) This Year, after *Eaſter*, there was an Aſſembly of the great Men at *London*, in order to have, what the King had frequently promiſed them, put in Execution; namely, ſuch a Chancellor, Juſticiary, and Treaſurer choſen, as they liked. But their endeavours proved unſucceſsful, by Prince *Richard*'s deſerting their Party. *Id.* p. 765. *M. Weſt.* p. 342. This Year alſo died the famous *Hugh de Brun* Earl of *Marche*, ſo often mentioned. *M. Paris*, p. 771.

(7) Attended by *Henry de Haſtings*, and *Roger de Thurkeby*, two Barons, and others; and by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *London*, and *Worceſter*. Id. p. 772

(8) Among whom were, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *William Longeſpee*, *Fitz-Nicolas* the King's Steward, *William de Valence*, *Paulin Piper*, *John Manſel*, *Philip Luvel*, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 774. *M. Weſt.* p. 338. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. I p 447.

(9) This unjuſt and pernicious Project was ſet on foot by *Robert Paſſelew*, and the Inquiſitors (for there were two, namely, *Laurence* of St. *Alban*'s a Clerk, and *Geoffrey de Langley* a Knight) made nothing of ruining divers of the beſt Quality (eſpecially in the North) for killing but a Deer or a Hare, though it were in the very Highway; and clapped up ſeveral Gentlemen in Priſon for but muttering againſt their unjuſt Proceedings. *M. Paris.*

1250. Buſineſs in hand. Though he met at firſt with great oppoſition, by reaſon of the Youth and Inſufficiency of the Perſon recommended, yet by his Promiſes and Threats he at laſt obtained his deſire. The Pope, to pleaſe the King, failed not to confirm the Election, intending to ask him another favour in his turn (1).

The King of France *taken Priſoner by the* Saracens, *which the Pope is blamed for.* M. Paris, p. 793.

The ſad news had now reached *Europe*, of the King of *France*'s misfortune in falling into the hands of the *Saracens*, who detained him in Priſon (2). All *France* openly charged the Pope with being the Cauſe of their Monarch's diſgrace, by abſolving for Money thoſe that had taken the Croſs, from performing their Vow. Amidſt theſe murmurs, *Innocent* paſſed his time very uneaſy at *Lyons*, dreading an attempt upon his Perſon. Even *Charles* and *Alphonſo*, Brothers of St. *Lewis*, came on purpoſe to upbraid him in an outragious manner, and proceeded ſo far as to threaten him. To free himſelf from this troubleſome State, and from the Complaints which perpetually ſounded in his Ears, he deſired leave of the King of *England* to reſide at *Bourdeaux*. *Henry* was willing enough to gratify him, but was prevented from doing it by the Remonſtrances of the Clergy and Barons. They were apprehenſive the Pope would paſs from *Bourdeaux* into *England*, where his Company was by no means deſired. So that the King delayed ſending an anſwer, which the Pope took for what it was indeed, a civil denial.

The Pope asks Henry *leave to reſide at* Bourdeaux. *Id.* p. 803.

The King returns no Anſwer.

The Affairs of Sicily.

As I am ſoon to enter upon an affair which wholly employed *Henry* ſeveral years, I think my ſelf obliged to ſhew, by way of digreſſion, the Riſe and Progreſs thereof. I mean, the Pope's Donation of the Kingdom of *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*, Son of our *Henry*. But to give ſuch an Idea of this matter, as may ſerve for the better underſtanding the Sequel, it will be neceſſary, not only to ſee what paſſed in *Italy* at the time of this Donation, but alſo to take the thing from its firſt Original. This digreſſion will not ſeem impertinent, when this unhappy affair will be ſeen hereafter to be a fertile Source of Oppreſſions upon the *Engliſh*, as well from their King as the *Roman* Pontiffs. Beſides, it ſerves to diſcover three things, equally remarkable in the Hiſtory of this Reign. Firſt, the Character of *Henry*, and his Indiſcretion to engage in the moſt difficult undertakings, without foreſeeing the Obſtacles. Secondly, The Authority aſſumed by the Popes in *England*, and their manifeſt abuſe of it. Laſtly, We ſhall ſee, this ſame affair was the chief occaſion of the troubles in the end of this Reign. Though the Events I am going to relate, formerly made a great noiſe, and deſerved the greater attention, yet as they belong not properly to the Hiſtory of *England*, I ſhall abridge them as much as poſſible, and ſay no more than is abſolutely neceſſary for the Sequel of this Reign.

Every one that is the leaſt verſed in the Hiſtory of *Europe*, knows, that towards the cloſe of the eleventh Century, ſome *Norman* Nobles, Sons of *Tancred de Hauteville*, conquered the Iſland of *Sicily* upon the *Saracens*, and *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and ſeveral other Southern Provinces of *Italy*, upon the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. Theſe firſt Conquerors, from a religious Principle, or ſome other motive, did Homage to the Pope for their Conqueſts, and made themſelves Vaſſals and Feudataries to the Church of *Rome*, though ſhe gave them nothing, nor had even promoted their undertakings. Whatever their Policy might be, in thus ſubmitting voluntarily to the Holy See, it is a fact beyond all diſpute. The Conqueſts of the *Normans* were at firſt divided into ſeveral Parts, whereof *Sicily beyond the Faro*, or *the Iſland of Sicily*, made a Kingdom of it ſelf. The reſt was divided into Dukedoms or Principalities, under the name of *Sicily on this ſide the Faro*, of which *Calabria* and *Apula* were the chief. This is what was afterwards called the Kingdom of *Naples*. All theſe ſeveral Parts, I mean the two *Sicilies*, were at length reduced into one Kingdom, under *Roger* I, *Tancred*'s youngeſt Son, who aſſumed the Title of *King of Sicily*. He had for Succeſſor *William* I, his Son, ſirnam'd *the Bad*, to whom ſucceeded *William* II, his Son, called *the Good*, to diſtinguiſh him from his Father. *William the Good* dying without Iſſue, the *Sicilians* thought fit to place on the Throne *Tancred* baſe Son of *Roger* I, who added to the Title of his Predeceſſor, that of *King of Naples*, or *Sicily on this ſide the Faro*. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that by *Sicily* is meant ſometimes the *Iſland of Sicily* alone, ſometimes both the *Sicilies* together as making but one Kingdom.

Clement III, who ſat in the Papal Chair in the time of *Tancred*, conſidered the Proceedings of the *Sicilians* as an Incroachment upon his Rights. He pretended that by the death of *William the Good*, without Heirs, the two *Sicilies* were devolved to the Holy See, and as Lord Paramont, he could diſpoſe of them as he pleaſed. Mean time, as ſpiritual Weapons were incapable of dethroning a Prince in poſſeſſion, *Clement* ſent into *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, an Army, which at firſt made ſome progreſs. But death ſeizing him preſently after, prevented him from puſhing his Enterprize any further. *Celeſtine* III, his Succeſſor, reſolved to proſecute what his Predeceſſor had begun. But perceiving he could not compaſs his ends with his own Forces alone, he deemed it neceſſary to engage in this quarrel, ſome Prince who was able to ſupport him. For that purpoſe, he inveſted the Emperor *Henry* VI with the two *Sicilies*, on condition of the Homage, to which the firſt *Norman* Kings had obliged themſelves to the *Roman* Church. However, it was to be feared, ſo arbitrary an Act, eſpecially in favour of a Foreigner, would exaſperate the *Sicilians*, and attach them more firmly to *Tancred*. To prevent this Inconvenience, and give withal ſome colour of Juſtice to what he had done, he cauſed *Conſtantia* Daughter of *Roger* I, to be taken out of the Monaſtery of St. *Saviour*'s at *Palermo*, of which ſhe was Abbeſs (3). This Princeſs, who was then fifty years old, being brought to *Rome*, the Pope abſolved her from all her Vows, and gave her in Marriage to *Henry*, thereby to add a more plauſible Right to the Grant he had made that Monarch. Beſides, by means of this Marriage, he hoped to ſow among the *Sicilians*, Seeds of diſſenſion, of which himſelf and the Emperor might make an Advantage. *Henry* ſupported by this additional Right, immediately headed his Army, and marched into *Apulia*, where however he made no great progreſs, by reaſon of the Peſtilence that raged among his Troops, and of ſome other affairs which obliged him to return to *Germany*. So that *Tancred* kept the Crown of *Sicily* till his death in 1145. *William* III, his Son, ſucceeded him.

Henry no ſooner heard of *Tancred*'s death, but he marched back into *Italy*, and beſieged the City of *Naples*, which made a vigorous defence. The reſiſtance of the *Neapolitans* cauſing the Emperor to deſpair of accompliſhing his undertaking by force, he reſolved to uſe artifice. To that end, he propoſed to the King of *Sicily* to decide their quarrel by a Treaty. *William*'s apprehenſion of loſing all his Dominions, made him readily conſent to be diſpoſſeſſed of a part, in order to purchaſe Peace, of a Competitor much more powerful than himſelf. By the Treaty it was agreed, the Emperor ſhould have the Iſland of *Sicily*, and *William*, the Kingdom of *Naples*. Purſuant to this Agreement, *Henry* came to *Palermo* and was crowned. But whilſt *William* was preparing to retire to his Kingdom, *Henry* ſeized his Perſon, and ordered him to be conducted to *Germany*, where this unfortunate Prince was deprived of his Sight, and caſtrated. *Henry* being thus without a Rival, took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in ſpite of the endeavours of certain Lords of *Norman* Race to the contrary.

The Emperor's affairs being thus proſperous, he ſent for his Empreſs, who was big with Child, though fifty two years old. Her time of delivery being come whilſt ſhe was on the Road, ſhe ſtaid at *Geſſi*, a little Town on the Frontiers of *Ancona*, where ſhe ordered all the Women of the Town, that had the Curioſity, to be Eye-witneſſes of her delivery. To that purpoſe, ſhe cauſed a Pavilion to be erected in the middle of the Market-place, where ſhe was delivered of a Prince called *Frederic*. From that time, *Henry* kept poſſeſſion of the two *Sicilies* till his death, which happened not before the year 1199.

This Monarch left his Son *Frederic*, aged eleven years, under the Guardianſhip of his Mother *Conſtantia*, who immediately cauſed him to be acknowledged King of the two *Sicilies*, and to be crowned two years after at *Palermo*. After that, he was inveſted by *Innocent* III, who was then Pope. *Conſtantia* his Mother dying three years after, left the Guardianſhip of her Son to *Innocent*, who governed the two *Sicilies* by a Cardinal during *Frederic*'s Minority. This young Prince being arrived at fourteen years of age, married *Conſtantia* Daughter of *Alphonſo* IV, King of *Caſtile*, and two years after was elected Emperor, by the oppoſite Party to *Otho* of *Saxony*, whom the Pope had excommunicated. He could not however prevail with *Innocent* to ſet the Imperial Crown on his head, the Pope dread-

(1) About this time, King *Henry* delivered the Great Seal to *William de Kilkenni*, a Man learned in the Civil and Canon-Law. *M. Paris*, p. 793.

(2) He was taken in a Battle near *Damietta*, in which all the *Knights Templars* were ſlain, except three, and all the *Knights Hoſpitallers*, except four. There fell likewiſe in the ſame Battle, the following Perſons of Note, *Ralph de Cuſcy*, *Hugh* Earl of *Flanders*, *Hugh Brun* Earl of *Marche*, the Earl of *Pontbieu*, *William Longſword*, *Robert de Vere*, and about eight thouſand two hundred Soldiers, or, according to others, eighty thouſand. *Id.* p. 793.

(3) *Mezerai* ſays, that *Conſtantia* was never a Nun; but *Gio. Summonte* Hiſtorian of *Naples*, aſſures us ſhe was Abbeſs of St. *Saviour*'s. *Fazellus*, Hiſtorian of *Sicily*, ſays that Pope *Celeſtine* abſolved her from her Vows, and that this appears even from the Decrees of that Pope now in the *Archives* at *Rome*. *Rapin*.

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ing it might be dangerous to the Holy See, to raiſe to the Empire a Prince of the Houſe of *Suabia*, which had been ſo troubleſome to his Predeceſſors. It was not till the year 1220, and after the death of *Otho*, that *Frederic* was crowned by *Honorius* III. *Conſtantia* his Wife died two years after, leaving him a Son called *Henry*, who in 1223 was elected King of the *Romans*. Afterwards he married *Yolante* Daughter of *John de Brienne*, titular King of *Jeruſalem*, who died in 1228, leaving him a Son named *Conrade*. In fine, in 1235, *Frederic* took for his third Wife, *Iſabella* of *England*, who died in 1241, having brought him two Princes, *Jordan* and *Henry*, the firſt of which died a Child.

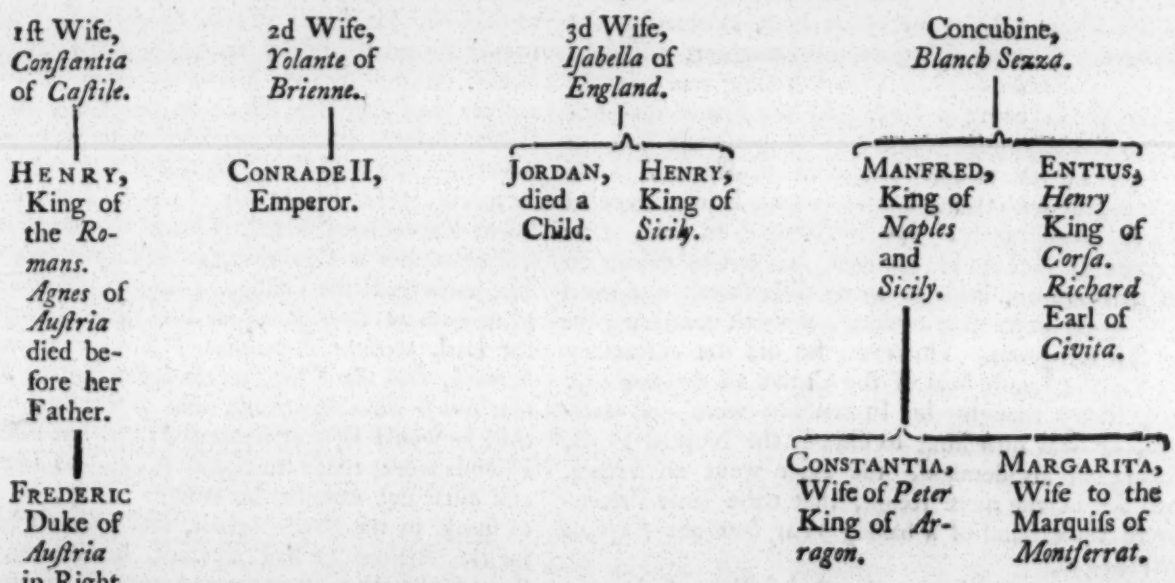
Having mentioned this Emperor's ſeveral Marriages, the knowledge whereof is abſolutely neceſſary, it is time to ſpeak of his Conteſts with the Popes. Ever ſince *Richard* King of *England* quitted *Paleſtine*, the affairs of the Chriſtians in thoſe parts were in a very ill ſituation. The *Saracens* taking advantage of the coldneſs of the *Europeans*, with regard to the Cruſades, made great progreſs, and the Chriſtians never thought of forming any freſh attempts againſt them. *Honorius* III, who ſat in the Papal Chair in the beginning of the Reign of *Frederic* II, deſiring to retrieve the Chriſtians loſſes in the *Holy Land*, publiſhed in the year 1224, a Cruſade, in which infinite numbers of People of all conditions ingaged. An Hiſtorian aſſures us, that above threeſcore thouſand *Engliſh* took the Croſs for this Expedition, of which *Frederic* was to be Head, both as Emperor, and as Son-in-law to *John de Brienne*, titular King of *Jeruſalem*.

Whilſt all *Europe* was preparing for this undertaking, ſome diſputes unexpectedly ariſing between the Emperor and certain Cities of *Italy*, retarded that Prince's Preparations, who was willing to ſee an end of theſe Conteſts before his departure. *Gregory* IX, Succeſſor to *Honorius*, finding *Frederic* proceeded but ſlowly, in compariſon of the other *Croiſes*, wrote him a Letter, exhorting him to perſevere in his pious reſolution. He repreſented to him, that the ſucceſs of the Cruſade depended on him, ſince the management was committed to his care. Mean time, the *Croiſes* of the ſeveral States of *Europe*, repaired in multitudes to the *Holy Land*, expecting to be ſoon followed by their General. But *Frederic* choſe rather to employ his Forces againſt the revolted Cities of *Italy*, than againſt the *Saracens*. Nevertheleſs, as he was earneſtly preſſed by the Pope, he pretended to prepare indeed, and even went and embarked at *Brindiſi*. But after being three days at Sea, he ſailed back to Land, on pretence of a ſudden Illneſs, which he feigned to be ſeized with, as moſt Hiſtorians affirm. This news reaching *Paleſtine*, above forty thouſand of the *Croiſes* who were gone before, returned in the ſame Ships that brought them thither. The Pope inraged to ſee ſo fair an opportunity loſt by the Emperor's fault, as he pretended, publickly excommunicated him, and ſent the Bull of Excommunication to all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* to be publiſhed in their Dominions. All the World however does not think the Pope's Severity to *Frederic*, proceeded from the ſole motive of Religion. Some affirm, it was only a pretence to break the Emperor's meaſures in *Italy*, in favour of the revolted Cities, which were privately countenanced by the Court of *Rome*. Be this as it will, it gave birth to a quarrel which occaſioned innumerable Calamities to *Europe*, and particularly to *Italy*. *Frederic*, incenſed at the Pope's Proceedings, took care to juſtify his Conduct to all the Potentates of *Europe*, by Letters wherein the Pope was ſeverely handled. But he was not ſatisfied with ſo ſlight a revenge. By means of a powerful Party in *Rome*, he expelled *Gregory* thence, and forced him to take refuge at *Perugia*. However, to ſhew his Illneſs was the ſole cauſe of his delay, and conſequently the Excommunication denounced upon him was unjuſt and raſh, he ſet out the next year for *Paleſtine*. The progreſs of his Arms in that Country was ſo great and rapid, that in a ſhort time he compelled the *Sultan* of *Ægypt* to deliver up *Jeruſalem*. He would have puſhed his Conqueſts farther, if the Knights Hoſpitallers, who were gained by the Pope, had not laid obſtacles in his way by their daily Plots againſt him. On the other hand, *Gregory*, offended that the Emperor regardleſs of his Cenſures ſhould dare to undertake this Expedition, before he was reconciled to the Church, and without making, as he charged him, Preparations ſuitable of ſo great an undertaking, renewed his Excommunication, for two contrary faults. Firſt, for too long deferring his departure. Secondly, for departing too ſoon. But the Pope, not content with attacking him with Spiritual, employed likewiſe Temporal Arms. He ſent *John de Brienne*, Father-in-law to *Frederic*, at the head of an Army, into the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the title of *Vicar of the Holy See*, to wreſt from his Son-in-law that part of his Dominions.

The quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope ſtill increaſing, all the Cities of *Italy* ſided with one or other. Then were formed the two Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, which ſo long haraſſed that Country, the former for the Pope, the latter for the Emperor. It will be needleſs to relate here the bloody Wars that enſued. Wars, which frequently gave occaſion to think, that zeal for Religion was not the principal motive of the *Roman* Pontiffs. It ſuffices to ſay in two words, that *Gregory*'s Succeſſors eaſily purſued his Project of wreſting from *Frederic* not only the *Sicilies*, but all *Italy*, and the Empire it ſelf. In fine, *Innocent* IV, having publickly depoſed him in the Council of *Lyons*, cauſed *William* Earl of *Holland* to be elected Emperor in his place. But, notwithſtanding this pretended depoſition, *Frederic* kept poſſeſſion of the Throne till his death, about the end of the year 1250.

To give a diſtinct notion of the affairs of *Sicily*, wherein *England* will preſently be concerned, it may not be amiſs to add here, part of the Genealogy of the Family of *Frederic* II, extracted from the Hiſtory of *Naples*, by *Giovanne Summonte*.

FREDERIC II. Emperor.



The ſame day *Frederic* died, he made a Will, and left *Auſtria* to *Frederic* his Grandſon, of which the young Prince was already in poſſeſſion, in Right of his Mother. To *Conrade* his ſecond Son, he gave the Kingdom of *Naples* or *Sicily* on this ſide the *Faro*, upon this condition, that if *Conrade* died without Iſſue, his Brother *Henry*, Son of *Iſabella* of *England*, ſhould ſucceed him, and in caſe he died alſo without Heirs, *Manfred* his Baſtard Son ſhould inherit. This ſame *Henry*, Son of his third Wife, was to be King of the Iſland of *Sicily*, and *Manfred* his natural Son was to have the Principality of *Tarentum*, with the Regency of the two Kingdoms, namely, of the firſt, in the Abſence of *Conrade*; and of the ſecond, during *Henry*'s Minority.

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As ſoon as *Frederic* was in his Grave, *Manfred* would have taken poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the name of *Conrade*. But the Pope's Party were ſo powerful, when they had nothing more to fear from the Emperor, that the principal Cities, as *Naples* and *Capa*, ſhut their Gates againſt him. This reſiſtance forced him to call his Brother *Conrade* into *Italy*, who upon *Frederic*'s death aſſumed the title of Emperor, though *William* Earl of *Holland* was acknowledged by the Pope and his Party. Upon the arrival of *Conrade*, things had another face, and he made the *Neapolitans* often repent of eſpouſing the Pope's quarrel. Mean time, *Innocent* uſed all poſſible means to ſtop his progreſs. He thundered his Cenſures againſt *Conrade*, as he had done againſt *Frederic* his Father, and by aiding the *Guelfs* his Adherents, he kept up the War in *Italy*, in expectation of a more favorable Juncture. Here I ſhall end this long digreſſion, which I hope will not be deemed needleſs, when we come to ſee how far *England* was concerned in this quarrel. But to return to our Hiſtory.

1251. *Firſt inſtance of the Clauſe* Non-obſtante *in the King's Orders.* M. Paris p. 810. M. Weſt.

The year 1251 was uſhered in with the firſt Inſtance of the Clauſe of *Non-obſtante* in the Orders of the King, in imitation of the Pope, who uſed it long ſince in his Bulls. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* having a Law-Suit (1) with a certain Baron of his Dioceſe, and being obliged to go to *France*, obtained an Order from the King, that the Suit ſhould be ſtopt till his return. But, during his abſence, his Adverſary found means to obtain a ſecond Order with this Clauſe, *Non-obſtante*, or *Notwithſtanding the former Order, the Baron's Cauſe ſhould not be delayed* (2).

Beſides the Principles of arbitrary Power, inſtilled by *Hubert de Burgh* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* into *Henry* in his Youth, and which he uſually made the rule of his Conduct, he had moreover another reaſon to induce him to have but little regard for his Subjects. This was the conſideration of the Advantages gained by the Earl of *Leiceſter* over the Rebels of *Guienne*. Ever ſince the Earl was Governor of that Province, he had ſerved his maſter ſo faithfully, that in all appearance, he would have nothing to fear for ſome time, from the Inconſtancy of the *Gaſcons*. As *Henry* was ſoon daunted, ſo a very ſmall matter ſufficed to raiſe his Courage. The Chaſtiſement of the *Gaſcons* making him imagine, their Example would keep the *Engliſh* in awe, he fancied for the future he might uſe them as he pleaſed. Accordingly, without regarding the continual murmurs of the Barons, on account of the Preference given to Foreigners, he affected to receive, with exceſſive Civilities, *Guy de Luſignan* his half Brother, whom the Earl of *Leiceſter* brought with him, when he came to acquaint him with what was done in *Guienne*. He made him ſuch conſiderable Preſents, that they would have appeared extravagant, even though he had abounded in riches. Theſe things cauſed the Barons to redouble their Complaints. They could not bear that the King ſhould give ſo many Marks of his Affection to Foreigners, whilſt he ſlighted his own native Subjects.

Henry fiobs the Engliſh. M. Paris, p. 816.

Return of Guy de Luſignan the King's half Brother, whom he loads with Preſents.

Henry's wants, and his little proſpect of drawing a Supply from the Parliament, made him forget his Expedition to the *Holy-Land*. But, on a ſudden, he was admoniſhed by a Letter from the Pope, that it was time to perform his Vow. He was then at *York*, celebrating the Nuptials of the Princeſs *Margaret* his Daughter, with the young King of *Scotland* (3). This Wedding was not the ſole motive of his being at *York*. As the Prince his Son-in-law was very young, he hoped to perſwade him to do Homage for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was very urgent with him, but the young Prince excuſed himſelf very handſomely. He repreſented to him, that he was come to *York* to be married, and not to debate an affair of that nature, liable to many difficulties, and upon which he could determine nothing, without conſulting the States of his Kingdom. However, he did the cuſtomary Homage for the Lands held of the Crown of *England* (4). Whether *Henry* thought his Pretenſions were not well-grounded, or was unwilling to diſturb the Nuptial-Feaſt, by inſiſting on his demand, the affair went no farther. We ſhall ſee in the next Reign, that theſe ſame Pretenſions were the ground of a bloody War between *England* and *Scotland* (5).

Interview of the Kings of England *and* Scotland. Id. p. 829. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 466. Alexander *marries the Princeſs* Margaret. C. Mailros. An. Burton. Henry *preſſes him to do Homage for all* Scotland; *which he refuſes.*

This Interview ending to the Satisfaction of the two Kings, *Henry* ſeemed willing to prepare in good earneſt for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*. As Money was the moſt neceſſary Preparation, he took occaſion from this Voyage to extort great Sums from the *Jews*, nor were his Chriſtian Subjects leſs ſpared. But what could be obtained by theſe means, was not ſufficient to enable him to make an Expedition to the Eaſt, worthy a Succeſſor of *Richard*, whoſe Memory was ſtill freſh among the *Saracens*. 1252.

1252. *The King extorts Money from the Jews.* M. Paris.

Whilſt the King was employed in preparing for his pretended Voyage, there came Deputies from the *Gaſcons*, complaining of being unjuſtly oppreſſed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The Earl hearing of theſe Complaints, went to the King to juſtify himſelf, and denied whatever was laid to his charge: Adding, he could not but wonder, that the King ſhould give ear to the frivolous Complaints of the rebellious *Gaſcons*, againſt one that had ſerved him ſo faithfully, and ſpent all his Eſtate in a Poſt where others were wont to inrich themſelves. *Henry* replied, he gave no Credit to theſe Accuſations; on the contrary, to make his Innocence the more conſpicuous, he was reſolved to ſend Commiſſioners into *Guienne* (6), to take Informations concerning the behaviour of the *Gaſcons*. Mean time, to convince him, that theſe Accuſations had made no ill Impreſſions on him, he furniſhed him with Money, and ordered him to prepare to return to *Guienne*.

The Gaſcons complain of the Earl of Leiceſter, *who vindicates himſelf.* M. Paris.

But the King ſends Commiſſioners into Guienne. M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 474.

Before the Earl was ready to depart, the *Gaſcons* being informed of the King's deſign to ſend him back, deputed the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to renew their Complaints. Whilſt the Archbiſhop was at *London*, the Commiſſioners, that were ſent to *Guienne*, returned (7). They reported, that indeed the Earl of *Leiceſter* had treated a little ſeverely ſome Lords of that Country; but however, had only uſed them according to their deſerts. Though *Leiceſter* was fully cleared by theſe reports, yet the King was perſwaded by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, that if the Earl returned to *Guienne*, nay, if he was not puniſhed, that Province would be irrecoverably loſt to the Crown of *England*. This Notion was ſo deeply imprinted on the King's mind, that, to ſecure the Allegiance of the *Gaſcons*, he reſolved to ſacrifice their Governor to their reſentment. To that purpoſe, he ordered their Accuſation to be brought before the Peers, not queſtioning but he ſhould have Intereſt enough to get him condemned. Mean time, *Leiceſter*, though ſurprized at the King's ſudden Change, was not idle. He found means to gain Prince *Richard*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and ſeveral other Lords of great Credit, who promiſed to ſupport him. Upon this Aſſurance he appeared in Court, and vindicated himſelf with ſuch Strength and Evidence, that the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* was at a loſs how to maintain his Accuſation. Beſides, whenever he offered to ſpeak, in defence of what he advanced, he ſaw the principal Lords always ready to improve their Friend's Arguments. The King, perceiving the affair was like to end contrary to his Expectation, could not help ſhewing his uneaſineſs, and even dropping ſome Expreſſions very injurious to the Party accuſed. As the Earl of *Leiceſter*, not content with juſtifying his Actions, boaſted moreover of his Services, and boldly called upon the King to perform his Royal Word, by rewarding him according to his Promiſe, *Henry* ſharply replied, *He did not think himſelf obliged to keep his Word with a Traytor.* This anſwer had ſuch an effect on the Earl, who was in a Paſſion before, that not conſidering he was ſpeaking to his Sovereign, he told him, *He lied: and were he not a King, he would make him eat his Words.* Then after ſome inſolent Expreſſions, added, *That it was hard to believe ſuch a Prince was a Chriſtian, or had ever been at Confeſſion. Yes*, anſwered the King, *I am a Chriſtian, and have often been at Confeſſion. What ſignifies Confeſſion*, replied the Earl, *without Repentance? I never repented any thing ſo much*, ſaid the King, *as the beſtowing my Favours on one that has ſo little Gratitude, and ſo much ill-manners.* After this, he would have apprehended him, but finding the Earl's Friends were ready to oppoſe it, he was ſeized with fear, and durſt not execute his deſign. Nay, he ſuffered them to ſpeak in the Earl's behalf, and without being revenged for the Affront he had received, he was contented with a ſlight Satisfaction, and was outwardly reconciled to him. However, the Earl's Inſolence made ſo deep an Impreſ-

The Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux *renews the Charge againſt* Leiceſter. M. Paris. p. 836.

The King reſolves to ſacrifice him.

Has him tried by his Peers.

The King calls him Traytor.

He gives the King the Lie.

The King durſt not apprehend him, and is reconciled to him.

(1) About a Manor bought of a Baron by the Biſhop's Predeceſſor, which the Baron would have recovered again. *M. Paris*, p. 810.

(2) After this, thoſe Writs or Orders, with that deteſtable Addition of *Non-obſtante*, became very frequent, which being obſerved by *Roger de Thurkeby*, one of the King's Juſtices, he ſaid with a deep Sigh, *Alas! what Times are we fallen into! Behold, the Civil Court is corrupted in imitation of the Eccleſiaſtical, and the River is poiſoned from that Fountain.* Id. p. 811. This is the Original and Riſe of *Non-obſtante*'s in the King's Writs and Charters. Tyrrel obſerves, that this is omitted by Dr. *Brady*.

(3) On *Chriſtmaſs* Day, King *Alexander* III. was knighted by *Henry*, and married early next Morning. *M. Paris*, p. 829. *Rymer*. T. I. p. 467.

(4) For *Lothian* and other Lands. *M. Paris*, p. 829.

(5) This Year part of *Wales* was wholly ſubdued, and received the *Engliſh* Laws, and that part of it which borders upon *Cheſhire* was committed to the Government of *Alan de Zouche* who anſwered to the King eleven hundred Marks a Year. *Id.* p. 816.----This Year alſo, *February* 17, a Parliament was held at *London*. *Id.* p. 814.

(6) He ſent privately *Henry de Wengham* to examine into his Actions and Behaviour. *Id.* p. 832.

(7) The Earl of *Leiceſter* was gone over to *Guienne*, ſome time before the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*'s Arrival, and upon News of this freſh Accuſation, ſpeedily returned to *England* again. *Id.* p. 836.

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1252. sion upon his mind, that he could never look upon him without Horror, which is the leſs to be wondered at, becauſe this doubtleſs is the only Inſtance of a Subject's giving his Sovereign the Lie to his Face. For which reaſon one ſhould hardly believe ſo extraordinary a Fact, were it not unanimouſly atteſted by all the Hiſtorians.

The Earl is ſent to Guienne. M. Paris, p. 844. *Prince Edward inveſted with Guienne.* Id. p. 845. M. Weſt.

How mortally ſoever the King hated the Earl of *Leiceſter*, he ſent him Governor again to *Guienne* (1), not to favour, but remove him from *England*, where his Credit was too great. Beſides, he was apprehenſive, the Earl would obſtruct his deſign of conferring *Guienne* on Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Son, which was immediately done after his departure. The *Gaſcons* were overjoyed at this change. As they had no longer the ſame reaſon to fear *Leiceſter* who was going to be recalled, they laid ſo many Snares for him, that he had like to have been ſurprized. For his part, he made them frequently feel the Effects of his Reſentment before he left the Province.

Henry demands a Subſidy of the Clergy. M. Paris. p. 849. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 463, 471, 480, &c.

The affront lately received from the Earl of *Leiceſter* was not the only thing that diſturbed the King. He was ſtill more ſenſibly touched with the Clergy's denial (2) of a Subſidy. As he was convinced that a bare Demand would be to no purpoſe, he took care to have it ſupported by an expreſs Order from the Court of *Rome*. *Innocent* alledging for pretence, that the King could not poſſibly proceed without an extraordinary Aid towards his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, commanded all Eccleſiaſticks to pay him the Tenths of their Revenues for three years (3). The Clergy being aſſembled on this occaſion, three or four Biſhops (4) gained by the King, and particularly the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Half-Brother, voted in his favour. *They petition him.* But the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and got the majority to agree to petition the King, for his Soul's health, to deſiſt from his Demand. The Biſhop's Petition ſerved only to exaſperate the King. He ſent them word to take care what they did, ſince they not only oppoſed their Temporal and Spiritual Sovereign, but alſo the Univerſal Church, and *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf. But without regarding theſe Menaces, the Clergy returned a very offenſive anſwer, by which they ſeemed to throw off all reſpect for him. They upbraided him in very harſh Terms, for his Extortions, Tyranny, Breach of Promiſes and Oaths, and then broke up, without waiting his anſwer, on pretence that both the Archbiſhops being abſent, they could do nothing without the conſent of their Primates (5). *Henry*, perceiving he could obtain nothing from this Aſſembly, tried to gain the principal Members by Careſſes. To that end, he ſent for the Biſhop of *Ely*, and cauſing him to be brought into his Cloſet, received him very graciouſly, in order to extort ſome Promiſe from him. But this Prelate, who was no Courtier, far from having any Complaiſance for the King, expreſſed himſelf very roughly. He plainly told him, it was a Folly to engage in an Expedition to the *Holy-Land*, and that he ought to take warning by the unfortunate Example of the King of *France*, who lay languiſhing in the hands of the Infidels. *Henry* finding, contrary to his Expectation, the Biſhop aſſumed the Air of a Counſellor, had not patience to hear him any longer, and commanded him to be gone out of his Preſence (6).

The King threatens them.

Their Reply.

The King tries to gain them in private, but in vain.

Mutual Animoſity between the King and his Subjects.

As the perſiſting of the *Engliſh* in refuſing Money, provoked the King, and made him place ſtill greater Confidence in the *Poictevins*, ſo the continual favours he heaped on the Foreigners quite alienated the Barons from him. It was therefore almoſt impoſſible but theſe mutual diſcontents ſhould cauſe in the end very fatal Effects, as it afterwards happened. It is even a wonder that the Rupture between the King and the Barons did not ſooner break out. Animoſity was come to that height, that as he had no regard for his Subjects, they, on their Side uſed as little Ceremony in their Complaints againſt his Male-Adminiſtration. The *Londoners* were of all the Kingdom the moſt incenſed, by reaſon of the frequent Exactions laid on them. But they had ſoon freſh Cauſe to complain of a Tax of twenty Marks of Gold, impoſed on the City by the King. This Impoſition was inconſiderable, and concerned the City of *London* only. However, the whole Kingdom murmured at it, as flowing from an arbitrary Power, of which they dreaded the conſequences. But however, a few days after, the King, without troubling himſelf to pleaſe the *Londoners*, commanded them to ſhut up their Shops, during *Weſtminſter* Fair, which laſted fifteen days. This Innovation, being deemed a manifeſt Breach of the Privileges of the City, cauſed loud murmurs among the Inhabitants, and a reſentment, the Effects whereof became viſible upon the firſt opportunity (7). 1252.

The King oppreſſes the Londoners. M. Paris. p. 852.

Never did Prince ſo ill time all his Undertakings as *Henry*. Whereas every one endeavours to make uſe of ſeemingly favorable Junctures, *Henry* had a very particular Talent to form all his Projects at the moſt improper Seaſons. He was not ignorant that the Nobles were diſſatisfied, and in a ſort of Combination to protect the Earl of *Leiceſter*. He had juſt given the Clergy a freſh Cauſe of diſguſt, by procuring a Bull to abſolve him from his Oath, and entirely alienated the Hearts of the *Londoners* by the violation of their Privileges. At this Juncture however it was, that he undertook once more to have the Earl of *Leiceſter* tried by his Peers, whom he convened for that purpoſe. Accordingly this affair ended greatly to his diſſatisfaction. Far from condemning the Earl, the Barons ſaid openly, that the King had done him very great Injuſtice, in giving *Guienne* to Prince *Edward* before the Term of his Goverment was expired, and without making him any amends (8). This Declaration, which probably was going to be followed by ſome ungrateful reſolution to the King, made him diſſolve an Aſſembly which ſeemed ſo little inclinable to favour his deſigns (9).

He attacks Leiceſter again, but in vain. Id. p. 853.

Thus this weak Prince, by an unſteddy and capricious Conduct, increaſed the Enmity of his Barons, which of all things he ought to have dreaded, had he been wiſe enough to take warning by his Father's unhappy Example. Continually beſet with Indiſcreet and greedy Foreigners, who minded only their own Intereſts, he ſaw nothing but as repreſented by his Miniſters, who made him believe, that as long as he was ſupported by the Court of *Rome*, he need not fear the vain Efforts of his Subjects. Theſe Counſels induced him perpetually to countenance the Extortions of the Pope, and the Avariciouſneſs of his Relations and Miniſters, to whom he was always making Preſents with incredible Profuſeneſs. It was thus he ſpent the clear Revenues of the Crown. By this management, ſo little conſiſtent with his own Intereſt, he kept himſelf always poor, whilſt his Relations, his Counſellors, and the Pope's Creatures, were enriching themſelves at the Expence of his Subjects. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* deſiring to open his Eyes, cauſed an exact account to be taken this year of the annual Income enjoyed by the Foreigners in *England*. It was found to amount to above ſeventy thouſand Marks, when the Revenue of the Crown at the ſame time ſcarce exceeded a third part of that Sum. To this we may add another particular, to ſhew the eaſineſs of this Prince, and the greedineſs of his Miniſters. *Manſel*, one of his Favorites, a Clergyman, enjoyed no leſs than ſeven hundred Eccleſiaſtical Preferments at once, which brought him in yearly four thouſand Marks. 1253.

He is intirely governed by Foreigners.

The Revenue of Foreigners exceeds that of the Crown. M. Paris. p. 859.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the Emperor *Conrade*, and Pope *Innocent* IV, continued their Wars in *Sicily*, but to the great diſadvantage of the laſt, whoſe Spiritual Arms were of little force againſt a Prince that deſpiſed them. As the Pope found he was too weak to

Affairs of Sicily.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 476.

(1) *Matthew Paris* ſays, the King told him upon going off, That *if he was ſuch a Lover of War, he might there find Employment enough, and alſo a Reward anſwerable to his Merits, as his Father had done before him.* To which the Earl boldly replied, That *he would go over, and never return till he had entirely ſubdued the Enemies, and reduced the rebellious Subjects of an ungrateful Prince.* *M. Paris. Ann.* 1252. p. 844.

(2) Which met him at *London*, *October* 13. *M. Paris*, p. 849. This was a Parliament. See *Ann. Burton.* p. 322.

(3) Not according to the antient Valuation of their Preferments, but according to a new and exact Valuation that was to be taken of them. *M. Paris*, ibid.

(4) *London*, *Chicheſter*, and *Worceſter*.

(5) The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was beyond Sea, and the Archbiſhop of *York* was abſent for a Reaſon then unknown. *Matthew Paris* has given the Biſhop's Repreſentation of the *Grievances* committed by the King, at length, which the curious Reader may ſee under the Year 1252. p. 849.

(6) The King ordered his Officers to turn him out of Doors for an ill-bred Fellow as he was. *M. Paris*, p. 858. Nor did the King come off better in an Encounter with the Widow Counteſs of *Arundel*, who waited on him about her Right to a certain Wardſhip, which the King challenged by reaſon of a ſmall parcel of Land held *in Capite*. When the Counteſs ſaw ſhe could not prevail upon him, ſhe thus boldly accoſted him: "My Lord the King, "why do you turn your Face from Juſtice? for no Body can obtain any Right in your Court: You are placed between God and us, but you govern neither your ſelf nor us, as you ought: Are you not aſhamed, both to oppreſs the Church and diſquiet the Nobles of your Kingdom?" The King knitting his Brows anſwered, "What do you mean, Lady Counteſs! have the great Men of *England* commiſſioned you to be their Advocate?" But ſhe (though young) did not anſwer like one, "Not ſo (Sir,) the Nobles have not made me any ſuch Charter, though you have broke that which you and your "Father have granted, and ſworn inviolably to obſerve, and for which you have ſo often extorted Money from your Subjects: Where are the Liberties of "*England* ſo often reduced into writing? ſo often granted, and ſo often redeemed? Therefore I, though a Woman, with all your natural Subjects, do "appeal from you to the Tribunal of God, the great and terrible Judge, and let him revenge us." At which Reply the King was confounded and held his Peace, becauſe his own Conſcience told him ſhe ſpoke no more than the Truth. So he only ſaid, "Did not you ask a favor becauſe you were my "Couſin?" To whom ſhe replied, "ſince you have denied me Right, how can I expect any Favor.?" The King thus reproved ſaid no more, and the Counteſs went away without taking leave, and without any other Satisfaction than that of having freely ſpoken her mind. *M. Paris*, p. 853. *Brady* has omitted this and ſome other of *M. Paris*'s Relations of this kind.

(7) This Year King *Henry* renewed the Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of the Foreſts. *An. Waverl.* p. 210.

(8) The Earl of *Leiceſter* had then three Years and an half yet to come in his Charter, by which the Government of that Country was committed to him. *M. Paris*, p. 853.

(9) When the Earl heard of the King's deſign, he ſaid, "I am very well ſatisfied, the King would deſtroy me to inrich ſome *Proveſal* or *Poictevin*, "with my Earldom." *Id.* p. 854.

1253. compaſs his ends, he imagined that by offering the Crown of *Sicily* to ſome rich Prince, he ſhould eaſily perſwade him to ſupply whatever was neceſſary for the Conqueſt. Of all the Princes in *Europe* on whom he caſt his Eyes, he ſaw none better qualified to embark in this Undertaking than *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, Brother to the King of *England*. Beſides that this Prince was maſter of a large Eſtate, which he knew how to manage better than the King his Brother, it was very likely he would be dazzled with the Luſtre of a Crown, That of *England* ſeeming to be too remote from him, as the King had two Sons. This reſolution being taken, *Innocent* diſpatched one *Albert* as his Nuncio, to offer him the Crown of *Sicily*, on condition he would wreſt it from the Sons of *Frederic*. *Richard* rejected not the Propoſal; but inſiſted on certain previous Articles, which the Pope did not reliſh. I. That the Conqueſt of *Sicily* ſhould be carried on at his and the Pope's joint Charges. II. That *Innocent* ſhould deliver him up certain places in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as well for his Security, as to ſerve for Magazines. III. That he ſhould give him Hoſtages for the performance of his word. Theſe Terms agreed not at all with the Pope's deſigns. He was in hopes *Richard*, deeming the bare Grant of *Sicily* as a ſingular Favour, would engage to ſupply what Money was neceſſary for the Conqueſt, and rely on the word of him that made him ſo noble a Preſent. But when he ſaw the Prince was not willing to be his Dupe, and ſeemed to underſtand his own Intereſt too well, he dropped the Project, and recalled his Nuncio. This Negotiation not having the effect he expected, he was obliged to continue the War at his own expence, till he could engage in the Undertaking a more eaſy and leſs wary Prince.

Innocent offers Sicily to Prince Richard. M. Paris.

Richard's Terms not reliſhed by the Pope.

Negotiation is broke up.

Secret practices of the Gaſcons. M. Paris.

Henry thought he had prevented the Revolt of the *Gaſcons* by removing the Earl of *Leiceſter* from the Government of *Guienne*. But it was not long before he perceived, the Vigilance of that Earl, which they conſidered as an inſuperable Obſtacle to their pernicious deſigns, to be the real motive of their Complaints. *Leiceſter* had no ſooner reſigned his Patent (1), but a Plot was diſcovered in *Guienne*, to deliver that Province to the King of *Caſtile*. Though that Prince had never before made known his Pretenſions to *Guienne*, when he ſaw his Party ſtrengthned by the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Retreat, he began openly to declare himſelf. He pretended a Grant of that Country from *Henry* II, confirmed by *Richard* and *John*. It is true indeed, theſe Charters were never produced. But he had artfully perſwaded ſome diſcontented Lords, that they were in his hands. Upon this foundation, he formed in *Guienne* a powerful Party, of which *Gaſton de Moncade*, Viſcount of *Bearn*, was head. It is very likely, *Henry*'s want of Courage inſpired the King of *Caſtile* with the thoughts of becoming maſter of *Guienne* upon this frivolous title. At leaſt, he believed he had reaſon to hope, that, either by Arms, or by way of Treaty, he ſhould procure ſome part of that Province. Be this as it will, theſe Pretenſions, though apparently very weak, raiſed Commotions in *Guienne*, which made *Henry* often repent of removing the Earl of *Leiceſter*. In ſhort, the Male-contents, aided by the King of *Caſtile*, made ſuch progreſs, that *Henry* was forced to go in Perſon to ſave the Country. But there was occaſion for Money, and it was in vain to alledge the war in *Guienne*, to procure any from his Subjects, who were too much diſſatisfied with all his warlike Expeditions, to be prevailed upon by that Conſideration. It ſeemed therefore more expedient to keep to his old pretence, namely, his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, becauſe Religion was therein concerned. As ſoon as the Parliament, called upon that account, was met (2), the King demanded a large Sum to enable him to accompliſh his Vow. He repreſented, that having been hitherto under an impoſſibility of undertaking the Voyage, the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine* muſt have been great Sufferers by theſe delays.

The King of Caſtile pretends to Guienne. Id. p. 863.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 496.

Henry is forced to go thither. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 491, &c. 497. T. Wikes.

He demands an Aid to go to the Holy-Land.

The Aid is granted on condition the Charters are kept. M. Paris. p. 866.

Though the Barons were fully convinced, the King did not intend to go to the *Holy-Land*, they were afraid however of giving him ſome advantage, in caſe they refuſed the Supply demanded on ſo plauſible a pretence. They reſolved therefore to grant an Aid, but clogged with Conditions, from whence they expected ſome Benefit, whether the King executed his Project, or, as was ſuſpected, applied the Money to other uſes. This reſolution being taken, they ſent Deputies to him with their anſwer, the Subſtance of which was, That in caſe he would leave to the Churches the freedom of Elections, and ſincerely obſerve the King his Father's Charters, they would do their utmoſt to content him. *Henry*, who expected this Meſſage, was prepared with an anſwer. He told them, he owned that on certain occaſions he had carried the Prerogative-Royal a little too far; but was firmly reſolved never to be guilty of the like fault again. Adding, they might be aſſured, the Charters of King *John* ſhould be punctually kept. Then addreſſing himſelf to ſuch of the Deputies as were of the Clergy (3), he bid them conſider, that among the Prelates who then governed the Church of *England*, there were few but what were promoted to their Dignities, by means of that Prerogative Royal they complained of. He asked them, whether they themſelves, at the time of their Elections, would have wiſhed for that freedom they now ſo earneſtly demanded? He continued to ſay, ſince they deſired him to correct what was amiſs in the Government, they themſelves ought to ſet him a good Example, and reſign their Biſhopricks and Abbies acquired by illegal ways, and he promiſed them, their Places ſhould be filled with none but Perſons of Learning and Probity. The Prelates being confounded at this ſharp reproof, had nothing to reply, but *that the Buſineſs at preſent was not to undo what was paſt, but to prevent the like Evils for the future.* As the King's ſole aim was to draw Money from the Parliament, he did not puſh matters any farther. Content with having a little mortified the Clergy, he ſaid, he was ready to join with the Parliament in all neceſſary meaſures to redreſs the Grievances. Upon theſe Aſſurances the Clergy granted him the Tenths of their Revenues for three years, and the Barons, three Marks of every Knight's Fee held immediately of the Crown.

1253.

The King's Reply to the Deputies of the Parliament.

An Aid is granted. M. Paris.

The King's Promiſe to obſerve the Charters, was too expreſs not to be executed. Accordingly, without any Solicitation, he convened (4), in the great Hall of the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, an Aſſembly, at which were preſent all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with lighted Tapers in their hands. The King would not hold one, ſaying, he would lay his hand upon his Heart, during the whole Ceremony, to ſhow he ſincerely conſented to what was going to be pronounced. Then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſtanding up before all the People, denounced a terrible Curſe againſt all, that for the future, ſhould oppoſe directly or indirectly the obſervance of the two Charters; and likewiſe, againſt thoſe that ſhould any way violate, diminiſh, or alter the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. This Anathema being denounced, the two Charters were read aloud, and confirmed by the King, who kept his hand all the while on his Breaſt (5). This done, every one threw down his Taper upon the ground, and wiſhed that thoſe who violated the Charters might thus ſmoke in Hell.

Excommunication ſolemnly denounced againſt the Violaters of the Charters. M. Paris. p. 836. An. Burt. p. 323. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 435.

Who would not have thought that the King's Aſſent to a Curſe ſo ſolemnly denounced, was an undoubted Proof of his Intent religiouſly to keep his Promiſe? Perhaps he really intended it when he laid his hand upon his Heart. However, the Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but he fell to contriving all poſſible means to break through it. Beſides that he was naturally inconſtant, and not over ſcrupulous, it is ſaid, he was perſwaded to this reſolution, by ſome of his Favorites, who told him he would be but the Shadow of a King, as long as theſe Charters were in force. But as they perceived he was reſtrained by the conſideration of his Oath, they adviſed him to apply to the Pope, intimating, that for two or three hundred Marks it would be eaſy to get it annulled. This weak Prince, who generally followed the moſt pernicious Counſels, embraced this immediately. It was agreeable to his Inclinations, and that was ſufficient to cauſe him to trample upon what Honour and Religion required of him, and to hinder him from reflecting on the enſuing Miſchiefs. But, if it be ſtrange, this Prince ſhould ſo little regard his Word and Oath, there is no leſs reaſon to be ſurprized, that ſuch Principles ſhould be authoriſed by the common Practiſe of him who ſtiles himſelf *Chriſt's Vicar*.

Henry contrives to break through his Engagements. M. Paris.

Mean time, *Henry* laid out, in the Preparations for the war in *Guienne*, the Money granted by the Parliament for the Voyage to the *Holy-Land*. When all was ready, he came to *Portſmouth*, where his Troops were ordered to meet him. Then leaving the Regency to the Queen and Prince *Richard*, he ſet ſail (6) attended by a great number of Lords, who being his military Tenants, were obliged to that Service. Upon his Arrival at *Bourdeaux*, he headed

He ſets out for Guienne. Id. p. 868. An. Waverl. T. Wikes.

(1) The King bought out the remainder of his Term (which was three Years,) and gave him Security for the Money. *M. Paris.*

(2) A fortnight after *Eaſter*. Id. p. 865.

(3) They were all of the Clergy, *viz.* The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Carliſle*, *Salisbury*, and *Ethelmar* Biſhop elect of *Winchеſter*, who were ſent by the Biſhops and all the Prelates, ſays *M. Paris*, p. 866.

(4) *May* 3. ſays *M. Paris*. But the *Ann. Burton* ſay it was the 13th. p. 323. See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. I. p. 489.

(5) And ſaid after all was performed, *So may GOD help me, I will inviolably obſerve all theſe things, as I am a Man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I am a Knight, as I am a crowned and anointed King.* *M. Paris* ſeems to intimate only the Biſhops had Tapers in their Hands, for he makes the King ſay he would not hold one, *becauſe he was no Prieſt*. p. 867.

(6) *Auguſt* 6, and arrived at *Bourdeaux* the 15. *M. Paris*, p. 868.

his

1253. his Army and beſieged *Reole* Caſtle then in the hands of the Rebels. As they depended upon the King's uſual Indolence, they neglected to fortify the places they had ſeized. By which means he eaſily became maſter, not only of this, but of all the other Caſtles that were in their power. Mean while the King of *Caſtile* neglecting to ſupport his Adherents, *Henry* imagined he waited for his departure to raiſe freſh Commotions in the Province, and was afraid that would be always the Caſe. This Belief made him very uneaſy, becauſe, to prevent his Enemy's deſigns he ſaw himſelf obliged to keep a ſtanding Army in *Guienne*, without having wherewithal to maintain it. To free himſelf from this difficulty, he diſpatched an Ambaſſador to *Spain*, with Orders to propoſe a Marriage between *Edward* his eldeſt Son, and *Eleanor* Siſter (1) of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*. *Alphonſo* found there was no likelihood of his becoming maſter of *Guienne*, ſince the arrival of the *Engliſh* Succours. Beſides, he conſidered, the Marriage propoſed was very advantagious for the Princeſs his Siſter. Accordingly, without much Sollicitation, he agreed to it, and thereupon, reſigned to Prince *Edward* all his Pretenſions to *Guienne* (2). This affair was tranſacted with great Secrecy, *Henry* intending to uſe the pretence of the war to obtain a freſh Supply from the Parliament. Mean time, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was retired into *France* (3), finding *Henry* engaged in a War with the *Gaſcons*, levied ſome Troops at his own Charge, and came and offered his Service. The arrival of the Earl, and the report of a private Treaty between *Alphonſo* and the King, frightened the Rebels, and cauſed them to return to their Allegiance.

Demands Eleanor of Caſtile in Marriage for Prince Edward. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 491, 498---531. M. Paris. p. 873. *The Match is concluded.*

Arrival of Leiceſter with Offers of Service. The Gaſcons ſubmit. Id. p. 879.

1254. Mean time, *Henry* pretending to fear the attacks of the *Caſtilians*, ſent Orders to the Queen to ſummon a Parliament, and demand an Aid. But this attempt did not anſwer his Expectation. The Parliament having ſome intimation of the Treaty negotiating in *Spain*, replied, all the Barons would be ready to ſerve the King with their Lives and Fortunes, upon the firſt news of his being invaded by the *Caſtilians*. This was not what the King wanted. However, as he thought the Treaty of *Burgos* was yet a Secret, he wrote to the Queen and Prince *Richard*, that he was extremely embaraſſed, having received certain Advice, that the King of *Caſtile* was preparing to invade *Guienne* with a numerous Army of *Moors*. And therefore, he commanded them to preſs the Parliament (4) to grant an Aid anſwerable to his Neceſſities. But the news of the Treaty with *Alphonſo* being confirmed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was returned into *England*, the Queen durſt not preſs the Parliament (5) upon ſo frivolous a Pretence. *Henry*, being thus diſappointed, was forced to ſend Orders to the Prince his Brother, to extort Money from the *Jews* at any rate. *Richard* diſcharged his Commiſſion with ſuch rigour, that by his Oppreſſions he reduced the miſerable *Jews* to deſire leave to depart the Kingdom. But even that being refuſed them, they were forced to pay the King a greater Sum than ever.

Henry tries in vain to get Money from the Parliament on pretence of the War in Guienne. M. Paris.

M. Paris. p. 881. M. Weſt.

He extorts Money from the Jews. M. Paris, p. 887. M. Weſt.

As ſoon as the Queen had notice that her Son's Marriage was concluded, ſhe haſtned to *Bourdeaux* (6), with *Edward* and *Edmund* her Sons, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Immediately after her arrival, Prince *Edward* was ſent in great State to *Burgos*, where he married the Infanta *Eleonora*, and in a few days ſet out again with his Bride for *Bourdeaux*, where the King and Queen waited for them. During their Stay in that City, the King confirmed by a new Patent the Grant of *Guienne* to the Prince his Son, to which he added *Ireland*, and the Sovereignty of *Wales* (7). *Henry* having nothing more to do in *Gaſcogne*, prepared for his departure. But to avoid the Fatigues of the Sea, he deſired leave of the King of *France*, who had happily purchaſed his Liberty of the Infidels with a great Ranſom (8), to paſs through his Dominions, and embark at *Boulogne*. *Lewis* not only very courteouſly granted his requeſt, but met him at *Chartres*, and conducted him to *Paris*, where he entertained him eight days (9).

Marriage of Prince Edward. M. Paris, p. 889, 890. M. Weſtm.

Id. p. 895, 898. M. Weſt.

Henry made his Entry into *London* (10) with extraordinary Pomp, and received from the City a Preſent of a hundred Pounds Sterling, which the *Londoners* were wont to give on the like occaſions. But as he did not ſeem ſatisfied, they gave him moreover a rich piece of Plate of exquiſite Workmanſhip, with which he was content. This did not hinder him however from embracing an opportunity, a few days after, to draw from the City a more conſiderable Sum. A certain Prieſt accuſed of Murder, eſcaping out of *Newgate*, where the Biſhop had confined him, the City was amerced in no leſs than three thouſand (11) Marks as a Puniſhment for its neglect. This Sentence was deemed the more unjuſt, as it was proved by good Evidence, that the Biſhop's Officers themſelves favoured the Priſoner's eſcape (12).

He exacts Money from London. M. Paris. p. 901.

1254.

I left the Emperor *Conrade* and Pope *Innocent* very hotly engaged in War. The Pope at length departed from *Lyons* to repair to *Genoa*, from whence he deſigned to go and relieve the City of *Naples*, cloſely beſieged by *Conrade*. But this reſolution being taken too late, the Emperor had time to make himſelf maſter of the Capital, and afterwards of all the reſt of the Kingdom. This fortunate Succeſs inſpired him with the thoughts of ſeizing likewiſe the Iſland of *Sicily*, and, if certain Hiſtorians may be credited, he accompliſhed this deſign by a notorious Treachery. It is ſaid, that alluring to *Melphi* young *Henry* his Brother, to whom *Frederic* II bequeathed *Sicily*, he cauſed him to be murdered. This Prince, ſays an Hiſtorian of *Naples*, of all *Frederic*'s Sons, was the worthieſt and moſt hopeful.

Affairs of Sicily.

Conrade takes Naples.

Murders his Brother Henry.

Before the death of the young Prince, the Pope, who ſaw his affairs in great confuſion by *Conrade*'s Progreſs, diſpatched to *England* the ſame *Albret* before ſpoken of, to offer the King the Crown of the two *Sicilies*. But *Henry* rejected this offer on the account of his Nephew, whom he was unwilling to depoſe. *Innocent* not ſucceeding in this Project, took occaſion from the death of the King of *Sicily*, to renew *Conrade*'s Excommunication, whom he charged with the murder of his Brother. But the Emperor, whether he was innocent, or thought it would be difficult to convict him of this Crime, boldly denied it. Nay, he wrote to the King of *England* to acquaint him with the death of the young Prince, and to expreſs his extreme Grief thereat. This is not a proper place to examine whether his Sorrow was ſincere. It ſuffices to obſerve, that in caſe he were guilty of the murder, he did not long enjoy the Fruits of his Treachery. He died five months after, poiſoned, as was ſaid, by a Phyſician bribed by *Manfred* his baſtard Brother. Far from ſuſpecting the hand which gave him his death, he left the Guardianſhip of his Son *Conradin* to the ſame *Manfred*.

Henry refuſes the offer of the two Sicilies. M. Paris. p. 892. M. Weſt.

Conrade accuſed of his Brother's Death.

He is poiſoned by Manfred. M. Paris.

The death of *Conrade* in 1253, entirely changed the face of affairs in the two *Sicilies*. *Manfred* under colour of acting for his Pupil, who was in *Germany*, formed the Project of becoming maſter of the two Kingdoms. But he found ſo many difficulties, that he was forced to conceal his deſign till a more favorable opportunity. Mean time *Innocent*, who then reſided at *Peruſa*, headed an Army, and marched into the Kingdom of *Naples*, where the People declared in his favour. *Manfred* himſelf, finding there was no oppoſing the Torrent, went to him at *Naples*. When he came there, he ſo artfully diſſembled, that the Pope, thinking him really in his Intereſts, admitted him to all his Councils, and confirmed to him the Emperor his Father's Grant of the Principality of *Tarentum*. *Manfred*, finding himſelf thus in the Pope's favour, began to contrive how to make it ſubſervient to his deſigns. To that end, he adviſed him to diſperſe his Troops all over the Kingdom, and backed his advice with two reaſons, by which *Innocent* ſuffered himſelf to be enſnared. The firſt was, the neceſſity of eaſing the Inhabitants of *Naples*, leſt being too much burthened, they ſhould think of revolting. His other reaſon was grounded upon its being no leſs important to keep in awe the *Germans*, left by *Conrade* in the Country, under the Command of two *Bavarian* Princes. This Stratagem ſucceeding to his wiſh, he turned to the two *German* Princes, who probably, were no more difficult to be deceived than the Pope. By means of ſome ſecret Emiſſaries, he intimated to them, that he was a Friend of *Conradin*'s

Innocent IV. becomes Maſter of the Kingdom of Naples.

He is outwitted by Manfred.

(1) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, Daughter. See *M. Paris*, p. 765.

(2) The Biſhop of *Bath* and *John Manſel* his ſpecial Chaplains, were the Agents in this affair, and brought back a Charter ſealed with a golden Seal: Which is now to be ſeen in the King's *Archives*, in the old *Chapter-Houſe* at *Weſtminſter*; and is inſerted in *Rymer's Fœd.* T. I. p. 531.

(3) Where it is ſaid he generouſly refuſed the offer of being High-Steward of *France*. *M. Paris.*

(4) Which met *January* 27. *Id.* p. 881.

(5) Which was aſſembled again, in order to be preſſed to grant an Aid. *Id.* p. 887.

(6) She ſailed from *Portſmouth*, *May* 29. *Id.* p. 889.

(7) And likewiſe the City and Towns of *Briſtol*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. *M. Paris.* Before the King's return, upon ſtating his Accounts, it appeared that the Expences of his Expeditions amounted to twenty thouſand ſeven hundred Pounds, beſides Lands, Wardſhips, &c. given to Foreigners, and thirty thouſand and two hundred Marks ſpent upon his *Poictevin* Brothers. Being told, ſays *Matthew Paris*, of this great Expence by one about him, he replied, *Oh, for the Head of* God, *ſay no more of it, leſt the very Relation make Men ſtand amazed.* *M. Paris.* p. 948.

(8) Four hundred thouſand Livres.

(9) *Henry* was attended by a thouſand brave Horſe with noble Riders, and there were with him his own Queen and his Siſter the Counteſs of *Cornwal*, who were met by the Queen of *France* and her Siſter the Counteſs of *Anjou*. Thither came alſo the old Counteſs of *Provence*, Mother to all theſe Ladies. *M. Paris*, p. 900.

(10) He landed at *Dover*, about a Week after *Chriſtmaſs*. *M. Paris*, p. 901. *December* 27. *T. Wikes*, p. 50.

(11) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays three hundred. See *M. Paris*, p. 913.

(12) This Year King *Henry* appointed ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Abbots, of St. *Auguſtin*'s Order, to be Juſtices itinerant. *Id.* p. 895.--- And conſtituted *Henry de Wengham* Keeper of the Great Seal, in the room of *William de Kilkenni*. *Id.* p. 901.

and

1254. and only feigned out of Policy to adhere to the Pope. Then he magnified the Pope's Forces in the Kingdom, and adviſed them to go to *Germany* for Recruits. What farther induced theſe two Princes to follow his Advice, was the Aſſurance he gave them, that in their abſence he would take care of their Troops. He told them, he would undertake to engage the Pope to furniſh them with Neceſſaries, in expectation of ſending them back to *Germany*, and in the mean time, would prolong the Negotiation till their return. By this double advice *Manfred* weakened the Pope's Forces, by cauſing him to diſperſe them, and freed himſelf from the troubleſome Preſence of the two *German* Princes, keeping their Troops to be employed upon occaſion.

Innocent offers Sicily for Prince Edmund. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 502, 512.

The Army brought by *Innocent* into the Kingdom of *Naples*, could not be maintained without a great Expence, which he could not long bear. Apprehenſive as he was, that his Troops would quickly diſband themſelves, if he did not find Money to pay them, he made a freſh attempt upon the King of *England*, and with better Succeſs than before. Under pretence of informing *Henry* of the circumſtances of his Nephew the King of *Sicily*'s death, he ſent a Nuncio, to offer him in his name the Crown of the two *Sicilies* for Prince *Edmund* his ſecond Son. He repreſented to him, that his ſcruples were no longer ſeaſonable, ſince the death of the young King his Nephew: That beſides, he ought to conſider this Offer as a very particular mark of his Eſteem and Affection, which any Prince in *Europe* would think a great Honour. In ſhort, that a Crown was a Preſent to be accepted without much deliberation. Theſe tempting Offers had the deſired Effect. *Henry*, without conſulting his Brother, or the Parliament, from whom he was to expect the neceſſary Aids for this undertaking, accepted this imaginary Preſent, with all thankfulneſs. From that moment he cauſed Prince *Edmund* to aſſume the title of King of *Sicily*. After this unwary Prince was raſhly engaged in this affair, he had never the Power or Prudence to get clear of the Snares laid for him by the Pope on that pretence. *Innocent* told him, that with an inconſiderable Sum of Money, he would have the ſatisfaction to ſee, in a ſhort time, his ſecond Son on the Throne; and a Crown, like that of *Sicily*, was well worth taking ſome pains to obtain. Pleaſed with theſe flattering hopes, *Henry* readily ſent the Pope all his own Money, all that the Prince his Brother would lend him, and all that he could extort from the *Jews* or his other Subjects, by means of itinerant Juſtices ſent into every County. But this not ſufficing to ſatisfy the Pope, he was ſo very imprudent, as to oblige himſelf, under pain of being excommunicated and deprived of the Royal Dignity, to pay all ſuch Sums as the Pope ſhould borrow, for accompliſhing their Enterprize. *Innocent*, impowered in this unlimited manner, ſpared not his Friend's Purſe. By borrowings, real or pretended, he engaged him ſo deeply, that his ordinary Revenue could not poſſibly anſwer the expence. This put him frequently under a neceſſity of making ſuch Demands upon the Parliament, as rendered him daily more odious to his Subjects. But he was ſo fond of this affair, that he regarded not the Complaints and Murmurs of the People, as long as he thought to find the neceſſary Money for executing his Project.

Henry accepts the offer.

M. Paris. p. 896.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 511.

The Pope uſes ſeveral means to get the King Money. Ibid.

Innocent was very ſenſible, it was not in the King's Power to perform his Engagements. But he hoped, by uſing the Plenitude of his Apoſtolical Authority, to furniſh him with means ſufficient to get Money from his Subjects. The firſt of theſe means was a Bull directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, impowering them to borrow Money of Perſons of all conditions, in the name of the Church of *Rome*, with Orders to pay what Sums ſhould be thus raiſed into the King's hands. It is eaſy to ſee, the Pope made uſe of the name of the Church of *Rome*, becauſe he knew no body would lend the King Money; and becauſe the Church had it in her power to compel People, Eccleſiaſticks at leaſt, to lend their Money, which the King could not do.

Ib. p. 480. The Voyage to the *Holy Land* furniſhed the Pope with a pretence to grant the King two Tenths upon the Clergy. But withal he commanded the Money to be depoſited in a ſafe Place, from whence it could not be taken but by his orders. He pretended it was to prevent the King from putting it to any other uſe than the Expedition to *Paleſtine*. But in reality theſe Sums were deſigned for the projected Conqueſt of *Sicily*. By a third Bull, he granted the King a twentieth part of the Church's Revenue in *Scotland*, provided the Money could be raiſed without giving offence. Mean time, as he had himſelf ingaged to contribute to the charges of this intended Conqueſt, he promiſed to be anſwerable to Prince *Edmund* for a hundred thouſand *French* Livres, half whereof ſhould be paid upon his arrival at *Lyons*. A mighty Contribution towards an Enterprize of this nature! However, the obligation was clogged with this Clauſe, *unleſs the Pope ſhould have occaſion for the Money himſelf for the Defence of the Holy See.* 1254.

What care ſoever the Pope took to procure the King Money, he was afraid it would not ſuffice, or the King would vainly laviſh away the Treaſure he ſhould raiſe. For this reaſon he admoniſhed him by a Letter, to retrench all ſuperfluous Expences, not excepting thoſe deſigned for pious uſes, becauſe the Conqueſt of *Sicily* was above all works of Charity. Though *Edmund* as yet enjoyed only an empty Title, the King his Father, blinded with the hopes inſtilled by the Pope, conſidered this young Prince, as the real Monarch of the two *Sicilies*. In this belief, he cauſed him to give, by an authentick Patent, to *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy* the Queen's Uncle, the Principality of *Capua*, which, like the reſt of the Kingdom, was ſtill in diſpute between the Pope and *Conradin*. But though the Pope ſeemed to diveſt himſelf of this Kingdom in favour of *Edmund*, he ſuffered him not however to diſpoſe of any thing without his Conſent. There are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Grants made by the Pope, in this ſame Kingdom, to the Marquiſs of *Hoemburch* his General, and others.

Ib. p. 515.

Ib. p. 527.

Ib. p. 535, &c.

Whilſt the Pope continued his Negotiations in *England* with all poſſible Secrecy, for fear of alarming the *Sicilians*, *Manfred* the Baſtard was taking meaſures at *Naples* to procure the Crown of the two *Sicilies*. He practiſed upon the *German* Troops brought thither by the Emperor *Conrade*, and ſecured the aſſiſtance of the *Saracens* who were very numerous in the two Kingdoms. As ſoon as matters were ripe, he waited an opportunity to declare himſelf openly, and it was not long before one offered. Having killed a Man that affronted him at the Pope's Court, and being obliged to abſcond, he was ſummoned to appear and take his Trial. Upon his refuſal, *Innocent* orders his Troops to march to the little Town of *Nocera*, inhabited by *Saracens*, where the murderer was fled. This was a ſufficient pretence for *Manfred* to aſſemble his Friends, who were already prepared. With the Succours that came to him from ſeveral Parts, he met the Troops that were marching againſt him, and attacking them with Advantage, between *Troya* and *Foggia*, killed part, and put the reſt to flight. *Innocent* was much ſurprized at the defeat of his Army, and to find upon his hands a freſh Enemy, whom he deſigned his Inſtrument to clear the Kingdom of the *Germans*. This Incident convincing him that *Manfred* had only amuſed him, he perceived, ſince the *Germans* ſided with the Baſtard, it would be difficult to maintain himſelf in the Kingdom with only his own Forces. In this belief, he repeated his Inſtances to the King of *England*, for Men and Money, with an *Engliſh* General, threatning, in caſe of refuſal, to give the Crown of *Sicily* to another Prince. But as this Supply was yet very remote, the Vexation to ſee his affairs in ſo ill a ſituation, threw him into a fit of Sickneſs which laid him in his Grave. Though moſt Hiſtorians reckon above a year between the death of *Innocent* IV, and the Election of *Alexander* IV his Succeſſor, *the Collection of the Publick Acts of England* plainly ſhow, that *Alexander* IV was elected a few Months after *Innocent*'s deceaſe. And indeed, we find there Bulls of theſe two Popes, dated the end of the ſame year 1254.

Manfred aims at being King of Sicily. Glo. Sum. M. Paris. p. 979.

He quits the Pope's Court for Murder. He is cited, but appears not.

He beats the Pope.

Innocent dies. Succeeded by Alexander IV. M. Paris. p. 897. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 524, ----536.

1255. *Alexander*, following the ſteps of his Predeceſſor, reſolved to proſecute the War againſt *Manfred*, who, ſtill concealing his deſigns, declared for *Conradin*, for fear of frighting away the *Germans*, of whom he ſtood in great need. As the Pope had no leſs occaſion for the Succours from *England*, inſtead of menacing *Henry*, as *Innocent* did, he ſent the Biſhop of *Bononia*, with a Ring, to inveſt by that Mark, Prince *Edmund* with the Kingdom of *Sicily*. But whilſt the Legate was on the Road, *Alexander*'s affairs were entirely ruined. The Pope borrowing Money from all hands, on the King of *England*'s account, found means to draw together an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, and gave the Command to Cardinal *Octavian Ulbaldini Florentinus*, with orders to beſiege *Manfred* in *Nocera*. The Cardinal had for his Lieutenant-General, the Marquiſs of *Hoemburch* a *German*, who had long ſerved *Innocent* IV, but was now corrupted by *Manfred*. Upon the approach of this Army to *Nocera*, the Marquiſs, who watched an opportunity to ingage *Octavian* in ſome falſe Step, repreſented to him, that it was not only needleſs, but a leſſening of his Honour to employ ſo great an Army againſt a paltry Town. Adding, the Country adjoining afforded no Forage, and beſides, it was plain, *Manfred* could make no great Efforts, ſince he kept himſelf thus immured. The Eccleſiaſtical General, unexperienced in the Art of War, looking upon the Marquiſs as an able and faithful Soldier, was eaſily perſwaded

Alexander levies a great Army againſt Manfred. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 550. M. Paris, p. 906.

M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 541. Gio. Sum.

1255. Manfred defeats the Pope's Army;

perſwaded to divide his Army, on the falſe notion of his Enemy's being afraid. He had no ſooner committed this Error, but *Manfred* ſallied out of *Nocera*, and ſuddenly falling upon the Army which was coming to beſiege him, entirely put them to rout. The Pope's loſs in this Action was ſo great, that he was forced to abandon the Country. So *Manfred* eaſily became maſter of the two *Sicilies*, and was crowned at *Palermo*, after ſpreading a Report that young *Conradin* was dead in *Germany*.

is crowned King of Sicily.

The Legate inveſts Edmund with the Sicilies. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 550, 593. M. Paris. p. 911, 965. An. Burt. p. 348. T. Wikes.

Though *Alexander* had no refuge in *Italy*, yet he did not deſpair of reſtoring his Affairs by means of the King of *England*, who little knew of the late Revolution in a Country where he was ſo much concerned. For the Biſhop of *Bononia* (1) came to *London*, and, without mentioning what paſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or *Manfred*'s Coronation, inveſted Prince *Edmund* with the two *Sicilies* (2). This was done with a Solemnity that increaſed *Henry*'s Sattisfaction. This weak Prince was as much pleaſed with the Ceremony, as if *Edmund* had been actually put in poſſeſſion of a Crown. But if there were Flatterers, who congratulated him upon this augmentation of Glory, there were wiſer People, who grieved to ſee their King become more and more the Pope's dupe. Indeed it was eaſy to perceive, he was ingaging in an undertaking, which all the Ready-Money in the Kingdom would not ſuffice to accompliſh.

The King demands an Aid of the Parliament. M. Paris. p. 913. An. Burt. p. 341.

Henry had little reaſon to expect any great Aids from his People, whom he had extremely diſpleaſed. Much leſs ſtill could he hope to gain the Barons approbation of a Project, ſo raſhly undertaken, without conſulting thoſe who alone could furniſh him with means to come off with honour. Nevertheleſs, he demanded of a Parliament ſummoned this Year (3), an Aid of Money, with the ſame aſſurance as if he were labouring purely for the Good of the Publick. Though the Parliament was unconcerned about the Succeſs of the Affairs of *Sicily*, they thought however to reap ſome advantage from the King's Neceſſities, by improving this opportunity to procure, in a laſting manner, the obſervance of the two Charters. To that end, they told the King, they would grant him an Aid, upon theſe two conditions; that the Charters ſhould be obſerved, and the Juſticiary, Treaſurer, and Chancellor, nominated by the Parliament, without being liable to be turned out but by the ſame Authority. The King not thinking proper to agree to theſe Terms, prorogued the Parliament till *Michaelmas*.

Two Conditions required.

The Parliament prorogued.

The King's Journey to Scotland. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 562. ----565. M. Paris. p. 907, 908. An. Burt.

In the mean time, *Henry* was obliged to take a Journey into *Scotland*, on account of the Queen his Daughter, who complained of her hard Uſage from thoſe that governed the Kingdom, during the King her Husband's Minority (4). The Preſence of the King of *England* helped very much to ſettle the Affairs of that Kingdom, which began to feel the uſual effects of a Minority. He made but a ſhort ſtay in *Scotland*, being impatient to return into *England*, where the Affairs of *Sicily* called him.

Ruſtand the Pope's Nuntio comes into England with ſeveral Bulls. M. Paris. p. 913. An. Burt. p. 349.

The Sums pretended to be borrowed by this, and the former Pope, for the Affair of *Sicily*, were ſo exceſſive, that the King ſaw it impoſſible to ſatisfy the Creditors, real or feigned. *Alexander* was not ignorant of it, but reckoning the *Engliſh*, and particularly the Clergy, were reſponſible for their Sovereign, he uſed all imaginable means to draw Money from the unfortunate Kingdom, ſo much exhauſted already. His firſt Attempts were made by a Nuntio, one *Ruſtand*, whom he furniſhed with ſeveral Bulls, all tending to exact Money from the Clergy. The firſt produced by the Nuntio, was an order to gather a Tenth in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland* itſelf, as well to the Pope's as the King's uſe. This Bull was expreſſed in Terms which left the Clergy no room to cavil. The Pope laid this Impoſition on them, *Notwithſtanding* (5) *any former Letters, Indulgences, Privileges, Exemptions or other Grants, under any Form, and for what Cauſe ſoever, and notwithſtanding all Objections which could be deviſed.* A ſecond Bull gave the Nuntio Power to change the King's Vow to go to the *Holy Land*, into that of undertaking the Conqueſt of *Sicily*; a Conqueſt, according to the Pope, much more important than that of *Jeruſalem*. *Henry* engaged in this new Vow, by a ſolemn Oath on the Relicks of St. *Edward*, as he had done with regard to the firſt. Moreover the Nuntio ordered a Cruſade to be preached againſt *Manfred* as an Enemy to the Chriſtian Name, and promiſed the Pardon of their Sins to all that ſhould aſſiſt the Holy See againſt that excommunicated Prince. The publiſhing of this Cruſade was of little conſequence in *England*, but the effects were felt in *Paleſtine*, as it obliged the Chriſtians there, when they found the Succours, intended for them, diverted to other Uſes, to conclude with the *Saracens* a Truce for ten Years. 1255.

M. Paris. p. 914.

Ibid.

The Parliament, that was prorogued, being met, the King ſollicited in vain for a Supply. He had taken care not to ſummon ſuch of the Lords as ſhowed moſt Steddineſs in the laſt Seſſion. But from this very thing the Parliament took occaſion to refuſe his Demand. They alledged that, according to the Tenour of the Great Charter, they were not obliged to debate any Buſineſs, unleſs all that had a Right to ſit in Parliament were ſummoned. *Henry*, ſeeing little hopes of procuring any Money from this Aſſembly, diſſolved them, and took other Courſes to attain his ends (6). He would fain have borrowed once more of the Prince his Brother; but could not prevail. *Richard* was diſpleaſed that the King ſhould raſhly engage in this Affair, without vouchſafing to conſult either him, or the Barons of the Realm.

The Parliament meets. M. Paris. p. 913. An. Burt. *Refuſes to give the King an Anſwer;* *is diſſolved.* Richard *will not lend the King Money.* M. Paris. p. 914.

1256. *Divers Bulls to get Money from* England. An. Burt. M. Paris. p. 913, &c.

But what *Henry* could not do by his own Authority, he tried to effect by the Pope's help, who was the more ready to aſſiſt him, as his own Intereſt was concerned. It may be freely ſaid, that in this unhappy Century the Court of *Rome* had loſt all ſenſe of Shame. Of this, what I am going to relate is a clear evidence, not built upon the Teſtimony of a ſingle Hiſtorian, whoſe Fidelity ſome have endeavoured to call in queſtion, but upon the very Bulls of *Alexander* IV, extant in the Records of *England*, as printed in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. By the way, nothing can be more proper to confute whatever has been alledged to weaken the Authority of *Matthew Paris*, than the Harmony between the Bulls and his Hiſtory. What is more ſtrange in the Conduct of *Alexander*, is, that he did not even employ in the War againſt *Manfred*, the exceſſive Sums inceſſantly drawn from *England*, under that pretence. If we compare together the Hiſtories of *England* and *Sicily*, we ſhall find that when the Pope was draining *England* of Money for the projected Conqueſt, he ſuffered *Manfred* quietly to enjoy his Crown, without uſing any effectual Endeavours to dethrone him. Thus the Conqueſt of *Sicily* was only the Pope's Decoy, to get large Sums from *Henry*, upon the vain expectation of placing his Son *Edmund* on the Throne. In the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, we find under the Year 1255, divers Bulls clearly ſhowing with what greedineſs the *Roman* Pontiff exhauſted wretched *England*. T. Wikes.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 547.

In one of theſe Bulls, he orders *Henry* to pay four thouſand Pounds to the Biſhop of *Bononia*, for the Charges of his Legateſhip, as if the Court of *Rome* had no Intereſt in the Affair.

Ibid. & p. 548.

In another dated the ſame Month, he confirms the Change of the King's Vow to go to the *Holy Land*, into that of an Expedition into *Sicily*, to the end the Money deſigned for the War againſt the *Saracens*, might ſerve to pay the Debts contracted for the Conqueſt of that Kingdom.

p. 549.

By one of the ſame kind directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he makes, by his Authority, the ſame Change with regard to the Vow of the King of *Norway* and his Subjects. Then he commands them to ſend into *England*, for the pretended Expedition to *Sicily*, the Money raiſed for the Voyage to the *Holy-Land*.

p. 551.

A third, enjoins all the *Engliſh*, who have received any Money for their Journey to *Paleſtine*, to pay it into the hands of certain Commiſſioners, to be employed in the *Sicilian* Expedition.

p. 552.

Though he had before confirmed the Change of *Henry*'s Vow, he granted him however, by a Bull, the twentieth Part of the Clergy's Revenue in *Scotland*, to be employed in the Expedition to the *Holy-Land*. This Bull bearing date after that, whereby the King's Vow was changed, muſt be conſidered as a real Cheat, to make the *Scots* believe, their Money ſhould be expended in the War againſt the Infidels.

p. 553.

After this, by a ſubſequent Bull, he abſolves the *Scots* from their Vow of going to the *Holy Land*, on condition they would ſend into *England* a certain Sum, to be employed in the Conqueſt of *Sicily*.

p. 556.

He granted the ſame Favour to the *Engliſh*, by a Bull, dated in *Auguſt* the ſame Year.

p. 559.

Laſtly, By another in *October* he commanded his Nuntio to compel the *Engliſh* Prelates, to pay the Tenths

(1) Of *Romania*, ſays *M. Paris*, p. 911.

(2) About the middle of *October*. ibid. ------King *Henry* ſent to the Pope upon that account fifty thouſand Marks; and engaged to ſend him two hundred thouſand more. *An. Burt.* p. 348.

(3) And which met *October* 13. at *Weſtminſter*. *M. Paris*, p. 913.

(4) Sir *Robert de Roſs*, and Sir *John Baliol* the Regents, were accuſed of keeping the Queen like a Priſoner, and not permitting the King to enjoy her Embraces. But *Henry* having fined the Governors, brought the King and Queen together again, and put them into ſuch a Condition as they liked. *M. Paris*, p. 907.

(5) *Non-obſtante.*

(6) During the laſt Day's Seſſion of this Parliament, there happened a very great Quarrel between the King and the Earl Marſhal, of which the curious Reader may ſee an account in *M. Paris*, p. 917.

1255. granted to the King, for the Payment of the Debts contracted ſince his Ingagements with *Innocent* IV.

If the Originals of all theſe Bulls were not among the Records of *England*, it would be hard to believe that Chriſt's Vicar was ſo little of a Chriſtian, as to prefer his own private Quarrel before the Cauſe of God, for ſo the Cruſades againſt the Infidels were then reckoned. Neither is it leſs ſtrange, that *Alexander* ſhould think of making the *Scots* and *Norwegians*, who lived in the utmoſt bounds of the North, contribute to the Charges of his Quarrel with the Houſe of *Swabia*, about a Kingdom ſituated in the moſt Southern parts of *Europe*. But if what
M. Paris. the Hiſtorian adds be true, which however can ſcarce be doubted, it will be eaſy to perceive, that in order to raiſe Money, there was no means, though never ſo unjuſt, but what was approved by this Pope (1).

The Sums borrowed in the King's Name amounted, according to the Pope's account, to one hundred thirty five thouſand five hundred and forty Marks, principal Money, beſides Intereſt (2). *Alexander* was not ignorant that the King's Revenue ſcarce ſufficed for his neceſſary Expences, and conſequently it was impoſſible to take from thence wherewith to ſatisfy the pretended Creditors. To help the King out of this ſtrait, he cauſed him to allow that all the extraordinary Levies of Money in his Kingdom ſhould be applied to that Uſe, for which, he undertook to find means himſelf to raiſe what Sums they ſhould want. It was not ſo much the Purſes of the People or Barons, as of the Clergy, that were to be drained. Beſides that the Clergy had moſt ready Money, they more tamely ſubmitted to the Pope, than the People would to the King. Accordingly, to oblige the Clergy to pay the greateſt ſhare of this Debt, *Alexander* made uſe of a very extraordinary means, ſuggeſted to him by the Biſhop of *Hereford* (3). He cauſed a great Number of obligatory Notes to be drawn, whereby each Biſhop, Abbot, or Prior in *England*, acknowledged to have received of ſuch a Merchant of *Sienna*, or *Florence*, or ſome other place in *Italy*, the Sum of---------(4), for the occaſions of his Church, and bound himſelf to repay it at ſuch a time. This done, Endeavours were uſed to conſtrain each to ſign one of theſe Notes, as if he had really borrowed the Money. This was ſuch an Oppreſſion, that it would be difficult to find an inſtance of the like among the moſt famous Tyrants (5).

A ſtrange Meant uſed by the Pope to get Money of the Clergy. M. Paris. P. 914, 933, &c. An. Burton. T. Wikes.

1256. To execute this deſign, *Ruſtand* aſſembled all the Prelates of the Kingdom, and acquainted them with the Pope's Pleaſure, that each ſhould ſign one of theſe Notes, and bind himſelf ſpeedily to pay the Sum mentioned therein, under pain of Excommunication. This Propoſal ſo ſurprized the Prelates, that the Biſhop of *London* could not forbear ſaying aloud, *That he would loſe his Life rather than ſubmit to ſo tyrannical an Oppreſſion.* The Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſaid as much, and in fine, *Ruſtand* had for Anſwer, *That the Clergy of* England *would not be Slaves to the Pope.* The Nuntio complained to the King of this bold Anſwer, intimating that the Biſhop of *London* was the Author of the Clergy's Diſobedience. *Henry*, who was no leſs exaſperated than the Nuntio, fell into a great paſſion with the Biſhop, and told him, ſince he was afraid neither of his, nor the Pope's Indignation, he ſhould quickly feel the Effects. This Threat not being capable of daunting the Prelate, he replied, *he was very ſenſible, the King and the Pope were more powerful than He, but in caſe his Mitre were taken from him, he would clap a Helmet in its place.* However this Firmneſs was not capable to make the Nuntio give over his Project. By the help of the Biſhop of *Hereford*, he ſowed Diſcord among the chief of the Clergy, by careſſing ſome, frightning others, and cauſing Accuſations to be brought againſt ſome, from whence he took occaſion to excommunicate them. Theſe Cenſures were the more terrible, becauſe, if within forty days they ſued not for abſolution, which could not be obtained but by ſubmitting to the Pope's Will, all their Revenues were confiſcated.

1256. M. Paris. P. 915.

But what the King and Pope extorted from private Perſons by theſe violent ways, could not amount to a Sum ſufficient to anſwer their occaſions. There was a neceſſity of prevailing with all the Clergy to ſign the Notes, otherwiſe it was not worth the while to commit ſuch flagrant Acts of Injuſtice. Wherefore *Ruſtand* once more ſummoned the Prelates upon this Affair. But the abſence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was out of the Kingdom, and the Vacancy of the See of *York* (6), furniſhed the Prelates with a pretenſe to deſire a delay, which could not be refuſed them. They hoped that time would produce ſome favourable turn, to exempt them from paying the Money demanded. But the Conduct of the Nuntio quite deſtroyed theſe hopes. He fell into a Rage with thoſe who raiſed any difficulties in this Affair, and thought it very ſtrange that the leaſt oppoſition ſhould be made to the Pope's Pleaſure. *Leonard*, a Deputy or Prolocutor for the Clergy, inſiſting on the Injuſtice of the Pope's Demand, *Ruſtand* commanded him to ſay whether he ſpoke for himſelf, or in the name of the Prelates. Then he wrote down the Deputy's Words, ſaying, he would inform the Pope of his inſolent Expreſſions. Another Clergyman willing likewiſe to ſpeak a little freely of this matter, the Nuntio told him in a furious tone, that if he had not a regard for the Prelates, he would not leave him a hair on his head.

1256. M. Paris. P. 917, 920. Id. p. 920.

The delay granted the Clergy being expired, all the Prelates, with the Archdeacons, the Repreſentatives of the inferior Clergy, aſſembled at *London*. As they met purely upon this Affair, *Ruſtand* renewed his Inſtances the very firſt day. The Clergy replied, by *Leonard* their Prolocutor, that their Poverty hindered them from conſenting to the Pope's demand, conſidering it was founded neither upon Reaſon nor Juſtice. The Nuntio made anſwer, *There was no Injuſtice in what the Pope claimed, ſince, as all Churches belonged to him, he could diſpoſe of their Incomes as he pleaſed.* This extraordinary pretenſion was replied to by *Leonard*, ſaying, "Indeed all Churches "might be ſaid in ſome ſenſe to belong to the Pope, "but it was only that he ſhould protect and defend them, "and not appropriate them to his own uſe. In like "manner, continued he, as we ſay in *England*, all "things are the King's; Yet no man ever imagined "the King was Proprietor of all the Eſtates of his Sub-"jects: So with regard to the Lands of the Church, it "can never be proved that it was the Intention of the "Founders to give them to the Pope." This Reply did but ſtill more exaſperate the Nuntio, who however thought not fit to argue and diſpute any longer. He contented himſelf, with ſaying in a menacing tone, "Let every one ſpeak for himſelf, that the Pope may "know who is for, and who againſt him." This he ſaid to frighten them: But his violent Proceedings had a quite contrary Effect. The Prelates, full of Indignation at this Treatment, unanimouſly replied, they neither could, nor would ſubmit to ſo unjuſt an Exaction; that this was their laſt Reſolution, and they were ready to ſuffer Death, in a Cauſe much more juſt than that for which the Bleſſed St. *Thomas Becket* endured Martyrdom. The Nuntio finding there was no prevailing by Threats, grew more calm, and ſaid, he would go himſelf and talk with the Pope, about the Difficulties which occurred in the execution of his Orders. The Clergy ſent likewiſe, in their name, the Dean of St. *Paul*'s to acquaint his Holineſs with the reaſons of their Denial. To finiſh at once this Affair, which I have no deſign to reſume, I ſhall relate here what Terms the Clergy obtained from the Court of *Rome*, after long Sollicitations. As the Pope pretended, the Sums in queſtion were really borrowed for the Service of the King and Church, he ordered that each Prelate ſhould pay his ſhare in proportion to his Revenue: But that the Money thus paid, ſhould be deducted out of the Tenths which ſhould hereafter be granted to the King. After this deciſion, refuſing to hearken to any thing further, the Clergy were forced to pay Money they had not borrowed, and to the payment whereof they were bound without knowing any thing of the matter.

The Nuntio attacks the Ciſtercian *Abbots.* M. Paris. p. 924.

Some time after, the ſame Nuntio convened all the Abbots of the *Ciſtercian* Order, and demanded one Year's

(1) This Year King *Henry* ordered by Proclamation, that the Great Charter of Liberties ſhould be faithfully and inviolably obſerved. But, as *M. Paris* well obſerves, to what purpoſe were theſe Proclamations, when the King and his great Men, ſet the reſt of the Nation ſo ill an Example, by their frequent Violations of it, p. 907.

(2) Beſides fifty thouſand more, in which the Prelates ſtood bound to the Pope, though without their own Knowledge and Conſent. The Words of *M. Paris*, upon this occaſion, are theſe: "The ſacred Privileges of Churches ſignify nothing; and though the Pope has a Power only for Edification, and "not for Deſtruction, yet the Tax upon the Clergy, which was granted at firſt but for three, is now changed into five Years; and formerly Lay-men paid "Tithes to the Clergy, but now even the Prelates are compelled to pay Tenths to the Laity: An Aid was granted in Succour of the *Holy-Land*, and we "are compelled to pay it, to fight againſt the Chriſtians of *Apulia*; A Tenth was alſo granted by us to the King for the Obſervation of the Great Charter, "which notwithſtanding is not kept; beſides many other Grievances then done to the Clergy and Church of *England* by the Pope's means, though with "the Privity and Connivance of the King himſelf, too long to be here repeated," which as Mr. *Tyrrel* obſerves, though omitted by Dr. *Brady*, yet may ſerve to let us ſee the ſad Condition of the People, where the Prince, inſtead of defending them, gives them up for a Prey to a foreign Power. See *M. Paris*, towards the Cloſe of the Year 1255. p. 918.

(3) *Peter Egeblank* a Foreigner. See *M. Paris*, p. 910.

(4) Five, ſix or ſeven hundred Marks a-piece, or more. *M. Paris.*

(5) This Year, among other arbitrary Acts, the King took a Tallage of five hundred Marks from the Citizens of *London*; and invaded all the Poſſeſſions of *Robert de Ros*, a Man of Note. *M. Paris*, p. 929.------And alſo iſſued out a Proclamation, that all who were worth fifteen Pounds a Year in Land, ſhould take upon them the Order of Knighthood; and that thoſe who would not, ſhould buy it off with Money, *ibid.*

(6) *Walter de Grey*, who had been Archbiſhop near forty Years, died the laſt Year, and was ſucceeded by *Sewal* Dean of the Church of *York*, T. Wikes, p. 50.

1256. Revenue of their Wool, to ſupply the occaſions of the Pope and the King. They anſwered, they could not grant ſuch a Demand, unleſs debated in a General Chapter of their Order. This Reply not ſatisfying the *Italian* Prelate, he fell into a Paſſion, and ſwore, if he could not prevail with them in a Body, he would ſo treat them ſingly, that they ſhould be conſtrained to comply. He ſoon performed his Threat. For ſlight or imaginary Faults, he attacked them one after another, and cauſed them to be grievouſly fined. But this Order had ſuch powerful Protectors about the Pope, that the Nuntio was commanded to deſiſt.

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 554.

Bull of Alexander IV, which verifies what has been ſaid about the Notes. M. Paris. p. 934.

The Tyranny exerciſed by the Court of *Rome* upon the Clergy of *England* was of ſo ſtrange a nature, that the Hiſtorian who relates all theſe Facts, was afraid he ſhould be ſuſpected of inventing them, unleſs he produced an authentick Proof. This doubtleſs was his view, in inſerting at large in his Hiſtory one of *Alexander*'s Bulls, which ſhews, that nothing was done in the Buſineſs of the Notes but by his expreſs Words. This Bull, directed to *Ruſtand*, concludes with theſe Words: *You ſhall take care to let the King know, that all this is our Will and Pleaſure. Wherefore I ſet down in theſe Preſents, what each Abbot and Prior ſhall be bound to pay. The* PRIOR *and* MONASTERY *of* DURHAM, *five hundred Marks; of* BATH *four hundred; of* THORNEY, *four hundred,* &c.--------*Dated at* Anagnia *the X of the Calends of* July, *in the ſecond Year of our Pontificate.*

The Parliament refuſes the King Money. Ann. Burt.

Let us return now to the King, who was ſolliciting with no leſs earneſtneſs for the Aids demanded of the Barons, to place the Prince his Son on the Throne of *Sicily*. The Archbiſhop of *Meſſina* was lately come from *Rome*, on purpoſe to ſecond the King's Demand, with the Pope's Letters to the Lords, exhorting them to give the King Content. But the Pope's Eagerneſs, and the Archbiſhop of *Meſſina*'s preſſing inſtances, proved quite contrary to their Deſigns. For it was very viſible, that the Money was to be put into the Pope's hands, otherwiſe he would not have taken ſuch pains. Beſides, the Parliament could not reſolve to ſuffer Troops to be ſent into *Italy*, as the Pope and the King deſired, perſwaded as they were, that it was expoſing them to certain Ruin. Theſe Conſiderations induced them to refuſe the King the Aid he demanded. To juſtify their Denial, they preſented an Addreſs, ſetting forth their Reaſons. I. The Difficulty of the projected Undertaking. II. The Poverty of the Nation. III. The dread of an Invaſion from the neighbouring States, if the Forces of the Kingdom were ſent ſo far off. IV. This Project was formed without the Conſent of Parliament. V. Laſtly, The Condition annexed to the Grant of *Sicily*, left the Pope free to revoke it whenever he pleaſed, which was reciprocal.

Reaſons for ſo doing. An. Burt. p. 371.

Henry will have the Clergy bound for him. M. Paris. p. 965.

The King was not ſatisfied with demanding of his Parliament an extraordinary Aid. He would have moreover the Clergy ſtand bound for the Sums, the Pope pretended were ſtill due to him (1), and conſent that the Tenths granted for three, ſhould be continued for five Years. Theſe Demands were ſo exorbitant, that the Clergy could not reſolve to comply with them. But there was not the ſame regard for the Spiritual, as for the Temporal Lords. The Pope no ſooner ſpoke with an imperious tone, by the mouth of his Nuntio, but the Clergy tamely ſubmitted, and gave the King the greateſt part of his Demands.

The Clergy refuſe;

but yield at laſt.

War with the Welſh. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 588, 590, &c. 635, &c. M. Paris. p. 987.

How large Sums ſoever were lately drawn out of the Kingdom, *Henry* ſtill continued his Exactions, as well upon the Citizens of *London*, as the reſt of the Kingdom. He made even the *Welſh*, whom he conſidered as his Subjects, ſince they were become his Vaſſals, feel the Effects of his Greedineſs. The Oppreſſions they endured, on divers pretences, wearing out their Patience, they had recourſe to Arms, and invaded the Frontiers of *England*, from whence they carried away a great Booty. Prince *Edward* would have chaſtiſed them; but it was not poſſible for him to raiſe a ſufficient Number of Troops to ſtop their Progreſs. The King's Treaſury was ſo exhauſted, both by the Pope and his own Favorites, that not being able to furniſh Money for this War, he was forced to ſuffer the *Welſh* to plunder his Borders with impunity. His fondneſs for his half Brothers, and the Queen's Relations, was aſtoniſhing. He was not ſatisfied with loading them with immenſe Preſents, which diſabled him to defend his Kingdom, but permitted them to oppreſs his own Subjects, by forbidding the Chancellor to iſſue any Writs to their prejudice (2).

The King's Profuſeneſs to his Half-Brothers, and the Queen's Relations. M. Paris. P. 937.

Mean time the Pope was not yet content with the vaſt Sums drawn from *England*. He preſſed the King continually to ſend him Money, threatning to revoke the Grant of *Sicily*, if he did not ſpeedily perform what he had promiſed. *Henry* excuſed his not ſending yet Troops into *Italy*, with an *Engliſh* General, becauſe, inſtead of being able to defray this freſh Expence, he could not yet accompliſh the Payment of the Sums demanded by the Pope. But to ſatisfy him in ſome meaſure, he remitted him five thouſand Marks, and ordered Prince *Edward* his Son, who was to ſucceed him, to ratify the Agreements relating to *Sicily*. In another Letter on this occaſion, he acquainted him, that the Barons of the Realm refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Terms that were required of him, thinking them ſomewhat unreaſonable (3), eſpecially ſince the Affairs of *Sicily* were altered by the Treachery of the Marquiſs of *Hoemburch*. As ſoon as the Pope heard that the Great Men began to murmur, he thought it time to get all he could expect from *England*, plainly foreſeeing that the Game he was playing would ſoon be at an end. For that purpoſe, he ſent into *England* a Nuntio, one *John de Dia*, with ſeveral Bulls, all tending to procure Money of the King, in order to pay the Pope's pretended Debts. By the firſt, he enjoined the Biſhops punctually to pay the Tenths granted to the King, notwithſtanding all Letters, Indulgences, or Privileges whatever. In all appearance, the Deduction, which they were before allowed to make, was rendered of no effect by this Clauſe. Another Bull granted the King for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, from which he had already been exempted, all the Revenues of the vacant Benefices. By a third, he gave him the Incomes of Non-Reſidents. A fourth, granted him the Tenths of all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of the Kingdom, according to their extended Value; whereas they were wont to be rated according to the antient Taxations. A fifth, ordered *Ruſtand* to adjudge to the King the Chattels of Clergymen who died inteſtate. By a ſixth, he commanded the ſame Nuntio, to tax himſelf all the Eccleſiaſticks of the Kingdom, for the Aid they were to give the King, notwithſtanding all Privileges granted by his Predeceſſors, and all Exemptions, or Objections whatever. A ſeventh, excommunicated all the Prelates who ſhould not pay their Tenths within ſuch a time. There were ſeveral others which it is needleſs to mention, ſince they all tended to the ſame end. The Importunity of the Creditors of *Sienna* and *Florence* ſerved always for a Pretence of theſe Oppreſſions. Tho' theſe Debts ſhould have been overpaid by all the Levies of Money made in *England* on that account, they were like the *Hydra*, whoſe heads continually revived.

1256.

The Pope preſſes the King for Money. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 587.

Prince Edward ratifies the Contracts relating to Sicily. Ibid. p. 586.

The Pope ſends a Nuntio with divers Bulls. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 593. 595. p. 599. Ibid. p. 600. p. 601. p. 602, &c. p. 607.

It ſeemed that in this unfortunate Reign, a concourſe of malignant Influences met in *England*, to impoveriſh the Nation. Every thing contributed to their Miſery, and Events ſeemingly the moſt remote, were found at length to tend to the ſame end. *William*, Earl of *Holland*, and King of the *Romans*, being killed in a Skirmiſh with the *Friſons*, the Electors of the Empire were divided about the choice of a new King of the *Romans*. Some who were the Majority, gave their Votes for *Richard* Brother to the King of *England*, and the reſt choſe *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*. *Richard*, more diligent than his Competitor, went immediately to be crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*, and ſupported his Right by his preſence in *Germany*, whilſt *Alphonſo* acted only by Ambaſſadors. However, *Richard* had no other advantage over his Rival but that of being crowned: An Honour, which coſt him ſo dear, that *Alphonſo* would have been very ſorry to purchaſe it at that rate. *Richard* is ſaid to carry into *Germany* ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling in ready Money (4), an immenſe Sum in thoſe Days, which, added to what the Pope had drawn out of the Nation, made a very great Scarcity of Money. The meaner Sort of People were great Sufferers by it, becauſe, the Harveſt not being very plentiful, they were not able to buy Proviſions, which were grown very dear (5). All theſe Evils moved not the King. Infatuated with his *Sicilian* Project, he preſſed the Clergy for a freſh Aid, that of the laſt Year not even ſufficing, as he aſſured them to pay his Debts. As he expected to meet with great Oppoſition from the Prelates, he brought into the Aſſembly Prince *Edmund* his Son dreſſed in a *Sicilian* Habit, imagining that, charmed like him with the Sight, they would readily grant his Demands. But this Artifice would have been but of little force, had not the Prelates been again aw'd by the Nuntio, who compelled them by his Threats to grant the King forty two thouſand Pounds Sterling.

1257.

Prince Richard choſen King of the Romans. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 617, 622. M. Paris. 939. T. Wikes.

Carries over into Germany a vaſt Sum of Money. T. Wikes.

The King exerts an Aid from the Clergy. M. Paris. p. 951.

(1) One hundred and thirty five thouſand Marks Principal, and five hundred and forty more for Intereſt. *M. Paris.*
(2) Which, ſays *Matthew Paris*, was contrary to the Law and Peace of the Kingdom, p. 937.
(3) Theſe Terms or Agreements are to be ſeen at the end of *Tom.* I. of the *Publick Acts*, among Thoſe that were omitted. *Rapin.*
(4) *M. Paris* ſays, he was ſo rich, as to be able to ſpend a hundred Marks a Day for ten Years together. p. 942.
(5) The Author of *Walter of Coventry's Julius* ſays, Proviſions were ſo ſcarce, that he himſelf ſaw the People fighting for the Carcaſſes of dead Dogs, and other Carrion, and to eat the Waſh that was ſet for the Hogs. But *M. Paris* obſerves, that this was owing not ſo much to the Scarcity of Corn, as to the Want of Money, Corn having been ſeveral times dearer than it was now, and yet none died with hunger, as many did at this time.

To

1257. *Continuation of the Welſh War.* M. Paris. p. 944. T. Wikes.

To all the Calamities *England* laboured under during the Courſe of this Year, muſt be added the War with *Wales*, which was vigorouſly carried on by the *Welſh*, and very faintly by *England*. Prince *Edward*, who undertook to chaſtiſe theſe turbulent People, was forced to retreat before them with ſome Loſs. Their daily Progreſs, obliged the King to march againſt them. But, upon his Approach, they retired to their Mountains, having themſelves laid waſte their Borders, and thereby prevented *Henry* from proceeding. But this was not all. When he imagined the *Welſh* at a diſtance, and ſeized with Fear, they ſo effectually took advantage of his Negligence, as to ſurpriſe him and cut in pieces a good part of his Army; after which, he thought only of retiring.

Henry is beaten.

The King demands of France the Reſtitution of Normandy. M. Paris. p. 979.

It muſt be ſurpriſing, that at ſuch a Juncture, *Henry* ſhould think of frightening the King of *France*. However, without conſidering his weak Eſtate, he ſent Ambaſſadors (1) to him, to demand the Reſtitution of *Normandy*, and the other Provinces in *France* taken from the *Engliſh*. It is not known, with what view or from what motive he renewed this Pretenſion, in ſo proud and haughty a manner, that one would have thought his Affairs in the moſt flouriſhing Condition, and that he was able to ſupport this Bravado. *Lewis*, who was better acquainted with his Affairs than himſelf, forbore however to inſult him, contenting himſelf, with roughly denying ſo unſeaſonable a Demand.

The King petitions the Pope to ſettle the Terms relating to Sicily. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 624, 629, &c.

Mean time *Ruſtand* the Nuntio, who was gone to *Rome* for new Inſtructions, ſoon returned into *England*, with Power to excommunicate the King, if, purſuant to his Engagements, he did not ſpeedily undertake the projected Conqueſt. *Henry* ſurprized at theſe Menaces, and not knowing which way to ſatisfy the Pope, cauſed his Son *Edmund* humbly to intreat him, to make the Terms more eaſy on which he had accepted the Grant of *Sicily*. This Petition proving of no great effect, *Henry* was at length forced to appoint Ambaſſadors to go to *Rome*, and renounce, in the name of the Prince his Son, the Grant of this imaginary Crown which had already coſt him ſo dear. But this was not what the Pope wanted. Far from receiving this Renunciation, he ſent a new Nuntio, one *Arlot*, impowering him to make ſome Alteration, in the Agreement upon this Affair. But withal he ordered him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to engage the King more deeply, by procuring him ſome freſh Grants, which coſt him nothing, ſince they were made at the Clergy's Expence. For that purpoſe, he charged his Nuntio to publiſh a new Bull, enjoining the Biſhops to pay the Tenths granted to the King, under pain of Excommunication; *notwithſtanding all Objections, all Appeals, and all Letters obtained or to be obtained, to the contrary.* What is more ſtrange, and hardly conceivable, is, that the vaſt Sums ſent to the Pope, not only had not at all promoted the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, but even the leaſt part had not been put to that uſe, ſince after the Defeat of *Nocera*, the Pope had no Army on foot. Beſides the Tenths, and other Aids frequently paid by the Clergy to the King on this account, the Parliament had furniſhed conſiderable Supplies, and yet there appeared no Bottom to this Gulf, which ſwallowed up all the Riches of the Kingdom. The Clergy grieved to ſee themſelves thus oppreſſed: The People for their part murmured no leſs, when they conſidered, that ſo much money raiſed in *England*, and which it is affirmed, amounted to above nine hundred and fifty thouſand Marks, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the Avarice of the Pope, who ſtill craved for more (2).

He would renounce that Crown. p. 630. *A new Nuntio with freſh Bulls.* p. 628.

Bull for Money from the Clergy. p. 640. T. Wikes. p. 55. M. Paris. p. 962.

1258. *The Barons begin to take meaſures againſt the King.* M. Paris. T. Wikes.

It was not poſſible but ſo many Oppreſſions would at length wear out the Patience of the *Engliſh*. The Barons were ſtill more aggrieved than the People, as the moſt conſiderable Poſts, to which they thought themſelves alone entitled, were enjoyed by Foreigners. This uſually excites the Zeal of the Great Men, and makes them ſuch mighty Sticklers for the Good of the Publick. If their own private Intereſt is not concerned, in vain will it be expected that the Nobles expoſe their Lives and Fortunes in defenſe of the Liberties of an injured People. This is a Remark, at which no Nation in particular ought to be offended, ſince it agrees with all times and with all Places. The Great Men, who then lived in *England*, were of the ſame Character. The Credit and Riches of the Foreigners, were the chief Grievance of the Barons, and the real Motive of their Complaints. If they urged ſome other Abuſes, it was becauſe they themſelves had no advantage from thence, or to gain the People to their ſide. They had hitherto thought to oblige the King to alter his Conduct, by binding him with ſolemn Oaths. But they perceived at length there was no ſecuring this *Proteus*, as an Hiſtorian ſtiles him, unleſs more violent means were uſed. In this belief, they began to hold ſecret Conferences together, to conſider of proper Expedients to reform the Government, and eſpecially to exclude the Foreigners. The King quickly furniſhed them with an opportunity to execute their Deſigns, by calling a Parliament (3), of whom he demanded, according to cuſtom, a powerful Aid for the Affair of *Sicily*; for as to the Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, it was no longer mentioned. The Parliament, purſuant to the Reſolution already taken by the principal Barons, inſtead of granting his demand, vehemently complained of the Breach of his Promiſes, and of all the Grievances in general, ſpoken of in the Courſe of this Reign. *Henry* perceiving, that a haughty Carriage would be in vain on this occaſion, fell to his old Artifice of appeaſing the Lords, by acknowledging himſelf guilty, and promiſing to reform what was amiſs. But for once they were not ſo credulous. They told him plainly, that without leaving it to him, they deſigned to reform the Government themſelves, ſo as to fear no more his Breach of Faith. Therefore, under pretence of the Difficulties in this Affair, the Parliament was prorogued, and the City of *Oxford* appointed for the place of the next Seſſion. And as he was apprehenſive, that in the mean time, the Barons would make preparations, which he found he could not prevent, he gave them a poſitive Promiſe, that as ſoon as they met, he would join with them in the deſired Reformation. He ſigned likewiſe a Charter, whereby he conſented, that the Articles to be reformed, ſhould be drawn up by four and twenty Lords, of whom he would chuſe twelve, and promiſed to obſerve whatever ſhould be ſettled by theſe Commiſſioners. To give the greater Authority to this Charter, he cauſed Prince *Edward* his Son to ſign it with him, to convince them of his Sincerity. They had been ſo often deceived by the like Promiſes, that they could not believe this to be more ſincere. Without relying on the King's Proteſtations, the Barons ſummoned all their military Tenants, and on the day appointed came to *Oxford* (4), well-attended, and reſolutely bent to compel the King to perform his Word. The firſt thing was the Election of the four and twenty Commiſſioners, who were to draw the Articles of the intended Reformation. The King choſe twelve (5), and the other twelve were elected by the Barons (6), who made *Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Preſident of this Council. The Election being over, the four and twenty drew up ſome Articles, to which the Parliament reſerved to themſelves a Power to add, from time to time, ſuch others as ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the Good of the State. They were in ſubſtance as follows:

1258.

M. Paris. P. 968.

The King demands Money of the Parliament, who complain of his Conduct. Id. p. 963, 965.

The Barons form the Project of reforming the Government.

Parliament adjourned to Oxford.

The King agrees to the Reformation. M. Paris. p. 968. T. Wikes.

M. Paris. P. 971.

Four and twenty choſen to ſettle Matters. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 655. An. Burt. p. 413, 414. M. Paris. p. 970. T. Wikes. P. 52.

I. That the King ſhould confirm the great Charter, which he had ſworn ſo often to obſerve without any Effect.

II. That the Office of Chief Juſticiary ſhould be given to a Perſon of Capacity and Integrity, that would adminiſter Juſtice, as well to the Poor as the Rich, without diſtinction.

III. That the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Juſtices, and other Officers and publick Miniſters, ſhould be choſen by the four and twenty.

IV. That the Cuſtody of the King's Caſtles ſhould be left to the Care of the four and twenty, who ſhould intruſt them with ſuch as were well affected to the State.

V. That it ſhould be Death for any Perſon of what Degree or Order ſoever, to oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be ordained by the four and twenty.

VI. That the Parliament ſhould meet at leaſt once every Year, to make ſuch Statutes as ſhould be judged neceſſary for the Welfare of the Kingdom (7).

(1) They were no leſs than the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, and *Winchaſter*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, lately made Earl Marſhal, *Peter* of *Savoy*, and *Robert Waleran*. It ſeems as if he did this on account of the King of *France's* Scruples. *M. Paris.* p. 979.

(2) In *Midlent*, this Year, was held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; in which the King demanded the Tenths of the whole beneficed Clergy, for five Years, according to the new Valuation, without any Deduction or Allowance. But the Parliament thinking the Demand extravagant, agreed to grant the King an Aid of fifty thouſand Marks, on condition the Great Charter was obſerved. But *Henry* refuſed to accept of it. *M. Paris*, p. 946.

(3) Which met at *London*. ſoon after *Eaſter*, *Id.* p. 963. (4) Which was on *June* 11. *Id.* p. 968.

(5) The Biſhops of *London* and *Winchaſter*; *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*; *John* Earl of *Warren*; *Guido de Luſignan*, and *William de Valence*, the King's Half-Brothers; *John* Earl of *Warwick*; *John Manſel*, Frier; *J. de Derlington*, Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; *Henry de Wengham*, Dean of St. *Martin's*, *London*; the twelfth is omitted, but ſuppoſed to be either *Peter of Savoy*, or *James Audley*.

(6) The Biſhop of *Worceſter*; the Earls *Simon* of *Leiceſter*, *Richard* of *Glouceſter*, *Humphrey* of *Hereford*, *Roger* of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal; the Lords' *Roger Mortimer*, *John Fitz Geoffrey*, *Hugh Bigod*, *Richard de Gray*, *William Bardolf*, *Peter de Montfort*, and *Hugh de Eſpenſer*. M. Paris.

(7) The *Annals of Burton*, where the Order is drawn up in form, ſay, The four and twenty ordained, that there ſhould be three Parliaments in the Year; the firſt, eight days after *Michaelmaſs*; the ſecond, the Morrow after *Candlemaſs-day*; and the third, on the firſt of *June*. p. 415.

1258. It is certain, that twelve Deputies, or Repreſentatives of the Commons, were preſent in this Parliament; but whether it was by permiſſion, or right, I mean, whether it was a new regulation, or the Commons had their Repreſentatives in the former Parliaments, is what I dare not undertake to determine; ſince the *Engliſh* are not agreed in this point among themſelves. However, as in a diſpute of this nature, it is difficult to help inclining to one ſide, I readily own my ſelf of their opinion, who believe this to be the firſt time that the Repreſentatives of the Commons were admitted to ſit in Parliament. And indeed, if the Commons had a right to ſit there at the time we are ſpeaking of, it would be very ſtrange, that they ſhould nominate but twelve Repreſentatives for the whole Kingdom. Moreover, all the Hiſtorians agree that theſe twelve were not Commoners [as now reputed] but all Barons, ſtiled immediate Tenants of the Crown (1). Add to this, it would be very ſurprizing, if the Commons enjoyed this privilege before, that Hiſtorians ſhould never diſtinguiſh them from the Nobility. And yet, among ſo many Writers, who, from the Conqueſt to the end of the Reign of *Henry* III, have ſpoken of Parliaments, not one has diſtinguiſhed the Commons, as making a diſtinct Body, or ſeparate Houſe from the Barons. In ſhort, it may be added, as a precedent, by no means favorable to the Antiquity of the right of the Commons, that in *France* it was not till the Reign of *Philip the Fair*, that the third Eſtate was admitted into the General-Aſſembly of the States, as *Paſquier* aſſures us. However this be, as it is from this and another Aſſembly, which I ſhall mention preſently, that ſome date the original of the Privilege of the Commons, it was neceſſary to acquaint the Reader therewith.

The Parliament approving the Articles drawn by the four and twenty, the King was obliged to give his aſſent to them, and cauſe all neceſſary orders, for putting them in execution, to be diſpatched. Prince *Edward* likewiſe ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of his power. Thus *Henry*, for his too great neglect of his Subjects, found himſelf at laſt forced to divide with them the Government of his Kingdom, or rather to reſign the whole into their hands. Perhaps he would have avoided this misfortune, had he been leſs obſequious to the Court of *Rome*, which certainly was the principal Cauſe of his Diſgrace. But it was then very difficult to keep, in that reſpect, a juſt medium. King *John* loſt himſelf by too vigorouſly oppoſing the Pope; and *Henry*, by making himſelf his Slave.

Oppoſition to theſe Articles M. Paris. p. 971.

The Articles agreed on, then called the Statutes or Proviſions of *Oxford*, met at firſt with ſome oppoſition. The Earl of *Warren* refuſed to ſign them. Prince *Edward*, who ſwore to them againſt his will, wanted to go from his Oath. *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, openly proteſted, they were of no force, till the King his Father, then in *Germany*, conſented to them. This Proteſtation drew a very mortifying Reply from the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Without regarding his Quality, the Earl plainly told him, *If the King his Father refuſed to join with the Barons, he ſhould not enjoy one foot of Land in* England. But the greateſt oppoſition was from the Foreigners, and particularly the King's Half-Brothers, and the Queen's Relations. Eſpecially *William*, Biſhop elect of *Valence*, was chiefly concerned, becauſe the whole Royal Authority, now reduced within narrow bounds by theſe Statutes, was properly in his hands. Accordingly, he publickly declared, he would not deliver up the Caſtles, of which he had the cuſtody. But the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was naturally impetuous, immediately replied, he ſhould part either with the Caſtles or his Head. This Threat being ſupported by the reſt of the Barons, the *Poictevins* reſolved to ſhut themſelves up in *Wincheſter*, plainly ſeeing they were not able to withſtand the torrent. Their Flight (2) was no ſooner known, but the Barons mounted their Horſes and purſued them, but it was not poſſible to overtake them. However, as at ſuch a juncture, it was difficult for Foreigners, ſo univerſally hated as they, to procure a ſufficient protection, they conſented to depart the Kingdom, provided they might have a Safe-conduct. This condition being readily complied with, they were brought to *London* till they could be imbarked. It is affirmed, that during their ſtay in the City, they invited to an entertainment ſeveral Lords, ſome of whom died preſently after; which gave occaſion to ſuſpect, they were poiſoned. But it may be, the hatred of the *Engliſh* to theſe Foreigners, was the chief Cauſe of this ſuſpicion. Be that as it will, a few days after, they embarked at *Dover*, and returned into their own Country.

The Foreigners expelled the Kingdom. An. Waverl. W. Riſh. p. 990. T. Wikes. M. Paris. p. 971.

1258. M. Paris.

The Barons being thus rid of the Foreigners, agreed, before their ſeparation, upon an Oath of Aſſociation, to ſtand by the Proviſions of *Oxford* with their Lives and Fortunes (3). If we believe an Hiſtorian who has given us the particulars of this affair, the four and twenty ſoon abuſed their power, in giving all the Places and Offices to their Relations and Friends. He accuſes them alſo of holding frequent Parliaments, without the King's conſent, whom they conſidered only as the ſhadow of a Sovereign.

The Barons enter into an Aſſociation. Ibid. W. Riſh. p. 990.

In a Parliament aſſembled at *Wincheſter*, the Barons reſolved to ſend Commiſſioners to the City of *London*, to invite them to join in their Aſſociation. This was eaſily obtained; the *Londoners* having ſtill more reaſon to complain of the King than all the reſt of the Kingdom. This affair being ended, and the Parliament judging it neceſſary to proceed in a legal way againſt the Foreigners, who were expelled the Kingdom, paſſed an Act for their perpetual Baniſhment. However, as *Aithelmar* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was in the number of the Baniſhed, there was a neceſſity of making ſome excuſe to the Pope, ſince the Biſhops had been long exempted from the civil Juriſdiction. There was occaſion likewiſe to juſtify to the Pope the Conduct of the Parliament, both with regard to the affair of *Sicily*, and the late alterations in the Government of the Kingdom. It was reſolved therefore, that the Barons ſhould write to the Pope, to inform him of what had paſſed. Their Letter was to this effect: "That they had been prevented, for ſeveral good reaſons, "from yielding to his admonitions, with reſpect to the "Conqueſt of *Sicily*. Firſt, becauſe the King had en- "gaged in that undertaking, without their advice, and "without conſidering the ſtate of the Kingdom, which "was by no means able to bear the expence of ſuch an "Expedition. Secondly, becauſe the Conditions on which "the King had accepted the Grant of *Sicily* for the Prince "his Son, were too hard and impracticable. Neverthe- "leſs, if the Pope would mitigate them, they were ready "to proſecute that affair, to the utmoſt of their power. "Then, they vindicated the *Oxford* Proviſions, alledging "the King's incapacity and eaſineſs to give himſelf "up to the guidance of ſuch, as had no concern for the "good of the Kingdom. They inſiſted chiefly upon "this, ſhewing by ſtrong reaſons, that it was not pro- "per the Kingdom ſhould be governed by Foreigners. "They mentioned the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in particu- "lar, as the principal Author of the Evils, *England* la- "boured under. They affirmed, this Prelate was guilty "of divers enormous Crimes, which induced him to de- "ſire leave to depart the Kingdom, being conſcious he "could not poſſibly render a good account of his Actions. "Above all, they accuſed him of adviſing the King to "break his Word and Oath, which could not but be "conſtrued as a ſettled deſign to diſturb the Peace of the "Kingdom. And therefore, they would never ſuffer "him to return again, and ſuppoſing they did, the "People were bent to oppoſe it". To give the more weight to their Apology, they ſent their Letter to the Pope by the hands of ſome of their own Body, who were commiſſioned, to diſplay more fully the outrages of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the reſt of the Royal Relations (4).

The Londoners enter into the Aſſociation. M. Paris. p. 974.

The Foreigners baniſhed.

The Baron Letter to the Pope, to juſtify what was done. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 660. M. Paris. p. 978.

The Pope was not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons. He wanted to continue to draw Money from the King, on the old pretence of the buſineſs of *Sicily*; and what the Barons had lately done, laid an inſuperable obſtacle in the way of his deſigns. However, not to exaſperate them, he delayed ſending an anſwer, and contented himſelf with privately aſſuring the King of his Protection.

The Pope continues to preſs the King on the Sicily Affair. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 649, 650, 656, &c.

(1) In the ſame *Annals* is the Act for the Election of the Twelve, which was drawn up in *French* in this Form: "Be it remembred, that the "Community have choſen twelve Wiſe Men, who ſhall come to Parliaments, as alſo at other times, when there ſhall be need, and the King or his "Council ſhall command or ſend to them, to treat of the buſineſs of the King and Realm; and the Community will hold for eſtabliſhed what theſe "Twelve ſhall do; and this ſhall be done to ſpare the Coſt and Charges of the Community." The Names of the Twelve are entered in the ſaid *Annals* thus: "Theſe are the Twelve who are choſen by the Barons to treat in the three Parliaments every Year with the King's Council, for the whole "Community of the Land, upon the common buſineſs; namely; the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Hereford*, *Philip Baſſet*, *John* "*de Baliol*, *John de Verdun*, *John de Gray*, *Roger de Sumerie*, *Roger de Montalt*, *Hugh de Eſpenſer*, *Thomas de Greſley*, and *Ægidius de Argentun*." *Ann. Burton*, p. 415. Now all theſe were Barons.

(2) They ſtole away privately, while the Barons were at Dinner, in order to take Refuge with their Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *M. Paris*, p. 971.

(3) You may ſee the Form of the Aſſociation in the Annals of *Burton*, p. 413. and likewiſe of the Oath the four and twenty were to take, *ibid.* As alſo of the Oaths of the Chief Juſticiary and Chancellor. *ibid.*

(4) To this Letter eleven great Men put their Seals, and witneſſed it in the Name of the whole Community. Eight of them were of the Number of the four and twenty, and the other three were *William de Fortz*, Earl of *Albemarle*; *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*; and *James Audley*. This Letter was carried by four ſkilful and eloquent Knights, who added many other crimes committed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his brothers, namely, Homicide, Rapine, Oppreſſion, and Injury, and that *Geoffrey de Luſignan*, one of the Brothers, roaſted the King's Cook, and tortured him to death. *M. Paris.*

1258. But withal, as if *Henry* had been in a condition to ſupply him with Money, he preſſed him to pay the Arrears due to the *Italian* Merchants, of which he pretended, the Intereſt alone amounted to a vaſt Sum. He was willing however to give him ſome ſhort time, which was no ſooner expired, but the Biſhop of *London* received an expreſs Order to excommunicate all the Debtors of the *Italian* Merchants, of what Quality ſoever. But times being altered, his Orders, no longer countenanced by the Government, remained unexecuted. For the ſame reaſon, the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Sicily* was now deemed a chimerical Project, tending only to the ruin of *England*.

Gives him ſome time.

Mean time, the unfortunate *Henry*, ſtript of all his Authority, ſaw himſelf forced to aſſent to whatever the Governors were pleaſed to preſcribe him, and to ſign all the Orders preſented to him, for the obſervance of Statutes, which deprived him of all his Prerogatives. Though the Earl of *Leiceſter* was his Brother-in-law, yet of all the Barons he conſidered him as his greateſt Enemy, and the chief Author of his diſgrace. The conſtraint he was under, did not hinder him from diſcovering to the Earl himſelf, what he thought of him. One day as he was going to the *Tower* by Water, a ſudden Storm [of Thunder and Lightning] obliging him to land at the firſt Stairs, it happened to be at *Durham-Houſe*, where the Earl of *Leiceſter* then lay. He was received, at his coming out of the Boat, by the Earl himſelf, who, to hearten him after his Fright, told him, *He need not be afraid, for the Storm was over. I am beyond meaſure afraid of Thunder and Lighting*, replied the King with a ſevere look, *but, by God's Head, I fear thee more than all the Thunder in the World* (1).

The King ſhows his reſentment to the Earl of Leiceſter. M. Paris. P. 974.

M. Paris.

1259. It was not without reaſon that the King ſtood in fear of the Earl of *Leiceſter*. This Earl, who was the head of the Confederates, took with the reſt all poſſible meaſures, to hinder him from freeing himſelf from the Slavery, to which he was reduced by his Imprudence. Their reſolution not to let go their Authority, manifeſtly appeared in their anſwer to the King of the *Romans*. This Prince communicating to them by Letter his deſign of returning to *England*, to aſſiſt them in appeaſing the Troubles of the Kingdom, received this mortifying anſwer: That they would not ſuffer him to enter the Kingdom, unleſs he ſwore to obſerve the *Oxford-Proviſions*. *Richard* received the Deputies (2) ſent on this occaſion, very haughtily, ſaying, it was ſtrange, the Barons ſhould take upon them to alter the Government, in his Abſence, and without his Knowledge, and proteſted he would not take the Oath required of him, but however was reſolved to return to *England*. This anſwer being brought to the Governors, they ſpeedily fitted out a Fleet, and raiſed an Army, to hinder his Paſſage and Landing. But theſe Precautions were needleſs. As this Prince was unable to ſurmount ſo many Obſtacles, and yet thought his Preſence neceſſary in *England*, he promiſed to ſubmit to what was eſtabliſhed. Upon this condition he was ſuffered to come over, and, upon his arrival at *Dover*, took the Oath in the preſence of the King, and a great number of Barons who came to meet him (3).

The King of the Romans *declares againſt the* Oxford Proviſions. M. Paris, p. 981---983. T. Wikes.

but is conſtrained to ſwear to them. T. Wikes. P. 53.

Since the late Revolution in *England*, thoſe who held the Reins of the Government made it a rule, to keep Peace with the neighbouring Princes, leſt a foreign War ſhould deſtroy what was ſo happily begun. They were apprehenſive above all, that the King of *France* would take advantage of the preſent poſture of affairs, to puſh his Conqueſt in *Guienne*. This fear made them reſolve to conclude a firm and laſting Peace with *France*, by ſacrificing to her all the King's pretenſions to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. Beſides, they hoped by this means to ſecure *Lewis*'s aſſiſtance, ſince it would be his Intereſt to ſupport the Form of Government lately eſtabliſhed. Indeed the Execution of the intended Treaty with him, depended in ſome meaſure on the continuance of the preſent Eſtabliſhment. Purſuant to this Project, the Earl of *Leiceſter* took upon him to go and propoſe it at *Paris*. The *French* ſaw conſiderable advantages in what was offered by the *Engliſh*, and therefore, readily looking up-

The Barons make a diſadvantagious Treaty with France. M. Paris, p. 968, 987.

on the Earl of *Leiceſter* as ſufficiently authorized, though they were not ignorant of the ſituation of affairs in *England*, concluded a Treaty with him, which *Henry* was forced to ſign. He was even perſwaded to meet *Lewis* at *Abbeville*, where the States of *France* were aſſembled, and to renounce in their preſence, all his pretenſions to *Normandy* and *Anjou* (4). *Lewis* in return gave up *le Limoſin*, and *le Perigord*, with all that *France* poſſeſſed beyond the *Garonne*, on condition he would do him Homage, and take his Seat among the Peers of the Realm, as Duke of *Guienne*. Thus, by a Treaty, *France* acquired to theſe two Provinces a Right, proceeding before only from the Sword. But the Kings of *England*, Succeſſors to *Henry* III, did not think themſelves bound by a Treaty made at ſuch a Juncture. 1259.

Act. Pub. T. I p. 675. W. Rith.

Whilſt the King was in *France*, the four and twenty who governed *England*, thought it time to reform a very great Grievance, introduced by the King's exceſſive Complaiſance for the Court of *Rome*. This was the prodigious number of *Italian* Eccleſiaſticks, who poſſeſſed all the richeſt Benefices in the Kingdom. Theſe Men, without ever reſiding on their Benefices, farmed them out to private Perſons, or religious Houſes, who ſent them the Revenues into *Italy*. By this means, the want of Money, long ſince complained of, daily increaſed. As a remedy for this Evil, the Governors iſſued a Proclamation, enjoining all Farmers of the foreign Benefices, to pay the Revenues into the hands of certain Perſons appointed to receive them, on pain to the offenders, of ſeeing their Houſes raz'd to the ground. By this precaution, *England* was freed for a time from theſe *Italian* Leaches, who ſucked the beſt blood of the Inhabitants.

The twenty four forbid ſending to Foreigners the Incomes of their Benefices. W. Rith. P. 990.

Though the Barons hitherto appeared ſtrictly united, a ſecret diſguſt was forming in the minds of ſome, cauſed by the too great Authority aſſumed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Whether the Earl thought himſelf more capable, and more zealous than his Companions; or, as his Enemies charged him, was led by his Ambition to aſpire to the ſupreme Power, it is certain he uſurped all the Authority committed to the four and twenty. He could not continue to act thus, without raiſing the Jealouſy of his Collegues, and particularly of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who tried by degrees to form a Party againſt him. He began firſt with privately blaming his Conduct, and ſpreading a report that he was in League with Prince *Edward*, to place him on the Throne in his Father's Life-time. This pretended Project reaching the King's Ears, then at St. *Omers*, he was ſo terrified, that he could not think of returning to *England*, for fear of being confined, or perhaps ſomething worſe. He was told, the Prince his Son intended to take the Government into his hands, and obſtruct his return; or in caſe that could not be done, to impriſon him for Life. But *Edward* ſo fully and reſpectfully cleared himſelf, that he entirely effaced his Father's Suſpicions. He even offered, to ſubmit to the Judgment of the King of the *Romans* his Uncle, refuſing to acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Barons of the Realm, who were not his Peers. But there was no occaſion to give farther proofs of his Innocence. *Henry* at his return, ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied. The Earl of *Gloceſter* finding theſe indirect ways did him more hurt than good, directly attacked the Earl of *Leiceſter*, accuſing him of many miſdemeanours committed as well in *Guienne* as in *England*. Upon this foundation, he demanded a day to be prefixed for hearing his Accuſation againſt him. However, on the day appointed, ſeeing the Earl of *Leiceſter* boldly appeared to make his Defence, he was afraid either of wanting Evidence, or at leaſt of his Adverſary's Party proving too ſtrong. So pretending ſome of his Witneſſes were abſent, he deſired the affair might be farther adjourned. This quarrel might have been attended with fatal Conſequences, had not the King of the *Romans* uſed his Intereſt to end it, and appeaſe the Prince his Nephew, who was exceedingly incenſed with the Earl of *Gloceſter*. He ſucceeded at length, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*, who were apprehenſive, that a Civil War was going to diſturb the Calm they began to enjoy (5). As ſoon as this affair was over,

1260.

The Earl of Gloceſter *jealous of the Earl of* Leiceſter. M. Weſt. P. 54. M. Paris. P. 986.

He raiſes a falſe Report of Prince Edward; T. Wikes. P. 54.

who clears himſelf.

Gloceſter directly accuſes Leiceſter,

but drops his accuſation.

The Breach made up by the King of the Romans *who goes for* Germany, *and returns again.*

(1) *Rapin* has expreſſed this otherwiſe, but the Words of the Original are: Comes ait: "Quid eſt quod timetis, jam tempeſtas pertranſiit?" Cui Rex non jocosè ſed ſerio reſpondit, vultuque ſevero: "Supra modum tonitrum & fulgur formido: ſed per caput Dei, plus te quam totius mundi toni-"trum & fulgur contremiſco." Cui Comes benigne reſpondit: "Domine mi, injuſtum eſt & incredibile ut nec amicum veſtrum ſtabilem, & ſemper vo-"bis & veſtris & regno Angliæ fidelem paveatis; ſed inimicos veſtros, deſtructores, & falſidicos timere debetis." *M. Paris*, p. 974.

(2) Namely, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the Abbot of St. *Edmundsbury*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, and *John Manſel*.

(3) King *Henry* met him at *Canterbury*, and both Kings going into the *Chapter-Houſe*, *Richard* Earl of *Gloceſter* called upon the King of the *Romans*, by the Name of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, (without any Regard to his other Title) to take the Oath, which he did in theſe Words. "Hear "ye, all People, that I *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, do here ſwear upon the Holy Goſpels, that I will be faithful and diligent, together with you the "Barons, to reform the Kingdom of *England*, hitherto too much out of Order by the Counſel of evil Men; and I will be your effectual helper to "expel all Rebels and Diſturbers of this Kingdom, and will obſerve this Oath inviolably, under pain of loſing all the Lands I hold in *England*." *M. Paris*, p. 984.

(4) This Year King *Henry* went over into *France*, and demanded the Reſtitution of *Normandy*; which however he could not obtain: But rather was prevailed upon to quit all claim to *Normandy* and *Anjou*, in conſideration whereof, *Lewis* paid him three thouſand Pounds Tournois. And from that time the King of *England* left out the Title of Duke of *Normandy* and *Anjou*, in his Grants, and Letters Patents. *W. Riſhanger*, p. 989.

(5) About this time, as the MS Chronicle relates, the King cauſed a *Folkmote* of the Citizens to be aſſembled at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, where he came himſelf with the King of the *Romans*, and divers other Noblemen, and there told them, that all the Male-ſex, above twelve Years of Age, ſhould take an Oath before the Alderman of their particular Ward, to be faithful to the King, and after his Deceaſe to his Heir, without naming any Perſon: Which was done accordingly. *In libro de Antiq. Leg.*

Richard

1260. *Richard* ſet out for *Germany*, where he had ſome expectations of being owned for Emperor by all the Electoral Princes. But quickly finding, it was not in his Power to diſpel the Factions that divided the *Germans*, he relinquiſhed this Project, and returned to *England*. Here he found the King and Queen of *Scotland*, who were come to viſit the King. A few days after, arrived alſo *John de Dreux* Duke of *Bretagne*, to eſpouſe *Beatrix* the King's ſecond Daughter, ſo that the Court was very numerous. Though the Governors had no great regard for the King's Perſon, they however did honor to his Royalty, by a magnificent reception of theſe illuſtrious Gueſts. But it was with little ſatisfaction to *Henry*, who, not having the management of his Revenues, could not value himſelf upon the good reception his Son-in-law met with at his own Court (1).

The King and Queen of Scotland, and Earl of Bretagne arrive. T. Wikes. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 675, 682.

Though *Henry* had no great Soul, he was ſenſible however of the mortifications he daily received. He even ſought means to free himſelf from the Yoke laid on him, but had none about him to adviſe with. In this perplexity he privately invited *Athelmar* his Brother, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was gone to *Rome* (2), to return to *England*. He hoped his Character, and the Pope's Protection would ſcreen him from the Perſecutions of the Barons. The Biſhop was now on the Road for *England*, where he would doubtleſs have cauſed great diſturbances, had not death ſeized him at *Paris*. The Barons were overjoyed at the news, becauſe they were thereby freed from no little uneaſineſs. And indeed, they could not have denied him entrance into the Kingdom, as they had reſolved, without breaking entirely with the Pope.

Henry recalls the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who dies on the Road. T. Wikes.

This Accident hindered not the King from purſuing his deſign, of throwing off the Barons Yoke. The unexpected Breach between the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, who were only outwardly reconciled, putting him in hopes of ſucceeding in his Project, he deſired the Pope to abſolve him from his Oath concerning the *Oxford-Proviſions*. His Holineſs readily granted him this favour, it being no leſs his own than the King's Intereſt, to alter a Government ſo prejudicial to him. But *Alexander* dying before the Diſpenſation could be ſealed, he was forced to ſtay till the Holy See was filled. *Urban* IV, who was promoted to the Papal Throne, being as compliant as his Predeceſſor, *Henry* ſoon pulled off the mask. The Parliament being aſſembled at *London*, he ſuddenly repaired thither, without acquainting any one with his deſign, and plainly told them, "That before he was "made to ſign the *Oxford Proviſions*, they had obliged "themſelves to pay his Debts, and increaſe his Revenue; "and ſince neither of theſe Articles had been performed, "he did not look upon himſelf as bound to keep his "Word." He added, "That he no longer intended "to make uſe of the Counſellors impoſed upon him, and "who treated him rather like a Slave than a King." After this brief Declaration, he retired to the *Tower*, the Governor whereof he had gained, and ſeized upon all the Treaſure lodged there (3). This firſt Step being taken, he turned out by Proclamation all the Officers and Magiſtrates choſen by the four and twenty, and nominated others in their room. In ſhort, he ſhewed by his whole Conduct, that he was reſolved to reign with the ſame Liberty, as before the Parliament of *Oxford*.

The Pope abſolves the King from his Oath concerning the Oxford Proviſions. M. Weſt. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 722.

Urban IV. p. 736. W. Riſh.

1261. *The King declares to the Parliament that he will no longer obſerve the* Oxford Proviſions. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 746. W. Riſh. T. Wikes.

He retires to the Tower, *and turns out all the Officers choſen by the twenty four.* W. Riſh. p. 990. T. Wikes.

Prince *Edward*, then at *Paris* (4), having notice of what paſſed in *England*, returned with all ſpeed, to endeavour to prevent the impending Evils. He ſufficiently knew the King his Father to have reaſon to fear, he had proceeded without taking proper meaſures, and his fears were not groundleſs. The Barons impatiently waited his return, in expectation, that being more knowing than the King, he would apply himſelf warmly to prevent the miſchiefs the Kingdom was threatned with. To prepare the way for him, they preſented an Addreſs to the King, praying him to obſerve his Oath, and offering on their part, to amend ſuch Articles as ſhould be found too ſevere upon him in the *Oxford-Proviſions*. *Henry* pretending, nothing could be done till his Son's arrival, returned no anſwer to this Propoſal, which by no means agreed with his Projects. He was no leſs impatient than the Barons, to ſee the Prince, in hopes he would ſtrengthen his Party. But he was extremely ſurprized, when he found, the Prince, at his return, openly blamed him for breaking his word. He was thunderſtruck at this, which was followed by ſomething ſtill more grievous. The Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, upon whoſe diſſention he relied, were ſincerely reconciled, to prevent their common ruin, and ſwore once more to the *Oxford-Proviſions*. The Barons Party being conſiderably ſtrengthened by this Union, they ſent the King word, if he would not voluntarily remove from about his Perſon, all evil Counſellors, they would find means to compel him. This weak Prince, who had raſhly engaged in an undertaking which he ſaw he could not go through with Honour, choſe to return them no anſwer. Mean time, he continued in the *Tower*, from whence he durſt not ſtir, for fear of being delivered into their hands.

Edward returns from Paris. Ibid. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 743.

The Barons addreſs the King, who returns no Anſwer. W. Riſh. p. 991.

1261. *Edward blames his Father.*

The Earls of Gloceſter *and* Leiceſter *unite, and threaten the King.*

In this ill ſituation, he ſaw no other remedy, but to treat with the Barons. He perceived his condition would be but more unhappy, if he vainly perſiſted to proſecute his deſign. Matters even ſeemed to be in a fair way, by the Conceſſions of both Parties. But this Proſpect laſted not long. *Henry* thinking to make his Cauſe better, by urging the Pope's Authority, gave occaſion to widen the Breach, by unadviſedly ſhewing the Bull, which abſolved him from his Oath. The diſcovery of this Secret, which he ought to have concealed at ſuch a juncture, did him an irreparable damage. The Barons, who till then were in hopes to bring him to equitable Terms, reſolved to lay aſide all Ceremony. They plainly ſaw, there was no reliance upon an Accommodation, to which the moſt ſolemn Oath could give no manner of force. Purſuant to this reſolution, they formed a deſign to ſurprize the King in *Wincheſter*, where he was gone in hopes that the Negotiation on foot would have a good Iſſue. But *Henry* receiving timely notice, retired again to the *Tower*. As ſoon as he found himſelf ſafe, his firſt care was to ſend into all the Counties, Orders, to turn out the Sheriffs appointed by the four and twenty, which cauſed a general confuſion in the whole Kingdom. Some were for obeying the Sheriffs nominated by the King, whilſt others refuſed to acknowledge them (5).

An accommodation ſet on foot. M. Weſt.

The King breaks it off by his Indiſcretion.

They try to ſurprize him. T. Wikes. M. Weſt.

Mean time, the Barons continuing to take meaſures to oppoſe the King's deſigns, prevailed with the Governors of the *Cinque-Ports* to fit out a Fleet to guard the Coaſt, leſt Succours ſhould come from ſome foreign Prince. The *Cinque-Ports* were obliged by their Charter to equip fifty Men of War whenever the King's Service required it (6). Upon this occaſion, the Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, interpreting the King's Service by that of the Kingdom, pretended to ſerve the King, by making uſe of their Forces againſt him. This Maxim will not appear very ſtrange, when it is conſidered, that in *England* the King and the State have always been deemed but one and the ſame Body. Upon this foundation it is affirmed, that when the King comes to ſeparate his Intereſt from thoſe of the Publick, he loſes his Prerogatives, which are rather the Prerogatives of the Crown, than of the Sovereign's Perſon.

The Cinque-Ports declare againſt the King. M. Weſt.

Every thing manifeſtly tended to a Civil War. But the fear every one of both Parties were under of rendering his condition worſe, ſuſpended the Effects of their mutual Enmity. Whilſt the King and the Barons were equally deſirous to avoid the blame of beginning the War, the King of the *Romans* improved this Diſpoſition, to try to procure a good Peace. His Mediation being accepted, he prevailed with the King his Brother, to promiſe, that he would confirm the *Oxford-Proviſions*, and with the Barons to depart from ſuch Articles as were moſt diſpleaſing to the King. In all appearance, the four and twenty were then deprived of their Authority, and the more, becauſe from the beginning of the Troubles it was not generally acknowledged. The Earl of *Leiceſter* refuſed to conſent to this Agreement, and choſe to retire into *France*. He ſaid, he durſt not rely on the word of a Prince, who ſcrupled not to break his Oath, when he found it for his Intereſt. Among the

1262. *The King promiſes to confirm the* Oxford Proviſions. M. Weſt.

Leiceſter retires into France. T. Wikes.

(1) About this time alſo there was held a Parliament, where a new Juſticiary, Chancellor, and Treaſurer, were appointed by the Barons, in the Places of thoſe that were either lately dead, or had reſigned; as *Nicholas*, Archdeacon of *Ely*, was made Keeper of the Great-Seal; the Abbot of *Peterborough*, Treaſurer; and *Hugh de Eſpenſer*, Chief Juſticiary. *T. Wikes.*

(2) To get his Election to *Wincheſter* confirmed, which was done, and alſo a Letter was ſent by the Pope to the King and Barons, to intercede for his Re-admiſſion; but the Anſwer, printed in Dr. *Brady* againſt Mr. *Petyt*, was a flat Denial.

(3) The publick Treaſure had for ſome time been kept there. *T. Wikes. M. Weſt.*

(4) He was gone thither in Company with the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Son, and the two Sons of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, (whom the King had knighted) to be preſent at a great Tournament. *T. Wikes.*

(5) The Writ or Letters iſſued out by the King on this occaſion, are upon Record, and printed in Dr. *Brady*'s *Appendix*, No. 205. The Subſtance of them was: "That the Barons not having performed their Part of the *Oxford Proviſions*, he had got himſelf abſolved by the Pope from his Oath "to obſerve them. That he was ready to do Juſtice to all Men in his Courts, and to keep the Articles of the Great Charter, and Charter of Foreſts; "which the Sheriffs were ordered to proclaim in all places, *&c.*"

(6) From hence may be ſeen the great Power of the *Cinque-Ports* in thoſe Days, to which the chief Guard of the Kingdom, by Sea, was then committed, and which found the King no leſs than a Fleet of fifty Sail, each Town according to its proportion; and this they were to do for the Privileges they enjoyed.

Barons

1262. Barons who ſigned this Agreement, there were ſeveral no leſs diſſatisfied with it. But as the Majority gave their Conſent, they choſe rather to accept it, than be deemed alone the cauſe of the Troubles. By this Treaty, *England* ſeemed to be reſtored to its former Tranquillity. But the Fire which lay concealed under the Cinders, ſoon re-kindled, and burſt out into new flames.

Henry paſſes into Guienne. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 748, 750.

During this Calm, which *Henry* hoped long to enjoy, the affairs of *Guienne* obliged him to go over to *Bourdeaux* (1), where falling ill of a *Quartan-Ague*, he ſtayed longer than he deſigned. *Richard* Earl of *Gloceſter* dying in the mean while, his Son *Gilbert* immediately repaired to *Guienne*, to be inveſted with his Father's Inheritance. *Henry* having no kindneſs for that Lord, was ſollicited ſome time before he would do him that Juſtice. And it was not till after receiving a conſiderable Preſent, that he ſent him away ſatisfied.

Gloceſter dies, and is ſucceeded by his Son. M. Weſt.

The Party of the Barons unite. M. Weſt.

The King's abſence afforded *Leiceſter*'s Friends an opportunity to renew their Cabals, and unite the Party divided by the late Treaty. They compaſſed their ends the more eaſily, as the King gave the Barons a plauſible Pretence to complain, by delaying to confirm the *Oxford-Proviſions*. When the Earl of *Leiceſter* was informed that this Party began to revive, he ſpeedily returned into *England*, where his Preſence entirely reſtored the Courage of thoſe who, out of fear or weakneſs, had ſigned the late Agreement (2). Upon this the King came over in great haſte, but it was now too late. The Barons had reſolved to put themſelves in a condition not to fear his Inconſtancy. Immediately after his return, they preſented an Addreſs to him, calling upon him to confirm the Statutes of *Oxford*, purſuant to his Agreement, and threatning, in caſe of refuſal, to take ſuch meaſures as would not be agreeable. They were in hopes, that fear would oblige him to grant their demand, and it was a great ſurprize to them to find themſelves called Rebels, and threatned with the ſevereſt Puniſhments. It will doubtleſs ſeem ſtrange, that the King, in his preſent Circumſtances, ſhould behave thus haughtily. But he had a private Reaſon unknown to the Barons. During his Voyage to *Guienne*, he had gained the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*. The laſt had now raiſed ſome foreign Troops, under colour of employing them againſt the *Welſh*, but in reality to oppoſe them to the Barons. The War however did not break out ſo ſoon. There were ſtill ſome Negotiations, but which ſerved only to widen the Breach, and give the Barons time to prepare themſelves. During this interval, *Edward* carried the War into *Wales*, where however he did nothing conſiderable, for want of Money to pay his Troops. In this ſad ſituation, the Prince not being able to reſolve to disband his Army, and not having wherewithal to ſatisfy them, he thought he might uſe ſome extraordinary method to raiſe the Money he wanted. On a ſudden he came to *London*, and without communicating his deſign, led a Company of armed Men to the new Temple, and took out of the Treaſury of the Templars ten thouſand Pounds Sterling, depoſited there by the Citizens. This Violence raiſed loud murmurs among the Parties concerned; but their Complaints were in vain. The Prince had now cauſed the Money to be conveyed to *Windſor* Caſtle, from whence it would be very difficult to take it by force.

Leicester returns, T. Wikes. p. 55.

and the King likewiſe.

1263. The Barons preſent an Addreſs. An. S. Aug. T. Wikes, p. 56.

The King threatens them.

He gains his Son Edward, *and the King of the* Romans. T. Wikes. p. 56, 57.

Edward takes ten thouſand Pounds from the Templars by force An. S. Aug.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, *Urban* IV, altered his meaſures with reſpect to *Sicily*, and took no care to give any notice to *Henry*. The Revolution in *England* cauſing him to conſider that Kingdom as an exhauſted Fund, he turned to *France*, and entered into a Negotiation with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, to place that Prince on the Throne of *Sicily*. To prepare *Henry* for this change, he wrote him a long Letter, wherein, after reproaches for what the Holy See had done for him, he complained of the Non-performance of his Promiſes. In ſhort, he let him know, he ſhould be forced to ſeek another Prince for ſpeedier and more effectual Supplies.

Urban threatens Henry to give Sicily *to another.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 769.

Mean time the Negotiation between the King and the Barons was ſtill continued, but proceeded very ſlowly; both Parties having no other Intention but to lay upon each other the blame of the rupture. At length the Earl of *Leiceſter*, fearing all theſe delays would only tend to corrupt his Adherents, convened an Aſſembly of the Barons, where it was unanimouſly reſolved to maintain the *Oxford-Proviſions* by Arms (3). This reſolution being taken, they choſe the Earl of *Leiceſter* for General, and each went and drew together the Troops which were already prepared, in the uncertainty of the Succeſs of the Negotiation. The Foreigners, diſperſed in the Kingdom, were the firſt that felt the ſad effects of this rupture. The People were ſo exaſperated againſt them, that, without diſtinguiſhing the innocent from the guilty, they perſecuted all alike that could not ſpeak good *Engliſh*, that Mark alone being ſufficient to render them odious. On the other hand, the Earl of *Leiceſter* plundered without mercy the Eſtates of the King's Favorites and Counſellors, and publickly declared, he would hearken to no Propoſals of Peace, till they were all entirely deſtroyed (4). As the King had no Army to withſtand the Barons, he ſtill remained in the Tower of *London*, whilſt they became maſters of *Gloceſter*, *Hereford*, *Bridgnorth*, *Worceſter* and other Places near the *Severn*. Theſe Conqueſts were followed with the declaration of the City of *London* in their favour. The *Londoners* eagerly embracing the opportunity of being revenged of the King, ſent him word, they were reſolved to adhere to the *Oxford* Proviſions, and to ſhut their Gates againſt the Foreigners, in caſe he ſhould think of bringing any into the City.

1263. Leiceſter *choſen General.*

Foreigners ill treated. W. Rish. P. 992.

London declares for the Barons. T. Wikes.

Though theſe happy beginnings gave the Barons great reaſon to hope well of their enterprize, they believed, that to gain the People ſtill more to their ſide, it was neceſſary to ſhew, they had taken up Arms with grief, and were ready to lay them down with joy. To that end, they preſented to the King a Petition drawn up in very reſpectful Terms, wherein they offered to conſent, that a free Parliament ſhould review the *Oxford* Proviſions, and annul ſuch Articles as were found too prejudicial to the Royal Authority. But withal, they deſired, that the King ſhould confirm the reſt, and the Kingdom be governed by the Natives, as was practiſed in all other Countries. This Petition had no effect upon the King, who, though blocked up as it were in the *Tower*, expected every moment the Prince his Son to come and relieve him. This too was what the Barons feared; and therefore to prevent the deſigns of Prince *Edward*, they poſt themſelves at *Thiſtleworth*, through which place he muſt neceſſarily paſs to deliver the King. The Barons precaution cauſed the King to alter his reſolutions. As he began to deſpair of being relieved, he found himſelf obliged to ſend them word, he would confirm the Proviſions of *Oxford*. This was all the Barons wanted, ſo that a Treaty containing four principal Articles, was eaſily concluded, namely (5): I. That the King's Caſtles ſhould be put into the hands of the Barons. II. That the Proviſions of *Oxford* ſhould be inviolably obſerved. III. That all Foreigners, except ſuch as ſhould be allowed of by the unanimous conſent of the Barons, ſhould be baniſhed the Realm. IV. That the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſhould be committed to the King's natural Subjects, approved of by the Barons.

The Barons preſent an Addreſs to the King. T. Wikes.

Henry agrees to a Treaty. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 768. M. Weſt.

Articles of the Treaty. M. Weſt. W. Riſh. p. 993.

This agreement would have reſtored Peace to the Kingdom, had the King conſented to it with deſign to perform it. But as his ſole view was to free himſelf from his troubleſome State, it was not long before he broke it. The inſolence of ſome *Londoners* did not a little contribute to his taking this reſolution. One day, as the Queen was going by Water to *Windſor*, the Mob, juſt as ſhe was going to ſhoot the Bridge, hollowed at her in a manner very mortifying to a Queen. They not only ſet upon her by foul reproaches, but ſome were ſo brutiſh as to caſt Dirt and Stones at her (6). The King was extremely incenſed at this inſult, and it ſerved to confirm him in his reſolution, of making a vigorous effort for the recovery of his Authority. He began therefore to ſtore with Arms and Proviſions the Caſtles that were ſtill in his power, which was a ſufficient hint to the Barons, to be upon their Guard.

The Queen inſulted by the Mob. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

Henry reſolves to exert himſelf.

The beginning of the Barons Wars. Ib. p. 772. T. Wikes, p. 56.

Matters ſtanding thus, it was hard to ſay whether the Kingdom was in Peace or War. Though Hoſtilities

(1) About the latter end of *July*, or beginning of *Auguſt*. *M. Weſtm.* p. 381.

(2) Upon his Arrival, the Earl appeared at a great Council held by *Philip Baſſet* the Juſticiary, and produced a Brief from the Pope, where'n he confirmed the Proviſions of *Oxford*, and recalled the King's Abſolution, declaring he was deceived in granting it. This Brief was publickly read in the Council, contrary to the Will of the Juſticiary, (lately put in by the King) but as ſoon as the Earl had publiſhed it, he went back into *France*. This Paſſage is found in no other Writer, except the Manuſcript Chronicle of St. *Auguſtin*; and, if true, gives us the Reaſon of the ſo ſudden Change in the Barons Humour, from what it was in the beginning of this Year, and ſhews the Cauſe of what happened the next, as will be ſeen preſently. But if the Abſolution was recalled, it was ſhortly after re-confirmed.

(3) And farther, according to the City Annals, they ſent a Letter, (ſealed by the Lord *Roger Clifford*, in the Name of the reſt) to petition his Majeſty to obſerve the *Proviſions* of *Oxford*, and defied all thoſe that oppoſed them; the King, Queen, and their Children excepted.

(4) The Storm fell moſt upon *John Manſel* and *Robert Waleran*, who were thought to be the King's chief Adviſers not to come to an Agreement. And likewiſe on *Simon de Walton*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, who with *Manſel* had publiſhed the Pope's Bull to abſolve *Henry* from his Oath to the *Oxford Proviſions*. *An. S. Aug. T. Wikes*, p. 57.

(5) The firſt Article was, "That *Henry*, Son of the King of the *Romans* (who was kept Priſoner in *France*) ſhould be releaſed." *T. Wikes. M. Weſt.*

(6) *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays, ſhe was very much againſt the King's ſigning the late Treaty. This Inſult was the Cauſe of the loſs of the Battle of *Lewis*, as will be ſeen hereafter.

were

1263. were not yet begun, the diſtruſt on both ſides was ſo great, that the two Parties looked upon one another as real Enemies; each being ready to take what advantages ſhould offer. During this ſtate of uncertainty, Prince *Edward* thought it neceſſary to ſtore with Proviſions *Briſtol* Caſtle, of which, the King his Father had entruſted him with the Cuſtody. To that end, he came to *Briſtol*, and would have obliged the Citizens to find him what Proviſions he wanted. As People then ſtood diſpoſed, this demand, made perhaps a little too haughtily, raiſed a ſedition among the Townſmen, which forced the Prince to retire haſtily into the Caſtle. He was no ſooner there, but the Inhabitants reſolved to beſiege him, or at leaſt, to keep him ſo cloſely blocked up, that he ſhould not eſcape, well knowing that, for want of neceſſaries, he could not long reſiſt. This reſolution threw *Edward* into a very great ſtreight. He got out of it however by a device, which indeed freed him from the preſent danger, but ſoon brought him into another, from whence he could not ſo happily diſengage himſelf. He ſent for the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and intimated to him, that he intended to adhere to the Barons; but deſired firſt to talk with the King his Father, to perſwade him to give them entire ſatisfaction: That not being able to execute this deſign, by reaſon of his being thus blocked up, he intreated him to be ſecurity for him, and accompany him to *London*, to be a witneſs of his Conduct. The Biſhop being perſwaded of the Prince's ſincerity, told the Citizens of *Briſtol*, it would be for the good of the common Cauſe to let *Edward* go; to which they conſented, and the Blockade was raiſed. Accordingly the Prince ſet out, in company with the Biſhop, who did not queſtion but this Journey would prove ſucceſsful. But when they came near *Windſor*, *Edward* clapping Spurs to his Horſe, rid away from the Biſhop, without taking leave, and ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle. However, this Fraud did not turn ſo much to the Prince's advantage, as he expected. The Biſhop, provoked at this deceit, carried his complaints to the Barons, who immediately reſolved to lay Siege to *Windſor*. This Caſtle was ſo ill provided with every thing neceſſary for a good defence, that *Edward* thought it not in his power to ſtand a Siege. But on the other hand, he could not reſolve to loſe the Place. As he depended very much upon his addreſs, he imagined, it would not be impoſſible to amuſe the Barons by a Negotiation, which would leave him in poſſeſſion of the Caſtle upon certain Terms, the performance whereof would be in his power. For that purpoſe, he went himſelf to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was advancing towards *Windſor*. He met the General at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where he held a Conference with him. But, juſt as he was preparing to return, without coming to any agreement, he was ſeized (1), and by that means forced to accept of what Terms were impoſed on him. He was required, to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Windſor* to the Barons, and to order the Garriſon, conſiſting wholly of Foreigners, to depart the Kingdom.

Prince Edward blocked up in Briſtol Caſtle by the Citizens. M. Weſt. W. Riſh. p. 992.

He gets off by a Device,

and ſhuts himſelf up in Windſor. W. Riſh. p. 991.

Is ſeized at a Conference, and forced to deliver up the Caſtle. Ibid.

The War ſeemed to be going to rekindle with greater fury than ever, ſo much did the two Parties appear exaſperated againſt one another. Nevertheleſs, as the King was not ready, and it was the Barons intereſt to let him begin the Hoſtilities, in order to gain the People to their ſide, ſome peaceable Perſons took the opportunity to mediate a Truce, which was followed by a Peace on the ſame Conditions with the former (2). But this Treaty reſtored not tranquillity to the Kingdom. As the King was forced to it, he ſoon broke it, by endeavouring to ſurprize *Dover* Caſtle, then in the hands of the Barons. This attempt obliging both Parties to take Arms again, every one tried to ſtrengthen his Party, by ſeizing ſeveral places. The *Londoners*, though inclined to the Barons, were however obliged to keep a ſort of Neutrality, having experienced how liable they were to be annoyed by the Garriſon of the Tower, which was ever in the King's hands. Beſides, *Henry* had ſtill in the City a good number of Adherents, who were a Check upon the oppoſite Party. Mean time, the Earl of *Leiceſter* conſidering, of what importance it would be, to have the Metropolis on his ſide, marched towards it through the County of *Surrey*, ſituated South of the *Thames*; in hopes that his Friends (3) would be able to open to him the Gates of the Bridge. But the King having notice of this deſign, left the *Tower*, and encamped with his Troops about *Southwark*, with intent to oppoſe the Enemies paſſage. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who relied more on the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, than on his own Forces, vigorouſly attacked the King's Troops, in expectation that the *Londoners* would favour his entrance. During the Fight, ſome Citizens of the King's Party, perceiving the City was in motion to aſſiſt the Earl, locked up the Bridge Gates, and threw the Keys into the River (4). This contrivance had like to prove fatal to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who for ſome time was in great diſorder, having brought with him but few Soldiers, for fear his deſign ſhould be diſcovered. But at length the Gates being broke open, and the Citizens ſallying out in multitudes to his aſſiſtance, the King was forced to retire, and the Earl entered the City.

Truce between the King and Barons. T. Wikes. M. Weſt. p. 383.

The King begins Hoſtilities. T. Wikes.

The Earl of Leiceſter *wants to be Maſter of* London. T. Wikes. M. Weſt.

1263.

Skirmiſh in Southwark.

The Earl enters the City.

1264. The advantage gained by the Barons was attended with the uſual effect, that is, the King made them Propoſals of an agreement. But as all the Treaties hitherto concluded were fruitleſs, becauſe the King complained of being forced to accept of too rigorous Terms, which the Barons would never grant; it was agreed on both ſides, to refer all their differences to the arbitration of the King of *France*. *Lewis* accepting the mediation, *Henry*, attended by Prince *Edward*, met him at *Amiens* (5), where the States-General were aſſembled. The ſentence pronounced by *Lewis*, upon theſe differences, was favorable to *Henry*. He declared the Proviſions of *Oxford* to be null and void; reſtored the King to his antient power; adjudged that he might nominate all the great Officers of the Crown; and that Foreigners were as capable of Offices and Dignities, as the *Engliſh* themſelves. But he added one Clauſe, which deſtroyed the whole, by declaring, *it was not his intent to abrogate the Privileges granted to the* Engliſh, *by their Kings, before the Parliament of* Oxford (6). The Barons looked upon this Clauſe, as a manifeſt contradiction, becauſe they pretended, the Proviſions of *Oxford* were enacted only to corroborate their Privileges. This furniſhed them with a pretence to reject the Award, and renew the War (7).

1264.

The King and Barons refer their Differences to the King of France. T. Wikes. p. 58. M. Weſt. W. Riſh.

Lewis's *Sentence,* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 776.

rejected by the Barons.

The account of what paſſed between the two Parties, till the famous battle of *Lewes*, is clogged with ſo many confuſed circumſtances, for ſuch as know not the ſituation of the places where the War was waged, that it muſt be very tedious. It is better to haſten to that remarkable event, which put an end to the quarrel, in favour of the Barons. I ſhall only obſerve, that during the Interval between the renewal of the War and that Battle, *Henry* gained ſeveral advantages over the Barons; and alſo by means of the Prince his Son, and the King of the *Romans*, gained ſeveral of them, who conſiderably ſtrengthened his Party. Moreover, he became maſter of *Oxford*, from whence he expelled the Scholars, for ſhowing too much partiality to the Barons. The Town of *Northampton* was taken by ſtorm by the King's Troops, where fifteen Barons, and ſixty Knights, were made Priſoners (8). The King was like to have hanged them all; but the advice of his Generals, and the fear of Repriſals, diverted him from proceeding to that extremity. The taking of *Northampton*, was followed by that of *Nottingham*. Then the King marched into *Kent*, where he obliged the Barons to raiſe the Siege of *Rocheſter*, and retire to *London*.

The War renewed. T. Wikes. M. Weſt.

The King gains ſeveral Advantages. T. Wikes. M. Weſt. Hemingford. W. Riſh. p. 992, 994.

The King was equally ſuſceptible of Preſumption and Fear, according to the poſture of his affairs. Fluſhed with the ſucceſs his arms had hitherto been crowned with, he reſolved to march directly to *London*. He did not queſtion but the City, diſcouraged by his late advantages, would declare in his favour. Perhaps his hopes would not have been groundleſs, if, ſince his being on the Throne, he had treated the Citizens more civilly. But the remembrance of their ill uſage, prevented them from expoſing themſelves to the like danger. The Earl of *Leiceſter* taking occaſion from the King's approach

He approaches London; T. Wikes. W. Riſh. p. 994.

(1) By the Advice of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*. *M. Weſt.*

(2) The King being outwardly reconciled to the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Party, the Lord *Hugh l' Eſpenſer* was again made Juſticiary, in the room of *Philip Baſſet*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* was made High Steward of *England*, and Sir *Roger de Leyburn*, who had been looked upon as one of the King's greateſt Enemies, was likewiſe made Steward of the Houſhold. *T. Wikes. M. Weſt.*

(3) The chief of whom were, *Thomas Fitz Richard*, the Mayor, *Thomas de Pynleſdon*, *Matthew Bukerel*, *Michael Tony*, &c. *T. Wikes*, p. 58.

(4) The chief Contriver of this deſign, was one *John Giſors*, a *Norman* by Birth. *M. Weſt.*

(5) *January* 23. *M. Weſt.* p. 384.

(6) *Nolumus autem, nec intendimus derogare per præſentem ordinationem in aliquo Regiis Privilegiis, Chartis, Libertatibus, Statutis, & laudabilibus conſuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, quæ erant ante tempus Proviſionum ipſarum.* This *Award*, (which you may ſee at large in *Tyrrel's Appendix*, N. 7.) bears date *Feb.* 3. 1263, in Father *Dacherie's Spicilegium*, becauſe the *French* began not their Year till our *Lady-Day*, whereas according to the Accounts of all our former Hiſtorians, the Year began on *Chriſtmaſs-Day*, and ſo the Sentence is dated, as here in *Rapin*, in 1264.

(7) The King being returned to *England*, called a Parliament about *Midlent* at *Oxford*, conſiſting of ſuch great Men, as remained faithful to him. *T. Wikes*, p. 58. *M. Weſt.* p. 385.

(8) It was taken *April* 3. The Perſons of Note made Priſoners were, *William de Ferrars*, *Rawdwyn*, and *Nicolas de Wake*, *Adam de Neumarche*, *Roger Bertram*, *Simon Fitz-Simon*, *Engeram de Waterville*, *Hugh Gubyon*, *Thomas Maunſel*, *Robert Untevilayn*, *Robert de Neuton*, *Philip de Scriby*, *Grymbald de Pauntvolt*. Beſides *Peter Monfort* the Earl's Couſin, and alſo *Simon Monfort* his ſecond Son, whoſe Horſe, as he was riding too near the Breach, ſtarted at ſomething, and run headlong through the Ruins of the Wall down into the Ditch, whence the Rider narrowly eſcaped breaking his Neck, but was taken up by the King's Soldiers. *T. Wikes*, p. 60 *Hemingford*, p. 582.

1264. to exaſperate them againſt him, managed ſo dextrouſly, that he perſuaded them to go out of the City, and offer him battle. *Henry* was ſurprized at this, and being unwilling to hazard a battle with them at their own Gates, retired farther off, and encamped at *Lewes* in the County of *Suſſex*.

retires to Lewes. W. Riſh. p. 994.

Mean time, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the confederate Barons, reinforcing their Army with a ſtrong Body of *Londoners* (1), marched out of the City in purſuit of the King, with intent to decide the quarrel by a Battle. Purſuant to this reſolution, they advanced towards *Lewes*, and encamped about ſix miles from the King's Army (2). This they did, to try whether there might be ſtill ſome means to reſtore Peace to the Kingdom. It may be, they really wiſhed it, or elſe it was only to clear themſelves from the blame, of what ſhould follow upon the King's refuſal to accept of reaſonable Terms. Before they approached any nearer, they ſent the King word (3), that they had taken Arms, not to withdraw their allegiance, but only to reform what was amiſs in the Government; that they humbly beſought him to join with them in that work, proteſting he ſhould find them as faithful as thoſe, who under colour of ſerving him, ſought only his ruin, by endeavouring to ſet him againſt his moſt dutiful Subjects, by their infamous Calumnies. How reſpectful ſoever this Letter might be, it touched thoſe about the King too ſenſibly, to be received with moderation. The King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward* were ſo offended at it, that they anſwered it with the Lie, Defiance, and Threats, and prevailed with the King to ſend the like anſwer (4). If it be true, as it is not unlikely, that the Barons made this ſtep only to clear themſelves from blame, they were glad of ſo plauſible a pretence, to puſh things to extremity. Accordingly, without farther Ceremony, they ſent the King word, that they renounced the Fealty they owed him, and conſidered him no more, but as an enemy to the State (5).

The Earl of Leiceſter *follows him, and preſents a Petition*; M. Weſt. p. 386.

which is haughtily rejected. M. Weſt. W. Riſh. p. 994.

They renounce their Fealty.

All hopes of agreement being loſt by the animoſity of both Parties, nothing was thought of but a Battle. The Earl of *Leiceſter* advancing with his army, drew it up in order of battle, near the King's, who was preparing to receive him. The Royal Army was divided into three Bodies, of which that on the right, was commanded by Prince *Edward* (6), the King of the *Romans* was on the left (7), and *Henry* himſelf headed the main Body. The Barons Army was divided into four Bodies. The firſt was led by *Henry de Montfort* the General's Son (8). The Earl of *Gloceſter* (9) commanded the ſecond. The third wholly conſiſting of *Londoners*, was on the left, commanded by *Nicolas Segrave*. The fourth was headed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The two Armies being thus drawn up, Prince *Edward* began the fight with attacking the *Londoners*, who not being able to ſtand ſo vigorous a Charge, immediately took to their heels. As the Prince was animated with a deſire, of revenging the affront done the Queen his Mother by the *London* Mob, he purſued them above four miles, without giving them any quarter. But this revenge coſt him dear. Whilſt he purſued his victory, with more eagerneſs than diſcretion, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter* gained the ſame advantage over *Henry*, and the King of the *Romans*. The Barons being very ſenſible, what their lot would be in caſe they were vanquiſhed, attacked, with a fury mixt with deſpair, the royal Troops, who had not the ſame reaſon to fight with that animoſity. Accordingly, they took to flight, after a faint reſiſtance, leaving the two Kings in the hands of their enemies. *Henry* ſurrendering himſelf to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Richard* to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, were preſently conducted to the Priory of *Lewes*, ſituated at the foot of the Caſtle, which was kept by ſome of the King's Troops. To this place the Soldiers of the royal Army fled, in order to retire into the Caſtle. But when they ſaw the Town in the power of the Barons, the two Kings made Priſoners, and in all appearance, themſelves going to be ſurrounded on all ſides, they threw down their Arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. (10)

Battle of Lewes. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Hemingf. W. Riſh.

Edward beats the Londoners, *and purſues too far.* M. Weſt. Hemingf. W. Riſh. p. 995.

Henry and the King of the Romans *made Priſoners.* W. Riſh.

1264.

Mean time, Prince *Edward*, who was returning in triumph from the purſuit of the *Londoners*, was extremely ſurprized to ſee the royal Army diſperſed, and to hear, the two Kings were Priſoners. His firſt thoughts were, to exert his utmoſt to ſet them at liberty. If this reſolution could have been immediately executed, it would have infallibly changed the face of Affairs. The Conquerors, employed in guarding their Priſoners, or diſperſed about the Field in purſuit of the flying Enemies, would have found it difficult to withſtand a vigorous attack. But the Prince's Soldiers, diſmayed at the defeat of the reſt of the Army, and the captivity of the two Kings, ſhowed no inclination to renew a fight which to them ſeemed too unequal. This fear, which all *Edward*'s Sollicitations could not overcome, made him loſe ſo fair an opportunity, wherein, very probably, he would have gained great reputation. Mean time, the Earl of *Leiceſter* drew his Army together again, with all poſſible expedition. At firſt, he thought only of defending himſelf, juſtly dreading to be attacked in his preſent diſorder. But when he ſaw he had time to rally his Troops, his only concern was, to hinder the Prince from eſcaping. To that end, he ſent him Propoſals to amuſe him, whilſt, by ſeveral Detachments, he took care to prevent his retreat.

Edward turning from the Purſuit, ſuffers himſelf to be amuſed by Leiceſter. M. Weſt. Hemingf. W. Riſh. p. 996.

Edward's uncertainty at firſt what courſe he ſhould take, the oppoſition of his own Troops, the time ſpent in trying to animate them, and the ſeveral Meſſages from the Earl of *Leiceſter* to amuſe him, were the cauſe of his loſing ſo many precious Hours, which ſhould have been employed, either in fighting, or retreating in good order. But having done neither, he found himſelf on a ſudden ſurrounded on all ſides, and under a neceſſity of accepting conditions, which appeared tolerable in his ill ſituation. This Negotiation, which laſted but a few moments, was ended by theſe Articles: That the Statutes of *Oxford* ſhould be inviolably obſerved; yet ſo, that they might be amended by four Biſhops or Barons choſen by the Parliament: And if theſe four Commiſſioners ſhould not agree, they were to ſtand to the arbitration of the Earl of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, aſſiſted by four *French* Noblemen. Thus far, all went well for the Prince; but the laſt Article was the worſt; namely, That himſelf and *Henry* his Couſin, Son to the King of the *Romans*, ſhould remain as Hoſtages in the cuſtody of the Barons, till all things were ſettled by Authority of Parliament. How hard ſoever this Article was, *Edward*, who ſaw no remedy, was forced to conſent to it. Theſe Articles, called the *Miſe*, that is to ſay, *the Agreement of Lewes*, were ſigned by *Edward*, and confirmed by the King, who was not in condition to reject them.

He can neither fight nor retreat.

Accepts of hard Terms.

Annals of London.

The Miſe of Lewes.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* having the King and almoſt all the royal Family in his power, took all the advantages that his policy could ſuggeſt to him. He, who a little before ſcrupled not to diſobey the King, becauſe he was directed by evil Counſellors, now only uſed that Monarch's name. He made him ſend Orders to the Governors of his Caſtles to ſurrender them to the Barons. He cauſed him to ſign Commiſſions to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, impowering them to take up arms againſt all that ſhould dare to diſturb the State, that is, againſt the King's own Friends. In ſhort, he who had been ſo troubleſome to the King, on purpoſe to curb the exorbitant power he would have aſſumed, took it very ill that this ſame King, when guided wholly by his Counſels, was not implicitly obeyed. Thus it is that Men alter their Ptinciples and Maxims, according to their intereſts, and as their affairs come to have a new face. But theſe are reflections that would too frequently occur, ſhould we ſtay to make them every time there was occaſion.

Leiceſter makes uſe of the King's Name againſt the King himſelf. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 790. &c.

As the Barons had no other view in the Agreement of *Lewes*, but to ſecure the Perſon of Prince *Edward*, they were not very forward to perform it. On the contrary,

The Barons form a new Plan of Government. M. Weſt. Pat. 48. H. 3. m. 6. Dorſ.

(1) Fifteen thouſand. *M. Weſtm.* p. 386.

(2) At *Flexinge*. *M. Weſt.* ibid.

(3) In a very reſpectful Letter, ſealed by *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, at the Requeſt of the reſt. *M. Weſtm.* p. 386.

(4) In his anſwer, dated the 12th of *May* 1264, at *Lewes*, he ſays, "That not himſelf, but they were indeed the Cauſe of all the War, Deſtruction, "Rapine, and Miſery, which had befallen the Nation; That their Intentions were not according to their Profeſſions, nor their Actions agreeable to their "Pretences, and therefore he defied them." The King of the *Romans* Letter bears the ſame date. *M. Weſt*, p. 386. *W. Riſh.* p. 994.

(5) But this was not till they had interceded with the King, by *Henry* Biſhop of *London*, and *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, for Peace, and offered thirty thouſand Pounds in conſideration of the Damages done by them in the Kingdom, yet ſo, that the Proviſions of *Oxford* might ſtand good. *T. Wikes*, *W. Riſh*, p. 994.

(6) Together with *William de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Uncle, and *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*. This laſt, and *William de Valence*, *Guy de Luſignan*, *Hugh Bigot*, and many others, ran away during the Fight, and eſcaped into *France*. *M. Weſt*, p. 387. *T. Wikes*, p. 63. *W. Riſh.* p. 994.

(7) With his Son *Henry*. The King's Standard was then a Dragon. *M. Weſt.* p. 387. *W. Riſh.*

(8) And the Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*. *W. Riſh.* p. 994.

(9) *Gilbert de Clare*, with *John Fitz-John*, and *William de Montcanſis*.

(10) This Battle was fought on the 14th of *May*. About five thouſand Perſons fell on both Sides; and among the reſt of the King's Adherents, *William de Wilton*, the Juſticiary, *Fulk Fitz-Warin*; and of the Barons Side, *Ralph Horingander*, and *William Blund*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Standard-Bearer. Beſides thoſe mentioned by *Rapin*, the following Perſons of note were made Priſoners, *Humphrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *William Bardolf*, *Robert de Tatteſhale*, *Roger de Someri*, *Henry de Percy*, *Philip Baſſet*; *John de Baillol*, *Robert de Brus*, *John Comin*, &c. *M. Weſt.* p. 387.

they

1264. they drew up a new plan of Government, and resolved to have it confirmed by the Parliament which was to meet on the 22d of *June*. The posture of the affairs of the Kingdom rendered the calling of this Parliament liable to many difficulties. Indeed it was done in the King's name, who could not oppose it. But the victorious Barons were not willing, those of the contrary Party should be summoned, under pretence, they were still in Arms against their Country. On the other hand, a Parliament consisting only of part of those who had a right to sit there, seemed to want a lawful Authority. It might be objected, that it was only an Assembly of private Persons. These difficulties put the Barons upon contriving how to make this Assembly more general, and give it a greater air of Authority. To this end, they made the King sign Commissions, appointing in each County certain Officers or Magistrates called Conservators, on pretence they were designed for preserving the Privileges of the People. These Officers, who depended wholly on the Barons, were invested with very great authority. Their Commission impowered them to do whatever they should judge proper, to preserve entire the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects. This step being taken, the King was made to sign new Orders to the Conservators, to send up (1) four Knights of each County to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as Representatives of their respective Shires. From hence many affirm, the original of the right of the Commons to sit in Parliament takes its date. They maintain, this is the first time, that the several Counties undeniably appear to send Representatives to the Parliament: That all the reasons alledged to prove, the Commons enjoyed this Privilege before the year 1264, are subject to so many difficulties, that they cannot be said to amount to a clear proof. It seems indeed, that a good reason cannot be produced, why the Historians should unanimously take notice, that on this occasion there were in the Parliament Representatives of each County, if the same thing had been customary from the beginning of the Monarchy, or at least from the *Norman* Conquest. Why did they neglect to make the same remark on so many former Parliaments mentioned by them? It is certain, those, who pretend to find in the antient Historians proofs of the People sending Representatives to Parliament, are forced to deduce them from consequences which appear not always just (2).

To that purpose a Parliament is summoned.

Conservators established. Ad. Pub. T. I. p. 802. M. West.

Four Knights of each Shire sit in Parliament. Original of the Rights of the Commons. Brady Hist. Vol. II. p. 649. & Vol. I. p. 136--143 Append. N. 210.

The Parliament approves of the Barons Plan. Brady's Appendix, N. 213.

The new Parliament composed in the manner abovementioned, being entirely at the devotion of the confederate Barons, failed not to approve of the projected Form of Government, namely, *That the Parliament should appoint three wise and discreet Commissioners, who should have Power to chuse a Council of nine Lords, to whom the Administration of the publick Affairs should be committed. That the King by the advice of the Commissioners, might change when he pleased, some, or all of the nine Counsellors. That in case the three Commissioners should not agree in changing or chusing the Counsellors, the Majority should decide it. That the resolutions taken by the nine Counsellors should be in force, provided they were approved by any six of them. But if it happened, that six of them should not agree, the Business in question should be brought to the three Commissioners, who should determine it as they thought fit. That the King might change or turn out the three Commissioners, provided it was with the consent of the Community of the Barons.* Lastly, *that the Nomination of all the publick Officers should belong to the nine Counsellors.* This Ordinance was to take place till the Parliament should unanimously agree to annul or alter it. It is pretended, the King and Prince *Edward* were compelled to consent to it, the first by being threatned with deprivation, and the other with perpetual Imprisonment. So that, if they outwardly consented, it was only with a resolution to recant the first opportunity. Mean time the Barons continued to govern the Kingdom according to this Model, imagining their affairs to be so firmly settled, as not to be easily shaken.

The King and Prince are forced to consent to it. An. Waverl. M. West.

The Barons refuse to receive a Letter. T. Wikes. M. West. W. Rish. P. 997.

The last Year, *Urban* IV appointed for his Legate in *England* Cardinal *Guido* Bishop of St. *Sabine*. This Legate at his Arrival in *France* received a Letter from the Earl of *Leicester*, informing him, it was no proper time for this Legateship, and that neither the Nobles nor the People were disposed to receive him. Though the Legate was extremely offended at this refusal, he durst not however continue his Journey. Indeed, there was no likelihood of his entering the Kingdom against the consent of those who governed. Nevertheless he proceeded as far as *Boulogne*, where he summoned all the *English* Bishops to appear, and give an account of their conduct. The Bishops not thinking fit to obey the Summons, he denounced against them the sentence of Excommunication, from which they appealed to the Pope. At length the affairs of the Kingdom being settled according to the Barons desire, they thought it necessary to give the Legate some satisfaction. To that end, they sent four Bishops (3) to acquaint him with their reasons for denying him entrance into the Kingdom. These Envoys found the Legate extremely incensed against the Barons. For answer, they had orders to return into *England*, publish the sentence of Excommunication against the Earl of *Leicester*, and put the City of *London* with all the Earl of *Gloucester*'s Lands under an Interdict. The Bishops sending word to *England* of the orders received from the Legate, were met at Sea by People (4), who pretending to be Pyrates, took away all their Papers, and threw them over-board. This proceeding convincing the Legate, it would be difficult to cause his Master's Authority to be regarded at such a Juncture, he returned to *Rome*, where quickly after he was raised to the Papal Throne under the name of *Clement* IV. 1264.

Some English Lords revolt against the Government of the Barons. M. West. T. Wikes. Chr. Mailros W. Rish. P. 996.

Mean time, the Earl of *Leicester*, who was at the head of the Government, was under some trouble. The Queen was making great preparations in *France* to deliver the King her Spouse. On the other hand, the Insurrection of some Lords (5), bordering upon *Wales*, made him uneasy. He was apprehensive that the *Welsh* would intermeddle in the quarrel, and assist the King's Party. It was dangerous to leave the Coasts open to the Invasion of the Foreigners, who, being then in *Flanders*, waited only for a fair Wind to embark. But it was no less inconvenient, to suffer the Insurrection, which began to appear in the *Marches* of *Wales*, to grow to a head. To prevent these dangers, he resolved to go in Person against the Rebels, whilst he ordered the Militia of the Kingdom to assemble in *Kent*, and oppose the Queen's Landing. His good fortune equally freed him from both these Perils. Having gained to his Interests *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, who might have given him some trouble, he vanquished the Rebels, and compelled them to throw down their Arms. He was no less fortunate with regard to the dreaded Invasion. The contrary Winds held so long, that the foreign Troops on the other side of the Water, were forced to return home, upon the approach of Winter, without the Queen's reaping the least benefit from the great expences she had been at (6). All this while the King remained in the Custody of the Earl of *Leicester*, who disposed of him just as he pleased, making him act against his own interests, under colour that it was for the good of the publick.

Leicester reduces them. M. West.

The Queen's Enterprize comes to nothing. M. West. W. Rish. P. 997.

The Barons, who had taken up Arms against the King, purely on account of the exorbitant power he would have assumed, could not but be jealous of the Earl of *Leicester*'s, which was no less absolute. The Earl of *Gloucester* (7), above all the rest, was highly displeased (8). He looked upon *Leicester* as a Man taking large steps towards the Throne, under the specious pretence of the publick Good. For this reason he was afraid, in promoting his advancement, of furnishing him with Arms to his own, as well as to the destruction of others, who were no less jealous of his greatness. The disgrace of [*Robert de Ferrars*] Earl of *Derby*, gave him cause to make these reflections. This Earl, who was no friend to *Leicester*, was sent to the *Tower*, not so much for a punishment of the crime laid to his charge, as for an example to such, as should dare to censure too openly the conduct of the principal Governor. On the other hand, the Earl of *Gloucester* fancied he saw, in the cold and reserved behaviour of *Leicester* towards him, a secret purpose to destroy him when an opportunity should offer. He was not only no longer called to the private Councils, but also had no farther share in the affairs, than what could not be denied to one of the greatest Peers of the Realm. These reasons,

Leicester suspected of aspiring to the Crown. Gloucester turns against him. M. West. W. Rish. P. 997.

(1) *Rapin* says, *to nominate*. But they were to be nominated or chosen by the Assent of their respective Counties. See the Precept, *Pat.* 48. *Hen.* 3. m. 12. *dorso*.

(2) *See above*, page 155. Note.

(3) Those of *Worcester*, *London*, *Winchester*, and *Chichester*. *T. Wikes*, p. 64.

(4) Belonging to the *Cinque-Ports*. ibid.

(5) *Roger de Mortimer*, *James de Audley*, *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leiburne*, *Haimo L'Estrange*, *Hugh de Turbiville*, with some others, who had made their escape from the Battle of *Lewes*. *M. West*. p. 388. *W. Rish*. p. 996.

(6) *Matthew* of *Westminster* says, Queen *Eleanor* had got together a great Army, which was commanded by so many Dukes and Earls, as seems incredible, and those who knew the Strength and Number of that Army affirmed, that if they had once landed, they would certainly have subdued the whole Kingdom. But God, (says our Author) in his Mercy ordered it otherwise. So true an *Englishman* was this Author, though he appears highly concerned for the King's Interest, that he did not think it safe for the Nation to have had the King restored by an Army of Foreigners. p. 388.

(7) *Gilbert de Clare*.

(8) That which most offended him was, That the Earl of *Leicester* took to his own use the Profits and Revenues of the Kingdom, and all the Money that was paid for the Ransom of Prisoners, which by Agreement was to have been divided between him and the Earl of *Gloucester*. *W. Rish*. p. 997. See *Tyrrel*, p. 1039.

and

1265. and more than all this, his envy at *Leiceſter*'s greatneſs, led him to countenance the Male-contents in the *Marches* of *Wales*, in order to employ them in oppoſing the ambitious deſigns, of him whom he now conſidered as an enemy. The Cabals he openly made, convincing *Leiceſter*, that he ought to omit nothing to deſtroy the deſigns of ſo dangerous an enemy, he cauſed an Order to be ſent to all that had lately taken up Arms againſt the Eſtabliſhment, to retire into *Ireland*. But they, inſtead of obeying, withdrew upon the Lands of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, where they met with protection.

Leiceſter ſeems willing to ſet Edward *at Liberty.* M. Weſt.

Mean time, the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Enemies publiſhed in all places, that his rigorous treatment of the King, and alſo of the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*, was but too evident a proof of his pernicious deſigns. As theſe reports began to be prejudicial to the Earl, he thought it neceſſary to efface theſe impreſſions, by letting the People ſee, he was very far from forming the ambitious projects aſcribed to him by his Enemies. To that purpoſe, he ſummoned a Parliament (1) declaring, it was to conſider of means to reſtore Prince *Edward* to Liberty. He intended by that to ſhow, that ſince he was willing to releaſe the Heir to the Crown, it was very unlikely he ſhould have thoſe pernicious views he was charged with. The calling of this Parliament was remarkable, for that each County, was ordered to ſend, as their Repreſentatives, two Knights, and each City and Borough, as many Citizens and Burgeſſes (2). The Aſſertors of the antiquity of the Houſe of Commons infer from hence, that ſince the Hiſtorians obſerve not that it was a new Inſtitution, it was therefore a cuſtomary thing. Others, on the contrary, pretend, if it had been uſual, it would have been needleſs to take notice of this circumſtance, after mention of ſo many Parliaments, without the like remark. The reader will chooſe of theſe two conſequences that which to him ſeems moſt natural.

A Parliament called to that end.

To which are ſummoned two Knights from each Shire, and two Burgeſſes from each Borough.

Remark on that account.

Edward *delivered to the King, who continues ſtill a Priſoner.* An. Waverl. Rot. Cart. 49. H. 3. M. 5.

When the Parliament met, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who diſpoſed in great meaſure of the Votes, cauſed an Order to be paſſed for the releaſe of Prince *Edward*. But it was clogged with a condition that rendered the favour of no uſe; namely, that he ſhould remain with the King his Father, and obey him in all things. This condition was a plain ſign, it was only intended to dazzle the Eyes of the publick. And indeed, to ordain that *Edward* ſhould be ſet at liberty, and yet continue with his Father, who was himſelf a Priſoner, was no better than changing, or at moſt, enlarging his Priſon. Purſuant to this Order, the Prince was taken out of *Dover* Caſtle, where he had been confined ever ſince the Battle of *Lewes*, and delivered to the King, that is, to the Earl of *Leiceſter*. This is what was called giving him his liberty. In the mean time *Henry* continued in the Cuſtody of *Leiceſter*, who carried him about with him, and took all imaginable care to prevent his Priſoners from eſcaping.

W. Riſh. p. 996.

Gloceſter declares openly againſt Leiceſter.

The late Scene ſerved only to increaſe the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s ſuſpicions, or rather fully to convince him that *Leiceſter* was paving his way to the Throne. He would not however have broke yet, if an opportunity had not offered, where it would have been dangerous to diſſemble. The two eldeſt Sons of the Earl of *Leiceſter* proclaiming a Tournament for all the young Nobles, the Earl of *Gloceſter* did not think fit to be preſent. He believed, this was only a device to draw him into ſome Snare. Whether his ſuſpicions had any foundation, or his prejudice made him conſider them as plain proofs, he openly confederated with the Lords of the *Marches* of *Wales*, Enemies to *Leiceſter*, and fortified his Caſtles, as preparing for War. This proceeding furniſhing his Enemies with a plauſible pretence to fall upon him, a Proclamation was iſſued forthwith, declaring the Earl and his adherents Traytors and Enemies to the State. Purſuant to this declaration, *Leiceſter* put himſelf at the head of an Army, in order to puniſh theſe pretended Enemies of the King. With this deſign he marched towards the *Severn*, and afterwards came to *Hereford*, carrying his two Priſoners along with him.

M. Weſt.

His great care to ſecure the King and the Prince his Son, did not hinder the Earl of *Gloceſter* from projecting *Edward*'s eſcape. He perceived as long as his Enemy had the King in his power, he would make great advantage thereof. For which reaſon he thought it expedient to get the Prince out of his hands, to oppoſe the Authority of the lawful Heir to the Crown, to that of the captive King. Probably, he did not judge it ſo eaſy to free the King as the Prince, or perhaps depended more upon the aſſiſtance of *Edward* than of the King his Father. Be this as it will, he communicated his deſign to *Roger Mortimer*, one of the Lords *Marchers*, who furniſhed him with means to put it in execution. *Mortimer* having many Friends at *Hereford*, made *Edward* a preſent, by a third hand, of a very ſwift Horſe, and withal acquainted him with the uſe he was to make of it, and the deſign laid for the recovery of his liberty. To ſecond the project, the Prince feigning himſelf ill, and to want exerciſe, deſired leave to ride ſome Horſes. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who ſuſpected nothing of the matter, granted his requeſt, though with great precaution. Beſides his uſual guard, he ordered ſome Gentlemen to keep always near him, and to have their eye upon him continually. *Edward* being come into the Fields, immediately breathed two or three Horſes. Then he called for that lately preſented him, and as if he had a mind to uſe him gently to his Rider, walked him at ſome diſtance from his guard, being accompanied by the Gentlemen who kept cloſe to him. When he was come to a certain place which he had before carefully remarked, and which ſeemed proper for his deſign, laying the reins on his Horſe's neck, and clapping Spurs to his ſides, he ſo ſurprized thoſe that attended him, that he was at a good diſtance before they were recovered from their aſtoniſhment. However they rid after him till they ſaw a Troop of Horſe, ſent by the Earl of *Gloceſter* to favor his eſcape. *Edward* being thus freed, went and joined the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who received him with great joy and reſpect. Nevertheleſs, his view in procuring the Prince his Liberty, was not to re-eſtabliſh the arbitrary power uſurped by the King. Accordingly he plainly told *Edward*, he could not promiſe his aſſiſtance, unleſs he would oblige himſelf by Oath, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reſtore the antient Laws, and to baniſh all Foreigners from about the King's Perſon. *Edward* promiſed and ſwore it, in the preſence of ſeveral Barons, and then took the command of the Troops raiſed by the Earl of *Gloceſter*.

1265. *Prince Edward eſcapes out of* Leiceſter's *Hands.* Act. Pub. T. I. p 810. W. Hem. M. Weſt. W. Riſh. p. 997.

He joins the Earl of Gloceſter, *who makes him ſwear to redreſs the Grievances.* Hemingf. T. Wiker. p. 67.

Though the Earl of *Leiceſter* was very ſenſible of what conſequence the Prince's eſcape might be, he pretended to be unconcerned at it, and continued, as before, to govern in the King's name. He iſſued under the Great Seal, all ſuch Orders as he judged expedient for the Good of the State and his own intereſt, theſe two things being generally confounded, by thoſe who hold the Reins of the Government.

Leiceſter *hides his Concern.*

It would be needleſs to relate here all *Leiceſter*'s Precautions, to ſupport himſelf in his Authority, to inrich his Friends, and to advance his Creatures. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that he omitted nothing that might turn to his advantage, or contribute to the baffling the deſigns of his Enemies (3). All this was for his own ſake, and with a view to his own intereſt; but he did one thing very beneficial to the Kingdom in taking at length from the Popes, the pretence, ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully uſed by them, to inrich themſelves at the expence of the *Engliſh*. As he found the People had not for the Pope the ſame eſteem and deference as formerly, he ordered a Commiſſion to be drawn up, empowering him to renounce in the King and Prince *Edmund*'s name, all pretenſions to the Crown of *Sicily*. By virtue of this power, he made an authentick renunciation, of which he took care to give the Pope notice in a Letter from the King.

He does all he can to ſupport himſelf. Rot. Pat. 49. H. 3. M. 13, 14.

He renounces for Prince Edmund *the Crown of* Sicily. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 815.

Mean time the Earl, foreſeeing how fatal Prince *Edward*'s eſcape might prove to him, cauſed very ſevere Orders to be publiſhed to all the King's Subjects, to oppoſe to the utmoſt of their power, Prince *Edward*, the

Edward's Forces increaſe.

(1) To meet *January* 28. See *Brady*, Vol. I. p. 144.

(2) Theſe Writs of Summons to the Sheriffs of the Counties, to return the Knights of the Shires and Burgeſſes, are the firſt Writs of this kind that are now extant on the *Rolls*, which made Dr. *Brady* infer, that they were the firſt that were ever iſſued, and that this Parliament in the 49th of *Henry* III, was the firſt to which Knights of Shires, and Burgeſſes were ſummoned. But how truly, ſee the Works of Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Tyrrel*, and Mr. *Hody*. It may be ſome Satisfaction to the curious Reader, to ſee the firſt Writs of Summons, as they are extant in Dr. *Brady*, Vol. I. p. 140.-----Mandatum eſt ſingulis Vicecomitibus per Angliam quod venire faciant duos milites de legalioribus & diſcretioribus militibus ſingulorum comitatuum ad Regem *London*, in Octabis Sancti *Hillarii*.

Rex Baronibus & Ballivis portus ſui de Sandwico, ſalutem. Cum Prelati & Nobiles regni noſtri tam pro negotio liberationis *Edwardi* Primogeniti noſtri quam pro aliis Communitatem Regni noſtri tangentibus ad inſtans Parliamentum noſtrum quod erit *London*, in Octab. Sancti *Hillarii*, convocari fecimus, ubi veſtra ſicut & aliorum fidelium noſtrorum præſentia plurimum indigemus. Vobis mandamus in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini firmiter injungentes, omnibus aliis prætermiſſis, mittatis ad nos ibidem quatuor de Legalioribus & Diſcretioribus portus veſtri. Ita quod ſint ibid. in Octab. prædictis, Nobiſcum & cum præfatis Magnatibus Regni noſtri tractatum & ſuper præmiſſis Conſilium impenſuri. Et hoc ſicut honorem noſtrum & veſtrum, & communem utilitatem Regni noſtri diligitis nullatenus omittatis. Teſte Rege apud *Weſt.* 20. die *Januar.*

(3) He made the King, on the 30th of *May*, write Letters to all his Tenants *in Capite*; and on *June* 7, to the Guardians of the Peace, and Sheriffs of every County, to prohibit all People in general, from giving any Aid or Aſſiſtance, to his Son *Edward*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, or any of their Confederates. See *Brady's Appendix*, N. 221, 222.

1265. Earl of *Gloceſter*, and their Adherents, who were all ſtiled Traytors to the King and State. But notwithſtanding this, many Barons (1), Officers and Soldiers, came and offered their Service to the Prince, who, in a ſhort time, ſaw himſelf at the head of an Army, ſuperiour to that of the Confederates. Then it was that affairs began to have a new face. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who, a little before, had all the Forces of the Kingdom at his diſpoſal, could not prevent *Edward* from becoming maſter of *Gloceſter* and ſeveral other Places. He was even forced to give ground to that young Prince, who followed him from place to place, and to uſe all his Policy and Experience to avoid a Battle. As he was a very good General, he took timely Care to poſt himſelf ſo, as to be able to retreat, whenever he ſhould be preſſed. Mean while, he ſent repeated Orders to his Son *Simon*, to quit the Siege of *Pevenſey*, which detained him in *Kent*, and come and reinforce him. *Simon* obeyed, and with his little Army began to march with extraordinary expedition, to join him. But as he drew near *Eveſham*, where his Father was encamped, *Edward* having notice of his coming, ſuddenly fell upon him with all his Forces, and cut in pieces this little Body, which could not reſiſt him (2).

Leiceſter *flies before him.* T. Wikes. p. 68. W. Riſh. An. Waverl.

Edward *defeats* Simon Montfort, W. Riſh. T. Wikes.

This Victory animating the young Prince with freſh ardour, he immediately returned to attack the Father, before he had received the News of his Son's defeat. He ſo deceived the Watchfulneſs of the old General, by this ſudden Reſolution, that he was very near the Enemies, when the Earl imagined it was his Son coming to his aſſiſtance. *Leiceſter*'s Surprize was ſo great, that he could not help ſhowing it. However he put every thing in a good poſture of Defence, perceiving that a Retreat would be ſtill more dangerous than a Battle. The Fight began about two in the afternoon, and laſted till Night, notwithſtanding the haſty Flight of the *Welſh* Men, who deſerted the Earl at the very firſt onſet. He ſuſtained however, by his Courage and Conduct, the Efforts of *Edward*, who fought with an aſtoniſhing Valour, well knowing that the good or ill-fortune of his Life depended on the Succeſs of that day. At length, after a long Reſiſtance on the ſide of the Barons, the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Son *Henry* being ſlain on the ſpot, their Troops were diſheartned, and the Prince obtained a full and compleat Victory (3). His Joy at this Succeſs was the greater, as, during the heat of the Battle, he had the Satisfaction to deliver the King his Father, from the Captivity he had been in ever ſince the Battle of *Lewes*. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who durſt not ſuffer his Priſoner out of his ſight, had been ſo cruel, as to expoſe him to the Danger of the Battle, in which, he was wounded in the Shoulder. Nay, it is ſaid he was like to be killed by a Soldier, who knew him not, if an Officer had not run to his Aſſiſtance, upon his crying to the Soldier, *Don't kill me, I am* Henry *of* Wincheſter, *thy Sovereign*. *Edward*, who was not far from the Place, being informed of his Father's Peril, ran thither immediately. He left him to a ſtrong Guard, and juſt asking his Bleſſing, returned to the Battle, that he might not loſe ſo precious a time.

and marches againſt the Earl of Leiceſter. An. Waverl.

Battle of Eveſham. W. Riſh. T. Wikes. An. Waverl.

Leiceſter *ſlain.* *Edward gains the Victory, and frees his Father.* W. Heming.

W. Heming. P. 587.

This Battle was fought near *Eveſham* on the 4th of *Auguſt* 1265, fourteen Months after the Battle of *Lewes*, wherein the King loſt his Liberty. The Body of the Earl of *Leiceſter* being found among the dead, *Roger Mortimer* was ſo inhuman as to mangle it in a barbarous manner. At laſt he cut off the Head and ſent it to his Wife, as a certain Token of his being revenged of his Enemy (4). Such was the end of *Leiceſter*, who, though a Foreigner, found means to make himſelf the moſt conſiderable Peer in the Kingdom, and was even ſuſpected of aſpiring to the Throne. But of this however there is no certain proof, the Reports that were ſpread being built only on bare Suſpicions, and, perhaps, Calumnies. But it can't be denied, that he abuſed his Power, and the Confidence of his Friends and Collegues. At leaſt he diſcovered by his Conduct, that he was not ſo great an Enemy to arbitrary Power, as he pretended, when placed at the head of the Confederates. This is no proof however of his aſpiring to the Crown. Certainly, this Earl had noble Qualities. If he was like the Earl his Father in his Valour and Bravery, at leaſt he reſembled him not in his Cruelty. He always expreſſed ſo great a regard for the Monks, that after his Death, they would have ſainted him, at any rate, pretending that many Miracles were wrought at his Tomb. A modern Hiſtorian aſſures us, he ſaw in an antient Manuſcript ſeveral Prayers directed to him as a Martyr (5). This Opinion was ſo ſpread among the People, that the Pope was forced to uſe all his Authority to put a ſtop to that Superſtition. However this be, as we are uncertain of the Motive of the Earl's Actions, we are no leſs ſo, whether he was more worthy of Blame than of Pity. If in taking up Arms againſt the King, his Sovereign and Benefactor, he was entirely ſwayed by Ambition, one can't ſufficiently deteſt his Ingratitude to a Prince his Brother-in-law, who had loaded him with Favours. But if he was head of a Party ſolely with a View to the Good of the Publick, and to free the Kingdom from the manifeſt Oppreſſion it groaned under, doubtleſs there would be People, who would not want plauſible Reaſons to juſtify his Conduct. Mean while, without examining this Motive too cloſely, modern Writers, for the moſt part, inveigh bitterly againſt him, and *the Engliſh Catiline* is one of the beſt Names they afford him. But this is no more than what we are to expect from moſt Hiſtorians, who generally dedicate their Works to Kings, Queens, Prime-Miniſters, Favourites.

1265.

The Monks look upon him as a Martyr. Tyrrel.

The Defeat of the Confederates entirely changed the face of Affairs. Thoſe who a little before were perſecuted, became Perſecutors in their turn. They plagued their Enemies a thouſand Ways, and made them endure many Hardſhips. The King, who was naturally revengeful and greedy of Money, was extremely impatient to be revenged of thoſe who had offended him, and to ſeize their Spoils. To that end he called a Parliament (6), which wholly conſiſting of his Creatures, granted him the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of the Rebels (7). The City of *London* was not ſpared. The Parliament having decreed that ſhe deſerved to forfeit all her Privileges, ſhe was left to the King's Mercy, who took away her Gates, Chains, Magiſtrates, and exacted a large Sum of Money (8) from the Citizens, to reſtore again what he had taken from them. The Confederate Barons ſeeing themſelves expoſed to a Revenge, which probably would have no Bounds, were in the greater Conſternation, as they ſaw no Remedy in this their Diſtreſs. *Simon de Montfort*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, did not queſtion but he ſhould be attacked one of the firſt, conſidering the King's Hatred to the Earl his Father and his whole Family. In this belief, he endeavoured betimes to make *Richard* King of the *Romans* his Friend, whom he had in cuſtody in *Kenelworth* Caſtle, by releaſing him (9) without demanding a Ranſom. This Example turned to the advantage of ſeveral Priſoners of the Battle of *Lewes*, who were likewiſe ſet at Liberty with the ſame view by their Keepers (10).

The confederate Barons are perſecuted, and their Eſtates confiſcated.

Rot. Pat. 49. H. 3. m. 8. Dorſo. London *ſeverely chaſtiſed.* An. Lond. T. Wikes. M. Weſt.

An. Waverl. T. Wikes.

Mean time, the King was revenging himſelf on thoſe that had taken Arms againſt him, by ſeizing their Eſtates, which he kept to his own uſe, or beſtowed them liberally on his Favorites. Inſtead of troubling himſelf about the Conſequences, he entirely gave way to his Paſſion, without conſidering, that People reduced to Beggary are not

The King revenges himſelf on his Enemies. T. Wikes. P. 74.

Reflections on the Earl of Leceſter.

(1) The Earl of *Warren*, *William de Valence*, and *Hugh Bigot*, who a little before had landed in *Pembrokeſhire*, with a ſtrong Party, came in to him; as alſo *John Gifford*, the ſecond Man to the Earl of *Gloceſter* in military Affairs, brought a great number of Horſe and Foot. *T. Wikes*, p. 68. *W. Riſhanger*, p. 997.

(2) *T. Wikes* ſays, the Prince, marching all Night, came by break of Day to *Kenelworth*, and ſet upon *Simon* and his Men who were then in their Beds, and killed and took Priſoners moſt of them, the chiefeſt of whom were *Robert de Vere*, *William* Lord *Munchanſy*, and *Adam* of *Newmarket*. *Simon* eſcaped into the Caſtle. p. 69.

(3) In this Battle were ſlain, *Hugh d'Eſpenſer* the Juſticiary, *Peter de Montfort*, *William de Mandeville*, *Ralph Baſſet*, *John de Beauchamp*, *Roger de St. John*, *Walter de Creppinge*, *William de York*, *Robert de Tregor*, *Thomas de Hoſtelee*, *Guy de Balliol*, *Roger de Roulce*, &c. The Priſoners were, *Guy de Montfort*; the Earl's third Son, *John Fitz-John*, *Humphry de Bohun*, *Henry de Haſtings*, *John de Veſci*, *Nicolas de Segrave*, *Baldwin Wake*, &c. *Ann. Waverl.* p 220. *W. Riſhanger*. p. 998. *Hemingford*, p. 587.

(4) The Bodies of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, his Son *Henry*, and *Hugh d'Eſpenſer*, were buried in the Church belonging to the Abbey of *Eveſham*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 220.

(5) *Tyrrel* ſays, he had ſeen at the end of a Manuſcript in the publick Library at *Cambridge*, certain Prayers directed to him as a Saint, with a great many rhyming Verſes in his Praiſe. Vol. II. p. 1052.

(6) On *September* 14. at *Winchеſter*, where he came from *Worceſter*. At this Parliament were ſummoned the Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors; all the great Men of the Kingdom; and the Wives of the Earls, Barons, and Knights, that were either ſlain, or taken Priſoners in the late Wars. But the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *London*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, were not ſummoned, becauſe they had been too deeply engaged with the Barons. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 220. *T. Wikes*, p. 71. This Parliament was afterwards adjourned to *Windſor*, and then to *Weſtminſter*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 220.

(7) Whereupon the King appointed two Commiſſioners, who, with the Sheriff, were to return the Extent of the Rebels Lands, with the Names of them, and of the owners, to himſelf at *Weſtminſter* by the 13th of *October*; and they were to appoint two Collectors in every Hundred, to collect the *Michaelmas* Rents. See *Brady's Appendix*, N. 223.

(8) Twenty thouſand Marks. *Ann. de Lond.* None of the Money went into the King's Exchequer, but was paid to ſome Perſons in *France*, who had ſupplied the Queen in Money, during her Abſence beyond Sea. *T. Wikes*, p. 74.

(9) *September* 6. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 220.

(10) Except thoſe that were impriſoned in the Caſtles of *Dover* and *Kenelworth*. The Widow of *Hugh le Deſpenſer* ſet at liberty all thoſe ſhe kept confined in *Wallingford* Caſtle, and retired to *Philip Baſſet* her Father. *T. Wikes*, p. 71.

1265. far from Deſpair. He would have done much better in imitating the prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke* his firſt Governour, who reſtored to the vanquiſhed Barons their Eſtates, for fear of expoſing the Kingdom to freſh Troubles. But *Henry* was not of that Character. It was not his Fault that he loſt not the Fruits of the Prince his Son's Victory over the Barons, by refuſing them the leaſt Favour. *Simon de Montfort*, perceiving his Caſe deſperate, left the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, and aſſembling ſome of the Remains of his Father's Army, threw himſelf into the Iſle of *Axholme* in *Lincolnſhire* (1). As it was very eaſy to fortify that Place, he ſoon put it in condition to ſerve for refuge to himſelf and Friends. Great numbers reſorted to him daily, who at length began to make their Enemies uneaſy.

T. Wikes. An. Waverl.

1266. Whilſt the Court was preparing to hinder the Conſequences of this new Revolt, the Queen arrived from *France* (2), where ſhe had retired with Prince *Edmund* her Son, after the Battle of *Lewes*. She was quickly followed by a Legate (3), who, a few days after his coming, convened a Synod, and ſolemnly excommunicated the late Earl of *Leiceſter* and all his Adherents, as well dead as alive (4). *Clement* IV, finding the *Engliſh* tired with ſupplying Money for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, thought it convenient to ſave the Honour of the Holy See, which had ſomewhat ſuffered by Prince *Edmund*'s renuntiation. For that purpoſe he gave the King notice by his Legate, of a Bull of *Urban* his Predeceſſor, revoking the Grant to the Prince his Son. He had kept this Bull private, becauſe he was willing to ſee the iſſue of a negotiation with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, to whom he actually gave this very Year the Inveſtiture of the two *Sicilies*. *Henry*, who had quitted his Pretenſions, only as forced to it by the Earl of *Leiceſter* during his Captivity, could not without regret ſee himſelf obliged to renounce his Hopes. But he could not help it.

The Queen arrives, and is followed by a Legate, who excommunicates the Rebel Barons.

The Pope revokes the Grant of Sicily, T. Wikes. Hemming.

and inveſts the Earl of Anjou *with it.*

Remark on the Affair of Sicily.

Thus ended at length the Affair of *Sicily*, which had been to the Popes a fertile Source of Oppreſſions upon the People and Clergy of *England*. If it coſt the *Engliſh* immenſe Sums, they reaped at leaſt this Benefit by it, that it ſenſibly leſſened their former good Opinion of every thing that flowed from the Court of *Rome*, and taught them to be more upon their guard for the future againſt her Uſurpations. This is what we ſhall have occaſion to know more particularly in the following Reigns, where we ſhall ſee the *Engliſh* much leſs tractable with regard to the Popes. It may be ſaid, further, that this Affair was the principal Cauſe of the Misfortunes to which *Henry* was expoſed for ſo many Years, and withal, of the ſolid Eſtabliſhment of the Great Charter, which from thenceforward was but feebly attacked. Had not *Henry* been under a neceſſity of ſatisfying the Avarice of the Popes, he would have leſs oppreſſed his Subjects, and the Barons would have wanted the moſt plauſible Pretence of their Confederacy. It is very ſtrange, the Pope's Grant to Prince *Edmund* ſhould be unknown to the Hiſtorians of *Naples* and *Sicily*, who mention it not, though the Countries of which they have written the Hiſtory were ſo much concerned. There is but one that juſt ſpeaks of it, and even he is miſtaken in the Name of the *Engliſh* Prince, to whom he ſays the Pope would have given *Sicily*. *Villani*, an Hiſtorian of Note, recites the Pope's Speech to the Cardinals, to induce them to approve of his deſign to inveſt *Charles of Anjou* with the two *Sicilies*. In this Harangue, the Pontiff repreſents to them, all the Injuries ſuſtained by the Church from *Manfred*, the Neceſſity of deſtroying the Houſe of *Swabia*, and the Advantages which would accrue to the Church, if theſe Kingdoms were given to a Prince who was able to undertake her Defence. One would think, this was a very natural occaſion, to mention the Endeavours of his Predeceſſors to dethrone the Uſurper, by the King of *England*'s Aſſiſtance, in giving the Crown of theſe Kingdoms to one of his Sons. But he ſays not a word of the matter. What may then be inferred from this Silence of the Pope, and the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* Hiſtorians, but that the Court of *Rome* never really intended to procure this Crown for Prince *Edmund*, and that her ſole Aim was to drain *England* of Money, under ſo frivolous a Pretence?

1266. As *Montfort*'s Retreat to the Iſle of *Axholme*, might be attended with ſuch Conſequences as required Prevention, Prince *Edward* was ſent with an Army into thoſe Parts. It was no eaſy matter to diſlodge the Male-contents from a Place ſo ſtrongly fortified both by Art and Nature. However, the Prince failed not to accompliſh it. After an obſtinate Defence, the Beſieged were conſtrained to ſurrender (5), on condition their Lives and Limbs were ſpared. As to their Eſtates, it was agreed they ſhould ſubmit to the Judgment of the King of the *Romans*, and Prince *Edward*. This Capitulation being ſigned, *Montfort* was brought to the King (6), and found a powerful Mediator in the King of the *Romans*. This Prince affirmed, that after the Battle of *Eveſham*, the Garriſon of *Kenelworth* would have murthered him, if *Montfort* had not hindered it at the Peril of his own Life. Then he entreated the King to pardon him, in conſideration of his having generouſly releaſed him, without demanding a Ranſom. It is ſaid, *Henry*, moved with *Montfort*'s good Offices to the King his Brother, was inclined to reſtore him intirely to Favour, if the Earl of *Gloceſter* had not openly oppoſed it. So that, as it was neceſſary to keep fair with *Gloceſter*, as well as with the King of the *Romans*, it was reſolved in Council, that *Montfort* ſhould have Liberty to depart the Kingdom (7), and the King ſhould grant him a yearly Penſion of five hundred Marks (8), provided he delivered up *Kenelworth*-Caſtle. But it was not in his Power to perform this Condition, becauſe the Garriſon refuſed to obey him. All the other Rebels in *Axholme* were pardoned, upon their ſwearing, never more to bear Arms againſt the King: an Oath which was afterwards very ill kept. This Affair being over, the Kingdom immediately enjoyed ſome Tranquillity. *Montfort* ſeemed pretty well ſatisfied with his Lot. But ſhortly after, whether out of Inconſtancy, or becauſe he had not wherewithal to ſubſiſt, he joined himſelf with certain Pyrates of the *Cinque Ports*, who gave him the Command of their Ships, with which he plundered, without diſtinction, all the Merchant-Men that came in his way. As it plainly appeared, that the Inhabitants of the *Cinque Ports* countenanced theſe Pyracies, the King ſent Prince *Edward* to chaſtiſe them (9). But the Prince found means to reduce them to their Duty, without uſing Force (10), namely, by promiſing them a general Pardon, and the Confirmation of their Privileges, for which they renewed their Fealty to the King.

Simon de Montfort *is forced to ſurrender.* T. Wikes. An. Waverl.

The King of the Romans *intercedes for him.*

Montfort *is to deliver up* Kenelworth, *but cannot.* T. Wikes. An. Waverl.

He turns Pyrate. An. Waverl.

Edward *reduces the* Cinque-Ports *to Obedience.*

How ſucceſsful ſoever the King's Arms might be, it could not be ſaid, that Peace was fully reſtored to the Kingdom, ſince *Kenelworth*-Caſtle was ſtill in the Hands of the Male-contents. There was likewiſe, in the northern Counties, a Troop of armed Men (11), who obliged the King to ſend againſt them *Henry*, eldeſt Son of the King of the *Romans*. This young Prince made ſuch ſpeed that he ſurprized the Rebels, and killing the greateſt part, diſperſed the reſt. He could not however ſeize the Ring-Leaders (12), who joining with other Male-contents, and particularly thoſe of *Axholme*, became maſters of the Iſle of *Ely* in *Cambridgſhire*. From thence they made continual Inroads into the neighbouring Counties, committing great Ravages.

Several Inſurrections. T. Wikes. Hemingf.

The Male-contents ſeize the Iſle of Ely.

At the ſame time, another Rebel, *Adam* [*de Gurdun*,] taking up Arms in *Hampſhire*, *Edward* marched into thoſe parts, where he had occaſion to give ſenſible proofs of his Courage and Generoſity. In a Battle with the Rebels, *Adam*, who was ſtrong and valiant, attacked the Prince hand to hand, and obliged him to uſe all his Dexterity and Valour. The ſingle Combat was not interrupted, till *Adam*, being down on the ground, was forced to yield himſelf Priſoner to the Prince (13). This Act of Bravery in *Edward* was immediately followed by another of Generoſity, which gained him no leſs Honour. Without ſuffering himſelf to be tranſported with a deſire of Revenge upon a Man who had put him in ſo great Danger, he generouſly gave him Life and Li-

A brave and generous Action of Edward. Mat. Weſt. W. Riſh. T. Wikes.

(1) About the middle of *November*. *T. Wikes*, p. 73.
(2) She landed, *October* 29. at *Dover*, after having been abſent about two Years from *England*. *T. Wikes*, p. 72.
(3) *Otboboni*. ibid.
(4) At the ſame time, a Parliament was held at *Northamptom* in *November*, wherein all the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Adherents were diſinherited. *Hemingford*, p. 587. *Ann. Waverl.* p 221
(5) About *December* 28. *T. Wikes*, p. 73. (6) Who was then at *Northampton*, ibid.
(7) And not return, without the King's Licence, and the common Conſent of the great Men of the Kingdom. *ibid.*
(8) Four hundred Pounds of Silver, from the Revenues of the Earldom of *Leiceſter*. *ibid.*
(9) About *November* 25. they burnt *Portſmouth*, in revenge, for ſome of their Fellow Citizens being hanged by King *Henry*'s Order. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 221.
(10) The *Annals of Waverly* ſay, *Edward* had an Engagement with the Inhabitants of *Winckelſea*, wherein great Numbers were ſlain and drowned, and their Leader, *Henry Pelune*, taken, whom Prince *Edward* ordered immediately to be hanged, but was perſuaded by *Gilbert de Clare* to ſpare his Life. *ibid.*
(11) Headed by *Robert* Earl of *Ferrars*, in Conjunction with *Baldwin Wake*, and *John Dayville*, and ſeveral other Barons. The Earl was taken Priſoner, the reſt eſcaped to the Iſle of *Ely*. *T. Wikes*, p. 75. *Ann. Waverl.*
(12) *Robert* Earl of *Ferrars* was taken at *Cheſterfield*, and ſent Priſoner to *Windſor* Caſtle. *T. Wikes*. p. 76.
(13) It ſeems, the Prince, when he came up with the Rebels between *Farnham* and *Alton*, haſtily leaped over a Ditch or Trench which ſurrounded their Camp, and his Forces not being able to follow him preſently, he was obliged to fight thus Hand to Hand with *Adam*. *ibid.*

1266. berty. *Adam* ſenſibly touched, as he ought, with this Favour, ſerved him faithfully ever after (1).

The King beſieges Kenelworth. T. Wikes. An. Waverl.

The Garriſon of *Kenelworth* was become ſo formidable, and withal ſo odious, by their Outrages committed in the neighbouring Country, that the King's Council reſolved, this Caſtle ſhould be immediately inveſted, and the Siege of *Ely* put off to another time. The King was extremely incenſed with the Governor of *Kenelworth* for inſolently cutting off the Hand of his Herald, ſent to ſummon him to ſurrender. His deſire to puniſh him, made him reſolve to go in Perſon to this Siege, imagining his Preſence would ſtrike the greater Terror into the Beſieged (2). But they defended themſelves ſo ſtoutly, that after a ſix Months Siege, there was no appearance of forcing them to capitulate. This vigorous Reſiſtance was the reaſon, that the Siege was turned into a Blockade. Mean time, the King continued in the Town, of which he was maſter, expecting that Hunger would compel the Garriſon to ſurrender (3).

1267. *A Parliament at* Kenelworth. An. Waverl.

During the Blockade, *Henry* called a Parliament at *Kenelworth* (4), to conſider of means to reduce the Rebels of *Ely*, either by offering them an eaſy Compoſition, or by Force, in caſe they rejected the proffered Favour. To this end the Parliament drew up certain Articles, containing the Terms on which the King was to grant a general Pardon (5). Theſe Terms were very moderate, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances. To have poſſeſſion of their Eſtates again, ſome were to pay five Years value, ſome three; others but one. But whether the Male-contents could not depend upon the King's Word, or thought theſe conditions too hard, they refuſed to accept them. They even took occaſion from thence to increaſe their Outrages, and had the Boldneſs to make an Excurſion as far as *Norwich*, from whence they carried away above twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling (6).

Terms offered to the Male-contents of Ely;

who reject them. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. W. Riſh.

The Garriſon of Kenelworth. T. Wikes. M. Weſt.

Thoſe of *Kenelworth*, though cloſely blocked up, and forced to eat their Horſes, relying on the Aſſiſtance promiſed by *Simon de Montfort*, held out ſo long a Siege with an invincible Reſolution. At length, when they could ſcarce withſtand any longer the Hunger by which they were preſſed, ſeeing no likelihood of Aſſiſtance, they capitulated (7) to deliver up the Caſtle, in caſe they were not relieved within forty Days (8). Mean time, they were to be furniſhed with Proviſions. This Term being expired, they came out of the Caſtle ſo pale and meager, that it could not be conceived, that a Garriſon in ſo wretched a Condition ſhould have the Aſſurance to demand ſuch a Capitulation (9).

The Earl of Glocester *takes meaſures againſt the King.* W. Riſh. M. Weſt.

The taking of *Kenelworth*, and his hopes of ſpeedily reducing the Rebels of *Ely*, made the King forget his paſt Misfortunes (10), as well as the Prince his Son's Engagement for him, with the Earl of *Gloceſter* (11). *Edward* himſelf, though more particularly concerned, by reaſon of his Oath, was more intent upon reducing the Male-contents of *Ely* to the King's Obedience, than upon executing his Promiſes. The Earl of *Gloceſter* obſerved with extreme Regret, that as the King's Affairs proſpered, the Father and Son acted with leſs Moderation, and were more ready to ſtretch the Prerogative Royal beyond the bounds preſcribed by the Laws. What he had done for the King and Prince, was not ſo much to enlarge the Royal Power, as to prevent the Earl of *Leiceſter* from paving his way to the Throne. This was very evident from the Oath he required from Prince *Edward*. The King's Conduct, who was returning to his former Courſes, convincing him that if the Male-contents were once reduced, it would be very difficult to confine the Sovereign within the Bounds of an Authority limited by the Laws, he thought it neceſſary to oppoſe his Progreſs in time. Thus reſolved, he retired to his own Eſtate on the Borders of *Wales*, where he made a League with *Lewellyn*, and ſome neighbouring Barons. After this, he ſent word to the Male-contents of *Ely*, that he would endeavour to relieve them. 1267.

It could not be but his Abſence and Preparations ſhould give ſome umbrage to the Court. Nevertheleſs, as he concealed his Deſigns under the pretence of a Quarrel with *Mortimer* (12), he ſtill left room to doubt of the Motives of his Armament. Mean time, whereas Policy and good Senſe required, that the King ſhould try to give ſome Satisfaction to ſo conſiderable a Lord, all his Thoughts were engroſſed, about means to reduce the Rebels of *Ely*; not ſo much to reſtore the publick Tranquillity, as out of impatience to render himſelf as much or more abſolute than ever. He plainly perceived, he could not attain his Ends, whilſt a Body of Rebels were in Arms in the midſt of his Dominions. Wherefore, he convened a Parliament, to take meaſures about quelling the Male-contents (13). The Earl of *Gloceſter*'s Refuſal to be preſent, made the King uneaſy, who ſent ſome Lords (14) to admoniſh him to come and take his Seat. Theſe Lords found the Earl very buſy in raiſing an Army; and as they ſhewed their Surpriſe at it, he told them for their Satisfaction, that the Troops were deſigned againſt *Mortimer* his Enemy. Nay, he ſcrupled not to give a Writing under his own Seal, whereby he engaged never to bear Arms againſt the King (15). By this means, he removed all Suſpicions, that were entertained of him. This Fear being vaniſhed, the King and Parliament thought of nothing more, but how to beſiege *Ely*, the only thing that ſtill gave them any diſturbance. The Reſolution that was taken, of vigorouſly puſhing this Siege, furniſhing the King with a plauſible pretence to demand an Aid, the Parliament granted him a very conſiderable Supply (16). Although the Legate had not the ſame Reaſons, he preſſed the Clergy however, to grant the ſame Aid to the Pope. This unſeaſonable Demand extremely provoked the Prelates. They not only refuſed to comply, but committed to writing the Reaſons of their Denial, which were not much for the Honour of the Court of *Rome*.

He refuſes to come to Parliament; W. Riſh.

and amuſes the King's Meſſengers.

The Parliament grants a ſubſidy. An. Waverl.

The Legate demands one of the Clergy, but he is denied. W. Riſh.

As ſoon as the Parliament broke up, the King took the Field at the head of his Army. He advanced as far as *Cambridge*, where he halted to ſend and ſummon the Rebels of *Ely*, to return to their Duty. But their Anſwer plainly diſcovered, they were not eaſily to be frightened. This Reſolution, and the Situation of the Iſle of *Ely*, which had formerly very much embarraſſed *William the Conqueror*, ſomewhat abated his warlike Ardour, and cauſed him to wait (17) the coming of the Prince his Son, who was then at *York* (18).

The King marches to Cambridge. W. Riſh. M. Weſt.

Whilſt the King was at *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Gloceſter* headed the Army, raiſed on his own Lands, and in *Wales*. He forthwith marched towards *London*, and with that expedition, that he entered the City before they had time to hinder him, and even before they knew whether he acted for or againſt the King. It is however probable, the Magiſtrates and principal Citizens, were not ignorant of his Deſigns. Be this as it will, the Earl, leaving every one to make his own Conjectures, approached the *Tower*, the Cuſtody whereof was, by the King, committed to the Legate. He ſummoned him to

The Earl of Glocester *becomes Maſter of* London, *and of the* Tower. M. Weſt. An. Waverl. T. Wikes.

(1) *T. Wikes* ſays, he ſent him in Chains to *Windſor* Caſtle, there to keep Earl *Ferrars* Company. p. 76.

(2) The King began to lay Siege to that Caſtle, *June* 25. *T. Wikes*, p. 76.

(3) Before the beginning of this Siege, the King ſent his Son Prince *Edward* to reduce the City of *Lincoln*, which had been ſurprized and plundered by ſome of the Barons belonging to the Iſle of *Axholme*; but, upon his approach, they diſperſed. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 222.

(4) *Auguſt* 24. In this Parliament the King confirmed the Charter of Liberties, and demanded the Tenths of the Revenues of the Clergy, for three Years. *ibid.* p. 223.

(5) Theſe Articles were called *Dictum de Kenelworth*, and were to be put in Execution by Perſons nominated by the King and Barons aſſembled in Parliament; and if any Conteſt aroſe, *Othobon* the Pope's Legate, and *Henry*, Son to *Richard* King of the *Romans*, were to be joined to them. Theſe Perſons were, the Biſhops of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, *Exeter*, St. *David*'s; *Roger de Sumeri*, *Robert Waleran*, *Alan de la Souche*; the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Clare*, *Hereford*; *John de Balol*, *Philip Baſſet*, *Warin de Baſſengeburne*. This Decree or Statute of *Kenelworth* is to be ſeen at large in a Manuſcript Copy in the *Cottonian* Library, and in *Tyrrel*, p. 1064, 1065. It was publiſhed in the Camp before *Kenelworth*, *Octob.* 31.

(6) They did the ſame by the Town of *Cambridge* in their return to *Ely*, carrying away not only ſeveral *Jews*, but alſo the richeſt of the Townſmen, whom they kept Priſoners, till they would ranſom themſelves at exorbitant Rates. *T. Wikes*, p. 77. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 222. *W. Riſh.* p. 1000.

(7) About the beginning of *November*. *T. Wikes*, p. 78.

(8) *Richard de Edmundevil*, and ſeven Knights, remained Sureties. *ibid.*

(9) The King beſtowed this ſtrong Caſtle, which was forfeited to him by the late Earl of *Leiceſter*, upon Earl *Edmund* his ſecond Son, whom he had created ſome time before Earl of *Derby*, upon the Attainder of *Robert de Ferrars*. *T. Wikes*, p. 78. *M. Weſt.* p. 397. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. I. p. 830.

(10) He came from *Kenelworth* to *Woodſtock*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*, and thence went to *London*, where he held a Parliament. *T. Wikes*, p. 78. *W. Riſhanger*. *M. Weſt.* p. 398.

(11) *Gilbert de Clare*.

(12) *Mortimer* was one of thoſe, who moſt earneſtly oppoſed an Accommodation with the diſinherited Lords, becauſe the King had granted him ſeveral of their Eſtates. He even conſpired the Death of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who was moſt active in this Buſineſs. *W. Riſh.* p. 1001.

(13) This Parliament was about *February* 10, at St. *Edmundſbury*. *T. Wikes*. p. 78. *W. Riſh.* p. 1002.

(14) *John de Warren*, and *William de Valence*. *W Riſh.* p. 1002.

(15) He exhorted the King in the ſame Writing, to remove Foreigners from his Perſon, to cauſe the *Oxford* Proviſions to be obſerved, and to perform his Promiſes to him at *Eveſham*. *W. Riſh.* p. 1001.

(16) The Tenths of the Goods of all Eccleſiaſtical and Religious Perſons, for three Years; except the *Templars*, *Hoſpitallers*, and *Ciſtercians*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 223.

(17) At *Cambridge*, where he removed; after having in vain endeavoured to reduce the Iſle, by Water, with ſhips, got together from *Ipſwich*, *Dunwich*, *Yarmouth*, and *Lin*. *T. Wikes*. p. 78.

(18) Employed in reducing *John de Veſci*, one of the diſinherited Barons, who had raiſed ſome Forces in the North, and recovered his Caſtle of *Alnwick*, and other Lands adjacent. *T. Wikes*, p. 78, 79.

deliver

1267. deliver it up immediately; alledging, it was not a Poſt to be truſted in the hands of a Foreigner, much leſs of an Eccleſiaſtick. The Legate ſurprized at this unexpected Summons, made a ſhow of defending himſelf. But as he wanted Proviſions, and the Earl had ſtrictly forbid the ſending in any, he was quickly conſtrained to ſurrender. As ſoon as the Earl was maſter of the *Tower*, he was not ſo careful to conceal his Deſigns. Beſides, as ſeveral of the Male-contents (1) daily joined him, it was viſible, his Intention was not to act for the King's Intereſt. At length, he pulled off the Mask, and publiſhed a Manifeſto, declaring, he had taken up Arms, to obtain reaſonable Terms for the Male-contents. Moreover, he complained of the King and Prince, affirming, his Deſign was to oblige them to the better performance of their Promiſes. Surprized at this freſh Revolt, *Henry* ſent preſſing Orders to the Prince his Son, to come and join him immediately, being in continual fear of an Attack. He did not think himſelf in a condition to come off with Honour in an Affair of this Nature, if forced to a Battle. Theſe Orders meeting the Prince in his return from the North, where he had finiſhed his Affairs, obliged him to march with all poſſible ſpeed to the King's Relief (2). As ſoon as they were joined, they advanced together towards *London*, and encamped at *Stratford*, within three Miles of the City. The univerſal Eſteem for *Edward* among the Nobles and People rather than their Affection for the King, cauſed in a very ſhort Space, the Army to be conſiderably increaſed (3). For this Reaſon the Earl of *Gloceſter* continued in *London*, from whence he durſt not ſtir, for fear of engaging at a great Diſadvantage (4). He had been in hopes, the whole Kingdom would ſide with him, and the King be ſuddenly deſerted by his own Troops. But finding he had relied upon uncertain Aſſiſtances, and his Friends began to forſake him, he timely applied himſelf to the King of the *Romans*, by whoſe Interceſſion (5), he obtained much better Terms than he had reaſon to expect (6). He was not only forgiven, upon laying down his Arms, but had the Satisfaction alſo to have the City of *London* included in his Pardon, which otherwiſe would doubtleſs have been ſeverely puniſhed. He would fain have procured the ſame Favour for the Rebels of *Ely*; but the King and Prince being inexorable in that reſpect, he was forced to abandon their Intereſts.

He publiſhes a Manifeſto againſt the King.

Edward joins his Father. M. Weſt.

The Royal Army increaſes.

Gloceſter makes his Peace. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 841. T. Wikes, p. 81.

Ely *Rebels ſurrender.* M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

This Affair being ended more happily than there was room to expect, *Edward* approached the Iſle of *Ely* (7). As the Male-contents had no proſpect of Relief, they choſe to ſurrender (8), before they were reduced to extremity. The only condition granted them, was the ſaving their Lives and Limbs. By this were extinguiſhed the Troubles, that had for five Years tormented the Kingdom.

The End of the Barons Wars.

Treaty of Peace with Wales. M. Weſt. W. Riſh. An. Waverl. Act. Pub. I. p. 840. —846.

Henry, having an Army ready, reſolved to correct the Inſolence of the Prince of *Wales*, who, during the late Troubles, had all along aſſiſted the Rebels. To this end, he advanced as far as *Montgomery*, where *Lewellyn* ſent Ambaſſadors to ſue for Peace. His offer to pay the King thirty two thouſand Marks, and to do him Homage for his Principality, was an inducement to hearken to his Propoſals. But, beſides what he had offered, he was farther obliged to deliver up certain Caſtles, convenient for the King (9).

1268. *Edward takes the Croſs to go to the Holy-Land.* W. Riſh.

The Peace of the Kingdom being thus reſtored, the King ſummoned a Parliament (10), where *Ottobon*, the Pope's Legate was preſent. He informed the Aſſembly that the Pope was reſolved to publiſh a Cruſade, in all the Chriſtian States, and took occaſion from thence to exhort the *Engliſh*, to contribute their Money and Perſons towards this Expedition; the ſole end whereof, was the Glory of God and the Good of the Church. The Tranquillity *England* began to enjoy, cauſed great Numbers to engage in this Undertaking, eſpecially when they ſaw Prince *Edward*, and *Henry* Son of the King of the *Romans*, receive the Croſs at the hands of the Legate. The Earls of *Warwick* and *Pembroke*, and above a hundred and twenty Knights, followed the Example of theſe two Princes, beſides an infinite Multitude of Perſons of inferior Quality. The Legate having no further Buſineſs in *England*, returned to *Rome*, and the King of the *Romans* took his third Journey to *Germany*. 1268.

Whilſt the *Croiſes* were preparing for their Voyage, the King aſſembled a Parliament at *Marlborough*, where a Body of Statutes were enacted, which make a conſiderable Figure among the Laws of *England* (11). *Statutes of* Marlborough. W. Riſh.

Before we proceed to the Events of the next Year, it will be neceſſary to take notice of the Death of Pope *Clement* IV, which was followed by a Vacancy of three Years. It was alſo this Year that the famous Battle near the Lake of *Celano* (12), was fought between *Charles of Anjou*, the new King of *Sicily*, and *Conradin* Son of the Emperor *Conrade*. Young *Conradin* having the Misfortune to be vanquiſhed and taken Priſoner, *Charles* was ſo cruel as to cauſe his Head to be ſtruck off (13). *Death of* Clement IV. M. Weſt. *Battle of* Celano. M. Weſt. W. Riſh.

The Cruſade was not only publiſhed in *England*, but alſo in all the Chriſtian States, and particularly in *France*. St. *Lewis* was to be Head of it. The ill Succeſs of his Expedition into *Egypt*, not being able to cool this Monarch's Zeal, he had never ceaſed, ſince his return, to think of means, how to carry War once more into the Country of the Infidels. Prince *Edward*'s late taking the Croſs, put *Lewis* in hopes of better ſucceſs, if he could perſuade him to join with him. To that purpoſe, he deſired him to come to *Paris*, where he communicated to him his Project. *Edward* wiſhed for nothing more, than to join Forces with ſo powerful a Prince, and to command under him. But he intimated to him, that he could not be ready ſoon enough, for want of Money for the Voyage. *Lewis*, glad to find there was no other Objection, lent him thirty thouſand Marks (14), for which *Edward* mortgaged to him the Revenues of *Bourdeaux*, for ſeven Years. This Agreement being made, *Edward* returned into *England*. The King his Father had now aſſembled a Parliament, which granted him a twentieth Part of the Moveables of the Kingdom, part whereof was to be employed towards the Charges of the Prince's Expedition. *Edward* engages to accompany the King of France to the Holy-Land. Act. Pub. I. p. 858. W. Riſh. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. *Lewis lends him Money.* W. Riſh. *Subſidy granted the King.* T. Wikes.

Before *Edward* was ready for his Departure, the King of the *Romans* arrived (15) with a new Wife, he had married in *Germany*, not ſo much for her Riches as her Beauty (16). *Second Marriage of the King of the* Romans. T. Wikes.

A little before the Departure of the *Croiſes*, *Henry* cauſed the Relicks of *Edward the Confeſſor*, for which he had a particular Veneration, to be removed. This Ceremony, to which all the conſiderable Men of the Kingdom were invited, was performed with great Pomp. The Shrine of the Saint, adorned with precious Stones, was carried on the Shoulders of the King himſelf, and his Brother the King of the *Romans*, with the Princes, and chief Lords, and placed in the new Church of *Weſtminſter*, which was juſt finiſhing, and rendered the moſt ſtately Church then in *Europe* (17). 1269. *The Body of St. Edward removed to the new Church.* M. Weſt. W. Riſh. T. Wikes. An. Waverl.

The Calm *England* enjoyed for ſome time, was like to be diſturbed by the Suſpicions, the Earl of *Gloceſter* entertained of Prince *Edward*. The Earl not believing the Prince was heartily reconciled to him, kept from Court, and always found ſome Excuſe to be abſent from the Parliaments. This Behaviour made the King very uneaſy, who was afraid the Earl had ſtill a deſign to break the Peace. But the King of the *Romans* freed him from 1270. *The King of the* Romans *reconciles Edward to the Earl of* Gloceſter. T. Wikes. p. 89, 90, &c.

(1) They were called then, *The Diſinherited*.

(2) Bringing along with him thirty thouſand Men from *Scotland*, and the North of *England*. *M. Weſt.* p. 399.

(3) The Earls of *Boulogne* and St *Paul* brought him two hundred Knights, with their Retinue; and an Army of *Gaſcons* came up the River with ſeveral large Ships, well fitted and armed. Ibid.

(4) In the mean time the Earl's Party in *London* went and plundered *Kent* and *Surrey*, and brought great Store of Proviſions into the City; and the Rabble ſpoiled the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, breaking the very Windows and Doors; and either killed, or drowned in the *Thames*, all thoſe they ſuſpected. *T Wikes*, p. 80.

(5) And the Lord *Philip Baſſet's*. Ibid. *W Riſh.* p. 1004.

(6) This Agreement was concluded *June*. 15. *T. Wikes*, p. 81.

(7) And made Bridges in the moſt convenient Places with Hurdles and Boards. *W. Riſh.* p. 1004.

(8) About *July* 25. *T. Wikes*. p. 83.

(9) This Year, the Pope granted King *Henry* the Tenth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy in *England* for three Years; a great part of which went to the Pope, for the annual Tribute exacted from *England* by the Court of *Rome*. *T. Wikes*, p. 84. It was afterwards continued one Year longer. Id. p. 88.

(10) This Parliament was held at *Northampton* in *April*. *An. Waverl.* p. 224.

(11) The Statutes of *Marlebridge*, now *Marlborough*, were made *November* 18. *An.* 52. *H.* 3. 1267. In the Preface they are ſaid to be made by the Advice and Conſent of the more diſcreet Men of the Realm, as well of the Higher as of the Lower Eſtate; which laſt *Tyrrel* underſtands of the *Houſe of Commons*, or *Knights of the Shire* and *Burgeſſes*. Theſe Statutes chiefly aim at reforming the Abuſes crept in during the late Troubles, and are divided into twenty nine Chapters, as the Reader may ſee at large in our Law-Books. See them in *Coke*'s 2d Inſtitute, p. 101, *&c.*

(12) Anciently called *Lacus Fucinus*.

(13) *Conradin* had eſcaped in Diſguiſe, but was betrayed to the Conqueror, who upon his going to the *Holy-Land* ordered him to be beheaded in the Market-place of *Naples*.

(14) Seventy thouſand Pounds Tournois. *T. Wikes*, p. 90.

(15) *Auguſt* 3. *T. Wikes*. p. 88.

(16) Her Name was *Beatrix*, Daughter of *Theodoric de Falkmorite*, a *German* Nobleman of great Reputation. They were married *June* 16. *T. Wikes*, p. 88.

(17) The Shrine was of Gold, and no doubt remained there till the 27th of *Henry* VIII, when all ſuch Shrines and Relicks were removed as ſuperſtitious. This Tranſlation was performed on the 13th of *October*, as marked in the Kalendar. *T. Wikes*, p. 88.

1270. his Fears, by procuring a perfect Reconciliation between these two Enemies (1).

St. Lewis lands in Africa to besiege Tunis. T. Wikes. Vignier.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, the King of *France* altered his Design. Instead of going directly to the *Holy-Land*, according to his first intention, he sailed to *Africa*, at the instance of *Charles* King of *Sicily*, his Brother, who was at variance with the King of *Tunis*. He expected the *African* Prince to pay him the same Tribute as his Predecessors paid to the Emperor, with all the Arrears that were due. To support these Pretensions, *Lewis* landed his Army in *Africa*, and was preparing to besiege *Tunis*. But the *Mooriſh* King chose rather to promise to pay what was demanded, than hazard the Loss of his Dominions.

Edward *goes to join the King of* France, *and leaves him in* Africa. M. West. W. Rish. T. Wikes. Hemingf. C. Mailros.

Lewis was sailed for *Africa*, when *Edward* departed from *Portsmouth* (2) to take up the Princess his Spouse at *Bourdeaux*, from whence they went together and embarked at *Aigues Mortes*, where their Fleet waited for them. They joined the King of *France* before *Tunis*, where he was staying for the Performance of the Treaty made with the *Moors*. How urgent soever *Edward* was with this Monarch, to persuade him to continue his Voyage to *Palestine*, he could not prevail with him to stir before he had received full Satisfaction from the King of *Tunis*. As *Edward* was not concerned in that Affair, he resolved to pass the Winter in *Sicily*, with design to proceed for the *Holy-Land* in the beginning of the Spring. He had scarce left the Coasts of *Africa* when the Pestilence broke out in the Camp of the *French*, and raged in such a manner, that it not only swept away the private Soldiers, but also the principal Officers. The King himself being at last seized with it, resigned his breath (3) in the Arms of his eldest Son *Philip*, who thought of nothing but returning to *France* (4).

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 867. *Pestilence among the* French. *Lewis dies of it.* W. Rish.

Though by *Lewis*'s Death, *Edward* lost all hopes of making any great Progress in *Palestine*, he continued his Voyage, and arrived there, according to his Vow (5). Mean time, *Philip*'s return to *France* giving him some cause to fear for *Guienne*, he resolved to send thither his Cousin *Henry*, Son of the King of the *Romans*, to watch the Motions of the *French*. This young Prince, posting to *Bourdeaux*, passed through *Viterbo*, a City in the Pope's Dominions, where he had a mind to make some stay, which cost him his Life. *Guido de Montfort*, Son to the late Earl of *Leicester*, being then at that place, and seeing the Prince go into a Church, followed him, and murdered him before the High-Altar, in revenge of his Father's Death, who was slain in the Battle of *Evesham*. But the Murderer's Pretence to vindicate this infamous Action, could not be more unjust, since neither this Prince, nor his Father the King of the *Romans*, were present at that Battle, being then both under Confinement (6).

Henry *Son of the King of the* Romans *murdered by* Guido de Montfort. W. Rish. T. Wikes. Act. Pub. I. p. 870.

W. Rish. An. Waverl. Hemingf.

1271. Edward *comes to* Palestine. Hemingf.

Edward's Progress in the *Holy-Land* was not great. However, with the few Troops he had, he let the *Saracens* see what they were to expect from him, in case he came to be assisted with more Forces. His Valour, Fame, and the Reputation of King *Richard* his Great-Uncle who had performed such famous Exploits in that Country, so terrified the Infidels, that, to free themselves from their Fears, they sent an Assassin to dispatch him. The Villain, under colour of settling a Correspondence between *Edward* and the Governour of *Joppa*, who feigned a desire to turn Christian, found means to be admitted into the Prince's Presence, and frequently to discourse with him. At last, one day as he was alone in his Chamber (7), he was just going to stab him with a Dagger in the Belly, if *Edward* had not warded off the Blow with his Arm, where he received a dangerous Wound (8). The Assassin, enraged at this Disappointment, was about to redouble his Blow with greater Violence; but *Edward* gave him such a Kick on the Breast, that he beat him down backward, and leaping upon him at the same time, wrested the Dagger out of his hand, and killed him immediately. The Prince's Wound was much more dangerous than it appeared to be, by reason the Dagger was poisoned. The Wound beginning to gangreen, made all despair of a Cure; but happily for him, there was then in the Army a skilful Chirurgeon who delivered him from this Danger. Some affirm, he owed his Life to the tender Love of *Eleonora* his Spouse, who ventured to suck the Venom out of the Wound. But this Circumstance is mentioned by no Author of that time (9). This Princess was brought to Bed at *Acres*, of a Daughter, called *Joan de Acres* from the Place of her Birth, according to the Custom of those Days (10).

1271.

He is wounded by an Assassin, whom he kills. W. Rish. T. Wikes. M. West. Hemingf.

Birth of Joan de Acres. W. Rish.

Whilst *Edward* was in *Palestine*, *Theobald*, Archdeacon of *Liege*, who attended him thither, received the News of his Election to the Papal Throne. He set out immediately for *Rome*, where he assumed the Name of *Gregory* X (11).

Gregory X. Act. Pub. I. p. 879. W. Rish. T. Wikes.

1272. Edward *makes a ten Years Truce with the* Sultan.

Edward's Army daily diminished, either by Sickness or several Battles with the *Saracens*, without his having any hopes of Supplies from *France* or elsewhere. This Consideration obliged him, though with great Reluctance, to propose to the *Sultan* a Truce, which after a short Negotiation was concluded for Ten Years, Ten Months, and Ten Days, both Parties being to keep what they possessed. Nothing detaining *Edward* any longer in *Palestine*, he embarked his Troops, and set sail for *England* (12).

Death of the King of the Romans. T. Wikes. W. Rish.

During his Absence, the King his Father enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, which was disturbed only by the Death of the King of the *Romans* his Brother. It is said this Prince's Grief for the tragical Death of his Son, threw him into a Fit of Sickness, which laid him in his Grave. *Edmund*, his other Son, succeeded him as Earl of *Cornwal*, with which title he was invested by the King his Uncle (13).

Sedition at Norwich. W. Rish. M. West. T. Wikes.

Shortly after, there was a Sedition at *Norwich*, occasioned by a Quarrel between the Citizens and Monks, in which the Cathedral and Monastery adjoining were reduced to Ashes by the Townsmen. *Henry*, resolving not to let this Riot go unpunished, went in Person to *Norwich*, where he caused the Offenders to be severely punished (14). In returning to *London* he was seized at St. *Edmundsbury* with a languishing Distemper, which not seeming to be dangerous, hindered him not from continuing his Journey to *London*. But his Sickness increasing after his Arrival, he died in a few days, aged sixty six Years, whereof he had reigned fifty six, and twenty days. He ordered that his Body should be interred near the Shrine of *Edward the Confessor* in the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*, where his Tomb [with his Statue in Brass] is still to be seen (15).

Death of Henry III. M. West.

Character of him.

This Prince's Character so visibly appears in all the Circumstances of his Life, that it will be needless to draw it more fully. His narrow Genius, his Easiness to be governed by proud and self-interested Counsellors, his inconstant and capricious Temper, and the Notions of arbitrary Power instilled into him from his very Youth, were the real Causes of the Troubles which disturbed his Reign. Too weak when there was occasion for Steddiness, and too

(1) A very remarkable Accident happened this Year, which, though it is of a private Nature, may be worth mentioning. A Suit had been long depending between *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, and *Alan* Lord *Zouche*, concerning a certain Manor; which coming to a Trial before the King's Justices in *Westminster* Hall, there happened to pass very reproachful Language between the Earl and the said Baron; and they at last came to Blows, insomuch that the Earl and his Followers, being privately armed, set upon the Lord *Zouche* and his eldest Son in open Court and wounded them both. After which base Action, he fled to his Castle of *Rygate* in *Surrey*, and stood upon his Defence, but Prince *Edward* was sent with some Forces to reduce him to Obedience. And at last he was fined five thousand Pounds to the King, and two thousand to the Lord *Zouche* and his Son. *T. Wikes*, p. 91. *An. Waverl.* p. 225. *M. West.* p. 399.——This Year a Parliament was held at *London* in *June*. *An. Waverl.* p. 225.

(2) In *May*. *M. West.* p. 400.

(3) *August* 25. *W. Rish.* p. 1006. The 21st. *An. Waverl.* p. 225.

(4) This Year, *April* 8, *Edmund* the King's Son, married *Adelina* Daughter and Heir of *William de Albemarle* Earl of *Holderness*, with whom he had the Earldom of *Devonshire*, and Lordship of the Isle of *Wight*. *W. Rish.* p. 1006. *T. Wikes*, p. 87.

(5) He was so bent upon going, that when he was dissuaded from it in *Sicily*, he smote his Breast and swore, *By the Blood of God, though all shall desert me, yet will I go to* Acon, *if I am attended only by* Fowen *my Groom*. *W. Rish.* p. 1007.

(6) This Murder was committed *March* 31. Both his Cousin Germans *Simon* and *Guido* are said to have a Hand in this Murder. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. I. p. 870. *Henry*'s Body was brought over the next Year into *England*, and buried in the Monastery of *Hayles* in *Gloucestershire* founded by King *Richard* his Father. His Heart was deposited in *Westminster*-Abbey, in a Golden Cup, near St. *Edward*'s Shrine. *M. West.* p. 400. *T. Wikes*, p. 94, 95.

(7) He came to him with Letters, and pretending to have some great Secret, every Person was put out of the Room. *W. Rish.* p. 1007. *T. Wikes*, p. 97. *Hemingford*, p. 591.

(8) He received three Wounds in his Arm, says *W. Rish.* ibid. It was on *June* 17. *T. Wikes*, p. 97, 98.

(9) *Tyrrel* observes that *Camden* in his *Britannia* (in *Middlesex*) is the first that mentions it, and from him *Speed* has transcribed it in his Chronicle. Both of them quote *Rodericus Toletanus*; but that Archbishop, as he says himself, finished his History in the Year 1243, twenty Years before this Accident happened.

(10) She was afterwards married to *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloucester*. *W. Rish.* p. 1006.

(11) This Year, a Parliament was held at *London*, in *January*, wherein the *Disinherited* were restored to their Estates. *An. Waverl.* p. 226.

(12) During *Edward*'s Absence, about *August* 1, died *John* his eldest Son, a Child of great Beauty and Wit for his Age; he was buried in the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*, where his Tomb is still to be seen. *T. Wikes*, p. 96.

(13) *Richard* King of the *Romans* died at *Berkhamsted*, on the 2d of *April*. His Body was buried at the Abbey of *Hayles*, but his Heart at the Priory of *Rewly*, founded by him in the Suburbs of *Oxford*, for the *Cistercian* Monks. *W. Rish.* p. 1007. *M. West.* p. 401. *T. Wikes*, p. 97. *An. Waverl.* p. 226.

(14) They were drawn at Horses Tails to the Gallows, and there hanged, and their Bodies burnt. *W. Rishanger*, p. 1008.——The Citizens of *Norwich* were fined three thousand Marks of Silver, for rebuilding the Church and Monastery; and were besides forced to buy a Gold Cup, weighing ten Pounds of Gold, and the Value of one hundred Pounds of Silver, in the room of one of the same Weight belonging to the Monastery, that was melted in the Flames. *Ibid.* p. 1009.

(15) He died on the 16th of *November*, 1272. *M. West.* p. 401. *T. Wikes*, p. 98. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 226.——In the Year 1281, his Son King *Edward* adorned his Tomb with several curious Stones brought from beyond Sea. *Walsing.* p. 49.

1272. haughty when it was neceſſary to ſtoop and accommodate himſelf to the Times, he ſeemed to ſtudy inceſſantly to act contrary to his own Intereſts. Nothing can be ſaid of his Courage, ſince he never gave any ſenſible proof of it. But he may be juſtly commended for his Continence, and Averſion to every thing that looked like Cruelty, being always ſatisfied with puniſhing the Rebels in their Purſes, when he might have ſpilt their Blood on the Scaffold. He was exceeding greedy of Money, but it was to ſquander it away ſo idly, that the vaſt Sums he levied upon his Subjects made him never the richer. How preſſing ſoever his Neceſſities were, he could not help laviſhing his Money upon his Favorites, not conſidering his great Pains to obtain Aids from his Parliament. This Profuſeneſs, and the immenſe Sums fruitleſly employed in the unfortunate Affair of *Sicily*, were the principal Cauſes of the Mortifications and Diſgraces he was expoſed to during the whole courſe of his Life (1).

Four things to be remarked in the Reign of Henry III.

Four things eſpecially render this Reign remarkable. The firſt is, the Readineſs wherewith the Barons in league againſt King *John* returned to the Obedience of their young Sovereign, the moment they thought their Privileges out of Danger. The ſecond is, the Patience of the Barons, for above forty Years; though the little regard *Henry* had for them, and the continual Breaches of his Oaths, gave them but too much cauſe to complain. In the third place it is to be obſerved, that to the Troubles which diſtracted this Reign, the *Engliſh* are indebted for the Liberties and Privileges they ſtill enjoy at this day. If the Barons of thoſe Days had been more paſſive, it may be very juſtly ſuppoſed, that the two Charters of King *John* would have been buried in eternal Oblivion. If their Revolt proved in the end fatal to themſelves, at leaſt it was beneficial to their Poſterity, ſince the Kings, Succeſſors of *Henry*, dreading to expoſe themſelves to the like Dangers, durſt not any more venture to revoke theſe Charters, which are the Baſis and Foundation of the Liberty of the *Engliſh*. Accordingly, they had time to be ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed by degrees, that there was no annulling them. Let the Earl of *Leiceſter* be exclaimed againſt never ſo much, let him be called impious and wicked for daring to take up Arms againſt his Sovereign, at leaſt it muſt be confeſt, that his Ambition has produced happy Effects for the whole *Engliſh* Nation. The fourth remarkable thing is, the Tyranny of the *Roman* Pontiffs, who abuſing their Power, treated the Clergy of *England* with inconceivable rigour. I ſhould add here an Article of no leſs importance, I mean the Origin of the Houſe of Commons, if the thing were not liable to ſo many Diſputes. 1272.

His Iſſue.

Of nine Children *Henry* III had by *Eleonora* of *Provence* his Wife, only two Sons and two Daughters ſurvived him, the reſt dying in their Infancy (2). *Edward* his eldeſt Son was his Succeſſor. *Edmund* his ſecond Son, after a vain Expectation of the Crown of the two *Sicilies* which the Pope had flattered him with, was Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Derby*, Lord of *Monmouth*, and High Steward of *England*. *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter, was married at nine Years of Age to *Alexander* III, King of *Scotland*, to whom ſhe left but one Daughter of her own Name, Wife of *Eric* King of *Norway*. By this Marriage came a Princeſs of the ſame Name, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following Reign. *Beatrix*, ſecond Daughter to *Henry* was married to *John de Dreux*, Duke of *Bretagne* (3).

(1) *W. Riſhanger* ſays, he was of a middle Stature, ſtrong, and well ſet; and that one of his Eyes was half-cloſed, p. 1009.

(2) Of his four youngeſt Sons, three, *viz. Richard*, *John*, and *Henry*, were buried at *Weſtminſter*; and the fourth, named *William*, in the *New-Temple*, near *Fleetſtreet*: *Catherine* his third Daughter, which was born *November* 29. 1253, died at five Years of Age, and lies buried in *Weſtminſter* Abbey.

(3) In this Reign the following remarkable things, not taken notice of by *Rapin*, were tranſacted. Trial by Fire and Water Ordeal, though never taken away by Act of Parliament, was by King *Henry*'s Command laid aſide by the Judges, and ſoon after grew quite out of uſe. In 1233, King *Henry* built a Houſe in *London* near the Old Temple (where the *Rolls* now ſtand) for the converted *Jews*, and an Hoſpital at *Oxford*, near the Bridge. *M. Paris*, p. 393. Weights and Meaſures were thus fixed: An *Engliſh* Penny called a *Sterling*, round and without clipping, was to weigh thirty two Wheat Corns taken out of the midſt of the Ear, and twenty Pennies were to make an Ounce, twelve Ounces one Pound, and eight Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and eight Gallons of Wine a *London* Buſhel, which is the eighth part of a Quarter.

Having largely treated of Scutage in the laſt Coin-Note, I proceed now to *Tallage*. There were two ſorts of Tallage, one paid to the King, the other to a ſubordinate Lord. The Tallage rendered to the King, was raiſed upon his Demeans, Eſcheats, and Wardſhips; and upon the Burghs and Towns of the Realm. In elder Times, it was called *Donum* and *Aſſiſa*. *Donum* was a general word, and uſed with great Latitude. When it was paid out of Knight's Fees, it was *Scutage*; when by Towns and Burghs, it was *Tallage*; when out of Lands, which were not of military Tenure, it ſignified *Hidage*. So that *Donum* ſignified in general, according as it was applied, either *Aid*, *Scutage*, or *Tallage*. In theſe Senſes, the word *Donum* ſeems to have been uſed in the Reign of King *Stephen*, and in the beginning of *Henry* II. In the ſucceeding times, *Donum* came to be uſed chiefly for *Tallage*. Tallage was alſo called Aſſiſa. The word *Aſſiſa*, ſignified among other things, an Aſſeſſment. It is uſed for the common Charge or Aſſeſſment, made upon a County for Defaults, and other Amercements. The County of *Berks* was charged with thirty one Shillings and three Pence *de communi Aſſiſa*, of that County for Defaults. *Mag. Rot.* 19 *Hen.* I. Thoſe Manors or Lands were, properly, Talliable to the King, which he had in his own Hands. Hence Tallages are commonly ſtiled, *Tallagia Maneriorum & terrarum Regis quæ tunc erant in manu ejus*, *Tallagia Dominicorum*, and the like. Under the Terms *quæ erant in manu ejus*, were comprehended the King's Eſcheats and Wardſhips. For the King held them *tanquam in Dominico*. And in fact, the King's Eſcheats and Wardſhips were wont to be tallaged, when Tallage was aſſeſſed upon his Demeans. Moreover, ſome Serjeanties, of an ignoble and inferior kind, and ſuch as had no military Service annexed to them, were wont to be tallaged with the King's Demeans. But it is to be underſtood, that the King's Serjeanties were not to be tallaged without a ſpecial Precept. If Men were not the King's immediate Tenants, they were tallageable, not to the King, but to their immediate Lord. The Tallages aſſeſſed upon the King's Demeans were more heavy than the Tallages upon other Perſons, living in the Counties at large. For which reaſon, Men ſometimes petitioned, that they might be tallaged with the Community of the County, and not with the Tenants in ancient Demean. When a Town was tallaged, the Tallage was raiſed upon the Men of the Town, and they were properly the Men of the Town, who belonged to the Guild, and made Merchandize in the Town. If the King granted away a Demean-Manor, or Town, (that was wont to be tallaged) *una cum Tallagiis hominum*, then ſuch Manor or Town became tallageable to the Grantee. However, when the King demiſed any ſuch Manor, or granted a temporary Eſtate in it, he uſed to reſerve the Tallages to himſelf and his Heirs. There was alſo in antient Time, a Duty paid to the King, under the Name of *Carucage*; to wit, ſo much for each Carue of Land, holden by baſe, or inferior Tenure. To the head of *Tallage*, (or elſe to that of *Aid*,) may be referred the *None*, *Diſme*, *Quinzime*, *Vintiſme*, *Trentiſme*: which were ſo called from the Quantity or Proportion of the Payment, as their Names import. The moſt antient Inſtance of a *Tallage*, called by the Name of *Decima*, is in the ſixth of *Richard* I. Theſe Quotas, and ſome others, were partly *Seigneurial*, and partly *mixt*. The Form of Taxing and Levying the *Nones*, &c. with the Oaths taken by the Taxors, and the Commiſſions of the Collectors, are to be ſeen upon the Revenue Rolls. In theſe Caſes, the Goods of the chief Taxors were to be taxed by the Treaſurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and the Robes and *Focalia* of the Citizens and Burgeſſes, were not uſually taxed with their other Goods and Moveables. In the moſt antient Times, the Tallages were uſually impoſed, and ſet by the King's Juſticiers in their reſpective *Iters*: Afterwards, by Commiſſioners appointed by the King for that purpoſe. Anciently, after the Tallages had been aſſeſſed, they were uſually collected by the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties. But if a Town happened to be let at Ferm to a particular Perſon, not being Sheriff, then the Tallage was commonly collected and anſwered for by the Farmer, or Provoſt thereof. Tallage was wont to be aſſeſſed upon the Men of the Demeans and Towns, ſometimes in Groſs, *in Communi*; ſometimes by Poll, *per Capita*, or *per Singulos*; at other times, partly one of thoſe ways, and partly the other. If the Aſſeſſors of Tallage over-rated any Man, he uſed to obtain a Writ formed upon his Caſe, directed to the Barons of the Exchequer, who by virtue thereof, would relieve him according to Equity. Sometimes Men were admitted to compound for the Tallage impoſed on them, by paying a Fine to the King for the ſame. Tallage was not demandable from Lands holden in *Frankalmoigne*. Neither was Tallage chargeable upon Lands holden by Knight's Service. Moreover the King, if he pleaſed, granted to particular Perſons, a Freedom from Tallage. For Example, the *Templers* and *Hoſpitallers* of *Jeruſalem*, by a very ancient Grant from the Crown, had the Privilege of having each one Man, (called *Liber Hoſpes*) in every Burgh in *England*, who was to be quit of common Aſſiſes or Tallages, aſſeſſed within the Burgh. As the King had Tallage of his Demean-Men, ſo ſome ſubordinate or private Lords, had Tallage of theirs. Moſt of theſe latter Tallages were alſo Seigneurial. It appears by ancient Records, that many of the Lands which were talliable to private Lords, were ſuch as at one time or other moved from the King, and were wont to be tallaged to him, whilſt they were veſted in the Crown. As when the King granted to a Subject a Demean-Manor, or Town, together with the Homages, Aids, Tallages, and other Profits, to hold to the Grantee, and his Heirs. In ſuch Caſe, the Grantee had Power to tallage the Men of ſuch Manor or Town, to his own uſe, when the King tallaged his Demeans and Manors, throughout *England*; but not otherwiſe, nor oftner, or in other manner, than the King raiſed Tallage in his own Demeans. For the Tenants were not by the King's Grant tallageable to the private Lord, in any other manner than they would have been to the King, if the Seigneury had ſtill reſted in the Crown. And when ſuch a private Lord went to raiſe Tallage, he uſed to have a Writ, *(de habendo rationabili tallagio)* to the Sheriff of the County, to raiſe the ſame. As the King had divers ways of raiſing Money upon his Demean-Men, ſo inferior Lords dealt with their Demean-Men, after the like manner. But though the Tallages, *&c.* paid to the King, do readily appear by the Revenue Rolls and other Records; thoſe formerly rendered to inferior Lords by their Demean-Men, are not ſo eaſily diſcovered at this Day, having in great meaſure paſſed under privacy and ſilence, except that they are ſometimes diſcloſed in Pleas, moved between ſuch Lords and their Men; and likewiſe in the Revenue Rolls, when the Seigneuries of thoſe Lords happened to be in the King's hands, by Eſcheat, Vacancy, or Wardſhip. Private Lords ſeem to have treated their talliable Men with greater Severity than the King treated his. For ſometimes the Farmers have choſen to be talliable to the King, rather than to ſuch Lords; and accordingly have come to the King's Court, and alledged, they were talliable to the King. Theſe are ſome of the Notices relating to Tallage, which the antient Records furniſh us withal. In the ſucceeding Times, a different Law and Uſage were, by Degrees, introduced. There is a Piece publiſhed by *Tothill* and *Redman*, amongſt the old Statutes, under the Title, *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, conſiſting of four Clauſes: It begins *Nullum Tallagium*, and ends *Sint in perpetuum*. Sir *Edward Coke* refers this Statute (if it be one) to the 34 *Edw.* I. But Mr. *Madox* ſays, he could not find this pretended Statute in any Roll or Record. See *Pryn's Hiſt. of Papal Uſurpation, temp. Ed.* I. p. 742——747. Tallage was paid in *Normandy*, in like manner as in *England*.——I proceed to the Revenue ariſing by *Cuſtoms*. The Cuſtom paid to the King, was anciently wont to be called in *Latin*, *Conſuetudo* and *Cuſtuma*. *Conſuetudo* was uſed in an extenſive Senſe, for Payments or Duties of many Kinds. In the 9 *Hen.* III. *Rot.* 6. an Accompt was rendered to the Crown of certain yearly Duties, *Conſuetudines annuæ*, which accrued in the Manor of *Linlee*, and were turned into Money. In the Accompt of the Iſſues of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, during a Voidance, there was anſwered to the Crown, the Sum of XVII *l.* VIIs. VIIId. *ob.* ariſing out of a certain Payment or Duty, *(de quadam Conſuetudine)* called *Kirkethet*, by Sale of three thouſand eighty ſeven Hens. *Mag. Rot.* 12 *Ed. I.* In ſhort, *Conſuetudines* ſignified Regal, Epiſcopal, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dues or Payments, and Exactions of many kinds. There was a *Cuſtom* or Duty, paid to the King for Wines, called *Priſa*, and *Recta Priſa*. The Proportion was one *Dolium* before the Maſt, and another behind the Maſt. It is true, *Priſa* was a Word of equivocal meaning, properly ſignifying *Capture*; and was ſometimes uſed for Captures taken in War; ſometimes for Purveyance, Impoſt, or Capture of other kinds. In ancient times, the Duty for Wines called *Priſa*, was received for the King's Uſe by divers Officers. In the Reigns of *Richard* I. *John*, and part of *Henry* the third's, it was uſually accounted for at the Exchequer, by the Chamberlain of the King's Wines, under the Title of *Camberlangaria*, or *Cameraria Londoniæ*. From thence to *Ed.* II. it was accounted for by Officers ſtiled *Captores*, and *Emptores vinorum Regis*. Under *Ed.* III. and afterwards, by the King's *Pincerna*, or Butler, under the Title of *Pincernaria Regis*. Beſides the Cuſtoms paid the King for Wines, there were other Duties payable to him by Merchants or Traders, for their Merchandiſes imported or exported, and for Commodities conveyed along the River *Thames*. The Duties paid by Merchants were anciently called *Diſmæ*, *Quinzime*, &c. The Duty paid for Trafficking along the *Thames*, at leaſt one ſort of that Duty, was called *Avalagium Thamiſiæ*. In the fifth of *John*, *Hugh Oiſel* profered one thouſand Marks, to have the *Quinzime*, ariſing from Merchandiſes throughout *England*, from Year to Year. In the ſixth of King *John*, *William de Wroteham*, and others, accompted for the *Quinzime* of Merchants at the ſeveral Ports of *England*, except *Len*. The *Quinzime* of *London*, was eight hundred thirty ſix Pounds, *&c.* of *Boſton*, ſeven hundred eighty Pounds, *&c.* of *Len*, ſix hundred fifty one Pounds, *&c.* of *Southampton*, ſeven hundred

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Grandez f.

The Monument of KING HENRY III, *in Westminster Abbey.*

J. V. Schley Sculp. 1735.

1272. haughty when it was neceſſary to ſtoop and accommodate himſelf to the Times, he ſeemed to ſtudy inceſſantly to act contrary to his own Intereſts. Nothing can be ſaid of his Courage, ſince he never gave any ſenſible proof of it. But he may be juſtly commended for his Continence, and Averſion to every thing that looked like Cruelty, being always ſatisfied with puniſhing the Rebels in their Purſes, when he might have ſpilt their Blood on the Scaffold. He was exceeding greedy of Money, but it was to ſquander it away ſo idly, that the vaſt Sums he levied upon his Subjects made him never the richer. How preſſing ſoever his Neceſſities were, he could not help laviſhing his Money upon his Favorites, not conſidering his great Pains to obtain Aids from his Parliament. This Profuſeneſs, and the immenſe Sums fruitleſly employed in the unfortunate Affair of *Sicily*, were the principal Cauſes of the Mortifications and Diſgraces he was expoſed to during the whole courſe of his Life (1).

Four things to be remarked in the Reign of Henry III.

Four things eſpecially render this Reign remarkable. The firſt is, the Readineſs wherewith the Barons in league againſt King *John* returned to the Obedience of their young Sovereign, the moment they thought their Privileges out of Danger. The ſecond is, the Patience of the Barons, for above forty Years; though the little regard *Henry* had for them, and the continual Breaches of his Oaths, gave them but too much cauſe to complain. In the third place it is to be obſerved, that to the Troubles which diſtracted this Reign, the *Engliſh* are indebted for the Liberties and Privileges they ſtill enjoy at this day. If the Barons of thoſe Days had been more paſſive, it may be very juſtly ſuppoſed, that the two Charters of King *John* would have been buried in eternal Oblivion. If their Revolt proved in the end fatal to themſelves, at leaſt it was beneficial to their Poſterity, ſince the Kings, Succeſſors of *Henry*, dreading to expoſe themſelves to the like Dangers, durſt not any more venture to revoke theſe Charters, which are the Baſis and Foundation of the Liberty of the *Engliſh*. Accordingly, they had time to be ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed by degrees, that there was no annulling them. Let the Earl of *Leiceſter* be exclaimed againſt never ſo much, let him be called impious and wicked for daring to take up Arms againſt his Sovereign, at leaſt it muſt be confeſt, that his Ambition has produced happy Effects for the whole *Engliſh* Nation. The fourth remarkable thing is, the Tyranny of the *Roman* Pontiffs, who abuſing their Power, treated the Clergy of *England* with inconceivable rigour. I ſhould add here an Article of no leſs importance, I mean the Origin of the Houſe of Commons, if the thing were not liable to ſo many Diſputes. 1272.

His Iſſue.

Of nine Children *Henry* III had by *Eleonora* of *Provence* his Wife, only two Sons and two Daughters ſurvived him, the reſt dying in their Infancy (2). *Edward* his eldeſt Son was his Succeſſor. *Edmund* his ſecond Son, after a vain Expectation of the Crown of the two *Sicilies* which the Pope had flattered him with, was Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Derby*, Lord of *Monmouth*, and High Steward of *England*. *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter, was married at nine Years of Age to *Alexander* III, King of *Scotland*, to whom ſhe left but one Daughter of her own Name, Wife of *Eric* King of *Norway*. By this Marriage came a Princeſs of the ſame Name, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following Reign. *Beatrix*, ſecond Daughter to *Henry* was married to *John de Dreux*, Duke of *Bretagne* (3).

(1) *W. Riſbanger* ſays, he was of a middle Stature, ſtrong, and well ſet; and that one of his Eyes was half-cloſed, p. 1009.

(2) Of his four youngeſt Sons, three, *viz. Richard*, *John*, and *Henry*, were buried at *Weſtminſter*; and the fourth, named *William*, in the *New-Temple*, near *Fleetſtreet*: *Catherine* his third Daughter, which was born *November* 29. 1253, died at five Years of Age, and lies buried in *Weſtminſter* Abbey.

(3) In this Reign the following remarkable things, not taken notice of by *Rapin*, were tranſacted. Trial by Fire and Water Ordeal, though never taken away by Act of Parliament, was by King *Henry*'s Command laid aſide by the Judges, and ſoon after grew quite out of uſe. In 1233, King *Henry* built a Houſe in *London* near the Old Temple (where the *Rolls* now ſtand) for the converted *Jews*, and an Hoſpital at *Oxford*, near the Bridge. *M. Paris*, p. 393. Weights and Meaſures were thus fixed: An *Engliſh* Penny called a *Sterling*, round and without clipping, was to weigh thirty two Wheat Corns taken out of the midſt of the Ear, and twenty Pennies were to make an Ounce, twelve Ounces one Pound, and eight Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and eight Gallons of Wine a *London* Buſhel, which is the eighth part of a Quarter.

Having largely treated of Scutage in the laſt Coin-Note, I proceed now to *Tallage*. There were two ſorts of Tallage, one paid to the King, the other to a ſubordinate Lord. The Tallage rendered to the King, was raiſed upon his Demeans, Eſcheats, and Wardſhips; and upon the Burghs and Towns of the Realm. In elder Times, it was called *Donum* and *Aſſiſa*. *Donum* was a general word, and uſed with great Latitude. When it was paid out of Knight's Fees, it was *Scutage*; when by Towns and Burghs, it was *Tallage*; when out of Lands, which were not of military Tenure, it ſignified *Hidage*. So that *Donum* ſignified in general, according as it was applied, either *Aid*, *Scutage*, or *Tallage*. In theſe Senſes, the word *Donum* ſeems to have been uſed in the Reign of King *Stephen*, and in the beginning of *Henry* II. In the ſucceeding times, *Donum* came to be uſed chiefly for *Tallage*. Tallage was alſo called Aſſiſa. The word *Aſſiſa*, ſignified among other things, an Aſſeſſment. It is uſed for the common Charge or Aſſeſſment, made upon a County for Defaults, and other Amercements. The County of *Berks* was charged with thirty one Shillings and three Pence *de communi Aſſiſa*, of that County for Defaults. *Mag. Rot.* 19 *Hen.* I. Thoſe Manors or Lands were, properly, Talliable to the King, which he had in his own Hands. Hence Tallages are commonly ſtiled, *Tallagia Maneriorum & terrarum Regis quæ tunc erant in manu ejus*, *Tallagia Dominicorum*, and the like. Under the Terms *quæ erant in manu ejus*, were comprehended the King's Eſcheats and Wardſhips. For the King held them *tanquam in Dominico*. And in fact, the King's Eſcheats and Wardſhips were wont to be tallaged, when Tallage was aſſeſſed upon his Demeans. Moreover, ſome Serjeanties, of an ignoble and inferior kind, and ſuch as had no military Service annexed to them, were wont to be tallaged with the King's Demeans. But it is to be underſtood, that the King's Serjeanties were not to be tallaged without a ſpecial Precept. If Men were not the King's immediate Tenants, they were tallageable, not to the King, but to their immediate Lord. The Tallages aſſeſſed upon the King's Demeans were more heavy than the Tallages upon other Perſons, living in the Counties at large. For which reaſon, Men ſometimes petitioned, that they might be tallaged with the Community of the County, and not with the Tenants in ancient Demean. When a Town was tallaged, the Tallage was raiſed upon the Men of the Town, and they were properly the Men of the Town, who belonged to the Guild, and made Merchandize in the Town. If the King granted away a Demean-Manor, or Town, (that was wont to be tallaged) *una cum Tallagiis hominum*, then ſuch Manor or Town became tallageable to the Grantee. However, when the King demiſed any ſuch Manor, or granted a temporary Eſtate in it, he uſed to reſerve the Tallages to himſelf and his Heirs. There was alſo in antient Time, a Duty paid to the King, under the Name of *Cainagium*; to wit, ſo much for each Carue of Land, holden by baſe, or inferior Tenure. To the head of *Tallage*, (or elſe to that of *Aid*,) may be referred the *None*, *Diſme*, *Quinzime*, *Vintiſme*, *Trentiſme*: which were ſo called from the Quantity or Proportion of the Payment, as their Names import. The moſt antient Inſtance of a *Tallage*, called by the Name of *Decima*, is in the ſixth of *Richard* I. Theſe Quotas, and ſome others, were partly *Seigneurial*, and partly *mixt*. The Form of Taxing and Levying the *Nones*, &c. with the Oaths taken by the Taxors, and the Commiſſions of the Collectors, are to be ſeen upon the Revenue Rolls. In theſe Caſes, the Goods of the chief Taxors were to be taxed by the Treaſurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and the Robes and *Jocalia* of the Citizens and Burgeſſes, were not uſually taxed with their other Goods and Moveables. In the moſt antient Times, the Tallages were uſually impoſed, and ſet by the King's Juſticiers in their reſpective *Iters*: Afterwards, by Commiſſioners appointed by the King for that purpoſe. Anciently, after the Tallages had been aſſeſſed, they were uſually collected by the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties. But if a Town happened to be let at Ferm to a particular Perſon, not being Sheriff, then the Tallage was commonly collected and anſwered for by the Farmer, or Provoſt thereof. Tallage was wont to be aſſeſſed upon the Men of the Demeans and Towns, ſometimes in Groſs, *in Communi*; ſometimes by Poll, *per Capita*, or *per Singulos*; at other times, partly one of thoſe ways, and partly the other. If the Aſſeſſors of Tallage over-rated any Man, he uſed to obtain a Writ formed upon his Caſe, directed to the Barons of the Exchequer, who by virtue thereof, would relieve him according to Equity. Sometimes Men were admitted to compound for the Tallage impoſed on them, by paying a Fine to the King for the ſame. Tallage was not demandable from Lands holden in *Frankalmoigne*. Neither was Tallage chargeable upon Lands holden by Knight's Service. Moreover the King, if he pleaſed, granted to particular Perſons, a Freedom from Tallage. For Example, the *Templers* and *Hoſpitallers* of *Jeruſalem*, by a very ancient Grant from the Crown, had the Privilege of having each one Man, (called *Liber Hoſpes*) in every Burgh in *England*, who was to be quit of common Aſſiſes or Tallages, aſſeſſed within the Burgh. As the King had Tallage of his Demean-Men, ſo ſome ſubordinate or private Lords, had Tallage of theirs. Moſt of theſe latter Tallages were alſo Seigneurial. It appears by ancient Records, that many of the Lands which were talliable to private Lords, were ſuch as at one time or other moved from the King, and were wont to be tallaged to him, whilſt they were veſted in the Crown. As when the King granted to a Subject a Demean-Manor, or Town, together with the Homages, Aids, Tallages, and other Profits, to hold to the Grantee, and his Heirs. In ſuch Caſe, the Grantee had Power to tallage the Men of ſuch Manor or Town, to his own uſe, when the King tallaged his Demeans and Manors, throughout *England*; but not otherwiſe, nor oftner, or in other manner, than the King raiſed Tallage in his own Demeans. For the Tenants were not by the King's Grant tallageable to the private Lord, in any other manner than they would have been to the King, if the Seigneury had ſtill reſted in the Crown. And when ſuch a private Lord went to raiſe Tallage, he uſed to have a Writ, *(de habendo rationabili tallagio)* to the Sheriff of the County, to raiſe the ſame. As the King had divers ways of raiſing Money upon his Demean-Men, ſo inferior Lords dealt with their Demean-Men, after the like manner. But though the Tallages, *&c.* paid to the King, do readily appear by the Revenue Rolls and other Records; thoſe formerly rendered to inferior Lords by their Demean-Men, are not ſo eaſily diſcovered at this Day, having in great meaſure paſſed under privacy and ſilence, except that they are ſometimes diſcloſed in Pleas, moved between ſuch Lords and their Men; and likewiſe in the Revenue Rolls, when the Seigneuries of thoſe Lords happened to be in the King's hands, by Eſcheat, Vacancy, or Wardſhip. Private Lords ſeem to have treated their talliable Men with greater Severity than the King treated his. For ſometimes the Farmers have choſen to be talliable to the King, rather than to ſuch Lords; and accordingly have come to the King's Court, and alledged, they were talliable to the King. Theſe are ſome of the Notices relating to Tallage, which the antient Records furniſh us withal. In the ſucceeding Times, a different Law and Uſage were, by Degrees, introduced. There is a Piece publiſhed by *Tothill* and *Redman*, amongſt the old Statutes, under the Title, *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, conſiſting of four Clauſes: It begins *Nullum Tallagium*, and ends *Sint in perpetuum*. Sir *Edward Coke* refers this Statute (if it be one) to the 34 *Edw.* I. But Mr. *Madox* ſays, he could not find this pretended Statute in any Roll or Record. See *Pryn's Hiſt. of Papal Uſurpation, temp. Ed.* I. p. 742——747. Tallage was paid in *Normandy*, in like manner as in *England*.——I proceed to the Revenue ariſing by *Cuſtoms*. The Cuſtom paid to the King, was anciently wont to be called in *Latin*, *Conſuetudo* and *Conſuma*. *Conſuetudo* was uſed in an extenſive Senſe, for Payments or Duties of many Kinds. In the 9 *Hen.* III. *Rot.* 6. an Accompt was rendered to the Crown of certain yearly Duties, *Conſuetudines annuæ*, which accrued in the Manor of *Linlee*, and were turned into Money. In the Accompt of the Iſſues of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, during a Voidance, there was anſwered to the Crown, the Sum of XVII *l.* VIII *s.* VIII *d. ob.* ariſing out of a certain Payment or Duty, *(de quadam Conſuetudine)* called *Kirketbet*, by Sale of three thouſand eighty ſeven Hens. *Mag. Rot.* 12 *Ed.* I. In ſhort, *Conſuetudines* ſignified Regal, Epiſcopal, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dues or Payments, and Exactions of many kinds. There was a *Cuſtom* or Duty, paid to the King for Wines, called *Priſa*, and *Recta Priſa*. The Proportion was one *Dolium* before the Maſt, and another behind the Maſt. It is true, *Priſa* was a Word of equivocal meaning, properly ſignifying *Capture*; and was ſometimes uſed for Captures taken in War; ſometimes for Purveyance, Impoſt, or Capture of other kinds. In ancient times, the Duty for Wines called *Priſa*, was received for the King's Uſe by divers Officers. In the Reigns of *Richard* I. *John*, and part of *Henry* the third's, it was uſually accounted for at the Exchequer, by the Chamberlain of the King's Wines, under the Title of *Camberlangaria*, or *Cameraria Londoniæ*. From thence to *Ed.* II. it was accounted for by Officers ſtiled *Captores*, and *Emptores vinorum Regis*. Under *Ed.* III. and afterwards, by the King's *Pincerna*, or Butler, under the Title of *Pincernaria Regis*. Beſides the Cuſtoms paid the King for Wines, there were other Duties payable to him by Merchants or Traders, for their Merchandiſes imported or exported, and for Commodities conveyed along the River *Thames*. The Duties paid by Merchants were anciently called *Diſme*, *Quinzime*, &c. The Duty paid for Trafficking along the *Thames*, at leaſt one ſort of that Duty, was called *Avalagium Thamiſiæ*. In the fifth of *John*, *Hugh Oiſel* profered one thouſand Marks, to have the *Quinzime*, ariſing from Merchandiſes throughout *England*, from Year to Year. In the ſixth of King *John*, *William de Wrotebam*, and others, accompted for the *Quinzime* of Merchants at the ſeveral Ports of *England*, except *Len*. The *Quinzime* of *London*, was eight hundred thirty ſix Pounds, *&c.* of *Briſtow*, ſeven hundred eighty Pounds, *&c.* of *Len*, ſix hundred fifty one Pounds, *&c.* of *Southampton*, ſeven hundred

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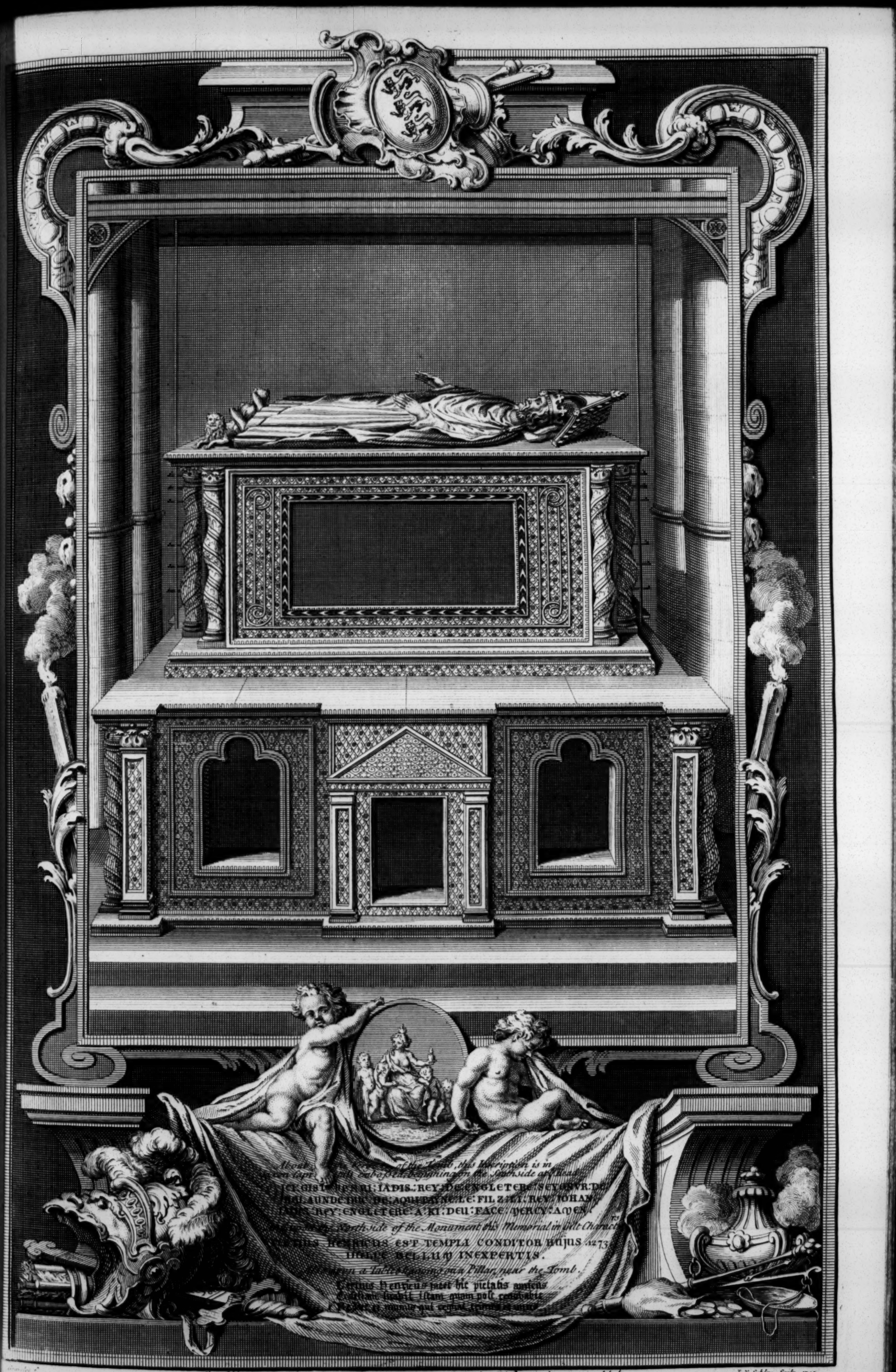


The Monument of KING HENRY III, *in Westminster Abbey.*

J. V. Sibley Sculp. 1735.

hundred and twelve Pounds, &c. In the forty-firſt of *Henry* III, *William de la Lake* was in Arrear ſix Marks and a Half, for the Term of *Avalage* of the *Thames*. This *Avalage* was a ſort of Toll. To theſe may be added, the Duties paid to the King's Chamberlain of *London* for his uſe, the Duties ariſing at *Billingſgate*, and by Tfouage, &c. In the third of *Rich.* I. *Stephen de Blund* accompted for the Ferm of the *Troue* and Sextury of *London*. In 19 *Ed.* II. the keepers of the *Trouage* appeared by the Rolls to be free from accounting for the ſame, tho' by what Grant, or other means, is not known. In 9 *Hen.* III, *Andrew Buckerel*, and *John Trevers*, had *Ripa Reginæ*, or *Queen-Hith*, in Ferm, at forty Pounds *per Annum*. In proceſs of Time, the King's Cuſtoms came to be moſt generally called *Cuſtuma*. In 26 *Ed.* I. there was payable to the King for Cuſtoms, for every Sack of Wool exported from *Len*, half a Mark; for every three hundred *pelles lanutæ*, half a Mark; and for every Laſt of Leather, one Mark. A Writ was iſſued to the Sheriffs of ten Counties to make Proclamation, that all Merchants ſhould carry Merchandiſes of that ſort to the ſaid Port, when they exported them. The Cuſtomers of *Len*, were *Hugh de Meſſingham*, and *Ranulph le Ken*. In like manner, Cuſtomers were appointed for ſeveral other Ports, as *New-Caſtle*, *Kingſton upon Hull*, *Briſtol*, *London*, &c. If Merchants defrauded the King of his Cuſtoms, they forfeited their Goods uncuſtomed.——The VIIth Branch of the Royal Revenue, was the caſual Revenue, which accrued to the King ſeveral ways. Of this ſort were Treaſure Trove, Waif, Wreck, Chattels of Felons and Fugitives, of Out-laws, Uſurers, Recreants, Perſons executed, &c. The King had, in ſome Caſes, the Lands of Perſons condemned, for a Year and a Day after their Condemnation; which was uſually called *the Year, Day, and Waſte*. In relation to the Chattels of Felons, if the Party died after the felonious Fact, and before Conviction, his Chattels were not by the common Law forfeited to the King. Upon peruſal of the ancient Revenue Rolls, it appears that in thoſe times, many Branches of the King's fixed Revenue were charged with Alms, that is, ſome Portion was generally allowed for pious Uſes. This was called *Eleemoſyna conſtituta*, *ſettled Alms*. To which may be added, the *Decimæ conſtitutæ*. Theſe the Accomptant conſtantly paid out of the Revenue within his Receipt, and had an Allowance thereof upon his Accompt, by the uſage of the Exchequer, without being obliged to ſue out a particular Writ of Allowance in that behalf. Divers Orders of Monks had theſe yearly Alms or *Decimæ*. Moreover ſeveral Penſions were wont to be paid to certain of the King's Servants, when diſabled by Age or Sickneſs, *viz.* a Penny, three Half-pence, two Pence a Day. Theſe were called *denarius diurnus*, *duo denarii diurni*, &c. and were uſually charged on the Ferm of ſome Sheriff, or other Accomptant. When Perſons made Fine with the King for ſeveral Purpoſes, they paid to the Queen a Duty, or Sum called *Aurum Reginæ*, over and above their Fine to the King. Mr. *Prynn* has publiſhed a Treatiſe expreſly upon this Subject. In the thirteenth of King *John*, *James de novo Mercato*, was charged with five Marks and Half of Gold, of *Aurum Reginæ*, for his Father's and Brother's Relief, and his own. When Men were indebted to the Queen for the *Aurum Reginæ*, She herſelf ſometimes reſpited or diſcharged the Debt, as ſhe thought fit. For every hundred Marks paid the King, the Queen had one Mark of Gold. In the ſixteenth of King *John*, *William Morant* fined fifty Marks, for Seiſin of his Land, and paid half a Mark of Gold as *Aurum Reginæ*, with the ſaid Fine. *Mag. Rot.* 10 *Joh. Rot.* 5.

Having thus gone through the ſeveral Branches of the Royal Revenue, I ſhall cloſe all with an Account of the Exchequer of the *Jews*. The King of *England* was wont to draw a conſiderable Revenue from the *Jews* reſiding in this Realm; namely, by Tallage and Fines relating to Law-Proceedings, by Amerciaments for Miſdemeanors, and by Fines, Ranſoms, Compoſitions, which they were forced to pay, for having the King's Benevolence; for Protection, for Licence to trade, for Diſcharges, for Impriſonment, and the like. He would Tallage the whole Community or Body at pleaſure, and make them anſwer the Tallages for one another. In ſhort, the King ſeemed to be abſolute Lord of their Eſtates and Effects, of their Perſons, their Wives and Children. They were a numerous Body, (being ſettled in many, and eſpecially the great Towns of the Realm) and by Traffick, Uſury, and Mortgages, they became very wealthy, both in Money and Land. But as they fleec'd the Subjects, ſo the King fleec'd them. The Receit, or place appointed for the Management of the Revenue of the *Judaiſm*, was called *Scaccarium Judæorum*, or *Judaiſmi*. It was a Part or Member of the great Exchequer. They had there Rolls or Records, wherein the Writs and Proceedings of the *Judaiſm* were entered. And Summonces iſſued out of the Exchequer of the *Jews* for the King's Debts, like as out of the great Exchequer. In fine, there was alſo a Wardrobe of the *Judaiſm* near the Exchequer of the *Jews*. In the forty-fourth of *Henry* III. it was broke open, and ſeveral Rolls taken away. Certain Perſons were aſſigned to be Curators of this Revenue; they were uſually ſtiled *Cuſtodes* and *Juſticiarii Judæorum*. In the moſt antient times, they were commonly *Chriſtians* and *Jews* appointed to act together. Afterwards they were, for the moſt part, *Chriſtians* only. They were uſually put into their Office by the King, by Letters of the Great-Seal. But ſometimes the Treaſurer and Barons appointed a Juſtice of the *Jews*, and other Clerks of the *Judaiſm*, by the King's Direction. Theſe Juſtices of the *Jews* exerciſed Juriſdiction in the Affairs of the *Judaiſm*; namely, in the Accompts of the Revenue; in Pleas upon Contracts made with the *Jews*; in Cauſes and Queſtions touching their Lands or Chattels, their Tallages, Fines, Forfeitures, and the like. They recorded in the Great Exchequer, as there was occaſion, things within their Cognizance, relating to the *Judaiſm*. They made their Record or Declaration before the Barons of the Exchequer, and the Barons adjudged thereupon. In fine, they were looked upon to be Members or Officers of the Great Exchequer, and entitled to the Privileges belonging to Perſons reſident there. The *Jewiſh* Charters (as the Charters of other Men) were uſually called *Chartæ* and *Chirographa*. Some of them were called *Starra*, *Stars*; a Name of *Hebraical* Origin. Moſt of theſe *Stars* were Releaſes or Acquittances, and written ſometimes in *Hebrew*, ſometimes in *Latin*, and ſometimes in *French*. *Selden* has publiſhed two in *Hebrew*. *Tit. Hon.* p. 644. The moſt antient *Jewiſh* Charter to be met with, is that of *Aaron*, the *Jew* of *Lincoln*, in 22 *Hen.* II, the Tenor whereof is entered in the great Roll of the ninth of *Rich* I. It is a kind of Releaſe. When the *Jews* made any Charter or Contract, one part of it was to be laid up in a publick Cheſt provided for that purpoſe, called *the Cheſt of the Chirographi*, or of the *Chirographers*. This part of the *Chirograph* was called *Pes Chirographi*. Beſides ſeveral Clerks, who were employed in writing the Rolls and *Memoranda* of the *Judaiſm*, there were certain Officers called *Chirographarii* and *Coffrarii*, who had Cuſtody of the Cheſts above-mentioned, and of the *Chirographs* and Charters made between the *Jews*, or between them and *Chriſtians*. It is likely they made Liſts or Dockets in writing of all the *Chirographs* that were put in or taken out of the Cheſts. In the Archive of the Collegiate Church of *Weſtminſter* there is a Roll of theſe *Dockets*. It begins at the 9th of *Henry* III. The Chirographers were commonly *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, acting together, and were planted in Towns, where there was a conſiderable Number of *Jews*, as at *Lincoln*, *Oxford*, &c. The Cheſts of the Chirographers were kept with great care. At certain times, they were locked up, and not to be opened again, except at ſuch Terms, or by Precept from the King, or the Barons of the Exchequer, or Juſtices of the *Jews*. When the Cheſts were opened, it was done publickly, in the preſence of the Sheriff, (if in the Country) and of the Chirographers and Cofferers, or (if in *London*) before the Barons of the Exchequer, or Juſtices of the *Jews*, or other principal Officers of the *Judaiſm*. The King, by Writ, ordered the Sheriff of *Wiltſhire* to go to the Cheſt of the Chirographers at *Wilton*, and take out, in their Preſence, all the *Pedes* whereby any Debt was ſecured to *Solomon* the *Jew*, and bring them before the Barons of the Exchequer. *Mem.* 42. *Hen.* III. *Rot.* 10. If a Charter made to a *Jew* was loſt, or could not be found in the Cheſt; it was uſual for the *Jew* to whom it was made, when he was ſatisfied the Money was due upon it, to come and make an Acknowledgment in the Exchequer, by way of Releaſe to the Party. The having one part of the *Jewiſh* Chirographs laid up in the King's Treaſury, was chiefly to prevent the Falſity of the *Jews*, and to enable the King to recover the Eſtates and Credits of the *Jews*, and to get them into his Coffers, whenever they ſhould become (as they often did) forfeited, or devolute to the Crown. Beſides the Chirographers, the Juſtices of the *Jews* had Clerks under them. There was a *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and probably other Officers. The *Judaiſm* ſeems to have been guided in general by the Uſe of the Exchequer, except that in ſome Caſes there was a peculiar Law or Rule, called the Law *Aſſize*, or Cuſtom of *Judaiſm*. It appears that the *Jews* held certain *Chapters* or *Meetings* for Affairs relating to themſelves. In the Reign of *Richard* I. certain Rules, entitled, *Capitula de Judæis*, were made and given in charge to the Juſtices Errant. They are printed in *Hoveden*, P. II. p. 745. As to the Aſſizes of the *Judaiſm*, where a Contract was made by Chirograph between a Chriſtian and a *Jew*, if a *Pes* (or Counterpart) of ſuch Contract was not found in the Cheſt of the King's Chirographers, the *Jew* was to loſe his Debt accruing upon ſuch Contract. If a *Jew* made a *Star* of Releaſe ſecretly, it was held invalid. By the Aſſize of the *Judaiſm*, the *Jews* might have a Moiety of the Lands, Rents, and Chattels of their Chriſtian Creditors in Execution, till they were ſatisfied for the Debt due to them. The *Jews* paid *Relief* for their Lands and for their Chattels, or Money inſtead of or under the Name of *Relief*. The King had the Wardſhip of a *Jew*'s Heir, and his Lands and Chattels. A *Jew*'s Wife might have Dower or Thirds out of her Huſband's Credits and Chattels. In the 37th of *Hen.* III, it was provided, that no *Jew* ſhould remain in *England* without doing the King ſome Service: That there ſhould be no Schools for *Jews* in *England*, except in Places where ſuch Schools were wont to be in King *John*'s Reign: That all *Jews* in their Synagogues ſhould celebrate with a low Voice: That every *Jew* ſhould be anſwerable to the Rector of his Pariſh for all Parochial Dues chargeable on his Houſe: That no *Chriſtian* ſhould ſuckle the Child of a *Jew*, nor any Chriſtian Man or Woman ſerve any *Jew* or *Jeweſs*, nor eat with them, or abide in their Houſe: That no *Jew* ſhould have ſecret Familiarity with a Chriſtian Woman, nor any Chriſtian Man with a *Jeweſs*: That no *Jew* or *Jeweſs* ſhould eat or buy fleſh in *Lent*: That every *Jew* ſhould wear a Badge upon his Breaſt: That no *Jew* ſhould enter into any Church or Chapel, unleſs in paſſing to and fro: That no *Jew* ſhould hinder another *Jew*, who was willing to turn Chriſtian: And that no *Jew* ſhould be ſuffered to abide in any Town, without the King's Licence, except in Towns where *Jews* were formerly wont to reſide. Theſe Articles were to be obſerved by the *Jews*, under pain of forfeiting their Goods. *Clauſ.* 77. *Hen.* III. m. 18. Though the Exchequer of the *Jews* was, to ſome Purpoſes, diſtinct from the Great Exchequer, yet both the Exchequer of the *Jews*, and the Acts and proceedings of the Juſtices and Chirographers of the *Jews*, were ſubject to the Controll of the Chief Juſticiary, and Treaſurer, and Barons of the Exchequer. The Debts due from Chriſtians to *Jews*, were ſubject to ſuch Orders as the King thought fit to make. Sometimes the King would grant Reſpites for the Payment of ſuch Debts, and ſometimes would diſcharge the Debts thereof. Again, the Juſtices of the *Jews* were wont to accompt before the Barons of the Exchequer, for the Iſſues of *Judaiſm*. And if they miſ-behaved, they were anſwerable for the ſame before the Barons, who, if there was cauſe, annulled their Acts or Judgments, and puniſhed them for Miſdemeanors in their Office. In general, the King was wont to uſe the *Jews* with Severity when refractory, and ſhewed them Favour when obedient and compliant. King *John*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, granted a Charter of Liberties to the *Jews* of *England* and *Normandy*, which the curious Reader may ſee in *Madox's Hiſt. of the Exchequer*, p. 174. *Henry* III, for the Support of ſuch *Jews* as embraced the Chriſtian Religion, and were deſtitute of livelihood, founded a Houſe at *London* called *Domus Converſorum*, *The Houſe for the Converts*, and endowed it with a competent Revenue. This Houſe was uſually committed by the King to the Care and Rule of ſome Clergyman of Diſtinction, called *Cuſtos Domus Converſorum*, and *Gardein des Converſes*. It was ſituate in *Chancellor-Lane*, near the *New-Temple*, and hath been called in the modern times, *The Rolls*. Although the *Jews* were permitted to ſettle in ſeveral populous Towns, it is likely they were not welcome to the Inhabitants. One of the Liberties granted by *Henry* III to the Men of *Newcaſtle*, was, That no *Jew* ſhould dwell or ſtay in the Town, ch. 18. *Hen.* m. 16. There is frequent mention in Records of an *Epiſcopus* and *Preſbyter Judæorum*. What they mean may in ſome meaſure be learned from this Caſe. *Henry* III appointed the Juſtices of the *Jews*, to try *Elias the Biſhop*, a *Jew* of *London*, for a Treſpaſs againſt the King and his Brother; *Elias* being convicted, was by the ſaid Juſtices adjudged to be deprived of his *Prieſthood of the Community* of the *Jews* in *England*. Hereupon the King, for a Fine of three Marks of Gold paid him on behalf of the Community of the *Jews*, granted them that *Elias* ſhould never afterwards have the ſaid Prieſthood: That for the future, no Man ſhould be [Chief] Prieſt of the *Jews*, without being choſen by the Conſent of their Community; and that the ſaid Community ſhould have free Power, after the Deceaſe of any Chief Prieſt, to elect another at their Pleaſure, and preſent him to the King for his Approbation. In the Year 1290, (18 *Ed.* I.) the growing or renewing Revenue of *Judaiſm* and the Exchequer of the *Jews* ceaſed; the *Jews* being about that time expelled out of *England*. But by the Expulſion of the *Jews* (called then *exilium Judæorum*) many Eſcheats, both of Lands and Chattels, came into the King's Hands.

H3

H3

The Coins of *Henry* III. are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed, by always having his Number (III) added to his Title, as HENRICUS. REX III. or REX TERCI. His Head is full-fac'd and crowned, whereof there are two ſorts; one with a Sceptre, the other without. The Crown (inſtead of the five Points as formerly) conſiſts of a thick Line, rais'd at each end, with a Croſs in the middle above the Line, and three Pearls below. Inſtead of the four Pellets, on the Reverſe, in form of a Croſs, are three in form of a Triangle, and a large double line Croſs, continued to the outer Rim. This King was the firſt that coined Half-Pence and Farthings round, (as appears by one in the Poſſeſſion of the Earl of *Pembroke*) before which time they uſed to break the Penny into Halves and Quarters. The Manuſcript Chronicle of the City of *London* ſays, this King, in 1258, coined a Penny of pure Gold of the Weight of two *Sterlings*, and commanded it ſhould go for twenty Shillings. If this be true, theſe were the firſt Pieces of Gold coined in *England*. But none of theſe are to be found. The Clippers made ſuch havock of the Money in this Reign, that there was hardly a Penny to be ſeen, which had not loſt the Letters on both Sides; ſo that the King was obliged to command all Traders to receive and pay Money by Weight. This was chiefly owing to the *Italian* Bankers, ſent hither under the Pope's Protection.

THE

THE STATE of the CHURCH, DURING THE *Reigns of* HENRY II, RICHARD I, JOHN LACKLAND, *and* HENRY III.

State of the Church.

DURING the four laſt Reigns which we have juſt gone through, the Affairs of the Church were ſo mixed with thoſe of the State, that there was a neceſſity of relating them together. And indeed, the Conteſts between *Henry* II, and *Thomas Becket*, and between *John* and *Innocent* III, and the Tyranny exerciſed by the Popes in *England* under *Henry* III, furniſh the chief Materials for the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of theſe three Reigns. That of *Richard* I, was the only one where the Church had no influence; unleſs we are to conſider the Cruſade, in which that Prince was engaged, as an Affair purely Eccleſiaſtical. There are who look upon theſe four Reigns as a time of Triumph for the Church, becauſe in their notion of the Church the Pope and Clergy only are included. Others are of opinion, this was a time of Oppreſſion and Slavery, becauſe Chriſtians were expoſed to the Oppreſſions of the Popes, who ſhamefully abuſed the Authority they were ſuffered to aſſume.

The bare reading of the Hiſtory of theſe four Reigns is ſufficient to ſhew, it is not without reaſon that I have ſo much inlarged on the prodigious Increaſe of the Papal Power, ſince it was to be the principal Subject of the enſuing Hiſtory. We have ſeen the pernicious Effects of this Power aſſumed by the Popes. It remains now to ſhew on what Principles they eſtabliſhed their Authority, and the Conſequences they drew from thence, to extend it more and more. This is a thing the more worthy of notice, as it is to be conſidered as the Spring of all the remakable Events which happened in the Church of *England* for ſeveral Centuries.

Principles on which the Eccleſiaſtical Power was eſtabliſhed. Firſt Principle.

The firſt Principle was, That *Jeſus Chriſt* committed the Inſtruction of the *Faithful*, to the care of the Miniſters of his Church, from whence were drawn theſe two Inferences. *Firſt*, That the *Faithful* ought to ſubmit to the Deciſions of theſe ſame Miniſters in matters of Faith. *Secondly*, That Laymen had no manner of Right to decide, or even to examine, the Difficulties which might ariſe about theſe matters, but ought implicitely to follow the Determinations of the Eccleſiaſticks. This manifeſtly ſuppoſes Infallibility in the Miniſters of the Church. But as this Suppoſition was founded upon the Promiſes of Chriſt to his Church in general, and as the Conſequence drawn from thence, for the Infallibility of the Miniſters in particular, was not ſufficiently evident, an Expedient was found to blind the eyes of the World, by confounding the general Notion of the Church with that of the Clergy in particular. Thus by degrees the Clergy alone were called the Church, and to them only were applied the Promiſes of Chriſt, made to all Chriſtians in general. So that, in ſaying with *Chriſt*, the Gates of Hell ſhould not prevail againſt the Church, they expreſly meant, that the Clergy or Councils, wholly conſiſting of the ſeveral Members of the Clergy, ſhould be infallible in their Deciſions. The Miſinterpretation therefore of the Word *Church*, was one of the chief Cauſes of the Blindneſs of Chriſtians. The Reader will be able to extend his Reflections on this head; for I purpoſe only juſt to point out the ſeveral Steps by which the Eccleſiaſtical Power is arrived to ſo prodigious a Height.

Second Principle.

The ſecond Principle was, That *Jeſus Chriſt* not only appointed Miniſters in his Church, for the Inſtruction of the *Faithful*, but alſo to inſpect their Life and Converſation. Hence it was inferred, That it belonged to the Paſtors to declare to their Flocks, what was juſt and agreeable to the Laws of God, and what not. From this Principle was drawn this farther Conſequence, that not only they had a Right to exhort the *Faithful*, and cenſure them when they neglected their Duty, but alſo to puniſh them when in a ſtate of Impenitence.

Third Principle.

For a third Principle it was laid down, That the Church of *Jeſus Chriſt* ought to be pure and holy, without Spot or Wrinkle, and therefore it was neceſſary to uſe all poſſible Endeavours to prevent her being polluted either with Sins or Errors. Now as, by the foregoing Principles, the Clergy alone had the Right of Inſtruction and Inſpection, it followed, that to them belonged the care of preſerving the Purity of the Church.

Fourth Principle.

This led to a fourth Principle, That in order to preſerve the Church pure, it was neceſſary to cut off the rotten Branches. The conſequence from thence was, that when a Chriſtian ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted either by Sin or Error, he was to be excommunicated, that is, cut off from the Body of the Church. It is very eaſy to ſee, that according to the foregoing Principles, it was the Clergy's Buſineſs to perform this Cutting-off, and that they acquired thereby a great Authority, and a profound reſpect from all Chriſtians.

If the Governors of the Church had all been Holy and Infallible, theſe ſeveral Principles with their Inferences, would have produced only good Effects, and a Diſcipline very profitable to Salvation would have been preſerved in the Church. But they happened to be too frequently ſwayed by Intereſt, Caprice, or the Impulſe of an ill-governed Zeal. And therefore, it could not but be thought very improbable, that God ſhould ſubject his Church to the Paſſions and Prejudices of his Miniſters. Hence it was natural to conclude, either theſe Principles were falſe, or at leaſt, the Conſequences carried too far. This Belief could ſcarce fail to breed a Contempt for unjuſt and raſh Excommunications, which had even ſome Influence on the moſt regular. Every one is very naturally inclined to imagine himſelf unjuſtly condemned. From this Contempt proceeded an Unconcern in the Perſons excommunicated to be reconciled to the Church, and to give her the Satisfaction ſhe required.

If in the Excommunications, the Clergy had only aimed at preſerving the Church's Purity, they would have been contented with cutting off the rotten Members, and grieving at the Obſtinacy of thoſe who neglected to be abſolved. But this was not what affected them moſt: Satisfaction was their chief Concern. The Reaſon is, becauſe moſt of the Excommunications were thundered againſt ſuch as incroached on the Lands or Immunities of the Clergy, to whom alone the Name of *Church* was all along appropriated. It was neceſſary therefore, for the Intereſt of the Clergy, to oblige thoſe who were cut off from the Body of the Church, to be reconciled to her, and give her Satisfaction. For this Cauſe another Principle was eſtabliſhed: That *ſpiritual Penalties not being ſufficient to conquer the Obſtinacy of hardened Sinners, it was neceſſary, for the Glory of God, to make uſe of temporal Puniſhments, to force them to Obedience.* Upon this Foundation, the Clergy, who were already in poſſeſſion of regulating all Matters relating to religion, came to this Deciſion in their Councils: *That excommunicated Perſons were not only to be ſeparated from the Aſſemblies of the Church, but alſo from all Intercourſe with the Faithful.* If this rigorous Law had been ſtrictly obſerved, the Excommunicated would quickly have ended their Days for want of the Aſſiſtance, which Men naturally give one another, unleſs they had choſen to go and live among the Infidels. But as it was not poſſible to hinder their Relations and Friends from affording them ſome Relief, though the contrary often happened, another Expedient was found to put the Perſons cut off from the Church under a Neceſſity to ſubmit to her Orders, that is, to thoſe of the Clergy. It was ordained in the Councils, that *if within forty Days after Excommunication, the Party excommunicated did not ſue to be reconciled to the Church, the Magiſtrate, upon the Biſhop's Complaint, ſhould be obliged to caſt him into Priſon, and confiſcate his Eſtate.* So that when a Chriſtian was excom-

municated, he was to expect to lose his Liberty and Property, or make the Church such Satisfaction, as the Church herself, that is, the Clergy should judge proper. This Decree of the Councils would hardly have been enacted into a Law, if Sovereigns had not found their Advantage in it, by means of the Confiscations. They did not expect, that this severe Treatment was ever like to reach them. But when once they admitted the Principle of the unlimited Authority assumed by the Church, they quickly experienced that, as Christians, they had no more Privilege than their Subjects. The Popes, whose Power daily encreased, extended it at length over crown'd Heads. They made no scruple to excommunicate Princes themselves, who were frequently deserted by their own Subjects and Domesticks, and to deprive them of their Kingdoms, and give them to others.

The same Principles, then established for private Persons, extended to Kings and Emperors. There was at first but one thing which distinguished an excommunicated Prince from a private Person; namely, that his Subjects were bound to him by an Oath, which many could not think of violating, on pretence that their Sovereign was excommunicated. But the Popes found means to remove this Scruple, by absolving them from their Oath of Allegiance, by the Plenitude of their Apostolical Power. This was in consequence of the Maxim before established, *That an excommunicated Person was to be deprived of his Possessions.*

All this however was not sufficient to compel excommunicated Princes, to give the Church the Satisfaction she demanded. There were many of their Subjects who were not convinced, that the Pope had Power to excommunicate Sovereigns. Others were of opinion, that as long as a King was on the Throne, his Subjects ought not to refuse him the Obedience due to him. Some, though persuaded of the Pope's Authority, thought it unlawful to take up Arms against the King actually reigning. Others again durst not venture on so hazardous an Undertaking, which might end in their own and their Families Ruin. To surmount these Difficulties, the Popes bethought themselves of these two things. The first was, to depose excommunicated and obstinate Kings, in a Council, or only in a Consistory, in order to remove all Scruples from their Subjects. The second was, to commission some powerful Prince to execute their Sentence, to the end that joining with those Subjects who were only restrained by Fear, the deposed Prince might be compelled to submit to the Church. Of this, without going any farther, we have seen a terrible Instance in the Quarrel between *Innocent* III and King *John*.

In this manner, from Principles which might be originally good, considered in themselves, such Consequences were drawn, as tended to erect the spiritual Jurisdiction of the Church into a temporal and absolute Monarchy. Indeed, could a Christian help regarding, as his real Masters, Men, who disposed of his Estate, his Honour, his Life, and his Salvation? What is more strange, is, that Christians should themselves be so blind, as to admit all these Principles, with their unlimited Consequences, and suffer such a System to be built thereon, as wholly tended to enslave them. It is true, it was thought at last, though too late, necessary to set bounds to the absolute Power, assumed by the Pope and Clergy, and extended by degrees over all sorts of things. But there was strong Opposition, and a Resistance so much the greater, as Time had been given them to confirm themselves in their Usurpations.

This is the principal Subject of the Ecclesiastical History of *England*, during several Centuries, and especially during the four Reigns now before us. Except a few Events, it contains only Affairs resulting from the exorbitant Power engrossed by the Pope and the Clergy. The sole aim of the Councils was to maintain the Privileges and Immunities of the Church, that is, of the Clergy; for these two are generally confounded. All the Papal Projects tended only to extend their Authority, as well over the Laity, and the Sovereigns themselves, as over the Clergy. If they have not been able to keep the excessive Power to which they were arrived, it is entirely owing to the ill Use they made of it; which caused them to lose by degrees the Regard paid to every thing flowing from the Holy See. The bare Facts related in this History, concerning the Affair of *Thomas Becket*, the deposing of King *John*, and the Oppressions *England* endured from *Rome*, during the long Reign of *Henry* III, are sufficient to convince all reasonable and unprejudiced Persons, of the Rigor, wherewith the Popes exercised the Authority they had been suffered to assume. How much more convincing would it be, should we add to these Instances, what passed on the same subject, in all the other Christian Kingdoms? But to confine my self wholly to *England*, I shall only remark, that *Becket*'s Affair carried the Pope's Power in *England* higher than ever; after a Prince, so haughty as *Henry* II, was forced to submit to a shameful Discipline. The Homage King *John* was obliged to do the Pope, raised this Power to its utmost height. From that time the Popes looked upon *England* as a conquered Country, with which they did not think themselves obliged to keep any measures. This is manifest throughout the whole Reign of *Henry* III.

It must be farther observed, that if the Rigour wherewith the Popes treated *England*, served for some time to keep the Kingdom in Subjection, it proved in the end the chief Cause of the decay of their Power, when Circumstances came to be altered. As they carried it too far, they made the *English*, naturally jealous of their Liberty, desire to throw off so intolerable a Yoke. Accordingly, when a favorable juncture offered, they failed not to improve it, and the rather as they found themselves supported by the Clergy, who felt, no less than the People, the Effects of the Pope's Tyranny. This will appear in some of the following Reigns. Mean time, we are to consider the Days of *John* and *Henry* III, as those wherein the Papal Power was at the highest in *England*, and, if I mistake not, in most other Kingdoms of *Europe*. I might confirm my Assertion with numberless Proofs, if what has been said did not appear to me sufficient. They who desire to see a more particular Account of the unjust and violent Proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, with respect to *England*, during the Reigns of *John* and *Henry* III, may, for their Satisfaction, consult the History of *Matthew Paris*, who treats of them at large. It is true indeed, Endeavours have been used to destroy the Credit of this Author. But Men of Sense don't look upon, as an Evidence of Unfaithfulness, bare Allegations without Proofs.

Contests about Elections.

The frequent Contests about the Elections of Bishops and Abbots, make also a considerable Article of the Affairs of the Church. But as I have had frequent occasion to speak of them, it will be needless to enlarge any farther upon that Subject. It will suffice to point out in general, what served for Foundation to these Disputes. As to the See of *Canterbury*, the Monks of St. *Augustin*'s pretended, that the Right of electing the Archbishops belonged to them, exclusive of all others, But the *Suffragan* Bishops of that See maintained, they had an equal Right with the Monks. On the other hand, the Court would not willingly suffer any to be promoted to the Archiepiscopal Dignity, but whom they approved of. So that, directly or indirectly, the Court had all along a great share in the Elections. These several Interests were the occasion, that hardly could an Archbishop be chosen without some Contest. One while, because the Monks elected, without consulting the Suffragan Bishops; another while, because the Bishops made a different Choice from that of the Monks. Sometimes the Monks themselves made a double Election; and sometimes it happened, that the Prelate not being agreeable to the King, could not obtain his Confirmation. The Court of *Rome* reaped great Advantages from these Controversies, since to her was referred the Decision thereof. Upon these occasions the Popes made it a Rule, to declare in favour of him who appeared best affected to the Holy See. Ostentimes, by the Fulness of their Apostolical Power, they annulled the Elections made with unanimous Consent, and caused whom they pleased to be elected. Of this we meet with several Instances in the History of *England*.

These Dissentions reigned almost as much in the Elections of the other Bishops and Abbots. The Court had ever among those that had a Right to vote, a Party, which generally carried it from the others. At least, it was strong enough to hinder the Election of such as were disagreeable to the King. Whatever happened, they raised Disputes, which were referred to the Pope's Decision. Then it was that the King made use of such means with the Pope, as seldom failed of Success. This frequently occurs in the History of the Church of *England*. But it suffices to have made here these few Remarks, without its being necessary to insist any farther on this head.

Concerning Immunities.

The Immunities very often granted by the Court of *Rome*, to Churches and Monasteries, in prejudice of the Bishops, were moreover a fertile Source of Disputes. These Immunities regarded either the Visitation of the Religious Houses, or the Elections of the Abbots, or the Dispensation to some Bishops to be absent from the Councils. All these Articles produced an infinite Number of

Suits, of which the whole Profit accrued to the Pope; who, under this pretence, commanded the Parties to repair to *Rome* to defend their reſpective Rights. When once they were there, they never ſaw the end of their Suits, unleſs by Preſents they found means to procure diſpatch; and he that gave moſt, generally came off beſt. Of this it would not be difficult to give ſeveral Inſtances. But there is no occaſion to prove a Fact ſo well known and averred. It is time now to proceed to the Councils during the four Reigns we are ſpeaking of.

COUNCILS in the Reign of *HENRY* II.

A mixt Council.

IN the Year 1155, being the firſt of *Henry* II, a mixt Council was held in *London*, conſiſting of Biſhops and Barons, where were debated ſeveral Affairs relating to the Church and State. I took notice of this Aſſembly, on purpoſe to ſhew that the Uſe of theſe mixt Councils was not yet entirely aboliſhed.

Council againſt Becket.

In 1166, a Synod was held which appealed to the Pope, from the Excommunication denounced by *Thomas Becket* againſt thoſe that obſerved the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*.

Council of Oxford *againſt the* Publicans. W. Neub. l. 2. c. 13. Sp. l. Co c. T. II. p. 59. Hoved. P. 555, &c.

The ſame Year, according to Dr. *Hody*, but ſix Years ſooner according to *Spelman*, and according to others, four only, *Henry* II ordered a Council to meet at *Oxford*, to examine the Tenets of certain Hereticks called *Publicans*, of whom I have already ſpoken in the Reign of that Prince. Very probably, they were Diſciples of the *Waldenſes*, who began then to appear. When they were asked in the Council, who they were, they anſwered, they were Chriſtians, and Followers of the Doctrine of the Apoſtles. After that, being queſtioned upon the Articles of the Creed, their Replies were very Orthodox as to the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*. But if *William of Newburgh* is to be credited, they rejected *Baptiſm*, the *Euchariſt*, *Marriage*, and the *Communion of Saints*. They ſhewed a great deal of Modeſty and Meekneſs in their whole behaviour. When they were threatned with Death, in order to oblige them to renounce their Tenets, they only ſaid, *Bleſſed are they that ſuffer for Righteouſneſs Sake.* The Council, finding there was no prevailing upon them. delivered them over to the ſecular Power. Unhappily for them, the King being then at variance with the Pope, was afraid of giving him an advantage, if they were ſpared. Upon this account he treated them more ſeverely than he would have done at any other time After cauſing them to be branded with a hot Iron, he forbid under great Penalties all Perſons to give them the leaſt Relief. They ſuffered this hard Treatment very cheerfully; and as they could meet with no Aſſiſtance, either to ſtay in the Kingdom or to go from thence, they all miſerably periſhed. This is all the Hiſtorians have related concerning theſe pretended Hereticks, without telling us why they were called *Publicans*. I obſerved they were very likely Diſciples of the *Waldenſes*, becauſe of their Orthodoxy on the *Trinity* and *Incarnation* of the Son of God, their Patience, and their Anſwer to the Council that they followed the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, for that was preciſely the Language of the *Waldenſes*. It is true, we cannot trace the *Waldenſes* in the Tenets aſcribed to them concerning *Baptiſm*, the *Euchariſt*, *Marriage*, and the *Communion of Saints*. But poſſibly the Hiſtorians, who mention them, may have miſrepreſented their Doctrine. Perhaps they did not believe Tranſubſtantiation, and refuſing to communicate with ſuch as did believe it, it was inferred they rejected the *Euchariſt* and *Communion of Saints*. As for *Baptiſm*, perhaps they would, with the *Waldenſes*, have it ſtript of all the Ceremonies, tacked to it ſince its Inſtitution. In fine, it may be they denied *Marriage* to be a Sacrament, and on that account were accuſed of rejecting it. However this be, they would not be the firſt, to whom have been aſcribed Doctrines little agreeable to their Sentiments, by forced Conſequences, as it is eaſy to ſee from the Hiſtory of the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* (1). What I have been ſaying is however only conjecture. But it is ſufficiently plauſible, to make one ſtand amazed at the Raſhneſs of ſome Proteſtant Authors, who, upon the Credit of *William* of *Newburgh* the Monk, and ſome others of the ſame Order, have ſo roughly handled theſe pretended Hereticks.

Gervaſe in his Chronicle ſpeaks of another Council convened by *Henry* II, where he ſays, that Prince cauſed the Biſhops to ſwear to obey his Orders, before he had informed them of his Intentions. He adds, that in Conſequence of this Oath, he would have obliged them to withdraw their Obedience from *Alexander* III, and own the Antipope; but that the Prelates flatly refuſed it. It ſeems that *Gervaſe*, who was a Monk of St. *Auguſtine*'s and Cotemporary with *Becket*, ſhould have perfect knowledge of all that paſſed in that Archbiſhop's Conteſt with the King. But as he is extremely partial in Favor of *Becket*, and beſides, no other Hiſtorian ſpeaks of this Council, one can hardly doubt its being a Fiction. The only Foundation for it, is *Henry*'s writing to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, as was ſaid in the Hiſtory of his Reign. I ſhall juſt obſerve here, that certain modern Hiſtorians, relying too much on the Authority of *Gervaſe*, who was *Becket*'s Creature, have unwarily taken him for guide in their Account of this Quarrel. Hence they have been led to favour the Archbiſhop, and inſinuate as if he was unjuſtly perſecuted by the King. This, added to what I remarked in the foregoing Inſtance, ſhews how eaſily Hiſtorians ſuffer themſelves to be drawn inſenſibly into the Notions or Prejudices of thoſe that have writ before them (2).

Synod at Weſtminſter. Gervas. Brompt. Hoved.

In 1175, *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* convened in *Weſtminſter* (3) a national Synod, where he cauſed to be read ſome Canons, drawn up by himſelf. They moſtly relate to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the Celibacy of the Prieſts, which was not yet thoroughly eſtabliſhed. *Roger*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was not preſent at this Synod, but ſent Agents, who proteſted, in his Name, againſt three things wherein he thought himſelf aggrieved. Firſt, he complained of being denied the Privilege of having the Croſs carried before him in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the ſecond place, he complained, that the Biſhopricks of *Lincoln*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter* [and *Hereford*] were unjuſtly taken from the Juriſdiction of the See of *York*. His third Grievance was, on account of an Excommunication denounced by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* againſt ſome Clergymen of St. *Oſwald*'s in *Gloceſter*. Hence it is evident, that the old Diſputes between the two Metropolitans were ſtill kept on foot, notwithſtanding the Care taken to put an end to them, in the Reign of *Henry* I.

Diſputes between the two Archbiſhops.

What paſſed the next Year 1176, in a Synod held by *Huguccio* the Pope's Legate (4), is a farther Evidence of this matter. The Archbiſhop of *York* ſeating himſelf on the Right-hand of the Legate (5), the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Domeſticks fell upon him and dragged him thence, and trampled upon him. This Accident cauſed the Synod to break up, and was followed with a long Proceſs, which occaſioned the two Metropolitans to carry to the Court of *Rome* ſeveral Appeals, from whence ſhe reaped great Advantages (6).

Gervas. Brompton. Dicet. Hoved.

Expedient of the Clergy to ſatisfy the Pope for fear of Conſequences.

In the Year 1183, the Pope deſiring *Henry* II to procure him a Subſidy from the Clergy, to enable him to carry on the War againſt the Emperor, the King aſſembled the Prelates, to acquaint them with the Pope's Demand. The Clergy not daring to refuſe the Aid the Pontiff required, and on the other hand, dreading it might be made a Precedent, contrary to the Liberties of the Church of *England*, uſed this Expedient to content him. They entreated the King to give the Pope what he thought reaſonable, promiſing to repay him whatever he ſhould advance (7).

Synod at Armagh *in* Ireland. Gir. Camb. Hib. Expu. c. 18.

In this Reign two Councils were held in *Ireland*, the firſt was convened at *Armagh*, preſently after the Conqueſts of the *Engliſh*. It was decreed in this Synod, that all the *Engliſh* Slaves ſhould be enfranchiſed; the Prelates being perſuaded, that the Calamities their Iſland began to ſuffer, proceeded from the *Iriſh* detaining in ſlavery, Men, who were Chriſtians as well as themſelves. Beſides, they conſidered, that Encouragement was given to Pyrates, by affording them an Opportunity of ſelling their Slaves in *Ireland*. The other Synod was held at *Caſhel*, to put the Church of *Ireland* upon the ſame foot, with the Church

Another at Caſhel. Hoved. Gir. Camb. c. 34.

(1) The *Waldenſes* publiſhed the Articles of their Faith, which they dedicated to the *French* King, who was then perſecuting them. The Monks would have concealed their Doctrines, but they came to light, partly by the Quarrels of the Papiſts among themſelves, and partly by the taking of *Monthrun* in 1585, by the *Mareſchal de Leſdiguieres*, a Proteſtant, who ſaved the Records of the Perſecutions, found in that Place, when the Monks deſigned to have burnt them, becauſe they not only contained an account of the Cruelties againſt the *Waldenſes*, but proved, that their Doctrine was the ſame with Ours. This makes *Rapin*'s Conjecture the more probable, and ſhould be a Caution to Proteſtant Writers, not to condemn too haſtily for Hereticks, all that are repreſented as ſuch by the Monks.

(2) In the Year 1176, Cardinal *Vivian* was ſent Legate into *Scotland* and *Ireland*. *Hoved.* p. 553.

(3) *May* 18. *Hoved. Brompt.* p. 1101.

(4) He came to *England* about the end of *October*, 1175. *Gervas*, p. 1432.

(5) This was in *March* 1176. *Gervas*, p. 1433.

(6) This ſame Year, *William* King of *Scotland*, and the Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors of his Kingdom, being at a Great Council, or Parliament, at *Northampton*, King *Henry* required them to make their Submiſſion to the Church of *England*; but they refuſed. *Hoved.* p. 550.

(7) In 1188, a Synod was held at *Geytinton*, in *Northamptonſhire*, about the Cruſade. *Brompt.* p. 1149. *Ch. Mailros*, p. 177. *Hoved.* p. 642.

of *England*; that is to ſay, to reduce the *Iriſh* Clergy under the Pope's Juriſdiction, purſuant to the King's promiſe, when he demanded *Adrian*'s conſent, to make that Conqueſt.

XIth Council of Lateran. Gervas. Brompt. Hoved. p. 582.

Before I finiſh what relates to the Councils in the Reign of *Henry* II, I ſhall add a word, concerning the XIth Council of *Lateran*, convened at *Rome* by *Alexander* III. There were only three *Engliſh* Biſhops (1), at this Council; for, according to the Teſtimony of *Roger de Hoveden*, it was one of the Privileges of the Church of *England*, not to be obliged to ſend more than four Biſhops to Councils held at *Rome*. The *Albigenſes* were excommunicated in this Council, and all Chriſtians very ſtrictly forbidden to keep any Correſpondence with them.

One of the Canons prohibited, on pain of Excommunication, to promiſe Benefices before a Vacancy. But this Prohibition took place only with regard to Patrons, and not with reſpect to the Popes, who broke it continually, by means of Proviſions, of which, in ſpite of this Canon, they made frequent uſe.

It was farther reſolved in this ſame Council, to eaſe the vaſt Expence, Churches and Religious Houſes were liable to, for the Entertainment of the Viſitors, and their Retinue. It was decreed, that in Viſitations, an Archbiſhop ſhould not have in his Retinue more than fifty Horſe, a Biſhop more than thirty, a Legate more than twenty five, and an Archdeacon more than ſeven. A great Reformation truly, which plainly ſhews the Moderation of the Council. The Charges the Abbies and Churches were at upon this occaſion, were called Procurations; doubtleſs, becauſe the Churches were obliged to procure what was neceſſary for the Entertainment of the Viſitors. In proceſs of time, this was turned into a certain Sum of Money, which kept all along the Name of Procurations, and became a fertile ſource of oppreſſions, which the Nuntios and Legates made the Churches endure on this pretence. Tiltings and Tournaments were likewiſe forbidden, but this Prohibition was not capable of aboliſhing them.

COUNCILS in the Reign of *RICHARD* I.

Synod in favour of John's Marriage. M. Paris.

IN 1189, *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, interdicting the Lands of Prince *John*, on account of his Marriage with his Couſin *Aviſa* of *Gloceſter*, there was an Appeal to the Pope from this Procedure. Whereupon the Pope ſent into *England* a Legate, one *John de Anagnia*, who called a Synod, where the Archbiſhop's proceedings were made void, and the Interdict taken off. After that, the Pope confirmed the Marriage by his Authority. Notwithſtanding this deciſive Sentence, the Marriage was annulled ſeveral Years after, on the ſame pretence of Kindred, and by the ſame Authority; every thing being eaſy to thoſe that are inveſted with Abſolute Power (2).

Diceto. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

The ſame *Baldwin* being about to attend *Richard* to the *Holy-Land*, convened a Synod, where he declared, that he left the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Province of *Canterbury* to the Biſhop of *London*, and of his particular Dioceſe to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Brompton. Diceto.

During the Abſence of the two Archbiſhops, one of whom was in the Eaſt, the other in *Normandy*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Regent of the Kingdom, and Legate of the Pope, convened two Synods, one at *Gloceſter*, and another at *Weſtminſter*. But nothing of moment was tranſacted, his Aim in calling them, being only to ſhew his Grandeur.

Gervas.

Baldwin dying at *Acres*, as ſoon as the News reached *England*, the Biſhop of *London* ſent an Inhibition to the Monks of St. *Auguſtine*, to proceed to an Election of an Archbiſhop, without the conſent of the Suffragan-Biſhops. Some time after, the Suffragans being met at *Canterbury*, the Monks came into their Aſſembly, and declared they had elected the Biſhop of *Bath*. At the ſame Inſtant, they took and placed him on the Archiepiſcopal Throne. The Biſhops appealed to the Pope; but the Death of the Prelate elect, which happened ſoon after, put an end to the Difference.

Diceto.

A Synod at York. Hoved. Spel. Conc. T. II. p. 120.

In 1193, *Richard* ſent from *Paleſtine*, a Letter to the Suffragan Biſhops of *Canterbury*, ordering them to proceed to the Election of an Archbiſhop, jointly with the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*. Purſuant to this Order, a ſort of Synod was held, and *Hubert Walters* elected, whom the King had ſtrongly recommended.

Two Years after, the ſame *Hubert*, being made Legate, convened in the Cathedral of *York*, a national Synod, where ſeveral Canons were made, of which two only deſerve Notice. By the IIId, Prieſts are forbidden to take Money for ſaying Maſs. The Vth, expreſly prohibits Deacons to adminiſter the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Euchariſt, unleſs in Caſes of Neceſſity.

Hoved. p. 755.

COUNCILS in the Reign of King *JOHN*.

Synod held notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition. Hoved. p. 806. Brompt. Spel. Conc. T. II. p. 123.

IN the Year 1200, Archbiſhop *Hubert* held a national Synod at *Weſtminſter*, notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition, which is remarked by Hiſtorians as the firſt Uſurpation of this nature. Several Canons were made in this Synod, the chief of which are theſe:

The Iſt, regulates the Pronunciation of Divine Service, to prevent reading Prayers either too ſlow, or too faſt.

The IId, forbids the conſecrating the Euchariſt more than once in a Day, without urgent Neceſſity.

The XIth, declares againſt clandeſtine Marriages, and forbids married Perſons to travel beyond Sea, without publiſhing their mutual Conſent.

Synod which refuſes Money to the Pope. M. Paris.

In 1206, the Pope intending to levy in *England* an extraordinary Romeſcot, or Peter-Pence, the Biſhops met in a Synod to debate upon his Demand. But the King ſending them word to proceed no further, they broke up without coming to any Reſolution. And indeed, Peter-Pence, not concerning the Clergy more than the reſt of the Nation, it belonged not to them to determine, whether it was to be paid or not. Nevertheleſs, ſhortly after, a Legate, one *Florentinus*, called another Synod at *Reading*, upon the ſame account, and, as if the Clergy had been the occaſion of the King's Refuſal, extorted from them an Aid, in lieu of the extraordinary Romeſcot demanded by the Pope.

I paſs over in Silence ſeveral Councils, called purely to regulate the Reſtitution, the King was to make the Eccleſiaſticks, after his Reconciliation to the Pope, having ſpoken of them elſewhere.

XIIth Council of Lateran. M. Paris.

During the Reign of King *John*, Pope *Innocent* III. convened the XIIth Council of *Lateran*, at which were preſent four hundred and twelve Biſhops (3). There were paſſed ſeventy Canons, which, according to the Report of the Hiſtorians, were not very agreeable to the Prelates, by whoſe Authority they were made. This gave occaſion to a famous Modern to conjecture, that the Pope drew up theſe Canons himſelf, and that they were read before the Council, whoſe Silence was taken for an Approbation. This was an Artifice, which began to be practiſed, in order to paſs in Councils whatever the Pope deſired. The Preſident ordered the Canons ready drawn up to be read, and the Prelates perceiving they were not deſigned to be debated, none dared to be the firſt oppoſer. In proceſs of time, this Expedient was frequently uſed, and the Council of *Vienne* which was held in 1312, and where the Order of the Knights-Templars was aboliſhed, will furniſh us with a remarkable Inſtance.

M. Du Pin.

To return to the Council of *Lateran*, ſince the Church of *England*, as a Member of the Catholick Church, was no leſs concerned than the other Churches in the Canons made there, it will not be perhaps foreign to the purpoſe to be ſomething particular. But however, to avoid prolixity, it will be ſufficient to take notice of three Canons, which ſeem remarkable beyond the reſt.

Canons of the Lateran Council.

The Iſt eſtabliſhes in expreſs Terms, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.

The IIId imports, that the ſecular Power ſhall be requeſted, ſollicited, and, if need be, compelled by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to take an Oath to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to root all Hereticks out of their Territories. That for the future, all Perſons, without Exception, ſhall be obliged to ſwear the ſame Oath, upon their being promoted to any Dignity Spiritual or Temporal. And if any Temporal Lord refuſes to purge his Dominions of Hereticks, after an Admonition, he ſhall be excommunicated by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans. And in caſe he contemns the Cenſures of the Church, and refuſes to make Satisfaction within a Year, the Pope ſhall de-

(1) *Hoveden* names four who were preſent at the Council, *viz.* *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, *John* of *Norwich*, *Robert* of *Hereford*, and *Reginald* of *Bath*. The Abbots were more numerous. See *Hoveden*, p. 582, *Anno* 1179.

(2) The ſame Year there was another Synod held at *Pipewel* in *Northamptonſhire*. *Hoved.* p. 658. *Spelm. Conc.* T. II. p. 119.

(3) Among whom was *Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

clare his Subjects and Vaſſals abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and at the ſame time, ſhall invite the Catholick Princes to ſeize his Country, ſaving to the Sovereign of the Fee, if there is any, his Rights; upon condition that the ſaid Sovereign ſhall do nothing to obſtruct the Execution of the Canon.

Remarks on the third Canon.

It is difficult to read this Decree without being ſurpriſed, that Biſhops ſhould aſſume a Right to deprive Sovereign Princes of their Dominions, as if in fact *Jeſus Chriſt* had, in clear and expreſs Terms, inveſted them with ſuch a Power. They might be allowed a Right to exhort, to requeſt, to ſollicite Princes to purge their Territories of Hereticks. Nay, let them be ſuffered, if you pleaſe, to excommunicate theſe ſame Princes, under colour of their being, as Members of the Church, liable to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, as well as their Subjects. But that Biſhops may extend their Authority ſo far as to decree temporal Puniſhments, and deprive Princes, or even private Perſons, of their Property, is what cannot be granted, without reſigning to them withal, the temporal Sovereignty of the whole Chriſtian World. To what purpoſe then, will ſome ſay, is Excommunication, if the Perſons excommunicated happen to contemn it? I know not; God alone will be Judge in the other Life. But this did not content the Clergy, and much leſs the Popes, who would be reſpected, feared and obeyed, in this Life: For that was the ſole end of all their Excommunications. And indeed, to this, temporal Puniſhments were abſolutely neceſſary, ſpiritual ones not producing their Effect but in the next World, about which they were little concerned. Thanks be to God, the Generality of Chriſtians follow at preſent a different Theology. Accordingly the Excommunications of Princes are much leſs frequent, becauſe Peoples Eyes are opened, and do not think themſelves obliged to renounce their Allegiance to their Sovereigns, in compliance to the Pope's Pleaſure. It may be further obſerved on this Decree, that, though it ſeemed to be levelled only againſt the Earl of *Tholouſe*, and the other Protectors of the *Albigenſes*, yet the Conſequences reached all Chriſtian Princes in general. And indeed from this Principle naturally flowed the unlimited Authority, too frequently exerted by the *Roman* Pontiff.

The laſt Canon of the Council of *Lateran*, that I deſign to conſider, is the XIVth. By this Canon it is decreed, that the Prieſts, who are addicted to Debauchery in Countries where Marriage is allowed, ſhould be more ſeverely puniſhed than thoſe, who live in Places, where they are obliged to Celibacy. Hence it may be inferred, that the Celibacy of the Clergy was not yet univerſally eſtabliſhed.

COUNCILS in the Reign of *HENRY* III.

I Shall not take upon me to ſpeak of all the Councils in the long Reign of *Henry* III, becauſe they were, for the moſt part, convened only to ſupply the Popes with Money, or to countenance their Exactions. I ſhall content myſelf with chuſing ſuch, as more immediately related to Religion, or where ſomething remarkable was tranſacted.

Synod at Canterbury, wherein were condemned three Perſons. T. Wikes. Spel. Conc. T. II. p. 181.

In 1222, Cardinal *Langton* convened, in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* (1), a provincial Synod, where three Men were condemned, and delivered over to the ſecular Arm. The firſt pretended himſelf to be *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſhewed on his Body the five Wounds of our Saviour. The ſecond was a *Hermaphrodite* who accompanied that Impoſtor. The third was a *Deacon*, who, to marry a *Jewiſh* Woman, with whom he was in Love, had circumciſed himſelf (2).

Synod againſt the Marriage of Prieſts.

In 1225, the ſame Prelate held a Synod, where was made a Canon, confirming the Prohibition of the Marriage of the Prieſts. This leaves room to preſume, there were ſtill in *England*, Prieſts who ſtood their ground againſt all former Prohibitions.

Council at St. Paul's. M. Paris. An. Burt. Spel. Conc. T. II. p. 218.

In 1237, *Otho* the Pope's Legate convened a national Council at *London*, in St. *Paul*'s Church. As he knew there was a Deſign to oppoſe the Canons which he would have paſſed againſt Pluralities, he obtained of the King a Guard of two hundred Men. As ſoon as the Prelates had taken their places, he ordered certain Canons to be read, which were brought from *Rome* ready prepared, according to the new method. When the Canons againſt Pluraliſts came to be read, *Walter de Cantilupe* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſome other Prelates, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and even proteſted againſt it. This oppoſition obliged the Legate to declare, that the Canon ſhould be in force only during the time of his Legateſhip. However, it was no ſooner paſſed upon that Condition, but an Eccleſiaſtick in the Legate's Retinue, read aloud a Decretal Epiſtle of the Pope, by which it was ordained that this Canon ſhould be perpetually binding.

The IId ſtates the Number of the Sacraments, and reckons them Seven (3).

The IIId fixes the Eves of *Eaſter* and *Whitſunday* for the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, and as ſome People ſcrupled to baptize their Children on theſe Days, their Scruples were condemned.

The XXIId enjoins the Clergy to live on their Benefices, at leaſt the beſt part of the year. This Canon was abſolutely neceſſary at that time. As the Pope diſpenſed with the Reſidence of the *Italians*, who poſſeſſed a great Number of Benefices in *England*, if the *Engliſh* had not been obliged to reſide, the Churches would have been quite forſaken.

In 1239, was held at *London* a Council, which flatly refuſed the Legate, the Money demanded to defray the Expences of his Legateſhip.

The next Year, the ſame Legate aſſembled another Synod, where he demanded for the Pope, the fifth part of the Revenues of the Clergy, but could not prevail.

All the reſt of the Councils, from 1240 to 1264, were only called to demand Money of the Clergy.

Synods at Reading and Northampton. T. Wikes. p. 64, 74.

During the Barons Wars, were aſſembled two Councils. The firſt at *Reading*, where was confirmed the Appeal brought by the Barons, from the Proceedings of the Legate then at *Boulogne*. In the ſecond, held at *Northampton* in 1266, *Othobon* (4) the Legate excommunicated all Clergymen engaged in the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Party.

Councils at St. Paul's. M. Weſt. p. 400. T. Wikes. p. 85.

In 1268, (5) the ſame Legate convened at St. *Paul*'s at *London* a national Council (6), where were publiſhed certain Conſtitutions brought from *Rome*, ſome whereof are ſtill part of the Canon-Law of the *Engliſh* Church. As ſeveral of theſe Conſtitutions tended to leſſen the Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, ſtrong oppoſition was made againſt them; which obliged the Legate to prorogue the Aſſembly till next Day. He ſo wiſely improved this ſhort Adjournment, that gaining in this Interval, either by Promiſes or Threats, ſuch as appeared moſt averſe, on the morrow he met with no farther oppoſition. This was the method of holding Councils in thoſe Days.

Conſtitutions brought from Rome.

The Iſt of theſe Conſtitutions allows Laymen to adminiſter Baptiſm in caſe of Neceſſity.

The IId forbids Prieſts to take Money for adminiſtring the Sacraments, and preſcribes theſe Words to be made uſe of in giving Abſolution: *I abſolve thee from all thy Sins*; or, *By the Authority committed unto me, I abſolve thee*, &c. Hence it may be inferred that there were ſtill ſome Prieſts, who made a Scruple to pronounce the Abſolution in a direct manner, and were contented with a bare Declaration.

The IXth enjoins Reſidence to Clergymen (7).

The XIIIth confirms the Privilege of Sanctuary to Churches.

The XIVth ordains the ſolemnizing of Marriage in Publick.

The XXth is againſt thoſe that pretend to give a Compenſation, in lieu of the Penance enjoined them.

The XXIIId provides againſt alienating any part of the Tythes from the Parochial Clergy. This Conſtitution particularly concerned the Monks, to whom ſuch Alienations were daily appropriated.

The XXXth is againſt Pluraliſts.

Original of Commendams.

The XXXIſt forbids the giving Benefices in *Commendam*, and declares a Benefice, held in that manner, va-

(1) *T. Wikes* ſays, it was in *Oſney* Monaſtery, near *Oxford*, p. 39.

(2) He was tied to a Stake and burnt; whereas the Impoſtor was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, and to be fed with nothing but Bread and Water. *T. Wikes*, p. 39.

(3) Namely, Baptiſm, Confirmation, Penance, the Euchariſt, Extreme Unction, Matrimony, and Orders.

(4) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays *Otho*, but *Otho* had left *England* long before, in 1241, as *Rapin* himſelf has related in the Reign of *Henry* III. See above, p. 313.

(5) *Spelman* places this Council in the Year 1248. See *Conc.* Tom. II. p. 263.

(6) *April* 8. *T. Wikes*, p. 85.

(7) To Vicars. See *Spelman Conc.* Tom. II. p. 269.

cant.

cant. This Cuſtom, which was become much in vogue, owned its Original to the Perſecutions to which the Church was expoſed, whilſt the northern Nations were over-running the Weſtern Empire. When by the Fury of the Wars, the Prieſts and Biſhops themſelves were forced to fly, the principal Prelates of the Province appointed Prieſts to officiate in the vacant Benefices, till the Paſtor could reſume the Care of his Flock. This Cuſtom at length was abuſed in a manner very prejudicial to the Church. After Peace was reſtored, ſuch Prieſts as were not the true Paſtors, and were ſtiled Commendatories, were however continued in the Benefices. For this reaſon ſeveral Councils endeavoured to reform this Abuſe, by decreeing, that thoſe who held Benefices in *Commendam* ſhould not receive the Profits, or officiate as Paſtors above ſix Months. But the Popes, pretending to be above the Canons, continued to diſpoſe of the Benefices in *Commendam* for Term of Life.

Paul Hiſt. of the Inquiſ. of Ven.

The XXXIId Canon decrees, that before a Biſhop was conſecrated, ſtrict Enquiry ſhould be made, Whether he held more Livings than one, without a Diſpenſation, and Whether the Diſpenſation was authentick and in form?

The XXXIVth declares void all previous Contracts between Patrons and Perſons preſented to Benefices.

Theſe are the principal Councils held in *England*, from the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* II, to the end of that of *Henry* III, that is, during the ſpace of ſix-ſcore Years. After having obſerved the manner of making the Canons, it will be neceſſary to add another Remark on that Subject. It happened very often, that in order to get a Canon paſſed, which was like to meet with ſtrong oppoſition, it was inſerted, among many others of great uſe. This was done, that the oppoſers might be accuſed of being againſt Regulations of known uſefulneſs. This Artifice was not only practiſed in Councils but likewiſe in Parliaments, when to paſs certain Bills, others of abſolute Neceſſity were tacked to them. However, this practice has met from time to time with ſuch ſtrong oppoſition, that it has not been able hitherto to grow into Cuſtom.

Artifice to get certain Canons paſſed.

What we have obſerved in ſome of theſe Councils, concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy, is a clear Evidence, that it was not yet univerſally eſtabliſhed, though it is pretended that *Anſelm* accompliſhed it in the Reign of *Henry* I. This Evidence may be farther ſupported by Facts. Long after *Anſelm*, *Richard*, a Biſhop of *Lichfield*, was Son of *Robert* Biſhop of *Cheſter*; upon which an Hiſtorian remarks, that in thoſe Days, the being Son to a Prieſt was no obſtacle to Promotions in the Church. The ſame Hiſtorian relates, That the Pope complaining, that the Biſhop elect of *Ely* was not come to *Rome* for his Confirmation, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador merrily replied, the Prelate had a very lawful Excuſe, taken from the Holy Scriptures, for *he had juſt married a Wife*. We ſee alſo in *Baronius*'s *Annals*, that a Legate ſent by Pope *Innocent* III, into *Poland* to eſtabliſh the Celibacy of the Clergy, did at laſt carry his Point; but attempting to do the ſame thing in *Bohemia*, was in danger of his Life.

Pope's Decretals.

There was another Article, of no leſs Importance to the Popes, and which they puſhed as vigorouſly as that of Celibacy. This was to give to their Ordinances or Decretals, the ſame Authority as to the Canons of the Councils. In 1150, one *Gratian* publiſhed a Collection of Decretals, containing all the Ordinances made by the Popes to that Time, that it might ſerve for a Rule in the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Juſtice. To this Collection were added, in time, ſeveral Decrees made afterwards, in order to compoſe a complete Body of the Canon-Law. *Raymond de Pegnoford*, Penitentiary to *Gregory* IX, was ordered to make this Collection, intitled, *The ſecond Part of the Canon-Law*, and publiſhed in 1230. He annexed to it ſome Conſtitutions of the Councils, and Reſolutions of the Doctors, ſince the Year 1250, where *the ſecond Part* began. This laſt Collection was not only a Supplement to the old Canon-Law, but even altered it in ſeveral Articles. For Inſtance, it is determined, that Baſtards ſhould not be capable of Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, without the Pope's Diſpenſation. By this Addition, *without the Pope's Diſpenſation*, the Court of *Rome* aſſumed indirectly, the Power of favouring Baſtards, when ſhe thought proper, contrary to the ancient Conſtitutions of the Councils. That Court could never have a better opportunity to publiſh the Decretals, ſince her Power was now at the utmoſt height. There was neither Subject nor Prince that dared to oppoſe the Will of the Popes, when they ſpoke with an abſolute Tone. And therefore, without finding much Reſiſtance, they enacted as a Law, whatever they were pleaſed to decree, even though directly contrary to the Laws, which till then were in force. For example, as to the caſe of Baſtards, the Laws of *England* reckoned, as illegitimate, Children born before Marriage, notwithſtanding their Fathers and Mothers were afterwards married; but the Canon-Law decreed the contrary; on which there were great Conteſts in the Parliament of *Merton* in 1236 (1).

Religious Orders.

The *Roman* Pontiffs were no ſooner become almoſt abſolute Monarchs in the Church, but great numbers of Religious Orders ſprang up, which were as a Standing Army, to ſupport the Grandeur and Power of the Popes. The Council of *Lateran* endeavoured to prevent this Abuſe, by expreſly forbidding the Inſtitution of any new Order of Monks. But this did not hinder *Dominic de Guzman* a *Spaniard*, who long preached againſt the *Albigenſes*, from forming the Project of a new Order, under the Name of *Predicant Fryers*, of which he petitioned for Pope *Innocent*'s Confirmation. The Pope, on account of the Prohibition of the *Lateran* Council, made ſome Scruple at firſt to conſent to this Eſtabliſhment: But if we may believe the Hiſtorians of this Order, he was told, by a heavenly Viſion, that he could do nothing more ſerviceable to the Church. However, it was *Honorius* his Succeſſor, that confirmed this new Order, by the Name of *Predicant Fryers*, becauſe the Deſign of their Inſtitution, was to preach againſt Hereticks. They were likewiſe called *Dominicans*, from their Founder, and in *France*, *Jacobins*, from their firſt Settlement in St. *James*'s Street in *Paris*. The Court of the *Inquiſition* was committed to the *Dominicans*, which made them famous for their Cruelties upon the pretended Hereticks, of whom that Court is Judge. They ſettled in *England* in 1317, ſhortly after their Inſtitution.

Dominicans. Hoved. p. 573, &c.

The Order of *Franciſcans*, founded by *Francis de Aſſiſi*, quickly followed that of the *Dominicans*. *Innocent* III, approved of it in 1215, but did not authentickly confirm it. It was *Honorius* III, that eſtabliſhed it by a Bull in 1223, and the next Year this Order ſettled in *England*. The Religious, who embraced this Rule, took, out of Modeſty, the Name of *Minors*, or *Minorites*, and though, in time, they were divided into ſeveral Societies, they all acknowledged *Francis d'Aſſiſi* for their Head and Founder. By their Rule, they were not to preach, or take Confeſſions in any Dioceſe, without expreſs leave from the Biſhop. But this Article was not long obſerved by them. They repreſented to the Pope, that Chriſtians were aſhamed to confeſs themſelves to their own Paſtors. That many ſcrupled to do it, becauſe the Pariſh-Prieſts themſelves were guilty of the Sins confeſſed to them. In fine, that they had not the Diſcretion to be ſecret. Upon this Foundation, they petitioned, for this part of their Rule, a Diſpenſation, which was readily granted them.

Franciſcans.

Progreſs of theſe two Orders.

Theſe two Orders of *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, acquired ſo great a Character for Holineſs among the People, that there were but few Perſons, that had not one of theſe Fryers for Director. Conſequently, the Alms they received were very conſiderable. They had moreover another Advantage, in that, for a long Space, almoſt all the Popes were choſen out of one or other of theſe Orders. So that, by their credit at the Court of *Rome*, they obtained very often Grants of what belonged to other Orders, under colour that it was neceſſary for their Subſiſtence. On the other hand, they heaped up immenſe Riches, as well by the voluntary Gifts of the Living, as by the Legacies and Grants extorted from the Dying, by making them believe, nothing could contribute more to their eternal Salvation. Mean time, as theſe two Orders laboured with equal Ardour to ingroſs the Benefactions of the Devout, and thereby became Rivals to one another, a Jealouſy aroſe between them, which was ſoon followed by a moſt ſcandalous Quarrel, that was not eaſily ended.

Rupture between them.

Croſs bearers ſent out of England.

In a Council at *Rocheſter*, in 1244, a new Order of Fryers, called *Croſs-Bearers*, appeared and demanded leave to ſettle in *England*. Theſe produced a Bull from the Pope, forbidding all Perſons to reproach them, and empowering them to excommunicate thoſe, that ſhould dare to violate this Privilege. The Synod not thinking proper to grant their Petition, they were ſent away, on pretence, that the licenſing them was a direct Breach upon the Canons of the late Council of *Lateran*.

(1) In the Statute of *Merton*, chap. IX. it is declared, that whoever is born before Marriage is a Baſtard. Upon this the Biſhops replied, That it was contrary to the Canons of the Church, and were very urgent with the Barons, to conſent that ſuch as were born before, ſhould be Legitimate as well as thoſe born after Marriage, the Church having decreed it ſo. But the Barons with one Voice anſwered, That they would not conſent *that the Laws of the Realm ſhould be changed.*

I ſhall cloſe this Abſtract of the State of the Church, with ſome Remarks, on the celebrated Eccleſiaſticks of thoſe days.

John de Saliſbury. Gervas. p. 1434.

Johannes Sarisburienſis Native, and not Biſhop of *Salisbury*, as ſome have affirmed, was one of the Ornaments of the Church of *England*, for Learning, Politeneſs, and Regularity of Life. He was very intimate with *Adrian* IV, who uſed to complain to him of the Weight of the Papal Crown. However, the Bull which this Pope gratified *Henry* II with, on account of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, ſeems to ſhew, he was not the moſt ſcrupulous. *John de Salisbury*, who adhered to *Thomas Becket*, and followed him into *France*, procured by his means the Biſhoprick of *Chartres*. He wrote the *Polycraticon*, or *de Nugis Curialium*; a Collection of Letters; and ſeveral other inconſiderable Tracts. He died in 1181, or 1182.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of *Thomas Becket*, or of *Stephen Langton*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, having ſufficiently ſpoken of them elſewhere (1).

Baldwin *of* Canterbury. Gervas. Diceto. Hoved.

Baldwin Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who attended *Richard* to the *Holy-Land*, where he died, paſſed for a good Divine. Some of his Works, ſtill extant, ſhew this Reputation not to be groundleſs. His great Conteſt with the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*, who were grown very inſolent, put him upon founding a Society of Regular Canons (2), near *Canterbury* (3), with deſign to transfer to them by degrees the Privileges of the Monaſtery of St. *Auguſtin*. But the Monks, having early knowledge of his Intent, made ſuch an Intereſt at the Court of *Rome*, that the Archbiſhop was forced to deſiſt from his Project.

Brompt. Diceto.

Hugh *of* Lincoln.

Hugh Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Native of *Grenoble*, was one of the moſt illuſtrious Prelates of the Church of *England*, in the Reigns of *Richard* I, and King *John*. His Virtue gained him great Reverence from the People of his Dioceſe, who were terribly afraid of being excommunicated by him, becauſe they obſerved, as they imagined, that thoſe who lay under his Cenſures, ſeldom failed of being viſited with ſome worldly Calamity. It is related, as an Inſtance of his Zeal and Reſolution, that by his own Authority, he ordered to be removed out of the Church of *Godſtow* in *Oxfordſhire*, the Tomb of *Roſamond*, Miſtreſs to *Henry* II, which ſtood in the middle of the Quire (4), hung with black Velvet, and Wax Tapers about it. Though he was told, the Tomb was placed there by the King's Order, he thought it ought not to be ſuffered, ſaying, it was a ſhameful thing, that the Tomb of ſuch a Woman ſhould ſtand in ſo honorable a Place. This Biſhop dying with the Reputation of a Saint, was canonized by *Honorius* III, in 1221.

Brompt. c. 1235. Hoved. p. 712.

Alexander Cementarius. M. Weſt. p. 228, 229.

In the midſt of King *John*'s Conteſt with the Pope, one *Alexander Cementarius* a Clergyman, who had been Profeſſor of Divinity at the Univerſity of *Paris*, publickly preached, that the Pope had not Power to deprive Kings of their Crown. This Freedom drew on him the Indignation of the Court of *Rome*, who reduced him at length to the Neceſſity of begging his Bread from door to door. *Matthew Paris* ſtoutly inveighs againſt the Errors of this Doctor, though no one ſeemed more convinced than this Hiſtorian of the Pope's Abuſe of his Power, as he has plainly demonſtrated in his Hiſtory.

Walter *of* York.

Walter de Gray, Archbiſhop of *York*, was more famous as a Stateſman, than as a Biſhop. His Succeſſors were inriched by his Bounty in purchaſing the Manor of *Thorp*, and annexing it to his See. He built likewiſe at *London*, a ſtately Palace, which went by the Name of *York-Place*; but was afterwards called *White-Hall* (5). Unfortunately, this Houſe which was for many Years a Palace-Royal, was ſome time ſince burnt down to the ground.

Edmund *of* Durham. M. Paris. P. 386, 527.

Edmund, who, from a Canon of *Salisbury*, was promoted to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Canterbury*, after the Pope had annulled three Elections to make room for him, was very commendable for his Moderation and regular Life (6). He would have been glad to ſee the Pope's Power, which was then at the higheſt, reduced within due Bounds. But perceiving, as matters ſtood, ſuch an Attempt muſt have proved unſucceſsful, he choſe rather to give way to the Torrent, than withſtand ſo formidable a Power, ſupported moreover by the King's Authority. However, to avoid the Blame of a baſe Compliance, he retired into *France*, to the Monaſtery of *Pontigny*, where his Auſterities ſhortened his days. He was canonized by Pope *Innocent* IV, in 1216.

Richard Poor *of* Durham. M. Paris. p. 438.

Richard Poor, Biſhop of *Salisbury* (7), and afterwards of *Durham*, is remarkable upon two accounts. Whilſt he was Biſhop of *Sarum*, he perſuaded the Inhabitants to remove to a more advantagious Situation, where *Salisbury* now ſtands. Here he laid the Foundation of a ſtately Church, which was not finiſhed till thirty Years after, and remains to this day. The ſecond thing which rendered this Prelate famous, was his Synodical Conſtitutions for the uſe of the Church of *Salisbury*. They are in all eighty ſeven, of which I ſhall mention only the XVth, which forbids the Prieſts to take Money for ſaying Maſs, and the XXXIVth, whereby it plainly appears, that the Laity communicated at that time in both Kinds.

Alexander Hales.

Alexander Hales, born in *Gloceſterſhire*, a great Canoniſt, and ſtiled *the Irrefragable Doctor*, was Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*. Among his other Works, he compoſed ſhort Notes on the whole Bible, and a Commentary [in four Books] upon *the Maſter of the Sentences*; where, as the learned *Du Pin* obſerves, he diſcovers more Skill in Logick and Metaphyſicks than in the Antiquities of the Church.

Sewald *of* York. M. Paris. p. 929, 956, 969.

Sewald, Archbiſhop of *York*, was an able Divine, and of an unblameable Life. He took Pattern by *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his Maſter. He was ſo angry at the frequent Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, that he could not forbear writing a ſharp Remonſtrance to Pope *Alexander* IV upon that Subject. Amongſt other things he told him, when *Jeſus Chriſt* commiſſioned St. *Peter* to feed his Sheep, he did not give him Authority to flea them. This Freedom, with his Refuſal to admit certain *Italians*, who came with Proviſions from the Court of *Rome*, drew on him the Diſpleaſure of *Alexander*, who at length excommunicated him. The Archbiſhop upon his Death-bed, complained bitterly of the Pope's Injuſtice, appealing to Heaven. *Matthew Paris* doubtleſs did not believe, this Excommunication deprived *Sewald* of eternal Salvation, ſince he affirms, this Prelate wrought a Miracle in his laſt Sickneſs.

Kilwarby *of* Canterbury. W. Riſh. p. 1008.

Robert Kilwarby, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was a very learned Prelate, for the Age he lived in. His Merit raiſing him to the Dignity of Cardinal, he reſigned his Archbiſhoprick to live at *Rome*.

Groſteſt *of* Lincoln. M. Paris. p. 409.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay, concerning the moſt noted Eccleſiaſticks of thoſe Days, with an Account of one of the moſt eminent, I mean, *Groſteſt* Biſhop of *Lincoln*. As there are ſeveral curious Particulars about him, I ſhall ſpeak more fully of him, than of the reſt.

Groſteſt was a Prelate of Reſolution and Courage, neither to be gained by Court-Favours, nor frightned by the Pope's Menaces; Rocks which few Eccleſiaſticks, in thoſe Days, knew how to avoid. He, being wholly intent upon following, what appeared to him reaſonable and juſt, without being ſwayed by any conſideration, little regarded the Circumſtances of the Times, or the Quality of Perſons; and oppoſed equally, the King's Will, and the Pope's Pleaſure, according as it happened. By this Steddineſs he acquired a great Reputation among the People, long accuſtomed to ſee the Biſhops ſtoop to the King or the Pope. It chanced one day, that he excommunicated the Sheriff, for refuſing to impriſon an excommunicated Perſon (8) who contemned the Church's Cenſures. *Henry* III, very angry with the Biſhop, for not applying to him, to oblige the Sheriff to execute the Canons, addreſſed the Pope, to ſecure his Authority, a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe. M. Paris, p. 777.

This Affair obliged *Groſteſt* to take a Journey to *Rome*, where he was confirmed in his ill Opinion of the Court of *Rome*. He could not ſee without Indignation and Concern, the beſt Preferments in the Kingdom beſtowed on *Italians*, who neither reſided on their Benefices, nor p. 779, 802.

(1) It was *Becket* that appointed *Trinity-Sunday*. *Gervas.* p. 1388.

(2) *Hoveden* ſays, Prebendaries, p. 637.

(3) At *Hackington*, about half a Mile from *Canterbury*. He had proceeded ſo far as to build a magnificent Church, but was forced to demoliſh it. This Foundation was to be in Honour of *Becket*, and the ſecret Project was, to draw the Election of the Archbiſhop from St. *Auguſtin*'s to this new Convent. Matters were adjuſted, between him and the Priory of St. *Auguſtin*, in *November* 1189. But he built a Church at *Lambeth*, and therein placed the Prebendaries, he intended for his Monaſtery at *Hackington*. *Hoved.* p. 637, 661, 662.

(4) Before the High-Altar. *Hoved.* p. 712.

(5) This Houſe is ſaid to be firſt built by *Hugo de Burgh*, Earl of *Kent*, and given to the *Dominicans*, of whom the Archbiſhop bought it. When Cardinal *Wolſey* fell, *Henry* VIII. ſeized and made a Palace-Royal of it.

(6) He was born at *Abington* in *Berkſhire*. His Father's Name was *Reynald le Rich*, and his Mother *Mabel* was reputed a Saint. He founded a School in *Oxford*, and bred up under him many great Scholars. *Hiſt. & Antiq. of Oxf.* l. 2. p. 9.

(7) He was firſt Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, then of *Saliſbury*, and at laſt of *Durham*. *M. Paris*, p. 438.

(8) One *Ralph* a Clergyman, whom he had deprived for Incontinence, and afterwards excommunicated, for refuſing to ſubmit to the Sentence. The Sheriff was *Ralph*'s Friend.

understood

underſtood a Word of *Engliſh*. His Grief to behold the Church's Revenues devoured by theſe Harpies, cauſing him to refuſe to inſtitute an *Italian* to one of the beſt Livings of his Dioceſe, he was preſently after ſuſpended. But, regardleſs of this Cenſure, he continued his Epiſcopal Functions, his Flock being no more ſcrupulous than himſelf. He even refuſed, at that very time, to admit of new Proviſions from the Pope in favour of other *Italians*. He declared, that to entruſt the Cure of Souls to ſuch Paſtors, was to act in the Name of the Devil rather than by the Authority of God.

p. 816.

The Court of *Rome* was unwilling then to make any Noiſe, for fear of turning againſt her the whole Clergy of *England*, from whom ſhe reaped a plentiful Harveſt. For this reaſon, the Pope thought it beſt to connive at the Diſobedience of this Prelate, who was of known Reſolution, and in great Repute with the People. He choſe rather to try to win him by fair means, in giving him a Teſtimony of his Eſteem, by a Commiſſion to reform certain Abuſes crept into the Monaſteries. Notwithſtanding this, *Groſteſt* ſoon after touched the Pope in a very ſenſible manner, by computing the yearly Sums drawn by the beneficed *Italians* out of *England*, as was ſaid in another Place. *Innocent* IV ſat then in the Papal Chair. He had beeen ſo uſed to treat the *Engliſh* with Haughtineſs, that he could not hear of the Biſhop's Proceedings without being extremely provoked. But as he durſt not attack him upon that account, becauſe what he had done was univerſally approved, he fell upon him for refuſing to admit his Proviſions, and ſent him a menacing Letter, which would have frightened any but him. *Groſteſt* returned the Perſon, that was ordered to ſend him the Letter with certain Inſtructions (1), a very bold Anſwer, of which the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the following Extract.

M. Paris. p. 825.

Id. p. 859.

M. Paris. p. 870.

"I deſire your Prudence to take notice, that I am "always ready to obey the Apoſtolical Inſtructions, and "declare my ſelf an Enemy to whatever is repugnant "thereto. For to both theſe things, I am bound by the "Command of God. To apply this: The Apoſtolical "Inſtruction (2) muſt of neceſſity be agreeable to the "Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of our Saviour *Jeſus* "*Chriſt*, who is principally repreſented by the Pope. "Since *Jeſus Chriſt* has declared, *he that is not with me* "*is againſt me*, the Sanctity of the Apoſtolick See is "ſuch, that it can never appear in oppoſition to our "Lord. From hence it plainly follows, that the Letter "in Queſtion (3), is directly oppoſite to an Apoſtolical "Character. Firſt, becauſe of the Clauſe *Non-obſtante*, "ſo frequently made uſe of now-a-days, which has no"thing of natural Equity in it. On the contrary, it "is certain, it introduces a Deluge of Miſchief, as it "gives occaſion to a great deal of Inconſtancy and Breach "of Faith. It ſhakes the Foundations of mutual "Truſt, and makes Language and Writings of no Force "or Significancy. In fine, it cannot be, but that the "Purity of Religion, and the Peace of Society, muſt "ſuffer extremely, by ſuch a ſtretch of Apoſtolical Au"thority. In the ſecond Place, next to the Sins of Lu"cifer and Antichriſt, there cannot be a greater Defec"tion, or which carries with it a more direct oppoſition "to the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, than "to deſtroy Souls, by depriving them of the paſtoral "Office. And yet it is evident, that thoſe are guilty "of this Sin, who undertake the ſacerdotal Function, "and receive the Profits, without diſcharging the Duty. "For in the Scripture-Account, the Paſtor who neg"lects his Flock, is a downright Murderer of the Sheep. "Can one help therefore conſidering as a moſt flagrant "Crime, a Conduct, which tends ſo ſtrongly to the "Deſtruction of Truth and Virtue, and the Happineſs "of Mankind? If in moral Productions, the Cauſe of "Good is better than the Effect, it is juſt the contrary "in the Propagation of Vice, the Source and Original "whereof are worſe than the Diſorder, that flows from "them. It is manifeſt therefore, that thoſe, who bring "ſuch unqualified Perſons into the Church, and by that "means deſtroy the Hierarchy, are moſt to blame; "and their Crime riſes, in proportion to the Height of "their Station. From hence I conclude, that the "Apoſtolical See, which has received ſo full an Autho"rity from our Saviour, *for Edification*, *and not for* "*Deſtruction*, ought not to countenance, much leſs to "command, ſo horrid and pernicious a Prevarication. "To attempt any thing of this kind would be a no"torious Abuſe, if not a Forfeiture of her Authority. "It would be in effect, to ſtray at a vaſt Diſtance from "*the Throne of Glory*, and to repreſent in a very ill man"ner the Perſon of our Saviour. Such Perſons may be "ſaid rather to be placed in the Chair of Peſtilence, "and to ſit upon the Bench, with the Devil and An"tichriſt. Neither can any Chriſtian, who deſires to "continue in the Communion of the Church, and pays "a due Regard to the Apoſtolick See, obey any com"mands of this kind, though impoſed by an Angel from "Heaven. On the contrary, he ought to rebel, if I may "call it ſo, againſt the Order, and oppoſe it to the ut"moſt of his Power. For this reaſon, ſince the In"ſtructions above-mentioned are ſo plain a Contradic"tion to the Catholick Faith, and the Sanctity of the "Apoſtolick See, my Duty obliges me to refuſe them, "and not to comply out of Deference to the Perſon, "by whom they are ſent. Neither can your Prudence "juſtly put any hardſhip upon me, becauſe, properly "ſpeaking, my Refuſal ought not to be looked upon as "a Contumacy, but rather as a filial Reſpect. For, to "ſum up all in a word, the Apoſtolical See has its "Commiſſion only for Edification, and not for Deſtruc"tion, and the Plenitude of its Power ought not to "extend beyond what relates to Edification. But theſe "Proviſions, as they are called, have a manifeſt Ten"dency to Deſtruction. Therefore, the *Holy See* can "by no means allow ſuch a Liberty: For, to conclude, "theſe Practices are revealed by *Fleſh and Blood*, *which* "*cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, and not by the "Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*."

This Letter put *Innocent* into a terrible Rage. *What!* ſays he, *has this old Dotard the Confidence to cenſure my Conduct! By St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, *I will make him ſuch an Example, that the World ſhall ſtand amazed at his Puniſhment* (4). His Paſſion, however, was ſomewhat moderated by the Cardinals, who repreſented to him, the ill Conſequences of too great a Severity. That the Noiſe he ſhould make on this occaſion, would be prejudicial to the *Holy See*, ſince it would infallibly cauſe the *Engliſh* to examine the Motives. That there was danger, that, as they ſtood affected to the *Holy See*, and to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, they would think it very ſtrange, that a Prelate of ſo eſtabliſhed a Reputation, ſhould be treated with ſuch Rigour. That, on the contrary, there was a Neceſſity of carefully avoiding the giving occaſion to enter into the Examination of what he alledged to juſtify his Non-compliance; and therefore, upon all theſe accounts, it was moſt adviſable to take no notice at all of this inſolent Letter. Though theſe Remonſtrances moderated the Effects of the Pope's Fury, they were not however ſufficient to appeaſe him entirely. The Annals of *Lanercoſt* inform us, the Biſhop was excommunicated a little before his Death, and, without regarding the Cenſure, appealed to *the Court of Heaven*. This is farther confirmed by the Report of ſeveral Hiſtorians, who ſay, that *Innocent* moved in the *Conclave*, that the Body of *Groſteſt* ſhould be taken up and buried in the High-way, but that the Cardinals conſented not to it. Be this as it will, if he was excommunicated, he minded it not, but continued to diſcharge his Functions; neither were the Clergy of his Dioceſe more ſcrupulous than their Biſhop, and obeyed him till the Day of his Death. The Biſhops his Brethren, and the Monks themſelves, though great Sticklers to the Pope, were not more apt to believe this Excommunication had produced any great Effect. Some, who were preſent at his Death, affirmed, they were entertained with divine Muſick in the Air over the Houſe where he died. We find likewiſe that in the Pontificate of *Clement* V, the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul* petitioned very earneſtly for the Canonization of *Groſteſt*, on account of ſeveral Miracles wrought by him after his Death. But as he was not of that ſort of Saints wherewith the Court of *Rome* filled the Calendar, their Petition was rejected. An inſtance of a Biſhop dying under the Sentence of Excommunication, and yet paſſing for a Saint in the Country where he lived, is a Difficulty which muſt be left to be cleared by thoſe whom it concerns. I ſhall only relate one circumſtance more, which, if not true, is, at leaſt, a Proof of the great Opinion of

Id. p. 872.

Ang. Sacr. p. 341.

M. Paris. p. 876.

Angl. Sacr. P. II. p. 343.

(1) *Matthew Paris* mentions not the Contents of the Brief, but only takes notice in general that the Biſhop looked upon the Inſtructions the Pope had ſent him, to be unreaſonable as they uſually were, ſays our Author, p. 870.

(2) By which are meant the Pope's Orders.

(3) Meaning the Pope's Brief.

(4) "For, continues the Pope, is not his Sovereign the King of *England* our Vaſſal? Nay, is he not our Slave? It is but therefore ſignifying our "Pleaſure to the *Engliſh* Court, and this antiquated Prelate will be immediately impriſoned, and put to what further Diſgrace ... ſhall think fit." *M. Paris*, p. 872.

M. Paris. p. 397.

this Prelate's Sanctity. An Hiſtorian reports, that *Groſteſt*, a little after his Death, appeared in his Robes to *Innocent* IV, and ſtriking him on the Side with his Croſier, gave him a ſevere Reprimand. He adds, that the Pope was ſo frightened at this Apparition, that he continued two days without eating. I have nothing to ſay concerning the Truth of this Relation, but draw this Inference from it, that though the Biſhop died excommunicated by the Pope, and in Sentiments very oppoſite to thoſe of the Court of *Rome*, the Hiſtorian for all that teſtified by this Circumſtance, that he believed him glorified in Heaven.

Groſteſt (1) wrote ſeveral Tracts. Amongſt other Performances he tranſlated from the *Greek* into *Latin*, *The Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs*, a Copy of which one *John de Baſingſtoke*, who met with it at *Athens*, put into his hands. As to the time when the Original was written, it is uncertain. Dr. *Cave* aſſigns it to the latter end of the ſecond Century. *Dodwell* places it in the firſt, and ſome others believe it was compoſed by ſome *Jew* before our Saviour's Death (2).

M. Paris. P. 597, 883. Grabe.

(1) He was born at *Stodbrocke* in *Suffolk*; and died *October* 8, 1253. *M. Paris*, p. 876.

(2) As to the Hiſtorians who lived in theſe four Reigns, the moſt noted are:

SIMEON OF DURHAM, a Monk and *Precentor* of the Church of *Durham*, in the Year 1164, one of the moſt learned Men of his Age. He wrote, beſides other things, two Books, *de Geſtis Regum*, which are not his Maſter-pieces, being only a few indigeſted Collections, chiefly out of *Florence of Worceſter*, whoſe very Words he frequently copies. He begins where *Bede* left off, and goes as far as the 29th of *Henry* I, 1129. He is one of the X *Scriptores*, publiſhed 1652, at *London*.

HENRY Archdeacon of HUNTINGDON, flouriſhed about the ſame time; whoſe eight Books, concluding with the Reign of King *Stephen*, were publiſhed by Sir *Henry Savil*. He is a Follower of *Bede*, and has borrowed a great many Lies from *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*. He writes confuſedly, and reduces the Tranſactions of the *Heptarchy* to the ſeveral Reigns of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, but has not adjuſted them ſo well as he ought to have done.

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, ſo called from a Monaſtery in *Yorkſhire*, whereof he was Member. His Hiſtory begins at the *Conqueſt*, and ends at the Year 1197. He was a violent Perſecutor of *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*. His *Latin* Stile is preferred to that of *Matt. Paris*, and equalled with thoſe of *Eadmer* and *Malmſbury* by Dr. *Watts*.

GERVASE, a Monk of *Canterbury*, wrote a Chronicle of the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry* II, and *Richard* I, with Judgment enough, ſays Biſhop *Nicolſon*. It was publiſhed among the X *Scriptores*. *Lond.* 1652.

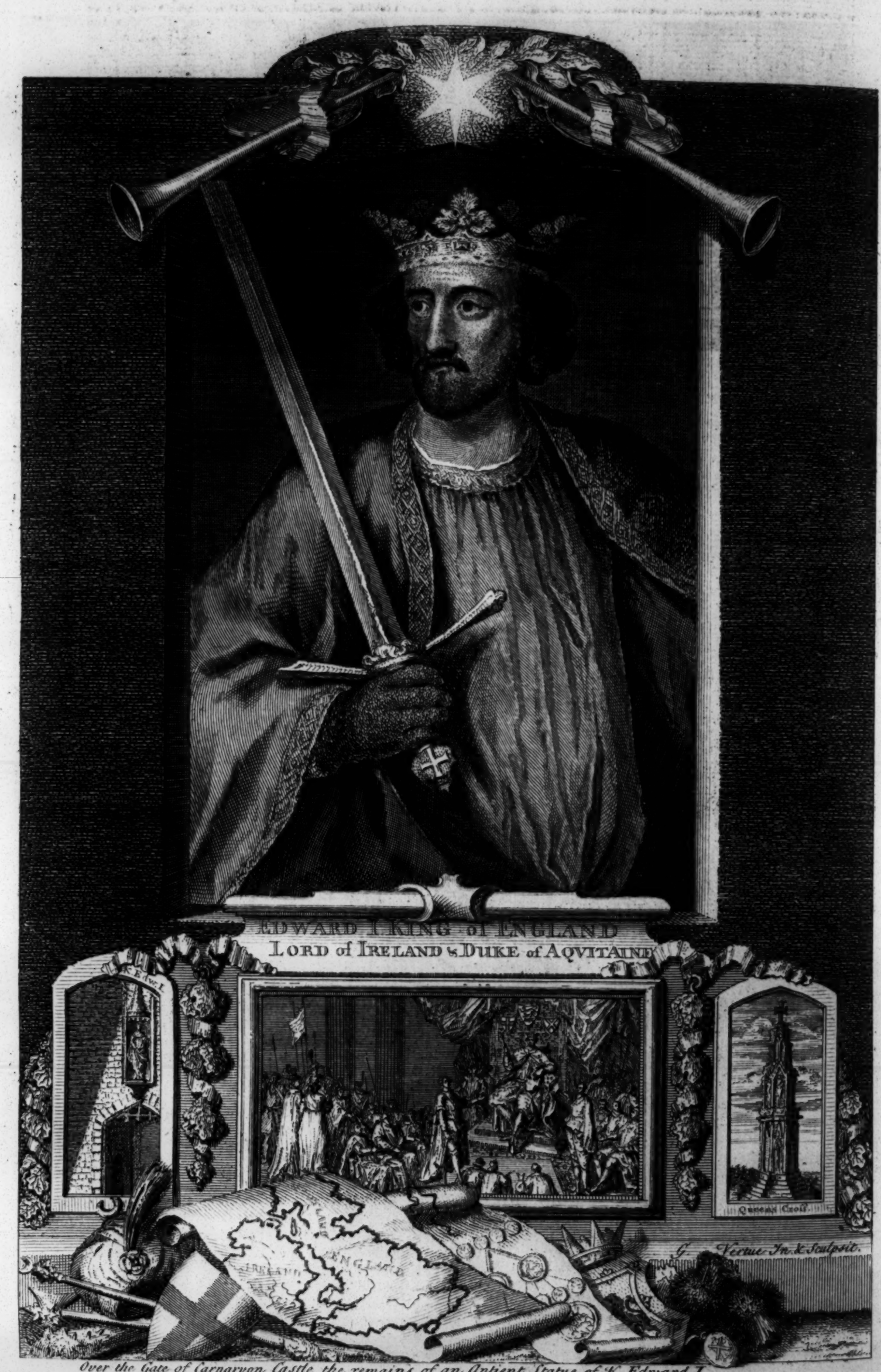
ROGER DE HOVEDEN, Chaplain ſome time to *Henry* II. He is charged with borrowing from *Simeon of Durham*, without acknowleging it, but, as Biſhop *Nicolſon* obſerves, if he did, he has improved his Story, adding Years to many things confuſedly related in that Author. There are in his Book many Letters, Speeches, &c. relating to Eccleſiaſtical Matters. He was Cotemporary with *Gervaſe*, 1201. His Hiſtory was publiſhed by Sir *Henry Savil*. *Francf.* 1601.

RALPH DE DICETO, Dean of *London*. He wrote about the Year 1210. His *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* contain an Abſtract of our Hiſtory down to the *Conqueſt*; and his *Imagines Hiſtoriarum* give the Portraitures of ſome of our Kings more at length, ending with the firſt Years of King *John*'s Reign. Mr. *Selden* praiſes this Author and his Works, tho' Biſhop *Nicolſon* ſays, he uſually copied *verbatim* out of other Writers. He is among the X *Scriptores*.

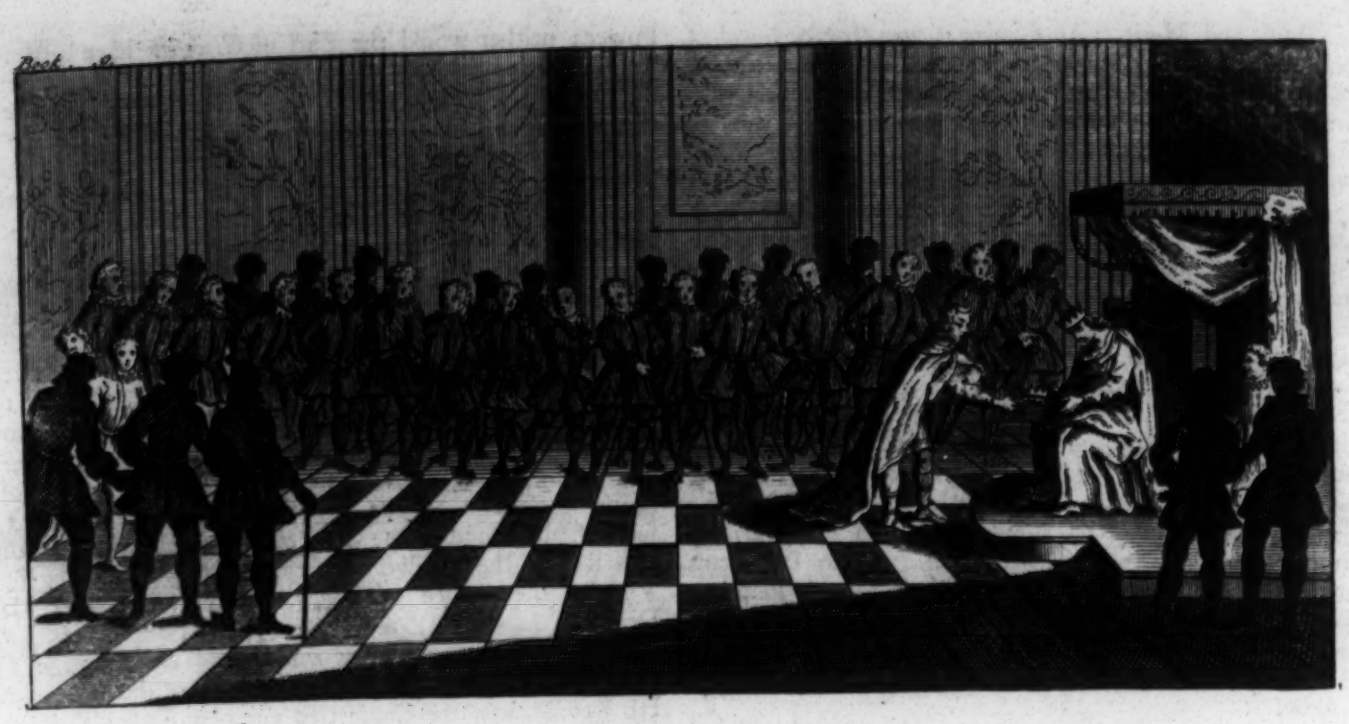
WALTER, a Monk of *Coventry*, a clear and faithful Writer. He lived in *Coventry* in 1217. He has ſome few things of Note not to be met with in *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*, *Hoveden*, and *Huntingdon*, in his three Books of *Chronicles*, which are chiefly Collections from the ſaid Authors.

MATTHEW PARIS, a Monk of St. *Albans*, one of the moſt renowned Hiſtorians of this Kingdom. His *Hiſtoria Major* contains the *Annals* at large of eight of our Kings, from *William the Conqueror* to *Henry* III. It was firſt publiſhed at *London* 1571, and reprinted with Additions of various Readings, &c. by Dr. *Watts*, *London* 1640, and ſince 1685. From the Year 1259, wherein *Matt. Paris* died, to *Henry* III's Death, it was continued by *William Riſhanger*, a Monk of the ſame Fraternity. The whole Work manifeſts a great deal of Candour and Exactneſs in the Author, who tells us ſo particularly of the brave Repulſes given by many of our Princes to the Uſurpations of the *Roman See*, that it is a Wonder how ſuch an Heretical Hiſtory came to ſurvive thus long. A fair Copy of this Hiſtory, ſuppoſed to be written by the Author's own Hand, is in the King's Library at S. *James*'s. He wrote an Abſtract of his Hiſtory, which *Lambard* ſtiles his *Hiſtoria Minor*, having in it ſeveral Particulars of Note omitted in his *Hiſtoria Major*. It is pretended, that *Paris* had but a ſmall Hand in the whole Hiſtory, having begun only at the Year 1135. the reſt being done to his Hand by one *Roger de Windleſhore*, or *Windſor*, (or *de Wendover Prior de Bealvair*, as it is in the MS Copy in *Cotton*'s Library) one of his Predeceſſors in the ſame Monaſtery.

THE



Over the Gate of Carnarvon Castle, the remains of an Antient Statue of K. Edward I.



THE

HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK IX.

The Reigns of EDWARD I. *and* EDWARD II; *Containing the Space of Fifty Five Years.*

9. *EDWARD* I. (1) *Sirnamed* LONG-SHANKS.

1272. EDWARD I.

THE Death of *Henry* III, happening during the Abſence of his Son *Edward*, who was to ſucceed him, ſeemed to offer the Male-contents a favorable Opportunity to raiſe new Troubles. However, it was not attended with any ill Conſequence. *Leiceſter*'s Party was ſo humbled, that they were no longer able to look up. And though ſome reſtleſs Perſons had made uſe of this juncture, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, the Nation's good Opinion of *Edward*, would have rendered their Projects impracticable. This Prince ſhined with great Luſtre, during the latter Part of his Father's Reign. The Victory of *Eveſham*, the Reduction of the *Ely* Rebels, and his Clemency to them when reduced, were ſtill freſh in the Memory of the *Engliſh*, and filled them with Eſteem and Admiration for his rare Qualities. They did not doubt but he would employ all his Talents, to reſtore the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, which had received ſuch violent Shocks in the two foregoing Reigns, ſo that, far from being inclined to favour the Malecontents, they ſhewed an extreme Impatience to ſee their new Sovereign, building on him alone all the hopes of their future Happineſs. Though *Edward* was abſent, and not even heard of, all the Barons with one accord ſwore Fealty to him (2). At the ſame time they writ him a very reſpectful and ſubmiſſive Letter, inviting him to come with all ſpeed, and take poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors. Mean while, they aſſembled at *London* (3), to commit the Regency of the Kingdom to ſuch as ſhould be deemed the moſt capable. Their Choice falling upon the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Cheſter* (4), the Parliament, which met quickly after (5), confirmed all the meaſures taken for the Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom (6). 1272.

This Parliament was compoſed not only of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, but alſo of the Knights of the Shires, and Repreſentatives of the principal Cities and Burroughs (7). The ſame thing was practiſed under the Government of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, during the late King's Captivity. But theſe Aſſemblies were not convened by a lawful Authority. I ſhall not ſtay to examine whether, before the Time I am now ſpeaking of, the Commons had a Right to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament. This is a Point full of Difficulties, and not yet thoroughly cleared. I ſhall only ſay, it can't be denied, that they enjoyed this Privilege in the Reign of *Edward* I, and from thence forward to this day, have preſerved it without Interruption. An. Waverl.

The Barons ſwore Fealty to Edward, *though abſent.* M. Weſt. An. Waverl. Walſing.

Edward purſuing his Voyage, without knowing what paſſed in *England*, ſafely arrived in *Sicily*; where he was received by *Charles* of *Anjou* with all the Reſpect due to

Edward *arrives in* Sicily. M. Weſt. Walſing.

(1) This was in reality the fourth King of his Name, there having been three *Edwards* in the time of the *Saxons*. For this Reaſon, in ſpeaking of this, and the two following *Edwards*, by the Name of *Edward* I, II, III, it was uſual to add *Poſt Conqueſtum*, *after the Conqueſt*; but by degrees that Addition was omitted. *Rapin.*

(2) As ſoon as *Henry* was buried at *Weſtminſter*, *John* Earl of *Warren*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, with the Clergy and Laity, went up to the High-Altar, and ſwore Fealty to his Son *Edward*, *November* 20, M. *Weſtm.* p. 401.

(3) The Nobility aſſembled at the *New-Temple*, and ordered a new Seal to be made, *M. Weſt.* ibid. *Walſingham*, p. 43.

(4) *Walter Gifford*, Archbiſhop of *York*; *Edmund Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cornwal*, Son to *Richard*, Brother to the late King *Henry* III; and *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*. *M. Weſt.* p. 401.

(5) About the middle of *January*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 226.

(6) They appointed *Walter de Merton* Chancellor. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 227.

(7) According to the *Annals of Waverly*, this Parliament conſiſted of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, Abbots, and Priors, four Knights from every Shire, and four Repreſentatives from each City, p. 227.

1272. his Rank and Merit. At *Meſſina* it was that he heard of his Father's Death, for whom he appeared more concerned than for his eldeſt Son *John*, the News of whoſe Death
T. Wikes. was brought at the ſame time. From *Sicily* he went to *Rome*, where he ſtaid ſome days, to viſit the new Pope, who was his particular Friend. and had accompanied him
1273. to *Paleſtine*, in quality of Legate (1). After this, he took
He is preſent at a Tournament at Chalon. the road to *France*, and paſſed through *Burgundy* (2).
M. Weſt. Walſing Hemingford. As he had the Reputation of being a Prince of great Valour and Bravery, the Earl of *Chalon*, who valued himſelf upon the ſame Qualities, deſired his preſence at a Tournament which was to be in his Country, and even ſent him a ſort of a Challenge. Though a King of *England* might honourably decline entring the Liſts with an Earl of *Chalon*, *Edward* accepted his Challenge without heſitation. He was apprehenſive, no doubt, of injuring his Reputation, in caſe he refuſed. Neither could the Pope's Letter, which his Holineſs ſent him to divert him from his purpoſe, prevail with him. Some Hiſtorians pretend the *Burgundians* did not uſe all the fair Play requiſite on ſuch Occaſions. They tell us the Tournament was turned into a real Fight, wherein the *Engliſh* had the Advantage, and which was called, *the little Battle of Chalon*.

He viſits the King of France, *and from thence goes to* Guienne. M. Weſt. Mezerai. Walſing. As *Edward* paſſed through *France*, he thought he could not diſpenſe with taking a turn to *Paris*, to pay a viſit to King *Philip*, who gave him a very honourable and civil Reception, and received his Homage for *Guienne* (3). After that, *Edward* came to *Bourdeaux*, where the Vaſſals of that Duchy did him Homage. Some ſay, that *Gaſton de Moncade*, Viſcount of *Bearn*, refuſing to do Homage, was taken into Cuſtody at *Bourdeaux*, where he was come to meet the King. But though it be true, that the Viſcount promiſed not to leave the Court of *Edward* without his Conſent, it is certain, however, that this Difference with the King concerned not the Homage of *Bearn*.
Act. Pub. II. p. 132. The *Collection of the Publick Acts* evidently ſhews that the Diſpute was about quite another Affair. It was decided at *Limoges* by *Accurſius* a famous Civilian then in the Service of the King (4).

1274. As ſoon as *Edward* had ſettled his Affairs in *Guienne*,
He arrives in England, *and is crowned.* M. Weſt. T. Wikes. An. Waverl. Walſing. he came into *England*, where he was received with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Affection and Reſpect, as having acquired freſh Merit by his late Expedition to *Paleſtine*. A few days after his Arrival (5) he was crowned, with *Eleanor* his Queen, in Preſence of *Alexander* III, King of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and all the Peers of the Realm. Hiſtorians tell us, that on occaſion of this Solemnity, five hundred Horſes were let looſe about the Field, which were liberally given to ſuch as could catch them.

He ſends Commiſſioners into ſeveral Counties. Pat. 2. Ed. I. M. 6. The new King's firſt care, after his Coronation, was to make ſtrict Inquiry into the Affairs of the Kingdom (6). To that purpoſe, he appointed Commiſſioners to go through the ſeveral Counties, and take exact Information concerning the Fees held of the Crown, and the State they were in. They were likewiſe ordered to examine into, and puniſh the Miſdemeanours of the Magiſtrates, who for ſome time had but too much abuſed their Authority in oppreſſing the Subjects. This firſt Step produced a wonderful Effect among the People. It was plain, the King intended to govern in a very different manner from his Father and Grandfather, and every one expected with Aſſurance the happy Fruits of the Maxims he was following, to procure himſelf a peaceable Reign. It was abſolutely neceſſary for *Edward*, to make himſelf eſteemed and feared by his Subjects, that no inteſtine Troubles might obſtruct the grand Deſigns

He deſigns to chaſtiſe the Prince of Wales. he was meditating. The firſt, and that which chiefly poſſeſſed his Thoughts, was the chaſtiſing *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*. This Prince had plainly diſcovered, during the late Troubles in *England*, how dangerous a Neighbour he was, ſince he was ever ready to countenance the *Engliſh* Malecontents. Had it not been for him, the Earl of *Leiceſter* would never have riſen to that heighth of Power; neither would the Earl of *Gloceſter* have become ſo formidable, without *Lewellyn*'s Aſſiſtance. The Conduct of this Prince on theſe and ſeveral other occaſions, cauſed *Edward* to reſolve, to put it out of his Enemy's Power to hurt him. But the then Circumſtances of the Times, and his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, obliged him to defer the Execution of his Project. *Lewellyn* was not ignorant of it. He conſidered *Edward* as his greateſt Foe. But his Precautions to ſcreen himſelf from his Reſentment, had a quite contrary Effect, as they furniſhed the King with a Pretence to attack him. 1274.

1275. I have before obſerved, that old *Lewellyn*, Grandfather
The cauſe of the War with Wales. to this Prince, was become Vaſſal and Tributary to *Henry* III, and that his Succeſſor did Homage to the ſame King for all *Wales*. Though the *Welſh* afterwards made ſome Struggles to throw off this Yoke, even to the offering to ſubmit to the Pope, they were never able to ſucceed. In ſpite of the Troubles in *England* during the late Reign, the Crown continued to reckon, among her Vaſſals, the Prince of *Wales*. Immediately after the
Act. Pub. II. p. 26. Brady's Ap. No. 2. Death of *Henry* III, and before the Return of *Edward*, *Lewellyn* was ſummoned to appear and do Homage to the abſent King (7), but he regarded not the Summons. His Refuſal was the Cauſe that the new King, preſently after his Arrival, ordered him to be ſummoned a ſecond time, to do him Homage, and aſſiſt at his Coronation as Vaſſal. *Lewellyn* found Reaſons to be excuſed. He pretended, the *Engliſh* had not kept the late Treaty of Peace, and had committed on his Frontiers ſeveral Outrages, for which he demanded Satisfaction. To remove this Pretence, the King nominated Commiſſioners to adjuſt all things, and withal ſummoned him again to appear and do Homage. This third Summons was no more regarded than the former. Mean while, *Lewellyn*, being informed, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was going to excommunicate him and put his Territories under an Interdict, writ to the Pope, to try to divert this Blow. The means he uſed to gain the Court of *Rome*, were ſo effectual, that the Pope forbid the Archbiſhop to act againſt him, as long as he offered to do Homage in his own Country. *Edward* not being ſatisfied with theſe Cavils, ſent him a peremptory Summons, which the *Welſh* Prince thought fit to obey. He ſtill inſiſted however upon
T. Wikes. p. 101. the Place, pretending, he was obliged to do Homage only to the King in Perſon, and on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. *Edward* readily conſented to this. But a ſudden Illneſs ſeizing him as he was going to *Shrewsbury*, cauſed the Homage to be deferred to another time. Afterwards *Lewellyn* repented of the Advances he had made. And from thenceforward nothing could prevail with him to truſt himſelf in the hands of a Monarch, whom he looked upon as his ſworn Enemy. After ſeveral fruitleſs Summons, the King found at length, that a more effectual Method muſt be taken. However, as he was willing to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom, before he made War upon his Neighbours, he was contented with citing *Lewellyn* before the Parliament (8), which was to meet the beginning of the next Year. The *Welſh* Prince appeared not. He alledged in excuſe for his refuſal, that the King having ſhewn on ſeveral occaſions an
Act. Pub. II p. 68. Walſing. extreme Animoſity to him, he could not truſt his Perſon with his declared Enemy. Nevertheleſs he proteſted, he was ready to do him Homage in his own Country, if the King would ſend Commiſſioners thither to receive it, or elſe in ſome third Place, where he might be without Danger. He offered moreover to come into the King's Territories, provided he would give him the Prince his eldeſt Son in Hoſtage, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and the High-Chancellor. So arrogant an Anſwer ſerved only to confirm *Edward* in his Reſolution. He diſſembled however, that he might not interrupt the Seſſions of the Parliament, which was employed in affairs of great Importance; namely, in enacting excellent Laws, for ſecuring the Peace and Liberties of the People, as well as the Immunities of the Church, and Privileges of the

(1) The Pope granted *Edward*, for three Years, the Tenths of all the Clergy's Revenues in *England*. *T. Wikes*, p. 99. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 227.

(2) Where ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons met him. *M. Weſtm*, p. 402. *Walſingh.* p. 44.

(3) The Form of the Homage, according to *M. Weſt*, was thus, "My Lord King, I do you Homage for all the Lands which I ought to hold of you." p. 402.

(4) Whilſt King *Edward* was in *Guienne*, ſome Perſons in the North of *England* gathered together, to the Number of three hundred, and ſpread a Report about, That *Edward* would never return to *England*; but *Edmund* the King's Brother, and *Roger de Mortimer*, aſſembled ſome Forces, and diſperſed them. *M. Weſtm.* p. 403.

(5) He and his Queen landed in *England*, *July* 25, and were crowned *Auguſt* 19. *M. Weſtm.* p. 407.——*T. Wikes*, p. 101. and *Ann. Waverl.* p. 229. affirm, he landed in *England*, *Auguſt* 2.

(6) He iſſued out Writs of Enquiry by the Oaths of twelve legal Men, to two Commiſſioners in every County to enquire, what his Royalties, and the Liberties and Prerogatives of his Crown were, who were his Tenants *in Capite*, and military Service, and how many, and what Fees they held of him, Of his Tenants in ancient Demeſne, how they had behaved themſelves, and in what Condition their Farms were: Of Sheriffs, Coroners, Eſcheators, Bailiffs and their Clerks, whether they had extorted Money from any Man, by reaſon of their Office, had wronged any one, or received Bribes for neglecting or being remiſs in their Offices, *&c.* The whole Enquiry contained thirty four Articles. *Patent* 2. *Edw.* I. M. 6.

(7) A writ was directed, *November* 29. 1272, by *Walter de Merton*, then Chancellor, to the Abbots of *Dore* and *Hagenham*, to receive *Lewellyn*'s Oath of Fealty. See *Brady*'s *Appendix*, N. 2.

(8) Which was held at *Weſtminſter*, in the beginning of *May*.

Clergy.

1275. *Statutes of Weſtminſter.* Clergy. They were called, *The Statutes of Weſtminſter* (1).

1276. Edward *attacks the Prince of* Wales. Walſing. An. Waverl. When the Parliament broke up, the King ſeriouſly thought of the War, which he was reſolved to carry into *Wales*, to puniſh the Diſobedience of *Lewellyn*. Whilſt he was making Preparations, ſome *Briſtol* Men happened to take a Veſſel, in which was one of the Daughters of the late Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was going to *Lewellyn*, to whom ſhe was contracted. The Prince demanded his Wife, and the King refuſing to ſend her, he perceived he was to expect a War, and indeed as ſoon as *Edward* had taken all his meaſures, he convened the Peers of the Realm (2), who paſſed Judgment upon *Lewellyn*, declaring him guilty of Felony; upon which the War was proclaimed (3). *Lewellyn* was then ſorry he had puſhed matters ſo far. To divert the impending Storm, he humbly ſued for Peace, and withal entreated the King to reſtore him his Wife. Both his Requeſts were denied, unleſs he would bind himſelf, to repair all the Damages done to the Borders of *England*, during the late Wars; a Condition, which he would not accept. The War therefore was begun, but was not very vigorouſly purſued the firſt Campaign (4).

1277. Edward *preſſes* Lewellyn. An. Waverl. In the beginning of the next Spring, *Edward* aſſembling a great number of Forces, put himſelf at the head of his Army, and marched into the Enemies Country. He cauſed there a very large way to be cut through a vaſt Foreſt, opening by that means a Paſſage to the very Center of *Wales*. Before he proceeded, he built the Caſtles of *Flint* and *Rhudhlan* (5), which ſecured him an Entrance at all times, and a Retreat in caſe of Neceſſity. As the *Welſh* were not able to withſtand him, he advanced farther, and drove them to the Mountain of *Snowdon*, their uſual Refuge, when purſued by the *Engliſh*. At the ſame time his Fleet attacked the Iſle of *Angleſey*, which made but a faint Reſiſtance.

Who ſubmits to hard Terms. Walſing. An. Waverl. *Lewellyn* finding himſelf unable to oppoſe ſo formidable an Enemy, was obliged humbly to ſue for Peace, which was granted but on very hard Terms. He was forced to promiſe to pay fifty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, for the Expences of the War. Moreover, *Edward* reſtoring to him the Iſle of *Angleſey*, it was agreed, that, for the future, he ſhould hold it of the Crown of *England*, paying yearly a thouſand Marks. He promiſed likewiſe to give entire Satisfaction to his Brother *David*, who had fled for Refuge to the King, and delivered Hoſtages for the Performance of his Word. The Haughtineſs of the Prince of *Wales*, being tamed by ſo mortifying a Treaty, *Edward* was contented for once with the Honour of the Victory. He generouſly reſtored the Hoſtages, and forgave him the Sums he was bound to pay. However, he cauſed a Grant of the Iſle of *Angleſey* to be made to him, which nevertheleſs he was not to enjoy, unleſs *Lewellyn* died without Heirs. Then he delivered up the betrothed Lady, and did him the Honour to aſſiſt at his Nuptials. He created alſo *David*, Brother of *Lewellyn*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and to attach him to the Intereſts of *England*, gave him to Wife a rich *Engliſh* Heireſs (6).

1278. Act. Pub. II. p. 91. Edward *reſtores the Hoſtages.* Ibid. p. 95. Walſing. T. Wikes.

1279. *The Earldom of* Ponthieu *falls to him.* M. Weſt. Walſing. The happy Iſſue of the War with *Wales* was immediately followed by *Edward*'s Acquiſition in *France*, of the Earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Montreuil*, fallen to his Queen, by the Death of her Mother, Queen of *Caſtile*, who was in poſſeſſion. But to obtain of the King of *France* the Inveſtiture of that Fief, he was obliged to confirm the King his Father's Treaty, made whilſt a Captive to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and to renounce, like him, all Claim to *Anjou* and *Normandy*. He reſerved however the yearly Rent of thirty Pounds out of the Revenues of *Normandy*, apparently as an Acknowledgment that it once belonged to his Anceſtors.

M. Weſt.

The Jews *puniſhed for clipping and coining.* M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Walſing. This Affair being ended, *Edward* ſeriouſly ſet about rectifying the Coin, which was very much altered and adulterated, during the Troubles of the late Reign. Upon Information that the *Jews* were the chief Authors of this Miſchief, he cauſed all that were in the Kingdom to be ſeized in one day (7), that the Guilty might not eſcape. Then, after a ſtrict Examination, two hundred and eighty (8), convicted of clipping and coining, or putting off falſe Money, received Sentence of Death, and were executed without mercy. 1279.

Statute of Mortmain. Stat. at large. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Knighton. An Affair of another nature, but of no leſs Importance to the Publick, furniſhed the King with a freſh Opportunity to ſhew his Reſolution, to reform the Abuſes introduced into the Kingdom. The prodigious increaſe of the Riches of the Clergy and Monaſteries, had been long a ſubject of Complaint, without any one being able hitherto to find an effectual Remedy, to put a ſtop to a thing ſo prejudicial to the State. The Barons, who had exacted from King *John* the Charter ſo often mentioned, had taken care to inſert a Clauſe, expreſly forbidding all Perſons to alienate their Lands to the Church. But this Prohibition, as well as ſeveral others, had not been well obſerved. The Complaints upon this head were renewed in the beginning of this Reign, wherein every one thought he had reaſon to hope all Grievances would be redreſſed. It was demonſtrated to the King, that in proceſs of time, all the Lands would be in the hands of the Clergy, if People were ſtill ſuffered to alienate their Eſtates to the Church. And indeed, the Church never dying, always acquiring and never alienating, it could not be but that her Riches ſhould increaſe immenſely, and in the end all the Lands of the Kingdom would be in her hands. *Edward* having maturely conſidered this Affair, ſummoned the Parliament (9), and propoſed the making a Law to reform this Abuſe. The Propoſal was received with Joy, and a Statute was made, whereby all Perſons were forbid to diſpoſe of their Eſtates to Societies, which never die, without the King's expreſs Conſent. This Statute was called the Statute of *Mortmain*, becauſe it was intended to prevent Eſtates from falling into dead Hands, that is, Hands of no Service to the King and the Publick, without hopes of their ever changing their Owners.

1280. *The Statute of* Quo Warranto. An. Waverl. Hemingf. The Parliament which met the next Year (10), being deſirous to redreſs another Abuſe, unadviſedly gave birth to a greater. During the Troubles of the two late Reigns, ſeveral Perſons appropriated to themſelves Lands, which belonged not to them. The Crown it ſelf was a Sufferer by this diſorder. To remedy this Evil, and give every one his own, the Parliament paſſed an Act, in it ſelf very juſt. It imported, that all who were in poſſeſſion of the conteſted Eſtates, ſhould be obliged to ſhew how they acquired them, and produce their Title before the Judges, in order to be examined. This Statute, from the *Engliſh* Word *Warrant*, was ſtiled *Quo Warranto*, as much as to ſay, an Act which ſerves for Foundation or Security of the Poſſeſſion (11). So that the *Quo Warranto*, is properly a Right to demand of any Perſon, by what *Warrant*, or Title, he holds the Eſtate in diſpute. This Regulation was juſt and neceſſary: But the King miſled by ill Advice, and a Deſire of amaſſing Money, made uſe of it, contrary to the Deſign of the Parliament, to oppreſs his Subjects. As he was ſenſible, that among the great Numbers, who held their Lands of the Crown, it could not be but that many had loſt their Titles, he was reſolved to take advantage of their Misfortune, under colour of putting the Statute of *Quo Warranto* in execution. To that end he publiſhed a Proclamation, enjoining all Perſons that held Lands of the Crown, to lay their Titles before the Judges of the Realm. This Proclamation was looked upon as the Source of a very great Grievance. And indeed thoſe that were firſt attacked, and could not produce their original Titles, though they proved a long Poſſeſſion, were forced to pay large Sums to the King, to preſerve their Eſtates. This Grievance would have gone much farther, had not a Stop been put to it by the Courage of the Earl of *Warren*. The Earl appearing before the Judges, was required to ſhew the fundamental Title, by virtue whereof he held his Lands. He anſwered, by drawing an old ruſty

The King makes an ill uſe of it.

Bold Reply of Earl Warren.

(1) See them in *Coke*'s 2d Inſtitute. p. 156, *&c.* This ſame Year, about *October* 6. another Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, in which Statutes were made for reſtraining the exceſſive Uſury exacted by the *Jews*; and it was alſo enacted, That they ſhould wear a Badge upon their Clothes, in the Shape of the two Tables of *Moſes*'s Law.——About the 18th of the ſame Month, another Parliament met, which granted the King a Fifteenth upon the Laity, by the common Conſent of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 230, 231.

(2) Or rather a Parliament, at *Weſtminſter*, after *Eaſter*; in which the King gave Directions for levying the Fifteenth upon the Clergy and Laity; and alſo iſſued out his Orders, for the exact obſervance of the Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Foreſts. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 231.

(3) And *Edward* ſent three hundred Men towards *Briſtol*, *Montgomery*, and *Cheſter*, to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Welſh*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 232.

(4) A Parliament was held at *Wincheſter*, this Year in *January*. And another at *Weſtminſter* after *Michaelmas*, wherein the Statute *de bigamis* was made. *Ann. Wigorn.*

(5) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays *Rutland*, whereas it was the Caſtle of *Rhudhlan* in *Flintſhire*. This Caſtle was built by *Robert de Rhudhlan*, Nephew of *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*. The Caſtle therefore was not built, but repaired by *Edward* I. *Camden in Flintſh.*

(6) *Eleanor* Daughter of *Robert de Ferrars*, Earl of *Derby*. This Year, about the middle of *October*, King *Edward* held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; where the King of *Scotland* came, and did him Homage. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 233. *Knighton.* For this War in *Wales*, King *Edward* obtained a Twentieth. *Walſingh.* p. 48.

(7) *November* 12. *T. Wikes*, p. 107.

(8) Of both Sexes, were executed in *London*; beſides great Numbers in other Parts of the Kingdom. *M. Weſt.* p. 409.

(9) At *Weſtminſter* in the beginning of *November*. *Statutes at large.*

(10) The beginning of *November*, at *London*. In this Parliament the Clergy granted the King a Fifteenth for two Years. *T. Wikes*, p. 110.

(11) It muſt be obſerved, that the Statute of *Quo Warranto* was not paſſed till 18 *Edw.* I. Theſe here were Writs of Enquiry iſſued out by the King after the Parliament was diſſolved.

1280. Sword out of the Scabbard, and ſaying to the Judges, *This is the Inſtrument, by which my Anceſtors gained their Eſtate, and by this I will keep it as long as I live* (1). So bold an Anſwer ſeemed likely to involve the Earl in Trouble, but it had a quite contrary Effect. The King found by it, how difficult it would be to exact upon the Nobility, on ſo frivolous a pretence, without falling into great Inconveniences. He ſaw plainly, there were ſtill among the Barons, Perſons as ready to hazard All in defence of their Rights and Properties, as thoſe in the time of *John* and *Henry* III. Beſides, he thereby knew how unjuſt his Pretenſions appeared to the People, as indeed they were. Theſe Conſiderations inducing him to revoke his Proclamation, the People expreſſed their Joy in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhewed how much they reſented this Oppreſſion. On the other hand, the King's Moderation turned more to his Advantage, than his Injuſtice had done to his Injury. His Subjects blamed the Miniſtry for whatever was odious in his Conduct, and aſcribed to him the Honour of reforming what was amiſs by his Prudence. What Glory ſoever this Prince had acquired by his Victories, his Conqueſt over himſelf on this occaſion, gained him more Honour than all his warlike Exploits. It is infinitely leſs glorious for a Sovereign to ſubdue Provinces and Kingdoms, which belong not to him, than to deſiſt voluntarily from a Pretenſion, which he diſcovers to be unjuſt.

1281. These domeſtick Employments were interrupted by the Revolt of *Lewellyn*. This Prince, bearing with extreme Impatience the Yoke of the *Engliſh*, made a freſh Attempt to free himſelf from it, but it ſerved only to hurle him down into Deſtruction. Three things eſpecially engaged him in his Enterpriſe. The firſt was, the reſtleſs Temper of his Brother *David*. What Care ſoever *Edward* had taken to gain his Affection by ſeveral Favours, this Prince never ceaſed to excite his Brother to take Arms, in order to free himſelf from Subjection. He thought it his own Concern, becauſe, as *Lewellyn* had no Children, he was his preſumptive Succeſſor. The ſecond thing that inclined *Lewellyn* to War, was a certain Prophecy of the famous *Merlin*. The *Welſh* fancied to ſee in this Prediction, that *Lewellyn* was deſtin'd to wear the Crown of *Brutus* the firſt King, as it was pretended, of the whole Iſland of *Albion*. This Notion had taken ſo deep root in their minds, and even in *Lewellyn*'s himſelf, that they built upon it, as on a ſure foundation. The third and only thing alledged by *Lewellyn*, were certain Grievances, a Liſt whereof he delivered to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was come to perſuade him to Peace. If theſe Grievances, of which an Hiſtorian (2) has given us the Subſtance, were real, this Prince had certainly great reaſon, to endeavour to deliver himſelf from the Yoke laid upon him. But *Edward* refuſed to hearken to his Complaints. This hard Uſage convinced *Lewellyn*, that a vigorous Defence was the only means to free him from a Subjection deemed by him a real Slavery. He took up Arms therefore to ſhake off this galling Yoke, and ſurpriſing the Lord *Clifford*, the King's General, on the Frontiers (3), ſlew ſeveral of his Men, and took him Priſoner. Then, penetrating farther into the *Engliſh* Territories, he committed great Ravages, and defeated the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey* (4), who were ſent into thoſe Parts to ſtop his Progreſs.

It was a great mortification to *Edward*, that his Troops ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be beaten by the *Welſh*. However, in hopes of being more fortunate himſelf, he drew together a numerous Army to go once more and tame the Fierceneſs of *Lewellyn* (5). Whilſt his Troops were on the march towards the Borders of *Wales*, he paid a Viſit to the Queen his Mother, who was retired to the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*. This Princeſs, prepoſſeſſed in favour of the late King her Husband, ſhewed her Son a Man, who pretended to receive his Sight at the Tomb, and by the Interceſſion, of *Henry* III. She imagined doubtleſs, the King would be pleaſed with it; but was very much ſurprized to hear him ſay, He was ſo well perſuaded of his Father's Juſtice and Probity, that he did not queſtion but had it been in his Power, he would rather have deprived the Impoſtor of, than reſtored him to, his Sight (6). 1281.

Edward making but a ſhort ſtay with the Queen his Mother, went and headed his Army. He entered *Wales* without any oppoſition, *Lewellyn* being retired to the Mountain of *Snowdon*, in a Poſt that could not be attacked. Not diſcouraged by this obſtacle, *Edward* reſolved to inveſt his Enemy, by ſecuring all the Avenues, through which he might make his Eſcape. Nothing could more expreſs his great deſire to ſucceed in his Undertaking, than a Project of this Nature, which none of his Predeceſſors had ever ventured to attempt. To that purpoſe, after fortifying all the Poſts, he cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be made over the River *Menay*, oppoſite to *Bangor*, in order to ſend ſome Troops likewiſe into the Iſle of *Angleſey*. After that, forſeeing, the Blockade would hold long, he left it to the management of *Roger Mortimer*, and waited the Iſſue in the Caſtle of *Rhudhlan* built during the late War. Poſted as *Lewellyn* was, he would doubtleſs have tired the Patience of his Enemies, if an unexpected Accident had not induced him to deprive himſelf of that Advantage. Some of the *Engliſh* that were in *Angleſey*, paſſing the Bridge above-mentioned, in order to view the Country, were attacked by the *Welſh*, and ſo cloſely purſued, that the greateſt part were ſlain or drowned in endeavouring to regain the Iſland (7). This ſmall Advantage made *Lewellyn* imagine Heaven began to declare in his favour, and *Merlin*'s Prophecy was going to be accompliſhed. Full of this flattering Idea, he deſcends into the Plain, to fight the *Engliſh*, not conſidering the Inequality of his Forces. But he quickly found how groundleſs his Expectations were, ſince in the Battle wherein he raſhly engaged, he was ſlain on the ſpot (8), after ſeeing his Army intirely routed. In his Pocket were found ſome Letters in Cypher, by which it appeared, that he had great Friends in *England*; but *Edward* did not think fit to make a ſtrict Inquiſition. However, to ſtrike a Terror into thoſe that were engaged with this Prince, he commanded his Head, crowned with Ivy, to be expoſed to view on the Walls of the Tower of *London*. Hence might be gathered, what Subjects were to expect from the King's Severity, ſince a Sovereign Prince was treated in that manner.

M. Weſt. Walſing.

1282. Lewellyn *vanquiſhed and ſlain.* M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Walſing.

Act. Pub. II. p. 214.

His Head ſet upon the Tower. M. Weſt. Knighton.

Such was the end of *Lewellyn*, deſcended from *Rhoderick the Great*, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere, and from one of the moſt antient Royal Families in *Europe*. With him expired the Liberty of his Nation. The *Welſh*, diſcouraged by their Prince's Death and Defeat, being no longer able to reſiſt, *Edward* eaſily became maſter of their whole Country; which he diſtributed, for the moſt part, among his Officers and Courtiers, reſerving to himſelf only the Sovereignty and fortified Places (9).

Edward *becomes Maſter of all* Wales. T. Wikes. Walſing.

Some time after, *David*, Brother of *Lewellyn*, roving ſtill up and down the Country, had the misfortune to be taken by the *Engliſh*, and ſent to *Rhudhlan*, where the King ſtill remained. In vain did he earneſtly beg the Favour of caſting himſelf at his Feet to implore his Mercy. As he was the laſt of his Family, *Edward* was willing to ſecure his Conqueſt by the Death of that Prince. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he ordered him to be conducted to *Shrewsbury*, where by the Advice of the Parliament, called upon that occaſion (10), he was condemned to die the Death of a Traytor. This rigorous Sentence was executed, with all the Circumſtances attending that infamous Puniſhment. His Head was fixed near that of the Prince his Brother, and his four Quarters were ſent to *York*, *Briſtol*, *Northampton*, and *Wincheſter* (11).

He puts David, Lewellyn's *Brother, to Death.* M. Weſt. Knighton. An. Waverl.

Act. Pub. II. p. 274.

Edward's Severity to this Prince is related by all the Hiſtorians, without any Cenſure. And yet it is an Action that can hardly be excuſed. Suppoſing the Rigour

Edward *marches in Perſon againſt the* Welſh. T. Wikes. M. Weſt. Walſing.

Falſe Miracle attributed to Henry III. Walſing.

(1) His Anſwer was, "My Anceſtors coming in with *William the Baſtard*, won theſe Lands by the Sword, and by the Sword will I defend them "againſt any that will take them away; for that King did not conquer for himſelf alone, neither did my Anceſtors aſſiſt him for that end." *Tyrrel*, p. 30. from *Hemingford*, Chr. Abing.

(2) They are in *Powel*'s Chronicle of *Wales*, p. 338——371. See a full Account of them in *Tyrrel*, Vol. IV. p. 35, &c.

(3) In the Caſtle of *Harwarden*. *Walſingh.* p. 49.

(4) There was at this time no Earl of *Northumberland*. The Earl of *Surry* was *John Plantagenet*.

(5) He ſummoned a Council of his Nobility, or a Parliament, to meet him *June* 24. at *Worceſter*, and to be ready to attend him with their Horſes and Arms, *Auguſt* 29. And perceiving this War was like to continue long, that he might be nearer his Civil, as well as Military Affairs, he removed his Courts of Juſtice from *Weſtminſter* to *Shrewſbury*. *M. Weſt.* p. 411. Great Numbers of foreign Troops came out of *Gaſcogne* to his Aſſiſtance, *ibid. An. Waverl.* p. 233. *T. Wikes*, p. 110.

(6) This Year the Clergy and People granted the King a Fifteenth, and afterwards the thirtieth Part of their Goods. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 235.

(7) *T. Wikes* ſays, that above three hundred Men at Arms, under the Conduct of the Lord *William Latimer*, and *Lucas de Thony*, Commander of the *Gaſcon* Forces, would needs paſs over the Bridge, before it was quite finiſhed, to ſhew their Valour: But as ſoon as the Tide came in, and had flowed beyond that end of the Bridge which was near the Continent, the *Welſh* came ruſhing upon them. There were ſlain and drowned no leſs than fifteen Knights, thirty two Eſquires, and about a thouſand common Soldiers. This Defeat happened on the 6th of *November*. *Ann. Wigorn.*

(8) By one *Stephen de Francton*, near *Landweyr* in *Buelt*, *Decemb.* 11. *Chron. Abingdon.* Dr. *Powel.*

(9) He built the Caſtle of *Aberconwey*, at the Foot of *Snowdon-hill*. *M. Weſt.* p. 411. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 238.

(10) About *Michaelmas*. *T. Wikes*, p. 111. *Walſingh.* p. 51. The Writs of Summons are ſtill extant upon Record; the firſt of which is to the Lords, to meet the King at *Shrewsbury*, on *September* 30. The ſecond Writ is directed to the Sheriffs of every County in *England*, to cauſe to be choſen two Knights, for the Commonalty of the ſame County; as alſo a third Writ directed to ſeveral Cities and Boroughs; and a fourth Writ to the Juſtices. *Rot. Walliæ.* 2 *Edw.* I. M. 2 Dors.

(11) This is the firſt Example of this manner of Execution done upon Traitors, which has been commonly continued.

1283. of the law authoriſed a ſentence of death, was it not very barbarous to execute a Prince of a royal family, in a manner till then unuſual with regard to perſons of diſtinguiſhed birth? What would not theſe ſame hiſtorians have ſaid, if a King of *France*, after taking in fight a Brother of the King of *England*, had ordered him to be ignominiouſly hung on a Gibbet? Or if, finding the body of the King himſelf ſlain in battle, had cauſed his head to be placed on the walls of the *Baſtile?*

Wales *united to* England. Knighton. Walſing.

After thus ſecuring the poſſeſſion of the principality of *Wales*, *Edward* ſought means to prevent all accidents, that might occaſion its loſs. The annexing that country to the crown of *England*, was what ſeemed moſt proper to that end. Accordingly, he ſummoned a parliament, where it was reſolved, that *Wales* ſhould be inſeparably united to the crown. Thus the *Welſh*, thoſe ſmall remains of the ancient *Britons*, loſt at length their liberty, after preſerving it in that little corner of the Iſland, above eight hundred years. Surely, they cannot, without injuſtice, be denied the commendations due to the reſolution, wherewith they had hitherto defended their country. Deſtitute of all ſuccours, without foreign alliances, and without a naval power, they had ſtood their ground againſt the Kings of *England*, *Saxons* and *Normans*, who had almoſt all attempted to ſubdue them with forces vaſtly ſuperior. It is true, they were often obliged to pay tribute to the *Engliſh* monarchs: But however, they remained all along a diſtinct nation, governed by their own laws. It was not by their valour alone that they preſerved their liberty, but alſo by their policy, in dexterouſly fomenting the diſſentions of their neighbours, 'till at laſt, the time appointed for their loſing that moſt valuable bleſſing, happened in the reign of *Edward* I. It may, however, be ſaid, that if amends can be made for ſuch a loſs, they had reaſon to be eaſy, ſince they became one and the ſame nation with their conquerors. From that time they have all along enjoyed the ſame laws and privileges, which render the people of *England* the happieſt nation under the Sun (1).

1284. *Death of* Alphonſus, *Son to the King.* Act. Pub. II. p. 175. II. p. 18.

The ſatisfaction *Edward* received from the conqueſt of *Wales*, was immediately followed by a great affliction, cauſed by the death of *Alphonſus* his Son (2). He was a Prince of great hopes, and being now twelve years of age, was going to marry the only daughter of *Florence* Earl of *Holland*. This was the third Son *Edward* loſt within the ſpace of three years. *John* his eldeſt Son died before his return from the *Holy-Land*. *Henry* his ſecond, was contracted to the only daughter of *Theobald* King of *Navarre* (3).

Birth of Prince Edward. M. Weſt.

Though the *Welſh* were entirely ſubdued, they failed not to ſhew, on all occaſions, their extreme regret to ſee themſelves ſubject to the *Engliſh*. Some of them had even the boldneſs to tell the King, he ſhould never peaceably enjoy their country, as long as they were not governed by a Prince of their own nation. If we may believe certain hiſtorians, this bold declaration induced the King to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction. They pretend, from that moment he propoſed to give them for Prince, the Stow's Ann. Son whom he hoped his Queen, then with child, would ſhortly bring into the world. They add, with this view, he would have her go and lie-in at *Caernarvon*, a town in *Wales*, where, according to his expectation, ſhe was brought to-bed of a Prince (4), called *Edward*, and ſirnamed of *Caernarvon*, the place of his birth. It is ſaid further, that immediately after the Queen's delivery, he convened the States of *Wales*, and declared to them his reſolution, to give them a Prince born in their country, and who could not ſpeak a word of *Engliſh:* Then he nominated to them the Prince his Son, juſt born at *Caernarvon*. But other writers not ſo credulous, conſidering doubtleſs this circumſtance as a puerility, have thought fit to paſs it over in ſilence (5). And indeed, it was only a poor equivocation, little capable of ſatisfying the *Welſh*, and not at all agreeable to the character of *Edward*. Beſides, it is certain, the young Prince was not inveſted 'till the year 1301, with the Principality of *Wales*, being then ſeventeen years of age (6). 1284. M. Weſt. An. Waverl.

The conqueſt of *Wales*, and the univerſal eſteem the King was in among his ſubjects, procuring *England* a profound tranquillity, what paſſed in the kingdom 'till the war with *Scotland*, is of no great concern: And therefore, I ſhall ſlightly paſs over the domeſtick affairs, contenting myſelf with briefly relating ſome of the principal circumſtances (7).

We find in the year 1285, the King took away the charter of *London*, and turned out the Mayor, becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by the Bakers, and put in another by his own authority (8). But quickly after, the city found means to recover their charter, by making the King a preſent. 1285. Fabian Chron.

This year the King called a parliament, which made ſome additions to the ancient Statutes, by the name of *the ſecond Statute of Weſtminſter* (9). M. Weſt. T. Wikes. An. Waverl. Walſing.

In the year 1286, *Edward* ordered all the *Jews* in the kingdom to be ſeized, upon one and the ſame day (10). The Commons granted him (11) a ſubſidy of the fiftieth part of their moveables, to expell the kingdom all ſuch foreigners as were a burden to the nation. He promiſed it; but after obtaining the ſubſidy, he granted them a delay, which was dearly purchaſed (12). 1286. *The King gets from the Jews large Sums.* T. Wikes. Knighton.

About the middle of the ſame year, three important affairs called *Edward* into *France*, where he continued above three years. As in the mean time, nothing very remarkable paſſed in *England*, I ſhall only relate the affairs he had to manage in that country. The firſt was, his demand of the provinces taken from the Kings *John*, and *Henry* III; concerning which, there was a long negotiation. The ſecond related to the homage, he was to do to *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, who had lately ſucceeded *Philip the Hardy*, his Father. The third was, the agreement he undertook to procure between the Houſes of *Arragon* and *Anjon*, concerning the kingdom of *Sicily*. *He goes into* France. M. Weſt. Walſing. *Motives of his Voyage.*

The King finding his preſence was not abſolutely neceſſary in his kingdom, now in profound tranquillity, left the regency to the Earl of *Pembroke* (13), and embarked for *France* (14). He ſpent the beſt part of a year in ſolliciting the reſtitution of the provinces, taken from the crown of *England* by the predeceſſors of *Philip the Fair*; but all his pains upon that account were ineffectual. The court of *France* being then in a flouriſhing condition, and in no danger from *England*, was deaf to all his propoſals. All the benefit he could reap from this negotiation, was a penſion of ten (15) thouſand pounds (16), in lieu of his claim to certain *Earl of* Pembroke *left Regent.* *A new Treaty between* Edward *and* Philip the Fair. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. An. Waverl. Walſing.

(1) The Laity granted the King, for the Charges of this War, a thirtieth, and the Clergy a twentieth. *Walſing.* p. 51.
King *Edward* having undertaken the Cruſade for the *Holy Land*, and, by reaſon of the *Welſh* Wars, and other Affairs, not being able in his own Perſon to perform it, appointed his Brother *Edmund* for that Service; and there being ſix Years Tenths collected from the Clergy, according to the Canon of the ſecond Council of *Lyons*, laid up in ſeveral Monaſteries, and other places, for an Aid for the *Holy Land*; Pope *Martin* IV ſent two preaching Friers into *England* for the Exportation and Return of this Money, by his Agents, and foreign Merchants; whereupon King *Edward* iſſued out, on *May* 24, 1282, a Writ to hinder it: And moreover, ſent Commiſſioners the next Year to the places where it was laid up, to ſee how much there was, and to order the ſafe keeping of it for the right uſe. See *Brady's Hiſtory*, Vol. III. p. 11. and *Appendix*, N. 8.

(2) He died *Auguſt* 19. *T. Wikes*, p. 112.

(3) They all three lie buried in *Weſtminſter*.

(4) *April* 25. *M. Weſt.* p. 411. *T. Wikes*, p. 111. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 238.

(5) As far as can be found, it is mentioned only by the modern Chronicles.

(6) King *Edward* having ſettled Matters in *Wales*, came about the middle of *December* to *Briſtol*, where he kept his *Chriſtmaſs*, and held a Parliament ----*non univerſali ſeu generali, ſed tanquam particulari & ſpeciali Parliamento*----and from thence repaired to *London*; where, ſoon after, he received Orders from the King of *France* to attend him in his Expedition, by reaſon of the Lands he held in *Gaſcogne*; but hearing at *Dover*, a Truce was concluded between the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, he went into *Norfolk*. *T. Wikes*, p. 112. *Walſing.* p. 52.

(7) This Year, a Parliament was held in *October*, at *Acton-Burnel* in *Shropſhire*, wherein was enacted, The Statute of *Acton-Burnel*. *Walſing.* p. 51.

(8) *George Brooksby*, the Mayor, was turned out for taking Bribes from the Bakers, to connive at their ſelling Bread ſix or ſeven Ounces too light in the Pound Loaf. But Mr. *Tyrrel* obſerves, That notwithſtanding this Seizure, the Politick Body, or Corporation of the City was not diſſolved; but they enjoyed all Privileges of holding Courts, *&c.* (the choice of a Mayor only excepted) as they had done before the ſaid Seizure, p. 51.

(9) You have it in *Coke's* 2d Inſtitute, p. 331, *&c.* This Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, after *Eaſter*. Another Parliament was held at *Wincheſter*, in the beginning of *October*, wherein ſome Statutes were made about Robbers. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 239.----The Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter* having been ſixty-ſix Years in building, was finiſhed this Year. *Stow's Survey*.-----Alſo about this time, we find Merchant Strangers were firſt permitted to rent Houſes, and to buy and ſell their own Commodities themſelves, without any Interruption from the Citizens; for before this, they hired Lodgings, and their Landlords were the Brokers, who ſold all their Goods and Merchandize for them. *Fabian's Chron.*

(10) The ſecond of *May*. They were forced to pay the King twelve thouſand Pounds of Silver. *T. Wikes*, p. 114.

(11) In a Parliament held this Year, about a Fortnight after *Eaſter*. *T. Wikes*, p. 113. Or it was rather, in the Parliament holden in *January*, 1290. And the Subſidy then granted was not a Fiftieth, but a Fifteenth. See *T. Wikes*, p. 121, 122. Sir *Ed. Coke's* 2d Inſtitute, p. 507.

(12) This Year *Eleanor*, King *Edward's* Mother, was veiled in the Monaſtery of *Ambreſbury*; but obtained a Licence from the Pope to keep her Jointure. *M. Weſt.* p. 413. *T. Wikes*, p. 114. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 240. And the ſame Year, *Mary*, King *Edward's* Daughter, was veiled a Nun in the ſame Monaſtery. *Walſing.* p. 52.

(13) *Adomar de Valence.* See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 301. The *Ann. of Waverl.* ſay, he left it to *Edmund Plantagenet* Earl of *Cornwal*, p. 230.

(14) He ſailed from *England*, *June* 24, attended by ſeveral Biſhops, Earls, and Barons. *M. Weſt.* p. 412. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 239.

(15) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays Six.

(16) Yearly; to be paid at the Tower of *London*, at the Charge of the King of *France*; beſides ſome Arrears for *Normandy*. *M. Weſt.* p. 412. This, as Mr. *Tyrrel* obſerves, though related by our Hiſtorians, does not ſeem probable; ſince *Edward* had already parted with his Claim to *Normandy*, p. 52.

1286. Lands ſituated beyond the *Charent*, of which *Philip* kept poſſeſſion, contrary to the tenor of the antient treaties. Upon this foot, the two Monarchs ſigned a new treaty; after which, *Edward* did homage to *Philip*. The form of the homage, paid only in general terms, and the previous proteſtations, evidently ſhew, *Edward* had ſtill a mind to keep up his pretenſions, in order to proſecute them at a more favourable juncture. Without ſpecifying, in his homage, any particular country, he affected to include all thoſe provinces to which he had any claim. As this is a matter of moment, and was afterwards attended with great conſequences, it will not be improper to recite the very words of the homage, with the proteſtations, as they occur in *the collection of the Publick Acts*. T. II. p. 320.

Homage done by Edward *to* Philip.

On Wedneſday in Whitſun-Week, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Edward, *and in the firſt of* Philip, *at* Paris, *in a room of the Royal Palace, King* Edward *did homage to King* Philip, *in the following terms, ſpoken by the Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells.

Sire, King of France, *King* Henry, *Father of my Lord the King of* England *here preſent, made certain demands upon* Lewis *King of* France, *your Grandfather, whereon a treaty of Peace was concluded between them. Purſuant to that treaty,* Henry *did homage to your ſaid Grandfather, for the Land he actually held on this ſide the water, and for ſuch, as the ſaid* Lewis *had obliged himſelf to put into his hands, by the above-mentioned treaty of peace. My Lord King* Edward *here preſent, after the death of his Father, did homage to the King your Father for theſe Lands, and according to the tenor of the ſaid peace. And though my ſaid Lord might with juſtice, as ſeveral of his Council are of opinion, refuſe to do the ſame homage, becauſe the ſaid peace has not been obſerved, and becauſe, to his great prejudice, ſeveral attempts have been made upon the Lands which he holds; nevertheleſs, he is unwilling at preſent to enter into diſpute upon that ſcore, provided you will cauſe the ſaid peace to be kept, and the damages he has ſuſtained to be repaired.*

I become your Man for the Lands I hold of you, on this ſide the water, according to the tenour of the peace made with your anceſtors.

It is eaſy to ſee, that, in this homage, *Edward* took care of expreſſions, not to promiſe too much. Beſides his proteſtations by the mouth of the Biſhop, he would do homage only in general terms, for the Lands he held, without ſpecifying any thing, reſerving to himſelf the explanation at ſome other time. But, whatever his thoughts were, *Philip*, imagining no doubt, he had a right to explain the ſame terms to his own advantage, was very ready to receive the homage, with this affected obſcurity. He even granted him, a few days after, Letters Patents, whereby he conſented, that the Lands poſſeſſed by *Edward* in *France*, ſhould not be liable to forfeiture, either for unjuſt judgment, or denial of juſtice. Moreover, he promiſed to ſend back the appellants to the Seneſchal of *Guienne*, and promiſed to allow him three months, to maintain or rectify the judgments. But this conceſſion was to take place only during the life of *Edward*, after which things were to return to their former ſtate. Act. Pub. II. p. 321.

Difference between the Houſes of Anjou *and* Arragon. M. Weſt. An. Waverl. Walſing.

Theſe two affairs kept *Edward* at the Court of *France* about a year. But the reconciliation he undertook to mediate between the Kings of *Sicily* and *Arragon*, employed him much longer, and proved a very troubleſome affair; for which he had no other reward, but the ſatisfaction of endeavouring to reconcile theſe two illuſtrious houſes. Though this affair relates not directly to *Edward*, who acted only as mediator, yet as it wholly employed him for two years, I hope it will not be taken amiſs, if I briefly explain the occaſion of thoſe differences, and the principal events they produced.

I have already obſerved in the late reign, how the Popes inveſted the Houſe of *Swabia* with the crown of *Sicily*, and the efforts they afterwards uſed to wreſt it from thence. I left *Manfred* the Baſtard in poſſeſſion of the two *Sicilies*, and the Pope ſolemnly giving the inveſtiture of theſe two kingdoms to *Charles of Anjou*, after having long amuſed Prince *Edmund*, Brother of our *Edward*, with the hopes of that crown. It will be neceſſary to reſume, in a few words, the ſequel of that hiſtory, to the time I am now ſpeaking of. 1286.

Charles of Anjou, knew better how to improve the Pope's favour than *Edmund*. With the aſſiſtance of the King his Brother, he levied a powerful army, and came to *Rome*, where the Pope ſolemnly crowned him King of the two *Sicilies*, on the 28th of *June* 1265. In the beginning of the next year, he marched towards the kingdom of *Naples*, and on the 26th of *February*, obtained a complete victory over *Manfred*, who was ſlain on the ſpot. Freed by this ſingle battle from all the obſtacles which lay in his way, he took poſſeſſion of the two *Sicilies*, and enjoyed them ſome time without a rival. The *Gibelines* (1), that is, the Party againſt the Pope, caſt down by the flouriſhing condition of *Charles*, who ſupported the *Guelphs*, and was himſelf ſupported by them, ſought all poſſible means to deprive him of the two kingdoms. They perſuaded *Conradin*, Son of the Emperor *Conrade*, that, being the ſole heir of the Houſe of *Swabia*, he ought to aſſert his right to the *Sicilies*, and ſnatch the prey out of the hands of *Charles of Anjou*. There was no need of much ſollicitation to incline *Conradin* to this undertaking. Without a moment's conſideration, the young Prince aſſumed the title of King of *Sicily*, and in ſpite of the excommunication thundered againſt him by the Pope, came into *Italy*, where at firſt he made ſome progreſs. This proſperous beginning inſpiring him with great hopes, he advanced towards *Naples*, to fight his enemy. Upon his approach, *Charles* raiſed the ſiege of *Nocera*, which he had begun, and marching towards him, met him near the *Lacus Fucinus*, now called *Celano*, and gave him battle. This ſucceſs was fatal to *Conradin*, who had the misfortune to loſe the day, and be taken priſoner. The conqueror making a cruel uſe of his victory, carried his barbarity ſo far, as to behead the young Prince, who was but ſixteen years of age. He cauſed him to be tried and condemned by the *Syndicks* of the cities of the kingdom, who were ſo baſe, as blindly to follow the directions of that bloody Prince.

The extinction of the Houſe of *Swabia*, of which *Conradin* was the laſt Male, ſhould, one would have thought, have diſabled the *Gibelines* from any farther attempts. But if they were aſtoniſhed by this fatal blow, they were not quite diſheartened. By the death of *Conradin*, the rights of the Houſe of *Swabia* were devolved to *Peter* King of *Arragon* (2), who had married *Conſtantia* daughter of *Manfred*. Though theſe rights came only by a baſe Son of that Houſe, the *Gibelines* deſpaired not to draw the King of *Arragon* into their quarrel, ſince it might be the means of procuring him two kingdoms. *John*, Lord of *Procida*, an old ſervant of the Houſe of *Swabia*, took upon him this negotiation, and to concert with *Peter*, the neceſſary meaſures, to accompliſh the deſign of dethroning *Charles of Anjou*. In the firſt place, he ſecured the concurrence of Pope *Nicholas* III, who was diſpleaſed with King *Charles*. Then he went on to *Conſtantinople*, and obtained an aid of money from the Emperor *Michael*, who was threatened with a war by the King of *Sicily*. Theſe meaſures being taken, he went and communicated his project to the King of *Arragon*. *Peter* was at firſt ſomewhat unwilling to embark in an undertaking, which ſeemed beyond his ſtrength. But the Pope's approbation, the *Grecian* Emperor's money, and the *Sicilians* revolt, which he was made to look upon as certain, determined him at length. Beſides, *Procida* intimated to him, that he might, without any hazard, be prepared, to improve the good ſucceſſes, or relinquiſh the undertaking, without appearing to be concerned. To that end, he adviſed him to fit out a fleet, on pretence of invading the *Moors of Africa*, and even to beſiege one of their towns. He added, if, contrary to all expectation, the revolt of the *Sicilians* ſhould fail, he might continue the war upon the Infidels, without diſcovering he had any other deſign; but if the *Sicilians* ſhould keep their word, he would be ready to improve the events. Fazellus's *Hiſtory of Sicily*.

This project being thus adjuſted, *John de Procida* returned home, to ſet their friends to work, when matters were ripe. The King of *Arragon*'s armament ſomewhat alarmed the Kings of *France* and *Sicily*, but he knew how to diſſemble ſo well, that he made them eaſy.

(1) It is uncertain, whence the Names of *Guelfs* and *Gibelines* were derived. Some give this following Account: In 1130, there happened a Schiſm in the Church, thro' the concurrence of *Innocent* II and *Anacletus*, the firſt of whom was favoured by the Emperor; the other by *Roger*, Count of *Sicily* and *Naples*, an active and warlike Prince, who drew to his Side *Guelf* Duke of *Bavaria*. The Emperor *Conrad* III entering *Sicily* with a *German* army, and followed by Prince *Henry* his Son, who was brought up at a place in *Germany*, called *Gibelin*, *Guelf*, Duke of *Bavaria*, marched to the aſſiſtance of his Ally; and it happened, as both Armies were ready to engage, that the *Bavarians* cried in their Language, *Hier Guelfe*; which being anſwered by the Troops commanded by the Prince, by *Hier Gibelines*, the *Italians* retained the Words, to diſtinguiſh the different Parties, and called the Factions by them. *Blondo*, *Sigonius*.

(2) When *Conradin* was on the Scaffold, he threw his Glove into the Square, deſiring the Perſon that took it up, to carry it to a Relation of his, as a Mark of the Inveſtiture which he gave him of the Inheritance of the Family of *Swabia*, of which he was the laſt Heir-Male. This Glove was carried to *Peter*, King of *Arragon*. *Rapin*'s Account of *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, Vol. I. p. 48.

1286. When his Fleet was ready, he ſailed for the coaſt of
Act. Pub. *Africa*, where he beſieged *Andacalle*. He had with him
II. p. 201. *Roger de Lauria*, the beſt Sea-Officer then in *Europe*. In the mean time, *Procida* took all his meaſures ſo well, that in one night the *Sicilians* cut the throats of above eight thouſand *French*, who were then in the Iſland. This maſſacre, which was called the *Sicilian Veſpers* (1), was acted upon *Eaſter-Eve*, on the 30th of *March* 1282. The news being brought to *Rome*, where *Charles of Anjou* then was, he made all poſſible expedition, to prevent the conſequences of this conſpiracy. As he had a fleet ready, which was deſigned againſt the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, he ſet ſail, and arrived before *Meſſina*. His ſudden coming ſo ſurprized the inhabitants of that great city, that, deſpairing of being timely relieved, they offered to ſurrender upon condition of having their lives ſpared. The deſire of revenge, which had wholly poſſeſſed the King of *Sicily*, would not ſuffer him to grant them that favour. Whereupon the *Meſſinians*, finding by his refuſal what they were to expect from ſo revengeful a Prince, reſolved to ſell their lives dearly, chuſing rather to die ſword in hand, than on Gibbets or Scaffolds.

Mean time, the King of *Arragon* being informed, that the *Sicilians* had proceeded ſo far, that there was no danger from their inconſtancy, came in a few days to *Palermo*,
Act. Pub. where he was crowned. Then, he ſent *Charles* a letter,
II. p. 225. commanding him in a haughty ſtrain, to quit a country
Ibid. where he had no farther pretenſion. *Charles* returned him a ſtill more haughty and offenſive anſwer; but however, fearing the *Spaniſh* fleet would cut off the proviſions that were coming from *Naples*, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, and retire into *Calabria*. He was no ſooner gone, but the King of *Arragon* made his entry into *Meſſina*, where the inhabitants received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy and thankfulneſs.

Project of a ſingle Combat between the Kings of Arragon and Sicily.

Charles, enraged to the laſt degree, carried his complaints to Pope *Martin* IV, ſucceſſor of *Nicholas*. He uſed, in ſpeaking of the King of *Arragon*, the moſt opprobrious and abuſive terms, offering even to fight him hand to hand, or a hundred againſt a hundred, to make him own himſelf to be a baſe, cowardly, and perfidious traitor. Theſe words coming to the ears of the King of *Arragon*, he ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to juſtify his conduct, and accept the challenge. *Charles* received the propoſal with joy, and his eager deſire to be revenged perſonally of his enemy, cauſed him to conſent to a truce, during which were ſettled the conditions of the future ſingle
Act. Pub. combat between the two Kings. It was agreed, each
II. p. 226. ſhould appear at *Bourdeaux*, at the head of a hundred horſe, on the 1ſt of *June* 1283; and that the King of *England* ſhould inſtantly be intreated to appoint the liſts in that city; to honour their duel with his preſence; or to ſend ſome perſon in his ſtead. It muſt however be obſerved, it was expreſly ſaid in the articles: *That whatever happened, the two Kings ſhould appear at* Bourdeaux, *on the day appointed. But if* Edward *was preſent in perſon, the intended duel ſhould not be fought, unleſs the parties agreed upon it afterwards.* Though all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, *Edward* appointed the liſts at *Bour-*
Ib. p. 239. *deaux*, it is very certain he refuſed it. His letters upon
& 240. this occaſion to the King of *Sicily*, and the Prince of *Salerno* his Son, are a clear evidence, he had never any thoughts of granting their requeſt, ſince he plainly told them, were he to gain the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Arragon*, he would not appoint the liſts for ſuch a duel. Theſe letters are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, taken from the records of *England*.

Though *Edward*'s refuſal diſengaged the two Kings from the obligation to fight, they were however bound by the articles to be at *Bourdeaux*. *Charles* came on the day appointed, with a hundred horſe, and ſtayed there from Sun-riſing to ſun-ſetting; but finding his adverſary did not appear, nor was heard of, he retired. As ſoon as he was gone, *Peter*, who was all the while in *Bourdeaux*, diſguiſed like a Squire, went to the *Seneſchal* of the city, and taking a certificate of his appearance, left him his arms for a teſtimony. This proceeding of the King of *Arragon*, gave occaſion to the *French* hiſtorians to ſpeak diſhonorably of that Prince, as if want of courage was the reaſon of breaking his word, and of uſing that fraud to evade his engagements. But it would not be very difficult to juſtify his conduct in this reſpect, if this were a proper place for it (2).

Though, as I obſerved, the King of *Arragon* was freed from the obligation of fighting, ſince *Edward* came not to *Bourdeaux*, yet his proceeding was very much exaggerated in *France* and *Italy*. It was pretended to be a plain 1286.
proof, that he was himſelf convinced of his injuſtice to *Charles of Anjou*, ſince he durſt not venture to decide their difference by a ſingle combat, which he himſelf had accepted. Pope *Martin* IV, a *Frenchman*, and wholly de- Ibid. p. 252.
voted to the Houſe of *Anjou*, thundered againſt the King of *Arragon* a ſentence of excommunication, though he produced the inveſtiture of *Sicily*, privately given him by *Nicholas* III. He even abſolved his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and gave the kingdom of *Arragon* to *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, ſecond Son of the King of *France* (3). Notwithſtanding all this, *Peter* ſtill kept the two kingdoms; and to inſult the Pope, under colour of ſubmitting to his authority, ordered himſelf to be called only, *The Chevalier of Arragon*. *Martin* perceiving himſelf thus ridiculed, reſolved to make that Prince know, he was not to be inſulted with impunity. He publiſhed a Cruſade againſt him, of which *Philip* III, King of *France*, was declared General, and there were people weak enough to imagine, they ſhould obtain paradiſe, in eſpouſing the quarrel of the Pope, and the Houſe of *Anjou*. It is true, few but *Frenchmen* were engaged in this Cruſade, where their King was particularly concerned, ſince it was intended for placing his Son on the throne of *Arragon*.

Whilſt *Philip* was preparing for this undertaking, *Roger Lauria* rendered his maſter's arms proſperous in the *Mediterranean*. He had taken *Malta* from *Charles of Anjou*, after gaining a naval battle, where the *French* fleet was entirely deſtroyed. Immediately after this victory, he attacked the coaſts of *Naples*, with deſign to draw out of his Ports the Prince of *Salerno*, to whom his Father King *Charles* had left the command of his fleet. This deſign ſucceeded to his wiſh. The Prince of *Salerno*, M. Weſt.
greedy of glory, and unable to bear the inſults of *Lauria*, An. Waverl.
raſhly engaged in a Sea-fight, where he had the misfortune to be vanquiſhed and taken priſoner. He was forthwith ſent to *Sicily*, where he ſaw himſelf in danger of loſing his head on a Scaffold, the *Sicilians* deſigning to make him ſuffer by way of retaliation for *Conradin*. But *Conſtantia*, Queen of *Arragon*, was ſo generous as to free him from this peril, by ſending him to the King her husband, who was then in *Spain*. *Charles*'s vexation at the loſs of his fleet, and his Son's impriſonment, was the greater, as he arrived three days afterwards with a powerful ſupply, and had expreſly commanded the Prince not to fight till reinforced. This accident, which entirely diſconcerted his affairs, was, probably, the cauſe of his death on the 6th of *June* 1285. He left for ſucceſſor *Charles* II, his Son, ſirnamed *The Lame*, priſoner in *Spain*, to whom the *Arragonians* gave only the title of Prince of *Salerno* during his captivity.

Neither the death of *Charles*, nor the loſs of the battle of *Naples*, were capable of diverting *Philip* from his projects. In the month of *May*, that very year, he headed his troops, conſiſting of fourſcore thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, and (though he heard in his march of the death of the King his Brother,) entered *Rouſſillon* and became maſter of *Perpignan*. Then he advanced into *Catalonia*, where, after ſeveral conqueſts, he laid ſiege to *Gironne*. The King of *Arragon* attacking a convoy going from *Rozes* to the ſiege, was hurt in the ſkirmiſh, and died three months after of his wounds. He left *Arragon* and *Catalonia* to Prince *Alphonſo* his eldeſt Son, and *Sicily* to *James* his ſecond Son, on condition that, if *Alphonſo* died without heirs, *James* ſhould ſucceed in *Arragon*, and reſign *Sicily* to *Frederic* his younger Brother.

The King of *France*'s ſucceſſes in the beginning of the war, did not laſt to the end of the campain. *Roger Lau-* T. Wikes.
ria attacking the *French* fleet, deſtroyed all the ſhips, ex- An. Waverl.
cept a few that eſcaped to *Rozes*. On the other hand, the ſickneſs in *Philip*'s army, retarded his progreſs by land. In fine, being himſelf ſeized with the contagion, he was carried to *Perpignan*, where he ended his days on the 6th of *October*. *Philip* IV, his Son, ſirnamed *the Fair*, was his ſucceſſor. *Honorius* IV, was now choſen in the Walſing.
room of *Martin* IV, who died this ſame year.

Such was the ſtate of the affairs between the Houſes Edward *is Mediator between the Kings of* Arragon *and* Sicily.
of *Arragon* and *Anjou*, when *Edward* accepting the media- M. Weſt.
tion offered him by both parties, undertook to adjuſt their T. Wikes.
difference. The main difficulty of this negotiation conſiſted, in freeing the Prince of *Salerno* out of the hands of the King of *Arragon*, without which it was impoſſible to procure a peace. *Edward* took great pains to ſucceed. He had upon that occaſion ſeveral interviews with *Alphonſo*. *Mezerai* affirms, he even went to *Sicily* to talk

(1) Becauſe the Bell which rang to Evening Prayers was made the Signal.
(2) See the Extract of Volume II, of the Publick Acts of *England*, in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie* of Mr. *Le Clerc*, Tom. XX. p. 53. where this Affair is fully diſcuſſed, and the King of *Arragon*'s Conduct juſtified. *Rapin*.
(3) *Philip* III, who was then alive. *Rapin*.

with

1287. Act. Pub. II. p. 342. M. West. An. Waverl. Walsing. 1288. Act. Pub. II. p. 358.

with King *James*: But the history mentions not this voyage. In short, at a conference between him and *Alphonso* at *Oleron* in *Bearn*, they settled the terms on which the Prince of *Salerno* was to be released, and for which, as far as concerned the ransom, *Edward* consented to be security. After this, the articles of agreement were confirmed, by a treaty concluded at *Campo Franco* the fourth of *October* 1288. *Nicholas* IV, successor to *Honorius*, strongly opposed the execution of the treaty. He thought it too advantageous for the King of *Arragon*, and too dishonorable for the Holy See; because the Prince of *Salerno*, without consulting him, had obliged himself to cause the Earl of *Valois* to renounce the kingdom of *Arragon*. This opposition raised fresh difficulties: But they were at length surmounted by the prudence and pains of *Edward*, who acted as mediator with great impartiality. To facilitate the execution of the treaty, he was willing to give *English* hostages to the King of *Arragon*, and to cause the principal cities of *Guienne* to interpose as pledges, *Alphonso* doing the same thing with regard to the principal cities of his dominions.

p. 371.

Ib. p. 435, 450, 455.

In consequence of this agreement, the Prince of *Salerno* was set at liberty, leaving his Sons in hostage. It seemed, this affair which was in so good a way, would quickly be ended; the main obstacle being removed by that Prince's liberty, who was bound by the most solemn oaths. But he performed nothing of what he had sworn. He not only caused himself to be crowned King of the two *Sicilies* by the Pope, contrary to the express terms of the treaty; but also did his utmost to confirm the Earl of *Valois* in the resolution to prosecute his pretended right to the kingdom of *Arragon*. When he thought his affairs in good order, he feigned a willingness to return to imprisonment, as he was obliged, in case he performed not the articles of the treaty. For that purpose, he repaired to a certain place where the King of *Arragon* was to receive him, and exchange him for the Princes his Sons; but came so well attended, that *Alphonso* did not think fit to venture upon his sincerity. This occasioned mutual complaints, reproaches and apologies; each party applying to the King of *England*, as mediator and guarantee of the treaty. *Edward*, in all appearance, being tired with acting in favour of these Princes, who so ill answered all his pains, left them to decide their difference as they pleased, without concerning himself any farther. But not to leave the reader in suspence how this dispute ended, I shall add in two words, that, after long negotiations, mixed with many hostilities, the two Princes adjusted their quarrel by a treaty. The Prince of *Salerno*, called *Charles the Lame*, kept *Sicily* on this side *the Faro*, which from thenceforth began to be distinguished by the name of the *kingdom of Naples*; and the House of *Arragon* remained in possession of the Island of *Sicily*. The Earl of *Valois* renounced also his pretensions to the kingdom of *Arragon* (1).

1289. Edward *returns to* England. T. Wikes. An. Waverl.

Walsing.

After staying above three years beyond Sea, *Edward* returned into *England* in *August* 1289 (2). His first care, immediately after his return, was to reform several abuses introduced in his absence, particularly in the administration of justice (3). Upon complaints from all hands, that the Judges suffered themselves to be corrupted with bribes, he strictly examined into their conduct, and severely punished the guilty. Of this number was [Sir *Thomas Weyland*] the chief Justiciary (4), or first Judge, who was banished the realm, and his estate confiscated (5). These misdemeanours, which were but too frequent, gave the King occasion to oblige the Judges to swear, that for the future they would take neither money nor present of any kind, except only a breakfast, which they might accept, provided there was no excess. A historian affirms, the King got above a hundred thousand Marks by the confiscation of the estates of those that had been faulty (6). 1289.

1290. *The Jews banished* England. T. Wikes. Walsing. Knighton.

In the beginning of the year 1290, *Edward* convened a parliament (7), where *the Statute of Westminster, the Third* (8), was enacted, and the banishment (9) of the *Jews* was absolutely resolved. The nation had long desired it, but the *Jews* still found means to divert the blow, by presents to the King and his ministers. They would fain have used the same method now, but could not prevail; the King being unable to protect them any longer without disobliging the parliament. Their immoveable goods were confiscated, but they had leave to carry away the rest with them. It is the general opinion, that they began to settle in the kingdom in the reign of *William the Conqueror*; but some believe their settlement more ancient. At first their number was small, but, by degrees, they increased to fifteen thousand. Their money procured them several considerable privileges, confirmed by *Edward* himself, as a synagogue at *London*, a head of their religion, being a sort of High-Priest (10), and Judges of their own nation to hear and determine their differences. They lost all these advantages, by not being able to curb their insatiable greediness of enriching themselves by unlawful means, as usury, adulteration of the coin, and the like, which must render the practisers odious. As for the imputation of crucifying, from time to time, Christian Children, one may almost be sure it was only a calumny invented by their enemies (11).

The Affairs of Scotland.

We are now come to the grand affair of the reign of *Edward* I, I mean, the conquest of *Scotland*; of which it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to speak in a satisfactory manner to the *English* and *Scots*. Though the two nations almost agree in the facts, and the occasion of this conquest, they widely differ however as to the right. If we believe the *English*, *Edward* did nothing on this occasion, but what was agreeable to reason and justice. The *Scots*, on the contrary, pretend, he was led by ambition alone to take advantage of the troubles of *Scotland*, in order to become master of the kingdom on frivolous pretences. Though several centuries are passed since this event, historians have not been yet able to lay aside their national prejudices. The *English* still consider *Edward* I. as a great Prince, employing his arms only in maintaining the justice of his cause. The *Scots* speak of him as a tyrant, vowing the destruction of their nation; and, contrary to all manner of right, intent upon satisfying his ambition, in uniting all the people of *Great Britain* under his dominion. As I am not engaged in either party by birth or any other motive, I flatter myself with having impartially examined this affair, and produced from the *Collection of the Publick Acts* such light, as may serve to give a just notion of the thing. To this end, it will be necessary to be somewhat particular, as it is the only possible means to dispel the prejudices, which help to darken the affair.

Account of the Disputes about the Succession to the Crown of Scotland.

Alexander III, King of *Scotland*, married, as was said elsewhere, *Margaret* Daughter of *Henry* III, King of *England*, and Sister of *Edward*. He had by her three children, *Alexander*, *David*, and *Margaret*. *David* died an infant, and *Margaret* was married to *Eric* King of *Norway*, in 1281. It was agreed in the Marriage-Con-

(1) A Parliament was held at *London*, in *February* 1288, wherein *John de Kirby*, Lord Treasurer, demanded, by the King's Order, as he said, an Aid for the King's Charges in *France*. But the Parliament answered, by the Earl of *Gloucester*, their Spokesman, that they would grant nothing, unless they saw the King personally present. Whereupon, the Treasurer imposed a Tallage on the Cities, Burroughs, and the King's Demesns. *T. Wikes*, p. 117.

(2) *August* 12. and, instead of coming to *London*, went into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. *T. Wikes*, p. 118.

(3) This was done in the Parliament mentioned a few Lines lower. See *T. Wikes*, p. 118. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 241.

(4) Of the King's Bench. *T. Wikes*, p. 118.

(5) The King punished thus severely, not only the Justices of the *King's Bench*, but also the Justices of the *Jews*, and of the Forests, the Foresters, Sheriffs, Stewards of Manors, and all other Delinquents. *T. Wikes*, p. 119.

(6) Sir *Ralph de Hengham*, Chief Justice of the higher Bench, was fined seven thousand Marks; Sir *John Lovetot*, Justice of the lower Bench, three thousand Marks; Sir *William Bramton*, Justice, the like Sum; Sir *Solomon Rochester*, Justice of Assizes, four thousand Marks; Sir *Richard de Boyland*, four thousand Marks; Sir *Thomas Soddington*, two thousand Marks; Sir *Walter Hopton*, two thousand Marks: The four last were Justices itinerant. Sir *William de Saham*, three thousand Marks; *Robert Littlebury*, Master of the *Rolls*, a thousand Marks; *Roger Leicester*, a thousand Marks; *Henry Bray*, Escheater, and Judge for the *Jews*, a thousand Marks; and *Adam de Stretton*, a Clerk of the Court, was fined no less than thirty-two thousand Marks of new Money, besides Jewels, and Silver Plate. *Chron. de Dunstable* MSS. *T. Wikes*, p. 118. The Justices of the *King's Bench* being thus turned out, were succeeded by *John de Metingham*, and *Elias de Bebingham*, Clerks; and *William de Gefelham*, and *Robert de Hertford*, Knights. *T. Wikes*, p. 121.

(7) On *January* 14. *T. Wikes*, p. 118. The Writs, Returns, and Indentures of this Parliament are extant, and of all, or most, since; except from the 17th of *Edward* IV, to the 1st of *Edward* VI. See Mr. *Prynn*'s *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, and the learned Mr. *Brown Willis*'s *Notitia Parliamentaria*.

(8) Otherwise called (from the first Words of it) *Quia Emptores Terrarum*, because it chiefly related to Purchasers of Lands held by Knight's Service.

(9) Sir *Edward Coke* says, they were not banished; but their Usury was banished by the Statute *de Judaismo*, enacted in this Parliament; and that was the Cause that they banished themselves into foreign Countries, where they might live by their Usury; and because they were very odious to the Nation, that they might pass out of the Realm in Safety, they made Petition to the King, that a certain Day might be prefixed for them to depart the Realm, that they might have the King's Writ to his Sheriffs, for their Safe-conduct. *Coke*'s 2d Institute, p. 507. See one of these Writs there. But Mr. *Tyrrel* observes, that though this account is very probable, yet there is no good authority for it, p. 60. Many of the *Jews* took shipping in the River *Thames*, in a Vessel belonging to one of the *Cinque-Ports*, and were by the wicked Master and Seamen, not only plundered of all they had left, but were also cruelly thrown over-board, which, when the King heard, he caused many of those inhuman Mariners to be hanged. *T. Wikes*, p. 122.

(10) See the Charter whereby King *John* granted them one, in Sir *Edward Coke*'s 2d Institute, p. 508.

(11) See a large Account of the *Jews*, in the Coin-Note at the end of the Reign of *Henry* III.----From the 17th of *December*, in the fiftieth Year of *Henry* III, till the *Tuesday* in *Shrovetide*, the second Year of *Edward* I, which was about seven Years, the Crown had four hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, fifteen Shillings and four-pence from the *Jews*. *Coke*'s 2d Institute, p. 506.----This Year, *March* 30, died *John de Kirkeby*, Bishop of *Ely*, Treasurer of the Exchequer; and was succeeded by *William de Marche*. *T. Wikes*, p. 120, 121.

tract,

1290. tract, that if Prince *Alexander* died without heirs, and the King his Father left no iſſue Male, *Margaret* ſhould ſucceed to the crown of *Scotland*, and her children enjoy the ſame right, in caſe ſhe died before the King her Father. Shortly after *Alexander* loſing his only Son of the ſame name, and the Queen of *Norway* his daughter being likewiſe dead, after bringing into the world a daughter called *Margeret*, that Prince reſolved to perform the agreement above-mentioned. For that purpoſe he obliged the *Scotch* Barons to ſwear, that in caſe he died without Male-Heirs, they would acknowledge the young Princeſs of *Norway*, for their Queen. *Alexander* lived but about two years after having thus ſettled the ſucceſſion, his death, occaſioned by a fall from his Horſe, happening in the year 1285 (1).

Alexander III. *dies.* Hec. Boeth. T. Wikes.

When the *Scots* loſt their King, they choſe ſix regents to govern the kingdom, 'till the Princeſs of *Norway*, who was at moſt but three years old, was capable of holding the reins of the government. I do not find in the hiſtories of *England*, or *Scotland*, why the *Scots* were three or four years before they demanded their Queen, or why *Eric* her Father neglected to ſend her over. It was not 'till 1289, after *Edward*'s return into *England*, that *Eric* ſent ambaſſadors for that purpoſe. *Edward* being *Margaret*'s Great-uncle, *Eric* thought he could not do better than ask his advice and aſſiſtance, to place the young Princeſs on the throne of *Scotland*. Immediately after this ambaſſy, *Edward* wrote to the regents of *Scotland*, ſtrenuouſly recommending the intereſts of young *Margaret*, and acquainting them withal, that he deſigned to ſend ambaſſadors to ſettle certain affairs relating to the welfare and tranquillity of *Scotland* (2). But the regents thought it more proper, to ſend themſelves plenipotentiaries into *England*, to adjuſt with the ambaſſadors of *Norway*, in the preſence of *Edward*, whatever concerned the intereſts of *Scotland*. However, they took care to inſert this clauſe in the credentials of their Envoys, *Saving the honour and liberty of the kingdom.* The Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow* (3), were commiſſioned to tranſact this affair.

Margaret *of* Norway *acknowledged Queen of* Scotland. Buchanan. Walſing. Knighton.

Act. Pub. II. p. 445.

Ib. p. 446.

Though hiſtorians have neglected to clear the difficulties concerning the coming of *Margaret* into *Scotland*, they were evidently very great. This appears, as well from the time ſince the death of King *Alexander*, as from the precaution taken, in aſſembling at *Salisbury* the plenipotentiaries of *Edward*, *Eric*, and the *Scots*, to ſettle together whatever related to the reception of that Princeſs. In this aſſembly it was agreed, the young Queen ſhould be ſent into *England*, free from any Marriage-Engagement. *Edward* promiſed on his part to take care of her education, 'till *Scotland* ſhould be in perfect tranquillity, and in a condition to receive her. Moreover he gave his word, not to ſuffer her to be contracted in marriage, provided the *Scots* would not take any ſtep to that end, without his and the King of *Norway*'s conſent.

Ib. p. 448.

Ibid.

Edward *propoſes the Marriage of his Son with* Margaret. Act. Pub. II. p. 450.

It was not without reaſon that *Edward* cauſed this laſt article to be inſerted in the agreement. Since the death of the King of *Scotland*, he had been forming the project of uniting the two kingdoms of *Great-Britain*, by his Son's marriage with *Margaret*. Nay, he had already demanded and obtained a diſpenſation from the court of *Rome*, though he had not thought proper to diſcover ſo early his intention. But after taking the forementioned meaſures, he cauſed the marriage to be propoſed to the regents. This propoſal being examined, in a council conſiſting of all the great Men of the kingdom, it was unanimouſly reſolved to agree to it (1). But it was upon certain terms, which they were to lay before the firſt Parliament aſſembled in *England*. There were upon this occaſion ſeveral negotiations, the particulars whereof would be needleſs. It ſuffices to ſay, that the commiſſioners of the two Nations meeting at *Bingham* (5), agreed upon ſeveral articles, the chief whereof, with reſpect to the ſequel, were as follows:

The Regent's conſent to it. Ib. p. 471.

The Terms of the Marriage. Act. Pub. II. p. 482.

I. The Plenipotentiaries of *Edward* promiſed in his name, that he would inviolably keep the Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in all things and in all times, throughout the whole Realm, with all its Marches.

II. That in caſe either *Edward* the Son, or *Margaret* his future Spouſe, ſhould happen to die without any Children by their marriage, and in all Caſes or Events, whereby the kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould fall to the next heir, it ſhould be reſtored to the people of *Scotland*, free, independent, and without any ſubjection, ſaving however the rights of the King of *England* to the crown of *Scotland*, in caſe it devolved to him, or his heirs, by a lawful ſucceſſion. 1290

III. That the kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould remain ſeparated, divided, and free in itſelf, without any ſubjection to, or dependance on, *England*; ſaving to the King of *England*, and his ſucceſſors, his right to certain Lands in the Frontiers, or elſewhere, before the time of this agreement, or any right he ſhould lawfully acquire hereafter.

IV. No perſon holding Lands in fee of the King of *Scotland*, ſhould be obliged to proſecute any ſuit out of the kingdom, according to the cuſtom hitherto obſerved.

V. That all the Subjects of the crown of *Scotland*, ſhould enjoy the ſame privilege, according to antient cuſtom.

VI. That all Records, Charters, and Privileges, or other memorials concerning the royal dignity, and the kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhould be depoſited in a place of ſafety, and not carried out of the realm, under the ſeals of certain Lords, till the Queen ſhould come into the kingdom, and have children.

VII. That there ſhould be made no ſubjection, alienation, or obligation, of any thing relating to the kingdom of *Scotland*, till the Queen ſhould be there in perſon, and have children alive.

VIII. That no Parliament ſhould be held out of the kingdom.

Theſe precautions demonſtrate, how far the *Scots* were from believing in thoſe days, that the kingdom of *Scotland* was dependant on *England*.

The Marriage is concluded. Act. Pub. II. p. 487.

Theſe and ſeveral other articles, which I paſs over in ſilence, being approved and ratified, the marriage was concluded and reſolved, to the general ſatisfaction of both nations. *Edward* began from thenceforward to take as it were poſſeſſion of *Scotland* for the Prince his Son, by ſending thither the Biſhop of *Durham*, who, jointly with the ſix regents, was intruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs, in the name of young *Edward* and *Margaret*. No one queſtioned but the two kingdoms of *Great-Britain* were going to be united by means of this marriage, when ſuddenly and unexpectedly all hopes of an union vaniſhed. *Edward* received a Letter from the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, acquainting him with the report of Queen *Margaret*'s death; and that ſome *Scotch* Lords (6) upon the news, began to ſtir in the proſecution of their pretended rights to the crown. The Biſhop intreated him withal, to advance towards the Frontiers, to prevent by his preſence the commotions, which the Queen's death, if found true, would cauſe in the kingdom. The report, ſpread of her death, was but too well grounded. The Princeſs, whom the King her Father promiſed to ſend into *England* before the month of *October*, failed accordingly from *Norway*, and died in a certain Iſland (7), where ſhe was driven by ſtreſs of weather.

Act. Pub. II. p. 1090. Omiſſa.

Margaret's death. Buchanan.

As ſoon as this news reached *Scotland*, it occaſioned extraordinary commotions, which threw the kingdom into a more wretched condition than ever. The late King, who took care to cauſe the Great Men to ſwear to acknowledge *Margaret* of *Norway* for Queen, neglected to ſettle the ſucceſſion, in caſe that Princeſs died without heirs. The choice of a ſucceſſor was therefore very perplexing, and become more ſo every day, by reaſon of the factions formed in favour of the pretenders to the crown. Never was union among the Great Men more neceſſary. But private intereſt ſtifling the love of their country, every one proceeded according as he was engaged, either by Family-ties, or other motives, without troubling himſelf, whether right was on the ſide to which his inclination attached him.

John Baliol, *and* Robert Bruce, *pretend to the Crown of* Scotland.

Among the pretenders to the crown, *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce* divided almoſt all the ſuffrages of the kingdom. The firſt held large poſſeſſions in *France*, in the province of *Normandy*. The other had a conſiderable eſtate in *England*, and both were very powerful in *Scotland*, where their alliances procured them great credit. For the better underſtanding the grounds of their Titles, it will be neceſſary to take a view of the Genealogy of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, of which I am going to give a ſhort explanation.

(1) On the 19th of *March*. *Hect. Boeth.* p. 191.
(2) This Letter is dated at *Clarendon*, *Novemb.* 6. *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, Tom. II. p. 445.
(3) Together with the Lord *Robert Bruce*, the Lord of *Anandale*, and *John Comyn*. *Ibid.* p. 446.
(4) This Reſolution is dated at *Briggeham* in *April*. *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, Tom. II. p. 472.
(5) *July* 18. *Ibid.* p. 484.
(6) The Lord *Robert de Bruce*, and the Earls of *Marr* and *Athol*. *Ibid.* p. 1090.
(7) The Iſle of *Orkney*, ſays *M. Weſt.* p. 414.

1290. *Genealogy of the Royal Family of Scotland.*

David King of *Scotland* had but one Son named *Henry*, who dying before him, left three Sons, *viz.* *Malcolm* IV, who aſcended the throne after his Grandfather, and died without heirs: *William*, who ſucceeded his elder Brother; and *David* who was Earl of *Huntington* in *England*. The Race of *William* being extinct by the death of *Margaret* of *Norway*, there was a neceſſity of going back to that of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, third Son of Prince *Henry*. *David* died without Iſſue-Male; but left three Daughters, *Margaret* married to *Alan* of *Galloway*, *Iſabella* Wife of *Robert Bruce*, and *Ada* Wife of *Henry Haſtings* (1) an *Engliſh* Lord. *Margaret*, the eldeſt of the three Siſters, left only two daughters, *Deverguld*, called by ſome *Dornagilla*, and *Marjory*. *Deverguld* married *John Baliol*, by whom ſhe had a Son of the ſame name, one of the two candidates for the crown. *Marjory*, Wife of *John Comyn*, died without iſſue. *Iſabella*, ſecond daughter of *David*, had by *Robert Bruce*, a Son named *Robert* from his Father, the other candidate. *Ada*, third daughter of *David*, left a Son called *John Haſtings*, who likewiſe pretended to the crown. To avoid confuſion, I ſhall defer ſpeaking of this third candidate, and confine myſelf at preſent to the two principal competitors, namely, *John Baliol*, and *Robert Bruce*, who alone had properly a right to pretend to the ſucceſſion.

Foundation of the Titles of the Competitors.

It muſt be obſerved, that at the time of *Margaret* of *Norway*'s death, the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington* were not alive. But *Deverguld*, Daughter of the eldeſt, was ſtill living, and reſigned her title to *John Baliol* her Son, who, as deſcended from the eldeſt of *David*'s daughters, claimed a right to be preferred before all the other candidates. On the other hand, *Robert Bruce* Son of the younger daughter, alledged for himſelf, that he was one degree nearer than *Baliol*, ſince he was grandſon to *David*, whereas his Rival was but grandſon to the eldeſt daughter of the ſame Prince. It was objected, that *Deverguld* being in the ſame degree with him, ought to ſucceed, ſince ſhe was daughter to the eldeſt, whereas he was only Son to a younger daughter of *David*. But he replied, that where the degree is the ſame, the Males ought to be preferred to the Females; and that it was the conſtant Law and Cuſtom of all States; for which he produced ſeveral Precedents, from the Hiſtories of foreign Countries. Thus ſtood the caſe, which could not be decided without diſpleaſing one half of the kingdom.

State of Affairs in Scotland *according to the* Scotch *Hiſtorians.* Buchanan. l. 8.

Here it is that we begin to find diſagreement between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Hiſtorians. The latter affirm, things were in ſuch a ſtate, that it was impoſſible to find in *Scotland* impartial Judges. They add, that ſuppoſing ſuch could have been found, it would have been very difficult to execute their ſentence, by reaſon of the equality of credit and power in both parties. *Baliol* was Lord of the County of *Galloway*, one of the moſt conſiderable of the kingdom. He was likewiſe ſupported by the *Comyns*, a family of great power and intereſt. *Robert Bruce* held in *England*, the Earldom of *Cleveland*, and in *Scotland*, thoſe of *Anandale* and *Gariock*. Moreover, by means of his Son *Robert*, who had with his Wife the Earldom of *Carrick*, he was allied to the moſt powerful families of *Scotland*. So that, continue they, to avoid a civil war, which could not fail to be kindled, both parties agreed to refer the deciſion of this important affair to the King of *England*. It was believed, all good offices might be expected from him, as well becauſe of the good underſtanding which had long ſubſiſted between the two Nations, as in return for their ready conſent to the marriage of the Prince his Son, with their late Queen. He was intreated therefore, ſay they, to be Judge of this diſpute, and to aſſiſt the Perſon he ſhould think proper to place on the throne. They add, that *Edward* accepted the mediation, and came to *Norham*, where he ſummoned the States of *Scotland* (2), proteſting, he aſſembled them not as Sovereign (3), but as a Friend, that deſired them to meet the Arbitrator choſen by themſelves. But this is a fact denied by the *Engliſh*. They affirm, that *Edward* ſummoned the States of *Scotland* to *Norham*, not as Friend and Umpire, but by vertue of his right of ſovereignty over *Scotland*. They add, the bare conſideration of the ſituation of *Norham*, a town in *England*, plainly enough ſhows, that *Edward* exerciſed an act of ſovereignty, in aſſembling the States of *Scotland* in his own kingdom. The *Scots* reply, this proof cannot take place, ſince upon this very occaſion *Edward* granted them Letters Patents, which entirely deſtroys it. His words are theſe: *That he did not intend that the coming of the* Scots *on this ſide the* Tweed, *ſhould be any prejudice to them, or that for the future, upon any account whatever, they ſhould be obliged to come and treat with him on this ſide the river.* So expreſs a declaration, which ſeems to prove, that *Edward* pretended not to the ſovereignty of *Scotland*, is indeed only an evidence of his policy or diſſimulation; ſince he certainly deſigned then to eſtabliſh the right of ſovereignty. Accordingly, when it was once eſtabliſhed, he ſtiled his Letters Patents, a pure conceſſion, which might be, and was actually, revoked. In the view this Monarch had of cauſing his ſovereignty to be acknowledged by the States of *Scotland*, as will be ſeen hereafter, it was by no means proper to alarm the *Scots* by an act of abſolute authority, before the States were aſſembled. Such a ſtep might have led them to take meaſures deſtructive of his deſigns. It was much more natural and more advantagious for him, to convene the States firſt, and lead them by degrees to the acknowledgment he wanted to extort from them. So that, probably, when he ſummoned the States to *Norham*, he made uſe of ambiguous and cautious expreſſions, proper to hide his real intention. It was not his intereſt then to diſcover it, though he intended to uſe this ſame aſſembly to ſtrengthen his right. 1290.

l. 8. *Preface.*

Buchanan pretends, that, immediately after the young Queen's death, *Edward* formed the project of becoming maſter of *Scotland*. Perhaps he goes too far. It is much more likely, his firſt view was only to cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged for ſovereign of that kingdom; whether he imagined it his due, or had a mind to improve the favourable opportunity of firmly eſtabliſhing this pretended right. The better to accompliſh his deſign, continues the ſame Hiſtorian, he perſuaded eight other perſons, beſides the two above-named, to claim the crown. His intent was, according to this Hiſtorian, ſo to perplex the affair, that the two chief candidates might ſee, he ſhould not want means to render their titles dubious, in caſe they were not pliant to his will.

After theſe remarks, which are neceſſary for the ſequel, it is time to come to the deciſion of this famous proceſs. But firſt it is requiſite to obſerve, that this affair contains two things, really diſtinct from each other, namely, the right of ſucceſſion to the crown of *Scotland*, and the right of ſovereignty over the ſame kingdom, claimed by *Edward*. The former appears at firſt ſight to be the moſt important, and the latter ſeems only to be an incident queſtion ariſing upon the other. But we ſhall find it became the main point, by its fatal conſequences, and therefore it is not to be thought ſtrange, that I ſhould ſtay to explain it. It muſt be farther obſerved, that the particulars I am going to relate, are taken from a Journal, or verbal Proceſs, inſerted in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, made by Mr. *John de Cadam*, one of *Edward*'s Clerks or Notaries. This obſervation ſhould induce us to read with ſome caution, what appears to be too much in favour of the King of *England*, with regard to his claim to the ſovereignty of *Scotland*.

T. II. p. 542.

1291. *Edward requires the States of Scotland to own him for Sovereign.* Act. Pub. II. p. 542. Inſtrumentum Publicum.

The States of *Scotland* being met at *Norham*, *May* 10, 1291, *Roger le Brabazon* Chief Juſticiary of *England*, ſpeaking by order, and in the name of the King his maſter, who was preſent, told them, That the King of *England*, conſidering the unſettled ſtate of *Scotland*, had required the States to aſſemble in that place, to lay before them certain matters, tending to the preſervation of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom: That he had no deſign to uſurp the rights of any perſon, to ſtop the courſe of Juſtice, or to infringe the liberties of the people of *Scotland*; but, as ſovereign Lord of *Scotland*, he was come to do juſtice to all: And that this might be done with more eaſe, though what he claimed could not be juſtly diſputed, he demanded, as a ſuperabundant right, the States aſſent to, and recognition of his ſuperiority and direct dominion: That then he would make uſe of their counſels to do what Juſtice and Reaſon required. The States, extremely ſurprized at this propoſal, required time to conſult with the abſent Biſhops and Barons, to the end they might return an uniform anſwer in an affair of ſuch importance. *Edward*, in his turn, ſhowed ſome ſurprize, that the States ſhould require time to give in their anſwer. He ſaid, he had reaſon to believe they were come prepared for this matter, ſince they were not ignorant of his intention; and therefore he gave them only the reſt of that day to conſider of his demand. On the morrow, the States inſiſting upon a longer time, the King granted them three Weeks, reckoning from the 10th of *May*. During that time, they were to prepare whatever they had to object to his pretenſions, and all the Acts and Monuments whereby they might think to invalidate his demand.

Edward *choſen Umpire*, Buchanan. *and ſummons the States of* Scotland *to* Norham. Act. Pub. II. p. 528, 529.

(1) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays *John*. See *Buchanan*, l. 8.
(2) His Safe-conduct to them bears date, *May* 31. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 528.
(3) *Edward* himſelf ſays, that to him belongs *la Soverayne Seignorie du Reamne de Eſcoce*. *Ibid.* p. 529.

Though,

1291. *The States make no Answer.* June 2.

Though, according to the time appointed by the King, the next meeting was to be on the first of *June*; I find however in the Journal, which I take for my guide, only that of the second of the same month. The Bishop of *Bath and Wells* was spokesman for the King, and recited what had been done in the two former Assemblies. Adding, that the three Weeks granted to the States being expired, and they had not produced or alledged any thing to invalidate his right, his intention was, to act by virtue of his acknowledged sovereignty over the kingdom of *Scotland*, and as Sovereign, to do justice to the candidates.

Remarks on the Silence of the States.

Let us stay a moment to make one remark upon this subject. How good an opinion soever a Man may have of the faithfulness of *Edward*, and the Notary that drew up the Journal, from whence, what I have related is taken, he cannot help perceiving, there is something wanting here. In the two preceding Assemblies, *Edward* produced his pretensions to the sovereignty of *Scotland*. The States, far from immediately owning this sovereignty, require time to consult together upon so nice a point. The King grants them three Weeks, and that time being expired, in the first meeting, mentioned in the Journal, the Chancellor of *England* begins with saying, the States had produced or alledged nothing against the King's pretensions. Ought he not rather to begin with calling upon the States for their answer, which the Journal should mention; either by relating their objections or assent, or at least by declaring they had returned no answer, and then the Chancellor's speech would come to the purpose? But instead of this, he begins with declaring, that the States having nothing to say against the King's pretension, *Edward* was resolved to make use of his right. This makes it suspicious, either that the account of what p..ssed that day is curtailed, or the day before there was another assembly, where the States had produced their proofs, but which the author of the Journal did not think proper to mention. For it was before observed, that, according to the time fixed by the King, there was to be an assembly on the first of *June*, whereas this was not till the second. But I offer this only as a conjecture, on which I do not pretend to establish any thing. The grand difficulty lies, in that, after a three weeks consultation, it is strange, the States of *Scotland* should have nothing to answer or object to *Edward*'s pretension. It is certain, that hitherto, the sovereignty of the crown of *England* over *Scotland*, had never been so generally acknowledged, that the bare publick evidence could silence the States. Of this there needs no other proof, than the marriage-articles before-mentioned, where the *Scots* had taken so great care to maintain their independence. In the second place, the time they took, to consult about the King's demand, plainly shows, they were not fully persuaded of their subjection to the crown of *England*. In short, *Edward*'s very precaution in requiring this acknowledgment, testifies, that the thing was at least doubtful. It is not customary to act in such a manner, when a Man has a known and undeniable right. If it be true then, that the States returned no answer to the King's demand, it must be thought, either they were over-awed; or the two principal candidates united, and prevailed with the States, by secret practices, not to oppose the pretensions of the King of *England*. Probably they were afraid by this incident, of retarding the decision of the main affair. But to return to our Journal.

Edward owned for Sovereign by all the Claimants.

The High-Chancellor having spoken as is related in the Journal, and taking his master's right for granted, addressed himself first to *Robert Bruce*, and demanded of him, Whether he would acknowledge the King of *England* for sovereign of *Scotland*, and receive justice from him, as such. The Journal adds, *Robert Bruce* answered openly and expressly, that he owned the King of *England* for Sovereign Lord of the Realm of *Scotland*, and consented to receive from him as such, the judgment that Prince should think fit to pronounce. The same question being put to *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *John Hastings* (1), they both made the same answer. After that, *Patric* of *Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *William de Ros*, *Walter de Huntercumbe*, *William Vescy* by Proctor, *Robert de Pynkeny*, and *Nicholas de Soules*, appeared, and demanded to be admitted separately, to prove that the Crown of *Scotland* was devolved to them by right of Succession. The same question was put to them, as to the three first, concerning *Edward*'s right; to which having returned the same answer, their petition was received. *John Baliol* being absent, his gentleman of Horse (2) stood up, and alledging some excuse for his master's absence, demanded, in his name, that he might be heard the next day, which was granted him. 1291.

The Procrastination of Edward. June 3.

On the morrow, after the Chancellor's recapitulation of what had passed to that time, *Baliol*, who was present, was asked the same question as the rest of the candidates, and made the like answer. Then, the Chancellor protested aloud in the King's name, *That although the King of* England, *acted on this occasion as Sovereign Lord of* Scotland, *he did not intend thereby to depart from the hereditary right, he might have to the crown of that kingdom; or to exclude himself as to the property. That he expressly reserved to himself the liberty to prosecute his right, as the rest of the candidates, when and how he pleased.* As soon as the Chancellor had done speaking, the King repeated word for word, the same protestation with his own mouth. Then *John Comyn* Lord of *Badenoch* rose up, and demanded leave to prove his lawful right to the crown. His request was granted, after recognising, like the rest, the King of *England*'s sovereignty. What concerned *Edward* being thus settled, the candidates drew up a writing, whereby they acknowledged him sovereign Lord of *Scotland*. This writing was signed and sealed by All, and particularly by *Robert Bruce* and *John Baliol*. As for the silence of the States on this occasion, *Edward*, without giving himself any farther trouble, took it for an assent, and became possessed of the Sovereignty.

Authentick Acknowledgment of the Claimants.

Edward is put in possession of the Kingdom.

This step being made, the King proceeded farther. He represented to the competitors, it would be in vain to give sentence in favour of one of them, if it was not in his power to put it in execution. Upon this foundation, he demanded the possession of the kingdom; that he might be able to deliver it to the person that should be declared King. To this the candidates consented, and signed an instrument according to his desire; as if their bare pretensions to the crown had empowered them to dispose of the kingdom, as they pleased. In this writing, they own the King of *England* for Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, and as such, for Judge of the process concerning the succession. They promised to hold for good and valid, the judgment he should pronounce. They agreed, he should be put in possession of all the Castles, and the whole kingdom, in order to restore it to him for whom it should be adjudged. They added however this condition, that he should be obliged to restore it within two months after judgment given, in the same state he received it, saving to him the homage of the new King.

Act. Pub. II. p. 553. M. West. Walsingh. Knighton.

Act. Pub. p. 556.

Whatever had been hitherto done in favour of *Edward*, was only the acts of private persons; but among them were *Bruce* and *Baliol*, who divided all *Scotland* between them, and consequently their approbation drew after it that of the whole kingdom. In those days of anarchy, the regents had no great authority, neither did they dare to do any thing displeasing to the King, or the two chief candidates, one of whom was to be their master. As to the States, after *Edward* perceived they were disinclined to favour his pretensions, he consulted them no more. As they were assembled out of *Scotland*, and in the power of the King, they were not free to take such measures as they should have desired. So the King met with little opposition from the governors of the Castles, when he came to take possession of the kingdom. *William de Umfraville*, who had the custody of the Castles of *Dundee* and *Forfar*, was the only person that made any resistance. He considered the act above-mentioned as very irregular; and could not resolve, upon such a warrant, to deliver up the places committed to his trust, neither by the King of *England*, nor by the candidates. It was necessary that the Competitors, Regents, and King himself, should bind themselves by an express act, to indemnify him, in case he should one day come to be called to an account.

Act. Pub. II. p. 531.

Whatever *Edward*'s pretensions were, it is certain the sovereignty of the crown of *England* had never been acknowledged in *Scotland*. Accordingly the *Scots* in general, could not but look upon the proceedings of the candidates, and the regents themselves, as a manifest prevarication. And yet, it was very difficult to act otherwise. All the great Men were gained either by *Edward*'s promises, or awed by his threats. The troops he had ordered to march to *Norham*, under colour of guarding the States of *Scotland*, did not a little help to inspire them with terror. So that almost whatever he pleased was forced to be done. It was necessary however for the regents to give the people some satisfaction, in showing them they took care of their interests. To that end, they demanded of *Edward* Letters Patents, declaring that the judgment of the process should be given

Edward's Concession.

(1) Lord of *Abergavenny*.

(2) *Thomas Randulph.* *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 546.

1291. given in the kingdom of *Scotland*. *Edward* conſidering this ſtep, as a ſort of approbation of his ſovereignty, becauſe the demand was ſo expreſſed as not to offend him, readily condeſcended to their very humble petition, and ordered the deſired Letters to be diſpatched out of hand.

Examination of the Proceſs concerning the Crown. Act. Pub. II. p. 553. &c.

The affair of the ſovereignty being thus ended, though without the intervention of the States, the examination of the titles of the ſeveral competitors for the crown came on, that the King might know the ground of their reſpective pretenſions. To this purpoſe, it was agreed among them, that *Baliol* and *Comyn*, as well for themſelves as for all the candidates, ſhould nominate forty perſons, and *Robert Bruce*, in like manner, ſhould chuſe forty others, to hear and diſcuſs the rights of the competitors. That to theſe fourſcore, the King ſhould add about twenty-four more, and theſe commiſſioners, after a mature examination, ſhould make their report to the King.

June 5. In the aſſembly of the 5th of *June*, nothing more was done, than giving in the names of the examiners that were choſen.

Berwick is appointed for the Place of Hearing. June 6. The next day, the King ordered the examiners to appoint the time and place of meeting, for their examination. All agreed upon *Berwick*, a town in *Scotland*, ſituated on the *Tweed*, for the place. But as they could not agree upon the day, the King fixed it to the 2d of *Auguſt* following.

The Regents and Governors reſign their Commiſſions to Edward, *who reſtores them.* June 11. There was another aſſembly at *Norham*, where the regents of *Scotland* reſigned their patents to the King, and the governors of the Caſtles their commiſſions, to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure. *Edward* received, but returned, them again, with the neceſſary alterations to ſhow that they governed in his name. The ſame day he made the Biſhop of *Caithneſs* chancellor of *Scotland*, and joined with him *Walter de Hamondeſham* an *Engliſhman*, one of his clerks, as an aſſociate.

Fealty is ſworn to Edward. June 12. On the 12th of *June*, *Edward* iſſued orders to all that held any office in the kingdom of *Scotland*, to come and ſwear fealty to him, which was done that day by all that were preſent (1). The competitors took the ſame oath, after which, the aſſembly broke up till the day appointed for the meeting at *Berwick* (2).

Though it was ſtill a good while to that day, *Edward* came quickly after, and on the 3d of *July* made the following proteſtation: *That altho' he had granted, that the affair of the Succeſſion ſhould be tried in the kingdom of* Scotland, *he did not intend to bind himſelf to the ſame condeſcenſion, if the ſame caſe ſhould happen again, or on any other occaſion.* Probably the aſſembly, before whom he made this declaration, was neither full, nor authorized to receive it, ſince the examiners were not to meet at *Berwick* till the 3d of *Auguſt*, that is, a month after.

Auguſt 3. Act. Pub. II. p. 575. The day being come, the examining commiſſioners met at *Berwick*, in the preſence of the King, and received the petitions of the candidates, in the following order. But becauſe theſe petitions, containing the grounds of their pretenſions, were founded on the genealogy of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, it is neceſſary to ſee this genealogy, tho' ſuppoſititious, without which it would be difficult to underſtand their reſpective rights.

Florence Earl of *Holland*, ſhowed, he was deſcended from *Ada*, Daughter of Prince *Henry*, and Siſter of the Kings *Malcolm* IV, and *William*.

Patric de Dunbar, Earl of *March*, founded his claim upon his deſcent from *Ilda*, Daughter of King *William*, and Siſter of *Alexander* II.

William de Veſcy aſſerted, he was Iſſue of *Margaret*, Daughter of King *William*.

Robert de Pynkeny affirmed, he came from *Margaret*, Daughter of Prince *Henry*, and Siſter of the Kings *Malcolm* and *William*.

Nicholas de Soules ſaid, that being Grandſon of *Alexander* II, by *Marjory*, ſecond Daughter of that King, and the race of *Margaret*, eldeſt Siſter of his Mother, being extinct, the crown was devolved to him as next heir.

Patric Galythly founded his claim on his being Grandſon to King *William*, by *Henry* Son of that Prince. Probably *Henry*, Father of *Patric*, was a baſtard, ſince had he been legitimate, his Son's title would have been indiſputable. 1291.

Roger de Mandeville claimed the crown as Son of *Alfrica*, Daughter of King *William*.

John Haſtings maintained, that the kingdom of *Scotland* being diviſible, ought to be parted among the deſcendants of the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*. the youngeſt of whom was his mother.

Robert de Ros called himſelf Iſſue of *Iſabella*, eldeſt Daughter of King *William*, and Siſter of *Alexander* II.

John Comyn derived his claim higher, namely, from *Donald* formerly King of *Scotland*.

John Baliol ſet forth, that he was Son of *Deverguld*, eldeſt daughter of *Margaret*, the eldeſt of the daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*; and the race of King *William* being extinct, he was the next heir to the late Queen. It muſt be obſerved, he took it for granted in his petition, that *Marjory* and *Iſabella*, eldeſt daughters of *Alexander* II, died without iſſue, though *Nicholas de Soules* called himſelf Son of the firſt. After that, paſſing over in ſilence *Henry*, *Iſabella*, *Ilda*, *Margaret*, and *Alfrica*, children of King *William*, from whom *Galythly*, *Ros*, *Dunbar*, *Veſcy*, and *Mandeville*, profeſſed themſelves deſcendants, he proceeded to the family of *David*, younger Brother to King *William*. His ſilence leaves room to preſume, either theſe competitors had falſely ſet forth their genealogies, or thoſe from whom they derived their deſcent were baſtards, otherwiſe their iſſue would have had more right to the crown than *David*'s. Accordingly we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that their pretenſions were not regarded at all. It may be farther obſerved, this favours what is ſaid by *Buchanan*, that *Edward* ingaged eight candidates, beſides *Baliol* and *Bruce*, to demand the crown, on purpoſe to puzzle the cauſe. And indeed it is eaſy to ſee, that of all the above-named, *Baliol* excepted, there was not one that had the leaſt title to the ſucceſſion, ſuppoſing, as is very likely, that they were deſcended from baſtards, and that *Nicholas de Soules* had not truly ſet forth his genealogy.

Robert Bruce alledged, that he was by one degree nearer than *Baliol*, ſince he was grandſon of *David*, whereas his rival was only grandſon of his daughter. That indeed *Deverguld* was in the ſame degree with himſelf, but could not claim the crown, becauſe it was the cuſtom to prefer the Males before the Females, in the ſame degree of conſanguinity. To ſtrengthen his title, he added, that *Alexander* II, declared him his heir, in caſe he died without iſſue, and offered to prove it by living witneſſes. Moreover, he maintained that *Alexander* III, always looked upon him as his preſumptive heir, and declared it to ſuch as were familiar with him.

All theſe petitions being read, and the King, ſays the Journal, willing to give the commiſſioners time to examine them, appointed the ſecond of *June* of the enſuing year 1292, for another aſſembly (3), where the candidates might more fully urge their reſpective rights.

I ſhall make uſe of this Interval to examine as briefly as poſſible, the grounds on which *Edward* built his right of ſovereignty over *Scotland*. We find them at large in a Memorial drawn by that Prince's order. And becauſe this Memorial is frequently alledged by the *Engliſh* authors, as containing the juſtifying proofs of the right of ſovereignty enjoyed immemorially by *England*, over *Scotland*, it will not be amiſs to give an abſtract thereof, to the end the reader may be perfectly informed concerning this matter.

PROOFS alledged by EDWARD I. *to eſtabliſh the* RIGHT *of* SOVEREIGNTY *of the* KINGS *of ENGLAND over SCOTLAND.*

IN the year 901, *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*, ſubjected to his dominion the Kings of the *Scots*, *Humbrians*, and *Welſh* (4), as appears in the hiſtories of *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*, and *William of Malmsbury*. Act. Pub. II. p. 559. M. Weſt. p. 440, &c. Walſing. Knighton.

In the year 921, the King of *Scotland*, *Reginald* King of the *Danes*, the *Engliſh* of *Northumberland*, the King of

(1) None took the Oath of Allegiance on *June* 12, except *Alan* Biſhop of *Caithneſs*, the new Chancellor, and his Aſſociate. The Competitors, and other Perſons, took it the next Day, *June* 13. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 557, 558.

(2) In the mean time, the chief Perſons in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Citizens and Burgeſſes of each City and Town therein, did, during the Months of *June* and *July*, ſwear Allegiance to King *Edward*; and the Inhabitants of *Berwick* in particular, on *June* 30: Among whom are mentioned *Ralph Phelype*, *Robert Oliver*, *John de Knaptone*, *Thomas le Barber*, &c. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 567---572.

(3) A Parliament. *Ibid.* p. 580.

(4) It is in the Original *Stregewallorum*, the ſame as are called in the *Saxon Annals*, *Stræcledweallas*. They were the People that inhabited about *Galway* in *Scotland*, and being perpetually harraſſed with the Incurſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, retired into *Flintſhire*, about the River *Clwyd*. See *Camden in Flintſhire*.

Wales

1291. *Wales* and his ſubjects, choſe *Edward the Elder* for their Father and Lord, and made a ſtrict alliance with him. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

In the Year 924, the ſame *Edward* reigned over all the inhabitants of *Great-Britain*, *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *Cumbrians*, *Danes* and *Britons*. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

In the Year 926, King *Athelſtan*, Son of *Edward*, vanquiſhed *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, together with the King of the *Wenti* (1), and compelled them to fly. After the victory they took an oath to him, and concluded an alliance with him at *Emothe*, *July* the 4th. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

We find in the Hiſtories of *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, and *Ralph de Diceto*, that *Athelſtan* forced *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, to quit his crown; and afterwards gave him leave to reſume it, on condition he ſhould hold it of the Kings of *England*, ſaying, *It was more glorious to make Kings, than to be one.*

In 934, the ſame *Athelſtan* vanquiſhed *Conſtantine*, who had revolted, and ravaged *Scotland* as far as *Dunferd*. *Conſtantine* gave him his Son in hoſtage, with great preſents, and a peace was concluded between them. *Marianus Scotus*. *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry de Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*.

In the Year 937, *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, and *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, met *Athelſtan* at *Dacor*, and ſubmitted to his mercy. *Athelſtan*, commanding *Conſtantine* to cauſe his Son to be baptized, ſtood godfather himſelf. *William of Malmsbury*.

In 940, *Athelſtan* was ſucceeded by *Edmund*, who reigned four years, during which the *Scots* revolted not.

In 947, *Edred*, Brother and Succeſſor of *Edmund*, having vanquiſhed the *Northumbrians*, carried his arms into *Scotland*. The *Scots* ſeized with fear, ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and ſwore the fealty that was due to him. *Edred* ſet over the *Scots* a King, called *Yric*. *Marianus Scotus*, *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*.

In the Year 955, *Edwy* was King of *England* after *Edred*, and reigned four years, without any revolt of the *Scots*.

In 997, *Edgar* King of *England* having ſummoned to his court *Keneth* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, and ſix other Kings, made them row in his barge, which he himſelf ſteered. He ſaid upon that occaſion, as it is affirmed, that his ſucceſſors might now boaſt of being really Kings of *England*, ſince they enjoyed ſo great a prerogative.

Another time the ſame *Edgar* being informed, that *Keneth* had ſpoken ill of him, ſent for him to his court, and walking with him into the fields, offered him the choice of two Swords, to fight with him. *Keneth* refuſed it, and caſting himſelf at *Edgar*'s feet, begged his pardon, and obtained it. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger of Hoveden*, *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*.

During the reigns of *Edward the Martyr*, *Ethelred* II, and *Edmund Ironſide*, the *Scots* did not revolt.

In 1017, *Canute the Great*, at his return from *Rome*, in the 15th year of his reign, ſubdued *Scotland* with eaſe, which had revolted, and King *Malcolm* was ſubject to him. *Canute* was King of *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Scotland*. *Marianus Scotus*, *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*.

It does not appear that the *Scots* revolted, during the reigns of *Harold* II, and *Hardicanute*.

In the reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland* vanquiſhed *Mackbeth* King of *Scotland*, and ſlew him. After which, by the command of King *Edward*, he placed *Malcolm*, Son of the King of *Cumberland*, on the throne of *Scotland*. *Ibid*.

There are likewiſe theſe words in the hiſtory of *William of Malmsbury*, *King* Edward *gave the kingdom of* Scotland *to* Malcolm, *Son of the King of* Cumberland, *to hold it of the Crown of* England.

There is nothing concerning the *Scots*, whilſt *Harold* II was on the throne of *England*.

William the Baſtard having marched into *Scotland*, in the ſixth year of his reign, *Malcolm* met him at *Aberneth*, where he did him homage, or became his Man. *Chron. of* St. *Albans*.

In the ſame chronicle it is ſaid, that *William* returned into *England*, after receiving the homage of *Malcolm*, and ſome hoſtages. 1291.

In the third Year of *William Rufus*, *Malcolm* revolting and ravaging *Northumberland*, *William*, accompanied by *Robert* his Brother, led his army into *Scotland*, and made peace with *Malcolm*, on condition that *Malcolm* ſhould obey him, as he obeyed *William* his Father. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

Henry of Huntington ſays, *Malcolm*, ſeized with fear, became King *William*'s Man (2).

The ſame King dethroned *David* of *Scotland*, and placed *Edgar*, Son of *Malcolm*, in his room.

Edgar King of *Scotland* dying, *Alexander* I. his Brother, ſucceeded him, by the conſent of *Henry* I, King of *England*. *Henry of Huntington*.

Stephen King of *England* having demanded homage of *David* King of *Scotland*, and upon his refuſing it, becauſe he had taken an oath to *Matilda*, *Henry* his Son did homage to King *Stephen*. *Marianus Scotus*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

William King of *Scotland*, *David* Earl of *Huntington* his Brother, the Earls and Barons of *Scotland*, did homage to *Henry* II, King of *England*, and ſwore fealty (3) to him.

In the Year 1174, *William* King of *Scotland* ravaging *England*, was taken priſoner and delivered to King *Henry* II, who ſet him at liberty, on condition he ſhould do him homage for the kingdom of *Scotland*.

As the treaty between theſe two Kings has been ſpoken of elſewhere, it is needleſs to repeat it here. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that William, *to obtain his liberty, was forced to promiſe to do full homage to* Henry II *for the kingdom of* Scotland, *and performed his word. This is the beſt proof in favour of* Edward, *and accordingly he chiefly inſiſts upon it in the Memorial; entering into a long detail, which amounts to what is above-related.*

In the reign of *Richard*, the *Scots* are not found to revolt. On the contrary, *William* came to *Canterbury*, to do homage to *Richard*.

Edward *wiſely paſſes over here in ſilence the Letters Patents of* Richard I, *whereby he relinquiſhed the ſovereignty of the kingdom of* Scotland.

The ſame *William* came and did homage to King *John* at *Lincoln*, and ſwore fealty to him upon the croſs of *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Roger de Hoveden*.

The ſame King *John* would have made war upon *William*, for having, without his conſent, married his Daughter to the Earl of *Boulogne*. This is extant in the chronicle of the Monaſtery of *Bridlington*. It is ſaid alſo in the chronicle of the Abbey of *Kyngeſwode*, that *William* gave his two daughters in hoſtage to King *John*.

Henry III, in the 35th year of his reign, came to *York*, to marry his Daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, and the latter did there homage to the King of *England*. The guardianſhip of the young King, and the regency of the kingdom, were conferred on *Robert de Ros* and *John Baliol*, by the advice of the great Men of both kingdoms. *Chron. of* St. *Albans*.

To ſtrengthen all theſe proofs, *Edward* heaped together ſome paſſages, extracted from divers charters and ſeveral Bulls, and from a Book intitled, *The Life of St. John of Beverly*.

In a charter of *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, granted to the Church of *Durham*, that Prince acknowledges, he holds the Land of *Londoney*, and the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, by the grant of *William* King of *England* his Lord.

In another charter, *William* King of *Scotland* grants to King *John* of *England* his dear Lord, the power of marrying *Alexander* his Son, Prince of *Scotland*, to whom he pleaſed. Moreover he promiſes King *John*, that, whatever happens, he and Prince *Alexander* his Son, will be true to *Henry*, Son of *John*, as their Sovereign Lord.

In a brief of *Gregory* IX, that Pope ordered the Barons of *Scotland* to join with the King of *England* againſt their own Prince, in caſe the latter ſhould break the treaty made with *Henry* II.

The ſame Pope in another brief commanded the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, to perſuade the King of *Scotland* to keep the treaty.

(1) In our printed Copies of *Hoveden*, they are called *Werterni*. See page 422. Edit. 1601. Probably *South-Wales*.

(2) That is, did him Homage, the Form of which you have in the ſecond Statute 17 *Edw.* II. When a Freeman ſhall do Homage, he ſhall hold his Hands together between the Hands of his Lord, and ſhall ſay thus on his Knees: *I become your Man from this Day forth, for Life, for Member, and for worldly Honour, and ſhall owe you my Faith for the Land I hold of you, ſaving the Faith I owe to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to my other Lords.* The Eccleſiaſticks ſay, inſtead of *I become your Man, I do you Homage, and to you ſhall be faithful and loyal.*

(3) Fealty, from the *Latin*, *Fidelitas*: The Form of it ſee in *Anno* 14 *Edw.* I. Stat. 2. When a Free-Man ſhall do Fealty, he ſhall hold his Right Hand over the Book, and ſay: *Hear you, my Lord, that I* A. B. *ſhall be to you faithful and true, and ſhall owe my Fealty to you, for the Land that I hold of you, and truly ſhall do you the Cuſtoms and Services that I ought to do you at the Terms aſſigned, ſo help me God, and all the Saints.* He that holdeth Land by this Oath only, holdeth in the freeſt manner that any Man in *England* under the King may hold.

1291. In another directed to the King of *Scotland*, the ſame Pope told him, that ſince he was Liege-Man of the King of *England*, and had ſworn fealty to him, he ought not to attempt any thing againſt him.

Pope *Clement* writing to *Henry* King of *England* in behalf of the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, diſpoſſeſſed of his See by the King of *Scotland*, requires him among other things, to warn, exhort, and if neceſſary, to force that Prince, by the power committed unto him, to reſtore the Biſhop.

The Proof taken from *the Life of St. John of Beverly*, the author whereof is unknown, conſiſts of this narrative. King *Athelſtan* carrying his arms into *Scotland*, meets by the way certain people, who were juſt cured of blindneſs and lameneſs, by the interceſſion of St. *John of Beverly*. Whereupon, he reſolves to go and perform his devotions in the Church where the body of this Saint lay. After ſaying his prayers, he left his dagger on the altar, as a pledge of what he had promiſed the Saint, in caſe he ſucceeded in his undertaking. Then entering *Scotland*, St. *John* appears to him and aſſures him of his aſſiſtance. Upon this aſſurance *Athelſtan* attacks the *Scots*, and gains a ſignal victory. After that, he ſubdued the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſtayed there three years. In his return to *England*, a great rock ſtood in his way, and he beſought God, through the mediation of St. *John of Beverly*, to give him ſome ſign, whereby the ſpectators might know, the *Scots* were juſtly ſubdued by the *Engliſh*, and the conquered kingdom ought for ever to pay tribute to his ſucceſſors. Then drawing his ſword, he ſtruck the rock, which yielded like butter, and made a hole in it an ell deep. Whereupon the author adds, that this is an evident ſign *Scotland* was ſubjected by the *Engliſh*.

Edward produced ſome other teſtimonies, but without naming his authors, to ſhew, the Lords of *Galloway* had done homage to the King of *England*.

In 1185, *Roland* Lord of *Galloway* ſubmitted to the King of *England*, fearing, as it is preſumed, ſays the author, the power of that monarch, who was advancing with a great army to make war upon him.

Henry II, King of *England*, having received the homage of *Alan of Galloway*, and of *David* Brother of King *William*, returned into his dominions.

In the 22d year of *Henry* II, *Gilbert* Son of *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway* came with the King of *Scotland* into *England*; where he became Liege-Man of *Henry* the Father, and ſwore fealty to him. Which done, in order to gain his good-will, he gave him a thouſand Marks of Silver, and his Son *Duncan* in hoſtage.

Theſe are the proofs uſed by *Edward* to juſtify his right of ſovereignty over *Scotland*. As it paſſes for certain among ſeveral *Engliſh* hiſtorians, that *Edward* undeniably proved his right from ancient chronicles, I imagined, the reader would not be diſpleaſed to be able to judge for himſelf, without being obliged to recur to the writers of both parties. For which reaſon I have retrenched none of theſe proofs, though ſome of them are far enough from being evident.

Certainly, there is reaſon to think it ſtrange that the *Scots* ſhould find nothing to object to theſe proofs, the greateſt part whereof are very weak, not to ſay entirely trifling. But it muſt be conſidered, they were in *England*, over-awed by the preſence of the King; and that *Bruce* and *Baliol*, who were in great credit, did all that lay in their power to prevent any incidents that might retard the deciſion of the main affair. However, ſince *Edward* ſupported his pretenſions by the proofs ſet forth in the Memorial; and the Homage required of the Kings of *Scotland*, was the ſole cauſe of the war which was afterwards kindled between the two nations; it will not be needleſs to clear this matter a little, by adding what the *Scots* might have alledged againſt the proofs, if powerful motives had not induced them to keep ſilence; and what they actually did object, in more favourable circumſtances.

In the firſt place, they might ſay, it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh two things, which *Edward* affected to confound in this Memorial; namely, the ſuperiority of the forces of the Kings of *England*, and their frequent advantages over the *Scots*, from the pretended acknowledgment made by the Kings of *Scotland*, that they held their crown of the Kings of *England*. The latter was the main point in diſpute, and yet the proofs alledged in the Memorial chiefly relate to the former.

2. The buſineſs was not to prove in general, that the Kings of *Scotland* were frequently conſtrained to make diſadvantagious treaties, and afterwards ſwear to them: The acts themſelves ſhould have been produced, and ſhewn to contain an expreſs acknowledgment of the ſovereignty of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland*. It was farther neceſſary to prove the continuation of this acknowledgment by the homages of the Kings of *Scotland* upon every new acceſſion to the thrones of both kingdoms, according to the conſtant cuſtom practiſed by Vaſſals for many ages ſince. But this was not done by *Edward*. 1291.

3. When *Edgar*, King of *Scotland*, owned in his charter to the Church of *Durham*, that he held his kingdom of *William Rufus*, that acknowledgment did not import a confeſſion that the crown of *Scotland* depended on that of *England*. It was only a declaration, that by the aſſiſtance of the King of *England* he had mounted the throne of *Scotland*, ſeized by an uſurper, as appears in the hiſtory.

4. This ſame charter, one of *Edward*'s principal proofs, is affirmed to be a forgery by the *Scotch* writers, and oppoſed with ſuch ſtrong chronological arguments, as ſeem to demand our aſſent.

5. As to what paſſed between *Henry* II, and *William* King of *Scotland*, it is very true, *William* did full homage for his whole kingdom. But it is no leſs certain, it was in conſequence of a treaty, where that homage was expreſly ſtipulated for the captive King's liberty. And therefore it is evident, he was not ſubject to it before, ſince there was need of binding him to it by a treaty. And this is what would never have been thought of, unleſs the war had been undertaken on account of that homage, which is not fact. Beſides, this homage, which was only a conſequence of *William*'s captivity, was not continued by his ſucceſſors; ſince *Richard*, Son of *Henry*, entirely renounced it, as we have ſeen in the reign of that Prince. Anderſon's *Eſſay*. p. 86.

6. As for the reſt of the proofs, which are much weaker, they are not only taken from *Engliſh* writers, or ſubjects of *England*, who for the moſt part lived long after the events they relate; but are founded on uncertain expreſſions, which do not neceſſarily bear the ſenſe contended for by *Edward*.

7. Had *Edward* no other proofs to alledge, but the teſtimonies of ſome partial hiſtorians? Why did he not produce the homages of the ancient Kings of *Scotland*, as he did that of *William* to *Henry* II? If the thing had been only to prove the homage for the Earldom of *Huntington*, he would have had no occaſion to rummage the hiſtorians; his own records would have ſupplied him with proofs. What is the reaſon then, that it was more difficult to preſerve the homages for the kingdom of *Scotland*? If the King of *France* could have proved his ſovereignty over *Guienne*, and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, only by paſſages taken from *French* authors, there is room to queſtion, whether *Edward* would have ſubmitted to do him homage for theſe two Provinces.

8. The *Scots* might alledge, that when *Henry* III demanded the King of *Scotland*'s aſſiſtance againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*, he owned in expreſs terms, that the aſſiſtance was given him out of friendſhip, and not out of duty.

9. The ſame *Henry* would have had *Alexander* III, his Son-in-law, do homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; but *Alexander* refuſed it, and would not do it for the Lands he held in *England*.

10. *Edward* himſelf being deſirous, that the ſame *Alexander* III, his Brother-in-law, ſhould aſſiſt at his coronation, gave him Letters Patents; acknowledging, that the preſence of that Prince was not of duty, and that he aſſiſted at the ſolemnity only out of friendſhip, and to do him honour, without being any ways obliged thereto.

11. When the ſame *Alexander* did homage to *Edward*, he made an authentick declaration, that he did not mean to do homage for the kingdom of *Scotland*, but only for the Lands he held in *England*, and his homage was received with that limitation.

12. The *Scots* might ſay farther, that the homage done for the Lands in *England*, though paid by a *Scotiſh* King, had no manner of relation to the kingdom of *Scotland*. In like manner, the King of *England*, in doing homage to the Kings of *France*, did not intend to make the kingdom of *England* dependent on the crown of *France*, but only to acknowledge the dependency of the Lands they held in that kingdom.

13. Laſtly, Homage was frequently paid for penſions; for inſtance, the Earls of *Flanders* did it to the Kings of *England* upon that account, as did the Earl of *Savoy*, for a penſion of two hundred Marks. So that barely to ſhew that the Kings of *Scotland* did homage to the Kings of *England*, was no proof of the point in queſtion. It ſhould have been proved, that theſe homages were for the kingdom of *Scotland*, either by Letters Patents of the Kings of *Scotland* themſelves, or by the Inſtruments of the homages well atteſted, according to the uſual cuſtom. But *Edward* produced no other act, but that

1291. that of *William*'s forced homage, renounced by King *Richard*.

As to the paſſages extracted from the Papal Bulls, they could amount to no proof, ſince the *Scots* did not deny that their Kings were Vaſſals to *England* for the Earldom of *Huntington*, and other Lands on the Frontiers. But they denied them to be ſo for the kingdom of *Scotland*, which the Bulls did not affirm.

I ſay nothing of the extract taken from *the Life of St. John of Beverly*, ſince there is reaſon to doubt that *Edward* ſeriouſly intended to draw a proof from ſo ill-atteſted, or rather ſo ridiculous a miracle, and from a hiſtory, whoſe author is unknown.

Theſe anſwers are not arguments made by me for the *Scots*. The greateſt part are the ſame that *Boniface* VIII uſed in his Letter to *Edward*, to diſſuade him from any attempt upon *Scotland*, as will be ſeen hereafter. Let us return now to the deciſion of the affair of the ſucceſſion, from whence I made this digreſſion (1).

1292. *Sequel of the Affair of the Succeſſion.* June 12. Act. Pub. T. II. p. 580.

The day appointed by *Edward* being come, all the candidates, with the fourſcore examiners, repaired to *Berwick*, where *Edward* was preſent. At the firſt meeting, the King of *Norway*'s ambaſſadors appeared, and demanded the crown for the King their maſter, Father of the late Queen. Their petition being received, after a recognition of the King of *England*'s direct dominion over *Scotland*, thoſe of the other competitors were read, each in its turn, and the commiſſioners began to examine them. But *Edward*, ſays the Journal, conſidering this examination would be very tedious, and conſequently prejudicial to *Scotland*, took another courſe. He moved, and his motion was approved, that the rights and titles of *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce* ſhould be firſt examined, without prejudice of the others, which ſhould be afterwards diſcuſſed.

Queſtion propoſed by Edward, and left undecided.

The firſt queſtion which was put, was, By what laws and cuſtoms Judgment was to be given? And upon this *Edward* would have the previous advice of the examining commiſſioners. It was not poſſible for them to agree in deciding this point. After long debates, they told the King, they could not give him their advice, without farther deliberation, and deſired him to add to them the four and twenty *Engliſh*, according to the agreement. This expedient did not promote the deciſion. The *Engliſh* commiſſioners reported to the King, that the *Scots* were ſo divided in opinion, concerning their own Laws, that it was very difficult to ſettle ſo diſputable a point. Adding, they durſt not themſelves, for that reaſon, give him any advice upon ſo nice a queſtion. Theſe difficulties determined *Edward* to give a longer time, and appoint the 14th of *October* following, for the day of the firſt aſſembly (2).

He propoſes three Queſtions. Octob. 13, 14.

The commiſſioners being met at the time appointed, *Edward* asked them theſe three queſtions: 1. By what Laws and Cuſtoms Judgment was to be given? 2. How he was to proceed, in caſe the Cuſtoms of *England* and *Scotland* ſhould be uncertain, or oppoſite? 3. Whether Judgment was to be given concerning the kingdom of *Scotland*, otherwiſe than concerning Earldoms, Baronies, and other Fees of the crown of *England*? The delay granted by *Edward*, had given the examiners new light. They who could not agree upon the firſt queſtion in *Auguſt*, were unanimous in *October*. To the firſt they made anſwer; That in caſe there were any certain Laws or Cuſtoms in the King's dominions, by them he ought to proceed. To the ſecond, That if in his territories there was no certain law, he might eſtabliſh a new one. To the third, That the kingdom of *Scotland* was to be judged in the ſame manner as other indiviſible Fees. It is no hard matter to ſee, that theſe preliminary queſtions tended only, as is plain from the anſwers, to eſtabliſh *Edward*'s right of ſovereignty; a right which he conſtantly ſuppoſed, without allowing it to be contradicted.

Anſwers.

Reaſons alledged by Robert Bruce.

Edward, upon theſe deciſions, ordered *Bruce* and *Baliol* to be called, and asked, Whether they had any thing to ſay, to ſtrengthen the reaſons alledged in their petitions? They replied, they deſired to add ſomething farther by word of mouth, and *Bruce* began firſt. His reaſons were confined to theſe four. 1. That the ſucceſſion of a crown ought to be ſettled by the natural right by which Kings reign, and not by the Laws common to Subjects; and, according to natural right, the neareſt ought to ſucceed. 2. That for the ſame reaſon, though private inheritances were diviſible, and the eldeſt had ſome privilege by the laws obſerved among ſubjects, it was not ſo with regard to a kingdom, to which the next heir ought to ſucceed without any diviſion. 3. He maintained, that in *Scotland*, the crown had been adjudged for the collateral branch, preferably to the direct, and the ſucceſſion in the family of the eldeſt, was not ſo eſtabliſhed, as to be juſtly prejudicial to him, ſince in that very kingdom, Brothers had ſeveral times been preferred to Sons. 4. He took it for granted, that though he was in the ſame degree as *Deverguld*, he ought however to ſucceed, becauſe he was the next Male-heir. 1292.

Reaſons and Replies of John Baliol.

John Baliol anſwering in his turn, founded his right on the genealogy of the Royal Family, and ſhewed he was deſcended from the eldeſt of the daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, whereas *Bruce* ſprung only from the ſecond. He replied to the reaſons of his competitor, and maintained, That the cuſtom, as well of *England* as *Scotland*, was, that the deſcendant of the eldeſt daughter, tho' more remote, was preferable to the nearer coming from the younger. As to what *Bruce* alledged concerning natural right, and the right of Kings, he anſwered, it belonged to the King of *England* to decide That, as immemorial Sovereign, and direct Lord of *Scotland*. As for the inſtances, produced by *Robert*, of Brothers preferred to Sons, he affirmed, it was never done in *Scotland*, but by way of uſurpation and violence. That, when ſuch a thing happened, the Kings of *England*, as Sovereigns, rectified it, by placing the Son on the throne. To prove his aſſertion, he alledged the example of *Edgar*, whom *William Rufus* put in poſſeſſion of the crown, uſurped by *Donald*. Laſtly, he maintained, that, ſuppoſing what *Robert* advanced was inconteſtable, it could be no advantage to him. Indeed, it appeared from thence, that ſometimes the nearer was excluded, to make room for the more remote, a Brother being undeniably farther removed than a Son. I ſhould be too tedious if I recited all the arguments, anſwers, and replies of both ſides. This will ſuffice, I hope, to ſhew the grounds of their pretenſions.

Queſtion propoſed to the Examiners. Act. Pub. T. II. p. 586.

This affair being thus cleared, and the reaſons of the two candidates examined, the King put the queſtion in this manner: *Whether the more remote by one degree in ſucceſſion, coming from the eldeſt Siſter, ought, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer, by a degree coming from the ſecond Siſter?* The commiſſioners unanimouſly anſwered, That, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of both kingdoms, the deſcendants of the eldeſt daughter were to be preferred. It might be juſtly demanded, to what purpoſe then was the diſcuſſion of the preliminary queſtions, ſince the laws of both kingdoms were ſo expreſs in favour of the principal, if it had not been already remarked, that they were ſubſervient to the private intereſts of *Edward*? Notwithſtanding the formal deciſion of the commiſſioners, the King, willing to ſhew that he acted without paſſion and partiality, cauſed the ſame queſtion to be again long debated in his preſence, and appointed the 6th of *November* following, to pronounce the final ſentence.

Decided in favour of Baliol.

Edward gives Sentence againſt Bruce; Nov. 6.

On that day, *Edward* ſolemnly pronounced, that *Robert Bruce*'s pretenſions were ill-grounded, and the Laws allowed him no right to the crown of *Scotland*. But as the excluſion of *Bruce* did not neceſſarily import the admiſſion of *Baliol*, ſince there were other competitors, the King ordered the examiners to hear the reſt of the parties. *Robert Bruce* finding himſelf excluded by this ſentence, declared, he had another right which he would proſecute, and juſtify, in another form, his pretenſions to part of the kingdom. Then he preſented his petition, which was admitted.

who offers a Petition.

Demand of John Haſtings.

The affair between *Baliol* and *Bruce* being ended, *John Haſtings* ſtood up and maintained, That *Scotland* being a fee of *England*, had no more privileges than other fees, which were all partible. He inferred from thence, that the kingdom of *Scotland* ought to be divided among the deſcendants of the daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, the youngeſt of whom was his mother. He was immediately ſeconded by *Robert Bruce*, who appeared again, and ſaid, He claimed a third part of the kingdom, as Son and Heir to *David*'s ſecond

(1) This Year, on *June* 24, or, according to others, the 25th, died *Eleanor*, King *Edward*'s Mother, in the Nunnery of *Ambreſbury*; and was buried *September* 8, in the Church belonging to the ſaid Nunnery. *An. Waverl.* p. 242. *T. Wikes*, p. 123. *Walſing.* p. 57.-----Whilſt *Edward* was in *France*, in 1287, he made a vow to go to the *Holy Land*, and accordingly received the Croſs from the hands of the Pope's Legate at *Bourdeaux*. In conſequence of this, Pope *Nicholas* IV granted him this Year, by a Bull, dated at *Orvieto*, *March* 18, 1291, the Tenths of *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, for ſix Years. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. II. p. 509. *An. Waverl.* p. 240. The Biſhops of *Winchеſter* and *Lincoln* were appointed Head-Collectors of theſe Tenths. *T. Wikes*, p. 124.

(2) Or Parliament, *Parliamento*, as it is in the Original. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. II. p. 581. The King promiſed, that he would ſummon ſome of the greateſt and diſcreeteſt Perſons of his Kingdom to be then preſent; and would in the mean time diſpatch Meſſengers to the moſt learned Men abroad for their Advice upon this Point. *Ibid.*

1292. Daughter. Whereupon *Edward* put theſe two queſtions: 1. Whether the kingdom of *Scotland* was a Partible Fee? 2. Or whether, not being ſo, the Eſcheats and Acquiſitions, made by the Kings of *Scotland*, were to follow the Law of common inheritances? The unanimous advice of the King's council, and the commiſſioners, was, That the kingdom of *Scotland* was an Indiviſible Fee, and that the King's acquiſitions in the kingdom itſelf, ceaſed to be partible, the moment they came into his hands. After this deciſion, *Edward* appointed the 17th of *November*, to paſs ſentence.

All the other Candidates drop their pretenſions. Nov. 17. The commiſſioners being met (1) on the day appointed, the King ordered all the candidates to be asked, What they had to ſay in defence of their rights. The ambaſſadors of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *William de Veſcy*, *Patric de Dunbar*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Pynkeny*, *Nicholas de Soules*, and *Patric Galythly*, declared, They did not intend any further to proſecute their claims, and withdrew their petitions. Upon this declaration the King pronounced, they had no pretenſion to the crown of *Scotland*. *John Comyn*, and *Roger de Mandeville*, not appearing to maintain their claims, they were likewiſe rejected. After which the King pronounced, That *John Haſtings*, and *Robert Bruce*, had no right to the third part claimed by each, becauſe the kingdom of *Scotland* could not be divided.

Edward *declares* Baliol *King of* Scotland. None remained but *Baliol*, who being without a competitor, ſince the others were rejected, was acknowledged as the only perſon that had a right to pretend to the crown. Accordingly, *Edward* adjudged, that he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, ſaving however to himſelf and ſucceſſors, the right of proſecuting their pretenſions to the ſame kingdom, whenever they thought proper (2). Then he addreſſed himſelf to the new King, and ſaid, He ſhould take care to govern his people with equity, in ſuch a manner, that for want of juſtice, or any other reaſon whatever, he ſhould not oblige his ſovereign to make uſe of his right to redreſs the grievances. Then he appointed him the *Thurſday* following to ſwear fealty, and *Chriſtmaſs* day next, to do his homage at *Newcaſtle*.

Baliol *ſwears Fealty to* Edward; Nov. 20. Act. Pub. T. II. p. 591. M. Weſt. Walſingh. T. Wikes. The proceſs being thus ended, *Edward* diſpatched all neceſſary orders to put *Baliol* in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and the new King ſwore fealty to him on the 20th of *November* (3). In the oath, he acknowledged the ſovereignty of the King of *England* over *Scotland* in very expreſs and ſubmiſſive terms, and cauſed an authentick act of the ſame to be drawn up. His inſtallation was performed at *Scone* (4) with the uſual formalities, and all the *Scotch* Lords took the oath to him, except *Robert Bruce*, who was abſent. Which done, he came to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, where he did homage to the King, in ſuch expreſſions as it was not poſſible to add any thing to denote more fully his dependence (5).

and does Homage.

Complaints of the Scots *againſt* Edward. After ſeeing in what manner the Journal, made by *Edward*'s order, relates what paſſed in the judgment of this famous proceſs, it is but reaſonable to hear the *Scots* in their turn, and to lay before the reader what they ſay upon this matter. They pretend, *Edward* acted very unjuſtly in the whole courſe of this affair, and that his conduct throughout was a continued ſeries of artifice, corruption, and violence: That indeed, he had before ſome pretenſion to the ſovereignty of *Scotland*, but it was ſo ill-grounded, that he would never have thought of proſecuting it, if the ſtate of the kingdom had not furniſhed him with an opportunity: That being choſen Judge, or rather Umpire of the difference between the two candidates, he abuſed that truſt to ſerve his own intereſts, at the expence of the liberty of the *Scots*. They agree to the facts related in the Journal; but affirm, that by promiſes and threats, he privately engaged the commiſſioners blindly to follow his directions. They add, That his chief aim being to make the perſon who ſhould be declared King of *Scotland*, Vaſſal of the crown of *England*, he intimated to the two competitors, that they had nothing to hope for, unleſs they would firſt own him for Sovereign of the kingdom. To engage them, *ſay they*, to this acknowledgment, he himſelf raiſed up all the other candidates, who entirely depended upon him, on purpoſe to breed difficulties, which might convince *Bruce* and *Baliol*, how much they needed his favour. It is not to be thought ſtrange that the competitors ſhould be ready to do whatever he deſired. The two principal were afraid, their oppoſition would deprive them of the crown, and the reſt put in their claims only in obedience to his orders, or for his pleaſure. 'Tis further affirmed, That before the pretenſions of the parties came to be examined, *Edward* had reſolved to give the crown to *Baliol*, who was of an inferior genius to *Bruce*, and of leſs credit in the kingdom. *Buchanan* ſays upon this occaſion, that *Edward* offered the crown firſt to *Bruce*, if he would promiſe to do him homage; and upon his refuſing it on that condition, *Edward* turned to *Baliol*, who immediately accepted his offer. And to the invincible argument, which the *Engliſh* pretend to infer from *Robert*'s conſent and hand, to the acts and declarations made by the candidates before they preſented their petitions, the *Scots* reply, It was not poſſible, but *Robert* might at firſt refuſe the crown on the condition required, and afterwards perceiving how detrimental his refuſal might be to him, was induced to comply. It is true, he did not much promote his cauſe by that means, ſince his refuſal made a deeper impreſſion on *Edward*, than his compliance could afterwards do. They add, It is impoſſible to help ſeeing, in the Journal itſelf made by *Edward*'s order, that, notwithſtanding the great ſhew of impartiality throughout, that Prince favoured the cauſe of *Baliol*. In the firſt place, the arguments of *Robert Bruce* are very much abridged, and may be ſaid to be diſadvantagiouſly ſet forth. In the next place, immediately after *Robert*'s excluſion, all the reſt of the competitors, except *Baliol*, relinquiſhed their pretenſions, even to the ambaſſadors of *Norway*, who, very likely, had private orders to act as directed by *Edward*. Indeed, one cannot ſee, why the excluſion of *Bruce* ſhould ſo affect the other candidates, as to oblige them to withdraw their petitions. But, it is eaſily perceived, they were no longer neceſſary to the King's deſigns, after the judgment againſt *Bruce*. This plainly diſcovers the reaſon, why *Edward* would have the examiners begin with diſcuſſing the rights of *Bruce* and *Baliol*; becauſe, when that buſineſs ſhould be decided, he had no farther need of the others. The affected abſence of *Baliol* is likewiſe obſerved, on the day that the other competitors acknowledged the ſovereignty of the King of *England*, that he might not be afterwards reproached, when he ſhould be on the throne, for being the firſt to introduce that innovation, intending to create a belief, that he only followed thoſe that went before him. It is affirmed, *Edward* was more apprehenſive of *Bruce* than of *Baliol*, and in the whole courſe of this procedure, had ever a view to his own intereſt. The ſole end of all his proceedings, ſay they, was to eſtabliſh a right which he could never have ſupported at any other juncture, and which belonged not to him. If this right had been inconteſtable, to what purpoſe did he take ſo many precautions to eſtabliſh it? To what end ſo many acknowledgments and oaths, required from ſome private perſons, when the States of *Scotland*, if the Journal may be credited, alledged not the leaſt objection to his pretenſions? Why ſuch a heap of arguments, moſt of which proofs are ſo weak, to cauſe a ſovereignty (according to him not diſputed) to be acknowledged? If the States of *Scotland* made no reply to *Edward*'s firſt propoſition, it is eaſy to ſee, it muſt have been from a motive of Fear. Beſides, it could not be inferred from their ſilence, that they acknowledged this ſovereignty, ſince they had never before made the like recognition. If by their ſilence they intended to give their approbation to *Edward*'s pretenſions, whence is it, that he required not from them an authentick declaration, as well as from the candidates? Was it their buſineſs to decide ſo important a queſtion, and not rather the States then actually aſſembled? In ſhort, it ſufficiently appeared afterwards, that the ſentiments of the people of *Scotland* were not agreeable to the declaration of the candidates, ſince they embraced the firſt opportunity to ſhake off the yoke impoſed upon them. I ſhall add here in favour of the *Scots*, that the *Collection of the Publick Acts* affords a ſtrong

(1) In full Parliament. *Rymer's Fœd.* p. 588.

(2) Salvo jure ejuſdem Domini Regis Angliæ, & Hæredum ſuorum cum voluerint inde loqui. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 589.

(3) The Form of it was thus: Ego Johannes de Balliolo, Rex Scottorum, fidus & fidelis ero vobis Domino Edwardo, Dei gratia, Regi Angliæ, & ſuperiori Domino Regni Scotiæ; & vobis fidelitatem facio de eodem Regno Scotiæ, quod de vobis teneo, & clamo tenere: & fidem & fidelitatem vobis portabo de vita & membro, & terreno honore, contra omnes homines: & fideliter recognoſcam, & vobis faciam ſervitia, vobis debita de regno Scotiæ antedicto; ſic me Deus adjuvet & hæc ſancta Evangelia. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 591.

(4) The Buſineſs of the Earls of *Fife* at Coronations, was to place the King of *Scotland* upon his Throne, as appears from *Rymer's Fœdera*, T. II. p. 600.

(5) The Form of the Homage was thus. Mon Seignieur, Mon Sire Edward, Rey d'Engleterre, Sovereign Seigneur du Reaume de Eſcoce, je Johan de Baillol, Rey de Eſcoce, devien voſtre homme lige de tot le Reaume de Eſcoce ove les Aportenances, e a quant qe il y apent; le quel je tieng e dei de dreit, e cleim, por moi, e mes heyrs, Reys de Eſcoce, tenir heritablement de vous e de voz heyrs, Reys d'Engleterre: E fey e leaute porterai a vous, e a voz heyrs, Reys d'Engleterre, de vie e de Membre, e de terrien honeur, contre tote gent qe porunt vivere e morir. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 595.

1292. proof, that the Kings of *Scotland* never did homage for the whole kingdom, if we except That of *William* to *Henry* II. We find in the *Collection*, that *Edward*'s High-
Act. Pub. II. p. 600. chamberlain demanding of *Baliol*, the fees due from the Vaſſals when they did homage, there was no precedent to be found. So that *Edward* was forced to fix them himſelf (1) to twenty pounds ſterling, which was double the Sum paid by an Earl on the like occaſion. What likelihood is there, that the fees ſhould not be ſettled before, in caſe this Homage had been done ſo often as *Edward* pretended?

I have hitherto related the manner wherein the *Engliſh* and *Scots* talk, of what paſſed in the judgment of this famous proceſs, as well concerning the crown itſelf, as the ſovereignty claimed by *Edward*. But for the entire clearing this matter, it will not be needleſs to make ſome farther remarks. In the firſt place, it appears by *Edward*'s whole conduct, that his intent at firſt was not to become maſter of *Scotland* (2), as *Buchanan* charges him, but only to render that kingdom dependent on *England*. In this he did but follow the ſteps of moſt of his predeceſſors. Not to mention the *Saxon* and firſt *Norman* Kings, *Henry* II had no ſooner King *William* in his power, but he took advantage of that Prince's misfortune, to oblige him to do homage for his kingdom. *Henry* III, Father of *Edward*, would fain have extorted the ſame thing from *Alexander* III, but could not poſſibly ſucceed. It cannot therefore be inferred, from *Edward*'s firſt proceedings, that he had formed the project of making himſelf maſter of *Scotland*; ſince he required only the direct dominion, without ever inſiſting on the poſſeſſion, concerning which he was ſatisfied with making a bare declaration. If he had deſigned any ſuch thing, he might eaſily have found plauſible pretences, to place *Engliſh* garriſons and governors at his devotion, in the places that were put into his hands. He might have alledged, That all the *Scots* being engaged to ſome one of the candidates, the cuſtody of the Caſtles could not be truſted to perſons of their nation, without expoſing the kingdom to the danger of a civil war. But, inſtead of ſecuring by that means the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he confirmed all the governors, and contented himſelf with receiving their oath; a precaution which a Prince of his abilities, would doubtleſs have thought inſufficient, had he had ill deſigns. To this may be added, that if he had formed the project he is charged with, he would have found a fair opportunity to put it in practice, by dividing the kingdom between the deſcendants of *David*'s three daughters. By that diviſion he would have weakened the forces of the *Scots*, whereas he kept them united, in adjudging the crown to a ſingle perſon.

But on the other hand, it can hardly be denied, that he meant to take advantage of this favourable juncture, to eſtabliſh his ſovereignty over *Scotland*; and ſo to accompliſh the project formed, but never fully executed, by his anceſtors. It is difficult to judge, whether he himſelf believed he had a lawful right; or, conſidering the circumſtances of *Scotland*, was willing to embrace the opportunity to eſtabliſh a new one. The laſt ſeems moſt likely, though Men but too frequently ſuffer themſelves to be prepoſſeſſed, in favour of what is for their intereſt. And indeed, to fetch proofs from hiſtories compiled by *Engliſhmen*, to ſhew that *Scotland* was dependent on *England*, was a plain confeſſion he had no better to produce. Certainly a homage like this ought to have been evinced by more authentick proofs. One can hardly believe, if the kingdom of *Scotland* had been immemorially dependent on *England*, without any interruption, as he pretended to prove, there could be found in the Sovereign's archives but one ſingle homage in form, done by the Kings of *Scotland*. Probably therefore, without being thoroughly convinced of his right, he had a mind, in order to eſtabliſh it fully, to improve the advantage which the preſent circumſtances of *Scotland* afforded him, well knowing there could be no oppoſition, ſince the two leading Men had ſo much reaſon to cultivate his friendſhip. But I queſtion, whether the acquieſcence of the *Scots* was ſufficient to acquire him a new right. I leave this to be determined by thoſe, who are verſed in theſe matters. However, methinks there is no juſtifying this Prince, who, by an ill-grounded ambition, kindled between the two nations of *Great-Britain* a war, which cauſed torrents of blood to be ſpilt on both ſides. And if the event is of any account in affairs of this nature, the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew, that though at firſt God favoured *Edward*'s deſigns, he permitted the projects of the *Engliſh* to come to nothing at laſt. Perhaps I ſhall draw upon me the cenſure of ſome people, fond of this ancient ſovereignty of *England* over *Scotland*, or of the perfections of *Edward* I. They will fancy, no doubt, what I have been ſaying is injurious to the glory of that Prince, or the grandeur of *England*; but I hope, they who are leſs prejudiced will do me more juſtice. It is time now to return to the hiſtory, and ſhew the fatal effects of *Edward*'s ambition to both kingdoms. 1292.

1293. If the deſire of reigning had cauſed *Baliol* to act contrary to the intereſt of *Scotland*, *Edward*'s eagerneſs to eſtabliſh his ſovereignty over that kingdom, made him commit errors, deſtructive of his own real intereſts, as well as of thoſe of *England*. On much the ſame occaſion Pope *Innocent* III was very careful, not to let the *Engliſh* feel too ſoon the weight of his ſovereignty, acquired by King *John*'s reſignation. He inured them to his yoke by degrees, and inſenſibly, for fear of alarming them too much. But *Edward* took a quite contrary courſe with the *Scots*. Hardly was he poſſeſſed of his ſo much deſired ſovereignty, but he made his Vaſſals feel the whole weight of it; and this rigor produced not the effect he expected. Far from conducing to keep that nation in ſubjection, it ſerved only to excite their endeavours to free themſelves from it (3). *Edward's haughty behaviour towards the new King of* Scotland.

Before *Edward* left *Newcaſtle*, an opportunity offered to exerciſe his new right, which he failed not to embrace. A townſman of *Berwick* complaining to him of an injury done him, as he pretended, by ſome *Engliſh* commiſſioners ſent into *Scotland*, *Edward* ordered the affair to be tried in *England*, by his Judges. The council of *Scotland*, looking upon this proceeding as a breach of the King of *England*'s promiſes, ſent ſome of their members to repreſent to him, that he had engaged, that the pleas of things done in the kingdom ſhould not be drawn out of it. *Edward* thought this remonſtrance very unreaſonable. He replied, That the affair was of ſuch a nature, that he could not permit it to be tried any where but in his own courts; ſince it belonged not to Vaſſals, to puniſh the miſdemeanors of thoſe that repreſented the perſon of the Sovereign. If he had ſtopped there, the *Scots* might have flattered themſelves, that this particular caſe would not be brought into precedent. But the King's intention was otherwiſe. To prevent the like complaints for the future, he ſent to the council of *Scotland* the following declaration: *That if, during the vacancy of the throne, he had made the* Scots *any ſuch temporary promiſes, he had punctually obſerved them; but did not intend to be reſtrained by ſuch promiſes, now there was a King in* Scotland; *and would admit and hear all complaints, and all buſineſs concerning that kingdom, where and when he pleaſed.* He repeated this declaration, ſome days after, in his own chamber, before *Baliol*, and a great number of Lords of both nations: Adding, *He would call the King of* Scotland *himſelf to appear in* England, *whenever he thought convenient.* The warmth wherewith he ſpoke, ſtopped the mouth of *Baliol*, who, being in his power, thought it not proper to make any anſwer. But he did not come off ſo. Two days after he was forced to renounce, by Letters Patents, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, all the promiſes, conceſſions, and ratifications made by the King of *England*, during the vacancy of the throne of *Scotland*; and to approve whatever *Edward* had done during that time. In return for this renunciation, *Edward* gave him a writing, whereby he acknowledged, he had no other right to the kingdom of *Scotland* but that of homage. Moreover, he promiſed for himſelf and ſucceſſors, not to claim the wardſhip and marriage of young Nobles.

Act. Pub. II. p. 596.

Act. Pub. II. p. 597. Edward *revokes what he had granted the* Scots.

Baliol *yields it up.* Ibid. p. 599. p. 601.

This firſt ſtep of *Edward* was ſufficient to convince the *Scots*, of his reſolution to ſtretch his prerogative to the utmoſt. But it was not long before he gave them more ſubſtantial proofs. A merchant of *Gaſcogne* (4) preſented a petition to him ſetting forth, that *Alexander* III, late King of *Scotland*, was indebted to him in a certain Sum (5), ſtill due to him, notwithſtanding all his ſollicitations to the new King for payment: That therefore he applied to him, as ſovereign of the King of p. 605.

(1) In his Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, 1292. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 600.

(2) And yet one would be apt to think, ſuch was his Deſign, by his uniting the two Kingdoms, which he did, or attempted to do, as appears by the following Writ. Quia Regna Angliæ & Scotiæ, ratione ſuperioris Dominii, quod in eodem Regno Scotiæ optinemus benedicto Altiſſimo ſunt conjuncta, Mandatum eſt Juſticiariis de Banco, quod Brevia Regis, coram eis correcta vel retornata, de data dierum & locorum, infra idem regnum Scotiæ, mentionem facientia de cætero admittant; Exceptiones, ſi quas, de hujuſmodi datis & locis, proponi contigerit coram eis nullatenus allocantes. Teſte rege apud Berewicum ſuper Twedam tertia die Julii. *Ibid.* p. 533.

(3) This Year a Parliament was held at *London*, about a Month after *Eaſter*. *T. Wikes*, p. 125.

(4) *John Maſon*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 605.

(5) Two thouſand, one hundred, ninety-ſeven Pounds, eight Shillings, Sterling. *Ibid.*

1293. *Scotland*, for juſtice. *Edward* eagerly embracing this opportunity of exerciſing his right, ſummoned the King of *Scotland* to appear at *Weſtminſter* the morrow after *Aſcenſion-day*, to anſwer in perſon the complaints brought againſt him by the merchant. This firſt ſummons bears date the 8th of *March* (1), about two months after *Edward*'s departure from *Newcaſtle*.

First Summons. Act. Pub. II. p. 605.

Second Summons. p. 605.

Eight days after, he ſent a ſecond ſummons to *Baliol*, upon the following occaſion. Whilſt he was ſtill at *Berwick*, he had ordered the Regents of *Scotland* to put *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, in poſſeſſion of certain Lands claimed by that Earl (2). Theſe orders had been executed before *Baliol*'s coronation, whilſt *Edward* was ſtill maſter of *Scotland*. In the firſt Parliament held by the new King at *Scone*, the Earl of *Fife* was accuſed of unjuſtly taking poſſeſſion of theſe Lands, the cuſtody whereof belonged to the King. This was properly accuſing him of an affected over-haſtineſs, in applying to the King of *England*, and of not ſtaying till there was a King on the throne of *Scotland*. Upon this charge, the Parliament ordered him to be impriſoned. Some time after, the Earl being releaſed, carried his complaints to *Edward*; and thereupon the King of *Scotland* was again ſummoned to appear before *Edward*, wherever he ſhould be, the day after *Trinity-Sunday*.

Third Summons. p. 608.

The 15th of *June* following, the King took a freſh occaſion to ſummon *Baliol* upon another account. Whilſt he was at *Newcaſtle*, he had ordered (3) *Walter de Huntercombe*, governor of the *Iſle of Man*, to put *Baliol* in poſſeſſion of the Iſle, which was accordingly done. Shortly after, a Lady named *Auſtrica*, claiming that Iſle, demanded it of the King of *Scotland*; and her demand being rejected, ſhe complained to *Edward*. Upon her complaint, *Baliol* was again ſummoned to appear in perſon, fifteen days after *Michaelmas*, in whatever place (4) the King ſhould then be. Moreover, *Edward* ordered the Sheriff of *Northumberland* to notify this ſummons to the King of *Scotland* himſelf, before witneſs.

Fourth Summons. Ibid.

Fifth Summons. p. 615.

A few months after *Baliol* received another ſummons, the occaſion whereof was this. *David* King of *Scotland* had formerly granted to the Monaſtery of *Reading*, in *England*, a certain Priory (5), held of the Biſhoprick of St. *Andrews*. Afterwards this Priory was alienated by the Abbot of *Reading*, to the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*. The ſucceſſor of this Abbot, willing to recover the Priory, pretended, the alienation was made againſt the conſent of the majority of the Monks, and thereupon preſented a petition to the King. The Biſhop being informed of it, appealed to the Pope, and his appeal was admitted by the Court of *Scotland*. Upon the complaints made to *Edward* by the Abbot of *Reading*, about admitting the appeal, *Baliol* was again ſummoned to appear in perſon, fifteen days after the Feaſt of St. *Martin*.

Sixth Summons, in 1294. p. 632.

A year after, *Edward* took occaſion to treat this Prince in the ſame haughty manner, by commanding him to appear before him to anſwer for himſelf, for denying juſtice to the Biſhop of *Durham*, in an affair concerning his Dioceſe (6).

Baliol appears before the Parliament of England. Ryley's Placita. p. 154, &c. l. viii.

So many different ſummons, upon ſuch ſlight occaſions, and upon the bare complaints of private perſons, made the new King of *Scotland* perceive, that he was become rather the Slave than Vaſſal of the King of *England*. However, as he had taken no meaſures to throw off the yoke, he durſt not but appear, to anſwer to theſe ſeveral accuſations. *Buchanan* pretends, it was by accident that *Baliol* happened to be preſent in the Parliament of *England* (7), when the Earl of *Fife* brought his complaints againſt him: but others affirm, it was in obedience to the ſummons. Be this as it will, he was accuſed before the Parliament, of denying juſtice to and impriſoning the Earl of *Fife*. He would have anſwered by a Proctor, but was not permitted, and ſo was obliged to ſtand at the bar like a private perſon. This was a great mortification for a crowned head; but *Edward* was bent upon humbling him, and making the *Scots* feel the whole weight of their dependence. *Baliol* being thus conſtrained to anſwer in perſon, alledged, as the accuſation entered againſt him concerned his crown, he could not anſwer to it, without firſt adviſing with his Subjects. His excuſe not being deemed valid, the Parliament ordered, that three of his principal Caſtles ſhould be ſeized into the King's hands, till he gave full ſatisfaction. The *Engliſh* authors affirm, that before this ſentence was pronounced, *Baliol* preſented a petition, acknowledging the ſovereignty of the King of *England* over *Scotland*, and praying *Edward* to allow him time to conſult his Parliament. As ſoon as he had ſtooped ſo low as to petition, his demand was granted, and a certain day (8) was aſſigned him to appear. He withdrew, incenſed to the laſt degree at the affront he had received, and bent upon trying all means to free himſelf from ſo intolerable a yoke (9).

1294. Ryley, ibid. Ryley, ibid.

1295. *Baliol makes an Alliance with France.* Act. Pub. II. p. 680, 695---698.

The war which broke out at the ſame time, between *France* and *England*, put *Baliol* in hopes of a favourable juncture to free himſelf from the ſubjection he was under. And indeed it was likely, he would have leiſure to take all neceſſary meaſures to compaſs his ends, whilſt *Edward* was employed in that war. A private quarrel between ſome *Engliſh* and *French* mariners, was the occaſion of this rupture. At the ſame time, it gave the King of *France* a pretence to ſummon *Edward* before the court of Peers, and an opportunity to ſeize *Guienne* by a ſtratagem, the particulars whereof will be ſeen hereafter. Before the war was proclaimed, *Edward* endeavoured by way of negotiation, to recover that Duchy from the King of *France* (10). But *Philip*, who was not ignorant of the King of *Scotland*'s deſigns, prolonged matters till that Prince declared his intentions. During the negotiation, *Baliol* ſent ambaſſadors (11) to *France*, on pretence of renewing the ancient alliance between the two nations: But his real deſign was to enter into a ſtrict union with *Philip*, by the marriage of his Son *Edward* with a Daughter of the Earl of *Valois*, Brother to that Monarch. How privately ſoever this negotiation was carried on, *Edward* had intelligence that ſome plot was contriving againſt him at *Paris*. Accordingly, to prevent the King of *Scotland*'s deſigns, he demanded of him the Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Jedburgh*, and *Roxborough* (12), promiſing to reſtore them as ſoon as matters were adjuſted with *France*. But without rejecting entirely this demand, *Baliol* found means to gain time (13), whilſt he continued to take meaſures to throw off the yoke of the *Engliſh*. When his ambaſſadors had concluded with *France* the propoſed League, he thought it time to declare. He was ſtrongly ſollicited to it by *Philip*, who, knowing *Edward* was preparing for war, was deſirous to raiſe him troubles at home, that might hinder him from thinking on means to recover *Guienne*. *Baliol* had been long in ſuſpence, on account of his oath to the King of *England*. But to remove this ſcruple, *Philip* procured him the Pope's diſpenſation. So finding himſelf ſecure from the Church's cenſures, which were then very formidable, and having no further uneaſineſs on account of his oath, he thought nothing ſhould any longer retard him. *Edward*, ſurpriſed at this reſolution, which quickly came to his knowledge, formed the deſign of relinquiſhing his affairs in *France*, and employing his preparations againſt *Scotland*. He conſidered that *Baliol*'s revolt gave him a plauſible pretence to make himſelf maſter of that kingdom, the conqueſt whereof would be of much greater importance than *Guienne*. Inſtead therefore of embarking his army

M. Weſt. p. 425, 427. Act. Pub. II. p. 697.

Act. Pub. II. p. 692.

The Pope diſpenſes with Baliol's *Oath*; Chr. Abing. Knighton.

(1) At *Kirkeby*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* II. p. 606.
(2) *Rerys* and *Crey*. *Ibid.*
(3) *January* 5. *Ibid.* p. 602.
(4) In *England*. *Ibid.* p. 608.
(5) That of *May*, in the Dioceſe of St. *Andrew*'s. *Ibid.* p. 615.
(6) For refuſing to deliver to him the Towns of *Berwick* and *Hadington*. *Ibid.* p. 632.
(7) This Parliament was held at *Michaelmaſs*. See *Ryley*, p. 158. There was another held this Year at *Weſtminſter*, after *Whitſuntide*; wherein a Reſolution was taken to recover *Guienne* by force of Arms; and *John Baliol*, King of *Scotland*, granted King *Edward* the Revenues of his paternal Eſtate in *England* for three Years, towards defraying the Charges of that War. The Earls and great Men of *England* promiſed alſo to contribute liberally towards the ſame. *M. Weſt.* p. 421.----This Year alſo, in *July*, King *Edward* cauſed all the Monaſteries to be ſearched, and ordered the Money that had been collected and depoſited there, for the Holy War, to be ſeized and applied to the War in *Guienne*. *T. Wikes*, p. 126. In the mean time, his Fleet lay at *Portſmouth*, and was detained there by contrary Winds, from *June* 24, till *September* 14. The King not thinking his Army large enough, ordered all the Priſoners to be ſet at liberty, and to be liſted in his Service; but moſt of them gave him the ſlip. The contrary Winds having put a ſtop to King *Edward*'s Voyage, he called a Parliament on *September* 21, at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the Clergy granted him the half of all their Goods; the Laity, a Tenth; and Merchants in Cities and Towns, the ſixth Penny of all they poſſeſſed. *M. Weſt.* p. 421, 422.
(8) At the Parliament that was to be holden after *Eaſter*. *Ryley*'s *Placit.* p. 159, 160.
(9) This Year, about the latter end of *September*, one *Madoc* cauſed an Inſurrection in *Wales*; on occaſion of the Subſidy for the War in *France*, that was levied in that Country; whereupon the King, with his Brother *Edmund*, Earl of *Cornwal*, and *Henry de Lacy*, Earl of *Lincoln*, went and reduced him to Obedience. And King *Edward* rebuilt the Town and Caſtle of *Beaumaris*. *Walſing.* p. 62, 63. *Knighton*, p. 2471, &c.
(10) *November* 29, King *Edward* called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* (*accerſito clero, magnatibus, & populo*) wherein the Laity granted him the eleventh Part of their Goods, the Clergy the Tenth, and the Merchants the Seventh. *M. Weſt.* p. 425. *Pat.* 22. *Edw.* I. M. 2.
(11) The Biſhops of St. *Andrews*, and *Dunkel*; *John de Soules*, and *Ingelram de Umfreville*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 681. *M. Weſt.* p. 427.
(12) *M. Weſt.* and *Walſingham* ſay, it was the Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Edinburgh*, and *Roxborough*. *M. Weſt.* p. 427. *Walſing.* p. 64. But in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* it is *Gedworth* (the ſame as *Jedburgh*) inſtead of *Edinburgh*; which ſhews of what great Uſe that noble Collection is, in rectifying the Miſtakes of Hiſtorians. *See* p. 692.
(13) They were actually delivered. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 692.

for

1295. who declares against Edward. Act. Pub. II. p. 707. Knighton. Col. 2477. Walsing.

for *France*, as he had intended, he marched directly for *Scotland* (1). Mean time, *Baliol*, who depended upon the assistance promised by the King of *France*, sent to the King of *England* the Superior of the *Cordeliers of Roxborough*, to deliver a letter into his own hand. In the letter he complained of the frequent injuries received from him; of the many summons issued upon very slight occasions, and upon the bare petitions of private persons; and in conclusion, declared, he would be no longer his Vassal (2). This letter served only to exasperate *Edward* still more, who, continuing his march towards *Scotland*, and seeing his affairs in *France* in a very ill situation, resolved to make a conquest of that kingdom, as the *English* historians confess on this occasion. Here may be fixed the beginning of the long war, that bred in the hearts of the *English* and *Scots* a mutual enmity, which time has not yet been able to extinguish (3).

M. West. Walsing.

1296. Edward attacks Scotland. Buchanan.

Edward was advanced as far as *Newcastle*, with intent to besiege *Berwick*, which was, as it were, the key of the two kingdoms, and for that reason of all places most liable to the sieges and surprizes of both Nations. For this purpose, he had sent a fleet to Sea, with strict orders to prevent any thing approaching the town he intended to besiege. But the fleet was surprized by the *Scots*, who burnt and sunk eighteen ships. At the same time, they gained another advantage over some *English* troops, who being advanced to seize a certain post, were cut in pieces, with the loss of above a thousand men. These successes, which incouraged the King of *Scotland*, served only to stir up *Edward* to a revenge, and oblige him to exert his utmost to subdue a people who appeared so resolute to shake off his yoke. There were in *Scotland*, as was before observed, two factions, one for *Baliol*, and the other for *Bruce*. *Edward*, well knowing the last had submitted only by force to the judgment pronounced in favour of the first, believed it might be of great service to him, could he persuade *Robert Bruce* to join with him. To that end, he offered him the crown, provided he declared against *Baliol*. *Robert* accepted the offer with joy, and strengthened *Edward*'s party with a great number of friends, who had only out of fear taken the oath to *Baliol*.

He gains Bruce *to his Side.* Ibid.

He besieges Berwick, Ibid. M. West. Walsing. Knighton.

After taking these measures, *Edward* entered *Scotland*, and laid siege to *Berwick*. As this place was very strong and well-garrisoned, he was apprehensive of meeting a resistance which would give *Baliol* time to prepare, and the *Scots* in general an opportunity of uniting together, to free themselves from a danger that equally threatned them all. So nothing could be more to his advantage, than speedily to become master of *Berwick*, in order to advance into the heart of the kingdom, and break the measures of the *Scots*. This made him resolve to use stratagem, to compass his designs in less time. To that end, after assaulting the town several days, he suddenly raised the siege. At the same time, by means of some soldiers, who, pretending to desert, threw themselves into the town, he caused a rumour to be spread, that the King of *Scotland*'s approach to their relief, obliged him to retire. This rumour was quickly followed by the false News of *Baliol*'s being but a league off, ready to enter the town. Upon this false intelligence, the soldiers and townsmen sallied out in crowds to meet him, imagining *Edward* was now at a distance. This headless multitude, falling into an ambush, and endeavouring to retreat with precipitation, were so briskly pursued, that the *English* entered pell-mell into the town, and made a great slaughter. It is said above seven thousand (4) *Scots* perished on this occasion (5).

and takes it by stratagem.

Baliol *vanquished.* Buchanan. M. West. Walsing.

Edward being thus master of *Berwick*, marched (6) to *Dunbar* with design to besiege it. He was scarce arrived before the town, when he heard of *Baliol*'s approach at the head of a numerous army. Though he did not expect the *Scots* could be ready so soon, he gladly received the news, in hopes of obtaining a victory that would render him master of the whole kingdom. *Baliol* advanced on his part with equal ardor, bent upon deciding by one battle, whether he should be free or a Slave. The two armies ingaging, fought a good while with great bravery, though not with the same fortune. The *Scots* were at length forced to give ground, after losing the best part of their troops. Their loss in this action is said to amount to above twenty thousand men, a loss so great and astonishing, that they were not able for a long while to oppose the progress of the Conquerors. After this great victory, *Edward* immediately returned to *Dunbar*, whose gates were opened to him. Then, without giving his enemies time to breathe, he marched to *Roxborough*, of which he became master with the same ease. Presently after he approached *Edinborough*, the castle whereof was surrendered in eight days. From thence he went and seized *Sterling*, *Perth*, and all the considerable places in general. In a word, before the end of the campaign, he was so much master of all *Scotland*, that *Baliol* and the whole nation had no other remedy but to submit to his mercy. And upon that condition he granted them peace. The King of *Scotland* came to him at *Kincardin* (7), and appeared before him with a White Rod in his hand, resigned his kingdom to him, to be disposed of according to his pleasure. This resignation was drawn up in form, and signed by *Baliol*, and the greatest part of the Barons of *Scotland*, and sealed with the Great Seal of the kingdom.

1296. Edward's great Progress. Buchanan. M. West. Knighton. Walsing.

Baliol *resigns his kingdom.* Act. Pub. II. p. 718. M. West. Walsing.

To confirm this new acquisition, *Edward* ordered the States of *Scotland* to assemble at *Berwick*, where all the nobility, and officers of the kingdom, swore fealty to him; and delivered up all the castles and places they were still in possession of. Among the *Scotch* Nobles, *William Dowglas* was the only person, that could never resolve to swear to a Prince, who had no right to *Scotland*, but what force gave him. This refusal drew on him the indignation of *Edward*, who commanding him to be conducted to *England*, kept him in close confinement, where he ended his days, without his misfortunes being ever able to bring him to acknowledge *Edward* for his sovereign. *Baliol* was likewise sent into *England*, and confined at first in the *Tower* of *London*; but was afterwards removed to *Oxford*, where he founded the College, which bears his name (8). Other *Scotch* Lords, whom *Edward* judged necessary to secure, were shut up in several prisons in *England*; and if he left some their liberty, it was on condition they should keep in the southern parts, without ever passing the *Trent*, on pain of death. He might easily have been crowned King of *Scotland*; but his intention was not, that the two kingdoms should remain any longer divided. He had a mind to unite *Scotland* to *England*, as he had done *Wales*, and make but one kingdom of the whole Island of *Britain*. This evidently appeared from his removing into *England* the crown and sceptre of *Scotland*, with all the rest of the *Regalia*, and every thing that shewed the least sign of the liberty hitherto enjoyed by the *Scots*. But it was not so easy to blot out of their minds, the remembrance of their dear liberty. He did not forget to cause the famous Stone, on which the inauguration of their Kings was performed, to be conveyed from *Scone*. The people of *Scotland* had all along placed in that Stone a kind of fatality. They fancied, that whilst it remained in the country, their State would be unshaken, but the moment it should be elsewhere removed, great revolutions would ensue. For this reason, *Edward* carried it away, to create in the *Scots* a belief, that the time of the dissolution of their Monarchy was come, and to lessen the hopes of recovering their liberty (9). But how much soever they were attached to this fatal Stone, they had a

The Scots swear to Edward. Knighton. Walsing. Dowglas *alone refuses.* Major.

Baliol *is sent into* England. Buchanan. M. West. Walsing.

Edward *takes away the Crown and Sceptre of* Scotland, *and the famous Stone of* Scone. Walsing. M. West. p. 428, 430. Knighton. Buchanan.

(1) *March* 1. 1295. *M. West.* p. 426.

(2) He not only renounced, in the beginning of *April*, the Homage and Fealty he had taken to King *Edward*, but also defied him. See *Knighton*, p. 2477. *Walsing. Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 707.

(3) This Year, about *Michaelmas*, *Eleanor*, Daughter of King *Edward*, was married to *Henry* Earl of *Barre*, at *Bristol*. *Walsing.* p. 60. *M. West.* p. 419.----And this same Year died *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*. *Ibid.* p. 427. A Parliament was also held this Year; and every County was required in the Writ to send two or three Knights. See *Notitia Parliamentaria.*

(4) *M. West.* says, sixty thousand of all sorts. This Town was taken *March* 30. p. 427.

(5) Whilst *Edward* was employed in fortifying *Berwick*, some *Scots* made an Excursion into *Cumberland*, and burnt the Town of *Correbridge* and *Hecbleſham*. *ibid.* and went and laid siege to *Carliſle*. *Walsing.* p. 65.

(6) *April* 27. *M. West.* p. 427.

(7) *July* 2. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* p. 417.

(8) This is a mistake; for *Baliol* College was founded in the Reign of *Henry* III, by *John Baliol* of *Bernard* Castle, Father of *John Baliol* the King. He only laid the Design of it, and settled yearly Exhibitions upon some Scholars, and at his death, in 1269, he recommended this pious project to *Devergild* his Wife. She settled the Exhibitioners in a Tenement, which she hired in *Horimangers-Street*, now *Can-ditch*, in 1282. Afterwards, in 1284, she purchased *Mary*'s *Hall* near the same Place, and settled the Society there by her Charter, confirmed by her Son *John Baliol* the King, and by *Oliver* Bishop of *Lincoln*. *Camd.* in *Oxfordshire.*

(9) *Keneth* II King of the *Scots* having made a general Slaughter of the *Picts*, near the Monastery of *Scone*, placed a Stone there, which vulgar Tradition reported to be the same as served *Jacob* for a Pillow, and inclosed it in a wooden Chair, for the Inauguration of the Kings. It had been brought out of *Spain* into *Ireland* by *Simon Breccus*, afterwards out of *Ireland* into *Argyle*, and King *Edward* caused it to be conveyed to *Weſtminſter*. On it was engraven this Distich:

Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Or Fate's deceiv'd, and Heaven decrees in vain;
Or where they find this Stone, the Scots *shall reign.* *Camb. Walsing.* p. 59. *Buchan.* l. 6.

greater

1296. greater loſs on this occaſion. The burning of their records (1), by *Edward*'s order, was to them and their poſterity an irretrievable loſs. Beſides theſe precautions, *Edward* took care to ſecure his conqueſt, by placing *Engliſh* garriſons and governors in all the Caſtles; and leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex* (2), to command in *Scotland*, returned in triumph to *England*.

He burns the Records of Scotland. Hect. Boeth. Buchanan.

Edward's Affairs with France.

After ſeeing the firſt war with *Scotland* ended, by the conqueſt of the kingdom, it is time to conſider what was doing in *France*, where *Edward*'s affairs were upon a very different foot. But firſt it will be neceſſary to relate the occaſion of the rupture, between the two crowns of *France* and *England*. Since the treaty between St. *Lewis* and *Henry* III, the two nations had lived in good underſtanding, when a quarrel between two perſons of little conſideration, gave occaſion to the two Monarchs to take arms. A *Norman* Pilot, and an *Engliſh* Mariner, quarrelling in a port of *Guienne*, where they were landed, the Pilot chanced to be killed. Whether the magiſtrates of the port neglected to bring the murderer to juſtice, or he was not in their power, the *Normans* finding, that the murder of their countryman was left unpuniſhed, reſolved to be revenged. To that end, ſurprizing an *Engliſh* veſſel, they hung up the Pilot at the yard-arm. Theſe repriſals occaſioned others on both ſides, ſo that the *Engliſh* (3) and *Normans* made fierce war upon each other, wherever they met, even to the plundering one another's ſhips, when it was in their power. For ſome time, it was only a private war, in which the two Kings were not concerned. But ſome *Engliſh* ſhips happening to meet a *Norman* fleet laden with wine, carried them to *England*. The Owners complaining to the King of *France*, he demanded reſtitution of the ſhips and goods, and immediate ſatisfaction for the outrage. *Edward* not returning a ſpeedy anſwer, *Philip the Fair*, who was of an extreme haughty temper, ſummoned him to appear in perſon before the court of Peers (4), to anſwer to the complaints brought againſt him. This ſummons was iſſued in 1294 (5), about the ſame time *Edward* cited the King of *Scotland*, for very trifling matters, as we have ſeen. The *French* hiſtorians ſay, *Edward* not appearing, but only ſending his Brother *Edmund* in his ſtead, *Philip*, not ſatisfied therewith, diſpatched the conſtable *de Neſle* into *Guienne*, where he ſeized *Bourdeaux*, with all the reſt of the province. Certainly, it muſt be ſuprizing, that ſuch a conqueſt ſhould coſt *France* ſo little. Was it poſſible for that General to become maſter of *Guienne*, without forming a ſiege, or fighting a battle; as if it had been an open country, deſtitute of caſtles and troops for its defence? This makes me believe, either the *French* hiſtorians were ignorant of what paſſed on this occaſion, or did not think proper to mention it. But what does not appear in their hiſtories, is fully cleared in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, lately printed in *England*, and which I have ſo often quoted. And therefore I hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the particulars (6).

Act. Pub. II. p. 607. Walſing. p. 58. M. Weſt.

Walſing. p. 60.

Act. Pub. II. p. 617. Walſing. M. Weſt.

Philip acts fraudulently with Edward. Act. Pub. II. p. 620.

Edward being ſummoned before the Peers, as was ſaid, did not think proper to appear in perſon. He ſent Prince *Edmund* his Brother to *Paris*, to anſwer for him; with orders to avoid, as much as poſſible, engaging him in a war with *France*. Accordingly, the Prince was fully impowered, to give the King of *France* all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably deſire (7). *Edmund* found the *French* Monarch extremely incenſed, and full of threats. After ſeveral inſtances to enter into treaty, his negotiation ſeeming to him entirely fruitleſs, he reſolved to return home. Juſt as he was ready to depart, the two Queens, namely, *Mary* of *Brabant*, Widow of *Philip the Hardy*, and *Joanna* of *Navarre*, Wife of the preſent King, intreated him to renew the negotiation with them. The great deſire they expreſſed of procuring a firm peace between the two Kings, and *Edmund*'s inſtructions from the King his Brother, eaſily induced him to conſent to the propoſal. The two Queens repreſented to him, that *Philip* was extremely offended at the affronts received from *Edward*'s ſubjects, and particularly from certain perſons of *Guienne*, againſt whom he was incenſed to the laſt degree: That therefore it was impoſſible to come to a good agreement, unleſs a reaſonable ſatisfaction was given him. They added, as the King's honour was concerned in the affair, there was no other way to appeaſe him, but by *Edward*'s making him a publick reparation, to ſhew the world, that he diſclaimed what was done by his ſubjects. To that end, they propoſed that *Xaintes*, *Talmond*, *Turenne*, *Puymirol*, *Penne*, and *Monſlauguin*, together with the perſons complained of, ſhould be delivered to *Philip*. But as this ſatisfaction ſeemed unreaſonable, they intimated to *Edmund*, that it was only for form ſake, and *Philip* would engage to reſtore the towns and perſons, upon their own requeſt. Moreover they promiſed, that as ſoon as the King's honour was ſafe by this reparation, he ſhould revoke the ſummons, and give *Edward* a ſafe-conduct to come to him at *Amiens*, where he would receive his homage. *Edmund* conſented to all theſe propoſals, provided the two Queens would ſign them in writing, and promiſe with an oath, that the particulars agreed upon ſhould be punctually performed. This treaty, which was ſigned by the two Queens, and for the King of *France*'s honour was to be kept ſecret, was ſent to *Edward*, who ſeemed very well ſatisfied. He was chiefly intent upon what concerned *Scotland*, and in all likelihood his many ſummons to *Baliol* on trifling occaſions, were intended only to cauſe him to rebel, in order to have an opportunity to puniſh him. Beſides, whilſt this affair was negotiating at *Paris*, he made himſelf maſter of *Scotland*. So that, as a war with *France*, at ſuch a juncture, could not but greatly embarraſs him, he was very glad to give *Philip* a ſeeming reparation, which in the main was no prejudice to him. Finding therefore, the *French* King was contented with an appearance of reparation, he reſolved to give it him more fully than was even deſired, in order to be more ſure of a peace with *France*, ſo neceſſary for him. To that end, he gave *Edmund* power to deliver to the King of *France* all *Guienne*, with its metropolis; and ſent poſitive orders to the Seneſchal to obey the Prince's command, without any exception. *Edmund* acquainting the King of *France* with the orders he had received, declared he was ready to execute them; but on condition that, in the preſence of creditable witneſſes, the King would promiſe with his own mouth, to perform the articles ſigned by the two Queens. *Philip* was very willing to give him that ſatisfaction, and going into a certain room, attended by the Duke of *Burgundy*, gave his royal word, before the ſame Duke, the two Queens, *Blanch* of *Navarre*, Wife of *Edmund*, and the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, to perform that treaty. At the ſame time, he revoked with his own mouth *Edward*'s ſummons, and ordered the revocation to be publiſhed in open Hall, by the Biſhop of *Orleans*. *Edmund* thinking himſelf ſecure on that ſide, ordered the Seneſchal of *Guienne* (8), to deliver the dukedom to the perſon that ſhould be impowered by the King of *France*. *Ralph de Neſle*, conſtable of *France*, was commiſſioned to take poſſeſſion of *Guienne* in *Philip*'s name. The Seneſchal would have proceeded with caution, and not deliver up the Province, but on the terms of the treaty, of which *Edmund* had informed him. But the conſtable refuſed to be tied to any conditions, alledging he knew nothing of the treaties between the two Kings, and was ordered only to take poſſeſſion of *Guienne* in his Maſter's name. Then he demanded the perſons agreed upon, and ſent them to *Paris*.

1296.

Act. Pub. II. p. 619.

Guienne is delivered to the King of France. Ibid. p. 620.

All the articles being more than performed on the part of *England*, *Edmund* demanded the reſtitution of *Guienne*, and the perſons ſtipulated in the ſecret treaty. To which it was anſwered, that his demand ſhould be examined in the King's council. At the ſame time *Philip* ſent him word, not to be ſurprized, if he gave him a harſh anſwer before the council, on account of ſome Members who were not in the ſecret; but as ſoon as they ſhould be gone, he would give him entire ſatisfaction. *Edmund* relying upon his word, appeared before the council, where *Philip* was preſent, and demanded the reſtitution of *Guienne*, to which that Monarch roughly replied, He would not reſtore it. This anſwer not ſurprizing the Prince, who expected it, he withdrew into the next room, waiting for the performance of the King's promiſe, and was left there ſome time, without any other anſwer. At length the Biſhops of *Orleans* and *Tournay* came and told him, it was in vain to wait

Philip refuſes to execute the Treaty.

Walſing.

(1) This Mr. *Tyrrel* thinks only a Calumny, invented by *Hector Boethius*. See *Hiſt.* p. 97.

(2) *Rapin* by miſtake calls him *William*: At the ſame time *Hugh de Creſſingham* was made Treaſurer, and *William de Ormeſby* Juſticiary of *Scotland*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* II. p. 726, &c. *Walſing.* p. 68.

(3) Chiefly the *Cinque-Ports*. See *M. Weſt.* p. 419. As alſo Ships from *Portſmouth*, *Ireland*, &c. *T. Wikes*, p. 125.

(4) At *Paris*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 619. *M. Weſt.* p. 420.

(5) About the end of *November*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. *M. Weſt.* p. 419.

(6) The beginning of the Year 1295, two Cardinals came into *England*, to try to make Peace between the Kings of *England* and *France*; but nothing could be brought to a Concluſion. *M. Weſt.* p. 424. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. II. p. 669.

(7) *M. Weſt.* ſays, he had Orders privately to propoſe a Marriage, and to offer to deliver part of *Gaſcogne*, and ſome Caſtles, in the Hands of King *Philip*, for the Space of forty Days, if the treaty of Marriage took effect. p. 421.

(8) Sir *John de Havering*; as alſo Sir *John de St. John*, Deputy-Governor of *Guienne*. The Order bears date, *February* 3, at *Paris*, in 1293. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* II. p. 619.

any

1296. any longer, for the King would not be ſollicited any more upon that Affair. Some days after, *Philip* came to the Parliament, without acquainting *Edmund*, and ordered the King of *England* to be publickly cited, to appear and anſwer to the Articles exhibited in the Summons. *Edmund* not being then in the Palace, *Hugh de Vere*, and *John de Lacy*, *Edward*'s Ambaſſadors, entered, and ſaid, they could not have imagined this Affair would be decided by way of Juſtice, but according to the Treaty, eſpecially as the Summons was revoked. This Excuſe not being admitted, they were diſmiſſed; and though they deſired only till the next day, to conſult with the King's Brother, they could not obtain that Delay. So the Court decreed the Confiſcation of *Guienne* to the King of *France* (1).

Act. Pub. II. p. 634. M. Weſt. p. 421. M. Weſt.

This is the ſubſtance of a Memorial in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, where Prince *Edmund* himſelf gives an account of this Affair, and the manner it was tranſacted, from the beginning of his Negotiation. It may indeed be objected, that it comes from one of the Parties, and conſequently his Teſtimony is not to be credited. But, beſides the Simplicity and Plainneſs of the Memorial, the Conqueſt of *Guienne*, without Sieges and Battles, makes the Relation very probable. Moreover, we find in *the Collection* above-mentioned, ſeveral of *Edward*'s Letters, complaining of being deceived by the King of *France*. There is one, among the reſt, directed to the Prelates and Barons of *Guienne*, wherein he excuſes himſelf from making a Treaty with *France*, without their advice; and tells them, he is deceived as much or more than themſelves (2). This is further evident from the diſclaiming of the Homage he had done to *Philip*, in the following Words:

p. 620. &c. Act. Pub. II. p. 637, 639, 641, 642, 647, &c. p. 644.

Recantation of the Homage done by Edward to Philip. Ib. p. 650.

Our Ambaſſadors ſhall ſay to the King of France *theſe Words:*

Sire, Our Lord the King of England, *Lord of* Ireland, *and Duke of* Aquitain, *did you Homage conditionally; namely, according to the Form of the Peace made between your Anceſtors and his, which you have not kept. Moreover, that all Differences between your Subjects and his might be ended, a ſecret Treaty was made between you and my Lord* Edmund *his Brother, as you may remember, containing certain Articles which you have not performed, though he has done more than was promiſed on his part. After that, he required you twice by his ſaid Brother, and a third time by the Peers of* France, *and other Great Men of your Kingdom, to reſtore him his Land of* Guienne, *and to deliver thoſe of his Subjects whom you detain in Priſon, which you have refuſed. And therefore it ſeems to him, that you no longer count him your Vaſſal; and accordingly he refuſes to be ſo for the future* (3).

War of Guienne of little Importance. Ib. p. 651.

How great ſoever *Edward*'s Vexation might be, to ſee himſelf thus cheated by *Philip*, he choſe rather to leave *Guienne* in the hands of that Prince, than relinquiſh the War with *Scotland*, which to him ſeemed of greater importance. Beſides, he was ſenſible, before he ingaged in a War with *France*, it would be neceſſary to prevent the Diverſion, the *Scots* might make on the Frontiers of the North. For this reaſon he was contented with ſending his Brother *Edmund* into *Guienne*, with few Troops (4), his ſole Aim being to keep *Philip* employed in thoſe Parts, for fear of his aſſiſting the *Scots*. *Edward* not intending a vigorous proſecution of the War in *Guienne*, where he had only *Bayonne*, and ſome neighbouring Places, it may well be thought what paſſed in thoſe Parts cannot be very conſiderable. And yet, the *French* boaſt of gaining two Battles, one under the Earl of *Valois*, and the other under the Earl of *Artois*. But theſe Actions could not be very important, conſidering the ſmall Number of *Edmund*'s Forces. The truth is, *France* was obliged to keep there a conſiderable Army, becauſe ſhe had to oppoſe, not only the *Engliſh*, but the Revolts of the Natives, who were extremely diſpleaſed with having a new Maſter. The Superiority of the Earl of *Valois*'s Forces, obliged *Edmund* to ſhut himſelf up in *Bayonne*, where he died in 1296 (5). The Earl of *Lincoln* (6), who took the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops, beſieging *Dax*, was forced to make a haſty Retreat, upon the approach of the Earl of *Artois*, who was advancing to raiſe the Siege. Perhaps he received on this occaſion ſome little loſs, which the *French* call a Battle (7). However, I do not think it neceſſary to dwell any longer on the War of *Guienne*, ſince it produced no remarkable Event (8).

M. Weſt. p. 416. Act. Pub. II. p. 651, 693. Walſing. Ibid. Walſingham. Weſt.

1296.

Edward gains the Earl of Flanders to his ſide.

It was not in *Gaſcogne* that *Edward* intended to exert his utmoſt againſt *France*. He perceived it very difficult to recover a Province ſo remote from *England*, and where he had no other Place but *Bayonne*. His Deſign was to attack *Philip* in *Flanders*, where the ſituation of Affairs ſeemed to promiſe him better Succeſs. The Earl of *Flanders*'s Circumſtances obliged him to ſeek for Protection againſt *France*; and he could find none ſo near or ſo ready as that of the King of *England*, who burned with deſire to be revenged. The occaſion of the Earl's Difference with *Philip* was this.

Affairs of Flanders.

In the Year 1284, *Guy*, ſo the Earl was called, quarrelled with the Men of *Ghent*, on account of the Government of their City, which they pretended he had nothing to do with. In the Reign of *Philip the Hardy*, this Affair was brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, who paſſed Sentence in favour of the Earl, and fined the Magiſtrates. *Guy* took this occaſion to be as troubleſome as poſſible to the Inhabitants of that large City, which they highly reſented. When *Philip the Fair* aſcended the Throne, things had another face. *Philip* perceiving, the Quarrel between the Earl of *Flanders* and the People of *Ghent* offered him a favorable opportunity to make an advantage of their Diſcord, was unwilling to neglect it. Wherefore, he privately ſent word to the Magiſtrates of *Ghent*, that if they would renew their Proceſs againſt the Earl, he was ready to do them Juſtice. This was ſufficient to ingage the City of *Ghent* to renew the Quarrel. The Affair being once more brought before the Parliment of *Paris*, the Authority of the thirty nine Magiſtrates or Governors, aboliſhed by the former Decree, was re-eſtabliſhed in *Ghent*. The Earl was extremely offended, that *Philip* ſhould make it his buſineſs to plague him, by reſtoring to the City a Power, which to him was ſo odious. He durſt not however ſhew his Reſentment; but reſolved to take meaſures to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him, regarding him as an Enemy, whoſe Deſigns he ought to try to prevent. Some time after, he ſet *Robert de Bethun* his Son to work, who, by ſecret Inſinuations, perſuaded the Cities of *Flanders* to fortify certain Places, contrary to the Tenor of the Treaties with *France*; aſſuring them, they would meet with no oppoſition from the Earl his Father. *Guy*'s Aim was to ſet the Cities at variance with *France*, leſt *Philip* ſhould excite them againſt him. *Philip* was informed of the ſhare the Earl had in this Affair; but, as he was then otherwiſe employed, did not think proper to diſcover his Reſentment, either againſt the Cities which had violated the Treaties, or againſt their Adviſer. Mean while his very Silence made the Earl ſenſible, he was to expect an attack ſome other time. Things continued thus for ſome Years. *Philip* diſſembled his Anger, and *Guy* continually thought of means to prevent its Effects.

M. Weſt. p. 429. Walſing. Act. Pub. II. p. 741, &c.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Rupture between *France* and *England* happened to break out. Though *Edward* uſed all poſſible means to avoid a War, by the Negotiation at *Paris*, he believed that whatever fell out, he ought to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Flanders*, whoſe Diſcontent was no ſecret to him. To that end, he demanded his eldeſt Daughter in marriage for Prince *Edward* his Son, judging it an infallible means to bind him ſtrongly to his Intereſts. This Negotiation, though ſecret, came to *Philip*'s knowledge, and gave him great Uneaſineſs. But he concealed it, leſt by ſhewing it he ſhould deprive himſelf of the means to prevent an Alliance ſo prejudicial to *France*. To compaſs his ends, he pretended Ignorance, and upon ſome Pretence drawing *Guy* and his Counteſs to *Paris*, kept them Priſoners. It was a ſort of Favour that he gave them their Liberty, on condition they delivered their Daughter in Hoſtage, and promiſed to break their Alliance with *Edward*, on pain of Excommunication.

Ib. p. 742.

(1) But *John de St. John*, King *Edward*'s Governor in thoſe parts, bravely defended *Guienne* for ſome time againſt all the Attacks of the *French*. *M. Weſt.* p. 421.

(2) This Letter bears date *July* 1. 1294. at *Portſmouth*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 645.

(3) I ſaid above, that the *French* Hiſtorians explain not the manner how *Philip the Fair* made himſelf maſter of *Guienne*, becauſe I had not then ſeen Father *Daniel*'s Hiſtory, which relates ſome part of what is contained in Prince *Edmund*'s Memorial, though in a very abridged Manner, with remarkable Differences, and without exactly obſerving the Order of Time, in quoting *Walſing. in Edwardo. Rapin.*

(4) He ſailed with three hundred and twenty five Ships, from *Plymouth*, *Jan.* 25. and *Henry de Lacy*, Earl of *Lincoln*, along with him. *M. Weſt.* p. 426. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 688, 699. *Walſing.* p. 65. A good Body of Troops was ſent thither in the Year 1297, which were put into the fenced Cities. See *M. Weſt.* p. 423.

(5) He very probably died in *June*, and lies buried in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. II. p. 719. *Walſing.* p. 65. As does alſo *William de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, who died this Year, *June* 13. *M. Weſt.* p. 428.

(6) *Henry de Lacy.*

(7) In one Skirmiſh *John de St. John*, Governour of *Guienne*, was taken Priſoner. *M. Weſt.* p. 429. *Walſing.* p 69.

(8) Father *Daniel* will have it, that this was a very ſharp War, and that the *Engliſh* were very ſtrong in *Guienne*. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſpeak of it in a very different Manner, and with greater Probability, for the Reaſons above-mentioned. *Rapin.*

1296. *Guy* was no ſooner in his Dominions but he tried all ſorts of ways to recover his Daughter from *Philip*. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed. *Philip* was too apprehenſive of the Earl's Union with *England*, voluntarily to let go the Pledge he had in his power.

1297. Edward *forms a League againſt* France.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the Affairs of *Scotland*, which wholly employed *Edward*, afforded him neither Leiſure nor Opportunity to think of his projected War againſt *Philip*. But as ſoon as matters were as he wiſhed them, he turned all his thoughts to Revenge. *Philip*'s fraudulent Proceeding, being an Injury not to be eaſily forgotten, he had put a great Reſtraint on himſelf, in delaying thus long to make him repent of it. However as he was going to deal with a potent Adverſary, it was neceſſary to have a powerful Army, which *England* alone was not able to ſupply. Wherefore he ſought means to form beyond Sea a ſtrong League againſt *France*, and though it ſeemed a difficult matter, failed not to accompliſh it. Beſides the Earl of *Flanders* whom he gained without trouble, *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, newly elected Emperor, *Albert* Duke of *Auſtria*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and ſeveral other Princes of *Germany*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Holland*, *Juliers*, and *Luxemburgh* were engaged in the League, by the great Sums *Edward* was to furniſh them with (1). All theſe Princes, proud of their Number and Strength, ſent Cartels of Defiance to *Philip*, of whom he was offended with none ſo much as the Earl of *Flanders*; who being his Vaſſal, boldly told him, he would no longer acknowledge him for a Sovereign.

M. Weſt. Act. Pub. T. II. p. 659. &c. 761. &c. Mezerai. Chr. Belg.

Edward *checks the Pride of the Clergy.* Walſing. M. Weſt. T. Wikes.

Whilſt *Philip* was preparing to repulſe this Attack, *Edward* was uſing all poſſible endeavours, to procure the Money he wanted extremely, on account of his Engagements with the confederate Princes. To that end he aſſembled the Parliament at St. *Edmundsbury* (2), and obtained an Aid of the eighth Part of the Moveables (3) of the Cities and Burroughs, and a twelfth of the reſt of the Laity. This Example could not influence the Clergy. They pretended they were exempted from giving Aids to the King, by virtue of a Bull ſent the laſt Year by *Boniface* VIII. to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which he had kept without making publick. By this Bull all Eccleſiaſticks were expreſsly forbid to pay any Tax to ſecular Princes, without the Conſent of the Holy See. The Clergy's Refuſal extremely provoked the King. Nevertheleſs before he proceeded to violent Methods (4), he cauſed it to be repreſented to the principal Members, That ſince they poſſeſſed Fees in the Kingdom, and enjoyed the Protection of the Laws, as well as the reſt of his Subjects, it was but reaſonable they ſhould contribute to the publick Expences. But theſe Remonſtrances were ineffectual. When he found he could not prevail, he commanded all the Lay-Fees poſſeſſed by the Clergy to be ſeized, and their whole Body to be thrown out of the Protection of the Laws; expreſsly forbidding his Judges to do them Juſtice, in any caſe whatever. So bold a Step aſtoniſhed the Clergy, who, ſince the beginning of the Monarchy, had never experienced the like Reſolution, in any King of *England*. If *Edward* had been like his Father or Grandfather, perhaps that powerful Body would have found, in the People's Diſcontent, means to make the King repent of his Boldneſs. But as they perceived it would be difficult to ſtir up the People, they did not think proper to exert their Endeavours, which probably would be to no purpoſe. So that ſome ſpeedily compounding with the King for the fifth Part of their Goods, their Example drew in the reſt. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was treated more ſeverely, as he was not only the firſt Adviſer of the Clergy's Refuſal, but perſiſted in it more obſtinately than the others (5). The King ordered all his Eſtates to be ſeized, with the Revenues of the Monaſteries of his Dioceſe, and committed the management of them to Officers, who left the Monks no more than was abſolutely neceſſary for their Subſiſtence. In all appearance, this was to puniſh them, for too warmly adhering to their Archbiſhop. The King's Reſolution at length made that Prelate ſtoop, who to recover his Sovereign's Favour, gave him a fourth Part (6) of his Goods. Thus the Clergy when they meet with vigorous Princes, are as ſubmiſſive, as they are haughty, when they have to deal with thoſe that are ſcrupulous and weak.

Act. Pub. II. p. 707. M. Weſt. p. 428. Walſing. M. Weſt. Walſing.

1297. Edward *is oppoſed by the Barons.* M. Weſt. Walſing.

Shortly after, on much the ſame occaſion, the Lay-Lords ſhewed more Steddineſs than the Prelates, though againſt the ſame Prince. To execute his grand Projects, he aſſembled the Nobility at *Salisbury* (7), on purpoſe to ſee exactly what Troops each Baron could furniſh him with (8). His Intention was to make a powerful Diverſion in *Guienne*, whilſt he preſſed the Enemy on the ſide of *Flanders*. But it was difficult to find Lords that would ſerve, but where he commanded in Perſon. Every one deſir'd to be excuſed ſerving in *Guienne*, though they were willing to furniſh the Troops. *Edward*, not ſatisfied with their Excuſes, threatned to give their Lands to ſuch as would be more obedient. Theſe Menaces raiſed great Commotions among the Nobles. They were far from thinking their Lands at the King's diſpoſal. *Humphrey Bohun* High-Conſtable, and *Hugh Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk* and Marſhall of *England*, more bold than the reſt, plainly told the King, they were ready to follow him where he commanded in Perſon, and not otherwiſe. The Marſhall added, he was willing to lead the Van-Guard under the King, as his Office obliged him, but would not ſerve under any other, to which none had a Right to compel him. The King anſwered in a great Paſſion, he would make him go. To which the other replied, he ſhould not. *By the eternal God*, ſaid the King then, in great Rage, *You ſhall march or be hanged. By the eternal God*, replied the Earl, *I will neither march nor be hanged*; and immediately withdrew without returning to Court any more.

Boldneſs of two Earls. Knighton. Col. 2493. Walſing. T. Abington.

Edward had ſeen, in the King his Father's Reign, frequent and fatal Inſtances of the Inſolence of the Barons. He knew too well their great Union in the defence of their Privileges, to hazard his Reputation and Quiet in a War againſt them. A Quarrel of that nature muſt have been very prejudicial to him, as well as to the whole Kingdom. The leaſt Inconvenience that could happen, was, loſing the opportunity of being revenged of the King of *France*. As the Barons ſtood diſpoſed, it was ſcarce to be doubted, but they would have all joined againſt him, if he had undertaken openly to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of thoſe that dared to withſtand him to his Face. He had ſtill farther Reaſon to be confirmed in this belief, when he heard that, dreading his Reſentment, they began to raiſe Troops in their Defence, in caſe he deſigned to attack them (9). Without much penetration it was eaſy to ſee, they were ſupported. Theſe Conſiderations induced the King to hide his Reſentment till he could ſhew it effectually. Beſides, he was unwilling to loſe the opportunity of going into *Flanders*, where the Wants of the Earl his Ally inceſſantly called him. However, it was not long before he found a favorable Juncture to correct the Boldneſs of the two Earls, by turning them out of their Poſts, becauſe they refuſed to do ſomething belonging to their Offices, for fear of falling into his hands. He was very near repenting what he had done. Juſt as he was going to embark, he received from the Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and Commons of the Realm, a long Remonſtrance, containing a Liſt of the Grievances of the Nation, and ſeveral Violations of the Great Charter. This Proceeding made him ſenſible, he was to act with deliberation, for fear of provoking a Nation, which ſeemed ready to take Fire upon the firſt occaſion. He returned therefore a very gracious Anſwer to the Remonſtrance, and promiſed upon his Honour, to redreſs, at his return, all the Abuſes complained of. He deſired the Nobles to be quiet during his Abſence, aſſuring them, he would give them entire Satisfaction. As it was no leſs neceſſary to appeaſe the People, exaſperated by the ſecret Practices of the two Earls, he publiſhed a Proclamation to juſtify his Conduct, and ſhew his Reaſons for turning out theſe two great Officers. Amongſt other things, he ſaid in this Proclamation he was informed his People were made to believe, that he refuſed to receive Remonſtrances, tending to the Good of the Publick, which he affirmed to be falſe. He expreſſed likewiſe great Sorrow for having put his Subjects to vaſt Expences for the maintenance of

The King dares not chaſtiſe them. Knighton. M. Weſt.

He turns them out of their Offices.

The People complain to the King. Knighton. Col. 2511. Walſing. p. 71. M. Weſt.

He appeaſes them by a Proclamation.

Act. Pub. II. p. 783.

Knighton.

(1) *M. Weſt.* ſays, *Edward* promiſed to give the Emperor a hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, p. 421. In *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* it is three hundred thouſand Pounds of black Turnois, Tom. II. p. 741. And gave the Earl of *Flanders* fifteen thouſand Pounds, to fortify his Caſtles. *Ib.* p. 429. King *Edward* gained alſo *Amadeus* Earl of *Savoy* to his Side, and ſent him two and twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling, to pay the Forces that were to be raiſed in his Dominions, and the Parts adjacent. *Ib.* p. 651.

(2) On *November* 11. *M. Weſt.* p. 428. *November* 3. ſays *Walſingham* p. 68, which is according to the Writs of Summons.

(3) *M. Weſt.* ſays, it was the eighth Penny, from all Merchants and Citizens, of Cities and Towns, p. 422.

(4) He gave them time to conſider of this matter till the next Parliament, which was held at *London*, *Jan.* 15. *Walſingham*, p. 68.

(5) He cauſed the Bull above-mentioned to be read in all Cathedrals. *Ib.* p. 428.

(6) The fifth Part, ſays *M. Weſt.* p. 429. and *Walſing.* p. 69.

(7) On *February* 25. *Mat. Weſt.* p. 429. *Walſing.* p. 69. *Rot. Parl.* 25. *Edw.* I. *M. Dorſ.*

(8) He ordered thoſe that held by Knight's Service, and all that were worth above twenty Pounds a Year in Land, to be ready at *London*, by *August* 1, with Horſes and Arms, to go over with him into *Guienne*.——And alſo raiſed the Cuſtom upon Wool, from twenty to forty Shillings *per* Bag *Walſingham*, p. 69.

(9) They drew ſeveral of the Great Men to their Side, and aſſembled about fifteen hundred Men together, intending to ſtand upon their own Defence: They refuſed alſo to pay all manner of Taxes or Contributions. *Knighton*, Col. 2493.

1277. his Wars. He desired his People to excuse what Necessity had constrained him to do, and promised to observe the Great Charter punctually for the future, which he shortly after performed (1). The Prince his Son, whom he left Regent (2), assembling the Parliament (3), and obtaining a large Subsidy (4), confirmed King *John*'s two Charters, by an authentick Act, signed in *Flanders* by the King himself, and sealed with the Great Seal which he had carried with him (5). We may observe in the History of *England* several of the like Instances. I mean, that the Kings, who have dealt gently with their Subjects, and answered with moderation to their Complaints, have seldom failed to appease them, provided they have not, like *Henry* III, affected continually to deceive them and break their Word. On the contrary, such as have acted too haughtily, have generally brought themselves into great Trouble; of which we have seen very remarkable Examples in some of the foregoing Reigns.

Act. Pub. I. p. 791. Walsing. Knighton. M. West.

Philip prepares for his Defence.

Whilst *Edward* was employed at home in making Preparations to support the League formed against *France*, *Philip* was no less careful to provide against the impending Assault. He strengthened himself by Alliances, with the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and raised a powerful Army, whilst *Joan* Queen of *Navarre* his Wife, assembled her own Forces to assist him. *Champagne*, which belonged to that Princess, was first attacked, by the Earl of *Bar* one of *Edward*'s Allies, who ravaged that Province from one end to the other. But the Sequel of this Undertaking was as fatal to the Earl, as the beginning was prosperous. Upon the Queen's Approach, who was advancing to defend her Country, the Earl, seized with Fear, and unable to fight, or retreat, was forced to surrender to that Princess, who sent him Prisoner to *Paris*.

He corrupts Edward's Allies,

Walsing.

and besieges Lisle.

Mean while, the confederate Princes made no haste to send their Troops into *Flanders*. *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, detained by Troubles which *Philip* had raised him in *Germany*, or as some affirm, by Presents, could not, or would not perform what he had promised. The Duke of *Austria* was bribed by the same means, and the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Luxemburgh*, the Earls of *Guelders* and *Beaumont*, followed their Example. *Philip* improving this Advantage, entered *Flanders* at the head of threescore thousand Men, and immediately sat down before *Lisle*. *Guy*, who impatiently waited for the *English* Supplies, was not able to withstand the King of *France*, not having half the Forces he was made to expect. All he could do was to try to break *Philip*'s measures by a Diversion, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Juliers*.

The Duke of Juliers defeated by the French.

When the King of *France* heard, this General had taken the Field, he detached the Earl of *Artois*, who meeting him near *Furnes*, gave him Battle, and put his Army to rout. The Duke of *Juliers* was slain in the Fight, and the Earl of *Artois* lost his eldest Son. This Defeat caused *Guy* not to stir from *Ghent* and *Bruges*, where he expected *Edward*. Besides he was in great Perplexity by reason of the Divisions in his Country. There were two Parties in *Flanders*; one, called *Porte-lys*, was in the Interests of *France*, and the other for the Earl.

Edward arrives in Flanders. T. Wikes. Walsing. Knighton.

Factions there prejudicial to his Interest.

Edward arrived at last (6), after having been long expected, but with Forces little proportioned to the great Undertaking (7); because he depended upon the Allies, who were not so good as their Word. At his entry into *Bruges*, he found the whole City in Confusion, by reason of the Animosity of the two forementioned Factions. It was with difficulty, that he at length appeased the Commotions of the City, by granting the Inhabitants certain Privileges, concerning their Commerce with *England*. After that he came to *Ghent*, where he found the same Divisions. So that, as on his part, he brought not with him all the Forces he had promised, he himself saw with vexation how little able the Earl of *Flanders* was, to supply the Troops he had been made to expect. The *Flemings* were divided concerning the War. Some approved it, whilst others maintained it to be destructive to their Country, and undertaken by their Prince for his own, or the King of *England*'s, Interests. Whilst *Edward* was employed in composing these Differences, so prejudicial to his Affairs, *Philip*, after a three Months Siege, made himself master of *Lisle*. When he was in possession of this Place, he easily reduced *Douay*, *Courtray*, and some other Towns in the neighbourhood. Then he marched to *Bruges*, which surrendered without resistance. He had formed the Project of burning the *English* Fleet, which lay at Anchor at *Dam*. But the Earl of *Valois*, who had taken this Expedition upon him, not being secret enough in his Preparations, found the *English* Ships sailed. 1297.

Lisle taken by Philip, who makes other Conquests.

All *Edward*'s measures were broken, by the Treachery of his chief Allies, who forsook him after taking his Money. The Supplies he could expect from the Earl of *Flanders*, were uncertain and inconsiderable, by reason of the *Porte-lys* Faction, which opposed all Resolves any way detrimental to *France*. His own Troops were too few to enable him to withstand his Enemy's Forces. Besides, fresh Commotions in *Scotland*, rendered his Presence necessary in his Kingdom, where too he was not without Fear, that his Absence might occasion some Troubles. All these Considerations together, induced him to seek some Expedient to get off, without being obliged to abandon the Earl of *Flanders*, whom he had ingaged in his Quarrel. He found no better than to desire a Truce, which was granted him solely upon the account of the King of *Sicily*, and the Earl of *Savoy*; who used their Interest for him. By this Truce, (which was to last but till the *Epiphany* for *Guienne*, and till St. *Andrew*'s Day (8), only for *Flanders*,) *Philip* continued in possession of the Places he had taken. Probably, this Condition served to prolong the Truce for two Years; *Philip* being very well pleased peaceably to enjoy his Conquests. How hasty soever *Edward* might be to settle matters in *Scotland*, he spent the rest of the Winter at *Ghent*, to try to unite the Inhabitants of that powerful City. He hoped by that means to have a considerable Assistance from thence, when the Truce was expired. During his stay, he was in danger of his Life, by a Sedition of the Citizens, who were resolved to murder all the *English*. It is said he owed his Life to the Generosity of a *Flemish* Knight, of the *Porte-lys* Faction, who by his Pains and Intreaties stopped the Fury of the mutinous People. His danger giving him reason to dread some fresh Insult, he relinquished his Undertaking and returned to his Dominions.

A Truce between the two Kings. Act. Pub. II. p. 795, &c.

Act. Pub. II. p. 800, &c. 804, &c.

Edward stays in Ghent, and is like to be killed. M. West.

Such was the Success of *Edward*'s Expedition into *Flanders*. The powerful League, which seemed ready to swallow up *France*, served only to drain the Treasure of the Projector; and convince him, how difficult it would be to recover by Force the Country lost by his Imprudence. To be disappointed in his Projects, was not much: That is a misfortune to which the greatest Men are sometimes liable. But here was more: He could not extricate himself out of the Difficulties he had run into, without greatly injuring his Honour. Notwithstanding his promise to protect the Earl of *Flanders* to the end, he deserted him however, as will be seen hereafter. Let us return now to *Scotland*, which is to be the chief Subject of the rest of this Reign.

Affairs of Scotland.

Though *Edward* had conquered *Scotland*, he had not subdued the Hearts of the *Scots*, who bore with impatience the Yoke imposed on them by Force. When they saw *Edward* employed in *Flanders*, they took that opportunity to rise under the Conduct of *William Wallace*, a

(1) Before King *Edward* departed for *Flanders*, he held a Parliament at *London*, *August* 1, wherein he restored the Archbishop to his Favour; and ordered the Great Men there present, to swear Fealty to his Son *Edward*, and acknowledge him for his Heir. *Walsingham*, p. 70. *Knighton*, Col. 2510.

(2) The following Persons were appointed his Governors or Counsellors, *Richard* Bishop of *London*, *William Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*; and *Reginald de Gray*, *John Giffard*, and *Alan Plokenet*, Knights. *Walsingham*, p. 73. *John de Langeton* was appointed Chancellor. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 791.

(3) On *October* 7. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 793, 794. 10 *Claus.* 25 *Edward* I. *M.* 6. *Dors.*

(4) In consideration of his confirming the two Charters, the Laity regranted him the eighth Part of their Goods, they had given before at St. *Edmondsbury*; (for it had not been yet levied; the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, having given express Orders to the Barons of the Exchequer, and the Sheriffs, not to attempt to collect it; alledging, that it had been granted without their Knowledge, *sine quorum assensu tallagium non debet exigi, vel imponi.* *M. West.* p. 431.) The Clergy also granted the King a Tenth. *Ibid.*

(5) It was sealed at *Gaunt*, *November* 5, Ibid. This Act, or Statute, is extant in *Coke*'s second Institute, p. 525. and contains some Additions to, or Explanations of some Articles in *Magna Charta*. It is as follows, 1. No Tallage, or Aid, shall be imposed, or levied, by us or our Heirs, in our Kingdom, without the Will and Consent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and other Freeholders in our Kingdom. 2. No Officer belonging to us, or our Heirs, shall take the Corn, Provisions, or any other Goods whatsoever, without the Owner's Consent. 3. Nothing shall be taken for the future, for any Sack of Wool, under the Name and pretence of Customs. 4. We Will and Grant, for us and our Heirs, that all the Clergy and Laity in our Kingdom, enjoy all their Laws, Liberties, and free Customs, as fully and freely, as they have been used to enjoy them at any time. And if any Statutes have been made, or Customs introduced, by us or our Ancestors, contrary to them, we Will and Grant, that they be for ever void and null. The rest relate only to the Earls of *Essex* and *Suffolk*, &c. See *Coke*'s second Institute, p. 532, &c. *Knighton*, Col. 2523. *Walsingham*, p. 73.

(6) He sailed from *Winchelsea*, *August* 22, and landed the 27th near *Sluys*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 791. *Walsingham*, p. 72.

(7) *Knighton* says, he carried over one thousand five hundred Men at Arms, and fifty thousand Foot; thirty thousand whereof were *Welchmen*. Col. 2512.

(8) Till eight Days after. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 795——798.

Man

1297. William Wallace *ſtirs up the* Scots *to a Revolt.* Buchanan. Walſing. Knighton.

Man of no illuſtrious Family, and of a ſtill meaner Fortune, but of a very great Genius (1). This generous *Scot*, though of little Authority among his Countrymen, took upon him to raiſe his Country out of the Gulph of Miſery wherein it was plunged; whilſt the Perſons of the higheſt Rank, divided by Factions, or adhering to the Conqueror, were ſtriving who ſhould moſt perpetuate its Slavery. The *Scotch* Writers give this famous Man a Character, which equals him to the greateſt Heroes, and are at a loſs for Words lofty enough to expreſs his Merit. *Wallace* then, though ſcarce known in *Scotland*, reſolving to retrieve the Liberty of his Country, aſſembled a ſmall number of Troops for that purpoſe. How inconſiderable ſoever this Body was, of which he had the Command, he made ſo wonderful a Progreſs, that one does not know which to admire moſt, either the Boldneſs, or the firſt Succeſs, of his Enterprize. All that longed for Liberty, finding there was a Man hardy enough to head them, liſted in Crowds under his Banner, and quickly formed a conſiderable Army. With this Aid, *Wallace* attacked the Places poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, and whoſe Garriſons were weak, becauſe *Edward* had wanted his Troops in *Flanders*. By his Severity to thoſe that fell into his hands, he ſtruck ſuch Terror into the reſt, that ſcarce any Place held out to Extremity, for fear of being liable to the ſame Treament. By this means he recovered in a very ſhort Space, all the Towns taken by the *Engliſh*, and left them only the ſingle Town of *Berwick* (2). Theſe proſperous Succeſſes bred in his Army ſo great Admiration for his Bravery, that, without ſtanding upon the uſual Formalities, he was declared Regent of the Kingdom. *Edward*, who was then in *Flanders*, hearing of *Wallace*'s Progreſs (3), haſtened the Concluſion of the Treaty abovementioned, and returned into *England* (4), bent upon ſeverely puniſhing the Revolt of the *Scots*.

He drives the Engliſh *out of* Scotland.

Walſing. Knighton.

He is declared Regent. Buchanan.

Philip *and* Edward *chooſe the Pope for Umpire.* Act. Pub. II. p. 808, &c. Walſing.

Before he undertook this Expedition, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſettle two Affairs of equal Importance. The firſt was, to find ſome way to make Peace with *France*, leſt *Philip* ſhould aſſiſt the *Scots*. The ſecond, to give ſome Satisfaction to the People, as he had promiſed to do after his Return. He found no better method to accompliſh his firſt Aim, than by getting *Philip* to agree to refer their Difference to *Boniface* VIII, who was not yet at variance with that Prince as he was afterwards. *Philip* cloſing with this Propoſal, the two Monarchs left their Conteſts to the Pope's Arbitration, not as *Head of the Church*, but as a private Perſon under the Name of *Benedict Cajetan*.

Act. Pub. II. p. 817.

Edward *confirms the Great Charter.* Walſing. Knighton. M. Weſt.

This Affair being like to ſucceed, the ſecond was to be thought of. In order to gain the Affection of his Subjects, *Edward* called a Parliament (5), and, of his own accord, confirmed the Great Charter (6). It is true, he inſiſted very much upon having this Clauſe inſerted in this Confirmation, *Saving the Prerogatives of the Crown.* But finding the Parliament oppoſed it with great warmth, he choſe to deſiſt, which had a very good Effect upon the People.

1298. *He marches into* Scotland, Walſing. Knighton.

Edward being thus freed from the Uneaſineſs theſe two Affairs gave him, put himſelf at the head of a powerful Army, and advancing into the middle of *Scotland*, met his Enemies at *Falkirk*. The two Armies were encamped ſo near together, that the *Engliſh* hearing a great Shout in the Enemies Camp, ran to their Arms in the utmoſt hurry, believing they were going to be attacked. The King alſo would mount his Horſe; but as he was putting his Foot in the Stirrup, the Horſe, frighted by the Noiſe that was made, threw him on the ground, and with a Kick broke two of his Ribs. This ſad Accident hindered him not from being in the Battle which quickly enſued, and commanding with the ſame preſence of Mind as if he had been unhurt. The Battle proved bloody, and withal very fatal to the *Scots*; who, according to ſome Writers, loſt threeſcore thouſand Men: But this is not very likely. Others who reduce the Number to ten thouſand, are perhaps as wide of the truth (7). Be this as it will, the Loſs of the *Scots* was ſo great, that for a long while they were not able to hold up their Head. *Wallace* with the Remains of his Army, retired behind the northern Fens, where it was not poſſible to follow him. Mean time, *Edward* improving his Victory, retook all the Places of Strength, with the ſame eaſe he had loſt them. So he may be ſaid on this occaſion to conquer *Scotland* a ſecond time. After neceſſary Orders for the Preſervation of the Kingdom, he marched back into *England*, where he was called by important Affairs. 1298.

and defeats the Scots *at* Falkirk. Buchanan. Walſing. M. Weſt.

Wallace was not then in a condition to take advantage of *Edward*'s Abſence. He had not only loſt his Army, but moreover plainly perceived the Jealouſy of the *Scotch* Lords was one of the principal Cauſes of his Defeat. His Virtues, inſtead of filling them with Emulation, made them apprehenſive of his aſpiring to the Crown. In this belief, they choſe rather, that their Country ſhould groan under perpetual Bondage, than ſee themſelves reduced to do Homage to one of ſo inferiour a Birth. Theſe Suſpicions muſt needs have been ſpread among the Nobility, ſince *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, Son of the Candidate to the Crown, upbraided *Wallace* upon that account. This Earl, who ſerved in *Edward*'s Army, being on the day of the Battle of *Falkirk*, in purſuit of *Wallace* who was retreating, and ſtopped by a little River, which the *Scots* had juſt paſſed, ſent to deſire him to come and ſpeak with him on the oppoſite Bank. *Wallace* conſenting to it, *Robert* repreſented to him, "That he was ruining "himſelf by his Ambition. That there was no likelihood of his reſiſting the Forces of the King of *England*; and though he might flatter himſelf with ſuch "Hopes, the great Men of the Kingdom would never "be brought to own him for King." *Wallace* replied, "That in taking up Arms, he was not in the leaſt ſwayed by Ambition: That he acknowledged himſelf too "unworthy of the Throne, to dare to look ſo high; "but that his only Aim was to free his Country, which "the great Men of the Realm ſuffered to periſh by their "Cowardice." It is ſaid this Reply made ſuch an Impreſſion on *Bruce*'s mind, that he burſt out into Tears. It is further added, that he reſolved from that very moment, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to free *Scotland* from the Slavery ſhe groaned under.

The Scotch Lords are jealous of Wallace. Buchanan.

His Conference with Bruce. Buchanan.

Mean time, *Wallace*, knowing how much the great Men's Jealouſy of him was prejudicial to the Intereſts of the Kingdom, reſigned the Regency, and acted only as a private Perſon. He ceaſed not however, to the utmoſt of his power, and upon all occaſions, to endeavour to ſet his Country free. Some time after *Edward* left *Scotland*, they who had any remains of Affection for their Country, choſe *Comyn* for Regent. But this Regency was of little conſequence, ſince it gave him Authority only over a ſmall Part of the Kingdom, and a few confuſed Troops, eſcaped from the late Battle.

Wallace laid down the Regency. Buchanan.

Comyn *choſen in his Place.* Id.

Upon *Edward*'s return into *England* (8), he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to promote the Negotiation, now in the hands of the Pope, for the Reſtitution of *Guienne* (9). Since he deſpaired of regaining that Province by Arms, the Alliance of the Earl of *Flanders* was a Burden to him; the Protection he had promiſed him, being a perpetual Obſtacle to the Concluſion of the Peace. He reſolved therefore to abandon his Ally, and from thenceforward all Difficulties began to vaniſh. The unfortunate Earl, forſaken by the King of *England*, and on the other ſide, preſſed by the Earl of *Valois*, who commanded the *French* Army in *Flanders*, knew not which way to turn himſelf. In this wretched ſituation, he was perſuaded at length to deliver himſelf up to that Prince, who promiſed to con-

Edward *puſhes the Negotiation of Peace with* France.

(1) *T. Walſingham* ſays, That *William de Ormeſby*, King *Edward*'s Juſticiary in *Scotland*, having baniſhed ſeveral Perſons out of that Kingdom, becauſe they refuſed to ſwear Fealty, and do Homage to his Maſter; they entered into a Confederacy, and choſe *Wallace* for their Leader, in *May*, this Year, p. 70.

(2) And ſoon after the *Scots* became alſo Maſters of it; namely, after the Battle of *Sterling*, wherein the *Engliſh* were defeated, and *Hugh de Creſſingham* the Treaſurer ſlain; whom the *Scots* hated ſo, that they flea'd him, and cut his Skin in pieces. *Walſingham*, p. 73.

(3) He ordered *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, to aſſemble the Militia beyond the *Trent*, and go and chaſtiſe the *Scots*: Accordingly, the Earl ſent his Nephew, *Henry de Percy* into *Scotland*, but it does not appear he performed any remarkable Exploit. *Ibid.* p. 70.

(4) And landed, *March* 14, at *Sandwich*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 813.

(5) At *York*. *Walſingham*. *M. Weſt.* p. 431. And becauſe the Confirmation of the two Charters had been done beyond Sea, the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* deſired, that the ſaid Confirmation ſhould be now renewed: The Earls of *Surrey*, *Warwick*, and *Ralph de Mont-hermer*, promiſed, in the King's Name, that it ſhould be done, at his return from *Scotland*; which was accordingly performed, in a Parliament holden at *London*, in *Lent*, 1300. *Walſingham*, p. 75, 76.

(6) He appointed alſo Commiſſioners in each County, to enquire into the Grievances. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 813. The Laity granted him a Ninth, and the Clergy a Tenth. *M. Weſt.* p. 431.

(7) This Battle was fought *July* 22. *Buchanan.*

(8) After the Battle of *Falkirk*, King *Edward* intended to march further into *Scotland*, but was forced to alter his Reſolution, becauſe the Country being utterly waſted, and his Fleet not arriving with Proviſions, as was expected, a great Scarcity was thereby occaſioned in his Camp. He retired therefore through the Foreſt of *Selkirk* towards *England*, taking by the way the Caſtles of *Ayer* and *Loughmaben in Anandale*: And from thence came to *Carliſle*, and afterwards to *Durham*, where he held a great Council in the beginning of *September*, and beſtowed on ſeveral great Men of *England* and *Scotland*, the Eſtates of ſuch *Scottiſh* Noblemen as had of late revolted from him. From thence he removed to *Tinmouth*, and then to *Cotingham* near *Beverley*, where he kept his *Chriſtmaſs*. *Walſingham*, p. 76.

(9) Not long after *Chriſtmaſs*, King *Edward* held a Parliament at *London*, on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*; wherein he was petitioned by the Parliament to confirm the Great Charter, and Charter of Forests; accordingly he confirmed the former, but refuſed to confirm the latter: Whereupon the Parliament broke up in diſcontent. *M. Weſt.* p. 431.

1298. duct him to *Paris*, that he might treat in Perſon with the King, and in caſe he could not within a twelve Month obtain a Peace, to permit him to be at liberty to return into his Dominions. But *Philip* not thinking himſelf bound by his Brother's Word, kept the Earl Priſoner (1).

1299. *The Truce pr. Leg. d. Act. Pub. II. p. 849. The Pope's Sentence. Act. Pub. II. p. 833, 840. T. Wikes. Walſing. M. Weſt.*

The two Years Truce between *France* and *England* being about to expire, the Ambaſſadors of the two Kings met at *Montreuil upon the Sea*, where the Pope ſent them his Sentence of Arbitration, the Subſtance whereof was as follows: That *Edward* ſhould again take poſſeſſion of *Guienne*, and, to reſtore Union between the two Kings, ſhould marry *Margaret* Siſter of *Philip* (2); and that *Iſabella* Daughter (3) of the ſame *Philip*, ſhould be given to the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Edward*. It was ſaid alſo in the Sentence, that *John Baliol*, formerly King of *Scotland*, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the Pope's Nuntio, to be kept where he ſhould think proper. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns ſigned this Sentence: But as there were ſeveral things to be adjuſted in order to put it in execution, they agreed upon a Truce, which afterwards was frequently prolonged before the Treaty of Peace was ſigned. Mean while, *Baliol* was delivered to the Biſhop of *Vincentia*, the Pope's Nuntio, who committed him to the Cuſtody of ſome *French* Biſhops.

Truce granted to Scotland. Act. Pub. II. p. 868, &c. Buchanan.

When the new Regent of *Scotland* heard, that a Treaty was negotiating at *Montreuil* between *France* and *England*, he ſent Deputies to *Philip* to intreat him to cauſe *Scotland* to be included. The Juncture appeared favorable: *Edward* earneſtly wiſhed to recover *Guienne* by a Treaty, not thinking himſelf in condition to regain it any other way. Probably, therefore, he would, upon that conſideration, grant *Scotland* tolerable Terms, if the King of *France* would ſeriouſly endeavour to obtain them. And indeed, *Philip* tried at firſt to perſuade *Edward* to leave *Scotland* in quiet. But the moment he propoſed it, he found it impoſſible to procure any thing, but ſome little Advantages, which too they would be obliged to purchaſe, by a formal Acknowledgment of the Power that held them in Slavery. *Edward* was in poſſeſſion of *Scotland*, where he ſcarce met with any farther Oppoſition. So that, to propoſe his granting a Peace to that Kingdom, was in effect to deſire him to relinquiſh his Conqueſt. On the other hand, he could not grant a ſeparate Peace to the Regent and his Adherents, without leaving in *Scotland* a Power independent of his own. All therefore that *Philip* could obtain was a ſeven Months Truce, for ſuch as could not think of bearing his Yoke. If we believe the *Scotch* Hiſtorians, this Truce was ill-kept by *England*. But it may be, this is only to juſtify *Comyn*'s Reſolution to break it. However that be, the Regent aſſembled the Lords whom he knew to be well-affected to their Country, and repreſented to them the ſad Condition it was reduced to. He told them, if they gave *Edward* time to ſecure his Conqueſt, he would take ſuch meaſures, as would render ineffectual all future Endeavours for the Recovery of their Liberty. That as ſoon as the few Remains of the *Scots* which ſtill reſiſted, were ſubdued, he would entirely reduce the miſerable Kingdom to a perfect Slavery. That this Deſign would now have been executed, had it not been retarded by the Truces procured them by *France*. That there was therefore no time to loſe, and it was neceſſary ſpeedily to reſolve to make a generous Effort for the Recovery of their Liberty, or to leave their Country in perpetual Slavery. Then he ſhewed them with what Eaſe they might free themſelves from the Yoke, whilſt *Edward* depended on their Weakneſs, and the Winter Seaſon offered them Advantages, which they could never more expect when once it was paſſed. Theſe Remonſtrances produced the Effect he promiſed himſelf. The Lords, fond of Liberty and impatient of their Servitude, reſolved with one accord to riſe in Arms, and every one laboured to inſpire the People with the ſame Reſolution. It was not difficult to ſucceed, for the meaner ſort were ſtill more exaſperated againſt the *Engliſh* than the Nobles, becauſe they were worſe treated. In a ſhort time, the whole Kingdom riſe, and it was not poſſible for the *Engliſh* Garriſons to put a Stop to ſo general a Revolt. All the Inhabitants of the Towns as well as of the Country taking Arms the ſame Day and Hour, the Garriſons found themſelves attacked all at once, both within and without, with ſuch Rage and Fury, that there was no poſſibility of reſiſting. In a word, they were reduced to the neceſſity of deſiring leave to depart the Kingdom, otherwiſe they could not avoid being cut in Pieces.

Comyn *exhorts the Scots to break it.*

All Scotland riſes and drives the Engliſh out of the Kingdom. Buchanan.

1299.

Edward, inraged that there was no end of theſe things, raiſed an Army with all poſſible ſpeed, and as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, entered a third time (4), Sword in hand, that unfortunate Kingdom. The *Scotch* Army, which conſiſted only of ill-armed and undiſciplined Militia, not being able to ſtand againſt *Edward*, would have retired upon his Approach. But he followed them ſo briskly, that being at length overtaken and obliged to engage, they were entirely routed. Hiſtorians affirm, that the Fate of *Scotland* would have been determined that day, if the *Engliſh* could have purſued their Enemies through the Fens, which were known to the Natives, but which the Conquerors durſt not venture to paſs (5).

1300. Edward's *third Expedition into* Scotland. Walſing.

He defeats the Scots. M. Weſt.

The *Scots* upon this Deſeat, deſpairing of making any farther Reſiſtance, had recourſe to Intreaties and Submiſſions. They humbly deſired the King to give them leave to redeem their Lands with Money, and to reſtore their King on what Conditions he pleaſed. But he refuſed both theſe Requeſts. This Cruelty cauſed them to ſeek means to eaſe their Miſery, by putting themſelves under the Pope's Protection, to whom they ſent Ambaſſadors with an Offer of the Sovereignty of their Country. *Boniface* VIII, whoſe Ambition is well known, immediately accepted the Offer. He had been uſed to proceed very haughtily with Chriſtian Princes, imagining they were implicitly to ſubmit to his Will, and that his Authority reached to Temporals as well as Spirituals. In this belief, his bare Letter was ſufficient to cauſe *Edward* to quit all his Pretenſions to *Scotland*. In the beginning of this Brief, which was as follows, the Pope took for granted a thing that had never been heard of.

He rejects their Submiſſion. Walſing.

They apply to the Pope, who accepts their Offer of Sovereignty. Walſing.

The Pope's Bull to Edward. Act. Pub. II. p. 844. Walſing. M. Weſt. Knighton.

BONIFACE, Servant of Servants, &c. *To our beloved Son* Edward, *illuſtrious King of* England, *Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.*

We know, Dear Son, and Experience has often convinced us, how great your devout Affection is for the Church of Rome, *who upholds you in the Bowels of Love. We know, I ſay, your ardent Zeal and Reverence for her, and your Readineſs to obey her Orders. This gives us a firm Hope and entire Confidence that your Royal Highneſs will receive our Words in good part, diligently liſten to them, and effectually put them in execution. Your Royal Highneſs may have heard, and we doubt not but you remember that of old, the Kingdom of* Scotland *did, and does ſtill, belong to the Church of* Rome, *as all the World knows, and, as we have been informed, was never held, either of your ſelf, or Predeceſſors*, &c.

The reſt of the Brief, which is too long to be inſerted at length, contains moſt of the Objections before-mentioned, againſt the Pretenſions of the Kings of *England* to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. As in all appearance the Pope had been inſtructed by the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors, it is to be preſumed, that, if during the Aſſembly at *Norham*, the States of *Scotland* returned no Anſwer to what *Edward* alledged, it was not for want of Proofs, but from quite another Motive. The Pope likewiſe upbraided *Edward* for all the Violences committed in the *Scotch* War, and particularly for the Impriſonment of ſeveral Biſhops. In fine, he made himſelf Judge of the Controverſy between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, and ordered the King to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome* with all neceſſary Inſtructions, within ſix Months at fartheſt, after which he would pronounce a final Sentence.

Edward threatens to deſtroy Scotland. Walſing. p. 78.

This haughty proceeding was by no means proper to cauſe *Edward* to lay down his Arms. He was ſo offended at it, that, inſtead of regarding the Pope's Pretenſions, he ſwore, if he heard any more of them, he

(1) This Year died *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, High-Conſtable of *England*; and *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*. *M. Weſt.* p. 431.

(2) *Eleanor*, Wife of *Edward*, died *November* 28, in 1291, of a Fever, at *Grantham*, in *Lincolnſhire*, (or, according to *Walſingham*, at *Herdeby*, in the ſame County, p. 54.) In memory of her, the King erected a Croſs wherever her Corpe reſted, in the way from *Lincolnſhire* to *Weſtminſter*. As at *Waltham*, St. *Albans*, *Dunſtable*, &c. and particularly *Charing-Croſs*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 498. *T. Wikes*, p. 121. *Walſing.* p. 54, 55. *Margaret* was to have from the King her Father for her Dower fifteen thouſand Pound *de Tornois petits*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 841. What Dower King *Edward* granted her, ſee *Ibid.* p. 854. *Margaret* landed at *Dover*, *September* 8, and King *Edward* and ſhe were married at *Canterbury*, *September* 10. *M. Weſt.* p. 432.

(3) *Rapin*, by Miſtake, ſays Siſter. *Act. Pub.* T. II. p. 842.

(4) And in his way thither, held a Parliament at *York*, *November* 11. *Walſing.* p. 77.

(5) King *Edward* having kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Berwick*, and delivered the Government of *Scotland* to *John de St. John*, and others joined in Commiſſion with him, returned into *England* about *Candlemaſs*; and coming to *Wincheſter*, he ſent for the Citizens of *London*, and reſtored their Liberties, after they had been kept twelve Years in his Hands. But before he left *Scotland*, he iſſued out his Writs, dated at *Berwick*, *December* 29, for the calling a Parliament to meet him at *Weſtminſter*, the ſecond *Sunday* in *Lent*; in which the *Great Charter*, and that of *Foreſts*, were renewed and confirmed; and a new Statute was made for the better explaining them, called *Articuli ſuper Chartas*, which you may ſee in *Coke*'s ſecond Inſtitute, p. 537. *Fabian's Chron. Rot. Claus.* 28 *Edward* I.

1300. would deſtroy *Scotland* from Sea to Sea. The Deputies of the *Scots*, who were preſent, could not hear theſe Threats without emotion. They told him, he had ſtill a great deal to do before matters could be brought to that paſs; and there was not a *Scotchman* but what could ſpill the laſt drop of his Blood in the defence of his Country. But notwithſtanding his Reſolution, not to leave *Scotland* before it was entirely reduced, he durſt not refuſe the King of *France* a Truce which he demanded in behalf of the *Scots* (1).

Grants a Truce. Act. Pub. II. p. 868.

Edward *creates his Son Prince of* Wales. M. Weſt. Walſing.

It was during this Truce that *Edward* inveſted his eldeſt Son, now ſeventeen years old, with the Principality of *Wales*, and the Earldom of *Cheſter*. The *Welſh* rejoiced at it, and conſidered it as a Mark of the King's Favour, becauſe the young Prince was born in their Country.

1301. *Anſwer to the Pope's Bull.*

In the beginning of the next Year, the King ſummoned a Parliament at *Loncoln* (2), to conſult with them concerning the Pope's Pretenſions to *Scotland*, and what Anſwer ſhould be returned to his Brief. The Parliament being no leſs exaſperated at the Pope's Pretenſions and Haughtineſs than the King himſelf, it was reſolved, that a Letter ſhould be ſent to the Pope on this occaſion, ſigned by all the Barons of the Realm (3). In this Letter, they plainly tell him the direct contrary to what he aſſerted in his Brief, namely, that the Crown of *England* had immemorially enjoyed the Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*, and it was publickly known, that *Scotland*, as to Temporals, never belonged to the Church of *Rome*. That therefore the Parliament would never ſuffer the King's Prerogative to be called in queſtion, or Ambaſſadors to be ſent to *Rome* upon that account, though the King himſelf ſhould be willing to be ſo condeſcending to the Holy See. Finally, they deſired the Pope to leave the King and People of *England* in the enjoyment of their Rights, without giving them any Diſturbance (4).

Act. Pub. II. p. 873. M. Weſt.

The King ſends a Letter alſo. Ib. p. 883.

This Letter was followed, ſome months after, by another from the King himſelf, with a Memorial (5), like that drawn up during the Aſſembly at *Norham*, to juſtify that the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been always dependent on the Crown of *England*. But whereas, in the firſt he carries his Claim higher than *Edward the Elder*, in this, he derives it from *Brutus*, firſt fabulous King of the *Iſle of Albion*, tracing it through all the Reigns of the fictitious Kings mentioned in the Hiſtory, or rather the Romance of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; which he did not venture to do in the Memorial drawn up for the *Scots*. But every thing was valid to the Pope and *Italians*, who were not ſufficiently verſed in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, to diſcern Truth from Falſhood. Beſides the King's Letter was very reſpectful, and contained no Expreſſions offenſive to his Holineſs. This Moderation on ſuch an occaſion, when he was highly provoked at the Pope's Pretenſions, muſt be aſcribed to the Need he had of him, in the Affair concerning the Reſtitution of *Guienne* (6).

Edward *returns into* Scotland, *and prolongs the Truce.* Act. Pub. II. p. 892. M. Weſt.

The Truce with *Scotland* was no ſooner expired, but *Edward* returned, and ſpent the whole Winter in that Kingdom. But when he was preparing to renew the War, he was ſo ſtrongly ſollicited by the King of *France*, that he could not refuſe the *Scots* the prolonging of the Truce till *November*. One might wonder he ſhould have ſo much Complaiſance for *Philip*, if it was true, as ſome affirm, that he had made a Peace with *France*, at *Montreuil*, and taken poſſeſſion of *Guienne*. But it is certain, the Peace between the two Crowns was not fully concluded till 1303, and the Treaty of *Montreuil* was properly only the Pope's Arbitration, containing ſeveral Articles, the Performance whereof might meet with great Difficulties; though in general the two Kings were well enough ſatisfied with it. This makes *Edward*'s deference for *Philip* not ſo ſtrange, ſince by a Refuſal, he might have retarded the Concluſion of a Peace, by which *Guienne* was to be reſtored.

The Truce with *Scotland* being about to expire, *Edward* ſent *Segrave* (7) into that Kingdom to renew the War. This general marched thither, not ſo much with deſign to fight the *Scots*, whom he thought unable to reſiſt him, as to deſtroy the Country. To that end, he divided his Army into three Bodies, which marched at ſome diſtance from one another, in order to include the more Ground. His Notion that there was no danger, cauſing him to march in a careleſs manner, and without vouchſafing to inform himſelf of the Poſture of his Enemies, he unexpectedly met them near *Roſs* (8), five Miles from *Edinburgh*. As he was too far advanced with the Body he commanded, to receive any Aſſiſtance from the others, the *Scotch* Army commanded by *Comyn* and *Frazer*, attacked him without loſs of time, and immediately put him to rout. The neareſt of the two other Bodies hearing the General was attacked, haſted to his Relief, but not being able to come time enough, were likewiſe defeated. Though the *Scots* were victorious in theſe two Engagements, it was not without Difficulty and Loſs. Their wounded being many, and their Troops much harraſſed, they were willing to take ſome reſt, when they ſaw the third Body of the *Engliſh* Army advancing to attack them. This Sight put them into ſuch Diſorder, that they would forthwith have taken to flight, if the Exhortations of their Generals had not revived their Courage. This laſt Battle was the ſharpeſt of the three (9). The *Engliſh* animated with a deſire of revenging their Countrymen, and the *Scots* encouraged by their two Victories, fought a good while with equal Animoſity; but the *Scots* had the Advantage at laſt, and routed their Enemies. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſlightly paſs over theſe three Battles, and the *Scots*, on the contrary, take care to extol this triple Victory (10). It may be, the one ſays too much, and the others too little. Be this as it will, it cannot be denied that this loſs appeared of great Conſequence to *Edward*, ſince it made him reſolve to enter *Scotland* once more, with a greater Army than ever. It was not in his Power however, to execute his Deſign till the next Year, becauſe he could not help including the *Scots* in a Truce made with *France* till *June* (11).

1301. *He ſends Segrave into* Scotland.

Three Victories gained by the Scots in one Day. Buchanan.

Edward's pretended eternal Truce. Act. Pub. II. p. 913.

Before the Truce was expired, the Peace between the two Crowns was concluded at *Paris*, on the 20th of *May* 1303 (12). *Philip* reſtored *Guienne* to *Edward*, who promiſed on his part to do him full Homage, and without limitation, in the City of *Amiens*. As for the Allies of the two Kings, there was no mention of them in the Treaty. On the contrary, each Monarch obliged himſelf by Oath not to aſſiſt the other's Enemies. Thus the *Scots* and the Earl of *Flanders* were equally abandoned. This is one of the many remarkable Inſtances, how little petty Princes can rely upon their Alliances with more powerful Sovereigns. Though the firſt Article always runs, that neither Peace nor Truce ſhall be made without the Conſent of all Parties, it is uſually this that is firſt violated. Indeed, *Philip* perſuaded the *Scots*, that he would procure them a ſeparate Peace, at a future Interview with *Edward*; but nothing was farther from his thoughts. For he had left the *Scots* to the Mercy of the King of *England*, only to prevail with him to abandon the *Flemings*, who having taken up Arms againſt him, had now gained great Advantages. *Baliol*, from whom this Treaty had taken all hopes of being ever reſtored, lived upon his Eſtate in *Normandy*, and ſpent the reſidue of his days as a private Perſon (13).

1303. *Treaty of Peace between France and England.* Act. Pub. II. p. 925. *Ibid.* p. 929. M. Weſt.

Act. Pub. II. p. 929. M. Weſt.

The Peace was made without the Pope.

The unexpected Conteſts between Pope *Boniface* and *Philip the Fair*, had long delayed the Concluſion of this Peace. The Pope, who had projected to turn the Arms of the Chriſtians againſt the Infidels, pretended arbitrarily to command all the Princes of *Europe*, to end their Differences according to his caprice, and prepare to ſend or lead in Perſon their Forces to the *Holy-Land*. The Haughtineſs wherewith he would have treated the King

Walſing. Knighton.

(1) It was granted by King *Edward*, *October* 30. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 869.

(2) *January* 21. *M. Weſt.* p. 433. In this Parliament the Earls and Barons complained of Grievances, and petitioned the Confirmation of the two Charters, which Requeſt of theirs the King complied with. *M. Weſt.* p. 433. The Laity granted the King a Fifteenth. *Ibid.*

(3) It bears date *February* 12. at *Lincoln*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 875.

(4) This Remonſtrance is ſubſcribed by a hundred Earls and Barons, who declare beſides, that they had Authority to repreſent the whole Community of the Kingdom. Dr. *Howel* has given the Names of them, and calls it *a Liſt of thoſe worthy Patriots who withſtood Papal Uſurpation.* The Liſt and Names of them are in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 873, 874.

(5) Dated at *Kemeſeye*, *May* 17. *Ibid.* p. 888.

(6) A ſecond Parliament was held this Year at *London*, in *Lent*, wherein King *Edward* renewed the Confirmation of the Charters, and made ſome Statutes about Fines and Goal-delivery. *Walſing.* p. 78. See *Coke's* 2d Inſtitute, p. 521.

(7) *John de Segrave*; about the beginning of *November*, conſtituting him Governor of *Berwick*, and Guardian of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. *Walſ.* p. 86.

(8) At *Roſlin*. *Buchanan.* (9) Theſe three Battles were fought on *February* 24. 1302. *Buchanan.*

(10) The *Scotch* Hiſtorians aſcribe all the Glory to *Comyn* and *Frazer*, without mentioning *Wallace*: See *Buchanan.* Whereas the *Engliſh* attribute all to the brave *Wallace*. *M. Weſt. Walſing.*

(11) In *Mid-lent*, this Year, a Parliament or Great Council was held at *Stanford*. *Walſing.* *Knighton.* c. 2528. *M. Weſt.* mentions two Parliaments this Year, one the firſt of *July*, the ſecond *October* 13. p. 445.

(12) The Commiſſioners, or Plenipotentiaries, appointed by King *Edward* to conclude this Peace, were *Amadeus* Earl of *Savoy*, *Henry de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Otto de Grandiſon*, as appears by the King's Commiſſion to them, dated at *Odiham*, *January* 10. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 925.

(13) He was delivered by *Robert de Broughſh*, Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, to *Reginald* Biſhop of *Vicenza*, the Pope's Nuncio, at *Witſant*, in 1299. as appears by the King's Warrant to him, dated at *Canterbury*, *July* 14. in *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 840. *Walſing.* p. 76, 77. *M. Weſt.* p. 433. King *Edward*, in 1306, granted his Lands and Eſtate in *England*, to *John de Bretagne*, his Nephew. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 1029.

1303. of *France*, occaſioned ſuch Diſputes between them, as grew at length to an open Rupture. For this Cauſe, *Philip*, looking upon the Pope as his Enemy, rejected his Arbitration, and concluded a Peace with *Edward*, without the Intervention of him whom they had choſen for Umpire (1).

Edward's *fourth Expedition into Scotland.* Buchanan. Walſing.

Edward having nothing more to fear from *France*, carried his Arms a fourth time into *Scotland* (2), with ſo numerous an Army, that he met with no Reſiſtance. He penetrated even to the utmoſt Bounds of the Iſland, ravaging the Country on all hands; the *Scots* being unable to oppoſe ſo formidable a Power. *Wallace* alone kept cloſe to him with ſome Troops, in order to harraſs him, and revenge the *Scots* upon the *Engliſh* Soldiers, that ventured to ſtir from the Body of the Army. How great ſoever *Edward*'s Advantages were, he was not ſo ſevere to thoſe who voluntarily ſubmitted, as he was in his former Expedition. He had found, that by driving them to deſpair, he had himſelf induced them to revolt. For this reaſon he treated favorably ſuch as ſurrendred, and permitted them to redeem their Lands, which he had before refuſed them. This Gentleneſs produced ſo good an Effect, that all the great Men of the Kingdom, ſeeing no other Remedy, were willing to embrace it (3). Before he quitted the Kingdom, *Edward* ordered *Sterling* Caſtle to be aſſaulted, which held out the whole Winter. The vigorous Defence of the beſieged, obliged the King to be there in perſon as ſoon as the Weather permitted; and yet it was *July* (4) before he brought them to capitulate (5). *Buchanan* ſays, that, contrary to the Articles of the Capitulation, he committed to priſon the Governor and Officers of the Garriſon.

Knighton. *He grants ſome Favours to the Scots.* Act. Pub. II. p. 950. Walſing. M. Weſt. Ryley's Pla. *Sterling Caſtle beſieged.* 1304. *He takes it.* Walſing.

The taking of *Sterling* finiſhed *Edward*'s fourth Expedition and third Conqueſt (6). But though *Scotland* may juſtly be ſaid to be conquered on this occaſion, there were ſtill in the Country, out of the reach of the *Engliſh* Arms, certain impenetrable Places, which afforded a Retreat and Sanctuary to thoſe who could not live in Slavery, and who greatly promoted the Reſtoration of the whole Kingdom to its ancient Liberty. This is what *Edward* himſelf in the midſt of his Succeſſes could not forbear dreading. The Rigour wherewith he treated the brave *Wallace*, who was baſely betrayed into his hands (7), is a clear Evidence, he did not think the *Scots* ſubdued, though he was Maſter of *Scotland*. To deter them by the Puniſhment of this great Man, whom he looked upon as the ſole Author of their Revolt, he cauſed him to be tried, condemned, and executed as guilty of High-Treaſon (8), and ordered his four Quarters to be hung up in four of the principal Towns in the Kingdom (9). This Sentence was pronounced by *Engliſh* Judges, tho' *Wallace* was a *Scotchman*, and one that never owned the Juriſdiction of *Edward*. To excuſe, in ſome meaſure, ſo extraordinary a Severity, there are Hiſtorians who endeavour to defame *Wallace*, and charge him with having committed exceſſive Cruelties. But neither theſe Accuſations, nor the manner of his Death, have been able to hinder Poſterity from doing him the Juſtice he deſerved; and unprejudiced People from ſtill deeming him a Hero worthy of a better Fate (10).

Tragical End of Wallace. Buchanan. M. Weſt. Walſing.

Edward having nothing more to do in *Scotland*, returned into *England*, where he immediately applied himſelf to cauſe his Authority to be reſpected, for which ſome among the Barons ſhewed but little Regard. *Segrave* (11) was firſt attacked on this account, to ſerve for Example to the reſt. This Lord being accuſed of ſome Miſdemeanour, in defence of his Innocency challenged his Accuſer to a Duel, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Days (12). But the King not thinking fit to conſent to it, *Segrave* paſſed the Sea, in order to fight out of the Kingdom. Though his Diſobedience was in ſome meaſure ſoftened by his Regard for the King, in forbearing to fight in his Territories, *Edward* conſidered it as being of too great Conſequence to be left unpuniſhed. As ſoon as *Segrave* came back, he was taken into Cuſtody, and brought to his Trial. The Judges were at a loſs to paſs Sentence upon this Affair, concerning which there was apparently no Law to direct them. However, after three days Conſultation, they declared him worthy of Death, adding in their Sentence, that it ſhould be in the King's Power to pardon him. *Edward* was extremely offended at the Boldneſs of the Judges, who ſeemed to ſet Bounds to his Prerogative, as if he could not exerciſe his Clemency without their Permiſſion, and gave them a ſevere Reprimand. Nevertheleſs he pardoned *Segrave*, upon the Interceſſion of certain Lords, who offered to become Sureties for his good Behaviour (13).

1305. Edward's *Severity towards* Segrave. M. Weſt.

But this was not the only Inſtance of Severity given by *Edward* after his Return. He was informed that Juſtice was adminiſtered, throughout the whole Kingdom, with great Negligence and Partiality; that the Magiſtrates ſuffered themſelves to be bribed with Preſents, and the rich were ſcreened from the Rigour of the Laws, whilſt the Poor were expoſed to the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of the Great. So great a Diſorder calling for a ſpeedy and effectual Redreſs, he gave an extraordinary Commiſſion to Judges nominated by himſelf, to go into all the Counties and ſtrictly enquire concerning all Malefactors of what Rank ſoever they might be, and impowered them to execute their Sentence upon the ſpot. This Commiſſion was called *Trail-Bâton* (14), a Word whoſe Derivation is unknown, concenring which there are ſeveral Conjectures too long to be inſerted. It ſuffices to ſay, in order to give a Notion of this extraordinary Court, it was much the ſame with what is ſtiled in *France*, *Grands Jours*. This Severity was a Check to thoſe that thought to ſcreen themſelves from Juſtice by their Credit and Riches, and ſerved at the ſame time to fill the King's Coffers with the Mulcts and Fines of the Guilty (15).

Commiſſion of Trail-Bâton. Act. Pub. II. p. 960. M. Weſt. Walſing.

To theſe two Inſtances of Severity he added a third, very proper to ſhew his Intention that the Laws ſhould be obſerved, without regard to Birth or Dignity. Prince *Edward* his Son being perſuaded by *Piers Gaveſton*, one of his Favourites, to commit ſome Outrage againſt the Biſhop of *Cheſter* (16), he ordered him to be publicky impriſoned, not ſuffering his Rank to exempt him from Juſtice.

Prince of Wales *publickly impriſoned.* Fabian's Chron.

This Proceeding would doubtleſs have been more agreeable to the *Engliſh*, if what he did ſhortly after, had ſhewn

(1) This Year the ſaid Pope died, on *October* 12, after he had been accuſed by the King of *France* of Hereſy, Simony, and Murder, impriſoned, and plundered of all his Goods. *Walſing.* p. 87.——This Year alſo the King's Exchequer at *Weſtminſter* was broke open, and robbed of about one hundred thouſand Pounds; for which ſeveral of the Monks of *Weſtminſter* Abbey were impriſoned. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. II. p. 930, 938.

(2) About *Whitſuntide*. *Walſing.* p. 87. *M. Weſt.* p. 447.

(3) The Terms were, That their Lives, Limbs, and Members ſhould be ſaved: And they were to be free from Impriſonment, and not to be diſinherited; nor pay any thing except for their Ranſom and Fine, and the Amends for their Faults only committed againſt the King, *&c.* See the Terms at length in *Ryley*'s *Placita Parliam.* p. 369, and *Brady*, p. 78, *&c.*

(4) The twentieth. *Walſing.* p. 89.

(5) The Governor was *William Oliſard*, who was brought Priſoner to *London*. *Walſing.* p. 89.

(6) After which he returned to *England*, leaving *Scotland* under the care of *John de Segrave*; and when he came to *York*, removed the Courts of *King's Bench* and *Exchequer*, which had been there ſeven Years, to their old place in *London*. *Walſing.* p. 89.

(7) About *Auguſt* 15, by Sir *John Menteith*, his pretended Friend, who was bribed by the *Engliſh*. *Buchanan. M. Weſt.* p. 451.

(8) He was dragged at a Horſe's Tail, *Auguſt* 23, and his Head ſet up on *London* Bridge. *M. Weſt.* p. 451.

(9) Of *Scotland*. *Ibid. Walſing.* p. 90.

(10) A Parliament was held this Year in *November*. See *Ryley*'s *Placita*. And the King, upon his return from *Scotland*, impoſed a Tallage of the ſixth Penny upon his demeſne Cities and Burroughs, *Chron. Abind.* This Year alſo died *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*. *M. Weſt. Walſing.* p. 90.

(11) Sir *Nicolas de Segrave*. *M. Weſt.* p. 450.

(12) He was charged with Treaſon by Sir *John de Crombwell*. *M. Weſt.* Anno 1305.

(13) Thirty of his Peers, girt with Swords, offering to be bound, Body and Goods, that he ſhould be forth coming, whenſoever the King ſhould require, he was ſet at Liberty, and reſtored to his Poſſeſſions, ſays *Matthew of Weſtminſter*, who calls him, *Unus de præſtantioribus Militibus de Regno*. *M. Weſt.* in Anno 1305.——This Year a Parliament was called in *July*; and afterwards prorogued to the 15th of *Auguſt*, and farther to the 15th of *September*. *Ryley*'s *Placit. Parliament.* p. 503.

(14) This old *French* Word ſignifies *to draw a Staff*. As for the Reaſon why this Commiſſion was ſo called, it ſeems to be altogether unknown. Mr. *Tyrrell* gives this Account of it from the *Eveſham* Chronicle. That Chronicle derives it from a certain Inſtrument anciently belonging to Shoemakers; wherewith they uſed to beat their Apprentices, called a *Trayle-baſton*. The King in his return out of *Scotland* was told this Story, concerning thoſe who then made it a Trade to take Money to beat other Men. A certain wicked Perſon, having hired ſome of thoſe Ruffians to beat another Man, whom he durſt not meddle with himſelf, they cudgeled him very ſeverely: But he happening to know one of them, found out who it was that had hired them; whereupon deſiring them to ſpare him, he promiſed them, if they would give as many Blows to him that ſet them on Work, he would reward them doubly; which they agreed to: Accordingly, in their return, they met with the Man that firſt employed them, who aſking them, whether they had done as he had ordered them? They anſwered, Yes, and that they were to receive as much more for the like Buſineſs; ſo one of them being a Shoemaker, crying out *Trayle-baſton*, they all fell upon him, and cudgeled him twice as much as they did the other. At which Story the King at firſt ſmiling, was reſolved to ſecure his People for the future from ſuch Malefactors; and therefore iſſued out the foreſaid Commiſſion. *Tyrrell.* p. 160. The Commiſſion itſelf is in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. II. p. 960. and dated at *Weſtminſter* the 6th Day of *April*.

(15) Theſe Juſtices were in a manner the ſame with the Juſtices in Eyre. Their Office was to make Inquiſition through the Realm, by the Verdict of ſubſtantial Juries, upon Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Eſcheators and others, concerning Extortion, Bribery, and ſuch Grievances, as Intruſions into other Men's Lands, Barretors, and Breakers of the Peace, *&c.* For the Etymology of the Word *Trail-baton*, ſee *Spelman*'s *Gloſſary*.

(16) There was no Biſhop of *Cheſter* till 1540. when that See was erected by King *Henry* VIII. The Perſon here meant, was *Walter de Langton*, Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*. (*M. Weſt.* p. 434.) For *Petrus*, one of the Biſhops of this See, removing it to *Cheſter* in 1075, it hence came to paſs, that his Succeſſors were many times called Biſhops of *Cheſter*.——The Outrage committed by the Prince againſt the Biſhop, was, that he, together with *Gaveſton*, and other ill Companions, had broke down the Fences of the Biſhop's Park, and killed his Deer. *Fabian.*

the

1305. Clement V, *abſolves the King from his Oath to the Charters.* Act. Pub. II. p. 978. M. Weſt. p. 454. Walſing.

the ſame Moderation and the ſame Regard for the People. *Clement* V, Native of *Bourdeaux*, ſucceeding *Boniface* VIII, *Edward* thought he ſhould improve his Intereſt with the new Pope, to obtain a Diſpenſation from the Oath he had taken, with regard to the two Charters of Liberties. The Pope made no Scruple to grant him that Favour. He ſuppoſed, as it appears in his Bull, that the King was forced to take that Oath; and that Suppoſition, falſe as it was, ſeemed to him a ſufficient Reaſon to abſolve him from the ſame. It is pretended *Edward* purchaſed this Diſpenſation by a Preſent of Gold Plate to the Pope. The Alarm cauſed by this Step in the Kingdom was not groundleſs, ſince it ſoon began to be perceived, that the King aſſumed a greater Authority, than was allowed by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm. He even affected to diſcover his Intention, on an Occaſion where it could not be miſtaken. *Clement* V, granted him a Tenth upon the Clergy for three Years, reſerving one half to himſelf for the Occaſions of the Holy See (1). The Parliament not being able to bear this ſhameful Trade, which tended to impoveriſh the Clergy without any neceſſity, and to drain the Kingdom of Money, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and forbid the Collectors to levy the Tenth. *Edward*, regardleſs of the Parliament, removed the Prohibition by his own Authority, and permitted the Collectors to go on. This arbitrary Act coming immediately after the abovementioned Diſpenſation, made the *Engliſh* apprehenſive, the King had formed a Deſign upon their Liberties, and their Apprehenſions appeared but too well-grounded. But if *Edward* had any ſuch Intent, the Troubles which ſuddenly broke out a-freſh in *Scotland*, prevented the Execution, and rendered the Pope's Favour ineffectual.

M. Weſt. Edward *acts arbitrarily.*

1306. *Affairs of* Scotland. Major. Buchanan.

The *Scots*, though ſo often vanquiſhed, and as often conſtrained to ſwear Fealty to *Edward*, could not inure themſelves to his Yoke. *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carric*, was one of thoſe that thought they had moſt Reaſon to complain. Not only his Father *Robert* was excluded from the Crown, but moreover, *Edward* had now broke his Word with him. He promiſed to place him on the Throne, in the room of *Baliol*; but made not the leaſt Step towards the performance of his Promiſe. Nevertheleſs, *Robert* all along ſerved him faithfully, both before and after his Father's death, flattering himſelf perhaps, that he would one day accompliſh his Promiſe. But his diſcourſe with *Wallace*, on the day of the Battle of *Falkirk*, and the King's whole Behaviour, convincing him that *Edward* had only his own ends in view, he entertained the generous Deſign of exerting his Endeavours, to free his Country from the Servitude to which it was reduced. At the ſame time, he thought of procuring the Crown of *Scotland* for himſelf, to which he pretended to have a lawful Title, notwithſtanding the Sentence given againſt the Earl his Father. *John Comyn*, ſirnamed *the Red*, another *Scotch* Lord of great Diſtinction in *Scotland*, but however of leſs Credit than *Bruce*, was, or ſeemed to be, in the ſame ſentiments, and to have the Intereſt of his Country at Heart. This Conformity cauſed theſe two Lords to communicate their Thoughts to each other, after long ſounding one another, without daring to ſpeak their minds. At length, both growing bolder, they had ſeveral Conferences together, wherein they agreed upon means to accompliſh their Projects. Theſe Conferences ended in an Agreement, containing theſe two Articles. I. That they ſhould act in common to promote *Robert Bruce* to the Crown of *Scotland*. II. That in conſideration of *Comyn*'s Services, *Bruce* ſhould make over to him all his private Patrimony, and appoint him his Lieutenant-General. Theſe meaſures being taken, *Robert* came to *Edward*'s Court, where it was neceſſary to gain certain *Scotch* Lords, who were in the Intereſts of that Prince.

Bruce *and* Comyn *contrive to free their Country.* M. Weſt.

Mean time, whether *Comyn* repented of what he had done, or, as ſome affirm, had contrived this Plot on purpoſe to enſnare *Robert*, he diſcovered the whole Project to the King. It is ſaid, he even ſent him the original Agreement under both their Hands and Seals. The King immediately deſigned to apprehend *Robert*, but fearing thereby to miſs of his Accomplices, was contented with narrowly watching him. He hoped to make ſome freſh Diſcoveries by means of *Comyn*, to whom *Robert* communicated by Letters whatever he did at Court. The King's Deſign could not be ſo ſecret, but it was perceived by the Earl of *Gomer* (2), an old Friend of the Family of *Bruce* then at *London*. This Earl knowing *Robert* was narrowly watched, and not daring by word of Mouth to diſcover ſo important a Secret, ſent him a Pair of Spurs, with ſome pieces of Gold, as if he had borrowed them of him. *Robert*, who was endowed with great Penetration, preſently found there was ſome myſtery in this pretended Reſtitution of his Friend, and concluded, he meant by it to adviſe him to make his Eſcape. In this belief, he immediately came to a Reſolution, and executed it with ſuch addreſs and diligence, that it was impoſſible to prevent him, and much more to overtake him. As he had communicated his Thoughts only to *Comyn*, he did not doubt but he was betrayed by that treacherous Friend. Accordingly, as ſoon as he came into *Scotland*, he repaired to *Dumfries*, where *Comyn* then was, and meeting him in the Church of the *Cordeliers*, little expecting his coming, ſtabbed him with his own Hand (3). This bold Stroke, added to the Plot he had laid, expoſing him to the King's Reſentment, he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of openly declaring himſelf, well knowing there was no Safety for him but in the Succeſs of his Deſigns. Whereupon, ſuch Numbers flocked to him, that he was quickly in condition to go well attended to *Scone*, where he was ſolemnly crowned (4). After which, all the People in general ſided with him.

1305. Comyn *betrays* Bruce. Buchanan. Hec. Boetius. Walſing.

Buchanan.

Bruce *eſcapes to* Scotland, *and kills* Comyn.

He is crowned King of Scotland.

It was with extreme Vexation that *Edward* perceived he was miſtaken, in imagining he had nothing more to do in *Scotland*. He would not however give over his firſt deſign. But to ſecure for the future the poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, he reſolved to reduce it to ſuch a ſtate, that there ſhould be no more danger of a Revolt. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he ſent *Audemar of Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke* (5), with an Army to prepare the way, whilſt he aſſembled all his Forces at *Carliſle* (6). To render his Expedition the more ſignal, he knighted three hundred young Gentlemen, who attended the Prince his Son, whom he was willing, on this occaſion, to initiate in the Art of War (7).

Edward *ſends an Army into* Scotland. Act. Pub. II. p. 988. M. Weſt. Walſing. Knighton.

Mean time, *Robert* made great Progreſs in *Scotland*, and took ſeveral places. He would have carried his Conqueſts farther, if the Earl of *Pembroke* had not ſtopped his career. The Earl entering *Scotland*, marched directly to *Robert*, who, not thinking proper to retreat on this firſt occaſion, went himſelf to meet him. The two Armies coming to an Engagement, *Robert*'s was put to the rout (8). But as his Loſs was not great, he was willing to venture a ſecond Battle (9), where he had no better Succeſs. Theſe two Defeats upon one another, obliging him to quit the Country, he withdrew to one of the *Hebrides*, where he lay concealed at a Relation's Houſe, in expectation of a more favorable Juncture. Shortly after, *Edward* entering the Kingdom with a numerous Army (10), found the *Scots* in Conſternation, and their Troops diſperſed. So having no Enemies to encounter, he ſent out Detachments on all ſides to ſeize *Bruce*'s Adherents. Great Numbers were taken, who all felt that Prince's Severity (11). Three Brothers of the new King loſt their Heads on a Scaffold. His Queen herſelf being ſent into *England*, was kept in cloſe Confinement.

Bruce *is defeated, and forced to abſcond.* Buchanan. M. Weſt. Walſing.

Edward *arrives in* Scotland, *and ſeverely puniſhes the Revolters.* Buchanan. M. Weſt. Walſing.

(1) The Pope granted the King a Tenth out of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in *England*, for two Years, towards the Relief of the *Holy-Land* though it was diverted by the King for his own private Occaſions. The Pope alſo reſerved to himſelf the firſt Fruits of all the Benefices, which continued down to the Reign of *Henry* VIII. who firſt annexed them to the Crown. But (ſays *M. Weſtminſter*) the Pope was induced to this through the Covetouſneſs of the Biſhops, who ſubmitted to this Innovation, on condition they might enjoy one Year's Profits of all vacant Benefices in their Gift. *M. Weſt.* p. 454. *Tyrrel*, p. 167. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 1006, 1039, 1042, 1051.

(2) *Buchanan* calls him *Comitem Gomeræ*, though (ſays *Tyrrel*) there was no ſuch Earl then in *England*. *Tyrrel*, Vol. IV. p. 168.

(3) *January* 29. *M. Weſt.* p. 453. *Buchanan* ſays, as ſoon as he came into *Scotland*, he accidentally met a Meſſenger with Letters from *Comyn* to the King of *England*, which he ſeized; and in them found how he had adviſed him to put *Bruce* to Death. Whereupon he rode to *Dumfries*, and ſhewing *Comyn* the Letter, accuſed him of Treachery, but the other confidently denying it, *Bruce* was ſo exaſperated that he ſtabbed him in the Belly, *l.* 8.

(4) *March* 25. *M. Weſt.* p. 453. *Walſing.* p. 91.

(5) With *Robert Clifford* and *Henry Percy*. *M. Weſt.* p. 454. *Walſing.* p. 91.

(6) Fifteen Days after *Midſummer*, *M. Weſt.* ibid.

(7) All ſuch as were to be made Knights, either by paternal Succeſſion, or for their Eſtates. *M. Weſt.* Upon this occaſion, of the Prince's receiving the Order of Knighthood, the Clergy and Laity granted the King a Thirtieth, and the Merchants a Twentieth. *M. Weſt.* p. 454. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 986, 987, 988. The King his Father gave him at the ſame time the Dukedom of *Guienne*. *Ibid.* p. 990. *M. Weſt.* p. 454.

(8) At *Methuen* near *Perth*, or St. *John*'s Town, *July* 20. *Buchanan*, l. 8. *M. Weſt.* p. 455.

(9) At *Dalree*. *Ibid.*

(10) During his Abſence, he appointed *William* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Walter* Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, Guardians of the Realm. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 1003.

(11) The following Perſons were committed to ſeveral Priſons in *England*, *Alan* Earl of *Menteth*, The Earl of *Marr*'s Son and Heir, to *Briſtol* Caſtle: *Patrick de Graham*, *Walter de Ruſſhi*, and *Richard de Nicolrobre*, to the Tower of *London*: *Hugh Lovel*, and *William de Murray*, *de Sandford*, to *Windſor* Caſtle: *Walter de Murray* to *Corf* Caſtle: The Earl of *Strathern*, to *Rocheſter* Caſtle: *Thomas Randolf* to *Lincoln* Caſtle, &c. *Robert Bruce*'s Wife to *Bruſtewick*. And the Lands and Eſtates of moſt of the other Revolters were confiſcated. *Ibid.* p. 1012, 1013, &c.

Edward's

1306. *Edward*'s Age, and Vexation to ſee himſelf ſo often obliged to begin afreſh, rendered him ſo inexorable, that he hardly pardoned any one Perſon. The Biſhops of *Glaſcow* and St. *Andrews*, who were taken with their Coats of Mail over their Habits, would have fallen a Sacrifice to his Vengeance, had not his Fear of diſobliging the Pope ſaved their Lives. They were however ſent into *England*, and thrown into Priſon (1). The Earl of *Athol*, allied to *Edward*, and the Royal Family of *Scotland*, was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, only by the heighth of the *Gallows* on which he was hanged. The Counteſs of *Buquhan*, who aſſiſted at *Robert*'s Coronation (2), was put into a Wooden Cage, and placed as a ridiculous Sight to the People on the Walls of *Berwick* Caſtle. *Mary* her Siſter underwent the ſame Fate at *Roxborough*.

Act. Pub. II. p. 1016, 1024. M. Weſt.

Act. Pub. II. p. 1014. M. Weſt. Walſing.

1307. After *Edward* had thus taken Vengeance on *Robert*'s Adherents, who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into his hands, he ſpent the Winter at *Carliſle*, where he ſummoned the laſt Parliament of his Reign (3). The firſt Buſineſs of this Aſſembly, was about means to ſecure the poſſeſſion of *Scotland*, by uniting that Kingdom to *England*. *Edward* was reſolved to ſpare nothing to keep the *Scots* in awe, and even to uſe, for that purpoſe, the moſt rigorous Methods. But the Face of Affairs was much altered in that Country, before any fixed Reſolution was taken.

Edward would unite Scotland to England.

Parliament at Carliſle. M. Weſt. Walſing.

This Parliament applied themſelves alſo with great diligence, to prevent the Extortions of the Court of *Rome*, which were ſtill continued with the ſame Exceſs as before, notwithſtanding the Meaſures taken to ſuppreſs them. Nay, Statutes were made, which might have eaſed this Grievance, had they been well executed.

Statutes againſt the Court of Rome. M. Weſt. Walſing.

At this very time it was, that the Biſhop of *Lichfield*, High-Treaſurer, cauſing the King to obſerve the Aſcendant, *Piers Gaveſton*, a young Man of a very debauched Life, had over the Prince his Son, and the pernicious Conſequences that might ſpring from ſo great a Familiarity, *Edward* reſolved to apply an immediate Remedy. To that end, with the Advice of the Parliament ſtill aſſembled, *Gaveſton* was baniſhed the Realm, as a Corrupter of the young Prince (4). Moreover the King was pleaſed, that his Son ſhould promiſe with an Oath, never to recall him, and that *Gaveſton* ſhould ſwear likewiſe never more to ſet foot in *England*. Upon that condition he allowed him a Penſion of a hundred Marks, to be paid out of the Revenues of *Guienne* (5).

Piers Gaveſton *baniſhed the Kingdom.* Act. Pub. II. p. 1043. M Weſt. Walſing.

Notwithſtanding *Edward*'s Reſolution to diſable *Scotland* from ever recovering, the Time of that Kingdom's Deliverance was at hand. God, who was pleaſed to chaſtiſe the *Scots*, had not decreed the utter Deſtruction of that Nation, which was reduced to the laſt Extremity. *Edward* leaving *Scotland*, *Robert Bruce* ſallied out of his Retreat, and effectually made uſe of the King's Abſence, and the Sharpneſs of the Winter, which hindered the *Engliſh* Troops from acting. He aſſembled the Remains of his diſperſed Army, and reinforced them with freſh Supplies, which the *Scotch* Lords, exaſperated at *Edward*'s Severity, brought him from all Quarters. With theſe Troops he attacked the Earl of *Pembroke*, who commanded in *Scotland*, and obtained over him a ſignal Victory (6), wherein the *Engliſh* General was made Priſoner. Then he marched againſt the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who was at the head of another Body, and obliged him to retreat to the Caſtle of *Aire*, which he beſieged, though without Succeſs. As he was maſter of the Field, and had none to oppoſe him, he eaſily took ſeveral Places, and cauſed them to be diſmantled; as well not to be obliged to leave Garriſons, as to prevent the *Engliſh* from fortifying them hereafter.

Bruce's *great Succeſs.* Buchanan. Walſing.

M. Weſt. Walſing.

He defeats Pembroke,

and takes ſeveral Places. Buchanan.

Edward, ſurprized at this unexpected Revolution, and implacably exaſperated againſt the *Scots*, reſolved to be ſignally revenged of that Nation. To that end, he ſummoned all the Vaſſals of the Crown without exception, to meet him at *Carliſle* about the middle of the Summer, on pain of forfeiting their Fees. His Intention was to march into the Heart of *Scotland*, and deſtroy that Kingdom from Sea to Sea, as he had often threatned. But God permitted him not to execute ſo barbarous a Purpoſe. He was hardly arrived at *Carliſle*, where he had drawn together the fineſt Army *England* had ever ſeen, when he was ſeized by a Diſtemper, which put an end to his Days, and all his Projects. As ſoon as he found himſelf ill, he knew he ſhould die; and whilſt his Mind was ſound, he ſent for Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Son (7), and earneſtly recommended to him three things: The firſt was, vigorouſly to proſecute the War with *Scotland*, till he had entirely ſubdued the *Scots*. For that purpoſe, he adviſed him, to carry along with him his Bones at the Head of the Army, not at all queſtioning but that Object would daunt the Courage of the Enemies he had ſo often vanquiſhed. The ſecond thing he recommended, was to ſend his Heart to the *Holy-Land*, with thirty two thouſand Pounds Sterling, he had provided for the Support of the Holy Sepulchre. The third was, never to recall *Gaveſton*. After theſe his laſt Orders to his Son, he cauſed himſelf to be carried by eaſy Journeys into *Scotland*, being deſirous to die in a Country he had thrice conquered. In this manner he advanced as far as the little Town of *Burgh* (8), where his Sickneſs being increaſed by a Dyſentery, which came upon him, he reſigned his laſt Breath on the 7th of *July*, 1307, in the ſixty-eighth Year of his Age, having reigned thirty-four Years, ſeven Months, and twenty Days. His Corps was carried to *Waltham*, and from thence to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where it was done over with Wax, and laid by *Henry* his Father (9).

1307.

Is taken ill at Carliſle.

His laſt Words to his Son. Walſing. M. Weſt.

Dies at Burgh. Act. Pub. II. p. 1059. M. Weſt. Walſing.

Thus lived and died *Edward* the firſt of that Name ſince the *Norman Conqueſt*, and the fourth ſince *Egbert*. This Prince had, doubtleſs, very noble Qualities, and particularly great Valour and Prudence. He knew how to maſter his Paſſions, and return to the right way when he had ſtrayed from it; a Quality never to be ſufficiently commended in a Sovereign. When we compare him with his Father, his Grandfather and his own Son, his Succeſſor, we find he far excelled them all. This Compariſon, which one can hardly help making, has been ſo much to his Advantage, that the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have uſed the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions in his Encomium, and would have him paſs for the greateſt Prince of his Age. A famous Writer has not ſcrupled to ſay, *That God had pitched his Tabernacle in the Breaſt of that Monarch.* But his whole Conduct, with regard to *Scotland*, does not give of him ſo advantagious an Idea. However, without examining too cloſely the Expreſſions uſed by the Hiſtorians in his Praiſe, it may be ſaid, he was a great King, and that *England* received conſiderable Advantages from his Adminiſtration. The Kingdom, weakened by the ill Management of the two preceding Kings, was reſtored to its former Splendor, by the Abilities of this Prince, who knew how to make himſelf beloved and reſpected by his Subjects, as well as dreaded by his Neighbours. The Conqueſt of *Wales*, in vain attempted by his Predeceſſors, added a great Luſtre to his Reign, and was very beneficial to his Kingdom. That of *Scotland* would no doubt have gained him more Honour, had it been entirely finiſhed, ſince the *Scotch* Hiſtorians would have ſpoken of him in different Terms from what they have done, if at the time of their writing they had been *Engliſh*.

His Encomiam and Character.

Camden *in* Cumberland.

He was very perſonable, and taller than the generality of Men by the Head. His Hair was black, and curled naturally, and his Eyes of the ſame Colour, ſparkled with uncommon Vivacity. He would have been perfectly well ſhaped, if his Legs, which were a little too long, had been in proportion to the reſt of his Body. Hence he had the Sirname of *Long-Shanks*. He joined to his bodily Perfections a ſolid Judgment, a great Penetration, and a prudent Conduct, which very rarely ſuffered him to make a falſe Step. Beſides this he had Principles of Juſtice,

(1) The former in the Caſtle of *Porcheſter* in *Hampſhire*; and the latter in *Winchеſter* Caſtle. It will perhaps not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know what Allowance the King made the latter. To the Biſhop, for his own Expences, ſix Pence a Day. For a Servant, three Pence. For a Boy, three half Pence. For a Chaplain the ſame. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 1016.

(2) This Counteſs was Siſter to the Earl of *Fife*, (then abſent in *England*) whoſe Office it was to crown the Kings of *Scotland*. For which Reaſon ſhe, being of a brave and manlike Spirit, ſtole from her Huſband with all his Horſe, and came and ſet the Diadem upon *Bruce*'s Head at the Abbey of *Scone*, on *Palm-Sunday*, *March* 25. *Walſing.* p. 91. He had been crowned before on *February* 2. *M. Weſt.* p. 453.

(3) *January* 28. *M. Weſt.* p. 457.

(4) The Ordinance for his Baniſhment bears date *February* 26, at *Lauretoſt*, (or *Lanercoſt*) in *Cumberland*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 1043.

(5) This Year the King ſettled upon his Son *Thomas* ten thouſand Marks; and upon his Son *Edmund* ſeven thouſand Marks, in Lands and Rent. And to his Daughter *Eleanor*, he gave for her Portion ten thouſand Marks, and five thouſand Marks for Cloaths, to be paid in ſeven Years. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 1019.

(6) After *Eaſter*. *M. Weſt.* p. 458. *Walſing.* p 93.

(7) Whom he had ſent into *England*, in order to go over and conſummate his Marriage with *Iſabella* of *France*. ibid.

(8) *Upon the Sands* in *Cumberland*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Burgh upon Stanemore* in *Weſtmoreland*. The Memory of *Edward*'s Death had been preſerved by ſome great Stones rolled upon the Place; but in 1685, there was erected a ſquare Pillar nine Yards and a half high. On the Weſt Side is this Inſcription; *Memoriæ æternæ* Edwardi I. *Regis Angliæ longe clariſſimi, qui in Belli apparatu contra Scotos occupatus, hic in caſtris obiit 7 Julii*, A. D. 1307.

It was ſet up by *John Aglionby*, I. C. at the Charge of *Henry Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and made by *Thomas Langſtone*. Camden.

(9) And buried *October* 18. (*M. Weſt.* p. 458.) on the North Side of the Shrine of St. *Edward*. His Sepulchre is compoſed of five grey Marbles, two on the Sides, two at the Ends, and a fifth covers it, upon the North Side whereof are pencilled theſe Words: EDWARDUS PRIMUS SCOTORUM MALLEUS HIC EST. 1308. PACTUM SERVA.

1307. Honour and Honeſty, which reſtrained him from countenancing Vice, not only in his moſt intimate Courtiers, but even in his own Son. Moreover he was of an exemplary Chaſtity, a Virtue very ſeldom found in Sovereign Princes. All theſe noble Qualities bred in the Hearts of his Subjects, a Love and Eſteem, which did not a little contribute to the rendering his Reign peaceable at home, whilſt his Arms were employed abroad. As for the Affair of *Scotland*, it may be ſaid to procure more Honour than real Advantages to *England*, ſince after Torrents of Blood ſpilt in that Quarrel, the *Engliſh* were conſtrained in the end to relinquiſh their Project.

Edward's *Iſſue by his firſt Wife.* Walſing. Sandford.

Edward had by *Eleanor of Caſtile* his firſt Wife four Sons and nine Daughters (1). *Edward* II. his Succeſſor was the only Son that ſurvived him (2). *Eleanor* his eldeſt Daughter was contracted to *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*; but that Prince dying before Conſummation, ſhe was given to *Henry* Duke of *Bar*. *Joanna*, ſirnamed of *Acres*, the Place of her Nativity, was betrothed to *Hartman*, Son of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, but the Death of the young Prince preventing their Union, ſhe married *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, and after his Death, *Ralph de Monthermer* (3). *Margaret* was Wife of *John* Duke of *Brabant*: *Elizabeth* of *John* Earl of *Holland*, and afterwards of *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* (4). *Berenguella*, *Alice*, *Blanche*, and *Beatrix*, died young, or unmarried. 1307.

By his ſecond Wife.

Edward had two Sons and one Daughter by *Margaret* of *France* his ſecond Wife, whom he married in the ſixtieth Year of his Age, though ſhe was but eighteen Years old. *Thomas* [*de Brotherton*] (5) the eldeſt, was Earl of *Norfolk*, and Marſhal of *England*. *Edmund* bore the Title of Earl of *Kent* (6) *Eleanor* the Daughter (7) was to marry *Otho* Earl of *Burgundy*, but ſhe died in her Childhood.

Series of Parliaments ſince his Reign. Stat. de Tallagio non conc.

We have an uninterrupted Series of all the Parliaments held in *England*, from the 22d Year of this Reign (8). The Conſtitution of theſe Aſſemblies, ſuch as it is at this Day, was ſo well ſettled in this ſame Reign, that there was an additional Law made to the Great Charter, whereby it was enacted, That no Tax ſhould be levied upon the People without the Conſent of the Commons (9).

The Title of Baron limited.

It may be further obſerved, that in this Reign the Title of *Baron*, which was common to all that held Lands of the Crown, was confined to thoſe whom the King ſummoned to Parliament.

(1) Queen *Eleanor* died, as is related above, p. 381. Note (2), the 28th of *November* 1291, at *Richard de Weſton's* Houſe at *Hardeby*. At the Places where her Body reſted, were erected to her memory goodly Croſſes, namely, at *Lincoln*, *Grantham*, *Stanford*, *Geddington*, *Northampton*, *Stony-Stratford*, *Dunſtable*, *St. Albans*, *Waltham*, and *Charing*. Her Bowels were buried in the Cathedral at *Lincoln*, where the King erected a *Cenotaph* for her, on which is placed her Figure of gilt Copper, with an Inſcription. Her Body lies in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, at the Feet of *Henry* III, under a Tomb of gray Marble, having on the North Side the Arms of *England* and *Leon* and *Ponthieu*, with her Figure as large as the Life. It is obſervable, that Queen *Eleanor* bore quarterly, *Gules, a Caſtle Or*: And *Argent, a Lion rampant Purple*, which were the Arms of *Ferdinand* III, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon* her Father, and quartered by him, and were the firſt two Coats that were born quarterly in one Shield, which our King *Edward* III. next imitated, when he quartered *France* and *England*. Theſe Arms, with thoſe of *Ponthieu*, viz. *Or, three Bentlets Azure, within a Border, Gules*, are carved in Stone in ſeveral Places on the Croſs erected to her Memory near *Northampton*. *Sandford's Geneal.* p. 129.

(2) *John*, *Henry*, and *Alphonſus*, died young. See above, p. 361.

(3) He was a Servant of her firſt Huſband. The Marriage being done, (in 1296,) without the Knowledge of her Father, this *Ralph* was committed to Priſon, and all thoſe Lands and Caſtles formerly made over to Earl *Gilbert*, and Counteſs *Joanna*, ſeized into the King's Hands. But by the Mediation of *Anthony Bec* Biſhop of *Durham*, Peace was made betwixt the King and his Daughter, and her new Huſband, and his Lands reſtored. Not long after *Ralph* was ſummoned to Parliament by the Title of Earl of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, which he enjoyed till his Son-in-law, *Gilbert de Clare*, came of Age. Afterwards in all Parliaments he was ſummoned as Lord *Monthermer*. By the ſaid *Joanna* he had two Sons, *Thomas* and *Edward*. Sir *Thomas de Monthermer* had an only Daughter *Margaret*, Wife of *John Montague*, by whom ſhe had *John Montague* Earl of *Saliſbury*, from whom the preſent Duke of *Montague*, the Earls of *Mancheſter* and *Sandwich*, and the Baron of *Halifax* derive their Original. *Sandford's Geneal.* p. 142.

(4) *Mary* was a Nun at *Ambresbury*. See above, p. 361. Note (12) and *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. in ſeveral Places.

(5) A ſmall Village in *Yorkſhire*, where he was born *June* 1. 1300. *Walſingh.* p. 78. *Sandford.*

(6) He was born at *Woodſtock*, *Auguſt* 5. 1301. *M. Weſt.* p. 434.

(7) Born at *Wincheſter*, *May* 6, 1306. *Id.* p. 454.

(8) See *Notitia Parliamentaria* by *Brown Willis* Eſq; and Mr. *Prynn's Brevia Parliamentaria.*

(9) See above, p. 379. Note (5), and *Coke's* 2d Inſtitute, p. 532.

The Reader is to obſerve, that the Hiſtory of the Royal Revenue in the foregoing Coin-Notes, is all Matter of Fact, taken from the Revenue-Rolls and other Records, and confirmed by numberleſs Inſtances by Mr. *Madox*, in his *Hiſtory of the Exchequer*. Theſe Rolls (which are kept in the *Pipe-Office*, and called the *Great Rolls*,) of all the Records in the Exchequer, juſtly challenge the Pre-eminence, not being inferior even to *Domes-day* itſelf. From the very firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Exchequer, it was uſual every Year to make a *Great Roll*, containing an exact Account of all the foregoing branches of the Royal Revenue, as ariſing in each County. The *Great Rolls* of moſt of the Years of *Henry* II, *Richard* I, and *John*, are in being, and as appears by *Madox*, might be of admirable uſe to the *Engliſh* Hiſtorian and Antiquary. The moſt Antient of theſe Records is the *Great Roll*, (commonly ſaid to be) of the fifth Year of King *Stephen*. A famous Monument of Antiquity, (ſays *Madox*,) whether we conſider the Hand-writing, or the Contents. This *Great Roll* (or rather Bundle) conſiſts of ſixteen large Rolls, writ on both Sides, of about four foot long, (one with another, for they are not of an equal Length) and a foot broad. This *Great Roll*, Mr. *Madox* proves to belong to ſome Year of *Henry* I, *Pryn* ſays expreſly the Eighteenth. In order to ſee the Nature of theſe Rolls in general, I ſhall add here a few Inſtances, relating to the ſeveral Branches of the Royal Revenue. N. B. r. c. ſignifies *reddit compotum* (*i. e.* accounts for). W. de Mandevill comes Eſſexæ debet C l, pro Relevio ſuo. *M. Rot.* 2 *Hen.* III. *Rot.* 7. Petrus de Brus r c de c l pro relevio ſuo de Baronia quæ fuit Patris ſui. In th. l. et Q. e. (that is, *In theſauro liberavit et quietus eſt*) *Mag. Rot.* 6 *Hen.* III. *Rot.* 11. Odo de Dammartin r c de D marcis pro habenda Cuſtodia filii et terræ Hugonis Pincernæ: In theſauro c c marcas et debet c c c Marcas. *Mag. Rot.* 28 *Hen.* II. Ricardus Baſſet et Albericus de Ver r c de Firmo de Sudreia, et de Grentebrugeſcira et de Huntedoneſcira: In theſauro c c c c & x l i i i *l.* & x i i *d.* ad Penſum. *M. Rot.* 5 *Steph. Rot.* 4. Hamo de ſancto Claro r c de Firma Civitatis Coleceſtræ. In theſauro x x x v i i i *l* & x i v *s.* & i i *d.* et debet x x i i i *s.* and x *d.* Bl. *M. Rot.* 5 *Steph. Rot.* 14. Burgenſes de Carliolo r c de x Marcis pro Libertatibus ſuis habendis. *M. Rot.* 5 *Richb.* I. *Rot.* 5. Felicia de Winterburn debet tertiam partem de perquiſito de x v Marcis pro juſticiando Willielmo de Winterburn quod reddat ei x v Marcas. *M. Rot.* 10 *Joh. Rot.* Walterus de Canceio r c de x v *l.* ut ducat ad velle ſuum. *M. Rot.* 5 *Steph. Rot.* 3. Lucia Comitiſſa Ceſtriæ debet D Marcas, ne capiat Virum infra v annos. *ibid. Rot.* 12. Uxor Hugonis de Nevill dat Domino Regi ducentas gallinas, ecquod poſſit jacere una nocte cum Domino ſuo Hugone de Nevill. *Rot. Fin.* 6 *Joh. M.* 8. *d.* Adam de Tindal debet x Marcas pro habenda Seiſina Boſi de Langel, qui appellatur Wiveteleia cum pertinentiis. *Mag. Rot.* 10 *J. Rot.* 7. *Northumb.* Yvo vir Emmæ debet l x *s.* quia retraxit ſe de Duello ſuo die quo debuit pugnare. *M. Rot.* 31 *Hen.* II. *Rot.* 5.

I ſhall proceed now to ſhow the State of the Exchequer, from the End of the Reign of King *John*, to the End of the Reign of King *Edward* II. called by Mr. *Madox* the *ſecond Period*; as from *William the Conqueror*, to King *John's* ſigning the *Magna Charta*, is by him, called the *firſt Period*. It may be obſerved, that at the beginning of this ſecond Period, and for ſome time afterwards, the Exchequer continued in much the ſame State it was in during the firſt; bating the Change made by the Separation of *Common Pleas*, from the *King's Court*, and it, (mentioned in a Note, *p.* 287.) It was as before, a great and ſolemn Court, frequented by the King's great Officers, and guided for the moſt part by the antient Rules, Aſſizes and Cuſtoms. But before the end of *Henry* III's Reign, it fell in great meaſure from its antient Grandeur, and from thenceforward, continued in a State of Declenſion; inſomuch that about the End of the ſecond Period, it was in many Reſpects different from what it had been in former Ages. This will appear, by comparing the State of the Exchequer, during the firſt Period, with the State of it, during the latter Part of the Second. In the King's Exchequer there ſtill remained the Diſtinction of the two notable Terms of the Year, called the *Duo Scaccaria*, (See Coin-Note, p. 199.) Beſides the principal Exchequer, there were ſeveral inferior Receipts or Treaſuries, that were called by that Name. There were Exchequers at *Durham*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, *Berwick*, and *Caernarvon*, at which laſt, the King had his Chamberlain, and Treaſurer; and the Writ of *Summonce* was there uſed for levying the King's Debts, ariſing in thoſe Parts. The principal Exchequer, when mentioned with any of theſe, was diſtinguiſhed by *Scaccarium de Londonia*, *Weſtmonaſterii*, and with reference to the Exchequer of the *Jews*, *Magnum Scaccarium*. The principal times of Seſſion were the two Terms of *Eaſter*, and St. *Michael*. At which times the Proceſs that iſſued *pro rege* was returnable, and many Acts became neceſſary to be done there, in Conſequence thereof. The Exchequer was alſo holden during the other two Law-Terms of St. *Hilary*, and of the *Trinity*. But it ſeemeth, that the Treaſurer and Barons ſometimes ſat, if there was occaſion, at other times not compriſed within the four Terms, and ſometimes on Sundays. The Day of the *Liberate* was counted the Time of their riſing. In the Archive of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*, there is a Manuſcript Calendar for the uſe of the *Auditores Compotorum*, and others, reſiding at the Exchequer. It is in a Hand of about the Time of *Ed.* II. or III. Though the Exchequer was generally held at *Weſtminſter*, during this ſecond Period, yet it was ſometimes by the King's ſpecial Command held elſewhere. As in the firſt, ſo alſo in the ſecond Period, the King, if he pleaſed, ſat and acted in Perſon at the Exchequer, King *Henry* III. did ſo frequently. From the moſt antient Times, the Perſons employed at the King's Exchequer, enjoyed ſeveral Privileges. The Records of the firſt Period, relating to this Subject, are not ſo clear and full as thoſe of the Second. Theſe Records mention the Privilege of impleading, and being impleaded in the Exchequer only: Freedom from Toll, for things bought for their own Uſe: Freedom from Suit to County-Courts, Hundred-Courts, *&c.* and other Privileges. It is alſo to be underſtood, that ſeveral of the Reſidents at the Exchequer had Privileges for their Clerks and Men. There was alſo a ſort of Privilege allowed to Perſons, who were Suitors or Accomptants at the Exchequer; namely, if they were to appear in any inferior Court or Place, upon a certain Day, in caſe they were that Day attending at the Exchequer, they were not to be put in default Below. The Exchequer was a Court greatly concerned in the Conſervation of the Prerogatives, as well as the Revenue of the Crown. It was the care of the Treaſurer, and Barons, and the King's Council at the Exchequer, to ſee that the Rights of the Crown were not invaded by ſuch as claimed Liberties or Exemptions; and to allow, or diſallow, of ſuch Liberties as Reaſon and Juſtice ſhould require. It is true, this had ſome relation to the regal Revenue, inaſmuch as Men were wont to be puniſhed by Amercements, Seiſures, Fines, for undue Uſurpations of Liberties, and were obliged or induced to fine for Confirmation or Improvement of their Liberties, if they deſired the ſame. However, many Affairs of this Nature were wont to be examined and regulated at the Exchequer, and therein great care was taken to preſerve the Rights of the Crown inviolate. Upon this ground, probably, it became the uſual Method for Charters of Liberties to be read and inrolled at the Exchequer. So that commonly, when the King granted or confirmed Liberties by his Letters Patent, a cloſe Writ directed to the Treaſurer and Barons, was wont to iſſue, reciting the Subſtance of ſuch Grant or Confirmation, and commanding the Barons to allow thereof. In a word, the Authority and Dignity of the Court of Exchequer was eſteemed ſo great, that the Acts thereof were not to be examined or controlled in any other of the King's ordinary Courts of Juſtice. The Exchequer was a great Repoſitory of the King's Records. Thither the Records of the Court holden before the King, of the Court of Common Bench, and of the Juſtices in *Eyre* were brought, to be laid up in the Treaſury; where they ſtill remain, under the Cuſtody of the Treaſurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer. Secondly, of the Perſons that ſat and acted in the Exchequer, during this ſecond Period. The King's chief Juſticiary continued at firſt to preſide and act as he had before uſed to do. Afterwards, when he ceaſed to preſide there, the Power of the Treaſurer increaſed. Then, the Affairs were guided by the Treaſurer and Barons of the Exchequer. To them may be added the King's Council, whom we often find acting both in the ſuperior Court, and in the Exchequer; and that Men were ſometimes ſummoned to appear before the King's Council there, on ſet Days. The next Perſon was the Treaſurer. King *Henry* III. by his Charter, granted his Treaſury of his Exchequer of *England*, to *Walter Mauclerc*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, to hold during Life. Some Perſons have been inclined to think, the Office of *the King's Treaſurer*, (or as we now call it, *Treaſurer of England*,) and that of *Treaſurer of the Exchequer*, were two diſtinct Offices. But in numberleſs Inſtances, the Treaſurers during the Reigns of *Henry* III, *Edward* I, and II. are ſtiled ſometimes the *King's Treaſurer*, and ſometimes

EDWARDVS PRIMVS SCOTORVM MALLEVS HIC EST : 1308 PACTVM SERVA

Upon a Tablet this Epitaph [illegible] is in Latin and English.

Mors est morsu nimis, magnus qui jungit in imis.
Maxima mors minimis, conjungens ultima primis.
Nullus in orbe fuit homo vivens, nec valet esse.
Qui non morte ruit; est hinc exire necesse.
Nobilis et fortis, tibi tu confidere noli.
Omnia sunt mortis, sibi subdit singula soli.
Me mundi medio magnum mors impia movit.
Anglia pre tedio satis amris plangere novit;
Terruit EDWARDUS vario venerandus honore.
Rex nuper ut Nardus fragrans virtutis odore
Cede leopardus, invictus et oblique pavore,
Ad rivum tardus, discretus et ewbaris ore,
Viribus armorum quasi gigas ardua gessit,
Colla superborum prudens per prelia pressit,
Inter Flandrenses fortuna sibi bene lavit,
Alt quoque Wallenses & Scotos suppeditavit
Rex bonus absque pari strenue sua regna regebat
Quod natura dare potuit bonitatis habebat,
Actio justitie, per regni, sanctio legis,
Et fuga nequitie premunt precordia Regis:
Gloria tota ruit, Regem capit hec modo fossa:
Rex quandoque fuit, nunc nil nisi pulvis & ossa,
Filius ipse Dei quem corde colebat et ore,
Gaudia freit ei, nullo permista dolore,

Dum virit Rex & valuit sua magna potestas,
Fraus latuit, par magna fuit, regnavit honestas.

Death is too doleful which doth join
The highest Estate full low;
Which completh greatest Things with least,
And last with first also.
No Man hath been in World alive,
Nor any may there be,
Which can escape the Dint of Death.
Needs hence depart must We.
O Noble and Victorious Man,
Trust not unto thy Strength.
For all are subject unto Death,
And all must hence at length.
Most cruel Fate from Worldly Stage
Hath wrest a worthy Wight
For whom all *England* mourned loud
To see his doleful Plight.
Edward is dead, which was adorn'd
With divers Graces here.
A King, of fragrant Nardus Height,
A gracious Princely Peer.
In Heart the which was *Leopard* like,
Right puissant, void of Fear.
Most slow to bride, discreet and wise,
And gracious every where.
In Arms a Giant fierce and fell
Attempting famous Facts,
Most prudent, did subdue the Proud,
By Feat of Martial Acts:
In *Flanders* Fortune gave to him
By Lot right good Success.
In *Wales* he was the *Scottish* Rout
With Arms he did suppress.
This King without his like alive
Did firmly guide his Land.
And what good Nature could conceive
He had it plight at Hand.
He was in Justice, and in Peace,
Excelling: Laws took place,
Desire to Evils all Wicked Works
Did hold this King's good Grace.
He now doth lie intombed here,
Which forthered each good Thing.
Now nought he is but Dust and Bones,
Which was a worthy King.
The very Son of God, whom erst
This King did love right dear,
Hath given to him Immortal Bliss,
For his good living here.
Whilst liv'd this King, by him all Things
Were in mad goodly Plight:
Fraud lay hid, great Peace was kept,
And Honesty had Might.

THE MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. OF K. EDWARD I.

G. Vertue Sc.

Treaſurer of the Exchequer. It does not appear, what Appointment the Treaſurer in the moſt antient Times received of the King. In the Reign of *Henry* III. the yearly Salary was c Marks. The ſame Salary was paid to *John* Biſhop of *Ely*, Treaſurer 25 *Ed.* I. But at that time, the King uſed to make other Proviſion for the Treaſurers by ſome beneficial Grant, or Eccleſiaſtical Preferment; and ſo likewiſe for the Chancellors, and other Officers, who were Eccleſiaſtical Perſons. Sometimes there was at the Exchequer an Officer, called *the Treaſurer's Lieutenant.* He acted in the Treaſurer's Abſence, or if no Treaſurer, executed the Treaſurer's Office, and was in effect the Treaſurer's Deputy, or Vice-Treaſurer; *Locum tenent*, ſignifying a Deputy, or a Perſon that acts in another's ſtead. There were Lieutenants to ſeveral other Officers, as to the King's Chancellor, Earl Marſhal, Sheriffs, *&c.* After the Treaſurer, came the Chancellor, who ſeems to have been appointed to be a check upon the Treaſurer. He took an Oath upon entring into his Office to this effect: "That he would well and truly ſerve the King, in his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: That he would well and truly "do, what appertained to his Office: That he would diſpatch the King's Buſineſs before all other: And that he would ſeal with the Exchequer Seal, no "judicial Writ of any other Court, beſides the Exchequer; whilſt the Chancery, (or Chancellor) was within twenty Miles of the Place where the Ex-"chequer was holden." *Lib. Rub. Scac.* p. 14. The reſt of the Perſons that ſat in the Exchequer, were the Barons, who were appointed by the King in the following manner: "Rex omnibus ad quos, *&c.* Sciatis nos conceſſiſſe dilecto et fideli noſtro Magiſtro Alexandro de Swereford Theſau-"rario Sancti Pauli Londoniæ, Quadraginta Marcas ſingulis annis percipiendas ad Scaccarium noſtrum ad ſe ſuſtentandum in ſervitio noſtro ad Scaccarium "ubi reſidet per præceptum noſtrum, donec ei aliter providerimus. In cujus rei Teſtimonium, *&c.* Teſte Rege apud *Weſtm.* 21° *die Octobris.*" *Pat.* 18 *Hen.* III. *M.* 2. Again, "Rex mandat Baronibus de Scaccario ſuo quod conſtituit dilectum et fidelem ſuum Johannem de *Cobeham*, Baronem ſuum "ejuſdem Scaccarii; ita quod officium Baronis ibidem exerceat quamdiu ſibi placuerit: Et ideo mandat eiſdem, quod ipſum Johannem in Baronem ejuſdem "Scaccarii ad hoc admittant in forma prædicta. T. Meipſo apud *Weſtm.* 8 *die Junii*, anno regni quarto." *Trin. Com.* 4 *Ed.* I. *Rot.* 8. *b.* The next Coin-Note, (which concludes this Subject) will treat of, 1. The Buſineſs. 2. The Accompts. 3. The Officers, of the Exchequer, during the ſecond Period.

E1.

E1.

Edward I. is ſuppoſed to be the firſt of our Kings that perfectly fixed the Standard of our Coin. In the third Year of his Reign, ſays an old Leiger Book of the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury*, the Matter was thus ordered by *Gregory Rockley*, then Mayor of *London*, and Mint-Maſter: That in a Pound of Money there ſhould be eleven Ounces two-pence farthing, pure leaf Silver, and only ſeventeen-pence half-penny farthing Allay; and this Pound was to weigh twenty Shillings and three Pence in account, each Ounce, twenty Pence, and every Penny, twenty four Grains and a half. In 28 *Edw.* I. an indented Tryal-piece of the goodneſs of *Old Sterling*, was lodged in the Exchequer, and every Pound weight *Troy* of ſuch Silver was to be ſhorn at twenty Shillings three Pence, according to which the Value of the Silver in the Coin was one Shilling eight Pence farthing an Ounce. This King ſent for foreign Mint-Maſters, (namely, *William de Furnemire* and others from *Marſeilles*, and one *Freſcobald*, and his Companions from *Florence*,) in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, to inform him of the manner of making and forging Money, which is ſaid to be thus: Firſt, the Silver was caſt from the Melting-pot into long Barrs; thoſe Barrs were cut with Sheers into ſquare Pieces of exact Weights; then with the Tongs and Hammer they were forged into a round Shape, after which they were blanched or made white by boiling, and afterwards ſtamped with a Hammer to make them perfect Money. For the coining this Money, (as it is reported in the Additions to the *Red Book* of the *Exchequer*, which are not of equal Credit with the Book itſelf) the Mint-Maſters had thirty Furnaces at *London*, eight at *Canterbury*, (beſides three the Archbiſhop had there) twelve at *Briſtol*, twelve at *York*, and more in other great Towns, in all which Places the ſame hammered Money of Silver, ſupplied by the King's Changers, who according to certain Rates preſcribed them, took in the clipped, rounded, and counterfeited Moneys to be recoined, and bought Gold and Silver of the Merchants to be fabricated into new Monies; at the ſame time it was ordained, "Quod proclametur per totum Regnum quod nulla fiat tonſura de nova Moneta ſub "periculo Vitæ et membrorum, et amiſſionis omnium Terrarum et Tenementorum, *&c.*" And this hammered Money continued through all the Reigns of ſucceeding Kings and Queens, till about the Year 1663. There are no Indentures with the Mint-Maſters, by which one can certainly judge of the Proportion of the Fineneſs and Allay, to be obſerved in the fabrication of the Moneys till the Reign of *Edward* III, as will be ſeen hereafter. The ſize of the Coin was not, probably, altered by *Edward* I, the Penny being ſuppoſed to have been the only current Money of *England*. This Prince was the firſt that uſed *Dominus Hiberniæ* conſtantly upon his Money, which was never wanting in his, nor in *Edward* II's, nor in *Edward* III's Coins, but was afterwards left out, nor is there any more mention of *Ireland* upon the Silver Money till *Henry* VIII. He likewiſe left out the Scepter, which appears no more upon the ſmall Money till *Henry* VIII, nor upon the large till Queen *Elizabeth*'s Crown and half Crown, and the Name of the Mint-Maſter on the Reverſe, inſtead of which he put the Place of Mintage. He was likewiſe the firſt that forbid the uſe of broken Money. But it is difficult to diſtinguiſh the Money of this King from *Edward* II, becauſe the Face, Style, Weight and Reverſe, are alike. But a learned Antiquary, (the Archbiſhop of *York*) aſcribes thoſe with the three firſt Letters, E D W. to *Edward* I, becauſe of the Plenty thereof, for *Edward* I, is known to have coined much more Money than his Son, and alſo from the Mintage at *Dublin*, ſet up by this *Edward*, which has always EDW. From whence it is to be concluded, that all belong to him that have this Inſcription: E D W. R. A N G. D N S. H Y B. The King Full-faced, and crowned with an open Crown of three Fleurs-de-lis, with two Rays, or leſſer Flowers, not raiſed ſo high; the Croſs compoſed of a ſingle Line, pretty broad, and continued to the outer Rim; three Pellets in each Quarter, circumſcribed with the place of Coinage, *viz. London*, *Canterbury*, (See Fig. 1.) V I L L A. K I N G E S T O N, *Durham*, *Newcaſtle*, *Berwick*, *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, *Briſtol*, V I L L A. S C I. E D M U N D I. Likewiſe his *Iriſh* Money, the Head in a Triangle, C I V I T A S. D U B L I N I E. (See Fig. 2.) Alſo *Waterford* and *Cork*, which ſhows there was more than one Mint in *Ireland*. He is reported, (but ſays *Nicolſon*, falſely,) to have ordered the minting of *Groats*. *J. Speed* pretends to give a Cutt of one, but he is ſuppoſed to be miſtaken. The moſt remarkable Corruptions of the Coin are found in antient Records to be in this Reign, when there was imported a ſort of light Money, with a Mitre, another with a Lion, a third of Copper blanched, to reſemble the Money of *England*, a fourth like that of King *Edward*, a fifth plated, known by the Names of *Crocards*, *Pollards*, *Staldings*, *Eagles*, *Leonines*, and *Steepings*. And the Merchants to avoid the Search at *Dover* and *Sandwich*, concealed the Parcels in Bails of Cloth, and brought them in by other Ports. *Les queux Choſes ſi elles fuiſſent long tems ſoefferts*, (ſays the *Red-Book*,) *elles mettereyent la Monye d' Anglitere a rienk.* And the chiefeſt Remedies then applied were: 1. To cry down all Money that was not of *England*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*. 2. That ſuch as arrived from beyond Seas, ſhould ſhow the Money they brought with them to the King's Officers. 3. And not to hide it in Fardels, upon pain of Forfeiture. 4. That the light and clipt Money, might be bored through without Contradiction. 5. And that the ſame ſhould be received and paid by Weight, at a certain Rate, and that the Perſons having ſuch Money, ſhould bring it to the King's Changers, who as well as the Maſters of the Mint, had ſeveral Offices erected in divers parts of the Kingdom, whoſe principal Buſineſs was to buy in the Silver of the bad Money, *que les Pollards et Crockards et les autres mauvaiſes moneis contrefaits ſeront abatues.* And there was a Writ, then directed to the Sheriffs, to prohibit the Importation of clipt or counterfeit Moneys, and the uſe thereof in Merchandizing or Negotiating, under ſevere Penalties, and commanding thoſe that had ſuch Money to bore it thorough, and to bring it to the King's Change to be new coined.

10. *EDWARD* II. *Sirnamed of* CAERNARVON.

1307. *State of England.*

THE Reign of *Edward* I. had been a glorious and triumphant Reign for *England*. The Principality of *Wales* was united to the Crown. *Scotland*, thrice ſubdued, was upon the Point of being conquered a fourth time, the *Engliſh* Army having now entered the Frontiers. There were no more Factions in the Kingdom. Diſcord was baniſhed, and a good Harmony was happily eſtabliſhed between the Sovereign and the People. All this ſeemed to make ample amends for the Loſſes ſuſtained by the Crown beyond Sea, in the Reigns of *John* and *Henry* III, not ſo much by the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh* as the Puſillanmity of thoſe two Princes. *Edward of Caernarvon*'s Age, who, when he mounted the Throne, was in his twenty third Year, his noble Stature, good Mien, majeſtick Preſence, joined to the Advantage of being born of a Father ſo univerſally eſteemed, gave the *Engliſh* freſh Hopes. As never did Prince come to the Crown in more favourable Circumſtances, ſo never was Prince received with a more general Joy and greater Applauſe. It even ſeemed, that the extraordinary Satisfaction ſhown by the People on this occaſion, was ſomewhat injurious to the Glory of the deceaſed King (1).

The Engliſh *prepoſſeſſed in Favour of* Edward II.

Edward *recalls* Gaveſton, *and loads him with Favours.* Act. Pub. III. p. 1. Walſing.

This Prince's firſt Step, a few days after the Death of his Father, blaſted all theſe agreeable Hopes, and turned the Nation's Joy into mourning. He had not yet done the laſt Offices to the great Prince to whom he owed his Birth, when forgetting his Oath concerning *Gaveſton*, he recalled that Favourite. He did not ſo much as ſtay for his Return, to make him in an inſtant the richeſt Man in the Kingdom. In the very beginning of his Reign (2) he created him Earl of *Cornwal*, and gave him the Lands fallen to the Crown by the Death of the late Earl, Son of *Richard* King of the *Romans* (3). His Impatience to load with Favors a Man who had been juſt driven from him, as the Corrupter of his Youth, plainly diſcovered to what height his Paſſion was grown, and how much the Conſequences were to be feared. But this was not all the Effect it produced. The *Engliſh* began to have a diſadvantagious Idea of their new King, and at the ſame time to think of means to curb the impetuous Heat of a Prince, who gave ſo juſt occaſion of Fear. For, not content with beginning his Reign with the Breach of his late Oath to the King his Father, in recalling a Favorite deſpiſed by all the World, he had loaded him with Benefits, and immediately after his Return preſented him with *the Iſle of Man*. But this was not the only or chief Cauſe of the Diſcontent of the *Engliſh* Lords. They could not ſee, without extreme Grief, ſuch a one as *Gaveſton* diſpoſe at pleaſure of all the Offices of the Kingdom, and become abſolute Maſter of the Adminiſtration of Affairs, which the King wholly left to his Management. It ſeemed that *Edward* deſired to be King, only to have it in his Power to ſhower down his Favours on *Gaveſton*. Wholly intent upon pleaſing him, as a Lover his Miſtreſs, he concerned himſelf with nothing, but to deviſe every day new Ways to procure him Satisfaction. In ſhort, giving himſelf up intirely to his Guidance, he let him act as King, whilſt himſelf gloried in being his Subject or Slave. A more exceſſive Paſſion was never known. Accordingly People ſcrupled not to ſay publickly, the King was bewitched.

Deſcription and Character of Gaveſton. J. Trokelow. Walſing. Knighton, Sir Thomas de la Moor.

If a Woman had been thus enamoured of *Gaveſton*, it would not have been thought very ſtrange, ſince he wanted no Qualification to recommend him to the Favour of the Fair Sex. He had a beautiful Face without any defect. His Shape fine and eaſy, his Air noble and grand, in all the Exerciſes of the Body he was diſtinguiſhed for his extraordinary Addreſs. One could not help admiring his Wit, and thoſe ſharp and quick Repartees, peculiar to the *Gaſcons*, among whom he was born. To all this ſome add an uncommon Valour. If he had been leſs beloved by the King, he would have made a more laſting, though not ſo conſiderable, a fortune; But the Affection of his Prince inſpired him with a Pride which proved his Deſtruction. He would govern the State with an abſolute Sway, without ſharing his Power with any Perſon whatever; hardly vouchſafing ſo much as to uſe the King's Name. His external Accompliſhments, which ſhone with great Luſtre, rendered him ſo proud and inſolent, that he thought himſelf above all the Great Men, though by his Vices and Debaucheries he degraded himſelf below the very meaneſt. The chief means he uſed to gain *Edward*'s Affection, was a blind Condeſcenſion to his Deſires, without examining whether they were virtuous or vicious. When once he came to have an abſolute Influence over him, his only Care was to indulge him in his Pleaſures, to which that Prince was too much addicted. What then could be expected from the ſtrict Union of two ſuch Perſons, but a ſcandalous Licentiouſneſs at Court, and an entire Decay of the publick Affairs? An unexperienced and mean-ſpirited Miniſter, who minded nothing but Trifles, Diverſions, Balls, Banquets, and ſome ſtill leſs innocent Pleaſures, was little capable of governing ſo large a Kingdom. It was not long before the Nation experienced the fatal Effects of ſo ill a Choice. 1307.

The Biſhop of Lichfield impriſoned. Act. Pub. III. p. 11. Walſing.

Gaveſton's Return was immediately followed by the Diſgrace of *Langton* Biſhop of *Lichfield* (4) and High-Treaſurer. *Edward* hated that Prelate mortally, for having been the principal Promoter of *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment. As ſoon as he came to the Crown, he confined him in *Wallingford* Caſtle, and would not ſuffer any Perſon to ſpeak in his Favour. It was not but upon the preſſing Inſtances or rather Threats of the Pope, that he ſet him at Liberty again after a long Confinement. To this Violence he added the Removal of all his Father's Officers and Domeſticks, without vouchſafing to adviſe with his Council (5).

1308. *The King's Marriage.* Act. Pub. III. p. 56. Walſing.

The beginnings of this Reign being very unpromiſing, the chief Lords thought betimes of means to ſtop the Impetuoſity of their Prince, and curb his capricious Temper. But theſe thoughts were interrupted by the Celebration of his Nuptials. The King his Father had contracted him to *Iſabella of France*, Daughter of *Philip the Fair*, and had ſtrongly charged him, when dying, to conſummate the Marriage as ſoon as poſſible. This was the only thing wherein he made haſte to obey him. Neglecting therefore the War with *Scotland*, which was no leſs neceſſary, he repaired to *Boulogne*, where the King of *France* ſtayed for him, to deliver his Daughter into his hands. Never was Wedding more magnificent. There were preſent four Kings and four Queens, beſides a great Number of Princes and Princeſſes, Lords and Ladies, who made the moſt numerous Aſſembly of Nobles that had been ſeen a great while (6).

Gaveſton *made Guardian in the King's Abſence.* Act. Pub. III. p. 47, 53. Walſing. p. 96.

Though *Edward*'s Voyage was very ſhort, it failed not to produce ill Effects. Upon leaving *England*, he was ſo weak as to appoint his Favorite Guardian of the Realm, with power to diſpoſe of all vacant Places and Beneſices,

(1) The new King on the firſt of *Auguſt* began his March towards *Scotland*, having ſummoned the Nobility of that Kingdom to meet him at *Dunfreis*, and do their Homage, which ſeveral of them did. Whereupon *Edward* being contented with theſe outward formal Submiſſions, appointed *Aymeric de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Guardian of *Scotland*, and went back into *England*. *Chron. de Lanerc.* *An. St. Aug.* *Rymer*, Tom. III. p. 7.

(2) The Patent or Order for creating him Earl of *Cornwal*, bears date *Auguſt* 6, at *Dunfreis*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 4.

(3) And the Wardſhip of the Perſon and Eſtate of *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*. How advantagious the Wardſhip of ſuch a Perſon and Eſtate was in theſe Days, may be gathered from *Simon de Montfort* fining in ten thouſand Marks to have the Cuſtody of the Lands and Heir of *Gilbert de Unfranville* in 31 of *Henry* II. *Rot.* 7.

(4) See above, p. 383. Note 16.

(5) *October* 13. the King held a Parliament at *Northampton*; wherein the Clergy, together with the Citizens and Burgeſſes, granted him a Fifteenth, and the Laity a twentieth part of their Moveables. *Rot. Clauſ.* 1 *Ed.* II. *M.* 11. *Chron. Lanerc.* *Walſing.* p. 96.

(6) The Marriage was celebrated *Jan.* 25. There were preſent the Kings of *France*, *Navarre*, *Almain*, and *Sicily*, with the Queens *Mary* of *France*, *Margaret* Dowager of *England*, and the Queen of *Navarre*. *Iſabella* was but between twelve and thirteen Years of Age. *Walſing.* p. 95, 96. *Ypodig.* p. 499.

Worſhips,

from the Tomb at Glocester.

Desig: et Sculp: G. Vertue

1308. Wardſhips of young Nobles, and in ſhort, to act in all things with an unlimited Authority (1). So many Favors added to the great Preſents he had made him before his Departure into *Guienne* his Country (2), rouzed the Jealouſy of the Barons. They carried their Reſentment ſo far, that they combined together to hinder the King's Coronation, the Day whereof was now fixed. *Edward* not being able to break ſo powerful a League, where almoſt all the Lords of the Realm were concerned, choſe to prevent the Conſequences by fair means. He gave his word to the Barons, that in the next Parliament he would grant whatever they could reaſonably deſire. This Promiſe ſatisfied them. But they were extremely troubled, to ſee *Gaveſton* commiſſioned to carry the Crown of St. *Edward*, with which the King was to be crowned; an Honour that, by antient Cuſtom, belonged to the Princes of the Blood. This Preference provoked the Lords to the laſt degree againſt the Favorite, and withal filled them with Indignation againſt the King, who ſeemed to glory in his Fondneſs for a Man odious to the whole Nation. The Coronation however was ſolemnized (3) without oppoſition; the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* performing this Ceremony, by Order of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was out of the Kingdom. The Form of the Coronation-Oath was as follows:

Barons league againſt the King.

Edward promiſes to ſatisfy them. Walſing. Act. Pub. III. p. 63.

Act. Pub. Ibid.

The Coronation-Oath.

Biſhop of Wincheſter. *Sir, Will you keep and confirm by your Oath to the People of* England, *the Laws eſtabliſhed by the pious Kings your Predeceſſors, and particularly, the Laws, Cuſtoms, Liberties, granted to the Clergy and People by the glorious St.* Edward *your Predeceſſor?*

King. *I will and promiſe it.*

Biſhop. *Sir, Will you preſerve to God, to Holy Church, to the Clergy and People, the Peace of God, fully and to the utmoſt of your power?*

King. *I will.*

Biſhop. *Sir, Will you cauſe to be obſerved in all your Judgments, Right and Juſtice with diſcretion, in Mercy, and in Truth, as far as you are able?*

King. *I will.*

Biſhop. *Sir, Will you promiſe to keep and cauſe to be kept the Laws and Statutes that the Community of your Kingdom ſhall judge fit to enact, and will you defend and protect them to the utmoſt of your Power?*

King. *I do promiſe it.*

As this is the firſt perfect Copy of a Coronation-Oath to be met with in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, it will not be foreign to the purpoſe, to take notice of the Advantage gained by the People upon the Royal Prerogatives, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of *Magna Charta*. It manifeſtly appears by this Oath, that, far from ſuppoſing the Great Charter to be the Original Title of the Privileges, granted by King *John* to the People of *England*, it was conſidered only as a Confirmation of the antient Liberties of the Nation. Upon this ſuppoſition, *Edward* II was made to ſwear, he would obſerve the Laws of St. *Edward*, which were no other than thoſe of the *Anglo-Saxons*; leſt by cauſing him to ſwear to keep the Great Charter, there might be room to imagine, the Privileges of the People were founded on the Conceſſions of the Kings. I do not know whether *Edward* I took the ſame Oath, or it was firſt introduced at the Coronation of *Edward* II.

The King forgets his Promiſe.

Gaveſton's *imprudent Conduct.* J. Trokel. w.

The Solemnity was no ſooner over, but *Edward* forgot his Promiſe to the Lords. He ſtill continued his Favour to *Gaveſton*, and left him, as before, abſolute maſter of his own and the Kingdom's Affairs. *Gaveſton* for his part, far from endeavouring to allay the impending Storm, affected to govern with an arbitrary Power, without vouchſafing to ask any Man's Advice. He uſed his Influence over his Maſter, to divert him from the thoughts of proſecuting the War with *Scotland*, which the King his Father had ſo earneſtly enjoined him, and whereof his Subjects impatiently waited the Iſſue, in order to be eaſed of the Burden. Inſtead of inſpiring the King with the Love of Glory and Virtue, he filled the Court with Libertines, Buffoons, and Paraſites, and the like pernicious Inſtruments, proper to corrupt his Inclinations, though they had been naturally as good as they were bad. To this he added the ridiculous Vanity of affecting to wear the King's Jewels, and the Crown itſelf, which *Edward* freely permitted. The King's Weakneſs grew to that height, that he was heard to ſay, if his Power was equal to his Affection, he would ſet the Crown on *Gaveſton*'s head. As that was not practicable, he would at leaſt raiſe him as near the Throne as poſſible, by giving him his Niece (4), Siſter of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, in Marriage.

1308.

Walſing.

Hatred of the Lords againſt Gaveſton.

Walſing.

Every freſh Favour granted to *Gaveſton* by the King, increaſed the Hatred of the Lords. Hardly would an *Engliſhman*, raiſed to ſo high a Station, have been endured, much leſs a private *Gaſcon* Gentleman, in whom they diſcovered no other Merit, than a handſome Face, an eaſy Shape, and a quick Wit, very agreeable in Converſation, but little proper to govern a State. They plainly ſaw, it was in vain to preſs the King to part with this Favorite, and that he would never conſent to their Requeſt, unleſs he was forced. In this belief, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with perſuading *Edward* by reaſons, which would have been ineffectual, they laboured to draw into their League (5), the Members of the Parliament which was to meet, and accordingly did meet in *May* 1308. By the management of the Lords, *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment became the chief, or rather the ſole Buſineſs of the Seſſion. The two Houſes being united in the ſame Deſign, demanded of the King, in ſo ſtrong and poſitive a manner, that *Gaveſton* ſhould be baniſhed, that he durſt not oppoſe it. He was afraid his Refuſal would deprive him of the Aids he expected, for the Continuation of the War with *Scotland*, and perhaps dreaded ſomething worſe. Therefore, without any fruitleſs Diſputes, he ordered Letters Patents (6) to be drawn up, promiſing to cauſe *Gaveſton* to depart the Realm before St. *John Baptiſt*'s day next enſuing. Mean time, inſtead of acting ſo as to give room to believe he deſigned to perform his Promiſe, he every day heaped new Favours on *Gaveſton*. Fifteen days after his Engagement, he made him a Grant of three thouſand Marks a year in Land (7). This Proceeding clearly ſhewing, he was by no means reſolved to part with his Favourite, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had entered into the Barons League, though he lay under great Obligations to the King, excommunicated *Gaveſton*, in caſe he did not leave the Realm by the time preſcribed him. *Edward* little regarding this Cenſure, only intreated the Pope to annul it. At the ſame time he wrote to the King of *France* his Brother-in-law, to deſire him to procure an Agreement between him and the Barons, and ſo to manage, as he might keep his Favourite (8).

The Parliament petition Gaveſton's *Baniſhment.*

The King promiſes it. Act. Pub. III. p. 80. Walſing.

He defers his Promiſes. Act. Pub. III. p. 90, 91.

p. 167.

p. 89.

Theſe meaſures were neither juſt nor early enough. The Lords finding the appointed time for *Gaveſton*'s Departure drew nigh, were ſo urgent with the King to oblige him to keep his Word, that he durſt not but do it. However, in performing his Promiſe, he found means to give his Favourite a freſh Mark of his Affection, by making him Governor of *Ireland*, with a very extenſive Authority. This Removal, however honorable it was, failed not to give ſome Satisfaction to the Lords, who hoped to take advantage of his Abſence to ruin him. But he himſelf was not at all pleaſed. Beſides, that this Change of *England* for *Ireland*, appeared to him very diſadvantagious, he was ſenſible his Abſence from Court could not but prove fatal to him. As he was abſolute maſter of the King, hardly was he arrived in *Ireland*, when he cauſed himſelf to be recalled, under pretence of aſſiſting at a Tournament to be held at *Wallingford*. The Magnificence wherewith he appeared on this occaſion, and the great Number of Foreigners that attended him, and ſerved him for Guards, greatly increaſed the Jealouſy of the Lords, who ſaw themſelves thus braved. To this kind of Inſult he added the Indiſcretion of paſſing bitter Jeſts on the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*,

Gaveſton *made Governor of* Ireland. p. 93. Knighton.

1309. *He is recalled,* Walſing.

and inſults the Lords. Walſing. p. 94.

(1) The King's Patent bears date *December* 26. at *Weſtminſter*. This Act ſhews the Error of moſt Hiſtorians, particularly, Sir *Thomas de la Moor*, Father *Orleans*, *Speed*, the Annotator upon *Daniel*'s Hiſtory, Dr. *Howel*, &c. who all ſay *Gaveſton* was with the King at the Celebration of his Nuptials. Whereas he was then in *England*, as appears from ſeveral Orders in the *Fœdera*, ſigned by him in the King's Abſence, with the Subſcription *Teſte Gaveſton*. Multitudes of ſuch Miſtakes are rectified in *Rapin* by means of the *Fœdera*.

(2) *Walter Hemingford* ſays, The King beſtowed upon him all the Money hoarded up by the late King, which amounted to a hundred thouſand Pounds. Beſides this, *Gaveſton* had the Confidence, through the King's Indulgence, to take the Treaſure and Jewels of the Crown, and ſend them beyond Sea for his own Uſe. See *Tyrrel*, p. 225. *Walſingham*, p. 94, 96.

(3) On *February* 24. *Walſingham*, p. 95. His Queen was crowned with him. *Ibid.* p. 96.

(4) *Margaret*. Upon this Marriage the King beſtowed upon him the Honours of *Tickel*, and *Berkhamſted*, the Caſtles and Manors of *Skipton*, in *Yorkſhire*; *High Peac*, *Derbyſhire*; *Cockermouth*, *Cumberland*; *Torpel* and *Upton*, *Northamptonſhire*; *Careſbrook*, in the *Iſle of Wight*, with divers other Lands. He alſo granted him Lands in *Guienne*, to the Value of three thouſand Marks a Year. *Tyrrel*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 49, 87.

(5) They met at *Ware*, and from thence went to *Northampton*, and iſſued out Summons to the reſt of the Barons to come thither to a Treaty or Council, concerning the great Affairs of the Kingdom. So that the King having no Forces to oppoſe them, was forced to ſummon a Parliament, to meet fifteen Days after. *Chron. St. Auguſt.*

(6) Dated *May* 18. at *Weſtminſter*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 80.

(7) The Grant is dated at *Langleye*, *Ibid.* p. 87.

(8) *Walſingham* ſays, *Gaveſton* went out of the Kingdom, and the King of *France* ordered him to be ſeized if he came into his Dominions; but he lurked about in *Flanders*, and returned to *England* before *Chriſtmaſs*, p. 98.

1309. *Warren*, and *Hereford*, which would have induced them to be revenged, even though they had no other reaſon to complain. He called the Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Stage-Player*; the Earl of *Pembroke*, [*Joſeph*] *the Jew*; the Earl of *Warwick*, *the wild Boar of Ardenne*; and in like manner, gave every one of his private Enemies Nick-names, to make them ridiculous, or diſcover their

1310. *Addreſs of the Lords.* Faults (1). The Lords ſeeing themſelves inſulted by the Favorite, and deceived by the King, met together to concert means to oblige *Edward* to keep his Word. Quickly after, they preſented a Petition to him (2), ſetting forth, that the State and his own Houſhold were ſo ill-managed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to find means to prevent the Conſequences of this Diſorder.

They propoſe hard Terms. Brady's Appendix. Nr. 50. Walſing. They added, the only proper Method, as they thought, was, for the King to leave to certain Lords appointed by the Parliament, the Care of making a Regulation for the well-governing the Kingdom and his own domeſtick Affairs (3). *Edward* had already ſhewn great Signs of Weakneſs, in his regard for their former Demands. He had thereby made them ſenſible, that if, for the future, they ſhewed any Reſolution, he would not have the Courage to reſiſt them. They were not miſtaken in their Conjectures. This Prince, as timorous on certain occaſions, as he was proud and haughty on others, was uncapable of diſcerning when he ſhould give way, and when ſtand his ground. Accordingly, he took preciſely the contrary to what he ſhould have done. Inſtead of complying with the Barons, when they firſt petitioned for *Gaveſton*'s Removal, he obſtinately perſiſted in retaining him againſt all the Rules of Policy. Afterwards, far from oppoſing to the utmoſt of his power, the Motion of placing the Government in other hands than his own, and inſtead of running all Hazards, rather than give his Conſent, he believed it expedient to yield to their Importunity. Without conſidering the conſequence of a Condeſcenſion ſo pernicious to his Authority and Quiet, he permitted the Parliament to chuſe ſeven Biſhops, eight Earls, and ſix Barons (4), to make the propoſed Regulation.

To which the King conſents. Act. Pub. III. p. 201, 204, 220.

The new Regulation of the Government. Act. Pub. III. p. 221. Brady's Appendix. No. 52. In conſequence of the King's Conſent, the Lords having finiſhed the Regulation, preſented the Plan to the King, who approved it, and gave them Power to cauſe it to be obſerved for one Year. It contained but ſix Articles, whereof the two principal were: *That the King ſhould not diſpoſe of any part of his Revenues; which ſhould for the future be expended in paying his Debts, and maintaining his Houſhold, that he might live on his own Income, without taking any thing from others: That the Great Charter ſhould be punctually kept; and in caſe any Article ſhould be obſcure or doubtful, it ſhould belong to the Lords elected (who were ſtiled* Ordainers) *to explain it.* There was nothing inſerted concerning *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment.

The King continues his Favours to Gaveſton. Act. Pub. III. p. 225, 226. Probably, the Barons were of Opinion, there was no danger from that Favorite, ſo long as the Government was in their hands. Nevertheleſs, when they afterwards ſaw the King continue to heap Favours on him, and, without asking their Advice, had made him Governor of *Nottingham*, and Warden of the Foreſts on this ſide the *Trent*, they drew up one and forty new Articles, to which the King was forced to aſſent. By one of theſe Articles, *Gaveſton* was expreſly ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment.

1311.

Gaveſton *is baniſhed.* p. 278, 279, 295. *Edward* having thus ſuffered himſelf to be bound with Fetters which he could not ſhake off, reſolved, tho' with extreme Regret, to part with *Gaveſton*. However, to ſave him the ſhame of being baniſhed, he gave him an imaginary Commiſſion to levy Troops in *Guienne*, for the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Foix*, who had been at variance with the Court of *France*, but the Diſpute was now at an end.

1312. *The King recalls him.* Act. Pub. III. p. 298. *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment was of no long continuance. *Edward*, who could not live without him, diſregarding the Articles he had lately ſigned, recalled him without acquainting the *Ordainers*. Shortly after he ſent circular Letters to the Sheriffs, to give them notice thereof, and to juſtify what he had done. He told them, that being bound by his Coronation Oath, to ſee the Laws of the Realm put in execution, there was no Authority that could abſolve him therefrom: That *Gaveſton* being baniſhed by a notorious Violence, and without a legal Sentence, he could not deprive him of the Benefit of the Law, to which all his Subjects were intitled: That therefore, he had cauſed him to return into the Kingdom, not with deſign to ſcreen him from Juſtice, but that he might be tried according to the uſual Form: That in the mean time, he conſidered him as a good and faithful Subject, and ordered them to publiſh this Declaration in their reſpective Juriſdictions. 1312.

The Barons ſtir up the People againſt the King. Walſing. The Lords were not much diſpleaſed that the King by this Proceeding, had furniſhed them with a pretence to complete the ruin of a Favorite, who could not be torn from him without violence. In order to open a way to their End, they endeavoured to gain the People by exclaiming againſt the King's Conduct. They ſaid publickly, there was no depending upon what was enacted by the Parliament, ſince the King diſregarded it. That it was eaſy to ſee, the King was aiming at an arbitrary Power, and the whole Nation was equally concerned to oppoſe the Growth of a deſpotick Power, which tended to render the Subjects ſo many Slaves. Theſe Diſcourſes, being ſupported by their Emiſſaries among the People, began to create an univerſal Diſcontent, of which the King had but too much Reaſon to dread the Conſequences. He imagined, he ſhould be able to prevent them by publiſhing a Proclamation, proteſting it was his Intention to obſerve the one and forty Articles. But as he had violated one of the principal in recalling his Favorite, his Proteſtation produced no effect.

Inſolent Behaviour of Gaveſton, particularly to the Queen. Walſing. Mean time, *Gaveſton*, ſtill more indiſcreet than his Maſter, inſtead of appeaſing his Enemies by his modeſt Behaviour, daily grew more proud and arrogant. He acted as if he had nothing to fear, or was ignorant of the Barons Deſigns. He had even the boldneſs to ſpeak inſolently to the Queen; who not being able to obtain any ſatisfaction, complained bitterly to the King her Father. She told him that *Gaveſton* was the ſole Cauſe of her Misfortunes, and the King her Husband's Fondneſs for that unworthy Favorite, alienated his Affections from her, and made him an entire Stranger to her Bed. This Complaint has made ſome ſuſpect, that the Familiarity between the King and *Gaveſton* was of a very criminal nature. But it may be their Suſpicions are carried too far.

The Earl of Lincoln's Advice to the Earl of Lancaſter. Walſing. An. 1312. p. 100. Mean while the Barons kept their firſt Deſign always in view. There were among them Perſons of great Abilities, who knew how dangerous it is, on theſe occaſions, to act by halves; and that if ſuch ſort of Enterprizes are not brought to an Iſſue, they ſeldom failed to ruin the Authors. The Earl of *Lincoln* (5) was one of the moſt conſiderable of the Party, as well for his Birth and high Offices, as for his Age and Experience. As he was confined to his Bed by a Fit of Sickneſs, which in all appearance would lay him in his Grave, he was apprehenſive, that after his Death the *Confederates* would give way, and was willing to endeavour to prevent that Accident, which would have occaſioned their Ruin. To that end, having ſent for his Son-in-law the Earl of *Lancaſter*, Grandſon of *Henry* III, "he conjured him in the ſtrongeſt Walſing. Ibid. "and moſt moving Terms, not to abandon the *Church* "and *People of England* to the Mercy of the *Popes* and "*Kings*. He told him, his Birth obliged him to endea-"vour to free the Kingdom from the Oppreſſions it un-"fortunately laboured under. He charged him to have "always a great regard for the King. But withal, he "added, that his Regard ought not to hinder him from "doing all that lay in his Power, to remove from the "King's Perſon the *Foreign* Miniſters and Favorites. "That Honour, Conſcience, the Publick Good, called "upon him to procure the Obſervance of the *Great* "*Charter*, the only Baſis of the Welfare and Peace of the "Kingdom. In concluſion, he adviſed him to join hear-*Confederacy of the Lords.* "tily with the Earl of *Warwick* (6), who among all the "Confederate Lords was beſt able to carry on the im-"portant Undertaking." It was not long before the Effects of this Advice were ſeen. The Earl of *Lancaſter* entering into a ſtrict Confederacy with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Arundel*, *Hereford*, *Warren*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral other Biſhops and Barons, they unanimouſly reſolved to take Arms, under the uſual Pretence of defending the Rights of the *Church* and *State*.

They chuſe the Earl of Lancaſter General. Walſing. The Earl of *Lancaſter* was choſen General of the intended Army, an Honour which could not be refuſed to his Merit, though no Regard had been had to his Quali-

(1) This Year a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, in the beginning of *Lent*, and afterwards adjourned till a Month after *Eaſter*; wherein the King confirmed the Great Charter, and that of Foreſts; in conſideration whereof, the Lords and Commons granted him the twenty-fifth Penny of all their perſonal Eſtates.——Another was held at *Stanford*, *July* 26. to repreſs the Malice of the *Scots*.——And another, conſiſting of ſome of the Nobility of the King's Party, on *October* 18. at *York*. *Rot. Clauſ.* 2 *Edw.* II. *M.* 4. *W. Hemingford.*

(2) In a Parliament held at *London* in *January*. *Walſing.* p. 97. *Brady* ſays, it was in a Parliament held *Auguſt* 10. *Cl.* 4 *Edw.* II. *M.* 1. *Dorſ.* This Parliament was continued or prorogued till the beginning of *November*. *Cl.* 5 *Ed.* II. *M.* 25. *Dorſ.*

(3) The moſt full and particular Account of this whole Tranſaction is in *Brady*'s *Hiſt.* Vol. III. p. 102——119. and *Appendixes*, No. 50, *&c.*

(4) They were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Saliſbury*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, *St. David*'s, and *Landaff*. The Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Lancaſter*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Pembroke*, *Richmond*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*. And theſe Barons, *Hugh de Ver*, *William le Marſhal*, *Robert Fitz Roger*, *Hugh Courtenay*, *William Martin*, *John de Grey*. *Brady*, p. 103.

(5) *Henry de Lacy*, deſcended from *Walter de Lacy*, who came in with the Conqueror.

(6) *Guy de Beauchamp.*

ty.

1312. ty (1). Immediately after this Reſolution was taken, all the Confederate Barons diſperſing themſelves into the ſeveral Counties, publickly levied Troops. They uſed ſuch expedition, that in a ſhort time their Forces were aſſembled at the appointed Rendezvous. It was impoſſible for *Edward* to be ignorant of theſe Preparations. And yet, as if he was unconcerned, he took no Notice of them.

Indolence of the King. Act. Pub. III. p. 304, 308, 310.

Inſtead of thinking of means to ſatisfy the incenſed Barons, or defend himſelf againſt their Inſults, he minded nothing but his Diverſions at *York*, where he was then with *Gaveſton*. His only care was to heap new Favours on his Minion, remaining in a ſurpriſing Indolence, whilſt he ſaw the whole Kingdom ready to riſe againſt him. He ſeemed to affect continually to act contrary to his real Intereſts, and to neglect to take ſuch meaſures, as a Perſon of an ordinary Underſtanding might have pointed out to him. At the very time that he ſaw the Barons in Arms, to compel him to obſerve the one and forty Articles, he wilfully violated one of the principal, in making the Biſhop of *Lichfield* High-Treaſurer without the Conſent of the *Ordainers*. (2) But this was not the only Error he committed on this occaſion. As if he had been in a condition to give Laws to the Barons, he would have reformed at the ſame time the regulation, on pretence he had reſerved to himſelf the Power of correcting, with the Advice of the *Ordainers*, ſome Articles prejudicial to his Prerogative. It was eaſy to ſee this was no proper Seaſon for that Work. And yet he nominated on his part Commiſſioners to ſet about the Alterations.

p. 310.

He has a mind to reform the Regulation. Ibid. p. 310, 337.

The Barons riſe, and the King retires to Scarborough *with* Gaveſton. Act. Pub. III. p. 327. Walſing.

The Barons had then other Deſigns. After drawing all their Forces together, they marched directly for *York*, thinking to ſurprize the King, whoſe Supineneſs gave them room to hope every thing. But upon the firſt notice of their Approach, he retired to *Newcaſtle*, where they followed him without loſs of time. That Town not ſeeming to him ſtrong enough, he left it and ſhut himſelf up in *Scarborough* Caſtle, which he deemed his beſt Fortreſs in the *North*. He began then to ſee his Error in deferring ſo long to prepare for his Defence: But it was too late to think of it. However, in ſpite of the improbability of ſucceeding, he reſolved to go into *Warwickſhire*; where he expected to raiſe an Army, upon the vain hopes, that the People would flock in Crowds to liſt under his Banner. But as he was under greater Concern for *Gaveſton* than himſelf, he left him behind at *Scarborough*, recommending him to the care of the Governor as a precious Truſt, and a ſure Pledge of the Confidence he placed in him.

The Barons ſeize the King's and Gaveſton's *Equipage at* Newcaſtle. Walſing.

Whilſt *Edward* was taking his too late meaſures, the Barons, who entered *Newcaſtle* the very day he departed, ſeized whatever was left there by the King and his Favorite, their haſte not permitting them to carry away any thing. In *Gaveſton*'s Baggage were found many Jewels, belonging to the Crown, and of which an exact Inventory was taken, that an account might be given of them hereafter. And as ſoon as the Earl of *Lancaſter* was informed of the King's departure from *Scarborough*, and his leaving *Gaveſton* there, he ſent the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren* to beſiege that Caſtle. At the ſame time, he marched himſelf with the reſt of the Army towards the Center of the Kingdom, in order to have it more in his Power to oppoſe the Deſigns of the King. The two detached Earls advancing towards *Scarborough* without any oppoſition, formed the Siege, and carried it on with great vigour. (3) Though the Place was one of the ſtrongeſt in the Kingdom, it was ſo ill-provided with neceſſaries for its Defence, that in a few Days *Gaveſton* was under a neceſſity to deliver himſelf into the hands of his Enemies. (4) He obtained however, a ſort of Capitulation, whereby it was promiſed him that he ſhould ſpeak with the King, and be tried by his *Peers* according to the uſual Form.

They beſiege Scarborough. Act. Pub. III. p. 327, 329, 333, 334.

Gaveſton. ſurrenders. Walſing.

The Earl of Pembroke *takes upon him to carry* Gaveſton *to the King.* Walſing.

As ſoon as *Edward* heard of his Favourite's being thus taken, he earneſtly ſolicited his Liberty, or that at leaſt, he might ſee and ſpeak with him according to promiſe. Above all, he conjured the confederate Lords to ſpare the Priſoner's Life, aſſuring them, on that Condition, he would give them entire Satisfaction concerning their *Grievances*. Moſt of the Barons were againſt carrying *Gaveſton* to the King, well knowing that his Requeſt tended only to get him out of their hands. But they conſented at laſt, upon the Earl of *Pembroke*'s repreſenting, that having given his Word in the Name of all the *Confederates*, they were obliged to perform it: That if they would truſt him with conducting him, he would undertake to convey him to the King, and to reſtore him to them at a day and place appointed. 1312.

Pembroke deſigned to conduct his Priſoner to *Wallingford* Caſtle, where the King was to come and ſpeak with him. Accordingly, taking the Road to *Oxfordſhire*, he came to *Deddington* (5), where he left *Gaveſton* under a Guard, whilſt he himſelf went and lodged in a neighbouring Caſtle (6). He did not think it neceſſary to uſe greater Precaution in a Place where the King had no Troops, and where conſequently there was no danger from him: But he found he had taken his meaſures very ill. The Earl of *Warwick*, who was violently againſt this Interview of the King and *Gaveſton*, hearing how they quartered, came that night to the Houſe where *Gaveſton* lay, carried him away by force, and conducted him to *Warwick*. On the morrow, the ſame Earl with ſome others the moſt violent of the Party, after a quick Trial, ordered his Head to be cut off (7). A mad Action, if ever there was any, which in violating a Capitulation, trampled upon the Laws of the Land, and the reſpect due at all times from Subjects to their Sovereign. What would theſe ſame Lords have ſaid, if the King or *Gaveſton* had done the like?

The Earl of Warwick *carries off* Gaveſton, *and beheads him.* Walſing. Knighton.

The Barons march againſt the King. Act. Pub. III. p. 351. Walſing.

Though *Edward* was extremely incenſed at the Boldneſs of theſe Lords, it was not in his power to be revenged; and the Barons took no care to give him any Satisfaction for this Outrage. On the contrary, not content with being thus rid of the Object of their Hatred, they demanded more haughtily than ever, the Performance of the forty Articles, and a ſpeedy Redreſs of the Grievances of the State. At the ſame time, they marched to *London*, where the King was retired, bent upon obtaining by force, what they plainly ſaw he would never voluntarily grant them. Mean while, the King not daring to truſt the *Londoners*, was gone to *Canterbury*, where he was not much ſafer. In this extremity, he had recourſe to the Mediation of the Pope's Nuntio, and of *Lewis* Earl of *Evreux* the Queen's Uncle, then in *England*, and the Earl of *Gloceſter* (8) his Nephew, who had ſtood neuter. By means of theſe three Mediators, who laboured heartily in the Affair, certain Articles were agreed upon (9), with which every one ſeemed ſatisfied. The Lords promiſed to reſtore whatever was taken at *Newcaſtle*; publickly to ask the King's Pardon; and declare that without any deſign againſt his Perſon, their ſole Aim had been to redreſs what was amiſs in the Government. The King promiſed on his part, to grant a general Pardon to them and all their Adherents, reſerving a Power to grant the like to thoſe that favoured *Gaveſton*'s Return.

Act. Pub. III. p. 366. Walſing.

Matters are accommodated.

A general Pardon promiſed.

The Barons punctually performed their Word, in reſtoring whatever was ſeized at *Newcaſtle*; but *Edward* was not ſo ſincere. He delayed publiſhing the General Pardon above a Year, and during that Space uſed all means to draw the Earl of *Lancaſter* to Court. But what Safe-Conducts ſoever he offered him, it was not poſſible to perſuade the Earl to put himſelf in his power, before the Pardon was proclaimed. At length, the Barons weary of all the Evaſions uſed by the King, began to take Arms again, when the King of *France* ſent the Earl of *Evreux* his Brother, accompanied with *Enguerrand de Marigny*, to try to adjuſt theſe Differences. The Queen likewiſe did all that lay in her Power. It was very difficult to accompliſh it, becauſe the King ſtill deferring to publiſh the promiſed Pardon, the Barons believed they had ſtill reaſon to fear he never deſigned it. During the Negotiation, the King went and conferred with his Father-in-law, and left Orders that the Parliament ſhould meet whilſt he was abſent (10). The Earl of *Lancaſter* and the Barons of his Party, made no Scruple to be preſent, being encouraged by the King's abſence. But hearing he was returned and landed at *Sand-*

1313.

The King delays to publiſh it. Act. Pub. III. p. 387, 388. Walſing.

Ibid. p. 405, 422.

(1) He was Son to Prince *Edmund* Son of *Henry* III, and Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Ferrers*, and in Right of his Wife, of *Lincoln* and *Saliſbury*. Beſides he had a great Eſtate in *Yorkſhire*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*, and was Earl of *Artois* in *Picardy*, and conſequently the greateſt Subject in the Kingdom. *Walſingham*, p. 100.

(2) The Biſhop was thereupon excommunicated by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but the King ſolicited the Pope to abſolve him from that Sentence. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 322.

(3) Though the King ordered them, upon forfeiting their Life, Limbs, and Poſſeſſions, to deſiſt from it, by an Order dated at *York*, *May* 17. *Ibid.* p. 328.

(4) He ſurrendered himſelf to *Henry de Percy*. *Ibid* p. 334.

(5) About four Miles from *Bambury* in *Oxfordſhire*.

(6) He committed the Priſoner to the care of his Servants, and went and lodged with his Lady, at a neighbouring Place. *Walſingham*, p. 101.

(7) In the Preſence of the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, and *Hereford*, on *Blacklow-Hill*, near *Warwick*, the 19th of *June*. He was buried firſt in the Church of the Predicant Fryers at *Oxford*, and afterwards removed to *King's Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*, in a Monaſtery built by King *Edward*, to pray for *Gaveſton*'s Soul. *Knighton*, Col. 2533. *Walſingham*, p. 101.

(8) *Gilbert de Clare*, Son of *Joanna de Acres*, the King's Siſter.

(9) A few Days before *Chriſtmaſs*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 368.

(10) *July* 9. *Ibid.* p. 422.

1313. p. 427, 438. *wich*, they immediately withdrew, not caring to truſt to the Safe-Conducts ſent them from the Place of his Landing. Their Retreat obliged the Parliament to break up. Affairs being in ſuch a ſituation as a freſh Rupture was every moment to be feared, the Mediators were ſo urgent with the King to give the Barons Satisfaction, that he could no longer deſer it. He ordered therefore the two general Pardons to be drawn up, which were confirmed ſhortly after by the Parliament. But as a general Pardon did not fully ſatisfy the Parties concerned, it was neceſſary likewiſe to give a particular Pardon to four hundred and ſixty eight Perſons, whoſe Names are mentioned in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

The Pardon is publiſhed. Act. Pub. III. p. 442, 443, 448, 449.

The Birth of Prince Edward. Act. Pub. III. p. 358.

Whilſt this Negotiation was in hand, the Queen brought into the World, in the beginning of *October* (1) 1313, a Prince chriſtened *Edward*.

The Barons publickly beg the King's Pardon. Walſing.

The publiſhing of the general Pardons, as well for the confederate Barons as for *Gaveſton*'s Friends, having at length reſtored Peace in the Kingdom, the Parliament (2) granted the King a conſiderable Subſidy towards a vigorous Proſecution of the War with *Scotland*. Before the Parliament broke up, the Barons publickly begged the King's Pardon in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before all the People. This was done in a very ſolemn manner. The Barons ſpeaking to the King, made uſe of the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive Terms, as if the Pardon he had granted them were the pure Effect of his Clemency. After this, they returned to their homes, ſatisfied in Appearance, but however without ceaſing to diſtruſt the King. They had too highly offended him, to hope he would ever forget it. The Death of the Earl of *Warwick*, which happened ſoon after, increaſed their Miſtruſt, every one believing he was poiſoned.

Ibid. p. 103.

Affairs of Scotland.

Whilſt *England* endured violent Shocks by the Weakneſs and little Genius of the Governor, *Scotland* daily grew ſtronger, by the prudent Conduct of a couragious and vigilant King, who wiſely improved the Repoſe procured to them by the Death of *Edward* I. *Robert Bruce*, who may juſtly be called the Reſtorer of the *Scotch* Monarchy, politickly ſuppreſſed the Factions which divided his Subjects, and united them all in the deſign of ſhaking off the Yoke of Servitude. By this happy Union, he was in a condition not only to recover the beſt Part of his Country, but alſo to carry his Arms into *England*. I am now going to relate the particulars of the *Scotch* War, which I could not, without confuſion, intermix with the Relation of the domeſtick Troubles in *England*.

War with Scotland.

Edward I, reſolved utterly to deſtroy *Scotland*, and probably would have reduced the Kingdom to a wretched Condition, if Death had not ſnatched him out of the World very opportunely for the *Scots*. *Robert Bruce* was preparing to take advantage of the Conſternation of the *Engliſh*, occaſioned by the loſs of *Edward*: But a great Fit of Sickneſs ſeizing him at the ſame time, hindered his entering upon Action. Mean while, the *Scots*, who knew not yet the Character of *Edward* II, were in great perplexity, their King being very dangerouſly ill, and their Forces much inferior to thoſe of their Enemies. *Edward* II's ſudden Reſolution to return into *England*, after advancing as far as *Dumfries*, and ſtriking Terror into the whole Kingdom, gave them room to entertain better hopes. His Impatience to meet *Gaveſton*, to marry the Princeſs deſigned for him, and to be crowned, expelled all thoughts of War, to which he had no Inclination. So, leaving his Army under the Conduct of *John Comyn* a *Scotch* Lord, he returned into *England* (3). His abrupt departure cauſed great murmurs in the Army and Kingdom. People could not behold him without Aſtoniſhment, relinquiſhing the Conqueſt of *Scotland*, at a time when the Number and Ardor of his Troops, and King *Robert*'s Illneſs, ſeemed to warrant him a glorious Campaign. His chuſing *Comyn* to command the Army was no leſs diſliked. This General was a *Scot*, and though of the oppoſite Party to *Robert*, and his particular Enemy, his being a Foreigner was alone ſufficient to offend the *Engliſh*, who thought themſelves diſhonoured by this Preference. What happened quickly after, ſhewed their Complaints were not groundleſs. *Comyn* willing to take advantage of *Robert*'s Illneſs, whom he thought incapable of heading his Troops, advanced in order to attack the *Scots*. Though *Robert* ſtill found himſelf extremely weak, he believed he ought not to decline fighting. At ſuch a juncture, a Retreat might have diſheartned his Subjects, and occaſioned the Loſs of his whole Kingdom. In this Reſolution, having mounted his Horſe, ſupported by two Eſquires, he drew up his Army, and expected the Enemies, with a Steddineſs that produced a wonderful Effect. The *Engliſh* imagined, this little Army would never dare to ſtand before them. But when by the good Poſture of the *Scots*, they found themſelves diſappointed, their Courage began ſo to cool, that hardly could they be brought to begin the fight. So weak an Attack, and ſo ill ſeconded, inſpiring the *Scots* with freſh Courage, they fell with great Fury upon their Enemies, and put them entirely to rout. This Defeat was the more diſhonourable to the *Engliſh*, as, beſides their being ſuperior in Number, they were the ſame Troops that had ſo frequently vanquiſhed the *Scots*, and now ſuffered themſelves to be beaten by an Army levied in haſte, and conſiſting of undiſciplined Soldiers. *Comyn* retiring into *England* after his Defeat, *Robert* entered the County of *Argyle*, which ſtill belonged to the *Engliſh*, and ravaged it all over. Shortly after, *Edward Bruce* his Brother, gave the *Engliſh* another defeat, in the County of *Galloway*. Theſe two Victories gave the *Scots* ſuch a Superiority, that they began from thenceforward to deſpiſe the *Engliſh*, and forget their paſt Loſſes.

An. S. Aug. Walſing.

Act. Pub. III. p. 94.

Battle gained by the Scots.

1313. Chron. Lanerc. *Another by* Edward Bruce.

How little Inclination ſoever *Edward* had for War, he could not avoid endeavouring to ſtop the Progreſs of the King of *Scotland*. In 1308, that is, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, he led in Perſon a powerful Army into that Kingdom. But as he had taken no care for Proviſions, depending upon what he expected to find in the Enemy's Country, he was obliged to march back his Army into *England* for want of Subſiſtence. *Robert*, more provident than he, had carried away, or deſtroyed before-hand, whatever might ſerve to maintain the Enemies Troops. *Edward*'s Retreat gave the King of *Scotland* an opportunity to become maſter of ſeveral Places in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and to make that Year a very proſperous Campain. The Troubles which afterwards happened in *England* on account of *Gaveſton*, enabled that Prince to make a ſtill greater Progreſs. In 1310 and 1311, he entered *England* twice, and carried away a great Booty. In 1312 he recovered *Perth*, *Lanerc*, *Dumfries*, *Roxborough*; and laſtly, *Edinborough* Caſtle, which was taken by Storm by the Earl of *Murray* his General. This Year the *little Iſle of Man* voluntarily ſubmitted to him.

Edward marches againſt Scotland, Buchanan.

and returns without doing any thing.

Robert makes great Progreſs. Buchanan. Chron. Lanerc.

Whilſt *Robert* continued his Conqueſts, *Edward*, wholly employed in ſeeking means to be revenged on the Barons, for putting *Gaveſton* to Death, was ſurpriſingly negligent with regard to *Scotland*. Inſtead of haſtening an Agreement with the Lords, in order to unite all his Forces, he prolonged the Negotiation, by a Policy very pernicious to the Affairs of the State. Mean time, *Robert* took advantage of the Negligence of the *Engliſh*. After making himſelf maſter of all the Places *Edward* I. poſſeſſed in *Scotland*, except *Sterling*, he ſent, in 1313, his Brother *Edward* to beſiege that Town, the ſtrongeſt then in *Scotland*. The Siege was carried on very vigorouſly; but the Beſieged made as brave a Defence. However, [*Philip*] *Mowbray*, the Governor of the Place, finding his Maſter made no Preparations to relieve him, thought to do him good Service in ſigning a Capitulation, whereby he promiſed to ſurrender the Town in a Year, if it were not relieved by that time.

Robert beſieges Sterling. Act. Pub. III. p. 481. *The Town capitulates.* Buchanan.

1314. *Edward* having ſufficient time to prepare, and deſiring at any rate to prevent the Loſs of ſo important a Place, ſummoned all his Vaſſals to meet him with their Troops (4). The *Engliſh*, *Gaſcons*, and *Welſh* (5), were ſo ready to obey him, that by *June* 1314, he ſaw himſelf at the head of a hundred thouſand Men. The Soldiers already devoured in their Imagination, whatever the former Ravages of *Edward* I, had left in *Scotland*. Only the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Arundel*, *Hereford*, and the new Earl of *Warwick*, refuſed, on this occaſion, to ſerve the King, their miſtruſt of him not permitting them to put themſelves in his Power.

Edward leavies an Army of a hundred thouſand Men. Walſing. Trokelow.

The Battle of Banockbourn. Buchanan. Walſing. De la M.

This numerous Army entering *Scotland*, advanced within view of *Sterling*. *Robert* expected them at the head of thirty thouſand Men, inured to the Fatigues of War, and who had frequently worſted the *Engliſh*. He drew up his Army on an advantagious Ground, where

(1) *November* 13. at *Windſor*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 358. *Walſingham*, p. 103. *T. de la Moor*, p. 593.

(2) Which met on *Sunday*, *September* 21, and granted the King a Fifteenth. *Walſingham*, p. 103. There was another Parliament in *July*, which did nothing of Moment. *Rot. Clauſ.* 6 *Edward* II. *M.* 3. *Dorſ.*

(3) The Earl of *Pembroke* ſurrendering his Commiſſion of Guardian of *Scotland*, it was conferred, *September* 13. 1307, on *John* Earl of *Bretagne*; who, raiſing a freſh Army, marched againſt the *Scots*, and defeated them about *November* 11. So that *Robert Bruce* was forced to fly into the High-Lands. *Chron. de Lanerc.* *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. III. 7, 10.

(4) At *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, three Weeks after *Eaſter*. *Walſingham*, p. 104. And borrowed Money of all the Biſhops, and Monaſteries in the Kingdom. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* *Ibid.* p. 452, *&c.*

(5) And *Iriſh*. *Ibid.* p. 476, 478.

he

1314. he could not be ſurrounded. A Mountain full of inacceſſible Rocks covered one of his Flanks, and the other was ſecured by a deep Moraſs. How great ſoever the Inequality of theſe two Armies might be, the *Scots* being determined to conquer or die, received their Enemies with that Vigor and Reſolution, that they ſoon put this numerous Army into Diſorder and Confuſion. The *Engliſh* Horſe being preſſed at firſt, with a Fury they could not withſtand, were the Occaſion by their Flight, of the Defeat of the whole Army; a Defeat the moſt terrible *England* had ever endured ſince the beginning of the Monarchy (1). The *Scotch* Writers mount the Enemies Loſs to fifty thouſand Men. They pretend, the Number of the Priſoners taken on this occaſion exceeded that of the Conquerors. The Earl of *Glocester*, Nephew of *Edward* II, with many other Lords of Diſtinction (2), and above ſeven hundred Knights, lay dead on the Field of Battle. The *Engliſh* reduce the Number of the Slain to ten thouſand. But the Conſequences of this Action diſcover that their Loſs was much greater, ſince from that time they ventured no more to take the Field.

The Engliſh *are routed.*

Hect. Boet. Buchanan.

Walſing.

Edward, with the Remains of his Army, haſtily retreated, without thinking himſelf out of Danger till he was at *York*, where the diſperſed Fugitives came to him (3). He formed a very conſiderable Body, with which he ſhewed a Deſire to re-enter the Enemies Country, and hazard another Battle. But the Conſternation of his Troops was ſo great, that he could not prevail with them to endeavour to retrieve their Honour. This Battle, called *the Battle of Banockbourn*, procured the *Scots*, beſides an ineſtimable Booty, a Peace which laſted ſeveral Years. They acquired ſo great a Superiority over the *Engliſh*, that theſe laſt, far from being able to recover what they had loſt in *Scotland*, were long forced to ſee their Borders ravaged, without daring to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. Their Terror was ſo great, that one of their Hiſtorians affirms, three *Scotch* Soldiers were ſufficient to put a hundred *Engliſhmen* to flight, ſo much were they diſcouraged by this terrible Defeat.

Act. Pub. III. p. 491.

Walſing.

Id. p. 106.

Whilſt Fortune ſtrove on all occaſions to humble *Edward*, an Impoſtor, one *John Deydras*, a Tanner's Son of *Exeter*, ſought to take his Crown from him, by maintaining that he was himſelf *Edward*, and changed at Nurſe. So extraordinary and ill-formed a Project ſerved only to bring the Impoſtor to the Gallows, inſtead of a Throne, which he would fain have mounted. Without doubt he built his hopes upon the little Eſteem the *Engliſh* had for their King, having probably imagined it would not be difficult, to make them believe he was not Son of *Edward* I, who had none but noble and generous Inclinations. But it was not this vile Inſtrument, which Providence was pleaſed to uſe, to ruin this unhappy Prince, though in ſome Meaſure this Event may be conſidered as a ſort of Preſage of what was to happen.

An Impoſtor pretends to be Edward *and is hanged.*

Higden. Walſing.

1315. *Great Famine.*

The Loſs ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* in *Scotland* was followed by a dreadful Famine which laſted three Years, and deſtroyed an infinite Number of People. In vain did the Parliament endeavour to help it by ſettling the Price of Proviſions: They were forced the next Year to revoke the *Act* that had been paſſed on that account. (4) But neither War nor Famine, nor the Murmurs of the People, were able to hinder the King from expending a large Sum, in celebrating the Funeral of his Favourite, whoſe Body was removed to *King's Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*. He would honour the Funeral Pomp with his Preſence, attended by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and ſome other Biſhops. But the Barons poſitively refuſed to aſſiſt at the Obſequies of a Man ſo odious to them, and whom they deem'd unworthy of the Honour done to his Memory. 1315.

Walſing. p. 106.

Mean time the Famine raged in ſo terrible a manner that one can hardly give Credit to what Hiſtorians ſay of it. (5) They are not content with telling us, that the moſt loathed Animals were uſed for Food, but what is much more horrible, People were forced to hide their Children with all imaginable care, to prevent their being ſtolen and eaten by Thieves. They aſſure us, that Men themſelves took precautions to hinder their being murdered in private Places, knowing there were but too many Inſtances that ſome had been ſerved in that manner, to feed ſuch as could find no other Subſiſtence. We are told likewiſe, that the Priſoners in the Goals devoured one another in a barbarous manner, the extreme Scarcity of Proviſions not permitting their being allowed neceſſary Food. The Bloody Flux, cauſed by groſs feeding, compleated the Miſery of the *Engliſh*. Such Numbers died every day, that hardly could the Living ſuffice to bury the Dead. The only Remedy that could be found againſt the Famine, but which was not capable of bringing all the neceſſary Relief, was, to prohibit on pain of death, the brewing any ſort of Beer, to the end, the Corn uſually expended that way, might ſerve to make Bread (6). 1316. *The Famine increaſes.* Walſing.

Notwithſtanding theſe Calamities, which ſhould have turned their thoughts to Religion and Repentance, the mutual Enmity which the King and Barons had long harboured in their Breaſts, was ſeen daily to increaſe. It was almoſt impoſſible but this violent Hatred ſhould in the end produce very fatal Effects. *Edward*, not being able to forget the Injuries he had received, entertained in his heart a ſtrong Deſire of Revenge, which put him upon ſeeking all poſſible means to gratify it. He was chiefly exaſperated againſt the Earl of *Lancaſter*, whom he looked upon as the ſole Author of his Diſgraces, and his moſt dangerous Enemy. Had the Earl's Life been in his Power, he would not, probably, have ſpared it. But as his Diſſimulation had not been capable of drawing him into any Snare, finding he could not reach his Perſon, he attempted to deprive him of his Eſtate and Honour. To that purpoſe he created him a Trouble, which the moſt immoderate Miſtruſt could not have prevented. 1317. *Injury done the Earl of* Lancaſter.

Whilſt the Earl kept at a diſtance from Court (7), a certain Knight, called Sir *Richard St. Martin*, a Man of a mean Look, and dwarfiſh Stature, preſented to the Judges a Petition, claiming the Wife of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, Heireſs of the Families of *Lincoln* and *Saliſbury*. He ſet forth in his Petition, that he had carnally known her, and that ſhe had made him a Promiſe of Marriage, before ſhe was contracted to the Earl. The Counteſs, diſſatisfied with her Husband, having, to her eternal Shame, confeſſed the Fact, was adjudged, with all her Eſtate, to the unworthy Claimant. This Affair, which would have required a long Examination, was ſo quickly decided, that it was eaſy to ſee the Judges were gained before-hand, and the King himſelf had been a Promoter of the Proceſs. An Injury of this nature done to a Prince of the Blood Royal, exceedingly beloved by the People, raiſed an extreme Indignation againſt the King. Nothing was every where heard but Murmurings againſt his Government. As he had then no Favourite to bear the Blame, it was all caſt on himſelf; and People ſaid publickly, never was the Throne of *England* filled by a Prince ſo unworthy to rule a free Nation. There were even ſome who took the Liberty to upbraid him to his face for his ill Conduct. Upon a certain Holiday (8), *Edward* dining in publick in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, a Woman in a mask came on horſeback *His Wife is taken away and given to another.* Walſing. *Murmurings againſt the King.*

(1) This Battle was fought on the 25th of *June* 1314, by the River *Banockbourn*. It is ſaid that the *Scots* had digged Trenches three Foot deep and as many broad; into which, being covered over with Hurdles and drove full of ſharp Stakes, the *Engliſh* Horſe fell, and by that means were miſerably ſlaughtered. *T. de la Moor.* p. 594.

(2) The Lords *Robert de Clyfforde*, *Pagan Typtote*, *William Mareſcall*, *Giles de Argenton*, *Edmund de Maule*, *&c.* There were ſlain and taken Priſoners, of Earls, Barons, *Baronets*, and Knights, one hundred and fifty four in all, according to *Walſing.* 105. *T. de la Moor.* p. 594.

(3) Here he held a Parliament, which ſat from *Auguſt* 15. till *Michaelmas*. In this it was agreed to exchange the Lady of *Robert Bruce* for *Humphrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*; and the Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, and Earl of *Marr*, were exhanged for other Noblemen. *A. de Murimuthe. Walſing.* p. 106. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 489.

(4) It was enacted and proclaimed, by Order of the Parliament, which met on *January* the 20th, That the beſt Ox not fed with Grain, ſhould be ſold for ſixteen Shillings and no more; and if he were fed with corn, then for twenty four Shillings at moſt; the beſt live fat Cow for twelve Shillings; a fat Hog of two Years old for three Shillings and four Pence; a fat Weather, or Mutton unſhorn for twenty Pence, and ſhorn for fourteen Pence; a fat Gooſe for two pence half Penny; a fat Capon for two Pence; a fat Hen for one Penny, two Chickens for one Penny; and twenty four Eggs for one Penny; and thoſe that would not ſell theſe things ſo, were to forfeit them to the King.——This Parliament granted the King a twentieth part of their Goods; which when it came to be raiſed, occaſioned Diſturbances in *Staffordſhire* and *Shropſhire*. There was another Parliament fifteen Days after *Eaſter*. *Walſing.* p. 106, 107. *Rot. Clauſ. Pat. Edw.* 2. *M.* 12, 27. *Dorſ. Brady's Append.* No. 60.

(5) A quarter of Wheat, Beans, or Peaſe was ſold for twenty Shillings; of Malt for thirteen Shillings and four Pence; and of Salt for thirty five Shillings. *Walſing.* p. 107.

(6) *January* 28. a Parliament was held at *Lincoln*, which granted the King, in Aid of his War with *Scotland*, one ſtout Footman, out of every Town in the Kingdom, except Cities and Burghs, and the King's Demeſns; which Footmen were to be armed and furniſhed with Bows, Arrows, Slings, Lances, *&c.* at the charge of the Towns, and their Expences to be paid, till they came at the Place of Rendezvous, and their Wages for ſixty Days after and no longer, if the King's Service required it, at four-pence a Day; the King promiſing, that this Grant ſhould be no Precedent for the future. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 742. The ſame Day, the King ſummoned the Militia to be at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine* fifteen Days after *Midſummer*. And the Parliament granted the King for this War, a Fifteenth part of all the Moveables. *Rot. Parl.* 9 *Edw.* 2. N. 1. *Walſing.* p. 107. There was another Parliament after *Eaſter*. *Id.* p. 108.——This Year was born at *Eltham*, *Auguſt* 15. *John*, the King's ſecond Son. *Ibid.*

(7) About the latter end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, *Walſing.* p. 108. The Hiſtorian ſpeaks, as if that ill favoured Knight had ſtolen her away.

(8) At *Whitſuntide*. *Ibid.* p. 109.

1317. *His conduct ripped up in a Letter.* Walſing. and delivered him a Letter. The King imagining it contained ſomething proper to divert him, ordered it to be read aloud. But he was very much ſurprized to hear only outragious Reproaches for his Cowardice, Tyranny, and all the Grievances introduced in his Reign. The Woman being apprehended, confeſſed, ſhe was bribed by a certain Knight to play that part; and the Knight boldly maintained, That believing the King would read the Letter in private, he thought it the propereſt way to let him know the complaints of his Subjects.

1318. *The Barons complain of ſeveral Grievances.* Whilſt *England* was reduced to extreme Deſolation, *Edward*, without troubling himſelf about the Ravages, the *Scots* continued to make on the Borders, minded only how to humble the Barons, who began to form new Projects, the Conſequences whereof he had reaſon to fear. They had lately preſented to him a Petition, containing a long Liſt of the People's Grievances, of which they demanded a ſpeedy Redreſs. Nothing was farther from his Thoughts than to reform abuſes. However as he durſt not openly diſcover his intentions, he had referred the matter to the Parliament which was to meet at *Lincoln*. A *Scotiſh* Invaſion at the ſame time, afforded him an excuſe to prorogue the Parliament ſeveral times, and at length to diſſolve it. This Proceeding ſo incenſed the Barons, that with one conſent they reſolved to take Arms, to obtain by Force the Satisfaction they required. They would have doubtleſs extremely diſtreſſed this weak Prince, uncapable of governing himſelf at ſo nice a Juncture, if ſome Lords of more Moderation had not joined with the Pope's Legate to promote a reconciliation. Theſe Mediators obtained of the King, that for the Satisfaction of the confederate Barons he ſhould admit a certain number of them into his Council, and promiſe to do nothing without their advice. The Earl of *Lancaſter* was to be one: but as he could not truſt the King, it was agreed he ſhould nominate a Baron or Knight to ſupply his place (1). Moreover *Edward* promiſed to grant an abſolute pardon, without any reſtrictions, to the Earl of *Lancaſter*, for all that was paſſed. This Agreement was made and ſigned at *Leek* on the 9th of *Auguſt* 1318, and confirmed three days after by (2) the Parliament, called upon the preſſing Inſtances of the Mediators. After this Affair was ended, the King and Earl of *Lancaſter* meeting on a Plain near *Leiceſter*, embraced and kiſſed one another in token of a perfect Reconciliation. Let us now return to the War with *Scotland*, which ſtill continued during the Troubles in *England*.

Walſing. Act. Pub. III. p. 696, 712. *He calls and diſſolves a Parliament.* *Agreement between the King and the Barons.* Walſing. De la Moor. Act. Pub. III. p. 722, 733.

After *Robert*'s obtaining near *Sterling* that ſignal Victory which proved ſo fatal to the *Engliſh*, he purſued the Vanquiſhed into *England*, where he committed prodigious Ravages, whilſt *Edward* durſt not ſtir from *York* to oppoſe his Enemy. The King of *Scotland*, not ſatisfied with this Advantage, projected the Conqueſt of *Ireland* upon the Crown of *England*. This Iſland had long been governed by *Engliſh* Officers who were more careful to enrich themſelves, than to promote the Publick Good. Their arbitrary Proceedings had bred among the *Iriſh* ſo great and univerſal Diſcontent, that they wanted only a favorable Opportunity to revolt. The defeat of the *Engliſh* Army before *Sterling*, giving them reaſon to believe, the preſent Juncture was very proper to execute their Deſign, they ſent word to the King of *Scotland*, that they were ready to caſt off the *Engliſh* Yoke, provided he would give them Aſſiſtance. *Robert* took care not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity to become maſter of the Iſland, or at leaſt to make there a powerful Diverſion. He ſent thither ſome Troops under the Command of his Brother *Edward*, who heading the Rebels, conquered the beſt Part of the Iſland, and was even acknowledged for King. Whilſt he was carrying on his Conqueſts, *Robert* amuſed the King of *England* with Propoſals of Peace, which he ſeemed to do with Sincerity and Earneſtneſs, but artfully raiſed from time to time Difficulties, which hindered matters from being concluded. This Proceeding laſted till 1317, without *Edward*'s perceiving his Enemy's Artifices. His little Penetration would even have made him entirely loſe *Ireland*, had he not been rouzed by the Murmurs of the People. The Prejudice *England* might receive by the Loſs of that Iſland was ſo manifeſt, and the Conſequences ſo plainly laid before him, that at length he reſolved to ſend thither a powerful Supply, under the Conduct of *Mortimer*.

The King of Scotland ravages England. *Has a Deſign upon Ireland.* Walſing. Ch. Lanerc. *He ſends Edward his Brother thither.* Act. Pub. III. p. 596. Walſing.

With this Aid the *Engliſh* that were in *Ireland*, finding themſelves able to take the Field, marched to attack the *Scotch* Prince. Mean while, the King of *Scotland*, receiving intelligence how much his Brother ſtood in need of being ſpeedily relieved, went himſelf into *Ireland*. But upon his Arrival, he heard his Brother was defeated and ſlain in a Battle wherein he had raſhly engaged (3). *Robert*'s Loſs on that occaſion breaking all his meaſures, and diſabling him from continuing the War in that Country, he thought it more proper to go and improve the Advantages, lately gained by his Arms in *Scotland*. In his Abſence, *Douglas*, one of his Generals defeated the Army ſent by the King of *England* into that Kingdom, to try to take advantage of *Robert*'s being in *Ireland*.

1318. *Who is defeated and ſlain.* Walſing.

This freſh Victory, which put it out of the Power of the *Engliſh* to withſtand the *Scots*, inſpired *Robert* with the thoughts of improving it, by laying Siege to *Berwick*, which was ſtill in the hands of the *Engliſh* (4). He could not make his Preparations without *Edward*'s knowledge. But his knowing it was to little purpoſe, ſince he had neither Money nor Troops ſufficient to prevent his Enemy's Deſigns. His Subjects were ſo averſe to him, that he could not expect to procure, either a timely or powerful Aid. And ſuppoſing he could have expected it, he plainly ſaw the Parliament would make him pay dear for the Subſidy they ſhould grant (5). In this Extremity he turned to the Pope, and earneſtly intreated him to interpoſe his Authority, in order to procure him a Peace, or at leaſt a Truce with *Scotland*. *John* XXII, who had lately ſucceeded *Clement* V. immediately granted *Edward*'s Requeſt. He looked upon this as a very favourable Opportunity, to extend his Power over crowned Heads. Accordingly he took upon him to make Peace between *Edward* and *Robert*, not as a Mediator, but as Sovereign Arbiter, and by virtue of his Apoſtolical Authority. To that end, he ſent two Legates into *England*, with a Power, which ſhewed that he thought himſelf inveſted with Sovereign Authority over all Kings, even in temporal Affairs. Their Commiſſion ran, that they were to make Peace between the two contending Nations, in what manner they pleaſed, and to compel both Princes to accept it, on pain of Excommunication, and an Interdict upon their Dominions. But as he judged ſuch a Peace could not be made without ſome Debate, which would take up time, he ordered his Legates to cauſe a two Years Truce to be publiſhed in his Name, and by his Authority; and gave them Power to excommunicate thoſe that refuſed to obſerve it.

The King of Scotland prepares to beſiege Berwick. 1319. *Edward applies to the Pope.* Walſing. Ch. Lanerc. *who ſtands to force them to make Peace.* De la M. Act. Pub. III. p. 594, 611, 615, 622, 633, 657, 787.

The Legates, furniſhed with ſo large and extraordinary Power, came into *England*, and immediately cauſed the Truce to be proclaimed. *Edward* paid an implicit Obedience to it, not conſidering he thereby ſacrificed to the Court of *Rome* the moſt authentick Prerogatives of the Crown. It was not the ſame with *Robert*. Under pretence, that the Pope and his Legates gave him not the Title of King, he would never permit the laſt to enter *Scotland*, much leſs to proclaim the Truce there. He even treated very roughly the Superior of the *Cordeliers* of *Berwick*, ſent to him by the Legates, who uſing Surpriſe, was ſo bold as to publiſh in ſome meaſure the Truce, in the Preſence of ſeveral *Scots*. Inſtead therefore of obeying the Pope, he beſieged and took *Berwick* by the Treachery of the Governor (6), if the *Engliſh* are to be credited. This Contempt for the Pope's Orders, obliged the Legates to excommunicate him, and put his Kingdom under an Interdict. But he did not much regard a Cenſure ſo manifeſtly unjuſt to him, and ſo very partial to the *Engliſh*. Therefore continuing his Progreſs he advanced on the Borders of *England*, and committed great Ravages, without meeting any oppoſition (7).

His Legates publiſh a Truce. Act. Pub. III. p. 798. *Robert beſieges Berwick.* Walſing. *He is excommunicated.* Act. Pub. III.

Edward found then, that the ſpiritual Weapons of the Pope were but of little ſervice. Accordingly, on a ſudden altering his Method, he found means to raiſe an Army, with which he would go and attempt the recovery of *Berwick*. Whilſt he was employed in the Siege, the Earl of *Murray*, the King of *Scotland*'s General, made a Diverſion in *England*, which proved very fatal to the Borderers. In his return from ravaging ſeveral Counties, he met a Body of *Engliſh* Militia to the Number of ten Thouſand, with the Archbiſhop of *York* (8)

Edward beſieges Berwick. Ch. Lanerc. Walſing. *The Militia of Yorkſhire defeated.*

(1) *Walſingham* ſays, that a Knight was taken near *Pontfract*, with a Blank Charter under the King's Great Seal, and other Letters under his Privy-Seal, offering the King of *Scots* what Conditions he pleaſed, provided he would procure the Death of the Earl of *Lancaſter*. This Knight was brought to the Earl, who ordered him to be hanged. p. 110.

(2) *Octab.* 2. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 735.

(3) He was taken, and beheaded at *Dundalk*; and five thouſand eight hundred *Scots* were ſlain, beſides ſeveral Noblemen. The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* was General of the *Engliſh* Forces. *Walſing.* p. 111.

(4) And of which *Maurice de Berkle* was Governor. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* T. III. p. 516.

(5) This Year a Parliament was held at *Leiceſter* on *June* 24. wherein the King granted, that the Ordinances made by the *Lords Ordainers* ſhould be obſerved. There was another Parliament at *London*, about *Michaelmas*, in which it was ordained, that every City and Town in *England* ſhould find ſo many Men to aſſiſt the King againſt the *Scots*; *London* maintained two hundred; *Canterbury*, forty; St. *Albans*, ten, &c. *Walſing.* p. 111.

(6) *Peter Spalding*, who it ſeems was afterwards hanged by King *Robert*. *Walſing.* p. 111.

(7) They took the Caſtles of *Weark*, *Harbottle*, and *Middeford*; and plundered and burnt *North-Allerton*, *Burroughbrig*, *Scarburgh*, *Skipton*, &c. *Chron. Lanerc.* *Walſing.* p. 112.

(8) *William de Melton.*

1319. at their Head. Though his Forces were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of his Enemies, he couragiouſly charged them, and obtained over theſe undiſciplined Troops a Victory (1), which deſtroyed above half. The *Scots* called this Action, *The white Battle*, from ſome *Engliſh* Prieſts being killed in the Fight with their Surplices on. This Accident obliged *Edward* to raiſe the Siege of *Berwick*. Shortly after, with much Sollicitation, he obtained a Truce for two Years; whereupon he left the North, and returned to *London*, where he was no leſs unfortunate.

A Truce for two Years. Act. Pub. III. p. 869. Walſing.

Promotion of the Spencers, Father and Son.

The Truce reſtored not to *England* the expected Tranquillity. Hardly was it proclaimed, before the Kingdom was involved in freſh Troubles, much more violent than thoſe cauſed by *Gaveſton*. The Enmity between the King and the Barons was ſtill kept alive, like Fire under Cinders, and only wanted a freſh occaſion to rekindle. Unhappily, an occaſion was but too ready (2). The Lords, ever jealous of thoſe about the King's Perſon, had introduced into Court a young Gentleman, *Hugh Spencer*, whom they believed entirely devoted to their Intereſts. They had procured him the Office of King's Chamberlain, with a deſign to make uſe of him as a Spy, in order to be informed of what paſſed at Court, where they ſeldom appeared. But their Project turned againſt themſelves. *Spencer* had a Father named *Hugh* as well as himſelf, a Perſon of Courage and good Senſe, who gave him quite contrary Inſtructions. He intimated to him, it would be much more eaſy to make his Fortune, by labouring directly for himſelf, than by ſerving the Barons; and with a little Patience and Obſequiouſneſs, he might render himſelf ſuperior to thoſe, whom he looked upon as his Protectors. *Spencer* the Son being inclined to follow his Advice, found at firſt great Difficulties. The King could not behold with a good eye, a Domeſtick who had already ſhown too great an Inclination for his Enemies. Nevertheleſs in time, and by the prudent Counſels of his Father, *Spencer* removed by degrees, the ill Impreſſions his Maſter had taken againſt him. As his Deſign was to govern the King entirely, he ſcrupled not to become for ſome time his Slave, by ſhewing on all occaſions, that he was wholly devoted to him. By this blind Obſequiouſneſs, and by a general Compliance to whatever was agreeable to him, from his Spy, he became his Confident, and at length ſupplied in his Heart the Place formerly poſſeſſed by *Gaveſton*. When he ſaw himſelf in this great degree of Favour, he made an ill uſe of it, like his Predeceſſor, and by his exceſſive Pride and inſatiable Avarice, made it ſoon wiſhed, that *Gaveſton* had not been oppreſſed.

De la M. Spencer, *the Father, made Earl of* Winchester. *His Character.*

Hugh his Father, whom he had cauſed to be created Earl of *Wincheſter* (3), had been till then of a quite different Character. Nothing could be laid to his Charge unbecoming a Man of Honour and Honeſty. In all the Poſts he had been promoted to, by this and the late King, he had always behaved with great Moderation, Prudence and Impartiality. But he knew not how to preſerve the Reputation he had acquired. A blind Fondneſs for his Son, and Ambition, which had ſeized him in his old Age, threw him into thoſe Exceſſes, which rendered both him and his Son odious to the Nation, and particularly to the Nobility. It was not long before an univerſal Diſcontent became viſible. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, a great Favourite of the People, and a ſworn Enemy to the King, notwithſtanding their outward Reconciliation, had improved theſe Junctures, to form a Party capable of ruining the two Favourites (4). He had demonſtrated to his Friends, "That their Ruin and his own were "infallible, if means were not found to remove the "*Spencers* from Court. That the King, who harboured "a ſecret Deſire of Revenge, was indeed incapable of "managing a Deſign; but that every thing was to "be feared from that Prince, aſſiſted by his two new "Miniſters, of much greater Abilities than *Gaveſton*. "He added, theſe Miniſters were no leſs guilty than "the other, of divers Enchroachments on the Privileges "of the People, and that all the Endeavours hitherto "uſed, to reduce the Royal Authority within due "Bounds, would be fruitleſs, if the King was ſuffered to "return to his former Courſes, aud trample upon the "Liberties of the Subject." Theſe Reaſons, alledged by a Prince, who paſſed for a diſintereſted and zealous Aſſerter of the publick Good, and joined to the Envy raiſed by the Advancement of the *Spencers*, cauſed ſo ſudden an Effect, that the old Aſſociation was renewed. As the confederate Barons (5) had every thing to fear from the Abilities of the Miniſters, they loſt no time, which was ſo precious, in preſenting to the King Petitions, as they had done concerning *Gaveſton*. Such a Conduct would only have given their Enemies leiſure to prepare. And therefore, without diſcovering their Intentions, they reſolved to levy Troops with all poſſible Secrecy and Expedition, and to ſurprize the King and his Favorites, before they had time to take any meaſures. This Deſign was executed with that ſpeed, that in a very ſhort ſpace, they drew together eleven thouſand Men, with whom they ventured to take the Field. Their firſt Exploit was to plunder the Lands of the *Spencers*, which was left to the Care of *Roger Mortimer the Younger*, ſo called to diſtinguiſh him from his Uncle of the ſame Name. He diſcharged his Commiſſion in ſo violent a manner, and with ſo little regard for the Favorites, that he did them in a few Days threeſcore thouſand Pound damage. This done, the Barons ſent ſome of their Body (6) to preſent a Petition to the King, deſiring the Removal of the *Spencers* (7). *Edward* perceiving it was not in his Power to curb their Boldneſs, referred the matter to the Parliament (8). He did not queſtion, but he ſhould have Intereſt enough with the Commons, to protect the two Miniſters. But the Barons Reſolution to continue in Arms, broke all his meaſures. Several Members of Parliament being at the devotion of the Lords, others awed by the Army, and all in general having too little value for the *Spencers*, to run any hazard for their ſake, the two Favorites were baniſhed the Realm, without the King being able to ſcreen them (9). This Parliament was called, *The Parliament of the white Bands*, on account of certain white Marks, by which the Adherents of the Barons were to know one another. Whatever Endeavours the King uſed to oppoſe theſe violent Proceedings, he found himſelf conſtrained to give way to a Torrent, which he could not withſtand. *Spencer*, the Father, being then out of the Realm upon the King's Affairs, the Son was ignominiouſly conducted to *Dover*, where he was ſhipped off with great Threats, if ever he pretended to ſet foot in the Kingdom again.

1319. 1320. *They renew their League, and take Arms.* Act. Pub. III. p. 878, 879, 891, 896, 899, 900, &c. 907. Walſing. Knighton. *The Spencers baniſhed.* Act. Pub. III. p. 891. Walſing. Hunting.

Lancaſter *ſirs up the Lords againſt the* Spencers. Walſing.

Edward highly reſented this Affront, and ſwore to be revenged. But perhaps means would have been found to appeaſe him, if the Queen, who, on the like occaſions, was wont to act the Part of a Mediatrix between the King and the Barons, had not ceaſed doing them that good Office. Inſtead of endeavouring to aſſwage the King's Anger, ſhe took care to excite him to Vengeance, being exaſperated at an Affront, ſhe lately received from a Baron, and of which ſhe caſt the Blame upon the whole Party. The occaſion of her Reſentment was this:

1321. Walſing.

Affront done the Queen by one of the confederate Barons. De la M. Act. Pub. III. p. 897. Walſing.

Whilſt *Edward* was thus incenſed againſt the Barons, *Iſabella*, deſigning to go in Pilgrimage to *Canterbury*, ſent ſome of her Domeſticks before, to provide Lodgings in the Caſtle of *Leeds*, belonging to *Bartholomew de Badleſmere*, one of the aſſociated Barons. As the whole Party were then in extreme diſtruſt of the King, the Officer who commanded in the Caſtle, denied the Queen's People admittance. There was even one of them killed. So far was *Badleſmere* from diſclaiming what was done, upon Complaint made to him, that he had the boldneſs to write

(1) On *Septemb.* 20. at *Mitton*, near the River *Swale*. *Walſing.* p. 112.

(2) The King called a Great Council at *Northampton* on *Auguſt* 1. wherein it was agreed, that a ſtanding Council of certain Biſhops, Earls, and Barons ſhould conſtantly remain with the King to adviſe him in all Matters of publick Concern, till the next Parliament. This Council was to conſiſt of the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Chicheſter*, *Ely*, *Saliſbury*, St. *David's*, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Richmond*, *Hereford*, and *Arundel*; Sir *Hugh de Courtney*, Sir *Roger de Mortimer*, Sir *John de Segrave*, Sir *John de Grey*, and one of the Bannerets of the Earl of *Lancaſter*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. III. p. 722, *&c.* The Parliament here mentioned met at *York*, three Weeks after *Michaelmas*. See *Brady's Appendix.* No. 61. There was another Parliament this Year ſoon after *Eaſter*, in which the Clergy granted the King a tenth for one Year, with the Pope's Leave. *A. Murymu.*

(3) He was not created ſo till 1322. See *Walſing.* p. 117.

(4) The occaſion of this Confederacy againſt the *Spencers*, was this; *William de Brews*, a Baron, propoſing to ſell part of his Eſtate, called *Gowerland*, firſt agreed for it with the Earl of *Hereford*, who offered to be the Purchaſer: But *Hugh Spencer*, the younger, obtained the King's Licence, it being holden of the King *in Capite*, and bought it out of the Earl of *Hereford's* Hands: Who being highly provoked at this Affront, complained to the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and they two engaging a great number of the Barons in their Intereſts, entered into a Confederacy againſt the *Spencers*. *Walſing.* p. 113.

(5) Who theſe confederate Barons were, ſee in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 868, 923. and *Tyrrel*, Vol. IV. p. 279, 280. The Form of their Confederacy in *Tyrrel*, ibid. and *Brady*, p. 128.

(6) It was ſent by the Biſhops of *London*, *Saliſbury*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*, who were come to the confederate Barons at St. *Albans* to procure an Accommodation. *Walſing.* p. 114.

(7) What Articles were exhibited againſt them in this Petition, ſee in *Tyrrel*, p. 281, and *Brady*, p. 129, *&c.* they being too long to be inſerted here.

(8) A Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, *July* 15. *Rot. Clauſ.* 14 *Edw.* II. *M.* 5.

(9) The Father was then out of the Kingdom, and the Son was ordered to depart by *Auguſt* 29. See the Sentence. *Ibid. Walſing.* p. 114.

1321. *She stirs up the King to a Revenge.* the Queen a very insolent Letter, expressly approving what had passed. It was very difficult for that Princess, who was naturally haughty and revengeful, not to resent such an Affront. As she plainly saw, the Union of the Barons was the sole cause of *Badlesmere*'s Insolence, she thought the readiest way would be to break their Association. The King waited patiently for a favourable opportunity to exercise his vengeance; but a Woman's revenge can bear no delay. The Queen, in her resolution of spurring on *Edward*, persuaded him, that the present Juncture was very advantagious to free himself from the Power of the Barons: that by immediately punishing the Governour of *Leeds*, as he deserved, he would strike such a Terrour into the Barons, who did not expect any such thing, that they would not think even of standing upon their Defence, when they should see him Sword in hand, and able to compel them to return to their Allegiance. *Edward* relishing this Advice, gave Orders for levying Troops. But for fear of any Obstacle, and in order to remove the People's Apprehensions, who began to be alarmed at these Levies, he issued out a Proclamation, protesting, he took not Arms to make War on his Subjects, but only to punish the Insolence of a private Person. This Proclamation producing a good Effect among the People, and the Barons not thinking they should engage the Kingdom in a Civil War for the sake of a single Officer, the King raised an Army without opposition. When his Troops were ready to march, he went immediately and besieged the Castle of *Leeds*, and taking it, ordered the Governor (1), with some other inferior Officers, to be hanged. This good Success causing him to forget his Protestation, he made use of his Arms, to take Vengeance on his Enemies. To that end, he besieged some other Castles belonging to the Barons, and particularly *Warwick*, which he became master of with the same ease. When he thought himself sufficiently formidable, he recalled *Spencer* the Son, who since his Banishment had turned Pyrate, particularly against the *English*.

The King issues a Proclamation. Act. Pub. III. p. 893.

He levies Troops, and makes the Castle of Leeds.

He recalls Spencer. Act. Pub. III. p. 907. De la M. Walsing.

Edward continuing his Progress, after the Return of his Favorite, put the associated Barons into the utmost Consternation, who were not prepared for their Defence. They would have been very glad, on this occasion, of the Queen's Assistance: But she was too much incensed against them to stand their Friend. In this ill posture they saw themselves exposed to the Fury of their Enemies, who spared them not. Mean while, the King, by his sole Authority, revoked the Sentence of Banishment against the *Spencers*, and recalled the Father, as he had already done the Son. The King's Diligence threw the Barons into so terrible a Perplexity, that they knew not what Course to take. His Army was in the Center of the Kingdom, ready to fall upon the boldest. The People, as it usually happens on such occasions, joined with the strongest, for fear of being oppressed before the Barons were able to protect them. In this Extremity, most of the associated Barons wisely chose to throw themselves upon the King's Mercy. As for those who refused to follow their Example, many were taken and executed; some fled for Refuge beyond Sea; and others were shut up in several Prisons (2). Of the Number of these last was *Roger Mortimer*, *junior*, whom the *Spencers* closely confined in the *Tower*, but who doubtless would not have met with so favorable a Treatment, had not his Life been saved by a powerful Interceſſion.

The Barons in a wretched Condition. ibid.

Spencer *the Father recalled.* Act. Pub. III. p. 907.

Several Barons submit, Others are punished. Act. Pub. III. p. 927. Walsing.

Mortimer *imprisoned.* Walsing. Knighton.

1322. Lancaster. *goes towards* Scotland. Walsing.

The Earl of *Lancaster*'s Faction being extremely weakened by the Defection, Flight, Imprisonment, or Death of his Adherents, the Earl, with what few Troops he could assemble, saw himself constrained to retire into the North. He had nothing to depend upon but the Protection of the *Scots*, who promised him Succours; but it was necessary to come and join them. The Rout he took, and some intercepted Letters, discovered his Intention to the King. To prevent it, he ordered Sir *Andrew Harcla*, Governour of *Carlisle*, to draw together what Troops he could and go out against the Earl to cut off the Passes, or at least to keep him at a Bay, whilst he pursued him in Person with his Army. However expeditious the Earl of *Lancaster* was, and whatever care he took to retard the King's March, by destroying the Country behind him, he was obliged, after passing the *Trent* over *Burton*-Bridge, to halt, in order to oppose the Passage of the Army which pursued him. But *Edward* retiring, to pass at another place, the Earl resolved to stand his Ground. Nevertheless, whether through Scruple, or fear of the King's superior Forces, he suddenly altered his mind. In hopes of freeing himself from these Streights, he advanced to *Burrow*-Bridge, where ran another River, which afforded no other Passage but over a Bridge defended by *Harcla*. In this extremity, he was under a Necessity either of resolving to fight the King, who closely pursued him, or of attempting to force this Pass, before the Royal Army came up (3). He chose the latter, and without loss of time, ordered the Bridge to be attacked. The vigorous Resistance of the Enemy, the Death of the Earl of *Hereford* (4), slain in the beginning of the Fight, and the Dread of being surprized by the King, who was advancing, so daunted *Lancaster*'s Troops, that instead of continuing the Attack, they took to flight, and dispersed themselves in the Country. *Harcla*, perceiving this Disorder, speedily passed the Bridge, and pursued the Runaways, of whom he took great Numbers Prisoners. The Earl of *Lancaster*, who endeavoured in vain to rally his Men, staying too long in hopes of succeeding, could not avoid the misfortune of being taken himself, with fourscore and fifteen Barons and Knights, and conducted to the Castle of *Pontefract* (5). This unfortunate Prince saw himself exposed to the Insults of the Soldiers, who in derision called him *King Arthur*, from his using that Name in some of the intercepted Letters. But this was not the most rigorous part of his Punishment. A few days after, the King being come to *Pontefract*, ordered him to be arraigned in the Hall of the Castle, before a small Number of Peers (6), who attended him, among whom were the two *Spencers*. By this little Assembly was the Earl condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered for a Traitor. But out of reverence to his Birth, the King was pleased to save him the Infamy of that Punishment, and only ordered him to be beheaded (7). Nine other Lords of his Party were sentenced to the same Punishment, and executed at *York*. The Lord *Badlesmere*, the first Cause of the War, and four other Barons, suffered the like Death at *London*, *Windsor*, *Canterbury*, and *Gloucester*, for a Terror to the Kingdom. Never since the *Norman Conquest*, had the Scaffolds been drenched with so much *English* Blood, as upon this occasion (8). These inhuman Proceedings were ascribed to the *Spencers*, who thereby rendered themselves extremely odious to all the World, and bred in the Hearts of the Nobility a Desire of Revenge, which was but too fully glutted in the end (9).

1322. Lancaster *attacks a Bridge defended by* Harcla. Knighton. Walsing.

He is taken Prisoner. De la M. Walsing.

A. S. Pub. III. p. 936 &c.

Badlesmere *and others are executed.* ibid. p. 936. Walsing.

The Spencers become odious.

Edward imagined, that after this Success against his Subjects, he could not but be very formidable to the *Scots*. In this belief, he resolved to march towards *Scotland* (10), big with the Expectation of surprizing *Robert*, and repairing, by this one Expedition, all his former Losses. Whilst he was in his own Territories, he had plenty of Provisions, every one striving to supply his Army, more out of Fear than Affection. But preposterously fancying, he should find the same Conveniences in the Enemy's Country, he was suddenly in a terrible Want. So, instead of advancing any farther, he was forced to return in haste, as he had done once before, without being the wiser by that Experience. But this was not all the Dishonour he received from this ill-concerted Expedition. Hardly had he begun to return into his own Dominions, when *Robert* closely pursued him even into *England*, and overtaking him at *Black-more*, eased him of his Baggage, and had like to have taken him Prisoner. The *English* Army being all dispersed on this occasion, *Robert* continu-

1323. Edward's *Expedition into Scotland.* Buchanan. Walsing. Knighton. De la M.

Is obliged to retire.

Is pursued by Robert, *who ravages* England. Act. Pub. III. p. 936.

Is pursued by the King. Act. Pub. III. p. 927. &c.

(1) *Thomas Culpeper.* *Walsing.* p. 115.
(2) The Lords *Hugh de Audley*, Senior, and *Maurice de Berkley* were sent Prisoners to *Wallingford* Castle. *Ibid.*
(3) *Robert de Holande* had promised to bring him a Reinforcement, but disappointed him, which was the Cause of his Defeat. *Knighton*, p. 2540.
(4) *Humphrey de Bohun*, who married *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edward* I, and Widow of the Earl of *Holland*. He is said to be thrust thro' the Belly by a *Welsh* Soldier from under the Bridge through a Chink. *Knighton. Walsing.* p. 116.
(5) This Battle was fought *March* 16. *Knighton. De la Moor.* p. 596.
(6) The Earls of *Kent*, *Richmond*, *Pembroke*, *Surrey*, *Arundel*, *Athol*, *Anagos*, &c. the *Monday* before *March* 25. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 940, &c.
(7) As he accordingly was, upon a Hill near *Pontefract*, *March* 25. *Chron. Eveſh.*
(8) Historians have given us the following Lists of the Names of the Barons that were put to Death. The Earl of *Lancaster*, the Lords *Waren de Lisle*, *William Tochet*, *Thomas Mandute*, *Henry de Bradburn*, *William Fitz-William* junior, *William Cheney*, at *Pontefract*; *Roger Clifford*, *John Mowbray*, *Jocelin D'eivill*, at *York*; *John Giffard*, at *Gloucester*; *Henry Teyes*, at *London*; *Francis de Aldenham*, at *Windsor*; *Bartholomew de Badlesmere*, and *Bartholomew de Asseburnham*, at *Canterbury*. Threescore and twelve Knights, (besides those hanged in Chains,) were shut up in Prison, who upon Fines paid, were afterwards set at Liberty, says *De la Moor.* *Walsing.* p. 116. *Knighton.* Col. 2541.
(9) A Parliament was held at *York* this Year, three Weeks after *Easter*, wherein the Process against the two *Spencers* for their Banishment, was revoked. And a tenth part was granted to the King of the Goods of the Lords and Commons of the Kingdom, and a sixth part of those belonging to the Cities, Boroughs, and antient Demesns. *Brady's Hist.* p. 140, *&c.* *Rot. Claus.* 15. 16 *Edw.* II. There was another held again this Year at the same Place, about the middle of *Novemb.* *Rymer's Fœd.* T. III. p. 978.
(10) Towards the latter End of *July*, and returned in the beginning of *Septemb.* *Walsing.*

1323. ed his March, ravaging the Country with Fire and Sword to the very Walls of *York* (1). At laſt, having burnt the Monaſtery of *Rippon* and ranſacked the Abbey of *Beverly*, he returned home loaded with Booty. Whatever reaſon that Prince had to expect great Advantages from the Continuance of the War, he entered into Negotiation for a Truce, which at length was concluded on the 13th of *May* 1324, for thirteen Years. He conſented the more readily to this Truce, as he was forced to give ſome Reſpite to his Subjects exhauſted by ſo long a War. Beſides, he hoped by that means to be reconciled to the Court of *Rome*, having received intimation, that his Abſolution, and the Removal of the Interdict, depended upon his Compliance.

Truce of thirteen Years. Act. Pub. III. p. 983. 1022. Walſingh.

The Submiſſion of the *Engliſh*, and the long Truce with *Scotland*, placed *Edward* preciſely in a Situation moſt agreeable to his Temper. He had nothing to divert him from his Pleaſures; enjoyed a peaceable Kingdom; and could leave the Government to his Favorites, without fear of being controlled by his Subjects. This was a Happineſs he could not attain till this Year, being the ſixteenth of his Reign. However, his Satisfaction was ſometimes diſturbed by the Remembrance of things paſt. The Death of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, of which he began to repent ſince his peaceable State, now and then ſtung him with bitter remorſe. This manifeſtly appears, in his Anſwer to certain Lords petitioning him to pardon a condemned Criminal (2). *Is it poſſible*, cried he, *that ſuch a Wretch as this ſhould find ſo many Friends to intercede for him, when not one would ſpeak in behalf of my Couſin of* Lancaſter, *who, if he had lived, might have been uſeful both to me and the whole Kingdom? therefore, as for this Fellow, he ſhall die as he deſerves.*

Edward *repents of the Death of* Lancaſter. Walſing. p. 117.

Uncertainty about the Earl of Lancaſter's *Character.*

The Character of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, was not much leſs ambiguous than the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s, in the Reign of *Henry* III. The King's and the *Spencer*'s Adherents called him Villain and Traitor, one that having taken Arms againſt his Sovereign, was juſtly condemned. But the People in general had his Memory in great veneration, conſidering him as a real Martyr for Liberty. Immediately after his death, his Tomb was flocked to, where many Miracles were pretended to be wrought (3). The King was even obliged, ſtrictly to command the Biſhop of *London*, to put a ſtop to the Superſtition of the People of his Dioceſe, who came and ſaid their Prayers to the Earl's Picture hung up in St. *Paul*'s Church. Probably, the Uncertainty concerning the Character of this Prince would have laſted much longer, if two things had not determined People in his favour. The firſt was, the Puniſhment of *Harcla*, who being made Earl of *Carliſle*, for taking *Lancaſter* Priſoner, incurred the Diſpleaſure of the *Spencers*, and upon a Suggeſtion of a Correſpondence with *Scotland*, was beheaded (4). The ſecond was, the Canonization of *Lancaſter* in 1389, at the Requeſt of *Edward* III, Son of him that had taken away his Life (5). After that, there was no room to queſtion the Sincerity of his Intentions: At leaſt, it was no longer permitted openly to defame his Memory.

Act. Pub. III. p. 1033.

Harcla *beheaded.* Act. Pub. III. p. 988. 994, 999. Walſing.

Great Power of the Spencers.

The Death of this Prince, and of ſeveral other Lords of the ſame Party, placed the *Spencers* on the top of the Wheel. As there was now no Man able to oppoſe them, theſe two Miniſters did, in the King's Name, whatever they thought agreeable with their Intereſts, without regarding a Party entirely reduced. Had they been ſo wiſe to moderate their Paſſion, and deny themſelves the Pleaſure of Revenge, they would have doubtleſs ſupported themſelves in their high Station, and cauſed their Maſter to paſs an eaſy and quiet Life. But where are Men of this Character to be found? The *Spencers*, to compleat their Vengeance, threw the Kingdom into greater and more fatal Troubles, than what were lately appeaſed. Not content with putting to death the Heads of the oppoſite Party, with depriving others of their Eſtates, and with condemning great numbers to perpetual Baniſhment, they believed themſelves yet unſafe, till they were rid of three Perſons who made them uneaſy, and with whom they were extremely incenſed; namely, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* (6) and *Hereford*, and *Roger Mortimer* the younger. This laſt, who had done them great damage, was in their power, being actually Priſoner in the *Tower*.

They perſecute their Enemies.

1323.

They attack the Biſhop of Hereford, *but are oppoſed.* Act. Pub. III. p. 617. 637. Walſing. De la M.

Adam Orleton, Biſhop of *Hereford*, was promoted to that Dignity by the Intereſt of Pope *John* XXII, in ſpite of all the King's Endeavours to the contrary. This Prelate, who had ſhown but little regard for the Court on that occaſion, rightly judged the King would not fail, when in his Power, to be revenged on him. For this reaſon he joined with the Earl of *Lancaſter*, to ſcreen himſelf from the Perſecution he juſtly feared. Matters having taken a quite different turn from what he expected, and the King preſerving an extreme Reſentment againſt him, his Ruin was determined. To that end he was ſummoned to anſwer in the King's Court to a Charge of High-Treaſon entered againſt him (7). He appeared, but refuſed to plead in any but the Eccleſiaſtical Court, inſiſting upon the Privilege of his Order. This Refuſal would have done him no Service, had he not been ſupported by the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*. Theſe Prelates conſidering the Sentence which the King's Court was going to pronounce, as a manifeſt Violation of the Church's Immunities, went in Company with ſeveral other Biſhops, and forbid the King's Judges to take cognizance of the Caſe, threatning them with Excommunication, if they dared to proceed. However deſirous the King and his Miniſters were to be rid of this Biſhop, the Clergy's Oppoſition hindered the Judges from paſſing Sentence, and the Affair was referred to the Parliament. Nevertheleſs, till this Proceſs was over, the King ordered the Temporalities of the Party accuſed to be ſeized.

The two Biſhops join together.

The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was in the ſame caſe, plainly perceived what would be his doom, if the Biſhop of *Hereford* was condemned. A common Intereſt forming a very ſtrict Union between theſe two Prelates, they applied themſelves to find means to raiſe Troubles, which ſhould ſhelter them from the King's Vengeance. Unhappily for him their Endeavours ſucceeded but too well.

Mortimer *is condemned twice, and pardoned.*

Roger Mortimer the younger was not, or at leaſt ſeemed not to be, in very favorable Circumſtances. Detained in cloſe Confinement, and deſtitute of a Character which might ſcreen him from the malice of the Favorites, who were extremely incenſed againſt him, he expected to forfeit his Head for the Damages he had done. And indeed he was condemned to die (8), but found a powerful Interceſſion with the King; who, notwithſtanding the Sollicitations of his Favorites, changed his Sentence to perpetual Impriſonment. It was no ſmall matter for *Mortimer* to eſcape death. The State he was in ſeemed to require his Patience, till time ſhould bring ſome alteration in his favour. But ſo ſlow and uncertain a means was not capable of making him eaſy. Whether he was afraid the King would, one time or other, be gained by his Enemies, or relied upon the ſame Protection that had already ſaved his Life, he entered into new Plots. Though a Priſoner, he attempted to make himſelf maſter of the *Tower*, and likewiſe of *Wallingford* Caſtle, by the help of his Friends. This Plot being diſcovered, one of his Accomplices was condemned to be hanged, and himſelf once more had the Sentence of Death paſſed upon him. However, he obtained his Pardon again.

Pat. 16. Edw. 2. Pat. 1. M. 34.

Walſing.

Remarks on his being thus pardoned.

When a Man reflects on the great Credit of the *Spencers*, their revengeful Temper, and the reaſon they had perſonally to hate *Mortimer*, he muſt be convinced, that the Protection which ſcreened him from their Vengeance was very powerful. On the other hand, if all the Circumſtances of this Reign be conſidered, it will not be thought likely, that any other Perſon but the Queen could poſſibly obtain ſuch a Favour from the King, againſt the Intereſt and Sollicitations of the Miniſters. This Conjecture is confirmed by the ſcandalous manner wherein that Princeſs afterwards lived with *Mortimer*;

(1) They took, among the reſt, *John de Bretagne* Earl of *Richmond* Priſoner. *Walſingham* p. 117.

(2) He was one of *Lancaſter*'s Family and ingaged with his Lord in the late Inſurrection, and being condemned to be hanged, ſome, about the King, becauſe he formerly had a Place at Court, offered to intercede for him. At which the King falling into a Paſſion ſaid as above. *Walſ.* p. 117. The words are tranſlated nearer the Original than in the *French*.

(3) He was buried in the Church of the Priory of *Pontfract*. The Prior and Monks giving out that Miracles were wrought at his Tomb, the Report gained Ground in ſuch a manner, that the King was forced to order the Church to be ſhut up. The King's Letter to the Biſhop of *London* on account of his Picture which was ſet up in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, and worſhipped by the People, is in Vol. III. p. 1033, of *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* See *Brady*. Vol. III. p. 136. *&c.*

(4) Before his being beheaded he was degraded of the Honour of Knighthood; which is the firſt Example of this kind. *Walſ.* p. 118.

(5) Queen *Iſabella* writ in 1326, the laſt Day of *February*, to the Pope, extolling the Virtues of the late Earl of *Lancaſter*, and deſiring his Holineſs to canonize him, and King *Edward* III, permitted a Chapel to be built over the Place where the Earl was beheaded: But his Canonization was not compleated till *Richard* II's Reign in 1389. See *Brady's Hiſt.* p. 138, 139. and *Appen.* N°. 64, 66.

(6) *Henry Burwarſche. De la Moor.* p. 597.

(7) He was arreſted in the Parliament held at *London* the beginning of *Lent*, and examined before the King and Lords upon divers Articles of High-Treaſon. *Walſ.* p. 119.

(8) And his Eſtates, together with his Uncle's, were forfeited, in 1322. Not long after, the elder *Mortimer* died in the Tower.

1323. from whence it may be inferred, their good Underſtanding commenced long before it was publickly known. For a further Confirmation of this may be added what all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly relate, that the Queen inceſſantly complained of the Severities, exerciſed upon the Friends of the late Earl of *Lancaſter*. This gives occaſion to preſume, that *Mortimer* was the principal Subject of her Complaints. Moreover, at this very time it was, that the *Spencers* began to vex Queen *Iſabella*, inſomuch, that by their Perſecutions, they obliged her to complain to the King of *France* her Brother, that ſhe was regarded but as a Servant in the King her Husband's Houſe. Now it does not appear, that the Favorites had any other Reaſon to mortify her, than the Protection ſhe granted to *Mortimer* their Enemy. All theſe Reaſons incline me to believe, there was at this time a Familiarity between *Iſabella* and *Mortimer*, and that the Protection ſhe publickly honour'd him with, drew upon her the Malice of the Favorites. The Vexation they gave her, led her to ſeek means to be revenged in her turn. This is truly the Source of the Events we are going to relate, concerning which Hiſtorians have expreſſed themſelves very obſcurely. Let us add here, in order not to return to *Mortimer* till there ſhall be occaſion, that quickly after he found means to eſcape out of the *Tower* (1), and lie concealed ſome time in *England*, notwithſtanding the diligent Search that was made to apprehend him. Though Hue and Cry was raiſed after him, which ſeldom fails of Succeſs, he had the good fortune to eſcape the Search, and retire into *France*. Probably, he was hid in ſome Place where they durſt not look for him. Let us now proceed to the fatal Effects of the Love, Ambition, and Revenge, which at that time poſſeſſed the Minds of the principal Perſons at Court.

The Queen is feared by the Spencers. De la M.

Mortimer. eſcapes into France. Walſing. Ad. Murim. De la M. Act. Pub. IV. p. 7, 20.

Affairs of Edward with France.

The Peace made by *Edward* I with *France* ſtill ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding certain Diſputes between the two Crowns, in the Reigns of *Lewis Hutin*, and *Philip le Long*, Sons and Succeſſors of *Philip the Fair*. Upon *Charles the Fair*'s Acceſſion to the Throne of *France*, after the Death of his Brothers, theſe Differences were conſiderably increaſed, on account of the Juriſdiction claimed by that Prince over *Guienne*, as Sovereign Lord of that Duchy. It is probable too that *Charles*, diſſatisfied at the ill Treatment of his Siſter Queen *Iſabella* in *England*, ſought occaſion to give *Edward* Marks of his Reſentment. An unexpected Accident in *Guienne*, gave him an opportunity to make himſelf Satisfaction. Hence flowed all thoſe Misfortunes which afterwards fell upon the King of *England*.

The King of France takes occaſion to ſeize Guienne. Act. Pub. III. p. 1005. IV. 48, 55, 63, &c.

At a Town in *Agenois*, called St. *Sardos*, held of the Caſtle of *Montpezat*, ſome Outrage was committed, which *Edward*'s Officers in *Guienne* neglected to redreſs (2). Whereupon the Parties concerned carried their Complaints to the King of *France*, as Sovereign. *Charles* embraced this opportunity to improve his Right over *Guienne*. He cauſed the Court of Peers to ſentence the Lord of *Montpezat*, and other *Gaſcon* Gentlemen to Baniſhment, and confiſcate their Caſtles to the Crown of *France*. By virtue of this ſentence, given without ſummoning the King of *England*, or his Officers, *Charles* would have taken poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Montpezat*; but was prevented by the *Engliſh*, who placed a ſtrong Garriſon there. This oppoſition occaſioned another Sentence, declaring the Garriſon guilty of Felony, for oppoſing the execution of the firſt. Mean while, the King of *France* ordered Troops to be raiſed in *Perigord*, and the neighbouring Provinces, with deſign to beſiege the Caſtle. To give the better colour to this Armament, he complained, that *Edward* had not done him Homage for *Guienne* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu* (3), and ſo had a Pretence ready to confiſcate theſe Provinces, in caſe his Arms met with the expected Succeſs. Indeed it was viſible, his Deſign was not to take a Caſtle only, ſince he ſent a formidable Army into *Guienne*, under the Command of *Charles de Valois* his Uncle, who made himſelf maſter of ſeveral Places. Certain it is, nothing was farther from *Edward*'s

Walſing. De la M.

1324. Charles de Valois *makes great Progreſs in* Guienne. De la M.

thoughts, than a deſire of entering into a War with *France*, and yet he took no Method to avoid it. Inſtead of giving the King his Brother-in-law ſome Satisfaction, by doing Juſtice to the Parties concerned in the Affair of St. *Sardos*, and by offering the Homage due to him, he ſtill kept his Character of neglecting great matters for the ſake of Trifles (4). It is true indeed, he ſent Commiſſioners into *Guienne* (5), with publick Orders to make inquiſition concerning the Buſineſs of St. *Sardos*. But by their private Inſtructions they were to do their utmoſt to oblige the Plaintiffs to deſiſt from their Appeal, which was not endeavouring to ſatisfy the King of *France*. As for the Homage, though he did not pretend to diſpute it, he excuſed himſelf from doing it, on pretence he had never been ſummoned in form. Mean time, he ſent his Brother, the Earl of *Kent*, to command in *Guienne*, but with ſo few Troops, that the Earl not daring to keep the Field, ſhut himſelf up in *Reole*, where he was beſieged, and at laſt forced to capitulate.

1324. Act. Pub. IV. p. 9.

Negotiation at Paris. Act. Pub. IV. p. 42, 63, 98, 100.

Before the Earl of *Kent* went over to *Guienne*, he was ſent to *Paris*, to try to adjuſt the Difference between the two Crowns. He had even agreed with the Court of *France* upon a Treaty, which the King his Brother refuſed to ratify. This was the Subject of a long Negotiation, which ſerved only to give the Earl of *Valois* time to purſue his Conqueſts in *Guienne*. At length, *Edward* perceiving the Duchy was in manifeſt danger, thought fit to make ſome Preparations, which occaſioned the Court of *France* to equip a Fleet, to oppoſe that of the *Engliſh*. The *Spencers*, ever watchful of occaſions to vex *Iſabella*, uſed this to deprive her of the Earldom of *Cornwal*, aſſigned her for her private Expences. They ſuggeſted to the King, that it was dangerous to leave that Country in the hands of the Queen, when he was in War with the King her Brother. They added, that probably, the Fleet the *French* were fitting out, was deſigned for an Invaſion from that quarter. This was ſufficient to induce *Edward* to reſume that Earldom in a very diſobliging manner to the Queen, without diſſembling that he thought her capable of holding a criminal Correſpondence with the Enemies of the State (6). This Indignity, which ſhe highly reſented, added to ſo many other Reaſons of Diſguſt againſt the *Spencers* and the King, in all likelihood, haſtened the Project, the particulars whereof I am going to relate.

ibid. p. 84.

Walſing.

1325. *The Pope tries to accommodate Matters.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 105. Walſing.

Though *Edward* made ſome Preparations for War, it was not by the Force of his Arms that he expected the Reſtitution of what was taken from him. His chief Reliance was on the Pope, who being choſen Mediator between the two Crowns, put him in hopes of a good Iſſue of this Affair. To work this Agreement, the Pope ſent two Nuntio's to *Paris* (7), where Ambaſſadors from *England* (8) alſo repaired. But the Negotiation went on ſo ſlowly that the *Engliſh* could not help ſhowing ſome Impatience. As they ſeemed inclined to return home, a Perſon of great Note in the Court of *France* took occaſion to inſinuate to the Nuntio's, that if the King of *England* would ſend his Queen to *Paris*, ſhe would undoubtedly obtain from the King her Brother much better Terms than the Ambaſſadors could expect. The Nuntio's having made this Propoſal to the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, it was reſolved that one of them, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (9), ſhould take a Journey to *London*, to perſuade their Maſter to follow the method ſuggeſted to them. Theſe particulars are to be ſeen in a Letter from *Edward* to the Pope on this occaſion, inſerted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. It was not therefore a Contrivance invented by the *Spencers* to be rid of the Queen, as ſome affirmed, ſince the Project came firſt from *France*. It is much more likely, that the Queen her ſelf put the King her Brother upon it, in order to have an opportunity of going to *Paris*, and beginning the execution of her Plot againſt the King her Husband and his Favorites. Be that as it will, the Propoſal being debated in Council (10), any expedient was thought preferable to a War, as mat-

It is propoſed to Edward to ſend his Queen to Paris. De la M. Walſing.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 140. De la M. Walſing.

He conſents to it. Act. Pub. IV. p. 143.

(1) On *Auguſt* 1. this Year. *Ad Murim.*

(2) The occaſion of the preſent Quarrel was this: *Hugh* Lord of *Montpezat* had built a Caſtle on ſome Land, which he pretended was within the Territories of the King of *England*, but which the King of *France* maintained to be his; and therefore he ſummoned the ſaid Lord before the Parliament of *Paris*, which adjudged the Land to the King of *France*; and his Officer in thoſe parts immediately ſeized the Caſtle. To recover which the Lord of *Montpezat* aſſembled all his Vaſſals, and received alſo Aſſiſtance from the King's Seneſchal of *England* in *Guienne*, by which means he ſoon became again maſter of his Caſtle, and put all the *French-men* that were in it to the Sword. *P. Daniel's Hiſt. of France.* Tom. V. p. 41.

(3) He ſent the *Sieur de Seonville*, and a Notary named *Andrew de Florence*, to ſummon him to perform that Homage. *Walſ.* p. 117. *De la Moor.* p. 596.

(4) Upon his being ſummoned by the King of *France*, he aſſembled the Parliament in *Lent* (of which mention is made a little above) to conſider what Anſwer he ſhould return to thoſe Summons. *Walſ.* p. 119.

(5) His Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, and the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*. *Ibid.* p. 120.

(6) There was only a Penſion allowed her. *Ibid.* p. 121.——At the ſame time the King iſſued out Commiſſions of *Array*, which ſee in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 78, 107.

(7) The Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, and the Biſhop of *Orange*. *Ibid.* p. 105. *Walſ.* p. 121.

(8) The Biſhops of *Winchester*, and *Norwich*, together with *John de Bretagne* Earl of *Richmond*, and Sir *Henry de Beaumont*, but afterwards in his room *William de Ayremine* Canon of *York*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 106, 145.

(9) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, *Exeter*. *Ibid.* p. 140. *Walſ.* p. 121.

(10) Or rather, in a Parliament, which was held at *Weſtminſter*, *January* 21. to deliberate about the Affairs of *Guienne*. *Ibid.* p. 121.

ters

1325. ters then ſtood in *England*. *Iſabella* was therefore deſired to go to *France*; to which ſhe ſeemed to conſent only in order to make Peace between the two Kings(1). Immediately after her Arrival at *Paris*, ſhe obtained a ſhort Truce, during which ſhe concluded a Treaty (2) with the King her Brother. By this Treaty the Duchy of *Guienne* was to be wholly reſigned to the King of *France*. That afterwards both the Kings ſhould meet at *Beauvais*, where *Charles*, at the Inſtance of the Queen his Siſter, ſhould reſtore *Guienne* to *Edward*, upon his doing Homage for it. That in this Reſtitution the Country of *Agenois* lately conquered by *France* ſhould not be included: But that the King of *England* ſhould be allowed to ſue for it in the Court of Peers, where Juſtice ſhould be done him. And in caſe the Court ſhould decree that *Edward* ſhould have poſſeſſion again, he ſhould be obliged to pay the King of *France* a certain Sum towards the Charges of the War; but ſhould pay nothing in caſe he loſt his Cauſe. The day after ſigning this Treaty, the Commiſſioners of *France*, for reaſons they did not care to explain, deferred fifteen days longer the Interview of the two Kings, which had been fixed to the *Aſſumption of the Virgin* (3).

Articles of Iſabella's Treaty with her Brother. Ib. p. 153. Walſing.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 156.

How diſadvantagious ſoever this Treaty appeared to *Edward*, as he was willing at any rate to avoid a War, he failed not to ratify it and prepare to do his Homage. The *Spencers* beheld theſe Preparations with great Uneaſineſs, knowing there were in the Kingdom great Numbers of Male-contents who might take advantage of the King's Abſence, to excite freſh Commotions. An Expedient found out in this Interval, either in *France*, or in *England*, freed them from their Trouble. It was inſinuated to the King, that if he would reſign to Prince *Edward* his Son aged thirteen Years, the Duchy of *Guienne* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, the King of *France* would receive the Homage of the young Prince, and reſtore him the Places he had promiſed to give up by the Treaty. In all likelihood this Overture came from the Court of *France*, as well as the Propoſal of the Queen's going to *Paris*. But it was only hinted to the King like the former, in order to induce him to demand that Favour himſelf. However that be, as every one is apt to flatter himſelf, *Edward* imagined that, out of Reſpect to him, the King of *France* had deviſed this Expedient, to excuſe him from doing what was very diſagreeable to him, or the Queen had obtained this Favour by her Sollicitations. Neither himſelf nor the *Spencers* perceived the Poiſon that lurked under this ſeemingly very advantagious Propoſal. They did not queſtion in the leaſt, but the management of *Guienne* would ſtill remain in their hands, in the Name of the young Prince, at leaſt during his Minority. On the other hand, the propoſed Change did not appear to be beneficial to *France*. But for that very reaſon they ſhould have ſuſpected it; ſince it ſeldom happens that any thing advantagious is offered to another, without the Propoſer's receiving ſome Benefit, though at firſt it does not appear. However, as *Edward* ſuſpected not his Queen, he accepted, without heſitation, the Offer, which excuſed him from a Journey he was very unwilling to make. This was, as one may ſay, throwing himſelf headlong into the Snare laid for him, the Queen's ſole Aim, in the whole Contrivance, being to get the Prince her Son with her, and to make him her Inſtrument to ruin the King her Husband.

Edward prepares to go and do Homage. Ib. p. 148, &c. De la M.

The giving up Guienne to his Son is propoſed to the King. Cont. Nun. Walſing. De la M.

He accepts the Propoſal.

Remarks which make appear that the King of France acted in concert with the Queen his Siſter.

There is hardly room to queſtion, that *Charles the Fair* was very deeply concerned in this Plot, when it is conſidered, that from him came the firſt Propoſal of ſending *Iſabella* to *Paris*. This gives occaſion to preſume, he was Author of the ſecond too, which tended to draw Prince *Edward* there alſo. And indeed, if he had not ſome private View, what Advantage could the Change propoſed be to him? Was it not more honourable, to ſee the King of *England* at his feet, than his Son? And yet, inſtead of appearing to have made any objection on this account, it is ſeen in ſeveral Places of the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he very readily came into it, by the great haſte wherewith this Agreement was made. The 21ſt of *Auguſt*, *Edward* had ſtill thoughts of going to *France*. The 24th of the ſame Month he writ to *Charles*, to be excuſed, upon a pretended Fit of Sickneſs, from meeting him at *Beauvais* on the day appointed. The 2d of *September*, he abſolutely reſigned to the Prince his Son the Earldom of *Ponthieu* (4). The 4th of the ſame Month, *Charles* ſigned Letters Patent, conſenting to the Subſtitution of the Son in his Father's room, on condition King *Edward* would reſign to his Son whatever he held in *France*. But this condition was already performed in *England* two days before, with reſpect to the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. Hence it is plain, this Negotiation was begun and ended between the 24th of *Auguſt* and the 4th of *September*, which doubtleſs will ſeem too ſhort a time, if the Court of *France* is ſuppoſed not to be already determined, to grant what ſhe well knew was going to be demanded. If the Son's Subſtitution in the Father's place, had been attended with no Conſequence, there would have been no occaſion to take much notice of it; the thing in itſelf being of little moment. But it was neceſſary to relate the Circumſtances, in order to ſhew it was a Plot contrived long before by the Queen, and a Snare laid by her for the King her Husband, and at the ſame time that ſhe acted in concert with the King of *France* her Brother. For, it is very hard to believe this Princeſs ſo politick, as to draw King *Charles* into her Project, without his or his Council's perceiving it. It is therefore very likely, that before *Iſabella* left *England*, ſhe had intimated to the King her Brother, that ſhe wanted to throw off the Dependence ſhe was kept in by the *Spencers*, and free herſelf from the ill Treatment ſhe received, by their Inſtigation, from her Husband. So, it may be very probably preſumed, it was in order to ſerve the Queen his Siſter, that *Charles* cauſed to be made indirectly the Propoſal of ſending her to *Paris*. That it was moreover in proſecution of the ſame Deſign, that he ſo readily came into the Treaty he concluded with her, when he might reaſonably expect to become maſter of *Guienne*. In fine, that it was with the ſame View, that he conſented to receive the Son's, inſtead of the Father's Homage. It is ſcarcely to be doubted, that the prolonging of the Term of the Homage, without giving the Reaſons, was a Conſequence of the ſame Project. It was believed, without doubt, there would be need of more time, to prevail with *Edward* to ſend his Son to *Paris*, to which it was imagined he would make ſome Objections. To all theſe reaſons may be farther added, that afterwards *Charles* permitted the Queen his Siſter to ſtay in *France*, notwithſtanding the repeated Inſtances of her Husband to the contrary. Moreover the *French* Hiſtorians own themſelves, he had promiſed her Aſſiſtance. Add to this, *Iſabella*'s Hatred of *Spencer* the younger, and her Paſſion for *Mortimer*, which ſhe took no further care to conceal, when ſhe had the Prince her Son in her power. Moreover let the Readineſs be conſidered, wherewith all the *Engliſh* Lords declared for her, when it was time, as we ſhall ſee preſently. From the Connexion of all theſe Circumſtances it is demonſtrable, that *Iſabella*'s Plot was formed before her Departure from *England*, and that the King her Brother was not ignorant of it. I have dwelt the longer on theſe particulars, becauſe the Hiſtorians ſeem to me to ſpeak very obſcurely of the Cauſes of the Revolution I am going to relate.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 163, &c.

Ib. p. 165.

Mezerai.

The two Kings being agreed upon the expedient propoſed, Prince *Edward* departed for *Paris* on the 12th of *September* 1325 (5), after receiving from his Father the abſolute Grant of the Duchy of *Guienne* and Earldom of *Ponthieu*. In a few days after his Arrival (6), he did Homage to the King his Uncle, who actually reſtored him *Guienne*, but kept *Agenois*, of which *Edward* the Father greatly complained. He pretended, that by the late Agreement *Charles* was obliged to reſtore all *Guienne* to his Son. *Charles*, on the contrary, maintained, that the reſtitution he had promiſed, had relation to the late Treaty, whereby he reſerved *Agenois* for himſelf. This Conteſt diſpleaſed not the Queen, who wanted a Pretence to ſtay at *Paris*, from whence ſhe did not intend ſo ſoon to depart. After the Arrival of the Prince her Son, all the *Engliſh* who had fled for refuge into *France*. or been baniſhed their own Country, came to her. *Roger Mortimer* was of this number, and became her chief Counſellor. From thenceforward *Edward*'s Ambaſſadors had but little acceſs to the Queen, and were no longer adviſed with, concerning the Affair of the reſtitution of *Agenois*. On the contrary, ſhe held frequent Councils, where none were admitted but the profeſſed Enemies of the King her Husband, and of the *Spencers*. Nay ſhe had ſecret Conferences with *Mortimer*, which occaſioned many Suſpicions. In fine, ſhe came to uſe ſo little diſcretion in her Familiarities with him, that *Edward*'s Servants at *Paris* were extremely offended thereat. On the other hand, her Return to *England* was deferred from day to day, on divers pretences, notwith-

Prince Edward comes to Paris. Act. Pub. IV. p. 168. Ib. p. 165, 172, &c.

He does Homage.

Walſing.

De la M.

The Queen's Plot againſt the King her Huſband.

Her Paſſion for Mortimer. Walſing.

(1) She paſſed over to *Calais*, in the beginning of *July*, attended only by the Lord *John Cromwel*, and four Knights. *Walſingham*, p. 121.
(2) *May* 31. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 156.
(3) *Auguſt* 15.
(4) The Articles whereby King *Edward* reſigned *Guienne* to his Son, were agreed upon at *Dover*, *September* 9. with the Conſent of the Prelates, and other great Men there preſent. Two of the Articles agreed upon at *Dover*, were, That if Prince *Edward* died before his Father, the Lands in *Guienne* ſhould return to his ſaid Father King *Edward*; and that the King of *France* ſhould neither marry, nor provide the young Prince a Guardian. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 165, 166. *Walſingham*, p. 121. *De la Moor*, p. 597.
(5) Attended by *William* Biſhop of *Oxford*, and other great Men. *Ibid.*
(6) *September* 21. *Walſingham*, p. 121.

1325. ſtanding the repeated orders of the King her Husband to bring home his Son (1). All the Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, ſhe was in love with *Mortimer*. Some ſay, her Paſſion began at *Paris:* But much more probably, it commenced (as was ſaid) in *England* before *Mortimer*'s Impriſonment. However this be, the Queen's ſecret Conferences with a Fugitive ſhe ought to have baniſhed her preſence, as an Enemy to the King, opened at length the Eyes of the Biſhop of *Exeter*, one of *Edward*'s Ambaſſadors. The Biſhop plainly perceiving his Maſter was betrayed, privately withdrew from the Court of *France* (2), to inform him of what was tranſacting at *Paris*. He acquainted him, not only with the Queen's ſcandalous Behaviour with regard to *Mortimer*, but aſſured him alſo they were contriving ſome Plot againſt him. He very juſtly built his Suſpicions on their frequent Councils with the Exiles, without ſuffering the Ambaſſadors to be preſent. *Edward* had already thought it very ſtrange, that after the Homage was done, the Mother and Son ſhould ſtay ſo long in *France*, and had often writ to recall them. The Biſhop of *Exeter*'s late Information entirely opening his eyes, he began from that moment to perceive his great error in ſending his Son to *Paris*. This made him repeat his Inſtances for their Return, and poſitively command the Queen to bring his Son with her, without ſtaying one minute for the Reaſons ſhe had hitherto alledged. His Orders were ſo urgent, that *Iſabella* was obliged to ſeek other excuſes. She cauſed the King her Brother to ſend him word, ſhe could not think of returning to *England*, without being firſt ſecured againſt the Treatment ſhe was apprehenſive of from *Spencer* the Son (8). *Edward*, in his anſwer to this Letter, juſtified *Spencer*'s behaviour to the Queen, by her own Letters to that Favorite, full of Friendſhip and confidence, ſince her being in *France*. Moreover, he aſſured the King his Brother-in-law, that he would never ſuffer *Spencer* or any other Perſon, to be wanting in the reſpect due to his Queen. He further repreſented to him, that if he had not entirely relied on his Sincerity, he ſhould never have ſent his Son into *France*, and deſired him to remember his promiſe, and ſend him back with all ſpeed. He writ in much the ſame manner to the Queen and Prince: but his Letters were all to no purpoſe. *Iſabella* was determined to purſue her point, and whilſt ſhe was taking meaſures at *Paris* to accompliſh her deſign, her Friends were effectually ſerving her in *England*. The Heads of her Party were *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Brother of him beheaded at *Pontfract*, and the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford*. They did not find it very difficult to form a ſtrong Party againſt the King, conſidering the Diſpoſitions of the Barons ſince the late cruel Executions.

The Biſhop of Exeter *informs the King of it.* Walſing.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 180, &c.

De la M. Chauſ. 19 Edw. II. M. 2. Dorſ.

The Queen complains of Spencer.

Edward's *Letter to* Charles *about that Matter.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 180.

Ib. p. 181, 182.

The Queen gains a Party in England. De la M. Walſing.

1326. *Iſabella treats with the Earl of* Hainault,

Froiſſart. Walſing.

and concludes a Marriage between Prince Edward *and his Daughter.*

Act. Pub. IV. p. 195.

Confutation of Edward's *baniſhing the Queen and his Son.*

1326. *Charles the Fair*, as the *French* Hiſtorians are forced to own, had promiſed the Queen his Siſter ſome Aſſiſtance, but was unwilling it ſhould appear he was concerned in her Plots (4). It was neceſſary therefore for *Iſabella* to find a Protector, who would not ſcruple openly to ſupport her Intereſts. To that end, ſhe applied to the Earl of *Hainault*, from whom ſhe believed ſhe ſhould be able to procure ſome Troops, to ſtrengthen her Party upon her Arrival in *England*. But as ſhe could not expect to gain that Prince, without making it turn to his advantage, ſhe concluded with him a marriage between her Son *Edward* and his Daughter *Philippa*, as if it had been in her power to diſpoſe of the young Prince. Several pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* plainly ſhew, this marriage was in hand whilſt the Queen was yet at *Paris*. Amongſt others, there was a Letter of King *Edward* to his Son, expreſly forbidding him, to enter into any Marriage-Ingagement without his Knowledge.

Mean time, the King of *France* ſtill permitted *Iſabella* to continue at *Paris*, and read without any Emotion, or Anſwer, *Edward*'s Letters, upbraiding him with Breach of Faith. The Information *Edward* received from the Biſhop of *Exeter*; the Queen's frivolous Excuſes to defer her Return; and King *Charles*'s connivance, troubled him extremely. He plainly ſaw, ſome Plot was contriving againſt him at *Paris*, tho' he could not tell what it was. But he was very ſenſible, the conſequences were to be dreaded, as long as the Prince his Son was in the hands of his Enemies. Moſt of the Hiſtorians affirm, the Contempt ſhewn by the Mother and Son for his Orders, induced him at length to baniſh them the Realm. But a Letter, he ſent the Pope on that Subject, manifeſtly ſhews, it was only a falſe rumour ſpread in *France*, on purpoſe to juſtify the Queen's ſtay. In the Letter *Edward* told the Pope, *That he had never ſuch a Thought: That the tender Age of his Son freed him from all Imputation of Diſobedience, of which the Queen alone was guilty, and that he had too great an Affection for both, to treat them ſo inhumanly.* After trying in vain all the ways he could deviſe, to oblige them to return to *England*, he turned his whole Fury upon the Ambaſſadors, who aſſiſted the Queen in the negotiation of the fatal Treaty, and reſolved to make them reſponſible for the Iſſue. He particularly charged the Biſhop of *Norwich* and Earl of *Richmond*, with prevaricating in the execution of their Orders (5), wherein he committed two egregious Errors: Firſt, as he increaſed thereby the number of his Enemies, who were already too numerous. Secondly, as he diſcovered his Incapacity to govern his Kingdom, ſince, as a minor King might have done, he caſt on his Miniſters the blame which he himſelf had incurred, by ratifying the Treaty. This Conduct could not fail to give his Enemies a great advantage; whoſe chief aim was to perſuade the People, the King was very unfit to govern. To this imprudent Proceeding, he added another, no leſs impolitick, in declaring War againſt *France*, without being in any readineſs to maintain it; and in giving *Charles* a plauſible pretence openly to ſupport his Siſter's Intereſts (6).

1326. Walſing. Act. Pub. IV. p. 200.

He accuſes his Ambaſſadors of Prevarication. Ib. p. 193.

Ib. p. 198.

He declares War with France. Ib. p. 216, 218.

As *Iſabella*'s project to dethrone the King her Husband has ſomething deteſtable in it, the *French* Hiſtorians would fain inſinuate that *Charles the Fair* her Brother was no way concerned in it. On the contrary, they affirm, that when he came to know it, he expelled her his Dominions, and forbid his Knights to give her any aſſiſtance. They would have ſpoke the whole Truth, if they had ſaid, he did not do this, till *Iſabella* had taken all her meaſures with the Earl of *Hainault*, and was upon the point of executing her deſign. *Mezerai* could not help diſcovering his thoughts, when he ſaid the *Spencers* were ſo liberal of their Money at the Court of *France*, that *Charles*, gained by Preſents, or awed by the Threats of a Rupture, prohibited his Subjects from aſſiſting the Queen. It is true he adds, that becauſe *Mortimer*, who had made his Eſcape out of the *Tower*, was come to Queen *Iſabella* at *Paris*, *Charles* deteſting their ſhameful Proceedings, would not ſuffer her any longer in his Dominions. But it is eaſy to ſee, the *French* King was not ſwayed by that Motive, ſince it is not true, that *Mortimer* followed the Queen into *France*, where he had been two Years before her. On the contrary, it is certain, *Charles* ſuffered his whole Court, above ſixteen Months, to be witneſs of the Familiarities between his Siſter and *Mortimer*. And if he ſent her afterwards out of his Territories, it was purely on account of the Uncertainty of the Iſſue, and to avoid the Blame of having approved of her Conduct, in caſe ſhe did not ſucceed.

Charles ſigns *his Siſter.*

Mezerai.

Iſabella leaving the Court of *France*, paſſed ſome days at *Abbeville*, from whence ſhe came to *Valenciennes*. Upon her Arrival, ſhe ratified the Treaty concluded between her and the Earl of *Hainault*, and contracted her Son *Edward* to the Princeſs *Philippa*. A few days after, ſhe repaired to *Dort*, where ſhe embarked the Troops ſupplied by the Earl of *Hainault*, who were all ready there, with Ships to tranſport them. *John de Hainault*, Brother of the Earl, had the Command; and the Queen, as a ſingular favour, gave him leave to ſtile himſelf her Knight. Some reckon theſe Troops but three thouſand Men (7). Others ſay, they were much more numerous. But ſhe did not rely ſo much upon theſe Forces, as upon the Diſcontents of the *Engliſh*, and the many Adherents procured her by her Friends in *England*. She landed on the twenty ſecond of *September* [at *Orewell*] in *Suffolk*, where ſhe was joined by *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and ſeveral other Lords (8). At the ſame time, the Enemies of the *Spencers* were very buſy in levying Troops to come to her aſſiſtance; and her Army ſoon became ſo numerous, that ſhe ſtruck Terror into

The Queen embarks at Dort. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 9. Walſing. Knighton.

De la M. *She lands in* England, *and is joined by the Malecontents.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 231.

(1) The King ſent for her, and his Son, again ſoon after *Michaelmaſs*. *Walſingham*, p. 122.

(2) Having been diſmiſſed from being of her ſecret Council, he left her, and returned to *England*. *Ibid.*

(3) It was then reported, whether true or falſe, That the *Deſpenſers* had procured the King's Conſent to make away the Queen his Wife, and Prince *Edward* his Son. *Walſingham*, p. 123.

(4) *Froiſſart* relates, That as *Iſabella* was providing for her Voyage, *Hugh le Deſpenſer* having notice of it, contrived with with Preſents to buy off the *French* King; inſomuch that he forbid, under pain of Baniſhment, any of his Subjects from aſſiſting the Queen. Vol. I. c. 8.

(5) And thereupon ſeized their Lands and Goods. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 209.

(6) At the ſame time, he iſſued out his Orders, dated at *Gaywod*, *February* 8. to all the Sheriffs in *England*, to ſummon all the Earls, Barons, Knights, and others holding by Knight's Service, Arraiers of Foot-Soldiers, light Horſe-men, *&c.* to get themſelves in a readineſs: As alſo to *John l'Eſturmy* Admiral of the *North*, to *Nicholas Kyriel*, Admiral of the South Seas, and to *Ralph Baſſet* of *Drayton*, Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, and Guardian of the *Cinque-Ports*, to oppoſe the Landing of any of the King's Enemies. *Ibid.* p. 189.——Not long after, *viz. April* 18. he renewed his Father's Orders confirmed by the Parliament, againſt thoſe that ſpread falſe Rumours, in order to ſow diſcord between the King and his People; the Penalty of which was impriſonment. *Ibid.* p. 202.

(7) Two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſeven Men at Arms, ſays *Walſingham*, p. 123.

(8) Particularly *Aymeric de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the Biſhops of *Hereford*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, and *Dublin*.

1326. thoſe who were deſirous to ſerve the King. That unfortunate Prince, who had received timely notice that a Plot was contrived againſt him at *Paris*, had, according to cuſtom, employed himſelf in ſeeking ineffectual Remedies for the impending Evils. Inſtead of raiſing an Army, and equipping a Fleet, which might have quaſhed the Deſigns of his Enemies, he had only writ to the Pope and the King of *France*, Letters which were to no manner of purpoſe. Wherefore, upon the Arrival of the foreign Troops, he was deſerted by all, and unable to withſtand his Enemies. In vain did he publiſh a Proclamation, commanding his Subjects to fall upon the Foreigners, and ſet a Price upon *Mortimer*'s Head (1); not a Man ſtirred to obey him. The Earl of *Kent*, his own Brother, ſided with the Male-contents, and went over to the Queen. In this Extremity he reſolved to retire into the Weſt, with the two *Spencers*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Chancellor *Baldoc*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few other Adherents of the Favorites.

p. 194, 210, 212.

Edward deſerted by all.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 232, 233. Walſing. De la M.

The Queen publiſhes a Manifeſto. Act. Pub. IV. p. 236. Walſing. X. Scriptor. Col. 2764.

Mean time, the Queen, whoſe Army daily increaſed by the Troops brought her from all Parts, publiſhed a Manifeſto in her own, as well as in the Names of *Edward* her Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, ſetting forth the Reaſons of their taking Arms. They pretended, their ſole Aim was to free the Church and State, from the Oppreſſions to which they were liable, by the Male-Adminiſtration of the King, and the Tyranny of the *Spencers*. Adding, theſe unworthy Favorites and their Adherents ought to be deemed Enemies of the State, ſince by their pernicious Counſel, and Abuſe of the Royal Authority, they unjuſtly deprived, ſome of their Lives, others of their Eſtates and Liberty; without any regard to the Laws of the Land, or the Privileges of the People. This Manifeſto was publiſhed at *Wallingford*, *October* the fifteenth, whilſt the Queen was marching in purſuit of the King.

The King leaves Spencer the Father at Briſtol, and thinks of retiring to Ireland. Walſing. De la M.

Edward was then little able to withſtand his Enemies. All his Endeavours to raiſe Troops had proved ineffectual: No body would expoſe himſelf to the Queen's Reſentment, or hazard his Life and Fortune for an unhappy Prince, who was now looked upon as loſt. In this Extremity, finding no remedy in *England*, he reſolved to retire into *Ireland*, and leave *Spencer*, the Father, in *Briſtol*. He fancied, the Siege of that Place would ſo long employ the Queen, that he ſhould have time to take ſome meaſures. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he went on board a ſmall Veſſel, and ſet ſail for *Ireland*.

He is driven on the Coaſt of Wales, where he hides himſelf.

But he was driven by contrary Winds on the Coaſt of *Wales*, where he was forced to land, and lie concealed in the Abbey of *Neath*, till the Wind became fair, or he could form ſome other Deſign. Whilſt this unhappy Prince could hardly find in his own Kingdom a Place of Safety, the Queen over-ran the Counties with a wonderful Rapidity. Every one was eager to ſupply her Army with Neceſſaries. At length ſhe came before *Briſtol*, where *Spencer* made but a faint Reſiſtance. The City ſurrendring after a few days Siege, the old Gentleman, aged fourſcore and ten Years, was immediately hung up [in his Armour,] without any Formality (2).

The Queen takes Briſtol, and hangs Spencer the Father. De la M.

Mean while, the City of *London* following the Example of the reſt of the Kingdom, declared for the Queen. In vain did [*Walter de*] *Stapleton*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, whom the King had left Guardian of the City, endeavour to keep it for his Maſter. His Efforts ſerved only to excite againſt him the Fury of the Populace, who treating him with great Indignity, at length cut off his Head (3). The Citizens likewiſe, enraged againſt the King, became maſters of the *Tower*, and releaſed all the Priſoners confined by the *Spencers* (4).

London declares for the Queen.

The Biſhop of Exeter beheaded. Walſing.

At *Briſtol*, where the Queen ſtaid ſome days, ſhe was informed of the King's being embarked for *Ireland*. As he had not committed the Government to any Perſon, the Lords who attended the Queen, uſed that pretence, to name for Guardian, or Regent of the Kingdom, Prince *Edward* (5), who took upon him the Adminiſtration. This done, the Queen came to *Glaceſter*, where the Gates were opened to her. Here ſhe publiſhed a Proclamation, inviting the King to come and reſume the Government: but herein ſhe acted not with Sincerity. She not only had no intention to re-inſtate the King, but very well knew he never would venture to place any Confidence in her, after being ſo cruelly treated. 1326.

Prince Edward choſe Regent. Act. Pub. IV. p. 237.

The Queen by Proclamation invites the King to return.

Whilſt the Queen was at *Glaceſter*, a Report being ſpread that the King was ſome where concealed in *Wales*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* was detached in queſt of him. His Diligence, and a Reward of two thouſand Pounds promiſed by the Queen, to any Perſon that ſhould take *Spencer* the younger, ſoon gained him intelligence of the Place, where the unhappy King thought to be concealed (6). He had with him only *Spencer*, Chancellor *Baldoc*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few Domeſticks, all the reſt forſaking him in his Misfortunes. As the Abbey of *Neath* was no proper place to keep the Priſoners, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* carried them to *Monmouth* Caſtle till farther Orders (7). When the Queen heard that the King her Husband, and her principal Enemies were in her Power, ſhe held a Council, to know how ſhe was to behave at this juncture. It was reſolved in the Council, that the Biſhop of *Hereford* ſhould be ſent to demand the Great-Seal of the King; as well to hinder him from uſing it againſt the Queen, as to be able to call a Parliament, without which nothing could be done but what would want a lawful Authority. If what had hitherto paſſed, diſcovered to the King the Deſigns of his Enemies, this laſt Circumſtance fully convinced him, he ſhould be no longer regarded, ſince by taking from him the Great-Seal, he was deprived at the ſame time of the Exerciſe of the Royal Authority. He delivered it however, without ſhewing any Reluctance, and gave the Queen and the Prince his Son Power to uſe it as they pleaſed, even in matters of mere Grace. This was the laſt Act of Authority performed by this Prince, who ſhortly after was conducted to *Kenelworth* Caſtle.

The King is taken and carried to Monmouth. Ibid. Walſing. De la M.

He is forced to deliver up the Great-ſeal. Act. Pub. IV. p. 237.

Ib. p. 237. Walſing.

When the Queen had the Great-Seal in her poſſeſſion, ſhe uſed it to her own Advantage, as well to order the Payment of her Debts, as to call a Parliament in the captive King's Name. She had not patience to ſtay till the meeting of the Parliament, to be revenged upon *Spencer* and the reſt of her Enemies. The Earl of *Arundel* (8) had now loſt his Head by her Orders at *Hereford*; where ſhe had a mind to ſacrifice the others to her Vengeance. She marched to that City, ordering the Priſoners to be conducted in a moſt ignominious manner, to expoſe them all the way to the Inſults and Curſes of the People. As ſoon as ſhe arrived, ſhe cauſed *Spencer* and *Simon de Reading* to be brought to their Trials; of whom the firſt was hanged on a Gibbet fifty foot high, and the other ten foot lower. As for Chancellor *Baldoc*, as he was in Holy Orders, and it was not ſafe to proceed againſt him in the ſame manner, he was delivered to the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and carried to *London*. But in entering the City, the Mob fell upon him, and terribly abuſing him, threw him into *Newgate*, where he died of the Blows he had received.

A Parliament called in the King's Name. Act. Pub. IV. p. 242.

The Earl of Arundel *beheaded.* Walſing.

Spencer *and* Simon de Reading *hanged.* Knighton. Walſing. De la M.

Baldoc *dies in* Newgate.

The Favorites and Miniſters having thus received the Reward of their Pride and Cruelty, the Queen came to *London*, to take new meaſures concerning the Parliament which was to meet. She entered the City in triumph, amidſt the Acclamations of the People, who called her *their Deliverer*, and expreſſed their Thankfulneſs, for the pretended Service ſhe had done the State. The Parliament meeting in *January* (9) 1327, the firſt thing taken into conſideration, was the depoſing of the King, for which every one was now ſo prepared, that the unfortunate King had not ſo much as a ſingle Advocate to plead for him. It was unanimouſly reſolved, the King ſhould be depoſed, and his Son *Edward* made King in his room. The Heads of the Charge exhibited againſt him, were digeſted into ſeveral Articles, of which ſome were very much aggravated, and others only bare Repetitions, in order to ſwell the Number. In general, he was accuſed, of not having governed according to the Laws of the Land; of having made uſe of ill Counſellors, and rejecting the Advice of his faithful Subjects. [The Articles at length were (10):

1327. *The Parliament meets.* Walſing.

Edward *is depoſed, and his Son choſen in his room.*

X Scriptor. Col. 2765. Walſing.

" I. Firſt, For that the Perſon of the King was not " ſufficient to govern; for in all his time he was led and

(1) A thouſand Pounds. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 233. This Proclamation is dated at the Tower of *London*, *Sept.* 28.

(2) *October* 25. *Knighton*, Col. 2544.

(3) He was a great Benefactor to *Oxford*, founded and endowed *Exeter* College, and built *Hart-Hall*. The Reaſon of the Mob's Fury againſt him was, That being Treaſurer of the Kingdom, he had perſuaded the King's Council to cauſe the itinerant Juſtices to ſit in *London*, who finding that the Citizens had offended in many things, deprived them of their Liberties; fined ſome, and inflicted corporal Puniſhments on others. *Walſing.* p. 124.

(4) They alſo took *John Marſhall*, Servant to *Hugh le Deſpenſer* junior, and, without any more ado, cut off his Head, and plundered all his Goods. *Walſing.* p. 124.

(5) On *October* 26. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 237.

(6) The King was taken *November* 16. *Walſing.* p. 125.

(7) This was done on *November* 20. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 237.

(8) *Edmund Fitz-Alan* deſcended from a Daughter of the Family of the *Albini* Earls of *Arundel*. He was mortally hated by *Mortimer*. It was laid to his Charge, that having married his Son and Heir to the Daughter of *Hugh le Deſpenſer*, he had been privy to his Counſels, and had done the Queen much Prejudice in her Abſence; and beſides, had procured the Death of *Thomas* late Earl of *Lancaſter*, with that of *Gondomar de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*. *Knighton.*

(9) *January* 7. *Walſing.* p. 126.

(10) The Articles are here inſerted at length, becauſe it was thought they might be more ſatisfactory to the Reader, than the Abſtract given by *Rapin.*

1327. " governed by others, who gave him evil Counſel, to " the diſhonour of himſelf, and deſtruction of Holy " Church, and all his People; not conſidering or know- " ing whether it was good or evil; nor would remedy " theſe things, when he was requeſted by the great and " wiſe Men of his Realm, or ſuffer them to be amend- " ed.

" II. Alſo, in all his time he would not give himſelf " to good Counſel, nor take it, nor to the good Govern- " ment of his Kingdom; but always gave himſelf to Works " and Employments not convenient, neglecting the Buſi- " neſs of his Realm.

" III. Alſo for want of good Government he loſt the " Kingdom of *Scotland*, and other Lands and Dominions " in *Gaſcogne* and *Ireland*, which his Father left him in " Peace and Amity with the King of *France*, and many " other great Perſons.

" IV. Alſo, by his Pride and Cruelty, he deſtroyed " Holy Church, and the Perſons of Holy Church, put- " ting ſome in Priſon, and others in Diſtreſs; and " alſo put to ſhameful Death, and impriſoned, baniſhed, " and diſherited many great and noble Men of the " Land.

" V. Alſo, whereas he was bound by his Oath to do " Right to all, he would not do it, for his own Profit, " and the Covetouſneſs of him and his evil Counſellors " which were with him; neither regarded the other Points " of the Oath which he made at his Coronation, as he " was obliged.

" VI. Alſo, he abandoned his Realm, and did as much " as he could to deſtroy it and his People; and what is " worſe, by his Cruelty, and the default of his Perſon, " he is found incorrigible, without hopes of Amendment. " All which things are ſo notorious, they cannot be gain- " ſaid.]

This Act paſſing *Nemine Contradicente*, young *Edward* was proclaimed King in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by the Name of *Edward* III. Then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preached a Sermon on theſe words, *The Voice of the People, the Voice of God*; wherein he endeavoured to vindicate what the Parliament had done, and exhorted the People to pray to the King of Kings for their new Sovereign.

Pretended Sorrow of the Queen. Walſing.

When the News of this rigorous Sentence was brought to the Queen, ſhe ſeemed to be extremely moved, even to the burſting out into Tears. But her outward Grief little agreed with all her Proceedings to dethrone her Husband; much leſs with her Paſſion for *Mortimer*, of which ſhe gave ſuch publick Marks, that it was impoſſible to be miſtaken. The Prince her Son, whoſe Youth made him leſs ſuſpicious, was perhaps the only Perſon that was affected with her counterfeit Tears. Urged by his generous Inclinations, he ſolemnly vowed not to accept the Crown during the King his Father's Life, without his expreſs Conſent. This Vow ſomewhat broke the meaſures of the Parliament. They were afraid *Edward* the Father would perſiſt in keeping the Title of King, though ſtript of all his Authority. In this Perplexity, it was deemed abſolutely neceſſary, to oblige him to reſign his Crown to the Prince his Son. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* were ſent to prepare him. Then the Parliament nominated twelve Commiſſioners; namely, three Biſhops, three Earls, two Barons, two Abbots, and two Judges (1); to whom was added Judge *Truſſel*, as the Nation's particular Procurator, to declare to him, that the People of *England* were no longer bound by their Oath of Allegiance, and to receive his Reſignation. Nothing ſhewed ſo much their Reſentment againſt the unfortunate King, as their Choice of the two firſt Biſhops (2), whom he had all along looked upon as his Enemies, and who indeed diſcharged their Commiſſion very rudely. Inſtead of giving him Conſolation, they inſulted over his Misfortunes, in endeavouring to perſuade him, he was depoſed for his own Good, and to eaſe him of the great Weight of the Government, that he might live more happily than he had hitherto done. But as their malicious Diſcourſe made no great impreſſion upon him, they plainly told him, unleſs he complied with the Parliament, his Condition would be rendered more unfortunate: Adding, his Obſtinacy would be a great Prejudice to his Family; for, if he refuſed to reſign the Crown to his Son, the Nation was reſolved to elect a King, not of the Royal Family. Upon theſe words, they withdrew, in order to give him time to conſider of his Anſwer to the Commiſſioners, who were coming to receive his Reſignation.

The Prince would not accept the Crown without the King's Conſent. Walſing.

The Parliament obliges the King to reſign his Crown. De la M. Knighton.

1327. *Sad State of Edward.* De la M.

At the Arrival of the Commiſſioners, the unfortunate King came out from his Bed-Chamber in a Mourning-Gown, with Looks demonſtrating his inward Trouble. As he was acquainted with the occaſion of their coming, the ſight of that formidable Power, which had juſt deſpoiled him of Royalty, made ſuch an impreſſion upon his Mind, that he fell into a Swoon, from whence he could hardly recover. As ſoon as he came to himſelf, the Commiſſioners told him their Meſſage, and repreſented to him, the ill Conſequences of his Refuſal. Then, the unhappy Prince, with a Sadneſs that could not be ſeen without Pity, anſwered, " That he ſubmitted to " whatever was required of him, with the greater reſig- " nation, as he acknowledged, his Sins were the ſole " cauſe of his Misfortunes." He added moreover, " that " he could not behold without extreme Grief, the Aver- " ſion his People had for him; but if his Sorrow could " admit of any Comfort, it was from the conſideration " of his Subjects Goodneſs to his Son, for which he re- " turned them Thanks." Walſing. Knighton. *His Anſwer to the Deputies.*

After this Anſwer, he proceeded to the Ceremony of his Reſignation, by delivering to them the Crown, Scepter, and the other Enſigns of Royalty. Then Sir *William Truſſel*, addreſſing himſelf to the King, ſpoke in this manner, making uſe of a Form of his own, in a caſe where there was no Precedent to follow. *I* William Truſſel, *Procurator of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and People in my Procuracy named, having for This full and ſufficient Power, do ſurrender unto you*, Edward, *late King of* England, *the Homage and Fealty of the Perſons aforeſaid, and do acquit the ſame, in the beſt manner the Law and Cuſtom can give it, and do make this Proteſtation, in the Name of all thoſe that will not be in your Fealty or Allegiance for the future, nor claim or hold any Thing of you as King, but account you as a private Perſon, without any manner of Royal Dignity* (3). After theſe Words, the High-Steward, [Sir *Thomas Blunt*] broke his Staff, and declared all the King's Officers diſcharged from his Service. Thus ended the Reign of *Edward* II, in the forty third Year of his Age, having laſted nineteen Years, ſix Months and fifteen Days. *He reſigns the Enſigns of Royalty.* *A new Proceedure in this Caſe.* Polychron. l. 7. c. 43. Knighton. De la M.

This Prince had a very mean Genius, which permitted him not to diſtinguiſh what was for his Advantage, from what was hurtful to him. He followed his Humour, without troubling himſelf about the Conſequences, and without being able to remedy the Misfortunes he thereby drew on himſelf. Though he had many Failings, he may be affirmed to be more weak than wicked. To ſum up his Character in a few Words, he was exceeding like his Grandfather *Henry* III. *Edward* his Father, a much wiſer Prince than he, and taught by the Misfortunes of the two Kings his immediate Predeceſſors, ever avoided, as a moſt dangerous Rock, all occaſion of Quarrel with the Nobility; chuſing rather to give way a little, than hazard his quiet to gratify his Reſentment. The Son had not a ſufficient Capacity to follow ſo good an Example, or to improve by his Inſtructions. He gave up himſelf entirely to his Favorites, and choſe rather to forfeit the Affection of his People, than deny himſelf the Satisfaction of heaping Favours on thoſe he loved. His Weakneſs and Incapacity drew on him the Contempt of his Subjects, which was ſoon changed into hatred, when he was ſeen to ſacrifice all to his Paſſions. He had the Misfortune to have a beautiful and amorous Wife, who giving way to an infamous Paſſion, compleated his Ruin, for fear perhaps of being herſelf prevented. Certainly, he was treated too ſeverely by his Subjects, whoſe Inſolence increaſed in proportion to their Sovereign's Weakneſs. One cannot obſerve without wonder, that there was not a ſingle Perſon willing to draw his Sword in his Defence. I ſhall not undertake to determine how far, in thoſe Days, the Rights of the People, with regard to the King, might extend. I ſhall only ſay, there was no Precedent to follow; for this is the firſt Inſtance, in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, of a King depoſed by his Subjects, at leaſt ſince the Conqueſt. *Edward* II is taxed with being given to drink. Some ſpeak of his Fondneſs for *Gaveſton*, ſo as to make it believed very Criminal. Others, on the contrary, commend him for his Continency. And indeed, we do not find he had any Miſtreſſes or Baſtards, like ſome of his Predeceſſors. He founded *Oriel-College* and St. *Mary-Hall* in *Oxford* (4), and built a Monaſtery for Friars on his Eſtate at *Langley*. *Character of Edward II.* De la M.

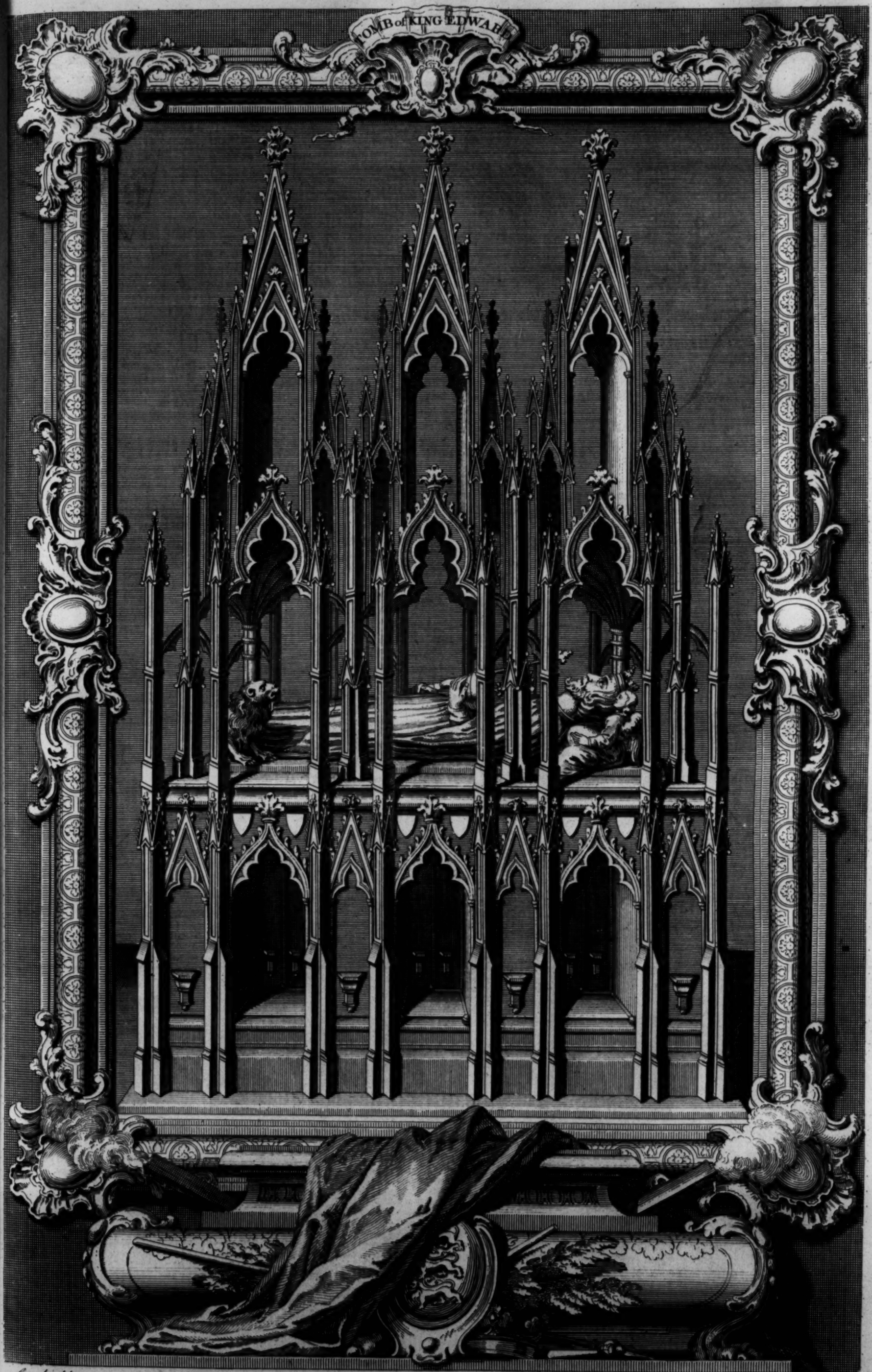
He had by *Iſabella* of *France* two Sons, and two Daughters. The eldeſt of his Sons was *Edward* III, his Suc- *His Iſſue.*

(1) *Walſingham* ſays, that it was three Biſhops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, three Knights from every County, and a certain Number of Perſons from the Cities and great Towns, chiefly from the *Cinque-Ports*. p. 126. So *De la Moor*, p. 600.

(2) *Adam de Orleton*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Henry Burwaſche*, *Biſhop of Lincoln*.

(3) This is tranſlated nearer the Original than in *Rapin*. *Knighton*, Col. 2550.

(4) The Honour of founding *Oriel-College* is attributed to *Edward* II, though he did little more than grant Licence to *Adam de Brom* his Almoner in 1324, to build and endow a College to be called St. *Mary's Houſe*. To this Society, King *Edward* III, in the firſt of his Reign, gave a Tenement called



Grandbt. del.

C. Du. Bosc. sculpt.

The MONUMENT of King EDWARD II. in the Cathedral Church of Gloucester.

1327. Succeſſor. The youngeſt called *John* of *Eltham*, the Place of his Birth, died in the Flower of his Age, in his Brother's Reign, without Iſſue. *Joanna* the eldeſt Daughter was married to *David* King of *Scotland*. *Eleanor*, the ſecond, was Wife of *Reynald* Duke of *Guelders* (1).

An Earthquake. I ſhall cloſe the Hiſtory of this Reign with two events, which I have not had occaſion to ſpeak of elſewhere. The firſt was an Earthquake, the moſt terrible that had ever been felt in *Great Britain*. The ſecond was the Suppreſſion of the Order of the *Knights-Templars*, both in *England* and all other Chriſtian States. This Order was firſt inſtituted at *Jeruſalem*, in the Reign of *Baldwin* IV (2), for the defence of the *Holy Sepulchre*, and Protection of the Pilgrims that reſorted thither from all parts. *Hugo de Paganis* and *Geoffrey de St. Ademar* were the Founders. The Knights of this Order were at firſt called, *The Poor of the Holy City*. Afterwards they had the Name of *Templars*, becauſe their firſt Houſe was near the *Temple*. Hence it is, that all their Houſes were ſtiled Temples. This Order was confirmed in the Council of *Troye*, 1127, and its *Rule* compoſed by St. *Bernard*.

Suppreſſion of the Templars. *M. Paris. p. 67. Walſing. p. 96.*

After the Downfal of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, about the Year 1186, this Order was diſperſed over all *Europe*, and increaſed prodigiouſly by the Liberality of the Chriſtians (3). Riches ſoon changed the Manners of the Knights. In proceſs of time their ſcandalous Lives, joined to an inſupportable Pride, cauſed them to be as odious, as they were eſteemed in the beginning of their Inſtitution (4). *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, being diſobliged by thoſe of his Kingdom, and (5) not content with puniſhing the Offenders, attempted the Ruin of the whole Order, by means of Pope *Clement* V, whom he had artfully gained. In the firſt place, he ordered all the *Templars* in *France* to be ſeized (6), as well as the Grand Maſter of the Order, who reſided in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and by the Pope's order, was come to *Paris*. Then upon a Charge exhibited againſt them, that at their reception into the Order, they denied *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſpit (7) upon a Crucifix, he cauſed fifty ſeven to be burnt, among whom was the Grand Maſter. To this accuſation was added others of Hereſy, Sodomy, and other numberleſs Crimes. To oblige the King of *France*, *Clement* V, earneſtly preſſed *Edward* II, to follow the Example of *Philip* his Father-in law. After much Sollicitation, he obtained at length, that all the *Templars* in *England* ſhould be ſeized (as they were in *France*) in one day (8). *Edward* being prevailed with, in expectation of their Eſtates, which were very conſiderable, held a National Synod at *London*, where they were condemned. However, They were not treated ſo rigorouſly as in *France*. They were only diſperſed in the Monaſteries to do Penance, with a moderate Penſion paid out of the Revenues of the Order. The Severities exerciſed upon them in *France* and *England*, would no doubt have ſufficed, if the Deſign had been only to chaſtiſe them: but their Deſtruction was determined. *Clement* V, agreeing in this point with *Philip the Fair*, cauſed ſtrict Inquiry to be made, and many Witneſſes to be heard, who accuſed not ſome particular *Knights* only, but the whole Order, of the moſt enormous Crimes. If theſe Depoſitions were well atteſted, one can hardly conceive it poſſible, there could be ſo deteſtable a Society among Chriſtians. But every Body was not equally perſuaded of the Truth of theſe Evidences, particularly as to what concerned the Order in general. Theſe Preparations being made, the Pope called at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, a general Council, where he preſided in Perſon; and where *Philip* was pleaſed alſo to be preſent, to promote the Condemnation of the Order. But they did not find the Council diſpoſed as they expected. The Biſhops could not think of condemning Men that were not convicted, or even ſummoned before the Council to anſwer for themſelves. Theſe Proceedings of the Pope, without hearing what the Order could alledge in their defence, did not appear ſufficient to the Council, who wiſhed that things were done in a more legal manner. So the Pope was obliged to uſe the *Plenitude of his Apoſtolical Power*, in ſuſpending this Order for ever, by a *Bull* read in the ſecond Seſſion. As the Council was not prepared for it, no Man ventured to oppoſe the *Bull*; and their Silence was taken for an Approbation, according to the method now ſome time eſtabliſhed. By the ſame *Bull*, the Pope reſerved to the Holy See, the Diſpoſal of the Eſtates of the *Templars*; and, ſhortly after, *Clement* aſſigned them to the *Hoſpitallers* or *Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem*, called at this Day, *Knights of Maltha*. *Edward* II, who had taken poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of the condemned Order, in vain oppoſed the Pope's Grant to the *Hoſpitallers*, and inſiſted on the Prerogatives of his Crown, by which all Confiſcations were adjudged to him. The Troubles in *England* during his Reign, would not permit him to keep Poſſeſſion (9). Thus the whole Order of the *Templars* were made to ſuffer the Puniſhment deſerved, doubtleſs, by ſome of their Members, but which, probably, was not due to all in general.

1327.

Puteanus Hiſt. de la Condam. des Templ.

Act. Pub. III. *from p. 30, to 292.*

Act. Pub. III. p. 326, 955.

called *Le Oriele*, on which Ground ſtands *Oriel-College*. The preſent St. *Mary-Hall* was a long Time the Parſonage-Houſe to the Rector of St. *Mary's*; which Church being appropriated by *Edward* II, to the College founded by *de Brom*, the Houſe came alſo in their Poſſeſſion, and was ſoon after allotted for the Reſidence of Students. *Camd. Add. Oxfordſhire.* But if *Edward* II was not the Founder of that College, it is certain he founded in *Oxford* 1313, a Houſe for *Carmelites*, or *White Friers*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 217.——In 1317, *February* 14, died *Margaret*, Relict of King *Edward* I, and was buried in the Quire of the *Grey-Friers* Church in *London*. *Id.* p. 219.

(1) She was married to him with a fifteen thouſand Pounds Portion, in 1332, in the ſixth Year of *Edward* III. This Earl *Reynald*, being Vice-General of the Empire, to the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, he created him the firſt Duke of *Guelders*. *Eleanor* had by him two Sons, who both died without Iſſue.

(2) In the Year 1118. *M. Paris*, p. 67.

(3) They were poſſeſſed at their Diſſolution of ſixteen thouſand Lordſhips, beſides other Lands. *Heylin's Coſmog.* l. 3.

(4) It was a common Saying, *To drink like a Templar*. *Col. Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 507.

(5) *Walſingham* ſays, That *Philip* King of *France* had a mind to make one of his Sons King of *Jeruſalem*; ſo that to obtain their Riches for this Son, it is probable, he cauſed that Order to be diſſolved. Or elſe perhaps, that King and the Pope, envying the Riches, as well as Magnificence of this Order, might agree together to diſſolve it, that they might ſhare their Wealth and great Revenues between them. *Walſing.* p. 99. See *Tyrrell*, Vol. IV. p. 233.

(6) On *October* 12, 1307. (7) Three times. See the Articles of Inquiry concerning them in *Brady*, Vol. III. p. 169.

(8) *January* 7. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 34, 45.

(9) The Poſſeſſions of the *Knights-Templars* were granted to the Hoſpitallers of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, by the Parliament which met in the beginning of *Lent* 1324, when the *Statutum de Terris Templariorum* was enacted. *Walſing.* p. 120.

Having in the laſt Coin-Note ſpoken of the Perſons that ſat and acted at the Exchequer during the ſecond Period, I ſhall conſider II, the Buſineſs of the Exchequer during the ſame, which may be ranked under three general Heads: 1. Affairs of the Revenue. 2. Cauſes. 3. Buſineſs of various kinds. 1. There was in the Exchequer a great Variety of Buſineſs, ſpringing from things incident to the Revenue. Fines of divers kinds were impoſed, and Amercements ſet by the Treaſurer and Barons. They ſometimes ſurveyed the King's Manors, and committed or demiſed the ſame. They alſo committed (by the King's Command and Aſſent) the Counties to Sheriffs, and removed them from their Bailywicks. In fine, it was the Buſineſs of the Treaſurer and Barons, to ſpeed the levying and getting in of the King's Debts, and manage the Crown Revenue to the beſt Advantage. Nevertheleſs, if the King thought them remiſs, or wanted Money very urgently, he would ſend Writs or Meſſages to them, to haſten the getting in of Money, in ſuch manner as he directed. 2. Pleas and Cauſes: Though after the Separation of the Common Pleas from the King's Court and Palace, it was forbidden, by the Great Charter, and afterwards by an Ordinance, to hold Common Pleas in the Exchequer, yet in fact, ſome Common Pleas were ſtill holden; and the King ſometimes gave leave to particular Perſons, to bring their Suits and recover their Debts there. In Suits moved between Parties in the Exchequer, the King granted preference to one Perſon; namely, that he ſhould be paid before other Creditors. 3. Under the Head of Buſineſs of various kinds, we may place Conventions and Recognitions, which were frequently made in the Exchequer, and the Preſentation and Admiſſion of Officers of the Exchequer, as will be ſeen hereafter. Several Officers of the Exchange; and Coinage of Money, were from time to time preſented and ſworn in the Exchequer, as well as ſome others, who were Officers at large, as Cuſtomers and Commiſſioners of Perambulation of Foreſts. Particularly the Mayors and chief Officers of Towns, Eſcheators, *&c.* were preſented at the Exchequer. The Citizens of *London*, after they had choſen a Mayor, uſed to preſent him yearly on the Morrow of St. *Simon* and St. *Jude*, before the Treaſurer and Barons, who ſwore and admitted him to his Office; ſo likewiſe their Sheriffs on the Morrow of St. *Michael*. Thus *Nicolas Batt* their Mayor (28 *Hen.* III.) was preſented by the Citizens, and 9 *Ed.* II. the Mayor, *&c.* preſented their Sheriffs *Hamon Godchep*, and *William Euddele*. If the Sheriff of *London* did not come to the Exchequer at the King's Command, to take upon him the Office of Sheriff, he was to be amerced. Sometimes Sheriffs of Counties, Under-Sheriffs of Hereditary ones, *&c.* were ſworn in Perſon at the Exchequer. Several of the King's Tenants *in Capite*, by Knight's Service, did their Fealty; and others who held of the King *in Capite*, by Rent Service, paid their Rent at the Exchequer. *Walter le Brun*, Farrier at the *Strand* in *Middleſex*, was to have a piece of Ground in the Pariſh of St. *Clement*, to place a Forge there, he rendering yearly ſix Horſeſhoes. *Mag. Rot.* 19 *Hen.* III. This Rent was antiently wont to be paid at the Exchequer. It is ſtill tendered there to this Day, by the Mayor and Citizens of *London*, to whom, in proceſs of Time, the ſaid piece of Ground was granted. During this ſecond Period (as well as during the firſt) the chief Juſticiary, the Treaſurer, the Barons, and Council at the Exchequer, did ſometimes act in Affairs relating to the publick Peace, and to the Government and Defence of the Realm. In general, the Buſineſs and Acts of the Court of Exchequer, were wont to be entered or recorded in ſeveral Rolls, the principal whereof were, *the Rotulus annalis*, or great Roll of *the Pipe*, of which I have ſpoken in the laſt Coin Note; and therefore ſhall only add here, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who ſeems to have been appointed to be a Check upon the Treaſurer) from antient Time, cauſed a Counter-Roll of the Treaſurer's Great Roll, to be made up every Year. There are ſome of theſe *Rotuli Cancellarii* more antient than the Reign of *Henry* III. This obſervation may ſerve to reſolve a doubt, which the Antiquaries have hitherto lain under, For Example: There is in the Record-Office in the Tower of *London*, a Duplicate Great Roll of 6 *Richb.* I. and another of 7 *John*. And there is another of the third of *John*, in the Cuſtody of the Treaſurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer. The Great Rolls of which ſeveral Years are in the Repoſitory of *the Pipe*. And in the ſame Repoſitory, there are two Great Rolls of the fourth of *John*. Now all theſe Duplicate Rolls Mr. *Madox* takes to be *Rotuli Cancellarii*. The next Records were the *Memoranda*, or *Remembrances*. A *Remembrance* was antiently wont to be made for every Year, in each of the Remembrancer's Offices. On the part of the Treaſurer's Remembrancer, each yearly Bundle contained ſeveral Heads or Titles, ſuch as *Communia*, the common Buſineſs; *Compota*, or Accounts; *Viſus*, Views; *Adventus*, the Advents of the Accomptants; and other Titles. So alſo the *Memoranda*, on the part of the King's Remembrancer, have the like Heads or Title. Of the Originals of the Chancery, which were wont to be repoſited in the Treaſurer's Remembrancer's Office, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. In the *Memoranda* of the Exchequer, was entered great variety of Buſineſs: For Inſtance, the King's Writs and Precepts of many kinds, relating to the Revenue, Tenures, *&c.* Commiſſions of Bailywicks, Cuſtodies, Ferms, *&c.* Preſentations and Admiſſions of the Officers of the Exchequer, and other Officers; Pleadings and Allegations of Parties; Judgments and Awards of the Juſticiary, the Treaſurer and Barons, and the King's Council; Recognitions of Debts, and Conventions of divers kinds; Accompts, Views of Accompts, with ſeveral Acts relating to Accomptants; Inquiſitions of Sheriffs, Eſcheators, *&c.* Advents of Sheriffs, Eſcheators and others, and in ge-

neral, all thoſe things which were compriſed under the Term, *Communia*, or common Buſineſs. There were alſo *Memorandums* entred in theſe Rolls, *pro Commodo Regis* to controll Accompts, or to ſave the King's Rights; either by way of *Memorandum pro Rege*, or of *Loquendum cum Rege*, or *cum Juſticiario*, or *cum Concilio Regis*, &c. The Judgments and Awards of the chief Juſticiary, and of the Treaſurer and Barons, were commonly entered in the Rolls, in the Terms, *Conſideratum eſt*, or *Concordatum eſt*, *per Juſticiarium*, or *per Theſaurarium et Barones*; and ſometimes *Proviſum eſt*, and *adjudicatum eſt*. But other words were alſo ſometimes uſed, as *Ordinarunt*, *præceperunt*, &c. Theſe and the like Terms were alſo uſed in other Judicatures. In *Glanvil* it is ſaid, the Tenant, or Defendant, ſhould be diſcharged by Judgment of the Court, *per Conſiderationem Curiæ*. l. 2. c. 18. In the Buſineſs of the Exchequer (as to Pleas and Accompts) there was frequent uſe of Writs or Letters from the King to the Treaſurer and Barons, ſignifying to them his pleaſure, concerning Matters depending before them. Theſe paſſed under the great or the privy Seal. Sometimes Meſſages were brought by living Meſſengers. The moſt frequent of theſe Writs or Meſſages were: To do Juſtice or Right to Parties: To ſhew Favour to Parties: To give diſpatch to Parties. In proceſs of Time, this Correſpondence between the Palace and the judicial Courts, or the Practice of ſending Writs or other Meſſages to the Judges of the King's Courts, was in many Caſes, forbidden by Statute. But this Reſtriction was not till after the ſecond Period, or the Reign of *Edward* II. Thus much of the Buſineſs. I come now III, to the Accompts of the Exchequer. As the Sheriffs were the moſt conſiderable Accomptants to the Crown, the method of Accompts at the Exchequer will be beſt learnt from thoſe of the Sheriffs. The Accompt of a Sheriff was divided into certain formal Parts: The *Proſer*; the *Viſus Compoti*; the *Summa*, or making of the Sum. The *Proſer* was a Prepayment out of the Sheriff's Ferm, and *Corpus Comitatus*, and out of his *Proficuum*, and the Summonces. It was probably called *Proſrum*, *a Proferendo*. If this *Proſer* was not paid, the Accomptants were amerced, or otherwiſe puniſhed. The *Viſus Compoti*, or view of Accompt, was the Entrance or forepart of the Accompt, which ſtood *de bene eſſe*, whilſt the Sheriff was purifying or liquidating his Account, by producing his *Warranta*, or Vouchers, by Virtue whereof, he was to have an Allowance or Diſcharge of any Sums charged on him. After the View was made, he proceeded to the *Summa*, *to make*, or *caſt his Sum*, which was always at the end of his Accompt. Another way of conſidering the manner of a Sheriff's Accompt is, as it ſtands in the *Great Roll*. When he accompted as *Firmarius*, his Accompt conſiſted of ſeveral Parts, the *Corpus Comitatus*, the *Remanens firmæ*, after *Terræ datæ*; the *Crementum*, if any; the *Proficuum* or *firma de proficuo*, the Iſſues of Eſcheats and Purpreſtures, Fines, Oblatas, Amerciaments of divers ſorts, Eſcuages, Aids, Tallages, and caſual Profits; Ferms or Iſſues of Towns, Burghs, Gilds or Lands, which were within the Sheriff's Charge, and the like. The *Corpus Comitatus* conſiſted of ſeveral Manors and Lands, which being let or committed together to the Sheriff, made the Fund, out of which the annual Ferm to the Crown aroſe. Theſe Manors or Lands lay within the Sheriff's County. But, by ſome accident, certain Manors in *Cornwal* belonged to the Ferm of *Devonſhire*. *Mag. Rot.* 5 *Hen.* II. In time, the Kings charged the *Corpus Comitatus*, with certain payments of Alms and Liveries, called *Eleemoſynæ*, and *Liberationes Conſtitutæ*, and alſo granted away part of the Lands. Hence came the Diſtinction of the *Terræ datæ*. For when ſome of the Lands out of which the Sheriff's Ferm aroſe were granted away, it was fit he ſhould have Allowance for ſo much as the *Terræ datæ* bore in the *Corpus Comitatus*. The Sum to be anſwered for after that Deduction, was called *Remanens Firmæ poſt Terras datas*. The Lands thus granted away, were ſometimes ſaid to be *miſſæ extra Comitatum*. Beſides theſe, there was a third ſettled Payment, *viz.* the *Tertius denarius*, wont to be paid by the Sheriff out of the *Corpus Comitatus*, to the Earl of the County. There was alſo caſual Payments, ſuch as occaſional Proviſions or Diſburſements of various Sorts. There was a way of computing the Value of the ſeveral things that made up the *Corpus Comitatus*, *viz.* ſuch a Manor or Land, *portat in corpore Comitatus*, ſo much. When the Sheriff was not the Fermer, but *Cuſtos* of a County, he did not anſwer in this manner, but was a kind of a *Proficuarius* or Bailiff, and was to accompt for the *Proficuum* of his County, and to be diſcharged of the Fermer. In entring the Sheriff's Accompts in the *Great Roll*, by a Proviſion in the 54th of *Hen.* III. the *Corpus Comitatus* was written firſt, then the ſettled Alms and Liveries, and the Warrants for the Sheriff's Diſburſements, &c. But 22 *Ed.* I. it was ordered that the *Corpus Comitatus* ſhould not be written every Year afreſh in the Great Roll, but in a particular Roll by itſelf, and out of that Roll ſhould be read every Year to the Sheriff upon his Accompt. But that the *Remanens Firmæ*, after the *Terræ datæ*, ſhould be written in the Great Roll. The Sheriffs generally accounted from *Michaelmaſs* to *Michaelmaſs*. *Edward* I. ordained, that the Sheriffs ſhould be Eſcheaters in their reſpective Counties. If a Man held a Bailywick, and executed it by a Subſtitute, the immediate Bailee was to pay the Accompts of the Iſſues of the Bailywick. The ſtated Accounts were rendered regularly in courſe every Year. In general, Accomptants were obliged to come in perſon to render their Accompts. If they made an Attorney, it was uſually by the King's leave, and afterwards by warrant of the Treaſurer, Chancellor, or Barons, or one of them. Accompts were to be rendered at the Exchequer upon Oath. In ſome Records, mention is made of the Accomptants anſwering *per Fidem*, or *per verum dictum*, which *Madox* imagined to be a *voire dire*, or a Declaration upon their Faith or Allegiance. Where one was indebted to the King and likewiſe to another Perſon, the King's Debt was to be preferred in Payment. If one was indebted to the Crown, ſuch Debtor could not make a Will to diſpoſe of his Chattels to the King's Prejudice; nor could his Executors have Adminiſtration of his Chattels, without permiſſion from the King, or the Juſticier, or Barons of the Exchequer, and if it was doubtful whether the deceaſed's Effects would ſatisfy the Debts due to the King, it was uſual for the King to ſeize into his Hands the Chattels of the Debtor. If the King's Debtor was unable to ſatisfy the King's Debt out of his own Chattels, the King would betake himſelf to any third Perſon who was indebted to the King's Debtor; and upon recovery of ſuch Debt, the third Perſon was acquitted againſt the King's Debtor. The Heir of the King's Debtor was not to be diſtreined for the King's Debt, in caſe the Chattels of the King's Debtor were ſufficient to anſwer it. The Widow of the King's Debtor was not to be diſtreined by her Dower, to anſwer the King's Debt, in caſe the Heir had ſufficient to anſwer it: Neither were Sureties to be diſtreined, ſo long as the principal Debtor had wherewithal to anſwer the Debt. By the antient uſage of the Exchequer, the King's Debtors, or Accomptants were wont to have Writs of Aid, to recover their Debts of ſuch Perſons as were indebted to them, in order to enable them to anſwer the Debts they owed to the King. When the Sheriff or other Officer having the Summonce of the Exchequer, had levied or received the Debt due from any Perſon to the King, he was to give the Debtor an Acquittance or Tally of Diſcharge; and afterwards acquit the Debtor of ſuch Debt at the Exchequer. In caſe of Diſtreſs, it was the Duty of the Sheriff to ſell it at a reaſonable Price; and to prevent Frauds, by an antient Statute, 27 *Hen.* III, certain Perſons were to be aſſigned to approve the ſame to the Sheriff. Sheriffs were to notify the Time of their accompting, to Bailiffs of Liberties, and other Perſons concerned. The King's Debtors found Sureties, if required. They were uſually called *Plegii*, *Obſides*, and *Manucaptores*. Sometimes the Pledges were remarkably numerous. Writs of the great and privy Seal were frequently uſed, both in reference to Accompts, and other Buſineſs at the Exchequer. Allowances or Diſcounts were uſually made *per Warrantum*, either by virtue of the King's Writ, or by Writ or Award of the chief Juſticier, or other Baron of the Treaſury. Hence aroſe the great number of Writs of Allocate and *Computate*. Attermination were given by the Treaſurer and Barons to the King's Debtors, by virtue of the King's Writs directed to them; and in like manner, Reſpites and Diſcharges. By Attermination, is meant, granting Men ſeveral Terms or Days for payment of their Debt, when they could not pay it at once. Sometimes Men were diſcharged by the chief Juſticiary, or by the Treaſurer and Barons, without any eſpecial Writ. Sometimes both Debts and Accompts were diſcharged by the King's Pardon. If upon the Account viewed or ſtated, the Crown was found indebted to the Accomptant, the Sum in which the Crown was ſo indebted, was called *Superplus*, or *Superpluſage*, probably, becauſe it was *ſo much more*, than the Accomptant's Receipts. If an Accomptant did not come to render his Accompts, or did not purſue the ſame in due manner, he was puniſhed by Diſtreſs, and ſeizure of Land, and by Amercement. If he did not anſwer the Debts or Sums wherewith he was charged, he was committed to the Marſhal, or *Fleet-Priſon*, or the Tower of *London*. If Accomptants departed from the Exchequer, before their Accompts were ſpeeded, they were, if Commoners, to be attached by their Bodies. Lords and others, who claimed to have Franchiſes within their Seigneury or Liberty, were to come yearly to the King's Exchequer, when the Sheriff of their County was paſſing his Accompt; and then they were to render an Account there of the Iſſue of their Franchiſe, and were allowed ſo much as they were rightfully intitled to by Charters from the Crown. But if the ſaid Lords and others failed to appear, &c. it was uſual for the King to ſeize their Franchiſe. The Accomptants at the time of paſſing their Accompts, did ſometimes ſit upon a Bench in the Court of Exchequer. As Money was ſometimes paid in, ſo Accompts were ſometimes rendered at the *Camera Regis*. Debts were put in charge many ways. By Virtue of the King's Writ: By the Writ or Teſtimony of the Juſticiary or Baron: By Judgment or Award of the Juſticiary, &c. in Court: By the Rolls, or Eſtreats of the Juſticiers: By the acknowledgment of the Parties: From the Original of the Chancery: And by other ways. The Chancery, in the moſt antient times, was uſually holden at the Exchequer: Or, many or moſt of the Chancery Writs were then diſpatched and ſealed at the Exchequer, where the Great Seal was commonly kept. When therefore the Chancery was ſeparated from the Exchequer, and the Charters, Writs, and Precepts of the Great Seal came to be entered by themſelves in the *Rotuli Cancellariæ*, (ſuch as Charter-Rolls, Patent-Rolls, &c.) at or about the beginning of King *John*'s Reign: Then, as it ſeems, commenced the Method (which has been continued ever ſince) of ſending Eſtreats from the Chancery to the Exchequer. In fact, from the beginning of King *John*'s Reign, they wrote every Year the ſaid *Rotuli Cancellariæ*, and afterwards made Eſtreats thereof; which Eſtreats were tranſmitted into the Exchequer, and were called *Originale*, or *Originalia*, and *Extractæ Cancellariæ*. They were written out of the Fine-Rolls, Patent-Rolls, and other Rolls of the Chancery. And out of them, Fines, Ferms, &c. were taken and put in charge at the Exchequer for the King's Profit. Eſtreats were alſo made of Fines, Amercements, and ſuch like, from the Court holden *Coram Rege*, or from the *Common Bench*, and from the *Iters*, &c. Theſe were called the foreign Eſtreats, and were ſent out in another Summonce, than that which was awarded for the Debts, contained in the *Originals*. If theſe Eſtreats were not brought in, in due time, a Writ was iſſued to the Perſons or Juſtices before whom they lay, to bring them in. Tallies were of great and conſtant uſe in the Exchequer, coeval with the Exchequer itſelf in *England*. The word is *French*, and ſignifies *Cutting*. Theſe Tallies were pieces of Wood, cut in a peculiar manner of Correſpondency. For example, a Stick, or Rod of Hazel, or other Wood, well ſeaſoned, was cut ſquare and uniform at each end, and in the Shaft. The Sum of Money which it bore was cut in Notches in the Wood, by the *Cutter* of the Tallies; and likewiſe written upon two Sides of it, by the *Writer* of the Tallies. The Tally was cleft in the middle by the Deputy-Chamberlains, with a Knife and Mallet, through the Shaft and the Notches; whereby it made two Halves, each Half having a Superſcription, and a Half-part of the Notch or Notches: A Notch of ſuch a largeneſs, ſignified M*l.* of another largeneſs C*l.* &c. It being thus divided, one part of it was called a Tally, the other a Counter-Tally, or a Tally, and a Foil, *Folium*. Sometimes the Parts were called *Scacbia*, and *Contratallia*. However, theſe were in effect one Tally, or two parts of one thing. And if they were genuine, they fitted ſo exactly, that they appeared evidently to be Parts the one of the other. Their Uſe was to prevent Fraud. Tallies had a Superſcripture, importing of what Nature they were, and for what Purpoſe given. Counters were ſometimes uſed at the Exchequer, in the way of Computation. In which Caſe, the Counters were laid in rows upon the ſeveral Diſtinctures of the chequered Cloth, *viz.* one row or place for Pounds, another for Shillings, &c. In the 17th of King *John*, ten Shillings of *Venetian* Money (valued at XV s.) and two Beſants (valued at III l. and VI d.) were uſed at the Exchequer for Counters. *Mag. Rot.* 17 *John. Rot.* 6.

I come now in the laſt Place to the Officers or Miniſters of the Exchequer. The principal Officers of the great or ſuperior Exchequer were: The two Remembrancers, the Ingroſſer of the great Roll, the Uſher, the Conſtable, the Marſhal, the Auditors, the Clerk of the Eſtreats. 1. There were antiently at the Exchequer two *Remembrancers*. They were ſometimes called *Rememoratores Regis*. In time one came to be called the *King's*, the other the *Treaſurer's Remembrancer*. And their Offices were diſtinct, as appears by diſtinct Bundles of *Memoranda*, which have been made up in their reſpective Offices, and remain there from very ancient time to this Day. In the 6th of *Edward* II. *Adam de Limburgh* one of the Remembrancers had XX *l.* yearly Stipend allowed by the Crown for executing his Office, and *William de Everdon* the other Remembrancer, XL Marks a Year for himſelf and Clerks. *Lib.* 6. *Ed.* II. 2. The Engroſſer of the *Great Roll* was a moſt antient and a conſiderable Officer in the Exchequer. Though the name of this Office does not occur in moſt antient Times next after the Conqueſt, yet it is doubtleſs as old as the Exchequer itſelf, that is, there was always ſome Perſon or Perſons employed to write the *Great Rolls*. In the 19th of *Edward* II. the Ingroſſer, and the Treaſurer's Remembrancers, were allowed two Clerks each, and were to receive an additional Salary for their Maintenance of twelve Marks yearly. *Trin. Com.* 19 *Ed.* II. 3. The Office of Uſher was a very antient and Hereditary Office. He had ſeveral that acted under him in the great Exchequer, in the Exchequer of the *Jews*, and in the commmon Bank. Many curious and uncommon Memoirs relating to this Office occur in Records. Vide *Madox*'s *Hiſt. Excheq.* p. 718. It was the Uſher's Duty to keep the Exchequer ſafely, and to take care of the Doors and Avenues to it, ſo that the King's Records might be in ſafety. He likewiſe tranſmitted the Writs of Summonces, which iſſued out of the Exchequer for the King's Debts; that is, cauſed them to be delivered to their reſpective Sheriffs, to whom they were directed. This Office was held of the King *in Capite*, by Serjeanty. 4. The Conſtable of the Exchequer was deputy to the Conſtable of *England*, and was nominated by him. There can be little ſaid of his Duty, only he ſeems to have had in ſome Caſe, a concurrent or like Power with the Marſhal. In antient time there was alſo a Conſtable in the Court of Common Bench, who enrolled Eſſoigns, and did other Miniſterial Acts. 5. The Office of Marſhal of the Exchequer is very antient. He was appointed by the Marſhal of *England*. Whilſt an Account pended, he had the keeping of ſeveral ſorts of Writs and Vouchers produced by Debtors or Accomptants. Theſe he kept in Farules or Bins, or in Filets or Files, or in a Purſe or Bag. The *Farulus Mareſcalli* is often mentioned in the Exchequer Records. When an Accomptant, having been ſworn to Account, did not do it or made default at any day prefixed to him: or did not duly anſwer the Arrerages of his Account, he was commited in Cuſtody to the Marſhal, to remain Priſoner till the Court made a Receſs. The word Marſhal ſeems to have been ſometimes uſed with Latitude. The Perſons that were employed at the Exchequer, in arreſting Accomptants or other Delinquents, were ſometimes called by that Name. 6. In proceſs of Time, there were Officers at the Exchequer, called *Auditores Compotorum Scaccarii*. They ſeem to be firſt appointed in the Reign of *Edward* II. being then called *clerici nuper deputati*. The Accounts of ſome parts of the Revenue were before uſually audited, either by ſome of the Juſtices, or Barons, or by Clerks, or Perſons, aſſigned *hac vice* for that purpoſe, by the King, or the Treaſurer and Barons. 7. Little occurs within the time of the ſecond Period, concerning the Clerk of the Eſtreats and foreign Summonces. In the 18th of *Edward* II. all the Eſtreats which were in the Cuſtody of the Treaſurer's Remembrancer, were by command of the Treaſurer and Barons, delivered to *John de Chiſenbale*, Clerk of the Summonces. 8. There was alſo a *Clericus Brevium de Scaccario*. He belonged to the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Amongſt the Officers of the Exchequer, during the ſecond Period, may be reckoned the Chamberlains. In the firſt Period, the Chamberlains in Fee, who were great Officers in the King's Court, ſometimes ſat and acted in Perſon in the King's Exchequer, and are numbered amongſt the Barons there. But afterwards, the Chamberlains in Fee uſually deputed others to execute their Offices for them, both in the great Exchequer and at the Receipt. The Perſons to

ſo deputed, were at firſt Knights. In ſuch caſe, the Chamberlain in Fee was to come regularly in Perſon, and preſent his Deputy to the Treaſurer and Barons: And thereupon the Deputy uſed to be ſworn and admitted. But ſometimes he preſented his Deputy by his Steward, or other Attorney; and ſometimes by Letters Patent directed to the Treaſurer and Barons. Sometimes alſo he preſented his Deputy to the King himſelf, and then upon the King's Writ ſuch Deputy was admitted. The Treaſurer and Chamberlains had under them certain Clerks, who during their Attendance on the King's Buſineſs, were at Livery or Allowance from the King. Theſe Clerks were uſually called, during the firſt Period, *Clerici Theſaurarii et Cameratiorum*, and *Clerici de Theſauro* or *de Recepta*, without diſtinguiſhing them from one another by particular names of Office. Hence hath ariſen ſome Obſcurity. The *Clerici Theſaurarii* ſeem to have been the Officers afterwards called, *Clerk of the Pells*, *Writer of the Tallies*, *&c.* and induced all the Officers of the Receipt, except thoſe whoſe Offices were Serjeanties, or related immediately to the Chamberlain's Office. In the upper Exchequer, there are but few Memorials concerning the Officers or Clerks of the Receipt. The Clerkſhip of the *Pells* is probably antient. There is in the Treaſury, at the Receipt of Exchequer, a *Pell*, or it may be, a *Counter-pell* of 9 *Hen.* III. In the 35th of *Hen.* III. the Pell Roll is called *Magnus Rotulus de Recepta*. In the 28th of *Hen.* III. *Simon de Weſtminſter* was choſen one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. At the Receipt of Exchequer were alſo ſome Serjeanties or Hereditary Officers; namely, a *Peſor* and *Fuſor*. The Office of *Peſor*, *Ponderator*, or *Weigher*, was the Serjeanty, which in the 4th of King *John*, was veſted in *Thomas de Windeſore*, and remained in that Family for ſome time afterwards. Another Serjeanty was the *Fuſorie*. By *Fuſor* we are to underſtand *Melter*. One *William* was *Fuſor* in the Reigns of King *Henry* II. and *Richard* I. Concerning the Uſher of the Receipt, nothing remarkable occurs within this Period. I ſhall conclude with a few Inſtances of the Allowance made to ſeveral Miniſters of the *Receipt* of Exchequer, for their Liveries and Corrodies, and other Neceſſaries. In 9 *Hen.* III. the Liveries of the Miniſters of the Exchequer for fourſcore Days, from the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, till *Monday* next after the Feaſt of St. *Lucius* were: To three Scribes c *s.* To the two Knights of the Chamberlains VIII Marks. To *John de Windeſore* IIII *l.* To *John* the *Fuſor* II Marks and a Half. To *Simon Druel* II Marks and a Half. To the four Tellers IIII *l.* To the Vigil, and for Light X *s.* For a Hutch to lay up the *Memoranda* VI *d.* For Rodds for the Tallier V *s.* For Parchment for the Uſe of the Chamberlains, and the chief Juſticier's Clerk IIII *s.* For Ink, during the whole Year, III *s.* For Litter for the Chamber of the Barons, and Houſe of Receipt XII *d.* For Neceſſaries for the ſaid Chambers XX *d.* For ten dozen of Hutches XX *s.* For Wax III *s.* For Leather for the Tallier IX *d.* For a Hutch to lay the Inquiſitions in II *d.* For the Marſhal's Hutch XII *d.* For a Sack to put the allowed Tallies in XIIII *d.* For carrying and re-carrying the *Hutches* V *s.* For a Tonell to put in the D Marks, ſent to the King at *Oxford*, by *R.* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* XII *d.* For Locks, Bolts, and other ſmall Expences IIIII *s.* Total, XXIIII *l.* XIII *s.* VIII *d.* *Ex Pelle Receptæ de Anno* 9 *Hen.* III. *Rot. ult. indorſo, penes Theſ. et Camer.*

E2.

Edward II's Coins (if ever he coined any Money, which *Nicolſon* ſays cannot be certainly affirmed) are in all reſpects like his Father's, and diſtinguiſhed from them only by Name, *viz.* EDWA. EDWAR. or EDWARD. ANGL. DMS. HYB. On the Reverſe, the Names of ſeveral Cities in *England* and *Ireland*, as CIVITAS LONDON. LINCOL. DUBLIN. WATERFORD, *&c.* The Title of *Dominus Hyberniæ* is never wanting on his Coin. *Nicolſon* obſerves, neither our Hiſtories nor Laws afford us any Light, as to this King's Money.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK X.

The Reigns of EDWARD III, *and* RICHARD II, *Containing, the Space of Seventy Three Years: With a* DISSERTATION *on the* Salick-Law, *and the State of the Church from* 1272 *to* 1399.

II. *EDWARD* III. *Sirnamed of* WINDSOR.

1327. THE deposing of *Edward* II procured not the *English* all the Happiness they were made to expect. If they saw themselves freed from the Troubles that disturbed the late Reign, it was only to fall into a no less incommodious State. The Government of a weak and imprudent King was not more dangerous than that of a minor Prince, under the Direction of a passionate Mother, and a young unexperienced Minister, more presumptuous and less able than the *Spencers*. Accordingly the People quickly found, that they had not gained much by the Change. Happily for them, *Edward*'s Minority was of no long continuance. As soon as the young Prince had taken the Government upon himself, he converted the Misfortunes of the late Reign into Blessings, and the Injuries received from *France* and *Scotland*, into Glory and Triumphs. A remarkable Instance, which shews, that the prosperous Condition of a State depends less on its own Strength, than on the Prudence of him that sits at the Helm. This is what we are going to see in the present Reign, which is justly ranked amongst the most Illustrious of the *English* History.

Edward III. *proclaimed and crowned.* J. Barnes. Walsing. Froissart.

When the Commissioners sent to *Kenelworth*, were returned with *Edward* II's Resignation, the Prince his Son was again proclaimed, under the Name of *Edward* III, and crowned a few Days after (1). The Queen and *Mortimer*, whose Interest it was to make the whole Nation Accomplices of their violent Proceedings, affected on that occasion, to cause a Coronation-Medal to be struck, importing the universal Consent of the People to the present Revolution. On one Side was the young King crown'd, laying his Scepter on a heap of Hearts, with this Motto, *POPULO DAT JURA VOLENTI.* On the Reverse, a Hand held forth, as it were saving a Crown falling from on high, with these Words, *NON RAPIT SED RECIPIT* (2). 1327.

The Parliament names the Regents. Though *Edward* was but in his fifteenth Year (3), he had already a mature Judgment, and a Penetration uncommon to that Age. However, in compliance to the Laws of the Land, the King must have Governors, and the State Regents. The Parliament (4) chose twelve from among the Bishops, Earls, and Barons, of whom *Henry* of *Lancaster* was declared the Chief (5). The Queen opposed not this Nomination. But as she had the Power in her own hands, she seized the Government, and shared it only with her Creatures. *Roger Mortimer*, who had as great an Influence over her, as *Spencer* the Son had over the late King, executed the Office of Prime Minister, and managed the Affairs of the Kingdom according to his Pleasure. As the Parliament was at the Queen's devotion, she procured the Grant of a Dower,

But the Queen seizes the Government. Walsing. De la M.

(1) He began his Reign *January* 20. was crowned the 26th at *Westminster*, by *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and on *Candlemass*-Day received the Order of Knighthood from the hands of the Earl of *Lancaster*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 244. *Walsing.* p. 126.

(2) This is *Joshua Barnes*'s Account in his Life of *Edward* III, who tells us he saw one of these Medals at a Friend's Chambers in *Gray's Inn*. But Bishop *Nicolson* thinks they were very widely mistaken that first ascribed these Medals to that Prince. For (as he says) there is nothing in the *Legend* that looks that way, and the inscribed Fancies are too bright for those Times, and savour of a much more polite Age. *Hist. Lib.* Part III. p. 250.

(3) He was but in his fourteenth, being born in *Novemb.* 1313. See above, p. 392. Note (1).

(4) Mentioned above, and which was still sitting at *Westminster*.

(5) There were five Bishops, two Earls, and five Barons: Their Names were, *Walter Reginald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Melton* Archbishop of *York*, *John Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas Cobham* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Adam Orleton* Bishop of *Hereford*; the Earls were, *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earl-Marshal, and *Edmund* of *Woodstock* Earl of *Kent*; the Barons were, *John* Lord *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Percy*, *Oliver Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Ross*: Besides *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster Lincoln Leicester* and *Derby*, who was deputed to have the chief Care of the King's Person. *Leland*'s *Collect.*

exceeding

EDWARD
III
KING OF
ENGLAND & FRANCE

DIEU ET MON DROIT

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

From an Antient Painting in Windsor Castle.

Geo. Vertue Delin et Sculp.

1327. exceeding two Thirds of the Revenues of the Crown. At the ſame time, a hundred Marks a Month were aſſigned for the Maintenance of the depoſed King. A Sum more than ſufficient for the Expences of that unfortunate Prince, who was treated in his Confinement after a very unbecoming manner.

The Parliament annuls the Sentences paſſed in the late Reign. Act. Pub. IV. p. 245, 256, 257.

The Animoſity ſhewn by the Parliament in their Proceedings againſt *Edward* II, encouraged ſuch as were Sufferers whilſt the *Spencers* were in Power, to petition to be reſtored to their Eſtates and Honours. Their Petitions met with a favourable Reception. The Parliament, willing to juſtify their late Conduct, reverſed all the Judgments paſſed in the foregoing Reign, as well againſt the late Earl of *Lancaſter* (1) and his Adherents, as againſt thoſe that favoured the Deſigns of the Queen. It was pretended, they were contrary to Law, and manifeſtly extorted by the Credit of the Favourites. Perhaps this gave occaſion to ſome Hiſtorians to ſay, that *Edward* III was pleaſed to begin his Reign with a General Pardon. But if by this General Pardon be meant the reverſing the forementioned Judgments, the Honour of it is not to be aſcribed to the King. He not only did nothing of himſelf, but it is certain that herein the ſole Motive was to diſparage the late Government, and favour the Queen's Party. For the ſame purpoſe, the King was perſuaded earneſtly to ſollicit the Court of *Rome* for the Canonization of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, beheaded at *Pontfract* (2). He was made to ſay in his Letter to the Pope, that the Miracles wrought at his Tomb, were a clear Evidence, his Puniſhment was a real Martyrdom. In fine, all the Proceedings of the Queen and Parliament tended ſolely to juſtify what had been done with regard to the late King, which doubtleſs would have been deemed very criminal if it had not been crowned with Succeſs.

The King demands the Canonization of the Earl of Lancaſter.

Ibid. p. 249, &c. 269.

The King of Scotland *breaks the Truce.* Buchanan. Act. Pub. IV. p. 270, 281. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 15.

The Tranquillity *England* hoped to enjoy under the new King, who was in Peace or in Truce with all his Neighbours, was diſturbed by an Incurſion of the *Scots* on the Borders. *Robert* their King, though in an ill State of Health, and of a great Age, believed he ought not to ſuffer the Non-age of the King of *England* to paſs without reaping ſome advantage. He was afraid likewiſe that a too long repoſe might enervate his Subjects. In his Circumſtances, he thought it neceſſary to keep them in breath, well knowing they had to deal with formidable Enemies, who in making Truce with them, had not departed from their Pretenſions. Theſe are the moſt probable Reaſons of this Rupture, which *Buchanan* juſtifies only by ſaying, it is to be ſuppoſed that *Robert* was ſwayed by powerful Motives. Be this as it will, he put the Earl of *Murray* (3), and Sir *James Douglaſs* at the head of twenty thouſand Men, and ordered them to ravage the Borders of *England* (4). *Edward* could not hear the News of this Irruption, without an eager deſire of ſignalizing himſelf in the Defence of his Kingdom. Though they who governed in his Name had no great Inclination for War, they did not think it for their Intereſt to ſuffer ſuch an Inſult. Their Authority might have been ſhaken, if on this occaſion they had ſhewn any ſign of Weakneſs or Cowardice.

Buchanan. l. 8.

Edward *raiſes an Army.* Walſing. Knighton. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 18. Act. Pub. IV. p. 281, 287, 292. Echard.

The Opinion of the Council being agreeable to the King's Deſires, an Army of ſixty thouſand Men was raiſed, including the Troops brought by *John de Hainault* into *England*. The whole Army being come to *York*, *Edward* was juſt going to head them, when a ſudden Quarrel aroſe between the *Engliſh* and the *Hainaulters*, wherein many were ſlain. As the *Engliſh* were the Aggreſſors, Juſtice could not be done to the Foreigners, without diſpleaſing the Army. So the Court was forced to ſtay longer at *York* than was at firſt deſigned, in order to find means to compoſe this Difference, before they took the Field. This Delay gave the *Scots* time to paſs the *Tine* between *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*, and to ravage in a barbarous manner the Country on this ſide the River. They had four thouſand Men at Arms. The reſt of the Troops were mounted on little ſwift Horſes, in order the more eaſily to make Incurſions and retreat. This News haſtened the King's Departure. Though he did not know exactly where the Enemies were, he marched in queſt of them, guided only by the Fire and Smoak of the Houſes ſtill burning in the Road. What ſpeed ſoever he made, he could not poſſibly overtake them. As they had no Infantry, nor were encumbered with much Baggage, they made ſuch extraordinary Marches, that not only they were out of the Reach of the *Engliſh* Army, but even at ſuch a diſtance, that there was no tracing them. The Uncertainty of the Place where they were retired, cauſing the King to deſpair of meeting them, he called a Council of War. Some confuſed Advices making it thought, that the *Scots* had not yet repaſſed the *Tine*, it was reſolved to expect them beyond the River, near the Place where it was believed they would paſs in their return home. This Reſolve was put in execution. But the *Engliſh* Army had no ſooner paſſed the *Tine*, than they were forced to go back again, not finding North of the River wherewithal to ſubſiſt.

The Scots *ravage the Borders.*

Boeth. Buchanan.

1327.

During the time ſpent in theſe Marches and Countermarches, *Edward*, having never received certain intelligence of the Enemy, was extremely uneaſy. As he knew not which way to go in ſearch of them, he ordered it to be proclaimed in the Army, that whoever ſhould bring him certain News of the *Scots*, ſhould be made a Knight, with a Penſion of a hundred Pounds Sterling. The Hopes of ſo good a Reward, ſet ſo many People to work, that it was not long before he had the deſired Information (5). But it was not without ſome Confuſion that he heard the Enemies, of whom he was ſo eagerly in queſt, were not above two Leagues off. He marched immediately towards them, in expectation of fighting that very Day. But he did not long enjoy the Pleaſure of that Expectation. The *Scotch* Generals, who were not ignorant of his Approach, had encamped over againſt *Stanhope* Park, on a Hill, at the foot of which runs the River *Were*, ſhallow indeed, but full of Rocks, which rendered the Paſſage very difficult. How deſirous ſoever *Edward* was of fighting, he was ſenſible, to his great Sorrow, that he could not attack them without expoſing his Army to manifeſt Danger. It was a ſad thing for a young Prince, greedy of Glory, to ſee the Enemies ſo near, without being able to give them Battle. He did not however quite deſpair of ſucceeding. As he judged of their Courage by his own, he ſent them word, if they would come over the River to him, he would retire at a convenient diſtance, and give them time to paſs, and chuſe what ground they ſhould think proper, or elſe on the ſame Terms he would come over to them. The *Scotch* Generals anſwered, That the *Engliſh* Army being three times ſtronger than theirs, it would be great Raſhneſs to accept the Propoſals: That they were bent upon keeping their Poſt, and it was the King's Buſineſs to diſlodge them, if he thought it for his Advantage to attempt it. However, as they were apprehenſive, that *Edward*, in amuſing them with his Offers, intended to paſs the River at ſome other Place, they retired in the Night, and encamped in a more advantagious Poſt than what they left. Beſides, that they had ſtill the *Were* in their Front, their Flanks were defended by inacceſſible Mountains and Bogs, which removed their Fear of being attacked, though the *Engliſh* had paſſed the River elſewhere. *Edward* having notice of their Motion, followed them, with the *Were* between him and the Enemy, and having found them poſted in that manner, made them the ſame Offer as before, to which they returned the ſame Anſwer.

Edward *overtakes them, but could not fight.*

J. Barnes's *Hiſtory of* Edward III. Walſing.

Whilſt the two Armies lay in ſight without being able to engage, the Lord *Douglaſs*, one of the *Scotch* Generals, paſſed the River at ſome diſtance from the two Camps, with only two hundred Horſe. With this little Troop, he ſtole into the *Engliſh* Camp, and penetrated even to the Royal Tent, where he gave a terrible Alarm. Probably, his Deſign was to carry off the King; but not ſucceeding, he retired without much loſs. At length, after both Armies had kept their Poſts a fortnight, the *Scots* decamped in the Night, and by ſpeedy Marches, which prevented the *Engliſh* from purſuing them, retired into their own *Country*. They were now ſo far off, when *Edward* was told of their Retreat, that he did not think fit to follow them. Several aſcribed then to *Mortimer* the ill Succeſs of this Campaign, and ſuſpected him of holding Intelligence with the Enemy, to facilitate their retreat without fighting. *Edward* having nothing more to fear from the *Scots*, returned to *York*, extremely mortified at not being able to revenge himſelf. Upon his Arrival at that City, he disbanded his Army, and after magnificent Preſents, ſent back *John de Hainault* to his own Country (6).

Bold Action of Douglaſs. Froiſſart. Buchanan. Knighton.

The Scots *retire.*

Act. Pub. IV. p. 304.

Whilſt the young King was employed in this Expedition, his Father, ſtill cloſely confined in *Kenelworth* Caſtle, led a melancholy Life, not being ſuffered to take the leaſt Diverſion. He wrote from time to time to his

Tragical Death of Edward II. De la M.

(1) And reſtored to his Brother *Henry* all his Eſtates. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 421.
(2) See above, p. 396. (3) *Thomas Randolph.*
(4) On *February* 2. they endeavoured to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Norham*; but the Governor, Sir *Robert Manners*, took ſome of them Priſoners, and put the reſt to the Sword.
(5) It was brought by Sir *Thomas Rokeby*. *Barnes.*
(6) About the middle of *Auguſt*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 304. He had returned back to *Flanders* after the Coronation of King *Edward*, but upon the *Scotch* Invaſion, was ſent for back again. See *Froiſſart*, l. 1.

1327. Queen, intreating her to render his Impriſonment more eaſy; but nothing was capable of moving that inexorable Princeſs, in favour of a Husband, whom ſhe herſelf had reduced to that wretched Condition without his deſerving, at leaſt from her hands, ſuch barbarous Uſage. If ſhe had dared to follow her Inclinations, ſhe would have left his Letters unanſwered. But as it was her Intereſt to deceive the Publick by this Correſpondence, ſhe Walſing. was very glad to continue it. She ſent him now and then ſome Linen, and Cloaths, and other little Preſents, to perſuade the credulous People, ſhe ſacrificed her Tenderneſs to the Good of the State. It was not ſo eaſy to deceive *Edward* himſelf, ſeeing he could not but be convinced, that ſhe was the ſole Cauſe of his Misfor- De la M. tunes. Accordingly, ſhe never had the Face to appear in his Sight. She would not ſo much as permit the King her Son to pay his Duty to his unhappy Father; for fear he ſhould learn what ſhe deſired he might be ignorant of as long as he lived. So, though the impriſoned King ardently wiſhed to ſee them both, and frequently asked why they were ſo unkind as to deny him that Comfort, he could never obtain it.

Mean time, the rigorous Uſage of that unfortunate Prince, began to excite Compaſſion in the Breaſts of De la M. the *Engliſh*, who are naturally generous. *Henry of Lan-* Knighton. *caſter* himſelf, who had the cuſtody of him, relented daily to ſuch a degree, that he gave him ſome ſmall hopes of recovering his Liberty. Another Motive, beſides that of Generoſity, influenced the Earl; and that was, the irregular Conduct of the Queen, and the great Credit of *Mortimer*, whoſe Arrogance rendered him odious to all. As he took no care to hide his Sentiments, the Queen and *Mortimer* ſuſpected him of a Deſign to reſtore the old King. The Suſpicion, whether well or ill grounded, produced a fatal Effect, by determining them to prevent the imagined Danger. To that end, they reſolved to take the captive King out of the hands of his Keeper, whom they ſuſpected, and entruſt him with ſuch as they could depend upon (1). Walſing. Sir *John Maltravers*, and Sir *Thomas Gurney*, both of ſo brutiſh a Temper, as was requiſite for the Deſigns of thoſe that employed them, had orders to remove *Edward* from *Kenelworth* to *Berkley* Caſtle. It was hardly poſſible for the unfortunate Prince to fall into worſe Hands. At firſt they carried him to *Corfe*, then to *Briſtol* (2), and afterwards to *Berkley* (3) Caſtle, which De la M. was to be his laſt Priſon. In the Journey, they made him ſuffer a thouſand Indignities, even to the cauſing him to be ſhaved in the open Field with cold Water taken from a ſtinking Ditch (4). What Firmneſs ſoever he had hitherto ſhewn, he could not, on this occaſion, help lamenting his Misfortune, and diſcovering his Grief. Amidſt his Complaints and Reproaches againſt thoſe who uſed him ſo barbarouſly, he told them, that in ſpite of them, he would be ſhaved with warm Water; and at the ſame time he ſhed a Torrent of Tears. His Enemies hoped, the Vexation and Fatigue he was made to endure, would put an end to his Days. But though they were ſerved with a barbarous Zeal by theſe mercileſs Guards, who, for that purpoſe, uſed the moſt cruel, as well as inſolent means, yet the Goodneſs of his Conſtitution prevented them from ſucceeding. Theſe Wretches, finding their Cruelties had not ſo ſpeedy an Effect, ſent for freſh Inſtructions, for which they were not made to wait long. They received preciſe Orders to put that Prince to death, who, though overwhelmed De la M. with Miſery, cauſed continual Fears in the Authors of his Calamity. It is ſaid that *Adam Orleton*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, one of the Queen's Miniſters, ſent with theſe Orders a *Latin* Letter, wherein by a ſhameful Equivocation, he adviſed them at the ſame time to murder *Edward*, and exhorted them to refrain from ſuch a Crime. And indeed, the words aſcribed to him, are capable of both theſe Senſes, according to the difference of the Pointing (5). Theſe Orders were no ſooner come, but the two Keepers, knowing what they were to do, entered *Edward*'s Room to put them in execution. He being Ibid. then in his Bed, they laid a Pillow on his Face, to pre- Walſing. vent his being heard; and then, with a Cruelty not to be Knighton. parallelled, thruſt a horn Pipe up his Body, through which they ran a red-hot Iron, and burnt his Bowels. In this horrible manner did that miſerable Prince expire (6), amidſt ſuch violent Pains, that in ſpite of the Precaution of his Murderers, his Cries were heard at a diſtance. To conceal this execrable Deed, the two Executioners De la M. ſent for ſome of the Inhabitants of *Briſtol* and *Gloceſter*; Walſing. who examining the Body, and finding no ſigns of a violent Death, concluded, he died a natural Death. This account, which was carefully atteſted by Witneſſes, was immediately diſperſed over the whole Kingdom, that it might be known unto all.

The Misfortunes of this Prince, whom his Enemies ſo cruelly perſecuted, began to raiſe the Pity of the *Engliſh*, after ceaſing to be formidable to them. But this Pity was unactive, whereas their hatred never ſuffered them to reſt till they had entirely ruined him. Indeed it would be difficult to juſtify his whole Conduct, but they cannot be charged with being prejudiced in his favour, who aſſure us, his Faults were diſproportionate to his Puniſhment. He was a Sufferer himſelf for not having the Reſolution to puniſh his Favorites. An important Leſſon for all Princes, but which few are ſo wiſe as to learn. The Compaſſion for his Sufferings, which could not always be concealed, roſe to that height, that after his Death he was reverenced as a Saint; ſo eaſily do the People run from one Extreme to another. His Body was immediately Act. Pub. buried without any funeral Pomp, in the Abbey Church IV. p. 337. at *Gloceſter*. However, ſome time after, the King his De la M. Son ordered a ſtately Tomb to be erected for him in that Church. So far were his Murderers from receiving for their Parricide the reward they expected, that they were forced to fly beyond Sea to avoid Puniſhment. The very Perſons that employed them, affected to cauſe diligent ſearch to be made after them, to cover the ſhare they had in the Crime. Three years after, *Gurney* was ſeized at Gurney *Burgos*, and by order of the King of *Caſtile* carried to taken and *Bayonne*, from whence *Edward* commanded him to be con- beheaded. veyed to *England*. But by ſome practices, not fully cleared De la M. in Hiſtory, he was beheaded at Sea (7). *Maltravers* ſpent Walſing. his Days in Exile, in ſome place in *Germany* where he had retired. But divine Vengeance ſtopped not at the Puniſhment of theſe two Villains. The Queen, *Mortimer*, and their Accomplices felt likewiſe its Effects. Perhaps too we are to conſider as Conſequences of the ſame Vengeance, the violent or untimely Deaths of almoſt all the Deſcendants of *Edward* III, as well as the Civil Wars wherewith *England* was afflicted, in the Reigns of that Prince's Poſterity, as will be ſeen hereafter (8).

1328. The Death of *Edward* II, ſuppreſſed all the motions *Marriage of* which began to be obſerved in the Kingdom. The King *Edward III.* his Son finding himſelf more eaſy, ſince by the death of his Walſing. Father which he believed natural, he was cured of all Knighton. Scruples upon his account, took this opportunity to ſolem- Act. Pub. nize, with *Philippa* of *Hainault*, his Marriage concluded IV. p. 306, by the Queen his Mother at *Valenciennes*. The Ceremony 313. was performed at *York* (9), where the King came in his Froiſſart, Return from his Campain. Shortly after the new Queen l. 1. c. 19. was crowned with the uſual Solemnities (10).

The King After the Rejoycings for the King's Marriage and the *conſults the* Queen's Coronation were over, *Edward* called a Parlia- *Parliament* ment at *Northampton* (11), to conſult about two very mo- *about the* mentous Affairs. The firſt concerned the Regency of *Peace pro-* *France*, which he claimed after the Death of *Charles the* *poſed by* *Fair* his Uncle, who died in the beginning of this Year. *Scotland.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 349. Walſing. Buchanan.

(1) About the beginning of *April*. *De la Moor.*

(2) Where he remained till it was found out, that ſome of the Citizens had formed a Reſolution to aſſiſt him in making his Eſcape beyond Sea. *De la Moor*, p. 602.

(3) *Thomas Berkley*, Lord of the Caſtle, treated the King with abundance of Reſpect, which *Maltravers* and *Gurney* obſerving, they would no longer ſuffer him to have Acceſs to the King's Perſon. *De la Moor*, p. 603. *Walſing.* p. 127.

(4) That he might be thereby the more diſguiſed, and not known to any they ſhould meet with, they made him likewiſe ride in the Night, with very thin Clothes, and without any covering on his Head; would never ſuffer him to ſleep; crowned him with Hay, and offered him a thouſand Indignities: They alſo attempted more than once to poiſon him, but the Goodneſs of his Conſtitution rendered all their wicked purpoſes ineffectual. *De la Moor*, p. 602.

(5) Edwardum *occidere nolite timere, bonum eſt.*
Edwardum *occidere nolite, timere bonum eſt.*

(6) In *Oct. Rapin.* It was *Septemb.* 22. See *De la Moor*, p. 603.

(7) For fear he ſhould accuſe thoſe great Perſons that had ſet him to work, as Sir *Thomas Moor* well obſerves, p. 603, and *Walſing.* p. 128.

(8) A Parliament was held this Year at *Lincoln* on *September* 15. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 301. and another at *Weſtminſter*, *November* 13, beſides that mentioned above, wherein the King reſtored *London* to its antient Liberties, that had been forfeited, it ſeems, upon account of the late Inſurrection, wherein *Walter de Stapleton* was beheaded; and granted it new ones. *Walſing.* p. 128. Namely, That the Mayor of *London* for the Time being, ſhould ſit in all Places within the Liberties, as the King's Chief Juſtice; and that every Alderman, who had been Mayor, ſhould be always Juſtice of the Peace, within his own Ward. He alſo granted unto the Citizens, the Fee-farm of *London* for three hundred Pounds *per Ann.* And that the lawful Franchiſes of the City ſhould not be ſeized into the King's Hands, but only on occaſion of Abuſe or Miſuſe, or for Treaſon or Rebellion, countenanced or done by the whole City. Farther he ordained, that *Southwark* ſhould be under the Government of the City, *&c.* *J. Barnes*, p. 23.

(9) *January* 24. *Knighton*, c. 2552.

(10) The *Sunday* before *April* 29. 1330. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 419.

(11) *Knighton* ſays it was at *York*. He ſays moreover, that the Laity granted to the King this Year a Twentieth, and the Clergy a Tenth, in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*. *Ibid.*

1328. I ſhall ſpeak of this affair in another place. The Second was the Peace with *Scotland* propoſed by King *Robert*. Queen *Iſabella* and *Mortimer*, who held the Reins of the Government, believing a War was againſt their Intereſts, were very eager for a Peace. On the other hand, the King of *Scotland* perceiving he was no longer able to bear the hardſhips of War, deſired to ſpend the reſidue of his days in Peace. Beſides, as his Infirmities warned him of his approaching Death, he was very glad to prevent, by a Peace with the *Engliſh*, the Accidents which a War might cauſe, during the Non-age of his Son *David* who was but ſeven Years old. The Parliament being entirely in the Queen's Intereſt, it was not difficult to obtain their Conſent, to enter upon a Treaty, which both Parties were equally deſirous of concluding. The Queen-Mother, and *Mortimer* in behalf of the *Engliſh*, and *Douglas* in the Name of the King of *Scotland*, were the Managers of this Affair. A Peace was quickly made and confirmed by the Marriage of *David*, Prince of *Scotland*, with *Joanna* (1) Siſter of *Edward*, though they were both Children.

Peace between England *and* Scotland. Walſing. Buchanan. Act. Pub. IV. p. 354.

The *Engliſh*, for the moſt part, were very uneaſy to ſee a Treaty begun, which in all appearance could bring them no Advantage. However, their Uneaſineſs would have been removed, by the hopes of the Repoſe it was to procure them, if, to haſten the Concluſion, *Iſabella* and *Mortimer* had not given up to the King of *Scotland* ſuch Advantages, as he could not have expected, even after the gaining of many Battles. By their Advice, *Edward* renounced all his Pretenſions to *Scotland*, both with regard to the Sovereignty and the Propriety (2). At the ſame time he reſtored to *Robert*, all the Charters and Inſtruments which might prove the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over that Kingdom. Among theſe Inſtruments, was the famous Act, called *Ragman's Roll*, ſigned by *John Baliol*, and all the Barons of *Scotland*; wherein were contained the Rights of the Crown of *England*. This was followed by the Reſtitution of the Crown, Scepter, Jewels (3), which *Edward* I, had carried away from *Edinborough*, and of every thing in general which might any way teſtify the Sovereignty of *England* over *Scotland*. Had all this been done from a Motive of Juſtice and Equity, to repair, in ſome meaſure, the Injuries done by *Edward* I, to the *Scots*; far from being thought ſtrange, ſuch a Chriſtian Conduct ſhould have been highly commended. But as People were fully convinced, that the Queen and *Mortimer* acted not from ſuch a Motive, and beſides were prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Sovereignty eſtabliſhed by *Edward* I, every one was extremely diſpleaſed with this Reſtitution. They ſaid, "This "was dearly purchaſing a Peace, neither honorable nor "neceſſary; that by this ſhameful Treaty, all the Mo-"ney expended, and all the Blood ſpilt, in the Con-"queſt of *Scotland*, were rendered entirely fruitleſs: That "the Queen, who under colour of the King her Huſ-"band's Incapacity, had diveſted him of his Authority, "plainly diſcovered, how unable ſhe was herſelf to go-"vern the State; and that the Faults committed by *Ed-"ward* II, during his whole Reign, were nothing in "compariſon of what ſhe had done the very firſt Year "of her Adminiſtration." Notwithſtanding all theſe murmurs, the Queen and *Mortimer* had Credit enough with the Parliament (4), to cauſe the Peace to be confirmed, and the Sum of thirty thouſand Marks, which *Robert* promiſed to pay within three Years, to be conſidered as a ſufficient Compenſation for whatever was reſtored to *Scotland*. Thus it frequently happens, that the very Perſons who pretend to reform the Government by extraordinary Methods, ſhew afterwards, that they had nothing leſs in view than the publick Good, which ſerved them for a Pretence.

Edward *quits all claim to* Scotland. Ch. Lanerc. Act. Pub. IV. p. 337. Buchanan. Knighton.

He reſtores all that Edward I. *had taken from* Scotland. J. Barnes.

The Engliſh *murmur.*

Buchanan. Act. Pub. IV. p. 384.

Nuptials of the Princeſs Joanna. Walſing. Knighton.

In conſequence of the Treaty, the Nuptials of *Joanna* the King's Siſter was ſolemnized at *Berwick* (5). Shortly after *Mortimer*, as a Reward for his late pretended Service to his Maſter, was made Earl of *March* in full Parliament (6). *John of Eltham*, the King's Brother, was created Earl of *Cornwal*, and *James Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*.

1328. *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and ſome other Lords (7), came not to this Parliament. They were diſſatisfied that the Queen-Mother and *Mortimer* uſurped all Authority, contrary to the Intent of the Parliament, that nominated twelve Barons to manage the publick Affairs. The tragical Death of *Edward* II, and the late Treaty with *Scotland*, furniſhing them with a plauſible pretence to complain, they had now begun to hold private Conferences, and project a Reformation of the Government. As Secrecy was very difficult, in a Confederacy where they deſigned to engage a great many Perſons, the Queen and *Mortimer* had ſoon notice of it. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, whom they conſidered as Author of the Plot, and Head of the Male-contents, was the firſt Victim they reſolved to ſacrifice to their Safety. An Accident that happened ſhortly after, afforded them an opportunity, which they believed they ought to embrace, to accompliſh their Deſign. The Earl had a private Quarrel with the Lord *Holland* (8), whom he looked upon as a mortal Enemy to his Family, and one of the principal Authors of the Death of Earl *Thomas* his Brother. Some Threats he let fall againſt his Enemy, induced Sir *Thomas Wythers*, one of his Domeſticks, to revenge his Maſter. An opportunity offering preſently after the breaking up of the Parliament, *Wythers* killed the Lord *Holland*, and took Refuge in the Earl's Palace at *Lancaſter*, from whence repeated Orders from Court were not able to force him. The Queen and the Earl of *March* were not ſorry, their Enemy gave them ſo plauſible a pretence to exaſperate the King againſt him. They repreſented to the young Prince, of what Importance it was, not to ſuffer a Subject, of what Quality ſoever, to take upon him to protect Criminals, and ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice: That it was acting the Sovereign, and there was danger, that thoſe who aſſumed ſuch a Power, intended to enlarge it at the expence of the Royal Authority, and were contriving to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. By theſe provoking Diſcourſes, they perſuaded the young King to reſolve to chaſtiſe this Diſobedience.

1328. *Diſcontent of ſome Lords.* Walſing. Knighton.

Walſing. Ypodig. Henry *of* Lancaſter *is attacked by the Queen.* Dugdale, Vol II. p. 75. Knighton. J. Barnes.

She ſtirs up the King againſt him.

When the Earl of *Lancaſter* knew they deſigned to attack him, he prepared for his Defence, and formed an Aſſociation, which was entered into by *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Norfolk* the King's Uncles, the Lord *Beaumont* (9), Judge *Truſſel*, and ſome other Lords; who unanimouſly reſolved to ſtand upon their Defence, in caſe they were attacked. At the ſame time they publiſhed a Manifeſto, containing the Motives of their Armament, all drawn from the publick Good and Grievances of the Kingdom. They ſaid, they had taken Arms, I. To oblige the Queen-Mother to refund into the publick Treaſury, the Revenues ſhe had cauſed to be aſſigned her, far exceeding the uſual Dowry of the Queens. II. To put a ſtop to the Exactions and Incroachments of thoſe who governed in the King's Name. III. To bring to condign Puniſhment the Betrayers of their Country, in the late War with *Scotland*. IV. To make Inquiry, by what means the Ordinance of Parliament eſtabliſhing twelve Barons to govern the State, during the King's Minority, was not executed. V. To cauſe ſtrict Inquiſition to be made concerning the Death of *Edward* the King's Father, after he was, by private Orders, taken out of the Cuſtody of thoſe, to whom he was committed by the Parliament. VI. To bring thoſe to an Account who had ſeized the Treaſures of the late King. VII. To cauſe the Publick to be informed by whoſe Advice the King, during his Minority, had renounced all his Pretenſions to *Scotland*, and given up all the Charters and Inſtruments thereof. VIII. Laſtly, To call thoſe to an Account, who adviſed the King to marry the Princeſs his Siſter to *David Bruce*, mortal Enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation.

He prepares for his Defence.

League againſt the Court. Knighton.

A Manifeſto publiſhed. J. Barnes.

Theſe Articles, Copies whereof were carefully diſperſed all over the Kingdom, ſenſibly touched the Queen and the Earl of *March*, who were very plainly deſigned. But inſtead of vindicating their Conduct, which indeed could not be eaſily done, they took another Courſe, and intimated to the King, that they who had taken Arms, ſought to wreſt the Crown from him.

(1) The *Scots* called her in Deriſion, *Joan Make-Peace*. *J. Barnes*, p. 30.
(2) This Charter is dated at *York*, *March* 1, and ſaid to be done by the Aſſent and Conſent of the Prelates, and great Men, Earls, and Barons, and Commons of the Kingdom in Parliament. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 337.
(3) Particularly one of great Value, called the *Black Croſs of Scotland*. By this Treaty alſo, no *Engliſhman* was permitted to hold Lands in *Scotland*, unleſs he would live there; and the King of *Scotland* renounced all claim to *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*. *Knighton*, Col. 2558.
(4) This Parliament was ſummoned to meet at *York*, on the *Sunday* after *Candlemas-Day*. *Rot. Clauſ.* 2 *Edward* III. *M.* 3. *Dorſ. Knighton*, Col. 2552.
(5) On *July* 12. *Barnes*, p. 30.
(6) This Parliament was held at *New-Sarum*, a Fortnight after *Michaelmaſs*. *Walſingham*, p. 129. *Rot. Clauſ.* 2 *Edward* III. *M.* 31. *Dorſ. Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 372.
(7) Particularly *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Edmund Plantagenet*, Earl of *Kent*, and *Thomas de Brotherton*, Earl of *Norfolk*. *Knighton*, Col. 2554. *Walſingham*, p. 129.
(8) *Robert de Holland*. The Riſe and Advancement of this Lord, was, by his being Secretary to *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, whom he deſerted after the Battle of *Burrough-Bridge*. *Dugdale*. *Knighton*, Col. 2553, &c.
(9) The Lord *Thomas Roſſelyne*, Sir *Hugh Audley*, &c. *J. Barnes*, p. 31.

1328. They maliciously insinuated, that his two Uncles, and *Henry* of *Lancaster* Grandson of *Henry* III, had formed the Project of excluding the Issue of *Edward* II from the Throne, of which that Prince was declared unworthy; as if the Faults of the Father were to reflect on the Children. The young King, who had no suspicion of the Queen his Mother, giving ear to this Accusation, resolved by force of Arms to bring Persons to their Duty, whom he now considered as Rebels. He even began his Preparations, to execute this Design. In all likelihood, this Affair would have been attended with fatal Consequences, if the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (1) had not zealously interposed, to stop the course of these Commotions. The Archbishop artfully hinted to the Queen, that the Manifesto of the Male-contents was so plausible, and such the Grievances complained of, that it was to be feared the whole Nation would join with them. The Queen readily apprehended the Archbishop's Hints, and believing the Attempt to reduce them by force, would be as dangerous for her, as the Male-contents, she was prevailed with to end the Affair by an Agreement, to which the Male-contents were not very averse. As their Party was not yet strong enough to carry things to the Point they desired, their Intent in publishing the Manifesto, was only to convince the Queen of her great danger, in endeavouring to crush them. So, without insisting any further on their Grievances, they accepted the Pardon procured them by the Archbishop, for certain Fines, and the Banishment of *Beaumont*, *Trussel*, and the Murderer of the Lord *Holland*, who were excepted in the Pardon (2). On this occasion the Earl of *March* pretended to be a Friend to the Princes, but harboured in his Breast a lively Resentment against them, to which the Earl of *Kent* fell a Sacrifice (3).

The King resolves to punish the Male-contents. Walsing. Knighton.

The Male-contents accept of a Pardon. Knighton.

1329. *Robert*, the brave King of *Scotland*, enjoyed not long his late glorious Peace with *England*. He died (4) sedate and easy, with the Comfort of having freed *Scotland* from the Dominion of the *English*, and of seeing his own Family settled in the Throne. The *Scots* very justly rank him among their most illustrious Kings, as the Restorer of their Monarchy. This Prince, on his Death-bed, recommended three things, especially to the Persons he had appointed Regents, during the Minority of his Son *David*, then but eight Years old. The first, never to hazard a Battle in the Kingdom. The second, to make no long Truces with the *English*, in case the two Nations should come to a Rupture. The third, to have always an Eye upon what passed in *England*, for fear of being surprized unprepared.

1329. Robert King of Scotland dies, and is succeeded by David his Son. Buchanan. Walsing. Froissart. l. 1. c. 21.

The Earl of *March*, still supported by the Queen-Mother, saw himself raised so high, that he acted more like a Sovereign than a Minister. He disposed of all the Offices, as well as of the publick Revenues, with an Authority, joined to an Arrogance very common to Favorites, and which contributes no less than their Advancement to render them odious. The extraordinary Credit of this Earl roused the Jealousy of the *English*, who were the same, since the deposing of *Edward* II; and who had no greater Esteem for this new Favorite, than they had formerly for *Gaveston* and *Spencer*. Among those who discovered their Sentiments the most freely, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle, was the principal. This Prince, as well as *Edward* II his Brother, had no great Genius for publick Affairs, but was naturally sincere and generous. He had, however, suffered himself to be deceived by the Artifices of *Isabella*, when he joined with her against his own Brother, never imagining she would have carried things so far. When once he was engaged in that Party, the suddenness of the Revolution which happened immediately after, would not permit him to recede. The Government was changed before he had time to reflect on the Consequences of the Queen's Undertaking. The disorderly Behaviour of that Princess, the Arrogance of the Favorite, the sudden Death of the King, and the ill Management of the publick Affairs, at length opened his Eyes. He perceived with Grief the Injustice of the Plot he had unhappily engaged in. A generous Man cannot, without pain, conceal his Sentiments. The Earl, little versed in Politicks, was not careful enough to hide his Uneasiness at past Transactions, and at what he saw every day. He had joined with *Henry* of *Lancaster* during the late Commotions,

Earl of March becomes more and more odious. Walsing. Knighton.

The Earl of Kent is dissatisfied. Ibid.

thereby shewing, it was not his fault that the present Scene of Affairs was not altered. This was sufficient to induce *Isabella* and the Earl of *March* to hasten his Ruin, for fear of being prevented. To that end, they laid for him the most extraordinary Snare imaginable, in which it is amazing he should suffer himself to be taken. As his Conduct was unblameable, it was necessary, in order to destroy him, so to manage it, that he should render himself criminal, that his Ruin might be thought the less strange. For that purpose, his two Adversaries, by some who feigned to be his Friends, insinuated to him, that *Edward* II, his Brother, was still alive, and reported to be dead, only to prevent the Troubles his Friends might excite: That he was strictly guarded in *Corfe* Castle, and suffered to be seen by none but his Domesticks, who were confined with him. This pretended Secret was supported with divers Circumstances, and confirmed by the Testimony of several Persons of Distinction; among whom were two Bishops who were deceived as well as *Edmund*, or helped to deceive him. He had himself assisted at the Funeral of the King his Brother. But what he had now heard, joined to a like Report, spread at the Court by the Artifice of his Enemies, and to his Desire that the thing might be true, easily induced him to believe, he might possibly have been deceived by counterfeit Obsequies. In this belief, he resolved to try all ways to free the pretended Prisoner from his Captivity. He was however in suspence on account of his Oath to the King his Nephew; but was quickly eased of that Scruple. It is said, that being commissioned to go to the Pope, and demand the Canonization of the late Earl of *Leicester*, he took that opportunity to consult *John* XXII upon this Affair. It is added, but how truly I know not, that the Pope not only approved of his Project, but charged him to put it in execution, under pain of Excommunication. When *Edmund* found himself supported by such an Authority, all his Scruples vanished. So, without further Consideration, he departed from *Avignon*, bent upon using all his Endeavours to free the King his Brother, whom he imagined to be still in Prison. However, as this Belief was grounded only upon Report, the certainty whereof was not well averr'd, he sent a trusty Friar to *Corfe*, to be assured of the Truth. The Contrivers of the Plot had taken care to have it whispered about in the Country, that *Edward* was still a Prisoner. So, the Monk upon his coming into those parts for private Information, found the Inhabitants of the Neighbourhood believed it. Prepossessed by these false Rumours, the Frier, pretending Business with the Governor of *Corfe*, asked him, whether there was really any Foundation for what was reported of *Edward?* The Governor, who had received his Instructions, returned such an Answer, as confirmed him in his Opinion. It is even said, that he shewed him, at a little distance, a Person sitting at a Table, who was served with great Respect; and by that means entirely convinced him, that he was not deceived. *Edmund* being confirmed in his Belief by the Frier's Report came himself to *Corfe*, and without shewing the least doubt, demanded to be conducted to his Brother's Apartment. The treacherous Governor pretending to be surprized at his knowing the Secret, did not deny that *Edward* was in the Castle; but told him, he had positive Orders to let no Person see him. This Confession made *Edmund* repeat his Instances, but finding the Governor inflexible, he gave him a Letter for the Prisoner, wherein he assured him, he would do his utmost to procure his Liberty. This Letter was immediately carried to the Queen, who shewed it to the King her Son, magnifying his danger from his Uncle's Practices. It was not difficult for her to obtain the King's Leave to secure the Prince's Person. He was very far from suspecting his Mother to be herself the Author of this Plot. As soon as the King had given his Consent to what was proposed, measures were taken to apprehend *Edmund* at *Winchester*, where the Parliament was assembled. His Impeachment being brought before the Peers, his own Letter was produced, which he could not disown: Nay, he confessed that several Lords, and particularly the Archbishop of *York*, and Bishop of *London*, were concerned in the Plot, or at least had advised him to hasten the Execution (5). Upon this Confession, which shewed a settled Design to change the Government

1329.

The Queen and Mortimer lay a Snare for that Prince.

He is made to believe that Edward II is still alive. Walsing.

He resolves to free him.

Walsing. p. 129.

He is apprehended, Act. Pub. IV. p. 424, 430. Walsing. Knighton.

condemned and executed, March 19. Walsing.

(1) *Simon de Mepham.*

(2) Together with the Lord *Thomas Rosselyne*. They went over to *France*. *Knighton*, Col. 2554.

(3) Besides the two Parliaments mentioned above, there was a third Parliament at *York*. *Notitia Parliamentaria.*

(4) *June* 7. says *Walsing.* p. 129. but it was the 9th according to *Buchanan*, of a *Leprosy*. And was buried at *Dumfermling*. *Knighton.* Col. 2555. *Froissart.* l. 1. c. 21. says he died *November* 7.

(5) *Walsingham* gives the following Account of *Edmund*'s Confession before the Parliament: On the sixteenth of *March*, 4 *Edward* III. he confessed that a certain *Frier-Preacher* of *London*, told him, that he had conjured up a Spirit, who assured him, that *Edward* his Brother was yet alive. Also, that Sir *Ingram Barenger* brought him a Message from *William* Lord *Zouche*, desiring he would assist in his Restoration. Likewise, that Sir *Robert Taunton* came to him from the Archbishop of *York*, to encourage him, by assuring him that he had in readiness five thousand Men to carry on the Work. Also, that Sir *Fulk Fitz-Warin* told him, it would be the greatest Honour that ever could happen to him, in case he appeared in the Attempt; promising

1329. vernment, he was condemned to loſe his Head (1). The Execution ſoon followed the Sentence. All that day the King was ſo beſet by the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *March*, that none could approach him to ſue for the Pardon of a Prince ſo nearly related to him. It is even affirmed, that he knew nothing of the Sentence paſſed upon his Uncle, or of his Execution till it was too late. Be this as it will, *Edmund* was brought upon the Scaffold, to ſuffer the Puniſhment to which he was condemned. But the Executioner ſtealing away, he ſtayed from Noon till Evening, before any could be found to perform his Office. At laſt, towards Night, one out of the *Marſhalſea* ſevered his Head from his Body (2). Thus died that Prince, in the 28th Year of his Age (3). He left two Sons, who died young; and two Daughters, the youngeſt of whom was the greateſt Beauty of her time. Her ſecond Husband was the famous Prince of *Wales*, her Couſin, eldeſt Son of *Edward* III. *Edmund* was the only Perſon proſecuted for the imaginary Crime for which he ſuffered Death; tho' according to his Depoſitions, ſeveral others ought to have undergone the ſame Puniſhment. But the Authors of the Plot wanted no other Sacrifice. Beſides, they took care not to examine matters too ſtrictly, for fear of giving occaſion to diſcover, what it was their Intereſt to conceal. It is even very probable, that ſeveral of thoſe impeached by *Edmund* were Betrayers, employed by his Enemies to hurry him into Deſtruction.

Before I proceed, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of *Edward*'s Affairs with *France* during his *Minority*. Not only the Order of time requires it, but it is very proper to clear beforehand, the Origin of an Affair which is to be the principal Subject of this Prince's *Majority*. To that end, I muſt reſume the Account of the Diſputes between the two Crowns, where I left off in the Reign of *Edward* II.

Affairs of Edward *with* France.

The laſt Treaty made at *Paris*, by the Mediation of *Iſabella*, did not fully end all the Differences between *Edward* II, and *Charles the Fair*. The Queen, who had only in view the Project formed againſt the King her Husband, did not think it her Intereſt to diſcuſs all the Articles included in theſe Diſputes. She was too apprehenſive of raiſing ſome Obſtacle to her principal Deſign. On the other hand, King *Charles*, who was in poſſeſſion of *Agenois*, did not think proper to urge, himſelf, any farther diſcuſſion of matters. So the Sentence paſſed at *Paris*, in the Buſineſs of St. *Sardos*, which condemned the *Gaſcon* Lords to Baniſhment, and decreed the demoliſhing of their Caſtles, was ſtill in force: But the Treaty concluded by the Queen, preſerved *Edward*'s Pretenſions entire, and left him free to proſecute his Right in the Court of *Peers*. The Reſignation of *Guienne*, occaſioned freſh Difficulties. *Edward* II pretended, that *Charles* in receiving the Homage of the Prince his Nephew, obliged himſelf to reſtore that whole Province; which the King of *France* denied.

Edward III, was no ſooner on the Throne, but by Advice of his Parliament, he ſent (4) Ambaſſadors to *France*, to make an agreement between the two Crowns. Shortly after a new Treaty was concluded (5), containing theſe ſix Articles.

New Treaty made at Paris. Act. Pub. IV. p. 279.

I. That both ſides ſhould reſtore whatever was conquered during the War.

II. That *Edward* ſhould pay the King of *France* fifty thouſand Marks *Sterling*, to ſatisfy him for his Charges on occaſion of the Rupture.

III. That a general Pardon ſhould be granted by both Parties.

IV. That the King of *France* ſhould pardon the *Felony* of the *Gaſcon* Lords, as to Life and Limbs, on condition they ſubmitted to Baniſhment.

V. That *Edward* ſhould undertake to demoliſh their Caſtles.

VI. That this Treaty ſhould be of no effect, unleſs ratified by the King of *England* before *Eaſter* (6).

The Court of *England* was too deſirous of Peace, to neglect the Performance of the laſt Article. So there was a good intelligence between the two Crowns, during the reſt of that Year; both Kings taking care to avoid all Occaſions of a freſh Rupture. 1329.

Death of Charles the Fair.

Hardly was this Affair ended, when a new and more important occaſion of quarrel engaged the two Kingdoms in a War, which cauſed Torrents of Blood to be ſpilt, and brought *France* in the end to the very brink of Deſtruction. *Charles the Fair* dying on the firſt of *February* 1328. without Male-Iſſue, and leaving *Joanna* his Queen big with Child, there aroſe a great Diſpute concerning the Regency of the Kingdom, during the Queen's Pregnancy. *Edward* (7) laid claim to it, as Nephew and neareſt Relation of the deceaſed King: But *Philip* Son of *Charles de Valois*, and Couſin-German of the ſame King, maintained, he had an inconteſtable Right to the Regency. He founded his Claim upon the *Salick-Law*, which, in his Opinion, debarred the Females and their Deſcendants from the Succeſſion to the Crown; whence he inferred that neither had they any right to the Regency, in prejudice of the *Male-Line*. This Controverſy was decided in favour of *Philip* by the *Peers* of *France*, who adjudged him the Regency till the Queen was delivered. It was partly on this occaſion that *Edward* called the Parliament at *Northampton*, on account, as was ſaid, of the Peace with *Scotland*. He laid before them his Reaſons for claiming the Regency of *France*; the Injury he pretended was done him in the Preference of *Philip de Valois*; and the diſadvantagious Inference that might be drawn from his Excluſion, with reſpect to the Crown of *France*, in caſe the Child, the Queen was big with, ſhould not live, or be a Daughter. Hiſtorians do not poſitively ſay what the Parliament's Opinion was in this ſo nice an Affair. But as the Members were at the devotion of the Queen-Mother and the Earl of *March*, very probably they were no more ſcrupulous with reſpect to the Affairs of *France*, than they had been concerning thoſe of *Scotland*. There were much more plauſible Reaſons to diſſuade *Edward* from making War with *France*. The Difficulty of the Undertaking; the Strength of the Kingdom; the King's Age, were Objections not eaſily to be anſwered. Beſides, it might ſo happen, that the Preparations to ſupport the King's Claim, would be fruitleſs, if the Queen-Widow ſhould be delivered of a Son. In ſpite of theſe Reaſons, it was not poſſible to perſuade the young King, to relinquiſh a Right which he thought very juſtly belonged to him. However, as he was ſtill a Minor, he perceived it would be very difficult effectually to oppoſe the Advice of the Queen his Mother, his Council, and the Parliament. But if he tacitly deſiſted from his Pretenſions to a Regency which was about to expire, it was otherwiſe with regard to the Crown it ſelf, in caſe the Point in queſtion was not decided by the Birth of a Prince. This appears in ſeveral of his Letters to certain Lords of *Guienne*, dated the 28th of *March*, about a Month before Queen *Joanna*'s Delivery. On ſuppoſition ſhe was brought to bed of a Daughter, he told theſe Lords, his Intent was to uſe all poſſible means to recover the Right and Inheritance of the Queen his Mother.

Mezerai. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 22.

Edward *and the Earl of* Valois *diſpute about the Regency.*

It is adjudged to Philip.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 344, &c.

The Queen delivered of a Daughter.

In *April*, *Joanna* was delivered of a Princeſs, whoſe Birth would from that moment have occaſioned a bloody War, if *Edward* had been in Condition to proſecute his Pretenſions. He demanded however the Crown of *France* by his Ambaſſadors (8): But *Philip* cauſing himſelf to be crowned, by vertue of the Judgment that gave him the Regency, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were not ſo much as heard. I ſlightly paſs over theſe things, becauſe it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of them more largely hereafter. It ſuffices at preſent to know, that *Edward* not having it in his power to puſh this Affair, thought proper to let it lie dormant till a more favorable Opportunity. Several Pieces in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* ſhew, this was his Intention, and that his Silence argued nothing leſs than a Deſign to depart from his Right. We ſee there, that immediately after the Coronation of *Philip de Valois*, he

Edward *demands the Crown.* *Philip is crowned.* Froiſſart. Ibid.

Edward *hides his Deſign.*

miſing his beſt Aſſiſtance. Moreover, that Sir *Ingram Barenger* came to him again from Sir *John Peche*, letting him know he ſhould have his Help. And that *Henry* Lord *Beaumont*, and Sir *Thomas Roſſelyne* at *Paris* inſtigated him thereto, ſaying, they were ready to come into *England* to his Aid. Laſtly, that the ſaid Sir *Ingram* came to him another time at *Arundel*, into his Bed-Chamber, and aſſured him of the Biſhop of *London*'s Help. *T. Walſ.* p. 110.

(1) He was accuſed of High-Treaſon, in the Parliament that was ſummoned to meet at *Wincheſter*, on the *Sunday* before *March* 13, and on the next Day was, by the Judgment of his Peers in Parliament, condemned to die. *Rot. Clauſ.* 4 *Edw.* III. *M.* 41. *Dorſ. Walſingham*, p. 510. *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(2) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, one of the Guards of the *Marſhalſea*, but *Knighton* ſays, it was one of the Priſoners, who did it to ſave his own Life, on the Eve of St. *Cuthbert*, or *March* 19. Col. 2552.

(3) He was privately buried in the Church of the *Friers-Predicant*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. I. p. 147.

(4) *John Stratford*, Biſhop of *Winchеſter*; *William Ayremine*, Biſhop of *Norwich*: *John de Bretagne*, Earl of *Richmond*; *John de Henaud*; and *Hugh Audley*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 264, 279.

(5) It was concluded at *Paris*, *March* 13. 1326-7. *Ibid.* p. 281.

(6) It is in the Original, the *Tueſday* after the *Octaves* of *Eaſter*, *i. e.* the *Tueſday* after a Week after *Eaſter*. *Ibid.*

(7) King *Charles* deſired, that if his Queen were brought to bed of a Son, *Philip de Valois* ſhould be his Tutor, and Regent of the Kingdom, till the young Prince ſhould come of Age. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 22.

(8) *Adam de Orleton*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and *Roger Northborough*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, i. e. *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 354.

began

1329. began to take measures in order to war against him. His
Act. Pub. IV. p. 368. Alliance about this time with the Duke of *Brabant*, and several Lords who engaged to supply him with Troops, is a clear Evidence he was meditating some grand Design, and his Letters to the Lords of *Guienne* shew it was against *France*. In these Letters, dated *September* 16. 1328, he positively said, his Intent was to recover his Mother's Inheritance. Now at that time, he had no Quarrel with *France*, wherein the Queen his Mother was particularly concerned. The Inheritance he mentioned, concerned therefore the whole Kingdom of *France*, since his Contests with *Philip* about *Guienne* had no Relation to *Isabella*'s Right.

Philip *summons* Edward *to do Homage.* Froissart, l. 1. c. 25. Mezerai.

Philip de Valois being engaged, in the beginning of his Reign, in a War with the *Flemings*, was in no haste to demand *Edward*'s Homage for *Guienne* and *Ponthieu*. It was not till *April* 1329, that he caused him to be summoned (1) to appear and do Homage in Person (2). In *Edward*'s present Disposition, he would have gladly been excused from paying Homage to a Prince, whom he considered as an Usurper of his Right. But his *Council* reflecting on his Youth, and the State of the Kingdom full of Male-contents, could not think of approving a Refusal which probably would throw him into great difficulties. On the other hand, the Queen his Mother and the Earl of *March* did all that lay in their Power to prevent a Quarrel with *Philip*. They represented to him, that he would infallibly lose all his Dominions in *France*, if he unadvisedly discovered his Pretensions to that Kingdom, before he was ready to support them. But these Remonstrances would perhaps have had little weight with him, if for his satisfaction there had not been devised an Expedient, unbecoming indeed the Sincerity Kings ought to profess, but which his Youth and Passion permitted him not to examine too nicely. It was suggested to him, that by protesting beforehand against the Homage, it would be no Detriment to his Claim. Pursuant to this Advice, he made by a Procurator, the following Protestation before his Council:

Edward *privately protests against the Homage.*

"That for any Homage whatever to be made to the Lord "*Philip de Valois*, (now bearing himself King of *France*) "by King *Edward* of *England*, for the Dukedom of *Gui-* "*enne*, and Earldom of *Ponthieu*, he did not thereby in- "tend to renounce his Hereditary Right to the Realm of "*France*, or any ways derogate from the same; even "tho' Letters thereupon should be signed with either of his "Seals. And he did farther protest, that he would not "do any Homage to the Lord *Philip*, of his own free "will, but only for the just fear he had of losing the said "Duchy and Earldom, and because he was afraid that "he could not avoid other great Dangers and irreparable "Losses (3)." This Declaration was signed by the King and Council, but was not communicated to *Philip*'s Envoy. He only receiv'd this general Answer, that the King would perform as soon as possible what he owed the Crown of *France*.

How great soever *Edward*'s Unwillingness was to do this Homage, the Consequences whereof he so much dreaded, he resolved upon it, for fear of making known by his Refusal, a Design which it was not yet proper to discover. To make himself Amends, in some measure, for the mortifying Step he was forced to, he ordered a great Number of Lords to attend him, and with a very splendid Equipage, and a Retinue of a thousand Horse, came to *Amiens*, where *Philip* expected him. On the day appointed for doing his Homage (4), he appeared before the King of *France*, in a Robe of Crimson-Velvet, embroidered with Leopards of Gold, his Crown on his head, his Sword by his side, and gold Spurs on his heels. The King of *France* received him sitting on his Throne, his Crown on his head, his Sceptre in his hand, and a Robe of blue Velvet, powdered with Flower-de-Luces of Gold. By him were the Kings of *Navarre* and *Majorca* (5), all the *Peers* and principal Lords of *France*, whom he had expressly sent for, to be Witnesses of this authentick Homage. Before *Edward*'s Arrival, *Philip* pretended this should be a liege Homage (6), as indeed it ought to have been. But in the Conferences held on this account, before the Ceremony, matters were otherwise settled. *Edward* protesting he was not perfectly informed of the manner of the Homage, offered to do it in general Terms. However, he promised upon his Honour, that if, upon consulting his *Records*, he found the Homage to be Full, he would give Letters-Patents of it, under his Great Seal. Upon that condition, *Philip* consented to receive the Homage in general Terms. This was really the manner wherein *Edward* did it, whatever some *French* Historians may have said to the contrary, who, doubtless, were misled by bad *Memoirs*. *Edward*'s Historian says likewise, upon no better grounds, that the King of *France* was just going to order him to be seized, but that the Bishop of *Lincoln* gave his Master notice of it, who withdrew without taking Leave. This cannot be true, since *Philip* could not have taken this Resolution, but upon *Edward*'s refusing to do full Homage, and yet it is certain he was very willing to receive it in general Terms: Nay, they had several Conferences together, after the Ceremony. Before they parted, it was agreed, that *Edward* should send Ambassadors to *France*, to finish what the late Treaty had left undecided (7).

1329. Act. Pub. IV. p. 334. Froissart, ibid. Serres. Barnes.

As *Edward* stood disposed with regard to the King of *France*, he was not very forward to send the promised Declaration. On the contrary, he tried to gain time, by Proposals of a double Marriage of his Brother and Sister with the Son and Daughter of *Philip*. He even kept at *London* almost a Year, on divers Pretences, Ambassadors sent to press him to perform his Promise. During that time, *Edward* was very urgent in his turn with the King of *France*, to end their Differences about *Guienne*, as was agreed at their late Interview. It was easy to see *Edward* sought only to delay. Accordingly *Philip*, who impatiently bore all these Delays, sent him word (8), that he would not be his Dupe. He dispatched into *Guienne* the Earl of *Alenzon* his Brother (9), who took and demolished the Castle of *Xaintes*, and plundered that Town. These Hostilities, which *Edward* did not expect, produced a new Treaty between the two Monarchs (10). *Edward* positively promised to send the Declaration of Homage, to pay the fifty thousand Marks Sterling owing to *France*, and sixty thousand Parisian Livres for the Assignment, made him by the King his Father, of *Guienne*. Moreover he promised to see the Castles demolished, belonging to the *Gascon* Lords condemned in the Reign of *Charles the Fair*. Shortly after the Conclusion of this Treaty (11), he sent the King of *France* Letters-Patents under his Great Seal, to confirm and specify the Homage he had done at *Amiens*. He expresly declared the Homage was to be deemed full; and that the Homages which he himself or Successors, Dukes of *Guienne* and Earls of *Ponthieu*, performed hereafter, should be done in the same manner, and with the same formalities, as the King of *France* had expected. In these Letters there was a Pattern how the Homage was to be performed. After he had sent this authentick Declaration, he took a Journey to *France*, under colour of performing a Vow (12). He saw *Philip*, and obtained of him an Abatement of thirty thousand Livres *Tournois*, for the Damage done to the Town and Castle of *Xaintes*, and an absolute Pardon for the condemned *Gascon* Lords. Let us leave a moment *Edward*'s Affairs with *France*, to see what passed in *England* during these Negotiations. We shall soon have occasion to resume the Sequel of these Affairs, which are the principal Subject of this Reign.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 383, 387. Froissart, l. 1. c. 25.

Homage done by Edward *to* Philip. Act. Pub. IV. p. 390. J. Barnes, c. 3.

1330. *Sequel of the Affairs of* Edward *with* France. Act. Pub. IV. p. 392, 411, 413, 427.

Ib. p. 437, &c. 443.

Edward *declares the Homage to be full.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 478. Froissart, l. 1. c. 26.

New Agreement between the two Kings. Act. Pub. IV. p. 480, 484. Du Tillet, p. 47.

(1) *P. Daniel* says, he caused King *Edward* to be summoned twice; first, by *Peter Roger*, Abbot of *Fescamp*, who was afterwards Pope, by the name of *Clement* VI. but he had no Audience from the King, only from the Queen-Mother, with whom nothing could be agreed on. So that, after the Embassador's Return, *Philip de Valois* seized the Revenues of *Guienne* and *Ponthieu*. Soon after that, he sent four other Embassadors to renew the Summons. These King *Edward* received very civilly, and promised to come over to *France* in a short time. Which he accordingly did, about six or seven Months after. Vol. IV. *ad An.* 1328.

(2) In a Letter, dated at *Wallingford*, *April* 14. which contains his Answer to *Philip*'s Summons; he tells him, that he intended long ago to have come over to *France*, and paid him his Duty, but had been hindered; however, he would come and do it with all convenient Speed. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 381.

(3) *Informat.* Edward. *ad Papam* Benedict. *Tom. VI. Post Epistol. Secret.* 302. *in Biblioth. Vatican.* Ord. Rayneld. This is more fully translated than in the *French*.

(4) *June* 6. He sailed from *Dover*, *May* 26. and appointed his Brother, *John* of *Eltham*, Earl of *Cornwal*, Regent in his Absence. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 386, 387, 390. He came back to *Dover*, *June* 11. *Ibid.* p. 390.

(5) And *Bohemia*.

(6) Full, or Liege Homage, was done bare-headed, and Sword ungirt.

(7) Besides the Parliament mentioned above, there was another at *New-Sarum*. See *Notitia Parliamentaria*.

(8) By his Embassadors, the Bishops of *Chartres* and *Beauvois*; *Lewis de Clermont*, Duke of *Bourbon*; the Counts *de Harcourt*, and *de Tankerville*, &c. *Froissart*, l. 1. c. 25.

(9) Taking occasion of some Hostilities committed on the *French* Territories, by King *Edward*'s Subjects, who fortified themselves in the Castle of *Xaintes*. *Contin. Nangii*.

(10) But before that, King *Edward* called a Parliament at *Eltham*, in the beginning of this Year, to take the Affairs of *Guienne* into consideration: There it was resolved, that he should proceed with the King of *France* by way of amicable Treaty. The Laity then promised him an Aid, if a Rupture should happen with *France*; and he writ to the Clergy, *March* 18. to obtain the same Grant from them. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 422, 423. There was another Parliament at *Winchester*, *March* 11. *Ibid.*

(11) This Treaty was concluded at *Bois de Vincennes*, *May* 8. 1330. *Ibid.* p. 144. The Letters Patents here mentioned are dated at *Eltham*, *March* 30. 1331. *Ibid.* p. 478.

(12) He sailed from *Dover*, *April* 4. and returned to *England* the 30th. *Ibid.* p. 480, 487. His Brother *John* was left Regent in his Absence. *Ibid.* p. 480.

1330. *Downfal of Queen Iſabella and Mortimer.* Knighton. Walſing.

It was ſoon after his Return from *Amiens*, that *Edward* began, as 'tis ſuppoſed, to be ſuſpicious of the Queen his Mother's Conduct (1). When it was perceived at Court, that the King grew weary of being under the Guardianſhip of his Mother and the Favourite, their Enemies failed not to do all that lay in their Power, to make him jealous of them. So many things deſerving his Attention were inſinuated to him, that he reſolved at length to have perfect Information of his Affairs. Thoſe to whom he applied, caus'd him to obſerve, "That the Earl of *March* affected "to out-ſhine his Sovereign, by a Magnificence too ſplen- "did for a Subject: That he diſpoſed of all the Offices of "the Kingdom to his Creatures: That he was abſolute "maſter of the Fortune of the *Engliſh*, caſting down ſome, "and raiſing others, according as they appeared *for* or *againſt* "his Intereſt: That by his private Orders *Edward* II, "was murdered: That the Earl of *Kent* loſt his Life by "his ſecret Practices: Finally, That very probably the "Queen and her Miniſter had formed the Deſign of ſecur- "ing the Royal Authority, by keeping him always a "Minor." Some add, that it was intimated to him, that the Queen his Mother was big with Child by *Mortimer*. What they ſay is not unlikely, ſince, according to the Teſtimony of *Froiſſart*, the Report of her being with Child was ſpread over the whole Kingdom. Theſe Informations entirely convinced the King, of what he had hitherto only ſuſpected. He called to mind the ſudden death of the King his Father; the Beheading of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle; the diſhonorable Peace he was made to conclude with *Scotland*; the extravagant Dowry of the Queen his Mother, the Credit, Riches, and Pride of the Earl of *March*, and abhorring the Wickedneſs of thoſe who made the *Publick Good* a pretence to gratify their Paſſions, he reſolved to puniſh them. However, he carefully concealed his purpoſe, till an Opportunity offered of acting, without danger of ruining himſelf. To execute his Deſign, he choſe the time the Parliament was to meet at *Nottingham (2)*. The Court being come to that Town, Queen *Iſabella* and the Earl of *March* lodged in the Caſtle, with a Guard of one hundred and eighty Knights (3), whilſt the King, with a ſmall Retinue, was lodged in the Town. In ſpite of theſe Precautions, which ſeemed to ſhew that the Queen and the Favorite were not without their Uneaſineſs, *Edward*, having gain'd the Governor (4), enter'd the Caſtle through a ſubterraneous Paſſage, and came into his Mother's Apartment, accompanied with *Montacute*, and ſome other Officers, all bent to loſe their Lives in his Service. There was at firſt ſome Noiſe made, and two Knights of the Guard were killed, who having leſs reſpect for the King than their Companions, offered to reſiſt. The Earl of *March* was apprehended, and notwithſtanding the Queen's Cries, and Intreaties to ſpare the gallant *Mortimer (5)*, he was carried out the ſame way the King came in, and conducted under a ſtrong Guard to the Tower of *London (6)*.

Informations given the King.

l. 1. c. 24.

Walſing.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 452. *Edward ſeizes Mortimer, and ſends him to the Tower.*

This maſter-piece of Policy ſucceeding ſo well, the King diſſolved the Parliament, and ſummoned another (7). As the late Parliament had not regarded ſo much the Publick Good, as the Intereſts of the Queen and the Earl of *March*, the King bitterly complained, in his Summons, of the Members, and took occaſion to exhort the People, to chuſe Repreſentatives who had the Good of the State more at heart. The Parliament met at *London*, with Diſpoſitions very different from thoſe of the former. Moſt of the Members, overjoyed to ſee the Kingdom freed from the Tyranny of the Earl of *March*, aimed only at the Reformation of what was amiſs in the Government, and the Puniſhment of the Favourite, according to his Crimes; the common Fate of Favourites and Miniſters who abuſe their Power. How great ſoever they may be, they muſt expect to ſee themſelves abandoned by all whenever their Affairs begin to decline.

He calls a new Parliament. Ibid. p. 453.

1330.

In his Speech to the Parliament, the King complained in general of the Queen and *Mortimer*. After which, he ſaid, that, with the Conſent of his Subjects, he deſigned to aſſume himſelf the Reins of the Government, tho' he was not yet arrived at the Age preſcribed by the Law. The Parliament gladly conſented; all the Members being equally ready to ſecond his Deſigns (8).

The Queen is confined to Riſings. Walſing.

Edward being thus freed from his Governors, his firſt care was to ſeize the exorbitant Dower of the Queen his Mother, and reduce it to a Penſion of three thouſand Pounds a Year (9). At the ſame time ſhe was confined to her Houſe at *Riſings* (10), leſt by her Intrigues ſhe ſhould excite new Troubles. *Mezerai* was miſtaken, when he ſaid, that *Edward* haſtened his Mother's Death. It is certain, ſhe lived twenty-eight Years in her Confinement, where the King her Son viſited her once or twice every Year, more out of Decency than Affection.

Abregee, &c. Ann. 1328

The Ear March *is condemned and executed.* Knighton. Col. 2556. Walſing.

As for the Earl of *March*, he was treated with the utmoſt Rigour. His Impeachment, brought before the Parliament, contained divers Articles of which theſe were the principal: That he had ſeized the Government of the Kingdom without Authority, and contrary to the expreſs Regulation of the Parliament: That he had placed, about the King, Spies upon all his Actions, that he might not be able to free himſelf from the Subjection he was kept under: That he had procured the Death of *Edward* II by his expreſs Orders: That he had contrived a treacherous Plot to take away the Life of the late Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle: that he had appropriated to his own uſe, the twenty thouſand Marks paid by the King of *Scotland:* Laſtly, that he had lived in a too familiar manner with the Queen-Mother. For all theſe Crimes, which were affirmed to be notorious, and for proof whereof, no Evidences were ſo much as heard, he was condemned to die (11). His Sentence, which ran, that he ſhould, as a Traitor, be drawn and hanged on the common Gallows at *Tyburn (12)*, was executed without the leaſt favor. There was This remarkable in his Sentence, that he was condemned without being heard, as he himſelf had ſerved the *Spencers*. But this irregularity proved advantagious to his Family. For *Roger* his Grandſon obtained afterwards an Act to reverſe this Sentence, as erroneous. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, his Deſcendants by the Female-Line mount the Throne of *England*. The Article of his Impeachment concerning his Commerce with the Queen, is a clear Evidence, how much the whole Kingdom was offended at their Familiarity. If it had not been notorious, there is no likelihood that the Parliament would have wounded that Princeſs's Honour ſo deeply, which could not but reflect on the King her Son. They who have endeavoured to vindicate her, by the little probability, that a Princeſs of ſo high a Rank ſhould ſo far forget herſelf, did not conſider that a few Years before, the three Daughters-in-law of *Philip the Fair* were as regardleſs of their Reputation, by the Confeſſion of all the Hiſtorians (13).

Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 24.

Birth of Prince Edward.

Thus *Edward* began betimes to wipe out the Blemiſhes which had ſullied his Minority, and in taking upon him the Government, gave happy Preſages of the Glory and Proſperity of his Reign. For a farther Addition to the publick Happineſs, Heaven bleſſed the young Monarch with a Son, whom the Queen brought this Year into the World (14). He was called *Edward* after his Father,

(1) It is very probable he was ſuſpicious of her, before his Journey, as appears by an Order he gave *Ralph de Nevil* to array the Militia, *Rymer's Fœd.* T. IV. p. 448.

(2) Fifteen Days after *Michaelmas*. *Rot. Clauſ. 4 Edw.* III. *M.* 23. *Dorſ. Knighton*, Col. 2555.

(3) The Queen had the Keys of the Caſtle brought to her every Night, and laid them under her Pillow. *Stow.*

(4) He iſſued out Warrants to all the Sheriffs, for apprehending the Earl of *March*, Sir *Oliver de Ingham*, and Sir *Simon de Bereford*, bearing date *Octob.* 20, at *Nottingham*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 452. And on *Novemb.* 3. ſummoned all Perſons whatſoever, that had any Complaints to make againſt *Mortimer* and the reſt, to come and lay them before the Parliament. *Ibid.* p. 453.

(5) Her Words were, *Bel Fitz, Bel Fitz, ayez pitie du gentile* Mortimer.

(6) This was done on the 19th of *Octob. Knighton*, Col. 2556. Beſides Sir *William de Montacute* (afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*) there were with the King, Sir *Humphrey de Bohun*, Sir *Edward* and Sir *William*, his Brothers; Sir *Ralph de Stafford*, Sir *William de Clinton*, Sir *John Nevil* of *Hornby*, Sir *William Eland*, &c. The Paſſage under Ground is ſtill called *Mortimer's Hole*. The two Knights that were killed were, Sir *Hugh de Turplington*, Steward of the King's Houſhold, and Sir *Richard Monmouth*, according to the *Fœdera*, Tom. IV. p. 475, 505. but according to *Dugdale* and *Barnes*, Sir *John*. For this piece of Service, the King granted Sir *William de Montacute*, one thouſand Pounds *per Ann. Rot. Par. Knighton*, Col. 1566. Sir *John Nevil*, two thouſand Marks *per Ann.* in Land; namely, the Manors of *Lodres*, *Phelipſton*, *More*, *Up-Wynburn*, and *Winterburn-Houton* in *Dorſetſhire*; and *Chelreie* in *Berkſhire*. *Rymer, ibid.* p. 487. *Robert de Bohun*, four hundred Marks; *Robert de Ufford*, three hundred, and *John de Nevil*, two hundred. *Rot. Par. 4 Edw.* III. n. 13.

(7) To meet at *Weſtminſter*, *Novemb.* 25. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 453, 454.

(8) At the ſame time, the King reſumed into his Hands, all the Grants that had been made during his Minority. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 476.

(9) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, five hundred Pounds. See *Knighton*, Col. 2556. He moreover granted her afterwards, *viz. Septemb.* 4. 1334. the Earldom of *Penthieu* and *Montreuil*, during her Life. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 623.

(10) Near *London*.

(11) The Earl of *March* left four Sons, of whom *Edmund* his eldeſt died in the Flower of his Age, and left his Son *Roger*, who was reſtored to his Grandfather's Eſtates and Honours. The Earl had alſo ſeven Daughters, *Katharine* Wife of *Thomas de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Joan* married to *James* Lord *Audley*; *Agnes* to *Lawrence de Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*; *Margaret* to *Thomas* Son and Heir of *Maurice* Lord *Berkley*; *Maud* to *John* Son and Heir of *John de Charleton* Lord *Powis*; *Blanch* to *Peter de Grandiſon*; and *Beatrix* firſt to *Edward*, Son and Heir to *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earl *Marſhal*, Son of *Edward* II, and afterwards to Sir *Thomas de Brooſe*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 146, 147.

(12) On *Novemb.* 29. *Knighton.* Col. 2559. *Walſing.* p. 130. At a Place then called *Elms*, now *Tyburn*. His Body, after hanging two Days and two nights, was granted to the Friers Minors, who buried it in their Church, now called *Chriſt-Church*.

(13) In this Parliament alſo Sir *Simon de Bereford* was condemned; and executed in *December*. *Rot. Par. 4 Edw.* III 1, 2.

(14) He was born at *Woodſtock*, *June* 15. *J. Tinmouth, Hiſt. Aur. Walſing.* p. 130.

1331. and became in his Time the moſt illuſtrious and moſt accompliſhed Prince, *England* had ever produced (1).

The King forms the Project of conquering Scotland.

After *Edward* had taken upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, People were impatient to ſee, which way the young Prince would turn. His Courage, his Abilities, and his active Spirit, made them believe he would not, like the King his Father, chuſe an indolent Life. It was much more likely he would imitate his Grandfather *Edward* I. *France* and *Scotland* were equally concerned to obſerve his firſt Proceedings. *France* might be apprehenſive, he would renew his Pretenſions to the Crown, obtained by *Philip de Valois* to his Prejudice. *Scotland* had no leſs reaſon to fear, he would break through the diſhonorable Treaty, wherein he was engaged by the Queen his Mother and *Mortimer*, during his Non-age. Though the King of *Scotland* was his Brother-in-law, it was known in thoſe Days, as well as at preſent, that the Bond of Affinity is not always a ſufficient Bar to the Ambition of Princes. And indeed, *Edward* had in view theſe two grand Deſigns. But it was not poſſible for him to engage at once in two ſo conſiderable Undertakings. He reſolved therefore to begin with *Scotland*, that he might, after ſubduing that Kingdom, attack *France* with the united Forces of the two Nations which divided *Great Britain*.

The Peace concluded two Years before with *Robert Bruce*, ſeemed to lay an inſuperable Obſtacle in his way. But ambitious Princes always find Pretences enough to gratify their Paſſions. *Edward* had one, which to him appeared juſt, or at leaſt ſufficient to authorize his Attempt upon *Scotland*; namely, that he was betrayed by his Mother and Miniſters in the late Treaty with *Robert Bruce*. But how ſpecious ſoever this Reaſon might ſeem to him, he did not think proper to uſe it, till he was almoſt ſure of the Succeſs of his Enterprize. To compaſs his ends, he made uſe of the Miniſtry of *Edward Baliol*, Son of that *John Baliol*, placed on the Throne of *Scotland* by *Edward* I, and afterwards depoſed as a Puniſhment for his pretended Rebellion. It was now thirty eight Years, ſince his Father was dethroned, after ſo long an Interval, the Son, who, ſince the Death of his Father, led an obſcure Life in *France*, little expected to ſee the King of *England* preſs him to proſecute his Right to the Crown of *Scotland*. This however, was by *Edward*'s Order inſinuated to him by the Lord *Beaumont*, who ſince his Baniſhment reſided in *France*. *Beaumont* repreſented to him, that he had a fair Opportunity to mount the Throne of *Scotland*, uſurped by the *Bruces*: that *David*'s Minority afforded him a Juncture which would not eaſily be met with again: In fine, that the King of *England* was inclined to ſecond his Endeavours. *Baliol* lent a ready Ear to ſo flattering a Propoſal, and to be certain himſelf, how far he might rely on the King, came into *England* (2), where he kept himſelf concealed. During that time, he treated with *Edward*, by the Mediation of *Beaumont*, concerning the Terms on which he was to engage in this Enterprize. *Edward*'s Hiſtorian labours heartily to vindicate the King, in a Proceeding ſo contrary to Sincerity, and the late Treaty with *Scotland*. But they who are not concerned to defend his Reputation, will hardly deny, that, on this occaſion, Ambition was the ſole or real Motive of his Conduct. It is but too probable, that the Proſpect of an Acquiſition, like That of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, made him overlook his Scruples on that account. Of this I ſhall hereafter give more than probable Proofs.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 529.

He makes uſe of Baliol *to compaſs his Ends.* Boeth. Knighton. Walſing.

He ſtirs him up to aſſert his Right, and promiſes to aid him.

J. Barnes.

Baliol *prepares for his Expedition.*

The two Parties came to an Agreement without much Difficulty. *Baliol* thought he could not purchaſe too dearly a Crown, to which he would never have dared to aſpire, without being aſſured of a powerful Aſſiſtance. On the other hand, *Edward*, who minded his own, more than the Concerns of *Baliol*, and intended to reap all the Benefit of this Enterprize, ſcrupled not to promiſe ſtill more than *Baliol* durſt have expected. The Articles of their Agreement were no ſooner ſettled, but the *Engliſh* Nobles were privately told, that in ſerving *Baliol* they would pleaſe the King. This was ſufficient to engage in his Party thoſe, who, having received Lands in *Scotland* by the Bounty of *Edward* I, had afterwards loſt them by the Revolutions in that Kingdom. Beſides this Aid, *Baliol* could alſo depend, in *Scotland* itſelf, upon the aſſiſtance of the old Friends of his Family, who found it their Intereſt to ſupport him. And indeed, the placing this Prince on the Throne, was the only way to recover the Offices and Poſts they were removed from, after *Robert Bruce*'s Advancement. 1331.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 536.

Whilſt *Baliol* was making his Preparations, *Edward* pretended punctually to obſerve the Peace with *Scotland*, and iſſued upon that account ſeveral Orders, which were not well executed. He even publiſhed a Proclamation againſt ſuch as were engaged in the Service of *Baliol*. But this Step was taken when they were juſt going, and it was too late to prevent them. His ſole Aim was, to make the Publick believe, he was not concerned in an Undertaking, of which he indeed was the real Author.

Edward *pretends to keep the Peace with Scotland.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 529.

As ſoon as *Baliol* was ready, he embarked his little Army, conſiſting but of two thouſand five hundred Men, and landed at *Kinghorn* near *Perth* (3), from whence he ſent back his Ships. He was willing by that to ſhew his Troops, they had nothing to truſt to but their Valour. Mean while, his Preparations could not be ſo privately made, but the *Scots* had Intelligence thereof. Hardly were his Men landed, when he heard, that *Alexander Seaton* was coming to give him Battel, at the head of ten thouſand Men. All means of retreat being taken from the *Engliſh*, they had no hopes of Safety but in Victory. Accordingly, expecting their Enemies with a noble Reſolution, they fought with ſuch uncommon Bravery, that the *Scotch* General, with an Army much ſuperior, was ſhamefully and intirely routed (4). The Earl of *Fife*, who followed *Seaton* with a ſtill more numerous Army, willing to revenge this diſgrace, had no better ſucceſs. After theſe two Victories, *Baliol* advancing farther into the Country, met with another Body of *Scotch* Troops, whom he likewiſe defeated. Five days after, he fought *Nigel Bruce*, who came to attack him with ten thouſand Men. In this laſt Action he gave no quarter, becauſe he would not be incumbered with Priſoners. 1332.

Baliol *lands in Scotland.* Boeth. Buchanan. Knighton. Walſing. *He gains four battles.*

Four Battles loſt in ſo ſhort a Space, throwing the *Scots* into the uttermoſt Conſternation, *Baliol* had time to beſiege *Perth*, called alſo St. *John*'s *Town*, of which he eaſily became maſter. He found there a great Quantity of warlike Stores and Proviſions, which he wanted extremely, in order to make farther Progreſs. His Affairs obliging him to remove from *Perth*, *Patrick Dunbar*, Earl of *Marche*, took advantage of his Abſence, and beſieged the ſame Town. But upon the firſt News of *Baliol*'s marching to relieve it, he haſtily raiſed the Siege, though his Army was ſuperior in number. Such Terror had their former Loſſes ſtruck into the *Scots*.

He becomes Maſter of Perth. Knighton.

Baliol's good Fortune failed not to produce the uſual Effects. Great Numbers of Lords and Gentlemen of the Country came and ſwore Fealty to him. This Deſection, which threatned King *David* with a greater, obliged the young Prince to fly with his Queen into *France*, it being unſafe to remain any longer in their Kingdom. Mean time, to influence the Affairs of *Scotland*, *Edward* ſo managed it, that ſeveral private Perſons fitted out a Fleet in their own Name, to give chace to that which the *Scots* had ſent to Sea, and which was their laſt Refuge. The Loſs of this Fleet, which was deſtroyed by the *Engliſh*, quite confounded *David*'s Adherents. The Earl of *Fife*, who was one of the principal, ſubmitted to the Conqueror, and his Example was followed by many others. Theſe good Succeſſes determined *Baliol* to cauſe himſelf to be crowned. The Ceremony was performed at *Scone*, the uſual Place of the Inauguration of the Kings (5).

David *King of* Scotland *retires into* France.

The Scotch *Fleet deſtroyed by the* Engliſh.

Baliol *crowned.* Walſing.

The new King was no ſooner on the Throne, but, in order to perform his Treaty with the King of *England*, he did him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the ſame manner as his Father had done it to *Edward* I, that is, with all the Circumſtances denoting an entire Subjection. In his Letters-Patent he ſaid expreſly, that it was with the Conſent of the King of *England*, and the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, that he recovered the Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance, of which he ſuppoſed, contrary to Truth, that *John* his Father was deprived by *Robert Bruce*. Moreover, he reſigned to the King of *England*, in payment of the Supplies received from him, the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick*, which were ſtill in the hands of King *David*. He offered likewiſe to marry *Joanna*, Siſter of *Edward*, if that Princeſs's Marriage with *David Bruce* could be annulled. Laſtly, he promiſed to furniſh the King his Sovereign with Aids of Men and Money, whenever required.

He does Homage to Edward *for* Scotland. Act. Pub. IV. p. 536. Knighton.

He gives up Berwick. Act. Pub. IV. p. 536. 539.

(1) This Year the Art of weaving Woollen-Cloth was brought from *Flanders* into *England*, by *John Kempe*, to whom the King granted his Protection; and at the ſame time invited over *Fullers*, *Dyers*, &c See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 496.——A Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter* on *Sept.* 30. *Rot. Claus.* 5 *Edw.* III. *M.* 7. *Dorſ.*

(2) There is a Safe-Conduct for him to come to *England*, dated at *Woodſtock*, *July* 20. 1330. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. 445, 452.

(3) In the beginning of *March*. *Knighton*. Col. 2560.

(4) This Battle was fought at *Gledeſmore*, near St. *John*'s Town, on the 11th of *Auguſt*. *Ibid.* 2559.

(5) On the 27th of *September*. *Walſingh.*

All

1332. All these Circumstances plainly shew, *Edward* was but too far concerned in this Expedition, how much soever his Historians may labour to clear him (1).

Edward levies an Army on pretence of Troubles in Ireland;

Whilst *Baliol* was employed in pushing his Conquests in *Scotland*, *Edward* called a Parliament to demand a Subsidy (2). His Pretence was, certain Troubles in *Ireland*, which he represented as so dangerous, that there was a necessity of sending an Army thither (3). The Subsidy was readily granted. But whilst the Troops designed for this Expedition were marching to imbark, they received Orders to advance towards the Borders of *Scotland*. *Edward* representing to the Parliament, that it was dangerous to leave the northern Counties defenceless, whilst their Neighbours were in Arms; and affirming, his Presence was necessary in those Parts, it was resolved that the *Irish* Expedition should be deferred to some other time. Probably, the Parliament did not suffer themselves to be deceived, but were willing to shut their Eyes voluntarily, not to obstruct the King's Designs.

but sends it to Scotland; Act. Pub. IV. p. 523, 525, 533.

1333. *He complains that the* Scots *have broke the Treaty of Peace.* Froissart, l. 1. c. 26. Act. Pub. IV. p. 552, 557. Ibid. p. 564, 566. Walsing.

Mean time, *Edward* finding, that by the Rapidity of *Baliol*'s Conquests, his Project succeeded to his Wish, immediately pulled off the mask. He began, upon frivolous Pretences to complain, that the *Scots* had violated the Treaty of Peace. He must needs have been in great want of good Reasons, since he used one so very unlikely in the then Circumstances of *Scotland*. The Regent left by King *David* in *Scotland*, spared neither Excuses, nor Intreaties, nor Submissions to divert the impending Storm, but all to no purpose. *Edward*, who had formed the Design of taking *Berwick*, soon after besieged that Place. He pressed it so briskly, that he obliged the Governor (4) to sign a Capitulation (5), promising to surrender the Town, unless relieved by such a Day. During that time, the Regent, seeing *Berwick* could not be saved without exerting his utmost levied an Army, and was advancing with all speed to give the *English* Battle. *Edward*, who was informed of it, expected him at *Halydon-Hill*, where was fought a bloody Battle, which ended in the entire Rout of the Army of *Scotland*. Seven *Scotch* Earls were slain on the Spot, with nine hundred Knights, and four thousand Gentlemen, besides thirty two-thousand common Soldiers, if we believe the *English* Historians. But the *Scots* own but ten thousand, which doubtless is nearest the truth. This Victory was followed by the surrender of *Berwick*, which the King annexed for ever to the Crown of *England*.

He becomes Master of Berwick. *The Battle of* Halydon. Ibid. p. 571. Knighton. Buchanan. l. 9.

Baliol *holds his first Parliament at* Edenborough. Act. Pub. IV. p. 576, 588, 590, to 605, 614. Walsing.

The success of this Campaign answering *Edward*'s expectation, he returned into his own Dominions, leaving with *Baliol* a Body of Troops to complete the Reduction of all *Scotland*. Strengthened with this Aid, *Baliol* took several Towns, after which he held his first Parliament at *Edenborough* (6). He caused whatever had been done in favor of the King of *England*, to be confirmed and ratified. Moreover, all the *English* Lords who had served him, recovered the Lands they had lost in *Scotland*, or acquired others. All the Acts of Parliament passed in the Reign of *Robert Bruce* were annulled, as wanting a lawful Authority. *Baliol* was not satisfied with shewing his Gratitude to *Edward*, by the Cession of *Berwick*, and doing him Homage, but resigned to him likewise *Roxburgh*, *Jedburgh*, *Selkirk*, *Dumfries*, and the Castle of *Edenborough*, in reward, as he said himself in his Letters, for the Assistance received from him to recover his Dominions (7).

He gives up several Places to Edward. Ibid. p. 614.

1334. *The* Scots *rebel against him.* Buchanan. Boeth. Walsing. Knighton. *He is surprized and driven out of* Scotland.

This voluntary Homage, and these extraordinary Alienations, made him forfeit the Esteem and Affection of his new Subjects. It was easy for them to see, that *Baliol* was but *Edward*'s Instrument to render himself Master of *Scotland*. In this Belief, they resolved to shake off the Yoke of their new King, who so visibly betrayed the Interests of the Nation. Some of the great Men (8), improving this general Disposition, headed a Body of Male-contents, and went in quest of *Baliol*, who expected nothing less than to be attacked. They surprized and defeated him, forcing him to fly on an Horse without a Saddle to *Carlisle*, from whence he sent his Protector word of the Misfortune befallen him. 1334.

About the same time *Edward* summoned a Parliament (9), and communicated his Design, as he said, of going to the *Holy-Land* with the King of *France*, and several other Christian Princes. But the news of the Revolution in *Scotland*, made him alter his pretended Project. Having obtain'd the Aid of Money he demanded, he marched towards that Kingdom, at the head of a numerous Army, and penetrated without opposition to the Northern Counties, whilst the *Scotch* Army kept in Posts, where it was not possible to attack them. So for want of Enemies to engage with, he left *Scotland*, and returned into *England*. Hardly had he reach'd the Borders, when *Dunbar*, who commanded the *Scotch* Army, sallying out of his Retreats, retook some Places from the *English*. As the Season would not permit the King to go in quest of his Enemies, he sent his Troops into Winter-Quarters, and that he might be at hand, resolved to pass the Winter at *Roxburgh*.

Ad Murim. Act. Pub IV. p. 267.

Edward marches into Scotland *and ravages the Country.* Knighton.

In the Spring he attacked *Scotland* by Sea and Land. He even advanced as far as the Northern Ocean. But he reaped no great Advantages from this Incursion, as the North Parts of *Scotland* could not be kept without an Army always there, superior to that of the *Scots*: So, finding he could not allure them to a Battle, he staid some time at *Perth*, whilst the Earl of *Cornwall* his Brother ravaged the Western Counties of that unfortunate Kingdom. It is true, the *Scots* gained some Advantage over five hundred *English* Archers, who suffered themselves to be surprized. They took likewise the Earl of *Namur*, and the Prince his Brother, who served in *Edward*'s Army. But this last Advantage proved fatal to them, as it occasioned the Loss of the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of the Kingdom. This Earl, who was so generous as to give his two Prisoners their Liberty, carrying his Civilities a little too far in waiting upon them himself to the Frontiers, had the misfortune to be taken by a Party of the Garrison of *Roxburgh*. This accident added to the Losses already sustained by the *Scots*, that of a good General, and a very able Regent. 1335.

Another Expedition into Scotland. Act. Pub. IV. p. 650. Ib. p. 654, 657, 658.

The Regent of Scotland *taken by the* English. Ib. p. 660, 670, 682.

Mean time, the Pope and the King of *France* were strongly using their Interest, though indirectly, for King *David*, by endeavouring to turn the *English* Arms another way. Whilst *Edward* was at *Perth*, he received Ambassadors from *France*, who, jointly with the Pope's Nuntio, pressed him to perform his Engagement to carry his Arms into *Palestine*. He easily perceived, their sole Intent was to divert him from the War with *Scotland*. So, to avoid all farther Sollicitations, he plainly told *Philip*'s Ambassadors, that by God's Grace he was in a condition to make War against the *Infidels*, without their Master's Aid, as soon as he had finished the Conquest of *Scotland*. This Answer convincing the *Scots* that he was fully resolved not to end the War till he was absolute Master of the Kingdom, the greatest Part voluntarily submitted, plainly perceiving, it was not possible for them to resist any longer. They who took this course obtained very favourable Terms, but there were others who chose rather to be exposed to the last Extremities, than submit to the Yoke of the *English*, after the Campaign was over. *Edward* returned in Triumph to *England* (10), having order'd *Perth*, *Edenborough*, and *Sterling* to be refortified, and left the Government of *Scotland* to the Earl of *Athol*.

The Pope and King of France *try to divert* Edward *from the War with* Scotland. Act. Pub. IV. p. 655, 677, 703. Walsing.

The chief Scots *submit to* Edward. Knighton. Col. 2566.

He returns to England. Act. Pub. IV. p. 676.

The new General, who, though a *Scotchman*, had joined with *Edward*, in order to revenge some Affronts received from his Countrymen, had no sooner the Command of the *English* Army, but he went and laid Siege to *Kildrummy*. *Dunbar* and *Douglass*, who commanded the *Scotch* Forces, hastened to its Relief, and though their Army was not near so numerous, they defeated and slew the Earl of *Athol*, and relieved the Town. This Success reviving the Cou-

The English *are beaten.*

(1) These Letters are dated at *Roxborough*, *Novemb.* 23. 1332. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 538.

(2) This Parliament was held at *York*, the 2d of *December*, *Ibid.* p. 539. There were three other Parliaments held this Year at *Westminster*; one on the *Monday* after *March* 12. the second *April* 27. and the third on *September* 9. *Rot. Claus.* 6 *Edw.* III. *M.* 36. *Dors.* and *Rot. Parl.* No. 1. 3. This last granted him a Fifteenth of the personal Estates of the Prelates, Lords, and Knights of Shires; and a Tenth from all Cities and Burroughs. *Ibid.*

(3) He ordered it to be raised about the beginning of *October*. 1331. *Rymer* T. IV. p. 533.

(4) *William de Keth*. *Ibid.* p. 566.

(5) *July* 16. 1333. *Ibid.* p. 568.

(6) *Febr.* 10. 1334. To which King *Edward* sent his Commissaries, *viz. Edward de Bohun*, *William de Montacute*, *Henry de Percy*, *Ralph de Neville*, Steward of his Houshold, and *Geoffrey de Scrope*, Chief-Justice. *Ibid.* p. 588, 591.

(7) A Parliament was held this Year at *York*, on the *Monday* in the 2d Week in *Lent*. *Walsing.* p. 133. Some time after King *Edward*, by his Letter dated *October*. 6. at *Havering*, desired the Clergy to grant him an Aid for his War with *Scotland*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 579, 612.

(8) The Lord *Archibald Douglas*, with the Earl of *Marr*, *&c.* This happened on *Decemb.* 25. at *Anan*. *Walsing*. *Knighton*. Col. 2561.

(9) At *York*, on *Febr.* 21. *Rot. Parl.* 8 *Edw.* III. There was another at *Westminster*, about *Septemb.* 20. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 628. *Walsing.* p. 134. This last granted the King a Fifteenth from the Lords and Knights of the Shires, and a Tenth from the Clergy, as also from the Citizens and Burgesses. *Walsing.* p. 134. *Knighton.* Col. 2565.

(10) Having granted the *Scots* a Truce for about a Month, at the Request of the Pope, and the King of *France*: Which was afterwards prolonged till the *Sunday* before *Ascension-Day* 1336. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 676, 681, 684, 685, 690. After his return to *England*, he held a Parliament at *York*, the Day after the *Ascension*. *Rot. Claus.* 9 *Edw.* III. *M.* 28. *Dors.*

1335. rage of the *Scots*, they came together from all parts under the Conduct of these two Generals, who made a very considerable Progress.

1336. Edward ravages Scotland. Act. Pub. IV. p. 695, 698 and returns. Knighton. Walsing.

Edward, who thought he had sufficiently tamed the *Scots*, fell into a sort of a Fury upon the News of this fresh Revolt. As soon as the Season would permit, he marched a fourth time into the Heart of *Scotland* (1), and ravaged in a merciless manner the Counties that had declared against him. In his return, he burnt the Town of *Aberdeen*, and some other Places of less note; and leaving a small Army with *Baliol*, marched back to his Dominions (2), where he was called by more important Affairs. This was *Edward*'s last Expedition into *Scotland*. It was time for that unhappy Kingdom to enjoy some Repose. Since it was first invaded by *Edward* I, so much *Scotch* Blood had been spilt, that it is very surprising, after so many Losses, the People of that Country should still be able to contend for their Liberty (3).

Edward's Designs against France.

Edward's four Expeditions into *Scotland* gained him no doubt a great Reputation. But it seems that part of his Glory might have been disputed, by the consideration of the Superiority of his Troops, more numerous, better disciplined, and more amply provided with all things necessary, than those of the *Scots*. He was willing therefore to demonstrate in a larger and more noble Field, that he was not afraid to face the greatest Dangers, and to contend with more formidable Enemies. So, from henceforth neglecting *Scotland*, which he believed sufficiently subdued, and which afforded him no more Lawrels; he resolved to attack *France*, the most powerful State of all *Europe*, and to use his utmost endeavours to wrest the Crown from *Philip de Valois*. I have already mentioned his claim to that Kingdom, from which he was excluded by virtue of the *Salic-Law*. As he pretended this Law was misunderstood, and as that was the Origin and Cause of a long and bloody War, which frequently brought *France* into extreme Danger, there would be a sort of Necessity, before we proceeded to particulars, to show the real Foundation of this War. But as this matter cannot be briefly explained, I must beg the Reader's leave to refer him to the Dissertation at the End of this Reign, that the thread of the History may not be interrupted. It suffices here to say in a word, that *Edward* pretended, the *Salic-Law*, in excluding Females from the Succession to the Crown, did not exclude their Male-Issue; from whence he inferred, that the next Male-Heir ought to succeed.

The Collection of the Publick Acts contain several Pieces, clearly shewing, that although *Edward* seemed to submit to the Judgment given against him in *France*, he was meditating some great design, and that against *France*. Amongst others, there is a Letter to the Inhabitants of *Bayonne*, positively promising them never to make Peace with *France* without their being included, though he was not then in War with that Crown. It was not therefore *Robert d' Artois*, expelled *France*, and sheltered in *England*, that inspired him with the Thoughts of invading *France*, as all the Historians unanimously affirm. I do not deny however, that *Robert d' Artois*, displeased with *Philip de Valois*, helped by his Councils, and perhaps by the Consideration of his Friends in *France*, to make him hasten the Execution of his Project. But since *Robert d' Artois* is generally reckoned the Author of this Undertaking, and of the Calamities suffered by *France* on that occasion, it will not be improper to inform the Reader of the Reasons which that Prince, descended from *Lewis* VIII, thought he had to complain of *Philip*. For that purpose, it will be necessary to know something of the Genealogy of the House of *Artois*.

Froissart, l. 1. c. 26.

LEWIS VIII.

St. *Lewis* K. of *France*.	ROBERT I. E. of *Artois*.

ROBERT II. E. of *Artois*.	MAUD *Othenin* E. of *Burg*.
PHILIP of *Artois* d. before his Father.	JOANNA de *B. Philip le Long*. / BLANCH de *Burg. Charles the Fair*.
ROBERT III. of *Artois*.	BLANCH of *France*. *Eudes* Duke of *Burg*.

1336. State of the Earl of Artois's Case.

Robert, Earl of *Artois*, Son of *Lewis* VIII King of *France*, had a Son and a Daughter, namely, *Robert* and *Maud*. *Robert* II was Earl of *Artois*, and *Maud* married *Othenin*, Earl of *Burgundy*, by whom she had two Daughters, *Joanna* and *Blanch*, who were Wives to *Philip le Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, Kings of *France*. *Joanna* had a Daughter called *Blanch*, married to *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*. *Robert* II had but one Son, named *Philip*, who dying before the Earl his Father, left *Robert* his Son, the third of that Name, but not Earl of *Artois*. *Robert* III. claimed the Earldom, as Grandson to *Robert* II, and the next Male-Heir. But *Maud* his Great Aunt, maintained, that the Succession belonged to her, as Sister of *Robert* II, and nearer by one degree than *Robert* III. The Court of Peers decided the Affair in favour of *Maud*, whose two Daughters were married to the two younger Sons of *Philip the Fair*. *Robert d' Artois* submitted to the Sentence during *Philip*'s Life, and all the Reign of *Lewis Hutin*, but took Arms in the Regency of *Philip le Long*, and got possession of *Artois*. When from Regent, *Philip* was become King, the Affair of *Artois* was again brought before the Court of Peers, and decided once more in favour of *Maud* his Mother-in-law. After the Death of *Charles the Fair*, *Robert d' Artois* was of all the great Men of *France*, the Person that acted with the greatest warmth, to procure the Crown for *Philip de Valois* his Brother-in-law, and maintained the most strenuously the Authority of the *Salic-Law*. He hoped thereby to establish a Precedent in his favour, with regard to the Earldom of *Artois*, and that the *Salic-Law* being admitted, with respect to the Crown, all the Fiefs thereof would be subject to the same Law. So, depending upon this Precedent which made for him, and the Advantage of being Brother-in-law of the new King, he revived the Process, and produced certain Charters under the Great-Seal, to confirm his Right. But *Philip* caused the Charters to be examined so strictly, that they were discovered to be counterfeit, for which a Gentlewoman of *Artois*, who had forged them, was severely punished. These Charters, on which *Robert* founded his Claim, being rejected, the Earldom of *Artois* was adjudged to *Blanch*, Daughter of *Philip de Long*, by vertue of the Right she had from *Maud* her Grandmother. *Robert*, full of Indignation, fell into a Passion with the King, and upbraided him in such a manner, as touched him very sensibly. It is said, he proceeded to Threats, which determined the King to prosecute him with the utmost rigour. He ordered him to be summoned before the Peers; and causing him to be condemned for Non-appearance, commanded the Sentence to be publickly read in the Streets of *Paris*. *Robert* withdrew into *Hainault*: but *Philip* not letting him rest there, he took the desperate Course of throwing himself into the Arms of the King of *England*. He found that Monarch finishing the War with *Scotland*, and meditating his Enterprize upon *France*. In all likelihood, he contributed by his Sollicitations to hasten the Execution of that Project (4).

Act. Pub. IV. p. 747.

1337. Edward makes an Alliance with several Princes. Act. Pub. IV. p. 724. &c. Froissart, l. 1. c. 35.

So important a War could not be undertaken, without extraordinary Preparations, and the support of divers Alliances, which might balance the Superiority, *France* had then over *England*. *Edward* had now gained the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Guelder* and *Hainault*, his Brothers-in-law, the Archbishop of *Cologn*, and several other *German* Princes: Nay, he neglected not the private Assistances of divers Lords of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Gascogne*, who were to supply him with a number of Horse, in proportion to the Sums he gave them. All these Troops drawn together, and joined to the *English*, would have made a very numerous Army. But these Alliances were not near so advantagious to him, as that procured him by *Robert d' Artois* with *James d' Arteville*, a Brewer of *Ghent*. The Credit of that Burgher was so great in *Flanders*, that he had caused the principal Cities to revolt against the Earl (5). This Prince was even reduced to the Necessity of flying for refuge into *France*, till *Philip*, who had engaged to restore him, was able to accomplish his Promise. *Edward* taking advantage of this Juncture, offered his Protection to the *Flemings*, who gladly accepted it, apprehensive as they were, of being oppressed by *Philip*, this Alliance was the more advantagious,

and with James de Arteville. Id. c. 31.

(1) His General in this Expedition, was *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Lancaster*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 695.

(2) About the end of *Autumn*. *Walsing*. *Ypodig*.

(3) A Parliament was held in the beginning of this Year at *Westminster*, wherein the Clergy granted the King a Tenth. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 689. Another was held at *Northampton*, *June* 25. *Ibid.* p. 701.

(4) Two Parliaments were held this Year. The first (which was rather a great Council) at *Northampton*, about *Whitsuntide*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 701. and the second at *Nottingham*, on *Septemb.* 25, which granted the King, for his Wars in *Scotland* and *Gascogne*, a twentieth part from the Nobility and Knights of Shires; a tenth from the Citizens and Burgesses, a sixth from the Clergy; besides which the Merchants of *England* were to pay forty Shillings a Sack for all Wool transported, and Foreigners 3 *l.* Sterling. *Knighton*, Col. 2568. *Rot. Claus.* 10 *Edw.* III. *M.* 16. This Year also, about the beginning of *Octob.* died *John* of *Eltham*, King *Edward*'s Brother, at *Perth* in *Scotland*; and was buried in *Westminster* Abbey. *Walsing.* p. 134. *Knighton*, Col. 2568.

(5) This Man by undertaking to be Patron to the People, had all things at his Command. He never walked the Streets without sixty or eigthy lusty

1337. tagious, as beſides the Supplies he expected from the *Flemings*, it afforded him the Conveniency of aſſembling his Army in *Flanders*, and a means to open a way into the Enemy's Country from that quarter. The Parliament (1), who approved of his Deſign, having granted him large Subſidies to carry it on, he raiſed one of the fineſt Armies that had ever been levied in *England*. Till all his Allies were ready to act, he ſent part of his Troops to the Relief of the *Flemings*, whom their Earl was vigorouſly attacking, with the Aſſiſtance of the *French*. Upon the Arrival of theſe Troops, *Guy*, Brother of the Earl of *Flanders*, who was poſted in the Iſle of *Cadſant*, was defeated and taken Priſoner. This ſucceſsful beginning of the *Engliſh* Arms, ſo broke the meaſures of the Earl of *Flanders*, that the Cities, which till then had been for him, declared againſt him.

Victory of the Engliſh *in* Flanders. Mezerai.

Prince Edward *made Duke of* Cornwal. Walſing. Knighton.

Whilſt *Edward* was making his preparations for this important War, the Object of all his Cares, he ſummoned a Parliament (2). The principal Buſineſs was to ſettle the Woollen-Trade, which was of very great conſequence to the Kingdom. In this Parliament, he created Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Son Duke of *Cornwal*, being the firſt in *England* that bore the Title of Duke (3).

Edward *writes to the Pope againſt* Philip. Act. Pub. IV. p. 826. Walſing. p. 136.

When the King was almoſt ready to begin the War, he wrote to the Pope and Cardinals, to juſtify his Enterprize againſt *France*. He complained in his Letters, that tho', after the Death of *Charles the Fair* his Uncle, the Crown was devolved to him as next Heir, he was deprived of it by a raſh and unjuſt Sentence: That the Ambaſſadors ſent to *Paris* to demand the Crown, not only were not heard, but were treated with that Violence as even to be threaten'd, and put in danger of their Lives: That by taking from a Minor the Crown, which of Right belonged to him, the Peers of *France* acted like Robbers rather than Judges; and that he proteſted againſt whatever was done during his Nonage. Then he ſaid, that *Philip de Valois*, not content with uſurping the Kingdom of *France*, had, before any declaration of War, unjuſtly ſeized *Guienne* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and without cauſe, united theſe two Provinces to the Crown: That he had countenanced the *Scotch* Rebellion, inſtead of aſſiſting him, as he was obliged by the Bond of Affinity. Laſtly, That by his whole Conduct he had ſhewn himſelf to be his mortal Enemy, and extremely uneaſy at every thing tending to the Honor of *England* (4).

Philip's *Anſwer.*

Theſe Letters being communicated to *Philip*, he anſwered, That by the *Salic* Law, and the Judgment of the Peers, *Edward* was excluded from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, to which otherwiſe he could pretend no manner of Right, ſince he was born out of the Kingdom: That for his part, not only all the *French* had received him for King, but *Edward* himſelf had ſubmitted to their Judgment: That the Homage he had done in Perſon, and confirmed by his Letters Patent, was a clear evidence, that he was himſelf convinced of the groundleſsneſs of his Pretenſions. *Edward* replied, That his Proteſtation in the Preſence of his Council before he went and did Homage, prevented its being any Prejudice to him: That the Fear of loſing his Lands in *France*, was the ſole Motive of it; which, added to the Conſideration of his Minority, was more than ſufficient to invalidate whatever had been hitherto done. Of theſe two Reaſons, the firſt would hardly have been admitted in a Court of Juſtice; but it was not there this famous Proceſs was to be decided. Mean time, *Edward* willing to ſhew his Allies he was too far engaged in the Conteſt to recede, ordered the Duke of *Brabant*

Edward's *Reply.*

Edward *demands the Crown of* France *by the Duke of* Brabant. Act. Pub. IV. p. 818.

to demand the Crown of *France* in his Name. At the ſame time he made him his Lieutenant-General for that whole Kingdom, with Orders to the *French*, whom he called his Subjects, to pay him Obedience. 1337.

To try to prevent the Evils, which a Quarrel of this nature might bring upon Chriſtendom, *Benedict* XII, who then filled the Papal Throne, uſed all his Intereſt with the two Kings. But as *Edward* was the Aggreſſor, the Pope ſent firſt to him two Cardinals, with Inſtructions to uſe all poſſible endeavours to perſuade him to Peace. Theſe two Legates diſcharged their Commiſſion with great Zeal, and were very urgent with *Edward* to put the Affair in Negotiation. They could not however help ſhewing ſome Partiality in favour of *France*, becauſe of *Edward*'s Alliance with the Emperor, the Pope's profeſſed Enemy. Nevertheleſs the King let them know, their Mediation was agreeable to him, and he would make Peace, provided Terms were offered anſwerable to his Rights. He even promiſed to defer the execution of his deſigns till next *March*. But this was no great Favour, ſince it was then *December*. He ſpent the reſt of the Winter in preparing his Army and Fleet, and eſpecially in ſtrengthning the League with new Allies. Among whom, we find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Count Palatime of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, and the *Dauphin* of *Viennois*, who are all three reckoned by the Hiſtorians among the Allies of *France*. This gives occaſion to preſume they were firſt ingaged with *Edward*, but afterwards ſuffered themſelves to be gained by *Philip*. The *Dauphin* had entertained the Project of erecting his Dominions into a Kingdom: Which, probably, was the Reaſon of his joining with *Edward*, hoping without doubt that he would uſe his Intereſt with the Emperor to obtain his deſire. This Project not ſucceeding, he eſpouſed the Quarrel of *France*. The Earl of *Hainault*, being willing alſo to enter into the League, deſired, that *Edward* might have the Title of *Vicar of the Empire*, in order to have a pretence to join Forces with him, as General of the Emperor's Army. To ſatisfy the Earl, and in expectation of bringing other *German* Princes to the ſame Reſolution, *Edward* was pleaſed to demand that Dignity of the Emperor.

The Pope ſends two Legates into England. Ib. p. 826.

Edward *grants a ſhort Truce.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 833, 838. V. p. 2, 14. Knighton.

Edward *prepares for War.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 773, 781.

The Dauphin *of* Viennois *would erect his Country into a Kingdom.* Act. Pub. IV. p. 839. V. p. 10, 99.

The Earl of Hainault *enters into the League.*

When he had taken all the Precautions ſuggeſted to him by Prudence, he departed from *England*, with a Fleet of five hundred Sail (5), and ſteered his Courſe towards *Antwerp*, where he was called by important Affairs. It was neceſſary he ſhould be near his Allies, that he might take with them all proper meaſures for the execution of his Deſigns. Altho' his Ambaſſadors had concluded Alliances in his Name with ſeveral Princes, there were ſtill many things to be ſettled with them, before they could aſſemble their Forces. This was properly what retarded ſeveral Months the opening of the Campain. But this delay was not entirely fruitleſs. During that time, *Edward* went and conferred at *Cologne*, with the Emperor (6), who ordered a Patent to be drawn up appointing him *Vicar of the Empire*, according to his deſire. This ſort of favor was attended with the Promiſe of a powerful Aſſiſtance, a Promiſe which was afterwards very lamely performed. The Cities of *Flanders* having entered into the League by means of *James d'Arteville*, were grown apprehenſive of being one day abandoned to the Vengeance of their Earl, and the King of *France*. It was therefore neceſſary for *Edward* to ſhew himſelf to the *Flemings*, in order to encourage them by his preſence. To that end he took a Journey to *Ghent* and granted the principal Cities ſeveral

1338. Edward *comes to* Antwerp. July 22. Knighton. Froiſſart, l. 1. Walſing.

He is made Vicar of the Empire. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 35. Knighton.

luſty Yeomen at his Heels, who upon a Sign given them, killed every Man they met, who was not a Friend to this *James*. He collected and ſpent as he pleaſed the Earl's Rents and Profits; he baniſhed all the Lords, whom he ſuſpected to be the Earl's Friends: And in every Town he had Soldiers in Pay, to ſpy and give him Notice of any Perſon, who had a Deſign againſt him, whom he never left till he had baniſhed or deſtroyed. He was murdered at length in 1345, by the Populace, for endeavouring to make King *Edward*'s Son Earl of *Flanders*. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 31.

(1) This Parliament was held the *Friday* before *Michaelmaſs*. And in it the Community of the Kingdom granted the King a Tenth, and the Citizens and Burgeſſes a Fifteenth. The Clergy alſo granted a Tenth for three Years.——Soon after, the King iſſued out a Commiſſion for the ſeizing the Eſtates of the *Lombard* Merchants in *England*, who were grown odious on account of their Uſury and Extortion. He ſeized alſo the Revenues of the *Alien Priories*, eſpecially of the *Cluniac* and *Ciſtercian* Order. *Rot. Clauſ.* 11 *Edw.* III. p. 2. *M.* 40. *Dorſ. Walſing.* p. 146. *Knighton.* c. 2570. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 777.

(2) This Parliament was held about the middle of *March*; and it was enacted, That no Wool of *Engliſh* growth ſhould be tranſported beyond Sea; and that all Cloth-workers ſhould be received, from whatever foreign Parts they came, and encouraged. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 723, 751. It was alſo ordained, That none ſhould wear any Cloths made beyond Sea, except the King, Queen, and their Children; alſo, That none ſhould wear foreign Furs or Silks, unleſs he was worth one hundred Pounds of yearly Rents. *A. Murimuth. Walſ.* p. 135. N. B. *Walſingham* places this under the Year 1335; but he differs from the Records and other Hiſtorians by two, and ſometimes three Years.

(3) He was inveſted with this Dukedom, *by a Wreath on his Head, a Ring on his Finger, and a Silver Verge.* Since which time, the eldeſt Son of the King of *England* is born *Duke of Cornwal.* At the ſame Solemnity were created ſix Earls, *viz. Henry de Lancaſter* Earl of *Derby*, *William de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh de Audley* of *Glocester*, *William de Clinton* of *Huntingdon*, *William de Bohun* of *Northampton*, and *Robert de Ufford* of *Suffolk*. *Walſ.* p. 135. *Knighton*, Col. 2568. Twenty Knights were alſo then created, among whom, ſays *Speed*, was Sir *Thomas de la Moor*, who wrote the Life of *Edward* II, and is often quoted by *Rapin*. He wrote in *French*, but has been ſince tranſlated into *Latin*, and frequently publiſhed in *Engliſh* by our general Chroniclers. He treats very largely of that King's Sufferings.

(4) *Walſingham* dates this Letter from *Antwerp*, *July* 16. See p. 140.

(5) He ſailed from *Orewell* in *Suffolk*, *July* 16. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 65. *Walſ.* p. 136. There was a Parliament held on *February* 3. in which the Laity granted the King one half of all their Wool for the next Summer; at the ſame time he took the whole of the Clergy, making them pay nine Marks for every Sack of the beſt Wool. *Knighton*, Col. 2570.

(6) At this Interview, two Thrones being erected in the open Market-Place, one for the Emperor, the other for the King; the Emperor took his Place firſt, and King *Edward* ſat down by him. There were preſent four great Dukes, three Archbiſhops, ſix Biſhops, and thirty ſeven Earls; and according to the Heralds, ſeventeen thouſand Barons, Bannerets, Knights, and Squires. The Emperor having his Sceptre in his Right Hand, and the Globe in his Left, and a Knight of *Almain* holding over his Head a naked Sword; his Imperial Majeſty did then and there declare the Diſloyalty, Falſehood, and Villany of the King of *France*; and thereupon defied him, and pronounced that he and his Adherents had forfeited the Protection and Favor of the Empire. And then he conſtituted King *Edward* Vicar General of the Empire, granting unto him full and abſolute Power over all on this Side as far as *Cologn*; whereof he gave him his Imperial Charter, in ſight of all that were preſent. *Joſ. Barnes's Life of Edward* III. *Knighton*, Col. 2571.

1338. 1339. Privileges, in order to encourage their Trade with *England*. During this Interval, he promiſed the Marquiſs of *Juliers* to make him a Peer of *England*, which he did afterwards, by creating him Earl of *Cambridge* (1). His Power as *Vicar of the Empire*, enabled him to erect the Earldom of *Guelders* into a Duchy, and to grant the City of *Cologne* divers Privileges, by which means he ſtrengthened his Alliance with the Archbiſhop. Among all his Allies, the Duke of *Brabant* gave him the moſt Trouble. That Prince fearing, the two Monarchs would be reconciled at his coſt, great Princes frequently neglecting the Intereſts of the petty ones who have ſerved them, was willing to ſecure himſelf, before he ingaged in the League. The more diffident he was, the more *Edward* laboured to be aſſured of his Aſſiſtance. Beſides the Money with which he profuſely ſupplied him (2), he gave him hopes of the Honour of having, one day, for his Son-in-law the Duke of *Cornwal*, preſumptive Heir of the Crown of *England*. Morever, to make him perfectly eaſy, he was pleaſed to give it under his Hand, not to quit the *Low-Countries* till the War was ended (3).

He promiſes to make the Duke of Juliers *a Peer of* England. Ibid.

Act. Pub. T. V. p. 113, 134, 152, 181, 214.

But all theſe Affairs, though of great moment, were not the ſole Cauſe of *Edward*'s long Stay in *Brabant*. As his Expence was exceſſive (4), he endeavoured, during that time, to borrow Money of all the foreign Princes. He did not ſcruple even to apply to private Perſons, and take up ſuch Sums as they were willing to lend, though never ſo ſmall: Nay, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he pawned his Crown to the Archbiſhop of *Triers* [for fifty thouſand Florins.]

He borrows Money from all hands. Act. Pub. V. p. 101.

Birth of Prince Lionel. *The Pope's Letters.* p. 128. Walſing.

During *Edward*'s Stay at *Antwerp*, his Queen was delivered there (5) of a Prince called *Lionel*. Here likewiſe he received a Letter from the Pope, repreſenting to him in ſtrong Terms, the Dangers he was expoſing himſelf to, by his Alliance with *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who ſtood excommunicated. At the ſame time, he reproached him, for undervaluing himſelf, in receiving from the pretended Emperor, the Title of *Vicar of the Empire*, ſo much beneath him. But theſe Remonſtrances made little Impreſſion upon him. Though the Pope threatned to proceed to extraordinary Cenſures againſt him, he choſe rather to run that hazard, than interrupt the Execution of his Deſigns.

Edward *enters* Artois.

Every thing being ready to open the Campain, which had been retarded till *September* (6), *Edward* put himſelf at the head of forty thouſand Men, and encamped between *Marchienne* and *Doway*. Then he marched (7) towards *le Cambreſis*, and halted ſome time before the Walls of *Cambray*. Here he was informed, that *Philip* was advancing with a formidable Army, to give him Battle. As this War was immenſely expenſive, and it was his Intereſt to end it at once; as ſoon as he received this Intelligence, he paſſed the *Schelde*, in order to meet his Enemy. A few days after, the two Armies being encamped pretty near one another, about *Vironfoſſe*, *Philip* ſent a Herald to offer him Battle, on condition it ſhould be on a Plain where there was no Incumbrance. *Edward* accepted the Challenge, and left him to appoint the Time and Place. The 22d of *October* was fixed for the Deciſion of this famous Quarrel. But whilſt both Sides were preparing with equal ardour for Battle, *Philip* was diſcouraged by a Letter from *Robert* King of *Naples*. This Prince, who paſſed for a great Aſtrologer, foretold him ill ſucceſs, wherever he fought the *Engliſh*. At leaſt, this is what ſeveral Hiſtorians affirm; adding, that upon the Credit of this Prediction, *Philip* retired, not daring to venture a Battle. Others however maintain, with more likelihood, that this Letter would not have induced him to take ſuch a Step, if the great Men, who attended him, had not checked his Ardour by more prudent Counſels. It is ſaid, they repreſented to him, that in the Battle which was going to be fought, he hazarded no leſs than his Crown; whereas *Edward* ventured only Soldiers, moſt of whom were not his own; and, upon this Remonſtrance, he reſolved, though with great reluctance, to give his Enemy this ſmall Advantage. When *Edward* ſaw there was no likelihood of bringing *Philip* to a Battle, he marched into *Hainault*. This is *Froiſſart*'s Account, who is accuſed by the *French* of being, on all occaſions, too partial to the *Engliſh*. *Nangis*, a *French* Hiſtorian, gives a quite contrary Relation, by ſaying, *Edward* retired firſt, not to hazard a Battle. This is not the only Inſtance of the like Contradiction among the Hiſtorians. It ſeems however, that on this occaſion it is not likely, *Edward*, who paſſed the *Schelde* to meet *Philip*, ſhould retire for fear of fighting. But *Philip*'s Reaſons for not venturing a Battle are very ſtrong. The Honour of a King or General, conſiſts not in fighting upon every opportunity, but only at a proper Seaſon; and in not venturing the loſs of a Kingdom without extreme Neceſſity. Be this as it will, the firſt Campain ended without any Bloodſhed, except in *Guienne*, where the two Parties made War upon one another. But as nothing very remarkable happened, I ſhall not ſtay to relate the Particulars (8).

1339.

Philip *retires.* Mezerai. *The reaſons of it.* Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 42.

Knighton.

Ibid.

It was not poſſible for *Edward* to return to *England* ſo ſoon as he deſired, being detained in the *Low-Countries* by a troubleſome Affair, created by underhand Practices. The King of *France*, vexed to ſee the Advantages his Enemy reaped by his Alliance with the *Flemings*, found means, by the help of his Emiſſaries, to raiſe in the Cities of *Flanders* a Scruple for taking up Arms againſt their Sovereign Lord. This Scruple, inflamed by the Eccleſiaſticks, moſt of whom were in the Intereſts of *France*, had already made a deep impreſſion on the Minds of the People. Perhaps it would have cauſed in *Flanders* ſome Revolution prejudicial to *England*, had not *James d'Arteville* found a ſpeedy Remedy, by adviſing *Edward* to aſſume the Title of King of *France*. This Propoſal being debated in the King's Council, it was approved as a proper means to keep the *Flemings* in the League. And indeed, *Edward* reaped from it the Advantage he was made to expect. Purſuant to this Advice, he ſtiled himſelf King of *France*, and quartered with his own Arms the *Flower-de-luces* of *France*. He added this

1340. Edward *takes the Title of King of* France. Act. Pub. V. p. 158. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 45. Knighton. Walſing.

Philip *offers him Battle.* Ibid. *He accepts it.* Knighton. Walſing.

(1) On the 7th of *May*, 14 *Edward* III. and gave him a Grant of twenty Pounds a Year, payable out of the Iſſues of *Cambridgeſhire*, for the ſupport of that Dignity; with a Penſion of one thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. But he never had any Summons to Parliament. He was Queen *Philippa*'s Siſter's Son. He died without Male-Iſſue. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 23. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 279.

(2) He gave him *July* 1. 1337. ſixty thouſand Pounds. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 777.

(3) About this time the Earl of *Huntingdon*, was made Guardian or Lieutenant of *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Robert Morley* of *Norfolk*; which ſeems to be the firſt Example of this kind. *Knighton*, Col. 2573.——Young Prince *Edward*, who was Guardian of the Realm, held a Parliament at *Northampton*, *July* 26. which granted out of every Town a Twentieth upon Goods amounting to the Value of twenty Shillings. They moreover granted the King all the Wool of the Kingdom to be bought at a certain Price. An Aid was alſo given by the Clergy that held *in Capite*; and afterwards a Tenth for two Years by the Convocation, which met *October* 1. *Knighton*. Col. 2571. *Polychron. Rot. Clauſ.* 12 *Edward* III. *P. M.* 17. *Dorſ.*

(4) The Reader may judge of it by the following Account taken from Dr. *Brady*:

The Prince by the Day, twenty Shillings.
The Biſhop of *Durham*, ſix Shillings and Eight-pence.
Thirteen Earls, each by the Day, ſix Shillings and Eight-pence.
Forty four Barons and Baneretts, each by the Day, four Shillings.
One thouſand forty ſix Knights, each by the Day, two Shillings.
Eſquires, Conſtables, Captains and Leaders, four thouſand twenty two, each by the Day, one Shilling.
Vintenars that had the command of twenty Men, or as our Serjeants, and Archers on Horſe-back, five thouſand one hundred and four, each by the Day, Six-pence.
Pauncenars, [they were moſt Strangers, but what otherwiſe, is not known] three hundred fifty five, each by the Day, Six-pence.
Hobelars five hundred, each by the Day, Six-pence.
Archers on Foot, fifteen thouſand four hundred and eighty, each by the Day, Three-pence.
Maſons, Carpenters, Smiths, Engineers, Tent-makers, Miners, Gunners armed, and thoſe that had the Care of the Artillery, three hundred and fourteen, ſome at a Shilling, others at Ten-pence, Six-pence, and Three-pence, by the Day.
Welſhmen, Foot four thouſand four hundred ſeventy four, whereof two hundred Vintenars, each by the Day, Four-pence. The Reſidue, each by the Day, Two-pence.
The whole Number of the Men of the Army, was beſides the Lords, thirty one thouſand two hundred ninety four, Maſters, Captains, Mariners and Boys, for ſeven hundred Ships, Barges, Balingers and Victuallers, ſixteen thouſand.

The Sum Total of the War, with the Wages of the Mariners from the 4th of *June*, in the 20th Year of *Edward* the third, to the 12th of *October*, in the 21ſt Year of his Reign, one Year and a hundred thirty one Days. One hundred twenty ſeven thouſand one hundred and one Pounds, two Shillings and Nine-pence, *ob.* *Brady*'s Append. Vol. III. N°. 92. l. 1. c. 37.

(5) *November* 29. *Walſingham.*
(6) *September* 1. *Froiſſart.*
(7) *September* 19. *R. Aveſbury.*
(8) Prince *Edward* held another Parliament this Year, on *October* 13. at *Weſtminſter*; wherein the great Men granted the King, the Tenth Sheaf of all the Corn of their Demeſns; as alſo the Tenth Fleece of Wool; and the Tenth Lamb of their own Stock, to be paid in two Years. *Rot. Parl.* 13 *Edward* III. *P.* 2. *M.* 28. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 17.

1340. Motto, *DIEU ET MON DROIT* (1), declaring thereby, that he put his whole Confidence in God, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe. This new Title was not very ſurpriſing, ſince all his foregoing Proceedings were clear Evidences of his Deſign. Some time after, he refuſed *Philip* the Title of King, and forbid all his Miniſters to give him any other but that of Earl of *Valois*. Beſides, he had appointed the Duke of *Brabant* his Lieutenant-General in *France*, and by that, had ſufficiently ſhewn, he thought himſelf the true King; though he had not yet ventured to take the Name. Having broken the Ice on account of the *Flemings*, he made no ſcruple to uſe the Title of King of *France* in all Publick Acts, and to mark this Year as the firſt of his new Reign. At the ſame time he publiſhed a Declaration (2), notifying to the *French*, that the Kingdom of *France* being devolved to him by the Death of *Charles the Fair*, according to God's Will, which he would not oppoſe, he was reſolved to aſſume the Government. He gave his new Subjects all the uſual Promiſes on the like occaſions, and offered his Protection to ſuch as, after the Example of the *Flemings*, would own him for their Sovereign. The ſame day he publiſhed a Manifeſto, containing a particular Account of the pretended Injuries received from *Philip de Valois*, and the Offers made by himſelf in order to a Peace, that they might unite their Forces againſt the Infidels.

His Motto.

He publiſhes a Declaration addreſſed to the French, Act. Pub. V. p. 160, 163.

and a Manifeſto againſt Philip. Ibid.

Though *Edward* had entered into Engagements with the Duke of *Brabant*, to ſtay in the *Low-Countries* till the War was ended, it was not poſſible for him to keep his Promiſe. His Affairs neceſſarily called him into *England*. But to ſatisfy the Duke, he left him in Hoſtage four *Engliſh* Lords (3) of the firſt Quality, beſides his Queen and the new-born Prince, who continued at *Antwerp* for Pledges of his Return. After this Affair was thus ſettled, he paſſed into *England*, where he arrived in *February* (4). Preſently after he ſummoned a Parliament (5), which, upon granting him a conſiderable Subſidy, obtained from him the Confirmation of *Magna Charta*. Before they broke up, the Lords and Commons preſented an Addreſs, praying that the Title of King of *France*, uſed in *the Publick Acts*, might have no Influence on the Affairs relating to *England*. This Requeſt was too reaſonable not to be immediately granted. Though he had not yet acquired one Foot of Land in *France*, this new Title was not diſpleaſing to the *Engliſh*, who fancied their King was become the Greater for it. But Pope *Benedict* was not pleaſed with it at all. He uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade the King to quit the Title, affirming, he had no Right, by reaſon of the *Salic* Law, concerning which *Philip* had taken care to inſtruct him to his Advantage. But his Exhortations were ineffectual.

He goes into England. Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. V. p. 140.

Calls a Parliament. Ib. p. 140. Walſing. Brady's Appendix. No. 86.

The Pope exhorts him to quit the Title of King of France. Act. Pub. V. p. 173.

Though the firſt Campain had produced no conſiderable Event, *Edward*'s Preparations were a plain Indication, that he expected greater matters from the ſecond. He had increaſed his Fleet to three hundred (6) ſail of Ships fit for War, and his Army was much more numerous than the former. Every thing being ready about *Midſummer* (7), he embarked for *Flanders*, though he had Intelligence, that the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of four hundred Sail, waited for him in the way to *Sluys*. His eager deſire of acquiring Fame, cauſing him to receive the News with more Joy than Surprize (8), he reſolved to open a Paſſage through the Enemy, notwithſtanding their Superiority. He met them on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, as he expected, and without heſitation, began the Engagement. This was the greateſt and moſt memorable that had been yet ſeen in thoſe Seas, and the firſt wherein the King of *England* commanded in Perſon. The Ships, for the moſt part, grappling one another, both Sides fought without ſtirring, as if they had been at

Great Preparations in England. Avesbury. Knighton. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 55. Act. Pub. V. p. 195.

Edward *gains a Victory at Sea.* Act. Pub. V. p. 195.

Land, from eight in the Morning, till ſeven at Night. If *Edward*'s Valour filled the Soldiers with Admiration, his Conduct raiſed no leſs Wonder in the Mariners, who were amazed to ſee him give Orders with ſuch Prudence and Foreſight, that one would have thought he had commanded at Sea all his Life. The Preſence and Reſolution of the King, who appeared where-ever was moſt Danger, ſo encouraged his Men, that they fought with an aſtoniſhing Bravery. The *French* behaved, on their part, with great Courage; but, after ſuſtaining ſeveral Hours the Efforts of the *Engliſh*, they were forced at laſt to leap into the Sea, to avoid the Sword of their Enemies. Of the whole *French* Fleet, but thirty Ships eſcaped (9), the reſt being either taken or ſunk. So *Edward*'s Victory could not be more compleat. The *Engliſh* pretend, the *French* loſt thirty thouſand Men. This grievous Misfortune was long unknown to *Philip*, no one daring to carry him the News, till his Buffoon, by an unluckly Jeſt, gave him occaſion to diſcover it (10).

1340.

France *ſuffers a great Loſs.*

Knighton.

Edward's good Succeſs in this Engagement, afforded him an opportunity, of peaceably landing his Troops in *Flanders*, where he aſſembled the fineſt Army that was ever commanded by any King of *England*. It conſiſted of one hundred and fifty thouſand Men, *Engliſh*, *Germans*, *Flemings* and *Gaſcons*. With theſe numerous Forces he beſieged *Tournay* (11), after detaching fifty thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Robert d'Artois*, who poſted himſelf near St. *Omer*, to favour the Siege. Theſe laſt Troops were chiefly compoſed of the Militia of *Flanders*, who, knowing nothing of Military Diſcipline, went one day, without order, to the Number of eighteen thouſand, to attack the Suburbs of St. *Omer*, with deſign to plunder. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had thrown himſelf into that Place, not being able to bear this Bravado, ſallied out upon them, and ſlew above three thouſand. This loſs would have been inconſiderable, had it not produced a fatal Effect. The ſame night, the *Flemiſh* Troops, ſeized with a panic Fright, quitted their Camp in great diſorder, and ſhamefully retired, ſome to their own homes, others into *Edward*'s Camp. Some affirm, there was on this occaſion a Battle, wherein *Robert d'Artois* was entirely routed by the Duke of *Burgundy*. But *Froiſſart*, a cotemporary Author, who relates this Event in the abovementioned manner, ſeems more worthy of Credit, than after-Writers.

Edward *beſieges* Tournay. Act. Pub. V. p. 197. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 57. Walſing.

Defeat of the Flemings. Ib. c. 67.

Mean time, *Philip*, at the head of an Army much ſtronger than *Edward*'s, was advancing to the relief of *Tournay*. He was accompanied by the Kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, with all the Nobility of his Kingdom. His deſign was not however to engage, but only to harraſs the Beſiegers, in order to oblige them to raiſe the Siege. *Edward* quickly perceiving *Philip*'s Intent, was very ſenſible how difficult it would be to take the Town, whilſt the *French* Army was ſo near. Accordingly, to oblige his Enemy to alter his purpoſe, he ſent a Herald with a Letter (12), challenging him to ſingle Combat, or offering to decide their Quarrel by a hundred on each Side, or elſe by a general Battle. The Letter was directed, *To Philip de Valois*, without any other Title. *Philip* anſwered,

"He had ſeen a Letter addreſſed to one *Philip de Va-*
"*lois*, but as it was not for him, returned no anſwer to the
"Contents; nevertheleſs he took this occaſion to acquaint
"him, that with God's Help, he hoped to drive him in
"a ſhort time out of his Territories"

Philip *approaches* Tournay. Walſing.

Edward *challenges him.* Act. Pub. V. p. 198. Walſing.

His Anſwer. Act. Pub. V. p. 198, 199.

It was difficult to forward the Siege of *Tournay*, by reaſon of the *French* Army which never ceaſed Night and Day to harraſs the Beſiegers. *Edward* was three Months before the Town, without making any great Progreſs; and yet could not reſolve to raiſe the Siege, though there was little likelihood of Succeſs. He was in great Perplexity, but freed from it by *Joanna de Valois* his Mother-in-law, Siſter of the King of *France*, and

Edward *in great Perplexity.*

Froiſſart, l. 1. Knighton. Col. 2578. Walſing.

(1) i. e. *God and my Right.* ——It having been enacted in the Parliament, ſee above, p. 419. Note (2), that the *Engliſh* Wool ſhould not be exported out of the Kingdom, but be made into Cloths within the King's Dominions; one *Thomas Blauket*, and ſome other Inhabitants of *Briſtol*, ſet up Looms in their own Houſes about this time. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 137.

(2) It is dated at *Ghant*, *February* 8. *Ibid.* p. 164.

(3) *Henry of Lancaſter*, Earl of *Derby*; *William de Montague* Earl of *Saliſbury*, and Earl *Marſhall*; *William de Bohun*, Earl of *Northampton*; and *Robert de Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk*. *Ibid.* p. 141.

(4) *February* 21. *Ibid.* p. 171.

(5) Which met *March* 29. And therein the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Knights of Shires, granted the King for two Years, the ninth Sheaf, Fleece, and Lamb; the Citizens and Burgeſſes, the ninth part of all their Goods; and the Clergy a Tenth. *Rot. Parl.* 14 *Edw.* III. *P.* 1. *N.* 567. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 22. *Knighton*, Col. 2577. *Walſing.* p. 147. In conſideration of this, ſeveral Arrears and Debts due to him, *&c.* were remitted. *Walſing.* ibid. There was a Parliament before this, which met the 20th of *Jan.* The Prince being gone to *Antwerp* to his Father, ſix Commiſſioners were appointed to hold it in his room. In this, the Commons granted the King for an Aid twenty thouſand Sacks of Wool; in the tranſporting of which, Merchants and Owners of Ships were to bear half the Charges. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 19. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 153.

(6) Two hundred and ſixty. *R. Aveſbury.*

(7) He embarked *June* 22. at *Orwell.* *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 55. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* p. 195. *Knighton.*

(8) He ſent the Lords *Reginald de Cobham*, *John de Chandos*, and *Stephen de Laburkin*, to view the Enemy's Fleet. *Knighton*, Col. 2577.

(9) Sir *John Crabbe*, one of King *Edward*'s Admirals, was detached with forty Ships, to purſue them, but could not overtake them. *Knighton*, Col. 2577.

(10) He came into the King's Preſence, in a ſeeming Paſſion, and cried out ſeveral times, *cowardly Engliſhmen, daſtardly Engliſhmen, faint-hearted Engliſhmen.* The King aſked him, why he called them ſo? The Jeſter anſwered, *Becauſe they durſt not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave Frenchmen did.* *Walſing.* p. 148.

(11) About the latter-end of *July*, or beginning of *Auguſt.* *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 54. *Walſing.* p. 149.

(12) Dated in the Fields near *Tournay*, *July* 26. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 199. *Philip*'s Anſwer is dated the 30th of the ſame Month. *Ibid.*

Widow

1340. Widow of the late Earl of *Hainault*. This Princeſs, who was retired to the Abbey of *Fontenelle* after the death of her Husband, came from her retreat on this occaſion, to try to reconcile the two Monarchs, one her Brother, the other her Son-in-law. She ſo managed it, that at length ſhe prevailed with them to conſent to a Truce, which was to laſt from the 20th of *September*, to the 25th of *June* the next Year. It was afterwards prolonged for two Years by the Pope's Mediation. As ſoon as the Truce was ſigned, *Edward* departed for *England* (1) with his Queen, who had lived three Years in the *Low-Countries*. She had been delivered there of two Princes, namely, *Lionel* [at *Antwerp*,] and *John* at *Ghent*, known afterwards by the name of the Duke of *Lancaſter* (2).

Truce between the two Kings. Knighton. Act. Pub. V. p. 205, 260, 281. Edward *returns into* England. Ib. p. 216.

It was a great Mortification to *Edward* to be obliged, by the Neceſſity of his Affairs, to make a Truce againſt his Inclination, and which in effect broke all his Meaſures. Three very urgent Reaſons compelled him to take this Step, which ſeemed ſo little agreeable to his vaſt Deſigns. Firſt, the defection of the Emperor and the Duke of *Brabant*, who had both receded from the League. Secondly, the exceſſive Charge of maintaining ſo numerous an Army, for which the Money that came from *England* in leſs Sums than he expected, could not ſuffice. Laſtly, it was only a Truce, which might in ſome meaſure ſave him the Shame of raiſing the Siege he had undertaken. Theſe Reaſons were not only ſufficient to induce him to ſign the Truce, but alſo indiſpenſably ingaged him to procure ſome Repoſe, in order to remedy the Inconveniences happened by the Levity of his Allies, and the exhauſting of his Treaſure. As for the Duke of *Brabant*, he allured him ſome time with the hopes of the fore-mentioned Marriage. He even demanded the Pope's Diſpenſation for it. But this Affair, whether obſtructed by the King himſelf, or the Court of *Rome*, came to nothing. Whereupon the Duke of *Brabant* finding himſelf amuſed, withdrew his Troops, without openly breaking however with the King. As to the Emperor, the Aſſiſtance *Edward* received from him was ſo inconſiderable, that he would not have been much weakned by that loſs. But the Emperor, in making a private Peace with *France*, on pretence that *Edward* had concluded a Truce without him, had at the ſame time revoked his Patent of *Vicar General of the Empire*. This unexpected Accident, which cauſed ſome of the *German* Princes to go from the League, obliged *Edward* to take other meaſures.

The Emperor and Duke of Brabant *fall off.* Act. Pub. V. p. 238. Knighton. Walſing.

Act. Pub. V. p. 113. 134, 152, 214.

The Emperor revokes his Grant of Vicar General. Ib. p. 262. Knighton. Walſing.

But *Edward*'s chief Buſineſs was to conſider how to pay his Debts, which were very conſiderable. Moreover it was neceſſary to find means to continue the War when the Truce ſhould be expired, without being liable to the like Inconveniences. When he left *England* he ſettled his Affairs in ſuch a manner, that he did not queſtion to receive punctually the Money he wanted to pay his numerous Army. But he was no ſooner ingaged in the Siege of *Tournay*, but, contrary to his expectation, he was in want of Money, and found himſelf thereby in very great Streights (3). Upon his Arrival at *London*, he highly complained of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom he had left Prime Miniſter in his Abſence. He accuſed him of maliciouſly obſtructing the levying of the Subſidy granted by the Parliament, though it was by his Advice and Inſtances, that he had engaged in the Undertaking. Moreover he complained, that having begun the Siege of *Tournay* upon the Archbiſhop's Aſſurances that nothing ſhould be wanting, he ſaw himſelf abandoned when he had moſt need of Aſſiſtance. That the Archbiſhop had not only broke his Word, but likewiſe oppoſed all the Expedients offered to raiſe Money. In ſhort, that he was the ſole Cauſe of the Length and ill

Quarrel between the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Angl. Sacra. Walſing. Act Pub. V. p. 225. 236, 240.

1341. Succeſs of the Siege of *Tournay*. The Archbiſhop, ſeeing himſelf thus expoſed to the King's diſpleaſure, who, not content with threatning him, was reſolved not to ſpare him, attempted in his Turn to vex him. He com-

Walſing. plained of an extraordinary Levy of Money made ſince the King's Return, contrary to the Liberties of *Magna Charta*, and threatned the Collectors with Excommunication. His Aim was to raiſe a Commotion among the People. Probably, he would have carried his Revenge farther, if he had not perceived his Proceedings diſapproved by the Parliament. As he was afraid of being abandoned, he choſe, though ſomewhat of the lateſt, to caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. *Edward* very willingly received his Submiſſions, for fear of engaging in a Quarrel, which muſt have been prejudicial to him, by reaſon of his frequent occaſion for the Clergy's Aſſiſtance.

1341. *The Archbiſhop ſubmits.*

Some have imagined the Archbiſhop ſuffered himſelf to be gained by the Pope, who was diſpleaſed with the War, and very much biaſſed in favor of *France*. There appeared quickly after a ſenſible Proof of the Pope's Partiality in his putting all *Flanders* under an Interdict, becauſe the *Flemings* had been againſt the King of *France* their Sovereign Lord. The *Flemiſh* Clergy obſerved the Interdict ſo ſtrictly, that People were obliged to ſend into *England* for leſs ſcrupulous Prieſts to celebrate Divine Service. The *Flemings* received theſe Eccleſiaſticks without any Difficulty, and pretended to evade the Pope's Cenſures, by affirming they were built upon a wrong Foundation, ſince *Edward* was the real King of *France*, and *Philip* an Uſurper.

Benedict XII *partial to* France. *He puts* Flanders *under an Interdict.* Walſing.

The War undertaken by *Edward* againſt *France* had ſucceeded ſo ill, that all his Expences had not acquired him one Foot of Land in the Kingdom he had taken upon him to conquer. After ſo great, though fruitleſs Endeavours, there was no Appearance of his ever being able to exert the like. Conſequently, it would probably make him deſiſt from his Deſign. Beſides, the Truce affording his Enemy leiſure to prepare, he could have no hopes of ſurpriz' g him. And yet, it is hard to judge, whether the Negotiations ſet on foot for a Peace during the Truce, were ſincere on his Part, or intended only to amuſe his Enemy. Be this as it will, if he really deſigned to make Peace, he was not long in that Mind. The Proſpect of freſh Advantages from the Poſture of Affairs in the Duchy of *Bretagne*, ſoon made him reſolve to improve ſo favorable a Juncture. The ſhare *England* had in the Quarrel concerning the Succeſſion of that Dukedom, obliges me to give ſome Account of the Caſe, for the better Underſtanding of the Sequel.

Negotiation for a Peace between the two Kings. Act. Pub. V. p. 251, 260, 306. Knighton.

ARTHUR II. Duke of *Bretagne*.

1. Wife.			2. Wife.
JOHN II. D. of *Bret.* d 1341.	GUY E. of *Pontievre*.	PETER d. without Iſſue.	JOHN E. of *Monfort*.
	JOANNA *Charles de Blois.*		

Arthur II, Duke of *Bretagne*, left three Sons by his firſt Wife; namely, *John* II, who ſucceeded him, *Guy* Earl of *Pontievre*, and *Peter*. By a ſecond Wife he left a fourth Son called *John*, who was Earl of *Monfort* by his Mother. *John* II, and *Peter* had no Iſſue. *Guy*, who died in 1330, left a Daughter, named *Joanna*, who was given by her Uncle *John* in Marriage to *Charles de Chatillon*, Brother of *Lewis* Earl of *Blois*. He was generally called *Charles de Blois*. *John* II dying in 1341, there remained two of the Family, *John* Earl of *Monfort*, and *Joanna* his Niece, Wife of *Charles de Blois*. They both laid Claim to the Dukedom. *Joanna* by right of Repreſentation, as Daughter of *Guy* elder Brother of *John de Monfort*, and this laſt as Brother of the late Duke, and conſequently one Degree nearer than his Niece. He pleaded likewiſe the advantage of his Sex; a Reaſon of little weight, ſince *Bretagne* owned not the Authority of the *Salick* Law. But *Charles* had a great advantage over his Competitor; namely, his being Nephew to *Philip de Valois*, who was to decide the Affair. On the other hand, the Earl of *Monfort* had ſo managed, that immediately after the Death of the Duke his Brother, he got poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, and cauſed the greateſt Part of his Subjects to ſwear Fealty to him: Nay, he was now gone to *England*, where he had privately done Homage to

Affairs of Bretagne. Argentré. Hiſt. de Bret. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 69, &c.

Diſpute between John de Montfort *and* Charles de Blois. Walſing.

(1) And landed at the Tower. *November* 30. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 216.

(2) During King *Edward*'s Abſence, *viz. July* 7. a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; wherein the Lords and Commons granted his Majeſty the Ninth of their Corn, Wool, and Lambs. And the Clergy undertook to raiſe twenty thouſand Sacks of Wool for his Service: So that for every Sack of the beſt ſort, the King ſhould be anſwered ſix Pounds; for others, five Pounds; and for the worſt of all, four Marks; beſides his Cuſtom of forty Shillings for every Sack. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 197. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 27.

(3) The King, upon his Return, ordered the following Perſons to be impriſoned, the Lord *Nicolas de la Beche*, Conſtable of the Tower; *Andrew Aubrey*, Mayor of *London*; the Lord *Thomas Wake*; Sir *John St. Paul*, Keeper of the great Seal; the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Chancellor; the Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, Lord Treaſurer; Sir *John Stanore*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; *Michael Wath*, *Henry Stratford*, and *Robert Chickwel*, Clerks of the Chancery; and *Philip Thorp*, Clerk of the Exchequer; who had been concerned in levying the late Subſidies, and had not acted honeſtly. *Walſ.* p. 147, 150.——During the Conteſt between the King and the Archbiſhop, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 23. which granted the King thirty thouſand Sacks of Wool, as a Compenſation for the Ninth granted in one of the laſt Parliaments, that had been embezzled by the Perſons mentioned in this Note. *Rot. Clauſ.* and *Par.* 15 *Ed.* III. *P.* 1. *M.* 37. *Dorſ.* and *N.* 4.

1341. *Edward*, acknowledging him for King of *France*, and made an Alliance with him. By this Proceeding, of which *Philip* was informed, he entirely forfeited that Monarch's Favor, who had no great Kindneſs for him before. However, *Philip* willing to obſerve the cuſtomary Formalities, ordered the two Competitors to be ſummoned before the Court of Peers, to defend their Rights, and receive Judgment. *Montfort* very imprudently repaired to *Paris*, imagining, what he had done in *England* was ſtill a Secret. But at his firſt Audience, he found what he was to expect from the King; who plainly told him, he had no Pretenſions to *Bretagne*, and reproached him for his Homage to the King of *England*. *Montfort* confeſſed he had been in *England* to ſee his Friends, but denied the Homage. But *Philip* being better informed than he imagined, commanded him not to ſtir from *Paris*, and appointed a Day for the Judgment of the Proceſs. It was eaſy for *Montfort* to ſee, what danger both his Cauſe and Perſon were in. So, taking a ſudden Reſolution, he made his Eſcape from *Paris*, diſguiſed like a Merchant, and repaired to *Bretagne*. This did not hinder in his Abſence the Deciſion of the Affair, in favour of *Charles de Blois*, who was declared Duke of *Bretagne*, and forthwith admitted to Homage. It is pretended, that in this Judgment the Peers obſerved not all the Formalities requiſite in Cauſes of this nature, and that their Proceedings were not altogether regular. As to the main of the Affair, though this Deciſion was directly contrary to That in the Caſe of the Earl of *Artois*, they pretended, the diverſity of the Cuſtoms of the two Countries was the Reaſon; for in *Bretagne*, Repreſentation took place, but was not received in *Artois*. Be this as it will, *Philip* being highly provoked with the Earl of *Montfort*, for doing Homage to the King of *England*, confiſcated the Lands of *Montfort*; but to make up this Loſs, *Edward* gave him in *England* the Earldom of *Richmond*. Shortly after, *John*, eldeſt Son of *Philip de Valois*, being commiſſioned to execute the Decree given in favour of *Charles de Blois*, entered *Bretagne*, at the head of a powerful Army, and *Montfort* retired to *Nantes*, where he was immediately beſieged. Quickly after, the City being taken, and *Montfort* made Priſoner, he was conducted to *Paris*, and committed to the great Tower of the *Louvre*.

They are both cited before the Peers.

Montfort withdraws from Paris. Bretagne adjudged to Charles de Blois. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 74---77.

Philip confiſcates the Earldom of Montfort. Act. Pub. V. p. 280, 299.

The Earl of Montfort taken Priſoner.

This Event would doubtleſs have ended the Quarrel between the two Candidates; but *Margaret* of *Flanders*, Wife of *John de Montfort*, undertook to ſupport her Husband's Intereſts, in ſpite of the ill ſituation of his Affairs. She came to *London* with her Son, a Child of four Years old, and renewed the Earl her Husband's Alliance with *Edward*. By this new Treaty ſhe poſitively engaged, to put into the hands of the *Engliſh* all the places ſtill in her power; and to be better aſſured of the Aſſiſtance of *England*, concluded a Marriage between her Son, and one of *Edward*'s Daughters, and left the young Prince at the *Engliſh* Court, to be educated, or rather to be an Hoſtage. This Treaty procuring *Edward* an entrance into *Bretagne*, and by that means, an opportunity of attacking *Philip* from that quarter, he forthwith diſpatched *Robert d' Artois* thither (1). *Robert* quickly became maſter of *Vannes*, and then ordered *Rennes* to be beſieged. Whilſt his Troops were employed in the Siege, the Heads of the contrary Party, knowing he ſtaid at *Vannes* with a few Troops, inveſted the Town, and carried it by Storm. *Robert* being mortally wounded, with great difficulty eſcaped to *Hennebond*, where he died of his Wounds. *Edward* received the News of his Death with grief. He ſwore to revenge it; and kept his Oath but too punctually. *Robert d' Artois*'s Expedition into *Bretagne*, gave *Philip* occaſion to complain, that *Edward* had violated the Truce, and to be even with him, he cauſed Hoſtilities to be renewed in *Guienne*. Thus the two Monarchs prepared again for War, by mutually accuſing one another of breaking the Truce.

His Wife manages his Affairs. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 77.

She renews the Treaty with Edward. Act. Pub. V. p. 331.

1342. Edward *ſends* Robert d' Artois *into* Bretagne. Act. Pub. V. p. 291, 326, 344. Knighton.

where he is killed.

Edward *goes in Perſon to* Bretagne, *and beſieges four Towns.* Act. Pub. V. p. 304, 330. Knighton. Walſing.

The Earl of *Northampton* (2), who had taken the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops in *Bretagne*, after the Death of *Robert d' Artois*, was unable to make any Progreſs with ſo ſmall an Army. Mean time, it was of great moment to *Edward*, to become maſter of that Duchy. And therefore he reſolved to go thither in Perſon with more Forces (3). Upon his Arrival, he beſieged at once, *Nantes*, *Rennes*, *Vannes*, and *Guingamp*. *Philip* knowing how prejudicial to him the Settlement of the *Engliſh* in *Bretagne* might be, reſolved to drive them thence at any rate. To that end he raiſed an Army of fifty thouſand Men, under the Command of the Duke of *Normandy*, his eldeſt Son. The young Prince marching with the utmoſt expedition, had the good fortune to enter *Bretagne*, before any of the Places beſieged were taken. His approach obliged the King of *England* to raiſe theſe four Sieges, and draw all his Troops together, which were ſtill inferior to the *French*. The two Armies remained, the beſt part of the Winter, encamped near each other, but ſo well intrenched, that neither of the Leaders ſhowed any inclination to engage. The Duke of *Normandy* was unwilling to run any hazard, becauſe having done what he wanted, he was in hopes of ſtarving his Enemies. *Edward* cared as little to venture a Battle, unleſs forced, againſt an Army much ſtronger than his own. Whilſt theſe two Princes lay thus encamped, two Legates from *Clement* VI, the new Pope, had time to arrive, and negotiate between the two Crowns a Truce for three Years (4), wherein all the Allies on both ſides were included. They made the two Kings likewiſe promiſe to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Avignon*, to treat of a Peace by the Pope's Mediation (5).

1342.

The Duke of Normandy causes him to raiſe the Siege. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 52.

1343. *Truce for three Years.* Act. Pub. V. p. 351, 357. 365. Knighton. Walſing.

Whilſt *Edward* was employed in his Wars with *France*, the *Scots* improved that Diverſion to try to recover their Liberty. Since *Edward* quitted *Scotland*, King *David*'s Adherents had gained great Advantages over *Baliol*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Army, but had not ſufficient Forces to ſtop their Progreſs. *Robert Stuart*, Regent of *Scotland* for King *David*, maintained, by his Valour and Conduct, the Intereſts of the young exiled Prince. He was bravely ſeconded by *William Douglaſs*, and ſome other Lords, who ſtill retained an inviolable Fidelity for their lawful Sovereign. Though a Body commanded by *Douglaſs*, received a ſad Loſs, *Robert* ſtill continued to keep his ground. He even ſaw himſelf, ſhortly after, in a condition to beſiege *Perth*, or St. *Johnſton*, the ſtrongeſt Place the *Engliſh* had in *Scotland*. The Siege laſted three Months, by reaſon of the Beſiegers great want of Ammunition. But a ſeaſonable Supply from *France* enabled them at length to take the Place. This Loſs obliged *Baliol* to quit the Center of the Kingdom, and retire to the Borders, where he ſheltered himſelf, by means of the Places he had reſigned to the *Engliſh*. The Truce concluded before *Tournay*, wherein *Scotland* was included, obliged *Stuart* to lay down his Arms for ſome time. But no ſooner was the Truce broken, on account of the Affairs of *Bretagne*, but the *Scots* re-aſſembled and beſieged *Sterling*, of which they became maſters, after numberleſs Aſſaults without any Intermiſſion.

Affairs of Scotland. Act. Pub. V. p. 126.

Progreſs of the Scots. *ſince* 1339. Robert Stuart *beſieges and takes* Perth *in* 1339. Buchanan.

Knighton.

and Sterling *in* 1340.

This Progreſs convincing *Edward* of his miſtake, in imagining that Kingdom was diſabled from giving him any Trouble, he reſolved to invade it once more by Sea and Land. To that purpoſe, he repaired to the Frontiers (6), where he waited for his Fleet, which was to join him at *Newcaſtle*. But a violent Storm, which laſted ſeveral days, rendered his Ships unſerviceable for the reſt of that Year. This ſad Accident hindered his entring *Scotland*, as it deprived him of the Proviſions and Ammunition, on board his Fleet. He could not expect to find any in the Enemy's Country, becauſe the *Scots* themſelves deſtroyed them, to deprive his Army of the means of ſubſiſting. However, their Ignorance of his State freed him from his preſent Difficulties. As they ſaw themſelves much inferior to that Prince, who threatned their Country with utter Deſolation, they humbly ſued for a Truce, which they thought themſelves very happy in obtaining. *Edward* took care not to refuſe it; but taking advantage of their Terror, would grant it only upon this condition; That they ſhould own him for Sovereign of *Scotland*, and renounce their Allegiance to King *David*, in caſe that Prince came not in Perſon into that Kingdom before *May* next enſuing, with an Army ſtrong enough to give Battle. This Condition put the King of *France* under a Neceſſity of aſſiſting his Ally, better than he had hitherto done, for fear of being deprived of the Advantages, procured by the frequent Diverſions of the *Scots*. Wherefore, he furniſhed King *David* with Men and Money, and ſent him into *Scotland* (7), where he levied a very conſiderable Army, conſiſting, as it is ſaid, of ſixty thouſand Men, *Scots*,

Edward *marches againſt* Scotland *in* 1343. Act. Pub. V. p. 290, 300.

His Fleet ſuffers by a Storm. Knighton. Buchan.

He grants the Scots *a Truce.* Act. Pub. V. p. 305. Knighton.

David *returns to* Scotland; Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 73. Buchan. l. 9.

(1) With *William de Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, *Hugh Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Stafford*, *William de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Robert de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*, &c. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 96.------ Theſe Forces were ſent into *Bretagne*, by Advice of a Parliament, or great Council, held at *Weſtminſter* about the End of *April*. *Rot. Clauſ.* 16 *Edw.* III. *M.* 38. *Dorſ.*

(2) *William de Bohun.*

(3) He went thither about the beginning of *October*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 342.

(4) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays *for two*. It was to be from the beginning of *February* till the *Michaelmas* enſuing: And from that time it was to be till the *Michaelmas* come three Years. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 357, 367. *Walſ.* p. 159. This Truce was ſigned *January* 19, 1343.

(5) King *Edward* returned to *England*, *March* 2. and landed at *Weymouth*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 357.

(6) He came to *York* about the beginning of *September*, and from thence marched ſoon after to *Berwick*. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 70.

(7) He landed on *June* the 3d at *Innerbervey* in *Scotland*. *Buchan.* l. 9.

1343. *French*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*. With these Troops he marched towards the Frontiers of *England*, and penetrated as far as *Durham*, which he besieged. In a few days, he took the City, and put all the Inhabitants to the sword. He would have proceeded, but, upon Advice that *Edward* was hastening to give him Battle, he resolved to retire; his Generals representing to him, that he could not stay any longer in *England*, without exposing himself to the hazard of a Battle, which might a second time endanger his Kingdom. Whilst he was marching back to *Scotland*, the Garrison of *Werk* Castle, belonging to the Countess of *Salisbury*, falling upon some of his Troops that stayed behind, he was so incensed, that he resolved to take the Castle. He stormed it several times, but was bravely repulsed by the Countess's People, who was herself in the Place. This Resistance, and the News of *Edward*'s Approach, made him desist. He could not retire more seasonably, since *Edward* came that very day to the Castle. He paid a Visit to the Countess of *Salisbury* (1), which has given occasion to some Historians to say, he fell desperately in Love with her. It would be easy to confute what they groundlessly advance; but as his Love, whether true or false, produced no remarkable Event, it will be needless to say any thing of it. Next day, *Edward* continued his march in quest of the Enemy, but being informed, the *Scots* were retired to *Gedeour*'s (2) Forest, he ceased his Pursuit. As his Affairs were not yet in a good posture in *Scotland*, and this War was very unseasonable, with regard to the measures he was to take with *France*, he sent *David* an offer of a two Years Truce, which was accepted with *Philip*'s Consent. This Truce helped the King of *Scotland* to fix himself more firmly in his Throne, and gave the King of *England* time to think of his other Affairs.

takes Durham, and retires; Knighton.

is repulsed at Werk.

Edward *visits the Countess of* Salisbury. Froissart. l. 1. c. 81.

He concludes a Truce for two Years with David. Act. Pub. V. p. 379.

Edward's Thoughts for many Years were so wholly engrossed by Military Affairs, that he had not been able to find time to redress several Grievances complained of by the People, and which highly deserved a particular Attention. When the Truce with *France* and *Scotland* afforded him some Respite, he called a Parliament (3) to consult of means, to secure the Welfare and Tranquility of the Nation. During this Sessions, which lasted good part of the Winter, the Parliament made it their chief Business to enact divers Regulations, very beneficial to the People, and not opposed by the King. On the contrary, *Edward* very solemnly confirmed all the Liberties contained in the *Magna Charta*; shewing thereby, that he had no less at heart the Good of his People, than his own, or that of his Successors. Among the several Acts passed in this Parliament, one of the most important was *the Statute of Provisors*, that is, an Act against those who brought Provisions from the Court of *Rome* for Benefices. The former Popes very much abused the Power they assumed, to dispose of the Benefices of the Kingdom. Nay, without staying till they were vacant, they frequently conferred them on Persons, who were to take possession upon the death of the present Incumbents, which raised loud Complaints from the Patrons. *Clement* VI, proceeding, in this respect, farther than any of his Predecessors, the Parliament was forced to complain of it to him, but to manner of purpose. Instead of reforming this Abuse, which was the more intolerable, as all the Benefices were bestowed upon Foreigners, the Pope exhorted the King in a Letter, to withdraw the Complaints against the Provisions, which, in his Opinion, were an undeniable Prerogative of the Holy-See. This Letter shewing, it was in vain to expect any Redress from the Pope, the Parliament resolved to provide against this Evil by their own Authority. To that end, the fore-mentioned Statute was passed, whereby it was Death (4) for any Person, to bring for the future, the like Provisions into the Kingdom. Though this Statute extremely displeased the Pope, he thought fit to be silent, being informed that the King and Parliament were resolved to support it, and contemn his Censures, in Case he had recourse to them. However, not to suffer his pretended Right to be entirely lost, he feigned to take no notice of the Statute. But although he afterwards granted, from time to time, several Provisions, it was with such Caution, that the Abuse was considerably lessened during this whole Reign. On the other hand, the King, who had no mind to break entirely with the Court of *Rome*, was content with leaving the Statute in force, without a rigorous Execution. But in process of time, under *Edward*'s Successors, the Popes returning to their former Courses, there was a necessity frequently to renew this Statute, which was called the *Statute of Præmunire*, containing, besides the Prohibition of Provisions, several other Cases concerning the Disputes with the Popes (5).

Edward *calls a Parliament.* Knighton.

Statute of Provisors.

Act. Pub. V. p. 377, 382, 385. Knighton.

Ib. p. 392.

1343.

In this Parliament the King created *Edward* his eldest Son, *Prince of Wales*, and invested him with a Coronet, and a Ring of Gold: This Prince was then thirteen Years old, and gave great hopes of what he would one day prove.

Prince Edward created Prince of Wales.

Whilst *Edward* seemed wholly employed with domestick, he neglected not foreign, Affairs. His Mind was continually on the rack, to find means to renew the War with *France*, the moment the Truce was expired. He appeared however inclinable to Peace, and continued, at the Court of *Rome*, Negotiations, which daily met with fresh Obstacles. But, whether his View was only to amuse his Enemy by these Negotiations, or he expected them to be unsuccessful, he neglected not his Preparations for War. He had found so little Advantage in his Alliances with the Princes of *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*, who had caused him to consume such immense Sums to no purpose, that he resolved to take another Course. To that end, he dispatched into the *Low-Countries* and *Germany*, Agents, with Power to treat with all sorts of Persons, that were willing to supply him with Men or Money. Besides that all these Aids, when drawn together, would produce the same Effect with much less Expence, he hoped to be able to dispose of his Troops more absolutely, than he had done those of the Princes. Moreover, his aim was to render *Philip*'s intrigues more difficult, whereby he was perpetually endeavouring to corrupt his Allies. For the better accomplishing his Design, and to draw into his Kingdom Multitudes of foreign Lords, with whom he might in Person negotiate, he bethought himself of an Expedient, which could not fail of Success, because it was entirely agreeable to the Taste of that Age. He ordered Tournaments to be published, and gave an honorable Reception to all Persons of Distinction, that were pleased to be present, caressing them in such a manner, that they could never sufficiently admire his Politeness, Magnificence, and Liberality. To render these Entertainments the more solemn, and withal to free himself from the Ceremonies, to which the Difference of Rank and Condition would have obliged him, he caused a circular Hall of Boards to be run up at *Windsor*, two hundred foot in Diameter. There it was that he feasted (6) all the Knights at one Table, which was called the Round Table, in memory of the great *Arthur*, who, as it is pretended, instituted an Order of Knighthood by that Name. Next Year he caused a more solid Building to be erected, that he might continue yearly the same Diversions. During that time, he treated with these several Lords about the Aids wherewith each could furnish him, in proportion to his Forces. The *Collection of the Publick Acts*, is full of the Treaties with private Persons, managed either by himself, or his Agents. *Philip* could not see without Jealousy, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, *Flemings*, and *Frenchmen* themselves, flock to *England* to assist at the Tournaments. He suspected some hidden design in these Entertainments, and to break *Edward*'s measures, caused the like to be published in his Dominions (7). This way of opposing his Enemy was in itself just and honorable; but soon after he used another means that was not so generally approved, and was attended with great Consequences. It is affirmed, that having drawn to *Paris*, under colour of a Tournament, *Oliver de Clisson*, and ten or twelve other Lords of *Bretagne*, who attended *Charles de Blois*, he commanded their Heads to be cut off, without any Formality of Justice. But it appears by a Letter from *Edward* to the Pope upon this occasion, that *Philip* did not allure these Lords to *Paris*, but apprehended them in *Bretagne*. As this Action was the Cause of breaking the Truce, it will be necessary to explain it; for there is no other way of knowing who was Author of the Rupture. *Oliver de Clisson* a Lord of *Bretagne*, having served *Charles de Blois*

1343.

Edward prepares for War with France.

Act. Pub. V. p. 409.

The Windsor Tournaments. Walsing.

The Round Table.

Design of the Tournaments.

Philip *publishes the like.* Walsing.

He beheads several Lords of Bretagne. Froissart. l. 1. c. 106. Act. Pub. V. p. 453.

Explanation of this Affair.

(1) Her name was *Joan*. She was Sister to *John Plantagenet*, Earl of *Kent*, and Daughter of *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent*, King *Edward*'s Uncle. *J. Barnes*, p. 251.

(2) So it is called by *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 81. But by our *English* Historians, *Yedworth*. See *Tyrrell*. Vol. 3. p. 465.

(3) This Parliament met *April* 23. *Rot. Parl.* 17 *Edw.* III. *N.* 7, 8, 9. There was another Parliament held this Year, but when and where is not mentioned. See *Notitia Parliamentar.*

(4) The Act makes it not Death; but in case any Person was convicted, he was to abide in Prison till he had made Fine and Ransom to the King at his Will, and Satisfaction to the Party that should feel himself aggrieved; and likewise find sufficient Surety not to do the like in time to come. 25 *Edw.* III. See the *Statutes*.

(5) See the Notes in the State of the Church at the End of the Reign of *Richard* II.

(6) These Feastings began on *January* 1. *Walsi.*

(7) And also gave his Subjects free leave to cut down Timber in his Forests, and build Ships, that he might be able to beat the *English* at Sea. *Walsi.* p. 164.

during

1343. during the War, was taken Priſoner by *Edward*, who having probably gained him, conſented he ſhould be exchanged for an *Engliſhman* (1). Whether *Philip* had Proof of his having changed Sides, or only ſuſpected it, he ordered him to be apprehended in *Bretagne*, with ten or twelve Lords and Gentlemen, and conducted to *Paris*, where their Heads were ſtruck off. I believe I may venture to affirm, theſe Lords were apprehended in *Bretagne*, becauſe the Pope in his Anſwer to *Edward*'s Letter, and in his vindication of *Philip*, to the utmoſt of his Power, ſaid not a word tending to the contrary. But perhaps ſome of theſe Lords or Gentlemen were ſeized at *Paris*, and the reſt in *Bretagne*, by Order of the King. What makes it ſo difficult to judge rightly of this Action of *Philip*'s, is, that according to *Froiſſart*, *Argentré*, and all the *French* Hiſtorians, theſe Lords had all along eſpouſed the Quarrel of *Charles de Blois*, and yet *Edward* in his Letter to the Pope, calls them *his Adherents* (2). They muſt therefore have changed Sides, either publickly or privately, after the Truce, and this is difficult to know preciſely. It ſeems however, *Edward* would have had no reaſon to concern himſelf ſo much in this Affair, if theſe Lords had only been his private Adherents, whilſt outwardly they continued all along attached to the Intereſts of *France*. This, added to *Edward*'s Letter to the Pope, ſeems to prove at leaſt, ſome of theſe Lords openly declared for the Earl of *Montfort*. Upon this Suppoſition, there is no doubt that *Philip* violated the Truce, in commanding them to be ſeized in *Bretagne*. But, on the other hand, if theſe Lords are ſuppoſed to have been only *Edward*'s ſecret Friends ſince the Concluſion of the Truce, the two following Queſtions may be put. Firſt, whether *Philip* had a Right to cauſe them to be ſeized in *Bretagne*, during the Truce? Secondly, whether as Sovereign Lord of *Bretagne*, he might exerciſe ſuch a Power over theſe Lords, eſpecially as the putting them to Death in ſo illegal a manner, was rather a Murder than an Act of Juſtice? Be this as it will, *Edward* pretended that by this Action the Truce was violated, and *Philip* maintained, that *Edward* uſed this wrong pretence to break it.

Walſing. Act. Pub. V. p. 453.

1344. *Edward ſends Word to the King of France that the Truce is broken.* Act. Pub. V. p. 448, 450.

Edward was ſo enraged at the tragical Death of the Lords of *Bretagne*, that he was going to behead the *Bretagne* Priſoners of *Philip*'s Party, which were in his Power. But upon the Remonſtrances of *Henry of Lancaſter*, he altered his Reſolution. However, he ſent for *Henry de Leon*, one of the Priſoners, and told him with great Emotion, that though the Death of his Countrymen beheaded at *Paris*, was a ſufficient Reaſon to ſerve him in the ſame kind, he was unwilling to follow ſo bad an Example, or to revenge himſelf on the innocent, but intended to puniſh the Author himſelf of that Barbarity. Then he ſaid, though he might demand of him a Ranſom of thirty or forty thouſand Crowns, he would releaſe him for ten thouſand, on condition he would go in his Name and defy *Philip*, and declare to him, that having violated the Truce by this baſe Action, he muſt prepare for War.

He ſends a Defiance to Philip. Ib. p. 449.

The Earl of Derby *begins the War in* Guienne. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 107. Walſing.

Edward receives the Homage of Montfort *and* Harcourt.

These were not fruitleſs Menaces. *Edward*, in his Reſolution to puſh the War with more vigour than ever, ordered a Commiſſion to be drawn up, conſtituting the Earl of *Northampton* his Lieutenant-General in *France*; commanding him at the ſame time to defy *Philip*, and declare War againſt him by Sea and Land. Shortly after he ſent into *Guienne*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Earl of *Derby* (3), to begin Hoſtilities, till he ſhould be able to go thither himſelf, deſigning to exert himſelf moſt in that Province. Mean time, he ſent for *John de Montfort* into *England*, who had made his eſcape from *Paris*, and received his Homage for *Bretagne*. He received likewiſe the Homage of *Jeoffrey de Harcourt* (4), for his Lands in *Normandy* confiſcated by *Philip*; and promiſed by Letters Patent, either to recover his Eſtate, or give him an Equivalent in *France* or *England*. Shortly after, he publiſhed a Manifeſto, concerning all the Injuries received from *Philip de Valois*. After ſetting forth, he exhorted the *French* to own him for Sovereign, promiſing to exempt them from Taxes, and govern them according to the Laws and Cuſtoms obſerved in *France*, under St. *Lewis* his Predeceſſor. He forgot not to write to the Pope, to inform him of his Reaſons to renew the War. But the Pope's Anſwer plainly ſhowed him to be a partial Mediator. He not only excuſed *Philip*'s Proceedings againſt the Lords of *Bretagne*, and charged *Edward* with being the firſt Violator of the Truce, but threatned alſo to exert his Apoſtolick Authority againſt him. This was ſufficient to convince *Edward*, he could expect no Favour from the Pope. Accordingly he addreſſed himſelf to him no more, but only for Form ſake, and to keep a Decorum (5).

1344. Act. Pub. V. p. 453, 465.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, *Philip* was trying to diſingage the *Flemings* from the Intereſt of *England*. *Edward* hearing of theſe Practices, ſuddenly paſſed into *Flanders* (6), where he ſtayed but three Weeks. At his Return, he pretended to have prevented the Miſchiefs, he had reaſon to fear from the Inconſtancy of the *Flemings*. But the Sequel ſhowed, he had flattered himſelf too much, or the *Flemings* had deceived him; ſince it is certain they never more gave him any Aſſiſtance.

1345. *Edward goes into* Flanders. Ib. p. 472, 474.

Progreſs of the Earl of Derby. Froiſſart.

Mean time the Earl of *Derby* made a conſiderable Progreſs in *Guienne*, where he carried by Storm the Town of *Bergerac*, which was given up to be plundered (7). Hiſtory ought not to omit making honorable mention of the Generoſity of that General, ſeldom imitated by thoſe of our Days. Whilſt the *Engliſh* were buſy in plundering the Town, a *Welſh* Knight chanced to light upon the Receiver's Office. He found there ſuch a Quantity of Money, that he thought himſelf obliged to acquaint his General with it, imagining ſo great a Booty naturally belonged to him. But he was agreeably ſurprized, when the Earl told him with a pleaſant Countenance, that he wiſhed him Joy of his good fortune, and did not make his word to depend upon the Greatneſs or Smallneſs of the thing promiſed (8).

Generous Act of his. Walſing.

Walſing.

This Year the *Scots*, at the Inſtigation of the King of *France*, made an Inroad upon the Borders of *England*, but were repulſed by *Edward*'s Troops in the northern Counties.

Knighton.

John de Montfort, who took the Title of Duke of *Bretagne*, died in *September*, leaving to the King of *England* the Guardianſhip of his Son, and to *Margaret* his Ducheſs the Management of a very important War (9).

1346. *The Duke of* Normandy *makes great Progreſs in* Guienne. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 119, 122.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, *Edward* loſt the Aſſiſtance of a powerful Ally, by the Death of *James d' Arteville*, who was torn in pieces by the *Flemings* (10). His Death entirely changing the face of Affairs in the *Low-Countries*, it was by no means proper to attack *France* from that quarter. For this reaſon *Edward* reſolved to carry the brunt of the War into *Guienne*. The Duke of *Normandy* had now entered that Province, at the head of ſixty thouſand Men (11), to ſtop the Progreſs of the Earl of *Derby*, and compleat the Conqueſt thereof. Upon the Approach of this formidable Army, the Earl left the Field, and retired to *Bourdeaux*. His Retreat giving the Duke of *Normandy* an opportunity of retaking ſeveral Places, he was at length engaged in the Siege of the Caſtle of *Aiguillon*, ſeated upon the Confluence of the *Gironne* and *Lot*. This Siege was very remarkable, as well for the vigorous Aſſaults of the Beſiegers, who for a whole Week, ſtormed the Town three times a day, as for the brave Defence of the Beſieged, who were not to be diſcouraged by ſo frequent Aſſaults. To relieve theſe brave Men, *Edward* haſtened his Preprrations, determining to go in Perſon, and oppoſe the Duke of *Normandy*'s Progreſs (12).

The famous Siege of Aiguillon. Id. c. 124.

(1) He was exchanged for the Lord *Stafford*. *Froiſſ.* l. 1. c. 104.

(2) *Quorundam nobilium, nobis Adhærentium, captorum in Britannia.* *Rymer's Fœd.* V. p. 453.

(3) Along with him was ſent *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, as joint Lieutenant; and alſo *Laurence Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*, *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Manny*, &c. together with three hundred Knights and Eſquires, ſix hundred Men at Arms, and two thouſand Archers. They landed at *Bayonne*, *June* 6. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 107. *Knighton*, *Walſing.*

(4) Brother of the Count of *Harcourt*: He was a very conſiderable Nobleman, Lord of St. *Sauveur le Vicompte*, and ſeveral other Towns in *Normandy*. He was baniſhed from *France*, upon account of ſome Jealouſy conceived of him by King *Philip*. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 118.

(5) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *June* 7. which granted the King a Tenth for three Years. And the Commons granted the King, beſides, Two Fifteenths of the Commonalty of the Land; and two Tenths of the Cities and Burroughs. After which the Commons granted another Fifteenth. *Rot. Parl.* 18 *Edw.* III. *N.* 5.----10. *Walſ.* p. 164.

(6) He ſailed from *Sandwich*, *July* 3. and came back the 26th. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 472, 474.

(7) After this they took the Towns of *Beaumont*, *Le Lac*, and *Manageret*; and attacked the Caſtle of *Peligren*; but before it could be taken, the Garriſon ſallying out, carried the Earl of *Oxford* away Priſoner. Soon after, on *Auguſt* 10. the *Engliſh* defeated the Count *de Laille*, who was beſieging *Auberoche*, in which Action ſeven thouſand of the *French* were ſlain. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 109,---117. *Knighton.* Col. 2585.

(8) Mr. *Tyrrel* thinks it moſt probable, that this happened at the taking of *Monſtrevil* and *Bonnin*: Vol. 3. p. 532. but it might have been at the taking of *Bergerac*; if, as *Knighton* relates, that Town was ſo full of Riches, that the Earl of *Derby* got there a Pipe full of Gold. Col. 2585.

(9) This Year, in *July*, died the famous *Adam de Orleton* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſo often mentioned. *Walſ.* p. 165.

(10) He had formed a Project, in order to raiſe his Family, utterly to diſinherit *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, and to put the Government of it into the Hands of the King of *England*; on condition he would beſtow it upon Prince *Edward* his Son, with the Title of Duke. Accordingly, King *Edward* went over about *Midſummer*, to *Sluys* for that purpoſe. But the Populace diſliking *Arteville*'s Propoſal, one of them ſlew him outright. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 119.

(11) *Froiſſart* ſays, he had with him about one hundred thouſand Men. c. 122.

(12) But firſt held a great Council at *Weſtminſter*, where, by their Advice, he took into his hands all the Revenues in *England* enjoyed by alien Eccleſiaſticks, and the Cardinals of the *French* Faction. *Knighton* Col. 2585. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 490.

Every

1345. Every thing being ready for his Departure, he came to *Southampton*, bringing with him the Prince of *Wales* his eldeſt Son, about ſixteen Years old (1), who was to make his firſt Campaign. Before the Imbarkation of the Troops, he aſſembled his principal Officers, and "exhorted them ſo to behave, as ſhould render them worthy of his Eſteem, and the Rewards he deſigned for thoſe that diſcharged their Duty. He declared his Intention was to ſend back his Ships the moment he arrived in *Guienne*, and therefore it would be in vain to hope to ſee their own Country again, unleſs they returned victorious. He added, if any Man's Heart failed him, he need only ſpeak freely, and he ſhould inſtantly have his Leave to ſtay behind." This Speech being ſpread in the Army, the Soldiers cried out with one voice, they were ready to follow their King wherever he was pleaſed to lead them. So ſudden and univerſal a Reſolution, inſpiring him with great hopes, he imbarked his Troops with deſign to ſail for *Guienne*: But the Wind proving contrary, he was forceed to put back twice (2). *Geoffry de Harcourt*, who attended him, made uſe of this Juncture to perſwade him to land in *Normandy*, a very plentiful Country, which had been long exempted from the Calamities of War. *Edward* following his Advice, landed at *la Hogue* in *le Cotentin*, where he was by no means expected (3).

Edward imbarks for Guienne. Act. Pub. V. p. 517. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 124. Knighton.

He puts back twice. Walſing. Act. Pub. V. p. 522.

He lands in Normandy.

The moment he ſet foot on Shore, he knighted the Prince of *Wales* his Son, and ſeveral other young Lords (4), after which, he headed his Army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Men at Arms. He divided his Troops into three Bodies, who marched ſeparately in the Day, but commonly rejoined in the Evening, in order to encamp all together. In their firſt marches, they revenged in a terrible manner, the death of the Lords beheaded at *Paris*. *Valogne*, *St. Lo*, *Carentan*, *Harfleur*, were the firſt Towns that felt the Fury of the *Engliſh* Arms. *Ralph* Earl of *Eu*, Conſtable of *France*, then at *Caen*, offering to oppoſe the *Engliſh*, with the Militia of the Country, ſerved only, by his being defeated and made Priſoner, for a happy Preſage of their future Victories. After the defeat of the Conſtable, *Edward* continued his march through the Biſhopricks of *Liſieux* and *Evreaux*, burning and plundering whatever came in his way. He halted not till he arrived at *Poiſſi*, where he ſtayed ſome Days to provoke *Philip* to engage, by ſending a Herald to him with a Defiance, which was not accepted. *Philip* had another deſign, and that was to incloſe him between the *Seine* and the *Oyſe*. Had this Project ſucceeded, the *Engliſh* Army would have been unavoidably ruined. But *Edward* perceiving his Intent, though ſomewhat of the lateſt, decamped from *Poiſſi*, in order to paſs the *Somme*, and take Shelter in *Ponthieu*; knowing his Enemy was advancing with an Army of a hundred thouſand Men. He marched a good way down the *Somme*, without finding any paſſage. At laſt, he was ſo happy as to diſcover the Ford of *Blanchetaque*, by means of a Priſoner (5), who was perfectly acquainted with the Country. Though this Diſcovery ſeemed at firſt a great Advantage, he quickly found the difficulties of his Retreat were not much leſſened. *Philip* foreſeeing, the Enemy might take that Rout to retire, detached *Gondemar du Fay* with a Body of twelve thouſand Men to guard that Ford, on which depended the Succeſs of his Deſigns. *Edward* ſaw himſelf therefore under a Neceſſity, either of forcing the Paſſage, or fighting with great diſadvantage his Enemy, who was cloſely purſuing him. Being come to a Reſolution, he ordered his Troops to advance, who, being animated by the Preſence of their King, caſt themſelves into the River with ſuch Intrepidity, that they began to vanquiſh their Enemies before they came to the Charge. One may eaſily imagine the difficulties which occur in ſuch a Paſſage, in the Face of the Enemy, for an Army which cannot enlarge its Front beyond the breadth of the Ford, and is obliged to march through the Water, and at the ſame time handle their Arms. But all this was not capable of ſtopping the *Engliſh*, who, in the Sight of their King, Witneſs of all their Actions, marched through all theſe Obſtacles, as to a certain Victory. It was not poſſible for the *French* to ſuſtain ſo furious an Attack. After ſome endeavours to repulſe the *Engliſh*, they were forced to abandon that important Paſſage, through which *Edward* immediately marched his whole Army. The ſame Evening (6) he encamped at *Creſſy*, whilſt *Philip* paſſed the *Somme* at *Abbeville*, but three Leagues from thence.

He knights the Prince of Wales, Ib. p. 527.

and ravages the Country. Mezerai. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 125, 126. Knighton.

Advances to Poiſſi. Ad Murim. *Philip tries to incloſe him between two Rivers.*

Edward *retires into* Ponthieu. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 121.

He forces a Paſs defended by the French. Id. c. 129. Knighton.

1347. *Edward* ſeeing himſelf ſo cloſely purſued, and perceiving it would be impoſſible to avoid fighting, ſtopped ſhort to expect his Enemies, and choſe an advantagious piece of Ground, where he drew up his Army. *Philip* being perſuaded, that *Edward*'s Retreat was the effect of his Fear, did not queſtion, if he could but come up with him, he ſhould quickly vanquiſh him. Accordingly, not to afford him time to retire any further, he marched next day from *Abbeville* with deſign to attack him. The *Engliſh* Army was divided into three Bodies, of which the Prince of *Wales* commanded the firſt (7). The ſecond was led by the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel* (8) and the Lord *Roſs*. The King kept at ſome diſtance with the third (9), to aſſiſt thoſe that ſhould want it. *Philip* could not come in ſight of the Enemy till three in the Afternoon, having marched that Day three Leagues, ſo that it was almoſt four o' Clock when the Battle began. He had likewiſe divided his Army (10) into three Bodies, the firſt whereof conſiſted of *Genoeſe* (11), under the Command of *Antonio Doria*, and *Carolo Grimaldi*. As the chief Strength of his Infantry lay in theſe Troops, he would have them charge firſt. Juſt as the Battle was going to begin, a great and ſudden Rain ſlackening the Strings of the *Genoeſe* Croſs-Bows, they became unſerviceable. However, as they were now too far advanced, they ſaw themſelves expoſed to a Shower of *Engliſh* Arrows, which made them give ground. *Charles* Earl of *Alenſon*, the King's Brother, who ſupported them with a great Body of Horſe, ſeeing them give way, without knowing the Cauſe, imagined there was Treachery, and immediately ordered the Horſe to fall upon them, by which raſh Action he began to put the *French* Army in Diſorder (12). Mean time, the Earl never troubling himſelf about the *Genoeſe*, nor minding what paſſed behind him, attacked the firſt Body of the *Engliſh*, commanded by the Prince of *Wales*, and was received with a Firmneſs he little expected. He continued however his Endeavours, which only cauſed him to loſe his Life, valiantly fighting. By his Death the Body he commanded began by degrees to ſtagger, and as they could not be ſpeedily ſupported, by reaſon of the Diſorder cauſed by themſelves among the *Genoeſe* Troops, were at length put to Flight.

He ſtays for Philip at Creſſy. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 129, 130. &c. Knighton.

Battle of Creſſy. Froiſſart. c. 132. Knighton. Walſing.

The Body commanded by Alenſon defeated.

The Prince of *Wales* having ſo great an Advantage in this firſt Onſet, *Philip* ordered a numerous Body of Horſe to advance, to repair the diſorder cauſed by the Defeat of the firſt. Thus the *French* had always the Superiority of Number, though the *Engliſh* ſtill kept their Ground. In all appearance the young Prince, who fought with an heroic Courage, determined to conquer or dye, would have been overpowered by Numbers, if the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel* had not come to his Relief. Their Approach drew thither more *French* Troops, the ſmall extent of the Field not permitting the two Armies to engage all at once. So the Fight was very obſtinate. The Valour of the Prince of *Wales*, which filled the *Engliſh* Generals with Admiration, made them at the ſame time extremely uneaſy with regard to his Perſon, becauſe of the ſuperior Number of the Enemies.

The Prince of Wales performs Wonders. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 132.

(1) He was but thirteen Years, and a Month old.

(2) He ſet Sail *July* 4, but was driven back on the Coaſt of *Cornwal*. *Froiſ.* l. 1. c. 124. *Walſ.* p. 166. His Army conſiſted of four thouſand Men at Arms, ten thouſand Archers, twelve thouſand *Welſh* Footmen, and ſix thouſand *Iriſh*. Beſides great Numbers of the chief Nobility, whoſe Names ſee in *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 124. *Knighton* ſays he had one thouſand ſix hundred Ships, great and ſmall. Col. 2585.

(3) This he might do by way of Retaliation, for a Project formed by the People of that Country and their Duke to come and invade *England*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 504. 507.

(4) *William de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, *&c. Chron. Eveſh.*

(5) A Yeoman's Son of *Normandy*, called *Gobin Agace*. *Froiſ.* l. 1. c. 128.

(6) Which was on *Friday*, *Auguſt* 25. *Ibid.* c. 130.

(7) And with him were joined, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Geoffrey Harcourt*; and the following Lords, *Ralph Stafford*, *John de la Ware*, *Thomas Holland*, *Reginald Cobham*, *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, *John Mohun*, *Robert Bourchier*, *John Chandos*, *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *Robert Neville*; this Body conſiſted of eight hundred Men at Arms, four thouſand Archers, and one thouſand, or, according to others, ſix thouſand *Welſhmen*.

(8) *Richard Fitz Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, and *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*. Together with the Lord *John Willoughby*, the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Sapcote*, the Lord *Multon*, Sir *Lewis Tuſton* of *Toketon*. This Body conſiſted of eight hundred Men at Arms, two thouſand four hundred Archers, and four thouſand Bill-Men.

(9) Who had with him, *John* Lord *Mowbray*, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, *Thomas* Lord *Dagworth*, Sir *Richard Goldesborough*, Sir *Richard Damory*, Sir *Nele Loring*, Sir *Hugh Haſtings*, Sir *John Butterell*. This Body conſiſted of ſeven hundred Men at Arms, ſix thouſand Archers, and five thouſand three hundred Bill-Men, in all twelve thouſand Men: And the whole Army amounted to thirty thouſand compleat. *J. Barnes.* p. 354. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 130.

(10) It conſiſted of near one hundred thouſand Men. See *Froiſ.* c. 122, 129. The *French* Army began the Attack, it ſeems, againſt the King's Orders; and engaged in a very confuſed and diſorderly manner; and beſides had the Sun in their Faces. *Ibid.* l. 1. c. 131.

(11) It is ſaid there were no leſs than fifteen thouſand *Genoeſe*. *Ibid.* c. 132.

(12) In this manner the *French* Hiſtorians ſpeak of the beginning of the Engagement. It muſt be that the Strings of the *Genoeſe* Croſs-Bows were of a different Nature from thoſe of the *Engliſh*, ſince the Rain had no Effect on theſe laſt. *Rapin.* It ſeems the *Engliſh* Bows were kept covered in their Cafes.

1346. mies. Apprehenſive that ſome Misfortune might happen to him in the end, they ſpeedily ſent the King Word, that it was time to come to the Prince's Relief, who was like to be oppreſſed by Numbers. Far from being moved at this Meſſage, *Edward* asked, whether his Son was ſtill alive? and being told, he was not only alive, but fighting with an aſtoniſhing Valour, replied to the Meſſenger, *Tell my Generals, that as long as my Son is alive, let them ſend no more to me, for the Honour of this Day ſhall be his, and he muſt now merit his Spurs.* This Anſwer inſpiring the Prince with freſh Courage, he broke through his Enemies who were ready to ſurround him. His Troops imitating his heroic Bravery, ſeconded him ſo well, that the *French* began to give ground, and at length to diſperſe in confuſion.

The King leaves the Honour of the Day to his Son. Ibid.

Philip had one Body left which had not yet engaged, at the head whereof he was himſelf. Towards this Body the Prince of *Wales* directed his Steps, after routing the other two; and in this laſt Action it was that he acquired the greateſt Honour. *Philip*, inraged to ſee his two Bodies routed and diſperſed, performed Wonders, to ſnatch the Victory from the young Heroe before it was compleat. The King of *Bohemia*, who, though blind, would be preſent at the Battle, cauſing his Horſe's Bridle to be tied to thoſe of two brave Knights, was ſlain according to his Wiſh, in fighting for *France*. His Standard, on which were embroidered in Gold, three *Oſtrich-Feathers*, with theſe Words, *ICH DIEN*, that is *I SERVE*, was taken and brought to the Prince of *Wales*, who, in memory of that Day, bore three *Oſtrich-Feathers* for his Creſt (1), with the ſame Motto. Mean time *Edward*, who ſtood with his Troops on a riſing Ground, watched the proper time to charge, being unwilling however to make too much haſte, for fear of robbing the Prince his Son of part of his Glory. But in this ſtate of inaction, he failed not to ſtrike Terror into the *French*, who ſaw him ready to fall upon them with Advantage. *Philip* for his part, after many fruitleſs Attempts to repulſe the *Engliſh*, rallied ſome of his Nobles and Men at Arms, and threw himſelf into the midſt of the Battle, in order to animate his Troops by his Example. It muſt be confeſſed, that on this occaſion he gave ſignal Proofs of an undaunted Valour. It was not till after being twice diſmounted, and wounded in his Neck and Thigh, that he ſuffered himſelf to be led, though with extreme Pain, out of the Field of Battle. His Retreat quite diſcouraging thoſe of his Men that ſtill maintained the Fight, they were entirely routed with the reſt of the Army. Then it was that a dreadful Slaughter enſued of the flying Troops, who were purſued till the Night was far advanced. It is affirmed, that in this memorable Battle, the *Engliſh* began for the firſt time to uſe Cannon, a thing yet unheard of in *France*. Four Pieces, planted on a little Hill, did great Execution among the *French* Troops, and ſtruck them with ſuch Terror, that the Succeſs of this Day is partly aſcribed to the Surprize of the *French* at this Novelty. *France* loſt in this Battle, the King of *Bohemia*, the Earl of *Alenſon* Brother of the King, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Blois*, fifteen other great Lords of the Kingdom, twelve hundred Knights, and above fourſcore Standards.

The King of Bohemia ſlain, and his Banner taken. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 132. Villani. Walſing.

Philip ſignalizes himſelf. Knighton. Walſing.

The Engliſh gain a compleat Victory.

Cannon firſt uſed by the Engliſh. Mezerai.

When *Edward* found, by the haſty Flight of the Enemies, that his Victory was certain, he advanced to ſhow his Son Marks of his extreme Satisfaction. *Dear Son*, ſaid he, embracing him in his Arms, *You have acquitted yourſelf nobly this Day, and truly deſerve the Crown for which you have fought.* The young Prince, out of Countenance at the King's Commendations, with a modeſt Silence, fell on his Knees, and asked his Father's Bleſſing, according to the Cuſtom practiſed in *England*. The Night of this glorious Day was ſpent by the *Engliſh* in Rejoycings. But the King publiſhed in the Camp expreſs orders, not to inſult over the Misfortunes of the vanquiſhed, exhorting his Army to return God Thanks for the Victory he was pleaſed to give them. On the morrow, ſome Troops, ſent to purſue the flying Enemy, meeting a Body of Militia, who, without knowing what had happened, were marching to *Philip*'s Camp, ſlew ſeven thouſand. It is ſaid, the loſs *France* ſuſtained on the ſecond Day, was greater than that of the Battle, as well by the defeat of the Militia, as by the Slaughter, or taking of the Soldiers, who in flying, were diſperſed in the Country (2).

Edward continued ſome Days near the Field of Battle, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded, as well thoſe of the Enemy, as his own. Then marching through *le Boulonnois*, he approached *Calais*, in order to beſiege it. This Place, which was exceeding ſtrong, was no leſs incommodious to the *Engliſh*, than *Dunkirk* has been in our days. In becoming maſter of it, he not only freed himſelf from a very troubleſome Neighbourhood, but alſo opened a way into *France*. He inveſted it on the 8th of *September*, and ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender, threatning, in caſe of refuſal, to put the Garriſon and Inhabitants all to the Sword. *John de Vienne*, the Governor, anſwered, He owned no other King of *France* but the Perſon that committed to him the cuſtody of the Town, in whoſe Service he was reſolved to live and die.

1346. *Another Loſs on the Side of France.* Ibid.

Edward *beſieges* Calais. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 135. Knighton. Walſing. Act. Pub. V. p. 52.

The King having taken an exact view of the Fortifications of *Calais*, found it would be very difficult to accompliſh the Siege by force; ſo from the firſt, reſolved to reduce the Place by Famine. For that purpoſe, he drew round the Town four Lines of Circumvallation, with regular Fortifications, reſolvedly bent not to relinquiſh his Enterprize till accompliſhed. The Governor, who ſaw the Preparations, foreſeeing the length of the Siege, took care to ſend away all uſeleſs Mouths, that he might not be expoſed to the Danger of wanting Proviſions. Though, according to the Maxims of War, *Edward* was not obliged to take pity of theſe Wretches, who were to the Number of ſeventeen hundred, he received them however into the Camp (3), and gave them leave afterwards to go where they pleaſed (4).

Froiſſart. Ibid.

Mean time, *Philip*, who was very uneaſy concerning this Siege, ſought all poſſible means to raiſe it. He ſaw but two proper for that purpoſe. The firſt, which was to attack the Lines of the Beſiegers, could not be ſoon enough put in practice, to hope the Town would hold out till he was able to relieve it. The ſecond was, to make a Diverſion in *England* by the Arms of the *Scots*. This being deemed the ſpeedieſt, he engaged the King of *Scotland* to make an Inroad into *England*. He did not queſtion its Succeſs, becauſe all the *Engliſh* Forces were employed in *France*. It was to be preſumed, the Alarm cauſed by this Invaſion, would raiſe ſuch Commotions in *England*, that *Edward* would be forced to raiſe the Siege he had undertaken. *David*, looking upon the Intereſt of *France* as his own, and readily following the Suggeſtions of *Philip*, put himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand Men (5), and advanced as far as *Durham* (6). This unexpected Invaſion, at ſuch a Juncture, alarmed the *Engliſh*, but however was not capable of diſheartening them. Young *Lionel*, left by the King his Father Guardian of the Realm, not being yet of Age to command an Army, Queen *Philippa* took upon her to repulſe the Enemy. To that end, heading the Troops, drawn together from all parts with wonderful Expedition, ſhe marched directly to the *Scots*, and offered them Battle. *David* was no leſs impatient to engage. He imagined nothing more eaſy, than to put to flight undiſciplined Troops, commanded by a Woman. But the Succeſs did not anſwer his Expectations. He not only had the mortification to loſe the Day, but alſo to ſee himſelf a Priſoner in the hands of the *Engliſh* (7).

1347. *The King of Scotland enters England.* Buchanan. Knighton. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 139, 140. Walſing. Act. Pub. V. p. 524, 530.

He is defeated and made Priſoner by the Queen. Act. Pub. V. p. 551. Charles de Blois *defeated and taken.* Argentre. Mezerai. Froiſſart. Walſing.

Edward *paiſes his Son.* Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 133.

Modeſty of the Prince.

Fortune was never weary of favouring *Edward*. As his Arms were victorious in *France* and *England*, ſo were they likewiſe in *Bretagne*. Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Troops in that Country, twice

(1) Or rather in his Coronet.

(2) This memorable Battle was fought on *Saturday, Auguſt* 24 3 (but according to *Walſing.* p. 166. and *Fa. Daniel* on the 26th. *Hiſt.* of *Fr.* Tom. 4. p. 155.) in the Fields between *Abbeville* and *Creſſy* in *Picardy*. There were ſlain, on the *French* ſide, eleven Princes, fourſcore Bannerets, twelve hundred Knights, and about thirty thouſand common Soldiers. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 131, 134. *Knighton.* Col. 2588. How many of the *Engliſh* were ſlain, is not mentioned in Hiſtory.

(3) *Froiſſart* ſays, he gave them a good Dinner, and two Sterlings a-piece; and then let them go where they would. c. 135.

(4) During the King's Abſence, a Parliament was ſummoned by his Son *Lionel*, Guardian of the Kingdom, which met on *September* 11. and granted the King two Fifteenths. *Rot. Clauſ.* 20. *Edw.* 3. *P.* 2. *M.* 22. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 526.

(5) About fifty thouſand. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 139. But *Speed* ſays ſixty two thouſand Men, and *Knighton* thirty ſix thouſand. Col. 2589.

(6 In the beginning of *October*.

(7) This Battle was fought not far from *Nevil's* Croſs, near *Durham*, on *October* 17. There were no leſs than fifteen, or according to others, twenty thouſand *Scots* ſlain. *Knighton.* Col. 2590. The chief Perſons of the *Engliſh* that ſignalized themſelves in this Expedition were, *William la Zouche* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Gilbert de Umfrevyle*, Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Percy*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Dayncourt*, and *Henry Scroop*. *Walſ.* p. 167. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 528. The *Scotch* King, though he had two Spears hanging in his Body, his Legs almoſt incurably wounded, and his Sword beat out of his Hand, diſdaining Captivity, provoked the *Engliſh* by opprobrious Language to kill him; and when *John Copland* Governour of *Roxborough* Caſtle adviſed him to yield, he ſtruck him on the Face with his Gantlet ſo fiercely, that he knocked out two of his Teeth. But however *Copland* conveyed him away out of the Field a Priſoner. Upon his refuſing to deliver him up to the Queen (who ſtayed at *Newcaſtle* during the Battle) the King ſent for him to *Calais*, where he excuſed his Refuſal ſo handſomely, that the King ſent him back with the Reward of five hundred Pounds a Year in Land, where he himſelf ſhould chuſe it near his own Dwelling, and made him a Knight Banneret. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 542. *Froiſ.* l. 1. c. 140, 141. *Buchanan.* l. 9.

1347. defeated *Charles de Blois*, and took him Priſoner in the laſt Battle, fought near *la Roche de Rien*.

Philip tries in vain to relieve Calais. Act. Pub. V. p. 562, 564. Froiſſart. Mezerai. Knighton. Walſing.

Mean time, the Siege, or rather Blockade of *Calais*, was ſtill continued by Sea and Land. *Edward* had ſent for ſeven hundred Ships to guard the Sea. As therefore nothing could be brought into the Town, it was at laſt reduced to Extremity. The ſad Condition of the Beſieged being diſcovered to the King by an intercepted Letter, he ſent it immediately to *Philip*, and withal bid the Meſſenger tell him, he had no time to loſe, if he intended to relieve the Place. *Philip* improving this Intelligence, ſpeedily took the Field, and approached the *Engliſh* Camp with an Army of one Hundred and fifty thouſand Men. He hoped to draw the Enemy out of his Intrenchments, by offering him Battle ſeveral times. But *Edward* was too wiſe to run any hazard, well knowing the Impoſſibility of forcing his Lines: Beſides, he had good reaſon to expect, the Town would quickly be at his Mercy. So, without being moved with all theſe Defiances, he conſtantly anſwered, his Buſineſs there was to take *Calais*, and if *Philip* thought fit to hinder him, he had only to take the moſt proper meaſures. *Philip* ſeeing he could not without manifeſt danger attack him in his Intrenchments, nor draw him into the open Field, ſent two Cardinals with Propoſals of Peace. He offered him *Guienne*, the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and a Marriage between their Children. *Edward* made a jeſt of theſe Offers. He replied, *Guienne* and *Ponthieu* belonged to him; that he ſhould quickly be maſter of *Calais*, and ſo had no need of his Bounties. This Project not ſucceeding, *Philip* propoſed to him by a Herald, to decide their Quarrel by a Combat of ſix on each Side. The Herald adding, the King of *France* would appoint the Time and Place, the Earl of *Derby* made anſwer, *That muſt be* Edward *then, ſince he is the true King of* France. This Pretenſion alone, was ſufficient to cauſe the Propoſal to fall to the ground, to which it is certain *Edward*, in his preſent Circumſtances, had no Inclination. His ſole Aim was to take *Calais*, without putting that event to Arbitration. A few days after, he received a Recruit of ſeventeen thouſand Men, brought him by his Queen from *England*. If we may believe ſome *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, this Supply came very ſeaſonably, to enable him to have his Revenge of *Philip*. It is affirmed, he offered to fight him in open Field; to fill up his Trenches himſelf, and demoliſh his Works, provided he might have ſufficient Security that nothing ſhould be conveyed into *Calais* till after the Battle. It is added, that *Philip* refuſing this offer, choſe to retire. Thus much is certain, he did not think proper to attack *Edward* in his Intrenchments. So, the Beſieged deſpairing of being relieved, deſired at length to capitulate. A Capitulation, deferred till the laſt Extremity, could not be of any great Advantage. Accordingly, *Edward* refuſed the Beſieged all manner of Terms but That of Life, which he was willing to grant both to the Soldiers and the Inhabitants. However, he excepted, out of the laſt, ſix of the principal Burghers, to ſacrifice them to his Vengeance, leaving the Inhabitants to chuſe the Victims themſelves. This Severity cauſed a great Conſternation in the Town. It was very difficult to chuſe theſe ſix Perſons, and yet there was no time to loſe. Hiſtory ought not to paſs over in Silence the generous Action of *Euſtace de St. Pierre*, one of the chief Inhabitants. This brave Burgher ſeeing Fear and Deſpair painted on the Faces of his Countrymen, voluntarily offered himſelf to be one of the ſix. So uncommon a Magnanimity affected the reſt to ſuch a degree, that five more were quickly found, who, after his Example, devoted themſelves for the Preſervation of their Townſmen. Theſe ſix illuſtrious Burghers, bent to appeaſe the Conqueror's Rage, by the Sacrifice of their Lives, went out bare-footed, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, and preſented to him the Keys of the Town. They found him ſo highly incenſed, that notwithſtanding the Interceſſion of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the great Men about him, he commanded them to be led to Execution. But if he had Reſolution enough to refuſe that favour to the preſſing Inſtances of his Son, he could not find in his Heart the ſame Inſenſibility for the Queen. This good Princeſs, moved with the Misfortune of theſe miſerable Men, caſting herſelf at his Feet, intreated him with Tears in her Eyes, to pardon them for Chriſt's ſake. How reſolved ſoever he might be, he could not behold at his Feet a Queen, whom he ſo tenderly loved, without feeling his Heart relent, and in ſpite of the Reſolution he had armed himſelf with, was overcome by her Intreaties. The Queen, not content with ſaving the Lives of theſe unfortunate Men, ordered Cloaths to be brought them; and after giving them an Entertainment in her own Tent, diſmiſſed them with a Preſent to each of ſix pieces of Gold. An Action which did then, and ever will, redound to the Honour of that generous Princeſs.

1347.

He offers Battle, but Edward *refuſes.*

He makes him Propoſals of Peace, which are rejected.

He ſends him a Challenge, which is not accepted.

Edward receives a Reinforcement. Act. Pub. V. p. 562, 564, 572.

The Queen obtains the Pardon of the ſix Burghers.

Thus the important Town of *Calais*, after a Year's Siege, became ſubject to the Dominion of the *Engliſh* (1).

A few days after *Edward* had made his Entry into *Calais*, he turned out all the Inhabitants, in order to people it with *Engliſh*. Probably, this Precaution was the means of *England*'s keeping that Place two hundred Years. The Siege had been ſo long and fatiguing, that *Edward* thought himſelf obliged to give his Troops ſome repoſe, by conſenting to a Truce propoſed to him for one Year. Which done, he left a ſtrong Garriſon in *Calais* (2), and returned in triumph to *England* (3).

Edward turns the French out of Calais, and puts in an Engliſh Colony. Act. Pub. V. p. 575, 588. &c. 623, 629, &c.

Never had the *Engliſh* Name been more glorious than at this time; and never had *England* enjoyed a more compleat Happineſs. If the Valour, Wiſdom, and good Fortune of the King, gave an extraordinary Luſtre to the Realm, the rare Qualities of the brave Prince of *Wales*, Heir-Apparent to the Crown, afforded no leſs hopes for the future. The prodigious Plenty which immediately followed *Edward*'s Victories, ſeemed alſo to demonſtrate, that Heaven took a peculiar Care of the *Engliſh* (4).

Knighton. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 149.

Flouriſhing Condition of England. Walſing.

1348. To add ſtill a freſh Luſtre to *Edward*'s Glory, Ambaſſadors from *Germany* arrived the next Year, with offers of the Imperial Dignity. The Election of *Charles* IV, who was now crowned at *Bonn*, not being agreeable to all the Electoral Princes, ſome (5) were reſolved to make a new Choice. To that end, they caſt their Eyes on the King of *England*, whom the Battle of *Creſſy*, and taking of *Calais*, had rendered very famous. But *Edward*, who was not ignorant how much the acceptance of this Dignity, at a like Juncture, had coſt *Richard*, Brother of *Henry* III, was too wiſe to throw himſelf into the ſame Difficulties. Beſides, he had need of all his Forces and Endeavours to acquire the Crown of *France*, which to him ſeemed a more ſubſtantial Good. On theſe accounts, he refuſed the Honour intended him by the *German* Princes, and declined taking ſo great a Burden upon him (6).

Edward refuſes the Imperial Dignity. Act. Pub. V. p. 622. Knighton.

1339. During the Proſperity enjoyed by the *Engliſh*, it is no wonder that Eaſe and Plenty threw them into the Exceſſes, that are the uſual Attendants thereof. All the Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, an unbridled Debauchery at this time prevailed throughout the Kingdom; and the Women, laying aſide their Modeſty, the great Ornament of their Sex, ſeemed to glory in the Loſs of their Virtue. Nothing was more common, than to ſee them riding in Troops to our Tournaments, dreſſed like Cavaliers, with Swords by their Sides, and mounting their Steeds adorned with rich Trappings, without any regard to their Honour or Reputation. The Mens Exceſſes were no leſs ſcandalous. God permitted not theſe Diſorders to go long unpuniſhed. A terrible Plague, after raging in *Aſia*, and part of *Europe*, ſpread itſelf into *France*, and from thence into *England* (7), where it made ſuch Deſolation, that one half of the Nation was ſwept away. *London* eſpecially felt the Effects of its Fury, where, it is obſerved, in one Year above fifty

Corruption of Manners in England. Knighton. Walſing.

A terrible Plague in England. Walſing. Stow's Ann. Knighton.

A generous Act of a Burgher.

Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 148.

(1) Or rather near an eleven Months Siege. It was delivered to the King on the 4th of *Auguſt*. *Knighton*. Col. 2594, 2595. *John de Chiverefton*, was made Governor of the Town, and Sir *Americ* of *Pavia*, Captain of the Caſtle. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 584, 593.

(2) And built a Caſtle at *Risbank* to ſecure *Calais*. *Stow's Ann.*

(3) Where he arrived *October* 12. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 594. *Walſ.* p. 167.

(4) This Year was finiſhed St. *Stephen*'s Chapel at *Weſtminſter*, formerly belonging to the King's Palace, but now the Place where the Houſe of Commons meets. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 631.

(5) Namely, *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*; *Rodolph* and *Rupert*, Counts Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* and *Luſatia*; and the Duke of *Saxony*. *Ibid.* p. 622.

(6) This Year a Parliament met at *London*, *Jan.* 15. *Rot. Clauſ.* 22 *Edw.* III. *Pt.* 2. *M.* 9. *Dorſ.* As did another on the 17th of *March*, which granted the King *Three Fifteenths*, to be levied in three Years. *Ibid. Pt.* 1. *M.* 32. *Dorſ. Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 611. *Knighton* ſays, he had had before twenty thouſand Sacks of Wool, and alſo a Tenth from the Clergy for two Years. *Knighton*. Col. 2595.

(7) This Plague firſt began in the Kingdom of *Cathay* in *Aſia* in 1346, from whence it ſpread into other parts of *Aſia*, and paſſed into *Greece*, *Africa*; and afterwards into *Europe*, and ſo into *France* and *England*: In which laſt it broke out firſt in *Dorſetſhire*, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, and ſpread itſelf all over the Nation, continuing till *Michaelmas* twelve Month after; it was ſo great in both Years, that there hardly remained the Tenth part of People alive in moſt Places. *Walſ.* p. 168. And a Parliament being ſummoned to meet on the *Monday* after *January* 14. 1349. it was prorogued till a fortnight after *Eaſter*, and afterwards reſpited till a new Summons. *Stow's Ann.* p. 245. Dr. *Brady*, p. 247. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 655, 658.

thouſand

1349. thouſand Perſons were buried in a Church-yard belonging to the *Ciſtercians* (1).

Philip corrupts the Governor of Calais. Froiſſart. Mezerai. Walſing.

Though this terrible Scourge had been no more favorable to *France*, *Philip* was making great Preparations to renew the War, with a reſolution to uſe all poſſible Endeavors to recover *Calais*. The loſs of that Place lay heavy upon his Mind, becauſe of the Conſequences which he plainly foreſaw. However, as he rightly judged, it would be very difficult to retake the Town by Force of Arms, he reſolved to uſe a ſurer way, by bribing the Governor. The Lords of *Montmorency* and *Charny*, to pleaſe their Maſter, very readily took upon them the execution of this Project, and the Ignominy of the Action. But what *Mezerai* ſays is not very likely, that they thought it no great fault to ſurprize the Town during the Truce. In all appearance, their Ignorance was not ſo great. However that be, they held private Intelligence with *Aymeri de Pavia* the Governor, who promiſed to deliver up the Place for twenty thouſand Crowns. This Sum being ſent him, he found means to introduce by degrees into the Town a hundred Men at Arms, and twelve *French* Knights, whom he concealed in the Caſtle (2). On the day appointed for the Performance of his Promiſe, the Lords of *Charny* and *Ribaumont* lay in Ambuſh near the two Gates of the Town, in order to ruſh in as ſoon as they were opened. So juſt were their meaſures, that they thought themſelves ſure of Succeſs. But they did not know all that had paſſed. A little before, *Edward* receiving ſome Intelligence of the Plot, ſent for the Governor to *London*, and promiſed him Pardon, on condition he would betray the *French*. The Villain, perceiving himſelf inevitably ruined if he refuſed to comply with the King, fully informed him of all the Circumſtances of the Plot, and the day agreed upon to let the Enemies into the Town. By this means *Edward* knowing how matters ſtood, ordered it ſo, that he came the Evening before to *Calais*, attended by the Prince of *Wales*, and eight hundred Men at Arms (3). On the morrow by break of day, he ſallied out at one Gate, and the Prince of *Wales* at the other, to attack the *French*, who little expected any ſuch thing. The King, who was pleaſed to fight on foot, under the Banner of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, ingaged in ſingle Combat with *Euſtace de Ribaumont*, a Knight of *Picardy*, by whoſe fierce Blows he was twice ſtruck down on his Knees. The ſpeedy Relief he received from his own Men, freed him from this danger, and even enabled him to defeat *Ribaumont*'s Troop, and take him Priſoner.

Edward has notice of it.

He comes to Calais, Walſing.

and attacks the French. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 153.

Whilſt the King was thus employed, the Prince of *Wales* vigorouſly charged the Lord *Charny*, who, after a long Reſiſtance, was at length defeated, and taken Priſoner by the Prince. The *French* loſt in this Action ſix hundred Men, beſides a good Number of Priſoners, who, with their two Leaders, were brought into the Town, of which a few hours before they hoped to be Maſters (4). Though the way they had uſed was far from being honorable, *Edward* conſidering it was in obedience to their Sovereign, treated them very civilly. That very Evening he entertained the principal Priſoners with a ſplendid Supper, and was even pleaſed to come and ſee them whilſt at Table. He could not forbear upbraiding *Charny* with the infamous means he had uſed, to take from him by Treachery, and during the Truce, a Place that coſt him ſo dear, and was fairly won. Then addreſſing himſelf to *Ribaumont*, he greatly commended his Valour, and made him a Preſent of a String of Pearls of great value, which he wore in his Cap, as a Teſtimony of his Eſteem. He added, that hearing he was a great Admirer of the Ladies, he deſired him to wear it in their Company, telling him, they would not look upon him with leſs favorable Eyes. After ſeveral other obliging Expreſſions, he gave him his Liberty without any Ranſom. Before he left *Calais*, he made *John de Beauchamp* (5) Governor, not thinking it prudent to truſt any longer the Cuſtody of that important Place in the Hands of a *Lombard*, who had ſuffered himſelf to be bribed. But this was not all the Puniſhment the Traitor received for his double Treachery. The next Year, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the *French*, who cauſed him to be torn in Pieces with four Horſes.

Edward's Generoſity to Ribaumont. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 154.

1349.

The Attempt upon *Calais* failing, contrary to the expectation of the *French*, *Philip* diſowned the Authors. As *Edward* was not ready to renew the War, he was contented with that ſlight Satisfaction; ſo the Truce ſtill ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the juſt Cauſe given by *Philip* to break it.

Inſtitution of the Order of the Garter. Walſing. Aſhmole.

Edward having nothing more to do at *Calais*, returned to *England*, where ſoon after he inſtituted the famous *Order of the Garter* (6). According to the common opinion, this Order owes its Origin to an Accident in itſelf of little Importance, but in regard to its Conſequences very remarkable, if it be true, that it gave Birth to the Inſtitution of this *Order of Knighthood*. It is ſaid, that *Edward* being at a Ball, where the Counteſs of *Salisbury* in dancing dropped her Garter, ſtooped to take it up; that the Lady imagining he had ſome other deſign, and ſhowing her Surprize, he ſaid to her, to clear himſelf, *Honi ſoit qui Mal y Penſe*, *Evil to him that Evil thinks*. It is added, that in Memory of this Accident, he inſtituted the *Order of the Garter*, to which he gave for Motto, the Words ſpoken to the Counteſs. An Origin, ſo little worthy of the Luſtre wherewith this Order has all along ſhone ſince its Inſtitution, appears at firſt ſight ſo very offenſive, that ſeveral ingenious Wits have endeavored to find out a more honorable. Some affirm, the Reaſon of *Edward*'s inſtituting this Order, was, becauſe on the day of the Battle of *Creſſy*, he had given *Garter* for the Word. Others ſay, it was, becauſe on that day he ordered his Garter to be fixed at the end of a Lance for a ſignal of Battle. Laſtly, there are who advance, that *Edward* only revived and regulated an *Order of Knighthood*, begun by King *Richard* I, at the Siege of *Acres* in *Paleſtine*. They ſay, King *Richard* reſolving to ſtorm the Town, diſtributed to ſome of his principal Officers certain Leather-Strings to be tied round the Leg, to diſtinguiſh them during the Aſſault, and in memory of that Event, *Edward* inſtituted the *Order of the Garter*. But all this is ſaid without ſufficient Proof. Beſides, whatever Endeavors have been uſed to give this Order a different Origine from the firſt above-mentioned, nothing has hitherto been found ſatisfactory concerning the reaſon of the Motto, *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*. The Motto agrees very well with the firſt Circumſtance, but has no Connexion with thoſe ſubſtituted in its room. It is no leſs uncertain why the Knights wear the Garter on their Left rather than on the Right Leg, or why the Founder choſe to put the Order under the Protection of St. *George*. But this is certain, that great Prince's Deſign was to ingage the preſent and future Knights to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Courage and Virtue. This of all the like Orders has beſt adhered to the Rules of its Inſtitution. More antient than thoſe of the *Golden-Fleece* (7), and *Holy Ghoſt* (8), it has never degenerated as to the Number, which has all along been twenty ſix, including the Sovereign of the Order, who is always the Perſon that wears the Crown of *England*. The Kings and other Sovereign Princes, who have been, and ſtill are, deſirous of being admitted into this moſt noble

Camden.

(1) The *Charter-Houſe*. The Lord *Walter Manny*, conſidering the great danger of burying in the Church-yards, during this great Plague, purchaſed a piece of Ground called *Spittle-Croſt*, then belonging to the Maſter and Brethren of St. *Bartholomew-Spittle*, containing thirteen Acres and a Rod, without the Barrs of *Smithfield*, and cauſed it to be incloſed and conſecrated. In this place was buried above fifty thouſand Perſons that died of the Plague. In memory whereof, the ſaid Lord, in 1171, built a Chapel on the ſame Ground, and founded a Houſe for *Charter-Houſe*, or *Carthuſian* Monks. *Stow's Ann.* p. 246.

(2) *Froiſſart* ſays, that the Governour let them in at a Poſtern, the very night King *Edward* came to *Calais*; and having received the twenty thouſand Crowns from them, carried them into the great Tower of the Caſtle to take poſſeſſion of it; but King *Edward*, who was in the ſame Tower, ruſhed upon them, and took them Priſoners. c. 153.

(3) Three hundred Men at Arms, and ſix hundred Archers. *Froiſ.* l. 1. c. 153.

(4) *Rapin* by miſtake calls him *Henry*. He was younger Son of *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*. *Dugdale*, Vol. I. p. 231. His Commiſſion bears date at *Weſtminſter*, *January* 1. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 655.

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(6) Mr. *Aſhmole* fixes the Inſtitution of this noble and honorable Order, on the 23d of *April*, 1349. p. 185. But Dr. *Brady* juſtly doubts, whether it was inſtituted this Year, becauſe the Plague at that time raged terribly at *London*, and other Parts adjacent. See *Hiſt.* p. 247. and *Stow's Ann.* p. 245, 246.

(7) An Order of Knighthood, inſtituted by *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, at his Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal* in 1430. The Order was at firſt compoſed of four and twenty Knights, who were Gentlemen of Birth, and unblemiſhed Reputation. This Order is now common to all the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as being deſcended from *Mary* of *Burgundy*, Daughter of *Charles* the *Hardy*, laſt Duke of *Burgundy*. *Chiflet. Favin. Monſtrelet.* Vol. II. fol. 54.

(8) This is an Order of Knighthood in *France*, inſtituted by King *Henry* III, who celebrated its firſt Feſtival on the 31ſt of *December*, 1578. The Number of Knights was limited to a hundred, without including thoſe of the Clergy, *viz.* Four Cardinals, and four Biſhops, together with the great Almoner, and the Officers of the Order, *viz.* A Chancellor, Treaſurer, Regiſter, and King at Arms, and ordered the Knights to wear a Croſs of *Malta*, having a Dove in the Center of it. To which King *Henry* IV, in 1598, added a Collar made of Trophies, from whence proceed Flames intermixed with crown'd Heads.

Order,

1349. Order, are a clear Evidence of its great Repute throughout all *Europe* (1).

Edward fights the Spaniſh Corſairs. Act. Pub. V. p. 679, 683, 691. R. Avesbury. Walſing. Knighton.

However glorious *Edward* had hitherto been, he diſdained not to hazard his Reputation, in an Affair which ſeemed below his notice. But the greatneſs of his Courage would not ſuffer him to weigh too nicely ſuch ſort of Conſiderations. The Merchants complaining of certain *Spaniſh* Ships infeſting the Coaſts of *England*, and doing them much Damage, he promiſed to clear the Seas of them. To that end, aſſembling ſuch of his Ships as were ſooneſt ready, he would go himſelf and give chace to the Corſairs. He fought and defeated them (2), took twenty of their Ships, ſunk many more, and diſperſed the reſt. This Action, though in itſelf of little Importance, ſeemed to him ſo glorious, that he cauſed a Gold Coin to be ſtruck, whereon he was repreſented in a Ship with his Cutlaſs in his Hand, in order to perpetuate the Memory thereof (3).

1350. *Death of Philip de Valois.* *John ſucceeds.* Mezerai. Walſing. Act. Pub. V. p. 690.

Philip de Valois lived not to ſee the end of the Truce made with *Edward*. He died the 22d of *Auguſt* 1350, leaving for Succeſſor his Son *John*, who renewed the Truce till *Whitſontide* 1354. But it was ill obſerved on both Sides. In *Bretagne*, *Gaſcoigne*, *Picardy*, frequent Hoſtilities were committed, which occaſioned mutual Complaints and even Repriſals, each Party throwing the Blame on his Enemy. The Earl of *Derby*, honoured with the Title of Duke of *Lancaſter* (4), was ſent to *Calais* with an Army, as if it had been open War. He made Inroads into the *French* Territories, and ravaged the Country from *Calais* to *Terouenne*. The greateſt Advantage *Edward* reaped by the Non-Obſervance of the Truce, was the Acquiſition of the Town of *Guiſnes* ſold him by the Governour. When King *John* complained of it, *Edward* replied, that *his Father* Philip, *by attempting to purchaſe* Calais, *had taught the* Engliſh *Commanders that* Buying *and* Selling was no Breach of a Truce (5).

1351. *The Duke of Lancaſter makes Inroads into France.* Froiſſart. Mezerai. Act. Pub. V. p. 716. Knighton.

The Flemings fall off from Edward.

This Advantage however did not balance the Loſs ſuſtained by *Edward* in *Flanders*, by the entire Defection of the *Flemings*. Hitherto they had been his Friends, but for ſome time paſt, the Face of Affairs was entirely changed in that Country. After the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, ſlain at the Battle of *Creſſy*, the *Flemings* ſent Deputies to *Philip de Valois*, to demand the Son of their deceaſed Sovereign, under colour of putting him in poſſeſſion of his Father's Inheritance. *Philip* conſenting to their Requeſt, when they had the young Prince in their Power, they contracted him to one of *Edward*'s Daughters. This Accident would doubtleſs have been very prejudicial to

1352. *Philip*, if the Earl himſelf had not freed him from this. The young Prince, who by Education was wholly attached to the Intereſts of *France*, not bearing the thoughts of marrying into the Family of his Sovereign's Enemy, privately withdrew from his Subjects, and caſt himſelf again into his Arms. From thenceforward the *Flemings* began by degrees to be diſingaged from the Intereſts of *England*. They even approved of the Marriage concluded by *Philip* between their Earl and the Duke of *Brabant*'s Daughter, who had entirely forſaken *Edward* (6). Their Levity was the Cauſe that the *Staple* (7) *of the Engliſh Wool*, ſet up in their Country, was removed into *England*, to

Walſing. Aveſbury.

1353. their great Damage, but to the Benefit of the *Engliſh* (8).

1353.

The new King of *France* ſeemed to be extremely deſirous that the Truce might be changed into a firm and laſting Peace, to which *Edward* was not averſe. In the Negotiations on this occaſion, *John* offered to reſign to the King of *England*, *Guienne*, with the Earldoms of *Artois* and *Guiſnes*, to hold them in full Sovereignty, without Homage to the Crown of *France* (9). But preſently after, to his own, as well as to his Kingdom's Misfortune, he abruptly broke off the Negotiation, which ended only in prolonging the Truce till *April* the next Year.

1354. *Project of Peace between the two Crowns.* Walſing. Act. Pub. V. p. 772, 779, 851. p. 781.

It was not difficult to perceive that the King of *France* ſought only to gain time, to enable himſelf the better to maintain the War. *Edward* was very ſenſible of it, but had himſelf need of ſome reſpite, in order to ſettle ſome domeſtick Affairs of Importance. The Obſtinacy of the *Scots* in ſupport of their King, though a Priſoner, fully convinced him, it would not be eaſy to reduce *Scotland*, as long as he was at War with *France*. This Conſideration inclined him to patch up a Peace with the *Scots*, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to renew the War. But this Peace could not be made without their King's Releaſe; ſo firmly did they inſiſt upon that Article. To ſettle this Affair, *Edward* appointed Commiſſioners (10) to treat with the *Scots*, concerning King *David*'s Liberty. This Negotiation, which was prolonged for ſome time, ended at length in a Treaty concluded at *Newcaſtle*, *July* the 13th, 1354, whereby *Edward* promiſed to free *David* for a Ranſom of ninety thouſand Marks of Silver. This Treaty was ratified a little after by the Prince of *Wales* his Son, but was not executed for Reaſons mentioned hereafter. So *David* continued a Priſoner till 1357 (11).

lb. p. 828.

Treaty about the King of Scotland's Liberty. Act. Pub. V. p. 733, 787, 791, 792, 799. VI. p. 31, 46, &c. Knighton.

When this Treaty was concluded, *Edward* conſidering from henceforth the Affairs of *Scotland* as of little moment, applied himſelf chiefly to thoſe of *France*. The Truce being about to expire, he inveſted the Prince of *Wales* his Son with the Duchy of *Guienne*; and ſending him thither, commanded him to renew the Hoſtilities (12). Some affirm, King *John* had now inveſted the Dauphin *Charles* his Son, with that Duchy, and thereby occaſioned a Rupture. But there is no mention of this Circumſtance either in the *French* Hiſtories, or in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Beſides, it is certain the War was not renewed till after the Expiration of the Truce. Whilſt the Prince of *Wales* was preparing to renew the War in *Guienne*, the King his Father landing at *Calais* (13), ravaged *Boulonnois* and *Artois* without oppoſition. Upon this News, the King of *France* ſpeedily aſſembled his Forces. At the ſame time, he ſent *Edward* a Defiance, offering to fight him alone, or at the head of their Armies: At leaſt, this is what the *French* Hiſtorians affirm; adding, that *Edward* declined it, and knowing *John* was approaching to give him Battle, retired into *England*. The *Engliſh*, on the contrary, maintain, the Defiance was ſent by *Edward*, and refuſed by *John*. The wonder is, that the *Collection of the Publick Acts* makes no mention of this Expedition of *Edward*, though

Edward gives Guienne to the Prince of Wales. Walſing. Act. Pub. V. p. 850.

He goes into France and commits ſome Ravages. Walſing. Knighton. Aveſbury. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 159.

(1) *Cambden* reckons in his Time twenty two Kings, beſides the Kings of *England*, and as many foreign Dukes and Princes. He has likewiſe given us a Liſt of the firſt ſix and twenty Knights, who are called the Founders of the Order; namely, *Edward* III King of *England*; *Edward* his Son Prince of *Wales*; *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*; *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*; *Ralph* Earl of *Stafford*; *William Montacute* Earl of *Saliſbury*; *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*; *Capdall de Buche*; *John l'Iſle*; *Bartholomew Burghwaſh*; *John Beauchamp*; *John de Mohun*; *Hugh Courtney*; *Thomas Holland*; *John Grey*; *Richard Fitz-Simon*; *Miles Stapleton*; *Thomas Walle*; *Hugh Wriothesley*; *Niel Loring*; *John Chandos*; *James de Audley*; *Otho Holland*; *Henry Eme*; *Zanchet Dabridgecourt*, *William Paynel*. The Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, who it ſeems gave Occaſion for the founding this Order, was the wonder of her time for Shape and Beauty.

(2) This Engagement happened *Aug.* 29. near *Winchelſea*. Twenty ſix of the *Spaniſh* Ships were taken. *Walſ.* p. 169.

(3) See the Coins at the end of this Reign.

(4) Son of *Henry*, Brother of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* beheaded in the Reign of *Edward* II, who was Son of *Edmund*, younger Son of *Henry* III. This *Henry* for his Merit was advanced by the general Conſent of the Parliament, and the King's ſpecial Charter, dated the 6th of *March*, 25 of *Edward*, to the Title of Duke of *Lancaſter*, being the ſecond that bore that Title in *England*. At the ſame time alſo the Lord *Ralph Stafford* was created Earl of *Stafford*, with a Penſion of one thouſand Marks, till the King could provide Lands of that value to ſettle on him. *Knighton*. Col. 2602. *Walſ.* p. 170.

(5) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *Febr.* 10. wherein were enacted the Statutes of *Labourers* and *Proviſors*. *Rot. Parl.* 25 *Edw.* III. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 73. *Knighton* relates that the King took twenty Shillings from every Carrucate, and a Fifteenth. And alſo that there was granted him a Fifteenth, and a Tenth for three Years. Col. 2600, 2602. *Walſ.* p. 170.

(6) A Parliament met this Year on *Jan.* 13. at *Weſtminſter*, which granted the King three Tenths, and three Fifteenths, to be paid, as the laſt were, within three Years. *Rot. Parl.* 25 *Edw.* III. *P.* 2. *N.* 7, 9, 10. In this Parliament the Lord *John Maltravers*, who was thought to have a Hand in the Murder of *Edward* II, having ſome Years ſince come in and ſubmitted to the King's Mercy, and lately received his Pardon, petitioned the Parliament to have it then confirmed; which, in conſideration of his late faithful Service to the King in *Flanders*, was accordingly granted. *Ibid. N.* 55. See *Tyrrel.* p. 571. There was this Year, beſides this Parliament, a Council at *Weſtminſter*.

(7) *Staple* ſignifies this or that Town, whither the Merchants of *England* were, by Act of Parliament, to carry their *Wool*, *Cloth*, *Lead* and *Tin*, for the ſelling them by the *Great*. What were the *Staple* Commodities of this Realm may be ſeen in the Statute of 14 *Richard* II. c. 1. as *Wool*, *Leather*, *Wool-fells*, *Lead*, *Tin*, &c. The *Staple of Wool* was removed to *Weſtminſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Lincoln*, *Hull*, and *Calais*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 618. *Walſ.* p. 170.

(8) This was done by the Authority of the Parliament, which met this Year on *Sept.* 23. and continued, for ſome time longer, the Subſidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells, granted to the King in ſome of the late Parliaments. *Rot. Parl.* 27 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1.----6.

(9) Provided he would quit his claim to the Crown of *France*. *Walſ.* p. 170.

(10) *Thomas Hatfield*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and the Lords *Henry Percy*, and *Ralph de Nevil*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 733. King *David* himſelf went, with King *Edward*'s permiſſion, in 1351, into his Kingdom, and afterwards in 1353, as far as *Newcaſtle*, to treat with ſome of his Nobility, about his Ranſom, but could bring nothing to a Concluſion. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 722, 727, 737, 756. *Knighton*. Col. 2600-----2607.

(11) *April* 28. A Parliament was held; in which the Lords *Roger Mortimer*, and *Richard Fitz-Alan* were reſtored in blood. *Rot. Parl.* 28 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1, &c. 13.

(12) He ſailed from *Plymouth*, *Sept.* 8. attended by the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Saliſbury*, and *Oxford*; with one thouſand Men at Arms, and the like Number of Archers. *Walſ.* p. 171.

(13) *Novemb.* 2. attended by his Sons *Lionel* and *John*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*; the Earls of *Northampton*, *March*, and *Stafford*, &c. and about two thouſand Men at Arms. *Walſ.* p. 171.

1354. whenever the Kings of *England* went beyond Sea, a Memorandum of the day, both of their departure and return, is hardly ever omitted. But ſince the Hiſtorians of both Nations ſpeak of *Edward*'s going to *Calais*, a bare negative Proof is not ſufficient to invalidate their Teſtimony. However, if *Edward* returned ſo haſtily, it is certain, that very important Reaſons called him home. The *Scots* having taken *Berwick* by Surprize, it was very dangerous to leave in their Hands a Place of that Importance, which gave them at all times an Inlet into *England*. To retake this Town was the occaſion of *Edward*'s haſtening his return (1).

The Scots *ſurprize* Berwick. Buchanan. Walſing.

Immediately after his Arrival he called a Parliament (2), complaining of the Treachery of the *Scots*, who, after a Treaty concluded and ratified, abuſed his good Faith, by the Seducements of the King of *France*. The Parliament knowing the Neceſſity of recovering *Berwick*, and the King's want of Money to continue the War with *France*, granted him fifty Shillings upon every Sack of Wool (3) ſold in the Kingdom. It is ſaid, this Subſidy amounted to more than three hundred and fifty thouſand Marks a Year, ſo conſiderable was the woollen Trade in thoſe Days. With this Aid the King quickly raiſed an Army, at the Head of which he advanced to the Borders of *Scotland*. Upon his Approach, the *Scots* quitted *Berwick* (4), after demoliſhing the Fortifications, which he revenged by ravaging their Country (5). This unexpected Rupture of the *Scots* ſurprized him the more, as he had juſt made a Treaty with them, for releaſing their King, and only ſtayed for the payment of the Ranſom agreed upon. This Proceeding of theirs quite altered the King's mind as to Peace, and cauſed him to take a new Reſolution, with reſpect to the Affairs of *Scotland* (6).

Aveſbury. Walſing. Edward *retakes* Berwick. Hect. Boeth. Walſing. Knighton.

1355. After *Baliol*'s Expulſion, he ſtill kept the Title of King, but without any real Power, and in ſo ſervile a Dependence on the King of *England*, that he was looked upon only as a Subject. It is true, *Edward* left him the Command of his Troops, but they were ſo very few, that he was never able to make any Progreſs. So he ſpent his Days in a melancholy manner, with a Penſion of five Marks a Day, allowed him by *Edward*, and ſome Preſents for his extraordinary Expences. There are manifeſt Proofs of his great Dependence in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, particularly in the frequent Pardons for hunting in *Edward*'s Foreſts. He was therefore but the Shadow of a King, made uſe of hitherto by *Edward* to compaſs his Ends. It was needleſs for the King to wear the Maſk any longer, all his Proceedings plainly ſhewing he had been labouring more for himſelf than for *Baliol*. Laying aſide therefore the Scruples by which he had till then been reſtrained, or rather throwing off the Cloak under which he had concealed his Intentions, he cauſed that Prince to reſign all his Right to *Scotland* (7) for the yearly Penſion of two thouſand Pounds Sterling; a poor Recompence for a Crown, had it not been an imaginary Crown, which *Baliol* was very willing to part with. This Reſignation proved fatal to King *David*. He had thereby the Mortification to ſee himſelf more cloſely confined, and to loſe withal the hopes he had conceived of recovering his Liberty (8).

Condition of Baliol. Act. Pub. V. p. 632, 870. Ib. p. 832, 833, 835, &c. 838, 852.

Charles de Blois *releaſed.* P. 746, 862. Knighton.

Charles de Blois Priſoner in *England*, ſince the Battle of *la Roche de Rien*, was more fortunate than the King of *Scotland*, at leaſt with regard to his Liberty, though it was purchaſed at a very dear rate. He articled with *Edward* to pay ſeven hundred thouſand Crowns for his Ranſom, and left his two Sons in Hoſtage for Security of Payment (9).

1356. Whilſt *Edward* was employed at home, the Prince of *Wales* ravaged the ſouthern Provinces of *France*, and particularly *Languedoc*. He made into that Province a ſudden Irruption, which rendered him Maſter of *Carcaſſone* and *Narbonne*, where he met with a very great Booty, and then returned to *Bourdeaux*. By his retreat, the Meaſures to oppoſe his Invaſion being neglected, he thought he might ſafely venture upon a ſecond. As ſoon as his Troops were a little refreſhed, he marched again (10) at the head of twelve thouſand Men, of whom not above three thouſand were Natives of *England*. He traverſed *le Perigord* and *le Limouſin*, entered *Berry*, and appeared before the Gates of *Bourges*. But the News of the King

The Prince of Wales *ravages* Languedoc. Mezerai. Walſing.

The King follows him with a great Army. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 161.

of *France*'s approach, with ſixty thouſand Men, prevented his beſieging that Place, and even obliged him to take a Compaſs in order to retire to *Bourdeaux*. But *John*, foreſeeing his deſign, marched with ſuch Expedition, that he overtook him near *Poictiers*. It being impoſſible for the Prince to retreat, he reſolved to intrench himſelf at *Maupertuis*, in a Poſt incumbered with Vines and Hedges, and of a very difficult Acceſs. Two Legates ſent by the Pope to the two Princes, to perſuade them to Peace, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent an Engagement. They even induced the Prince of *Wales* to promiſe to repair all the Damages done in his Incurſion, and engage not to bear Arms againſt *France* for ſeven Years. *John*'s Superiority cauſing him to reject theſe Offers, he expected the Prince, with his whole Army, ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion (11). This Condition not being reliſhed by the Prince, he generouſly replied, he had rather dye Sword in Hand, than be guilty of a thing contrary to his Honour, and the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name.

1356.

Offers of the Prince are rejected.

All hopes of Agreement vaniſhing, the Prince of *Wales* made a ſhort Speech to his Troops, telling them, "That "Victory depended not on Numbers, but on Bravery: "That for his own part, he was reſolved to conquer or "dye, and would not expoſe his Country to the diſ"grace of paying his Ranſom." All King *John*'s Generals unanimouſly adviſed him to ſtarve this little Army, cooped up in the middle of an Enemy's Country, where they would quickly be in want of all Things. This Advice appeared to him too wary and inconſiſtent with his Impatience. He fancied, they would rob him of the tranſcendent Glory, he hoped to acquire by the Defeat of ſo renowned a Prince, to feed him with the imaginary Honour of conquering without fighting. So, full of the pleaſing Expectation of obtaining an eaſy Victory, and revenging his Subjects, he reſolved without delay to attack the Enemies. He committed at firſt a very great Error, in cauſing his Horſe to diſmount and begin the Fight. The Horſe, unaccuſtomed to charge on foot, were not able to break through the *Engliſh*, who had the Advantage of the Ground, in a Country full of Hedges, through which there was a neceſſity to paſs, in order to force their Intrenchments. The diſmounted Cavalry being repulſed with great loſs, the Infantry ſupplied their Place, and met the ſame Reſiſtance; notwithſtanding the King's Efforts, who maintained the Fight four Hours, encouraging his Troops by his Voice and Example, without fearing to expoſe his Perſon to the greateſt Dangers. What Efforts ſoever he made, it was not poſſible for him to rout this handful of *Engliſh*, whom the neceſſity of conquering, cauſed to fight deſperately; being moreover animated by the Example of the Prince, who performed that day Acts of Wiſdom and Valour, comparable to thoſe of the moſt renowned Generals. Of four Sons the King of *France* had with him, the three eldeſt retiring betimes, with eight hundred Lances, their Retreat did not a little contribute to diſcourage the reſt of the Army. Mean time, King *John* acted by deſpair, ſignalized himſelf in all the moſt dangerous Places, and drew upon him the braveſt of his Enemies. Though he ſaw himſelf forſaken, he inſpired the boldeſt with Terror. But, in all appearance, he would at length have ſunk under the Multitude of the Enemies that ſurrounded him, and left him no hopes of ſaving his Life, if *Denis de Morbeck*, a Knight of *Artois*, diſperſing thoſe who preſſed him the moſt vigorouſly, had not earneſtly perſuaded him to yield himſelf Priſoner. He would have been very glad to deliver his Sword to the Prince of *Wales*, but as the Prince was too remote, he was forced to ſurrender himſelf to *Morbeck* with *Philip* his fourth Son, about thirteen Years old, who had all along fought by his Side. In this unfortunate Day, ſo fatal to *France*, there were not above ſix thouſand Men ſlain, but among that Number were eight hundred Nobles, the Duke of *Bourbon* a Prince of the Blood, the Duke of *Athenes* Conſtable of *France*, the Marſhal *de Neſle*, and above fifty other great Lords of the Kingdom.

Battle of Poictiers. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 164. Walſing.

John *is taken Priſoner.* Act. Pub. V. p. 869. VI. p. 72, 154. Froiſſart. Walſing. Knighton.

If the victorious Prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Conduct and Bravery in this glorious Day, he was no leſs admired after his Victory, for his modeſt and generous Behaviour to his Priſoner. The Evening after the

Moderation and Modeſty of the Prince of Wales. Froiſſart. Walſing.

(1) Which was on *November* 17.

(2) It had been called before his going over, and met on *November* the 12th, but was put off till the 25th. *Rot. Parl.* 29 *Edw.* III. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 90.

(3) For ſix Years. *Walſ.* p. 171.

(4) *January* 13. *Ibid.*

(5) And utterly ruining *Edenburgh*, *Haddington*, &c. *Hect. Boet.* l. 15. *Knighton.*

(6) This Year, *Jan.* 7. was born *Thomas*, the King's ſeventh Son, at *Woodſtock*. *Walſ.* p. 171.

(7) This he did on *Jan.* 20. at *Roxburgh*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 832, &c. *Walſ.* p. 171. *Knighton*, Col. 2611.

(8) There were two Parliaments held this Year, but where, and when is not mentioned. *Notitia Parliament.*

(9) *Edward* forgave him half the Sum, on Condition he would pay the other half punctually at the Days agreed on. The Act for this Purpoſe is dated at *Weſtminſter* the 10th of *Auguſt* 1356. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 862.

(10) On the fifth of *July*. *Walſ.* p. 171.

(11) He inſiſted at firſt, upon having four of the principal *Engliſh* Noblemen at his Mercy, and that the Prince and all the reſt of the Army ſhould yield themſelves Priſoners. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 163.

1356. Battle, the King ſupping in the Prince of *Wales*'s Tent, preſſed him to ſit at Table with him; but he very civilly declining it, ſtood and talked with him all the while. As the King, whoſe Thoughts were ſtill employed with his unfortunate Condition, was complaining of his Fate, the Prince ſaid to him, in a free, though modeſt
P. Æmyl. and unaffected manner, "That he had one great Reaſon to be comforted, that the Battle was not loſt by "his fault: That the *Engliſh* had found to their Coſt, "he was the braveſt of Princes; but that God alone "had diſpoſed of the Victory. And, (continued he) "if your ill fortune has thrown you into your preſent "Diſgrace, you may at leaſt reſt aſſured, that an inviolable Regard ſhall be preſerved for your Perſon; and "you ſhall find in me a very reſpectful Relation, if I "may be allowed to glory in that Title." So great a Modeſty in a young victorious Prince, little more than five and twenty Years of Age, melted the King into Tears, and filled the Hearers with Admiration. As ſoon as *John* had recovered himſelf, he turned to the Prince, and ſaid to him, with an Air of Satisfaction, "That "ſince it was his Deſtiny to be vanquiſhed and taken, "it was a great Comfort in his Misfortune, that he had "not behaved himſelf unworthily; and was fallen into "the Hands of ſo valiant and generous a Prince." On the morrow, ſolemn Thanks were returned to God, in the *Engliſh* Camp, for this great Victory. The Prince thanked his victorious Troops, with ſuch Expreſſions, as aſcribed to them the Honour of the Day, without the leaſt mention of himſelf. Then he marched for *Bourdeaux*, laden with an ineſtimable Booty, and ſo great a Number of Priſoners, that it would have been difficult for the *Engliſh* to defend themſelves, in caſe they had been attacked (1).

1357. Froiſſart. Pol. Virg. It is eaſy to conceive, the Joy this News ſpread over all *England*, and how great *Edward*'s Satisfaction was in particular. God's Protection of the Prince of *Wales* being too viſible to be diſregarded, the King ordered publick Thankſgiving for this ſignal Victory, to be returned to God for eight Days together, in all the Churches of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Wales* ſpent the Winter at *Bourdeaux*, where two Legates from the Pope came, and preſſed him ſo earneſtly, that he conſented, with the Approbation of the King his Father, to a Truce for two Years, wherein all the Allies of both Crowns were included. In *April* following (2) he came into *England*, bringing his Priſoner with him. He was received there with exceſſive Joy, but conſtantly refuſed all the Honours that were offered him, being ſatisfied with thoſe paid to the captive King. When they made their Entry into *London*, the Prince of *Wales* rode on a little black Nag, by the King of *France*'s Side, who was mounted on a ſtately white Courſer, adorned with coſtly Trappings. One would have thought that all the Pomp (3) diſplayed on this occaſion, was intended purely to do Honour to the captive King; ſo great care was taken to avoid all ſigns of his Diſgrace, and every thing that might be offenſive to his Eyes. Though *Edward* diſputed with him the Title of *King of France*, he treated him however like a King. The Sight of the captive Prince putting him in mind of the Inſtability of human Grandeur, he received him with as cordial Embraces, as if he had been his own Brother, or was come on purpoſe to pay him a Viſit. In this noble and generous manner, the Father and Son ſtrove with Emulation to comfort the unfortunate King, by all the Marks of Reſpect due to a great Prince, in whatever State Fortune may have placed him. It is reported, when *Edward* received the News of the Victory of *Poictiers*, he ſaid to thoſe about him, that his Satisfaction at ſo glorious a Succeſs, was not comparable to the Pleaſure cauſed by the generous Behaviour of the Prince. King *John* and Prince *Philip* his Son were lodged together in the Palace of the *Savoy* (4), with all the honorable Freedom they could deſire. The other captive Lords met with the ſame Treatment and Civilities. 1357.

Truce for two Years. Act. Pub. V. p. 3.

The King conducted to London. Ibid.

He is received in an honourable manner. Froiſſart. Knighton.

Edward enjoyed then a ſo much greater Glory, as it was very uncommon, I mean of having Priſoners his two moſt potent Enemies; the King of *France* at *London*, and the King of *Scotland* at *Odiam* [in *Hampſhire*.] King *David* ſhould have had his Liberty long ſince, purſuant to the Articles agreed upon three Years before; but for the Reaſons above-mentioned, ſaw himſelf ſtill detained in Captivity. However, when he had leaſt Cauſe to expect any Favour from a victorious Enemy, who had juſt reduced *Scotland* to an irretrievable State, *Edward* was moved by the preſſing Inſtances of the Queen his Siſter, and agreed to renew the Treaty of 1354. To that end he granted Safe-conducts to Ambaſſadors from *Scotland*, who, during a ſhort Truce, obtained their King's Liberty, upon much the ſame Terms as in the firſt Treaty. They engaged to pay for his Ranſom a hundred thouſand Marks Sterling; namely, ten thouſand every Year, till the whole was paid; and for Security, the King of *Scotland* gave twenty Hoſtages. At the ſame time, a ten Years Truce was concluded between *England* and *Scotland*. *David* was releaſed (5) upon theſe Conditions, which he took care to ratify as ſoon as he came into his Kingdom, after an eleven Years Captivity. It ſeems that *Edward*, wholly taken up then with his vaſt Projects againſt *France*, had loſt all Thoughts of becoming maſter of *Scotland*. At leaſt he believed it beſt to defer the Execution of that Deſign, till a more convenient Seaſon.

The King of Scotland ſet at Liberty. Act. Pub. VI. p. 39—68. Buchanan. Walſing.

1358. *Magnificent Tournament at Windſor.* Froiſſart. Walſing. Knighton.

Edward's late Truces with *France* and *Scotland*, having freed him from the trouble of foreign Affairs, he confined his Thoughts to the Government of his Kingdom. But as nothing extraordinary paſſed, he ſpent part of his time in Diverſions, of which the King of *France* and the other chief Priſoners always partook. The Tournament he held at *Windſor* on the 23d of *April*, 1358, to ſolemnize the Feaſt of St. *George*, Patron of the Order of the Garter, was the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent that had ever been ſeen in *England*. The Duke of *Brabant*, with ſeveral other ſovereign Princes, and an infinite Number of Knights of all Nations were preſent and ſplendidly entertained.

Queen Iſabella dies. Act. Pub. VI. p. 110. Walſing. Knighton.

This Diverſion was followed by the Funeral of Queen *Iſabella*, the King's Mother. She died at the Caſtle of *Riſings*, aged ſixty three Years, after a twenty eight Years confinement (6). If the Marriage of this Queen was fatal to the King her Husband, it was no leſs ſo to *France*, ſince it proved the occaſion of a long and bloody War, which brought that Kingdom to the very Brink of Deſtruction.

Earl of Harcourt makes Edward his Heir. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 174. Act. Pub. V. p. 856.

Geoffrey d'Harcourt, of whom I have ſpoken on occaſion of the King's Deſcent at *la Hogue*, and who ſerved the King of *Navarre* in *Normandy*, was there ſlain about this Time (7). As he had by Will made the King of *England* his ſole Heir, and as his Lands were in the Demeſns of the King of *Navarre* in *Normandy*, *Edward* took poſſeſſion, and gave them to the Lord *Holland*.

Great Troubles in France. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 179.

Whilſt *England* enjoyed a profound Tranquillity, *France* was in extreme Deſolation, by the inteſtine Troubles cauſed by the King's Impriſonment. *Charles* the Dauphin, *John*'s eldeſt Son, held the Reins of the Government, by the Title of Lieutenant-General, afterwards changed into that of Regent. His Regency was ſo diſturbed by the Cabals of ſome reſtleſs Men, who found their Advantage in the Confuſion of Affairs, that it was not poſſible to think effectually of freeing their King. The Affairs of *France* were then in a deplorable Situation. *Charles the Bald*, King of *Navarre*, though ſprung Walſing. from the Family Royal of *France* (8), raiſed daily Commotions and Tumults in *Paris*, where he had a powerful Party (9). The Authority of the Dauphin was thereby ſo reſtrained, that, though a Prince of

(1) This Battle was fought on the 19th of *September*, 1356. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* p. 870. There were above ſix *Frenchmen* to one *Engliſhman*. *Walſing.* ſays, Prince *Edward* had only one thouſand nine hundred Men at Arms, and the ſame Number of Archers. p. 172. But *J. Barnes* ſays, his Army conſiſted of about eight thouſand Men. p. 504. What Perſons of Diſtinction were in it, ſee *Ibid.* The Priſoners are ſaid to be more in Number than the *Engliſh* Army. And among them were, beſides the King and his Son, ſeventeen Earls, and of Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, to the Number of one thouſand five hundred. *P. Æmyl. Walſ.* p. 197. On the ſixteenth of *May* was held a provincial Synod at St. *Paul*'s, wherein the Biſhops granted the King a Tenth for two Years, and the inferior Clergy for one Year. *R. Aveſbury*, c. 108.

(2) According to *Walſing.* the Prince landed at *Plymouth*, *May* 5. and made his entry into *London* the 24th of the ſame Month. p. 172.

(3) He was received by *Henry Picard* the Lord Mayor, (the ſame that afterwards ſo magnificently entertained at one time the four Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus*) with the Aldermen, &c. in all their Formalities, with the City Pageants; and in the Streets, as he paſſed to *Weſtminſter*, the Citizens hung out all their Plate, Tapeſtry, and Armour, ſo that the like had never been ſeen before in the memory of Man. *Barnes*, p. 526.

(4) So called from *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, who lived in it. *Eleanor*, Wife of *Henry* III, bought it of the Fraternity of *Mountjoy* and gave it to her Son *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, and it was now in the Poſſeſſion of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*.

(5) On the firſt of *November*. *Walſ.* p. 173.

(6) She died in *Novemb.* and was buried in the Choir of the *Grey Friars*, now called *Chriſt Church* in *London*. A little after died alſo her Daughter *Joan* Queen of *Scots*, and was buried in the ſame Church with the Queen her Mother.

(7) He forſook, ſome Years before, King *Edward*, and joined the King of *France*; as appears by an Order from King *Edward*, to the Bailiffs of *Weymouth*, dated *March* 5. 1347. for ſeizing his Jewels, Armour, Goods, Chattels, &c. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 552.

(8) From the Branch of *Evreux*, or rather of *Eu*.

(9) And his Brother *Philip*, with the Lord *James de la Pype*, and *Robert Knolles*, cruelly waſted *Normandy* and *Bretagne* about this time. *Walſing.* p. 173.

great

1358. great Abilities, he knew not which way to govern ſo divided a State. Amidſt this Confuſion, the *French* lived in a kind of Anarchy. The Nobles and Officers of the Army oppreſſed the meaner Sort of People, eſpecially the Peaſants, to whom they gave the Nick-Name of *Jaques Bon homme* (1). Raillery joined with Oppreſſion, driving theſe poor Wretches to Deſpair, they aſſembled in great Troops, in *le Beauvoiſin*, bent upon extirpating all the Nobles. In a ſhort time, their Number being conſiderably increaſed, they became ſo formidable, that there was a Neceſſity of drawing together all the Forces of the Kingdom, to diſperſe this Army of *Ruſticks*, which daily grew ſtronger. This War, which was called the *Jaquery*, created the Regent great Trouble. It was one of the principal Cauſes that prevented his taking Meaſures to oppoſe the Invaſion threatned by the *Engliſh* as ſoon as the Truce was expired.

Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 184, 186.

The Jaquery-War.

During all theſe Diſorders, King *John*, heartily tired of his Confinement in *England*, however eaſy it was, treated Himſelf with *Edward* concerning his Liberty. He could not obtain it without yielding to the Conqueror's Terms. But, as he was fully informed of the Diſturbances in *France*, he believed he could not purchaſe too dearly a Freedom, which might enable him to reſtore Peace in his Kingdom. Wherefore, he agreed with *Edward* upon a Treaty very diſadvantagious to *France*, whereby he reſigned ſeveral Provinces to the Crown of *England*. The General Aſſembly of the States being met upon this Occaſion in 1359, found the Conditions ſo hard, that they would not ratify the Treaty. By this Refuſal, the captive King ſaw all his hopes vaniſh. Mean while the States plainly perceiving, they had given occaſion to renew the War, offered the Regent all neceſſary Aſſiſtance to procure better Terms, by way of Arms.

Treaty between the two Kings rejected by the States of France. Knighton. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 203. Act. Pub. VI. p. 123, &c.

1359. But they promiſed more than they performed. *Edward* loudly complained of being deceived, and ſuddenly altering his Carriage to King *John*, confined him in the Caſtle of *Sommerton*, from whence he afterwards removed him to the Tower of *London*. Doubtleſs he did not think it prudent to leave that Prince at *London* upon his Parole, as before, whilſt he himſelf ſhould be in the Heart of *France*, where he reſolved to carry the War.

Edward reſolves to carry the War into France. Ib. p. 110, 134. Walſing.

1360. The Preparations for this freſh Expedition were prodigious. An Army of an hundred thouſand Men, tranſported to *Calais* (2), was a plain Indication of his Deſign, to make a powerful Effort to ſubdue *France*, whilſt the Troubles of that Kingdom offered him ſo fair an Opportunity. When his Forces were landed at *Calais* (3), he divided them into three Bodies. The firſt was commanded by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had lately given his only Daughter in Marriage to *John of Gaunt* the King's fourth Son (4). The Prince of *Wales* headed the ſecond, and the King himſelf commanded the laſt. With theſe numerous Troops, conducted by the three moſt famous Generals then in *Europe*, *Edward* marched into *France* without Oppoſition. The Dauphin not being ſtrong enough to venture to appear in the Field, was contented with providing his principal Towns with Ammunition, without hazarding a Battle with Forces ſo unequal to thoſe of the Enemy.

He goes over to Calais *with a great Army.* Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 207. Walſing.

He ravages France *to the very Gates of* Paris. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 209. &c. Walſing.

Mean time *Edward* traverſing *Artois*, entered *Champagn*, and approached *Rheims* in order to ſurprize the City, where ſome groundleſly affirm, he deſigned to be crowned. But miſſing his Aim, he fell upon *Sens*, which he eaſily took. The Duke of *Burgundy* perceiving himſelf unable to ſave his Country from plunder, obtained a ſeparate Truce for three Years, upon promiſe of paying two hundred thouſand Florins (5), and ſupplying the *Engliſh* Army with Proviſions. *Le Nivernois* followed the Example of *Burgundy*, but *la Brie* and *le Gatinois* were ravaged (6). *Edward*'s Aim being to draw the *French* to a Battle, he neglected nothing to provoke them. For that purpoſe, he went, about the end of *Lent*, and encamped within ſeven Leagues of *Paris*, between *Chartres* and *Mont le Herry*. His Approach not being capable to draw the Dauphin out of *Paris*, he advanced to the very Gates of the City, without ſucceeding in his Deſign. Though the Smoak of the Villages ſet on fire by the *Engliſh*, might be ſeen from the Walls, the Dauphin, to whom was afterwards given the Sirname of *the Wiſe*, was too prudent to run any Hazard on this occaſion. Taught by the fatal Examples of the Kings his Father and Grandfather, he took care not to venture the Crown upon the Deciſion of a Battle, where he could have little hopes of Succeſs. As he knew *Paris* was able to maintain a long Siege, he kept himſelf ſhut up in the City, and all *Edward*'s Inſults could not oblige him to alter his Reſolution. He tried however, to deliver *France* from the impending Danger, by offering certain Propoſals to his Enemy, but which were ſcornfully rejected. *Edward* thought he was in condition to give law, and preſcribe what Terms he pleaſed himſelf. He ſeemed at firſt to have formed the Deſign of beſieging *Paris*, but afterwards finding it too difficult an Undertaking, turned back towards *la Beauce*. Cardinal *de Langres* the Pope's Legate, attended him every where, and continually preſſed him to bound his Ambition, but theſe Remonſtrances were then ineffectual. *Edward* ſtayed ſome time in *la Beauce*, from whence he deſigned to lead his Troops to the *Loire*. Mean while, though his Army ſtill marched through very plentiful Countries, it was daily diminiſhed by Sickneſs. It was doubtleſs a great Mortification to that Monarch, to ſee the little Progreſs he had made with ſo numerous an Army. Though he was in the Heart of *France*, he could not flatter himſelf with any one certain Conqueſt. This perhaps was one Reaſon of his hearkening at laſt to the Legate's Sollicitations, though his Change is aſcribed to another Cauſe. One Day, as he lay encamped in the Country about *Chartres*, a ſudden and dreadful Storm aroſe, accompanied with Thunder and Hail of a prodigious Size, which killed ſix thouſand Horſes and a thouſand Men (7). So extraordinary an Accident was deemed by the Troops as a Sign of God's Wrath. The King himſelf ſeemed to be poſſeſſed with the ſame Opinion. It may be he was very glad, this Event furniſhed him with an Opportunity, to ſhew his Willingneſs to grant a Peace to *France* from a pure Motive of Generoſity, and thereby hide the Shame of not being able, with ſo fine an Army, to do any thing more than deſtroy the open Country. Be this as it will, in the midſt of the Storm, he turned his Face towards the Church of *Chartres* which he ſaw at a Diſtance, and [falling on his Knees] made a vow to conſent to a Peace upon equitable Terms. The Legate improving this Diſpoſition, earneſtly preſſed him to execute his generous Deſign, and prevailed with him to ſend Plenipotentiaries to *Bretigny*, a Village near *Chartres*, to treat of a Peace. Here it was the Dauphin and his chief Counſellors appeared (8) for *France*; and for *England*, the Prince of *Wales*, with ſuch Aſſiſtants as the King his Father appointed. In a few Days, a Treaty was concluded which gave ſome Intermiſſion to the Calamities of *France*. This Peace, which annulled all former Treaties, and ſerved for Foundation to new Rights, makes a very conſiderable Epocha in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, with regard to the Differences between the two Crowns. Accordingly there is no underſtanding the Relation of the Events which enſued, without a perfect Knowledge of the Articles of this Treaty, which therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary to inſert (9).

The Dauphin's Propoſals rejected. Froiſſart, l. 1. Walſing.

Reaſons which induced Edward *to a Peace.*

Ibid.

An extraordinary Accident induces him to it. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 213.

Act. Pub. VI. p. 161.

(1) Or *James Goodman*.

(2) *Walſing.* relates, he had then no leſs than one thouſand one hundred Ships. p. 174.

(3) The King ſailed from *Sandwich*, *October* 28. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 142. He divided his Forces into three Bodies, *Novemb.* 4. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 206. *Walſing.* p. 174.

(4) Then Earl of *Richmond*; *Rapin* by miſtake ſays the King's third Son. The Duke of *Lancaſter* had two Daughters, *Maud* and *Blanch*. *Maud*, after ſhe had been married firſt to *Ralph* Son and Heir to the Lord *Stafford*, and after his Death, to *William* Duke of *Zealand*, died without Iſſue in 1363; by which means the whole Eſtate fell to her Siſter *Blanch*, who was married to the Earl of *Richmond*, on *April* 14. at *Reading*, in 1360, who upon the Death of his Father-in-law, was made Duke of *Lancaſter*. *Dugdale*. *Walſ.* p. 173.

(5) It is in the Treaty itſelf two hundred thouſand Moutons, or Deniers of Gold. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 161. which was equal to about thirty five thouſand Pounds Sterling, according to Mr. *Tyrrel*'s Computation. p. 625.

(6) While King *Edward* was thus employed beyond Sea, ſome *Normans* landed at *Winchelſea*, on *March* 15. 1359. and plundered that Town: But the *Londoners* and ſome other Towns, ſent out, the next Year, a Fleet of eighty Ships, having on board fourteen thouſand Men; and therewith ſcoured the Seas. At laſt, landing in *France*, they made themſelves maſters of the Iſle of *Sane*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 167. *Walſing.* p. 174. *Knighton.*

(7) The Lord *Marley* was killed outright, and the Lord *Guy de Beauchamp*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Warwick*, being mortally wounded by one of the Hail-Stones, died thereof on the 28th Day of *April* following. *Tyrrel*, p. 629.

(8) On the firſt of *May*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI.

(9) *Rapin* has ſomewhat abridged moſt of the Articles of this Treaty, but the Tranſlator believing it to be more ſatisfactory to have them at large, has inſerted Dr. *Brady*'s faithful Tranſlation from the *French*, with Notes where they were afterwards altered and corrected by the two Kings at *Calais*. This famous Treaty was managed by the Prince of *Wales*, and *Charles* Regent of *France*, in the Names of both Kings. Commiſſioners for the *Engliſh* were, Sir *Reginald de Cobham*, Sir *Bartholomew Burgherſh*, Sir *Francis Hale*, Banerets; Sir *Miles Stapleton*, Sir *Richard le Vache*, and Sir *Noel Loring*, Knights, with others of the King's Council: On the *French* Party were, the Elect. of *Beauvois*, the Chancellor *Charles* Lord *Montmorancy*, *Monſieur John de Meingre* Marſhal of *France*, *Monſieur Aynart de la Tour* Lord of *Vivoy*, *Monſieur Ralph de Ravenal*, *Monſieur Simon de Bucy*, Knights; *Monſieur Stephen de Paris*, and *Peter de la Charite*, with many others of his Council, named by King *John* himſelf. ——— The Original, from whence this Tranſlation was made by Dr. *Brady*, is printed in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 229, 178, &c.

TREATY

1356. Battle, the King ſupping in the Prince of *Wales*'s Tent, preſſed him to ſit at Table with him; but he very civilly declining it, ſtood and talked with him all the while. As the King, whoſe Thoughts were ſtill employed with his unfortunate Condition, was complaining of his Fate, the Prince ſaid to him, in a free, though modeſt
P. Æmyl. and unaffected manner, "That he had one great Reaſon to be comforted, that the Battle was not loſt by "his fault: That the *Engliſh* had found to their Coſt, "he was the braveſt of Princes; but that God alone "had diſpoſed of the Victory. And, (continued he) "if your ill fortune has thrown you into your preſent "Diſgrace, you may at leaſt reſt aſſured, that an inviolable Regard ſhall be preſerved for your Perſon; and "you ſhall find in me a very reſpectful Relation, if I "may be allowed to glory in that Title." So great a Modeſty in a young victorious Prince, little more than five and twenty Years of Age, melted the King into Tears, and filled the Hearers with Admiration. As ſoon as *John* had recovered himſelf, he turned to the Prince, and ſaid to him, with an Air of Satisfaction, "That "ſince it was his Deſtiny to be vanquiſhed and taken, "it was a great Comfort in his Misfortune, that he had "not behaved himſelf unworthily; and was fallen into "the Hands of ſo valiant and generous a Prince." On the morrow, ſolemn Thanks were returned to God, in the *Engliſh* Camp, for this great Victory. The Prince thanked his victorious Troops, with ſuch Expreſſions, as aſcribed to them the Honour of the Day, without the leaſt mention of himſelf. Then he marched for *Bourdeaux*, laden with an ineſtimable Booty, and ſo great a Number of Priſoners, that it would have been difficult for the *Engliſh* to defend themſelves, in caſe they had been attacked (1).

1357. Froiſſart. Pol. Virg. It is eaſy to conceive, the Joy this News ſpread over all *England*, and how great *Edward*'s Satisfaction was in particular. God's Protection of the Prince of *Wales* being too viſible to be diſregarded, the King ordered publick Thankſgiving for this ſignal Victory, to be returned to God for eight Days together, in all the Churches of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Wales* ſpent the Winter at *Bourdeaux*, where two Legates from the Pope came, and preſſed him ſo earneſtly, that he conſented, with the Approbation of the King his Father, to a Truce for two Years, wherein all the Allies of both Crowns were included. In *April* following (2) he came into *England*, bringing his Priſoner with him. He was received there with exceſſive Joy, but conſtantly refuſed all the Honours that were offered him, being ſatisfied with thoſe paid to the captive King. When they made their Entry into *London*, the Prince of *Wales* rode on a little black Nag, by the King of *France*'s Side, who was mounted on a ſtately white Courſer, adorned with coſtly Trappings. One would have thought that all the Pomp (3) diſplayed on this occaſion, was intended purely to do Honour to the captive King; ſo great care was taken to avoid all ſigns of his Diſgrace, and every thing that might be offenſive to his Eyes. Though *Edward* diſputed with him the Title of *King of France*, he treated him however like a King. The Sight of the captive Prince putting him in mind of the Inſtability of human Grandeur, he received him with as cordial Embraces, as if he had been his own Brother, or was come on purpoſe to pay him a Viſit. In this noble and generous manner, the Father and Son ſtrove with Emulation to comfort the unfortunate King, by all the Marks of Reſpect due to a great Prince, in whatever State Fortune may have placed him. It is reported, when *Edward* received the News of the Victory of *Poictiers*, he ſaid to thoſe about him, that his Satisfaction at ſo glorious a Succeſs, was not comparable to the Pleaſure cauſed by the generous Behaviour of the Prince. King *John* and Prince *Philip* his Son were lodged together in the Palace of the *Savoy* (4), with all the honorable Freedom they could deſire. The other captive Lords met with the ſame Treatment and Civilities. 1357.

Truce for two Years. Act. Pub. V. p. 3.

The King conducted to London. Ibid.

He is received in an honourable manner. Froiſſart. Knighton.

Edward enjoyed then a ſo much greater Glory, as it was very uncommon, I mean of having Priſoners his two moſt potent Enemies; the King of *France* at *London*, and the King of *Scotland* at *Odiam* [in *Hampſhire.*] King *David* ſhould have had his Liberty long ſince, purſuant to the Articles agreed upon three Years before; but for the Reaſons above-mentioned, ſaw himſelf ſtill detained in Captivity. However, when he had leaſt Cauſe to expect any Favour from a victorious Enemy, who had juſt reduced *Scotland* to an irretrievable State, *Edward* was moved by the preſſing Inſtances of the Queen his Siſter, and agreed to renew the Treaty of 1354. To that end he granted Safe-conducts to Ambaſſadors from *Scotland*, who, during a ſhort Truce, obtained their King's Liberty, upon much the ſame Terms as in the firſt Treaty. They engaged to pay for his Ranſom a hundred thouſand Marks Sterling; namely, ten thouſand every Year, till the whole was paid; and for Security, the King of *Scotland* gave twenty Hoſtages. At the ſame time, a ten Years Truce was concluded between *England* and *Scotland*. *David* was releaſed (5) upon theſe Conditions, which he took care to ratify as ſoon as he came into his Kingdom, after an eleven Years Captivity. It ſeems that *Edward*, wholly taken up then with his vaſt Projects againſt *France*, had loſt all Thoughts of becoming maſter of *Scotland*. At leaſt he believed it beſt to defer the Execution of that Deſign, till a more convenient Seaſon. *The King of Scotland ſet at Liberty.* Act. Pub. VI. p. 39—68. Buchanan. Walſing.

1358. *Magnificent Tournament at Windſor.* Froiſſart. Walſing. Knighton. *Edward*'s late Truces with *France* and *Scotland*, having freed him from the trouble of foreign Affairs, he confined his Thoughts to the Government of his Kingdom. But as nothing extraordinary paſſed, he ſpent part of his time in Diverſions, of which the King of *France* and the other chief Priſoners always partook. The Tournament he held at *Windſor* on the 23d of *April*, 1358, to ſolemnize the Feaſt of St. *George*, Patron of the Order of the Garter, was the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent that had ever been ſeen in *England*. The Duke of *Brabant*, with ſeveral other ſovereign Princes, and an infinite Number of Knights of all Nations were preſent and ſplendidly entertained.

Queen Iſabella dies. Act. Pub. VI. p. 110. Walſing. Knighton. This Diverſion was followed by the Funeral of Queen *Iſabella*, the King's Mother. She died at the Caſtle of *Riſings*, aged ſixty three Years, after a twenty eight Years confinement (6). If the Marriage of this Queen was fatal to the King her Husband, it was no leſs ſo to *France*, ſince it proved the occaſion of a long and bloody War, which brought that Kingdom to the very Brink of Deſtruction.

Earl of Harcourt makes Edward his Heir. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 174. Act. Pub. V. p. 856. *Geoffrey d'Harcourt*, of whom I have ſpoken on occaſion of the King's Deſcent at *la Hogue*, and who ſerved the King of *Navarre* in *Normandy*, was there ſlain about this Time (7). As he had by Will made the King of *England* his ſole Heir, and as his Lands were in the Demeſns of the King of *Navarre* in *Normandy*, *Edward* took poſſeſſion, and gave them to the Lord *Holland*.

Great Troubles in France. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 179. Walſing. Whilſt *England* enjoyed a profound Tranquillity, *France* was in extreme Deſolation, by the inteſtine Troubles cauſed by the King's Impriſonment. *Charles* the Dauphin, *John*'s eldeſt Son, held the Reins of the Government, by the Title of Lieutenant-General, afterwards changed into that of Regent. His Regency was ſo diſturbed by the Cabals of ſome reſtleſs Men, who found their Advantage in the Confuſion of Affairs, that it was not poſſible to think effectually of freeing their King. The Affairs of *France* were then in a deplorable Situation. *Charles the Bald*, King of *Navarre*, though ſprung from the Family Royal of *France* (8), raiſed daily Commotions and Tumults in *Paris*, where he had a powerful Party (9). The Authority of the Dauphin was thereby ſo reſtrained, that, though a Prince of

(1) This Battle was fought on the 19th of *September*, 1356. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* p. 870. There were above ſix *Frenchmen* to one *Engliſhman*. *Walſing.* ſays, Prince *Edward* had only one thouſand nine hundred Men at Arms, and the ſame Number of Archers. p. 172. But *J. Barnes* ſays, his Army conſiſted of about eight thouſand Men. p. 504. What Perſons of Diſtinction were in it, ſee *Ibid.* The Priſoners are ſaid to be more in Number than the *Engliſh* Army. And among them were, beſides the King and his Son, ſeventeen Earls, and of Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, to the Number of one thouſand five hundred. *P. Æmyl. Walſ.* p. 197. On the ſixteenth of *May* was held a provincial Synod at St. *Paul*'s, wherein the Biſhops granted the King a Tenth for two Years, and the inferior Clergy for one Year. *R. Aveſbury*, c. 108.

(2) According to *Walſing.* the Prince landed at *Plymouth*, *May* 5. and made his entry into *London* the 24th of the ſame Month. p. 172.

(3) He was received by *Henry Picard* the Lord Mayor, (the ſame that afterwards ſo magnificently entertained at one time the four Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus*) with the Aldermen, *&c.* in all their Formalities, with the City Pageants; and in the Streets, as he paſſed to *Weſtminſter*, the Citizens hung out all their Plate, Tapeſtry, and Armour, ſo that the like had never been ſeen before in the memory of Man. *Barnes*, p. 526.

(4) So called from *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, who lived in it. *Eleanor*, Wife of *Henry* III, bought it of the Fraternity of *Mountjoy* and gave it to her Son *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, and it was now in the Poſſeſſion of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*.

(5) On the firſt of *November*. *Walſ.* p. 173.

(6) She died in *Novemb.* and was buried in the Choir of the *Grey Friars*, now called *Chriſt Church* in *London*. A little after died alſo her Daughter *Joan* Queen of *Scots*, and was buried in the ſame Church with the Queen her Mother.

(7) He forſook, ſome Years before, King *Edward*, and joined the King of *France*; as appears by an Order from King *Edward*, to the Bailiffs of *Weymouth*, dated *March* 5. 1347. for ſeizing his Jewels, Armour, Goods, Chattels, *&c.* See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 552.

(8) From the Branch of *Evreux*, or rather of *Eu*.

(9) And his Brother *Philip*, with the Lord *James de la Pype*, and *Robert Knolles*, cruelly waſted *Normandy* and *Bretagne* about this time. *Walſing.* p. 173.

great

1358. great Abilities, he knew not which way to govern ſo divided a State. Amidſt this Confuſion, the *French* lived in a kind of Anarchy. The Nobles and Officers of the Army oppreſſed the meaner Sort of People, eſpecially the Peaſants, to whom they gave the Nick-Name of *Jaques Bon homme* (1). Raillery joined with Oppreſſion, driving theſe poor Wretches to Deſpair, they aſſembled in great Troops, in *le Beauvoiſin*, bent upon extirpating all the Nobles. In a ſhort time, their Number being conſiderably increaſed, they became ſo formidable, that there was a Neceſſity of drawing together all the Forces of the Kingdom, to diſperſe this Army of *Ruſticks*, which daily grew ſtronger. This War, which was called the *Jaquery*, created the Regent great Trouble. It was one of the principal Cauſes that prevented his taking Meaſures to oppoſe the Invaſion threatned by the *Engliſh* as ſoon as the Truce was expired.

Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 184, 186.

The Jaquery-War.

During all theſe Diſorders, King *John*, heartily tired of his Confinement in *England*, however eaſy it was, treated Himſelf with *Edward* concerning his Liberty. He could not obtain it without yielding to the Conqueror's Terms. But, as he was fully informed of the Diſturbances in *France*, he believed he could not purchaſe too dearly a Freedom, which might enable him to reſtore Peace in his Kingdom. Wherefore, he agreed with *Edward* upon a Treaty very diſadvantagious to *France*, whereby he reſigned ſeveral Provinces to the Crown of *England*. The General Aſſembly of the States being met upon this Occaſion in 1359, found the Conditions ſo hard, that they would not ratify the Treaty. By this Refuſal, the captive King ſaw all his hopes vaniſh. Mean while the States plainly perceiving, they had given occaſion to renew the War, offered the Regent all neceſſary Aſſiſtance to procure better Terms, by way of Arms.

Treaty between the two Kings rejected by the States of France. Knighton. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 203. Act. Pub. VI. p. 123, &c.

1359. But they promiſed more than they performed. *Edward* loudly complained of being deceived, and ſuddenly altering his Carriage to King *John*, confined him in the Caſtle of *Sommerton*, from whence he afterwards removed him to the Tower of *London*. Doubtleſs he did not think it prudent to leave that Prince at *London* upon his Parole, as before, whilſt he himſelf ſhould be in the Heart of *France*, where he reſolved to carry the War.

Edward reſolves to carry the War into France. Ib. p. 110, 134. Walſing.

1360. The Preparations for this freſh Expedition were prodigious. An Army of an hundred thouſand Men, tranſported to *Calais* (2), was a plain Indication of his Deſign, to make a powerful Effort to ſubdue *France*, whilſt the Troubles of that Kingdom offered him ſo fair an Opportunity. When his Forces were landed at *Calais* (3), he divided them into three Bodies. The firſt was commanded by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had lately given his only Daughter in Marriage to *John of Gaunt* the King's fourth Son (4). The Prince of *Wales* headed the ſecond, and the King himſelf commanded the laſt. With theſe numerous Troops, conducted by the three moſt famous Generals then in *Europe*, *Edward* marched into *France* without Oppoſition. The Dauphin not being ſtrong enough to venture to appear in the Field, was contented with providing his principal Towns with Ammunition, without hazarding a Battle with Forces ſo unequal to thoſe of the Enemy.

He goes over to Calais *with a great Army.* Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 207. Walſing.

He ravages France *to the very Gates of* Paris. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 209, &c. Walſing.

Mean time *Edward* traverſing *Artois*, entered *Champagn*, and approached *Rheims* in order to ſurprize the City, where ſome groundleſly affirm, he deſigned to be crowned. But miſſing his Aim, he fell upon *Sens*, which he eaſily took. The Duke of *Burgundy* perceiving himſelf unable to ſave his Country from plunder, obtained a ſeparate Truce for three Years, upon promiſe of paying two hundred thouſand Florins (5), and ſupplying the *Engliſh* Army with Proviſions. *Le Nivernois* followed the Example

Act. Pub. VI. p. 161.

of *Burgundy*, but *la Brie* and *le Gatinois* were ravaged (6). *Edward*'s Aim being to draw the *French* to a Battle, he neglected nothing to provoke them. For that purpoſe, he went, about the end of *Lent*, and encamped within ſeven Leagues of *Paris*, between *Chartres* and *Mont le Herry*. His Approach not being capable to draw the Dauphin out of *Paris*, he advanced to the very Gates of the City, without ſucceeding in his Deſign. Though the Smoak of the Villages ſet on fire by the *Engliſh*, might be ſeen from the Walls, the Dauphin, to whom was afterwards given the Sirname of *the Wiſe*, was too prudent to run any Hazard on this occaſion. Taught by the fatal Examples of the Kings his Father and Grandfather, he took care not to venture the Crown upon the Deciſion of a Battle, where he could have little hopes of Succeſs. As he knew *Paris* was able to maintain a long Siege, he kept himſelf ſhut up in the City, and all *Edward*'s Inſults could not oblige him to alter his Reſolution. He tried however, to deliver *France* from the impending Danger, by offering certain Propoſals to his Enemy, but which were ſcornfully rejected. *Edward* thought he was in condition to give law, and preſcribe what Terms he pleaſed himſelf. He ſeemed at firſt to have formed the Deſign of beſieging *Paris*, but afterwards finding it too difficult an Undertaking, turned back towards *la Beauce*. Cardinal *de Langres* the Pope's Legate, attended him every where, and continually preſſed him to bound his Ambition, but theſe Remonſtrances were then ineffectual. *Edward* ſtayed ſome time in *la Beauce*, from whence he deſigned to lead his Troops to the *Loire*. Mean while, though his Army ſtill marched through very plentiful Countries, it was daily diminiſhed by Sickneſs. It was doubtleſs a great Mortification to that Monarch, to ſee the little Progreſs he had made with ſo numerous an Army. Though he was in the Heart of *France*, he could not flatter himſelf with any one certain Conqueſt. This perhaps was one Reaſon of his hearkening at laſt to the Legate's Sollicitations, though his Change is aſcribed to another Cauſe. One Day, as he lay encamped in the Country about *Chartres*, a ſudden and dreadful Storm aroſe, accompanied with Thunder and Hail of a prodigious Size, which killed ſix thouſand Horſes and a thouſand Men (7). So extraordinary an Accident was deemed by the Troops as a Sign of God's Wrath. The King himſelf ſeemed to be poſſeſſed with the ſame Opinion. It may be he was very glad, this Event furniſhed him with an Opportunity, to ſhew his Willingneſs to grant a Peace to *France* from a pure Motive of Generoſity, and thereby hide the Shame of not being able, with ſo fine an Army, to do any thing more than deſtroy the open Country. Be this as it will, in the midſt of the Storm, he turned his Face towards the Church of *Chartres* which he ſaw at a Diſtance, and [falling on his Knees] made a vow to conſent to a Peace upon equitable Terms. The Legate improving this Diſpoſition, earneſtly preſſed him to execute his generous Deſign, and prevailed with him to ſend Plenipotentiaries to *Bretigny*, a Village near *Chartres*, to treat of a Peace. Here it was the Dauphin and his chief Counſellors appeared (8) for *France*; and for *England*, the Prince of *Wales*, with ſuch Aſſiſtants as the King his Father appointed. In a few Days, a Treaty was concluded which gave ſome Intermiſſion to the Calamities of *France*. This Peace, which annulled all former Treaties, and ſerved for Foundation to new Rights, makes a very conſiderable Epocha in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, with regard to the Differences between the two Crowns. Accordingly there is no underſtanding the Relation of the Events which enſued, without a perfect Knowledge of the Articles of this Treaty, which therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary to inſert (9).

1360.

The Dauphin's Propoſals rejected. Froiſſart, l. 1. Walſing.

Reaſons which induced Edward *to a Peace.* Ibid.

An extraordinary Accident induces him to it. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 213.

(1) Or *James Goodman*.

(2) *Walſing.* relates, he had then no leſs than one thouſand one hundred Ships. p. 174.

(3) The King ſailed from *Sandwich*, *October* 28. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 142. He divided his Forces into three Bodies, *Novemb.* 4. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 206. *Walſing.* p. 174.

(4) Then Earl of *Richmond*; *Rapin* by miſtake ſays the King's third Son. The Duke of *Lancaſter* had two Daughters, *Maud* and *Blanch*. *Maud*, after ſhe had been married firſt to *Ralph* Son and Heir to the Lord *Stafford*, and after his Death, to *William* Duke of *Zealand*, died without Iſſue in 1363; by which means the whole Eſtate fell to her Siſter *Blanch*, who was married to the Earl of *Richmond*, on *April* 14. at *Reading*, in 1360, who upon the Death of his Father-in-law, was made Duke of *Lancaſter*. *Dugdale*. *Walſ.* p. 173.

(5) It is in the Treaty itſelf two hundred thouſand Moutons, or Deniers of Gold. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 161. which was equal to about thirty five thouſand Pounds Sterling, according to Mr. *Tyrrel*'s Computation. p. 625.

(6) While King *Edward* was thus employed beyond Sea, ſome *Normans* landed at *Winchelſea*, on *March* 15. 1359. and plundered that Town: But the *Londoners* and ſome other Towns, ſent out, the next Year, a Fleet of eighty Ships, having on board fourteen thouſand Men; and therewith ſcoured the Seas. At laſt, landing in *France*, they made themſelves maſters of the Iſle of *Sam*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 167. *Walſing.* p. 174. *Knighton.*

(7) The Lord *Morley* was killed outright, and the Lord *Guy de Beauchamp*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Warwick*, being mortally wounded by one of the Hail-Stones, died thereof on the 28th Day of *April* following. *Tyrrel*, p. 629.

(8) On the firſt of *May*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI.

(9) *Rapin* has ſomewhat abridged moſt of the Articles of this Treaty, but the Tranſlator believing it to be more ſatisfactory to have them at large, has inſerted Dr. *Brady*'s faithful Tranſlation from the *French*, with Notes where they were afterwards altered and corrected by the two Kings at *Calais*. This famous Treaty was managed by the Prince of *Wales*, and *Charles* Regent of *France*, in the Names of both Kings. Commiſſioners for the *Engliſh* were, Sir *Reginald de Cobham*, Sir *Bartholomew Burgherſh*, Sir *Francis Hale*, Banerets; Sir *Miles Stapleton*, Sir *Richard la Vache*, and Sir *Noel Loring*, Knights, with others of the King's Council: On the *French* Party were, the Elect. of *Beauvet*, the Chancellor *Charles* Lord *Montmorancy*, *Monſieur John de Meingre* Marſhal of *France*, *Monſieur Aynart de la Tour* Lord of *Vivoy*, *Monſieur Ralph de Ravenal*, *Monſieur Simon de Bucy*, Knights; *Monſieur Stephen de Paris*, and *Peter de la Charite*, with many others of his Council, named by King *John* himſelf. ——— The Original, from whence this Tranſlation was made by Dr. *Brady*, is printed in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 229, 178, &c.

TREATY

TREATY of *BRETIGNY*.

Edward, *eldeſt Son to the King of* France *and* England, *Prince of* Wales, *Duke of* Cornwal, *and Earl of* Cheſter; *To all thoſe who ſhall ſee theſe Letters, Greeting: We make you know, That after all the Debates and Diſorders whatſoever, moved or ſtirred between our Lord and Father, King of* France *and* England, *on the one Part; and our Couſins the King, his eldeſt Son, Regent of the Realm of* France, *and all thoſe it may concern on the other Part, for the Good of Peace, it is agreed, the eighth Day of* May, 1360, *at* Bretigny *near* Chartres, *in the manner following:*

" I. THAT the King of *England*, with what he " holds in *Gaſcoigne* and *Guienne*, ſhall have for " him, and his Heirs for ever, all thoſe things which " follow, to hold them in the ſame manner the King of " *France*, or his Son, or any of his Anceſtors, Kings of " *France*, held them: That is to ſay, thoſe in Sove- " raignty in Soveraignty, and thoſe in Demain in Demain, " according to the time and manner hereafter declared. " The City, Caſtle, and Earldom of *Poictiers*, with the " whole Land and Country of *Poictou*; together with the " Fief of *Thouars*, and Land of *Belleville*; the City " and Caſtle of *Xaintes*, and the whole Land of *Xain- " tonge*, on this ſide, and beyond the River of *Charente*; " the City and Caſtle of *Agen*, and the Land and Coun- " try of *Agenois*; the City and Caſtle, and whole Earl- " dom of *Perigort*, and the Land and Country of *Peri- " geux*; the City, Caſtle, and whole Earldom of *Limoges*, " the Land and Country of *Limoſin*; the City and Caſtle " of *Cahors*, and the Land and Country of *Cahorſin*; " the City, and Caſtle, and Country of *Tarbe*, and the " Land, Country and Earldom of *Bigorre*; the Earldom, " Land, and Country of *Gaure*; the City and Caſtle " of *Angoleſm*, and the Earldom, Land, and Country " of *Angoleſmois*; the City and Caſtle of *Rodes*; the " Land and Country of *Rovergne*. And if there be " any Lords, as the Earl of *Foix*, the Earl of *Ar- " magnac*, the Earl of *Liſle*, the Earl of *Perigort*, " and Viſcount of *Limoges*, or others, which hold " any Lands within the Bounds of theſe places, they ſhall " do Homage to the King of *England*, and all " other Services and Devoirs due by reaſon of their " Lands, in the ſame manner they did in times " paſt (1).

" II. Alſo the King of *England* ſhall have all that " any of the Kings of *England* anciently held in the " Town of *Monſtrel* upon the Sea, with their Appurte- " nances.

" III. Alſo the King of *England* ſhall have all the " County or Earldom of *Ponthieu* entirely; ſave and " except, that if any thing of the ſaid County or Ap- " purtenances have been alienated by the Kings of " *England* for the time being, and to other Perſons " than the Kings of *France*, the King of *France* ſhall " not be obliged to render them to the King of *Eng- " land:* And if the ſaid Alienations have been made to " the Kings of *France* for the time being, without " mean, and he doth poſſeſs them at preſent, they are " entirely to be releaſed to the King of *England*; except " the Kings of *France* had them by exchange for other " Lands of the Kings of *England*, than both were to " releaſe. But if the Kings of *England* for the time being, " had alienated any thing to other Perſons than to the " King of *France*, and afterwards they came into his Hands, " he ſhall not be obliged to render them. Alſo if the " things aboveſaid owe Homage, the King of *France* ſhall " convey them to others, who ſhall do it for the King of " *England:* And if they do not owe Homage, the King " of *France* ſhall appoint a Truſtee or Tenant to perform " the Devoir, within one Year after he ſhall depart from " *Calais*.

" IV. Alſo the King of *England* ſhall have the Caſtle " and Town of *Calais*; the Caſtle, Town, and Seig- " neurie of *Merk*; the Towns, Caſtles, and Lordſhips " of *Sangate*, *Colongue*, *Hames*, *Wale* and *Oye*, with " Lands, Woods, Marſhes, Rivers, Rents, Lordſhips, " or Seigneuries, Advowſons of Churches, and all other " Appurtenances lying between the Meeſes and Bounds " following; that is to ſay, from *Calais* by the Courſe " of the River that goes before *Graveling*, and alſo by " the Courſe of the ſame River round about *Langle*, " and by the River which goes beyond the *Peil*, and " by the ſame River that falls into the great Lake of " *Guiſnes*, and ſo to *Fretun*, and from thence by the " Valley about the Hill *Calculy*, incloſing that Hill, and " ſo to the Sea, with *Sangate* and all the Appurte- " nances.

" V. Alſo the King of *England* ſhall have the Caſtle, " Town, and County, or Earldom of *Guiſnes*, with " all the Lands, Towns, Caſtles, Fortreſſes, Places, " Men, Homages, Lordſhips, Woods, Foreſts, and the " Rights of them, as entirely as the Earl of *Guiſnes*, " lately dead, had them at the time of his Death; and " the Churches and good People being within the Limits " of the County of *Guiſnes*, of *Calais*, and *Merk*, and " other places aboveſaid, ſhall obey the King of *Eng- " land*, as they obeyed the King of *France*, or Earl of " *Guiſnes* for the time being; all which things of *Merk* " and *Calais*, contained in this and the precedent Arti- " cle, the King of *England* ſhall hold in *Demain*, ex- " cept the Heritages of the Churches, which ſhall re- " main to them entirely wherever they be; and alſo " except the Heritages of other People, of the Country " of *Merk* and *Calais*, lying out of the Town of *Ca- " lais*, to the value of a hundred Livres of yearly Rent, " or under, of current Money of the Country, which " ſhall remain to them. But the Heritages and Habi- " tations being in the Town of *Calais*, with their Ap- " purtenances, ſhall be to the King of *England* in De- " main, to diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; and alſo the " Inhabitants in the County, Town, and Lands of *Guiſnes*, " ſhall enjoy all their Demains entirely, and ſhall wholly " be returned to them, ſaving what hath been ſaid con- " cerning the Borders, Meets, and Bounds in the prece- " dent Article.

" VI. Alſo it is agreed, the King of *England* and his " Heirs ſhall have and hold all the Iſles adjacent to " the Lands, Countries, and Places before-named; to- " gether with all other Iſles, which he holds at pre- " ſent.

" VII. Alſo it is agreed, the King of *France*, and " his eldeſt Son the Regent, for them, their Heirs and " Succeſſors, as ſoon as they can without Deceit, and at " furtheſt by the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, in one Year " after the ſame Feaſt next coming, ſhall render, " transfer, and deliver to the King of *England*, his Heirs " and Succeſſors, all Honours, Obediences, Homages, " Liegeances, Vaſſals, Fees, Services, Recogniſances, " Rights, mere, and mixt Empire, and all manner of Ju- " riſdiction, high and low, Reſorts, Safeguard, Collations " and Patronages of Churches, and all manner of Seig- " neuries, and Soveraignties, and all the Right they " have, or can have, appertains, or can appertain to " them, by what Cauſe, Title, or Colour of Right ſo- " ever, or to the Kings and Crown of *France*, by reaſon " of the Cities, Counties, Towns, Caſtles, Lands, Coun- " tries, Iſles, and Places before-named, and all their " Appurtenances and Dependances, and every one of " them, wherever they are, without retaining any thing " to them, or their Heirs and Succeſſors, or to the Kings " or Crown of *France*. And alſo, that the King, and " his eldeſt Son, ſhould ſend their Letters Patents to all " the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all other Prelates of " Holy Church; and to the Earls, Viſcounts, Barons, " Noblemen, Citizens, and others of the Cities, Lands, " Countries, Iſles and Places before-named, that they " ſhould obey the King of *England* and his Heirs, and " their certain Command, in the ſame manner they had " obeyed the Kings and Crown of *France*; and by the " ſame Letters they ſhould quit and abſolve them after " the beſt manner they could, from all Faiths, Homages, " Oaths, Obligations, Subjections and Promiſes made by " any of them, to the Kings and Crown of *France*, in " what manner ſoever (2).

(1) The firſt Article was corrected; and inſtead of the Words, (thoſe in Sweraignty in Sovereignty,) were inſerted theſe, (thoſe in Fee in Fee.)

(2) This Article was corrected; the Word (Reſorts) being left out in the corrected Copy, and theſe Words or Sentence (and all manner of Seigneuries, and Soveraignties) and theſe Words or Sentence (without retaining any thing to them or their Heirs and Succeſſors, or to the Kings or Crown of *France*) alſo the laſt Words (in what manner ſoever.)

" VIII. Alſo

1360. " VIII. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *Eng-*
" *land* ſhall have the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands,
" Countries, Iſles, and Places before-named, with all
" their Appurtenances and Dependences, wherever they
" are; to hold to him, his Heirs and Succeſſors, heri-
" tably and perpetually in Demeſn, as the Kings of *France*
" held them, and in the ſame manner, ſaving what hath
" been ſaid above, in the Article of *Calais* and *Merk*;
" and alſo the Cities, Caſtles, Counties, Lands, Coun-
" tries, Iſles, and Places before-named, Rights, mere and
" mixt Empire, Juriſdiction and Profits whatever, which
" any Kings of *England* held there, with their Appurte-
" nances and Dependences; any Alienations, Donations,
" Obligations, or Incumbrances, had, or done by any
" of the Kings of *France*, in ſeventy Years from that
" time, by whatſoever Cauſe or Form it was; all ſuch
" Alienations, Donations, Obligations or Incumbrances,
" are now, and ſhall be wholly annulled, repealed, and
" made void: And all things ſo given, alienated, or
" incumbred, ſhall be really rendred and delivered to
" the King of *England* entirely, and in the ſame Con-
" dition they were ſeventy Years ſince, or to his ſpe-
" cial Deputies, as ſoon as they may without fraud;
" and at furtheſt, before *Michaelmas* next come twelve-
" months, to hold them heritably and perpetually, and
" to his Heirs and Succeſſors; except what is ſaid in
" the Article of *Ponthieu*, which is to remain in its
" force; and ſaving all things given and alienated to
" Churches, which ſhall peaceably remain to them in
" all Countries before and after-named, ſo as the Parſons
" of the Churches pray diligently for the Kings as for
" their Founders, wherewith their Conſciences ſhall be
" charged.

" IX. Alſo, it is agreed, The King of *England* ſhall
" have and hold all the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, and
" Countries above-named, which anciently the Kings of
" *England* had not, in the ſame Eſtate as the King of
" *France*, and his Sons hold them at preſent.

" X. Alſo, it is agreed, That if within the Limits of
" the Countries the Kings of *England* anciently poſſeſſed,
" they ſhould now have any thing that was not then
" theirs, of which the King of *France* was in poſſeſſion,
" on the 19th of *September*, 1356, they ſhall be and re-
" main to the King of *England*, and his Heirs as
" aboveſaid.

" XI. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France*,
" and his eldeſt Son the Regent, for them and their
" Heirs, and for the Kings of *France* and their Suc-
" ceſſors for ever, as ſoon as they can without deceit,
" and at furtheſt before *Michaelmas* 1361, ſhall ren-
" der and deliver to the King of *England*, his Heirs
" and Succeſſors, and transfer to them all the Ho-
" nours, Liegeances, Obediences, Homages, Vaſſals, Fees,
" Services, Recognizances, Oaths, Right, mere and
" mixt Empire, all manner of Juriſdictions, high and
" low, Reſorts, Safeguards, and Seigneuries, which can,
" or may belong in any manner to the Kings or
" Crown of *France*, or to any other Perſon, by reaſon
" of the King or Crown of *France*, at any time, in
" the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands, Countries, Iſles,
" and Places above-named, or in any of them, their
" Appurtenances and Appendances whatſoever, or in
" Perſons, Vaſſals, Subjects, or whoſoever of them, be
" they Princes, Dukes, Earls, Viſcounts, Archbiſhops,
" Biſhops, and other Prelates of the Church, Barons,
" Noblemen, and others whoſoever, without reſerving
" or retaining any thing to them, their Heirs, and Suc-
" ceſſors, or to the Crown of *France* or others, what-
" ever it be, whereby they, their Heirs, and Succeſſors,
" or any Kings of *France*, or other Perſon, under pre-
" tence of the King and Crown of *France*, may chal-
" lenge, and demand any thing in time to come, from
" the King of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or
" upon any of the Vaſſals and Subjects aforeſaid, by
" reaſon of thoſe Countries and Places: Alſo all the
" before-named Perſons, their Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall
" for ever be the Liegemen and Subjects of the King
" of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors; and that he
" and they ſhall hold all the Perſons, Cities, Coun-
" ties, Lands, Countries, Iſles, Caſtles, and Places afore-
" named, and all their Appurtenances and Appendances,
" and they ſhall be and remain to them fully, perpe-
" tually, freely in their Seigneury, Sovereignty, Obe-
" dience, Liegeance, and Subjection, as the Kings of
" *France* had and held them in any time paſt; and that 1360.
" the ſaid King of *England*, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, ſhall
" have and hold perpetually all the Countries before-named,
" with their Appurtenances and Appendances, and other
" things before-named, with all perpetual Franchiſes and
" Liberties, as Sovereign and Liege Lord, as Neighbour
" to the King and Realm of *France*, without ac-
" knowledging any Sovereign, or performance of any
" Obedience, Homage, Reſort, Subjection, and without
" doing in any time to come any Service, or making
" Recogniſance to the King or Crown of *France*, for the
" Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands, Countries, Iſles,
" Places, and Perſons before-named, or for any of
" them (1).

" Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France*, and
" his eldeſt Son the Regent, for them, and their Heirs,
" and for the Kings of *France*, and their Succeſſors for
" ever, as ſoon as they can without fraud, and at fur-
" theſt before *Michaelmas* 1361, ſhall render and de-
" liver to the King of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſ-
" ſors, and transfer to them, all the Honours, Liegeances,
" Obediences, Homages, Vaſſals, Fees, Services, Recog-
" niſances, Oaths, Right, mere and mixt Empire, all
" manner of Juriſdictions high and low, Safeguards and
" Seigneuries, which can or may belong in any manner,
" to the Kings or Crown of *France*, or to any other Per-
" ſon by reaſon of the King and Crown of *France*,
" at any time in the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands,
" Countries, Iſles, and Places above-named, or in any of
" them, their Appurtenances, and Appendences what-
" ſoever, or in Perſons, Vaſſals, Subjects, or whoſoever
" of them.

" XII. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France*
" and his eldeſt Son, ſhall renounce expreſsly all Reſorts
" and Sovereignties, and all the Right they have or can
" have in all thoſe things, which by this Treaty ought
" to belong to the King of *England*. And in like man-
" ner, he and his eldeſt Son ſhall renounce expreſsly all
" thoſe things, which by this Treaty ought not to be-
" long or be delivered to him, and all demands he
" makes of the King of *France*, and eſpecially to the
" Name, and to the Right of the Crown of the King-
" dom of *France*, and to the Homages, Sovereignty,
" and Demeſn of the Duchy of *Normandy*, the Duchy
" of *Tourain*, the Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, the So-
" vereignty and Homage of the Dukedom of *Bretagne*,
" and the Homages and Sovereignties of the Country
" and County of *Flanders*, and all other Demands he
" can or ſhall make of the King of *France*, for what
" Cauſe ſoever, except what by this Treaty ought to
" remain, and be delivered to the King of *England* and
" his Heirs; and one King ſhall part with, releaſe and
" transfer to the other perpetually all the Right which
" either of them hath, or can have, in all the things
" which by this Treaty ought to remain, and be deli-
" vered to each of them; and of the time and place
" where and when the ſaid Renunciations ſhall be made,
" the two Kings ſhall agree and appoint when they meet
" at *Calais* (2).

" XIII. Alſo, it is agreed, That to the end this Treaty
" may ſpeedily be accompliſhed, that the King of *Eng-*
" *land*, ſhall bring the King of *France* to *Calais*, within
" three Weeks after *Midſummer*, (there being no juſt hin-
" drance) at his own Expence.

" XIV. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France*
" ſhall pay to the King of *England*, three Millions of
" Crowns of Gold, whereof two ſhall be of the value
" of a Noble of *Engliſh* Money; where ſix hundred
" thouſand Crowns ſhall be paid to him or his Deputies,
" within four Months after the King of *France* ſhall ar-
" rive at *Calais*, and within a Year following, four hun-
" dred thouſand Crowns to be paid at *London*, and ſo
" every Year four hundred thouſand Crowns to be paid
" there until the whole was diſcharged.

" XV. It is alſo agreed, That for the Payment of the
" ſix hundred thouſand Crowns at *Calais*, and for the
" delivery of the Hoſtages hereafter named, within four
" Months after the King of *France* ſhall be come to
" *Calais*, the Town, Caſtle, and Fortreſſes of *Rochelle*,
" the Caſtles, Fortreſſes, and Towns of the County of
" *Guiſnes*, ſhall be rendered to the King of *England*,
" with all their Appurtenances, and Appendences; and the
" Perſon of the King of *France* ſhall be delivered out of

(1) This Article was corrected, and at leaſt two Parts of three left out of the corrected Letter (as then called) or Copy, the whole Article there being no more than what follows in the next Paragraph.

(2) This Article was intirely left out of the Treaty corrected at *Calais*, when the two Kings met there.

1360. " Priſon, but he is not to arm himſelf or People againſt " the King of *England*, but is to accompliſh what was " to be done by this Treaty; and the Hoſtages are the " great Priſoners taken at the Battle of *Poictiers*, and theſe " following:

" That is to ſay, Monſieur *Lewis* Earl of *Anjou*, Mon- " ſieur *John* Earl of *Poictiers* the King's Sons, the Duke " of *Orleans* the King's Brother, the Duke of *Bourbon*, " the Earl of *Blois*, or his Brother, the Earl of St. *Paul*, " the Earl of *Alenſon*, or Monſieur *Peter* of *Alenſon* his " Brother, the Earl of *Harcourt*, the Earl of *Portien*, " the Earl of *Valentinois*, the Earl of *Briene*, the Earl " of *Vaudemont*, the Earl of *Foreſt*, the Viſcount *Beau-* " *mont*, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Fienne*, the " Lord of *Preaux*, the Lord of St. *Venant*, the Lord of " *Garencieres*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Lord of " *Hangeſt*, the Lord of *Montmorency*, Monſieur *William* " *de Craon*, Monſieur *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, Monſieur *John* " *de Ligny*. The Names of the Priſoners taken at *Poic-* " *tiers* are theſe:

" Monſieur *Philip* of *France*, the Earl of *Eu*, the Earl " of *Longueville*, the Earl of *Ponthieu*, the Earl of *Joigny*, " the Earl of *Sancerre*, the Earl of *Dammartin*, the Earl " of *Ventadour*, the Earl of *Salbruche*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, " the Earl of *Vendoſme*, the Earl of *Craon*, the Lord of " *Darnalt* or *Rual*, the Marſhal of *Danchan* or *d' An-* " *decham*, the Lord of *Aubigny*.

" XVI. Alſo, it is agreed, That the Priſoners afore- " ſaid, which come to remain in Hoſtage for the King " of *France*, ſhall therefore be delivered out of Priſon, " without paying any Ranſom, according to Agreement, " made before the third of *May* paſt; and if any of " them be out of *England*, and not in Hoſtage at *Calais*, " within the firſt Month after the ſaid three Weeks after " *Midſummer*, without juſt hindrance, he ſhall not be " quit of his Impriſonment, but be forced by the King " of *France* to return into *England*, and there remain " Priſoner, or pay the Penalty by him promiſed and in- " curred, for not returning.

" XVII. Alſo, it is agreed, That inſtead of thoſe " Hoſtages, which ſhall not come to *Calais*, or ſhall " die, or ſhall remove out of the Power of the King of " *England*, the King of *France* ſhall deliver others of " the ſame Quality, as ſoon as may be, within four Months " after the Bayly of *Amiens*, and the Major of St. *Omer*, " upon the King of *England*'s Certificate, ſhall have no- " tice thereof; and the King of *France*, upon his depar- " ture from *Calais*, may have in his Company ten of the " Hoſtages, ſuch as the two Kings ſhall agree upon, ſo " as thirty may remain.

" XVIII. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France*, " within three Months after he ſhall be gone from *Calais*, " ſhall ſend thither, to remain in Hoſtage, four Perſons " of the Town of *Paris*, and two of every Town follow- " ing, of *St. Omer*, *Arras*, *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, *Liſle*, " *Doway*, *Tournay*, *Reims*, *Chaalons*, *Troyes*, *Chartres*, " *Toulouſe*, *Lyons*, *Orleance*, *Compiegne*, *Rouen*, *Caen*, " *Tours*, *Bourges*; the moſt ſufficient of theſe Towns for " the accompliſhment of this Treaty.

" XIX. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France* " ſhall be brought from *England* to *Calais*, and remain " there for four Months, but ſhall pay nothing the firſt " Month for his Guard and Keeping; but for every one " of the other Months he ſhall remain there, he ſhall pay " ſix thouſand Royals, as they ſhall be then current in " *France*, before his departure from *Calais*, and ſo after- " wards for the time he ſtays there.

" XX. Alſo, it is agreed, That as ſoon as may be, " within a Year after the King of *France* is departed from " *Calais*, Monſieur *John* Earl of *Montfort*, ſhall have the " Earldom of *Montfort*, with all its Appurtenances, do- " ing Homage Liege to the King of *France*, and his De- " voir and Service in every Caſe, as a good and loyal Vaſ- " ſal Liege ought to do to his Liege Lord by reaſon of his " Earldom; and alſo his other Heritages ſhall be rendered " to him, that belong not to the Duchy of *Bretagne*, " doing Homage and other dues belonging to them; and " if he will demand any thing in any of the Heritages " belonging to that Duchy, out of the Country of *Bre-* " *tagne*, he ſhall receive good and ſpeedy reaſon from the " Court of *France*.

" XXI. Alſo, upon the Queſtion of the Demeſn of " *Bretagne*, which is between Monſieur *John de Mont-* " *fort*, and Monſieur *Charles de Blois*, it is agreed, That " the two Kings calling before them or their Deputies, " the principal Parties, they ſhall inform themſelves of " their Right, and ſhall endeavour to make them agree 1360. " about all that is in debate between them, as ſoon as " they can: And in caſe neither the Kings, or their " Deputies, can make an Agreement within a Year " after the King of *France* ſhall arrive at *Calais*, Friends " on both Sides may make the beſt Agreement between " them they can, and as ſoon as they can; and if they " cannot compromiſe the matter within half a Year, " they ſhall make report thereof, and what they find " concerning the Rights of each Party, and why the De- " bate remains between them, to the two Kings or their " Deputies, and then they, as ſoon as may be, ſhall make " an Accord, giving their final Sentence upon the Right " of each Party, which ſhall be executed by the two " Kings; and in caſe they cannot end the Controverſy " in half a Year, then the two principal Parties of *Blois* " and *Montfort* ſhall do what ſeems beſt to them, and " the Friends of one Part and the other, ſhall aſſiſt " which Part they pleaſe, without hindrance of the ſaid " Kings, or without receiving any Damage, Blame, or " Reproach from them; and if it happen that one of " the Parties will not appear before the Kings or their " Deputies, at the time appointed, and alſo in caſe the " Kings or their Deputies ſhall declare an Accord be- " tween the Parties, and ſhall give their Opinion of the " Right of one Party; and either of the Parties will " not conſent to, and obey the Declaration, then the " ſaid Kings ſhall be againſt him with their whole " Power, and aid the other which ſhall comply and " obey; but the two Kings ſhall not in any caſe, in their " proper Perſons or by others, make War upon one an- " other for the Cauſe aforeſaid, and the Sovereignty and " Homage of the Duchy ſhall always remain to the King " of *France*.

" XXII. Alſo, That all the Lands, Towns, Coun- " tries, Caſtles, and other Places delivered to the King, " ſhall enjoy ſuch Liberties and Franchiſes as they have at " preſent, which ſhall be confirmed by the ſaid Kings or " their Succeſſors, ſo often as they ſhall be duly required, " if they be not contrary to this Agreement.

" XXIII. Alſo, the King of *France* ſhall render, or " cauſe to be rendred, and confirm to Monſieur *Philip* " of *Navarre*, and to all his Adherents, after this time, " as ſoon as may be, without deceit, and at furtheſt " within a Year after the King of *France* ſhall be gone " from *Calais*, all the Towns, Fortreſſes, Caſtles, Lord- " ſhips, Rights, Rents, Profits, Juriſdictions, and Places " whatever, which he, in his own Right, or in Right " of his Wife, or his Adherents, held or ought to hold " in the Kingdom of *France*: And that he ſhall not " do them any Damage or Injury, or reproach them for " any thing done before that time, and ſhall pardon " them all Offences and Miſpriſions for the time paſt, " by reaſon of the War; and for this they ſhall have " good and ſufficient Letters, ſo as the ſaid Monſieur " *Philip* and his Adherents return to their Homage, " and perform their Duties, and be good and loyal Vaſ- " ſals.

" XXIV. Alſo, it is accorded, That the King of " *England* may give, for this time only, to whom he " pleaſes, the Lands and Heritages that were Monſieur *God-* " *frey de Harcourt*'s, to hold of the Duke of *Normandy*, or " other Lords of whom they ought to hold, by Homage " and Services anciently accuſtomed.

" XXV. Alſo, it is agreed, That if any Man or Coun- " try, under the Obedience of one Party, ſhall, by reaſon " of this Agreement, go under the Obedience of the other " Party; he ſhall not be impeached for any thing done " in time paſt.

" XXVI. Alſo, it is agreed, That the Lands of the " Baniſhed, and Adherents of one Party and the other, " and the Churches of one Party and the other, and all " thoſe that are diſherited and outed of their Lands, or " charged with any Penſion, Tax, or Impoſition, or " otherwiſe in any manner charged by reaſon of the War, " ſhall be reſtored entirely to the ſame Rights and Poſ- " ſeſſions which they had before the War began; and that " all manner of Forfeitures, Treſpaſſes, or Miſpriſions, " done by them, or any of them in that time, ſhall be " wholly pardoned; and theſe things to be done ſo ſoon as " they well can, or at furtheſt within one Year after the " King ſhall leave *Calais*; except what is ſaid in the Arti- " cle of *Calais* and *Merk*, and the other Places named in " that Article; except alſo the Viſcount of *Fronſac*, and " Monſieur *John Gaillard*, who are not to be compriſed " in this Article, but their Goods and Heritages ſhall re- " main as they were before the Treaty.

" XXVII. Alſo,

1360. " XXVII. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France* " ſhall deliver to the King of *England*, as ſoon as well " he may, and at furtheſt within one Year after his de- " parture from *Calais*, all the Cities, Towns, Coun- " tries, and other Places abovenamed, which by this " Treaty ought to be delivered to him.

" XXVIII. Alſo, it is agreed, That upon delivery of " the Towns, Fortreſſes, and whole County of *Ponthieu*; " the Towns, Fortreſſes, and whole County of *Mont-* " *fort*; the City and Caſtle of *Xainctes*; the Caſtles, " Towns, Fortreſſes, and all the King held in Demeſn " in the County of *Xaintonge*, on both ſides the River " *Charente*; the City and Caſtle of *Angouleſme*, and the " Caſtles, Fortreſſes, and Towns which the King of " *France* held in Demeſn in the Country of *Angoulemois*, " with Letters and Commands of releaſing of Faith and " Homage to the King of *England*, or his Deputies; He " at his proper Coſt and Charge ſhall deliver all the For- " treſſes taken and poſſeſſed by him, his Subjects, Adhe- " rents, and Allies, in the Countries of *France*, of *Anjou*, " of *Maine*, of *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Burgogne*, *Champagne*, " *Picardy*, and *Normandy*, and in all other Parts and " Lands of the Kingdom of *France*; except thoſe in the " Duchy of *Bretagne*, and thoſe Countries and Lands " which by this Treaty ought to be and remain to the " King of *England*.

" XXIX. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of *France* " ſhall give up, and deliver to the King of *England*, his " Heirs, or Deputies, all the Towns, Fortreſſes, Caſtles, " and other Lands, Countries, and Places before-named, " with their Appurtenances, at his proper Coſts and " Charge: And alſo if he ſhall have any Rebels or Diſ- " obedient, that will not render and give up to the King " of *England* any Cities, Caſtles, Towns, Countries, Pla- " ces, or Fortreſſes, which ought to belong to him, the " King of *France* ſhall be bound to cauſe them to be de- " livered at his own Expence: And likewiſe the King " of *England* ſhall cauſe to be delivered at his Expence, " the Fortreſſes that by this Treaty ought to belong to " the King of *France*. And the ſaid Kings, and their " People, ſhall be bound to aid one another, when they " ſhall be required, at the Wages of the Party that ſhall " require it, which ſhall be one *Florin* of *Florence* a Day " for a Knight, and half a *Florin* for an Eſcuyer, and to " others according to that rate. And for the ſurplus of " the double Wages, it is agreed, That if the Wages be " too ſmall, in regard of the Rate of Proviſions or Vic- " tuals in the Countries, they ſhall be regulated by four " Knights choſen for that purpoſe, two of one Party, " and two of the other.

" XXX. Alſo, it is agreed, That all the Archbi- " ſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, and Men of Holy " Church, by reaſon of their Temporalities, ſhall be " ſubject to that King under whom they hold their Tem- " poralities; and if they have Temporalities under both " Kings, they ſhall be ſubject to each King for the " Temporality they hold of him.

" XXXI. Alſo, it is agreed, That good Alliances, " Amities, and Confederacies be made between both the " Kings and their Kingdoms, ſaving the Conſcience and " Honour of one King and the other, notwithſtanding " any Confederacies they have made on this ſide, or be- " yond the Sea, with any Perſons, be they of *Scotland*, " or *Flanders*, or any other Country.

" XXXII. Alſo, it is agreed, That the King of " *France*, and his eldeſt Son the Regent, for them and " for their Heirs Kings of *France*, as ſoon as it may be " done, ſhall declare themſelves, and depart from all the " Confederacies they have with the *Scots*; and promiſe, " that they nor their Heirs, nor the Kings of *France* for " the time being, ſhall give or do to the King or Realm " of *Scotland*, nor the Subjects thereof, preſent and to " come, any Aid, Comfort, or Favor, againſt the King " of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, nor againſt the " Kingdom, nor againſt the Subjects in any manner; " and that they make not other Alliances with the *Scots* " in time to come, againſt the Kings and Kingdom of " *England*. And in like manner, as ſoon as it may be " done, the King of *England* and his eldeſt Son ſhall " declare themſelves, and depart from all Alliances they " have with the *Flemings*; and promiſe that they nor " their Heirs, nor the Kings of *England* for the time " being, ſhall give or do to the *Flemings* preſent and to " come, any Aid, Comfort, or Favor againſt the King " of *France*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, nor againſt his " Kingdom, nor againſt his Subjects in any manner, 1360. " and that they make no Alliances with the ſaid *Flem-* " *ings* in time to come, againſt the Kings and Kingdom " of *France*.

" XXXIII. Alſo, it is agreed, That the Collations and " Proviſions made of Benefices, vacant in time of the " War, by one Party and the other, ſhall hold and be " good; and that the Coſts, Iſſues, and Revenues, re- " ceived and levied of any Benefices, or other things " Temporal whatever, in the Kingdoms of *France* and " *England*, by one Party or the other, during the Wars, " ſhall be quitted by one Party and the other.

" XXXIV. Alſo, That the Kings above-ſaid ſhall be " bound to cauſe to be confirmed all the Things above- " ſaid by our Holy Father the Pope; and they ſhall be " made ſure, and ſtrengthened by Oaths, Sentences, and " Cenſures of the Court of *Rome*, and all other Places, " in the moſt ſtrong manner that can be; and there ſhall " be obtained Diſpenſations, Abſolutions, and Letters from " the Court of *Rome* for perfecting this Treaty, and " they ſhall be delivered to the Parties, at fartheſt with- " in three Weeks after the King ſhall be arrived at *Ca-* " *lais*.

" XXXV. Alſo, That all the Subjects of the ſaid " Kings, which come to ſtudy in the Univerſities, and " Places of Study in the Kingdoms of *France* and *Eng-* " *land*, ſhall enjoy the Privileges and Liberties of thoſe " Places and Univerſities, as well as they might have " done before the War; or as they do at this pre- " ſent.

" XXXVI. Alſo, it is agreed, That to the end the " Things debated and treated of as above, may be more " firm, and valuable, there ſhall be made and given the " Securities which follow: That is to ſay, Letters (or " Inſtruments) ſealed with the Seals of both Kings and " their eldeſt Sons, the beſt that can be made or di- " rected by their Council. And the ſaid Kings and their " eldeſt Sons, and other Sons, ſhall ſwear, and alſo thoſe " of their Lineage, and other great Men of their King- " doms, to the Number of twenty on each ſide, That " they will obſerve and keep, and help in the keeping " of the things treated and agreed, inaſmuch as ſhall " concern them, and without Fraud or Deceit ſhall ac- " compliſh them, without ever doing any thing to the " contrary, and without any hindrance of the ſame. " And if there ſhall be any of the Kingdom of *England* " or *France*, which ſhall be Rebels, and will not agree " to the things above-ſaid, the ſaid Kings ſhall uſe the " Power of their Bodies, Goods, and Friends to bring " ſuch Rebels to Obedience, according to the Form and " Tenor of the Treaty. And farther, the ſaid Kings, " their Heirs and Kingdoms, ſhall ſubmit themſelves to " the coercion of our Holy Father the Pope, that he may " conſtrain by Sentences, Cenſures of the Church, and " all due ways, him that ſhall be Rebel, according to " Reaſon. And according to theſe Eſtabliſhments and " Securities aboveſaid, both Kings and their Heirs ſhall " by Faith and Oath, renounce all Wars and Contenti- " on. And if by Diſobedience, Rebellion, or Power of " any Subjects of *France*, or any juſt Cauſe, the King of " *France* or his Heirs, cannot accompliſh all the things " above-ſaid, the King of *England*, his Heirs, or any for " them, ſhall not make War againſt the King of *France*, " his Heirs, or Kingdom; but both together, ſhall en- " deavour to bring the Rebels to true Obedience, and " accompliſh the things above-ſaid. And if any of the " Realm, or Obedience of the King of *England*, will not " render the Caſtles, Towns, and Fortreſſes, which they " hold in the Realm of *France*, and obey the Treaty " above-ſaid, or for juſt Cauſe cannot do that which by " this Treaty they ought to do, the King of *France*, " nor his Heirs, nor any for them, ſhall make War upon " the King of *England* or his Kingdom; but both to- " gether ſhall employ their Power to recover the Caſtles, " Towns, and Fortreſſes; and that all Obedience and " Compliance may be given to the Treaty. And there " ſhall be made and given on both ſides, according to " the nature of the Fact, all manner of Security that " ſhall be known, or can be deviſed, as well by the " Pope, the College of the Court of *Rome*, as otherwiſe, " holding and keeping the Peace perpetually, and all the " things as above-agreed.

" XXXVII. Alſo, it is agreed, That by this preſent " Treaty, all others, if any have been made before, ſhall " be null and void, and never be any Advantage to ei-

" ther

1360. "ther Party, nor cauſe any Reproach of one to the other "for not obſerving them.

"XXXVIII. Alſo, the preſent Treaty ſhall be ap- "proved, ſworn to, and confirmed by the two Kings, "when they ſhall meet at *Calais*; and after the King "of *France* ſhall be gone from thence, and be in his own "Power, within a Month next following, he ſhall make "Letters Patent of Confirmation, and ſend and deliver "them at *Calais* to the King of *England*, and receive "ſuch and the like from the King of *England*.

"XXXIX. Alſo, it is agreed, That neither King ſhall "procure, or cauſe to be procured, by himſelf or others, "any Injury, or Moleſtation by the Church of *Rome*, or "any of Holy Church whoever they be, to, or concern- "ing this Treaty, towards either of the Kings, their "Coadjutors, Adherents, and Allies, whoever they be, "or their Lands or Subjects, on occaſion of the War, or "other thing, or for Service the Coadjutors, Adherents, "or Allies of either ſide have performed; or if our Holy "Father will do it of himſelf, both Kings ſhall hinder it, "as well as they can, without Deceit.

"XL. Alſo, the Hoſtages that are to be delivered to "the King of *England* at *Calais*, the manner and time "thereof, the two Kings ſhall there direct (1).

Remarks on the Treaty of Bretigny.

After reading this Treaty, the Conditions whereof appear ſo hard for *France*, a Man can ſcarce forbear repreſenting to himſelf a triumphant King treading upon the Neck of his vanquiſhed Enemy, and obliging him to receive without Examination whatever Terms he is pleaſed to impoſe. Indeed this Idea is very juſt, provided it be not carried too far. But if we pretend to add that of an unjuſt Conqueror exacting from his Enemy, Conditions entirely repugnant to reaſon and Equity, we ſhall doubtleſs frame a wrong Idea of this famous Treaty; the Terms whereof are more moderate, than they appear at firſt ſight. For it muſt be remembred that almoſt all the Provinces reſigned by *France* to *England*, belonged formerly to *Edward*'s Predeceſſors, and that not by Conqueſt, or Treaties extorted by Violence, but by a Right of Inheritance, immemorially received from their Anceſtors. Never were the Kings of *France* heard to complain, that the Dukes of *Guienne*, or the Earls of *Poictiers* had wreſted thoſe Countries from them by force. On the contrary, we have ſeen in the Hiſtory of the foregoing Kings, that *Philip Auguſtus* and St. *Lewis* diſpoſſeſſed by force of Arms *John Lackland* and *Henry* III, not only of the Provinces in queſtion, but likewiſe of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Normandy*. Moreover the Treaty by which they were ſurrendered to *France*, was made whilſt *Henry* III was in Captivity to the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Upon the Suppoſition of theſe Truths, it is eaſy to perceive the Foundation of this Treaty. *Edward*, improving ſuch favorable Junctures, aimed at the Recovery of what was before wreſted by *France* from his Anceſtors. It is true he required moreover *Calais*, the Earldom of *Guiſnes*, and the Sovereignty of the Provinces he recovered. To clear this Article, it muſt be obſerved, *Edward* had a Right to demand whatever belonged to his Predeceſſors, not to mention now his Claim to the Crown itſelf. In this belief, he thought, in leaving to *France*, *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, with the Homage of *Bretagne*, he gave an Equivalent for *Guiſnes* and *Calais*, and the Sovereignty of *Guienne*. And if to this Ceſſion be now added his Title to the Crown of *France*, which no doubt he deemed very plauſible ſince he made it the Ground of the War, I do not know whether there will be any great Cauſe to exclaim againſt the Unreaſonableneſs of this Treaty. *Edward* therefore cannot be blamed for being willing to recover *Guienne* and all its Dependencies, without condemning at the ſame time *Philip Auguſtus* and St. *Lewis*, who took by Force the greateſt Part of that Province from his Anceſtors; and *Philip de Valois*, who ſeized the reſt before the War was declared, upon the frivolous pretence of *Edward*'s refuſing to obey his Order, forbidding all his Subjects and Vaſſals to harbour *Robert d'Artois*. If *Edward* had received that Prince at *Bourdeaux*, there would have been ſomething to object, but his being Vaſſal for *Guienne* could not rob him of the Privilege of acting as King of *England*. In fine, will it be ſaid, that the Kings of *France* abovementioned had a Right to re-annex to the Crown, Provinces that were part of the Kingdom under the ſecond Race? But *Hugh Capet* granted them in Fee to Lords, from whom they were devolved to the Kings of *England* by lawful Succeſſion. Wherefore it can only be pretended that *Philip Auguſtus* had juſt Cauſe to confiſcate *Normandy*, *Poictou*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and that *Guienne* was juſtly forfeited by *Edward* III. But all this is much eaſier ſaid than proved. If a Preſcription of ſeventy Years is alledged in favour of *France*, a much longer may be pleaded in behalf of the Kings of *England*, when theſe Countries were taken from them. 1360.

In fine, if any one ſtill imagines that *Edward* performed not his Vow, to conclude a Peace upon equitable Terms, let him add to the foregoing Remarks, the Conſideration of the State of the *French* Affairs at the time of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. King *John* was Priſoner at *London*, and the Dauphin ſhut up in *Paris*, from whence he durſt not ſtir. An Army of an hundred thouſand *Engliſhmen* was in the Center of the Kingdom, to which no conſiderable Body of Troops could be oppoſed. *Edward* was maſter of many Places taken by himſelf, or Generals, ſince his Invaſion. In ſhort, an univerſal Conſternation was ſpread all over the Kingdom, from whence the inteſtine Troubles deſtroyed all hopes of ever being able to expel the *Engliſh*. Theſe were very real Advantages which *Edward* actually enjoyed. He might therefore juſtly hope to become maſter of all *France*, and attain the end he propoſed to himſelf in beginning the War. What then prevented his improving ſo favorable a Juncture? Certainly it could be nothing elſe but willingneſs to be ſatisfied with a Part, when he might have expected the whole; and with a Part which he thought might with Juſtice be taken from *France*, by whom it was unjuſtly acquired. It is time now to return to the Occurrences, after the Peace of *Bretigny* (2).

John is conducted to Calais, This famous Treaty, negotiated in eight Days, was approved by both Kings. *John* was conducted to *Calais* in *July* (3), and ſtayed there four Months, according to Agreement. At his firſt Meal he was waited upon by *Edward*'s four Sons, who ſhewed him all poſſible Reſpect, purſuant to the King their Father's Orders. Theſe four Months were ſpent in drawing up all the neceſſary Acts, as well for explaining as confirming and executing the Treaty, that they might be all ſigned the ſame Day. It was not till the 24th of *October* that the two Kings ſigned and ſwore the Treaty at *Calais*, where *Edward* came ſome days before. All matters concerning the Treaty being finiſhed, King *John* was releaſed on the 26th of the ſame Month. Juſt before his Departure, *Edward* gave him a ſenſible Mark of Friendſhip, in permitting him to carry with him Prince *Philip* his Son, taken at the Battle of *Poictiers*. Of all his Children this was his greateſt Favorite. And though of all the Hoſtages in *Edward*'s hands, this was the chief, by reaſon of his Father's Affection for him, he very readily conſented, he ſhould be one of the ten that were to be freed by the XXII Article of the Peace of *Bretigny*. The two Monarchs upon parting gave mutual Tokens of cordial Love and Eſteem (4).

Act. Pub. VI. p. 219.

and is ſet at Liberty after ſwearing to the Treaty.

He ratifies the Treaty when in France. As ſoon as *John* arrived at St. *Omer*, he ratified by his Letters Patent, and voluntarily ſwore to, all the Articles of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. By that he ſhewed, no Violence had been uſed to oblige him to ſwear at *Calais*. The reſt of his Behaviour was agreeable to this firſt Step. He ſhewed upon all occaſions that his Intention was to perform his Engagements, and at laſt gave the moſt ſenſible Proof of it, by putting *Edward* in poſſeſſion of the Countries reſigned to him. There was only ſome Difficulty concerning the Earldom of *Gaure* in *Gaſcogne*, and the Territory of *Belville* in *Poictou*, about which the two Kings could not agree (5).

Act. Pub. VI. p. 230.

1361. *John Chandos.* The Peace between the two Crowns appearing thus firmly eſtabliſhed, *Edward* ſent [Sir *John*] *Chandos* into *France*, to command in his Name, in the Countries belonging to him, with the Title of Lieutenant-General. He could not make a better Choice (6). *Chandos* was one of the moſt accompliſhed Lords then in *England*;

(1) In the corrected Inſtrument or Letters of this Treaty, the Words (Reſort and Sovereignty) are always, and in all Articles, omitted, in reſpect to the King of *England*'s enjoying them in the Places which were to be delivered to him, where, in the uncorrected Articles and Inſtrument, they are given to him.

(2) As ſoon as King *Edward* received the News of the Ratification of this Treaty by the Dauphin Regent of *France*, he raiſed his Camp from *Bretigny*, and marching to *Calais*, came over to *England*, and landed at *Rye*, *May* 18. *Du Cheſne*, p. 692. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 196.

(3) A ſufficient Fleet was equipped for that purpoſe, under the Command of Sir *John Beauchamp*: King *John* was attended to *Calais* by Prince *Edward*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and many other Noblemen; they arrived there on *July* 19. *Ibid.* p. 198.

(4) All things being thus brought to a Concluſion, King *Edward* embarked at *Calais*, *October* 31. and landed at *Dover* the next Morning.

(5) This Year there were two Parliaments held in *England*. *Notitia Parliament.* This Year alſo, on *June* 24. died *John de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, and High-Chamberlain of *England*; as alſo *William Bohun*, Earl of *Northampton*; and *December* 2. Sir *John Beauchamp*, youngeſt Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, who was buried in the Choir of St. *Paul*'s. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.*

(6) He behaved ſo bravely in the Battle of *Poictiers*, that the King, for a reward of his good Service, granted him two Parts of his Manor of *Kirketon* in *Lindſey*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 874.

Painted on Glass in an Antient Window in ye Library of All Souls Coll. Oxon. *G. Vertue del & Sculp*

1361. which is no ſmall Commendation, conſidering the time. As affable and temperate in Peace, as he was brave in War, he was a Subject every way qualified for ſo great an Employ. As the King deſigned to gain the Affection of his new Subjects, he had taken care to ſend them for Governor, a Perſon whoſe Prudence was extremely proper to produce that Effect. Moreover, he ſettled upon him a very conſiderable Salary, which enabled him to keep a ſplendid Court at *Niort* in *Poictou*, where he reſided; and inveſted him with Power to pardon all ſorts of Crimes; that both by his outward Luſtre, and the Diſtribution of his Favours, he might procure for his Maſter the Love of the newly conquered People (1).

Edward reſtores to the Priories their Lands.

When *Edward* ſaw he was like to enjoy a laſting Peace, he reſtored to the Alien-Priories (2) the Lands taken from them twenty Years before, towards the Charges of the War. A thing very uncommon, to ſee Princes freely make Reſtitution of what they have once acquired.

Death of the Duke of Lancaſter. Dugdale's Baron. Knighton.

The Plague ſtill raged in *England* this Year. Among the reſt, it deprived the Kingdom of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the moſt eſteemed of all the *Engliſh* Lords. He was commonly called the *Good Duke*. Accordingly, his Death was extremely lamented. He founded the Collegiate-Church of *Leiceſter*, and in the ſame Place an Hoſpital for three hundred poor Men, which ſtill ſubſiſts to this Day (3).

Marriage of the Prince of Wales. Walſing.

The Prince of *Wales*, who never thought of marrying during the War, took this peaceable Time to eſpouſe *Joanna of Kent*, his Couſin, Counteſs Dowager of *Holland*. This Princeſs was Daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, beheaded in the beginning of this Reign, by the Intrigues of Queen *Iſabella* and *Mortimer*. She was commonly called *Joanna the Fair*, by reaſon of her great Beauty.

1362. Edward *makes* Guienne *a Principality.* Act. Pub. VI. p. 384. Walſing. Knighton.

The next Year, the King being pleaſed to give publick Marks of his Eſteem and Affection for the Prince his eldeſt Son, who had raiſed to ſo great a height the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, erected for him the Duchy of *Guienne* into a Principality, under the Name of the *Principality of Aquitaine*. Then he ſolemnly inveſted the Prince with it, obliging him only to pay yearly, in lieu of all Service, an Ounce of Gold to the Crown of *England* (4).

Publick Acts to be in Engliſh. Walſing.

Edward ſpent the reſt of this Year in making ſeveral wiſe Regulations with his Parliament, concerning domeſtick Affairs (5). Such, for example, was the decreeing that for the future, in the Courts of Juſtice, and in all Publick Acts (6), the *Engliſh* Language ſhould be uſed inſtead of the *French* or *Norman*, introduced by *William the Conqueror*.

A General Pardon. Id.

In this Parliament the King declared, that being arrived to his fiftieth Year, he would have it ſolemnized as a ſort of Jubilee. To that end, he granted a general Pardon for all Offences whatever, Treaſon itſelf not excepted (7); He confirmed alſo *Magna Charta*, which was confirmed ten ſeveral times in this Reign.

Edward *confers Titles on his Sons.* Id.

After *Edward* had performed what he thought neceſſary for the Publick, he was pleaſed likewiſe to do ſomething for his Family, by creating *Lionel*, his third Son, Duke of *Clarence*: *John of Gant*, his fourth Son, Duke of *Lancaſter*: And the fifth, called *Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*. In fine, after eſtabliſhing the Staple of Wool at *Calais*, he was pleaſed to ſpend the reſt of the Winter in Entertainments and Diverſions. He took a Progreſs into ſeveral Counties, attended by the principal Nobility, and the *French* Hoſtages, who partook of all the Recreations which the People ſtrove to divert their Sovereign with.

1363. *The Prince of* Wales *goes and keeps his Court at* Bourdeaux. Walſing. Froiſſart.

In the beginning of the Year 1363 (8), the Prince of *Wales* departed for his Government of *Acquitaine*. He reſided at *Bourdeaux*, where he kept a Royal Court, beloved and reſpected by all his Subjects, who were very happy in being governed by ſo great a Prince (9).

1363. *King* John *returns to* England. Act. Pub. VI. p. 430. *Pretended Reaſons of his Return.* Froiſſart. Mezerai.

This ſame Year was remarkable for King *John*'s Return into *England*, where it is pretended he came to yield himſelf Priſoner again, to atone for the Fault committed by the Duke of *Anjou*, his ſecond Son, in withdrawing from *Calais* without leave. At leaſt, this is the Reaſon generally given of this extraordinary Proceeding. Some add, he had a mind to confer in Perſon with *Edward* about the *Cruſade*, of which he was declared General by the Pope. There are Hiſtorians, who have made no ſcruple to advance a much leſs noble motive of his Return. They pretend, his Paſſion for the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, was the real Cauſe of this Journey, to which other Motives ſerved only for a Pretence. But this is a romantick Notion, without any Foundation (10). Whatever enquiry has been hitherto made, the real Occaſion of this Prince's Return is ſtill a Secret. That of Love is the moſt unlikely; and that of repairing the Fault of the Duke of *Anjou*, though adopted by the Generality of Hiſtorians, is, I think, groundleſs. To clear this matter, it will be neceſſary to relate ſome particulars which belong to the Hiſtory, and which I have reſerved for this Place, though they were tranſacted between the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and the Time I am now ſpeaking of.

Among the thirty Hoſtages in the Hands of *Edward*, beſides the Burghers of ſeveral Cities, there were four Princes of the Blood; namely, *Philip*, Duke of *Orleans*, King *John*'s Brother; *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*; *John*, Earl of *Poictiers*, afterwards Duke of *Berry*; and the Duke of *Bourbon*. Theſe four Princes, commonly ſtiled, *The Lords of the Flower-de-Luce*, being tired of *England*, fought all poſſible means to return into their Country. This however was no eaſy thing, ſince upon theſe four Hoſtages *Edward* chiefly relied for the full Performance of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and particularly for the Payment of King *John*'s Ranſom. Nevertheleſs, by their Sollicitations, they agreed with him for their Liberty, upon the following Terms: I. That the King ſhould releaſe theſe four Princes, provided, that before the firſt of *November*, the Territory of *Belville*, and Earldom of *Gaure* were reſigned to him, with two hundred thouſand *Florins*. II. That before the Departure of the Princes, certain Lands in *Poictou* ſhould be given him for Pledge. III. That in caſe the firſt Article was not executed by the Time agreed on, the Lands given in Pledge ſhould remain to the King for ever, and the four Princes be obliged to ſurrender themſelves in Hoſtage as before. There were ſome other Articles, but of no uſe in clearing this Fact. *John* ratified this Agreement, and the four Hoſtages were conducted to *Calais*, where they continued upon their Parole, till the Execution of the firſt Article. They had liberty to go out of the Town whenever they pleaſed, and even to ſtay away three Days, provided they came and lodged within the Walls on the fourth. It appears by *Edward*'s Letter to the Prince of *Wales*, inſerted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that this Agreement was not executed, and thereby the Princes deſpaired of recovering their Liberty ſo ſoon (11). The Duke of *Anjou*, more impatient, and leſs ſcrupulous than the reſt, took advantage of his Permiſſion to go out of *Calais*, to make his eſcape, and returned no more. Four other leſs conſiderable Hoſtages followed his ill Example. This is the Foundation whereon it is aſſerted, that King *John* came and ſurrendered himſelf Priſoner at *London*; namely, to repair the Fault of the Prince his Son. But as nothing in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* gives the leaſt hint, that this was the motive of his Voyage, there is great reaſon to queſtion it. Beſides, King *John* was by no means obliged to take this Step, even tho' all the Hoſtages had made their Eſcape; his whole Engagement conſiſting only in ſending the ſame Hoſtages, or others of the like Quality in their room (12). Now it is not ſaid, that the Duke of *Anjou* abſented himſelf from his Father's Court, and con-

(1) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, about *Jan.* 20. to whom King *Edward* communicated the late Treaty concluded at *Bretigny*; and by whom it was approved. *Rot. Clauſ.* 34 *Edw.* III. *M.* 4. *Dorſ.*

(2) There were two ſorts of Priories, ſuch as were independent like the Abbeys, and ſuch as depended upon ſome great Abbey, from which they received their Prior. When the Convent to which any Priory belonged was beyond Sea, it was ſtiled an Alien Priory.

(3) He and his Father both lye buried in this Church: He ſtiles himſelf in his Will, Duke of *Lancaſter*, Earl of *Derby*, *Lincoln* and *Leiceſter*, &c. *Knighton*, who lived in that Age, ſays: Henry *Duke of* Lancaſter, *was the firſt Founder of the Collegiate Church and Hoſpital without* South-gate *at* Leiceſter, *in which he placed a Dean and twelve Canons Prebendaries, as many Vicars and other Miniſters, one hundred poor and weak Men, and ten able Women to aſſiſt the ſick and weak, and ſufficiently endowed the Hoſpital.* It ſtill in ſome meaſure ſubſiſts by certain Stipends paid out of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, together with divers new Charities. *Camd.* in *Leiceſt.*

(4) So that he was Prince of *Wales*, and of *Aquitaine*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter* and *Kent*; this laſt in right of his Wife.

(5) This Parliament met at *London*, *October* 13. and granted the King twenty ſix Shillings and Eight-pence on every Sack of Wool for three Years, beſides the former Subſidy of Wool-Fells, and Skins. *Rot. Parl.* 36 *Edw.* III. *N.* 2. *Cotton's Abridgm.* p. 92.

(6) This Statute ordained only, that all Pleadings and Judgments in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, ſhould for the future be in *Engliſh*, whereas before they were wont to be in *French*. As for other publick Acts, ſuch as Statutes and the like, it does not appear they were writ in *French* till about the time of *Edward* I. See above, p. 178. Note (8).

(7) It is likewiſe ſaid that the Cuſtom of our Kings, who upon *Maunday Thurſday* waſh, feed, and cloath as many Poor as they are Years old, had its Riſe from this Jubilee of King *Edward*. *Pol. Virg. Lib.* 19.

(8) About the beginning of *Febr.* *Walſ. Froiſſart*, l. 1.

(9) This Year there was a Parliament, which met eight Days after *Michaelmas*. *Rot. Parl.* 37 *Edw.* III. N. 1.

(10) This is aſſerted only by Sir *Richard Baker*, and ſome other Moderns.

(11) *P. Daniel* ſays, the Dauphin hindered theſe Articles of Agreement from being executed. *Rapin.*

(12) See Article XVII of the Treaty of *Bretigny*.

1363. sequently it was eaſy to ſend him back. In ſhort, if *John* returned to *London* as a Priſoner, he would by that very thing have freed all the Hoſtages, ſince they were detained at preſent only as Security for the Payment of his Ranſom. All the reſt of the Articles of the Treaty of *Bretigny* were executed, except that relating to *Gaure* and *Belville*, which required not ſo great Security. And yet, during *John*'s three Months ſtay at *London*, there was never any talk of releaſing the Hoſtages. *Froiſſart*, whoſe Teſtimony is urged, does not ſay, *John* ſurrendred himſelf Priſoner again, but only that one of the Motives of his Voyage was to excuſe, and not to repair, the Duke of *Anjou*'s Fault. Theſe
C. 220. are the Hiſtorian's own Words: *I was then informed, and true it was, that King* John *purpoſed and deſired to go and ſee King* Edward, *his Brother, in* England, *and could not be diſſuaded from his purpoſe, though he was ſufficiently adviſed to the contrary: And being told by ſeveral Barons and Prelates, he was going to commit a great Indiſcretion, he replied, He had found ſo much Honour in the King of* England *and his Sons, that he did not queſtion their proving his true and faithful Friends on all occaſions; and moreover, he had a mind to excuſe the Duke of* Anjou *his Son, who was returned into* France. Here is nothing importing, that *John* returned to *England* to yield himſelf Priſoner, and therefore it is plainly a groundleſs Aſſertion. As for the third Motive, namely, his deſire to confer with *Edward* about the *Cruſade*, it is much more probable. But after all, this is only a Conjecture, which cannot be entirely relied on (1).

John *is honourably received in* England. Froiſſart. c. 221. Knighton.

When *Edward* heard, *John* was landed at *Dover* (2), he ſent the Princes his Sons, with a great Retinue of Nobles, to receive him, and conduct him to *London*, where he paid him all the Reſpect due to his Rank and Merit. The Kings of *Scotland* and *Cyprus*, who were then in *England*, made his Reception the more ſplendid. The former was come to pay *Edward* a Viſit, and the latter to deſire his Aid againſt the Infidels. Upon ſo uncommon an occaſion, *Edward* took a Pleaſure in entertaining his illuſtrious Gueſts, with all poſſible Magnificence, and with all the Diverſions he could think of. The Mayor of *London* made a ſplendid Entertainment for the four Kings, in the Name of the City. The
Sumptuouſneſs of a Wine-Merchant. Stow's Survey. Sumptuouſneſs of Sir *Henry Picard*, Citizen and Wine-Merchant, ought not to be paſſed over in Silence. He invited all the four Kings, with their Retinues, to a Feaſt at his own Houſe (3), where they were magnificently entertained. King *John* lodged in the Palace of the *Savoy*, as before, and was ſtill treated at the King's Expence. About the middle of *March*, three Months after his Arrival at *London*, he was ſeized with a Diſtemper of which he died the 8th of *April* 1364, to *Edward*'s great Grief, who had a ſingular Eſteem for his Virtue. There is aſcribed to this Prince a Saying, worthy to be had in eternal Remembrance by Poſterity: *Though Faith and Truth were baniſhed from the reſt of the World, they ought, however, to be preſerved in the Mouth of Kings.* It is pretended, this was ſaid on the occaſion of his returning into *England*; but it may, with much more likelihood, be aſcribed to his ſincere Performance of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, in ſpite of the Obſtacles thrown in his way by ſome of his Counſellors (4). *Charles* V. his Succeſſor, followed not the ſame Maxims.

1364. *Death of King* John. Froiſſart, ibid. Walſing. Knighton.

Edward's good Fortune not only ſhed its Influence on himſelf and his Subjects, but alſo on his Allies. This ſame Year, *John de Montfort* his Son-in-law, won the famous Battle of *Avray*, againſt *Charles de Blois* his Competitor, who was ſlain. This Victory decided the Quarrel between the two Houſes, who were contending for the Duchy of *Bretagne*, and produced the Treaty of *Guerande*, whereby *Bretagne* was aſſigned to *John de Montfort*, who did Homage for it to the King of *France* (5). *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, who ſerved *Charles de Blois*, and became afterwards very famous, was taken in this Battle by Sir *John Chandos*, General of the *Engliſh* Troops in *Montfort*'s Service. 1364. *Battle of Avray, which put Montfort in Poſſeſſion of* Bretagne. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 229. Walſing. Knighton.

The *Engliſh* Name was then famous in all Parts of the World. Some gallant *Engliſhmen* who had attended [*Guy de Luſignan*] King of *Cyprus* into the Eaſt, performed Wonders, and returned loaded with Honours and Riches taken from the *Infidels*. At the ſame time, *Thomas Hackwood* an *Engliſhman*, who departed from *England* a Journeyman Taylor, taking afterwards to Arms, ſignalized himſelf in the *Italian* Wars, by his Valour and Conduct, which raiſed him to the higheſt Poſts. He gained ſuch Honour and Reputation for reſtoring in thoſe parts military Diſcipline, which was almoſt entirely loſt, that after his Death the *Florentines* erected in their City, a black Marble Statue, in memory of the Services he had done them (6). *John Chandos* and *Robert Knollet* diſtinguiſhed themſelves likewiſe in a very ſingular manner, in all *Edward*'s Wars with *France*. The Fame of the *Engliſh* not only reached beyond the *Alps*, but flew alſo over the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, as we ſhall ſee preſently (7). 1365. *Exploits of ſome* Engliſhmen *in the* Eaſt. *Fortune of* Thomas Hackwood. Walſing.

Edward's great Acquiſitions in *France*, made Pope *Urban* VI, think the preſent Juncture very proper, to demand the Tribute promiſed by King *John Lackland* to the *Roman* Church, and of which there was thirty Years Arrears due. In this belief he was pleaſed to require the Payment, but with ſo much Haughtineſs, that he nominated, even beforehand, Commiſſioners to ſummon *Edward* before him in caſe of refuſal. The King's great Spirit not brooking ſuch haughty Proceedings, he cauſed the Pope's Demand to be laid before the Parliament (8), where it was declared, "That the King of *England*, "had not Power to bring his Realm in ſuch Servitude, "without the conſent of Parliament: That, if Neceſſity "forced King *John* to ſuch a proceeding, his Engage-"ment was null, as being contrary to his Coronation-"Oath." This auguſt Aſſembly, not content with ſo particular a Deciſion, came alſo to this vigorous Reſolution: "That, if the Pope ſhould attempt by any means "whatever, to proſecute his unjuſt Pretenſions, the Na-"tion ſhould with all their Power oppoſe him." The Firmneſs of the Parliament cauſed the Pope to deſiſt, and had not only a preſent Effect, but prevented the Kings of *England* from being ever after troubled, upon that occaſion. 1366. *Urban IV, proudly demands the Arrears of his Tribute.* O. Raynald. *The Parliament declares King John's Engagement to be void.* Rot. Parl. 40 Edw. III, N. 1.---3.

The Prince of *Wales* lived three Years in *Guienne* without exerciſing his Valour, and even without any Proſpect of doing it a good while. On a ſudden he was drawn out of this State of Tranquillity, by the Sollicitations of *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, ſirnamed the *Cruel*, who was lately expelled his Dominions. Never did Prince give his People greater Cauſe of Diſcontent. Cruel to exceſs, and of an unbounded Avarice, he illegally put to Death his *Affairs of* Caſtile. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 231. Mezerai.

(1) A Parliament met this Year at *Weſtminſter*, on *October* 6, which was prorogued to the *Friday* following, and diſſolved the 3d of *November*. *Rot. Parl.* 27 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 96, *&c.* ---- This Year alſo died the Lord *Edward Baliol*, late King of *Scotland*, at *Doncaſter* in *Yorkſhire*, without Iſſue, being the laſt of the Family of *John Baliol*. *Knighton*. Col. 2627.

(2) Which was on *January* 4. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 221.

(3) Which ſtood over againſt St. *Martin*'s Church, at a Place called the *Vintry*. *Barnes*. p. 635.

(4) *Knighton* ſays, That King *John* on his Death-bed confeſſed to *Edward*, that he had Confederates in *London* and elſewhere, who ſecretly collected the fineſt Gold of the Kingdom, made it into Plates, and ſent it in Barrels to *France*, with great Quantities of Bows and Arrows, *&c.* and that he had unjuſtly withheld the Crown of *France* from him, till the Peace of *Bretigny*. For all which, upon his Requeſt, *Edward* entirely forgave him, and cauſed the Gold and Arms to be ſeized. But this ſeems to be an improbable and malicious Story, inconſiſtent with the Character of this Prince, who was deemed one of the braveſt, and moſt liberal and ſincere Princes of his Time. His Body was carried into *France*, and buried at St. *Denys*.

(5) This Battle was fought on *Septemb.* 29. King *Edward* made the Purſuivant at Arms, who brought him the News of this Victory, a Herald by the name of *Windſor*, which Title continues to this Day. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 229. *Tyrrel.*

(6) When, upon the Delivery of the Towns to the *French* King by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, the Officers and Soldiers were ordered to depart, ſome *Engliſh*, and many more *Germans* and *Flemings*, refuſed to obey thoſe Orders; and being reſolved to maintain themſelves by War, great Numbers of common Soldiers of all Nations flocked to them, and increaſing to ſixteen thouſand Men, ravaged *France* in a miſerable Manner. At length dividing themſelves into two Bodies, one Part marched to *Avignon*, and by their ravages grew ſo formidable to the Pope that he publiſhed a Cruſade againſt them; but that coming to nothing, he ingaged the Marquiſs of *Montferrat* to hire theſe Adventurers, to aſſiſt him in his Wars againſt the Viſcount of *Milan*. The Marquiſs accordingly treated with their Captain Sir *John Hawkwood* an *Engliſhman*, and agreeing with him, *Hawkwood* went with his Men into *Italy*, to the great Joy of the *French* King. *Hawkwood* was a Tanner's Son of *Eſſex*, and being bound Apprentice to a Tailor in *London* quitted his Trade, and went a Soldier into *France*, where he was knighted for his Valour, and going into *Italy* (as was ſaid) was ſo much in favour with the Duke of *Milan*, that he gave him his natural Daughter in Marriage. After the Duke's Death, he ſerved the Commonwealth of *Florence*, and performed ſuch great Actions for them, that dying in their Service, they erected a Monument for him in the Cathedral of that City. The Tranſlator ſerving as Chaplain to Sir *Charles Wager*, in the late Expedition to *Italy* on *Don Carlos*'s Account, and being at *Florence*, took particular notice of this Monument. He is painted on the Wall of the Church on Horſeback in Armor, the whole of a green Colour, with theſe two lines under his Horſe's Feet.

Johannes Acutus Eques Britannicus, Dux ſuæ ætatis
Cautiſſimus, et rei militaris peritiſſimus, habitus eſt.

And underneath at a little Diſtance theſe Words: Opus Pauli Uccelli.

(7) A Parliament met this Year at *Weſtminſter*, on *Jan.* 22. wherein the ſecond Statute againſt *Proviſors* was enacted. *Rot. Parl.* 38 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1, 2. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 100. Which occaſioned the Pope's demanding the Arrears of his Tribute.

(8) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *March* 30. this Year 1366. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 102.

From the Monumental Effigie on his Tomb in ye Cathedral at Canterbury. *G: Vertue Inv: et Sculp:*

This French Epitaph *is circumscrib'd on a fillet of Brass beginning at the Head.*

Cy gist le noble Prince Monsieur Edward, aisnez fitz du treſnoble Roy Edward tiers jadis Prince d'Aquitain & de Gales Duc de Cornwaille & Comte de Cestre, qi morust en la feste de la Trinite, qestoit le vin jour de Jupn, l'an de grace mil trois cenz septante siśine. Lalme de qi Dieu eit mercy Amen.

On the South side of the Tomb.

Tu qi passez oue bouche close
Par la ou ce corps repose,
Entent ce qe te dirai,
Spcome te dire le say,
Tiel come tu es au tiel fu,
Tu seras tiel come je su.

De la mort ne pensai je mye,
Tant come javoi la vie:
En tre avoi grand richesse;
Dont je p'is grand noblesse
Terre Mesons, grand tresor,
Draps, chivaux, argent & or.

At the foot of the Tomb.

Mes ore su jeo poures & chetifs
Perfond en la tre gis.
Ma grand beaute est tout alee.
Ma char est tout gastee;

On the North side of the Tomb.

Moult est estroit ma meson;
En mop na si verite non.
Et si ore me veissez
Je ne quide pas qe vous deissez,
Qe je eusse onques home este
Si su je ore de tant changee.

Pour dieu preiez au celestien Roy,
Qe mercy ait de lame de moy.
Tous ceulx qi pur moy preiront,
Du a dieu macorderont,
Dieu les mette en son Paradis,
Ou nul ne poet estre chetifs.

Gravelot, del. C. Du. Bosc. sc.

The MONUMENT of Edward Prince of Wales Son of K. EDWARD III
in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.

1366. great Men, with the ſole View of confiſcating their Eſtates. He minded only the gratifying his Paſſions, without any regard to Honour or Conſcience. His Barbarity was grown to that height, that he poiſoned *Blanche de Bourbon* his Wife, Siſter of the Queen of *France*, to marry *Maria de Padilla*, whom he had long kept as his Miſtreſs. Of his five Baſtard-Brothers, the eldeſt had lately been ſacrificed to his Suſpicions, and the other four were in Danger. *Henry* Earl of *Treſtamare*, one of theſe Brothers, ſeeing himſelf every moment threatned with the ſame Fate, rebelled againſt *Peter*, and ingaged in his Quarrel the King of *Arragon*, with the principal *Caſtilian* Lords, who could no longer bear the Tyranny of their Sovereign. His Enterprize being at firſt unſucceſsful, he was repulſed by the Tyrant, and forced to fly to the King of *France*, who promiſed him Aid. Beſides King *Charles*'s deſire to revenge the Death of the Queen his Siſter-in-law, he was very glad to find Employment for a great Number of idle Soldiers, who, ſince the late Peace ſwarmed in *France*, and committed great Diſorders (1). With this view, he raiſed for *Henry*'s Aſſiſtance an Army, the Command whereof he gave to *John de Bourbon* Earl of *Marche*, the Queen's Couſin-German, and was pleaſed that *du Gueſclin*, whoſe Ranſom he paid to *Chandos*, ſhould be of this Expedition.

Peter *the Cruel expelled his Dominions.* Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 231. Walſing.

With theſe Troops, and the Aſſiſtance of the *Caſtilians*, *Henry* marched through *Arragon* into *Caſtile*, where the Tyrant ſaw himſelf immediately forſaken by all his Nobles, except one ſingle Knight. This Defection putting it out of his Power to withſtand his Brother, he would have retired into *Portugal*, but was denied Entrance. In this Diſtreſs, he choſe to go out of *Spain*, by way of *Bayonne*, from whence he repaired to *Bourdeaux*, to implore the Aid and Protection of the Prince of *Wales*. If the young Heroe had reflected on the Unworthineſs of the Prince who deſired his Aſſiſtance, he would doubtleſs have refuſed his Requeſt. But conſidering, on this Occaſion, only the Honour of reſtoring a depoſed King, and perhaps weary of an unactive Life, he undertook to replace him on the Throne. To that end, he levied an Army of thirty thouſand Men, and marched at their Head towards *Spain*, loaded with Promiſes (2) from the *Caſtilian*, and big with Expectation of gathering freſh Laurels (3). As he had no other way to enter *Caſtile* but through *Navarre*, he had taken care to ſecure a Paſſage, by a Treaty with the King of that Country (4). So he marched without oppoſition to the Frontiers of *Caſtile*. *Henry*, who was now crowned at *Burgos*, receiving Advice of the March of the *Engliſh* Prince, advanced towards *Navarre* with a powerful Army, to oppoſe his Paſſage. He might very poſſibly have executed his Deſign, conſidering the Superiority of his Forces, had he been ſo wiſe as to avoid a Battle. This the Prince of *Wales* was moſt apprehenſive of, and therefore to provoke him, ſent him a very inſulting Defiance, which *Henry* could not forbear to accept. The two Armies approaching each other, the Battle was fought near *Nejara* (5), a little Town on the Frontiers of *Caſtile*. As the Fields of *Creſſy* and *Poictiers* had ſeen the Prince of *Wales* perform Wonders, that of *Nejara* was likewiſe Witneſs of his heroic Actions, which after a long Struggle, made Victory incline to his Side. The *Spaniſh* Army reinforced with a ſtrong Body of *French* Troops, was entirely routed. *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, with the Marſhal *D' Endreghen* were taken Priſoners. *Henry* having no refuge left in *Caſtile*, after the loſs of his Army, retired into *Arragon*, from whence he repaired to *Languedoc*, to implore the Aid of the Duke of *Anjou* the Governor.

He deſires the Aid of the Prince of Wales, *who undertakes to reſtore him.* Knighton.

Act. Pub. VI. p. 512, &c.

1367. *He marches towards* Caſtile. Walſing.

Act. Pub. VI. p. 554. Froiſſart.

Battle of Nejara. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 239. Walſing. Knighton.

Peter *thanks the Prince for the Victory.* Act. Pub. VI. p. 531. 1368.

Peter was at firſt ſo grateful, that preſently after the Battle, he threw himſelf at the Prince of *Wales*'s Feet, to thank him for reſtoring him to his Kingdom. The Prince of *Wales* lifting him up immediately, and holding him in his Arms, ſaid, "It was to God alone he was "indebted for the Victory, and not to a Prince who was "only a weak Inſtrument in his hand." The Conſequence of this good Succeſs was the Reſtoration of *Peter* to the Throne from whence he had been driven. It was now time for that Prince to think of performing his Promiſes, and rewarding the brave Soldiers, who had ventured their Lives in his Service. But as he was no leſs perfidious than cruel, after long feeding them with hopes of Proviſions and Money, he repaid them with black Ingratitude. Want ſoon bred among the Soldiers a Mortality, which ſwept away great Numbers, and the fear of loſing the reſt obliged the Prince, who ſaw himſelf baſely amuſed, to retire extremely diſſatisfied. He was even forced to ſell his Plate, to provide for the more preſſing occaſions of his Army, till he could entirely ſatisfy them. But this was not all the Miſchief cauſed by this fatal Expedition. During the Prince's ſtay in *Spain*, he contracted a Diſtemper of which he never recovered. 1368.

But repays him with Ingratitude. The Prince returns to Guienne. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 238.

Thus ended the Enterprize of the Prince of *Wales*, an Enterprize glorious indeed, if the Succeſs only be conſidered, but not very honorable as to the Cauſe he eſpouſed, ſince it was ſolely to reſtore to the Throne the baſeſt of Princes. Heaven afterwards took care to revenge the *Engliſh* and *Caſtilians*. *Du Gueſclin* paying his Ranſom, went and joined *Henry* again, and both together laboured, with the Aſſiſtance of *France*, to bring a freſh Army into the Field. As ſoon as they were ready, they re-entered *Caſtile*, and made ſo great a Progreſs, that they were ſoon in condition to beſiege *Toledo*. *Peter* flying to the Relief of that City, was defeated and forced to retire to the Caſtle of *Montiel*, where he was immediately inveſted. As he ſaw his Caſe to be deſperate, he reſolved to go to *Du Gueſclin* in his Tent, imagining he would procure him tolerable Conditions, or help him to make his Eſcape. Unhappily for him, he found *Henry* his Brother there. The two Princes falling firſt to Reproaches, and then to Blows, *Henry* threw his Brother to the Ground, and ſtabbed him with his Dagger. After that he cauſed himſelf to be once more acknowledged King of *Caſtile*, without any oppoſition.

Cataſtrophe of Peter. Ib. c. 240.

Edward III has appeared hitherto on the Theatre of the World, as one of the moſt glorious Princes that ever ſwayed Scepter. If he had finiſhed his Courſe before the Revolution I am going to ſpeak of, perhaps it would have been difficult to find an Inſtance of a Reign more conſtantly fortunate. But his latter Years will preſent us with a very different Scene from thoſe we have ſeen. Fortune grew weary of favouring this Monarch in his old Age, after careſſing him ſo much in his younger Days. She robbed him before his Death of all his glorious Conqueſts, which were purchaſed ſo dearly, and theſe Loſſes were attended with many other Vexations. This is what remains to be conſidered in the Sequel of this Reign (6).

Difference between the end, and beginning of Edward's *Reign.*

Lionel Duke of *Clarence Edward*'s third Son, being contracted to *Violanta* Daughter of *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* (7), went to conſummate his Marriage, with a ſplendid Retinue, and many young Noblemen who attended him to do him honour. For ſome time there was nothing but Entertainments and Diverſions, which were daily renewed in favour of a Prince whoſe Alliance was ſo honorable to the Duke of *Milan*. Theſe Diverſions ſo laviſhly procured him, haſtened his end. Five Months after his Marriage, he died in *Montferrat* in the thirty ſecond Year of his Age. By his firſt Marriage with the ſole Heireſs of the Earl of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, he left a Daughter called *Philippa*, of whoſe Poſterity I ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak hereafter (8).

Prince Lionel's *ſecond Marriage.* Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 238. Act. Pub. VI. p. 547, 564.

He dies in Italy. Walſing.

Edward's Trouble for the Loſs of his Son was quickly followed by another, of which he was no leſs ſenſible. The Treaty of *Bretigny* was ſo diſadvantagious to *France*, that *Charles* V, who had himſelf made it, probably conſented to it only with Intention to break it, the firſt opportunity. The *French* were no better diſpoſed. This quickly appeared in all the Difficulties cauſed by them when the reſigned Provinces came to be delivered to the King of *England*. King *John* was the only Perſon that acted with Sincerity, and it was he, that by his own Authority prevented theſe Obſtacles from being carried

1369. Charles V, *forms the Deſign of breaking the Treaty of* Bretigny. Froiſſart. Walſing. Mezerai.

(1) Theſe were the other Body of diſbanded Soldiers mentioned in the Note above, who remained in *France*, and called themſelves the Companions. They routed the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Anjou*, under the Command of Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, Son of *Thomas Dagworth*, treacherouſly ſlain in *Bretagne* ſeveral Years before. As they were moſt *Engliſh*, the King of *England* was deſired to reſtrain them by his Authority, who calling them home by Proclamation, they replied, as they held nothing in *England* of the King, ſo neither for him, nor any one elſe, would they leave their Garriſons and Livelihood, got with ſo much labour. *Walſ.* p. 178.

(2) He engaged to pay fifty ſix thouſand Florins for the Wages of his Army, and left his three Daughters Pledges for the Money; he transferred alſo by his Charter the Caſtles of *Vermejo*, *Lequitio*, *Bilbao*, and *Ordiales*; with the Province of *Biſcay*, to Prince *Edward* and his Heirs for ever, wholly diſcharged of all Sovereignty and Reſort. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 512, 521, 559. *Barnes*, p. 684.

(3) It muſt be obſerved that he had by private Meſſengers drawn off the Companions (now commanded by Sir *Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Robert Knolles*) from the Service of *Henry*, and they were in his Army to the Number of twelve thouſand. *Walſ.* p. 181.

(4) And by engaging to pay him twenty thouſand Livres. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 231.

(5) On *April* 3. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 557. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 236. *Walſ.* p. 181.

(6) A Parliament met this Year on *May* 1. which granted the King for two Years, on every Sack of Wool, thirty Shillings and Eight-pence, ſo much of every two hundred and ſeventy Fells, and of every Laſt of Skins four Pounds over and above the old Cuſtom of ſix Shillings and Eight-pence on every Sack of Wool, and ſo much on twenty dozen of Fells, and thirteen Shillings and Four-pence on every Laſt of Skins. *Rot. Par.* 42 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1.----8.

(7) He had with her one hundred thouſand Florins of Gold, and the Cities of *Mondovi*, *Alba Pompeia*, *Claraſchi*, and *Cunci*, with their Territories, and Appendances. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 547.

(8) He was buried at *Pavia*, and afterwards brought over into *England* by *Thomas Newborn*, Eſq; and others, and interred at *Clare* in *Suffolk*, in the Convent-Church of the *Auguſtin* Friers, near his firſt Wife *Elizabeth de Burgh*. His young Widow *Violanta* was married to *Otho Palæologus*, Marquiſs of *Montferrat*, ſtabbed afterwards by an Hoſtler.

1369. too far. *Charles* his Son and Succeſſor, whom the *French* firname the *Wiſe*, was not of ſo ſcrupulous a Temper. He was no ſooner on the Throne, but he tried to evade what remained unexecuted of the Treaty. He even neglected to do *Edward* Juſtice upon the Duke of *Anjou*'s Eſcape, nor delivered up the Earldom of *Gaure*. The Judgment upon the Affair of *Belville*, referred to Arbitrators, was delayed on ſeveral pretences. King *John*'s Ranſom was not paid, or if *Charles* paid any thing after his Acceſſion to the Crown, it was but a ſmall part in reſpect of what was yet due. Mean time *Edward*, who had ſtill in his hands the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, and ſeveral other Hoſtages, could not imagine, that *Charles* thought of renewing the War, and believed his Inability to be the only Cauſe of all theſe Delays. Affairs proceeded thus ſlowly from the Death of *John*, till his Succeſſor was able to take juſt meaſures, to accompliſh his Deſigns. He ever pretended a Willingneſs to complete the Execution of the Treaty, and, under colour of paying his Father's Ranſom, to which he was bound, he heaped up Money very liberally ſupplied by the States, well knowing for what it was intended. With this Aid he engaged ſeveral *German* Princes in his Intereſt, and when he thought matters ripe, ſought a pretence to break with *England*.

Edward *diſguſts the Lords of* Guienne. Act. Pub. VI. p. 496. Charles *promiſes to protect them.*

When *Edward* was meditating a War with *France*, he believed it proper to attach to his Service the principal Lords of *Guienne*, by ſeveral Grants which he revoked immediately after a Peace. This Proceeding ſo exaſperated theſe Lords, that they wanted only a favorable Opportunity to ſhow their Reſentment. In all appearance, they would have long waited in vain, if *Charles* had not given them private Intimation that they ſhould be ſupported. As ſoon as they were ſure of his Protection, nothing was wanting but a pretence to complain; and they were not long without having one, as they thought, ſufficiently plauſible, to authorize them to throw off the Maſk.

The Prince of Wales *lays a Tax on* Guienne. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 239, 240.

The Prince of *Wales* having laid upon *Guienne* a Tax [called Feuage, or Chimney-Money] in order to pay the Arrears due to the Troops levied for the *Spaniſh* War (1), inadvertently furniſhed his Enemies with the deſired Opportunity to declare themſelves. The Lord *d'Albret*, the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Cominges*, *Perigord*, and *Carmaing*, incouraging their Vaſſals to complain of this new Tax, received their Complaints, brought them to the Prince, and addreſſed him upon that occaſion. Their Remonſtrances were ill received, both becauſe the Prince was in want of Money, and by reaſon of the Haughtineſs wherewith they were made. This was the very thing the Lords wanted. On pretence they could not have Juſtice from their Prince, they applied to the King of *France*, whom they ſuppoſed to be ſtill Sovereign Lord of *Guienne*, and prayed him to grant them Letters of Appeal to his Parliament. *Charles* not thinking proper to declare himſelf yet, cheriſhed this Diſpoſition, and in the mean time, kept them at *Paris*. The Journey of theſe Lords, and their long Stay at the Court of *France*, gave the Prince of *Wales* ſome Suſpicion. He writ Letter after Letter to the King his Father, to warn him that ſomething was contriving at *Paris* againſt him, but theſe Warnings were to no purpoſe. The King and his Council imagining, the warlike Prince tired with an idle Life ſought occaſion to renew the War, were regardleſs of his Remonſtrances.

Walſing.

Whilſt *Edward* relied on the Sincerity of the *French*, his Son's Diſtemper daily growing more dangerous, turned at laſt to a real Dropſy. The Prince's ill State of Health, and the King his Father's Infirmneſs, haſtened the Reſolutions of the King of *France*. As he ſaw there could not be a more favorable Juncture to execute his Deſigns, he granted the *Gaſcon* Lords, the Letters of Appeal they required; pretending, notwithſtanding his Oaths, and all his Father's Reſignations and Renunciations, that he was ſtill Sovereign of *Guienne*. He built his Pretenſions upon *Edward*'s not having ſent his Renunciation to the Crown of *France*, purſuant to the Treaty of *Bretigny*. But that Renunciation being only a Conſequence of the full Performance of the Treaty, *Edward* did not think himſelf, as indeed he was not, bound to make it, till the whole was executed. However he had abſolutely quitted the Title of King of *France* (2), a clear Evidence that he had no ill Intentions. Beſides, *Charles* himſelf had not been more punctual to renounce the Provinces yielded to *England* by the Treaty of *Bretigny*. Theſe reciprocal Renunciations were conſidered as the Seal of the Treaty, after the two Kings ſhould be ſatisfied concerning the Execution. However that be, *Charles* uſed this Pretence to ſummon the Prince of *Wales* to appear

harles *ſummons the Prince of* Wales.

before the Court of Peers, to anſwer for his pretended Tyranny upon the People of thoſe Provinces (3). The Prince's high Spirit not ſuffering him to bear this Affront without ſhowing his Reſentment, he replied, he would not fail to appear, but it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand Men. Mean while *Charles* was amuſing *Edward*, by expoſtulating with him, as if he were deſirous the Affair ſhould be put in Negotiation. *Edward* anſwered by giving Words for Words, not imagining they really deſigned to diſpute his Sovereignty of *Guienne*, ſo clearly ſettled in the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and much leſs that *France* was able to renew the War. But he prepoſterouſly flattered himſelf. It was not the Sovereignty of *Guienne* only that *Charles* deſigned to diſpute, he pretended moreover that the Treaty of *Bretigny* was void, becauſe *Edward* had not prevented certain Plunderers (4) that came out of his Dominions, from entering *France*, and becauſe he had not evacuated all the Towns that were to be reſtored. On theſe Pretences he ordered War to be proclaimed by a Footman, becauſe the Prince of *Wales* had ſeized thoſe that brought him the Summons. Shortly after, he publiſhed an Edict confiſcating all the Lands held by the *Engliſh* in *France*, and annexed them to the Crown.

1369. *His Anſwer.* Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 240, 241, 242.

Charles *pretends the Treaty of* Bretigny *is void.*

He proclaims War. Id. c. 246.

The Praiſes beſtowed on this Prince by the *French* Writers for ſo wiſely improving the Junctures that offered to recover his Dominions, deſerve ſome Reflection. It is true, he acted with Prudence, if Sincerity and Honeſty are to go for nothing. The good Succeſs his Conduct was crowned with, freed *France* for a time from her unfortunate Condition. But if we conſider it cloſely, this Prudence is real Perfidiouſneſs. For even ſuppoſing *Edward* had not executed any one Article of the Treaty, his Non-performance did not give *Charles* a Right to proclaim War againſt him. The King his Father and himſelf had expreſsly renounced, with an Oath, all violent Methods in caſe of Non-execution. Beſides, he had not himſelf performed all the Articles of the Treaty, ſo that all he could reaſonably demand, was a Compenſation. But it was an open renouncing of good Faith, to annul the whole Treaty, on pretence that ſome Articles remained ſtill to be performed by *England*, when he himſelf left ſeveral unexecuted. Moreover, his Pretences of a Rupture were ſo frivolous, that the *French* Hiſtorians not being able to relate them preciſely, confine themſelves to Generals, without mentioning Particulars. The moſt plauſible Pretence alledged by *Froiſſart*, is this, *The Prince of* Wales *not having wherewithal to pay the Troops lately returned from* Spain, *ſix thouſand Men disbanding themſelves, and afterwards joining again, committed great Ravages in* Guienne. *The Prince deſiring them to depart his Dominions, they threw themſelves into the neighbouring Provinces of* France, *and plundered them unpuniſhed, the* French *not being able to hinder them.* Suppoſing the Thing to be as *Froiſſart* relates it, it was not now practicable for the Prince of *Wales* to go into *France* and quell theſe roving Plunderers, who had entered that Kingdom. It appears however, he did all that lay in his Power, ſince he impoſed on his Dukedom the *Feuage*-Tax, in order to pay his Troops. But *Charles* made this very Thing a pretence for a Rupture, whence it is evident he only ſought occaſion to quarrel. The ſame Hiſtorian ſays further, that *Charles* ordering the Treaty of *Bretigny* to be examined in his Council, the chief Debate ran upon the Article, whereby the two Kings renounced all violent methods in caſe of Non-execution. He adds, he was adviſed upon that foundation to proceed to a Rupture, becauſe *Edward* never ceaſed to make War upon *France*. But he does not ſay, How or Where, neither mentions any particulars. However, from what that Author relates, it is very eaſy to infer, that before the Treaty was examined, *Charles* had reſolved upon War, and, that this Examination was only made to find ſome Pretence. *Mezerai* ſays, the occaſion of the Rupture was, *Edward*'s not withdrawing all his Troops out of the Kingdom; but does not name any one Place where theſe Troops remained. Thus it is manifeſt, the *French* Authors were at a loſs what to alledge.

Remarks on this Rupture.

c. 238.

Art. XXXVI.

From what has been ſaid, it may be eaſily concluded, that *Charles*'s Wiſdom was not a very ſcrupulous Virtue; whether he ſigned the Treaty with an Intention to break it, or formed not that deſign till a favorable opportunity offered. It is therefore the Effect, and not the Cauſe, which made this Prince's Conduct to be ſo much admired. Had he been as unſucceſsful, as he was fortunate, he would have re-plunged *France* into a gulph of

(1) At one Livre a Chimney, this Tax would have amounted to twelve hundred thouſand Livres a Year. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 239. This Tax was laid on by the conſent of the Eſtates of *Guienne* aſſembled in Parliament; and was to laſt only five Years. *Ibid.*

(2) And ceaſed to quarter the Arms of *France* with thoſe of *England*.

(3) This Citation is dated at *Paris*, *Jan.* 25. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 241.

(4) The Companions mentioned in a foregoing Note, and which were ſent away by Prince *Edward* ſome time after his return from *Spain*.

Miſery

1369. Misery, and thereby justly incurred the blame of the whole World, and doubtless, of those very Writers who have given him so great Commendations.

State of Affairs between the two Crowns.

Before I enter upon the particulars of this second War, it will be farther necessary to consider, how matters stood between the two Crowns, at the time of the Rupture. The *French* complained, *Edward* had not ceased to make War against *France*, nor withdrawn all his Troops out of the Kingdom, pursuant to his Engagements. But these are general Complaints, containing no particular Fact. Besides, it is not very likely, that *Edward*, to whom this Treaty was so advantagious, would have furnished *France* with a pretence to break it. The Treaty it self shews, the *English* Monarch's Engagements were inconsiderable, in respect of the advantages he reaped by it. This gives occasion to presume, that being a Prince of great Abilities, as all must own, he could not be so unwise as to raise any Obstacles himself against the execution of so advantagious a Treaty. As for the pretended Injury done the *Gascons* by the Prince of *Wales*, it is evident from the Treaty, that *Charles* had no right to interpose.

It was not the same with respect to the *English*, whose Complaints appear much more just. It is true, King *John*, whose Sincerity can never be too much commended, performed the Treaty to the utmost of his power. He was no sooner returned into his Dominions, but he ratified every Article, separately, by particular Acts. Then, not content with the swearing himself to the observance thereof, he obliged the Dauphin his Son, who was to succeed him, to take the same Oath. So that all defects in his Engagements, by reason of his Captivity, were removed by his Ratifications, when at full Liberty in his own Territories. Performance was a still more authentick Confirmation than Promises or Oaths. He put *Edward* in possession of the Lands resigned by the Treaty, without any reserve, and particularly those held of *Guienne*. If he had not meant to give up the Sovereignty with the Lands, it is not credible that he, and the Prince his Son, should make no exception of that Sovereignty, either in the Treaty it self, or in any of the Ratifications of each particular Article. At least they would not have neglected to make a Protestation, when *Edward* erected *Guienne* into a Principality, and invested the Prince his Son, without the participation of *France*. Indeed, there was a Dispute between the two Kings, concerning two inconsiderable Territories, but not to quarrel for such a Trifle, the matter was put to Arbitration. As for the Ransom, King *John*'s Inability was the sole Cause of his not paying it at the time appointed. *Edward* was so well satisfied of that Prince's Sincerity, that he made no scruple to prolong the time of Payment, in order to give him some respite. This Moderation was the reason why at the time of King *John*'s Death, there remained still to pay, two hundred thousand Crowns of the first Million. Moreover, in expectation, that *John*, or the Dauphin his Son, would pay him in time, *Edward* was not so strict with regard to the Hostages as he should have been. I have observed he readily consented, that Prince *Philip*, afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, should be one of the Ten to be released by the XVIIth Article of the Treaty, tho' it was in his Power to give one of less Distinction. All the rest had in *England* all the Liberty they could reasonably desire. The *Collection of the Publick Acts* is full of Licences granted them, to go and take care of their private Affairs in *France*. The Duke of *Anjou*, the Earls of *Grandpré* and *Brenne*, the Lords of *Clere* and *Derval* abused this favour, and all *Edward*'s Instances could not procure him the least Satisfaction upon that Article.

How the French Hostages got out of Edward's Hands.
Act Pub. VI. p. 396, 398, 419.
p. 411, 453.

The Duke of *Orleans*, by the Grant of certain Lands to *Thomas of Woodstock*, one of the King's Son's, procured his own with the Freedom of *Audresel* one of the Prisoners.

Froissart, l. 1. c. 243.
Act. Pub. VI. p. 396, 467.
p. 488, 510, 585.

The Duke of *Bourbon* having opportunity to do the King some Service with the Pope, was set at liberty, on payment only of twelve thousand Crowns, given by the Prince of *Wales* to the Person that took him at *Poictiers*.

Ib. p. 484, 562.

The Affair of *Belville* being put to Arbitration, *Edward* relying on the Sincerity of the *French*, and the Justice of his Cause, made no scruple to enter into an Engagement, to which he was not obliged. He was pleased, even after the Duke of *Anjou*'s Escape, to promise to release the Duke of *Berry*, and the Earl of *Alenson*, in case the matter in dispute was decided in favour of *France*. He even carried his Generosity so far, as to give these two Princes leave to return home, contenting himself with taking their word, that if the Affair was determined in his favour by the Arbitrators, they would come back to *England* and remain in Hostage, only till he was in possession of the Territory in dispute. These two Princes embraced his Generosity, and returned to *France*. Mean while, the Affair was left undecided, and the Hostages thought no more of returning. 1369. p. 492, 544.

The Earl of St. *Pol* obtained his Liberty, upon leaving his two Sons in his room. p. 494.

Charles d' Artois made his Escape without taking Leave.

The Lords of *Luxemburg*, *Estampes* and *Hengest*, died in *England*, and *Charles* sent not other Hostages in their room, though he was often required.

The Earl of *Harcourt* had leave for a certain time, and returned no more. Act. Pub. VI. p. 473.

Guy de Blois did the same thing; but agreed afterwards with *Edward*, by giving him *Soissons*. p. 568.

Montmorency, *Boucherche* and *Maulevrier*, had leave to go to *France*, but took care never to return. It is likely, however, they gave the King some Satisfaction, since we do not find any Complaint against them in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, from whence I have taken these particulars. Ib. p. 551, 568.

As for the other Hostages of less note, and the Burgesses of the Towns, whereof *Toulouse* neglected to send Her's, *Edward* generously gave some their Freedom, and the rest compounded for their Ransom, or died in *England*.

As for King *John*'s Ransom, there still remained unpaid, near two Millions. It is true, *Edward* received of *Charles*, at several times, about three hundred thousand Crowns, which, added to what was paid by the King his Father, amounted to little more than the first Million, which was due seven or eight Months before.

It appears then, that *Edward* was the only Person wronged, and yet *Charles* pretended, the Treaty of *Bretigny* was void, by the Non-Performance of some Articles on the part of *England*; Articles, which no Historian has distinctly mentioned. Upon this foundation he asserted, that *France*, restored to her antient Right, might justly confiscate the Provinces resigned to *England*. After these Remarks, which seemed necessary for clearing this Fact, it is time to resume the thread of the History.

Ponthieu taken from Edward. The chief Cities of Guienne revolt.
Froissart, l. 1. c. 246.

Edward was extremely surprized to find that *Charles* who passed not for a Warrior, durst attempt to enter into competition with a Prince that had gained so many Battles. He was still more astonished, shortly after, when he heard that the Earldom of *Ponthieu* was seized (1), and the principal Cities of *Guienne* were in Arms against him. He summoned a Parliament (2), which granted him a great Aid to maintain so necessary a War, wherein he was unwillingly engaged. By the Advice of this Parliament, he re-assumed the Title of King of *France*, which he had relinquished since the Peace (3). After obtaining this Aid from his Subjects, and a positive Promise to support him as long as the War should last, his first Care was to send Troops to the Prince of *Wales*, to recover the Cities of *Guienne*. Then he dispatched the Duke of *Lancaster*, his fourth Son, to *Calais*, with a powerful Army. But the Duke's Progress ended only in ravaging the open Country, without making any Conquest.

He stiles himself King of France.
Act. Pub. VI. p. 621, 643.
Walsing.

Death of the Queen.
Aug. 15.
Walsing.
Froissart.

The renewal of the War was not the only thing that disturbed *Edward*'s Repose this Year. The Loss of his Queen was to him a very great increase of Affliction. He had lived with her forty Years in perfect Union, and had by her twelve Children. This good Queen was likewise extremely lamented by the People,

(1) By *Guy Count de St. Paul*, and Sir *Hugh de Chastillon*, Master of the Cross-Bows of *France*. *Froiss.* l. 1. c. 246.

(2) This Parliament met at *Westminster*, *May* 27. and granted the King for three Years, of Denizens for every Sack of Wool, forty three Shillings and Four-pence; of every twenty Dozen of Fells, forty three Shillings and Four-pence; and of every Last of Skins, four Pounds. Of Aliens, for every Sack of Wool, fifty three Shillings and Four-pence; and of every twenty dozen of Fells, fifty three Shillings and Four-pence; and of every Last of Skins, five Pounds six Shillings and Eight-pence, over the old Custom. *Rot. Parl.* 43 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1, 9, 10. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 108, *&c.* There was, it seems, another Parliament this Year; which was sitting, when the *French* Valet came to *London*, and declared War against *England*. See *Barnes*, p. 739. *Froiss.* c. 246.

(3) This Year the King set forth an Order for the arming of all Clergymen. Part of it runs thus: "The King commands and requires all the Prelates assembled in Parliament, that in regard of the great Danger and Damage, which may happen to the Realm and Church of *England* by reason of "this War, in case the Enemy should invade the Kingdom, that they will appear themselves in the Defence of the Realm, and cause their Tenants, "Dependants, Monks, Parsons, Vicars, *&c.* to be prepared for the Field in a military Manner, and be ready to encounter the Force, and disappoint "the Malice of his Enemies." All which the Prelates in Parliament engaged to perform. *Rot.* in *Tur. Lond.* in 43 *Edward* III. *Rymer*, Tom. 6. p. 631.

1369. who had always found her ready to relieve them in their Neceſſities. The Poor eſpecially were great loſers by her Death (1).

1370. *Death of* Chandos. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 269. Walſing.

The War was continued in *France* to the Advantage of *England*, under the Conduct of *Chandos*, who commanded in *Saintonge* and *Poictou*, and maintained his Maſter's Affairs in thoſe parts in a flouriſhing Condition. But this brave General being ſlain at length in a Battle (2), they began to decline in theſe two Provinces (3).

Limoges *revolts.* Ibidem.

Guienne was in no better ſtate. The Prince of *Wales*, who, becauſe of his Illneſs, could do little more than give Directions, ſaw himſelf extremely weakened by the Revolt of the chief Towns depending on his Principality of *Aquitain*. *Limoges*, a City of great importance, was ſurprized by the *French*, or rather deſired to change Maſters. The Diſloyalty of the Inhabitants ſo incenſed the Prince, that he reſolved to make them an Example. To that end, having received a Supply of Troops, brought him by the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Cambridge*, he beſieged the Town, took it by Storm, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword.

The Inhabitants put to the Sword.

The Prince of Wales's *Diſtemper increaſes.*

1371. *He returns to* England. Act. Pub. VII. p. 6. Froiſſart. c. 285. Walſing.

This was the laſt warlike Exploit of that great Prince, whoſe Diſtemper obliged him to be carried in a Litter. At laſt, finding himſelf utterly unable to act, he reſolved to return into *England*. He had ſtill ſome ſmall hopes, that his native Air would reſtore him to his Health. After reſigning to the King his Principality of *Aquitain* (4), which he could no longer govern, he departed, leaving the Command of the Army to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. Before his Departure, he had the Vexation to ſee *Edward* his eldeſt Son die (5), in the ſeventh Year of his Age. He was a Prince of great Hopes, and ſeemed much more like his Father and Grandfather, than his younger Brother *Richard*, who ſucceeded them. The Prince of *Wales* took his Son *Richard* with him, in order to have him educated in *England*.

Death of the King of Scotland. Robert Stuart *ſucceeds.* Buchanan. Act. Pub. VI. p. 696.

David King of *Scotland* died laſt Year (6), leaving his Crown to *Robert Stuart* his Nephew, Son of his eldeſt Siſter. *Robert* was no ſooner on the Throne, but he made an Alliance offenſive and defenſive with *France* againſt *England*. But this League was kept ſecret, *Charles* not having then occaſion for this Aid, which doubtleſs he reſerved for a more urgent Occaſion (7).

The Duke of Lancaſter *and Earl of* Cambridge *marry the two Daughters of* Peter the Cruel. Froiſſart. Walſing.

The Departure of the Prince of *Wales* entirely ruined the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in *Guienne*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* and Earl of *Cambridge*, perceiving that with ſo few Troops they could not hope to reduce the revolted Towns, or effectually withſtand the *French*, reſolved to return into *England* to ſollicite freſh Supplies. Before they departed, they married the two Daughters of *Peter the Cruel*, King of *Caſtile*, expelled and ſlain by *Henry* his Baſtard-Brother. The Duke of *Lancaſter* eſpouſing *Conſtantia* the eldeſt, immediately aſſumed the Title of King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, thereby ſhewing, he deſigned to proſecute his Wife's Right (8). This Proceeding obliged *Henry* to unite more cloſely with *France*. As it was his Intereſt to help as much as poſſible to humble *England*, he reſolved to aſſiſt *Charles* with all his Forces.

1372. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *aſſumes the Title of King of* Caſtile. Act. Pub. VI. p. 698. 729. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 290. Walſing.

About this time the *Flemings*, who had declared for *France*, were defeated at Sea by the Earl of *Hereford*, who took ſix and twenty of their Ships. 1372.

Gueſclin gets the better of the Engliſh.

But this advantage could not balance thoſe gained by *du Gueſclin* upon *England* in *Guienne*, and the neighbouring Provinces. This brave General, whom *Charles* had drawn from the King of *Caſtile*'s Service, to make him Conſtable of *France*, beat the *Engliſh* every where. After driving them out of *Limoſin*, *Perigord*, and *Rovergne*, he carried his Progreſs ſo far, that he found himſelf able to march into *Saintonge*, and at length to lay Siege to *Rochelle*, with the Aſſiſtance of a Fleet ſent by the King of *Caſtile*, to block up the Town by Sea. When *Edward* received this News, he ſpeedily ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* with forty Ships to throw Succours into the Town. This Precaution ſeemed ſufficient to ſave *Rochelle*; but for ſome time nothing had proſpered with the *Engliſh*. The Earl of *Pembroke* (9) being about to ſail into the Port, met the *Spaniſh* Fleet, commanded by Admiral *Boccanegra* a *Genoeſe*, who fiercely attacked him. The Fight laſted two days, and ended at length in the entire Defeat of the *Engliſh* Fleet (10), the Admiral and many Officers being taken and ſent bound into *Spain*. This Loſs compleated the Ruin of the *Engliſh* Affairs. *Rochelle* however might have ſtill held out, had it not been for the Treachery of the Mayor (11). This Magiſtrate, who held intelligence with the Beſiegers, found means to cauſe the Garriſon to be drawn out of the Citadel, under colour of a Muſter, and by means of a forged Order of the King, which the Governor (12) not being able to read, took for real. When the Garriſon was come out, the Mayor ſhut the Gates, and would not ſuffer them to reenter. Whereupon the Town capitulated, and obtained ſuch advantagious Terms (13), that ſhe rather became free than changed Sovereign.

He beſieges Rochelle.

The Earl of Pembroke *is beaten at* Sea. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 295, 296.

Rochelle taken. Id. c. 302.

Gueſclin beſieges Thouars. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 303.

The Loſs of *Rochelle* alarming *Edward*'s Adherents in thoſe parts, *du Gueſclin* improved his advantages. He marched into *Poictou*, where he took ſeveral Towns, and at length formed the Siege of *Thouars*, where the principal Lords of the Country were retired. The Siege was ſo vigorouſly carried on, that the beſieged were at laſt forced to capitulate, and promiſe to return to the Obedience of *France*, if the King of *England* or one of his Sons did not come before *Michaelmaſs*, with an Army ſtrong enough to give Battle. Such Capitulations were very common in thoſe days, when good Faith was more eſteemed than at preſent. Accordingly, they are no longer practiſed. The Loſs of *Thouars* was of too great Conſequence to leave that Place un-relieved, eſpecially as the King's Honour was concerned. *Edward*'s extreme deſire to ſave that Town, and with it the reſt of *Poictou*, cauſed him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours. In a very ſhort time he aſſembled a Fleet of four hundred Sail (14), with which he would have gone in Perſon to raiſe the Siege (15). But the Winds conſtantly refuſing to aſſiſt him on this occaſion, all his endeavours proved fruitleſs. He was ſix Weeks at Sea, without being able to reach *Poictou*. At laſt he was forced to return to *England* after great Fatigues and a vaſt expence, which almoſt drained his Treaſury. He was ſcarce come to *London* when he heard the *French* were maſters of all *Poictou* (16).

Edward tries in vain to ſave the Town. Ibid. Walſing.

Edward's

(1) She died on the 15th of *Auguſt* 1369, having been married two and forty Years, and was buried in the Chapel of the Kings in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, under a fair Tomb of black Touchſtone, with her Portraiture thereon of Alabaſter. About her Monument were placed the Figures, and now remain the Shields of Arms carved and painted of thirty illuſtrious Perſons. Among other works of Charity, ſhe contributed largely towards the Building and Endowing of *Queen*'s College in *Oxford*, founded in 1340, by *Robert Egleſfield*, her Chaplain and Confeſſor.

(2) In a ſmall Rencounter he received a wound in the Head, of which he died two Days after. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 269.-------About that time Sir *Robert Knolles* was ſent with an Army into *France*, and waſted that Kingdom from *Calais* to *Paris*. *Ib.* c. 276, 279. *Walſing.* p. 184. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 653.

(3) In the beginning of this Year, the King was in ſo great want of Money, notwithſtanding the large Aids granted him by his Parliaments, that he borrowed great Sums of Money from Merchants and Perſons of Eſtates. *Walſ.* p. 184. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 655.

(4) Which he did on *Octob.* 5. 1372. *Ibid.* Tom. 7. p. 6.

(5) In the beginning of *January*, *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 285.

(6) On the 7th Day of *June*, *Buchan.* l. 9.

(7) A Parliament met this Year at *London*, on *February* 24. wherein the Laity granted the King fifty thouſand Pounds to be levied out of every Pariſh in the Kingdom (except the County of *Cheſter* and the Church Lands) which was afterwards, in a Great Council at *Wincheſter* held this Summer, ſettled at the rate of one hundred and ſixteen Shillings out of each Pariſh, the larger to contribute to thoſe of leſs Value. The Clergy alſo granted then a ſeparate Aid of fifty thouſand Pounds more for one Year: And all this for the War in *France*. *Rot. Parl.* 45 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1, 6, 7. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 111. *Stow's Ann.* p. 268. *Walſ.* p. 186.

(8) *Pedro* King of *Caſtile*, when he came to implore the Aſſiſtance of Prince *Edward*, brought two young Daughters with him, who were left as Pledges for their Father's Performance of the Conditions agreed on between him and that Prince, which their Father taking no care to perform, and being killed not long after, the young Ladies were left upon Prince *Edward*'s Hands. When they came to Women's Eſtate, the Duke of *Lancaſter* was adviſed to marry the Eldeſt, being deem'd the true Heireſs to the Crown of *Caſtile*, and the Earl of *Cambridge* married *Iſabella* the youngeſt.

(9) Who was appointed the King's Lieutenant in *Guienne*: And at the ſame time the Duke of *Lancaſter* was ordered to invade *France* by the ſide of *Picardy*, with a large Army. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 294, 295. *Rymer*, Tom. 7. p. 7, 13.

(10) This Defeat happened on *June* 23. There was in one of the Ships taken by the Enemy, twenty thouſand Marks in ready Money to pay the Army. *Froiſſart.* l. 1. c. 297. *Walſing.* p. 186.

(11) *John Candorier. Froiſſart*, c. 302.

(12) *Philip Manſel. Ibid.*

(13) The Conditions were: That their Caſtle, which commanded the Town, ſhould be razed; and that they ſhould have a Mint allowed them. They alſo obtained a Charter of their Privileges and Liberties, in as ample manner as they deſired. *Ibid.* c. 302.

(14) And gathered a large Army together, about three thouſand Lances, and ten thouſand Archers, by ſummoning all Men to come ready armed to *Sandwich*, and other Parts. *Froiſſart*, l. 1. c. 303.

(15) He ſailed from *Sandwich* the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, or beginning of *September*, with his Son, the *Black* Prince, who was now pretty well recovered; but was forced to return to *England*, in the beginning of *October*. See *Rymer*, Tom. 6. p. 748. *Walſ.* p. 187.

(16) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *November* 3, and granted the King the former Subſidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells, for two Years longer. See above, p. 441. Note (2). They moreover granted a Fifteenth for one Year, to be levied as the laſt was. The Citizens and Burgeſſes granted alſo, for the ſafe-conveying of their Ships and Goods, a Cuſtom of two Shillings upon every Tun of Wine, coming in or exported out of the Kingdom, and Six-pence in the Pound of all their Goods and Merchandiſe for one Year. *Rot. Parl.* 46 *Edw.* III. *N.* 1, 2, 3, 9. *Walſ.* p. 184. This Year alſo *Jan.* 15. died the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was buried in the *Charter-Houſe*, which he had founded. *Ann* his only Daughter and Heir was married

1373. *Affairs of* Bretagne. Argentré. Mezerai. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 306.

Edward's Affairs proſpered little better in *Bretagne*, though the Duke his Son-in-law did his utmoſt to promote them. The People were weary of War, and were troubled to ſee, that, ſolely for the Intereſt of the *Engliſh*, they were going to be plunged again into their late Calamities. On the other hand, the Lords of *Bretagne*, bribed by *French* Penſions, oppoſed with all their Power their Prince's Deſigns, and treated as Enemies, the Troops ſent thither by *Edward* to ſupport the War. In this ſituation, the Duke, whoſe Heart was entirely *Engliſh*, had it not in his Power to ſerve the King his Father-in-law as he wiſhed, or to perform his late Treaty. Thus embarraſſed, he reſolved to go himſelf into *England*, and ſollicit a Supply capable of procuring him greater Authority in his own Dominions. *Edward* was very ſenſible of the Importance of this Demand, but could not do every thing (1). He was obliged therefore to ſend back the Duke of *Bretagne* with fair Promiſes only, whilſt he turned all his thoughts to reſtore the Affairs of *Guienne*, which touched him more nearly (2).

Act. Pub. VI. p. 698, 738, 768.

1374. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *goes to* Guienne. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 308, &c. Act. Pub. VII. p. 7. 13. Walſing.

Purſuant to his Reſolution to make a powerful Effort in *Gaſcogne*, he aſſembled an Army of thirty thouſand Men, the Command whereof was given to the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Son, ſtiled in *England*, *King of Caſtile* (3). The Duke landing at *Calais* (4), traverſed all *France* without oppoſition, and came to *Bourdeaux* (5). From thence he advanced into upper *Guienne*, with Deſign to expel the Duke of *Anjou*, who had taken ſeveral Towns. He offered him Battle, which the *French* Prince accepted. The time and place were now appointed, but the two Generals receiving advice of a Truce concluded between the two Crowns, both retired (6).

Battle agreed on, prevented by a Truce.

1375. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 311. Act. Pub. VI. p. 702, 704, 711, 760. VII. p. 53, 66----81.

Some time ſince, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, the two Kings ſent Plenipotentiaries (7) to *Bruges*, where the forementioned Truce was concluded, in order to labour a Peace more ſedately. But the Pretenſions of the two Monarchs being too oppoſite, for a Peace to be ſo eaſily made, their Negotiation ended only in a Prolongation of the Truce to *April* 1377. As ſoon as the Truce was ſigned, the Duke of *Lancaſter* led back his Troops into *England* (8).

1376. *Truce prolonged.* Ib. p. 89, 200.

Though the Conſequences of this laſt War were no leſs conſiderable than thoſe of the former, ſince *France* recovered in this, whatever ſhe loſt in the other, yet, the particulars are very far from being ſo entertaining. In the firſt, *Edward's* Conqueſts were rendered illuſtrious by a naval Engagement, where the King commanded in Perſon. The Battle of *Creſſy*, where all the Nobles of both Kingdoms fought in the preſence of the two Kings, and gained by a Prince of ſixteen Years old, is one of the moſt moving Scenes in Hiſtory. The Conqueſt of *Calais*, in the ſight of an Army of a hundred and fifty thouſand Men, is no leſs capable of affecting the Reader. The Victory of *Poictiers*, obtained by an Army of twelve thouſand againſt ſixty thouſand, and the taking of King *John*, are Events which command our Admiration, and quicken our Attention. In a word, the firſt War was ended by the moſt important and ſolemn Treaty, ever made between the two Crowns. In the ſecond, there was not one general Action. The two Kings, contenting themſelves with directing their Affairs in the Cabinet, never appeared at the head of their Armies. As for the Sieges, excepting thoſe of *Limoges* and *Rochelle*, there was ſcarce one worth mentioning. The Towns loſt by the *Engliſh*, were taken or ſurprized with a wonderful Rapidity. Some even ſurrendered before the Enemy's Approach. The Loſſes therefore of the *Engliſh* may be truly called a Defeat, which affords but few particulars proper to ſatisfy the Reader's Curioſity. For this reaſon, I have not inſiſted upon a Detail, which muſt have been tedious. It ſuffices to obſerve, that at the time of the laſt Treaty, *England* had loſt whatever was acquired by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, except *Calais* alone. So true is it, that Acquiſitions gained by force of Arms, ought not to be relied on, as has been, and is daily confirmed by numberleſs Inſtances. Sooner or later, a ſuperior Force finds means to wreſt them from the Conqueror, or his Children. Thus *France* loſt in the Reign of *John*, what was conquered upon the *Engliſh* by *Philip Auguſtus* and St. *Lewis*, and thus *Edward* III. loſt the Conqueſts made by himſelf in *France*. We ſhall ſee in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that one of *Edward's* Succeſſors amply retrieved all theſe Loſſes; and the *French*, in their turn, recovered, quickly after, whatever was taken by the ſame Prince. Such Examples, frequently occurring in Hiſtory, ought to teach Princes to moderate their Ambition; but few are ſo wiſe as to profit by theſe Examples. If we inquire into the natural Cauſes of this Revolution by which *Edward* loſt what he had acquired by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, they will appear to be very obvious. The Revolt of the *Gaſcons*, the Prince of *Wales's* Diſtemper, *Edward's* old Age, his too credulous Reliance on the King of *France's* Sincerity, the Prudence of *Charles the Wiſe*, who, without ſtirring from the Cabinet, managed the whole War, the Conduct and Bravery of *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, were the Inſtruments in the hand of Providence, to produce this Revolution.

1376.

Edward falls in Love with Alice Pierce. Walſing.

The *Engliſh* were in ſome meaſure comforted for all their Loſſes, by the Tranquillity enjoyed by the Truce. The King himſelf appeared to lay aſide his martial Inclinations, for others, which ſomewhat endangered his Reputation. In his old Age he fell in Love with one *Alice Pierce* (9). His Paſſion had ſuch an Aſcendant over him, that it made him guilty of Weakneſſes unbecoming ſo great a Prince. The Money raiſed for the War, was quickly conſumed by this greedy She-Favorite. From thence followed an univerſal Diſcontent throughout the Kingdom. Wholly employed with pleaſing his Miſtreſs, the King thought only of procuring her Diverſions. Entertainments were daily made with immenſe Expence. Taxes were the more grievous, as the Nation was entirely drained by continual Wars. They were extremely troubled, to ſee the Money deſigned for the Payment of the publick Debts, ſquandered away in Vanities. Above all, a Tournament held in *Smithfield*, gave great offence, where *Alice Pierce*, to whom her old Lover had given the Name of *Lady of the Sun*, appeared by his Side in a triumphant Chariot, and attended by many Ladies of Quality, each leading a Knight by his Horſe's Bridle. When the King's Coffers were empty, he called a Parliament (10) to demand a Subſidy. But he had the mortification to ſee that his People, who ſo powerfully aſſiſted him in his glorious Undertakings, had not the ſame Zeal, to provide for uſeleſs Expences. Before the Subſidy was granted, the Parliament bitterly complained of the ill-management of his Miniſters, particularly of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, whom the King his Father had chiefly intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs. They even petitioned the King to remove from his Perſon the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Son, *Alice Pierce* (11), *Latimer* Lord Chamberlain, and others that were moſt in his favour. This Petition was made with ſuch warmth, that the King perceiving he could not reject it without danger, granted their requeſt, leaſt in their turn the Parliament ſhould refuſe him the Money he wanted. It was not queſtioned, but the Prince of *Wales* had privately induced the Parliament to take this Step, in order to re-

He waſtes the publick Money, which diſguſts the Nation.

A Tournament in Smithfield. Stow's Survey.

The Parliament obliges the King to turn off his Favorite and Miniſters. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing.

Hollingſh.

married to *John de Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 150. The 16th of the ſame Month died *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Eſſex*, and *Northampton*, Conſtable of *England*, the tenth of that Name, and laſt Male of that noble Family. He left behind him only two Daughters, *Eleanor*, afterwards married to *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, King *Edward's* youngeſt Son; and *Mary* to *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, who became King, by the name of *Henry* IV. *Id.* Vol. I. p. 187.

(1) In the Year 1375, having obtained an Aid from King *Edward*, he ſailed in the beginning of the Spring, from *England*, with three thouſand Archers and two thouſand Men at Arms, and recovered ſeveral of his Towns and Caſtles. *Froiſ.* l. 1. c. 311. *Walſ.* p. 188.

(2) This Year, on the 20th of *March*, Sir *John Devreux* marched from *Niort*, with a conſiderable Army to relieve *Siveray*, then beſieged by the *French*, but was entirely defeated. *Froiſ.* l. 1. c. 304.

(3) He was appointed the King's Lieutenant in *Bretagne*, by Letters Patent, bearing date *June* 12. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 13.

(4) *July* 24. *Froiſ.* l. 1. c. 310. *Tyrrel*, p. 744.

(5) About the beginning of *Novemb. Id.* p. 745.

(6) A Parliament met this Year at *Weſtminſter*, *November* 1. which granted the King two Fifteenths, to be paid in two Years; and alſo of every twenty Shillings of Merchandiſe coming into the Realm, or going out, Six-pence for two Years, except of Wools, Skins, and Wool-fells. And alſo the Subſidy of Wools for two Years, upon Condition, that if the Wars ceaſed within two Years, then the latter Payments of all their Grants ſhould ceaſe. *Rot. Parl.* 47. *Edw.* III. *N.* 4, 5. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 116. *Walſ.* p. 189.

(7) The *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries were *Simon* Biſhop of *London*, *Edmund* Earl of *March*; *Richard de Stafford*, and *Roger de Beauchamp*, Knights Bannerets; *Simon de Melton*, Doctor of Laws, and *John de Branketre*, Treaſurer of *York*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 760.

(8) In the beginning of *July*. *Froiſ.* l. 1. *Tyrrell.*

(9) She was one of the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to Queen *Philippa*. In a Grant to her of ſome Jewels belonging to Queen *Philippa* deceaſed, dated at *Woodſtock*, *Auguſt* the 8th, 1373. ſhe is called *Perrers*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 28. This is the only Record in the *Fœdera*, which proves *Edward's* Affection for this Lady; a thing Mr. *Barnes* will by no means allow, for two Reaſons, becauſe *Edward* was ſo chaſte in the Flower of his Age, and becauſe ſo noble a Baron as the Lord *William Windſor* married her afterwards.

(10) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, the *Monday* after *April* 23. and granted the King the like Subſidy of Wool, Skins, and Wool-fells, as were granted in the laſt Parliament, to laſt three Years, from the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next enſuing. *Rot. Parl.* 50 *Edw.* III. *N.* 2, 9. *Walſ.* p. 189.

(11) She was accuſed of coming into the Courts of Juſtice, ſitting on the Bench with the Judges, and making them do as ſhe pleaſed. *Walſing.* p. 189.

1376. move the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was in too great Credit with the King. As the Prince found he muſt die, he could not reflect without uneaſineſs, that he was going to leave his young Son *Richard* to the Mercy of an ambitious Uncle, who might uſe his his Credit to take the Crown from him. And indeed, *Richard*, by reaſon of his Youth, was incapable of oppoſing the Duke's Deſigns, in caſe they ſhould tend, as it was ſuſpected, to the procuring himſelf to be declared the King's preſumptive Heir, after the Death of his elder Brother. This obliged the Prince of *Wales* to ſeek, for his Son, the Protection of the Parliament, as the only means to ſupport him in his juſt Rights. For the ſame reaſon, probably, the Parliament (1) petitioned the removal of the Duke of *Lancaſter*. During this Seſſion, *Edward*, now in the fiftieth Year of his Reign, cauſed a general Pardon to be publiſhed, which pleaſed the whole Nation exceedingly.

A general Pardon. Act. Pub. VII. p. 136.

Death of the Prince of Wales. His Character. Walſing.

A Sorrow no leſs univerſal quickly followed this Joy. It was cauſed by the Death of the Prince of *Wales*, the moſt excellent Prince *England* had ever produced. He was poſſeſſed of all Virtues in an eminent degree. A good Soldier, and a great General, brave without Fierceneſs, bold in Battle, but very affable in Converſation, and of a Modeſty which could never be ſufficiently admired. Ever ſubmiſſive and reſpectful to the King his Father, whom he never once diſobliged. Generous, liberal, pleaſed with rewarding Merit wherever he found it, he wanted no Qualification requiſite to form a perfect Hero. The *Engliſh* commonly called him, *The Black Prince*, not for his warlike Exploits, as ſome have imagined, but becauſe he were *Black Armour*. The News of his Death was received with unconceivable Grief, though it was long expected. The Parliament was willing, on this occaſion, to expreſs their juſt Sorrow for the loſs of ſo great a Prince, who had gained the Affection and Eſteem of the whole Nation, by attending his Corps to *Canterbury*, where he choſe to be interred (2). This renowned Prince died in the forty ſixth Year of his Age, lamented by the King his Father, who ſhewed upon this occaſion leſs Firmneſs, than he had done in all his other Misfortunes (3). The King of *France* himſelf, though he had little reaſon to be ſorry, gave him Marks of his Eſteem, by ordering a ſolemn Service to be celebrated at *Paris*, at which he was pleaſed to be preſent in Perſon. Prince *Edward* left but one legitimate Son, about ten Years old, and two natural Sons, who made no great Figure in Hiſtory (4).

Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 312.

1377. *The King recalls the Duke of* Lancaſter *and* Alice Pierce. Walſing.

The *Engliſh* were the more ſenſible of their late loſs, as it was ſoon followed by a freſh occaſion of Sorrow. The King recalled to Court thoſe that were removed from his Perſon. *Peter de la Mare*, Speaker of the Houſe of *Commons* (5), who, in preſenting the above-mentioned Petition to the King, had ſpoken a little too freely againſt *Alice Pierce*, was, at her Sollicitation, confined in *Nottingham*-Caſtle. The Duke of *Lancaſter* reſumed his old Poſt, and all the other Miniſters were reſtored to their former Offices. However, though he gave the Duke of *Lancaſter* this expreſs Teſtimony of his Affection and Confidence, *Edward* would not give him occaſion to expect, he deſigned him for his Succeſſor. On the contrary, to prevent all Diſputes after his Death about the Succeſſion, he created *Richard* his Grandſon [Duke of *Cornwal*] and Earl of *Cheſter*, and preſently after, conferred on him the Title of Prince of *Wales* (6). But not content with diſcovering his Intention, he cauſed all the Nobility to take their Oath to him, as to the Heir Apparent of the Crown. Finally, for fear his Uncles might entertain hopes of aſcending the Throne to his Prejudice, he was pleaſed to put him as it were in poſſeſſion of the Rank he deſigned him for, by cauſing him to take place of them in all publick Solemnities. Thus did that wiſe Prince take meaſures to prevent the Diſſentions, which might ariſe after his death in his Family, concerning the Succeſſion; pleaſing himſelf withal in honouring the memory of a Son he had tenderly loved, and perfectly eſteemed, by doing Juſtice to young *Richard* (7).

He creates Richard his Grandſon, Prince of Wales. Cotton's *Abridg.* Act. Pub. VII. p. 126. Walſing.

1377.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting at Court, *John Wickliff*, Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, began to publiſh his Belief upon ſeveral Articles of Religion, wherein he differed from the common Doctrine. Pope *Gregory* XI, being informed of it, condemned ſome of his Tenets, and commanded the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *London*, to oblige him to ſubſcribe the Condemnation, and in caſe of Refuſal, to ſummon him to *Rome*. It was not eaſy to execute this Commiſſion. *Wickliff* had now many Followers in the Kingdom, and for Protector, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Authority was very little inferior to the King's. Nevertheleſs, to obey the Pope's Order, the Archbiſhop held a Synod at St. *Paul*'s in *London*, and cited *Wickliff* to appear. Accordingly, he appeared, accompanied by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Percy*, Marſhal of *England*, who believed their preſence neceſſary to protect him. After he had taken his Place, according to his Rank, and been interrogated by the Biſhop of *London*, he would have anſwered ſitting, and thereby gave occaſion for a great Diſpute. The Biſhop inſiſted upon his ſtanding, and being uncovered, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* pretended, *Wickliff* was there only as Doctor, to give his Vote and Opinion, and not as a Party accuſed. The Conteſt grew ſo high, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* proceeded to Threats, and gave the Biſhop very hard Words. Whereupon the People that were preſent, thinking the Biſhop in danger, took his part with ſuch heat and noiſe, that the Duke and Earl *Marſhal* thought fit to withdraw, and take *Wickliff* with them. Their withdrawing appeaſed not the Tumult. Some Incendiaries ſpread a Report, that at the inſtance of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, it was moved that day to the King in Council, to put down the Office of Lord Mayor, take away the City Privileges, and reduce *London* under the Juriſdiction of the Earl Marſhal. This was ſufficient to enrage the People. They ran immediately to the *Marſhalſea*, and freed all the Priſoners. But they did not ſtop there. The Mutineers, whoſe number continually increaſed, poſted to the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Palace in the *Savoy*, and miſſing his Perſon, plundered the Houſe, and dragged his Arms along the Streets. The Duke was ſo provoked at this Affront, that he could not be pacified but by the removal of the Mayor (8) and Aldermen, whom he accuſed of not uſing their Authority to reſtrain the Seditious.

Troubles on account of Wickliff. Walſing. Stow's Survey.

To return to *Wickliff*. The Biſhops being met a ſecond time, the Doctor declared before them his Sentiments concerning the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, explaining the Eating of the Body of Chriſt, much in the ſame manner as *Berengarius* had done before him. Though his opinion was contrary to the Doctrine of the Church in thoſe days, the Biſhops not daring to proceed rigorouſly againſt him, were contented with injoining him Silence. It is ſaid, he promiſed to obey, but however, the Diſpute was revived in the following Reign.

Wickliff explains his Notions of the Euchariſt.

Let us conclude this Reign with *Edward*'s laſt publick Action, who, in an Aſſembly of the *Knights-Companions of the Garter* at *Windſor*, conferred that Order on *Richard* his Grandſon. This was the only Honour he could yet give him, after declaring him his Succeſſor. Shortly after, this great Prince, who was now indiſpoſed, fell ſo dangerouſly ill, that his Death was believed to approach. Before he left the World, he had the mortification to ſee the World leave him. *Alice* his Favourite

The King makes Richard Knight of the Garter. Walſing.

He falls ill, and ſees himſelf deſerted by all. Walſing.

(1) This Parliament was called the Good Parliament. *Walſ.* p. 191.

(2) He died of a Fever, *June* 8. 1376, and by his Will diſpoſed of his Body to be buried in the Cathedral of the *Trinity* at *Canterbury*. Over his Grave is erected a ſtately Monument of grey Marble, with his Portraiture thereon of Copper, gilt; the ends and ſides are garniſhed with Eſcutcheons alſo of Copper, enamelled with his Arms and Deviſes, and inſcribed with the Words *Houmout* and *Ich dien*. On an Iron Bar over the Tomb, are placed the Helmet and Creſt, Coat of Mail and Gantlets, and (on a Pillar near thereto) his Shield of Arms richly diapered with Gold. all which he is ſaid to have uſed in Battle. On a Fillet of Braſs round the Monument is circumſcribed this *French* Epitaph, "Cy giſt le noble Prince Monſieur Edward, aiſnez filz du treſnoble Roy Edward tiers: Jadis Prince d' Aquitaine & de Gales, Duc de Cornwaille & Comte de Ceſtre, qi moruſt en la feſte di la Trinitè qeſtoit le VIII jour de Juyn, l'an de grace mil trois cenz Septante ſiſne, L'alme de qi Dieu eit mercy Amen." On the South-ſide, at the Foot, and at the North-ſide of the Tomb, are *French* Verſes.

(3) *Walſingham* ſays, With him died the Hopes of the *Engliſh*, during whoſe Life they dreaded no Invaſion, nor feared to encounter any Enemy. He never undertook an Expedition without Conqueſt, never formed a Siege without carrying the Place, *&c.* p. 190.

(4) His natural Iſſue were: 1. Sir *John Sounder*, of whom there is no other mention than of his Name. 2. Sir *Roger de Clarendon*, ſo named probably from the Place of his Birth. He was made one of the Knights of the Chamber to *Richard* II, who granted him one hundred Pounds *per Ann.* during Life. He was attainted in the Reign of *Henry* IV, and is thought to be the Anceſtor of a Family of the *Smiths* in *Eſſex*. He bore, *Or, on a Bend Sable, three Oſtrich-Feathers Argent, the Quills tranſfixed through as many Scrolles of the firſt.* *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 189. Beſides Prince *Richard*, and the two natural Children here mentioned, it is certain that Prince *Edward* had a Daughter, though ſhe is not mentioned by any of our Hiſtorians. She was married to *Waleran de Luxemburgh, Count de Ligny*, and *de St. Pol.* All this appears from a Challenge ſent by that Count to *Henry* IV. King of *England*, in which are theſe Words:---------Conſiderant l'affinité, amour, & confederation, que j'avoye par devers treſhaut & puiſſant Prince *Richard* Roy d' *Angleterre*, duquel j'ay eu la Sœur en eſpouſe------*Monſtrelet*. Vol. I. p. 14.

(5) He was not Speaker, it ſeems, (though *Walſing.* ſays it by miſtake) but a conſiderable Knight of *Herefordſhire* both for Prudence and Eloquence. He was confined till the beginning of the next Reign.

(6) *November* 20. 1376. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 126.

(7) This Year a Parliament met at *London*, *Jan.* 27. which granted the King Four-Pence by way of Poll from every Perſon in the Kingdom, Male and Female, above fourteen Years of Age, except mere Beggars. *Rot. Parl.* 51 *Edw.* III. n. 10, *&c.* 19. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 144, *&c. Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 134. *Walſ.* p. 191.

(8) *Adam Staple*, in whoſe room Sir *Nicholas Brember* was choſen. *Stow's Survey.*

A Genealogical Table of the Posterity of Edward III down to K. James I.

11
Edward III
Philippa of Haynault
d. 1377.

Edward *P.ce of Wales* *John of Kent* *d. 1376*
Lionel *D. of Clarence* *1. Elizabeth de Burgh* *2. Violante of Milan* *d. 1368.*
Isabella *Ingelram de Coucy.*
Joanna *contracted to Alphonso X K. of Castile.*
John *of Gant* *D. of Lancaster.* *1. Blanche of Lancast.* *2. Constan.ce of Castile* *d. 1399.* *3. Catherine Roet.*
Mary *Jo.n of Montfort* *D. of Bretaign.*
Margaret *John Hastings* *E. of Pembroke.*
Edmund *Duke of York* *1. Isabella of Castile.* *2. Jane Holland.* *d. 1402.*
Thomas *D. of Glocester & Earl of Buckingham* *Eleanor Bohun* *d. 1397.*

12
RICHARD II *1. Ann of Luxenburgh.* *2 Isabella of France.* *deposed 1399.*
Philippa *Edmund Mortimer* *E. of March.*
Philippa *John I King of Portugal.*
Elizabeth *1 Jo.n Holland* *D. of Exeter.* *2 John Cornwall.*
13
HENRY IV *1. Mary Bohun.* *2. Joanna of Navarre.* *d. 1412.*
Catherine *Henry III K. of Castile.*
Joanna *Ralp Nevil* *Earl of Westmoreland.*
John *Beaufort* *E. of Somerset* *Marq.s Hollard.*
Henry *Beaufort* *Card.l of Winchest.r* *d. 1447.*
Thomas *Beaufort* *Duke of Exeter* *d. 1428.*
Constantia *Tho.s Spencer* *Earl of Glocester.*
Edward *D. of York* *slain at Azincourt* *1415*
Richard *E. of Cambr.* *ann Mortim.* *beheaded* *1415.*
Humphrey *Earl of Bucking-ham.*
Ann *1. Edmund Earl of Stafford* *2. Will. Bourchier E. of Eu.*
Joan *Gilbert L.d Talbot*

Elizabeth *Jo.n Mowbray* *D. of Norfolk*
Philippa *Mar. thrice* *d. without* *Children.*
Roger *E. of March* *Eleanor Holland* *d. 13 99.*
Edmund —
John *beheaded* *1425.*
Blanche *Lewis* *Count* *Palatine.*
Philippa *Erick K. of* *Denmark.*
14
HENRY V *Catherine of France* *d. 14 22.*
Thomas *Duke of Clarence* *d. 1420.*
John *D. of Bedford* *1. Ann of Burgundy* *2. Jaqueline of Luxemburgh.* *d. 1435.*
Humphrey *D. of Glocest.r* *1. Jaqueline of Haynault* *2. Elean.r Cobham* *d. 1446.*
Henry *D. of Somer-set.*
Joanna *James I K. of Scotland.*
Margaret *Tho.s Courtney* *Earl of Devonshire.*
John *D. of Somerset.* *Mary.r Beau champ.*
Edmund *Duke of Somerset.*
Thomas *E. of Perth.*
Richard *D. of York* *sec on the left hand of Branch of Lionel D. of Clarence.*
Humphrey *Duke of Buckingham.*
Henry *Earl of Essex.*

Edmund *E. of March* *Ann Stafford.*
Ann *Rich.d of York* *E. of Cambridge.*
Eleanor *Edward Courtney* *E. of Devonsh.*
15
HENRY VI *Margaret of Anjou* *d. 1472.*
Margaret *1. John de Lapole D.o of Suffolk.* *2. Edmund Tudor* *3. Thomas Stanley.*
Henry *Duke of Somer-set.*
Edmund *Duke of Somerset.*
Humphrey *who died before his Father.*

Richard *Duke of York* *Cecil Neoil.* *d. 1460.*
Edward *Prince of Wales* *d. 1472.*
19
HENRY VII *Elizabeth of York* *the Da. of Edward IV.* *d. 1509.*
Henry *Duke of Buckingham* *beheaded in 1485* *in the Reign of Rich. III.*

16
EDWARD IV *Eliz: Woodvil* *d. 1483.*
Edmund *Earl of Rutland* *Slain at Wakefield* *1460.*
George *D. of Clarence* *Isabella Nevil* *d. 1477.*
18
RICHARD III *Ann Nevil* *d. 1485.*
Elizabeth *John de Lapole* *Duke of Suffolk.*
Margaret *Charles D. of Burgundy.*
Ann *1. H. Holland* *2. Thomas S.t Leger.*
Arthur *Catherine of Arragon.*
20
HENRY VIII *1. Cath. of Arragon* *2 Ann Boleun* *d. 1540.* *3. Jane Seymour.* *4. Ann of Cleves.* *5 Catherine Howard.* *6 Catherine Parr.*
Margaret *James IV K. of Scot.* *2 Archibald Douglas E. of Angus.*
Mary *Lewis XII King of France* *2 Charles Brandon D. of Suf.*
Edward *Duke of Buckingham beheaded in 1521 in the reign of Hen. VIII.*

17
EDWARD V *d. 1483.*
Richard *Duke of York* *d. 1483.*
Elizabeth *Henry VII.* — *Cecilia* *1 Lord Wells.* — *Ann* *Tho: Duke of Norfolk.*
Catherine *Will.m Courtney* *Earl of Devonshire.* — *Bridgit* *a Nun.*
Edw.d *Earl of Warwick* *beheaded* *1499.*
Margaret *Richard Poole* *beheaded* *1541*
Edward *Prince of Wales d.* *1484.*
John *Earl of Lincoln.*
Edmund *Duke of Suffolk beheaded.*
Richard *Margaret of Clarence.*
22
MARY *Philip II. K. of Spain* *d. 1558.*
23
ELIZABETH *d. 1602.*
21
EDWARD VI *d. 1553.*
James V *Mary of Lorrain* *d. 1542.*
Margaret *Dowlas* *M.th Stuart* *K. of Lenox.*
Frances *Hen. Gray* *E. of Dorset.*
Eleanor *H. Clifford* *Earl of* *Cumberland.*

Henry *L.d Montague.*
Geoffroy
Arthur
Reginald *Poole* *Cardinal. d. 1558.*

Mary *2. of Scotland* *Henry Steuart* *beheaded* *1586.*
Henry *L.d Darnley* *K. of Scotland* *Mary Stuart* *d. 1566.*
Charles *Stuart.* *E. of Lenox.*
Jane *Gray* *Guilford* *Dudley* *beheaded 1553.*
Catherine *Edw.d Seymour* *Earl of* *Hartford.*
Mary *Martin* *Keys*

24
JAMES VI I *dnn of Denmark* *d. 1625.*
Arabella *William Earl of Hartford* *d. 1615.*

I do not pretend to give a compleat Genealogy of y.e Posterity of Edward III. down to K. James I. It would be an endless piece of work. For as in England the Women & their Descendants have a right of Succeeding to the Crown, when it comes to their turn, to make therefore a compleat and exact Genealogy, it would be necessary in it to comprehen all the Women descended from Edward III, with all their Posterity, both Males & Females, which would take in the Genealogys not only of the noblest Families of Europe, but also of most of the best Families of England. That would indeed be proper, but very difficult to be done. When Philip II K. of Spain was preparing to invade England, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, he had a Genealogy drawn, wherby it appeared that he was sprung from John of Gant Duke of Lancaster the 3.d Son of Edward III. by Philippa & Catherine two of this Dukes Daughters, one of which married John I King of Portugal, & the other Hen: III King of Castile. There are still several Families in England that are descended from Edward III by Lionel Duke of Clarence his 2.d Son, and Edmund Duke of York his 4.th Son. But it would be impossible to place em all in one Genealogical Table. I have therefore set down here no more than I thought necessary for the understanding this History.

Rapin. del. et Fec.

Gravelot. del. C. Dun. Esq. Sculp.

The MONUMENT *of King* EDWARD III. *in Westminster Abbey*

1377. who managed him in his Sickneſs, ſuffered very few to come into his Room. When ſhe ſaw he was dying, ſhe ſeized every thing of value ſhe could find, even to the Rings on his Finger, and withdrew. His Courtiers and Chaplains ſhowed no leſs Ingratitude. They all deſerted him, without vouchſafing to warn him of the little time he had to live, and of the account he was ſhortly to give of his actions to God. There was only one ſingle Prieſt, who accidentally ſeeing him forſaken in his laſt Agonies, came near the Bed to comfort him. He addreſſed to him ſome Exhortations, to which the dying King endeavoured to reply; but his Words were not articulate enough to be underſtood. The only Word diſtinctly pronounced, was the name of Chriſt, juſt as he fetched his laſt breath. Thus died this illuſtrious Prince at *Shene*, (now *Richmond*,) in the ſixty-fifth year of his Age, and the fifty-firſt of his Reign (1).

Death of Edward.

His Character.

After relating the principal actions of *Edward* III, in the Hiſtory of his Reign, it will be neceſſary, in order to compleat the character of this famous Prince, to give ſome account of his Perſon, and accompliſhments of Body and Mind. He was very tall, but well-ſhaped, and of ſo noble and majeſtick an aſpect, that his very looks commanded reſpect and veneration. Affable and obliging to the good, but inexorable to the bad; there are few Princes to be met with in Hiſtory, in whom were ſo well mixed the Duties of a Sovereign with thoſe of an honeſt Man, and a good Chriſtian; though in this laſt reſpect, his conduct was not altogether blameleſs. His converſation was eaſy, and always accompanied with gravity and diſcretion. Friend of the Poor, the Fatherleſs, the Widow, and all who were unhappily fallen into misfortune, he made it his buſineſs to procure them ſome comfort in their affliction. Never had King before him beſtowed honours and rewards with more judgment, and greater regard to true merit. Though his valour was acknowledged and admired by all the World, it never made him proud. Never did he ſhow greater ſigns of humility, than in the courſe of his Victories, which he conſtantly aſcribed to the ſole protection of Heaven. He knew how to maintain the Prerogatives of the Crown, without incroaching on the Privileges of the People. In all the former Reigns, there had not been enacted ſo many advantagious Statutes to the Nation, as in this. *Edward* always agreeing with the auguſt Body of the Nation's Repreſentatives, made that harmony inſtrumental to curb the deſigns of the Court of *Rome*, which never dared to quarrel with him. The Glory of the Prince of *Wales* his Son, added a new Luſtre to his own; and his conſtant Union with his Queen increaſed his happineſs. As he was never too elate in proſperity, ſo in adverſity he was never too much dejected. His moderation appeared no leſs in his loſs of the Provinces, that had coſt him ſo much Toil and Treaſure, than in his Victories, which had gained him the Poſſeſſion. In a word, he might be reckoned an accompliſhed Prince, if his ambition had not cauſed him to break, in a diſhonourable manner, the Peace made with *Scotland*, in order to diſpoſſeſs a minor King, who beſides was his Brother-in-law. Some add likewiſe the rupture with *France*, and his pretenſions to the Crown of that Kingdom, which they term extravagant, and wholly aſcribe to an ambitious motive. The following Diſſertation will help the Reader to judge of this conduct. As to his weakneſs in falling in love in his old Age, with *Alice Pierce*, that blemiſh is much leſſened by the many noble qualities which rendered him ſo praiſe-worthy. One might in ſome meaſure excuſe him, by ſaying, he conſidered this paſſion, at firſt, as an amuſement only, to divert him in his troubles, and knowing little of Love in his youthful days, took not ſufficient care to keep himſelf from it in his old Age (2). 1377.

His Iſſue.

Philippa of *Hainault*, his Queen, brought him twelve Children, ſome of whom died before him. *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldeſt Son, left but one Son, who aſcended the Throne after his Grandfather. *William*, his ſecond Son, died an Infant (3). *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, who ended his days in *Italy*, left only a Daughter called *Philippa*, by his firſt Wife, an *Iriſh* Lady (4). *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, was twice married in his Father's lifetime, and had Children, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following Reigns. *Edward*'s fifth Son was *Edmund*, ſirnamed of *Langley*, the place of his birth. He was created Earl of *Cambridge* by the King his Father, and afterwards Duke of *York*, in the Reign of *Richard* II, his Nephew. *William*, ſirnamed of *Windſor*, died young (5). *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the ſeventh Son, was made Duke of *Buckingham* by *Richard* II, and afterwards Duke of *Glocester*.

Iſabella, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward*, was married to *Ingelram de Coucy* Earl of *Soiſſons* (6). *Joanna* was firſt contracted to the Duke of *Auſtria*, and afterwards to *Pedro* (7) *the Cruel*, King of *Caſtile*, before he was King; and died at *Bourdeaux* as ſhe was going to *Spain* to conſummate her Marriage. *Blanch* lived but few years (8). *Mary* was married to *John de Montfort*, Duke of *Bretagne*, and died in 1363. *Margaret* was Wife to *John Haſtings*, Earl of *Pembroke* (9).

A DIS-

(1) He died of the Shingles, on *June* 21, 1377. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 151. *Walſing. Tyrrel*, and lies buried at *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, with this Epitaph upon his Tomb, according to the gingling Rhime of thoſe Days.

Hic Decus Anglorum, Flos Regum Præteritorum,
Forma Futurorum, Rex Clemens, Pax Populorum,
Tertius Edwardus, Regni complens Jubilæum,
Invictus Pardus, Bellis pollens Machabæum.
Proſpera dum vixit, Regnum Pietate revixit,
Armipotens Rexit: Jam cœlo (cælice Rex) fit!
Tertius Edwardus famâ ſuper æthera notus.
Fugna pro Patria.
M CCC LXXVII.

(2) Among other publick Acts of Magnificence and Charity, King *Edward* rebuilt *Windſor* Caſtle, of which Structure, the famous *William* of *Wickham* was Surveyor: He alſo founded *King's-Hall* in *Cambridge*, now part of *Trinity* College; and the Collegiate Chapel of St. *Stephen's* at *Weſtminſter*, for a Dean, and twelve ſecular Canons. *Stow's Ann.* p. 277. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom 5. p. 631.

(3) *William* of *Hatfield* (the Place of his Birth) born 1336, dying in his Childhood, was interred in the Cathedral of *York*.

(4) *Elizabeth de Burgh*, in whoſe Right he was created Earl of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*. *William de Burgh*, her Father, married *Maud*, Daughter of *Henry*, Son of *Edmund*, ſecond Son of *Henry* III.

(5) And was buried at *Weſtminſter*. Where in the Chapel of St. *Edmund* is to be ſeen a Tomb of grey Marble, on which lie the Figures of this *William* and his Siſter *Blanch de la Tour*, carved in Alabaſter, in the Habit of the Time, each about a Foot and half long. The Fillet of Braſs, containing their Epitaph, is torn away.

(6) Who was by *Edward* III created Earl of *Bedford*, 1366. This *Iſabella* was buried in the Church of the *Friers Minors* without *Aldgate*, leaving Iſſue, *Mary de Coucy*, Wife of *Robert de Barr*, and *Philippa de Coucy*, Wife of *Robert de Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, Marquiſs of *Dublin*, (a Title before unknown in *England*) and Earl of *Oxford*, who forſaking her, married one *Lancerona*, a Joyner's Daughter, (as is reported) who came with King *Richard* II's Wife out of *Bohemia*. He died at laſt in great want at *Louvain*, 1352; and his Corps was brought home, and interred at *Earl's Colne* in *Eſſex*.

(7) She was married by Proxy, and entitled *Queen of Spain*, but died of the Plague as ſoon as ſhe came into *Spain*; ſo that the King her Spouſe coming to meet her, to ſolemnize the Nuptials, accompanied her to Church, only at her Funeral, in 1348. She was born in the Tower, 1335. All our Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, ſhe was contracted to *Alphonſo* XI. King of *Caſtile*; but that it was to his Son *Pedro*, ſirnamed *the Cruel*, is undeniably manifeſt from *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 475---478, 498-- 503, 601 --607, 612. &c.

(8) She was called *de la Tour*, becauſe born in the Tower of *London*. She was buried in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, 1340, and her Figure of Alabaſter lies as above-mentioned in Note (5).

(9) This *John Haſtings* being ſent to raiſe the Siege of *Rochel*, fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and after two Years Captivity, was ſold to a Nobleman of *France*, with whom agreeing for his Ranſom, he was at his Departure poiſoned at a Banquet, 1375, without Iſſue by this Wife, being the firſt Subject who followed the Example of King *Edward* III, in quartering Arms, as may be ſeen in his Eſcutcheon, on the North-ſide of *Edward* III's Tomb; upon which he bears quarterly, *Or, a Manch Gules*, by the Name of *Haſtings*; and, *Barry of twelve pieces Argent and Azure, an Orle of eight Martlets Gules*, being *Valence*, impaling, France *ſeme* and England *quarterly*. *Sandf. Genal.* p. 180.

By a Charter-Mint to the Abbot of *Reading*, it ſeems that there was not any greater Piece coined, till after the twelfth Year of *Edward* III, than a Penny. For the Charter runs thus: "Rex dilecto ſibi *Johanni de Flete* cuſtodi Cambii noſtri *Londini*: Cum per Cartam noſtram conceſſerimus dilectis nobis in Chriſto------Abbati & Monachis de *Radyng* quod & ipſi & Succeſſores in perpetuum habeant unam Monetariam & unum Cuneum, &c. ------ Vobis Mandamus quod tres Cuneos de duro & competenti Metallo, unum, viz. pro *Sterlingis*, alium pro *Obolis*, & tertium pro *Ferlingis*, pro monetâ apud dictum Locum de *Radyng* facienda, de Impreſſione & Circumſcriptura quas dictus ----Abbas declarabit, &c.------ T. I. de *Shardelve* apud *Weſtm.* xvii. *die Nov. Regni noſtri* xii" But in the eighteenth of his Reign, we find the Standard of Gold Coins, was the old Standard or Sterling of twenty three Carats, three Grains and a half fine, and half a Grain allay. And for the Silver Coins, the old Sterling of eleven Ounces, Two-penny Weight fine, and eighteen Penny Weight allay. The ſame in 20th, 23d, 27th, 30th, 46th of his Reign. In the eighteenth Year, every Pound Weight of Gold of this Standard, was to be coined into fifty Florences, at ſix Shillings a-piece, which made in Tale fifteen Pounds, or into a proportionable Number of half and quarter Florences. This was by Indenture between the King, and *Walter de Dunſtower*, Maſter and Worker. Theſe Florences were ſo called from the *Florentines*, who (in the Year 1252) firſt minted ſuch Pieces; ſo that *Florenus* was generally uſed all over *Europe*, for the chief Gold Coin, as it is now for the beſt Silver. *Fabian* calls the *Floren*, a Penny; the Half-Floren, a Half-penny; and the Quarter, a Farthing, of Gold. And theſe Words are often met with in old Hiſtories and Accompts, applied to ſe-

The MONUMENT of King EDWARD III.
in Westminster Abbey.

1377. who managed him in his Sickneſs, ſuffered very few to come into his Room. When ſhe ſaw he was dying, ſhe ſeized every thing of value ſhe could find, even to the Rings on his Finger, and withdrew. His Courtiers and Chaplains ſhowed no leſs Ingratitude. They all deſerted him, without vouchſafing to warn him of the little time he had to live, and of the account he was ſhortly to give of his actions to God. There was only one ſingle Prieſt, who accidentally ſeeing him forſaken in his laſt Agonies, came near the Bed to comfort him. He addreſſed to him ſome Exhortations, to which the dying King endeavoured to reply; but his Words were not articulate enough to be underſtood. The only Word diſtinctly pronounced, was the name of Chriſt, juſt as he fetched his laſt breath. Thus died this illuſtrious Prince at *Shene*, (now *Richmond*,) in the ſixty-fifth year of his Age, and the fifty-firſt of his Reign (1).

Death of Edward.

His Character.

After relating the principal actions of *Edward* III, in the Hiſtory of his Reign, it will be neceſſary, in order to compleat the character of this famous Prince, to give ſome account of his Perſon, and accompliſhments of Body and Mind. He was very tall, but well-ſhaped, and of ſo noble and majeſtick an aſpect, that his very looks commanded reſpect and veneration. Affable and obliging to the good, but inexorable to the bad; there are few Princes to be met with in Hiſtory, in whom were ſo well mixed the Duties of a Sovereign with thoſe of an honeſt Man, and a good Chriſtian; though in this laſt reſpect, his conduct was not altogether blameleſs. His converſation was eaſy, and always accompanied with gravity and diſcretion. Friend of the Poor, the Fatherleſs, the Widow, and all who were unhappily fallen into misfortune, he made it his buſineſs to procure them ſome comfort in their affliction. Never had King before him beſtowed honours and rewards with more judgment, and greater regard to true merit. Though his valour was acknowledged and admired by all the World, it never made him proud. Never did he ſhow greater ſigns of humility, than in the courſe of his Victories, which he conſtantly aſcribed to the ſole protection of Heaven. He knew how to maintain the Prerogatives of the Crown, without incroaching on the Privileges of the People. In all the former Reigns, there had not been enacted ſo many advantagious Statutes to the Nation, as in this. *Edward* always agreeing with the auguſt Body of the Nation's Repreſentatives, made that harmony inſtrumental to curb the deſigns of the Court of *Rome*, which never dared to quarrel with him. The Glory of the Prince of *Wales* his Son, added a new Luſtre to his own; and his conſtant Union with his Queen increaſed his happineſs. As he was never too elate in proſperity, ſo in adverſity he was never too much dejected. His moderation appeared no leſs in his loſs of the Provinces, that had coſt him ſo much Toil and Treaſure, than in his Victories, which had gained him the Poſſeſſion. In a word, he might be reckoned an accompliſhed Prince, if his ambition had not cauſed him to break, in a diſhonourable manner, the Peace made with *Scotland*, in order to diſpoſſeſs a minor King, who beſides was his Brother-in-law. Some add likewiſe the rupture with *France*, and his pretenſions to the Crown of that Kingdom, which they term extravagant, and wholly aſcribe to an ambitious motive. The following Diſſertation will help the Reader to judge of this conduct. As to his weakneſs in falling in love in his old Age, with *Alice Pierce*, that blemiſh is much leſſened by the many noble qualities which rendered him ſo praiſe-worthy. One might in ſome meaſure excuſe him, by ſaying, he conſidered this paſſion, at firſt, as an amuſement only, to divert him in his troubles, and knowing little of Love in his youthful days, took not ſufficient care to keep himſelf from it in his old Age (2). 1377.

His Iſſue.

Philippa of *Hainault*, his Queen, brought him twelve Children, ſome of whom died before him. *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldeſt Son, left but one Son, who aſcended the Throne after his Grandfather. *William*, his ſecond Son, died an Infant (3). *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, who ended his days in *Italy*, left only a Daughter called *Philippa*, by his firſt Wife, an *Iriſh* Lady (4). *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, was twice married in his Father's lifetime, and had Children, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following Reigns. *Edward*'s fifth Son was *Edmund*, firnamed of *Langley*, the place of his birth. He was created Earl of *Cambridge* by the King his Father, and afterwards Duke of *York*, in the Reign of *Richard* II, his Nephew. *William*, firnamed of *Windſor*, died young (5). *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the ſeventh Son, was made Duke of *Buckingham* by *Richard* II, and afterwards Duke of *Gloceſter*.

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A DISSERTATION *on the* SALIC *LAW, And the* DISPUTE *between* PHILIP *of* Valois *and* EDWARD III.

BY the *Salic* Law is generally meant at preſent, a fundamental Law of the Monarchy of *France*, which excludes the Females and their Deſcendants from the Succeſſion to the Crown. This is the Idea commonly annexed to the Term *Salic* Law. In this ſenſe alſo it is that *Bodin* ſays, this Law was the foundation of the Monarchy; *Marca*, that it was a Privilege and Cuſtom peculiar to the *French*; *Thuanus*, that it was the *Palladium* of *France*. I might cite numberleſs other *French* Authors, who ſpeaking of the *Salic* Law, conſider it only as a Law relating particularly to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *France*. This Idea is the reaſon that moſt People, verily believing it was never thought otherwiſe ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy, cannot underſtand how *Edward* III, Son of a Princeſs of *France*, could, with the leaſt colour, diſpute the Crown of *France* with *Philip de Valois*, deſcended from Father to Son, from *Hugh Capet*. But they who reaſon thus, are not aware, they take for granted a thing not conteſted indeed at preſent, but which at the time of this famous diſpute, was the only point in queſtion between the two Kings. Since that point was decided, the preſent notion of the *Salic* Law is juſt and certain, but I will venture to ſay it was then doubtful, and this is what I hope to demonſtrate very clearly.

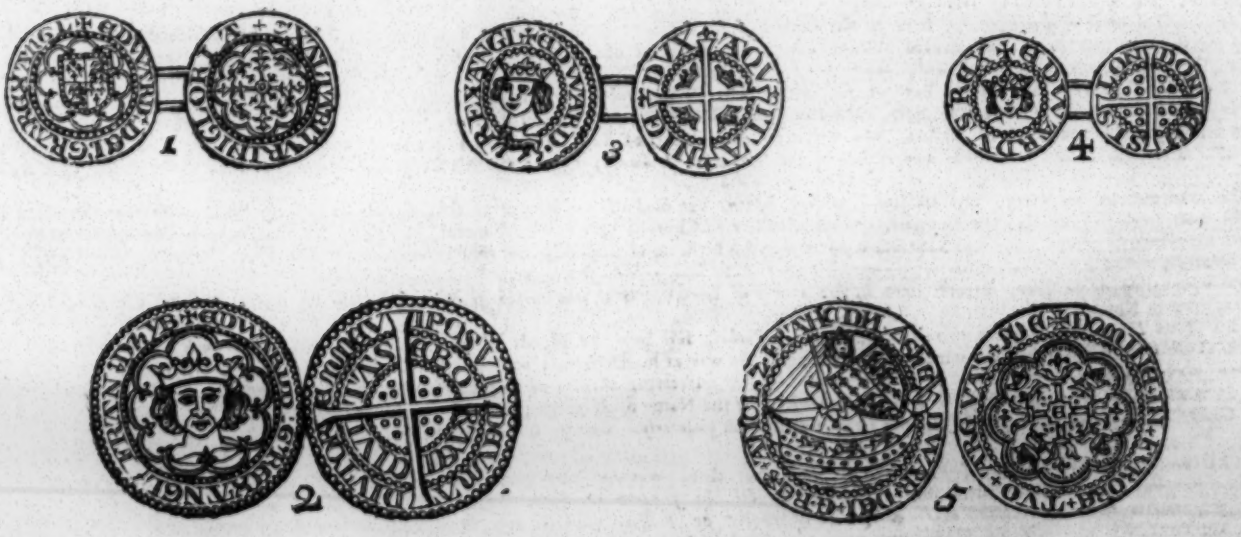
Bod. de la Rep. l. 1. 8. Marc. de Jur. p. 1. c. 28, N. 31. De Thou. l. 110.

By the *Salic* Law, *Edward*, the next Male Heir of *Charles the Fair*, was deprived of the Succeſſion, and the Regency; or to ſpeak more properly, the Crown was adjudged to a more diſtant relation. It will therefore be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding this proceſs, to know what is meant by the *Salic* Law, which is in every one's mouth, which ſo few have any knowledge of, and concerning which the *French* themſelves are not agreed, though they reckon it a fundamental Law of their Monarchy.

Some, as the famous *Jerom Bignon*, ſay we are not to look for the *Salic* Law among Records, ſince it is a Law of Nature, and if there are any Nations where it does not take place, they are examples more worthy of

Bignon de l'Excel. du Roy. du France. l. 3. p. 298.

veral Coins, as Reals, Angels, &c. where is to be underſtood by *Denarius*, the Whole; by *Obolus* the Half; and by *Quadrans* the fourth Part or Farthing. In the ſame eighteenth Year, a Pound Weight of Gold of old Standard, was to contain thirty nine *Nobles* and a half, at ſix Shillings and Eight-pence a piece, amounting in the whole to thirteen Pounds, three Shillings and Four-pence in Tale, or a proportionable Number of half and quarter Nobles. Which was by Indenture between the King and *Percival de Perche*. By this Indenture the Trial of the *Pix* was eſtabliſhed. Theſe were indiſputably the firſt Gold Coins, and are ſo beautiful and rare, that they merit the Eſteem of Medals, being inſcribed, EDWARD. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. The Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly within a Roſe, (whence called Roſe Nobles;) the Arms *Semé-delis*, and not ſtinted to Three, (as in *Edward* IV.) Reverſe, a Croſs *Fleuri Lioneux*, the four Lions are paſſant, with the Words, EXALTABITUR IN GLORIA. (*Fig.* 1.) The Roſe-Noble deſcribed by Mr. *Evelyn*, is of *Edward* IV. For the *French Flowers-de-lis* were not ſtinted till *Henry* V's time, nor had they a Sun, but only a Croſs on the Reverſe. The Author of *Num. Brit. Hiſt.* ſaw a half Noble of this Prince, which anſwers the Deſcription. The King ſtanding in a Ship crowned, holding a Sword upright in his Right-hand, and a Shield on his Left, with the Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly, the Arms of *France Semé-de-lis*, three Lions paſſant, and three *Fleurs-de-lis* upon the Side of the Ship. EDWAR. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. H. Reverſe, in a large Roſe, a Croſs Fleuri, with a *Fleur-de-lis* at each Point, and a Lion paſſant under a Crown in each quarter, the Letter E in a Roſe in the Center. DOMINE. IN FVRORE. TVO. ARGVAS. ME. (*Fig.* 5.) It is to be obſerved from theſe famous Roſe-Nobles, every imaginary Half-Mark, was afterwards called a *Noble*, the moſt early uſe of the Word in that Senſe being in the *French* King's Parole of Ranſom, in the 34th Year of this Reign. The Florens did not much differ from the Roſe-Nobles in weight, and whether they differed at all in the Impreſſion is uncertain.----In 20 *Edw.* 3. a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to make by Tale forty two Nobles, at ſix Shillings and Eight-pence a-piece, amounting to fourteen Pounds; and a Pound of Silver of the old Sterling, was to make twenty two Shillings and Six-pence; and *Percival de Perche* was Maſter.----27 *Edw.* 3. A Pound Weight of Gold, of the ſame Sterling, was to make by Tale forty five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds: And a Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling, to make by Tale ſeventy five Groſſes, (*i. e.* Groats,) amounting to twenty five Shillings; or a hundred and fifty half Groſſes at Two-pence a-piece; or three hundred Sterlings at a Penny a-piece: *Henry Briſſel* was Maſter and Worker. Theſe Groats (ſo called becauſe they were the greateſt Monies then uſed) exhibit the King full-fac'd, crowned like the preceeding, and inſcribed, EDWARD. D. G. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. D. HYB. which laſt Title is never wanting on the King's Groats. On the Reverſe, in a large Circle, POSVI. DEVM. ADIVTOREM. MEVM. (a Motto continued by all his Succeſſors to the Union of the two Kingdoms) in the leſſer Circle the Place of Mintage, viz. *London*, *York*, or *Calais*. (*Fig.* 2.) One has CIVITAS DVNELMIE. There are ſome Coins before he aſſumed the Title of *France*, EDWARD. DEI. G. REX. ANGL. DNS. HYB. Z. AQUIT. *Thoresby* deſcribes one of the Pieces, called *Luſhbury*, cried down by Act of Parliament, inſcribed, EIWANNES. DNS. Z. REVB. Reverſe, the Croſs and Pellets, as the *Engliſh* Money, LVCEBGENSIS. Likewiſe, another Piece, inſcribed, EDWARD. REX. ANGL. Under the King's Head a Lion paſſant; Reverſe, DVX. AQUITANIE. A Crown in each quarter of the Croſs; a moſt rare Piece, and to be aſcribed to this *Edward*, who was not only created Duke of *Aquitain* in his Father's Life-time, but alſo crowned King of *England*, (*Fig.* 3.) His Penny, and Half-penny, (called ſometimes *Mailes*) and Farthings, were like thoſe of his Predeceſſors, but diſtinguiſhed by the Name EDWARDVS. (*Fig* 4.) Thoſe of *Ireland* in a Triangle. It is remarkable, what Biſhop *Tonſtal* obſerved of the Gold of this Reign, that it came neareſt to that of the antient *Romans*, or, that four Roſe-Nobles weighed an Ounce, and were equivalent to the *Roman Aurei* both in weight and fineneſs; and ſix Noble-Angels made an Ounce, which were anſwerable in all Points to the old *Roman Solidus Aureus*. Likewiſe in Silver Coins, that an old Sterling Groat was equivalent to the *Roman Denarius*, the Half-Groat to the *Quinarius*, and the old Sterling Penny to the *Seſtertius Nummus*; *Seſtertium* (in the Neuter Gender) a thouſand *Seſtertii*, to five Pounds Sterling, when three Shillings and Four-pence went to the Ounce; but now to ſeven Pounds ten Shillings, according to Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Account, when five Shillings goes to the Ounce.



of wonder than imitation (1). Some pretend, that *Pharamond* the firſt King of the *Francs* decreed by an expreſs Law, that the Females ſhould not ſucceed to the Crown, which has ever ſince been inviolate. Others attribute this Law to *Clovis*. *Mezerai* pretends the Succeſſion of the Males to the Crown of *France* was not eſtabliſhed by a written Law, but by an inviolable cuſtom. This confuſion of Ideas, which makes the *Salic* Law to be conſidered, one while as a Law of Nature, another while as a poſitive and expreſs Law, and ſometimes as a mere cuſtom, renders this matter obſcure; which I ſhall endeavour to clear, in order to give the Reader a true notion of the famous conteſt between the two Kings.

Before the *Francs* ſettled in that part of *Gaul* they have ſo long poſſeſſed, they were diſperſed by Troops, in *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, from whence they received ſeveral names, according to the different Parts they inhabited. Some were called *Salians*, from the River *Sala*, which ran through the Country (2). Others were diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Chamavi*, *Catti*, *Attuarians*, *Ripuarians*, or *Ribarols*. Each of theſe Colonies had Laws, common, no doubt, to all the *Francs*, and probably particular ones too. The Laws of the *Salians* and *Ripuarians* are ſtill extant. Among the *Salian* Laws we find this:

De Terra vero Salica, nulla Portio ad MULIEREM *tranſit, ſed hoc* VIRILIS SEXUS *acquirit.*

This Law, as it is eaſy to obſerve, concerns private Inheritances, and the Title *de Alodio*, under which it is placed, puts it out of diſpute. Accordingly, this is the opinion of numberleſs Authors, as well *French* as others, whoſe names it would be needleſs to repeat. *Mezerai* was doubtleſs of the ſame opinion, ſince he ſaid, the Succeſſion of the Males to the Crown was not eſtabliſhed by any written Law. All that can be alledged with any plauſibleneſs, by thoſe who ground the Excluſion of the Females upon the above-mentioned Paragraph of the *Salian* Law, is, that the Succeſſion to the Crown is included in the Law, which ſettled the Succeſſion to the Inheritances of the noble Families. This opinion is alſo embraced by Father *Daniel* in his Hiſtory of *France*. He pretends, that the rule concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown, is contained in that particular Article of the *Salian* or *Salic* Law, which includes all the Laws of the *Salian Francs*. What this able Hiſtorian ſays, in the Reign of *Clovis*, being of great ſervice to clear up this point, I ſhall tranſcribe part of it here, in order to ſave the Reader the trouble of conſulting him.

T. I. p. 7. &c. Edit. d' Amſt. 1720.

" It was then, probably, that *Clovis* publiſhed the famous *Salic* Law. I am ſenſible moſt of our Hiſtorians aſcribe the honour of it to *Pharamond*; but I follow here the opinion of one of our beſt Criticks. [*Hadr. de Valois.*]

" Many ſpeak and hear of this Law without knowing what it is. It is a common notion, that it concerns ſolely or chiefly the Succeſſion of the Males to the Crown of *France*, by determining the qualifications of thoſe who may put in their Claim. This notion is wrong in ſeveral reſpects. Of the ſeventy two Articles, this Law conſiſts of (3), there are but three or four Lines of the ſixty ſecond relating to this point. Beſides, they do not particularly concern the Succeſſion of the Males to the Crown; but belong in general to all the noble Families, whoſe Rights they regulate, as well as thoſe of the Royal Family. The words run thus: *As for the* SALIC LAND, *no part ſhall deſcend to the* FEMALE, *but all ſhall go to the* MALE.

" By *Salic* Land is meant the Lands of the Nobles of the Nation, and moreover, according to ſome, the Lands of Conqueſt, ſuch were almoſt all thoſe of the *French* Monarchy on this ſide the *Rhine*. What has chiefly occaſioned this popular notion, was the great Diſpute formerly between *Philip de Valois* and *Edward* III, King of *England* -------- Beſides this famous Conteſt, the little uſe made of this Law at preſent, which is ſeldom cited by our Lawyers upon other accounts, was the reaſon of this common perſuaſion of its being thus limited. But in reality, it contained numberleſs regulations concerning all ſorts of matters.

" I am apt to believe, what we now have of the *Salic* Law, is only an Abſtract of a larger Code, abridged on purpoſe, that the People and Judges might more eaſily learn the ſubſtance and principal points. What makes me believe this, is, that in the preſent Book of the *Salic* Law, the *Salic* Law it ſelf, is quoted with certain Forms not to be found in that Book. ------- And this moreover leaves no room to queſtion that it was at firſt compoſed in the Language of the *Francs*, and afterwards the Abſtract tranſlated into *Latin* for the uſe of the *Gauls*, to whom it was to be common in ſeveral Articles, with the *Francs*. This is the Abſtract or Abridgment that has been tranſmitted to us."

Thus we have three different opinions, given by three learned Criticks concerning the *Salic* Law, the Law I mean which renders Women incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown. *Bignon* ſays, it is a Law of Nature which ought to be common to all Nations. According to Father *Daniel*, by the *Salic* Law we are to underſtand, an Abridgment of the *Salian* Laws publiſhed by *Clovis*. As for the particular Law ſettling the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, he pretends it is a mere Chimera, a vulgar Error, and adds, without alledging however any proof, that the Excluſion of the Females with reſpect to the Crown, derives its whole force from that particular paſſage of the *Salic* Code (4), which ſettles the Inheritance of the noble Families, and conſequently, in his opinion, the Inheritance of the Family Royal, that is, of the Crown. According to *Mezerai*, by the *Salic* Law, or the Law that ſettles the Succeſſion, is meant, not a written Law, but an inviolable Cuſtom, which is inſtead of a Law. To give a diſtinct notion of this matter, I ſhall examine theſe three Opinions, and ſhow the objections they are liable to.

Firſt, as to the opinion that ſuppoſes the *Salic* Law, or, which is the ſame thing, the Excluſion of the Females and their Deſcendants from the Succeſſion to the Crown, to be a Law of Nature: I own, it might with ſome reaſon be maintained, that Nature requires States and Kingdoms to be governed by Men, if the *Salic* extended no further; but ſince it reaches to the Excluſion of the Male-Heirs of the Women of the Royal Family, methinks Nature does not appear in that Extenſion. In the next place, if the *Salic* Law was a Law of Nature, it would be practiſed in all States, or at leaſt the exceptions, if any, would be but few. But here we find juſt the contrary. Of all the independent Kingdoms of *Europe*, eſtabliſhed by the northern Nations, *France* alone follows this pretended Law of Nature. All the other States, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Scotland*, admit of the Femal Succeſſion. Only *France* then muſt be ſaid to follow Nature, and all the reſt of the States to deviate from her Law, which to me ſeems abſurd. Wherefore in the third place, the *Salic* Law has all along been deemed, as it is at preſent, a Law peculiar to *France*; and we do not find that *Philip le Long*, or *Philip de Valois* ever pretended to urge it, upon any other foot.

As for Father *Daniel*'s opinion, whatever eſteem I may have for his Hiſtory, which I take to be the beſt of all the *French* Hiſtories, I cannot forbear ſaying, it is not only groundleſs, but improbable. It is eaſy to demonſtrate, that the Paragraph of the *Salic* Code, on which he grounds the Excluſion of the Females and their Deſcendents, has no manner of relation to the Succeſſion of the Crown, as will appear, if the whole Title under which it is placed, be but conſidered. It is the 62d, entitled, *de Alodio*, which ſettles the Inheritance of the *Alodial* Lands. But firſt, it muſt be obſerved, that *Alodial* Lands, were Lands of Inheritance, not held of any other Lord. This diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe termed *Beneficia*, which were diſtributed among the Nobles, on condition of perſonally ſerving the State upon certain occaſions, which Women were incapable of. Theſe were the Lands called *Terra Salica*, becauſe they were conſidered, as belonging properly to the collective Body of the Nation, and were held by private Perſons, on the ſole condition of ſerving the State. This being ſuppoſed, the whole Title of the *Salic* Law, where the Paragraph is inſerted, runs thus:

Du Cange Alodis.

TIT. 62. DE ALODE.

" 1. *Si quis homo mortuus fuerit, & filios non dimiſerit,* Edit of Pithou.

(1) One may juſtly ſay, there is no Beginning or End of the *Salic* Law, for it is a Law of Nature born with Men, and not written, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves, The Law of Nature and Nations is not written. *Bignon*, *l.* 3. *Rapin.*

(2) There are a dozen different Opinions about the Etymology of the Word *Salic*. That from the *Salians*, whoſe Name is taken from the River *Sala*, ſeems to me the moſt probable. See *Limnæus de Jure Imp. Roman. Germ.* l. 1. c. 2. *Rapin.*

(3) Some Editions have more, ſome leſs. *Rapin.*

(4) *Rapin*, in expreſſing here Father *Daniel*'s Opinion, ſeems to make uſe of too ſtrong Terms; for it is plain, from that Author's own Words, that he makes the *Salic* Law receive part of its Force from antient Cuſtom, which he even calls *inviolable*.

" *ſi Pater*

" *ſi Pater aut Mater ſuperfuerint, ipſi in Hæreditatem ſuc-*
" *cedant.*
" 2. *Si Pater aut Mater non ſuperfuerint & Fratres vel*
" *Sorores reliquerit, ipſi Hæreditatem obtineant.*
" 3. *Quod ſi nec iſti fuerint, Sorores patris in Hæredi-*
" *tatem ſuccedant.*
" 4. *Si vero Sorores patris non extiterint, Sorores matris*
" *ejus Hæreditatem ſibi vendicent.*
" 5. *Si autem nulli horum fuerint, quicunque proximiores*
" *fuerint de paterna generatione, ipſi in Hæreditatem ſucce-*
" *dant.*
" 6. De Terra autem Salica, nulla Portio Hæreditatis
" mulieri veniat, ſed ad virilem Sexum tota Terræ Hæ-
" reditas perveniat".

Hence it appears, I. That the *Salic* Lands were *Alodial* like the other, that is, were the real Patrimony of the Poſſeſſor, otherwiſe they would not have been placed here. II. That the deſign of the ſixth Paragraph was to diſtinguiſh the *Salic*, from the common *Alodial* Lands, that the former were liable to military Service, which Women could not perform. But by reaſon, the ſenſe of the ſixth Paragraph muſt, I think, be ſtrangely wreſted, to extend it to the Succeſſion of the Crown, the moſt that can be pretended, is, that the King's own Demeſns were ſubject to this Law.

But, more fully to ſhow, this Article concerns not the ſucceſſion to the Crown, it muſt be remarked, there are two original Editions of the *Salic* Law, one procured by *Herold*, the other by *Fr. Pithou*, and in the latter, this ſixth Article of Title 62, is imperfect, there being no more than what is inſerted above. But in the other Edition, the Paragraph runs in this manner:

De Terra vero Salicâ in mulierem nulla portio Hæreditatis tranſit, ſed hoc virilis Sexus acquirit, hoc eſt, Filij in Hæreditate ſuccedunt. Sed ubi inter Nepotes & Pronepotes, poſt longum Tempus, de Alode Terra contentio ſuſcitatnr, tunc non per ſtirpes, ſed per capita dividantur.

I do not ſee, conſidering the whole Paragraph, how it can with the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, be applied to the Succeſſion of the Crown.

To this may be added, that very probably, when the *Salic* Law was made, the *Francs* had not yet a King. We not only ſee no ſign of any ſuch thing in the ſeveral Articles of this Law, but moreover find in the Preambles, what makes it believed the *Francs* were not ſubject to a Sovereign Power.

This is the beginning of the *Salic* Law, according to *Herold*'s Edition.

IN CHRISTI NOMINE.

Incipit Pactus Legis Salicæ.

Hi autem ſunt qui Legem Salicam tractaverunt, Wiſagaſt, Arogaſt, Salegaſt, & Windogaſt, *in* Bodham, Saleham, & Widham.

According to the other Edition.

Incipit Tractatus Legis Salicæ.

Gens Francorum inclyta, auctore Deo condita, dum adhæc ritu barbarico teneretur, inſpirante Deo, inquirens ſcientiæ clavim, juxta morum ſuorum qualitatem, deſiderans juſtitiam, & cuſtodiens pietatem, dictavit Salicam Legem, per Proceres illius Gentis, qui tunc temporis, ejuſdem aderant Rectores Electi de pluribus viri quatuor, his nominibus, Wiſogaſtus, Bodogaſtus, Sologaſtus, & Wodogaſtus, *in locis cognominatis*, Soleheim, Bodoheim, & Widoheim, *qui per tres Mallos* (1) *convenientes, omnes cauſarum origines ſollicite tractantes, diſcutiendo de ſingulis, ſicut ipſa Lex declarat, Judicium decreverunt hoc modo. At ubi, Deo favente, Rex Francorum* Clodovæus, *florens & pulcher, & inclytus, primus recepit catholicum Baptiſmum, & deinde* Childebertus & Clotarius, *in culmen Regale, Deo protegente, pervenerunt, quicquid in Pacto* (2) *habebatur minus idoneum, fuit per illos lucidius emendatum & ſanctius decretum. Vivat qui Francos diligit*, &c.

In all likelihood, this Preamble was placed before the *Salic* Law, between the Reins of *Clothaire* II, and *Charlemain*, and perhaps before the time of *Dagobert*, ſince he is not mentioned, though he made ſome alterations in this Law, as well as *Clothaire* and *Childebert*.

Another Preamble made in the time of *Charlemain.*

(1) That is, *Publick Aſſemblies. Rapin.*
(2) That is in the Law called, *Factus Legis Salicæ. Rapin.*

PROLOGUS LEGIS SALICÆ.

Placuit atque convenit inter Francos & eorum Proceres, ut propter ſervandum inter ſe pacis ſtudium, omnia incrementa veterum rixarum, reſecare deberent, & quia cæteris Gentibus juxta ſe poſitis, fortitudinis brachio præeminebant, ita etiam Legum auctoritate præcellerent, & juxta qualitatem cauſarum, ſumeret criminalis actio terminum. Extiterunt igitur inter eos, electi de pluribus quatuor viri, his nominibus, Wiſogaſtus, Bodogaſtus, Salogaſtus, & Widogaſtus, *in villis quæ ultra Rhenum ſunt*, Saleheim, Bodoheim, & Widoheim, *qui per tres Mallos convenientes, omnium cauſarum Originem ſollicite diſcutiendo, tractantes de ſingulis, Judicium decreverunt hoc modo.*

EX CODICE. *M. S.*

Marchomiris *queque dedit Francis id Conſilium, & elegerunt* Faramundum *ipſius Filium & levaverunt in Regem ſuper ſe crinitum. Tunc habere Leges cœperunt, quas eorum Proceres gentiles tractaverunt, his nominibus* Wiſogaſtus, Arogaſtus, Salogaſtus, *in Villis quæ ultra Rhenum ſunt, in* Botagin, Selecagin, Widecagin.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti DCCXCVIII, *Dominus Carolus Rex Francorum inclytus, hunc Libellum Tractatus Legis Salicæ ſcribere juſſit.*

What likelihood is there, that, if the Authors of theſe Prefaces were of opinion, the *Francs* had a King when the *Salic* Law was made, they ſhould not have mentioned him? For as to the Abſtract of the Chronicle, it is a ſeparate piece, added by the Author of the laſt Preface, as treating of the ſame ſubject. But if the *Francs* had not a King, how can the ſixth Paragraph of the ſixty ſecond Title be applicable to the ſucceſſion of the Crown of *France.*

Another objection to Father *Daniel*'s opinion is this: Suppoſing the Article, *De Terra vero Salica*, concerned the Succeſſion to the Crown, as well as private Inheritances; if it be true, that this Law was abrogated under the third Race of the Kings of *France*, with reſpect to the *Salic* Lands or great Fiefs, it may, I think, be inferred, that it was alſo annulled with regard to the Crown. But the thing ſpeaks of it ſelf, ſince it cannot be denied, that the Dukedoms, Earldoms, in a word, all the great Fiefs of the Crown, deſcended to the Females. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Ponthieu*, and *Montrevil*, fell to the Kings of *England* by the Women. It was the ſame with the Earldom of *Toulouſe*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne*. The Succeſſion of the Earldom of *Flanders* always devolved to the next Heir, without any preference of Sex, ſince the time of *Charles the Bald.* All theſe examples actually ſubſiſted at the time of *Lewis Hutin*'s death, when the *Salic* Law began for the firſt time to be urged in favour of the Males. There were large portions of the *Salic* Lands fallen to Women, purely by Right of Inheritance. Where was then the obſervance of the Article, *De Terra vero Salica nulla Portio ad mulierem tranſit?* *History of the Earls of Flanders at the Hague. 1698.*

There ſeems to me to be but two ways of anſwering this objection. Firſt, by ſaying the *Salic* Lands, or great Fiefs of the Crown, deſcended to the Women, only when there was no Male-Heir in the Family. But this Reply has no foundation. Beſides what has been ſaid concerning the Earldom of *Flanders*, in the very time of *Philip de Valois*, *Artois* was adjudged to *Maud*, to the prejudice of *Robert d'Artois*, Grandſon by his Father of the laſt Duke; and the Duchy of *Bretagne*, to the Wife of *Charles de Blois*, though Earl *Montfort*, Brother of the late Duke, was alive. But, ſuppoſing this Law was not annulled when *Hugh Capet* came to the Crown, it was at leaſt abrogated by that Prince, in granting in Fee to the Nobility the great Fiefs, without excluding the Females.

The other way of anſwering the objection, is by aſſerting, that though the Law was repealed as to the *Salic* Lands, it was not ſo with regard to the Succeſſion of the Crown, where it was always inviolable. But how can a Law be ſuppoſed to be abrogated in the undoubted ſenſe of the words, and remain in force in a diſputable ſenſe, which is taken for granted without the leaſt proof? Beſides, I ſhall make appear hereafter, there had never been any occaſion to break it.

A third objection againſt Father *Daniel*'s opinion, may be taken from his own Preface to the Hiſtory of *France.* This able Hiſtorian maintains, Article III, that the Crown, after being hereditary in the firſt Race, became elective in the ſecond, and was hereditary in the third, only by way of Aſſociation practiſed by the firſt Kings of that Race, from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip Auguſtus.* If ſo, where ſhall we find the obſervance of the *Salick* Law, with reſpect to the Crown, from *Pepin the Short* to *Lewis* VIII? How

could it ſubſiſt in an elective Kingdom, where it was in the power of the great Men to give the Crown to whom they pleaſed, and even to chuſe Kings not of the Royal Family, as for inſtance, *Ralph* and *Eudes*? Hear what Father *Daniel* ſays of this matter.

The laſt Page of the Preface.

It is extremely probable, that Hugh Capet *having confirmed the Dukes, Earls, and other Lords in their Uſurpations, not only for themſelves, but their Poſterity, obtained likewiſe from them the Eſtabliſhment of the Hereditary Succeſſion to the Crown in his Family. But, as he miſtruſted their Levity, he aſſociated his Son* Robert. Robert *did the ſame by his Son* Henry; *and the Cuſtom of Aſſociating laſted till* Philip Auguſtus, *who thinking Hereditary Right ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by the Succeſſion of ſeveral of his Predeceſſors, from Father to Son, down to* Hugh Capet, *and whoſe Reigns for the moſt part were very long, never troubled himſelf to aſſociate* Lewis VIII, *his Son.*

I ſhall now examine *Mezerai*'s opinion, and theirs, who with him, believe the *Salic* Law, that is, the excluſion of the Females and their Deſcendants, to be founded only upon an inviolable Cuſtom. But it will be neceſſary, in the firſt place, to remove all ambiguity in the term Cuſtom; for by that may be meant, either a negative, if I may be allowed that expreſſion, or a poſitive, Cuſtom. I call a negative Cuſtom, that to which no inſtance to the contrary can be alledged, and which however, does not form or eſtabliſh any right. For example, there never was in *England*, a lame or a one-handed King. Now let it be affirmed, as ſtrongly as you pleaſe, that this is a Cuſtom that was never violated, if unfortunately, the only Son of a King of *England* ſhould become lame, or happen to loſe a hand, would this be a good reaſon to exclude him from his Father's Succeſſion? It is the ſame with the inviolable Cuſtom of *France*, taken in this ſenſe. Becauſe there never was in *France*, a Queen that wore the Crown by her own Authority and Right, it does not neceſſarily follow, that the Females have no right to the Succeſſion; as it cannot be ſaid in *England*, that a lame or a one-handed Man cannot mount the Throne, becauſe in that Country there never was a lame or a one-handed King. I call a poſitive Cuſtom, that which is grounded upon ſome Law, or at leaſt upon examples and precedents, which demonſtrate it to have been inviolably practiſed, and to have ſerved for Rule on certain occaſions. Of ſuch a Cuſtom *Mezerai* muſt be underſtood to ſpeak, ſince he confounds it with the *Salic* Law, and endeavours to produce an Inſtance of its being obſerved. The queſtion then is to know, whether there was in *France*, any ſuch poſitive Cuſtom before the Reign of *Philip le Long*; who in ſupport of his Right, pleaded the *Salic* Law, whether he thereby meant the Paragraph of the *Salic* Code abovementioned, or an inviolable Cuſtom. But where are the Authors that ſpeak of it? Is it not ſtrange that, for nine hundred years, from *Pharamond* to *Philip le Long*, this inviolable Cuſtom, which ſerves for fundamental Law to a great Kingdom, ſhould not be mentioned by a ſingle Author? I believe I may give this for certain Fact, though I have not read all, becauſe it appears to me impoſſible that of ſo many learned Men, who, from the time of *Philip le Long* to this day, have diligently ſought after proofs in defence of the *Salic* Law; not one ſhould have been ſo happy as to diſcover, in the antient Authors, any Paſſages favouring, or, at leaſt, alluding to, this written or unwritten Law. Of all the Teſtimonies alledged, there is not one but what is later than the Reign of *Philip le Long* (1). I am well aware, this objection has already been anſwered, by affirming that *Marculphus*, who lived in the middle of the VIIth Century, mentions the *Salic* Law in his *Formularies*. But this is a Fallacy. No body ever pretended to diſpute the exiſtence of the *Salic* Law, if thereby is meant the *Salian* or *Salic* Code in general. But the buſineſs is to prove the exiſtence of this particular Law, called the *Salic* Law, whereby Women and their Deſcendants (2) were deprived of the right of ſucceeding to the Crown, before the Reign of *Philip le Long*. *Marculphus* mentions the former in ſeveral places of his *Formularies*, but ſays not a Word of the latter, which is the point in queſtion. It remains therefore, that this unwritten Law, this inviolable Cuſtom, is to be founded upon examples and precedents, by which it was eſtabliſhed, or at leaſt confirmed, otherwiſe there is no knowing what to think of it. It ſhould therefore be ſhown, that before the Reign of *Philip le Long*, there were inſtances of Women and their Deſcendants being excluded from the Crown, by virtue of the *Salic* Law, or inviolable Cuſtom: And this is what remains to be examined.

To begin with the third Race, from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip le Long*, no ſuch caſe could happen, for the Kings of that Family ſucceeded from Father to Son.

In the ſecond Race, it is not poſſible to find any inſtance in favour of the *Salic* Law, or inviolable Cuſtom. On the contrary, a precedent might be brought in favour of the Females from divers Princes, deſcended from *Charlemain* by the Female Line, dividing the *French* Monarchy, and poſſeſſing ſeveral parts of *Charlemain*'s Succeſſion. But as this was at a time when there were only two Princes alive of that Emperor's Family; namely, the Emperor *Arnold*, who was a natural Son, and *Charles the Simple*, who might alſo be deemed as ſuch, I ſhall not inſiſt upon it.

The firſt Race affords three precedents, which may favour the Cuſtom in queſtion. The Daughters of *Childebert* I, King of *Paris*, ſucceeded not their Father, but *Clotaire* I, their Uncle poſſeſſed his Brother's Kingdom. Shortly after, *Cherebert* King of *Paris* dying without Male-Iſſue, *Gontran*, *Sigebert*, and *Chilperic* his Brothers, ſhared the Succeſſion, without leaving any part to his Daughters. *Gontran* having but one Daughter, left his Kingdom to *Childebert* II, his Nephew. If it could be ſhown, that all this was done in conſequence of the *Salic* Law, or inviolable Cuſtom, theſe precedents would amount to the ſtrongeſt proofs. But unhappily, not a ſingle Writer before *Philip le Long*, ſpeaks on this occaſion of the *Salic* Law or Cuſtom. It is true, *Mezerai*, who wrote twelve hundred years after, boldly affirms, that *Clotaire* ſucceeded his Brother by virtue of the *Salic* Law, and that this is the firſt inſtance of the obſervance thereof. But in relating the Fact, he ſays *Clotaire* impriſoned his Nieces (3), for fear they ſhould diſpute with him their Father's Succeſſion. The ſame thing happened in the Succeſſion of *Cherebert*. His Brothers uſed force to ſeize his Kingdom, without alledging the *Salic* Law to ſupport their Right (4). Accordingly Preſident *Fauchet*, convinced of the violence practiſed on theſe two occaſions, gives up theſe two Precedents (5), and confines himſelf to the third, which is the moſt ſpecious. *Gontran* having but one Daughter, adopted *Childebert* II, his Nephew, and left him his Kingdom. But this Daughter was a

(1) *Rapin* muſt have overlooked a Paſſage in Father *Daniel*'s Hiſtory, quoted from *Agathias*, expreſsly mentioning this Law. The Paſſage is likewiſe alledged by *Fauchet* and *Du Cheſne*. *Agathias*, the Scholaſtick or Lawyer, lived in the ſixth Century, and began to write the Continuation of *Juſtinian*'s Hiſtory after *Procopius*, in 565. This Author, at the end of *Chap.* vii. *Lib.* ii. ſays, "Whilſt theſe Things paſſed, *Theobald*, who ruled in *France* "over the Provinces next to *Italy*, died in the Flower of his Youth——— *Childebert* and *Clotaire*, as his neareſt Relations, were *by the Law of the* "*Country* called to the Succeſſion of his Kingdom." By the Law of the Country then, *Theobald*'s two Siſters were excluded from the Right of ſucceeding him. As for *Childebert*'s Daughters, *Agathias* continues thus: "But the Diſputes about the Diviſion had like to ruin their Dominions, *Childebert*, "beſides his extreme old Age, languiſhed with an incurable Diſeaſe. He had *only Daughters, and no Male Iſſue who might inherit the Crown.*" Theſe laſt Words ſeem to be a demonſtrative Proof, that it was then univerſally known, that the Daughters of *France* were abſolutely excluded from the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown. *Agathias* did not ſay this to favour *Clotaire*, who ſucceeded his Brother *Childebert* in excluſion of his Nieces, for he was born in *Aſia*, and lived very remote from *France*. He was cotemporary with theſe Kings.

(2) There was no occaſion to ſay *their Deſcendants*. For there are two different Queſtions; the firſt, which is properly the Point in hand, *Whether the Daughters were antiently excluded from the Crown?* The ſecond, which has nothing to do here, *Whether the Sons of thoſe Daughters were of old excluded from the Crown with their Mothers?* The former ſeems to be expreſsly mentioned by *Agathias*: ſee the foregoing Note.

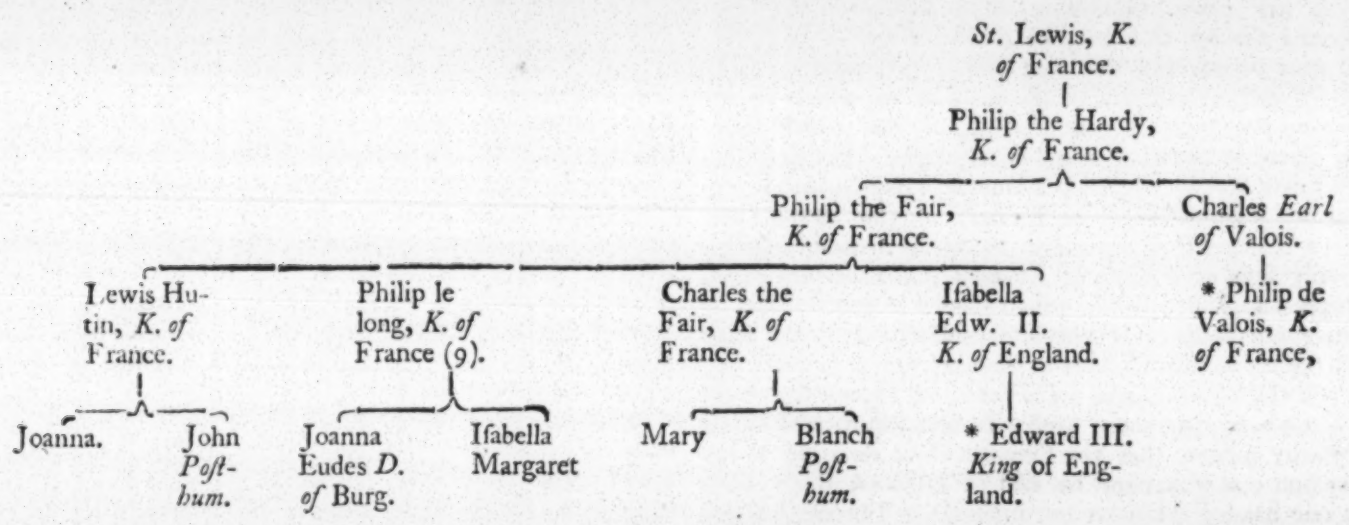
(3) *Gregory de Tours*, a Cotemporary, ſays only, he baniſhed them, with their Mother. And Father *Daniel* makes them not to be baniſhed till ſome time after his Father's Death, when *Chramne*, Son of *Clotaire*, rebelled againſt him a ſecond time. *Mezerai*'s Words are, "Their Uncle, "*whether in hatred of their Father*, or *for fear of their pretending to the Succeſſion*, kept them in Priſon till he was poſſeſſed of the Kingdom." This alternative of Doubt is only a Conjecture of *Mezerai*. For *Clotaire* ſeems to have acted rather out of hatred to his Brother, than from political Views.

(4) This does not ſeem to agree with what *Rapin* ſays in the Hiſtory of the Church of *Kent*, p. 65, where he repreſents *Chilperic*, who ſucceeded his Brother *Cherebert*, as behaving like a Father to his Brother's Daughters, and refuſing to marry *Bertha*, one of them, to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, becauſe he was an Idolater. Now *Chilperic*, had he thought ſhe had the leaſt Reaſon to claim her Father's Succeſſion, ſhould have been glad of ſo fair an Opportunity to ſend away his Niece. Indeed, it does not appear that he uſed any Violence upon them, or impriſoned them, as *Rapin* inſinuates.

(5) *Rapin* does not quote *Fauchet*, ſo it is to be ſuppoſed he alludes to what this Author ſays in his Treatiſe, *de l'Origine des Dignitez*, &c. l. 1. c. 2 where he gives the Reaſons why the Daughters of *France* are excluded. "I forbear, ſays he, to ſpeak of the Daughters of *Childebert* I, King of "*Paris*, for it may be ſaid, their Uncle *Clotaire* was ſo ſtrong, that it was eaſy for him to ſhut them up in a Cloiſter. Much leſs ſhall I ſpeak of "thoſe of *Cherebert*, alſo King of *Paris*, becauſe it will be ſaid, their Uncles did not treat them more civilly. But what can be objected to what "*Gontran* did to *Clotilda* his own Daughter, &c.?" In this Paſſage, *Fauchet* does not ſeem abſolutely to give up the two firſt Precedents, but only thinks them liable to the Objections he mentions. For he urges them both as Enemies of the Excluſion of the Daughters, in *Chap.* 12. l. 3. *des Antiquitez*, &c.

Nun (1). Beſides, from *Gontran*'s believing it in his power to leave his Succeſſion entire to *Childebert* II, without giving any ſhare to *Clotaire* II, who was alſo his Nephew, and *Childebert*'s Brother (2), it may, it ſeems be inferred, that he did not look upon himſelf as bound by any Law, and that there was not then any ſettled rule with reſpect to the Succeſſion (3). It will be ſaid perhaps, that in appointing *Childebert*, the eldeſt of the two Brothers, for his Succeſſor, he only followed the diſpoſition of the Law or Cuſtom; but this objection is groundleſs (4). The whole Hiſtory of the firſt race plainly ſhows, the eldeſt had no Privilege, and that the Kingdoms, of which the *French* Monarchy then conſiſted, were always divided among the Brothers (5). But be that as it will, it is not ſufficient to ſhow, that *Gontran* did a thing agreeable to the pretended diſpoſition of the *Salic* Law or Cuſtom, it muſt alſo be proved, that he did it with intention to obſerve that Cuſtom or Law, which I think impoſſible (6). It would be quite another thing, if the Law was perfectly known, or the Cuſtom undeniably eſtabliſhed by former precedents, which might give occaſion to ſuppoſe *Gontran* deſigned to conform himſelf to it (7). If a Man examines what paſſed during the firſt Race, with reſpect to the Succeſſion, he will find nothing fixed or ſettled upon that head; and that force and Arms, had a greater ſhare in it than Laws. This is ſo true, that it is even doubtful, according to Father *Daniel*, whether the Children were to be preferred to the Brothers, and that this queſtion was not fully decided till long after the beginning of the ſecond Race (8). It is evident then, from what has been ſaid, that the opinion that there was in *France*, before the Reign of *Philip le Long*, a Law or Cuſtom excluding the Daughters from the ſucceſſion to the Crown, cannot be ſupported by any certain Teſtimony, or undeniable matter of Fact.

Having ſhown what we are to underſtand by the *Salic* Law, of which ſo many People talk, without having a juſt notion of the thing, it will be neceſſary, in order fully to clear this matter, to make appear how the practice of this Law was eſtabliſhed in *France*. But for the better underſtanding of this, it will be proper to ſet before the Reader the following part of the Genealogy of the Kings of *France*, which will ſerve likewiſe to ſhow the occaſion of the diſpute between *Edward* and *Philip de Valois*.



Lewis Hutin dying in 1316 left by *Clemence* of *Burgundy* his Wife only one Daughter, an Infant called *Joanna*. But as his Queen was big with Child, the Crown was not diſpoſed of till ſhe was delivered. The reaſon of this delay was, becauſe, if the Queen was delivered of a Son, he was to ſucceed his Father, not by virtue of the *Salic* Law, but by a Law, common to all States, according to which the Males have always the preference to the Females of the ſame degree. Till the Queen's delivery, *Philip le Long*, the eldeſt of the deceaſed King's two Brothers, was appointed Regent. I ſay, appointed, in the Words of Father *Daniel*, who does not acquaint us by whom he was appointed. *Philip* was then at *Lyons*, buſy in procuring a Conclave for the Election of a new Pope. This was the reaſon he could not come to *Paris*, till three Weeks after the death of the King his Brother. He found there a Party already formed againſt him, at the Head of which was *Charles* Earl of *Valois* his Uncle, who intended to diſpute the Regency with him, and was in poſſeſſion of the *Louvre*. But *Philip*, at his arrival, found means to diſlodge him. The next day, he aſſembled the Parliament, and by the unanimous conſent of the Lords and Knights there preſent, the Regency was adjudged to him for eighteen Years, in caſe the Queen was delivered of a Son.

Mean time, as the Queen might chance to have a Daughter, *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*, Uncle by the Mother's ſide to *Joanna*, Daughter of the late King, was preparing to proſecute his Niece's right. At length, the Queen was brought to bed of a Prince, who was called *John*, and lived but a few days. Then *Philip*, grounding his claim upon the *Salic* Law, pretended the Crown was fallen to him. As he had a powerful Party, and was unwilling to have his Title queſtioned, he repaired to *Rheims*, in order to be crowned. But the Duke of *Burgundy* oppoſed the Coronation, with a Proteſtation, in the preſence of the Peers, to maintain *Joanna*'s Right, to whom he pretended the Crown belonged, both by natural and civil Law; and at leaſt the Coronation ought not to be performed, before the pretenſions of the young Princeſs were duly examined. Though the Earl of *Valois* had attended *Philip* to *Rheims*, he was known to be a friend of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s. On the other hand, *Charles* Earl of *Marche*, the King's own Brother, being of the ſame Party, left *Rheims* the morning before the Solemnity. If the *Salic* Law could be proved to be acknowledged and admitted before that time, I confeſs, the oppoſition of theſe Princes would be of no great weight. But as that proof is very difficult, as I have before ſhown, it may be inferred from the oppoſition of

(1) This does not ſeem to be a convincing Reaſon why *Gontran* ſhould diſpoſſeſs a Daughter he entirely loved. For if *Gontran* had thought his Daughter could have the leaſt Shadow of Right to ſucceed him, would he have made her a Nun? So that her being a Nun, is rather a ſtrong Preſumption, that the Daughters could not ſucceed to the Crown. But it may be ſaid, was ſhe not a Nun before her Father adopted *Childebert* his Nephew? Now this ought to be proved indeed, to make *Rapin*'s Argument of any force: but the contrary is moſt probable. For *Mezerai* ſays, *Gontran* was not married till his Acceſſion to the Crown in 561. Now ſuppoſing *Gontran* married *Clotilda*'s Mother the firſt Year of his Reign, ſhe was too young to receive the *Veil* in 577, when he adopted his Nephew *Childebert*. Beſides, in a Treaty with his adopted Son, an Article is inſerted, "That whatever is granted by King "*Gontran*, to his Daughter *Clotilda*, whether Moveables, Cities, Lands, and Revenues, ſhall remain in her poſſeſſion." Such Grants do not ſeem fit for a Nun, though a Princeſs. Now this Treaty (as *Fauchet* ſays) was made in 587, that is, ten Years after his making *Childebert* his univerſal Heir. But after all, ſuppoſing ſhe was a Nun before *Childebert*'s Adoption, would not *Gontran*, upon the Death of his Sons, inſtead of adopting a Nephew, have procured a Diſpenſation for a beloved Daughter, if the *Salic* Law would have allowed it? So that *Clotilda*'s being a Nun, cannot weaken the Argument drawn from her Excluſion, in favour of the *Salic* Law.

(2) *Rapin* is miſtaken in making *Childebert* to be eldeſt Brother of *Clotaire* II. They were only Couſin Germans, Sons of two Brothers; the firſt of *Sigebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*; and the other of *Chilperic*, King of *Neuſtria*. So that his Remark, that the eldeſt had no Privilege, &c. is not to the purpoſe here.

(3) Does not the contrary ſeem rather to be inferred from this Prince's Conduct, that he did think himſelf bound by the Law or Cuſtom, excluding the Females from the Crown, and knew the Succeſſion to be ſo ſettled in an inviolable manner; otherwiſe it is incredible that he ſhould not do what lay in his Power, to leave his Dominions to his only beloved Daughter.

(4) That this Objection is not altogether without Foundation is certain, from the Paſſage of *Agathias*, in the Note above.

(5) *Rapin* did not ſeem to be of the Opinion, that the Succeſſion was divided among all the Brothers, in the Diſſertation on the Government of the *Saxons*, p. 158, 159. Neither indeed was it true, as appears in a Citation from *Mezerai*, in p. 158, of the ſame Diſſertation.

(6) As *Gontran* himſelf ſucceeded to part of his Brother's Succeſſion, in Excluſion of his three Nieces, *Cherebert*'s Daughters, it is more than probable, that he adopted his Nephew in Excluſion of his Daughter, in conſequence of the ſame Law or Cuſtom by which he was preferred to his Nieces.

(7) We have for it the Authority of *Agathias*, who ſpeaks of it in expreſs Terms; and the Treaty between *Gontran* and *Childebert*, where it is ſuppoſed, and made the Foundation of their Agreement. Beſides, this Law or Cuſtom is to be conſidered as unqueſtionably eſtabliſhed, before *Gontran* diſpoſed of his Dominions, in prejudice of his own Daughter, ſince there were three Examples in fifteen Years: 1. The Excluſion of *Theobald*'s Siſters in 555. 2. Of *Childebert*'s two Daughters in 558. 3. Of *Cherebert*'s three Daughters in 570.

(8) There were Conteſts between Brothers and Couſins, concerning the Succeſſion; but it does not appear, that the Excluſion of the Daughters was uncertain or doubtful.

(9) *Du Haillan* ſays, *Philip le Long* had four Daughters, whoſe Names were, *Joanna*, *Margaret*, *Mary*, and *Blanch*.

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the Princes of the Blood themſelves, and contrary to their own Intereſts, that this Law paſſed not then for inconteſtable.

The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Proteſtation, and Prince *Charles*'s Retreat, made *Philip* ſo uneaſy, that he ordered the Gates of *Rheims* to be ſhut during the Ceremony of the Coronation, for fear of interruption, or that other Peers might abſent themſelves. A few days after, he held an Aſſembly at *Paris*, where were preſent a great number of Nobles, almoſt all the Prelates, the moſt conſiderable Burgeſſes of *Paris*, and the Univerſity. It was this Aſſembly that examined the Laws of the State; decided, that the Females were incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown; and approved and confirmed the King's Coronation. It might be demanded, whether ſuch an Aſſembly had power to make a deciſion of this nature; but ſince the *French* Nation has thought fit to receive it, it is needleſs to inſiſt upon that. I ſhall only obſerve, that it was now almoſt nine hundred years ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy, and this the firſt time it was expreſsly decided in *France*, that the Daughters were incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown.

Dan. Hiſt. de France.

Notwithſtanding this deciſion, Queen *Clemence*, Widow of the late King, the Earl of *Marche* the King's Brother, the Earl of *Valois* his Uncle, the Duke of *Burgundy* Prince of the Blood, and their adherents, did not fail to ſhow a diſſatisfaction, at ſeeing *Philip* on the Throne. This created uneaſineſs in the new King, who, to free himſelf from it, found means to gain the Duke of *Burgundy*, the head of the Party, by giving him his eldeſt Daughter in marriage, with the Earldom of *Burgundy* for her Portion. The Duke being thus gained, the Party diſperſed, and the *Salic* Law paſſed, from thenceforward, for a Law as antient as the Monarchy. But great care was taken to confound, as has been done ever ſince, the *Salic* Law in general, or the Collection of *Salic* Laws, with the pretended *Salic* Law in particular, which excluded the Daughters from ſucceeding to the Crown.

Philip le Long being dead, after a ſhort Reign, and leaving only Daughters, *Charles the Fair* his Brother, mounted the Throne without oppoſition, to the prejudice of his Nieces. This was a ſecond deciſion in favour of the Males. From that time none ever thought of queſtioning the Authority of the *Salic* Law. Thus was eſtabliſhed the obſervance of this famous Law in *France*, without its being yet known, whether *Philip le Long*, in urging it in ſupport of his pretenſions, proceeded upon the ſixth Paragraph of the 62d Title of the *Salic* Law, or upon inviolable Cuſtom. What may be affirmed, is, that in thoſe days the *French* muſt have had very confuſed notions concerning this Law, ſince even after its being inconteſtably acknowledged for authentick, the moſt learned cannot agree upon that ſubject.

I come now to the famous Diſpute between *Philip of Valois* and *Edward* III. *Charles the Fair*, who died *February* 1328, leaving no Male-Iſſue, and his Queen finding herſelf with Child, the ſame Rule was followed as was obſerved after the death of *Lewis Hutin*. That is, the Crown was not diſpoſed of, till the Queen's Delivery, who was ſeven months gone with child. But it was neceſſary to appoint a Regent, to take care of the Government in the mean while. Then it was that the great Conteſt about the Regency aroſe, between *Edward* III, Nephew, by his Mother, to *Charles the Fair*, and *Philip* Earl of *Valois*, Couſin German to the ſame Prince. This was an affair of very great conſequence. Beſides that the Regency was to be long, in caſe the Queen was delivered of a Son, it was eaſy to foreſee, that the Judgment given for the Regency, would be a ſtrong Precedent for the Crown, if ſhe happened to have a Daughter. For this reaſon the affair was very warmly conteſted on both ſides, not before the States-General, as ſome have affirmed without any foundation, but before an Aſſembly of great Men, purpoſely convened upon that occaſion. *Edward* pleaded his being the next Male-Heir of the late King. *Philip* adhered to the *Salic* Law, which, according to him, excluded not only the Daughters, but alſo their Deſcendants, from the Succeſſion to the Crown, and conſequently from the Regency. *Philip* carried the Cauſe as to the Regency, and was afterwards crowned, upon the Queen's being delivered of a Daughter in *April*. As *Edward* endeavoured not to proſecute his Right till ſome years after, the queſtion between them, was no longer concerning the Regency, but the Crown itſelf. All the *French* Hiſtorians call *Edward*'s pretenſions chimerical; and the *Engliſh*, on their part, exclaim againſt the injuſtice that was done him. The buſineſs therefore at preſent is to examine the Rights of both Parties, independently of the Events, and *Philip*'s poſſeſſion. This will be the only means to enable us to judge, whether the War occaſioned by this affair, was juſt or unjuſt, or whether, as I believe, there was on both ſides, ſufficient reaſon to juſtify the attack and the defence.

In order to have a clear notion of this matter, it muſt be conſidered, that the Point in queſtion between the two Kings, was not, Whether there was any ſuch thing as a *Salic* Law, excluding the Daughters from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*? Whether the Law was real, or only imaginary, it was equally the intereſt of both Kings to ſuppoſe it, ſince it was the ſole foundation of their reſpective Claims. Without this Law, the Crown would have indiſputably belonged to *Joanna* Daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, and the two laſt Kings muſt have been reckoned Uſurpers. Moreover, had there been no *Salic* Law, *Philip* and *Edward* would have been manifeſtly excluded by the Daughters of the three laſt Kings, Sons of *Philip the Fair*. The only thing therefore was to know, whether the *Salic* Law was limited to the Perſons of the Daughters, to exclude them from the Succeſſion, or whether it extended to all their Poſterity. This was a new Query, which had never been decided, becauſe the ſame caſe had never happened, ſince the beginning of the Monarchy. *Philip* maintained, that *Edward* could pretend to the Crown, but by right of Repreſentation, as Son of *Iſabella*; and that repreſenting only a Woman, he could not derive from his Mother, a right which ſhe had not. But *Edward* took care not to ground his Claim upon Repreſentation. He inſiſted, on the contrary, upon nearneſs of Blood; and affirmed, that the Crown was devolved to him, as the next Male-Heir capable of ſucceeding.

Indeed, it cannot be conceived what uſe he could have made of Repreſentation, which ſerves only to put a diſtant Relation, in the place of the Perſon repreſented. He had no occaſion to be brought nearer, ſince he was Nephew of the late King, and *Philip de Valois* but Couſin-German. Accordingly, in all the pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* concerning this matter, there is not ſo much as one, where he alledges in his behalf the right of Repreſentation, but always that of nearneſs of Blood. And yet almoſt all the *French* Authors that have writ on this Subject, have been pleaſed to combat this chimæra, and ground their reaſonings upon the impertinency of this Repreſentation; which, after all, was never urged by *Edward*. The *Engliſh*, for their part, are fallen into the like error, by ſtrenuouſly oppoſing the Exiſtence of the *Salic* Law, not conſidering, it was no leſs neceſſary for *Edward* than for *Philip*. So, it may be affirmed, both ſides have underſtood, and ſtated the queſtion wrong.

But, to prevent miſtakes, and clear this matter as much as poſſible, a Man muſt fancy himſelf cotemporary with this Diſpute, and conſider that the point in queſtion was never decided. Each Party therefore was free, before the deciſion, to explain and comment upon the *Salic* Law, as he judged for his purpoſe, without being liable to be taxed with raſhneſs. Whereas now it would be ridiculous to diſpute upon the interpretation of a Law acknowledged by the *French*, and admitted, as then explained by *Philip*, and which they have ever ſince followed.

This being ſuppoſed, the buſineſs then, in order to decide this new Query, was, fully to underſtand the meaning of the *Salic* Law, concerning which there was reaſon, as I have ſhown, to doubt, whether it ever exiſted. But ſuppoſing its exiſtence, the Queſtion was to be decided, either according to the Paragraph of the *Salic* Code, *De Terra vero Salica*, &c. which gave no light into the point in hand, or according to the inviolable cuſtom obſerved in *France* for nine hundred years, though there had never been occaſion to put it in practice. Upon which ever of theſe two foundations a Man grounded a Judgment, he could not but meet great difficulties. Could he ſay, that by the Paragraph *De Terra Salica*, it was plain, the Male-Iſſue of the Daughters, were to be excluded from the Succeſſion to the Crown? Was it evident that this Law, ſo long diſuſed, with reſpect to the *Salic* Lands, and the Eſtates of the Nobles, had preſerved its full force with regard to the Crown? On the other hand, if a Man grounded his Judgment upon Cuſtom, what method could he take to know, whether it was the intent of the firſt Eſtabliſhers, whoever they were, to exclude from the Succeſſion the Male-Heirs of the Daughters, as well as the Daughters themſelves? He could have no Precedents or Examples to direct him, ſince the ſame caſe had never happened. It is therefore raſhneſs, in my opinion, abſolutely to decide now againſt either of the two contending Princes, and more ſo, peremptorily to pronounce the Pretenſions of either to be extravagant. This is the more unjuſt, as they both ſupported their Claims by very ſpecious reaſons, the ſubſtance

ſtance whereof I am going to relate; if ſo be, that part of theſe Reaſons have not ſince been fathered upon them.

Edward maintained, that what had hitherto been decided concerning the *Salic* Law, regarded only the Perſons of the Daughters, and could not be extended to their Male-Iſſue, without proving it to be the intent of the Law. But this was impoſſible, conſidering the time between its eſtabliſhment, and the firſt occaſion of putting it in practice. That indeed, the excluſion of the Daughters was built on very plauſible reaſons, taken from the weakneſs of their Sex, and the temper of the *French* Nation, which would never venture to be governed by a Woman; but that theſe reaſons could not be alledged againſt their Sons. That formerly, among the *Oſtrogoths* of *Italy*, who obſerved the ſame Cuſtom, there was a like inſtance, which plainly ſhowed, that the excluſion of the Daughters might ſubſiſt without that of their Male-Heirs. That after the death of *Theodoric*, *Amalazonta*, his Daughter, did not ſucceed him, becauſe ſhe was a Woman; however, that did not hinder *Athalaric* her Son, though an Infant, from being placed on the Throne of his Grandfather (1). He farther added, that the *Salic* Law was an extraordinary Law, contrary to the Law civil and natural, for which reaſon it was to be confined within juſt bounds, rather than extended, as if the Women of the Royal Family were to be puniſhed for ſome great crime, which deſervedly drew down vengeance on all their Poſterity. If the *French* believed Women unworthy, or unfit to govern them, with all his heart, he pretended not to oppoſe that Law. But what had the Princeſſes of the Blood done to deſerve, that all their Poſterity ſhould ſuffer a puniſhment, from which the Daughters of the Peers, and the other great Men of *France* were exempted, as well as their Deſcendants? Finally, in explaining the *Salic* Law, ſo as to deprive the Male-Iſſue of the Women of a natural Right, was to make a new Law, under colour of interpreting the old.

Philip replied, that *Edward* acknowledging the Authority of the *Salic* Law, was much miſtaken in confining the intent of that Law, to the hindering the Kingdom of *France* from being governed by a Woman. That there was another and no leſs eſſential end, namely, to prevent the Crown from devolving to Foreigners. That the *French* Nation had willingly ſubmitted to *Hugh Capet* and his Houſe, but never meant to ſubject themſelves to other Families; and to receive a foreign King, a new contract was neceſſary (2). That the intent of the *French* manifeſtly appeared, in their not conſidering the Deſcendants of the Princeſſes of the Blood, as preſumptive Heirs of the Crown (3). Conſequently, it was not indifferently the next Male-Heir which was to ſucceed, but the next deſcended from Father to Son from *Hugh Capet*.

It is a ſtrange thing, that among ſo many Authors who have writ of this famous Conteſt, not one, at leaſt that I know of, except Father *Daniel*, rightly underſtood the ſtate of the Queſtion between the two Kings. They have all amuſed themſelves with combating *Chimæras*, and making the Parties alledge Arguments nothing at all to the purpoſe, and ſometimes even contrary to their real intereſts. Some make *Philip* urge very ſtrong reaſons againſt the right of Repreſentation, which it is certain *Edward* never meant to uſe. Others alledge for *Edward* the moſt plauſible arguments againſt the *Salic* Law, though it was evidently his intereſt to ſupport it. And therefore I am apt to believe, the Harangue *Paulus Æmilius* puts into the mouth of *Robert d'Artois*, in defence of *Philip*'s Right, is a mere invention of the Hiſtorian; ſince the Orator doth not confine himſelf to the true caſe, though in all appearance, *Robert d'Artois* was not ignorant of the ſtate of the Controverſy. *Paſquier*, though a great Civilian, and well verſed in the Hiſtory of *France*, and in ſhort, all the Writers, as well *Engliſh* as *French*, are guilty of the ſame error. As for Father *Daniel*, after truly ſtating the caſe, and briefly relating the reaſons of *Philip de Valois*, without giving his own opinion, he makes *Edward*'s pretenſions to be conſidered, in the courſe of his Hiſtory, as chimerical (4).

This caſe was never decided as to the Crown, but only with regard to the Regency. It cannot be denied, that in this judgment *Philip* had a great advantage, for the Judges were all his Relations and Friends, and the Perſon who diſputed the Regency with him, a Minor and Foreigner. *Philip* took for granted afterwards, in imitation of *Philip le Long*, that the ſame judgment which adjudged him the Regency, gave him a Right to be crowned, and by that the queſtion was really decided. He was ſo prejudiced in favour of his own right, that he commanded the Hands and Feet of a Burgher of *Compiegne* to be cut off, for maintaining, that *Edward*'s Title was better than his. One cannot ſay what the Iſſue would have been, if the deciſion of the affair had been referred to the States of the Realm, as it was the opinion of ſeveral, who believed That to be the only means of ſolidly eſtabliſhing *Philip*'s Right. All that can be affirmed is, that the eſtabliſhment of the *Salic* Law in favour of *Philip le Long*, and its confirmation by the advancement of *Charles the Fair* to the Throne, could not have prejudiced *Edward*. The ſole buſineſs was, either to limit the *Salic* Law to the Perſons of the Daughters, or to extend it to all their Poſterity, and this is what had never before been decided.

My deſign in what I have ſaid, as well concerning the *Salic* Law, as the Conteſt between the two Kings, was, I. To rectify moſt People's notion concerning this Law. II. To ſhow preciſely wherein conſiſted the Diſpute between the two Competitors. III. That this affair had its difficulties, and was not eaſily to be determined by Law. IV. Laſtly, That the two Kings had each very plauſible reaſons, and conſequently it was a juſt matter of Proceſs. And this is what I could not do in the Body of the Hiſtory, without making too long a digreſſion. As the War occaſioned by this quarrel was very laſting, and renewed by ſeveral of *Edward*'s Succeſſors, I thought it would not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know the origin and foundation thereof. Nay, this quarrel may be ſaid not to be yet ended, ſince from the time of *Edward* III, the Kings of *England* have all along born, and ſtill do bear the Title of Kings of *France*.

(1) There are ſome Writers, who not knowing that the Diſpute between *Philip* and *Edward*, was not about the Excluſion of the Women, but of their Male Iſſue, have alledged this Example in favour of *Philip de Valois*. *Rapin*.

(2) It would perhaps be pretty difficult to prove this Engagement of the *French* Nation with the Family of *Hugh Capet*. The Aſſociation practiſed by the firſt Kings of the third Race, ſeems to argue, that they did not much rely on this pretended Engagement, of which Father *Daniel* contents himſelf with ſaying, that it is very likely. *Rapin*.

(3) I queſtion whether this can be affirmed with certainty, with reſpect to the Time before the Reign of *Philip le Long*. At leaſt, it is very doubtful, with regard to the ſecond Race. *Rapin*.

(4) It is certain, that *Rapin*, in aſſerting, that all the *French* and *Engliſh* Authors underſtood not the State of the Queſtion between the two Kings, was miſtaken. For of the *French*, *Vertot*, in his Diſſertation on the *Salic* Law, (which *Rapin*, it is plain, never ſaw) ſtates the Caſe exactly as he does. So do likewiſe *Bodin*, *Du Haillan*, *Mezerai*, and *Le Gendre*. So alſo the famous *Puffendorf*; and of our Hiſtorians, *Martin*, *Tyrrel*, &c. It muſt indeed be owned, that ſome, after truly ſtating the Caſe, in other Places alledge Arguments againſt the *Salic* Law, which entirely deſtroy *Edward*'s Pretenſions. Of this Father *Daniel* is a famous Inſtance. For after he had already ſaid, "That the *Salic* Law was allowed on both ſides; namely, that the Daughters "could not ſucceed to the Crown, and therefore the Queen of *England*, though the late King's Siſter, could not pretend to it: But the *Engliſh* Lawyers "maintained, the next Perſon, where this defect of Sex was not found, ought, by nearneſs of Blood, to ſucceed, and upon this Title *Edward* founded his "Pretenſions." I ſay, after thus truly ſtating the Caſe, he ſays, in his Diſſertation on the Antiquity and Author of the *Salic* Law, "If the *Engliſh* had "not been perſwaded of the Antiquity of this Law, they would not have failed to attack, more ſtrongly than they did, this fundamental Principle of *Philip*'s "Right." What! Should they attack a Law allowed by *Edward* as well as *Philip*? A Law, without which neither of them would have had any Pretenſions to the Crown? It is in this inconſiſtent manner that many, both *French* and *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, talk upon this Subject. See theſe Things more largely diſcuſſed in *Rival*'s Examination of *L'Abbe de Vertot*'s Diſſertation on the Origin of the *Salic* Laws.

From a most Antient Original in the Quire, Westminster Abby.

Des:q: et Sculp: G. Vertue

12. *RICHARD* II. *Sirnamed* of BOURDEAUX.

1377. *'Tis feared Richard's Uncles would diſpute the Crown with him.*

Reaſons of it.

EDWARD III, having finiſhed his glorious Life, it was naturally *Richard* his Grandſon that was to aſcend the Throne, as repreſenting the late Prince of *Wales* his Father. But though *Edward* himſelf had ſo ordered it, many People were apprehenſive, the execution of his laſt Will would meet with great obſtacles. *Richard* had three Uncles who might diſpute the Crown with him, and ſupport the pretenſion if they would have urged it, with plauſible and illuſory reaſons. The young Prince could claim the Crown only by right of Repreſentation, of which there had been no precedent, at leaſt with reſpect to the Crown, ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt. However lawful this Right might be with regard to private Perſons, by the general diſpoſition of the Laws, it did not neceſſarily follow that it was inconteſtable concerning the Crown. In *France*, for example, the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom was not regulated by the Laws of private Eſtates. In *Spain*, the Kings, who for a Century had been poſſeſſed of the Crown of *Caſtile*, were deſcended from a Prince that obtained it in prejudice of his Nephews, Sons of his eldeſt Brother. Nay, a natural Son was then in actual poſſeſſion; though among private Perſons, Baſtards had no right to the Inheritance of their Fathers. In *Artois*, the Aunt, by the Judgment of the Peers of *France*, was preferred to the Nephew, who repreſented his Father. A quite contrary deciſion of the ſame Court, with regard to *Bretagne*, had occaſioned in that Dukedom a War, which at length was ended to the advantage of the Uncle againſt the Niece, and wherein *Edward* himſelf had maintained the Right of the former. This was ſufficient to afford the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the eldeſt of the three Brothers, a very plauſible pretence, if he had intended to ſeize the Crown, as was ſuſpected by the late Prince of *Wales* his Brother, the King his Father himſelf, and all *England*. To this may be added, that *Richard*'s youth, who was but in his eleventh year, and the expiration of the Truce with *France*, ſeemed to furniſh the Duke with freſh reaſons to demand the Crown, which he was better able to defend than a Minor of eleven years old. But on the other hand, though the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſhould have had ſuch a thought, he might have been diverted from it by the conſideration of the diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* in favour of young *Richard*, whom the memory of his illuſtrious Father rendered extremely dear to them, and for whom the King his Grandfather had deſigned the Crown. Whether this conſideration prevented his Uncles from taking advantage of his youth, or it was from a pure motive of moderation and equity, far from intending to ſupplant him, they were the firſt to do him homage. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was ſtiled in *England* King of *Caſtile*, ſatisfied his ambition with governing the State during *Richard*'s minority, and the Princes his Brothers were no leſs inclined than he, to perform their Father's laſt Will. So all fears vaniſhing, *Richard* was crowned without oppoſition, on the 16th of *July*, four and twenty days after the death of *Edward* (1).

Richard *crowned.* Act. Pub. VII. p. 157. Walſing.

The King's Champion. Walſing.

At this Coronation it is, that we meet with the firſt mention in Hiſtory of a Champion, who appeared compleatly armed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the King dined, and throwing his Gantlet on the ground, challenged all Perſons, who ſhould diſpute the King's Title to the Crown. The original of this Cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is unknown, but it is certainly of an older date than the Coronation of *Richard* II, ſince Sir *John Dimmock*, who performed then the office of Champion, was admitted to it by virtue of a Right annexed to a Manor, held by him in *Lincolnſhire* (2). 1377.

Immediately after the Solemnity, the young King created *Thomas of Woodſtock* his Uncle Earl of *Buckingham* (3), and *Guiſchard d'Augouleme*, his Governor, Earl of *Huntington* (4); at the ſame time conferring the Title of Earl of *Nottingham* upon *John de Mowbray*, and that of Earl of *Northumberland* upon *Henry Percy*, who was alſo Earl-Marſhal (5).

Several Honors conferred. Idem. Act. Pub. VII. p. 160.

Edward's Truce with *France* was expired ſince *April* the 1ſt, without the leaſt preparation by the *Engliſh* to renew the War. Whether the late King's illneſs occaſioned this negligence, or it was prepoſterouſly imagined, that *France*, ſatisfied with the great advantages ſhe had gained, would remain in quiet, there was in *England* a ſurpriſing ſecurity in that reſpect (6). It was quite otherwiſe in *France*, where *Charles* V. was diligently preparing to take advantage of the indolence of the *Engliſh*. When that Monarch was informed that *Edward* was no longer able to act, he gave orders to levy Troops on all ſides. So that when he heard of his death, he was ready to bring five Armies into the Field. He ſent the firſt into *Guienne*, to complete the expulſion of the *Engliſh* out of that Province; the ſecond into *Auvergne*; the third into *Bretagne*; the fourth into *Artois*; and the fifth he kept with him, in order to aſſiſt the reſt in caſe of neceſſity. Beſides theſe Armies, he had likewiſe equipped a ſtrong Fleet, which was ordered to infeſt the Coaſts of *England*. As the *Engliſh* were wholly unprepared, the *French* landed in ſeveral Places, burnt *Haſtings*, *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, and defeated ſome Troops aſſembled by the Prior of *Lewes*, to try to put a ſtop to their ravages. They were repulſed at *Wincheſter*, but landed in the Iſle of *Wight*, where they plundered all the Inhabitants, and after a fruitleſs attempt to take *Carisbrook* Caſtle (7), retired with their booty.

Negligence of the Engliſh as to the War.

Charles V, brings five Armies into the Field. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 328. Walſing.

The French ravage the Coaſts of England. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 162. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 313.

All this happened whilſt the *Engliſh* were employed in placing *Richard* on the Throne, as the moſt urgent affair. Mean time, there was neither Fleet nor Troops provided to repulſe the enemies. As the King was not of age to govern the State himſelf, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Cambridge* his Uncles took the adminiſtration of affairs, till the meeting of the Parliament in *October*; but uſed with great caution the authority they had aſſumed, for fear of breeding prejudices againſt them, that might be detrimental to them in the approaching Parliament. The Duke of *Lancaſter* was not beloved; he was accuſed of abuſing his power in the end of the late Reign, and treating the Subjects a little too haughtily. He had eſpecially incurred the ill-will of the *Londoners*, by cauſing them to be puniſhed for the tumult raiſed on *Wickliff*'s account. Though ſince the death of the King his Father, he had been reconciled to the City (8), that proceeding was conſidered only as the effect of his Policy,

The King's Uncles govern the State. Walſing.

(1) As the Coronation Oath was ſomewhat larger than that already mentioned by our Hiſtorians, and becauſe this Form, with ſome ſmall Alterations, has been adminiſtred to all ſucceeding Kings and Queens ever ſince, it may not be improper to inſert it. "I. That he would permit the Church to enjoy "all her Liberties: That he would reverence her Miniſters, and maintain the Truth. II. That he would reſtrain Violence and all Oppreſſion, in all ſorts "of Men: That he would cauſe good Laws to be every where obſerved, eſpecially thoſe of St. *Edward*, King and Confeſſor: And would alſo cauſe all "evil Laws or Cuſtoms to be abrogated. III. That he would be no reſpecter of Perſons, but would give right Judgment between Man and Man, and "would chiefly obſerve Mercy in all his Decrees or Judgments, as God ſhould ſhew Mercy to him." Then the Archbiſhop led the King (the Lord-Marſhal walking before him) to all the four Sides of the Scaffold, and ſhewing the King to the People, declared the Purport of the Oath he had now taken, and asked them, *If they would be ſubject to this Prince as their lawful Ruler, and be obedient to his Commands?* This Ceremony, though not mentioned before in any of our Hiſtorians, was no innovation, but ſeems to be a Remainder of the old *Engliſh* Cuſtom of electing the King, as may be obſerved by comparing the manner of the Coronation, and Election of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, and *William* I, with this Action, and which has been obſerved ever ſince. *Tyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 829. *Walſing.* p. 195.

(2) The Manor of *Scrivelby*, in Right of *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *John Marmion*.

(3) With a Penſion of a thouſand Marks. *Walſing.* p. 197. The 22d of *July*, this ſame Year, he was appointed High-Conſtable of *England*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 152.

(4) With the like Penſion. *Walſing.* p. 197.

(5) He performed the Office of Earl-Marſhal, at the Coronation, by Writ from the King, ſaving to every one their Right, becauſe that Office was claimed by *Margaret*, Heireſs of *Thomas Bretherton*, late Earl of *Norfolk*, and Marſhal of *England*.

(6) Orders were however given for ſecuring the Coaſts of *Kent* and *Eſſex*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p 154, 155.

(7) Bravely defended by Sir *Hugh Tyrrel*, a Knight of *Eſſex*. *Walſing.* p. 199. *Tyrrel*, p. 831. Upon account of theſe Invaſions, Orders were iſſued out for arming the Clergy. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 169.

(8) On the Day King *Edward* died, the Citizens ſent Deputies to Prince *Richard*, then at *Kingſton*, at the Head of whom was *John Philpot*, to acknowledge *Richard* for their lawful Sovereign, and requeſt that he would pleaſe to honour them with his Preſence, and nearer Reſidence; and they ſubmitting all Differences between the Duke of *Lancaſter* and them, to the young King, Matters were ſoon adjuſted. *Walſing.* p. 193.

1377. *The People complain of their Negligence.*

and it was feared, he would assume his former haughtiness, if entrusted with the Administration. As he knew very well what people thought of him, he behaved very circumspectly, apprehensive as he was of being excluded from the Regency to which he aspired. But all his precautions were not capable to prevent the murmurs of the People, already prejudiced against him. The little care, the two Princes took to guard the Coasts, was openly complained of, without considering they had neither Fleet, nor Troops, nor Money, nor even any lawful authority to raise extraordinary Forces. Another accident helped very much to incense the people against them. The *Scots* having taken by surprize the Castle of *Roxborough*, the loss was ascribed to the negligence of those, who governed the Realm (1).

The Scots seize Roxborough. Walsing.

The Parliament appoints Regents. Rot. Parl. 1 Ric. II. M. 1, &c. Walsing.

The Parliament's first care, which met in *October* (2), was to settle the Administration of the Government during the King's minority. For that purpose, they appointed several Governors to the King, to take care of his Education, and ordered that his three Uncles should be Regents of the Kingdom; but joined with them some Bishops and Lay-Lords (3). This precaution was founded on the danger of trusting the Person and Affairs of a minor King, to the sole management of the neareſt Relations, who in their Administration, might have self-interested views. This was a great mortification to the three Princes, and particularly to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had flattered himself with the hopes of being sole Regent (4).

Grants Money to the King upon hard Conditions. Cotton's Abridg. Walsing.

This affair being finished, the Parliament granted the King a Subsidy (5), for the maintenance of the War; but it was clogged with this condition, (which plainly showed, they were resolved to be upon their guard during the Minority,) that the Money should be lodged in the hands of *Philpot* and *Walworth*, two eminent Aldermen of *London*, who were ordered to take care it should be expended only in repulsing the *French* and *Castilians* in league against *England*. Moreover, it was declared, that the Subsidy granted the King, should not be drawn into a Precedent, but for the future, what should be necessary for maintaining his Houshold, and defraying the Charges of the War, should be supplied out of his ordinary Revenues. After this the Parliament admitted an accusation against *Alice Pierce*, Favorite of the late King, who being convicted of several Misdemeanors (6), received a Sentence, whereby all her Estate was confiscated to the King's use, and herself condemned to banishment. But this Woman, who had an able and intriguing head, quickly found means to be recalled by the King, and restored to her Estate (7). Before the Parliament broke up, *Richard* confirmed King *John*'s two Charters, and gave his assent to several Acts, relating to the Contests *England* had with the Court of *Rome*.

Alice Pierce banished. Walsing.

Cotton, Ib.

1378. *Violence committed by the Duke of* Lancaster. Walsing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 178, 179.

It was not without reason, that the Duke of *Lancaster* was hindered from having the sole management of affairs. This Prince was of a proud and haughty Temper, which suffered him not to have much regard for his Inferiors, particularly in affairs where his interest was concerned. Presently after the breaking up of the Parliament, he gave a proof of his violent Temper, by an action which showed what he was capable of, if the whole power had been lodged in his hands. As he had a claim to the Kingdom of *Castile*, he thought it might be of some advantage to gain to his interest the young Earl of *Denia*, a *Castilian* Lord, then at *London*. The Father of this young Earl, being taken at the battle of *Najara* by two *English* Knights, was brought into *England*, where he had remained several years in the custody of those who took him Prisoner. At length, by leaving his Son in Hostage, he obtained leave to return home, where he died before his Ransom was paid. The Duke of *Lancaster* hoping to make friends in *Castile* by means of the young captive Earl, so managed it, that the King ordered the two Knights to release him. But as there was no mention of the ransom, they concealed their Prisoner, and made him promise he would not discover himself. This disobedience exasperating the Duke of *Lancaster*, he sent the two Knights to the Tower, from whence however they made their escape, and took refuge in the Church of *Westminster*. This Sanctuary was not capable of saving them. The Duke of *Lancaster* sending Soldiers into the Church (8) to bring them away, one of the Knights (9) was retaken, but the other (10) defending himself, was slain with a Monk, who too warmly took his part. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* excommunicated all that were concerned in the breach of the Church's privileges; but the Duke's authority prevented any farther prosecution of the affair. Sometime after, the King taking upon him to pay the *Spanish* Earl's ransom, it was discovered, to the People's great admiration, that the young Lord, not to be forced to break his promise, had all along attended, in a Footman's Habit, the Person to whom he had given his word. 1378.

The Duke gets the Money granted in Parliament into his Hands. Walsing.

Mean time, the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was vexed to see the Money granted the King by the Parliament, in the hands of two Citizens of *London*, promoted not the equipment of the Ships, for the defence of the Coasts. This affected negligence occasioned many complaints. But he pretended, he could not form any project, lest it should not be approved by those, who had the management of the Money. In fine, he so importuned the other Regents, that the two Aldermen were ordered to put into his hands the sums they were charged with. He promised for his part, that the Coasts should be better guarded, and the Merchant-men protected. However, he still delayed a considerable time sending out a Fleet, because he expected from *Bayonne* some Ships which were to join those he equipped.

The King of Navarre *delivers* Cherbourg *to the* English. Froissart, l. 2. c. 12, 15. Act. Pub. VII. p. 196, 201.

Whilst the Fleet was preparing, the Earls of *Arundel* (11), and *Salisbury* (12) had orders to go to *Normandy*, and take possession of *Cherbourg*, which the King of *Navarre* had promised to deliver to the *English*. They had scarce left the Coasts of *England*, when they were met by some *Spanish* Men of War, who fiercely attacked them (13), and did them some damage. Notwithstanding this obstacle, they put a Garrison into *Cherbourg*, which afforded the *English* an inlet into *Normandy*, as *Calais* did into *Picardy*.

Philpot defeats a Scotch *Pyrate, who did great Damage to the* English *Merchants.* Walsing.

Before the Fleet, designed for the guard of the Coasts, was quite ready, one *Mercer*, a *Scotch* Pyrate, seeing the *English* neglected the northern Seas, entered the Port of *Scarborough*, and carried away the Merchant-men that lay there. This success inspiring him with greater hopes, he long cruised in those Seas, and took considerable prizes. The damage sustained by the Merchants on this occasion, caused fresh complaints against the Duke of *Lancaster*, who so ill performed his promise. *Philpot*, before-mentioned, full of indignation to see the *English* Merchants exposed to the ravages of this Pyrate, undertook, at his own expence, what the Duke neglected to do with the publick Money. He fitted out some Ships, and with a thousand Soldiers, went in quest of the *Scotch* Pyrate, whom he defeated, and taking him Prisoner, returned in triumph to *London*. This action, which gained him the applauses of the People, offended the Regents, who thought it of dangerous consequence, to suffer a private Person to undertake a thing of that nature, without the Government's permission. But he made so good a de-

(1) But *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* entering *Scotland*, at the head of ten thousand Men, wasted and plundered the Country for three Days, especially the Earl of *Dunbar*'s Lands; for it was he that had surprized *Roxborough*. *Walsing*. p. 198.

(2) *October* 13. *Rot. Parl.* 1 *Rich.* II. *M.* 1, &c. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 154.

(3) Namely, the Bishops of *London* and *Salisbury*; *Edmund* Earl of *March*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*; *William* Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Cobham*; Sir *Roger de Beauchamp*, and Sir *Richard de Stafford*, Knights Bannerets; *John Knywet*, *Ralph de Ferreres*, *John Devereux*, and *Hugh de Segrave*, Knights Batchellors. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 161.

(4) He thereupon withdrew from Court, and retired to *Kenelworth* Castle; but, probably, it was not till after the Parliament here mentioned, for it is certain the Duke was at this Parliament. *Walsing*. p. 198. *Tyrrel*, p. 832. See *Cotton's Abridg*. p. 155.

(5) Two Fifteenths and two Tenths out of Cities and Burroughs; the Fifteenths of all Lands whatsoever, and Tenths of all manner of Goods; to be levied between that and *Candlemas* ensuing; and to be depositedin the Hands of *William Walworth*, and *John Philpot*, Merchants of *London*. *Cotton's Abridg*. p. 156. *Walsing*. p. 200.

(6) The Articles alledged against her, were, 1. That she, in the Time of *Edward* III, procured Sir *Nicholas Dagworth* to be recalled from *Ireland*, where he was sent: And 2. That she procured from the same King a Remittance of three hundred Pounds, due from *Richard Lyons* to the Exchequer; and farther, procured him a Grant of a thousand Marks, as a Gift. But, as Sir *Robert Cotton* observes, the Record proves no such heinous Matter; only that she was in such Credit with *Edward* III, as she sat at his Bed's-head, when all of the Council and of the Privy-Chamber stood waiting without doors, and that she moved those Suits which they dared not; and these two Suits for which she was condemned, seemed very honest; her mishap was, that she was friendly to many, but all were not so to her. *Abridgement*, p. 158.

(7) She married, not long after the Sentence, Sir *William de Windesore*, a Person of Note; and notwithstanding this Ordinance, they both, in the next Parliament, petitioned for a Revocation for divers Errors therein recited, and thereupon obtained a Reversal of the same. *Rot. Parl.* 2 *Rich.* II. N. 36.

(8) Sir *Alan de Buxhull* Constable of the Tower, and Sir *R. Ferrars*, with fifty armed Men. *Walsing*. p. 214, 215.

(9) *John Shakel*.

(10) *Robert Haule*, he was buried under a Brass-plated Stone in *Westminster* Abbey. *Walsingham* calls them valiant *Squires*, and says, they belonged to Sir *John Chandos*, p. 214.

(11) *Richard Fitz-Alan*.

(12) *William de Montacute*.

(13) Namely, a Squadron commanded by Sir *Philip* and *Peter Courtney*, two Brothers. Sir *Peter* escaped; but Sir *Philip* was taken Prisoner. *Tyrrel*, p. 839.

1378. fence, and with so much Modesty, that he was dismissed without further trouble.

Schism in the Church. Walsing. Froissart, l. 2. c. 9.

The late Schism formed in the Church by the double Election of *Urban* VI, and *Clement* VII, employed the Parliament some time, which met in *October* 1378. *France* espoused the Cause of *Clement*, and perhaps that was the principal reason of *England*'s declaring for *Urban*. However, as the matter is stated by the friends of *Clement* themselves, it cannot be denied, that his Election was very irregular. The rise of the Schism was this.

Rise of the Schism.

Gregory XI, leaving *Avignon*, upon certain pretended Revelations, in order to reside at *Rome*, died *March* the 7th, 1378. Of the three and twenty Cardinals then in being, six remained at *Avignon*; one was a Legate, and the sixteen others, of whom twelve were *Frenchmen*, and four *Italians*, were at *Rome* when *Gregory* died. These last being entered the Conclave, to proceed to the Election of a Pope, were greatly embarrassed. Their intent was to chuse a *Frenchman*; but as they foresaw the People of *Rome* would oppose it, they resolved to give them a seeming satisfaction, by pretending to elect an *Italian*. But they agreed first among themselves, that as soon as they were at full Liberty, they would chuse another, who should be the true Pope; a project which could hardly fail of begetting a Schism. According to this agreement, of which we could have no certainty, but by their own Confession, they elected the Archbishop of *Bary*, a *Neapolitan*, who assumed the name of *Urban* VI. The Election was notified to all Christian Princes as Canonical, even by the Cardinals the Electors, and for some time they themselves acknowledged *Urban* for head of the Church. And yet, whether in consequence of their agreement, or, as some affirm, because *Urban* treated them too haughtily, these same Cardinals leaving *Rome* on pretence of great heat, met at *Anagnia*, and elected one of the Cardinals of *Avignon*, who stiled himself *Clement* VII. These two Elections by the same Persons, long employed the most noted Divines in *Europe*, and occasioned a Schism, which lasted above thirty Years. It ought not to seem strange, that it was so difficult to decide, which of the Popes was head of the Church: It would have been much easier to find good reasons to reject them both. However, the Schism divided all Christendom, each State declaring for one or other of the two Popes, not so much on account of the Right of the Parties, as for political Reasons. *France*, whose interest it was that the Pope should reside at *Avignon*, joined with *Clement*, and for a contrary reason, *England* thought it more advantagious to adhere to the Pope of *Rome*.

The Duke of Lancaster undertakes to restore the Duke of Bretagne, Froissart, l. 1. c. 314. Act. Pub. VII. p. 195.

Whilst the two Pontiffs were darting their Spiritual Thunders against one another, the Duke of *Lancaster* equipped his Fleet, which had been so long preparing. His design was not only to guard the Coasts as he had ingaged: He had in view a more important expedition, namely, to restore the Duke of *Bretagne*, dispossessed by the King of *France*, with the connivance of the Lords of *Bretagne*, whom he had gained to his interests. This unhappy Prince, seeing himself abandoned by most of his Subjects, came into *England* towards the end of *Edward*'s Reign, to demand his assistance; but losing that refuge by the death of his Father-in-law, retired to the Earl of *Flanders*, his relation and ally. During his stay in that Country, a *French* Envoy, who was going to *Scotland*, being stopped on the way, by the Earl's Order, *Charles* pretended it was done by the Duke of *Bretagne*'s instigation, and insisted upon the Earl's dismissing him from his Court. The Earl, not believing, his being Vassal obliged him to that condescension, furnished the King by his refusal, with the pretence he was apparently seeking, to be revenged of the Duke another way. He sent into *Bretagne* an Army, to compleat the ruin of that unfortunate Prince, who was unable to resist him. *England* was too much concerned to support him, not to make some effort in his favour. The Duke of *Lancaster* find-

Walsing.

but cannot bring it about.

ing his Fleet ready for Sea, went on board himself, and set sail for *Bretagne*, where he laid Siege to St. *Malo*. But he met with so many obstacles from *Du Guesclin*, who commanded the *French* Army in those Parts, that he was forced to desist from his enterprize. 1378.

This ill success would have perhaps discouraged the *English*, had not the Duke of *Bretagne* repaired to *England*, and offered to deliver to the King the Town of *Brest*, during the War, provided he would lend him an Aid proportioned to his wants. So advantagious an offer inspired the King's Council with fresh hopes, since it would enable them to make from that side a powerful diversion, which could not but be very troublesome to *France*. And indeed, if the *English* had wisely improved their advantages, it would have been in their power to invade *France* from four several Quarters, namely, *Guienne*, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, by means of *Bourdeaux*, *Calais*, *Cherbourg*, and *Brest*, which gave the *English* so many inlets into that Kingdom. *Richard*'s Council resolving to embrace so favorable a Juncture, accepted the Duke of *Bretagne*'s offer, and made with him a Treaty, upon the foot proposed by himself. The Parliament, which was consulted on this affair, approving the Council's designs, granted a very considerable Subsidy, to execute a project that was likely to procure great advantages to the State. Besides the Party the Duke of *Bretagne* had still in his own Country, several of his Adversaries began to wish for his Restoration, not being able to bear, without extreme uneasiness, the insolence of the *French*. But as the strong holds were in the hands of the friends of *France*, the faithful Subjects could undertake nothing, unless supported by the *English*, who were, with all possible diligence, preparing the promised Supplies.

The Duke of Bretagne *delivers* Brest *to the* English. Walsing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 187, 190, 195.

The Court resolves to assist him.

Mean while, the King of *France*, who saw the gathering storm, took measures to divert it, by procuring from the side of *Scotland*, a diversion, to hinder the *English* from carrying their Arms abroad. The King of *Scotland*, gained by the presents and promises of the *French* Monarch, suddenly broke the Truce, and took *Berwick* Castle, by surprize (1), the Town having been dismantled in the former Wars. The Earl of *Northumberland* (2), Governor of the northern Counties, surprized at the loss of that place, which was imputed to his negligence, drew together a Body of Troops (3) with such speed, that he was at *Berwick* before the *Scots* had notice of his design. Immediately after he invested the Castle; and seizing a Bridge, the only Pass by which Succours could be thrown into the place, pushed the Siege so vigorously, that in nine days he took it by Storm. *Douglas* (4) who was advancing to raise the Siege, finding himself disappointed, hastily retired into his Country, to avoid a Battle. He was pursued by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who to retard the Enemies retreat, detached a Body of six hundred Men (5), under the conduct of *Musgrave* (6), with orders to amuse them, without ingaging too far. But whilst he was himself advancing with the rest of his Army, he had intelligence, that his detachment was fallen into an ambush, and entirely defeated (7). *Henry Percy* his Son, signalized himself, both at the Siege of *Berwick*, and in the late Action, and gave extraordinary proofs of his great Courage, which gained him the surname of *Hotspur*. The Plague beginning to rage in the northern Counties, obliged the two Nations to a better observance of the Truce, without a new Treaty (8).

The Scots take Berwick. Buchanan. Walsing. Froissart, l. 2. c. 3.

The Earl of Northumberland *retakes it.*

A Detachment of English *defeated.*

Mean time, the preparations for the assistance of the Duke of *Bretagne* were vigorously carrying on. But as the expence rose higher than was imagined, the Parliament (9) granted the King another Subsidy, the burden whereof was entirely borne by the Nobility and Clergy. Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Earls, and [mitred] Abbots, were taxed at ten Marks (10) each, besides forty Pence to be paid by the Abbots for every one of their Monks. 1379.

Tax upon the Nobles and Clergy. Brady's Appendix. N. 102. Walsing. Cotton's Abridg.

(1) It was surprized towards the latter end of *November*, by *Alexander Ramsey*, and forty two young Fellows, in the middle of the Night, when the Centinel was asleep. *Buchan.* l. 9. Sir *Robert de Boynton* was Governor. *Walsi.* p. 219.

(2) *Henry de Percy.*

(3) To the Number of about ten thousand, *viz.* three thousand Men at Arms, and seven thousand Archers. With whom were *John Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lords *Nevil*, *Lucy*, *Stafford*, &c. *Froissart*, l. 2. c. 6.

(4) *Archibald Douglas*, whom *Froissart* calls Constable of *Scotland*, l. 2. c. 6.

(5) *Rapin* by mistake says six thousand. This Body consisted only of three hundred Lances, and the same number of Archers. See *Froissart*, l. 2. c. 7.

(6) Sir *Thomas Musgrave.*

(7) About a hundred and forty of the *English* were taken Prisoners, and with them Sir *Thomas Musgrave.* *Ibid.*

(8) A Parliament was held this Year, which met at *Gloucester*, *October* 20, and granted the King the former Subsidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells, for three Years: Of Wool, forty three Shillings and four-pence the Sack; of Wool-fells as much, that is, for every two hundred and forty of them (accounting a hundred and twenty to the hundred;) and for Leather four Pounds six Shillings and Eight-pence every Last, which were exported by Denizens and Strangers, besides the antient Custom. And, at an additional Grant, they gave besides, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence for every Sack of Wool, as much for every two hundred and forty Wool-fells, and for every Last of Leather twenty six Shillings and Eight-pence. Also they gave Six-pence in the Pound for every Pound value of Merchandize, as well of Denizens as Strangers, both imported and exported for one Year. *Brady*, p. 338. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 173. *Rot. Parl.* 2 *Ric.* II. *Pa.* 1. *N.* 1, 2, &c.

(9) This Parliament met *April* 25, at *Westminster*, and took off the Mark upon every Sack of Wool, and the Six-pence in the Pound for all Merchandize, given in the last Parliament, but granted the King the Subsidies of Wools for one Year longer; and a certain Sum of Money of all Degrees of Men, from the highest to the lowest; namely, every Justice of the two Benches, with the chief Baron, was to pay five Pounds; an Earl four Pounds; the Mayor of *London* four Pounds; every Alderman forty Shillings, and a Baron the same; every Advocate at Law forty Shillings. *Brady's Append.* N. 102. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 168.

(10) *Walsingham* says, six Marks, p. 221.

The

1379. The reſt of the Clergy and Nobility, and all that had Places, being rated according to their incomes, the Subſidy produced very conſiderable Sums.

The King of France *confiſcates* Bretagne. Walſing.

The King of *France* was in a great paſſion with the Duke of *Bretagne*, for attempting to recall the *Engliſh* into his Country. At leaſt, he made that a pretence to ſummon him before the Court of Peers, where the Duke took care not to appear. But the Widow of *Charles de Blois* ſent Agents to the King, to repreſent to him, that he had no manner of Right to confiſcate *Bretagne*, which was not originally a Fief of the Crown of *France*. She maintained, if any of the former Dukes had thought proper to ſubmit to any perſonal ſervices to the Kings of *France*, it was not in their power to ſubject the Dukedom, without the conſent of their People. But the Court, regardleſs of theſe Remonſtrances, decreed the Confiſcation of *Bretagne* to the King's uſe. This proceeding convincing the *Bretons*, that *Charles*'s Quarrel was not ſo much with the Duke as the Duchy, they were afraid of falling under the Dominion of *France*, and ſeeing their Country a Province of that Kingdom. This apprehenſion occaſioned an aſſociation of the great Men, which ended at length in recalling their lawful Sovereign. The Duke receiving the agreeable news, haſtened his return into his Dominions, in expectation of the Succours preparing for him in *England*. He was received by his Subjects with great Demonſtrations of Joy (1). Mean while, as the principal places were in the hands of his Enemies, he earneſtly intreated the Court of *England* to ſend him ſome Troops to ſupport him, till a more powerful Supply ſhould be ready. Upon theſe inſtances, the Council diſpatched ſome Ships with Troops (2). But they were for the moſt part loſt in a violent Storm.

The Bretons *recal their Duke.* Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 37. Walſing.

The War continues between France *and* England. Walſing.

All this while, the *French* and *Engliſh* continued the War in ſeveral Places, but without coming to a deciſive Battle. The Governor of *Cherbourg* (3) gained ſome advantage over the *French*, who had quickly their revenge, by taking ſeveral Merchant Men.

1380. *Parliament.*

The Parliament which met in *October* 1380 (4), granted the King a new Aid to continue the War with *France* and *Scotland*, as well as to aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretagne*.

Act againſt Alien Eccleſiaſticks.

This Parliament is famous for a Statute againſt the Blood-ſuckers, who had long devoured the Land. I mean, the foreign Eccleſiaſticks, who by this Statute were rendered incapable of holding any Benefice in *England*. But as this probably would not be ſufficient to curb the Court of *Rome*, who did not think herſelf bound by Acts of Parliament, another Statute was made, to render the Pope's favours, in this reſpect, fruitleſs to Foreigners. By this Act, all the King's Subjects were forbid, on ſevere Penalties, to farm Benefices conferred on Strangers by the Court of *Rome*. This was properly attaining the ſame end another way. For the Pope uſually giving *Engliſh* Benefices to his Domeſticks, to *Italian* Biſhops and Cardinals, theſe Men could neither reſide on their Benefices, nor find any Farmers in the Kingdom. At the ſame time, the Parliament petitioned the King to expel all foreign Monks, for fear they ſhould give the *Engliſh* impreſſions deſtructive of the good of the State.

Foreign Monks expelled.

The Earl of Warwick *ſole Governor of the King.* Walſing.

After the Parliament's care of the Eccleſiaſtical affairs, all the King's Governors were removed, as well to retrench the great expence, as becauſe their Number was prejudicial to his education. Inſtead of theſe Lords, *Thomas de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was choſen to have the ſole care of educating the King.

Commiſſioners to examine the Uſes the King's Revenues had been put to.

Since *Richard*'s acceſſion to the Throne, his Revenues had been ſo ill managed, that the Houſe of Commons wanted to know on whom the blame was to be laid. To that end, fourteen Commiſſioners were appointed to examine to what uſes the Revenues of the Crown had been put, and to lay their report before the next Parliament, which was not to meet under a twelvemonth.

The Duke of Buckingham *goes to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of* Bretagne. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 42. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 223, 256.

Shortly after, the Succours deſigned for the Duke of *Bretagne* being ready, the command was given to the Duke of *Buckingham* (5) the King's Uncle. This Prince landed at *Calais* (6), in order to go to *Bretagne* by Land. Perhaps he would have found it difficult to perform his Enterprize, with an Army conſiſting only of eight thouſand Men, had not the Duke of *Burgundy*, who kept cloſe to him all the way, with much more numerous Forces, received expreſs Orders from the King of *France* his Brother, not to attack the *Engliſh*. That Monarch had a ſurer way to be rid of his Enemies; namely, by a reconciliation with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who deſired peaceably to enjoy his Duchy, of which he ſaw no likelihood, as long as *France* was his Enemy. For this reaſon, the Duke of *Buckingham* meeting with little oppoſition, committed great Ravages upon his rout. Whilſt he was marching, the King of *France* died, leaving for Succeſſor *Charles* VI, his eldeſt Son, about twelve years of Age. His death might have been very advantagious to the *Engliſh*, if the Duke of *Bretagne* had firmly adhered to their Intereſts. But the Duke thinking it his wiſeſt courſe to take advantage of the confuſion of the Court of *France*, in the beginning of a Minority, ſpeedily concluded his Treaty with the new King (7), who granted him whatever he could deſire. 1380.

Death of Charles V. Charles VI *ſucceeds.*

Duke of Bretagne *makes a Treaty with* France.

The Engliſh *ſent back.* Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 55. Walſing.

The poſture of affairs being changed by this agreement, the *Engliſh* were very coldly received in *Bretagne*. The Duke did not openly declare himſelf at firſt, becauſe the *Engliſh* were in poſſeſſion of *Breſt*. However it was eaſy to ſee he had no deſign to make uſe of them, ſince all the Towns denied them admittance. At length, the Duke opened his mind to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and making the beſt excuſe he could, provided him with Ships to return into *England* (8).

Truce with the Scots. Walſing.

The Plague which raged at the ſame time in *England* and *Scotland*, cauſed the Truce to be renewed between the two Kingdoms till the next *Eaſter*.

Parliament. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

Though it was agreed that the Parliament ſhould not meet under a twelve-month, ſome unexpected affairs obliged the King to aſſemble it in *November* (9), in order to demand a freſh ſupply of Money, which was accordingly granted, to enable him to execute the reſolutions which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of. But whereas the Nobility and Clergy had ſupplied the former Subſidy, this was levied by way of Poll-Tax, from which no Perſon was exempted, not even the very Monks and Nuns. All above fifteen Years old were to pay Twelve-pence a head.

Poll-Tax. Walſing.

Reſolve to aſſiſt Portugal *againſt* Caſtile. Act. Pub. VII. p. 254. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 61, 62.

One cannot but very much wonder, that whilſt the Kingdom was actually ingaged in a War with *France* and *Scotland*, the King's Council ſhould think of leaving it unprovided, by ſending Troops to the King of *Portugal* who was in war with *Caſtile*. But private intereſt prevailed above that of the publick, as is uſual in the Councils of the Kings, eſpecially during Minorities. The motive of this reſolution, ſeemingly ſo little agreeable to the State of the Kingdom, was this. *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, had undertaken againſt *John* King of *Caſtile*, Son of *Henry the Baſtard*, a War beyond his ſtrength. He had been ſo unſucceſsful, that inſtead of making Conqueſts upon his Enemy, he had drawn him into his Dominions. The ill ſucceſs of this War made him court the Alliance of the *Engliſh*, in order to obtain Succours againſt the *Caſtilians*, their common Enemies. Though it was by no means proper to ſend Troops ſo far, when *England* could hardly defend her own Coaſts, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s credit was ſo great in the Council, that it was reſolved, *Ferdinand* ſhould be aſſiſted. This reſolution was coloured with the pretence of hindering the growth of the King of *Caſtile*, mortal Enemy of the *Engliſh*; but the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s private intereſt was the ſole motive. This Prince, who had aſſumed the Title of King of *Caſtile*, on account of his Marriage with *Conſtantia* eldeſt Daughter of *Peter the Cruel*, hoped that by ſending Troops into *Portugal*, they might be ſerviceable in promoting his own Affairs. And therefore, after the Parliament's approbation of the intended Expedition, and Grant of a Supply to carry it on, he cauſed the Command of the Troops to be given to the Duke of *Cambridge* his Brother, deſigning ſpeedily to follow

(1) He was conveyed by Sir *Thomas Percy*, and Sir *Hugh Calverly*, and landed on *Auguſt* 4, at a Port near St. *Malo's*. *Walſing.* p. 225, 226.

(2) Two hundred Men at Arms, and four hundred Archers, under the Conduct of Sir *John Arundel*, the two Knights mentioned in the laſt Note, and many other Knights and Etquires; Sir *John Arundel*'s Ship was loſt, and himſelf drowned; as likewiſe twenty-five more; and above a thouſand Men. This happened on *December* 16. *Walſing.* p. 232, 235. *Froiſſart*, l. 2. c. 38. *Stow*, p. 282.

(3) Sir *John Harleſton*, who being ſtraitned for want of Proviſions, ſallied with the beſt part of his Garriſon, to go and fetch ſome in: In his return he was met by a Party of *French*, with whom encountering, he was knocked down, and lay for dead, but was reſcued by Sir *Geoffrey Worſelee*. *Walſing.* p. 223.

(4) This Parliament, which *Rapin* here places in *October* 1380, is probably the ſame that met at *Gloceſter* in 1378. See above, p. 455. Note (8). As for the Act mentioned here by him, it was made in the Parliament, which met this Year 1380, on *January* 17, at *Weſtminſter*. This Parliament granted the King one fifteenth and a half, to be taken *out* of the Cities and Towns, and one Tenth and a half to be taken *within* Cities and Towns, by way of Loan, until the next Parliament. They alſo granted the Subſidy of Wools, Wool-fells, and Skins, from the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next, until *Michaelmaſs* then next enſuing. *Rot. Parl.* 3 *Ric.* II. *N.* 12, 16. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 182, &c.

(5) *Thomas of Woodſtock.* (6) On the 19th of *July*. *Tyrrel*, p. 853.

(7) Though he had, in the beginning of this Year, *viz.* on *March* 1, concluded an offenſive and defenſive League with King *Richard*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 236. (8) He ſet ſail from *Vannes*, *April* 11. *Tyrrel*, p. 853.

(9) *November* 2. at *Northampton*. The ſufficient People in every Town were to contribute to the Aſſiſtance of the leſs able, ſo as none paid above ſixty Groats, including thoſe for himſelf and Wife. *Brady*, p. 344. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 188. *Walſing.* p. 245. *Knighton*, Col. 2633.

1380. *The Duke of Cambridge goes with an Army into Portugal.*

The Duke of Lancaſter treats with the Scots.
Buchanan. Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 61. Act. Pub. VII. p. 268, 276.

follow him in Perſon with greater Forces. Mean while, as the Truce with *Scotland* was about to expire (1), the Council, by his direction, reſolved to propoſe to the King of *Scotland* the Prolongation thereof; otherwiſe the ſending of the Troops into *Portugal* might be obſtructed. That this Negotiation might not fail of Succeſs, he undertook it himſelf, and without delay repaired to the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, where the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors were likewiſe to be. But whilſt he was treating with them, there happened in *England* Affairs of much more conſequence than the Truce with *Scotland*, or the War with *Caſtile* (2).

1381. *Inſurrection of* Wat Tyler.
Knighton. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 62, 66.

The Poll-Tax impoſed by the Parliament was levied with great gentleneſs, inſomuch that the Collectors excuſed many Perſons. But as there are but too many who make it their buſineſs to inrich themſelves at the expence of the Publick, there were ſome that perſwaded the King and Council, if the Tax was levied with more ſtrictneſs, it would bring in much greater Sums, and even offered Money to have the management of it. Very probably, they were *Flemings* that farmed the Tax, and obliged themſelves to give the King a certain Sum for the Produce thereof. The new Collectors appointed by theſe Farmers, levied the Tax with extreme rigour. One who collected in *Kent*, demanding of a Tyler at *Deptford*, named *Walter*, twelve pence for one of his Daughters, the Father affirmed ſhe was under the Age ſet down in the Act of Parliament. Whereupon the inſolent Collector, as theſe ſort of People generally are, endeavouring to know the Truth by an indecent Action, the Father with his Hammer knocked out his Brains. All the Spectators applauded the Action, and promiſed the Murderer, commonly called *Wat Tyler* (3), to protect him. At the ſame time, the ſpirit of Rebellion ſeized not the Inhabitants of *Deptford* alone, but likewiſe all the meaner ſort of the County of *Kent*, who were ſoon followed by thoſe of *Eſſex*. The *Poll-Tax* was not their ſole Grievance. The People of thoſe parts had long been in a ferment, which being inflamed by this Accident, broke out into open rebellion. They complained of the little care to hinder the frequent Deſcents of the *French*, who had committed great Ravages in theſe two Counties. To this was added a general Diſcontent againſt the Judges, and all the Agents of the Law, who ruined Families by their Extortions. The Nobles and Gentry were no leſs hated by the Peaſants, on account of the Right of Villainage, which was extremely abuſed. The Populace were moreover extremely incenſed againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was charged with cauſing by his negligence, all the Calamities, the two Counties had endured. All theſe Complaints being ſpread in thoſe parts, and countenanced by the Seditious, or as ſome affirm, by the Monks, who thought themſelves injured by the Poll-Tax, to which they were liable, produced a wonderful Effect. In a ſhort time, *Wat Tyler*, choſen by the Seditious, Chief and Protector of the poor People, ſaw himſelf at the head of above a hundred thouſand Men, breathing revenge on the Nobility, and Profeſſors of the Law. Thus attended, he marched directly to *London*, freeing in his rout, all the Priſoners detained in the publick Goals. Amongſt theſe was a Prieſt of *Maidſtone*, one *John Ball* (4), who by his ſeditious Sermons, raiſed the People's Fury to the utmoſt height. He perſwaded them, that all Men being Sons of *Adam*, there ought to be no diſtinction, and conſequently it was their Duty to reduce the World to a perfect Equality. Purſuant to this Maxim, they reſolved to diſpatch all the Nobility, and thoſe that were diſtinguiſhed by their Poſts. So, without further Conſideration, they cut off the heads of all the Lords, Gentlemen, Judges, Counſellors, and Lawyers, that fell into their hands. After this, they bound themſelves by Oath, never to acknowledge for King, any Man whoſe Name ſhould be *John*. This Reſolution ſprung from their Hatred to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who bore that Name, and was ſuſpected of aſpiring to the Crown.

Wat Tyler at the head of 100,000 *Men.*
Walſing.

John Ball a Prieſt ſpirits up the Rebels.
Knighton.

They behead the Nobles and Judges.
Walſing. Knighton.

1381.

The King ſends to know what they would have.

Richard hearing the Seditious were come as far as *Black-Heath*, where *Wat Tyler* reviewed his Army, ſent to know what they wanted. They replied, they had Affairs of great moment to communicate to the King, and deſired to come and talk with him in Perſon. This inſolent Requeſt being debated in Council, ſome were of opinion, the King ſhould comply with the Rebels. alledging, that as he was not in condition to oppoſe Force to Force, gentleneſs was the only way to gain them. But *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and [*Robert de*] *Hales* Prior of St. *John*'s, and High-Treaſurer of *England*, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, maintaining it was not ſafe for the King to truſt his Perſon with this Rabble. Accordingly the Rebels Requeſt was rejected with Threats, little agreeable to the preſent ſituation of the Court. Upon this News, the Seditious fell into ſuch a Fury, that immediately they marched towards *London*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Southwark*, parted from the City by the *Thames*. The Plunder of the Suburbs having given them no great Interruption, they endeavoured to enter the City. *London*-Bridge had then Gates, which being ſhut at their Approach, might have ſtopped for ſome time their Impetuoſity, if the Mob, who preſently ſided with them, had not opened them (5) in ſpite of the Magiſtrates. Nothing more oppoſing their March, they entered the City (6), where they committed all the Ravages that could be expected from ſo numerous a Body, guided ſolely by their Fury. T h Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Palace (7) was reduced to Aſhes, and the Houſes of ſuch as they deemed their Enemies, were given up to be plundered. However, their Leaders pretending not to be ſwayed by Avarice, hindered their People from appropriating to themſelves any Part of the Booty. They even threw into the Fire, which conſumed all the plundered Riches, a Man that would have retained a Piece of Plate. In this univerſal Confuſion, wherein *London* was like a Town taken by Storm, the Archbiſhop's Palace, and the *Temple* with all the Writings kept there, were devoured by the Flames (8). The Houſes of the Judges, Lords and principal Citizens ſhared the ſame fate. This unruly Mob took care to accompliſh their Oath, to extirpate all Appearances of Grandeur or Diſtinction. The *Flemings*, againſt whom they were extremely incenſed, were above all others expoſed to their Fury. They dragged them from the Churches where they had taken Sanctuary, and upon their not being able to pronounce certain Words, very difficult for Foreigners, they were immediately maſſacred.

Their inſolent Anſwer.

Walſing.

They march to London.

They enter the City, and commit great Barbarities.
Walſing. Knighton.

After the Rebels had thus given theſe firſt Marks of their Fury, they approached the Tower, which might have been eaſily defended (9), if the Terrour ſpread in the Garriſon had not cauſed them to open the Gates. There they found the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Treaſurer, who thought themſelves ſafe in that place, and without any Proceſs, cut off their heads. This done, they divided themſelves into three Bodies. *Wat Tyler* remained about the Tower with thirty thouſand Men. *Jack Straw* [another of their Captains] advanced into the City with the Rebels of *Eſſex*, to the number of ſixty thouſand. The reſt under the Conduct of another Leader, lodged themſelves upon *Mile-end-green*.

They ſeize the Tower, and behead the Archbiſhop and Treaſurer.
Walſing.

Mean time, the King and Council were in the utmoſt perplexity. After long Debates how to ſtop theſe furious Proceedings, no better way was found than to offer the Rebels an authentick Charter, confirming the Privileges of the People (10), and a general Pardon for all Crimes committed ſince the Inſurrection. The *Eſſex*-Men readily accepted theſe Offers, though they were now in the

The Eſſexians accept the King's Offers.
Walſing. Knighton.

(1) This Summer the *Scots* had made an Incurſion into *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*, and carried off a large Booty; and among the reſt, about forty thouſand Beaſts of all ſorts. *Walſ.* p. 240.

(2) This Year, a famous ſingle Combat was fought on *June* 7. at *Weſtminſter*, in the King's Preſence, between *John Anneſlee* Knight, and *Thomas Katryngton*, Eſq; whom the aforeſaid Knight had accuſed in Parliament, of Treaſon, for ſelling to the *French* the Caſtle of *St. Saviour*'s, built by the Lord *Chandos* in the Iſle of *Cotentin* in *France*; *Katryngton* was overcome, and thereupon run mad. For a full Account of this Tranſaction, See *Walſ.* p. 237, 238.

(3) *Walſingham* ſays, he was called *Walter Helier*, or *Tyler*. p. 252.

(4) *Rapin* calls him *John Staw*. The Mob let him out of *Maidſtone* Goal. He preached to the Army upon this proverbial Rhyme:

When Adam *dalfe and* Eve *ſpan,*
Who was then a Gentleman? Walſing. p. 275.

(5) On *May* 23. *Ibid.* p. 249. (6) *May* 24. *Ibid.*

(7) The *Savoy*. *Ibid.*

(8) And alſo the Hoſpital of St. *John*'s *Clerkenwell*. *Ibid.*

(9) There were at that time ſix hundred warlike Men in it, and ſix hundred Archers. *Ibid.* p 250.

(10) This Charter confirmed no Privileges, but only aboliſhed Villainage; and granted the Rebels a Pardon. The Contents of it were as follows: "*Richard*, &c. Know ye, That of our ſpecial Grace, we have manumiſſed, or ſet free, all and ſingular our liege Subjects, and other of the County of "*Eſſex*; and them and every of them from all Bondage, do releaſe and acquit by theſe Preſents. And alſo we pardon to our ſaid Liegemen and Subjects, "all manner of Felonies, Treaſons, Tranſgreſſions, and Extortions, by them, or any of them, in any manner whatſoever, done or committed, &c." .....*Witneſs our Self* at London, *the* 15*th of* June, *in the* 4*th Year of our Reign*. Ibid. p. 254.

1381. Heart of the City. Accordingly leaving ſome of their Leaders to haſten the Charters and Pardon, they returned to their Homes.

Wat Tyler rejects them. The King ſends for him to meet him. Walſing.

But *Wat Tyler* was not ſo tractable, though he pretended his ſole Aim was to obtain equitable Terms. However as he appeared willing to enter into Negotiation with the King himſelf, *Richard* with a few Attendants came to *Smith-field*, from whence he ſent a Knight (1), to deſire him to come and confer with him. *Wat* inſolently replied, he would come when he thought proper. Nevertheleſs he moved forward immediately, at the head of his Troops, but ſo ſlowly that the King, beginning to be out of patience, and willing to preſs him to make more haſte, ſent the ſame Knight to him, which had like to have coſt him his Life. *Wat Tyler* was juſt entered *Smith-field*, when the Knight delivered the King's Meſſage, without alighting, not imagining he would ſtand upon that Ceremony. But the proud Leader was ſo offended at this want of Reſpect, that he was going to kill him, if the King, who was himſelf advancing, had not cried out to the Knight to diſmount.

Conference of the King with Tyler. Walſing., Knighton.

In *Wat Tyler*'s Conference with the King, being both on horſeback, he made ſuch extravagant Propoſals, that *Richard* knew not what to ſay to him. He demanded in ſhort, that all the antient Laws ſhould be aboliſhed, and the Government modelled according to certain fantaſtical Notions framed by himſelf (2). Whilſt he made theſe Demands, he now and then lifted up his Sword, as it were to threaten the King (3), in caſe he granted not immediately what the Rebels would have. This brutiſh Inſolence ſo raiſed the Indignation of [*William*] *Walworth*, Mayor of *London*, who attended the King, that without conſidering to what Danger he expoſed his Maſter, he diſcharged ſuch a Blow on the Rebel's head with his Sword, as laid him dead at his feet (4).

His Inſolence.

The Mayor of London *kills him.*

The King is in great Danger; Walſing.

This Action, no leſs imprudent than bold, ſhould naturally have occaſioned the Ruin of the King and all his Attendants, but by an unexpected happineſs, produced a contrary Effect. It is true, when the Rebels ſaw their Leader on the ground, they encouraged one another to revenge his Death. Nay their Bows were now bent to ſhoot at the King and his Retinue. But *Richard* prevented the Danger, by a bolder and more prudent Action than could be expected from a young Prince of fifteen Years. Inſtead of flying, he turned to the Rebels, and cried with a reſolute and couragious Voice: *What, my Lieges! will you then kill your King? Be not concerned for the Loſs of your Leader, I my ſelf will now be your General; follow me into the Field, and you ſhall have whatever you deſire.* Upon ſaying theſe Words, he gently turned his Horſe, and putting himſelf at their head, rode towards St. *George's Fields*. The young King's reſolution made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the Rebels, that imagining he really declared for them, they altered their firſt purpoſe, and followed him without delay. They were no ſooner come into the Fields, but they ſaw marching towards them a Troop of a thouſand armed Citizens, raiſed by the Mayor under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Knolles*, an Officer of great Reputation. This Sight ſtruck them with ſuch Terrour, that falſely imagining the whole City was in Arms to attack them, the foremoſt Ranks threw down their Arms and begged Quarter. This Proceeding terrifying the reſt who knew not the Cauſe, every one preſſed to follow their Example. Thus in a few Moments the whole multitude was diſperſed without the Effuſion of any Blood but the Leader's.

from which he happily frees himſelf.

The Rebels are frighted and throw down their Arms. Knighton.

One cannot, without wonder, conſider an Event ſo ſingular and full of extraordinary Circumſtances. An Inſurrection indeed is not ſo very ſtrange, but to ſee it headed by ſuch a Perſon as *Wat Tyler* is not uſual, though the like inſtances may poſſibly be found in other Hiſtories. But it is doubtleſs beyond the common Courſe of Events, for a ſingle Man, as the Mayor of *London*, to dare to kill this Leader, attended by thirty thouſand Men. It is ſtill more ſurpriſing, that a young Prince, but fifteen Years old, ſhould have the preſence of Mind and Reſolution, ſhown by *Richard* on this occaſion, and that his Boldneſs ſhould produce ſo good an effect. In fine, that ſo numerous a Multitude, juſt glutted with Blood and Slaughter, ſhould diſperſe on a ſudden by a panick Fear, at the ſight of a few armed Citizens, is what cannot be conſidered without Aſtoniſhment, and without aſcribing the Cauſe to him, who holds the Hearts of the People in his hand. And indeed, we ſhall ſee preſently, that no leſs than a ſort of Miracle could prevent the utter Deſtruction of *England*, conſidering the pernicious Deſigns the Rebels had formed. 1381.

The like Inſurrections in other Counties. Knighton. Walſing.

It was not only in the Counties of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, that the ſpirit of Rebellion poſſeſſed the People. Whilſt *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw* were marching to *London*, *John Ball* and *John Wraw* (5), two ſeditious Prieſts, ſtirred up the Populace of *Suffolk*, where they quickly aſſembled fifty thouſand Men. They committed in thoſe Parts numberleſs Barbarities, as if they were afraid of being out-done in Cruelty, by thoſe who exerciſed their Fury in *London*. Sir *John Cavendiſh*, Chief Juſtice, fell a Sacrifice to their Rage. After that, they burnt all the antient Charters in the Abbey of St. *Edmund's-Bury*, and in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

Inſolence and Cruelty of Litteſter. Ibid.

On the other hand, *Litteſter*, an Ale-Houſe-Keeper (6) at *Norwich*, headed another Body of Rebels in the County of *Norfolk*, and cruelly put to death all the Judges and Lawyers that fell into his hands. As for the Lords and Gentlemen, he had the Inſolence to oblige them to ſerve him on the Knee, and if any one ſcrupled to ſubmit to that Indignity, immediately ordered his head to be cut off. In this manner he treated the Earl of *Suffolk* (7), who would not feign to approve of their Rebellion. As it was impoſſible for the King's Council, to take meaſures ſpeedy enough to remedy theſe Diſorders, it was neceſſary that private Perſons ſhould of themſelves uſe their Endeavours, without ſtaying for Orders from Court, to free themſelves from the impending Danger. *Henry Spencer*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, a Prelate of great Courage, though educated in an unwarlike Profeſſion, thought it his duty to do ſomething more than barely offer up Prayers, on ſo preſſing an occaſion, which equally threatned Clergy and Laity. He headed a few loyal Subjects, and attacking the Rebels made a terrible Slaughter (8). The two Leaders *Wraw* and *Litteſter* being taken in the Fight, the firſt was beheaded upon the ſpot, and the other ſent to *London*, to receive the juſt reward of his Crimes.

The Biſhop of Norwich *defeats the Rebels.* Walſing. Knighton.

Puniſhment of the Rebels. Walſing.

Theſe Troubles being appeaſed ſooner, and more happily, than could be expected, the King, by advice of his Council, reſolved to chaſtize the Guilty. To that end, the Lords had Orders to raiſe in every County, Troops of known Loyalty, and lead them to *London*. In a ſhort time was drawn together an Army of forty thouſand Men, which being divided into two Bodies, one marched into the County of *Kent*. At the head of the other the King went himſelf, to puniſh the People of *Eſſex*, who began to ſtir again, upon the Revocation of the Charter and general Pardon, with which they had been allured (9). As theſe People had not had time to take juſt meaſures, and found themſelves prevented by the King's diligence, they were eaſily defeated. Great numbers were ſlain, and many others reſerved for publick Examples. Among the laſt, was *Jack Straw*, Companion of *Wat Tyler*, and head of the *Eſſex* Rebels. He confeſſed, if they had ſucceeded in their Projects, as they had reaſon to expect, their Deſign was to murder the King, root out the Nobility and Clergy, excepting the *Mendicant* Friers, part *England* into ſeveral Kingdoms, make *Wat Tyler* King of *Kent*, aboliſh all the antient, and make new Laws. Probably theſe Projects were framed only in general, and it may be, over their Bowls, whilſt they were on the March to *London*. Be that as it will, ſuch a Deſign, managed by Heads little capable of executing it, could hardly fail of ending in the Ruin of the Authors. It is affirmed, that beſides thoſe that fell with their Arms in their hands, above fifteen hundred died by the Hangman (10). Judge *Treſilian* was commiſſioned

Act. Pub. VII. p. 317.

Their Projects. Walſing.

(1) Sir *John Newton*, *Walſ.* p. 252.

(2) Beſides a general Enfranchiſement of all Bondmen; he demanded, That all Warrens, Parks, and Chaſes, ſhould be made free and common to all, ſo that the Poor as well as the Rich ſhould have Liberty to fiſh, fowl, and hunt, in all places throughout the Kingdom, *&c. Knighton*, Col. 2636.

(3) And alſo took hold of the King's Bridle. *Ibid.* p. 2637.

(4) The King had ordered the Mayor to arreſt *Tyler*, *Walſ.* p. 253. For this good Service, King *Richard* knighted the Mayor, and alſo *John Philpot*, *Nicolas Brembar*, and *Robert Laund*, Aldermen; and gave Sir *William Walworth* a hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and to the other three, forty Pounds *per Annum* for ever. Not long after he knighted *Nicolas Twyford*, and *Adam Francis*, two other Aldermen. *Stow's Survey*, B. 1. p. 261. *Knighton*, col. 2637. It is a common Notion that the Dagger was added, upon this account, to the Arms of the City of *London*: But Mr. *Stow* thinks it to be St. *Paul*'s Sword. *Survey*, l. 2. p. 186.

(5) They are ſuppoſed to give themſelves theſe Names in contempt of the Nobility and Gentry.

(6) A Dyer. *Walſ.* p. 263.

(7) This is a Miſtake. *William Ufford*, then Earl of *Suffolk*, was not beheaded by *Litteſter*. For, underſtanding that the Mob intended to ſurprize him, and carry him along with them, to countenance their irregular Doings; he ſuddenly roſe from Supper, and diſguiſing himſelf, came through By-ways to the King at St. *Albans*, with a Wallet on his Shoulder, pretending to be a Servant of Sir *Roger Boys*. *Ibid.*

(8) At *North-Walſham* in *Norfolk*. *Idem*. p. 264.

(9) This Revocation was done by a Proclamation under the Great-Seal, dated at *Chelmsford*, *July* 2. *Walſing*. p. 269, 270.

(10) The chief of whom were *John Straw*, *John Kirby*, *Alan Treder*, *Thomas Scot*, *Ralph Rugge*; and *John Starling*, who had beheaded Archbiſhop *Sudbury*; *John Litteſter*, &c. *Idem*, p. 265, 267, &c.

1381. missioned to go into the revolted Counties, and try the Guilty. As the number was very great, he had an opportunity to gratify his cruel and barbarous Temper, in punishing the unfortunate Wretches, to whom he showed no Favour. The Cruelties he exercised during his Commission, may well be compared to those practised of late Years by a Judge of the same Character (1), in the Reign of *James* II.

Barbarity of Judge Tresilian. Knighton.

There are Historians who would father this Rebellion upon the *Wickliffites*, (who were commonly called *Lollards*,) but without any foundation. It is certain, Religion had no share in these Commotions, since the Duke of *Lancaster*, open Protector of *Wickliff*, was the principal Object of the Rebels Malice. Besides, *Wickliff*, who then resided on his Living of *Lutterworth* [in *Leicestershire*,] was never questioned on that account. All that can be alledged to give the least colour to this Accusation, is, that *John Ball*, a *Franciscan* Frier, one of the Ring-Leaders of the Rebels, was a little before thrown into Prison, by Order of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for preaching the new Doctrine. But it cannot be inferred from thence, that *Wickliff*'s Followers excited the Insurrection. Moreover, Insurrections caused by a religious Zeal, are seldom appeased in so short a time as this, which lasted but a Month, from the beginning to the end.

Vindication of the Wickliffites. Walsing.

The Duke of Lancaster is wrongfully accused. Walsing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 312. 318. Knighton.

The Duke of *Lancaster* was on the northern Borders, when the Rebellion broke out in *Kent*, which lies at the other end of the Kingdom. Upon the first News, he speedily concluded a three Years Truce (2), with the *Scots*, for fear these Commotions should render them more difficult. Mean while, as he was apprehensive of exposing himself to the Rage of his Enemies, if he returned to Court, and also of giving the Northern Counties a Pretence to imitate the Southern, if he staid in the Kingdom, he chose to retire into *Scotland*, where he remained till the Sedition was appeased. The King of *Scotland* offered him twenty thousand Men, to suppress the Rebels, but he refused them, lest by introducing Foreigners, he should cause a general Revolt in the Kingdom. Notwithstanding these Precautions, he could not prevent his Enemies from spreading a Report, that he designed to march to *London*, at the head of a *Scotch* Army, and seize the Crown. But he easily cleared himself from this groundless accusation.

The King's Marriage. Act. Pub. VII. p. 213, 257, 280, 282, 290, 305. Froissart. l. 2. c. 71.

Whilst, by this unexpected Insurrection, *Richard* saw himself in danger of losing his Crown and Life, his Ambassadors were negotiating his Marriage in *Germany*. From the Year 1379, he had been desirous of espousing the Daughter of *Barnabas* Duke of *Milan*. This Project not succeeding, he demanded in 1380, a Princess of *Bavaria*, Daughter of the late Emperor *Lewis*. But this Negotiation had no better Success than the former. At last on *May* 2. 1381, his Marriage with *Ann of Luxemburgh*, Sister of the Emperor *Wenceslaus* was concluded at *Nurembergh*. This Princess arriving in *England* (3) a little after the Troubles were appeased, was received with great Pomp, agreeably to the King's Humour, who was very fond of these sorts of Solemnities.

1382. *Death of the Earl of* March.

Edmund Earl of *March*, Grandson of *Roger Mortimer* beheaded in the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* III, died in *February* 1382, in his Government of *Ireland*. He had married *Philippa* only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* III, and by her had a Son called *Roger*, who succeeded him in his Honour of Earl of *March*.

The Parliament which met about the end of the Year 1381 (4), and was prorogued on account of the Queen's Arrival, sat again in *May* the next Year (5). Some Historians affirm, in this Parliament an Act was passed impowering the Bishops to imprison Hereticks, without the King's License (6). But others, upon better grounds, maintain, the Commons refused to pass the Bill, and that the Bishops obtained that Power of the King alone. This last Opinion is confirmed by the Complaints made afterwards by the Commons to the King, as of a Breach of Privilege. Be that as it will, it is certain, before that time the Bishops had no such Power, without the King's express Consent, for every particular case. Of this there are Proofs in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, where we find the like Permissions granted by *Edward* III, to the Bishop of *London* and others. It is evident, these Permissions would have been needless, had the Bishops enjoyed this Privilege without the King's Consent. Besides, in a Commission of the same Nature directed by *Richard* II, to the University of *Oxford*, extant also in the *Collection*, there is no mention of any Statute upon that Subject, though it was a constant Custom when the King acted by virtue of an Act of Parliament, to mention it in his Letters Patent or Orders. Of this we may be easily satisfied in the same *Collection*.

1382. Act. Pub. VI. p. 561, &c. Ibid.

Richard's Character.

Richard being now in his seventeenth Year, began more plainly to discover his Inclinations, which hitherto had been restrained by the Authority of his Governours. He had a high conceit of his own merit, and thought himself as well qualified to govern the State as *Edward* III, was at his Age. But there was a great Difference between these two Princes. *Edward*, when very young, with a great Penetration, had none but noble and generous Inclinations, tending to his own Glory, and his People's Happiness. *Richard* on the contrary, minded only Trifles, and thought of nothing but his Pleasures. He loved Pomp and Magnificence more than any of his Predecessors, and thereby ran into superfluous Expences, which idly consumed his Revenues. Flatterers had a great sway over him. He expressed as great Affection for those that applauded his Passions, as Aversion for such as advised him to lead a Life worthy a great Prince. Not being of a warlike Disposition, he was observed in Council, to be always inclined to Negotiation, rather than to vigorous Resolutions. As soon as he was out of his Childhood, he was seen to chuse Favorites, whose Inclinations suited with his own, or at least who artfully feigned to approve of whatever he did. Among these was, *Alexander Nevil* Archbishop of *York*, *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, a young Man full of Vivacity, whose youthful Sallies were very pleasing to his Master, *Michael de la Pole*, a Merchant's Son of *London* (7), and Judge *Tresilian*, who never wanted Reasons to countenance whatever was agreeable to the King. These Favorites, who missed no opportunity to flatter him, were amply rewarded for the least petty Services, whilst those who managed the publick Affairs, and took all the Pains, were very little regarded. This Behaviour began to be displeasing to the People, when an Accident, towards the end of this Year, quite put them out of Conceit with their Sovereign. One of the forementioned Courtiers, obtaining of the King a considerable Grant, *Richard Scrope* the Chancellor, refused to annex the Great-Seal to the Patent. He even plainly told the Person that sollicited him, that the Duty of his Office would not suffer him to set the Seal, committed to his keeping by the Parliament, to all the King's indiscreet Grants, till he had acquired a little more Experience. *Richard* provoked at this Refusal, sent for the Great Seal, but he refused to deliver it, as holding it not of the King, but the Parliament. This Resolution still farther incensing the young Prince, he went himself to the Chancellor's to require his Obedience. Whereupon the Chancellor delivered him the Seal, declaring he would serve him no more in any publick Post, but content himself with keeping in all other things the Allegiance due from a Subject to his Sovereign. *Richard* kept the Great Seal some days in his hands, and for fear another Chancellor should obstruct in like manner his inconsiderate Grants, he put the Seal himself to several Patents; and then delivered it to *Robert Braybrook* Bishop of *London*, who probably was not so scrupulous as his Predecessor. This Action, extolled by the Favorites with great Commendations of the King's Steddiness, displeased the rest of the Nation. The King began from thenceforward to be

His Favoritet.

The Chancellor refuses to give the Broad-Seal. Walsing. p. 290.

The King takes it from him.

(1) Judge *Jeffreys*.

(2) From *July* 18. 1381, till *Febr.* 2. 1383. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 7. p. 312, &c.

(3) She arrived at *Dover*, about the latter end of *December*, and was married to the King, in the Chapel Royal at *Westminster*, on *January* 14. She was crowned soon after. Instead of her bringing any Dower, King *Richard* gave the Emperor no less than ten thousand Marks, or eighty thousand Florins, for his Alliance; and was also at the whole Charge of her Journey, and coming over. *Tyrrel*, p. 871. *Walf.* p. 281. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 7. p. 296, 301, 336------At her Request, King *Richard* granted a general Pardon, upon her Arrival. *Ibid.* p. 337.

(4) This Parliament was held at *Westminster*, on *Novemb.* 2. and repealed the Grant of Manumission of Villains, made by the King, during the late Insurrection; it also continued the Subsidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells. *Rot. Parl.* 5. *Ric.* 2. *n.* 8, 13, 40. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 195. *Walf.* p. 280.

(5) It met on the *Monday* after *May* 6. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 193.

(6) The Act was as follows: "Forasmuch as it is openly known, that there be divers evil Persons within the Realm, going from County to County, "and from Town to Town,----who by their subtle and ingenious Words, do draw the People to hear their Sermons, and do maintain them in their "Errors by strong Hand, and by great Routs. It is ordained and assented in this present Parliament, That the King's Commissions be made, and directed to "the Sheriffs and other Ministers of our Sovereign Lord the King, or other sufficient Persons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates "thereof, to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such Preachers, and also their Fautors, Maintainers and Abetters, and to hold "them in Arrest, and strong Prison, till they will justify to them according to the Law and Reason of Holy Church. And the King willeth and command-"eth, That the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times, that he by the Prelates, or any of them shall be certified, and thereof required as is "aforesaid. ---- ---This was the first Statute against the Followers of *Wickliff*, and indeed was no Act of Parliament duly made, but only by the King "and the Clergy."

(7) Of *Kingston upon Hull*, of which Place his Father *William de la Pole*, was the first Mayor. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 182.

1382. considered as a Prince capable of falling into great Exceſſes, unleſs timely Care was taken to bridle his Paſſions.

The Biſhops Power of impriſoning Hereticks revoked. Cotton's Abridg.

For that purpoſe, in the next meeting of the Parliament (1), the Houſe of Commons reſolved to remedy this Inconvenience, ariſing from the too great Authority the King began to aſſume. The Power given to the Biſhops to impriſon Hereticks, was conſidered as very deſtructive to Liberty, ſince the Clergy thereby became in a manner abſolute Maſters of the Honour and Fortune of private Perſons. The Complaints from all parts, obliged the Commons to preſent a Petition to the King, to revoke a Conceſſion to which they had not given their Conſent (2), *Richard* who wanted Money, durſt not reject the Parliament's Requeſt. But ſome pretend, that by the Artifices of the Clergy, this Revocation was razed out of the Parliament Rolls, where it is not to be found.

Urban VI *publiſhes a Cruſade againſt* Clement VII. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 108, &c.

The Schiſm ſtill continued in the Church, to the great Scandal of the Chriſtians, who were in doubt which of the two Popes was to be regarded as *Chriſt*'s Vicar. *Urban*, whoſe Party was ſtrongeſt, perceiving Spiritual Weapons were inſufficient, thought it more advantagious to uſe Temporal Arms. To that end, he publiſhed againſt *Clement* and his Adherents a Cruſade, of which *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich* was declared General. The Pope by this Bull granted the ſame Indulgences (3), to all that were willing to engage in this Undertaking, as to thoſe who bore Arms againſt the Infidels. The Effect produced in *England*, by the publication of the Cruſade, anſwered the Pope's Wiſhes. The Nobles, Gentry, People, and Clergy, ingaged in it with the ſame ardour as if they had been to wage War with the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. Whilſt they waited for the Parliament's Approbation, which was not at all queſtioned, every one was diligently preparing to obtain the promiſed Indulgences, either by ſerving in Perſon in the War, or by contributing money for promoting the ſame.

The Biſhop of Norwich *made General.* Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 372, 383, 391. *The* Engliſh *engage in it with Zeal.*

The Earl of Cambridge *returns from* Portugal, *much diſſatisfied.* Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 70, 75, 76.

Whilſt the *Croiſés* were making their preparations, the Earl of *Cambridge* returned from *Portugal*, where he had met with the ſame Treatment the Earl of *Buckingham* his Brother had done in *Bretagne*. That is, the King of *Portugal* uſed the *Engliſh* Succours, to make an advantagious Peace with the King of *Caſtile*, to whom he even gave *Beatrix* his only Daughter, promiſed to the Earl of *Cambridge*'s eldeſt Son. So the *Engliſh* Prince returned extremely diſſatisfied, after loſing all hopes of procuring his Son the Crown of *Portugal*, and helping to place the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Brother on the Throne of *Caſtile* (4).

1383. *Succeſs of the Cruſade.* Id. c. 110.

The Parliament, which met in the beginning of the Year 1383 (5), not only approved of the Cruſade publiſhed by *Urban*, but alſo granted a conſiderable Subſidy upon that account. When every thing was ready, the Biſhop of *Norwich* imbarked the *Croiſés*, conſiſting of fifty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. Upon his Arrival at *Calais* (6) he held a Council of War, to conſider which way he ſhould turn the Arms of the *Croiſés*. Moſt were for entering *France*, ſince the Bull imported, that the Cruſade was deſigned againſt *Clement* and his Adherents. Probably, for this reaſon, the Court of *England* had engaged ſo heartily in the Affair. But the General, for private reaſons not diſcovered in Hiſtory, cauſed it to be reſolved, that the War ſhould be carried into *Flanders*. To colour this Reſolution, it was alledged, that *Flanders* was a Fief of the Crown of *France*, though the Earl of *Flanders* had acknowledged Pope *Urban*. So, contrary to the Intention of the Court, and no doubt of the Pope himſelf, the *Croiſés* invaded *Flanders*, and took *Graveling*, *Bourbourg*, *Mardike*, and *Dunkirk*. The Earl of *Flanders*, ſurprized at this unexpected Attack, levying ſome Troops with all poſſible diligence, was ſo raſh, as with twelve thouſand Men, to offer the *Croiſés* Battle, who had received a ſtrong Reinforcement from the *Gantois*. This daringneſs coſt him dear, ſince he had the misfortune to ſee this Army, his only refuge, entirely routed. Reduced to this ſad extremity, and beholding his Country on the point of being utterly deſtroyed, he ſaw no other way to free himſelf from this danger, but to apply to the Court of *France*. He repreſented to the young King's Council, how much it concerned *France* to ſave *Flanders*; and the more, becauſe in all appearance, the deſign of the *Croiſés* was not to reſt ſatisfied with that ſingle Conqueſt. The Court of *France*, rouſed by theſe Remonſtrances, or rather by their own Intereſt, which would not ſuffer them to ſee *Flanders* fall into the hands of the *Engliſh*, reſolved to aſſiſt the Earl. *Charles* VI heading a powerful Army, marched againſt the *Croiſés*, who were beſieging *Ypres*. Upon his Approach they raiſed the Siege (7), and retired to *Bourbourg*, where they were inveſted. The Biſhop-General, wanting Proviſions for the Subſiſtence of his Army, would have been at a loſs to free himſelf out of this ſtreight, had not the Duke of *Bretagne* uſed his Intereſt in his favour. By the mediation of this Prince, the *Croiſés* obtained leave to retire, upon reſtoring the Places they had taken. Thus ended the Cruſade, undertaken for the ſole Intereſt of *Urban*, without the Pope or *England* receiving the leaſt Benefit. When the Biſhop was returned, the King ordered the Temporalities of his See to be ſeized (8), and ſeveral of his principal Officers impriſoned, for not following their Inſtructions.

1383. Froiſſart. c. 112. Walſing.

Froiſſart. c. 116. Walſing. Knighton.

The French *and* Scots *ravage* England. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 124, 141. Walſing.

Whilſt the *Croiſés* were employed in ravaging *Flanders*, *England* was a great Sufferer in her turn, by the frequent Deſcents of the *French*, and Incurſions of the *Scots*. As there was no Army on foot to repulſe theſe Enemies, the King was forced to call a Parliament (9), who granted him a Subſidy to continue the War with *Scotland*, the Conduct whereof was committed to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. The King of *Scotland* being informed of the Preparations againſt him, ſued for Peace, but it was abſolutely refuſed.

Truce with France. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 121, 122. Act. Pub. VII. p. 418. Froiſſart. c. 123.

Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne* uſed his Endeavours to reconcile the two Crowns of *France* and *England*. With much ſolliciting, he at length prevailed with the two Kings, to ſend their Plenipotentiaries between *Calais* and *Boulogne*. But this Negotiation ended only in a Truce for ten Months (10), in which the Kings of *Scotland* and *Caſtile*, if they deſired it, were to be included. The Duke of *Burgundy*, Uncle of the King of *France*, undertook to anſwer within ſuch a time for the King of *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Flanders* his Father-in-law dying in this Interval, his care to take poſſeſſion of his Dominions, made him forget, or neglect, this Engagement. Mean while, whether the *Engliſh* thought the *Scots* would not be included in the Treaty, or were willing to reap ſome Advantage from the Expence they had been at, the Duke of *Lancaſter* went (11) and ravaged *Scotland*, to the very Gates of *Edinburgh*. This Incurſion obliged the King of *Scotland* to deſire to be included in the Truce, which was granted, by the mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Froiſſart. Ibid.

The Scots included in it. Id. c. 124. Act. Pub. VII. p. 434, 469.

Shortly after the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Return, a certain *Iriſh* Monk came to the Court, then at *Salisbury* (12), and diſcovered to the King a Secret of great moment, namely, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Uncle had conſpired to murder the King, and ſeize the Crown. This Accuſation was attended with ſo many Circumſtances, that *Richard* could not help believing it. But the Duke, without the leaſt emotion, vindicated himſelf upon each Article, in ſuch a manner that the King ſeemed ſatisfied. He ordered however the Accuſer to be taken into Cuſtody, either to puniſh him, or examine him more ſtrictly.

1384. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *accuſed of conſpiring againſt the King.* Walſing. *He vindicates himſelf.* Walſing.

(1) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *Octob.* 6. and in it the Lords and Commons granted the King a Fifteenth, and a Tenth out of the Cities and Towns. *Rot. Parl.* Cotton's *Abridg.* p. 281. *Walſ.*

(2) They repreſented to him, "That that Statute was never agreed nor granted by the Commons, but whatſoever was moved therein was without their "Aſſent, and therefore prayed that the ſaid Statute ſhould be diſannulled." Which was accordingly done. [See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 285.

(3) The Form of the Abſolution ran thus: "By Authority Apoſtolical committed unto me for this purpoſe, I abſolve thee, *A. B.* from all thy Sins "confeſſed, and for wh ch thou art contrite, and from all thoſe which thou wouldſt confeſs, did they occur to thy Memory, and grant thee with a full "Pardon of all thy Sins, the Reward of the Juſt, and the Aſſurance of eternal Salvation: And I give thee moreover, all the Privileges granted to thoſe "who go to War in Defence of the *Holy-Land*, and make thee Partaker of the Benefit of the Prayers of the Catholick Church." *Walſing. Hiſt. Angl.* p. 295.

(4) Beſides the Parliament above-mentioned, there was another held, or rather a Great Council at *London*, in the beginning of *May*, to whom *John Wickliff* preſented ſeven Articles, containing the Subſtance of his Doctrine. *Walſ.* p. 288.

(5) On *Febr.* 24. at *Weſtminſter*. It gave the Biſhop of *Norwich* the fifteenth granted in the laſt Parliament: Who engaged, in conſideration thereof, to ſerve the King one whole Year in his Wars in *France*, with three thouſand Men at Arms, and two thouſand five hundred Archers, well mounted. Cotton's *Abridg.* p. 286, &c *Walſ.* p. 296.

(6) Which was on *April* 23. *Froiſſart*, l. 2. c. 109.

(7) His Army mutinying, he was forced to raiſe the Siege, and to leave his great Cannon behind him: But after this he obtained a compleat Victory over the *French*, in which three, or, according to others, twelve thouſand of them were ſlain. *Walſ.* p. 299, 303.

(8) *T. Walſ.* ſays, the King countermanded him, juſt as he was going to embark, which it ſeems the Biſhop took no notice of, p. 298. The Temporalities of *Norwich* Biſhoprick were reſtored, *Octob.* 24, 1385. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 479. *Walſ.* p. 321.

(9) Which met at *Weſtminſter*, on *Octob.* 25. and granted the King a Fifteenth; Six-pence for every Pound of Merchandize, and two Shillings of every Tun of Wine. *Rot. Parl.* 7. *Ric.* 2. *n.* 3, 12, &c. Cotton's *Abridg.* p. 290. *Walſ.* p. 307.

(10) Or rather about eight and half, *viz.* from *Jan.* 26. till *Octob.* 1. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 419.

(11) With two thouſand Lances, and ſix thouſand Archers. *Froiſ.* l. 2. c. 123.

(12) At a Parliament or Great Council, held there on the *Friday* after *April* 25, which granted the King a Moiety of a Tenth and a Fifteenth. *Rot. Clauſ.* 7. *Ric.* 2. *M.* 10. Cotton's *Abridg.* p. 298. *Walſ.* p. 309.

But

1384. But when he was to be brought before the Council, he was found to be hanged over-night in the Priſon, without any poſſibility of diſcovering the Author of this outrage. Walſing. This Accident did the Duke of *Lancaſter* great Injury, becauſe People were prejudiced againſt him, though it was as probable, that the Monk was murdered by the Authors of the Accuſation, as by the orders of the Party accuſed.

He is further ſuſpected. Another Accident, ſhortly after, confirmed the People in the ſuſpicion raiſed by the Monk's Report againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*. An Alderman of *London*, a great Favorite of the Duke, being charged with conſpiring againſt the King, was found guilty, after a ſtrict Examination. Though the Duke was then abſent, his cloſe Friendſhip with the Criminal, and the Endeavours of his Friends to prevent the Sentence, and afterwards to procure the King's Pardon, occaſioned Reflections not at all to the Duke's advantage. He was then upon an Embaſſy at *Paris*, where he ſpent fifty thouſand Marks, in obtaining only the Prolongation of the Truce for ſome Months.

The Truce with France prolonged Act. Pub. VII. p. 430, 438.

If the Duke of *Lancaſter* was not beloved by the People, he was no leſs hated by the Favorites, who could not hope to diſpoſe of all things at their pleaſure, as long as he was in Credit with the King. It is well known, the way of moſt Favorites is, not to ſuffer about their Maſter, any but their Creatures. Theſe looking upon the Duke of *Lancaſter* as a troubleſome Inſpector, and incapable of condeſcending to court them, believed they ought before all things to be rid of that Prince. For that purpoſe, they all acted in concert, to create in the King Suſpicions, which ſhould cauſe him to conſider this Uncle, as a very dangerous Enemy. *Richard*, who neither did, nor would, ſee any thing but with their Eyes, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo prejudiced, that he conſented to a Reſolution of accuſing the Duke of High-Treaſon. Judge *Treſilian*, a Man of a cruel and daring Temper, took upon him to draw up the Articles of Accuſation, and manage the Evidences. He even offered to try him as a private Perſon, though by the Laws of the Land he could be judged only by his Peers. As this Plot could not be ſo ſecretly contrived, that the Duke ſhould have no notice thereof, he thought it imprudent to deliver himſelf into the hands of his Enemies, who were bent upon his Ruin. So, without troubling himſelf about his Vindication, he withdrew to his Caſtle of *Pontfract*, where he aſſembled ſome Troops, and made other Preparations in order to defend himſelf, in caſe of attack. Though he had not many Friends, yet being perſecuted by the Miniſters, who were ſtill leſs beloved than himſelf, he eaſily found People enough to take his Part. A Civil War was juſt going to be kindled in the Kingdom, when the Princeſs of *Wales*, the King's Mother, interpoſed to make Peace, before Hoſtilities were commenced. She ſucceeded at length, after many Journeys and Fatigues, and *Richard*, ſatisfied of the falſeneſs of the Suſpicions, ſuggeſted to him againſt the Duke his Uncle, received him again into favour (1).

The Duke prepares to defend himſelf.

The Princeſs of Wales *reconciles him to the King.* Walſing.

1385. During theſe Broils, no Preparations were made for the War, though the late Truce with *France* and *Scotland* was about to expire. It was imagined, it might be renewed; but the King of *France* had other Deſigns. As he ſaw the Court of *England* in a perfect Security, he reſolved to improve it, by making a powerful Effort, from which he promiſed himſelf great Advantages. To that end, he ſent a numerous Army into *Guienne*, hoping to finiſh the Conqueſt of that Dukedom, before the *Engliſh* ſhould be able to oppoſe it. At the ſame time he ſent the King of *Scotland* an Aid of a thouſand Men at Arms (2), under the Command of *John de Vienne*, who was to make a powerful Diverſion in the North (3), in order to favour the Deſcent of the *French* in the ſouthern Parts of the Iſland. The Alarm taken by the *Engliſh* at all theſe Preparations, turned to their Safety. The Court gave ſuch preſſing Orders to levy Troops, and the Orders were executed with ſuch ardour and diligence, that, if the Hiſtorians are to be credited, *Richard* quickly ſaw himſelf at the head of three hundred thouſand Men. He detached ſixty thouſand, under the Command of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to march into *Scotland* (4), whilſt with the reſt, he himſelf expected the *French* on the ſouthern Coaſt. Upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Approach, the *Scots*, who were now ravaging the Borders of *England*, retired to the Center of their Kingdom, leaving the *Engliſh* General free to revenge his Countrymen, by his ravages in *Scotland*, where he had followed them. The great Army aſſembled by *Richard*, deſtroying the King of *France*'s hopes of ſucceeding in his Project, he deferred the Execution to a more convenient Seaſon. By that means *Richard* was at liberty to march towards *Scotland* (5), with the Choice of his Army. In all likelihood, he would have entirely ſubdued that Kingdom, had he known how to improve his Advantages, ſince the King of *Scotland* was unable to withſtand him. But the Favorites Jealouſy of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who commanded under him, was the reaſon, ſo fair an opportunity was irrecoverably loſt. The *Scots*, perceiving the King of *England*, inſtead of puſhing them vigorouſly, was amuſing himſelf with ravaging the Country about *Edinburgh*, began to recover from their Fright, cauſed by his formidable Forces. As they were not able to attack him, they judged the beſt way to oblige him to quit *Scotland*, was to make a Diverſion in his own Country. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they removed at a greater diſtance from the *Engliſh* Army, to make the King believe it was to avoid a Battle. But on a ſudden, by ſpeedy Marches they came into *Cumberland*, where they made terrible Ravages (6). Whilſt they were marching thither, *Richard* never troubled himſelf to inquire after them. So, imagining they were fled, and ſatisfied with the Advantages already gained, he reſolved, as not being fond of War, to return into *England*. He had Intelligence by the way, of the *Scots* entering *Cumberland*, and might eaſily have cut off their Retreat. But notwithſtanding all the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Endeavours to perſuade him to a vigorous Reſolution, he choſe rather to follow the Earl of *Oxford*'s Advice. This Favorite, who had a great Influence over him, perſuaded him, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* only ſought to expoſe him to danger. This Advice correſponding with his Suſpicions and Inclinations, he continued his march, without going in queſt of the Enemy. All but the Favorites, were ſo amazed at his unconcern for the Calamities of his Subjects of *Cumberland*, that they could not help loudly murmuring, and conſidering the King himſelf, as a Prince regardleſs of the good of the Publick.

1385.

France *defers her Expedition.*

Richard *goes into* Scotland.

Loſes the Opportunity of ſubduing the Kingdom. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 473, 474.

The Scots *make a Diverſion in* Cumberland. Froiſſart.

Richard *lets them alone and returns to* London. Walſing.

Sends Succours to Scotland. Buchanan. Knighton. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 141.

The Engliſh *levy a great Army.* Walſing.

The Duke of Lancaſter *marches into* Scotland. Knighton.

Whilſt the King was on his Journey to *London*, the Lord *Holland* (7), his half Brother, quarrelling with the Earl of *Stafford*'s eldeſt Son (8), killed him, and took Sanctuary in *Beverly* Abbey. The Action was ſo heinous, that notwithſtanding the Ties of Blood, *Richard* reſolved to abandon the Murderer to the rigour of the Law. In vain did the Princeſs of *Wales*, their common Mother, intercede for her Son, ſhe could never obtain his Pardon. This refuſal ſat ſo heavy upon her Mind, that ſhe died with Grief a few days after (9). Nevertheleſs, whether the King was ſorry for being ſo cruel to his Mother, or the Murdered found a more powerful Interceſſor, the Princeſs was hardly in her Grave, when he granted the Pardon ſhe had ſued for in vain.

The Lord Holland *kills the Lord* Stafford. Walſing. Froiſſart. c. 142.

The King refuſes to pardon him at his Mother's Interceſſion, who dies with Grief.

The fear of the *French* Invaſion being vaniſhed, the Duke of *Lancaſter* brought his own Affairs upon the board, and demanded Aſſiſtance of the King to proſecute his Right to the Crown of *Caſtile*. There could never be a more ſeaſonable Juncture to obtain his deſire. *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal* being dead, without leaving any legitimate Children but *Beatrix* Queen of *Caſtile*, the King her Husband pretended, the Crown of *Portugal* was devolved to his Queen, by the Death of the King her Father. But the *Portugueſe*, not bearing the thoughts of living under the Dominion of the *Caſtilians*, had placed on the Throne, *John* natural Son of the late King. As this Quarrel could ſcarce poſſibly be decided but by Arms, the King of *Caſtile* entered *Portugal*, and advancing as far as *Lisbon*, laid Siege to the City. But meeting with a braver Defence than he expected, he was forced to retire. In the next Campain he loſt a Battle, which obliged him to quit *Portugal*, ſtill hoping to compaſs his Ends, by the Aſſiſtance of *France*. The

Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 165.

(1) This Year, en *Novemb.* 12. a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, which granted the King two Fifteenths. *Rot. Parl.* 8. *Ric.* II. *N.* 1, &c. 10. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 303. In this Parliament the Sentence paſſed againſt *Alice Pierce* in a former Parliament, was reverſed. *Ibid.*——This Year alſo died the famous Sir *John Philpot*. *Walſ.* p. 310.

(2) Every Man at Arms had with him three, or four, and ſometimes five Knights. *Rapin.*

(3) He alſo ſent ten thouſand Livres to *Robert* King of *Scotland*, and forty thouſand to the Nobility of that Kingdom. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 484.

(4) During the Seſſion of the laſt Parliament, the *Scots* ſurprized *Berwick* Caſtle, having bribed the Deputy-Governor; but it was retaken, or rather bought again, by the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Governor. *Walſ.* p. 311. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 463.

(5) He entered that Kingdom about the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Walſ.* p. 316.

(6) They burnt *Penreth*, made an attempt upon *Carliſle*, and cruelly ravaged the whole Country. *Knighton*, Col. 2674.

(7) *John de Holland*, Brother to *Thomas* Earl of *Kent*. *Froiſ.* l. 2. c. 142.

(8) Whoſe Name was *Ralph*. *Walſ.* p. 316.

(9) She died at *Wallingford* Caſtle, and was buried in the Church of the *Friers Minors* at *Stanford*. *Ibid.* The King had a Chapel built at *Stanford* to pray for her Soul. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 527.

1382. considered as a Prince capable of falling into great Exceſſes, unleſs timely Care was taken to bridle his Paſſions.

The Biſhops Power of impriſoning Hereticks revoked. Cotton's Abridg.

For that purpoſe, in the next meeting of the Parliament (1), the Houſe of Commons reſolved to remedy this Inconvenience, ariſing from the too great Authority the King began to aſſume. The Power given to the Biſhops to impriſon Hereticks, was conſidered as very deſtructive to Liberty, ſince the Clergy thereby became in a manner abſolute Maſters of the Honour and Fortune of private Perſons. The Complaints from all parts, obliged the Commons to preſent a Petition to the King, to revoke a Conceſſion to which they had not given their Conſent (2), *Richard* who wanted Money, durſt not reject the Parliament's Requeſt. But ſome pretend, that by the Artifices of the Clergy, this Revocation was razed out of the Parliament Rolls, where it is not to be found.

Urban VI publiſhes a Cruſade againſt Clement VII. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 108, &c.

The Schiſm ſtill continued in the Church, to the great Scandal of the Chriſtians, who were in doubt which of the two Popes was to be regarded as *Chriſt*'s Vicar. *Urban*, whoſe Party was ſtrongeſt, perceiving Spiritual Weapons were inſufficient, thought it more advantagious to uſe Temporal Arms. To that end, he publiſhed againſt *Clement* and his Adherents a Cruſade, of which *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich* was declared General. The Pope by this Bull granted the ſame Indulgences (3), to all that were willing to engage in this Undertaking, as to thoſe who bore Arms againſt the Infidels. The Effect produced in *England*, by the publication of the Cruſade, anſwered the Pope's Wiſhes. The Nobles, Gentry, People, and Clergy, ingaged in it with the ſame ardour as if they had been to wage War with the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. Whilſt they waited for the Parliament's Approbation, which was not at all queſtioned, every one was diligently preparing to obtain the promiſed Indulgences, either by ſerving in Perſon in the War, or by contributing money for promoting the ſame.

The Biſhop of Norwich *made General.* Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 372, 383, 391. *The* Engliſh *engage in it with Zeal.*

The Earl of Cambridge *returns from* Portugal, *much diſſatisfied.* Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 70, 75, 76.

Whilſt the *Croiſés* were making their preparations, the Earl of *Cambridge* returned from *Portugal*, where he had met with the ſame Treatment the Earl of *Buckingham* his Brother had done in *Bretagne*. That is, the King of *Portugal* uſed the *Engliſh* Succours, to make an advantagious Peace with the King of *Caſtile*, to whom he even gave *Beatrix* his only Daughter, promiſed to the Earl of *Cambridge*'s eldeſt Son. So the *Engliſh* Prince returned extremely diſſatisfied, after loſing all hopes of procuring his Son the Crown of *Portugal*, and helping to place the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Brother on the Throne of *Caſtile* (4).

1383. *Succeſs of the Cruſade.* Id. c. 110.

The Parliament, which met in the beginning of the Year 1383 (5), not only approved of the Cruſade publiſhed by *Urban*, but alſo granted a conſiderable Subſidy upon that account. When every thing was ready, the Biſhop of *Norwich* imbarked the *Croiſés*, conſiſting of fifty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. Upon his Arrival at *Calais* (6) he held a Council of War, to conſider which way he ſhould turn the Arms of the *Croiſés*. Moſt were for entering *France*, ſince the Bull imported, that the Cruſade was deſigned againſt *Clement* and his Adherents. Probably, for this reaſon, the Court of *England* had engaged ſo heartily in the Affair. But the General, for private reaſons not diſcovered in Hiſtory, cauſed it to be reſolved, that the War ſhould be carried into *Flanders*. To colour this Reſolution, it was alledged, that *Flanders* was a Fief of the Crown of *France*, though the Earl of *Flanders* had acknowledged Pope *Urban*. So, contrary to the Intention of the Court, and no doubt of the Pope himſelf, the *Croiſés* invaded *Flanders*, and took *Graveling*, *Bourbourg*, *Mardike*, and *Dunkirk*. The Earl of *Flanders*, ſurprized at this unexpected Attack, levying ſome Troops with all poſſible diligence, was ſo raſh, as with twelve thouſand Men, to offer the *Croiſés* Battle, who had received a ſtrong Reinforcement from the *Gantois*. This daringneſs coſt him dear, ſince he had the misfortune to ſee this Army, his only refuge, entirely routed. Reduced to this ſad extremity, and beholding his Country on the point of being utterly deſtroyed, he ſaw no other way to free himſelf from this danger, but to apply to the Court of *France*. He repreſented to the young King's Council, how much it concerned *France* to ſave *Flanders*; and the more, becauſe in all appearance, the deſign of the *Croiſés* was not to reſt ſatisfied with that ſingle Conqueſt. The Court of *France*, rouſed by theſe Remonſtrances, or rather by their own Intereſt, which would not ſuffer them to ſee *Flanders* fall into the hands of the *Engliſh*, reſolved to aſſiſt the Earl. *Charles* VI heading a powerful Army, marched againſt the *Croiſés*, who were beſieging *Ypres*. Upon his Approach they raiſed the Siege (7), and retired to *Bourbourg*, where they were inveſted. The Biſhop-General, wanting Proviſions for the Subſiſtence of his Army, would have been at a loſs to free himſelf out of this ſtreight, had not the Duke of *Bretagne* uſed his Intereſt in his favour. By the mediation of this Prince, the *Croiſés* obtained leave to retire, upon reſtoring the Places they had taken. Thus ended the Cruſade, undertaken for the ſole Intereſt of *Urban*, without the Pope or *England* receiving the leaſt Benefit. When the Biſhop was returned, the King ordered the Temporalities of his See to be ſeized (8), and ſeveral of his principal Officers impriſoned, for not following their Inſtructions.

1383. Froiſſart. c. 112. Walſing.

Froiſſart. c. 116. Walſing. Knighton.

The French and Scots ravage England. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 124, 141. Walſing.

Whilſt the *Croiſés* were employed in ravaging *Flanders*, *England* was a great Sufferer in her turn, by the frequent Deſcents of the *French*, and Incurſions of the *Scots*. As there was no Army on foot to repulſe theſe Enemies, the King was forced to call a Parliament (9), who granted him a Subſidy to continue the War with *Scotland*, the Conduct whereof was committed to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. The King of *Scotland* being informed of the Preparations againſt him, ſued for Peace, but it was abſolutely refuſed.

Truce with France. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 121, 122. Act. Pub. VII. p. 418. Froiſſart. c. 123.

Froiſſart. Ibid.

Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne* uſed his Endeavours to reconcile the two Crowns of *France* and *England*. With much ſolliciting, he at length prevailed with the two Kings, to ſend their Plenipotentiaries between *Calais* and *Boulogne*. But this Negotiation ended only in a Truce for ten Months (10), in which the Kings of *Scotland* and *Caſtile*, if they deſired it, were to be included. The Duke of *Burgundy*, Uncle of the King of *France*, undertook to anſwer within ſuch a time for the King of *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Flanders* his Father-in-law dying in this Interval, his care to take poſſeſſion of his Dominions, made him forget, or neglect, this Engagement. Mean while, whether the *Engliſh* thought the *Scots* would not be included in the Treaty, or were willing to reap ſome Advantage from the Expence they had been at, the Duke of *Lancaſter* went (11) and ravaged *Scotland*, to the very Gates of *Edinburgh*. This Incurſion obliged the King of *Scotland* to deſire to be included in the Truce, which was granted, by the mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Scots included in it. Id. c. 124. Act. Pub. VII. p. 434, 469.

Shortly after the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Return, a certain *Iriſh* Monk came to the Court, then at *Salisbury* (12), and diſcovered to the King a Secret of great moment, namely, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Uncle had conſpired to murder the King, and ſeize the Crown. This Accuſation was attended with ſo many Circumſtances, that *Richard* could not help believing it. But the Duke, without the leaſt emotion, vindicated himſelf upon each Article, in ſuch a manner that the King ſeemed ſatisfied. He ordered however the Accuſer to be taken into Cuſtody, either to puniſh him, or examine him more ſtrictly.

1384. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *accuſed of conſpiring againſt the King.* Walſing. *He vindicates himſelf.* Walſing.

Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 399.

(1) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *Octob.* 6. and in it the Lords and Commons granted the King a Fifteenth, and a Tenth out of the Cities and Towns. *Rot. Parl. Cotton's Abridg.* p. 281. *Walſ.*

(2) They repreſented to him, "That that Statute was never agreed nor granted by the Commons, but whatſoever was moved therein was without their "Aſſent, and therefore prayed that the ſaid Statute ſhould be diſannulled." Which was accordingly done. [See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 285.

(3) The Form of the Abſolution ran thus: "By Authority Apoſtolical committed unto me for this purpoſe, I abſolve thee, *A. B.* from all thy Sins "confeſſed, and for wh ch thou art contrite, and from all thoſe which thou wouldſt confeſs, did they occur to thy Memory, and grant thee with a full "Pardon of all thy Sins, the Reward of the Juſt, and the Aſſurance of eternal Salvation: And I give thee moreover, all the Privileges granted to thoſe "who go to War in Defence of the *Holy-Land*, and make thee Partaker of the Benefit of the Prayers of the Catholick Church." *Walſing. Hiſt. Angl.* p. 295.

(4) Beſides the Parliament above-mentioned, there was another held, or rather a Great Council at *London*, in the beginning of *May*, to whom *John Wickliff* preſented ſeven Articles, containing the Subſtance of his Doctrine. *Walſ.* p. 288.

(5) On *Febr.* 24. at *Weſtminſter*. It gave the Biſhop of *Norwich* the fifteenth granted in the laſt Parliament: Who engaged, in conſideration thereof, to ſerve the King one whole Year in his Wars in *France*, with three thouſand Men at Arms, and two thouſand five hundred Archers, well mounted. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 286, &c *Walſ.* p. 296.

(6) Which was on *April* 23. *Froiſſart*, l. 2. c. 109.

(7) His Army mutinying, he was forced to raiſe the Siege, and to leave his great Cannon behind him: But after this he obtained a compleat Victory over the *French*, in which three, or, according to others, twelve thouſand of them were ſlain. *Walſ.* p. 299, 303.

(8) *T. Walſ.* ſays, the King countermanded him, juſt as he was going to embark, which it ſeems the Biſhop took no notice of, p. 298. The Temporalities of *Norwich* Biſhoprick were reſtored, *Octob.* 24, 1385. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 479. *Walſ.* p. 311.

(9) Which met at *Weſtminſter*, on *Octob.* 25. and granted the King a Fifteenth; Six-pence for every Pound of Merchandize, and two Shillings of every Tun of Wine. *Rot. Parl.* 7. *Ric.* 2. *n.* 3, 12, &c. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 290. *Walſ.* p. 307.

(10) Or rather about eight and half, *viz.* from *Jan.* 26. till *Octob.* 1. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 419.

(11) With two thouſand Lances, and ſix thouſand Archers. *Froiſ.* l. 2. c. 123.

(12) At a Parliament or Great Council, held there on the *Friday* after *April* 25, which granted the King a Moiety of a Tenth and a Fifteenth. *Rot. Clauſ.* 7. *Ric.* 2. *M.* 10. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 298. *Walſ.* p. 309.

But

1384. But when he was to be brought before the Council, he was found to be hanged over-night in the Priſon, without any poſſibility of diſcovering the Author of this outrage. This Accident did the Duke of *Lancaſter* great Injury, becauſe People were prejudiced againſt him, though it was as probable, that the Monk was murdered by the Authors of the Accuſation, as by the orders of the Party accuſed.

Walſing.

He is further ſuſpected.

Another Accident, ſhortly after, confirmed the People in the ſuſpicion raiſed by the Monk's Report againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*. An Alderman of *London*, a great Favorite of the Duke, being charged with conſpiring againſt the King, was found guilty, after a ſtrict Examination. Though the Duke was then abſent, his cloſe Friendſhip with the Criminal, and the Endeavours of his Friends to prevent the Sentence, and afterwards to procure the King's Pardon, occaſioned Reflections not at all to the Duke's advantage. He was then upon an Embaſſy at *Paris*, where he ſpent fifty thouſand Marks, in obtaining only the Prolongation of the Truce for ſome Months.

The Truce with France *prolonged.* Act. Pub. VII. p. 430, 438.

If the Duke of *Lancaſter* was not beloved by the People, he was no leſs hated by the Favorites, who could not hope to diſpoſe of all things at their pleaſure, as long as he was in Credit with the King. It is well known, the way of moſt Favorites is, not to ſuffer about their Maſter, any but their Creatures. Theſe looking upon the Duke of *Lancaſter* as a troubleſome Inſpector, and incapable of condeſcending to court them, believed they ought before all things to be rid of that Prince. For that purpoſe, they all acted in concert, to create in the King Suſpicions, which ſhould cauſe him to conſider this Uncle, as a very dangerous Enemy. *Richard*, who neither did, nor would, ſee any thing but with their Eyes, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo prejudiced, that he conſented to a Reſolution of accuſing the Duke of High-Treaſon. Judge *Treſilian*, a Man of a cruel and daring Temper, took upon him to draw up the Articles of Accuſation, and manage the Evidences. He even offered to try him as a private Perſon, though by the Laws of the Land he could be judged only by his Peers. As this Plot could not be ſo ſecretly contrived, that the Duke ſhould have no notice thereof, he thought it imprudent to deliver himſelf into the hands of his Enemies, who were bent upon his Ruin. So, without troubling himſelf about his Vindication, he withdrew to his Caſtle of *Pontfract*, where he aſſembled ſome Troops, and made other Preparations in order to defend himſelf, in caſe of attack. Though he had not many Friends, yet being perſecuted by the Miniſters, who were ſtill leſs beloved than himſelf, he eaſily found People enough to take his Part. A Civil War was juſt going to be kindled in the Kingdom, when the Princeſs of *Wales*, the King's Mother, interpoſed to make Peace, before Hoſtilities were commenced. She ſucceeded at length, after many Journeys and Fatigues, and *Richard*, ſatisfied of the falſeneſs of the Suſpicions, ſuggeſted to him againſt the Duke his Uncle, received him again into favour (1).

Project of deſtroying the Duke of Lancaſter. Walſing.

The Duke prepares to defend himſelf.

The Princeſs of Wales *reconciles him to the King.* Walſing.

1385. During theſe Broils, no Preparations were made for the War, though the late Truce with *France* and *Scotland* was about to expire. It was imagined, it might be renewed; but the King of *France* had other Deſigns. As he ſaw the Court of *England* in a perfect Security, he reſolved to improve it, by making a powerful Effort, from which he promiſed himſelf great Advantages. To that end, he ſent a numerous Army into *Guienne*, hoping to finiſh the Conqueſt of that Dukedom, before the *Engliſh* ſhould be able to oppoſe it. At the ſame time he ſent the King of *Scotland* an Aid of a thouſand Men at Arms (2), under the Command of *John de Vienne*, who was to make a powerful Diverſion in the North (3), in order to favour the Deſcent of the *French* in the ſouthern Parts of the Iſland. The Alarm taken by the *Engliſh* at all theſe Preparations, turned to their Safety. The Court gave ſuch preſſing Orders to levy Troops, and the Orders were executed with ſuch ardour and diligence, that, if the Hiſtorians are to be credited, *Richard* quickly ſaw himſelf at the head of three hundred thouſand Men. He detached ſixty thouſand, under the Command of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to march into *Scotland* (4), whilſt with the reſt, he himſelf expected the *French* on the ſouthern Coaſt. Upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Approach, the *Scots*, who were now ravaging the Borders of *England*, retired to the Center of their Kingdom, leaving the *Engliſh* General free to revenge his Countrymen, by his ravages in *Scotland*, where he had followed them. The great Army aſſembled by *Richard*, deſtroying the King of *France*'s hopes of ſucceeding in his Project, he deferred the Execution to a more convenient Seaſon. By that means *Richard* was at liberty to march towards *Scotland* (5), with the Choice of his Army. In all likelihood, he would have entirely ſubdued that Kingdom, had he known how to improve his Advantages, ſince the King of *Scotland* was unable to withſtand him. But the Favorites Jealouſy of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who commanded under him, was the reaſon, ſo fair an opportunity was irrecoverably loſt. The *Scots*, perceiving the King of *England*, inſtead of puſhing them vigorouſly, was amuſing himſelf with ravaging the Country about *Edinburgh*, began to recover from their Fright, cauſed by his formidable Forces. As they were not able to attack him, they judged the beſt way to oblige him to quit *Scotland*, was to make a Diverſion in his own Country. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they removed at a greater diſtance from the *Engliſh* Army, to make the King believe it was to avoid a Battle. But on a ſudden, by ſpeedy Marches they came into *Cumberland*, where they made terrible Ravages (6). Whilſt they were marching thither, *Richard* never troubled himſelf to inquire after them. So, imagining they were fled, and ſatisfied with the Advantages already gained, he reſolved, as not being fond of War, to return into *England*. He had Intelligence by the way, of the *Scots* entering *Cumberland*, and might eaſily have cut off their Retreat. But notwithſtanding all the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Endeavours to perſuade him to a vigorous Reſolution, he choſe rather to follow the Earl of *Oxford*'s Advice. This Favorite, who had a great Influence over him, perſuaded him, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* only ſought to expoſe him to danger. This Advice correſponding with his Suſpicions and Inclinations, he continued his march, without going in queſt of the Enemy. All but the Favorites, were ſo amazed at his unconcern for the Calamities of his Subjects of *Cumberland*, that they could not help loudly murmuring, and conſidering the King himſelf, as a Prince regardleſs of the good of the Publick.

1385.

France *defers her Expedition.*

Richard *goes into* Scotland. *Loſes the Opportunity of ſubduing the Kingdom.* Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 473, 474.

The Scots *make a Diverſion in* Cumberland. Froiſſart.

Richard *lets them alone and returns to* London. Walſing.

Sends Succours to Scotland. Buchanan. Knighton. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 141.

The Engliſh *levy a great Army.* Walſing.

The Duke of Lancaſter *marches into* Scotland. Knighton.

Whilſt the King was on his Journey to *London*, the Lord *Holland* (7), his half Brother, quarrelling with the Earl of *Stafford*'s eldeſt Son (8), killed him, and took Sanctuary in *Beverly* Abbey. The Action was ſo heinous, that notwithſtanding the Ties of Blood, *Richard* reſolved to abandon the Murderer to the rigour of the Law. In vain did the Princeſs of *Wales*, their common Mother, intercede for her Son, ſhe could never obtain his Pardon. This refuſal ſat ſo heavy upon her Mind, that ſhe died with Grief a few days after (9). Nevertheleſs, whether the King was ſorry for being ſo cruel to his Mother, or the Murdered found a more powerful Interceſſor, the Princeſs was hardly in her Grave, when he granted the Pardon ſhe had ſued for in vain.

The Lord Holland *kills the Lord* Stafford. Walſing. Froiſſart. c. 142.

The King refuſes to pardon him at his Mother's Interceſſion, who dies with Grief.

The fear of the *French* Invaſion being vaniſhed, the Duke of *Lancaſter* brought his own Affairs upon the board, and demanded Aſſiſtance of the King to proſecute his Right to the Crown of *Caſtile*. There could never be a more ſeaſonable Juncture to obtain his deſire. *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal* being dead, without leaving any legitimate Children but *Beatrix* Queen of *Caſtile*, the King her Husband pretended, the Crown of *Portugal* was devolved to his Queen, by the Death of the King her Father. But the *Portugueſe*, not bearing the thoughts of living under the Dominion of the *Caſtilians*, had placed on the Throne, *John* natural Son of the late King. As this Quarrel could ſcarce poſſibly be decided but by Arms, the King of *Caſtile* entered *Portugal*, and advancing as far as *Lisbon*, laid Siege to the City. But meeting with a braver Defence than he expected, he was forced to retire. In the next Campain he loſt a Battle, which obliged him to quit *Portugal*, ſtill hoping to compaſs his Ends, by the Aſſiſtance of *France*. The

Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 165.

(1) This Year, on *Novemb.* 12. a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, which granted the King two Fifteenths. *Rot. Parl.* 8. *Ric.* II. *N.* 1, &c. 10. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 303. In this Parliament the Sentence paſſed againſt *Alice Pierce* in a former Parliament, was reverſed. *Ibid.*——This Year alſo died the famous Sir *John Philpot*. *Walſ.* p. 310.

(2) Every Man at Arms had with him three, or four, and ſometimes five Knights. *Rapin.*

(3) He alſo ſent ten thouſand Livres to *Robert* King of *Scotland*, and forty thouſand to the Nobility of that Kingdom. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 484.

(4) During the Seſſion of the laſt Parliament, the *Scots* ſurprized *Berwick* Caſtle, having bribed the Deputy-Governor; but it was retaken, or rather bought again, by the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Governor. *Walſ.* p. 311. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 463.

(5) He entered that Kingdom about the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Walſ.* p. 316.

(6) They burnt *Penreth*, made an attempt upon *Carliſle*, and cruelly ravaged the whole Country. *Knighton*, Col. 2674.

(7) *John de Holland*, Brother to *Thomas* Earl of *Kent*. *Froiſ.* l. 2. c. 142.

(8) Whoſe Name was *Ralph*. *Walſ.* p. 316.

(9) She died at *Wallingford* Caſtle, and was buried in the Church of the *Friers Minors* at *Stanford*. *Ibid.* The King had a Chapel built at *Stanford* to pray for her Soul. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 527.

1385. Walsing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 550. Froissart, c. 172, 173. Act. Pub. VII. p. 516. 525.

new King of *Portugal* finding his Enemy was about to receive Aid from the King of *France*, sent Ambassadors to *England*, to make an Alliance with *Richard*, offering to acknowledge the Duke of *Lancaster* for King of *Castile*, and support his Right with all his Forces. Affairs in *England* were then in a posture, very proper to render the Negotiation of the *Portuguese* Ambassadors successful. *Richard*, prejudiced against the Duke his Uncle, heartily wished his removal; his Favorites representing him as a dangerous Relation, and a very troublesome Governor. They told him moreover, it was his Interest to dethrone the King of *Castile*, sworn Enemy of the *English*, which was the more practicable, as the King of *Portugal* offered to make a powerful Diversion. The Duke of *Lancaster* hastened with all possible ardour, the Conclusion of this Affair, imagining, with the Forces of *England*, and Assistance of *Portugal*, it would not be impossible to succeed in his Designs. All these Considerations induced the King's Council, to give a favorable hearing to the King of *Portugal*'s Proposals, and to promise the Duke of *Lancaster* an Aid proportionable to the Importance of the Undertaking. Pursuant to this Resolution, the King called a Parliament (1) to demand a Subsidy to enable him to accomplish this Project. The Commons readily granted it, and expressed great earnestness for the Expedition, not so much out of love to the Duke, as to remove him out of the Kingdom, where it was continually feared he would at last occasion Troubles fatal to the State. For that reason, they had this Affair so much at heart, that the Clergy refusing to pay their part of the Subsidy (2), they petitioned the King to seize their Temporalities. *Richard*, who loved not his Uncle enough to quarrel with the Clergy for his sake, refused to comply with the Commons Request. His Moderation procured him from the Clergy, what Force would hardly ever have extorted from them. Thus the Duke of *Lancaster*, secure of the Parliament's Assistance, made, as King of *Castile*, a League offensive and defensive with the King of *Portugal*, and prepared for the War with all possible diligence.

Act. Pub. VII. p. 490, 495, 499.

Cotton's Abridg. Walsing.

Walsing. p. 320.

The Earl of March *declared Heir to the Crown.*

In this same Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March* was declared presumptive Heir of the Crown, in case *Richard* died without Issue. He was Son of *Philippa*, only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* III, and Grandson of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, executed as a Traitor in the late Reign. But the Sentence passed upon him was afterwards repealed, because the Formalities prescribed by the Laws and Customs of the Realm were not observed at his Tryal (3).

The King confers new Honours on his Uncles and Favorites. Walsing. Act Pub. VII. p. 481.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King conferred on the Earl of *Cambridge* (4) his Uncle, the Title of Duke of *York*; on the Earl of *Buckingham* (5) his other Uncle, that of Duke of *Gloucester*. He could not help raising these two Princes to higher Degrees of Honour, unless he would leave them below the Earl of *Oxford* (6), whom he created at the same time Marquis of *Dublin*, and quickly after, Duke of *Ireland*. This Favorite was the first that bore the Title of Marquis in *England*, where it was hitherto unknown. *Michael de la Pole*, another of the King's Favorites, was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellor (7).

1386. *King of* Armenia *comes into* England. Walsing. Act Pub. VII. p. 491, 496, 502.

In the beginning of the Year 1386, *Leo* King of *Armenia*, expelled out of his Dominions by the *Turks*, came to *England* to confer with *Richard*. His Design was to procure a firm and lasting Peace between *France* and *England*, in expectation that afterwards the two Crowns would join all their Forces to restore him to his Kingdom. But if he succeeded not in his Project, at least he obtained from *Richard* a considerable Present, and a yearly Pension of a thousand Pounds (8). 1386.

The Duke of Lancaster *sets out for* Spain. Walsing. Froissart, l. 2. c. 175, 176.

As soon as the Duke of *Lancaster* had finished his Preparations for his *Spanish* Expedition, he embarked at *Portsmouth* (9), with an Army of twenty thousand Men, among whom were two thousand Men at Arms (10). He carried with him *Constantia of Castile*, his Wife, and his two Daughters *Philippa* and *Catherina*, the first of whom he had by *Blanch* of *Lancaster*, and the other by *Constantia*. The King and Queen accompanied them to *Portsmouth*, and wishing them good Success, presented them with two Gold Crowns. The Duke setting Sail, made some stay at *Brest*, and obliged the Duke of *Bretagne* to raise the Siege of that Town, which all his Sollicitations had not been able to get out of the hands of the *English*. Then pursuing his Voyage, he arrived *August* the 9th at *Corunna*, where he landed his Troops. Upon his Arrival, he made himself master of several Places in *Gallicia*, and at last of *Compostella*, where he passed the Winter. Whilst the Season prevented him from continuing his Progress, he concluded a Marriage between *Philippa* his eldest Daughter and the King of *Portugal*, and spent the rest of the Time in projecting the next Campain. Knighton.

Great Preparations in France *to conquer* England. Walsing. Froissart. l. 2. c. 178.

The Duke of *Lancaster*'s departure, which had long before made a great Noise, prompted the Court of *France* to improve so favorable a conjuncture As *England*, deprived of her best Troops, would be probably defenceless, *Charles* resolved to make a fresh Effort to conquer that Kingdom. To that end, he made such prodigious Preparations, that all *Europe* expected with Astonishment the success of this Undertaking. He had prepared nine hundred Transport-Ships (11), and caused a wooden Fort to be made, (which could be taken in Pieces,) for the Defence of his Army after landing. If the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle, who wanted to render the Project abortive, because, says a Historian, he was not the Author, had not too long delayed his coming, the *French* would have found *England* unprovided with Troops for her defence. But the Duke not repairing to *Sluice* till the 14th of *September* (12), *Richard* had time so to prepare, as to have no reason to fear the mighty Efforts of his Enemies. Very likely, the great diligence of the *English*, rather than the Season, which was not too far advanced for so short a Passage, obliged the King of *France* to send his Troops into Winter Quarters. Mezerai. Froissart, l. 2. c. 189, 190.

Richard raises a great Army. Walsing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 507, 539, 545.

As soon as the grand Designs of *France* were known in *England*, Troops were levied with that speed and success, that an Army of two hundred thousand Men were drawn together (13). Part of these Forces were put into the Places most exposed, whilst the rest stood ready to hinder the Enemies landing. But as this Army was to be maintained, as well as raised, which could not be done without a very great Expence, a Parliament was called to consider of Ways and Means (14.) The King demanding a Subsidy, proportionable to his Wants (15), the Parliament was very willing to grant it, but could not think of leaving the Money in the Power of the King and his Favorites, among whom the Marquis of *Dublin*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, held the first Rank. These Lords were so universally and excessively odious, that in order to ruin them the Parliament scrupled not to hazard the loss of the whole Kingdom. They presented an Address to the King, desiring that the Treasurer (16), and the Earl of *Suffolk* the Chancellor, might be removed from their Places. Moreover that all those might be called to an Account, through whose hands the publick Money had passed, affirming, the King would find in the Con- *He demands Money of the Parliament*; Cotton's Abridg. Walsing. Froissart. l. 2. c. 178.

who address the King against the Favorites. Knighton. Col. 2680.

(1) Which met at *Westminster*, on the *Friday* after *October* 18, and granted the King a Fifteenth, and half a Fifteenth for the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Expedition: and a Tenth, and half a Tenth for the safe-keeping of the Sea, and Marches of *Scotland*. *Rot. Parl.* 9. *Ric.* II. *N.* 10. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 309. *Walsi.* p. 320.

(2) The Lords and Commons required they should give a Tenth and a half. They granted at last one Tenth.

(3) He was not brought to answer, or make his Defence; but was attainted and condemned without ever being heard, and consequently without any legal Conviction. For which reason this Judgment was afterwards reversed as erroneous, by the Parliament which met in *April*, 1354. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 6, 8, 85, 86.

(4) *Edmund de Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward* III.

(5) *Thomas of Woodstock*, his seventh Son.

(6) *Robert de Vere*.

(7) He granted the two first a thousand Pounds a-piece out of the Exchequer, till he should provide them with Lands to the Value of a thousand Pounds a Year. To *M. de la Pole* he allowed five hundred and twenty Pounds out of the Profits of the County of *Suffolk*, and out of the Estate of *William Ufford* late Earl of *Suffolk*. And to the Marquis of *Dublin*, he gave the old Lands and Revenues of *Ireland*, with all Profits, &c. whatsoever. The Reader is to observe, that these Honours were now only confirmed in Parliament; for the King had invested those Noblemen with them, in his late Expedition into *Scotland*, at *Hounslow-Lodge* in *Tividale*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 310.

(8) *Rapin* by mistake says, twenty thousand Marks. It is plain from *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* that it was only one thousand Pounds a Year——Concessimus eidem——Mille Libras Monetæ nostræ Angliæ, percipiendas singulis annis.——Tom. 7. p. 494. See also *Walsi.* p. 321.

(9) In *May*, *Froiss.* l. 2. c. 175.

(10) And eight thousand Archers.

(11) *Froissart* says, he had twelve hundred and eighty seven Ships of all sorts, l. 2. c. 178. And, according to others, no less than sixty thousand fighting Men. *Walsi.* p. 325. *Tyrrel*, p. 904.

(12) *Walsingham* says, he was there by the first of *August*, p. 325.

(13) The Earl of *Suffolk* caused a great part of the Militia of the Kingdom to be sent for up towards *London*, to repel the *French* if they should land: These Forces, consisting of Men at Arms and Archers, were quartered within twenty Miles round the City, where they did almost as much mischief as an Enemy, for having no Money to pay for their Quarters, they lived at discretion. *Walsi. p.* 323.

(14) This Parliament met at *Westminster* on *Octob.* 1. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 314.

(15) Four Fifteenths of the Commons, and as many Tenths from the Clergy. *Knighton*, Col. 2681.

(16) *John de Fordham*, Bishop of *Durham*.

fiscation

1386. fiscation of the Mismanagers Estates, wherewithal to answer the occasions of the State. *Richard*, who expected quite another thing, in the present Juncture of Affairs, received the Address with an Indignation, which it was not possible for him to conceal. He answered very sharply, that the Parliament ought to mind the Business for which they were called, and not meddle with what belonged not to them. He rashly added, that, *To please the Parliament, he would not turn out the meanest Scullion in his Kitchen.* At the same time he withdrew to *Eltham*, not staying for a Reply.

The King's rash Answer. Knighton.

Though the King could not doubt, but so offensive an Answer would extremely incense the Commons, he sent, a few days after, the Chancellor himself to order them, in an imperious manner, to grant the desired Subsidy. This Order, hitherto unusual in Affairs of this nature, was received with so great a Concern, that the two Houses uniting upon this occasion, as having one and the same Interest, sent the King word that they would proceed to no Business till he returned to his Parliament, and his Ministers were punished according to their Deserts. This Reply provoking the King to the highest degree, he commanded the two Houses to send to him forty of their Members, to give an account of their Proceedings. But the Parliament was so far from complying, that they would have come to an open Rupture, if the most prudent had not prevailed with them, though with great difficulty, to send to the King the Duke of *Gloucester* his Uncle, and the Bishop of *Ely* (1). These two Lords being come to *Eltham*, told the King in the Name of the two Houses, that as the Sovereign had Power to assemble them, they had likewise a Right to require his Presence in his Parliament. They added, it was enacted by an old Statute, That in case the King absented himself forty days from his Parliament, without lawful cause, the Members might return to their Homes; which they were resolved to do, if the King persisted to deprive them of the Honour of his Presence. To this vigorous Declaration *Richard* replied in a great Passion, and with no less Imprudence, That he plainly saw his Subjects were resolved to rebel against him, and therefore he had nothing more to do, than to desire the Assistance of the King of *France*, to reduce them to their Duty. The Lords made Answer, the King of *France* was the most mortal Enemy of the *English* Nation, as appeared in his present Endeavours to destroy them; therefore the King's desperate Resolution could not but proceed from the pernicious Advice of his evil Counsellors, who sought only to set him at variance with his faithful Subjects. Upon these Words they withdrew, saying, their Orders were only to intreat him to return to his Parliament, whose sole View was his and the Kingdom's Welfare.

The King demands the Subsidy in an imperious manner.

Disputes between the King and Parliament. Knighton. Col. 2681.

The Deputies being retired, *Richard* came to more moderate Resolutions. Probably, the Ministers and Favorites were afraid of the Consequences which might attend a Rupture with the Parliament. In this disposition, he repaired to the Parliament, and with a good grace granted whatever they had required. The Chancellor was not only removed from his Office (2), but summoned to appear and give an account of his Administration, wherein he was notoriously guilty of many Misdemeanors (3). As for the Marquis of *Dublin*, lately made Duke of *Ireland*, he was sent thither with a Pension of three thousand Marks (4), his whole Estate being confiscated by order of Parliament. This done, the two Houses appointed fourteen (5) Commissioners to take care of the Publick Affairs jointly with the King. The Duke of *Gloucester* and the Earl of *Arundel*, were authorized to examine the Publick Accounts, and how the King's Revenues had been disposed of. A few days after,

The King consents to the removing of his Favorites.

Knighton. Col. 2683. Walsing.

Fourteen Commissioners appointed to govern with the King.

The Chancellor forced to make Restitution. Knighton. Walsing.

the Chancellor being found guilty of Mismanagement, was compelled to restore all the Grants he had received of the King (6). These Grants were so excessive, that *Richard* himself, who had never computed them, could not help being surprized, and upbraiding his Favourite for abusing his Good-will. 1386.

The French Fleet lost by a Storm. Walsing.

Towards the end of this Session came the agreeable News of the *French* Army being separated, and their Fleet so damaged by a Storm (7) that it could not be fit to put to Sea again a good while. Of the great number of Ships prepared by the *French*, the most part foundered at Sea, or were lost on the *English* Coasts. Among the last were found some laden with Plank for building the Fort abovementioned.

Richard recalls his Favorites, who stir him up to Revenge. Knighton. Walsing.

The Parliament breaking up as soon as the fear of the Invasion was passed (8), the King quickly gave Proofs of his Levity, by recalling to Court the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Archbishop of *York*. He even affected to caress them more than before their Disgrace, and load them with fresh Favors. The Favorites resumed their former Post with Hearts full of Revenge, especially against the two Commissioners of the publick Accounts, who by a strict Examination of their Conduct, had occasioned their Condemnation. It was not difficult to persuade the young King, they had suffered for his sake, and that the designs of their Enemies aimed not so much at the Ministers, as at the King himself. They represented to him, "That accusing the Coun-" sellors, is a clear Evidence that the Sovereign is " thought incapable of governing, and that the readiest " way to discredit a Prince, is to persuade his Subjects, " he makes use of ill Ministers." These Insinuations frequently repeated, made so strong an impression on the King's Mind, that he resolved to free himself from the Subjection of the Parliament. But the Favorites intimated to him, it would be a very difficult thing to execute, so long as the Duke of *Gloucester* was at the head of the Factious. By this means they led him to consent to all their Plots for his Uncle's Destruction. When they were sure of the King's Approbation, they concerted the means to compass their Ends. They found no better way than to poison (9) the Duke, and some other of their principal Enemies, at a Feast to which they were invited by the City of *London*. But as they durst not execute this Plot, without securing the Mayor (10), he gave the Duke of *Gloucester* notice of it, who came not to the Feast.

The Ruin of the Duke of Gloucester determined. Walsing.

He escapes being poisoned.

1387.

The Favorites stir up the King against their Enemies.

Had it been as easy for the Favorites to destroy their private Enemies, as it was to draw upon them the King's Hatred, there would scarce have been left in the Kingdom a Lord capable of giving them any umbrage. But in a Government like that of *England*, particularly during a Minority, it is no easy thing for the King and his Ministry to do whatever they please. The Favorites then, in their continual Fears of being themselves prevented, were obliged to recur to secret ways to ruin their Enemies. Mean while they continued to prejudice the King against his best Subjects, till being of Age he might act with a more absolute Authority. The Earls of *Arundel* (11) and *Nottingham* (12), Admirals of *England*, putting to Sea in the beginning of the Spring (13), took a Fleet of *French*, *Spanish* and *Flemish* Merchant-Men, and brought some of them to *England* (14), laden with Wine. After that they sailed to *Bretagne* and relieved *Brest*, besieged by the Duke. This Service which deserved some Return from the King, only made them incur his Indignation. When they came from their Expedition, he would not vouchsafe even to speak to them; so much was he prejudiced against them by his Ministers. It was intimated to him that the taking of these Ships would not fail of bringing Troubles upon him, which would very

The Earls of Arundel and Nottingham resign their Places. Walsing. Knighton.

(1) *Thomas de Arundel.* *Knighton*, Col. 2680.

(2) In which he was succeeded by *Thomas de Arundel*, Bishop of *Ely*, *October* 23. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 548. And *John Gilbert*, Bishop of *Hereford*, was made Treasurer. *Knighton*, Col. 2683. *Walsingham*, p. 325.

(3) See the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him in *Knighton*, Col. 2684, &c.

(4) Thirty thousand, says *Walsingham*, p. 324.

(5) *Knighton* says, there were fourteen appointed, whereas *Rapin* says but thirteen. They were the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Bishops of *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Winchester*, and *Exeter*; *John de Waltham*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; *Edmund de Langley*, Duke of *York*; *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Duke of *Gloucester*; the Abbot of *Waltham*; the Earl of *Arundel*; the Lord *John Cobham*; the Lord *Richard le Scrope*; and the Lord *John de Enrose*. Col. 2685.

(6) And was confined to *Windsor* Castle. *Idem.* Col. 2683.

(7) On *October* 31. *Walsingham*, p. 325.

(8) Before their breaking up, they granted the King one half Disme, or Tenth, and one half Fifteenth, both on the Clergy and Laity; to be paid by the beginning of *February* next, and the like Sum to be paid at *Michaelmas*, if there should be occasion. They gave also, of every Tun of Wine, imported or exported, three Shillings, and Twelve-pence of every Pound of Merchandize, except the Staple-ware and Wools. *Rot. Parl.* 10 *Richard* II. *M.* 42, 18. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 317. *Knighton*, Col. 2686. *Walsingham*, p. 124.

(9) Or rather to assassinate him. *Walsingham*, *Ibid.*

(10) *Richard de Exton.* *Ibid.*

(11) *Richard Fitz-Alan.* *Walsingham* observes, this Earl did not, as other Admirals used to do, that is, man the Fleet with Persons not used to the Sea, to whom they gave but half Wages, and so put the rest of the Money, allowed by the Government, into their own Pockets; but he chose the stoutest and best Sailors he could get, p. 326.

(12) *Thomas Mowbray.*

(13) About the beginning of *March*, *Knighton*, Col. 2692. *Walsingham*, p. 326.

(14) Fifty six. There were about a hundred and sixty taken in all. *Knighton*, Ibid. This Engagement happened on *March* 24. *Walsingham*, Ibid.

1387. much embarraſs him. The two Earls, highly offended at this uncivil Reception, reſigned their Commiſſion, which was given to the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The Duke of Ireland diworces his Wife, Couſin to the King. Walſing.

Thus did the Favorites ſtir up their Maſter againſt the principal Lords, in hopes of reaping the Fruit of their Artifices, when the King ſhould be of Age, of which he wanted but little. But an Accident which happened ſoon after, made them haſten the Execution of their Projects. The Duke of *Ireland* preſuming upon his Influence over the King, had the Inſolence to divorce his Wife (1), Daughter of the Lord *Coucy*, and Grand-Daughter of *Edward* III, in order to marry *Lancerona*, Maid of Honour to the Queen, a *Bohemian* of mean Birth (2). Though this Divorce was very injurious to the Royal Family, *Richard* ſhewed not the leaſt Concern. But it was not the ſame with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who highly reſented the Affront, and declared he would revenge it the firſt opportunity. This Threat made the Duke of *Ireland* reſolve to prevent him. To that end, after concerting the means with the King, he feigned to go into *Ireland*, and took the Road to *Wales* where the King was pleaſed to accompany him. But this pretended Voyage was only to conſult more privately how to execute their Project of aſſuming an arbitrary Power, of which the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Nottingham* (3), were to feel the Effects. The Reſult of this Conſultation was, that the King ſhould raiſe an Army to terrify theſe Lords, and then call a Parliament, the Election whereof ſhould be ſo managed, that the Members ſhould be all at his devotion; and that he ſhould cauſe to be paſſed all ſuch Acts as were neceſſary to ſecure him an unlimited Power.

The Duke of Gloceſter threatens him. Walſing.

Plot to make the King abſolute. Idem.

Richard *communicates his Deſign to the Sheriffs,* Walſing.

As ſoon as the Plot was contrived, they went to *Nottingham*, where the King ſent for all the Sheriffs, ſome of the principal Citizens of *London*, and all the Judges. When they were met, he communicated to them his Deſign of raiſing an Army to chaſtiſe ſuch Lords, as he named to them, among whom was the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and demanded of the Sheriffs what number of Troops each could furniſh him with. Then he told them, he intended to call a Parliament, and ordered them to let no Repreſentative be choſen, but what was in the Liſt he ſhould give them himſelf (4). The Sheriffs made anſwer, it was not in their Power to execute his Orders. That the People were ſo well inclined to the Lords he had mentioned, that there was no proſpect of levying an Army againſt them: That it was ſtill more difficult to deprive the People of their Right of freely electing their Repreſentatives in Parliament. But the Judges (5) were not ſo ſcrupulous in what related to them. The King asked them, whether he had not Power to turn out the fourteen Commiſſioners appointed by Parliament, and annul ſuch Acts as were prejudicial to him? They replied, *The King was above the Laws* (6). Nevertheleſs, when they were required to ſubſcribe their Opinion, ſome endeavoured to be excuſed, but were compelled to it by the Menaces of the Favorites. It is affirmed, one of the Judges (7) ſaid aloud after ſigning, *That never did Action better deſerve hanging than that he had juſt done.* The Opinion of the Judges being thus extorted, *Richard* thought he had ſurmounted all Difficulties. He immediately iſſued out Commiſſions to levy an Army; but found ſo few willing to ſerve him, that he was forced to deſiſt from his Project. Enraged at this diſappointment, he returned to *London*, after a fruitleſs Declaration of his Deſigns, which rendered him more odious to the publick.

who refuſe to engage in the Plot.

Knighton. Col. 2693.

The Judges decide, that the King is above the Laws. Knighton.

The King's Plot comes to nothing.

The Duke of Gloceſter tries to appeaſe the King. Knighton. Walſing.

A Plot of this nature, ſo openly contrived, and not executed, ſeldom fails of proving fatal to the Authors. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the other Lords of his Party, perceived their Deſtruction was reſolved; and if the King and his Favorites had not already ſacrificed them to their Animoſity, it was not for want of Will but of Power. The only Remedy left, in their Opinion, was, a recourſe to Arms. But as prudent People uſe not that Method till all others prove ineffectual, the Duke of *Gloceſter* thought he ſhould try once more to remove the King's Prejudices. For that purpoſe, he ſent the Biſhop of *London* with reſpectful Aſſurances of his Allegiance, and an Offer to clear himſelf by Oath of the Crimes falſely laid to his Charge. *Richard* ſeemed at firſt inclinable to admit of this Juſtification; but the Earl of *Suffolk* ſoon made him alter his Mind, by telling him, even before the Biſhop, he would never be ſafe on the Throne as long as the Duke of *Gloceſter* was alive. The Biſhop of *London* was ſo offended at theſe Words, that he could not forbear ſaying to the Favorite, that being condemned by the Parliament, and holding his Life purely by the King's Grace, it became him leſs than any Man, to accuſe Loyal Subjects. This Boldneſs was ſo diſpleaſing to the King, that he commanded the Prelate to depart from his Preſence. Affairs being come to this Point; and the proſcribed Lords believing that a vigorous Defence was the only way left to ſcreen them from the Deſigns of the Court, reſolved at length to take Arms. As they were in great Credit with the People, who conſidered them as their Protectors, they had ſoon drawn together an Army of forty thouſand Men, with which they marched directly to *London*. 1387.

The Earl of Suffolk binders the Reconciliation. Knighton. Walſing.

The Lords take Arms.

The Diligence of the Lords broke all the meaſures of the King and his Miniſters. *Richard* was reſolved to go to *France*, and reſtore to King *Charles*, *Calais* and *Cherbourg*, in order to obtain a powerful Aid, which might enable him to reduce his rebellious Subjects, as he termed them. But the ſudden Approach of the Lords not ſuffering him to execute this Deſign, there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to other means, to free himſelf from the preſent Difficulties. The beſt way, as he thought, was to amuſe the Male-contents, whilſt the Duke of *Ireland* raiſed an Army in *Wales*, where he had many Friends. Purſuant to this Project, he ſent word to the Male-content Lords, that he was ready to grant them all their reaſonable Deſires, and ſhould be on the morrow in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they might come and preſent their Petition. The Lords gladly embraced the Offer, and taking care not to be ſurprized (8), repaired to the Place appointed. They found the King ſeated on a Throne, in his Royal Robes, expecting their coming. As they approached the Throne, they fell on their Knees, in a ſuppliant Poſture, though in effect it was not ſo much to ask Pardon, as to obtain of him the Puniſhment of his Miniſters. The Biſhop of *Ely*, who was Chancellor (9), asking the reaſon of their taking Arms, they replied, it was ſolely with Intention to procure the Good of the King and Kingdom. Adding, the King's Perſon ſhould be always inviolable to them, and that their Deſign was only to bring the Traitors about him to condign Puniſhment. Then they named in particular, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, Judge *Treſilian*, and one *Brembar*, an Alderman of *London*, who was of the ſame Cabal. The King gravely anſwered, that in the next Parliament (10) Juſtice ſhould be done to all. Then he upbraided them for their Preſumption, intimating, it was in his Power to cruſh them, but out of pure Condeſcenſion he was pleaſed to give them a favorable hearing. After that he took the Duke of *Gloceſter* by the hand, and bidding them all riſe, ſaid, their Complaints ſhould be conſidered. As he intended only to amuſe them, he ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed, to juſtify their appearing in Arms, in hopes they would be induced to diſmiſs their Troops. But they were too well acquainted with the Character of the King and his Miniſters, to rely on their bare Word. Apprehenſive of being ſuddenly oppreſſed, when they ſhould be no longer feared, they reſolved to continue in Arms till the Parliament was aſſembled. They quickly ſaw how neceſſary this Precaution was. The Duke of *Ireland* having levied an Army in *Wales* with great Expedition (11), marched with all ſpeed to the King's Aſſiſtance. Had he been able to approach

The King's Deſign is fruſtrated. Walſing. Knighton.

He tries to amuſe the Lords.

Interview of the King and Lords. Walſing. Knighton.

The King puts them off to the next Parliament. Walſing.

Knighton. Col. 2701.

The Lords continue armed. Walſing.

The Duke of Ireland marches to the King's Relief.

(1) *Philippa*, Daughter of *Ingelram de Coucy*, Earl of *Soiſſons*, and *Iſabella*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* III.

(2) She was a Vintner's, or, according to others, a Joyner's Daughter. *Walſingham*, p. 328.

(3) *Thomas of Woodſtock*, *Richard Fitz-Alan*, *Thomas Beauchamp*, *Henry* of *Bullingbroke*, *Thomas Mowbray*.

(4) But ſuch as he and his Council ſhould direct and nominate. *Walſingham*, p. 329.

(5) They were Sir *Robert Treſilian*, Chief-Juſtice; Sir *Robert Belknap*, Chief-Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*; Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, Sir *William Burgh*; together with *John de Lockton*, the King's Serjeant at Law. *Knighton*, Col. 2694.

(6) There were ten Queries put to them; which, together with the Judges Anſwers, ſee in *Knighton*, Col. 2694, &c. and in Sir *Robert Howard's Life of Richard* II. p. 99, &c. They returned their Anſwers on *Auguſt* 25.

(7) Sir *Robert Belknap*, who ſaid upon ſigning, "Now want I nothing but a Ship, or a nimble Horſe, or an Halter, to bring me to that death I deſerve: "if I had not done this, I ſhould have been killed by your Hands, (for it ſeems, the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Suffolk*, threatned to kill him, if he re- "fuſed to ſign) and now I have gratified the King's Pleaſure and yours in doing it, I have well deſerved to die for Treaſon againſt the Nobles of the Land." *Knighton*, Col. 2694.

(8) The Biſhop of *Ely*, and divers other Perſons of Honour and Credit, giving their Oaths on the King's behalf, That no Treachery or ill Practice ſhould be uſed, but that they might come and go with ſafety. Which was no unneceſſary Caution; for on the Day they were to appear, they received notice of an Ambuſcade being laid for them in *Weſtminſter*, by Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and Sir *Nicolas Brembar*. *Walſingham*, p. 330, 331. *Knighton*, Col. 2700.

(9) *De la Pole* was not Chancellor again after he was recalled.

(10) Which he appointed to be on *February* 3. *Knighton*. *Walſingham*, p. 331.

(11) That this was done by the King's Commiſſion, is evident from hence, becauſe Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Conſtable of *Cheſter* Caſtle, was ordered to accompany and ſafe-conduct the ſaid Duke, with all the Forces he could get, to his Majeſty's Preſence. *Walſingham*, p. 331. *Knighton*, Col. 2702.

proach

1387. *Is defeated.* Walſing. proach *London*, it was not certain that the Citizens would join the Confederates. To prevent this Danger, the Earl of *Derby* (1), eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, went with part of the Army to meet the Duke of *Ireland*, and finding him in *Oxfordſhire* (2) gave him Battle, and gained an eaſy Victory over a General who was nothing leſs than a Warrior. In the beginning of the Fight, the Duke, who was afraid of falling into the hands of his Enemies, took to flight, without troubling himſelf about what became of his Army. All his Baggage being taken, in a Casket was found a Letter from the King, commanding him to march to *London* with all poſſible ſpeed, and promiſing him to live and die with him. This Defeat breaking all the King's meaſures, the Duke fled into *Holland*, and, after ſome ſtay at *Utrecht*, went and lived at *Louvain*, where he died three Years after. The Earl of *Suffolk* would have retired to *Calais*, but the Governor (3) not daring, at ſuch a Juncture, either to arreſt or protect him, choſe to ſend him back to the King. Mean while, *Richard*, uncertain how the victorious Lords would deal with him, took refuge in the Tower. He had the more reaſon to fear, as a *Frenchman* was ſeized at that time, bringing him a Safe-Conduct to come to *Boulogne*, where King *Charles* expected him. It was farther diſcovered by a Letter found upon the ſame Perſon, that *Charles* expected to be put in poſſeſſion of *Calais* and *Cherbourg*, and had even advanced part of the Sum, he was to give for theſe two Places.

Letters found in his Casket.

He retires into Holland. Walſing. Knighton.

The King's Deſigns are diſcovered. Knighton. Walſing.

1388. *Conference of the Lords with the King.* Walſing. Knighton. The Confederate Lords being now fully ſatisfied of the pernicious Deſigns of the King, and his Miniſters, marched their whole Army into *London*, and then demanded a Conference with the King. *Richard* would fain have been excuſed, but, as he ſaw no remedy, and was apprehenſive of ſtarving in the Tower, durſt not refuſe it. At this Interview, they bitterly upbraided him with the *Nottingham* Plot to deſtroy them; with his deſign to make himſelf abſolute, by means of an Army; with his attempting to have a Parliament at his devotion; with his Orders to the Duke of *Ireland* to march to *London*, whilſt he was amuſing them with vain Promiſes: Laſtly, with his Treaty with the King of *France*, to deliver up *Calais* and *Cherbourg*. *Richard* anſwered theſe Reproaches, with a Shower of Tears, which moved the Lords. They imagined, the King's ill Conduct proceeded only from his little Experience, and the bad Counſels of his Favorites, and as they were removed he would be reclaimed. This belief rendering them more tractable, it was agreed, the King ſhould on the morrow be at *Weſtminſter*, to ſettle with them the Affairs of the Government. Hardly were they out of the *Tower*, before he altered his mind, and ſent them word, he would not confer with them. This Fickleneſs ſo incenſed them, that they immediately let him know, in caſe he came not to *Weſtminſter* next day, according to his Promiſe, they would go themſelves, and proceed to the Election of a new King. So preciſe a Declaration threw him into ſuch a Fright, that he not only came to the Place of Conference, but conſented alſo to the Baniſhment of his two principal Favorites, with the Archbiſhop of *York* (4), the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Chicheſter* (5), and ſeveral other Lords (6) and Ladies (7), who had favoured the Deſigns of the Court. As for the Judges, ſince it was deſigned to treat them with the utmoſt Rigour, they were taken off the Benches in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſent to the *Tower*.

The King anſwers with Tears.

Upon the King's refuſing to come to Weſtminſter *as he had agreed, they threaten to chuſe a new King.*

He conſents to the Baniſhment of his Favorites. Walſing.

1389. *The Parliament meets.* Knighton. Col. 2713, &c. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 566, 590. The Parliament being aſſembled in *February* (8) 1389, ſeveral Perſons were accuſed of High-Treaſon, and ſentenced to divers Puniſhments. *Treſilian*, *Brembar* (9), and ſome other Knights and Gentlemen were hanged at *Tyburn*. The reſt of the Judges, with the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, received the ſame Sentence; but had their Lives granted them, and were baniſhed to *Ireland* (10). As for the two Favorites, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, they were condemned to exile, and their Eſtates confiſcated to the King's Uſe (11). 1388.

After the Parliament had thus paid what was thought due to Juſtice, two Acts were paſſed, the firſt of which forbad the aſcribing to the King the late Commotions, and the other, granted a general Pardon to both Parties. Matters being thus ſettled, the King renewed his Coronation-Oath, as if he begun a new Reign, and all the Lords did him Homage, and repeated their Oaths of Allegiance (12). This Parliament, called *the Mercileſs*, did not break up till *June* the 4th.

A General Pardon. Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 572.

During the Troubles in *England*, the *Scots* willing to take advantage of the Juncture, were advanced as far as *Newcaſtle*, under the Conduct of Sir *William Douglas* (13), and committed great Ravages on the Borders. As ſoon as theſe Commotions were appeaſed, *Henry Percy*, ſirnamed *Hotſpur*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*, marched againſt the *Scots*, and giving them Battle, ſlew *Douglaſs* with his own hand. But the Earl of *Dunbar* coming upon him during the Battle, with a Body of freſh Troops, ſo changed the Scene, that the *Engliſh* Army was at length defeated, and *Hotſpur* taken Priſoner.

The Engliſh defeated by the Scots. Froiſſart. l. 3 c. 123, 124. Buchanan. Walſing. Knighton.

About the ſame time, the Earl of *Arundel*, whom the Parliament had made High-Admiral, went to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bretagne*, attacked by the King of *France*. This Aid obliging *Charles* to grant the Duke Peace, the *Engliſh* were ſent home. In his return, the Earl of *Arundel* took from the *French* eighty freighted Ships, and plundered the Iſles of *Ree* and *Oleron*: after which he ſailed with his Fleet to *England*. Shortly after, the two Crowns agreed upon a three Years Truce, wherein the *Scots* were included.

Exploits of the Earl of Arundel. Walſing.

Truce with France. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 622.

Since the laſt Parliament, *England* remained in Tranquillity. The new Miniſters being guided by different Maxims from thoſe of the old, took care not to engage the King in ſuch Proceedings that had like to prove his Ruin. But though the King's Council was ſucceſsfully changed, it was not ſo eaſy to change his Temper. Full of his own Merit, he was extremely concerned to be under the direction of others, when he was of Age to hold the Reins of the Government himſelf. Upon his entering into his two and twentieth Year, he called his Council, ordering all the Members to be preſent. When they were met, he demanded of them how old he was, to which anſwer was made, he was full Twenty Years of Age. *Since it is ſo*, added he, *I will govern my Kingdom my ſelf; the Condition of a King ought not to be worſe than that of his Subjects, who are at Liberty at that Age to manage their own Affairs.* Having thus made known his Intentions, he commanded the Chancellor (14) to deliver him the Great-Seal, which he gave to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (15). At the ſame time he turned out the Biſhop of *Hereford* from being Treaſurer, and removing from the Council-Board the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Uncle, the Earl of *Warwick*, and ſome others, whom he did not like, put ſuch in their room as he believed more pliant to his Will. This Proceeding was not in it ſelf ſtrange, ſince it was in his Power to make theſe Alterations. However, it was remarked, he had never given leſs Signs of Prudence, which thoſe who begin to be of Age are ſuppoſed to have, than in the choice of his new Miniſters, who were by no means qualified for their Poſts. Accordingly it was not long before Diſorder and Confuſion were viſible in the Publick Affairs. The Favorites firſt care was, to inſinuate to the King, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had ill Deſigns upon his Perſon. But

Richard *takes upon him the Government.* Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 618.

Walſing.

Changes the Miniſtry. Walſing.

The Duke of Gloceſter *being accuſed clears himſelf.*

(1) *Henry* of *Bullingbroke.*

(2) At *Babbelake*, near *Burford*. *Walſing.* p. 332.

(3) His own Brother *Edmund de la Pole*, who was Governor of the Caſtle, refuſed to harbour him, without the Conſent of the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Governor of the Town, who ſent him back as a Priſoner into *England*. The Lord *Beauchamp* was ſent for over, and committed Priſoner upon this account. *Ibid.*

(4) *Alexander Nevil.* He was ſucceeded by *Thomas Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 574. *Walſ.* p. 336.

(5) *John Fordham*, and *Thomas Ruſhoke*. *Ibid.* p. 333.

(6) The Lords *Zouche*, *Haringworth*, *Burnel*, and *Bemond*; and alſo Sir *Alberic de Vere*, Sir *Baldwin Bereford*, Sir *Richard Adderbury*, Sir *John Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *John Lovel*, Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *Nicholas Brembar*, &c. *Walſingh.* p. 334. *Knighton*, Col. 2705.

(7) The Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *de Molyng*, and the Lady *Poynings*. *Walſing.* p. 334. *Knighton*, Col. 2705.

(8) On *Feb.* 3. 1388. They granted the King half a Tenth and half a Fifteenth. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 620. And a Subſidy of Wool, Skins, and Wool-fells, over and above the old Cuſtom; *viz.* of every Sack of Wool, forty ſix Shillings and Eight-pence; of every Laſt of Skins, four Pounds, ſix Shillings and Eight-pence; of Denizens, and of Aliens, four Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence. *Rot. Parl.* 11. *Ric.* 2. N. 2, 16. *Cotton's Abridg.* 332. There was another Parliament at *Cambridge* after Harveſt, in which the Clergy granted a Tenth, and the Laity a Fifteenth. *Walſingham*, p. 335. *Knighton*, Col. 2729. In this Parliament *John Holland*, the King's Half-Brother, was created Earl of *Huntingdon*. *Ibid.*

(9) *Brembar* was beheaded. See *Knighton*, Col. 2726.

(10) They had Allowances made them out of the Exchequer, for their Maintenance, as follows: *Fulthorp*, forty pounds *per Annum*; *Burgh*, forty Marks; *Belknap*, forty Pounds; *Holt*, forty Marks; and *Cary* and *Lokton*, twenty Pounds *per Annum* a-piece. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 591. *Knighton.*

(11) See the Articles exhibited againſt them in *Knighton*, Col. 2715, *&c.*

(12) See the Form of it in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 572.

(13) Or rather of his Father, *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Galway*. See *Buchan.* l. 9.

(14) *Thomas de Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *York*.

(15) *William Wickham*, Founder of *Wincheſter* School and *New-College* in *Oxford*. *Walſingham*, p. 337.

1387. much embarraſs him. The two Earls, highly offended at this uncivil Reception, reſigned their Commiſſion, which was given to the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The Duke of Ireland diworces his Wife, Couſin to the King. Walſing.

Thus did the Favorites ſtir up their Maſter againſt the principal Lords, in hopes of reaping the Fruit of their Artifices, when the King ſhould be of Age, of which he wanted but little. But an Accident which happened ſoon after, made them haſten the Execution of their Projects. The Duke of *Ireland* preſuming upon his Influence over the King, had the Inſolence to divorce his Wife (1), Daughter of the Lord *Coucy*, and Grand-Daughter of *Edward* III, in order to marry *Lancerona*, Maid of Honour to the Queen, a *Bohemian* of mean Birth (2). Though this Divorce was very injurious to the Royal Family, *Richard* ſhewed not the leaſt Concern. But it was not the ſame with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who highly reſented the Affront, and declared he would revenge it the firſt opportunity. This Threat made the Duke of *Ireland* reſolve to prevent him. To that end, after concerting the means with the King, he feigned to go into *Ireland*, and took the Road to *Wales* where the King was pleaſed to accompany him. But this pretended Voyage was only to conſult more privately how to execute their Project of aſſuming an arbitrary Power, of which the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Nottingham* (3), were to feel the Effects. The Reſult of this Conſultation was, that the King ſhould raiſe an Army to terrify theſe Lords, and then call a Parliament, the Election whereof ſhould be ſo managed, that the Members ſhould be all at his devotion; and that he ſhould cauſe to be paſſed all ſuch Acts as were neceſſary to ſecure him an unlimited Power.

The Duke of Gloceſter threatens him. Walſing.

Plot to make the King abſolute. Ieem.

Richard *communicates his Deſign to the Sheriffs,* Walſing.

As ſoon as the Plot was contrived, they went to *Nottingham*, where the King ſent for all the Sheriffs, ſome of the principal Citizens of *London*, and all the Judges. When they were met, he communicated to them his Deſign of raiſing an Army to chaſtiſe ſuch Lords, as he named to them, among whom was the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and demanded of the Sheriffs what number of Troops each could furniſh him with. Then he told them, he intended to call a Parliament, and ordered them to let no Repreſentative be choſen, but what was in the Liſt he ſhould give them himſelf (4). The Sheriffs made anſwer, it was not in their Power to execute his Orders. That the People were ſo well inclined to the Lords he had mentioned, that there was no proſpect of levying an Army againſt them: That it was ſtill more difficult to deprive the People of their Right of freely electing their Repreſentatives in Parliament. But the Judges (5) were not ſo ſcrupulous in what related to them. The King asked them, whether he had not Power to turn out the fourteen Commiſſioners appointed by Parliament, and annul ſuch Acts as were prejudicial to him? They replied, *The King was above the Laws* (6). Nevertheleſs, when they were required to ſubſcribe their Opinion, ſome endeavoured to be excuſed, but were compelled to it by the Menaces of the Favorites. It is affirmed, one of the Judges (7) ſaid aloud after ſigning, *That never did Action better deſerve hanging than that he had juſt done.* The Opinion of the Judges being thus extorted, *Richard* thought he had ſurmounted all Difficulties. He immediately iſſued out Commiſſions to levy an Army; but found ſo few willing to ſerve him, that he was forced to deſiſt from his Project. Enraged at this diſappointment, he returned to *London*, after a fruitleſs Declaration of his Deſigns, which rendered him more odious to the publick.

who refuſe to engage in the Plot.

Knighton. Col. 2693.

The Judges decide, that the King is above the Laws. Knighton.

The King's Plot comes to nothing.

The Duke of Gloceſter tries to appeaſe the King. Knighton. Walſing.

A Plot of this nature, ſo openly contrived, and not executed, ſeldom fails of proving fatal to the Authors. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the other Lords of his Party, perceived their Deſtruction was reſolved; and if the King and his Favorites had not already ſacrificed them to their Animoſity, it was not for want of Will but of Power. The only Remedy left, in their Opinion, was, a recourſe to Arms. But as prudent People uſe not that Method till all others prove ineffectual, the Duke of *Gloceſter* thought he ſhould try once more to remove the King's Prejudices. For that purpoſe, he ſent the Biſhop of *London* with reſpectful Aſſurances of his Allegiance, and an Offer to clear himſelf by Oath of the Crimes falſely laid to his Charge. *Richard* ſeemed at firſt inclinable to admit of this Juſtification; but the Earl of *Suffolk* ſoon made him alter his Mind, by telling him, even before the Biſhop, he would never be ſafe on the Throne as long as the Duke of *Gloceſter* was alive. The Biſhop of *London* was ſo offended at theſe Words, that he could not forbear ſaying to the Favorite, that being condemned by the Parliament, and holding his Life purely by the King's Grace, it became him leſs than any Man, to accuſe Loyal Subjects. This Boldneſs was ſo diſpleaſing to the King, that he commanded the Prelate to depart from his Preſence. Affairs being come to this Point; and the proſcribed Lords believing that a vigorous Defence was the only way left to ſcreen them from the Deſigns of the Court, reſolved at length to take Arms. As they were in great Credit with the People, who conſidered them as their Protectors, they had ſoon drawn together an Army of forty thouſand Men, with which they marched directly to *London*. 1387.

The Earl of Suffolk hinders the Reconciliation. Knighton. Walſing.

The Lords take Arms.

The Diligence of the Lords broke all the meaſures of the King and his Miniſters. *Richard* was reſolved to go to *France*, and reſtore to King *Charles*, *Calais* and *Cherbourg*, in order to obtain a powerful Aid, which might enable him to reduce his rebellious Subjects, as he termed them. But the ſudden Approach of the Lords not ſuffering him to execute this Deſign, there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to other means, to free himſelf from the preſent Difficulties. The beſt way, as he thought, was to amuſe the Male-contents, whilſt the Duke of *Ireland* raiſed an Army in *Wales*, where he had many Friends. Purſuant to this Project, he ſent word to the Male-content Lords, that he was ready to grant them all their reaſonable Deſires, and ſhould be on the morrow in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they might come and preſent their Petition. The Lords gladly embraced the Offer, and taking care not to be ſurprized (8), repaired to the Place appointed. They found the King ſeated on a Throne, in his Royal Robes, expecting their coming. As they approached the Throne, they fell on their Knees, in a ſuppliant Poſture, though in effect it was not ſo much to ask Pardon, as to obtain of him the Puniſhment of his Miniſters. The Biſhop of *Ely*, who was Chancellor (9), asking the reaſon of their taking Arms, they replied, it was ſolely with Intention to procure the Good of the King and Kingdom. Adding, the King's Perſon ſhould be always inviolable to them, and that their Deſign was only to bring the Traitors about him to condign Puniſhment. Then they named in particular, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, Judge *Treſilian*, and one *Brembar*, an Alderman of *London*, who was of the ſame Cabal. The King gravely anſwered, that in the next Parliament (10) Juſtice ſhould be done to all. Then he upbraided them for their Preſumption, intimating, it was in his Power to cruſh them, but out of pure Condeſcenſion he was pleaſed to give them a favorable hearing. After that he took the Duke of *Gloceſter* by the hand, and bidding them all riſe, ſaid, their Complaints ſhould be conſidered. As he intended only to amuſe them, he ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed, to juſtify their appearing in Arms, in hopes they would be induced to diſmiſs their Troops. But they were too well acquainted with the Character of the King and his Miniſters, to rely on their bare Word. Apprehenſive of being ſuddenly oppreſſed, when they ſhould be no longer feared, they reſolved to continue in Arms till the Parliament was aſſembled. They quickly ſaw how neceſſary this Precaution was. The Duke of *Ireland* having levied an Army in *Wales* with great Expedition (11), marched with all ſpeed to the King's Aſſiſtance. Had he been able to approach

The King's Deſign is fruſtrated. Walſing. Knighton.

He tries to amuſe the Lords.

Interview of the King and Lords. Walſing. Knighton.

The King puts them off to the next Parliament. Walſing.

Knighton. Col. 2701.

The Lords continue armed. Walſing.

The Duke of Ireland marches to the King's Relief.

(1) *Philippa*, Daughter of *Ingelram de Coucy*, Earl of *Soiſſons*, and *Iſabella*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* III.

(2) She was a Vintner's, or, according to others, a Joyner's Daughter. *Walſingham*, p. 328.

(3) *Thomas of Woodſtock*, *Richard Fitz-Alan*, *Thomas Beauchamp*, *Henry* of *Bullingbroke*, *Thomas Mowbray*.

(4) But ſuch as he and his Council ſhould direct and nominate. *Walſingham*, p. 329.

(5) They were Sir *Robert Treſilian*, Chief-Juſtice; Sir *Robert Belknap*, Chief-Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*; Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, Sir *William Burgh*; together with *John de Lockton*, the King's Serjeant at Law. *Knighton*, Col. 2694.

(6) There were ten Queries put to them; which, together with the Judges Anſwers, ſee in *Knighton*, Col. 2694, &c. and in Sir *Robert Howard's Life of Richard* II. p. 99, &c. They returned their Anſwers on *Auguſt* 25.

(7) Sir *Robert Belknap*, who ſaid upon ſigning, "Now want I nothing but a Ship, or a nimble Horſe, or an Halter, to bring me to that death I deſerve: "if I had not done this, I ſhould have been killed by your Hands, (for it ſeems, the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Suffolk*, threatned to kill him, if he re-"fuſed to ſign) and now I have gratified the King's Pleaſure and yours in doing it, I have well deſerved to die for Treaſon againſt the Nobles of the Land." *Knighton*, Col. 2694.

(8) The Biſhop of *Ely*, and divers other Perſons of Honour and Credit, giving their Oaths on the King's behalf, That no Treachery or ill Practice ſhould be uſed, but that they might come and go with ſafety. Which was no unneceſſary Caution; for on the Day they were to appear, they received notice of an Ambuſcade being laid for them in *Weſtminſter*, by Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and Sir *Nicolas Brembar*. *Walſingham*, p. 330, 331. *Knighton*, Col. 2700.

(9) *De la Pole* was not Chancellor again after he was recalled.

(10) Which he appointed to be on *February* 3. *Knighton*. *Walſingham*, p. 331.

(11) That this was done by the King's Commiſſion, is evident from hence, becauſe Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Conſtable of *Cheſter* Caſtle, was ordered to accompany and ſafe-conduct the ſaid Duke, with all the Forces he could get, to his Majeſty's Preſence. *Walſingham*, p. 331. *Knighton*, Col. 2702.

proach

1387. *Is defeated.* Walſing. proach *London*, it was not certain that the Citizens would join the Confederates. To prevent this Danger, the Earl of *Derby* (1), eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, went with part of the Army to meet the Duke of *Ireland*, and finding him in *Oxfordſhire* (2) gave him Battle, and gained an eaſy Victory over a General who was nothing leſs than a Warrior. In the beginning of the Fight, the Duke, who was afraid of falling into the hands of his Enemies, took to flight, without troubling himſelf about what became of his Army. All his Baggage being taken, in a Casket was found a Letter from the King, commanding him to march to *London* with all poſſible ſpeed, and promiſing him to live and die with him. This Defeat breaking all the King's meaſures, the Duke fled into *Holland*, and, after ſome ſtay at *Utrecht*, went and lived at *Louvain*, where he died three Years after. The Earl of *Suffolk* would have retired to *Calais*, but the Governor (3) not daring, at ſuch a Juncture, either to arreſt or protect him, choſe to ſend him back to the King. Mean while, *Richard*, uncertain how the victorious Lords would deal with him, took refuge in the Tower. He had the more reaſon to fear, as a *Frenchman* was ſeized at that time, bringing him a Safe-Conduct to come to *Boulogne*, where King *Charles* expected him. It was farther diſcovered by a Letter found upon the ſame Perſon, that *Charles* expected to be put in poſſeſſion of *Calais* and *Cherbourg*, and had even advanced part of the Sum, he was to give for theſe two Places.

Letters found in his Casket.

He retires into Holland. Walſing. Knighton.

The King's Deſigns are diſcovered. Knighton. Walſing.

1388. *Conference of the Lords with the King.* Walſing. Knighton. The Confederate Lords being now fully ſatisfied of the pernicious Deſigns of the King, and his Miniſters, marched their whole Army into *London*, and then demanded a Conference with the King. *Richard* would fain have been excuſed, but, as he ſaw no remedy, and was apprehenſive of ſtarving in the Tower, durſt not refuſe it. At this Interview, they bitterly upbraided him with the *Nottingham* Plot to deſtroy them; with his deſign to make himſelf abſolute, by means of an Army; with his attempting to have a Parliament at his devotion; with his Orders to the Duke of *Ireland* to march to *London*, whilſt he was amuſing them with vain Promiſes: Laſtly, with his Treaty with the King of *France*, to deliver up *Calais* and *Cherbourg*. *Richard* anſwered theſe Reproaches, with a Shower of Tears, which moved the Lords. They imagined, the King's ill Conduct proceeded only from his little Experience, and the bad Counſels of his Favorites, and as they were removed he would be reclaimed. This belief rendering them more tractable, it was agreed, the King ſhould on the morrow be at *Weſtminſter*, to ſettle with them the Affairs of the Government. Hardly were they out of the *Tower*, before he altered his mind, and ſent them word, he would not confer with them. This Fickleneſs ſo incenſed them, that they immediately let him know, in caſe he came not to *Weſtminſter* next day, according to his Promiſe, they would go themſelves, and proceed to the Election of a new King. So preciſe a Declaration threw him into ſuch a Fright, that he not only came to the Place of Conference, but conſented alſo to the Baniſhment of his two principal Favorites, with the Archbiſhop of *York* (4), the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Chicheſter* (5), and ſeveral other Lords (6) and Ladies (7), who had favoured the Deſigns of the Court. As for the Judges, ſince it was deſigned to treat them with the utmoſt Rigour, they were taken off the Benches in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſent to the *Tower*.

They reproach the King.

The King anſwers with Tears.

Upon the King's refuſing to come to Weſtminſter *as he had agreed, they threaten to chuſe a new King. He conſents to the Baniſhment of his Favorites.* Walſing.

1389. *The Parliament meets.* Knighton. Col. 2713, &c. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 566, 590. The Parliament being aſſembled in *February* (8) 1389, ſeveral Perſons were accuſed of High-Treaſon, and ſentenced to divers Puniſhments. *Treſilian*, *Brembar* (9), and ſome other Knights and Gentlemen were hanged at *Tyburn*. The reſt of the Judges, with the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, received the ſame Sentence; but had their Lives granted them, and were baniſhed to *Ireland* (10). As for the two Favorites, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, they were condemned to exile, and their Eſtates confiſcated to the King's Uſe (11). 1388.

After the Parliament had thus paid what was thought due to Juſtice, two Acts were paſſed, the firſt of which forbad the aſcribing to the King the late Commotions, and the other, granted a general Pardon to both Parties. Matters being thus ſettled, the King renewed his Coronation-Oath, as if he begun a new Reign, and all the Lords did him Homage, and repeated their Oaths of Allegiance (12). This Parliament, called *the Mercileſs*, did not break up till *June* the 4th.

A General Pardon. Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 572.

During the Troubles in *England*, the *Scots* willing to take advantage of the Juncture, were advanced as far as *Newcaſtle*, under the Conduct of Sir *William Douglas* (13), and committed great Ravages on the Borders. As ſoon as theſe Commotions were appeaſed, *Henry Percy*, ſirnamed *Hotſpur*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*, marched againſt the *Scots*, and giving them Battle, ſlew *Douglaſs* with his own hand. But the Earl of *Dunbar* coming upon him during the Battle, with a Body of freſh Troops, ſo changed the Scene, that the *Engliſh* Army was at length defeated, and *Hotſpur* taken Priſoner.

The Engliſh *defeated by the* Scots. Froiſſart. l. 3. c. 123, 124. Buchanan. Walſing. Knighton.

About the ſame time, the Earl of *Arundel*, whom the Parliament had made High-Admiral, went to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bretagne*, attacked by the King of *France*. This Aid obliging *Charles* to grant the Duke Peace, the *Engliſh* were ſent home. In his return, the Earl of *Arundel* took from the *French* eighty freighted Ships, and plundered the Iſles of *Ree* and *Oleron*: after which he ſailed with his Fleet to *England*. Shortly after, the two Crowns agreed upon a three Years Truce, wherein the *Scots* were included.

Exploits of the Earl of Arundel. Walſing.

Truce with France. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 622.

Since the laſt Parliament, *England* remained in Tranquillity. The new Miniſters being guided by different Maxims from thoſe of the old, took care not to engage the King in ſuch Proceedings that had like to prove his Ruin. But though the King's Council was ſucceſsfully changed, it was not ſo eaſy to change his Temper. Full of his own Merit, he was extremely concerned to be under the direction of others, when he was of Age to hold the Reins of the Government himſelf. Upon his entering into his two and twentieth Year, he called his Council, ordering all the Members to be preſent. When they were met, he demanded of them how old he was, to which anſwer was made, he was full Twenty Years of Age. *Since it is ſo*, added he, *I will govern my Kingdom my ſelf; the Condition of a King ought not to be worſe than that of his Subjects, who are at Liberty at that Age to manage their own Affairs.* Having thus made known his Intentions, he commanded the Chancellor (14) to deliver him the Great-Seal, which he gave to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (15). At the ſame time he turned out the Biſhop of *Hereford* from being Treaſurer, and removing from the Council-Board the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Uncle, the Earl of *Warwick*, and ſome others, whom he did not like, put ſuch in their room as he believed more pliant to his Will. This Proceeding was not in it ſelf ſtrange, ſince it was in his Power to make theſe Alterations. However, it was remarked, he had never given leſs Signs of Prudence, which thoſe who begin to be of Age are ſuppoſed to have, than in the choice of his new Miniſters, who were by no means qualified for their Poſts. Accordingly it was not long before Diſorder and Confuſion were viſible in the Publick Affairs. The Favorites firſt care was, to inſinuate to the King, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had ill Deſigns upon his Perſon. But

Richard takes upon him the Government. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 618.

Walſing.

Changes the Miniſtry. Walſing.

The Duke of Gloceſter *being accuſed clears himſelf.*

(1) *Henry* of *Bullingbroke.*

(2) At *Babbelake*, near *Burford*. *Walſing.* p. 332.

(3) His own Brother *Edmund de la Pole*, who was Governor of the Caſtle, refuſed to harbour him, without the Conſent of the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Governor of the Town, who ſent him back as a Priſoner into *England*. The Lord *Beauchamp* was ſent for over, and committed Priſoner upon this account. *Ibid.*

(4) *Alexander Nevil.* He was ſucceeded by *Thomas Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 574. *Walſ.* p. 336.

(5) *John Fordham*, and *Thomas Ruſhoke*. *Ibid.* p. 333.

(6) The Lords *Zouche*, *Haringworth*, *Burnel*, and *Bemond*; and alſo Sir *Alberic de Vere*, Sir *Baldwin Bereford*, Sir *Richard Adderbury*, Sir *John Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *John Lovel*, Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *Nicholas Brembar*, &c. *Walſingh.* p. 334. *Knighton*, Col. 2705.

(7) The Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *de Molyng*, and the Lady *Poynings*. *Walſing.* p. 334. *Knighton*, Col. 2705.

(8) On *Feb.* 3. 1388. They granted the King half a Tenth and half a Fifteenth. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 620. And a Subſidy of Wool, Skins, and Wool-fells, over and above the old Cuſtom; *viz.* of every Sack of Wool, forty ſix Shillings and Eight-pence; of every Laſt of Skins, four Pounds, ſix Shillings and Eight-pence; of Denizens, and of Aliens, four Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence. *Rot. Parl.* 11. *Ric.* 2. N. 1, 16. *Cotton's Abridg.* 332. There was another Parliament at *Cambridge* after Harveſt, in which the Clergy granted a Tenth, and the Laity a Fifteenth. *Walſingham*, p. 335. *Knighton*, Col. 2729. In this Parliament *John Holland*, the King's Half-Brother, was created Earl of *Huntingdon*. *Ibid.*

(9) *Brembar* was beheaded. See *Knighton*, Col. 2726.

(10) They had Allowances made them out of the Exchequer, for their Maintenance, as follows: *Fulthorp*, forty pounds *per Annum*; *Burgh*, forty Marks; *Belknap*, forty Pounds; *Holt*, forty Marks; and *Cary* and *Lekton*, twenty Pounds *per Annum* a-piece. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 591, *Knighton.*

(11) See the Articles exhibited againſt them in *Knighton*, Col. 2715, *&c.*

(12) See the Form of it in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 572.

(13) Or rather of his Father, *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Galway*. See *Buchan.* l. 9.

(14) *Thomas de Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *York*.

(15) *William Wickham*, Founder of *Wincheſter* School and *New-College* in *Oxford*. *Walſingham*, p. 337.

1389. the Duke ſo fully vindicated his Innocence, that the King was aſhamed of giving Ear to ſo groundleſs a Charge. He would not however, ſuffer the Duke to proſecute his Accuſers, though they were confuted in his preſence.

1390. *Return of the Duke of* Lancaſter. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 3. c. 79.

Whilſt *Richard* was apprehenſive of the Attempts of this Uncle, who was repreſented to him as a very dangerous Enemy, he ſaw another arrive, who was no leſs formidable. This was the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was returned from the *Spaniſh* Expedition (1). The Progreſs he had made in that Country, had at length obliged the King of *Caſtile* to make a Treaty with him, promiſing to pay down ſix hundred thouſand Livres, with a yearly Penſion of forty thouſand (2), during the Lives of him and his Ducheſs. This Treaty was followed by a Marriage of the Princeſs *Catherine*, the Duke's Daughter by *Conſtantia*, with *Henry*, eldeſt Son of the King of *Caſtile*, on account of which the Duke and Ducheſs reſigned their Pretenſions to that Crown.

The King is reconciled to his Uncles. Walſing.

Though *Richard* was not very well pleaſed with the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Arrival, he received him however with ſuch Careſſes, as gave room to hope for a happy Union in the Royal Family for the future. This hope was confirmed by the Reconciliation procured by the Duke of *Lancaſter* (3), between the King and the Duke of *Gloceſter*; a Reconciliation ſeemingly ſo ſincere on the King's ſide, that all the World was deceived. Notwithſtanding theſe fair Appearances, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Preſence was very grievous to *Richard*. This may be judged by the Price wherewith he was willing to purchaſe his Abſence. To attain his Ends, he made him the richeſt Preſent that a King of *England* could then make a Subject, by inveſting him with the Duchy of *Guienne*, with the ſame Privileges as were granted to the late Prince of *Wales*, the King's Father. As he had never any Affection for him, his making him ſo noble a Preſent, could be only with a view to remove him from *England* (4).

He gives Guienne *to the Duke of* Lancaſter. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 659, 727. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 8.

The Earl of Derby *goes and ſerves in* Pruſſia. Walſing. Knighton.

Shortly after the Earl of *Derby*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, went (5) and bore Arms in *Pruſſia*, where he ſignalized himſelf by many gallant Actions. Whilſt this Prince was endeavouring to gain a Reputation by his warlike Exploits, *Richard* paſſed his time in Sham-Fights. He ſpent immenſe Sums in Tournaments, which gave occaſion to compare him, very much to his Diſadvantage, with his Couſin the Earl of *Derby* who was in great Eſteem (6).

1391. *Statutes againſt the Proviſions revived.* Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 672, 698.

Whilſt the King was employed in theſe Diverſions, the Parliament revived a Statute, enacted in the Reign of *Edward* III, and confirmed in this. By this Act it was made High-Treaſon to bring into the Kingdom Proviſions from the Court of *Rome*, without the King's Licenſe. A *Nuntio*, ſent to *England* upon this account (7), made a great Noiſe, and even threatned that the Pope would proceed to Extremities. But his Menaces were incapable of obliging the Parliament to annul the Act. All he could obtain was a Reprieve for this new ſort of Offenders, till the enſuing Parliament (8).

Exceſſive Expences of the King. Walſing. Knighton.

Though a terrible Plague, and a Famine no leſs intolerable, then afflicted *England*, the King, who was exceſſively fond of Pageantry and Pomp, retrenched none of his Diverſions or Expences, which ran out to prodigious Sums. He is ſaid to entertain daily ſix thouſand Perſons. He valued himſelf upon ſurpaſſing in Magnificence all the Sovereigns of *Europe*, as if he had been poſſeſſed of an inexhauſtible Fund of Treaſure. In his Kitchen alone, three hundred Domeſticks were employed, and the Queen had the like Number of Women in her Service. The Courtiers ſo readily obtained whatever they asked, that the King's Favours were the leſs valued. In ſhort, he affected in every thing a Profuſeneſs, which could not but be very chargeable to his Subjects, and by a neceſſary Conſequence draw on him their Averſion. 1391.

As his Revenues were not ſufficient for ſo many Expences, he had a mind to try to obtain ſome Aſſiſtance from the *Londoners*. But, not to frighten them, he was contented firſt to ſee how they ſtood affected, by borrowing only a thouſand Pounds, probably with deſign not to confine himſelf afterwards to ſuch a Trifle. How inconſiderable ſoever this Sum was, he had the vexation to be refuſed in a very mortifying manner, even to the cutting in pieces by the Populace an *Italian* Merchant, who offered to lend the Money himſelf. *Richard* highly reſented this Affront, which he ſoon after found an opportunity to revenge. Under colour of puniſhing a Tumult of little conſequence, raiſed by a Baker's Apprentice, he ſtripped the City of all her Privileges (9), took away her Charter, and removed the Courts of Juſtice to *York*. It is true, he afterwards reſtored the whole, but the *Londoners* were obliged to redeem their Charter with a Preſent of ten thouſand Pounds, and two Gold Crowns. But though they paid dearly for refuſing to lend the King a thouſand Pounds, it was nothing in compariſon of the Prejudice the King himſelf received by it. By this Proceeding he entirely forfeited the Affection of the Citizens, who made him ſenſible afterwards, how dangerous it is for a King of *England* to have *London* for his Enemy (10). 1392.

The Londoners refuſe to lend him 1000l. Walſing.

He takes away their Charter, Knighton. Caxton. *which he reſtores for Money.* Act. Pub. VII. p. 713, 730, 735.

In the beginning of the Year 1393, arrived at *London* Deputies from the *Engliſh* ſettled in *Ireland*, imploring Aſſiſtance againſt the Natives (11). For ſome time there had been frequent Inſurrections in the Iſland, which ſhowed, the *Iriſh* wanted to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Engliſh*. Theſe Diſorders ſhould have had a ſpeedier Remedy, but *Richard* too much addicted to his Pleaſures, had neglected the Affairs of *Ireland*, as if he had been wholly unconcerned. At laſt, the Miſchief was ſo increaſed, that he could not, without hazarding the Loſs of the Iſland, any longer delay applying a ſuitable Remedy. The Duke of *Gloceſter* offered to go and ſuppreſs the Rebels (12); but the King not thinking proper to truſt him with the Command of an Army, reſolved to go himſelf. In this Reſolution he called a Parliament (13), which granted him a large Sum as well for the *Iriſh* War, as for the Charges of an Embaſſy of the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, who were to negotiate a final Peace with *France*. But this Affair came to nothing, by an Accident which prevented the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, according to Agreement. King *Charles*, who was from time to time ſeized with a Diſtemper, which deprived him of his Underſtanding, being come to *Abbeville* on purpoſe to let the *Engliſh* ſee he was in his Senſes, fell into one of his uſual Fits. This Relapſe occaſioned the deferring of the Negotiation to a more convenient Seaſon. 1393.

Rebellion in Ireland. Walſing.

The King prepares to go to Ireland.

Negotiation with France. Knighton. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 117. Act. Pub. VII. p. 714.

Sickneſs of Charles VI.

The King's Preparations for his Voyage to *Ireland*, were ſomewhat interrupted in the beginning of the Year 1394, by the Funerals of his Queen (14), and of the Ducheſſes of *Lancaſter* (15), and *York* (16), who died about the ſame time. It is ſaid the Queen was a great Favorer of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, and, had ſhe lived any lon- 1394.

Death of the Queen. Walſing. Knighton.

(1) He returned to *England* about the beginning of *November*. *Walſing*. p. 342.

(2) Ten thouſand Pounds. *Ibid.*

(3) In a Council held at *Reading* in *December*, where the Duke poſted immediately after his Return. *Ibid.*

(4) This was done in a Parliament which met at *Weſtminſter*, the *Monday* after *January* 14 wherein King *Richard* was declared of full Age. This Parliament granted forty Shillings on every Sack of Wool; of which ten Shillings were to go to the King's preſent Occaſions, and the other thirty Shillings to be reſerved in the Hands of Commiſſioners appointed by Parliament, and not to be ſpent unleſs in caſe of War. In this Parliament it was enacted, That the King ſhould not extend his Pardon to any Perſons convicted of Murder. *Rot. Parl.* 13. *Ric.* II. *N.* 1, &c. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 332. ——In this Parliament alſo, *Edward*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York*, was created Earl of *Rutland*, with a Penſion of eight hundred Marks, iſſuing out of the Town of *Okeham* in that County. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 332. *Walſing.* p. 343.

(5) With a thouſand Knights. *Knighton*, Col. 2737.

(6) This Year was ſlain at a Tournament *John Haſtings*, the laſt Earl of *Pembroke* of that Family: In which it is remarkable, that none of the Sons ever ſaw his own Father, the Father dying always before the Son was born. *Walſ.* p. 343.

(7) By Pope *Boniface* IX. *Idem.* p. 344.

(8) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, *November* 12, and granted the King half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth, which they offered to make whole ones, ſo as the ſame was only employed upon the Defence of the Realm; and upon condition that the Staple was removed from *Calais* to *England*, and ſo continued. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 338. *Walſ.* 346.

(9) On *May* 25. In a Council then held at *Stanford*. *Walſ.* p. 347. *Knighton.*

(10) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on *November* 3, which granted the King one Tenth and a half, and one Fifteenth and a half. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 341, 342.

(11) King *Edward* III, uſed to receive from that Kingdom thirty thouſand Pounds yearly; but after his Deceaſe, the *Engliſh* ſettled there, flocked to *England* in ſuch Numbers, that the reſt remained not only expoſed to the Depredation of the Natives, but it coſt the King thirty thouſand Marks a Year to preſerve that part of the Iſland belonging to him. Whereupon he ordered all that belonged to *Ireland* to repair thither on pain of death. *Walſ.* p. 350.

(12) He had lately been created Duke of *Ireland*. When his Forces were juſt ready to embark, he was recalled to the great Prejudice both of *England* and *Ireland*. For upon the Report of his coming, almoſt all the petty Kings of *Ireland* reſolved to ſubmit to the *Engliſh*. *Ibid.*

(13) This Parliament met at *Wincheſter* on *January* 22. The Clergy granted the King a Tenth, and the Lords and Commons a Fifteenth. *Walſ.* p. 349. *Knighton*, Col. 2741.

(14) She died on *June* 7, at *Shene* in *Surrey*, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, *Auguſt* 3. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 776.

(15) *Conſtantia*, Daughter of *Pedro the Cruel* King of *Caſtile*. (See above, p. 442.) She was buried at *Leiceſter*. *Knighton*, Col. 2741.

(16) *Iſabella*, Siſter of *Conſtantia*. She was buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers at *King's Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*. *Walſing.* p. 350.

1394. ger, would have ſaved the *Lollards* (1), (ſo *Wickliff*'s Followers were called, many of the Calamities they afterwards indured. The Departure of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, their chief Patron, who was gone to take poſſeſſion of the Principality of *Guienne*, not a little contributed to haſten the Deſigns of their Enemies, who improved theſe favorable Junctures to perſecute them.

The King goes to Ireland, and makes ſome Progreſs. Froiſſart. Walſing. Knighton, Act. Pub. VII. p. 782.

How great ſoever *Richard*'s Grief was for the Death of the Queen, he ſet out however for *Ireland*, according to his Project (2). He arrived there in *September* (3), and at firſt made ſome Progreſs againſt the Rebels. But as the Seaſon would not permit him to proceed, he went to *Dublin*, where he held a Parliament, whilſt the Duke of *York* aſſembled another in *England* (4), which granted a Subſidy for proſecuting the *Iriſh* War.

1395. *Deſigns of the* Lollards *which oblige the Clergy to ſend to the King.* Walſing.

Richard was preparing to take the Field again, when the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *London*, arrived from *England*, to intreat him in the Name of the Clergy, to haſten his return. They even intimated, that the leaſt Delay might bring an irreparable Damage to Religion. The Foundation of this great Alarm was, that in the late Parliament, the *Lollards* had made Inſtances to ſet on foot a Reformation of the Church (5). As they had many Friends in the Kingdom, and in the Parliament itſelf, the Clergy were afraid they would proceed to this Reformation. For which Reaſon, the two deputed Prelates ſo magnified the Danger Religion was in, that *Richard* immediately departed for *England* (6), leaving to the Earl of *March* the management of the War. Upon his Arrival at *London*, he took certain meaſures with the Clergy to ſuppreſs the Sect of the *Lollards*, and compelled Sir *Richard Story* publickly to abjure their Doctrine, threatning to puniſh him with Death if ever he relapſed to that Sect.

The King's Return. Tries to ſuppreſs the Lollards. Walſing.

The Corpſe of the Duke of Ireland *is brought into* England. Knighton. Walſing.

Shortly after, was brought into *England*, by the King's Order, the Corpſe of the Duke of *Ireland*, who died at *Louvain*. This Object reviving the King's Affection, he cauſed the Coffin to be opened, that he might once more have the Pleaſure to ſee the Man whom he had ſo tenderly loved. Then he ordered him a magnificent Funeral, and was pleaſed to honour it with his Preſence, as *Edward* II, had formerly done with regard to *Gaveſton*. But the Nobility would not ſhow that Reſpect to a Favorite, of whom they had ſo much Cauſe to complain. So that, like *Edward* II, *Richard* was attended at the Funeral Pomp, with only ſome of the Clergy (7).

1396. *The Gaſcons refuſe to acknowledge the Duke of* Lancaſter. Froiſſart. l. 4. c. 11. Walſing. Knighton.

Whilſt the King was employed in his *Iriſh* Expedition, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was gone to *Bourdeaux* to cauſe his Sovereignty to be acknowledged, had met with unexpected Obſtacles. The *Gaſcons*, pretending, their Country was inſeparably united to the Crown of *England*, maintained, it was not in the King's Power to alienate it. This pretenſion was ſtrengthened with a motive of Intereſt, which confirmed them in their Obſtinacy. They ſaid, if they were once ſeparated from *England*, they ran the risk of being deprived of the only Protection, capable of preventing their falling under the Dominion of *France*. For this reaſon, they aſſerted the Alienation in queſtion was equally prejudicial to themſelves and the Crown of *England*. It was objected, that they had never made the ſame Scruple with regard to the Prince of *Wales*, the King's Father. But they replied, there was a wide Difference between that Alienation and this. That the firſt being made in favour of the next Heir to the Crown, was to be only for a time, whereas this might eaſily happen to be for ever. After ſeveral Conteſts on this Subject, which laſted ſome time, the King reſolved at length to revoke the Grant, to which the Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſince he could not help it, readily ſubmitted. To comfort him in ſome meaſure for this loſs, the King gave him leave to marry *Catherine Rowet*, Widow of Sir *Thomas Swinford* (8). The Duke had long kept her as his Miſtreſs, and had by her ſeveral Children, who were legitimated by the King and Parliament, by the Name of *Beaufort*. Some time after, the King created the eldeſt, Earl of *Somerſet* (9).

1396. *His third Marriage.* Walſing. *His Baſtards legitimated.* Act. Pub. VII. p. 849.

Before the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Arrival the King had ſent Ambaſſadors to *France* (10), to demand in marriage *Iſabella*, Daughter of *Charles* VI. The Court of *France* had at firſt rejected this Propoſal, becauſe the Princeſs was but ſeven Years old, and beſides was promiſed to the Duke of *Bretagne*. However, notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, the Marriage was concluded, in a ſecond Negotiation, and withal, a twenty eight Years Truce, between the two Crowns. Shortly after, both the Kings met between *Ardres* and *Calais*, under Tents pitched on purpoſe, where the two Courts diſplayed all their Magnificence, and where the Treaty was ſigned and the Nuptials ſolemnized (11). *Richard* is ſaid to expend on this occaſion three hundred thouſand Marks, a Sum far exceeding that of two hundred thouſand, which he received in deduction of what was promiſed him with his Queen. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, who liked neither the Marriage nor the Truce, could not forbear ſhowing his Diſcontent. He frankly told the King, it would have been more adviſeable to attempt, by a vigorous War, to recover what *England* had loſt in *France*, than to enter into an Alliance with a Crown, that had all along gained more advantages by Treaties with the *Engliſh*, than by the Succeſs of its Arms.

Richard *marries the King of* France's *Daughter.* Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 802, 811, 813, 820. *A 28 Years Truce.* Froiſſart. l. 4. c. 13, 20, 26. *Interview of the two Kings.* Walſing.

The Duke of Gloceſter *reproaches the King.* Walſing.

1397. *The King's excеſſive Expences.* Walſing.

The King's uſual Expence, with the Charges of his late Marriage, having entirely drained his Exchequer, and even obliged him to borrow large Sums, there was a neceſſity of recurring to extraordinary Ways to fill his Coffers. Though the Parliament which met in the beginning of the Year 1397 (12), granted him a very conſiderable Sum, it was not ſufficient to enable him to pay his Debts. Beſides, he took occaſion to increaſe the Expence of his Houſhold, from a Report that the Electoral Princes had caſt their Eyes upon him, to raiſe him to the Imperial Dignity, and thereby reduced himſelf to ſtill greater Streights. As he was aſhamed to demand a freſh Supply from the Parliament, he had recourſe again to Borrowings, or rather to extorted Grants, which he exacted from the Rich. There was not a Lord, Biſhop, Gentleman, or rich Burgeſs, but what was obliged to lend him Money, though it was well known he never deſigned to repay it. But though this Method of raiſing Money upon the People, had ever been conſidered by the *Engliſh*, as one of the greateſt Breaches of their Privileges, it occaſioned no Commotion. Every one was intimidated, and though this Injuſtice was highly reſented, it was taken patiently, in hopes it would be the laſt.

He makes uſe of illegal Ways to raiſe Money. Walſing.

He gives up Breſt *and* Cherbourg. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 756, 759, 852. *The Publick murmurs at it.*

The Reſtitution of *Cherbourg* (15) to the King of *Navarre*, and of *Breſt* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, was not looked upon with the ſame Tranquillity. Though theſe two Places belonged not originally to *England*, the *Engliſh* had been at ſo great an Expence, in aiding the Princes, to whom they appertained, that they might have been juſtly kept till the whole was repaid. This occaſioned a general Diſſatisfaction, and the more, becauſe it brought the King but an inconſiderable Sum, which was alſo laviſhed away in needleſs Expences. It is true he pretended, his Engagement to reſtore theſe Places after a Peace, or a long Truce with *France*, made this Reſtitution neceſ-

(1) They were ſo called, either from *Walter Lollard*, a *German*, who flouriſhed about the Year 1315, or elſe from the Word *Lolium*, ſignifying *Darnel* or *Tares*; becauſe they were reputed as Tears ſowed by the evil one in the Field of God's Church.

(2) And in the beginning of this Year held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, *viz.* on *Jan.* 29. wherein the Lords and Commons granted him, for three Years, a Subſidy upon Wools, Wool-fells, &c. Twelve-pence of every Pound of Merchandize, and three Shillings of every Tun of Wine, imported or exported. *Cotton's Abridg.* 351, 352. *Rot. Parl. Walſing.*

(3) Attended by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *March*, *Nottingham*, *Rutland*, &c. *Walſing.* p. 351.

(4) This Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter* on *Jan.* 29, not by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, as *Rapin* ſays by miſtake, but by *Edmund* Duke of *York*, who had been left Regent. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom the King had carried along with him to *Ireland*, repaired to *England* to ſet forth the King's Wants. See *Walſing.* p. 351. In this Parliament the Clergy granted the King a Tenth, and the Lords and Commons a Fifteenth. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 358. *Rot. Parl.* 18. *Ric.* 2. *M.* 23. *dor. Walſ.* p. 351.

(5) They delivered a Remonſtrance into the Houſe by Sir *Thomas Latimer*, and Sir *Richard Story*, againſt the Corruptions of the Church, containing twelve Articles, *Walſ. Ibid.*

(6) In the beginning of *May*.

(7) He was hurt by a wild Boar, in Hunting, whereof he died. Being brought to *England* in *November*, he was buried at *Earl's Coln* in *Eſſex*. He was ſucceeded in his Eſtate and Honour of Earl of *Oxford*, by *Alberic de Vere* his Uncle. *Knighton*, Col. 2727. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 195.

(8) This Woman was born in *Haynault*, and Daughter of Sir *Pain Rowet*, or *Ruet*, a Knight of that Country: She was, in her Youth, brought up in the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Houſe, and waited on his firſt Wife *Blanch*, but afterwards became the Duke's Concubine. *Stow's Ann.* p. 312. *Froiſſart*, l. 4. c. 20.

(9) There were four, *John*, *Thomas*, *Henry*, and *Joanna*. They were ſirnamed *Beaufort*, from the Caſtle of *Beaufort* in *France*, that came by *Blanch* of *Artois*, the Duke's firſt Wife.

(10) The Earl-Marſhal, the Earl of *Rutland*, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Biſhop of St. *David*'s, the Lords *John Beaumont*, and *William Scrope*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 802.

(11) They were married on *Octob.* 31. in St. *Nicolas*'s Church at *Calais*, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. She was crowned *January* 7. *Stow's Ann.* p. 313. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 848.

(12) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on *January* 22, and therein the Clergy granted the King half a Tenth, and the Lords and Commons Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandize imported, and three Shillings in the Pound for every Tun of Wine. *Rot. Parl.* 21. *Ric.* II. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 360. In this Parliament, the Judges baniſhed to *Ireland*, obtained leave to return to *England*. *Ibid. Walſ.* p. 353.

(13) It ſeems that this Town had been only mortgaged to the *Engliſh*, by the King of *Navarre*, for the Sum of twenty two thouſand Marks. *Walſ.* p. 350. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 756, 757.

ſary ;

1397. *The Duke of Gloceſter reproaches him with it.*

ſary; but it was well known alſo that the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Bretagne* had failed him firſt. Be this as it will, the Duke of *Gloceſter* thought this Fault ſo prejudicial to *England*, that he could not help upbraiding the King in very ſharp Terms; to which *Richard* made ſuch a Reply as plainly ſhowed how much he was offended at his Remonſtrance. This Accident revived the King's former hatred of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, which being rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed, ſhewed itſelf from time to time; how careful ſoever he might be to conceal it.

Richard *ſuſpects his Uncles.* Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 32.

He complained to the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* took upon him to controll his Actions, and amongſt his complaints, he dropped ſome Expreſſions, which made them think he ſuſpected all three of having ill Deſigns upon him. The two Princes proteſted they had an unſhaken Loyalty for him, and did not queſtion but the Duke their Brother had the ſame, though his haſty Temper cauſed him ſometimes to ſpeak with too much Warmth. The King appeared ſatisfied with their Juſtification. However, his Eaſineſs to be appeaſed, after ſhowing ſo great Anger, bred in them Suſpicions, which induced them to quit the Court, and retire to their Eſtates. Their withdrawing was probably the occaſion of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Ruin, as it gave his Enemies an opportunity to inflame the King's Diſpleaſure againſt him, and to determine him at length to be rid of ſo troubleſome an Inſpector. But as nothing could be found in his Conduct which might expoſe him to the Rigour of the Law, and beſides it would be dangerous to deſtroy him that way, *Richard* reſolved to make uſe of a ſpeedier and more certain Method. To execute this Deſign, he came one Morning to his Uncle's Country Houſe, and finding him in Bed, deſired him to riſe immediately, and go with him to *London*. He pretended, he wanted him in a very important Affair, which he would impart to him on the Road. The Duke preſently mounting his Horſe, rode by the King, who talked to him about the pretended Affair, without ſhowing he had any other Deſign. Whilſt they were diſcourſing together, they came to a hollow Way, where the Duke was ſuddenly ſurrounded with ſome Horſemen, and carried on board a Ship, which lay ready in the *Thames* to convey him to *Calais* (1). When the King came to *London*, he ſent for the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, and after familiarly talking with them ſome time (2), ordered them to be apprehended and ſent to the Tower. He ſerved the Lord *Cobham* in the ſame manner with ſome others (3), whom he deſigned to get rid of. Mean time the Intelligence he received of the People's beginning to ſtir, obliged him to iſſue out a Proclamation, declaring, theſe Lords were taken into cuſtody for new Miſdemeanours, and promiſing they ſhould be proceeded againſt according to Law.

The Dukes of York and Lancaſter quit the Court. Ibid.

The King gets rid of the Duke of Gloceſter. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 33.

And apprehends the Earls of Warwick and Arundel. Walſing.

A Proclamation about it. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 6.

The Peers are ſummoned. Walſing.

This Proclamation having ſomewhat appeaſed the People, the King ſummoned all the Peers of the Realm to *Nottingham* (4). This was done with deſign to ſound them, rather than ask their Advice concerning the manner of proceeding againſt the Priſoners, ſince he was already determined. However he made uſe of this Pretence to convene them. After the Affair was debated in Council, the Lords (5) fearing to incur either the King's Indignation, or the Hatred of the Publick, if they came to any reſolution, declared it to be of ſuch a nature that it could only be decided by the Authority of the Parliament. This was preciſely what the King wanted. He had already taken all neceſſary Meaſures to have a Parliament at his devotion. Some time ſince, he had changed all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, and ſuffered none, but what had promiſed to be ſubſervient to his Deſigns. He had taken the ſame Precautions, with reſpect to all Officers that had Credit and Power in the Burroughs and Counties. So by means of the Magiſtrates, and Perſons in publick Poſts, he had cauſed ſuch Repreſentatives to be choſen as he had ſecured beforehand. If any were elected not agreeable to him, the Sheriffs were ordered not to return them, but to cauſe others to be choſen in their room. Beſides, as the Houſe of Commons were the ſole Judges in the Affair of Elections, he was well aſſured that ſuch a Parliament would confirm or reject whom he pleaſed. 1397.

The King gets a Parliament at his devotion.

It muſt not be thought very difficult for a King of *England* to execute ſuch a Project. Experience has ſince confirmed, on numberleſs Occaſions, that by the like ways, it is very poſſible, to cauſe Repreſentatives to be choſen devoted to the Court. However, Hiſtorians remark, that it was in this Parliament, that ſuch Practices were firſt uſed. But it muſt likewiſe be added, that it was one of the principal Cauſes of *Richard*'s Deſtruction, as will be ſeen hereafter. And indeed it is impoſſible that a Nation can ſee their Liberties in the hands of Men, whom they have not themſelves freely choſen, without deſiring to be delivered from ſuch an Oppreſſion.

The Biſhop of Exeter's Speech upon the abſolute Power of the King. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 34.

The Parliament being thus compoſed (6), the Biſhop of *Exeter* (7) opened the Seſſion with a Speech, labouring to prove that the Regal Power was unlimited, and that ſuch as endeavoured to bound it, deſerved the ſevereſt Puniſhments. Purſuant to this Principle, which met with a general Approbation, the Parliament repealed the Act of Grace, paſſed nine Years before in favour of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, and all their Adherents. All the Acts were likewiſe annulled paſſed in the Parliament, which appointed the fourteen Governours to the King, as being extorted during his Minority.

Unjuſt and violent Proceedings of the Parliament. Cotton's Abridg. *Archbiſhop* Arundel *baniſhed.* Walſing.

If the Parliament of 1386, deſerved to be called the *Mercileſs*, I know no Name odious enough for this. By a manifeſt Prevarication, this Aſſembly made no ſcruple to ſacrifice to the Paſſions of the King and his Miniſters, the moſt diſtinguiſhed Lords of the Kingdom, as well as the Liberties and Privileges of the People. *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was impeached of High-Treaſon, for being one of the Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament of 1386, to whom was committed the Inſpection of the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs. For this new ſort of Offence, the Archbiſhop was condemned to Baniſhment, and his Eſtate confiſcated to the King's uſe. Then the Earls of *Arundel* (8) and *Warwick* (9), were accuſed (10) of the ſame Crimes, for which nine Years before the King had granted a Pardon, and ſentenced to die by this truly mercileſs Parliament. *Froiſſart* ſays, the King would be preſent at *Arundel*'s Execution. Another Hiſtorian adds, that the Spectacle remained ſo deeply imprinted in his Memory, that his Sleep was often interrupted by Dreams, repreſenting to him the Earl covered with Blood, and upbraiding him with his Injuſtice. To this contributed, perhaps, the Rumour that ſeveral Miracles were wrought at the Tomb of the deceaſed (11), and that his Head was miraculouſly re-joined to his Body. Though to prevent the ill Conſequences of this falſe Notion, the King had ordered the Corpſe to be taken up and expoſed to publick view, ten days together, in a Church, it was not poſſible to cure the People of their Prepoſſeſſion. As for the Earl of *Warwick* who willingly confeſſed himſelf guilty, without taking advantage of the Pardon, he was treated with leſs rigour, his Puniſhment being changed into perpetual Baniſhment in the Iſle of *Man*. As to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, in all appearance, the King was apprehenſive it would be very dangerous to put him to death publickly, or that the Parliament would not be ſo compliant as to ſacrifice ſo conſiderable a Perſon. Be this as it will, he had taken care

Earls of Warwick *and* Arundel *ſentenced to die.*

The latter executed, and paſſes for a Martyr. Walſing.

Warwick is baniſhed. Walſing.

Gloceſter *ſtrangled at* Calais. Froiſſart. l. 4. c. 36. Walſing.

(1) The Account given of this Tranſaction, by *Froiſſart*, is as follows: "The King, under pretence of a Hunting-Match, came to a Seat of "his near *Rumford* in *Eſſex*, called *Havering Bower*; from whence he ſet out one Summer's Afternoon, and came about five a-Clock (only with "a few Attendants, having left the reſt at *Waltham*) to the Duke's Caſtle at *Pleſhey* in the ſame County, as if it were to give him a Viſit. He was re"ceived by the Duke and his Ducheſs with all due Honour and Reſpect; and ſupper was got ready for his Majeſty. But before he ſat down, he de"ſired the Duke to order five or ſix of his Horſes to be ſaddled, to accompany him that Night to *London*; for that he himſelf, with his two Uncles of "*Lancaſter* and *York*, was to hold a Council the next Day, in which he wanted alſo his Advice, what Anſwer to give the *Londoners*, to a Petition they "were to preſent him. Upon this the Duke, who ſuſpected no harm, taking along with him only three Eſquires, and four Servants, accompanied the "King towards *London*; who took the way of *Bondelay* (or *Epping-Foreſt*) to avoid the great Road, and *Bebode*, (perhaps *Brentwood*) and other Towns; "ſtill talking familiarly with the Duke, as they went along. When they came near *Stratford*, between ten and eleven of the Clock, the King putting "Spurs to his Horſe, rode away before; and at the ſame time *Thomas Mowbray* Earl-Marſhal, who lay in Ambuſh with a great Number of Horſemen, "ſeized upon the Duke, who in vain cried out to the King for help." *Froiſſart*, l. 4. c. 33, 36. The Caſtle of *Pleſhey*, where King *Richard* came to the Duke, was the Seat of the High-Conſtables of *England* even before the Conqueſt. *Thomas Woodſtock* became poſſeſſed of it, by his marrying *Eleanor*, eldeſt Daughter, and one of the Coheireſſes of *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*. Of this famous and antient Caſtle, nothing now remains but the Mount.

(2) He gave them many fair Words and gracious Promiſes; and had invited the Earl of *Warwick* to a Feaſt the ſame Day he had him arreſted. *Walſing.* p. 354.

(3) And alſo Sir *John Cheney*, &c. The Lord *Cobham* was ſent Priſoner to *Jerſey*. *Idem.* p. 355.

(4) On the firſt of *Auguſt*.

(5) Theſe Lords were, the Earls of *Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerſetſhire, Salisbury*; *Thomas* Lord *Deſpenſer*, and *William le Scrope*. *Walſing.* p. 354.

(6) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, on *September* 17. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 367. *Tyrrel*, p. 964.

(7) *Edmund Stafford*, who was conſecrated in 1395. He was Lord-Chancellor.

(8) *Richard Fitz-Alan.*

(9) *Thomas Beauchamp.*

(10) The Earl of *Arundel* on the 21ſt of *September*, and the Earl of *Warwick* on the 28th of the ſame Month. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 377.

(11) He was buried in the Church of the *Auguſtin* Friers in *London*. *Walſing.* p. 355.

1397. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 29. as was afterwards known, to have him privately ſtrangled (1) at *Calais*. Mean time, his Enemies gave out that he died of an Apoplexy, and before he expired, confeſſed himſelf guilty of Treaſon againſt the King. Upon this Report, without any examination of the Grounds, the Duke's whole Eſtate was confiſcated to the King's Uſe.

The King gratifies ſeveral Lords. Cotton's *Abridg.* Walſing.

It was almoſt impoſſible that theſe Severities ſhould not produce ſome alteration among the Nobility. But, to prevent Accidents, *Richard* took care to gratify the principal Lords, and particularly the Princes of the Blood. He created [*Henry*] Earl of *Derby* his Couſin, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, Duke of *Hereford*, [*Edward Plantagenet*] Earl of *Rutland*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York*, was made Duke of *Albemarle*. [*Thomas de Holland*] Earl of *Kent*, received the Title of Duke of *Surrey*. [*John de Holland*,] Earl of *Huntington*, the King's half Brother, was created Duke of *Exeter*. [*Thomas Mowbray*,] Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*; and [Sir *William le Scroope*] Earl of *Wiltſhire* (2). Laſtly, out of complaiſance to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the King made [*John Beaufort*] his eldeſt Son by his third Marriage, who was already Earl of *Somerſet*, Marquiſs of *Somerſet* (3). To theſe honourable Titles he added other Favors, by diſtributing among theſe Lords the forfeited Eſtates of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* (4).

The Parliament adjourned to Shrewſbury. Walſing.

In thoſe days the Parliament ſeldom ſat above one Seſſion, unleſs the Buſineſs required a ſhort Prorogation. But this was too well diſpoſed for the King, to be willing to run the hazard of having one leſs devoted to him. So not thinking fit to diſſolve it, he was pleaſed to adjourn it to *Shrewsbury*; this Town in the Neighbourhood of *Wales*, where he had many Friends, ſeeming more proper for his Deſigns than *London*, where he knew he was not beloved.

1398. *The extraordinary Proceedings of the Parliament of* Shrewſbury. Cotton's Abridg.

The new Seſſion (5) was only a Continuation of the extraordinary Proceedings already began at *Weſtminſter*. The Parliament ſtrove to carry the Prerogative Royal to a greater height, than any King of *England* had ever pretended to ſtretch it, and eſtabliſhed ſuch Maxims as were deſtructive of the Conſtitution, and the Liberties of the People. They approved, as conformable to Law, the Opinions for which nine Years before, the Judges were condemned. Purſuant to this Principle, the Judges who attended during the ſitting of the Parliament, decided, that *When the King propoſed any Articles to be debated in Parliament, it was High Treaſon to bring in others before the King's were firſt diſpatched.* By this and the like deciſions, the Caſes of High Treaſon were ſo multiplied, that hardly was it poſſible to prevent falling into that Crime, unleſs by making the King's Will and Pleaſure the ſole Rule of Walſing. Action (6). At laſt under colour of diſpatching Buſineſs, the Parliament appointed a certain Number of Commiſſioners (7), who were inveſted with the Authority of the whole Houſe. Thus by an unprecedented Act, the whole Power of the Nation was devolved to Idem. the King, twelve Peers, and ſix Commoners. To give the more ſtrength to theſe irregular Proceedings, the King cauſed them to be confirmed by the Pope's Bull, which was publiſhed in all the Counties of the Kingdom (8).

Cheſhire *made a Principality.*

During this ſecond Seſſion, *Richard* brought into *Shrewsbury* a numerous Guard of the Militia of *Cheſhire*, who expreſſed ſo ſtrong an Inclination to ſerve him, that to gratify the County, he erected it into a Principality (9).

Remarks on the Engliſh *Conſtitution.*

Let us ſtay here a moment, and reflect on the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. It is certain, the Inſtitution of Parliaments is very advantagious to the Kingdom, being the only ſupport of the Liberties of the People, who, without that, would long ſince have fallen into a fatal Slavery. But on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that theſe Aſſemblies become ſometimes very dangerous, when influenced by Popular Factions, or the Cabals of an ambitious Prince. Accordingly, it has often happened, that inſtead of procuring the Good of the Realm, they have produced Confuſion, and the Subverſion of the Laws, one while by too much depreſſing the Prerogative Royal, another while, by carrying it higher than is conſiſtent with the Welfare of the Nation. At ſuch times, the Evil is ſo much the harder to be cured, as what is done by the Parliament is deemed to flow from the unanimous Conſent of the whole Nation. For this Reaſon, it rarely happens that this diſorder can be remedied, but by means as violent as thoſe made uſe of to produce it, from whence generally ſpring Civil Wars. This is one of the principal Cauſes of the domeſtick Troubles, which have all along afflicted *England* more than any other *European* State. 1398.

It may be further obſerved, that the violent Method practiſed by *Richard* to attain to Arbitrary Power, I mean forced Elections, and the Opinions of the Judges, was exactly copied in our days by one of his Succeſſors, who had without doubt the ſame Intention. But we may add, that the Attempts of theſe two Monarchs ſerved only to promote their own Deſtruction, and that their deſigns came to the ſame Cataſtrophe. This is what we are going to ſee, with regard to *Richard* II, in the remaining Part of his Reign.

Richard *lives in a deceitful Security.*

Every thing ſeemed to contribute to the ſupport of the King, in the Enjoyment of the deſpotick Power he had lately aſſumed. They who would have been moſt capable of oppoſing his deſigns, had ſuffered a tragical Death, or were baniſhed the Realm; and they who ſtill remained, were gained by Places, Grants, or other ſorts of Favours. The great Officers of the Crown, the Governors of the Towns and Counties, were all devoted to the King. Among the Magiſtrates of the Towns and Country, not one was ſuffered but what was ready to promote, to the utmoſt, the Increaſe of the Regal Power. Notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, *Richard* was much miſtaken, in imagining this new-acquired Power was ſafe, ſince the People were not for him, but on the contrary, hated him for his violent Actions. It is even likely, that among thoſe whom he accounted his Friends, there were many, who, out of Weakneſs or Prudence, did but conceal their real Sentiments, till an opportunity offered to free the Kingdom from the Yoke it began to groan under. And an opportunity preſented itſelf ſooner than the King imagined; for ſuffering himſelf to be ſwayed by his Paſſion, he had not the Prudence to keep within ſome Bounds, an Error which Princes of his Character ſeldom fail of committing. As they are always ſurrounded with Flatterers, they fancy all the reſt of the People are in the ſame Sentiments, and generally it is too late before they perceive, that the ſmall Numbers they have gained, is a weak Defence againſt the Fury of an inraged Nation. For a while, five or ſix hundred Perſons, who compoſe the Parliament, and ſome hundreds of Magiſtrates in the Towns and Counties, ſeem to make the Body of the Nation, and the reſt are reckoned as nothing. But a time comes when every ſingle Perſon muſt be taken into the account, and then the Number of thoſe that are in Office, is infinitely ſmall in compariſon of the reſt of the Nation.

Quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford *and* Norfolk. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 38, 39.

Richard, incapable of making theſe Reflections, ſuffered himſelf to be blindly guided by his Paſſion, which made him conſider, as a great Advantage, all occaſions of exerciſing the Arbitrary Power he thought to have ſo firmly eſtabliſhed. Towards the end of the Year 1398, he gave a ſignal Proof of the little regard he intended to have for his Subjects, on occaſion of a Quarrel between two of the principal Lords of his Court. The Duke of *Hereford*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, awed by the Examples of the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Uncle, and the other Lords, whom the King had ſacrificed to his Revenge, limiting his Deſires, made it the height of his Ambition, to keep in his favour, and carefully endea-

(1) He was not ſtrangled, but ſmothered between two Feather-beds, in *September*; as appears by the Confeſſion of *John Hall*, a Servant of *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Captain of *Calais*; which *Hall* was concerned in that Murder, and executed for it, in the Year 1400. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 400. His Body was brought over to *England*, ſoon after his Death, as appears by King *Richard*'s Order for that purpoſe, dated *October* 4. (*Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 20, 21.) and buried in *Weſtminſter*-Abbey. According to ſome, it was at firſt buried in his Caſtle of *Hadlee* in *Eſſex*, thence removed into the Church of the College founded by him at *Pleſhey* for Canons-Regular, and afterwards into *Weſtminſter*-Abbey, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

(2) *Rapin* ſays by miſtake, of *Gloceſter*. It was *Thomas le Deſpenſer*, who was created Earl of *Gloceſter*. *Dugdale*. *Walſing*. *Thomas Percy* was alſo created Earl of *Worceſter*; and Sir *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*.

(3) He was firſt made Marquiſs of *Dorſet*; but this Title was afterwards changed into Marquiſs of *Somerſet*, by a new Charter of the Creation, bearing the ſame Date with the former. Nevertheleſs, though his firſt Title was cancelled, he was always called Marquiſs of *Dorſet*. *Dugdale*.

(4) After this, on *September* 30. the Biſhops and Lords took an Oath to obſerve all the Statutes, &c. made in this Parliament; the Form of which Oath ſee in *Tyrrel*, p. 977.

(5) Which began *Jan.* 29. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 371. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 21.

(6) It was alſo made Treaſon: 1. For any Perſon whatſoever to compaſs or imagine the King's Death; 2. To contrive his Depoſition; 3. To ride armed, or make War againſt the King in his Realm; 4. Or to diſclaim the Homage. And the Heirs of all Perſons convicted of any of theſe four Articles, were for ever to be deprived of the Land and Poſſeſſions of their Anceſtors. *Comp. Hiſt.* p. 278.

(7) The Dukes of *Lancaſter*, *York*, *Albemarle*, *Surrey*, *Exeter*; the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*; the Earls of *March*, *Salisbury*, *Northumberland*, *Gloceſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Wiltſhire*, or any ſix of them; together with *John Huſſey*, *Henry Green*, *John Ruſſel*, *Henry Chelmſwicke*, *Robert Tey*, and *John Golofre*, Knights, for the Commons of the Kingdom, or any three of them. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 374. *Tyrrel*, p. 985.

(8) This Parliament granted the King the Subſidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells for Life; and one Tenth and Fifteenth, and half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth. *Rot. Parl.* 21 *Ric.* II. *N.* 75. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 374.

(9) And added to the reſt of his own Titles that of Prince of *Cheſter*.

1398. voured to avoid giving any cauſe of Suſpicion. It was, probably, from this Conſideration, that fearing the Duke of *Norfolk* had laid a Snare for him, in ſpeaking to him very diſreſpectfully of the King (1), he informed *Richard* of the ſame. The Duke of *Norfolk* denying he had ever ſpoken againſt the King, and the Duke of *Hereford* maintaining his Accuſation, it was ordered, that the Affair ſhould be decided according to the Law of Chivalry, that is, by ſingle Combat (2). *Coventry* was appointed for the Duel, at which the King would be preſent in Perſon. But juſt as the two Dukes were entering the Liſts, the King, on pretence of avoiding the Effuſion of Blood, but in reality to be rid of theſe two Lords at once, commanded them to proceed no farther. Then, though there could be but one guilty, he baniſhed them both, the Duke of *Norfolk* for Life, and the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years. The former died ſhortly after at *Venice*, and the other retired into *France* (3). This Act of Authority was no leſs contrary to the Privileges of the Nobility, than what the King had hitherto done with regard to the whole Nation in general; for by the Laws of the Land, theſe Lords could only be tried by their Peers. But at that time the Privileges of the People were little regarded.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 32, 35. *which is to be decided by Duel.*

The King prevents the Duel, and baniſhes them both. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 40. Act Pub. VIII. p. 47, 48, &c. 51.

Duke of Lancaſter's *Death. Injuſtice done his Son.* Walſing.

Not long after the Duke of *Hereford*'s departure, his Father, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, died (4) little lamented by the People, and ſtill leſs by the King, who could not help fearing him. By the Death of this Prince, his Honours and Eſtates, which were very conſiderable, fell to the Duke of *Hereford* his Son, to whom before his departure, the King had remitted four Years of his Baniſhment. Moreover, he had granted him Letters Patent, impowering him, though in Exile, to take poſſeſſion by his Attorney of his Fees, that ſhould happen to fall to him in his Abſence, with a ſuſpenſion of Homage till his return (5). Notwithſtanding immediately after the death of the Duke his Father, the King, by a Sentence no leſs unjuſt than the former, decreed, that his Baniſhment ſhould be perpetual, and confiſcated all his Eſtate.

Walſing.

Ill State of the Kingdom.

By ſuch Acts of deſpotick Power, the Laws and Liberties of *England* were in a deplorable ſtate. The Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Arundel* being dead, *Warwick* ſent away, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* in Exile, there was ſcarce a Man in the Kingdom able to oppoſe the Arbitrary Power uſurped by the King. The Duke of *York* alone, the King's Uncle, might have defended the Nation's Intereſts. But as he loved his eaſe, he was no proper Perſon to engage in ſuch an Undertaking. *Richard* ſeeing himſelf therefore above all reſtraint, gave himſelf up to a ſoft and effeminate Life, regardleſs of the Good of the Publick. Mean time, his Miniſters, little qualified for their Poſts, ſuffered their Affairs to decay, and ſaw without any concern, the *Engliſh* Nation fall into the utmoſt contempt. The *Scots* frequently broke the Truce (6), by Incurſions upon the Borders, being very ſure, the Court of *England* was far from thinking of revenging their Inſults. The *Engliſh* Poſſeſſions in *France* were almoſt reduced to nothing, and the Places which might one day have ſerved to repair theſe Loſſes, were ſold without any neceſſity. The Merchant Ships were daily plundered by the Corſairs of *France* and the *Low-Countries*, without any means uſed to protect the Trade. Amidſt theſe diſorders, the Miniſters, of whom the Earl of *Wiltſhire* was the chief, ſought only to augment the King's Revenues, by Borrowings, new Taxes, and ſtill leſs legal Ways. Pretences were no longer ſought to demand Subſidies; the Miniſters whole Buſineſs was only to find ſpeedy and effectual means to extort Money from the People, to whom the demanding it was thought to be too great an Honour. At length, having practiſed divers Expedients, as unjuſt as extraordinary, to ſupply the King's prodigious Expences (7), and ſatisfy his Miniſters

Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 47.

Walſing.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 35, 54, &c. 72.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 9, &c.

Oppreſſions exerciſed by the King and Miniſtry.

Avarice, a Method was uſed which could not fail of procuring large Sums. As the late Parliament had reverſed the Pardon granted in 1386, to the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Adherents, Accuſations were brought againſt ſuch as had then taken Arms in favour of that Prince. By the Judgments given upon theſe Accuſations, ſeventeen Counties were condemned as guilty of Treaſon, and the Eſtates of all the Inhabitants adjudged to the King. In this Extremity, the richer ſort of Gentlemen and Burgeſſes were forced, in order to avoid the ſeizure of their Eſtates, to give blank Obligations, which the King cauſed to be filled with what Sums he was pleaſed to exact. Moreover, by what was inſerted in theſe Notes, which were termed *Ragmans* (8), every Perſon was bound, under great Penalties, to ſupport the Statutes of the *Shrewsbury* Parliament, and all the ſubſequent Acts; that is to ſay, they entirely threw themſelves upon the King's Mercy (9). It was impoſſible that a Government ſo tyrannical, ſhould not draw the hatred of the Nation upon the Prince and his Inſtruments. It was alſo very viſible, that theſe Oppreſſions kindled in the hearts of the People, an ardent deſire of freeing themſelves from them, inſomuch that the leaſt Spark was capable of producing a fatal Combuſtion. 1398.

The Eſtates of ſeventeen Counties confiſcated to the King. Walſing. Chron. de Lambeth.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 109.

Whilſt *England* was expoſed to all theſe Calamities, the *Iriſh*, contemning the ſmall number of Troops left by *Richard* in their Country, took up Arms with one Conſent. *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Governor of *Ireland*, oppoſing the Rebels, was ſlain in the firſt Battle. This Prince, who was declared by an Act of Parliament preſumptive Heir of the Crown, left two Sons, *Edmund* and *Roger*, the eldeſt of whom ſucceeded him in his Honour of Earl of *March*, and died without Iſſue, as well as *Roger* his Brother. But the Marriage of *Ann* their Siſter with the Duke of *York*'s ſecond Son, proved a fertile ſource of Troubles, which long afflicted the Kingdom.

Rebellion in Ireland. *The Earl of* March *ſlain.* Walſing.

Richard receiving the News of the *Iriſh* Revolt, reſolved to go in Perſon and chaſtiſe the Rebels, being in a terrible Rage, that ſuch a pitiful and wretched People ſhould dare to contemn his Power, at a time when he found no oppoſition in *England*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he levied a numerous Army, which furniſhed him with a freſh occaſion to exact great Sums from his Subjects (10), whereby he conſiderably increaſed the hatred already entertained againſt him.

The King prepares to go to Ireland. Walſing. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 78. *He extorts great Sums.*

When he was ready to imbark, ſome Suſpicions inſtilled into him, of the Earl of *Northumberland*, Governor of the northern Counties, moved him to ſend that Earl a poſitive Order to come and join him without delay. But the Earl excuſing himſelf, on account that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in thoſe Parts, the King, without further Examination, pronounced him a Traitor (11), and ordered all his Eſtate to be ſeized. Then leaving the Regency of the Kingdom to the Duke of *York* his Uncle, he ſet ſail, and arrived *May* the 31ſt at *Waterford*, from whence he marched to *Dublin*. He was attended by the Sons of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, by his third Wife, and by thoſe of the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom he carried like Hoſtages; and had taken with him the beſt part of his Jewels, as if he had foreſeen he ſhould never more return to his Palace. He made at firſt ſome Progreſs againſt the Rebels, and in ſeveral Encounters, gave Marks of Valour, which cauſed a belief, that if hitherto he had ſhewn no great Inclination for War, it was not to be aſcribed ſo much to a want of Courage, as to a bad Education. 1399.

The Earl of Northumberland *declared a Traitor.* Froiſſart. l. 4. c. 47.

The King leaves the Duke of York *Regent.* Walſing.

But whilſt his Vanity was flattered with the Advantages he gained over the *Iriſh*, a Conſpiracy was forming in *England* to deprive him of the Crown. Under an arbitrary Government, ſuch as *Richard*'s, there muſt needs be great numbers of Male-contents. Some Perſons indeed find their account in the abſolute Power of the

Conſpiracy in England.

(1) The Words were, That the King notwithſtanding his fair Countenances, and great Oaths, did yet intend to oppreſs the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the two Dukes of *Albemarle* and *Exeter*, viz. *Edward Plantagenet*, and *John de Holland*. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 372. *Placita Coron. in Parl.* 21. *Ric.* II. This Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, was brought in by the Duke of *Hereford*, on *Jan.* 30, while the Parliament was ſitting.

(2) *Froiſſart*, *Polydore Virgil*, and others, who ſay that the Duke of *Norfolk* accuſed the Duke of *Hereford* of having ſpoken ill of the King, were miſtaken. See the *Acts of Parliament* 21 *Ric.* II. *Rapin*. *Collier* is likewiſe guilty of this Error, p. 603. Vol. I.

(3) Where he was nobly received by the King of *France*, and found ſuch favour in that Court that he was offered in Marriage, the only Daughter of the Duke of *Berri*, the ſaid King's Uncle. But King *Richard* having notice thereof, uſed means to ſtop the Proſecution of that Treaty. *Froiſſart*. l. 4. c. 45, 46.

(4) *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, died about *Feb.* 2. and was buried in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, where his Monument was to be ſeen till the great Fire. See a Print of it in *Sandford*'s *Geneal. Hiſt.* p. 255.

(5) Or for a moderate Fine. *Walſing.* p. 357.

(6) This Year, on *October* 26, Commiſſioners from both Nations met at *Haudenſtank*, on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, to take care of the Releaſe and Exchange of Priſoners, taken ſince the Truce of *Leulingham*, in 1389; and to regulate all Affairs relating to the Borders. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 54, &c.

(7) Among other Expedients, they borrowed very large Sums of the Abbies, Towns, and Men of Eſtates in the Kingdom, giving them Securities for their being repaid again; which was never done. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 9.

(8) They were afterwards burnt by order of *Henry* IV. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 109.

(9) Among other Grievances, the Sheriffs of all the Counties throughout the Kingdom, were forced to take an unuſual Oath, *viz.* That they would obey all the King's Commands, whether under the Broad-Seal, Privy-Seal, or Signet; and if they knew any Perſon in their reſpective Bailiwicks, that had ſpoke any thing to the Scandal or Diſgrace of the King, they ſhould impriſon them, of what Degree or Condition ſoever they were. *Walſing. Ypodig.* p. 553.

(10) *T. Walſingham* ſays, that he extorted Money from his Subjects; made them furniſh him with Horſes, Carriages, and Victuals, for his Expedition, without paying any thing, which rendered him more odious than ever, p. 356.

(11) And cauſed him to be baniſhed. *Froiſſart*, l. 4. c. 47.

1399. Prince, but they are far from being the Majority. So, though a King of this Character is commonly ſurrounded with a crowd of Flatterers, who endeavour to perſuade him, that the People bear his Yoke patiently; if he has any Knowledge of the World, he ought to conſider, there is no preſerving the Power acquired by force, but by the ſame way it was uſurped. And if he is ſo impolitick, as to confide in Subjects he has violently oppreſſed, in vain does he expect from them a Fidelity, which ſerves only to increaſe their Miſery. This is what *Richard* did not fail to experience. By an imprudent Security, he had left his Kingdom, and carried all his Forces into *Ireland*, at a time when the People's hatred of him was at the higheſt; wherein he committed a capital Error, which his Enemies failed not to improve. He was ſcarce gone for *Ireland*, with almoſt all the Lords his Creatures, but the Male-contents in *England* began to think of means to dethrone him. To that end, after ſeveral Conferences together, they ſent Word to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who, ſince his Baniſhment, was retired into *France*, "That all *England* was ready to "riſe, and nothing was wanting but a Leader of Di-"ſtinction to head the Male-contents. That upon ma-"ture Deliberation, they thought none ſo proper as the "Duke of *Hereford*, for whom the People had a great "Eſteem and Affection, and who moreover had a very "plauſible Pretence to take up Arms, to demand Satis-"faction for the Injuries he had ſuffered: That if the "Duke would repair into *England*, they engaged to "aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power; and in the "preſent diſpoſition of the Nation, there was no doubt, "but they would join thoſe that ſhould undertake to "free them from the Oppreſſion they endured." The Archbiſhop, who was himſelf extremely incenſed againſt the King, communicating this Letter to the Duke, that Prince reſolved to lay hold of the Juncture, to try what Fortune would do in his favour. However, as he was ſenſible he could not carry on this Enterprize by himſelf, he took care ſo to manage it, that he might eaſily deſiſt, in caſe things were not diſpoſed as he was made to expect. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he privately repaired into *Bretagne*, where he fitted out three Ships, and embarked in Company with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (1), and about fourſcore Men, among whom there were but ſixteen or eighteen Lances (2). With this ſmall Force he ſet ſail, and hovered ſome time about the Coaſt of *England*, now in one Place, then in another, without landing any where. His deſign was to ſee what Effect his Approach would have among the People, and to engage the *Engliſh* openly to declare for him, in a belief that he was attended with greater Force. This Trial ſucceeded beyond expectation. When it was known that he was on the Coaſt, the People riſe in ſeveral Parts, not conſidering whether the Aid which appeared was ſufficient to protect them; and this readineſs determined the Duke to puſh his Enterprize farther. In the beginning of *July* (3), he landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*, where the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Henry Percy* his Son (4) immediately joined him with ſome Troops. After this Junction, the concourſe of People, flocking in Crowds to liſt under his Banners, was ſo great, that in a few days his Army was threeſcore thouſand ſtrong. So eager were the Nobles and People to put themſelves under the Protection of a Prince, who ſtood himſelf in ſo great need of their Aſſiſtance.

The Conſpirators call in the Duke of Hereford. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 41. &c.

He repairs to Bretagne, and imbarks. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 4. c. 49.

He lands at Ravenſpur, where he aſſembles 60000 Men. Walſing.

As ſoon as the Duke of *York*, Regent of the Kingdom, heard of the Duke's Landing, he called a Council (5) to conſider of the neceſſary Meaſures on this occaſion. But the hourly News of the increaſe of the Duke's Forces, and the Diſpoſition of the Kingdom, quickly made the Counſellors, among whom there were few Perſons of Abilities, deſpair of being able to remedy the Evil. In this perplexity, they committed a capital Fault, in reſolving to quit *London* and retire to St. *Albans*. This imprudent Step was extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs. The Lords of the Council were no ſooner departed from *London*, but the Citizens, no longer reſtrained by the Preſence of thoſe who repreſented the King's Perſon, declared for the Duke, and by their Example, drew in ſuch Towns, as would not yet have ventured to proceed ſo far.

The Regent in vain tries to prevent a general Revolt. Walſing.

The Council retire to St. Albans.

London *declares for the Duke.*

Mean time the Duke, who, at his Arrival in *England*, had taken the Title of Duke of *Lancaſter*, publiſhed a Manifeſto, ſetting forth, without ſhewing he had any Deſign upon the Crown, that he had taken Arms purely to obtain Satisfaction for all the Injuſtices done him. This Manifeſto produced ſo great an Effect, that when the Regent would have iſſued out Commiſſions to levy Troops, he hardly found any willing to accept them. Every one ſaid publickly, he did not care to oppoſe the lawful Pretenſions of a Prince ſo unjuſtly oppreſſed. This Refuſal convincing the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the reſt of the Miniſtry, that inſtead of being able to ſupport their Authority, they ran the hazard of ſeeing themſelves ſacrificed to the publick Hatred, they deſerted the Duke of *York* and retired to *Briſtol* Caſtle. After the Flight of the Counſellors, the Regent perceiving there was no ſtemming the Torrent, threw up the care of the publick Affairs, and withdrew to his own Houſe, leaving the Kingdom like a Ship expoſed to the Winds and Waves, without Pilot or Mariners. All the other Lords, who had as yet remained Neuter, in order to join the ſtrongeſt Party, finding the King's Intereſt abandoned, no longer deferred openly declaring for the Duke.

1399. *The Regent cannot levy Troops.*

The Miniſters retire to Briſtol, and the Regent to his own Houſe. Walſing.

Mean while, the Duke improving theſe Advantages, marched with all ſpeed to *London*, where the Citizens had invited him. He was triumphantly received in that noble City, with all the Demonſtrations of Zeal and Affection, which could be given by a People extremely incenſed againſt their Sovereign, and conſidering themſelves as delivered from Tyranny. But how pleaſing ſoever the Honours he received from the *Londoners* might be, he ſtaid no longer than was neceſſary to ſecure their Allegiance; after which he marched directly towards *Briſtol*. Upon his arrival, the Gates being opened to him with joy, he commanded the Caſtle to be aſſaulted, where the Counſellors were retired. The Siege was puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that in four days the Beſieged were forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion. The People's Fury againſt the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and his Companions was ſo violent, that the Duke thought he could not refuſe them the Satisfaction to ſee theſe odious Miniſters ſacrificed to their Vengeance. So without conſidering the Power he aſſumed was ſtill more illegal than the King's Uſurpations, he ordered the Earl of *Wiltſhire* to be beheaded, with ſome others of the Council (6), to ſatisfy the People who loudly called for their Death. The happy Succeſs of this Expedition made the whole Kingdom embrace the Duke's Party, and ſhortly after he had the Satisfaction to ſee his Uncle the Duke of *York* come and aſſiſt him with his Counſels.

The Duke marches to London, and is well received. Froiſſart. c. 50.

He takes Briſtol Caſtle, and beheads ſome of the Miniſters. Walſing. Froiſſart. Ibid.

The Duke publiſhes a Manifeſto. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 84.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in *England*, *Richard* was in *Ireland* in a perfect ſecurity. The contrary Winds which continued to blow above three Weeks, hindered his receiving any News. When he heard of the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Deſcent, he impriſoned his Brothers, with the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Sons, and reſolved to go immediately into *England*, and fight his Enemy. But the Duke of *Albemarle* adviſed him to a ſtay few days, to have time to prepare Ships to tranſport all his Forces at once. He took this fatal Advice, which compleated his Ruin, ſince every Moment is precious at ſuch a juncture. And indeed, it was during that time that *London* declared for the Duke, which perhaps would not have been, had the King been known to be in *England*, with a Reſolution vigorouſly to oppoſe the Deſigns of his Enemies. *Richard* being determined to ſtay ſome days longer in *Ireland*, ſent the Earl of *Salisbury* before, to levy Troops in *Wales*, aſſuring him he would quickly follow him (7). The Earl uſed ſuch Expedition, that in a few days he aſſembled an Army of forty thouſand Men, the *Welſh* and *Cheſhire* Men zealouſly taking Arms for the King. If *Richard* had arrived with his Forces by the time he had promiſed, he might at leaſt have had the Satisfaction, of trying the fortune of a Battle in Defence of his Crown. But the Wind returning to the Eaſt, detained him eighteen days longer in *Ireland*, and would not permit him to make ſo ſhort a Paſſage. During that time a Rumour being ſpread in the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Army, that the King was dead in *Ireland*, the Troops would have diſbanded themſelves. It was with great difficulty the Earl prevailed with them to ſtay a few days, in order to have certain News of the King. This Delay being expired, and *Richard* not appearing, the *Welſh* and *Cheſhire* Men deſerted their Colours, and retired to their Homes.

The Wind hinders the King from hearing from England. Walſing.

He defers his going to England.

Sends the Earl of Salisbury to levy Troops.

The King is detained by contrary Winds.

The Earl of Saliſbury's Army go to their Homes.

Richard landed a few days after (8), and as he knew nothing of the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Army being diſperſed, marched to *Caermarthen* in hopes to meet them. But

The King arrives, and knows not what Courſe to take. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 4. c. 52.

(1) And *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, Son and Heir of the late Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramſtone*, &c. *Walſing.* p. 358.

(2) Only fifteen Lances, ſays *Walſingham*. *Ibid.*

(3) About *July* 4. *Ibid.*

(4) With *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Weſtmoreland*. *Ibid.* And alſo the Lords *Willoughby*, *Roſs*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*. *Tyrrel*, p. 996.

(5) Conſiſting of *Edmund Stafford*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Chancellor; *William Scrope*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, the Treaſurer; and Sir *John Buſhy*, Sir *William Bagot*, Sir *Henry Grene*, and Sir *John Ruſſel*. *Walſingham*, p. 358.

(6) Sir *John Buſhy*, and Sir *Henry Grene*. Sir *William Bagot* eſcaped into *Ireland*. *Ibid.*

(7) Within ſix Days at fartheſt.

(8) At *Milford-haven*; with the Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Exeter* and *Surrey*; the Biſhops of *London*, *Exeter*, and *Carliſle*. *Walſingham*, p. 358.

when

1399. when he heard that he had loſt that Refuge, and all the Nobility had declared againſt him, that his Miniſters were beheaded at *Briſtol*, and the People ardently eſpouſed the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Quarrel, he knew not what Courſe to take, all that were propoſed appearing equally dangerous. The Officers and Soldiers would have had him put himſelf at their head, and give his Enemy Battle. They promiſed to ſpill the laſt drop of their Blood in his Defence, and inſpired him with hopes that his Army would daily increaſe in his March, by the junction of thoſe, who through Force, or the belief of his Death, had deſerted him. Some adviſed him to return, and fortify himſelf in *Ireland*. Others were of opinion, that he ſhould fly for Refuge into *France*, to the King his Father-in-law, till a more favourable Seaſon afforded him an opportunity to return to his Dominions. Amidſt theſe Uncertainties, the unfortunate King, incapable of chuſing the beſt Advice, and having none about him but ſuch as wanted Courage or Capacity, could not come to any Reſolution. However as he diſtruſted every Body, he could not long remain in a Situation which ſeemed to him ſo very dangerous. On a ſudden, without adviſing with any Perſon, he privately withdrew from his Army in the Night, and ſhut himſelf up in *Conway* Caſtle, which was deemed impregnable, but at that time unprovided of all things. He had no ſooner diſappeared, but the Lord *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Worceſter*, Maſter of the Houſhold, broke his White-Staff (1) before the King's Domeſticks, and went to meet the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was advancing towards *Cheſter* at the head of his Army.

He goes to Conway *Caſtle.* Walſing.

Richard finding himſelf almoſt alone in the Caſtle he had choſen for his Sanctuary, without any proſpect of being able to defend himſelf, was afraid, if he attempted to eſcape, of falling into the hands of an enraged People, who gave him but too many Proofs of their Hatred. In this extremity, he ſaw no other Remedy but to throw himſelf upon the Generoſity of his Enemy. He ſent him word by one of his Attendants, that he was ready to ſubmit to what Terms he himſelf ſhould judge reaſonable, and deſired him to ſend ſome Perſon to confer with him. The Duke immediately diſpatched the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Northumberland*, both ſworn Enemies of the King (2), to know his Intentions. In the ſhort Conference with theſe Deputies, *Richard* offered, if his Life were ſecured, with an honourable Penſion for himſelf and eight Perſons (3) he ſhould name, to reſign his Crown, and be content to lead the Reſidue of his Days like a private Perſon. The Deputies giving him hopes his Offer would be accepted, he deſired to confer with the Duke himſelf. To that purpoſe he went to *Flint*, not above ten Miles from *Cheſter*, where the Duke was now arrived. Next day the Duke being come to *Flint*, went to the King, who ſaid to him with a chearful Countenance: "Couſin of *Lancaſter*, you are welcome." Then the Duke thrice bowing to the Ground, replied, "My Lord the King, I am come ſooner than you appointed me, becauſe the common Fame of your People is, that you have for this one and twenty Years governed very ill, and rigorouſly, with which they are not at all ſatisfied; but if it pleaſe God, I will help you to govern them better for the future." To which the King only returned, *Fair Couſin, ſince it pleaſes you, it pleaſes us too* (4). Some add, that *Richard* intreated the Duke, in very ſubmiſſive Terms, not to touch his Life, in conſideration of his having ſpared his Brothers, whom he had only confined in *Ireland*, and that the Duke gave him a poſitive Promiſe he would not. There are Hiſtorians who ſay, that *Richard* was betrayed by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who perſuading him to demand this Conference, laid an Ambuſh for him in the way, and carried him Priſoner to the Duke. Be that as it will the two Princes went the ſame day (5) and lodged at *Cheſter*, from whence they ſet out together for *London*.

The King propoſes an Accommodation.

He offers to reſign his Crown. Walſing.

Interview of the King and Duke. Idem.

Chron. Lambeth.

They go together to London.

Upon their Approach, the *Londoners* came out in crowds, to receive, the one with a thouſand Curſes, and the other with exceſſive Applauſes and Commendations. Then the King was conducted to the Tower, and confined there, whilſt the Duke took meaſures with his Friends to complete his Work. The ſuddenneſs of this Revolution, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Diligence in traverſing ſo many Counties are very ſurpriſing. If it is conſidered that in ſeven and forty days, he marched from *Ravenſpur*, where he landed, to *London*, *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and from thence back to *London*, it will hardly be conceivable, that an Army of ſixty thouſand Men could poſſibly run over ſo much Ground in ſo ſhort a Space (6).

1399. Richard *is confined in the Tower.*

The moment the Duke had got the King in his Power, he took care to cauſe him to ſummon a Parliament at *London*, that no time might be loſt. In the Conferences he had with his Friends, before the meeting of the Parliament, the Queſtion was not ſo much concerning what was to be done, ſince the placing him upon the Throne was reſolved, as how to proceed. Some were for his taking poſſeſſion, upon *Richard*'s bare Promiſe of reſigning the Crown. Others thought, the Promiſe appeared too conſtrained to be the Foundation of any Right, and the more, as there was a nearer Heir than the Duke. This was *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son of that *Roger* who was declared *Richard*'s preſumptive Succeſſor. The Truth is, he was deſcended from *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* III, whereas the Duke of *Lancaſter* was Son of *John*, younger Brother of *Lionel*. Though *Edmund*'s Right was only derived from a Woman, that would have been no Objection, provided the uſual Practice had been obſerved, ſince there was no ſuch thing in *England* as the *Salic* Law. Thus by *Richard*'s Reſignation, the Duke of *Lancaſter* had no Right to claim the Crown. For this Reaſon they added, that ſince there was a neceſſity of ſetting aſide the Law, the Authority of Parliament was abſolutely requiſite. Hence they concluded that *Richard* muſt be formally depoſed, and the Duke elected by the ſame Authority. This Opinion had likewiſe Difficulties, as it aſcribed to the Parliament a Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms, to the prejudice of the lawful Heir, to whom nothing could be objected to weaken his Title. At laſt, after many Debates upon ſo nice a Point, it was the Duke of *York*'s Opinion to unite the three ways propoſed, in order to give the more Strength to what they had reſolved. In the firſt place, *Richard* ſhould be obliged to make an abſolute Reſignation. Secondly, the Parliament ſhould proceed to depoſe him before the Crown was diſpoſed of. Laſtly, theſe two Steps being taken, and the Throne declared vacant, the ſame Parliament, in conſideration of the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s great Service to the State, ſhould adjudge him the Crown by their ſupreme Authority, which, in extraordinary Caſes, was ſuperior to the Laws. This Opinion was unanimouſly approved. Thus in puniſhing a King for ſetting himſelf above the Laws, a Power was given the Parliament no leſs contrary to them. So difficult it is on ſuch occaſions to keep within the Bounds of Juſtice and Equity. This Expedient, then thought proper to reſtore the Peace of the Kingdom, proved the real Source of the Calamities which afterwards afflicted the Nation, when theſe violent Proceedings ſeemed to be entirely forgotten. The Deſcendants of the Duke of *York*, who propoſed this Opinion, found it their Intereſt to deſtroy the Foundation on which it was built, and maintain that the Parliament had exceeded their Power, in transferring the Crown to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

Conſultations between the Duke and his Friends. Walſing.

The Duke of York's Propoſal is followed.

Purſuant to the Reſolutions the Duke of *Lancaſter* had taken with his Friends, he repaired to the Tower, the Day before the opening of the Parliament (7), attended by a great number of Lords. There, in the preſence of all, *Richard* delivered up the Crown and Scepter, with the other Enſigns of Royalty, and by an Inſtrument ſigned with his own Hand, confeſſed himſelf unworthy and unfit to govern any longer (8). Next Day the Parliament being

Richard *reſigns his Crown abſolutely.* Walſing.

(1) The Officers of the King's Houſhold carry a white Staff as a Badge of their Office, and when they break it, their Authority ceaſes, and thoſe that are under them are diſcharged from their Service. *Rapin.*

(2) *Walſingham* ſays, they were the Perſons the King deſired himſelf to confer withal, p. 358.

(3) He only deſired, that the Lives of eight Perſons he was to name ſhould be ſpared, without a Penſion for them. *Ibid.*

(4) Theſe were all the Words they had together, without adding any thing to, or taking from them, for I (ſays the Author of the Chronicle of *Lambeth*) ſtood by and heard them.

(5) Which was *Auguſt* 20. *Walſingham*, p. 358

(6) He had moreover the good Fortune to have the King's Jewels and Treaſure, which amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds, with all his Horſes and Baggage, fall into his Hands.

(7) *September* 29.

(8) "In the Name of God, *Amen*. I *Richard*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, do abſolve the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates whatſoever, of Churches ſecular or regular, of what Dignity, Degree, State, or Condition they are; Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Barons, Vaſſals, Valvaſſores, and my Liege-Men whatſoever, Eccleſiaſtick or Secular, by whatever Name they are called, from the Oath of Fealty and Homage, and all others to me made, and from all Bond of Liegance, Regality, and Government or Command, by which they have been, or may be bound to me; and them, their Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever, from the ſame Obligations, Oaths, and other things whatſoever, I free, releaſe, and quit, and make them free, abſolved, and quit, as to my Perſon, according to the whole Effect of the Law, which may follow from the Premiſſes, or any of them; And I do purely, free of my own accord, ſimply and abſolutely, in the beſt Manner, Way, and Form that I can by this Writing, renounce, wholly reſign, and by Word and Deed, put from me, and recede for ever from all Royal Dignity and Majeſty, the Crown and Lordſhip, and the Power of the ſaid Kingdoms and Lordſhip, and other my Dominions and Poſſeſſions, which may any way belong to me, and to all Right, Colour of Right, and Title, Poſſeſſion and Dominion, that I ever had, have, or may have, in the

1399. being met, the Inſtrument of Reſignation was produced, and approved by unanimous Conſent. But as this Reſignation alone, according to the Meaſures agreed upon, did not appear ſufficient, the two Houſes ordered Articles of Accuſation againſt *Richard* to be drawn up, to ſerve for reaſons of his Depoſition, to which they intended to proceed. The Articles were as follow (1):

Articles of Accuſation againſt Richard. Rot. Par. 1 Hen. IV. n. 10. X. Scriptor. Col. 2743, &c.

" I. It is objected to King *Richard*, That for his evil " Government, by giving the Goods and Poſſeſſions of " the Crown to unworthy Perſons, and indiſcreetly diſ- " ſipating of them; and for this cauſe impoſing grievous " and intolerable Burthens upon the People, and other- " wiſe committing other innumerable Evils: Having, " by his Aſſent and Command, by the whole Parliament, " choſen and aſſigned certain Prelates and other Lords " Temporal, who with all their Power ſhould faithfully " labour, at their own Coſts, about the juſt Government " of the Kingdom, made a Conventicle of his Accom- " plices, propoſing to impeach of high Treaſon the ſaid " Lords Spiritual and Temporal, ſo employed about the " Government of the Kingdom, and violently drew the " Juſtices of the Kingdom to confirm his wicked purpoſe, " for fear of Death and Torment of Body, endeavouring " to deſtroy the ſaid Lords.

" II. The ſame King lately at *Shrewsbury*, cauſed to " come before him, and others that favoured him, in a " Chamber, many Perſons, and the greater Part of the " Juſtices, where, by Threats, and divers Terrors, he " induced, cauſed, and forced them ſingly to anſwer to " certain Queſtions on his behalf, touching the Laws of " his Kingdom, againſt their Will, and otherwiſe than " they would have anſwered, had they not been forced; " by colour of which anſwers the ſame King propounded " to have proceeded to the Deſtruction of *Thomas* Duke " of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and " other Lords, with whom he was very angry, eſpecially " becauſe they deſired him to be under good Govern- " ment; but by divine Providence, and the Reſiſtance " and Power of the ſaid Lords, the King could not bring " his Deſign to effect.

" III. When the Lords Temporal, in defence of them- " ſelves, reſiſted his Malice and Craft, the ſaid King pre- " fixed a Day for the Parliament to do them and others " Juſtice, who upon Faith and Confidence therein, re- " mained quietly in their own Houſes; the King privately, " with his Letters or Commiſſion, ſent the Duke of *Ire- " land* into *Cheſhire*, to raiſe Arms againſt the ſaid Lords, " Great Men, and Officers of the Common-wealth, " publickly erecting his Banners againſt the Peace he had " ſworn to, from whence Murders, Captivities, Diſſen- " ſions, and other infinite Evils followed in the whole " Kingdom, for which cauſe he incurred Perjury.

" IV. That although the ſaid King had pardoned the " Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, " and all their Aſſiſtants in full Parliament, and for many " Years had ſhewn chearful Signs of Peace and Love to- " wards them; yet the ſame King always bearing Gall in " his Heart, taking opportunity, cauſed to be ſeized the " Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the ſaid Earls of *Arundel* and " *Warwick*; and ſent the Duke to *Calais*, to be impri- " ſoned under the keeping of the Earl of *Nottingham*, one " of his Appellants; and without Anſwer, or lawful Pro- " ceſs, cauſed him to be ſtrangled, and inhumanly and " cruelly murdered. The Earl of *Arundel* pleading his " Charter of Pardon, and demanding Juſtice in Parlia- " ment, was encompaſſed with great Numbers of armed " Men, and had his Head damnably ſtruck off; and com- " mitted the Earl of *Warwick* and Lord *Cobham* to per- " petual Priſon; confiſcating their Lands, againſt Juſtice, " the Laws of the Land, and his expreſs Oath, giving " them to their Appellants.

" V. At the time when in his Parliament he cauſed " the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Earls of *Arundel* and *War- " wick*, to be adjudged; that he might more freely exer- " ciſe his Cruelty upon them, and in others fulfil his inju- " rious Will, he drew to him a great Multitude of Male- " factors out of the County of *Cheſter*, who marching up " and down the Kingdom with the King, as well within " his own Houſe, as without, cruelly killed his Lieges, " beat and wounded others, plundering the Goods of the " People, refuſing to pay for their Victuals, violating " and raviſhing Men's Wives, and other Women. And " although Complaints were made to the King of theſe " Exceſſes, yet he took no care to apply Remedy, or do " Juſtice in them; but favoured thoſe People in their " Wickedneſs, confiding in them and their Aſſiſtance " againſt all others of his Kingdom; wherefore his good " Subjects had great matter of Commotion and Indigna- " tion. 1399.

" VI. Though the ſaid King cauſed Proclamation to " be made through the Kingdom, That he cauſed his " Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* " and *Warwick*, to be arreſted not for any rebellious Con- " gregations, or marching with Horſe within the King- " dom; but for many Extortions, Oppreſſions, and other " things done againſt his Regality and Royal Majeſty; " and that it was not his Intention, that any of their " Company at the time of the Congregation and March- " ing with Horſe aforeſaid, ſhould for that reaſon be que- " ſtioned or diſturbed: Yet the ſame King afterwards, in " his Parliament, impeached the ſaid Lords, not for Ex- " tortions, Oppreſſions, or other things aforeſaid; but for " rebellious Tumults, and Congregations and Marching " with Horſe, adjudged them to Death; and cauſed many " of their Company for fear of Death, to make Fine and " Ranſom as Traitors, to the great Deſtruction of many " of his People; and ſo he craftily, deceitfully and ma- " liciouſly deceived the Lords, their Followers, and Peo- " ple of the Nation.

" VII. After many of theſe Perſons had paid their " Fines and Ranſoms, and had obtained his Letters Pa- " tents of full Pardon; yet they received no Benefit by " them, until they made new Fines for their Lives, " by which they were much impoveriſhed: and this was " much in derogation to the Name and State of a " King.

" VIII. In the laſt Parliament holden at *Shrewsbury*, " the ſame King propounding to oppreſs his People, " ſubtilly procured and cauſed to be granted, that the " Power of Parliament, by conſent of all the States of " the Kingdom, ſhould remain in ſome certain Perſons, " who, after the Parliament ſhould be diſſolved, might " anſwer the Petitions depending in Parliament, then " undetermined, under pretence whereof they proceeded " to other general Matters touching that Parliament, " according to the King's Will, in derogation to the " State of Parliament, great Diſadvantage to the King- " dom, and a pernicious Example. And that theſe Ac- " tions might ſeem to have ſome Colour and Authority, " the King cauſed the Rolls of Parliament to be changed " and blotted, contrary to the Effect of the Grant afore- " ſaid.

" IX. Notwithſtanding the ſaid King at his Coronation " ſwore, That he would do in all his Judgments, equal " and right Juſtice and Diſcretion, in Mercy and Truth, " according to his Power; yet the ſaid King, without " all mercy, rigorouſly, amongſt other things, ordained, " under great Puniſhments, That no Man ſhould inter- " cede with him, for any favour towards *Henry* Duke of " *Lancaſter*, then in Baniſhment; in ſo doing, he acted " againſt the Bond of Charity, and raſhly violated his " Oath.

" X. That though the Crown of *England*, the Rights " of the Crown, and Kingdom itſelf, have been in all " times ſo free, as the Pope, or any other foreign Power, " had nothing to do in them; yet the ſaid King, for " the confirming of his erroneous Statutes, ſupplicated the " Pope to confirm the Statutes made in his laſt Parlia- " ment; whereupon he obtained his Apoſtolic Letters, or " Bull, wherein were contained grievous Cenſures againſt " all ſuch as ſhould preſume to contravene them. All " which things are known to be againſt the Crown and " Royal Dignity, and againſt the Statutes and Liberty of " the Kingdom.

" XI. Though *Henry*, now Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the " King's Command, exhibited his Bill of Accuſation againſt " the Duke of *Norfolk*, concerning the State and Honour " of the King, and duly proſecuted it, ſo as he was ready to " make it good by Duel, and the King had ordered it; yet " the ſame King put it by, and without any lawful Cauſe " baniſhed the Duke of *Lancaſter* for ten years, againſt all " Juſtice, the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and the " Military Law, damnably incurring Perjury.

" XII. After the ſaid King had graciouſly granted to " the now Duke of *Lancaſter*, by his Letters Patents,

" ſame or any of them; alſo the Government and Adminiſtration of the ſaid Kingdoms and Lordſhip, and all mere and mixt Empire in the ſame; and " to all Honour and Royalty therein, ſaving to my Succeſſors Kings of *England*, in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Premiſſes, for ever their competent " Rights. And I do confeſs, acknowledge, repute, and truly of certain Knowledge, judge myſelf to be inſufficient for the Government of the ſaid King- " doms and Dominions, and for my notorious Demerits not unworthily depoſed. And I ſwear by theſe Holy Goſpels of God by me corporally touched, " That I never will contravene this Reſignation, Renunciation, Dimiſſion, and Ceſſion, or will any way oppoſe them in Word or Deed, by myſelf or others, " nor will ſuffer them to be oppoſed or contravened, as much as in me is, publickly or privately, but the ſame Renunciation, Reſignation, Dimiſſion, and " Ceſſion, will for ever hold firm, and will firmly hold and obſerve them in the whole and every part, as God and his Goſpels help me."

(1) Inſtead of the imperfect Abſtract given of theſe Articles by Mr. *Rapin*, it has been thought proper to inſert them all at length, tranſlated from the authentick Copy of the Roll of Parliament, printed at the end of *Decem Scriptores*, Col. 2743, &c.

1399. " That while he was in Baniſhment his Attorneys might " ſue for Livery of any Inheritance that might fall to him " for which Homage was due, which ſhould be reſpited for " a reaſonable Fine; he injuriouſly revoked thoſe Letters " Patents, againſt the Laws of the Land, incurring Per- " jury.

" XIII. Notwithſtanding it had been ordained, That " every Year the King's Officers, with the Juſtices, and " others of his Council, ſhould nominate and chuſe the " Sheriffs of all Counties according to their Diſcretion; " yet he commanded others of his Party, and ſuch as " would do as he would have them, to be Sheriffs; " to the great Grievance of his People, contrary to " the Laws of his Kingdom, notoriouſly incurring Per- " jury.

" XIV. That whereas the ſaid King borrowed ſeveral " Sums of Money from Lords and others by his Letters " Patents, promiſing faithfully to pay them at a certain " Term; he did not perform his Promiſe; whence his " Creditors were much grieved; and not only they, but " many others thought him an unfaithful King.

" XV. Whereas the Kings of *England* uſed to live " upon the Revenues of the Kingdom, and Patrimony of " the Crown in time of Peace, without Oppreſſion of his " People; that the ſame King during his whole time, " gave the greateſt part of his Revenue to unworthy Per- " ſons, and impoſed Burthens upon his Subjects as it were " every Year; by which he exceſſively oppreſſed his Peo- " ple, and impoveriſhed his Kingdom, not employing theſe " Goods to the Advantage of the Nation, but prodigally " waſting them in Oſtentation, Pomp, and Glory, ow- " ing great Sums for Victuals and other Neceſſaries of his " Houſe, though his Revenues were greater than any of " his Progenitors.

" XVI. The ſame King not willing to keep and pro- " tect the juſt Laws and Cuſtoms of his Kingdom, but " do what he pleaſed, when thoſe Laws were declared " to him by the Juſtices and others of his Council, de- " ſiring Juſtice might be done accordingly, he ſaid ex- " preſly with an auſtere countenance, That the Laws " were only in his Mouth and Breaſt: and that he only " could make and change the Laws of this Kingdom. " and being ſo ſeduced, he would not permit Juſtice to be " done to many of his Lieges, but by threats and Ter- " rors, forced many to ceaſe from the Proſecution of com- " mon Juſtice.

" XVII. That whereas Laws made in Parliament do " always bind, until revoked by another Parliament, yet " the ſame King, deſiring to enjoy ſuch Liberty as no " Laws might bind him, and to do what he pleaſed, he " cunningly procured ſuch a Petition, on behalf of the " Community of his Kingdom, to be exhibited in Par- " liament, and to be granted, That he might be as free " as any of his Progenitors before him. By colour of " which Petition and Grant, he often commanded, and " cauſed many things to be done contrary to the Laws " not revoked, doing expreſly and knowingly againſt the " Oath taken at his Coronation.

" XVIII. Though it had been ordained, That no " Sheriff ſhould continue in his Office above a Year, and " could not be again choſen to that Office in three Years " after, the ſame King, for his ſingular Profit, and ſome- " times for the Benefit of others, ſuffered ſome Sheriffs to " remain in their Offices for two or three Years, con- " trary to the Tenor and Effect of the Statute, incur- " ring Perjury; and this was notorious, publick, and " famous.

" XIX. Although by Law and Cuſtom, the People " ought to be free to chuſe Knights to repreſent them in " Parliament, to propound their Grievances, and pro- " vide Remedies for them; yet the ſaid King, that he " might obtain his own raſh Will in his Parliaments, " directed by Writs often to the Sheriffs, to ſend ſuch as " he named, ſome of whom he induced by Favors, " others by Threats and Terrors, others by Bribes, to " conſent to things prejudicial to the Kingdom, and grie- " vous to the People; and eſpecially by granting to " him the Subſidy of Wool for his Life, and another " Subſidy for certain Years, too much oppreſſing the " People.

" XX. The ſame King, that in all things he might " act Arbitrarily, unlawfully made and commanded all " the Sheriffs to ſwear beyond their uſual Oath, That " they would obey all his Commands ſent to them under " the Great Seal, Privy Seal, or Signet; and in caſe " they ſhould know any in their Bailiwicks or Juriſ- " dictions, that ſhould ſpeak any ill publickly or privately, " to the diſgrace or ſcandal of the King's Perſon, they " ſhould arreſt and commit them to Priſon, there to re- " main while they received other Commands from the " King, as it might be found upon Record; which " Practice might likely tend to the Deſtruction of many 1399. " of his Subject.

" XXI. The ſame King, that he might ſupplant his " People, and get their Eſtates to enrich himſelf, cauſed " the People of ſixteen Counties, by Letters under their " Seals, to ſubmit to him as Traitors; by colour of " which, he obtained of them great Sums of Money to " procure his Favour: And although to pleaſe the People, " thoſe Letters Obligatory were reſtored to them; yet " their Procurators had full Power to bind themſelves for " them to the King, which he cauſed to be done; and " ſo deceived his People, and ſubtilly extorted their Goods " from them.

" XXII. Although the ſame King ſware at his Coro- " nation, to preſerve the Liberties granted to the Church " of *England*; yet by reaſon of his Voyage into *Ire-* " *land*, he by his Letters, commanded many religious " Perſons, Abbots, and Priors, ſome to ſend him Horſes, " others Waggons, others great Sums of Money; and " by his way of writing, he forced many by Fear, to " comply with his Demands; whence they were im- " poveriſhed and oppreſſed, in manifeſt derogation to " Eccleſiaſtick Liberty; by which pretext he incurred Per- " jury.

" XXIII. In many great Councils, when the Lords " and Juſtices were charged to counſel him faithfully, in " things that touched his own, and the State of the King- " dom, they were often ſo ſharply rebuked and reproved, " that they durſt not ſpeak Truth, in giving Advice con- " cerning the State of the Kingdom.

" XXIV. The Treaſurer Reliques and Jewels of the " Crown, which ought to be preſerved in the Treaſury, " for the Honour of the King, and Conſervation of the " Kingdom, if any thing might happen, the ſaid King " carried with him towards *Ireland*, without the Con- " ſent of the States of the Kingdom; whence the King- " dom had been greatly impoveriſhed, if God had not " otherwiſe provided for the taking of thoſe Goods from " him againſt his Will. And further, he cauſed the Re- " cords concerning the State and Government of his " Kingdom to be razed, in great prejudice of his Peo- " ple, and diſinheritance of the Crown, and very likely, " as it was believed, for the ſupport of his ill Govern- " ment.

" XXV. He was ſo variable and diſſembling in Words " and Writing, and ſo contrary to himſelf, eſpecially in " writing to the Pope, Kings, and other Lords, without " and within the Kingdom, and alſo to his Subjects, that " no Man living, knowing what he was could confide in " him; yea he was reputed ſo unfaithful and inconſtant, " that he was not only a ſcandal to his own Perſon, but " to the whole Kingdom, and all Strangers that knew " him.

" XXVI. Though the Lands, Tenements, Goods, and " Chattels of all Freemen, by the Laws of the Land, " ought not to be ſeized without Forfeiture; yet the ſaid " King intending to enervate thoſe Laws in the preſence " of many Lords, and others of the Community of the " Kingdom, he often ſaid and affirmed, That the Life " of every Subject, his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and " Chattels, were his, to be diſpoſed as he pleaſed without " forfeiture; which was altogether againſt the Laws and " Cuſtoms of his Kingdom.

" XXVII. Although it had been made a Law, which " had hitherto been confirmed, That no Freeman might " be taken, *&c.* nor any ways deſtroyed, nor that the " King ſhould proceed againſt him, but by lawful Trial " of his Peers, or the Law of the Land; yet according " to the Will, Command, and Appointment of the ſaid " King, very many of his Lieges being maliciouſly ac- " cuſed, for having ſpoke publickly, or privately, Words " that might tend to the ſcandal and diſgrace of the " King's Perſon, were taken, impriſoned, and brought " before the Conſtable and Marſhal in the Court Mili- " tary; where being accuſed, they could not be ad- " mitted to give any other Anſwer, than Not Guilty; " and could defend themſelves no otherwiſe than by their " Bodies, their Accuſers being young Men, luſty, and " ſound; whereas they were old, impotent, lame, and " infirm; from whence not only the deſtruction of " Lords and great Men, but of ſingular Perſons of the " Community of the Kingdom very likely might have " followed: When therefore the ſaid King willingly " contravened this Law, no doubt he incurred Per- " jury.

" XXVIII. Although the People of *England*, by vir- " tue of their Liegeance, were ſufficiently bound to their " King, and if they offended in any manner, he might " correct and puniſh them by the Laws and Cuſtoms of " the Kingdom; yet the ſaid King deſiring to ſupplant, " and too much oppreſs his People, that he might more

1399. " freely execute, and be able to follow the fancy of his " fooliſh and unlawful Will, he ſent his Letters into all " Counties of his Kingdom, that all his Lieges, as well " Spiritual as Temporal, ſhould take certain Oaths in " general, which were too burthenſome to them, and " which very likely might cauſe the final Deſtruction of " his People, and that under their Letters and Seals they " ſhould confirm theſe Oaths; which Command the Peo- " ple obeyed, leſt they ſhould incur his Indignation, and " for fear of Death.

" XXIX. When the Parties contending in the Eccle- " ſiaſtick Court, in Cauſes merely Eccleſiaſtick and Spi- " ritual, endeavoured to procure Prohibitions to hinder " Proceſs in the ſame, from the Chancellor of *England*, " who out of Juſtice refuſed to grant them, yet the ſame " King often granted them under his Signet, wickedly " infringing the Church Liberties granted in *Magna* " *Charta*, which he had ſworn to preſerve, damnably " incurring Perjury, and the ſentence of Excommunica- " tion pronounced by the Holy Fathers againſt the Viola- " tors of Church Liberties.

" XXX. The ſaid King in Parliament, compaſſed " about with armed Men, without reaſonable Cauſe or " legal Proceſs, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, " baniſhed *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and " his Spiritual Father, being then abſent by his Contri- " vance.

" XXXI. Upon peruſal of the ſaid King's Will under " his Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, there was in it " this Clauſe: Alſo *we Will, that the Debts of our Houſe,* " *Chamber, and Wardrobe being paid, for which we* " *allow twenty thouſand Pounds, and the Leproſe, and* " *Chaplains we appointed to be maintained at* Weſtmin- " ſter, *and* Bermondſey, *for which we allow five or ſix* " *thouſand Marks, the Reſidue of our Gold ſhall re-* " *main to our Succeſſor, upon condition he approves, ra-* " *tifies, confirms, holds, and cauſeth to be holden and* " *obſerved, all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Judg-* " *ments, made, had, or done, in the Parliament held at* " Weſtminſter, *on the 17th of* September, *in the 21ſt of* " *our Reign, and continued or adjourned to* Shrewsbury, " *and all things done at* Coventry, *on the 16th of* Sep- " tember, *in the 22d of our Reign, as alſo what was* " *done at* Weſtminſter, *on the 18th of* March, *in the* " *ſame Year, by Authority of the ſame Parliament.* " *But if he ſhall refuſe to do theſe things, then we* " *will that* Thomas *Duke of* Surrey, Edward *Duke of* " Aumarle, John *Duke of* Exeter, *and* William le Scrope " *Earl of* Wiltſhire, *my Debts*, &c. *as aforeſaid, being* " *paid, ſhall have the ſaid Reſidue for the Defence of* " *the Statutes, Ordinances, Judgments, and Stabiliments* " *aforeſaid, to the utmoſt of their Power, yea, to Death,* " *if it be neceſſary. Upon all which things we burthen* " *their Conſciences, as they will anſwer it at the Day* " *of Judgment.*" By which Article it appears evidently, That the ſame King endeavoured pertinaciouſly to main- tain thoſe Statutes and Ordinances, which were erroneous, wicked, and repugnant to all Law and Reaſon, not only in his Life, but after he was dead, neither regarding the Danger of his Soul, or the utmoſt Deſtruction of his King- dom or liege People.

" XXXII. In the eleventh Year of the ſaid King " *Richard*, at his Manor of *Langley*, in the preſence of the " Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and many other Lords, " deſiring, as it ſeemed, that his Uncle the Duke of *Glo-* " *ceſter*, there alſo preſent, might truſt and have Confi- " dence in him, of his own accord, ſware upon the ve- " nerable Sacrament of the Lord's Body placed upon the " Altar, that he would pardon unto him all things which " were ſaid to be committed againſt his Perſon, and that " he ſhould never receive any Damage for them; yet " afterwards the ſaid King, notwithſtanding this Oath, " cauſed the Duke for thoſe Offences horribly and cru- " elly to be murdered, damnably incurring the Guilt of " Perjury.

" XXXIII. After a Knight of the Shire, who had a " Vote in Parliament, impeached the Archbiſhop of *Can-* " *terbury*, publickly before the King and all the States 1399. " of the Kingdom, upon certain Defects committed " againſt the King, with little Truth, as it was ſaid; " Although he offered preſently to anſwer what was ob- " jected againſt him, and deſired to be admitted by the " King ſo to do, ſufficiently truſting, as he ſaid, to de- " monſtrate his Innocency, yet the ſame King contriv- " ing by all the ways and means he could, to oppreſs " and reduce to nothing the State of the Archbiſhop, as " the Event ſhewed, kindly ſpake to, and earneſtly de- " ſired him, that he would ſay nothing then, but expect " a more fit time: That day being paſt, for five days " and more together, the King deceived him, adviſing " and perſuading him not to come to Parliament, but to " remain at his own Houſe, promiſing, that in his Ab- " ſence he ſhould not receive Injury; but the ſaid King " in that Parliament, baniſhed the Archbiſhop during " his Pleaſure, being abſent, and not called to anſwer, " without any reaſonable Cauſe, confiſcating all his Goods " againſt the Laws of the Land and all Juſtice, by which " he incurred Perjury. Further, the King intending to " palliate his Inconſtancy, by flattering Words, endea- " voured to caſt the Injury done him upon others: " Whence the Archbiſhop having diſcourſe with the " King, the Duke of *Norfolk*, other Lords, and great " Men lamenting ſaid, he was not the firſt that had been " baniſhed, nor ſhould be the laſt, for that he thought " within a ſhort time the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other " Lords would follow him; and conſtantly told the " King, that the Conſequences of the Premiſes would " fall upon his own Head at laſt: To which the King, " as if he had been aſtoniſhed, preſently anſwered, he " thought it might ſo happen, he might be expelled his " Kingdom by his Subjects; and farther ſaid, if it ſhould " be ſo, he would go to the Place where he was; and " that the Archbiſhop might believe him, he ſhewed him " a great Jewel of Gold, which he would ſend to him " as a Token, that he would not defer his coming to the " Place where he was. And that the ſame Archbiſhop " might have greater Confidence in him, he ſent to him, " adviſing him, that he ſhould privately ſend all the Jew- " els belonging to his Chapel to be ſafely kept, leſt un- " der the colour of the Judgment of Baniſhment, they " might be ſeized; it being ſo done, the King cauſed " the Goods to be put in Coffers, which he cauſed to be " locked, and ſealed by one of the Archbiſhop's Clerks, " by whom he ſent the Keys to him; and afterwards " cauſed the Coffers to be broken, taking the Goods, " and diſpoſing of them as he pleaſed; the ſame King " alſo faithfully promiſed the Archbiſhop, that if he " would go to the Port of *Hampton*, in order to go out " of the Kingdom, that by the Queen's Interceſſion he " ſhould be recalled; and if it ſhould ſo happen as he " ſhould go out of the Kingdom, yet after *Eaſter* next " coming, without fail, he ſhould return into *England*, " nor ſhould he any way loſe his Archbiſhoprick: This " he faithfully promiſed, ſwearing to it, touching the " Croſs of *Thomas* the Martyr, Archbiſhop of *Canter-* " *bury:* Which Promiſes notwithſtanding, the King " cauſed the Archbiſhop to go out of the Kingdom, and " wrote to the Pope for his Tranſlation; and thus, and " otherwiſe, by the Frauds and Cheats of the King, was " the Archbiſhop, a Man of good Faith, craftily circum- " vented.

Theſe Articles being drawn up, were laid before the Parliament, who with one Voice acknowledged them to be well grounded and publickly known, and pronounced, that *Richard* ſhould be depoſed. At the ſame time, Com- miſſioners were appointed to give him notice of his Depo- ſition, and to annul the Oaths and Homage of the People of *England*, after much the ſame manner as in the Caſe of *Edward* II (1). *Richard is depoſed.*

This Affair being thus ſettled, and the Throne become vacant, the Duke of *Lancaſter* roſe up, and after croſſing himſelf, claimed the Crown. He built his Pretenſions, *upon his being deſcended from* Henry III, *and upon the Right* *The Duke of Lancaſter claims the Crown.*

(1) The Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, the Abbot of *Glaſtonbury*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Berkely*, Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, and Sir *Thomas Grey*, and *William Thyrning* Juſtice, were appointed to pronounce Sentence of Depoſition againſt King *Richard*, which being drawn up in writing, was read by the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* as follows: " In the Name of God, *Amen.* We *John* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *John* Abbot of *Glaſtonbury*, *Thomas* Earl of *Gloceſter*, " *Thomas* Lord *Berkeley*, *Thomas de Erpyngham*, and *Thomas Grey*, Knights, and *William Thyrning* Juſticiary, by the Spiritual and Temporal Peers, and " Great Men of the Kingdom of *England*, and by the Communities of the ſame, repreſenting all States thereof, being ſpecially deputed Commiſſioners " for the things underwritten, duly conſidering the many Perjuries, Cruelty, and many other Crimes committed by King *Richard* in the time of his " Government, and publickly exhibited and recited before the States, which were ſo publick, notorious, manifeſt, and famous, as they could no way be " denied; and alſo of his Confeſſion, acknowledging, and truly of his own certain knowledge, judging himſelf to have been altogether inſufficient for the " Government of the Kingdoms and Lordſhip aforeſaid; and that for his notorious Demerits he was worthy to be depoſed; which thing by his own Will " and Command were publiſhed before the States. Having had diligent Deliberation upon theſe things, for the greater Caution to the Government of the " Kingdoms, and Dominion aforeſaid, the Rights and Appurtenances of the ſame, in the Name and Authority to us committed, do pronounce, decree, " and declare, that very *Richard* to be depoſed deſervedly from all Royal Dignity and Honour, and for the like Caution, we depoſe him by our defini- " tive Sentence in this Writing, expreſly inhibiting all and ſingular Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Vaſ- " ſals, and Valvaſors, and all other Men and Subjects of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominion or Places belonging to them, for the future to obey the ſaid " *Richard* as King." Then the States, that nothing might be wanting, being ſeverally interrogated, did conſtitute certain Perſons to be their Proctors, named by the ſaid Commiſſioners, to go and reſign to King *Richard* the Homage and Fealty that had been made to him, and give him notice of what had been done touching his Depoſition and Renunciation. *Rot. Parl.* 1 *Hen.* IV.

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1399. *he had received from God, by the Aſſiſtance of his Relations and Friends, for the Recovery of his Realm of* England, *which was upon the brink of Deſtruction* (1).

Remarks upon it.

It was not without reaſon that he affected to make uſe of obſcure Expreſſions, which left undetermined the Foundation on which he built his pretended Right. If he ſeemed to derive his Title from *Henry* III, rather than from *Edward* III his Grandfather, it was, becauſe there was a Rumour, that *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, ſirnamed *Crouch-Back*, was eldeſt Son of *Henry* III, but by reaſon of his Deformity, *Edward* I, his younger Brother, was placed on the Throne. According to this Suppoſition, the Duke would have made the Ignorant believe, he could ground his Title upon being Son of *Blanch of Lancaſter*, Grand-daughter of *Edmund Crouch-Back*, and Heireſs of that Family. But as he was ſenſible, every Body could not be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a Forgery, he added certain Expreſſions, intimating, that he built his Right alſo upon the Service he had juſt done the State. This is the meaning of the Claim, expreſſed in ſuch obſcure Terms.

As it was reſolved to adjudge the Crown to the Duke, the Parliament took care not to examine his Claim too cloſely, but were very willing to ſuppoſe it unconteſtable. Thus, without any Regard to the juſt Rights of the Earl of *March*, it was decreed that *Henry* of *Lancaſter* ſhould be proclaimed King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, which was done that very Day, being the 30th of *September* (2). 1399.

End of the Reign of Richard II.

Thus ended the Reign of *Richard* II, a Prince who in his younger Years ſeemed to have noble and generous Inclinations, but unfortunately ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by Flattery. He had the Advantage of being deſcended from a Father and Grandfather ſo univerſally eſteemed, that had he never ſo little anſwered the Nobleneſs of his Birth, he might have been one of the moſt glorious Kings that ever wore the *Engliſh* Crown. But like *Edward* II his Great-grandfather, he had the Weakneſs to give himſelf up to the Guidance of his Favorites. Accordingly he underwent the ſame Fate with that Prince, whom he did but too much reſemble in every other reſpect. The chief Difference to be obſerved between them is, that *Richard* was of a more cruel and inflexible Temper, and uſurped a more abſolute Power than *Edward*, which rendered him more odious, and leſs lamented. Let us cloſe this Reign with a Reflection which the ſad Cataſtrophe of theſe two Princes affords; namely, That in a Government like that of *England*, all the King's Endeavours to uſurp an arbitrary Power, are but ſo many Steps towards his Deſtruction (3).

THE STATE of the CHURCH, FROM THE *Reign of* EDWARD I, *in* 1272, *to the End of the Reign of* RICHARD II, *in* 1399.

Tyranny of the Court of Rome, *with regard to* England.

AFTER *John Lackland* became Vaſſal and Tributary to the See of *Rome*, the Popes conſidered *England* only as a conquered Country, for which they had no manner of regard. Of this the Reigns of *John* and *Henry* III, afford us ſuch flagrant Inſtances, that it would be needleſs to add any thing to ſhew to what Exceſs the Papal Power was carried in the Kingdom. It will ſuffice to remark, that the Incroachments of the Court of *Rome* continuing inceſſantly, or rather daily increaſing, the *Engliſh* grew ſo weary of them, that at length in the Reign of *Edward* I, they began to ſeek effectual means for their Deliverance. This was not however till after frequent Experience, that all their Complaints and Sollicitations to the Popes were to no purpoſe. Herein chiefly conſiſts what I have to ſay concerning Religion during the four Reigns we have gone through. But to render this matter more intelligible, it will be neceſſary briefly to obſerve the Occaſion of the Diſputes *England* had, as well with the Court of *Rome*, as with the Clergy.

Complaints of the Engliſh *againſt the Pope.* Ryley's Placit. Parl. p. 376. Statutes. Act. Pub. IV. p. 382, 385, &c.

I. The firſt Cauſe of Complaint, was the frequent Appeals to the Court of *Rome*, not one of which was rejected.

II. The frequent Citations were complained of, cauſed by theſe Appeals, which obliged People to ſpend their Subſtance in Journeys to *Rome*, to ſollicit their Affairs.

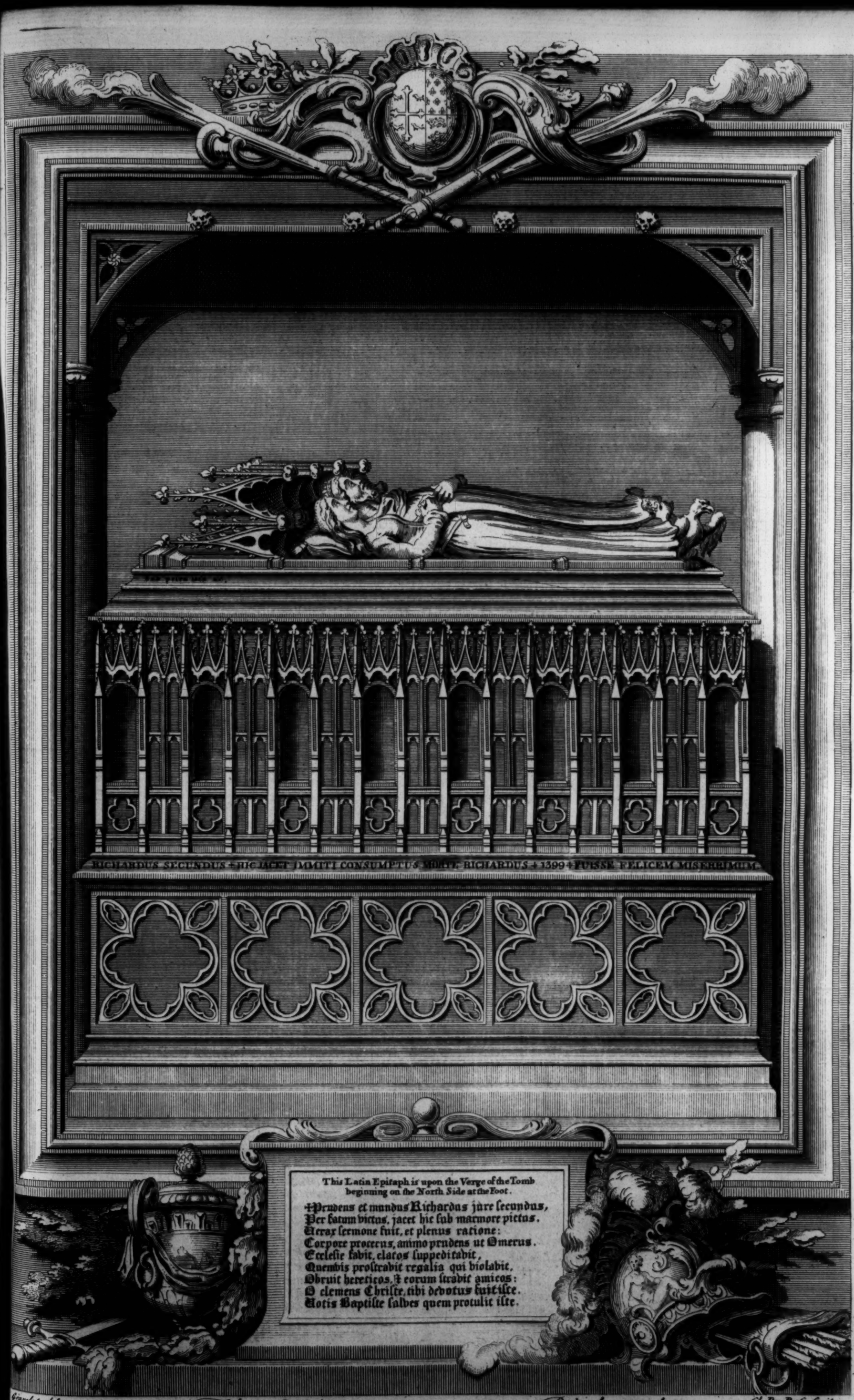
III. That the Pope had uſurped the Collation of almoſt all the Church-Preferments, not excepting the Biſhopricks

(1) He claimed the Crown in the Form following: "In the Name of the Fader, Sonne and Holy Ghoſt, I *Henry* of *Lancaſter* chalenge this Rewme of "*Yngſonde* and the Croune, with all the Membres and the Appurtenances, als I that am deſcendit be ryght Lyne of the Blode, coming fro the gude Lord King "*Henry* therde, and thorghe that Ryght that God of his grace hath ſent me, with helpe of my kyn and of my friendes to recover it: the which Rewme was "in poynt to be undone for defaut of Governance, and undoying of the gude Lawes."

(2) After all which King *Henry* ſaid, "Sires, I thank God and Zowe Spirituel and Temporel, and all the aſtates of the Lond, and do zowe to wyte, it "es noght my will that no Man thynk that be waye of conqueſt I wold diſherit any man of his heritage, franches, or other ryghts that him aght to have, "nor put hym out of that that he has, and has had by the gude Lawes and Cuſtumes of the Rewme; except thos perſons that has ben agan the gude purpoſe "and the commune profyt of the Rewme."

(3) In King *Richard*'s Reign, was brought in the Cuſtom of wearing piked Shoes, tied to the Knees with Chains of Silver. Alſo Ladies uſed high Attire on their Heads, piked Horns, with long trained Gowns, and rode on Side-Saddles, after the Example of the Queen, *Ann* of *Bohemia*, who firſt brought that Faſhion into this Kingdom; for, before, Women uſed to ride aſtride like Men. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 295.——In 1397. King *Richard* began repairing *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and cauſed the Walls, Windows, and Roof to be taken down and new built, with a ſtately Porch, as it now remains. *Stow*'s *Survey*, B. 6. p. 43. *Camden in Middleſex.* *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 749.

In the 18th of *Richard* II, a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard was to make by Tale forty five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds, or a proportionable Number of half or quarter Nobles: And a Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling, to make by Tale ſeventy five Groſſes or Groats, amounting to twenty five Shillings, or a hundred and fifty half Groſſes, at Two-pence a-piece, or three hundred Sterlings at a Penny a-piece, or ſix hundred half Sterlings: And *Nicholas Malakine* a *Florentine*, was Maſter and Worker. Theſe Roſe Nobles (if that in *Speed* be genuine, for it wants both the Roſe and the conſtant Legend of *Jeſus autem*, &c.) gives his Portraiture in a ſedentary Poſture, with a Sword in his Right hand, and RICAR. D. GRA. AGLIE. FRANCIE REX. D. AQVIT. On the Reverſe, AVXILIVM. MEVM. A. DOMINO. His Crown is Fleurie, as in thoſe of his Predeceſſors, but no Rays betwixt the Flowers. We ought perhaps to read HYB for AQVIT. ſince it's hard to imagine, why *Aquitain* ſhould be ſo much as mentioned after *France*; and AGLIE inſtead of ANGLIE, makes it probable, that this was rather coined by *Richard* III, (in whoſe Reign that way of writing was in uſe) than by the IId. His other Coins were exactly like his Grandfather's. RICARDUS. REX. ANGLIÆ. Reverſe, CIVITAS. EBORACI.



This Latin Epitaph is upon the Verge of the Tomb beginning on the North Side at the Foot.

+Prudens et mundus Richardus jure secundus,
Per fatum victus, jacet hic sub marmore pictus.
Verax sermone fuit, et plenus ratione:
Corpore procerus, animo prudens ut Omerus.
Ecclesie fabit, elatos suppeditabit,
Quembis prostrabit regalia qui biolabit,
Obruit hereticos, & eorum strabit amicos:
O clemens Christe, tibi devotus fuitiste.
Votis Baptiste salves quem protulit iste.

Gravelot del

Cl. Du. Bosc. sculp.

The Monument of King Richard II
& ANN his QUEEN in WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

and Archbiſhopricks, contrary to the Rights of the King, the Chapters, and the Patrons.

This Encroachment was grown to that height, that there was not a Benefice great or ſmall, but what the Popes diſpoſed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be maſters of all the Collations. One while, by the Plenitude of the Apoſtolick Power, they reſerved to themſelves all the Benefices which ſhould become void by Tranſlation. Another while, all ſuch as ſhould be vacant by Death, or any other way whatever. By this means they eluded all the Canonical Elections in *England*, without alledging other Reaſons, ſave, that they had reſerved to themſelves beforehand the Right of Nomination to theſe Benefices. It appeared ſo plainly, that their Aim was to procure by degrees the Collation of all the Benefices of the Kingdom, that every one could not but ſee it. For whenever they could not make uſe of theſe Pretences, they ſeldom failed to object againſt the Party elected, and confer the Benefice upon another. Very often, when the Biſhop elect came to be confirmed, he found his Biſhoprick already diſpoſed of by the Pope.

Ibid. p. 371. 385. IV. But as this was generally the occaſion of great Conteſts, and as thoſe that were canonically elected were commonly ſupported by the King, the Pope found a certain means to free himſelf from theſe Importunities. He beſtowed theſe Biſhopricks, and other Benefices, before they were vacant, by way of Proviſion; and this was another great cauſe of the Complaint for the *Engliſh*.

V. It was moreover complained of, that moſt of the Benefices diſpoſed of by the Pope, by the Plenitude of his Power, were conferred on Foreigners, particularly on the Cardinals, and their Relations, who by virtue of the Pope's Diſpenſation, enjoyed the Profit without ever reſiding. Theſe Benefices were commonly farmed out to the *Engliſh*, who, to make the moſt profit, got the Cure ſerved for a very ſmall Salary. Hence Divine Service was neglected, the Churches ran to ruin, Hoſpitality was baniſhed, and the Inſtruction of Chriſtians almoſt wholly aboliſhed. Hence likewiſe this further Inconvenience, the Money was carried out of the Kingdom for ever. It may eaſily be judged how prejudicial this was to the Country, if it is conſidered, that by a Calculation made in the Reign of *Henry* III, the foreign Eccleſiaſticks were found to have greater Revenues in *England* than the King himſelf.

VI. Another cauſe of Complaint ſprang from the frequent Taxes impoſed on the Clergy by the Popes; one while, under colour of a Cruſade; another while, to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Holy See; and laſtly, by the Tenths, which they liberally granted to the King, becauſe they generally had a ſhare.

Act Pub. VI. p. 558. VII. In the next Place, the Legates and Nuntio's, ſent into *England* without any Neceſſity, were a great Grievance to the *Engliſh*. The Clergy were not only obliged to maintain them at a great Expence, but alſo to make them conſiderable Preſents, and pay them Procurations, and other Impoſitions, which the Pope allowed them to levy upon the Eccleſiaſticks. Hence the Money went out of the Kingdom, without any poſſibility of recovering it.

P. 747. VIII. The Popes were likewiſe poſſeſſed of the First-Fruits of all the Benefices, from whence aroſe the ſame Inconvenience, I mean a great exhauſting of the Kingdom's Treaſure.

IX. *Peter-Pence*, which originally was only a charitable Allowance, granted by the *Saxon* Kings for the Maintenance of the *Engliſh* College at *Rome*, was converted into a Tribute; which the Pope collected in a very rigorous manner, very different from that practiſed in former Days.

X. In fine, the Tribute King *John* had ingaged to pay the Holy See, and which the Popes exacted with great haughtineſs, was conſidered by the *Engliſh* as an intolerable Yoke, and a ſtanding Badge of their Servitude.

Complaints againſt the Clergy. XI. As to the Conteſts between the Crown and the Clergy, the King and the Magiſtrates complained, that the Clergy were continually endeavouring to encroach upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, ſecure as they were, of being always ſupported by the Pope.

XII. That the Clergy had extended their Juriſdiction to many things purely Civil, under pretence there is no Caſe but where Religion may be concerned. This Complaint chiefly regarded Matrimonial Cauſes.

XIII. They ſaid further, that the Eccleſiaſticks, inſtead of ſupporting, on occaſion, the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, were always ready to join with the Pope, as if he were their only Sovereign.

Theſe are the principal Grievances complained of by the *Engliſh*, and from which they endeavoured from time to time to free themſelves, either by Acts of Parliament, or Orders of Council. But theſe Precautions to ſcreen themſelves from the Papal Uſurpations, afforded the Popes at the ſame time, occaſion of complaining in their turn, that the *Engliſh* were ſtriving to rob the Church of her Privileges. Herein they had a great Advantage, by loudly urging the Cauſe of God, which they always took care to confound with their own Intereſt. In a Bull of Pope *Clement* V, inſerted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, are ſpecified the Complaints of the Court of *Rome* againſt the *Engliſh*. And ſince I have related the Grievances of the *Engliſh*, it is reaſonable I ſhould likewiſe make known thoſe of the Pope. Act. Pub. III. p. 284.

Grievances of the Pope againſt the Engliſh. I. The Pope complained, that the Cardinals were hindered from enjoying the Prebends he conferred on them, without any conſideration of the Reſpect due to Perſons ordained by God, to bear their part of the Burden of governing the Church.

II. He ſaid, though he had an inconteſtable Right to collate Benefices, as well in *England* as in all other States, yet thoſe on whom he had beſtowed them were not permitted to take poſſeſſion, neither were they that had the boldneſs to oppoſe it excommunicated.

III. That ſuch as were ſummoned upon that account, were not ſuffered to obey the Summons. That Notaries were forbid to act, and the King's Subjects to appear out of the Kingdom.

IV. That the Pope's Nuntio's were hindered from exerciſing their Commiſſion, without the King's Licence. That ſome of them had even been publickly impriſoned, and not releaſed, without paying a large Fine.

V. That the Magiſtrates would not ſuffer the Excommunicated to be impriſoned, after the forty days, which, according to good and laudable cuſtom, were allowed them, to make the Church ſatisfaction.

VI. That the King ſent frequent Prohibitions to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, not to try Cauſes which were of their Cognizance.

VII. That the ſame Courts were abridged of their Juriſdiction over the Clergy, without conſidering, that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are in no manner dependent upon the Laity.

VIII. That the Civil Courts dared to condemn Eccleſiaſticks, without the conſent of their Superiours.

IX. That Clergymen were made to appear in their Shirts in the Civil Courts, notwithſtanding they pleaded their Privileges. That indeed they were ſent back to the Eccleſiaſtical Court when they were demanded; but it very often happened, if they were not found guilty, the Civil Judges were ſo bold, as fully to acquit them, without ſuffering the Eccleſiaſtical Court to take any cognizance of the matter.

X. That Clergymen were ſubjected to the Tryal of twelve Lay-Perſons, and were acquitted or condemned by the Verdict of theſe twelve incompetent Judges.

XI. That the great Men frequently lodged in the Monaſteries, and put them to a great Expence, on the frivolous pretence of their being founded by their Anceſtors.

XII. That during the Vacancy of the Abbeys, thoſe who were entruſted with the Cuſtody by the King, waſted the Revenues, and committed great Damages.

XIII. Laſtly, that the Tribute of a thouſand Marks due to the Holy See, was not regularly paid, and the Arrears which were to be ſent to *Avignon*, were put to other uſes.

Theſe are the mutual Complaints of the *Engliſh* and the Popes, concerning which it may be obſerved, that both Parties were agreed as to Facts, and differed only as to Right. To diſcover on which ſide the Right lay, it would be neceſſary to imagine, whether the Pope and Clergy were originally poſſeſſed of the Rights they aſſumed; or, they were granted by ſome Authority; and laſtly whether that Authority could lawfully confer them. But this would be entring into an old beaten Diſpute, on which nothing new can be expected. Leaving every one therefore to his own Notions, I ſhall only relate the Means uſed by the *Engliſh*, to do themſelves Juſtice for the Injuries they complained of, and the Endeavours of the Popes, to ſupport the Privileges they were poſſeſſed of. But firſt, it will be proper to take notice, that in theſe Conteſts, the Popes had great Advantages. Every Pope conſtantly adhered to the ſame Maxims, without the leaſt Variation. But it was not the ſame with the Kings of *England*, who, to pleaſe their Humour, or gratify their Paſſions, ſcrupled not, very often, to derogate from the Prerogatives of the Crown. This is the true Cauſe of the ſlow Progreſs of the *Engliſh* in their Deſign of freeing themſelves from the oppreſſions of *Rome*. The leaſt Re- *Advantages of the Popes.*

Schiſms diſadvantageous to Rome.

laxation made them loſe a great deal of Ground. And it may be, they would never have accompliſhed the redreſs of any one Grievance, if the Schiſms in the Church had not afforded them Opportunities, which they wiſely improved. For the Popes, who, at ſuch Junctures, ſtood often in need of the Kings of *England*, found themſelves many times obliged to Compliances, to which doubtleſs they would never have ſubmitted at any other Seaſon.

Means of redreſſing the Grievances.

Statute of Mortmain.

As the Pope and Clergy mutually ſupported each other, one of the moſt effectual means practiſed in *England* to oppoſe the *Papal* Power, was to check the Growth of the Clergy's Riches. To that end, in the Reign of *Edward* I, the Statute of *Mortmain* was enacted, as has been related. This was a fatal Blow to the Clergy, who, without this Statute, would have been maſters of all the Lands in the Kingdom, ſince they inceſſantly acquired, and never alienated. But this Statute was almoſt as prejudicial to the Pope, ſince bounds could not be ſet to the Clergy's Power, without leſſening, at the ſame time, that of the Court of *Rome*. *Edward* I, ſtruck likewiſe at the *Papal* Authority, at leaſt with regard to the Collation of the Biſhopricks, by obliging the Biſhops to renounce the Article of the Proviſion-Bull, which gave them their Temporalities, wherein he was followed by his Succeſſors (1).

Renunciation of the Biſhops.

Fruitleſs Attempts under Edward II.

If *Edward* II, had ſhown more Reſolution and Firmneſs, or had not been forced by the Circumſtances of the Times to keep fair with *Rome*, he might have greatly promoted the Work of Liberty, which the *Engliſh* had ſo long and ſo paſſionately deſired. Never were they in a better diſpoſition to ſhake off the galling Yoke. This appears in the King's Letters to the Pope, and in the vigorous Reſolutions of ſeveral Parliaments in his Reign. But *Edward*, expecting always to find in the Pope's Authority, a Protection againſt his Subjects, frequently ſtooped to Condeſcenſions for the Court of *Rome*, deſtructive of the Intereſt of his Kingdom. This rendered the Parliament's Endeavours ineffectual during the Courſe of his Reign.

The Statute of Proviſors.

But under *Edward* III, more effectual meaſures were taken to be delivered from the ſo long complained of Oppreſſions. I mean the two Statutes, which tended to cut up by the Roots two of the moſt conſiderable Grievances, had they been punctually executed. The firſt was the Statute of *Proviſors*, whereby it was enacted, that in caſe the Pope collated any Archbiſhoprick, Biſhoprick, Dignity, or other Benefice, contrary to the Rights of the Kings, Chapters, or Patrons, the Collation was to devolve to the King for one turn. And if any Perſon ſued for, and procured, Reſervations, or Proviſions from the Court of *Rome*, he ſhould be impriſoned till he had made Fine to the King at his Will, and found ſufficient Security not to proſecute any Man in the Court of *Rome*, on account of his Impriſonment.

Statute of Præmunire

The ſecond Act was the Statute of *Præmunire*, by which it was enacted, That in caſe any of the King's Subjects ſhould carry into a foreign Court, Cauſes, the Cognizance whereof belonged to the King's Court, they ſhould be impriſoned, and their Lands, Goods, and Chattels be forfeited to the King.

Memorial to the Parliament againſt the Court of Rome. Rot. Parl. 50. Edw. III. N. 94.

Notwithſtanding theſe two Acts, which ſeemed to take from the Pope all hopes of diſpoſing for the future of any Benefice, and ought to have made him apprehenſive, that the Parliament would proceed to redreſs other Grievances, the Court of *Rome* ſtill continued her Oppreſſions. In 1376, that is, about a Year before the Death of *Edward* III, a Memorial was preſented to the Parliament, ſhowing, that by the Death and Tranſlation of Biſhops, the Pope exacted five times the yearly Revenue of the vacant See, and by that means drew out of the Kingdom twenty thouſand Marks a Year. That the Pope's Agents collected the ſame Sum, for the Neceſſities of the Holy See. That this very Year, the Pope had ſeized the Firſt-Fruits of all the Benefices in *England*. That he had encreaſed the Number of the Cardinals to thirty, among whom there were not above two or three well-affected to *England*. That the Pope's Avarice was worſe than the Plague. That in ſpite of the Statute of *Proviſors*, there were Perſons every day provided with Benefices by the Court of *Rome*, and there was no hindering it, but by baniſhing all that ſhould dare to accept of theſe Proviſions. In ſhort, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to put a ſtop to theſe Oppreſſions, in order to prevent *England* from falling into a fatal Slavery. Upon theſe Complaints, which were carried to *Gregory* XI, there was a ſort of Agreement made between the King and the Pope, but ſo full of Equivocations and Reſervations on the part of the Pope, that it was eaſy to perceive he did not mean to deſiſt from his pretended Rights. He was content with promiſing in general, that he would conſider the Complaints of the *Engliſh*, and behave with more Moderation for the future. *Gregory* dying ſoon after, his Succeſſors regardleſs of his Engagements, ſtill continued to beſtow *Engliſh* Benefices upon Foreigners. This Conduct obliged the Houſe of Commons to petition *Richard* II, to ſeize all the Effects of the Beneficed Agents, and baniſh them the Realm, which the King did accordingly.

Freſh Efforts of the Engliſh.

In the ſame Reign, the Statute of *Proviſors* was confirmed [and enlarged.]

Two Years before, *Richard* forbid the Clergy under great Penalties, to pay a Tax impoſed by the Pope.

The next Year he iſſued out a Proclamation commanding, upon pain of Death and forfeiture of Eſtate, all Perſons that were gone to *Rome* to ſollicite the Repeal of the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*, to return into *England* within ſuch a time.

The Statute of Præmunire *enlarged.*

All theſe Precautions being inſufficient to check the Popes, who pretended not to be bound by Acts of Parliament, the Statute of *Præmunire* was revived in 1392, with Enlargements, which ſeemed to leave the Court of *Rome* no hopes of evading it. The Act ran, That all Perſons that ſhould purſue, in the Court of *Rome*, Tranſlations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, Mandates, or any other things whatſoever, contrary to the Rights of the King and Crown, ſhould be put out of the Protection of the Laws, and proceeded againſt according to the Statute of *Præmunire*. That all thoſe who ſhould bring into the Kingdom theſe foreign Inſtruments, or receive and publiſh them, ſhould be liable to the ſame Penalties. Laſtly, that they who purſued any Proceſs in a foreign Court, to the prejudice of the King's Right, ſhould be treated in the ſame manner.

The Pope goes on, notwithſtanding.

This rigid Act might well curb the *Engliſh* who were ſubject to the Laws, but not the Pope, who was out of their reach; accordingly he deſiſted not from his Pretenſions. In 1398 he tranſlated the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to the See of *Cheſter* (2), and gave the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* to *Henry Beaufort*, a Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*. But the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who had not ſued for this Tranſlation, not daring to accept it, by reaſon of the Statute of *Præmunire*, retired to a Monaſtery, and the Pope tranſlated the Biſhop of *Landaff* to the See of *Cheſter*. *Richard* was extremely offended, that the Pope ſhould take upon him, without being deſired, to remove Biſhops from one See to another. He ſummoned the Clergy upon this occaſion, and demanded their Opinion of theſe Tranſlations contrary to his Will. This was a puzzling Queſtion for the Clergy, who, fearing to diſpleaſe the King or the Pope, avoided giving a poſitive Anſwer. Some time after, the Pope ſent a Nuntio into *England*, to try to procure a Repeal of the foremention'd Statutes. But though the Nuntio met with an honourable Reception, he could not poſſibly ſucceed in his Commiſſion. *Richard* being depoſed the next Year, the Conteſts with the Court of *Rome* remained in this Situation.

Deſign of the Popes to extend their Authority over Temporals.

Certainly it was time for the *Engliſh* Nation, as well as the reſt of *Europe*, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſtop the Growth of the *Papal* Power. They muſt have voluntarily ſhut their Eyes, not to ſee that all the Proceedings of the Popes tended to render them Temporal Sovereigns of *Europe*. Of this the *Decretal Unam Sanctam* of *Boniface* VIII, which ſhows, that Pope thought himſelf inveſted with the Temporal as well as Spiritual Power, is a clear Evidence. But ſince it might be ſaid, it is not reaſonable to aſcribe the ambitious Deſign of *Boniface* to all the Popes, this Evidence may be ſupported by another, which demonſtrates that *Boniface* did but tread in the Steps of his Predeceſſors. I mean *John* XXII, who by his ſole Authority, publiſhed a Truce between *England* and *Scotland*, againſt the Conſent of one of the Parties, and impowered his Legates to conclude a Peace between the two Kingdoms, upon what terms they pleaſed; with Orders to compel the two Kings and their Subjects, punctually to obſerve the ſame, under pain of Excommunication. Does not this proceeding ſhow that the Popes all acted with the ſame Spirit, and if their Ambition had been indulged, would have conſidered Chriſtian Princes but as Subjects, or at leaſt, as Vaſſals of the See of *Rome*?

Agreement between Edward III, *and* Gregory XI.

(1) King *Edward* I. reſtored the old Cuſtom, uſed before the Conqueſt, and for above eighty Years after, of bringing the whole Body of the Clergy to appear nationally in Parliament, as a part thereof, which he partly effected, by inſerting into the Writ of Summons to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops that remarkable Clauſe of *Præmunientes*, which is ſtill continued to this Day: Whereby they were obliged to warn the Priors and Chapters of their Churches, and the Archdeacons, and all the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes; the Archdeacons and Priors in their own Perſons, and the Chapters and Clergy by two fit Proxes, with ſufficient Power from them to be preſent with the King, there by all means to treat, ordain, and do, together with him, and other Prelates and Peers, and other Inhabitants of the Kingdom, *&c.* *Tyrrel.* Vol. III. p. 219.

(2) Of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*. See above, p. 383. Note (16).

Let

Herefies.

Let us proceed now to the Hereſies, or rather the Opinions branded with that Name, during the Interval we have gone through.

Opinions condemned. T. Wikes, p. 114. Knighton. Col. 2467. Spelman. Conc. T. II. p. 347.

In 1286 or 1287, *Peckam* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, cenſured eight Propoſitions, maintained by one *Richard Knapwell* a *Dominican* Friar. Some of theſe Propoſitions, which will ſerve to ſhow what Subjects were diſcuſſed in the Schools, and wherein Knowledge was made to conſiſt, were as follows:

I. That the dead Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* had not the ſame ſubſtantial Form, as when living.

III. That if the Euchariſtical Bread had been conſecrated with theſe Words, *This is my Body*, during the three Days *Jeſus Chriſt* lay in his Grave, the Bread would have been tranſubſtantiated into the New Form, which the Body of *Chriſt* took at the Separation of his Soul.

IV. That after the Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Euchariſtical* Bread is tranſubſtantiated by virtue of theſe Words, *This is my Body*, into the whole living Body of *Chriſt*, that is, the Matter of the Bread is converted into the Matter of his Body, and the ſubſtantial Form of the Bread, into the Subſtantial Form of his Body, that is to ſay, into his intellectual Soul, ſo far as it conſtitutes the Form of his Body.

VII. That in the Articles of Faith, a Man is not bound to reſt upon the Authority of the Pope, or of any Prieſt or Doctor (1), but that the Holy Scriptures and evident Deductions from thence (2), are the only Foundation of our Aſſent.

VIII. That the rational Soul is the only Form by which a Man is a Man (3).

This laſt Article was conſidered as the Foundation of the reſt, and all together were condemned by the Archbiſhop.

In 1314, In the Reign of *Edward* II, ſome Students of *Oxford*, maintained in their Diſputations certain Opinions, concerning the Trinity and Creation of the World, which being brought before the Univerſity, were condemned as Heretical.

Wickliff publiſhes his Doctrine.

Theſe Opinions, being wholly founded on Scholaſtick Notions, were ſtifled in the birth, becauſe the People underſtood nothing of ſuch matters. But it was not the ſame with *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, publiſhed towards the cloſe of the XIVth Century, in the ſame Univerſity. The Reaſon is, his Doctrine was of another nature, and tended to reform the Abuſes crept into the Church. Accordingly his Opinions were embraced by great Numbers. As this is the moſt important Eccleſiaſtical Affair of the XIVth Century, it will be neceſſary fully to ſhow theſe Opinions, and the Zeal wherewith they were received by ſome, and condemned by others.

John Wicklef, or rather *Wickliff*, was educated at *Oxford* in *Merton* College, where he took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was ſo eminent for his Learning, Parts, and fine Genius, that *Simon Iſlip*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having founded *Canterbury* College (4) in *Oxford*, made him Rector. *Wickliff* behaved in his Poſt with univerſal Approbation till the Death of the Archbiſhop, who had a great Eſteem for him. *Langham*, Succeſſor of *Iſlip* (5), willing to favour the Monks, and introduce them into the College, attempted to turn out *Wickliff*, and put one *Woodhull* a Monk in his room. But he could never obtain the Conſent of the Fellows of the College, who were deſirous to keep their old Rector. This Affair being brought to *Rome*, the Monks of *Canterbury* ſollicited the Pope ſo earneſtly in behalf of *Woodhull*, that *Wickliff* was deprived of his Rectorſhip. However, this was no Injury to the Doctor's Reputation. Every Body ſaw it was a general Affair, and that the Monks did not ſo much ſtrike at his Perſon, as at all the Seculars that were Members of the College. And indeed, they were all turned out as well as he, to make room for the Monks. Shortly after, *Wickliff* was preſented to the Living of *Lutterworth* in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, and then it was that he publiſhed, in his Sermons and Writings, certain Opinions, which appeared to be Novel, becauſe contrary to the received Doctrine of thoſe Days. As he did not declare his Sentiments till after the loſs of his Rectorſhip, his Enemies have taken occaſion, to accuſe him of acting from a Spirit of Revenge, by reaſon of the Injury done him. I ſhall not undertake to clear him from this Charge. As there is none but God alone that ſees into the Hearts of Men, it is raſhneſs to accuſe, or excuſe them, with regard to the ſecret Motives of their Actions. I ſhall only take notice, that *Wickliff*'s bittereſt Enemies have never taxed him with any Immoralities. Theſe are the chief Articles maintained by *Wickliff* in his Writings and Sermons.

Wickliff *Doctrine.* Walſing. p. 192, 201, &c. 283, 285. Ypod. p. 531. Knighton. Col. 2644. —2670.

I. That the Euchariſt, after Conſecration, is not the real Body of Chriſt, but only its Emblem or Figure.

II. That the Church of *Rome* is no more the Head of the Univerſal Church, than any other Church; nor was there any greater Power given to St. *Peter*, than to the reſt of the Apoſtles.

III. That the Pope of *Rome* has no more Jurisdiction in the Exerciſe of the Keys, than any other Prieſt.

IV. That in caſe the Church misbehaves, it is not only lawful, but meritorious to diſpoſſeſs her of her Temporalities.

V. That when a Prince, or Temporal Lord, is convinced, that the Church makes an ill uſe of her Endowments, he is bound, under pain of Damnation, to take them away.

VI. That the Goſpel is ſufficient to direct a Chriſtian in the Conduct of his Life.

VII. That all other Rules inſtituted by Holy Men, and practiſed in the Monaſteries, add no more Perfection to Chriſtianity, than whiteneſs to a Wall.

VIII. That neither the Pope nor any other Prelate, ought to have Priſons for the puniſhing Offenders againſt the Diſcipline of the Church, but that every Perſon ought to be left at his Liberty in the Conduct of his Life.

It muſt be obſerved that *Wickliff*, in the laſt Article, did not pretend, as he explained himſelf afterwards, to take from the Pope or the Prelates, the Power of Binding and Looſing, but only meant, that the Church had no Right to inflict Temporal Puniſhments on Sinners.

Whether *Wickliff* and his Followers ſtretched theſe Articles, by the Conſequences which may naturally be deduced from them, or his Adverſaries, from whom we have all we know of him, made any Additions, in order to render him odious, we find in the Hiſtorians, many other Opinions aſcribed to him. Among theſe additional Opinions, there may be ſome not to be maintained, and there are others, which, being contrary to the Articles of the Church of *England*, have made ſome *Engliſh* Writers ſpeak of *Wickliff* with contempt, and even call him Heretick. But it would be too long, fully to examine here all theſe Opinions. Let us therefore be contented with thoſe that firſt appeared, which are really his, and have ſerved for Foundation to all the reſt.

Wickliff has many Followers. Walſing.

Theſe Opinions, maintained by *Wickliff* with great Vivacity, were immediately eſpouſed by great Numbers, not only among the Students of *Oxford*, but the great Men at Court; particularly the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Percy*, Earl Marſhal, declared for him. It muſt be obſerved, that this happened towards the End of the Reign of *Edward* III, at a time when that Monarch, old an infirm, left the Adminiſtration of the Government to the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Son, as we have ſeen in his Hiſtory.

The Pope takes Information againſt him; but he is ſupported by the Duke of Lancaſter *and the Lord* Percy. Fox Acts *and* Mon.

Gregory XI, being informed that theſe Articles were publickly maintained at *Oxford*, diſpatched an Order to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*, to apprehend and examine *Wickliff*, and ſend the Depoſitions to *Rome*. But it was difficult for theſe two Prelates fully to execute theſe Orders, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl Marſhal, having openly declared, they would not ſuffer *Wickliff* to be impriſoned. Indeed, there was yet no Act of Parliament, impowering the Biſhops to impriſon Hereticks, without the King's Conſent. The two Prelates therefore were contented with ſummoning *Wickliff* before them, in St. *Paul*'s Church, where there was a vaſt Concourſe of People to hear the Examination. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Percy* accompanied the Doctor, aſſuring him, there was no danger, and that he might make his Defence with Courage, againſt Men, who were but mere Ignoramuſes, in compariſon to him. Here is a ſhort Dialogue which paſſed between theſe two Lords, and the Biſhop of *London*, upon *Wickliff*'s account. The Lord *Percy* bidding the Doctor ſit down, the Biſhop of *London* oppoſed it, and commanded him to ſtand up, but the Earl Marſhal would not let him.

Biſhop of London. *Lord* Percy, *if I could have gueſſed, you would have played the Maſter here, I would have prevented your coming.*

(1) *Gregory*, or *Auguſtine*. *Spelman Con.* T. II. p. 348.
(2) —Sed tantum auctoritati Bibliæ, & neceſſariæ Rationi. *Ibid.*
(3) Or rather, That in Man there is only one Form, namely, the rational Soul, without any other ſubſtantial Form. *Spelman.* Ibid.
(4) Now ſwallowed up in *Chriſt* Church.
(5) After the Death of this *Simon Iſlip*, *William Edington* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was offered the Archbiſhoprick; but he refuſed it, ſaying, That *Canterbury* was the higher Rack, but *Wincheſter* the better Manger. *Tyrrel*, Vol. IV. p. 661.

The Duke of Lancaſter. *Yes, he ſhall play the Maſter here for all you.*

The Lord Percy. Wickliff, *ſit down; you have need of a Seat, for you have many things to ſay.*

Biſhop. *It is unreaſonable that a Clergyman, cited before his Ordinary, ſhould ſit down during his Anſwer. He ſhall ſtand.*

Duke of Lancaſter. *My Lord* Percy *is in the right. And for you, my Lord Biſhop, who are grown ſo proud and arrogant, I will take care to humble your Pride, and not only yours, but that of all the Prelates in* England. *Thou dependeſt upon the Credit of thy Relations, but far from being able to help thee, they ſhall have enough to do to ſupport themſelves.*

Biſhop. *I place no Confidence either in my Relations or in any Man elſe, but in God alone, who will give me the Boldneſs to ſpeak the Truth.*

The Duke ſpeaking ſoftly to the Lord *Percy:*

Rather than take this at the Biſhop's hands, I'll drag him by the Hair of the Head out of the Church.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* muſt needs have been very paſſionate, ſince it is certain the Biſhop's laſt Words were not inſolent enough, to occaſion ſo great a tranſport of Anger. But it may be, the Biſhop uſed harſher Expreſſions, which the Hiſtorians, Friends of the Clergy, have taken care to ſoften, that the Duke might appear to be in the wrong. However, the Duke's Words to the Lord *Percy*, being over-heard by ſome Stander-by, occaſioned the Tumult mentioned in the Reign of *Edward* III, the particulars whereof it will be needleſs to repeat. It ſuffices to obſerve, that upon this Accident the Aſſembly broke up, and *Wickliff*'s Examination was deferred to another time.

Wickliff's Proſecution drops.

The Death of *Edward* III. happening ſhortly after, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* being Preſident of the new King's Council, the Biſhops durſt not proceed againſt *Wickliff*. During that time, the number of his Followers increaſed ſo conſiderably, that the Univerſity of *Oxford* debated, whether they ſhould receive the Pope's Bull, commanding them to proſecute *Wickliff* with the utmoſt rigour. The Hiſtorian who relates this particular, not acquainting us with their final Reſolution, the Bull was probably rejected. Hence it appears, that *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was not embraced by ſome ignorant Perſons only, but by Men of Letters, and Perſons of Quality. Some would make us believe, that People were frightned into a feigned Approbation of his Doctrine. But it may be ſaid, on the contrary, with much more probability, that Fear hindered many from being his followers. For a Man ran no risk in continuing to adhere to the old, whereas it was dangerous to embrace the new Doctrines.

Walſing. p. 201.

Collier.

Bull to the Archbiſhop to cite Wickliff. Walſing. p. 202. Spelman, Conc. T. II. p. 621.

The Pope finding, his Bull to the Univerſity of *Oxford* produced no great Effect, ſent freſh Orders to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*, to proſecute *Wickliff*. But as he had Intimation, that the Biſhops could not proceed in the Affair without the King's Licence, he enjoyned them to repreſent to *Richard* and his Council, that *Wickliff*'s Errors were not only dangerous to Religion, but likewiſe to the State. However, the King's Council, it ſeems, did not think ſo. Perhaps no body was willing to offend the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Wickliff*'s open Protector.

They cite him,

but drop the Affair.

The two Prelates however willing to obey the Pope to the utmoſt of their Power, ſummoned *Wickliff* a ſecond time before them at *Lambeth*. He appeared, and by his manner of explaining his Opinions, ſeemed ready to give the Prelates ſome ſort of Satisfaction. But, probably, they would not have been contented with ſo general an Explanation, if one *Clifford* a Gentleman had not rudely entered the Aſſembly, and forbid them to proceed. It is ſaid, the two Prelates were over-awed by this abſolute Order, though they knew not from whence it came; believing that *Clifford* durſt not act thus of himſelf. Beſides, the Populace intimated by their menacing Words, that they would not ſee *Wickliff* ill-treated. Theſe Conſiderations obliged the Biſhops to diſmiſs the Doctor, forbidding him to amuſe the People any more with diſputations of ſo dangerous a conſequence. But he had no regard to this Injunction, ſince, according to the Teſtimony of an antient Hiſtorian, he continued to preach and defend his Doctrine. By the way, this Steadineſs ill agrees with the Explanation of his Opinions, which it is pretended he gave to the Biſhops, and is repreſented as full of Equivocations and Evaſions. The Truth is, this diſguiſing his Sentiments is little agreeable to his natural Temper, which was far from being timorous. Be this as it will, from that time he lived in quiet upon his Cure of *Lutterworth*, without any farther diſturbance. Some time after, *Courtney* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Succeſſor of *Simon Sudbury*, beheaded by the *Kentiſh* Rebels, ſummoned a Provincial Synod at *London*, where *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was condemned. An Hiſtorian affirms, that *Wickliff* was cited, and explained his Opinion in a manner very different from the literal Senſe of the Words. But as the Records of the Synod mention nothing like it, the Hiſtorian has, very probably, confounded this Synod with that of *Lambeth*.

Knighton, Col. 2647.

His Doctrine condemned by a Synod. Spelman, T. II. p. 629. Knighton.

The Condemnation of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, prevented not its ſpreading all over the Kingdom, and with ſuch Succeſs, that the fore-mentioned Hiſtorian aſſures us, two Men could not be found together, and one not a *Lollard*. *Richard* II, as was obſerved in his Hiſtory, permitting the Biſhops to proſecute and impriſon Hereticks, ſeveral *Lollards* were cited before their reſpective Biſhops. Some recanted, and others bravely ſtood the Shock. But among theſe laſt, there was not one delivered over to the ſecular Arm, there being yet no Law to that purpoſe. It was not till the next Reign, that thoſe barbarous Executions commenced in *England*. So, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Biſhops, *Wickliff*'s Opinions flew over the Kingdom with a wonderful ſwiftneſs, becauſe the Clergy were not at Liberty to employ the only means they have all along thought proper to extirpate Hereſy. It ſeems alſo, the Biſhops durſt not perſonally attack *Wickliff*, for fear of having their Ignorance too much diſplayed by his ſuperior Learning. Be that as it will, *Wickliff* was left in quiet at *Lutterworth* till his death, in 1384 (1). Probably, in proceſs of time, his Followers made ſome Additions to his Doctrine, and hence it is, they have aſcribed to him whatever was advanced by his Diſciples.

Wickliff's Followers increaſe. Knighton. Col. 2655, &c.

The Loſs of the Maſter diſheartned not his Followers. They continued to preach and maintain their Opinions, with the ſame Courage as during his Life. The daily progreſs of their Doctrine became at length ſo conſiderable, that in 1386, the Parliament thought themſelves obliged, to petition the King to take care that the Church and State received no detriment by the novel Opinions of the *Lollards*. Whereupon the King appointed Commiſſioners to peruſe *Wickliff*'s Books; but this Commiſſion was very negligently executed.

The Wickliffites ſeparate from the reſt of the Church.

In 1389, the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards* began to ſeparate from the Church of *Rome*, and appoint Prieſts from among themſelves, to perform Divine Service, after their way. Though ſome were from time to time proſecuted by the Biſhops, theſe Proſecutions were not very rigorous. Their Aim ſeemed to be only to hinder them from pleading Preſcription. Beſides, a Petition preſented to the King by a former Parliament, to revoke the Power granted the Biſhops to impriſon Hereticks, reſtrained the moſt forward.

Remonſtrances to the Commons.

But in 1395, the Endeavours of the *Lollards*, in the King's Abſence, to get their Doctrine approved by the Parliament, put the Biſhops upon taking other Meaſures. Theſe pretended Hereticks finding themſelves ſupported by an infinite Number of Followers, preſented to the Houſe of Commons a Remonſtrance (2), containing theſe twelve Articles.

Spelman. Conc. T. II. p. 646.

I. That when the Church of *England*, treading in the Steps of the Church of *Rome*, began to make an ill uſe of her Temporalities, Faith and Charity began to diſappear.

II. That the *Engliſh* Prieſthood derived from *Rome*, and pretending to a Power ſuperior to Angels, is not the Prieſthood ſettled by Chriſt upon his Apoſtles.

III. That the Celibacy of the Clergy, was the occaſion of many ſcandalous Irregularities in the Church.

IV. That the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, renders the greateſt part of *Chriſtendom* guilty of Idolatry.

V. That Exorciſms, Benedictions pronounced over Water, Bread, Oil, Stones, for the Altar, Church-Walls, Prieſt's Veſtments, the Mitre, Croſs, Pilgrim's Staff, have more of Necromancy than Religion.

VI. That it was a great Crime, to join in the ſame Perſon Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Offices.

VII. That Prayers for the Dead, in which one Perſon is preferred to another, are not conformable to the Charity preſcribed by the Goſpel.

VIII. That Pilgrimages, and Offerings made to Images and Croſſes, and eſpecially the Pictures repreſenting the Holy Trinity, are a ſort of Idolatry.

IX. That Auricular Confeſſion ſerves only to make the Prieſts proud, and by letting them into the Secrets

(1) He died of the Palſy, *December* 31. 1385. *Walſing. Ypodig.* p. 537.
(2) By Sir *Richard Story*, *Lewis Clifford*, *Thomas Latymer*, &c. *Walſing.* p 351.

of

of the Penitent, gives opportunities for many Sins, and ſcandalous Intrigues.

X. That the taking away any Man's life, either in War, or Courts of Juſtice, is contrary to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, which is a diſpenſation of Grace and Mercy.

XI. That the Vow of ſingle life, undertaken by Women, is the occaſion of numberleſs diſorders, and of the murder of multitudes of Children unbaptized, or even unborn.

XII. That it is neceſſary to baniſh from civil Society all uſeleſs Trades, which ſerve only to ſupport pride and luxury.

All theſe Articles were backed with proofs too long to be inſerted.

This Remonſtrance, which very likely was privately approved by ſeveral Members of Parliament, ſo alarmed the Clergy, that they immediately deputed the Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *London* to the King; praying him to return with all ſpeed into *England*, that he might by his preſence and authority check the growth of the new Doctrine, as was related in the Reign of *Richard* II.

Spelman. Conc. T II. p. 662. Some time after, *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſummoned a Synod at *London*, where eighteen Articles extracted from *Wickliff*'s Book, entitled *Trialogus*, were condemned.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable particulars concerning *Wickliff* and his Doctrine, before the depoſing of *Richard* II. But I muſt not forget to add, that certain *Bohemian* Students, being at *Oxford* when *Wickliff* began to publiſh his Doctrine, they carried it into their own Country, where it ſpread wonderfully. It is time now to proceed to other affairs relating to the *Engliſh* Church, and in the firſt place to the Councils.

COUNCILS. *Council of* Lyons. 1274. I ſhall begin this head with the General Council of *Lyons*, opened *May* 1. 1274. This Council was ſummoned chiefly to receive the *Greeks* into the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, from which they had ſeparated a ſecond time, upon the *Latines* being driven out of *Conſtantinople*. This union indeed was accompliſhed, but did not laſt long. Another reaſon of the Council's meeting, was to reſtore the affairs of the Chriſtians in *Syria*. As great endeavours were pretended to be uſed in their favour, the Pope demanded a Subſidy of every Church. It was eaſy to ſee the Pope's intereſt in this demand. His Predeceſſors had made ſo frequent uſe of this means to procure Money, that there was no being deceived. However, not a Prelate dared to open his mouth againſt it, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was preſent, kept ſilence like the reſt. *Richard Mepham* (1) Dean of *Lincoln*, was the only Perſon that ventured to ſpeak for the intereſts of *England*. He boldly ſaid, the *Engliſh* Clergy were not able to contribute to the War, by reaſon of the continual exactions of the Court of *Rome*, which ſcarce left them wherewithal to ſubſiſt. This freedom coſt him his Deanery, of which the Pope inſtantly deprived him. Hence we may judge of the liberty in this Council. I come now to the Councils held in *England* during the four laſt Reigns.

Synod of Reading. 1279. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Spelman Conc. T. II. p. 523. The firſt was convened in the Reign of *Edward* I. (2), by *John de Peckham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In this Council were ratified the Canons of the General Council of *Lyons*, concerning Pluralities. Then the Archbiſhop paſſed ſome Canons directly contrary to the Prerogative Royal, and for that reaſon he was obliged to repeal them afterwards.

The firſt decreed Excommunication againſt ſuch as ſued for the King's Letters, to prohibit certain Cauſes from being tried in the Eccleſiaſtical Court.

The ſecond rendered liable to the ſame Penalty the Magiſtrates, who refuſed to impriſon excommunicated Perſons, after the forty days allowed by the Canons.

By the third, they that invaded the Church's Lands, were likewiſe to be excommunicated.

The fourth prohibited under the ſame penalty the ſelling of Proviſions to the Archbiſhop of *York*, whenever he ſhould come within the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Juriſdiction.

This was a ſhort and ſure way to end his diſpute with the Archbiſhop of *York*, about carrying the Croſs. So, in caſe this Canon had not been annulled, the Archbiſhop of *York* would have found it difficult to be preſent at the Parliament, which was generally held at *London*.

The fifth ordered the Copies of *Magna Charta* to be ſet up on Church-doors, that every one might read them.

Hence may be judged with what ſpirit this Prelate, who had long ſojourned at *Rome*, was returned to *England*, and how far he would have extended the Church's power, if the King had not oppoſed his deſigns (3).

Synod of Lambeth. 1281. In 1281, the ſame Archbiſhop convened at *Lambeth* a provincial Synod, where, among others, the following Canons were made.

The ſecond enjoined the Prieſts to acquaint the more ignorant ſort of the Laity, that the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are delivered to them, together with the Species of Bread, and that what they receive in the Chalice, is not holy, but only mere Wine, to help them to ſwallow the other Species with more eaſe. For (as the Canon goes on) the Blood of our Lord is allowed only to the Prieſts that celebrate divine Service in theſe leſſer Churches (4).

The IIId Canon forbids Prieſts to re-baptize the Children that had been baptized by the Laity, unleſs there is reaſon to doubt, whether the Child was baptized or not.

In that caſe, the Canon allowed the Prieſt to baptize the Infant, with theſe additional words, *If thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father*, &c.

The Xth enjoins the Prieſts to inſtruct the People committed to their Charge in plain intelligible Language, without making uſe of ſcholaſtick terms and diſtinctions. Then the Canon lays down the Heads they were to expound upon, and the ſenſe they were to give them.

Synod of Exeter. 1287. Spelman Conc. T. II. p. 350. In 1287, *Peter Quivil* Biſhop of *Exeter*, held a Dioceſan Synod, which enjoined, that care ſhould be taken to inſtruct the People concerning the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. They were to be told, that the adoration of the Hoſt could not be carried too far, ſince *they received under the Species of Bread, the ſame Body that hung upon the Croſs for their Salvation, and under the Species of Wine, the Blood which was ſhed from* Chriſt's *ſide*. It ſeems that we may infer from hence, that in the Church of *Exeter*, the Laity received the Sacrament then in both Kinds (5).

Synod againſt the Templars. 1310. We meet but with one remarkable Council in the Reign of *Edward* II, held at *London* in 1310, where the Templars were condemned to perpetual Impriſonment.

Synod at London. 1328. In 1328, in the Reign of *Edward* III, *Mepham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held a provincial Synod at *London*. By this Synod, *Good-Friday*, and the Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin were made Holy-days, and all work forbidden; but however, the Country People were allowed to follow their buſineſs after divine Service. By the ſame Synod, all Monks, Hermits, and Canons regular, were prohibited taking Confeſſions. A Canon made in a former Synod at *Oxford*, which admitted Appeals only after a definitive Sentence, was revoked.

Synod at Magfield. 1332. In 1332, *Mepham* held another provincial Synod at *Magfield*, which ſettled all the Holy-days obſerved in the Province of *Canterbury*. Among the Feſtivals we find St. *George*'s day, and St. *Auguſtin*'s firſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (6).

Synod at London *againſt the* Mendicant *Friers*. *Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held at *London* in 1342 a provincial Synod, the moſt remarkable Canons whereof are theſe:

The IVth enjoined the Monks, who had any appropriated Livings, to relieve the Poor in proportion to the value of the Benefice. In caſe of failure, the Biſhops were impowered to compel them to their Duty, by ſequeſtring the Profits.

The IXth was levelled againſt the mendicant Friers, who abuſing the confidence of dying Perſons, perſuaded them to make Wills prejudicial to their Families. As the Synod durſt not directly attack the Friers, who were under the Pope's protection, thoſe who were prevailed on to diſpoſe of their Eſtates ſo unreaſonably, were barred the benefit of Chriſtian burial.

During the Reign of *Richard* II, we find no remarkable Councils, but thoſe held on occaſion of *Wickliff* and his Followers. But as theſe have been mentioned elſewhere, it will be needleſs to repeat here what has been ſaid.

(1) *Rapin* by miſtake calls him *Richard de Peckham*. It was *Richard Mepham*, who is ſuppoſed to have died at the Council of *Lyons*.

(2) *July* 30. *Spelman Conc.* Tom. 2. p. 320.

(3) There was a Council at *Lambeth*, in 1280. *See T. Wikes*, p. 109. *Spelman Conc.* Tom. 2. p. 327.

(4) ---- Sollicitè eos inſtruant ſub panis ſpecie ſimul eis dari corpus & ſanguinem Domini, immò Chriſtum integrum, vivum, & verum, qui totus eſt ſub ſpecie Sacramenti. *Spelman Conc.* Tom. 2. p. 329. Monſtrous Abſurdities! By this Canon it ſhould ſeem, that the Innovation of Communion in one kind, had not yet prevailed in Cathedral and Conventual Churches; and was to be inculcated only upon the illiterate, whoſe Ignorance was moſt likely to make them admit ſo unprimitive a Practice.

(5) In 1295, a Synod was held at St. *Paul's*, *London*, *July* 6. *M. Weſt.* p. 424. And 1296, *September* 14, another was held at the ſame place. *Idem.* p. 429.

(6) And St. *Thomas of Canterbury's*, which is placed between *Innocents* and the *Circumciſion*, on *December* 29.

Of the Schiſms.

Though *England* was no more concerned than other Chriſtian States in the Schiſms that happened in the Church, I do not think it proper wholly to paſs them over in ſilence. This knowledge is not only abſolutely neceſſary, for the underſtanding of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of thoſe times, but it may in ſome meaſure be ſaid, that the beſt part of that Hiſtory conſiſts of what followed from theſe ſcandalous Schiſms.

John XXII. *and* Nicholas V.

From the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* I, to the end of the Reign of *Richard* II, *Chriſtendom* was divided by two Schiſms. The firſt laſted not long. *Clement* V, removing the Papal Chair to *Avignon*, died there in 1314, and was ſucceeded by *John* XXII, who kept his reſidence at the ſame place. This Pope's election was after an extraordinary manner. The Holy See remaining vacant about two years after the death of *Clement*, becauſe the Cardinals could not agree, they met at length at *Lyons* in 1316, in order to chuſe a Pope. But the ſame diviſions ſtill reigning among them, they agreed to refer the matter to the Cardinal of *Oſtia* (1) Biſhop of *Oporto*, who, without any ſuſpence, nominated himſelf, and took the name of *John* XXII. At the ſame time the Empire was divided by a double Election, one part of the Electors voting for *Lewis of Bavaria*, and the other, for *Frederic* Duke of *Auſtria*. *John*'s refuſal to acknowledge the firſt, occaſioned a quarrel between them, which continually increaſed till 1328, when *Lewis* paſſing into *Italy* degraded Pope *John*, and cauſed *Peter de Corbaria* a *Cordelier*, to be elected, who aſſumed the name of *Nicholas* V, and reſided at *Rome*. This Anti-pope being ſupported by the Emperor and the General of the *Cordeliers*, kept his ground ſome time. But at laſt the Emperor being forced to quit *Italy*, and diſſention ariſing among the *Cordeliers*, *Nicholas* having none to defend him, was taken and carried to *Avignon*, where he asked *John*'s pardon with a halter about his Neck. After this ſubmiſſion, he was put into cloſe confinement, where he died in a few months.

Mat. Weſt. p. 447. Walſing. p. 89.

Schiſm of Urban VI. *and* Clement VII.

The ſecond Schiſm between *Urban* VI, and *Clement* VII, was more conſiderable and of longer continuance. I have related the riſe of it in the Hiſtory of *Richard* II, for which reaſon I ſhall only ſhew its effects, to the end of this Century.

To Pope *Urban* VI, ſucceeded in 1389, *Boniface* IX, who, as well as *Clement*, pretended to be deſirous to put an end to the Schiſm; but nothing was farther from their intentions. *Clement* VII, who died at *Avignon* in 1394, had for ſucceſſor *Benedict* XIII.

All *Chriſtendom* being tired and offended at the Schiſm, the Court of *France* endeavcured to perſuade the two Popes to reſign their Dignity, that another Pope might be canonically elected. They both conſented, but broke their word. *Benedict* eſpecially uſed ſo many evaſions, that the King of *France* reſolved to withdraw his Kingdom from his obedience. For that purpoſe, he gained the Cardinals of that Party, who promiſed to deſert him; but *Benedict* having notice, fortified himſelf in his palace of *Avignon*, by introducing an *Arragonian* Garriſon. He was beſieged by Marſhal *Boucicaut*, but ſhortly after, that General had orders to raiſe the Siege. Thus by the Intrigues of ſome Princes of the Court of *France*, the Schiſm ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the King's endeavours to cloſe it.

Nothing more remains but to give a brief account of ſuch Eccleſiaſticks as were eminent for their Merit and Learning, in the Reigns of the three *Edwards* and *Richard* II.

Kilwarby.

Robert Kilwarby, a *Cordelier*, or *Minorite*, was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the Reign of *Edward* I, and a Prelate of eminent Learning for the age he lived in. He wrote ſeveral Theological Tracts, which were in great repute in thoſe days. His Merit having raiſed him to the dignity of a Cardinal, he reſigned his Archbiſhoprick, and went and lived at *Rome*, where he died.

Burnell.

Robert Burnell, Biſhop of *Bath*, was choſen for Succeſſor to *Kilwarby*; but the Pope, by the plenitude of his Apoſtolick Power, gave the See of *Canterbury* to *John Peckham* an *Engliſh Franciſcan*, who was Auditor of his Chamber. This Prelate had great conteſts with *Edward* I, as well on occaſion of the Canons of his Synod, before-mentioned, as upon other accounts. The quarrel went ſo far, that the King was going to baniſh him the Realm. He was reckoned very learned, particularly in the Civil and Canon Law. There are ſome Theological Tracts of his, with Commentaries upon ſeveral Books of the Scripture.

Peckham.

Winchelſey.

Robert Winchelſey, Succeſſor of *Peckham*, preferred his Archbiſhoprick to a Cardinalate which the Pope would have honoured him with. This Prelate is chiefly praiſed for his Charities. He uſed to relieve four thouſand poor People twice a week at his Houſe, beſides his maintaining many young Scholars at both the Univerſities. Theſe Charities gained him the affections of the People, who, after his death, flocked in crouds to his Tomb, and payed him the regard of a Saint. Mean while, this Archbiſhop, ſo beloved by the People, had great conteſts with *Edward* I, for being deeply concerned in the Intrigues of the Lords who oppoſed the deſigns of the King. The Pope, whom *Edward* knew how to gain to his intereſt, cited the Archbiſhop to *Rome*, to juſtify his conduct, and laid him under a ſuſpenſion. It was not till the Reign of *Edward* II, that he was reſtored.

M. Weſt. Walſing. Act. Pub. II. p. 989, 1002.

Britton.

John Britton Biſhop of *Hereford*, chiefly excelled in the knowledge of the common Law. He wrote a Book much eſteemed, *de Juribus Anglicanis*, and died in 1275.

Duns Scotus.

Joannes Duns Scotus, commonly called, *Doctor Subtilis*, lived in the Reign of *Edward* II, and is too well known to be inlarged upon. It ſuffices to obſerve, that he differed in many things from the opinion of *Thomas Aquinas*, and was a great Champion for the immaculate conception of the bleſſed Virgin. After being Profeſſor in Divinity at *Oxford* and *Paris*, he died at *Cologn* in the ſame Office, in 1309 or 1310.

Stapleton.

Walter Stapleton Biſhop of *Exeter*, was eminent for his Learning, and Capacity in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs; and particularly for Loyalty to *Edward* II, his Sovereign, for which he loſt his life, as was related in the Hiſtory of that Prince (2).

Stratford.

Stratford Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* under *Edward* III, was more famous as a Stateſman, than as an Archbiſhop. I have related elſewhere his conteſt with *Edward* III, who accuſed him of miſdemeanors. But afterwards, the King commanded his accuſations againſt him to be cancelled, as containing things neither true nor reaſonable.

Bradwardin.

Thomas Bradwardin Succeſſor of *Stratford*, was a great Philoſopher and Mathematician, and withal a very learned Divine. He was commonly called the profound Doctor, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, of giving ſuch Titles, to thoſe that were eminent for their Learning. He wrote a Book againſt the *Pelagians*, which gained him great reputation, intitled, *Of the Cauſe of God*. But what rendered him ſtill more eſteemed than his learning, was, his humility, and his zeal to inſtruct the People committed to his care. Before his promotion to the Archiepiſcopal See, he was Confeſſor to *Edward* III, and attended that great Prince in all his expeditions. Some have done him the honour to ſay, that the progreſs of *Edward*'s Arms, in *France*, was in great meaſure owing to his prudent Counſels.

Occam.

William Occam, of the Order of St. *Francis*, Diſciple of *Duns Scotus*, is famous for being head of the *Nominaliſts* againſt the *Realiſts*, of whom his Maſter *Scotus* was chief. It would be needleſs to explain here, wherein conſiſted the difference between theſe two Sects of Philoſophers, with which, God be thanked, the publick Schools are now ſeldom troubled.

Fitz-Ralph. Walſing. p. 173.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbiſhop of *Armagh* (3), born at *Dundalk* in *Ireland*, was a great enemy to the mendicant Friers. He attacked them vigorouſly in his Sermons preached at *London*, wherein he undertook to prove the nine following Propoſitions:

I. That, with reſpect to the place where Confeſſions are to be made, the Pariſh Churches are to be preferred before thoſe of the Friers.

II. That Pariſhioners ought rather to confeſs to a Curate, than to a Frier.

III. That, notwithſtanding *Jeſus Chriſt* was poor whilſt upon earth, yet he never affected poverty.

IV. That Chriſt did never beg, nor make profeſſion of voluntary poverty.

V. That he never taught people to make profeſſion of beggary.

VI. That Chriſt held the contrary, namely, that Men ought not to beg by inclination and choice, but only when forced to it by neceſſity.

VII. That to profeſs beggary, is a thing contrary to Religion and common Senſe.

VIII. That to be under engagements of voluntary poverty, is not agreeable to the Rule of the Friers *Minorites*, or *Cordeliers*.

IX. That the Bull of *Alexander* IV, which condemns the Libel of the Doctors of *Paris*, cenſures none of theſe eight Propoſitions.

Theſe Articles, which attacked the mendicant Friers in the moſt ſenſible part, it being by their voluntary

(1) *Rapin* ſays by miſtake *d' Oſſa*.

(2) With him may be joined *Walter de Merton*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Founder of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, in the Year 1267, who died in 1277. *T. Wikes*, p. 106.

(3) He was inſtalled Dean of *Lichfield*, *April* 20. 1337, and tranſlated to *Armagh*, 1347. He died in 1360.

I^st. Genealogical Table of the Royal Family of Scotland from Malcolm II to Robert II.

The Scots pretend that Malcolm II was the 83 King of Scotland from Fergus I.

83 Malcolm II. K. of Scot. d. 1040.

Beatrix — Boada

84 Duncan I. K. of Scot. d. 1046. — 85 Macbeth K. of Scot. d. 1061.

86 Malcolm III. Canmoir Margaret of England Sister of Edgar Etheling d. 1097. — 87 Donald VI. K. of Scot expell'd 1099. — Luctacus

Edward Slain v.t. his Father. — Ethelred d. before his Father. — 89 Edgar K. of Scot. d. 1109. — 90 Alexander I. K. of Scot. d. 1120. — 91 David K. of Scot. d. 1151. — Edmund — Matilda Henry I K. of Eng. — Maria Eustace E. of Bulloign — 88 Duncan II. Bastard K. of Scot. imprison'd 1103. — Bethoca

Henry P. of Scot. d. before his Fa. — Matilda 1 Hen III Emp. 2 Geoffrey E. of Anjou — Matilda Stephen K. of Eng. — Hexilda N. Comin

92 Malcolm IV. K. of Scot. d. 1160. — 93 William King of Scot. d. 1214. — David E. of Huntingdon Matilda of Chester. — Ada N. E. of Holland. — Marjory N. — Will.m Comin.

94 Alexander II. K. of Scot. d. 1249. — Isabella Rob.t de Ross. — Ilda de Dunbar. — Margaret Eustace de Vesci. — Henry de Galithly. — Alfrick Will. Say. — Henry David Iohn. — Margaret Alan de Galway. — Isabella N. Bruce. — Ada Hen. Hastings — Florence E. of Holland. — Alix N. de Pinkenny — Richard Comin

95 Alexander III. K. of Scot. d. 1283. — Margaret — Marjory Nich. de Soules. — William de Ross. — Patrick E. of Dunbar. — William de Vesci. — * Patrick de Galithly. — Will.m Say. — Thomas Christina. — Devergulda Iohn Baliol. — Marjory — * Robert Bruce E. of Carick. — * Iohn Hastings. — * William E. of Holl. — * Henry de Pinkenny. — * Iohn Comin.

David Alexander. — Margaret Erick K. of Norway. — Magoth — * Nicholas de Soules. — Robert de Ross. — Patrick E. of Dunbar. — Iohn de Vesci. — Will.m de Vesci. — Alfrick Rob.t Werden. — * 97 John Baliol Made K. of Scot. by Ed. I. of Engl. — 98 Robert I. Bruce K. of Scot. d. 1329. — Edw.d slain in Ireland. — David Marjory.

96 Margaret of Norway Q. of Scot. Contracted to Ed. P. of Wales Son of Edw. I. d. in coming over to Scot. — * Robert de Ross. — * Patrick E. of Dunbar. — Agatha N. of Mandeville. — 100 Edward Baliol Made King of Scot. by Ed III. in the room of David II. & expell'd by the Scots. — 99 David II. K. of Scot. Joanna of Eng. d. 1370. — Marjory Walter Stuart. — Margaret Matilda.

After the Death of Margaret of Norway the Crown of Scot. was in dispute chiefly between Iohn Baliol and Robert Bruce. The rest mark'd with Stars claim'd it likewise, but were descended from Bastards, or the younger Branches of David E. of Huntington.

* Roger de Mandeville.

101 Robert II. Stuart King of Scot.

poverty that they had gained, and preserved their credit with the People, were carried to the Pope, who cited the Archbiſhop before him. He appeared, and couragiouſly maintained all his aſſertions. But before this affair was decided, he died at *Avignon* 1360. He tranſlated the Bible into *Engliſh*, and wrote two Treatiſes, one in defence of the Pariſh Prieſts, againſt the Friers; the other, *de Audientia Confeſſionum*.

Treviſa. *John de Treviſa*, a *Corniſh* Man, who lived in the Reign of *Edward* III, tranſlated the Bible, and ſeveral other Books into *Engliſh*. He was of the ſame opinion as the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and maintained, that *Jeſus Chriſt* ſent Apoſtles, but never mendicant Friers, to preach the Goſpel.

Theſe are almoſt all that were eminent for their Piety and Learning, during the four laſt Reigns, unleſs we reckon among the famous and learned Men, a Company of Schoolmen, who, in my opinion, deſerve not to be placed in that Claſs. Some add, the Founders of Colleges and Monaſteries, as meriting to hold a conſiderable rank among the devout. But theſe are too ambiguous marks to be relied on. One may judge by this ſmall number of learned Perſons, how the Sciences were degenerated, ſince, among all the above-named, hardly is there one truly learned. In ſpite of the prejudices of *Wickliff*'s enemies, I ſhall make no ſcruple to excepted that Doctor, of whom I have already ſaid enough to excuſe me from adding any thing farther (1).

(1) The moſt noted Hiſtorians of the Fourteenth Century were:

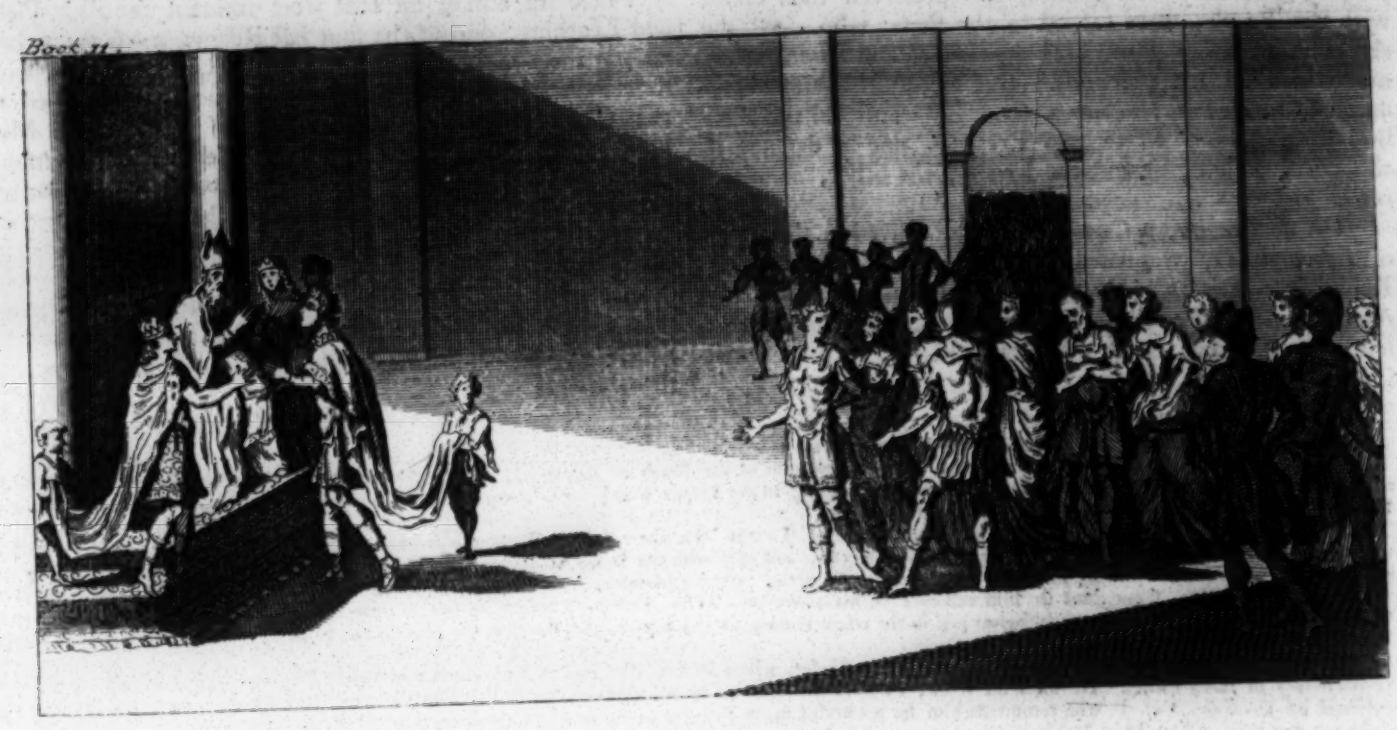
Wikes. THOMAS WIKES. His Hiſtory begins at the *Conqueſt*, and ends at the Death of *Edward* I, 1304. He was Canon Regular of *Oſney* near *Oxford*, and writes as clearly and fully (eſpecially in ſome Paſſages relating to the Barons Wars) as ſo compendious a Chronicle as his is, would allow him to do. Dr. *Gale* has publiſhed this Hiſtory in his *Hiſt. Angl.* Vol. II.

Brompton. The Author of the Chronicle, which goes under the Name of JOHN BROMPTON, Abbot of *Joreval* or *Jorevaulx* in *Yorkſhire*, lived about this time. The *Chronicle* begins with the coming of *Auſtin* in 588, and ends with the Death of *Richard* I, 1198. It is plain from this Hiſtory's taking no notice of the Foundation of that Monaſtery, *&c.* that neither *Brompton*, nor any Member of that Religious Houſe was Author of this *Chronicle*, but that it was procured by that Abbot, and by him beſtowed on his Monaſtery. The Author (whoever he be) is very full in his Collections for the *Saxon* Times, but takes no notice of the Chronological part in the whole Hiſtory of the *Heptarchy*. He gives the *Saxon* Laws at large, and tranſlates pretty honeſtly. This *Chronicle* is publiſhed among the *Decem Scriptores*.

Higden. RANULPH HIGDEN, Monk of St. *Werburgh*'s in *Cheſter*, where he died very aged in 1377, was a downright Plagiary. He falls foul on *William of Malmbury* in many Places. He ſtiles his Work, *Polychronicon*. What he collected relating to the Times of the *Britons* and *Saxons*, has been lately publiſhed by Dr. *Gale*, Vol. I. who commends him for preſerving many Remains out of antient Chronicles, now wholly loſt or miſlaid.

Matthew of Weſtminſter Merimuth. MATTHEW, a *Benedictine* Monk of WESTMINSTER, ended his Hiſtory at the Year 1307, though it was afterwards continued by other Hands. He was a choice Collector of the Flowers of former Hiſtorians, from whence he is uſually ſtiled *Florilegus*. He entirely tranſcribes *Matthew Paris*. His moſt eminent Continuator was *Adam Merimuth*, Canon Regular of St. *Paul*'s, and an eminent *Civilian*, who in his latter Days gave himſelf wholly to the Reading and Writing *Engliſh Hiſtory*. He begins his Work at 1302, and reaches to 1380.

THE



THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XI.

The Reigns of HENRY IV, *and* HENRY V; *Containing the Space of Twenty two Years and Ten Months.*

13. *HENRY* IV. *Sirnam'd of* BULLINGBROKE.

1399. HENRY IV. *continues the ſame Parliament called by* Richard.

HENRY Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſirnamed of *Bullingbroke* the place of his Birth (1), having been proclaimed the 30th of *September*, took that very day the reins of the Government. As the Parliament then aſſembled was called in *Richard*'s name, and as their Authority ceaſed upon his being depoſed, *Henry*'s firſt care was to call another. To proceed according to cuſtom, the Repreſentatives muſt have been choſen anew. But *Henry* did not think fit to run the risk, of having a leſs favorable Parliament than that which had ſo heartily eſpouſed his Cauſe. He was contented therefore, with impowering the ſame Repreſentatives, to make, with the Houſe of Lords, a new Parliament under his Authority. I ſhall not venture to decide, whether this proceeding was ſomewhat irregular, or authorized by any former precedent. Be this as it will, after a few days interruption, the ſame Parliament met again on the 9th of *October*, as if called by the new King.

Cotton & Abridg. Brady.

The Earl of March *retires to* Wigmore.

Mean time *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, conſidering it would be no leſs dangerous than fruitleſs, at ſuch a juncture, to aſſert his juſt right to the Crown, retired to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore* (2), near the borders of *Wales*. The more inconteſtable his Title was, the more reaſon he had to dread the new King's jealouſy. So, giving way to the torrent which he could not ſtem, he reſolved to live in retirement, without ſhewing the leaſt ambition, or the leaſt uneaſineſs at the injuſtice that was done him. He had no other way to ſecure his repoſe, and even his life, againſt the ſuſpicions of a Prince whoſe Intereſt it was to deſtroy him. It was but too probable, that the new King would embrace the firſt occaſion, to free himſelf from the uneaſineſs which ſuch a Rival could create. 1399.

The Archbiſhop harangues the Parliament in praiſe of the new King. Cotton. Ibid.

The Parliament being aſſembled, as I ſaid, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a long Speech, tending to inſpire a high opinion of the advantages procured to the Kingdom by the late Revolution. He enlarged chiefly on the diſorders of the late Reign, and aſſured, that the new Sovereign propoſed to govern after a very different manner, and to preſerve to All their Rights and Liberties. This Prelate was baniſhed the Realm in the late Reign, and *Roger Walden*, who was appointed in his room, had hitherto performed the Archiepiſcopal Functions. But as *Arundel* was not canonically depoſed, the Parliament in their firſt Seſſion (3) ordered that he ſhould reſume his Dignity, and the rather as the other had not yet obtained the Pope's Confirmation. The Archbiſhop's Speech, and ſome preliminary Formalities, were the only things remarkable in the firſt Seſſion of the new Parliament, which was adjourned to the 14th of *October*. This Adjournment was neceſſary in order to prepare for the Coronation, which was to be on the 13th.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 96, 97.

The King fills the vacant Poſts; rewards the Earls of Northumberland *and* Weſtmoreland. Act Pub. VIII. p. 89, 90, 95. Walſing.

During this interval, the King filled ſeveral Poſts, which were vacant, or poſſeſſed by Perſons he did not like. *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, had ſhewn too great a zeal for the King, by joining him at *Ravenſpur*, preſently after his landing, not to have a ſhare in his favours. *Henry* willing to ſhew his Gratitude, made the firſt High-Conſtable, and the other, Earl-Marſhal (4). A few days after, he gave alſo to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Iſle of *Man*,

(1) A Town in *Lincolnſhire*.

(2) In *Herefordſhire*.

(3) *October* 22. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 96.

(4) There was given him by the King, as a Badge of that Office, a golden Staff, enamelled with black at both ends; the King's Arms at the upper end, and his own at the lower. All the Marſhals before him wore a wooden Staff. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 115.------ He was alſo created Earl of *Richmond*. *Walſing.* p. 361.

Taken from a Picture at Hampton Court, Herefordshire.

Design: et Sculp. G. Vertue

1399. situated between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with the privilege of carrying at the Coronation the Sword called *Lancaſter*, on the King's left hand (1). This was the ſame Sword the King wore when he landed at *Ravenſpur*.

Thomas his ſecond Son made High-Steward. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 90. Walſing.

After *Henry* had requited theſe two Lords, whom he conſidered as moſt attached to his Intereſt and Perſon, he made *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* his ſecond Son, High-Steward. It was abſolutely neceſſary to fill this Poſt before the Coronation, becauſe to the High-Steward's Court all muſt apply who claim any ſervice in that Ceremony, in order to be maintained in their Rights. But as the Prince was not above ten years old, the King gave him for Deputy, *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worceſter*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The King is crowned, and anointed with an extraordinary Oil. Walſing. p. 360, 361. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 55.

On the 13th of *October*, *Edward the Confeſſor*'s day, *Henry* was crowned with all the uſual Formalities, being then thirty three years of age (2). He was anointed with a certain Oil, pretended to be brought by the bleſſed Virgin, to St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, whilſt he was in *France*. The Vial which held this precious Oil, was fallen into the hands of a Hermit, who preſented it to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Grandſon of *Henry* III, with this Prophecy, *That the Kings which ſhould be anointed with that ſacred Oil, ſhould become true Champions for the Church*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* gave it afterwards to the famous Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Edward* III, who was reſolved to be anointed with it when crowned. After the death of that Prince, the Vial, which was of ſtone, having on the top a gold Eagle ſet with Diamonds, was laid up among the Jewels, without being minded. *Richard* II, his Son, finding it, ſome time before his laſt Voyage into *Ireland*, deſigned to be crowned again, on purpoſe to be anointed with this divine Oil. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* oppoſed it, by repreſenting, that the unction of Kings ought not to be repeated. At length, the Vial was fallen into *Henry*'s hands (3), who, either out of devotion, or becauſe it came from the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, was pleaſed to be anointed with it at his Coronation. But if we examine the Reigns of this Prince, and ſeveral of his Succeſſors, who were anointed with the ſame Oil, we ſhall not find, that the good Hermit's Prophecy was accompliſhed.

Henry refuſes to own he holds the Crown of the People.

I have obſerved, in the Reign of *Richard* II, that when, after the depoſing of that Prince, *Henry* claimed the Crown, he affected to uſe obſcure expreſſions. His aim was to make the People believe, there was ſome foundation in the right, he pretended to derive from the firſt Houſe of *Lancaſter*, of which he was Heir by his Mother. But this pretext, which might then have ſome effect upon ſuch as voluntarily ſhut their eyes, was too groſs to deceive any longer. It was therefore neceſſary for the new King, to find ſome plauſible Title, to juſtify the Nation's choice of his Perſon. There was none more lawful than the ſervice he had juſt done the State. But he judged it dangerous to reſt his Right upon ſuch a foundation. When he was to receive the Crown, he very willingly owned the Parliament's power to confer it upon him. But when it was once placed on his head, he was afraid, from that principle it would be inferred, that they who had given the Crown, had power to take it away. He was therefore under ſome perplexity. It was requiſite the People ſhould be ſatisfied, that the Parliament could lawfully depoſe *Richard*, and that their Authority was ſuperior to the King's. On the other hand, it was convenient to let them underſtand, that in placing *Henry* on the Throne, the ſame Parliament proceeded not by way of Authority, and could not diſpenſe with owning him for King. In a word, they were to acknowledge in the Parliament an unlimited Power with reſpect to *Richard*'s depoſing, and to decline their Authority in the late Election. Theſe two things ſeemed irreconcileable. But when a Man has power on his ſide, he does not ſo much trouble himſelf about finding good reaſons, as about dazzling the Publick with appearances. *Henry*, perſuaded that in this juncture, no one would have the boldneſs to contradict him, reſolved to let his Subjects know, he did not mean to derive his Right from their bare conſent. On his very Coronation day, he publiſhed a Proclamation, declaring, that he aſcended the Throne, Firſt, by right of Conqueſt: Secondly, by virtue of *Richard*'s reſignation, and deſignation of him for his Succeſſor: Laſtly, as he was the next Male-Heir of the late King (4). By this means he excluded the only lawful Title he had, namely, the general conſent of the People, in order to build his claim upon three manifeſtly weak foundations. In the firſt place, how could he pretend to a right of Conqueſt? He entered the Kingdom but with fourſcore Men, who, probably, were for the moſt part *Engliſh*. Beſides, his good ſucceſs was entirely owing to the concurrence of all *England*, and conſequently he could not ſay he had conquered the Kingdom. In the next place, it was not true that *Richard* reſigned the Crown to him. It was ſeen in the Reign of that Prince, that *Henry* himſelf, as well as his Friends, did not think it proper. *Richard* was only obliged to make an abſolute reſignation, leaſt it ſhould appear too conſtrained, if he did it in favour of a Prince, to whom he was actually a Priſoner. Moreover, ſuppoſing *Richard* had appointed *Henry* for his Succeſſor, how could a King, depoſed for Tyranny and Inability, be allowed a Right to chuſe the Perſon who ſhould ſucceed him, eſpecially as the nomination was contrary to the Laws of the Land? Laſtly, it was ſtill leſs true, that *Henry* was *Richard*'s next Heir, unleſs the *Salic* Law had been revived in *England*, as in *France*, and the deſcendants of the Daughters were debarred the Succeſſion. It is true, in the third Title alledged by the King, there was a ſort of equivocation capable of deceiving. He was Couſin-German of the late King, and conſequently a nearer Relation than the Earl of *March*, who was one degree farther removed. But it did not follow, that he was the next Heir, ſince, with reſpect to the Succeſſion, the Branch, and not the Degree of Relation, was to be regarded. Thus, after the death of *Edward* III, *Richard* his Grandſon ſucceeded him, though he was one degree farther removed than his Uncles. Again, ſuppoſing this rule had not been inviolably obſerved, *Henry* could not ſay, he was the neareſt Relation of *Richard*. He was firſt Couſin; but the Duke of *York*, who was Uncle, had no leſs right than he. So, on which ſide ſoever *Henry*'s pretended Titles were viewed, they muſt have appeared ill-grounded. The only Title he could have produced with any colour, was the conſent of the People. But he would not uſe it for the reaſon abovementioned. 1399.

The King's Proclamation to ſhew his Title to the Crown. Hayward. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 5.

The ſame day the King iſſued his Proclamation, he created *Henry* his eldeſt Son, aged thirteen Years, Duke of *Cornwal*, Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. But he added not to theſe Titles, as ſome affirm (5) that of Duke of *Aquitain*. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 91, 94. Walſing.

The Parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg.

The Ceremony of the Coronation being ended, the Parliament met the next day, being the fourteenth of *October*. The importance of the Acts paſſed in this Seſſion, obliges me to deſcend to particulars, abſolutely neceſſary for the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

Acts of Parliament.

In the firſt place, was paſſed an Act of Indemnity, to ſcreen thoſe, who during the late troubles, had taken Arms in favour of the King, then Duke of *Lancaſter*. This Act was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the Laws condemned, without diſtinction, thoſe that oppoſed the Government eſtabliſhed, which was preciſely the caſe of the King's Friends, and of the King himſelf.

The Parliament examines the Proceedings of the former one. Walſing.

After this Act was paſſed, the Parliament examined whatever was done in the late Reign, to ſtretch the Prerogative Royal beyond the uſual bounds. They applied themſelves chiefly to the Proceedings of the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter* in 1397, and continued at *Shrewsbury* in 1398. All the Acts, as well with regard to the three Lords unjuſtly condemned, as to the exorbitant privileges granted to the King, were ſo manifeſtly deſtructive of the Nation's Liberties, that they were unanimouſly repealed. At the ſame time were revived and confirmed, the Statutes of the Parliament of 1388, annulled by that of *Shrewsbury*. It was thought likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary to paſs a particular Act againſt the Pope's Bull, ratifying the Statutes of *Shrewsbury*. This Bull, whereby *Richard* II pretended to give more ſtrength to Acts of Parliament, was founded on a Principle too oppoſite to the Rights of the People to be ſuffered to ſubſiſt. For the Pope's power to confirm Acts of Parliament could not be acknowledged, without aſcribing to him a Right of Sovereignty over *England*. Wherefore, the Parliament declared in this Act, that the Kingdom of *England* was independent of all foreign power,

(1) He was to hold the Iſle of *Man* by that Office. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 91, 95.------per ſervitium portandi, diebus Coronationis noſtræ & Hæredum noſtrorum, per ſe ipſum aut ſufficientem & honorificum Deputatum ſuum, illum gladium nudum, quo cincti eramus quando in partibus de *Holderneſſe* applicuimus, vocatum *Lancaſtre Swerde*.------

(2) He lodged the Night before in the Tower of *London*, where he made his three Sons, with ſeveral of the Sons of the Nobility, and others, to the Number of forty ſix, Knights of the *Bath*. *Comp. Hiſt.* p. 273.

(3) He had it of *Richard* II, at *Cheſter*, by the Archbiſhop's Means. *Walſing.* p. 361.

(4) This laſt Reaſon in the Proclamation occaſioned that Pun of the Earl of *March*, that he was *Hæres malus*.

(5) *Rapin* is herein miſtaken, for it appears from *Cotton's Abridg.* That King *Henry* now enacted, that his eldeſt Son *Henry* ſhould be called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitain*, *Lancaſter*, and *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, p. 392. See *Walſing.* p. 361.

1399. particularly of the Court of *Rome*, and that the Pope had no right to interpoſe in the civil Government of the Realm.

The *Shrewsbury* Parliament deſigning to extend the Royal Authority as much as poſſible, had ſo multiplied the Caſes of High-Treaſon (1), that none, but ſuch as acknowledged in the Sovereign an unlimited power, could poſſibly avoid the penalty of it. To redreſs ſo dangerous a Grievance, which tended to render the King abſolute maſter of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, the Parliament revived a Statute, made in the Reign of *Edward* III (2), and enacted, that nothing ſhould be adjudged to be Treaſon, but what was contained therein.

Richard's Adviſers and Favorites are called to account. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

After the Rights and Privileges of the People were, by theſe Acts, reſtored to the ſame ſtate as before the incroachments of *Richard*, the Authors and Adviſers of the Uſurpations were called to an account When King *Richard* apprehended the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, he was not inveſted with that abſolute power, ſo liberally conferred upon him afterwards by the *Shrewsbury* Parliament; ſo that he was forced to proceed according to Law, in the condemnation of theſe three Lords. To that end, he ſo ordered it, that *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, his Half-Brother *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, his Nephew, *Edward* [*Plantagenet*] Earl of *Albemarle*, his Couſin, Son of the Duke of *York*, *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter* by his third Wife, and the Lord *Thomas Spencer*, were the Accuſers of the three impriſoned Lords. The Earl of *Salisbury* (3) and the Lord *Morley* (4), were reported to be the chief contrivers of this Plot. After condemnation, *Richard* diſtributed the Eſtates of the three Lords among the Accuſers and Evidences. Moreover, he made the Earl of *Albemarle* a Duke, and conferred the Title of Duke of *Exeter* on the Earl of *Huntington*, of Duke of *Surrey* on the Earl of *Kent*, of Duke of *Somerſet* on the Earl of *Somerſet*, and of Earl of *Gloceſter* on *Thomas Spencer*.

Walſing. As it was publickly known, that the three Lords were unjuſtly oppreſſed by the late King, the Parliament thought it neceſſary to puniſh the Authors and Inſtruments of this violence. For that purpoſe, after reverſing the ſentence againſt the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, as directly contrary to the pardon that was granted them, it was reſolved, that the Accuſers ſhould be deprived both of their new Titles, and the Eſtates diſtributed among them (5). As to their own Lands, it was left to the King, either to continue them in poſſeſſion, or turn them out as he pleaſed. *Henry*, willing to ſhow his clemency in the beginning of his Reign, not only left them their Eſtates, but likewiſe reſtored them to their Honours. Moreover, he made the Duke of *Exeter* his Brother-in-law (6) Governor of *Calais*. The Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Morley*, *Richard*'s deteſted Miniſters, and principal Authors of the violence practiſed upon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the other two Lords, were releaſed after a ſhort impriſonment, though the People loudly called for their death. As the Friends of theſe Lords alledged in their excuſe, that *Richard* compelled them to act, the Parliament took occaſion to paſs an Act, declaring, That for the future, compulſion ſhould be no legal excuſe to juſtify actions contrary to Law.

General Pardon. This affair being over, the Parliament prevailed with the King to grant a general Pardon, in which however were excepted, the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murderers. One of the Villains (7) being apprehended and convicted, was hanged at *London*, and his head ſent to *Calais*, to be fixt on one of the Gates.

The Succeſſion ſettled on the Houſe of Lancaſter. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

Though the injuſtice done to the Earl of *March* was manifeſt, it might in ſome meaſure be coloured, with the pretence of rewarding *Henry* for the ſignal ſervice he had done the State. If this reward had been limited to his Perſon, perhaps it would not have ſeemed very ſtrange, that in ſo extraordinary a caſe the Laws ſhould be ſuperſeded in favour of a Prince, who had ſo freely expoſed himſelf for the Publick. But at ſuch Junctures, it is very difficult to keep within the bounds of Equity. The Parliament, not content with adjudging to *Henry* the Crown taken from *Richard*, would moreover ſecure it to his Poſterity. To that end, an Act was paſſed, ſettling the Succeſſion on the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; firſt on the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales*, the King's eldeſt Son and his Heirs, then on his three Brothers and their Iſſue. 1399.

The King aſks the Parliament what is to be done with Richard. Cotton's Abridg.

A very important affair ſtill remained, concerning which the King was deſirous to have the advice of the Parliament before they broke up. The Commons, not ſatisfied with the bare depoſing of *Richard*, after a very irregular manner, would have had him tried in form, and petitioned the King for that purpoſe (8). It was therefore to know how *Richard* was to be diſpoſed of, that the King wanted the advice of the two Houſes. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was charged with his Orders, having exacted an Oath of Secrecy from all the Members, made the firſt motion. It may well be thought, that *Richard* had not many Friends in the Houſe, and if any diſapproved of the Proceedings againſt him, they were too much awed to venture to ſpeak in his behalf. There was one however bold enough, to ſay publickly, what others only thought, namely, *Thomas Merks* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who, without regarding the motives which might induce him, as well as the reſt of *Richard*'s Friends, to keep ſilence, made a long Speech, wherein he alledged every thing that could with any plauſibleneſs be ſaid for the King depoſed, and againſt the King on the Throne.

The Biſhop of Carliſle's *Speech in Defence of* Richard.

The Biſhop undertook to prove three things. "Firſt, "That there was no Authority which could lawfully "depoſe a King of *England*. Secondly, That the of- "fences *Richard* was accuſed of deſerved not Depoſi- "tion, and beſides were not proved. Thirdly, That "the Crown was unjuſtly adjudged to the Duke of *Lan-* "*caſter*.

"He enlarged very much on the firſt, ſhowing the "great difference between the ſeveral kinds of Go- "vernment eſtabliſhed in the World. He confeſſed that "in ſome, the Prince or Head might be depoſed, be- "cauſe the ſupreme authority was not ſolely lodged in "his Perſon, but the People, or Nobles, had a ſhare. Of "this ſort he reckoned the Republicks, the antient Go- "vernment of *Rome*, the Empire of *Germany*, the King- "doms of *Swedeland* and *Denmark*, the Earldom of "*Flanders*, and ſome other States. But he maintained, "it was otherwiſe in the Governments where the ſu- "preme authority reſides in the ſingle Perſon of the "Sovereign. In this claſs he ranked the Kingdom of "*Iſrael*, among the Antients, with the three firſt Em- "pires; and among the Moderns, *England*, *France*, "*Spain*, *Scotland*, *Muſcovy*, *Turkey*, *Perſia*, and in ge- "neral all the Kingdoms of *Aſia* and *Africa*. With re- "gard to theſe he alledged, that though the vices of a "Sovereign ſhould be not only detrimental, but even "intolerable to his Subjects, he could not be lawfully "depoſed by any means whatever: That force could "not be uſed, without incurring the Crime of Rebelli- "on and Treaſon; and much leſs authority, ſince there "was not in the State any lawful authority but what "was derived from him. He produced Arguments and "Precedents from the Holy Scriptures and profane Au- "thors, which cannot be repeated without being exceſſively "tedious".

Upon the ſecond Article, he boldly aſſerted, "That "the Crimes for which *Richard* was depoſed, were ei- "ther falſe or aggravated: That indeed, he might be guil- "ty of ſome errors or overſights, but his faults could "not be ſtiled Tyranny: That if his Failings afforded "juſt cauſe to depoſe him, how many Sovereigns would "daily be treated as Tyrants, and depoſed by their Sub- "jects? Every Tax, execution of Rebels, in a word, "whatever was not reliſhed by the People, would furniſh "a pretence to dethrone the moſt lawful Prince". He paſſed over the more ſlightly the proofs of this ſecond Head, as the Parliament it ſelf ſeemed to queſtion the truth of the Crimes alledged againſt *Richard*, ſince there was no ſtep taken to prove them in a legal manner. By the way, it is very likely that for fear of this reproach, the Commons wanted to proceed in form againſt the depoſed King.

Upon the third Article the Biſhop maintained, "That "even ſuppoſing *Richard* guilty; and granting the Na-

(1) See above, p. 469. Note (6).

(2) In the 25th of *Edward* III. The Offences declared to be Treaſon by that Statute are theſe: "Compaſſing or imagining the Death of the King, "the Queen, or of their eldeſt Son and Heir: Violating the King's Companion, or the King's eldeſt Daughter unmarried, or the Wife of the King's "eldeſt Son and Heir: Levying War againſt the King in his Realm, or being an Adherent to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving them Aid or "Comfort in the Realm, or elſewhere: Counterfeiting the King's Great, or Privy-Seal, or his Money, or bringing counterfeit Money into the Kingdom: "Killing the Chancellor, Treaſurer, or any of the King's Juſtices, in their Places, and in the Execution of their Office.------*Petit. Treaſon*, is, when a Servant killeth his Maſter, or a Wife her Husband, or when a Man ſecular or religious ſlayeth his Prelate." *Statutes at large*, 25. *Edw.* 3.

(3) *John de Montacute.* (4) *Thomas* Lord *Morley.*

(5) With this condition, That they ſhould not be obliged to refund the Rents of the Lands, for the time they had poſſeſſed them. *Walſing.* p. 361.

(6) *John Holland*, who had married his Siſter *Elizabeth*, ſecond Daughter of *John of Gaunt*, by *Blanch d' Artois*. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 78.

(7) *John Hall.* He was executed *November* 28. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 400, 401.

(8) *Hollingſhead* ſays, the Commons Addreſs was to this purpoſe; That *ſince King* Richard *had reſigned, and was lawfully depoſed from his Royal Dignity, he might have Judgment decreed againſt him*, p. 512.

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1399. " tion had Authority to depoſe him, there was not the " leaſt colour of Juſtice to give the Crown to the Duke " of *Lancaſter*. That if the Duke was the true Heir of " *Richard*, as he pretended, he muſt wait his death be- " fore he could inherit. But it was known to all then, " there was a nearer Heir, whoſe Father was declared " Succeſſor of *Richard* by Act of Parliament." As for *Henry*'s pretended right from *Edmund Crouch-back* Son of *Henry* III, the Biſhop diſdained to conſider it, affirming, " he was very certain, that People of ſenſe were " aſhamed of a Right, built upon ſo ſlender a Founda- " tion."

After this the Orator proceeded to examine the other two Titles contained in the King's Proclamation, namely, Conqueſt, and *Richard*'s Reſignation. To the firſt he ſaid, " That a Subject could never pretend to a Right of " Conqueſt againſt his Sovereign, ſince the Victory it ſelf " was high and heinous Treaſon." As for the reſigna- tion, he ſaid, " it was not only extorted by Force, but " ſuppoſing it voluntary, could be of no Validity: That " in *Richard*'s ſituation, it was not in his power to make " a valid Act: That beſides, ſince by the Laws of the " Land the King could not alienate the Crown Jewels, " much leſs ſurely could he give away the Crown it " ſelf (1)." Then he ſpoke of the general conſent of the People, though *Henry* had not thought proper to inſiſt upon it; " That the Kingdom of *England* having ne- " ver been Elective, it was ridiculous to aſcribe to the " People the power of diſpoſing of the Crown." Laſt- ly, he replied to the objection, which might be alledged from the depoſing of *Edward* II, " That wiſe Men " muſt be guided by Law, and not by Examples and " Precedents. That however the depoſing of *Edward* II, " was no more to be urged, than the poiſoning of King " *John*, or the murder of any other Prince: But even " in the depoſing of *Edward* II, care was taken to pre- " ſerve the Rights of the lawful Succeſſor."

What the Biſhop had hitherto ſaid, might paſs for rea- ſons, to queſtion whether *Richard* II could be lawfully de- poſed. At moſt, it might be conſidered as the private opinion of the Speaker. But towards the concluſion of his Speech, he launched out ſtrangely againſt *Henry*, and expreſſed a paſſion very injurious to the reaſons he had alledged. He ſaid, " it was to be feared the People of " *England* would ſoon find themſelves in the caſe of " *Æſop*'s Frogs; boldly adding, as long as *Richard* was " alive, the *Engliſh* could not with Juſtice own any other " Sovereign. In fine, he maintained, that the Perſon " whom they called King, had committed much more " heinous crimes, than thoſe for which *Richard* was de- " poſed: That he had, after his Baniſhment, entered the " Kingdom, contrary to his Oath, and without being le- " gally recalled: That, not content with diſturbing the " quiet of the Land, by an unjuſt and impious Inſurrec- " tion againſt his Sovereign, he had moreover diſpoſſeſſed " him: That he had alſo demanded Judgment againſt " him, without offering to prove his accuſation, or per- " mitting the Party accuſed to make his defence, con- " trary to the expreſs Laws of the Realm." He conclu- " ded with ſaying, " That if the wrong done *Richard* " was not capable of moving the Hearts of the *Engliſh*, " at leaſt their common and manifeſt danger ought to ſtop " the courſe of theſe violent proceedings."

The Biſhop impriſoned. This Speech produced not the effect the Speaker ex- pected. It was ſo unſeaſonable, that, ſuppoſing the Ma- jority had been of his mind, it was impoſſible to recede from what had been done. But moſt of the Members perſiſted in the ſame Maxims they had followed when *Richard* was depoſed. Accordingly, the Biſhop reap- Godwin in Epiſ. Carl. ed no other fruit from his Harangue, than to be con- fined in the Abbey of St. *Albans*, from whence how- ever he was ſhortly after releaſed without farther puniſh- ment (2).

Extraordinary Sentence paſſed upon Richard. The Biſhop of *Carliſle*'s opinion being unanimouſly re- jected, the Parliament came, with regard to *Richard*, to a reſolution, ſeemingly ſo extraordinary, that there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that Hiſtory is defective in this place. However all the Hiſtorians agree, that it was re- ſolved, *Richard* ſhould be kept in confinement during Life, with a princely allowance: But in caſe any Perſon ſhould attempt his deliverance, *Richard* ſhould be the firſt Man that ſhould ſuffer death. If this be true, it cannot be denied that he was really condemned to die, ſince his Life was only granted him, on a condition not in his Power. Beſides, ſuch a condition cannot be annexed to 1399. the Sentence of a Criminal, but on ſuppoſition that he is already condemned.

Remarks on the Sentence. It is not my buſineſs to determine, how far the autho- rity of the Parliament may be extended, with reſpect to the King's Perſon. I ſhall only obſerve, that this is the ſecond inſtance of the depoſing of a King of *England*, without hearing his defence, or ſo much as obſerving the uſual Formalities preſcribed by the Law, in the Trial of the meaneſt Subject. The Parliament which depoſed *Ed- ward* II, was ſatisfied with decreeing, that he ſhould be kept in ſafe Cuſtody during Life. But this Parliament, to *Richard*'s depoſing, adds the ſentence of Death: For no otherwiſe can the condition be conſidered, upon which his Life is granted. Let us farther remark, that one of the chief Articles of accuſation againſt this Prince, was his putting to death the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Uncle, with- out a previous Trial. And yet this ſame Parliament con- demns him unheard, upon his bare Confeſſion, when a Priſoner; not, that he is guilty of the particular crimes laid to his charge, but that he is in his own opinion un- worthy to wear the Crown. They are not content with ſtripping him of his Royalty, but order him to be impri- ſoned for Life. What do I ſay? They really condemn him to die, ſince in ſeeming to grant him his Life, they add a condition, which probably muſt ſoon make him loſe it. If in peruſing the Reign of *Richard* II, one can't help deteſting the Principles of the *Shrewsbury* Parliament, which tended to ſubject the Lives, Honours, and For- tunes of the Nation to the King's Will, what ought we to think of this? By a contrary exceſs, they put the Life and Honour of the King himſelf in the power of his Sub- jects, and refuſe the Sovereign a privilege, which every *Engliſh* Subject has a juſt Right to demand. The exam- ples theſe two Parliaments afford, are a clear evidence, that the *Engliſh* Conſtitution can never pretend to that degree of perfection, boaſted by ſome, till the bounds to be preſcribed to the Prerogative Royal, and the privileges of Parliament, are preciſely determined.

The King aſſures the Clergy of his Protecti- on. Whilſt the two Houſes acted in common, and with e- qual ardour, for the intereſt of the Prince they had placed on the Throne, the Convocation was ſitting in St. *Paul*'s. As the King rightly judged, that, in order to ſupport him- ſelf in the Throne, it was abſolutely neceſſary to make the Clergy his Friends, he ſent the Earls of *Northumber- land* and *Weſtmoreland*, to aſſure them of his protection. The Earls being admitted into the Aſſembly, ſaid, they were come from the King, not to demand Money, as was cuſtomary in the late Reign, but to acquaint the Clergy of the King's reſolution to maintain their Pri- vileges and Immunities. Adding, they had Orders to aſ- *He promiſes to extirpate Hereſy.* ſure the Convocation, that the King was ready to con- cur with them, in whatever means ſhould be judged pro- per to extirpate Hereſy, and puniſh obſtinate Hereticks. They concluded, with deſiring the Clergy's Prayers for the welfare of the King and Kingdom. Nothing was more apt to gain the Hearts of the Eccleſiaſticks, than the King's promiſe with regard to Hereſy. The number of the *Lollards*, which daily increaſed, gave the Clergy juſt occaſion to fear, that in the end a Reformation might be ſet on foot, which could not be but very detrimental to their temporal Intereſts. Accordingly, the aſſurances the King gave the Convocation, were received with great Demonſtrations of Joy and Thankfulneſs.

The Parli- ament diſ- ſolved. Some days after, the Parliament having finiſhed the principal affairs to the King's ſatisfaction, and, in appear- ance, with the approbation of the whole Kingdom, was diſſolved according to Cuſtom. Prorogations were not then ſo frequent as ſince (3).

Ambaſſadors ſent to di- vers Courts. Walſing. During the whole Seſſion, *Henry* had little attended to foreign affairs. Thoſe at home ſeemed to him of much greater moment, ſince the buſineſs was to ſettle a Revo- lution that procured him the Crown. As ſoon as he found himſelf free from theſe firſt concerns, he thought of means to juſtify to the other Sovereigns, the late altera- tions in *England*. The depoſing of a King being odious in it ſelf, and ſeeming to affect all Princes, it was not eaſy to perſwade them, that a Nation had ſufficient reaſon to uſe ſo violent a remedy, to free themſelves from Tyran- ny. Upon this account, *Henry* diſpatched Ambaſſadors to all the principal Courts of *Europe* (4), to endeavour to give a plauſible colour to *Richard*'s depoſition, and his own promotion. He was chiefly concerned to pacify the Court of *France*, as the only one whoſe reſentment was dange-

(1) If a King is ſubject to the Law, with regard to the Alienation of the Crown Jewels, why not in other reſpects? *Rapin.*

(2) He was depriv d of h's Biſhoprick, and had the titular See o' *Sumos* conferred on him by the Pope. *Walſing.* p. 364. There is a Writ for the Reſtitution of the Temporalities of the See of *Carliſle*, to *William Strykland*, or *Strickland*, his Succeſſor, dated *November* 15, this Year, 1399. See *Ry- mer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p 106.

(3) This Parliament gran ed the King for three Years the Subſidy of Wools, Skins, and Wool-fells, *viz.* fifty Shillings for every Sack from Denizens, and four Pounds from ſtrangers, one Tenth, and one Fifteenth. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 390. --- In this Parliament King *Henry* reſtored the *Alien Priories*, that had been ſeized by *Edward* I I. (See above, p. 437. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 101, &c.

(4) To the Pope he ſent *John Trevenant* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyne*, and *John Cheyne* Eſq; To the Kings in *Spain*, *John Trenor* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and Sir *William Parr*. To the Emperor of *Germany*, the Biſhop of *Bangor*, &c. *Walſing.* p. 362.

rous.

1399.

rous (1). He was not ignorant, that *Charles* VI had formed a design to revenge the injury done his Son-in-Law, and that his distemper, into which he was relapsed upon hearing the news, had hindered him from instantly breaking the twenty eight years Truce, made with *England*. *Henry* chose, for Ambassadors, the Bishop of *Durham* and Earl of *Worcester* (2), who had Instructions, to propose a perpetual League and Alliance between the two Crowns. Moreover, he ordered them to make overtures for a double Marriage. The first, which he had projected, was between *Henry* his eldest Son, and a Daughter of the *French* King, or one of his Uncles: The second, between his own Daughter and one of the same King's Sons, or nearest Relations. The Ambassadors met with a cold reception in *France*; but, as they had Orders not to obstruct their Negotiation, by standing on Ceremony, they patiently waited till the *French* were grown cooler.

F. Froissart, l. 4. c. 56.

Propositions to the Court of France. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 108, 128.

The Ambassadors are coldly received.

Disposition of the other Courts.

As for the other Courts of *Europe*, *Henry* had no occasion to proceed so cautiously. The Emperor *Wenceslaus*, who was still alive, was a Prince grown stupid with drinking, and withal, like the rest of the *German* Princes, regardless of what passed in *England*. As for the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugal*, they were rather gainers than losers by a Revolution, that advanced their Brother-in-law to the Throne. So, they readily approved, or at least seemed to approve it.

The Gascons ready, to revolt. Froissart, l. 4. c. 56. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 110, &c.

But another affair of more importance created the new King great uneasiness. *Guienne* was going to revolt. Already the *Gascons* publickly talked, of putting themselves under the Dominion of *France*. It was the City of *Bourdeaux*, *Richard*'s Birth-place, that stirred up the whole Province, prompted by her affection for that unhappy Prince, whose misfortune she lamented. On the other hand, the Court of *France*, watchful to improve these dispositions, had sent the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Guienne*, to inflame these discontents. The famous *Robert Knolles* Governour of that Province, who was no less commendable for his Prudence than Valour, could hardly curb the rebellious Spirit of the *Gascons*. Nay perhaps he would never have accomplished it, had he not been timely assisted by the Earl of *Worcester* (3), who being in Embassy at *Paris*, speedily posted to *Bourdeaux*. The moderation and prudent conduct of these two Lords, effected what could scarce have been executed by Force, and at length they had the satisfaction of seeing the commotions appeased.

Froissart, Ibid.

They are appeased.

The Scots take Werk-Castle. Walsing.

Henry had moreover upon his hands another affair, which gave him no less disturbance. As he was sensible, that amidst all the Acclamations he was flattered with, it could not be, but that the late Revolution had bred many Male-contents, it was his interest to keep Peace with his Neighbours. Accordingly this was his purpose, least a foreign War employing his Forces abroad, he should be unprovided, in case of any sudden Insurrection. Besides, a War would have obliged him to demand Supplies of the Parliament, which he was willing to avoid, till his Dominion was more firmly established. These considerations made him extremely uneasy, to hear that the *Scots* had broke the Truce, and taken *Werk* Castle (4). He thought best, however, to take no notice of this insult, till it was more in his power to revenge it. But least this dissimulation should incourage the King of *Scotland*, he sent Ambassadors to demand satisfaction for this outrage. However, as the *Scots* complained likewise, on their side, of some breach on the part of the *English*, he made use of that pretence to demand a Confirmation of the Truce, by a mutual reparation of the damages the two Nations had done each other. When *Robert* broke the Truce, he imagined *France* would take his part, and that the deposing of *Richard* would raise Commotions in *England*, which he designed to improve. But finding *France* remained quiet, and *England* undisturbed, he did not think fit to push his enterprize further. So, without much Sollicitation, he agreed to put his affairs with *Henry* in Negotiation.

Embassies to Scotland. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 113.

A Negotiation.

Henry *tries to gain the People's Affection.*

Things being thus in a fair way abroad, *Henry* chiefly applied himself to what might contribute to support him on the Throne. Two things were absolutely necessary for that purpose. First, to preserve the affection the People had hitherto expressed for him. Secondly to guard *Richard* so strictly, that it should be impossible for him to make his escape. As to the first, he affected to make himself popular, by showing, upon all occasions, a detestation of his Predecessor's Tyrannical Government, and a greater concern for the People's interest than for his own. To that end, he ordered all the subscribed Blanks extorted by *Richard* from the Inhabitants of *London*, and the seventeen condemned Counties, to be brought into Chancery and publickly burnt. These Blank Bonds, which were called *Ragmans*, had been filled, not only with the Sums, *Richard* was pleased to exact from the Subscribers, but moreover with an engagement to observe, under certain Penalties, the Statutes of *Shrewsbury* and all the consequent Acts. In burning these Bonds, *Henry*'s intent was to insinuate to the People, that he designed not to make an advantage of these extorted engagements, much less to practice the like Methods himself to fill his Coffers.

He burns the Bonds Richard had extorted. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 109.

As for the deposed King, he did not think proper to keep him any longer in the Tower of *London*, for fear he should move the compassion of the Citizens, but ordered him to be conducted to the Castle of *Leeds* in the County of *Kent*. Some time after, fearing still, that *Richard*'s Neighbourhood to *London* would give too frequent occasion to talk of him, he caused him to be removed to *Pontfract* Castle in the North.

Richard *is shut up in* Pontfract *Castle.*

This year in *November*, *John the Valiant*, Duke of *Bretagne*, departed this Life in his Capital City. His first Wife was Daughter of *Edward* III, by whom he had no Issue. By his second, *Joan of Navarre*, he left two Sons, of whom *John* the eldest succeeded him, under the Guardianship of the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Oliver de Clisson* (5).

Death of the Duke of Bretagne.

In this manner passed the three first Months of *Henry*'s Reign, in a deceitful Calm, followed by violent Storms. It was necessary to enlarge a little on the first events of this Reign, because they serve for Foundation to all the rest.

1400.

The year 1400, began with a Conspiracy against the King, from which he was as it were miraculously delivered. Historians somewhat differ concerning the first Author of this Plot, commonly ascribed to the Abbot of *Westminster*. However it is more likely, the Abbot was only the Agent of the Lords Conspirators, and lent them his House for their Meetings. Perhaps he was employed to sound the inclinations of several Persons, according to the direction of Men more powerful than he. However this be, it is agreed, that in his House the Plot was formed, into which came as Heads, the [late] Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Surrey* and *Exeter*, the [late] Earls of *Gloucester* and *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, and Sir *Thomas Blunt*. All these Lords had been in great favour with *Richard* II, and were the same Persons to whom the King had left their Honours and Estates, taken from them by the Parliament (6). Among these Conspirators, *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was his Brother-in-law, and *Edward de Langley* Duke of *Albemarle* his First-Cousin. Notwithstanding these Relations, and the favours they had all received from the King, they resolved to assassinate him and restore *Richard* to the Throne. The affection shown them by that unfortunate Prince, the desire of revenging their late disgrace, of which they looked upon the King as the principal Author, and perhaps the fear that the pardon granted them was not sincere, concurred to inspire them with this furious resolution. They had drawn into the Plot one *Maudlin* a Domestick of *Richard*'s (7), who resembled his Master so perfectly, that many were deceived. The result of their debates was, that the Duke of *Exeter* and *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, should pretend to challenge one another at a Tournament, to be held at *Oxford*, and desire the King to honour it with his presence; and, whilst he should be intent upon the Sight, an opportunity should be taken to murder him. To the end each might know what part he was to act in this Tragedy, they carefully set down all the particulars in writing. Then they transcribed six Copies under their Hands and Seals, of which each of the principal Parties took one. Pursuant to this Plot, the Duke of *Exeter* waited upon the King at *Windsor*, and invited him, as was agreed. The King not mistrusting a Brother-in-law to whom he had just given such signal Marks of his favour, promised to be at *Oxford* on the day appointed. Thus the Conspirators, pleased with this first success of their enterprise, went and prepared to put it in Execution.

1400. *Conspiracy against the King.* Walsing. Froissart, l. 4. c. 57. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 120, &c.

Chief Conspirators.

They set up a Pretender for Richard.

(1) The Count de St. *Pol*, and other great Men of that Kingdom, sent him very abusive Letters of Defiance, as the Reader may see in *Monstrelet*, beginning of Vol I.

(2) *Walter Skirlowe*, and *Thomas Percy*.

(3) *Froissart* says, he was immediately sent from *England*, l. 4. c. 56.

(4) They not only took it, but also razed it to the Ground. Sir *Thomas Gray*, the Governor, was then at the Parliament. *Walsing.* p. 362.

(5) This Year also, on *October* 3, died *Eleanor de Bohun*, Relict of *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Duke of *Gloucester*, and was buried in *Westminster* Abbey, where her Tomb is still to be seen. See *Sandford's Geneal. Hist.* p. 231, 232. Their only Son, *Humphrey*, died of the Plague in *Ireland*. *Walsing.* p. 362

(6) Their new Titles of Duke, Marquis, and Earl, were taken away, with all the Lands, Castles and Manors belonging to the condemned Lords, of whom they were the Accusers.

(7) A Priest, and one of his Chaplains.

Under

1400. *The Conſpiracy is diſcovered.*

Under colour of the pomp and magnificence uſual upon ſuch occaſions, the Lords Conſpirators came to *Oxford*, with a numerous Train of armed Domeſticks, and many other Attendants, who pretended to come only out of curioſity. The Duke of *Albemarle* was the only Perſon wanting at the Rendezvous. He had a mind firſt to viſit his Father the Duke of *York*, then at his Seat at *Langley* (1), not to communicate the Plot, but upon ſome other buſineſs. Whilſt they were at dinner, the Duke of *York* ſeeing a Paper in his Son's boſom, asked him what it was. The Son confounded at this unexpected queſtion, replied, but with a viſible concern, that the Paper contained nothing of moment. But, whether the old Duke had received ſome dark intimations of the Plot, or his Son's confuſion inſpired him with the curioſity, he ſnatched it out of his boſom. This Paper was one of the ſix Copies ſigned by the Conſpirators. His ſurprize was extreme, at ſeeing all the particulars of the Plot. He reproached his Son the more juſtly, as, beſides the blackneſs of the crime, he had not ſcrupled to expoſe his own Father's life, who was bound for his Allegiance. But his reproaches being uncapable of remedying the evil, he reſolved to prevent it, by acquainting the King with what was come to his knowledge. To that end, he ordered his Horſes to be ſaddled immediately, in order to go himſelf to *Windſor*, and carry the Paper to the King. The young Duke ſeeing himſelf infallibly ruined, if the King was informed of the Conſpiracy by any but himſelf, reſolved to be before-hand with his Father. As he was better able than the old Duke to take this journey, he rode another way, and came full ſpeed to *Windſor*. Upon his arrival he caſt himſelf at the King's Feet (2), and diſcovered the whole Plot. *Henry* was ſo far from imagining, that the Duke of *Exeter* and the reſt of the Conſpirators, had plotted againſt his life, that he believed at firſt, the Duke of *Albemarle* had invented this accuſation, on purpoſe to ruin them. He told him, if the thing was true, he would pardon him upon his repentance; but if it was a malicious accuſation, he ſhould find no favour. The Duke of *York* arriving ſoon after, put him out of all doubt, by delivering him the Paper taken from his Son. After ſo convincing a proof, the King no longer queſtioning the truth, broke off his journey to *Oxford*, where he was to be the next day. However, he reſolved to ſtay at *Windſor*, to ſee what courſe the Conſpirators would take, when they ſaw themſelves diſappointed.

The Conſpirators in perplexity.

Mean while, the Lords were extremely uneaſy at *Oxford*, becauſe the Duke of *Albemarle* was not yet arrived. They had already ſent to his Houſe to know the reaſon of his delay, and were told that he was ſet out for *Oxford*, but by the way of *Langley*, to viſit the Duke his Father. This viſit giving them ſome ſuſpicion, their trouble increaſed, upon hearing that the King deſigned not to come to *Oxford*, and had ſeen the Dukes of *York* and *Albemarle*. Then, no longer doubting that they were diſcovered, they reſolved to accompliſh by force, what they could not effect by other means. Accordingly they dreſſed up *Maudlin* in Royal Robes, and gave out he was *Richard*, who having eſcaped out of Priſon, was come to implore the aſſiſtance of his good Subjects (3).

They reſolve to take up Arms, and give out Richard was with them.

The People flock to the pretended King.

The readineſs wherewith People liſted under the banner of the pretended King, plainly ſhewed, that all had not approved the depoſing of *Richard*, though the Parliament acted in the name of the whole Nation. Wherefore, there is nothing more liable to miſtake, than judging of the ſentiments of the People, by thoſe of their Repreſentatives. The reaſon is, becauſe the Repreſentatives debating upon matters laid before them, without any inſtructions from thoſe they repreſent, their reſolves can be conſidered but as private opinions, though they are of force to bind the People. Upon this account it is, that the People ſometimes appeal to arms from the deciſions of Parliaments, when thought too prejudicial to the Nation. Of this we have many inſtances, but particularly in the Reign of *Henry* IV. Though *Richard* was depoſed by the Parliament, it appeared, upon ſeveral occaſions, that the People ſubmitted to the ſentence, purely by conſtraint; ſince, not only at the time we are ſpeaking of, but, upon other occaſions, they were always ready to run after any counterfeit *Richard* that was preſented them. 1400.

In a very ſhort time, the Lords Conſpirators ſaw themſelves at the head of ſo formidable an Army, that they thought themſelves able to ſeize the King at *Windſor*. It is ſaid, that in two or three days, their Army conſiſted of forty thouſand Men. With theſe numerous Troops they began their march to *Windſor*, which lies but thirty miles from *Oxford*, and arrived at break of day (4), in great expectation of ſurprizing the King. And indeed, *Henry* not imagining they could poſſibly be ſo ſoon in condition to execute ſuch an enterprize, ſtaid at *Windſor* till that very night, and was gone but a few hours before their arrival. His retreat blaſting their deſign, they were in great perplexity. Some were for marching directly to *London*, before the King had time to ſecure the City. Others affirmed, their buſineſs was to go to *Pontfract*, to free *Richard* and ſet him at their head. This diverſity of opinion made them loſe in debates, the time they ſhould have ſpent in action. So the King had leiſure to provide for his defence, and aſſemble an Army of twenty thouſand Men. As he did not queſtion but the Male-contents would take the road to *London*, he went and expected them on *Hounſlow-heath*, in hopes his Army would daily increaſe. However, he was reſolved, though much inferior, to hazard a battle. This reſolution inſpired his Troops with courage, and made them imagine, the Male-contents were not ſo formidable as reported. It was likewiſe the cauſe, that many, ſeeing the King march unconcerned towards his enemies, came and joined him, in order to ſhew their diligence; which doubtleſs they would not have done, had he ſhewn, on this occaſion, the leaſt ſigns of fear or diffidence. At ſuch junctures, the majority of the People, without conſidering right or juſtice, generally declare for the ſide that is moſt like to ſucceed. Walſing.

The King's Reſolution of Advantage to him.

Mean while, the Conſpirators ſeeing the King able to withſtand them, durſt not cope with him. Whether it proceeded from their little capacity, or from a fear of being deſerted by their Army, they only thought of avoiding a Battle. Inſtead of marching to *London* to meet the King, they took the road to *Reading*, and encamped near *Colebrook*, where the young Queen *Iſabella* reſided (5). Here they reſolved to put an end to *Maudlin*'s acting the part he had hitherto played, thinking it more proper to ſpread a report, that *Richard* was in *Yorkſhire*, at the head of a hundred thouſand Men. Their deſign was not only to avoid the King, but, in all appearance, to approach *Wales*, from whence they expected aſſiſtance, as *Richard* was well-beloved in that Country. Be that as it will, encamping near *Cirenceſter* (6), the Generals took up their quarters in the Town, whilſt the Army lay without. The Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* lodged at one Inn, and the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Gloceſter* at another. Their little experience cauſing them to neglect to ſet Guards at the Gates, the Mayor of the Town, a Man of ſenſe and courage, took advantage of their negligence, to do the King a ſignal ſervice. He privately drew together in the Night, four hundred Townſmen, and ordering the Gates to be ſhut, divided his followers into two Companies, and attacked at once the two Inns where the four Generals were lodged. Though theſe Lords had only their Domeſticks with them, they defended themſelves the beſt part of the night. During the conflict, one of their People bethought himſelf of ſetting fire to a neighbouring Houſe, imagining the Townſmen would run to extinguiſh the flames, and thereby give the Lords opportunity to eſcape. But this Stratagem had a quite contrary effect. The Townſmen, ſtill more incenſed by this action, redoubled their efforts, and at length broke open the Inn, defended by the Duke of *Surrey* (7), and the Earl of *Salisbury* (8). Theſe two Lords being much wounded, were, by the Mayor's order, immediately beheaded. On the other hand, the Duke of *Exeter* (9), and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, perceiving they were no longer able to reſiſt with ſo few attendants, found means to eſcape over the Houſes, and get out of the Town by the help of ſome of the Inhabitants. They intended to march

The Conſpirators avoid a Battle, and retire. Walſing.

The four Chiefs are attacked by the Mayor of Cirenceſter. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 130.

Two are taken and beheaded on the ſpot.

(1) In *Hertfordſhire*.
(2) He pretended very earneſt Buſineſs with the King, and having cauſed the Gates to be locked, took the Keys along with him. *Compl. Hiſt.* p. 278.
(3) They alſo ſent to the King of *France* for aſſiſtance. *Pol. Virg.* See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 123, *&c.*
(4) *January* 4. *Walſing.* p. 362.
(5) According to *Walſingham*, the Conſpirators (headed by the Earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury*) came to *Windſor* the ſame Night the King was retired from thence to *London*; and being diſappointed in their Deſign of ſeizing him, they paid a Viſit to Queen *Iſabella*, at *Sunning*, and from thence went to *Walſingford*, *Abbington*, and *Cirenceſter*, in their way to *Pontfract*, where they intended to go, and releaſe the late King *Richard*. *Walſing.* p. 362, 363.
(6) And not *Chicheſter* as ſome have affirmed. Act. Pub. Tom. 8. p. 89. *Rapin.*
(7) *Thomas Holland.*
(8) *John de Montacute.* This Lord was a great Favourer of the *Lollards*. *Walſing.* p. 363.
(9) *Walſingham* affirms, he ſtaid all the while in *London*, to wait for the Iſſue of his Accomplices Enterprize, p. 363.

1400. the Army into the Town, but upon coming to the Camp, found it deſerted. The report the Soldiers had heard, and the fire they had ſeen in the Town, making them believe the King's Army was there, they had all taken to ſudden flight, ſeized with a panic, which made them ſee danger where there was really none. So the two Lords, perceiving it out of their power to execute their deſign, parted, the better to make their eſcape. But they had the misfortune to be taken (1), and ſhortly after loſt their Heads on the Scaffold. *Maudlin* was alſo apprehended (2) as he was flying into *Scotland*, and condemned to be hanged. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* likewiſe withdrawing, was ſeized with ſo violent a fright, that he fell into a fit of the Apoplexy, and died. As for the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, he was taken alſo, and ſentenced to death. But though, out of regard to his Character, the King pardoned him, he was not in a capacity to enjoy the benefit, when the news was brought him. The terror of his puniſhment made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that it occaſioned his death, when mercy was influencing the King to ſpare his life.

The other two are likewiſe taken and executed.

The Biſhop of Carliſle dies with Fear. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 165.

In all likelihood, the ill ſucceſs of this Enterprize haſtened *Richard*'s end. There is ſome diverſity among the Hiſtorians concerning the manner of his death, though all agree, it was unnatural. Some affirm, he was ſtarved to death. Others, pretending to be better informed, relate his death with theſe circumſtances. After the troubles were appeaſed, by the death of the principal Conſpirators, one Sir *Pyers Exton* (3) came to *Pontfract*, with eight attendants. On the day of his arrival, *Richard* perceived at Dinner, that the Victuals were not taſted as uſual. He asked the reaſon of the Taſter, and upon his telling him that *Pyers* had brought an order from the King, took up a carving Knife, and ſtruck him on the face. *Pyers* coming in, with his eight Attendants, at the noiſe, *Richard* found he was a loſt Man, and reſolving to ſell his life dearly, wrung a Pole-Ax out of one of their hands, and defended himſelf ſo bravely, that he ſlew four of them. But at length, ſtanding accidentally near *Pyers*, who was got upon a Chair, the Villain diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, as laid him dead at his feet (4).

Tragical Death of Richard II. Walſing. Fabian.

Thus died this unfortunate Prince, thirty three years old, of which he had reigned twenty two (5). A melancholy reward for the many ſignal Services his Father had done *England!* He was carried to *London* in a Coffin, with his face uncovered, to be ſeen of all Perſons. His Funeral was ſolemnized at St. *Paul*'s, the King himſelf being preſent. After that, he was carried to *Langley* Abby, and buried (6) without any ceremony. *Henry* V, ordered his Body to be removed to *Weſtminſter* Abby, and laid among his Anceſtors (7). Though it was reported all over the Kingdom, that he was murdered, no inquiry was made. This neglect confirmed the People in their belief, that the King was not innocent. And indeed, if *Richard* died of a natural death, it would have been neceſſary to undeceive the Publick. But if his life was taken away by violence, it was difficult to do it without the King's knowledge (8).

Walſing.

Though *Richard* was not beloved whilſt he ſat on the Throne, his misfortunes failed not to raiſe the compaſſion of the very People that were ſo ready to deſert him. It is peculiar to misfortunes, eſpecially to thoſe of Princes, generally to turn hatred into pity. Of this we ſhall ſee in the courſe even of the preſent Reign ſeveral inſtances.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 223. p. 138, 144.

The *Engliſh* Authors pretend, that *Charles* VI made great preparations to reſtore *Richard* to the Throne. But the Hiſtory of *France* does not obſerve that there were any. It is true, there are in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* ſeveral of *Henry*'s Orders relating to the preparations in *France*, to invade *England*; but that might be an effect of *Henry*'s Policy, to ſhew thereby, the neceſſity of *Richard*'s death. And indeed, the Truce of twenty eight years between the two Crowns, was confirmed in *May* this very year, and all the pretended Motions of *France* ended only in a Negotiation, to draw from *England* Queen *Iſabella*, with whom *Richard* had not conſummated his marriage. It was not without reaſon, that *Henry* endeavoured to preſerve the Truce with *France*. He had a quarrel with the King of *Scotland*, which would not ſuffer him to carry his forces out of the Kingdom. The occaſion of the rupture between theſe two Princes was this:

Truce with France *confirmed.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 142.

1400

The Cauſe of the War with Scotland. Buchanan.

Robert Stuart King of *Scotland*, the third of that Name, was deſirous to marry Prince *David* his eldeſt Son, to a Daughter of *George Dunbar*, Earl of *March*. The Earl thinking himſelf honoured by this alliance, joyfully received the Propoſal, and even paid before-hand part of the Portion. However, ſhortly after, by Intrigues foreign to our purpoſe, Prince *David* married a Daughter of *Archibald*, Earl of *Douglaſs*. *Dunbar* was extremely mortified at this affront, to which the King added another cauſe of diſcontent, by refuſing, or delaying to repay the Money he had received. The deſire of being revenged, and making the King ſenſible that he deſerved a better treatment, inſpired the Earl with a reſolution to throw himſelf into the Arms of the King of *England*, and do his enemies all poſſible miſchief. To that end, he imparted his deſign to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Governor of the northern Counties, who, preſently after, ſent him a Safe-conduct from the King his Maſter. Upon receiving this aſſurance, he repaired to *Henry*, and had ſeveral conferences with him (9). The King of *Scotland* being ſenſible, that the Earl of *March* was contriving ſome Plot againſt him in *England*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to demand the Fugitive, and upon his refuſal, proclaimed War againſt him.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 131, 133, 149, 153.

Henry marches into Scotland. Walſing. Buchanan. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 146, 154, 155, ---157.

Henry not thinking fit to expect his enemy in *England*, prepared to carry the War into *Scotland*. As ſoon as his Enemy was ready to march, he came to *Newcaſtle*, and ſent *Robert* a Summons to appear in Perſon (10), and do Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In the Summons, he revived the pretenſions of *Edward* I. to the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, from the time of *Locrinus* Son of *Brutus*, firſt pretended King of the whole Iſland of *Albion*. Upon *Robert*'s refuſal to do any ſuch Homage, *Henry* entered *Scotland*, and made ſome progreſs. Towards the end of *September*, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, defended by Prince *David* and the Earl of *Douglaſs* his Brother-in-law. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced to continue the Siege, he ſuddenly raiſed it, and retired into his own Dominions. As ſoon as he was gone, the *Scots*, under the Conduct of Sir *Patrick Hepburn* and Sir *Thomas Haliburton*, made an inroad into *England*, and cruelly revenged the Ravages committed by the *Engliſh* in *Scotland*. But in their return, they were met by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who defeated and ſtript them of their booty. *Hepburn*, one of the *Scotch* Generals, was ſlain in the action (11). This victory procured between the two Nations a ſix weeks Truce, which was afterwards prolonged, by reaſon of the poſture of *Henry*'s affairs. Hardly had he begun the War with *Scotland*, when he received certain advice, that the *Welſh* were about to revolt, and intended to raiſe commotions in their Country, which could not but be attended with fatal conſequences. This was the reaſon, that notwithſtanding his ſucceſs againſt the *Scots*, he would not improve his advantages, for fear of exaſperating them too much. *Buchanan* himſelf gives this Teſtimony, aſcribing to his Generoſity what was entirely owing to his Policy; for the motions of the *Welſh* had rendered a Peace with *Scotland* abſolutely neceſſary.

He beſieges Edinburgh.

Raiſes the Siege.

The Scots invade England, *and are defeated.* Ib. p. 162.

Truce between the two Kingdoms. Ib. p. 166, 167, 185.

Revolt of the Welſh *under* Glendour. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 159, 163. Walſing.

The *Welſh*, who, ſince the Reign of *Edward* I, were ſubject, or rather united to *England*, believed they could improve the preſent juncture, to recover their former State. *Owen Glendour* or *Glendourdy*, as he is always called in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* (12), was the

(1) *John de Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, attempted more than once to eſcape out of *England*, but was always blown back by contrary Winds. He was at laſt taken in *Eſſex*, and carried Priſoner firſt to *Chelmſford*, and afterwards to *Pleſhey* Caſtle; the very Place, from whence by his Counſel and Contrivance, the Duke of *Gloceſter* was enticed away, in order to be ſent to *Calais*, as is related above. In this Town of *Pleſhey*, the ſaid Duke of *Exeter* was beheaded on *September* 22.------*Thomas le Spencer*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, was taken at *Briſtol*, and beheaded there. *Walſing.* p. 363.

(2) He, and one *William Ferby*, were apprehended in their Flight to *Scotland*, and being brought to the Tower of *London*, were hanged and quartered. *Ibid.*

(3) Called by *Rapin* Sir *Thomas Pyers*, but he is not ſo named, as far as can be found, by any other Writer.

(4) This is *Fabian*'s Account. *Walſingham* ſays, He faſted himſelf to death for Grief, at the Miſcarriage of the Plot, and died on *Feb.* 14. p. 363. *Stow* ſays, He was kept fifteen days together in Hunger, Thirſt, and Cold, till he died, p. 325. *Polydore Virgil* ſays, He was not ſuffered to touch or taſte the Victuals which lay before him. *Hector Boetius* will have it, That *Richard* fled in diſguiſe into *Scotland*, where giving himſelf up wholly to Contemplation, he lived and died, and was buried at *Sterling*. Perhaps this was true of ſome counterfeit *Richard*.

(5) The beautiful Picture of a King ſighing, crowned in a Chair of State, at the Upper-end of the Choir in St. *Peter*'s *Weſtminſter*, is ſaid to be his. *Speed*, p. 615.

(6) In the Church of the *Friers-Preachers* at *King*'s *Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*. *Walſing.* p. 363.

(7) *Henry* V. erected for him and his firſt Queen *Ann*, a glorious Tomb of grey Marble, on the South-ſide of the Chapel of the Kings, at the head of *Edward* III, upon which lie their Portraitures of gilt Copper, with a prepoſterous Epitaph in *Latin*.

(8) Sir *Pyers Exton*, inſtead of being rewarded for this piece of Service, was quite put out of favour, and forced to fly to avoid the Puniſhment he deſerved.

(9) He did him Homage at *Newcaſtle*, *July* 25. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 153.

(10) At *Edinburgh*, on *Auguſt* 23. *Ibidem.* p. 156.

(11) The *Engliſh* did likewiſe the *Scots* much damage in the Iſles of *Orkney*, and took the greateſt part of their Fleet, which they had ſent out under the Command of Sir *Roger Logan*, to ſurprize the *Engliſh* Fiſhermen. *Walſing.* p. 364.

(12) He is ſometimes called *Glyndordy*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 163; but generally *Glendourdy*, p. 182, 213, &c.

Perſon

1400. Perſon that inſpired them with this deſign. This Man, though a private Gentleman only, had all the Qualities proper for ſuch an undertaking; if Forces ſo little conſiderable as thoſe of the *Welſh* could have promiſed him a happy ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, he ſo managed this project, that for ſeveral Years he freed his Countrymen from the ſervitude, wherein they thought themſelves kept by the *Engliſh*. A Law-Suit he had loſt at *London* with the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, his Neighbour, was the firſt occaſion of the diſguſt he conceived againſt the whole *Engliſh* Nation (1). The Conſpiracy before ſpoken of, breaking out in *England* at this very time, *Glendour*, not doubting it would cauſe great diſturbances, thought it a favorable juncture, to deliver his Country from the *Engliſh* Dominion. He privately ſounded the *Welſhmen*, and finding them very inclinable to receive his impreſſions, he eaſily perſuaded them to reſolve to throw off the *Engliſh* Yoke. He would have immediately diſcovered his deſigns, if the ill ſucceſs of the *Engliſh* Conſpiracy had not reſtrained him. The moment he ſaw the King engaged in the War with *Scotland*, he prepared to execute his project; and ſo ordered it, that the *Welſh* unanimouſly renouncing their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*, acknowledged him for Sovereign. From thenceforward he always ſtiled himſelf Prince of *Wales*, as appears in ſeveral Acts.

Act Pub. VIII. p. 156, 367, 382.

His firſt exploit was againſt the Lord *Grey* his adverſary, whom he took Priſoner in a Battle, and then made him marry his Daughter, without giving him his Liberty, contrary to his word.

Glendour takes the Earl of March Priſoner. Walſing.

Emboldened with this firſt ſucceſs he made an incurſion into *Hereford*ſhire. *Edward Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who was retired to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore*, finding the King was employed in *Scotland*, thought to do him a ſignal Service, by drawing together the Gentry of the Country, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the Rebel. But he had the misfortune to be taken Priſoner in a Battle, and though he offered a large ranſom, could not obtain his liberty. *Glendour* imagined, a Priſoner of that conſequence might be of uſe hereafter, or at leaſt that the King would ſpare nothing for his deliverance; and therefore it would be more advantagious to treat with the King, than with the Priſoner himſelf. But he was miſtaken in his conjecture. *Henry* was too well pleaſed, to ſee the Earl of *March* a Priſoner, and unable to hurt him, to contribute towards his releaſe. *Glendour*, however, ſtill kept his Priſoner, in expectation that, by his means, he ſhould one day be able to give the King ſome diſturbance, as it actually happened. The Earl was not afterwards ſorry for being in the hands of the *Welſh*.

Henry is glad of the Earl's Misfortune.

Henry's jealouſy of every thing relating to his Crown, and his ſeverity to thoſe that would diſpute it with him, made the Captive Earl ſenſible, that his Life was ſafer in Priſon than at his own Houſe. Mean while, the King being buſied in a *Scotch* War, *Glendour* had ſufficient time to ravage the Country on the Weſt of the *Severn*, and carry away a great Booty.

The Emperor of Conſtantinople arrives in England. Walſing.

About the end of this Year, *Manuel Palæologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, arrived in *England*, to deſire aſſiſtance againſt *Bajazet* Emperor of the *Turks*. The King received, and preſented him honourably, but as for aſſiſtance, put him off till his affairs were better ſettled in his own Kingdom. The Emperor went from *England* into *France*, from whence he departed not till two Years after, upon News that *Bajazet* his Enemy was vanquiſhed and taken Priſoner by *Tamerlane*.

1401. *Statutes in Church-Affairs.* Cotton's Abridg.

On the 20th of *January* 1401, *Henry* aſſembled a Parliament, which paſſed ſeveral Acts, with relation to the Church. The firſt confirmed the Statutes made in the Reigns of *Edward* III and *Richard* II, againſt ſuch as ſollicited for papal Proviſions (2), or carried to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, Cauſes belonging to the Cognizance of the Judges of the Realm. This was the old ſubject of Quarrel with the Court of *Rome*. Whatever rigour was uſed to ſtop the courſe of theſe abuſes, it was not poſſible, becauſe it was the intereſt of too many to countenance the pretended Prerogatives of the Pope. But however this Parliament, conſidering the Pope ſtill continued to engroſs the Collations of all the Church-Preferments of the Kingdom, and that the Eccleſiaſtical Courts were perpetually encroaching upon the Civil, reſolved at laſt to oppoſe it effectually. For that purpoſe was revived the old Statute of *Proviſors* in the Reigns of *Edward* III and *Richard* II, commonly known by the name of *Præmunire*. As this Term often occurs in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, it will not be improper to explain it. By *Præmunire* then is meant, either the Statute itſelf, or the Penalty. Former Parliaments, led by the ſame Motive as this, had ordained puniſhments againſt the *Proviſors*, that is, againſt ſuch as ſued for Bulls, called *Proviſiones* or *Gratiæ Expectativæ*, to the Court of *Rome*, for Benefices, that were, or ſhould be, vacant. The ſame Puniſhments were ordained againſt thoſe, that carried to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts what belonged to the Civil. When any Perſon was guilty of this ſort of crime, a Writ or Order was iſſued againſt him, beginning with theſe Words, *Præmunire facias*, whereby he was commanded to appear in the King's Court. Hence the Statute, as well as the Penalty, were called *Præmunire* (3). This Penalty conſiſted in forfeiture of Lands, and Goods, and impriſonment during the King's pleaſure. In proceſs of time, ſeveral other offences of a like nature, with thoſe that were the firſt cauſe of the Statute, were made liable to the ſame Penalty. So all the Statutes of *Præmunire*, are only enlargements of thoſe made in the Reigns of *Edward* III and *Richard* II. In general, the *Præmunire*, chiefly concerns offences committed in matters Eccleſiaſtical, belonging to the Civil Juriſdiction.

1401. *Statutes of Præmunire.*

Explication of that Term.

The Clergy were always ſo intent upon favouring the pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, that the endeavours of the former Parliaments had been incapable to ſtop the courſe of this abuſe. The Statute I have juſt mentioned, was but little more effectual. The attempt, laſt year, to dethrone the King, giving him occaſion to fear the like Conſpiracies for the future, he had reſolved to ſhew great regard for the Clergy, in order to attach them to his intereſt. Accordingly, though he did not think proper to refuſe his aſſent to the new Statute, he connived however at the breach of it, as much, or more, than any of his Predeceſſors. But this was not the only thing he did to gain the affection of the Clergy. His condeſcenſion for them in another Article, of no leſs importance, drew on him the bleſſings of the Eccleſiaſticks, and cauſed him to be conſidered by the whole Body, as a Prince exceeding zealous for the Church.

Statute againſt Hereticks. Walſing.

Since *Wickliff* firſt publiſhed his opinions, about the end of the Reign of *Edward* III, this Doctrine was ſo ſpread, that the Clergy were in continual apprehenſions of its prevailing. I have already related, that, in the Reign of *Richard* II, the Biſhops obtained a general Licenſe to impriſon Hereticks, without being obliged to have a particular Order from the Court; but that the Houſe of Commons cauſed it to be revoked. From that time there was no alteration, except that the King more frequently granted ſuch Orders. However, as the Penalty of Impriſonment was not capable to check the pretended Evil, dreaded by the Biſhops, *Henry*, ever propoſing to gain the affection of the Eccleſiaſticks, earneſtly recommended to the Parliament the care of the Church's concerns. How reluctant ſoever the Houſe of Commons might be to proſecute the *Lollards*, the credit of the Court and cabals of the Clergy, obtained at length an Act for the burning of obſtinate Hereticks (4). This Statute was no ſooner paſſed, but the Eccleſiaſtical Court immediately condemned one *William Sawtre* (5) a *Lollard*, who being delivered over to the ſecular Arm, was burnt alive by vertue of the King's Writ (6) directed to the Mayor (7) of *London*. This Man was the firſt who ſuffered death in *England*, for the ſake of Religion. During this Seſſion ſeveral Acts were likewiſe paſſed (8) concerning the Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and the Court of *Rome*, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of elſewhere (9).

A Lollard burnt. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 178.

(1) He was brought up at the Inns of Court in *London*, and was, it ſeems, King *Richard*'s Eſquire: But in *Henry*'s time he retired to his Manor of *Glendourdy*, where he had a Diſpute with *Reginald* Lord *Grey*, for having entered upon Part of a Common lying between *Ruthin* and *Glendourdy*. *Walſing.* p. 364.

(2) And made all thoſe religious Perſons that accepted Proviſions granted to the Pope, to be exempt from Obedience, to be within the Statute of *Proviſors*.

(3) Suppoſed to be uſed in the barbarous Law *Latin*, inſtead of *Præmonere*.

(4) By this Act it was ordained, "That no Perſon ſhould preſume to preach, hold, teach, or inſtruct, openly or privily, or make or write any Book "contrary to the Catholick Faith, or Determination of the Holy Church; or of any Sect make Conventicles, or hold and exerciſe Schools. And if any "Perſon, of whatſoever kind or eſtate, do any thing againſt this Statute, or is evidently ſuſpected thereof, his Dioceſan may cauſe him to be arreſted, and "under ſafe Cuſtody in his Priſons to be detained, till he purges himſelf, and abjures. And if any Perſon or Perſons refuſe to abjure, or, after legal Con"viction and Abjuration, do relapſe, then the Sheriff of the County, or the Mayor, or Bailiffs of the Place to which the Party belongs, ſhall be preſent "in preferring Sentence, when required by their Dioceſan, or his Commiſſaries; and after Promulgation of the Sentence, receive, and do, (or cauſe) them "to be burnt before the People in an high Place." *Raſtal's Statutes*, Anno 2. *Hen.* IV. This bloody Statute ſtood unrepealed till the Year 1677.

(5) Parish Prieſt of St. *Oſyth* in *London*.

(6) Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*.

(7) To the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, *Feb.* 26. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 178.

(8) Particularly one forbidding People's carrying Gold or Silver out of the Realm, except for their reaſonable Expences, upon pain of forfeiture.

(9) This Parliament granted the King one Tenth and a Fifteenth, two Shillings of every Tun of Wine, and Eight-pence of every Pound of Merchandize. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 405.

1401. Since the Truce with *France* was confirmed, *Charles* VI, or rather the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother, and the Dukes of *Berri* and *Burgundy* his Uncles, who governed in his name, often demanded the young Queen *Iſabella* Widow of *Richard* II. *Henry* deferred giving a poſitive Anſwer, not that the demand was unjuſt; but two reaſons made him deſirous of keeping that Princeſs. Firſt, as he could not help dreading a War with *France*, he wanted to make a firm and laſting Peace with *Charles* VI, to which he believed the Marriage of *Iſabella* with the Prince his Son would greatly contribute. To that end, before he returned a poſitive anſwer to the Court of *France*, he frequently propoſed that Marriage. But neither *Charles*'s Brother nor Uncles would ever conſent to it, not being able to think of marrying the young Queen to a Prince, whoſe Father was generally reckoned the Murderer of her firſt Husband. They alledged, however, another reaſon for declining it, namely, That her Father not being in condition to manage his affairs, they durſt not treat of his Daughter's Marriage without his conſent. A ſecond reaſon why *Henry* deferred *Iſabella*'s Reſtitution was, becauſe he knew the Money, *Richard* received with her, would be demanded. However, as he had no plauſible pretence to detain her, he conſented at laſt to reſtore her with part of her Jewels. He managed ſo artfully, that in the Conventions made at *Lelingham*, there was no mention of reſtoring her Treaſure. That was the Subject of another Negotiation, ſpoken of hereafter.

Negotiation about ſending back Richard's *Widow.* Ibid. p. 142, 152, 164, 186, 196---200, p. 132, 186.

Henry *demands* Iſabella *for his Son.* *He is put off.*

He ſends her back. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 162, 194, 217, &c.

Marriage of Blanch, Henry's *Daughter, with the Earl* Palatin. Ibid. p. 170, 176, 179. 200, 205, 214, 242, &c.---253. Walſing.

Whilſt this affair was tranſacting, *Henry* had in *Germany* another Negotiation on foot, about a Marriage between *Blanch* his eldeſt Daughter, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Grandſon of *Robert* Earl *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, who was lately advanced to the Imperial Throne, vacant by the death of *Henry* of *Brunſwick* Succeſſor of *Wenceſlaus*. This affair was concluded in *May*, to the King's great ſatisfaction. The Princeſs's portion was forty thouſand Pounds Sterling (1). At the ſame time, a Treaty of perpetual Alliance was made between the Emperor and *Henry*.

The King's Expedition againſt the Welſh. Act. Pub. Ib. p. 225. Walſing.

Since the revolt of the *Welſh*, *Henry* had made no preparations to reduce them to obedience. Mean while *Glendour*, taking advantage of this negligence, continued to ravage the Counties bordering upon *Wales*. Far from dreading the King's juſt indignation, he ſtudied to provoke him by continual inſults. *Henry*'s indolence appeared ſtrange to many People, becauſe they were ignorant of the reaſon. Before he took up Arms againſt the *Welſh*, he was deſirous of finiſhing his affairs with *France*, and even intended to make a ſtrict Alliance with that Crown. As he knew the Rebels could have no aſſiſtance but from thence, he believed, if he could deprive them of that protection, they would not be able to ſupport themſelves long. Mean time, the Negotiation with *France* proceeding more ſlowly than he wiſhed, and *Glendour* ſtill continuing to infeſt his borders, he could no longer delay taking up arms. Before he put himſelf at the head of his Army (2), he publiſhed a general Pardon for the *Welſh*, provided they ſubmitted within a certain time. But finding his clemency ineffectual, he marched to chaſtiſe them. Upon his approach, *Glendour* withdrew to the Mountains, where it was impoſſible to attack him. All the King could do, was to ravage the Country, and then return to *London*.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 181, 209.

Walſing.

An Invention to kill the King diſcovered. Walſing.

The King's return to his Metropolis was immediately followed by the diſcovery of a Plot againſt his Life, by the means of an Iron Inſtrument, with three ſharp Spikes placed in his Bed. Had he chanced to lie down, he muſt inevitably have been run through the Body, but by good Fortune, he perceived it juſt as he was going into Bed. What inquiry ſoever was made, there was no poſſibility of diſcovering the Author of this traiterous attempt.

Death of the Duke of York. *Succeeded by his Son.* Walſing.

It was this and not the laſt year (3), as ſome affirm, that *Edmund*, Duke of *York*, the King's Uncle, died. He left two Sons, *Edmund* Duke of *Albemarle*, who took the Title of Duke of *York*, and *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*. I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter, to ſpeak of the Poſterity of the younger, who, by his Marriage with a Siſter of the Earl of *March*, acquired to his Iſſue, Rights which cauſed ſuch terrible Commotions in the Kingdom.

1402. *Tax raiſed for the Marriage of the King's Daughter.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 232, 237, 242.

In the beginning of the next year, the King by his ſole Authority, and without the intervention of the Parliament (4), laid a Tax for the Marriage of his Daughter. Though herein he had acted by virtue of an antient Privilege of the Kings on the like occaſions, the People however ſeemed diſſatisfied. There were not wanting in the Kingdom Perſons, who laid hold of every thing to find fault with his Conduct. About the middle of the Year he had reaſon to perceive, there was ſtill a dangerous Ferment among his Subjects, and if the Male-Contents remained quiet, it was only in expectation of a favorable opportunity to riſe. On a ſudden, an unexpected rumour was ſpread over *England*, that *Richard* was alive, and had levied an Army in *Scotland*, in order to expel the Uſurper. The People muſt needs have wiſhed the news true, ſince it every where met with ſuch credit. At the ſame time, on Church-Doors, and in other publick Places, Papers were poſted up, containing outragious invectives againſt the King. The Authors of theſe Papers aſſerted, among other things, that the crimes for which *Richard* was depoſed, were nothing in compariſon of the tyrannical proceedings of *Henry*, ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne. The King was ſo provoked at this audaciouſneſs, that he ſwore never to pardon the offenders. Sir *Roger Clarendon*, natural Son of *Edward* the renowned Prince of *Wales*, fell the firſt ſacrifice to his Vengeance, being condemned to the ingnominious Death of a Traitor. Eight Monks guilty of the ſame crime, were alſo hanged with him. *Walter Baldock* Prior of *Laund* (5), underwent the ſame fate, with a *Franciſcan* Doctor in Divinity, who was hanged in his Frier's Habit, to the great mortification of his Fraternity (6). Many more were apprehended, upon finding among the Papers of a certain Prieſt, a Liſt of the names of thoſe, that declared *Richard* was alive. But upon ſtrict examination, it appeared he had made that Liſt, on purpoſe to make the news the more probable, or upon groundleſs Conjectures. So, he ſuffered alone the puniſhment of his raſhneſs. The King's great ſeverity upon this occaſion, contributed very much to efface the good opinion conceived of his Clemency and Humanity.

1402.

A Rumour of Richard's *being alive.* Ib. p. 255, 261, 262.

Writings againſt the King. Walſing.

He puniſhes the Authors.

Marriage of the King with Joanna *of* Navarre. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 257, 259, 265, 280, 281, 288.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, *Henry* was negotiating in foreign Courts, three Marriages at once. The firſt was between *Philippa* his ſecond Daughter, and *Eric* King of *Denmark*, who was yet a Minor, under the Guardianſhip of Queen *Margaret* his Mother. The ſecond was between the Prince of *Wales*, and a Siſter of *Eric*'s. And the third was his own, with *Joanna* of *Navarre*, Widow of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Of theſe three Marriages, the firſt and laſt were concluded this ſame year, but the Prince of *Wales*'s did not ſucceed.

The Court of France *get in their Power the Perſon of the young Duke of* Bretagne.

Henry, in reſolving to eſpouſe the Ducheſs Dowager of *Bretagne*, had probably an Eye, by virtue of this Marriage, to the Guardianſhip of the three Princes, which the late Duke of *Bretagne* had left under Age. At leaſt the Court of *France*, taking it for granted, appeared very much alarmed at this Alliance, which might be very prejudicial to them. This was the reaſon that the Duke of *Burgundy*, Guardian of the young Princes, took them from the Ducheſs their Mother, and carried them to *Paris*, where they were educated. By this means, the Court of *France* had the direction of the affairs of *Bretagne*, during the young Duke's Minority. If it be true, that *Henry* had an Eye to *Bretagne*, he not only was diſappointed, but drew upon himſelf freſh Enemies. During the whole time the new Duke was in *France*, the *Bretons* ſcarce ever ceaſed infeſting the Coaſts of *England*, though there was no War proclaimed between their Sovereign and *Henry*. The King's Marriage was not conſummated till the year following.

Ibid. 281.

Expedition of the King into Wales. Ib. p. 264, 271. Walſing.

Theſe Negotiations being ended, *Henry* prepared in good earneſt to chaſtiſe the *Welſh*. To that end, he drew together a numerous Army, and heading them in Perſon, advanced towards *Wales*. Upon his approach, *Glendour* retired to the Mountains of *Snowdon*, where he knew there was no poſſibility of attacking him. Mean time, the King was preparing to ravage the Country; but the Weather became on a ſudden ſo tempeſtuous, that he was forced to retire. The ſtorms were ſo uncommon for the Seaſon, that the *Engliſh* fancied *Glendour* had made a contract with the Devil, to prevent the deſtruction of his Country.

The Scots *invade* England. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 272, 257.

Whilſt the King was employed in thoſe Parts, the *Scots* under the Command of *Hepburne*, Son of him ſlain two years before, made an irruption into *England*, and advanced as far as *New-Caſtle*. The Earl of *Northumber-*

(1) Forty thouſand Nobles.------XL. M. Nobilium Cunei Angliæ.------*Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 179, 206.

(2) Which was in *October*. *Ibidem*. p. 225.

(3) *Sandford* ſays, it was *Auguſt* 1, 1402. He was buried in *Langley* Abbey in *Hertfordſhire*. *Sandford*, p. 377. *Walſing*. *Ypodig*. p. 558.

(4) Here Mr. *Rapin* is miſtaken. King *Henry* levied this Aid, not by his ſole Authority, but by vertue, and in conſequence, of the Act made in 25 *Edw.* III. which impowers the King to levy a reaſonable Subſidy, *to marry his eldeſt Daughter*; and he raiſed it according to the Rate ſet down in that Act; *i. e.* he took of every Knight's Fee, immediately holden of the King, twenty Shillings; and the ſame Sum of every twenty Pounds in Land, immediately holden of the King in Socage. See *the Statutes*, and *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 232; and *Rapin* above, p. 258.

(5) In *Leiceſterſhire*.

(6) He being asked what he would have done, if King *Richard* had been living, and in the Field; boldly replied, he would have ventured his Life for him againſt any Perſon whatever. Upon which he was hanged and drawn in his Habit. *Walſing*. p. 365, 557.

land

1402. *Are defeated at* Nisbet. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 278. Walsing.

land, General of the North, was unprepared to repulse the Invasion. But afterwards assembling a great Body of Troops, whilst they continued their ravages, he went and expected them at *Nisbet*, where he attacked and defeated them, seizing all their Booty. The *Scotch* General lost his life in the action.

Another Invasion of the Scots. Buchanan.

These Troops were properly but the Vanguard of an Army, with which the Earl of *Douglas* was advancing to make a more considerable effort. Upon news of *Hepburne*'s defeat, he hastened his march into *England*, to fight the Earl of *Northumberland*, who being too weak to venture a Battle, was forced to retire, and leave the borders exposed to his ravages. Mean while, he laboured without ceasing to augment his Army, and as soon as he was able to withstand him, marched in quest of him, attended by *Henry Hotspur* his Son, who was reckoned the bravest Man in *England*. The two Armies meeting at *Halidown-Hill* (1), a bloody battle ensued, wherein the *English* were entirely victorious. The *Scotch* General lost an eye, and fell into the hands of the Conquerors, with the Earl of *Fife*, Nephew of the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Athol*, *Monteith*, and a great number of other Officers of distinction. According to the *English* Historians, this battle was fought in *July*, about a month after the former. *Buchanan* places it among the occurrences of the year 1401, but in this he is certainly mistaken.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 292. Walsing.

The French *and* English *blame one another for breaking the Truce.*

During the whole Summer, the Ambassadors of *France* and *England* continued at *Lelingham*, on account of the Truce which had been violated, particularly in *Guienne*. The *French* Historians cast the blame upon *England*, and the *English* upon *France*; but we are not obliged to believe either on their bare word. In cases of this nature, the Historians of both Nations generally contradict one another, with mutual reproaches of partiality. Their honour, it seems, is concerned, to maintain upon all occasions the Faith and Sincerity of their respective Sovereigns. Be this as it will, the circumstances of the two Kings had for some time past been such, that it could be to neither's advantage to renew the War. *Henry* believed the *Welsh*, and the Male-contents in *England*, could procure no assistance but from *France* alone, which he thought to prevent by means of the Truce, but was mistaken. On the other hand, King *Charles*'s distemper, and the divisions in his Court and Council, promised the *French* no hopes of any great success of their Arms. So, the Truce was again confirmed, without examining too strictly, by which side it was first violated.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 229, &c. 263, 274, 286.

p. 300-305.

The French *demand* Isabella's *Portion.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 233, 302.

This affair being settled, the *French* Ambassadors demanded the restitution of what King *Richard* had received with his Queen. *Henry*, who foresaw this Demand, had instructed his Ambassadors what answer to make. They pretended to be surprized at this proposal, and said, they had no orders about it. However, they added, as of themselves, that they did not question, that, for the preservation of a good understanding between the two Crowns, their master would agree to deduct that Sum out of the Million and half of Crowns, still due to *England*, for the ransom of King *John*. This pretension did not a little surprize the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who having no instructions upon that head, deferred their answer, till they knew their Master's pleasure.

The English *offer to deduct it out of King* John's *Ransom.* Ib. p. 267.

The Parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg. Walsing.

The Parliament that met in *October* (2), granted the King a Subsidy, and then confirmed divers Statutes, made in the Reign of *Edward* III, in favour of the Clergy (3). The Session ended with a Petition to the King, recommending to him the concerns of the *Scotch* Earl of *March*, who had done the State considerable services, since his putting himself under the protection of *England* (4).

1403. *The Queen arrives.* Walsing.

The new Queen being arrived in *England*, in *February* 1403, the King received her at *Winchester*, where the Marriage was consummated (5). After which, she was solemnly crowned at *London* (6).

The French *make a descent in the* Isle of Wight Monstrelet. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 342. Walsing.

Whilst the Court was wholly taken up with entertainments and diversions, the King received intelligence, that the *French* were going to make a descent in the *Isle of Wight*, under the conduct of *Waleran*, Earl of St. *Pol*, of the House of *Luxemburg*. This Earl having married a half Sister of *Richard* II, pretended to act in his own name, to revenge the death of the King his Brother-in-law. The Court of *France* connived at the undertaking, and even furnished the Earl with Troops, as if it were no prejudice to the Truce. Mean time, this Bravado was unsuccessful to the Earl of St. *Pol*. After plundering some Villages, he was dishonourably forced to re-imbark, though the Inhabitants of the Isle had received no assistance. *Henry* complained to the Court of *France* of this Invasion; but could get no other answer, Than that it was the King of *France*'s intention to keep the Truce. Had he not been resolved to avoid a rupture, the Earl of St. *Pol*'s attempt would have afforded him a very just reason to renew the War. But as he was sensible, the Kingdom abounded with Male-contents, he would not give occasion to *France* openly to support them. On the contrary, by preserving the Truce with that Crown, he meant to deprive them of the hopes of being assisted. So, taking no farther notice of the Insult, he was contented with obtaining of the Court of *France* a fresh confirmation of the Truce. 1403.

Henry takes no notice of it.

The Duke of Orleans *challenges him.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 310.

They who governed for King *Charles* were not ignorant of *Henry*'s resolution, which induced them to have the less regard for him. This very year the Duke of *Orleans* sent him a Challenge to fight, either in single Combat, or with a hundred Knights on each side. The reason of this Challenge is not mentioned by the *English* Historians, and the *French* alledge no other, than the Duke of *Orleans*'s desire to revenge the death of *Richard* II. Very likely, it was only a sally of the young Duke's, to signalize himself, by sending a Challenge to a King of *England*; but he was not pleased with the answer. *Henry* intimated, that there was a great distance between a King, and any Subject whatever, and therefore he could not accept his Challenge; but they might happen to meet in a place, where being both attended with a more numerous Train than what he proposed, they might measure Swords with one another. This answer drew from the Duke of *Orleans* a very reproachful reply, wherein he called him Traitor, Usurper, Murderer of his King. *Henry* sent him a no less abusive answer, giving him the Lie in form, and charging him with using Sorcery, to throw his Father into his present distemper. Mean while, he sent to know of the *French* Ambassadors, who were still with his at *Lelingham*, whether this Challenge was approved by the King their Master; if so, he considered it as an open rupture. But though the Ambassadors were frequently called upon to return a positive answer, it was not possible to oblige them to speak plainly. They only affirmed, their Master had not broke the Truce, nor intended to break it for the future. In fine, as the *English* pressed them for a Declaration, from those that governed in *Charles*'s name during his illness, they plainly told them, whether the King continued out of order, or recovered his health, no other answer was to be expected. *Henry* considering this silence as a disavowing, or rather thinking proper to dissemble, for reasons already mentioned, was contented with this slight satisfaction.

Henry complains of it, but receives no satisfaction.

Debate about Isabella's *Portion.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 315 ---- 318.

During the Congress, the *French* Ambassadors moved again the restitution of *Isabella*'s Portion. On the other hand, the *English* Plenipotentiaries demanded the residue of King *John*'s ransom, and endeavoured to evade the demand of the *French*, by alledging, that their Master not receiving *Isabella*'s Dowry, was not obliged to repay it. But they thereby furnished their Adversaries with as just a pretence, to say in their turn, that neither was their Master under any engagement to *Henry*, concerning King *John*'s ransom. However, as *Henry* demanded the arrears of the ransom, only to be excused paying the Dowry, he had his ends, and the affair rested there.

Quarrel between the King and Earl of Northumberland. Walsing.

Whilst the Ambassadors of the two Crowns were employed in these mutual Cavils, matters of much greater moment to *Henry* passed in *England*. Nothing less than his Crown was at stake. From the beginning of his Reign, to the Victory over the *Scots* at *Halidown-Hill*, no Lord was in greater favour with the King, than the Earl of *Northumberland*. As it was properly by the speedy junction of that Earl with *Henry*, at his landing in *England*, that his affairs were so successful, the King had all along retained a very grateful Sense of it. The Government of the northern Counties, the Office of High-Constable, the Grant of the *Isle of Man*, and several other favours, were plain indications of his esteem for the Earl, who, on his part, had always appeared very zealous for his Service. The last year he had gained over the *Scots* two Victories, the latter of which had disabled them from giving his Master any fresh disturbance. This was a signal Service, but, besides the fore-mentioned Fa-

Act. Pub. VII. p. 289.

(1) In *Northumberland*, on *May* 7. (*Buchan.* l. 10.) About ten thousand *Scots* were slain.

(2) This Parliament met at *Westminster* on *September* 30; and, on *November* 25, granted the King the Subsidy of Wools, Wool-fells, and Skins, for three Years: three Shillings of every Tun of Wine, Twelve-pence of every Pound of Merchandize, one Tenth, and one Fifteenth. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 418. *Walsing.* p. 367.

(3) Namely, That a Clerk convict for Treason, or being a common Thief, shall not make his Purgation: That in Appropriations of Benefices, there shall be a Provision made for the Vicar, &c.

(4) The Earl petitioned, that such of his Lands in *Scotland* as were conquered by the *English*, might be restored to him. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 418.

(5) On *February* 7. (6) *February* 26.

1403. vours, the King had rewarded him with the Grants of certain Lands (1). Nothing therefore ſeemed capable of breaking the correſpondency between the Earl's ſervices, and the King's favours. And yet an affair of Intereſt bred ſuch a quarrel, that theſe happy diſpoſitions were ſuddenly altered. The occaſion of their difference was this.

I before obſerved, that the Earl of *Northumberland* had, in the battle of *Halidown*, taken ſeveral Priſoners of great Quality. The King believing theſe Priſoners belonged to him, did not think fit to leave them in the Earl's diſpoſal. Perhaps his deſign was to raiſe a large ranſom, or elſe, by their means, to procure an advantagious Peace with *Scotland*. Be that as it will, immediately after the battle, he ſent an expreſs Order to the Earl, to releaſe none of his Priſoners. This Order was quickly followed by another, enjoining him to deliver them into his hands. The Earl, who expected the benefit of their ranſom, forthwith repaired to Court, and prayed the King to leave the Priſoners at his diſpoſal; but had the mortification to be denied. He exclaimed againſt the injuſtice that was done him, and ſpoke to the King a little too haughtily. The reproaches he let fall on this occaſion, ſo diſpleaſed *Henry*, that he no longer looked upon him with the ſame eye as formerly. This coolneſs was carried ſo far, that when the Earl would have ſpoke with the King, he was denied admittance. This alteration could not but exaſperate the Earl, who thought his Services deſerved a different treatment. As he was naturally very haughty, he could not bear this contempt, without ſeeking occaſion to be revenged. He had, as may be ſaid, placed the King on the Throne, and thought himſelf powerful enough to pull him down. This was the reſult of ſeveral conferences with *Henry Hotſpur* his Son, the Earl of *Worceſter* his Brother (2), and ſome other Lords. Their aim was, to ſet the Crown on the head of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, (ſtill a Priſoner in *Wales*,) not out of affection for that Prince, but becauſe there was not a plauſible pretence to gain the People to their Intereſt. Purſuant to this reſolution, they diſpatched ſecret Agents to *Glendour* and *Mortimer*, to perſuade them to come into their Plot. *Glendour* promiſed to employ all his forces to accompliſh it. As for the Earl of *March*, he very readily lent his name for the execution of a Project tending to place him on the Throne. But that all three might find their advantage in it, it was agreed, that the Earl of *March* ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, the Earl of *Northumberland* hold all the Country lying North of the *Trent*, on condition of Homage to the Crown, and *Glendour* enjoy all the Counties Weſt of the *Severn*. The project being thus formed, the Earl of *Northumberland* feigned, for ſome time, to forget the occaſion of diſguſt given him by the King. He even came to Court, where he took occaſion to repreſent to the King, that the Earl of *March* having loſt his liberty in his ſervice, it was but reaſonable he ſhould pay his ranſom to *Glendour*. This Remonſtrance was taken very ill. *Henry* was too well pleaſed with the Earl's being in the hands of the *Welſh*, and unable, as he imagined, to hurt him, to contribute to his Deliverance. He replied therefore, with ſome ſigns of anger, that the Earl having marched againſt the Rebels, of his own accord, and with the ſole view of ſaving his Lands from plunder, it was his buſineſs to get out of captivity as well as he could: That, for his part, he did not think himſelf obliged to procure his liberty, much leſs to pay his ranſom. The Earl was not ſurprized at this expected refuſal. His intent was only to render remarkable the King's Cruelty to the Earl of *March*, and thereby inſinuate, he muſt needs be convinced of the juſtice of the Priſoner's Title to the Crown, ſince he dreaded to ſee him at liberty. This denial making no alteration in the Project of the Confederates, the Earl of *Northumberland* retired into the North, where he privately ſecured ſome Troops, who were to be in Arms upon the firſt notice. Then he ſettled a Correſpondence with ſome *Scotch* Lords, who engaged to aſſiſt him. He likewiſe releaſed ſeveral *Scotch* Priſoners, that were yet in his power, upon their promiſing to levy Troops for his ſervice. At the ſame time *Glendour* was making extraordinary preparations, which coming to the King's ears, obliged him to be upon his guard, though he knew not for what they were intended. 1403.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 278.

The Earl of Northumberland *projects the dethroning of the King.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 313, 319.

Leagues with Glendour *and* Mortimer. Walſing.

Terms of their League.

The Earl of Northumberland *ſollicites the King to redeem* Mortimer.

The King refuſes.

The Earl puſhes the Execution of his Project.

As ſoon as the Confederates were ready, the three *Percies* ſuddenly appeared in Arms in the North. Shortly after, the Earl of *Northumberland* falling ill, his Brother and Son marched with his Troops to join the *Welſh*, who were advanced as far as *Shropſhire*. When the two Armies were joined, the Male-contents publiſhed a Manifeſto, ſetting forth, That the King treated his Subjects with intolerable tyranny: That none but the Clergy had acceſs to him, and the greateſt Lords could not be admitted into his preſence, unleſs introduced by ſome Biſhop: That moreover, he converted to his own uſe, the Subſidies granted by the Parliament for the publick occaſions. They likewiſe ſpread a report that *Richard* II. was alive, and at *Cheſter* with a Body of Troops, ready to join them.

The Male-contents take up Arms. Walſing.

They publiſh a Manifeſto, Walſing.

and report Richard *is alive.*

Henry, who had received no intelligence of their deſigns, was extremely ſurpriſed at the news of this Rebellion. But as he had fortunately an Army quite ready, deſigned againſt the *Welſh*, he ſhewed no concern. However, as he was apprehenſive, the Rebels Manifeſto might poiſon the People, he believed he ought before all things to efface theſe impreſſions, by an anſwer publiſhed by way of Proclamation. He cleared himſelf from the two principal Articles of the Manifeſto, firſt by denying he had ever refuſed to admit into his preſence the very meaneſt of his Subjects, much leſs any of the Nobility; and called his whole Court to witneſs. As for the Subſidies granted by Parliament, he affirmed, moſt part of the Money was paid on account of the *Scotch* War, to the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf, as he could prove by his own Receipts.

The King vindicates himſelf in a Proclamation Walſing.

After publiſhing his anſwer, he marched (3) towards the Rebels (4), who were encamped at *Shrewsbury*. When the two Armies were in ſight, and ready to engage, he ſeemed to dread the iſſue. His uneaſineſs cauſed him to offer ſuch advantagious Terms to the Male-contents, that *Henry Percy* being moved by them, deſired the Earl of *Worceſter* his Uncle to wait on the King, and endeavour to procure an agreement. It is ſaid, that in the Conference with this Earl, the King made ſuch Conceſſions in favour of the Male-contents, that they would have had reaſon to be ſatisfied, had not the Earl of *Worceſter* falſly intimated there was nothing to be expected (5). However this be, the Negotiation proving ineffectual, the Battle began. The King had at firſt ſo great a diſadvantage, that he was like to be entirely defeated. He had even his Horſe killed under him, and the Prince of *Wales* his Son was wounded in the face. But he ſo ſeaſonably called in his body of reſerve, that by their help he recovered his ground, and inſpired his Troops with freſh courage. From that moment, the face of the Battle was entirely changed, to the diſadvantage of the Male-contents. The King's laſt charge putting their Army in diſorder, they were ſo briskly puſhed, that *Henry* obtained in the end a complete Victory (6). Young *Percy* was ſlain, and buried, after the battle, with the King's leave. But afterwards, altering his mind, the King ordered his Body to be taken up, quartered, and fixed on Poles in the High-ways. The Earl of *Worceſter* being taken Priſoner, was beheaded, and his Head ſet up over *London* Bridge (7).

The Battle of Shrewsbury. Walſing.

Hotſpur is ſlain.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 322,

Mean time the Earl of *Northumberland* being recovered, was advancing with a body of Troops to reinforce the Army of the Male-contents, and take upon him the command. But hearing by the way of his Son's and Brother's misfortune, he diſmiſſed his Troops, not daring to keep the Field with ſo few forces, before a victorious Army. Mean while, the King was marching towards the North, well knowing the center of Rebellion was there, by reaſon of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s great intereſt in thoſe parts. When he came to *York*, he took all imaginable care to ſecure the fidelity of the northern Counties, as well by the Oath of the Inhabitants, as by other ways which he judged proper (8). When he thought he had taken juſt meaſures to prevent an inſurrection, he ſummoned the Earl of *Northumberland* to appear before him. He promiſed him an abſolute Pardon, in caſe he obeyed without delay, but threatned him with utter ruin, if he refuſed the proffered favour. The Earl, having no

The Earl of Northumberland *withdraws to the* North. Walſing.

Henry comes to York. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 320, 321, 338. Walſing.

(1) The Earldom of *Douglaſs*; the Vales of *Eſſedale, Lydeſdale, Lowaterdale*; the Lordſhip of *Selkeryk*; and the Foreſt of *Eteryk*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 289.

(2) *Thomas Percy*.

(3) With a choice Body of fourteen thouſand Men. *Walſing.* p. 368.

(4) Being preſſed on chiefly by *George de Dunbar*, Earl of *March*; who rightly obſerved, That Delays upon ſuch Occaſions are dangerous. *Ibid.*

(5) ——— contraria referens regis reſponſis, exacerbavit mentem juvenis (Henrici Hotſpur) & ad bellum impulit, etiam non volentem. *Ibid.*

(6) On *July* 22. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p 320. *Walſing.* p. 396.

(7) It is ſaid, that Earl *Douglaſs* (who was in the Battle, and taken Priſoner, but releaſed for his Valour) ſlew three; *Boethius* ſays four, armed in all Points like the King. *Henry* is reported to have ſlain that day thirty ſix with his own Hand. Of the Rebels were killed about ten thouſand; of the King's ſide about ſixteen hundred. *Walſing.* p. 368.

(8) Particularly by offering the Rebels a Pardon, and ſtrictly forbidding all Plundering and Deveſtation of the Country. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 320, 321.

way

1403. way to free himself from his present condition, chose rather to cast himself upon the King's Mercy than live in perpetual Exile. So, without farther consideration, he repaired to *York*, and threw himself at the King's feet, who punctually kept his word with him. He even left him all his Estate, except the *Isle of Man*, which he had given him in the beginning of his Reign. This was a very slight punishment for so great a crime. But probably, *Henry* not forgetting the Services done him by the Earl, thought he still owed him this acknowledgment. Besides, the Criminal was already sufficiently punished, in the death of his Son and Brother.

He pardons the Earl of Northumberland. Walsing.

Whilst the King was employed in the North, the Court of *France*, having been informed of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Rebellion, was resolved to take advantage of these troubles. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Henry* received advice of a descent, which the Duke of *Orleans* was to make in *England*, whilst *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, who lost his Father this year, was to besiege *Calais*. It is observable, that notwithstanding the Truce, confirmed almost every year by the two Crowns, *France* never failed to shew her readiness, to improve the advantages procured by the troubles in *England* during this Reign (1). They who were at the helm during King *Charles*'s Illness, and particularly the Duke of *Orleans*, that Monarch's Brother, never thought themselves bound by any Treaties made with *Henry*. This might be very evidently proved. But as *Henry* always got clear of the troubles raised in his Kingdom, the Court of *France* could only discover very frequently their ill intentions, without reaping any advantage. In all appearance, *Henry*'s late Victory over the Rebels, frustrated the projects formed against him by that Court. However, not to leave him in perfect Tranquillity, as they directed the affairs of *Bretagne* during the Duke's minority, they ingaged the *Bretons* to make a descent in the western Coasts of *England*, where they committed great ravages (2). This Invasion, for which the *Bretons* could not alledge the least reason, exceedingly troubled the King. Nevertheless, as he was willing to avoid an entire rupture with *Bretagne*, in hopes of gaining one day the young Duke to his interests, he thought it most adviseable to hide his resentment. This was the reason he was satisfied with some slight excuses made by the Regency of *Bretagne*, in disclaiming the Persons concerned in the Descent, as acting without the Government's Orders. But at the same time, he privately gave leave to the Inhabitants of *Plymouth* and other Places in those Parts, to fit out a Fleet under the command of *William Wilford*. This Admiral, though without the King's Commission, set sail for *Bretagne*, and revenged the damages sustained by his Countrymen (3).

France *over ready to take Advantage of the Troubles in* Eng. land. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 327, 336, 365. 374, 382.

Ib. p. 325. *The* Bretons *make a Descent.* Walsing.

The English *take their Revenge.*

The Parliament, called last year (4) and afterwards prorogued, met again on *January* (5) 1404. The King found means to obtain a Subsidy, which must have been very extraordinary, since it was not to be recorded (6). But in vain are precautions taken to bury in oblivion such sort of Precedents, which Princes upon occasion too frequently call to remembrance.

1404. *A Subsidy granted the King.* Walsing.

The Severities exercised upon the Authors and accomplices of the two late Rebellions, induced the Parliament to petition the King for a general Pardon. *Henry* very willingly complied with their request, but with such exceptions as rendered the Pardon of little effect, since he forgave only those whom he designed not to punish.

Act of Indemnity. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 338, 353.

Henry's Severity to those who were infatuated with the false Notion of *Richard*'s being still alive, was not capable of undeceiving every Body. A rumour being once more spread that *Richard* was in *Scotland*, one *Serle*, who had been Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, went to see his old Master. He met with People, who shewed him a Man something like *Richard*, but not enough for a Domestick, who had long served him, to be deceived. Nevertheless *Serle* feigning to take him for *Richard* himself, wrote to several Persons in *England*, that he was actually with him. The Testimony of a Man who could not, as was thought, be mistaken, produced so great an effect, that many suffered themselves to be seduced with this imposture. The Countess of *Oxford*, Mother of the late Duke of *Ireland*, *Richard*'s Favorite, believed, or pretended to believe, it, and took care to spread the report. She even sent to several Persons in *Richard*'s name, little Silver Harts, such as that Prince used to give his Favorites. Mean while the King's diligence prevented the ill effects, this Imposture might have caused. He ordered the Countess to be taken into Custody (7), with her Secretary who was in the Secret. Some time after *Serle* was seized on the borders of the North (8), and hanged at *Berwick*. As he confessed the Cheat, and that he was concerned in the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Murder, the report died away by degrees.

Richard *is reported to be living.* Walsing.

1404. Walsing.

Henry *punishes the Author of the Report.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 379. Walsing.

This year the *Bretons* made a descent near *Portland* (9), and plundered some Houses on the Coast. But advancing farther into the Country, they met a Body of Militia ready to receive them, who drove them back to their Ships, and took several Prisoners of distinction. Hitherto there was no Declaration of War between *England* and *Bretagne*: But the two Nations however continued to infest one another, though without the consent of the Sovereigns. *France*, which then managed the *Bretons*, was very glad to sow discord between them and the *English*, lest *Henry* should strengthen himself with the Alliance of *Bretagne*, when the Duke was of Age. For the same reason *Henry* connived at these insults, for fear of depriving himself of that advantage. Besides, he seemed resolved to avoid, as much as possible, ingaging in any War; being apprehensive, that the Male-contents would raise troubles in the Kingdom, in case he was obliged to send his Forces abroad.

The Bretons *land at* Portland. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 356. Walsing.

Henry *connives at it.*

It was probably with the same view, that he concluded with *Scotland* a Truce, from the 20th of *July* this year to the *Easter* next ensuing.

Truce with Scotland. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 363, 368. Ib. p. 374.

However, he could not think that all his precautions would for ever prevent the dreaded War. Besides, that he plainly saw *France* only sought an occasion of Rupture, he considered the affairs of *Wales* were in a very ill way. *Glendour* not only persisted in his Rebellion, but had even seized some Places on the West of the *Severn*. Moreover the Truce with *Scotland* being to expire in the Spring, there would be a necessity of sending an Army into the North. These considerations determined him to summon a Parliament, in order to obtain an Aid to enable him to carry on these Wars.

The Parliament met *October* the 6th (10). It is said, the King in the Writs of Summons commanded the Sheriffs [and Mayors] to return none but such as were unlearned, and that from hence, this Assembly was called the *Illiterate* or *Lack-learning Parliament* (11). It is a question however, whether the King's Command was so express as is affirmed (12). The breach *Richard* II. had made in the Nation's Liberties by the like Method, and the punishment which followed, were yet too fresh for *Henry* so publickly to imitate his Example, and expose himself to the same danger, in the present Juncture. It cannot be denied however, that the Court, on this occasion, had laboured to cause such Representatives to be chosen, as were not too much prepossessed in favour of the Clergy, for reasons we shall see presently. Be this as it will, the King representing to the Parliament thus composed, his great want of an extraordinary aid, the Commons went in a Body, and addressed him, remonstrating, "That without burdening his People he might "supply his occasions, by seizing the Revenues of the "Clergy." They set forth, "That the Clergy pos-"sessed a third part of the Lands of the Kingdom, and "not doing the King any personal Service, it was but "just, they should contribute out of their Revenues to-"wards the pressing necessities of the State. That it was "evident, the Riches of the Ecclesiasticks made them "negligent in their Duty, and the lessening of their ex-"cessive incomes, would be a double advantage to the "State and Church."

The illiterate Parliament. Walsing. Cotton's Abridg.

The Commons petition the King to seize the Church-Lands. Walsing.

The King so received this Address as plainly shewed it was not disagreeable to him, and in all likelihood, it was he that by his Emissaries had chalked out what this

(1) On *June* 14, in 1404, they entered into a League offensive and defensive with *Owen Glendour*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 356, 365.
(2) And burnt *Plymouth*. *Walsing.* p. 369.
(3) He took forty Merchant Ships, burnt several more; and making a Descent, burnt and plundered the Villages and Country for near twenty Miles together. *Ibid.*
(4) Which met *September* 30, at *Westminster*. See above, p. 493. Note (2).
(5) *January* 15. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 425.
(6) This Tax is said to be twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and Twenty-pence of every one that had twenty Pounds a Year in Land; and one Shilling in the Pound for Money or Goods, and so upwards, according to that rate. *Com. Hist.* p. 289. Or rather, it is not known what it was, for all the Records relating to it were ordered to burnt.------Concessores ipsi, & authores tidi tallagii, in perpetuum latere posteros *voluerunt*: nempe sub ea tantum conditione concedebatur, ne traheretur posterius in exemplum, nec servarentur ejus evidentiæ in thesauraria regia, nec in scaccario, sed scripturæ vel recordationes ejusdem, protinus post datum compotum cremarentur. *Walsing.* p. 369, 370.-- ---The Clergy granted the King this Year, in *April*, a Tenth; and in the last Parliament, they had granted a Tenth and a half. *Idem.* p. 370, 376.
(7) But she was soon after pardoned and released; as appears by her Pardon, dated *Decem.* 5. 1404.. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 379.
(8) By Sir *William Clifford*, Governor of *Berwick*. *Walsing.* p. 370.
(9) At *Darmouth*, and places adjacent. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 382. The Lord *De Castel*, their Leader, was slain; and three Lords with twenty Knights, taken Prisoners. *Walsing.* p. 370. The Women of those parts signalized themselves upon this occasion, and fought bravely. *Ibid.*
(10) At *Coventry*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 437.
(11) It is most probable, that it was so called afterwards, upon account of its designs against learned Men, or the Clergy. *Spel.* p. 619.
(12) Most of the Historians say, such were to be chosen as had no *Skill in the Laws*. *Walsingham*. p. 371, &c.

1404. *The Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *oppoſes it.*

of raiſing the Money he wanted. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being preſent, thought it his Duty to ſpeak on an occaſion, where the intereſt of the whole Clergy was concerned. He repreſented to the King, "That "though the Eccleſiaſticks ſerved him not in Perſon, it "could not be inferred, that they were unſerviceable, "ſince they ſent into the Field their Vaſſals and Tenants "whenever there was occaſion: That the ſtripping the "Clergy of their Eſtates, would put a ſtop to their "Prayers Night and Day for the welfare of the State, "and there was no expecting God's protection of the "Kingdom, if the Prayers of the Church were ſo little "valued." He added, with a menacing Tone, "That "if theſe conſiderations were not capable of ſuppreſſing "the Plots againſt the Clergy, it would be found dif-"ficult to deprive them of their Eſtates, without expoſing "the Kingdom to great danger; and ſo long as he "was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he would oppoſe this "injuſtice to the utmoſt of his power." Then ſuddenly falling on his Knees to the King, he ſtrongly preſſed him in point of Conſcience, endeavouring to make him ſenſible, that of all the crimes a Prince could commit, none was ſo heinous as the Invaſion of the Clergy's Revenues. Whether *Henry* was moved with the Archbiſhop's Speech, or the ſtrong oppoſition he foreſaw from the Clergy, convinced him of the difficulty of accompliſhing his deſign, he ſuddenly reſolved to deſiſt. He anſwered the Archbiſhop, that though he blamed not his zeal, he could not help ſaying, his fears were groundleſs; for when he mounted the Throne, he made a firm reſolution to favour the Church with all his Power, and hoped by God's Grace to leave her in a better State than he found her. The Archbiſhop encouraged by this anſwer, turned to the Commons, and ſpoke to them in a manner not very proper to gain their Good-Will, telling them, their demand was built wholly on Irreligion and Avarice (1). The Commons made no reply to this offenſive Speech, but when they came back to their Houſe, reſolved to perſiſt in their demand, and brought in a Bill to ſeize the Clergy's Revenues. But there was no poſſibility of ſucceeding in their project. The Sollicitations of the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Clergy, were ſo prevalent with the Lords, that they threw out the Bill. So the Commons were forced to find other means to ſupply the King's occaſions (2).

The King yields to his Inſtances.

The Commons perſiſt in it.

The Bill thrown out by the Lords.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 381. Towards the latter end of this year, *Innocent* VII. notified to the King, his promotion to the Papal Throne.

1405. It is not ſtrange, that to the great number of his enemies, both at Home and Abroad, *Henry* was unwilling to add likewiſe the Clergy; who, as the Archbiſhop had threatned, would have had it in their Power to create him great trouble. Though all was ſeemingly quiet in the Kingdom, he diſcovered about the beginning of the year 1405, that ſome ill deſign was contriving againſt him; but however, could not find out the Authors.

The Earl of *March* had very well concealed his diſguſt, when *Henry* was placed on the Throne; but his League afterwards with *Glendour*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, was ſufficient to open the King's Eyes, though he had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by this diſſimulation. He was too jealous of his Crown, to believe the Earl was unmindful of his juſt Rights. For this reaſon, he had always refuſed to promote the recovery of his Liberty. Upon the ſame account, he kept his Children in ſafe Cuſtody at *Windſor*, as Pledges of their Father's Allegiance. Nothwithſtanding all his care, means were found to convey away the Priſoners, and keep them concealed for ſome time. But the King cauſed ſuch diligent ſearch to be made, that they were at length found, and brought back to their confinement at *Windſor*. He would have ſeverely puniſhed this attempt, if he could have diſcovered the Authors, but all his endeavours were fruitleſs. There was only a poor Lock-Smith hanged for being concerned in it; but he would not diſcover by whom he was employed. The Duke of *York* being ſuſpected, was taken up, and ſent to the Caſtle of *Pevenſey*, where he remained a Priſoner above three Months. But at laſt he was releaſed, for want of ſufficient Evidence againſt him.

Mortimer's Children carried away from Windſor. Walſing.

The Duke of York *is apprehended.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 386, 387.

Prince Henry *goes againſt the* Welſh.

This attempt made the King apprehenſive, his Enemies would form ſome new Plot in favour of the Earl of *March*; and he imagined, before it broke out, they would ſecure theſe young Princes. As *Glendour* was always ready to countenance the Male-contents, *Henry* reſolved to free himſelf from theſe Fears, by exerting his utmoſt to deſtroy that Rebel. To that end, he gave the Command of an Army to *Henry* his eldeſt Son; who, in the beginning of the Campaign, came to an engagement with the *Welſh*, and put their Army to Flight. Two months after, this Victory was followed by another ſtill more important, wherein *Glendour*'s Son was made Priſoner. Theſe two Defeats were not, however, capable of diſheartening the *Welſh*. On the contrary, they made freſh efforts in defence of their Liberty. The ſituation of their Country, the aſſurances given them by *France* of a powerful diverſion, and probably, *Glendour*'s Knowledge of a Conſpiracy forming in *England*, put them in hopes of better ſucceſs for the future.

1405. *He gains two Battels.* March 11. May 14. p. 390. Stow.

The Welſh *perſiſt in their Revolt.*

It was not without ground, that the *Welſh* relied upon the aſſiſtance of *France*. That Crown, or rather the Duke of *Orleans*, who then governed the Kingdom, made no account of the Truce, whenever he thought he could break it with advantage. Though it was confirmed in 1403, *Mezerai* owns, the Conſtable *D' Albret*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, had taken from *England* above ſixty Places in *Guienne*. This very year, the Duke of *Orleans* openly beſieged *Bourg* and *Blaye*, though in vain, and the Duke of *Burgundy* was preparing to lay Siege to *Calais*. To facilitate this undertaking, the Earl of St. *Pol* attempted to ſeize the Caſtle of *Merck*; but the Garriſon of *Calais*, poſting to its relief forced him to retreat in diſorder, though he was now maſter of the Inner-Court.

France daily ſeeks occaſion to diſturb Henry.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 394.

Theſe continual breaches of the Truce, taught *Henry* what he was to expect from *France*, in caſe his affairs were not proſperous in *England*. For this reaſon, he was deſirous to end the *Welſh* War, before he ſhewed his reſentment to the *French*, chuſing rather to let them act privately, than give occaſion for an open Rupture. With this view, he had ſent againſt the *Welſh* the Prince his Son, who was crowned with the fore-mentioned ſucceſs. Before he entered upon this Expedition, he aſſembled the Lords (3), to deſire an aid of Money, being aſhamed to ask the Parliament, who had lately granted him a conſiderable Subſidy. But the Lords flatly refuſed to comply with the King's requeſt, without the Authority of the Parliament. The Clergy, whom the King likewiſe ſounded, anſwered with the ſame reſolution, not being willing to eſtabliſh a Precedent of that nature, leſt it ſhould be drawn into Cuſtom. *Henry* extremely mortified with theſe Denials, diſmiſſed both the Nobles and Clergy, with ſigns of diſpleaſure; which ſhewed, he would not miſs an opportunity of making them feel the Effects of his Indignation. He furniſhed thereby certain Lords with an occaſion and pretence to haſten the Execution of a deſign, which, probably, had ſome time been formed.

The King is denied Money by the Nobles and Clergy. Walſing.

Richard Scrope, Archbiſhop of *York*, being diſſatisfied, and wanting to revenge *Richard*, by whom he was promoted to that Dignity, ingaged ſeveral Lords in a Confederacy to dethrone *Henry*. The Earl of *Northumberland* entered into the Plot, though the King had already forgiven him the like fault, and by his intereſt in the North, drew the People of thoſe Parts into the ſame Confederacy. *Thomas Mowbray* Earl-Marſhal, the Lords *Bardolf*, *Haſtings*, *Falconbridge*, and ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen came into the Plot, and levied a great number of Troops, which they led to *York*, where the Rendezvous was. When theſe Forces, which made a conſiderable Army, were drawn together, the Leaders publiſhed a Manifeſto againſt the King, and cauſed it to be fixed upon the Doors of the Churches in *York*, for publick view. The ſubſtance of the Articles, contained in the Manifeſto, was as follows:

Conſpiracy formed by the Archbiſhop of York. Walſing.

The Rebels Manifeſto. Walſing. Comp. Hiſt. p. 292.

I. That *Henry*, at his return into *England*, had proteſted and ſworn, that he was only come to recover his private Inheritance, without any deſign upon the Crown, and yet, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King.

II. That as an Arch-Traitor, he had impriſoned his Sovereign, and forced him to reſign his Crown, and then barbarouſly murdered him.

III. That ever ſince the death of *Richard*, he had unjuſtly detained the Crown from *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom it lawfully belonged.

IV. That he had unjuſtly put to death ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who were guilty of no other crime, than endeavouring to redreſs the abuſes of the Government, and, contrary to Law, impriſoned the Biſhops by his ſole Authority.

V. That he had oppreſſed the People with needleſs

(1) Adding, he would ſooner loſe his head, than that the Church ſhould be deprived of the leaſt of her Rights. *Walſ.* p. 372.

(2) The Lords and Commons granted the King two Tenths, and two Fifteenths; beſides the Subſidy of Wool, Wool-fells, and Skins, *viz.* of Denizens, for every Sack of Wool, forty three Shillings and Four-pence; of every two hundred and forty Wool-fells, the ſame Sum; and for every Laſt of Skins, five Pounds: And of Aliens, ten Shillings more in every particular, for two years; three Shillings on every Tun of Wine, and one Shilling on every Pound worth of Merchandize; but they recalled the Penſions and Annuities granted by the two late Kings. The Clergy granted a Tenth and a half. *Walſ.* p. 372. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 438.

(3) At *London*, about the beginning of *February*. *Walſ.* p. 373.

Taxes,

1405. Taxes, and by his Threats, hindered them from complaining.

VI. That he had violated the Privileges of the Nation, and his Oath to maintain them, by hindering the free Election of Parliaments.

VII. That in a Parliament held at *Winchester*, he had given his Assent to a very pernicious Statute against the Church of *Rome*, and the Authority conferred upon St. *Peter* and his Successors; and thereby, been the Cause of the Simony, Perjury, and other disorders among the Clergy and Gentry, who sold the vacant Benefices to Persons unqualified to serve the Cure.

VIII. That notwithstanding the frequent Instances of several Lords of his Council, he had refused to ransom the Earl of *March*, and evaded his just Petition, by falsely charging that Prince with voluntarily making himself a Prisoner to the *Welsh*.

IX. That, for all these Reasons, they had taken Arms, with design to free the Nation from the Oppressions of this Tyrant, and place the lawful Heir on the Throne.

The Earl of Westmoreland seizes the heads of the Conspiracy by fraud. Walsing.

Some time before the King had Intelligence of this Rebellion, he ordered a Body of Troops to march into the North, under the Command of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmoreland*, to make head against the *Scots*, who seemed inclined to renew the War. The Earl was near *York*, when he heard the News of the Insurrection. The Superiority of the Rebels Troops, not permitting him to advance any farther, for fear of being ingaged in an unequal Fight, he thought it more adviseable to use Policy. To that end, he dispatched a trusty Messenger to the Archbishop of *York*, and the Earl-Marshal, to tell them from him, that, considering their great Prudence and Zeal for the publick Good, he did not question but weighty Reasons had induced them to take Arms, and desired them to acquaint him with the same. The Confederates thinking him already shaken, sent him word, they had no other Intention, than to procure the Good of the Kingdom, and intreated him to come and join with them in defence of the Publick. This answer made him judge, it would not be impossible to over-reach Persons, who thought him capable of so readily taking their Part. To keep them in this Belief, he told them by the same Messenger, he was not so blind but he could see the Injuries done to the Nation: However, he was afraid, they had been too hasty in their Proceedings: That, before all things, care should have been taken to secure the Concurrence of all the principal Lords, or at least the Majority: That as for himself, he could not communicate all his thoughts by a third Person; but, if they would agree to an Interview, would more freely open his mind. The Archbishop of *York* no longer doubting, that the Earl was privately of the same Sentiments with the Confederates, pressed the Earl-Marshal to go with him to the Interview, and, notwithstanding his unwillingness, prevailed with him at last. The Place assigned for the Conference being in an open Plain, and the Guards advancing at an equal distance on both sides, the three Lords began to confer together. The Earl of *Westmoreland* protested, he had no less at heart than themselves, the Welfare and Prosperity of the State, and approved of the Articles of the Manifesto, except a few things which he wished they would alter. Then he proposed certain means to execute their design, which appeared very judicious, and fully convinced them of his Sincerity. When he found he had gained their Confidence, he ordered some Wine to be brought, and they all three drank together. Mean while, he affected to shake them by the hand, and give them Marks of a hearty Correspondence. In short, to show an intire Confidence, he commanded his Guards to withdraw, who immediately obeyed. This Frankness obliged the Archbishop and Earl-Marshal, to send away theirs likewise, being unwilling to appear more distrustful than he. But hardly were their Guards out of sight, when the others returned upon the Gallop, and, before the Archbishop, and *Mowbray*, could be relieved, they were both taken and conducted to the Royal Army. The Seizure of their Leaders threw the Confederates into such a Consternation, that it was not possible for the Earl of *Northumberland*, who staid at *York*, to keep their Troops any longer together. So, every one shifting for himself, the Earl was also forced to retire to *Berwick*, of which he was Governor. Some time after, the King being come to *Pontfract*, the Earl of *Westmoreland* brought his two Prisoners to him, who were both condemned to lose their Heads. The Archbishop suffered Death with great constancy, and was honoured by the People for a Martyr, till the King, by his Authority, put a stop to their Superstition. From *Pontfract* the King went to *York*, and severely punished the Inhabitants (1). Then advancing towards the North, in order to besiege the Castle of *Berwick*, he took in his way the Lords *Hastings* and *Falconbridge*, who met with the same fate as the Archbishop and Earl-Marshal. Upon the King's Approach, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*, despairing of being able to defend themselves, and dreading to fall into the hands of a justly incensed Prince, withdrew into *Scotland* at the Lord *Flemming*'s, by whom they were received. Mean while, *Henry* became master of *Berwick*, and several Castles belonging to the Earl of *Northumberland*, after which, he returned to *London*.

1405. *The two Prisoners beheaded.* Walsing. Act. Pub. VIII p. 398.

Other Lords executed.

Percy and Bardolf retire to Scotland. Walsing.

Though most Historians ascribe the rise of this Conspiracy to the King's threatning the Clergy and Nobility, upon their refusal of the Aid he demanded, it appears however to have been formed before. For, whilst *Henry* was still in the North, the Marshal *de Montmorency* arrived in *Wales*, with a Fleet of a hundred and forty Sail, and twelve thousand Men. As soon as he was landed he joined *Glendour*, and they marched together, and took *Carmarthen*, *Worcester*, and several other Places of the neighbourhood, where they met with a great Booty (2). *Mezerai*, who places this Event in the last year, says, the Earl of *Marche*, of the House of *Bourbon*, caused the Undertaking to miscarry by his too long delay. This shows, the Court of *France* thought their Army would land in *Wales*, just at the time the Archbishop of *York*'s Plot broke out. It may be, the Preparations were begun the last year, and that might occasion *Mezerai*'s mistake. It is much more probable, he should be mistaken in the Date of this Event, than the *English* Historians, who refer to this year, the taking of their Towns, and the great Booty made by their Enemies on that occasion. Besides, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, an Order from the King, dated at *Pontfract* (3), mentioning the Descent of the *French*. It is true, in this Order, their Leader is called *Hugevyle*, and not *Montmorency*. But as there were not two Descents the same year, and in the same Country, it may be presumed, that *Hugevyle* made the Descent under the Marshal's direction.

The French land in Wales. Act. Pub. VIII p. 402 412. Walsing.

Act. Pub. VIII p. 406.

Henry had no sooner finished his Affairs in the North, but he marched towards *Wales*, to defend the Borders against the *French*. But he was so retarded by the Weather, that they had sufficient time to re-imbark, leaving *Glendour* to shift for himself. However, the King could do nothing against the *Welsh*, though deprived of the Assistance of their Friends, as well because the Season was too far advanced, as because in his march, he had lost great part of his Baggage.

The King marches against them. Walsing.

After so manifest a Breach of the Truce, the *French*, one would have thought, designed openly to renew the War. But that was not their Intention. As the Conspiracy in *England* had not succeeded as they wished, they did not think proper to carry the Rupture any farther. Mean while, to join Insult with Outrage, at the very time they had sent a powerful Aid to the *Welsh* Rebels, and their Forces had taken Towns, and ravaged Counties in *England*, they assured *Henry*, their Intent was always to keep the Truce, as if bare Words were more proper than directly contrary Facts, to show the Sincerity of their Intentions. This Behaviour was entirely grounded upon the vain Pretence of the Duke of *Orleans*'s private quarrel with *Henry*, for the murder of *Richard* II, wherein he believed, or pretended to believe, he might use the Forces of *France*, which were at his disposal, without any Violation of the Truce between the two Crowns. So that all *Henry*'s Complaints were fruitless, since he could only apply for Justice to the Duke of *Orleans* himself, the principal Author of all these Violations. The Court of *France* was so well acquainted with the Temper, Character, and Politicks of *Henry*, that they were not afraid to insult him upon all occasions, during almost the whole Course of his Reign. *Henry* V, his Son, was not so gentle, but knew how to revenge the Affronts his Father had received (4).

The French Court's Breach of Faith.

Earl of Northumberland flies to Berwick. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 400.

(1) He seized all their Liberties and Privileges. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 398.

(2) But the Lord *Berkle*, and *Henry Pay*, took fourteen, and burnt fifteen, of their Ships in *Milford-haven*, where they landed. *Walsi.* p. 374.

(3) *August* 7. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 406.

(4) This year the *Scots* invaded, or threatned to invade *England*; as appears from an Order of King *Henry*, dated at *Faxflete*, *Septemb.* 8, to the Sheriff of *Nottingham* and *Derby*, for arming all Persons from sixteen to sixty, upon the News of that Invasion. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 414.------ This year also, on *October* 3, the King made a Grant to Sir *John Stanley*, of the Isle of *Man*; the possession whereof still remains in that noble Family, honored in the 1st of *Henry* VII, with the Title of Earl of *Derby*. *Ibid.* p. 420.

1405. Walſing. Towards the end of this year (1), *Philippa* the King's daughter was ſent to the King of *Denmark* her Huſband (2).

1406. *The Parliament meets.* All being quiet in *England* after the retreat of the *French*, the King called a Parliament, which met *March* 1. 1406 (3). As his deſign was to demand Money, he readily gave his aſſent to an Act to ſecure the freedom of Elections (4). This Act ſhows, that in the Elections for the late Parliament, the King had done ſomething tending to abridge the liberty of voting. As ſoon as this Act was paſſed, *Henry* demanded an aid of Money, but was plainly told, there was no viſible occaſion for it. He was extremely offended at this denial, but however, durſt not openly ſhow his reſentment, for fear of exaſperating them. Mean while, he deviſed an expedient which procured him what he wanted. This was, to keep the Parliament aſſembled, till they ſhould, of their own accord, be brought to grant his demand. So, without any freſh application, he continued the Seſſion till the end of *Auguſt*. This was very inconvenient to the Members, who had buſineſs at home, and withal, very expenſive to the People, who were to bear their charges. At length, the Commons, impatient of returning to their homes, voted him a Subſidy (5), not without loud murmurs, at the conſtraint laid upon them.

Act for Freedom of Elections. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing. *The Parliament denies the King Money.*

He keeps the Houſes aſſembled till they grant it. Walſing.

During this Seſſion, the Parliament paſſed an Act, limiting the ſucceſſion of the Crown to the King's Male-Iſſue, excluſive of the Female. As this Act was repealed this ſame year, and, probably, razed out of the Parliament-Rolls, one can only gueſs, upon what foundation it was built. Now what might, very likely, ſerve the King for pretence to demand ſo extraordinary an Act, was this.

An Act excluding the Women from the Crown.

During the whole courſe of the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings, or at leaſt ſince the union of the ſeven Kingdoms, we do not find a ſingle inſtance of the Deſcendants of the Daughters, being called to the Succeſſion of the Crown. From the *Norman* Conqueſt, to the time I am ſpeaking of, we meet in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, with two Precedents in favour of the Women. The firſt is, that of King *Stephen*, Son of a Daughter of *William* the Conqueror, to which may be added, at the ſame time, that of *Matilda*, Daughter of *Henry* I, who diſputed the Crown with *Stephen*. The ſecond is, that of *Henry* II, Son of *Matilda*, who was acknowledged for King without oppoſition. Theſe two precedents, ſeemed to eſtabliſh the right of the Females beyond all diſpute. And yet they were not unqueſtionable. It might be alledged, that *Stephen* aſcended the Throne purely by the Cabals of ſome of the Nobility, and that *Henry* II, received his Crown only by virtue of a Treaty, extorted from his Predeceſſor by force of Arms. It might moreover be objected, that, as there was no expreſs Law, two examples ſince the beginning of the Monarchy, could not have the force of a Law, chiefly by reaſon of the circumſtances they were attended with. Thus the Right of the Daughters and their Iſſue, might at leaſt be liable to diſpute.

Reflection on that Act.

When *Henry* IV mounted the Throne, he pretended to be the next Heir of *Richard* II, ſhowing thereby, he made no account of the Earl of *March*'s Right, deſcended only from a Daughter And indeed, ſuppoſing the Invalidity of the Women's right, it could not be denied, that he was nearer than the Earl of *March*, who was ſet up againſt him. But this pretended invalidity was a point that was not decided. Mean while, the People were generally of opinion, that the Daughters had a right to the Succeſſion, ſince, without its being neceſſary to alledge examples or precedents in their favour, it was ſufficient there was no Law to exclude them. Upon this foundation the late Rebellion was raiſed, as appeared by the Manifeſto of the Rebels. It is therefore very likely, that, to remove this pretence from the Male-contents, *Henry* would have decided the point by an Act, which, in excluding the Daughters and their Iſſue, ſeemed to inſinuate, that the reigning King aſcended the Throne purſuant to the Cuſtom and Laws of the Realm. But this Act, which perhaps was extorted the ſame way as the Subſidy, laſted but till the end of the year. The next Parliament, which met in *December* (6), made ſuch ſtrong Remonſtrances to the King, that he conſented to the Repeal. This Parliament, not ſatisfied with leaving the Right of the Daughters in its former doubtful State, paſſed a new Act, whereby the Females, and their Poſterity were eſtabliſhed in their natural Rights. The Succeſſion was ſettled upon the King's eldeſt Son, and his Heirs, without exception, then upon his Brothers, and their Iſſue, without excluding the Women. This Act was ſigned by the King, the Houſe of Lords, and the Speaker, in the name of all the Commons, the 22d of *December* 1406, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

The Act is repealed.

1406. *Another for the Women.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 462. ---- 464.

The precaution taken by the King to ſecure his Right, by the firſt of theſe Acts, was extremely prejudicial to his poſterity. He thereby gave occaſion for the ſecond, which ſtrengthened the Title of the Earl of *March*, and conſequently of the Houſe of *York*, which became Heir to that Prince.

Negotiation for delivering the Earl of Northumberland to the King. Walſing.

Whilſt the Parliament, which paſſed the firſt of theſe Acts, continued the Seſſion, till the King was pleaſed to diſmiſs them, *Henry* carried on in *Scotland* a ſecret Negotiation, to get into his hands, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolf*, who had taken refuge there. He could not be eaſy on account of the former, whoſe valour, abilities, and revengeful temper, were no leſs known to him, than his great intereſt in the North. As it was to be feared, that being ſo near thoſe parts, he would contrive ſome dangerous Plot, *Henry* believed he ought to ſpare no pains to make himſelf eaſy, by ſecuring his Perſon. To that end, he ſent an offer to certain *Scotch* Lords, whoſe Relations and Friends were Priſoners in *England*, to releaſe them without ranſom, provided they would deliver up the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolf*. This offer was gladly received. But as there was no concealing this deſign from the Lord *Flemming*, who had entertained theſe two Lords at his Houſe, he acquainted them with it, and they retired into *Wales*, under the protection of *Glendour*. Some time after, the *Scotch* Lords, vexed at their diſappointment, killed the Lord *Flemming*, who was the cauſe that their Friends ſtill remained in captivity. Afterwards, his Son, revenging his death upon ſome of the murderers, this quarrel, joined to ſeveral other occaſions of diſcord, which reigned among the great Men, under the Government of a very weak Prince, raiſed many Commotions in *Scotland*.

The Earl retires into Wales.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan. Walſing.

Robert III, of the Houſe of *Stuart*, who ſat then on the Throne of *Scotland*, was a Prince more free from vices, than endowed with good qualities. His eaſy nature, or incapacity, had given opportunity to *Robert* his Brother, Duke of *Albany*, to ſeize, by degrees, the Government of the Kingdom, whilſt he left the King his Brother little more than the external badges of Royalty. His ambition not being ſatisfied with a borrowed authority, he formed a deſign to ſeize the Crown, or at leaſt took meaſures to ſecure it to himſelf after *Robert*'s deceaſe. To compaſs his ends, it was neceſſary to prevent the obſtacles, he would infallibly meet with in the execution of his deſigns, from the Princes *David* and *James* his Nephews, the King's Sons. An opportunity very quickly offered to make away with the eldeſt. The young Prince committing ſome outrage, for which he was complained of to the King, the Duke of *Albany* procured an order from his Brother, to keep *David* confined, till the heat of his paſſion was ſomewhat abated. He executed this order with ſuch rigour, that cloſely confining the Prince, he cauſed him to be ſtarved to death. How careful ſoever he might be to conceal this barbarous action, *Robert* was informed of it, but being too weak, and his Brother too potent, durſt not attempt to be revenged. The only remedy he could apply to his grief, was to put *James* his ſecond, now become his eldeſt Son, out of the reach of the ſnares of his treacherous Brother. For that purpoſe, he reſolved to educate him at the Court of *France*, in order to ſend him out of *Scotland*, where he was in ſuch imminent danger, and accordingly put him on board a Veſſel to go by Sea. The young Prince ſailing near the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, and finding himſelf Sea-ſick, went on ſhore for refreſhment. But he was no ſooner landed, than ſeized by ſome Mariners, and brought to the King, who was ſo cruel as to confine

Prince James confined in the Tower of London. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 484. Walſing.

(1) It was not till *July* or *Auguſt*, 1406, as appears from *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 443, 447. *Walſ.* p. 375.

(2) According to *Pontanus*, the Nuptials of *Eric* with *Philippa*, were not celebrated till the 25th of *October* 1406. *Rapin.*

(3) At *Weſtminſter*. This Parliament gave the Merchants of *England* a remarkable Commiſſion; namely, That they ſhould guard the Seas from *May* 1, till *Michaelmaſs* 1406, and, in conſideration thereof, have three Shillings from every Tun of Wine, impotted or exported; Twelve-pence in the Pound; and the fourth part of the Subſidy of Wools, Leather, and Wool-fells. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 438, 449.

(4) By which it was enacted, That at the next County holden after the delivery of the Writ of Parliament, all there preſent, as well Suitors ſummoned for the ſame Cauſe, as others, ſhall attend to the Election of the Knights for the Parliament, and in the full County they ſhall proceed to the Election, freely and indifferently, notwithſtanding any Requeſt or Commandment to the contrary. And after they are choſen, their Names ſhall be written in an Indenture, under the Seals of all them that did chuſe them, and tacked to the Writ of Parliament; which Indenture ſhall be holden for the Sheriff's Return of the ſaid Writ. *See the Statutes.*

(5) The Commons granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth, and continued the Duties on Wool, *&c.* as in the laſt Parliament. The Clergy impoſed a new Subſidy on ſtipendary Prieſts, Mendicant Friers, and Chantry Prieſts; *viz.* three Shillings and Four-pence a head. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 451. *Compl. Hiſt.* p. 294.

(6) It was not a new Parliament, but the ſame as aſſembled this Year on March 1; and which met again *October* 15, to which they had been adjourned, and broke up *Decemb.* 22. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 451, 455.

1406. him in the *Tower*. In vain did the *Scotch* Prince deliver him a Letter from the King his Father, recommending his Son to him, in caſe any accident ſhould oblige him to land in his Dominions. *Henry* only anſwered with a poor jeſt, telling him, there was no occaſion to go to *Paris* to learn *French*, he ſhould be taught it at *London*. The King of *Scotland* died three days after receiving this bad News, and the Duke of *Albany* took upon him the Regency, during the Impriſonment of the young Prince, to whom the Crown was devolved.

Death of King Robert.

The French try in vain to aid the Welſh. Walſing.

This year the *French* came upon the Coaſt of *Wales* with thirty eight Ships, in order to aſſiſt *Glendour*. But a violent Storm, deſtroying moſt of their Fleet, hindered the execution of their deſign.

1407. *Symptoms of a new Conſpiracy.* Walſing.

Very likely, the Court of *France* had received ſome Intelligence of a Conſpiracy forming in *England* againſt the King, and in order to countenance it, would have had an Army ready in *Wales*. But the diſperſion of the Fleet probably blaſted their ill-concerted project. There were ſome indications of it in the beginning of the year 1407, by certain Perſons daring to poſt up in ſeveral places in *London*, that *Richard* was living, and preparing to enter the Kingdom with a powerful Army. What inquiries ſoever the King made, the Authors could never be diſcovered. Only a poor Wretch, employed in poſting up the Papers, was hanged, without being able or willing to tell who ſet him to work.

Plague at London. Walſing.

This year a terrible Plague raged at *London*, which ſwept away above thirty thouſand Inhabitants. The King not daring to ſtay at *London* whilſt the Plague made ſuch Ravages, retired to the Caſtle of *Leeds* in the County of *Kent*. After ſpending there part of the Summer, he had a mind to remove to another of his Seats in *Norfolk* (1), and reſolving to go by Sea, went on board a Veſſel, which was followed by four more with his Baggage and Attendants. Whilſt he was ſailing in ſight of Land, without any precaution, and believing there was no danger, he ſaw himſelf on a ſudden attacked by ſome *French* Pyrates (2), who took four of his Ships; that, where he was himſelf, very narrowly eſcaping. It was not doubted that ſome Treachery lurked under this accident, but it was impoſſible to be proved.

Stow's Ann. Hall.

The King is like to be taken by Pyrates.

Death of Robert Knolles. Walſing.

The famous *Robert Knolles*, who had abundantly ſignalized himſelf in the Wars with *France* in the Reign of *Edward* III, died this year in a very advanced age. Though of mean Birth, he had raiſed himſelf by his merit to the higheſt Poſts, and gained a reputation equal to that of the moſt illuſtrious Warriours. In the beginning of this Reign, he was Seneſchal of *Guienne*, but afterwards being weary of a Life of too much Hurry and Action, retired to his Eſtate in *Kent*. There he ended his days, after acquiring a ſtill more ſolid Glory by many acts of Piety, Charity, Munificence, ſome of which ſubſiſt to this day (3).

Deſigns of the French *upon* Guienne *and* Calais. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 412, 456, 466.

Henry being ſenſible how ill-affected his Subjects were to him, ſtood ſo in awe of them, that ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, he had not dared to ſend any Troops into *Guienne* for fear of weakening himſelf at home. Mean while the *French* taking advantage of his negligence, became maſters from time to time of ſeveral Places in that Province, by bribing the Governours. They herein followed the maxim introduced during the War between *Edward* III and *Philip de Valois*, that *Buying and Selling was no breach of a Truce.* This year the Duke of *Orleans* endeavoured, notwithſtanding the Truce, to take *Bourg* and *Blaye*, but could not ſucceed. On the other hand, the Duke of *Burgundy* had again formed the deſign of beſieging *Calais*, but for want of due meaſures, durſt not purſue it. He complained, the Duke of *Orleans* had privately obſtructed it. This occaſion of complaint, with ſeveral others, breeding in him a mortal hatred to that Prince, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated this year in *November*. He was ſo hardy as to avow his being Author of the Murder, and ſo powerful as to procure a pardon, though the deceaſed was the King's own Brother.

Walſing.

The Duke of Burgundy *murders the Duke of* Orleans. Walſing. Mezerai.

Truce with Bretagne. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 469 490.

Though War was not proclaimed between *England* and *Bretagne*, the continual outrages on both Sides, could not fail at length to produce an open Rupture. The Duke of *Bretagne* was Son of a Father who had an *Engliſh* Heart. But the young Duke had imbibed at the Court of *France* other Inclinations and Maxims. However, the death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the troubles in *France*, convincing the *Bretons*, they might be abandoned, in caſe of a Rupture with *England*, they thought proper to accept of a Truce offered by *Henry*. The Truce was only to be for a Year, the *Bretons* imagining, they ſhould ſee by that time how matters would go in *France*, where diſorder began to reign (4). 1407.

1408. *A freſh attempt of the Earl of* Northumberland *againſt the King.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 520. Walſing.

Henry was not ignorant of the *Bretons* deſign, but thought it his intereſt to diſſemble. Ever ſince his coming to the Crown, he had conſtantly followed this Rule, that it was better to connive at ſome things in his Neighbours, than be expoſed to the inſults of his Subjects. He could not help reflecting on the irregular means he had uſed to aſcend the Throne. This conſideration keeping him in continual dread, he choſe rather to hazard his reputation a little, than furniſh his Domeſtick Enemies, by ingaging in Foreign Wars, with an opportunity to execute their ill deſigns. It was not without reaſon that he lived in perpetual apprehenſions. He had ſtill in the Earl of *Northumberland* an Enemy, who, humbled as he was, continued to be very formidable. Since that Earl and the Lord *Bardolf* were retired into *Wales*, they had never ceaſed contriving means with *Glendour* to dethrone the King. The *Welſh* who were in open War with *Henry*, concealed not their preparations. They ſtrengthened their Army with great numbers of *French* and *Flemiſh* Adventurers, drawn thither by the proſpect of the booty promiſed them in *England*. On the other hand, the Earl of *Northumberland* privately ſecured the aſſiſtance of the People of the North, with whom he had all along great intereſt, in ſpite of his paſt diſgraces. When matters were ripe, the Earl and *Bardolf* returned to *Scotland*, from whence they entered *England* by the northern Counties, at the head of ſome *Scotch* Troops, levied by the Connivance of the Duke of *Albany*, Regent of the Kingdom. As ſoon as they appeared in the North, thoſe that were gained beforehand, ſpeedily joined them, and their Army became, in few days, very conſiderable.

He begins with Glendour. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 588.

He appears in Arms in the North.

He makes a Progreſs.

As the King did not expect this inſurrection, the Earl had time to re-take the Caſtles he had loſt in the firſt Rebellion. This ſucceſs encouraged him to enter *Yorkſhire*. He hoped, when once he was maſter of that County, nothing would hinder him from joining the *Welſh*, who only waited his Orders to put themſelves in motion. Upon his entering *Yorkſhire*, he publiſhed a Manifeſto, containing the Motives of his taking up Arms. This Manifeſto was much the ſame with thoſe publiſhed in the former Rebellions. Mean while, as the King loſt a great deal of time in preparations, Sir *Thomas Rokeby*, Sheriff of *York*, thought it his duty to levy ſome Troops in a readineſs againſt the King's coming, and at the ſame time to obſtruct the progreſs of the Rebels. The Earl of *Northumberland* judging it of the laſt importance, to diſperſe the Sheriff's Forces before they increaſed, marched towards him, in expectation that his approach would put him to flight. But he found he had to deal with an Enemy that was not ſo eaſily frightened. *Rokeby*, though far inferiour to the Earl, ſtood his ground, and fought with that Bravery and Good-Fortune, that the Rebels were entirely routed (5). The Earl of *Northumberland* was ſlain on the ſpot, and the Lord *Bardolf* taken Priſoner, but ſo mortally wounded, that he died in few days. Their heads being ſent to the King, were ordered to be ſet on a Pole on *London* Bridge. Thus died the Earl of *Northumberland*, who, from being the King's great Friend, became his bittereſt Enemy. It was he that contributed moſt to place *Henry* on the Throne, by his readineſs to join him at *Ravenſpur*; an Example followed by all the reſt of the Kingdom. But afterwards he made ſeveral attempts to wreſt the Crown from him. So, it might be a Queſtion, whether he had done more for, than againſt, him, if in an affair of this nature a ſingle Rebellion did not outweigh numberleſs Services.

Publiſhes a Manifeſto.

The Sheriff of York *raiſes Troops* Ib. p. 529. Walſing.

The Earl attacks him.

Is defeated and ſlain. Walſing.

Henry being on his March, when he received the news of the defeat, and death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, proceeded to *York*. He made ſome ſtay in that City, to try the Rebels, of whom ſome were executed (6); others redeemed their Lives with large Sums of Money.

The King puniſhes the Rebels. Walſing. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 545

Before the King departed from *London*, he had ordered a Fleet to be equipped againſt the *French* Rovers, who for ſome time had infeſted the Coaſt of *England*, and done much damage to the Merchants. *Edmund Holland*

The Earl of Kent *attacks the* French *Pyrates, and is ſlain.* Walſing. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 542.

(1) Others ſay to *Plethy*. He took Ship at *Queenborough* in the Iſle of *Sheppey*, to croſs over to *Lee* in *Eſſex*. *Hall*, fol. 26.

(2) Who lay at the *Thames* Mouth. They carried away Sir *Thomas Ramſtone*, the Vice-Chamberlain, with all the King's Furniture and Apparel that was in thoſe four Ships. *Ibid. Stow's Ann.* p. 334.

(3) He died about *Auguſt* 5, at his Manor of *Scene-Thorp* in *Norfolk*, and was buried with his Lady in the Body of the Church of the *White Friers* in *London*, which he had newly built. He likewiſe built the ſtately Stone-Bridge at *Rocheſter*; and founded a College for ſecular Canons at *Pontfract*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. 2. p. 412. *Walſ.* p. 376.

(4) This year a Parliament was holden at *Gloceſter*, on *October* 20, and removed in *November* to *Weſtminſter*. It granted the King one Tenth and a half, and the like Subſidy for Staple, and other Merchandize, for two years, as in the laſt Parliament. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 464, 465. *Walſ.* p. 377.

(5) Near *Horſelwood*, on *Febr.* 19. *Walſ.* p. 377. For this good ſervice, King *Henry* granted Sir *Thomas Rokeby* the Manor of *Spofford*, with its Appurtenances, for life. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 530.

(6) The Abbot of *Hales* being taken fighting on the Earl's ſide, was hanged. *Walſ.* p. 377.

Earl

1408. *The Pyrates all put to the Sword.* Earl of *Kent*, who commanded the Fleet, was long in queſt of theſe Rovers to no purpoſe. At length, hearing they were retired on the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, to the little Iſle of *Brehac*, which was expreſsly excepted in the Truce with the *Bretons*, he went and attacked them in the Town of the ſame Name, where they had ſhut themſelves up. In the firſt aſſault, he received a Wound, of which he died in five days. This prevented not his Troops from continuing the Siege, and taking the Town, where they put all to the Sword.

Truce for Poictou and Guienne. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 516, 521, 530, 557.

The frequent Ratifications of the Truce, not hindering the *French* from making continual attempts upon *England*, *Henry* was forced at laſt to be content to conclude a new ſeparate Truce for *Picardy* and *Guienne*, from the 30th of *September* 1408 (1), to the 1ſt of *May* 1410 (2). *Poictou* was expreſsly included, becauſe the *French* denied that Province to be held of *Guienne*.

A brief account of the Schiſm. Platina. Walſing.

The Schiſm, which commenced in 1378, by the double Election of *Urban* VI, and *Clement* VII, ſtill continued, to the great ſcandal of *Chriſtendom*. *Urban* dying in 1390, the Cardinals of his Party choſe in his room *Boniface* IX, who at firſt ſeemed very much inclined to put an end to the Schiſm. Whereupon the Court of *France*, laboured heartily to inſpire *Clement* with the ſame reſolution. But as he proved inflexible, the Univerſity of *Paris* was ordered to meet, where it was decided, that, to put an end to the Schiſm, one of theſe three ways was abſolutely neceſſary. The firſt was, That the two Popes ſhould reſign. The ſecond, That they ſhould agree upon Umpires to decide their difference. The third, That the determination ſhould be referred to a General Council. This reſolution being communicated to *Clement*, troubled him ſo, that he died quickly after in 1394. When the King of *France* had notice of his death, he wrote to the Cardinals, deſiring them not to proceed to a new Election. But as they ſuſpected the contents of his Letter, they choſe, before they opened it, the Cardinal of *Luna*, an *Arragonian*, who took the Name of *Benedict* XIII. Before the Election, they all took a ſolemn Oath, that whoever was choſen, ſhould renounce the *Papacy*, in caſe it was deemed neceſſary for the good of *Chriſtendom*. But *Benedict* being elected, diſpenſed with the Oath he had taken, when Cardinal. On the other hand, *Boniface* IX dying 1404, his Cardinals choſe *Innocent* VII, and he likewiſe dying the next year, they elected *Angelo Corario* a *Venetian*, who aſſumed the name of *Gregory* XII.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 604.

It would be tedious to relate all the Evaſions uſed by *Benedict* XIII, and *Gregory* XII, to decline the reſignation ſworn by each. They were both willing to be thought well-affected, and yet continually ſtarted freſh Obſtacles to the agreement deſired by all *Chriſtendom*. In ſhort, the *Chriſtian* Princes, tired with the delays of the two Popes, found means to gain the Cardinals of both ſides, who, in their own name, ſummoned a General Council at *Piſa*, for the 25th of *March* 1409.

1409. *Council of Piſa.* Ib. p. 567. Walſing. *Alexander V, elected.*

The Council being aſſembled, the two Popes were cited, and as they did not think fit to appear, were declared perjured Hereticks, and deprived of their Dignity. At the ſame time, the Cardinals were impowered to elect a new Pope. They choſe *Peter de Candia*, who ſtiled himſelf *Alexander* V. Before the meeting of the Council, *Henry* writ to *Gregory*, to admoniſh him to comply with the method of Reſignation. But his Letter being fruitleſs, when he heard of *Alexander*'s Election, he iſſued a Proclamation, enjoining all his Subjects to acknowledge the new Pope. It was believed, the ſcandalous Schiſm, which had now laſted thirty years, was at length cloſed, but by *Benedict*'s obſtinacy, it was ſome years farther prolonged.

The King's Proclamation in his favour.

The Progreſs of the Lollards alarms the Clergy.

How ſcandalous ſoever this Schiſm might be, it did not create in the Clergy of *England* ſo great uneaſineſs, as *Wickliff*'s Doctrine. Though, during this Reign, the *Lollards* were uſed with great ſeverity, their Number continually increaſed. There were even at *Oxford*, Doctors, that publickly defended the novel Opinions, as well in their Diſputations, as Writings. The Biſhops being extremely alarmed at it, obtained of the King an Order to the Univerſity to meet in Convocation, and examine the Books of *Wickliff*. As the Majority were ſtill attached to the old Doctrine, his Books were condemned, and the Univerſity publiſhed a Decree, forbidding all her Members, upon pain of Degradation, to preach, or teach, the Doctrine therein contained.

Wickliff's Books condemned at Oxford. Act. Pub. VIII.

Truce with Bretagne.

This year the Truce with *Bretagne*, was prolonged to the 1ſt of *July* 1411.

Henry could not be ſecure of any Tranquillity, ſo long as *France* was undiſturbed. From thence proceeded the riſe of all the motions, as well of his own Subjects, as of the *Welſh* and *Scots*. The War, which was kindled in that Kingdom between the Houſes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, was very beneficial to *England*. In the firſt Place, *Caſtile* and *Scotland* were more ready to conclude a Truce with *Henry*. In the next place, the *Welſh*, receiving no further aſſiſtance from thence, found at length, their pretended Prince was very far from being able to perform what he had promiſed, and began by degrees to deſert him. Laſtly, *Henry* reaped moreover this private Advantage, that he became more abſolute at home, ſince he had nothing to fear from his Enemies abroad. Though he had cauſed *Richard* to be depoſed, for uſurping an arbitrary Power contrary to the Laws, yet he himſelf plainly ſhowed by certain proceedings, he would have been glad to govern with an abſolute authority. This chiefly appeared in the Elections of Members of Parliament. By the directions of the Court, certain Artifices were practiſed, to render the Freedom of voting of no uſe, ſince the Sheriffs took the liberty to return ſuch Repreſentatives as had not a Majority of Votes. This is a thing of ſo fatal a conſequence, that it may be affirmed, the liberty of the *Engliſh* will no longer ſubſiſt, than whilſt the Privilege of freely electing their Repreſentatives in Parliament ſtands inviolated. If once the Sovereign comes to chuſe what Repreſentatives he pleaſes, the bounds of the Royal Authority will be in the end ſo enlarged, that nothing but the mere Shadow of Liberty will remain. Of this, we have ſeen a remarkable inſtance in the Reign of *Richard* II. But it may farther be added, that all the Kings of *England*, who have enjoyed a more abſolute power than the reſt, acquired it by this way, I mean, by procuring their Creatures to be elected. When a Parliament conſiſts of ſuch Members, it is no longer the King that is charged with Incroachments upon the People's Liberty, but it is the Nation itſelf, that voluntarily runs into Slavery. And if, afterwards, they reſolve to throw off their chains, they can only ſucceed by violent means; and this, by the way, is the Spring of moſt of the Civil Wars, ſo often kindled in *England*. The Parliament which met in *January* (3) 1410, conſidering the conſequences of the King's proceedings to over-rule the Elections, believed the redreſs of that abuſe, was the moſt preſſing affair. Accordingly, in the beginning of the Seſſion, they preſented a Bill to the King, by which, the Sheriffs, who ſhould be guilty of making falſe returns, were to be fined a hundred Pounds Sterling, for every offence. The King would have been glad to evade this Act, but as he could not do it, without laying himſelf too open, and beſides intended to demand a Subſidy, he gave it the Royal Aſſent.

1410. *Troubles in France advantagious to Henry.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 609, 617.

Henry begins to break in upon the Parliament's Privileges.

Act againſt falſe Returns. See Statut.

The King demands a Subſidy.

Upon paſſing this Act, the King demanded an Aid of Money of the Commons, who took occaſion from thence to renew their former Inſtances, with regard to the Clergy. *Wickliff*'s Doctrine had gained ſo much ground, that the Majority of the Houſe of Commons leaned that way. Thus biaſſed, the Commons preſented to the King two Petitions, one againſt the Clergy, the other in behalf of the *Lollards*. In the firſt, they ſet forth, "That the Clergy made an ill uſe of their Riches, and "conſumed their Incomes, in a very different manner "from the Donors intent: That their Revenues were "exceſſive, and conſequently it was neceſſary to leſſen "them: That ſo many Eſtates might eaſily be ſeized, "as would ſerve to provide for a hundred and fifty "Earls (4), at the rate of three thouſand Marks a year "each; fifteen hundred Barons, at a hundred Marks "each; ſix thouſand two hundred Knights, at forty "Marks; and a hundred Hoſpitals, at a hundred Marks: "That by this means the Kingdom's ſafety would be "better provided for, the Poor better maintained, and "the Clergy more attached to their Duty."

Petition of the Commons againſt the Clergy. Walſing.

In the ſecond Petition the Commons prayed, that the Statute paſſed againſt the *Lollards* in the ſecond (5) year of this Reign, might either be repealed, or at leaſt qualified with ſome Reſtrictions.

Another in favour of the Lollards. Walſing.

If the Parliament, that firſt moved the leſſening of the Clergy's Revenues, was ſtiled the *Unlearned*, it may well be ſuppoſed, this met with no better Treatment. The Name of *Lollard* and *Heretical* was plentifully beſtowed, and the Clergy conſidered the Petition, as tending to undermine all Religion. This was induſtriouſly inſinuated to the King, with all the aggravations, which Parties concerned are capable of diſplaying on ſuch an occaſion. It

(1) There had been a Truce concluded, from *January* 15, till *April* 15. 1408, which was prolonged till *September* 30. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 507, 515, 520.
(2) From the 15th of *June*, till that time three years. *Ibid.* p. 541, 548---560.
(3) *January* 27. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 470.
(4) *Walſingham* ſays, only fifteen Earls, p. 379.
(5) *Rapin* ſays, in the ſeventh. See above, p. 491.

1410. is hard to know, whether the King himſelf was of this Mind; but however, he declared, he had the Intereſt of the Church no leſs at heart, than the Clergy themſelves. After the Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, there was never a Lord in the Kingdom, that could give him any Uneaſineſs; and though the People were diſſatisfied, *Henry* was very ſenſible, that of themſelves, they would never be induced to rebel, unleſs incouraged thereto. So, it was his Intereſt to pleaſe the Clergy, who alone were able to ſtir up the People, if they had ſo plauſible a Pretence as the loſs of their Revenues. For this reaſon, he anſwered the Commons very ſharply, that he neither could, nor would conſent to their Petitions, and expreſly forbad them to meddle any more with the Church's Concerns. As for the *Lollards*, he replied, that far from permitting the Statute againſt them to be repealed, he wiſhed it more rigorous, for the utter Extirpation of Hereſy out of the Land.

The King rejects the two Petitions. Walſing.

Another Petition againſt the Clergy rejected. Walſing.

The Commons miſſing their Aim, were contented with moving, that at leaſt Clerks convicted ſhould not be delivered to the Biſhops Priſons (1), alledging for reaſon, that daily Experience ſhewed, Clerks by that means always eſcaped the Puniſhment they deſerved. What the Commons demanded was no leſs reaſonable now, than in the Reign of *Henry* II, when that Prince, and all the Peers of the Realm maintained that Point ſo ſtoutly againſt *Becket*, and Pope *Alexander* III. But *Henry* fearing to be expoſed to the like Troubles as *Henry* II was liable to, refuſed alſo to give his Aſſent to this Bill. On the contrary, he affected to ſhew an extraordinary Zeal for the Intereſts of the Church, and to take ſuch Steps as he thought moſt agreeable to the Clergy. Though it cannot be doubted, that *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was the real Cauſe of the Motions made by the Houſe of Commons, the King was pleaſed to let them ſee, how far he was from giving them any Countenance, by ſigning a Warrant for burning one *Thomas Badby*. The Prince of *Wales* had a mind to be preſent at the Execution, and, as the poor Wretch gave ſenſible Signs of the Torture he endured, ordered the Fire to be removed, and promiſed him a Penſion for Life, provided he would recant. But *Badby* recovering his Spirits, refuſed to comply with the Offer, and ſuffered Death with heroick Courage.

The King orders a Lollard to be burnt. Walſing. p. 378. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 627.

The Commons are offended, and refuſe the King's Demand. Walſing.

The Commons conſidered this Execution as an Inſult, and great Aggravation of the Refuſal they had lately endured. Accordingly, when the King demanded a Power to levy every Year a certain Subſidy (2), though the Parliament ſhould not ſit, the Demand was boldly rejected. The Commons would have even refuſed a Supply for his neceſſary Occaſions, if, to force them to it, the ſame method, that had formerly ſucceeded, had not been employed: That is, he prolonged the Seſſions till he obtained his deſire (3). It plainly appeared, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was dead; that the Troubles in *Wales* were almoſt at an end; and that *France* was no longer formidable; otherwiſe he would never have ventured to treat the Commons ſo haughtily.

He obtains a Subſidy by a kind of Force.

The Duke of Burgundy *forms a Deſign to beſiege* Calais. Walſing.

Notwithſtanding the ill Poſture of Affairs in *France*, the Duke of *Burgundy* reſumed his Deſign of beſieging *Calais*, but with his former Succeſs. All his Preparations at St. *Omer* for the carrying on the Siege, being burnt to Aſhes, either by Accident, or by means of an Incendiary, ſent on purpoſe by the Governor of *Calais*, this Project, like the foregoing, vaniſhed into Air. The *French* Hiſtorians make no mention of this Attempt. However it ſeems, by the King's Precaution, in ſending the Prince of *Wales* to *Calais* at that very time, he had received ſome private Intelligence thereof. Be this as it will, the Truce with *France*, for *Guienne* and *Picardy*, was again prolonged for ſome Months.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 627, 629, 631.

Truce of France *prolonged.*

The Engliſh *ravage* Scotland. Ib. p. 639.

This Year *Robert de Humphreville*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, enter'd the Gulf of *Edinburgh*, and daily landing his Men, now in one place, then in another, carried away a great Booty (4).

1411. *Truce prolonged.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 641, 655, 657, 668, 680, 687, 694, 702, 710, 732.

The whole Year 1411, was ſpent in ſeveral Negotiations, which ended at length in prolonging the Truce with *France* for five Years, with *Caſtile*, till *February* 1413, and with *Bretagne* for ten Years.

Theſe Negotiations require no farther Explication, ſince we have already ſeen the Occaſion of them. But the Negotiation this Year with the Duke of *Burgundy*, merits a more particular notice. To that end, it will be neceſſary to explain, as briefly as poſſible, the preſent Situation of Affairs in *France*, on which depends a good Part of the Occurrences of this, and the two following Reigns. 1411.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

We have ſeen how *John* Duke of *Burgundy* aſſaſſinated the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother of King *Charles* VI; and avowing the Fact, had Credit enough to procure a Pardon. He, afterwards, went into his Dominions in *Flanders*, with deſign to reſtore to the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, his Ducheſs's Brother, expelled by his People. Whilſt he was preparing for this War, the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, in Company with her three Sons, of whom *Charles* the eldeſt was but fifteen Years old, came, and caſting herſelf at the Feet of the King her Brother-in-law, demanded Juſtice for the Death of her Husband. Though the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtained a Pardon, his Adverſaries taking advantage of his Abſence, had Intereſt enough to have it revoked, and to cauſe him to be pronounced Enemy of the State. He was then marching to the Relief of *Maeſtricht*, where the Men of *Liege* held their Biſhop beſieged. At his Approach, they raiſed the Siege; but, being afterwards informed, the Duke had only ſixteen thouſand Men, reſolved to attack him. Though their Army was three times as ſtrong as the Duke's, they were routed with the loſs of thirty thouſand Men. The Duke's Victory ſo alarmed his Enemies in *France*, that not thinking themſelves ſafe at *Paris*, where the Duke had many Adherents, they retired to *Tours*, and took the King along with them. The victorious Duke, preferring his Affairs in *France*, to the War againſt the Men of *Liege*, who were ſufficiently humbled, put himſelf immediately at the head of four thouſand Horſe, and came to *Paris*, where he was received in Triumph. At his Arrival he ſo managed, that the *Pariſians* ſent Deputies to the King, praying him to return to their City. *Charles*, who was then in one of his Intervals, thought it not adviſeable in the preſent Juncture, to protect the Enemies of the Duke of *Burgundy*. He repaired to *Paris* as deſired, and immediately appointed conſiderable Perſons to mediate an Agreement between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Sons of the Duke of *Orleans*, which was accompliſhed, though with great difficulty. The Ducheſs of *Orleans* died with Grief, to ſee her Husband's Murderer triumphant; and the young Duke of *Orleans*, then but in his ſixteenth Year, found himſelf obliged to be reconciled to his mortal Enemy. From thenceforward, the Duke of *Burgundy* ſeized the Government, the King, who frequently relapſed, being too weak to hold the Reins himſelf.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 698, 699. Walſing.

Mean while, *Henry*, who had always an eye to a Peace with *France*, formed a Deſign to marry the Prince of *Wales*, with one of the Daughters of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom he ſaw ſo firmly eſtabliſhed. But whilſt he was carefully thinking how to accompliſh his Project, ſuch Alterations happened in *France*, as made him ſenſible, this Alliance was not ſo certain a means, as he had imagined, to attain his Ends. The Dukes of *Berri*, *Orleans*, *Alenſon*, *Bretagne*, and the Earls of *Clermont* and *Armagnac*, meeting at *Gien* in *Auguſt* 1410, entered into a League againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, and ſhortly after approached *Paris*. The Duke, having the King in his Power, oppoſed them with equal Forces; which convinced them, that the Execution of their Deſigns depended on a Battle, the Succeſs whereof could not but be doubtful. In all appearance, *France* itſelf would be ruined by a Battle, which would have been deſtructive to the Kingdom, on which ſide ſoever Victory inclined, had not means been found to make an Agreement between theſe Princes. It was agreed, that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould depart from *Paris*, the confederate Princes ſhould not enter there, and none of the Heads of the two Parties ever come to Court, unleſs ſent for by Letters under the Great-Seal.

The Duke of *Burgundy* punctually obſerving this Agreement, retired into the *Low-Countries*; but the Duke of *Orleans*, and the reſt of his Party, were not ſo ſcrupulous. After disbanding their Troops, they levied others, and approached *Paris*, in expectation of inriching themſelves with the Plunder of the Metropolis, which remained firm to the *Burgundian* Party. The Duke finding himſelf thus deceived, made an Alliance with the King of *England*, who believing it his Intereſt to ſupport him, ſent him a conſiderable Body of Troops (5). With this Aſſiſtance, the Duke marching into *France*, and paſſing through the Enemies Quarters, who were blocking up *Paris*, entered the City, amidſt the Acclamations of the

Henry aids the Duke of Burgundy. Walſing.

(1) *Rapin* ſays here, by miſtake, that Clerks ſhould not be tried in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.——*Walſingham*'s Words are,——Ut clerici convicti de cetero non traderentur ergaſtulis Epiſcoporum, ſed carceribus regis, & temporalium dominorum, p. 379.

(2) A Tenth on the Clergy, and a Fifteenth on the Laity. *Walſing.* p. 379.

(3) Till the middle of *May*: And then the Commons granted him a Fifteenth; and continued the Duties on Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells, and Tunnage and Poundage; but with this condition, that expreſs mention ſhould be made, *it was done of their own good wills*: Out of theſe Duties, they gave the King twenty thouſand Marks, to diſpoſe of at his pleaſure. *Walſing.* p. 379. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 474.

(4) He brought away ſo much Corn, *&c.* that he brought down the Prices of things, and thence was called *Mend-Market*.

(5) Under the Command of *John Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*; *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham*, &c. *Walſing.* p. 380.

1411. People on the 30th of *October* 1411. From this time began the two powerful Factions of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, the firſt of which received afterwards the Name of the *Armagnacs*, from the Earl of *Armagnac*, who became their Head.

Parliament in England. *Act of Indemnity.*

Whilſt *France* was in Trouble and Confuſion, the Parliament of *England* meeting about the end of this Year (1), petitioned the King for a general Pardon for his Subjects. *Henry* readily complied with their Requeſt, excepting only *Glendour* and his Adherents (2). This ſhews *Glendour* was ſtill living, though moſt Hiſtorians ſay, he died in 1409. It is true, after the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Death, his Affairs were gone to decay. The *Welſh*, ſeeing he was unable to perform his Promiſes, had deſerted him by degrees. He was even apprehenſive, they would make ſome attempt upon his Life, or deliver him up to the King. His fears inducing him to conceal himſelf, he paſſed the reſidue of his Days in ſome unknown Place. So, it is no wonder the time of his Death is unknown. However, that he lived till the Year 1417, is certain.

Glendour *is excepted.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 711. *His Affairs go to decay.*

Act. Pub. Tom. IX. p. 283, 330.

1412. *Continuation of the Troubles in* France.

The Affairs of *France* were embroiled more and more, by the mutual Hatred of the two Factions, who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the Good of the Publick to their Animoſity. Hitherto *Henry* had juſtly dreaded ſome Miſchief from that quarter. If the Diſſenſions of the Princes of the Blood had not hindered thoſe that were at the Helm, during the King's Illneſs, from effectually ſupporting the Male-contents in *England*, he would very probably have been greatly diſtreſſed. But when he ſaw the Animoſity of the two Factions carried to the higheſt degree, his Fears entirely vaniſhed. He even began to think of means, to reap ſome Benefit from the Troubles in *France*, as the *French* had frequently attempted to take advantage of the Inſurrections in *England*. Herein, the Obſervation of the Truce was no more regarded on one ſide than the other.

Henry *thinks of taking advantage of them.*

Henry ſoon found as favourable an Opportunity, offered by the *French* themſelves, as he could deſire. The Dukes of *Berry*, *Orleans*, *Bourbon*, *Alenſon*, the Earl of *Armagnac* and the Lord *d'Albret*, Heads of one of the Factions, ſeeing themſelves unable to withſtand the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had the King and all the Royal Family in his Power, came to a Reſolution, to ſtrengthen themſelves with the Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*. But as they were not ignorant, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had prevented them, by making an Alliance with *Henry*, they thought it neceſſary to break that Union, by offering ſuch Terms, as were capable of taking off *Henry* from his Ingagements with their Enemy. To that end they met at *Bourges*, where they agreed upon the Conditions to be offered him, and then ſent Deputies to treat with him.

The Faction of Orleans *ſue to him for Aid.* Ib. p. 716, 718, 726. Walſing.

Hitherto, the Duke of *Burgundy* had evaded *Henry*'s Propoſal, of marrying the Prince of *Wales* with one of his Daughters. Probably, he had entertained other Views. But, upon Information of what was contriving in *England*, he thought proper to preſs, in his turn, the concluſion of the Marriage. *Henry* pretended to hear with Pleaſure the Propoſition, but it was only to procure better Terms from the *Orleans* Faction, with whom he deſigned to make an Alliance. And indeed, the Deputies of the Princes hearing of this Negotiation, inſiſted no farther upon any Article, but concluded the Treaty, juſt as *Henry* deſired, on the 18th of *May* 1412.

The Duke of Burgundy *tries to break the Meaſures of his Enemies.* Act. Pub. VIII. p. 721, 737.

Treaty between Henry *and the* Orleans *Faction.* p. 738. Walſing.

By this Treaty the Confederate Princes were bound,

I. To give up to the King of *England* about fifteen hundred Towns, Caſtles, and Bayliwicks, which they held in *Guienne*, or in *Poictou*.

II. To conquer for him what remained of theſe two Provinces in the hands of the *French*, and reſtore to him *Guienne*, with all its Dependencies, in the ſame State and Extent, as enjoyed by his Predeceſſors.

III. The King allowed, that the Duke of *Berry* ſhould hold *Poictou* for Life, on condition he did him Homage, and delivered up *Poictiers*, *Niort*, and *Luſignan*: As for the reſt of the fortified Towns in that Province, he ſhould place ſuch Governors in them, as would bind themſelves by Oath to reſign them after his Death to the King of *England*. The Duke of *Orleans* was to have the Duchy of *Angoulême*, upon the ſame Terms, and the Earl of *Armagnac* certain Caſtlewards in *Guienne*.

IV. The King was bound on his part, to lend the Princes an Aid of a thouſand Men at Arms, and three thouſand Archers, who were to go to *Blois*, where they ſhould be received by the Princes, and paid before-hand according to the ſtipulated pay. 1412.

The Treaty being ratified, *Henry* gave the Command of this Aid to *Thomas* his ſecond Son, created, a few days after, Duke of *Clarence*. He ſent with him in this Expedition the Duke of *York*, and *Thomas Beaufort* High-Admiral of *England*. Theſe Troops departed in *July*, and it appears by ſeveral Pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the King was preparing to go in Perſon to *Guienne*, to take Poſſeſſion of what had been promiſed him.

Prince Thomas *commands the Succours.* p. 745. *Is made Duke of* Clarence. p. 757, 760, ——767. Walſing.

But whilſt theſe Forces had been buſily raiſing in *England*, the face of Affairs was altered in *France*. The Duke of *Burgundy* improving his Advantages over his Enemies, cloſely beſieged them in *Bourges*, and had brought the King with him. Though the Beſieged made a vigorous Defence, in hopes of the Supplies that were coming from *England*, they would have found it perhaps very difficult to hold out, if the Duke of *Burgundy* had not thought proper to offer them Peace. He was afraid of the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Troops, and the Confederates had reaſon to apprehend, they would not come timely enough. Theſe different Fears rendering both Sides more tractable, the Peace offered by the Duke of *Burgundy* was accepted without heſitation, and at the ſame time proclaimed.

He arrives, and finds a Peace concluded.

Mean time, the Duke of *Clarence* landing in *Normandy*, advanced towards *Blois* with all poſſible diligence, without committing Hoſtilities by the way. But when he was informed, that the Confederates had accepted a Peace (3), he conſidered *France* as an Enemy's Country, and made great Ravages in his march. It was the Duke of *Orleans*'s buſineſs, head of the Faction, who had drawn him into *France*, to content him. But as he had no Money to pay what was already due to the *Engliſh* (4), he was forced to give him the Earl of *Angoulême* his Brother in Hoſtage. On the other hand, the Duke of *Clarence* finding himſelf in the Heart of an Enemy's Country, with a few Troops, and not without apprehenſion, that the two Parties would join againſt him, did not think fit to ſtand upon Terms. He only ſtipulated for leave to lead his Troops into *Guienne*, where they ſerved to recover ſome Places, by the help of the Earl of *Armagnac*, and the Lord *d'Albret*, who were not pleaſed with the Peace.

Walſing.

He retires into Guienne. Walſing.

This Affair being ended, *Henry* enjoyed a profound Tranquillity. He had nothing more to fear from *France*, which, by inteſtine Diviſions, was become unable to hurt him. The *Welſh* ſought only to make their Peace, and the Regent of *Scotland*, content to ſee the King his Nephew in the hands of the *Engliſh*, minded only his private Concerns. In fine, the Male-contents in *England*, being no longer ſupported by foreign Princes, remained quiet. *Henry* made uſe of this Calm to efface the ill Impreſſions, his Severity and Proceedings with reſpect to the Parliament, had made in the Minds of his Subjects. He affected Popularity, and endeavoured by all ſorts of means to ſhew, he thought of nothing leſs than ſtretching the Prerogative Royal. His Endeavours were crowned with ſuch Succeſs, that, notwithſtanding his Severity to his Enemies, and Refuſals to the Houſe of Commons, he was deemed a generous, mild, and moderate Prince. What was before conſidered, as an effect of his cruel and revengeful Temper, was now readily aſcribed to pure Neceſſity, and the Circumſtances of his Affairs. It was, doubtleſs, the latter Behaviour of this Prince, which led Hiſtorians to give him ſuch Commendations, as his former Actions no way deſerve. This Example ſhews, how eaſy it is for a Sovereign to efface the diſadvantagious Impreſſions entertained of him by his Subjects, provided he is ſo wiſe and fortunate, as to perſuade the World, he ſincerely intends to reform his Conduct.

Henry *enjoys a profound Peace.*

Whilſt *Henry* was endeavouring to recover his Reputation, which had ſuffered a little ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, the Prince of *Wales* was entirely deſtroying his own, by his daily Exceſſes. Though he had naturally a great and generous Heart, he ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by Perſons, who, to ſerve their own Ends, flattered his vicious Paſſions, and diverted him from the Paths of Virtue. His Court was the receptacle of Libertines, Debauchees, Buffoons, Paraſites, and the like. Nothing was talked of, but the riotous and extravagant Pranks of the Prince, or his Companions. Such a Conduct in a Prince, who was one day to ſit on the Throne, was very amazing to the conſiderate, who could not help dreading the Conſequences. However, amidſt theſe Apprehenſions,

Exceſſes of the Prince of Wales. Hall.

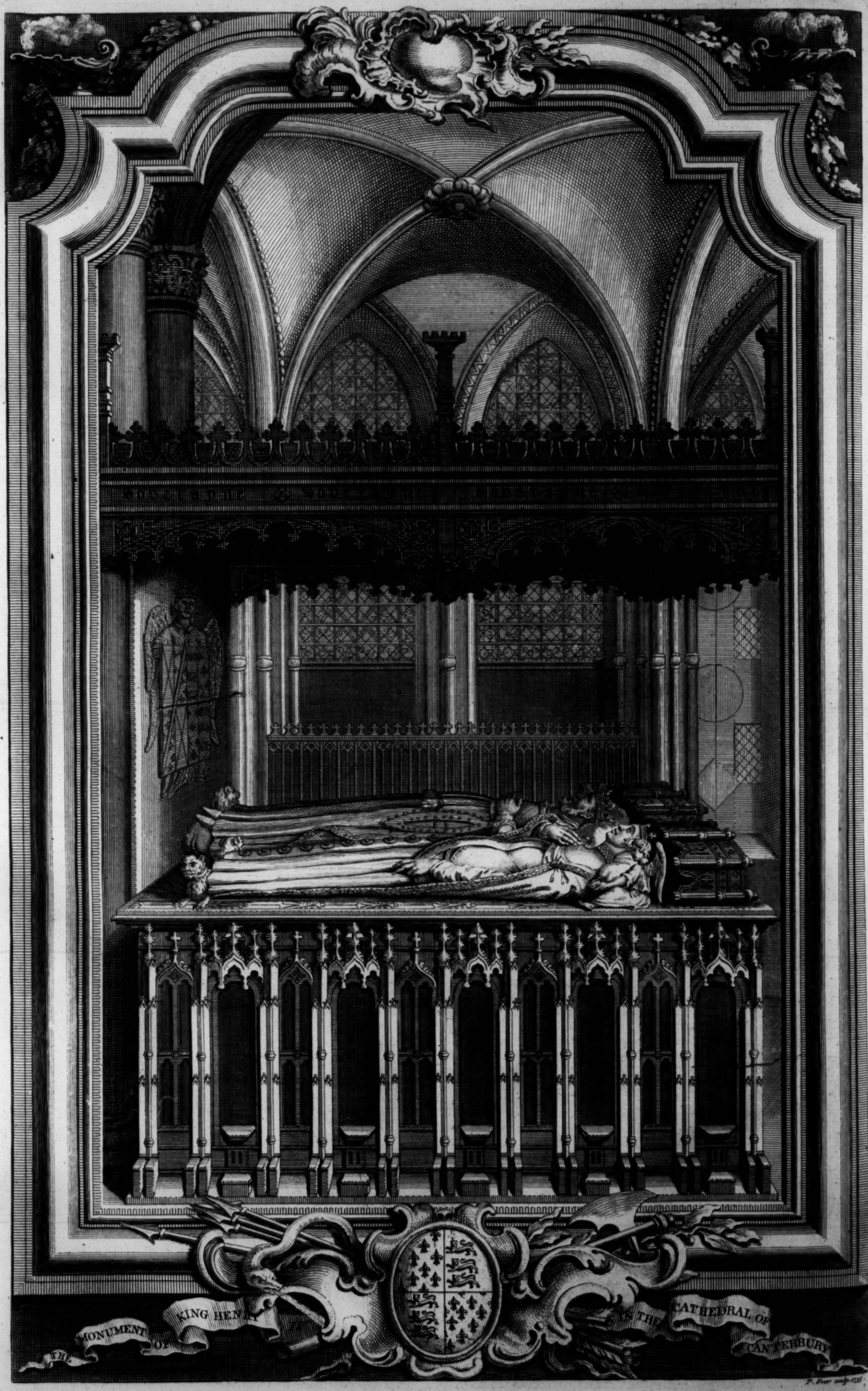
(1) On *November* 3. The Lords and Commons continued for one Year longer the Duties on Wool, Wool-fells, and Leather; and alſo the Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage; ſo as it was always confeſſed to proceed from their own Good Will, and not of Duty. They alſo granted, that every Perſon having twenty Pounds a Year in Land, above all Charges, ſhould pay ſix Shillings and Eight-pence. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 478, 479.

(2) This Pardon is dated *December* 22. at *Weſtminſter*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 711.

(3) This Peace was concluded at *Bourges*, *July* 15, and from thence called the *Peace of Bourges*.

(4) Which was three hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns of Gold. *P. Daniel Hiſt. Franc.* Tom. V. p. 505.

a Ray


THE MONUMENT OF KING HENRY IV IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CANTERBURY

1412. T. Eliot. Stow. a Ray of Hope was ſeen to ſhine, in a very unexpected mark of Moderation given by the Prince. One of his Favorites (1) being arraigned for Felony before the Chief Juſtice (2), he reſolved to be preſent at the Trial, with deſign to over-awe the Judge. But his Preſence not preventing the Criminal's Condemnation, he was ſo tranſported with Paſſion, that he ſtruck the Judge on the Face. The Chief Juſtice thus affronted, conſidering the Conſequences of ſuch an Action, without regarding the Quality of the Offender, commanded him to be arreſted on the ſpot, and committed to Priſon (3). Then was ſeen what would never have been expected, the Prince, quiet as a Lamb, ſubmitting without murmuring, to the Judge's Orders, and ſuffering himſelf to be led to Priſon without Reſiſtance, like a private Perſon.

He gives a Judge a Blow in the Face. Hall.

The King grows ſuſpicious of the Prince. T. Ortaborne. The Judge's Courage, and the Prince's Moderation, were equally pleaſing to the King. Nevertheleſs, *Henry*, who was exceſſively jealous of his Crown, could not help giving Ear to ſome People's Inſinuations, that his Son had ill Deſigns againſt him. This Belief troubling him extremely, he would, perhaps, have proceeded to Extremities, in order to prevent the imagined danger, had not the Prince taken timely care to remove his Suſpicions. As ſoon as he was informed of the King his Father's Thoughts of him, he deſired a private Audience, and obtaining it, caſt himſelf at his Feet, and ſaid, "Sir, I am told you "have entertained a Suſpicion of me, injurious to my "Honour, and to the Reverence and Veneration I have "for your Perſon. It is true, I freely confeſs, I have "been guilty of ſome intemperate Sallies, which deſerve "your Indignation. But I never had the leaſt thought "of any Attempt upon your Perſon or Government. "They that dare charge me with ſo monſtrous a Crime, "ſeek only to diſturb your Quiet and mine. To clear "my ſelf of this Imputation, I have taken the Liberty "to come and throw my ſelf at yout Feet, humbly in-"treating you, to cauſe all my Actions to be as rigorouſly "examined, as thoſe of your meaneſt Subjects. I am "ready to undergo this ſtrict Scrutiny, knowing you will "be fully convinced of my Innocence." The King ſeeing with what Frankneſs the Prince offered to vindicate himſelf, grew perfectly eaſy, and reſtored him to Favour.

He vindicates himſelf. T. Livius. Forojul.

1413. *The King is ſeized with a dangerous Diſtemper.* Walſing. In the beginning of the Year 1413, *Henry* was ſeized with a Diſtemper, which, in three Months, laid him in his Grave. *Mezerai* ſays, it was the Leproſy. Others affirm, it was a ſort of Apoplexy, which had frequent Returns, and threw him into Fits that took away his Senſes. However this be, his Diſtemper, which ſeized him at ſeveral times, laſted near three Months, and then brought him to his end (4). A certain Perſon having formerly told him, he ſhould die at *Jeruſalem*, he remembred the Prediction, and verily believed, God would make him his Inſtrument to reſcue that City out of the hands of the Infidels. Thus perſuaded, he fancied his Death was not ſo near, and thought it his Duty to dedicate the Remainder of his Days to that glorious Expedition. Accordingly he took the Croſs, and calling a great Council, communicated his Deſign, and ordered all thing to be ſpeedily prepared for his Voyage. But preſently after, the Returns of his Diſtemper being more frequent than uſual, he found, inſtead of undertaking ſuch an Expedition, he ought to employ all his thoughts in Preparations for Death. His continual Fear of loſing his Crown, by reaſon of the many Attempts to wreſt it from him, increaſed with his Years. Every time he went to Bed, he ordered it to be laid on his Pillow, leſt it ſhould be ſeized before he was dead. One day being fallen into ſo ſtrong a Fit, that he was thought to reſign his laſt Breath, the Prince of *Wales* took up the Crown and carried it away. Soon after, the King recovering his Senſes, and miſſing the Crown, asked what was become of it. Being told the Prince had taken it, he ſent for him, and asked him, whether he would rob him of his Royalty even before his Death. The Prince replied, *He never had any ſuch Thoughts, but believing him dead, he had taken the Crown as his lawful Heir, and the only Perſon that had a Right to pretend to it. Nevertheleſs, he thanked God he ſaw him again recovered, and heartily wiſhed he might long live to wear it himſelf.* At the ſame time he went for the Crown, and laid it in its Place. 1413.

He takes the Croſs to go to Jeruſalem.

He always kept his Crown on his Pillow. Hollingſh. Hall.

The King's laſt Fit. *Henry*'s laſt Fit ſeized him in St. *Edward*'s Chapel, as he was worſhipping at that Saint's Shrine. He was carried to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s Lodgings, which were nearer than his own. Some time after, recovering his Speech, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange Place, he asked where he was: He was told, at the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s, in a Chamber called *Jeruſalem*. Theſe Words putting him in mind of the fore-mentioned Prediction, he thought only of dying. Before he expired, he ſent for the Prince his eldeſt Son, and gave him many excellent Inſtructions, among which he could not forbear ſhewing ſome doubts concerning his Right to the Crown. He told him alſo, he was afraid his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*, would diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the Throne. It is not known, whether theſe Fears were occaſioned by his ſecond Son's reſtleſs Temper, or by ſome Engagement with him, when he conceived a Suſpicion of his eldeſt. Be this as it will, the Prince anſwered, that being his lawful Heir, he would endeavour to keep the Crown by the ſame Methods he had himſelf preſerved it during his Life. As for the Duke of *Clarence*, if he behaved as he ought, he ſhould always find him a kind Brother; but if he pretended to do otherwiſe, he knew how to make him return to his Duty. The King ſaid nothing more, except that he recommended him to the Protection of Heaven. A few Moments after, he reſigned his laſt Breath, on the 20th of *March* 1413, in the forty-ſixth Year of his Age, having reigned thirteen Years, five Months, and one and twenty Days (5).

He is carried into the Jeruſalem Chamber. Stow.

His laſt Inſtructions to his Succeſſor.

He dies. Walſing.

Character of Henry IV. Moſt of the Hiſtorians have endeavoured to give, in my opinion, a very unſuitable Idea of this Prince. They ſpeak with Praiſe of his Mildneſs, Clemency, Generoſity, Valour, and many other Virtues, which appear more in their Writings than in his Actions. If he had ſome Reputation, whilſt a private Perſon, he does not ſeem to have increaſed or maintained it, after his Acceſſion to the Throne. His diſtinguiſhing Character was an extreme Jealouſy of a Crown, acquired by Ways not univerſally approved, and preſerved by ſhedding a Torrent of noble Blood. The Death of *Richard* II will be an indelible Stain to his Memory, tho' his Uſurpation of the Throne could be juſtified. In ſhort, he performed nothing remarkable to afford matter for Panegyrick. His Expeditions into *Scotland* and *Wales* have nothing to diſtinguiſh him with Honour. If he happily freed himſelf from all the Conſpiracies againſt him, he was chiefly indebted to the Mayor of *Cirenceſter*, the Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, and the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*. The Battle of *Shrewsbury*, wherein he vanquiſhed young *Percy*, is the only notable Action in his whole Reign. His continual Fear of Inſurrections, cauſed him to neglect ſeveral Opportunities of humbling *France*, and recovering the Provinces loſt by his Predeceſſors. He even ſuffered many Inſults from the *French*, *Scots*, *Welſh* and *Bretons*, without ſhewing much Reſentment. In fine, he employed all his thoughts in preſerving his Crown, and avoiding all Occaſions by which it might be endangered. This prudent Policy ought to be the chief, if not the ſole ſubject of his Encomium, as it was the ſole Motive of his Actions, wherein nothing appears to render him eminent. Though he had cauſed *Richard* II to be depoſed, for uſurping an abſolute Power, he did not ſeem, by his Conduct, to have ſo great an Averſion for that Crime, as he pretended when it was his Intereſt to expoſe it. It is true, towards the end of his Life, he ſeemed to have formed a Deſign, to follow Maxims more conformable to the Nation's Liberties. But God was not pleaſed to allow him time to ſhew the Effects of this Reſolution (6).

When I conſider the exceſſive Commendations beſtowed on this Prince, I cannot help ſuſpecting, that the Glory of being the firſt Burner of Hereticks, and of protecting the Clergy againſt the Attempts of the Houſe of Commons, were the main Springs of all theſe Encomiums. It is well known, the Eccleſiaſticks are as zealous in praiſing their Benefactors, as in blackening their Oppoſers.

Perſons of Note. Walſing. p. 372. During this Reign, the famous *Robert Knolles*, *William Wickham* (7) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Richard Whittington*

(1) Sir *T. Eliot* ſays, it was one of his Servants. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 342.
(2) *William Gaſcoigne*. *Stow*, ibid.
(3) To the *King's Bench*. *Ibid.*
(4) He had called a Parliament, to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on *Feb.* 2. but being ill, nothing could be done. *Walſ.* p. 382.
(5) His Body was conveyed, by Water, to *Feverſham*; and from thence, by Land, to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly interred. His Tomb is of Alabaſter, Parcel gilt, and ſeems to have been erected by Queen *Joan* of *Navarre*, his ſecond Wife, whoſe Effigies lies upon his Right-hand, and is placed betwixt two Pillars on the North-ſide the Chapel of St. *Thomas Becket*, oppoſite to the Monument of *Edward* the *Black Prince*. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 275.
(6) There is no mention of any Works either of Magnificence or Charity done by this King, except his contributing towards the Foundation of *Fotheringay* College in *Northamptonſhire*, which was begun in 1412, by *Edward Plantagenet* Duke of *York*. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 339.
(7) So called from *Wickham* in *Hampſhire*, where he was born, in 1324. His Father's Name was *John Perrot*. After he had been bred at *Wincheſter* and *Oxford*, he returned to his Patron *Nicholas Wedal*, who had been at the Charge of his Education. He afterwards became known to *Edward* III, and having a Genius for Architecture, was made Surveyor of the King's Buildings. His Direction for rebuilding *Windſor*-Caſtle gave great Satisfaction, and occaſioned his Promotion at Court, where he paſſed through the Offices of Secretary of State, Privy Seal, &c. He was preferred to the See of *Wincheſter* in 1367, and ſoon after made Lord Chancellor of *England*. It is ſaid, being repreſented to the King as a Man of

William of Wickham.

1413. *tington* Mayor (1) of *London*, were eminent for works of Charity and uſeful Foundations. 1413.

Stow. *Geoffrey Chaucer*, and *John Gower*, two famous Poets that flouriſhed in this Reign, are generally reckoned the firſt Reformers of the *Engliſh* Tongue (2).

Henry IV's Iſſue. *Henry* had by *Mary Bohun* (3), Daughter of the Earl of *Hereford*, four Sons and two Daughters, namely, *Henry* his Succeſſor, *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey*, created Duke of *Gloceſter* by *Henry* V, his Brother. *Blanch*, the eldeſt of the Daughters, was married to *Lewis Barbatus* Elector *Palatine*, and *Philippa* his ſecond, was Wife of *Eric* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

14. *HENRY* V. *Sirnam'd of* MONMOUTH.

HENRY V. 1413. March 20. *HENRY* IV not having the Happineſs to be beloved by the *Engliſh*, his Death was not much regarded. The Clergy alone lamented his Loſs, becauſe in his Reign they had met with great Favour and Protection. But the reſt of the People eaſily forgot a Prince, who, after his Acceſſion to the Crown, had performed nothing memorable, and ſhed more of his Subjects Blood than of the Enemies of the State. The very Peace enjoyed by the *Engliſh* during his whole Reign, was not grateful to them. War would have been thought more beneficial, ſince a fairer Opportunity to recover what was loſt in *France* had never offered. So, in expectation that the Prince his Son would revive the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, which ſeemed buried in Oblivion, ſince the Reign of *Edward* III, they joyfully beheld him ſucceeding a Father, from whom nothing very advantagious to the Kingdom could be expected, though his Reign had been longer. In the preſent Juncture, *England* wanted an active and warlike King, who knew how to take advantage of the Commotions in *France*. On the other hand, War was become neceſſary, to diſpel the ill Humours ſpread over the Kingdom in the late Reign.

Education of Henry V. *Henry of Monmouth*, ſo called from the Place of his Birth (4) was exactly of the Temper deſired by the *Engliſh*. He was naturally of an elevated and enterpriſing Genius. For this reaſon the King his Father had always kept him at a diſtance from Affairs; this elevated Spirit being too apt to breed Suſpicion in ſo miſtruſtful a Prince. He had been a Student in Queen's-College in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle (5), Chancellor of that Univerſity. Here, in his tender Years, the Principles of Honour and Virtue were ſo carefully imprinted in his Mind, that they could never after be effaced. In his very Childhood, he ſhewed a ſtrong Inclination for War, which increaſing with his Years, the King his Father thought proper to indulge it. At eighteen Years of Age, he commanded an Army againſt the *Welſh*, and defeated them in two Battles. But his Victories did him an unſpeakable Prejudice. The King his Father, exceſſively jealous of his Authority, and dreading the Conſequences of ſo noble a beginning, conſidered his Son's Reputation, as likely one day to prove deſtructive of his Quiet. Diſturbed at this Thought, he removed him from all Warlike, as he had done from all Civil Offices, for fear it ſhould be out of his Power to check his Flight, when once he ſhould take Wing. Reduced to a State of Idleneſs, the Prince naturally active, ſought Employment. Unhappily, by the Inſtigation of ſome about him, and perhaps by the Direction of the King his Father, he ran into diſhonourable Courſes, and abandoned himſelf to Exceſſes, unbecoming his Birth, and injurious to his Reputation (6). Notwithſtanding all this, his good Diſpoſition failed not to ſhew itſelf upon certain Occaſions. His Moderation, in ſuffering himſelf to be led to Priſon, by order of the Judge he had affronted, was a clear Evidence, that the Seeds of Virtue were not entirely deſtroyed in his mind by Senſuality. Accordingly, the King his Father, who was not ignorant of his Talents, was afraid of him, though a young Prince, drowned as it were in Pleaſures, did not ſeem likely to give him Diſturbance. The *Engliſh* themſelves were not prejudiced againſt him. Indeed his wild Sallies might give occaſion to fear, they ſhould one day be unhappy under his Government. But, upon certain occaſions, they obſerved in him Tokens of Generoſity, Virtue, and greatneſs of Soul, which inſpired them with hopes of a happy Change in his Perſon.

His warlike Inclinations.

Henry IV's Jealouſy of his Son.

Cauſe of the Prince's wild Courſes.

The People retain a good Opinion of him.

New-College *founded.* no Learning, and not fit for a Biſhoprick; he told the King, That what he wanted in Learning himſelf, he would ſupply with being the Founder of Learning. Accordingly he began the Building of *New-College* in *Oxford*, and laid the firſt Stone himſelf, *March* 1, 1379. It was finiſhed in ſeven Years. In 1387, on the 26th of *March*, he likewiſe laid in Perſon the firſt Stone of his College at *Wincheſter*, which he deſigned as a Nurſery for that at *Oxford*. Upon this Foundation he ſettled an Eſtate for a Warden, ten Fellows, two Schoolmaſters, and ſeventy Scholars. He died in the fourth Year of *Henry* IV, aged eighty Years, and lies buried in St. *Swithin*'s Church in *Wincheſter*, in a ſtately Monument of his own erecting in his Life-time.

(1) Among other things, he built *Newgate* in 1420, above half of St. *Bartholomew*'s *Hoſpital* in *Weſt-Smithfield*, and the Library in *Grey Friers*, now called *Chriſt*'s *Hoſpital*.———King *Henry* IV inſtituted the *Duchy Court*, in Honour of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to the end the Lands belonging to the Duchy might, in all following Times, be diſtinguiſhed from the Lands of the Crown.———In the Year 1411, the *Guild-hall* in *London* began to be rebuilt, as it now ſtands. *Stow*'s *Survey*, B. III. p. 40.

(2) *Geoffrey Chaucer* was a Man of Quality, Wit and Learning. He was in great Favour with King *Edward* III, and his Succeſſor *Richard* II, by whom he was employed in ſome important Negotiations, both at home and abroad. In 1374, King *Edward* III allowed him a Pitcher of Wine a Day, out of his Cellars. And in 1398, *Richard* II made him a Grant of a Hogſhead of Wine every Year; beſides a Penſion of twenty Pounds a Year out of the Exchequer; both which were continued by *Henry* IV. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 35. Tom. VIII. p. 39, 51, 94, &c. He lived moſtly about *Woodſtock* and *New-Elm* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he had a conſiderable Eſtate; and dying in 1400, was buried in *Weſtminſter* Abbey. His Son was *Thomas Chaucer*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in the ſecond Year of *Henry* V. *Alice*, the Daughter of this *Thomas*, married, firſt, Sir *John Philips*; ſecondly, *Thomas de Montacute*, Earl of *Saliſbury*; and thirdly, *William de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*; and by theſe two laſt Matches, as well as her Father's Deſcent, the Family of *Chaucer* became allied to the greateſt Houſes in *England*. His Friend and Companion *John Gower*, who joined with him in refining the *Engliſh* Language, was of the Family of the *Gowers* of *Sittenham* in *Yorkſhire*. He lies buried in St. *Mary Overrey*'s Church in *Southwark*, part of which he rebuilt. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 326. and *Survey*, B. IV. p. 8.

(3) Which died in 1394. She was the ſecond Daughter, and one of the Co-heireſſes of *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Eſſex*, and *Northampton*. *Walſingham*, p. 350. King *Henry* had no Children by *Joanna* of *Navarre* his ſecond Wife.

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2.

Henry IV, by the Indenture of his third Year, contracted, That a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard was to make by Tale forty five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds, or a proportionable Number of half or quarter Nobles: And a Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling, to make by Tale ſeventy five Groſſes (*i. e.* Groats) amounting to twenty five Shillings; or a hundred and fifty half Groſſes, going for Two-pence a-piece; or three hundred Sterlings, going for Pence a-piece; or ſix hundred half Sterlings, or Half-pence, called here *Mailes*. His Groats and half Groats have his Head crowned within a Roſe, which the leſſer Pieces have not. HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. Reverſe, POSUI. DEUM. ADIVTORE. MEUM. VILLA. CALISIE. (See *Fig.* 1.) The Half-penny, HENRICUS. REX. ANGL. Reverſe, VILLA. CALISIE. (See *Fig.* 2.) In the fourth Year of his Reign, it was enacted, That foreign Money be ſent out of the Kingdom, or re-coined; that a Third of the Bullion be coined in Half-pence and Farthings; and that *Galley Half-pence* be not payable as formerly, *in great deceit of the People*. Of theſe Farthings, the Author of *Num. Brit. Hiſtoria*, ſays, he has one inſcribed, H. D. G. ROSA. SIE. SPI. Reverſe, CIVITAS. LONDON.

(4) He was born there in 1388. *Sandford*, p. 777.

(5) *Henry Beaufort*, ſecond Son of *John of Gaunt*, by *Catherine Swinford*, conſecrated *June* 23. 1406. *Ibid.* p. 261.

(6) He is ſaid, among other Pranks, to diſguiſe himſelf, and lie in wait for the Receivers of his Father's Rents, and in the Perſon of a Highwayman, to ſet upon and rob them. In ſuch Rencounters he ſometimes happened to be ſoundly beat, but always rewarded ſuch of his Father's Officers, as made the ſtouteſt Reſiſtance. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 342.

From an Antient Picture now in the Palace at Kensington.

Design:et Sculp: G. Vertue Lond.

1413. Henry V proclaimed King. Hall.

Immediately after the Death of the King his Father, the Prince was proclaimed, by the name of *Henry the Fifth*. Inſtead of diſputing the Crown, thoſe who had been moſt averſe to the Advancement of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, were the firſt to pay him their duty. The Earl of *March* himſelf, relying on his Generoſity, came and voluntarily put himſelf into his hands, to give him a convincing Proof of his ſincere Intention to leave him in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Throne. In fine, ſuch Confidence did the *Engliſh* place in him, that, contrary to Cuſtom, they offered to take the Oath of Allegiance, even before he was crowned. But he declined, in a modeſt and obliging manner, the receiving that Teſtimony of their Eſteem. He told them, it was not reaſonable, they ſhould ſwear to be faithful to him, before he himſelf had taken a ſolemn Oath to govern them with Equity and according to Law. This Moderation, which charmed all the World, totally effaced the diſadvantagious Impreſſions given by his former Conduct, to thoſe by whom he was not well known.

Stow. T. Livius.

He is crowned. Act. Pub. IX. p. 3. Walſing.

The Ceremony of his Coronation being performed on the 9th of *April* (1), he granted that very day a general Pardon for all Crimes, except Murders and Rapes. His firſt Proceedings plainly ſhewed the Uprightneſs of his Intentions, and his Reſolution worthily to fill the Throne to which he was raiſed. Before he applied himſelf to the Affairs of the State, he called before him the Companions of his former Riots, and, exhorting them to leave off their lewd Life, diſmiſſed them with liberal Preſents; but withal, ſtrictly charged them, upon pain of incurring his Diſpleaſure, not to preſume to come near the Court. The Aſtoniſhment of theſe Men, who expected quite other things, was as great as the Admiration of the Witneſſes to a Reformation, which afforded ſo pleaſing a Proſpect.

He diſmiſſes his old Companions. Hall.

He chuſes a Council. T. Livius. Hall.

After this firſt proof of his Wiſdom, the King continued, without ceaſing, to give many others, which could admit of no doubt. In the firſt place, he choſe for his Council, Perſons of the greateſt Gravity, Abilities, and Repute among his Subjects. Then he removed ſome of the Judges, and advanced ſuch in their room, as to the Knowledge of the Law, joined a perfect Integrity. He did the ſame with regard to inferior Magiſtrates, and took particular Care to fill the vacant Benefices, with Perſons of ſound Principles and known Merit.

He gives Proofs of his Piety.

Nothing remained to confirm the good Opinion already conceived of him, but to diſplay his martial Virtues, and give proofs of his Piety. As to the firſt, he ſhewed, during the whole Courſe of his Reign, that he was ſecond to none of his Predeceſſors, as the Reader will have reaſon to be convinced hereafter. As for his Piety, he ſoon became famous by two ſignal Inſtances. Indeed the firſt might be very ambiguous; but it was conſidered then, as the moſt certain Sign, and beſt proof of the ſincere Intentions of a Prince, to promote the Glory of God: I mean his condeſcenſion for the Clergy, in promiſing to perſecute the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards*. The other mark of his Piety, was his Care to repair, as far as lay in his Power, the Injury done to *Richard* II. He ordered the Body of that Prince to be removed from the Abbey of *Langley* (2), where it was indecently buried, to *Weſtminſter* Abbey, and laid by *Ann* of *Luxemburgh* his Queen. After performing this Duty, he founded three Religious Houſes near *Shene* (3), where *Richard*'s Soul was to be prayed for Night and Day.

He removes Richard's *Body to* Weſtminſter. Walſing. Dugdale's Mon. Vol. I. p. 973.

His kind Parliament. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

The Parliament that was called ſome time before (4), met on the 15th of *May*, well inclined to the new King. Several Statutes were enacted, tending to the Preſervation of the publick Peace, and of the People's Rights and Privileges (5). *Henry* freely gave his Aſſent to all theſe Statutes, and particularly to an Act to prevent Frauds, in the Elections of Members of Parliament. The Conduct of *Richard* II, and ſome Attempts of the late King, rendered this Act abſolutely neceſſary (6).

The Clergy debate how to root out Hereſy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 61 ——66. Walſing. Bale.

Whilſt the Parliament was employed in the publick Affairs, the Convocation of the Clergy was ſitting, under the Direction of *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate, being extremely incenſed againſt the *Lollards*, had obtained of the late King an Order, to ſend Commiſſioners to *Oxford*, to take Informations concerning the Doctrine of the *Wickliffites*. The Buſineſs of theſe Commiſſioners was to diſcover the chief Abettors of this Hereſy, and how it came to be ſpread in the Kingdom, and particularly in the Dioceſes of *London*, *Hereford*, and *Rocheſter*. At their return, they preſented their Informations to the Archbiſhop, who laid them before the Convocation. After ſeveral Debates, it was reſolved, there was no poſſibility of extirpating the *Lollard* Hereſy, unleſs care was taken to inflict exemplary Puniſhments on the principal Favourers thereof: That among theſe, Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Baron of *Cobham*, was to be deemed the moſt conſiderable and dangerous: That therefore, as a Terror to the whole Sect, their principal Protector ſhould be firſt attacked, and a Proceſs formed againſt him for Hereſy. But as *Oldcaſtle* was the King's Domeſtick, and in his Favour, it was thought, that Method might give Offence, unleſs the King was acquainted with it beforehand, and his leave deſired to proſecute the Heretick. The Archbiſhop undertaking this Affair, waited on the King with complaints againſt *Oldcaſtle*. He tried to perſuade him, that Fire and Faggot were the only means of extirpating Hereſy, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the Intereſt of Religion, to proceed againſt *Oldcaſtle*, according to the utmoſt rigour of the Law. The King having calmly heard him, replied, he could never approve of Force in reclaiming Hereticks, and the rather as Experience had but too frequently ſhewn, that rigorous Methods were as effectual againſt Truth, as againſt Error: That he would talk himſelf with *Oldcaſtle*, and try to reſtore him to the right way, and if he could not ſucceed, would then give leave for a Proceſs againſt him. Mean while, to give the Clergy ſome Satisfaction, he iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding the *Lollards* to hold any Meetings, and charging his Subjects not to be preſent at their Preachings (7). A few days after, he was pleaſed to talk with *Oldcaſtle*, and finding him immoveable, no longer oppoſed the Clergy's Requeſt.

1413.

They reſolve to proſecute Oldcaſtle. Act. Pub. IX. p. 61. Walſing. Bale.

They aſk the King's leave. Act. Pub. Ibid.

His Anſwer.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 46.

The King ſuffers Oldcaſtle *to be proſecuted.* p. 61. Walſing.

The Archbiſhop having obtained the King's leave, ſent a Summons to *Oldcaſtle*, who refuſing to own the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, ſlighted the Citation. He would not even ſuffer it to be ſerved upon him; ſo it was fixed upon the great Gates of the Cathedral in *Rocheſter*. *Henry* provoked at ſo haughty a Proceeding, ordered him to be apprehended and committed to the *Tower*. On the 28th of *September*, the Priſoner was brought before the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by two other Biſhops and ſeveral Eccleſiaſticks. As they could get no Anſwers from him, but what were directly repugnant to the eſtabliſhed Opinions of thoſe Days, they pronounced him Heretick, and delivered him over to the ſecular Power. His Death would have immediately followed his Condemnation, if by the help of his Friends, or Careleſſneſs of his Guards, he had not found means to eſcape out of Priſon. He went and concealed himſelf in *Wales*, where his Perſecutors left him not undiſturbed, as will hereafter be ſeen. Theſe are all the remarkable particulars, with regard to Domeſtick Affairs, that happened from the 20th of *March* 1413, to the end of *December*, the ſame Year.

He is committed to the Tower, *and condemned.*

He eſcapes. Walſing.

Neceſſity of joining here the French *with the* Engliſh *Hiſtory.*

I am now going to enter upon the Relation of the War, renewed by *Henry* V, againſt *France*: A War which had laſted ever ſince the Breach of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, though often interrupted by Truces in the late Reigns. In order to give a juſt Idea of this Prince's Motives to carry his Arms into *France*, it will be neceſſary to repreſent the then State of that Kingdom: Otherwiſe, it would be very difficult to underſtand the Sequel.

Affairs of France.

Charles VI, afflicted with a Diſtemper, which rendered him, moſt part of his time, uncapable of governing, had three Sons, *Lewis*, *John*, and *Charles*. The eldeſt, who bore the Title of Dauphin and Duke of *Guienne*, was a Prince of an indifferent Character. At ſixteen Years of Age, he had taken to a debauched Life; and moreover, was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with Principles, that led him to arbitrary Power, and carried him into many Exceſſes. His Favorites indulged him in this Courſe of Life, and could not bear that he ſhould be told of a Reformation, by which they would have been ſo great Loſers. On the contrary, to prevent the Execution of a certain Project, formed for the better governing the Kingdom, and approved by an Aſſembly of the chief Men, they inſpired their young Maſter with a Deſire to hold the Reins of the Government himſelf, during his Father's Diſtemper. They intimated to him, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſeized it without any Right, and that none could claim

(1) *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, performed the Office of High-Steward; and *Henry Fitz-Hugh*, that of High-Conſtable, upon this ſolemn Occaſion. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 2.

(2) From the Church of the *Friers-Preachers* at *King's Langley*. *Camden in Hertfordſh.*

(3) One of *Carthuſians*, called *the Houſe of* Jeſus of Bethlehem; another of *Celeſtine* Monks, who obſerved the Rule of St. *Benedict*; and the third of *Bridgetin* Nuns. Theſe two laſt Monaſteries had one Church in common; the Nuns above under the Roof, the Brothers below on the Ground; both Monaſteries were ſeparately incloſed. *Dugdale's Monaſt.* Vol. I. p. 973. (4) *March* 22.

(5) By one of theſe Statutes it was enacted, That no Under-Sheriff, Sheriff's Clerk, Receiver, or Bailiff, ſhould be Attorney in the King's Courts, during the time that he is in Office with any ſuch Sheriffs. See *Statutes*, 1 *Henry* V.

(6) This Parliament granted the King, for four Years, the like Subſidy of Staple-ware, Tonnage and Poundage, as had been granted to King *Henry* IV. See above, p. 496. Note (2). *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 535.

(7) Under pain of Impriſonment, and forfeiture of Goods. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 46.

1413. it to the prejudice of the King's eldeſt Son, ſince he exceeded the Age fixed by the Ordinance of *Charles* V, for the King's Majority. Upon this foundation, they adviſed him to endeavour to ſupplant the Duke of *Burgundy*, by ſeizing the *Baſtile*, in order to hinder the *Pariſians* from aſſiſting him. This Project was executed ſhortly after, by means of the Governor of that Fortreſs, whom the Dauphin had gained to his Intereſt. But he had not long Reaſon to rejoice at the Succeſs of his Enterprize. Upon the firſt Rumour of it in *Paris*, the Citizens, privately encouraged by the Duke of *Burgundy*, took Arms, to the number of ten or twelve thouſand Men. One part inveſted the *Baſtile*, the other, under the Conduct of a Surgeon, one *John de Troye*, came before the Dauphin's Palace, who, not expecting this Inſurrection, found no other Remedy but to appear at the Window, to try to appeaſe them; but nothing was able to ſtop them. After breaking open the Doors of the Palace, they ruſhed into the Apartments, and carried away above twenty Perſons, whom they accuſed of corrupting the Prince, and threw them into Priſon. On the other hand, the Governor of the *Baſtile*, being ſeized with Fear, delivered up the Fortreſs to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who, in ſpite of the Dauphin's Efforts, continued maſter of the Government. It was during theſe Troubles, which happened in *March* 1413, that *Henry* IV died in *England*, and *Henry* V, his Son, aſcended the Throne.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 51, &c.

Whilſt the new King was employed in ſettling his Affairs at home, the Troubles were renewed in *France*. At the end of *April*, the Seditious took it in their heads to wear white Hoods, as a Badge of Diſtinction. *John de Troye*, at the head of an armed Mob, brought one to the Dauphin, who durſt not refuſe it. The King himſelf happening to be in the Street, as he was going to the Church of *Notre-Dame*, was obliged by the Seditious to take a White-Hood. But their Inſolence did not ſtop here. Two days after, their Leader came to the Palace of St. *Pol*, where the King lodged: There, in preſence of the whole Court, he undertook to juſtify the Impriſonment of the Dauphin's Officers; and added, there were ſtill at Court many more, that equally deſerved to be puniſhed. At the ſame time, without regarding the Intreaties of the Dauphin, or the King himſelf, he ſeized a great Number of Lords and Ladies, and carried them to Priſon. *Lewis of Bavaria* himſelf, the Queen's Brother, was not ſpared. The King not being able to withſtand the Torrent, was forced to conſent, that ſome of the Priſoners ſhould be proſecuted, and to go to *Paris* in a White-Hood, to inroll certain Edicts, demanded by the Seditious.

The Dauphin finding himſelf thus checked by the Factious, or rather by the Duke of *Burgundy* his Father-in-law, their private Director, could not bear to remain in a ſituation ſo contrary to his Temper, without endeavouring to free himſelf. The Heads of the *Orleans* Faction, who had been forced to ſign a Treaty, which removed them from *Paris* and the Court, were the only Perſons from whom he could expect any Aid. He contrived therefore a ſecret Negotiation with them, and, the better to hide his Deſign, went and conferred with them in Perſon, under colour of procuring an Agreement between the two Parties, concerning ſome Breaches of the Peace of *Bourges*. After making a Combination, he ſo managed, that a Peace was confirmed; and by the new Treaty, ſigned at *Pontoiſe*, the *Orleans* Party were allowed to come and pay their Reſpects to the King at *Paris*.

The Duke of Burgundy *applies again to* Henry. June. Act. Pub. IX. p. 27.

Mean while, the Duke of *Burgundy* judging, by the Dauphin's former Attempt, what he was to expect from him, had reſolved to ſecure Aſſiſtance, in caſe of Need. To that end, in *June* he had ſent, as Earl of *Flanders*, an Embaſſy to *England*, whereof *Ralph*, Provoſt of St. *Donas* of *Bruges* was chief, under pretence of renewing the Treaty of Commerce between the *Engliſh* and *Flemings*; but in reality, to propoſe an Alliance with *Henry* (1). This appears by the King's Commiſſion, at the ſame time to the Biſhop of St. *David*'s, and the Earl of *Warwick*, to conclude a perſonal Alliance between him and the Duke of *Burgundy*. It is hardly to be doubted, that the Duke had then formed a Deſign to make a League with the King of *England*. We ſhall, hereafter, ſee much plainer Proofs of this matter. This Deſign was not however ſo ſpeedily executed. Probably, the Duke had no other Intent, than to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, in caſe he ſhould be preſſed as he was in the Reign of *Henry* IV. Otherwiſe, he did not think it neceſſary to haſten the concluſion of this Affair. 1413.

July. Ib. p. 34.

Whatever his Deſign was, *Henry* thought he ſhould not neglect ſo favorable an Opportunity, to foment Troubles in *France*, of which he might make an Advantage. For that purpoſe, he ſent, ſhortly after, Ambaſſadors (2) to *Paris*. Their publick Inſtructions were, to preſs the Court of *France* to obſerve, better than hitherto, the twenty-eight Years Truce. Secondly, to confirm the ſame, or make a new, Truce. Laſtly, they had Power to adjuſt all the Differences between *England* and *France*. Very likely, one of the King's Motives, in ſending this Embaſſy, was to be perfectly informed of the Poſture of Affairs in that Kingdom. But his chief Aim was to conclude with the Duke of *Burgundy* the Alliance propoſed by that Prince. This evidently appears by a fourth Commiſſion, empowering them to ſign an Alliance between him and the Duke, and between their reſpective Dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted, that the Provoſt of St. *Donas* laid the Foundation of this Negotiation in his firſt Journey to *London*. This was tranſacted in *July* 1413.

Henry ſends an Embaſſy to Paris. Act. Pub. IX. p. 34, &c. 36, 37, &c.

p. 34.

The next Month produced a great Change in the Affairs of *France*, much to *Henry*'s Advantage. The *Orleans* Party, at the head of which were the Duke of *Orleans* the King's Nephew, the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Alenſon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, were approached *Paris*, purſuant to the Liberty given them. At the ſame time, the Dauphin, by his Intrigues, had gained great Numbers of the Citizens, who promiſed to aſſiſt him. Whereupon he ordered his Friends to take Arms, and marched about the Streets of *Paris*, at the head of thirty thouſand Men. The Conſternation of the oppoſite Party was ſo great, that they quitted the *Louvre*, the *Town-Houſe*, and the *Baſtile*, of which they were in poſſeſſion, without offering to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. The Duke of *Burgundy* perceiving it was not in his Power to reſiſt the Torrent, and dreading, moreover, the Arrival of the *Orleans* Party, who were not far off, choſe to retire into *Flanders*.

A new Revolution in the Court of France. Ib. p. 53, 54.

The Duke of Burgundy *retires.*

No ſooner was he gone, but the *Orleans* Faction became uppermoſt at Court, without the Dauphin's reaping any Advantage. The King, being then in one of his Intervals, aſſumed the Government, and entertained ſo ſtrong an Affection for the Duke of *Orleans* his Nephew, that he ſuffered himſelf to be wholly guided by his Counſels. The young Duke improving this Advantage, cauſed divers Edicts to be publiſhed againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Authors of the former Sedition to be proſecuted, ſeveral of whom were put to Death.

Edicts againſt him.

Shortly after, the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, meeting at *Lelingham* in *Picardy*, to negotiate a Peace, agreed (3), that the Truce ſhould be inviolably kept till the 1ſt of *June* next enſuing (4). During the Negotiation, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors intimated, that the King their Maſter expected, *France* ſhould reſtore whatever was taken from *England*, ſince the Treaty of *Bretigny*. This was in effect the Cauſe of the War, which had ſubſiſted, ever ſince the Violation of that Treaty, and this Demand contained nothing extraordinary. However, the Court of *France* having flattered themſelves, that after the Death of *Edward* III, the Kings of *England* would think no more of proſecuting their Pretenſions, were extremely alarmed at this Declaration. The Poſture of their Affairs made them juſtly apprehenſive of the renewal of the War. So, without loſs of time, were diſpatched to *London*, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, the Conſtable *d'Albret*, and *Col*, one of the King's Secretaries, under pretence of endeavouring to make Peace, but in reality to diſcover *Henry*'s Intentions. Theſe Ambaſſadors arrived at *London* in *October*, and could only obtain a Prolongation of the Truce, for what time they pleaſed (5).

Truce between the two Crowns. Septemb. Act. Pub. IX. p. 56.

Firſt Demands of Henry.

Embaſſy from France. p. 60, 70, 88—102.

Whilſt they were in *England*, the Court of *France* continued their Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Adherents, many of whom ſuffered by the hand of the Executioner. *Lewis d'Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, who had with him a Daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, affianced to his eldeſt Son, reproachfully ſent her back to her Father. Shortly after, he gave one of his Daughters in marriage to *Charles* Earl of *Ponthieu*, the King's third Son, who was not yet full thirteen Years old. Nothing could prove more fatal to *France* than this Marriage. The young Prince, eſpouſing the Intereſt and

The King of Sicily *declares againſt the Duke of* Burgundy.

He gives his Daughter to Charles, *third Son of the King.*

(1) *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, General of the Forces ſent into *France* by the late King, returned to *England*, this Year, about *Eaſter*. *Walſingham*, p. 382.

(2) *Henry Chicheley*, Biſhop of St. *David*'s; *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*; *William le Zouche*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Calais*; *Henry*, Lord *Scrope*; *Ralph Grenehurſt*, Doctor of Laws; and *Richard Holme*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 34. Their Commiſſion and Inſtructions bear date *July* 14. *Ibid.* and p. 36, &c.

(3) On *September* 26. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 60.

(4) In this Truce the *Scots* were included. *Ibid.*

(5) Only for one Year, beginning at *February* 2. 1414. *Ibid.* p. 94.

1413. Paſſion of the King his Father-in-law, became ſworn Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*. At the ſame time, he incurred the hatred of that Duke; who, though in Exile, had ſtill a powerful Party in the Kingdom. This mutual Animoſity, which continually increaſed, was the occaſion of many Calamities to *France*.

The Duke of Burgundy offers his Aſſiſtance to the Dauphin, who accepts of it.

Mean while, the Dauphin receiving no Benefit from the late Revolution at Court, could not behold, without extreme concern, the Duke of *Orleans* at the head of Affairs, whilſt himſelf was without Credit, and like a Priſoner in the *Louvre*, where he was narrowly watched. This Conſtraint being inſupportable to a Prince of his Character, he readily liſtened to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Offer of Aſſiſtance, to place him in the Poſt to which he was entitled by his Birth. They entered therefore into a ſort of League to expel the Duke of *Orleans* from Court.

He approaches Paris.

The Duke of *Burgundy* having thus ſecured the Dauphin, approached *Paris* at the head of an Army, pretending his deſign was to free the Dauphin his Son-in-law from Captivity. He imagined, *Paris* would declare in his favour, but ſo good order was taken, that nothing ſtirred.

An Edict againſt him.

During theſe Tranſactions, the King, who for ſome time had been in one of his uſual Fits, recovering his Senſes, publiſhed againſt the Duke of *Burgundy* a thundering Edict, ſtiling him Traitor and Enemy of the State.

He retires.

This Edict, joined to the ſmall hopes that *Paris* would declare for him, cauſed the Duke to return into *Flanders*. Let us leave for a moment the Affairs of *France*, to which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to return, ſince they are the chief Subject of this Reign, in order to ſee what paſſed in *England* in the beginning of the Year 1414 (1).

1414. Mention was made in the late Reign of the two Attempts of the Commons, to ſtrip the Clergy of a good part of their Revenues, though without Succeſs. The Clergy could not doubt that theſe Attempts were the fruit of the Doctrine of the *Lollards*. Probably, this was one of the principal Cauſes of their hatred to theſe pretended Hereticks. For the ſame reaſon, in the late Convocation, they had reſolved to uſe the moſt violent Means, to extirpate a Hereſy, to them ſo deteſtable. *Oldcaſtle*, a Man of a good Family, and extraordinary Merit (2), was deſtined to be the firſt Victim for a Terror to the whole Sect. But by good fortune he had eſcaped out of the hands of his Enemies. It was with great concern, that the Archbiſhop heard the King ſay, he did not approve of rigorous Methods. He even plainly enough ſhewed it to be his real Opinion, ſince, after *Oldcaſtle*'s eſcape, he took no care to have him purſued and apprehended. It was evident, ſo long as the King was in theſe moderate Sentiments, the Clergy would hardly be able to have their deſire upon the Hereticks. So, it was their Intereſt, that the King ſhould have others, more agreeable to the barbarous Zeal, wherewith Eccleſiaſticks are generally animated. Nothing was more conducive to that end, than to make him believe, the *Lollards* had a deſign upon his Perſon, and were forming Conſpiracies to over-turn the State. Accordingly, to this

The Lollards are accuſed of conſpiring againſt the King.

the Clergy applied themſelves without loſs of time. The late Proclamation againſt their aſſembling, quickly furniſhed them with a fair opportunity. The *Lollards* continued their Meetings, notwithſtanding the Proclamation, though with all poſſible Secrecy. As they durſt not aſſemble in Houſes, for fear of being diſcovered, they commonly choſe ſome unfrequented Place in the Country, to worſhip God after their manner. Some of them reſolving to aſſemble, without one of the Gates of *London*, in a Place called St. *Giles*'s *Fields*, which was then covered with Buſhes, were, as it often happens on ſuch occaſions, betrayed by falſe Brethren. This diſcovery afforded their

Walſing.

Enemies the opportunity they were eagerly ſeeking. The

The King is told twenty thouſand of them were met together.

King was then at *Eltham*, about ſeven Miles from *London*, where he deſigned to keep his *Chriſtmaſs*. He little expected a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, when ſuddenly, towards Night, he was told, that *Oldcaſtle* was in St. *Giles*'s, with twenty thouſand *Lollards*. It was further ſaid, that their deſign was to kill the King, the Princes his Brothers, and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal who were not their Friends. Certainly it was very unlikely, that twenty thouſand Men ſhould be able to aſſemble at the very Gates of *London*, without being obſerved. It was ſtill more improbable, that *Oldcaſtle*, an experienced Warrior, ſhould chuſe St. *Giles*'s *Fields*, overgrown as

He believes it.

they were with Buſhes and Shrubs, for the Rendezvous of his Troops. Nevertheleſs, the News was confirmed by 1414. ſo many Circumſtances, that the King could not help crediting the Report. He immediately drew together as many armed Men as was poſſible, and ordered the Gates of *London* to be ſhut, leſt the Populace ſhould go and aſſiſt the Rebels (3). As he was naturally very bold, he reſolved to attack them before they had taken all their Meaſures. He arrived upon the Place about mid-night, and finding about fourſcore, or a hundred Perſons, fell upon them. There were about twenty killed, and ſixty taken. Unhappily, they had brought Arms with them for their Defence, in caſe they were attacked by their Perſecutors. It was this, probably, that helped to convince the King of their ill Deſign. This alone, however, would not have been capable of perſuading him, they had really conſpired againſt him, if among thoſe that were taken, there had not been ſome that, gained by Promiſes, or awed by Threats, confeſſed whatever their Enemies deſired. They ſaid, their Intent was to kill the King, and the Princes his Brothers, with moſt of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; in the Expectation that the Confuſion, which after ſuch a Maſſacre would enſue in the Kingdom, would prove favorable to their Religion. Some depoſed, that, after the murder of the King and Princes, they intended to make *Oldcaſtle* Regent of the Kingdom, and that the Conſpiracy was formed by the direction of that Lord. In truth, it is hardly conceivable, how a Prince ſo judicious as *Henry*, could ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a Fiction. Indeed, had he found twenty thouſand Men in Arms in St. *Giles*'s, as he was made to believe, it would have been very ſuſpicious. But that fourſcore or a hundred Men, among whom there was not a ſingle Perſon of Rank, ſhould have formed ſuch a Project, is extremely improbable. Beſides, he himſelf knew Sir *John Oldcaſtle* to be a Man of Senſe, and yet nothing was more wild than the Project fathered upon him; a Project which it was ſuppoſed, he was to execute with a handful of Men, without being preſent himſelf, and without its being known where he was, or that there was any other Leader in his room. But however, the King thought him guilty, and, in that belief, ſet a thouſand Marks upon his Head, with a Promiſe of perpetual Exemption from Taxes, to any Town that ſhould ſecure him (4). It is very likely however, that in time the King perceived the falſhood of this Imputation; and what makes me think ſo, is this: In the firſt place, how ſtrict Inquiry ſoever was made over all the Kingdom, to diſcover the Accomplices of this pretended Conſpiracy, not a ſingle Perſon could be found, beſides thoſe taken at St. *Giles*'s. And yet it is manifeſt, that, to execute ſuch a Deſign to any purpoſe, fourſcore or a hundred Perſons of no great Diſtinction, were not ſufficient. In the next Place, even of thoſe that were taken at St. *Giles*'s, but very few were immediately executed (5), whilſt the Prejudice againſt them was yet in its full ſtrength. The King pardoned all the reſt. Thirdly, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, not only a general Pardon for all the *Lollards*, but likewiſe ſeveral private Pardons granted to ſome that were condemned, though they had conſtantly denied the Fact. It would not be very ſtrange, that the King ſhould have pardoned Criminals that confeſſed themſelves guilty; but it is unuſual with Sovereigns to forgive ſuch a Crime, in obſtinate Offenders, who render themſelves unworthy of a Pardon, by denying what their Sentence ſuppoſes them convicted of. I add further, that Clemency was not *Henry*'s favorite Virtue, on the contrary, he leaned very much to the ſide of Severity, as will appear by ſeveral Inſtances in his Reign. Is it likely therefore, that he ſhould pardon Perſons convicted of intending to murder him, with all the Royal Family, and great Men of the Kingdom, at the very time they obſtinately perſiſted in denying the Fact, for which they were condemned, had he really believed them guilty? Laſtly, the Principles of the *Lollards* were very far from allowing ſuch Barbarities. It is therefore more than probable, that this Accuſation was forged, to render the *Lollards* odious to the King, in order to obtain his Licenſe for their Perſecution, and that the King himſelf was convinced of its falſhood, after his firſt Prejudice was removed. It muſt however be confeſſed, that in all theſe Pardons, he always ſuppoſed the Crime to be proved. But in order to a Pardon, it was neceſſary to take the Crime for granted.

He goes to attack them. Walſing. T. Livius.

The Depoſitions of ſome Lollards.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 119, 129. Walſing.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 89. Walſing.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 129, 170, 190.

In *February* 1414, *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, went to give an Account to God, for all the inno-

Death of Archbiſhop Arundel.

cent

(1) This Year the greateſt part of *Norwich* was burnt. *Walſingham*, p. 382.——*January* 3. 1414, a Truce for ten Years concluded between *England* and *Bretagne*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 80——85.

(2) He was made Sheriff of *Herefordſhire* in 8 *Henry* IV, and had Summons to Parliament among the Barons of the Realm, in 11, 12, 14, of that King's Reign. He was ſent beyond Sea with the Earl of *Arundel* to aid the Duke of *Burgundy* againſt the *French*. He married the Niece and Heir of *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and for that reaſon took the Title of Lord *Cobham*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 67.

(3) *Walſingham* obſerves, That if the King had not made uſe of this Precaution, no leſs than fifty thouſand Perſons of all ſorts, would have been ready to come to the Aſſiſtance of the *Lollards*, p. 386.

(4) And beſides, any Perſon, by whoſe Means or Advice he could be ſeized or arreſted, was to have five hundred Marks. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 90.

(5) Sir *Roger Acton*, with twenty eight more, were hanged, and burnt in St. *Giles*'s Fields. *Fox Mart. Hall*, fol. 35. Sir *John Oldcaſtle* eſcaped out of the Tower, as is related above, and fled into *Wales*, where he lived above four Years. *Bale*, fol. 48.

1414. Chicheley *succeeds.* Walsing.

cent Blood he had caused to be shed (1). He was succeeded by *Henry Chicheley* Bishop of St. *David*'s. But the *Lollards* got nothing by this Change, he being no less their Enemy than his Predecessor.

Henry demands the establishment of the Treaty of Bretigny. Act. Pub. IX. p. 102, 103, 149.

I left the Archbishop of *Bourges* and the Constable *d'Albret* at *London*, where they quickly discovered the King's Intentions. The Commissioners who treated with them, demanded in *Henry*'s name, whatever had been taken from *England* since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. The *French* replied, They had no Instructions upon that head. They proposed however, as of themselves, a proper means, in their Opinion, to procure a Peace between the two Kings. This was a Marriage between the King of *England*, and *Catherine* the youngest of *Charles* IV's Daughters. This Princess had four Sisters, of whom one was a Nun, and the other three married. So it was she alone that could be offered to *Henry*. This Proposal was not wholly rejected. Though *Henry* should insist upon the Restitution he demanded, as being the speediest and most effectual way to a lasting Peace, what the *French* Ambassadors offered, not being inconsistent with the Restitution, he thought he might accept it, without any Prejudice to himself. But as the Ambassadors had not sufficient Powers to treat upon this Affair, it was only agreed, that the Truce should be prolonged to the second of *February* 1415.

Offer of one of Charles's *Daughters to* Henry.

Henry consents to it. Ib. p. 91, 140, 150, 166, 182.

Truce prolonged. January.

Henry sends Ambassadors to France. p. 103.

Presently after the departure of the *French* Ambassadors, *Henry* sent five into *France* (2), to continue the Negotiation begun at *London*, concerning the Restitution and Marriage (3). The Ambassadors were impowered to promise, in the King's name, that he would not ingage in any other Marriage-Treaty till the 15th of *May*. Nay, they might prolong that Term, if it was thought proper.

Another Embassy. Ib. p. 132.

The Court of *France* not thinking the Powers of these Ambassadors sufficient, *Charles* wrote to *Henry*, that if he would send Ambassadors with fuller Powers, he would readily hear them. Upon this Letter, *Henry* dispatched five more, all eminent for their Birth and High-Posts; namely, the Bishop of *Norwich*, the Earls of *Dorset*, *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Grey* (4).

Henry's Demands. p. 203,—208.

Elmham. Walsing.

These Ambassadors entered immediately into Conference with King *Charles*'s Commissioners, the chief of whom was the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle. They demanded at first the whole Kingdom of *France* for their Master, by virtue of his Right, as Heir of *Edward* III. But after a short Pause, they added, that being very sensible their Demand might cause some Disgust, they would make another, with a Protestation however that it should not be prejudicial to the Rights of their Sovereign. Then they limited their Demands to the following Articles:

I. *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, in full Sovereignty.

II. The Right of Sovereignty over the Earldom of *Flanders*, and Duchy of *Bretagne*.

III. Whatever *France* held in *Guienne*.

IV. All in general that was given up to *Edward* III, by the Treaty of *Bretigny*.

V. The whole Country possessed by *France* between the *Somme* and *Gravelin*.

VI. Lastly, That all those Countries should be resigned to the King of *England* in full Sovereignty, to hold them as Neighbour, and not as Vassal of the Crown of *France*.

Before an Answer was returned to these Demands, the Duke of *Berry* earnestly pressed the Ambassadors to begin with the Negotiation of the Marriage, affirming it to be the proper means to settle a solid and lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms. He even offered a very considerable Dowry for the Princess *Catherine*, but the *English* would consider the Marriage only as a Consequence, and not as the Foundation of the Peace. For this reason, they insisted upon settling first the Terms of the Peace, before any mention of the Marriage. In fine, after many Disputes on both sides, the *English* Ambassadors confined themselves to the three following Articles, to which they required a positive Answer, before any other Affairs should be taken in hand.

I. They demanded whatever was given up to *England* by the great Peace, that is, by the Treaty of *Bretigny*. 1414.

II. One half of *Provence*, with the Earldoms of *Beaufort* and *Nogent*.

III. The six hundred thousand Crowns, which remained unpaid of King *John*'s Ransom.

As for the Marriage, they said plainly, the King their Master would never espouse the Princess *Catherine*, unless he was secure of a firm and lasting Peace with King *Charles*. That besides, as the Offers hitherto made, were very inconsiderable, they had no Power to treat upon that Affair. That therefore it would not only be fruitless to talk of the Marriage, but moreover they durst not meddle with that Article, before the rest were settled. They added however, that in hopes more reasonable Offers would be made, they were willing to speak their Thoughts; that no less could be offered with the Princess, than two Millions of Gold-Crowns.

Some days after, the Duke of *Berry* delivered them a Writing, containing the Offers of *France*, in order to a Peace, with the Answers to their Demands; namely,

I. That the King of *France* offered *Agenois*, *Basadois*, *Auch* in part, *Perigord*, *Escarre*, *Oleron*, *Bigorre*, *Saintonge* beyond the *Charente*, *Quercy*, (*Montauban* excepted, with all the Country between the *Tarn* and the *Aveiron*,) *Angoumois* and *Rovergne*.

II. That the King could not dispose of *Provence*, since he was not the Possessor, nor had contributed to the putting it in the hands of the present Possessors.

III. That, since for the sake of Peace, he was willing to resign so many fine and rich Provinces, which he lawfully possessed, the King of *England* ought to desist from any farther Demands.

IV. As for the Marriage, though the Dowry of a Daughter of *France* was fixed to much less, than was already offered, he would for the sake of Peace, give six hundred thousand Crowns.

These Demands and Answers were the subject of several Conferences, which lasted many days, but of which it would be tedious to relate the particulars. It will suffice to observe that the Ambassadors of *England* reduced at length all their Demands to the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and a million of Crowns for the Princess's Portion (5). But as the *French* still thought this Sum exorbitant, the *English* intimated, it might be lessened, on the condition, that if two Sons should come of this Marriage, the youngest should have *Montreuil* and *Ponthieu* in full Sovereignty. But the *French* returned no Answer to this, and the Conferences ended *March* 13th, 1414.

The Duke of Burgundy *is driven to great straits.* Meeting. Charles *wars against him;*

Whilst this Affair was negotiating at *Paris*, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Enemies continued to stir up King *Charles* against him, so that considering him as an Enemy to his Person and Government, he resolved to make War upon him. To that end, being determined to command his Army in Person, he went and took the *Oriflamme* at St. *Dennis* (6), after which he became master of *Soissons* and *Compiegne*, seized by the Duke. *Burgundy* was then unable to withstand him, because the *Flemings* refused to serve him against *France*, which gave the Duke of *Bourbon* Opportunity of taking *Bapaume* also. It was not intended to stop there, but happily for him, the King was seized with a fresh Fit of Lunacy. This Accident gave the Duke time to put a strong Garrison into *Arras*.

and falls into one of his Fits.

The Dauphin *is Regent.*

King *Charles* being unable to act, the Dauphin his Son took possession of the Regency, as having an indisputable Right. Whether that Prince had some reason to be displeased with the Duke of *Burgundy*, or did not regard him, since he had no farther need of him, he carried the King his Father before *Arras*, which he meant to besiege, but was too late. The Place had been so well provided, that it was not easy to take it. The Difficulties of the Siege, the Sollicitations of the Countess of *Hainault* the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Sister, and perhaps the Dauphin's private Interests, caused a Peace to be granted to the Duke about the end of *September*, though upon hard Terms. By the Peace the King granted the Duke a Pardon, but excepted five hundred of his Adherents. It was also a-

He grants the Duke a Peace.

(1) He was the third Son of *Richard Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*. He died *February* 20, and lies buried in *Canterbury* Cathedral. *Walsingham*, p. 386. *Goodwin*'s *Henry* V. p. 33.

(2) *Thomas* Bishop of *Durham*, *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Henry* Lord *Scrope*, *Hugh Mortimer*, Esq; and *Henry Ware*, Professor of the Civil and Canon Law. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 102, 103.

(3) And about this same time, *viz. January* 28, one Year's Truce, beginning at *February* 2. 1414, was concluded between *England* and *Castile*. *Ibid.* p. 105——110.

(4) *Richard Courtney*, *Thomas Beaufort*, *Richard Beauchamp*, *Richard Nevil*, *Richard* Lord *Grey*, and Sir *John Pelham*, and *Robert Waterton*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 132.

(5) Each of these Crowns was to amount to half an *English* Noble; about nine Shillings of our present Money. The *French* offered eight hundred thousand. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 214.

(6) A Standard so called from being made of a Silk Stuff, of a Gold and Flame Colour. It was kept in the Abbey of St. *Denys*, and was used to be put by the Abbot into the Hands of the Defender of that Monastery. The Earls of *Pontoise* or *Vexin* had the Honour of carrying it, as Protectors of this Monastery. *Lewis* VI was the first, who, as Earl of *Vexin*, caused the *Oriflamme* to be carried in his Armies, which was continued by his Successors, till the *English* made themselves Masters of *Paris* under *Charles* VII, who after freeing himself of them, brought in the Use of the *White Coronet*, which since that time has been the chief Banner of *France*. *Du Cange*.

1414. greed, that all his Friends ſhould remove from Court, and himſelf not come there, unleſs ſent for; with the conſent of the Council, and by Letters under the Great Seal. Finally, that the King's Banners ſhould be placed on the Walls of *Arras*.

Several Negotiations of the Duke of Burgundy with Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 136, 138.

During the Preparations in *France* for the War I am going to ſpeak of, the Duke of *Burgundy* being greatly embaraſſed, by reaſon of the Obſtinacy of the *Flemings*, ſent into *England* the Provoſt of St. *Donas* to renew the Treaty begun with *Henry*. This Envoy had Power not only to conclude an Alliance between the King and Duke, but alſo to treat about the King's Marriage with the Princeſs *Catherine*. In all appearance, the Duke deſired the King's Aſſiſtance to put him in poſſeſſion of the Government of *France*, and then undertook to accompliſh the projected Marriage to his Benefactor's Satisfaction. This diſcovers what were then that Prince's Deſigns. So that *Mezerai* juſtly ſaid, the Arms of the *Engliſh* were drawn into *France* by the Betrayers of their Country. The Peace of *Arras* put a ſtop for ſome time to this Negotiation.

Henry *tries to take Advantage of the Troubles in* France.

Mean while, *Henry* ſtill continued his Reſolution to improve the Advantages, promiſed by the Situation of the Affairs of *France*. He perceived he ſhould, at moſt, have to deal but with half the Forces of the Kingdom, and the other half would even make a diverſion in his favour. Beſides, he ſaw a near Proſpect of concluding very ſhortly with the Duke of *Burgundy* an advantagious Alliance. And therefore, without further delay, he had called a Parliament at *Leiceſter* for the 30th of *April*, to have their Approbation of his Deſign, and obtain the neceſſary Aids to accompliſh ſo great an Undertaking. It muſt be obſerved, that the Writs were iſſued in *March*, whilſt the Provoſt of St. *Donas* was at *London*.

He calls a Parliament at Leiceſter. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing. Elmham.

Statutes againſt the Lollards. Raſtal. Stat.

The Parliament being met, the Clergy, ever incenſed againſt the *Lollards*, moved by their Emiſſaries to revive, and even increaſe, the Statutes againſt Hereticks. But for once their Animoſity had like to have inſnared them. The Project formed by the Commons in the late Reign againſt the Eccleſiaſticks, had twice miſcarried by the exceſſive Deſire of *Wickliff*'s Followers to promote that Affair. The Clergy taking advantage of this Animoſity, intimated to the late King, that ſuch a Motion could not but proceed from Hereticks, with whom the Houſe of Commons abounded, and that it was with the downfal of the Clergy, that the deſtruction of the Catholick Religion was to begin. For this reaſon, *Henry* IV ſtrongly oppoſed it, and with that haughtineſs as gave great Offence to the Commons. Wherefore, though the Members that were no Friends to *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, joined in the Project, yet they could not hinder the too great Zeal of the *Lollards* from invincibly obſtructing the Execution. But notwithſtanding its former ill Succeſs, the Projectors had not entirely given it over. They had only reſolved, to take another courſe, to avoid the Inconvenience, which had twice rendered it unſucceſsful. To that end, when a Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for new Statutes againſt the *Lollards*, thoſe who before oppoſed it, readily gave their Conſent (1). The Clergy appeared exceedingly well pleaſed. The Pulpits every where reſounded the Praiſes of the preſent Parliament. It was not a *lack-learning* Parliament, like that of 1404, but it was the wiſeſt, and moſt zealous for Religion, that was ever aſſembled, ſince the beginning of the Monarchy. The truth is, nothing could be more conformable to the Clergy's Deſires, than the Act paſſed on this occaſion. It was enacted, that all the Magiſtrates of the Kingdom, from the Lord Chancellor, down to the meaneſt Officer, ſhould take an Oath to employ their Power to extirpate Hereticks, and aſſiſt the Biſhops, in the execution of ſo good a Deſign (2). This Act was no ſooner paſſed, but a violent Perſecution was raiſed againſt the *Lollards*. Several were burnt alive. Some left the Kingdom, and others abjured their Religion, to eſcape the Torments prepared for them.

The Commons petition the King to ſeize the Church-Lands.

But ſhortly after, the Scene was changed, with reſpect to the Clergy. They did not dream that the very Perſons, who lately appeared ſo zealous for Religion, ſhould think of deſtroying it: For that was the Idea they gave, of the Project of depriving the Eccleſiaſticks of the Riches they enjoyed. And yet, the ſame Commons, who in ſo authentick a Way had juſt ſecured themſelves from all Suſpicion of Hereſy, willing to comply with the King's demand of a Subſidy, preſented to him an Addreſs, praying him to ſeize the Clergy's Revenues. This Addreſs was founded upon the ſame Conſiderations, as that preſented to the late King for the ſame purpoſe. It was maintained, that the Revenues of the Church would be much better employed in providing for ſuch a Number of Nobles, Colleges, and Hoſpitals (3). This was a ſtunning Blow to the Clergy, and the more, becauſe after the late Act now in actual Execution, there was not the leaſt colour to repreſent the Commons as Heretical or Favourers of Hereſy. 1414.

The King ſeems to approve of the Petition.

The King himſelf, who was going to begin a great War, believed, or feigned to believe, there was a neceſſity to do what the Commons deſired. As his Revenues would of courſe be greatly increaſed, that Conſideration did not a little induce him to hearken to ſo advantagious a Motion.

The Clergy ſeek to divert the Blow.

The Clergy perceiving their Ruin inevitable, unleſs ſome Remedy was found againſt the gathering Storm, met to conſult about means to avert, or at leaſt to weaken it as much as poſſible. After divers Debates upon ſo important a matter, they came to theſe two Reſolutions. The firſt was, to reſign part of their Riches to the King, in order to ſave the reſt. The ſecond, to divert the King's thoughts from domeſtick Affairs, by engaging him in a foreign War, which might wholly engroſs him. The frequent Embaſſies from *Paris* to *London*, and from *London* to *Paris*, making them conclude, the King was meditating ſome Enterprize againſt *France*, they reſolved to excite him to the utmoſt of their Power to carry War into that Kingdom. Purſuant to theſe Projects, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who undertook to be Spokeſman, told him, "That the Motion of the Houſe of Commons, which "ſeemed advantagious to the Crown, was not ſo in rea-"lity: That, in caſe their Project was executed, the "Church's Revenues would be put to Uſes, unprofitable "to the King in particular, and which in time might "be extremely prejudicial to the Sovereign: That by "augmenting the Number and Riches of the Nobility, "as was intended, at the ſame time would be increaſed a "Power which, ever ſince the Foundation of the Mo-"narchy, had all along oppoſed the Sovereigns, and "even brought ſome to deſtruction: That the founding "of Hoſpitals would ſerve only to encourage People in "Idleneſs, when they ſhould ſee ſo many Houſes ready "to receive them, without being obliged to work: But "that the Clergy, more ſincerely well-affected to the King "than the Commons, were very willing to give him, "upon this occaſion, a ſenſible Proof of their Zeal and "Attachment for his Perſon, by delivering up the *Alien* "*Priories*, which being in number one hundred and ten, "were poſſeſſed of Lands that would conſiderably increaſe "the Revenue of the Crown: That the Eſtates of theſe "Houſes would be all his own, whereas, if the Project "of the Commons took effect, he would reap no advan-"tage." Whether the King ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by theſe Arguments, or thought it always adviſeable to take what the Clergy voluntarily offered, he accepted of the Propoſal. Whereupon the Lands of theſe Priories were given him by Act of Parliament, without the Clergy's oppoſing it (4).

They come to two Reſolutions.

They offer the King the Lands of the Alien Priories. Hall.

He accepts of the Offer. Act. Pub. IX. p. 283.

Mean while, the Clergy being apprehenſive, that ſooner or later, the King would have what the Commons offered him, ſeriouſly thought of executing the other part of their Project. For that purpoſe, the Archbiſhop took upon him to endeavour to perſuade the King to make War upon *France*. The King's Character, his late Motions with regard to the Affairs of *France*, and the univerſal Deſire of the whole Kingdom, put him in hopes, that his Deſign would be crowned with Succeſs. Having therefore prepared a proper Speech, he took occaſion to ſpeak it in Parliament, before the King himſelf.

He began with inſinuating Encomiums of the King's Virtues, ſaying, he was worthy to wear not the Crown of *England* only, but that of the whole World. Then addreſſing himſelf to the King, he repreſented to him, "That it was not for his Glory, to leave the King of "*France* in the peaceable Enjoyment of *Normandy*, *An-*

Hall.

(1) And ſo, among other things, it was enacted, That whoever read the Scriptures in *Engliſh*, ſhould forfeit Land, Chattels, Goods, and Life, and be condemned as Hereticks to God, Enemies to the Crown, and Traitors to the Kingdom; that they ſhould not have the Benefit of any Sanctuary; and that if they continued obſtinate, or relapſed after Pardon, they ſhould firſt be hanged for Treaſon againſt the King, and then burned for Hereſy againſt God. *Bale*, fol. 46. *T. Elmham*, p. 33. *Livius Foroj.* p. 7.

(2) And that all Perſons convict of Hereſy, and left to the ſecular Power, ſhould forfeit all their Lands and Goods to the King.

(3) They remonſtrated, That the Temporalities of the religious and ſpiritual Perſons in *England*, amounted to three hundred and twenty two thouſand Marks yearly, and would ſuffice to maintain fifteen Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, ſix thouſand two hundred Eſquires, and a hundred Hoſpitals, and twenty thouſand Pounds be brought yearly into the King's Treaſure; and, that beſides the foreſaid Sum, divers religious Houſes poſſeſſed as many Temporalities as would maintain fifteen thouſand Prieſts, and Clerks, allowing to each ſeven Marks a Year. *Hall's Chron.* fol. 35. *Goodwin's Hen.* V. p. 42.

(4) Though this Act is not in the Statute Book, it is mentioned among the Patent Rolls, That the Commons conſidered that the Head-Abbeys beyond Sea, poſſeſſing the Lands and Revenues of theſe Alien Priories, great Sums of Money were carried out of the Nation; and they foreſaw, that when the War was begun with *France*, all the Subjects of *England* holding Lands in that Kingdom would be diſpoſſeſſed, they therefore made this Act to diſſeize theſe foreign Monaſteries of the Priories alien, and veſt them in the King. One of *Panfield* in *Eſſex*, and another of *Wells* in *Norfolk*, belonging to St. *Stephen's* in *Normandy*, were given to *John Wodehouſe*, Eſq; to hold by the Preſent of a Roſe to the King, on *Midſummer* Day. *Rot. Par.* 3 Hen. 5.

1414. "*Join*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, and part of *Guienne*; all these Provinces having been wrested from the Kings of *England* by pure Violence, and on frivolous Pretences. That it was not only to these Countries that he had an indisputable Right, but he might also very justly lay Claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*, as Heir and Successor of *Edward* III. Then he largely urged the Reasons which have been related in the Reign of *Edward*. He talked of the *Salic* Law as a Chimera, which was built upon no good foundation, and which, being repugnant to the Law of Nature, could not be admitted, though it was as real as imaginary. He asserted, that *Pepin the Short*, who dispossessed the Family of *Meroveus*, claimed the Crown, as Heir to *Blithilda*, Daughter of *Clothaire* I, and that *Hugh Capet*, founded his Title upon his being descended from a Daughter of *Lewis le Debonnaire*. He added, that these Claims, which would have been ridiculous, if the *Salic* Law had been in force ever since *Pharamond*, were clear Evidences of its being then unknown. That besides, such a Law would Num. xxvii. be contrary to the Law of God himself, who disposed in a very different manner of the Inheritance of *Zelophehad*, in favour of his Daughters. That the famous *French* Civilians had confessed, that the *Salic* Law was a contradiction, both to the Law of God and Nature (1). In fine, that the glorious Success with which God had crowned the Arms of *Edward* III, plainly shewed, that God approved not this pretended Law. That if afterwards he permitted that Monarch, and the Prince of *Wales* his Son, to end their days before they could repair their Losses in *France*, nothing can be inferred from thence against the Justice of their Rights. That by his Judgments, he was pleased to punish the Sins of the *English* Nation, but never intended to deprive the Heirs and Successors of *Edward*, of their just Rights to the Crown of *France*. That the Interruption of the Prosecution of these Rights, occasioned by the Slothfulness of *Richard* II, and the Troubles of the late Reign, could not be considered as an entire desisting. That *England* enjoying at present a happy Tranquillity, under the Government of a Prince endowed with so many excellent Qualities, the relinquishing of these just Pretensions, would be renouncing all the Rules of Prudence and Politicks. That moreover, the Posture of Affairs in *France* presented an opportunity, which would in vain be sought hereafter. Finally, he exhorted the King to exercise the Talents Heaven had blessed him with, and not remain in an ignoble repose, but prepare, without dreading the difficulties, for so just and glorious a Conquest, which would render him the most powerful Prince in *Europe*. He closed his Speech with saying, that if the King would be pleased to take in hand so noble an Enterprize, the Clergy would give him a larger Subsidy than was ever granted to any of his Ancestors, and he did not question but the Laity would be of the same mind."

Most Historians pretend, this Speech made such a sudden and wonderful Impression, that *Henry* immediately resolved to prosecute his Title to the Crown of *France*. But the forementioned Negotiations upon this subject, plainly shew, this Resolution was already taken, and that the Business at present was, only to obtain the Parliament's Approbation. To this the Archbishop's Speech perhaps greatly conduced. At least, it is certain, the Commons, before they broke up, approved the design, and granted the King a Subsidy of three hundred thousand Marks (2) to begin the Execution thereof. Nay, it is likely, the Archbishop, on this occasion, acted in concert with the King, either to sound the Inclination of the Commons, or to excite them to a War. Be this as it will, this Resolution perfectly corresponding with the Clergy's Project, it is no wonder, the Archbishop so strongly urged the Necessity of a War. And indeed, this Affair was no sooner resolved in Parliament, but the Bill intended against the Clergy fell of its self, People's Minds being otherwise employed (3).

The War against France *resolved, and a Subsidy granted the King.*

All the rest of this Year was spent in continual Embassies to *London* or *Paris*. The *French* would fain have had *Henry*'s Marriage with the Princess *Catherine*, to be an equivalent for the greatest part of the Demands of *England*. This was the Project they had formed, imagining, *Henry* might be decoyed by the hopes of the Marriage. *Henry*, on his part, did not reject the Proposal, provided the Marriage was considered only as a Consequence of the Peace, or at least, such Conditions were annexed to it, as should procure him the Restitution of the Provinces lost since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. He feigned to suffer himself to be amused to a certain degree. He sent Power upon Power to his Ambassadors, to prolong the time of his Engagement. But when the Match was proposed, the same Ambassadors refused to treat, till the Terms of the Peace were agreed upon. This was the subject of all the Negotiations. Mean while, it is certain, both Sides had no other view than to gain time. *Henry* was too wise, not to perceive that *France* would never comply with his Demands, before she had received some considerable loss. On the other hand, as there had not been a good while, any great Alteration in *England*, besides the Accession of a new King to the Crown, the Court of *France* could not believe, the *English* were able to support the threatened War. So their sole View was to amuse *Henry*, till time should cause some Revolution in the Affairs of either Kingdom. *Henry* proceeded gradually, without being diverted, as there was nothing in his Kingdom capable of giving him any Disturbance. *France*, on the contrary, was full of Dissensions. Those at the helm, were more careful to support themselves against the opposite Party, than to prevent the King of *England*'s Designs. Nay, it was almost impossible for them to take just measures at such a Juncture. The Dauphin, who had the management of Affairs, was a Prince more hot than able. But though his Capacity had been greater, what could he have done, ingaged as he was between two Factions, which divided the Kingdom, and whereof neither was really attached to his Interest? Besides, neither the Dauphin, nor the *Orleans* Faction, could imagine, that, after an Intermission for two whole Reigns, the King of *England* would seriously think of asserting his Right to the Crown of *France*. We find in the *English* History, that after *Henry* had sent the first time to demand the Crown of *France*, the Dauphin, in derision of his Youth, sent him for a Present a Tun of *Tennis-Balls*, intimating no doubt, that he thought him fitter for Play, than for War (4); but he was soon of another Opinion. Such was the Disposition of the Court of *France*, whilst *Henry* was wholly employed in Preparations to accomplish his designs.

1414.

The Disadvantages France *lay under.*

The Dauphin's *scornful Present to* Henry. Caxton.

The Resolution taken by the Parliament of *Leicester*, opened the Eyes of those who governed *France*. They were sensible at length, that *Henry* was in earnest, and perceived, not without Confusion, that he had made use, to over-reach them, of the same means practised by themselves to amuse him. The Negotiations concerning the Marriage, and the frequent Prolongation of his voluntary Engagement, were only a decoy, to hinder *France* from preparing for her Defence. This plainly enough appeared in the Parliament's Resolution. Then it was that *Charles*'s, or the Dauphin's Council, thought it time to think seriously of giving *Henry* some Satisfaction. To that end, Secretary *Col* was dispatched with fresh Offers, but which were very short of his Pretensions. Before the Parliament of *Leicester*, *Henry* had, as one may say, demanded the whole Kingdom of *France*, but slightly, and to serve as Foundation for his other Demands. But when he found himself supported by his Parliament, he talked at a much higher rate, and seemed unwilling to be satisfied with what he had demanded at first. However, to amuse *France*, he still pretended to desire the Affair might be determined by a Negotiation. To that end, he readily consented, the Marriage should be treated of, and the Term of his Engagement prolonged to the 15th of *August*, impowering his Ambassadors, to extend it as much farther as they should judge proper. But all this made him not delay or interrupt his Preparations for War.

France begins to take other Measures.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 139.

Ibid. 140, 141.

Mean while, the Negotiation with the Duke of *Burgundy* still continued, whilst that Prince was most pressed by his Enemies. In the Month of *June*, *Henry* sent to him *Philip Morgan*, a Person of great Abilities, whom he always imployed in the most important Negotiations. *Morgan*'s publick Instructions were only to renew the Truce with the *Flemings*. But the Choice of this Ambassador, and the Mission of *Copin de la Vieuville* into *England*, from the Duke (5), with the Circumstances of the time, are plain Evidences, those goings and comings,

Henry *continues his Negotiations with the Duke of* Burgundy. p. 179.

Continuation of the Negotiations between France *and* England. Act. Pub. IX. p. 150, 182, 183, 184, 186.

(1) The Archbishop, or he that made this Speech, was ignorant, doubtless, that without the *Salic* Law, *Edward* III could have no manner of Claim to the Crown of *France*. Upon which see the Reign of *Edward* III. *Rapin.*

(2) The Commons, with Assent of the Bishops and Lords, granted the King two whole Tenths, and two Fifteenths, to be levied on the Laity. *Rot. Parl.* 2 *Hen.* V. M. 11.

(3) In this Parliament, *Henry Percy*, Grandson of the late Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been left by his Grandfather as an Hostage in *Scotland*, being now of Age, petitioned the Parliament, that he might be restored to the Honour and Estates of his Father and Grandfather; which was granted accordingly. *Rot. Parl.* 2 *Hen.* V. M. 17. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. I. p. 280. ------ At the same time, the King confirmed to his Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, the Earldom and Honour of *Richmond*. *Ibid.* M. 14. and created his Brother *Humphrey*, Earl of *Gloucester*. *T. Livius*, p. 7. *Elmham*, p. 33.

(4) *Henry* sent him back word, he would repay him with Balls of greater Force, whose Strokes the strongest Gates of *Paris* should not be Rackets sufficient to rebound. *Caxton Chron.*

(5) On *November* 16. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 179.

1414. were not to prolong only a Truce of Commerce, where there was no great difficulty. Beſides, the diſcovery hereafter, will ſhew, what the Duke of *Burgundy* was then meditating. The gaining of that Prince to his Intereſt was very material to *Henry*. A fairer Opportunity could not offer, ſince it was at a time when the Court of *France* ſhewed no regard for him. But he demurred, it ſeems, upon making ſo extraordinary a Step, and was unwilling to have recourſe to *Henry*, without an abſolute Neceſſity. In all theſe Negotiations were ſpent the Year 1414.

1415. Act. Pub. IX. p. 183, 187, 196, 197, 205. 219, 220. In the beginning of the next Year, *Henry* conſented to a Prolongation of the Truce, to the firſt of *May*. Mean while, the Court of *France*, alarmed at the great Preparations in *England*, ſent again the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, with eleven more Ambaſſadors. Probably the Archbiſhop made ſome new Offer to *Henry*, but which was not conſiderable enough to content him. All he could obtain was, a farther prolongation of the Truce, to the 8th of *June*.

The Truce prolonged again, p. 225.

Whilſt theſe Ambaſſadors were at *London*, the King aſſembled (1) the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, at leaſt as many as were within diſtance. When they were met, he acquainted them, by the Biſhop of *Winchester* his Uncle, and Lord Chancellor, with his Reſolution, of going in Perſon, and carrying War into *France*, in order to recover the Inheritance of his Anceſtors. This Declaration ſeemed needleſs, ſince the great Men had been ſufficiently informed of his deſign. But probably, his Intent was, to oblige the *French* Ambaſſadors to diſcover at once what they had to propoſe, he imagining they ſtill kept back part of their Inſtructions. The preſent Poſture of Affairs in *France* made him hope, they would offer to put Things upon the foot of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. If ſo, he would doubtleſs have been ſatisfied with ſo conſiderable an Advantage, tho' he had, for ſome time, laid claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*. The Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, no longer queſtioning the King's deſigns, told him, he wanted to go to *France* for freſh Inſtructions; upon which *Henry* conſented the Truce ſhould be again prolonged to the 15th of *July*. The ſame Prelate being returned to *England*, a few days before the Expiration of the Truce, added ſomething more to the former Offers; but it was to no purpoſe. Nothing was capable of ſatisfying *Henry*, but the Treaty of *Bretigny*. The Archbiſhop demanded his Anſwer in writing, and the King ordered it to be given him immediately. Some add, that the Archbiſhop ſeeing all Ceremony was at an end, upbraided the King, that, not content with a Crown unjuſtly wreſted from *Richard* II, by his Father, he would invade that of *France* to; but he ſhould find it more difficult than he imagined.

The Truce prolonged again. p. 262, 282. Ibid. *The Archbiſhop of* Bourges's *bold words to the King.* Monſtrelet. Des Urſins. Walſing.

Every thing being ready for the Departure, *Henry* ordered all his Troops to repair immediately to *Southampton*, where they were to embark, and went thither himſelf to give orders, as the Troops and Tranſports arrived. Whilſt he was thus employed, he gave freſh Powers to *Philip Morgan*, to conclude a Treaty of Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*. This ſhews, that the Duke, who was ſtill at the Court of *France*, held private Intelligence with *Henry*, and had, probably, conduced very much to ingage him in this Undertaking. Their Treaty however was not concluded till two Years after.

Henry *embarks his Troops, and continues his Negotiation with the Duke of* Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 304. Walſing.

Henry was preparing to depart about the end of *July*, or beginning of *Auguſt* (2). Moſt part of his Troops were now embarked, when he had notice of a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, formed by thoſe, whom he thought to have had leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect. If we believe the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, the Court of *France* dreading the Succeſs of the War, had employed a vaſt Sum of Money to bribe Men to kill the King. They mount this Sum to a Million of Livres, which is no wonder, conſidering the Quality of the Perſons concerned in the Plot; namely, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Brother of the Duke of *York*, *Henry Scrope* Lord Treaſurer, who commonly lay in the ſame Room with the King, and *Thomas Grey* a Knight of *Northumberland*, and Privy-Counſellor (3). It is not very certain however, that they had a deſign upon the King's Life; at leaſt the Earl of *Cambridge*'s Confeſſion, extant in *the Collection of the publick Acts*, contains nothing like it. It only appears, that they had conſpired to ſet the Earl of *March* at their head, and conduct him where they hoped to raiſe an Army, by making uſe of the Name of *Richard* II, as if he were ſtill alive. That, if they could not deceive the People by a Means ſo frequently practiſed, their Intent was to publiſh a Manifeſto in the name of the Earl of *March*, inviting the People to reſtore that Prince to his Rights, uſurped by the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. As they could not make uſe of the Earl of *March*'s Name, without having him in their Power, or at leaſt in their Party, they could not help informing him of the Plot. The Earl was greatly embarraſſed, when the Secret was told him. A Crown, which he believed to be his lawful Right, was worth the Pains of running ſome risk to obtain it. But on the other hand, he was ſatisfied, the Conſpirators acted not from a Motive of Juſtice or Affection for his Perſon. Beſides, the Uncertainty of the Iſſue could not but diſcourage him. Mean while, he was preſſed very earneſtly to enter into the Conſpiracy. In ſhort, not being able to reſolve immediately, he deſired time to conſider of ſo important an Affair; and it was with great Difficulty, that he obtained the reſt of that Day. During this Interval, he made ſuch Reflections, as induced him to acquaint the King with the whole. *Henry*, ſurprized at the News, immediately ordered the Conſpirators to be ſeized, who, confeſſing their Guilt, were condemned and executed. The Earl of *Cambridge* and Sir *Thomas Grey* were beheaded; but the Lord *Scrope* ſuffered the uſual Puniſhment of Traitors. This was as it were the firſt Spark of that Flame, which conſumed, in proceſs of time, the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*. As the Earl of *Cambridge* had married a Siſter of the Earl of *March*, very likely, he had engaged in the Plot, with a view to procure the Crown for *Richard* his Son, preſumptive Heir of that Earl, who had no Children.

1415. Act. Pub. IX. p. 300. p. 300. *The Authors puniſhed.* p. 300. Walſing.

A Plot againſt the King diſcovered. Act. Pub. IX. p. 300. T. Livius. Walſing. Elmham.

Walſing.

This Affair detaining *Henry* at *Southampton* longer than he imagined, he could not ſail till the 18th, or 19th, of *Auguſt*. His Fleet conſiſted of fifteen hundred Tranſport-Ships, on which were embarked ſix thouſand Men at Arms, and twenty thouſand Archers (4) making in all, an Army of about fifty thouſand Men. He was attended by the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Kent*, *Cornwal*, *Salisbury*, *Huntingdon*, with many other Nobles. On the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, he landed his Troops (5) at *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, and without loſs of time, marched to *Harfleur*, about nine Miles diſtant. That Place was ſtrong and well-ſtored. A little before, four hundred Men at Arms were ſent thither, beſides a great number of neighbouring Nobles, who voluntarily came there. The Garriſon made a vigorous Defence, but however, in a ſhort time were forced to capitulate, and promiſe to ſurrender the Place, unleſs relieved within three days. The Term being expired, and no Relief come, *Henry* took poſſeſſion of the Town (6), and expelling the Inhabitants, planted an *Engliſh Colony* in their room, as *Edward* III had formerly done at *Calais* (7).

Henry *ſets ſail.* Walſing. Monſtrelet. *Lands at* Havre de Grace. T. Livius. Elmham. *Takes* Harfleur, *and peoples it with* Engliſh.

This Place being of the utmoſt Importance, *Henry* would not depart, till it was entirely repaired, and put in a good ſtate of Defence. In the mean while, he ſent a written Challenge to the Dauphin, offering to decide all their Differences by a ſingle Combat between their two Perſons. Theſe differences, according to the King's Notion, concerned no leſs than the whole Kingdom of *France*. If he directed himſelf to the Dauphin, it was becauſe of his Father's Diſtemper, which rendered him uncapable of accepting ſuch a Challenge. But as it was not in the Dauphin's Power, to hazard, in a ſingle Combat, the Crown of *France*, which did not belong to him. *Henry* offered, in caſe he was Conqueror, to let King *Charles* enjoy it during his Life. Moreover, he proteſted, this Propoſal came wholly from himſelf, without any Suggeſtion from his Council, or Family; and therefore, he pretended, it could not be prejudicial to his Rights, or thoſe of his Succeſſors. This Challenge was dated at his Town of *Harfleur*, *September* 16. 1415. It does not

Act. Pub. IX. p. 313.

(1) On *April* 16. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 222.

(2) Beſides the Ships which he built in his own Ports, he hired of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* many Tranſport-Veſſels. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 215, 216. And, on *May* 28, he iſſued out Orders to the Biſhops, to put all the Clergy within their Dioceſes, in a Condition of array, ſuitable to their Eſtates and Incomes. *Ibid.* p. 253. *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, was left Regent, and Lord Lieutenant of *England*. *Ibid.* p. 223, 305.

(3) Though *Thomas Grey* is called here, and by ſome of our Hiſtorians, Earl of *Northumberland*, yet he could not be ſo, ſeeing *Henry Percy*, Son of *Hotſpur*, was reſtored to that Honour in the 2d of *Henry* V, as appears by the Parliament Rolls, 2 *Hen.* V. *M.* 17. See above, p. 510. Note (3). *Dugdale* ſays, this *Grey* was of the Family of Lord *Grey* of *Wark* in *Northumberland*. Vol. II. p. 449. *Goodwin* calls him Sir *Thomas Grey*, a Knight of *Northumberland*, p. 64; and *Walſingham* ſtiles him a Northern Knight, p. 389. He was one of thoſe that attended the King in his Expedition into *France*, with twenty four Men at Arms, and forty eight Archers. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 259. He is called there only *Thomas Grey*, Chevalier.

(4) Twenty-four thouſand, ſays *Monſtrelet*, c. 142.

(5) According to *Walſingham*, he landed in *Normandy*, *Auguſt* 14. p. 390. But according to *T. Livius*, he embarked *Auguſt* 11. p. 8. The 13th, ſays *Elmham*, p. 36.

(6) The Siege laſted five Weeks. *Walſ.* p. 320.

(7) He put forth a Proclamation throughout *England*, that all Perſons who would come over and ſettle at *Harfleur*, ſhould have Houſes ſecured to them and their Heirs, upon which great Numbers tranſplanted themſelves and Families thither. The King made his Uncle, *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet*, Governor, with whom he joined Sir *John Faſtolff*. *Hall*, fol. 45.

appear

1415. appear, that the Dauphin ſent any Anſwer. The truth is, the offer was too diſadvantagious to him, ſince he would have ventured a Crown, of which his Father was in actual poſſeſſion, and which he was of courſe to inherit; whereas *Henry* would have hazarded only bare Pretenſions.

Ill State of the Engliſh *Army.* Waſſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

The Conqueſt of *Harfleur* might have rendered *Henry* ſatisfied with the Succeſs of his firſt Campaign, begun a little too late, if, on the other hand, the ill State of his Army had not exceedingly troubled him. The Flux, which was got amongſt his Troops, had made, and ſtill did make, ſuch Ravage, that not above the fourth Part of his Army were able to bear Arms. This Diſtemper had not ſeized the common Soldiers only, but even the moſt conſiderable Perſons were not free from it. The Biſhop of *Norwich*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* (1), were already dead of it. The Duke of *Clarence* the King's Brother, the Earl of *Arundel* (2), and ſeveral other Officers of Diſtinction, were ſo dangerouſly ill, that they were obliged to return to *England*, in hopes of a Cure.

The French *draw together an Army.* T. Livius.

At the ſame time, *Henry* learned from all Parts, that the *French* were aſſembling their Forces with great diligence, to give him Battle. Till the taking of *Harfleur*, the King of *France* ſeems not to have believed, the King of *England* ſeriouſly intended to wage War, ſince they had made no Preparations for their Defence. But after the loſs of ſo important a Place, King *Charles*'s Council eaſily perceived, it was neceſſary to aſſemble all the Forces of the Kingdom, to ſtop the Progreſs of an Enemy, who began to be very formidable. The great Armament *France* was preparing, the ill State of the *Engliſh* Army, and the Approach of Winter, obliged *Henry* to think of retreating. He might, it ſeems, have re-imbarked at *Harfleur*; but, whether he thought it would look too much like a Flight, or foreſaw not all the Obſtacles he afterwards encountered, or for ſome other unknown Reaſon, he reſolved to retire by Land to *Calais*.

Henry reſolves to retire to Calais. T. Livius. Walſing. Elmham.

Difficulties of the March. Walſing. T. Livius. Hall.

The March he undertook was difficult, at a Seaſon when the Rains began to ſpoil the Roads. But it became much more ſo by unexpected Accidents. The *French* having foreſeen, or heard of his Deſign, ſpeedily broke down the Bridges, and Cauſeways in his Rout, and deſtroyed, or removed into the fortified Towns, the Proviſions and Forage that he might have found in the Country. On the other hand, the Conſtable *d'Albret*, with a Body of Troops drawn together, whilſt the reſt were preparing, continually harraſſed the *Engliſh*, and conſtrained them to march very cloſe, and to be always upon their Guard. All theſe Difficulties hindered their advancing ſo ſpeedily as was neceſſary, to free themſelves from their ill Situation.

He is not able to paſs the Somme. T. Livius.

Amidſt all theſe obſtacles to his March, *Henry* proceeded along the *Somme*, in expectation of paſſing that River at the Ford of *Blanchetaque*, as *Edward* III had done the day before the Battle of *Creſſy*. But when he came there, he found that Paſs rendered impracticable by ſharp Stakes fixed in the River, and defended moreover by a Body of Troops (3), poſted on the oppoſite Bank. He was extremely concerned to find his Project could not be executed. It was neceſſary however, either to paſs the *Somme*, or reſolve to return to *Harfleur*, through the ſame Difficulties he had already been expoſed to, and even without knowing, when he came there, how to ſubſiſt his Army. In this Extremity, he determined to march higher up the River, even to its Source, though it was much out of his way. As he advanced, he every where found the Bridges broken down, and the Fords guarded by Troops, intrenched on the other Side.

He reſolves to go to the Fountain-Head. Elmham.

The Army ſuffers much in the March. T. Livius.

As in ſo ill a Situation, there was no other Remedy but Patience, *Henry* took all poſſible Care to inſtil it into his Troops, by taking his ſhare of the Wants and Hardſhips they laboured under. It is eaſy to perceive, theſe Hardſhips were not proper to ſtop the Courſe of their Diſtemper, and that on the contrary, great numbers fell ſick in their March. At laſt, to compleat his Misfortune, *Henry* heard, that the King of *France* was come to *Roan*, and had ſent to the Conſtable fourteen thouſand Men at Arms, with all the Princes and great Lords

French *Army reinforced.* Hall.

of the Kingdom, except the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. The Dauphin was deſirous of commanding the Army, but the King would not give him leave. The Conſtable, who had alſo drawn together many other Troops, receiving ſo ſtrong a Reinforcement, called a Council of War, where it was unanimouſly reſolved to give the *Engliſh* Battle. But as the *French* Generals thought themſelves ſure of Victory, conſidering the Superiority of their Forces, they judged it proper, inſtead of continuing to guard the *Somme*, to let the *Engliſh* Army paſs, and to poſt themſelves on the Road to *Calais*. This Reſolution being taken, they went and expected their Enemies in the Earldom of St. *Pol*, in order to draw them over the *Somme*, into a Place where they ſhould not be able to turn back.

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They go and expect the Engliſh *in the Road to* Calais.

It is certain, that by paſſing the River, *Henry* ran into manifeſt Danger, ſince there was no Mean between conquering and periſhing. It is true, he might have returned to *Harfleur*, but I cannot tell whether that was leſs hazardous, conſidering the Difficulties he muſt have encountered, and which he had not, without infinite Trouble, ſurmounted. Wherefore it is a queſtion, in my opinion, hard to be decided, whether a Battle was more dangerous than a Retreat. Be this as it will, it is to be preſumed, he choſe what to him ſeemed leaſt diſadvantagious, in continuing his March along the *Somme* (4), with a Reſolution to face the danger that waited on the other Side. As the Paſſages were no longer defended, he found one between St. *Quintin* and *Peronne*, where he cauſed his Army to paſs (5). But though this Obſtacle, which had hitherto ſeemed the greateſt, was removed, the *Engliſh* Army found themſelves in no better Condition. That of their Enemies, ſix times more numerous, expected them upon their Paſſage; whom there was a neceſſity of vanquiſhing, in order to open a way to *Calais*. The *French* Hiſtorians affirm, that *Henry* ſeeing himſelf in this ſad ſituation, offered to reſtore *Harfleur*, and repair all the Damages he had cauſed in *France* ſince his Landing, if he might be ſuffered to proceed unmoleſted; but that his offer was rejected. On the contrary, the Conſtable and Princes that were in the *French* Army, ſent three Heralds to offer him Battle, leaving him to chuſe the Time and Place. *Henry* replied, "As he had long "been upon his March to *Calais*, they might have "fought him when they pleaſed, and if they intended "it, there was no occaſion to appoint the Time, or "Place; for he was reſolved to purſue his March, "and they ſhould always find him ready to receive "them."

Henry continues his March.

He paſſes the Somme. T. Livius. Elmham. Hall.

Offers to reſtore Harfleur. P. Daniel.

His Offer rejected. Des Urſins.

The French *challenge him.*

His Anſwer, Elmham.

The *French* Army being poſted on his Rout, it was not poſſible to paſs without fighting. He reſolved therefore to prepare for a Battle. On the 22d of *October*, the *French* Generals ſent him word by a Herald, that on *Friday* following (6), they would give him Battle. *Henry*, who had already taken his Reſolution, accepted the Challenge, and preſented the Herald with a Robe worth two hundred Crowns (7). During the three days before the Battle, *Henry* never ceaſed to inſpire his Troops with Courage, by the promiſe of Rewards and Honours, and by all other means moſt conducive to that end. He repreſented to them the Glory of their Anceſtors, who obtained the famous Victories of *Creſſy* and *Poictiers*, and demonſtrated to them the Neceſſity of conquering, in order to free themſelves from their preſent, and avoid ſtill greater, Miſeries. His Exhortations wrought ſo wonderful an Effect, that the Officers and Soldiers, far from dreading the great Number of their Enemies, were extremely eager to engage. The day before the Battle, *Henry* having ſent *David Gam*, a *Welſh* Captain, to view the ſtrength of the Enemy, this brave Officer gallantly reported, *there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken Priſoners, and enough to run away.* This Aſſurance pleaſed the King, as being a Sign, that his Troops were firmly reſolved to do their Duty. Mean while, the *French* preſuming on their Numbers, and confident of Victory, were making rejoicings in their Camp. *Mezerai* owns, that they were four times Superior to the *Engliſh* (8). *Monſtrelet* ſays, ſix times (9). This Diverſity may partly proceed from *Mezerai*'s reckoning all the Soldiers, ſick and well, of the *Engliſh* Army, and

He meets the Enemy, who offers him Battle,

which he accepts. T. Livius. Walſing.

Firmneſs of the King and his Troops. Powel Hiſt. Wal.

Great diſproportion between the two Armies.

(1) *Michael de la Pole.*
(2) *John Fitz-Alan*; and alſo *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, *John Mowbray*, Earl-Marſhal, *&c.* *Walſ.* p. 391.
(3) Six thouſand *French*.
(4) As they were marching by a Town called *Corbie*, and were engaged in a narrow Paſs, the Country People, and ſome Soldiers, fiercely attacked them. A Battalion, commanded by *Hugh Stafford*, Lord *Bourchier*, endeavouring to diſperſe them, was put to very great Straights, many being killed, and the Standard loſt; but it was recovered by a *Staffordſhire* Gentleman, ſirnamed *Bromley*. *Hollingſhead*, Vol. III. p. 551. *T. Livius*, p. 13. *Elmham*, p. 53.
(5) On the 19th of *October*. *Monſtrelet*, c. 146. (6) *October* 25. *Rapin*.
(7) A rich Robe, and two hundred Crowns. *Des Urſins*, p. 314. *T. Livius* ſays, one hundred, p. 14. *Elmham*, p. 55.
(8) *P. Daniel* ſays, they were three times ſtronger. Tom. V. p. 541.
(9) He and *Paradin* make the Number of the Horſe in the *French* Army to be a hundred and fifty thouſand. *Walſingham* ſays, their whole Army conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand Men, p. 391. And, according to *Meierus*, of a hundred and fifty thouſand; the third part whereof was Horſe, and ten thouſand of them Nobles and Gentlemen. See *Goodwin*'s *Henry* V, p. 82. In a Letter from Sir *W. Bardolf*, Deputy Governor of *Calais*, to *John* Duke of *Bedford*, it is ſaid, That the Duke of *Lorrain* had gathered about fifty thouſand Men together, and that all the *French* Forces, put together, would amount to above a hundred thouſand Men. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 315.

1415. Harding. Walsing.

from *Monſtrelet*'s meaning only ſuch as were able to fight. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians make the Difference between the two Armies much greater, affirming, the *French* amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand, and the *Engliſh* but to nine thouſand. Be this as it will, it is certain the Superiority of the *French* was very great. But what Inequality ſoever there was between the two Armies, as to Number, there was another, which was no leſs conſiderable, with regard to the different State they were in. The *Engliſh*, ſick, for the moſt part, of a Flux, with which they had been troubled, ever ſince their Departure from *Harfleur*, were moreover harraſſed with a tedious march of a Month, in very bad Weather, and through an Enemy's Country. They had all along been in want of Proviſions, and would doubtleſs have been all ſtarved, if the exact Diſcipline the King cauſed to be obſerved, had not engaged the Country-People to ſupply them with Victuals, for the ſake of ſelling them at an extravagant Rate. The *French*, on the contrary, were freſh and healthy, abounding with Proviſions, and labouring under no Inconveniency. If we may believe the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, ſo confident of Succeſs were the *French* Leaders, that they ſent to the King to know what he would give for his Ranſom. *Henry* deſpiſing this Bravado, replied, acc ording to the ſame Authors, that a few Hours would ſhew whoſe care it would be to provide a Ranſom.

Confidence of the French. T. Livius. Pol. Virg.

The two Armies are drawn up in order of Battle.

Blunder of the Conſtable. J. le Fevre. Walſing. Elmham.

On the 25th of *October*, the day appointed for the Battle, the two Armies were drawn up as ſoon as it was Light. The Conſtable *D' Albret* committed on this occaſion an unpardonable Fault, in chuſing for the Field of Battle a narrow Ground, flanked on one ſide by a Rivulet, and on the other by a large Wood. He thereby loſt all the Advantage, which the Superiority of Number, and eſpecially in Horſe, could give him: It is moſt certain, this General ought to have poſted himſelf in a large and open Place, where he might have had it in his power to ſurround the *Engliſh*, who were but a handful of Men, in compariſon of his Army. But by drawing up on ſo narrow a Ground, he was forced to make a Front no larger than that of the Enemies, and thereby deprived himſelf of a very manifeſt Advantage. Neither can it be ſaid, that the Choice of the Field of Battle was not entirely in his Breaſt. As the *Engliſh* were marching for *Calais*, it was his Buſineſs to expect them on a ſpacious Plain, capable of containing his whole Army, and where they might have all fought at once. His Blindneſs therefore is aſtoniſhing, and can be aſcribed only to his Preſumption. He ſeems to have intended to ſtop up that narrow Paſſage, that the *Engliſh* might not proceed, without conſidering ſuch a Precaution can be only advantagious to the Weakeſt. I have dwelt a little upon this Error, as it was, probably, the principal Cauſe of the unfortunate Succeſs of the *French* in this Action. The Conſtable, blinded by the Number of his Troops, drew them up, as I ſaid, on this narrow Ground, but ſo cloſe, that it was eaſy to foreſee, Confuſion would enſue during the Battle. He divided his Army into three Bodies, the firſt of which he commanded himſelf, with the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, *Richemont*, the famous Marſhal *Boucicaut* Grand Maſter of the Croſs-Bow-Men, the Lord *Dampier* Admiral of *France*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, and ſeveral other Officers of the greateſt Diſtinction. All theſe Princes and Lords thought themſelves happy in being in the firſt Line, perſuaded as they were, that the other two would have nothing to do. The Duke of *Alenſon* commanded the ſecond Body, with the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Nevers*, *Salines*, *Rouſſi*, and *Grand-Pré*. At the head of the third Line, were the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauquenbergh*, and the Lord *de Lauroi*.

T. Livius. Elmham. Hall.

Precaution taken by the King before the Battle. Des Urſins. Walſing.

Whilſt the *French* were drawing up, *Henry* detached a Body of four hundred Lances, to go and poſt themſelves out of Sight of the Enemy, behind the Wood, on the left of the Field of Battle. He lodged, moreover, two hundred Archers in a low Meadow, fenced with Buſhes on the right. In drawing up his Army, he could make but two Lines, by reaſon of the ſmall Number of his Troops. *Edward* Duke of *York* commanded the firſt, aſſiſted by the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope* (1). The King put himſelf at the head of the Second (2), with a Gold Crown (3) on his Helmet for a Creſt, and near him was the Standard of *England* (4). In this Poſture he expected the *French* would advance to attack him (5). Mean time, riding along the Front of his Battalions, he exhorted the Troops not to fear a multitude of raw and undiſciplined Soldiers. He repreſented to them, that Victories depended not on Numbers but on bravery, and above all, on the Aſſiſtance of God, in whom he admoniſhed them to place their whole Truſt. In fine, perceiving the *French* did not move, he ſent for ſome of his principal Officers, and ſaid to them with a chearful Countenance, "Since our Enemies have "intercepted our way, let us proceed, and break through "them in the Name of the Holy Trinity." Upon theſe words he gave the Signal of Battle (6). Immediately the Soldiers of the foremoſt Ranks, removing the Stakes, which had been ſet on the Front, to reſiſt the Fury of the Cavalry (7), the whole Army, with a mighty Shout, moved forward. After advancing a little, they made a halt, expecting their Enemies, but finding they did not ſtir, continued their March in good Order. When they came within Bow-Shot, the foremoſt Ranks fixed the Stakes, interweaving, and bending them a little towards their Enemy. At the ſame time, a Body of choſen Archers advancing ſome Paces, began, very near, to let fly upon the Enemy a ſhower of Arrows a Yard long, which being ſhot by Men of dexterity and ſtrength, did the greater execution among the *French*, as they ſtood extremely cloſe, and had ſcarce room to move. The *French* Cavalry advancing at length to repulſe the Archers, theſe laſt nimbly retreated behind the Stakes with a wonderful Diſcipline, in which the King had exerciſed them himſelf for ſome days. Mean while, the two hundred Bow-men, concealed in the Meadow, riſing up on a ſudden, plied the Horſe with their Arrows, who were put in the greater Diſorder, as the Horſes ſunk up to their Knees in the Ground ſoftned with the Rains. The *Engliſh* ſeeing this Confuſion, threw away their Bows, and fell upon their Enemies Sword in hand. The *Engliſh*, it is ſaid, were, for the moſt part, forced to fight naked from the Waſte downwards, by reaſon of their Diſtemper. However, as the firſt Line of the *French* conſiſted of all the beſt Troops in their Army, this Charge, though very vigorous, was repulſed with ſome Loſs on the ſide of the *Engliſh*. But, that was not capable of diſheartening Men, determined to conquer or die. After breathing a while, they charged again with ſuch Reſolution, that it was not poſſible for their Enemies to ſtand the Shock. This ſecond Attack was the more difficult to be repulſed, as at the ſame time the *French* felt themſelves ſet upon in the Flank by the *Engliſh* Horſe, ambuſhed behind the Wood. Then it was, that the utmoſt Diſorder enſued among the Troops, ſo vigorouſly preſſed by their Enemies, who ſlew without mercy whoever came in their way. The firſt Line of the *French* at length taking to Flight, (after ſeeing the Conſtable killed, with a great number of other Officers, and moſt of the Princes and Generals made Priſoners,) the *Engliſh* found themſelves ſtopped by the ſecond Line, which came to repair the Diſorder.

1415.

T. Livius. Elmham. Hall.

The Engliſh begin the Charge. J. le Fevre. Elmham. Hall.

Walſing.

Monſtrelet.

The firſt Line of the French *routed.* Le Fevre. T. Livius.

Mean while, *Henry* advancing with his ſecond Line, as the firſt gained Ground, ſtood ready to ſupport his Men, who would have been in danger of being routed, if he had been farther off. Whilſt the firſt Body, after ſo gallant a Fight, were retiring to the Right and Left, to make way for the King, and to rally in his Rear, *Henry* alighting from his Horſe, preſented himſelf to the Enemy with an undaunted Countenance. The Duke of *Alenſon*, Prince of the Blood-Royal of *France*, advanced at the head of his Body with great Intrepidity, hoping

Walſing.

(1) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays *Stanhope*; as does likewiſe *Goodwin*, in his Life of *Henry* V, p. 84. There was no ſuch Title then. The Perſon here meant was, Sir *John Cornwall*, Knight, who married *Elizabeth*, Siſter of King *Henry* IV, and Widow of *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*: And in the 11th of *Henry* VI, *July* 17, was created a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Fanhope*. See *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 212.

(2) Attended by his Brother *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*; *John* Lord *Mowbray*, Earl-Marſhal; *Richard de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*; and *Michael de la Pole*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*. The Rear conſiſting of Archers, and ſuch as were armed with Spears, Halberds, and Bills, was led by *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet*, created the next Year Duke of *Exeter*. *Goodwin*'s *Henry* V, p. 84.

(3) Framed after the Imperial Faſhion. *Le Fevre*, p. 89.

(4) He had four Standards; one of the *Trinity*, another of St. *George*, the third of St. *Edward*, and in the fourth were diſplayed the Arms of *England*. *Ibid.*

(5) *P. Daniel* ſays, That, before the Battle began, King *Henry* ſent to the *French* Generals a ſecond Offer of an Accommodation. The Terms they inſiſted upon, were, That *Henry* ſhould renounce all Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*, and reſtore *Harfleur*. *Henry* replied, He would do it, provided *Guienne*, with its Appurtenances, and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, were reſtored to him; and the Princeſs *Catherine* was given him in Marriage, with a Portion of eight hundred thouſand Crowns. Tom. V. p. 542.

(6) He ordered Sir *Thomas Erpingham* to give the Signal, which he did by throwing up his Truncheon into the Air. *Le Fevre*, p. 92.

(7) The King conſidering the Enemy was more powerful in Horſe, and that his Foot, the Strength of his Army, would be expoſed to the Danger of being broken by the fury of the firſt Charge, commanded the Archers, (a Battalion of whom was placed in the Van, commanded by the Duke of *York*) to fix into the Ground Piles or Stakes, pointed at both Ends, and ſix or ſeven Foot long; with theſe ſet in the Front, and on the Flanks, there being Intervals left between the Horſe and Foot, theſe laſt were ſecured by them as within a little Fortification. A Company of Pioneers was appointed for removing the Piles, as the Soldiers advanced or retreated. *Le Fevre*, p. 92. *Elmham*, p. 65. *Hall*, fol. 48.

1415. by his Conduct and Valour to repair the Diſgrace received by his Countrymen. He had detached eighteen ſtout Gentlemen (1), with orders to keep cloſe to the King of *England*, and not leave him till ſlain or taken Priſoner.

Henry *fights on foot at the Head of his Troops.* Le Fevre. T. Livius.

Henry, for his part, marching with a Fierceneſs heightened by the Succeſs of his firſt Troops, charged the ſecond Line, with a Valour equal to that of the moſt renowned Heroes in Hiſtory. He fought on foot at the head of his Men, ruſhing among the Thickeſt of the Enemies, as forgetting that upon his Fate depended that of his Army.

He is expoſed to great Danger. Elmham.

Mean time the eighteen Cavaliers, who had undertaken to kill him, charged up ſo cloſe to him, that one of them ſo ſtruck him with a Battle-Ax on the Head, that he was ſtunned for a while, though the Goodneſs of his Helmet reſiſted the Violence of the Blow. At the ſame time, the reſt were ſtriving to approach him. Probably, he would hardly have eſcaped theſe deſperate Men,

Powel's Hiſt. Wal.

had not the Valiant *David Gam*, the *Welſh* Captain, with two other Officers of the ſame Nation, ſaved him at the expence of their Lives. The King, who was a little recovered, ſeeing them extended at his Feet, and ſtill breathing, knighted them all three, being unable in their preſent Condition, to reward their Loyalty any other way. At the ſame time the eighteen *Frenchmen*, who ſtill made prodigious Efforts to execute their Deſign, were all killed upon the ſpot.

Henry's *great Courage.* Paradin. T. Livius. Elmham.

The Heat of the Battle increaſing, *Henry*, ſtill more animated by his paſt Danger, gave ſignal proofs of his Valour, and drew upon him the braveſt of the Enemies. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, his Brother, who fought by his Side, being knocked down, he long covered him with his own Body, to prevent his being killed. By this bold

He is knocked down on his Knees.

Action he was ſo expoſed, that at length he received ſo great a blow on the Head, that he fell on his Knees. But his Guard, immediately advancing, repulſed the Enemy, and gave him time to riſe. The King's Danger, and the Wonders he performed, inſpired his Troops with a ſort of Fury. On a ſudden, as it were by

The French are put in Diſorder. Elmham.

Conſent, the *Engliſh* Soldiers incouraging one another, ruſhed upon their Enemies, and by this violent and unexpected Attack, put them in ſuch Diſorder, that their Leaders could never repair it. *Henry* improving this Advantage, preſſed them vigorouſly, to hinder them from recovering out of their Surprize; knowing this was the Moment by which the Victory was to be decided. Their Diſorder increaſing, by reaſon of their great Numbers, and want of room, they began at length to fight only in retreat, in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed they would quickly take to Flight.

Monſtrelet. Paradin.

The Duke of *Alenſon*, enraged to ſee the Battle loſt by the Defeat of the ſecond Line, and deſpairing that the third would be able to reſtore the Fight, generouſly reſolved to die honourably, rather than turn his Back, and ſurvive his Country's Diſgrace. So, regardleſs of a Life he was determined to loſe, with a ſmall Number of brave and reſolute Perſons, he furiouſly made way with his Sword through the *Engliſh* Troops, and every where ſought the King of *England*, in expectation of revenging, by one ſingle Blow, the Loſs, *France* had that day ſuſtained. It was not difficult to find *Henry*, who thought of nothing leſs than concealing himſelf. The Moment the Duke ſaw him, he ran at him, and crying out that

Alenſon *gives the King a furious Blow:*

he was the Duke of *Alenſon*, diſcharged ſo violent a Blow on his Head, that he cleaved off one half of the Gold Crown on his Helmet. *Henry* not being able to parry this Blow, was not ſlow to revenge. In return, he

Who knocks him down.

ſtruck the Duke to the Ground, and with repeated Blows ſlew two of his brave Attendants. In an Inſtant, the Duke was ſurrounded by a Crowd of Enemies, who put an end to his Life, notwithſtanding the King's Endeavours to ſave him. The Death of the Duke of *Alenſon*, entirely diſcouraging his Troops, they openly took to Flight.

The third Line of the French *retreats without fighting.* Monſtrelet.

The third Line of the *French*, being ſtill freſh and in good order, might have renewed the Battle. But their Hearts failing at the Sight of the preſent and paſt Slaughter (2), it was not in the Power of the Leaders to make them advance. So, finding themſelves reduced to a Neceſſity of retreating without fighting, they left the flying Troops of the ſecond Line, expoſed to the Fury of their Enemies, who cloſely purſued them. Then it was that the *Engliſh*, having nothing to do, but to kill, and take Priſoners, exerciſed Pity or Cruelty, according as every one was naturally inclined. As it was impoſſible for the *French* in their preſent diſorder, to rally, and as their Numbers were an Obſtacle to their Flight, they voluntarily offered themſelves to Death or Captivity, as their victorious Enemies pleaſed. Mean while, the Troops, that retired without fighting, ſtill appeared at ſome diſtance, and ſeemed reſolved to ſtand againſt Enemies harraſſed with ſo long a Battle. But the King perceiving they were ſtill more numerous than his Army, commanded them by a Herald to leave the Field, or he would give them no Quarter. This Menace ſucceeded according to expectation. Whether theſe Troops were not fully reſolved of their Courſe, or were apprehenſive of falling into the hands of an implacable Enemy, in caſe they ſhould prove unſucceſsful, they retired, and left *Henry* maſter of the Field of Battle.

1415.

Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

The Occaſion of the King's killing all the Priſoners. Des Urſins, p. 312. T. Livius. Walſing.

Finding himſelf thus ſecure of the Victory, *Henry* thought, he had nothing more to do, when ſuddenly word was brought him, that the Enemies were in his Rear, and had already plundered his Camp. Surprized at this unexpected Accident, he haſtily ran to the Top of a Hillock, between the Army and the Camp, to review theſe new Enemies. He really ſaw great diſorder among his Baggage, and ſaw the Troops left to guard the Camp diſperſed about the Field, and endeavouring to ſave themſelves by Flight. Imagining, by this Sight, that the Enemies had rallied to renew the Fight, he proclaimed, that the Priſoners ſhould be ſlain, except the moſt eminent. This Order being immediately executed, he ſpeedily rallied his Troops, and marched directly to the Enemies, who took care not to expect him. They were only a Company of Run-aways, headed by *Robert de Bournonville* (3), who retiring betimes out of the Battle, and knowing the *Engliſh* Camp was but weakly guarded, pillaged it, whilſt the two Armies were engaged. The Duke of *Burgundy* afterwards would have ſeverely puniſhed the Captain of theſe Plunderers, who was his Subject, for being the occaſion of ſo great a Diſaſter, but the Earl of *Charolois* his Son found means to ſave his Life. It is ſaid, the Earl was preſented with a Sword, ſet with Diamonds, found among the King's Baggage. It is pity ſo glorious a Victory was ſullied by this raſh Maſſacre. It may however be excuſed, by the impoſſibility of the *Engliſh* being able to guard their Priſoners (4), and by the King's juſt Fears, that theſe ſame Priſoners would turn againſt him, during the Fight, which he ſaw himſelf upon the point of renewing.

Paradin. P. de Fenin.

Henry returns God Thanks for his Victory. Le Fevre. Monſtrelet.

Nothing more oppoſing the King's victorious Arms (5), his firſt care, was to return God Thanks for ſo ſignal and unexpected a Victory, and publickly to acknowledge, it was entirely owing to him. After the diſcharge of this juſt Duty, he ſent for a *French* Herald, who was in the Army (6), and required him to declare to whom the Victory was to be aſcribed. The Herald anſwered, the Victory was undoubtedly his. Then the King asked him the

Calls it the Battle of Azincourt.

Name of a Caſtle in ſight, near the Field of Battle, and being told it was called *Azincourt*, he ſaid, Let this Battle be hereafter called *the Battle of Azincourt*. As the Fight began not till ten in the Morning, and laſted till almoſt five in the Afternoon, *Henry* not thinking proper to continue his March, for fear of fatiguing his Army too much, returned to *Maſconcelles*, where he had encamped the foregoing Night.

Elmham.

The Loſs of the French; J. le Fevre. Hall. Walſing.

In this memorable Battle, ſo fatal to *France*, the *French* loſt the Conſtable *D'Albret*, the Duke of *Alenſon* Prince of the Blood, the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of *Nevers*, Brothers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Marle*, *Rouſſi*, *Fauquenbergh*, and many more Officers of Note, beſides ten thouſand private Soldiers (7). An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian ſays, that among the ſlain were one Archbiſhop (8), three Dukes, ſix Earls, ninety Barons, fifteen hundred Knights, and ſeven thouſand Eſquires or Gentlemen. Among the Priſoners, who would have been very numerous, without the Maſſacre

Elmham. Goodwin.

(1) The chief of them were, *Brunelet de Maſinguehem*, and *Ganio de Bornenville*. *Le Fevre*, p. 91.

(2) Or rather, when they obſerved that the *Engliſh* Horſe, by King *Henry*'s Order, wheel'd off to charge them in the Rear. *Polyd. Virg.*

(3) With *Rifflart de Clamaſſe*, and *Iſambert d' Agincourt*. *Monſtrelet*. *Walſing*. *Ypodig.* p. 584.

(4) According to *J. des Urſins*, they amounted to fourteen thouſand; and conſequently did equal, or rather exceed in Number all King *Henry*'s Forces, p. 312.

(5) The Marſhal *de Louvigny*, at the Head of ſix hundred Men at Arms; and the Duke of *Bretagne*, with Forces almoſt equal to thoſe of the *Engliſh*, were come very near the Field of Battle, when they received the News of the *French* Defeat. If the latter had led on his freſh Troops againſt the wearied and wounded *Engliſh*, he might probably have recovered the Victory; but he retired immediately into *Bretagne*, where he remained neuter ever ſince. *Monſtrelet*, p. 231. *P. le Baud. Hiſt. Bret.* c. 47.

(6) *Montjoy*, the *French* King's Herald, who, with four more, was ſent to ask leave to bury the Dead. *Monſtrelet.*

(7) The curious Reader may ſee an Account of all the remarkable Perſons, ſlain, or taken Priſoners in this Battle, in *Jean le Fevre*; who, as he ſays himſelf, was in the *Engliſh* Army, c. 64. p. 97, 98; and, out of him, in *Goodwin*'s Life of *Henry* V, p. 91, 92. *Le Fevre* ſays, there were ten thouſand Men in all killed, of whom ſeven or eight thouſand were Noble; and above a hundred of them Princes, who had Banners carried before them into the Field. *Ibid.*

(8) *Montaign*, Archbiſhop of *Sens*, who behaved with extraordinary Courage. *Monſtrelet.*

after

1415. after the Battle, the moſt eminent were, the Dukes of *Orleans* (1) and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, *Richmont*, *Etouteville*, and Marſhal *Boucicaut* (2). On the ſide of the *Engliſh*, there were ſlain only the Duke of *York*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*, and, if we believe certain *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, not above four Knights, one 'Squire, and twenty eight common Soldiers. Some however with more probability affirm, the *Engliſh* loſt four hundred Men (3). *Mezerai* mounts the number to ſixteen hundred, and lowers the Loſs of the *French* to ſix thouſand. It is very common, on theſe occaſions, to ſee the like Diverſity in the Hiſtorians of two oppoſite Sides.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 317, ------ 327. *and of the* Engliſh. T. Livius. Walſing. De Fenin.

Henry continues his March to Calais.

On the morrow, the King purſued his March towards *Calais*. In paſſing over the Field of Battle he took occaſion to commend the Valour of his Troops; but withal exhorted thoſe near him, not to be vainly proud of a Victory, gained purely by the miraculous Aſſiſtance of the Lord of Hoſts. During his March, he was extremely civil to the *French* Princes his Priſoners, He told them, "he had not obtained the Victory by the Superiority of "his Merit, but becauſe God was pleaſed to make him "his Inſtrument to puniſh the Sins of the *French* Na- "tion: That the Advantages he might expect from his "Victory, were ſo far from making him averſe to a Peace, "that he was even more inclined to it than the day before "the Battle."

Monſtrelet. T. Livius. Elmham. Le Fevre. Des Urſins. Act. Pub. IX. p. 287.

The Duke of Burgundy *challenges the King.*

Some days after the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent him a Cartel of Defiance, and told him by a Herald, that he intended to revenge the Death of his Brothers. Probably, the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of *Nevers* were killed in the Maſſacre of the Priſoners after the Battle.

The King refuſes to accept it.

Henry willing to keep fair with that Prince, whom he ſtill hoped to gain to his Intereſt, anſwered with great Moderation. He told the Herald, in delivering the *Gantlet*, received from his hand, that the *French* themſelves could witneſs he was not guilty of the death of the Duke's Brothers, but his own Subjects were anſwerable for their Blood (4). This he ſaid, becauſe *Bournonville*, who occaſioned the Slaughter of the Priſoners, was a *Burgundian*.

Henry returns to England. Walſing. Elmham. Act. Pub. IX. p. 327. T. Livius.

About the middle of *November* (5), *Henry* embarked for *England*, taking with him the principal Priſoners. He met in his Paſſage with a violent Storm, which put him in extreme danger, and even ſunk ſome of his Ships. At laſt, after great Fatigue, he arrived on the 16th of *November*. He was received in *England* with the uſual Acclamations on ſuch occaſions. The People were never tired with praiſing a Prince, that had rendered the *Engliſh* Name ſo formidable and glorious (6). His firſt Care was to appoint a day of publick Thankſgiving for the happy Succeſs of his Arms. Then he cauſed the Bodies of the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, who loſt their Lives in the Battle, to be honorably interred (7). The Duke of *York* leaving no Iſſue, *Richard* his Nephew, Son of the Earl of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton*, was his Heir.

Hall. Walſing. Act. Pub. IX. p. 334.

The Troublet are renewed in France.

The Wound *France* had received, was not ſo great, on account of the Advantages reaped by the King of *England* from his Victory, which gained him not a ſingle Foot of Land, as for being the Occaſion of the Civil War's rekindling with more Fury than ever. The Duke of *Burgundy* reſolving to improve the preſent Juncture, claimed the Adminiſtration of Affairs, from which he had been long excluded, and particularly, by the Peace of *Arras*. He alledged, that when the Kingdom was threatned with utter Ruin, a Prince of the Blood, firſt Peer, and doubly Peer of the Realm, was indiſpenſably bound to aid the King with his Counſels, and could not be debarred the Court, without Injuſtice and Danger. But as he well knew his Reaſons would be ineffectual, unleſs ſupported by force, he approached *Paris* with an Army, and ſeized ſome Poſts about the City. The Dauphin, not being able to bear the Thoughts of admitting to Court the Duke of *Burgundy*, though his Father-in-law, ſent for the Earl of *Armagnac*, and gave him the Conſtable's Sword.

The Earl of Armagnac *made Conſtable.*

This Earl, ſworn Enemy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, did not ſpare the Duke's Adherents, commonly called the *Burgundians*. He ordered ſome to be hanged, and great Numbers to be impriſoned, and thereby ſo heightened the Animoſity of the two Factions, that from thenceforward nothing was capable of uniting them againſt the common Enemy. The Dauphin ſeconded the Conſtable's Revenge,

He perſecutes the Burgundians.

and never thought of reſtoring the ruinous Affairs of the Kingdom, the Government whereof was in his hands. Shortly after, namely, on the 24th of *December*, this Prince was poiſoned.

1415. *The Dauphin poiſoned.*

By the Death of *Lewis*, the new Conſtable remained ſole Maſter of the King's Perſon, and of the Government of the Kingdom, till the return of *John* Duke of *Tourain*, to whom the Title of Dauphin was devolved, and who was then in *Hainault* with the Earl his Father-in-law. This young Prince reſolving to eſpouſe neither Side, ſent Orders to both Factions to lay down their Arms. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who was loſing his Time before *Lagny*, obeyed, out of deference, as he pretended, to the Dauphin's Orders, and retired into his Dominions. But the Conſtable was not ſo tractable. As he had the King's Perſon in his Power, he did not think the Dauphin had any Right to command him, till actually poſſeſſed of the Regency, which he was bent to oppoſe, unleſs he would declare againſt the *Burgundians*. It was this that hindered the Dauphin's return to Court.

John *his Brother becomes Dauphin.*

Is oppoſed by the Conſtable.

All this while, it was next to impoſſible for *France*, to take juſt meaſures for her Defence againſt the Attacks threatned from *England*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was privately treating with *Henry*. The Earl of *Hainault* was likewiſe courting that Monarch, to put the Dauphin, his Son-in-law, in poſſeſſion of the Regency. On the other hand, *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, then head of the *Orleans* Faction, was projecting to deprive the Dauphin of his Birth-right, by procuring the Crown for *Charles* Earl of *Ponthieu* his Son-in-law. To compaſs his Ends, he thought he could take no certainer Method, than to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of *England*. Thus all *France*, as it were with one Conſent, though with different Views, earneſtly ſought the Alliance of the *Engliſh*, againſt whom the whole Nation ſhould have firmly united, if private Intereſt had not prevailed above the Good of the Publick. In this manner paſſed the Year 1415, which the Battle of *Azincourt* has rendered memorable for ever.

Henry is applied to by both Parties. Act. Pub. IX. p. 328, 331, 332, 352, 354. Ib. p. 337, 384, 387, &c.

1416. The Conſternation *France* was under, and the Diſcord between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Conſtable, ſeemed to promiſe *Henry* freſh Laurels, if he had continued the War. Nevertheleſs, that Prince, whoſe Wiſdom equalled his Valour, very prudently ſteered a quite different Courſe. He judged, that by fomenting the Troubles of *France*, and inſpiring the two Factions with Jealouſy, he ſhould procure more certain and laſting Advantages, than by means of his Arms. The truth is, by puſhing the *French* too vigorouſly, he ran the riſk of uniting them all againſt him. In which caſe, his Advantages, probably, would have been inconſiderable. But by granting them ſome Reſpite, he gave them opportunity to deſtroy one another. Wherefore, contrary to every one's Expectation, he laid aſide his Military Affairs for near eighteen Months, and betook himſelf entirely to Negotiation, which afforded him the Proſpect of leſs doubtful Advantages. He continued not however in a ſtate of Idleneſs. The Particulars of what paſſed in 1416, and part of the Year following, will ſhew, how attentive he was to the Execution of his Projects.

1416. *Henry purpoſes to gain the Duke of* Burgundy.

Henry's chief Aim was to gain the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had now ſhewn an Inclination to make an Alliance with him. The ſucceeding in this deſign, he perceived, would be more advantagious, than another *Azincourt*-Victory. To this therefore all his Endeavours tended, as to his principal Affair. To attain his Ends, it was neceſſary, that the Affairs of *France* ſhould remain in their preſent Situation. It was requiſite, the Conſtable, and the other Heads of that Faction, ſhould ſtill have it in their Power to perſecute the Duke of *Burgundy*. This alone was capable of throwing that Prince into a deſperate Reſolution, which he beheld not without dread, and which the ſole deſire of Revenge could induce him to take. If by the Continuance of the War *France* had loſt Towns and Battles, the Conſtable, who held the Reins of the Government, would, doubtleſs, have forfeited all his Credit. By that means, the Duke of *Burgundy* would have infallibly obtained the Regency again, and no longer ſtood in need of the *Engliſh*. This is the true reaſon of *Henry*'s conſenting to all the Propoſals for concluding a Truce, or for renewing the Negotiations of Peace. Mean while, his, and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Envoys, paſſed from *London* to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* to *London*, ever un-

Act. Pub. IX. p. 328, 331, 332. 354.

(1) He was found under a heap of dead Bodies, by the Archers, who came to riſle the Field; they perceiving ſome ſigns of Life in him, carried him to the King, who took care of him, and treated him like a noble Enemy. *P. Baud. Hiſt. de Bret.* p. 451. *Le Fevre.* p. 95.

(2) Sixteen hundred of the Priſoners were Men of Quality. *Le Fevre*, ibid.

(3) *P. de Fenin* ſays, they loſt but four, or five hundred Men, p. 461. But *Monſtrelet* affirms, there were ſeventeen hundred killed, c. 147.

(4) His Words were, "That the *French* alone were guilty of their Blood." *viz.* of the Duke of *Brabant*, and Earl of *Nevers*. See *Goodwin*, p. 95.

(5) *November* 16. *Ibid.*

(6) He made his Entry into *London*, *November* 23. *Walſing.* p. 393. The Mayor and Aldermen, and two hundred of the Citizens, waited on him the next Day, with a Preſent of a thouſand Pounds in Gold, in two Gold Baſons, worth five hundred Pounds. *Stow's Ann.* p. 351. *Goodwin*, p. 96.

(7) *Edward*, Duke of *York*, Son of *Edmund de Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward* III, was buried in his Collegiate Church at *Fotheringhay*, in *Northamptonſhire*. And *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Son of him that died of the Flux before *Harfleur*, was interred at *Ewelme* in *Oxfordſhire*.

1416. der colour of a Treaty of Commerce, in which freſh Difficulties were continually ſtarted, the better to hide their principal Deſign (1).

Why this Negotiation was kept ſecret.

It was not without reaſon, that this Negotiation was kept ſecret by both Sides. The Duke, whom nothing but Neceſſity would have forced to an Alliance with the King, was afraid, the diſcovery of this Project would alienate the Affections of the *French*, and eſpecially of the *Pariſians*. *Henry* had reaſon to fear, on his part, that if the Court of *France* came to know of this Negotiation, they would find means to break his Meaſures. However, his deſiſting entirely from War, ſince the Battle of *Azincourt*, might well cauſe his deſigns to be ſuſpected. But the Arrival of the Emperor *Sigiſmund* freed him from this trouble, as it gave him occaſion to pretend, he diſcontinued the War, at the Inſtance of that Prince.

Sigiſmund *arrives in* France. Mezerai. T. Livius. Elmham.

In the beginning of the Year, *Sigiſmund* came to *Paris* (2). He gave out himſelf, that the ſole End of his Journey was, to mediate Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *England* (3). This Deſign was noble and charitable, and worthy a Chriſtian Monarch, ſuppoſing it to have been entirely diſintereſted. But ſeveral Circumſtances gave occaſion to believe, he undertook this Voyage to favour *Henry* rather than *France*, and in hopes of ſome Advantage for himſelf. At his arrival in *France*, he propoſed a four Years Truce between the two Kings, but the Court rejected this Propoſal. The *French* Hiſtorians charge the Conſtable with refuſing this Truce, for his own private Intereſt, but without ſhewing wherein the War could be for his Advantage. I ſuppoſe, he was then projecting the Siege of *Harfleur*, which he began the next *June*. It may be, he perceived, the Emperor was not an impartial Mediator. However this be, *Sigiſmund* finding he could not prevail at *Paris*, came into *England* (4) in the Month of *March* (5). The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians take notice, that being about to land, he was met by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and ſome other Lords, who ſtepping into the Water with their drawn Swords, ſtopped the Boat. Surpriſed at this Reception, he asked the Reaſon: The Duke told him, if he was come to challenge any Authority in *England*, they had Orders to forbid his landing; but if he came only as a Mediator of Peace, he ſhould meet with all the reſpect due to the Imperial Dignity. This was to warn him not to take the Liberty of exerciſing Authority in *England*, as he had done in *France* during his ſtay (6).

He propoſes a Truce, which is rejected.

He goes into England. Act. Pub. IX. p. 339, &c. T. Livius. Walſing. Goodwin.

The Earl of Holland *and he get the two Kings to conſent to a Truce.* Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

The arrival of *Sigiſmund* at *London*, was preceeded by that of *William* of *Bavaria*, Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who was come upon the ſame Errand. Theſe two Princes quickly ſaw, they ſhould find it difficult to procure a Peace. *Henry* added to his former demands, the Town of *Harfleur*, with part of the adjacent Territory, for the maintenance of the Garriſon. On the other hand, *France* perſiſting in her firſt Offers, would not hear of Peace, unleſs *Henry* reſtored *Harfleur*. So the two Mediators perceiving a Peace almoſt impoſſible, were ſatisfied with obtaining the two Kings conſent to a Truce for three Years, during which *Harfleur* ſhould remain in Truſt in their hands, for certain Securities, promiſed by the *French* Priſoners in *England*. But juſt as the Treaty was going to be ſigned, the Priſoners fell from their word. The Conſtable, who was reſolved to beſiege *Harfleur*, had agreed to this Negotiation only to amuſe *Henry*, and hinder him from diſcovering his Deſign.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 787.

France *falls off.* Walſing.

Conflict between the Earl of Dorſet, *and the Conſtable of* France. Des Urſins. Walſing. Elmham. Hall.

Shortly after, under ſome pretence, he carried King *Charles* to *Roan*. His Aim was, to be ready againſt the arrival of ſome *Genoeſe* Ships, which were to join the *French* Fleet, in order to inveſt *Harfleur* by Sea. He managed matters ſo privately, that *Henry*, not having the leaſt Suſpicion of his deſign, neglected to reinforce the Garriſon. During the *French* Court's ſtay at *Roan*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, Governor of *Harfleur*, made an Incurſion even to the Gates of that City, and carried away a great Booty. In his return, he was purſued and overtaken by the Conſtable, who gained ſome Advantage over him. On the morrow, the Conſtable ſtill preſſing the *Engliſh*, who were haſtily retreating, forced them to halt, and ſtand upon their defence. In this ſecond Skirmiſh, the Earl of *Dorſet*, though inferior in number of Troops (7), had his Revenge, and compelled his Enemy to retire with precipitation to *Roan*. 1416.

The Conſtable beſieges Harfleur. T. Livius. Act. Pub. IX. p. 350.

This ill Succeſs prevented not the Conſtable from continuing his Preparations for the Siege of *Harfleur*. Immediately after the arrival of the *Genoeſe* Ships, he ordered his Troops, whom he had purpoſely diſperſed, to re-join, at a certain Place, where he came and headed them in Perſon (8). Then he marched directly to *Harfleur*, where he was not expected; ſo unable were the *French* thought by the *Engliſh* to make any Attempt. Whilſt the Conſtable beſieged the Town by Land, the Viſcount of *Narbonne* blocked it up by Sea, ſo that nothing could go in or out. *Henry* was extremely mortified to be thus overreached by the Conſtable. He was ſenſible then, that the Negotiation was intended only to amuſe him, and therefore was the more provoked to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to break his Enemies meaſures. He had a mind, in his turn, to uſe Stratagem, and circumvent the Conſtable. To that end, he feigned a ſtrong Inclination to Peace, and deſired an Interview with his Couſin, for ſo he then called the King of *France*, whereas before he ſtiled him his Adverſary. He was in hopes, that if an Interview was granted, a Truce would enſue, which would give him time to relieve *Harfleur*; but his Propoſal was rejected. After this, he commiſſioned *Morgan* directly to demand a Truce. But the Court of *France* took care, not to give him ſuch an Advantage in the preſent Juncture. In fine, perceiving the Conſtable was not to be amuſed, he commanded a Fleet (9) to be equipped, reſolving to go himſelf and relieve the Place. He depended upon the Valour and Experience of the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Governor, knowing he would do his utmoſt to give him time to prepare for his Relief. In this he was not miſtaken, for though the Siege was begun about the middle of *June*, it was not much advanced at the end of *July*. So, *Henry* having had leiſure to prepare his Fleet, was ready to embark. But the Emperor diſſuaded him from venturing his Perſon in an Expedition of this nature, where, notwithſtanding all his Prudence, he might receive ſome diſgrace, by the Accidents of the Sea. The King yielding to the Emperor's Inſtances, gave the Command to the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, who ſailed about the end of *July* (10). It ſoon met with the Enemy's Fleet lying before *Harfleur*. The Viſcount *de Narbonne* preparing for his Defence, withſtood for ſome time the Efforts of the *Engliſh*, but at length was forced to yield the Victory, after ſeeing five *Genoeſe* Carracks taken, and ſeveral of his own Ships ſunk. Nothing more preventing the Duke of *Bedford* from throwing the Succours into the Town, the Conſtable raiſed the Siege and retired.

Henry tries in vain to amuſe France. Act. Pub. IX. p. 365, 366.

He reſolves to go and relieve Harfleur. T. Livius. Elmham. Act. Pub. IX. p. 362, 370.

He is diſſuaded from it by the Emperor.

Sends the Duke of Bedford; Ib. p. 355, 371. *who beats the* French *Fleet.* Monſtrelet. L. Livius. Walſing.

Negotiation between the King and Duke of Burgundy *continues.* Act. Pub. IX. p. 332, 352, 354, 357, 364, 374.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the Duke of *Burgundy* continued, under diverſe Pretences, his ſecret Negotiations with *Henry*. One while, it was to renew the Truce between *England* and *Flanders*, another while, for Affairs concerning the Church, depending before the Council of *Conſtance*. In *May* (11), the Truce I juſt mentioned, which was to expire the 15th of *June*, was renewed for a Year, and yet the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent four Ambaſſadors more to *England*. In the beginning of *Auguſt*, the King appointed Commiſſioners to treat with them concerning ſome Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. This publick Commiſſion ſerved for pretence to the private Conferences. But by another of the ſame date, theſe Commiſſioners were empowered to agree with the Ambaſſadors upon an Interview between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Negotiation muſt have been now very forward, ſince, two days after, the King diſpatched Orders to ſeveral Officers, to be ready to attend him beyond Sea, where he was to have an Interview with ſome of his Enemies. This plainly ſhews, the Duke's frequent Em-

Aug. 5.

Aug. 7. P. 375.

They agree upon an Interview at Calais.

(1) In the mean time a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, on *March* 16, which ordered the two Tenths, and the two Fifteenths, granted in the laſt Parliament, to be ſooner paid than the time appointed. In this Parliament, the clipping, waſhing, and filing of the current Money of the Land was made Treaſon. *Rot. Parl.* 3 *Hen.* V. n. 1, 10. c. 7. ---- There was a Parliament ſummoned, the laſt Year, to meet about the 20th of *October*, and afterwards prorogued to the beginning of *November*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 542, 543.

(2) Attended with a thouſand Horſe. *T. Livius*, p. 23. *Elmham*, p. 74.

(3) That the Chriſtian Princes might unite againſt the *Turk*, the common Enemy. *Monſtrelet*. *Hall*. fol. 53.

(4) At *Calais*, his Imperial Majeſty was treated by *Richard de Beauchamp*, Governor of the Town, with ſo much Civility and Gallantry, that he was charmed with it: And afterwards told King *Henry*, That no Chriſtian Prince had a Knight equal to him for Wiſdom, Good-breeding, and Courage; and that if all Courteſy were loſt, it might be found in the Earl of *Warwick*; who, from thence, was afterwards called *The Father of Courteſy*. *Dugdale's Warwicks*, p. 327.

(5) The 7th of *May*. *Walſing*. p. 394. *April* 29, ſays *Goodwin*, p. 103.

(6) Commiſſioners alſo from *Theodoric*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, came to *London*, about the end of *January*, to renew the Alliances concluded between the Archbiſhops his Predeceſſors, and King *Henry*'s Anceſtors. Accordingly a Treaty was ſigned by the Ambaſſadors of thoſe two Princes on *May* 15. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 343, 346.

(7) There were but fifteen hundred *Engliſh*, to fifteen thouſand of the *French*. *Walſing*. p. 394.

(8) Some of the *French* Ships came and blocked up the *Engliſh* Fleet at *Portſmouth* and *Southampton*, and made an Attempt on the Iſle of *Wight*, but were repulſed. *Goodwin*, p. 106, 107.

(9) Of four hundred Sail, having on board the Earl-Marſhal, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, and *Devonſhire*, with twenty thouſand Men. *Harding*, fol. 211. *Goodwin*, p. 107.

(10) He landed *Auguſt* 13. *T. Livius*, p. 25. *Elmham*, p. 79.

(11) *May* 22. *Rymer*, p. 352.

baſſies

1416. baſſies were not wholly deſigned for treating about Trade, or Church Affairs. That Prince had now long demurred upon concluding his Treaty with *Henry*. As he was of the Blood-Royal of *France*, and firſt Peer of the Realm, he was ſenſible, an Alliance of that nature was directly contrary to his Honour and Duty. Beſides, ſuch a Step could not but be prejudicial to him in *France*, among his own Party. For theſe Reaſons, he had hitherto been ſatisfied with keeping the Negotiation on foot, in order to conclude it, only in caſe of Neceſſity. The Earl of *Armagnac*'s Revenge, at length threw the Duke upon this Action, which, doubtleſs, he would have longer delayed, or, it may be, never done, had he not been as it were forced to it by the Perſecutions of his Enemies.

The Dauphin, and Duke of Burgundy concert Meaſures.

I have already ſaid, that the Conſtable *d' Armagnac*, had, under divers Pretences, prevented *John* the Dauphin, then in *Hainault*, from returning to Court. The young Prince, impatient of being thus controlled by that proud Miniſter, longed to be at the Head of Affairs, and to obſerve a Neutrality between the two Factions, which would gain him the Eſteem and Regard of both Parties. But this was not poſſible, ſince he had no Forces at his diſpoſal, but the Earl of *Hainault*'s his Father-in-law, which were not ſufficient to enable him to execute ſuch a Project againſt the Conſtable's Will. Mean time, the Duke of *Burgundy*, perceiving there was no likelihood of his acquiring the Government, ſo long as the Conſtable had the King's Perſon in his power, thought it adviſeable, to ſtrengthen himſelf with the new Dauphin's Aſſiſtance. For that purpoſe, he had conferred, in the beginning of the Year, at *Valenciennes*, with him and the Earl of *Hainault*; and it was agreed, that the Dauphin ſhould once more try by fair means to be admitted to Court, in order to take the Place due to his Birth: That in caſe he ſucceeded, he ſhould carry the Duke with him: But if he could not prevail, they ſhould take other meaſures to diſpoſſeſs the Conſtable, and free the King. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Dauphin and the Earl of *Hainault*, repaired to *Compiegne*, from whence the Earl proceeded alone to *Paris*, to mediate the return of his Son-in-law. Upon the firſt mention of recalling the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Conſtable interrupting him, ſaid plainly, the Dauphin ſhould never be admitted to the King his Father's Court, unleſs he openly declared himſelf an Enemy of the *Burgundian* Faction. The Earl of *Hainault* ſeeing this Obſtinacy, could not forbear uttering ſome Threats, which diſcovered to the Conſtable, and his Party, that the Dauphin intended to rely on the Aſſiſtance of the Duke. This was the Reaſon, that, in order to prevent the Miſchief this Union might do them, they reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way. A few days after, the Dauphin was poiſoned at *Compiegne*, the 16th of *April* 1416, and not in 1417, as we find it in the Abridgement of *Mezerai*. The King of *Sicily* was ſuſpected of this deed, to make way for Prince *Charles* his Son-in-law. If he was guilty, his Death, which happened preſently after, hindered him from reaping any Advantage.

The Dauphin is poiſoned.

Charles *his Brother ſucceeds him.*

By the Death of *John* the Dauphin, *Charles* his Brother, Earl of *Ponthieu*, became Dauphin, and Heir-apparent to the Crown. This young Prince immediately eſpouſed the Party of the *Armagnacs*, for ſo the *Orleans* Faction was now called. By that means, the Duke of *Burgundy* was more out of hopes than ever, and the Earl of *Armagnac* maintained himſelf in the Government, where nothing was done without his Orders. His hatred to the Duke of *Burgundy*, cauſed him to loſe no opportunity of perſecuting the *Burgundians*, who were very numerous at *Paris*. His ſevere and tyrannical Behaviour, joined to an extreme Greedineſs, induced at length the *Pariſians* of the *Burgundian* Party, to lay a Plot to introduce their Head into the City. The Conſpiracy being diſcovered, the Conſtable took occaſion, ſo to exerciſe his Rage upon the whole Party, that the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himſelf any longer obliged to regard the Court. Immediately, to let the World ſee his Reſentment, he concluded with the King of *England*, a Truce for all their reſpective Dominions, not excepting his Poſſeſſions in *France*. But his Revenge did not ſtop here.

The Burgundians *perſecuted.*

The Duke of Burgundy *does Homage to* Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 383.

His Ambaſſadors, as I ſaid before, agreed, that the King and he ſhould meet at *Calais*, and the Duke acknowledge *Henry* for the true King of *France*, and do him Liege-Homage. This Interview was fixed to the beginning of *October*.

Treaty between Sigiſmund *and* Henry. Ib. p. 377. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

Mean while, the Emperor *Sigiſmund* having no farther Buſineſs in *England*, departed about the middle of *Auguſt*. In his way to *Canterbury*, he ſigned a Treaty of perpetual Alliance with *Henry*, and, at the ſame time, a League againſt *France*. He promiſed to aſſiſt the King in the Recovery of the Kingdom of *France*, and *Henry* engaged to aid him in conſtraining King *Charles*, and ſome other Princes, to do him Homage, for certain Territories not ſpecified in the Treaty. Probably, this concerned the Kingdom of *Arles*, and the *Dauphiné*, to which the Emperors had ſome ſtale Pretenſions. By the way, this Treaty diſcovers one of the Motives of *Sigiſmund*'s Journey to *France* and *England*. Very likely, by procuring a Peace between the two Kings, he hoped to obtain for himſelf ſome one of thoſe Countries, to which he laid Claim. Be this as it will, it may be conjectured, that he expected ſome private Advantage from the Peace. Great Princes are ſeldom ſeen to ſpend whole Years out of their Dominions, with the ſole View to mediate a Peace, in which they have no manner of concern. *Sigiſmund* was, of all others, the fartheſt from this Character. I do not know, whether, before his Journey to *England*, he had contracted a Friendſhip with *Henry*; but after his departure, it appears by ſeveral Records, that there was between them a ſtrict Correſpondence and mutual Confidence, very uncommon among Princes (1).

Henry *goes to* Calais.

France *ſends the Archbiſhop of* Rheims. Act. Pub. T. IX. p. 342, 384, 386. Elmham. Walſing. T. Livius.

The Emperor being arrived at *Calais*, ſtaid there for *Henry*, who could not come till about the end of *September* (2). Mean while, the Court of *France*, alarmed at the report of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Interview with *Henry* at *Calais*, and wanting to know what ſhould paſs at the Conference, ſent thither the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, with ſome other Ambaſſadors. The Pretence was, to treat of a Peace with the King, but, in all appearance, the chief Aim of this Embaſſy, was to diſcover what ſhould paſs at the Interview. *Henry* was not ſorry, the Ambaſſadors of *France* would be witneſſes of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Arrival at *Calais*, and therefore readily diſpatched their Safe-Conducts, and preſently after their coming (3), appointed Commiſſioners to treat with them. But he took ſuch Precautions, that the *French* could never diſcover the real Motive of his Journey to *Calais*, at leaſt, with any certainty. It did not appear he had any other deſign, than to confirm the late Truce between the King and the Duke, which was already publiſhed at *London*. It is true, that, afterwards, the Duke's Proceedings made him ſuſpected of being in Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, but this was only a bare Suſpicion. The *French* Hiſtorians ſpeak of it very uncertainly, and we had properly nothing fixed, till the Publick Records, printed in *England*, diſcovered the Secret. There we find what follows upon this Subject.

The Duke of Burgundy *comes to* Calais. Act. Pub. IX. p. 390. T. Livius. Elmham.

The 1ſt of *October*, the King diſpatched a Safe-Conduct for the Duke of *Burgundy*, and eight hundred Attendants, and ſent him the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother in Hoſtage. Next day, he appointed Commiſſioners, to receive, in his Name, the Oaths of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Philip* Earl of *Charolois* his Son, purſuant to the Articles agreed upon, which were in form of Preliminaries. The Articles ran, word for word, thus.

Articles of Agreement between the King and Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 394.

" The King having acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* " with his juſt Claim to the Crown of *France*, and his " Adverſary's Refuſal to give him Satisfaction, told him, " That by the help of God and St. *George*, he was re- " ſolved to obtain it by force of Arms. Upon this De- " claration, the Duke perceiving the Juſtice of the King's " Title, and conſidering the great Victories Heaven had " bleſſed him with, promiſes to ſend him his Letters Pa- " tent, containing what follows:

" That though heretofore, for want of Information, " he had eſpouſed the contrary Party, believing it juſt; " now that he is better informed, he promiſes firmly to " adhere to the King of *England*, and his Heirs and Suc- " ceſſors, as to thoſe who are, and ever will be the true " and lawful Kings of *France*, as much as if they were " in actual poſſeſſion of the Crown.

" Though for the preſent the King has not deſired the " Duke's Homage, yet, as the Duke owns it to be due, " he promiſes, that as ſoon as the King of *England* ſhall " be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable part of the Realm of " *France*, to pay him Liege-Homage, and ſwear Fealty " to him, as every Vaſſal of the Crown of *France* ought " to do to the King of *France* his Sovereign.

" *Item*, the Duke of *Burgundy* promiſes to endeavour, " by all known and unknown Ways, to place the King " of *England* on the Throne of *France*.

" *Item*, Whilſt the King ſhall be employed in purſu- " ing his Rights, the Duke of *Burgundy* will make War

(1) He was, whilſt in *England*, ſolemnly inſtalled Knight of the Garter, together with the Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*. The ſaid Emperor eſteemed his being Knight of the Garter ſo great an Honour, that he always wore the Collar, when he ſat in any Aſſembly. *Walſing*. p. 394. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 9. p. 335, 336.

(2) He embarked at *Sandwich*, *September* 4, about Noon, attended with forty Ships, and arrived at *Calais* the next Day, about the ſame time. *Ibid.* p. 385.

(3) On *October* 1. The King's Commiſſioners were, *Henry Chichely*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Henry Ware* Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Sir *Ralph Rocheſter*, and *Philip Morgan*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 9. p. 387, 389.

1416. " with all his Forces upon the King's Enemies in *France*, " namely, A. B. C. D. and upon all their Dominions " and Adherents, refuſing Obedience to the King of *Eng-* " *land.*

" *Item*, In all the Alliances and Letters Patent, made " or to be made, between the King and Duke, wherein " the Duke ſhould except, or have excepted the King's " Adverſary, or the Son of his Adverſary, it is not his " Intention, to do any thing contrary to what he promiſes " by theſe Preſents, which he is to give the King, but " will punctually perform it.

" That if through diſſimulation, the Duke excepted " the King's Adverſary, or the Dauphin his Son, for a " greater Good, and for the better accompliſhing the in- " tended Project, his Will and Meaning is, that all ſuch " Exceptions are void, and of no Effect.

" And that all may know, this proceeds from his own " free Conſent, he will promiſe and ſwear by his Faith " and Honour, to obſerve it without Fraud or Deceit. " He will write all the Articles with his own hand, ſign " them, and ſet his uſual Seal to them."

Ib. p. 395. All theſe Articles were drawn up in form of Letters Patent, written and ſubſcribed by the Duke of *Burgundy*'s own hand, and ſealed with his Privy-Seal.

Mezerai, in his Abridgement of the Hiſtory of *France*, ſays, That *the Deſire of Rule ſo tranſported the Duke of* Burgundy, *that he went and conferred with the King of* England *at* Calais, *and renewed the Truces for his Dominions only, whereby he tied himſelf in ſome meaſure from aſſiſting the King of* France. What would that Hiſtorian have ſaid, had he known all? It is further to be remarked, that the Earl of *Charolois*, afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, entered into the ſame Engagements with the Duke his Father. After this, there is no queſtioning the ill deſigns of theſe two Princes, againſt *France* their native Country. They choſe rather to ſee it under a foreign Dominion, than governed by their Enemies.

Truce with France, p. 397, &c. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing.

Before *Henry* left *Calais*, he concluded a Truce with *France*, till the 2d of *February*; and then he returned into *England* about the middle of *October*, in order to hold a Parliament, called for the 19th of the ſame Month. During this Seſſion, the Parliament granted a Subſidy (1) for carrying on the War. But this Aid was ſo little proportioned to his Wants and Projects, that he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle, for a hundred thouſand Marks, and part of his Jewels to the City of *London*, for ten thouſand Pounds Sterling. This is a clear Evidence, how many difficulties he would have met with, in the Conqueſt of *France* with his own Forces, if the inteſtine Troubles of that Kingdom had not paved the way for him. Mean while, notwithſtanding his preſſing Neceſſities, he aſſigned the Earl of *Dorſet*, who defended *Harfleur*, a Penſion of a thouſand Pounds, upon creating him Duke of *Exeter* (2).

Act. Pub. IX. p. 405, 416.

Henry *reſolves to renew the War.*

Henry having bound the Duke of *Burgundy*, by their late private Treaty, thought it time to renew the War. He knew not only, that one half of *France* would not oppoſe him, but moreover the *Burgundian* Party would make a diverſion in his favour, which could not but procure him great Advantages. In this Reſolution, he made all the neceſſary Preparations to accompliſh his Enterprize. Mean while, as the Supply granted him by Parliament was not ſufficient for his purpoſe, and as the Money came ſlowly into the Exchequer, he was quickly in great Want. To remedy this Inconvenience, he made uſe of the following Means. After he had ſettled the Pay of each Soldier, Horſe and Foot, and of each Officer, according to every one's Rank and Character, he made private Contracts with ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, whereby they were obliged to find him a certain Number of Horſemen or Footmen, for ſuch a yearly Sum to be paid quarterly. The firſt Quarteridge was advanced, but when the ſecond came to be paid, the King had no Money. To ſupply the preſent Occaſion, he pawned to them the reſt of the Jewels, with Letters under the Great Seal, empowering them to ſell them, if the Money was not paid within ſuch a time. The Term allowed, was twelve or eighteen Months, according as the Creditors were more or leſs tractable. By this means he gained time for the Payment of his Troops, which was a great Conveniency, as he could reimburſe his Creditors according as the Money came into the Treaſury, without being obliged to pay all at once. People were ſo well ſatisfied of his Sincerity, that they made no ſcruple to ſerve him, or lend him Money, upon ſuch Securities, as would have been little worth under a Prince of leſs Probity.

His way of raiſing the Army. Des Urſins. Act. Pub. IX. p. 433, 459, 460, 461.

The State of the Court of France.

The Preparations carrying on in *England*, very juſtly alarmed the Court of *France*, who were little able to make the like. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s late Truce, publickly made with *Henry*, was a demonſtration there was no Aſſiſtance to be expected, either from the Duke or his Adherents. Nay the Court was apprehenſive, the Duke had gone farther, at the Conference held with the Enemy of the Kingdom: At leaſt, he was very much ſuſpected of having ill Deſigns. So, the Conſtable who ſat at the helm was not a little embarraſſed. He enjoyed a great Authority; but it was not without uneaſineſs. Beſides, ſince the Death of *John* the Dauphin, he was forced to have a regard for the new Dauphin, leaſt the young Prince ſhould think of governing without his Aſſiſtance. To all theſe Difficulties was added, the War, the *Engliſh* were preparing to carry into *France*. As the Kingdom was in an ill ſituation, and the Enemy like to make a great Progreſs, he conſidered, he ſhould be anſwerable for all the ill Succeſſes. In this ſtate of Perplexity, he thought he ſhould try to put a Stop to the King of *England*'s Arms, by an extraordinary Negotiation, which ſhould give that Prince room to believe, the Court of *France* would be forced to make Peace, though never ſo unwilling. He was aware, that if he ſhould himſelf treat of a Peace, it would be loſt Labour, becauſe it was generally believed to be for his Intereſt, that Affairs ſhould remain embroiled, in order to preſerve his Authority. It was therefore unlikely, that the King of *England* ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed by any Propoſal from him. For this reaſon, he thought proper to make uſe of the Priſoners in *England*, and particularly of the Duke of *Bourbon*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Safe-Conducts dated about this time, for the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Domeſticks going to and coming from *France*, under divers Pretences. It may therefore be preſumed, that the Plot was then formed, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* did nothing in the Affair, of which I am going to relate the Particulars, but in concert with the Court of *France*.

1416.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 423, 425.

This Plot was ſo artfully framed, that if the King had not been in a continual Miſtruſt, he would doubtleſs have been deceived. But his firm Reſolution, not to interrupt the Execution of his Deſigns, for any Offers that ſhould be ſhort of his Demands, cauſed him to eſcape the Snare. The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, and ſome other Priſoners, feigning to deſpair of the Affairs of *France*, intimated to *Henry*, that they were willing to treat with him, for themſelves in particular. This was told him, not poſitively, but as what they might poſſibly be brought to. But the King, fearing that, under this Pretence, they deſigned to retard his Voyage, gave no great Attention to the Overture.

Ib. p. 427.

Negotiation between Henry *and the* French *Priſoners*; Act. Pub. IX. p. 427, &c.

Some time after, theſe ſame Princes, who had hitherto endeavoured to make the Propoſal come from the King, finding they could not ſucceed, began firſt. At an Audience which they demanded, they expreſſed their Inclination, and prayed him to acquaint them with his Pretenſions; adding, they did not queſtion, but they ſhould return him a ſatisfactory Anſwer, without any Prejudice to their Honour. The King, who would not be amuſed, roundly told them, he had no other Propoſal to make, except only, that they ſhould acknowledge him for King of *France* and their lawful Sovereign. The Duke of *Orleans* exclaimed againſt this Propoſal, and plainly told him, they had no Anſwer to return to ſuch a Demand. Matters went no farther for this time.

Particularly the Duke of Bourbon. Ibid.

But a few Weeks after, the Duke of *Bourbon* reſumed the Affair. He told the King, that ſince they had the Honour to talk with him, ſeveral of the Priſoners had ſent Perſons into *France*, to make inquiry concerning his Title to that Kingdom, and had received better Information than ever before. He added, for his part, he was fully convinced of the Juſtice of his Rights. Then he ſaid, he was told, that, notwithſtanding his juſt Claim to the whole Kingdom, he had offered to reſign it, if certain Provinces were delivered to him; and, in his opinion, that Offer ought not to be refuſed: That the other Priſoners were of his mind, and had reſolved to do all that lay in their Power to procure him what he deſired. That therefore, he begged leave to go into *France*, and declare to King *Charles*, in the Name of all the Priſoners, that, as faithful Subjects, they could not but adviſe him, to cloſe with this Expedient for Peace, and pray him to accept ſo reaſonable an Offer. In ſhort, the Duke added, that if the Court of *France* conſented to the Offer, *Henry* might this very Year take poſſeſſion of the Provinces, which ſhould be reſigned. But if, on the contrary, it was rejected, the Princes would account themſelves acquitted from the Oath they had taken to their King. The Duke engaged, for his own part, to put

p. 429.

Particular Engagement of the Duke of Bourbon. Ib. p. 429.

(1) The Commons granted him two whole Tenths and two Fifteenths, to be levied on the Laity; and the Clergy gave two Tenths to be raiſed from their own Body. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 550. *Walſ.* p. 395.

(2) For Life only. *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorſet*, was created Duke of *Exeter* in this Parliament. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 550. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 125.

1416. all his fortified Towns in the hands of ſuch Perſons, as would be ſure to deliver them up when he pleaſed. He promiſed to return into *England*, by the time which ſhould be appointed him, and own *Henry* for King of *France*, and pay him Homage as his lawful Sovereign. Moreover, he added, that he would ſo evidently demonſtrate the Juſtice of *Henry*'s Right to the Crown of *France*, that all the World ſhould be ſatisfied, he could not diſpenſe with doing him Homage, without acting contrary to his Honour. In fine, he entreated the King to be ſilent till his Return, by reaſon of the Danger he ſhould be expoſed to, if the thing was divulged, during his Stay in *France*.

Henry could not tell what to think of ſuch a Propoſal. He knew *France* was not governed either by the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Duke of *Bourbon*; and that it was not the Earl of *Armagnac*'s Intereſt to make a Peace upon theſe Terms. But, at the ſame time, the hopes of recovering the Provinces of *France*, loſt ſince the Treaty of *Bretigny*, without being obliged to renew the War, were very agreeable. On the other hand, the Alternative propoſed by the Duke, could not but be advantagious to him. All he had to do, was to be upon his Guard, and not be perſwaded, on this pretence, to interrupt the Execution of his Projects. Wherefore, reſolving not to ſuſpend his Expedition one ſingle day, upon any account whatever, he believed there was no Danger in granting the Duke of *Bourbon* the Leave he deſired. But firſt, he had one of the Duke's Sons given him in Hoſtage, with Security for the Sum of two hundred thouſand Crowns. Theſe Particulars are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there a Letter, written with the King's own Hand. to Sir *John Tiptoft*, his Ambaſſador to the Emperor, ordering him to acquaint *Sigiſmund* with the Secret, ask his Opinion upon it, and aſſure him that the Negotiation ſhall not retard his Expedition into *France*. At the ſame time, he enjoyns him not to make the leaſt Diſcovery to any other Perſon, on pain of his heavy Diſpleaſure. Probably, his firm Reſolution not to be amuſed by any Propoſal, was the reaſon, this Stratagem was carried no farther. The Duke of *Bourbon* returned into *England*; but performed not his other Engagements. It was, doubtleſs, *Henry*'s Indignation againſt the Priſoners, for endeavouring to deceive him, that cauſed him to order them to be confined in *Pontefract* Caſtle; whereas before, they were upon their Parole. Though there are no poſitive Proofs, that this Plot was contrived by the Conſtable, it is viſible however, by ſeveral Conjectures, which all together amount to a ſort of Demonſtration. It would be too long to give the particulars here. But if the *French* Priſoners are ſuppoſed to have acted ſincerely, without the Direction of the Conſtable, it muſt be inferred, that *France* was then in a very deplorable State. King *Charles*, frequently ſeized with a Frenzy, was incapable of taking care of his Affairs. The Duke of *Burgundy*, firſt Peer of the Realm, and Head of a powerful Party, had made a ſecret Alliance with the Enemy of the State. The Princes of the Blood were about to acknowledge *Henry* for King of *France*. In fine, the Kingdom was governed by a young Prince of fourteen Years, and by the Earl of *Armagnac*, a violent Man, who ſought only to be revenged of his Enemies, and openly ſacrificed the publick Good to his Ambition.

He has leave to go to France. Ib. p. 429.

Tom. IX. p. 427, 430.

The Project comes to nothing.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 456.

1417. *Wretched Condition of France.* Mezerai. P. Daniel. Act. Pub. IX. p. 451, 454, 469.

Though the Conſtable had already been the Cauſe of much Miſchief to *France*, by perſecuting the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forcing him, as it were, to throw himſelf into the Arms of the King of *England*, he did not think it ſufficient to ſecure his Quiet. *Iſabella* of *Bavaria*, Wife of *Charles* VI, appeared ſo diſpleaſed to be ruled by a Subject, that he could not help fearing, ſhe would in the end find means to deprive him of his Authority. This was not impoſſible. The King being of an eaſy Temper, it would not have been difficult to gain him, in one of his Intervals. Neither was it impracticeable, to perſuade the Dauphin to rid himſelf of a troubleſome Governor, in order to rule as he pleaſed, without fear of being controlled. Thus the Conſtable's Deſtiny hanging by ſo weak a Thread, whilſt he had ſuch an Enemy at Court, he believed, that, to ſecure himſelf, it was abſolutely neceſſary to remove her. The Queen gave him a ſufficient Handle by her Behaviour, which was not altogether conformable to the Rules of Decency. The Conſtable taking this Advantage, inſpired the King and Dauphin, with ſuch ſtrong Suſpicions of her, that ſhe was ſent away to *Tours*, where ſhe remained as a Priſoner, not knowing on whom to rely, to free herſelf out of Captivity. This fatal Policy of the Conſtable was a freſh Source of Calamities to *France*. The injured Mother could never forgive her Son the Affront ſhe had received, and, unfortunately for the Kingdom, it was but too much in her Power to glut her Revenge.

The Conſtable cauſes the Queen to be ſent away to Tours.

1417.

The Queen hates the Dauphin mortally.

The Conſtable's violent Conduct, the Death of the two Dauphins laid to his Charge, the Queen's Baniſhment, with numberleſs other Occaſions, furniſhed the Duke of *Burgundy* with a pretence to make a Diverſion, in favour of the King of *England*. He publiſhed a Manifeſto againſt the Conſtable, aggravating his Faults and Oppreſſions, with all the Reſentment of an injured Enemy. Then he wrote to the King, that, as firſt Peer of *France*, it was incumbent upon him, to endeavour to prevent the utter Ruin of the Kingdom, which was infallibly going to Deſtruction, unleſs timely relieved. By the ſame reaſons, he tried to ſtir up the Cities of the Kingdom, and win them to his Intereſt. In fine, perceiving that ſome of the Towns had already declared for him, he approached *Paris* at the head of an Army, when the King of *England* was ready to ſail for *France*. His Aim was, to lay the Dauphin and Conſtable under a Neceſſity, either of quitting *Paris*, in order to oppoſe the King of *England*, or of ſuffering the *Engliſh* to act without Oppoſition, if they intended to ſave *Paris*. They thought fit to take this laſt Courſe, chuſing rather, that Part of the Kingdom ſhould fall into the hands of the *Engliſh*, than to ſee themſelves diſpoſſeſſed of the Government, by their private Enemies.

The Duke of Burgundy takes up Arms.

He approaches Paris.

Henry willing to improve ſo favorable a Juncture, ſailed about the end of *July* (1), and landed at *Tonque* in *Normandy*. His Army conſiſted but of twenty five thouſand five hundred effective Men, too inconſiderable a Number for the Conqueſt of *France*, had he not been ſecure of meeting little Oppoſition. Upon his Arrival, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Tonque*, and became maſter of it the 9th of *Auguſt*. Then, after the Conqueſt of ſome other ſmall Places (2), he laid Siege to *Caen*, which ſurrendered the 9th of *September*.

Henry *lands at* Tonque. T. Livius. Elmham.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 479, ------490. Walſing. Des Urſins. T. Livius.

The Court of *France* was then in great perplexity. The Duke of *Burgundy*, at the Gates of *Paris*, hindered their regulating the Affairs of the Kingdom. They ſhould have had two Armies in the Field, one to oppoſe the *Burgundians*, and another to defend *Normandy* againſt the *Engliſh*. But they had ſcarce Troops enough to defend *Paris*, where the King, Dauphin, and Conſtable, were ſhut up. Their only Refuge was to renew the Negotiations with *Henry*. To that end they demanded a Conference between Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns, to conſult about means to conclude a Peace. *Henry* agreed to the Propoſal, but without diſcontinuing the War, being unwilling to loſe ſo precious an Opportunity. The Court of *France* chuſing the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* for firſt Plenipotentiary, he appointed, on his part, the Earl of *Warwick* and ſome others (3), who were to meet with the *French*, at *Bernonville*, in *Normandy*. This Congreſs, for what reaſon I know not, was deferred to the end of *November*. Mean while, *Henry* became maſter of *Bayeux*, *Argentan*, *Chateau de l'Aigle*, *Alenſon*, and ſome other Places.

Perplexity of the Court of France.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 494. Henry *conſents to a Conference.* p. 496.

He continues his Conqueſts. p. 501, 502. T. Livius. Elmham.

Whilſt the King was continuing his Conqueſts, the Duke of *Burgundy* did him great Service, not only by the Diverſion he made about *Paris*, but chiefly by increaſing the Troubles in *France*, ſo as never more to be appeaſed. Queen *Iſabella*, baniſhed to *Tours*, had been hitherto an Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*, but the deſire of being revenged on the Dauphin and Conſtable, made her overlook all the Cauſes of Diſguſt at the Duke. As ſhe had no other Refuge, ſhe diſpatched truſty Meſſengers to tell him, ſhe was ready to join with him againſt their common Enemies. The Duke immediately accepted the Offer, and privately concerted meaſures with her, to free her from Confinement. Then, he ſuddenly departed from *Corbeil*, where he was encamped, with only a ſmall Body of choſen Horſemen. He made ſuch ſpeed, that before his Deſign could be known, he was at the Abbey of *Marmoutier* near *Tours*, where he found the Queen, who was come thither under colour of Devotion. As ſhe was not ſuſpected of attempting to eſcape, he eaſily carried her away, and conducted her to *Troye* in *Champagne*. When ſhe ſaw herſelf in ſafety, ſhe

Iſabella *joins with the Duke of* Burundy;

who carries her off to Tours.

She ſtiles herſelf Regent.

(1) He ſailed from *Portſmouth*, *July* 27, or 28, and landed at *Beville*, in *Normandy*, *Auguſt* 1. *Goodwin*, p. 155. During his Journey to *Southampton*, which was appointed to be the Rendezvous, he iſſued out a Proclamation, That no Perſon ſhould be ſuffered to wear Coats of Arms, who had not a Right to them. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 457. ------ Before he embarked, he ſent *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, to ſcour the Seas: who meeting with nine *Genoeſe* Ships in the *French* Service, ſunk three of them, and took three, in one of which there was as much Money as was to have paid the *French* Fleet for half a Year. *Hollingſhead*, Vol. III. p. 358. *T. Livius*, p. 31. *Elmham*, p. 93.

(2) Particularly *Dauvilliers*, which King *Henry* gave, on *September* 26, to *Thomas de Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, with other Caſtles and Lands. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. IX. p. 495.

(3) *Edward Courtenay*, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, *Thomas Chaucer*, *John Waterton*, and *John Kempe*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 497.

aſſumed

1417. assumed the Title of Regent, pretending, the King her Husband was Captive in the hands of the Dauphin and Earl of *Armagnac*.

Henry *takes several Places.*

In the mean time, *Henry* made several Conquests in *Normandy*, without any opposition. The Constable chose rather to see the State perish, than to resign his Authority, and the Duke of *Burgundy* favoured *Henry* to the utmost of his Power.

Congress of Bernonville. Act. Pub. IX. p. 517.

The Conference between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns, was held at *Bernonville*, on the 28th of *November*. As *Henry* suspected, the Court of *France* sought only to make him lose time, he resolved to deprive them of that Expectation. Immediately upon the opening of the Conference, his Ambassadors set forth his Pretensions, assuring withal, there would be no Abatement. The Substance of his Offers was, That he would marry the Princess *Catherine*: That King *Charles* should enjoy the Crown for his Life, but after his Death, it should come to the King of *England*: That during *Charles*'s Life, *Henry* should be Regent of *France*, by reason of the King's Infirmity. Moreover he demanded such Securities, as should render the Performance of these Articles unquestionable.

Henry's *Demands.*

The Conference breaks up.

But as the *French* Ambassadors were not sufficiently impowered to treat upon these Articles, and it was not *Henry*'s Interest vainly to prolong this Negotiation, the Congress immediately broke up. He was justly apprehensive, the Court of *France* would have made use of this occasion, to raise a Jealousy in his Allies, and particularly in the Duke of *Burgundy*. Mean while *Henry*, intent upon the Siege of *Falaise*, took the Town on the 20th of *December*, but the Castle held out till *February*.

Walsing. Falaise *taken.* Act. Pub. IX. p. 532, 541.

Some time before the Congress of *Bernonville*, the Duke of *Bretagne* came and made a Truce with *Henry* for a Year (1), and another in the Name of the Queen of *Sicily*, as Guardian of *Lewis* her Son, for *Anjou* and *Maine*. Thus by degrees, *Henry* greatly weakened *France*, by depriving her of the Assistance she might have received from her Vassals.

Truce with Bretagne, *&c.* Ib. p. 446, 503, 506, 511, 512, 613. T. Livius. Elmham. Bale. Fox. Cotton's Abridg. Walsing.

Whilst the King was employed in *France*, *Oldcastle*, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, was seized (2) and brought to *London*, to the great Satisfaction of the Clergy, who were extremely incensed against him. They were determined to sacrifice him, for a Terror to all the rest of the *Lollards*. Notwithstanding his Birth and Merit, he was sentenced to be hung up by the middle with a Chain, and burnt alive. By the way, his being burnt, is a clear Evidence, that he was condemned for Heresy, rather than for conspiring against the King. Be this as it will, his Sentence was executed amidst the Curses and Imprecations of the Priests and Monks, who even laboured to prevent the People from praying for him. Thus died Sir *John Oldcastle* Baron of *Cobham*, with a wonderful Constancy, perfectly answerable to the Firmness, wherewith he had all along maintained the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, which he professed. He was the first Nobleman, that suffered on the account of Religion (3). After the Execution, the Parliament enacted fresh Statutes, in order to the utter Extirpation of the *Lollards*; the Clergy never ceasing to require their Blood, with all the eagerness imaginable.

Oldcastle *burnt alive.*

The Queen Dowager is accused of Conspiracies against the King. Walsing. Speed. Stow. Cotton's. Abridg. p. 527.

In some Histories, it is said, this Year, Queen *Joanna* of *Navarre*, Widow of *Henry* IV, and Mother-in-law of the reigning King, was accused of conspiring, with her Confessor, against the King. Some add, she was condemned to a ten years Imprisonment, and that her Confessor was killed by the Chaplain of the *Tower*, in a Dispute upon that occasion. This is all that can be said concerning this Accusation, of which Historians speak very confusedly.

Pretended Invasion of the Scots *refuted.* Speed. Walsing. T. Livius. Elmham.

As for the *Scotch* Invasion, placed by some in this Year, and, as they say, repulsed by the Duke of *Bedford*, with a hundred thousand Men, I dare venture to affirm, it is all a Mistake (4), since it is not mentioned, either in the publick Records, or in the Histories of *Scotland*. All we find with relation to the *Scots*, is, that they threatned to invade *England* in the Year 1415, about the time of the King's first Expedition into *France* (5).

1418. Henry *takes several Places in* Normandy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 541, ----- 618. Walsing. Elmham.

The situation of Affairs in *France* was extremely advantagious to *Henry*. Accordingly, he did not fail to improve it. The Campaign, begun in *August*, lasted all the Winter, without any Interruption, so that his Troops had no time to rest. The Castle of *Falaise*, surrendering on the 16th of *February*, *Henry* divided his Army into several Bodies, of which he gave the Command to the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester* his Brothers, to the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Salisbury*, with Orders to attack several Places at once; being resolved not to neglect so favorable an Opportunity. In the Months of *March* and *April*, he became Master of St. *Lo*, *Carentan*, St. *Sauveur le Vicomte*, and many other Places in *Normandy*; so that of all the strong Towns, he only wanted *Cherbourg* and *Roan*, to complete the Conquest of that Province. *Evreux* surrendered in *May*, and presently after, he laid Siege to *Cherbourg*, which cost him three Months. 1418.

T. Livius.

Cherbourg *holds out three Months.*

During the Siege, the Court of *France* suffered a new Revolution, which was not favorable to *Henry*, though, at first it seemed to procure him great Advantages. The Council of *Constance*, which had been opened ever since the Year 1414, having deposed the three Popes (6), who contended for the Papacy, had elected on the 10th of *November* 1417, Cardinal *Colonna*, who assumed the Name of *Martin* V. The new Pope, upon his mounting the Papal Throne, sent two Legates into *France*, to try to appease the Troubles, and unite the two Factions. The Sollicitations of these Legates were so powerful, that the two Parties sent their Deputies to *Montereau-Faut-Yonne*, where it was agreed, that the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy* should jointly govern the Kingdom, during the King's Infirmity. If this Agreement had taken place, and the two Parties been sincerely reconciled, probably, *Henry*'s Affairs would have received a notable Prejudice. But the Constable, and the Chancellor his Creature, could not bear to see the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Administration again. So, preferring their own private Interests to the Good of the Publick, they so managed, that the Agreement remained ineffectual.

Martin V. *tries to unite the two Factions in* France. Act. Pub. IX. p. 523, 534.

May 17. Ib. p. 558, 576, 578, *Agreement between the two Parties, rendered of no Effect by the Constable.*

This Proceeding drew the publick hatred on the Constable, and strengthened the *Burgundian* Faction in *Paris*, which, from thenceforth, became much more powerful. At length, *May* the 18th at Night, they found means to introduce into *Paris*, *Lisle-Adam* Governor of *Pontoise*, and a zealous Adherent for the Duke of *Burgundy*. He entered only with eight hundred Horse, but at his Arrival, the *Burgundians* being under Arms, made a terrible Slaughter of the *Armagnacs*. *Tanneguy du Châtel*, Governor of the *Bastile*, not being able to remedy the disorder, ran to the *Louvre*, and carried away the Dauphin in his Shirt, in order to secure him in his Fortress. Next morning, the Dauphin fled to *Melun*, not thinking himself safe in the *Bastile*, but the King remained in the Power of the *Burgundians*. The same day the Constable, being hid in a Mason's House, was discovered, and thrown into Prison.

The Burgundians *become masters of* Paris, T. Livius. *and murder the* Armagnacs. Walsing. *The Dauphin is saved, and the Constable taken.*

But this was only a Prelude to a much greater Commotion, in the same City, some days after. Upon News of what had passed, the Exiles being returned to *Paris* from all Quarters, the Massacre was renewed *June* the 12th. The Constable was taken out of Prison, murdered, and shamefully dragged through the Streets. The Chancellor, several Bishops, and other Persons, to the number of two thousand, underwent the same barbarous Treatment. The Massacre being ended, the Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* came to *Paris*, and entered the City in Triumph, on the 14th of *July*. The Plague, which afterwards broke out at *Paris*, and which, in three Months, swept away above forty thousand Persons, added fresh Calamities to those I have mentioned. Mean while, the Queen and Duke having the King in their Power, issued, in his name, what Orders they judged most conducive to their own Interests. On the other hand, the Dauphin, assuming the Title of Regent, threatned all that should obey the Duke of *Burgundy*. Thus which ever side the *French* espoused, they could not avoid being called Rebels by one or other of the Factions. Neutrality itself was accounted a Crime.

Fresh Massacre at Paris. *The Queen and Duke of* Burgundy *enter* Paris, *and govern in the King's Name. The Dauphin stiles himself Regent.*

Mean while, notwithstanding the Animosity of the two Parties, the Troubles seemed for some time to be going to end. As there was not yet any Cause of personal Enmity between the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bretagne* had so managed, that each of these Princes had consented to an Agreement. Every thing

Agreement between the two Factions;

(1) From *November* 16, till that time twelve-month. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. 9. p. 511.

(2) In *Powis-Land*, in *North-Wales*, by *John Grey*, Lord *Powis*.

(3) And as this was the first noble Blood that was shed in *England* by *Popish* Cruelty, so perhaps never any suffered a more cruel Martyrdom.

(4) And yet, that it is far from being improbable, appears by one of King *Henry*'s Letters, wherein he says ------ "I am secretly informed by a Man "of right notable Estate in this Lond, that there hath been a Man of the Duke of *Orleance* in *Scotland*, and accorded with the Duke of *Albany*, that this "next Summer he shall bring in the Mamuet of *Scotland* to stir what he may, and also that there should be founden wayes to the having away specially of "the Duke of *Orleance*; and also of the Kg, as well as of the Remanant of my foresaid Prisoners:" Whereupon he orders that Duke, then a Prisoner in *Pontfract* Castle, to be more closely confined. *Sylloge* Epist. at the end of *T. Livius*. *Forojul.* p. 99; and in *Speed*, p. 637. See also *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 9. p. 568. *Walsi.* p. 399. *T. Livius*, p. 56.

(5) This Year, on *November* 16, a Parliament met at *Westminster*, which granted the King one Tenth, and a Fifteenth. *Rot Parl.* 5 *Hen.* 5. *N.* 1, 9. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 553. *Walsi.* p. 399. The Clergy granted two Tenths. *Duck.* ------ Also this Year, on *April* 14, King *Henry* ordered *Holbourne* to be paved, it not being so before. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 9. p. 447.

(6) *John* XXIII, at *Rome*; *Gregory* XII, at *Rimini*; and *Benedict* XIII, at *Avignon*. See the History of this Council at large, in the State of the Church of the xvth Century.

1418. was settled, but some persons about the Dauphin persuaded him not to sign. This was attended with fatal consequences. Thus the dissension which prevailed between the two Factions, caused each to have two enemies to oppose, the contrary party on one hand, and the *English* on the other. But *Henry* was far from looking upon both parties with the same eye. He was sworn enemy of the *Armagnacs*, whilst he was only a feigned enemy of the *Burgundians*.

broke off by the Dauphin.

Henry had now begun to reap some advantage from the late revolution in the court of *France*. The new Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord *D'Albret*, and the other *Gascon* Lords of the same party, who were waging in *Guienne* fierce war with the *English*, thought proper to conclude a truce with him, which freed him from a troublesome diversion. These Lords considering, that, since the death of the Constable, the government of *France* was in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s hands, believed it repugnant to their interest, to continue a war, of which their enemy would reap all the benefit. By this truce, instead of being obliged to send succours into *Guienne*, *Henry* drew from thence some troops, with which he reinforced his army in *Normandy*.

Truce in Guienne between Henry and the Gascon Rebels. July 27. Act. Pub. IX. p. 602.

Cherbourg having at length capitulated (1), after a three month's siege, *France* had nothing left in *Normandy* but *Roan*, the loss whereof would deprive her of all hopes of recovering that Province. And therefore, without delay, *Henry* laid siege to that city, about the latter end of *August*, or the beginning of *September*. *Mezerai* says, the siege began in *June*, which is a mistake. However that be, it was very remarkable for the vigorous defence of the Besieged (2), who held out five months, and endured the greatest miseries, before they capitulated. They applied to the Duke of *Burgundy* for succours, but it was to no purpose (3). *France*, in changing governor, had not acquired new strength. Besides, the Duke of *Burgundy*, following the Earl of *Armagnac*'s maxims, was more careful to disappoint the practices of his enemies, than oppose the progress of the King of *England*. He put however the Pope's Legates upon trying, whether, by a negotiation, he could interrupt the siege of *Roan*. This method not succeeding, he assembled all the forces in his power, and feigned a design to give the *English* battle. He even carried the King as far as *Beauvais*, but all this ended in nothing. Perhaps he did not much care to obstruct the King of *England*'s progress. It is uncertain, whether, after his being at the head of the government, he preserved the same sentiments for that monarch, as when banished from court. It may at least be affirmed, he had not the same interest to promote his affairs. He could not however but shew some regard for a Prince, who had in his possession a writing capable of ruining him, with all the *French*, of what party soever. For this reason, since the revolution at the court of *France*, his conduct had been very ambiguous. He had resolved, it seems, to do neither good nor hurt to the King of *England*, till he should be determined by the events.

The taking of Cherbourg. p. 618.

Siege of Roan. p. 614, 619.

Several Attempts to save that Place. T. Livius. Elmham.

The Duke of *Burgundy* not relieving the Besieged, they applied to the Dauphin, who was as little able to raise the siege by force. The way of negotiation seemed to him more proper to produce that effect. It is hard to know for certain, whether he really intended to make a peace and an alliance with *Henry*, as he expressed a desire, or designed only to amuse him. Be this as it will, he sent him word, that he desired to treat with him upon three articles. First, concerning the means of restoring a peace to *France*. Secondly, about the marriage already projected. Lastly, about an alliance between them two, against the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Henry* rejected not these proposals. Perhaps he did not much rely on the Duke of *Burgundy*, or else he had a mind to raise the jealousy of the court of *France*, in order to procure more advantagious offers than had yet been proposed. He appointed for his ambassadors, at the congress desired by the Dauphin, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, *Philip Morgan*, and some others. Their instructions, dated at the camp before *Roan*, *October* the 26th, were in substance as follow:

The Dauphin offers to make an alliance with Henry. Des Ursins. Montrelet. T. Livius.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 626. 628.

The King's instructions to his Ambassadors.

I. That they should use their utmost endeavours to induce the Dauphin's ambassadors to declare all their proposals, and absolutely reject all offers of the countries he was already possess'd of.

II. If the *French* should offer at length to put all things upon the foot of the treaty of *Bretigny*, they were to demand, how the King should be assured of the performance, since the Dauphin was not authoriz'd for that purpose.

III. He judged, they would for that reason insist only on a truce, in which case, he ordered his ambassadors to require, what dominions should be given him for making the same. 1418.

IV. He expresly forbid them to treat of an alliance with the Dauphin, till the peace or truce was settled. He did not leave them however at liberty to conclude either; but ordered notice to be sent him, when matters should be upon the point of conclusion, in case they proceeded so far.

V. As to the alliance with the Dauphin, he said, that Prince's aim was, probably, to obtain his assistance against the Duke of *Burgundy*. If so, he forbid them to agree upon an inconsiderable aid; but commanded them to offer forces sufficient to restore the kingdom of *France* to a state of tranquillity.

VI. But withal, he expected, in consideration of these forces, that the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Boulogne*, and *Flanders*, should be given him. But if this was refused, the ambassadors were to lower their demands to the Earldom of *Flanders* only, provided the Dauphin would assist in conquering it. He offered, on his part, to give up to the Dauphin whatever should be conquered elsewhere upon the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The King's View in treating with the Dauphin.

It is easy to see by these instructions, that the King did not believe the congress would end in a peace; nor even intended to conclude with the Dauphin, who had not power to resign to the King, what had been taken from his predecessors, since the treaty of *Bretigny*. It may therefore be presumed, his sole aim was to stir up the jealousy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who being master of the King's person, was alone able to make a solid peace. This appears moreover by the King's writing, the very day he signed these instructions, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that if the negotiation for a peace was renewed, he would do his utmoit to render it successful. Upon this letter, *Charles* sent him word, he had nominated the Bishops of *Arras* and *Beauvais*, the first president of *Morvilliers*, and some others, for his plenipotentiaries. Thus *Henry* was in hopes, by treating with the two parties at once, he should raise such a jealousy in both, that from thence would result a happy conclusion to his affairs.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 631.

Congress of Alenson. p. 632. T. Livius. Elmham.

The congress between the King's and the Dauphin's ambassadors, was held at *Alenson*, the 10th of *November*. The *English*, pursuant to their instructions, absolutely refused to treat about the alliance, before the terms of the peace were agreed upon. At length, after evading all the captious proposals made by the *French*, they obliged them to come to their last offers; namely, the Towns and Provinces contained in the treaty of *Bretigny*, on condition of homage to the crown of *France*. But the *English* rejected these offers, unless the sovereignty of the Provinces was added, according to the tenor of the treaty of *Bretigny*. They demanded moreover, *Normandy*; raised difficulties about the Dauphin's inability to perform these conditions; and required, in what manner he intended to accomplish them, supposing their master should be satisfied therewith. The *French* answered, it was needless to talk of the manner of performance, since the offers themselves did not please. Whereupon they broke up the conference.

Another between the Ambassadors of the two Kings of no effect. Act. Pub. IX. p. 648, 654, 655, ---659.

Hardly was this congress ended, before another was held at *Pont de l'Arche*, between the plenipotentiaries of the two Kings; or rather the ambassadors of the two crowns met to confer together, in presence of the Pope's Legates. But in the first meeting, King *Charles*'s ambassadors insisted, that the conference should be managed in *French*, to which the *English* refused to agree. In short, at the instance of the Legates, who were very urgent, *Henry* was willing there should be two *Protocols*, one in *French*, and another in *Latin*, of which the last only should be accounted authentick. But the *French* rejecting this expedient, the conference about the peace was not so much as opened. Probably, the Duke of *Burgundy* did not seriously intend to enter into negotiation. He was still unresolved of his course, or rather, was then framing a design, which we shall see come to light the next year.

1419.

The Dauphin wants to renew the Treaty. Ib. p. 661, 672.

This conference however alarmed the Dauphin, who, doubtless, was ignorant of what passed. He was afraid of being prevented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, well knowing, if a peace was made between the two Kings, it must tend to his prejudice. In this belief, he sent to *Henry*, intreating him to appoint the place where the negotiation, begun at *Alenson*, might be renewed. *Henry* readily consented to his request, as he could desire nothing more advantagious, than the mutual jealousy of the two

(1) On *August* 22. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 618.

(2) Their Number was very considerable; for of the Inhabitants alone, there were no less than fifteen, or seventeen thousand Persons well-armed, besides four thousand well-disciplined Soldiers put in by the Duke of *Burgundy*. Their Captain-General was *Guy de Boutillier*. *Monstrelet*. *Le Feure*.

(3) During the Siege, *viz.* *Aug.* 3. he renewed the Truce with King *Henry*. *Goodwin*.

1419. factions. It was agreed therefore, that the ambaſſadors ſhould meet again at *Louviers*, the beginning of *February*.

The taking of Roan. Ib. p. 664. T. Livius. Elmham.

During all theſe negotiations, *Henry* had not diſcontinued one moment the ſiege of *Roan*, though his army ſuffered much by the ſharpneſs of the ſeaſon. But the Beſieged were in no better condition. Reduced to eat Horſe-fleſh, and all kinds of Animals, and even this ſort of food failing them, they could hold out no longer. Wherefore, ſeeing no remedy, they capitulated on the 13th of *January*, to ſurrender on the 19th, in caſe they were not relieved by that time. *Henry* continued to them all their privileges, for the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns. By the ſurrender of *Roan*, all *Normandy*, a few Caſtles excepted, fell again under the dominion of the Kings of *England*, two hundred and fifteen years after it was taken from them by *Philip Auguſtus*, in the reign of *John Lack-land*. After the taking of *Roan*, *Henry* ſent part of his army into *Picardy*, under the command of the Duke of *Exeter*, who became maſter of *Dieppe* and *Montreuil* (1).

February. Act. Pub. IX. p. 674, ------682. T. Livius. Elmham.

The Duke of Burgundy *takes new meaſures.*

Affairs were then at a *Criſis*, which could not fail of producing ſome great change. As the Duke of *Burgundy* had fought the King of *England*'s alliance, only to diſpoſſeſs the Dauphin and Earl of *Armagnac*, he no longer ſtood in need of his protection, ſince he was maſter of *Paris*, and the King's perſon. On the contrary, his ſtation ſhould have induced him to wiſh, that *Henry* might not grow too powerful in *France*, and conſequently it was his intereſt to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Engliſh* arms. But on the other hand, he had in the Dauphin a ſworn enemy, againſt whom it was chiefly neceſſary to be ſecured. Beſides that Prince's natural right to govern the kingdom during his Father's infirmity, he was moreover at the head of a powerful party. Beſides, it was not impoſſible, either by the King's death, or ſome other way, he might recover the advantage he had loſt. In that caſe, the Duke would rather have had *Henry* maſter of all *France*, than ſee the Dauphin triumphant. Mean while, whatever turn affairs ſhould take, he plainly perceived, it would not be poſſible to preſerve his authority, though *Henry* ſucceeded in his deſigns. And indeed it was not likely, that *Henry* would truſt him with the government, when he was once in poſſeſſion. Thus ſtanding as it were between two Precipices, he remained ſome time undetermined, without knowing what to reſolve. Probably it was this that prevented his more effectual endeavours to relieve *Roan*. He durſt not break with the King of *England*, for fear he ſhould want his farther aſſiſtance againſt the Dauphin. After continuing ſome time in this ſtate of perplexity, he determined at length to do all that lay in his power to be reconciled with his enemy, in order to break ſafely with the King of *England*. This courſe ſeemed to him both advantagious and honourable. By a hearty reconciliation with the Dauphin, he might hope to have ſome laſting ſhare in the government, and hold the ſecond rank. Beſides, *France* being his native country, he could not openly forſake her intereſts, without rendering himſelf odious to all true *Frenchmen*. If he had privately relinquiſhed her, it was not without remorſe. He had been led to it by the ſole thirſt of revenge. The execution of the deſign he had formed, was not however without difficulties. The Dauphin had conceived an inveterate hatred of him, which was continually fomented by the friends and adherents of the late Duke of *Orleans*, who were always about him, and carefully watching all opportunities to revenge the death of that Prince. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, the Duke of *Burgundy* became more and more confirmed in his reſolution, not ſeeing any other way to ſave himſelf, and the kingdom. He undertook therefore to accompliſh this reconciliation by all ſorts of means, even to the forcing the Dauphin to it, by the fear of ſeeing *France* otherwiſe loſt. In fine, if the Dauphin's hatred and obſtinacy ſhould render it impracticable, he was determined to take the deſperate courſe of rendering *Henry* maſter of *France*.

He reſolves to be reconciled to the Dauphin. T. Livius.

Conference of Louviers. Act. Pub. IX. p. 686. 701, 703.

At the ſame time that the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his laſt reſolution, the conference between the ambaſſadors of *Henry* and the Dauphin was held at *Louviers*. The ſame difficulties which occurred at the congreſs of *Alenſon*, rendered this fruitleſs. It was only agreed, that the King and the Dauphin ſhould meet and confer together. But this interview, the time whereof was twice prolonged, did not take effect, becauſe the Dauphin took other meaſures. However, to continue the Duke of *Burgundy*'s jealouſy, *Henry* granted the Dauphin a truce,

Truce with the Dauphin. p. 692.

from the 12th of *February* till *Eaſter*, for all the country between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, *Normandy* excepted. 1419.

The Dauphin refuſes to be reconciled with the Duke of Burgundy.

Purſuant to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s project, he ſent and ſued for the Dauphin's friendſhip, offering, on his part, to deſerve and cultivate it to the utmoſt of his power; intimating withal, that it would be proper to have a conference together, as well mutually to confirm their reconciliation, as to concert meaſures for the welfare of the kingdom. But the Dauphin ſcornfully rejected this propoſal. He was too apprehenſive of ſharing the authority with the Queen his mother, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, or rather of ſeeing himſelf ſubject to them. The ſole command of the Province, that owned him for Regent, ſeemed to him preferable to the advantage propoſed, from a reconciliation, which could not be made without leaving the Queen his mother, and the Duke, a ſhare in the adminiſtration. So, the Duke of *Burgundy* ſaw himſelf reduced to a neceſſity, of ſeriouſly endeavouring to make a Peace with *England*, in caſe the Dauphin perſiſted in his obſtinacy. The Congreſs at *Louviers* having alarmed him, he was afraid of being prevented, and of not being afterwards ſtrong enough to reſiſt the King of *England* and the Dauphin, if they ſhould join in a league againſt him. He reſolved therefore, in order to free himſelf from this fear, to unravel affairs ſome way or other. To that end, he ſent *Henry* word, that King *Charles* was inclined to a Peace, and, to ſucceed the more eaſily, he propoſed an interview, where the two Kings, aſſiſted by their councils, might ſettle the terms, and conclude the intended marriage. *Henry* readily cloſed with the propoſal, and even granted a three months truce; that during the interval, the time, place and manner of the conference might be agreed on.

The Duke propoſes a Peace to Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 696, 709, 717, 724, 734, 735. Elmham.

Fruitleſs attempts to reconcile the Dauphin with the Duke of Burgundy. T. Livius. Elmham.

All *France* was juſtly alarmed at this reſolution. It was eaſily perceived, that the peace and marriage could not be made in ſuch a juncture, without the kingdom's being delivered to the King of *England*. Matters ſtanding thus, ſome Lords, who had the welfare and intereſt of their country at heart, uſed all poſſible endeavours to procure a peace, or at leaſt a truce between the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Dauphin would have conſented to a three years truce, but the Duke would have it only for two months. His aim was to conclude a peace with *England*, if by that time he could not agree with the Dauphin. The pains taken to perſuade them to ſo neceſſary an union proving fruitleſs, the project of the interview between the two Kings was at length accompliſhed, after ſeveral prolongations, till the 30th of *May*. It was agreed, it ſhould be near *Meulant*, in a field choſen for that purpoſe, where a magnificent pavilion was ordered to be erected. As King *Charles*'s infirmity hindered him from being preſent in perſon, it was agreed, that his Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould act as his Procurators, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* ſhould be there. Mean time, to avoid the heats which might ariſe from the diſcuſſion of affairs, commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides to ſettle the particulars. *Henry* was pleaſed to give the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter* the honour of being heads of this commiſſion. The court of *France* being at *Pontoiſe*, *Henry* came to *Mante*, in order to be near the place of conference. From theſe two towns it was that the two courts repaired every day to the place appointed. The firſt day (2) the Queen of *France* brought the Princeſs *Catherine* her daughter, with whom *Henry* was charmed. The effect of this firſt ſight being very viſible, the Queen believed ſhe ſhould inflame the deſires of that Prince, by not letting her daughter appear any more. *Henry* ſoon perceived her deſign. He found the Princeſs was to ſerve for a decoy to enſnare him. But, to fruſtrate the Queen's expectation, he told the Duke of *Burgundy*, it might be depended upon, he would never quit his arms, till he had the King and the Princeſs his daughter in his power, and had expelled him the kingdom, in caſe he oppoſed it. At any other juncture, the Duke, who was as high-ſpirited as the King, would doubtleſs have returned him a ſharp anſwer. But not to exaſperate too much a Prince, of whom he might ſoon ſtand in need, he was content with ſaying, he did not queſtion but he would have reaſon to be tired of the war.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 735 746, 749, 751, 759. p. 738. p. 759. Le Fevre.

Henry's Demands. Act. Pub. IX. p. 762.

The conference of *Meulant* (3) ran upon three articles, required by *Henry*, as previous to the peace and marriage.

I. That he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of whatever was granted to *Edward* III by the treaty of *Bretigny*.

(1) The moſt eminent Perſons in the *Engliſh* Army that died during this Siege, were, *Henry Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, *Edmund Beaufort*, Earl *de Mortayne*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Blount*, the Prior of *Kylmainam* in *Ireland*, and the Lord *de Caſtyleygne* of *Gaſcony*. *Goodwin*, p. 208-----After the Reduction of this City, King *Henry* eſtabliſhed there his Exchequer, Coinage, and Chamber of Accounts of the Revenues of *Normandy*. He alſo built a Tower behind the Caſtle, and began a Palace on the River *Seine*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 745. *Stow's Ann.* p. 357. *T. Livius*, p. 69.---- About the beginning of this Year, *viz. Jan.* 13. the Clergy granted the King half a Tenth. *Rot. Fin.* 7 *Hen.* V. *M.* 6. *Goodwin*, p. 215.

(2) Which was *May* 29. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 759.

(3) Reſumed on *June* 1. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 762.

II. That

1419. II. That moreover all *Normandy* ſhould be delivered to him.

III. The full and independent ſovereignty, of whatever ſhould be reſigned to him by the preſent treaty.

As *Henry* would not recede from theſe articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* plainly ſaw, if he directly oppoſed them, he ſhould occaſion the breaking up of the conference, which it was his intereſt to continue, as the only way left to bring the Dauphin to a reconciliation. So, without diſputing, or granting the King's pretenſions, he delivered to the King the counter-demands of *France*. They were ſo drawn as to be liable to great objections, which he might either urge or relinquiſh, according as he ſaw what courſe the Dauphin would take. In a word, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s aim, was to give the Dauphin a little more time, before any thing was concluded with the King of *England*. Theſe were the demands of *France*, with the King's anſwers annexed.

Demands of France. Ib. p. 763.

I. That the King of *England* renounce the crown of *France*.

The King conſents to it, provided this Clauſe be added, [except what is granted to him by the preſent treaty.]

II. That he quit claim to *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and the ſovereignty of *Bretagne*.

The King is not pleaſed with this article.

Probably, becauſe of the ſovereignty of *Bretagne*, which he claimed as Duke of *Normandy*.

III. The King of *England* ſhall ſwear, that neither he, nor his ſucceſſors, ſhall receive at any time hereafter, upon any account whatever, the ceſſion of the crown of *France*, from any perſon, who hath, or pretends to have a right.

The King agrees to this, provided his adverſary will alſo ſwear the ſame, &c.

IV. The King of *England* ſhall cauſe the renunciations, promiſes, and engagements to be recorded, as the King of *France* and his council ſhall think moſt adviſeable.

The King likes not this article.

V. Inſtead of *Ponthieu* and *Montrevil*, the King of *France* ſhall have liberty to give an equivalent in ſome other part of his kingdom, as he ſhall judge proper.

The King diſapproves of this article.

VI. As there are ſtill in *Normandy* ſeveral places unconquered by the King of *England*, which however are to be given up by the treaty, he ſhall reſign upon that account, all his other conqueſts elſewhere. Every one ſhall be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, in what place ſoever it lies. There ſhall be an alliance concluded between the two Kings.

The King approves of this, on condition the Scots *and the Rebels be not included in the alliance.*

VII. The King of *England* ſhall repay the ſix hundred thouſand crowns given to *Richard* II, in part of the eight hundred thouſand promiſed with Queen *Iſabella*, and moreover four hundred thouſand for that Princeſs's Jewels detained in *England*.

The King is willing that this article be allowed out of the arrears due for King John's *ranſom. However, he is ſurprized at the demand of four hundred thouſand crowns for Queen* Iſabella's *Jewels, when they were not worth a quarter of that ſum.*

The Duke of Burgundy's *Deſigns.*

It is eaſy to perceive by the nature of theſe demands, that the difficulties were not conſiderable enough to hinder the concluſion of a peace, if both parties had been equally willing. But, on the other hand, they were ſufficient to keep the treaty depending, as long as the court of *France* pleaſed (1). In the Duke of *Burgundy*'s ſituation, he inſiſted upon the articles diſapproved by the King, no farther than was neceſſary for his purpoſe. He was very glad to let the King believe, the Peace was going to be concluded; as indeed it would have been, had the Dauphin perſiſted in his obſtinacy. *Henry* ſo little queſtioned it, that on the 5th of *July*, that is, about a month after the opening of the congreſs, he gave full power to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to go to *Paris*, and conclude the Peace in his name, with King *Charles*.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 774.

The Dauphin and Burgundy *are reconciled.* Monſtrelet. T. Livius. Elmham.

But whilſt *Henry* was pleaſing himſelf with this expectation, endeavours were uſing, on the other ſide, to break all his meaſures. As he had made uſe of negotiators, now with the Dauphin, then with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in order to ſtir up the jealouſy of both, and attain his ends, he was himſelf over-reached in his own way. The congreſs of *Meulant*, where the Duke of *Burgundy*'s chief aim was to frighten the Dauphin, produced the deſired effect. The young Prince, alarmed at ſeeing ſo near a concluſion, a peace ſo very diſadvantagious to *France* and himſelf, believed, he ought not to refuſe any longer, to be reconciled with the Duke of *Burgundy*; ſince their reconciliation was the only means to prevent ſo great a misfortune. Wherefore, after ſeveral private conferences between ſome truſty friends of the two Princes, a reconciliation, ſo earneſtly deſired by all true *Frenchmen*, was at length brought about. On the 11th of *July*, they met about three miles from *Meulant*, in the road to *Paris*, and embraced one another. After that, they ſigned a treaty, mutually promiſing, *to love one another like Brothers, and jointly to oppoſe the damnable enterprize of the* Engliſh, *the antient enemies of the kingdom.* Act. Pub. IX. p. 776.

The Duke of Burgundy *breaks off the Conference of* Meulant. p. 786.

This ſtep being made, the Duke of *Burgundy* took new meaſures. As he no longer deſired the concluſion of the peace, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, in the conferences which were ſtill continued at *Meulant*, upon the demands of *France*. But for fear *Henry* ſhould deſiſt from his objections, he added ſome freſh articles. In explaining the third demand of *France*, he clogged it with ſo many conditions, that in all future caſes whatever, neither *Henry*, nor his ſucceſſors, Kings of *England*, could ever claim or acquire any part of that kingdom. But *Henry*, who was very willing to quit his pretenſions to *France*, as deſcended from *Edward* III, thought it very unreaſonable to be obliged to extend this renunciation, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, to all caſes that might happen, and could not poſſibly be foreſeen. He complained moreover, that the Duke of *Burgundy* required things which could not be granted, without offending God, and breaking his oaths. I do not know what this was. In fine, to render the concluſion of the Peace impracticable, the Duke attacked the King's demands, againſt which he had taken care to alledge nothing, before his reconciliation with the Dauphin. He affirmed, that, in general, they were extravagant, obſcure, ambiguous, and unreaſonable, without mentioning particulars. At the ſame time, he expected *Henry* ſhould accept the offers of *France*, abſolutely and ſimply, without any explanation. For fear, however, of being taken at his word, he refuſed to conſent that the articles already agreed, ſhould be committed to writing.

p. 790.

Hitherto *Henry* had imagined, for what reaſon I know not, that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s reconciliation with the Dauphin, would be no obſtacle to the peace. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 18th of *July*, that is, ſeven days after their interview, *Henry* empowered the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to conclude his marriage with the Princeſs *Catherine*. It might be thought he knew nothing yet of what paſſed on the 11th, between the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy*, if it did not appear by a Letter in the ſame collection, that ſome of his courtiers had received intelligence of it on the 14th. He was ſo prejudiced on this occaſion, that on the 19th he impowered commiſſioners to prolong the truce. But the Duke of *Burgundy*'s new demands, or rather his cavils at the treaty, broke off the conferences, and all went and prepared for the war.

Ib. p. 774, 775.

p. 779.

p. 782.

Henry *takes* Pontoiſe. Des Urſins. Monſtrelet. T. Livius. Elmham.

July the 28th, *Henry* ordered a detachment, headed by the Duke of *Clarence*, to ſtorm *Pontoiſe*. This enterpriſe was attended with the expected ſucceſs. *L'Iſle Adam*, the governor, little thinking of being attacked, was ſurpriſed and forced to fly with part of the garriſon (2). As the court of *France* reſided in this town, during the congreſs of *Meulant*, and were gone but a few days, the *Engliſh* Soldiers found it ſtill full of the baggage of the courtiers. The booty is ſaid to amount to above two millions of crowns.

A great Booty.

The Poſture of Henry's *Affairs.*

The taking of *Pontoiſe* opened the King a way to the very gates of *Paris*. But, however, the poſture of his affairs was not changed for the better, ſince the union of the two Factions by which *France* was divided. Whilſt they were deſtroying one another, an army of twenty-five thouſand Men was ſufficient for the conqueſt of *Normandy*. No enemy had appeared to force him to raiſe his ſieges. Moreover, he had been all along, publickly or privately, favoured by one of the Factions. But after their reconciliation, he could hardly expect, with his own forces alone, to accompliſh his enterpriſe. He aimed at no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole kingdom, or at leaſt of what *England* had loſt ſince the

(1) The Conferences at *Meulant* ended *June* 30. *Goodwin*, p. 229.

(2) But they were met, and the greateſt part of them cut off by *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntingdon*. *Goodwin*, p. 239.

treaty

1419. treaty of *Bretigny*. And yet, after a ſix years war, and in ſo favourable junctures, he was maſter but of one ſingle Province. He knew alſo, that in *England*, his obſtinate continuation of ſo hazardous a war, was not univerſally approved; and that it was openly ſaid, the conqueſt of *France* would be the ruin of *England*. But this was not the only thing that gave him uneaſineſs. He had juſt received a letter from *Bayonne*, of the 22d of *July*, informing him, that a powerful fleet (1) was equipping in *Caſtile* for the Dauphin's aſſiſtance. Shortly after, he received another from the Mayor of the ſame town, acquainting him, that *Arragon* had declared for the Dauphin; that the *Caſtilians* and *Arragonians* were now entered *Bearn*, were ravaging the country about *Bayonne*, and ſeemed to have a deſign to beſiege the town. The letter added further, that the *Caſtilian* fleet was ordered to ſail for *Scotland*, and tranſport from thence a body of troops into *France*, to ſerve under the Dauphin. On the other hand, he could not doubt but the *Flemings*, who had refuſed to ſerve the Duke of *Burgundy* againſt *France*, would be ready to obey him, in defence of that kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe ſudden accumulated difficulties, he perſiſted in his firſt reſolution. He had even the aſſurance, to offer King *Charles*, as a ſort of favour, that he would be contented with what he had demanded at *Meulant*, on condition *Pontoiſe*, which he had juſt taken, were confirmed to him. It is however undeniable, he ſhould have been greatly embaraſſed. When he undertook the war, he depended upon the diſſenſions of the *French*. And to theſe diſſentions was owing the eaſe wherewith he had hitherto conquered. Mean while, he ſaw himſelf obliged to undertake, with an inconſiderable army, the conqueſt of a kingdom, of which he yet poſſeſſed but a ſmall part. However, his good fortune, or rather the Dauphin's animoſity againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, happily freed him from this embaraſſment.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 783, 794, 794.

The Dauphin cauſes the Duke of Burgundy to be aſſaſſinated. P. Æmyl. l. 10. T. Livius. Elmham.

In the interview between the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*, they agreed to meet again on the bridge of *Montereau-Faut-Yonne*, the 18th of *Auguſt*, to conſider how to proſecute the war againſt the *Engliſh*. The Duke was extremely unwilling to go to the place appointed. He ſeemed to have a ſurmiſe of what was to happen. However, as a too great miſtruſt might have broke his meaſures, and rendred what had been done ineffectual, he reſolved to perform his engagement. Not to enter into the particulars, mentioned in all the *French* hiſtories, I ſhall only ſay, the Dauphin cauſed the Duke to be aſſaſſinated, on the very bridge choſen for their conference. I ſay, the Dauphin, whatever pains ſome hiſtorians have taken to clear him. The deed was done before his eyes, and at his feet, and he ſtill kept the murderers in his ſervice, who were the chief officers of his houſhold. This would be a ſufficient proof of his guilt, though there were no hiſtorians faithful enough freely to own it.

The Face of Affairs changed.

This accident ſuddenly changed the face of affairs. Probably the Duke of *Burgundy*, at the time of his death, was well-affected to *France*. But *Philip* his Son and ſucceſſor, ſuffering himſelf to be tranſported with the deſire of revenging his Father's death, did not ſcruple to ruin the kingdom, in order to gratify his paſſion. The ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual means to attain his ends, was to make a league with the King of *England*, and Queen *Iſabella*, mortal enemy of the Dauphin her Son. Accordingly, all the reſt of the year was ſpent in ſecret negotiations, which ended at laſt in putting the kingdom into the hands of the *Engliſh*. Mean while, the new Duke of *Burgundy* held the poſt enjoyed by the Duke his Father. That is, being maſter of the King's perſon, he was conſidered as regent, by thoſe who were not in obedience to the Dauphin.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 805, 806.

The Pariſians apply to Henry. Ib. p. 747, 810.

Since the taking of *Pontoiſe*, the court of *France* was removed, by reaſon of the continual inroads of the *Engliſh* to the very gates of *Paris*. Mean while, the *Pariſians* ſaw themſelves in manifeſt danger. The Duke of *Burgundy* being wholly engroſſed by revenge, provided not for the defence of *Paris*. Whereupon, the inhabitants, juſtly alarmed at ſo dangerous a neighbourhood, thought it their duty to try to prevent their ruin, by an agreement with *Henry*. There were ſeveral negotiations, which ended in a ſeparate truce for *Paris*, from the 20th, to the 25th, of *November* (2). This was but ſmall comfort to the *Pariſians*: but as the treaty between the King and the *Duke of Burgundy* was going to be concluded, they had no occaſion for a longer truce, ſince they were to be included in the treaty. Beſides, *Henry* did not mean to deprive himſelf of the advantage, which the neighbourhood of *Pontoiſe* gave him upon the *Pariſians*, in caſe the treaty he was negotiating with the *Duke of Burgundy*, ſhould be broken by ſome unforeſeen accident. After the Duke of *Burgundy*'s death, couriers and envoys continually paſſed between the King and the new Duke. *Henry* refuſed not to make the ſame alliance with him, as with the deceaſed. But having been deceived by the Father, he would not run the hazard of being deceived by the Son. So, before he joined with him againſt the Dauphin, he reſolved to ſecure a peace with King *Charles* (3). 1419.

They obtain a ſhort truce. p. 815. Elmham.

At the congreſs of *Meulant*, *Henry* had limited his pretenſions to the articles of the treaty of *Bretigny*, with the addition of *Normandy*. But though, after the breaking up of the conferences, he had made a ſhew of keeping to theſe terms without relaxation, it is to be ſuppoſed, if the Duke of *Burgundy*'s murder had not, very ſeaſonably, happened, he would have conſiderably lowered his demands. At leaſt, the poſture of affairs would have left him no room, to expect to compel *France* ever to grant him ſo great advantages. After the death of that Duke, the ſcene was changed in his favour. So, finding he was earneſtly courted by Queen *Iſabella*, and the new Duke of *Burgundy*, he did not queſtion but it was in his power, to impoſe upon *France* what terms he pleaſed. He forgot therefore his offers at *Meulant*, and reſumed his former pretenſions to the crown of *France*, with the condition that *Charles* IV, ſhould be King during life. Theſe are the articles he propoſed as a foundation for peace.

Henry claims the Crown of France.

Preliminary Articles of the Peace. Act. Pub. IX. p. 816.

I. That he ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs *Catherine*, without any charge to her relations, or the Kingdom.

II. That he would not diſturb King *Charles* in the enjoyment of the crown, or poſſeſſion of the revenues of the Kingdom, during his life. That his Queen *Iſabella* ſhould likewiſe enjoy, during her life, the rights annexed to her dignity.

III. That after the death of King *Charles*, the crown of *France* ſhould deſcend to the King of *England* and his heirs for ever.

IV. That by reaſon of King *Charles*'s infirmity, which rendered him uncapable to reign, the King of *England* ſhould take upon him the adminiſtration of affairs, as regent, during the life of the King his Father-in-law.

V. That the Princes, Nobles, Corporations, Burgeſſes, *&c.* ſhould take an oath to the King of *England* as Regent, and bind themſelves by the ſame oath to own him for Sovereign after the death of King *Charles*.

VI. That for ſecurity of the performance of theſe articles, the King of *France* ſhould give the King of *England* his Letters Patents under his Great Seal. That he ſhould cauſe the like letters of approbation to be given him by the Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Nobles, *&c.* in clear and plain terms, as ſhould be agreed by the parties.

VII. That the King of *England* would give and cauſe to be given the like letters.

Approved by the Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 822. Sept. 25.

Henry's pretenſions being thus ſettled in theſe few fundamental articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* ſigned Letters Patents (4), whereby he approved of theſe articles as good, beneficial, reaſonable, and tending to the welfare of *France* and all *Chriſtendom*. This done, a general truce was publiſhed from the 24th of *December* to the 1ſt of *March* next. As ſoon as the affair concerning the peace was ended, the plenipotentiaries of the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* ſigned a private treaty of alliance, containing theſe ſix articles:

Treaty between Henry *and the Duke of* Burgundy. Ib. p. 825. Monſtrelet.

I. That one of the King's Brothers ſhould marry a Siſter (5) of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

II. That the King and Duke ſhould love and aſſiſt one another like Brothers.

III. That they ſhould jointly endeavour to puniſh the Dauphin, and his accomplices in the late Duke of *Burgundy*'s murder.

IV. That if the Dauphin, or any of the murderers, were taken priſoners, they ſhould not be releaſed without the Duke of *Burgundy*'s conſent.

V. That the King of *England* ſhould cauſe to be aſſigned to the Duke, and his Dutcheſs, Daughter of King *Charles*, Lands adjoining to his Demeſns in *France*, of

(1) Of forty Sail. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 783.

(2) From *November* 20, till *December* 4. This Truce was confirmed by the King at *Roan*, *December* 2, and prolonged to the 12th of that month. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 815.

(3) During the Tranſactions in *France*, a Parliament was held this Year on *October* 16, at *Weſtminſter*, which granted the King one Fifteenth and a half, and one Tenth and a half. *Rot. Parl.* 7 *Hen.* V. *N.* 1, 8. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 553.

(4) At *Arras*, *December* 2. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 818.

(5) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays Daughter.

the

1419. the yearly value of twenty thouſand Livres, to be held in fee of the crown. That letters under the Great Seal ſhould be granted for that purpoſe, which the King of *England* ſhould confirm, when in poſſeſſion of the Regency (1).

VI. That if any perſon hereafter, under colour of his marriage with a daughter of *France*, ſhould claim the like aſſignment of Lands, the Duke ſhould aſſiſt the King to the utmoſt of his power to prevent it.

1420. This treaty was ratified by the two Princes in the beginning of *January* (2) 1420.

Though the peace was not yet ſigned, it was looked upon as concluded, ſince the terms were agreed. *Henry* was ſo ſecure of it, that *January* the 24th, that is, four months before the ſigning of the treaty, he promiſed by his Letters Patents, to maintain the *Pariſians* in their privileges when King of *France*.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 854.

The Truce prolonged, in order to draw up the Treaty. Ibid. p. 852, 857, 863, 889.

Mean while, as it was neceſſary to draw the articles agreed in the moſt exact form, and to avoid all obſcure and ambiguous expreſſions, it required ſome time; this occaſioned the truce to be frequently prolonged. During that time, *Henry* had ambaſſadors at *Troye*, to draw up the treaty of peace jointly with the Duke of *Burgundy*. For the greater precaution, it was firſt digeſted like preliminary articles, that every one might examine what was to be added, retrenched, or explained. This done, *Charles* confirmed all the articles by his Letters Patents, dated *April* the 9th. It is remarkable, that by the XXI, *Henry* was to ſwear, that upon no occaſion whatever, during the Life of King *Charles*, he would take upon him the title of King of *France*. And yet we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, one of his ordinances, dated *April* 18, for coining new money in *Normandy*, with an *H* on one ſide, and theſe words round it: *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum*; and on the other, *Henricus Francorum Rex* (3).

Articles preliminary approved by King Charles. p. 877.

Henry *takes the Title of King of* France *on a new Coin.* p. 888.

p. 890. After the preliminaries were approved, an interview between the two Kings was agreed, for ſwearing and ſigning the treaty. This interview was to be ſomewhere near *Troye*: But afterwards *Henry* conſented it ſhould be in *Troye* itſelf. As King *Charles* was not fit to appear in publick, the Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* were empowered to ſwear the peace in his name. *Henry* being come to *Troye* (4), *May* the 20th, found there the King of *France*, the Queen and the Princeſs *Catherine*, to whom he preſented a ring of great value. On the morrow, the treaty was ſigned and ſworn with the uſual formalities, and the ſame Day *Henry* was affianced to the Princeſs, but the marriage was not conſummated till the 2d of *June*. The ſubſtance of this famous treaty was as follows:

p. 894.

Henry *comes to* Troye, *ſigns the Treaty, and betrothes* Catherine. p. 907. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

TREATY of TROYE.

Treaty of Troye. p. 896.

" I. THE King of *England* being now Son of the " King of *France*, by his marriage with the " Princeſs *Catherine*, ſhall honour the King and Queen " of *France*, as his Father and Mother, *&c.*

" II. He ſhall not diſturb the King of *France* during " his life, in the quiet poſſeſſion of the royal dignity, " and revenues of the crown. In like manner, Queen " *Iſabella*, whilſt ſhe lives, ſhall enjoy the royal dignity, " with the rents, revenues, honours and prerogatives be- " longing to the Queen of *France*.

" III. Queen *Catherine* ſhall have for her dowry in " *England*, forty thouſand crowns a year, as the Queens " of that nation uſually had.

" IV. This dowry ſhall be ſo ſettled upon her, that " ſhe may enjoy it from the day of the King her Huſ- " band's death.

" V. If ſhe ſurvive the King her Husband, there ſhall " be paid to her out of *France* a yearly revenue of twenty " thouſand Livres, to be raiſed upon the Lands belonging " formerly to Queen *Blanch*, wife of *Philip*.

" VI. After the death of King *Charles*, the crown of " *France*, with all its rights and dominions, ſhall remain " to the King of *England* and his heirs.

" VII. As the King of *France* is frequently rendered " by his infirmity uncapable to reign, the King of *Eng-* " *land* ſhall from this day be Regent of the kingdom, " and govern it according to Juſtice and Equity, with the " advice of the Princes, Peers, Barons, and Nobles of " the kingdom.

" VIII. The Parliament of *Paris* ſhall be maintained 1420. " in their juriſdiction over the places ſubject to the King.

" IX. The King of *England* ſhall preſerve the privi- " leges, rights, liberties, immunities and cuſtoms of the " Peers, Nobles, Communities, and of all the King's " ſubjects in general.

" X. Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtred according to the " laws, cuſtoms and uſages of the realm.

" XI. All the offices, as well civil as military, ſhall be " filled with perſons duly qualified, according to the laws " of the realm.

" XII. The King of *England* ſhall endeavour to the " utmoſt of his power, to reduce to the obedience of the " King, all the provinces, cities, and towns, which have " withdrawn their allegiance, and joined the party, com- " monly called the Dauphin's or *Armagnac*'s.

" XIII. All the Princes, Peers, Barons, Nobles, " States, as well ſpiritual as temporal, Cities, Commu- " nities, Burghers, *&c.* ſhall ſwear, 1. Punctually to " obſerve what ſhall be enjoined by the two Kings and " the preſent Queen. 2. To obey the King of *England* " as Regent. 3. To recognize him after the death of " King *Charles* for their lawful Sovereign, and to obey " none but him. 4. Not to aſſiſt, with their counſel or " conſent, any plot againſt his perſon, and to diſcover to " him all ſuch conſpiracies as ſhall come to their know- " ledge.

" XIV. All the conqueſts which ſhall be made here- " after, in the kingdom of *France*, *Normandy* excepted, " ſhall be to the uſe of the preſent King. *Item*, All the " Lands and Lordſhips, which ſhall be conquered, ſhall " be reſtored to their true proprietors, being in obedience " to the King, and having ſworn to obſerve the preſent " treaty.

" XV. All the Eccleſiaſticks of *Normandy*, ſubject to " the King of *England*, and paying obedience to King " *Charles*, or that are of the *Burgundian* party, upon " ſwearing the preſent treaty, ſhall enjoy their benefices, " as well in *Normandy*, as elſewhere.

" XVI. All the *Norman* Eccleſiaſticks holding bene- " fices in *France*, ſhall be continued in them upon the " ſame terms.

" XVII. The Univerſities and Colleges, as well in " *Normandy*, as in *France*, ſhall be preſerved in their " rights and privileges, on the fore-mentioned condi- " tions, ſaving to the crown of *France* its preroga- " tives.

" XVIII. When the King of *England* ſhall come to " the crown of *France*, *Normandy* and all his other con- " queſts ſhall be united to the crown.

" XIX. If the King of *England* has already diſpoſed in " *Normandy* of any lands, revenues, or poſſeſſions, be- " longing to any of the *Burgundian* party, they ſhall " have an equivalent in *France*, out of the lands of the " Rebels. And if they receive not this equivalent, before " the ſaid King is in poſſeſſion of the crown of *France*, " he promiſes to give it when he aſcends the throne. But " what he has not diſpoſed of, ſhall be reſtored to the " proprietors, according to article XIV.

" XX. All the publick acts ſhall run in King *Charles*'s " name. However, as ſome unforeſeen caſes may occur, " where the King of *England* may be obliged to diſpatch " orders, then it ſhall be lawful for him to join his name, " as Regent, with the preſent King's.

" XXI. The King of *England* ſhall forbear, on all " occaſions, during the Life of King *Charles*, to aſſume " the title of King of *France*.

" XXII. In the publick Acts, the King of *France*, " ſpeaking of the King of *England*, ſhall uſe this form, " *Our moſt dear Son*, Henry *King of* England, *Heir of* " France (5).

" XXIII. The King of *England* ſhall lay no taxes on " the *French*, but ſuch as are reaſonable, and for the good " of the publick, according to the laws and cuſtoms of " the kingdom.

" XXIV. When he himſelf, or any of his heirs, ſhall " come to the crown of *France*, the two kingdoms of " *France* and *England* ſhall be for ever united, under one " Prince. There ſhall not be a King in each kingdom; " but one and the ſame King ſhall be Sovereign of both " the realms, without however ſubjecting one to the " other: But the laws and liberties of each kingdom ſhall " be preſerved diſtinct and inviolable.

" XXV. Henceforward, friendſhip and a good under- " ſtanding ſhall be eſtabliſhed between *France* and *Eng-*

(1) ----Quamprimum ad Coronam & Dignitatem Regalem Franciæ pervenerit.----*Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 9. p. 842.
(2) By the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Jan.* 5. and by King *Henry*, *Jan.* 12. *Ibid.*
(3) There are ſome of theſe Pieces ſtill in being, in the Hands of the Curious. *Rapin.*
(4) In his Journey thither, he wore a Crown on his Helmet, and bore for his Device a Fox's Tail embroidered. *Goodwin*, p. 263.
(5) Noſter præchariſſimus Filius Henricus, Rex Angliæ, Hæres Franciæ.

1420. " *land*, and the two kingdoms ſhall aſſiſt one another " with all their power.

" XXVI. All the allies of the two crowns, who in " eight months ſhall deſire it, may be included in the " preſent treaty, reſerving to the two crowns, and their " ſubjects, all rights, actions, remedies in reſpect of thoſe " allies (1).

" XXVII. The officers and domeſticks of the preſent " King ſhall be *French*, or born in countries where the " *French* tongue is ſpoken (2), and ſhall be wiſe and " well-qualified perſons. The King his Son, with the " advice of the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſhall make an hono- " rable proviſion for the maintenance of the King's per- " ſon, ſuitably to his royal ſtate and dignity.

" XXVIII. He ſhall keep his reſidence in ſome con- " ſiderable place within his own dominions, and not be " confined to an obſcure retreat.

" XXIX. Conſidering the crimes committed by " *Charles*, who ſtiles himſelf Dauphin *de Viennois*, it is " agreed, that no peace ſhall be made with him, without " the unanimous conſent of the two Kings, and the Duke " of *Burgundy*.

" XXX. For the ſecurity of the performance of theſe " articles, Letters under the Great Seal ſhall be given the " King of *England* by the King of *France*. *Item*, The " Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Princes of the " Blood, Peers, Nobles, Towns, Cities, Communities, " ſubject to the King, and all in general of whom the " King of *England* ſhall require it, ſhall give the like " letters of approbation.

" XXXI. The King of *England* ſhall likewiſe give " the ſame for himſelf, for the Princes his Brothers, the " reſt of the Princes of the Blood, and others, as the " King of *France* ſhall require.

Given at Troye, May *the* 21ſt, *in the Year of our Lord* 1420, *and of King* Charles *the* 4oth.

Sens *taken*, Act. Pub. IX. p. 910. *and* Monterau. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

The marriage being conſummated (3) *June* the 2d, the two courts ſet out together next morning for *Sens*, which was now inveſted. This place holding out but ten or twelve days, the army marched to *Montereau*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* was murdered, and took the town in a ſhort time. The Duke of *Burgundy* found there the body of his Father, very indecently buried in his doublet, and ordered it to be removed to *Dijon*.

Melun *beſieged*, Act. Pub. X. p. 4. Walſing. T. Livius. *and taken.*

About the middle of *July*, the army laid ſiege to *Melun*, which was defended by the Lord *De Barbazan*, the governor, four months. The King of *England*, with his army, was lodged on the ſide of the town towards *Gatinois*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, with his troops, on the ſide next *La Brie*. This ſiege became famous by the ſtout defence of the Beſieged (4), who repulſed ſeveral aſ- ſaults, and whom famine compelled at laſt to capitulate, about the middle of *November*. A *French* hiſtorian ſays, the capitulation was not obſerved, by which the garriſon were to have their lives without ranſom, except ſuch as were concerned in the murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*; but inſtead of being ſuffered to depart, they were thrown into priſon at *Paris*, and ſtarved to death. To judge of the truth of this fact, it is neceſſary to ſee the articles of ſurrender, and to know, whether thoſe that were carried to *Paris*, were not ſuch as were expreſsly excepted. It is the more likely they were really of this number, becauſe the ſame author ſays, the King, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, demanded four and twenty hoſtages by name, and that theſe hoſtages were conveyed to *Paris*, with as many more as could be ſeized. This ſeems to argue, that the garriſon were releaſed, and none but private perſons ſei- zed, who might be ſuſpected, as well as the hoſtages, of being concerned in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s death. Be this as it will, as *Henry* ought not to be excuſed in caſe of breach of faith, ſo neither ought a too haſty credit to be given to a ſingle hiſtorian, who appears, in other reſpects, exceeding partial againſt *Henry*, and even refrains not from abuſive language. After the ſurrender of *Melun*, the two courts returned to *Paris*, where the two Kings made their entry together, on the firſt Sunday in *Advent*, and the Queens, the next day.

Des Urſins. Hiſt. of Charles VI.

The two Courts make their Entry into Paris.

The States of France *confirm the Peace of* Troye. Act. Pub. X. p. 30. T. Livius.

In the beginning of *December*, the States General met at *Paris*. King *Charles* going to the aſſembly on the 6th, told them, that of his own free will, he had made a peace with the King of *England*, was perſuaded it would be beneficial to *France*, and deſired them to confirm it by their authority. The King's declaration in his preſent condition, was not a ſufficient reaſon to induce the States to ratify a peace, which, according to their principles, vio- lated the moſt ſacred rights of the kingdom, in order to ſet the crown on the head of a foreign Prince. But in the ſtate they themſelves were in, it was ſcarce in their power to examine the conſequences, or freely to ſpeak their minds. So it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the peace of *Troye* ſhould be obſerved, and held as a publick law, and that all the *French* ſhould be obliged to take the oaths mentioned in the treaty. This is not a proper place to examine *Henry*'s pretenſions to the crown of *France*. They were the ſame as were formerly urged by *Edward* III, and of which I have amply ſpoken in the hiſtory of his reign. But however, it may be ſaid, that when the *French* ſwore to this peace, they thought it very unjuſt, and conſequently there could be but little reliance on oaths, which they conſidered as involuntary. Ac- cordingly, they plainly ſhowed afterwards, they valued them not. And yet *Henry*, with all his policy, depended upon theſe extorted promiſes, as if the *French* then living, had been more ſcrupulous, than thoſe who had ſworn to the peace of *Bretigny*. 1420.

Sentence upon the Murde- rers of the Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 33. Monſtrelet. T. Livius. Elmham.

On the 23d of the ſame month, King *Charles*'s coun- cil being ſummoned for the purpoſe, the Duke of *Bur- gundy* appeared in a mourning habit, and demanded Ju- ſtice againſt the murderers of the Duke his Father. *Me- zerai* ſays, the Dauphin was ſolemnly called to the Mar- ble-Table (5), and not appearing, was attainted and con- victed of cauſing the Duke of *Burgundy* to be killed; pro- nounced unworthy of all inheritance, particularly of the ſucceſſion to the crown (6); and baniſhed the realm for ever. It is hard to believe, ſuch a hiſtorian would ad- vance ſuch a fact, without good authority. And yet this ſentence, which is extant in the *Collection of the Pub- lick Acts*, mentions neither the ſucceſſion to the crown, nor the baniſhment of the Dauphin. The ſentence is gene- ral, againſt all the murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, without naming the Dauphin, or his accomplices, at leaſt in the *Purvieu*. It is true, that in the preamble, there is men- tion of the treaty between the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy*, and that afterwards it is ſaid, the Duke of *Bar- gundy* was killed by him; which words, by him, manifeſt- ly relate to the Dauphin, named a few lines before. It ap- pears however, that the ſentence was ſo worded, that the Dauphin was included only in the general notion of the murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy* (7), and that it does not ſeem to point particularly at him. Conſequently, it was not natural to ſpeak of the ſucceſſion to the crown. Probably therefore, *Mezerai* had more regard to the in- tent of the decree, than to the words themſelves.

The Dauphin appeals to God and his Sword. Paradin.

The Dauphin finding all ſorts of means were uſed to deprive him of the crown, appealed to God and his ſword, from whatever had been hitherto, or ſhould be for the future, tranſacted againſt him, in the name of the King his Father, and continued ſtill to aſſume the title of Regent. As ſuch, he removed the Parliament and Univerſity of *Paris*, to *Poictiers*, where ſome of the members of theſe two bodies repaired. Thus were ſeen at the ſame time in *France*, two Kings, two Queens, two Regents, all the officers of the crown double, ſeven or eight Marſhals of *France* on each ſide, two Parliaments, and two Univerſi- ties of *Paris* (8).

1421. *France di- vided be- tween two Factions.*

Though *Henry* was declared Regent, and Heir of *France*, it was however only by the *Burgundian* party, who hav- ing the King in their power, thought they had a right to diſpoſe of the affairs of the kingdom. The Dauphin had ſtill a ſtrong party, who, far from ſubmitting to the peace of *Troye*, maintained, that though the King had been free, and in perfect health, he could not diſpoſe of the crown as he had done, much leſs, being diſtempered, and a captive. The provinces diſtant from *Paris*, not being awed by the *Engliſh* arms, adhered for the moſt part to the Dauphin. Even the country about the Me- tropolis was divided. In the ſame Province, there were ſome places for the *Engliſh*, and others for the lawful heir of the King. So, notwithſtanding the peace, the war was not yet ended, ſince the two Kings were under a neceſſity of driving the Dauphin out of all the towns

(1) *Henry* probably inſerted this obſcure Reſervation, with regard to *Scotland*. *Rapin*.
(2) This was, not to exclude the Inhabitants of the Provinces belonging to the King of *England*, as *Normans*, &c. *Rapin*.
(3) It was ſolemnized on *May* 30, in St. *John*'s Church in *Troye*, by the Archbiſhop of *Sens*. *J. Des Urſins*, p. 379.
(4) This Siege laſted fourteen Weeks and four Days. *Walſing*. p. 403.
(5) A Court of Juſtice in *France*, eſtabliſhed at *Paris* and ſome other Places, conſiſting of a Preſident and ſeven Counſellors: From it there lies no Appeal. *Boulainvilliers Etat de France*. Tom. I. p. 39, 40.
(6) ----Quod Delphinus privaretur ſucceſſione regni, & ad ſuccedendum patri declaretur inhabilis. *T. Livius*, p. 91.
(7) In this Sentence, the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy* are declared guilty of High-Treaſon, and conſequently to have forfeited Body and Goods, and to be excluded from all Succeſſion, direct or collateral, and from all Dignities, Honours, and Prerogatives whatſoever. *Rymer*'s *Fœd*. Tom. X. p. 35.
(8) During King *Henry*'s abſence in *France*, a Parliament was called by his Brother *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester*, Regent of the Kingdom, which met *December* 2. *Goodwin*, p. 297, 298.

and

1421. and Provinces, he poſſeſſed. This was no eaſy task, though the union of the *Engliſh* forces with the *Burgundian* party, gave them a great ſuperiority.

Pardon granted to the Gaſcon *Rebels.*

Guienne, part of which was ſubject to *Henry*, was moreover a very conſiderable advantage, as it ſerved to keep in awe the Provinces beyond the *Loire*. Till the death of *Armagnac* the conſtable, this Province had rather been a charge, than a benefit to the *Engliſh*. There was a conſtant occaſion for a ſtanding army, to defend it againſt the continual attempts of the party, which had declared for *France*, about the end of the reign of *Edward* III.

Act. Pub. X. p. 3.

The houſes of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, who were at the head of this party, had created the King of *England* great trouble, particularly after the Earl of *Armagnac* came to have the management of the publick affairs. But after the death of that Earl, the heads of the party thought fit, as I ſaid, to make a truce with *Henry*, in order not to favour the Duke of *Burgundy* by their diverſion. After the treaty of *Troye*, they ſued for peace, as believing they

Ib. p. 41, 45.

could no longer reſiſt. *Henry* hoping to reap great advantages by the quiet poſſeſſion of *Guienne*, readily received them into favour, and ordered letters of pardon to be given them (1), upon their renouncing, by a publick inſtrument, the appeal of their anceſtors, to the court of the Peers of *France*, in the time of *Edward* III. Some ſay,

Choiſy Hiſt. of Charles VI.

that by the peace of *Troye*, *Guienne* was to be united to the crown of *France*, after the death of *Charles* VI. But, beſides that in the treaty of *Troye*, there is no mention of *Guienne*, it plainly appears, by what has been related, that *Henry* had no ſuch intention. It is rather evident, that he grounded on the treaty of *Bretigny*, his preſerving, as King of *England*, the ſovereignty of *Guienne*, independent on the crown of *France*.

Henry returns to England. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

Henry having ſettled his affairs in *France*, in ſo glorious a manner for himſelf and his nation, reſolved to return into *England*, where three things required his preſence. Firſt, his Queen's coronation. Secondly, the confirmation of the peace of *Troye* by the Parliament, and the demand of a ſupply of money, to enable him vigorouſly to carry on the war againſt the Dauphim. Laſtly, the neceſſity of taking ſome meaſures againſt the *Scots*, who had ſent ſuccours to his enemy, under the command of the Earl of *Buchan*, the Regent's Son. Upon leaving *France*,

Act. Pub. X. p. 49.

Henry gave the command of his troops to the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother (2). Then he ſet ſail with his Queen, and ſafely arrived in *England* about the end of *February*. A few days after, the Queen was crowned (3),

The Queen crowned. p. 63.

and a Parliament ſummoned to meet at *Leiceſter* the 2d of *May*.

A Parliament called. The King goes to York. Walſing.

Whilſt the People were buſy in chuſing their repreſentatives, the King took a progreſs into ſeveral counties, and ſtayed ſome weeks at *York*. His aim was, under colour of ſhowing the Queen the country, to procure by his preſence, elections of members that ſhould be favourable to him. He was ſenſible of the nation's diſcontent, at being obliged to bear the expences of the conqueſt of *France*.

A Proclamation againſt the Pope's Collations.

Some ſay, it was during this progreſs, that the King iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting the admiſſion of Eccleſiaſticks into benefices, by the Pope's proviſions, contrary to the rights of the Patrons. But it is more likely, this proclamation was not iſſued till after the Parliament of *Leiceſter*, purſuant to an act made for that purpoſe. Be this as it will, it was a mortal blow to the court of *Rome*, to whom the clauſe of *Non-obſtante*, ſo frequently uſed by the Popes, became fruitleſs, at leaſt with regard to the collation of benefices.

The Duke of Clarence *is ſlain.* Monſtrelet. Walſing. Elmham.

Before the meeting of the Parliament, *Henry* received the ſad news, that the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, was ſlain, *April* the 3d, in a battle in *Anjou*. The Duke had led ten thouſand Men into that Province, to reduce it to the obedience of the King. Whilſt he was employed in this expedition, he heard, that the Earl of *Buchan*, with ſeven thouſand *Scots*, had entered the Province, and was encamped at *Baugé*. At the ſame time,

Boethius. Buchanan.

he had falſe intelligence, that the vanguard of the *Scotch* army was ſo far from the main body, that it would be eaſy to put them to rout, provided they were ſpeedily attacked. Upon this information, he haſtily headed his horſe, leaving the Earl of *Salisbury* orders to follow him, with the reſt of the army. When he came to *Baugé*, he found indeed ſome *Scotch* troops intrenched in the Church-yard. He charged them immediately, and diſmounted in order to head his troops. But he was ſo long in forcing the *Scots* from this poſt, that the Earl of *Buchan* had time to come to their relief. Then the Duke remounting his horſe, furiouſly attacked the newcomers, notwithſtanding the inequality of his forces. He gave, on this occaſion, proofs of an uncommon valour; but at length, being over-powered by numbers, and unable to bear the thoughts of flying, he was wounded in the face by a *Scotch* Knight (4), and killed by the Earl of *Buchan* himſelf. His death cauſed an entire defeat of Walſing. the *Engliſh* horſe, whereof fifteen hundred were ſlain (5), and many taken priſoners (6). Among the ſlain were, the Earl of *Kent*, the Lords *Grey* and *Roſs*, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The Earl of *Salisbury*, not being able to advance in time to aſſiſt the Duke of *Clarence*, had however the comfort to recover from the enemy, the body of that Prince, which he ſent to the King his Brother (7).

1421.

The Parliament confirms the Peace of Troye, *and grants a Subſidy.* Act. Pub. X. p. 110.

The advantage gained by the *Scots*, rendered the King's preſence neceſſary in *France*. But he had ſtill in *England* affairs, which were no leſs urgent. The Parliament meeting the 2d of *May*, readily confirmed the peace of *Troye* ſo glorious to *England*. A ſubſidy was alſo granted (8) for proſecuting the war againſt the Dauphin; but at the ſame time was preſented to him a petition, wherein he was told, it was but too true, that the conqueſt of *France* proved the ruin of *England*. To obtain this ſubſidy, the King had laid before the Parliament, a ſtate of the revenues and expences of the crown. By this account,

They preſent a Petition to the King.

State of the publick Revenues and Expences. p. 113.

a fragment whereof is inſerted in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, it appears, that the King's revenue amounted but to fifty five thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-three pounds Sterling; and that the ordinary expences ran away with fifty two thouſand two hundred and thirty-five pounds; ſo there remained but three thouſand five hundred and eight pounds, to provide for a dozen extraordinary articles, mentioned in the account. The Parliament's petition could not but be very diſpleaſing to the King. One half of *France* was ſtill unconquered, and the Provinces ſubject to the King were ſo drained, that there was no proſpect of drawing from thence, the neceſſary ſupplies for continuing the war. Wherefore, the burden was ſtill to fall upon *England*. But the Parliament grew weary of furniſhing money, at a time, when it was more neceſſary than ever, by reaſon of the diverſion the kingdom was threatned with from the *Scots*.

Affairs of Scotland *with regard to* England, *ſince the Beginning of this Reign.* Buchanan.

I have deferred till now, to ſpeak of the affairs of *Scotland*, becauſe ſince the acceſſion of *Henry* V to the crown of *England*, nothing had paſſed in *Scotland*, remarkable enough to break the thread of the Hiſtory. But at preſent, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention them, for the underſtanding of the ſequel. It was ſeen in the late reign, that in 1406, *James Stuart*, then Prince of *Scotland*, was detained in *England*, and ſhortly after became King of *Scotland*, by the death of his Father. This new dignity was ſo far from turning to his advantage, that it rather ſerved to cauſe him to be more ſtrictly guarded. The Duke of *Albany* his uncle, who had aſſumed the regency, liked it too well, to endeavour effectually to procure his liberty. Not a year

Act. Pub. IX. p. 5, 6, 45, 71, 79, 113, 125, 145, 417, 418, 591, 913.

paſſed, but he ſent ambaſſadors into *England* (9), under colour of ſolliciting the freedom of the King his nephew; but his real intention was far from what he ſeemed to deſire. The chief motive of theſe frequent embaſſies, was to negotiate the exchange of the Earl of *Fife* his Son, for young *Percy*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*. The Earl had been priſoner in *England*, ever ſince the battle of *Halidon*: *Percy* was ſeized in *Scotland* by way of repriſal for the King. This exchange was effected, and yet the embaſſies were no leſs frequent. It was ever on pretence of treating about the young King's releaſe, but in reality to influence the King of *England*, to detain him in priſon. *Buchanan* affirms, it was on condition the Regent would engage not to diſturb *Henry*, by diverſions in favour of *France*. Otherwiſe, the *Scots* would never have ſo peaceably ſeen *France* attacked by the *Engliſh*. Mean while, as to induce the *Scots* to remain quiet contrary to their intereſt, it was neceſſary to give

(1) Which were ſigned at *Roan*, *Jan.* 16. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 41----45.
(2) And appointed *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, his Deputy in *Normandy*. *Ibid.* p. 29.
(3) *Febr.* 14. *Monſtrelet. Goodwin*, p. 300. *Walſingham* ſays, it was the 9th, and *Elmham* the 22d, p. 299.
(4) Sir *John Swinton*. *Buchan.* l. 10.
(5) The chief of them were, (beſides the Duke of *Clarence*) *John* Lord *Roos*, and his Brother; Sir *John Gray* of *Hethon*, Earl of *Tankerville*; and Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 95. *Walſ.* p. 405.
(6) Among whom were *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*; *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerſet*; and *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury* and *Perche*; the Lords *Fitz-Walter*, and Sir *William Bowes*. *Walſ.* p. 405.
(7) He was buried in the Cathedral-Church of *Canterbury*. *Ibid.*
(8) A Fifteenth from the Laity, and a Tenth from the Clergy; and the Biſhop of *Winchеſter* lent the King twenty thouſand Pounds, by way of advance. *Walſ.* p. 404. *Fabian.*
(9) There were ſome ſent ſoon after King *Henry*'s Coronation, *viz.* *April* 16. 1413. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 9. p. 5, 6.

them

1421. them some seeming satisfaction, the Regent publickly and earnestly demanded the liberty of the King his nephew. But *Henry* knew he should not oblige him in granting his demand. On the contrary, the difficulties he raised in this affair, were a sure means to prevent diversions from the *Scots*.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 299, 302, 303, 307, 310.

In 1415, whilst *Henry* was preparing to pass into *France*, he received advice from the Northern Frontiers, that the *Scots* were resolved to besiege *Berwick*, with sixty thousand Men; whereupon the Duke of *Bedford* had orders to levy an army. But it does not appear, either that the *Scots* did then besiege *Berwick*, or the Duke of *Bedford* marched against them. The *English* historians say, the King, upon the above-mentioned advice, called a council, to deliberate, whether it was proper to relinquish the intended project against *France*, and heartily apply to the conquest of *Scotland*, and that it was resolved the first design should be pursued (1). This may be, but, very probably, the King was then agreed with the Duke of *Albany*; and the rumour of the invasion, and the meeting of the council in *England*, was only to make the people of *Scotland* believe, the Regent acted with sincerity. And indeed, we do not find in the history of *Scotland* any signs of so considerable an armament, in the year 1415, or of a resolution to besiege *Berwick*. Besides, that very year a truce was concluded between the two kingdoms, whilst all *Henry*'s forces were employed in *France*. In short, *Buchanan* affirms, it cannot be said, that during the whole reign of *Henry* V, there was any war between *England* and *Scotland*; all the hostilities being nothing else but mere robberies. He alleges as a reason, that the Duke of *Albany* took care not to disoblige the King of *England*, for fear the King of *Scotland* should be released. *Henry* was however afraid, it would not always be in the Regent's power to keep the *Scots* quiet, who were so much concerned to prevent the ruin of *France*. It was doubtless from this consideration, that in 1416, he gave King *James* leave to pass some time in his own kingdom, having taken security for his return. He hoped this journey would create between the Uncle and Nephew such dissentions, as would divert the *Scots* from all thoughts of assisting *France*.

Ib. p. 341, 417.

The affairs of *Scotland* continued in this posture till 1419, when the Dauphin sent thither the Duke of *Vendome* to desire assistance. The States being met upon this occasion, the Regent could not hinder the decreeing a levy of seven thousand Men, which were sent into *France* under the command of the Earl of *Buchan*. The victory that General gained over the Duke of *Clarence* at *Baugé*, procured him the sword of Constable of *France*.

Ib. p. 791. T. X. p. 125.

Henry could not without concern see the *Scots* declare so openly for the Dauphin. He perceived, either that the Duke of *Albany* had not the same credit as formerly, or had altered his maxims. Wherefore, to break the measures of the Dauphin's adherents in *Scotland*, he believed it necessary to gain the King of *Scotland* to his interest, and make him his instrument. This was partly his design in returning to *England*. Upon his arrival, he intimated to that Prince, that it was his own fault if he was not at liberty, on condition he would use his authority to recall his Subjects, who were in the service of *France*, and join with him against the Dauphin. *James* passionately longing to be free, after a fifteen years captivity, very readily complied with *Henry*'s desires. A private agreement therefore was made between these two Princes, the articles whereof are unknown, except one, which was, that *James* should go into *France*, and stay with *Henry*, until the end of the war. *Henry*'s aim was to interpose the King of *Scotland*'s authority, to oblige the seven thousand *Scots* in the Dauphin's service to return home. Accordingly, *James* attended him into *France* for that purpose. But when he commanded the Earl of *Buchan* to return into *Scotland*, the Earl replied, he did not think himself bound to obey him, so long as he was in the power of others. For that reason, *Henry* from thenceforward treated as rebels, all the *Scots* that fell into his hands.

Act. Pub. X. p. 125.

Ib. p. 19.

The King returns to Paris. Ib. p. 108, 116, 127, 129.

Henry having finished the affairs which called him into *England*, left his Queen there, great with Child; and appointing the Duke of *Bedford*, his Brother, Regent in his absence, returned into *France*, where his presence was necessary. He sailed the 10th of *June* with a new-raised army (2), amounting, as some say, to four thousand Men at arms, and twenty-four thousand Archers. When he arrived at *Calais*, he sent several detachments to take some castles, the Dauphin still held in *Picardy*. At the same time, he ordered a considerable body to march to the Duke of *Exeter*'s relief, who was almost blocked up in *Paris*. Then marching himself with the rest of the army, he came to *Bois de Vincennes*, from whence he went and joined his Father-in-law at *Paris*. 1421. Walsing. Monstrelet. Le Fevre. Elmham.

A few days after, he heard the Dauphin was before *Chartres*, and began to batter the town. As he desired nothing so earnestly as to decide the quarrel by a battle, he immediately assembled his troops, and marched directly to *Chartres*. But his forces were so superior, that the Dauphin did not think fit to expect him. *Henry* pursued him with all possible speed, but finding he could not overtake him, attacked *Dreux*, which surrendered upon terms (3). It is said, that during this siege, a Hermit came and boldly reproached him with the calamities brought on *France* by his ambition, and threatened him with the judgments of God. Some add, that *Henry*'s death, which happened the next year, showed the Hermit to be inspired. But such consequences are not always just. *The Dauphin besieges* Chartres, *but retires upon* Henry's *coming*. Henry *takes* Dreux. Monstrelet. Elmham.

After the siege of *Dreux*, the army being seized with the flux, *Henry* sent his troops into Summer-quarters, and refreshed himself at *Paris*. He re-assembled them in *October*, in order to besiege *Meaux*, though the season was not very proper for such an undertaking. *Mezerai*, and some others, are mistaken in saying, this siege was laid before the King went to *England*. It is certain, it was not begun till four months after his return (4). The same historian says further, this place held out three months, but he should have said seven, since the siege began the 6th of *October* 1421, and ended not till the 2d of *May* 1422. It is true, as the town was divided into two parts; namely, the town and the Market-place (5), the first was taken by storm during the winter; but the Market-place held out till *May* (6). *He returns to* Paris. *He besieges* Meaux. Monstrelet. Act. Pub. X. p. 212.

Whilst the King was employed in the siege of *Meaux*, he received the agreeable news of his Queen's being safely delivered at *Windsor*, of a Prince (7), who was named *Henry*. The Duke of *Bedford*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* stood godfathers, and *Jaquelina* countess of *Hainault*, godmother. This Princess, who had united under her dominion, *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*, was married first to *John* Duke of *Touraine*, second Son of the King of *France*. This Prince dying in 1416, she espoused *John* Duke of *Brabant*, Cousin-German to the Duke of *Burgundy*. She soon grew weary of her second husband, and under colour of their being too nearly related, formed a design to have the marriage annulled. For that purpose, she procured some Knights to carry her away, and convey her into *England*, in order to act more freely. This pretended rape, was no secret to the King, since we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a safe conduct for this Princess. Besides, at her arrival in *England*, the King assigned her a monthly pension of a hundred pounds Sterling. His intent was, to marry her to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and by that means, put his Brother in possession of four of the noblest Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended, at the King's disregard for the Duke of *Brabant* his cousin, in giving *Jaquelina* a refuge in his dominions. This affront, in his opinion, reflected upon himself. Besides, it was his interest, that *Jaquelina*'s marriage with the Duke of *Brabant*, should not be annulled. Mean while, *Henry* preferring the Duke of *Gloucester*'s interest, to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s, did not seem much to mind the occasion of complaint given that Prince. *Birth of Prince* Henry. Walsing. T. Livius. *Countess of* Hainault *stands Godmother.* 1422. *Her Adventures.* Act. Pub. X. p. 67, 134.

Henry was exceeding desirous of advancing his two Brothers, who were both Princes of great merit, and with whom he was well pleased. In 1419, there was a secret negotiation between him and *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, who being pressed by her enemies, promised to adopt the Duke of *Bedford*, and declare him her sole heir. This project failing, upon Queen *Joan*'s affairs taking a new turn, *Henry* would have obtained for the Duke of *Bedford*, the only daughter of *Frederic* Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, and afterwards, a daughter of the Duke of *The King projects Marriages for his Brothers.* Ib. p. 701, 705.

(1) *Ralph Neville* Earl of *Westmoreland*, and Lord President of the North, made a long Harangue, to persuade the King to disable the *Scots*, before he carried the war into *France*. But *John* Duke of *Exeter*, the King's Uncle, replied to the Earl, and was seconded by the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford*, and *Gloucester*; upon which the war with *France* was resolved. *Duck in vit. Chich.* p. 14, &c.

(2) For the payment of which, he borrowed Money of the most considerable Persons in *England*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 96, &c.

(3) *August* 20. *Monstrelet*, fol. 313.

(4) *Juvenal des Ursins*, in his History of *Charles* VI, led *Mezerai* into this Error. *Rapin.*

(5) Where the Castle stood, on the Top of a Rock.

(6) During the King's Absence, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of the Kingdom, summoned a Parliament, which met at *Westminster*, *Decemb.* 1, and granted to the King a Fifteenth. *Walsi.* p. 406. *Rot. Parl.* 9 *Hen.* 5. *M.* 1. The Convocation, which met at *York*, on *September* 22, had granted him a Tenth. *Rot. Fin.* 9. *Hen.* 5. *M.* 11.

(7) He was born *December* 6. *Walsing.* p. 406.

1422. Act. Pub. IX. p. 716, 741.

Lorrain. At the ſame time, he treated of a Marriage between the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Blanch* of *Navarre*, Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, who had pretenſions to that Kingdom. In fine, an opportunity offering to procure for this Prince, *Jacquelina* Counteſs of *Hainault*, he readily embraced it, as this Marriage could not but be advantagious to *England*. But, as her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* was firſt to be annulled, this Affair could not be accompliſhed before the King's Death.

The taking of Meaux. Act. Pub. X. p. 212. T. Livius.

It was not till the beginning of *May* (1) 1422, that the Beſieged of the Market-Place of *Meaux*, deſired to capitulate, but they could obtain no other Capitulation, than to be Priſoners of War. The King even excepted all the *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Scots*, who were in the Place, and all that were concerned in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and moreover, all thoſe who had any Towns or Caſtles in their Power, till they were ſurrendered. In fine, he reſerved four Officers of the Garriſon, namely, *Lewis du Guaſt*, *Dennis de Vaurus*, the Baſtard of *Vaurus*, and another, to be proceeded againſt according to the Juſtice of the Laws. They were all four executed. *Du Guaſt* was beheaded, and the other three ſuffered a more ignominious Death. The Baſtard of *Vaurus* was hanged on a certain Tree, from him called the *Tree of Vaurus*, becauſe he had hanged on it many *Burgundians*, in revenge for the Death of the Earl of *Armagnac*. This was a ſevere Capitulation, which gave the Beſieged Cauſe to repent of their Obſtinacy, when probably, they had no proſpect of being relieved (2).

The King's severity to the Beſieged. Walſing. Monſtrelet. Elmham.

Queen Catherine returns to France. Walſing. Act. Pub. X. p. 171, 175, 201.

About the time of the ſurrender of *Meaux* (3), Queen *Catherine* arrived from *England*, attended by the Duke of *Bedford*, who had left the Regency to the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother. The two Courts joining at *Bois de Vincennes*, went from thence ſoon after, to keep the *Whitſun* Holidays at *Paris*. *Henry* lodged in the *Louvre*, and *Charles* in the Palace of St. *Pol*, where he had but a ſmall Court, whilſt the Regent-King's was numerous and ſplendid. On *Whitſunday* they dined together in publick, the two Kings and the two Queens, with Crowns on their Heads. Thoſe of the *French*, who had any Regard left for their Country, could not without Grief behold the King of *England*, though paying an outward Deference to the King his Father-in-law, ruling *France* with an abſolute Power. Their Diſcontent was ſtill increaſed by a Tax (4), impoſed by *Henry*, for coining a new ſort of Money. The *Pariſians* loudly murmured, but to no purpoſe. Their Condition was very different, from what it was a few Years before, when their Adherence to one of the Parties decided the Fate of both.

Tbe two Courts join at Paris. Monſtrelet.

A new Coin in France. Act. Pub. X. p. 58, 85. Monſtrelet.

The Dauphin takes la Charité, *and beſieges* Coſne. Walſing. Le Fevre. T. Livius. Elmham.

Whilſt *Henry* was preparing to renew the Campain, interrupted by the Queen's Arrival, News came, that the Dauphin had taken *la Charité*, which opened him a Paſſage over the *Loire*. Shortly after, Advice was brought, that he was beſieging *Coſne* upon the ſame River, and the Beſieged had capitulated to ſurrender, unleſs relieved by the Duke of *Burgundy* before the 18th of *Auguſt*. The Duke finding his Honour engaged to relieve that Place, deſired the King to ſend him a Re-inforcement; to which the King anſwered, he would come himſelf, and accordingly began immediately to march at the Head of his Army. But, whilſt he was pleaſing himſelf with the hopes of a Victory, that would render him Maſter of all *France*, he was ſeized with a Flux (5), which obliged him to ſtay at *Senlis*. However, for fear his Illneſs ſhould hinder *Coſne* from being relieved, he ordered the Duke of *Bedford*, with the beſt Part of his Troops (6), to join the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Dauphin hearing of their Junction, and being too weak to give them Battle, retired, and the two Dukes, having nothing more to do there, marched towards *Troye*. Mean time, *Henry*, hoping his Diſtemper would wear off, after reſting a little at *Senlis*, had taken Litter, in order to go and head the Army. But his Illneſs ſtill increaſing, he reſolved at length to return to *Vincennes*.

The King falls ſick. Walſing. Monſtrelet. T. Livius.

The Dauphin retires.

Henry *goes to* Vincennes.

The Duke of *Bedford*, hearing of the State the King was in, departed immediately from *Troye*, to come to him. He found him at the Point of Death, but expecting his approaching Diſſolution with great Firmneſs. Before he reſigned his laſt Breath, he ſent for the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, with ſeven or eight *Engliſh* Lords, to give them his laſt Inſtructions. He told them, "His Reign had been ſhort, but glorious; "though his Pretenſions to *France* had cauſed a great "effuſion of Blood, it could not be laid to his Charge, "ſince nothing but Force could have induced the *French* "to a reaſonable Peace. For his part, he beheld the approach of Death without Concern; but could not help "lamenting the Fate of the Prince his Son, who, by "reaſon of his Age, was uncapable of finiſhing a Work ſo "happily begun: Wherefore he conjured them, for God's "Sake, to remain in ſtrict Union, for the Service of "the Infant Prince, who was going to be their King; to "take care of his Education, and to give the Queen all "the Conſolation that lay in their Power, and for which "ſhe had ſo great Occaſion. He added, his laſt Advice "to them was, to cultivate diligently the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Friendſhip, and to take care not to releaſe the "Priſoners of *Azincourt*, till his Son was of Age to hold "the Reins of the Government himſelf. In caſe they "thought proper to conclude a Peace, it ſhould not be, "without ſecuring the Sovereignty of *Normandy* to the "Crown of *England*. He concluded with ſaying, it was "his deſire, the Duke of *Bedford* ſhould take upon him "the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of *France*, and the Duke "of *Gloceſter* be Protector of *England*, during his Son's "Minority.

1422.

His dying Speech. Monſtrelet. Le Fevre.

Having ſpoken theſe Words, he asked the Phyſicians how long they thought he had to live. Upon which, one of them ſaid, kneeling, with Tears in his Eyes, that without a Miracle, he could not live above two Hours. This terrible Sentence giving him no manner of Concern, he ſent for his Confeſſor, and having made his Confeſſion, ordered his Chaplains to read the *ſeven penitential Pſalms*. When they came to theſe Words of the 51ſt, *Build thou the Walls of* Jeruſalem, he interrupted them, and declared, "upon the Truth of a dying Prince, that, after having ſettled a firm Peace in *France*, he really intended "to wage War upon the Infidels, for the recovery of "*Jeruſalem* out of their Hands." The Moment they had finiſhed their Devotion, this great Prince expired on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age, after a triumphant Reign of nine Years, five Months, and eleven Days. His Body was brought into *England*, and buried at *Weſtminſter* among his Anceſtors, with a Funeral Pomp ſuitable to the Grandeur he enjoyed whilſt alive, and to the Eſteem conceived of him by his Subjects. His Queen, to honour, in a particular manner, the Memory of ſo illuſtrious a Spouſe, cauſed to be laid on his Tomb, a Statue of Silver gilt, as large as the Life, and extremely like him (7).

His Steadineſs at the Approach of Death. Monſtrelet. P. de Fenin.

He declares he deſigned to have warred againſt the Infidels.

He dies.

Act. Pub. X. p. 253, 255, 256.

Character of Henry V.

If, to know this Monarch's Character, we follow, without Examination, the Praiſes beſtowed on him by the Authors of his Nation, we muſt imagine him the moſt accompliſhed Prince that ever appeared in the World before him. Not an *Engliſh* Hiſtorian aſcribes to him the leaſt Defect, but all unanimouſly ſpeak of him as a perfect Hero. On the other hand, the *French* have endeavoured to ſhade his Portraiture with certain Strokes, that fully the Luſtre. It will be neceſſary therefore, in order to form a juſt Idea of him, to conſider his Actions with their Circumſtances, independently of the Admiration of the one, and the Envy of the other.

Walſing.

In the firſt Place, with reſpect to the Government of his own Kingdom, he ought not to be denied his due Praiſe; for, avoiding to tread in the Steps of *Richard* II, and even of his own Father, he conſtantly forbore to incroach on the Liberties and Privileges of the People. His readineſs at all times to give the Royal Aſſent to ſuch Acts, as the Parliament judged neceſſary for the Welfare of the Kingdom, was a clear Evidence of his regard for

(1) *May* 2. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 212.

(2) In this Siege were killed *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worceſter*, and the Lord *Clifford*. The laſt was brought over and buried in the Church of the Canons of *Bolton* in *Craven*, *Yorkſhire*. *Goodwin*, p. 325.

(3) In *April*. *Walſingham*, p. 406.

(4) Called in *Rymer's Fœd.* Marks of Silver. But what the Number of them was, or on what they were laid on, is not mentioned. See Tom. X. p. 58, 85.

(5) *J. des Urſins*, and other *French* Hiſtorians, ſay, that he died of a Flux accompanied with the Piles. *Monſtrelet* ſays, it was a St. *Antony's* Fire. According to *Walſingham*, through the Hardſhips and Fatigue he underwent, he contracted an acute Fever, attended with a Dyſentery. But *Peter Baſſet*, who was his Chamberlain at the time of his Death, affirms he died of a Pleuriſy. See *Goodwin*, p. 337.

(6) And with *Thomas Beaufort*, Duke of *Exeter*, *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, &c. *Walſingham*, p. 406.

(7) He was interred at the Feet of *Edward the Confeſſor*, in a little Chapel, ſince enlarged and beautified with ſeveral Statues, and fenced with two Iron Grates, by *Henry* VII. On his Tomb of grey Marble, erected by his Queen, was placed a Royal Image of Silver gilt; but about the latter end of *Henry* VIII, the Head (being of maſſy Silver) was broken off, and conveyed away with the Plates of Silver that covered his Trunk, which now only remains of heart of Oak; and his Epitaph defaced, which was but theſe two ſilly Verſes.

Dux Normannorum, verus Conqueſtor eorum,
Heres Francorum deceſſit, et Hector eorum.

The preſent Head is ſupplied from an original Picture at *Whitehall*.

1422. the Good and Happineſs of his People. Nevertheleſs, in this very Thing he was guilty of Exceſs, ſince, contrary to his own Inclination, and the dictates of his Reaſon, he conſented to the Perſecution of the *Lollards*, out of pure Condeſcenſion to the Clergy. Indeed, it was almoſt impoſſible, that, being endued with an excellent Judgment, he ſhould not perceive the groundleſſneſs of the Accuſations againſt them, in the beginning of his Reign. And yet, rather than publickly retract, he ſtill feigned to believe it true, at the very time when he pardoned ſome condemned Perſons, who perſiſted in a denial of the pretended Crime.

But it is not chiefly for what he acted in *England*, that Hiſtorians have been ſo laviſh of their Praiſes; his warlike Exploits are the principal Subject of his Panegyrick. And yet, to ſpeak without Aggravation, he was, perhaps, in no reſpect leſs remarkable, notwithſtanding the glorious Succeſs that attended his Arms. The Conqueſt of *France*, conſidered in itſelf, has ſomething grand and marvellous. But the Deſcription of the Affairs of that Kingdom, renders it, doubtleſs, not ſo wonderful, as it appears, when abſtracted from all its Circumſtances. *Lewis* VIII, Father of St. *Lewis*, conquered *England* in a like Juncture, and yet no one ever thought ſolely to aſcribe the Conqueſt to his Wiſdom or Valour. *Henry* projected his Enterprize, at a time when the Civil Diſſenſions of the *French*, rendered them unable to defend themſelves. The Towns he took, were defended only by the Beſieged themſelves, without any Army ever appearing to relieve them. However, ſome of theſe Places ſtopped him ſeveral Months, and were ſurrendered only by Famine.

The Battle of *Azincourt* is then the great, and almoſt ſole warlike Exploit, which can juſtly afford Matter for Panegyrick. In this famous Action, he gave Proofs of an uncommon Conduct, Reſolution, and Bravery. But this very Battle, the Succeſs whereof was ſo glorious, gives likewiſe occaſion to tax him with Imprudence. It may be ſaid, that, if he was victorious, it was, becauſe he had reduced himſelf to an abſolute Neceſſity, of vanquiſhing or dying; to which a General never expoſes himſelf, whatever the Event may be, without cauſing his Conduct to be ſeverely cenſured. His undertaking to retire to *Calais*, without foreſeeing the difficulties of the March, and without being ſecure of a Paſſage over the *Somme*; his Wilfulneſs in reſolving to paſs that River, in order to force his way through an Army, ſo ſuperior in Number to his own, ſeem excuſable, only by the Succeſs of the Battle of *Azincourt*, which was a ſort of Miracle. Had he been vanquiſhed, as he ſhould naturally have been, he would have been infallibly charged with Indiſcretion or Raſhneſs. The Neceſſity he was reduced to, during his March, if we may believe the *French* Hiſtorians, of offering to reſtore *Harfleur*, and repair the Damages he had cauſed to *France*, ſhews, how much he himſelf was convinced of his Error. This Battle therefore was more glorious for him, on account of his perſonal Valour, than with regard to his military Capacity. It muſt be confeſſed, never did Prince expoſe himſelf more in a Battle, and give more ſignal Proofs of true Valour, than did *Henry* in that Action.

As for his other Conqueſts in *France*, I do not know, whether his greateſt Admirers have reaſon to wiſh he had met with more oppoſition. What might have happened in that caſe, is beyond human Knowledge. It cannot however be denied, that the Victory of *Azincourt* preposſeſſes us in his favour. But what may be extolled in him, without danger of being deceived, is the Excellency of his Genius, and the Solidity of his Judgment. He knew how to manage the great Undertaking he had formed, with wonderful Addreſs, wiſely improving the ſeveral Revolutions in *France*, and making them all turn to his Advantage. Few Princes would have ſtopped like him, after ſo glorious a Victory as that of *Azincourt*, and preferred a repoſe, which, though ſeemingly leſs glorious than the Continuation of the War, was in reality to him more advantagious. This Policy, in my Opinion, is one of the brighteſt Paſſages of his Life, and beſt ſhews the ſoundneſs of his Judgment. His Negotiations with the Dauphin, and the Duke of *Burgundy* at the ſame time, and his Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors, are plain Indications of his Abilities, and how difficult it was to deceive him.

It is not very ſtrange, that the proſperous Succeſs of his Undertakings, ſhould gain him extraordinary Praiſes from the Nation, eſpecially, as it cannot be denied, that this Succeſs was no leſs owing to his prudent Conduct, than to favorable Junctures. In general, he forced the *French* to own him for Regent and Heir of their Kingdom. And this is one of thoſe Actions, which ſeldom fail of being praiſed beyond Meaſure. Accordingly, Hiſtorians have not been ſatisfied with comparing him to *David*, *Alexander*, and *Cæſar*, but have ranked him above theſe great Men. But however, without going ſo far for Compariſons, which, after all, ſeem not very juſt, methinks he might, with more reaſon, be put in Parallel with *Edward* III, his Great Grandfather. However, I ſhould hardly ſcruple to give the Preference to *Edward*. *Edward* had to deal with all *France* united againſt him, and the difficulties he encountered in his Conqueſts, were incomparably greater, and required an abler Head to ſurmount them, than thoſe which oppoſed the Progreſs of *Henry* V. 1422.

What I have been ſaying of this Prince, properly relates only to his principal Action, namely, his War with *France*. I ſhall now deſcribe his other Qualifications; which, though not ſo glaring, are no leſs worthy of Admiration, than the glorious Succeſſes, which have almoſt wholly engroſſed the attention of the Publick. It is certain, he had all the Endowments of Body and Mind requiſite to form a great Man. His Stature was tall and majeſtick, though a little too ſlender, and long-necked. His Hair was Black, and his Eyes, of the ſame Colour, were exceeding lively. He was ſtrong and robuſt, very expert in all bodily Exerciſes, chaſte, temperate, at leaſt after he came to the Crown, inured to Hardſhips, and patient of Hunger and Thirſt, Heat and Cold. In all this he was a ſtanding Example to his Troops, of Moderation and Conſtancy. He was a great lover of Juſtice, following it himſelf, and cauſing it to be punctually obſerved. Religious without Diſguiſe, perſevering in Piety, and conſtant in his private, as well as public Devotions; a great Protector of the Church and Clergy; he won by theſe Qualities, the Eſteem and Affection of the Eccleſiaſticks, who did not a little contribute to heighten the Luſtre of his Glory. He was prudent in Council, bold in undertaking, and reſolute in executing. As for his Valour, he gave continual Proofs of it through the whole Courſe of his Life. There is another thing likewiſe, for which he ought to be praiſed. He cauſed military Diſcipline to re-flouriſh, which was almoſt entirely neglected in *England*, ſince the Reign of *Edward* III. Never did the *Engliſh* Nation ſhine with ſuch Luſtre, as under this renowned Prince. To this may be added, he was ſo fortunate, as to end his Days in the midſt of his Proſperity, and not ſee, with *Edward* III, the Fruits of all his Labours deſtroyed.

Having related what is ſaid by the *Engliſh*, to this Prince's Advantage, the faithfulneſs of an Hiſtorian requires, that ſome Failings, caſt upon him by the *French*, and aggravated perhaps by Malice and Envy, are not paſſed over in Silence. In the firſt Place, they tax him with Cruelty, and making War in a barbarous Manner. They ground this Charge, not only upon the Slaughter of the Priſoners at the Battle of *Azincourt*, but alſo upon his putting to death ſeveral Officers, after the taking of *Caen*, *Melun*, and *Meaux*. But as to the Priſoners of *Azincourt*, there is no doubt, but the Maxims of War, and the Neceſſity of providing for his own Safety, will juſtify his Orders upon that account, ſuppoſing they were not too haſty. As for his treatment of the Burghers and Garriſons of the conquered Places, I confeſs, it is not impoſſible, but he might be ſomething ſwayed by Revenge, by reaſon of the Time theſe brave Men made him loſe; but this can only be ſaid by Conjecture. That he uſed Severity towards ſome is certain, but his Motives are unknown. To diſcuſs ſuch Facts, more Circumſtances are required, than are come to our Knowledge. However, with regard to thoſe of *Meaux*, they are known to have incurred the Guilt of ſeveral Murders, for which, doubtleſs, they deſerved to be puniſhed. It was neither unjuſt nor barbarous, to hang the *Baſtard of Vaurus*, on the ſame Tree, whereon he himſelf had hanged all the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Adherents, that fell into his Hands. For the other three, executed at the ſame time, I know not the Reaſon; but it is to be preſumed, they were not capriciouſly choſen from all the reſt of the Garriſon, to be Inſtances of the Severity of the Conquerors. As for the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, who were in the Service of his Enemies, their being excepted in the Capitulation, needs no Apology. It were to be wiſhed, for *Henry*'s Reputation, that he could be as eaſily juſtified, in refuſing to give quarter to the *Scots*, on pretence, they would not obey their King, who was actually his Priſoner.

The *French* accuſe moreover this Prince of exceſſive Pride, even to the cauſing, as they aſſure us, the Marſhal *de l'Iſle-Adam* to be committed to the *Baſtile*, for daring to look in his Face when ſpeaking to him (1). It is true, if he had no other Reaſon, this was a high Strain of Haughtineſs Monſtrelet. P. de Fenin.

(1) King *Henry*, who had little Eſteem for him, did not treat him with ſuch Favour as he ſhewed to the other Officers, as appeared upon occaſion of the Marſhal's coming to him one Day for Inſtructions; His Majeſty ſeein him in a very plain Coat, ſaid to him in Raillery, *How*, L'Iſle-Adam,

Gravelot del.

G. Vertue Sculp.

The Chappel of King HENRY V.
in Westminster Abbey.

THE MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY OF K. HENRY V.

The Monument of KING HENRY V. in Westminster Abbey.

P. Sandby sculpsit 1748.

1422. Haughtineſs and Rigour. But can it be denied, that a Look, a bare Geſture, may be ſometimes very offenſive? And who knows but the Marſhal, as he ſpoke, uſed ſome aggravating Circumſtance, or raſh Expreſſion, which rendred him worthy of Chaſtiſement, and which has been induſtriouſly concealed, to make the King's Action appear the more odious?

Avarice is another Failing, wherewith he is confidently reproached. It is pretended, that after he was declared Regent and Heir of *France*, he was never bountiful, either to any of the *Burgundian* Party, who had ſerved him, or to thoſe of the Dauphin's, who voluntarily ſubmitted to him. I ſhall not undertake to clear him from this Charge, as it does not appear that he was very liberal to the *Engliſh* themſelves, who ſerved him, whether by reaſon of his great Expence, or, becauſe he was otherwiſe inclined. Though he had many good Officers, and excellent Generals, we do not find, that he rewarded them according to their Merit and Services. We muſt however, except the Earl of *Dorſet*, to whom he aſſigned a Penſion of a thouſand Pounds a Year, when he created him Earl of *Exeter*; *Faſtolff*, to whom he gave a conſiderable Eſtate near *Harfleur*; the Captal of *Buch*, of the Houſe of *Foix*, who had the Lordſhip of *Longueville*; and the Earl of *Salisbury*, to whom he gave the Earldom of *Perche*. But after all, very poſſibly, *Henry*'s want of liberality was the Effect of his Prudence. I have obſerved, that the Revenue of the Crown amounted but to Fifty-ſix thouſand Pounds, and that he was forced to pawn his Jewels, to ſupply what the Sums, granted him by Parliament, wanted to defray the Charges of the War. Was it proper to appear liberal in ſuch Circumſtances? Upon many occaſions, it were to be wiſhed, Sovereigns would moderate their Bounties, which are, but too often, at the Expence of the poor People.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 329. p. 765. p. 739.

Laſtly, An unbounded Ambition is a Failing, which the *French* think may juſtly be laid to his Charge. To know whether this Accuſation be well-grounded, it ſhould be examined, whether he was in the right to renew, or rather to continue, a War againſt *France*, occaſioned by her Breach of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and begun by herſelf. But this Enquiry would be needleſs, after what has been ſaid upon this Subject in the Reign of *Edward* III, to which recourſe may be had. However it cannot be denied, that *Henry* was very ambitious. His firſt Project was only to reſtore the Peace of *Bretigny*. But when he ſaw a poſſibility of mounting the Throne of *France*, his Ambition carried him beyond the Bounds preſcribed by himſelf in the beginning of the War. I have taken notice of his Intent, to make one of his Brothers King of *Naples*, and the other of *Sicily*, and of his uſing, certainly, no very honorable means to procure the Duke of *Gloceſter* four Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, he had a deſign to purchaſe the Duchy of *Luxemburgh* of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and to treat with him concerning his pretended Claim to *Dauphiné*. In fine, it farther appears, he would have paid the Ranſom of a Lord of the Houſe of *Blois* (1), Priſoner to the Marquiſs of *Baden*, probably, to aſſert one Day the Pretenſions of that Houſe to the Duchy of *Bretagne*.

1422.

Act. Pub. X. p. 143, 144, 145.

By *Catherine* of *France* his Queen, *Henry* left but one Son of his own Name, about eight or nine Months old. The Queen his Widow, forgetting ſhe had been Wife of ſo great a Prince, and was deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of *Europe*, married ſome time after, *Owen Tudor*, a *Welſh* Gentleman, not without giving great Offence both to the *Engliſh* and *French*. It is pretended, this Gentleman was deſcended from the antient Kings of *Wales*, but I do not know whether this Deſcent be well proved (2). *Owen Tudor* had by the Queen three Sons, namely, *Edmund*, *Jaſper*, and *Owen* (3). The eldeſt married *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, Grandſon of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Catherine Roet* his third Wife. He was Father of *Henry* VII, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter mount the Throne, and leave it to his Poſterity.

His Iſſue.

Charles VI, King of *France*, ſurvived *Henry* but two Months. The Death of theſe two Monarchs is going to open a Scene very different from what we have ſeen (4).

Adam, *is this the Garb of a Marſhal of* France? To which he replied with an Air of Confidence, *That he had it made to wear in the Boat which brought him down the* Seine. The Anſwer was diſpleaſing from the manner of delivering it, and King *Henry* was provoked to ſay, *You are too rude in your Behaviour, Sir; how dare you look on a King in that bold manner? Sir*, replied the Marſhal, *It is the Faſhion of my Country, where, if one Man ſpeak to another, though the greateſt on Earth, with a downcaſt Look, we think him conſcious of ſome Baſeneſs or Guilt. Your Cuſtoms*, ſaid the King, *are very different from ours.* The next Year, the Marſhal was diſplaced from his Office, and committed cloſe Priſoner by the King's Order, for ſome Miſcarriages. *Monſtrelet. P. de Fenin. Goodwin*, p. 280.

(1) The Lord *Oliver de Blois*, Count of *Poictiers*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 145.

(2) It is likewiſe ſaid, he was the Son of a Brewer: But the meanneſs of his Extraction was made up by the Delicacy of his Perſon, being reckoned the handſomeſt Man of his Time.

(3) And a Daughter that died an Infant.

(4) King *Henry*, among other Works of Magnificence and Charity, rebuilt the Royal Palace of *Shene*, now called *Richmond*; and the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*. He alſo founded the Fraternity of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate*, *London*, beſides other Monaſteries mentioned above. *Walſing.* p. 387. *Stow's Ann.* p. 362.——It was alſo this King that firſt inſtituted *Garter King at Arms*, and made ſeveral Regulations about the honorable Order of the Garter, which the curious Reader may ſee in *Aſhmole's Inſtitut. &c. of the Garter*, p. 252, &c. He alſo appointed a new Herald, by the Title of *Agencourt King at Arms*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 702.

In the Ninth of *Henry* V, a Pound Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make by Tale fifty Nobles, or a hundred half Nobles, or two hundred quarter Nobles, amounting to ſixteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence in Tale. And a Pound Weight of the ſame old Standard, was to make by Tale, ninety Groſſes or Groats, or a hundred and eighty half Groats, or three hundred and ſixty Sterlings, or ſeven hundred and twenty Mailes, or fourteen hundred and forty Farthings, amounting to thirty Shillings. *Bartholomew Goldbeater* was Maſter and Worker. This King's Roſe-Noble is inſcribed, HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRANC. DNS. HIB. the King ſtanding in a Ship, holding in his Right-hand a Sword, in the Left a Shield, with the Arms of *France* and *England*, the Flower-de-lis being ſtrictly three; he being the firſt that bore them ſo. Reverſe, IHC. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIVM. ILLORV. IBAT. a Croſs Fleuri, with four Fleurs-de-lis, and as many Lions paſſant; each under a Crown above, and three Pellets below; within the Center of the Croſs, in a Roſe the Letter H, the whole within a large Roſe. *Evelin*'s Deſcription of his Roſe-Noble, belongs to his Son's Angel. There was alſo Gold Money ſtamped at *Paris*, and in *Normandy*, by *Henry* V, called *Saluts*, bearing the Angel's Salutation of the Bleſſed Virgin, (the one holding the Arms of *England*, the other of *France*) with the King's Title; and, on the Reverſe, CHRISTVS VINCIT. CHRISTVS SIGNAT. CHRISTVS IMPERAT. which we find very little altered, upon ſome of the earlieſt Piſtols of *Lewis* XIV. The Legend indeed belongs to *France*, and *Du Freſne* reckons the *Salut* amongſt the proper Coins of that Country. The King's Gold Coins were ſo debaſed, that it was neceſſary to order, that they ſhould be recoined at the *Tower gratis*. His Silver Money was moſtly (as the Statute directed) coined at *Paris*, tho' ſome of his Pieces have CIVITAS LONDON, in the inner Circle of the Reverſe. His Silver Coins are ſuppoſed to be diſtinguiſhed (chiefly) from thoſe of *Henry* IV, by two little Circles, or Eyelet Holes, deeply impreſſed below the Face, on each ſide the Neck, which are anſwered by two more, in the middle of two Triangles of Globules in the Quarters of the Croſs, on the Reverſe. See the *Fig.* There was alſo white Money coined by this King in *France*, after the Victory of *Azincourt*; his Style being then REX ANGLIÆ ET HÆRES FRANCIÆ. Theſe *Blanks*, ſays Sir *Edward Coke*, were valued at Eight-pence, and becauſe of their Baſeneſs, were deemed *Gally-half-pence*, *Suskyn* and *Dotkyn*, and prohibited by Act of Parliament. *Coke's Inſt.* l. 3. c. 30. p. 92.

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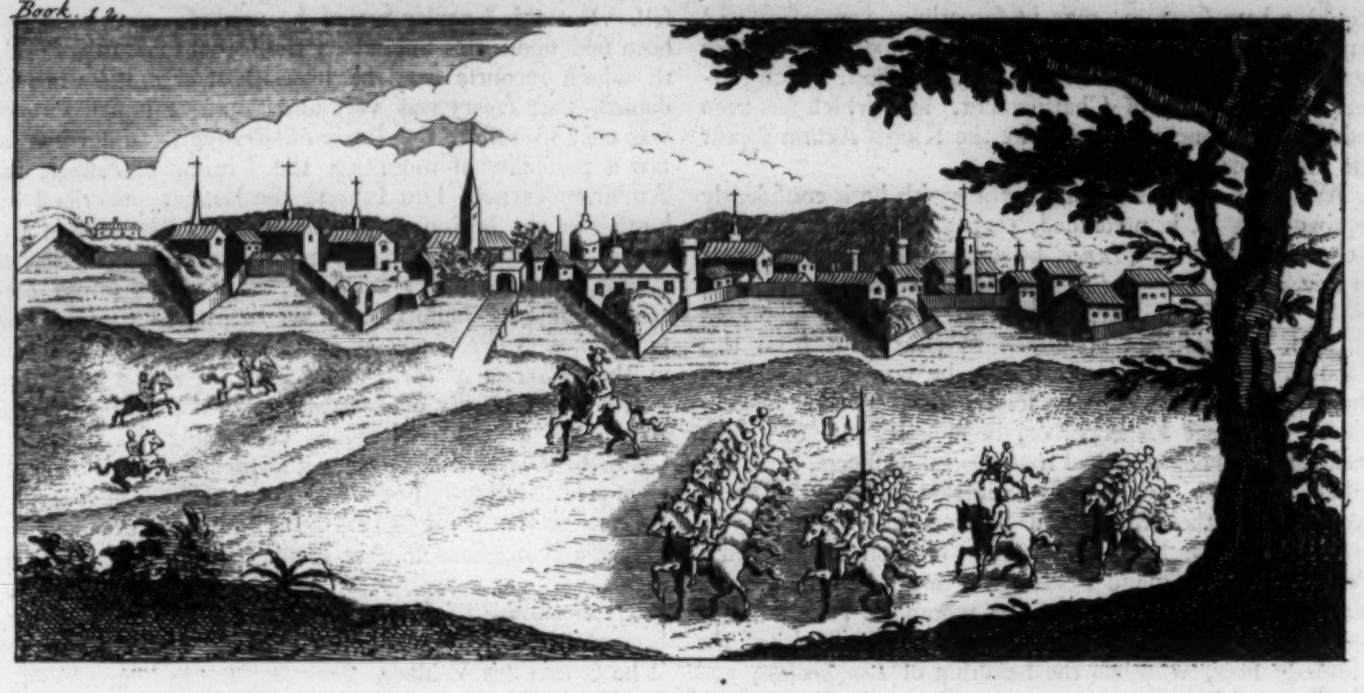

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XII.

The Reign of HENRY VI; *With a Diſſertation on the* MAID *of* ORLEANS.

15. *HENRY* VI. *Sirnam'd of* WINDSOR.

HENRY VI. 1422. *It is reſolved in* England *to maintain young* Henry's *Right to* France.

HENRY V, when within view of his end, ſeemed to have been taken out of the World by a particular direction of divine Providence, which is ſometimes pleaſed to ſtop the beſt concerted Undertakings, when juſt going to be accompliſhed. The Peace of *Troye* not being yet firmly ſettled, and the Prince who was to mount the Throne, but an Infant of nine Months, every thing ſeemed to concur to take from the *Engliſh* the hopes, of ſeeing the two Kingdoms of *France* and *England* united under a King of their Nation. But on the other hand, the noble Qualities of the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloceſter*, Brothers of the deceaſed King, incouraged the moſt timorous. How great ſoever the Loſs might be, it was not thought irreparable, ſince the Valour, Experience, and Wiſdom of theſe two Princes, enabled them to ſupport the new King's Minority. Inſtead therefore of being diſheartned at ſo terrible a Blow, they ſhewed, by proclaiming young *Henry* King of *England*, and Heir of *France*, that they were determined to maintain what the King his Father had ſo gloriouſly eſtabliſhed.

Henry VI is proclaimed Heir of France.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* had governed the Kingdom by the Title of Guardian, ever ſince the Duke of *Bedford* his elder Brother attended the Queen into *France*. But this Dignity being inconſiſtent with a King actually preſent in his Kingdom, ceaſed the Moment young *Henry* was proclaimed (1). It is true, the late King had ordered upon his Death-Bed, that during his Son's Minority, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould be Regent, or Protector in *England*. But this was not a ſufficient Warrant to exerciſe that important Office. The Parliament's Confirmation was alſo requiſite. For that, and ſome no leſs urgent Reaſons, the Council ſpeedily ſummoned a Parliament for the 9th of *November*. Till the two Houſes ſhould ſettle the Form of Government, during the King's Minority, the Council, whereof the Duke of *Gloceſter* was Preſident, iſſued all neceſſary Orders for whatever would not admit of delay. 1422.

A Parliament is called. Cotton's Abridg.

A few Days after, the Council was informed of ſome Motions (2) in *Wales*, and the neighbouring Counties, which might be attended with ill Conſequences. Very likely, as the Earl of *March* had great Intereſt in thoſe parts, ſome of his moſt zealous Adherents deſigned to raiſe Commotions, in order to try, at ſuch a Juncture, to revive the Earl's Claim to the Crown. It may at leaſt be preſumed, theſe Motions ſeemed to be of great Moment, ſince, beſides the Orders of the Council to the Sheriffs, Commiſſioners were appointed to put them in execution. *The Welſh begin to ſtir.* Act. Pub. X. p. 254.

During the time between the calling of the Parliament, died King *Charles* VI at *Paris*, the 21ſt of *October*, having ſurvived *Henry* V, his Son-in-law, but fifty five Days. His Death entirely changed the Face of Affairs. It was not doubted that the Dauphin would take the Title of King of *France*, and exert his utmoſt to procure the Poſſeſſion of a Crown, which he deemed fallen to him by the Death of the King his Father. Whilſt *Charles* VI. was alive, many of his Subjects thought it their duty to obey him, without inquiring, whether what he did was conformable to the Laws, and beneficial to the State, becauſe, their Oath to him was not conditional. But after his Death, they believed it no leſs incumbent upon them, to acknowledge the Dauphin his Son, for Sovereign, notwithſtanding the Peace of *Troye*, which deprived him of his Right. Indeed, that Peace bore but too viſible Marks of Seduction and Violence, to be conſidered by true *Frenchmen*, as a fundamental and inviolable Law, though many that believed it very unjuſt, had been forced to approve it. So the Dauphin, who, in the latter Years of the King his Father, might, in ſome meaſure, be counted a Rebel, was upon better Terms, when he could aſſume the Title of Sovereign. *The Death of the King of* France. Mezerai.

(1) A Guardian is appointed to govern in the King's Abſence only; and a Regent, or Protector, during an *Interregnum*, or the Non-age of the King. *Rapin.*

(2) They were informed of ſome Quarrels, Diſſenſions, and Debates (as it is ſaid in *Rymer's Fœd.*) that had happened in *Shropſhire, Herefordſhire, Worceſterſhire, Glouceſterſhire*, and the Marches of *Wales*. Tom. X. p. 254.

Theſe

Painted on Bord, in the Palace of Kensington.

1422. Henry VI. *is proclaimed King of* France *at* Paris. *The Duke of* Bedford *takes the Title of Regent.* J. Chartier.

These Conſiderations obliged the Duke of *Bedford*, who continued in *France*, ſeriouſly to reflect on the poſſible ill Conſequences of this Change, and to ſeek means to prevent them. *Charles* VI had no ſooner cloſed his Eyes, but the Duke ordered *Henry* to be proclaimed King of *France*, and, purſuant to the Will of the late King his Brother, took himſelf the Title of Regent. Then he broke the Great Seal, and cauſed a new one to be made, with the Arms of *France* and *England*, and the Effigies of the young King holding a Sceptre in each hand.

The French *Lords ſwear Allegiance to* Henry. Hall.

The Succeſſion to the Crown of *France* being ſettled by the Peace of *Troye*, the Regent thought he might, upon that Foundation, and without a new Conſent of the States, put the King his Nephew in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Wherefore, contenting himſelf with aſſembling at *Paris* all the great Men of the *Engliſh* Party, he made a Speech, exhorting them to recognize young *Henry* for their Sovereign. He inſiſted on the Peace of *Troye*, and their Oath to maintain it, and endeavoured to convince them, it was for their own, as well as the Kingdom's Intereſt, inviolably to obſerve it. This done, all that were preſent ſwore Allegiance to *Henry*, and did Homage to him, in the Perſon of the Regent, for the Lands they held of the Crown. The ſame thing was afterwards required of thoſe that were abſent, and of the Towns in ſubjection to the *Engliſh*.

A Deputation to Henry. Monſtrelet.

This Ceremony being ended, the Regent, the Council of *France*, and City of *Paris* ſent Deputies to *London*, of whom the Biſhop of *Terouenne* was the Chief, to congratulate the young King upon his Acceſſion to the Crowns of the two Kingdoms. At the ſame time, the Deputies had Orders to go by the *Low-Countries*, and exhort the Duke of *Burgundy* to remain firm to the Alliance. It was feared, the Death of *Henry* V, and of *Charles* VI, might cauſe him to alter his Meaſures.

The Dauphin takes the Title of King of France, *and is crowned at* Poictiers. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* was taking all neceſſary Precautions to ſettle the Affairs of the King his Nephew, the Dauphin was no leſs intent upon his. He was at *Eſpaly*, a Houſe belonging to the Biſhop of *Puy*, when he heard of his Father's Death. He ſhed many Tears at the News, whether Nature rouzed herſelf upon the occaſion, or he had really ever preſerved an Affection for a Father, who was not to be blamed for the Miſchiefs he had done him. The firſt Day he appeared in Mourning, but on the morrow put on Scarlet, and was proclaimed King of *France*, with all the Solemnity the Circumſtances of his Court, and the place he was in, would permit. After that, he came to *Poictiers*, where he had removed the Parliament of *Paris*. He was crowned here, in the beginning of *November*, becauſe the City of *Rheims*, where the Coronation of the Kings of *France* is uſually performed, was in the hands of the *Engliſh*.

Neceſſity of joining together the Hiſtories of France *and* England.

Thus *Henry* VI and *Charles* VII aſſumed, both at the ſame time, the Title of King of *France*, and diſputed with each other the poſſeſſion of the Throne thirty Years. This renders the Hiſtory of the preſent Reign ſo interwoven with That of *France*, that they cannot poſſibly be ſeparated. The *Engliſh* were bent to preſerve for their young King, the Crown of *France*, acquired by his Father's Labours, and of which they believed his Anceſtors to have been unjuſtly deprived. On the other hand, *Charles* meant likewiſe to take poſſeſſion of the ſame Crown, which it was deſigned to wreſt from him, and which, in his Opinion, he held not ſo much from the King his Father, ſeduced by ill Counſels, as from a long Train of Anceſtors, who had enjoyed it before him. This important Quarrel produced numberleſs Events, which to be well underſtood, require an exact Knowledge of the State of the Affairs of both Kings, in the beginning of their Reigns. It is no leſs requiſite to know the Perſons that managed the Affairs, as well Civil as Military, of the two Kingdoms. In ſhort, to perceive wherein conſiſted the Advantages and Diſadvantages of each King, during this tedious War, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to have a general Idea of the then State of *France*, with regard to the Aſſiſtance each might have, as well from the Princes and Vaſſals of the Crown, as from Foreigners. This Review ſeems to me indiſpenſable, in order to avoid the Obſcurity, which would inceſſantly occur, in a mixt Recital of ſo many various Events.

Situation of the Affairs of both Kings.

Firſt then, for the Perſons of the two Kings, *Charles* was one and twenty Years old (1), and *Henry* but an Infant of nine Months. However, in this very thing the Advantage was on *Henry*'s Side, whoſe Affairs were managed by two Uncles of great Abilities, and by the wiſeſt Council then in *Europe*. On the contrary, *Charles*, who never paſſed for an extraordinary Genius, was, by reaſon of his Age, more difficult to be ruled; his Paſſions frequently hindering him from following the beſt Advice. To the time he aſſumed the Title of King, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf neither by his Valour nor Conduct. More prone to Pleaſures than War, he appeared very unfit to reſtore the Affairs of the *French* Monarchy, which was upon the Brink of Deſtruction. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murder, committed in his preſence, and doubtleſs by his Orders, had raiſed diſadvantagious Prejudices againſt him. He had not been more ſcrupulous, with regard to the Duke of *Bretagne* his Brother-in-law. This Prince, whom the Earls of *Pontievre*, by a notorious Treachery, had carried away by Force, and long detained in Priſon, came to know, after his Deliverance, that the Plot was contrived againſt him with the Dauphin's Privity and Conſent. And therefore, it might be ſaid, it was not *Charles*'s Fault, that the Duke of *Bretagne* had not undergone the ſame Fate with the Duke of *Burgundy*. Theſe things made a deep Wound in his Reputation, which was not otherwiſe ſupported by any bright Virtue or Action. All that could be ſaid to his Advantage, was, that he had not meanly ſtooped to his Enemies. But it did not require a great Genius, to refuſe running into manifeſt Deſtruction. 1422. Act. Pub. IX. p. 876, 884.

As to the Forces of the two Kings, it is eaſy to ſee, that *Henry* had greatly the Advantage of his Rival, ſince, with what he poſſeſſed in *France*, he had moreover all *England* on his Side. *France* was then ſo divided between them, that each had whole Provinces under his Obedience, and in others, each had fortified Towns and Adherents. In the Provinces thus divided, there was ſcarce a walled Town, but what had a Garriſon for one or other. And this rendered them, above thirty Years, the Seat of the War.

Charles was poſſeſſed of all *Languedoc*, from whence he had lately expelled the Earl of *Foix*, whilſt *Henry* V was employed in the Siege of *Melun*, and had appointed for Governor the Earl of *Clermont*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*. From that time, the Earl of *Foix* had in vain attempted to recover that Province.

The *Dauphiné*, was likewiſe entirely ſubject to *Charles*, who poſſeſſed alſo *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Touraine*, part of *Saintonge*, the City of *Rochel* and *Poictou*. Beſides theſe Provinces, he conſidered as Countries dependent of him, *Provence*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, for reaſons mentioned hereafter.

Henry was in poſſeſſion of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, the richeſt Provinces of the Kingdom. *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *la Brie*, and the Iſle of *France* belonged to him, excepting a few Places, which ſtill held out for King *Charles*. In a word, he was Maſter of *Paris*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, which alone was equivalent to a great and rich Province. He could moreover rely on the two *Burgundies*, *Flanders*, and *Artois*, which belonged to the Duke of *Burgundy*, his Vaſſal and Ally.

From what has been ſaid, it is eaſy to perceive, that the War might be carried on in all the Provinces of *France*, *Bretagne* excepted, which hitherto had ſtood Neuter. But there were ſome Places more expoſed than others to the Fury of the Sword, as *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *la Brie*, and the Iſle of *France*. The reaſon is, becauſe the *Engliſh*, before all things, would clear theſe Provinces of King *Charles*'s Garriſons, in order to attack him afterwards beyond the *Loire*, without being forced to leave any thing behind them. For the ſame reaſon, it was *Charles*'s Intereſt to proſecute the War in the ſame Provinces, to prevent his Enemies from carrying their Conqueſts into the Southern Provinces, which were his laſt Refuge.

After ſeeing the Diſpoſition of the Provinces, it will be neceſſary to examine that of the *French* Princes, immediate Vaſſals of the Crown. And firſt of the Duke of *Bretagne*.

Situation of the Duke of Bretagne.

Ever ſince the beginning of the War, *John* V, Duke of *Bretagne*, had ſtood Neuter, without concerning himſelf in a Quarrel, which could not fail of drawing the War into his Country, if he had been ſo ill-adviſed, as to declare for either of the Kings. But after the Peace of *Troye* was ſigned and ſworn, he believed it no longer poſſible to continue in a State of Neutrality. *Charles* VI, and *Henry* V, being united by the Peace, and there being but one King of *France*, he could not help acknowledging him, unleſs he would openly join with the Dauphin. But ſuch a Proceeding would have been very imprudent, ſince the Dauphin was ſo low, that there was little appearance of his ever recovering. Upon theſe accounts, as ſoon as the Duke ſaw the two Kings united, he ſent *Henry* V word, he was ready to ſign the Peace of *Troye*, and do Homage for his Dutchy to King *Charles*. This Negotiation, though begun in 1420, could not be ended before *Henry*'s Death. Probably, the Duke of *Bretagne* prolonged it, on purpoſe to ſee how the War againſt the Dauphin would go. Be this as it will, *Henry* dying before this Affair was finiſhed, the Duke of *Bre-* Act. Pub. X. p. 8, 15, 206, 228.

(1) *P. Daniel* ſays, he was but in the twentieth Year of his Age. Vol. VI. p. 1.

1422. *tagne* saw himself in the same State, as before the Peace of *Troye*, that is, at liberty to chuse his Side, or stand Neuter, according as he should be determined by the Events. There was however one strong reason for his not siding with the Dauphin, and that was, the discovery of the Dauphin's being deeply concerned in the Conspiracy of the *Pontievrians*. Nevertheless, preferring the Peace of his Subjects, to the pleasure of Revenge, he had not thought proper to declare for *England*.

The State of the Earl of Richemont.

Arthur, Earl of *Richemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Bretagne*, was taken Prisoner at *Azincourt* in 1415, and carried into *England*, where he remained till 1420. Mean while, the Duke his Brother being seized by the *Pontievrians*, he desired King *Henry*'s leave, to go and endeavour to free him. Leave was granted him upon certain Conditions, namely, That on *Michaelmas-day* 1422, *Arthur* should return to *London*, and appear before the King, or his Successor, the Lord Chancellor, or the Mayor of *London*.

Act. Pub. X. p. 5, 8, 46.

That during the Term of his Enlargement, he should make no Alliance with the Dauphin, or any other Person whatever, against the King of *England*, or the Duke of *Burgundy*; neither should he attempt any thing contrary to the Peace of *Troye*.

That *Alan de Rohan*, the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Lieutenant, the States and Barons of the Country, should promise the same Thing, during the Earl's Absence from *England*.

For Security of these Conditions, the Earl of *Montfort* was to be delivered to the King, whom he promised to restore, upon the Earl of *Richemont*'s return to *London*.

The Earl ratified and swore all these Articles, and then departed for *Bretagne*. The Death of *Henry* V happening a Month before the Expiration of his Leave, instead of returning into *England*, according to his Oath, he still remained at the Duke his Brother's Court, who was freed from his Imprisonment. Thus, at the time of *Charles* VI's death, he was really Prisoner of the *English*, though he was not actually in their Power; and moreover, liable to the reproach of Breach of Faith. Some have thought to justify him, by saying, he only stood bound to the Person of *Henry* V, and therefore, upon that Monarch's decease, believed himself freed from his Oath. But this pretended Limitation of his Engagement, is destroyed by the forementioned Articles.

Hist. of Charles VII, *by* J. B. J. Tom. I. p. 195.

Besides the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Disposition with respect to the two rival Kings, he was moreover prompted to side with the *English*, by the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother, who had a great Influence over him. *Arthur* not only thereby designed to free himself from his Engagement, but had also other Views, which shall be mentioned hereafter. It may therefore be said, that though the Duke of *Bretagne* stood Neuter, or was desirous of still passing for such, he was however upon the Point of declaring for *England*.

State of the Duke of Burgundy.

As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, there is no occasion to repeat here his Reasons to remain firm to the Alliance of the *English*. It will suffice to say, that he did not think the death of the Duke his Father sufficiently revenged, whilst *Charles* enjoyed any part of *France*.

Of the Duke of Anjou *King of* Sicily.

Lewis III, Duke of *Anjou*, and King of *Sicily*, who was possessed in *France*, of *Provence*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, was entirely in the Interest of King *Charles* his Brother-in-law. But he had been some time employed at *Naples*, in securing the Inheritance of *Joan* II, Queen of that Country, who had adopted him for her Son. In his Absence, *Violante* of *Arragon*, his Mother, had the Administration of Affairs, and remained firmly attached to King *Charles* her Son-in-law.

Of the Earl of Foix *and his Brothers.* Oshag. Hist. of Foix and Bearn.

The House of *Foix* made then a very great Figure in the Kingdom (1). *Matthew* of *Castlebon*, Earl of *Foix*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*, dying without Issue in 1399, *Elizabeth* his Sister, Wife of *Archembald de Graille*, Captal of *Buch* in *Guienne*, took possession of his Dominions. *Charles* VI attempted to deprive the Captal and his Wife of this noble Inheritance, but they found means to keep possession. *Archembald* died in 1413, leaving five Sons, all of distinguished Merit. *John*, the eldest, was Earl of *Foix* and *Bigorre*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*. *Gaston*, who bore the Title of Captal of *Buch*, adhered to *Henry* V, who made him *Knight of the Garter*, and Earl of *Longueville*. From him sprung the House of *Candale*. *Archembald*, Lord of *Noailles*, the third Son, was killed on *Montereau* Bridge, with the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Matthew* the fourth Brother, married the Heiress of *Cominge*. 1422. We shall see hereafter, that a Quarrel between him and his Wife, caused the Country of *Cominge*, to fall into the Hands of *Charles* VII. *Peter* the youngest, was at first a *Franciscan* Friar, then Bishop of *Lescar*, and at last Cardinal, and *Legate à Latere* in *France*, under the Pontificate of *Martin* V. He founded the College of *Foix* at *Toulouse*.

Hence it appears, that the House of *Foix* was very considerable, as well for Extent of Dominion in the southern Parts of *France*, as for the Merit of the four Brothers, whereof it consisted. The Neighbourhood of *Guienne* obliged the Earls of *Foix*, to pay great regard to the Kings of *England*, who were Masters of that Dukedom. *Foix*, *Bearn*, and *Bigorre*, could with ease be invaded by so powerful Neighbours, and with difficulty be assisted by the Kings of *France*. Besides, the Captal of *Buch*, and the Earl of *Cominge*, were Vassals of the King of *England*. An antient Quarrel between the House of *Foix*, and the Earls of *Armagnac*, was a farther Inducement to that House, to continue under the Protection of the *English*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, sworn Enemy of the *Armagnacs*. These Considerations led *Henry* V, when he entered upon the Regency of *France*, to give the Government of *Languedoc* (2) to the Earl of *Foix*. He made an Agreement with the Earl, to find a considerable Number of Troops (3), to keep that Province in Obedience to *Charles* VI. He was, as has been shewn, expelled by the Dauphin, and the Earl of *Clermont* put in his room. Immediately after the death of *Henry* V, the Earl of *Foix* renewed the Agreement with his Successor, who made him Governor again. But it was not in his power to dispossess the Earl of *Clermont*. Afterwards, the Earl of *Foix*, seeing *England* did not observe the Agreement, sided with King *Charles*. But in the beginning of the present Reign, he and his two Brothers openly declared for the *English*.

Act. Pub. X. p. 46, 70, 176, 194.

Ib. p. 271, 276.

Of Armagnac *and* Albret. Ib. p. 41, &c.

On the other hand, the Houses of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, very powerful in *Guienne*, declared for *Charles* VII, tho', a little before, they had complied with the Times, and made their Peace with *Henry* V.

Of the Duke of Orleans, *and Earl of* Angoulême.

The House of *Orleans* consisted of two Princes, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, and *John* Earl of *Angoulême* his Brother, both Prisoners in *England*. The first had been there ever since the Battle of *Azincourt* in 1415. The second was given in Hostage to the Duke of *Clarence* in 1412, for Security of the payment of the *English* Troops, sent by King *Henry* IV, to assist the Princes in League against the Duke of *Burgundy*. These two Princes being Prisoners, were, as to their Persons, neither serviceable nor hurtful to either of the two Parties, but their strong Towns were at the disposal of King *Charles*. Some affirm, that the Duke of *Orleans* made a Treaty with *Henry* V, whereby, in consideration of a great Pension paid yearly for his Expence, he obtained of that Monarch, a Neutrality for his City of *Orleans*, and all his other Places. But this pretended Treaty is only a Chimera, since the Foundation on which it is built, namely, the Pension, had never any Existence. The ninth and tenth Volumes of the *Publick Acts of England*, are full of Papers concerning the Duke of *Orleans*; and yet, among so great a Number, there is not one that gives the least Intimation of this Pension, much less of the pretended Treaty. Besides, it is not very likely, that *Henry* V, should, in the Time of his Prosperity, grant such a Neutrality, for Places situated in the Heart of a Kingdom, he was undertaking to conquer.

Hist. of Charles VII.

Of the Duke of Alenson.

John Duke of *Alenson*, about thirteen or fourteen Years old, Son of the Duke of *Alenson*, slain in the Battle of *Azincourt*, began to give Tokens of an uncommon Valour and Conduct, which caused him to be looked upon as a Prince of great hopes. He was firmly attached to King *Charles*'s Side, as well as *Peter* his Bastard-Brother, who passed for one of the stoutest Warriors in the Kingdom.

Of the Earl of Eu.

Charles d'Artois, Earl of *Eu*, was Prisoner in *England*, ever since the Battle of *Azincourt*. As he was not released till 1434, he made no Figure in *France*, the first Years of this Reign.

Of the Duke of Bourbon.

John Duke of *Bourbon*, Head of the illustrious House of *Bourbon*, which was divided into several Branches (4), was Prisoner in *England* since the Year 1415. So, though he was a Prince of great Merit, he had no Share in the Transactions of *France*. But the Earl of *Clermont*, his

(1) The Earls of *Foix* (part of *Gascogne*) were in so high Esteem in the Court of *France*, that they took Place of the Earl of *Vendôme*, though a Prince of the Blood, and lived in a State equal to most Kings in *Christendom*. *Francis Phœbus*, by marrying the Heiress of *Navarre*, added that Kingdom to *Foix* in 1479. And by *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendôme*, marrying *Joan*, Heiress of this House, became King of *Navarre*, Earl of *Foix*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*, whose Son *Henry* II, King of *Navarre*, &c. succeeded to the Crown of *France* in 1589, being Grandfather to *Lewis* XIV, late King of *France*.

(2) And *Bigorre*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 187.

(3) A thousand Men at Arms, and a thousand Archers. For the Maintenance of which, he was allowed by *Charles* VI, seven hundred and fifty Crowns of Gold a Month. *Ibid.* p. 192.

(4) Those of *Clermont*, *Bourbon*, and *Auvergne*, *de la March*, and *Vendôme*.

From a Curious Limning in a (MS) rich Prayerbook presented by himself to K. Hen. 6. now in the Poſſeſſion of the Earl of Oxford.

1422. eldeſt Son, firmly adhered to King *Charles*, with all his Father's Towns.

Of the Earl of Vendôme. *Lewis* Earl of *Vendôme*, of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, was likewiſe Priſoner in *England*, ſince the Battle of *Azincourt*. It is true, he agreed with *Henry* V for his Ranſom, whereof he had even paid Part; but as he could not raiſe the reſt, was not yet releaſed. The *French* Authors ſay, that in 1423, he miraculouſly eſcaped out of Captivity, and in Memory thereof, inſtituted an annual Proceſſion at *Vendôme*. I know not the manner of his Eſcape; but find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that in *May* 1423, he was taken out of the Tower of *London*, by the King's Order, and delivered to Sir *John Cornwal*, who took him Priſoner at the Battle of *Azincourt*; that in *July* of the ſame Year, he obtained Leave to go into *France*, to provide the reſt of his Ranſom, that, upon Payment of the whole, he might have his Liberty. In all likelihood, he fully ſatisfied the King, for it does not appear, that he was re-demanded. So, I do not ſee what Miracle there could be in his Eſcape, unleſs it was his miſuſe of his Paſs-port, in which Caſe the Miracle would not be very great. But however, he might inſtitute a Proceſſion at *Vendôme*, in memory of his eighteen Years Captivity.

Act. Pub. X. p. 289.

p. 297.

Having ſpoken of the Princes of the Royal Family of *France*, it will be proper to mention the other Lords and Generals, in the Service of King *Charles*.

The Earl of Buchan. The Earl of *Buchan* (1) a *Scotchman*, Son of the Regent of *Scotland*, and Firſt-Couſin to King *James* I, was Conſtable of *France*; a Dignity conferred on him by the Dauphin, after the Battle of *Baugé*.

Other Generals. Among the other Generals, the moſt conſiderable were, the Marſhals *de la Fayette*, and *de Severac*, *Andrew de Laval* Lord of *Loheac*, *John d'Harcourt* Earl of *Aumarle*, *John de la Haye* Lord of *Cologne*, *Culant*, afterwards High-Admiral, *Aymeri* Viſcount of *Narbonne*, *Pothon* of *Xantrailles*, *Stephen de la Hire*, ſirnamed *Vignoles*, *Graville*, and ſome others of an inferior Rank, or leſs Note. To theſe I add, the Baſtard of *Orleans*, natural Brother of the Duke of that Name, though as yet, he did but begin to appear, becauſe he rendered himſelf very famous in the Hiſtory of this Reign.

State of Charles's Court. After the Generals, it will be farther neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the moſt eminent Perſons, belonging to the Court of the new King. I have already ſpoken of the Perſon and Qualities of King *Charles*.

Mary Queen of France. *Mary* of *Anjou*, his Queen, was a Princeſs of exceeding great Beauty, but much more valuable for her extraordinary Merit. And yet, he loved her not as he ought, and as ſhe deſerved, being continually drawn aſide by other Amours, which poſſeſſed in his Heart the Place, ſhe ought to have held. How mortifying ſoever the King's Coldneſs might be, ſhe bore it with great Conſtancy, without the leaſt Murmur, or Reproach; ſtill hoping to gain his Affection by her Patience, Moderation, and dutiful Behaviour. If this Conduct was not capable of inſpiring the King, with a Tenderneſs for ſo accompliſhed a Spouſe, it commanded at leaſt all his Eſteem, and forced him to ſhew it, by conſulting her generally, in his moſt important Affairs.

The Queen of Sicily. *Violante* of *Arragon* Queen of *Sicily*, and Mother of the Queen, was commonly at *Charles*'s Court, where her Merit and Capacity gave her great Credit.

Tannegui du Châtel. *Tannegui du Châtel* was the King's chief Favorite. It was he that firſt ſtruck the late Duke of *Burgundy*, on *Montereau* Bridge. It was not doubted, that, as he was the firſt in executing, ſo he had been the principal in adviſing, that deteſtable Treachery. However, all the *French* Writers repreſent him as a very honeſt Man. I do not know, how that Character can be reconciled with ſuch an Action, which, let what will be ſaid, was but too premeditated.

Louvet. *Louvet*, Preſident of *Provence*, was the next in the King's Favor. He had the Management of the Finances. As he was very covetous and ambitious, he generally preferred his own, to his Maſter's Intereſts. He is ſaid to be one of the Adviſers of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murder. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* conſidered this Miniſter, as well as *d'Avaugour*, another of *Charles*'s Courtiers, as the chief Authors of the *Pontievrian* Conſpiracy, becauſe they had prevailed with the Dauphin to approve it.

La Trimouille, of a very ancient Family, was in great Favor with the King, though not in ſo great as *Du Châtel* and *Louvet*. He was very ambitious, and notwithſtanding his high Birth, regularly made his Court to the Favorites, in order to increaſe his Credit. 1422. La Trimouille.

De Giac, and the *Camus de Beau-lieu*, Creatures of *Louvet*, were conſiderable at Court, by reaſon of their Patron's Intereſt. De Giac *and* Beau-lieu.

Theſe were the moſt noted Perſons of *Charles*'s Court, which uſually was not very numerous. Moſt of the Princes of the Blood were Priſoners in *England*, and the other great Men found it more advantagious to follow the Army; the King's Circumſtances not affording them any great Proſpect at Court.

I ſhall now conſider the chief Managers of the publick Affairs of the *Engliſh*, both at Court and in the Army. *The* Engliſh *Lords.*

John Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, under the young King his Nephew, was the moſt accompliſhed Prince then in *Europe*. Wiſe, judicious, of great Valour, Solidity, and Penetration, Maſter of his Paſſions, and of a Genius, ſuperior to all employed by him, he ſeemed born for a Throne, though Providence had ranked him among Subjects. To all theſe Qualities he added a majeſtick Stateline's, which became his Birth, and high Rank in *France*, and in *England*. But this he never carried beyond what was neceſſary to command a due Reſpect and Regard, for his Perſon and Authority. To ſum up his Character in a Word, he was perfectly like the late King his Brother, and in all his Actions took him for Pattern. He had with him in *France*, the Earls of *Warwick* (2), *Salisbury* (3), *Arundel* (4), the Dukes of *Somerſet* (5), *Faſtolff* (6), *Talbot* (7), and many others, all eminent for their Valour and Experience in the Art of War. The *French* Authors who have writ the Life of *Charles* VII, ſeldom ſpeak of theſe Generals, without an honorable Epithet. For my part, I ſhall only mention theſe illuſtrious Perſons. Their Names became ſo famous in the Hiſtory of thoſe Days, that all the Encomiums I can beſtow on them, would be no Addition to their Glory and Reputation. Engliſh *Generals.*

The Duke of *Burgundy* had, at the ſame time, three Generals, whom I ſhall rank among the *Engliſh*, becauſe they were in the Service of the ſame Prince. Their Actions well deſerve an honourable Mention. *Generals of the Duke of* Burgundy.

The firſt was *John de Luxemburg*, Earl of *Ligny*, Son of *Valeran de Luxemburg*, Conſtable of *France*. This General ſignalized himſelf, during the whole War. *Earl of* Ligny.

Liſle-Adam, Marſhal of *France*, was a bold and enterprizing Warrior, and withal, capable of managing the moſt difficult Undertaking. It was he, that in 1419, made the Duke of *Burgundy* Maſter of *Paris*. After that, incurring, by his too great Haughtineſs, the Diſpleaſure of *Henry* V, he was committed to the *Baſtile*; from whence the Duke of *Bedford* had lately freed him, at the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Requeſt. Liſle-Adam.

Toulongeon, commonly called Marſhal of *Burgundy*, was in high Eſteem with the Duke his Maſter, on account of his Valour and Parts. Toulongeon.

I muſt now paſs into *England*, and briefly mention ſome of the Princes, and great Men, who were chiefly concerned in the Direction of the young King's Affairs. *The Court of* England.

Humphrey Duke of *Gloceſter*, younger Brother of the Duke of *Bedford*, was a Prince equally qualified for the Field and the Cabinet. His noble Endowments, improved by an extenſive Knowledge of the Sciences, would have put him upon a Level with the Duke his Brother, had he been more Maſter of his Paſſions, or leſs ambitious and haughty. I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter, to make known more fully the Character of this Prince. *Duke of* Gloceſter.

The Princes of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, legitimated by the Name of *Beaufort*, held the next Rank to the Duke of *Gloceſter*. *Thomas Beaufort* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry* his Brother, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, were Sons of *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Catherine Roet*, his third Wife. *John* Earl of *Somerſet*, their elder Brother, was dead, and had left four Sons, of whom, *Henry* the eldeſt, bore the Title of Earl of *Somerſet*. Of the other three, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Edmund*, the laſt only was at Court, the other two being Priſoners in *France* (8). *The Princes of* Lancaſter.

Richard

(1) *John Stuart.* (2) *Richard Beauchamp.* (3) *Thomas Montacute.*
(4) *John Fitz-Alan.* (5) *Henry Beaufort.*
(6) Sir *John Faſtolff*, for ſo he is called in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* and not *Falſtaff*. In T. X. p. 408. he is named *Falſtolf*.
(7) Sir *John Talbot*; who had this notable Motto on his Sword-Blade, *Sum Talboti. Pro vincere inimicos meos. Speed*, p. 653.
(8) There is no Pedigree wherein *Rapin* differs more from our Genealogiſts than in this of *Beaufort*. Neither does it appear from whence he had his Account. For *Dugdale*, *Sandford*, &c. make it thus: *John of Gaunt*, by *Catherine Roet*, had one Daughter called *Joan*, Counteſs of *Weſtmoreland*; and three Sons: 1. *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, who died 11 *Henry* IV. 1410, and lies buried at *Canterbury*. 2. *Henry*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. 3. *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Dorſet*. (See Note (1) p. 537.) The ſaid *John*, by *Margaret Holland*, had four Sons: 1. *Henry* Earl of *Somerſet*, who died without Heirs, 7 *Henry* V. 2. *John*, taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Baugé*, and long kept in Captivity. He was, after his releaſe, advanced in 21 of *Henry* VI, to the Dignity of Duke of *Somerſet*. By *Margaret Beauchamp* he had an only Daughter named *Margaret*, (Wife of *Edmund Tudor*, by whom ſhe had *Henry* VII.) He died 22 *Henry* VI, 1444. 3. *Edmund*, who had the Grant of his Brother's Dukedom in 26 *Henry* VI, having before ſucceeded his Uncle,

1422. *Duke of York.* *Richard* Duke of *York*, Son of *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton* in 1415, and Grandſon of *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, fifth Son of *Edward* III, was the only Male-Iſſue of this Family. He was very young at the time I am ſpeaking of, but I ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention him in the courſe of this Reign.

Other Lords. *Humphrey* Earl of *Stafford*, was Son of *Ann* of *Gloceſter*, Daughter of the unfortunate Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom *Richard* II, his Nephew, cauſed to be ſtrangled at *Calais*.

Henry (1) Earl of *Eſſex*, Half-Brother of the Earl of *Stafford*, had married *Iſabella*, Siſter of the young Duke of *York*.

Ralph Nevill Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, was allied to the Royal Family, by his Marriage with *Joan Beaufort*, Siſter of the Duke of *Exeter*, and Piſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Thomas Courtney Earl of *Devonſhire*, had for Wife a Siſter of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Henry Talbot, had married a Siſter of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Henry Holland Earl of *Huntington*, deſcended from a Half-Siſter of *Richard* II, was Priſoner in *France*, ſince the Battle of *Baugé*, wherein the Duke of *Clarence* was ſlain.

Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland*, and *John Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, were married to Princeſſes of the Houſe of *March* (2).

Nothing more remains, in order to give a general Knowledge of the Affairs of the two contending Kings, but to ſee how ſome foreign Princes ſtood affected towards them.

How the Princes of Europe ſtood affected with regard to the two Kings. It is very ſtrange, that during this long War of thirty-eight Years, no Prince in *Europe* would be concerned in it. Immediately after the Peace of *Troye*, *Henry* V ſent Ambaſſadors into ſeveral Parts, to make Alliances, in order to render himſelf ſo ſuperior to the Dauphin, as to put it out of his Power to make any Reſiſtance. But we do not find that he ſucceeded in this Deſign. If he made Alliances with ſome Princes, they were ſo worded, as did not oblige them to be Parties in this War; ſo that he reaped but little Advantage from thence.

The Emperor. The Emperor *Sigiſmund* might, by Virtue of his League with *Henry* V, have aſſiſted his Son. But he was himſelf embroiled in Troubles on the account of Religion in *Bohemia*, which wholly employed him. The reſt of the *German* Princes were unconcerned at what paſſed in *France*. They were not ſorry to ſee the *Engliſh* and *French* unable, by their Diſſenſion, to diſturb their Neighbours.

Italy. All *Italy* ſtood Neuter. The Duke of *Milan* alone was inclined to King *Charles*, but hitherto had ſent him no Supplies.

Spain. *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal* were in Peace, or in Truce, with the two rival Kings, and aſſiſted Neither. Their Policy was to let them beat one another, and afterwards join with the Conqueror.

Duke of Lorrain. The Duke of *Lorrain* was inclined to King *Charles*, on account of the Alliance between their Families. But he durſt not aſſiſt him, for fear of drawing the War into his Country.

Among all the neighbouring Princes of *France*, *Amadeus*, firſt Duke of *Savoy*, and *Lewis de Chalon* Prince of *Orange*, were thoſe, on whom the Eyes of both Parties were chiefly fixed, by reaſon of the Diverſions they could make in *Provence* and *Dauphine*. Mean while, theſe two Princes obſerved yet a Neutrality, pleaſed with being courted by both Sides. It was, however, eaſy to perceive, they leaned to the *Engliſh*, on account of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Prince of *Orange* being his Nephew, and the Duke of *Savoy* his Vaſſal.

The Low-Countries. As for the Neighbours of *England*, there were only the Princes of the *Low-Countries* and the *Scots*, that could be ſo concerned in the Quarrel, as greatly to advantage, or prejudice the two Kings. The Duke of *Burgundy* poſſeſſed *Flanders* and *Artois*. *John* of *Burgundy*, his firſt Couſin, held *Brabant*, and the Earldom of *Limbourg*. Moreover, by his Marriage with *Jaquelina* of *Bavaria*, Daughter of the late Earl of *Hainault*, he had acquired the Sovereignty of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Friſeland*. The firſt of theſe two Princes was firmly united with the *Engliſh*, and the other took care not to declare againſt them, for fear of depriving his Subjects of their advantagious Commerce with *England*. 1422.

Scotland. As for the *Scots*, the War in *France* ought not to have been indifferent to them. It is certain, their Intereſt required their utmoſt endeavours, to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Engliſh* in that Kingdom. Beſides their ancient Alliance, whereby they were obliged to aſſiſt the *French*, it was eaſy for them to perceive, it could not but be very dangerous to their State, to ſuffer the King of *England* to grow ſo very powerful. But, the private Intereſts of the Regent had hindered them from taking the Courſe, moſt agreable to the Good of their Country, till at length, they ſent ſeven thouſand Men to the Dauphin. From that time, growing more and more ſenſible of their Error, in permitting the *Engliſh* to become Maſters of *France*, they had reſolved to ſend thither a more powerful Supply. But the Duke of *Albany* dying in the mean time, and *Mordac* his eldeſt Son, a Prince of a mean Genius, ſucceeding him in the Regency, inteſtine Troubles aroſe, which prevented the *Scots* from executing their Reſolution. So, till the Death of *Henry* V, they had acted nothing in that reſpect, and King *James* was returned into *England* Priſoner as before.

Here I ſhall end this Digreſſion, which will not appear needleſs, when we come to ſee the Relation it bears to the Events mentioned hereafter. And now having given a general Knowledge of the Affairs of the two Kings, it is time to reſume the Thread of our Hiſtory.

The Parliament meets. The Parliament met on the 9th of *November*, according to the Summons. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, by a Patent under the Great Seal, was commiſſioned to hold it in the King's Name, according to the uſual Practice, when the Sovereign is not in condition to be preſent in Perſon. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. X. p. 257. The Parliament's firſt care was to ſettle the Government, during the King's Minority. They nominated the Members of the Council; filled the Offices of the Crown; and gave the Great Seal to the Biſhop of *Durham* (3), and not to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as ſome affirm. To purſue the Plan that was formed, it was neceſſary to appoint a Protector, who ſhould take upon him the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs, during the Minority. *Henry* V had ordered, on his Death-bed, that this high Dignity ſhould be conferred on the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother. But his Will could not be obeyed, without great Injury to the Duke of *Bedford*, the eldeſt Brother, the ſecond Perſon in the Kingdom, and preſumptive Heir of the Crown as long as *Henry* was Childleſs. This Prince would thereby have been below the Duke of *Gloceſter*, his younger Brother. It is true, he was Regent of *France*; but very poſſibly, he might return into *England*, during ſo long a Minority. Wherefore, it was neceſſary to find ſome Expedient, to perform the deceaſed King's Will, without derogating from the elder Brother's Rights. After a ſerious Examination of the Affair, the Parliament nominated the Duke of *Bedford*, *Protector of* England, *Defender of the Church, and firſt Counſellor to the King*. But a Clauſe was added, that he ſhould exerciſe this Office, only whilſt in the Kingdom, without having, in his Abſence, any concern in the Government. At the ſame time, the Protectorſhip was likewiſe conferred on the Duke of *Gloceſter* (4), with Power, to act only in the Abſence of the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, who, upon his return into *England*, was to be acknowledged for ſole Protector. The Protector's Salary was ſettled at eight thouſand Marks a Year (5).

The Privy-Council ſettled. Ib. p. 259. Cotton's Abridg.

The Duke of Bedford is made Protector; Act. Pub. X. p. 261. *and in his Abſence the Duke of* Gloceſter. Ib. p. 261, 268.

Jealouſy of the Council againſt the Duke of Gloceſter. It has been ſeen, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was not ſo moderate, as the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother. He was impatient of any oppoſition to his Will. For this reaſon, the Privy-Council were always upon their Guard, to hinder his aſſuming a greater Authority, than his Station entituled him to. As they held not their Places of him, but of the Parliament, they were the leſs afraid of diſpleaſing him, knowing it was not in his Power to remove them. Therefore, in the Council itſelf, there was a ſort of Confederacy againſt him, managed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle. The Biſhop's oppoſition to the Protector, ended at length in a Quarrel, the ſad Effects whereof, we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the Sequel of this Reign.

Governors appointed for the King. After having ſettled what related to the Protectorſhip, the Parliament appointed Governors, to take Care of the Hall.

Uncle, the Duke of *Exeter* in his Title of Earl of *Dorſet*. He was killed at St. *Albans*, 33 *Henry* VI. 4. *Thomas*, whoſe Name is only mentioned; and four Daughters. The ſaid *Edmund* had four Sons: 1. *Henry*, (from whoſe natural Son by *Joan Hill*, are ſprung the preſent Dukes of *Beaufort*) beheaded 3 *Edward* IV. 2. *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, beheaded 1471. 3. *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, ſlain at *Teukſbury*, 11 *Edward* IV. 4. *Thomas*, who died without Iſſue-Male; and ſeven Daughters.

(1) *Henry Bourchier*. He was not created Earl of *Eſſex* till *June* 10. 1460, the 1ſt of *Edward* IV. See *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 129.

(2) The former was indeed Son of *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*; but he married *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*; and the latter married *Maud*, Daughter of *Robert Lovell*. *Idem* Vol. I. p. 281, 323.

(3) *Thomas Langley*. At the ſame time *William Rindroſſe* was appointed Treaſurer of *England*, and *John Stafford* Keeper of the Privy Seal. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 563.

(4) *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, was alſo conſtituted Lord-Chamberlain, and High-Conſtable of *England*. *Ibid.* p. 564.

(5) This Parliament granted the King the Subſidy of Staple-Ware, *viz.* three and thirty Shillings and Four-pence, on ever Sack of Wool exported, and alſo Tunnage and Poundage, for two Years. *Ibid.*

1422. King's perſon and education. Theſe were *Thomas Beaufort* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry* his Brother, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, both Great-Uncles of the King. I know not the qualities of the Duke of *Exeter*, not having met with his character in any hiſtorian (1).

Character of the Biſhop of Winchester.

As for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he was a Prince more proper for the World and a Court, than the Church. However, he is placed by ſome in the claſs of the Learned of thoſe days. After he was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in 1405, his principal buſineſs was to heap up riches; wherein he had ſo happily ſucceeded, that he was commonly reckoned the wealthieſt of all the *Engliſh* Nobles. *Henry* V, his nephew, had ſome regard for him, but was apprehenſive of his intriguing temper. Hence he oppoſed the Pope's making him a Cardinal, for fear that dignity would give him occaſion to exerciſe his talents too much. The truth is, he was a Man of ſenſe, and well-skilled in all the means humane prudence ſuggeſts to the Ambitious, to accompliſh their ends. His birth, parts, riches, and office of governor to the King, gave him great credit in the council, and of courſe in all the reſt of the kingdom. In a word, he knew ſo well to manage his affairs, that he had a better intereſt than the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Nephew, though Protector, and ruined him entirely.

Jealouſy between the Duke of Gloceſter and Biſhop of Winchester.

The occaſion of their quarrel is not fully known. Some ſay, the Biſhop, angry that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was preferred before him in the government of the kingdom, which he would rather have had, than that of the King, never ceaſed plotting to ſupplant him. Others on the contrary affirm, the Duke of *Gloceſter* hated him, only becauſe he always found him ready to oppoſe his aſſuming too great an authority, as Protector, which might in the end, prove fatal to their common Maſter.

Few warlike Exploits during the reſt of the year 1422.

Whilſt the courts of the two new Kings were equally employed in affairs, which would not admit of delay, the war was but faintly proſecuted in *France*. Beſides, the ſeaſon permitted not, (after the death of *Charles* VI, on the 21ſt of *October*,) great armies to keep the field. So, from that time, to the end of the year 1422, the troops of the two Kings took ſome repoſe, in order to prepare to renew the war. There is nothing therefore remarkable in this interval, but the taking of St. *Valery*, a place of great importance, ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*, purſuant to a capitulation made ſome months before, and of *Buſſi* in the Earldom of *Guiſe*, by the Earl of *Ligny*, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s General. On the other hand, *James de Harcourt* became maſter of *La Rue* in *Picardy*, and *La Hire* of *Vitry* in *Champagne*.

1423. The Duke of *Bedford*'s deſign, according to the late King his Brother's project, was to reduce all the towns *Charles* ſtill held in the Iſle of *France*, and the adjoining Provinces, that he might afterwards attack him beyond the *Loire*. It was the more neceſſary to proceed in this manner, becauſe, ſo long as *Charles* had places about *Paris*, the *Engliſh* durſt not remove from the Metropolis, without leaving a ſtrong garriſon, and much weakening their armies. At the time the Regent was preparing to execute this deſign, he received the ill news that *Graville*, one of King *Charles*'s captains, had taken *Meulan* by ſtorm, the 4th of *January*. This loſs troubled him extremely, as well becauſe it retarded the execution of his projects, as by reaſon of the neighbourhood of *Meulan*, which was but ſix leagues from *Paris*. Beſides, the taking of a place ſo very near him, was a ſort of affront he could hardly digeſt. And therefore, he determined to open the campaign with this ſiege.

Meulan taken by Storm by the French. Monſtrelet. Hall.

They take alſo la Ferté-Milon.

Shortly after, King *Charles*'s troops took likewiſe *La Ferté-Milon*, a ſmall town between *Meaux* and *Soiſſons*. But the caſtle making a brave reſiſtance, the Marſhal *de L'Iſle Adam* had time to relieve it, and drive the *French* out of the town.

The Regent beſieges Meulan;

In the beginning of *February*, the Regent himſelf beſieged *Meulan* (2). As it was King *Charles*'s intereſt to keep the war in the Iſle of *France*, and the neighbouring Provinces, he ordered the Earl of *Aumarle* to join *Stuart*, who commanded the *Scotch* troops, and march with him to the relief of that place. The *French* give *Stuart* the title of *Conſtable of* Scotland; but it does not appear, he was ſtiled ſo by the hiſtorians of his nation. I imagine, the miſtake of the *French* ſprung from their ignorance of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* tongues, where the title of Conſtable may be given to every Leader, or Commander in chief, of a body of troops, without his being, for all that, Conſtable of the kingdom. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Buchan*, being then in *Scotland*, *Stuart* commanded the auxiliary troops of that kingdom. The two Generals were actually joined; but a conteſt ariſing about the command, they parted again without action. *Graville* hearing of it, capitulated the 2d of *March*. The capitulation ran, that ſuch of the Beſieged as had any caſtles in their power, ſhould deliver them to the Regent. Purſuant to this agreement, the Regent took poſſeſſion of *Marcouſſi*, *Montlheri*, and ſeveral other places (3). 1423.

which capitulates.

Though theſe towns are of little conſequence at this day, they were then of great importance, chiefly on account of their lying near *Paris*, and keeping the *Engliſh* at a diſtance from the *Loire*, which was very advantagious to King *Charles*. For this reaſon he ſo managed, that his adherents fortified themſelves in thoſe parts, in all the towns and caſtles capable of making any reſiſtance in order to continue the war there. And this alſo was the reaſon, that induced the Regent to form the project, of clearing the Iſle of *France* of all theſe garriſons. However, he would not have opened the campaign ſo early, had he not been forced to it by the loſs of *Meulan*. He was meditating a much more important deſign, which he executed immediately after the retaking of that place.

Interview of the Dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, Bretagne, *and Earl of* Richemont, *at* Amiens. April. Act. Pub. X. p. 280.

I have obſerved, that the Duke of *Bretagne* made ſome advances towards ſwearing the peace of *Troye*, but that the death of *Henry* V, broke off the negotiation. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving of what conſequence it was to the King his Nephew, to gain this Prince to his intereſt, had ſpent the whole winter in negotiating an alliance with him, by the Duke of *Burgundy*'s mediation. This negotiation ſucceeding to his wiſh, he came to *Amiens*, where he met the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, with the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother. According to the plan before formed, they ſigned a treaty of league and alliance againſt King *Charles*. To render their union more firm, they moreover concluded two marriages, namely, between the Duke of *Bedford* and *Ann*, fifth Siſter of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and between the Earl of *Richemont* and *Margaret*, eldeſt Siſter of the ſame Duke, and Widow of *Lewis* the Dauphin, who died in 1415. As the Earl of *Richemont* had been the means of engaging the Duke of *Bretagne* in this alliance, it was very reaſonable the mediator ſhould find his advantage therein. The young Earl, having an extraordinary opinion of his own merit, his vanity was agreeably flattered by this marriage. Indeed, it was no ſmall honour for him, to eſpouſe a Siſter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, Widow to a Dauphin of *France*. But to obtain the Princeſs's conſent, he was forced to agree, that, according to the cuſtom of *England*, ſhe ſhould keep the title of Dauphineſs, becauſe ſhe abſolutely refuſed to take the inferior one of Counteſs of *Richemont*. The treaty between theſe Princes was concluded *April* the 8th.

They ſign a League againſt King Charles. *Marriages.* Monſtrelet.

The Regent conſummates his marriage. Monſtrelet.

Soon after, the Duke of *Bedford* went to *Troye*, where he conſummated his marriage. An hiſtorian ſays, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, in caſe he died without Male-Iſſue, promiſed him the Earldom of *Artois*, but there was no occaſion to perform this engagement. In conducting his Bride to *Paris*, the Regent ſtayed ſome time in *Champagne*, to form the ſiege of *Pont-Sur-ſeine*, a ſmall town of that country, which was carried by ſtorm. After that, he came to *Paris*, and lodged in the *Hotel des Tournelles*, which he had ordered to be repaired, and magnificently furniſhed.

The Earl of Salisbury *beſieges* Montaigu. April. Monſtrelet.

In the beginning of the year, the Earl of *Salisbury* had been inveſted with the government of *Champagne* and *La Brie*, and had received orders from the Regent, to clear theſe two Provinces of King *Charles*'s garriſons. This General, having taken the field in *April*, beſieged, or rather blockaded, *Montaigu* an exceeding ſtrong Caſtle, ſeated upon a cape, belonging to the Province of *Burgundy*, but running into *Champagne*. There were but ſixſcore Men in the Caſtle, and yet, by reaſon of its ſi-

P. Daniel. T. 6.

(1) *Rapin* ſeems to have miſtaken this *Thomas Beaufort* for his Nephew of the ſame Name, of whom indeed there is no mention but of his Name. This *Thomas Beaufort*, third Son of *John* of *Gant* by *Katharine Swynford*, was in the 5th of *Henry* IV made Admiral of *England*, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. He was created 13 *Hen.* IV, Earl of *Dorſet*; and 4 *Hen.* V, Duke of *Exeter*, for Life. He was Earl of *Harcourt* in *Normandy*, and behaved with much Valour and Conduct in the *French* Wars, and particularly at the famous Battle of *Azincourt*, where he commanded the Rear-ward. He bravely defended *Harfleur* in *Normandy*, (of which he was Governor) and in a pitch'd Battle, encountered and put to flight the Earl of *Armagnac*. He married *Margaret*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Nevil*, and had a Son by her, who died young. So that leaving no Child, he departed this Life at *Greenwich* in 1424, and was buried at St. *Edmundſbury* in *Suffolk*, leaving his Nephew *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, his Heir, who was twenty-three years old. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 263.

(2) Being accompanied with *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Michael de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Poyninges*, Sir *John Faſtolff*, Maſter of the Houſhold, *&c. Hall*, fol. 84.-----After the taking of the Town, Sir *Henry Mortimer*, and Sir *Richard Vernon* were appointed Governors of it. *Ibid.*

(3) And the Lord of *Graville* alſo declared for the *Engliſh*. *P. Daniel*, Vol. VI. p. 8.

1423. *He leaves the Siege to the Earl of* Suffolk.

tuation, it was almoſt impregnable. The Earl of *Saliſbury* having formed the blockade, left the Earl of *Suffolk* (1) with ſome troops, and marched himſelf to other conqueſts. In *June*, he became maſter of *Vertus*, *Sezanne*, *Epernay*, and ſome other places.

Tannegui *attempts to relieve* Montaigu.

Mean while, King *Charles*, to whom the keeping of ſome towns in thoſe parts was of great conſequence, ordered *Tannegui du Châtel* to relieve *Montaigu*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who had left but few troops before that caſtle, fearing ſome misfortune, poſted immediately to their aſſiſtance. He made ſuch ſpeed, that *Tannegui du Châtel*, who was now far advanced, finding himſelf too inferior to the *Engliſh*, was forced to retire into *Burgundy*, where the *French* had lately ſurprized *Mâcon* and *Crevant*, at the two extremities of that Province. *Salisbury* followed, but not being able to overtake him, reſolved to beſiege *Crevant*, a ſtrong place upon the *Yonne*, three leagues above *Auxerre*.

Salisbury *beſieges* Crevant.

Charles *prepares to relieve it.*

Charles had no ſooner received this news, but he ordered *Stuart*, who was lately reinforced from *Scotland*, to draw ſome troops out of the neighbouring garriſons, and join *du Châtel*, in order to attempt the relief of *Crevant*. All theſe forces together made a body of ten thouſand Men, whereof, by order of the King, the Marſhal *de Severac* went and took the command. But as it required ſome time, before they could be joined in one body, *Salisbury* had ſufficient leiſure to take the place. After that, not knowing yet the deſigns of the *French*, he joined *Suffolk* before *Montaigu*.

Crevant *is taken.*

Orſay *taken by the* Engliſh. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bedford* cauſed *Orſay* to be beſieged, a ſmall place between *Paris* and *Montlheri*. The garriſon holding out ſix weeks, and ſurrendering only at extremity, he reſolved to make them an example, for a terror to the other ſmall towns. All the officers and ſoldiers were carried away priſoners to *Paris*, and ordered to be put to death. But, happily for them, the ducheſs of *Bedford* meeting them as they were going to puniſhment, ſtopped the execution, and obtained their pardon.

The French *beſiege* Crevant. Hall.

Mean time, the *French* army, drawn together in *Auxerrois*, marched to *Crevant*, which they had not been able to relieve, and beſieged it. The army was commanded by the Marſhal *de Severac*, who had under him *du Châtel*, *Stuart*, *Ventadour*, and ſome other officers of note. The ducheſs dowager of *Burgundy*, then at *Dijon*, ſent immediately to the Marſhal *Toulongeon*, and all the *Burgundian* Nobles, to try to relieve *Crevant*. At the ſame time, ſhe deſired the Earl of *Salisbury* to join her Generals, in order to raiſe the ſiege. *Salisbury* was very ſenſible, how neceſſary it was to comply with the ducheſs's requeſt, and therefore leaving part of his troops before *Montaigu*, the garriſon whereof was reduced to twenty Men, repaired to *Auxerre*, and joined the *Burgundians*. Next day, they marched together to *Crevant*. They had in all, but ſix thouſand Men (2), however, they were ſome of the beſt ſoldiers then in *Europe*. The Beſiegers, hearing of their march, raiſed the ſiege in order to meet them, and poſted themſelves at ſome diſtance from *Crevant*, upon a Hill, where it was very difficult to force them. The reſolution of the *French* Generals, ſurprized the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, who ſeeing no poſſibility of attacking them in that poſt, altered their rout, and, as if they had ſome other deſign, paſſed the *Yonne* at *Cologn-le-Vimeux*, with intent to repaſs it at ſome other place, and proceed to *Crevant*. The *French* finding, that by this march, their ſtation on the Hill was become uſeleſs, deſcended, and poſted themſelves by the River-ſide, in order to defend the paſſage. The two armies remained above three hours facing one another, with the river between them. At length, a body of *Engliſh* gaining a certain bridge, withſtood the efforts of the *French* army with uncommon reſolution, and gave the reſt of the troops time to come to their ſupport. This action, which was one of the boldeſt, was performed with that bravery, order, and conduct, that it was not poſſible for the *French* to beat them from the bridge. As ſoon as all the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* were over, they ſo vigorouſly attacked their enemies, that they put them to rout. The Marſhal *de Severac* was blamed for retiring too ſoon, and leaving *Stuart* engaged with his *Scotch* troops. There was ſlain on the ſpot, above five hundred (3), moſt of them *Scots*. As many more were made priſoners, among whom were *Stuart*, and *Xaintrailles*, with forty officers of note.

Hall.

The Battle of Crevant, *where the* French *are worſted.* P. Daniel.

Mâcon *and other places taken by the* Engliſh.

The loſs ſuſtained by the *French* on this occaſion, rendering them uncapable to keep the field before a victorious army, the Earl of *Salisbury* returned to the blockade of *Montaigu*. A few days after his arrival, the place capitulated, and the fortifications were demoliſhed. Then, being apprehenſive of no oppoſition from the *French*, he divided his army with the Earl of *Suffolk*, who took *Mâcon*, whilſt the Earl of *Salisbury* finiſhed the conqueſts of *Champagne*. After that, *Salisbury* entered the Iſle of *France*, and took *Coucy*, and ſome other caſtles. 1423.

Siege and Capitulation of Crotoy. Monſtrelet.

In the mean time, the Regent had laid ſiege to *Crotoy*, a town in *Picardy*, ſituated on the *Somme*, over-againſt St. *Valery*. *Ralph Boteler* had the management of this ſiege, which employed him till *October*. At laſt, *James d'Harcourt*, governor of the town, agreed to ſurrender it the 1ſt of *March* next, if not relieved by that time. This ſort of capitulation was very common in thoſe days. On the day fixed for the relief, or ſurrender of the place, the Beſiegers drew up under the walls, expecting their enemies. This was called *Tenir Journee*. If no army appeared that day to give them battle, the place was ſurrendered according to the capitulation. Though the governor of *Crotoy* had given ample time to prepare for his relief, *Charles* was not in condition to attempt it, and the town was ſurrendered to the Duke of *Bedford*.

The battle of *Crevant* was the more prejudicial to *Charles*'s affairs, as he loſt many officers of diſtinction, ſome whereof were ſlain, and the reſt priſoners in the hands of the *Engliſh* or *Burgundians*. Among the priſoners, *Xaintrailles* was the perſon for whom the King was moſt concerned, knowing him to be one of the braveſt officers in the kingdom, and moſt capable of doing him ſervice. Though he had not much money, he ſent him however wherewithal to pay his ranſon. *Xaintrailles* very thankfully received this favour, and to give the King ſenſible marks of his gratitude, preſently after his releaſe, found means to ſurprize *Ham* and *Guiſe*. At the ſame time, *La Hire* or *Vignoles*, did the like by *Compeigne*.

Charles *ranſoms* Xaintrailles. Ham, Guiſe, *and* Compiegne *taken by ſurprize. They are retaken.*

The loſs of theſe places gave the Regent no ſmall uneaſineſs, as it obliged him to keep his forces near *Paris*, in ſpite of the projects he had formed. As he could not execute his deſigns till the *French* were expelled the northern Provinces, he ordered the three towns taken by ſurprize, to be beſieged all at once. If I ſhould ſtay to relate the circumſtances of all the ſieges on both ſides, during this war, it would inſenſibly lead me into numberleſs relations, for which few people would be concerned. The beſt way will be to keep to generals, and only mention the beginnings and events of the ſieges.

The Regent's deſign being, as I ſaid, to retake theſe three places, the Earl of *Ligny* inveſted *Ham*, and the Marſhal *de l'Iſle-Adam* made an attempt upon *Compiegne*. But *l'Iſle-Adam* falling into an ambuſh laid for him by *La Hire*, loſt three hundred of his Men. Nevertheleſs he obliged his enemy to keep within the walls. After *Ligny* had taken *Ham*, he inveſted *Guiſe*. *Xaintrailles*, who commanded in that place, perceiving, that with his few troops he ſhould make but a faint reſiſtance, went away in queſt of relief. But inſtead of ſucceeding in his deſign, he fell himſelf into the hands of the *Burgundians*, and *Guiſe* ſurrendered immediately. After that *Ligny* joined *l'Iſle-Adam* before *Compiegne*, and *La Hire* was forced at laſt to capitulate. So, all the advantage *Charles* gained by taking the three places, was making the Regent loſe time, which however was no ſmall matter, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs.

Charles *receives an Aid from the Duke of* Milan.

After the Duke of *Bretagne* had taken part with the *Engliſh*, *Charles* ſaw nothing in *France* able to ſupport him, and therefore reſolved to apply to foreign Princes, for aſſiſtance. He could hope for aid, only from *Philip Maria Viſconti* Duke of *Milan*, and the *Scots*. *Philip* was Uncle to the Duke of *Orleans*, and conſequently a friend of the Houſe of *Valois*. His affairs being then in a good ſituation, he ſent King *Charles* a thouſand Men at arms, and five hundred Lances, at the time when the loſs of the battle of *Crevant* had made him deſpair of keeping the field. Theſe troops being arrived on the borders of *France*, *Grolée* governor of *Lyonnois*, and *Culant*, lately made admiral, went to receive them. As they were entering *Baujolois*, the governor of *la Fuſſiere* ſent the Generals word, that he was in negotiation with *Toulongeon*, Marſhal of *Burgundy*, to ſurrender the town, and as the Marſhal knew nothing of their march, it would be eaſy to ſurprize him when he came to take poſſeſſion. This ſtratagem was executed with ſuch ſecrecy, that *Toulongeon* entering *la Fuſſiere* with ſeven hundred Men, was made priſoner with all his followers. The Duke his maſter exchanged him afterwards for *Stuart* taken at *Crevant*.

Toulongeon *made Priſoner.*

(1) *Michael de la Pole.*

(2) *Hall* ſays, there were, of *Engliſhmen* and *Burgundians*, about fifteen thouſand Men. And among them, the Lords *Willoughby*, *Poynings*, *Molyns*. Sir *Thomas Rampſton*, Sir *John Paſſheley*, Sir *Thomas Fleming*, Sir *John*, and Sir *Reginald Grey*, &c. fol. 85.

(3) Several Lords, eighteen hundred Knights and Eſquires, beſides common Soldiers; and three thouſand *Scots*. Of the *Engliſh*, were ſlain, Sir *John Grey*, Sir *William Halle*, Sir *Gilbert Halſel*, and *Richard ap Madocke*. *Hall*, ibid.

1423. *Battle of Gravelle, where the* Engliſh *are worſted.* Hall.

This little advantage was not capable of comforting King *Charles* for all his loſſes. But ſhortly after, he had a freſh occaſion of joy, in the news, that a body of *Engliſh* troops were defeated in *Maine* with great loſs. *John de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*, knowing the *French* had no army in the field, departed from *Normandy* with a body of troops drawn out of ſeveral garriſons, and throwing himſelf into *Anjou*, burnt the Suburbs of *Angers*. After that, he retired with a booty of twelve thouſand head of cattle, taken in his incurſion. Whilſt he was employed in this expedition, the Earl of *Aumarle*, governor of *Anjou*, aſſembled ſome troops to ſtop his progreſs. The young Duke of *Alenſon*, *Loheac*, *Coulonge*, the Baſtard of *Alenſon*, and ſeveral others, joining him with what troops they could draw together (1), he overtook the *Engliſh* at *Gravelle* in *Maine*. *Pole* perceiving it was impoſſible to drive away his booty without fighting, drew up his troops, and intrenching himſelf with his carriages in the front, received the *French* with great reſolution. But whilſt his Men were couragiouſly fighting, a detachment of the enemy attacking them in the rear, it was not poſſible for them to defend themſelves on two ſides. After a very obſtinate reſiſtance, they were at length defeated with the loſs of fourteen hundred Men (2), and all their booty. *Pole* himſelf was taken priſoner (3). *Charles*'s flatterers would have made him believe, he was revenged for the buſineſs of *Crevant*. But there was a wide difference between theſe two actions, with reſpect to the conſequence. The battle of *Gravelle* did not affect the affairs of the *Engliſh*, whereas that of *Crevant* had almoſt ruined *Charles*.

Charles *has Aid from* Scotland. Buchanan.

This ſucceſs however ſerved to raiſe his hopes, eſpecially when it was ſeconded with the news of the arrival of five thouſand Men, brought him from *Scotland* by the Earl of *Buchan*. This Lord had returned into his own country, to take care of the intereſts of his new Maſter, to whom he was entirely devoted. The great Men of *Scotland* were very much inclined the ſame way. The new Regent being a Prince of no great genius and credit, it was not difficult for the Earl his Brother to do King *Charles* ſervice. By his care and ſollicitations he procured an aid of five thouſand Men, commanded by *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs* his father-in-law (4). *Dowglaſs* was a Lord of great repute in his own country, on account of his quality, riches and alliances, but ſtill more conſiderable for his merit and experience in military affairs. At *Rochel* he landed his troops, which could never more ſeaſonably arrive. *Charles* pleaſed, as may be imagined, to ſee theſe ſupplies, loaded the principal *Scotch* officers with honours, careſſes, and favours. He had already conferred on the Earl of *Buchan* the higheſt military poſt, to which he could make no addition. *Dowglaſs* was created Duke of *Touraine*. *Stuart* was made Baron *d'Aubigni*, and afterwards Earl of *Evreux*, with licence to quarter his arms with thoſe of *France*. To give the *Scots* a farther mark of his eſteem and confidence, *Charles* choſe out of them a company of guards, which in proceſs of time was increaſed to a regiment. In ſhort, he forgot nothing, that could help to gain the affection of the *Scots*, in order to ingage them to ſend him greater ſupplies, or make a powerful diverſion in *England*.

He careſſes the Scots. Buchan.

Birth of Prince Lewis.

Thus the affairs of *Charles* began to flouriſh, by the ſuecours of the *Scots* and the Duke of *Milan*, which enabled him to withſtand his enemies. His joy at the arrival of theſe troops, was preceded by the ſatisfaction of having a Son born on the 4th of *July* the ſame year. He gave the young Prince the name of *Lewis* with the title of Dauphin.

The Earl of Richemont *quarrels with the Duke of* Bedford.

Beſides theſe happy ſucceſſes, which gave new life to King *Charles*, an event was preparing in his favour, that was no leſs proper to reſtore his affairs: I mean the Earl of *Richemont*'s change, who drew after it that of the Duke of *Bretagne*. *Richemont* having conſummated his marriage at *Dijon*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* came with the Dauphineſs his Siſter, went and paid a viſit to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*. During his ſtay, he frequently intimated to the Duke, that he was extremely deſirous of commanding the *Engliſh* army, to which he offered to join a conſiderable body of the Duke his Brother's troops. But the Regent did not think proper, to ſet at the head of his army a young foreign Prince, who had never commanded in chief, nor even ſerved ſince the battle of *Azincourt*. The Earl of *Richemont*, who was extremely haughty and ſelf-conceited, could not brook this refuſal. He conſidered it as a great affront, and from that time reſolved to be revenged. We ſhall ſee hereafter how he executed his reſolution. 1423.

Truce for Burgundy *and* Lyonnois.

Shortly after, *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* made a truce for *Lyonnois* and *Burgundy*. This truce was abſolutely neceſſary for theſe two Provinces, as well as for the Duke of *Savoy*, by whoſe means it was procured. His ſubjects and the inhabitants of *Burgundy* and *Lyonnois* not being able to live without trading together, the war was very detrimental to theſe two Provinces.

Affairs of England. Act. Pub. X. p. 282. *Earl of* March *Governor of* Ireland.

Whilſt *France* was the Seat of war, *England* enjoyed a profound tranquillity, by the good order eſtabliſhed in the government. In the month of *May* (5), *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, was made governor of *Ireland*, with a very extenſive authority. Policy required that, during the King's minority, this Prince ſhould be removed from the kingdom, on account of his right to the crown. Not that he had given occaſion by his conduct for any ſuſpicion. But it was not impoſſible, that even without his conſent, he might prove the cauſe of commotions, which the wiſdom of the council was willing to prevent. He did not depart till *February* or *March* the next year.

A Subſidy granted. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. X. p. 310.

The Parliament, which met on the 20th of *October*, granted the King a ſubſidy (6) for the ſupport of the war in *France*, where King *Charles* ſtill kept his ground, notwithſtanding the great diſproportion between his and his rival's forces (7).

Treaty about letting the King of Scotland *at Liberty.* Ib. p. 286.

I have obſerved, that the *Scots* were extremely careſſed by King *Charles*, and that the nation began to follow maxims entirely different, from what they had done during the Duke of *Albany*'s regency. The Duke of *Gloceſter* and the council of *England*, perceiving this alteration, which might prove very prejudicial to the King's affairs, thought it neceſſary to countermine King *Charles*'s deſigns, by means of the King of *Scotland*, priſoner in *England* ever ſince 1408. To that end, they reſolved to ſet him at liberty, upon ſuch terms as ſhould attach him to the intereſts of *England*. This was indeed the only way to ſtop the career of the *Scotch* Nobles, who were almoſt all inclined to an open rupture with the *Engliſh*. Whilſt the council was thinking how to proceed without a too plain diſcovery of their deſign, an accident in *Scotland* ſaved them the trouble of making the firſt advances.

Buchanan.

Murdac Stuart, Regent of *Scotland* ſince the death of the Duke of *Albany* his Father, had three Sons, all very ill-tempered, and who created him a great deal of trouble, becauſe he was neither able nor ſteddy enough to keep them within the bounds of their duty. The youngeſt asking one day for a certain Hawk, and being denied, wrung the Bird's neck, though he knew it to be greatly valued by his father. This action convincing the Regent, how difficult it would be for him to govern the nation committed to his care, ſince his own children had ſo little reſpect for him, he aſſembled the States, and propoſed a negotiation with *England* concerning their King's liberty. A motion ſo agreeable to the wiſhes both of Nobles and People, was received with joy and applauſe. And, not to afford him time to repent, ambaſſadors were immediately named, and impowered to negotiate the affair. As the council of *England* ſtood affected, theſe ambaſſadors met with a very civil reception, and commiſſioners (8) were preſently appointed to treat with them. The commiſſioners inſtructions were, that they ſhould conſent to King *James*'s liberty, upon the following terms: That the captive Prince ſhould pay the King the ſum of forty, or at leaſt of thirty-ſix thouſand marks, for his expences in *England* during his captivity: That a truce ſhould be made, during which neither of the two Kings ſhould aſſiſt the other's enemies. Moreover, they were ordered to intimate to the *Scotch* ambaſſadors, that it would be very proper to marry their King to a Princeſs of the Royal Fa- Act. Pub. X. p. 294, 296.

(1) Six thouſand Men. *Hall*, fol. 87. (2) Three hundred, ſays *Hall*, ibid.
(3) With Sir *John Baſſet*, *John Auford* Lieutenant of *Falaiſe*, *John Cliſton*, *Henry Mortimer*, and ſix hundred other Perſons. *Hall*, ibid.
(4) *Buchanan* calls him his Son-in-law, l. 10.
(5) *May* 9. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 285.
(6) Of Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandize exported or imported, and three Shillings of every Tun of Wine, for three Years; that is, the ſame Duties on the Staple-ware, and Tunnage and Poundage, as before. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 568.----In this Parliament it was enacted, That becauſe Money was daily carried out of *England* to ſeveral parts of *France*, no Gold nor Silver ſhould for the future, be carried out of the Realm, unleſs for the Charges of the War, and the Payment of the King's Soldiers, upon pain of forfeiting the Sum of Money ſo carried out; and the Informer to have the fourth part. See *Statute-Book*.-----It was alſo enacted, That if any Perſon, committed to Priſon for High or Petty-Treaſon, ſhall break Priſon, and eſcape, it ſhall be deemed Petty-Treaſon, and his Goods ſhall be forfeited to the Lord of the Manor, where they are found. Upon this Statute, Sir *John Mortimer* was accuſed, for attempting to break out of the *Tower*, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, at *Tyburn*. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 364, 365. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 568.
(7) And about this time a Reinforcement of ten thouſand Men was raiſed in *England*, and ſent over to *France* to the Duke of *Bedford*. *Hall*, fol. 87.
(8) *Thomas* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Philip* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, *Richard Nevill* Warden of the Eaſt-Marches, Sir *Ralph Cromewell*, and Sir *Thomas Charworth*, *John Wodeham* Archdeacon of the Eaſt-Riding, and *Robert Waterton*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 294.

mily

1423. mily of *England*. But the council wiſhed, that if poſſible this motion ſhould come from the *Scots*.

Firſt Conference. September. p. 299.

The firſt conference upon this affair was held at *York* in the beginning of *September*, and on the 10th of the ſame month the plenipotentiaries agreed, that *James* ſhould have his liberty, and return into his kingdom. That he ſhould pay, at ſeveral times, the ſum of forty thouſand Marks, and give hoſtages for ſecurity of payment. In the ſecond conference, held at *London* on the 4th of *December*, every thing relating to the payment of the money, and the quality of the hoſtages, was ſettled. Then it was agreed, that the King of *Scotland* ſhould marry *Joanna*, Siſter of the Duke of (1) *Somerſet*, and Niece of the Duke of *Exeter* and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. On account of this marriage, which was ſolemnized in the beginning of *February* next year, *Henry*, or the council in his name, abated ten thouſand of the forty thouſand Marks the King of *Scotland* was to pay (2).

A Match is agreed upon between James *and* Joanna *of* Somerſet. p. 302, 322.

1424. *Truce between* Scotland *and* England. p. 328.

Matters being thus ſettled, the ambaſſadors of both nations ſigned (3) a ſeven years truce, to commence *May* the 1ſt, 1424; during which, each of the two Kings was obliged to hinder his ſubjects from doing any damage to the other. So, by this treaty, *James* bound himſelf indirectly, to recall his troops out of *France*, before *May* the 1ſt. Nevertheleſs, whether he neglected to ſend orders for their return, or, as is moſt likely, his Generals found ſome pretence to evade them, theſe troops, as will be ſeen preſently, were ſtill there in *Auguſt*. All theſe negotiations being thus ended, *James* was conducted to the borders, and ſet at liberty the beginning of *March*.

Miſtakes of ſome Engliſh *Hiſtorians concerning the Homage.* Hollingſh. p. 587.

An *Engliſh* hiſtorian affirms, that before *James* quitted *England*, he ſwore fealty, and did homage to young *Henry* in *Windſor* caſtle, for the whole kingdom of *Scotland*. It were to be wiſhed, that in advancing a fact of ſuch importance, and ſo very improbable, this hiſtorian, who relates the very words of the oath and homage (4), had diſcovered the fountain from whence it was drawn. It cannot be denied, that, ſince *John Baliol*, all the Kings of *Scotland* had conſtantly refuſed this homage. For we muſt not reckon among the Kings *Edward Baliol*, who, to aſcend the throne of *Scotland*, had made himſelf Slave of *Edward* III. But not to take things ſo high, it will ſuffice to remark, that *Robert* III, Father of *James*, refuſed to do homage to *Henry* IV; and that ſince, there had been no treaty of peace between the two nations, but truces only, which had ſettled nothing upon this head: ſo *James* was upon the ſame terms with the King his Father. If therefore he did homage to *Henry* VI, it muſt have been by virtue of a new agreement. And yet, it does not appear in the inſtructions of the *Engliſh* commiſſioners, that they had any orders upon that point. The conventions of the Plenipotentiaries, appointed to treat concerning the liberty of King *James*, make no mention of this homage, though they are very large upon things of much leſs importance. Neither has the treaty of truce any thing like it. In ſhort, in above thirty ſeveral acts, extant in *Rymer*'s *Collection*, concerning the affairs negotiated in the years 1423 and 1424, between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, there is not one ſyllable alluding to any ſuch thing. Upon all theſe accounts, it is to be preſumed, in my opinion, that what is advanced by this hiſtorian, and by ſeveral others after him, concerning the pretended homage at *Windſor*, is the pure effect of their prejudice. They verily believed, as many do ſtill, that this homage was due from the King of *Scotland*; and accordingly they imagined, the captive King would not be ſuffered to depart, without being obliged to pay it. But, beſides the reaſons which the King of *Scotland* had to refuſe this homage, the ſilence of the records in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeems to me a clear demonſtration. The reader may look back to what has been ſaid upon this ſubject, in the reign of *Edward* I, where the rights of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were ſufficiently explained.

Beaumont taken by the French. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt the King of *Scotland*'s liberty was negotiating in *England*, the war was continued in *France*, with various ſucceſs. In the beginning of the year, the *French* took, by ſcalade, *Beaumont* upon *Oyſe*, a ſmall town in the Iſle of *France*, ſix leagues from *Pontoiſe*. 1424.

La Charité ſurprized.

On the other hand, *Perrinet Graſſet*, a *Burgundian* adventurer, ſurprized *La Charité*, a place of great importance, which might open the *Engliſh* a paſſage over the *Loire*, and enable them to carry their arms beyond that river.

The taking of places by ſurprize was then ſo frequent, that it is ſtrange, the daily inſtances ſhould not render the governors more vigilant. The Duke of *Bedford* was extremely concerned to ſee, that as he promoted the execution of his projects, by taking the enemy's towns about *Paris*, others were ſurprized, which retarded his deſigns. His ſcheme was, as I obſerved, to clear the northern Provinces, and yet he could not accompliſh it. There was no end of it, and therefore it was neceſſary, in order to purſue his project, to take *Beaumont* from the *French*. For that purpoſe, he opened the campaign in *March*, with an army of ten thouſand Men. After he had recovered this place, he made himſelf maſter likewiſe in the Iſle of *France*, of ſeveral Caſtles, by which the *Pariſians* were very much incommoded.

Beaumont retaken.

The French *ſurprize* Ivry.

Whilſt he was employed in theſe ſlight expeditions, news was brought, that *Giraut*, a captain of King *Charles*'s party, had ſurprized *Ivry*, on the frontiers of *Normandy*. He poſted immediately into thoſe parts, and, not to give the *French* time to provide for its defence, laid ſiege to the town, the beginning of *July*. *Giraut* perceiving he could not long defend it, in his preſent condition, capitulated to ſurrender on the 15th of *Auguſt*, if not relieved by that time. King *Charles* being ſoon informed of this capitulation, reſolved to relieve *Ivry* at any rate, and to employ in that ſervice the *Italian* and *Scotch* troops lately arrived. To theſe, he joined about eleven thouſand Men, drawn out of ſeveral provinces and garriſons; foreſeeing, that without a great ſuperiority of forces, it would be very difficult to ſucceed in his deſign. All theſe troops together, made an army of twenty thouſand Men (5), which was formed in *Maine*. *Charles* had never had one ſo numerous. It was the Earl of *Buchan*'s place, as conſtable of *France*, to command in chief. But he was pleaſed to reſign that honour to the Earl of *Douglaſs* his Father-in-law, to whom the King ſent for that purpoſe a patent, conſtituting him his Lieutenant-General of the whole kingdom, otherwiſe, the conſtable could not have been under his command.

It is beſieged by the Regent. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier.

It capitulates.

Charles *prepares to relieve* Ivry. Hall.

Earl of Douglaſs *commands the Army of* France.

All the *French* Nobles of *Charles*'s party repaired to the army, in order to ſhare in the glory, which was expected from this expedition. The *French* beginning to march, paſſed on the 12th of *Auguſt*, by the walls of *Verneuil*, a town in *Perch*, poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*. The next day, they came in ſight of the *Engliſh* army, which was advantagiouſly intrenched before *Ivry*. *Douglaſs* had no ſooner viewed the enemy's camp, but he judged it impoſſible to be attacked. So, altering his deſign on a ſudden, he immediately returned, and reſolved to lay ſiege to *Verneuil*. He reckoned, he ſhould have time ſo to fortify his camp, as to expect the *Engliſh* with advantage; or, in caſe they would not venture to attack him, the taking of *Verneuil*, would make the King ample amends for the loſs of *Ivry*. Upon his appearing before *Verneuil*, the garriſon prepoſterouſly imagined, he was come from defeating the *Engliſh* before *Ivry*; taking it for granted, that with ſo great a ſuperiority, he would never return thus without action. In this belief, which the *French* took care not to deſtroy (6), they ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons, and *Douglaſs* garriſoned the place with *French*.

He does not think fit to attack the Engliſh. Hall.

P. Daniel. Verneuil *ſurrenders to him.*

The Earl of Salisbury *reinforces the Regent.*

Upon news of the march of the *French*, the Earl of *Salisbury* haſtened to join the Regent, with a thouſand Men at arms, and two thouſand Archers, who arrived at the camp on the 14th. So, the *Engliſh* army was about fifteen thouſand ſtrong.

Ivry *ſurrenders.*

The Regent approaches the French. Biondi.

On the 15th of *Auguſt*, *Ivry* opened her gates to the Beſiegers, purſuant to the capitulation; and next day, the Regent marched to *Verneuil*, where the *French* ſtill remained. When he came within a league of their

(1) *John Beaufort*, Son of *John* Marquiſs of *Derſet*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt* by *Katharine Swinford*, was not created Duke of *Somerſet*, and Earl of *Kendale*, till the 21ſt of *Henry* VI. *Dugdale*. See Note (1) p. 537. *Joanna* is called in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Siſter of the Earl of *Somerſet*. Tom. X. p. 323.

(2) He engaged to pay forty thouſand Pounds in all; *viz.* ten thouſand Marks within ſix Months after his return into *Scotland*, and ten thouſand Marks every Year afterwards, till the whole was paid. And he delivered twenty eight Hoſtages, and the Towns of *Edinburgh*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, and *Aberdeen*, as a Security. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 307, 322, 326, 327, 333.

(3) *March* 28. *Ibid.* p. 332.

(4) "I *Jamis Stuart*, Kyng of *Scottes*, ſhal be true and faithfull unto you, Lorde *Henry*, by the Grace of God, Kyng of *Englande* and *Fraunce*, the "noble and ſuperiour Lorde of the Kyngdome of *Scotlande*, and unto you I make my Fidelitie for the ſame Kyngdome of *Scotlande*, whiche I holde and "claime to holde of you; and I ſhal beare you my Faithe and Fidelitie of Life and Lymme, and worldly Honor againſt al Men; and faithfully I ſhall "knowledge, and ſhall do to you Service due of the Kyngdome of *Scotlande* aforeſaid, ſo God help me and theſe holy Evangeliſtes. *Hollingſh.* p. 587. *Hall*, fol. 86. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 364.

(5) *P. Daniel* ſays, it conſiſted of about fourteen thouſand Men, half of whom were *Scots*. Tom. VI. p. 14. According to *Hall*, there were in it fifteen thouſand *French* and *Bretons*, and five thouſand *Scots*, which is more probable, and more agreeable to *Rapin*'s Account, Fol. 88.

(6) The *French* told the Garriſon, That they had diſcomfited and ſlain all the *Engliſh* Army, and the Regent, with a ſmall Number, had ſaved himſelf by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe. Whereupon the Inhabitants of *Verneuil* giving (as *Hall* expreſſes it) too light credit to theſe *French* Fablers, opened their Gates to them, *Hall*, fol. 88.

1424. Camp, he ſent a Herald to offer them Battle. At the ſame time, he bid him tell *Douglaſs*, *he was come to take a Bit with him*; to which the other replied, *he ſhould find the Cloth laid.* Naturally, it was the Duke of *Bedford*'s Buſineſs to advance, ſince he was in queſt of his Enemies: But knowing the impetuous Humour of the *French*, he did not queſtion, that being ſuperior in number, they would come and attack him, and therefore reſolved to expect them. For that purpoſe, he choſe an advantagious Poſt for his Camp, and for the Field of Battle, a Ground flanked by a Hill, on which he placed two thouſand Archers. He ordered his foremoſt Ranks to take ſuch Piles, as the late King his Brother had ſo ſucceſsfully uſed in the Battle of *Azincourt*, for the better reſiſting the Efforts of the *French* Horſe, among whom were all the Nobles. In this poſture, he waited the Enemies Reſolutions, hoping they would be ſo imprudent as to attack him in this Poſt; and he was not deceived in his Expectation.

and reſolves to wait their coming. Hall.

Diſſentions in the French Council of War.

The Earl of *Douglaſs* having viewed himſelf the *Engliſh* Camp, called a Council of War. He repreſented, that the Duke of *Bedford*, inſtead of advancing, deſigned to fight with advantage, on a Ground choſen by himſelf; and therefore, it was by no means proper to attack him in that Place. That the danger the King's Affairs would be in, was of ſo great a Conſequence, that he thought a Battle was not to be hazarded. That however, if it was judged neceſſary to fight, the beſt way would be to chuſe an advantagious Poſt, and there expect the Enemy, in order not to ingage, till after ſuch Precautions were taken, as would in ſome meaſure warrant Succeſs. This advice coming from a Foreigner, was thought too cautious by ſome of the Council. Amidſt the Debates, a Party was formed againſt the General, headed by *Aymeri*, Viſcount of *Narbonne*. This Lord repreſented, that, if with ſuch a Superiority, a Battle was avoided, the reputation of the King's Arms would be irreparably loſt. That by this Cowardiſe the Troops would be ſo terrified, that there would be no poſſibility to lead them againſt Enemies, who were avoided, when they ought to have been attacked. That the King's Affairs were not to be reſtored without ſome great Action; and, as there could not be a fairer Opportunity to vanquiſh the Enemy, to neglect it, would be to betray the Intereſt of the King and Kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, the Conſtable and oldeſt Captains were of the General's Opinion. But the contrary party were reſolved to carry their Point. *Narbonne*, their Head, going out of the Council, ordered his Banner to be diſplayed, and began to march towards the Enemies. They who were of his Mind did the ſame, and were joined by all the Volunteers of the Army. *Douglaſs* was enraged at this Diſobedience. But neither his, nor the Conſtable's Authority, was capable of making them return. Had he been in his own Country, he would have left theſe raſh men to periſh. But as he was in a foreign Kingdom, he was afraid of being taxed with Cowardiſe, or with having voluntarily ſuffered Part of his Troops to be loſt. Beſides, the number of the Diſobedient continually increaſing, he ſaw himſelf forced, though with extreme Indignation, to march with the reſt of the Army. When they ſaw themſelves followed, they readily left the General the Conduct of the Army, congratulating one another upon having conquered his Obſtinacy. Mean while, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Douglaſs*'s care, his Troops, fearing Victory would eſcape them, were in ſuch Diſorder and Confuſion, that, when they came in ſight of the *Engliſh*, they were almoſt quite out of Breath. However, they immediately attacked them, without regarding thoſe that adviſed to reſt a little before they engaged. The *Italians*, being expoſed to the Arrows of the two thouſand Archers on the Hill, were the firſt that took to Flight. The *French* and *Scots* behaved better, but had to deal with Soldiers inured to War, who were not eaſily frightened. In ſhort, the Leaders ſeeing the attack unſucceſsful, and themſelves liable to everlaſting Diſgrace, and ſome even juſtly fearing an exemplary Puniſhment, choſe an honorable Death before a ſhameful Retreat. The Earl of *Douglaſs*, the Earl of *Buchan*, *Narbonne*, *Ventadour*, *Graville*, *Rambouillet* being ſlain, and many others of the moſt conſiderable wounded, there was ſcarce a General left to lead the Soldiers to the Charge. So the whole Army was utterly routed, and hotly purſued. Then it was, that the greateſt Slaughter was made, as it uſually happens on ſuch Occaſions. The *Italians* returning, upon a falſe Information that their Friends had the Advantage, met the victorious *Engliſh*, who ſlew many more of them. Theſe foreign Troops would have been all cut in pieces, had not the Night cooled the Ardor of the Conquerors. The *French* and *Scots* loſt above five thouſand Men (1), who lay dead on the ſpot, beſides a great number of Wounded and Priſoners. Among the laſt were the Marſhal *de la Fayette* and *Gaucour*. The young Duke of *Alenſon*, who had behaved moſt gallantly, was found among the Dead, with ſome remains of Life, and by the extraordinary Care of the Regent, cured of his Wounds. But, as will be ſeen hereafter, the Recovery of his Liberty coſt him dear. The *Engliſh* loſt ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred of their braveſt Soldiers. The 17th of *Auguſt*, the next day after the Battle, the Regent inveſted *Verneuil*, where *Rambure* commanded. This Governor could have long defended himſelf, had he been well ſtored with Proviſions. But that Want, and perhaps the Conſternation of the Garriſon, obliged him to ſurrender the third day. There was found in *Verneuil*, all the Baggage of the *French*, *Scotch*, and *Italian* Generals, with the Money deſigned for the Payment of the Army. As they entered the Town, the *Engliſh* met the Corps of the Viſcount of *Narbonne*, going to be buried; and, becauſe he was one of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murderers, took his Body and hung it on a Gibbet (2).

1424.

Duke of Alenſon taken Priſoner.

Verneuil *ſurrenders to the* Engliſh.

Narbonne's *Body hung on a Gibbet.*

After the Battle of *Verneuil*, the Regent left the Command of the Army to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and poſted to *Paris*, where ſome Mutineers had raiſed a Sedition, in a belief, that he could not fail of being defeated by the *French*. This Commotion was appeaſed by the Death of ſome of the Ring-Leaders: However it convinced the Regent, that he muſt not truſt to the Affection of the *Pariſians*, unleſs it was in his Power to keep them always in Awe.

A Commotion at Paris *appeaſed by the Regent.* Hall.

The Earl of *Salisbury* finding himſelf able to make ſome conſiderable Attempt, entered *Maine* (3), and beſieged *Mans*, the Capital of the Province, and one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in *France*. The Governor made a long and brave Defence; but at length, deſpairing of Relief, he capitulated. After the taking of *Mans* (4), the *Engliſh* General inveſted *La Ferté Bernard*, another Place in the ſame Province, which could hardly be carried by Storm, by reaſon of its Situation. Whilſt Part of his Troops kept this Place blocked up, he over-ran the reſt of the Province, and took St. *Suſanne* (5), with ſome other Places. He finiſhed this glorious Campaign, and the Conqueſt of *Maine*, with taking *La Ferté Bernard* (6), after a four Months Blockade.

Salisbury *conquers* Maine. Hall. Monſtrelet.

The Defeats of *Crevant* and *Verneuil*, had thrown King *Charles*'s Troops, and all his Towns, into great Conſternation. Had not Winter been ſo near, probably, the *Engliſh* would have puſhed their Conqueſts farther. But this delay, which the Seaſon gave King *Charles*, would have only retarded his ruin a few Months, if a favorable and unexpected Event had not given him time to breathe. I mean the Quarrel between the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Brabant*, wherein the Duke of *Burgundy* was alſo engaged. It may be truly ſaid, that this Affair cauſed the *Engliſh* to loſe the fatal Moment, which, probably, was to determine the ruin of the Houſe of *Valois*, and render them maſters of all *France*. This will plainly appear in the Sequel. But it will be neceſſary firſt, to give a brief Account of the Riſe of this Quarrel, which proved ſo fatal to *England*.

A favorable Event for Charles.

William of *Bavaria*, late Earl of *Hainault*, had by *Margaret* his Counteſs, Daughter of *Philip le Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, an only Daughter called *Jaquelina*, who had been married to *John* ſecond Son of *Charles* VI. *John* being Dauphin by the Death of his elder Brother *Lewis*, died at *Compiegne* in 1416, and *Jaquelina* remained a Widow at her Father's Houſe. The Earl her Father dying ſhortly after, ſhe became Heireſs of his Dominions, containing *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Frieſland*. So noble an Inheritance could not fail to attract the Addreſſes of many Princes. But the Counteſs her Mother being deſirous to procure this rich Match for a Prince of her own Family, caſt her Eyes on *John* Duke of *Brabant*, her Nephew, and perſuaded her Daughter to marry him. This Marriage proved unfortunate. The new-married Couple ſoon quarrelled, for Reaſons foreign

The Affair of Hainault.

Narbonne forces Douglaſs *to march up to the Enemy.* Hall. P. Daniel.

Battle of Verneuil. Aug. 16.

Hall.

(1) By the Report of *Montjoy*, *French* King at Arms, and the *Engliſh* Heralds then preſent, there were ſlain, of *French* and *Scots*, nine thouſand ſeven hundred, and of the *Engliſh*, two thouſand one hundred. Two hundred Gentlemen, beſides many common Soldiers, were taken Priſoners. This Battle, which *Rapin* places on the 16th of *Auguſt*, is ſaid by *Hall* to have been fought on the 27th of that Month. *Hall*, fol. 90.
(2) Sir *Philip Hall* was made Governour of *Verneuil*. *Ibid.*
(3) At the Head of twelve thouſand Men. He was attended by the Lord *Scales*, Sir *John Montgomery*, Sir *John Faſtolff*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 91.
(4) *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, was made Governor of this Town, and Sir *John Faſtolff* his Deputy. *Ibid.*
(5) Of which Sir *John Popham* was made Governor. *Ibid.*
(6) The Regent gave it to *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Heirs. *Hall*, fol. 22.

1424. to our Hiſtory (1). Their Quarrel grew to that height, that *Jaquelina* at laſt cauſed herſelf to be run away with, by ſome *Engliſh* Knights, who carried her to *London*. I have obſerved in the foregoing Reign, that this voluntary Rape was not unknown to King *Henry* V. Very probably, this Monarch had then thoughts of marrying *Jaquelina* to the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

Upon this Princeſs's Arrival in *England*, ſhe began to think of annulling her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant*. To that end, ſhe applied to the Anti-pope *Benedict* XIII. who, though depoſed by the Council of *Piſa*, perſiſted in keeping his Title and Dignity. The pretended Pope, overjoyed at being addreſſed to, nulled *Jaquelina*'s Marriage, with permiſſion to marry again. But whether *Henry* V was afraid of diſobliging the Duke of *Burgundy*, Couſin-German of the Duke of *Brabant*, or thought it too irregular to uſe the Diſpenſation of a Pope, whom he himſelf acknowledged not for ſuch, he haſtened not the Concluſion of the projected Marriage.

Henry dying in the mean while, the Duke of *Gloceſter* believed, he ought not to delay any longer ſo advantagious a Marriage. He eſpouſed *Jaquelina*, either in the very Year 1422, or at leaſt in the beginning of 1423 (2); for there is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Petition dated *March* 7, 1423, and preſented to him under the Title of Earl of *Hainault* (3). However this be, the Duke had no ſooner conſummated his Marriage, but he thought of means to take poſſeſſion of his Ducheſs's Dominions, now in the hands of the Duke of *Brabant*. Mean while, the Duke of *Burgundy* foreſeeing, *Jaquelina*'s third Marriage might create a War between the two Princes her Husbands, had a Conference upon that ſubject with the Duke of *Bedford* at *Amiens*, and afterwards another at *Paris* in *December* 1423. They agreed, that the Deciſion of this Affair ſhould be left to the Pope, as the proper Judge of ſuch Caſes. The Duke of *Brabant* approved of the Expedient, becauſe he knew, there was no ſufficient Reaſon to induce the Court of *Rome* to annul the Marriage. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* rejected it, proteſting however, he was ready to conſent to a reaſonable Agreement. Mean time, he made Preparations to ſupport his Pretenſions, whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother was triumphantly proſecuting the War in *France*. At laſt, in *October* 1424, he came to *Calais* with his Ducheſs, and brought with him a Body of five thouſand Men. He ſtaid there till about the middle of *November*.

Act. Pub. X. p. 279.

Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet.

The Duke of Burgundy *comes to the Duke of* Bedford *at* Paris.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was intirely in the Duke of *Brabant*'s Intereſt, his good Underſtanding with the *Engliſh* was not altered. He ſtill hoped, the Duke of *Gloceſter* would deſiſt from his Pretenſions; and the more, as he ſaw the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, uſing his Endeavours to perſuade him. The arrival of the *Engliſh* Troops at *Calais* alarmed him not, being yet ignorant, they were deſigned againſt the Duke of *Brabant*. Nay, very likely, they were ſent from *England* to ſtrengthen the Regent. And therefore, whilſt the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſtaid at *Calais*, *Philip* was at *Paris*, partaking of the Diverſions and Entertainments made by the Regent, on account of his glorious Campaign. At his return to *Dijon*, he celebrated his ſecond Nuptials with *Bona of Artois*, Widow of *Philip* Earl of *Nevers*, his Uncle. She was Siſter of the Earl of *Eu*, Priſoner in *England*, and Half-Siſter of the Earl of *Clermont*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*.

He marries Bona *of* Artois. Stow.

The Duke of Gloceſter *becomes maſter of* Hainault. Hall. Monſtrelet.

The Duke of Burgundy *prepares to aid the Duke of* Brabant.

Whilſt this Marriage was ſolemnizing at *Dijon*, the Duke of *Gloceſter* departed from *Calais*, and, with *Jaquelina* his Wife, marched towards *Hainault*. He paſſed through part of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions, without ſuffering his Troops to commit any diſorder, and came before *Bouchain*, which opened her Gates to him. Shortly after, all the other Towns of *Hainault* ſubmitted and ſwore Fealty to him and the Ducheſs. Whereupon, the Duke of *Burgundy* ordered *Ligny* and *l'Iſle-Adam*, to draw an Army together with all poſſible Speed, and join the Earl of St. *Pol*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, who was making Preparations at *Bruſſels*, for the Aſſiſtance of the Duke his Brother. But, before we proceed in this Affair, it will be neceſſary to cloſe the Account of the Occurrences of the Year 1424, with what paſſed in *England*. 1424.

Sir *John Mortimer*, Uncle of *Edmund* Earl of *March*, having been ſome time Priſoner in the *Tower*, was charged with attempting to make his Eſcape, in order to ſtir up an Inſurrection in *Wales*. It was pretended, his deſign was to proclaim the Earl of *March* his Nephew, and upon his refuſal, to proclaim himſelf. Whether his Crime was proved, or it was thought proper to make away with a Perſon, who, in caſe he had eſcaped, might have done Miſchief, he was condemned and executed (4). Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Stow.

Death of the Earl of March. *The Duke of* York *his Heir.* Hall. Stow.

The Earl of *March* his Nephew did not long ſurvive him. He died in *Ireland*, about the latter end of the Year, without any Iſſue. By his death, the Title of Earl of *March*, and his Right to the Crown of *England*, from which he was excluded by the Election of *Henry* IV, deſcended to *Richard* Duke of *York* his Nephew, Son of *Ann* his Siſter, and the Earl of *Cambridge*, beheaded at *Southampton* in 1415. All the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, that this Prince, then under Age, bore not yet the Title of Duke of *York*, which, according to them, was not conferred upon him till the Parliament of *Leiceſter* in 1426. But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he is ſtiled Duke of *York*, in an Act dated *February* 26, 1425, that is, thirteen Months before the Parliament of *Leiceſter*, where he was only made Knight (5). Act. Pub. X. p. 342.

1425. *Sad State of* King Charles's *Affairs.* P. Daniel.

In the beginning of the Year 1425, the Affairs of King *Charles* were in a deplorable Condition. The Battles of *Crevant* and *Verneul* had deprived him of his Troops, and beſt Generals. He had neither Money nor Credit. His Revenues being all mortgaged, he ſaw himſelf unable to bring an Army into the Field. The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, the two moſt powerful Vaſſals of the Crown, were in ſtrict Union with the *Engliſh*. The King of *Sicily*, his Brother-in-law, had juſt loſt *Maine*, and could hardly preſerve the reſt of his Dominions. The King of *Scotland*, antient Ally of *France*, had made a Truce with the *Engliſh*, which tied up his Hands, and hindered him from ſending any Succours. Reduced to this wretched ſtate, he ſaw himſelf as it were forced beyond the *Loire*, without hopes of keeping any longer his Towns about *Paris*. To this was added, the juſt Apprehenſion of quickly ſeeing the Enemy's Armies in *Berry*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*. The *Engliſh* called him only the Earl of *Ponthieu*, or in deriſion, the King of *Bourges*.

The Affair of Hainault. Hall.

Certainly, if the Duke of *Gloceſter* had ſhewn the ſame Zeal for the King his Nephew's Intereſts, as he did for his own, and ſent the Duke of *Bedford* the Troops and Money, he employed againſt the Duke of *Brabant*, it may be reaſonably preſumed, *France* would have been undone. Never would *Charles* have had it in his Power to wreſt that Conqueſt out of the hands of the *Engliſh*. This was the critical Minute, which that Nation ſhould not have neglected. They were near the End of a War, which had laſted ten Years, and probably, was going to end according to their Wiſh, in ſecuring the Crown of *France* to the Kings of *England*. The Duke of *Bedford* ſaw it plainly. He never ceaſed to ſollicite his Brother to improve ſo favourable a Juncture, and defer the Execution of his deſigns till a more convenient Seaſon, when he might even employ all the Forces of *France* and *England*. But his Remonſtrances were not capable of diverting the ambitious Duke, from an Enterprize which promiſed him the poſſeſſion of four of the fineſt Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. He was a younger Brother, and the Succeſſion of the Throne of *England*, ſuppoſing the King his Nephew died without Iſſue, was to come to his Brother before him. For this reaſon, he thought he ſhould not neglect this opportunity, which would raiſe him above the rank of a Subject, and was not likely to offer again. But at the ſame time, he cauſed the Duke his Brother to loſe that, of compleating the Conqueſt of *France*. The great number of Garriſons requiſite in the Kingdom, where was neither Town nor Caſtle, but what was fortified, drained the *Engliſh* Army. So, the Regent not receiving any Supplies, becauſe of the unhappy diverſion of *Hainault*, was no more able than King *Charles*, to bring an Army into the Field. This is the true Reaſon why,

(1) The Duke of *Brabant* was an infirm and weak Prince; whereas *Jaquelina* had a Courage and Genius uncommon to her Sex. *P. Daniel Hiſt. Franc.* Tom. VI. p. 18.

(2) *Hall* places it in the firſt Year of *Henry* VI. and ſays, it was not only wondered at by the common People, but alſo deteſted by the Nobility, and abhorred by the Clergy, fol. 84.

(4) *Holland, Zealand, &c. Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 279.

(4) *Rapin*, deceived by the likeneſs of Names, calls Sir *John Mortimer*, Brother of the Earl of *March*. The Genealogy ſtands thus. *Edmund Mortimer*, third Earl of *March*, married *Philippa*, Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* III, and by her had, 1. *Roger*; 2. *Edmund*, who married *Glendour*'s Daughter; 3. *John*, Priſoner in the Tower, and put to death 3 *Henry* VI. The ſaid *Roger* dying in *Ireland*, 22 *Richard* II. left, 1. *Edmund*, ſent into *Ireland* by *Henry* IV, and kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Trim*, till he died childleſs in 3 *Henry* VI, 1424. 2. *Roger*, who died young. 3. *Ann*, Wife of *Richard* of *Coniſburg*, Earl of *Cambridge*, ſecond Son of *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, fifth Son of *Edward* III, he was beheaded at *Southampton*, 1415, leaving a Son, *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Heir to his Uncle *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*. Hence it is plain, Sir *John Mortimer* was not Brother, as *Rapin* ſays, but Uncle to *Edmund* Earl of *March*, that died this Year 1424 in *Ireland*.——The Tranſaction, mentioned here by *Rapin*, happened this Year in *February*, during the Parliament that was then ſitting. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 568. *Stow's Ann.* p. 365.

(5) This Year, on *July* 16. *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was made High-Chancellor. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 340.

1425. why, during the Year 1425, the War was, at it were, discontinued in *France*, and no considerable Conquest made on either Side.

Continuation of the Business of Hainault. Monstrelet. Stow.

I left the Duke of *Gloucester* Master of *Hainault*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* preparing to dispossess him. In *Burgundy*'s Orders to his Generals for levying an Army, he set forth, that having agreed with the Duke of *Bedford*, upon an Expedient to end the Quarrel, it was accepted by the Duke of *Brabant*, but rejected by the Duke of *Gloucester*. The *English* Prince hearing what the Duke of *Burgundy* had advanced, sent him a Letter, dated from *Mons*, *January* the 12th, 1424-5, taxing him with saying an Un-truth. The Duke of *Burgundy*, provoked at this Affront, returned him a very abusive Answer. He told him he lied, and offered to make good his Assertion, in single Combat, and to take the Duke of *Bedford* for Judge (1). The Duke of *Gloucester* accepted the Challenge, and appointed St. *George*'s day for the Combat. Several other bitter Letters passed between them, but of no consequence to what I have farther to say.

A Challenge between the Duke of Burgundy *and* Gloucester.

Braine *taken by the* Brabanders. Monstrelet. Stow.

Whilst these two Princes were thus reviling each other, the Earl of St. *Pol*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, besieged the little Town of *Braine* in *Hainault*, defended by two hundred *English*. After a faint Resistance, the Garrison capitulating, the *Brabanders* violated the Articles, put the *English* to the Sword, and set Fire to the Town (2).

Truce between the Dukes of Gloucester *and* Brabant.

Mean while, as the single Combat of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Gloucester* was of course to decide the principal Quarrel between *Gloucester* and *Brabant*, it was thought proper to make a Truce, in expectation of the Success of the Combat. Upon signing the Truce, the Duke of *Gloucester* returned into *England*. He would have carried his Dutchess along with him, but the People of *Mons* were so urgent with him to leave her behind, that he could not deny their Request. He made the Magistrates, however, solemnly swear to defend her, at the Peril of their Lives, against all Persons whatever (3).

Gloucester. *returns to* England. Hall.

Charles *takes Advantage of the* Hainault *Diversion.* P. Daniel.

Whilst the War of *Hainault* suspended that of *France*, *Charles* took measures to improve this happy diversion. In a great Council, held to consider the State of his Affairs, it was unanimously agreed, there was but one way to free him from his present Circumstances. And that was, to offer the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* a *Carte Blanche*, in order to win them from the *English*. The first had openly broke with the Duke of *Gloucester:* The other might be gained by the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother, who had great Influence over him, and moreover was very angry with the of Duke *Bedford*. This was a Juncture which was not to be neglected. On the other hand, *Bona* of *Artois*, lately married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being *French*, and Half-Sister to the Earl of *Clermont*, the King's zealous Adherent, it was likely she would readily endeavour to gain the Duke her Spouse.

He gains the Earl of Richemont, *and by his means the Duke of* Bretagne. Monstrelet.

The Resolution being then taken to try these two means, *Charles* sent to the Earl of *Richemont* private Emissaries, who told him, what a great Esteem the King had for him; intimating, that he had often said, he should deem himself invincible, if he could have him at the head of his Army. This was attacking the Prince in the most sensible Part. As he had a high Conceit of his own Merit, it was no small Pleasure to him, to see King *Charles* offer him a Post, scornfully refused him by the Duke of *Bedford*. However, knowing the Persons that talked to him thus, were sent only to sound him, he contented himself with returning a civil Answer to their Compliments, and artfully insinuating, he had a great Inclination to serve their Master.

The first Step being taken, *Charles* sent to him the Queen Dowager of *Sicily* his Mother-in-law, with *Tannegui du Châtel*, and empowered them to offer him the Constable's Sword. This Post had been vacant ever since the Death of the Earl of *Buchan*, slain in the Battle of *Verneuil*. The Queen of *Sicily* and *du Châtel* found the Earl entirely disposed to the change. He was exasperated against the Duke of *Bedford*, and being extremely proud and vindictive, was pleased to think, he should have an opportunity of revenging his Contempt. So, without much Sollicitation, he accepted the King's Offer, with great Demonstrations of Thankfulness, and promised to engage the Duke his Brother in his Interests. However, he required two Conditions without which, he protested, he could not accept the Honour designed him by the King, or promise any thing, with regard to the Duke his Brother. The first was, that *Louvet* and *d'Avaugour*, the principal Authors of the *Pontievrian* Conspiracy, should be removed from Court. The second, that the Duke of *Burgundy* should consent to the proposed Affair. His reason was, because he had engaged himself by Oath with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the Treaty of *Amiens*. He had not the same Scruple with respect to the Duke of *Bedford*, though he was no less engaged with him, than with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But Passion frequently causes the same thing to appear with two different Faces, according to the Persons with whom we are concerned. The Queen and *du Châtel* readily assured him, the King would comply with his Demands. Whereupon he came to *Tours*, where *Charles* took care to flatter his Vanity with all possible Civilities and Caresses. But however, the Earl stood firm to his previous Demands, and told the King plainly, he could list in his Service, only upon the Terms proposed. The King gave him hopes of the first, without however fixing the time; and as to the second, was pleased, that he should talk with the Duke of *Burgundy*, to obtain his Consent. He took likewise this opportunity to send to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Bishops of *Puy* and *Chartres*, with orders to sound him, whether there was any way to disengage him from the King of *England*.

1425.

Conditions demanded by the Earl of Richemont.

The Duke of Burgundy *less intractable with regard to* Charles VII.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely incensed against the Duke of *Gloucester*, he appeared not so inclinable to an Agreement, as *Charles* and his Council expected. The Murder of the Duke his Father being still fresh in his Mind, he shewed at first great Aversion to a Reconciliation. Nevertheless, pressed by the King's Envoys, who endeavoured to excuse their Master by casting the Blame on his evil Counsellors, he replied, the King therefore should dismiss those pernicious Counsellors, and then it would be time to talk of an Accommodation. This was a sufficient Intimation, that he was not inexorable, especially as he readily consented, that the Earl of *Richemont* should accept of the Constable's Sword.

The King's perplexity about his Favourites. P. Daniel. Du. Tillet.

Charles, it seems, had reason to congratulate himself upon his good Fortune. It was in his own Power to gain the Duke of *Bretagne*; and moreover, he had hopes that the Duke of *Burgundy* was not Proof against a reasonable Satisfaction. However, the Terms imposed upon him threw him into great Perplexity. To procure these Advantages, he must part with his two principal Ministers, Favorites and Confidents, namely, *Tannegui du Châtel*, who slew the Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Louvet*, President of *Provence*, whom the Duke of *Bretagne* considered as Author of the *Pontievrian* Conspiracy. *Du Chatel* saved him part of his Trouble to make this Sacrifice. He came and cast himself at his feet, intreating him, in Reward of his Services, to give him leave to retire, since his Presence at Court could not, for the future, but be detrimental to so good a Master. It was with extreme Reluctance that the King granted his Request. It was a long time before he could come to a Resolution. Mean while, pressed by the continual Instances of a faithful Servant, who desired his leave, only to give him a fresh Proof of his Zeal, he suffered him at length to retire. There are few Favorites, who thus prefer their Master's Good to their own. *Louvet*, who was not so disinterested, did not think himself obliged to follow this Example. He would have kept himself in his Post, at the Expence of all the Advantages the King could expect from an Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne*.

Châtel *desires leave to retire.*

Louvet tries to keep his Post.

Mean while, the Earl of *Richemont* not doubting in the least, that the King would perform his Promise in relation to *Louvet*, came to him at *Tours*, where he received the Constable's Sword (4) the 7th of *March*, 1425. He had promised to win the Duke of *Bretagne* from *England*, but, as he still saw *Louvet* and *d'Avaugour* about the King, was not in haste to perform his Engagement. *Charles* was willing enough to make him a Sacrifice of the last. But *Louvet* had a surer footing at Court. Besides his being beloved by the King, one of his Daughters, Wife of the Lord *de Joyeuse*, shared *Charles*'s Heart with *Agnes Sorrel*, who began to appear at Court as a Favorite. Wherefore, to gain the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Charles* saw himself forced to dismiss a beloved Minister, and disoblige a Mistress. This gave him no small Concern. On the other hand, *Louvet* used his utmost Endeavours to ruin the Constable in his Master's Favour. He represented to him, with what Haughtiness he had imposed Terms on his Sovereign, as if he had been his Equal, and caused it to be considered as a Favour, that he was pleased to accept of the Constable's Sword. In short, he so managed the King, that *Charles*, who was very obstinate, resolved not to part with his Minister, let what would be the Consequence.

Charles *cannot think of discarding* Louvet. P. Daniel.

He is forced from Court by the Constable.

The Constable finding himself disappointed, resolved to ruin *Louvet*, in spite of the King himself. For that purpose, knowing this Minister was not beloved by the great

(1) He offered to take the Emperor for Judge, and if that would not do, then the Duke of *Bedford*. *Monstrelet*, fol. 20.

(2) There was at this Siege a Body of *French* Troops, commanded by *Xaintrailles*; which the Duke of *Bedford* took heinously ill. *Monstrelet*. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 20.

(3) He also left two thousand *Englishmen* with her. *Hall*, fol. 93.

(4) *P. Daniel* says, it was at *Chinon*. Tom. VI. p. 26.

Men

1425. Men at Court, he ſo caballed with them, that a Plot was formed to remove him from the King. When he was ſecure of the Succeſs of his Project, he withdrew from Court without taking leave, and ſent the King word, he would never return ſo long as *Louvet* was there. *Charles* little regarding his Retreat, ſtill perſiſted in the Reſolution to keep his Miniſter. But when he ſaw, that by degrees the great Men retired to their Governments, on divers Pretences, that they refuſed to receive his Orders, and that he had but two or three Towns left, which he could call his own, he found he muſt reſolve to part with *Louvet*, or his Kingdom. He was even apprehenſive, that the Conſtable would deliver the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Places to the *Engliſh*. So, he was forced, tho' with extreme Indignation, to diſmiſs his Miniſter, who had ſtill Credit enough to cauſe his Creature *de Giac* to be received in his Room.

The Duke of Bretagne *does Homage to* Charles. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.

Upon this Removal, the Conſtable was willing to return to Court, but *Charles* was ſo provoked with him, that he could not bear to ſee him. However, the State of his Affairs obliged him at length to admit him again. The Conſtable, content with having accompliſhed his Deſigns, performed his Promiſe concerning the Duke his Brother, and brought him to *Saumur*, where he did Homage to the King (1).

Quarrel between the Duke of Gloceſter *and Biſhop of* Wincheſter. Hall.

Whilſt the Earl of *Richemont* was raiſing diſturbances in the Court of King *Charles*, *Henry* enjoyed not greater Tranquillity. I have obſerved, that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, his Uncle, were not Friends. On which Side ſoever the Fault lay, they loſt no opportunity of plaguing one another. The *Hainault* Expedition furniſhed the Biſhop with one, which he knew how to improve. When that undertaking was propoſed in Council, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and manifeſtly ſhewed, how prejudicial it might be to the King's Affairs. But though, on this occaſion, he was in the right, the Duke of *Gloceſter* had Intereſt enough to have it approved. He departed with a Mind imbittered againſt his Uncle, and with a reſolution to be revenged, the firſt opportunity.

The Hiſtorians inform us not, how the Government was ſettled during the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Abſence, which laſted about a Year (2). Very likely, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had the greateſt Share in it, and made uſe of this Advantage to create his Enemy many Vexations. Some even ſay, all his Proceedings tended to deprive him of the Protectorſhip, in order to obtain it for himſelf.

The Duke being returned into *England*, about *October* 1425, this Quarrel was kindled afreſh, with great Animoſity on both Sides. One day as he intended to go to the *Tower*, Sir *Richard Woodville* the Governor refuſed him Admittance, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Advice. The Protector, who was exceeding high-ſpirited, flew into a great Paſſion with the Biſhop, and proceeded even to Threats. In a word, the Quarrel was carried ſo far, that they both began to arm their Friends, either to attack or deſend. The Duke of *Coimbra*, Prince of *Portugal*, then in *England* (3), and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. An Hiſtorian ſays, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was forced to fly for refuge to the *Tower*, and that eight or ten of his People were killed by the Duke's. But this is unlikely, ſince, in their mutual Complaints, laid before the enſuing Parliament, there is no mention of any ſuch thing.

Hall.

Monſtrelet.

The Duke of Bedford *comes into* England. Hall.

The Prelate having no Warriors on his Side, did not find his account in deciding the Quarrel by Arms. The Intrigues of the Cabinet were more within his Province. And therefore, to prevent the Miſchief that might befal him, if things remained in this ſtate, he writ to the Duke of *Bedford*, deſiring him to come into *England*. He told him in his Letter, unleſs he made all poſſible Haſte, the Kingdom was in danger of being expoſed to fatal Commotions, by his Brother's violent Temper. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving the Importance of this Quarrel, ſet out immediately, leaving in *France*, *Richard de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, to command in his room, and arrived in *England December* the 20th.

1425. Warwick *commands in* France. Act. Pub. X. p. 359.

As ſoon as the Duke ſet foot in the Kingdom, he aſſumed the Title of Protector, and was received as ſuch, purſuant to the Act of Parliament in 1422. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, not only that Petitions were preſented to him as Protector, but the Parliament aſſigned him the Salary of eight thouſand Marks, annexed to that Dignity, and which the Duke of *Gloceſter* till then had enjoyed.

1426. *The Duke of* Bedford *received for Protector.* Id. p. 357, 359, 365.

A few days after his Arrival, the Duke of *Bedford* ſpoke in the Council, of the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Earl of *Richemont*, repreſenting the Prejudice it brought to the King's Affairs. Upon his Remonſtrances, and by his Advice, it was unanimouſly reſolved, to declare War againſt the Duke of *Bretagne*; which was accordingly done on the 15th of *January*, by Proclamation. Moreover, to find that Prince Employment in his own Country, and hinder him from aſſiſting King *Charles*, a reſolution was taken to ſupport the *Pontievrians* his Enemies, and try, by their means, to raiſe a Civil War in *Bretagne*. To that end, Safe-Conducts were diſpatched to the two Brothers of *Pontievre*: But however, nothing came of it. Probably, their Intereſt was not great in that Country.

England *proclaims War with* Bretagne. Ib. p. 340. Argentre.

This affair being ended, the Duke of *Bedford* wholly applied himſelf, to procure a ſincere Reconciliation between the Duke his Brother and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The way to ſucceed, was to favor neither. Had he taken his Brother's Part, as the Ties of Blood ſeemed to require, he would not have been fit to perform the Office of a Mediator. Moreover, beſides the Character of Brother and Nephew, he had another to maintain, in order to anſwer his Duty, and the Expectations of the Publick; I mean that of Protector, chiefly concerned in the Good of the State, independently of the Duties of Nature. So, not to take upon himſelf alone ſo nice an Affair, he aſſembled ſome of the prime Nobility at St. *Albans*, in hopes of finding, with their Aſſiſtance, ſome expedient, to content theſe two Princes. But their Animoſity was ſo great, that it was not poſſible to ſucceed by this means. After many fruitleſs Endeavours, the Deciſion of the Affair was forced to be referred to a Parliament ſummoned at *Leiceſter* for *March* (4). When the Parliament met, the Duke of *Gloceſter* exhibited ſix Articles againſt the Biſhop.

Continuation of the Quarrel of the Duke of Gloceſter *and Biſhop of* Wincheſter. Hall.

Cotton's Abridg. Hall.

Articles of Accuſation againſt the Biſhop. Hall.

I. He accuſed him of cauſing him to be denied Entrance into the *Tower*, and thereby rendering the Dignity of Protector contemptible.

II. That he would have removed the King from his Palace at *Eltham*, to *Windſor*, with deſign to become Maſter of his Perſon.

III. That not being ſatisfied, with cauſing him to be denied Admittance into the *Tower*, as was ſaid in the firſt Article, he had placed armed Men on *London* Bridge, and in *Southwark*, on purpoſe to murder him.

IV. That he had concealed a Villain in the late King's room, when Prince of *Wales*, in order to murder him.

V. That he had adviſed the ſame Prince, to ſeize the Crown, before the King his Father's Death.

VI. That in his Letter to the Duke of *Bedford*, it evidently appeared, that his Deſign was to raiſe a Civil War in the Kingdom.

Biſhop's Reply.

The Biſhop gave a particular Anſwer to theſe Accuſations, by explaining ſuch of his Actions as might have been ill conſtrued, or by denying the Facts laid to his Charge (5).

The

(1) And at the ſame time, *viz. Octob.* 7. concluded a Treaty with him, where by he engaged to aſſiſt him in driving the *Engliſh* out of *France*, upon the following Conditions: 1. That *Charles* ſhould be reconciled to the Princes of the Blood, particularly to the Duke of *Burgundy*. 2. That he ſhould not protect the Earl of *Pontievre*. 3. That the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould have the Adminiſtration of the Finances in the *Languedoil*, that is, the Country between the *Loire* and *Languedoc*. *Du Tillet*, p. 349, 363. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 29.

(2) Before his going over, a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, which met on *April* 30, and granted the King the Subſidy of Wools, namely, forty three Shillings and four-pence on every Sack, from Strangers; and from Denizens, thirty three Shillings and four-pence; as alſo three Shillings of every Tun of Wine, and Twelve-pence in the Pound of all ſorts of Merchandize imported or exported. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 578. *Stow's Ann.* p. 366. *Hall*, fol. 92.—The young King rid in great Triumph to this Parliament through the City of *London* upon a large Courſer. *Hall*, ibid.——Several Perſons having made a Trade of carrying from time to time a great number of Sheep and Fleeces out of the Realm into *Flanders*, and other Countries beyond Sea, it was enacted in this Parliament, That no Perſon whatſoever ſhould be ſuffered to carry any Sheep out of *England*, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame, or the Value thereof, to the King. See *Statutes*.——It being feared, that ſome Quarrel ſhould ariſe between the Attendants of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, during the Seſſion of this Parliament, ſtrict Orders were given, that no Perſon ſhould come to it with Swords, or other warlike Weapons. This Order was literally obſerved, yet the Lords came with Batts, or great Clubs, from whence this Parliament was called *the Parliament of Batts*. *Comp. Hiſt.* p. 352.

(3) He was Son of *Philippa*, eldeſt Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*. During his Stay in *England*, he was made Knight of the Garter. *Hall*, fol. 92. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 405.

(4) It met there the 18th Day of *February*, and continued the Subſidy of Wools, and Tunnage and Poundage for two Years. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 582, 585.

(5) To the firſt Article, the Biſhop anſwered, That, after the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s going to *Hainault*, ſeditious and odious Bills (or Papers) and Language, being caſt and uſed in the City of *London*, ſounding of Inſurrection and Rebellion againſt the King's Peace, and deſtruction as well of the ſeveral eſtates of the Land, as of Strangers, who thereupon in great Numbers fled out of the Land; it was thought adviſeable, to aſſign *Richard Woodville*, Eſq; Deputy-Governor of the Tower, a certain Number of defenſible Perſons, for the more ſure keeping of the ſaid Tower: And he was ſtraightly charged by the Council, that during the time of his ſaid Charge, he ſhould not ſuffer any Man to be in the Tower ſtronger than himſelf, without eſpecial Charge or Commandment of the King, by the Advice of his Council. 2. To the ſecond he anſwered, That he never purpoſed to lay Hands on the King, or remove him, without the Advice of the Council: For, the doing of it would have been no Advantage to him, but rather great Peril and Charge. 3. To the third he ſaid, That what armed Men he employed, it was only in his own Defence for he was often warned,

1426. The Parliament appointing Commiſſioners to examine the Accuſation and Anſwers, declared, upon their Report, that the Charge was groundleſs, and acquitted the Biſhop. Then they obliged the two Princes to be reconciled. Whereupon they ſhook hands, and ſeemingly parted good Friends, but however were no leſs Enemies to each other.

He is declared innocent. They are made Friends outwardly.

Mean while, as the Times and Circumſtances of Affairs would not allow the Duke of *Gloceſter* to be entirely ſacrificed to his Enemy, the Protector took care to procure him alſo ſome Satisfaction. In the firſt Place, he took the Great Seal from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and gave it to the Biſhop of *London*. Moreover, as it was impoſſible for the two Adverſaries to be together in the Council, without great Prejudice to the King's Affairs, he prevailed with the Biſhop to go with him into *France*, under colour of performing a Vow. But to repair the Injury his Abſence might do him, he had leave to ſollicite a Cardinal's Cap, which was ſent him ſhortly after.

Expedients to ſatisfy both Parties. Act. Pub. X. p 353

P. 358.

This Affair being thus happily ended, the Protector reſtored *John Mowbray*, Earl Marſhal, to the Title of Duke of *Norfolk*, which his Father *Thomas*, was deprived of by *Richard* II. At the ſame time (1), he made forty Knights, among whom was the young Duke of *York*. Hence, doubtleſs, it is, that this Prince is ſaid to receive in this Parliament the Title of Duke of *York*, though it is certain he bore it before, as has been obſerved.

Mowbray *reſtored, and the Duke of* York, *with forty others knighted,* P. 356.

Whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* was thus employed in *England*, the Conſtable *Richemont* levied an Army in *Bretagne*. He was extremely impatient to ſhow, that he was not unworthy of his Poſt. By his Care and Credit, this Army amounted to twenty thouſand Men. With theſe numerous Forces, which the Earl of *Warwick* was not in condition to withſtand, he entered *Normandy*, and took *Pontorſon* about the end of *February*. Then he laid Siege to St. *James de Beuvron*, where the *Engliſh* had a ſtrong Garriſon. This Siege proved more tedious and difficult than he expected. He had been promiſed a Convoy of Money, which came not. *De Giac*, who had the Management of the Treaſury, was in no haſte to ſend it, being glad to make him receive ſome Mortification. He was afraid, if the Conſtable gained reputation at this Siege, he would grow more haughty and daring, and pretend to rule the Court as he pleaſed. Mean while, the Army diminiſhed every Day by Deſertions. Theſe Diſappointments exceedingly troubled the Conſtable, in a Dread, that his Reputation would be blaſted in his firſt notable Action. In ſhort, he received falſe Intelligence, that the *Engliſh* were aſſembling all their Forces to raiſe the Siege. His fear of a Diſgrace, made him reſolve to ſtorm the Town, though the Breach was not yet ſufficiently wide or prepared. Mean while, to ſecure himſelf againſt the dreaded Relief, he detached two thouſand Men, with Orders to poſt themſelves on the Road to *Avranche*, and oppoſe the firſt Efforts of the Enemies, if they came during the Aſſault. Then he cauſed the Breach to be vigorouſly attacked. But the Garriſon, which was very numerous, made ſo brave a Reſiſtance, as gave the Beſiegers but ſmall hopes of being Maſters of it. Whilſt both Sides were fighting with equal Ardor, the Detachment hearing no News of the Enemies, and imagining it diſhonorable to expect them in vain, whilſt the reſt were engaged, haſtily returned to aſſiſt at the Aſſault. Their coming threw the Beſiegers into a Panick. They fancied, the Detachment being repulſed by the Enemies, were flying for Refuge to the Camp, and in this Belief relinquiſhed the Aſſault. The Conſtable did all he could to undeceive them, but the Diſorder was already ſo great, that it was not poſſible to make them renew the Fight. Mean time, the Beſieged ſeeing the Confuſion that prevailed in the Camp, ſallied out, and ſuddenly falling upon Troops already terrified, eaſily put them to Flight. The Conſtable himſelf was forced to follow them, and leave his Baggage and Artillery in the Power of his Enemies, extremely concerned to ſee all his Projects confounded, by this unfortunate Accident. However, as he had not loſt many Men, he found himſelf ſtill able, after drawing his Army together, to march into *Anjou*, and take *la Fleche* and *Galerand* belonging to the *Engliſh*.

The Conſtable Richemont *takes* Pontorſon, *and beſieges* Beuvron. *rg entré.*

He receives a great Mortification. Hall.

P. Daniel.

He takes two Towns in Anjou.

The taking of theſe two Places, was not however capable of comforting him for his misfortune before St. *James's*. He openly accuſed *de Giac* of being the Cauſe; and regardleſs of the King's Reſentment, reſolved to be revenged. The Moment he returned to Court, after the Campain, which the Deſertion of his Troops obliged him to end ſooner than he would, he cauſed *de Giac* to be ſeized in his Bed, and by a Sentence, as violent as irregular and raſh, ordered him to be ſtrangled, and then thrown into the *Loire*. After that, he boldly declared, he would ſerve in the ſame manner, any Perſon whatever, that ſhould endeavour to ingroſs the King's Favour. The *Camus* of *Beaulieu* not being terrified with theſe Threats, and accepting *de Giac*'s Place, which was offered him, was, by the Conſtable's means, aſſaſſinated in the King's own Palace, and even before his Eyes. His Pride could not bear any Perſon at Court, that was not his Creature. By the way, this monſtrous Arrogance ill agrees with the exceſſive Commendations beſtowed on this Prince.

1426.

and aſſaſſinates Beaulieu.

Charles was ſo provoked at theſe haughty Proceedings, that he would not ſee the Conſtable. Nay, he could not hear him mentioned without horror. But his Diſpleaſure was little regarded by a Man, who had for him both the Nobles and People. In the King's Extremity, every one thought he did him a Favour to ſerve him. Upon the leaſt diſcontent, he was threatned to be left, for the *Engliſh*, who received with open Arms thoſe that ſubmitted to their King. Beſides, the Earl of *Warwick* had now inveſted *Montargis* about a Month, and the King had no other way to relieve that Place, but by the help of the *Bretons*. So, notwithſtanding the Conſtable's outragious Affronts, he gave leave, at the Inſtance of *La Trimouille*, that this proud Prince ſhould pay his Reſpects to him. But his Affairs were not more advanced by it.

The King refuſes to ſee him.

But neceſſity obliges him to it.

Whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* was in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick*, who commanded in *France*, did all that lay in his power, to keep the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in good State. He found himſelf at firſt too weak to oppoſe the Conſtable's entrance into *Normandy*; but upon News that the *Bretons* had disbanded themſelves, becauſe there was no Money to pay them, he thought himſelf able to make ſome Attempt. With a Body of five thouſand Men he entered *Maine*, and retook ſeveral Caſtles, which the *Bretons* had ſeized. The ſuprizing of Places was then ſo frequent, that ſometimes the ſame Town changed Maſter twice or thrice in one Year. But there would be no end, if the Circumſtances of every Particular were related. The Earl of *Warwick* ſeeing, the Conſtable's Defeat before St. *James's*, the Deſertion of his Troops, and the Broils in *Charles's* Court, had long diſabled the *French* from having an Army in the Field, formed a Deſign to become Maſter of *Montargis*. This Place was neceſſary for the Execution of the Regent's Project, to carry the War beyond the *Loire*. Indeed, the *Engliſh* General could not expect, with his few Troops, to take *Montargis*, by a Siege in Form; but was in hopes, the Place, being cloſely blocked up, would be forced to ſurrender, before it could be relieved. The River *Loin* parting into three Branches near this Town, there was a neceſſity to ſeparate the Troops into three different Quarters, the principal of which the Earl of *Warwick* commanded. The ſecond was intruſted with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the third with *John de la Pole* his Brother. Theſe Quarters were joined by Bridges of Communication, and in this Poſture the *Engliſh* patiently waited, till Hunger ſhould conſtrain the Beſieged to capitulate.

Defeat of the Engliſh *at the Blockade of* Montargis. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel. Hall.

The Blockade had now laſted three Months, and King *Charles* had taken no care about relieving the Place. At length, the Beſieged acquainting him that they could no longer reſiſt, without Aſſiſtance, he caſt his Eyes on the Conſtable for that Undertaking. But *Richemont*, who had now no Army, refuſed the Commiſſion, being unwilling with new-levied Troops to expoſe himſelf to a Diſgrace, like that of St. *James*. Upon his Refuſal, the Management of this Expedition was committed to the Baſtard of *Orleans* (2), who was returned from *Avignon*, where he had retired with *Louvet* his Father-in-law. This young Lord, then but Twenty-two Years of Age, had already made eight Campains, and on ſeveral occaſions given ſignal Proofs of his Conduct and Courage. He muſt needs have been young, to take ſuch an Enterprize upon him, with only ſixteen hundred Men, againſt the Earl of *Warwick* (3), whoſe Reputation was equal to that of the greateſt Generals.

Monſtrelet. Hall. P. Daniel.

He cauſes De Giac *to be ſtrangled,* P. Daniel.

that my Lord of *Gloceſter* intended him bodily harm. 4. To the fourth he returns but an indifferent Anſwer, ſaying only in general, That he was ever true to all thoſe that were his Sovereign Lords, and never purpoſed Treaſon or Untruth againſt any of them, eſpecially King *Henry* V: By whom, he adds, he was ſet in a place of ſuch great Truſt as that of Chancellor. 5. To the fifth he ſays, That it is a mere Calumny. 6. As to the words in his Letter, which were----- "By my trouthe if you tary, we ſhall put this Land in Adventure, with a Felde, ſuch a Brother you have here:" He affirms, That he did not thereby mean, he would aſſemble People againſt the King's Peace; but his meaning was, that there were like to be Inſurrections in *London*, upon occaſion of ſome Orders made by the Mayor and Aldermen, againſt the exceſſive Wages of Maſons, Carpenters, and other Workmen; and the Duke of *Gloceſter* did not uſe ſo much Diligence, as he ought to have done, in ſuppreſſing thoſe Troubles. Therefore the Duke of *Bedford*'s coming was the more neceſſary. See a full account of this whole Matter in *Hall's Chron.* fol. 94---99.

(1) On *May* 4. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 357.

(2) He was Son of *Lewis* of *France*, Duke of *Orleans*, aſſaſſinated by Order of the Duke of *Burgundy*, as is related above, p. 499. See *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 35.

(3) Who had three thouſand Men with him. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 32. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 34. *Hall* ſays, ſix thouſand, fol. 102.

1426. The Beſieged having notice that Succours were preparing, let go their Sluices to favour them. The *Loin* was ſo ſwoln thereby, that the Bridges of Communication between the the *Engliſh* Quarters were over-flowed. The Baſtard of *Orleans* arriving in the mean time, thought, as there could not be a more favorable opportunity, he ought immediately to attack the Enemies, before the Waters were fallen. He gave half his Troops to *La Hire* to attack *Pole*'s Quarter, and with the other half fell upon the Earl of *Suffolk*. It was a ſtrange ſort of Battle, the Soldiers on both Sides, ſtanding up to their Middle in Water. At laſt, after a long Reſiſtance, the two Quarters attacked, were forced, with the loſs of fifteen hundred Men on the Side of the *Engliſh*; many of which were drowned in endeavouring to paſs into the other Quarter, by reaſon the Bridges were under Water. *Warwick* finding it impoſſible to aſſiſt his Men, choſe to retreat in good order. This Action acquired the Baſtard of *Orleans* a great Reputation, being from that time conſidered as a Perſon, that would one Day become a famous General.

Monſtrelet.

Continuation of the Affair of Hainault. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Since the end of the laſt Year, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Gloceſter*, had been preparing for their ſingle Combat, which probably, as it was not fought at the time appointed, namely, St. *George*'s Day, was deferred by Conſent. Though theſe two Princes ſeemed to have nothing more to manage, and the Deciſion of the Affairs of *Hainault* was likely to depend on the Succeſs of their Combat, the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himſelf obliged to confound his perſonal Quarrel with the Duke of *Brabant*'s Affairs, or to neglect the Advantages procured him by the Truce, to put that Prince in poſſeſſion of his Wife's Dominions. He no ſooner ſaw the Duke of *Gloceſter* out of *Hainault*, but he began by ſecret Emiſſaries, to cabal among the chief Men of the Country, for the delivery of *Jaquelina*, who continued at *Mons*. The Counteſs her Mother, ever a Friend to the Houſe of *Burgundy*, came into the Plot, though ſhe took care to conceal it from her Daughter. When Matters were ripe, the Towns of *Hainault* ſuddenly declared for the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of St. *Pol* his Brother appeared before *Mons* with an Army. Then the Magiſtrates of the City, pretending a fright, and intimating, they could not alone bear the Brunt of the War, entered into Treaty with him. As every thing had been privately ſettled, they promiſed to deliver *Jaquelina* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, till the Pope ſhould decide the Difference in queſtion. All this was tranſacted unknown to *Jaquelina*, who heard nothing of the Matter till it was too late to help it. She writ to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, complaining of being baſely betrayed, but her Complaints were in vain. On the 13th of *June* 1426, ſhe was forced to go from *Mons*, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, who guarded her as far as *Gant*, where ſhe was to reſide. After that, all *Hainault* unanimouſly received the Duke of *Brabant* for Sovereign.

Monſtrelet.

Jaquelina *given up to the Duke of* Burgundy. Hall.

Monſtrelet.

Jaquelina was inraged to ſee herſelf a Priſoner. But perceiving, Reſiſtance would but render her Condition more grievous, ſhe feigned to be pleaſed, that her Affair was left to the Pope's Determination. This Diſſimulation procured her a mild and honorable Treatment, which ſhe knew how to improve. In *September*, ſhe found means to eſcape in Man's Cloaths, and retire into *Holland*. She was well received by ſome of her Subjects, whilſt others choſe rather to adhere to the Duke of *Burgundy*; knowing how difficult it would be to ſupport her againſt ſo potent an Enemy. The Duke, vexed that his Prey had eſcaped him, carried the War into *Holland*, to hinder her from fortifying herſelf in that Country. This War, which is foreign to our Hiſtory, laſted the Year 1427, and part of 1428. I ſhall hereafter relate the Succeſs, and in the mean time muſt return to what paſſed in *France*.

She makes her Eſcape, and gets to Holland. Monſtrelet. Hall.

1427. *Weakneſs of both Parties in* France.

The Earl of *Warwick*'s loſs before *Montargis*, and the Neceſſity of garriſoning ſo many Towns, prevented his keeping the Field. Beſides, the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered him to ſpare his Troops againſt an important Expedition, which it was not yet proper to diſcover. All this while, *Charles* was in no better Condition. The Advantage lately gained by his Troops, had not augmented his Forces. Thus both Sides were forced to remain unactive, or at leaſt to content themſelves with Attempts to ſurprize ſome Places.

The Duke of Suffolk *is ſurprized in* Mans, *and relieved by* Talbot. P. Daniel.

In the beginning of this Year, the Earl of *Foix*, who had at length taken part with King *Charles*, ſent him a Body of Troops, under the Command of Count *d' Orval*, of the Houſe of *Albret*. This General approaching *Mans*, where the Earl of *Suffolk* was with a few Soldiers, held Intelligence with ſome of the Burghers, who promiſed to deliver the City. Accordingly, he was admitted, and the Earl of *Suffolk* forced to retire into the Caſtle, where he had but three days Proviſions. In this Extremity, he ſent to *Talbot*, who was at *Alenſon*, deſiring him to endeavour to relieve him. *Talbot* loſt not a Moment. By the next Night, he was with ſome Troops at the foot of the Caſtle, towards the Country, and entered at a Poſtern-Gate, whilſt *d' Orval* thought himſelf ſafe in the City, not imagining the Beſieged could be ſo ſoon relieved. At Break of day, *Suffolk* and *Talbot* ſallied out of the Caſtle, and taking the *French* unprepared, drove them before them quite out of the City. Thus the Place was almoſt as ſoon recovered as loſt, by the extraordinary Diligence of *Talbot*, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced Leaders of the Age. 1426.

Suffolk *and* Talbot *take* Laval.

After this Expedition, the two Generals marched to *Laval*, a little Town in *Maine*, and carried it with Eaſe. Then joining the Earl of *Warwick*, who was marching to thoſe Parts, they beſieged *Pontorſon*, taken by the Conſtable *Richemont* laſt Year. As this Siege was very long, I ſhall leave the Generals there, in order to relate what paſſed elſewhere.

The Duke of Bedford *returns to* France. *The Biſhop of* Winchester *made a Cardinal.* Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. X. p. 413, 414, 417, 423, 432, &c.

The Duke of *Bedford* was arrived from *England* the beginning of this Year (1), according to the *Engliſh* Writers, or ſome Months ſooner, if we believe the *French*, with a Reinforcement that rendered him formidable. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* came with him, who had received at *Calais*, a Cardinal's Cap, given with great Ceremony. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he was generally ſtiled the Cardinal of *England*, doubtleſs, becauſe he was of the Royal Family. And yet the *Engliſh* Authors ſeem to have been ignorant of this Circumſtance, ſince they always call him only the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. I ſhall give him the ſame Title for the future, in conformity to other Hiſtorians, who mention him only by that Name. Shortly after, the Biſhop was made the Pope's Legate in *England*, and thereby had opportunity to increaſe his Riches and Credit, to the great Prejudice of the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Enemy.

Richemont *withdraws from Court.* P. Daniel. Hall.

The Siege of *Pontorſon* ſtill coutinued, without King *Charles*'s being able to relieve that Town. He had then much more important Affairs upon his Hands, and which more nearly concerned him. The Conſtable *Richemont* was retired to *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, extremely diſpleaſed at the King's Coldneſs. Since his receiving the Conſtable's Sword, he had done nothing to anſwer the great Expectations he had raiſed of his Valour and Abilities. On the contrary, inſtead of advancing the King's Affairs, he had rendered the Royal Authority ſo contemptible, by his Pride and Oppreſſions, and violent Doings, that *Charles* was, as I may ſay, leſs a King than before. The Princes and great Men at Court, after his Example, took upon them to give Law to their Sovereign. Since the Death of *Beaulieu*, *la Trimouille* was the ſole Favorite, and had ſuch an Aſcendent over the King, that nothing was done but by his Direction. The Conſtable thought at firſt, to have been a great gainer by this Change, becauſe the new Favorite had always profeſſed a Friendſhip for him, but was quickly convinced of the contrary. His Behaviour to the former Miniſters, making this apprehenſive of the ſame Treatment, he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to inflame the King's Averſion for him. The whole Court quickly perceived it, with extreme Concern. The great Men could expect no Preferments, unleſs the King's Affairs were in a good Situation, and were perſuaded, the Conſtable alone was capable of reſtoring them. For this and ſeveral other Reaſons, *la Trimouille* grew exceeding odious. This Hatred was carried ſo far, that at laſt a Confederacy was formed againſt him, of which the Earls of *Clermont* and *De la Marche* his Couſin, were the Heads. They began with an Attempt upon his Life, after *Richemont*'s Example. Having notice that the King was gone to *Loches*, and had left *la Trimouille* at *Bourges*, they aſſembled ſome Troops, and marched thither to ſeize the Favorite. But they found he was already gone after the King. However, not to loſe their labour entirely, they reſolved to carry away *La Borde* and *De Prie*, two of his Creatures, who were retired into the great *Tower*. *De Prie* was killed in defending himſelf, but *La Borde* held out, till the King himſelf came to reſcue him. This Affair turned to a Civil War, which, after laſting ſome Months, was at length ended by the Duke of *Alenſon*'s Mediation. This young Prince, who was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Verneuil*, was lately releaſed by the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Interceſſion, who, though an Enemy of King *Charles*, ſought all occaſions to gain the Friendſhip of the *French* Princes. But it coſt the Duke of *Alenſon* two hundred thouſand Crowns, a very conſiderable Sum at all times, but eſpecially at the Time we are ſpeaking of. To procure this Money, he was forced to part with his Jewels, and ſell the Duke of *Bretagne* the Town of *Fougeres*, at a very low rate. In return for his late Ser-

La Trimouille *the only Favorite.*

A League againſt him. P. Daniel.

A Civil War upon his account, ended by the Duke of Alenſon.

(1) He departed from *England* about *Febr.* 2, and landed at *Calais Febr.* 5. *Stow's Ann.* fol. 368. *Compl. Hiſt.* p. 355.

vice

1427. vice to the King, *Charles* made him a Present of fourſcore thouſand Crowns, though himſelf was in great want. Mean while, *la Trimouille* ſtill kept his Poſt at Court.

The Duke of Bedford *marches againſt the Duke of* Bretagne. Du Tillet. Argentré.

Whilſt *Charles* was employed in quelling his Domeſtick Enemies, the Duke of *Bedford* was intent upon executing a Deſign, formed before he left *England*; and that was, to reduce the Duke of *Bretagne* to the Obedience of King *Henry*. Ever ſince *June* he had cauſed *Pontorſon* to be beſieged (1), a ſtrong Town on the Borders of *Bretagne*, which might have been a great Obſtacle to his Entrance into that Dukedom, had it continued in the Hands of the *French*. This Siege, which had been very long, being ended (2), the Duke of *Bedford* repaired to the Army, with a Reinforcement which increaſed it to twenty thouſand Men. With this powerful Body, to which he knew his Enemies had nothing like it to oppoſe, he prepared to enter *Bretagne*, threatening the Country with utter Deſtruction. Whether the Duke of *Bretagne* was ſurprized, or, was glad to have an excuſe to abandon King *Charles*, whom he had joined only out of Condeſcenſion to the Conſtable his Brother, he wiſely prevented the impending Danger. He was very ſenſible, *Charles* was not able to protect him. Beſides, he was diſpleaſed with him on the Conſtable's account. For theſe Reaſons, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bedford*, to ſue for Peace, upon what Terms he pleaſed.

He obliges him to abandon King Charles. Du Tillet. Hall.

Though it was in the Regent's Power to be revenged of the Duke of *Bretagne*, he thought it his duty, to prefer the Intereſts of the King his Nephew, to his own Satisfaction. Indeed, it was much more advantagious for the King, to make of the Duke of *Bretagne* a willing Friend, by treating him civilly, than a private Enemy, by uſing him rigorouſly. So, he required nothing more of him, than to ſwear to the Peace of *Troye*, and cauſe all his States to do the ſame, purſuant to his Engagements with *Henry* V (3); and to promiſe with an Oath to do Homage to young *Henry* when required. This Moderation made great Impreſſion on the Duke of *Bretagne*, who, ever after, proved a Friend to the *Engliſh*, even in the decline of their Affairs. On the other hand, though the Regent perceived, he could expect no great Aſſiſtance from the Duke of *Bretagne*, by reaſon of the Influence, the Conſtable his Brother had over him, yet he thought the gaining that Prince from *Charles*'s Party, was no ſmall Advantage to the *Engliſh*.

Act. Pub. X. p. 378, 385. Du Tillet.

Continuation and end of the Affair of Hainault. Monſtrelet.

I left the Duke of *Burgundy* at War with *Jaquelina* in *Holland*, under the ſpecious Pretence of ſupporting the Honour and Intereſt of the Duke of *Brabant* his Couſin; though, as the Sequel will diſcover, in reality, it was only for his own private Views. This War, as may be imagined, did not turn much to *Jaquelina*'s Advantage. There was too great a Diſproportion between the two Parties. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was not able of himſelf to give his Ducheſs the Aſſiſtance ſhe wanted. To that end, he muſt have employed the Publick Revenues of *England*, or procured an extraordinary Subſidy of the Parliament. But that was not eaſily to be obtained, at a time, when the War in *France* was expenſive to the Nation. However, in the Parliament held this Year, the Duke had Intereſt enough to procure a ſmall Aid. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Parliament petitioned the King, to aſſign the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Sum of five thouſand Marks, out of the Subſidy granted him, to enable him to aſſiſt his Ducheſs. To this Sum, the King advanced five thouſand Marks, upon the Salary annexed to the Protectorſhip. With this Aid the Duke ſent a Reinforcement of ſome *Engliſh* Troops, under the Command of *Silvatier* (4). But theſe Troops being defeated by the Duke of *Burgundy*, preſently after their landing, *Jaquelina* found herſelf reduced to a very ſad Condition. In ſhort, by the Duke of *Bedford*'s Interceſſion, ſhe obtained a Truce, during which the Duke of *Gloceſter* was brought to conſent, that his Affair with the Duke of *Brabant*, ſhould be decided by the Pope. It muſt be obſerved, that the Duke of *Bedford* had now annulled the ſingle Combat, between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Gloceſter*. Some time after, the Pope publiſhed his Sentence, annulling *Jaquelina*'s Marriage with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and confirming her firſt Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* (5), who ſurvived but a few Months this Determination, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of St. *Pol* his Brother. By the death of the Duke her Huſband, *Jaquelina* ought to have had peaceable poſſeſſion of her Dominions. But the Duke of *Burgundy* diſcovered on this occaſion, that the Duke of *Brabant*'s Intereſt, was not the Motive of his Proceedings. He ſo ordered it, that *Jaquelina*'s Subjects refuſed to receive her, and made himſelf Mediator between them. The Lion in the Fable was literally practiſed in this Agreement. The Duke obliged *Jaquelina*, to commit to him the Government of her Dominions, appoint him her Heir, and promiſe never to marry again (6).

Act. Pub. X. p. 374, 375.

Monſtrelet.

Duke of Brabant *dies.*

1427.

The Duke of Burgundy *ſecures Jaquelina's Inheritance.* Monſtrelet.

All the Hiſtorians generally fix theſe Occurrences to the Year 1427. And yet it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that this Affair was not ended *May* the 18th, 1428. At leaſt the Duke of *Gloceſter* and *Jaquelina* had not yet ſubmitted to the Pope's Sentence; for there, *Henry* VI, ſpeaking of this Princeſs, calls her *Jaquette*, Ducheſs of *Gloceſter* and *Holland*, his well-beloved Aunt. Probably, the Duke of *Brabant*'s Death, had put them in hopes, that their Marriage might be confirmed, or a Diſpenſation obtained to marry again. Accordingly, it was on this account doubtleſs, that the Duke of *Burgundy* exacted from *Jaquelina* the forementioned Conditions, in order to deprive the Duke of *Gloceſter*, of all hopes of ever ſetting foot again in the *Low-Countries*. Be this as it will, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, preſſed by his Brother and the Council, who ſaw how prejudicial to the King's Affairs his Obſtinacy was, deſiſted from his Pretenſions. He relinquiſhed *Jaquelina*, and ſhortly after married *Eleanor Cobham* (7), whom he had long kept as his Miſtreſs. Thus ended the Quarrel, which had proved ſo fatal to *England* (8).

Act. Pub. X. p. 398.

Duke of Gloceſter *quits Jaquelina, and marries* Eleanor Cobham. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Though the *Engliſh* were no longer concerned in *Jaquelina*'s Affairs, it will not however be improper briefly to relate the Succeſs; and withal, ſhow the Growth of the Houſe of *Burgundy*'s Greatneſs. This Princeſs, notwithſtanding her involuntary Engagement, married afterwards *Borſel*, a *Zelander*, which obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to make War upon them. *Borſel* being made Priſoner, *Jaquelina* was forced, in order to free him, to agree, that her Children by her late Marriage, ſhould be incapable of inheriting her Dominions, and to deliver all her Towns to the Duke of *Burgundy*. She ſtill lived ten Years, and after her Death, the Duke of *Burgundy* was acknowledged for Earl of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friſeland*. Before *Jaquelina*'s Death, he had taken poſſeſſion of the Earldoms of *Zutphen* and *Namur*, of which, he had purchaſed the Reverſion, after the Deceaſe of the Earl of *Namur*, which happened in 1428. In 1430, he inherited the Duchies of *Brabant*, *Lothier*, *Limbourg*, and the Marquiſate of *Anvers*, by the Death of *Philip* Duke of *Brabant* his Couſin, who left no Iſſue. All theſe Dominions, joined to *Flanders*, *Artois*, the two *Burgundies*, and the Towns on the *Somme* held of the King of *England*, put him upon a Level with the crowned Heads. Let us return now to the War in *France*.

Continuation of Jaqueline's *Affairs.* Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet.

The *Engliſh* had ſtill a great Superiority over King *Charles*. Though the Buſineſs of *Hainault* had ſomething diſordered their Affairs, they were, however, notwithſtanding that Diverſion, in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, as ſeemed to promiſe certain Succeſs. The Duke of *Bretagne* no longer gave them any Uneaſineſs. The Earl of *Richemont* his Brother was at Variance with King *Charles*, without any probability of a Reconciliation. The Duke of *Burgundy*, freed from the *Holland* War, could for the future powerfully aſſiſt his Allies. In fine, beſides their numberleſs Garriſons in the Kingdom, the Regent had on foot a Body of twenty thouſand Men, and moreover expected a ſtrong Reinforcement with the Earl of *Saliſbury* from *England*.

1428 *Superiority of* Engliſh *in* France.

The ill State of King Charles. Buchanan.

On the other hand, King *Charles* was without Allies, and without Refuge. It is true, in order to obtain Succours from *Scotland*, he was negotiating a Marriage between the Dauphin his Son, and *Margaret* Daughter of King *James*, though they were yet both in their Infancy.

(1) During this Siege, the Lord *Scales*, with Sir *John Harpeley*, Sir *William Brearton*, and three thouſand Men at Arms, went to get a Recruit of Proviſions and Ammunition; but, in their return towards *Pontorſon*, they were encountered by a Body of ſix thouſand of the Enemies, whom they bravely engaged, and defeated; above eleven hundred of the *French* being ſlain and taken. *Hall*, fol. 101.

(2) The Lord *Roos*, and Sir *John Talbot*, were made Governors of this Town. *Ibid.*

(3) The Duke of *Bretagne* embraced and ſwore to theſe Conditions, on the 8th of *September*. *Du Tillet*, p. 363.

(4) So the Commander of thoſe Troops is called by *Monſtrelet*, viz. *le Seigneur de Silvatier*. Vol. II. fol. 27. b. But *Stow* ſays, it was the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, p. 367. This Reinforcement conſiſted of about five hundred Men. *Monſtrelet*, ibid. *Hall*, fol. 93.

(5) He alſo decreed, That if the Duke of *Brabant* died, it ſhould not be lawful for the Duke of *Gloceſter* to marry her. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 31. *Hall*, fol. 93.

(6) Without his Conſent. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 36.

(7) Daughter to *Reginald*, Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 199. *Hall*, fol. 93.

(8) In the mean while, a Parliament being ſummoned in *England*, met at *Weſtminſter*, *October* 13, which granted the King Tunnage and Poundage for two Years; and of every Pariſh within the Realm, ſix Shillings and Eight-pence for every twenty Nobles in value; and ſix Shillings and Eight-pence of every Perſon that held immediately by a Knight's Fee, or according to the Rate. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 587, 588. In this Parliament it was enacted, That Knights of the Shire, who, in caſe of an undue Election, were, by the 11th of *Henry* IV, to loſe their Wages; and Sheriffs, who, making a falſe Return, were, by the ſame Statutes, to pay a hundred Pounds; ſhould be admitted to have their Anſwer and Traverſe to Inqueſts and Offices before any Juſtices of Aſſize. *Statute-Book.*

But

1428. But this was a diſtant Proſpect. Beſides, the King of *Scotland* had no way ſhown an Inclination to break the Truce with the *Engliſh*. So, *Charles* ſeeing no appearance of ſupporting himſelf, ſeemed to have entirely given over all care of preventing the Deſigns of his Enemies. He lived in a ſurprizing Indolence, without loſing any of his uſual Diverſions.

Aſſembly of the chief Men at Paris. Monſtrelet. fol. 37.

The Conſideration of the Poſture of the Affairs of the two Nations, made the Duke of *Bedford* conclude, the War would ſoon end, and two or three Campains infallibly drive *Charles* out of the Kingdom. He reſolved therefore to exert his utmoſt, during ſo favorable an Opportunity. But as he had many Troops, it was neceſſary firſt to provide for their Subſiſtence. For that purpoſe, he held an Aſſembly of the chief Men at *Paris*, to whom, he propoſed revoking all the Grants made to the Church for forty Years paſt. But he met with ſo ſtrong oppoſition from the Clergy, that, not to alienate the Affection of ſo powerful a Body, he was obliged to deſiſt, and to make uſe of other Means for the Maintenance of his Army.

The Earl of Warwick *made Governor to the King.* Act. Pub. X. p. 399.

Before he began the Execution of his Projects, he loſt the Aſſiſtance of the brave Earl of *Warwick*, who returned into *England*, being appointed Governor to the King. He was deſigned for this Place, immediately after the Death of the Duke of *Exeter* in 1426. But as he was neceſſary in *France*, his Patent was not drawn up till the 1ſt of *June* this Year. Probably, it was thought proper to ſtay, till the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was to lead a ſtrong Reinforcement to the Duke of *Bedford*, was ready to depart.

The Earl of Salisbury *arrives with five thouſand Men.* Ib. p. 392. Monſtrelet.

The Earl of *Salisbury* arrived in *France* in *July*, with five thouſand Men (1), raiſed at his own Charge, purſuant to an Agreement with the Council (2). Upon his Arrival at *Paris*, the Regent gave him the Command of an Army of ſixteen thouſand Men. This was more than ſufficient to be Maſter of the Field, King *Charles* not being able to ſet on foot any ſuch Body of Troops. The Regent's Deſign was, to drive *Charles* beyond the *Loire*, knowing, that when once that Prince was at a Diſtance, all his Towns, on this Side the River, would ſurrender of Courſe for want of Succours. To this end, it was neceſſary to take from him the Places, which preſerved the Communication with the Northern Provinces, in order to deprive him of all hopes of returning.

The Regent's Deſign.

Salisbury *marches towards the* Loire. Monſtrelet.

It was with this view, that the Earl of *Salisbury*, aſſiſted by the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Talbot*, *Faſtolff*, and ſeveral other famous Leaders, marched towards the *Loire*, the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Orleans* was the moſt important Place in thoſe Parts. It belonged to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was Priſoner in *England*, ever ſince the Battle of *Azincourt*. The pretended Treaty, as I obſerved, between *Henry* V, and the Duke of *Orleans*, concerning the Neutrality of this City, is a meer Chimera. It was invented to render the Siege of *Orleans* odious, and make it believed, that Heaven interpoſed in favour of *France*, to puniſh the pretended perfidiouſneſs of the *Engliſh*. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Salisbury* holding a great Council of War, it was reſolved to beſiege *Orleans*. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that this Reſolution was taken without the Duke of *Bedford*'s Knowledge, and contrary to his Opinion. To ſucceed in this Undertaking, the neighbouring Places, which might annoy the Beſiegers, were firſt to be ſecured. Accordingly, the Months of *Auguſt* and *September* were ſpent in that Work. During that Space, the *Engliſh* took *Jenville*, *Mehun*, *Baugenci*, *Gergeau*, *Clery*, *Sully*, and ſome other ſmall Towns, and at laſt, appeared before *Orleans* the 12th of *October*.

The Siege of Orleans *reſolved.* Act. Pub. X. p. 408.

Monſtrelet.

The French *lay in Stores.* Act. Pub. X. p. 402. Monſtrelet.

The *French* eaſily perceived, by all the *Engliſh* General's Proceedings, that he intended to beſiege *Orleans*. Accordingly, whilſt he was elſewhere employed, they had ſent thither both Men and Amunition (3). *Gaucour*, a Creature of the Duke of *Orleans*, commanded there, though he was ſtill a Priſoner of the *Engliſh*, and releaſed upon his Parole, only to have means to provide his Ranſom. He had even been recalled ever ſince *June*. The Baſtard of *Orleans*, *d'Orval*, *La Hire*, *Xaintrailles*, *Thouars*, *Bouſſac*, *Chabannes*, *La Fayette*, *Graville*, and ſeveral other Officers of Note, had thrown themſelves into the City, to acquire Reputation in the Service of their Sovereign.

The *Engliſh* Army not being ſufficiently numerous to inveſt the City on all Sides, the Beſiegers received Succours in the very beginning of the Siege. But the Earl of *Salisbury*, who conſidered this Enterprize as a deciſive Action for the King his Maſter, and his own Reputation, omitted nothing to deprive the Beſieged of that Advantage. He run up round the City ſixty Forts or Redoubts, called then *Baſtilles*. How great ſoever this Work might be, nothing could divert him from it, ſince the Succeſs of the Siege entirely depended upon it. In vain would he have puſhed his Attacks, if the Enemies could continually introduce freſh Supplies. Beſides, the Seaſon, now far advanced, ſuggeſted to him, that he would be forced to paſs the Winter in the Camp, and during that time be liable to many Inſults.

1428. *The Beſiegers raiſe Forts about the City to prevent Succours.* Hall.

Among the ſixty Forts, there were ſix much ſtronger than the reſt, upon the ſix principal Avenues of the City. The *French* could before with eaſe introduce Convoys into the Place, and had made frequent uſe of that Advantage. But after theſe Forts were built, it was with extreme Difficulty, that they could, now and then, give ſome Aſſiſtance to the Beſieged. Upon theſe ſix great Redoubts the General erected Batteries, which thundered againſt the Walls. But as the Artillery was not then in its preſent Perfection, it muſt not be imagined, the Canons did the ſame Execution as now.

It would be tedious to relate all the Particulars of this Siege, the Attacks, Sallies, and daily Skirmiſhes, either to introduce or repulſe Convoys. It may eaſily be judged, that one of the ſtrongeſt Places of *France*, defended by a numerous Garriſon, under the Conduct of the braveſt and moſt experienced General Officers then in *France*; and aſſaulted by *Engliſhmen*, deemed the moſt undaunted Warriors in the World; furniſhed the Beſiegers and Beſieged with frequent Occaſions to exerciſe their Valour.

Charles *comes to* Chinon. Monſtrelet.

Charles readily perceived, the taking of *Orleans* would deprive him of the Advantage, of continuing the War in the northern Provinces of the Kingdom: But, as he had neither Men nor Money, could not raiſe the Siege. However, he approached it, and came to *Chinon*, where he convened the chief Men, and obtained an Aid of Money. Whilſt he was in this Place, the Conſtable *Richemont* ſent him an Offer of his Service. But in whatever Diſtreſs he might be, and however great his Want was of a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, he could not reſolve to forgive him.

The Engliſh become Maſters of the Bulwark,

Mean while, the Siege was vigorouſly proſecuted. The Bulwark of the *Tournelles* (4) being much ſhaken by the Beſiegers Cannon, and the Beſieged thinking it proper to ſet it on Fire, the *Engliſh* extinguiſhed the Flames, and lodged themſelves in that Poſt. At the ſame time they became Maſters of the Tower on the Bridge, from whence the whole City could be viewed. The taking of this Tower proved fatal to the Earl of *Salisbury*. One Day, as he was looking out of a Window, a Cannon-ſhot from the City hit him as it paſſed on the Right Side of his Head, carried away his Cheek, and ſtruck out one of his Eyes. He died a few Days after at *Mehun*, where he had been removed (5). This Loſs, though very great to the *Engliſh*, interrupted not the Siege. The Earl of *Suffolk* taking the Command of the Army, continued the Attacks as vigorouſly as before, aſſiſted by *Talbot*, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced Captains of his Age.

and of the Tower on the Bridge.

The Earl of Salisbury *ſlain.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Garriſon and Army both increaſed during the Siege.

There was nothing every Day but continual Aſſaults, Sallies, Skirmiſhes, wherein the Beſieged behaved with equal Bravery and Conduct. Notwithſtanding the Precautions uſed by the *Engliſh*, to prevent Succours from being thrown into the City, Troops and Convoys were, from time to time, introduced, though always by Dint of Sword. Thus the Garriſon, which at firſt conſiſted only of twelve hundred Men, was become three thouſand ſtrong by the end of *December*. On the other hand, the Army of the Beſiegers was encreaſed to three and twenty thouſand, by the Supplies perpetually ſent by the Regent, ſo that the Siege daily grew more important and difficult.

1429. *The Battle of Herrings.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

The *Engliſh* had now been four Months before *Orleans*, and the Succeſs of their Enterprize was yet doubtful. The Regent, who began to be uneaſy at the length of the Siege, was confirmed more and more in his Opinion, that it was a raſh Undertaking. However to neglect nothing in his Power, he ſent from *Paris* a Convoy of Salt-Fiſh (6), the Lent Seaſon of the Year 1429 being come. He left the Conduct of it to *Faſtolff*, one of the braveſt

(1) He raiſed about ſix thouſand; whereof he ſent over three thouſand in *May*, and came over himſelf with the reſt about Midſummer. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 37.

(2) He was to have always with him ſix hundred Men at Arms, ſix Knights-Bannerets, thirty four Knights-Batchelers, and ſeventeen hundred Archers. And for their Wages; he was to have, himſelf, Six-pence, eight Farthings Sterlings a Day: For each Knight-Banneret, Four-pence Sterling: For each Knight-Batcheler, Two-pence: For every Man at Arms, Twelve-pence a Day: And for each Archer, Six-pence. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 392.

(3) They pulled down all the moſt conſiderable Buildings in the Suburbs, and, among the reſt, twelve Churches, and ſeveral Monaſteries; that the *Engliſh* might not make uſe of them in carrying on the Siege. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 38.

(4) The Place where the Parliament ſits to hear criminal Cauſes.

(5) *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, died *November* 3, without Iſſue-Male, leaving only one Daughter, named *Alice*, who was married to *Richard Nevill*, Son of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, who, upon *Montacute*'s Death, was ſtiled Earl of *Salisbury*. He was buried at *Biſham* in *Berkſhire*. His Widow was married afterwards to *William de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 652, 653.

(6) Together with Artillery, Ammunition, *&c.* the whole in between four and five hundred Carts and Carriages. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 40.

and

1429. and moſt able Generals the *Engliſh* then had (1), and gave him a Guard of ſeventeen hundred Men (2). *Charles* having notice of the Day the Convoy was to ſet out from *Paris*, reſolved to way-lay it. He commiſſioned the Earl of *Clermont* for that purpoſe, who at the Head of three thouſand Men, attacked the Convoy on the Road to *Orleans*. *February* the 12th, at ſeven in the Morning, *Faſtolff* having heard of the Approach of the *French*, had made an Intrenchment with his Carriages, behind which he had ſecured himſelf againſt their firſt Charge. It was indeed very vigorous, but the *Engliſh* ſuſtained it with ſuch reſolution, that, inſtead of being routed by the firſt Shock, they put their Enemies into extreme Diſorder, by the great Slaughter of their Men. When *Faſtolff* ſaw their Confuſion, he ordered the Carriages to be removed, and falling upon the *French* Troops, already diſheartned, entirely defeated them with great Slaughter. Sixſcore Lords or Officers of note fell that day, beſides a great Number of common Soldiers (3). The Baſtard of *Orleans*, who had ſallied out to aſſiſt the Earl of *Clermont* in defeating the Convoy, preſerving a Preſence of Mind in this Rout, found means to re-enter the City with four hundred Men. This Action was called *The Battle of Herrings*.

Offer of ſurrendering Orleans *to the Duke of* Burgundy. Monſtrelet. Hall.

King *Charles* was extremely dejected upon News of this Defeat. He ſaw himſelf upon the point of loſing *Orleans*, and was ſenſible of the Conſequences of the Loſs. The Thoughts of ſeeing the *Engliſh* ravage the Province beyond the *Loire*, and thereby diſable him from continuing the War, could not but trouble him exceedingly. This Misfortune would infallibly follow, upon their being Maſters of *Orleans*. In this Diſtreſs, he deviſed an Expedient, proper, as he thought, to rob them of this Advantage; reckoning, they would be ſo blind as not to ſee through his Artifice. This was, to ſend to the commanding Officers a Power to deliver the Place to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to be kept in Truſt till the end of the War. *Xaintrailles* and others, who were appointed to treat of this Affair, going to *Paris*, made the Duke of *Bedford* the Offer, who laughed at the Stratagem. He plainly told them, it was a great Miſtake to think, he would beat the Buſh, for another to run away with the Game. Some ſay, the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended with this Reply, and even withdrew his Troops from the Siege. But this is a mere Invention. The Duke of *Burgundy* had no reaſon to complain, that the Regent refuſed to deliver a Place of that Importance to him, to pleaſe his Enemies. Beſides, we ſhall ſee preſently, the Regent was all along very well ſatisfied with the Duke of *Burgundy*, as well during the Siege as after.

It is rejected. Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet. fol. 45, 46.

Charles *thinks of retiring into* Dauphiné.

Charles not ſucceeding in his Project, and ſeeing no other way to ſave *Orleans*, began now to think of retiring into *Dauphiné*, when a very extraordinary Accident gave a ſudden Turn to the Affairs of the two contending Nations. We are going to ſee the ſtrangeſt and moſt unexpected Revolution, ever mentioned in Hiſtory. The *French* from vanquiſhed, are going to be on a ſudden victorious; and the *Engliſh*, hitherto deemed invincible, are going to be every where defeated, and at laſt driven out of the Kingdom. And what is more ſurprizing in this Revolution, is the Inſtrument by which it was cauſed. But before I enter upon Particulars, I muſt warn the Reader, that in what I am going to relate concerning this ſtrange Event, I follow the *French* Authors, without however warranting the Truth of their Aſſertions.

A ſtrange Accident changes the Face of Affairs.

An Account of the Maid of Orleans. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel. Hall.

About the end of *February*, 1429, a Country Girl, called *Joan of Arc*, a Village in *Domremy* (4) in *Lorrain*, came to *Robert de Baudricourt*, Governor of *Vaucouleurs*, and told him, ſhe had received expreſs Orders from God to raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*, and crown King *Charles* at *Rheims*. *Baudricourt* at firſt conſidered the Girl as a Viſionary, but afterwards finding ſhe talked very ſenſibly in the reſt of her Diſcourſes, he thought fit to ſend her to the King, who was ſtill at *Chinon*. *Charles* being informed that *Joan of Arc* was coming, declared, that *Maria d' Avignon* a Nun, had formerly told him, *Heaven would arm one of her Sex in Defence of* France. Adding, that perhaps this Girl was the Perſon deſigned by Heaven. This was ſufficient to ſatisfy the Court beforehand, that *Joan of Arc*'s Calling was miraculous. The ſupernatural Miſſion perfectly ſquared with the Sentiments of the Queen, of *Agnes Sorrel* the King's Miſtreſs, and of the principal Courtiers, who uſed all poſſible Endeavours to diſſuade the King from his purpoſe to retire into *Dauphiné*. So, nothing was more proper to divert him from this Retreat, than the hopes of a Change in his Fortune. However this be, in theſe Diſpoſitions was *Joan of Arc* expected. The firſt time ſhe appeared at Court, ſhe addeſſed herſelf directly to the King, diſcovering him among all his Courtiers, though ſhe had never ſeen him, and he had taken care to have nothing about him, to diſtinguiſh him. However, he ſeemed at firſt to make no great Account of this Girl. But as ſhe earneſtly preſſed him to credit her Words, which were the ſame ſhe had ſpoken to *Baudricourt*, he reſolved to have her examined. The Divines, her Examiners, declared, upon what ground I know not, that her Miſſion was divine. Then ſhe was ſent to the Parliament at *Poictiers*,, who were of the ſame Opinion. Laſtly, to confirm this Belief, the King declared, ſhe had told him Secrets, which no Mortal knew but himſelf.

1429. P. Daniel.

Every one being now prepoſſeſſed, that *Joan of Arc*, commonly called *la Pucelle*, [or *the Maid*] was ſent from God to ſave *France*, ſhe was looked upon with Eyes of Admiration. All her Actions, Words, and Geſtures were conſtrued to her Advantage. There was diſcovered in her, a fine Genius, ſolid Judgment, Greatneſs of Soul, and a Knowledge very unuſual in one of her Sex and Condition.

P. Daniel.

This was the common Effect of Prejudice. Thus far there is nothing that ſhould ſeem very ſtrange. It is eaſy to conceive, that this might be a Contrivance to revive the Courage of the *French*, and perhaps the King himſelf, diſmayed at ſo many Loſſes, and beholding the Kingdom juſt going to fall under the Dominion of Foreigners. But that this Invention, if it be one, ſhould ſucceed according to the Deſign of the Authors, is what may indeed be juſt cauſe of Admiration, and afford ample matter for moral and political Reflections.

Joan *marches with a Convoy to* Orleans. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

Mean while, the Siege of *Orleans* being vigorouſly proſecuted, *Charles* reſolved to try to throw a Convoy into the City. *Joan* deſiring to be of the Party, and to have Arms and a Man's Habit, eaſily obtained her Requeſt (5). To render her ſelf more remarkable, ſhe would have a certain Sword ſent for, from the Tomb of a Knight buried in the Church of St. *Catherine de Fierbois*. The Convoy deſigned for *Orleans* departed *April* the 25th. Several *French* Writers affirm, that *Joan* commanded the Guard, and conducted the Convoy into the City, but *Monſtrelet*, a cotemporary Author, ſays the contrary. The Convoy being arrived on the 29th in the Morning, near the *Burgundian* Gate, the Baſtard of *Orleans* made a Sally to favour their Paſſage. A fierce and bloody Battle enſued, wherein, after a long reſiſtance, the *Engliſh* were defeated, and forced to let the Convoy go in (6). *Joan* made her Entry into *Orleans*, amidſt the Generals, and Acclamations of the People, who aſcribed to her the good Succeſs of that Day.

Monſtrelet.

Joan *enters* Orleans *in Triumph.*

She takes four of the Beſiegers Forts. Monſtrelet. Hall.

On the 4th of *May*, *Joan* at the head of a Detachment of the Garriſon, attacked, Sword in hand, the Fort of St. *Loup*, one of the ſix largeſt before-mentioned. After a Conflict of four Hours, the Fort was carried, and of the twelve hundred *Engliſh* who defended it (7), four hundred were killed on the ſpot. Two days after, ſhe aſſaulted likewiſe the Fort of St. *John*; but as it was almoſt abandoned by the *Engliſh*, ſhe met with little Reſiſtance. Preſently after, without giving her Troops any Reſpite, ſhe led them againſt the Fort, called *London*, the moſt conſiderable of the Six, built upon the Ruins of the Church of the *Auguſtines*. Notwithſtanding the gallant Reſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, this was alſo taken, with great Loſs on their Side. *Joan*'s Troops thought of reſting themſelves, after ſo hard Duty, but immediately ſhe marched them to the Fort of the *Tournelles*. But as ſhe could not attack it that Evening, for want of day-light, ſhe kept it inveſted all Night. On the morrow, at break of Day, the Aſſault began, and laſted fourteen Hours without Intermiſſion. The *French* were repulſed four ſeveral times, and as often renewed the Charge; *Joan* animating them by her Words and Actions, though wounded with an Arrow between the Neck and Shoulders. At length, about eight at Night, the Fort was carried like the reſt, and ſix hundred *Engliſh* cut in pieces. In all theſe Actions, *Joan* ſhewed a Valour and Reſolution very uncommon in Perſons of her Sex (8).

The Engliſh *raiſe the Siege.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

It may eaſily be gueſſed, how great was the Conſternation of the *Engliſh*, after the ill Succeſs of that Day, The Loſs of four of their largeſt Forts not permitting

(1) Together with Sir *Thomas Rampſton*, and Sir *Philip Hall*. *Hall*, fol. 105.
(2) And about a thouſand People beſides. *Monſtrelet*. fol. 40.
(3) Between five and ſix hundred. *Ibid.* fol. 41.
(4) She was born in 1407, in the Pariſh of *Greux* upon the *Meuſe*, in *Domremy*. *Vit.* MSS.
(5) After ſhe had been about two Months with the King at *Chinon*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 41.
(6) In the dead time of the Night, and in a great Storm of Rain and Thunder. *Hall*, fol. 107.
(7) Among the reſt were ſlain *William Gladdiſdale*, the Captain, and the Lords *Molyns*, and *Poynings*. *Hall*, fol. 107. *Stow's Ann.* p. 370.
(8) But *Monſtrelet* obſerves, that though *Joan* was at the Head of theſe ſeveral Actions, and had the Glory of them, yet they were chiefly performed by thoſe noble Knights and Captains, who had ſo bravely defended *Orleans*, fol 43. In theſe Attacks, the *Engliſh* loſt near eight thouſand Men, and the *French* not above a hundred. *Ibid.*

1429. them to continue the Siege, they raiſed it the 12th of *May*, after having been before the Place ſeven whole Months.

Act. Pub. X. p. 408. Here is a Fragment of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Letter to the King his Nephew, after the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, which ſhows how much the *Engliſh*, and the Duke of *Bedford* himſelf, were diſcouraged by this unexpected Event.

" And alle thing there proſpered for you, till the tyme " of the Siege of *Orleans* taken in hand, God knoweth " by what Advis. At the whiche Tyme, after the Ad- " venture fallen to the Perſone of my *Couſin of Salysbury*, " whom God aſſoile, there felle, by the Hand of God as " it ſeemeth, a greet ſtrook upon your Peuple that was " aſſembled there in grete Nombre, cauſed in grete Par- " tie, as y trowe, of lakke of ſadde Beleve, and of un- " leveſulle doubte, that thei hadde of a Diſciple and " Lyme of the Feende, called the *Pucelle*, that uſed fals " Enchauntements and Sorcerie. The whiche Strooke " and Diſcomfiture nought oonly leſſed in grete partie the " Nombre of youre Peuple there, but as well withdrowe " the Courage of the Remenant in merveillous wyſe, and " couraiged your Adverſe Partie and Ennemys to aſſemble " hem forthwith in grete Nombre &c. (1).

The great Alteration of the French *and* Engliſh. The raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans* uſhered in the Decline of the *Engliſh* Affairs. From that time, the *French* and *Engliſh* ſeemed to have mutually changed Tempers and Characters. The *Engliſh* were ſeized with a Spirit of Fear and Amazement, whilſt the *French* were filled with a Courage, almoſt entirely loſt ſince the Battles of *Azincourt* and *Vernueil*. Though, after the raiſing of the Siege, the *French* exceeded not ſix thouſand, they fearleſly and briskly purſued the *Engliſh*, who, though they were ſtill ſuperior in Number, retreated in a ſtrange Diſorder. Their Conſternation was ſuch, that they knew not what they did. Inſtead of keeping together, to withſtand their Enemies, they amuſed themſelves with throwing numerous Garriſons into the Places, conquered before the Siege, about the *Loire*. By that means they ſo weakned themſelves, that they were no longer able to expect their Enemies who were cloſely purſuing them. As they dreaded a Battle, as much as they were wont to deſire it, they retired at a diſtance, and gave the *French* time to retake theſe Places one after another. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Priſoner in *Gergeau*, where he had imprudently ſhut himſelf up, with four hundred Men only (2), which muſt have proceeded from his Conſternation at the Defeat of his Troops. Of all the Places in thoſe Parts, *Baugenci* held out the longeſt, but could not help undergoing the ſame Fate with the reſt. In ſhort, Diſorder and Confuſion had ſo poſſeſſed the *Engliſh*, that *Charles* by *Joan*'s Advice, reſolved to be crowned at *Rheims*. Mean time this City was ſtill in the hands of the *Engliſh*. Beſides, there was a Neceſſity of traverſing above one hundred and twenty Miles of the Enemies Country, and of taking ſeveral Places, which at any other time he would not have ventured to approach. Strange Effect of the Terror ſtruck into the *Engliſh* by a Woman, and of the Confidence inſtilled into their Enemies by the ſame!

The Engliſh *retreat in Diſorder.* Monſtrelet.

Earl of Suffolk *made Priſoner.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

Charles *reſolves to be crowned at* Rheims.

The Conſtable brings him Troops. Hall. The Conſtable *Richemont*, ſeeing the Proſperity of the King's Affairs, began to abate of his haughtineſs. Hitherto he imagined himſelf neceſſary, but the late Events made him ſenſible he might be entirely forgotten, and loſe his Share of the Glory the King was, probably, going to acquire. In this Belief, he aſſembled all his Friends, and forming a Body of twelve hundred Horſe, and twelve thouſand Foot, he marched to join the King who was then before *Baugenci*. The Duke of *Bretagne*, doubtleſs connived at this Levy in his Country, the late Revolution cauſing him to alter his meaſures. Whilſt the Conſtable was upon his march, *La Trimouille*, who deſired not his Company at Court, artfully perſuaded the King, he was coming with a numerous Army, to have his Perſon in his Power. This firſt Impreſſion ſo affected the King, that he was going to raiſe the Siege of *Baugenci*, and give the Conſtable Battle, but upon better Information, was pleaſed to receive him with his Succours. It was however upon very mortifying Terms to a Prince of his Character. It was required of him, that he ſhould not pretend to govern the King, nor be preſent at the Coronation, where *La Trimouille* was unwilling to be out-ſhone. 1429.

The Battle of Patay, *wherein the* Engliſh *are defeated,* Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow. *Baugenci* being taken, the King had Intelligence, that the *Engliſh* were aſſembling in *Beauce*. Whereupon *Charles* holding a Council of War, it was unanimouſly reſolved to give them Battle. Indeed, there was no probability of going to *Rheims*, with the Enemies in the Rear. *Charles*'s Army was then ten thouſand ſtrong (3), including the *Bretons*, brought by the Conſtable. But of the twenty two thouſand *Engliſh*, lately before *Orleans*, there was left but ſix thouſand with *Talbot*, who had taken the Command of the Army, after *Suffolk* was Priſoner. By an effect of the great Amazement of the *Engliſh*, ſince the Affair of *Orleans*, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed near *Patay*, by the *French*, who appeared in Sight before they had heard any thing of them. They had ſcarce time to draw up, which was done in ſuch Confuſion, that they made but a very faint Reſiſtance. *Talbot* alone maintained the Fight, by his Valour and Conduct, but at laſt, the General being taken Priſoner, the *Engliſh* Army was routed with the Loſs of two thouſand five hundred Men (4). *Faſtolff* run away with the flying Troops, ſeized by one of thoſe ſudden Terrors, which, for the time, deprive a Man of the uſe of his Reaſon, and may happen to the moſt Couragious (5).

and Talbot *made Priſoner.* Monſtrelet.

The Duke of Bedford *ſhuts himſelf up in* Paris. If the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans* was a great Check to the Affairs of the *Engliſh*, the Defeat of *Patay* was a no leſs grievous and fatal Blow to them. The Regent ſaw himſelf forced to keep within the Walls of *Paris*, being unable to appear in the Field, to oppoſe the Progreſs of his Enemies. Mean while, *Charles* improved theſe Advantages. *Lewis* III, Duke of *Anjou*, and King of *Sicily*, his Brother-in-law, being returned from *Naples*, where he had made a long ſtay, brought him immediately after the Battle of *Patay*, a Supply of ſeveral brave Officers, who had attended him into *Italy*, and were come back with him into *France*.

The King of Sicily *joins* Charles.

Charles marches to Rheims. Monſtrelet. Hall. King *Charles*'s Adherents increaſing, as his Affairs became more proſperous, he reviewed his Troops at *Gien*, and found them augmented to fifteen thouſand Men. He gave a Part to the Conſtable, to make a Diverſion in *Normandy*, or rather, under that honorable Pretence, to remove him, that he might not aſſiſt at the Coronation, according to Agreement. The Earl of *Perdriac* had another Part, to carry the War into *Guienne*. Theſe two Detachments were but five thouſand Men. With the remaining ten thouſand, *Charles* took the Road to *Rheims*, knowing there was no Army in the Field to oppoſe him. In paſſing through *Burgundy*, he ſummoned *Auxerre*, which promiſed to follow the Example of the principal Towns of *Champagne*. *Troye* and *Châlon* ſurrendered upon the firſt Summons. A few days after, the Inhabitants of *Rheims* drove the *Engliſh* Garriſon out of the City, and ſent Deputies to the King, to preſent to him the Keys of their Gates. Thus every thing ſucceeding to his wiſh, *Charles* entered *Rheims* (6) in Triumph, and was crowned preſently after (7). The Ceremony being ended, *Joan* would have retired, affirming, ſhe had nothing more to do, after executing what God had commanded. But the King preſſed her ſo earneſtly, that at laſt he prevailed with her to ſtay.

Several Towns ſurrender to him. Hall.

He enters Rheims, *and is crowned.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Duke of Gloceſter *mortifies the Cardinal of* Wincheſter. It is now time to ſee what was tranſacting in *England*, during the late fatal Revolution in *France*. The Quarrel ſtill ſubſiſted between the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was returned to *London*. As the Prelate's new Dignity rendered him more haughty than ever, the Duke of *Gloceſter* took occaſion from this Dignity, to give him a ſenſible Mortification. St. *George*'s Day, Patron of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, being at hand, the Cardinal was to officiate, as Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and his Friends, oppoſed it, affirming, he could not hold the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, with the Dignity of Cardinal (8), without the King's expreſs Licence. The Affair being brought before the Council, it was reſolved, that for this time the Cardinal ſhould not officiate as Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and two Lords were ſent to give him notice thereof. Next day,

Act. Pub. X. p. 414.

(1) This Fragment, which is without date, is placed wrong in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, among the Records of the Year 1428. *Rapin.*

(2) About three hundred of them were ſlain at the taking of the Place. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 44. Two hundred, ſays *Hall*, and among them Sir *Alexander de la Pole*, the Earl of *Suffolk*'s Brother, fol. 108.

(3) Here muſt be ſome miſtake either in the Author or the Printer, ſince *Rapin* ſays above, the *Bretons* alone were thirteen thouſand two hundred. Probably the *Bretons* were not ſo numerous, as is ſaid above. *P. Daniel* ſays, they did not exceed twelve hundred. Tom. VI. p. 69. *Hall*, fol. 108. *Stow* and *Hall* ſay, the *French* Army conſiſted of twenty three thouſand Men, fol. 108. p. 370.

(4) *Monſtrelet* ſays, there were about eighteen hundred *Engliſh* killed, and between a hundred and ſixſcore taken Priſoners; the chief of whom were the Lords *Scales*, *Talbot*, *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampſton*, &c. fol. 45. According to *Hall*, about twelve hundred were ſlain, and forty taken Priſoners, fol. 108.

(5) The *Engliſh* could not agree about the Place and Manner of fighting, whether it ſhould be on foot or on Horſeback; which was the chief Cauſe of their Defeat. Beſides they had neglected to provide themſelves with ſharp Stakes, which uſed to be their main Defence againſt the Enemies Cavalry. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 45. Sir *John Faſtolff* had the Garter, of which he was a Knight, taken from him by the Regent, for running away, but it was reſtored to him again. *Hall*. fol. 108.

(6) *July* 6. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 47.

(7) *July* 8. *Ibid. P. Daniel* ſays, it was the 17th. Tom. VI. p. 71.

(8) ——Quia erat res inviſa eſſe Cardinalem, & ſimiliter retinere in Angliâ Epiſcopatum Wyntonienſem.—*Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 414.

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1429. he came himſelf to the Board, and demanded upon what Foundation he was deprived of his Right. He was told, it was for fear of prejudicing the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Council perſiſted in their Reſolution. Hence the Cardinal perceived, his Adverſary's Intereſt to be ſtill much greater than his.

The Cardinal is made General of a Cruſade. Act. Pub. X. p. 422, 423.

Shortly after, the Prelate received the Pope's Bull, appointing him his Legate in *Germany*, and General of the *Cruſade* againſt the *Bohemian* Hereticks. The Pope's View was to draw a Powerful Aid from *England*, againſt the *Huſſites* (1). Nay, it is not unlikely, that as he greatly favoured King *Charles*, his Deſign was to weaken *England*, by draining the Kingdom of Men and Money, under colour of the *Cruſade*. However, the Cardinal receiving the Bull the beginning of *June* this Year, though it was dated *March* the 18th, 1427-8, preſented to the King and Council a Petition, deſiring leave to publiſh the *Cruſade*. He prayed likewiſe, that he might have Power to levy in *England*, five hundred Lances, and five thouſand Archers, and to appoint the Generals and Officers of this Army. His Petition being examined in Council, it was reſolved to grant it in Part, under the following Reſtrictions:

He petitions to publiſh the Cruſade. Act. Pub. X. p. 419. 423.

P. 420.

That no Perſon ſhall be obliged to contribute Money for the *Cruſade*, but every one give what he pleaſed. That the Sums thus voluntarily furniſhed, ſhould be put into ſuch Hands as the Council ſhould nominate. That the Gold or Silver ſhould not be conveyed beyond Sea, but expended in the Kingdom (2).

That the Cardinal ſhould be empowered to levy only two hundred and fifty Lances, and two thouſand five hundred Archers: That even this ſhould be granted, only on condition, that the Pope, out of regard to the King and Kingdom, ſhould not impoſe any Tax on the Laity or Clergy.

That no Soldiers ſerving in *France*, ſhould be liſted or received among the Troops of the Cruſade.

That the Cardinal ſhould give the Council ſufficient Security for the return of theſe Troops.

That he ſhould effectually uſe his Intereſt, to induce the King of *Scotland* to leave *England* in quiet, and obſerve the Truce.

That in publiſhing the *Cruſade*, it ſhould expreſsly be ſaid, that it was with the King's Aſſent and Licence.

That the Officers ſhould be nominated by the Cardinal, but commiſſioned by the King.

That it ſhould be the ſame with regard to the Conſtable, or Commander in chief of the Army.

That if the *Cruſade* did not take place, the Money furniſhed by private Perſons ſhould not be employed without the King's Approbation.

New Levies for France.

By theſe Reſtrictions may be ſeen, how careful the Council was, to hinder the Pope's exerciſing in the Kingdom, an Authority but too much abuſed by his Predeceſſors.

The Cardinal is to ſerve in France till December. July. Act. Pub. X. p. 422. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Mean while, the News of the Battle of *Patay* flying into *England*, cauſed a great Conſternation, and made it eaſily judged, that the Regent wanted a ſudden and powerful Aid. And therefore, without loſing a Moment, the Council ordered new Levies, the Command whereof was deſigned for Sir *John Ratcliffe*. But, as in the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *France*, it would have been very imprudent to ſend Troops into *Bohemia*, the Council reſolved to make ſome alteration in what was granted to the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. Upon this urgent occaſion, a new Agreement was made (3) with him, whereby he engaged to ſerve in *France*, under the Duke of *Bedford*, till the end of *December*, with the Troops of the *Cruſade*, provided they were not employed in any Siege.

A few Days after (4), arrived from *France*, Garter King at Arms (5), with Inſtructions from the Regent, to inform the Council of the State of Affairs in that Kingdom. The Subſtance of his Inſtructions was as follows:

1429. *The Duke of* Bedford's *Inſtructions to* Garter. Act. Pub. X. p. 433.

I. That it was neceſſary to haſten the departure of *Ratcliffe*'s and the Cardinal's Troops, and inform the Regent of the preciſe time of their Imbarkation.

II. The Dauphin, (for ſo the Regent called King *Charles*,) was maſter of *Troye*, *Châlon*, and ſeveral other Places, ſome of which had voluntarily ſurrendred. That he was to enter that very Day, *July* the 16th, the City of *Rheims*, where he would be crowned; and afterwards intended to exert his utmoſt, to take *Paris*, but ſhould find it more difficult than he imagined.

III. That the Duke of *Burgundy* (6) had fully diſcharged his Duty, and the City of *Paris*, had it not been for him, would have been loſt before now. That he was departed, that very day, for *Artois*, to haſten his Troops, and join them with the *Engliſh* Army.

IV. That the Regent was to ſet out within two days for *Normandy* and *Picardy*, where he would draw the Garriſons together, and expect the Troops that were to come from *England*.

V. Laſtly, The Council of *France* moſt humbly beſought the King, to come and be crowned at *Paris*.

Upon this laſt Article, it was reſolved, that the young King, now but eight Years old, ſhould go into *France*, and be crowned, but ſhould firſt be crowned in *England* (7).

Henry *crowned at* London. *The Protectorſhip ſuppreſſed.* Act. Pub. X. p. 434, 435, 436. Cotton's Abridg. Hall.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, the Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 6th of *November*. Six days after, the Parliament, then aſſembled, ordered the Dignity of Protector and Defender of the Church to be ſuppreſſed, but that the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould keep that of firſt Counſellor to the King. This was a very great as well as unexpected Mortification to that Prince. Indeed, as the King's Coronation increaſed not his Capacity, the Kingdom ſeemed ſtill to require a Protector. But it was pretended, the Protectorſhip was inconſiſtent with the Dignity of a crowned Head. We ſhall ſee hereafter, this Rule was not always obſerved. The Duke however, handſomly ſubmitted to the Ordinance, as far as it concerned him, the Rights of his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* remaining entire.

Charles *continues his Conqueſts.* Hall.

Whilſt the Preparations were making in *England* for the Coronation, *Charles* had continued his Conqueſts with great rapidity. However, his Coronation had detained him eleven days at *Rheims*. If the Regent had then been provided with an Army, he might eaſily have incloſed him in that Corner of *France*, where he had but few Places, ſurrounded with the Enemies Garriſons. But the Duke was then in *Picardy*, with few Troops, expecting thoſe that were to come from *England*. *Charles* therefore improved the Advantage, procured by that Prince's Diſtance. The Inhabitants of the *Engliſh* Towns being, for the moſt part, well inclined to him, nothing hindered them from ſhewing him Marks of their Affection, ſince the Duke of *Bedford* had been forced to weaken the Garriſons extremely, to compoſe an Army. This was the Cauſe, that, in a very ſhort Space, *Charles* became maſter of *Soiſſons*, *Provins*, *Chateau-Thierry*, *Crepi*, and ſome other Places, even before they were attacked; the *Engliſh* Garriſons not being ſtrong enough to prevent the Burghers from following their Inclination.

Several places ſurrender of their own accord.

The Regent marches towards him. Monſtrelet.

Mean time the Duke of *Bedford*, having at laſt received the expected Supplies, began to march (8), in order to ſtop the Progreſs of his Enemy (9). At *Crepi*,

(1) There will be a large Account of theſe People in the Hiſtory of the Council of *Baſil*, in the State of the Church, at the end of the Reign of *Henry* VII.

(2) That is, be laid out upon Merchandizes, which were to be delivered to thoſe that engaged in the Cruſade, and by them exported. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 420.

(3) At *Rocheſter*, on *July* 1. *Ibid.* p. 424.

(4) *July* 16. *Ibid.* p. 432.

(5) There are three Kings at Arms in *England*; namely, *Garter*, *Clarencieux*, and *Norroy*. *Garter* is the principal, inſtituted by *Henry* V, as is related above, p. 531. Note (4). His Buſineſs is to attend Knights of the Garter at their Solemnity, and to marſhal the Funerals of the greater Nobility. *Clarencieux* was created by *Edward* IV, who, upon attaining the Dukedom of *Clarence* by the Death of his Brother, made the Herald belonging to the Duke of *Clarence*, a King at Arms, and called him *Clarentius*. His proper Office is to marſhal the Funerals of the leſſer Nobility, or Gentry, on the South-ſide of the *Trent*. *Norroy*'s Office is the ſame on the North-ſide of *Trent*, as appears by his Name, *The Northern King*. The Buſineſs of the *Heralds* is likewiſe to denounce War, to proclaim Peace, or to be employed in the King's martial Meſſages. They are Judges alſo of Gentlemens Arms, marſhal all the Solemnities at the Coronation of Princes, *&c.* *Verſtegan* derives the Word Herald from *Here* an Army, and *Healt* a Champion, as much as to ſay, *The Champion of the Army*. Beſides the three Kings, there are ſix other properly called *Heralds*, as they were created to attend Dukes, *&c.* viz. *York*, *Lancaſter*, *Somerſet*, *Richmond*, *Cheſter*, and *Windſor*. There are four more called *Marſhal* or *Purſuivants at Arms*, who commonly ſucced in the Places of Heralds; namely, *Blue-Mantle*, *Rouge-Croſs*, *Rouge-Dragon*, and *Peter-Cullis*.

(6) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays *Bretagne*.

(7) Between theſe Tranſactions and the King's Coronation, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, on *September* 22, which granted the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth; and continued the Subſidy of Wools, and Tunnage and Poundage as before. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 591, 592, *&c.*—— In this Parliament it was enacted, That every City, Burrough, and Town in the Kingdom, ſhould have, at their own Charge, a common Balance, and Weights ſealed, according to the Standard of the Exchequer, in the keeping of the Mayor or Conſtable; at which Balance, all the Inhabitants of the ſame City or Town were to weigh without paying any thing; but Strangers were to pay.——It was alſo enacted, That whereas Knights of the Shires had of late been choſen by outragious and exceſſive Numbers of People, and of ſmall Subſtance; for the future, the ſaid Knights ſhall be elected in every County, by People dwelling and reſident in the ſame Counties, whereof every one ſhall have Land or Tenement, to the Value of forty Shillings by the Year at the leaſt, above all Charges; and that they which ſhall be ſo choſen, ſhall be dwelling and reſident within the ſame Counties. *Statute* 8 *Hen.* VI. cap. 5. 7. In the Parliament 10 *Henry* VI. *Anno* 1432. it was declared, That the ſaid forty Shillings *per Annum* muſt be Free-hold.

(8) With about ten thouſand Men. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 47.

(9) And ſent *Charles* a Challenge, from *Monſtereau-faut Yonne*, dated *Auguſt* 7. *Idem*, fol. 48. *Hall*, fol. 109.

1429. *Charles* heard the Duke was advancing to give him Battle. A few days after, the two Armies were very near one another on a large Plain, where nothing hindered their engaging. The number of the Troops on both Sides was much the ſame, but as the King had more Horſe, the Regent was unwilling to attack him. Beſides, the Poſture of his Affairs required that he ſhould not fight without advantage; and therefore, he ordered his Camp to be ſtrongly intrenched. He hoped, the impetuous Humour of the *French*, would cauſe them to commit the ſame Fault as at *Verneuil*, and on many other Occaſions; and they would endeavour to force his Intrenchments, in which caſe, he promiſed himſelf certain Victory. But for once, he was deceived in his Expectation. *Charles*, grown wiſe by ſo many former Inſtances, was content with facing him (1), and trying to draw him out of his Lines, without venturing an attack, the Succeſs whereof appeared very doubtful. At laſt, finding the *Engliſh* kept their Station, he left his, in order to purſue his Conqueſts, knowing that moſt of the Towns were ready to receive him. The Regent followed him cloſe; but as he would run no hazard, without an apparent Advantage, he had the Mortification to ſee him enter *Senlis*, *Beauvais*, *Compiegne*, *Creil*, *Pont St. Maxence*, *Lagny*, *Bray*, *Gournay*, *Melun*, *Sens*. All theſe Places opened their Gates to the King, being no longer awed by the Garriſons, the Regent had been forced to draw out.

The two Armies are very near one another,

Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

and part without fighting.

Several Towns ſurrender to Charles. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Regent marches to the Relief of Normandy. Hall.

On the other hand, the Conſtable *Richemont*, who was in *Normandy*, having found means to augment his Troops to the number of eight thouſand, had taken *Evreux*, and threatned the whole Province. The Duke of *Bedford*, fearing he would make greater Progreſs, haſtened thither; not being able to bear the thoughts of loſing a Country, from whence flowed in a great meaſure his Subſiſtence.

Charles makes an Attempt upon Paris. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* was employed in *Normandy*, *Charles*, Maſter of the Field in the Iſle of *France*, approached *Paris*, and encamped at *Montmartre*. He immediately publiſhed a general Pardon for the *Pariſians*, imagining, that, terrified at his Conqueſts, they would take Arms, and drive the *Engliſh* out of the City. But the Regent had ſo ordered matters there, that not a Man ſtirred. At laſt, finding he could expect nothing from the Citizens, he attacked the Suburbs of St. *Honorius*; but his Troops were repulſed with great Loſs. *Joan*, who had greatly expoſed herſelf in this Aſſault, was wounded and thrown into the Ditch. She was thought to be dead, but being drawn out in the Night, recovered of her Wounds.

The Maid is wounded.

Lagni *and* S. Dennis *taken by the* Engliſh.

The Seaſon not permitting the two Armies to keep the Field any longer, *Charles* retired, and paſſed the Winter at *Bourges*. The Regent likewiſe, after driving the Conſtable out of *Normandy*, returned to *Paris*. During the Winter, he carried by Scalade St. *Dennis* and *Lagni*, which very much annoyed the *Pariſians*.

Diſpoſition of the Duke of Burgundy *ſince the Turn of Affairs.* Monſtrelet.

Before we cloſe the Occurrences of this Year, it muſt not be forgotten to ſhew, how the Duke of *Burgundy* ſtood affected, ſince the Revolution in the *Engliſh* Affairs. However proſperous *Charles* might be, he was ſenſible it was not ſufficient, unleſs he could gain ſo potent an Enemy as the Duke of *Burgundy*. The truth is, if that Prince had thought fit to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* with all his Forces, he would have, doubtleſs, prevented this Revolution. Nay, if after the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, he had been willing to aid them in proportion to his Power, he would ſtill have turned the Scale on their Side. But he had been, for ſome time, taking other Meaſures. His Policy ſuggeſted to him, that by too powerfully aſſiſting the *Engliſh*, he ſhould procure himſelf troubleſome Maſters, as he had already experienced in the Buſineſs of *Hainault*. And therefore, ſince he was to have a Sovereign, he choſe much rather, to ſee a Prince of his Blood on the Throne of *France*, than a Foreigner. But he carefully concealed his Sentiments, leſt both Parties ſhould take the advantage of them againſt him. It was manifeſt, that in openly ſhewing his Inclination to abandon the *Engliſh*, he would have done himſelf great Prejudice. King *Charles* would become leſs eager to agree with him, and it may be, the Duke of *Bedford* would have endeavoured to prevent him, by making a ſeparate Peace with the *French*, excluſive of him. This was, at leaſt, what the Duke of *Burgundy* had reaſon to fear, conſidering the Poſture of the Affairs of the *Engliſh*, ſince the Battle of *Patay*. He reſolved therefore to continue to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* (2), but ſo as to give *Charles* ſome hopes, his Reſentment was abated. He rightly judged, that in taking this courſe he ſhould procure better Terms, or at worſt, might remain in his preſent Situation, till what he deſired, was offered. *Charles* having had ſome Intimation of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Diſpoſition, diſpatched ſecret Agents to treat with him; but the Duke thought it not yet time to diſcover himſelf. He was apprehenſive, that if the Duke of *Bedford* ſhould know it, he would, without him, agree with King *Charles*; whereas his Intent was, to make his own Peace, at the Expence of the *Engliſh*. The Sequel manifeſtly ſhewed this to be his Deſign. Moſt certain it is, he was now determined, though he did not think fit to begin the Negotiation ſo early. A remarkable Inſtance this, of the Inſtability of ſeemingly the ſtrongeſt Alliances. Sad Effect of Inſincerity too common among Men, and from which, Princes in particular are not free. As, notwithſtanding their Treaties, they cannot truſt one another, they live in continual Fear of being deceived by their Allies. And therefore, taking for granted they may be abandoned, they endeavour to prevent, and, without ſcruple, break their Engagements, upon the Proſpect of any conſiderable Advantage. Let a Man run over all Hiſtories, as well Ancient as Modern, and he will ſcarce find any one conſiderable Alliance, but what was violated by ſome notorious Deceit.

1429.

1430. It would be difficult to deſcribe the Concern, Trouble, Complaints and Murmurings in *England*, upon the turn of Affairs in *France*. Some blamed the Generals for not diſcharging their Duty. Others, perceiving no natural Cauſe of ſo ſurprizing a Change, affirmed, it muſt have happened by the Malice of the Devil, who had made uſe of *Joan* for his Inſtrument, and boldly aſſerted ſhe was a Witch. In ſhort, ſome threw all the Blame on the Council, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*. They juſtly taxed them, with unſeaſonably proſecuting the Affair of *Hainault*, when, if all the Forces of *England* had been united againſt *France*, they would have infallibly finiſhed the Conqueſt of that Kingdom. In a word, nothing but Complaints were heard from all Parts, every one ſeeking in the faults of the Miniſtry, for a Cauſe of this fatal Revolution. Among all the Reflections caſt on the Government, the Council took particular notice of their reaſoning, who ſaid, "it was a very great Error to keep "the *French* Princes, and particularly the Dukes of *Or-* "*leans* and *Bourbon*, ſo long Priſoners in *England*. That "none could be ignorant, what great Advantages were "reaped by the late King, from the Diſſenſions of the "*French*. That conſequently, the Priſoners ſhould have "been ſent home, where, probably, they would have re- "newed their old Quarrels: Whereas detaining them "captive, had procured *France* a Tranquillity, deſtruc- "tive to *England*. That at leaſt, if the Dukes of *Or-* "*leans* and *Bourbon* had been in *France* with King "*Charles*, the *Engliſh* would have had more conſider- "able Aids from the Duke of *Burgundy*, than what he "had hitherto furniſhed. In ſhort, it was not yet too "late to releaſe theſe two Princes, and as *England* was "drained by the Continuance of ſo tedious a War, their "Ranſoms might ſerve to put things upon a better "foot." Theſe Reaſons ſeemed very plauſible. But, on the other hand, the late King's Orders concerning the Priſoners, were to the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Council, a Law which they durſt not pretend to violate (3).

1430. *Murmurings in* England.

Several find fault that the French *Priſoners had not been releaſed.*

There were however, as to the Duke of *Bourbon* in particular, Reaſons, which might have induced the Council to overlook the late King's Orders. In 1421, that Prince made a Treaty with *Henry* V, promiſing to ſwear to the Peace of *Troye*, to pay ſuch a Sum for his Ranſom, and deliver two of his Sons, and his fortified Towns, in Hoſtage, till his Engagements were fully performed. *Henry* V, dying before the Treaty was executed, it was renewed with ſome Alteration in 1428, and young *Henry* had received, as King of *France*, the Duke's Homage. There was nothing wanting but the Ratification, which was deferred, only for fear the People would not approve of this Proceeding. In ſhort, this Year 1430, all Difficulties were ſurmounted, and the Treaty was ratified. But ſome Obſtacles occurred in the Execution, which hindered the Duke from being ſet at Liberty. He died at laſt in *England*, in 1433 (4), after an eighteen Years Captivity.

Articles for releaſing the Duke of Bourbon. Act. Pub. X. p. 426, 434.

They are not put in execution. p. 438. p. 478.

He dies. p. 602.

(1) For two Days. *Monſtrelet*. fol. 49. *Hall*, fol. 109.

(2) The Duke of *Bedford* had then with him near eight hundred Men belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 48.

(3) In the beginning of this Year, namely, on *January* 12, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, which continued Tunnage and Poundage for two Years, and ordered, over and above the ſaid Tunnage, a Subſidy of like value of all Merchant-Strangers. They alſo gave one Tenth and one Fifteenth, and a third of both; and moreover granted, that every Lay-perſon, holding by a whole Knight's Fee, ſhould pay to the King twenty Shillings, and ſo according to the Value, under or over; and the Clergy ſhould pay the ſame, for Lands purchaſed ſince the 20th of *Edward* I. And that all other Perſons having any Hereditaments, to the value of twenty Pounds over all Repriſes, not holden as above, ſhould pay unto the King twenty Shillings. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 597, 598. ——In this Parliament it was enacted, That every Wey of Cheeſe ſhould contain thirty Cloves, and every Clove ſeven Pounds. *Statut.* 9 *Hen.* VI. c. 8.

(4) He died *January* 5. 1434. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 602.

1430. Another Reaſon, inducing the Council to treat with the Duke of *Bourbon*, was, the Hopes, his Ranſom would help to defray the Charges of the King's Journey, who was ready to depart for *France*. This means failing, there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to Borrowings, which plainly diſcovered the low Condition of the Treaſury (1); and with what difficulty ſufficient Funds, for carrying on the War, were found.

p. 413. p. 461.

Henry *goes to* France, p. 452, 455, 456.

Henry departed at length, on the 24th of *April*, attended by great Numbers of the Nobility, and particularly the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, who was appointed Chief Counſellor of the King with a large Salary (2). This honorable Pretence was uſed, to keep him out of the Realm, leſt in the King's Abſence, and under the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Regency, who was made Guardian, their Diſſenſions might breed Diſturbances. *Henry* being arrived at *Calais*, made but a ſhort Stay there. He proceeded immediately to *Roan*, where he ſpent almoſt all the reſt of the Year, whilſt Preparations were making at *Paris* for his Coronation, which could not be finiſhed till *December*. About the middle of the Month, he came to the Metropolis, where he was crowned (3) on the 17th, with all the Solemnity, the Circumſtances of the time would permit.

p. 458.

and is crowned at Paris. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Duke of Bedford *ſecures the Duke of* Burgundy *to* England. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Whilſt the King was at *Roan*, the Duke of *Bedford* uſed all his endeavours to reſtore his Affairs. He had foreſeen the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Deſigns, and, as he was ſenſible of the Conſequences, neglected nothing to prevent them. It coſt him *Champagne* and *la Brie*, or at leaſt, the Places he ſtill had in thoſe Provinces, which he was forced to deliver to him, to ſecure him in the Alliance of *England*. But withal, he was enabled, by this means, to ſtop the Progreſs of *Charles*, who had carried on his Conqueſts with a wonderful Rapidity.

The Duke of Burgundy's *third Marriage.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

Another Inducement to keep, for ſome time, the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Intereſt of the *Engliſh*, was, his third Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal* (4), near Relation to the King of *England* (5), and who had not the ſame Affinity with King *Charles*, as *Bona* of *Artois*, his former Wife. So, the Duke of *Bedford*, receiving an Aid from the Duke of *Burgundy* (6), took the Field, and became Maſter, in the Iſle of *France*, of ſeveral Places; which though of little Conſequence in themſelves, were of great Importance, as they were incommodious to *Paris* (7).

The Regent makes ſome Conqueſts.

The Duke of Burgundy *beſieges* Compiegne.

Shortly after, the Duke of *Burgundy* himſelf entered *France*, at the head of a powerful Army. He retook firſt *Torſy* and *Soiſſons*, and then beſieged *Compiegne*. *Flavy* commanded in that Place, with a numerous Garriſon, and ſix Months Proviſions. Upon the firſt News of this Siege, the Maid of *Orleans*, and *Xaintrailles*, threw themſelves into the Town, not without the Governor's ſecret Indignation, who eaſily ſaw, they were come to rob him of the Honour of the Defence.

The Maid goes thither. Monſtrelet.

She makes a Sally, and is taken Priſoner. Monſtrelet. Hall. P. Daniel.

On the 25th of *May*, *Joan* made a Sally, and fought with great Conduct and Reſolution. At length being forced to retreat, ſhe put herſelf in the *Rear*, and now and then made a ſtand, to ſtop the Enemies, by whom ſhe was preſſed. In this manner, ſhe ſecured all her Men; but, when ſhe would have entered the Town, found the Gate ſhut, and the Draw-Bridge up. It is ſaid, this was done by the Governor's Order, who was glad to deſtroy her, pretending he did not know ſhe was ſtill without. But this Circumſtance is not well proved (8). However it be, *Joan* finding no way to eſcape her Purſuers, ſurrendered herſelf Priſoner to the Baſtard of *Vendôme*, who immediately delivered her to the Earl of *Ligny* (9), the Duke of *Burgundy*'s General. The Duke of *Bedford* over-joyed, that this Prey was in the Hands of his Allies, demanded her ſo earneſtly of the Earl of *Ligny*, that the General could not deny him. He required, however, a Reward ſuitable to the Importance of ſuch a Priſoner. Some time after, the Town was relieved by the Earl of *Vendôme* (10), who introduced Troops and Ammunition, when it was almoſt reduced to Extremity. Whereupon, the Earl of *Ligny*, Commander in Chief, ſeeing no more likelihood of ſucceeding, raiſed the Siege, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had ſtaid all the while at *Noyon*, retired into *Artois*.

She is delivered to the Duke of Bedford.

The Siege is raiſed. Hall.

I paſs over in Silence numberleſs Attempts on both Sides, and divers Skirmiſhes, which contributed but little to the Deciſion of the general Affair. It will however be proper to obſerve, that *Joan*'s pretended Inſpiration, had made ſo deep an Impreſſion in the Minds of the *French*, that Marſhal *Bouſſac* and *Xaintrailles*, ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by an Artifice, which, doubtleſs, would not have produced its Effect, had it not been ſupported by this Prepoſſeſſion. A Shepherd living near *Roan*, came and told the Marſhal, that Heaven had revealed to him a certain private way, by which, he would lead him into the very City of *Roan*. *Bouſſac*, imparting the ſecret to *Xaintrailles*, they were both of opinion, the opportunity ſhould not be neglected. So, perſuaded as they were, that they had God himſelf for their Guide, they marched with a Body of choſen Troops after the Shepherd, who led them into an Ambuſh, where *Talbot* expected them. Their Troops were cut in pieces, and *Xaintrailles* remained a Priſoner, in the hands of the *Engliſh*.

1430. *Bouſſac and Xaintrailles deceived by a Shepherd.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

Troy are defeated, and Xaintrailles *made Priſoner.*

Theſe are the moſt remarkable Events in *France*, during the Year 1430, with regard to the War. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in *England*.

The Cardinal receives a freſh Mortification. Act. Pub. X. p. 472.

During the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*'s Abſence, the Duke of *Gloceſter* created him Troubles, which gave him no ſmall Uneaſineſs. The Duke told the Council, that the Cardinal intended to leave the King, and return to his Place in the Council, with deſign to raiſe Troubles in the Kingdom; that his Intention was the more criminal, as he meant to make uſe of the Pope's Authority, to free himſelf from the Obligation to aſſiſt the King in *France*; which was viſibly ſubjecting the Orders and Regulations of the Council, to a foreign Power. Upon theſe Complaints, the Council iſſued out a Proclamation, prohibiting all the King's Subjects, of what rank ſoever, on pain of Impriſonment, to attend the Cardinal, if he left the King without Leave.

Truce with Caſtile, p. 473. *and* Scotland. p. 482—487.

On the 8th of *November*, a Truce of one Year was concluded at *London* with the King of *Caſtile*, to commence *May* the 1ſt, 1431.

About the middle of *December*, the Ambaſſadors of *England* ſigned, at *Edinburgh*, a five years Truce with *Scotland*, to begin the ſame Day, with that made with *Caſtile*.

1431. *Joan* having been in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, ever ſince the Siege of *Compiegne*, the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered her to be carried to *Roan*, where he intended to ſacrifice her, to the Vengeance he believed due to the *Engliſh* Nation. There was, doubtleſs, great Policy in this Reſolution. All *France* was poſſeſſed with the Notion, that ſhe was ſent from God; and the *Engliſh* Soldiers imagined, that in fighting againſt her, they had to deal with the Devil. Wherever ſhe appeared, they deemed the *French* Troops invincible. At leaſt, the Terror that had ſeized their Souls, and the ſtrange Alteration thereby wrought in them, cannot be aſcribed to any other Cauſe: It was therefore of the utmoſt Importance to undeceive them. The taking of *Joan*, had already begun to produce this Effect. It was very naturally inferred, that had ſhe acted by God's Command, there was no probability of her falling into ſuch a Misfortune. But, to confirm this firſt Impreſſion, it was not improper to inſinuate to the terrified *Engliſh*, that ſhe had done nothing, but by way of Witchcraft and Sorcery. It may be, the Duke of *Bedford* was himſelf of that Opinion, as may be concluded from his Expreſſions, in the fore-mentioned Letter to the King. However this be, (for I do not pretend, either to blame or juſtify the Prince, that it was done out of Policy or Vengeance) he ſo managed, that the King, by the Advice of his Council of *France*, ordered *Joan* to be tried for a Witch. Purſuant to this Order, ſhe was delivered over to Eccleſiaſtical Judges (11), who, after a long Examination, condemned her as a Heretick, to do Penance upon Bread and Water, all the Days of her Life. Some time after, under colour of a Relapſe into her former Errors, ſhe was tried again by the ſame Judges, who delivered her over to the ſecular Arm to be burnt alive. This Sentence was executed in the old Market-Place at *Roan*, the 30th of *May*, 1431 (12).

1431. *The Duke of* Bedford *reſolves to have the Maid tried for her Life.* Monſtrelet.

She is condemned to Impriſonment, and afterwards to be burnt. Monſtrelet.

(1) Orders were alſo iſſued out, for all that were worth forty Pounds *per Annum*, to come and take upon them the Order of Knighthood. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 449.
(2) Four thouſand Pounds a Year. *Ibid.* p. 456.
(3) By the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*.
(4) In honour of this Marriage, he inſtituted the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, of which ſee an account above, p. 427. Note (7); and in *Monſtrelet*, fol. 54, 55.
(5) She was Daughter of *John* I. King of *Portugal*, by *Philippa*, eldeſt Daughter of *John of Gaunt*.
(6) Fifteen hundred Men, for which he was to receive fifty thouſand Salutes of Gold. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 454, 455.
(7) About this time Sir *Thomas Kiriel* defeated a Body of *French* near *Clermont*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 54.
(8) *Monſtrelet* ſays, ſhe was pulled off her Horſe by an Archer, fol. 58.
(9) *John de Luxemburgh*.
(10) *Hall* ſays, the Duke of *Burgundy* withdrew his Troops, to go and take poſſeſſion of *Brabant*, fallen to him by the Death of the Duke; whereupon the *Engliſh*, deprived of this Aſſiſtance, were forced to raiſe the Siege, fol. 115.
(11) She was tried by the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, in whoſe Dioceſe ſhe was taken. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 70.
(12) She and her whole Family were ennobled in 1429: And ſhe had a Coat of Arms given her, which was, Azure, two Fleurs de Lys, Or, with a Sword Argent, erect, and going through a Crown. *Ibid. P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 83. There are ſtill in *France* ſeveral Deſcendents from her Family, which took the Sirname of *Du Lis*. *Ibid.*

1431. *Various Opinions about her.*

Thus far the *French* and *Engliſh* agree. It cannot be denied, that *Joan* performed great Exploits, and inſpired the *French* with Courage, and the *Engliſh* with Terror. But the *French* aſcribe what appears wonderful in her, to the immediate Power of God, and the *Engliſh* to the Artifices of the Devil. What then ſhall we believe? Perhaps Neither are in the right, and indeed there is a third Opinion, which wants not plauſible Reaſons. As the Examination of theſe three Opinions would be a too great interruption of the Thread of the Hiſtory, I ſhall not ſtay to diſcuſs them here. They who deſire to be more fully informed concerning this Matter, may read a Diſſertation, inſerted at the end of this Reign, where I ſhall endeavour to give this Affair all the Light it is capable of.

The extreme Weakneſs of the two Kings.

Notwithſtanding his Advantages, King *Charles* ſaw himſelf little able to continue the War. Moſt of the Places he had taken were ruined, and conſequently incapable of giving him much Aſſiſtance. Beſides, as they had voluntarily ſurrendered, he was unwilling to preſs them, for fear they ſhould return to the *Engliſh*. They might have done it with the ſame eaſe, ſince it was not in his power to place there, Garriſons ſtrong enough to keep them in Awe. On the other hand, the *Engliſh*, humbled by ſo many Loſſes, were not better able to keep Armies in the Field. So, during the reſt of this Year, the War was continued only by Parties, and ſurprizing of Places, moſt of which were but weakly guarded.

The French ſurprize Chartres. Monſtrelet. Hall.

In this manner, the *French* became Maſters of *Chartres*, by means of a Cart loaden with Wine, which they cauſed to be overturned juſt under the Port-cullis. On the other hand, the *Engliſh* took *Montargis*, by holding Intelligence with a young Woman, who perſuaded a Barber, her Lover, to introduce them into the Town.

The Fair of Caen plundered. J. Chartier.

Loré, a *French* Captain, made an Inroad to the very Gates of *Caen*, upon a Fair-Day, and carried away two thouſand Perſons, with a very great Booty. After that, he retired to *Silley*, a ſmall Town in *Maine*, where he was beſieged by the Earl of *Arundel*. But the Duke of *Alenſon*, ſuddenly coming to his relief, obliged the *Engliſh* to retire.

Other Exploits of the two Parties. Monſtrelet.

This Year, *Xaintrailles* and *Gaucour*, who were ravaging *Normandy*, were defeated and made Priſoners. A Party of *Engliſh* took alſo *Villeneuve lez-ſens* from the *French*. This is all that paſſed worth noting in *France*, between the two Parties. But a more important Affair happened in *Lorrain*, wherein King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* were concerned, and which therefore it will not be amiſs briefly to mention.

War of Lorrain. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Lewis, Cardinal of *Bar*, and Marquiſs of *Pont-a-Mouſſon*, being the laſt Male of the Houſe of *Bar*, the Children of *Violante* his Siſter, Queen of *Arragon*, were to be his Heirs. Among theſe Children, *Violante* of *Arragon* had married *Lewis* II, King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Anjou*, and by him had three Sons, *Lewis*, *René*, and *Charles*. Of theſe Princes, the Cardinal Duke of *Bar* choſe *René* for his Heir, and married him to *Iſabella*, third Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, who had no Iſſue-Male. It is ſaid, *Iſabella*'s two elder Siſters had renounced the Succeſſion of the Duke their Father. *René* being Duke of *Bar*, by the Death of the Cardinal his Uncle, would likewiſe have taken poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, upon the deceaſe of the Duke his Father-in-law; but *Anthony* Earl of *Vaudemont*, Son of *Frederic*, younger Brother of Duke *Charles*, diſputed the Succeſſion with him. This occaſioned a War between theſe two Princes, wherein King *Charles* ſupported *René* his Brother-in-law, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Vaudemont*. On the 2d of *July*, this Year, the two Competitors fought at *Bulegneville* a bloody Battle, where *René* was vanquiſhed, taken Priſoner, and carried to *Dijon*. There were twelve hundred *French* ſlain in this Action. This Loſs, no doubt, helped to hinder King *Charles* from continuing his Progreſs.

An Attempt to take the See from the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Affair concerning the See of *Wincheſter*, of which the Duke of *Gloceſter* would have deprived the Cardinal, was rather ſuſpended, than determined in 1429, by an Order of Council to the Prelate, to forbear, for that time, officiating as Biſhop on St. *George*'s Day. The Duke, willing to take Advantage of the Cardinal's Abſence, who was with the King at *Paris*, cauſed, about the end of this Year, the Affair to be again brought upon the Board. On the 6th of *November*, the King's Attorney General appearing before the Council, required, that the Cardinal ſhould be deprived of his See; affirming, that by the Laws of the Land, the ſame Perſon could not be Cardinal and Biſhop in *England*. He ſupported his Aſſertion with the Examples of *Simon Langham*, and *Robert Kilwarby*, formerly Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, who, upon their being made Cardinals, reſigned the Archbiſhoprick. When he had done ſpeaking, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, required him to ſay, upon his Oath of Allegiance to the King, whether it was not true, that the Cardinal had obtained of the Pope, an exemption from the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for himſelf, for the City, and for the whole Dioceſe, of *Wincheſter*. His Aim was to ſhew, how inconvenient it was, to ſuffer a Cardinal to hold a Biſhoprick in *England*. The Biſhop of *Worceſter* replied, after ſome Intreaty, that the Biſhop of *Lichfield* being at *Rome*, had ſued for, and obtained this Exemption for the Cardinal, who had reimburſed all the Charges; and that he had this from that Prelate's own Mouth. This Affair having been long debated, by reaſon of the two Parties in the Council, it was at length reſolved, that, before any Deciſion, the Cardinal ſhould be heard, and the Judges conſulted. Thus it was not yet poſſible for the Duke of *Gloceſter* to compaſs his Ends. 1431.

Conference about a Peace. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt *Henry* was in *France*, Pope *Eugenius* II, Succeſſor of *Martin* V, ſent thither the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*, to try to perſuade the two Kings to a Peace. This Legate prevailed with them at laſt, to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Auxerre*, but this Congreſs was fruitleſs. They did not ſo much as enter into a Conference, becauſe, if we may believe the *French* Authors, the Ambaſſadors of *England* refuſed to acknowledge King *Charles*'s for Ambaſſadors of *France*. The 31ſt of *March*, the next Year, was however appointed for their Meeting; but it was in vain, ſince there was no place appointed for holding the Congreſs. The Court of *England* had named, for Plenipotentiaries, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſome others (1).

Act. Pub. X. p. 500, 514, 530.

1432. *Henry returns to* England.

Henry returned into *England* the beginning of the Year 1432 (2), being full ten Years of Age. As his Journey into *France* produced no great Effects, his return made no Alteration in his Affairs. They were ſtill managed by the Duke of *Bedford* in *France*, and by the Duke of *Gloceſter* in *England*. The Government of two Kingdoms was no light Burden for theſe Princes, at a time when the King's Affairs were manifeſtly going to decay. The Duke of *Bedford* was obliged to be always on his Guard, to reſiſt Enemies, now grown very formidable. But this was nothing, in compariſon of the Trouble, occaſioned by his perpetual diſtruſt of his own Friends, or thoſe who pretended to be well-affected to him. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s ambiguous Proceedings, juſtly made him uneaſy. The Duke of *Bretagne* was no ſurer Friend. In ſhort, ſince the decline of the Affairs of the *Engliſh*, the Towns which ſeemed to ſide with them, were faithful, only in proportion to thē Strength of their Garriſons. The Regent, by ſad Experience, had been convinced of this Truth. *Paris* herſelf, the Metropolis, on which, as I may ſay, all depended, was not ſo well diſpoſed, as that her Fidelity could be relied on; or at leaſt her Attachment to the Intereſt of *England* wholly depended on the Duke of *Burgundy*'s. Add to this, the inconſiderable Aids of Men and Money, received by the Duke of *Bedford* from *England*, at a time when they were moſt wanted. To complete his Misfortune, the Regent found himſelf almoſt alone, burthened with the Weight of the publick Affairs, as well Military as Civil; thoſe who had aſſiſted him in the beginning of his Regency, being for the moſt part either dead, or Priſoners in the Hands of the Enemy. In this Perplexity, he reſolved to propoſe to King *Charles*, the Exchange of *Talbot* for *Xaintrailles*, and his Offer was accepted. As he durſt not leave *Paris*, and the War was carrying on in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, he could not be without ſuch a General as *Talbot*; though to procure him, he was forced to give his Equal to the Enemy (3).

Ill State of the Duke of Bedford *in* France.

Exchange of Talbot *for* Xaintrailles. Act. Pub. X. p. 507, 514, 536.

Continuation of the Quarrel between the Duke of Gloceſter *and the Cardinal.*

If the Affairs of the *Engliſh* were upon an ill foot in *France*, they were upon no better Terms in *England*. Subſidies were granted by the Parliament with great reluctance, for continuing ſo deſtructive a War, which began to be tireſome, ſince it proſpered not as formerly. On the other hand, the Quarrel between the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Cardinal ſtill continued, with greater Bitterneſs than ever, and began to turn to the Duke's diſadvantage. In the laſt Year's Parliament (4), the Cardinal had found means to gain the Commons to his Intereſt, and give his Adverſary a grievous Mortification. The Houſe, willing to ſhew him Marks of their Favour,

The Cardinal gains Ground upon his Enemy. Act. Pub. X. p. 516.

(1) Sir *John Faſtolffe*, &c. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 530.
(2) And came to *London*, *Feb.* 21. *Fabian.*
(3) *John* Lord *Talbot* was not releaſed till the beginning of the Year 1433. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom X. p. 536.
(4) By the laſt Year's Parliament, *Rapin* muſt mean the laſt Parliament; namely, that held in 1430, or rather that in 1429; for it does not appear there was one in 1431.

preſented

1432. preſented a Petition to the King (1), praying him, in conſideration of the Cardinal's great Services to the State, to give him a full Pardon for whatever he had done, contrary to the Laws, particularly with regard to the Statute of *Præmunire*. This was a mighty Advantage for the Cardinal, ſince the Commons Petition being granted, he was skreened from all Proſecution. However, the Duke of *Gloceſter* did not deſiſt. He pretended, that, notwithſtanding the Pardon, he had ſufficient Evidence to prove the Cardinal guilty of High-Treaſon, a Crime which could not be ſuppoſed to be included in the Letters of Pardon. The Cardinal, who was then in *Flanders* upon the King's Affairs, ſpeedily repaired to *London*, without asking leave, and thereby gave his Enemy a Pretence to ſeize his Baggage (2). The next day after his Arrival, he went to the Houſe of Lords, and ſaid, he was come to clear himſelf of the Crimes, pretended to be laid to his Charge, and vindicate his Innocence, againſt whoever ſhould offer to be his Accuſer. The Duke of *Gloceſter* not thinking proper to ſupport what he had advanced, the Prelate was anſwered, that as none appeared to accuſe him, he was acknowledged for a loyal Subject. He thanked the Houſe for this Declaration, and deſired it might be drawn up in Form, which was granted. Then he complained, that at his arrival at *Sandwich*, his Baggage was ſeized, and petitioned the Reſtitution. He maintained, that the Seizure was made without Cauſe, and offered to lend the King ſix thouſand Pounds, for ſix Years; on condition, that if, in that time, the Seizure appeared to be lawful, the Money lent ſhould be forfeited to the King's Uſe. He offered moreover to lend him the like Sum, and to defer the Demand of the thirteen thouſand Marks, due to him on another account, provided the payment of the whole ſhould be aſſigned out of the next Subſidy granted to the King. His Aim was, to ſhew his regard for the King's and the People's Wants. His Offers were accepted, and the Seizure reſtored. Thus the Duke of *Gloceſter*, inſtead of hurting his Enemy, had the Mortification, to ſee him receive the Applauſes of both Houſes. Mean while, this Diſcord produced very ill Effects. As the Duke of *Gloceſter* had Friends and Adherents in the Council, the oppoſition generally between the two Parties, could not be very prejudicial to the King's Affairs. Whilſt the Duke and the Cardinal thought only of their own private Concerns, the War in *France* was neglected, though it was more neceſſary than ever, to ſupport it with the greateſt Efforts.

p. 517. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. X. p. 518, 591, 593.

Indolence of King Charles.

If *England* had known how to improve her Advantages, ſhe had a very favorable opportunity to repair ſome of her Loſſes. King *Charles* languiſhed in the Arms of *Agnes Sorrel* his Miſtreſs, and left to the Care of his Miniſters and Generals, his moſt important Affairs. Nothing affected him but his Pleaſures. It was with extreme reluctance, that he beſtowed a few Moments upon the War, and the Affairs of State. So impatient was he to return to his Pleaſures, interrupted by theſe troubleſome Cares, that he only ſought to intruſt with others, whatever might embarraſs him. *La Trimouille*, his Favorite, was generally accuſed of ſoothing him in this Supineneſs. But it was perceived by Perſons of Penetration, that the King began to grow weary of him, and was uneaſy under a Yoke he had impoſed upon himſelf. The Conſtable, though abſent, was ſoon informed of it. His Spies at Court were too watchful, for ſo important a thing to be long concealed from him. As he was of a proud and violent Spirit, he could not bear, without Indignation, to be ſurpaſſed by *La Trimouille*; and had formed a Deſign to ſerve him, as he had done *Louvet*, *De Giac*, and *Beaulieu*. When he knew, the King no longer looked upon *La Trimouille* with the ſame Eye as before, he immediately reſolved to ſet Hand to the Work. But as in ruining *La Trimouille*, he did not find himſelf ſo far in the King's Favor, that he could hope for his Place, he projected to introduce *Charles* of *Anjou*, the Queen's Brother, into this Poſt. Strange Project, haughtily to attempt to take from a Prince one Favorite, and give him another againſt his Will, or at leaſt without conſulting him! As ſoon as the Conſtable had made all his Cabals at Court, and matters were ripe for Execution, *La Trimouille* was ſeized in his Bed, in the King's own Houſe, who was then at *Chinon*

Troubles in his Court. Monſtrelet.

La Trimouille is removed, Monſtrelet.

and carried to Priſon at *Montreſor*. *Charles* was enraged at the News, and would immediately have taken Vengeance, but when he ſaw all the Princes of the Blood, and the great Men at Court, declare againſt *La Trimouille*, he durſt not venture to proceed. He remembred, with dread, the Confederacy formed againſt him, when he would have ſcreened *Louvet*, and was afraid of the like. Beſides, his diſguſt for the Favorite, who was only ſo in Name, being added to that political Reaſon, he abandoned him without much Concern. *Charles* of *Anjou* came to comfort him, and ſucceeded ſo well, that, according to the Conſtable's Project, he became the Favorite, and *La Trimouille* was forgot.

1432. *and Charles of Anjou becomes Favorite.*

It is eaſy to judge, that a Prince of *Charles*'s Character, who had an Averſion for War, would not have been very formidable to the Duke of *Bedford*, if the Supplies from *England* had been ſufficient, to enable him to make ſome conſiderable Attempt. But he had not for ſome time been able to bring an Army into the Field, without diſgarniſhing his Towns, and expoſing them either to be ſurprized, or tempted to follow the Example of thoſe, that had voluntarily ſurrendered to King *Charles*.

Lagni taken by the French. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier.

About the end of laſt Year, *Foucaut* had conquered *Lagni* upon him, a Place often taken and retaken, and which the Neighbourhood of *Paris* rendered extremely important. A little after, the Regent unſucceſsfully attempted to retake it. In the beginning of this Year, the Marſhal *de l'Iſle-Adam*, and the Earl of *Arundel* (3) attacked it in vain, being forced, by a vigorous Sally from the Town, to abandon their Enterprize. At laſt in the Begining of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Bedford* beſieged it himſelf with an Army of ſix thouſand Men. But, on the 10th of the ſame Month, the Baſtard of *Orleans*, in ſpite of the Duke's Precautions and Vigilance, introduced a Convoy (4), and then paſſed the *Marne*. The Duke, fearing by this March, that he held ſome Intelligence in *Paris*, ſuddenly raiſed the Siege, to prevent his Deſigns. Thus *Lagni* was beſieged three times in vain, within the Space of ſeven or eight Months.

The English endeavour in vain to retake it. Hall.

The French *ſurprize* Montargis, *and quit it again.* J. Chartier.

On the other hand, a ſmall Body of *French*, drawn out of the Garriſons near the *Loire*, ſurprized *Montargis*. But as the Caſtle made a vigorous Defence, the *French* not being able either to force it, or keep the Town, were obliged to retire. In *Normandy* twelve hundred *Engliſh* inveſted *la Hire* in *Louviers*, and after a three Months Blockade, conſtrained the Place to capitulate.

Death of the Ducheſs of Bedford. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Theſe were Events of little Importance. But, on the 13th of *November*, there happened one of much greater Conſequence, namely, the Death of *Ann* of *Burgundy*, Ducheſs of *Bedford* (5). This Loſs was not peculiar to the Duke her Spouſe, but common to all the *Engliſh*, ſince it broke the Bond of Union between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy*, and by the Coldneſs which ſucceeded, proved very fatal to *England*.

Embaſſy to the Council of Baſil. Act. Pub. X. p. 515, 519, 525, —534.

The Council of *Baſil* had been aſſembled ſince the laſt Year, but *England* had ſent no Ambaſſadors. About the end of this Year, the Pope and Council, who were diſputing concerning Pre-eminence, ſending, each a-part, Legates to the King, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Huntington* (6), and ſeveral others, were appointed to go to the Council.

1433. *Inſurrection in* Normandy. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier.

In the Beginning of the Year 1433, there was a dangerous Inſurrection in *Normandy*, which would have been no leſs fatal to the *Engliſh*, than the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, if by their Diligence they had not timely prevented Part of the Miſchief, which might have enſued. Sixty thouſand Peaſants of that Province having taken Arms, divided themſelves into two Bodies, one whereof conſiſting of forty thouſand Men, marched into *Vexin*, and the other towards *Caen*. Had *Charles*'s Army been near enough to ſupport them, he would doubtleſs have conquered all *Normandy*. The Rebels ſoon became Maſters of *Caen*, *Harfleur*, *Dieppe*, and *Lillebonne*. Probably they would have made a much greater Progreſs, if the Earl of *Arundel* (7) had not, with the utmoſt Expedition, marched againſt thoſe that were aſſembled in *Vexin*. As theſe Men had no eminent Leader, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized in the Night, and eaſily yielded him a Victory, more advantagious to his Maſter than glorious for him. Thoſe of *Caen*, though not ſo numerous, would have given him more Trouble, becauſe the Marſhal of

(1) During the Seſſion of the Parliament which met this Year on *May* 12, at *Weſtminſter*; and continued the Subſidy of Wools, and Tunnage and Poundage for one Year: It alſo granted half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but releaſed the Six-pence in the Pound ſet upon foreign Merchants. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 601, 602. In this Parliament, on *July* 17, the renowned Sir *John Cornwall* was created Baron of *Fauncbpe*. *Ibid.* p. 604. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 524.

(2) The Duke of *Gloceſter* only ſeized, at *Sandwich*, ſome of the King's Jewels, which were mortgaged to the Cardinal, and which he intended to carry over; whereupon the Cardinal came back in great haſte and fury, for the Recovery of them. But an Order was made, that before they were reſtored to him, he ſhould pay the King ſix thouſand Pounds more for them, and lend him ten thouſand Marks; which was accordingly done. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 603. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 517, 518, 519. See an account of all theſe Jewels, p. 593, &c.

(3) *John Fitz-Alan.*

(4) But not without a great Slaughter on both Sides. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 82.

(5) He buried her at the *Celeſtine*'s in *Paris*, within the Chapel of *Orleans*, where a noble Tomb of black Marble, with her Effigies, as a Princeſs, placed thereon, is ſtill to be ſeen. Her Epitaph ſays, ſhe died *November* the 14th, 1432. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 201. *Sandford's Geneal.* p. 313.

(6) *John Holland.*

(7) And the Lord *Willoughby*, with ſix thouſand Archers. *Hall*, fol. 124.

1433. *Rieux* was at their Head. But terrified at the News of the Defeat of their Companions, they retired file after file to their Homes. The Marſhal ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted, took with him ſome of the moſt couragious, and threw himſelf into *Dieppe*. Mean while, *Arundel*, taking Advantage of their Conſternation, found means to recover *Caen* and *Lillebonne*. But *Dieppe* and *Harfleur*, places of very great Importance, remained in the hands of the *French*.

The Duke of Bedford *marries* Jaquelina *of* Luxemburg. *The Duke of* Burgundy *is offended at it.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

This ſame Year, another Event helped to diſconcert the Affairs of the *Engliſh*. The Duke of *Bedford* being a Widower, married in *March*, *Jaquelina* of *Luxemburgh* (1), Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxemburgh* (2), Earl of St. *Pol*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended, that this Marriage was made without his Knowledge. He thought the Duke of *Bedford* ſhould have ſhewn him more reſpect, ſince, beſides the Conſideration of the many Ties by which they were united, he married the Daughter of one of his Vaſſals. The Duke of *Bedford*, who was very prudent and circumſpect, had doubtleſs his reaſons for haſtening his Marriage, without imparting it to the Duke of *Burgundy*. However, as it greatly concerned him not to anger that Prince, he paid him ſome Compliments by the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, who even procured an Interview at St. *Omer*, where the two Princes met in *April*. But an unhappy Diſpute about Precedency hindered their Reconciliation, and cauſed them to part extremely incenſed with each other. Theſe two Princes had frequently met without any Conteſt upon that account. But the Duke of *Burgundy* was obliged to ſtart ſome Diſpute now, for a Cloak to the Steps he intended to make. He owned *Henry* for King of *France*, and the Duke of *Bedford* for Regent, and Uncle of the reigning King, how therefore could he pretend to take place of him?

The Duke of Burgundy *takes ome Places from the* French. Monſtrelet. Hall.

During this Year, nothing of Moment paſſed, with regard to the War. *Charles* ſeemed to have wholly relinquiſhed all Care of his Affairs, the better to reliſh the Pleaſures of Love and Eaſe. The Duke of *Bedford* was weak, and as he received no farther Supplies from *England*, thought more of keeping what he had, than of making new Conqueſts. Mean while, though the Duke of *Burgundy* purpoſed to make a ſeparate Peace with *Charles*, he believed it would be the more advantagious, if he could do it with full hands. To that end, he became Maſter of St. *Valery*, which *Gaucour* had taken by Surprize. The Town of *Ham*, defended by the Baſtard of *Orleans* and *Xaintrailles*, with *Laon* and *Provins*, were alſo taken by him. On the other hand, the Earl of *Arundel*, beſieging *Silley-le-Guillaume* in *Maine*, the Conſtable *Richemont* obliged him to raiſe the Siege, but the *French* were ſcarce gone when the Earl returned and took the Town (3).

The Duke of Orleans *offers to mediate a Peace.* Act. Pub. X. p. 549, 556.

Mean time, the Council of *England* were more intent, how to procure a Peace, than to recover what the King had loſt in *France*. The Duke of *Orleans*, ſtill a Priſoner at *London*, had made the firſt Overtures, and offered to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours, to finiſh an Affair, on which depended his Freedom. To compaſs his ends, he had propoſed to bring to *Calais*, or any other place the Council ſhould name, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, *Charles* of *Anjou* her Son, the Duke of *Bretagne*, with the Earls of *Richemont* and St. *Giles* his Brothers, the Duke of *Alenſon*, the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Foix*, *Perdriac*, *Clermont*, and the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, to treat with the Ambaſſadors of *England*. He deſired likewiſe Permiſſion to be at the Congreſs, to promote, to the utmoſt of his Power, the Concluſion of a Peace. As his Aim was, to engage the Court of *England* to enter into Negotiation, he demonſtrated, that the *Engliſh* would reap great Advantages, whether this Treaty broke off, or ſucceeded. Theſe are the two Articles he propoſed to the Council concerning himſelf.

His Offers. Ib. p. 556.

I. In caſe a Peace was concluded between *Henry* and the Dauphin, (for ſo he called King *Charles*) he promiſed to do Homage to *Henry* whenever required, and never to own any other King of *France*, than him, or his lawful Succeſſors.

II. He promiſed the ſame thing for all his Vaſſals, for the Duke of *Alenſon*, for the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Perdriac*, *Angoulême*, and the Dukes of *Milan* and *Savoy*.

In another Article, he ſuppoſed the Dauphin would be contented with an honorable and conſiderable Appennage, which was the very thing the *Engliſh* aimed at in this Negotiation.

But, as a Peace might happen not to be concluded, in 1433. that caſe, the Duke engaged to acknowledge *Henry* for ſole and true King of *France*. He promiſed moreover to deliver to him *Blois*, *Orleans*, and all his demean Towns, with *Rochelle*, *Mont St. Michel*, *Limoges*, *Bourges*, *Chinon*, *Poictiers*, *Tournay*, *Beziers*, *Saintes*, and *Loches*, or what other Places he pleaſed inſtead of theſe, except *Rochelle* and *Mont St. Michel*, which were not to be changed.

That if the King ſhould grant him any Demeſns in *England*, he would own him, as King of *England*, for his Liege-Lord, and as ſuch, ſwear Fealty to him.

That he would do his utmoſt, to put the King in poſſeſſion of the Countries and Cities of *France*, which did not yet acknowledge him, and would ſerve him at his own Expence.

That in caſe the Treaty did not ſucceed, he promiſed to return a Priſoner to *England*, till all the Articles were performed on his part, on condition he ſhould afterwards be releaſed without Ranſom (4).

They are accepted. Act. Pub. X. p. 561.

Theſe Articles, which had been before concerted between the King's Commiſſioners and the Duke, being approved by the Council, the Duke ſigned and ſealed them, and ſwore to obſerve them. Then Paſſports were prepared (5) for the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and the reſt mentioned in the firſt Article, that they might repair to *Calais* in *October*. The Council appointed alſo Plenipotentiaries, to treat with the *French*,

Reaſons why the Duke of Orleans *acted not ſincerely.*

When the Engagements here entered into by the Duke of *Orleans* are conſidered, they are a clear Evidence of his joining with the Court of *France*, to impoſe upon the Court of *England*. This plainly appears, in the hopes he gave that *Charles* would be ſatisfied with a bare Appennage: A thing moſt certainly far enough from that Prince's Thoughts, and which was inſinuated, only to cauſe the *Engliſh* the more readily to fall into the Snare. Moreover, in promiſing to bring to *Calais* the Queen of *Sicily*, and the other *French* Princes and Lords, he would have intimated, that it was their Intention to conclude a Peace upon that foot; which was however, as afterwards appeared, directly contrary to their Deſign. In the next Place, the Duke's ſervile Expreſſions to the King of *England*, calling him, in the Articles, his King and Sovereign Lord, manifeſtly ſhews, he flattered him only to deceive him. In ſhort, he promiſed things that were beyond his Power: For Inſtance, to deliver Places which belonged not to him. But this was preciſely wherein conſiſted the Fraud, becauſe his Aim was to intimate, that he was impowered, tho' the Court of *France* did not think proper to diſcover themſelves openly. Theſe are not bare Conjectures. The Sequel of this Negotiation will plainly ſhew, the Duke did not act with Sincerity. This however is the ſame Duke of *Orleans*, whom the *French* would repreſent as a Saint, and upon whoſe account *Joan* pretended to have ſeveral Revelations.

The Congreſs is to be held at Arras.

It is very eaſy to perceive, the Duke of *Orleans* acted in 1434. concert with the Court of *France*, when it is conſidered, that *Charles* was now reconciled with the Duke of *Burgundy*, who only wanted a pretence to break with *England*. The Conſtable *Richemont* had finiſhed a ſeparate Treaty, in a Conference with the Duke at *Nevers*. He repaired to that City, under colour of adjuſting a Difference between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl of *Clermont*. Here all the Articles of the ſeparate Peace were ſettled with the Duke. All he wanted, was to furniſh an occaſion to take this Step; and to this the Project of a Conference for a general Peace was made ſubſervient. It was well known, the *Engliſh* would not agree to the Terms that ſhould be propoſed to them, and their Refuſal was to be the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Pretence to make a ſeparate Peace. This was the real Motive of the Duke of *Orleans*'s large Offers to the King of *England*, in caſe a Peace was not concluded. The Deſign was, to engage *Henry*'s Council in this Negotiation, by putting them in hopes, that, whether the Conference ended in a Peace, or came to nothing, *England* would ſtill be a great Gainer. The Duke of *Bedford* and the Council of *England*, who knew nothing of what had paſſed between King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, fell into the Snare. As ſoon as they had conſented to the propoſed Negotiation, the Duke of *Burgundy* pretending to be ſtill ſtrictly united with the *Engliſh*, ſo ordered it, that inſtead of *Calais*, the City of *Arras* was appointed for the Place of Congreſs, where all the Parties concerned were to ſend their Ambaſſadors. We ſhall ſee preſently what paſſed in this Aſſembly.

Hiſt de Charles VII. par B. I.

The Engliſh *are impoſed upon.*

(1) She was but about ſeventeen Years old. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 87. *Hall*, fol. 121. She and the Duke her Spouſe came to *London* about Midſummer, where they remained till the latter end of *Auguſt*, when they went to *Paris*. *Hall*, ibid. *Stow*, p. 373.

(2) *Rapin*, by miſtake, calls him *James*. See *Monſtrelet*, fol. 87.

(3) This Year, on *July* 8, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, which granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth to be levied on the Laity. As alſo three Shillings on every Tun of Wine, imported or exported; Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandizes ſold, for two Years; and a Subſidy of fifty-three Shillings and Four-pence of every Sack of Wool for three Years. This Parliament was adjourned from *Auguſt* 13, till *October* 13, by reaſon of the Plague. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 607, 609.

(4) Or rather, unleſs King *Henry*, or his Heirs, ſhould think proper to give him leave to depart from *England*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 559.

(5) On *Auguſt* 15. *Ibid.* p. 561, 562.

1434. *Continuation of the War in* France. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Mean while, the War in *France* degenerated into real plundering and robbing. Both Kings being too weak to keep great Armies on foot, only ſmall Bodies and Parties acted on either Side. The moſt remarkable Occurrences of this Year were theſe. The *French* having ſurpriſed *Rue* in *Picardy* (1), the Earl of *Arundel* poſted thither (2) to retake the Town. Whilſt he was upon the March, he heard, the *French* were fortifying *Herberoy* near *Beauvais*, and thought he ſhould drive them from thence, before their Works were finiſhed. Accordingly he appeared before that Place, but upon notice that *Vignoles* and *Xaintrailles* were approaching with twelve hundred Men, raiſed the Siege, to go and meet them. A bloody Battle enſued, where the Earl of *Arundel* was mortally wounded, and made Priſoner. He died within a few Days, to the great Grief of the Duke of *Bedford* (3).

Death of the Earl of Arundel. May 13. Monſtrelet. Hall.

About the ſame time the Earl of *Clermont*, now Duke of *Bourbon* by his Father's Death, became Maſter of *Corbeil* and *Brie Compte-Robert*, which were ſold him by the Governors. A *Scotch* Officer found likewiſe means to take *Vincennes*, but could not keep it.

Talbot *arrives in* France, *and retakes ſeveral Places.* Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

Mean time, *Talbot* being arrived from *England* with three or four thouſand Men (4), to whom he joined ſome other Troops, drawn out of the Garriſons, was in ſuch manner Maſter of the Field, that all the *French* vaniſhed before him. So, without much Oppoſition, he retook *Beaumont upon Oyſe*, *Creil*, *Pont St. Maxence*, and *Clermont* in *Beauvoiſis*. He even began the Siege of *Beauvais*, but the bad Weather obliged him to deſiſt. During theſe little Exploits, King *Charles* went into *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*.

Charles's *Advantage in the Continuation of the War.* Stow.

The Froſt, which was very ſevere about the end of this Year, and the beginning of the next, hindered not the two Parties from continuing the War all the Winter, by Sieges, and Surprizings of divers Places. The *French* had a great Advantage, in that moſt of the *Engliſh* Towns thought of returning to the Obedience of King *Charles*, ſince the Affairs of the *Engliſh* were gone to decay. But it was not from theſe Progreſſes, ſo inconſiderable in themſelves, that *Charles* expected the Concluſion of the War. It muſt have been long, before he could have taken one by one all the Places poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* in *France*. The Congreſs which was to be at *Arras*, promiſed him much more advantagious Succeſſes, ſince he was ſure of making a Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

1435. *Congreſs of* Arras. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The News being ſpread over *Europe*, that a Peace between *France* and *England*, was going to be negotiated at *Arras*, there was ſcarce a Sovereign Prince, but what was deſirous to ſend his Ambaſſadors. Pope *Eugenius* II and the Council of *Baſil*, who were ſtill at Variance, ſent theirs alſo, but ſeparately. From the Pope came the Cardinal *Santa Cruz*, and from the Council the Cardinals of *Cyprus* and *Arles*. King *Charles* ſent ſeventeen Plenipotentiaries; at the head of whom was the Conſtable *Richemont*. *Henry* appointed twenty ſeven for *France* and *England*; of whom the Duke of *Burgundy* was the firſt (5); with Power to eight of them, *viz.* four *Engliſh* and four *French* (among whom were to be the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Archbiſhop of *York*) to ſign the Peace. Afterwards the ſame Power was given to the Cardinal of *Winchester*. Hitherto the Duke of *Bedford* and the Council of *England* were perſwaded of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Sincerity. This appears, in his being truſted with the Secret of the Embaſſy, ſince nothing could be treated, or concluded, without him. It muſt be confeſſed, this Prince acted a baſe part in this Congreſs. However, ſhortly after, private Intelligence was received in *England*, that he had deſired the Pope to abſolve him from his Oath to *Henry* V. Whereupon the King writ to the Pope to know the Truth. *Eugenius* anſwered, no *French* Prince had ever applied to him for any ſuch thing; that he had never granted any ſuch Diſpenſation, and for the future, would behave in that reſpect, ſo as the King ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel, how he performed his Promiſe.

Act. Pub. X. p. 610, 611---614.

p. 616.

p. 620.

Charles's *Propoſals for Peace.* Du Tillet. Hall.

The Congreſs of *Arras* was opened on the 6th of *Auguſt*. It began with King *Charles*'s Propoſals. His Ambaſſadors offered, in his Name, to the King of *England*, *Normandy* and *Guienne*, provided he would quit the Title of King of *France*, and do Homage for thoſe two Provinces: That is to ſay, he offered as a Favour the two Provinces which the King of *England* was entirely poſſeſſed of; a Favour, which he was to purchaſe with the Reſignation of the Title of King of *France*, and a great Part of the Kingdom ſtill in his hands. Though there were no other Proof of *Charles*'s being certain of gaining the Duke of *Burgundy* from the *Engliſh*, this alone would be ſufficient. For on what other Foundation could *Charles*, who, for three Years paſt, was unable to bring an Army into the Field, make ſuch a Propoſal? But, as was obſerved, his Intent was, not to conclude a Peace with the *Engliſh*, but only to afford the Duke of *Burgundy* a colour to proceed as he had reſolved. The Ambaſſadors of *England*, ſurprized at an Offer ſo remote from what the Duke of *Orleans* had made them expect, ſuddenly broke off the Conference, and withdrew (6) extremely diſſatisfied, without vouchſafing an Anſwer. Here it is that ſeveral *French* Authors diſplay their Eloquence, to ſhew to what Height the *Engliſh* had carried their Pride and Inſolence, ſince they rejected ſo reaſonable Offers. A remarkable Inſtance of the uſual Prejudice of Hiſtorians in favour of their own Nation.

1435.

The Engliſh *withdraw with Indignation.* Monſtrelet.

The Retreat of the *Engliſh* ſurprized neither the Duke of *Burgundy*, nor the *French* Ambaſſadors. They muſt have foreſeen, that ſuch Offers would be refuſed. Nay, it may be affirmed on the contrary, that in making ſo unreaſonable a Propoſal, conſidering the Poſture of Affairs, their ſole Aim was to induce the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors to withdraw. This abrupt Departure however, was highly exaggerated, and repreſented as a clear Evidence, they never intended to make Peace. It was this likewiſe, that gave the Duke of *Burgundy* a Pretence, to conclude a ſeparate Treaty with King *Charles*. He pretended, he was not obliged to follow their Humour, or render the War everlaſting for their ſake. Upon this Foundation, the Pope's Legate abſolved him from all his Oaths, as well to the late, as the preſent King of *England*. After that, as all the Articles were before ſettled, his ſeparate Peace was ſoon concluded (7). Never had King of *France* made ſo diſhonourable a Peace. *Charles* was bound by this Treaty, to diſown the Murder of Duke of *John*, to deliver up the Murderers, or if they were not in his Power, to baniſh them the Realm: He promiſed to found certain Chapels, where the Soul of the Deceaſed was to be prayed for, Day and Night. He agreed, that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould nominate the Prieſts that were to officiate, and a Croſs ſhould be erected on *Montereau* Bridge, for a ſtanding Monument of the Reparation of the Murder. He was obliged moreover, to pay fifty thouſand Crowns of Gold for Duke *John*'s Equipage, which was pillaged, and reſign to the Duke of *Burgundy* certain Towns, to ſatisfy him for the Charges of the War. Laſtly, he freed him from all Homage during Life. The Duke conſented on his Part, that the King might redeem the Towns of St. *Quentin*, *Peronne*, *Amiens*, *Corbie*, ſituated on the *Somme*, for four hundred thouſand Crowns. By this Article it appears, the Duke was not very ſcrupulous, ſince he ſold to *France* Places, held only by the Bounty of the King of *England*, purſuant to his Engagement with the Duke of *Bedford*. It may be proper farther to remark, that the Service done by the Duke of *Burgundy* to *France*, in making a ſeparate Peace, greatly outweighed, in the Opinion of the *French* Hiſtorians, all his Proceedings againſt her. This has made them very cautious in their Expreſſions, before the Treaty of *Arras*, for fear their Language ſhould not agree with what they had to ſay afterwards. But after this happy Peace, they have extolled to the Skies, his Goodneſs, Wiſdom, and Probity. This was however the Man, who for the ſake of Revenge, had ruined *France*; and found no other way to repair the Fault, but by a notorious Treachery to *England*. What would the *French* have ſaid, if he had always continued firm to the *Engliſh*? I am ſorry to be obliged to ſpeak thus of a Prince, to whom was given the Sir-name of *Good*. But it ſerves to ſhow, how the Sir-names and Encomiums beſtowed on Princes, happen ſometimes to diſagree with their real Character.

The Duke of Burgundy *makes a ſeparate Peace with* Charles. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Hall.

Act. Pub. X. p. 625.

I ſay nothing of the Diſpenſation granted to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Every one may make what Reflections he pleaſes. I ſhall only add, that in *November* was publiſhed in *England*, Pope *Eugenius*'s fore-mentioned Letter, atteſted by the King. Probably, it was deſigned for an indirect Information of the Court of *Rome*'s Sincerity.

The Treaty of Arras *changes the Affairs of the* Engliſh *for the worſe.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

As ſoon as the *Engliſh* had loſt the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Burgundy*, their Affairs began ſo viſibly to de-

(1) In the beginning of *May*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 100.
(2) With eight hundred Men. *Idem.* fol. 101.
(3) *John Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*, died in *May* (the 12th, ſays *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I, p. 322.) and was buried in the *Cordeliers* Church at *Beauvais*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 102.
(4) Eight hundred Men at Arms. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 93. *Hall*, fol. 123.
(5) The moſt conſiderable of the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries were, *William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Thomas* Biſhop of St. *David's*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntingdon*, *William de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Walter* Lord *Hungerford*, Mr. *William Lyndewode* Keeper of the Privy-Seal, *John Radclyff* Seneſchal of *Guienne*, Sir *John Popham*, *Ralph Ruſſel* Doctor of Laws, &c. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 611, 612.
(6) *September* 6. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 108.
(7) On *September* 21. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 116. *Du Tillet*. p. 355.

1435. cline, that it portended their ſudden Ruin. As they had not Troops ſufficient to defend all the Places, they were obliged to rely on the Loyalty of the Inhabitants, who very often proved falſe. On the other hand, the Towns upon the *Somme*, reſigned to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being now againſt them, they were under a neceſſity to provide for that Quarter, for fear they might be uſed to invade the neighbouring Provinces. So, their whole Attention was confined to the Preſervation of *Normandy* and *Paris*, it being impoſſible to take care of all, amidſt the continual Defection of the Towns truſted to the Inhabitants. *Houdan*, St. *Denis*, *Pontoiſe*, *Melun*, *Pont* St. *Maxence*, *Meulant*, voluntarily ſurrendered to the *French*, during the Congreſs of *Arras*, or a little before. The Duke of *Bedford* retaking St. *Denis* (1), razed the Walls. Then he ordered *Meulant* to be inveſted, but the Baſtard of *Orleans* raiſed the Siege. The Lord of *Chatillon*, Governor of *Epernay* for the *Engliſh*, going out of the Town, found the Gates ſhut againſt him at his Return; and the Inhabitants called in the *French*.

Death of Queen Iſabella *of* Bavaria. Monſtrelet.

Iſabella, Queen Dowager of *France*, ſeeing the proſperity of the King her Son, whom ſhe mortally hated, and the deſperate Condition of the *Engliſh*, died at *Paris* with Grief and Vexation, twelve Days after the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Arras* (2). She was univerſally hated by the *French*, who conſidered her as the principal Cauſe of the Ruin of the Kingdom. The *Engliſh* did not much eſteem her; at leaſt, they ſhewed but little regard for her, ſince ſhe was become unſerviceable to them.

Death of the Duke of Bedford. Hall. Sandford.

Her Deceaſe was of little Conſequence to either Party. But the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, on the 14th of the ſame Month, at *Roan*, was of infinitely greater Importance. Very probably, his Indignation to be thus impoſed upon by King *Charles*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, helped to throw him into the Sickneſs, of which he died, four Days before the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Arras*, the fatal News whereof, he expected every Moment. He foreſaw with a mortal Concern, the Affairs of the King his Nephew, were going to be irretrievably reduced to a very wretched Condition. During the whole Courſe of his Adminiſtration, he behaved with that Wiſdom and Prudence, as juſtly ranked him with the greateſt Men of his Time. His Valour, and other martial Virtues, ſhone with no leſs Luſtre on all Occaſions, where he commanded in Perſon. Had he been well aſſiſted by *England*, he would have, probably, ended the War to his own Glory, and the young King's Advantage; ſince he wanted no Qualification proper to accompliſh the greateſt Undertakings. But unfortunately for him, he was abandoned, when he ſtood moſt in need of Aſſiſtance. The only thing he could be taxed with, was his ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed, in the Affair of the Congreſs of *Arras*. But where is the Man, that can always be upon his guard againſt Treachery? Nothing better ſhows the Eſteem, due to this illuſtrious Prince, than the Regard *Lewis* XI, Son of *Charles* VII; expreſſed for him, when he could have no Inducement to flatter him. *Lewis* being one Day in the Church of *Roan*, and looking upon the Duke of *Bedford*'s Tomb (3), a certain Lord of his Retinue, adviſed him to demoliſh that ſtanding Monument of the Diſhonour of the *French*; *No*, replied the King, *Let the Aſhes of a Prince reſt in Peace, who, were he alive, would make the boldeſt of us tremble. I rather wiſh, a more ſtately Monument were erected to his Honour.*

His Elogy.

Hall, fol. 129.

The Duke of York *appointed Regent of* France. Act. Pub. X. p. 674. Hall. Stow.

Immediately after the Duke of *Bedford*'s Death, the Duke of *York* (4), was appointed Regent of *France*. But *Edmund Beaufort* (5), who aſpired to that Dignity, ſo managed it by his Intrigues, that his Rival's Patent was long deferred. Probably, he was in hopes to obtain a change in his favour. This Delay proved extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs, as will be ſeen in the Relation of the next Year's Occurrences (6). 1435.

All *England* was exceedingly moved at the News of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Defection. The moſt opprobrious Names were there liberally given him. Mean while, the Duke willing to ſhow ſtill ſome regard for *Henry*, ſent two Heralds to make his Excuſe, for concluding a ſeparate Peace, on pretence, his Subjects were grievouſly oppreſſed by the continuance of the War. This is the common pretence for a Peace, though generally when a War is undertaken, the Intereſts of the poor People are little regarded. The Duke offered at the ſame time his Mediation to *Henry*, if he deſired to conclude a Peace with King *Charles*. This offer was looked upon as a freſh Inſult. The truth is, what could be expected from the Mediation of a Prince, who had ſo openly ſacrificed the Intereſt of *England* to his own Advantage? Accordingly, no Anſwer was vouchſafed to his Letters, which, beſides, were writ in a Stile very different from what he was wont to uſe (7). His Heralds were received with Indignity. The Law of Nations had like to have been violated on their account, and all the *Flemings* and *Burgundians* then in *England*, torn in pieces by the Populace; ſo incenſed were they againſt their Prince. But ſuch Behaviour was to him very ſerviceable. He wanted a Pretence to join his Forces with the *French*, and did not fail to find one in the Inſults upon his Heralds and Subjects. For in *May*, this very Year, he ſent the Conſtable *Richemont* five hundred Lances, under the Command of the Earl of *Lalain*, and thereby, openly declared himſelf an Enemy to the King of *England*. 1436. *The Duke of* Burgundy *tries to excuſe himſelf in* England. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Hall. *He offers his Mediation.* *It is rejected.* Act. Pub. X. p. 636. *He declares againſt* England. Monſtrelet.

The Conſtable joining this Aid to ſix or ſeven thouſand Men, drawn together from other Places, approached *Paris*, where remained but fifteen hundred *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Woodville* (8). Beſides that this Garriſon was very weak, for the Defence of ſo large a City, the Conſtable held Intelligence with the Inhabitants, who being almoſt all Friends of the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſided with *England*, only out of regard to that Prince. Whilſt he adhered to the King of *England*, *Paris* wanted no other Guard, but her own Citizens; but upon his declaring for King *Charles*, they all changed with him. So, it was no wonder, if fifteen hundred *Engliſh* could not keep them in Awe. The Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, the Abſence of the new Regent, and the little care taken, to ſend Succours from *England*, diſabling the *Engliſh* to keep an Army in the Field, the Conſtable met with no Oppoſition in his March. He took ſeveral ſmall Places near *Paris*, and ſlew five hundred (9) of a Detachment, ſent by the Governor to throw themſelves into St. *Denis*. After that, he encamped at the very Gates of *Paris*, with his little Army. Whilſt he was in this Camp, there were continual Parleys between the Burghers and Beſiegers, without the Governor's being able to help it. At length, *April* the 13th the whole City riſe in Arms, whilſt the Marſhal *de l'Iſle Adam* ſcaled the Walls (10). The Garriſon advancing to repulſe the Aſſault, found themſelves pelted with a Shower of Stones from the Windows, whilſt all the City reſounded with *Long live the King, and the Duke of* Burgundy. The Governor, perceiving there was no reſiſting ſo many Enemies, choſe to retire into the *Baſtile*, with all his People. Immediately all the Streets were chained, for fear he ſhould think of returning. Mean time, *l' Iſle Adam* entered the City with eaſe, and opened the Gates to the Conſtable. Thus *The Conſtable approaches* Paris, Monſtrelet. Hall. *and takes it.*

(1) Wherein he was aſſiſted by *John* Lord *Talbot*, the Lords *Willoughby* and *Scales*, the Marſhal *de l'Iſle-Adam*, &c. and five thouſand Men. *Hall*, fol. 127.

(2) She died *Septemb.* 30, and was buried in the Church of St. *Denis*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 117. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 126.

(3) He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church, in *Roan*, under a plain Tomb of black Marble, with an Epitaph upon a Copper-Plate, or Tablet of Braſs, affixed to a Pillar at the Foot of his Tomb: Above the Epitaph ſtood his Eſcocheon of Arms (of Silver, now torn away) within the Garter, betwixt two *Oſtrich-Feathers*; and underneath a Root is repreſented, which the Prieſts call, *La Racine de Bedford*. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 314. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 202.

(4) *Richard Plantagenet.* His Patent was deferred till *July* 16. 1437. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 674, 675.

(5) The Perſon that oppoſed the Duke of *York* about the Regency, was not *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, as *Rapin* ſays here by miſtake; for there was no ſuch Title then, it being firſt conferred upon *John Beaufort* in 1443, 21 *Henry* VI. See above, p. 540, Note (1). But the Perſon here meant, was, *Edmund*, third Son of *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerſet*. This *Edmund* bore the Titles of Earl of *Mortagne* in *Normandy*, and Lord of *Chirkland* in the Marches of *Wales*. He was created, *Auguſt* 28. 1442, Earl of *Dorſet*; and *June* 24. 1443, Marquiſs of the ſame. And at laſt, *March* 31. 1448, upon his Brother *John*'s Death, he ſucceeded him in the Dukedom of *Somerſet*. See above, p. 535, Note (8); and *Sandford's Geneal.* p. 331.

(6) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, on *Octob.* 10, which granted the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth, (deducting out of it four thouſand Pounds for the Relief of decayed Towns and Villages,) alſo Tunnage and Poundage for two Years; and a Subſidy of thirty three Shillings and Four-pence of Merchants-Denizens, and of forty ſix Shillings and Eight-pence of Aliens for every Sack of Wool. They alſo granted, That every Perſon having any Freehold in Lands, Annuities, Fees, Offices, or Hereditaments, above five Pounds yearly, ſhould pay for every Pound Six-pence, upon his Oath. ------ There was alſo a Parliament in the beginning of the Year 1436, which met at *Weſtminſter*, *Jan.* 21, and granted a Tenth and a Fifteenth, and the like Subſidy of Wools for three Years, as was granted in the former Parliament. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 613---620. In this laſt Parliament it was enacted, That no Sheriff or Bailiff ſhould impanel any Perſons upon Juries, but ſuch as inhabit within his Bailiwick, and have Eſtate to their own uſe, or they to whoſe uſe other Perſons have Eſtate of Fee-ſimple, Fee-tail, or Free-hold, in Lands and Tenements, of the yearly Value of twenty Pounds, or more. But this not to extend to Cities or Boroughs. *Statutes.*

(7) They were directed, To the high and mighty Prince, *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, his beloved Couſin: Neither naming him King of *France*, nor his Sovereign Lord, as he always uſed to do. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 118. *Hall*, fol. 128.

(8) *Monſtrelet*, (fol. 125.) *Hall*, (fol. 130.) *Dugdale* (*Baron.* Vol. II. p. 85.) *Stow*, (p. 376.) and *Speed*, (p. 658.) all agree in ſaying, it was the Lord *Robert Willoughby*. *R. Wodeville* was Captain of *Calais*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 623.

(9) But three hundred: The whole Detachment was no more than ſix hundred. Fourſcore were taken Priſoners. They were commanded by *Thomas* Lord *Beaumont*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 124. *Hall*, fol. 130.

(10) And ſhowed the Citizens a Charter, wherein *Charles* granted them a Pardon, and confirmed all their antient Liberties and Privileges. *Hall*, fol. 130.

Paris

1436. *Paris* was taken for King *Charles* by the ſame *l'Iſle-Adam*, who had ſurpriſed it in like manner, ſeventeen Years before, for the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Baſtile*, which might have held a long Siege, had it been well ſtored with Proviſions, was ſo deſtitute, that it could hold out but three Days. It was very well, the Governor could obtain an honorable Capitulation.

England *thinks of a Peace.*

As the Affairs of the *Engliſh* ſenſibly declined, the Council of *England* were extremely deſirous of a Peace. The War in *France* no longer concerned the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, as in the Reign of *Henry* V, and till the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, but only what part the King of *England* could poſſibly keep; and the little that could be expected to be preſerved by a vigorous War, coſt *England* immenſe Sums. This was a very plauſible Reaſon, to perſuade the Publick, it was neceſſary, ſeriouſly to think of a Peace. I ſay, a plauſible Reaſon, becauſe it was not the real Motive of the Council's Proceedings. The Cardinal of *Wincheſter* had for ſome time gained ground upon the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Rival. The Council by degrees, was filled with his Creatures, who, no more than himſelf, found their own private Advantage in the Continuation of the War; which, ſince it was unſucceſsful, rendered them odious to the People. Coin was grown exceeding ſcarce in *England*, and yet the Council was forced to be continually deviſing means to raiſe Money, which could not be done without cauſing great Murmurings. On the other hand, the Cardinal hoped to ruin his Enemy with more eaſe, during a Peace, becauſe the War, and the unexpected Accidents thence ariſing, rendered the Perſon and Counſels of the Duke of *Gloceſter* abſolutely neceſſary. In ſhort, as the Duke was ever of Opinion, that vigorous Endeavours ſhould be uſed to recover what was loſt in *France*, this was an Argument for the oppoſite Party to inſiſt, with the ſame Earneſtneſs, upon the neceſſity of concluding a Peace. This Opinion prevailing in the Council, the Duke of *York*, whoſe Commiſſion to be Regent of *France*, was at length ſigned, had Inſtructions, and full Power, to treat with King *Charles*, if he ſaw any appearance of Succeſs. Moreover, on ſuppoſition of a Negotiation, the Council impowered the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, jointly to treat of the King's Marriage with one of his Adverſary's Daughters.

Inſtructions to the Duke of York. Act. Pub. X. p. 642, 643.

He drives the French *out of* Normandy. Monſtrelet.

Shortly after, the Duke of *York* departed for *France*, and in *Normandy* landed a good Body of Troops (1), with which he retook many ſmall Places or Caſtles ſeized by the *French*, ſince the death of the Duke of *Bedford*. *Feſcamp* was among the Places recovered by the Regent, but preſently after retaken by Scalade.

The Duke of Burgundy *prepares to beſiege* Calais. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Though the Duke of *York* was maſter of the Field in *Normandy*, and about *Paris*, he was concerned for *Picardy*. He heard from all Parts, that the Duke of *Burgundy* was drawing all his Forces together, and making great Preparations for a Siege. As theſe Preparations could be deſigned only againſt *Calais* (2), he ſent notice to the Council of *England*, that they might provide in time, againſt the threatened Siege. Indeed, a powerful Fleet, a great Train of Artillery, and an Army of fifty thouſand Men, aſſembled by the Duke of *Burgundy*, were clear Evidences of his extreme Deſire to ſucceed in his Enterprize, and of his Reſolution not to be diſappointed. This News flying to *England*, the whole Nation was alarmed, and grew more incenſed againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Council trembling for *Calais*, the firſt Conqueſt of the *Engliſh* in *France*, reſolved to uſe all poſſible Endeavours to ſave it. To that end, they ordered fifteen thouſand Men to be raiſed, and petitioned the Duke of *Gloceſter* to take upon him the Care of relieving that Place. Fifteen thouſand Men were little enough for ſuch an Undertaking. But, beſides that it was reckoned, the Regent would join the Duke of *Gloceſter* with all his Forces, the Enemy's Army was known to conſiſt almoſt entirely of the Militia of *Flanders*, who were not much valued.

Act. Pub. X. p. 646. *The Duke of* Gloceſter *goes to its Relief.*

Henry *diſpoſes of* Boulogne *and* Flanders. p. 649, 652.

Whilſt the Troops were levying with the utmoſt Diligence, the King, by Advice of his Council, reſolved to expreſs his reſentment againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, in granting, by Letters under his Great Seal, the Earldom of *Boulogne*, to the Lord *Beaumont*, and *Flanders* to the Duke of *Gloceſter*. But it was eaſier to give them in Parchment, than wreſt them out of the Hands of the Poſſeſſor.

Every thing being ready for the departure of the Army, deſigned for the relief of *Calais*, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſet Sail, and landed in *Normandy* the beginning of *October* (3). The Duke of *Burgundy* had now been before *Calais* ſix Weeks, with his numerous Army. He carried on the Siege vigorouſly, and the Beſieged made as brave a Defence. Mean time, the Duke, who hoped to acquire immortal Fame, by taking one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Europe*, was yet very far from his Aim. Nay, he began to perceive, the Attempt was beyond his Power. His Fleet (4), by the unskilfulneſs of the Pilots, or ſome other Accident, coming too near the Town at low Water, run on ground, and was reduced to Aſhes before his Eyes, by the Beſieged. This was a very mortifying Accident, but a worſe befell him quickly after. A Rumour being ſpread in the Army, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was approaching to relieve the Town, the *Flemings*, diſcouraged by the Fatigues of the Siege, and terrified at the approach of the *Engliſh*, ſuddenly unpitched their Tents, and began to retire. In vain did the Duke endeavour to remove their Fears. The Scouts of the *Engliſh* Army beginning to appear, it was ſtill leſs practicable for the Duke to ſtop his frightned Troops, who ſought only to avoid a Battle. So, the Duke ſeeing he could not prevail, was forced to follow them in their Retreat, which was made in great diſorder, though timely enough to prevent the *Engliſh* from taking any Advantage. He had the further mortification to receive a Defiance from the Duke of *Gloceſter*, offering him Battle, and not to have it in his power to accept it, though his Army was much ſuperior to that of his Enemy. But this was not yet all. Hardly was he returned into his own Country, when the Towns of *Flanders* revolted againſt him. He was even in danger of loſing his Life at *Bruges*, in a ſeditious Tumult of the Citizens. He was himſelf wounded, after ſeeing, with Grief, *l'Iſle Adam* torn in pieces by the mutinous Populace. Mean time, the Duke of *Gloceſter* improving this Juncture, overran *Artois*, *Flanders*, and *Hainault*, and carried away twelve hundred Waggon-Loads of Booty. From thenceforward the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſo much trouble at Home, that he was but little ſerviceable to King *Charles*.

1436. *The Duke of* Gloceſter *comes before* Calais. Monſtrelet.

The Duke of Burgundy's *Army retires.* Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet. Hall.

Inſurrection in Flanders. Monſtrelet.

Marriage of Lewis *the Dauphin.*

In *June* this Year, *Lewis* the Dauphin, Son of King *Charles*, married *Margaret* of *Scotland*, Daughter of *James* I, about twelve Years of Age.

1437. *Death of the two Queen Dowagers of* England. Catherine *marries* Tudor. Sandford. Hall. Stow.

The beginning of the Year 1437, was remarkable for the Death of *Joan* of *Navarre* (5), and *Catherine* of *France* (6), both Queen Dowagers of *England*, one Widow of *Henry* IV, the other of *Henry* V. The laſt had married *Owen Tudor*, a *Welſh* Gentleman, deſcended, as it is ſaid, from the ancient Kings of *Wales*. I do not know, whether, in thoſe Days, this Deſcent was much regarded, or was endeavoured to be traced, till after the Crown was devolved to the Family of the *Tudors*, by the Advancement of *Henry* VII to the Throne. However that be, when Queen *Catherine* eſpouſed *Owen Tudor*, the Marriage appeared ſo unſuitable, that all *England* was offended at it; and the more, as it was made unknown to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was then Protector. But that Prince's Veneration for the Memory of the King his Brother, prevented him, from giving the Queen his Siſter-in-law any Trouble. When ſhe was dead, the Council had not the ſame regard for her ſecond Husband. They thought it their Duty to puniſh him for his raſhneſs, in daring to eſpouſe the King's Mother, without the Conſent of thoſe who governed the Kingdom, and ordered him to be ſent to the *Tower*. Some time after, *Tudor* made his Eſcape, but was taken, and put under cloſer Confinement. Some ſay, he found means to eſcape a ſecond time, but being retaken, loſt his Head. Others affirm, he was not beheaded till 1460, upon being taken in Battle, fighting for the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. I don't know, whether it be certain, that *Tudor* was put to Death, but it may be affirmed, that thoſe who ſay, it was in 1460, were guilty of an Error, by taking *Owen Tudor*, his third Son (7), for *Owen Tudor* the Father.

Act. Pub. X. p 685. Tudor *is ſent to the Tower after the Queen's Death.* Ib. p. 686, 709. Hall.

Tudor had by Queen *Catherine* three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jaſper*, and *Owen*. The eldeſt was created Earl of *Richmond* (8) by *Henry* VI, his Half-Brother, who gave him to Wife, *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*. From this Marriage ſprung *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the Throne

Tudor's *Iſſue by Queen* Catherine. Sandford. Hall.

(1) Eight thouſand Men. *Hall.* p. 131.

(2) The Garriſon whereof had made Incurſions into ſeveral Parts of *Flanders*, particularly about *Boulogne* and *Gravelines*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 127.

(3) *Hall* ſays, it was *July* 27, which is moſt probable, fol. 133. For the Siege was begun in *June*. See *Monſtrelet*, fol, 129, &c. The Duke of *Gloceſter* did not come till after the Siege was raiſed. *Ibid.* fol. 134.

(4) It was only Hulks loaded with great ſquare Stones, joined together with Lead, &c. to be thrown into the Harbour, in order to render it unfit for uſe, and hinder the *Engliſh* Shipping from coming near to relieve the Town. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 132.

(5) *Joan* of *Navarre*, Relict of King *Henry* IV, died at *Havering* in *Eſſex*, *July* 10. 1437, and was interred by her Husband in *Canterbury* Cathedral, where her Effigies is ſtill to be ſeen. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 270. *Hall*, fol. 134.

(6) Queen *Catherine* died *Jan.* 3. 1437, in the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*; and on the 18th of *February* next following, her Body was brought to St. *Catherine*'s by the *Tower*, from thence to St. *Paul*'s, and ſo to *Weſtminſter Abbey*, where it was interred; but her Corps being taken up in the Reign of *Henry* VII, when he laid the Foundation of his new Chapel there, ſhe was never ſince buried; but remaineth ſtill above Ground, in a Coffin of Boards, near the Sepulchre of *Henry* V, her firſt Husband. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 285. *Stow's Ann.* p. 376.

(7) It could not be his third Son, for he was a Monk of *Weſtminſter* Abbey. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 292.

(8) *Edmund* of *Hadham* was created Earl of *Richmond*, 31 *Henry* VI, *Novemb.* 23, at *Reading*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 237.

of

1437. of *England*, by the Name of *Henry* VII; all the Male-Heirs of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* being extinct. *Jaſper* the ſecond Son was made Earl of *Pembroke* (1). *Owen* the youngeſt, loſt his Head on the Scaffold in 1460.

Second Marriage of the Dutcheſs of Bedford. Act. Pub. X. p. 678. Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. X. p. 633. p. 677.

Jaquelina of *Luxemburg*, Widow of the Duke of *Bedford*, followed the Example of Queen *Catherine*. After the Death of the Prince her Husband, ſhe married Sir *Richard Woodville*, who was only a Knight, and much her inferior. This Match was almoſt as unſuitable as Queen *Catherine's*. Beſides, it was made not only without the King's Licenſe, but alſo contrary to *Jaquelina's* expreſs Oath, not to marry without his Permiſſion. So, both the Bride and Bridegroom, would have been liable to the rigour of the Law, had not the King been pleaſed to forgive them (2).

1437. *Death of the King of Scotland.* Buchanan. Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. X. p. 679.

On the 19th of *February*, *James* I, of *Scotland*, was murdered in his Bed, by Aſſaſſins ſuborned by the Earl of *Athol* (3) his Uncle. *James* II, his Son, ſeven Years old, ſucceeded him, under the Guardianſhip of *Joan* of *Somerſet* his Mother, who was herſelf wounded, by endeavouring to ſave the King her Husband. It is time now to return to what paſſed in *France*.

The Affairs of the Engliſh in France begin to have a better Face.

After the Arrival of the Duke of *York* from *England*, the Affairs of the *Engliſh* began to be upon a better foot. King *Charles*, ever a Slave to his Pleaſures, had no conſiderable Body of Troops in the Field; and the Revolt of the *Flemings*, hindered the Duke of *Burgundy* from ſending him any Aſſiſtance. It is true, the Towns that had voluntarily ſurrendered to him, had ſtrengthned his Party conſiderably, but withal, his Army was much weakened, on account of the Garriſons he was obliged to keep there. As Matters then ſtood in *France*, both Kings had almoſt equal Reaſon to fear the Diſloyalty of their Adherents; who, for the moſt part, were attached rather to the Fortune of him they ſerved, than to his Perſon, or the Juſtice of his Cauſe. Thus, the Preſervation of the Towns they were poſſeſſed of, entirely depended upon the Strength of the Garriſons.

Talbot *takes* Pontoiſe. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The firſt Months of this Year, the Cold was ſo exceſſive, that it ſeemed to leave the Generals on both Sides, no deſire to form any Enterprize, till it ſhould be abated. Mean while, *Talbot*, who found nothing impoſſible, reaped a conſiderable Advantage from the Security of the *French*, cauſed by the Sharpneſs of the Seaſon. On *Shrove-Tueſday* at Night, he ſcaled *Pontoiſe*, by help of the Ditches being frozen (4), and carried it, whilſt the Garriſon and Townſmen were wholly intent upon their Diverſions. The taking of this important Place, was a great Blow to King *Charles*. Eſpecially, it very much annoyed the *Pariſians*, who were expoſed to the continual Incurſions of the new *Engliſh* Garriſon, to the very Gates of *Paris*.

Monſtrelet.

The *French* made themſelves ſome amends for this Loſs, by the Acquiſition of *Dreux* and *Chevreuſe*, ſold them by the Governors.

The Duke of Burgundy reaſks King Charles.

The Superiority the *Engliſh* had recovered in *France*, made the Duke of *Burgundy* apprehenſive of ſome fatal Revolution. He was ſenſible that, without his Aid, King *Charles* could never end the War; and as he had openly declared againſt the *Engliſh*, it was his Intereſt that they ſhould be entirely expelled the Kingdom. Mean time, it grieved him to act alone for the Benefit of a Prince, whoſe Indolence kept him from all the Enterprizes, where he ought to have been the chief Actor. The Duke, deſigning therefore to rouze him out of this Lethargy, repreſented to him, that his Honour and Intereſt called upon him to aſſemble all his Forces, put himſelf at their Head, and approach *Paris*, in order to drive his Enemies out of the Heart of the Kingdom. At the ſame time, he offered to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy*, to favour his Undertakings.

Charles *heads his Army.* Monſtrelet.

Never was Prince leſs inclined to War than *Charles* VII, and yet never did King of *France* make greater Conqueſts than he, ſince he may be ſaid to conquer his whole Kingdom. But it was chiefly by means of his Generals, who, for the moſt part, were Men of eminent Merit. The Duke of *Burgundy's* Remonſtrances and Offers having raiſed him from his Sloth, he drew all his Forces together, to approach *Paris*, where he was much wanted. By the Way he attacked *Montereau-Faut-Yonne* (5), whilſt the the Duke of *Burgundy* beſieged *Crotoy*, a ſtrong Place in *Picardy*.

It was about the end of *Auguſt* (6), when the Duke of *Burgundy* inveſted *Crotoy* with a ſtrong Army (7), whilſt four *French* Ships blocked up the Place by Sea. The Duke of *York* being recalled, by the Intrigues of the Earl of *Somerſet* his Enemy, was about to depart, and only waited for the Arrival of the Earl of *Warwick*, who was to ſucceed him in the Regency. For this cauſe, not being able to take upon him to relieve *Crotoy* in Perſon, he commiſſioned the brave *Talbot* for that purpoſe (8), whoſe Name alone was ſufficient to ſtrike Terror into the Enemies of the *Engliſh*. *Talbot*, at the head of five thouſand Men, boldly advanced towards *Crotoy*, in order to relieve it, though the River *Somme* parted him from the Duke of *Burgundy's* Camp round the Town, which was on the other Side. When the Duke was informed of his March, he left part of his Troops at the Siege, and with the reſt poſted himſelf on the River-ſide, to oppoſe his Paſſage. The Hatred conceived by the *Engliſh* againſt this Prince, was ſo violent, that they thought nothing impracticable, when an Opportunity offered to be revenged. *Talbot*, improving this Diſpoſition, ruſhed firſt into the River, Sword in hand, and by his Intrepidity inſpired his Troops with ſuch Courage, that they inſtantly followed him. The more bold, or rather raſh this Action was, the more it aſtoniſhed the *Burgundians*, who imagining they had to deal with Devils rather than Men, took to Flight, without expecting their Enemies. Their Terror infecting thoſe, that were left at the Siege, the whole Army ran away; and it was not in the Duke of *Burgundy's* Power to rally them. At the ſame time, the Duke of *York* appeared with ſeven Men of War in Sight of four *French* Ships, and chaced them ſo briskly, that it was with great Difficulty they eſcaped to St. *Valery*. *Talbot* entered the Town in Triumph, and after levelling the Trenches of the Beſiegers, marched back to *Normandy*. In his Return he conquered five or ſix ſmall Places in *Picardy*, and retaking once more *Tancarville* in *Normandy*, entered *Roan* covered with Glory.

1437. *Crotoy inveſted by the Duke of* Burgundy. Act. Pub. X. p. 674. Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

Talbot *goes to relieve it.*

A bold Action of that General. Hall.

The Siege is raiſed.

Succeſs of the Siege of Montereau. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Succeſs of the Siege of *Montereau* was not ſo favorable to the *Engliſh*; nevertheleſs it was not inglorious. *Thomas Gerard* Governor of that poor Place, long defended it, in ſpite of the vigorous Efforts of the Beſiegers, though he had but four hundred Men. Hitherto King *Charles* was not very eminent for his Valour, but at this Siege he performed ſuch Exploits, as began to breed a higher Idea of his Courage. After a pretty long Siege, he carried the Town by Storm, having been himſelf one of the firſt to mount the Breach, and fight hand to hand with thoſe that defended it. Doubtleſs he had been told, that it was neceſſary to procure the Eſteem of his Subjects, by ſome extraordinary Action. The Intrepidity he ſhewed on this occaſion, turned greatly to his Advantage. From thenceforward, his Friends as well as Enemies, had very different Thoughts of him from what they had before. Mean while, the Garriſon retiring into the Caſtle, a ſecond Siege was to be formed. *Charles* ſatisfied with the Glory acquired in the firſt, and perhaps diſcouraged with the Fatigues he had indured, left the Management of this to the Dauphin his Son. *Gerard*, who was no leſs brave than experienced, held out fifteen Days longer, and then was forced to capitulate. When he came before the Dauphin, he very politely told him, that againſt any other but him, he ſhould have been able to make a longer Defence. This Compliment was well received by the young Prince, who was pleaſed to ſee himſelf ſet in ſome Meaſure above the King his Father. But *Charles*, who was told of it, ſeemed extremely mortified. It is ſaid, he began from thenceforward to entertain a Jealouſy of the Prince his Son, which proved very fatal to him afterwards.

The Duke of Orleans *is appointed Mediator between the two Kings.* Monſtrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. X. p. 655, 663, 664, 665, 679.

Whilſt the War continued in *France*, the Duke of *Orleans*, Priſoner in *England*, was thinking of means to obtain his Liberty. Nothing but a Peace between the two Kings could poſſibly procure it. And therefore, no one was more concerned than he, to endeavour to ſet on foot a freſh Negotiation. For that purpoſe, he deſired leave to go and talk in Perſon, with the Duke of *Bretagne* at *Calais*, who was then thought to be the only Prince, that could be employed as Mediator. The Council, who were all inclined to Peace, would have readily granted his Deſire, but it was judged neceſſary to ſee firſt how *Charles* was diſpoſed. Beſides, the Duke of *Gloceſter* was

(1) *Jaſper* of *Hatfield* was created at the ſame time Earl of *Pembroke*, and afterwards, 1 *Henry* VII, *October* 27, Duke of *Bedford*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 241.

(2) He gave a thouſand Pounds Fine for that and the Livery of her Dowry. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 619. He was created Earl of *Rivers*, 26 *Hen.* VI, *May* 29. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 230.

(3) *Walter Stuart.*

(4) And by cauſing his People to be cloathed in White; by which means they were not diſcovered, the Ground being then covered with Snow. *Hall* relates this as done by *John* Lord *Clifford*, fol. 138.

(5) With about eight thouſand ſix hundred Men; whereas the Garriſon conſiſted at moſt but of four hundred Men: However, they made ſhift to hold out ſix Weeks. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 141.

(6) About *October*, ſays *Monſtrelet*, fol. 144.

(7) Above ten thouſand Men. *Hall*, fol. 136.

(8) Together with the Lord *Faucombridge*, Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, Sir *John Montgomery*, *Thomas Chaundos*, *David Halle*, &c. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 145. *Hall*, fol. 136.

1437. of opinion, that a Peace was not to be thought of, till it could be made with advantage.

The Cardinal gains ground upon the Duke of Gloceſter.

Mean while, as the King advanced in Age, the credit of the Duke his Uncle ſenſibly leſſened, and That of the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* daily increaſed. The Cardinal had a great advantage upon his Adverſary, in that his Riches enabled him frequently to lend the King Money. The Kingdom was ſo exhauſted, that Aids of that kind were conſidered as the greateſt Service to the State. He artfully improved the King's diſpoſition towards him, to prevent any freſh Attacks from the Duke of *Gloceſter*. By Letters under the Great Seal, the King granted him a general pardon for all offences whatever, from the beginning of the World to the 26th of *June* 1437 (1). By this means he diſarmed his Enemy of all pretence to attack him.

Act. Pub. X. p. 670.

1438. *Plague and Famine in England and France.* Hall. Monſtrelet.

The year 1438, abounded with few remarkable Events. A terrible Famine, which raged at the ſame time in *France* and *England*, and was followed by a Plague, prevented the Generals, on both ſides, from forming any great projects. Attempts there were however, ſome of which were unſucceſsful, and others inconſiderable. I ſhall therefore take notice of the moſt remarkable only. *Surienne*, Governor of *Montargis* for the *Engliſh*, finding himſelf ſurrounded with the Enemy's Towns, and receiving no aſſiſtance from *England*, ſurrendered that Place to the *French*, for ten thouſand Salutes of Gold (2). In the preſent poſture of the affairs of the *Engliſh*, *Montargis* was of little importance, ſince they could not poſſibly carry the War from that quarter. Shortly after, *Edmund* Earl of *Mortagne* (3), Brother of the Earl of *Somerſet*, leading ſome Troops from *England* (4), and joining *Talbot*, they made ſome inconſiderable Conqueſts in *Normandy*.

Hall.

The Duke of Burgundy makes another attempt upon Calais. Monſtrelet.

The diſgrace received by the Duke of *Burgundy* before *Calais*, grieving him extremely, he wanted to repair it by taking that Place. But, as it was difficult to accompliſh this deſign by a Siege in form, he took another method. He had been told, that by digging through a certain Bank, the Town would be infallibly overflowed; and that lying within diſtance, with a good Body of Troops, it would be eaſy to enter the Place, amidſt the Conſternation of the Garriſon and Inhabitants. The project was put in execution; but the Sea being lower than the Town, all the Water ran out. The Duke being diſappointed, reſolved to attempt the Siege of *Guiſnes*; but the Earl of *Huntington* (5), who came very ſeaſonably from *England* with a ſupply of Troops, conſtrained him to retire. The troubles in *Flanders*, which were ſoon after rekindled, found him ſo much employment for ſome years, that he had no leiſure to form any new deſigns againſt the *Engliſh*.

Act. Pub. X. p. 686. *He miſſes his aim.*

Truce renewed with Scotland. Act. Pub. X. p. 679, 684, 688.

The Dauphin's Marriage raiſed ſuch a Jealouſy in the *Engliſh*, that, after ſeveral inſults on both ſides, *England* and *Scotland* came at length to an open Rupture. Mean while, the Minority of *James* II, and the favorable diſpoſition of the Queen-Mother to the *Engliſh* her Country-men, procured a nine years Truce, from the 1ſt of *May* this year,

The Duke of Somerſet's Brother exchanged for the Earl of Eu. Monſtrelet.

John and *Thomas Beaufort*, Brothers of the Earl of *Somerſet*, having been long Priſoners in *France* (6), it had been often attempted, to exchange them for others of the *French*, but there was always ſome obſtacle in the way. By the agreement in 1430, with the Duke of *Bourbon*, that Prince had engaged, to procure their releaſe without Ranſom; but as that agreement was never executed, they ſtill remained Priſoners. I do not know what became of *Thomas*, who bore the Title of Earl of *Perth*, it may be he died during his Captivity. But this year, *John* was exchanged for the Earl of *Eu* of the Houſe of *Artois*, who had been Priſoner in *England*, ever ſince the Battle of *Azincourt*. He afterwards became Duke of *Somerſet*, upon the death of *Henry* his elder Brother. There was alſo a fourth Brother named *Edmund* who ſucceeded them, and of whom, I ſhall have much to ſay in the ſequel of this Reign (7).

Act. Pub. X. p. 664, 689, 697.

1439. *The Conſtable* Richemont *beſieges* Meaux, *and takes it by Storm.* Monſtrelet.

The Famine and Plague ceaſing in *England* and *France*, both Sides took Arms again. In *March* 1439, the Conſtable *Richemont* putting himſelf at the head of a numerous Army (8), laid Siege to *Meaux*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *France*, which had formerly held out ſeven months againſt *Henry* V. The Baſtard of *Han* (9), an Officer of diſtinguiſhed Valour, who was Governor, made ſo brave a defence, as aſtoniſhed the Conſtable. However, after a three Weeks Siege, the City was taken by ſtorm; but the Work was but half compleated, ſince the Garriſon (10) retired into the *Market*, (ſo that part of the City is called which is ſeparated from the other by the *Marne*.) The *Engliſh* breaking down the Bridge of Communication, the Conſtable was forced to begin, on the other Side of the River, a ſecond Siege much more difficult than the firſt. The ſame thing happened to *Henry* V, when he inveſted this Place. Mean time, the Conſtable having taken the Governor Priſoner in the aſſault (11), cut off his Head, becauſe he was a *Frenchman*. This is what King *Charles's* Generals had not yet ventured to practice, by reaſon of the great number of Priſoners in the hands of the *Engliſh*. But as ſoon as they found themſelves ſtrongeſt, they overlooked that conſideration, being no longer apprehenſive of Repriſals.

1439. *He continues the Siege of the Market.*

Talbot throws in ſuccours; Monſtrelet.

The Siege of the *Market* of *Meaux* growing daily more difficult, the Conſtable drew round his Camp Lines with redoubts to prevent all relief, and the King came himſelf to the Army, to animate the Troops by his preſence. Mean while, *Talbot*, who did not doubt, that the beſieged would make a long reſiſtance, was now prepared to relieve them. How difficult ſoever this undertaking appeared, he failed not to attempt it. The obſtacles which he foreſaw, ſerved only to animate him the more. With a good Body of choſen Troops, he boldly advanced towards the Beſiegers Lines, and aſſaulting and taking one of the Redoubts, which obſtructed his Paſſage, entered the Place with a Convoy. On the morrow, he ſallied out, whilſt the Beſiegers were ſtill diſmayed at the Action of the foregoing day, and went to prepare for a freſh Effort. But the Conſtable inraged at receiving ſuch a diſgrace from a handful of Men, preſſed the Place ſo vigorouſly, that the Garriſon were forced to capitulate, before the Succours could be ready.

but the Place is taken.

He raiſes the Siege of Avranche, Hall.

The Siege of *Avranche*, undertaken by the Conſtable after that of *Meaux*, did not prove ſo ſucceſsful. After being three Weeks before that Place, *Talbot*, with the Troops prepared for the relief of *Meaux*, attacked and forced the Lines of the Beſiegers, and ſupplied the Town with Proviſions.

and beſieges Harfleur. Monſtrelet. Stow.

After this Exploit, *Talbot* finding the *French* were diſmayed, and their Troops ſo weakened, that they could not withſtand him, appeared before *Harfleur*. As his Army was not ſtrong enough to form a Siege, he choſe to block up the Town. To that end, he ſo intrenched himſelf in an advantagious Poſt, that an Army of fifty thouſand Men was not capable of forcing him. Mean time, the Earl of *Somerſet* kept the Place blocked up by Sea. The Earl of *Eu*, lately arrived from *England*, where he had been long a Priſoner, approached to attack the Intrenchments of the *Engliſh*; but perceiving it impracticable, choſe to retire, after a faint attempt, wherein *Gaucour* was made Priſoner. At length, after a four months Blockade, *Talbot* became maſter of this important Place, the firſt Conqueſt of *Henry* V. After that, he cleared *Normandy* of the Garriſons, which the *French* ſtill kept in ſeveral Caſtles: So that nothing remained to them in that Province, but the Town of *Dieppe* only.

Hall. Stow.

Diſpoſition of the Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of *Burgundy* was concerned, that the affairs of the *Engliſh* began to be reſtored, and dreaded the conſequences. King *Charles* waged War very careleſsly, and could hardly be prevailed with to head his Army. Beſides, *France* was ſo ruined, that he could draw but few Succours from the Provinces he poſſeſſed. On the other hand, the War in *Flanders*, which wholly employed the Duke of *Burgundy*, afforded no hopes of any great aſſiſtance from thence. If the *Engliſh* had then exerted themſelves, probably, they would have recovered a great deal of ground. But, out of blindneſs, or inability, they made but faint efforts, contenting themſelves with ſending from time to time inconſiderable Supplies, which could not enable them to recover what they had loſt. Thus on both Sides, it was eaſily ſeen, that the War would be eternal, if it was to laſt till one of the two Kings had loſt, one after another, the Places he poſſeſſed. This

(1) He alſo diſcharged him from the payment of Tenths, and all other Sums granted by the Clergy; and gave him a yearly Penſion of forty Pounds. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 681.

(2) A piece of Money worth about twenty five Pence *Tournois*. See the Coin Note at the end of *Henry* V.

(3) See above, p. 558. Note (5).

(4) Four hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears. *Hall*, fol. 136. He ſays, they were led by *Henry*, Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Mortagne*. So ſays alſo *Sandford*, p. 298.

(5) With *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p 685.

(6) Ever ſince the battle of *Baugé*, where *Clarence* was killed.

(7) The Reader may correct the miſtakes in this Paragraph, by Note (8), p. 535, where he will find *John* was not Brother of, but himſelf, Earl of *Somerſet*, and had been ſo ever ſince the death of *Henry*, his elder Brother, 6 *Henry* V. *Edmund* was not fourth but third Son.

(8) Four thouſand Men at Arms. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 162.

(9) *Monſtrelet* calls him, *le Baſtard de Thian*, fol. 162.

(10) It conſiſted of about five hundred Men; the commanding Officers were, Sir *William Chamberlain*, Sir *John Ripplay*, &c. *Ibid.*

(11) It was *de Thian*, who was thus ſerved, at the taking of the Town, and not of the Market. See *Monſtrelet*, ibid.

1439. consideration so affected the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he resolved, either to procure a Peace, if possible, between the two Kings, or secure himself by a Neutrality. Such a design was to be managed with great prudence and caution, for fear both Parties should agree to his prejudice, or the *English* grow more reserved, if they knew his Intention.

They begin to talk of Peace. Monstrelet. Du Tillet. Act. Pub. X. p. 683, &c. 707, 708.

Whilst the Duke of *Burgundy* was possessed with these thoughts, the Pope exhorted the two Kings, by the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*, to put a stop to the effusion of Christian Blood shed in their Quarrel. At the same time, he writ to the Duke of *Bretagne*, desiring him to be Mediator of Peace. The Duke sending to both Kings, found them equally inclined to enter into Treaty, and the Duke of *Burgundy* received the proposal with Joy. The Duke of *Orleans* took this opportunity, to offer his Mediation to the King of *England*, jointly with the Duke of *Bretagne*; and to that end, renewed his instances for leave to confer with the Duke at *Calais*. This was granted him, though the Duke of *Gloucester* opposed it with all his power, because he plainly saw, that Prince could not be an impartial Mediator. But for some time past, the Duke of *Gloucester* had lost his interest in the Council, where it was even affected, upon all occasions, to proceed contrary to his opinion. Besides, the Counsellors were so desirous of Peace, that they forgot, or were willing to forget, that the false step taken in sending Ambassadors to *Arras*, was entirely owing to the vain hopes given the Duke of *Orleans*. So, the captive Prince was looked upon as a disinterested Mediator, though it was easy to perceive, he was entirely biassed in favour of King *Charles*. The Duke of *Burgundy* saw, with pleasure, the preparations for a Conference, which would either end in a Peace between the two Kings, or afford him a pretence, to conclude a separate Truce with *England*. The two Courts being thus disposed, Commissioners were appointed on both sides (1), to settle the preliminary Articles of the Congress. These Commissioners being met, judged, that in order to succeed in a negotiation of Peace, a Truce was absolutely necessary. Whereupon *Henry* impowered his to consent to it, but some obstacles occurred, which hindered the conclusion. What has been said concerning a Peace, was transacted in the foregoing year 1438. But I thought fit to defer speaking of it till now, that I might not interrupt the recital of what relates to this affair.

Act. Pub. X. p. 683, 709, 713.

The place of Congress appointed. p. 718. *The Duke of* Bretagne *and* Orleans *Mediators.* Ib. p. 720, 728, 730. ----- 732, 756, 763, 767. Monstrelet. Hall.

In the month of *January*, 1439, *Isabella* of *Portugal*, Duchess of *Burgundy*, and the Cardinal of *Winchester*, conferred together between *Calais* and *Graveling*. The result of their Conference was, that the two Kings should appoint a proper Place to treat of a Peace, with the mediation of the Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Orleans*, and should send their Plenipotentiaries thither. Pursuant to this agreement, the very Place where the Duchess and Cardinal were, was chosen, and Ambassadors were nominated on both sides (2). They were all chosen out of the Princes and greatest Lords of the two Kingdoms. But, before we proceed to the success of this Congress, it will not be amiss to see how the Council of *England* stood disposed, with regard to a Peace. Now this evidently appears in the Ambassadors instructions, extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. Hence we shall be able to judge, which of the two Parties is to be blamed for breaking off the Conference, and rectify several mistakes of the Historians.

Instructions given to the English *Ambassadors.* Act. Pub. X. p. 724.

I. In the first place, the Ambassadors were ordered to demand, that the King's adversary should leave him in peaceable possession of the whole Realm of *France*. They were to support this demand with several reasons mentioned in the instructions, but too long to be inserted here. Besides, the Reader knows very well, on what the pretensions of the Kings of *England* were founded.

II. If the *French* should expostulate against this demand, and think it unreasonable, the Ambassadors, after a previous Protestation, were to offer *Charles* the Provinces beyond the *Loire*, which were of the King's Demesn, but on condition of Homage.

III. If the Adversaries refused this offer, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, as a Clergyman, was to inlarge on the considerations proper to perswade the two Nations to Peace. These considerations being many and long, I shall only relate the substance of the three principal. The first was, that the War undertaken for the Title of King of *France*, claimed by each of the two Kings, had destroyed more Men than were, at that present, in both Kingdoms. The second was, that the two Princes ought seriously to consider, that God made not the People for the Sovereign, but the Sovereign for the People; that is, to govern them with Justice and Peace, to the end the Subjects may be the better able to serve him. The third was, that *France* had not always been governed by one single Monarch, but, before and after *Charlemain*, there were often two, sometimes three, nay, four Kings at the same time. 1439.

IV. This last consideration was in order to proceed, in the fourth place, to another offer, which the Ambassadors had power to propose; namely, that *Henry* would resign to *Charles* all the Provinces beyond the *Loire* in full Sovereignty. He expresly reserved however *Guienne*, *Poictou*, and whatever was possessed by his Ancestors in *France*, before the Crown of *England* devolved to them.

V. If this was rejected, the Ambassadors had Power, to offer from the King their Master, that he would be satisfied with what his Ancestors enjoyed in *France* by right of Inheritance, provided *Calais*, *Guisnes*, and the adjacent Marches were added; the whole in full Sovereignty, without any dependance upon the Crown of *France*, or any Person whatever but God alone.

VI. If the *French* insisted, that *Normandy* should be restored to *Charles*, in the state it was in before the Conquest thereof by *Henry* V, that is, notwithstanding the Grants of several Lordships to private Persons, as well by the late as the present King, rather than break off the Conference this Article might be allowed.

VII. If *Charles* were brought to be satisfied with this offer, provided *Henry* would quit the Title of King of *France*, in that case, the Instructions furnished the Plenipotentiaries with many reasons and arguments to be alledged against that condition. But in short, they had Orders to leave this matter to the Cardinal of *Winchester*, to whom the King had made known his Pleasure.

It is manifest the Council had resolved to submit to this, if the Peace could not otherwise be made. For if *Henry* had absolutely refused to quit the Title of King of *France*, there was no secret to be kept, and the Instructions would have contained an expres Order to reject the Proposal.

The VIIIth Article was concerning the King's Marriage with one of *Charles*'s Daughters.

IX. If the *French* rejected all these offers, and made any Proposals on their part, the Ambassadors, without accepting or refusing them, were to reply, that they had no instructions to treat of a Peace upon those Grounds, but would signify them to their Master.

X. Mean while, they were to propose, by the Duchess of *Burgundy* or the Duke of *Orleans*, a fifty years Truce, with a free Communication between the two Nations. They had likewise power to reduce the Truce to forty, thirty, or twenty years; and rather than fail, they might limit it from three years to eight, provided it was without Communication.

XI. In case the Truce was accepted, they were to represent, that for the better observance thereof, it would be proper to make an Exchange of some Places. To that end, they were ordered to offer *Meaux*, *Creil*, St. *Germain* in *Laye*, which were in the hands of the *English* when these Instructions were drawn, for *Dieppe*, *le Mont* St. *Michel*, and *Harfleur*, which *Talbot* had not yet taken.

XII. Lastly, the King willing to facilitate the Exchange of these Places, agreed to release the Duke of *Orleans*, for a Ransom of a hundred thousand Marks, and to abate fifty thousand, on account of the proposed Exchange.

These Instructions were drawn *May* the 21st, 1439. If we had likewise those of *Charles*'s Plenipotentiaries, perhaps we should find, the two Kings were not at so great a distance from one another, as it seemed in the Conference. But as, on these occasions, the chief care of the managers is to be upon their guard, for fear their secret Instructions should be discovered, it often happens, that the Negotiation is broke off, before there is occasion to show all their Concessions; so apprehensive are they of giving their Adversaries any advantage. This was really the case in the present Treaty. The *English* did not think proper, to go beyond the second Article of their Instructions, namely, that *Charles* should have the Provinces beyond the *Loire*, on condition of Homage to *Henry*. They expected, the *French* would give them room by their offers to make some further advances. For the same reason, the *French* kept to the Proposals made at the Congress of *Arras*, to wit, that their Master remaining sole King of *France*, Monstrelet. Hall.

(1) The *English* Commissioners were, the Abbot of *Fescamp*, *Thomas* Lord *Scales*, Sir *John Popham*, Sir *Andrew Ogart*, Sir *Richard Hartyngton*, *Ralph Russeley*, and *John Raynell*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 683. And these were appointed afterwards, *John* Archbishop of *York*, *Nicholas Bylleston*, *Stephen Wilton*, and *William Sprever*, Doctors of Law; *Robert Whityngham*, Treasurer of *Calais*; and *John Raynwell*. *Ibid.* p. 713.

(2) The *English* Ambassadors were, *John* Archbishop of *York*, *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Bishops of *Lisieux*, *Norwich*, and St. *David's*; *Humphrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, *Hereford*, *Stafford*, *Northampton*, and *Perche*; *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry* Lord *Bourchier*, the Abbot of *Fescamp*, *Walter* Lord *Hungerford*, *Nicholas Billeston* Dean of *Sarum*, Sir *John Stourton*, Sir *John Sutton*, Sir *John Popham*, *Robert Whityngham*, *Thomas Eskyngton*, *William Erard*, *Stephen Wilton*, *William Sprever*, and *John Rinell*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 728.

would

1439. would resign *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry*, on condition of Homage. They laid great stress upon this offer, and on *Charles*'s condescension, in being pleased to stand to what he had offered at the Congress of *Arras*, though he had since made great Conquests, and was become master of *Paris*.

The Conference breaks up. Hall.

It was almost impossible, for a Peace to be concluded on the Terms proposed on both Sides. Each Prince offered to resign only what was out of his power, and by virtue of this pretended Cession, expected the other should divest himself of what he actually possessed. This was properly, to desire to gain with the dash of a Pen, what they could not hope to obtain, without many successful Sieges and Battles. So, after the Ambassadors of the two Kings had long tried to discover, how far their Adversaries Instructions allowed them to advance, they parted without coming to any conclusion. Each was desirous to wait, till room was given to make more reasonable Proposals.

The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* were the only gainers by this Congress. The first desired, at any rate, to ease his Subjects in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, who were great sufferers by the Interruption of their Commerce with *England*. To this end, he employed his Duchess, who being a near relation of *Henry*, was not suspected by the *English*. Under colour of doing the Office of a Mediatrix between the two Kings, she had frequent Conferences with the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and negotiated a trading Truce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. This appears in several Papers of *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. And indeed, this Truce was concluded presently after (1).

Act. Pub. X. p 713, 730, 736, 750, 761.

1440. *The Temper of Henry and his Court.*

But the Duke of *Orleans* reaped the most benefit from the late Congress, since it procured him his Liberty, after a twenty-five years Captivity. It has been frequently observed, that there were two Parties in the Court of *England*, namely, the Duke of *Gloucester*'s and the Cardinal of *Winchester*'s; and that the latter gradually prevailed, since the King began to take notice of his affairs. This Prince, now nineteen years old, had a very mean genius, and but little like his Father's. He easily suffered himself to be governed by those about him. Instead of having the Presumption very common to young Princes, he was ever distrustful of himself, and chose rather to follow the Counsels of others, than his own. With this weakness, he had Principles of Honour, Virtue and Religion, which indeed made him wish, he could always act justly, but often served for foundation and pretence to his Counsellors, to draw him into many Injustices. As he wanted penetration, he was deceived with appearances. Of this his Ministers knew how to take advantage, assured as they were of his incapacity to discern their self-interested Counsels. During his youth, he had contracted a habit of blindly following the suggestions of the Duke of *Gloucester* his Uncle, who governed in his Name. But when he was of a more advanced Age, the Cardinal of *Winchester* and his Party insinuated to him, that his Uncle intended to keep him always in Guardianship, and had designs destructive of his quiet. These discourses frequently repeated, produced at length the effect the Duke's Enemies expected. By degrees, the King had such an aversion for his Uncle, that he would no longer regard him. It was made a sort of rule to mortify him upon all occasions. His moving any thing in Council was sufficient to have it strongly opposed, and the King generally countenanced the contrary Party to the Duke, out of fear of giving him room to execute the pretended design of keeping him in Subjection. Such for some time had been the disposition of the King and Court.

The Duke of Gloucester is against releasing the Duke of Orleans,

The Duke of *Gloucester* had always opposed the Duke of *Orleans*'s release. The late King his Brother's Will, was to him an inviolable Law. Besides, he was perswaded, the giving *Orleans* his Liberty, would only increase the number of the Enemies of *England*. But his opposition was of no great weight; it rather served to induce his Enemies to favour the Duke of *Orleans*, had there been no other reason. We have seen what this Prince offered before the Congress of *Arras*. The Duke of *Bedford*, and the Council, had accepted his offers, which seemed very advantagious, because their aim had not yet been discovered. After the Treaty of *Arras*, he perceived it was no proper time to sollicite his Liberty. But when he saw that they begun to talk of a Peace, he renewed his Instances, and offered to become joint Mediator with the Duke of *Bretagne*. He found in the Council the same favour as before, and in spite of the Duke of *Gloucester*'s opposition, it was resolved to accept of his Mediation, and to treat with him afterwards concerning his Liberty. He had leave therefore to repair to the Congress, where he appeared very zealous to procure a Peace between the two Kings, and, by help of the Duchess of *Burgundy*, found means to be reconciled with the Duke her Husband. The Cardinal being returned into *England*, spoke very much to his advantage, and represented to the Council, that since it was not his fault, that the Peace was not concluded, it was unreasonable he should suffer by the Rupture. His Friends urged, on this occasion, the two reasons already made use of, to colour the favour that was intended him. The first was, that the Dissention between the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* might rekindle, and turn very much to the advantage of the *English*. The second, that the captive Prince might pay a large Ransom, which would help to carry on the War. In a word, they intimated, that before his release, he would be obliged to take the Oath to the King, and thereby hindered from assisting King *Charles*. So, in spite of whatever the Duke of *Gloucester* could say, it was resolved to treat with him for his Liberty.

1440. *who is chosen one of the Mediators of a Peace.* Act. Pub. X. p. 729.

The Duke of Gloucester protests against the Resolution of the Council.

This resolution being taken, the Duke of *Gloucester* thought himself bound, both in duty, and for his own security, to make a formal Protestation, to show the Publick, that he had opposed it to the utmost of his power. The Protestation contained the reasons, why he believed the Council's resolution might be very prejudicial to the King and State. Though it be somewhat long, it will be necessary to insert the substance, because it may be of service in clearing several Facts. Besides, it shows the disposition of the Members of the Council, who, to mortify the Duke, scrupled not to sacrifice the King's interest to their Passion. This knowledge is the more requisite, as it will be seen in the sequel, that, to the fatal enmity between the Duke and the Cardinal, is to be ascribed the unfortunate success of the War in *France*. The Sum of the Duke's Protestation was as follows:

The Protestation. Ib. p. 764.

" My first reason for opposing the Duke of *Orleans*'s " release, is taken from the known incapacity of King " *Charles*, and the Dauphin his Son. Therefore, con- " sidering the great subtlety, and cautelous disposition of " the Duke of *Orleans*, with his extensive knowledge, " it is to be presumed, the States of *France* will entrust " him with the Administration of the affairs of the " Kingdom. Now, nothing can happen more preju- " dicial to *England*, since that Prince is perfectly ac- " quainted with the strong and weak side of the King- " dom, during a twenty-five years residence.

" II. The dissention between King *Charles* and the " Dauphin his Son being no secret, it ought to be feared, " as it is but too probable, that the Duke of *Orleans*, " when in *France*, will be a proper Mediator, to pro- " cure their Reconciliation.

" III. *Normandy* being the Province which contributes " most towards carrying on the War, it is to be feared, " the *Normans*, seeing the Succours, so often promised " both by word of mouth and Letter, not sent, and, " on the other hand, the Duke of *Orleans* released, will " imagine they are designed to be abandoned, as well as " the rest of the Conquests. As to its being said, that " twenty thousand Marks may be taken out of the Duke " of *Orleans*'s Ransom, for the defence of that Province, " I leave it be considered, whether that Sum is suffi- " cient for that purpose.

" IV. The King and Council are very sensible, the " Duke of *Orleans* acknowledges King *Charles* for his " Sovereign. Let it be considered then, whether having " taken two opposite Oaths, the one to a Prince whom " he looks upon as a Foreigner, the other to him whom " he believes to be his lawful King, he will choose to " keep the first rather than the last. This is the more " improbable, as he will always consider the first as ex- " torted, whilst he was actually a Prisoner, and moreover " cannot stand to this Ingagement, without forfeiting his " Possessions in *France*.

" V. It would be proper to see what Security may be " taken, in case he breaks his Oath, under colour of o- " beying the absolute Command of his Sovereign.

" VI. The Earl of *Huntington*, who commands in " *Guienne*, will probably be obliged to quit his Govern-

(1) This year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, on *November* 12, which granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth and a half of a Fifteenth, to be levied on the Laity; and the Subsidy of thirty three Shillings and Four pence from Denizens, and forty six Shillings and Eight-pence from Aliens, for every Sack of Wool; as also Tunnage and Poundage, for which Aliens were to pay seven Shillings and Eight-pence. The Commons also granted, That all Aliens within the Realm, who were not Denizens, should pay to the King Sixteen-pence, if they were Housholders; and if not, then but Six-pence. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 621, 622. In this Parliament it was enacted, That no Person should be made a Justice of Peace, in any County, who had not Lands and Tenements, to the value of twenty Pounds; but this not to extend to Cities, Towns, or Burroughs. The ground assigned for this Statute, is, that some Persons had been of late appointed Justices, who, on account of their small Behaviour, could not govern or rule the People; and others, by reason of their necessity, committed great Extortions and Oppressions ----It was also enacted, That no Captain should abate of his Soldiers Wages, upon pain of twenty Pounds for every Spear, and ten Pounds for a Bow, to be paid to the King. *Statutes* 18 *Henry* VI. c. 11, 18.

1440. " ment, becauſe the King performs not what was pro-
" miſed him by Agreement. That Province being thus
" abandoned, and the Duke of *Orleans* in Alliance with
" the Houſes of *Albret* and *Armagnac*, it ſhould at leaſt
" be conſidered, how that ancient Inheritance of the King
" will be defended, in caſe the Duke of *Orleans* joins
" Forces with thoſe two Houſes.

" VII. The King has no Ally in all *Europe*, but only
" the King of *Portugal*. Now if he will make Alliances
" with other Princes, how ſhall they be brought to
" hearken to his Propoſals, when they ſhall come to
" know, that he had no other way to preſerve his Fa-
" ther's Conqueſts, but by ſetting at Liberty one of his
" mortal Enemies?

" VIII. The late Reconciliation between the Dukes of
" *Orleans* and *Burgundy* at *Calais*, ought to create a
" dread, of their joining Forces to drive the *Engliſh* out of
" *France*, (as they certainly may do, unleſs God inter-
" poſes,) inſtead of expecting any Advantage by their
" Diſſention. If any ſtreſs is laid upon the Oath to be
" taken by the Duke of *Orleans*, before he leaves *Eng-*
" *land*, let a Man examine by the Civil Laws, how far
" the Oath of a Priſoner is to be depended upon.

" IX. If any of the Princes or Lords, who ſerve the
" King in *France*, chance to fall into the Enemies
" hands, as it may eaſily happen, four or five might be
" exchanged for the Duke of *Orleans* alone. But in caſe
" that Prince is releaſed, the *Engliſh* Princes and Lords
" cannot fight for the King, without being liable to utter
" ruin.

" X. If, as it is likely, the releaſe of the Duke of
" *Orleans* occaſions the loſs of *Normandy*, and the reſt
" of the King's Dominions in *France*, what will the
" King's Counſellors be able to ſay for themſelves?
" What Murmurings will there be among the People,
" when it ſhall be conſidered, that theſe Conqueſts, pur-
" chaſed with the Lives of the late King, the Duke of
" *Clarence*, the Duke of *Bedford*, and an infinite Num-
" ber of Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, ſhall have been
" all loſt by this fatal Counſel?

" XI. Laſtly, every one knows, the late King,
" wiſely weighing the danger which would ariſe from
" the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans*, forbid upon
" his Death-bed, to releaſe that Prince till a Peace was
" concluded.

" And, as poſſibly, after my death, I may be accuſed
" of conſenting to this reſolution, I humbly intreat the
" King, that this my Proteſtation may be recorded, and
" an authentick Copy given me under the Great Seal, to
" ſerve for my Juſtification."

The Council perſiſts in their Reſolution. Act. Pub. X. p. 756, &c.

The Duke of *Gloceſter*'s requeſt was granted, but his Proteſtation did not hinder the Execution of the Council's Reſolution. The 2d of *July* the Agreement for the Duke of *Orleans*'s releaſe was ſigned by the King and the Duke, in two Originals, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Articles with the Duke of Orleans. Ib. p. 756, &c.

The Terms required of the Duke were much eaſier, than thoſe offered by himſelf before the Congreſs of *Arras*. He was not bound to acknowledge *Henry* for King of *France*, or to ſwear to him, much leſs to give him any Towns in Hoſtage, as he had formerly offered. Only his Word and Oath were taken for the payment of his Ranſom, ſet at a hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns. It is true, by this Agreement he ingaged to give Obligations from the Dauphin, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and ſome others, for the Sum of ſixty thouſand Crowns, which he was not to pay till after his Liberty. Moreover, he promiſed to procure the King's Letters Patents from King *Charles*, authoriſing the Agreement, and promiſing not to hinder the Execution, and to account the Duke of *Orleans* baſe and infamous, if he violated the Articles. Finally, the Duke proteſting, that as for the half of his Ranſom, which he was to pay before he left *England*, it was impoſſible for him to perform his Engagement, without going to *France*, leave was granted him for a year.

He is ſet at Liberty. Monſtrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. X. p. 812-829.

The Council conſiſted then of Perſons who blindly followed their Paſſion, without regarding the Intereſts of the King and State. Of this we ſhall quickly ſee very evident Proofs. The only thing that gave them any uneaſineſs, was, that the enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans*, ſeemed directly contrary to the late King's Will. For, that Monarch had expreſsly enjoined by his laſt Will and Teſtament, that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould be kept Priſoner, till the King his Son was of Age, unleſs his Liberty ſhould be a means to procure a Peace; but they found an Expedient to ſcreen themſelves from the murmurs of the People. The King declared by a publick Act, that in releaſing the Duke of *Orleans*, he meant not to contradict his Father's Will, but only to attain to a ſpeedier Concluſion of a Peace. To ſhow more plainly, p. 779. this was the King's Intention, the Duke was bound by freſh Articles, to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours, to procure a Peace between the two Kings; and in caſe he ſucceeded, his Ranſom was to be forgiven, and what he ſhould have paid, to be reſtored. But if, on the contrary, his Endeavours proved fruitleſs, he was to return into *England*, and remain a Priſoner as before, but the Money advanced towards his Ranſom, to be repaid. It is evident, theſe new Articles were only to throw duſt in the People's Eyes, ſince they were directly contrary to the others, and a Condition was added, not in the Duke's Power. In the next place, this appears ſtill plainer, in that, the Peace not being concluded, the Duke did not return into *England*, nor was ever called upon. But he punctually performed the firſt Agreement.

Remarks upon a miſtake of the French *Hiſtorians.* Act. Pub. X. p. 787. Ib. p. 791.

All the *French* Authors have done the Duke of *Burgundy* the Honour to ſay, that he lent the Duke of *Orleans* Money to pay his Ranſom; but we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that all he did in favour of his newly reconciled Enemy, amounted to no more than this. He conſented, that his Ducheſs ſhould promiſe in her own Name, to ſend the King the Obligation for thirty thouſand Crowns, which the Dauphin was to give, or, in caſe of refuſal, to become reſponſible. But as the Dauphin made p. 794. no ſcruple to give his Obligation, the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*'s Promiſe became of no uſe. It is true, the Duke of *Burgundy* magnificently received the Duke of *Orleans* at *Graveling* where they confirmed their Reconciliation. I have dwelt the longer upon the Duke of *Orleans*'s releaſe, becauſe it diſcovers the diſpoſition of the Court and Council, on which depend all the future Events of this Reign. Let us return now to the general Affairs. Monſtrelet.

Conventions between Henry and the Duke of Bretagne.

The Duke of *Bretagne* pretended all along to obſerve a Neutrality, though the Succours brought by the Conſtable his Brother, from time to time, to King *Charles*, could neither be levied in his Country, nor led from thence without his leave or connivance. If the *Engliſh* had been in better Circumſtances, they would doubtleſs have ſhewn their Reſentment; but in the preſent ſituation of their Affairs, they thought it no ſmall Advantage, that the Duke of *Bretagne* did not openly declare for their Enemies. Mean while, as the *Engliſh* and the *Bretons* annoyed one another at Sea, contrary to the Intereſt of both Nations, the King and the Duke thought fit to conclude a Treaty, mutually promiſing, not to ſuffer any naval Armaments to be made in their Ports, to the detriment of each other's Subjects. Act. Pub. X. p. 719, 789, 803.

Death of the Earl of Warwick. p. 786. *Succeeded by the Duke of* York. Hall.

Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of *Warwick*, and Regent of *France*, dying in the beginning of the Summer, the Duke of *York* was ſent thither again in that quality (1), though he had been recalled, to give place to the Earl of *Warwick* (2).

Quarrels in Charles's *Court.* P. Daniel. J. Chartier. Monſtrelet.

If the *Engliſh* had been ſtrong enough in *France* to improve the preſent opportunity, never had a fairer offered to repair their paſt Loſſes. The Dauphin, and all the Princes of the Blood, except the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Eu*, were joined in a League againſt the King. This League tended to no leſs than to dethrone him, and ſet the Crown on the head of the Prince his Son. But happily for him, the Confederates had engaged *La Trimouille* in their Party, and thereby entirely loſt the Conſtable. As he mortally hated that Lord, his hatred extended to the whole Party, and induced him to bring the King a powerful Aid, which enabled him to give Law to the Princes. This Civil War was called *La Praguerie*, but for what reaſon I know not (3). The League was ſo ill managed on the part of the Confederates, that the King at length compelled them to implore his Mercy. Mean time, the *Engliſh*, who carried on the War very faintly, made ſome Incurſions about *Paris*. But the Baſtard of *Orleans*, who after ſiding firſt with the Dauphin, was returned to the King, ſtopped their Progreſs, which was not very conſiderable, by reaſon of their weakneſs.

War of la Praguerie ends to the King's Advantage.

(1) His Patent bears date, *July* 2. this year. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 786.

(2) He died at *Roan* in *Normandy*, *April* 30. 1439, poſſeſſed of a vaſt Eſtate; the yearly value (as appears from the account of his Bailiffs in 12 *Henry* VI.) amounting to eight thouſand three hundred and ſix Marks, eleven Shillings and Eleven-pence Half-penny: At a time when Barley was but four Shillings and Two-pence a Quarter; Oats two Shillings and three Half-pence; Capons Three pence a-piece, and Hens three Half-pence, as appears from the accounts of his Houſhold Officers. He was buried firſt in the Collegiate Church of our Lady, at *Warwick*, by his noble Anceſtors; and afterwards removed into a magnificent Chapel, built by his Executors, according to the direction of his laſt Will: Wherein his Portraiture of Copper gilt, hooped over with Copper-Staves, is ſtill to be ſeen. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. 1. p. 246; and *Warwickſhire*, Vol. 1. p. 410. *Stow's Ann.* p. 378.

(3) *Comines* ſays, it was called *Praguerie*, or *Briguerie*; ſo that the name was probably derived from the word *Brigue*, ſignifying *Faction*. *P. Daniel*, Tom. 6. p. 166.

1440. Charles takes la Charité J. Chartier.

After *Charles* had put an end to this dangerous War, he approached *Paris*, and in his way became Maſter of *La Charité*, by bribing the Governor.

Act. Pub. X. p. 808, 810, 844, 847.

Mean while, the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* never ceaſed her Endeavours to renew the Conferences for a Peace. At length, after labouring the whole Year to accompliſh this Project, ſhe prevailed with the two Kings, to appoint Plenipotentiaries to meet at St. *Omer*. The Duke of *Orleans* was choſen to be one of the Mediators.

1441. *A new Congreſs about a Peace.* Ib. p. 827. XI. p. 13.

This new Congreſs had no better Succeſs than the former. The Ambaſſadors were now all at St. *Omer*; but the Earl of *Vendôme*, Head of the *French* Embaſſy, refuſed to treat with thoſe of *England*, on pretence of their inferior Quality. They were however Peers of the Realm, namely, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Fanhope* (1). In the Reign of *Henry* V, the *French* did not ſtand upon ſuch Punctilio's. They readily conferred with bare Doctors in Law, provided they were duly impowered. It is true, the Ambaſſadors for this Congreſs were not of ſo high a Character as the former. But as there was no likelihood, the *French* would be more moderate in their Demands, the Council did not think proper to put the King, or the Princes, or any of the moſt conſiderable Lords, to a needleſs Expence. However, *Charles* took occaſion from thence, to revoke the Powers given to his Ambaſſadors. Thus the Congreſs broke off without being ever opened. The *French* blamed the *Engliſh*, pretending the Court of *England* had deſignedly choſen Perſons of no Birth or Note, that they might not be treated with. The Truth is, both Parties generally aimed only at amuſing each other by theſe Conferences. They both gueſſed what their Adverſaries were to demand, and, as they were reſolved not to grant it, could expect no great Benefit from theſe Negotiations. They conſented to them however, as well to juſtify themſelves to the Publick, as to try to amuſe each other with the hopes of a Peace.

To no purpoſe.

Charles takes Creil. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt the Ambaſſadors were repairing to St. *Omer*, *Charles* was aſſembling an Army to make a powerful Effort, and take advantage of the Indolence of the *Engliſh*. As ſoon as he was ready, he ordered Admiral *de Coitivy* to inveſt *Creil upon Oyſe*, with a Detachment of the Army. The Conſtable joining him, with the reſt of his Troops, the Siege was regularly formed, and the King came about the end of *April*, to receive the Town by Capitulation (2).

He lays Siege to Pontoiſe. Monſtrelet.

This was only a Preparative to a more conſiderable Undertaking, namely, the Siege of *Pontoiſe*, which *Charles* formed, the beginning of *July* (3), with an Army of twelve thouſand Men. He had with him the Dauphin his Son, and all the Generals and Officers of Note in *France*. This Siege was at firſt carried on very vigorouſly, but the Beſiegers ſhowed no leſs Bravery. *Talbot*, whom the moſt difficult Enterprizes could not diſcourage, being commiſſioned by the Duke of *York* to introduce a Convoy into the Town, attacked one of the Enemy's Quarters (4), and forming it, ſent in his Convoy. This ſeaſonable relief inſpired the Garriſon with freſh Courage, who made ſo brave a Defence, that the Siege proceeded but ſlowly. Though the Beſiegers were exceeding watchful, having to deal with ſo experienced a Warrior as *Talbot*, they could not hinder him from throwing Succours into the Town, three ſeveral times. However, *Charles* obſtinately reſolved to continue the Siege, undertaken at the Inſtance of the *Pariſians*, who defrayed all the Charges. But at length, the Duke of *York*, receiving from *England* a Reinforcement (5), which increaſed his Army to twelve thouſand Men, approached the Town (6), and ſent a Herald to the King to offer him Battle. *Charles* anſwered, he ſhould ſee what was to be done, and meant not to regulate his Time, by that of his Enemies. He ſaw the *Engliſh* Army on the other Side the *Oyſe*, which they could paſs only by a Bridge, guarded by a Detachment of a thouſand Men. So, without any Apprehenſion of a ſudden Attack, he leiſurely continued the Siege. Mean while, the Duke of *York*, reſolving at any rate to relieve the Place, found means to paſs, in the Night, five or ſix hundred Men, in Boats of boiled Skins. This Detachment ſuddenly falling upon the Guard of the Bridge, and cutting them in pieces, opened a Paſſage for the Duke, who immediately came on the other Side with his whole Army. *Charles* was ſo aſtoniſhed at this unexpected Action, that he ſuddenly raiſed the Siege, and retired under the Canon of *Poiſſi*. The Duke of *York* followed him, and offered him Battle in vain. At laſt, after braving him for ſome time, and plundering before his Face, the Abby of *Poiſſi* (7), he retired, not thinking proper to attack him in that Poſt.

Talbot throws Succours into the Town.

The Duke of York raiſes the Siege. Monſtrelet. Stow.

1441.

The haſty Retreat of King *Charles*, before an Enemy much weaker than himſelf, was extremely injurious to his Reputation. All the *French* loudly murmured, but the *Pariſians* more than all the reſt. The King's beſt Friends were all diſmayed, and openly ſhewed their fear, that ſo general a Diſcontent would prove fatal to him. In ſhort, thoſe neareſt his Perſon, intimating to him, how he had expoſed his Reputation, by ſo inglorious an Action, he reſolved to retrieve his Credit, let what would be the Conſequence. So, when leaſt expected, he returned before *Pontoiſe* (8), and carried it by Storm (9). He ſo ſignalized himſelf in the Aſſault, that all the ill Impreſſions cauſed, by his former Conduct, to his Diſadvantage, were effaced. He was ſeen on the Breach, Sword in Hand, fighting with an undaunted Courage, and expoſing his Perſon like a common Soldier. By this vigorous Action, he plainly diſcovered, if he delighted not in War, it was not ſo much for want of Courage, as from a too great Attachment to his Pleaſures. Some time after, the Town of *Evreux* was taken from the *Engliſh*, by the help of a Fiſherman, who found means to introduce the *French*.

Charles ſuffers in his Reputation by it. Monſtrelet.

He returns before Pontoiſe, *and takes it by Storm.* Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

J. Chartier. Hall.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *France*, a very ſtrange Spectacle attracted the Eyes and Attention of the People of *England*. I have frequently obſerved, that the Duke of *Glocester*'s Credit ſenſibly declined, or rather, was entirely ſunk. Of this was ſeen a notable Proof in the Courſe of the preſent Year. This Prince was unblameable in his Conduct, with regard to the King. Whatever Spies were placed about him by his Enemies, they could diſcover nothing that might ſerve for a Pretence to the leaſt Charge againſt his Perſon. But at length, by narrowly obſerving what paſſed in his Family, they learnt, that his Ducheſs had frequent Conferences with [one Sir *Roger Bolinbroke*] a Prieſt, who was reckoned a *Necromancer*, and a certain Woman (10), who was counted a Witch. This was ſufficient to form a Charge of High-Treaſon againſt her. She was accuſed of making, with theſe two Perſons, the King's Image in Wax; and that, placing it before a gentle Fire, ſhe intended, the King's Strength ſhould waſte inſenſibly, as the Wax melted, and his Life be at an End, when the Image was all diſſolved. By this Accuſation, it was intended to ſhow, the Ducheſs's deſign was to deſtroy the King, that the Crown might fall to the Duke her Husband. At the ſame time, Suſpicions were inſtilled into the Duke himſelf. When the Parties accuſed were examined, the Prieſt denied all; but the Ducheſs confeſſed (11), ſhe had deſired the Woman to make her a Love-Potion for her Spouſe, who ſometimes went aſtray. Though this Confeſſion did not make her guilty of the Crime ſhe was accuſed of, the Duke's Enemies had taken ſuch meaſures, that the Prieſt was condemned to be hanged, and the Woman to be burnt. As for the Ducheſs, though ſhe would have been the moſt guilty, had the Thing been well proved; out of a pretended regard to the Duke, ſhe was only condemned to do publick Penance (12) in St. *Paul's* Church, and to be impriſoned for Life (13). This was a terrible Mortification to the firſt Prince of the Blood, who had been Protector of the Realm, and always ſhown an ardent Zeal for the King's Intereſt and Honour. But his Enemies were ſo powerful, that he was forced to be ſilent, for fear of giving them occaſion to fall directly upon his Perſon.

The Ducheſs of Glocester accuſed of Witchcraft and Treaſon. Stow. Hall.

She is condemned to do Penance, and to be impriſoned for Life. Act. Pub. X. p. 851. Stow.

New League againſt King Charles. P. Daniel. Monſtrelet.

Charles had ſcarce taken any Repoſe, after the Siege of *Pontoiſe*, before he ſaw himſelf extremely embaraſſed. All the Princes of his Houſe were in a freſh League againſt him, with the Duke of *Orleans* at their Head. This Prince was highly offended at the King's cold Reception, after a

(1) With Sir *Thomas Kyriell*, Deputy-Governor of *Calais*; Sir *Robert Roos*, *Stephen Wilton*, and *William Sprever*, Doctors of Law; and *Robert Whityngham*, Treaſurer of *Calais*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 827.

(2) Sir *William Chamberlain* was Governor of this Town. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 182.

(3) About the middle of *May*, ſays *Monſtrelet*, ibid.

(4) He had about four thouſand Men with him. *Idem.* fol. 183.

(5) In which were, *John de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*; *Henry* Lord *Bourchier*, Earl of *Eu*; Sir *James* of *Ormond*, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Richard Woodville*, &c. *Stow*, p. 378.

(6) About the middle of *July*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 184.

(7) And the Town. *Idem.* fol. 185.

(8) Twelve Days after his Departure from thence. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 185.

(9) Above five hundred of the *Engliſh* were ſlain, and four hundred taken Priſoners; whereas not above forty of the *French* were killed. *Idem.* fol. 186.

(10) *Margery Gurdemain* of *Eye*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*, on *Octob.* 27. *Thomas Southwell*, and Sir *John Hume* Prieſts, were accuſed likewiſe of being concerned with the Ducheſs. *Bolingbroke* was hanged and quartered. *Hall*, fol. 146.

(11) She was examined by *Henry Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *John Kemp* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Henry Beaufort* Biſhop of *Winchester*, *William Aſcoth* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and others, in St. *Stephen's* Chapel at *Weſtminſter*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 381.

(12) On three ſeveral Days. *Idem.* p. 382.

(13) Her Judges were the Earls of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, with ſome other Lords. She was kept Priſoner in *Cheſter* Caſtle, under the Cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Stanley*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 382. And afterwards removed to *Kenelworth*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 45.

1441. twenty five Years Captivity ſuffered for the Intereſt of *France*, and even during which he had done him very ſignal Services. Probably, this League would have entirely ruined the King's Affairs, if, by a fortunate Advice, he had not gained the Head by conſiderable Favours. The Duke of *Orleans*'s Deſection breaking all the Confederates Meaſures, they were forced to throw themſelves upon the King's Mercy. Thus ended the League, and thus end generally all Leagues of Subjects againſt their Sovereigns, when the Sovereigns find means to content the Leaders.

Tartas beſieged by the Engliſh. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier. Hall.

The Rebellion of the Princes was not the only thing that made King *Charles* uneaſy. His Honour as well as Intereſt called upon him to relieve *Tartas*, a Town of *Guienne* beſieged by the *Engliſh*. This Place belonged to the Houſe of *Albret*, which had long been ſerviceable to *France* by their Diverſions in *Guienne*. It therefore greatly concerned the King to ſuccour this Houſe, which was in danger of loſing their moſt conſiderable Place. Otherwiſe it was to be feared, all the Lords of *Guienne* of his Party, would leave him and turn to the King of *England*. Mean time, the League of the Princes having hindered him, from thinking ſooner of relieving *Tartas*, he began not his March to *Guienne* till *November*. The Town ſtill defended itſelf, and it was even *January* before the Garriſon capitulated, upon a Condition which afforded the King more than ſufficient time to prepare for their Relief. The Capitulation ran, that the Town ſhould be delivered to the Lords *Cognac* and *Saint Par*, for the *Engliſh*, if on the 24th of *June* next, there appeared not a *French* Army ſtrong enough to give Battle. But if it was relieved on the Day prefixed, it ſhould be reſtored to the Lord *d' Albret*.

The Town capitulates to ſurrender, if not relieved in ſix Months.

1442. Charles *advances towards* Guienne. Monſtrelet.

Charles having all the leiſure neceſſary to prepare, ſpent the Winter in *Poictou*, where he aſſembled a conſiderable Army, conſiſting of four hundred Lances, eight thouſand Croſs-Bow-Men, and as many Archers. All the Lords of the Kingdom repairing to him, he counted one hundred and ſixty Banners in his Army (1). Mean time *England* made no effort to defend *Guienne*, or give the Enemy a Diverſion elſewhere. The Council, ſince it was no longer influenced by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſeemed to be grown inconſiderate and thoughtleſs.

With the Forces aſſembled by *Charles* in *Poictou*, he humbled ſome tyrannical Lords of that Country, and from thence came to *Limoges*, where he made ſome Stay. After that, he paſſed ſome time at *Montauban*. There he loſt the brave *La Hire* or *Vignoles*, one of his beſt Generals. The Relief of *Tartas* was not the ſole Motive of his Journey. There was another, which touched him more nearly, and that was, to become Maſter of the Earldom of *Cominge*, which he had claimed by virtue of a Settlement in his favour. As this Affair has ſome relation to thoſe of *England*, it will be neceſſary to ſhow the Ground of his Pretenſions.

Death of La Hire. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

Charles's *Claim to the Earldom of* Cominge. P. Daniel.

Margaret, Heireſs of *Cominge*, had two Daughters by her firſt Husband *John* III, Earl of *Armagnac*, who died in 1391; and the two Daughters died likewiſe ſoon after. The Counteſs was married afterwards to *John d' Armagnac* Earl of *Fezenſaquet*. But by an Outrage unheard of in *France*, ſhe divorced her ſecond Husband, who died with Grief in 1404. Then ſhe eſpouſed *Matthew de Grailley* Brother of *John* Earl of *Foix*, and by him had a Daughter, but of ſo weak a Conſtitution, that *Matthew* her Father was afraid, the Death of the Mother and Daughter would deprive him of the Earldom of *Cominge*, of which he was in poſſeſſion. For this reaſon, he preſſed his Counteſs, who was much older than himſelf, to make a Will, and ſettle it upon him after their Daughter. But the Counteſs refuſed it. *Margaret*'s Obſtinacy occaſioned ſuch a Quarrel between her and her Husband, that he reſolved to diſpoſſeſs her, with the help of the Earl of *Armagnac*, who was very ready to join in the Project, on condition of going ſhares with him. Whereupon the Earl of *Armagnac* attacked, vanquiſhed, took the Counteſs Priſoner, and with her Husband's Conſent confined her in a Caſtle, where ſhe remained twenty two Years. This rigorous Uſage ſerved only to exaſperate the old Counteſs the more. At laſt in 1435 ſhe found means in her Confinement to make a Will, where ſhe nominated her Daughter *Jane* for her Heir, and after her ſettled the Earldom upon King *Charles* VII. *Jane* dying ſome time after, *Charles* heard of this Settlement, and as the Counteſs was ſtill living, formed a Deſign to free her from Impriſonment, and cauſe her to confirm her Will. After he had made ſome ſtay at *Montauban*, he came to *Toulouſe*, and ordered the Earls of *Armagnac* and *Cominge* to be ſummoned before the Parliament of that City. The two Earls made their Appearance, not daring to reſiſt a Prince ſo well armed, who was able to compel them. Beſides, ſince the Earl of *Armagnac*'s Anceſtors had voluntarily owned the Kings of *France* for their Sovereigns, there was no room to decline the Juriſdiction of their Parliaments. He was forced therefore to bring the old captive Counteſs, now fourſcore Years of Age, to *Toulouſe*, where the Parliament decreed the Settlement upon the King to be good and valid. Purſuant to this Decree, the King took poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Cominge*. But for the ſake of *Gaſton* Earl of *Foix*, who had ſucceeded his Father *John* in 1437, he was pleaſed to conſent, that *Matthew* his Uncle ſhould enjoy his Part of the Earldom during Life. The Earl of *Armagnac* was treated more rigorouſly. The King not only diſpoſſeſſed him of the Part he had uſurped, but ſtripped him of the Privilege of the Regale (2) in his Territories, and forbid him to ſtile himſelf, *John by the Grace of God, Earl of Armagnac*, as he, and his Anceſtors before him, had done.

1442.

Cominge *adjudged to the King.*

The Earls of Armagnac *and* Cominge *cited before the Parliament of* Toulouſe.

The Earl of *Armagnac* did not think he deſerved ſuch Uſage, after all the Services his Houſe had done the Kings of *France*. If, to eſpouſe their Intereſts, his Anceſtors had caſt off the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, he would not have been liable to appear before the Parliament of *Toulouſe*, nor have loſt the Privileges, which the Kings of *England*, Dukes of *Guienne*, had never diſputed with his Predeceſſors. So, he was extremely concerned to ſee the Zeal of his Anceſtors for the Intereſt of *France*, become the occaſion of his Oppreſſion. He burned with Deſire to free himſelf from this Yoke and be revenged: But as he was ſenſible, his Forces alone were not capable to procure him that Satisfaction, he reſolved to caſt himſelf into the Arms of the King of *England*. Shortly after, he ſent to deſire his Protection, with an Offer of one of his Daughters in Marriage. The Propoſal being conſidered in the Council, it was judged, that in the preſent Poſture of the King's Affairs in *France*, the Alliance propoſed by the Earl of *Armagnac* could not but be very advantagious. So, without Loſs of time, Ambaſſadors (3) were diſpatched to the Earl of *Armagnac*, to ſettle the Marriage-Articles, and affiance one of his Daughters, in the King's Name.

The Earl of Armagnac *is highly offended.*

He offers his Daughter to Henry. Act. Pub. XI. p. 6.

His Offer is accepted. p. 7. Hall.

Mean while, *Charles* appearing before *Tartas*, on the 24th of *June*, and no Enemy offering to give him Battle, the Place was reſtored to the Lord *d' Albret*, according to the Capitulation. The Preparations of the *French* were not unknown in *England*, and yet no meaſures were taken for the Defence of *Guienne*, which was going to be invaded. *Charles* taking advantage of this Negligence, became Maſter of St. *Sever* (4). Then he laid Siege to *Acs*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in thoſe parts, which held out ſeven Weeks (5). *La Reole* was carried by Storm, and *Marmande* fell likewiſe into the hands of the *French*. During the Winter following, which was exceeding ſharp, *Acs* and St. *Sever* opened their Gates to the *Engliſh*, but the Earl of *Foix* retook St. *Sever*. *Charles* paſſed the whole Winter at *Toulouſe*.

Charles *relieves* Tartas, *and takes ſeveral Places in* Guienne. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting at one end of the Kingdom, the *Engliſh* were thinking of making a Diverſion at the other. They ſhould have thought of it ſooner, in order to hinder *Charles*'s March into *Guienne*. By that means, they would have infallibly preſerved the Places lately loſt. But however, Orders being given to raiſe five thouſand Men in *England*, the Command was conferred on *Talbot*, whom the King had now created Earl of *Shrewsbury* (6). *Talbot* landing in *Normandy*, ſoon made the Baſtard of *Orleans* quit the Field, who had likewiſe a new Title, being made Earl of *Dunois*. He preſently beſieged the Caſtle of *Conches*, and to make a Diverſion, the *French* General inveſted *Galardon*. *Talbot* having taken the Caſtle in a few Days, the Earl of *Dunois* did not think fit to expect his Enemy, who was marching directly to give him Battle. Then, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* advanced towards *Dieppe*, a Place of great Importance, which the *French* ſtill held in *Normandy*. He made ſuch haſte, that *Eſtouteville*, who was marching with the utmoſt Diligence, to throw in a Supply of Troops, could not arrive in time. When he was before the Place, he formed the Siege, tho' with an Army little proportionable to ſuch an Undertaking, and eſpecially in *November*. Indeed, he did not expect to be Maſter of the Town during the Winter, and without more Forces. But his Deſign was to take the Fort of *Charles-Meſnil*, ſituated on Mount *Polet*, which defended

Talbot *made Earl of* Shrewſbury, *and the Baſtard of* Orleans *Earl of* Dunois. Hall.

Exploits of the Earl of Shrewsbury *in* Normandy. Hall.

He blockades Dieppe. J. Chartier. Monſtrelet. Hall.

(1) *Monſtrelet* ſays, he ſet out with about fourſcore thouſand Horſe, and a great quantity of Proviſions: But carried only ſixteen thouſand Horſe before *Tartas*, for fear he ſhould be ſtreightned for want of Proviſions. fol. 191.

(2) The Right which the Kings of *France* have of diſpoſing of Benefices, during the Vacancy of an Epiſcopal See.

(3) Sir *Robert Roos*, *Thomas Bekyngton*, the King's Secretary, and *Edward Hull*, Eſq; *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 7.

(4) At the taking of which, above eight hundred *Engliſh* were ſlain. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 192. Sir *Thomas Rampſton* was taken Priſoner. *Ibid. Hall*, fol. 142.

(5) Five Weeks, ſays *Monſtrelet*. Ibid.

(6) His Patent of Creation bears date March 20, 1442. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 329.

the

1442. *and goes to* England *for a Reinforcement.*

the Paſſage to *Dieppe*. After that he hoped to preſs it ſo cloſely, that it ſhould be forced to ſurrender. Having thus taken his Meaſures, he attacked and carried the Fort, which he ordered to be made larger and ſtronger. Then mounting his Batteries, left the Management of the Siege, or rather Blockade, to his Baſtard Son, and returned into *England* (1), to ſollicite a Supply (2).

The Duke of Gloceſter *accuſes the Cardinal of* Wincheſter. Hall.

As Matters then ſtood at Court, it was no very proper Seaſon for the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to obtain the Succours he deſired, at leaſt ſo ſoon as was neceſſary. The Duke of *Gloceſter* perceiving the King's Affairs daily declined, brought at this very time before the Council, an Accuſation of High-Treaſon, againſt the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. Probably, his Enmity to that Prelate made him think, he was the ſole Occaſion of all the Misfortunes, befallen the *Engliſh*. It may be, he only deſigned to clear himſelf to the Publick, by accuſing his Enemy. And indeed, ſo well acquainted, as he doubtleſs was, with the Members of the Council, he could not flatter himſelf, with the leaſt hopes of ſucceeding in an Affair of that Nature. However this be, the Charge conſiſted of fourteen Articles, the Subſtance whereof, was as follows:

Articles of Accuſation. Hall. fol. 143.

I. That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had taken upon him the Dignity of Cardinal, contrary to the late King's Orders, and in derogation to the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*.

II. That, by the Statute of *Proviſors*, having forfeited the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, he had procured the Pope's Bull to ſecure it, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and particularly to the Statute of *Præmunire*.

III. That jointly with *John Kemp* Archbiſhop of *York*, he had aſſumed the Government of the King's Perſon, without being authorized.

IV. That he had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

This Article was grounded upon the Cardinal's lending the King Money upon Pawn (3).

V. That being Chancellor of the Kingdom, he had ſealed an Order for the Releaſe of the King of *Scotland*, and another to forgive that Prince part of his Ranſom, on condition of marrying his Niece.

VI. That he had defrauded the King of his Revenues, by applying to his own Uſe, the Cuſtoms of Wools at the Port of *Southampton*.

Probably, the Cardinal ſtopped by that Means the Money, he had lent the King.

VII. That he had the Confidence to ſummon People before him, in derogation of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Authority Royal.

He did this probably, as Legate: But he could not do it according to Law, without the King's Licence.

VIII. That he had procured from *Rome*, an Exemption for his Dioceſe, from paying Tenths to the King; and thereby, given a pernicious Example to the reſt of the Biſhops.

IX. That he had been inſtrumental in reconciling the Duke of *Burgundy*, to King *Charles* and the Duke of *Orleans*, to the great prejudice of *England*.

X. That being the King's Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary to treat of a Peace, he had ſent the Archbiſhop of *York* to the King, to perſuade him to quit the Title of King of *France*, to the Diſhonour of the King, and his illuſtrious Anceſtors.

XI. That the Duke of *Orleans*'s Releaſe, had been procured by his, and the Duke of *York*'s Intrigues, contrary to the expreſs Order of the late King.

XII. That being Chancellor, he had himſelf purchaſed Crown-Lands, inſtead of preventing ſuch Alienations, according to the Duty of his Office.

XIII. That by commiſſioning ſuch Officers only in the Army, as were his Creatures, he had been the Cauſe of all the Loſſes ſuſtained in *France*.

XIV. That he had ſold Captains Commiſſions, and thereby, introduced into the King's Service, ſuch as were incapable of doing their Duty.

The Cardinal is acquitted.

Theſe Accuſations were read in Council. But the Council, for ſome time, had conſiſted only of the Cardinal's Creatures, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Enemies. So, under colour of being unwilling to meddle with the Prerogative Royal, the Pardon granted to the Cardinal, in 1437, was urged. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, perceiving there was no poſſibility of cauſing his Enemy to be condemned, dropped the Proſecution, and the King gave the Cardinal a freſh Pardon. 1442. Act. Pub. XI. p. 20.

The Duke of Gloceſter *loſes ground daily.*

Certainly the Duke of *Gloceſter* was in a ſad Situation. Beſides his Vexation, to ſee thoſe who were at the Helm, ſteering a Courſe, directly contrary to that marked out by the glorious *Henry* V, his Brother, he perceived there was a ſettled Deſign to mortify him on all Occaſions. The King his Nephew, who was ſo much obliged to him, ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by the Artifices of his Enemies; not having penetration enough to diſcern thoſe, who had only their own Intereſt in View. He was made to conſider his Uncle as a ſecret Enemy, that would rejoice at his Deſtruction, becauſe he was his next Heir. What is more, they inſpired him with ſtrong Suſpicions of him, by repreſenting him as a Counſelior, whoſe Intereſt it was to ingage him in wrong Courſes, in order to render him contemptible and odious to his Subjects, and thereby, pave his own way to the Crown. It is no wonder, a young Prince of ſo mean a Genius as *Henry*, ſhould be blinded by ſuch Inſinuations. He had none about his Perſon to undeceive him, and for ſome time, had ſeen only his Uncles's Enemies. The Cardinal was ever watchful not to ſuffer any Perſon at Court, or in the Council, but what was devoted to him; and this he made his chief Buſineſs. He it was, that had introduced to Court, the Earl of *Suffolk* (4), for whom, the King had conceived ſo ſtrong an Affection, that he ſaw nothing but with his Eyes, and did nothing but by his Advice. As the new Favorite wholly owed his fortune to the Cardinal, he miſſed no opportunity to inſinuate to his Maſter, that of all his Subjects, the Cardinal was moſt ſafely to be truſted. By this means, he daily ſunk the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Credit, whoſe Counſels were always directly contrary to thoſe of his Enemy. *John Kemp* Archbiſhop of *York* and Cardinal (5), was alſo a Counſellor entirely devoted to the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and his Inſtrument to confirm the King in his Suſpicions of the Duke of *Gloceſter*. Thus theſe three Miniſters, being ſtrictly united together, ſo ordered it, that the King daily gave his Uncle ſome freſh Mortification. On the other hand, the haughty and impatient Temper of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, not ſuffering him to bear Indignities, without complaining and threatening the Authors, he promoted his own downfal, by the continual Faults his impatience cauſed him to commit.

They prejudice the King againſt him.

Birth of Edward, *ſon of the Duke of* York.

In *September* this Year, the Ducheſs of *York* was delivered of a Prince, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter mount the Throne by the Name of *Edward* IV (6).

John V, Duke of *Bretagne*, dying the 28th of *Auguſt*, *Francis* his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him in the Sovereignty of that Duchy (7).

1443. *Truce between* England *and* Burgundy. Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. XI, p. 24.

The Year 1443, began with a private Negotiation between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke finding the Affairs of the two Kings to be in ſuch a way, as not likely to be decided, either by War or Peace, thought it adviſeable to ſecure himſelf, by a ſeparate Truce with *England*. He was not pleaſed with King *Charles* upon ſeveral Accounts, too tedious to be related. On the contrary, he had reaſon to fear, *Charles* was reconciled to him only out of Policy; and in caſe his Affairs ſhould once be reſtored, might reſume his old Enmity againſt him. For this cauſe chiefly, he judged it againſt his Intereſt, to aſſiſt him any longer to finiſh a War, the proſperous Iſſue whereof might render him too powerful. Theſe Conſiderations induced him to give his Ducheſs full Power, to conclude with the King of *England* a general Truce, for all their reſpective Dominions. The former concerned only the Trade between *England*, and the *Low-Countries*; but this, ſigned the 23d of *April*, included *Burgundy*, and all the Duke's Territories in general. It was to laſt till one of the Parties ſhould put an end to it; in which Caſe, the other was to have three Months notice.

Charles ſends the Dauphin to relieve Dieppe.

The Blockade of *Dieppe* was ſtill continued, in expectation of Supplies from *England*, to preſs the Town more vigorouſly. *Charles* perceiving, it would be in great

(1) To *Roan*, ſays *Hall*, fol. 141; and *Stow*, p. 382.

(2) At the ſame time *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, and *Edmund Beaufort*, create. about this time Earl of *Dorſet*, entered the Country about *Amiens*, with a large Army, and committed great Devaſtations; as *Richard* Duke of *York*, and *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, did in *Anjou* and *Maine*. *Hall*, fol. 141.

(3) Lending him four thouſand Pounds, upon Jewels praiſed at twenty two thouſand Marks, which he kept; as the Article at length hath it. See *Hall*, fol. 142.

(4) *William de la Pole.*

(5) Promoted to the Cardinalſhip by *Eugenius* IV, in 1431. *Rapin*. King *Henry* granted him a Licence in 1440, to take upon him that Dignity; whereby it ſeems that he was then but newly promoted thereto. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 758.

(6) *Sandford* ſays, he was born on *April* 29. 1441, at *Roan*. *Geneal.* p. 403.

(7) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on *January* 25, in which, among other things, it was enacted, That no Cuſtomers or Searcher, ſhall have a Ship of his own, uſe Merchandize, keep a Wharf, or Inn, or be a Factor: And that, in order to avoid the many Frauds which would naturally enſue from thence. See *Statutes*.

danger

1443. danger, if not relieved before the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Troops, reſolved at laſt to ſend the Dauphin his Son, who preſſed him to commit this Expedition to his care. It was however with unwillingneſs, that he granted him this Favor. He was not only afraid to truſt out of his Sight this young Prince, who had ſeveral Times given Proofs of a turbulent Spirit, but moreover, did not care to afford him opportunities of acquiring Glory. Theſe Conſiderations, however, gave place to the Neceſſity of relieving *Dieppe*, which was reduced to Extremity, by an eight Months Blockade. The Dauphin departed from *Guienne*, with four thouſand Horſe, and marched towards *Normandy*. When he came within Sight of *Dieppe*, he eaſily ſaw, the Fort of *Charles-Meſnil*, where the *Engliſh* had fortified themſelves, was impregnable on the Side next the Country; and therefore, without heſitation, reſolved to enter the Town, and, in ſpite of the *Engliſh*, executed his Deſign. Hardly was he entered, when without giving them time to come to themſelves, he ſallied out with all his Troops, and ſtormed the Fort on the Side next the Town. He was thrice repulſed, but, the fourth time, carried it Sword in Hand. The *Engliſh* finding they were unable to continue the Blockade, after the loſs of their Fort, raiſed it, and retired in good Order. *John* Duke of *Somerſet* (1), arrived five Days after, with a Reinforcement of five thouſand Men (2). Had he came ſooner, the Dauphin would not perhaps have performed this Enterprize with ſo much Honour. As the Duke found the Blockade raiſed, he could do nothing more than ravage Part of the Enemies Country (3), after retaking ſome Caſtles in *Normandy*.

Lewis raiſes the Blockade of Dieppe. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

The Duke of Somerſet comes too late.

The Earl of Armagnac takes poſſeſſion again of Cominge. P. Daniel

After the Dauphin's Departure, *Charles*, at laſt, quitted *Guienne*, and came to *Tours*, where he diverted himſelf after the Fatigues of the War. But his Pleaſures were ſomewhat diſturbed, by the News of the Earl of *Armagnac* taking Arms, and ſeizing that Part of the Earldom of *Cominge*, of which, he had been lately diſpoſſeſſed. The voluptuous Life *Charles* led at *Tours*, was ſo alluring, that he could not reſolve to interrupt his Pleaſures ſo ſoon. He waited till the Dauphin's return, and, as he had gallantly behaved in the Affair of *Dieppe*, ſent him, immediately after his Arrival, to chaſtiſe the Earl of *Armagnac*. Upon the Dauphin's Approach, the Earl ſaw himſelf deſerted by all his Friends, and unſupported by the *Engliſh*, though the King was affianced to his Daughter. So, the Dauphin with eaſe became maſter of *Rovergne*, and of all, in general, that belonged to the Earl, who had nothing left, but the little Town of *Liſle en Jourdain*, about twelve Miles from *Toulouſe*. The Dauphin held it long beſieged in vain. At length, deſpairing of putting an honorable end to the Siege, he artfully drew the Earl to a Conference, upon the promiſe of a ſafe Conduct, and when he had him in his Power, ſent him to the King his Father, who made no ſcruple to detain him (4). Two Years after, he reſtored him his Territories, at the Requeſt of the Kings of *Caſtile*, and *Navarre*, who interceeded in his Behalf.

The Dauphin outs him of his Territories. Hall.

Makes him Priſoner by treachery.

The Earl of *Armagnac*'s Misfortune, cauſed the King and Council of *England*, to grow cold with reſpect to the Marriage, of which, there was no further Talk. It was not ſcrupled, to put that Affront upon an unfortunate Prince, who was unable to be revenged (5).

1444. Since the Duke of *Burgundy*'s ſeparate Truce with *Henry*, the *French* were not ſo eager to continue the War. The truth is, they had no leſs need of Repoſe than the *Engliſh*. *France* was utterly ruined, by this fatal War, which had laſted thirty Years, without Interruption, and by the inteſtine Troubles, raiſed ſeveral Years before the breach of the Truce, by the Quarrel between the Houſes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*. The Princes and great Men, were diſheartened at the Fatigues and Loſſes, they ſo long ſuſtained. The Country and Towns were become deſolate; *France*, though generally well peopled, could no longer find Soldiers. Beſides, the Duke of *Orleans*, who had promiſed to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to procure a Peace, being willing to keep his word, never ceaſed to ſollicite King *Charles* upon that head. The Duke of *Burgundy* preſſed him likewiſe on his Part, and the whole Kingdom in general, ardently wiſhed to ſee a Ceſſation of ſo many Calamities. In *England*, a Peace was no leſs earneſtly deſired. All the Money levied there, was ſwallowed up in *France*, as in a bottomleſs Gulf, from whence it never returned. In a word, the King was no Warrior, and his Council conſiſted, for the moſt Part, of Eccleſiaſticks, introduced by the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, to ſtrengthen his Party. The Council was very ſenſible, the Continuance of the War would, by no means, recommend them to the People. As the War had, for ſome time, been diſadvantagious to *England*, it was natural to throw the Blame, upon thoſe that ſat at the Helm, rather than upon the King, who only approved of what was ſuggeſted by his Miniſters. The Duke of *Gloceſter* alone was of Opinion, that freſh Efforts ſhould be made, to take the Advantage of King *Charles*'s Weakneſs, and of the late Truce with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But this Prince was no longer in Vogue, nor were his Counſels regarded.

The two Kings are equally deſirous of a Peace. Du Tillet.

1444.

Theſe Conſiderations, which were very weighty on both Sides, prevailed at length with the two Kings, to hearken to the Inſtances of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who preſſed them to conſent to a Truce, in order more calmly to endeavour a Peace. It was agreed, the Negotiation ſhould be at *Tours*, where King *Charles* reſided, though by that, the *Engliſh* ſeemed to be going to beg it. At any other time, the bare propoſal of treating at *Tours*, would have been ſufficient for a Rupture; but *Henry*'s Council were not ſo nice. They were for having a Truce at any rate, and nothing appeared diſhonorable to attain that end. We ſhall even ſee preſently, that almoſt every thing was ſettled in private, before the Ambaſſadors ſet out for *Tours*. This Truce, which ſeemed to be founded on the publick Good, was properly deſigned only for the Support of the Miniſters, who had nothing leſs in View, than the Kingdom's Advantage. *Henry* underſtood nothing of it, but ſuffered himſelf to be guided, according to Cuſtom, by his Counſellors, who made him believe, they had his Intereſt at Heart, when in reality they were working only for themſelves.

It is agreed to treat about a Truce at Tours. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Act. Pub. XI. p. 49, &c. Hall.

William de la Pole Earl of *Suffolk*, was appointed head of this Embaſſy (6). The Earl had more Reaſons than one to deſire this Office, as will be ſeen preſently. Mean while, as he was not ignorant how tickliſh a Step he was going to make, and how liable to be ſtrictly inquired into, he preſented to the King a Petition, which, probably, had been concerted with the principal Members of the Council. He ſhowed in this Petition, a great Scruple with regard to his Inſtructions, pretending they were beyond his Capacity, though, it is likely, he was himſelf the Author. Then, he modeſtly begged to be eaſed of the burthen of the Negotiation; or at leaſt, if the King did not think proper to grant him that Favour, he would be pleaſed to ſecure him againſt all Imputation. Whereupon the King, by the Advice of his Council, cauſed to be drawn an authentick Order, to execute fully, whatever was contained in his Inſtructions. As, probably, this Order was to be ſhown, only in caſe of neceſſity, and after the Execution, the King ſaid in it, that the Inſtructions concerned not only the general Good of the Kingdom, but alſo his own Perſon and Marriage. A clear Evidence, that the Marriage, ſpoken of preſently, was already reſolved.

The Earl of Suffolk head of the Embaſſy.

He acts cautiouſly in the Matter. February. Act Pub. XI. p. 53.

A Truce is concluded at Tours. Ib. p. 59, &c. Du Tillet.

The Ambaſſadors of *England* being come to *Tours*, entered immediately into Negotiation with King *Charles*'s Commiſſioners, concerning a Peace. But after ſome mutual and fruitleſs Propoſals, they were content with a Truce, which was ſigned the 28th of *May*. It was to commence the 7th of *July* (7) this Year, and end the firſt of *April* 1446.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 58.

At the ſame time, the Truce between *England* and *Scotland*, was prolonged at *Edinburgh* for ſeven Years, to begin the 1ſt of *May* 1447, which was the Day, the former was to expire.

Suffolk proposes a Marriage between the King and Margaret of Anjou. Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

The Affair of the Truce with *France* being ended, the Earl of *Suffolk* propoſed, or cauſed to be propoſed, the King's Marriage with *Margaret* of *Anjou*, Daughter of *René* of *Anjou*, who bore the Title of King of *Sicily*, after the Death of *Lewis* III, his elder Brother. The *Engliſh* tax the Earl of *Suffolk*, with making this Propoſal of himſelf, without any Authority; but we have ſeen the contrary above. Not but that, probably, he was the firſt Contriver, but he had taken the precaution to procure the King's Approbation. He was willing to keep in his preſent Poſt, and nothing was more proper to ſupport him, than this Marriage. He knew, *Henry*

His Motives for it.

(1) *Rapin* ſays, he had lately ſucceeded his Brother *Henry*, whereas *John* had been Earl of *Somerſet* ever ſince his Brother *Henry*'s Death. 7 *Hen.* 5. *John* was made Duke of *Somerſet*, 21 *Hen.* VI, about this time. See Note, p. 535.

(2) Six thouſand, ſays *Monſtrelet*, fol. 194.

(3) *Anjou*, part of *Bretagne*, &c. *Ibid.*

(4) Under pretence, that he was come to the Dauphin without a Safe-conduct. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 193.

(5) This Year, on *Decemb.* 1, died the renowned Sir *John Cornwall* Baron of *Fanhope*, and Lord of *Milbroke*; and was buried in a Chapel, founded by himſelf in the Church-yard of the Friars-Preachers near *Ludgate*, *London*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 213.

(6) Together with Dr. *Moleyns*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; *Robert* Lord *Roos*, Sir *Thomas Hoo*, *Richard Andrew* the King's Secretary, and *John Wenlok*, Eſq; *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 60. The *French* Ambaſſadors were, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis de Bourbon* Earl of *Vendôme*, *Peter de Breſé*, Steward of *Poitou*, and *Bartram Beauriau* Lord of *Precignye*. *Hall*, fol. 144.

(7) It was to commence at Land, *June* 1; and at Sea, *July* 1. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 64.

1444. was himſelf incapable of governing; and conſequently, it could not be, but that his Miniſters would be liable to Envy, and bear the blame of whatever was not agreeable to the People. In this belief, he fancied, the beſt way to ſupport himſelf, was to give the King a Wife, and at the ſame time, the Kingdom a Governeſs. To that end, it was neceſſary, the Princeſs who was to mount the Throne, ſhould be of an underſtanding, proper to ſupply the defect of the King her Spouſe, and of a Reſolution, to protect the Miniſtry. It was neceſſary moreover, that ſhe ſhould be of a Rank not to diſparage the King, but withal, ſhould have no ground naturally to aſpire to ſuch a Marriage; that being entirely indebted for it to the Managers, ſhe might be always ready to ſupport them. The Earl of *Suffolk*'s aim was likewiſe to be ſtrictly united with the Queen, in order to compleat the ruin of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was a perpetual Obſtacle to the deſigns of the Miniſtry. All theſe requiſites were found in *Margaret* of *Anjou*, Daughter of *René* King of *Sicily*, and Niece of the Queen of *France*. She was a Princeſs of a lively, daring Spirit, of great Penetration, uncommon Reſolution, and not to be frighted by oppoſition or difficulties. On the other hand, the Marriage propoſed by the Earl of *Suffolk* was ſo advantagious, that ſhe could not have expected it, without the Concurrence of ſeveral Circumſtances in her favour. I do not ſpeak of her Birth, which certainly was illuſtrious enough to give her a pretenſion to this Honour. But ſhe was ſo deſtitute of the Goods of Fortune, that her Parents could not give her any Dowry. To ſupply this defect, the *Engliſh* Miniſters extolled her noble Qualities, which, they ſaid, were more valuable than all the Money in the world. But they chiefly inſinuated to the People, that this Princeſs being Niece to the Queen of *France*, and to King *Charles*'s Favorite, would be very inſtrumental in procuring a Peace. This was plainly ſhowing how much this Peace was wanted. Accordingly, the Court of *France*, who had perfect Intelligence of what paſſed in *England*, made their advantage of it, by ingaging the Earl of *Suffolk* to promiſe, in the King's Name, to deliver *Mans*, and the whole Province of *Maine*, to the King of *Sicily*; on condition, he ſhould preſent them to *Charles* of *Anjou* his Brother. Thus, inſtead of receiving *Margaret*'s Dower, *Henry* purchaſed her with the reſtitution of one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *France*, or rather, with the whole Province of *Maine*.

He engages to deliver up Maine *to the King of* Sicily. Hall. Stow.

The Terms being thus ſettled, the Earl of *Suffolk* returned to *England*, to propoſe them to the King, and cauſe them to be approved. This was no difficult thing, ſince the principal Counſellors were in the Secret, and had already given their conſent. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, who had never heard of it before, ſtrongly oppoſed it, for two Reaſons which ſeemed unanſwerable. The firſt was, that the King being already engaged to the Earl of *Armagnac*'s Daughter, it would be very diſhonourable to violate his Faith, without alledging the leaſt excuſe. The ſecond was of no leſs force, namely, that *Maine*, being as it were the Bulwark of *Normandy*, could not be abandoned, without putting *Normandy* in manifeſt danger, as ſoon as the Truce ſhould expire. But theſe reaſons were not regarded. So, by the advice of the Council, the King impowered the Earl of *Suffolk*, to eſpouſe the Princeſs *Margaret* in his Name.

He returns to England.

The Duke of Gloceſter *oppoſes the Match.* Hall.

For Joy the Marriage was concluded, the King created the Earl, his Ambaſſador, Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, and upon *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, conferred the Title of Duke of *Exeter* (1). At the ſame time he created *Humphrey* Earl of *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Henry de Beauchamp*, Son of the late Earl of *Warwick*, Duke of *Warwick* (2).

Divers new Creations. Hall.

The King's Marriage was ſolemnized by Proxy at *Tours*, in the Preſence of King *Charles* and his whole Court (3), in a ſplendid manner, little ſuitable to the preſent Circumſtances of the two Kings, and the Indigence of the new Queen.

1444. *The King's Marriage ſolemnized at* Tours. November. Hall.

Though the Nuptials were celebrated in *November*, the Queen came not into *England* till the *May* following (4), and on the 30th of the ſame Month, was ſolemnly crowned. She was no ſooner with the King, but perceiving his weakneſs, ſhe ruled him with an abſolute Sway. By that means the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, had the ſame Credit as before the King's Marriage. They ſtood in need of the Queen, as ſhe did of them, ſince ſhe had yet no other Creatures, but what they had procured her. For this reaſon, a very ſtrict Union was formed between the Queen and the Miniſters, which could not but end in the ruin of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom they all looked upon as their common Enemy.

1445. *The Queen's arrival. She is crowned.*

A League againſt the Duke of Gloceſter.

The Truce being made only in order to a Peace, this whole year was ſpent in ſeveral Negotiations, concerning the time and place of a new Congreſs. It was thought likewiſe, that an Interview of the two Kings might promote the Concluſion of a Peace. So the Miniſters of both Courts agreed, that the two Monarchs ſhould meet ſomewhere in *France*; and for that purpoſe, *Henry* ſhould repair to *Calais*, in order to be near the Place to be choſen for the Interview. But ſeveral difficulties occurring about the choice of the Place, the Truce was prolonged till *November* the 1ſt, 1446.

The Truce is prolonged at an Interview of the two Kings. Act. Pub. XI. p. 86, 87, 102, 113, 117, 121, 156, ---189. p. 97. Monſtrelet.

Henry Chicheley, who held the See of *Canterbury* thirty years (5), died this year, and was ſucceeded by *John Stafford*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

John Stafford *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

The Duke of *York* having no farther Buſineſs in *France*, came into *England*, where he was very civilly received, and thanked by the Court, for his Services to the State. The King, willing to ſhew his Gratitude, granted him a Patent to be Regent of *France*, another five years. We ſhall ſee hereafter, his Enemies would not ſuffer him to enjoy that Dignity ſo long.

1446. *The Duke of* York *is made Regent of* France *for five years longer.* Hall.

The Parliament which met the beginning of the year 1446, granted the King a conſiderable Subſidy, for a vigorous Proſecution of the war in *France*, as ſoon as the Truce was expired (6). But this pretended deſign of continuing the war, was only a decoy to draw Money from the Parliament. Inſtead of Preparations for War, Negotiations for the Interview of the two Kings, and for a Congreſs of Ambaſſadors to conclude a Peace, were zealouſly continued. Mean while the Truce was farther prolonged to *April* the 1ſt, 1447. This ſhews, the Council intended not to carry on the war, though the Parliament was called on that pretence. We ſhall ſee preſently, the Truce was again prolonged, and interrupted only by an unexpected Accident, contrary to the Intention of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry (7).

A Subſidy granted for the War. Cotton's Abridg.

Truce is prolonged. Act. Pub. XI. p. 108, 110, 111, 149. 155. Monſtrelet.

The Parliament might eaſily have perceived the Devices made uſe of to procure Subſidies, if they had not voluntarily ſhut their own Eyes. This was one of thoſe Parliaments that are managed, as it is but too often the caſe, by the Intrigues of the Court. This plainly appeared, in a Reſolution to return the Marquiſs of *Suffolk* publick Thanks, for his great Service to the Kingdom, in negotiating the King's Marriage (8). Mean time, the advantages accruing to the King or State, from an Alliance with the Family of the moſt mortal Enemy to both, had not hitherto been perceived. Neither was the Parliament contented with this. They addreſſed the King, praying him to reward the Marquiſs; and even granted a Subſidy (9) on purpoſe to ſatisfy him for the Expences of his Embaſſy.

The Parliament gives the Marquiſs of Suffolk *Thanks.* Cotton's Abridg. Hall.

(1) The King granted him and his Heirs-male, a Place and Seat in Parliament, and in the Great Councils, next to the Duke of *York*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 49.

(2) He alſo granted him in Reverſion, from the death of *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Iſles of *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, *Serk*, *Erm*, and *Aureney*; as alſo the Manor and Hundred of *Briſtol*; and what is more, he was crowned King of the Iſle of *Wight*, by King *Henry*'s own hand. In conſideration of his Father's great deſcent, the King granted him place in Parliament, and all other Meetings, next the Duke of *Norfolk*, and before *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*; which occaſioning great Animoſities between them, by a ſpecial Act made in Parliament, it was eſtabliſhed, that they ſhould have Precedency by Turns yearly, the Duke of *Warwick* to begin the firſt year: But his death, ſhortly after, put an end to this matter. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 248. *Stow's Ann.* p. 384.

(3) In the preſence of the King and Queen of *France*, of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bretagne*, of ſeven Earls, twelve Barons, twenty Biſhops, beſides Knights and Gentlemen innumerable. *Hall*, fol. 148. *Monſtrelet*, Vol. III. fol. 1, 2.

(4) *Hall* ſays, ſhe landed at *Portſmouth* in *April*. The Marriage Solemnity was performed at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, on *April* 22; after which ſhe came to *London*, and was crowned, fol. 148. *Stow's Ann.* p. 384.

(5) He was Archbiſhop but twenty-nine years, and died *April* 12. 1443. His Succeſſor *John Stafford* was a Baſtard, as were, in the next Century, *Tonſtal*, *Gardiner*, and *Bonner*. The ſaid Archbiſhop *Chicheley* founded *All-Souls* College in *Oxford*; as alſo *Bernard* College, now incorporated into St. *John's* in the ſame Univerſity. *Stow's Ann.* p. 383.

(6) This Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, on *Feb.* 25. 1445, and was at ſeveral times prorogued to *Jan.* 24, 1446. It granted the King a Tenth and a half, and a Fifteenth and a half, except five thouſand Pounds allowed to poor waſted Towns. They alſo granted Tunnage and Poundage as before on Denizens, but double on Aliens: And gave a Subſidy of thirty four Shillings and Four-pence on Denizens, and fifty three Shillings on Aliens, for every Sack of Wool, for four years. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 629, 630. In this Parliament it was enacted, That to prevent oppreſſion, and exactions, no Man ſhould be Sheriff or Under-Sheriff, above one year, upon pain of forfeiting two hundred Pounds. *Statutes.*

(7) Alſo this year, on *Auguſt* 17, a twelve years Truce was concluded between *England* and *Flanders*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 132, 140.

(8) On *June* 2, in the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, he openly, eloquently, and boldly declared, what pain and diligence he had taken in *France*, as well in concluding the Truce, as in making the Marriage between his Sovereign Lord the King, and the Lady *Margaret*. The like Speech he made the next day in the Houſe of Commons; whereupon it was voted, that his labour and diligence ſhould be recorded in the Rolls of this Parliament, not only for the Honour of him and his Family, but alſo for his acquittal and diſcharge. *Hall*, fol. 149.

(9) A whole Fifteenth. *Hall*, fol. 148.

1446. *Project against the Duke of Gloceſter.* Hall.

The Queen, the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, and the reſt of that Party, finding themſelves ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and having nothing to fear from a Parliament ſo much at their devotion, began to contrive the ruin of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was ever formidable to them. The People, for the moſt part, were in his Intereſt. Beſides, as hitherto he was preſumptive Heir of the Crown, they had reaſon to fear, in caſe he ſhould one day mount the Throne, he would call them to an account. Their firſt ſtep was to remove him from the Council. To give ſome colour to this Injuſtice, Perſons were ſuborned to accuſe him of divers Crimes, the principal whereof was, that being Protector of the Realm, he had put ſeveral to death by his own Authority (1), and aggravated the Condemnation of many others. Upon theſe Accuſations, about which a great noiſe was made, he was ſummoned before the Council. But he cleared himſelf with ſuch Evidence, from all that was laid to his Charge, that the Council, though entirely compoſed of his Enemies, thought not fit to proſecute him thereon. It is not in *England* as in other Countries, where the Lives of the Subjects depend in ſome meaſure on the Will of the Sovereign, who appoints ſuch Commiſſioners as he pleaſes, to proſecute thoſe he has a mind to deſtroy. To take away the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Life in a legal manner, he muſt have been tried by his Peers. But his Enemies were well aware, how great ſoever their Credit might be, the Body of the Nobility was not ſo corrupted, as to hope to cauſe the firſt Prince of the Blood to be condemned, upon forged Crimes. Mean while, this Proceeding ſo moved the *Londoners*, that nothing was heard, but Praiſes of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Curſes againſt thoſe who governed in the King's Name. Theſe Murmurs, which were plain Indications of the People's Affection for the Duke, convinced his Enemies, there was no Medium between his and their Ruin. Accordingly, without further Conſideration, they reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way. The Queen, who was of a bold and enterprizing Genius, was the Perſon that firſt encouraged this Reſolution. At leaſt, the Hiſtorians inſinuate as much, if they have not expreſsly ſaid it. And indeed, the Miniſtry would never have ventured upon ſuch an Action, without having her at their head.

His Ruin determined.

1447. *The Parliament is ſummoned to St. Edmundsbury.* Hall.

It was not poſſible, as was obſerved, to put this Prince to death, by the uſual courſe of Juſtice; and it would have been very dangerous to murder him openly. His Enemies were bent to deſtroy him, but would conceal the hand that ſhould give the blow. To execute their deſign with all poſſible Secrecy, they deviſed a Means, countenanced, if not contrived, by the Queen. This was, to accuſe him of ſome Crime, in order to have a pretence to impriſon him, and then their Plot might, with great privacy and eaſe, be accompliſhed. For this purpoſe, it was rumoured, that a very important Affair required the ſpeedy meeting of a Parliament. Accordingly, one was called for the *February* following (2). In the mean time, the Queen and Miniſtry affected to load the Duke of *Gloceſter* with Honours and Careſſes, not to inſpire him with Confidence, but with Suſpicions. They would have been glad at his abſenting himſelf, or taking ſome other Courſe, that would have given them an Advantage againſt him. To that end, they endeavoured, by ſecret Emiſſaries, to terrify him, in warning him to take care of himſelf, and hinting a deſign to accuſe him before the Parliament of ſundry Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and that every thing was prepared for his Condemnation; that St. *Edmunds-bury* was purpoſely choſen for holding the Parliament, as a Place more proper for this deſign than *London*, where he was ſupported by the People. All this was only to induce him to withdraw, and thereby give himſelf ſome appearance of truth to the Calumnies, wherewith it was intended to blacken him. But as he knew his own Innocence, he would not, by abſenting himſelf, give occaſion to the World, to believe him guilty. However, he could not, after all, avoid falling into his Enemies Snares.

The Duke is confined. Hall. Act. Pub. XI. p. 178.

The firſt day of the Seſſion, the Duke was apprehended (3), and put into cloſe Confinement, without being allowed to keep any of his Domeſticks. To give a plauſible colour to this ſevere uſage, Care was taken to publiſh, that he was accuſed of conſpiring to kill the King, in order to ſeize the Crown; and with an armed Force, to deliver his Ducheſs out of *Kenelworth* Caſtle, where ſhe was impriſoned. The firſt of theſe Accuſations found no Credit at all with the People. On the contrary, there was preſently a Commotion in the City in his favour, but which was ſoon appeaſed. As the People thought him innocent, they imagined he would clear himſelf from theſe, as he had from the former Charges. But he was allowed neither time nor opportunity to make his Defence. On the morrow, he was found dead in his bed, without any ſigns of Violence on his Body. However, the People were convinced he was murdered. Some ſay, he was ſmothered between two Feather-beds; and others, that he underwent the ſame fate with *Edward* II. To remove theſe Suſpicions, his Body was ſhewn to both Houſes of Parliament (4), and expoſed, for ſome days, to publick View. But a Man muſt have been very bold, to charge with this Murder, thoſe that were conſidered as the Authors. Theſe were no leſs than the Managers of the Affairs of the Kingdom, who, in ſacrificing the firſt Prince of the Blood to their Malice and Vengeance, plainly ſhewed, what Enemies of an inferior rank were to expect.

1447.

He is found dead in his Bed. Hall.

His Body expoſed to view.

Mean while, to make good, in ſome meaſure, the Impeachment againſt the deceaſed, ſeveral of his Domeſticks were apprehended, and accuſed of being in the Plot to kill the King. Whereupon they were all ſentenced to die, by Judges appointed by virtue of the King's Commiſſion, of whom the Marquiſs of *Suffolk* was chief. But, though the Crime for which they were condemned was the moſt heinous, the King pardoned them all without exception (5). This Act of Grace was founded upon the conſideration of *Good-Friday*, and the *Aſſumption of the Virgin*, with the like pious and religious Motives. This gives occaſion to preſume, theſe People were bribed to confeſs themſelves guilty, upon aſſurance of their Pardon. However this be, there was no enquiry made after the ſudden death of the Duke of *Gloceſter*. Nay, it was pretended, he was notoriouſly guilty of the Crime, for which his Domeſticks were condemned, though they had never been confronted with him. But as theſe Domeſticks were not thoſe whom he moſt truſted, nor even ſome of the principal, it could not be thought, that he would have been ſo imprudent, as to make them his Inſtruments, or communicate to them ſuch a deſign, if he had really conceived it.

His Domeſticks condemned for High Treaſon. Act. Pub. XI. p. 178. *The King pardons them.*

Hatred of the People againſt the Queen and Miniſtry.

The Outrage exerciſed upon a Prince of this Character, ſo univerſally beloved and eſteemed by the People, drew upon the Queen and the Miniſters an almoſt univerſal hatred, which time could never efface. The Queen eſpecially was publickly charged with the murder, and the reſpect due to her was not capable of bridling People's Tongues. This however is the very Queen, whom the *French* load with exceſſive Commendations, probably becauſe ſhe was of the Royal Family of *France*. It is true, they very ſlightly paſs over the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s death, without endeavouring to juſtify her. As for the King, very likely, he was not conſulted in this infamous Action. But whether he did not ſo much as ſuſpect the Authors of the murder, or had not the Courage to puniſh them, he can in ſome meaſure be excuſed only on account of his natural weakneſs. I cannot leave this Subject, without remarking, how ſhort-ſighted human Policy is. The Queen and the reſt of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Enemies thought, his death had ſecured them from all oppoſition. But by the juſt Judgment of God, the Duke's death was the very cauſe of the ruin of the King, Queen, and all that were concerned. The Duke of *York* thereby ſaw himſelf at liberty to aſſert his Claim to the Crown, a Claim which occaſioned Torrents of *Engliſh* Blood to be ſhed, and of which doubtleſs he would never have thought, if there had been ſuch a Competitor as the Duke of *Gloceſter* (6).

Hall. fol. 152.

The Truce prolonged. Act. Pub. XI. p. 151, 163.

When this Tragedy was acting in *England*, the Negotiations for a Peace were carrying on in *France*. But as

(1) That he had cauſed Men adjudged to die, to be put to other Execution than the Law of the Land had ordered or aſſigned. *Hall*, fol. 151.

(2) It was ſummoned firſt to meet at *Cambridge*, but afterwards ordered to be at St. *Edmundsbury*; where it accordingly met on *February* 10. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 632---634.

(3) By *John* Lord Viſcount *Beaumont*, then High-Conſtable, *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 151.

(4) As though he had died of the Palſy or an Impoſthume. *Ibid. Stow's Ann.* p. 386.

(5) Of thirty two that were attached, five were drawn to *Tyburn*, hanged, let down alive, ſtript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered, and then a Pardon was ſhewn for their Lives. *Ibid. Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 178.

(6) His Body was carried to St. *Albans*, where a noble Monument, afterwards erected to his Memory, ſtill remains in the Conventual Church. The Vault wherein his Body was depoſited, and the exact Place of which was, it ſeems, then unknown, was diſcovered in the late Queen *Anne*'s Reign. He was called, *The Good Duke of Gloceſter*. Having had his Education in *Baliol* College, he became a great proficient in Learning, and was a great Favourer of learned Men. He laid the firſt foundation of the famous Library at *Oxford*, ſince known by the name of *Bodleian*, from Sir *Thomas Bodley*, by whom it was wonderfully increaſed. Sir *Thomas Moor* gives an inſtance of this Duke's Sagacity. The King coming one time in progreſs to St. *Albans*, a Beggar, born blind, as he ſaid, recovered his ſight at the Shrine of St. *Alban*. The Miracle being noiſed about, the Duke being there with the King, deſired to ſee him: The Beggar being brought, he asked him whether he was born blind? He anſwered, Yes truly. And can you now ſee, ſays the Duke? Yes, I thank God, and St. *Alban*, replies the Beggar. Tell me then, ſays the Duke, of what colour is my Gown? The Beggar readily told him the Colour. And what colour, ſays the Duke, is ſuch a one's Gown? The Beggar likewiſe told him; and ſo of ſeveral others. You counterfeit Knave, ſays the Duke, how came you that were born blind, and could not ſee till now, ſo ſuddenly to know the difference of Colours? And thereupon, inſtead of an Alms, ordered him to be ſet in the Stocks.

1447. great difficulties occurred concerning the projected Interview of the two Kings, the Truce was further prolonged to *January* the 1ſt, 1448.

The Truce between Burgundy and England prolonged. p. 140. p. 171.

Mean time, the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, by virtue of the power received from the Duke her Husband, prolonged the Truce with *England* till 1459, on condition that, which of the two Princes ſhould deſire to break it, ſhould give the other twelve months notice. After that, a new Treaty was made, *May* the 4th, whereby both Parties agreed, that the Truce ſhould not be broke within the firſt four Years.

The Death of the Cardinal of Winchester. Hall. Sandford.

The Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, one of the principal Authors of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s death, enjoyed but one month the ſatisfaction of his Enemy's Fall (1). He was a Prelate much more proper for the World than the Church. Accordingly, he remained, to his laſt breath, attached to the former. He is ſaid to die in a ſort of a Paſſion, that his Riches were not capable of exempting him from the common Fate of all Mankind, and to ſee himſelf thereby upon a level with the moſt miſerable.

The People murmur againſt Suffolk.

Mean while, the People perceiving, the time deſigned for procuring a Peace was ſpent in vain, loudly murmured againſt the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*. It was openly ſaid, he had betrayed the King and the State; that his Treaty with the *French* tended only to a Truce deſtructive to *England*, as it afforded the Enemy time to fortify himſelf; that he had ingaged to deliver *Maine* to the *French*, in order to marry the King to a Princeſs, who had given ſenſible proofs of the Calamities the *Engliſh* were to expect under her Government. Theſe murmurs were ſo publick, that the Marquiſs could not help taking notice of them; and in order to ſilence them, requeſted the King to hear his defence, that he might ſatisfy him of his Innocence. Whereupon the King ſet him a day to clear himſelf, and heard him in his own Apartment, in the preſence of ſeveral Lords, none of whom were there with a deſign to refute him. He related all he had done in *France*, and could eaſily juſtify himſelf, ſince he had taken care, before his departure, to be fortified with the King's Orders. Having finiſhed his Speech, the King declared himſelf ſatisfied, and gave him Letters Patents under the Great Seal, acquitting him from all imputation of Miſdemeanor, and forbidding all Perſons, on pain of his diſpleaſure, to accuſe or ſpeak ill of him. But this was not capable of putting a ſtop to the People's murmurs. It was not doubted that the King would be ſatisfied, but this was not thought a ſufficient reaſon to ſatisfy the Nation. Notwithſtanding the Marquiſs's pretended defence, he was looked upon with horror, as he was believed to be the principal Author of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s murder. Beſides the King's Marriage, procured by his means, was conſidered as one of the greateſt calamities that could befall *England*. This was the general opinion of Town and Country: But the Court, where the Queen would ſuffer none but her Creatures, ſtood otherwiſe affected. The Miniſters had likewiſe for Adherents, throughout the Kingdom, ſuch as found their account in their attachment to the Court, that is, whoever held any Poſt or Office under the Miniſtry. Theſe employed their authority and endeavours, to ſtifle the complaints and murmurs of the People, who could not bear to ſee the Adminiſtration of the publick affairs in the hands of a Foreigner. Indeed, the King, incapable of holding the Reins of the Government himſelf, only lent his name to the Queen, who made uſe of it as ſhe pleaſed. For his part, he minded nothing but his Devotions, wherein the Queen took care to make him ſpend his whole time, as in the only thing he was fit for, in order to divert him entirely from the Government. Some have made a Saint of this Prince. But he may be ſaid to be one of thoſe Saints, more commendable for the vices they have not, than for the virtues they poſſeſs, and to whom a great weakneſs of mind is inſtead of Merit and Worth.

He makes his defence before the King, who gives him an authentick diſcharge. Act. Pub. XI. p. 172.

The People's diſpoſition with regard to the Queen.

It was impoſſible for the Queen, and the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, to govern the Kingdom alone, without raiſing jealouſy. It was not cuſtomary to ſee the Queens take upon them the Government. Accordingly, this was perceived with uneaſineſs to uſurp an arbitrary power in the King's name, who had no farther concern in the affairs, than to ſign, without examination, the Orders that were brought him. The Queen's haughty carriage, her Partiality in diſpoſing of Places, and above all, the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murder, had drawn upon her the hatred of the Nation to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was every where talked of with very little reſpect. Her intimate Union with the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, gave her Enemies a freſh occaſion to ſpread reports not much to her Honour. The Marquiſs was no more beloved than the Queen. It was he that had brought her into *England*, and, to accompliſh the Marriage, ſacrificed the intereſts of the Kingdom. But the King's name was ſo reverenced, that beſides thoſe who were by intereſt attached to the Court, many others were of the ſame Party from a motive of Duty. It was therefore no eaſy matter, to wreſt from the Queen and the Favorite the Authority they enjoyed. 1447.

They begin to talk of the Duke of York's Title to the Crown.

The diſpoſition of moſt People with regard to the Queen and the Miniſters, inſpired the Duke of *York* with hopes, he ſhould one day be able to aſſert his Title to the Crown. He was, by his Mother, the only Heir of the Houſe of *Mortimer* or *March*, deſcended from *Lionel*, third Son of *Edward* III, and elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Poſterity was in poſſeſſion of the Throne. But probably, he would never have formed ſuch a deſign, if the Duke of *Gloceſter* had been alive, or the People not diſaffected to the Queen and the Miniſtry. Mean while, as it would have been very dangerous to diſcover his intentions, before the People's inclinations were founded, he took care ſo to proceed, that it ſhould not be poſſible to convict him of the leaſt ſtep to that end. He contented himſelf with making uſe of ſecret Emiſſaries, who induſtriouſly ſpread among the People, diſcourſes proper to turn their thoughts to his title to the Crown. It was whiſpered about, that the Houſe of *Lancaſter* had uſurped the Throne. That indeed the Uſurpation had been tolerable, whilſt the Kings of that Houſe were Princes of diſtinguiſhed worth, and had acted for the welfare and honour of the Nation; that even, during the Non-age of the preſent King, there had been hopes of his treading in the ſteps of his Anceſtors, and his being a worthy Follower of the King his Father; but that ſince he became of Age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: That therefore the *Engliſh* could have no reaſon to ſupport any longer the Uſurpation of the Crown, for the ſake of a Queen, who, being ſprung from the Blood of their moſt mortal Enemy, ruled the Kingdom with an arbitrary Power: That, in viewing the Poſterity of *Edward* III, it was evident, the Houſe of *March* had been unjuſtly deprived of the Crown: That the Duke of *York* being the ſole Heir of that Houſe, and deſcended from *Edward* III. by his paternal Anceſtors, ought to have his due right. In fine, that his noble Qualities, his known Virtue, and his ſignal Services to the Nation, very ſtrongly ſupported the juſt Title given him by his Birth. Theſe diſcourſes, artfully ſpread among the People, began to gain the Duke of *York* a Party. But he appeared not himſelf: All was done in private by his Friends.

The Court takes from the Duke of York the Regency of France, and gives it to the Duke of Somerset. Hall.

Mean while, the Queen, the Favorite, and all the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, failed not to take notice, of what was divulged concerning the pretenſions of the Duke of *York*. He might indeed keep himſelf concealed from others, but it was not eaſy to deceive ſuch quick-ſighted Perſons, who were ſo greatly concerned in the affair. As they did not queſtion, that all theſe Diſcourſes were divulged with his approbation, they believed it requiſite to leſſen his credit, by giving him ſome mortification. *John* Duke of *Somerſet* dying during theſe Tranſactions (2), *Edmund* his Brother (3), who ſucceeded him, ſeemed a very proper Perſon to oppoſe to the Duke of *York*. So, without any pretence, the Queen and the Marquiſs of *Suffolk* cauſed the King to remove the Duke of *York* from the Regency of *France*, before his term was expired, and conferred it on the new Duke of *Somerſet*. This laſt was of an exceeding haughty temper, and as his Brother had been ingaged in great Conteſts with the Duke of *York*, he behaved to him upon this occaſion, ſo as to make him his implacable Enemy. On the other hand, the Duke of *York* very highly reſented this affront: But, as it was not in his power to be revenged, diſſembled his reſentment, in expectation of a more favorable opportunity to ſhew it.

The Marquiſs made Duke of Suffolk. Dugdale. Stow.

1448. In the beginning of the year 1448, the King, who acted only by the Queen's ſuggeſtions, created the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, Duke of *Suffolk* (4). The Queen ſeemed to intend to brave the People, by daily ſhowering her favors

(1) He died *April* 11, after having been Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſeven years, and of *Wincheſter* forty three; in all fifty, from the time of his firſt Conſecration. He was alſo ſeveral times Chancellor of *England*; two years while Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and when of *Wincheſter*, four years at one time, and two at another. Before he entered into Orders, he begat by *Alice*, Daughter of *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, a natural Daughter called *Joan*, married to Sir *Edward Stradling*. He founded St. *Croſſes* Hoſpital near *Wincheſter*; and lies buried in *Wincheſter* Cathedral, where a noble Monument is erected to his Memory: Which ſee in *Sandford*, p. 262.

(2) He died *May* 27, 22 *Hen.* VI. 1444, leaving an only Daughter, *Margaret*, married to *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, by whom ſhe had *Henry* VII. *John* Duke of *Somerſet* lies buried under a grey Marble Monument, with his Wife *Margaret Beauchamp*, in *Winborn-minſter* in *Dorſetſhire*. *Sandford*, p. 327, 328. This year alſo, on *Auguſt* 5, died *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, and was buried in St. *Catherine*'s, near the Tower of *London*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 81.

(3) Upon his Brother's death (22 *Hen.* VI.) he became Earl of *Somerſet*, but the Dukedom of *Somerſet* was not granted him till 26 *Henry* VI. 1448, which fell into the King's hands for want of Male-Iſſue of the ſaid *John*. The Earldom was granted to his Father and his Heirs-Male by King *Richard* II, and confirmed by *Henry* IV. *Sandford*, p. 331.

(4) His Patent of Creation bears date *June* 2. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 188.

upon

Le P. d'Orleans.

1448. upon a Lord so extremely odious to the whole Nation. She thereby gave her own Enemies a great advantage, who only wanted occasions to stir up the People against her. It is an error, to which those at the Helm are frequently liable, to disregard the complaints of the People. As they are always surrounded with Flatterers, either they are ignorant of what passes any where but at Court, or imagine that having most of the great Men for them, the rest of the People are to be counted as nothing: But it often happens, they find it to their cost, that the great Men, and Kings themselves, have no more Power than private Persons, when unsupported by the People. This is what we shall have occasion to see more particularly in the course of the present Reign (1). But we must first return to the affairs of *France*, which will yet afford us matter for several years.

Mans delivered up to Charles of Anjou. Monstrelet. Act. Pub. XI. p. 203, 215. P. Daniel.

In the Negotiation concerning the King's Marriage, it was agreed, that the City of *Mans*, and whatever the *English* held in *Maine*, should be delivered to *Charles* of *Anjou*, the future Queen's Uncle. But the noise this Article made in *England*, and the Duke of *Glocester*'s opposition, caused the restitution to be deferred till this year. In *February*, *Charles* of *Anjou*, at the head of some Troops, appeared before *Mans*, in order to take possession. The *French* say, he besieged the City, and that the Duke of *Exeter* the Governor, not daring to stand an assault, surrendered by Capitulation (2). But it is certain, the Duke of *Exeter* was not then in the Place, neither was there any appearance of a Siege. The restitution was made (3) by agreement between the two Courts, and *Henry* sent to *Mans* two Commissioners to deliver the City to the Prince of *Anjou*. As he was entering, the two Commissioners met him upon the Bridge, and before a publick Notary made a formal Protestation, declaring that the King of *England*'s sole intent in restoring that place, was to procure a final Peace between him and *Charles* his Uncle, and only during the Truce. Moreover, he reserved to himself the Sovereignty of the City and Province, and, in case of any attempt upon the right of this Sovereignty, claimed a power to revoke the Cession without injuring his honour. *Charles* of *Anjou* heard the Protestation without appproving it, and took possession of the Place.

Henry's Protestation. Act. Pub. XI. p. 204.

The Truce is prolonged. Ib. p. 193, 199, 206.

After the surrender of *Mans* to the *French*, the Negotiations for a Peace, and the Interview of the two Kings, were continued: But by reason of some difficulties, the Truce was forced to be farther prolonged to *April* the 1st 1449. It did not last however so long; an unforeseen accident put an end to it sooner than was expected.

Surienne *surprizes* Fougeres. Monstrelet. Du Tillet. Hall.

About the middle of this year (4), *Surienne* an *Arragonian*, who had served the King of *England* twenty years, and was Knight of the Garter, and Governor of Lower *Normandy*, scaled, in the Night, the Town of *Fougeres*, belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and took a great booty. Whereupon, the Duke of *Bretagne* sent a Herald to the Duke of *Somerset*, then at *Roan*, and demanded the restitution of the Place, with all the Plunder. The Regent answered, he was extremely displeased with this action, and would give the Duke of *Bretagne* all the satisfaction he could reasonably expect.

The Duke of Bretagne *complains of it.* *The Regent promises satisfaction.*

The Duke of Bretagne *carries his complaints to the King of* France, *who takes the thing to heart.* Monstrelet. Hall.

Mean while, as it would require some time to be informed more particularly of this affair, and to notify it to the Court of *England*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, impatient of this delay, complained to the King of *France* of the breach of the Truce, wherein *Bretagne* was expresly included. *Charles* considering, his affairs were in a good situation, and those of the *English* in great disorder, as well by reason of the King's inability as of the People's discontent, took fire at this News, as if the injury had been done to himself. And yet, to look back on the Duke of *Bretagne*'s proceedings, during the whole former War, *Charles* had no great cause to be satisfied with that House. However, perceiving it to be a favorable opportunity to renew the War, whilst the *English* thought of nothing less, he sent a Gentleman to the Duke of *Somerset*, and two Ambassadors to *London*, to demand reparation for this insult. But at the same time, to make this reparation impracticable, he insisted upon the payment of sixteen hundred thousand Crowns to the Duke of *Bretagne*, for the damages sustained by the taking of *Fougeres*. This Sum was so exorbitant, that it must not be thought strange, if the Court of *England* refused to pay it down. Besides, it was almost impossible, that in so short a time a just calculation could be made of the damages done by the *English*. It was also very surprising, that *Charles* should so eagerly espouse the Duke of *Bretagne*'s quarrel, who was not included in the Truce as his Ally (5), but rather as a neutral Prince who had frequently been Mediator between the two Kings. The Ambassadors however were told, the King would take care to indemnify the Duke, as soon as it was known, what his loss might amount to; and if *Charles* would send Ambassadors to *Louviers*, the King of *England* would do the like, in order to settle all things to the common satisfaction of the two Kings and the Duke of *Bretagne* (6).

1448.

Answer of the Court of England. Act. Pub. XI. p. 216.

The Conference at Louviers, Monstrelet. Hall.

At the Congress held at *Louviers* upon this occasion (7), the *English* represented, that the taking of *Fougeres* was without Orders, and unknown to the Regent. They expostulated likewise against the sum demanded, as far exceeding what the Duke of *Bretagne* could justly require. But the *French* plainly told them, if the Duke received not the satisfaction their Master demanded, he deemed the Truce violated. This haughty and peremptory way of negotiating on *Charles*'s part, seemed very strange to the *English*, but the *French* persisting in their first Proposition, the conference broke up, without any effect (8).

to no purpose.

Charles seeks occasion to renew the War. Monstrelet. Hall.

So bent was *Charles* upon renewing the War, whilst the King of *England* was unprepared, that in case the *English* should resolve to give the satisfaction required, he had another pretence for a Rupture. He pretended, they had violated the Truce with *Scotland*, and he was obliged to undertake the cause of the *Scots*. Indeed, there had been a conflict between the *English* and *Scots*, wherein the *English* had been worsted. *Buchanan* makes it a pitched Battle, and says, the *English* lost three thousand Men. However, this affair does not seem to have been of so great consequence, since it was presently suppressed. This year the two Nations renewed their Truce (9), without fixing the time of its continuance. Only it was agreed, that, which of the two Kings should desire to break it, he should give the other notice so long beforehand. However, King *James* had not desired *Charles* to interpose in this quarrel, and consequently, it is evident, *Charles* sought an occasion of Rupture.

Buchanan.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 229, 236, 238, 242, 244, 247, 268, 271.

1449.

Imprudence of the Council of England. Hall.

Whilst *Charles* was making his preparations, he amused the *English* with fruitless Negotiations. The Court of *England*'s imprudence at this juncture, is very astonishing. They knew neither how to preserve the Truce, nor prepare for War. If they had been willing to avoid a rupture, they should at least have restored *Fougeres* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, with promise of amends for all damages. But they kept the Place, without using any effectual endeavours to appease that incensed Prince. The Council, where greater care was taken to introduce the Queen's and the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Creatures, than Persons qualified to manage the publick affairs, seemed to be seized with a spirit of inconsideration. To see the Queen's indolence on this occasion, one would have thought, that being without Issue, she was in a Plot with the King's Enemies, to dispossess him of all he still held in *France*. If she, and her Favorites and Ministers, or even the whole Council, had such a design, they succeeded but too well. However that be, the faults they committed on this occasion, are to be excused, only by the consideration of the Haughtiness wherewith *Charles* acted, who rendered an agreement impracticable. But, at the same time, they should have prepared for their defence.

The King of France *demands an extravagant satisfaction for the Duke of* Bretagne. Monstrelet.

As soon as *Charles* was in condition to renew the War, he caused the Castle of *Conches*, and *Pont de l' Arche*, in *Normandy* (10), and, about the same time, *Gerberoy* in *Beauvoisis*, *Cognac*, and St. *Maigrin* in *Guienne* to be surprized, in the Duke of *Bretagne*'s name. The

Charles surprizes several places of the English *by way of Reprisals for* Fougeres. Monstrelet. Hall.

(1) This year, on *February* 12, a Parliament met at *Westminster*, which granted the King a Tenth, and a Fifteenth; Tunnage and Poundage for five years of all Merchants, with three Shillings Tunnage more of Aliens; and the Subsidy of Wools for four years, as before. They also granted the King Sixteen-pence, to be taken of every Housholder within the Realm, not born in the King's Dominions; and Six-pence of every other Person not so born, and who was no Housholder; as also, six Shillings and Eight-pence of every Merchant-Stranger, and Twenty pence of all and every of their Clerks. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 637, 638.

(2) *Monstrelet* says, the *English* had put off the restitution of *Mans* for the space of three Months, and had, within that time, introduced fifteen hundred Men therein: So that the Earl of *Dunois* was sent with an Army of about seven thousand Men, to reduce that City by force, fol. 5.

(3) *March* 15. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 204.

(4) On *March* 24. *Surienne* had with him between six and seven hundred Men. *Monstrelet*, fol. 6. They not only took this Town, but also made several Incursions in *Bretagne*. *Ibid.*

(5) He seems to have been so, for he insisted chiefly upon that point, (as being his Ally and Vassal) in his complaints to the King of *France*. See *Monstrelet*, fol. 6, and *Hall*, fol. 152. And indeed he is expresly mentioned in the Truce. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 64.

(6) They also disavowed the Fact, saying, It was done without the Consent either of the King their Master, or of the Duke of *Somerset* his Lieutenant. *Monstrelet*, f l. 7. *Hall*, fol. 152.

(7) In *May*. *Monstrelet*, fol. 8.

(8) There was another Conference in the Abbey of *Bon-port*, but which likewise came to nothing. *Monstrelet*, fol. 9.

(9) It was *July* 8. 1449. The Truce was to last from *August* 10. 1449, to *September* 20. 1450. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 232.

(10) On *May* 16. *Monstrelet*, fol. 8.

1449. *Engliſh* complained in their turn of the violation of the Truce, but were told, it was by way of Repriſals for *Fougeres*. Thus the War was rekindled at a juncture very diſadvantagious to the *Engliſh*. As they were unprepared, the Duke of *Somerſet*, Regent of *France*, was deſtitute of Forces, when he moſt needed them. *Charles* had therefore free ſcope to puſh his Conqueſts. This gives occaſion to believe, the ſurprize of *Fougeres* was unknown to the Court of *England*. Otherwiſe, it muſt be thought, either the Miniſters had loſt their ſenſes, in not preparing to ſupport their enterprize, or had among them Traitors, who thereby intended to re-engage the *Engliſh* in War, before they were ready. Certainly, when it is conſidered, that the Court was ſo remiſs to ſatisfy the Duke of *Bretagne*, and ſo careleſs to prepare for War, it is hard to know what to think of ſuch a Conduct.

Charles acts againſt Normandy with four Armies. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Charles's chief aim was to recover *Normandy*, and for that purpoſe had prepared four Armies. A plain demonſtration, he did not deſire the buſineſs of *Fougeres* ſhould be ended by an agreement. Since the Congreſs of *Louviers*, which broke up in *April* (1), he would not have had time to put ſo many Forces on foot. The firſt of theſe Armies he headed himſelf. The Earl of *Dunois*, lately made Earl of *Longueville*, and Generaliſſimo of the King's Forces under the Conſtable, commanded the ſecond. The Duke of *Alenſon* had the command of the third; and the Duke of *Bretagne*, of the fourth, wholly conſiſting of his own Troops. All the Towns of *Normandy* were ill-provided with Men and Ammunition. Moſt of the Governors depending upon the Truce, were gone to *England*. So the *French* Armies had only to appear before the Towns, in order to carry them. Several places did not ſtay to be attacked. Some taking Arms, expelled the *Engliſh* Garriſons; others were ſold by the commanding Officers. *Pont Audemer* and *Chateau Galliard* were the only places that made a tolerable defence. In ſhort, not to enter into a needleſs detail of all the Sieges, whether real or feigned, it will ſuffice to ſay in a word, that before the Campain was ended, *Charles* was able to beſiege *Roan*, where he had friends. Having aſſembled all his forces, making a body of fifty thouſand Men, he ordered the Capital of *Normandy* to be inveſted, the 8th of *October*. He would not form a regular Siege, being well aſſured, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who were ſhut up there, with three thouſand Men only, would not be able to defend themſelves againſt the Inhabitants, who had promiſed to riſe in his favor. And indeed, within a few days, the Earl of *Dunois* was going to be introduced at St. *Hilary*'s Gate, with three hundred Men, if the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had not come very ſeaſonably, and repulſed that Detachment.

He inveſts Roan. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Citizens open the Gates to the French. Monſtrelet.

The Inhabitants, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, perſiſted in their reſolution. On the 19th of *October*, the whole City riſing in Arms with one conſent, all that the Duke of *Somerſet* could do, was to diſtribute his Garriſon in ſome of the moſt advantagious Poſts. But the *French* being introduced, quickly forced all theſe Poſts ſword in hand. There was only the Palace left, where the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* were, with eight hundred Men. As they foreſaw, they ſhould ſoon be in want of proviſions, the Duke deſired to ſpeak with the King in order to capitulate; which being granted, he offered to retire upon honourable Terms. But the King inſiſted upon his ſurrendering at diſcretion, unleſs he would treat for the reſt of *Normandy*. As this point could not be adjuſted, the Duke returned to the Palace, and held out ten or twelve days longer. At laſt, he was forced to capitulate, on condition of leaving all his Artillery, paying fifty thouſand Crowns of Gold, and delivering to the King *Caudebec*, *Arques*, *Lillebonne*, *Tancarville*, *Montravilliers*, and *Harfleur* (2). The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was left in Hoſtage (3) for the performance of this engagement, and the *Engliſh* Garriſon marched out of *Roan*, where *Charles* made his entry, on the 19th of *November*. The Governor of *Harfleur*, not thinking fit to comply with this Capitulation, the Earl of *Longueville* was detached by the King to beſiege

The Duke of Somerſet *ſurrenders upon Terms.* Hall. Monſtrelet.

Siege and taking of Harfleur. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier. Hall.

that Place, which ſurrendered the beginning of *January* (4). Though *Charles* might juſtly have detained the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, ſince the Capitulation of *Roan* was not fully obſerved by the *Engliſh*, he was pleaſed, as a mark of his eſteem, to give him his liberty, without ranſom. In the mean time, the Earl of *Foix*, who commanded in *Guienne* for King *Charles*, took the Caſtle of *Mauleon*, ſtanding upon an inacceſſible Rock. Thus ended the firſt Campain, which proved ſo fatal to the *Engliſh*.

1449.

The Earl of Foix *takes* Mauleon. Act. Pub. XI. p. 243.

Beſides the Court of *England*'s concern, for the ill poſture of affairs in *France*, a Rebellion raiſed in *Ireland* at the ſame time, gave them a freſh cauſe of uneaſineſs. However, the Queen and the Duke of *Suffolk* reaped ſome advantage by theſe commotions, as they furniſhed them with a pretence to remove the Duke of *York*. This Prince beginning to be a trouble to them, he was ſent into *Ireland*, under colour of being the fitteſt Perſon to ſuppreſs the Rebellion, but withal, had but few Troops allowed him for that purpoſe. It was hoped, he would either periſh in the attempt, or forfeit his reputation. The Duke perceived their deſign, and wiſely turned againſt themſelves the artifice they uſed for his ruin. He ſo managed, that, by his mild and gentle behaviour, he won the *Iriſh*, and reſtored them to their duty, without being obliged to uſe force. What is more, he ſo made them his friends, that from thenceforward they were always devoted to the ſervice of himſelf and Family, and even in the midſt of his greateſt misfortunes.

Rebellion in Ireland. Hall.

The Duke of York *ſent thither.*

He ſuppreſſes the Rebellion.

1450. The univerſal confuſion of the affairs of *France*, the negligence of the Court in that reſpect, the loſs of almoſt all *Normandy* in one ſingle Campain, the conqueſt whereof had coſt ſo much blood, began, at length, openly to provoke the impatient temper of the *Engliſh*. The whole Kingdom rung with complaints againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*. It was publickly ſaid, he had betrayed the State, and that *Maine*, the Key of *Normandy*, was delivered to the *French*, for the accompliſhment of a marriage, advantagious to none but himſelf. He was accuſed of being the principal Author of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s death, for fear that diſcerning Prince ſhould ſee through his treaſonable practices. It was complained, that there were but few Perſons of parts, and ſtill fewer of virtue, in the Council; that, on the contrary, the Board was filled with vicious Counſellors, without Principles of Honour or Religion, that no conſideration might hinder their being wholly devoted to the Will of the Queen, and her Miniſter: That it was the ſame thing, with regard to thoſe in the publick Poſts, in whom, honeſty and ability were not ſo much required, as an attachment to the Miniſtry. The Queen was no leſs diſliked. It was complained, ſhe ruled, with inſupportable pride, a free Nation, uſed to be governed only by Law, and which had never ſuffered a deſpotick Power. It was added, the Uſurpation of ſuch a Power was not to be borne, even in a King, much leſs in a foreign Queen. It was farther obſerved, that, by degrees, ſhe had turned out of the Council all thoſe that gave her any umbrage, in order to ſubſtitute ſuch as were at her devotion, without troubling herſelf, whether they were fit for ſo high an employment.

1450. *Complaints of the People againſt the Duke of* Suffolk *and the Queen.*

In this diſpoſition were the People, when the Parliament met, the beginning of the year 1450 (5). The Court wanted an aid to enable them to reſtore the affairs of *France:* Otherwiſe, they ſaw themſelves obliged entirely to abandon them, and thereby, give their enemies a farther advantage againſt them. The Queen ſoon perceived, the general diſcontent had ſeized the very Members of Parliament. She believed, it would be of great advantage to remove the Parliament to *Leiceſter*, where ſhe hoped to have greater ſway than at *London*, of whoſe Inhabitants ſhe was jealous. But ſhe met with ſo ſtrong oppoſition from the Lords, that ſhe was forced to deſiſt. In all likelihood, ſomething was feared like what had paſſed at St. *Edmundsbury*, with regard to the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

The Parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg.

The Queen tries in vain to adjourn it to Leiceſter.

Upon the meeting of the Parliament (6), the Commons preſented to the Lords, an Indictment

(1) Or rather in *May*. See *Monſtrelet*, fol. 8.

(2) *Monſtrelet* ſays, it was *Honfleur*, fol. 21.

(3) With *James Butler*, Son of the Earl of *Ormond*, and ſome other young Noblemen. They were ſecured in the Caſtle of *Evreux*. *Hall*, fol. 154. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 21.

(4) The Governor was Sir *Thomas Coreſon*. *Ibid.*

(5) This Parliament met firſt at *Weſtminſter*, on *November* 6. 1449, from whence it was adjourned to the *Black-friers*, *London*, by reaſon of the Plague's being in the fore-named place; and on *December* 4, it was adjourned back again to *Weſtminſter*; prorogued, on the 17th, to *January* 22. 1450, and on *March* 30, prorogued to *April* 29, at *Leiceſter*. In this Parliament the Commons granted the King an unuſual Subſidy, *viz.* That every Perſon having frank Tenement by free Deed, Copy, grant of Annuity, or Office, to the clear yearly value of twenty Shillings, ſhould pay Six-pence; and ſo from twenty Shillings, to twenty Pounds: From twenty Pounds, to two hundred Pounds yearly, Twelve-pence in the Pound: From two hundred Pounds, to pay two Shillings for every twenty Shillings, as well for the Laity as the Clergy, Guardians of Wards, Men having Fees, and all Corporations to pay accordingly. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 640, 641.------- In this Parliament it was enacted, That whereas Cuſtomers, Searchers, &c. did daily wrongfully diſtreſs and arreſt the Ships, Goods, and Merchandizes of the Merchants of this Realm; all Perſons ſo aggrieved, ſhould be authorized hereby to have a general Writ of Treſpaſs againſt the Authors of ſuch Arreſts, Charges, and Impoſitions; whereby they might ſue for, and recover forty Pounds, upon Conviction. *Statutes*, 28 *Henry* VI.

(6) On *February* 7. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 641.

1450. againſt the Earl of *Suffolk*, containing the following Articles:

Articles of Impeachment againſt Suffolk. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. fol. 157.

I. That the Duke of *Suffolk* had treated with the Baſtard of *Orleans*, and the other *French* Ambaſſadors, to perſwade King *Charles* to invade *England*; to the end, he might place his Son on the Throne, whom he intended to marry with *Margaret* only Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*.

II. That being bribed by the *French*, he had releaſed the Duke of *Orleans*, againſt the expreſs Orders of the late King.

III. That *Normandy* was invaded by his Means, and Advice.

IV. That being Ambaſſador in *France*, he ingaged to ſurrender *Maine* to the *French*, without the conſent of the reſt of the Ambaſſadors, and drew the King and Council to ratify his Engagement.

V. That he had informed the Enemies, of the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh* Towns in *France*, and encouraged them to aſſault them.

VI. That he had betrayed the Secrets of the Council to the Enemies of the State.

VII. That he had hindered the Concluſion of a Peace, by diſcovering the Weakneſs of *England* (1).

VIII. That he had made his Boaſts, in the hearing of ſeveral Lords, that his Credit at the *French* Court was no leſs, than at the *Engliſh*.

IX. That he had obſtructed the ſending of Succours to *France*, that the Enemies might make the greater Progreſs.

X. That he had included in the Treaty of Truce neither the King of *Arragon*, nor the Duke of *Bretagne*, and by that affected neglect, *England* had loſt thoſe two Allies.

The Duke's Defence.

The Duke of *Suffolk* anſwered theſe Accuſations, by a formal Denial of the greateſt Part, and required the Proofs. As to the Articles which he owned, he produced the King's expreſs Orders. But that was not ſufficient to juſtify him, ſince his chief Crime, was the abuſe of his Credit with the King, and his impoſing upon the Council. Hiſtorians remark, that he cleared himſelf from all but the laſt Article, relating to the Duke of *Bretagne*. Indeed, it is certain, in the firſt Treaty of Truce concluded at *Tours*, and in ſeveral ſubſequent Treaties to prolong it, the Duke of *Bretagne* was included only by *France*. This is a Myſtery, not very eaſy to be unravelled. The Duke of *Bedford*, as has been related, obliged the Duke of *Bretagne* to renounce the Alliance of *Charles*, and acknowledge *Henry* for King of *France*. Since that time, there had been no Rupture between *England* and *Bretagne*. And yet, *Charles* took care to comprize the Duke of *Bretagne* in the Treaty of Truce, concluded at *Tours*, whilſt the *Engliſh* mentioned him not. Was it through Negligence, Forgetfulneſs, or deſignedly? The laſt is moſt probable. However, the Duke of *Suffolk* had in ſome meaſure repaired this Error, by including the Duke of *Bretagne* as an Ally of *England*, in the prolongation of the Truce in 1447, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. But that was not ſufficient, it ſeems, to ſatisfy his Enemies.

Remark on the laſt Article. Act. Pub. XI. p. 59, 97

Ib. p. 154.

The King ſends the Duke to the Tower. Hall.

The Parliament adjourned to Leiceſter.

The Duke is freed.

A Sedition in Kent. Hall.

The Queen perceiving that matters were like to go ill with the Duke, ordered it ſo, that the King ſent him to the *Tower*, not ſo much with deſign to puniſh him, as to give ſome appearance of Satisfaction to the Commons. Mean while, for fear they ſhould perſiſt in their Proſecution, ſhe cauſed the Parliament to be adjourned to *Leiceſter* (2). Preſently after (3), the Duke came out of the *Tower*, and reſumed his old Poſt at Court. The News of his releaſe raiſed a Sedition in *Kent*, headed by a Fuller (4). But before the Rebels could make any conſiderable attempt, the Ring-leaders were apprehended and executed, and by that means the Sedition was ſtifled in its Birth.

The Parliament fits again.

The Commons offended at the Duke of Suffolk's appearing. Stow. Blondi.

The Parliament being re-aſſembled at *Leiceſter*, the King and Queen appeared, attended by the Duke of *Suffolk*, as their Prime Miniſter. The Commons were extremely offended at this Proceeding, which they conſidered as a Bravado to them. To ſhew their Reſentment, they went in a Body and petitioned the King, that the Perſons, who had been inſtrumental in delivering *Normandy* (5) to the *French*, might be puniſhed according to their Demerits. The Queen was alarmed at this Petition. She found, the Commons were bent upon the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Ruin, and that it was not poſſible to prevent it, without coming to an open Rupture with the Lower-Houſe. Wherefore, to ſave the Miniſter ſome part of the Puniſhment which, probably, was deſigned him, ſhe reſolved to prevent a formal Sentence, which could not but have been very rigorous in the preſent Juncture. A few days after this Petition, the King baniſhed the Duke for five Years, and removed all his Creatures. The Duke himſelf looking upon this Exile as a proper means to ſecure him from the Fury of the People, ſpeedily imbarked for *France*. But he could not eſcape his Deſtiny. He was met in his Paſſage by an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Nicholas*, and the Captain ſearching the Duke's Veſſel, and finding him there, ordered his Head to be ſtruck off, without any farther Ceremony (6). Thus fell *William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, who a few days before, was the greateſt and moſt powerful Perſon in the Kingdom. It is uncertain, whether he was guilty of all the Crimes the Commons laid to his Charge. But it cannot be denied, that the diſaſters which, one after another, happened to the affairs of the *Engliſh* in *France*, are to be aſcribed to his ill Conduct; if it be true, that they are not to be deemed the Conſequences of a Plot, formed to deprive the King of all his Conqueſts in *France*.

1450.

He is baniſhed. Stow.

He is beheaded in his Paſſage to France. April. Hall.

The Duke of York aſpires to the Crown. Hall. Blondi.

By the Duke of *Suffolk*'s death, the Duke of *York* ſaw himſelf freed from a powerful Enemy, who, being attached to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, would, doubtleſs, have ſtrongly oppoſed the Execution of his deſigns. Though this Prince was in *Ireland*, his Friends effectually ſerved him in *England*, by extolling his Merit, and repreſenting to the People, the King's Incapacity, and the Queen's Male-Adminiſtration. Theſe Diſcourſes, joined to the entire loſs of *Normandy*, which happened at the ſame time, made deep Impreſſions on the Minds of the People, and daily increaſed the number of the Duke's Adherents. He had perfect Information of what paſſed. But not to hazard himſelf in vain, he deviſed an Expedient, which he thought proper to ſound the People's Inclinations, in order to take his meaſures with more Safety. By his Inſtigation, *Jack Cade* an *Iriſhman*, aſſumed the Name of *John Mortimer*, of the Houſe of *March*, executed in the beginning of this Reign. Under this borrowed Name he repaired into *Kent* (7), where the Duke of *York* had many Adherents, and drew together great Numbers of Malecontents, uſing for pretence, the neceſſity of reforming the Government, and eaſing the People. In the preſent diſpoſition of the greateſt Part of the Nation, with regard to the Court, the Rebels ſo increaſed, that in few days *Cade* ſaw himſelf in condition to incamp on *Black-Heath*, near *London*.

Jack Cade's Inſurrection in Kent. Hall. Act. Pub. XI. p. 275, 285.

He approaches London.

He preſents two petitions to the Parliament. Hall. Stow's Ann. p. 389.

The King having notice of the approach of the Rebels, ſent to know the reaſon of their appearing thus in Arms. *Cade* anſwered for all, that they had no ill deſign upon the King's Perſon: That their Intention was, to petition the Parliament, that the evil Miniſters might be puniſhed, and the People rendered more happy than of late years. A few days after, they preſented to the Parliament two Petitions, ſetting forth the Grievances of the Nation. Among other things, they prayed, that the Duke of *Somerſet* might be puniſhed, as being the principal Author of the loſs of *Normandy*. That the King's Council might be filled with the Princes of the Blood, and other prudent and judicious Perſons, and not with vicious and profligate Men, of ill Principles and Manners, and uncapable of managing the affairs of the State. Theſe Petitions being communicated to the King, the Council condemned them as ſeditious, and reſolved to ſuppreſs the Rebellion by force of Arms. Whereupon, the King aſſembling a Body of fifteen thouſand Men, headed them himſelf, and marched againſt the Rebels. Upon his approach, *Cade*, as if he was afraid, retired, and lay in Ambuſh in a Wood near *Sevenoak*, not queſtioning but the King would follow him. But *Henry*, imagining the Rebels were diſperſed, returned to *London*, being contented

The King marches againſt them. Cade retires and cuts in pieces a Detachment of the King's Army. Hall.

(1) Or rather by diſcovering to King *Charles*, the Commiſſion, Authority, and Inſtructions of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors. *Hall*, fol. 157.

(2) On *March* 30, to meet at *Leiceſter*, *April* 29.

(3) After a Month's Confinement. *Hall*, fol. 158.

(4) A deſperate Fellow, called *Thomas Thany*, but nick-named, *Blue-Beard*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 387.

(5) It ſhould be *Anjou* and *Maine*, as *Hall*, fol. 158, and *Stow* have it, p. 387.

(6) The Ship belonged to the Duke of *Exeter*, then Conſtable of the *Tower*. *Rapin*, by miſtake, makes the Captain's name to be *Nicholas* inſtead of the Ship's. The Duke being thus taken, was brought into *Dover* Road, where his Head was ſtruck off on the Side of a Cock-boat; and the Head and Body were left on *Dover* Sands, where they were found by a Chaplain of his, and taken up and buried in the Collegiate Church of *Wingfield* in *Suffolk*. *Hall* fol. 158. Or, according to others, in the *Charter-houſe* of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*. *Stow*, p. 388. He was beheaded, ſays *Dugdale*, May 2. He ſerved twenty four years in *France*, and ſeventeen without ever returning home. He was Privy Counſellor fifteen years, and a Knight of the Garter thirty. His Dutcheſs *Alice*, Daughter and Heir of *Chaucer*, died in 14 *Edward* IV, and was buried at *Ewelme*, in the Church of her own founding. *Dugdale's Baron* Vol. I. p. 189.

(7) In May this year. *Stow*, p. 388

with

1450. with ſending after them a Detachment of his Army, commanded by Sir *Humphrey Stafford* (1). This Detachment falling into the Ambuſh, were cut in pieces, and the Commander himſelf loſt his Life in the Fight (2).

Cade is let into London. Stow.

At the ſame time, *Cade* began his march towards *London* (3), whilſt the King and the whole Court haſtily retired to *Kenelworth* Caſtle, leaving a Garriſon in the *Tower*, under the Command of the Lord *Scales*. *Cade*'s Succeſs againſt *Stafford* increaſed his Army with Multitudes, who flocked from all Parts to join him. The City of *London*, either through fear, or ſome other Motive, opened her Gates to the Rebels, and *Cade* entered as it were in Triumph, at the head of his Troops. But he prohibited, under ſevere Penalties, the offering any Injury to the Inhabitants. Next day, being informed, that the Lord *Say*, High-Treaſurer, was in the City, he ordered him to be apprehended and beheaded (4). Towards the Evening, he retired to *Southwark*, on the other ſide of the *Thames*, and continued thus for ſome days, to enter the City in the Morning, and go out again at Night, on purpoſe to take from the Citizens all occaſion of fear.

He beheads the High-Treaſurer.

Quarrel between the Soldiers and Citizens. Fight on the Bridge. Hall. Stow.

Cade's Soldiers and the *Londoners* lived at firſt very friendly together. But at laſt, the Soldiers committing ſome Riot in the City, when they would have entered, according to Cuſtom, in the Morning (5), they found the Bridge-Gate ſhut againſt them. Whereupon a Battle enſued between them and the Citizens (6), which laſted all day, and ended at the approach of night, by a Ceſſation of Arms till the Morrow. Mean while, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Chancellor (7), who had taken refuge in the *Tower*, obſerving by their Spies, and the Proceedings of the Rebels, that their Hearts began to fail them, inſtantly drew up a general Pardon, put the Great-Seal to it, and cauſed it to be proclaimed in the Night, in *Southwark*. The Pardon produced ſo ſudden and ſurpriſing an Effect, that, before it was day, *Cade* found himſelf deſerted by his Followers, and forced to fly all alone, and conceal himſelf in the County of *Suſſex*. But the King promiſing, by Proclamation, a thouſand Marks to any Perſon that ſhould bring him dead or alive, he was ſlain in his retreat (8), by [*Alexander Iden*] a Gentleman of *Kent*, who brought his Body to *London* (9). The Pardon under the Great-Seal did not prevent the Execution of many of his Accomplices (10). Thus ended this dangerous Rebellion, which might have been attended with worſe Conſequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced Leader (11).

Cade is deſerted,

and ſlain. Act. Pub. XI. p. 275. p. 285. Hall.

Continuation of the War in Normandy. Kiriel *brings a Supply from* England. *He marches towards* Caen. Hall.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the War was continued in *Normandy*, but ſtill to the diſadvantage of the *Engliſh*. The Queen perceiving, the People's diſcontent partly ſprung from the ill Succeſs of the Affairs of *France*, had ſent fifteen hundred Men (12) to the Duke of *Somerſet*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, who landed at *Cherbourg*. His deſign was to lead his Troops to *Caen*, where the Duke of *Somerſet* then was. But as it was dangerous to march with ſo ſmall a Body, he was joined upon the Road by ſeveral Detachments of the *Engliſh* Garriſons in thoſe Parts. The *French* Authors ſay, that by this Junction the *Engliſh* Army amounted to five thouſand Men (13), which however is not very likely. Be this as it will, the Conſtable *Richemont* hearing of *Kiriel*'s deſign, ſpeedily drew together a Body of ſeven thouſand Men, and went and expected him at *Fourmigni*, through which he was to paſs. The two Armies engaging, the *Engliſh*, though inferior in Number, long defended themſelves with great Bravery. But at length, notwithſtanding their obſtinate reſiſtance, they were put to rout, and their General taken Priſoner (14). Upon comparing this Battle with a certain Prediction of the *Maid of Orleans*, that the *Engliſh* ſhould be entirely driven out of the Kingdom, by a defeat, much greater than thoſe of *Orleans* and *Patay*, one is inclined to believe, ſhe was not perfectly inſpired. For, in the Battle of *Fourmigni*, the only one ſince *Joan*'s death, the *Engliſh*, even according to their Enemies Computation, were at moſt but five thouſand, and loſt but fifteen hundred (15). However, for the ſake of the Prophecy, the *French* Writers talk of the Battle of *Fourmigni* in very lofty Terms, comparing it to the moſt famous Battles.

The Battle of Fourmigni, wherein the Engliſh are defeated. Monſtrelet. Hall.

1450.

Kiriel's Reinforcement being defeated, the Duke of *Somerſet* could no longer withſtand the victorious Arms of the *French*. It would be needleſs, to give a particular account of the Sieges carried on by the *French* in this ſecond Campain (16). It will ſuffice to ſay in a word, that about the middle of *Auguſt*, *Charles* ſaw himſelf maſter of all *Normandy*. The City of *Caen* was inveſted the 4th of *June*, and the 21ſt of the ſame Month, the Duke of *Somerſet* capitulated (17), againſt the Opinion of ſome of the Officers, who maintained, it was not yet time. *Falaiſe* (18), *Domfront*, and *Cherbourg* were beſieged at once, and the Campain ended in *Normandy* with the taking of *Cherbourg* (19), which ſurrendered the 12th of *Auguſt*. Thus in two Campains, *Charles* became maſter of the whole Province, without one ſingle Town remaining in the hands of the *Engliſh*.

Charles compleats the Conqueſt of Normandy.

The Duke of Somerſet *ſurrenders* Caen. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier. Hall.

The Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* the 6th of *November*, and about the ſame time, the Duke of *Somerſet* having nothing more to do in *France* came into *England*. He was blamed for the loſs of *Normandy*, and particularly of *Caen*, where he was accuſed of not having done his duty. Theſe Complaints were ſo publickly made, that the Commons could not help taking notice of them. They petitioned the King, to ſend the Duke of *Somerſet* to the *Tower*, that his Conduct might be examined. *Henry* not thinking proper to diſoblige the Commons at ſuch a Juncture, granted their requeſt. The Populace of *London* were ſo tranſported with Joy, when they heard the Duke was in the *Tower*, that they immediately riſe and plundered his Palace. They would have proceeded farther, if the King had not ſpeedily put out a Proclamation to diſperſe them. Nevertheleſs, ſome of the moſt audacious continued the Tumult, till one of the moſt inſolent was beheaded. The Parliament was no ſooner up, but the Duke of *Somerſet* was releaſed, and aſſumed, at Court, the Poſt enjoyed by the Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Parliament meets. *The Duke of* Somerſet *arrives in* England. Cotton's Abridg. *He is ſent to the Tower.*

His Palace is plundered.

He comes out of the Tower, *and is Prime Miniſter.*

The *Engliſh* not having been able to prevent the loſs of *Normandy*, were ſtill leſs able to defend *Guienne*, which was more remote. King *Charles* improving the preſent Juncture, had now ſent his Troops into that Province, where, this very year, his Generals took *Bergerac*, *Genſac*, *Montferraud*, *Chalais*, *St. Foi*, which made but a very faint Reſiſtance. The Seaſon being very far advanced, hindered them from purſuing their Conqueſts.

Charles takes ſeveral places in Guienne. Monſtrelet.

During the Winter, the Earl of *Orval*, of the Houſe of *Albret*, making Inroads to the very Gates of *Bourdeaux*, the Mayor ſallied out with ten thouſand Men to attack him. How inferior ſoever *Orval* might be in number of Troops, he ſtood his ground againſt this undiſciplined Militia, ſlew great part of them, and took many Priſoners.

The Earl of Orval *beats the Trained-Bands of* Bourdeaux. Monſtrelet.

1451. In *April* 1451, the Army of *France*, commanded by the Baſtard of *Orleans*, Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, was forty thouſand ſtrong. This General preſently became maſter of *Montguion* in *Saintonge*. Then, *May* the 16th, he beſieged *Blaye*, and carried it the 21ſt. Not only, there was no *Engliſh* Army in the Field, but moreover, no manner of appearance, that the Court of *England* effectually thought of defending *Guienne*. The *French* General improving ſo favorable a Juncture, divided his

Great Progreſs of the French *in* Guienne. Monſtrelet. Hall.

(1) *Rapin*, by miſtake, calls him the Lord *Stafford*. He was a collateral Branch of the Family of *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*.

(2) With his Brother *William*. *Hall*, fol. 159.

(3) And came again and encamped on *Black-heath*; where the King deputed to him the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, to know what Propoſals he had to make. *Ibid.*

(4) *James Fynes*, who, by reaſon his Mother was Siſter and Coheir to *William de Say*, a Deſcendant of the former Baron *de Say*, was created, 25 *Henry* VI, a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Say* and *Seale*. He was accuſed with the Duke of *Suffolk* about the affair of *Maine*, and thereupon to appeaſe the People, was turned out from being High-Treaſurer; and upon the Clamours of the Rebels, was ſent to the *Tower*, from whence they fetched him, and arraigned him at *Guild-Hall* before the Mayor. He deſired to be tried by his Peers, in order to gain time; but *Cade* and his Accomplices, not admitting of this dilatory Plea, took him by force from the Officers, and hurrying him to the Standard in *Cheap*, cut off his Head, which they ſet on a Pole, and cauſed to be carried before them along the Streets. Not ſatisfied with this, they alſo dragged his naked Body at a Horſe's Tail into *Southwark*, where it was hanged and quartered. *Hall*, fol. 160. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 245, 246.

(5) *July* 5. *Stow's Ann.* p. 391.

(6) Aſſiſted by the Lord *Scales* Keeper of the *Tower*, and the brave *Matthew Gough*, who was ſlain, *Hall*, fol. 160.

(7) Who was then the Archbiſhop of *York*, viz. *John Kempe*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 641.

(8) At *Hothfield* in *Suſſex*. *Stow*, p. 391.

(9) He was ſtiled Captain *Mend All*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 388, 392. He was quartered, and his Head ſet up on *London* Bridge.

(10) Twenty-ſix Eight at *Canterbury*, and the reſt elſewhere. *Stow*, p. 392.

(11) There were alſo inſurrections at the ſame time in *Hamſhire*, and particularly in *Wiltſhire*, where *William Aſcoth* Biſhop of *Sarum* was murdered by the Mob. *Ibid.*

(12) Three thouſand, ſays *Monſtrelet*, fol. 26. They took *Valongnes* ſoon after their landing. *Ibid. Hall*, fol. 154.

(13) Between ſix and ſeven thouſand, according to *Monſtrelet*, fol. 26.

(14) *April* 18. *Idem.* fol. 27.

(15) Three thouſand ſeven hundred. *Ibid. Hall* ſays, four thouſand were ſlain, and eight hundred taken Priſoners, fol. 155.

(16) They took *Guiſchen*, *Honfleur*, *Freſney*, *Vire*, *Avranches*, *Tomblaine*, *Bayeux*, *Briquebec*, *Valongnes*, *St. Sauveur le Vicomte*, &c. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 25——29.

(17) Through the earneſt Intreaties of his Wife, who had like to have been killed by a Stone-Shot, that fell between her and her Children. The Duke of *Somerſet* was not Governor of this Town; for the Duke of *York*, the Owner, had appointed Sir *Davy Hall* Captain-General, Sir *Robert Vere* Governor of the Caſtle, and Sir *Henry Radford* of the Dungeon. *Hall*, fol. 155.

(18) Of which *Andrew Trollop*, and *Thomas Cotton* Eſquires were Governors. *Idem.* fol. 156. (19) *Thomas Granville* was Governor. *Ibid.*

Army

1451. Army into four Bodies, the moſt conſiderable of which he commanded himſelf. He gave the Command of the other three to the Earls of *Foix*, *Pontievre*, and *Armagnac*. All theſe Generals made ſeveral Conqueſts with eaſe. *Libourn*, *Caſtillon*, *Dacs*, *Rioure*, *Bourg*, ſurrendered in a ſhort time. *Fronſac*, the ſtrongeſt Place of the Province, held out but three days; however, the Caſtle made a brave Defence.

Bourdeaux and the reſt of Guienne treat with Charles. Monſtrelet.

The Inhabitants of *Guienne* ſeeing themſelves thus deſerted by the King of *England*, thought it time to provide for their Safety. The States of the Province being aſſembled at *Bourdeaux* in *June*, reſolved voluntarily to ſubmit to King *Charles*, and avoid the utter ruin they were threatned with. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they concluded, with the Earl of *Dunois*, a Treaty, promiſing to ſubmit to the Dominion of the King of *France*, if before the 24th of the ſame Month, they were not relieved by an Army able to give Battle. The *French* General could grant that Condition without apprehenſion, ſince he was well aſſured there was nothing ready in *England*, for the aſſiſtance of *Guienne*. The Army not appearing, all the Towns of the Duchy opened their Gates to the *French*, except *Bayonne*, which refuſed to be included in the Treaty. This Place, the only one the *Engliſh* had left, was inveſted the 6th of *Auguſt*. The Breach being large enough on the 19th of the ſame Month (1), the Beſiegers were preparing to ſtorm; but the Inhabitants ſaved them the trouble, by riſing in Arms, and obliging the Garriſon to capitulate. The *French* Hiſtorians ſay, that a white Croſs was ſeen in the Air, juſt over the Town, an evident Sign of God's Protection to *France*.

Guienne ſurrenders to Charles, except Bayonne; Which is forced to capitulate.

The Court's uneaſineſs with regard to the Duke of York.

Whilſt the Court of *England* careleſsly ſuffered *Guienne* to be loſt, they grew extremely uneaſy with regard to the Duke of *York*. As in the *Kentiſh* Rebellion, *Jack Cade* had aſſumed the Name of *Mortimer*, it was eaſy to perceive, his aim had been to ſound the People's Inclination to the Houſe of *March*. Conſequently it might be inferred, that he had been incouraged by the Duke of *York*, ſole Heir of that Family. Indeed the thing was palpable, but there was no Evidence to convict the Duke, becauſe *Cade* was ſlain. Beſides, in the People's Diſpoſition with regard to the Court, they would infallibly have joined with the Duke of *York*, if, by being publickly attacked, he had been forced to ſtand upon his Defence. Mean while, as he was ſuſpected of forming ſome Plot in *Ireland*, and of intending to bring an Army of *Iriſh* into *England*, the King ſent Orders to the Sheriffs of *Wales*, *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, to be in a readineſs to hinder his landing. This Precaution produced ſeveral ill Effects. In the firſt Place, it ſhewed, that the Court was afraid of the Duke of *York*, which it would have been proper to conceal, for fear of giving the People occaſion to inquire into the reaſon. In the next place, the Duke found it was his Buſineſs to be upon his guard; whereas, if the Court had feigned not to know his deſigns, they might have drawn him into ſome Snare, or given him room to make ſome falſe Step, which would have given them an advantage. In fine, he was thereby furniſhed with a pretence to complain, ſince he was ſo far from being convicted of any Project againſt the King, that he had not taken any apparent Step, on which an Accuſation could be grounded. Accordingly, he wrote to the King, complaining of this Suſpicion, which he feigned to look upon as extremely injurious, and as a mere pretence intended for his ruin. The King ſent him a very civil anſwer, giving him ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, but revoked not his Orders.

The King orders his Landing to be oppoſed. Stow.

Ill effect of this precaution.

The Duke complains to the King. His Anſwer.

The Duke perſiſts in his deſigns in ſpite of all difficulties.

Though *Cade*'s Enterprize had miſcarried, the Duke of *York* had reaped the Benefit he propoſed. The great number of People that embarked in it, diſcovered how much the Nation was diſpleaſed with the Queen and the Miniſtry, and that the Memory of the Rights of the Houſe of *March* was not entirely aboliſhed. So, inſtead of being diſcouraged, he entertained freſh hopes. He judged, if the Shadow only of one of his Family was capable of cauſing ſo great a Multitude to take Arms, much more would the People be attached to a Prince of the Blood-Royal, ſole Heir of this Houſe. Mean while, not to be too haſty in the execution of a Project of ſuch Conſequence, he reſolved, before any thing was attempted, to conſult his Friends. The time of his Government of *Ireland* being expired, he embarked for *England*, but when he would have landed in *Wales*, found at the Port the Militia in Arms ready to oppoſe him. He landed, notwithſtanding, at another Place, which was not ſo ſtrongly guarded. He did this the more boldly, as he had only his own Servants with him, and had yet given his Enemies no hold. After that, he repaired to *London*, from whence the Court was gone ſome time before in Progreſs to the weſtern Counties. 1451.

He returns to England. Biondi.

The Duke of *York* was impatiently expected at *London*. His Friends had frequently conferred together in his Abſence, but could not come to any Reſolution without him. His principal Adherents were, *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Son-in-law to the General of the ſame Name (2), ſlain before *Orleans*, *Richard Nevil* his Son, who was ſhortly after Earl of *Warwick*, by his Marriage with *Anne Beauchamp* Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick* who died in *France*, *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, though Brother-in-law of the Duke of *Somerſet* (3), and *Edward Brook* Baron of *Cobham* (4). With theſe Lords, the Duke, immediately after his arrival, concerted Meaſures to accompliſh his deſigns. The reſult of their Conſultations was, that the Duke ſhould retire into *Wales*, where the Family of *March* had always had a great Intereſt; That he ſhould privately be aſſured of ſeaſonably raiſing an Army, by means of his Friends; That he ſhould then write to the King, to advertiſe him of the People's diſlike of the Miniſtry, and particularly of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

He concerts meaſures with his friends. Biondi.

Stow.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, the Duke repairing into *Wales*, and taking all his meaſures, writ to the King, "that all the Kingdom was diſſatisfied, becauſe Traitors "were ſcreened from Juſtice, and that he took the free- "dom to adviſe him to prevent the ill Conſequences of "this diſcontent. That the ſpeedieſt means was to order "the guilty to be brought to their Trial, and particu- "larly the Duke of *Somerſet*, who having been impeached "by the Commons, was reſtored to Favour without any "Examination. In fine, that if he would give the Na- "tion this Satisfaction, he offered to aſſiſt in the Execu- "tion of ſo good a deſign." The Miniſtry eaſily perceived, the Duke of *York* ſought an occaſion of quarrel. But as in their preſent ſituation, they durſt not act haughtily, it was judged proper, the King ſhould ſend the Duke a civil anſwer, which would diſappoint him of the pretence he wanted. Accordingly the King in his Letter told him, he had reſolved ſome time ſince to reform whatever was amiſs in the Government; and for that purpoſe intended to appoint a certain number of virtuous and able Counſellors, of whom he was deſigned to be one: That as for the Traitors mentioned in his Letter, he did not mean to let them go unpuniſhed, but the affair being of very great Conſequence, required mature Deliberation: That as for the Duke of *Somerſet* in particular, he ſhould not be excuſed from anſwering the Accuſations laid to his Charge.

He retires into Wales, and writes to the King to reform the Government. Stow.

The King ſends him a mild anſwer. Ibid.

Though this anſwer deprived the Duke of *York* of all pretence to take Arms, he imagined however, the King's bare refuſal to remove or puniſh the Miniſters complained of, was a ſufficient Warrant. He did not expect ſo mild an anſwer. Mean while, as he had taken his meaſures to raiſe an Army, he did not think proper to break them, or ſuffer himſelf to be decoyed by a Moderation which might be as well feigned as real. So, putting himſelf at the head of his Army, he marched towards *London*. But he found the Queen had not been ſo negligent as he expected. Upon notice of the Duke's retiring into *Wales*, ſhe had ordered Troops to be levied in the King's Name, without diſcovering however for what they were intended. The Duke therefore was no ſooner upon the march, but he heard the King was advancing (5) to give him Battle. Though he wanted neither Courage nor Experience, he thought he ſhould not venture a Battle with the King, without having a more plauſible Pretence than what he would have covered his deſigns with. His aim was to gain the People; but to fight the King without a more ſpecious reaſon, was not the way to compaſs his ends, though he could even have been ſure of Victory. Beſides, looking upon the City of *London* as able to incline the Balance to his ſide, he judged that, before all things, he ought to ſecure that Metropolis. For this reaſon, when he heard the King was coming againſt him, he ſuddenly altered his rout, and by ſpeedy Marches got before him, and appeared before *London*, where he expected to be received with open Arms. But he had the mortification to find the Gates ſhut, the Inhabitants not thinking proper to declare for him, whilſt the King was ſo cloſely purſuing him with

1452. *The Duke marches to London with an Army.* Hall. Stow.

The King goes out to meet him.

London Gates ſhut againſt the Duke.

(1) The 26th, ſays *Monſtrelet*, fol. 39.

(2) Son-in-law of *Thomas de Montacute* Earl of *Saliſbury*, in right of whoſe ſole Daughter and Heir, named *Alice*, he had the Title of Earl of *Saliſbury*. He was eldeſt Son by a ſecond Wife to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 302.

(3) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſays Son-in-law. He married *Margaret Beaufort*, Siſter of *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*.

(4) Of theſe five, the two firſt were drawn to engage with the Duke of *York*, by reaſon of their affinity with him. For the ſaid Duke had married *Cecily*, Siſter of the Earl of *Saliſbury*. And *John* Duke of *Norfolk* took part with the Earl of *Saliſbury*, as being the Son of his Siſter *Catherine*, but more in the behalf of his Father, who was baniſhed, and of his Uncle, who was beheaded at *York* in the Reign of *Henry* IV. The Earl of *Warwick*'s diſcontent was occaſioned by a quarrel between him and the Duke of *Somerſet*. As for the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Cobham*, it does not appear what induced them to declare againſt *Henry* VI. *Biondi*, p. 155.

(5) He ſet out *February* 16. *Stow*, p. 399.

a ſtronger

1452. a ſtronger Army than his. He was forced therefore to paſs the *Thames* at *Kingſton*, and encamp on *Burnt-Heath* (1), twelve Miles from *London*. The King following him, marched over *London* Bridge, and encamped about four Miles from him.

The King ſends to know why the Duke had taken up Arms. Hall.

The two Armies being ſo near one another, that nothing could prevent an Engagement, the King ſent two Biſhops (2), to know of the Duke what had induced him to appear in Arms. As the Duke ſaw himſelf diſappointed of his hopes to gain *London*, he thought it adviſeable to ſhow ſome regard for the Court, for fear of ruining his Affairs by haſty Reſolutions. In this Belief he anſwered, he had never intended to forſake his Allegiance to the King, but only to remove from his Perſon evil Counſellors, of whom the Duke of *Somerſet* was the chief; and if the King would put him into ſafe Cuſtody, till he ſhould in Parliament anſwer to what was objected againſt him, he was ready to diſmiſs his Troops. He did not expect, his demand would be granted, ſince the King and Queen were ſolely guided by the Counſels of Him, who was moſt concerned to have it rejected. He hoped thereby to throw all the Blame on the Court, and demonſtrate to the People, that the Miniſtry did not ſcruple to expoſe the Kingdom to a Civil War, for the ſake of a Man odious to the Nation.

The Duke offers to ſubmit if Somerſet is ſent back to the Tower. Hall. Stow.

He is taken at his Word.

But for once he was the dupe of his own Policy. The King took him at his word, promiſed to ſend his Enemy to the Tower, and even ordered him to be immediately arreſted. The Duke of *York* was ſurprized at this Condeſcenſion. He would have been very glad to recede from his Engagement. But as he could not do it without laying himſelf too open, he thought he ſhould run ſome risk, rather than hazard the Loſs of the People's Good-Will, on which he built all his Expectations. So, without Heſitation, he disbanded his Troops (3) and came to Court, not vouchſafing even to take any Precaution for his Safety. When he was in the King's Preſence, he accuſed the Duke of *Somerſet* with great Warmth, and endeavoured to perſwade the King, that he was a Traitor, and had ſacrificed the Intereſt of the Kingdom to his Ambition and Avarice. Upon theſe Words, the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was concealed behind the Hangings, ſuddenly ſtept forth to anſwer him, and accuſed him of conſpiring him to dethrone the King. The Duke of *York* ſeeing his Enemy before him, and in the King's Apartment, whom he thought in ſafe Cuſtody, found he was amuſed, and perceived his Danger. Nevertheleſs, without ſhowing any Concern, he modeſtly complained of the King's Breach of Promiſe, by the Suggeſtions of the Duke of *Somerſet*, on whom he caſt the Baſeneſs of this Fraud. Immediately after, the King diſmiſſed the Duke of *York*, and ordered him to be apprehended as ſoon as he was out of his Preſence (4).

He diſmiſſes his Troops, and comes and accuſes the Duke of Somerſet. *who ſuddenly appears and accuſes him.* Hall. Biondi.

The Duke of York *is apprehended.*

Reaſons which hindered the Court from putting him to Death. Hall. fol. 164.

If the Duke of *York*'s Enemies had dared to gratify their Reſentment, he would never have freed himſelf from the Snare he had imprudently fallen into. But the Poſture of Affairs, and the Diſpoſition of the People, affording juſt Occaſion of Fear, they durſt not proceed againſt him. Two other reaſons helped likewiſe to ſave him. It was rumoured at Court, that the young Earl of *March* his Son, attended by all the Friends of his Family, was advancing with a ſtrong Body of Troops to deliver his Father. So, for fear the Duke's Army, which was lately disbanded, ſhould join his Son's Troops, the Court was obliged to take a more gentle Courſe. On the other hand, the *Gaſcons* had ſent Deputies to the King, to offer to reduce *Guienne* to his Obedience, if he would ſend them Supplies. At ſuch a Juncture it was believed, as the Duke of *York*'s Blood could not be ſpilt without involving the King-in a Civil War, there would be a Neceſſity of detaining the Troops intended for *Guienne*, and thereby a favorable Opportunity loſt of recovering that Province. Theſe Conſiderations induced the Queen and Duke of *Somerſet* to give the Duk of *York* his Liberty, though their own, the King's, and the whole Houſe of *Lancaſter*'s Intereſt, required he ſhould be ſacrificed to their Safety. Perhaps all the Calamities, *England* afterwards indured, might by that means have been prevented. However, as the Queen and Miniſters were willing, as far as in them lay, to ſecure themſelves againſt his Deſigns, they obliged him to take an Oath to the King, whereby he ſwore to remain his faithful Subject till Death, and never to take Arms againſt him. This done, the Duke of *York* retired to his Caſtle of *Wigmore* (5), and the Duke of *Somerſet* enjoyed, without a Rival, the Authority he had acquired at Court. 1452.

He is ſet at Liberty.

He takes an Oath to the King; Hollingſh. Stow.

and retires to Wigmore. Hall.

Whilſt *Henry* was employed at home, in oppoſing the Attempts of the Duke of *York*, *Charles* had no leſs an Enemy to encounter in his own Kingdom. The Dauphin his Son, a Prince of a turbulent Temper, created him great Uneaſineſs by his Behaviour towards him. For ſome time paſt he had reſided in *Dauphiné*, where he acted as Sovereign, regardleſs of the King his Father's Orders, executing them no farther than he pleaſed. He had even the Raſhneſs, to demand of the Duke of *Savoy* his Daughter *Violante* in Marriage; and the Duke complied with his Requeſt, without either vouchſafing to acquaint the King with the Matter. Provoked at this Proceeding, *Charles* put himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand Men, and marched towards *Lyons*, bent upon chaſtiſing his Son, and puniſhing the Duke of *Savoy*'s Preſumption. But the Revolution which happened at the ſame time in *Guienne*, cauſed him to take other Meaſures.

Quarrel between King Charles *and the* Dauphin.

The *Gaſcons*, who had been for three hundred Years, without interruption, under the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, had ſubmitted to King *Charles*, only becauſe they were neglected by the *Engliſh*. As ſoon as the *French* Army had quitted *Guienne*, the Lords of the Country, in concert with the Inhabitants of *Bourdeaux*, reſolved to return to their antient Sovereigns (6). For that purpoſe, they deputed the Lords of *Candale* and *l' Eſparre*, to contrive the means at *London*. The Troubles raiſed by the Duke of *York*, had for ſome time hindered the Court from attending to this Affair. But when they were appeaſed, the Queen and Council, after mature deliberation, judged that nothing ſhould be neglected to accompliſh the Enterprize. The Succeſs, they expected, might redeem their Credit, and gain them an Intereſt with the People, which they wanted to ſupport themſelves againſt their Enemies. *Talbot*, the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was returned from a Voyage into *Italy*, was choſen for this Expedition. Though he was fourſcore Years old, he readily accepted an Employment, which gave him Opportunity, once more, before his Death, to do his King and Country a conſiderable Service. As Diligence was abſolutely neceſſary, he embarked what Troops were ready, conſiſting of ſeven hundred Men at Arms (7), upon a promiſe that the reſt deſigned for him ſhould quickly follow. He failed the 18th of *October*, and on the 21ſt landed near *Bourdeaux*. Next Day he appeared before the City, and as every thing was prepared to receive him, he was introduced at a Gate of which the Citizens had the Guard. The *French* Garriſon, who had not heard of his Arrival, ſurprized at this unexpected Accident, would have retired at another Gate, but were almoſt all taken.

The Gaſcons *offer to return to the King of* England. Hall.

This Offer is accepted. J. Chartier. Monſtrelet.

Talbot *ſent into* Guienne. Monſtrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. XI. p. 313, 321.

He is let into Bourdeaux. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The promiſed Reinforcement being arrived from *England* a few Days after (8), the Earl of *Shrewsbury* took the Field at the head of ſeven thouſand Men. With this little Army he reconquered ſome of the Towns of *Guienne*, among others *Fronſac* and *Caſtillon*, as rapidly as they were loſt. If Winter had not prevented him from purſuing his Conqueſts, he would have made himſelf Maſter of all *Guienne*.

He retakes ſeveral Places in Guienne. Monſtrelet.

Charles, who was then at *Lyons*, hearing this ill News, did not think proper to perſiſt in the Execution of the deſign he had formed. The Affair of *Guienne* ſeemed to him of greater Importance. So, ſuddenly altering his reſolution, he permitted the Dauphin to marry the Princeſs of *Savoy*, and gave one of his Daughters to the young Prince of *Piedmont*. At the ſame time, he reſolved to ſend all his Troops into *Guienne* the next Spring. Mean while, he diſpatched before a Body of ten thouſand Men, under the Command of *Chabanes*, and the Earl of *Pontievre*. Theſe two Generals being arrived in *Saintonge*, beſieged *Chalais* and *Caſtillon*, whilſt the Earl of *Clermont* followed them, with the reſt of the Army deſigned for *Guienne*. *Chabanes* was taken up with the Siege of *Chalais* till *June*, after which, he joined *Pontievre* before *Caſtillon*, which ſtill made a vigorous Defence. The Dread inſpired by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Valour and Experience, made them uſe the Precaution ſeldom practiſed in thoſe Days, of making Lines, and defending the Avenues of their Camp with Paliſadoes. 1453.

Charles *ſent ten thouſand Men into* Guienne. Caſtillon *beſieged.* J. Chartier. Hall.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was at *Bourdeaux* with ſix or ſeven thouſand Men, in ſuſpence, what courſe he

Talbot *goes and attacks them.* Monſtrelet. Hall.

(1) A Mile from *Dartford* in *Kent*. *Hall*, fol. 163.
(2) The Biſhops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*. *Ibid.* *Stow's Ann.* p. 393.
(3) On *March* 1, and came to the King's Tent. *Ibid.*
(4) And, ſoon after, the King aſſembled a Great Council at *Weſtminſter*, to hear the Accuſations of the two Dukes one againſt another. In this Council, the Duke of *Somerſet*, who foreſaw what ſoon came to paſs, exhorted the Lords and others there preſent, to cauſe the Duke of *York*, by Force or otherwiſe, to confeſs his Offence; that, being attainted of Treaſon, he might be executed, and his Children put under arreſt, as Enemies of the Kingdom. *Hall*, fol. 163.
(5) In *Herefordſhire*.
(6) Induced thereunto by heavy Taxes and Impoſitions laid on them by the *French*; and becauſe they were more hardly uſed than they were wont to be by their former Maſters the *Engliſh*. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 55.
(7) Between four and five thouſand Men. *Idem* fol. 41.
(8) It conſiſted of four thouſand Men; among which were the Lord *Camois*, the Baſtard of *Somerſet*, *John* Lord *Talbot*, Viſcount *Liſle*, the Lord *Molyns*, the Lord *Haryngton*, Sir *John Haward*, Sir *John Montgomery*, Sir *John Vernon*, &c. *Ibid.* *Hall*, fol. 165.

1453. should take with regard to the Siege. He was desirous to relieve the Place, but was afraid of meeting many difficulties, as well by reason of the Intrenchments of the *French*, as of the Superiority of their Number. On the other hand, knowing the Earl of *Clermont* was advancing with all speed, he considered, it must be done, before the Arrival of these fresh Troops, after which, it would be too late, since he would have all the Forces of *France* to oppose. In fine, having taken this last Resolution, he left *Bourdeaux* with all his Army, and approaching the *French* Camp, attacked them with the same Vigour, the *English* had shown at the Battle of *Azincourt*, and on several other Occasions. He soon defeated four thousand Men, commanded by *Chabanes* without the Intrenchments, drove them into the Camp, and, in spite of the Besiegers Canon, which swept away his Men by whole Files, forced their Lines, and entered with the flying Troops. Thus the *English* relate it. But the *French* only say, the Lines were like to be forced, when the *English* were attacked in the Rear by a Body of *French* Horse. This cooled their Ardor, and obliged their General to discontinue the Attack of the Lines, and face those that pressed him behind. This Motion gave the *French* an opportunity to draw all their Troops out of the Camp. So, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had not above five thousand Men left, was reduced to the Necessity of making two Fronts, and withstanding ten thousand. At length, the *English* finding themselves overpowered by Numbers, began to give ground. At the same time, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was wounded in the Thigh with a Musquet-Ball, and his Horse killed under him. In this Condition, not being able, by reason of his Wound, to remount, he bid Sir *John Talbot* (1) his Son to retire, and save himself for another Occasion, where he might be still serviceable to his Country. But *Talbot* rather than basely fly, chose to die by the Earl his Father, who also, presently after, resigned his last Breath. The *English* lost two thousand Men, but their most considerable loss was their General (2).

He is defeated and slain. Monstrelet. Hall.

The End of the War in France, with the Loss of Guienne. Monstrelet.

After this Defeat, *Castillon* surrendered the 16th of *July* (3). A few Days after, the Earl of *Clermont* being arrived, and the King come to the Camp, the Army was divided into four Bodies, which besieged at once *Cadillac*, *Libourne*, *Fronsac*, and *Bourdeaux*. *Fronsac* and *Libourne* resisted only a few Days; but the Castle of *Cadillac* maintained a Siege of two Months. After the taking of that Place, the whole Army joined before *Bourdeaux*, which capitulated the 17th of *October*, and the Garrison had liberty to return into *England*. Thus, of so many Conquests made by the *English* in *France*, since *Edward* III, there remained only *Calais* and *Guisnes*; poor remains of so many Provinces, several whereof, had belonged to their Kings by Hereditary Right, and the rest were acquired by so many Victories, and at the Expence of so much Blood!

Henry *falls sick.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 347.

Birth of Edward, *the King's Son.* Hall. Stow.

Reports to the Queen's Disadvantage.

Whilst the *French* were thus successfully carrying on the War in *Guienne*, *Henry* was seized at *London* (4), with a long and dangerous Sickness, which often gave occasion to believe he would never recover. At the same time, the Queen was delivered, on the 23d of *October* (5), of a Prince christened *Edward*. This Prince was inauspiciously born, since it was at the very time, the *English* lost all their Possessions in *France*. His Birth gave rise to several Reports, injurious to the Queen's Honour. There were some so hardy as to say publickly, he was not the King's Son. Others maintained, he was suppositious, because the Queen had never before been with Child, though married nine Years. In fine, some there were, who, without questioning the Queen's Honour or Honesty, took occasion from this Prince's Birth to hope well for the future. Their Reason was, because the Queen, having a Son, would be more firmly attached to the Interest of *England*, thereby plainly intimating, what they thought of her former Conduct.

Thomas Bourchier *Archbishop of* Canterbury. Stow.

Cardinal *Kemp*, translated from the See of *York* to that of *Canterbury*, dying in *December* this Year, *Thomas Bourchier*, Brother of the Earl of *Essex* (6), was elected Archbishop. He was a Prelate of eminent Merit, and was afterwards made Chancellor, and then honored with the Dignity of Cardinal.

1453. *The Civil War is renewed in* England. Hall. Stow.

The War in *France*, which had lasted thirty-eight Years, being ended, the remaining Events of this Reign, consist only of the Quarrels between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*; the first of which, had for Device, a Red, and the other a White, Rose. These Devices are famous for the vast Torrents of *English* Blood, shed upon their Account. The Troubles raised by the Duke of *York*, seemed entirely suppressed, since his Reconciliation with the King; but they were quickly renewed with so much more Fury, as the *English* were no longer diverted by a foreign War. I am going to give as brief an Account as possible, of the Events occasioned by the Duke of *York*'s Pretensions, which ended at length, in the Ruin of the King, and the whole House of *Lancaster*.

The Rights of the Houses of York *and* Lancaster.

The Duke of *York* had renewed his Oath to the King; but it was only to free himself from the danger, his Imprudence had thrown him into. He was no less resolved to maintain his Pretensions, and take the advantage of the King's Incapacity, and the People's Disaffection for the Queen and her Ministers. To consider only the Laws and Customs of the Realm, his Title was indisputable. He was descended from the third Son (7) of *Edward* III, whereas, *Henry* came only from the fourth Son (8) of the same Prince. It is true, it was by a Daughter, but there was no such thing in *England* as the *Salic* Law, to exclude him upon that account. On the contrary, in the Reign of *Richard* II, *Roger* Earl of *March*, his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was declared by the Parliament, Presumptive Heir of the Crown, in case *Richard* died without Issue. And even since the House of *Lancaster* was on the Throne, the Parliament, as was related in the Reign of *Henry* IV, had confirmed by a solemn Act, the Right of the Daughters and their Descendants. And yet, *Henry* VI, was no Usurper. It was now above fifty Years, since the House of *Lancaster* had held the Crown, by the Authority of the Parliament, who settled it on the Family of *Henry* IV. So, the Duke of *York* could pretend to the Crown, only on Supposition, that the Parliament had not power to alter the Succession. For this Reason, he could not openly discover his Intention, without directly attacking the Privileges of the Parliament, of which the *English* Nation has ever been jealous. Besides, he stood in need of the Parliament to succeed in his design. But how could he gain the Parliament to his Side, if he offered to question the Validity of their Acts? On the other hand, he was to break through a fifty years Possession, confirmed by the unanimous Consent of the People, and become still more authentick by the glorious Advantages, procured the Nation by the late King *Henry* V.

Difficulties of the Duke of York's *Attempt.*

His Advantages.

These Obstacles were sufficient to divert the Duke of *York* from his Enterprize, if, on the other hand, the present Conjunctures had not encouraged him to pursue it. *Henry* was a Prince unable of himself, to oppose the Duke's Efforts against him. Though he was not hated by the People, he was little esteemed. He was looked upon but as the Shadow of a King, who only lent his Name to the Queen and his Ministers. Nevertheless, the sole Name of King, would have been capable to keep the People in subjection to those that were at the Helm, had they not made an ill use of their Power, as is too commonly done by those, who are in the like Station. But the Authority usurped by the Queen, and the Duke of *Somerset*, was not the only Cause of the Discontent of the *English*. When they considered, that all the Conquests of *Henry* V, and *Guienne* it self, which had been for three hundred Years, under the Dominion of *England*, were lost in a few Years, they could not forbear casting the Blame upon those, that governed in the King's Name. *Normandy* had been taken from *England*, in two Campains only, under the Duke of *Somerset*'s Regency, whilst he was actually on the Spot to defend it. He was accused likewise, of having been too hasty in surrendering *Caen*. On the other hand, it was considered, that during the Regency of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Affairs of *France* were kept upon a tolerable Foot; and yet, the Queen to gratify her Passion, had dispatched that Prince out of the Way, in a base and violent Manner, and thereby, been the Occasion of all the subsequent Losses. So, the King was looked upon as a Prince, uncapable of

(1) He was eldest Son by *Margaret*, the Earl's second Wife, Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, and created Viscount *L'Isle* by *Henry* VI. The Earl's eldest Son, by *Maud*, his first Wife, was also called *John*, who succeeded him in his Honours. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 330.

(2) He was buried at *Whitchurch* in *Shropshire*, where a noble Monument is erected for him in the South-wall of the Chancel. In his Epitaph he is stiled, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Talbot*, Lord *Furnival*, Lord *Verdon*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmore*, and Marshal of *France*. *Ibid.* p. 330. *Hall*, fol. 166.

(3) *Monstrelet* says, the Battle wherein the Lord *Talbot* fell, was fought *July* 17, fol. 57. But his Epitaph says it was the 7th. See *Dugdale*, p. 330.

(4) He was taken ill at *Clarendon* in *Wiltshire*, where he lay sick a considerable time, and then was removed to *London*. *Stow*, p. 397. *Hall*, fol. 167.

(5) According to *Hall*, and other Historians, it was on the 13th. fol. 166. *Stow*, &c.

(6) *Henry Bourchier*, Son of *William*, by *Anne* Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, (sixth Son of *Edward* III) was not created Earl of *Essex* till *June* 30, 1 *Edw.* IV. He was made Viscount in 25 *Henry* VI. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 129. See above, p. 536, Note (1); and read there thirty instead of ten.

(7) *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*.

(8) *John* Duke of *Lancaster*.

retrieving

1453. retrieving the Honour of the Nation, and reſtoring the Affairs of the Kingdom to a flouriſhing State; the Queen as too well affected to *France*, and graſping at the whole Authority in *England*; and the Duke of *Somerſet* as a greedy Miniſter, who ſought only to enrich himſelf at the Expence of the Publick. It was farther, and loudly complained, that to preſerve his Authority, the Duke filled the higheſt Poſts with his Creatures, without any Regard to their Merit and Parts. This laſt Article made a deep Impreſſion on the Minds of the People. They could not, without Indignation, ſee the Council filled with vicious Perſons, and all the Places of the Kingdom poſſeſſed by Men of no Principles. This gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that the Queen's and Miniſtry's Aim, was to hinder Religion, Honour, Virtue, Love of one's Country, from inducing thoſe, that were in the publick Poſts, to oppoſe the Abuſes and Diſorders, ſpread over the Kingdom. This Diſpoſition of the People gave the Duke of *York* ſo great Advantages, that he thought, he ſhould improve them, not by acting directly for himſelf, but under colour of procuring the Good of the People, in obliging the King to make uſe of other Miniſters. He knew, if he could remove his Enemies from the Council, and introduce his Creatures, it would not be difficult to purſue the Execution of his Deſigns.

The Earl of Salisbury and Warwick chief Friends of the Duke of York. Hall.

An undertaking of this Nature could not be accompliſhed, without the Aſſiſtance of Friends; and therefore, he ingaged ſeveral Lords in his Plot, ſome under colour of turning out the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was generally hated and envied; others, by diſcovering to them his moſt ſecret Purpoſes. Among theſe laſt, the two *Nevils*, Father and Son, were the Principal. The Father, who bore the Title of Earl of *Salisbury*, was eminent for his Virtues and conſummate Prudence. The Earl of *Warwick* his Son, was univerſally eſteemed for his Valour, and adored by the People for his ingaging Behaviour (1). He knew how to carry himſelf ſo well, that he ſeemed to have ſolely in View, the Welfare and Glory of the Nation (2). Hitherto, he had affected, between the two Parties, a Neutrality, which by rendering him agreeable to the People, had taken from the Miniſters, not only all pretence of deſtroying him, but even all occaſion of ſuſpecting him. Theſe two Lords, with ſome others, conſulting with the Duke of *York*, concerning the Means to accompliſh his Project, agreed, it was not yet time to diſcover his Intention; that, on the contrary, he ſhould behave very ſubmiſſively to the King, in order to efface the ill Impreſſions, his former Conduct might have made in the People. The Frankneſs wherewith he had disbanded his Troops, and his new Oath to the King, were exceeding proper to inſtill a Belief, that he had no ill Deſign.

The Duke of York conſults with his Friends.

Advice given the Queen and Duke of Somerſet for their Ruin.

The Parliament had been ſummoned to *Reading*, but by reaſon of the King's relapſe, it was adjourned to *Weſtminſter*, for *February* the 14th (3). In this Interval, the Duke of *York*'s private Friends, who pretended to be of the Court Party, intimated to the Queen, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, that in the preſent Diſpoſition of the People, it was to be feared, the Parliament would come to very diſagreeable Reſolutions: That whilſt the King was in Health, they could act in his Name, becauſe all Orders were ſuppoſed to iſſue from him; but that the Caſe was not the ſame, during his Sickneſs: That their Authority being wholly grounded upon the King's Will, there was reaſon to fear, that the Royal Will no longer appearing, the Parliament would nominate other Governours: That therefore, it was proper to admit into the Council the Duke of *York*, the two *Nevils*, and ſome other of the moſt popular Lords, in order to ſhow, that thoſe who governed, did not ſeek to ingroſs all the Power. This Advice was built upon ſuch plauſible Reaſons, that the Queen and the Favorite could not help falling into the Snare. So, the Duke of *York*, the two *Nevils*, and ſome others of their Cabal, were called to the Council before the Parliament met. They were no ſooner admitted, but they became Superior, ſo that thoſe, who before managed all, had no longer any Credit.

The Duke of Somerſet ſent to the Tower. Hall.

The firſt notable Step of theſe new Counſellors, was to arreſt the Duke of *Somerſet* in the Queen's Bed-chamber, and ſend him to the *Tower*. Mean while, the Parliament was farther prorogued to the 15th of *March*, to give the Duke of *York* and his Friends time to concert Meaſures with the Members. Two Days before the meeting of the Parliament, the Council impowered the Duke of *York* to hold it in the King's Name. In the beginning of the Seſſion, the Commons ſent to the Houſe of Lords an Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, for ſuffering *Normandy* to be loſt, during his Regency, and by his Fault. *April* the 2d, the Great-Seal was given to the Earl of *Salisbury*. Next day, the Parliament appointed the Duke of *York*, *Protector of the Realm*, *Defender of the Church*, *and firſt Counſellor of the King*; with this Limitation, till the young Prince *Edward* the King's Son was of Age, to exerciſe that high Office. Hence it appears, firſt, that it was believed, the King's Indiſpoſition would laſt as long as he lived, and that it affected his Underſtanding more than his Body. In the next place, by reſerving this Office for a Child of ſix Months, who was to exerciſe it when of Age, the Parliament ſhowed their Intention to preſerve entire, the Rights of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, though the Duke of *York* was declared Protector. Generally, on theſe occaſions, there is too much or too little done, and from thence, ſpring Civil Wars. If the Parliament had openly declared againſt the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, very likely, at ſuch a Juncture, it would have found but few Friends. On the other hand, if inſtead of placing the Duke of *York* ſo near the Throne, care had been taken to check his Ambition, which was but too manifeſt, doubtleſs, he would have loſt many of his Adherents, and perhaps, the Civil War, which laid waſte the Kingdom, been avoided. But it is very hard for a Parliament at ſuch Junctures to act with Freedom, and according to Reaſon and Equity.

1453.

1454. *The Duke of York is made Protector,* Act. Pub. XI. p. 346. Cotton's Abridg.

The Duke of *York* having all the Power in his own Hands, removed the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was ſtill in the *Tower*, from the Government of *Calais*, and by the King's Letters Patent, placed himſelf in his Room. Every one imagined, the Accuſation againſt the impriſoned Duke would be vigorouſly proſecuted. But the Affair was ſuffered to lye dormant, and ſeemingly unregarded, all the reſt of the Year. Probably, the Evidences againſt him appeared inſufficient.

and Governor of Calais. Act. Pub. XI. p. 351, 359.

In the beginning of the Year 1455, the King finding himſelf ſomething recovered of his long Illneſs, the Authority conferred on the Duke of *York* ceaſed of courſe, ſince it was wholly founded on the King's Inability, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, to govern the Kingdom himſelf. The Duke of *York*'s Matters were not ſufficiently ripe, to enable him to diſpute with the King, the Right of reſuming his Authority, though it was in effect, only to replace it in the Hands of the Queen. The firſt Effect of this Change, was the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Releaſe. On the 5th of *February* the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire* (4), and two Knights (5), offering to be his Pledges, their offer was accepted, and the Governour of the *Tower* was ordered to releaſe the Priſoner. A Month after, theſe Lords were diſcharged from their Sureties, without any Sentence intervening. As the Duke was apprehended by Order of Council, it was ſuppoſed, he could be releaſed by the ſame Authority. But there was much to be ſaid againſt this Suppoſition. The Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons ſince intervening, it could not be pretended, that the King had Power to releaſe him before he was legally acquitted. However, the Court had no regard to this Reaſon. After the King had reſumed the Government, the Duke of *York*, and his Party, had no longer any Credit in the Council, where the Queen, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, bore an abſolute Sway. So prevalent was the King's bare Name to give a new Turn to Affairs.

1455. *The King reſumes his Authority.* Stow.

The Duke of Somerſet is releaſed. Act. Pub. XI. p. 361. Hall. Stow.

Mean while, ſome of the moſt prudent Lords, dreading the ill Conſequences of the Quarrel between the two Dukes, endeavoured to reconcile them. It was the Intereſt of both to ſhow, that they acted not from ambitious Motives; for their Aim was to gain the People. Wherefore, they both conſented to chuſe Arbitrators, and ſubmit to their Deciſion, under Penalty, for him that refuſed, of paying to the other twenty thouſand Marks. But it was on condition, that the Sentence of the Arbitrators ſhould be pronounced before the 20th of *June*.

The Duke of York and Somerſet put things to Arbitration Act. Pub. XI. p. 263.

(1) *Hall* ſays of him, That by reaſon of his engaging Behaviour, and of his Liberality and good Houſe-keeping, "He was in ſuch favor and "eſtimacion, emongeſte the common people, that thei judged hym able to do all thynges, and without hym, nothing to be well doen." fol. 167.

(2) This is he that was commonly called, *The ſtout Earl of Warwick.*

(3) This Parliament firſt met at *Reading* on *March* 6. 1452; and on the 18th, was prorogued to the 20th of *April*, at *Weſtminſter*, where it aſſembled accordingly; from whence, on *July* 2, it was prorogued to *November* 7, at *Reading*; and from thence to *February* 11. 1453, at *Weſtminſter*: But notwithſtanding, it appears that it then met at *Reading*, whence it was adjourned to *Weſtminſter* for *Feb.* 14. ---- In the firſt Seſſion, the Commons granted the King one Tenth and a half, and one Fifteenth and a half; Tunnage and Poundage during Life; the Subſidy of Wools, *viz.* twenty three Shillings and Four-pence for every Sack, of Denizens; and five Pounds of Aliens; and ſo of other Staple-ware in proportion. They alſo granted the King, of every Merchant not born within the Realm, who was no Denizen, and kept Houſe, forty Shillings *per Annum*: And of every ſuch Merchant as ſhall remain within the Realm but ſix Weeks, twenty Shillings: And of every Merchant-Alien, being no Denizen, ſix Pounds thirteen Shillings and Four-pence yearly, during the King's Life. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 649, 650.

(4) *James Boteler* or *Butler*, Son of *James*, the fourth Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, was created Earl of *Wiltſhire*, 27 *Hen.* VI, and was now alſo by his Father's Death Duke of *Ormond*. *Dugdale.*

(5) Sir *Thomas de Roos*, and Sir *William de Fitzwaren*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 361.

Whilſt

1453. *The Duke of York removed from the Government of Calais.* March. Hall. Biondi.

Whilſt People were in Expectation of this Sentence, the Duke of *Somerſet* repreſented to the King, that he was removed from the Government of *Calais*, upon a bare Accuſation, that was never determined; and it was not juſt, his Adverſary ſhould remain cloathed with his Spoils, ſince their Difference was not yet decided. Upon this Remonſtrance, the King took from the Duke of *York*, the Government, he had conferred on him for ſeven Years. Then under colour of obſerving a perfect Neutrality between the two Rivals, he declared himſelf Governor of *Calais*. In the Act, whereby the Duke of *York* was removed, it was ſaid to be done, at the Duke's own Requeſt. But the Duke taking it as a heinous Affront, withdrew from Court, where he found his Affairs began to be in an ill Situation.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 363.

He retires into Wales, and raiſes an Army. Hall.

He retired into *Wales*, not only to ſcreen himſelf from the Attempts of his Enemies, but with deſign to levy an Army, and have it in his Power to attack them. He was very ſenſible, the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* being abſolute Maſters of the King's Perſon, had an advantage, of which, nothing but Force could deprive them. So, without farther Conſideration, he reſolved to take Arms. The Court's Proceedings in releaſing the Duke of *Somerſet*, without giving the Nation any Satisfaction, made him imagine, he ſhould be ſtrongly ſupported, when he came to uſe that Pretence. He was not deceived in his Expectations. In a ſhort Space, he ſaw himſelf at the Head of a numerous Army (1), and in condition to make head againſt the King, who had likewiſe prepared himſelf, and was marching directly towards him to give him Battle. The two Armies met near St. *Albans*, on a level Ground, where nothing hindered their ingaging. The Duke of *York*, to ſhow, he had taken Arms ſolely for the Good of the Publick, ſent and offered the King to diſmiſs his Troops, if the Duke of *Somerſet* was delivered to Juſtice, to be condemned if Guilty, or acquitted if Innocent. But the Court knowing, this to be only a vain Pretence, and that one time or other, the Quarrel muſt be decided by Arms, rejected the offer, and the Battle was fought the 31ſt of *May* (2).

Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The firſt Battle of St. Albans. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Earl of *Warwick*, who commanded the Duke of *York*'s Vanguard, expecting this Anſwer, attacked the King's Army, whilſt the Court was waiting for new Propoſals from the Male-Contents. This Attack, which was as vigorous as ſudden, put the Royal Army into ſuch a diſorder, that it was not in the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Power to repair it. At the ſame time, the Duke of *York* improving this Advantage, advanced likewiſe from his Quarter, not to give the Enemies time to recover themſelves. He preſſed them ſo briskly, that the Royal Army was defeated in few Moments, with loſs of five thouſand Men (3), without making any conſiderable Reſiſtance. The Duke of *Somerſet* was killed on the Spot, with the Earl of *Northumberland* (4), the Earl of *Stafford*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Clifford*, and ſeveral other Lords and Officers of Note (5), all firmly attached to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. The Duke of *Buckingham* receiving a Wound, retired out of the Battle (6), and by his retreat, completed the diſorder among the King's Troops.

The King's Army is defeated, and the Duke of Somerſet ſlain. Stow.

The King falls into the Hands of the Duke of York, who treats him with Reſpect. Stow. Hall. Hollingſh.

Mean time, the King, who was wounded in the Neck with an Arrow, ſeeing himſelf deſerted in the Rout of his Army, retired to a little Houſe, which was preſently inveſted. The Duke of *York* having notice of it, poſted thither with the Earl of *Salisbury*, and preſenting themſelves before him on their Knees, told him, ſince the publick Enemy was dead, he ſaw none there but Perſons ready to obey him in whatever he ſhould pleaſe to command them. The King, upon theſe Words, recovering a little from his Fright, cauſed by the Duke's Approach, intreated him, for God's ſake, to put a ſtop to the Slaughter, aſſuring him, he was ready to give him all the Satisfaction he could reaſonably deſire. Whereupon, the Duke ordered a Retreat to be ſounded, and the Army enjoined to ſhed no more Blood. Then, he conducted the King to St. *Albans*, from whence they returned together to *London* (7). 1455.

The Parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Stow.

Shortly after, *Henry* called a Parliament, which met in *July* (8). The King being then relapſed, the Duke of *York* was commiſſioned to hold it in his Name. The Parliament, which, at ſuch a Juncture, could ſcarce be compoſed of any but the Duke of *York*'s Adherents, made the following Declaration. "That the Government had been "ill-managed by the Queen, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, "who had abuſed the King's Goodneſs and Confidence: "That the late Duke of *Gloceſter* had been unjuſtly ac-"cuſed: That all the Alienations of the Crown-lands "made ſince the firſt Year of the preſent Reign, ſhould "be revoked: That the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salis-*"*bury* and *Warwick*, or any that had liſted under their "Banners, were not guilty of Rebellion in taking Arms "againſt the King, ſince it was neceſſary to free his Per-"ſon from Captivity: That, on the contrary, the Blame "was to be laid on the Duke of *Somerſet* and his Adhe-"rents, who concealed from the King, the Duke of *York*'s "Letter, which might have prevented theſe Diſorders." *and condemns the Queen's and* Somerſet's *Management, and juſtifies the Duke of* York.

The King is petitioned to name a Protector.

Then, the Parliament petitioned the King to nominate a Protector, becauſe of his Indiſpoſition, which hindered him from attending to the Affairs of the Publick. This Petition was repeated ſeveral times (9), without the King's returning an Anſwer. Not that he had reſolved to reject it. He was no more at Liberty to follow his own Councils, than when he was under the Guardianſhip of the Queen, and the Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Duke of *York* had a mind this Nomination ſhould not appear forced. At length, the Parliament being prorogued to the 12th of *November*, on the very Day, the King ſigned a Patent wherein he ſaid, That having been frequently petitioned by his Parliament to nominate a Protector, he appointed the Duke of *York* for that important Employ, till he ſhould be removed by the Parliament, or the young Prince of *Wales* capable of exerciſing it (10). Then, after a Month's Seſſion, the Parliament was prorogued to the 14th of *January*.

The Parliament is prorogued.

The King makes the Duke of York *Protector.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 369, 370.

1456. *Project againſt the Duke of* York. Hall.

Whilſt the Duke of *York* thus enjoyed the Advantage he had gained upon his Enemies, theſe were not idle. The Queen, who knew his deſigns, was too much concerned, as well for her own, as the King's, and her Son's ſake, not to try to diſappoint them. *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet* (11), Son of him ſlain at St. *Albans*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, were equally deſirous of revenging, the one his Son's, the other his Father's Death. In fine, all the Princes and Lords allied to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or attached to its Intereſt, ſeeing the Duke of *York* taking large Steps towards the Throne, were prepared to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſtop his Progreſs. Mean while, the Duke of *York* lived in a Security which aſtoniſhed his very Enemies. He perceived, it would be very dangerous, openly to aſpire to a Crown, which had been Fifty-ſix Years in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. Wherefore he choſe to wait, till time ſhould produce a favorable opportunity to proſecute his Right. Above all things, he wanted to gain the People's Affection, without which he was ſatisfied, all his Endeavours would be fruitleſs. So, to demonſtrate, he was not ſwayed by Paſſion or Intereſt, he left the King and Queen at full Liberty. He imagined, it was not in their Power to deprive him of the Protectorſhip, which, according to his Patent, he was to enjoy till removed by the Parliament. But he had to deal with an able and enterpriſing Princeſs, who was not diſcouraged at the Obſtacles ſhe met in her way.

His Unconcernedneſs prejudicial to his Affairs.

The King recovers.

The King being recovered, the Duke of *York*'s Enemies reſolved to improve this Juncture, to diveſt him of his Dignity of Protector, which gave him ſo great a Power. It would have been eaſy for him to foreſee, the Pretence of the King's Recovery might be uſed, as it was once before, if he had not been blinded by the Clauſe in

(1) About two thouſand Men. Among which were, *Edmund Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Stafford* his eldeſt Son, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, *John Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet*, *Jaſper Teudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Thomas* Lord *Clifford*, the Lords *Sudley*, *Barns*, *Roſſe*, and others. They ſet out from *Weſtminſter*, *May* 20 or 21, came to *Watford* that Night, and the next Day to St. *Albans*. The King ſet up his Standard in a place called *Goſelow*, or *Sandiford*, in St. *Peter*'s Street. In the mean time, the Duke of *York* lay encamped in *Keye-field*, having with him *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *William* Lord *Fauconbridge*, *Edward* Lord *Cobham*, &c. and not above three thouſand Men. Before they came to an Engagement, Propoſals for an Accommodation paſſed between the King and the Duke, but to no purpoſe. *Hall*, fol. 168. *Stow*, p. 398, 399. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1287, 1288.

(2) All Hiſtorians ſay, it was on the 23d. See *Hall*, fol. 168. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1288. *Biondi*, p. 162, &c.

(3) So ſays *Stow*, p. 400. *Hall* hath above eight thouſand, fol. 168. But *Hollingſhead*, with great probability thinks, it ſhould be but eight hundred, p. 1288. There were ſix hundred ſlain on the Duke of *York*'s Side. *Stow*, p. 400.

(4) *Henry Percy*, Son of *Hotſpur*, by the eldeſt Daughter of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*: He left Iſſue nine Sons, (of whom *Henry*, then thirty three Years of Age, ſucceeded him) and two Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 281.

(5) Of whom forty eight were buried in the Abbey of St. *Albans*. *Stow*, p. 400. *Hall*, fol. 168.

(6) As did alſo *Thomas Thorp*, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. *Stow*, p. 400.

(7) The next Day. *Ibid.*

(8) *July* 9, at *Weſtminſter*. ----- In this Parliament it was enacted, That whereas there were fourſcore Attornies or more, in the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and the City of *Norwich*; moſt of whom had no other thing to live upon but their Practice, and the major Part were not of ſufficient knowledge; That therefore from henceforth, there ſhould be but ſix common Attornies in the County of *Norfolk*, the ſame Number in the County of *Suffolk*, and two in the City of *Norwich*, upon pain of forfeiting twenty Pounds. *Statute.* 33 *Hen.* VI. c. 7.

(9) On the 13th, 15th, and 17th of *November*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 658.

(10 A Salary of four thouſand Marks was allowed the Duke, for his Office of Protector. *Ibid.*

(11) He bore the Title of Earl of *Mortagne* in his Father's Life-time. See Note, p. 535.

1456. *The Duke of York is diſmiſſed from the Protectorſhip Feb. 23.*

his Patent. But this Clauſe whereon he relied, was a weak Fence againſt the Attempts of his Enemies. The Parliament being re-aſſembled, the King went in Perſon and declared, that being, by God's Grace, in good Health, and able to reſume the Reins of the Government, he did not think the Kingdom any longer wanted a Protector. Then he deſired the Parliament to conſent, that the Duke of *York* might be diſmiſſed from that Office. Whether the Parliament thought the King's Demand reaſonable, or the Members had been gained unknown to the Duke, it was immediately reſolved, to grant the King's Requeſt. The ſame Day (1) the King ſent the Duke an Order to reſign the Office of Protector.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 373.

He withdraws from Court.

The Duke of *York* and his Party were amazed at this Proceeding. They eaſily perceived the Combination was too ſtrong to be broken. So, making, as it is ſaid, a Virtue of Neceſſity, they feigned patiently to ſubmit to the King's and the Parliament's Orders. However, under colour of having no farther Buſineſs at Court, they retired into the Country. But the Duke of *York*, and the Earls of *Salisbury* (2) and *Warwick*, kept within diſtance of each other in *Yorkſhire*.

Ib p. 388.

Sedition at London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Shortly after (3) there was a Sedition at *London*, occaſioned by a ſudden Quarrel between two Merchants, one an *Engliſhman*, and the other an *Italian* (4). The Mob riſing in favour of the *Engliſhman*, the King impowered the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Buckingham* to bring the Guilty to a Trial; but the Populace would not ſuffer them to execute their Commiſſion. The Queen ſuſpecting this Tumult to be raiſed by the Duke of *York*'s Adherents, and not thinking the King ſafe at *London*, carried him to *Coventry*, under colour of taking the Air. But beſides this, ſhe had another Motive of no leſs Importance: And that was, to inſnare at once the Duke of *York*, and the two Earls his Friends, who were all three retired into the North. She was informed, that though they were ſeparated in appearance, they had, on divers Pretences, frequent Conferences together, at which ſeveral other Lords of their Party were preſent. As ſhe could not doubt, it was to concert Meaſures againſt the King, ſhe believed ſhe ſhould have them in her Power, if ſhe could draw them to *Coventry*, where they would not find the ſame Protection as at *London*. To that end, ſhe ſent them Letters under the King's own hand (5), requiring their Preſence at Court, where their Advice was wanted, in an Affair of the utmoſt Importance.

The Queen takes the King into Warwickſhire. Hall. Stow.

She tries to draw the three Lords to Court. Act. Pub XI. p. 401.

They are like to be intrapped. Hollingſh. Stow. Hall.

The Duke of *York* had not yet done any thing openly, which ſhewed, that he aſpired to the Crown. This was a Secret between him and his principal Friends. It is very true, the Court was perſuaded of it, but it was not poſſible to convict him. Hitherto he had varniſhed his Actions with the Good of the Publick, and for that very reaſon was formidable to the Court. But though it was not eaſy to condemn him legally, he could not be ignorant, there were ſpeedier and more certain ways to diſpatch him, and that his Enemies were not over-ſcrupulous. Beſides, though he had artfully concealed his Deſigns from the People, he could not think of deceiving the Queen, who was too much concerned not to diſcover them. Notwithſtanding theſe Conſiderations, which ſhould have created a Jealouſy in the three Lords who had received the King's Letters, they reſolved to go to him. They flattered themſelves, that *Henry* being at length ſenſible of the Miſmanagement of the Queen and the Miniſtry, required their Aſſiſtance, in making ſome Alterations at Court. But whilſt they were on the Road to *Coventry*, their private Emiſſaries undeceived them, by warning them of their Danger. This Advice cauſing them to take other meaſures, they thought proper to ſeparate. The Duke of *York* withdrew to his Caſtle of *Wigmore*, in the Marches of *Wales*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Seat [at *Middleham*] in *Yorkſhire* (6); as for the Earl of *Warwick*, he went directly to *Calais*, of which he was made Governor after the Battle of St. *Albans*. The Queen was extremely vexed at this diſappointment, but her Comfort was, ſhe had ſeparated the three Lords, and ſo rendered them leſs formidable to her.

But upon notice of the Queen's Deſigns they retire. Hall. Stow.

1457. *The French invade the Coaſts of England. Hall Stow. P. Daniel.*

The Fears and Jealouſies of both Parties were a little interrupted during the Year 1457, by foreign Affairs. As the *Engliſh* had formerly improved the Diſſenſions in *France*, to make Conqueſts upon that Kingdom, *Charles* VII thought he ſhould not neglect the Advantages, which the Quarrels of the *Engliſh* Court ſeemed to offer him. For that purpoſe, he prepared two Fleets which were to invade *England*, in two different Quarters. The firſt ſailing to the *Downs*, plundered the Town of *Sandwich* (7). The other ſerved [*Foy*] a little Town of *Cornwall*, in the ſame manner. But this was all they did worth remarking. Probably, they were too ill provided to venture upon more important Attempts. So, it was properly but a kind of Bravado, to inſult the *Engliſh* in their own Country, after their expulſion out of *France*.

1457. Monſtrelet.

The Scots invade the northern Parts.

About the ſame time the *Scots* made likewiſe an Inroad into the northern Counties, and carried away ſome Booty. Indeed, there was a Truce concluded in 1453, between *England* and *Scotland*, till the 21ſt of *May* this Year, on condition, that when this Term was expired, which ever of the two King's intended to renew the War, he ſhould give the other one hundred and eighty days notice. But ſo many outrages had been committed on both Sides, that neither Party thought themſelves obliged to obſerve the Treaty. The very laſt Year, the two Kings had ſent each other abuſive Letters, full of Haughtineſs and Contempt. However, whether the *Scots* intended only to revenge ſome particular Injury, or for ſome other Reaſon, the Truce was renewed from the 6th of *July* this Year, to that day Twelvemonth, 1459, and afterwards prolonged to the 6th of *July* 1463.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 327.

p. 383.

Truce renewed with Scotland.

p. 389, 407.

The Affairs with the foreign Enemies being ended, domeſtick Quarrels were going to be renewed, if ſome peaceful Perſons had not uſed their Endeavours, to prevent the fatal Conſequences of theſe Diviſions. It was eaſy to ſee, that the two Parties, in deciding their Quarrel by Arms, could not but ruin the Kingdom, and occaſion in the end ſome ſad Revolution. Neither Party was ſo ſuperior, as to promiſe themſelves certain Victory. Succeſs depended on the Events of the War, too doubtful for either to found any reaſonable hopes upon. The Duke of *York* was ſenſible, it was no eaſy thing to diſpoſſeſs by Force, a King that had been on the Throne thirty five Years. The truth is, *Henry* was little eſteemed by his Subjects, on account of his Incapacity; but he gained their Affection by his innocent Life, and good Intentions, though ill-ſupported by his ſlender Abilities. On the other hand, the Queen, the new Duke of *Somerſet*, who held the late Duke his Father's Poſt, the reſt of the Miniſtry, and the whole Houſe of *Lancaſter*, were in a very tottering State. The *French* and *Scots* took Advantage of theſe Quarrels to invade the Kingdom, and all the Miſcarriages were laid upon thoſe who governed in the King's Name. The Court ſaw plainly, the Duke of *York* uſed this pretence to ſtir up the People againſt them. Though hitherto he had not made all the Progreſs, he could have wiſhed, he ſaw himſelf, however, able very ſoon, to make a much more conſiderable. Theſe Reaſons, added to the King's Inſtances to adjuſt theſe Differences, moved the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet*, at length to ſend the Duke of *York* an Offer of a ſincere Reconciliation. This firſt Step being taken, the King deſired the Duke of *York* and his Friends to repair to *London*, a Place by them unſuſpected, in order to endeavour an Agreement. He writ them a Letter with his own Hand, promiſing upon his Salvation, he would do them no Injury, and that his Intention was ſincere.

1458. *The two Parties are outwardly reconciled.*

Hall.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Such an Invitation could not be rejected, without openly declaring himſelf, which the Duke of *York* was willing to avoid. So, the Lords of his Party reſolved to accept it. They were jealous however of the Queen, who, on her Part, had as little Confidence in them. It may be, they were both equally in the right. Very likely, each Party hoped to reap ſome Advantage from this Proceeding, without intending however to alter their firſt Projects. Mean while, to remove all Fears, it was agreed, that both Parties might be attended with a certain Number of armed Followers. Nay, the King gave the Earl of *Warwick* Leave, who was to come from *Calais*, to bring with him four and twenty Foreigners, beſides *Engliſh* (8).

Hall.

(1) *February* 25. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 370.

(2) He was made Chancellor, at the ſame time that the Duke of *York* was appointed Protector, but they were both deprived of their Offices at the ſame time. *Hall*, fol. 169. *Stow*, p. 400, 401.

(3) In *May*.

(4) The Ground and Riſe of this Quarrel was thus: An *Engliſh* Merchant's Servant that had formerly been in *Italy*, and blamed, or puniſhed for wearing a Dagger at his Girdle, meeting an *Italian* Merchant's Servant with one in *Cheapſide*, queſtioned him about it; and words ariſing, the *Engliſhman* ſnatched the Dagger from the *Italian*, and broke it about his Head. Whereupon a great Tumult enſuing, the Mob rifled the Houſes of ſeveral *Italian* Merchants; but three were executed for this Riot. *Fabian. Stow*, p. 401. *Hall*, fol. 169, 170. He calls them Merchants.

(5) Under the Privy-Seal. *Hall*, fol. 171.

(6) This Lordſhip came to the *Nevils* by *Mary*, Daughter and Coheir to *Ralph Fitz-Randulph*, Lord of *Middleham*, who was married to *Robert de Nevil*, one of the Anceſtors of the Earl of *Salisbury*. This *Robert de Nevil*, frequenting the Company of a certain Lady in *Craven* in an adulterous Manner, was ſurprized by the Lady's Husband, who in revenge cut off his Genitals, which threw him into ſuch exceſſive Grief, that he died, *June* 6. 1271, 55 *Henry* III. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p 292.

(7) They landed there *Auguſt* 28, with four thouſand Men. *P. Daniel.* Tom. VI. p. 292.

(8) He brought with him ſix hundred Men in red Coats, embroidered with white ragged Staves before and behind. The Earl of *Salisbury* brought five hundred. The Duke of *York* four hundred. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* eight hundred. The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Egremont* and *Clifford* fifteen hundred. *Stow*, p. 403.

1458. Every thing being thus ſettled, the Lords of both Parties came to *London* in *January*; but the Earl of *Warwick* arrived not till *February*. They were lodged in two different Quarters (1), to avoid the Diſorders which their being together might occaſion. The Mayor of *London* (2) rode every Night round the City with his Train-bands, to the Number of ten Thouſand. The King and Queen entered the City the 27th of *March*, and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace, at an equal diſtance from both Parties.

Hollingſh. Hall. Stow.

Mediators being choſen with unanimous Conſent, ſuch was the diſpoſition of both Sides, that on the 3d of *April* a Reconciliation was made (3) to the common Satisfaction of the King, the Queen, the Parties concerned, and the whole Kingdom. The Subſtance of the Agreement was, that, all Animoſity being laid aſide, the Lords ſhould live together in Peace and Concord, and in perfect Obedience to the King's Commands. But to avoid all occaſion of Complaint, it was agreed, that the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with ſome others of that Party, ſhould be admitted into the Council (4). Then the 5th of *April* was appointed for a publick Thankſgiving-Day, for this Reconciliation, by a ſolemn Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s Church (5). The King and Queen, and all the Lords were preſent, and walked two and two, one of each Party, in token of a perfect Union (6). The Duke of *York* led the Queen by the Hand, who publickly gave him Marks of Confidence and Eſteem.

Hollingſh. Stow.

The Duke of York and his Friends readmitted into the Council.

Solemn Proceſſion.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

It appeared however ſoon after, that this Confidence, of which ſo great ſhew was made on both Sides, was far from being reſtored. The Duke of *York* and his two principal Friends, always fearing ſome Treachery from their reconciled Enemies, withdrew from Court on divers Pretences. The Duke and the Earl of *Salisbury* went to *York*, and the Earl of *Warwick* to his Government of *Calais*. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, this Earl being Admiral of the Channel, equipped fourteen Ships, to give chace to ſome *Spaniſh* Corſairs, who infeſted the narrow Seas, and meeting them, ſunk ſeveral, and brought ſix to *Calais*. But probably they were miſtaken, ſince the *Collection of the Publick Acts* gives us quite another Idea of this Affair. It is true, we find there Complaints from the Republicks of *Genoa* and *Lubeck* to the King againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, and that the King appointed Commiſſioners to take Informations. But in this Commiſſion there is no mention of *Spaniſh* Ships. It even appears, that this Engagement was occaſioned by an accidental Quarrel between the Ships of *Genoa* and *Lubeck*, and thoſe which were conveying the Earl of *Warwick* with his Retinue to *Calais*. This does not ſhew they were Pyrates, or that the Earl of *Warwick* attacked them deſignedly, Be this as it will, upon this Complaint he was forced to return to *England* to anſwer for himſelf, and ſtaid ſix or ſeven Weeks.

The Duke of York and his Friends retire from Court.

The Earl of Warwick ſeizes upon ſome foreign Ships.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 406, 415.

He comes to England to juſtify what he had done.

Whilſt the Earl was at *London*, it happened one day, whilſt he was preſent at the Council, one of his People quarrelled with a Servant of the King's, and wounded him: Whereupon the reſt of the King's Domeſticks arming themſelves, ſome with Swords, others with Clubs or other Weapons, ran to revenge their Comrade. As they could not find the Aggreſſor, they fell upon the reſt of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Retinue. In ſhort, They even aſſaulted his Perſon, as he was coming out of the Council to go to his Barge, which waited for him on the *Thames*. The Aſſault was ſo violent, that he very hardly eſcaped to his Barge, after ſeeing ſeveral of his People killed on the ſpot. He did not doubt this was a Contrivance of the Queen to diſpatch him, without appearing to be concerned. He was confirmed in his Opinion, when he heard the King had ordered him to be arreſted and ſent to the *Tower*. He had notice timely enough to diſappoint thoſe who were ſent to arreſt him. It is very difficult to decide, whether the Queen contrived this Quarrel to diſpatch him, or whether it happened by Accident. However this be, the Order to apprehend him, though he himſelf had reaſon to complain, made him ſenſible, he ſhould never be more ſecured from the Plots of his Enemies, than by attacking them with open Force. With a Mind full of Reſentment at this Affront, he went to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Father; and without delay, they repaired together to the Duke of *York*, to conſult what was to be done in this Juncture. From what had lately paſſed, they concluded, the Reconciliation at *London* was only a Snare to ſurprize them the more eaſily, and deſtroy them one after another. Perhaps they were not ſorry for having this Excuſe to juſtify their Reſolution of acting openly, as not being able to rely any more on the Promiſes of the Court. Purſuant to this Project, the Earl of *Warwick* ſpeedily returned to *Calais* to ſecure that Place, not queſtioning that there was a deſign to take it from him.

Quarrel between his and the King's Servants.

Hall. Stow.

He is attacked, and hardly eſcapes.

He is ordered to be ſeized.

Hall.

1458. *He takes meaſures with his Father and the Duke of York.*

He returns to Calais. Hall.

Mean while, the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took meaſures to execute their Projects. They agreed, whilſt the Duke was levying an Army in *Wales*, the Earl ſhould advance towards *London* at the head of five or ſix thouſand Men (7), and openly demand Satisfaction for the Injury done to his Son. As this Deſign could not be executed without the Queen's Knowledge, the Lord *Audley* (8) was commiſſioned to raiſe Troops (9), and oppoſe the Earl of *Salisbury* (10). *Audley* made ſuch diſpatch, that in a very ſhort time he was at the head of ten thouſand Men, and in condition to march towards *Lancaſhire*, thro' which the Earl of *Salisbury* was to paſs. But he found the Earl was already advanced as far as *Shropſhire*, where the two Armies met. The Earl of *Salisbury*, though but half as ſtrong as the Enemy, did not think proper to retreat, but reſolved to make uſe of Stratagem to obtain a Victory, which otherwiſe he could not expect. *Audley* being encamped on *Blore-Heath* near a little River, *Salisbury* poſted himſelf on the other Side, as if he meant to guard the Paſs, and hinder his being attacked. Then ſuddenly feigning a Fear, he retired in the Night, marching ſo, as at break of Day his Enemies could ſtill ſee the Rear of his Army. This Retreat, which ſeemed to be with precipitation, inſpiring the Royaliſts with Ardor, they began to paſs the River in diſorder, imagining they had nothing to do, but to purſue the flying Enemy. But whilſt they were in this Confuſion, ſome being over the River, others in the Water, and others ready to paſs, the Earl of *Salisbury* returned and fell upon the Troops already over, who had ſcarce time to draw up. The Fight laſted however four or five Hours, becauſe the King's Troops were ſupported by thoſe that were continually paſſing. But as this could not be done without Confuſion, the Royal Army was at length put to rout with the Loſs of two thouſand four hundred Men. *Audley* himſelf was ſlain with all the principal Officers (11).

1459. *The Earl of Salisbury marches towards London with an Army.* *The Lord Audley is ſent againſt him.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Battle of Blore-Heath. *Audley is ſlain.* Hall. Hollingſh.

The Earl of *Salisbury* having thus opened a Paſſage, joined the Duke of *York*, who was raiſing Troops in *Wales*. It would have been too dangerous to continue his March towards *London*, becauſe the Court had now aſſembled a great Force at *Coventry*. The Queen, who ſtill commanded in the King's Name, uſed all poſſible Endeavours to have a ſtrong Army. She ſaw plainly, there was nothing to be done without a great Superiority. On the other hand, the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* were no leſs intent upon procuring all poſſible Aſſiſtance, in order to withſtand the Forces that were preparing againſt them. They ſent word to the Earl of *Warwick*, it would be very neceſſary to come and join them, and try to bring them ſome Troops. Upon this Advice, *Warwick* left *Calais* under the Government of *William Nevil* Lord *Falconbridge* his Uncle, and took with him Part of the Garriſon, of which he gave the Command to Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the Wars of *France* (12).

Salisbury joins York. *The Court raiſes an Army.*

The Duke of York prepares alſo.

The Earl of Warwick joins the Duke of York. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

It was ſeven Months after the Battle of *Blore-Heath*, before the two Parties had drawn all their Forces together. *October* was come, and no Motion yet made on either Side. At length the King departed from *Coventry*, where he had aſſembled his Troops, and marched towards *Wales* in queſt of the Male-contents, who were encamped about *Ludlow*.

The King marches towards the Male-contents. Hall.

(1) The Duke of *York* at *Baynard*'s Caſtle, which belonged to him; the Earl of *Salisbury* at his own Houſe, called the *Herber*; and the Earl of *Warwick* at his Houſe near the *Grey Friers*. The Duke of *Somerſet* and his Friends were lodged without *Temple-Bar*, *Holbourn*, and other Places in the Suburbs. *Hall*, fol. 171. *Stow*, p. 403. *Hollingſh.* 1292. The former Party held their Conſultation at the *Black-Friers*; and the latter in the *Chapter-Houſe* at *Weſtminſter*. *Ibid.*

(2) Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Anceſtor of two famous Queens; *Ann*, ſecond Wife of *Henry* VIII, and Queen *Elizabeth*, their Daughter.

(3) Through the Perſuaſions of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Prelates. *Hall*, fol. 172. *Hollingſh.* p. 1292. *Stow*, p. 403.

(4) This Agreement paſſed the Great Seal, *March* 24. *Hollingſh.* p. 1293.

(5) Our Hiſtorians ſay, it was *March* 25. *Stow*, p. 404.

(6) Before the King went, Hand in Hand, the Duke of *Somerſet* and Earl of *Salisbury*; the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Warwick*: And behind the King came the Queen and Duke of *York*. *Hall*. fol. 172. *Stow*, p. 404.

(7) Four or five thouſand. *Hall*, fol. 173. *Stow*, p. 404. *Hollingſh.* p. 1294.

(8) *James Tuchet*, Grandſon of *John Tuchet*, by *Joan*, Daughter and Heir of *Nicholas Alditbly* or *Audley* of *Heleigh*, who died without Iſſue-Male. Wherefore the Poſterity of the ſaid *John* and *Joan* had the Title of Lord *Audley*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron*. Vol. II. p. 28.

(9) Becauſe his Seignory and Power lay in thoſe Parts. *Hall*, &c. Ibid.

(10) And ordered to bring the Earl dead or alive. *Ibid.*

(11) The *Cheſhire* Men were the greateſt Sufferers, who wore that Day little ſilver Swans, the Prince of *Wales*'s Badge, which the Queen had ordered to be diſtributed to all the Gentlemen of that Country. *Hollingſh.* p. 1295. *Stow*, p. 404. This Battle was fought on *September* 23, about a Mile from *Drayton* in *Shropſhire*, on *Blore-Heath*, which lies in *Staffordſhire*, where, at the Head of the River *Sow*, a Stone is ſet up in Memory of *James* Lord *Audley* there ſlain. *Camd. Add. to Stafford.*——The moſt eminent Perſons ſlain in this Action, beſides the Lord *Audley*, were, Sir *Thomas Dutton*, Sir *John Dunne*, Sir *Hugh Venables*, Sir *Richard Melineux*, Sir *John Leigh*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 163. *Hollingſh.* p. 1293.

(12) And to Sir *John Blunt*. *Hall*. fol. 174.

1459. When he came to *Gloceſter* (1) he made a Halt, and ſent an Offer of Pardon to the Rebels (2) provided they would lay down their Arms. They anſwered, they could no longer rely on ſuch Promiſes, which were intended only to ſurprize them, as was viſible in what had happened at *London* to the Earl of *Warwick*; that nevertheleſs, they were ready to ſubmit to the King, if ſome Expedient could be found for their Safety. Upon this Anſwer the King ordered his Army to advance. At the ſame time, he gave the Duke of *Somerſet* a Patent to be Governor of *Calais*, in the room of the Earl of *Warwick*. But it was eaſier to give the Duke this Government in Parchment, than to put him in poſſeſſion.

He offers them a Pardon. *They demand Security.* Hollingſh. Stow.

The King makes Somerſet Governor of Calais Act. Pub. XI. p. 436, 439

The King having advanced with deſign to give Battle, the *Yorkiſts* ſent him a very ſubmiſſive Letter, praying him to conſider, that they had taken Arms only in their own Defence, againſt the Attempts of their Enemies; That this Intention appeared, in their keeping themſelves in a Corner of the Kingdom, without undertaking any thing, being determined not to fight unleſs forced; That they deſired only the Redreſs of the Grievances introduced into the Government, to the great Oppreſſion of the People, by the Fault of the Miniſtry. Laſtly, they beſought the King, to look upon them as loyal Subjects, who had formed no Deſign againſt his Perſon and to reſtore them to Favour.

Letter of the Male-contents to the King. Hollingſh. Stow.

This Letter had a quite contrary Effect to what they expected. Their Enemies not queſtioning but Fear had made them talk thus, advanced within half a Mile of them, with a Reſolution to give them Battle next day. At the ſame time, they found means to diſperſe in the Enemy's Camp the King's Proclamation, offering Pardon to all the Adherents of the rebellious Lords, provided they would lay down their Arms. This Proclamation had a ſurprizing Effect. The Duke of *York*'s Troops imagining the King offered a Pardon, by reaſon of the Superiority of his Forces, and that there was no time to loſe to take the Benefit of it, immediately began to disband themſelves. Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who commanded the Detachment of the Garriſon of *Calais*, put the whole Army in Diſorder, by flying in the Night to the King's Camp, with the Troops under his Command. This Deſertion, which increaſed every moment, threw the Leaders into ſo terrible a Conſternation, that fearing to be delivered to the King as ſoon as Day ſhould appear, they choſe to ſave themſelves by flight. The Duke of *York* taking with him the Earl of *Rutland* his ſecond Son, embarked for *Ireland*. The Earl of *Warwick* fled towards *Calais*, and the Earl of *Saliſbury* ſpeedily followed him, with the Earl of *March* eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York* (3). This young Prince was then nineteen Years old. The Generals being retired, the reſt of the Officers and Soldiers thus abandoned were reduced to the King's Mercy, who was pleaſed to pardon all, except a few that were executed for an Example.

They are deſerted by their Troops. Hollingſh.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Duke of York flies into Ireland. Warwick and Saliſbury to Calais. Hall.

The Parliament being aſſembled in *December* (4), declared the Duke of *York* and his Adherents guilty of High-Treaſon. Their Eſtates were confiſcated, and they and their Poſterity, pronounced incapable of Inheriting, to the fourth Generation. We ſee here a remarkable Inſtance of the Variableneſs of the Parliament, according as the Face of Affairs was altered. I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter to take notice of many the like Inſtances.

The Duke of York and his Adherents are attainted. Cotton's Abridg. Hollingſh. Stow.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, the Duke of *Somerſet* embarked with a Body of Troops (5), in order to take poſſeſſion of his Government of *Calais*; but the Garriſon firing upon him, he was obliged to land elſewhere, and retire to *Guiſnes*, from whence he made frequent Incurſions about *Calais*. But thoſe little Sallies were not capable of rendering him Maſter of ſo ſtrong a Place.

The Duke of Somerſet is repulſed at Calais. Hall. Hollingſh.

1460. The Queen finding the Earl of *Warwick* would not be deprived of his Government, equipped a Fleet to tranſport Succours to the Duke of *Somerſet*. This Fleet, well provided with all things, lay at *Sandwich* in expectation of a fair Wind. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice of it, ſent a Body of Troops privately from *Calais*, under the Command of Sir *John Dinham*, who arriving at *Sandwich* about break of Day, ſurprized moſt of the Officers in their Beds (6). As ſoon as he had them in his Power, he found means to gain the Soldiers and Mariners, and carried the King's Ships to *Calais* (7). 1460.

The Queen ſends him Supplies, which are carried off to Calais. Hall. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. XI. p. 440.

The Earl of *Warwick* made uſe of theſe Ships to convoy him into *Ireland*, where he went to concert meaſures with the Duke of *York*, for their common Defence. After he had been about a Month (8) on this Voyage, he met in his Return the Duke of *Exeter* (9), Admiral of *England*, who waited to take him in his Paſſage. But the Royal Fleet were ſo little inclined to fight againſt him, that the Duke of *Exeter* fearing to receive ſome Diſgrace, thought not proper to attack him.

Warwick conſults with York. Hal. Act. Pub. XI. p. 449. *The Duke of Exeter dares not attack him.*

The Queen and the Miniſters doubted not, that the Interview of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Warwick* would produce a freſh Rebellion. For this reaſon, at a Council held upon that occaſion, it was reſolved, ſtrict Search ſhould be made in all the Counties and Towns of the Kingdom, for the Adherents of the Duke of *York*, and that ſuch ſhould be ſuppreſſed as favoured him moſt, and were beſt able to ſerve him. It was not queſtioned, but this Method would put an effectual Stop to his ambitious Purſuits. Purſuant to this Reſolution, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Scales* (10) were impowered to inquire out thoſe that bore Arms for the Male-contents in the late Rebellion, and to puniſh them according to Law. Theſe two Lords began to execute their Commiſſion, in ſome of the Towns (11) which had moſt openly declared for the Duke of *York*, and condemned ſeveral Perſons to Death. Of all the Counties of the Kingdom, none had more reaſon to dread the Court's Reſentment than *Kent*. Upon all occaſions that County had ſhewn a very ſtrong Attachment to the Duke of *York*, and what was done there in favour of *Cade* was not yet forgot. So, the Inhabitants of *Kent* perceiving, by what was practiſed in other Places, that their Ruin was unavoidable, began early to think of means to prevent it. To that end, they ſent word to the Lords at *Calais*, if they would make a Deſcent in their Country, they ſhould be received with open Arms, and the Inhabitants were ready to venture their Lives and Fortunes with them.

The Court reſolves to be rid of the York ſtaw. Act. Pub. XI. p. 445. *A Commiſſion to that End.* Stow. *Kent alarmed at it,* Stow. *and invites over the Lords at* Calais.

This Overture was very agreeable to the Lords. However, not to embark raſhly in this Affair, they ſent the Lord *Falconbridge* to be aſſured of their Sincerity. *Falconbridge* meeting at Sea with Sir *Simon Montfort*, who was appointed to guard the Coaſts, attacked him, and taking him Priſoner with many other Officers, ſent them all to *Calais*. Upon their Arrival, the Earl of *March* ordered *Montfort* with twelve of his Captains to be beheaded, by way of retaliation for his Father's Adherents, who had been executed in *England*. Theſe are almoſt unavoidable Cruelties in ſuch Civil Wars.

They ſend Falconbridge before; Hollingſh. Stow.

Falconbridge being come to *Sandwich*, found the Inhabitants of that Place and of the whole County of *Kent*, ſo well affected to the Lords, that he writ to *Calais*, there was no time to be loſt; that the County of *Kent* was going to be ruined, if not ſpeedily relieved; and that in the Terror People were under, it was not to be doubted, that ſeveral other Counties, as well as *Kent*, would riſe againſt the Court, if they could hope to be ſupported. This Juncture appearing very favorable, the Lords at *Calais* reſolved to improve it, and took care to inform the Duke of *York*, who ſtill kept in *Ireland*. Before they ſailed, a Manifeſto was diſperſed in *Kent* and in the neighbouring Parts (12), declaring that the ſole Motive of their taking Arms, was to free the poor People from the Oppreſſion they groaned under, and ſecure their Liberties and Privileges. It was added, that they did not queſtion, but all honeſt *Engliſhmen* would aſſiſt in the Execution of ſo good a Deſign. This Manifeſto had ſuch an Effect, that the Lords arriving at *Sandwich* with fifteen hundred Men only, found there a Body of four thouſand armed Men conducted by the Lord *Cobham* (13). With this Reinforcement they began their March towards *London*, knowing the Citizens were ready to receive them. And indeed the Gates being opened to them, they entered the City, at the head of forty thouſand Men, their Army increaſing to that Number in

Who ſends backward how the People ſtood affected. Hollingſh.

The Lords publiſh a Manifeſto. Stow, p. 406.

They arrive at Sandwich. Their Army is increaſed to forty thouſand. They are admitted into London. Hollingſh.

(1) To *Worceſter* ſays *Hollingſh.* p. 1296. *Stow*, p. 405.
(2) By *Richard Beauchamp*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*. *Ibid.*
(3) Theſe three Lords came into *Devonſhire*, where, by the means of *John Dinham*, who was High-Treaſurer in the Reign of *Henry* VII, they bought a Ship at *Exmouth*, and ſailed to *Guerneſey*, and from thence to *Calais*. *Hall*, fol. 174. *Hollingſh.* p. 1297——After this, the King committed the Cuſtody of the northern Parts to *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *John* Lord *Clifford*. *Hall*, fol. 175. *Hollingſh*, p. 1297.
(4) It met *November* 20. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 661.
(5) In *October*; with *Henry* Lord *Roos*, and the Lord *Audley*. This laſt was taken Priſoner by the Garriſon of *Calais*. *Stow*, p. 406.
(6) *Richard Woodvil* Earl of *Rivers*, the Admiral, and his Son *Anthony*, were both taken Priſoners. *Hall*, fol. 175. *Hollinſhead*, p. 1298.
(7) The Ships that had brought the Duke of *Somerſet* to *Flanders*, revolted alſo, and went over to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Calais*. *Hall*, fol. 175. *Hollingſh.* p. 1297.
(8) He went, and came back, from *Calais* to *Dublin*, in leſs than a Month. *Hall*; ibid.
(9) *Henry Holland.*
(10) *Thomas* Lord *Scales*. *Anthony Woodvil*, Son of the Earl *Rivers*, marrying *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir of this *Thomas* Lord *Scales* of *Nocals*, was thereupon, 2 *Edward* IV, declared Lord *Scales*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 231.
(11) In *Newbury*, a Lordſhip belonging to the Duke of *York*. *Dugdale.*
(12) *Stow*, who hath it at length in his *Annals*, ſays, it was directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to the Commons of *England*, p. 407.
(13) With whom were *John Guildford*, *William Peebe*, *Robert Horne*, and many other Gentlemen. *Hall*, fol. 176. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1298.

ſo

1460. so short a March. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, *Exeter* declared for them.

The Queen tries in vain to prevent them. Hall. Hollingsh.

Mean while, the Queen who was at *Coventry*, was not idle. She had endeavoured to hinder the Entrance of the Male-Contents into *London*, by sending the Lord *Scales* with a good Body of Troops. But the Mayor had refused him Admittance, even before the Arrival of the Lords. *Scales* being thus repulsed, had thrown himself into the *Tower*, from whence he threatned to demolish the City with his Cannon, if the Rebels were received. But his Threats were not capable of frightening the Citizens. In the mean time, the King and Queen were assembling their Forces at *Coventry*, with all possible diligence. As soon as their Army was ready to march, they gave the Command to the Duke of *Somerset*, lately returned from *Guisnes*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. But this was only for Form's sake, the Queen herself being really General, since every thing was done by her Orders, though the King was present in Person. The young Earl of *March*, hearing the Queen was marching to *London*, departed thence with twenty-five thousand Men to give her Battle before she should grow stronger. He left at *London* the Earl of *Salisbury*, with good Part of his Troops, and took with him the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham*, who served as his Lieutenants (1). At his Departure from *London*, the Lord *Scales* ordered the *Tower* Cannon to fire upon the City, and did some Damage (2). But by the Earl of *Salisbury*'s care, to prevent his having any Provisions, he was himself reduced to great Streights.

She assembles her Forces at Coventry, *and marches towards* London. Act. Pub. XI. p. 455.

Hall. Hollingsh. Stow.

The Queen passes a River to fight them. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The Queen advancing towards the Male-Contents, incamped on a Plain near *Northampton*, with a little River (3) behind her, which she had hastily passed, lest the Enemies should make use of it to avoid fighting: So desirous was she to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. But this Precaution was not only unserviceable to her, but, as will be seen presently, very prejudicial. The Earls of *March* and *Warwick*, likewise advancing, encamped the 17th of *July*, between *Torcester* and *Northampton*. The same day, they sent the Bishop of *Salisbury* to the King, beseeching him to suspend his Indignation, and consider with them of an Agreement, without Blood-shed. But the Court perceiving it to be only a general Proposal, intended merely to salve the Appearances, would by no means give Ear to it. So, both Sides prepared for Battle.

The Court rejects the Submission of the Lords.

The Battle of Northampton. Hall. Hollingsh.

On the 19th of *July* (4), the *Yorkists* advanced towards the King's Army. The Earl of *Warwick* commanded the Right Wing, the Lord *Cobham* the Left, and the Earl of *March* was in the Center. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham* were at the head of the Royalists, whilst the Queen kept at some distance, to observe what should pass, and give orders accordingly. The King remained in his Tent, waiting the Issue of a Battle, which, probably, was to secure, or deprive him of the Crown, for ever. The fight began not till two in the Afternoon, the Lords having first published in their Army, a strict Charge, not to hurt the King's Person, to spare the common Soldiers, and to fall upon the Officers only. The Battle lasted two, some say five, Hours, with great Fierceness and Obstinacy on both Sides, till at length the Lord *Grey* [of *Ruthin*,] who commanded a considerable Body of the King's Army, suddenly went over to the Male-contents. This unexpected Defection quite disheartened the Royalists. Apprehensive, that other Bodies would follow this Example, they began by degrees to give ground, and at last were routed, with the loss of ten thousand Men. The River which was in their Rear, caused the Slaughter to be greater than it would have been, if the vanquished could have more easily taken to Flight; besides, that many were drowned in endeavouring to repass the River. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son of the renowned *Talbot*, the Lord *Beaumont* (5), and several other Nobles and Officers of Distinction were slain on the spot. The Queen, the young Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *Somerset* fled without resting into the Bishoprick of *Durham*; so great was their Fear of being delivered to their Enemies. The unfortunate King, who continued in his Tent, fell once more into the Hands of the victorious Lords, who paid him however all the Respect he could have required of them, had he been in his greatest Prosperity. This deference was some Comfort to him in his present Condition, which would have been more worthy of Pity, if his natural Imbecillity had not rendered him insensible of good and bad Fortune. Immediately after the Battle, he was honorably conducted to *Northampton*, where he resided some time. After that, on the 16th of *August* (6), he came to *London*, surrounded with a crowd of Lords, who, a few days before, were in Arms against him. Mean while, the Queen, not thinking herself safe in *Durham*, privately retired with eight Persons only, into *Wales* (7), where she would never have been sought. Shortly after, she left that Retreat, and with the Prince her Son fled into *Scotland*.

The Royal Army is defeated and the King taken. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

Hall. Hollingsh.

The Queen flies to Durham.

1460. *The King is treated with respect,* Stow.

and conducted to London.

The Queen retires into Wales. Hall.

Upon the King's Arrival at *London*, he called a Parliament for the 2d of *October* (8). They who governed him wanted this delay, in order to send for the Duke of *York*, who was still in *Ireland*. They took care to acquaint him with what had passed, and desired him to repair to *London* with all possible speed, that he might be there at the opening of the Parliament, or sooner, if the Wind would permit. In this Interval, they acted in the King's Name, and made him sign all the Orders which agreed with their Interest. In the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, there is a Patent, confirming to the Earl of *Warwick* the Government of *Calais*; and an Order to the Duke of *Somerset*, to resign him that of *Guisnes*: And moreover, the King's Declaration, acknowledging the Duke of *York*, and his Adherents, for good and faithful Subjects, as having given undoubted Proofs of their Loyalty, not only in Words, but in Deeds.

A Parliament is called. Hall. Stow.

The King's Declaration in favour of the Duke of York. Act. Pub. XI. p. 459, 460

Whilst *England* was thus in Combustion, *James* II, King of *Scotland*, prepared to make an Irruption. It was the Duke of *York*, that after his retreat into *Ireland*, had, by some advantagious offers, engaged him to break with *Henry*, in expectation of reaping some Benefit himself from this Diversion. Though last Year, *James* had concluded with *England* a four years Truce (9), he believed, he ought to improve this opportunity. Indeed, he alledged several Reasons to colour his Invasion, but the Circumstances of *England* was the sole and real Motive of his Preparations. Be this as it will, a few days after the Battle of *Northampton*, he entered *England* at the head of an Army, and besieged *Roxborough*; but had not time to make any great Progress. One of his own Cannon happening to burst, he was killed with a Splinter on the 4th of *August*. *James* III, his eldest Son, then but seven Years old, was his Successor. The Queen his Widow, who was in the Army, carried on the Siege, till the Town was surrendered.

The King of Scotland *besieges* Roxborough. Ib. p. 426.

p. 461.

He is killed by the splitting of a Cannon. Buchanan.

The Death of *James* II. had been preceded some days, by that of *Charles* VII. King of *France*. It is pretended, he starved himself for fear of being poisoned by the Dauphin his Son, who mounted the Throne of *France* after him, by the Name of *Lewis* XI.

Charles VII. *dies, and is succeeded by* Lewis XI.

The Duke of *York* could not reach *London*, till two Days after the opening of the Parliament. He rid directly to *Westminster*, and alighting from his Horse, went to the House of Lords, where he stood some time under the Canopy of State, with his Hand on the Throne, expecting as it were, to be desired to seat himself thereon. But the Silence of the House was a plain Indication, his Intention was not universally approved. At the same time, to encrease his Confusion caused by their Silence, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* approaching him (10), asked him whether he would not go and pay his respects to the King. With what Caution soever the Duke had hitherto behaved he could not forbear changing Countenance at this Question, and telling the Archbishop, he knew no Person, to whom he owed that Honour. Upon these Words, he immediately withdrew to his own House. He was too discerning, not to perceive, he in vain expected to be intreated to accept of the Crown. So, with-

The Duke of York *arrives, and goes to the Parliament. He expects in vain to be asked to seat himself on the Throne.* Hall. Hollingsh.

(1) He had also with him the Lords *Fauconbridge*, *Clinton*, *Bourchier*, *Bergavenny*, *Say*, and *Scrope*, the Archbishop, &c. *Stow*, p. 408. *Hall*, fol. 176.

(2) With him, in the *Tower*, were the Lords *Vessy*, *Lovel*, *Delawaare*, *Kendal*; Sir *Edmund Hampden*, Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *John Bruse*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, Sir *Thomas Tyrrel*, &c. *Stow*, ibid.

(3) The River *Nyne*. *Hall*, fol. 176.

(4) The Ninth, says *Hall*, ibid. and *Hollingshead*, p. 1299.

(5) *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *John de Beaumont*, the first Viscount in *England*, created 18 *Henry* VI. as also *Thomas* Lord *Egremond*, Sir *William Lucy*, &c. The King's Cannon were rendered unserviceable in the Battle, by reason of the great Rains that fell that Day. *Hall*, fol. 176. *Hollingsh.* p. 1299. *Stow*, p. 409.

(6) The 16th of *July*. *Hall*, fol. 177. *Stow*, ibid.——On the 19th the *Tower* was delivered to the Earl of *March*. *Ibid.*

(7) To the Castle of *Hardlag* or *Harden*: She was plundered, in the way, of her Goods and Baggage, to the Value of ten thousand Marks. *Ibid.*

(8) It met the ninth. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 665.

(9) A five Years Truce, from *July* 6, 1463, to *July* 6, 1468. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 426.

(10) This Question was not put to him now, while he was standing under the Canopy of State; but at another time. And though he and the King were both lodged in the Palace at *Westminster*, yet for no Prayer or Intercession would he once visit and see him, till things were brought to a Conclusion. *Hall*, fol. 181.

1460. out concealing his Sentiments any longer, he ſent next Morning (1), a Writing to the Parliament, containing the Reaſons on which his Pretenſions were built. As they have been frequently mentioned, it will be needleſs to repeat them. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that he claimed the Crown as Heir of the Houſe of *March*. This Affair was very warmly debated in Parliament (2), according to the Knowledge and Inclinations of the Members. To relate all the Arguments alledged *pro* and *con*, would be exceſſively tedious; but as this is a Matter of great Moment, it will not be improper to give the Subſtance of the Objections to the Duke of *York*'s Claim, and the Replies of his Friends. I muſt not, however, forget to remark, that both Sides referred to the Deciſion of the Parliament, which they equally acknowledged for the ſole Judge of this Affair.

He ſends the Parliament a Memorial to juſtify his Claim. Cotton's Abridg. p. 665. Stow.

Arguments Pro and Con.

In the firſt place it was ſaid, when *Henry* IV. Grandfather of the preſent King, took poſſeſſion of the Throne, no Perſon offered to oppoſe him.

The Duke of *York*'s Friends replied, that as *Edmund* Earl of *March*, who was then alive, could not diſpute it, without manifeſt Danger, his Silence could not be interpreted for Conſent.

II. It was alledged on the King's behalf, that *Henry* IV, his Grandfather, had received the Crown by the Parliament's Authority. To this it was anſwered, the Duke of *York* did not pretend to take poſſeſſion, without the ſame Authority, as appeared in his Memorial directed to both Houſes. But, as the Parliament had ſtrong Reaſons to proceed contrary to Cuſtom, in favour of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; ſo they had at preſent as ſtrong, to do the Duke of *York* Juſtice. They who talked thus, took care not to diſpute the Parliament's Authority, at a time, when they meant to make uſe of it, to place the Duke of *York* on the Throne. But, probably, they did not ſpeak, upon this Subject, all their Thoughts.

III. The Reſignation of *Richard* II. was pleaded in behalf of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

Anſwer was made, by denying that *Richard*'s Reſignation concerned that Houſe in particular, or even the Perſon of *Henry* IV. But, ſuppoſing it ſo, it was not in the Power of a captive King, juſt going to be depoſed, to appoint a Succeſſor.

IV. It was objected againſt the Duke of *York*, that the Earl of *Cambridge* his Father, having been executed for High-Treaſon, his Poſterity were rendered incapable of any Inheritance.

The Duke's Adherents anſwered, he had been reſtored to his Honours, and all his Birth-Rights, and acknowledged for Duke of *York*, and Earl of *March*, by the King himſelf, and the whole Kingdom.

V. It was further urged, that the Houſe of *Lancaſter* had enjoyed the Crown above ſixty Years.

To this it was replied, that Preſcription was no Plea againſt the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, which was a natural Right, and not to be deſtroyed by a poſitive Law.

VI. Laſtly, it was repreſented in the King's favor, that having now reigned thirty eight Years, and all along led an innocent Life, without giving any Perſon cauſe to complain, it would be a great Cruelty to deprive him of the Crown.

This Argument ſeemed very ſtrong: But the Duke of *York*'s Friends replied, that *Henry* being incapable of governing by himſelf, to leave him in poſſeſſion of the Crown, was acting rather for the Queen and the Miniſters, who abuſed his Name and Authority, than for him. Moreover, the whole Kingdom was not to be ruined for his ſake, or a Wrong to be committed from a Motive of Charity.

It is decreed that the King ſhould enjoy the Crown during Life. Cotton's Abridg. p. 666. Stow. p. 409. Hall.

It may eaſily be judged, that theſe and ſeveral other Reaſons, alledged by the two Parties, were inlarged and diſplayed to the beſt Advantage, eſpecially in the Parliament, where there are generally many Perſons of great Abilities. This was a very proper Subject to exerciſe the Ingenious, difficult in it ſelf, and ſtill more ſo, by the preſent Situation of Affairs. At length, after a Debate of ſeveral days, it was reſolved (3), that *Henry* ſhould enjoy the Crown during his Life, and the Duke of *York* be declared his Succeſſor. This Reſolve was paſſed into an Act of Parliament, declaring, That notwithſtanding the Duke of *York*'s indiſputable Title to the Crown, he had freely conſented, that *Henry* ſhould poſſeſs it for his Life, and promiſed to ſwear Allegiance to him as his lawful Sovereign. But if the King ſhould any way break this Agreement, then the Crown ſhould immediately devolve to the Duke of *York*, or his lawful Heirs (4). 1460.

The Duke of York conſents to the Decree. Hall.

Very likely, this Agreement did not come up to the Duke of *York*'s Expectations. He was contented however, becauſe he perceived it would be very difficult to obtain more, without open Force. It cannot be denied, that he behaved with a Moderation very uncommon in ſuch Caſes. In his preſent Circumſtances, and according to the Rule generally followed by Parliaments, to declare for the ſtrongeſt, nothing was more eaſy for the Duke, than to cauſe the Crown to be adjudged to him immediately. He had at his Command a victorious, and at that time, irreſiſtible Army. Beſides, moſt of the Members of Parliament were in his Intereſt, and probably, after acknowledging his Title to be indiſputable, they would not have wanted much Sollicitation to proceed one Step farther, and place him on the Throne. It is therefore manifeſt, if the Parliament ſhowed any regard for *Henry*, it was, becauſe they thought themſelves at liberty to uſe this Equity, notwithſtanding the victorious Army which might have offered them Violence, if the Duke would have made uſe of his Advantages. It muſt be farther obſerved, that the Duke of *York* was older than the King, and therefore naturally could not expect to out-live him. And yet, thoſe who have writ the Hiſtory of theſe Troubles, have put an ill Conſtruction upon all they have ſaid concerning this Prince. The Reaſon may be eaſily gueſſed. The Houſe of *York* enjoying the Throne but twenty four Years, we have no Hiſtorian in that Interval; all we have being later, and writing ſince the Reſtoration of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* in the Perſon of *Henry* VII. This muſt be always remembred in reading the Hiſtory of theſe Civil Wars.

Inſtances of his Moderation.

Hiſtorians have been partial to him.

The day after paſſing the forementioned Act, a Proceſſion was made at St. *Paul*'s, where the King was preſent, with his Crown on his Head, attended by the Duke of *York* (5).

Proceſſion at St. Paul's. Hall. Stow.

After this Agreement, the King continued the ſame. Though it was eaſy for him to perceive, what Prejudice the late Settlement brought to his Family, and particularly to the Prince of *Wales* his Son, he lived quietly in his Servitude, without thinking of Means for his Deliverance. Satisfied with whatever the Duke of *York* was pleaſed to ſuggeſt, he wholly gave himſelf up to Devotion, and left the Publick Affairs to thoſe who managed them in his Name. Thus the Duke finding himſelf abſolute Maſter of the Government and Perſon of the King, cauſed him to ſign an Order, requiring the Queen to repair to him. The Duke was ſenſible, this Order would be to no purpoſe. But his Aim was, to render her criminal, by her refuſing to obey the King, and thereby to juſtify his intended Proceedings againſt her. He thought her without Refuge, and in that Belief imagined, he had only to find ſome Pretence, to lay an inſuperable Obſtacle to her return, in order to be freed from ſo dangerous an Enemy. But he relied too far on his own good Fortune, and the Queen's Weakneſs. Inſtead of being diſcouraged at the ill Situation of the King's, and his Family's Affairs, ſhe was now returned into *England*, with the Prince of *Wales* her Son, and had drawn together in the North, an Army of eighteen thouſand Men (6). The better to ingage the People of thoſe Parts to her Intereſt, ſhe had cauſed to be reported, that they were allowed to plunder the Country on the South of the *Trent*. Probably, this moſt conduced to her aſſembling ſo great a Number of Troops.

The Duke is abſolute Maſter of the Government.

The King orders the Queen to repair to him. Hall. Hollingſh.

She levies an Army in the North. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *York* had been informed of the Queen's Endeavors to levy an Army, but did not know ſhe had made ſo great a Progreſs, and yet, thought he could not be too ſpeedy to prevent the Execution of her Deſigns. He departed therefore from *London* (7) with four or five thouſand Men only, leaving Orders with the Earl of *March* his Son, to lead the reſt of the Army into *Wales* to refreſh them, and then come and join him. As he advanced

The Duke of York goes againſt her with five thouſand Men only. Hall. Hollingſh.

towards

(1) *October* 16. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 665.

(2) The Hiſtorians ſay, That it was debated by divers Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, with many grave and ſage Perſons of the Commonalty, daily aſſembled at the *Black-Fryers* and other Places.

(3) On *October* 31. *Hall*, fol. 182.

(4) The Parliament ſettled alſo on the Duke of *York* ten thouſand Marks; *viz.* five thouſand for himſelf, three thouſand five hundred for his eldeſt Son *Edward* Earl of *March*, and fifteen hundred for his other Son the Earl of *Rutland*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 667. *Stow*, p. 410------In this Parliament was the following Statute made, That Women being of the Age of fourteen Years, at the time of the Death of their Anceſtors, ſhall, without queſtion or difficulty, have Livery of their Lands and Tenements deſcended to them: For ſo the Law of this Land will that they ſhould have. *Statut.* 39 *Henry* VI, c. 2.

(5) And on the *Saturday* following, *Richard* Duke of *York* was, by ſound of Trumpet, proclaimed Heir-apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Realm. *Hollingſh.* p. 1303. *Stow*, p. 411.

(6) Or, according to others, twenty two thouſand. *Hall*, fol. 182. *Hollingſh.* p. 1303. Among whom were the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Roſſe*. *Hall*, ibid.

(7) On *Decemb.* 2, leaving the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick* to take care of the King. *Hall*, ibid. *Hollingſh.*

1460. towards the North, he received the mortifying News of the Queen's great Succeſs, in the levying of Troops. At length, being arrived near *Wakefield* in the County of *York* (1), he heard the Queen was advancing towards him, at the Head of eighteen thouſand Men. Whereupon he reſolved to retire to his Caſtle of *Sandal*, till the Arrival of the Earl of *March*. He knew, the Queen, who had no Artillery, could not force him in that Caſtle, which was well fortified, and did not queſtion but the Earl his Son would ſpeedily come to his Relief.

He retires into Sandal *Caſtle.*

The Queen provokes him to fight. Hall.

The Queen was extremely troubled to ſee her Enemy thus ſecured from all Attack. As ſhe was then much ſuperior in Number of Troops, if the Duke would have fought, ſhe might have flattered herſelf with undoubted Succeſs. But it was not certain, that after the Earl of *March*'s Arrival, ſhe ſhould be in the ſame Situation. For this Reaſon, ſhe neglected nothing to provoke her Enemy, and induce him to come out of his Retreat. As ſhe did not deſpair of accompliſhing her Deſign, ſhe placed a Body of Troops in Ambuſh, behind a Hill (2). Then ſhe appeared before the Walls of *Sandal*, provoking the Duke all manner of ways, one while threatening him, another while ſending him Defiances, and upbraiding him, that a Man who aſpired to the Crown, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus ſhut up by a Woman.

The Duke refuſes to fight. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *York* had hitherto acted with great Prudence and Conduct. During the Wars of *France*, where he had often commanded in Chief, he had ſhown no leſs Wiſdom, than true Valour. But, on this occaſion, he unfortunately ſuffered his Courage to prevail, contrary to the Opinion of his Friends (3), who adviſed him to deſpiſe thoſe vain Reproaches. Probably, his Hatred to the Queen led him, as it were againſt his Will, to commit an unpardonable Fault, in a General of ſo eſtabliſhed a Reputation. Theſe at leaſt were the Motives aſcribed to him by the Hiſtorians. For my Part, if I may be allowed to ſpeak my Opinion, I own I think it improbable. I ſhould rather believe, the want of Proviſions forced him to a Battle, in order to avoid the Danger, to which he was expoſed. So, if he committed a Fault, it was in ſhutting himſelf up in a Caſtle, inſtead of returning, or meeting his Son, who could eaſily join him. Be this as it will, he marched out of *Sandal*, and drew up his Men on *Wakefield* Green, counting, his Courage and Experience would ſupply the Defects of his Army. He was no ſooner drawn up, but he ſaw himſelf attacked by the Queen's Troops, which being more numerous than his, had a great Advantage over him. Whilſt he was preſſed in the Front by his Enemies, ſtronger than himſelf, the Ambuſhes roſe, and attacked him in the Rear. This unexpected Aſſault, bred ſuch Confuſion among his Troops, that within half an Hour they were routed, and himſelf ſlain, valiantly fighting. The young Earl of *Rutland* his ſecond Son, not above twelve Years of Age, flying with his Governor, was overtaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who plunged his Dagger into his Breaſt, notwithſtanding the earneſt Intreaties of the Governor, to ſpare the young Prince's Life (4). Afterwards, the ſame Lord *Clifford* finding the Duke of *York*'s Body, cut off the Head, and crowning it with a Paper-Crown, fixed it on the end of his Lance, and preſented it to the Queen, who ordered it to be placed on the Walls of *York* (5).

The Battle of Wakefield, *where the Duke of* York *is ſlain.* December. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The Earl of Rutland *killed by* Clifford. Hall. Hollingſh.

Remark on the Partiality of Hiſtorians to the Houſe of Lancaſter.

Thus fell the Duke of *York*, about fifty Years old (6), It may be ſaid, never was Prince ſo near a Throne, and not in it, and that it lay in his own Breaſt to take poſſeſſion, had he been willing to uſe the Power he had in his Hands. I ſhall not undertake, either to condemn, or juſtify his Pretenſions. I leave the Reader to paſs his own Judgment, upon the Grounds already explained in ſeveral Places. Unhappily for this Prince, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians that writ, when the Reſtoration of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* was ſtill freſh, I mean in the Reigns of *Henry* VII, and *Henry* VIII, have put an ill Conſtruction on all his Actions. Thoſe that came after them, not content with taking the Facts as they found them related, have likewiſe copied the Reflections, and even the very Invectives. They have thereby all unanimouſly given the Cauſe for the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inſtead of leaving their Readers at Liberty to paſs an impartial Judgment upon ſo difficult a Caſe, the Deciſion whereof, ſhould the ſame thing happen again, would be no leſs perplexing at preſent, than it was formerly. The Earl of *Salisbury* having the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner in the Battle, was carried, notwithſtanding his Wounds, to *Pontfract*, where he loſt his Head on the Scaffold (7). The Queen ordered it to be ſet on a Pole, near the Duke of *York*'s.

1460.

The Earl of Salisbury *beheaded.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Such was the Succeſs of this Battle, fought on the laſt Day of *December*, near *Wakefield* (8), from whence it took its Name. This Battle ſeemed to have firmly reſtored the Affairs of the King and Queen, and yet it ſerved only to haſten their Deſtruction, and ſooner advance the Houſe of *York* to the Throne. The Earl of *March* hearing of the Defeat and Death of the Duke his Father, was not diſcouraged. On the contrary, he reſolved to maintain the Quarrel, let what would be the Conſequence, and loſe his Life, or execute his Father's Deſigns. After what had paſſed, there was no Medium, one of the two Houſes muſt neceſſarily be eſtabliſhed, upon the Ruins of the other. This Prince was then in *Wales* (9), ready to march to the Aſſiſtance of his Father. His Army was three and twenty thouſand ſtrong, beſides what was left at *London*, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, for the Defence of the Metropolis. So, finding himſelf ſtrong enough to go in queſt of the Queen, he wiſhed for nothing more ardently, than an opportunity to revenge his Father's Death.

The Earl of March *reſolves to maintain the Quarrel.* Stow. Hall.

1461.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the Earl of *March* was taking this Reſolution, the Queen advanced towards *London*, with deſign to ſecure that great City, which alone could influence the Fortune of either Party. But hearing upon the Road, that the Earl of *March* began to move, ſhe detached *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* (10), to oppoſe this new Enemy, whom ſhe did not imagine to be ſo ſtrong as he was. The Earl of *March* being informed of the Queen's Motion towards *London*, altered his Courſe, and inſtead of going to meet her, took likewiſe the Road to *London*, in order to prevent her. But having Advice of the Detachment ſent againſt him, he did not think proper to come between the two Armies of his Enemies, which muſt have happened, had he continued his Rout. So, coming to a ſudden Reſolution, he returned to meet the Earl of *Pembroke*. He met him near *Mortimer*'s Croſs in *Herefordſhire*, and as he was much ſuperior in Number of Troops, eaſily defeated him, and ſlew three thouſand eight hundred of his Men. The Earl of *Pembroke* had the good Fortune to eſcape. But *Owen Tudor* his Father, according to ſome, or more probably, his younger Brother (11), being taken Priſoner, was beheaded, with ſeveral others, in revenge for the Earl of *Salisbury*.

The Queen marches towards London, *and ſends* Pembroke *againſt the Earl of* March. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

Pembroke is defeated.

Owen Tudor is beheaded.

The News of this Defeat reaching the Queen on the Road, prevented her not from continuing her March towards *London*. She believed, that appearing at the Gates of the City with a victorious Army, ſhe ſhould ſo aſtoniſh the Inhabitants, that they would of themſelves, expel

The Queen keeps on her march to London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

(1) On *Decemb.* 24. *Hall*, fol. 182.

(2) She is ſaid to place an Ambuſh on each ſide *Wakefield* Green, under the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. Her main Army was led by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*. *Idem.* fol. 183. *Stow*, p. 413.

(3) Particularly Sir *Davy Halle*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*. *Hall*, fol. 182.

(4) He is ſaid to have killed that Day ſo many with his own Hand, that he was thenceforward called the *Butcher*. His Father, *Thomas* Lord *Clifford*, having been ſlain in the Battle of St. *Albans* by the Duke of *York*, this Lord *Clifford* (as *Grafton* ſays,) ſwore, *he would not leave one Branch of the* York *Line ſtanding*. *Leland Col.* Vol. I. p. 45.

(5) Beſides the Duke of *York*, there fell in this Battle his two Baſtard Uncles, Sir *John*, and Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, Sir *Davy Halle*, Sir *Hugh Haſtings*, Sir *Thomas Nevil*, &c. and two thouſand eight hundred Perſons more. *Hall*, fol. 183.

(6) His Corps was firſt interred at *Pontfract*, but afterwards in the Collegiate Church of *Fotheringhay*. The Duke of *Somerſet* (his chief Opponent) ſaid of him, That *if he had not learned to play the King by his Regency in* France, *he had never forgot to obey as a Subject, when he returned to* England. By *Cecily*, Daughter of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, he had, as ſome ſay, eight Sons, (*Henry*, who died young; *Edward* Earl of *March*, afterwards King *Edward* IV; *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*; *John*, *William*, and *Thomas*, who all died young; *George*, Duke of *Clarence*; and *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, afterwards King *Richard* III.) and four Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 161. *Sandford*, p. 391, 392----402.

(7) His Body, with that of *Alice* his Wife, ſole Daughter and Heir to *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Son *Thomas* (ſlain in the Battle) were, in 2 *Edw.* IV, *Feb.* 16, buried at *Biſham* Abbey in *Berkſhire*. He had Iſſue four Sons, (*Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Marquiſs of *Montague*, Sir *Thomas*, *George* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Chancellor of *England*, and then Archbiſhop of *York*,) and five Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 303.

(8) A Town in the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, famous for its Cloth Trade, Largeneſs, neat Buildings, Markets; and for the Bridge upon which King *Edward* IV built a very neat Chapel, in Memory of thoſe that were cut off in this Battle. The carved Work of Stone upon the Chapel was very beautiful, but is now much defaced. On the Right-hand of the Road from *Wakefield* to *Sandal*, there is a ſquare Plot of Ground hedged in from a Cloſe, whereon (before the Civil War between King *Charles* and the Parliament) ſtood a Croſs of Stone, where the Duke of *York* was ſlain. The Owners are obliged by Tenure to keep up that Hedge. *Camden.*

(9) He was then at *Gloceſter*, from whence he removed to *Shrewsbury*. *Hall*, fol. 183. *Hollingſh.* p. 1304.

(10) And *James Butler* Earl of *Ormond*, with a Body of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*. This Battle was fought on *February* 2. *Hall*, fol. 183. *Hollingſh.* p. 1304.

(11) *Owen Tudor* the Son, was a Monk of *Weſtminſter*. See above, p. 559, Note (7). *Hall*, fol. 184. *Hollingſh.* p. 1304; and *Stow*, p. 413, ſay, it was Sir *Owen Tewther* (or *Tudor*) Father of the Earl of *Pembroke*. And indeed there is no manner of Improbability or Contradiction in ſuppoſing it to have been him. For from the Year 1423, or 1424, when it is probable he was married, to 1460, there are but thirty ſix or thirty ſeven Years; and ſuppoſing he was twenty or twenty five when he married, he might very well live till 1460, and not have been a very old Man.

1461. *The Earl of Warwick goes out to fight her.*

expel the Earl of *Warwick*. Indeed, the Earl himſelf ſeems to have been of that Mind, ſince he choſe rather to go and fight the Queen, than remain in *London*; which doubtleſs, he would not have done, had he been ſecure of the City. The Queen being arrived at St. *Albans*, received certain Advice, that the Earl of *Warwick* was marching towards her with his Army, reinforced with a Body of *Londoners*, and bringing the King with him. The Queen's Army conſiſted of northern Troops (1), who committed ſuch monſtrous Ravages, that it was one of the chief Reaſons, why the *Londoners* choſe to join the Earl of *Warwick*. If theſe Troops had entered the City, they would have had every thing to fear from ſuch Gueſts.

He is defeated at Bernard's Heath. Feb. 17. Hall. Stow.

The two Armies meeting near St. *Albans*, on *Bernard's Heath*, began a Fight, which at firſt was very fierce on both Sides. But *Lovelace*, who commanded one of the Wings of *Warwick*'s Army, either through Treachery, or for ſome other Reaſon, not ingaging in time, Victory declared for the Queen, and the Vanquiſhed loſt two thouſand eight hundred Men (2). She had withal the Satisfaction to free the King, whom the Earl of *Warwick* durſt not venture to leave at *London*. She uſed her Victory with the Barbarity too common in Civil Wars, beheading ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, particularly the Lord *Bonvile* (3), and Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, though the King had granted them their Lives. As her Troops had voluntarily liſted in her Service, without her having wherewithal to pay them, ſhe could not hinder them, after the Victory, from plundering the Town of St. *Albans*. Theſe northern Soldiers declared, they had taken Arms only upon the Promiſe of having the plunder of the Country lying South of the *Trent*. This Pretenſion inſpired the Inhabitants of *London*, and the neighbouring Country, with a Terror very prejudicial to the Queen. Proviſions being grown very ſcarce in her Army, by reaſon of the great Licentiouſneſs of her Troops, ſhe ſent to the Mayor of *London* for a Supply, who not daring to deny her at ſuch a Juncture, ordered ſeveral Carts to be loaded. But as they were going out of the Gate, the Mob ſtopped them, and told the Mayor, they would not ſuffer Proviſions to be ſent to an Army, which was come on purpoſe to plunder the Country. The Mayor not being able to help this Diſorder, made his Excuſe to the Queen (4), and gave her hopes of being received into the City, as ſoon as the People were appeaſed.

The Queen frees the King.

Her Troops plunder St. Albans. Stow. Hollingſh.

She demands Proviſions of the Mayor of London.

The Mob oppoſe it. Hall. Stow.

The Earl of March approaches London. Hall. Stow.

Whilſt the Queen at St. *Albans* was treating with the Mayor of *London*, the Earl of *March* was advancing with all poſſible diligence, to inſpire the *Londoners* with a Reſolution to keep their Gates ſhut againſt the Queen, on account of the approaching Aſſiſtance. And indeed, the News of his March did not a little contribute to prolong the Negotiation between the Queen and the Mayor, which ruined her Affairs. When ſhe heard, the Earl of *March* was approaching, and had ſtrengthned his Army, with the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick*'s (5), ſhe choſe to retire into the North. Beſides that ſhe was inferior to her Enemy, ſhe was juſtly apprehenſive of not being received into *London*, in caſe ſhe advanced that way, and of being obliged to join Battle at the Gates of the City, too well inclined to favour her Enemy.

The Queen retires towards the North.

The Earl enters London. Hall. Stow.

The Earl of *March*, overjoyed that the Queen voluntarily gave him up the Metropolis, entered as it were in Triumph, the beginning of *March* (6). He was received with the Acclamations of the Citizens, who, ſeveral Years ſince, had very near declared againſt the Court. The Caution wherewith the late Duke of *York* had thought fit to proceed, had been ſo much to his Prejudice, that his Son's Friends judged it abſolutely neceſſary to place him at once in the Throne. After ſundry Conſultations, they reſolved not to be expoſed to the Delays of a Parliament, but to proceed to an extraordinary Election, firſt by the People, and then by the Nobles. They were of opinion, this Method could be juſtified by the Act of Parliament, confirming the Agreement between the King and the Duke of *York*, and that it was unneceſſary to ſtay for a freſh Confirmation.

His Friends reſolve to place him on the Throne.

Extraordinary Election of the Earl of March. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Earl of *Warwick* (7) drew up his Army in St. *John*'s Fields, in the midſt of Throngs of People, whom ordering to be caſt into a Ring round him, he read aloud the Agreement between the King and the Duke of *York*, with the Act of Parliament, whereby it was confirmed. That done, he told the People, *Henry* had notoriouſly violated this Agreement, and ſo forfeited, according to the Act of Parliament, his Right to the Crown. But after all, I do not ſee upon what foundation he could charge the King with the Queen's Proceedings, ſince he was all the while as a Priſoner at *London*: Neither was he any more his own Maſter, after he was with the Queen. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Warwick* raiſing his Voice, asked the People, who ſtood round him, *whether they would have* Henry *of* Lancaſter *for King?* The whole Multitude crying out, *No, No:* He asked, *whether according to that Settlement, they would have* Edward, *Son of the late Duke of* York, *to reign over them?* To which, all the People anſwered with Acclamations, expreſſing their Conſent. 1461.

Aſſembly of the chief Men who adjudged him the Crown. Hall. Stow.

This firſt Step being made, and the People's Mind being, as was pretended, ſufficiently known, a great Council was called of all the Biſhops, Lords, Gentlemen and Magiſtrates, in and about *London* (8). *Edward* being preſent in this Aſſembly, ſet forth his Title to the Crown, as well by Birth, as by the fore-mentioned Agreement, and deſired it might be adjudged to him. It would have been great boldneſs, to diſpute his Pretenſion at ſuch a Juncture. So, with one Conſent the Aſſembly declared, that *Henry* of *Lancaſter* having forfeited his Right of enjoying the Crown during Life, by the Breach of the ſolemn Agreement made with the Duke of *York*, and ratified by the Parliament; it was devolved to *Edward*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York*. Upon this Declaration, the Crown was offered the Duke, who accepted it, modeſtly confeſſing his Inſufficiency; and adding, that though his Youth and Inexperience made him apprehenſive of taking upon him ſo weighty a Charge, he would however, with God's Aſſiſtance, uſe his utmoſt Endeavors to render his People happy. On the Morrow (9), he went in Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s, [and from thence, was conducted in great State to *Weſtminſter-Hall*,] where he ſat in the King's Seat, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his Hand (10). The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having asked the People, whether they would have *Edward* Earl of *March* for King; the People anſwered with loud Acclamations. Then, the King took the Homage of the Lords that were preſent. The Ceremony concluding with ſinging *Te Deum*, *Edward* was conducted with great Solemnity to the Biſhop's Palace, where *Henry* uſed to lodge, when he was within the Walls of the City. Next Day, being the 5th of *March*, he was proclaimed in *London*, and the neighboring Towns, by the Name of *Edward* IV. Hall.

End of Henry's Reign.

Thus ended the Reign of *Henry* VI, which had laſted thirty-eight Years and a Half, without his ever intermedling with the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs.

His Character.

It does not even appear, that he was, upon any occaſion, much moved with Events; which however were, for the moſt Part, ſuch as would affect a Prince of a different Character. He was fitter for a private Life, than a Crown. His great and only Defect was a natural Imbecillity, which rendered him incapable to govern of himſelf. Ever ruled by thoſe who managed the Affairs in his Name, his Capacity reached not to ſee the Conſequences of the Counſels given him, which to him ſeemed always good. Herein, he was different from the King his Father, whoſe Genius was always ſuperior to that of his Miniſters. As to the reſt, he was chaſte, temperate, extremely religious, abhorring Injuſtice and Cruelty. It was theſe Virtues that have ſerved for Foundation to the Praiſes beſtowed on him by ſeveral Hiſtorians, and which have made ſome conſider him as a true Saint. Indeed, theſe Virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed Prince, had they been attended with the Qualifications of a Sovereign. But being alone, they ſerved only to make him an honeſt Man, and withal, a very indifferent King, not to ſay worſe. His Incapacity rendered him contemptible to his Subjects. But the Innocency of his Life, never ſuffered their Contempt to turn into Hatred.

Cauſes of the decay of the Engliſh Affairs in Henry VI's Reign.

During the firſt Years of his Reign, his Affairs were in a proſperous State, becauſe they were managed by the

(1) *Welſh*, *Scots*, and *Iriſh*, beſides *Engliſh*. *Stow*, p. 413.

(2) Two thouſand three hundred; and no Man of Note among them, except Sir *John Grey of Groby*, firſt Husband of *Elizabeth Woodville*, married afterwards to King *Edward* IV. *Hall*, fol. 184. *Hollingſh.* p. 1305. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 719.

(3) He was one of thoſe who had the Cuſtody of the King after he was taken at St. *Albans*, and had ſtayed with him at his Requeſt, and upon Promiſe of being ſafe. *Hall*, fol. 184. *Stow*, ibid.

(4) By the Recorder, the Ducheſs of *Bedford*, the Lady *Scales*, and ſome Biſhops. *Hollingſh.* p. 306. *Hall*, fol. 184.

(5) Which he met at *Chipping-norton* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Ibid.* *Stow*, p. 414.

(6) *February* 28. *Stow*, ibid.

(7) This was done on *March* 2, by the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who took the Muſters. See *Hall*, fol. 185. *Stow*, p. 415. *Hollingſh.* p. 1307.

(8) Which met at *Baynard's* Caſtle. *Hall*, &c. ibid.

(9) *March* 4. *Hall*, fol. 185.

(10) Then he went in Proceſſion, under a Canopy, to the Abbey, and was placed in the Choir as King, whilſt *Te Deum* was ſung; after which he made the uſual Offerings. That done, he returned by Water to St. *Paul's*, and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace. *Ibid.* fol. 185. *Stow*, p. 415. *Rapin*, by miſtake ſays, he ſat in the King's Seat at St. *Paul's*, with the Scepter in his Hand.

Duke

1460. towards the North, he received the mortifying News of the Queen's great Succeſs, in the levying of Troops. At length, being arrived near *Wakefield* in the County of *York* (1), he heard the Queen was advancing towards him, at the Head of eighteen thouſand Men. Whereupon he reſolved to retire to his Caſtle of *Sandal*, till the Arrival of the Earl of *March*. He knew, the Queen, who had no Artillery, could not force him in that Caſtle, which was well fortified, and did not queſtion but the Earl his Son would ſpeedily come to his Relief.

He retires into Sandal *Caſtle.*

The Queen was extremely troubled to ſee her Enemy thus ſecured from all Attack. As ſhe was then much ſuperior in Number of Troops, if the Duke would have fought, ſhe might have flattered herſelf with undoubted Succeſs. But it was not certain, that after the Earl of *March*'s Arrival, ſhe ſhould be in the ſame Situation. For this Reaſon, ſhe neglected nothing to provoke her Enemy, and induce him to come out of his Retreat. As ſhe did not deſpair of accompliſhing her Deſign, ſhe placed a Body of Troops in Ambuſh, behind a Hill (2). Then ſhe appeared before the Walls of *Sandal*, provoking the Duke all manner of ways, one while threatening him, another while ſending him Defiances, and upbraiding him, that a Man who aſpired to the Crown, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus ſhut up by a Woman.

The Queen provokes him to fight. Hall.

The Duke of *York* had hitherto acted with great Prudence and Conduct. During the Wars of *France*, where he had often commanded in Chief, he had ſhown no leſs Wiſdom, than true Valour. But, on this occaſion, he unfortunately ſuffered his Courage to prevail, contrary to the Opinion of his Friends (3), who adviſed him to deſpiſe thoſe vain Reproaches. Probably, his Hatred to the Queen led him, as it were againſt his Will, to commit an unpardonable Fault, in a General of ſo eſtabliſhed a Reputation. Theſe at leaſt were the Motives aſcribed to him by the Hiſtorians. For my Part, if I may be allowed to ſpeak my Opinion, I own I think it improbable. I ſhould rather believe, the want of Proviſions forced him to a Battle, in order to avoid the Danger, to which he was expoſed. So, if he committed a Fault, it was in ſhutting himſelf up in a Caſtle, inſtead of returning, or meeting his Son, who could eaſily join him. Be this as it will, he marched out of *Sandal*, and drew up his Men on *Wakefield* Green, counting, his Courage and Experience would ſupply the Defects of his Army. He was no ſooner drawn up, but he ſaw himſelf attacked by the Queen's Troops, which being more numerous than his, had a great Advantage over him. Whilſt he was preſſed in the Front by his Enemies, ſtronger than himſelf, the Ambuſhes roſe, and attacked him in the Rear. This unexpected Aſſault, bred ſuch Confuſion among his Troops, that within half an Hour they were routed, and himſelf ſlain, valiantly fighting. The young Earl of *Rutland* his ſecond Son, not above twelve Years of Age, flying with his Governor, was overtaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who plunged his Dagger into his Breaſt, notwithſtanding the earneſt Intreaties of the Governor, to ſpare the young Prince's Life (4). Afterwards, the ſame Lord *Clifford* finding the Duke of *York*'s Body, cut off the Head, and crowning it with a Paper-Crown, fixed it on the end of his Lance, and preſented it to the Queen, who ordered it to be placed on the Walls of *York* (5).

The Duke reſolves to fight. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Battle of Wakefield, *where the Duke of* York *is ſlain.* December. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The Earl of Rutland *killed by* Clifford. Hall. Hollingſh.

Thus fell the Duke of *York*, about fifty Years old (6), It may be ſaid, never was Prince ſo near a Throne, and not in it, and that it lay in his own Breaſt to take poſſeſſion, had he been willing to uſe the Power he had in his Hands. I ſhall not undertake, either to condemn, or juſtify his Pretenſions. I leave the Reader to paſs his own Judgment, upon the Grounds already explained in ſeveral Places. Unhappily for this Prince, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians that writ, when the Reſtoration of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* was ſtill freſh, I mean in the Reigns of *Henry* VII, and *Henry* VIII, have put an ill Conſtruction on all his Actions. Thoſe that came after them, not content with taking the Facts as they found them related, have likewiſe copied the Reflections, and even the very Invectives. They have thereby all unanimouſly given the Cauſe for the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inſtead of leaving their Readers at Liberty to paſs an impartial Judgment upon ſo difficult a Caſe, the Deciſion whereof, ſhould the ſame thing happen again, would be no leſs perplexing at preſent, than it was formerly. The Earl of *Salisbury* having the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner in the Battle, was carried, notwithſtanding his Wounds, to *Pontfract*, where he loſt his Head on the Scaffold (7). The Queen ordered it to be ſet on a Pole, near the Duke of *York*'s.

1460.

The Earl of Salisbury *beheaded.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Such was the Succeſs of this Battle, fought on the laſt Day of *December*, near *Wakefield* (8), from whence it took its Name. This Battle ſeemed to have firmly reſtored the Affairs of the King and Queen, and yet it ſerved only to haſten their Deſtruction, and ſooner advance the Houſe of *York* to the Throne. The Earl of *March* hearing of the Defeat and Death of the Duke his Father, was not diſcouraged. On the contrary, he reſolved to maintain the Quarrel, let what would be the Conſequence, and loſe his Life, or execute his Father's Deſigns. After what had paſſed, there was no Medium, one of the two Houſes muſt neceſſarily be eſtabliſhed, upon the Ruins of the other. This Prince was then in *Wales* (9), ready to march to the Aſſiſtance of his Father. His Army was three and twenty thouſand ſtrong, beſides what was left at *London*, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, for the Defence of the Metropolis. So, finding himſelf ſtrong enough to go in queſt of the Queen, he wiſhed for nothing more ardently, than an opportunity to revenge his Father's Death.

The Earl of March *reſolves to maintain the Quarrel.* Stow. Hall.

1461.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the Earl of *March* was taking this Reſolution, the Queen advanced towards *London*, with deſign to ſecure that great City, which alone could influence the Fortune of either Party. But hearing upon the Road, that the Earl of *March* began to move, ſhe detached *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* (10), to oppoſe this new Enemy, whom ſhe did not imagine to be ſo ſtrong as he was. The Earl of *March* being informed of the Queen's Motion towards *London*, altered his Courſe, and inſtead of going to meet her, took likewiſe the Road to *London*, in order to prevent her. But having Advice of the Detachment ſent againſt him, he did not think proper to come between the two Armies of his Enemies, which muſt have happened, had he continued his Rout. So, coming to a ſudden Reſolution, he returned to meet the Earl of *Pembroke*. He met him near *Mortimer*'s Croſs in *Herefordſhire*, and as he was much ſuperior in Number of Troops, eaſily defeated him, and ſlew three thouſand eight hundred of his Men. The Earl of *Pembroke* had the good Fortune to eſcape. But *Owen Tudor* his Father, according to ſome, or more probably, his younger Brother (11), being taken Priſoner, was beheaded, with ſeveral others, in revenge for the Earl of *Salisbury*.

The Queen marches towards London, *and ſends* Pembroke *againſt the Earl of* March. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

Pembroke *is defeated.*

Owen Tudor *is beheaded.*

Remark on the Partiality of Hiſtorians to the Houſe of Lancaſter.

The News of this Defeat reaching the Queen on the Road, prevented her not from continuing her March towards *London*. She believed, that appearing at the Gates of the City with a victorious Army, ſhe ſhould ſo aſtoniſh the Inhabitants, that they would of themſelves,

The Queen keeps on her march to London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

(1) On *Decemb.* 24. *Hall*, fol. 182.

(2) She is ſaid to place an Ambuſh on each ſide *Wakefield* Green, under the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. Her main Army was led by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*. *Idem.* fol. 183. *Stow*, p. 413.

(3) Particularly Sir *Davy Halle*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*. *Hall*, fol. 182.

(4) He is ſaid to have killed that Day ſo many with his own Hand, that he was thenceforward called the *Butcher*. His Father, *Thomas* Lord *Clifford*, having been ſlain in the Battle of St. *Albans* by the Duke of *York*, this Lord *Clifford* (as *Grafton* ſays,) ſwore, *he would not leave one Branch of the* York *Line ſtanding*. *Leland Col.* Vol. I. p. 45.

(5) Beſides the Duke of *York*, there fell in this Battle his two Baſtard Uncles, Sir *John*, and Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, Sir *Davy Halle*, Sir *Hugh Haſtings*, Sir *Thomas Nevil*, &c. and two thouſand eight hundred Perſons more. *Hall*, fol. 183.

(6) His Corps was firſt interred at *Pontfract*, but afterwards in the Collegiate Church of *Fotheringhay*. The Duke of *Somerſet* (his chief Opponent) ſaid of him, That *if he had not learned to play the King by his Regency in* France, *he had never forgot to obey as a Subject, when he returned to* England. By *Cecily*, Daughter of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, he had, as ſome ſay, eight Sons, (*Henry*, who died young; *Edward* Earl of *March*, afterwards King *Edward* IV; *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*; *John*, *William*, and *Thomas*, who all died young; *George*, Duke of *Clarence*; and *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, afterwards King *Richard* III.) and four Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 161. *Sandford*, p. 391, 392----402.

(7) His Body, with that of *Alice* his Wife, ſole Daughter and Heir to *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Son *Thomas* (ſlain in the Battle) were, in 2 *Edw.* IV, *Feb.* 16, buried at *Biſham* Abbey in *Berkſhire*. He had Iſſue four Sons, (*Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Marquiſs of *Montague*, Sir *Thomas*, *George* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Chancellor of *England*, and then Archbiſhop of *York*,) and five Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 303.

(8) A Town in the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, famous for its Cloth Trade, Largeneſs, neat Buildings, Markets; and for the Bridge upon which King *Edward* IV built a very neat Chapel, in Memory of thoſe that were cut off in this Battle. The carved Work of Stone upon the Chapel was very beautiful, but is now much defaced. On the Right-hand of the Road from *Wakefield* to *Sandal*, there is a ſquare Plot of Ground hedged in from a Cloſe, whereon (before the Civil War between King *Charles* and the Parliament) ſtood a Croſs of Stone, where the Duke of *York* was ſlain. The Owners are obliged by Tenure to keep up that Hedge. *Camden.*

(9) He was then at *Gloceſter*, from whence he removed to *Shrewsbury*. *Hall*, fol. 183. *Hollingſh.* p. 1304.

(10) And *James Butler* Earl of *Ormond*, with a Body of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*. This Battle was fought on *February* 2. *Hall*, fol. 183. *Hollingſh.* p. 1304.

(11) *Owen Tudor* the Son, was a Monk of *Weſtminſter*. See above, p. 559, Note (7). *Hall*, fol. 184. *Hollingſh.* p. 1304; and *Stow*, p. 413, ſay, it was Sir *Owen Tewther* (or *Tudor*) Father of the Earl of *Pembroke*. And indeed there is no manner of Improbability or Contradiction in ſuppoſing it to have been him. For from the Year 1423, or 1424, when it is probable he was married, to 1460, there are but thirty ſix or thirty ſeven Years; and ſuppoſing he was twenty or twenty five when he married, he might very well live till 1460, and not have been a very old Man.

expel

1461. *The Earl of Warwick goes out to fight her.*

expel the Earl of *Warwick*. Indeed, the Earl himſelf ſeems to have been of that Mind, ſince he choſe rather to go and fight the Queen, than remain in *London*; which doubtleſs, he would not have done, had he been ſecure of the City. The Queen being arrived at St. *Albans*, received certain Advice, that the Earl of *Warwick* was marching towards her with his Army, reinforced with a Body of *Londoners*, and bringing the King with him. The Queen's Army conſiſted of northern Troops (1), who committed ſuch monſtrous Ravages, that it was one of the chief Reaſons, why the *Londoners* choſe to join the Earl of *Warwick*. If theſe Troops had entered the City, they would have had every thing to fear from ſuch Gueſts.

He is defeated at Bernard's Heath. Feb. 17. Hall. Stow.

The two Armies meeting near St. *Albans*, on *Bernard's Heath*, began a Fight, which at firſt was very fierce on both Sides. But *Lovelace*, who commanded one of the Wings of *Warwick*'s Army, either through Treachery, or for ſome other Reaſon, not ingaging in time, Victory declared for the Queen, and the Vanquiſhed loſt two thouſand eight hundred Men (2). She had withal the Satisfaction to free the King, whom the Earl of *Warwick* durſt not venture to leave at *London*. She uſed her Victory with the Barbarity too common in Civil Wars, beheading ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, particularly the Lord *Bonvile* (3), and Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, though the King had granted them their Lives. As her Troops had voluntarily liſted in her Service, without her having wherewithal to pay them, ſhe could not hinder them, after the Victory, from plundering the Town of St. *Albans*. Theſe northern Soldiers declared, they had taken Arms only upon the Promiſe of having the plunder of the Country lying South of the *Trent*. This Pretenſion inſpired the Inhabitants of *London*, and the neighbouring Country, with a Terror very prejudicial to the Queen. Proviſions being grown very ſcarce in her Army, by reaſon of the great Licentiouſneſs of her Troops, ſhe ſent to the Mayor of *London* for a Supply, who not daring to deny her at ſuch a Juncture, ordered ſeveral Carts to be loaded. But as they were going out of the Gate, the Mob ſtopped them, and told the Mayor, they would not ſuffer Proviſions to be ſent to an Army, which was come on purpoſe to plunder the Country. The Mayor not being able to help this Diſorder, made his Excuſe to the Queen (4), and gave her hopes of being received into the City, as ſoon as the People were appeaſed.

The Queen frees the King.

Her Troops plunder St. Albans. Stow. Hollingſh.

She demands Proviſions of the Mayor of London.

The Mob oppoſe it. Hall. Stow.

The Earl of March *approaches* London. Hall. Stow.

Whilſt the Queen at St. *Albans* was treating with the Mayor of *London*, the Earl of *March* was advancing with all poſſible diligence, to inſpire the *Londoners* with a Reſolution to keep their Gates ſhut againſt the Queen, on account of the approaching Aſſiſtance. And indeed, the News of his March did not a little contribute to prolong the Negotiation between the Queen and the Mayor, which ruined her Affairs. When ſhe heard, the Earl of *March* was approaching, and had ſtrengthned his Army, with the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick*'s (5), ſhe choſe to retire into the North. Beſides that ſhe was inferior to her Enemy, ſhe was juſtly apprehenſive of not being received into *London*, in caſe ſhe advanced that way, and of being obliged to join Battle at the Gates of the City, too well inclined to favour her Enemy.

The Queen retires towards the North.

The Earl enters London. Hall. Stow.

The Earl of *March*, overjoyed that the Queen voluntarily gave him up the Metropolis, entered as it were in Triumph, the beginning of *March* (6). He was received with the Acclamations of the Citizens, who, ſeveral Years ſince, had very near declared againſt the Court. The Caution wherewith the late Duke of *York* had thought fit to proceed, had been ſo much to his Prejudice, that his Son's Friends judged it abſolutely neceſſary to place him at once in the Throne. After ſundry Conſultations, they reſolved not to be expoſed to the Delays of a Parliament, but to proceed to an extraordinary Election, firſt by the People, and then by the Nobles. They were of opinion, this Method could be juſtified by the Act of Parliament, confirming the Agreement between the King and the Duke of *York*, and that it was unneceſſary to ſtay for a freſh Confirmation.

His Friends reſolve to place him on the Throne.

Extraordinary Election of the Earl of March. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Earl of *Warwick* (7) drew up his Army in St. *John*'s Fields, in the midſt of Throngs of People, whom ordering to be caſt into a Ring round him, he read aloud the Agreement between the King and the Duke of *York*, with the Act of Parliament, whereby it was confirmed. That done, he told the People, *Henry* had notoriouſly violated this Agreement, and ſo forfeited, according to the Act of Parliament, his Right to the Crown. But after all, I do not ſee upon what foundation he could charge the King with the Queen's Proceedings, ſince he was all the while as a Priſoner at *London*: Neither was he any more his own Maſter, after he was with the Queen. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Warwick* raiſing his Voice, asked the People, who ſtood round him, *whether they would have* Henry *of* Lancaſter *for King?* The whole Multitude crying out, *No, No:* He asked, *whether according to that Settlement, they would have* Edward, *Son of the late Duke of* York, *to reign over them?* To which, all the People anſwered with Acclamations, expreſſing their Conſent. 1461.

Aſſembly of the chief Men who adjudged him the Crown. Hall. Stow.

This firſt Step being made, and the People's Mind being, as was pretended, ſufficiently known, a great Council was called of all the Biſhops, Lords, Gentlemen and Magiſtrates, in and about *London* (8). *Edward* being preſent in this Aſſembly, ſet forth his Title to the Crown, as well by Birth, as by the fore-mentioned Agreement, and deſired it might be adjudged to him. It would have been great boldneſs, to diſpute his Pretenſion at ſuch a Juncture. So, with one Conſent the Aſſembly declared, that *Henry* of *Lancaſter* having forfeited his Right of enjoying the Crown during Life, by the Breach of the ſolemn Agreement made with the Duke of *York*, and ratified by the Parliament; it was devolved to *Edward*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York*. Upon this Hall. Declaration, the Crown was offered the Duke, who accepted it, modeſtly confeſſing his Inſufficiency; and adding, that though his Youth and Inexperience made him apprehenſive of taking upon him ſo weighty a Charge, he would however, with God's Aſſiſtance, uſe his utmoſt Endeavors to render his People happy. On the Morrow (9), he went in Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s, [and from thence, was conducted in great State to *Weſtminſter-Hall*,] where he ſat in the King's Seat, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his Hand (10). The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having asked the People, whether they would have *Edward* Earl of *March* for King; the People anſwered with loud Acclamations. Then, the King took the Homage of the Lords that were preſent. The Ceremony concluding with ſinging *Te Deum*, *Edward* was conducted with great Solemnity to the Biſhop's Palace, where *Henry* uſed to lodge, when he was within the Walls of the City. Next Day, being the 5th of *March*, he was proclaimed in *London*, and the neighboring Towns, by the Name of *Edward* IV. Hall.

End of Henry's *Reign.*

Thus ended the Reign of *Henry* VI, which had laſted thirty-eight Years and a Half, without his ever intermedling with the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs. It does not even appear, that he was, upon any occaſion, much moved with Events; which however were, for the moſt Part, ſuch as would affect a Prince of a different Character. He was fitter for a private Life, than a Crown. His great and only Defect was a natural Imbecillity, which rendered him incapable to govern of himſelf. Ever ruled by thoſe who managed the Affairs in his Name, his Capacity reached not to ſee the Conſequences of the Counſels given him, which to him ſeemed always good. Herein, he was different from the King his Father, whoſe Genius was always ſuperior to that of his Miniſters. As to the reſt, he was chaſte, temperate, extremely religious, abhorring Injuſtice and Cruelty. It was theſe Virtues that have ſerved for Foundation to the Praiſes beſtowed on him by ſeveral Hiſtorians, and which have made ſome conſider him as a true Saint. Indeed, theſe Virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed Prince, had they been attended with the Qualifications of a Sovereign. But being alone, they ſerved only to make him an honeſt Man, and withal, a very indifferent King, not to ſay worſe. His Incapacity rendered him contemptible to his Subjects. But the Innocency of his Life, never ſuffered their Contempt to turn into Hatred.

His Character.

Cauſes of the decay of the Engliſh *Affairs in* Henry VI's *Reign.*

During the firſt Years of his Reign, his Affairs were in a proſperous State, becauſe they were managed by the

(1) *Welſh*, *Scots*, and *Iriſh*, beſides *Engliſh*. *Stow*, p. 413.

(2) Two thouſand three hundred; and no Man of Note among them, except Sir *John Grey of Groby*, firſt Husband of *Elizabeth Woodville*, married afterwards to King *Edward* IV. *Hall*, fol. 184. *Hollingſh.* p. 1305. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 719.

(3) He was one of thoſe who had the Cuſtody of the King after he was taken at St. *Albans*, and had ſtayed with him at his Requeſt, and upon Promiſe of being ſafe. *Hall*, fol. 184. *Stow*, ibid.

(4) By the Recorder, the Ducheſs of *Bedford*, the Lady *Scales*, and ſome Biſhops. *Hollingſh.* p. 306. *Hall*, fol. 184.

(5) Which he met at *Chipping-norton* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Ibid.* *Stow*, p. 414.

(6) *February* 28. *Stow*, ibid.

(7) This was done on *March* 2, by the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who took the Muſters. See *Hall*, fol. 185. *Stow*, p. 415. *Hollingſh.* p. 1307.

(8) Which met at *Baynard's* Caſtle. *Hall*, &c. ibid.

(9) *March* 4. *Hall*, fol. 185.

(10) Then he went in Proceſſion, under a Canopy, to the Abbey, and was placed in the Choir as King, whilſt *Te Deum* was ſung; after which he made the uſual Offerings. That done, he returned by Water to St. *Paul's*, and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace. *Ibid.* fol. 185. *Stow*, p. 415. *Rapin*, by miſtake ſays, he ſat in the King's Seat at St. *Paul's*, with the Scepter in his Hand.

Duke

1461. Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloceſter* his Uncles, Princes of great Abilities, and who had his Intereſt at Heart. And, if even in their Life-time, his Affairs began to decline, it may be ſaid to be owing, not ſo much to their Fault, as to ſome unforeſeen Accidents, which all the Prudence in the World could not have prevented. After the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, *Henry* ſuffered himſelf to be governed by the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*; who, acting not by the ſame Motives, and regarding only their own Affairs, compleated his Ruin. Afterwards, Queen *Margaret* by her uncommon Abilities, might have reſtored his Affairs, but the King's Glory, and the Nation's Intereſt, were leaſt in her Thoughts. Her ſole View, was to graſp all the Power, and uſe the King's Name to authorize her Paſſions. The Miniſters ſhe employed, were all of the ſame Character. It is not therefore ſtrange, that the King's Affairs ſhould run ſo ſwiftly into Confuſion. The Death of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, will be an indelible Stain in *Margaret*'s Reputation, and unhappily, this Crime reflected but too much upon the King himſelf, ſince he had not the reſolution to oppoſe it, or puniſh the Authors. Accordingly, it was manifeſt, that Heaven took publick Vengeance of this Murder, by the Civil Wars which enſued, and which occaſioned the Ruin of the King, the Queen, the Prince their Son, and the whole Houſe of *Lancaſter*. 1461.

Henry VI. was thirty-nine Years and about a Quarter old, when he was diſpoſſeſſed of a Crown, which he had enjoyed almoſt from his very Birth (1). He ſtill lived long enough to be the ſport of Fortune, as will be ſeen in the following Reign. *Edward* his Son, Prince of *Wales*, was in his nineteenth Year, at the time of this Cataſtrophe (2).

(1) In the firſt Parliament of his Reign the Queen-Mother came and ſat among the Lords, with the young King in her Lap.

(2) The moſt remarkable Things during this Reign were theſe: The Art of Printing being found out at *Mentz* in *Germany* by *John Guttenbergen*, was brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who firſt practiſed the ſame in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, in 1471. *Hall*, fol. 170. *Stow's Ann.* p. 404.

In the 23d Year of this Reign it was enacted in Parliament, That when Wheat was ſold for ſix Shillings and Eight-pence the Quarter; Rye for four Shillings; and Barley for three Shillings; it ſhould be lawful to export the ſaid Kinds of Corn into foreign Parts without Licence.----- In the Year 1454, there was ſuch Plenty of Corn, that a Quarter of Wheat was commonly ſold for twelve or fourteen-pence; and a Quarter of Malt for ſixteen or ſeventeen-pence at moſt. *Stow's Ann.* p. 398.

Queen *Margaret* began *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, which was finiſhed by *Edward* IV's Queen her Enemy.----Archbiſhop *Kemp* built the *Divinity-School* at *Oxford*, as it now ſtands, and St. *Paul*'s Croſs.---- *William Eaſtfield* Mayor of *London*, built at his own Charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleet-ſtreet*; and *John Wells* Mayor of *London*, the Conduit, commonly called the Standard in *Cheap*.-----In the Year 1446, Sir *Simon Eyre* Mayor of *London*, built *Leaden-hall*, to be a common Garner for the City. *Stow's Survey*, B. V. p. 120.---- In 1453, Sir *John Norman*, Mayor of the ſame, went by Water to *Weſtminſter* to take his Oath; being the firſt that went in that manner. For before that time they rode on Horſeback. *Idem.* p. 121.

I. In this and the two foregoing Reigns, the Parliament was reformed in many Particulars, as appears by the Statutes. Firſt, in point of Elections, the Parliament 7 *Henry* IV, and (25 *Henry* VI,) ordained, "That the Election of Knights ſhall be at the next County-Court, after the Writ de-"livered to the Sheriff, and that the Names of the Perſons elected ſhall be returned by Indenture between the Sheriff and the Electors." This the Sheriff was to do, under Penalty of one hundred Pound, and a Year's Impriſonment, without Bail or Mainpriſe, beſides Damages for falſe Returns, (11 *Henry* IV. 8 *Henry* VI. 23 *Henry* VI.) Thus the Election was reduced, but the Perſons were not as yet, for hitherto any *Engliſhman* had right to give or receive a Vote, whereſoever he reſided. But (1 *Hen.* V.) (8 *Hen.* VI.) the Parliament reduced theſe alſo to their proper Counties, or elſe rendered them uncapable to vote or ſerve for any County: And the like Order was made for the Burroughs, (23 *Henry* VI.) "That no Perſon muſt ſerve for any City or Burrough, nor give vote in electing ſuch as ſhall ſerve for that Town, unleſs they be both Free "and Reſiants within that City or Burrough." This was a ſeaſonable Law, for the Times of *Henry* IV had taught Men, That a King that hath Soldiers diſperſed over the Kingdom, can eaſily ſway the County-Courts, and make ſuch Parliaments as they pleaſe. However, this was not enough: For all Electors, though of the meaneſt ſort, could do as much hurt with their Vote, as thoſe of the beſt ſort could do good by theirs. This made Elections much ſubject to Confuſions and Parties, and rendered the Parliament leſs conſiderable. Hence (in 8 *Hen.* VI.) it was ordained, "That "no Man ſhould give his Vote in Elections in the County, unleſs he had forty Shillings yearly in free Lands or Tenements, and this is to be teſ-"tified upon Oath of the Party." And more plainly, two Years after (10 *Hen.* VI.) it was ordered, "That the ſaid Lands ſhould be within "the County." Thus the *Free-men* yielded up their Liberty of Election to the *Free-holders*, poſſibly not knowing what they did. But this change was no leſs good than great. 1ſt, It prevented Parties, Tumults, and Bloodſhed; for the Preface of the Statute ſhows, *the meaneſt held himſelf as good a Man, as the greateſt in the County.* 2dly, Where the Multitude prevails, the meaner ſort are ſuperior; and theſe (generally ignorant,) cannot judge of Perſons, nor Times; but being, for the moſt part, led by Faction or Affection, rather than by right Underſtanding, make ſuch Elections as are either inconvenient, or injurious to the State. 3dly, There is no leſs Equity in the Change than Policy. For what can be more reaſonable, than that thoſe Men only ſhould have their Votes in Election of the Common-Council of the Kingdom, whoſe Eſtates are chargeable with the publick Taxes and Aſſeſſments, and with the Wages of thoſe Perſons that are choſen for the publick Service? But above all, this advancing of the *Free-holders* was beneficial to the *Freemen* of *England*, though perhaps they conſidered it not. Firſt, It abated the Power of the Lords and great Men, who held the inferior ſort at their Devotion, and much of their Poſſeſſions by their Will. 2dly, It raiſed the Spirit of the meaner ſort to publick Regards, and by a kind of Ambition, to aſpire to the Degree of a Freeholder, in order to be ſomewhat in the Commonwealth. And thus leaving the meaneſt Rank, rack'd to the very Dregs, they become leſs conſiderable, and more ſubject to the coercive Power; whilſt, in the mean time, the *Freeholder*, now advanced to the Degree of a *Yeoman*, becomes no leſs careful to maintain Correſpondency with the Laws, than he was induſtrious to attain his Degree. Laſtly, To bind all the reſt, a negative Law was made, (23 *Hen.* VI.) That the Perſons elected in the County, muſt not be of the Degree of a Yeoman, but of the moſt noted Knights, Eſquires, or Gentlemen of the County, which tacitly implies, it was too common to advance thoſe of the meaner ſort. The Perſon thus agreed upon, his Entertainment muſt be accordingly; and therefore the manner of taxing in full County, and levying the Rate of Wages for their Maintenance, is reformed and ſettled (23 *Hen.* VI:) And laſtly, their Perſons are put under the Protection of the Law in an eſpecial manner; and a penal Law is made (11 *Hen.* VI.) againſt Force upon their Perſons, either in going to, or attending the Parliament. Thus, even in theſe Times of Confuſion, a Foundation was laid of a more uniform Government in future Times, than *England* hitherto had ſeen.

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II. In the firſt Year of *Henry* VI, A Pound weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into forty five Rials of ten Shillings, or a proportionable Number of Half-Rials, and Quarter, or Farthing-Rials, at five Shillings, and two Shillings and ſix Pence. Theſe Rials give him crowned with an imperial Crown, ſeated on the Throne, with a Scepter and Globe, inſcribed, HENRICUS. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRAN. DNS. HIB. Reverſe, the Arms of *France* and *England*, quarterly, IHESUS. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. &c. (See *Fig.* 1.) By the ſame Indenture, inſtead of Nobles, and Half-Nobles, were coined ſixty ſeven and a half to the Pound, Angels, at ſix Shillings and eight Pence, or a proportionable Number of Angelets, at three Shillings and four Pence. Conſequently the Pound Troy, was coined into twenty two Pounds ten Shillings, by Tale. The Angels were impreſſed with *Michael* and the Dragon, HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRA. Reverſe, a Shield, with the Arms of *France* and *England* quartered, in a Ship, having a Croſs for a Maſt, on one Side the Letter H, on the other the Roſe. PER. CRVCE. TVA. SALVA. NOS. XRE. RED. (See *Fig.* 2.) The *Salut* was a *French* Coin, like his Father's, and very much reſembled the Silver Groat, which he likewiſe coined in that Kingdom, ſaving that the Groats wanted the Angel and Virgin over the Shield, and inſtead of CHRISTVS. VINCIT. had SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI. BENEDICTVM. By the Indenture of the ſame firſt Year of *Henry* VI, the Silver Money was of the old Standard, one hundred and twelve Groats to the Pound, making in Tale thirty ſeven Shillings and ſix Pence, or a proportionable Number of Half-Groats, Sterlings, Half-Pence, and Farthings. Theſe are diſtinguiſhed from all his Predeceſſors, by the Crown, he being the firſt of our Monarchs that bore the arched Crown, with Globe and Croſs upon it. (See *Fig.* 3.) Theſe were moſt coined at *London*, but there were other Mints at *York*, *Briſtol*, and *Dunwich*, *Dublin*, *Canterbury*, and at *York* with the Keys. The Half-penny has likewiſe the King's Head very fair. H. D. G. ROSA. SIE. SPA. By Indenture, the fourth of this Reign, the Value of Gold was brought down again to ſixteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence, and the Silver to thirty Shillings. By another Indenture of the laſt Year of this Reign, it was raiſed again to thirty ſeven Shillings and ſix Pence, and ſo continued for near fifty Years. In the thirty ſeventh of this Reign, Braſs Money was firſt coined in *Ireland*, but there is no perfect Account from any Author that has ever ſeen it.

A DIS-

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A DISSERTATION *on the* MAID *of* ORLEANS.

THE Actions of *JOAN of ARC*, commonly called the *Maid of Orleans*, made formerly a great Noiſe in the World. We find them diſperſed in the Hiſtories of *France* and *England*, with Circumſtances all ſavouring of Prodigy. Moſt of the Writers upon this Subject have ſcarce left their Readers the Liberty of reaſoning and judging. They have expreſly decided, ſome, that *Joan of Arc* was inſpired by God, others, that ſhe was an Inſtrument of the Devil. But even in this Difference, they all agree to inſinuate, that what ſhe did could not be performed without a ſupernatural Aſſiſtance. However, impartial and unprejudiced Readers find great Difficulties in both theſe Opinions. As they do not ſee wherein Religion can be concerned in *Joan*'s Actions, they think it equally hard to believe, that God ſhould either ſupernaturally raiſe this Maid in favour of *Charles* VII, or give the Devil an extraordinary Power to make her his Inſtrument to ruin the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in *France*. Hence ſeveral have been induced to embrace a third Opinion; namely, That the pretended Inſpiration of *Joan of Arc*, was only a Contrivance thought proper to produce the Effect, it did indeed produce. This Diverſity of Opinions, joined to the Marvellous viſible in the Actions of a Country Girl, very naturally raiſes a Curioſity to know what may be relied on. Wherefore I am perſuaded, it will not be unacceptable fairly to examine this Matter, with the ſole view of diſcovering, as far as poſſible, the Truth. As I deſign to be as brief as the thing will allow, omitting the Learning, ſuch a Subject is capable of, I ſhall only relate the Facts and Teſtimonies which may clear this Affair, and afterwards make ſome Remarks upon the whole. They who are impatient to purſue the Hiſtory of *England*, may diſpenſe with reading this Diſſertation, without fear of loſing any thing abſolutely neceſſary to be known.

It muſt firſt be obſerved, that we have but one ſingle cotemporary Author, who gives an Account of the *Maid of Orleans*. All the After-writers have added ſomething to what he relates, in order to embelliſh their Hiſtory. *Monſtrelet* is the Author I mean. He was one of the Retinue of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and had himſelf ſeen this Girl. But he is extremely reſerved in what he ſays. He never gives his own Opinion, and the Reaſon is very evident. For *Joan* making her appearance when the Duke of *Burgundy* was in Alliance with *England*, *Monſtrelet*, with all of that Party, did not believe her inſpired. But as he writ not his Chronicle till after the Duke was reconciled to King *Charles*, he thought it not proper to combat in his Writings the general Opinion of the *French*, who were then his Maſter's Friends. On the other hand, as probably, in changing his Party, he had not changed his Opinion of *Joan*, he took care to ſay nothing, to make it thought he was under the ſame Prejudice with the reſt of the *French*. It ſeems to me therefore that *Monſtrelet* may be taken for a Guide, who, whatever his Opinion was, has ſaid nothing to render him ſuſpected. The Truth is, he never ſays either that *Joan* was, or was not inſpired.

The ſame Author has inſerted in his Chronicle a Letter written in the Name of *Henry* VI to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with what paſſed at the Trial and Condemnation of the *Maid of Orleans*. This Letter might be juſtly ſuſpected of Partiality, if the Facts it contains did not, for the moſt part, agree with the Records of the Trial mentioned hereafter. So, this Letter is a farther means to help us to diſcover the Truth.

We have a third means which is both the ampleſt and moſt conſiderable, namely, *Joan*'s Examination and Anſwers, of which the famous *Stephen Paſquier* has given us the Particulars. *Paſquier* ſays, he had *Joan*'s original Trial four whole Years in his hands, and what he has related was faithfully extracted. But we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh what *Paſquier* ſays as of himſelf, from the Records of the Trial. He was ſo prejudiced in favour of *Joan*, that he could not help being angry with thoſe of his Countrymen who did not believe her inſpired. He ſays, they were worſe than the *Engliſh*, and extremely injurious to the Honour of *France*. So, conſidering only his private Opinion, he may be ſaid to have juſtly rendered himſelf ſuſpected to one of the Parties. But the Trial itſelf is an original Piece beyond all Suſpicion, ſince we find there Word for Word, *Joan*'s own Anſwers to the Articles ſhe was examined upon.

Monſtrelet's Chronicle, the King of *England*'s Letter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Trial of the Maid, are the three Evidences which muſt be examined, in order to paſs a true Judgment upon this Affair. As to the Facts diſperſed in the Hiſtories of *France* and *England*, which are not drawn from theſe three Fountains, I do not think they ought to be much regarded. It is evident that the Hiſtorians have copied, without any previous Examination, thoſe that writ before them, and that ſeveral have induſtriouſly embelliſhed their Subject, by relating more Wonders than there really were. If ſome are to be credited, *Joan* worked Miracles, foretold future Events, knew Secrets unknown to all but the King, her Heart was found whole and entire amongſt the Aſhes of her funeral Pile, and out of the Flames which conſumed her Body, was ſeen to fly a white Dove, the Emblem of her Chaſtity. According to theſe Hiſtorians, *Joan* had the Command of the Convoy which entered *Orleans*, and led the Beſieged to the Aſſault of the *Engliſh* Forts. By her ſole Advice the Battle of *Patay* was fought, and to her Valour the *French* were indebted for their Victory. In a word, they pretend *Joan* did all, and leave King *Charles*'s Generals only the Honour of following her, and fighting under her Banner. In all this they doubtleſs exceed the Truth. The ſureſt way is to keep to the three forementioned Authorities, which it will be neceſſary to examine. I ſhall begin with *Monſtrelet*, and cite ſome Paſſages of his Chronicle, eſſential to the Point in hand, for it would be tedious to copy all he has ſaid concerning the Maid.

Monſtrelet. Vol. II. fol. 41.

" Now in the Year abovementioned, came to the
" King at *Chinon* where he reſided, a young Damſel
" about twenty Years old (1), called *Joan*, cloathed and
" dreſſed like a Man. She was born in the Parts between
" *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*, at a Place called *Droimy* (2),
" not far from *Vaucouleur*. This *Joan* was long a Ser-
" vant at an Inn, and had the Courage to ride the
" Horſes to Water, and likewiſe to perform other Feats
" which young Girls are not uſed to do. Being turned
" away, ſhe was ſent to the King by a certain Knight
" called Sir *Robert de Baudrencourt*, Captain under the
" King, of *Vaucouleur*, who furniſhed her with Horſes,
" and four or five Attendants. She ſtiled herſelf *Pucelle*
" [or Maid,] inſpired with divine Grace, and ſaid ſhe
" was ſent to the King to put him in poſſeſſion of his
" Kingdom, of which he was wrongfully deprived. She
" was in a very mean Condition. She was about two
" Months in the King's Palace, whom ſhe ſeveral times
" admoniſhed to furniſh her with Men and Aid, and
" ſhe would repulſe his Enemies, and exalt his Domi-
" nion. In the mean time, the King and his Council
" gave no great Credit to whatever ſhe ſaid, but took her
" for a Mad-Woman, and not well in her Senſes. For to
" ſo great Princes and other Noblemen, ſuch or the like
" Words are very doubtful and dangerous, as well on ac-
" count of the Wrath of our Lord chiefly, as of the
" Slander from the Talk of the World. All her Words
" were in the Name of God; and therefore many of
" thoſe that ſaw and heard her ſpeak, were ſtrongly per-
" ſuaded ſhe was, as ſhe herſelf ſaid, inſpired by God.
" She was ſeveral times examined by notable Clerks and
" other learned Men of great Authority, that her Inten-
" tion might be more fully known. But ſhe always kept
" to her Point, ſaying, if the King would believe her,
" ſhe would reſtore him to his Dominions. —— When ſhe
" came before the King, there were preſent the Duke of
" *Alençon*, the King's Marſhal, and ſeveral Generals.
" For the King had held a Council concerning the Siege
" of *Orleans*, and from thence went to *Poictiers*, and this

(1) She was then twenty ſeven Years of Age; for in her Examination in the Year 1431, ſhe declared ſhe was twenty nine Years old, conſequently when ſhe came to the King in 1429, ſhe was twenty ſeven Years of Age. *Rapin.*

(2) It ſhould be read *Domprè*. *Rapin.*

" Maid with him. Shortly after, the Marſhal was ordered " to carry Proviſions and other Neceſſaries to *Orleans*. " *Joan* would go with him, and requeſted ſhe might have " a Suit of Armour and Man's Cloaths, which ſhe was " furniſhed withal. Preſently after, ſhe ſet up her Stan- " dard and went to *Blois*, where the Rendezvous was, " and from thence to *Orleans* with the reſt. She was " always completely armed. In this Expedition many " came and liſted under her. And when ſhe was arrived " at *Orleans*, ſhe was made very welcome, and many " People were overjoyed at her coming."

This is all *Monſtrelet* ſays of the Maid, to her Entry into *Orleans*. It may be obſerved, it was not ſhe that commanded the Convoy, but only that ſhe attended the Marſhal with ſome who had liſted under her. As to the ſtorming of the Forts, it ſeems at firſt from what he ſays of it, that *Joan* commanded in all the Sallies. But afterwards he ſays: " And notwithſtanding that in theſe three " Aſſaults, *Joan* is reported by common Fame to have " had the chief Command, yet all or moſt part of the " noble Knights and Captains were in them, who during " the Siege, were in the City of *Orleans*, and behaved, " each for his Part, valiantly, as Warriors ought to do on " ſuch Occaſions." He does not fail however, highly to commend her Valour in ſeveral Places. For inſtance, ſpeaking of the March of the *French* Army after the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, he ſays: " *Joan* was ever in " the Front before her Standard. And in all the March- " es, her Fame was ſpread, as if there had been no other " Warrior but her ſelf."

Monſtrelet. fol. 43.

fol. 44.

After his Deſcription of the Battle of *Patay*, he adds theſe Words; " and eſpecially *Joan* acquired on ſuch oc- " caſions ſo great Praiſe and Reputation, that all People " imagined, the King's Enemies would be no longer able " to reſiſt her, and that ſhortly by her means the King " would be reſtored to his whole Kingdom."

fol. 45.

In fine, not to cite too many Paſſages of this Author, it will ſuffice to obſerve in a word, that when he mentions the Inſpiration of the Maid, he never ſays what he himſelf thinks, but always, that ſhe called her ſelf inſpired. He is ſo very cautious, that in ſpeaking what the Duke of *Burgundy* ſaid to her, when he went to ſee her after ſhe was taken, he pretends not to remember it, though he was himſelf an Ear-Witneſs. His Words are theſe: " The " Duke went to ſee her at the Place where ſhe was lodged, " and ſpoke to her ſome Words, which I have forgot, " tho' I was preſent." It is eaſy to ſee, the Duke's Words were Reproaches for ſeducing the People, and Menaces upon that account. But *Monſtrelet* chuſes rather to be ſilent, than to ſay any thing *pro* or *con*.

fol. 57.

He relates moreover, that a few Days before *Joan* threw her ſelf into *Compiegne*, ſhe had fought a Captain of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s called *Franquet d'Arras*, and having taken him Priſoner, cut off his Head. But he does not ſay whether juſtly or not, contenting himſelf with relating the Fact, without giving his Opinion.

When he comes at laſt to her Condemnation, he ſo expreſſes himſelf, that he does not diſcover his own Sentiments. He only tranſcribes the King of *England*'s Letter to the Duke of *Burgundy* upon that occaſion. As that Letter is an Original which may help to diſcover the Truth, it will be proper to inſert it at length.

Moſt Dear and Well-beloved UNCLE,

Monſtrelet. Vol. II. fol. 70. Hall. fol. 113, 114.

" THE ſervent Affection which we are ſenſible you " have, as a true Catholick, for our Holy Mother " Church, and for the Advancement of our Faith, juſtly " exhorts and admoniſhes us to notify to you in writing, " what, to the Honour of our ſaid Holy Mother Church, " to the ſtrengthening of our Faith, and to the Extirpa- " tion of peſtilent Errors, has been lately in this our City " of *Roan* ſolemnly tranſacted.

" It is now well known almoſt every where by com- " mon Fame, how the Woman who called herſelf *Joan* " the Maid, had, for above theſe two Years, contrary to " the divine Law, and the Condition of her Sex, wan- " dered about in Man's Clothes, a thing abominable to " God, and in ſuch Dreſs brought to our and your " mortal Enemy; and to whom and to thoſe of his Party, " Churchmen, Nobles and Commons, ſhe frequently in- " timated, ſhe was ſent from God; preſumptuouſly boaſt- " ing to have perſonally and viſibly converſed with " St. *Michael*, and great Numbers of Angels and Saints " of Paradiſe, as St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*. By " this falſe Intimation, and the Promiſe of future Victo- " ries, ſhe turned the Hearts of many Men and Women " from the Truth, to Fables and Lies. She likewiſe " wore Arms appointed for Knights and 'Squires, and ſet " up a Standard. Moreover, ſhe demanded with great " Boldneſs, Pride and Preſumption, to bear the moſt ex- " cellent Arms of *France*, which ſhe partly obtained, and " bore in ſeveral Incurſions and Aſſaults, as did her Bro- " thers alſo, according to Report: Namely, *Azure*, Two " Flower-de-Luces, *Or*, and a Sword, the Point up- " wards, fermed with a Crown. In this State, ſhe took " the Field, and led Men at Arms and Archers in Bands " and great Companies, to commit and exerciſe inhuman " Cruelties, by ſhedding human Blood, by raiſing Sedi- " tions and Commotions among the People, leading them " into Perjury, Rebellion, Superſtition and erroneous " Opinions; by diſturbing all true Peace, and renewing " mortal Wars; by ſuffering herſelf to be honoured and " reverenced of many as a Saint; and by working other " damnable Deeds, too tedious to relate, which however " were well known in ſeveral Places, and at which almoſt " all Chriſtendom was offended. But God taking Pity " on his faithful People, and not ſuffering them to remain " long in Danger, nor to continue in vain, pernicious, " and novel Opinions, which they had raſhly embraced, " has permitted, through his great Goodneſs and Mercy, " that this Woman ſhould be taken in your Army at the " Siege you were carrying on at *Compiegne*, and by your " good means put into our Power. And becauſe we were " immediately required by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe " where ſhe was taken, to deliver over to him as her " Ordinary Eccleſiaſtical Judge, this ſame *Joan* branded " with the Crime of High-Treaſon againſt the Divine " Majeſty; we, as well out of Reverence to our Holy " Mother Church, whoſe Ordinances we juſtly preſer to " our own Will and Pleaſure, as alſo for the Honour " and Exaltation of our Holy Faith, delivered her to him " to be brought to her Tryal, without ſuffering our ſecu- " lar Judges to take Vengeance upon her, as we might " lawfully have done, conſidering the great Damages " and Miſchiefs, the horrible Murders, and deteſtable " Cruelties, with innumerable other Crimes, ſhe had com- " mitted againſt us and our dutiful loyal People. The " Biſhop joined with him the Vicar of the Inquiſitor of " Errors and Hereſies: And calling in with them a great " and notable Number of ſolemn Maſters, and Doctors " in Divinity and Canon-Law, commenced with great " Solemnity and due Gravity the Proceſs of this *Joan*. " After he and the Inquiſitor, Judges in the Cauſe, had " for ſeveral Days examined her, they ordered her Con- " feſſions and Aſſertions to be maturely conſidered by the " Maſters and Doctors, and in general by all the Faculties " of our moſt dearly beloved Daughter the Univerſity of " *Paris*, before whom the Confeſſions and Aſſertions were " laid. By their Opinion and Determination, the " Judges found *Joan* guilty of Superſtition, Witchcraft, " Blaſphemy againſt God and his Saints, Schiſm, and of " greatly erring in the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And in " order to reſtore her to the Union and Communion of " our Holy Mother Church, to cleanſe her from her " horrible and pernicious Crimes and Wickedneſs, and " to preſerve her Soul from eternal Damnation, ſhe was " frequently and long, very charitably and calmly admo- " niſhed, to reject and caſt away all her Errors; and " humbly return to the Way and Paths of Truth, or " otherwiſe ſhe would greatly endanger both Soul and " Body.

" But the moſt pernicious and divided Spirit of Pride " and outragious Preſumption, which is always endea- " vouring to deſtroy the Union and Safety of Chriſtians, " ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed this ſame *Joan*, that notwithſtand- " ing all the holy Doctrine or Counſel, or other mild " Exhortation, adminiſtred to her; her hardened and ob- " ſtinate Heart would not be humbled or mollified. She " ſtill boaſted, that all ſhe had done was performed by " the Command of God and the holy Virgin, who had " viſibly appeared to her. And what is worſe, ſhe would " recognize no Judge on Earth, except God alone, and " the Saints in *Paradiſe*; rejecting the Judgment of our " holy Father the Pope, and of a General Council, and " the Univerſal Church Militant. Whereupon, her Ec- " cleſiaſtical Judges ſeeing her perſevere ſo long, and ſo " obſtinately in her Reſolution and Purpoſe, ordered her " to be conducted to the Church, before the Clergy and " People, there aſſembled in great Multitudes; in " the preſence of whom her wicked Purpoſes were ſet " forth, expoſed and declared, ſolemnly and publickly, by " a notable Doctor in Divinity; to the Exaltation of " our Faith, the Extirpation of Errors, the Edification " and Amendment of Chriſtian People. After that, ſhe " was charitably admoniſhed to return to the Union of " Holy Church, and reform her Faults and Errors, " wherein ſhe was hardened. And therefore, the Judges " proceeded to denounce upon her, the uſual and cuſto- " mary Sentence in ſuch Caſes. But before the Sentence " was fully declared, ſhe ſeemingly began to relent, cry- " ing out, ſhe would return to Holy Church. This was " readily and gladly heard by the Judges and Clergy,

" who kindly received her, hoping by that Means, her " Soul and Body would be ſaved from Perdition and Tor- " ment. Then ſhe ſubmitted to the Ordinance of Holy " Church, abjured with her own Mouth her Errors and " deteſtable Crimes, and made a publick Recantation, ſign- " ing the Inſtrument with her own Hand. And thus, " our compaſſionate Mother Holy Church, rejoicing over " this penitent Sinner, glad to find and reſtore this ſtrayed " and loſt Sheep, to the reſt of the Fold, condemned her " to do Penance in Priſon. But hardly was ſhe there, " before the Fire of her Pride, which ſeemed to be ex- " tinguiſhed, rekindled into peſtiferous Flames by the Sug- " geſtions of the Enemy. And preſently, the unfortunate " *Joan* relapſed into her former Errors and Follies, lately " abjured and recanted.

" For this reaſon, according to the Decrees and Or- " ders of Holy Church, ſhe was again publickly preach- " ed, that ſhe might not hereafter infect the reſt of the " Members of Chriſt. And, as ſhe was relapſed into " her wonted wretched Crimes and Faults, ſhe was de- " livered over to the ſecular Arm, and condemned to be " burnt. Perceiving her end to approach, ſhe plainly " owned and confeſſed, that the Spirits which, ſhe ſaid, " appeared to her ſeveral times, were evil and lying Spirits, " and that their frequent Promiſes to free her, were falſe. " So ſhe acknowledged, ſhe had been deceived and mocked " by theſe Spirits, and purſuant to her Sentence, was car- " ried bound to the old Market-Place in *Roan*, and pub- " lickly burnt in the Sight of all the People."

Before we proceed to her Trial, it will not be amiſs to ſee a Letter, ſaid to be ſent by her, to the King of *England* and his Generals, before the Siege of *Orleans* was raiſed. You have it as follows, in the Words of *John de Serres*, a *French* Hiſtorian.

King of ENGLAND,

" Do Juſtice to the King of Heaven, in his Royal " Blood. Reſtore to the Virgin the Keys of all the good " Cities you have forced. She is come from God to " demand the Blood Royal, and is ready to make Peace, " if you are willing to do Juſtice, and reſtore what you " have taken away. King of *England*, if you will not " do thus, I am chief of the War. In what Place ſo- " ever I find your Men in *France*, I will make them de- " part, whether they will or no. If they will ſubmit, " I will take them to Mercy. The Virgin comes from " the King of Heaven, to drive you out of *France*. If " you will not obey, ſhe will make ſuch a Havock, as " has not been known in *France* this thouſand Years. " And be aſſured, the King of Heaven will ſend to " her and her good Men at Arms, greater ſtrength than " you can have. Go in God's Name into your own " Country. Perſiſt not obſtinately in your Opinion; " for you ſhall not hold *France* of the King of Heaven, " Son of the Holy *Mary*. But King *Charles* the right " Heir ſhall poſſeſs it, to whom God has given it, and " he ſhall enter *Paris* with a noble Train. You, *William* " *Poullet* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John* Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas* Lord " *Scales*, Lieutenants of the Duke of *Bethford*, and you " Duke of *Bethford*, ſtiling yourſelf Regent of *France*, " ſpare innocent Blood. Leave *Orleans* at Liberty. If " you do not Juſtice to thoſe you have injured, the *French* " will perform the nobleſt Exploit that ever was done " in Chriſtendom. Hear this Advice from God and the " Virgin."

This Letter, writ in a prophetick Style, by a Girl who pretended to be ſent from God, and appears ſo certain of the Future, ought to contain nothing but what was afterwards found to be exactly true. And yet, there are Predictions in it, which were never accompliſhed. For inſtance, it is not true, that ſhe drove one ſingle *Engliſhman* out of *France*. She farther affirms, ſhe will make ſo great a Havock, as had not been known this thouſand Years in *France*. Theſe Words can relate only to the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Battle of *Patay*. But the firſt of theſe Actions has nothing in itſelf extraordinary. That a Garriſon ſhould make a Sally and drive the Beſiegers from their Poſts, is a thing too common to be reckoned a Miracle. As to the Battle of *Patay*, ſuppoſing *Joan* had commanded the *French* Army, which ſhe did not, can that Action be ſaid to deſerve to be expreſſed in the Terms ſhe uſes? The *Engliſh* had only ſix thouſand, and loſt two thouſand five hundred. That Defeat hardly bears any Proportion to thoſe of the *French* at *Crecy*, *Poictiers*, *Azincourt*, the firſt of which, was but a hundred Years before *Joan*'s time, and the laſt but thirteen or fourteen.

It is further remarkable, That in her Letter, ſhe ſpeaks as if ſhe were actually at the Head of the Armies of *France*, ſince ſhe ſummoned the King of *England*, to return her the Keys of all the Towns in his Poſſeſſion. And yet, the Letter muſt have been writ whilſt ſhe was only upon the March, with the Convoy deſigned for *Orleans*; which, inſtead of commanding, ſhe obtained, ſays *Monſtrelet*, as a ſort of favor, leave to accompany. I ſay nothing of her ſpeaking to the King of *England*, as if then a grown Perſon, though he was but nine Years old, exhorting him not to perſiſt in his Opinion, nor of her admoniſhing him to depart out of *France*, though he was then in *England*; theſe things may be paſſed over as being in a prophetick Stile, and taken as ſo many Figures of Speech. But ſhe ſhould at leaſt have known the Names of thoſe ſhe addreſſed herſelf to, and not have called the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Poullet*, when his Name was *de la Pole*. To miſtake the Name of Foreigners, may be eaſily excuſed in common Perſons: But I do not know whether it is pardonable in one, who pretended to ſpeak in the Name, and by the Authority of God. Theſe, and ſeveral other Reaſons, which it would be tedious to inſiſt upon, induce me to believe, this Letter was compoſed after the Event, by ſome Perſon, that knew the *Maid* had really writ to the King of *England*, or the Duke of *Bedford*, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

Let us proceed now to the Proceſs of *Joan of Arc*, as we find it in *Paſquier*. I ſay to the Proceſs, and not to the Sentiment of that Author, who lived too long after her, for his Teſtimony to be of any great Weight. It ſuffices to ſay with regard to him, that he every where ſpeaks of her with great Commendations, and believed ſhe was really inſpired, and ſent from God to ſave *France*. Here follows her Examination and Anſwers, which I ſhall abridge as much as poſſible, without obſcuring the Senſe.

In the firſt Place, being charged to ſpeak the Truth, ſhe replied, ſhe would ſay what concerned her Father and Mother, but not diſcloſe the Revelations ſhe had told King *Charles*, though in eight Days ſhe ſhould know whether ſhe might or no.

To the ſecond Queſtion, concerning her Name and Family, ſhe anſwered, ſhe was of the Village of *Dompré*, was called in her own Country *Jeanette*, but in *France*, *Joan of Arc*. That her Father's Name was *James of Arc*, and her Mother's *Iſabella*, &c.

That ſhe was then about twenty nine Years old.

That ſhe was by Trade a Seamſtreſs and Spinſter, and not a Shepherdeſs.

That ſhe went every Year to Confeſſion.

That ſhe frequently heard a Voice from Heaven, and in the Place where ſhe heard it, ſaw alſo a Light, which ſhe took for an Angel. That the Voice had often warned her to go into *France*, and raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*. That ſhe ſhould go to *Robert de Baudricourt*, Captain of *Vaucouleurs*, who would give her a Guard to conduct her, which ſhe did accordingly.

She added; ſhe knew, God loved the Duke of *Orleans*, and ſhe had received more Revelations concerning him, than any Perſon living, except the King.

Item. She confeſſed ſhe was ingaged in a Skirmiſh before *Paris*, on a Holy-day, and being asked whether that was Right, ſhe anſwered, *Go on.*

Being asked when ſhe heard the Voice laſt, ſhe replied, Yeſterday, three times; in the Morning; at the time of *Veſpers*; and when the *Ave Maria* Bell rung in the Evening.

Being asked, whether ſhe had ever ſeen any Fairies, ſhe anſwered, *No*; but that one of her God-Mothers pretended to have ſeen ſome at the Fairy-Tree, near the Village of *Dompré*.

Being examined who they were that ſpoke to her, ſhe anſwered, St. *Catherine*, and St. *Margaret*, and ſhe had frequently ſeen and touched them ſince ſhe was in Priſon, and kiſſed the Ground on which they trod. Moreover, that ſhe conſulted them about her Anſwers.

She ſaid further, ſhe had put on Man's Cloaths by the expreſs Command of God, and was wounded in the Neck before *Orleans*.

Item. That, within ſeven Years, the *Engliſh* ſhould leave a greater Pledge than that before *Orleans*, and loſe all they poſſeſſed in *France*.

That they ſhould ſuſtain in *France* a much greater Loſs, than what they had yet done, by means of a great Victory, which the *French* ſhould gain over them.

Being asked, whether ſhe bore any Coat of Arms, ſhe anſwered, *No*, but only her Standard. That it was true, the King had given her Brothers a Coat of Arms; namely, in a Field *Azure*, two Flower-de-luces, *Or*, and a Crown in the Middle.

She added, that her Father dreamt ſhe would go with the Soldiers, and for that Reaſon kept her ſhort, and ſaid, he had rather ſee her drowned.

Then ſhe was charged with throwing herſelf headlong from the Tower, in order to kill herſelf, whilſt ſhe was Priſoner at *Beaurevoir*. She confeſſed the Fact, but ſaid,

ſaid, her Deſign was not to kill herſelf, but make her Eſcape.

Whilſt her Proceſs was in hand, ſhe deſired leave to hear Maſs, and communicate at *Eaſter*. This was granted her, upon Condition ſhe would put on Women's Clothes; but ſhe choſe rather not to communicate, than do it on that Condition.

She was taxed with ſuffering herſelf to be worſhipped; but ſhe replied, if ſome People had kiſſed her Hand, or Clothes, it was without her Conſent.

After theſe Anſwers, came ſeveral others, which give occaſion to believe, they were made to as many Interrogations, ſuppreſſed by *Paſquier*. And are as follow:

That ſhe had talked with St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*, at the Fairy-Tree, and not with the Fairies, as ſhe had been accuſed. That ſhe began at thirteen Years of Age to converſe with theſe Saints.

That at twenty Years old, ſhe hired herſelf at *Neufchatel* in *Lorrain*, to a Woman that kept an Inn, called *La Rouſſe*, and there led the Beaſts to Graſs, and watered the Horſes, and ſo learned to ride.

That whilſt ſhe was there, ſhe had a Law-Suit about a Marriage, before the Official of *Toul*, and carried her Cauſe.

That after ſerving five Years, ſhe returned to her Father, and, againſt his Will, went to *Baudricourt*, who made no Account of her for the two firſt Months, but in the third gave her a Guard of twenty Knights, a Squire, and four Servants, to conduct her to *Chinon*, where the King was.

The Judges earneſtly preſſing her to put on Woman's Apparel: She replied, ſhe deſired to have none of her Sex's Clothes, but a Shift after ſhe was dead.

Whereupon ſhe was told, ſhe ſhould be received to Communion only in Women's Clothes; but ſhe refuſed to comply with that Condition. However, ſhe conſented at laſt to take a Woman's Habit to hear Maſs, provided ſhe ſhould be allowed to put on Man's Clothes again. But as that favour was refuſed her, ſhe declared, ſhe would rather die than be dreſſed like a Woman, contrary to God's expreſs Command.

She ſaid likewiſe, ſhe had promiſed the King to raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*, and cauſe him to be crowned.

She was taxed with being always againſt a Peace; which ſhe owned, affirming, there could be no Peace concluded, unleſs the *Engliſh* would leave *France*.

The Proctor charging her with cauſing a Sword to be concealed in St. *Catherine*'s Church at *Fierbois*, and ſending for the ſame, after ſhe had talked with the King, ſhe denied ſhe had ever uſed any Frauds. She owned however, ſhe had heard three Maſſes in that Church.

Upon being accuſed of ſaying, ſhe was ſent from God to wage War, which was directly contrary to the Will of God; ſhe anſwered, that in the Letter ſent by her to the King of *England* and the Princes of the Blood, ſhe had firſt offered them Peace. *Paſquier* ſays, the Letter is copied in the Trial. But as he thought not proper to tranſcribe it himſelf, one cannot be ſure it is the ſame inſerted by *de Serres* in his Hiſtory.

Upon being charged with putting to Death *Franquet d'Arras* her Priſoner; ſhe replied, he was a known Robber, and condemned to die by the Bailiff of *Senlis*.

Upon the Charge of having ſeveral times communicated in Man's Clothes, and kneeled to the Voice which ſpoke to her; She confeſſed it all.

The Proctor accuſed her alſo of having ſeduced many People to ſuch a degree, that they reverenced her as a Saint, cauſed Prayers to be ſaid in the Church to her Honour, maintained that, next to the Holy Virgin, ſhe was the greateſt of Saints, and wore about them her Image in Lead, or other Metal. To this Charge ſhe replied, that God ſhould be Judge.

Upon the Accuſation of uſurping Dominion over Men, by making herſelf Chief of the War, ſhe anſwered, ſhe had done it to beat the *Engliſh*. Adding, her Standard was of Linen or Fuſtian, bordered with Velvet, with a Field ſemee of Fleur-de-lis, and in the middle, the Image of God holding the World, ſupported by two Angels in white, and underneath, *Jeſus Maria*.

Whereupon her Judges upbraided her, that ſhe was in the wrong to aſcribe unto God ſuch Vanities, contrary to the Reverence due to him, and asked her, whether ſhe put her Confidence in her Standard; to which ſhe replied, ſhe placed her Confidence only in him whoſe Image it bore.

After this ſhe was asked, why ſhe held alone her Standard at the Coronation of King *Charles*. She anſwered it was but juſt, that he who had been in Trouble, ſhould be likewiſe in Glory.

She was farther told, that being wounded before *Paris*, ſhe cauſed her Armour to be hung up in the Church of St. *Dennis*, out of Oſtentation; She replied, ſhe did it from a Motive of Piety, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe that were wounded in War.

Laſtly, She was asked, if ſhe would ſubmit to the Judgment of the Church Militant. She anſwered, ſhe would, provided the Church did not enjoin her what was impracticable. That ſhe could not in any wiſe revoke what ſhe had ſaid concerning her Viſions and Revelations, and if the Church affirmed they were Illuſions, in that caſe, ſhe would not refer it to the Judgment of Men, but to God alone.

The Examination being ended, the Judges drew a Summary of her Confeſſions. Containing,

I. That being thirteen Years old, ſhe ſaw St. *Michael*, St. *Catherine*, St. *Margaret*, and a great Company of Angels.

II. That theſe Saints adviſed her to go to King *Charles*, and to wear Mens Clothes.

III. That ſhe choſe rather not to hear Maſs and communicate, than put on Women's Apparel.

IV. That ſhe refuſed to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Church-Militant.

V. That ſhe pretended to foretel future Contingencies.

VI. That ſhe knew Saints by their Voices, whom ſhe had never ſeen or heard before.

VII. That ſhe was expreſly commanded by God to wear Men's Clothes.

VIII. That ſhe caſt herſelf headlong from a Tower, chuſing rather to die than remain in the Hands of her Enemies.

IX. That ſhe not only ſaw and heard, but likewiſe touched bodily St. *Catherine*, and St. *Margaret*, and kiſſed the Ground on which they trod.

The Proctor having taken his Concluſions upon theſe Articles, it was ſaid by the Judges, That what *Joan of Arc* had done, was all a Cheat, and the Invention of the Devil, to delude the poor People: That ſhe was guilty of Diſobedience to her Parents, and of Idolatry, to the Diſhonour of the Church; particularly, for chuſing rather to deprive herſelf of the Body of our Lord, than lay aſide Men's Clothes. At this Sentence were preſent the Biſhops of *Coutance* and *Liſieux*, the Chapter of the Cathedral of *Roan*, ſixteen Doctors, ſix Licentiates, or Batchelors in Divinity, and eleven Advocates of *Roan*.

This Sentence being ſent to the Univerſity of *Paris*, was confirmed by the Faculties of Divinity and the Decrees, and *Joan* pronounced Heretick and Schiſmatick. Then the Univerſity writ to the King and the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, to deſire ſhe might be put to death. It does not appear in *Paſquier*, to what Puniſhment ſhe was condemned by this firſt Sentence. All that can be ſaid, is, ſhe was at leaſt excommunicated. However that be, *Joan* being carried into the Church, and placed on a Scaffold, was publickly preached, as it was called in thoſe Days. All theſe Preparations ſtriking her with great Dread, ſhe cried out aloud, She would ſubmit to the Judgment of God and the Pope. But finding what ſhe ſaid was not ſufficient to revoke her Sentence, or ſtop the Publication, ſhe declared, She would ſtand to the Church's Determination: That ſince ſo many wiſe and learned Men affirmed, her Viſions came not from God, ſhe was willing to believe ſo too, which ſhe repeated ſeveral times. Then ſhe made a publick Abjuration, inſerted in the Trial, but *Paſquier* thought not fit to give the Contents.

Upon this Abjuration, another Sentence intervened, abſolving her from the Bond of Excommunication, and condemning her to perpetual Impriſonment by way of Penance. After that, ſhe put on Women's Apparel. But as ſhe had all along been very obſtinate to Men's Clothes, which ſhe wore, as ſhe ſaid, by God's expreſs Command, it was thought proper to try whether her Abjuration was ſincere, by leaving a Man's Habit with her in Priſon. This Expedient, to her Misfortune, ſucceeded but too well, ſince ſhe was no ſooner alone, than ſhe reſumed this ſame Habit. On the Morrow, being found in that Dreſs, ſhe was asked the Reaſon: To which ſhe anſwered, She had put on her former Habit by the expreſs Order of St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*, and had rather obey God than Man. Whereupon, an Information was entered againſt her in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, and ſhe was declared an Heretick Relapſe, and delivered over to the ſecular Arm. *Paſquier* ſays nothing of her Confeſſion, according to the King of *England*'s Letter, that ſhe was ſeduced by lying Spirits, who had promiſed to ſet her free. Indeed, this Confeſſion is directly contrary to the Inferences *Paſquier* would draw from the Records of the Trial, namely, that *Joan* was inſpired by God. He only ſays, ſhe was ſentenced to be burnt, *May* the 31ſt, 1431. But as all the reſt of the

Facts, mentioned in the King's Letter, exactly agree with the Records of the Proceſs. I do not ſee why *Paſquier*'s Silence ſhould cauſe this to be queſtioned.

One might make numberleſs Reflections upon the Examination, Anſwers, and Behaviour of the Maid. But not to tire the Reader's Patience, I ſhall content my ſelf with the following Remarks.

1. It is certain, *Paſquier*'s View in what he has related of this Trial, was, to prove *Joan*'s Inſpiration. And therefore, prejudiced as he was, he made no ſcruple to curtail in ſeveral Places, the Queſtions and Anſwers. This manifeſtly appears, in that ſeveral of the Anſwers have no Connexion with the Queſtions, nor with one another. For Inſtance, what ſhe ſays in her Anſwer to the ſecond Queſtion, concerning the Duke of *Orleans*, neceſſarily ſuppoſes ſome other Queſtion, which *Paſquier* was pleaſed to omit.

2. It appears, that he has paſſed over in Silence ſome of the Anſwers. For Example, it is ſaid in the Summary of *Joan*'s Confeſſion, that ſhe had boaſted of ſeeing St. *Michael*, and yet it is not mentioned in the Examination.

3. *Paſquier* would not tranſcribe *Joan*'s Letter to the King of *England*, or her Abjuration: Papers however of no leſs Importance, than all he has produced. Much more unwilling was he to mention her Confeſſion before ſhe died, that ſhe was ſeduced or deceived. Theſe Omiſſions gave occaſion to preſume, that *Paſquier* ſought in *Joan*'s Trial, not ſo much what might be of ſervice to diſcover the Truth, as what he believed conducive to prove his Opinion. And indeed, he multiplies Words, to draw from *Joan*'s Anſwers Conſequences favorable to his Notion, and to ſhew, that her Predictions were fulfilled, and her Aſſertions all true. He labours chiefly to prove, by very weak Arguments, that the Duke of *Orleans* was, as the Maid affirmed, greatly beloved of God. Among other Reaſons, he alledges this: That God had bleſſed that Prince with two illuſtrious Sons, the one, legitimate, afterwards King of *France*, by the Name of *Lewis* XII, the other Natural, namely, the great General, known firſt by the Name of the Baſtard of *Orleans*, and afterwards by that of Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville*. But every one knows, this laſt was natural Brother, and not Son of the Duke of *Orleans*, mentioned by *Joan*. It is ſurpriſing that a Man ſo verſed as *Paſquier* in the Hiſtory of *France*, ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a Miſtake.

Having related ſuch Facts concerning the Maid, as cannot be denied, ſince they are ſupported by inconteſtable Teſtimonies, nothing more remains, but to examine the three Opinions upon this Affair, in order to embrace the moſt probable.

Moſt of the *French* Writers maintain, that *Joan* was really inſpired, and ſent by God, and found their Opinion upon theſe four principal Reaſons. The firſt is, the Poſſibility of God's working ſuch Miracles. But this Point may be granted them, and yet they not able to draw any Inference from the Poſſibility, for the Truth of the Fact.

The ſecond is, *Joan*'s own Evidence, grounded upon her Viſions of Saints and Angels. But this is the very Thing in queſtion, and conſequently cannot be urged as a Proof.

The third Reaſon is taken from her knowing King *Charles* in diſguiſe, among his Courtiers. This does not deſerve notice. Suppoſing, as a great many believe, that *Joan* was perſuaded to act this part, it is eaſy to conceive, ſhe might be very well inſtructed to know the King, tho' ſhe had never ſeen him before.

The fourth is founded upon the accompliſhment of her Prediction, of the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the King's Coronation, at a time when theſe Events were extremely improbable. This Reaſon, added to her uncommon Valour on all Occaſions, is doubtleſs, the ſtrongeſt that can be alledged for this Opinion. However, the Objections this Argument is liable to, very much weaken, if not wholly deſtroy it.

Firſt, It may be objected, it is ſhe herſelf, who ſaid in her Examination, and after the Event, that ſhe had foretold to the King, the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, and his Coronation. We have obſerved, that *Monſtrelet* does not make her ſpeak ſo preciſely. He only makes her ſay to the King in general Terms, *That ſhe would exalt his Dominion, and drive his Enemies out of the Kingdom*; which however ſhe did not perform, ſince the *Engliſh* were not expelled out of *France*, till above twenty Years after her Death.

Moreover, *Joan* ſays in her Examination, theſe two Things were revealed to her by St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*. I do not mean to conſider here, all the Objections that may be made to this Circumſtance. I am willing to ſuppoſe, God reveals ſometimes to the glorified Saints what is to happen upon Earth; that he commands them to aſſume a human Shape, to inform certain Perſons thereof, and that *Catherine* and *Margaret* were of the Number of thoſe glorified Saints, though it cannot be affirmed with Certainty. But it muſt be owned, at leaſt, that God very rarely makes uſe of ſuch means, and when he does, it is always for his own Glory, or the Good of his Church, or in favour of ſome Perſons very eminent for their Holineſs. Now, in the War which was then waging in *France*, neither the Glory of God, nor the Honour of Religion, nor the Good of the Church were directly concerned: And *Charles* VII, for whoſe ſake, according to the Suppoſition, God did ſo great Things, was far from being famous for Holineſs of Life. The Diſpute between the two Kings, and the two Parties, was purely about Temporal Concerns. They both profeſſed the ſame Religion, and could not tax one another either with Schiſm or Hereſy. It does not therefore appear, wherein it could be for the Glory of God, or the Advantage of Religion or the Church, that the Realm of *France* ſhould be governed by a Prince of the Houſe of *Valois*, rather than by a King of *England*, deſcended by a Daughter, from the Blood Royal of *France*. A Man may affirm, as much as he pleaſes, that the Uſurpation of the *Engliſh* was ſo heinous and manifeſt, that God's Honour was concerned to make them an Example of his Juſtice. This is ſuppoſing the Thing in queſtion. One need only read what has been ſaid upon this Point in the Reign of *Edward* III, to be ſatisfied, that the Suppoſition is not ſo manifeſt as is pretended, but is liable to great Difficulties. However, though it were undeniable, that the *Engliſh* were real Uſurpers, can it be affirmed, that God's Honour is concerned, to puniſh in an exemplary and ſupernatural manner, the heinous Injuſtices committed in the World? How many Uſurpations of Provinces and Kingdoms are to be met with in Hiſtory, without the Intervention of a Miracle to puniſh the Uſurpers? In fine, *Charles* VII, or his Succeſſors do not appear to have done Religion any Service, to make it preſumed, that God had it in view, in what he did by *Joan*'s means. Beſides the *French*, in thoſe Days were no better Chriſtians, nor honeſter Men than the *Engliſh*. As for the Perſon of King *Charles* VII, for whoſe ſake, it is pretended, God miraculouſly raiſed up the Maid, all knew him to have been very immoral. To ſay nothing of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murder, committed by his Order, and in his Preſence, contrary to the Faith of a Treaty ratified with an Oath, is it not certain, that at the very time *Joan* came to him at *Chinon*, he lived in open Adultery with *Agnes Sorrel*, in the Eyes of his whole Court? Are they Princes of this Character, whom God uſually honours with particular Favours? If to all theſe Reaſons be added *Joan*'s Confeſſion before her Death, that ſhe was deceived, there will be room to be ſatisfied, ſhe was not really inſpired. But I inſiſt not on this Confeſſion, becauſe it is a diſputable Point, as being ſupported only by the Teſtimony of her Adverſaries.

I come now to the Opinion of the *Engliſh*, who obſtinately maintain, that *Joan of Arc* was a *Witch*, and acted only by the Inſtigations of the Devil. I ſhall only briefly obſerve, that this Opinion is liable to the very ſame Objections as the foregoing, ſince it is no leſs difficult to conceive, why, upon this Occaſion, God ſhould have given ſuch Power to the Devil. So whatever has been ſaid concerning her Inſpiration, may be applied to her Witchcraft, and retorted upon the *Engliſh*.

But there is a third Opinion, which is not liable to ſo many Difficulties. If it is ſuppoſed, that in King *Charles*'s extreme Diſtreſs, himſelf, his Queen, *Agnes Sorrel*, or ſome one of his Miniſters, invented this Contrivance; nothing will be more eaſy than to reconcile the Events with ſuch a Suppoſition. The Buſineſs was to revive the Courage of the *French*, diſheartened by ſo many Loſſes, and perhaps, of the King himſelf, who was thinking of retiring into *Dauphiné*. Is it any wonder, that ſuch an Artifice ſhould be uſed for that purpoſe? This is at leaſt as poſſible as the Apparitions of Saints, or as Witchcraft. A Country Girl of good Senſe, (as there are many) of an undaunted Courage, and who knew how to ride, may have been choſen. She may have been taken from out of the Kingdom, that ſhe might be the leſs known, and impertinent Neighbours not obſtruct, by diſcovering her, the Execution of the Project. This being ſuppoſed, it will be eaſy to account for moſt of the Things, which appear extraordinary in the Maid. All the King ſays of her, and the Secrets ſhe diſcloſes, will be only a Conſequence of the Cheat. Thoſe that are in the Plot will not fail to extol her, and the reſt will be carried away by their Authority.

It muſt not however be concealed, that ſtrong Objections may be made to this third Opinion, which it will be proper to anſwer.

The firſt is, that it is only a Conjecture. I own it: But it is a very natural Conjecture in a thing, where it is ſo difficult to diſcover the Truth. The *French* ſay, ſhe was inſpired by God. This Notion is demonſtrated to be full of Difficulties, and highly improbable. The

Engliſh affirm, ſhe was a Witch, and acted by the Inſtigation of the Devil: This is no leſs hard to conceive. It is however certain, ſhe performed great Actions. What remains therefore, in order to explain the Cauſe of the Revolution in *France*, but to have recourſe to natural means, ſince the ſupernatural are ſo doubtful, not to ſay worſe? In my opinion, this is a caſe, where, if ever, Conjecture is to take Place.

The ſecond Objection is taken from *Joan*'s uncommon Valour, which is repreſented as ſupernatural. To this it may be anſwered, much more was certainly aſcribed to her than ſhe deſerved, as appears by the Teſtimony of *Monſtrelet* a cotemporary Writer. A Man muſt be very ignorant of the Way of the World, not to know how apt we are, on ſuch Occaſions, to run into Exceſſes, and how capable ſuch a Subject is of Imbelliſhment. It does not appear, by what *Monſtrelet* ſays, That *Joan* ever commanded in Chief. If this Author ſeems to ſay it in one Place, he unſays it in another, as may be ſeen in the Paſſages above-cited. It is true, the Generals carried her with them, and placed her at their Head to confirm the Soldiers Prepoſſeſſion. So, ſhe had only to ſhew Reſolution enough to keep always near them, and ſuch a Reſolution cannot be accounted Miraculous. And if the Glory of all the happy Succeſſes were aſcribed to her, where is the wonder, ſince it was for the Advantage of the King, and all his Adherents?

The third Objection is the ſtrongeſt, grounded upon the accompliſhment of *Joan*'s Predictions. She told the King, ſhe would cauſe the Siege of *Orleans* to be raiſed, and himſelf to be crowned; which fell out accordingly. On Suppoſition therefore, that the whole was a Contrivance, it muſt be ſuppoſed withal, that ſhe had the Gift of Prophecy.

To this Objection, it may be replied in the firſt Place, that the Aſſurance, wherewith the *French* Hiſtorians have advanced, that theſe Predictions were before the Event, is what gives it the moſt Strength. But it muſt be obſerved, that of the two Articles, namely, the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the King's Coronation at *Rheims*, the firſt only is atteſted by *Joan* herſelf in her Examination, without any mention of the Coronation. In the next place, this ſame Atteſtation comes after the Event; neither can it be well proved, that when ſhe waited on the King, ſhe gave him any Aſſurance of raiſing the Siege of *Orleans*. As *Monſtrelet* relates it, *Charles* does not ſeem to have relied on her Promiſes, when he undertook to ſend a Convoy to *Orleans*. *Monſtrelet* ſays, he was reſolved to ſend a Convoy to that City, and that *Joan* deſired to accompany it, which was granted her. Certainly, if that Deſign had been formed ſolely upon her Promiſes, ſhe would have had no occaſion to deſire to be preſent at the Execution, ſince in that Caſe, ſhe would have been the principal Actreſs.

But ſecondly, though *Joan* had foretold what is aſcribed to her, I do not know whether that will be a convincing Proof. Upon ſuppoſition that ſhe was perſuaded to act this Part, and had her Leſſon given her beforehand, nothing was more natural than to make her tell the King, ſhe was commiſſioned to raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*. This Siege was then the Cauſe of Uneaſineſs to the King and the whole Court. It was not known which way to ſave that important Place, and conſequently, to give hopes of raiſing the Siege was requiſite, in order to create a Belief of *Joan*'s coming from God. Herein nothing was hazarded but the Reputation of a Country Girl, which would not have been regarded, had the Affair proved unſucceſsful. As to the King's Coronation, the hopes of that was likewiſe neceſſary to be inſtilled, ſince the raiſing the Siege was but a means to attain the chief End, which was to eſtabliſh the King on the Throne of his Anceſtors.

In the third Place, to *Joan*'s Predictions a very perplexing Objection may be made. If ſhe was inſpired by God to foretel the future, how came ſhe to be miſtaken? She ſaid, ſhe would drive the *Engliſh* out of the Kingdom, and yet they were not driven out till above twenty Years after her Death. She foretold, they would be expelled by a great Victory gained over them by the *French*. Does not this raiſe the Idea of a bloody Battle, and an extraordinary Victory? But where is this Victory to be found after *Joan*'s Death? There is only that of *Fourmigni*, which happened twenty Years after, and was, as I obſerved, very inconſiderable. She foretold likewiſe in her Examination, that within ſeven Years, the *Engliſh* ſhould leave a greater Pledge than that before *Orleans*. I don't underſtand that Expreſſion, unleſs it means the Loſs of ſome Battle. But there was no Battle within that Term. Let us however give the Words the moſt favorable Senſe we can, and underſtand them, if you pleaſe, of the Loſs of *Paris*. But this Event happened five Years after the Prediction. Is it uſual for the Holy Ghoſt to mark thus the Space of ſeven Years inſtead of five? Was it more difficult for him to foreſee this Event would happen in five, than in ſeven, Years?

Thus, all things conſidered, let the Difficulties of the third Opinion be compared with thoſe that ariſe from the Apparitions of Saints and Witchcraft, and I imagine, they will be found to be leſs in this than in the two other Opinions.

Beſides, the Inſpiration of the Maid was not ſo generally owned by the *French* themſelves, but that ſeveral queſtioned it. The Conſtable *Richemont* being upon the March to join the King before *Baugenci*, the King prepoſſeſſed that he was coming with ſome ill Deſign, reſolved at firſt to go and fight him. But altering his Mind, he ſent *Joan* to meet and receive him. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, ſhe alighted, and embraced his Knee: Whereupon the Conſtable ſaid theſe Words to her, which plainly ſhew what he thought of her: Joan, *I am told you deſign to fight me. I neither know who you are, nor from whom you are ſent, whether from God or the Devil. If you come from God, I have no reaſon to fear you, for he knows my Intention as well as yours. If you are from the Devil, I have leſs reaſon to fear, and therefore do your beſt or your worſt.*

The Lord of *Langey*, in his Treatiſe of military Inſtitution, ſays, that *Joan*'s Inſpiration was like *Numa*'s pretended Converſations with the Nymph *Egeria*.

Others have affirmed, ſhe was perſuaded to act this Part by the Lords of the Court. *Du Haillan* was of this Opinion, who even relates ſeveral Circumſtances, and then adds, *Some have taken it ill that I ſay this, and put the* French *out of conceit with ſo holy and miraculous a Thing, by endeavouring now to turn it into Fable. But I was willing to ſay it, becauſe Time, which diſcovers all Things, has diſcovered this to be a Cheat. Beſides, it is not a Thing of that Moment as to be received for an Article of Faith.*

Pope *Pius* II, under the Name of *Gobelin* his Secretary, after relating the Story of *Joan* and her Exploits, adds, *It is very difficult to affirm, whether this was the Work of God, or the Invention of Man. Some think, the great Men at Court contending for the Command, ſome one more wiſe than the reſt invented this Contrivance, and perſuaded* Joan *to ſay ſhe was ſent from God, that none might ſcruple to ſerve under her.*

In fine, there are *French* Writers who have defamed *Joan of Arc*, and ſaid, ſhe was corrupted by *Baudricourt*, or according to others by the Baſtard of *Orleans*, or by *Xaintrailles*, and that theſe three Lords, with the Duke of *Alenſon*, contrived the whole Plot. *Polydore Virgil* ſays, when *Joan* found ſhe was condemned, ſhe pretended to be with Child, and for that reaſon her Execution was delayed for ſome Months. In a word, among all the Hiſtorians both antient and modern, who have ſpoken of the Maid, there are no two to be found that agree in the Facts concerning her.

But, ſuppoſing *Joan*'s Inſpiration to be a human Invention, it is not eaſy to determine, whether the King was in the Secret, or was himſelf cheated. It may be *Joan* herſelf was deceived, by certain Means but too frequently practiſed. For my part, I think this Opinion very plauſible, conſidering the Firmneſs wherewith ſhe anſwered her Judges, when ſhe muſt have perceived her great Danger. But after all, this is only Conjecture.

I conclude this Inquiry, that *Joan*'s pretended Inſpiration may juſtly be deemed a Contrivance to revive the Courage of the terrified *French*. It is true, the Project ſucceeded doubtleſs beyond the Expectation of the Authors. However, it is not very ſtrange, the Courage of the *French* Troops ſhould be revived, when they thought to fight under the particular Direction of Heaven. This is not the firſt time that ſuch Invention has produced the like Effect. We meet with Inſtances in the Hiſtories of the Heathen Nations. The feigned Apparitions of the *Pagan* Gods and Goddeſſes, were not certainly the immediate Works of the Power of God, and yet, upon ſome Occaſions, they produced wonderful Effects.

Before I cloſe this Subject, I cannot help reflecting on the Barbarity exerciſed upon *Joan*. It is not poſſible to give any colour to this Injuſtice. As *Joan* was not a Native of *France*, *Henry* could not pretend ſhe was his Subject, and conſequently could treat her only as a Priſoner of War. Upon this Suppoſition, he could much leſs puniſh her for a Schiſmatick, Heretick, or Witch, tho' ſhe had been convicted. If the Rule which the *Engliſh* would then have eſtabliſhed, was once received, every Priſoner of War would be in danger of being condemned by his Enemies for forged Crimes, and ſacrificed to their Malice. *Charles* VII cauſed the Sentence to be reverſed by other Judges, and *Joan*'s Honor to be retrieved, which by ſeveral is alledged in proof of her Innocence. But this is a weak Argument, ſince, without ſtrong Prejudice, the laſt Sentence can be no more depended upon than the firſt. This was paſſed by her Enemies, whoſe Intereſt it was to defame her, and the other by her Friends, who found their Glory and Advantage in proving her innocent.

THE

From an antient Painting in the Royal Collection now at Kensington Palace.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XIII.

[*The Reigns of the Three Kings of the* Houſe of York, EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, *and* RICHARD III: *Containing the Space of Twenty Four Years and a Half.*

16. *EDWARD* IV.

1461. Edward *goes to fight the Queen.* Hall. *An Execution upon a ſlight Account.* Stow. Habington.

EDWARD was proclaimed the 5th of *March*, and on the 12th or 13th of the ſame Month, he was obliged to put himſelf at the Head of his Army. Before his Departure from *London*, a Tradeſman was executed, for ſaying, he would make his Son *Heir of the Crown* (1). Probably, he added ſome contemptuous Words againſt the new King, and expreſſed too much Zeal for the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. However this be, ſome have conſidered this Man's Execution, in the beginning of this Reign, as a Preſage of the Blood which was yet to be ſhed, in the Quarrel of the two contending Houſes.

The Queen's Army is much increaſed. Habington.

Queen *Margaret* had acted with Prudence, in not hazarding a Battle at the Gates of *London*, and in retiring among the northern People, who had hitherto appeared firmly attached to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. They even gave her, upon this occaſion, a ſenſible Mark of their Affection, by ſtrengthning her Army with Recruits, nay, whole Bodies of freſh Troops. This was done with ſuch Expedition, that in a few Days the Queen ſaw herſelf at the Head of ſixty thouſand Men, in condition to expect her Enemy, or even to march againſt him.

Edward *reſolves to fight the Queen.*

Though *Edward* had been proclaimed at *London*, he was very ſenſible, that Ceremony made no great addition to his Right, conſidering how irregularly it was performed. The Nobles of his Party, and the People of *London*, were not inveſted with Power to give the Kingdom a Sovereign: And therefore, he could not depend upon that extraordinary Election, unleſs it was ſupported with Force. *Henry* VI had reigned thirty eight Years, acknowledged for lawful King by all the *Engliſh*; and yet this Right, which ſeemed ſo well eſtabliſhed, had not been able to maintain itſelf againſt a ſuperior Strength. It was therefore eaſy to ſee, that *Edward's* Right, which had not greater Advantages, would ſubſiſt no longer than crowned with Succeſs. Matters ſtanding thus, the two Parties were once more to try the way of Arms. Happy Both, if one ſingle Battle could have decided this bloody Quarrel! *Edward* being young and lively, truſted to his Courage and Fortune. He was likewiſe excited to venture all, by the great Men of his Party, who having ſhewn ſo little regard for *Henry*, ſaw no ſafety but in Victory. He departed therefore from *London* a few Days after being proclaimed (2), and heading his Army, marched towards the North, with a Reſolution to go in queſt of Queen *Margaret*. 1461. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

He ſecures a Paſs. Biondi. Habington. Hall.

As ſoon as he was come to *Pontfract*, he detached the Lord *Fitz-Walter* (3), to ſecure the Paſſage of *Ferri-bridge*, upon the River *Are*, which was neceſſarily to be paſſed, in order to join his Enemies. *Fitz-Walter* ſucceeded according to the King's Deſires, and poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the River with his Detachment. In the mean time *Henry* and his Queen, who were at *York*, hearing that *Edward* was marching with all ſpeed, readily concluded, it was to give them Battle. This was what they themſelves earneſtly wiſhed, ſince the gaining of a Victory was the only Means left for their Reſtoration. They made therefore the Duke of *Somerſet* General of their Army, and waited at *York* the Iſſue of a Battle, which was to determine their Fate.

(1) Meaning only, as it is ſaid, his own Houſe, which had the Sign of the Crown. *Rapin*, not underſtanding the Jeſt, ſays, it was for ſaying, *he would make his Son Prince of* Wales. The Man's Name was *Walter Walker*, a *Grocer* in *Cheapſide*. *Habington*, p. 431.

(2) Having with him, *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *William Nevil* Lord *Fauconbridge*, Sir *John* and *Henry Ratcliffe*, Sir *John Wenlock*, *John Stafford*, *Roger Wolferſtone*, &c. *Stow*, p. 415.

(3) There was at this time no Lord *Fitz-Walter*: For *Walter* Lord *Fitz-Walter* died in 1432; and Sir *John Ratcliffe*, Son of *Ann*, Daughter of the ſaid Lord *Fitz-Walter*, had not Summons to Parliament till the 1ſt of *Henry* VII. This Sir *John*, or his Son, is probably the ſame, whom *Rapin*, and other of our Hiſtorians, call by Anticipation Lord *Fitz-Walter*. See *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 223; and Vol. II. p. 285.

1461. *His Men beat from thence.*

The Duke of *Somerſet* hearing *Edward* had ſecured the Paſſage of *Ferribridge*, did not doubt that it was with intention to fight; and to oblige him to do it with Diſadvantage, reſolved to diſlodge *Fitz-Walter*, in order to have the River between him and his Enemies. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Lord *Clifford* was detached to recover the Poſt ſeized by *Fitz-Walter*. Whether *Fitz-Walter* was guilty of any Neglect, or was not timely ſupported, he could not withſtand *Clifford*'s Attack, who drove his Troops over the River with great Slaughter. *Fitz-Walter*, and the Baſtard of *Salisbury* (1), were ſlain in the Action.

The Earl of Warwick *is alarmed at it.* Hall. Hollingſh.

The Earl of *Warwick*, of whom I have had frequent Occaſion to ſpeak towards the end of the late Reign, was conſidered as the Soul of *Edward*'s Army. The King was looked upon as a Valiant young Prince, without Experience, and the Earl of *Warwick*, as the real General. Accordingly, all Eyes were fixed upon him, to ſee by his Countenance whether there was Reaſon to hope or fear. The News of *Fitz-Walter*'s Defeat being brought to the Earl, he ſeemed to be under great Conſternation, dreading, this firſt Check would diſcourage the Army. He immediately poſted to inform the King, with an Emotion, that plainly diſcovered how apprehenſive he was of the Conſequences. But withal, to ſhew his Fears were not perſonal, he ſtabbed his Horſe, and kiſſing the Hilt of his Sword, made like a Croſs, ſwore that though the whole Army ſhould take to Flight, he would alone defend the King's Cauſe.

The King's Steadineſs. Hall. Hollingſh.

Edward perceiving the Earl's Concern, judged it neceſſary to prevent the ill Effects it might produce among the Troops. Inſtead therefore of being alarmed at the News, he made Proclamation, that all who deſired it, might depart: That he would reward thoſe that ſhould do their Duty; but there was no favour to be expected for thoſe that ſhould fly, during the Battle. At the ſame time, he detached *William Nevil*, Lord *Fauconbridge*, to paſs the *Are* at *Caſtleford*, about three Miles from *Ferribridge*, with Orders to attack thoſe who guarded the Poſt lately loſt. *Fauconbridge* executed his Orders, with ſuch Secrecy and Expedition, that he paſſed the River at *Caſtleford*, before the Enemies had the leaſt Notice. Then marching along the River, he met *Clifford* at the Head of a Body of Horſe, ſuddenly attacked him, and put him to Rout. *Clifford* was ſlain with an Arrow in the beginning of the Fight, too light a Puniſhment for his inhumanity to the young Earl of *Rutland*, Brother of *Edward*, at the Battle of *Wakefield*. With him was killed likewiſe, the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*'s Brother. The Poſt of *Ferribridge* being thus fortunately recovered, *Edward*, who kept himſelf ready, paſſed his Army over the River, and immediately marched in queſt of his Enemies.

He recovers the Paſſage. Hall.

The Battle of Towton. Hall. Hollingſh.

The two Armies met on *Palm-Sunday* (2), between *Saxton* and *Towton* (3), where they drew up. *Henry*'s Army was ſixty thouſand ſtrong, and *Edward*'s about forty thouſand (4). The Air was darkened by the Snow, which fell very thick, and was blown by the Wind in the Faces of the *Lancaſtrians*. Theſe laſt began the Fight with a Volley of Arrows, which being diſcharged too far off, did no great Execution (5). *Fauconbridge*, who commanded the Van of *Edward*'s Army (6), diſdaining to fight at ſuch a Diſtance, ordered his Men to lay by their Bows and take to their Swords. Whereupon, the Armies approaching one another began a furious Fight, wherein both Sides ſeemed equally brave and reſolute, to exert their utmoſt to gain the Victory. It would be very difficult to deſcribe this terrible Battle at large; moſt of thoſe that have mentioned it, not underſtanding the Art of War, have, inſtead of repreſenting the ſeveral Circumſtances, given only a confuſed Idea thereof. Beſides, the two Armies are to be conſidered, as truſting more to their Courage, than the Experience of their Generals. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that the Battle laſted from Morning (7) to Night; and from thence, it may be judged, how obſtinately it was fought on both Sides. *Edward* ſignalized himſelf by an uncommon Valour, which did not a little contribute to maintain his Troops in their Reſolution of conquering or dying for his ſake. At length, the *Lancaſtrians* began, towards the Evening, to give ground, not flying, but retreating as they fought, and making a ſtand now and then, ſo that their Enemies could not be entirely ſure of the Victory. However, this Advantage encouraging *Edward*'s Soldiers to make freſh Efforts, they ſo preſſed their Enemies, that at laſt they forced them to fly. Then it was that a dreadful Slaughter enſued. *Edward* had, before the Battle, made Proclamation in his Army, that no Quarter ſhould be given, well knowing, the taking of Priſoners would but weaken his Army. The flying Troops ſhaped their Courſe towards *Tadcaſter* Bridge, but deſpairing to reach it, becauſe they were ſo hotly purſued by their Enemies, they turned aſide, in order to paſs the *Cock*, which runs into the *Wherf*. This was done with ſuch Confuſion and Hurry, that the River was immediately full of thoſe that were drowned, and who, in their Misfortune, ſerved for a Bridge to their Companions. The Slaughter is ſaid to have been ſo great in this Place, that the Waters of the *Wherf* were all dyed with the Blood. And indeed, it is not to be thought ſtrange, ſince the Hiſtorians affirm, no leſs than thirty ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy ſix were killed in the Battle. Among the Dead, were found the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* (8), the Lords *Dacres* and *Wells*, Sir *John Nevill*, and *Andrew Trollop*. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* had the happineſs to eſcape. *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire* was taken. He was at firſt ſpared, notwithſtanding the King's Orders, but it was only to put him to a more inglorious Death on the Scaffold.

1461. Hall. Hollingſh. *Number of ſlain.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. *The Earl of* Devonſhire *taken and beheaded.*

An *Italian* Author (9), who wrote the Hiſtory of theſe Civil Wars, makes this remark on the Battle of *Towton*; That if *France* or *Scotland* had then invaded *England*, the Kingdom would, doubtleſs, have been ſubdued, in its weak Condition, after ſo violent a Bleeding. This might have been the Caſe, and the Example of *France*, which in much the ſame Circumſtances was almoſt entirely conquered by *Henry* V, gives weight to this Reflection. But however, the Battles, fought before the Quarrel between the two Houſes was decided, ſhew there was ſtill much *Engliſh* Blood to be ſhed before it was poſſible to give *England* a mortal Wound.

Biondi. p. 6.

Edward *takes down his Father's Head from the Walls of* York, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

After this ſignal Victory, *Edward* marched directly to *York*, perhaps in expectation of finding *Henry* and *Margaret*. But as after the Loſs of the Battle they could not hope for Safety at *York*, they choſe to retire to *Berwick*, and from thence fled for Refuge to *Edinburgh*. Upon his Arrival at *York*, *Edward* ordered the Heads of the Duke his Father, and the Earl of *Salisbury* to be taken down, and thoſe of the Earl of *Devonſhire* and ſome others, beheaded at *Pontfract* (10), to be ſet up in their room. He ſtayed ſome time at *York*, to take meaſures for the Defence of the Borders, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould think of making an Incurſion. But as he perceived, though they had ſuch a Deſign, they were not yet ready to execute it, he believed there would be no great Danger in returning to *London*, where he arrived the 8th of *June*.

and returns to London,

and prepares for his Coronation. Hall. Stow.

All appearing quiet in *England* ſince the Victory of *Towton*, *Edward* would no longer defer his Coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of *June* (11). Whilſt the Preparations were making, he conſidered how to guard againſt *Scotland*, from whence he foreſaw the fugitive King and Queen might have Aſſiſtance. For that purpoſe, he ſought means to find the *Scots* Employment, that ſhould hinder them from meddling with their Neighbours Affairs. To this he was likewiſe induced by the Sollicitations of the Earl of *Douglaſs*, who had taken refuge in *England* ſeveral Years ſince. But for the better Underſtanding how Matters then ſtood between *England* and *Scotland*, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate the then Situation of that Kingdom.

He guards againſt Scotland. Ibid.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Scotland had been for ſome time rent with dangerous Factions, which began with the Reign of *James* II. That Prince not being above ſeven Years old when the King his Father was murdered, *Archibald Douglaſs* pretended to the Regency, but the States not thinking proper to truſt ſo powerful a Perſon with the Adminiſtration of Affairs, made *Alexander Levingſton* Regent, and *William Creighton* Chancellor. Theſe two Barons immediately formed two Parties, which would have divided all *Scotland*, if the Earl of *Douglaſs* had not had a third, which

Edward wins the Victory.

(1) Son of *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Saliſbury*. *Hall*, fol. 186.

(2) Which was *March* 29. *Ibid. Stow*, p. 415.

(3) A ſmall Village in *Yorkſhire*.

(4) Forty eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty. *Hall*, fol. 186.

(5) The Reaſon of this was: *Fauconbridge* finding the Enemy was blinded by the Snow, ordered his Men to ſhoot a Volley of Flight-Arrows, (provided on purpoſe) and then draw back. The *Lancaſtrians* feeling the Arrows, and thinking their Enemies were nearer than they were, ſhot all their Arrows, which fell ſhort ſixty Yards, and ſticking in the Ground, did them hurt when they came to cloſe fight. *Ibid.*

(6) Becauſe *John Mowbray* Earl of *Norfolk*, was fallen ſick. The Rereward was commanded by Sir *John Wenlock*, and Sir *John Dynham*. *Ibid. Hollingſhead*, p. 1297.

(7) Nine o' Clock. *Ibid.*

(8) *Henry Percy*, and *John Nevill*.

(9) Sir *Francis Biondi*, of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles* I, writ a Hiſtory of our old Civil Wars, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by the Earl of *Monmouth*. Folio, two Volumes, *London* 1641, 1646. It is taken almoſt word for word from *Hollingſhead*, and *Stow*; and extremely full of Faults, eſpecially in the Names of Perſons and Places.

(10) Or rather of the Earl of *Kyme*, and Sir *William Hill*, whom he cauſed to be beheaded at *York*. *Hall*, fol. 187. *Stow*, p. 416.

(11) He was crowned on the 29th. *Hall*, fol. 187. *Stow*, p. 416. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1313.

1461. ballanced the two firſt. The Earl dying about two Years after, *William* his Son ſucceeded him, who ſtill more haughty and impetuous than his Father, raiſed great Diſturbances in the Kingdom. Sworn Enemy of the Regent and Chancellor, he ſhowed in all his Proceedings that he was labouring the Deſtruction of both, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf upon their Ruins. This obliged them for their Intereſt, to unite againſt their common Enemy. Some time after, they found means to draw him to the Aſſembly of the States, upon the Aſſurance of a Safe-Conduct, notwithſtanding which, they cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off. *Beatrix* his Daughter inherited his Eſtate, and *James* his Brother his Title. But *James* died two Years after, leaving *William* his Son head of that powerful Family.

William was no leſs proud and ambitious than his Predeceſſors. He ſo well gained the young King's Confidence, who began to look into his Affairs, that he became his prime Miniſter and Favorite. When he ſaw his Credit ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he attacked the two Heads of the oppoſite Factions, and forced *Levingſton* to retire from Court. He met with ſtronger Oppoſition from *Creighton*. But however this be, he ſo abuſed his Power, and acted ſo arbitrarily, that he put People to Death, not only by his own Authority, but even contrary to the King's Will. In ſhort, *James* II, blinded by his Affection for the Earl, was not content with forgiving all his Exceſſes, but moreover, made him his Lieutenant-General of the whole Kingdom. Probably, this high Promotion inſpired the Earl of *Douglaſs* with two ambitious Projects. Without ſaying any thing to the King, he took a Journey into *England*, where it was known he privately conferred with *Henry* VI's Miniſters. This Proceeding gave his Enemies, what they had long ſought, an Opportunity to ruin him in the King's Favour. They inſtilled into him ſo many Suſpicions and Fears, that in order to hinder the Earl from executing his pretended Deſigns, he removed him from all his Poſts, not daring perhaps to attempt to puniſh him more rigorouſly. At the ſame time he gave the Adminiſtration of Affairs to the Earl of the *Orcades* (1), mortal Enemy of *Douglaſs*, and reſtored the Seals to *William Creighton*.

The Earl inraged to ſee his Enemies triumph, formed a League againſt them, and brought the Kingdom to the very Brink of Deſtruction. In a word he committed ſo many Outrages and Violences, that the King juſtly provoked with him, reſolved to be freed from a Subject who created him ſo much Uneaſineſs. But as he was ſenſible he could not openly execute this Deſign, he had recourſe to Policy. By means of ſome of his Friends, he put him in hopes of being reſtored to Favour upon the ſame foot as before. Then ſending for him to Court, upon a Safe-Conduct ſigned with his own hand, he carried him alone into his Cloſet, and ſtabbed him with a Dagger. This Deed, though violent and irregular, was approved by the States, who, at the ſame time, declared *James*, Brother and Heir of the deceaſed, with the reſt of his Brothers, Enemies of their Country.

James, the new Earl of *Douglaſs*, thinking only of revenging his Brother's Death, and ſupporting the Credit of his Family, raiſed a Civil War in the Kingdom. During which, the King beſieging one of his Places, *Douglaſs* was preparing to relieve it, but was ſuddenly forſaken by all his Friends, and forced to fly for Refuge into *England*. Some time after, he entered the County of *Anandale* with ſome Troops, and being defeated, was once more forced to fly his Country. *George* Earl of *Ormond* (2), one of his Brothers, was taken and beheaded.

Theſe Misfortunes were not capable of diſcouraging the rebellious Earl. He gained the Earl of *Roſs* Lord of the Iſles, *Donald* his Brother (3), and the reſt of that Family, and perſwaded them to take arms againſt the King. Then they entered together the County of *Merch*, and ravaged it from one end to the other. But when *Douglaſs* was preparing to purſue his Progreſs, the Earl of *Roſs* repenting of his Fault, deſerted him, and went and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. The King gave him hopes of a Pardon, on condition he would merit it by his Services. *Douglaſs* unwilling to follow this Example, once more retired into *England*.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 474.

Theſe Commotions being appeaſed by the Earl of *Roſs*'s Submiſſion, and *Douglaſs*'s Retreat, *James* II, at the Duke of *York*'s Sollicitation, beſieged *Roxburrough*. The Earl of *Roſs*, willing to render himſelf worthy of the King's Pardon, came and offered him his Service with a Body of choſen Troops. *James* as was before ſaid, was unfortunately killed at this Siege, and left *James* III, his Son, about ſeven Years old, for his Succeſſor. 1461.

The Death of *James* II, and the tender Years of the new King, revived the Earl of *Douglaſs*'s Hopes; but as he could not then expect any Aſſiſtance from *England*, by reaſon of the Civil War which raged in that Kingdom, was obliged to wait till Affairs were in another Situation. He believed the favorable juncture, he expected, was at length come, after *Edward*'s Victory at *Towton*. Wherefore, applying himſelf to to that Prince, who ſeemed firmly ſettled in the Throne, he intimated to him, that by means of his Friends in *Scotland*, it would be very eaſy for the *Engliſh* to conquer that Kingdom. *Edward* had no Inclination, in his preſent Circumſtances, to undertake ſo difficult a Task. However, to find the *Scots* Employment, and hinder them from aſſiſting *Henry*, he embraced the Opportunity offered him by the Earl of *Douglaſs*, in hopes of kindling a Civil War in *Scotland*. So, *Douglaſs* aſſuring him, the Earl of *Roſs*, *Donald* his Brother, and *Donald*'s Son, were diſpoſed to riſe againſt the King of *Scotland*, he gave him a full Power to treat with them. Act. Pub. XI. p. 474.

Whilſt *Douglaſs* was negotiating this Affair with the Earl of *Roſs*, *Edward* was crowned at *Weſtminſter* with the uſual Solemnities (4). *Edward crowned.* Hall.

Though Queen *Margaret* was out of the Kingdom, ſhe gave the new King great Uneaſineſs. He was juſtly apprehenſive, the Succours of the *Scots* would enable her to make a freſh Attempt upon his Crown. So, in order to obſtruct her Deſigns, he propoſed a Truce to the Regents of *Scotland*. That Kingdom was then divided into two Parties, formed on the account of the Regency. *Mary de Gelders*, the King's Mother, was at the Head of the firſt, and the Earl of *Angus*, of the ſecond. They both claimed the Regency, but the States, to diſoblige neither, nominated two Regents of each Party, and petitioned the Queen, to be contented with the Care of her Children's Education. Thus the two Factions ſtill ſubſiſted, becauſe it was not poſſible to ſatisfy both. The Affairs of *Scotland* being in this Situation, when *Edward* propoſed the Truce, the Regents reſolved to conſent to it, and even ſent Ambaſſadors to treat with him. But Queen *Margaret*, who was then at *Edinburgh*, perceiving how prejudicial this Truce would be to her, found means to break *Edward*'s Meaſures, by ſurrendering *Berwick* to the *Scots* (5), and concluding a Marriage between Prince *Edward* her Son, and *Margaret* Siſter of King *James*. Whereupon the Negotiation of the Truce was entirely broke off. *He propoſes a Truce with* Scotland. Ib. p. 475, 477. *Margaret prevents it.* Hall. Stow.

Whilſt *Margaret* was employed in gaining the *Scots* to her Intereſt, *Edward* called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* (6), to confirm the Revolution, which had placed him on the Throne. It is eaſy to conceive, that in ſuch a Juncture, the Parliament did not want much Sollicitation, to confirm whatever had been done in favour of *Edward*. How irregular ſoever his Election might be, he was victorious; that was ſufficient to hinder any Perſon from venturing to diſpute his Right. Several foregoing Inſtances demonſtrate, that the Parliaments of *England* never attempted to ſwerve from that wholſome Principle, of declaring for the ſtrongeſt; and what we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this very Reign, will ſtill farther confirm it. Purſuant to this Maxim, the Parliament approved of *Edward*'s Coronation, confirmed his Title, and repealed all the Acts made in the late Reign, againſt the Houſe of *York*. *Henry* VI, after a thirty-eight Years Reign, was deemed an Uſurper, and all he had done, whilſt on the Throne, annulled, as wanting a lawful Authority, and as being of no Force, till confirmed by the new Parliament (7). Thus the People's Credulity was abuſed, and they were made to believe, that what had been juſt for ſixty Years, was become unjuſt, by a contingent Event, I mean, by *Edward*'s Victory at *Towton*. *The Parliament confirms Edward's Election.* Cotton's Abridg. Hall. *All the Acts againſt the Houſe of* York *are repealed.* Cotton's Abridg. Statutes.

During this Seſſion of Parliament, the King created *George* his eldeſt Brother, Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* his younger Brother, Duke of *Gloceſter*. The Lord *Fauconbridge* was made Earl of *Kent*. *Henry Bourchier*, the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side (8), was honoured with the Title of Earl of *Eſſex*, and *John Nevil*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Brother, was made Lord *Montague*. *Creating of divers Peers.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 476. Hall. Stow.

Though the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and ſome others, had been beheaded at *York*, theſe Victims ſeemed not ſufficient *The Earl of* Oxford *and his Son beheaded.* Hall.

(1) *William Sinclare.*
(2) *Buchanan* gives him no Title, and ſays, *Archibald* Earl of *Murray*, another Brother, was ſlain on the Spot. *George Dunbar* was Earl of *Ormond*. *Buchan.* l. XI.
(3) *Donald Ballagh*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 474.
(4) On *June* 29, as is ſaid above. See *Hall*, fol. 189.
(5) On *April* 25. *Stow*, p. 416.
(6) Which met there *Novemb.* 4. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 669.
(7) The following Perſons were then attainted; King *Henry* VI, Queen *Margaret*, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, *Thomas* Lord *Roos*, *Henry* Duke of *Exeter*, *William* Viſcount *Beaumont*, *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, *Robert* Lord *Hungerford*, *John Forteſcue*, Eſq; and many others. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 670, 671.
(8) He married *Iſabella*, the King's Aunt, Siſter to the late Duke of *York*, the King's Father. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 129.

1461. to atone for the Blood of the Friends of the Houſe of *York*, ſhed by the Queen on the Scaffold. To the King's Policy, Fear, or Reſentment were likewiſe to be ſacrificed *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and *Aubery* his eldeſt Son, who were publickly beheaded (1).

Diſpoſition of foreign Princes with regard to England.

After *Edward* had thus ſettled his domeſtick, he ſeriouſly thought of the foreign Affairs. The Kingdom was actually in War with *France*, *Scotland*, *Bretagne*, and the *Low-Countries*. There was equal Danger from all theſe Quarters. If theſe States had all joined againſt him, it would have been very difficult for *Edward* to withſtand their Forces, conſidering his preſent Situation, and little Dependence upon the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects. Happily for him, *France* had a new King who never thought of conquering *England*. I mean, *Lewis* XI, who was wholly intent upon the Project of rendering himſelf abſolute in his own Kingdom, and humbling the great Men, among whom the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the principal. It is true, his Deſigns had not yet been diſcloſed. But what he was meditating, was more than ſufficient to hinder him from renewing the War with the *Engliſh*. The Duke of *Bretagne* took care not to ſtir alone in a War againſt *Edward*, which could not but be to him, upon all accounts, very prejudicial. As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, the ſame Reaſons that made him deſirous of a Truce with *England*, ſtill ſubſiſted. Beſides, he ſaw plainly, it was againſt his Intereſt to unite with *France* and *Bretagne*, in order to weaken *England*, and much more, to maintain alone a War, which muſt be very deſtructive to the Trade of his Subjects. Indeed his Inclination led him to ſupport the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, rather than That of *York*, becauſe of his Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, a near Relation of *Henry* VI. But Reaſons taken from the Inclinations of Princes, do not always prevail above thoſe of Politicks. The Duke of *Burgundy* was perfectly acquainted with the Character of *Lewis* XI, and conſequently ſaw, he ought to guard againſt him, inſtead of endeavouring to render him more powerful by the weakening of *England*. So, contenting himſelf with wiſhing well to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, without giving it any Aſſiſtance, he judged it for his Intereſt, to live in a good Underſtanding with *Edward* IV, whom he perceived to be firmly eſtabliſhed, without any likelihood of being dethroned. To that end, he ſent Ambaſſadors to congratulate him upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, and withal, to demand Satisfaction for certain Outrages, committed by the *Engliſh* contrary to the Truce. *Edward* gladly anſwered the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Advances, and immediately appointed Commiſſioners, to examine the Breaches of the Truce complained of by that Prince. His Affairs would not allow him to be haughty to any of the Princes his Neighbours, and ſtill leſs, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was very powerful, and allied to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

Of the King of France.

Of the Duke of Bretagne, *and* Burgundy.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 478.

Diſpoſition of Scotland.

There was only *Scotland* left which could create the King any Uneaſineſs. He knew, *Margaret* had delivered *Berwick* to the *Scots*, and contracted the Prince her Son to King *James*'s Siſter. He could not therefore queſtion but that ſhe expected the Aſſiſtance of that Kingdom. Mean while, the Queen having ſettled her Affairs in *Scotland*, had left there the King her Husband with the Prince her Son, and was gone into *France*. The Deſign of this Journey was to deſire Aid of *Lewis* XI. But he was not of a Character to ingage in an Enterprize which he did not perceive to be very advantagious. He gave however the fugitive Princeſs, as being his near Relation, hopes of Aſſiſtance. But being unwilling to break entirely with *Edward*, he was contented with making Proclamation, that all the Friends of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* ſhould be well receiv'd in his Dominions, and the Adherents of the Houſe of *York* not admitted. (2)

Margaret *goes and deſires Aid of* Lewis XI.

1462. Edward's *Treaty with the Earl of* Roſs.

Edward did not doubt that *Margaret* would contrive ſome freſh Enterpriſe. Her Voyage to *France*, and eſpecially the late Alliance with the King of *Scotland*, were too plain indications. So, thinking it would be in vain to try to break her meaſures by a Truce with *Scotland*, to which the *Scots* daily raiſed freſh Obſtacles, he reſolved to renew his Negotiation with the Earl of *Roſs*. In all Appearance, the Earl of *Douglaſs* had already prepared that Lord to take arms; the Terms only were to be ſettled. To conclude this Affair, which *Edward* hoped would turn to his advantage, he impowered the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, and others, to make in his Name a Treaty with the Earl of *Roſs*, which was accordingly done. The Subſtance of the Treaty was,

1462. Act. Pub. XI. p. 483, 484.

That *John* Earl of *Roſs*, Lord of the Iſles (3) *Donald Balagh*, his Brother, and *John* of the Iſles, Son of *Donald*, ſhould do Homage to King *Edward*.

That they ſhould never acknowledge any other King of *England*, but *Edward* or his Succeſſors deſcended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*.

That they ſhould be always ready to ſerve him in all his Wars with *Scotland*, or with the *Scots* in *Ireland*.

That in Time of Peace the Earl of *Roſs* ſhould have a yearly Penſion of a Hundred Marks *Sterling*, *Donald* one of twenty pound, and *John* his Son one of Ten Pound; and that theſe Penſions ſhould be doubled in Time of War (4), during actual Service.

That in caſe *Scotland* ſhould be conquered by the Arms of *Edward*, and with their Aſſiſtance, the King ſhould inveſt them with all the Iſles beyond the Sea of *Scotland*, to be equally divided among them.

That *James* Earl of *Douglaſs* ſhould likewiſe be inveſted with all the Lands formerly held by him in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, from the North-Sea to *England*.

Laſtly, That *Edward* ſhould make neither Peace nor Truce with the King of *Scotland*, without including them if they deſired it.

As this Treaty is mentioned by no *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, probably it lay concealed among the Records of *England*, till it was inſerted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Indeed, it was of little moment ſince it was not executed. *Edward* had too many affairs upon his Hands to think of the Conqueſt of *Scotland*; his ſole View was to make uſe of the Earls of *Douglaſs* and *Roſs* to raiſe Diſturbances in that Kingdom. But 'tis likely, the Earl of *Douglaſs*'s Meaſures were not very juſt, ſince the Hiſtory of *Scotland* ſpeaks of no Inſurrection at this Time.

The reſt of the Year 1462 was quiet enough, the Storm which was gathering not being yet ready to break.

Pius II *congratulates* Edward. Act. Pub. XI. p. 489.

Pope *Pius* II believing *Edward* ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in the Throne, writ him a congratulatory Letter upon his coming to the Crown, in Anſwer to one ſent him by the King to notify him of it. The Pope expreſſed himſelf ſo, that it appeared he reſerved the Liberty of retracting if there was Occaſion, ſince his Approbation was founded only upon the Proofs *Edward* himſelf had given him of his Title, whereby he made it conditional.

Exeter's *Lands given to his Ducheſs, the King's Siſter* Ib. p. 489, 490.

The Duke of *Exeter* who had married *Edward*'s Siſter, having followed *Henry* into *Scotland*, the King gave the Confiſcation of his Eſtate to his Ducheſs, who choſe rather to remain with the King her Brother, than follow the Fortune of her Husband.

Ib. p. 490.

The Lord *Fauconbridge*, a zealous Friend of the Houſe *York*, who was created in Parliament Earl of *Kent*, was made High-Admiral of *England* about the End of this Year.

The Duke of Somerſet *ſubmits.* Hall.

All being quiet in the Kingdom, and no appearance of any freſh Attempt againſt *Edward*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Ralph Percy*, the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Brother came and threw themſelves upon the King's Mercy, who generouſly granted them a Pardon.

Pretended Expedition of the Engliſh *into* Bretagne *and* France. Hollingſh. Stow.

Hiſtorians affirm, that in the Courſe of this Year, the *Engliſh* Fleet made an expedition into *Bretagne* and the Iſle of *Ree*, mentioned neither by the *French* nor the *Bretons*. And indeed, it is hard to conceive what could induce *Edward* wantonly to renew the War, at a Juncture when he ſhould have thought himſelf very happy in being left unmoleſted. Nay it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he was not without Fear of an Inſurrection of the *Lancaſtrians*. At leaſt it ſeems, to this only can be aſcrib'd his care to gain the Clergy to his intereſts, by granting them a Favour, none of his Predeceſſors had ever willingly granted; namely, that for the future all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons indicted for any Crime, ſhould be tried in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, without the Interpoſition of the King's Judges upon any pretence whatſoever. By this ſame Patent, he ſcreened the Clergy from the Penalties of the Statutes of *Proviſors* and

The King's Conceſſion to the Clergy. Act. Pub. XI. p. 496.

(1) And alſo Sir *Thomas Tudenham* Knight, *William Tyrrel*, and *Walter Montgomery* Eſquires. The Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, with a hundred and forty more, were attainted. This *John de Vere*, is ſaid to have diſputed in a former Parliament the Queſtion about the Precedency of Temporal and Spiritual Barons (a bold Attempt in thoſe Days) and by his Arguments carried it for the Lords Temporal. *Stow*, p. 416. *Hollingſh.* p. 1313.

(2) This Year, in the Harveſt-ſeaſon, King *Edward* took a Progreſs through ſeveral parts of *England*; namely, to *Canterbury*, *Sandwich*, and ſo along the Sea-coaſt to *Southampton*, and from thence into the Marches of *Wales*, and to *Briſtol*. *Stow*, p. 416.

(3) The weſtern Iſles, called by the Inhabitants *Inch Gall*; by a Writer of the laſt Age, *Hebrides*; by the Antients, *Beterica*, *Inchades*, *Leucades*, *Hæbudes*, commonly thought to be forty four in Number, but are really more. Among them is *Jona*, which *Bede* calls *Hy* or *Hu*, given to the *Scotch* Monks by the *Picts*, for preaching the Goſpel amongſt them. Here ſtands a Monaſtery famous for the Burial of the Kings of *Scotland*. The Inhabitants of theſe Iſles ſpeak the *Iriſh* Language, and retain the Cuſtoms, *&c.* of the antient *Scots*, as the *Highlanders* do. They are enjoyed at preſent by the *Mac-Conells*, who derive themſelves from this *Donald*, who took the Title of *King of the Iſles*, and ravaged *Scotland* in a cruel manner.

(4) That of the Earl of *Roſs* to be two hundred Pounds. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 485.

(5) In which were the Lords *Audley* and *Clinton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *Richard Walgrave*, and others, to the Number of ten thouſand. *Hollingſh.* p. 1313. *Stow*, p. 416.

Præmunire,

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1462. *Præmunire*, paſſed in the 16th Year of *Richard* II. He pretended, he was induced to this Conceſſion from his great Zeal for Religion, his Dread of the Excommunications decreed by the Holy Canons, and his Belief that all the Calamities with which *England* had been for ſome Time afflicted, were the juſt Judgments of God for the diſregard ſhown to his Miniſters. But, very probably he was led by quite another Motive, to break ſo many Statutes, which the Parliaments had deemed neceſſary to check the Growth of the Clergy's Power.

Rb. p. 493, 497. About the end of this Year, the Truce of Commerce between *England*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions, was prolonged for ſome time (1).

1463. Edward *calls upon the Earl of Roſs to perform his Promiſe.* p. 499. Mean while, *Edward* hearing that Preparations were privately making in *Scotland*, and probably againſt him, called upon the Earl of *Roſs* to perform his Promiſe; and for that purpoſe, appointed Commiſſioners, who were ordered to receive his Oath. But the Earl, who had his Spies in *England*, not ſeeing that *Edward* was really preparing to ſupport him, did not think proper to begin, for fear of being deſerted.

Queen Margaret *arrives in the North of* England; Biondi. Habington. Hall. It was not without Reaſon, that *Edward* dreaded a Storm from the North. Preſently after, Queen *Margaret* having obtained of the King of *France*, an Aid of five hundred Men, with the Promiſe of a greater, embarked to make a Deſcent into *England*. As ſhe hoped, the Inhabitants of the Northern Counties would take Arms in her favor, ſhe landed at the Mouth of the *Tine*. But ſhe found there a Body of *Engliſh* Troops, who forced her to re-embark with Precipitation. A few Hours after, her Ship being ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet by a Storm, it was with great difficulty that, having entered the *Tweed*, ſhe at laſt landed at *Berwick*. The reſt of the Ships were driven towards *Bamburgh*, where the *French* would have landed; but the Baſtard *Ogle* (2), who was in thoſe Parts, having hindered their Deſcent, they retired to the little Iſle of *Lindisfarn*; for the Weather would not ſuffer them to put to Sea. Thither *Ogle* followed them, and attacking them ſlew part, and took four hundred Priſoners. Their Leader (3) was the only Perſon, that found means to eſcape in a Fiſher-boat to *Berwick*.

and is forced to fly to Berwick.

The King ſends Montague *into the North.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 500, 501. Stow. *Edward*, upon receiving this news, eaſily perceived, *Margaret* was ſecure of the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, and would ſoon march into *England*. This fear cauſing him ſeriouſly to attend to his Affairs, he diſpatched the Lord *Montague*, with what Troops were ready, whilſt himſelf haſtened a great Armament, he was making by Sea and Land, to oppoſe his Enemy (4).

Henry *and* Margaret *re-enter* England. Hall. *Montague* having begun his March, heard upon the Road, that the Queen was entered *Northumberland* at the Head of an Army, which daily increaſed, by reaſon of the great Licence the Soldiers were allowed (5). He advanced however as far as *Durham*, where he ſtaid ſome days expecting a Reinforcement, ſent by the King. Theſe Supplies being arrived, he continued his March, and meeting a Detachment of the Enemies (6), commanded by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roſs*, attacked and put them to Rout. *Ralph Percy*, who ſerved *Henry*, though he had taken the Oath to *Edward*, was ſlain in this Action. The Duke of *Somerſet* making no more Scruple than *Percy*, of breaking his Oath, was likewiſe gone to join the Queen.

Montague *defeats a Detachment of their Army.*

He attacks Henry's *Camp, and puts him to Rout.* Habington. Hall. *Montague*, incouraged with this Succeſs, marched immediately to *Hexham*, where *Henry* lay intrenched (7), and attacking him in his Lines, without giving him time to recover himſelf, gained a compleat Victory. The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Roſs* and *Hungerford*, (8), were taken Priſoners; but *Henry*, *Margaret*, and the Prince their Son, fled into *Scotland*. The Priſoners were not long ſuffered to languiſh. Some Days after, the Duke of *Somerſet* was beheaded at *Hexham*, *Roſs*, and *Hungerford*, elſewhere; and twenty Officers of Diſtinction at *York*. Many others, who had concealed themſelves in ſeveral Places, being diſcovered, or given up to the Conqueror, were likewiſe ſacrificed to his Vengeance.

Henry *eſcapes*; Somerſet *is beheaded.*

Edward *returns to* London, *and leaves the Earl of* Warwick *in the North.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. After this Victory, *Edward*, who was advanced to *Durham*, ſent the Earl of *Warwick* farther Northwards, to recover ſome Places taken by the Queen; after which, he returned to *London*. The Earl of *Warwick* having nothing to fear after his Brother's Victory, divided his Army into three Bodies, and beſieged at once *Bamburgh*, *Dunſtanburgh*, and *Alnwick* (9). The two firſt of theſe Places were eaſily taken, and the commanding Officers puniſhed. *Alnwick*, where a *Frenchman* commanded with ſome Troops of his Nation, held out till the Earl of *Angus* came to its Relief with a Body of *Scotch* Troops (10). But the Earl could do no more than draw out the Garriſon, probably by a Treaty with the Beſiegers, though *Buchanan* ſays otherwiſe. 1463.

Montague *is created Marquiſs, and* Herbert *Earl of* Pembroke. Biondi. Hall. Stow. *Edward* being arrived at *London*, ordered two Patents to be drawn under the Great Seal, to reward the Lord *Montague* and Sir *William Herbert*, with the Dignity he conferred on them. The firſt had done him a great Service in his two late Victories. The other had all along diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an extraordinary Zeal for the Houſe of *York*. So, being pleaſed to give them both Marks of his Gratitude, he created the former Earl of *Northumberland*, and the latter Earl of *Pembroke*; *Henry Percy*, and *Jaſper Tudor*, who bore theſe Titles, having forfeited them by adhering to King *Henry*. But *Percy* ſubmitting afterwards to the King, and obtaining his Pardon, *Montague* willingly reſigned him the Title of Earl of *Northumberland*, for that of Marquiſs of *Montague*. As for the Title of Earl of *Pembroke*, care muſt be taken not to confound the two Lords that bore it; namely, *Jaſper Tudor* Half-Brother of *Henry* VI, and *William Herbert*, who was in *Edward*'s Service.

Preparations are making in France *againſt* Edward. Whilſt *Edward* was enjoying the Tranquillity procured by his late Victory, he received Advice that Preparations were making in *France*, to ſupport the Intereſts of *Henry* and *Margaret*. Whereupon he reſolved to ſend for the Earl of *Warwick*, and leave the Marquiſs of *Montague* in the North, with a Patent of Governor of the Northern *Marches*, and a Power to levy what Troops he thought neceſſary. He did not doubt, that his Enemies had reſolved to make their greateſt Efforts from that quarter, by reaſon of the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*. Theſe Precautions, joined to his late Victory, probably cooled the Ardour of the *French* and the *Scots*. Soon after the *Scots* demanded a Safe-Conduct for Ambaſſadors they intended to ſend to him. At the ſame time, *Lewis* XI, negotiated a Truce with him, by the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Mediation. This Truce was actually concluded at St. *Omer*, to the 1ſt of *October* 1464, on the condition, that neither of the two Kings ſhould aſſiſt the Enemies of the other. The Duke of *Burgundy* agreed likewiſe to renew, for one Year, the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*.

He ſends for the Earl of Warwick.

A Truce with the French, Act. Pub. XI. p. 504, 508.

and Duke of Burgundy, p. 507.

After *Edward* had thus ſecured himſelf againſt *France*, he concluded with *Scotland* a Truce for a Year, negotiated by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s at *London*, in the Name of the Regents. Thus having nothing to fear from his Neighbours, at leaſt for one Year, he ſaw himſelf at leiſure to ſtrengthen himſelf in the Throne, in caſe of another Attack.

and with Scotland. p. 510.

Henry *and* Margaret *in great Perplexity.* Mean while, the unfortunate *Henry*, deſerted by the King of *France*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*; who alone, were able to aſſiſt him, ſaw himſelf entirely without Refuge. He was ſtill at *Edinburgh*, but not without Uneaſineſs. Beſides that the late Truce between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, did not allow theſe laſt to give him any Aſſiſtance; very likely, in concluding the Truce with *Scotland*, *Edward* had ſtipulated, that his Enemy ſhould not be ſuffered to remain any longer in that Kingdom. It even appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that before the Truce was ſigned, the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, agreed upon certain ſecret Articles, which could only concern the unfortunate fugitive King. Be this as it will, *Henry* not knowing where to retire, prepoſterouſly imagined he might be concealed in *England*. Perhaps, he flattered himſelf that the Inhabitants of the northern Counties would riſe in his favour. But unhappy Princes ſeldom meet with faithful Friends. At leaſt, it may be preſumed, that fearing to be delivered up by the *Scots*, and having no Conveniency to eſcape by Sea, he hoped to find a ſafe Retreat with ſome Friends in *England*, till an opportunity offered of paſſing into *France*. Whatever his Deſign might be, he had no ſooner ſet foot in *England* but he was known, ſeized (11), ignominiouſly conducted to *London* (12), and confined in the *Tower*. Some affirm, he was taken the laſt Year at the Battle of *Hexham*, or at leaſt a few Days after. But it appears in ſome *Publick Acts*, that in *October*, that Year, he was not yet in *Edward*'s Power. It is therefore more probable he was taken, as I ſaid, in endeavour-

p. 508.

Henry *fancies he could lie concealed in* England. Hall.

He is taken and carried to London.

(1) For a Year, from *December* 18. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 497.
(2) And *John Manners*. *Hall*, fol. 190. (3) *Peter de Breſé*.
(4) See an account of the Lords and Knights that accompanied him in this Expedition, in *Stow*, p. 416, 417.
(5) She took *Bamborough* Caſtle, and garriſoned it with *Scots*, making Sir *Ralph Gray* Governor. *Hall*, fol. 190. *Stow*, p. 417.
(6) At *Hegdley-More*, in *June*. (7) On *Lyvel's-Plain*, near the Water of *Dowil* in *Hexhamſhire*. *Hall*, fol. 190.
(8) As alſo the Lord *Molyns*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Huſey*, Sir *John Fynderne*, &c. *Ibid. Hollingſh.* p. 1314.
(9) Having with him the Lords *Montague*, *Fauconbridge*, *Scrope*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 191. *Hollingſh.* p. 1315.
(10) Thirteen thouſand. *Ibid.*
(11) By Sir *James Haryngton*, at *Waddington* Hall in *Lancaſhire*, whilſt he was at Dinner. *Habing.* p. 435. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 548.
(12) With his Legs tied to the Stirrups. *Stow*. p. 419.

ing,

1463. *Adventure of Queen* Margaret. Monſtrelet.

ing, after ſome ſtay in *Scotland*, to conceal himſelf in *England*. An Adventure which befel *Margaret*, and is related by *Monſtrelet*, makes it thought, ſhe had likewiſe reſolved to hide herſelf in *England*, in expectation of an opportunity to imbark, not daring to truſt the *Scots* any longer; and, the better to accompliſh her Deſign, had parted from the King her Husband. *Monſtrelet* ſays, *Margaret* being in *England* with the Prince her Son, attended with *La Verenne* a *French* Lord, fell into the hands of Robbers who would have killed her, if a ſudden Quarrel amongſt them, had not afforded her an opportunity to eſcape into a Wood with the Prince. He adds, that afterwards ſhe found means to imbark for *Sluice* in *Flanders*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* gave her an honorable Reception. If this Adventure be true, it muſt have happened at the time I am now ſpeaking of. However that be, after her departure from *Scotland*, ſhe retired to *René* of *Anjou* her Father, with the Prince her Son. *Edmund*, the new Duke of *Somerſet*, Brother of him beheaded at *Hexham*, with the Duke of *Exeter*, fled for refuge into the *Low-Countries*, where however they durſt not make themſelves known, for fear of being delivered to *Edward*. They endured in *Flanders* all that a wretched Exile, attended with extreme Want, was capable of bringing upon Perſons of their Character. *Philip de Commines* ſays, he ſaw the Duke of *Exeter*, before he was known, following barefoot the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Equipage, and ſerving probably as Footman for his Livelihood. But theſe two Lords being at length known, the Duke gave them a mean Penſion for their Subſiſtence, not daring doubtleſs to carry his Generoſity any farther, for fear of offending *Edward*. Theſe are ſtrange Turns for a King who had ſat thirty-eight Years on a Throne, for a Queen who had for many Years governed *England* with an abſolute Sway, for a Prince deſtined by his Birth to wear a Crown, for Lords related or allied to the Royal Family, who had always enjoyed the higheſt Offices. Such Inſtances of the Viciſſitude of worldly Grandeur often make but little Impreſſion at the time they are ſeen, becauſe thoſe who are concerned, are generally induced to aſcribe their Misfortunes to the malice of their Enemies. But they who read them impartially in Hiſtory, can they help obſerving, and acknowledging the direction of Providence (1)?

She retires to her Father.

The Duke of Somerſet *and* Exeter *withdraw to* Flanders, *where they live wretchedly.* Commines. Hall. Hollingſh.

1464. Edward *gives his Friends the Eſtates of the Rebels.* Hall. Hollingſh.

He makes himſelf very popular. Biondi.

1464. *Edward* having King *Henry* in his Power, and Queen *Margaret* being retired to the Duke her Father, there was no Perſon capable of raiſing Commotions in the Kingdom. Then it was, that after offering in vain a Pardon to all the *Lancaſtrians*, that would make their Submiſſion and ſwear Allegiance by ſuch a time, he confiſcated their Eſtates, and liberally beſtowed them upon thoſe that had ſerved him. Then, willing to gain the Affection of his Subjects, after giving them convincing Proofs of his Severity, he made himſelf extremely popular, even to ſuch a Degree that the *Italian* Author before mentioned, taxes him with running into Exceſs on that account.

He demands in Marriage Bona of Savoy, Lewis's *Siſter.* Hall, Hollingſh.

During this Calm, which ſeemed to be laſting, the King's chief Counſellors preſſed him to think of marrying, in order to leave the Crown to his Poſterity. He took their Advice, and three Matches were propoſed. The firſt was *Margaret* Siſter of the King of *Scotland*. But beſides that this Princeſs was already affianced to *Henry*'s Son, ſhe was ſo young, the Marriage could not have been conſummated many Years. The ſecond was *Iſabella of Caſtile*, afterwards married to *Ferdinand of Arragon*. The *Engliſh* Writers ſay, ſhe was rejected by reaſon of her being too young: And yet, it is certain ſhe was then thirteen Years old (2). *Bona of Savoy*, Siſter of the Queen of *France*, was the third. *Edward* reſolved upon this laſt, and ſhortly after, ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to demand her in marriage. She was then at the Court of *France* with the Queen her Siſter. It is time now to ſpeak of the Affairs of *France* by reaſon of their Connection with thoſe of *England*. Otherwiſe, the Reader would underſtand but imperfectly, what paſſed in *England* in the Reign of *Edward* IV.

Hall. Biondi.

The Earl of Warwick *ſent upon that account to* France.

State of Affairs in France. Mezerai.

Lewis XI, a Prince of a turbulent and reſtleſs Spirit, was no ſooner on the Throne of *France*, but he formed the deſign of rendering himſelf abſolute. This is what ſome Flatterers have called rendering himſelf free, but what a famous Hiſtorian ſays ought rather to be termed, running Mad. To execute this grand deſign, the overgrown Power of the Peers was firſt to be humbled, among whom the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the moſt conſiderable. They not only upheld one another, but were moreover a Support to the reſt. The firſt held *Burgundy* and *Flanders*, the only two ancient Lay-Peerdoms which ſtill remained to be united to the Crown. This Prince, who was moreover Sovereign of almoſt all the *Low-Countries*, was ſo powerful, that to attack him firſt would have been very imprudent. So it was with the Duke of *Bretagne* that *Lewis* reſolved to begin the execution of his Projects. An old Quarrel about Homage afforded him a Pretence. Ever ſince *Peter*, ſirnamed *Mauclerc*, had done Homage to St. *Lewis*, the Nature of that Homage had been a continual Subject of Diſputes between the Kings of *France* and the Dukes of *Bretagne*. The Kings pretended it was Liege or Full, and the Dukes affirmed, it was not. This was a very important Queſtion, becauſe of the great Difference between bare Homage, and Homage-Liege. The firſt was paid by thoſe, who without being naturally dependent on a Prince, did him Homage however for other reaſons, as for his Protection, for his Aſſiſtance when wanted, or even for a Penſion. The *Collection of the Publick Acts* contain ſundry Homages of this Kind, paid to the Kings of *England* by Sovereign Princes of *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, and by Earls of *Savoy*. But Homage-Liege was paid by thoſe that held Lands diſmembred from the Dominions of the Prince to whom it was paid; ſuch were the Dukedoms and Peerdoms of *France*. As theſe two Sorts of Homage were of a different Nature, they were likewiſe performed in a different Manner. The Perſon that did Homage-Liege was uncovered, on his Knees, ungirded, without Sword or Spurs; he held his Hands joined within thoſe of the Sovereign, and ſwore Fealty to him. But Simple-Homage was paid ſtanding, with the Sword and Spurs on, and without Oath. Thus Liege-Homage was for Lands diſmembred from a State, and denoted their being liable to Confiſcation, and Re-union. But Simple-Homage was perſonal, upon certain Conditions advantagious to the Vaſſal: So that the Default of Homage deprived him only of the Benefit of theſe Conditions. And therefore, the obliging the Duke of *Bretagne* to do Liege-Homage, would have put him under a neceſſity to own his Dukedom liable to Confiſcation, and to be re-annexed to the Crown of *France*. To avoid this Inconvenience, the Dukes of *Bretagne* had found the expedient of doing their Homage, like their Predeceſſors, in general Terms. Whether the Right of the Kings of *France*, with regard to the Nature of the Homage, could not be well proved, or the Circumſtances of Affairs obliged them to manage the Dukes of *Bretagne*, it is certain they long received their Homage in that manner. It is true, after Homage done, the Chancellor or High-Chamberlain ſaid aloud, the Homage was Liege, to which the Duke anſwered it was not; and thus the Pretenſions of each remained entire. *Charles* V plainly ſhowed he ſuppoſed the Homage to be Liege, ſince he cauſed the Dukedom of *Bretagne* to be confiſcated and annexed to his Crown, by a Decree of the Court of Peers. A Peace being concluded between *France* and *Bretagne* in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* VI, the Duke of *Bretagne* was reſtored to his Dukedom, and, as nothing was ſettled concerning the Nature of the Homage, the Pretenſions of both Parties ſtill ſubſiſted. *Arthur* III, who had been Conſtable of *France*, when he became Duke of *Bretagne*, ſolemnly declared in doing his Homage to *Charles* VII, that he meant not to do Liege-Homage, and was allowed to pay it in general Terms, like his Predeceſſors. *Francis* II his Succeſſor made the ſame Declaration, and *Charles* VII received his Homage, though without approving his Proteſtation.

1464. *Conteſts between the Kings of* France *and the Dukes of* Bretagne, Argentré.

Lewis XI *attacks the Duke of* Bretagne, *who forms a League againſt him.* Argentré. P. Daniel.

The Affairs between *France* and *Bretagne*, were in this Situation, when *Lewis* XI came to the Crown. Probably, this Prince would have been no harder to pleaſe than *Charles* his Father, in reſpect of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Homage, had he not, as I ſaid, reſolved to begin with him, his grand Project of humbling all thoſe that could hinder his arriving at arbitrary Power. He had taken this reſolution the moment he was ſeated in the Throne, and it may be, before the Death of the King his Father; but it was not till 1464, that he began to execute it. To that end, having firſt ordered ſome Troops into *Anjou*, he ſent the Chancellor *de Morvilliers* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, to forbid him in his Name to aſſume any Right of Sovereignty in his Dukedom. *Francis* II finding himſelf unprepared for his Defence, had recourſe to Artifice, and demanded three months delay to conſult his States. This Term being granted him, he made uſe of it to cabal in *France* among the great Men, and to form againſt *Lewis* a powerful League, called *the great League of the Publick Good*, which will be preſently mentioned.

Negotiations between Edward *and* Lewis XI. Hall. Stow.

At the very time *Lewis* thought of attacking the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Edward* ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to demand

(1) This Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, on *April* 29, and was prorogued to *November* 4, and thence to *February* 20, at *York*. This Parliament granted the King an Aid of thirty ſeven thouſand Pounds, to be levied in the Counties, Cities, and Towns. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 675. ----- In this Parliament the Importation of Woollen-Cloths, Laces, Ribbands, all ſorts of Iron-wares, and moſt other things manufactured in *England*, was ſtrictly forbidden. See *Statut.* 3 *Edw.* IV. c. 4. *Stow*, p. 417.

(2) *Hall* proves, ſhe was then but between ſix and ſeven Years old, fol. 193. But *Biondi* affirms, ſhe was thirteen, p. 11.

1464. *Bona of Savoy* his Sister-in-law in Marriage. This Propoſal could not but be very agreeable to him, ſince he deſired nothing more ardently than to make an Alliance with the King of *England*, in order to prevent his interpoſing in his future Quarrels with the great Men of his Kingdom. But before the Concluſion of the Marriage, he was willing to be ſure of reaping this Benefit by it. To that end, he cauſed the Affair of the Marriage to be a little prolonged, whilſt he negotiated at *London*, and with the Earl of *Warwick* at *Paris*, a Treaty of perſonal Amity between him and *Edward*. This appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, where are ſeveral Papers concerning this Negotiation. We ſee there a full Power given by *Edward* to the Earl of *Warwick*, to treat of a final Peace, an Alliance, or Truce with *Lewis* XI, and another to conclude a Treaty of Amity and Friendſhip between the two Kings. *Lewis*'s Deſigns were ſtill more extenſive. In order to deprive the Duke of *Bretagne* of all Protection, he would have drawn the Duke of *Burgundy* into his intended Alliance with *England*, and for that purpoſe agreed with *Edward* and *Philip* upon a Congreſs of Ambaſſadors at *Heſdin*, which was afterwards removed to St. *Omer*. He managed his Affairs at *London* by the Lord *Launoy* Governor of *Amiens*, ſent thither towards the end of the laſt Year. But all theſe Negotiations ended only in the Concluſion of a Sea-Truce, to laſt as long as that before made for the Land (1).

Act. Pub. XI. p. 513. 515, 518. p. 521. p. 513. 520, 526. p. 523. Monſtrelet.

Edward. *makes a Truce with* Scotland. Act. Pub. XI. p. 514, 515, 517, 524, 525. Stow. Hollingſh.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation at *London* and *Paris*, *Edward* concluded with *Scotland* a fifteen Years Truce. *John Kennedy* (2), a Lord of great Abilities, and very zealous for his King and Country, thought he could not, during his Regency, do a greater Service to both, than to preſerve a good Underſtanding with the *Engliſh*. Otherwiſe it was almoſt impoſſible to maintain Tranquillity in *Scotland*, becauſe, during the War, the Male-Contents always relied upon the Protection of *England*.

He grants a Pardon to Henry's *Friends.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 527. Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. XI. p. 523.

This Affair being ended, *Edward* offered to all that had taken arms againſt him, an abſolute Pardon, excepting only *Ralph Grey* and *Humphrey Nevill*. *Grey* having been taken in *Banborough*, where he commanded for *Henry*, had been degraded (3). Probably, he had done ſomething ſince, which cauſed him to be excluded from the Pardon granted to the reſt. Shortly after, the King iſſued out a Proclamation, commanding all his Subjects from ſixteen to ſixty Years of Age to take Arms. But the Hiſtorians mention not this Armament, nor the Occaſion.

He concludes a Peace with Bretagne. Act. Pub. XI. p. 531, 532, 536.

In *Auguſt* this Year, *Edward* received Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who came to negotiate a Truce. As the Duke then found himſelf preſſed by the King of *France*, and was labouring to form the *League of the Publick Good*, he was glad to ſecure himſelf againſt *England*. He obtained from *Edward* a Truce for one Year, beginning the 1ſt of *October*.

About the ſame time the See of *York* becoming vacant, *George Nevill*, Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, was promoted to it by the King's Recommendation (4).

1465. *The Earl of* Warwick *concludes the King's Marriage with* Bona *of* Savoy. Hall.

Mean while, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was ſtill at the Court of *France*, having preſſed *Lewis* upon the principal occaſion of his Embaſſy, *Edward*'s Marriage with *Bona of Savoy* was at length concluded and agreed. Preſently after, *Lewis* appointed the Earl of *Dammartin* for his Ambaſſador to *Edward*, to ſettle with him what ſtill remained to be done in the Affair, but all theſe Projects were demoliſhed by *Love*. What I am going to relate is not a Romance, but a true Story, which ſhews how far that Paſſion is ſometimes concerned in the moſt important Revolutions; for this Affair was attended with great Conſequences.

Edward *falls in love with* Elizabeth Woodville, Hall. Stow. Habington, Biondi.

Whilſt the Earl of *Warwick* was haſtening in *France*, with all his Power, the Concluſion of his Negotiation, *Edward*, by mere Accident, rendered it uſeleſs in *England*. This Prince being in *Northamptonſhire* near the Manor of *Grafton* (5), had a mind to viſit *Jaquelina* of *Luxemburg*, Ducheſs of *Bedford*, who had married Sir *Richard Woodville*. By him ſhe had, among other Children, a Daughter called *Elizabeth*, who had been Wife to Sir *John Grey* [of *Groby*] and upon his Death (6) was retired to her Father. She had the Affliction to ſee her Huſband's Eſtate confiſcated, on account of his attachment to the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, in whoſe Service he had loſt his Life. The King's Viſit appearing to this young Lady to be a favorable opportunity, ſhe came and threw herſelf at his Feet, imploring the Reſtitution of her deceaſed Husband's Lands, and his Pity upon their Children. *Edward*, who was young and very amorous, no ſooner ſaw the charming Widow at his Feet, but he fell deſperately in Love with her. He immediately gave her hopes, as he raiſed her from the Ground, that he would grant her Requeſt, and even intimated, it was not in his Power to refuſe her any thing. Afterwards, in his private Converſations with her, he would fain have perſuaded her to purchaſe the Favour at a very high rate. All the Hiſtorians agree, he was the handſomeſt Man in *England*, and the moſt proper to make Conqueſts on the fair Sex. As he knew this, he did not queſtion to gain this Lady's Heart, with the ſame eaſe he had done many others. But ſhe plainly told him, though ſhe thought her ſelf unworthy to be a Queen, ſhe was above being a Concubine. This Declaration, which ſhewed ſo great Virtue in *Elizabeth*, made ſuch Impreſſion on the King, that deſpairing to attain his ends any other way, he offered her Marriage. A Heart like *Edward*'s, with a Crown, could hardly be refuſed. The young Lady, agreeably ſurprized at ſo advantagious a Propoſal, accepted it immediately in ſo reſpectful and grateful a manner, as compleated the Conqueſt of this Monarch's Heart. However, as he was unwilling to diſoblige the Ducheſs of *York* his Mother, he could not think of proceeding any farther without acquainting her with his Intention. The Ducheſs, ſurprized at this haſty Reſolution, uſed all her Endeavours to diſſuade him from it. She repreſented to him the Injury he would do the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom he was ſo much obliged, and who, it was to be feared, would highly reſent it: That by the Affront he was going to put upon the King of *France*, he would make him his mortal Enemy, and render a Peace impracticable: That the Nobles of *England* would behold with Envy, the *Woodville* Family raiſed ſo high above them, and their Diſcontent might be attended with fatal Conſequences. In a word, he was going to marry a Woman with nothing, his Subject, who had Children by another Husband. *Edward* briefly replied, it was uncertain whether the Earl of *Warwick* would conſider his Change as an Injury; but, as for him, he was ſure of his Affection: That the King of *France* was like to have Affairs upon his hands, that would probably divert him from thinking of Revenge: That a King's marrying a Subject, inſtead of offending the Great Men, would rather be agreeable to them, ſince for the future all the noble Families might aſpire to the ſame Honour. Laſtly, That a Dower ought to be of no conſideration in a King's Marriage; and whatever elſe he could expect, would be ſupplied by his Love, and her Virtue, whom he choſe for his Wife. The Ducheſs, perceiving the King was not perſuaded by her Arguments, added another, and, as ſhe thought, a much ſtronger, reaſon. She remonſtrated to him, that he was contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and could not in Conſcience take another Wife. *Edward* poſitively denied he was engaged to that Lady. Nevertheleſs, for his Mother's Satisfaction, or for fear this pretended Contract might one day furniſh a pretence to diſpute the Validity of his Marriage, he conſented that *Elizabeth Lucy* ſhould be examined by ſome Biſhops. Upon her Examination, ſhe confeſſed, the King had not made her a poſitive Promiſe: But ſhe ſaid however, ſhe ſhould never have yielded to his Deſires, had ſhe not been perſuaded of his Intention to marry her. This Anſwer ſhewing, there was no abſolute Promiſe on the King's part, the Biſhop's were of opinion the King might with a ſafe Conſcience marry another. Accordingly, *Edward* eſpouſed *Elizabeth Woodville* in the preſence of a few Perſons (7), ſo that his Marriage was divulged only by the Orders given to prepare for the new Queen's Coronation (8).

1465. Hall. Hollingſh. *and marries her.* February. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Nobles jealous of the Woodvilles.

The nobles and People were extremely ſurprized to ſee the King married to one of his Subjects, when he was negotiating his Marriage at the Court of *France* with the Princeſs of *Savoy*: nay, when this Marriage was already

(1) From *May* 20, till *October* 1. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 523.
(2) *Rapin* calls him *Kennet*. He was Anceſtor of the Earls of *Caſſils*, but was not the ſole Regent at that time.
(3) This was done by cutting off his Spurs, reverſing and rending his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his Head. *Hall*, fol. 191. *Stow*, p. 418.
(4) The Parliament that had been held *April* 29, laſt Year, after ſeveral Prorogations, met again this Year at *Weſtminſter* on *January* 21, and granted the King, for Life, Tunnage and Poundage; and of every *Engliſh* Merchant for every Sack of Wool, thirty-three Shillings and Four-pence; of every two hundred and forty Wool-fells, the ſame; and of every Laſt of Hides, three Pounds ſix Shillings and Eight-pence. Of every Merchant Stranger, as well Denizen as otherwiſe, for every Sack of Wool, three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight-pence; of every Laſt of Hides, three Pounds thirteen Shillings and Four-pence; of every two hundred and forty Wool-fells, three Pounds ſix Shillings and Eight-Pence. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 675, 676. In this Parliament, the Importation of foreign Woollen-Cloths was prohibited, under pain of Forfeiture: And ſeveral other Regulations were made about the length and breadth of *Engliſh* Cloths, too long to be inſerted. See *Statut.* 4 *Edw.* IV.
(5) He came there accidentally, as he was hunting in the Foreſt of *Wychwood*. *Hall*, fol. 194.
(6) See above, p. 587. Note (2).
(7) At *Grafton*. *Hall*, fol. 195. *Hollingſh.* p. 1326.
(8) She was crowned *May* 26. *Stow*, p. 419.

1465. *The Queen's Father made Earl of* Rivers, *and her Brother marries a rich Heireſs.* Hall.

already concluded. Sir *Richard Woodville* the Queen's Father was immediately raiſed to the Dignity of Earl of *Rivers*, and his Son *Anthony Woodville*, married to the only Daughter of the Lord *Scales*, the greateſt Heireſs in the Kingdom (1). This created great Envy in the Nobles, particularly in the Duke of *Clarence*, who could not forbear being angry, that the King his Brother ſhould not think of procuring him ſo rich a Match. But this was nothing in compariſon of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Indignation for being thus mocked. He thought the King ſhould have had more reſpect for him, than to uſe him ſo diſhonourably. In this belief, he expreſſed his reſentment to the King of *France*, who did not fail to inflame it to the utmoſt of his power. *Lewis* himſelf could not but look upon *Edward*'s Proceedings as a deadly Affront. But his Affairs not permitting him to demand immediate Satisfaction, he concealed his reſentment, till he had a favorable Opportunity to ſhew it. As for the Earl of *Warwick*, he left the Court of *France*, and returned into *England*, with a Heart full of Hatred and Revenge againſt *Edward*, whoſe Ingratitude he abhorred. He took care however, to conceal his Sentiments, becauſe it was not yet time to diſcover them; but his very diſſimulation ſhewed the King he was extremely diſguſted. In this belief, *Edward* himſelf began to conſider him as a ſecret Enemy, though he ſtill gave him ſome ſlight Marks of his Confidence. Thus amidſt the diſguiſes of the King and the Earl, a mutual Hatred was nouriſhed, which induced the King to give him ſeveral Mortifications, as well to gratify his Paſſion, as to leſſen the Earl's Credit with the People. As he could not believe, that he who had by his Intereſt raiſed him to the Throne, might likewiſe have it in his power to pull him down, he was not careful to ſhew him any regard. *Warwick* plainly perceived the King's Aim, but wiſely diſſembled, for fear an unſeaſonable reſentment might oblige *Edward* to diſable him to be revenged. All the Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that preſently after his Return from *France*, he retired into the Country on pretence of his Health. But we find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that during the Years 1465 and 1466, he was at Court, and even employed in Negotiations of Importance with Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes. So, it was two Years after his Return that he withdrew, when he could no longer bear to be entirely removed from Affairs, whilſt the new Earl of *Rivers* had all the King's Confidence.

The King and Warwick *begin to hate one another.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 540, —— 578.

The reſt of the Year 1465 was ſpent in ſundry Negotiations with the King of *France*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Charolois*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*. As theſe ſeveral Negotiations concerned the Affairs of *France*, and as upon theſe depends, in great meaſure, the Knowledge of the Hiſtory of *England*, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate their Situation at that time.

Affairs of France. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

Lewis XI was one of the ſubtleſt and leaſt ſcrupulous Princes then in *Europe*. His Deſign was, as I obſerved, to ruin the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, the former by Artifice, and the latter by Force. With regard to the Duke of *Bretagne*, he had, as I ſaid, begun to execute his Project, by aſſembling an Army in *Anjou*, ready to fall upon *Bretagne*, and which only waited till the Delay granted the Duke was expired. As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lewis* had not thought proper to proceed ſo haughtily with him. He was too powerful a Prince to hope to ſucceed by attacking him openly; but he made uſe of a ſecret expedient, which partly procured him what would have been with great difficulty obtained by way of Arms. He bribed the Lords of *Croy* and *Chimay*, Brothers, prime Miniſters and Confidents of the Duke, who perſuaded their Maſter to deliver to the Crown of *France*, the Towns on the *Somme* (2), for four hundred thouſand Crowns, purſuant to the Treaty of *Arras*. *Charles* Earl of *Charolois*, only Son of the Duke of *Burgundy*, conſidered this Reſtitution as a mortal Wound to him and his Houſe. He believed, the Duke his Father ſhould at any rate have kept thoſe Places, which rendered him more formidable to *France* than all the reſt of his Dominions. He was ſo angry with the Miniſters, that he openly threatned to puniſh them one day for their pernicious Advice to his Father. This Affair created between the Father and Son a Quarrel, which the Favorites took care to foment; ſo that the Earl at laſt in great diſcontent retired into *Holland*. He pretended, it was not ſafe for him to be any longer at Court; that the Favorites had counſelled his Father to apprehend him, and even bribed People to poiſon him.

Monſtrelet. Commin.

Memoirs of Commines.

Whilſt the Earl of *Charolois* was in *Holland*, *Lewis* XI ſent thither privately the Baſtard of *Rubempré*, in a Veſſel fitted out at *Dieppe*, with ſome choſen Soldiers, who, without knowing where they were going, had orders to obey *Rubempré*'s Commands. The Baſtard landing with four of theſe Soldiers, was known and diſcovered to the Earl of *Charolois*, who immediately cauſed him to be ſeized. Some ſay, there was found upon him an Order under the King's own hand to apprehend the Earl, and bring him away dead or alive. In the mean time, *Lewis* was upon the *Somme*, with a conſiderable Army drawn together upon ſome pretence. He had appointed the Duke of *Burgundy* to meet him, on purpoſe, as it was afterwards reported, to ſeize his Perſon as ſoon as he knew the Succeſs of *Rubempré*'s Plot. But the Earl of *Charolois* ſending ſpeedy notice to his Father of what he had diſcovered, the Duke immediately rode away from *Heſdin*, where he was now come. Thus, if it be true, that *Lewis* intended to ſeize at once the Father and Son, his Project miſcarried. This Attempt, whether it was only ſuſpected, or there was ſome Proof of it, greatly increaſed the Earl of *Charolois*'s hatred to *Lewis*. He every where proclaimed, that the King of *France* deſigned to aſſaſſinate, or carry him away by force, and the Report immediately flew all over *Flanders*.

1465.

Lewis eaſily perceived, his Honour could not but be concerned in this Affair, eſpecially if the Baſtard of *Rubempré*, whoſe Trial was preparing in *Holland*, ſhould be convicted of the Fact laid to his charge. So, to prevent this Trial, he ſent the Chancellor *de Morvilliers* with ſome other Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to require him to deliver the Priſoners into his hands. The Earl of *Charolois* being preſent at the Audience, the Chancellor ſpoke very haughtily to the Duke, and even dropt ſome offenſive Expreſſions againſt the Earl his Son. The Earl would have frequently replied; but the Chancellor ſtill interrupted him, with ſaying he was ſent to his Father, and not to him. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Anſwer was, that being Sovereign in *Holland*, without any Dependance on *France*, he would cauſe the Priſoner to be tried, and either puniſhed or acquitted, according as he was found guilty or innocent. When the Ambaſſadors of *France* took their Leave of the Duke, the Earl of *Charolois* taking one of them aſide, ſaid to him: *The King your Maſter has been very ſevere upon me by his Chancellor, but he ſhall repent it before a Year is at an end.* And indeed, he was as good as his word.

War of the Publick Good againſt Lewis XI. Commin. Argentré. Mezerai.

This paſſed in the Year 1464, whilſt the Duke of *Bretagne*, to defend himſelf againſt *Lewis*, was labouring to form the *League of the Publick Good* above-mentioned. The Earl of *Charolois* was one of the firſt to come into it, and had obtained his Father's Permiſſion to raiſe Troops and join the Duke of *Bretagne*, with almoſt all the great Men of *France*, who were to be near *Paris* in *June* 1465. When the Duke of *Bretagne* ſaw himſelf ſecure of a powerful Aſſiſtance, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the King, under colour of deſiring a longer delay, but in reality to corrupt the Duke of *Berry* his Brother. They ſucceeded ſo well, that they brought the Duke with them into *Bretagne*. As ſoon as he was out of the King's power, the Confederates declared him Head of the League, and every one went and prepared to be at the Rendezvous. The Duke of *Bourbon* was the firſt that ventured to take Arms, with a deſign to draw the King into his Country, at a diſtance from *Paris*. *Lewis*, who had yet no intelligence of the League, marched immediately towards *Bourbonnois*. But quickly after he received advice, that the Earl of *Charolois*, at the head of a powerful Army, was approaching *Paris*, and the Duke of *Bretagne* with the reſt of the Confederates, were preparing to join him. Upon this News, he ſpeedily left *Bourbonnois*, to ſave his Metropolis. In the mean time, the Earl of *Charolois* attempted to become maſter of it, but as he ſaw no appearance of Succeſs, went and encamped at *Montlhery*, expecting the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne*. Mean while, the King, who was advancing with great Marches, being come near *Montlhery*, the two Armies met and joined Battle. The Succeſs was ſo doubtful, that both Sides claimed the advantage. But as the King decamped in the night, to throw himſelf into *Paris*, he gave occaſion to his Enemies to ſay, he owned his Defeat. Some days after, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* joined the *Burgundians*. But the King had now ſo well provided for the defence of his Capital, that it was impoſſible for the Confederates to take it. At length, the War ended in a Treaty ſigned at *Conflans* the 30th of *October*. *Lewis* reſtored to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Towns upon the *Somme*, for which he had paid four hundred thouſand Crowns, and gave *Normandy* in Appennage to the Duke his Brother (3). After the ſigning of the Treaty, the Earl of *Charolois* retired into the *Low-Countries*, and the

Monſtrelet. Commin.

Monſtrelet. Commin.

It ends in a Treaty. Monſtrelet. Commin.

(1) And alſo Sir *Thomas Grey*, Son of Sir *John Grey*, the Queen's firſt Huſband, was created Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, and married to *Cicely*, Heireſs of the Lord *Bonville*. *Hall*, fol. 195. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1326.

(2) *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Saint-Quentin*, *Peronne*, *Dourlens*, &c. *Commines*, l. 1. c. 1, 12. *Monſtrelet*, fol. 98.

(3) *Charles* Duke of *Berry*. *Commin.* l. 1. c. 5.

1465. Duke of *Berry*, accompanied with the Duke of *Bretagne*, went and took poſſeſſion of *Normandy*. But a few days after, the Duke of *Bretagne* quarelling with the Duke of *Berry*, returned into his own Dominions. Then *Lewis* taking advantage of this Diſſenſion, marched, without loſs of time, into *Normandy*, expelled his Brother, and forced him once more to take refuge in *Bretagne*, where, notwithſtanding their former Quarrel, he was civilly received by the Duke. Theſe are all the moſt material Tranſactions in *France*, in the Year 1465.

Lewis ſeizes again upon Normandy. Monſtrelet. Commin.

Whilſt the *French* Princes were employed in Preparations for the War of the *Publick Good*, they had not neglected the King of *England*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that from *March*, to their taking the Field, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Earl of *Charolois* had their Ambaſſadors at *London*, and the Earl offered to make with *Edward* a Treaty of Alliance and Friendſhip. *Lewis* XI himſelf, though very angry with him, did not fail to court him. But *Edward* willing, no doubt, to be better informed of his Affairs, avoided, on divers pretences, to come to any Agreement.

Negotiations of the Duke of Bretagne, *and Earl of* Charolois, *with* Edward. Act. Pub. XI. p. 540, ----- 542. p. 547.

He proceeded otherwiſe with regard to the King of *Scotland*, with whom, after a long Negotiation, he concluded at *Newcaſtle* a Treaty, whereby the late Truce was prolonged for forty Years (1), till 1519.

Truce prolonged with Scotland. p. 546 ----- 558.

1466. In the beginning of the Year 1466, the Queen was delivered of a Princeſs, called *Elizabeth* (2), who afterwards became the happy Inſtrument to bring Peace to *England*, after a long Civil War.

Birth of the Princeſs Elizabeth. Hall.

Edward having greatly affronted *Lewis* XI, conſidered him as a ſecret Enemy, who would not miſs an opportunity to be revenged. He behaved however with great Caution, during the War of the *Publick Good*, for fear of affording him a freſh Cauſe to ſupport the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, in caſe he ſubdued the Confederate Princes. The ſame reaſon induced him to hearken to the Propoſals of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne*; but he had taken care to conclude nothing, either with them or the King of *France*. Afterwards, *Lewis*'s Diſadvantage at the Treaty of *Conflans*, might have cauſed *Edward* to pay him leſs regard, had not the Revolution immediately after in *Normandy*, made him act with deliberation. Mean time, he was equally preſſed on both ſides. The King of *France*, feigning to forget the Affront he had received, urged him to enter into Treaty with him for a final Peace between the two Crowns, or at leaſt, for a long Truce. On the other hand, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Charolois*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, repreſented to him, that if he ſuffered the *French* Princes to be oppreſſed, the King of *France* would become ſo powerful, as could not but prove fatal to *England*. The Courſe he took upon this occaſion, was to manage them all, and keep both Sides in hopes. The truth is, it was by no means his Intereſt to concern himſelf in their Quarrels, and create new Enemies, when the *Lancaſtrian* Party, though humbled, were ſtill very numerous in *England*. This is the real Motive of his Conduct, and of all his Negotiations, as well with the King of *France*, as with the other Princes, who preſſed him to declare himſelf. Mean while, to keep Affairs upon the ſame foot, till farther Diſcoveries could be made, he concluded a ſhort Truce with *France*, and the like with the Duke of *Bretagne*. In managing the King of *France* he had a farther Aim, to haſten the concluſion of a Marriage propoſed to him, between *Margaret* his Siſter, and the Earl of *Charolois*. He was ſenſible, the leſs inclined he appeared to break with *Lewis* XI, the more eager would the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Son be for the Marriage. And indeed, his Policy had all the ſucceſs he expected. Theſe two Princes perceiving how difficult it was to engage him in their Party, imagined there was no ſhorter way to attain their Ends, than to effect the Marriage propoſed. As ſoon as *Edward* ſaw them in this Diſpoſition, he delayed not to enter into Engagements with them. He loved not the King of *France*, as knowing he was not beloved by him. Beſides, he conſidered there was no reliance upon that Prince's Word; that his Proceedings were inſincere, and at one time or other he would ſhew his reſentment. Moreover, it was not for the Intereſt of *England*, to ſuffer the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* to be ruined, which, as it evidently appeared, was *Lewis*'s grand Deſign. Wherefore, *October* the 23d, he ſigned a Treaty of perſonal Alliance, Amity, and Friendſhip with the Earl of *Charolois*. A few days after, he ſent a Safe-Conduct to *Lewis of Bruges* Lord of *Gruthuyſe*, appointed by the Duke of *Burgundy* to treat with him of a perpetual Peace, and ſettle the Articles of the Marriage of the Earl of *Charolois* with the Princeſs *Margaret*.

He makes a Truce with France, June 7. *and with* Bretagne, April 30. Act. Pub. XI. p. 565, 567, 568.

Project of the Marriage of the Earl of Charolois *with* Edward's *Siſter*. p. 564. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Treaty with the Earl of Charolois. Act. Pub. XI. p. 580. p. 574.

All this ſeemed to tend to a League between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy* for the Duke of *Bretagne*'s defence, who was vigorouſly preſſed. Since the Duke of *Berry* had been expelled out of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Bretagne* had undertaken to ſupport him, and cauſe the Treaty of *Conflans* to be executed. This was projected by him and the Earl of *Charolois*, who promiſed to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy*. But unhappily for the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Burgundy* was engaged in a War with the *Liegeois*, which hindered the Earl of *Charolois* from performing his Promiſe. Mean while, *Lewis* XI, improving this Juncture, preſſed the Duke of *Bretagne* extremely, who being unable to withſtand him alone, gave him hopes he would comply with his Will. But this was only to gain time, till the Duke of *Burgundy* was ready. At length the War with *Liege* being ſuſpended by a Truce, the Earl of *Charolois* prepared to march into *Picardy*. But, when leaſt expected, *Lewis* by his ſecret Practices cauſed the *Liegeois* to take Arms again. Thus the Duke of *Bretagne* was ſtill greatly diſtreſſed. He defended himſelf however as well as he could, in expectation of being quickly aſſiſted.

1466. *The Duke of* Bretagne *is hard preſſed.* Commin. Argentré.

The Earl of Charolois *cannot aſſiſt him.*

Commin.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *France*, *Edward* concluded a Treaty of perpetual Alliance with the King of *Caſtile*. He had done the ſame with the King of *Denmark* the beginning of this Year. Tho' theſe Alliances were inconſiderable with reſpect to his principal Affairs, they gained him reputation, and rendered him more formidable to his Enemies.

Edward's Alliances with Caſtile *and* Denmark. Act. Pub. XI. p. 537, 551, 560, 569, 580.--583. Hall.

The firſt part of the Year 1467 was wholly ſpent in Negotiations with *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke only waited the end of the War with *Liege*, to give all his Forces to his Son, and prevent, by a powerful Diverſion, the Duke of *Bretagne*'s ruin, who having already loſt his Towns in *Lower-Normandy*, ſaw himſelf upon the point of being attacked in his own Country. On the other ſide, *Lewis*, who ſpared no Coſt to have good Spies, was informed of what paſſed between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and eaſily perceived, their Union tended to the Duke of *Bretagne*'s defence. As he ſtill intended to ruin that Prince, he omitted nothing to divert *Edward* from the Engagements he was entering into with his Enemies. For that purpoſe, in *February* 1467, he ſent the Baſtard of *Bourbon* into *England*, and in *June*, the Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*. *Edward* pretending to be entirely diſengaged, appointed immediately Commiſſioners (3) to treat with theſe Ambaſſadors. But as it is eaſy to gain time in theſe Negotiations, nothing was concluded. Mean while, *Lewis* was afraid to diſtreſs the Duke of *Bretagne*, for fear of obliging *Edward* to declare for him.

1467. *Negotiations with* Lewis *and the Duke of* Burgundy. Act. Pub. XI. p. 576, ----600.

p. 577.

Such was the State of Affairs between thoſe two Princes, when the Duke of *Burgundy* died the 15th of *June*, in the 72d Year of his Age. *Charles* Earl of *Charolois* his only Son, whom for the future I ſhall call Duke of *Burgundy*, ſucceeded him in all his Dominions. He would immediately have poſted to the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Aſſiſtance, had he not been detained by the War with *Liege*.

Death of the Duke of Burgundy. *The Earl of* Charolois *ſucceeds him.* Monſtrelet. Mezerai.

Mean while, *Lewis*, fearing his Prey would eſcape out of his Hands, ſent and offered the new Duke of *Burgundy* to deſert the *Liegeois* whom he had hitherto aſſiſted, provided he would, in return, abandon the Duke of *Bretagne*. If *Charles* had cloſed with this Propoſal, the Duke of *Bretagne* would have been irrecoverably loſt, ſince there was now a *French* Army of thirty thouſand Men in the heart of his Country. But he bravely rejected it, declaring, let what would be the conſequence, he would aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretagne* to the utmoſt of his Power. He only waited the end of the War with *Liege*, to throw himſelf into *Picardy*, and did not queſtion that *Edward* would declare againſt *France*, when he ſaw himſelf ſecure of being ſo ſtrongly ſupported. The very Day of his Father's Death (4), he ratified his Alliance with *Edward*, and the new Bond whereby they were going to be farther united, namely, his Marriage then upon the Point of concluſion, ſeemed to promiſe him, he ſhould never want the Aſſiſtance of *England*. Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne*, fearing to be oppreſſed before the Succours arrived, put *Lewis* in hopes of all the Satisfaction he deſired, and by that means obtained a Truce which gave him ſome reſpite.

He refuſes to leave the Duke of Bretagne.

He ratifies his Treaty with Edward. Act. Pub. XI. p. 580.

The Duke of Bretagne *obtains a Truce.*

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *France*, conſiderable Alterations were made in the Court of *England*, which in the end occaſioned great Troubles. The Queen's Relations daily encreaſed in favour with the King; and the Earl of *Warwick* with his Brothers, who had been ſo powerful, were little regarded. The Archbiſhop of *York* (5) was ſtill

The Queen's Relations in great credit at Court. Biondi. Habington.

(1) From *Octob.* 31. 1479, when the fifteen Years Truce, concluded before, was to end, to *Octob.* 31. 1519. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 358.
(2) She was born *Feb.* 11. *Stow*, p. 419.
(3) *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *John Wenlock* Chief-Butler of *England*, Sir *Robert Harcourt*, *Thomas Kent* Doctor of Laws, and *Thomas Colt*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 578.
(4) *Octob.* 23. *Ibid.* Tom. XI. p. 580.
(5) *George Neville.*

Chancellor,

1467. Chancellor, but at length was removed to make room for the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* (1), one of the Queen's moſt zealous Adherents. The Earl of *Warwick* was no longer employed as before in Affairs of Importance. This manifeſtly appears in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, where his Name is not found after the middle of this Year. As for the Marqueſs of *Montague* his Brother, Governor of the northern Counties, that Poſt being of no great Conſequence, ſince there was no danger from *Scotland*, he was not diſplaced. Beſides, *Edward* had leſs Inclination to diſpleaſe him, becauſe in the decline of his Family's Credit he behaved with more circumſpection than his Brothers. On the other hand, the Earl of *Rivers*, the Queen's Father, was raiſed to the higheſt degree of Favour. Beſides the Office of Lord-Treaſurer, he was likewiſe made High-Conſtable, upon the voluntary or forced Reſignation of the Earl of *Worceſter* (2), whom the King requited, by making him Lieutenant in *Ireland*, under the Duke of *Clarence*. Thus the Earl of *Rivers* held at once two of the greateſt Offices of the Crown, and moreover, his Son *Anthony Woodville* had a Grant of the Reverſion of the High-Conſtableſhip. Probably it was about this time, that the Earl of *Warwick* retired from Court, and the Archbiſhop of *York* went and reſided upon his Dioceſe.

Warwick and his Brothers neglected.

The Earl of Rivers is Treaſurer and High-Conſtable. Act. Pub. XI. p. 581.

The Earl of Warwick withdraws from Court. He is extremely incenſed againſt the King. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

It was very hard for a Man of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Character to ſuffer ſuch a Diſgrace without reſentment. He was the proudeſt Lord that had ever been in *England*, and his natural Pride was ſtill encreaſed by the great Services he had done the King. The Affront put upon him by the King, in marrying in *England* without his knowledge, at the very time he was employed by him at *Paris* to negotiate another Marriage, which too was concluded, had extremely incenſed him. The Contempt ſhewn him by the King at his return from *France*, in not making him ſome civil Excuſe, had very much increaſed his Diſguſt. To this was added, an extreme Indignation to ſee his Credit entirely ſunk. In fine, the Favours, heaped by the King upon the Queen's Relations, racked him with Envy, and threw him upon the moſt violent Reſolutions (3). If we may believe certain Hiſtorians, he had a ſtronger reaſon to hate *Edward* than thoſe I have mentioned. And that is, *Edward* attempted the Chaſtity of one of his Daughters (4); and this Prince's Character, who was not very ſcrupulous in that reſpect, makes the thing credible. Be this as it will, the Earl mortally hated *Edward*, though he concealed his Averſion in order to ſhew it effectually. It is certain the King, to whom he was not unknown, committed a great Error in not giving him ſome Satisfaction, or in not ruining him entirely. With Perſons of this Character, Policy requires that one or other of theſe two Courſes be taken. The Continuator of *Monſtrelet* ſays, that in *June* 1467, the Earl of *Warwick* met *Lewis* XI at *Roan*, and ſtaid with him twelve days. If ſo, it may be preſumed, that being ſent into *France* upon the King's Affairs, he took that Opportunity to ſecure *Lewis*'s Protection, and concert meaſures with him concerning the Execution of his Project to dethrone *Edward* (5).

Hall, fol. 195. Hollingſh.

He hides his Reſentment.

He goes and makes Lewis *his Friend.* fol. 153.

1468. Mean while, the Negotiation of the Marriage of *Edward*'s Siſter with the Duke of *Burgundy* ſtill continued, whilſt *Edward* kept *Lewis* in hopes of concluding a perpetual Peace with him. But it was only to amuſe him, and haſten withal the Marriage of the Princeſs his Siſter. However, for fear his Embaſſy to *Paris* might give ſome ſuſpicion to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he iſſued out a Proclamation, expreſsly ordering the Coaſts to be well-guarded, as ſoon as the Truce with *France*, which was to end in *March*, ſhould be expired. Shortly after, the Marriage was at laſt concluded, and *Margaret* ſent to *Bruges* with a ſplendid Retinue, being attended by the Ducheſſes of *Exeter* and *Suffolk* (6). There the Nuptials were ſolemnized with a Magnificence worthy the two Princes who were allied by this Marriage. The ſame day the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions was prolonged for thirty Years.

The Duke of Burgundy's Marriage ſolemnized. Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. XI. p. 602.

A Truce of Trade prolonged for thirty Years. Ib. p. 591, 605, 624.

The reſt of the Winter was ſpent, in negotiating an Alliance between *Edward* and the Duke of *Bretagne*: The Duke of *Burgundy* ſtrongly ſollicited the concluſion of that Affair, becauſe he was ſo incumbered with the War of *Liege*, that it was not poſſible for him to aſſiſt his Ally. The thing was not without difficulties, ſince it was to paſs from a long War between *England* and *Bretagne*, to a ſtrict Alliance. So, all that could be done at firſt, was to prolong the Truce till *July*. After that,

Negotiations with the Duke of Bretagne. p. 602, 603.

Ib. p. 615, 624.

Edward and the Duke of *Bretagne* ſent one another Letters Patent, promiſing mutual Aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of their Power. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſent the like to the King to induce him the ſooner to declare againſt *France*. Indeed, it was of the utmoſt conſequence to him to prevent the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Ruin, and procure the Duke of *Berry* a Settlement, which might enable him to keep the King his Brother in awe. He was almoſt certain, that after *Lewis* had put it out of the power of theſe two Princes to hurt him, he would not fail to attack him with all his Forces. On the other hand, *Edward* ſaw but too plainly how prejudicial *Lewis*'s growth of Power might be to him. Wherefore by his Orders his Commiſſioners ſigned, the 2d of *July*, a Treaty of Commerce with *Bretagne*, and the next day a Levy of Troops was ordered for the aſſiſtance of that Duchy. In the beginning of *Auguſt*, he ſent Ambaſſadors (7) to *France*, on pretence to treat with *Lewis* of a perpetual Peace, and yet two days after he ſigned a Treaty, whereby he ingaged to ſend the Duke of *Bretagne* an Aid of three thouſand Archers. As the Duke ſaw himſelf preſſed by the King of *France*, it was neceſſary to haſten that Affair, as well on his own as on the part of *Edward*, without ſtanding too much upon Terms. The Fleet and Troops deſigned for *Bretagne* being ready in the beginning of *October*, the King gave the Command to *Anthony Woodville*, Lord *Scales*, his Brother-in-law.

1468.

Edward reſolves to aid the Duke of Bretagne. p. 624, 625.

p. 626, 628.

p. 630.

Whilſt theſe Affairs were negotiating at *London*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* were not a little embarraſſed. The Truce granted them by *Lewis* being about to expire, they ſaw the Duke of *Burgundy* too remote and too buſy elſewhere, to hope to be delivered by his means. As for the Succours expected from *England*, they were neither ſpeedy nor ſtrong enough to free them from their Danger. Mean while, the Duke of *Burgundy* made all poſſible haſte to end the War with the *Liegeois*, knowing how the Duke of *Bretagne* was preſſed. At laſt he found means to force his Enemies to a Battle, wherein he obtained a complete Victory, which obliged them to ſue for Peace. As ſoon as the Treaty was ſigned, he marched for *Picardy*. He was now come upon the *Somme*, ready to enter upon action, when he heard, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* had made a Peace with the King of *France*, and after renouncing all foreign Alliance, the Duke of *Berry* was contented with an Appennage of ſix thouſand Livres a Year in Land, and an annual Penſion of ſixty thouſand in lieu of *Normandy*, granted him by the Treaty of *Conflans*. This News, which *Lewis* ſent him by an Expreſs, was the moſt unwelcome. However, without being diſcouraged with this unexpected accident, he reſolved to remain incamped where he was. He hoped, as the Duke of *Bretagne* had been compelled to a Peace, he would repent what he had done, when he ſaw himſelf ſupported, and eaſily find an excuſe to break it. This is what he plainly told thoſe who adviſed him to ſue to the King of *France* for Peace.

The Dukes of Berry *and* Bretagne *are put to ſtraits.* Argentré. Mezerai. Commin.

The Duke of Burgundy *beats the* Liegeois.

He hears the Dukes had made a Peace with Lewis.

He reſolves to go to War without them.

The Duke of *Burgundy*'s reſolution inſpired *Lewis* with fear. He was apprehenſive, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* would receed, when they ſaw Aſſiſtance ſo near. In that caſe, he might depend upon having to deal with the King of *England*, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, and many of the moſt potent Lords of the Kingdom, who were diſſatisfied with him. In this Uneaſineſs, which was not ill grounded, he departed from *Paris*, where he then was, into *Picardy*, to treat with the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Deſign ſucceeded to his Wiſh. The Duke, uncertain of the reſolution the Duke of *Bretagne* might take, agreed to retire, for four hundred thouſand Crowns, which *Lewis* gave him to defray his Expences.

He gets advantagious Terms of Lewis.

Hitherto *Lewis* had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his Advantages. He had diſperſed the League made againſt him, and reduced the Duke his Brother to a very moderate Appennage. However, he could not think of abandoning his firſt Project. He was reſolved to ruin the Duke of *Bretagne*, that he might afterwards attack the other Peers, and the Duke of *Burgundy* himſelf, with more ſafety. His extreme deſire to execute this Project, made him commit the groſſeſt fault that ſo politick a Prince could poſſibly be guilty of. After ſigning his Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he would go and confer with him. He had ſuch a Conceit of himſelf, that he fancied he ſhould perſuade that Prince to relinquiſh the Intereſts of the Duke of *Bretagne*. At leaſt, he hoped to ſow Jealouſies between them, from which he could not fail to reap great Advan-

Lewis puts himſelf imprudently in the power of the Duke of Burgundy. Commin.

(1) *Robert de Stillington.* (2) *John Tiptoft.*

(3) He could not fail of drawing ſoon a large Army together. If, as *Stow* relates, whenever he came to *London*, ſix Oxen were eaten in his Houſe at a Breakfaſt, and every Tavern was full of his Meat. *Stow*, p. 421.

(4) Or his Niece. The Certainty was not, for both their Honors, openly known, ſays *Hall*, fol. 195.

(5) This Year, on *June* 3, or, according to others, *July* 3, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the King reſumed into his Hands all the Crown Lands granted away during his Reign. This Parliament was prorogued to *November* 6, at *Reading*, and from thence adjourned to *May* 12, 1468, at *Weſtminſter*, when it met again, and granted the King two Tenths, and two Fifteenths. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 680---- 684. *Stow*, p. 420, 421.

(6) And the Dukes their Husbands, *John Holland*, and *John de la Pole*. They ſet out *June* 18. The Marriage was ſolemnized on *July* 8. *Hall*, fol. 198. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1318. *Stow*, p. 421.

(7) *Thomas* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 625.

1468. tages. To that end, he demanded of the Duke a Safe-Conduct to meet him at *Peronne*. As ſoon as it was received, he repaired to that Town with a ſlender Retinue, the better to gain the Duke by that extreme Confidence. But before his departure, he forgot to recal the Ambaſſadors ſent to the *Liegeois*, to perſuade them to break the Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*, upon his Aſſurance of a powerful Aid. This was ſufficient to induce that People to take Arms again, and the News of it was brought to the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Peronne*, the ſame, or the next, day, after the King's Arrival. A proceeding ſo contrary to good Faith, convincing the Duke that *Lewis* ſought only to deceive him, he even impriſoned him in the Caſtle of *Peronne*, where he was lodged, and detained him ſeveral days, uncertain what to reſolve. *Lewis* judging of his Enemy by himſelf, was in mortal Agonies. So, not knowing how to eſcape, he ſaw no other remedy, but to ſubmit to what Terms the Duke ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon him. He met with more Generoſity in that Prince than he could have expected. After a very ſhort Negotiation, it was agreed between them, that the King ſhould give *Champagne* and *Brie* to his Brother, inſtead of *Normandy*, which he was to have had by the Treaty of *Conflans*, and ſhould accompany the Duke in the War with *Liege*. A few days after, they departed together towards the Territories of *Liege*, and *Lewis* had the mortification to be himſelf witneſs of the Deſtruction of the Capital, which he had prepoſterouſly thrown into that misfortune. At laſt, he got out of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s hands, after having been in continual fears either of loſing his Life, or undergoing a grievous Captivity during the reſidue of his days. Mean while, he had no Inclination really to execute the Treaty made at *Peronne*. He found means afterwards to evade it.

The Duke diſcovers the Inſincerity of Lewis, *and makes him Priſoner.* Commin.

Lewis ſubmits to hard Terms. Commin.

Deſtruction of the City of Liege. Commin.

Edward's *Alliance with* Aragon. Act. Pub. XI. p. 631. ---- 635.

It is time now to leave the Affairs of which it was neceſſary to give a general Knowledge, and reſume thoſe of *England*, where a more affecting Scene is going to open, by the Variety of the Events which render this Part of *Edward*'s Reign very remarkable. The 20th of *October*, *Edward* renewed the antient Alliance between *England* and *Aragon*. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians place this Treaty in the Year 1466, but in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, it is dated *October* 20, 1468. Probably, they have confounded the Alliance with *Caſtile*, in 1466, with that which was renewed two Years after with *Aragon*. *Edward* is ſaid, upon this occaſion, to ſend the King of *Aragon* a Preſent of ſome *Ewes* and *Rams* (1), which ſo multiplied in *Spain*, that it proved very detrimental to the Wool-Trade of *England*.

He preſents the King of Aragon *with ſome Sheep.* Biondi. Habington. Hall.

It was about the end of the Year 1468, or the beginning of 1469, that the Earl of *Warwick* believed himſelf in condition to begin the execution of his Project againſt *Edward*. Since he had quitted the Court, he was ſo forgot, that he was not thought of, unleſs it was neceſſary to ſend him Orders concerning his Government of *Calais*. If he went to *France* the laſt year, as *Monſtrelet*'s Continuator affirms, it is hardly to be doubted that he communicated his Deſigns to *Lewis* XI, and took meaſures with him accordingly. But ſuppoſing he left not *England*, it was not difficult to treat with that Prince by ſecret Emiſſaries. However this be, the Earl paſſionately deſiring to ſhow that he was not to be offended with Impunity, believed it proper to begin with gaining his two Brothers, the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Marquiſs of *Montague*, whoſe Intereſt was the ſame with his. To that end, he repreſented to them the Services they had all three done the King, and the little Account made thereof, ſince their Rewards bore no proportion to what they had done for him: That not content with being ungrateful to all their Family, he had put upon him in particular a grievous Affront in the Affair of his Marriage: That moreover, he had attempted to diſgrace their Family in a manner inſupportable to Men of Honour. In fine, after many other things tending to convince them of the King's Ingratitude, he told them, he was determined to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſhow him, that he who had raiſed him to the Throne was powerful enough to pull him down, and for the execution of this Deſign, deſired their advice and aſſiſtance. The Archbiſhop of *York* was very eaſily led to follow his Brother's Paſſion, but the Marquiſs of *Montague* was not ſo forward to reſolve. He alledged Arguments and Objections which the Earl of *Warwick* anſwered with great vehemence.

1469. *The Earl of* Warwick *draws his Brothers into the Plot to dethrone the King.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

At laſt he was prevailed with, but intimated, it was more out of complaiſance to his Brother than inclination. 1469.

This firſt Step being made, the Earl of *Warwick* addreſſed himſelf to the Duke of *Clarence*, the eldeſt of the King's Brothers. He knew the Duke was diſſatisfied, that the King his Brother had done nothing for him, but given him an empty Title which he did not want: That moreover he had ſeen with extreme Jealouſy the Lord *Scales*, the Queen's Brother, married to the richeſt Heireſs in the Kingdom, without any thought of procuring him ſo advantagious a Match. Theſe Conſiderations cauſing the Earl of *Warwick* to believe, the Duke would gladly embrace an opportunity of being revenged, he imparted to him his Deſign. The Duke was really inclined as the Earl wiſhed him, and, as he burned with deſire to be revenged for the little Affection ſhown him by the King, readily entered into the Plot. The better to confirm him in this reſolution, the Earl of *Warwick* promiſed him his eldeſt Daughter (2) in marriage with a very conſiderable Fortune. All the Hiſtorians affirm, that preſently after this Conference, they went together to *Calais* (3), where the Nuptials were ſolemnized; but do not ſay whether it was privately, or with the King's conſent. What they add, that the Duke and the Earl ſtaid at *Calais* till the Inſurrection, mentioned hereafter, cannot be true. It appears, on the contrary, by ſeveral Papers in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that they were in *England* moſt part of this Year, before the Inſurrection, and even in the King's Favour, who had no Intelligence of their Plot. Nay, it ſeems he began to repent his great Neglect of the Earl of *Warwick*, ſince on the 17th of *Auguſt* he made him Juſticiary of *South-Wales*, and ſome time after, Seneſchal of the whole Country (4).

He engages the Duke of Clarence *in the ſame Deſign.* Hall.

He marries his Daughter to him. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 647.

Notwithſtanding theſe Favours, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Projects began to be executed. In the beginning of *October*, there was a Sedition in *Yorkſhire*, which all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly aſcribe to the ſecret Practices of the Marquiſs of *Montague* (5), and his Brother the Archbiſhop of *York*. The occaſion or pretence, was this. There was at *York* an Hoſpital (6), to the Maintenance whereof the whole County had always contributed, without however being obliged. In time, theſe voluntary Contributions were changed into a kind of Right, wholly founded upon Cuſtom, and for which there were Collectors appointed. They who had been bribed to ſtir up the People, artfully ſpread a report, that the Contributions were miſapplied, and ſerved only to inrich the Directors of the Hoſpital: That beſides, the Hoſpital being ſufficiently endowed, theſe Collections were needleſs. Whereupon the Country People took fire, as if it had been an Affair of the utmoſt Importance. They aſſembled to the number of fifteen thouſand, and killing ſome of the Collectors, marched towards *York*, under the command of one *Robert Huldern*. Upon this news, the Marquiſs of *Montague*, who reſided at *York*, aſſembling a Body of the Citizens, ſallied out upon the Rebels, ſlew a great number, and taking their Leader, ordered his head to be ſtruck off. This conduct would give occaſion to preſume, the Sedition was not raiſed by himſelf, had not his after-Proceedings been leſs ambiguous.

An Inſurrection in Yorkſhire, *raiſed by* Warwick's *Friends.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Montague defeats the Mutineers, and beheads their Leader.

The firſt rumour of this Commotion made the King apprehenſive of the conſequences. Indeed the Cauſe was not very important, but knowing how numerous the *Lancaſtrian* Party ſtill were, he did not doubt that it was raiſed by ſome Lord, Friend to that Houſe. However, he was very far from miſtruſting his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick* to be the chief Authors. Whatever the Iſſue might be, he diſpatched Orders to the Earl of *Pembroke* Governor of *Wales*, to aſſemble all the Forces of thoſe Parts, and keep himſelf ready to march (7). Mean time, the *Yorkſhire* Male-Contents, rather animated than diſcouraged at the ill Succeſs of their firſt attempt, took arms again, and ſet at their head *Henry* Son of the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, and *Henry Neville* Son of the Lord *Latimer*. Theſe two young Leaders had not much experience, but were directed by Sir *John Conyers*, a Perſon of great conduct and valour, and well verſed in the art of War. Their firſt Project was to make themſelves maſters of *York*, but ſuddenly altering their reſolution and rout, they marched towards *London*, not at all doubting that their Army would encreaſe by the way, as it really

Pembroke ordered to raiſe an Army in Wales. Stow. Habington. Hall.

(1) He gave Licence and Liberty for ſome *Coteſwold* Sheep to be tranſported into *Spain*. But the Reader muſt not from hence infer, that there were no Sheep in that Country before: For the contrary is evident, from a Patent of King *Henry* II, granted the 31ſt of his Reign, to the Weavers of *London*, importing, That if any Cloth were found to be made of *Spaniſh* Wool, mixed with *Engliſh* Wool, the Mayor of *London* ſhould ſee it burnt. *Stow*, p. 419.

(2) *Iſabella*. *Hall*, fol. 200. (3) Of which the Earl of *Warwick* was Governor. *Hollingſh*. p. 1319.

(4) ----- Capitalem Juſticiarium Suthwalliæ,---- Camerarium *Suthwalliæ*,---- & Seneſcallum Curiarum & Commotorum, in Comitatibus de Kermerdyn & Cardigan, &c. *Rymer's Fœd*. Tom. 11. p. 647.

(5) *John Nevill*. (6) Dedicated to *St. Leonard*. *Hall*, fol. 201.

(7) He alſo iſſued out Orders, on *Novemb*. 16, to *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Anthony* Earl of *Rivers*, to array, and aſſemble all Perſons able to bear Arms in *Norfolk*, and other parts; and made *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Prior of St. *John's* of *Jeruſalem*, renew their Oaths of Fealty to him. *Rymer's Fœd*. Tom. 11. p. 648, 649, 650.

1469. happened. Then it was that the affair of *York* Hoſpital appeared to have been only a pretence to draw the People together. For the Hoſpital afforded the Seditious no manner of pretence to take the rout to *London*.

The Earl of Pembroke *goes out to meet them. He is joined by the Lord* Stafford. Hall. Habington.

Mean while, the Earl of *Pembroke* having drawn together about ten thouſand Men (1), began his March in queſt of the Male-Contents. He was joined on the road by the Lord *Stafford*, with eight hundred Archers. The two Armies being come near one another, the Earl of *Pembroke* ſent Sir *Richard Herbert* his Brother, with a Detachment (2) to view the Enemy as near as poſſible. Sir *Richard*, who was a very good Officer, executed his Orders with great conduct, without expoſing himſelf however to be attacked. But his Men, who had not his experience, prepoſterouſly imagining, he would loſe a fair opportunity to defeat the Enemies, fell, againſt his Will, upon their Rear. But *Conyers*, who foreſaw it, was ſo well prepared, that the Detachment was routed with great Loſs.

The Earl receives a Loſs. Hall. Hollingſh.

Edward hearing this news, writ to the Earl of *Pembroke* not to be diſcouraged for ſo inconſiderable a Loſs, aſſuring him he would come in perſon and join him, or ſend a ſtrong Reinforcement. Mean while, the Seditious finding they had near them an Army which might daily encreaſe, and fearing to meet the King in the way, reſolved to retire to *Warwick*, where, very likely the Leaders knew, they ſhould be received. But the Earl of *Pembroke*, impatient to have his revenge, marched directly towards them, and forced them to halt near *Banbury*, where the two Armies incamped at a ſmall diſtance one from another (3). Mean time, the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Stafford* quarrelling about an Inn (4), *Stafford* withdrew in the night with his eight hundred Archers. On the morrow, at break of day, the Male-Contents marched in good order to attack the King's Army. They had heard by Deſerters of the Lord *Stafford*'s retreat, and were reſolved to improve it. *Henry Neville* (5), one of their Generals, advancing in order to ingage, for fear the Royaliſts ſhould retire, was fiercely repulſed, made Priſoner, and ſlain in cold blood. This barbarous Action inſpiring the northern Men with a ſort of Fury, they ruſhed upon their Enemies, and notwithſtanding the Valour of Sir *Richard Herbert*, who performed that day Actions extolled by all the Hiſtorians (6), the King's Army was put to rout (7). The Earl of *Pembroke* and his Brothers fell into the hands of the Conquerors, who carrying them to *Banbury*, ordered their Heads to be ſtruck off, in revenge for the Death of Sir *Henry Neville*. After this Victory, the Male-Contents continued their march to *Warwick*. Hitherto the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* had not declared themſelves. It may be, they were gone ſome time before to *Calais*, to avoid the Suſpicion of being concerned in the Inſurrection, in caſe it miſcarried, and to improve it, in caſe of Succeſs.

The Mutineers reſolve to retire to Warwick.

The Earl purſues them.

Stafford *deſerts him.* Hall. Hollingſh.

The King's Army is worſted, and the Earl of Pembroke *beheaded.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Biondi.

The Northamptonſhire *Mutineers behead the Earl of* Rivers. Hollingſh. Hall.

A few days after the Battle of *Banbury*, the People of *Northamptonſhire*, following the Example of the *Yorkſhire* Men, aſſembled in great numbers, under the conduct of one *Robert* of *Riddiſdale* (8). This Multitude, which continually increaſed, tumultuouſly aſſaulting *Grafton*, a Seat belonging to the Earl of *Rivers*, the Queen's Father, ſeized the Earl, and brought him to *Northampton*, where he was beheaded without any form of Law.

The King beheads the Lord Stafford. Hall.

On the other hand, the King juſtly incenſed with the Lord *Stafford* for abandoning the Earl of *Pembroke* upon a frivolous quarrel, and by his retreat occaſioning the loſs of the Battle of *Banbury*, commanded him to be publickly beheaded (9).

The King's Blindneſs in regard to the Earl of Warwick.

The Death of the Earl of *Rivers* ſhould, one would think, have convinced the King, that the Earl of *Warwick*, though abſent, was the real Author of theſe Troubles; ſuppoſing the March of the Male-contents towards *London*, and the Battle of *Banbury* had not been ſufficient to make him ſuſpect it. *Warwick* was ſworn Enemy of the Earl of *Rivers*, he was angry with the King, and the Male-contents had been received without oppoſition into *Warwick*. In a word, theſe People had no reaſon to take Arms againſt *Edward* on account of *York*-Hoſpital, if they had not been privately incouraged by ſome powerful Enemy of the King, who could be no other than the Earl of *Warwick*. For, there was not then in the Kingdom, any Prince of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or any Lord of that Party, of ſufficient power to cauſe theſe Inſurrections. As therefore, *Edward* could not be ignorant of the Diſcontent and great Credit of the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brothers, he ought to have naturally concluded, they were the ſecret Authors. And yet, though it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Earl of *Rivers* was put to death before the 16th of *November*, the King did not clearly ſee till the following *March*, that he had to deal with the Earl of *Warwick*! Strange and inconceiveable Blindneſs! 1469. Act. Pub. XI. p. 649.

1470. *The War ceaſes during the Winter.*

The Sharpneſs of the Seaſon interrupted for ſome time the Civil War lately kindled. Beſides, the King, to whom it was very unexpected, wanted time to prepare. On the other hand, the Male-contents having yet no declared Head, remained quiet, in expectation of more particular Directions.

Embaſſy from France, p. 650.

During this Winter, *Lewis* XI, ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, under colour of renewing the Truce. Probably, his ſole Aim was to be perfectly informed of the Situation of Affairs in that Kingdom. At the ſame time *Edward*, p. 651. deſirous of ſtrengthening his Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſent him the Order of the Garter, which that Prince received at *Bruges*, the 4th of *February*, with great Solemnity.

If the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were at *Calais* during the late Troubles, it is likely, they returned not to *England* till about *February* 1470. For, p. 652. they are not mentioned in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* ſince *Auguſt* the laſt Year. After their return, *Edward* was ſo far from ſuſpecting them, that on the 7th p. 654. of *March* he ſent them, jointly, a Commiſſion to levy Troops againſt the Rebels in the North. Seven Days after, he conferred on the Earl of *Worceſter* the Office of High-Conſtable, vacant by the Death of the Earl of *Rivers*.

Warwick and Clarence declare for the Rebels. Hall.

But, ſhortly after, the King's Eyes were fully opened with regard to the Duke his Brother, and the Earl of *Warwick*. They levied Troops by virtue of his Commiſſion, but not for his Service. Beſides, the Rebels made no ſcruple to own them for their Heads. Thus, both Sides were preparing more than ever to renew the War. Mean time, *Edward* was ſo prepoſſeſſed, that his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick* durſt not appear before him, that he imagined their Deſign was to retire into *Ireland*, of which the Duke of *Clarence* was Lieutenant. In this belief he iſſued out a Proclamation, dated *March* the 23d, forbidding the *Iriſh* to obey the Duke his Brother, and ordering them to apprehend him as well as the Earl of *Warwick*, in caſe they came there. Moreover, he promiſed any Perſon that ſhould take them, a Penſion of a thouſand Pounds Sterling, or the Sum of ten thouſand Pounds in Money, which he would. By the ſame Proclamation, he conferred the Government of *Ireland* upon the Earl of *Worceſter*. Three days after, he gave Orders to levy Troops in all the Counties under his Obedience, which was very diligently performed (10). *The King's Security ill-grounded.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 654. p. 655.

The Duke and Earl levy Troops and join.

But the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were very far from any Thoughts of retiring into *Ireland*. On the contrary, they were very intent upon raiſing Troops, each in different Quarters. At laſt, having advice the King was preparing to march againſt them, they thought proper to join, leſt by remaining ſeparate, they ſhould give him too great an advantage. So, *Edward* when he marched to attack them, found them ready to expect him, and bent to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. However, the Uncertainty of the Iſſue keeping both Sides equally in ſuſpence, ſome of the moſt prudent Lords interpoſed, to procure an Agreement before it came to a deciſion by Arms. The King paſſionately deſired it, becauſe he conſidered he was going to hazard his Crown by the loſs of a Battle, whereas the Victory could procure him no great Advantage. On the other hand, he flattered himſelf, that the Earl of *Warwick* ſeeing him in ſo good Poſture, would be glad, by an honorable Compoſition, to get clear of his preſent ill State. So, thinking the Negotiation could not fail of Succeſs, he neglected to take the uſual Precautions for the defence of his Camp, contrary to the moſt conſtant Maxim of War, that a Man ought never to be more upon his guard, than whilſt he is in Treaty.

The King marches againſt them. Hall. Biondi. Habington.

Talk of an Accommodation.

The King deſires it.

He is negligent during the Negotiation. Hall.

Mean time, the Earl of *Warwick* being informed of the King's Negligence, failed not to take the Advantage. After uſing all poſſible care to hinder his Deſign from be-

The Earl of Warwick *attacks the King unawares.*

(1) *Hall*, (fol. 201.) *Hollingſh.* (p. 1319.) and others, ſay, he had only ſix or ſeven thouſand Men. But *Stow* affirms, he had with him eighteen thouſand Men, and *Humphrey*, Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, ſix thouſand Archers, p. 421.

(2) Of two thouſand Horſe. *Hall*, fol. 201.

(3) Upon *Danes-Moor* near *Hedgecot*, within three Miles of *Banbury*. *Idem.* fol. 202. *Stow*, p. 422.

(4) Where it ſeems a Woman lived, who was a Miſtreſs of the Lord *Stafford*'s. They had agreed too beforehand, that whoever took poſſeſſion of an Inn, ſhould keep it, and not be liable to be turned out. *Hall*, ibid.

(5) Son of the Lord *Latimer*.

(6) With his Pole-Ax in his Hand, he made his way twice through the main Body of his Enemies. *Hall*, fol. 202.

(7) This Battle was fought *July* 26, and there were above five thouſand *Welchmen* ſlain. *Hall*, fol. 202. *Stow*, p. 422.

(8) *Robert Hilliard*, whom they nick-named *Robin* of *Riddeſdale*. *Hollingſh.* p. 1321.

(9) He was beheaded on *Auguſt* 17, at *Bridgewater*, and buried at *Glaſtonbury*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. I. p. 173.

(10) And appointed, on *Auguſt* 26, his Brother *Richard* Duke of *York*, Guardian of the *Weſt-Marches* towards *Scotland*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 658

1470. ing discovered, he marched in the night directly into the King's Camp, and suddenly attacking it, put it in the utmost Confusion. *Edward* himself surprized, like all the rest of his Army, saw himself in the hands of his Enemies, before he could take any measures for his Defence or Escape (1). The victorious Earl no sooner had him in his power, but he caused him to be conducted to *Warwick*. After that, he ordered him to be removed to *Middleham* Castle (2), under Custody of his Brother the Archbishop of *York*, who was no less concerned than he, carefully to guard such a Prisoner.

and takes him Prisoner. Hall. Hollingsh.

This Accident seemed to have ended the War. Indeed *Edward* being a Captive, nothing more appeared that could oppose the two victorious Lords. Wherefore, they so relied on their good fortune, that they disbanded most of their Troops, as not wanting them after this decision. They had only to resolve, in what manner the Government should be settled; for it does not appear, they had any desire to restore *Henry* to the Throne. But an unexpected Event, no less surprizing than what had just happened, broke all their Measures. *Edward* being confined in *Middleham* Castle, in the Custody of the Archbishop of *York*, behaved so obligingly to that Prelate, that he had leave with a small Guard to hunt now and then in the Park. This first Step being taken, he prevailed with one of his Guards to deliver a Letter to two Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, wherein he pointed out to them, what Course they should take to free him. The Gentlemen (3), overjoyed at the opportunity to do the King so great Service, privately assembled their Friends, and lying in ambush near the Park, easily carried him away. *Edward* being at liberty, contrary to all Expectation, immediately repaired to *York*. But he did not long remain there, whether he mistrusted the Inhabitants, or thought it more convenient to be nearer *London*. Be this as it will, he made haste into *Lancashire*, where he found the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlain, who had assembled some Troops. After that, taking a compass, to deceive the Vigilance of the Earl of *Warwick*, he went directly to *London*, where he was received without any difficulty. The Earl of *Warwick* so little expected such a turn, that he had neglected to secure the Metropolis, not imagining it to be in any danger.

Warwick *dismisses his Troops.*

Edward *makes his Escape, and comes to* London. Hall. Hollingsh.

It is easy to conceive the Earl of *Warwick*'s Surprize, when he received this fatal News. The Indiscretion of his Brother the Archbishop, was so very great, that he could not help suspecting him of being bribed. But as it was not then proper to examine his Conduct, he thought only of re-assembling his dispersed Troops, which could not be done in few days. *Edward* was likewise in the same Confusion, since he was without an Army. So, however desirous both were to end their Quarrel by a Battle, they were obliged to stay till their Forces were assembled. In the mean time, some peaceable Lords proposed to renew the Negotiation begun before the King's Imprisonment. The Proposal being accepted, the Mediators judged an Interview of the King, and the two Chiefs of the opposite Party, might conduce to a Peace. In this belief, they so ordered it, that these last came to *Westminster* upon the King's Safe-Conduct. But the Conference had not the desired Effect. It was wholly spent in mutual Reproaches, by which Men are not very apt to be softened.

Warwick *draws his Troops together again.* Hall. Hollingsh.

Edward *does the same.*

Conference at Westminster *of no Effect.* Hall. Hollingsh.

Presently after the Interview, every one prepared for War (4). The Earl of *Warwick* commissioned Sir *Robert Wells*, Son of the Lord *Wells*, to levy Troops in *Lincolnshire*, which he performed with great ease, by reason of his Family's Interest in those Parts. *Edward* having notice of it, sent an express Order to the Lord *Wells*, to come immediately to Court. His design was to oblige him to use his Authority, to perswade his Son to forsake the Rebels. The Lord *Wells* being come to *London*, and hearing how much the King was incensed against his Son, in a dread of feeling himself the Effects of his Resentment, took Sanctuary in *Westminster* Abby. But the King sending him a Safe-Conduct, he immediately came to Court. He even writ to his Son, enjoining him to quit the Earl of *Warwick*'s Party, and dismiss his Troops; but the Son refused to obey. Then *Edward*, inraged at not being able to succeed, ordered the Lord *Wells* to be beheaded, with Sir *Thomas Dymock* his Brother-in-law, who had accompanied him. Probably, he imagined them guilty of Connivance.

The Lord Wells *raises Troops for* Warwick. Hall.

The Lord Wells *is beheaded.* Hall.

This violent Action was very injurious to *Edward*'s reputation, and inspired young *Wells* with a desire of Revenge, which occasioned his own Ruin, and proved extremely prejudicial to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Affairs. The King perceiving that *Wells*'s Troops visibly increased, thought proper to fight him, before he was joined by the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, who were raising Men in other Counties. *Wells* was encamped near *Stamford*, where he might easily have retired; but the desire of revenging his Father's death, made him resolve to expect the King. He fought with an undaunted Courage as long as he was supported by his Troops. At last, finding Victory declared for the King, he would have provoked his Enemies to kill him, but they refused him that favour, and spared his Life only to make him lose it, a few Days after (5), on the Scaffold. In this Battle *Edward* obtained a compleat Victory over his Enemies, of whom ten thousand were slain (6).

1470. *The King defeats young* Wells, *and beheads him.* Hall. Hollingsh. Stow.

Sir *Robert Wells*'s defeat broke all the Measures of the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*. They were not yet ready (7), and the King was now marching to attack them. In this Extremity they found no other remedy than to imbark, in order to screen themselves from the impending Danger (8). The Earl of *Warwick* took his two Daughters with him, the eldest of whom, Wife of the Duke of *Clarence*, was ready to lye-in. His Intent was to retire to his Government of *Calais*, where he had left for his Lieutenant *Vauclair*, a *Gascon* Captain, in whose Fidelity he entirely confided. But how great was his Surprize, when approaching *Calais* he saw the Cannon fired at him! He thought to move *Vauclair* by the consideration of the Duchess of *Clarence*'s Case, who was just delivered in the Ship of a Prince, named *Edward*. But all he could obtain, was a Present of two Bottles of Wine for the Duchess. Mean while, *Vauclair* took care to send this small Present by a trusty Messenger, who told the Earl of *Warwick* from him, that he was still devoted to him, though forced to behave in this manner, the better to serve him, because if he entered the Town, he would not be safe; but he might depend upon his Fidelity. *Edward*, who knew not the Motive of *Vauclair*'s Proceedings, was so pleased with his Conduct, that he gave him the Government of *Calais*, to which the Duke of *Burgundy*, of his own accord, added a yearly Pension of a thousand Crowns.

Clarence *and* Warwick *retire into* France. Commin. Hall.

Vauclair *refuses them Entrance into* Calais. Commin. Hollingsh. Hall.

He is made Governor of Calais.

Warwick seeing himself thus repulsed, steered his Course to *Dieppe*, where he safely landed with the Duke of *Clarence*, and his two Daughters. A few Days after, they departed from thence to wait upon the King of *France*, then at *Amboise*, who received them very civilly. *Lewis*, as I before observed, would not concern himself with the Affairs of *England*, when *Edward* and *Henry* were contending for the Crown. But when he saw the strict Alliance between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he found it equally his Interest to labour the ruin of both. To this reason of State was added, the desire of revenging the Affront put upon him by *Edward*, on account of his Marriage. In short, the Assistance *Edward* would have given the Duke of *Bretagne*, evidently showed, so long as he was on the Throne, the *French* Princes would ever find in him a Protector. All these reasons together moved *Lewis*, not only to receive the fugitive *English*, but moreover to promise them a powerful Aid. For, nothing could be to him more agreeable, and withal, more advantagious, than to see the Civil War re-kindled in *England*. Nay, very probably, he had already taken, for that purpose, private measures with the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl would never have ventured to declare against *Edward*, had he not been secure of this Assistance. However that be, an opportunity naturally offering to create *Edward*, in his own Country, Troubles which would prevent his interposing in the Affairs of his Neighbours, he sent for Queen *Margaret* to Court (9), who, some Years since was retired to the King of *Sicily* her Father. It was the Earl of *Warwick* that had been Author of all that Princess's Misfortunes, and the Earl, on his part, looked upon her as his mortal Enemy. And yet, their common Interest requiring them to stifle their Animosity, *Lewis* very easily reconciled them. At present, they could hardly proceed without each other. *Warwick* perceived, he wanted a pretence to dethrone the King, and could find none more plausible than *Henry*'s Resto-

The Duke and Earl go to Lewis XI. Commin. Biord'. Hollingsh.

who promises them Aid. Hall.

Queen Margaret *is reconciled with them.* Hall. Contin. Monstrelet.

(1) This happened at a Place called *Wolney*, four Miles from *Warwick*. *Hall*, fol. 202. *Hollingsh.* p. 1321.
(2) In *Yorkshire*. See above, p. 581. Note (6). (3) Sir *William Stanly* and Sir *Thomas Burgh*. *Hall*, fol. 203.
(4) The King retired to *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Clarence* and Earl to *Warwick*. *Idem*. fol. 204.
(5) *March* 13. *Stow*, p. 422.
(6) This Battle was fought near *Stamford*, not *Strafford*, as *Rapin* says by mistake, and from the *Lincolnshire* Men throwing off their Coats, in order to run away the lighter, was called, *The Battle of Lose-Coat Field*. *Hall*, fol. 204. *Hollingsh.* p. 1322.
(7) They intended to march the next Day. *Hall*, ibid. *Hollingsh.* p. 1322.
(8) They repaired to *Exeter*, and, after a short Stay there, hired a Ship at *Dartmouth*, and embarked for *France*. *Hall*, fol. 204. This was done in *May*. The Continuator of *Monstrelet* says, they went away with fourscore Vessels, and landed in *Normandy* at *Harfleur*, fol. 164.
(9) *Hall* says, she came thither of her own accord, attended by *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who, after a long Imprisonment in *England*, had escaped into *France*, fol. 206.

ration,

1470. ration, which he could not endeavour, without being united with the Queen. On the other hand, the Queen ſaw this to be the only way to reſtore the King her Huſband, or rather herſelf, to the Throne. So, beholding a ray of hope from that quarter, ſhe readily received her old Enemy for Protector. Their Reconciliation therefore was made by the King of *France*'s mediation, upon theſe Terms: That the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould endeavour to reſtore *Henry* to the Throne: That the Queen ſhould promiſe with an Oath to leave the Government of the Kingdom in their hands during the King's Life, and the Prince his Son's Minority, in caſe he came to the Crown before he was of age: Laſtly, To ſtrengthen their Union, the Prince of *Wales* ſhould marry the Earl of *Warwick*'s youngeſt Daughter (1). The laſt Article was immediately executed. Thus the Brother of King *Edward* (2) became Brother-in-law of the youug Prince of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick* was equally allied to both Houſes.

The Terms of Reconciliation. Hall. fol. 207. Hollingſh.

The Duke of Burgundy *warns* Edward *of it.* Commin. Hall.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had good Spies at the Court of *France*, being informed of theſe Tranſactions, gave *Edward* warning, who was very unconcerned. He could never believe, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was forced to quit the Kingdom for want of ſupport, would be powerful enough, in his abſence, to cauſe the People to riſe in his favour. As for the Preparations in *France*, they gave him no uneaſineſs, being ſenſible how difficult it is for a foreign Nation to conquer *England*, if the People themſelves don't aſſiſt. Thus, reaſoning upon very doubtful grounds, namely, the People's Affection, and the Earl of *Warwick*'s little Credit, he neglected his principal Affair, to abandon himſelf to Voluptuouſneſs and Senſuality, to which he was extremely inclined.

Edward gains the Duke of Clarence. Commin. Hall. Biondi. Habington.

What gave him moſt Uneaſineſs was to ſee the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother ſtrictly united with his Enemies. This Union had already produced ill effects, and might in time produce worſe. He believed therefore, to make himſelf eaſy, he ought to endeavour to gain his Brother to his Intereſt. To that end he bribed one of the Ducheſs of *Clarence*'s Women, and inſtructing her in the part ſhe was to act, granted her a Paſſport, to go to her Miſtreſs. This Woman departing for *Paris*, paſſed through *Calais*, where ſhe ſaw the Governor without telling him the Secret. It was very happy for *Edward* that *Vauclair*, who was in the Intereſts of the Earl of *Warwick*, was not acquainted with the Affair; for he would have entirely diſcovered all. When the Woman came to her Miſtreſs, ſhe very artfully and ſucceſsfully diſcharged her Commiſſion. She repreſented to the Duke of *Clarence* from the King his Brother, "That the Courſe he "was taking muſt end in his own Ruin: That ſuppoſing "the deſigns he had formed with the Earl of *Warwick* "ſhould ſucceed to his Wiſh, he could not expect, the "Houſe of *Lancaſter* would put any truſt in a Prince of "the Houſe of *York*, when there was no farther need of "him: That his very Life would be in danger: That "inſtead of relying on the Queen's Oath, he ought ra"ther to conſider it as a Snare to ſurpriſe him: That "the Earl of *Warwick* would be the firſt to oppreſs him, "as well to free himſelf from a Collegue in the Govern"ment, as to be rid of a Prince, who might one day "have it in his Power to revenge the Injuries done "to his Houſe: That on the other hand, the King "his Brother having only a young Daughter, whom "Death might eaſily ſnatch out of the world, he was "next Heir to the Crown: But if the Houſe of *Lancaſ*"*ter* was reſtored, he would loſe all hopes of mounting "the Throne, ſince *Henry*'s Son very poſſibly would "have a numerous Iſſue." To theſe reaſons, which were very ſtrong, ſhe added Motives taken from the Ties of Blood, ſome Excuſes from the King, with a poſitive Promiſe to conſider him for the future as his real Brother and the chief ſupport of their Family. A Man muſt have wanted common ſenſe not to yield to ſuch convincing Arguments. The Duke of *Clarence* ſeeing at laſt his true Intereſts, charged the Woman to tell his Brother, he would not fail to declare for him, when he could do it with ſafety and probability of rendering him a conſiderable ſervice. *Edward* being informed how the Duke of *Clarence* ſtood affected, grew perfectly eaſy, believing the Earl of *Warwick*'s future Attempts would be fruitleſs, when no longer ſeconded by the Duke his Son-in-law. It muſt be confeſſed, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Policy was very extraordinary, in making the Duke of *Clarence* an Inſtrument to ruin the King his Brother. He muſt have ſuppoſed, the Duke would openly act againſt his own Intereſt, which was not to be expected from the moſt ſtupid of Men. And indeed, he was afterwards very ſenſible, when it was too late, that he had taken falſe meaſures. 1470.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt *Edward* lived in a deceitful ſecurity, the Earl of *Warwick* was preparing to return into *England*. He was ſure of finding a powerful Party, to which were joined all the Friends of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, whom he had taken care to acquaint with his deſign. *Lewis* XI furniſhed him, though ſparingly, with Money and Troops. As far as can be judged, that Monarch's ſole Aim was to foment diſcord among the *Engliſh*, to prevent their interpoſing in his Affairs. He ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of ſubduing the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, in which he thought he could not ſucceed, ſo long as theſe two Princes might expect the Protection of *England*. Mean while, to facilitate the Earl of *Warwick*'s deſcent, he ordered the Baſtard of *Bourbon* to convoy him with ſome Ships of War; but it was not eaſy to paſs into *England*. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Fleet, much ſtronger than that of *France*, waited in the Mouth of the *Seine* to ingage the *French* if they ſailed, and it was not likely, the Baſtard of *Bourbon* would venture upon ſo unequal a Fight. Notwithſtanding this, the Earl of *Warwick* repaired to *Havre de Grace*, to be ready to embrace any opportunity that ſhould offer. This precaution was not in vain. Some days after his Arrival, a violent Storm ſo diſperſed the *Flemiſh* Ships, that not being able to keep the Sea, they were forced to retire to their Ports. The Storm being over, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* ſet ſail and arrived at *Dartmouth* (3), from whence they had paſſed into *France* four or five Months before.

The Earl of Warwick *comes into* England. Commin. Mezerai. Hall. Con. Mon.

Commin.

The News of their landing was ſo far from alarming *Edward*, that he rejoiced at it. Poſſeſſed with the Notion that it was impoſſible for the Earl of *Warwick* to accompliſh his deſigns, he fancied he could wiſh for nothing more advantagious, than to ſee his Enemy come and deliver himſelf into his hands. Thus poſſeſſed, he deſired the Duke of *Burgundy* to continue his Fleet at Sea, to hinder the Earl of *Warwick*'s eſcape. But the Duke of *Burgundy* thought otherwiſe of this Expedition. He could not believe ſo prudent a Perſon as the Earl of *Warwick*, would have thus ventured, if he had not been ſure of a Party in *England* capable of ſupporting him. And indeed *Warwick* had no ſooner landed his Men, but he ſaw himſelf at the head of an Army, which in a few days increaſed to ſixty thouſand. Immediately he cauſed *Henry* VI to be proclaimed, publiſhing an Order in his name, for all his Subjects from ſixteen to ſixty, to take arms and expel the Tyrant and Uſurper.

Edward's *ill-grounded Security.* Commin. Hall.

Warwick *has an Army of ſixty thouſand Men.* Hall.

So unexpected an Event opened *Edward*'s Eyes, and ſhowed him the Folly of his expectations. Mean time, he gave Orders to levy Troops, and appointed the Rendezvous about *Nottingham* (4). Some affirm, his Army was more numerous than the Earl of *Warwick*'s. Others again ſay, it was much inferior, and this indeed is moſt probable (5). For, had *Edward* been ſuperior in number of Troops, he would moſt certainly have marched to his Enemies; whereas upon their approach he retired towards the Sea. The News he received, that the Marquiſs of *Montague*, who commanded in the North, had declared againſt him, troubled him exceedingly, apprehenſive as he was, that this defection would be followed by many others. He wanted to avoid a Battle, but knew not where to retire, becauſe he was ignorant who were his real Friends. At length, he encamped near *Lynn*, a little maritime Town in *Lincolnſhire* (6), and lodged in the Caſtle. This precaution, though perhaps taken without deſign, proved of great ſervice. The Earl of *Warwick* being come within three Miles of his Army, cauſed the cry of *King Henry! King Henry!* to be every where reſounded. And the ſame cry, by ſome unknown practices, began likewiſe to be heard in *Edward*'s Camp. Whereupon he commanded the Caſtle Gates to be ſhut, and the Bridge to be ſtrongly guarded, whilſt a Council was held to conſider of what was to be done. But the Shoutings, which grew louder in his Army, not affording him time to deliberate, he ſaw no other remedy than to imbark with four or five hundred of the moſt truſty Men (7), on board three ſmall Veſſels which had ſerved to bring Proviſions for his Army. The Lord *Haſtings* placed himſelf in the Rear, to withſtand the efEdward *raiſes Troops likewiſe.* Ibid.

Montague *deſerts him.* Stow. Commin.

Edward *retires into* Lincolnſhire. Hall.

He is purſued. Hall.

He imbarks and goes for Holland. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

(1) Named *Ann*.
(2) *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who had married *Iſabella* the eldeſt Daughter.
(3) *September* 13. *Stow*, p. 422.
(4) And marched towards that Place, attended by his Brother the Duke of *York*, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, the Lord *Scales*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 208.
(5) *Hall* obſerves, that of them who were ſent for, few in effect came, and yet more came than were willing, and more came willingly than were truſted, fol. 208
(6) It is in *Norfolk*. See *Camden*, &c.
(7) About ſeven or eight hundred; among whom was the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Scales*, &c. *Commines*, l. 11. c. 5. *Hall*, fol. 209. *Hollingſh*. p. 1324.

forts

1470. sorts of the Soldiers, in case they attempted to oppose the King's flight, and when all were embarked, went himself on board one of the Ships (1).

He is in danger of being taken by Pirates, but is delivered by the Lord Gruthuyse. Commin. Hall.

Edward being reduced to this sad condition, ordered his Ships to steer for *Holland*, not knowing where to retire, except into the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother-in-law. Whilst he was beating the Seas, his Ships were descryed by eight Corsairs of the *Low-Countries* or *Germany*, whom the *English* called *Easterlings*, from their Country lying Eastward of *England*. Immediately these Corsairs gave chace to the three Ships, but as these were the more light, they had time to get into *Alcmar* Road at low-Water, which hindered the Corsairs from pursuing them any farther, because they durst not come so near the Shore. Mean while they anchored in sight, designing to attack them at high-Water. In this extremity, *Edward* had no other refuge than to make Signals to implore the protection of the Country. Happily for him, the Lord *Gruthuyse*, of whom I have before spoken, being then Governor of *Holland*, chanced to be at *Alcmar*. When he was told, these Ships desired assistance, he sent a Sloop to know what they were. As soon as he heard the King of *England* was there, he sent an order to the Corsairs not to approach, on pain of incurring the Duke his master's indignation. These people, though so near their prey, not durst disobey. They too often wanted the Governor's protection, to displease him. So, *Gruthyse* went himself in a Sloop to wait on the King, and paid him all the respect due to him. *Edward* not having money to reward the master of the vessel that brought him over, made him a present of a rich robe lined with Sables. After that he was conducted to the *Hague*, where *Gruthuyse* bore his Expences, till he had received the Duke of *Burgundy*'s orders.

Commin.

Mean while, the Queen, who was at *London*, hearing of the King's flight, took sanctuary in *Westminster* Abbey (2), where she was followed by a great number of *Yorkists*. There she was delivered (3) of a Prince called *Edward*, born Heir of a noble Kingdom, at the very time it was lost by his Father (4). Whilst *Edward*'s friends were in the utmost consternation, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*, victorious without drawing their Swords, were marching to *London*, where they entered in triumph the beginning of *October*. On the 6th of the same month (5) the Earl of *Warwick*, attended by several Lords and a great crowd of people, went to the *Tower* and freed King *Henry*, who had been Prisoner six Years.

1470. *The Queen flies for Sanctuary.* Hall. Stow. Clarence *and* Warwick *come to* London *and free King* Henry. Hollingsh.

Whilst these things were transacting, the populace of *Kent* flocking together marched directly to *London*, with design to inrich themselves with the plunder of the City. But the Earl of *Warwick* meeting them with part of his Troops, easily repulsed this multitude, and ordered the most mutinous to be executed. He could not however prevent their plundering *Southwark*, parted from the City by the *Thames*.

Sedition in Kent. Hall. Hollingsh.

The Tumult being appeased, *Henry* was solemnly proclaimed, as remounting the Throne. Next day there was a Procession, at which the new King, assisted with his Crown on his head (6), and followed by an innumerable crowd of people, who by their Acclamations shewed their Approbation of the late Revolution. Thus the Earl of *Warwick* had the Honour of restoring *Henry* to the Throne, after having deposed him, and of pulling down *Edward*, who had been raised entirely by his means. Wherefore, he was commonly called, *The King-Maker*.

Henry *is restored to the Throne.* Hall. Hollingsh.

HENRY VI. Restored.

Montague *is made President of the North.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 665. Hall.

THE new King's first care, or rather the Earl of *Warwick*'s, who governed in his name, was to restore the Marques of *Montague* to the Government of the northern Counties, which *Edward* had taken from him, and given to the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother. Then, a Parliament was called for the 26th of *November*, to confirm the new Revolution.

Remark upon the Parliaments.

This was a necessary Formality to satisfy the people, though the Parliament's Confirmation was of no great weight in an Affair transacted without it, and in which it could make no alteration. The same thing happened when *Edward* mounted the Throne. The contrary Resolutions of the Parliaments, in regard to the Quarrel between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, clearly shew, these Assemblies acted not with freedom, but were swayed by the Events which happened before their deliberations. It is in vain therefore to urge the Authority of the Parliaments in support of the Rights of either House. Their Determinations are properly of no force, since they had not the liberty to judge according to their Undestanding; unless it is said, their Understanding directed them always to side with the strongest.

Edward *declared a Traitor and Usurper.*

An extraordinary Act to settle the Succession. Hall. Hollingsh.

Be this as it will, the Parliament voted *Edward* a Traitor and Usurper of the Crown, confiscated all his paternal Estate, and annulled all the Statutes made in his Reign, as wanting a lawful Authority.

By another Act, the Crown was confirmed upon *Henry* VI, and his Male-Heirs. But in default of such Heirs, the Crown was to descend to the House of *York*, that is, to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Heirs; *Edward*, eldest Son of the late Duke of *York*, being excluded for his Rebellion. Here would be a large field to expatiate upon the unlimited Authority of the Parliaments, if the Statute had been made with freedom, and after mature deliberation. But it is easy to see the little Freedom there was in this Parliament, if it is considered, this Act was only a bare Confirmation of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Engagements. Moreover, out of pure condescension for the Earl, or rather by his direction, and contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, it was not scrupled to deprive the Daughters of the House of *Lancaster*, of a Right enjoyed by the Princesses of the Royal Family, ever since the *Norman* Conquest. Thus, by a hasty Resolution, was established in *England* a kind of *Salic* Law, which the *English* had so much censured and derided, when *Edward* III, and *Philip de Valois* were contending for the Crown of *France*. This same Parliament restored to all their Honours and Rights, *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, Half-Brother to *Henry*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, who were attainted under *Edward*.

Moreover, in consequence of Queen *Margaret*'s Engagements at *Amboise*, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were declared and appointed Governors of the Kingdom. By this, the Parliament manifestly supposed *Henry*'s Inability, who indeed was considered only as the Shadow of a King. A Pardon was likewise granted to the Marques of *Montague*, for his crime in serving *Edward*; since by deserting him at so critical a time, he was the principal Cause of his Flight. But this was not all. To give the Earl of *Warwick* a plausible pretence to be revenged on his private Enemies, all that had born arms in defence of *Edward*'s pretended Right, were declared Traytors and Rebels (7). By virtue of this Act, *John Tiptoft* Earl of *Worcester*, Governor of *Ireland*, and High-Constable of *England*, having been found hid in a hollow Tree (8), was brought to *London* and beheaded (9). By these Acts of private revenge, the Nobles of the opposite Party were forced, as one may

The Duke and Earl declared Governors of the Kingdom. Hollingsh. Hal.

(1) Thus, as *Hall* observes, King *Edward* embarked (on *October* 3.) without Bag or Baggage, without Cloth, Sack, or Mail, and perchance with a great Purse, and little Treasure, fol. 208. *Stow*, p. 422.
(2) On *October* 1. She went thither privately from the Tower, by Water. *Stow*, p. 422.
(3) *November* 4. *Sandford*, p. 425.
(4) His Godfathers were, the Abbot, and Prior of *Westminster*, and the Lady *Scrope* stood Godmother. *Hall*, fol. 210. *Hollingshead.*
(5) The 12th, according to *Hall*, fol. 210, and *Hollingshead*, p. 1325. *Stow* says, it was the 6th, p. 422.
(6) On *October* 25. He came from the Tower, dressed in a long Gown of blue Velvet, to St. *Paul*'s Church; attended by the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Stanley*, &c. and from thence went to the Bishop of *London*'s Palace, where he kept his Court. *Hall*, fol. 210. *Hollingshead*, p. 1325.
(7) And it was enacted, That extreme Punishment should be done without delay, on such of King *Edward*'s Adherents, as were apprehended, and were either in Captivity, or went at large upon trust of their Sureties. *Hall*, 210.
(8) In the Forest of *Waibridge* in *Huntingdonshire*. *Stow*, p. 423.
(9) On *Tower-Hill*, and buried at the *Black-friers*. *Ibid.*

1470. say, to seek for safety in Arms. Perhaps this is one of the principal causes of several Revolutions which had already, and which afterwards happened.

The Earl of Richmond *presented to the King.* Henry's *pretended Prophecy.* Hall. Hollingsh.

Shortly after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl of *Pembroke* went for *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* his Nephew, who had concealed himself in *Wales* (1), and brought him to the King. It is pretended, *Henry* stedfastly fixing his Eyes upon that young Prince, foretold, he should one Day mount the Throne, and put an end to the Quarrel of the two Houses. But I do not know whether this fact be so well proved, as some Historians affirm. There seems to be reason to presume, it was invented in the Reign of *Henry* VII, whilst the Canonization of *Henry* VI was solliciting at *Rome*. For, the chief cause of the Pope's opposition, was, that though he was willing to own *Henry* VI for a good Man, he could not see in his Life any proof of an eminent Sanctity. So, this pretended Prophecy, if it had been well attested, would have been very proper to remove the Objection.

A Grant to the Archbishop of York. Act. Pub. XI. p. 669.

The Earl of *Warwick* having forgiven the Archbishop of *York* his Brother, for letting *Edward* escape, procured him a Grant of *Woodstock* Park, and many other Manors (2), with the confiscation of the Estates of several Persons condemned for Rebellion, that is, for having served *Edward*.

The Duke of Burgundy's *Trouble about* Edward. Commin. Hall.

I left *Edward* at the *Hague* in a very melancholy State, deprived of his Kingdom, and living at the expence of the Lord *Gruthuyse*, till the Duke of *Burgundy* was informed of his case. The news of the King his Brother-in-law's arrival in his Dominions, was by no means pleasing to the Duke. *Philip de Commines* affirms, he would have been less uneasy at the news of his Death. For, in that case, he would have had but one course to take; namely, to approve of *Henry*'s Restoration. But *Edward* being alive and in *Holland*, could not but throw him into great perplexity. He had made an Alliance with him not out of Affection, but solely for reasons of State. He had sacrificed to his Interest his Aversion for the House of *York*; an Aversion wherein he had been educated by Mother, Daughter of a Princess of the House of *Lancaster*. Mean while, he was reduced to the sad Necessity either of deserting his Brother-in-law, who was come for refuge into his Dominions, or of exposing himself, in protecting him, to the danger of drawing upon him the united Forces of *France* and *England*. On the other hand, the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset*, who made a different sort of figure at his Court from what they did before this Revolution, earnestly pressed him to abandon *Edward*, and threatned him, in case of Refusal, with the Indignation of *England*. Moreover, the Earl of *Warwick* had now sent to *Calais* a Body of Troops, which only waited for orders to join the *French*, and invade some Province of the *Low-Countries*. *Vauclair* had not only received these Tooops into the Town, but by many other Steps had shewn, that he was far from being unfaithful to
L. 3. c. 6. the Earl of *Warwick*. *Philip de Commines* relates, that the Duke his Master having sent him to *Calais*, for a Confirmation of the Truce of Commerce between that Place and the *Low-Countries*, found the Governor, Garrison, and Townsmen entirely for *Henry* (3). He adds, that he saw no other way to succeed in his Negotiation than to tell the Inhabitants of *Calais*, that the Truce being made with *England*, and not with *Edward*'s Person (4), the change of King was not a sufficient motive to break it. By that, he intimated his Master disliked not the Revolution.

Posture of the Duke of Burgundy's *Affairs.*

It is certain, it greatly concerned that Prince to keep fair with the *English*. But the better to understand his embarassment caused by *Edward*'s retreat into his Dominions, it will be necessary to know the Situation of his Affairs. By the Treaty, *Lewis* XI signed at *Peronne*, he promised to give in Appennage to the Duke of *Berry* his Brother, *Champagne* and *Brie* in lieu of *Normandy*, which he had taken from him. He was not a little embarrassed by this Ingagement. He plainly perceived, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Aim was to have Prince *Charles* for neighbour, to be able by his means to stir up Commotions in *France* whenever he pleased. But for the same reason he himself wanted to keep his Brother at a distance from the Duke. For that purpose, he tried to persuade the Duke of *Berry* to accept of *Guienne* and *Rochelle*, instead of *Champagne*, and, to succeed in this Project, bribed all those who had any influence upon him. The Duke of *Burgundy* being informed of this design, opposed it to the utmost of his power, by representing to the Duke of *Berry*, how much that Exchange would be to his prejudice. But perceiving these Reasons to be ineffectual, he insinuated to him, by private Emissaries, that, if he demanded his only Daughter in Marriage, he would certainly obtain her, and might, to prevent his Brother's Opposition, retire into *England* till the Marriage was concluded. This Negotiation had been carried so far, that *Edward*, at the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Instance, had ordered a Safe-Conduct to be dispatched for that Prince. But these measures were broken, because the Duke of *Berry*, persuaded by his treacherous Counsellors, determined at last to accept of the Exchange offered by the King his Brother. 1470. Act. Pub. XI. p. 644.

Upon this the Duke of *Burgundy* listened but coldly to the proposal of the Marriage, which could no longer be subservient to his Designs. Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable *de St. Pol*, who were deeply concerned in the Negotiation (5), were extremely desirous of its Success. As they loved not the King, they considered, this Marriage would be an infallible means to keep up, between the two Brothers, a Dissension from which they hoped to reap great Advantages. There was nothing wanting but the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Consent, and as they saw he had no Inclination, they undertook to obtain it by an extraordinary method. They pretended to be dissatisfied with the Duke, and advised the King of *France* to make War upon him, promising to assist him to the utmost of their power. Their Aim was to offer the Duke, when he should come to be pressed, to espouse his Quarrel, on condition he would give his Daughter to the Duke of *Guienne*. *Lewis* XI desired nothing more than to see the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* at variance. Besides, he most passionately wished to take from the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Towns upon the *Somme*, delivered to him by the Treaty of *Conflans*. He would not however have attempted to make war upon him, for fear the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable should have raised Disturbances in the Kingdom, whilst he was elsewhere employed. But when he thought himself safe from that quarter, he immediately resolved upon the War, as having no Intelligence of their Plot. Before he declared himself, he sent private Emissaries to the Towns he wanted to recover, to win the principal Burghers to his Interest. It must be observed, that the Duke of *Burgundy* kept but slender Garrisons in his Towns, and upon the Peace, disbanded his Troops to ease his Subjects. Commin. Commin. Argentre.

Lewis having laid all his Plots, assembled the Estates at *Tours* in *March* 1470, where, upon frivolous Complaints brought by the Earl of *Eu* against the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was summoned before the Court of Peers, and the Citation was sent by a Summoner of the Parliament. The Duke not appearing, War was proclaimed against him, and *St. Quentin* taken, where the Constable *de St. Pol* entered without opposition. *Amiens* opened her Gates to the King by the like Practices, and the Duke was also very near losing *Abbeville*. Lewis XI. *declares War against* Burgundy. Mezerai.

Such was the Situation of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Affairs, when *Edward* came for refuge into his Country. He saw himself unexpectedly attacked by the King of *France*, and presently after the Earl of *Warwick* sent (6) four thousand Men to *Calais* to join the *French*, or make a Diversion. So, the Duke could do nothing more prejudicial to his Interest, than exasperate the Earl of *Warwick* by protecting *Edward*. It is not therefore strange, if *Edward* endured some mortifications during his retreat. It was necessary for the Duke of *Burgundy*'s interest, that it should be thought in *England*, he was sorry to see him, and had no inclination to protect him. But in private, he promised to give him assistance as soon as he could do it with safety. *The Duke is afraid of incensing the Earl of* Warwick. Commin.

This policy did not serve *Edward*'s turn. He could have wished, the Duke of *Burgundy* would have openly declared for him, imagining such a declaration would have greatly conduced to the support of his party in *England*. At last, finding the Duke remained firm to his resolution, and his Duchess's sollicitations made no impression upon him, he demanded a private Audience. As the Duke could not refuse it, he represented to him, "That a "longer delay was extremely prejudicial to him: That "he lost his friends and creatures in *England*, whilst the "Earl of *Warwick* was daily strengthning himself in his "usurped power: That therefore there was no medium be-"tween assisting him speedily, and abandoning him to his "ill-fortune. Then he imparted to him his Brother the Commin. Edward's *Discourse with the Duke of* Burgundy.

(1) He went into *Wales* to visit his County of *Pembroke*, where he found *Henry*, then between nine and ten Years old, who was kept in a manner like a Captive, but well and honourably educated by the Lady *Herbert*, Relict of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*. *Hall*, fol. 211.

(2) *Hanburgh*, *Wotton*, and *Stonesfeld*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 669.

(3) He found they all wore the Earl of *Warwick*'s Badge, and on every Door were set white Crosses and ragged Staves. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 6. *Hall*, fol. 212.

(4) Whom he reported to be dead. See *Commines*, l. 3. c. 6.

(5) The Earl of St. *Pol* had a yearly Pension of thirty thousand Livres from the King of *France*. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 420.

(6) He intended to send them, but was dissuaded from it by the Merchants of the *Staple*; who were then Persons of great Authority, and had a great Influence upon the Affairs of the Nation. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 6.

1470. "Duke of *Clarence*'s promiſes, adding, it was abſolutely "neceſſary to make haſte, leſt that Prince, who was na- "turally inconſtant, ſhould alter his mind, or the Earl of "*Warwick* diſcovering his deſign, hinder him from ex- "ecuting it, by removing him from the Government. "To theſe reaſons, which concerned him in particular, "he added the conſideration of their mutual oath, where- "by they were bound to give each other proofs of a ſin- "cere friendſhip and a ready aſſiſtance, in caſe of ne- "ceſſity. Moreover, he intreated him to reflect, that "in acting for him, he was alſo labouring for his own "family, which might one day ſtand in need of aſſiſtance; "not to reckon the honour which would redound to "him, by reſtoring a King his Brother-in-law to the "Throne. Finally, he poſitively promiſed to enter into "a ſtrict alliance with him againſt *France*, the moment "he was reſtored; adding, that ſuch a league was the "right way to reſiſt their common enemy. He concluded "with repreſenting, that diſſimulation would never be "able to produce the effect he intended, ſince it would not "hinder *Lewis* and the Earl of *Warwick* from jointly en- "deavouring to ruin him."

The Duke of Burgundy reſolves to aſſiſt Edward. Commin. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *Burgundy* was moved with this diſcourſe. He perceived, that in effect there was no medium in the alternative propoſed to him by *Edward*. Above all, he ſeriouſly conſidered what that Prince had ſaid in the laſt place, that he could not hope to repulſe the attacks of the King of *France*, without the aſſiſtance of *England*, which could be expected only by *Edward*'s reſtoration. That on the contrary, by deſerting him, he would run the risk of ſeeing *France* and *England* unite all their forces againſt him. But on the other hand, he conſidered, he could give *Edward* but a very ſmall aid, conſidering the preſent poſture of his own affairs. That it was to be feared this attempt happening to miſcarry, he ſhould furniſh the Earl of *Warwick* with a plauſible pretence to attack him. In this perplexity, he deviſed an expedient, whereby he imagined he could at once ſalve the appearances with *Warwick*, and give ſome ſmall aſſiſtance to the fugitive King. He equipped four large Ships at *Vere*, a free Port in *Zealand*, in other Perſons names, who were furniſhed with Money. Moreover, he privately hired fourteen Ships of the *Eaſterlings*, to convoy the King into *England*, and to keep upon the Coaſt a fortnight after his landing, to conduct him back in caſe of neceſſity. Then, giving *Edward* a good ſum of money (1), he left him in *Holland*, and went himſelf into *Flanders*. When all theſe Ships were ready, *Edward* diſappearing, notice was ſent to the Duke, who immediately ordered Proclamation to be made, that none of his Subjects ſhould aſſiſt him directly or indirectly upon pain of Death. It is likely, if *Edward*'s attempt had miſcarried, the Earl of *Warwick* would not have been deceived by this Artifice.

Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

Commin.

Warwick has ſome Intimations of Edward's Deſign. Act. Pub. XI. p. 676.

Whatever care was taken by *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy* to conceal their deſigns, the Earl of *Warwick* had received ſome intelligence of them. It was too much for his intereſt to have good Spies in *Holland*, to neglect ſo neceſſary a precaution. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 21ſt of *December* the Marqueſs of *Montague* had orders to levy Troops in the North, on pretence of a Rebellion (2), not mentioned by the Hiſtorians. Probably, it was only a farther precaution taken by the Earl of *Warwick*, upon ſome general advices of a Plot forming in *Holland*.

1471. *He is made High-Admiral.* p. 679. Clarence *levies Troops.* p. 680.

The 2d of *January* 1471, the Earl of *Warwick* was made High-Admiral. Doubtleſs, he did not dare to truſt others with the care of equipping a Fleet, which he foreſaw would be wanted, if the Duke of *Burgundy* attempted to aſſiſt *Edward* with open force. The advices from *Holland* being ſomething more certain than hitherto, the Duke of *Clarence*, who was by no means ſuſpected of holding intelligence with his Brother, was commiſſioned to raiſe an army to oppoſe his deſigns in caſe he ſhould return into the Kingdom.

Truce between England and France. p. 667, 681. 683.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the Earl of *Warwick* made haſte to conclude with *Lewis* XI an alliance, projected ſome time before. But as it was difficult, to make an alliance with a Prince actually in War with *England*, and as a Peace could not be concluded by reaſon of *Henry*'s pretenſions to the Crown of *France*, a long Truce was reſolved upon, almoſt equivalent to a Peace. In the Treaty upon this occaſion, it was agreed the Truce ſhould laſt till one of the two parties deſired to break it, in which caſe he was to give the other five years notice, and the Truce was to continue ten years without being revocable (3). It was farther agreed, that a place ſhould be appointed to treat of a final Peace. *Lewis* XI, was pleaſed, I know not for what reaſon, that the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother ſhould be particularly included in the Truce.

1471. p. 690.

The ſame day the Treaty was ſigned, the grand Prior of the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* ſet out for *France*, to bring home Queen *Margaret* and the Prince of *Wales*.

p. 693.

Grants to the Duke of Clarence, &c. p. 693, 700. p. 699, 700.

Shortly after, the Earl of *Warwick*, out of affection to the Duke of *Clarence* his Son-in-law, or to attach that Prince the more to the King's ſide, reſtored him the Government of *Ireland*, with ſeveral Manors in *England*, forfeited by *Edward*'s adherents. The Marqueſs of *Montague*, and *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, had likewiſe a ſhare in the King's favours.

Edward *ſets Sail.* Commin. Habington. Hollingſh.

Mean while, *Edward* having finiſhed all his preparations, ſailed from the Port of *Vere* about the middle of *March* (4), bringing with him two thouſand Men. He diſimbarked at *Ravenſpur* (5), where *Henry* IV had formerly landed when he came to wreſt the Crown from *Richard* II. He expected to be received with acclamations; but, contrary to his expectation, found the Inhabitants of thoſe parts extremely diſpleaſed with his coming. Some were well affected to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: Others, ſeeing *Edward* ſo thinly attended, were afraid to venture openly to eſpouſe his cauſe. Mean while, as there were no regular Troops, he met with no oppoſition. But that was not all he deſired. He would have been glad to be met by the People and ſee his army increaſe. This diſappointment obliging him to march with circumſpection, he cauſed it to be rumoured, that he was come only as Duke of *York* to claim the private inheritance of his family, which had been confiſcated (6). *Henry* IV had formerly uſed the ſame artifice, but more juſtly, ſince he was baniſhed without legal Cauſe. But if *Edward* had no Right to the Crown, as he ſeemed to own, he muſt have been guilty of Uſurpation, and conſequently could not with juſtice complain that his Eſtate was confiſcated. The reaſon why he did not carry his pretenſions any farther, upon his arrival in the Kingdom, ſeems to be this: He was ſtrongly perſuaded, that the people in general were much more inclined to him than to his Rival, but that the Magiſtrates were againſt him. Indeed, as ſoon as the Earl of *Warwick* had the Government in his hands, after *Henry*'s Reſtoration, his firſt care was to fill all the offices with his creatures. It was therefore convenient, that *Edward* ſhould furniſh the People with a pretence to favour him, how ſlight ſoever it might be, thereby to oppoſe the authority of the Magiſtrates, who would have had too great an advantage, could they have affirmed, he was come in arms to dethrone the reigning King. Whereas by demanding only his private patrimony, he moved the People's compaſſion, and inſpired them with hopes that the quarrel between the two Houſes might at length be ended, by reſtoring his Inheritance. Be this as it will, *Edward*, though little pleaſed with the People's coldneſs, marched towards *York*, giving *Henry* every where the title of King, and ſtiling himſelf only Duke (7).

He takes only the Title of Duke. Hollingſh. Hall.

The Reaſon of it.

He marches to York. Hall.

The News of *Edward*'s landing having reached the Court, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* departed from *London* to levy Troops. At the ſame time the Magiſtrates of the Town were ordered to ſhut their Gates upon the Enemy, and the Marqueſs of *Montague*, who kept at *Pontfract* with a Body of Troops (8), had Orders to fight *Edward* before his arrival at *York* (9). But the Marqueſs, for what reaſon is unknown, remained in his Poſt without making any Motion to hinder his

Warwick. *prepares to beat him back.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 705. Hall. Hollingſh.

(1) Fifty thouſands Florins. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 6.

(2) ------ Tam in reſiſtentiam Adverſariorum & inimicorum noſtrorum Exterorum, Regnum noſtrum Angliæ in Partibus Borealibus ut accepimus invadere nitentium, quàm in repreſſionem diverſorum Rebellium noſtrorum. ------- *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 676.

(3) *Rapin* has not plainly expreſſed the Nature of this Truce: By the Treaty, as it ſtands in *Rymer*'s *Fœd. Tom.* XI. p. 683-----690, the Truce was not to be revoked in five Years, after which, if either Party thought fit to revoke it, the Revocation was not to take place till five Years more, that is, not till ten Years after the Date.

(4) He embarked at *Fluſhing* in *Zealand*, on *March* 2; but the Wind being contrary, he did not ſail till the 11th. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1327.

(5) The 12th of *March*, *Edward* came before *Cromer*, in *Norfolk*, where he ſent on Shore Sir *Robert Chamberlaine*, Sir *Gilbert Debenham*, and others, to underſtand how the People ſtood affected; they found, that by reaſon of the Vigilance of *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and the great Preparations he had made, it was unſafe to land in thoſe Parts: Wherefore they ſteer'd to the Northward, and, a Storm ariſing that night, they could not land till the 14th, which they did at *Ravenſpur*, and places adjoining. The King lodged that night in a Village two Miles from the Place of his Landing. The next day, being the 15th of *March*, the King's Forces met and joined in a Body, whence they proceeded to *Beverly*, &c. *Ibid.*

(6) And ſhewed the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Letters under his Seal, wherein he had invited him over. *Stow*, p. 423.

(7) It is incredible, ſays *Hall*, what effect this new imagination (his claiming only the Duchy of *York*) had upon the People. All Men moved with mercy and compaſſion, began cut of hand either to favour him, or elſe not to reſiſt him, fol. 215.

(8) Four thouſand Men. *Stow*, p. 423.

(9) Or elſe to hinder him from proceeding further, till he ſhould come himſelf. *Hall*, fol. 215.

March,

1471. *The doubtful Behavior of* Montague.

March (1). Some aſcribe this Conduct to his ignorance of *Edward*'s Forces. But what likelihood was there of his wanting good Intelligence upon ſo important an occaſion? Others tax him with Cowardice; but he was one of the braveſt Lords of the Kingdom. Some believe there was a good Underſtanding between him and *Edward*; but the Sequel ſhewed the contrary. Thoſe that reaſon with moſt probability, ſay, That *Montague*, imagining *Edward* would not return into *England* without a well-grounded hope of being reſtored, deſigned to reſerve himſelf this way, in order to make his Peace with him. And, though his Attempt ſhould miſcarry, *Mountague* did not deſpair of appeaſing the Earl his Brother.

The apparent Reaſon of it.

Edward, upon his approach to York, *is deſired to take another Rout. He anſwers with great Moderation.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Mean while, *Edward* approaching *York* (2), two of the Aldermen came and intreated him, in the name of the Magiſtrates, to march another way; repreſenting, that they could not receive into their City, a Prince that was come to take the Crown from their lawful King. *Edward*, purſuant to the Plan he had formed, replied, "That "he was not come to take the Crown from the King: "That ſince the people had declared for *Henry*, he ac- "knowleged him for his Sovereign, and had no inten- "tion to do him any prejudice: That he was come to "requeſt the King for the reſtitution of his eſtate, not "with an army to uſe force, but only with a few fol- "lowers, to ſecure him from the malice of his enemies: "That the Parliament ſhould be the Judge of his cauſe, "and deſired only to have means to paſs his days quietly, "in the allegiance becoming a good ſubject: That how- "ever, the inhabitants of *York* ſhould of all others be the "laſt to deny him admittance, ſince his Lands in the "County, as well as his Title of Duke of *York* rendered "him their Countryman. In fine he prayed them to "remember the favors which, on ſeveral occaſions, the "City had received from his Family."

The People oblige the Magiſtrates to admit him. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Aldermen returned with this anſwer, which was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the Magiſtrates, devoted as they were to the Earl of *Warwick*; but *Edward*'s Adherents in the City, perſuading the People, that it would be very cruel to refuſe the gates to a Prince, who, ſubmitting himſelf to the King and Parliament, was only come to demand his Inheritance, there was ſuch a Commotion, that the Magiſtrates were not able to appeaſe it. All they could obtain of the People was, that Deputies ſhould be ſent to *Edward* to make Terms with him, in order to preſerve, as far as poſſible, the Rights of the King, and ſave the City from plunder. The Deputies found *Edward* ready to promiſe whatever they deſired. He proteſted he was ſincere, and promiſed he would do no damage to the City, and always remain the King's faithful Subject. Whereupon the gates were opened to him, and entering the City, he went to the Cathedral, and confirmed his engagements with a ſolemn Oath. Every thing being thus tranſacted, on his part, with great mildneſs and moderation, he borrowed ſome Money of the Citizens, and leaving a Garriſon, departed, in order for *London*. During his ſhort ſtay at *York*, his Army was greatly increaſed. He would not however have ventured to march towards *London*, had he not expected, it would continue to increaſe in his rout, and the Duke of *Clarence* perform his promiſe (3).

Deputies are ſent to him.

He ſwears to be faithful to Henry. Hollingſh.

Clarence and Warwick *command each an Army.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 706.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were parted in order to aſſemble their Forces. Their deſign was afterwards to join their Troops into one Body, and ſet at their head the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry*, who was expected from *France*. The Earl of *Warwick* thought, he had ſufficient time to prepare and join the Duke of *Clarence*, becauſe he did not doubt that his Brother *Montague* would be ſtrong enough to ſtop *Edward*. But contrary to his Expectation, he heard that *Montague* had ſuffered him to paſs without oppoſition; and that his Army continually increaſed upon his rout with great numbers of Officers and Soldiers, that came to him from all Parts of the Kingdom. He was extremely ſurprized with this News, and could not tell what to think of *Montague*, who behaved ſo remiſsly in an affair of ſuch Importance. He diſſembled however, and after ſending him expreſs Orders to come and join him, and deſiring the Duke of *Clarence* to advance with all poſſible diligence, reſolved to encamp near *Coventry*, and there expect *Edward*. His deſign was to follow him in caſe he had the boldneſs to come between him and the Duke of *Clarence*, or amuſe him in thoſe parts till his two other Bodies were arrived. Indeed, *Montague* began his march to join his Brother, and the Duke of *Clarence* likewiſe advancing, kept within diſtance, as if he intended the ſame thing.

Montague lets Edward *paſs.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Warwick encamps at Coventry. Hall.

1471. *The Duke prepares to join him.*

Mean while, *Edward*, who was now about *Coventry* (4), approached the Earl of *Warwick*'s Intrenchments, with a ſhew of attacking them. The Earl finding himſelf weak, ſent frequent Expreſſes to the Duke of *Clarence*, to deſire him to advance with all poſſible expedition. But the Duke ſtill found ſome excuſe to defer the Junction. Whilſt the two Armies were thus in ſight, and ready, in all appearance, to ingage, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, with a ſmall Train, rode forth from the Camp of *Edward* his Brother, and without demanding a Safe-Conduct, went directly to the Duke of *Clarence*. At their firſt meeting the two Brothers tenderly embraced one another. Then, after a ſhort Conference, the Duke of *Clarence* having gained the principal Officers, cauſed *Edward* to be proclaimed in his army. The ſame day *Edward* headed his own Troops, and joined the Duke of *Clarence* with all the marks of a mutual Friendſhip.

Edward makes as if he would attack him. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Duke of Clarence *joins* Edward. Hall.

The Duke offers his Mediation to the Earl who rejects it. Hall. Hollingſh.

This was a ſtunning Blow to the Earl of *Warwick*, who little expected it. However, in ſpite of this misfortune, which would have diſcouraged any other Man, he could not reſolve to hearken to any propoſals of agreement, though the Duke of *Clarence* offered him his mediation. But ſuch a mediator, who had ſo openly betrayed him, could not but be ſuſpected by him. As his army would be ſoon reinforced by *Montague*'s Troops, and he was ſtrongly intrenched, he did not think proper, too haſtily to treat of an accommodation, which muſt have been very diſadvantagious to him. Beſides, he hoped that *London*, where he had left the Duke of *Somerſet* (5), and the Archbiſhop of *York* (6), would ſhut her gates againſt *Edward*, if he appeared before the City. In that caſe, he was reſolved to follow him, immediately after *Montague*'s arrival, and force him, either to retire elſewhere, or join battle at the gates of the Capital, with a manifeſt diſadvantage. But theſe meaſures proved not very juſt.

Edward *marches towards* London. Hall. Hollingſh.

Preſently after the junction of the two Brothers, it was debated, whether they ſhould attack the Earl of *Warwick* in his Intrenchments, or march directly to *London*; and the laſt was deemed moſt convenient. Firſt, becauſe *Edward* having many friends in the City, it was likely, that ſeeing him approach with a powerful army, they would uſe their endeavours to procure him admittance, and the Earl of *Warwick*'s diſtance would greatly facilitate their attempt. Secondly, nothing could be more for *Edward*'s advantage than to have *London* on his ſide. He wanted Money, and could not eaſily find it elſewhere. Moreover he could not abſolutely rely upon his Reſtoration, ſo long as he was not maſter of the Metropolis. Laſtly, it was of the utmoſt importance to have *Henry* in his power. He began therefore his march to *London* (7), leaving the Earl of *Warwick* behind him, not without danger of being reduced to great ſtraits, in caſe the *Londoners* refuſed to receive him.

The Londoners *are determined to receive* Edward. Hall. Hollingſh.

When the news reached *London*, that the two Brothers were joined, and approaching the City, the Earl of *Warwick* was given over for loſt. This belief inſpired the People with a terror which *Edward*'s Friends carefully cheriſhed, by aggravating the City's danger of being expoſed to *Edward*'s Indignation, unleſs it was averted by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion. At the ſame time, they, that after *Edward*'s flight had taken Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*-Abbey, came out and ſupported that Prince's Intereſt. On the other hand, thoſe that were againſt him durſt hardly open their mouth, for fear their endeavours ſhould turn to their ruin. So, without waiting the Reſolution of the Magiſtrates, the People were ready to open the gates to *Edward*, and run out to meet him (8). In vain did the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Archbiſhop of *York* oppoſe this reſolution; they were not heard. In vain did they promiſe the People, that the Earl of *Warwick* would come to their relief in three days: *Edward*'s army, which was now at the gates of the City, wrought a contrary effect. In fine, *Edward*'s Party prevailing, the People went out in crowds to receive him with acclamations, which, whether real or feigned, were to him of great ſervice. Whilſt

(1) *Stow* ſays, he had received Letters from the Duke of *Clarence*, that he ſhould not fight until he came, p. 423.

(2) *March* 18. *Hollingſh.* p. 1328.

(3) In his March from *York* to *London*, inſtead of going through *Pontfract*, where the Marqueſs of *Montague* lay encamped, he took a Compaſs of about four miles, and came to *Nottingham*, where Sir *Thomas Parre*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Burgh*, Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, Sir *William Norris*, &c. repaired to him. Here they perſuaded him to iſſue out a Proclamation, as King, under the name of *Edward* IV, ſaying, they would ſerve no Man but a King. *Hall*, fol. 215. *Hollingſh.* p. 1329. *Stow*, p. 423.

(4) Where he came *March* 29, *Hollingſh.* p. 1329.

(5) *Edmund Beaufort.* (6) *George Nevill.*

(7) On *April* 6. *Hollingſh.* p. 1331.

(8) Which they did upon theſe three Accounts: 1. They were induced thereto by the many Friends of his that had taken Sanctuary, and particularly the Queen his Wife. 2. Becauſe he owed ſeveral Merchants great Sums, which would have otherwiſe been loſt. And 3dly, *Edward* having been familiar with the Wives of the Chief Citizens, they perſuaded their Husbands and Relations to declare for him. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 7.

1471. *Edward* was thus received, *Henry*'s friends withdrew from the City, without any one's thinking to help that unfortunate Prince to make his escape.

Edward *enters the City.* Hall. Hollingsh. *Edward* entered *London* the 11th of *April*, and immediately thanked the People for their Affection, and promised to have it in everlasting remembrance. He seconded this promise with several acts of Clemency, which entirely won him the hearts of the Citizens. Mean while, *Henry*, who had not found means to escape, nor perhaps so much as thought of it (1), was again imprisoned in the *Tower*, from whence he had been taken seven months before to re-mount the Throne. 1471.

Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD IV.

Edward *goes out to meet* Warwick.

EDWARD had not time to make a long stay at *London*. Two days after his arrival, he departed to put himself at the head of his Army, hearing the Earl of *Warwick* was advanced to St. *Albans*. Undoubtedly the Earl was extremely embarrassed. He had decamped from *Coventry*, and marched with great diligence, in expectation that the City of *London* would keep *Edward* at least a few days before the Walls, and the news of his approach hinder the Inhabitants from receiving him. But he saw the Metropolis lost, King *Henry* in prison, and the whole Kingdom, as it were, ready to declare for his Enemy. In this extremity there was no other refuge, but to fight and vanquish *Edward*. A Victory was the only means of restoring his Affairs. But on the other hand, though he had a good Army, it was far from being so strong as *Edward*'s, which too continually increased, since his being master of *London*. Besides, the Conduct of the Marquis of *Montague* his Brother was so mysterious, he could not tell what to think of it. He remembred he entered with reluctance into the Project of dethroning *Edward*, and had lately twice neglected to fight him, upon occasions where all hazards were to be run. It is true, he was come to join him, but this farther increased his suspicions. The Duke of *Clarence* his Son-in-law's example, made him apprehensive, his own Brother was corrupted. In this state of fear and uncertainty, he would willingly have dismissed him, if he had not been afraid of discouraging his army. In short, after many reflections upon the posture of his affairs, flight being difficult and dishonourable, and the success of the Battle yet uncertain, he concluded, his only way was to venture a Battle, and die honorably, if Victory declared for his enemy. But withal, he resolved so to order it, that the Marquis his Brother should run the same fortune with him, since it was the event only that could assure him of his fidelity. In this resolution, he marched from St. *Albans*, and advancing to *Barnet*, which is but ten miles from *London*, met *Edward*, who was likewise advancing to fight. There, upon the 14th of *April*, being *Easter*-Day, a terrible Battle was fought, which decided the fate of the two Competitors. *Edward* had brought *Henry* with him, not daring to commit him to any one's custody. Thus, that unfortunate Prince seemed born only to be the sport of fortune. Happy in being, by his natural weakness of mind, less sensible of his misfortunes than any other would have been (2).

He marches towards London. Hall.

Warwick *resolves to fight.* Hall.

The Battle of Barnet. Warwick *and* Montague *defeated and slain.* Hall. Hollingsh. Stow.

The Battle began early in the morning, and lasted till Noon. Never perhaps had two Armies been seen to fight with more bravery and obstinacy. Every one considering himself as a Rebel in case the Enemy was victorious, no favour was expected. The barbarity usually practised in civil Wars was well known, and more especially in this, where sundry revolutions in favour of both parties, had carried animosity to the highest degree. This probably was the true cause of the continuance of the Battle. The Earl of *Warwick*'s Troops, though inferior in number (3), fought desperately, being determined, by the example of their General, either to conquer or die. They had even reason to hope, for some time, that victory was going to declare in their favour. Some Squadrons detached by the Earl of *Warwick* from the third line, gained so much ground upon their Enemies, that several posted to *London* with the news of their defeat. But *Edward* not losing the presence of Mind so necessary to a General on such perilous occasions, ordered a body of reserve to advance, who falling upon the victorious Enemies in the Flank, put them in extreme disorder. The small number of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Troops suffered him not to make a detachment to oppose to that body. At the same time, the Earl of *Oxford*, who had beat back *Edward*'s Troops, considering he had left the line where he was posted, too much exposed, wheeled about, to return to his Post. This precaution, though prudent, occasioned the Earl of *Warwick*'s Defeat. The Earl of *Oxford*'s Badge upon his arms and colours was a Star with Streams, and *Edward*'s device was a Sun. A small Mist, which arose during the Battle, hindering the Earl of *Warwick*'s Troops from discerning the difference, they furiously charged these Squadrons as they were returning to their Post, and put them to rout before the Earl of *Oxford* had time to remove their mistake. This bred an extreme confusion in the Army. Some imagining they were betrayed, because attacked by their own men, ran away to the Enemies. Others seeing them fly that way, thought themselves attacked in the rear, and knew not what course to take. Mean while, *Edward* improving this mistake, cut in pieces the Troops that were flying towards him. The Earl of *Warwick* perceiving the disorder, did his utmost to remedy it, but it was to no purpose. At last, willing to animate his Troops by his example, he rushed, tho' on foot, among the thickest of his Enemies, where he quickly fell, covered with wounds. The Marquis of *Montague* his Brother, desirous to rescue him, perished in the attempt a few moments after him. Thus ended the Battle about Noon, by the entire defeat of *Warwick*'s Army, ten thousand whereof were slain on the spot (4). It is said, *Edward*, who in all the other Battles was wont to publish before the fight, that the common Soldiers should be spared, and the Officers put to the sword, had ordered now that no quarter should be given. The Earl of *Oxford* and the Duke of *Somerset* fled into *Wales*, to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was levying Troops for the Earl of *Warwick*. The Duke of *Exeter* was left for dead among the slain, but coming to life again, he crawled to the next house, from whence he found means to be carried to *London*, where he took sanctuary in *Westminster* Abbey.

Cause of Edward's *Victory.* Stow. Habington.

Hall.

Commin.

Oxford *and* Somerset *escape.* Exeter *is wounded.* Hall. Hollingsh.

Such was the success of this bloody Day, and such the end of the famous Earl of *Warwick*, who since the beginning of the quarrel between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, had made in *England* the greatest Figure any subject had ever done before him. In a word, he had made and unmade Kings as he pleased. Nothing more glorious could be said of a private Man, if true Glory consisted in excess of Power (5).

Hall.

Edward having thus obtained a complete victory which seemed to secure him the Crown, returned to *London* (6), where he was triumphantly received. The Inhabitants could not sufficiently express their Joy, to see themselves freed from the danger to which they would have been exposed, had the Earl of *Warwick* been conqueror. The King's first care was to return God thanks for the victory at St. *Paul*'s Church; after which, he ordered the unfortunate *Henry* to be sent to his old prison. A few days after, he granted a Pardon to the Archbishop of *York*, probably not to incense the Clergy by the punishment of one of their principal Members. Besides, he remembered the great service that Prelate had done

Edward *returns to* London. Hall.

The Archbishop of York *is pardoned.* Act. Pub. XI. p. 709.

(1) He was delivered to *Edward* by the Archbishop of *York*, who had made his Peace with him. *Hollingsh.* p. 1332.

(2) In *Edward*'s Army, the Front was led by *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*; *Edward* himself, and *George* Duke of *Clarence* commanded the main Body; and *William* Lord *Hastings* the Rear.——In the Earl of *Warwick*'s Army, the right Wing was commanded by *John Neville* Marquis of *Montague*, and *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*; the left by the Earl of *Warwick* himself, and *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*; and a Body of Archers, which was in the middle, by *Edmund Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*. *Hall*, fol. 217.

(3) The Number of King *Edward*'s Troops did not exceed nine thousand. *Hollingsh.* p. 1335.

(4) *Hall* says, there were ten thousand slain on both sides; *Fabian* hath but about fifteen hundred; and *Stow* four thousand. They were buried in the field of Battle, half a mile from *Barnet*, where a Chapel was afterwards built in memory of them. The most considerable Persons slain on *Edward*'s side, were, the Lords *Cromwell* and *Say*, the Lord *Montjoy*'s Son, Sir *Humphrey Bourchier* Son of the Lord *Berners*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 218. *Hollingsh.* p. 1335. *Stow*, p. 423.

(5) His Body, and that of his Brother, *John Neville* Marquis of *Montague*, after being exposed three Days to all Comers, in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, were conveyed to *Bisham* Abbey in *Berkshire*, and there buried. *Hall*, fol. 218. *Stow*, p. 423.

(6) On *Easter*-Day, in the Afternoon; he went immediately to St. *Paul*'s Church, where he offered his Standard. *Hall*, fol. 218.

1471. him, though perhaps more out of negligence than affection, in ſuffering him to eſcape from his confinement at *Middleham*.

Queen Margaret arrives with the Prince. Hall. Hollingſh. Whilſt theſe things paſſed, Queen *Margaret* who was juſt arrived from *France* in *Dorſetſhire* (1), ſaw herſelf in a ſtate worthy of pity. She had ſcarce time to refreſh herſelf two Days, when ſhe received the fatal news of the deſeat and death of the Earl of *Warwick*. Though ſhe had hitherto bravely withſtood all the attacks of fortune, ſhe was ſo affected with this new diſgrace, that ſhe fell into a Swoon, out of which ſhe recovered with great difficulty. She ſaw in an inſtant all the conſequences, and perceiving no refuge, ſhe gave way to her Grief, and loſt upon this occaſion that wonderful Firmneſs, by which ſhe had ever been ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed. Thus yielding to her unhappy Lot, and thinking only of ſaving the Prince her Son, ſhe took Sanctuary in the Abbey of *Beaulieu* in *Hampſhire*. She was ſtill in the mortal agonies, cauſed by this fatal Accident, when ſhe ſaw arrive the Duke of *Somerſet*, *John Beaufort* his Brother, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Wenlock*. The two laſt had been for *Edward*, and unhappily for them had deſerted him. The Queen had alſo with her the Grand Prior of St. *John*'s, ſent into *France* to conduct her to *England*. All theſe Lords, with ſeveral other Officers of diſtinction, ſtrove to comfort her and revive her hopes. They repreſented to her, "That ſhe had no reaſon yet to deſpair; That "indeed *Edward* was victorious, but might be vanquiſhed "again; That the Kingdom ſtill abounding with friends "to King *Henry*, it was not ſo difficult as ſhe imagin-"ed to form a new Army capable of ſtopping the Uſur-"per's progreſs: That as the gaining of one battle had "reſtored him to the Throne, ſo the loſs of another "might caſt him down: That the ſundry revolu-"tions for and againſt the two Houſes, ſince the quar-"rel began, ought to teach her, that there was ſtill hope, "provided ſhe would not by an unſeaſonable fear relin-"quiſh her own intereſts, with thoſe of the King her Huſ-"band and the Prince her Son: That her Armies had "been frequently victorious under her conduct, and it was "by no means impoſſible that victory ſhould once more "incline to her ſide. Laſtly, That all the world con-"ſidered the Prince of *Wales* as undoubted Heir of the "Crown, and by ſetting him at the head of the Ar-"my, there was ſtill room to expect a happy revolu-"tion."

She ſwoons at the news of the Defeat,

and takes Sanctuary. Hall. Hollingſh.

Her Friends come to her, and exhort her to try her Fortune once more.

She would put her Son out of danger. Hall. Hollingſh. If *Margaret* was afraid to expoſe herſelf once more to the viciſſitude of fortune, it was not upon her own account. The Prince her Son was the cauſe of all her uneaſineſs. Her tenderneſs for him made her ſee all the fatal conſequences of the undertaking propoſed to her, in caſe it was not crowned with ſucceſs. She plainly perceived, he could not attempt to recover the Crown of his Anceſtors, without hazarding at the ſame time his own life, and that conſideration was ſo grievous to her, as to hinder her coming to any reſolution. In this perplexity, ſhe propoſed ſending the Prince into *France*, that in caſe the enterprize ſucceeded, he might reap the benefit, and if it miſcarried, might at leaſt be in ſafety. But the Duke of *Somerſet* repreſented to her, that it was chiefly upon the Preſence of the Prince that her hopes could be founded, which alone would be capable of drawing multitudes into his ſervice, and induce the Troops to fight valiantly for him. At length the Queen, after enduring a violent conflict in her Soul, between the fear of loſing her Son, and the deſire of procuring him a Crown which ſhe believed his lawful right, conſented to follow the advice of her friends.

The Duke of Somerſet is againſt it.

She yields to him.

The Speed wherewith the Lancaſtrians levy a freſh Army. This reſolution being taken, it was agreed, that the Queen and Prince ſhould retire to *Bath*, and the reſt go and aſſemble their friends, with the remains of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Army (2). The Earl of *Pembroke* undertook to levy an Army in *Wales*, where his intereſt was great, and immediately departed, only deſiring the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was to command in chief under the Prince of *Wales*, to run no hazard till joined by the *Welſh*. The ſuddenneſs wherewith all theſe Lords levied or aſſembled their Troops, would be moſt ſurpriſing, if in the firſt place, the aſtoniſhing effects uſually produced by hatred and revenge, eſpecially in civil Wars, were not conſidered. Secondly, it muſt be remembered, that the remains of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Army having diſperſed themſelves after the Battle of *Barnet*, wanted only a Leader to head them. Laſtly, as it was but a few days ſince the Battle, it was not yet known how the Conqueror would behave to the vanquiſhed. So moſt having greater reaſon to expect ſeverity than mercy, choſe rather to venture again their Lives in a Battle, than run the risk of dying on the Gibbet and Scaffold. Be this as it will, it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the 27th of *April*, thirteen days after the Battle of *Barnet*, the *Lancaſtrian* Lords had now re-aſſembled an Army. 1471.

Proclamation againſt the Queen. Act. Pub. XI. p. 709. Upon the ſame day, as appears by the date, *Edward* iſſued out a Proclamation, ſetting forth, that his title to the Crown was unqueſtionable: Firſt, by Reaſon: Secondly, by Authority of Parliament: Thirdly, by his Victories, and particularly the laſt, where the Marquis of *Montague* and the Earl of *Warwick* were ſlain. That notwithſtanding theſe three moſt firm Foundations, namely, Reaſon, parliamentary Authority, and Victory, ſundry Perſons had taken Arms againſt him: But to avoid the effuſion of more blood, he had thought proper to give his People a liſt of the names of thoſe Perſons who were pronounced Traitors and Rebels, that their incouragers might not complain if any miſchief befel them. The Perſons proſcribed were, *Margaret*, ſtiling herſelf Queen of *England*, *Edward* her Son, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *John Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, *William* Viſcount *de Beaumont*, *John Beaufort* Brother to the Duke of *Somerſet*, *Hugh Courtney*, with eleven others.

Edward marches againſt her. Hall. Hollingſh. Mean while, *Edward* loſt not a moment. As the Troops were ready to march, he put himſelf at their head (3), to give his Enemies battle, before the Earl of *Pembroke* joined them with *Welſhmen*. How diligent ſoever the Lords in league with the Queen had been, they were far from being in ſo good poſture as the King, becauſe of their want of Arms and Ammunition. So, knowing that *Edward* was marching in queſt of them, they reſolved to retire into *Wales*, where the ſituation of the Country would help them to avoid fighting as long as they pleaſed. Beſides, they expected to be joined very ſoon by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and then ſhould be in condition to give battle. The point was to paſs the *Severn* before the King overtook them, and for that purpoſe they marched to *Gloceſter* (4). But that City refuſing her gates (5), and there being no likelihood of taking it at the firſt Aſſault, much leſs of beſieging it in form, they reſolved to paſs the *Severn* at *Tewksbury*. Mean time, *Edward* ſo cloſely purſued them, that upon their Arrival at *Tewksbury*, they conſulted, whether they ſhould venture to paſs the River, at the peril of ſeeing their rear put to rout, or intrench themſelves in a Park adjoining to the Town, till the Earl of *Pembroke* arrived. The Queen, who thought only of ſaving the Prince, was for paſſing. Some others, more out of complaiſance to her than for any good reaſon, ſeconded her opinion. But the Duke of *Somerſet* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it. He repreſented the Enemy was ſo near, that before the Army had all paſſed, he would certainly have it in his power to attack them, and cut in pieces thoſe who ſhould have the misfortune to be left behind: That ſuch an accident, which ſeemed unavoidable, could not but prove very fatal, and diſcourage ſuch as were ſtill friends to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: In fine, tho' their Army was inferior in number to that of the Enemy, that diſadvantage might be repaired by intrenching in the Park, and drawing lines which would balance the ſuperiority of his Troops. After mature deliberation, this opinion was thought moſt adviſeable, conſidering the circumſtances of time and place. Hiſtorians, of whom few underſtand the art of War, have taxed the Duke of *Somerſet* with imprudence and raſhneſs, ſolely becauſe they conſidered not the difficulty of paſſing a River like the *Severn*, with the Enemy in the rear. But if that General had been guilty of no other fault, perhaps the Queen's Affairs would have taken another turn. At leaſt ſhe might have waited the Earl of *Pembroke*'s arrival (6), and by fighting upon equal terms, cauſed her Enemy to run his ſhare of the peril. This the Sequel will demonſtrate.

She would retire into Wales. Hall.

We overtake her at Tewkſbury.

The Queen is for paſſing the Severn.

The Duke of Somerſet is againſt it. Hall.

(1) She embarked, *March* 24, and landed at *Weymouth* on *April* 13 or 14. *Hollingſh.* p. 1331, 1335.

(2) And ſo, they ſoon drew together a large Army out of the Counties of *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*. *Idem.* p. 1336.

(3) He ſet out, *April* 19, with ſuch Forces as he had got together about *London*, and came to *Windſor*; from whence he departed on the 24th, and the 27th came to *Abingdon*, where he waited the 28th for the coming of ſome Troops. The 29th, he advanced towards *Cirenceſter*, and thence to *Malmſbury*, and afterwards to *Sodbury*, on *May* 1, where he was informed the Enemies intended to meet him. *Idem.* p. 1336, 1337.

(4) Queen *Margaret* removed from *Bath* (where ſhe was) in great haſte to *Briſtol*; from whence ſhe ſent a few Horſemen to diſcover whether ſhe could ſafely paſs the *Severn* at *Gloceſter*; and ſoon after advanced towards that City, and thence went to *Tewkſbury*. *Ibid.*

(5) *Richard*, Son of the Lord *Beauchamp* of *Powyke*, was Governor of this Town, which was under the Obedience of *Richard* the King's Brother. *Hall*, fol. 220. *Hollingſh.* p. 1337.

(6) This was what ſeveral of the Officers adviſed her to do. *Hall*, fol. 220.

1471. *He intrenches himſelf by Tewkſbury.* *Edward reſolves to attack him.* Hall. Hollingſh.

The Reſolution being taken of expecting *Edward*, the whole night was ſpent in making intrenchments round the Park, which were finiſhed before day; ſo ardently was it laboured to be ſecured from ſurprize. *Edward* approaching to view them, judged it abſolutely neceſſary to attack them, before they were rendered more impenetrable, and before the Arrival of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was hourly expected. So, without loſs of time, he drew up his Army in two lines. He gave the command of the firſt to the Duke of *Gloceſter* his younger Brother, and headed the ſecond himſelf with the Duke of *Clarence*. The Duke of *Somerſet* ranged his Army behind the intrenchments, in three bodies, of which he commanded the foremoſt himſelf (1), in order to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock. *Wenlock* (2) conducted the ſecond, under Prince *Edward*, who was conſidered as the Commander in chief. The Earl of *Devonſhire* (3) was placed at the head of the third. *Edward* taking a cloſer view of the intrenchments, perceived an opening to be left to go out upon occaſion. This made him think, the Duke of *Somerſet* hoped to repel the firſt charge, and if he obſerved any diſorder among the aſſailants, had reſolved to ſally out and improve the advantage. So, the more eaſily to draw him out of his lines, he ordered the Duke of *Gloceſter* who was to begin the fight, to retreat with ſome precipitation, in caſe he met with too ſtrong a reſiſtance; and, if he was purſued, to face about, and vigorouſly attack his purſuers, in the aſſurance of being ſupported by all the reſt of the army. This order was founded upon *Edward*'s knowledge of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s intrepidity, and good opinion of himſelf.

Hollingſh.

The Battle of Tewkſbury. Hall.

Every thing being thus diſpoſed, the Duke of *Gloceſter* began the attack of the intrenchment with great vigour. But finding, the enemies ſtood their ground, and appeared every where ready to ſuſtain his aſſaults, he retreated toward the ſecond line, with a precipitation that made the Duke of *Somerſet* believe the whole Body to be entirely diſheartened. Then it was that the Duke, not being able to curb the impetuoſity of his Courage, and thinking he ought to improve the preſent Advantage, ſallied out of his intrenchments to preſs the enemy's army, which he imagined to be now in confuſion. At the ſame time, he ſent *Wenlock* word to come immediately to his ſupport. Mean while, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was again drawn up at a good diſtance from the intrenchments, ſeeing the Duke of *Somerſet* advancing towards him in good order, ſaved him ſome part of the way. As he was ſure of being ſupported by the King his Brother, who was not far off, he furiouſly fell upon the Troops that were marching againſt him, and by this vigorous and unexpected attack, ſo aſtoniſhed them, that they ſaw no other refuge than to fly in diſorder to their Camp. The Duke of *Somerſet* was in a fury when he perceived himſelf unſupported. He had depended upon *Wenlock*, and inſtead of finding him without the intrenchments with the ſecond line, to oppoſe the Duke of *Gloceſter*, he ſaw him motionleſs in the very place where he firſt drew up his Men. Not being able at this ſight, to bridle his rage, he furiouſly rode up to him, and clove his skull with a Battle-Axe.

False Step of the Duke of Somerſet. Hall. Hollingſh.

Hall. Hollingſh.

He kills Wenlock.

The Duke of Glocester enters the Enemy's Camp. Hall. Hollingſh.

Mean time, the Duke of *Gloceſter* entering the enemy's Camp together with the run-a-ways, made a terrible Slaughter. *Wenlock* being dead, the young Prince knew not what to do, and the Duke of *Somerſet* tranſported with paſſion, was incapable of giving orders, and making himſelf obeyed. Thus confuſion inſtantly ſpreading in the army, and the King, who cloſely followed the Duke his Brother, entering likewiſe the Camp, the Queen's Troops thought only of ſaving themſelves by flight, without making any farther reſiſtance. It is ſaid, the Queen was found in a Chariot, half dead with grief at the ſight of her forlorn affairs, without knowing what was become of the Prince her Son, and was brought in that condition to King *Edward*. A Hiſtorian however affirms, it was not till a day or two after the Battle, that ſhe was taken out of a Nunnery where ſhe had fled for refuge, and conducted to the King then at *Worceſter*. In this Battle, by which the Crown was entirely ſecured to *Edward*, there fell on the Queen's ſide but three thouſand, becauſe the two laſt lines ran away without fighting. Among the ſlain were found the Earl of *Devonſhire* and Sir *John Beaufort* Brother of the Duke of *Somerſet* (4). The

The Queen is taken. Hall.

Hollingſh.

Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Somerſet* (5), and the grand Prior of St. *John*'s (6) were made Priſoners. But it would have been more happy for them to have died in the Battle, ſince they ſaved their lives only to loſe them in a leſs honorable manner. The young Prince being brought into the King's preſence, appeared before him with an undaunted countenance, without debaſing himſelf by ſubmiſſions unbecoming his birth. *Edward* was ſurprized, and ſtill more, when, asking him how he came to be ſo raſh thus to enter his Kingdom in arms; the Prince replied, *That he was come to recover his own inheritance, which had been unjuſtly uſurped.* *Edward*, full of indignation at this boldneſs, ſtruck him on the mouth with his gantlet, and turned from him. This was, as it were, the ſignal to take away the life of that unfortunate Prince. It is ſaid, immediately upon the King's withdrawing, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter* his Brothers, the Earl of *Dorſet* (7), and the Lord *Haſtings*, fell like wild beaſts upon the young Prince, and ſtabbed him with their daggers. It is certain, he was murdered that inſtant, and probably, the King had given orders beforehand for that barbarous execution. But I do not know, whether the Hiſtorians are to be credited, who affirm, theſe four Lords killed him with their own hands. This might be an effect of the prejudice of thoſe that wrote the hiſtory, after the reſtoration of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, ſince it is certain they have forgot nothing to render the houſe of *York* odious. It is likely however, the murder was committed in the preſence of the fore-mentioned Lords. Some ſay, the Prince eſcaping out of the Battle, the King offered a penſion of five hundred pounds Sterling, to any Perſon that ſhould bring him dead or alive, promiſing, if he was alive, not to put him to death: That upon this promiſe Sir *Richard Crofts*, in whoſe hands he was fallen, brought him to the King, who performed not his word. This Prince loſt his life at eighteen years of age (8). Next day the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the grand Prior of the order of St. *John* were beheaded (9). Queen *Margaret* was confined in the *Tower*, where ſhe remained a Priſoner till 1475, when *Lewis* XI ranſomed her for fifty thouſand crowns (10). Such was the ſad cataſtrophe of this Princeſs, who, for attempting to rule *England* with an abſolute ſway, cauſed a great effuſion of *Engliſh* blood, and wrought her own as well as the ruin of the King her Spouſe, of the Prince her Son, and of all the houſe of *Lancaſter*, of which there remained but a ſingle branch in the Perſon of the Earl of *Richmond*. There was, it ſeems, a ſort of fatality with regard to the Kings of *England*, that married the Daughters of *France*. *Edward* II, *Richard* II, *Henry* VI and *Charles* I, were the only Kings that eſpouſed *French* Princeſſes (11), and they all four underwent the ſame fate, three of them by the fault of their Queens.

1471.

Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The Prince murdered in cold blood. Hall. Stow.

Remark upon it.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Somerſet beheaded. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 21, 22.

The Battle of *Tewksbury* fought on the 4th of *May* (12), eighteen days after that of *Barnet*, was the twelfth ſince the beginning of the quarrel between the two Roſes. But it was not the laſt, though followed by no other in the reſt of this reign.

Hollingſh. Stow.

The Baſtard of Fauconbridge riſes againſt the King. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt *Edward* was employed in purſuing the Queen, there aroſe a freſh enemy againſt him. *Thomas Nevil*, known by the name of the baſtard of *Fauconbridge*, becauſe he was natural Son to the Lord of that name, had been made Vice-Admiral of the Channel, during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Adminiſtration, to whom he adhered. The Earl being dead, and King *Edward* re-inthroned, the Baſtard had loſt his place. As he was a Man of ill morals and without means, he ſaw no other way to ſubſiſt than turning Pirate. When he found the King employed in the Weſt in purſuit of the Queen, he aſſembled ſome Ships, and many Perſons of deſperate fortunes, with whom he came upon the Coaſt of *Kent*, not imagining the War, newly kindled, would ſo quickly end. His deſign was to ſurprize *London*, and inrich himſelf with the plunder of the City. Accordingly, he began his march towards *London* (13), giving out, that he only intended to free King *Henry* from captivity. On this pretence, drawing in many adherents of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, he formed an army of ſeventeen thouſand Men. He preſently became maſter of *Southwark*. At the ſame time, he ordered part of his Troops (14) to paſs the *Thames*, and aſſault two of the City gates (15), whilſt himſelf attempted to force the bridge. But the Citizens having had notice of

He attempts to ſurprize London. Hollingſh. Stow.

He is repulſed,

(1) With his Brother the Lord *John Beaufort*. *Hall*, fol. 220.
(2) And the Lord St. *John*. *Idem*. fol. 221. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1338.
(3) *Thomas Courtney*.
(4) And alſo Sir *John Delves*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whytingham*, Sir *John Lewkener*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 221.
(5) *Edmund Beaufort*.
(6) *John Langſtrother*.
(7) *Thomas Grey*, Marquiſs of *Dorſet*. *Hall*, fol. 221. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1340.
(8) He was buried without any Solemnity, among ſome mean Perſons, in the Church of the *Black-Friers* in *Tewkſbury*. *Hall*, fol. 221.
(9) They were beheaded, *May* 6. *Hall*, ibid. *Stow*. p. 424. *Hollingſhead* ſays, it was the 7th, p. 1340.
(10) Her Father ranſomed her for that Sum, which he borrowed of *Lewis* XI, and mortgaged to him for it the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and the County of *Provence*. *Hall*, fol. 221.
(11) *Rapin* forgot *Henry* V: But of this ſee more in the Note on his Reflections at the end of the Reign of *Richard* III.
(12) *Hall* ſays it was the 3d, fol. 221.
(13) *May* 12. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1341.
(14) Conſiſting of *Eſſex* Men. *Ibid.*
(15) *Aldgate* and *Biſhopſgate*.

his

1471. *and retires to* Sandwich.

his march, were upon their guard, and repulsed him on all sides. In the mean while, the Bastard hearing of the success of the Battle of *Tewksbury*, and knowing the King was diligently marching to *London* (1), retired in good order to *Sandwich*, where he fortified himself. *Edward* being come to *London*, passed through the City without staying, and marched to *Canterbury*, where the Bastard sent him word he was ready to submit, upon certain terms which were immediately granted him. The King even knighted him, and made him Vice-Admiral of the Channel as before. But he did not long enjoy these favours. Shortly after, he was beheaded, either for new, or the old, crimes.

The King pardons him; and afterwards cuts off his head.

The Bishop of Winchester is pardoned. Act. Pub. XI. p. 711.

Edward arriving at *London* the 21st of *May*, after two Victories in less than three weeks, granted an absolute pardon to *William Wainfleet* Bishop of *Winchester* (2), a zealous *Lancastrian*. But he had not the same generosity for King *Henry*, head of that house. The innocent life of that unhappy Prince, seemed to screen him from the cruelty of his victorious enemy. It was doubtless upon that account, *Edward* had twice before spared his Life. Nay, it is very probable, he would have suffered him to die a natural death, had he believed it consistent with his safety. But he was afraid he should never enjoy a settled repose, so long as that Prince was alive; and this consideration made him resolve to dispatch him. It was properly Queen *Margaret* that hastened her Husband's death by her last attempt to re-inthrone him. If she had won the Battle of *Tewksbury*, and taken *Edward* prisoner, it is scarce to be doubted, that she would have put him to death on the Scaffold. She ought not therefore to think it very strange, that the ill success of her enterprize fell upon the heads of her Husband and Son. It is even very probable, she was herself indebted to her Sex for her own life. However this be, *Edward* resolving to sacrifice *Henry* to his safety, ordered the Duke of *Gloucester*, to whom all the Historians unanimously give the character of a brutish and bloody Prince, to put him to death in Prison. It is pretended, this Prince would be the Father's, as he had been the Son's executioner, and that entering his room he himself stabbed him to the heart. But as I observed, it is necessary to receive with some caution what the Historians say of the Princes of the House of *York* (3).

Death of Henry VI. Hall. Hollingsh. Stow.

His Character.

Thus died *Henry* VI, in the fiftieth year of his age, after a reign of thirty eight years before he was dethroned, and of seven months only after his restoration. Never had Prince been the occasion, though innocently, of more bloody Tragedies, or caused more blood to be spilt in his quarrel. Though his natural weakness rendered him unfit to govern his Kingdom, and for that reason, he always gave himself up to the guidance of others, he had some good qualities, which after his death, were extolled for virtues of the first class, on purpose to render the more odious the person that deprived him of his Crown and Life. All that can truly be said of this Prince, is, that considering him in his private capacity, his life was innocent, or at least, free from the crimes but too common in the world. But if he is considered as a Sovereign he will appear in his whole life, to have acted neither good nor bad. He founded *Eaton* College near *Windsor*, and *King*'s College in *Cambridge*, for the benefit of *Eaton* Scholars. These two foundations are still in being. After his death, his body was brought to St. *Paul*'s, where it was some time exposed to publick view; after which it was interred without any pomp, in a Village near *London* (4).

His Foundations. Act. Pub. XI. p. 36. Hollingsh. Hall.

The Remains of the House of Lancaster.

The twelve Battles, fought since the year 1455, and the consequent barbarous executions, had reduced the House of *Lancester* to two persons only, namely, *Margaret*, (Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, Wife of *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, half-brother of *Henry* VI,) and *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* her Son. *Margaret* had two other Husbands, *Henry* Earl of *Stafford*, and *Thomas Stanley*, but had Children by neither. I mention not *Charles Somerset*, from whom the Earls of *Worcester* were derived, because being only natural Son of the *Beaufort-Somerset* Family (5), he could have no Title to the Crown.

1471.

The Earls of Pembroke and Richmond retire into Wales. Hall.

Jasper Tudor Earl of *Pembroke*, Uncle of the young Earl of *Richmond*, not having been speedy enough to be present at the battle of *Tewksbury*, was not a little embarrassed. As he found himself too weak to support alone the Interests of the House of *Lancaster*, he dismissed his Troops, and kept with the Earl of *Richmond* his Nephew in *Wales*, where he had many friends and great credit. *Edward* passionately desired to have in his power these two Lords, the only persons that could give him any farther disturbance. To accomplish this design, it was by no means proper to march his Troops against them. Besides that this would warn them to leave the Kingdom, it was not easy even to seize their persons, in a Country where they had as many friends as there were Inhabitants. So believing policy to be more serviceable than force, he sent into those parts *Roger Vaughan*, with orders to use all ways to seize or kill them. *Vaughan* not having been so secret as he ought, the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had notice of his design, pretending to fall into the Villain's Snare, slew him, and retired to *Pembroke* Castle (6), from whence he departed with *Henry* his Nephew, and imbarked in a Vessel which was to carry them to *France*. Mean while, the winds driving them upon the coast of *Bretagne*, they were forced to put into a Port of that Country. Their design was to go to *Paris*, but as they could not be excused waiting on the Duke of *Bretagne*, when they would have taken their leave, they were told, they were not at liberty to pursue their Voyage. The Duke judging these two Lords might be of some advantage to him, assigned them the Town of *Vannes* for their habitation, with an honorable allowance. Mean while, though they outwardly received all the respect due to their Birth and Quality, they were, however, very narrowly watched.

Edward tries to get rid of them, but cannot. Hall. Hollingsh.

They embark for France,

and are detained in Bretagne.

Edward seeing himself perfectly restored, without any appearance of being again disturbed, in the possession of a Crown acquired with so much pains, assembled the Lords Spiritual and Temporal at *Westminster* (7). There, in a studied Speech, wherein he endeavoured to display the Title of the House of *York* to the Crown, and forgot not his Victories, he expressed his desire, that they would take the Oath to Prince *Edward* his Son, as to his apparent Successor, to which he found them all inclined. The two Archbishops, eight Bishops, five Dukes, with all the Earls and Lords there present took this Oath on the 3d of *July*. Many former examples had demonstrated the little use of such a precaution, and without going any farther, *Edward* might have remembred his Father's Oath to *Henry* VI, as well as his own at *York*. He was persuaded however, that people would be more scrupulous to him. But after his death, his Children unhappily experienced how little such assurances are to be depended upon.

Edward gets the Lords to take the Oath to his Son. Act. Pub. XI. p. 714.

Pardon granted to seven Bishops. p. 715, 716, 728, 729, 734, 736.

Shortly after, *Edward* granted a pardon to seven Bishops (8), who had declared against him in the late revolution. From the beginning of his reign to the end, he always endeavoured to carry it fair with the Clergy. The rest of the year was spent in sundry Negotiations, which I shall briefly mention.

Negotiations with the King of Scotland. p. 716, 717, 733, 748.

The first was with the King of *Scotland*. During the troubles in *England*, the Truce between the *English* and *Scots* had been frequently violated, contrary to the Intention of the two Kings. After *Edward*'s restoration, the King of *Scotland* sending Ambassadors to him, it was agreed, to hold a Congress at *Alnwick*, the 24th of *September*, for a mutual reparation of the outrages committed by the two Nations upon one another. The two Kings were equally desirous to preserve the Truce, and even to conclude a final Peace. This Negotiation however, was not ended till 1473. It appears in the *Collection of the*

(1) He was at *Worcester*, in his march against some Rebels in the North, when he received the News of this Insurrection; whereupon he altered his course and came to *Coventry*, *May* 11. *Hollingshead*, p. 1341.

(2) The Founder of *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*.

(3) Some say, that when he heard what Losses had happened to his Friends, and how not only his Son, but also his other chief Adherents were dead, and dispatched out of the way, he took it so to heart, that out of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholy, he died on *May* 23. *Hollingshead*, p. 1343.

(4) His Body was brought, in an open Coffin, on *May* 29, through *Cornhill*, with a great Company of armed Men, to St. *Paul*'s Church, where it was exposed, for one whole day, to publick view. The next day it was removed to the *Black-Friers*; and thence, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, Singing or Saying, conveyed to the Monastery of *Chertsey* in *Surrey*; but it was afterwards removed by *Edward* IV, or, according to others by *Richard* III, in the second year of his Reign, to *Windsor*, and there buried. A Monument was erected for him, of which there are, at present, no remains. *Hall*, fol. 223. *Stow*, p. 424. *Sandford*, p. 306.

(5) He was Son of *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, by *Joan Hill*. This *Henry* was eldest Son of *Edmund*, who was third Son of *John*, the eldest Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Catherine Swinford*. See above, p. 535, Note (8). *Sandford*, p. 337.

(6) He was betieged in it by *Morgan Thomas*, and relieved by *David*, Brother of the said *Morgan*; he was, by the same *David*'s means, conveyed to *Tynby*, where he embarked. *Hall*, fol. 222. *Hollingshead*, p. 1345.

(7) This Parliament met on the 6th of *October*, (so it is in *Cotton*; but by *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 714, it seems to have been sitting *July* 3.) The Commons granted that fourteen thousand Archers should serve the King, at their own charge, to be levied out of all Mens lands, according to a certain proportion: And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal granted towards the furniture aforesaid, the tenth part of one whole year's Revenue, of all and singular their Possessions. On *November* 30, the Parliament was prorogued to *Feb.* 8. 1472, when it met again; and *April* 8, the Commons granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 688———691.

(8) The Bishops of *London*, *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Hereford*, St. *Asaph*, *Landaff*, *Bath* and *Wells*; that is, only to six. For there are no Pardons for more. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 715, 716, 728, 729, 734, 736.

1471. *Publick Acts*, that *Edward* empowered his Ambaſſadors to propoſe a Marriage between the King of *Scotland*, and an *Engliſh* Princeſs. I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the ſequel of this Negotiation.

The Truce with Bretagne ratified. p. 722,750.

On the 30th of *September*, the thirty years Truce with *Bretagne* was confirmed. This confirmation was neceſſary, as the Truce, during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Adminiſtration, had been often violated.

Truce of eight Months with France. p. 721,722, 750.

Lewis XI was very ſenſible *Edward* had no reaſon to be pleaſed with him; but however he offered him a Truce, That with *Henry* VI being of no force, now *Edward* was reſtored. In the preſent ſituation of the *Engliſh* Affairs, it was by no means proper for *Edward* to renew the war with *France*. His Kingdom was too much exhauſted, to think ſo early of ſuch an undertaking. So, without much intreaty, he agreed to continue the Truce, from the 1ſt of *September* this year, to the 1ſt of *May* following. This was only whilſt he prepared to be revenged of *Lewis*, for aſſiſting Queen *Margaret*.

1472. The year 1472 abounded not with ſo many important and remarkable events as the laſt. It was almoſt wholly ſpent in divers Negotiations, tending to ſecure the Tranquillity of the King and Kingdom, by Truces or Alliances with foreign Princes.

p. 733. The Negotiation with *Scotland* ſtill continued, though ſlowly, by reaſon of the obſtacles which occurred in the reparations demanded by each King.

Differences between the Engliſh and Flemings. p. 737,738.

It appears in ſeveral papers of the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that ſome diſpute aroſe concerning the Truce of Commerce for thirty years, between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions. Probably, during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Adminiſtration, the *Engliſh* had injured the Duke's trading Subjects. Theſe laſt demanded reparation for ſundry damages ſuſtained, affirming, the Truce was to be conſidered as made with *England*, and not with the perſon of the reigning King. *Edward* on his part did not think himſelf obliged to repair the damages done to the *Flemings*, during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Miniſtry. But theſe differences properly concerned only the Merchants of the two Nations. As for the two Princes, it was for both their Intereſts to live in a good underſtanding. Wherefore in treating of the outrages committed againſt the Truce, they did not fail to negotiate a final Peace.

Negotiations with the Hanſe Towns. p. 739.

An affair of much the ſame nature with the *Hanſe* Towns (1), created the King likewiſe ſome trouble. Theſe Towns, whereof *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, and *Dantzick*, were the three principal, had obtained of the Kings of *England* ſeveral Privileges for their Merchants, becauſe their Commerce was very advantagious to the *Engliſh*. But under the frequent changes of the Government during the Civil War, the *Engliſh* had injured the Merchants of theſe Towns, and violated their Privileges ſeveral ways. Whereupon theſe laſt had obtained of their Magiſtrates Letters of Mart, which had turned theſe differences into an open War, deſtructive to both Sides. At length, the troubles in *England* being ended, the *Hanſe* Towns ſent Ambaſſadors to the King, to demand ſatisfaction for their loſſes, and to propoſe a renewal of Alliance, to confirm their Privileges, and ſecure the Trade and Navigation of the *Engliſh* in the northern Seas. *Edward* received the Ambaſſadors very civilly, and appointed Commiſſioners, who after ſeveral Conferences, agreed with them, that a Congreſs ſhould be held at *Utrecht*, to ſettle all things to the ſatisfaction of both parties. But this affair was ſo full of difficulties, that it could not be ended till 1474.

Alliance with Portugal. p. 741.

Some time after, *Edward*, by his Letters Patents confirmed the antient Alliance between *Richard* II, and *John* King of *Portugal*, for them and their Succeſſors. *Alphonſo* King of that Country ſent him the like Letters, dated the 30th of *Auguſt*.

The Earl of Oxford taken and impriſoned at Hammes, Hall. Holingſh. Bondi.

Whilſt *Edward* was endeavoring to ſecure his Peace, by renewing the Truces or Alliances with foreign Princes, the return of the Earl of *Oxford* into *England*, gave him freſh cauſe of uneaſineſs. The Earl, great favourer of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, had retired into *France*, after the battle of *Tewksbury*. But as he was not very favourably received by *Lewis* XI, he was returned into *England* (2) with ſeventy five Men, and had taken by ſurprize St. *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*. *Edward*, ever apprehenſive that the leaſt ſpark might re-kindle the flames ſo happily extinguiſhed, ordered ſome Troops to march immediately into the Weſt, and inveſt the Earl of *Oxford* in the Mount. But as the Earl had not time to provide againſt a Siege, he ſurrendered (3) before he was reduced to extremity. All he could obtain, was his Life only; but he loſt his Liberty and Eſtate, which was all confiſcated, without any allowance to his Counteſs, Siſter of the Earl of *Warwick*, for her Subſiſtence. From St. *Michael*'s Mount, he was conducted to the Caſtle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, where he remained Priſoner twelve years. 1472.

and the Archbiſhop of York at Guiſnes. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The Archbiſhop of *York* had much the ſame fate. Though the King had pardoned him, and received his Oath at *London* the day before the battle of *Barnet*; he was Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, and that was ſufficient to render him ſuſpected. So, notwithſtanding the Pardon, he was confined in the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, where he died ſoon after (4).

Death of the Duke of Exeter. Blondi. Stow.

The King had no conſiderable enemy left in the Kingdom but *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, who had taken Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* after the battle of *Barnet*. Growing weary of his Confinement, he employed his Wife, *Edward*'s Siſter, to obtain his pardon. They had lived ſeparate, ever ſince the beginning of the Civil Wars, becauſe the Duke, whoſe Grandmother was Siſter of *Henry* IV, adhered to the *Lancaſtrian* Party, and his Ducheſs had continued with the King her Brother. This Princeſs, inſtead of ſuing for her Husband's Pardon, deſired, on the contrary, to be legally divorced, and though ſhe had no lawful reaſon, obtained her deſire. Probably, the King's Sollicitation was very ſerviceable to her. Thus the Duke of *Exeter* ſaw himſelf forced to remain in his Sanctuary, without any hopes of pardon, or any thing to ſubſiſt upon, but what was privately ſent him by his friends. At laſt, not bearing to live thus immured, he left the place, without its being known how or when. It is only known, that in 1474, he was found dead upon the Seaſhore in the County of *Kent*.

Edward perſecuted the Lancaſtrians.

Edward having nothing more to fear, after the death, impriſonment, or exile, of all the principal friends of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, gave too great a looſe to his revenge, upon perſons of an inferior rank, whom he ought not to have dreaded. Some were put to death, and others fined immoderately, as a puniſhment for taking Arms againſt him. But what troubled him moſt, was the eſcape of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*. He ſeemed to foreſee the evil that was to befall his family from that quarter. The Earl of *Richmond* was, as I ſaid, the only remaining branch of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or rather, the only perſon that could pretend to diſpute the Crown with *Edward*, as being Son of a Princeſs of that Houſe. He had with him the Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, who was a Lord of great Merit, and very capable to direct him. Though they were both abſent, and as Priſoners in *Bretagne*, they made the King very uneaſy, who wiſhed to ſee the quarrel between the two Houſes entirely ended, by the death of the young Earl, to whom all the Rights of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, were fallen. For that purpoſe, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bretagne*, intreating him to deliver the two *Engliſh* Lords he had in his power; but the Duke very civily deſired to be excuſed. He promiſed however to guard them ſo carefully, that they ſhould never be able to hurt him. Upon this conſideration *Edward* paid him yearly a large Penſion, under colour of a maintenance for the two Priſoners.

He demands the Earl of Richmond of the Duke of Bretagne, who denies him. Hall.

Truce with Scotland. Act Pub. XI. p. 758.

All this while the Negotiation with *Scotland* was continued, and as great difficulties occurred, it was agreed between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings, that the Truce ſhould ſubſiſt till *July* 1473.

Gruthuyſe made Earl of Winchester. p. 765. Stow.

After *Edward* had ſettled his affairs to his mind, he remembred the honorable and hearty reception he had met with in *Holland*, from *Lewis de Bruges* Lord of *Gruthuyſe*, and reſolved to make him an acknowledgment. To that end, having ſo managed it, that the Parliament petitioned him to create that foreign Lord a Peer of *England*, he made him Earl of *Winchester*, and afterwards by Letters Patents, allowed him to bear the Arms of *England* in his Scutcheon.

State of Affairs between Lewis and the Duke of Burgundy. Commin. P. Daniel.

Before I finiſh what relates to the events of this year, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention how matters ſtood between *Lewis* XI, and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The knowledge of their diſputes is very requiſite for the underſtanding of the Hiſtory of *England*. *Lewis*, as I ſaid, at the Inſtance

(1) Theſe are certain Towns in *Germany* confederate for the Benefit of Trade. They are ſo called from the word *Hanſe*, ſignifying Alliance. *Bremen* in *Lower-Saxony*, is ſaid to have been the Founder of this Confederacy, about the year 1164. How many Towns were aſſociated at firſt is not known: But the deſign ſo viſibly proſpered, that moſt of the chief trading places in *Europe*, to the number of ſeventy two, entered into the Confederacy. In the flouriſhing times of their Alliance, theſe *Hanſe* Towns had four general *Staples*, viz. *London*, *Bruges* in *Flanders*, *Bergen* in *Norway*, and *Novogrod* in *Ruſſia*. At preſent, the *Hanſe* Towns are in a manner reduced to theſe ſix, *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, *Roſtock*, *Dantzick*, and *Cologne*.

(2) *September* 31, 1471. *Stow.*

(3) *February* 15, 1472. *Stow* ſays, he had ſo great plenty of Proviſions, that he could have held out a good while longer, p. 426.

(4) One day as he was hunting with the King at *Windſor*, the King told him, he would come and hunt with him at his Seat called *the More* in *Hertfordſhire*. Accordingly the Archbiſhop made great preparations, and borrowed a good deal of Plate from his Friends: But the day before *Edward* was to come, the Archbiſhop was apprehended, and all his Goods and Effects, valued at twenty thouſand Pounds, ſeized to the King's uſe. *Stow*, p. 426.

1472. of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Conſtable *de St. Pol*, who ſought only to deceive him, had begun the war with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and taken from him *Amiens*, and St. *Quentin*. As he did not want good Spies, he diſcovered at length, that he was ingaged in that war, ſolely for the accompliſhment of the projected Marriage between the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother, and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Daughter. In order therefore to free himſelf at once from the troubles that were deſigned to be raiſed by means of his Brother, he cauſed a poiſon to be given him, which was to operate ſlowly, that his death might be aſcribed to a common diſtemper. Mean while, for fear the Duke of *Burgundy*, finding himſelf too much preſſed, ſhould take new meaſures with the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Conſtable, he ſent to offer him a Truce. The Duke could wiſh for nothing more advantagious in his preſent Circumſtances. But as he had reaſon to fear, the offer was deſigned only to amuſe him, *Lewis* gave the Duke of *Bretagne* full power to conclude the Truce in his name. As this laſt could not refuſe to undertake this affair, without diſcovering himſelf, he ſent the Biſhop of *Leon* in quality of Mediator, to *Cambray*, where the Treaty was to be negotiated. Both Parties were ſo willing to agree, that it was not poſſible for the Biſhop to find any way to hinder the ſigning of a Truce for thirteen Months, from the firſt of *April* 1472, to the firſt of *May* 1473. About ſix weeks after the concluſion of the Truce, the Duke of *Guienne* died, and *Lewis* took poſſeſſion of that Duchy without oppoſition.

P. Daniel.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perceived then, that *Lewis* had granted him a Truce only to have time to ſecure *Guienne*, and that, upon all occaſions, he ſhould be that Prince's Dupe, when their affairs were determined by way of Negotiation. So, being highly provoked to ſee himſelf thus amuſed, and finding, that with ſuch enemies, the ſureſt way is to act with open force, and make them at leaſt run an equal ſhare of the danger, he entered *France*, and deſtroyed whatever he met in his way with fire and ſword. The Duke of *Bretagne* ſeeing his projects vaniſhed by the death of the Duke of *Guienne*, reſolved ſeriouſly to join with the Duke of *Burgundy*, being perſwaded that the preſervation of Both depended upon their ſtrict Union. Mean while, *Lewis* perceiving the Duke of *Bretagne* would not fail to take that courſe, had already ſent Troops into *Anjou*, to keep him in awe.

Commin.

Whilſt *Lewis* was ſtill employed in *Guienne*, the Duke of *Burgundy* made ſome progreſs in *Picardy*, and took *Neſle* and *Roye*. But unfortunately, he loſt two whole months before *Beauvais*, without taking the place. This accident was the cauſe, that *Lewis* not perceiving himſelf much preſſed left his Troops in *Anjou*. So, the Duke of *Bretagne* not daring to ſtir from his Country, was prevented from joining his Ally according to agreement. At length, the Duke of *Burgundy* raiſing the Siege of *Beauvais*, came into *Normandy*, in expectation of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Mean time, *Lewis* was a little imbaraſſed. By leaving his Troops in *Anjou*, he expoſed *Picardy* and *Normandy* to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s attacks, and if he marched to the aſſiſtance of theſe two Provinces, he left the Duke of *Bretagne* free to make a powerful diverſion in his neighbourhood. But he ſoon freed himſelf from this difficulty. By the help of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Miniſters, whom he gained to his intereſt, he found means to make a Truce with that Prince (1), and perſwade him to renounce the Duke of *Burgundy*'s alliance. This unexpected defection obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to accept of a Truce offered him by *Lewis*, and which was frequently prolonged.

1473. *Miſtakes of the* Engliſh *Hiſtorians.*

Before we enter upon the events of the year 1473, it muſt be obſerved, that all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians are miſtaken in a whole year, placing in this what happened in the next. *Biondi*, the *Italian* author I have ſometimes quoted, owns, the *French* place in the year 1475, what the *Engliſh* fix to the year 1474, and adds, that he chuſes to follow the *Engliſh*, and ſo is guilty of their miſtake. *The Collection of the Publick Acts* ſhows it ſo plainly, that there is no reaſon to queſtion it. Indeed, the year 1473 was ſo barren of events, that it is not very ſtrange if it was confounded or joined with the following. The affairs which ought to be aſſigned to the year 1473, though they are of little moment in themſelves, they ſerve to diſtinguiſh theſe two years and rectify the Chronology.

Agreement with Portugal. Act. Pub. XI. p. 762--766, 767--769.

The King of *Portugal* demanding the reſtitution of certain *Portugueſe* Veſſels taken by the *Engliſh*, enquiry was made, whereby it appeared that theſe Ships were plundered by the Baſtard of *Fauconbridge* during his revolt againſt *Edward*. For which reaſon the King of *Portugal* deſiſted from his demand. 1473.

Confirmation of the Truce with Scotland. p. 776,788.

The affairs with *Scotland* employed *Edward* good part of this year. At length by a Treaty concluded at *Alnwick* the 28th of *September*, it was agreed, the Truce of *Newcaſtle* ſhould be inviolably obſerved by both the Nations.

p. 779,782, 793.

The differences *Edward* had with the *Hanſe* Towns were alſo decided, at the congreſs of *Utrecht* the 19th of *September* (2).

Negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy. p. 772,778.

There were likewiſe ſome negotiations, concerning the thirty years Truce of Commerce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions; but it does not appear that any thing was concluded in the affair, which, probably, was only a pretence for more ſecret and important Negotiations, as will be ſeen preſently.

Alliance with Denmark. p. 775,784.

The Alliance between *England* and *Denmark* being often violated during the confuſion of the Civil Wars in *England*, the two Sovereigns were equally deſirous to renew it. To that end they agreed, that without inquiring into the mutual damages, the *Engliſh* and *Danes* had done one another, the Alliance ſhould remain upon the ſame foot as before the violation.

This is all worth notice in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* for the Year 1473. Let us proceed now to the following year, which will afford us more plenty of Matter.

1474. *Deſigns of the Duke of* Burgundy. Commin.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, as I ſaid, obtained a Truce which was afterwards prolonged two or three times till 1475. During this Truce, he employed his time in conquering the Duchy of *Gueldres*. *Arnold* Duke of that name, being diſpleaſed with *Adolphus* his Son, who had for ſome time kept him in Priſon (3), made a grant of his Duchy to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Upon this pretence entering *Gueldres*, he defeated *Adolphus*, and taking him Priſoner ſeized upon the Duchy.

Mezerai. Commin.

This acquiſition exciting him to new conqueſts, he conſidered how to enlarge his Dominions on the ſide of *Germany*, and formed projects too vaſt, and too difficult to be performed. *Mezerai* ſays, he promiſed his Daughter in marriage to *Maximilian* Son of the Emperor *Frederic*, upon condition his Dominions ſhould be erected into a Kingdom. He adds, this affair miſcarried, becauſe the Duke would have the condition performed before the marriage, in order to ſign the contract as King; but the Emperor would have the marriage conſummated firſt. Be this as it will, the Duke forming the project of extending his Dominions in *Germany*, embraced the firſt opportunity to carry his arms into that Country. A diſpute concerning the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* ariſing between *Robert* of *Bavaria*, and the Brother of the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, furniſhed him with the wanted pretence. He immediately took the Prince of *Bavaria*'s part, and laid Siege to *Nuz*, a ſtrong Town in the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologne*. He reckoned, the taking of that place would promote the execution of his other deſigns.

Commin.

The Truce with the King of *France* being to laſt till *June* 1475, the Duke of *Burgundy* hoped to be maſter of *Nuz* before it was expired. But *Lewis* put ſuch obſtacles in his way, that he could not execute his deſigns ſo ſoon as he imagined. *Lewis* ſo managed by his intrigues, that the Emperor *Frederic* drew together a ſtrong Army, to oblige the Duke to raiſe the Siege. The Duke of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the *Switzers*, entered into a league againſt him; ſo that finding himſelf extremely embaraſſed to reſiſt ſo many enemies, he remained ten months before *Nuz*, without being able to take it. Whilſt he was employed in the Siege, he ſaw no other way to free himſelf from the perſecutions of his enemy, than to ingage the King of *England* to make a powerful diverſion in *France*. For that purpoſe, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Edward*, to perſwade him to make War upon their common enemy. The better to ingage him in this undertaking, he promiſed to join him with all his forces, the moment he landed in *Picardy*. He made him hope likewiſe, that the Conſtable *de St. Pol* would deliver him St. *Quentin*, the Duke of *Bretagne* league with them, and by the help of that Prince's adherents in *France*, he would put the Kingdom in ſuch confuſion, that the conqueſt of it would be rendered much eaſier than in the reign of *Charles* VI.

He engages Edward *to league with him againſt* France. Commin. Hall. Habingt. Stow.

This was preciſely the opportunity impatiently expected by *Edward*, to be revenged of *Lewis* XI. Every thing ſeemed to conſpire to the downfal of that reſtleſs and turbulent Prince, ſince he was going to be attacked by three formidable powers, without reckoning his danger from his own Subjects. And indeed, if all his enemies had acted

(1) By granting him a Penſion of forty thouſand Livres, the half of *Guienne*, and other places. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 11.
(2) Or rather in *February* 1474. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 793.
(3) Six Months. *Commines*, l. 4. c. 1.

1474. with the ſame ardour as *Edward*, he would doubtleſs have run the hazard of ſeeing his affairs in great diſorder. But, in all appearance, the Duke of *Burgundy* only intended to ingage *Edward* to make a diverſion in *France*, in order to prevent *Lewis* from diſturbing him in *Germany*. However this be, acting as if he really deſigned to undertake the conqueſt of *France* jointly with the King of *England*, he gave very ample powers to his Ambaſſadors to treat with him upon that head. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Princes having ſettled all the Articles, ſigned about the end of *July* ſeveral Treaties concerning this important undertaking.

Several Treaties between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. XI. p. 804, 806.

The firſt was a Treaty of Amity, Alliance, and Confederacy between the King of *England* and Duke of *Burgundy*, mutually promiſing to aſſiſt one another to the utmoſt of their power.

The ſecond contained certain private conventions concerning the War they were to carry into *France*, compriſed in the eight following Articles:

I. That *Edward* ſhould paſs into *France* at the head of ten thouſand Men at leaſt, all well armed and well-appointed, before the 1ſt of *July*, 1475, to recover the Duchies of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, and the whole Kingdom of *France*.

II. That the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould aſſiſt him in Perſon with all his forces.

III. That the King ſhould hearken to no propoſal of Peace or Truce without the Duke's conſent.

IV. The Duke of *Burgundy* promiſed likewiſe the ſame thing.

V. That the two Princes ſhould cauſe the War to be proclaimed, each in his Dominions, againſt *Lewis* as their common enemy.

VI. That immediately after the War was begun or proclaimed, the two Allies ſhould attack the common enemy, in the moſt convenient places, in ſuch manner however as to be within diſtance to aſſiſt one another.

VII. That in caſe one of the two Princes ſhould beſiege ſome Town, or be forced to give Battle, the other ſhould be obliged to join him with all his forces, and at his own charges, that both might run the ſame hazard. That their Lieutenants ſhould be bound to the ſame thing.

VIII. That when the War was once commenced, neither ſhould deſiſt ſo long as the other ſhould deſire to continue it. That if one was abſent, his Lieutenant ſhould be obliged to obey the other, in whatever concerned the common good of the two Allies.

p. 808. The third Treaty contained an explication of one of the Articles of the firſt, where it was ſaid that each of the two Allies ſhould aſſiſt the other with all his Forces. As this expreſſion was too general, they agreed upon the Number (1) and Pay of the Troops they were to ſupply (2).

p. 810. The fourth was a grant from *Edward* to the Duke of *Burgundy* of ſeveral Provinces of *France*, in conſideration of the future ſervices of that Prince, in aiding him to recover the whole Kingdom. This grant included the Duchy of *Bar*, the Earldoms of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, *Guiſe*, the Barony of *Douſy*, with all the Towns on both ſides the *Somme*; and laſtly, all the Lands poſſeſſed by the Earl of St. *Pol* and held of *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or the Crown of *France*. Moreover, he renounced the Homage of all theſe Provinces, as well as of *Burgundy*, the Earldoms of *Charolois* and *Mâcon*, of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and in general of all the Territories the Duke was actually poſſeſſed of, or acquired by this grant. Finally, he added, his intent was, that this grant or conveyance ſhould be as firm as if conſented to by the Eſtates, promiſing to procure their confirmation of the whole, as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*.

p. 812. The fifth was an agreement, whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* ingaged to furniſh for the War, an Army of between ten and twenty thouſand Men. The King promiſed on his part, to aſſign him yearly the pay of theſe Troops upon the Provinces included in the foregoing grant, in caſe they were conquered, and if not, upon other Demeſns of the Crown, in proportion to what ſhould be wanted: That if the aſſignment of the pay was not made before the end of every year, he agreed, the Duke ſhould not be obliged to find any Troops the Year following.

The ſixth and laſt Act was in form of Letters Patents, whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* agreed that *Edward* and his Succeſſors Kings of *France*, ſhould have free Liberty to enter *Rheims* in order to be crowned, and depart without any impediment. This Act was neceſſary, becauſe *Champagne* was included in the grant. 1474. p. 813.

The King's and Duke's Motive in this Treaty.

This was properly ſelling the Bear's skin before he was killed. However, it is not very difficult to diſcover the Motives of the conduct of theſe two Princes, ſince it is certain they both intended to deceive one another. They were both too wiſe, to expect to conquer *France* with the ſtipulated Forces. But the Duke of *Burgundy* meant to ingage *Edward* to make a powerful diverſion in that Kingdom, by perſuading him, it would be very eaſy to conquer it. *Edward* feigned on his part to be allured with theſe hopes, the better to ingage the Duke of *Burgundy* to lend him a ſufficient ſupply, to recover *Guienne* and *Normandy*. This is neither the firſt nor the laſt time that Princes have played Counterfeits in their Treaties.

Subſidy granted the King. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

Edward having ſigned all theſe Treaties, began ſeriouſly to make preparations for the intended War. His firſt care was to aſſemble a Parliament (3), which readily granted him a ſubſidy. Since the Reign of *Edward* III, the Parliaments ſeldom wanted much ſollicitation to grant money for a War with *France*. As ſoon as *Edward* ſaw himſelf ſupported by his Parliament, he iſſued out Commiſſions to levy a much greater number of Troops, than what he had promiſed to ſupply by his Treaty with *Burgundy*. Indeed as the War was upon his account, it was his part to exert himſelf anſwerably to the greatneſs of the undertaking. Whilſt he was haſtening his preparations, he ſent ambaſſadors to divers Courts, as well to make alliances with ſeveral Princes, as to endeavour to hinder their union with his Enemy. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he ſent to the Emperor *Frederick*, to *Ferdinand* King of *Sicily*, to the King of *Hungary*, and ſome others, to ingage them to enter into the League.

He prepares for the War.

Several Embaſſies. Act. Pub. XI. p. 816, —— 836.

He concludes the Marriage of Cecily his Daughter with the Prince of Scotland. p. 814, 836.

At the ſame time, he ſecured himſelf againſt any diverſions from the *Scots*, by concluding a marriage between *Cecily* his ſecond Daughter, and the King of *Scotland*'s eldeſt Son. The firſt overture concerning this Marriage was made in the beginning of the year, and is was afterwards negotiated in divers conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the two Kings. At length, it was concluded the 30th of *July*, and *October* the 18th the young Prince and Princeſs were affianced by Proxies. Some days after (4), the Truce of *Newcaſtle*, which was to laſt till 1519, was again ratified at *Edinburgh*. As the affianced Couple were yet too young, it was agreed the Marriage ſhould be accompliſhed as ſoon as they were both of fit age, and in the mean while, *Edward* ſhould pay at ſeveral times his Daughter's Dowry, conſiſting of twenty thouſand Marks Sterling.

He pays her Dowry before-hand.

1475.

He raiſes Money by way of Benevolence. Hall. Habington.

Edward having thus ſecured himſelf againſt the diverſions his Enemy might have cauſed, continued his Preparations, with great hopes of ſucceeding in his deſigns. The Subſidy granted by the Parliament not ſeeming ſufficient, or part of it perhaps being applied to other uſes, he borrowed Money of all his Subjects that were known to be rich. Some contributed chearfully; others were gained by the King's Flatteries; and ſome feared to incur his diſpleaſure, and perhaps ſome Violence in caſe they refuſed. In general, there were but few who dared to diſobey. This ſort of Aid levied after this manner was called by the new Name of *Benevolence*, intimating that private Perſons had granted it freely and of their own accord. Mean while, theſe Loans raiſed without Authority of Parliament, were of a very dangerous conſequence: But as it was to make war upon *France*, there was no murmurs. It is reported, the King himſelf asking a rich Widow what ſhe would lend him, ſhe replied, *She could not refuſe twenty Pound Sterling to a Prince who borrowed with ſo good a Grace.* The King, as much pleaſed with the Lady's Politeneſs as her preſent, very courteouſly gave her a Kiſs, which ſhe took as ſuch an honour, that ſhe doubled the ſum ſhe had promiſed. Hall.

He deſigns three thouſand Men for Bretagne. Act. Pub. XII. p. 12.

Amongſt the new-raiſed Troops there were three thouſand Men deſigned for the Duke of *Bretagne*, purſuant to a ſecret Treaty between him and *Edward*. That Prince however had lately changed into a perpetual Peace the

(1) Which was to be ſix thouſand Men.

(2) If either Party wanted Troops for his own Defence, he was to pay two thouſand four hundred Men out of thoſe ſix thouſand, and he that furniſhed them was to pay the remaining three thouſand ſix hundred. But if they were wanted for any other occaſion, he that employed them was to pay them alone. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 809.

(3) This was no new Parliament, but the ſame as firſt met on *October* 6, in the 12th year of this King's Reign, and is mentioned above. It was by ſundry Prorogations continued to the 6th of *June*, 1473, when it granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth; and fifty one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy Pounds, four Shillings and Seven-pence three Farthings, in full payment of the Wages of the fourteen thouſand Archers granted before; towards the payment whereof every County, City, and Town, was ſeverally taxed. This Parliament was continued till *March* 14. 1474, when it was diſſolved. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 688——700.

(4) *October* 26. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 824.

Truce

1475. Truce made with *Lewis*. And yet, when he was informed of the League between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he desired to be included, but privately, for fear of being oppressed before his Allies were ready. The Lords *Audley* and *Duras* (1) were to command the Succours intended for *Bretagne*.

Ibid.

He passes over to Calais. p. 13. Commin. Hall. Stow.

Every thing being ready for the Army's departure, *Edward* embarked at *Sandwich* the 20th of *June* (2), having appointed the Prince of *Wales* his Son, but five years old, Guardian of the Realm in his absence. A Historian affirms, he found at *Dover* five hundred transports sent by the Duke of *Burgundy*, which is not very likely. *Mezerai* says, on the contrary, that the *English* Troops spent three weeks in passing to *Calais*, which is a sign, there were but few Vessels, or a very great number of Troops. *Philip de Commines* assures, never did King of *England* lead into *France* so strong an Army. But this is speaking hyperbolically, or not exactly according to truth. It is certain, this Army was not comparable for number, to that, led by *Edward* III into *France* a little before the Treaty of *Bretigny* (3). However, it is not easy to know the precise number of the Troops, since the Historians only mention the number of the Horse, without speaking of the Foot. But if we judge by the usual proportion in those days, when the Cavalry was much more relied on than the Infantry, this Army was not so numerous as it is pretended, since there were but fifteen hundred Men at arms, and fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback. Besides, by *Edward*'s Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was obliged to find but ten thousand Men. In fine, it will be seen in the sequel, that he made peace with *Lewis* without opening the Campain, when he found he could not depend upon the Duke of *Burgundy*'s assistance, which doubtless he would not have done, before he had rendered himself formidable by some exploit, had he been so superior as he is represented.

l. 4. c. 5.

Commin. Hall. Stow.

He proclaims War by a Herald. Commin. Biondi. Habington. Lewis's *Answer*, *and Present to the Herald* Hall.

Upon *Edward*'s arrival at *Calais* (4), he sent a Herald to *Lewis* to summon him to restore the whole Kingdom of *France*, and in case of refusal, to proclaim War against him. *Lewis* hearing the Herald in private, told him, he was very well informed, *Edward* was not come of his own inclination to make war, but by the instigation of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Constable *de St. Pol* (5), who, he might assure his Master, would both deceive him. Then after asking him some questions, which gave the Herald occasion to say, that when he made any offers of Peace, he should apply to the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*, he presented him with three hundred Crowns (6), and thirty yards of Velvet, to make him a Robe. He did not expect, doubtless, to reap great advantages from the Herald by this liberality, since the Man was a stranger to his Master's inward resolutions; but meant to show *Edward*'s Courtiers, what they might expect from him for more important Services. The Herald failed not to magnify his Present, and relate to the Lord *Howard*, who held the chief place in the King's Favour, what passed between *Lewis* and him.

Edward hears no News of the Duke of Burgundy. Hall.

Mean while, *Edward* advancing into *Picardy*, where he expected to meet the Duke of *Burgundy*, found not so much as a single Man from him. Surprised at so seemingly strange a Proceeding, he sent to the Duke (7), who was still before *Nuz*, to know the reason. But before I proceed, it will be necessary briefly to mention the Duke of *Burgundy*'s affairs.

State of the Duke of Burgundy's *Affairs.* Mezerai. Commin.

The Duke was intent upon the Siege of *Nuz*, in hopes of taking that Place, and *Cologn* too, before *Edward*'s arrival in *France*. But the Emperor approaching the Siege with an army four times as strong as the Duke's, without however offering him Battle, the Besiegers were so harrassed, that the Siege, instead of advancing, was retarded. And yet, the Duke, from a motive of Vain-glory, obstinately continued it, to show that the Emperor with all his forces was not able to raise it. Nothing could be more advantagious to the King of *France*, or more prejudicial to the Duke's affairs, than this unseasonable obstinacy. In the first place, it hindered his joining the King of *England*. 2. In the mean time, *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria* took from him the Earldom of *Ferette* (8), and the Duke of *Lorrain* ravaged *Luxemburgh*. 3. As soon as his Truce with *France* was expired, *Lewis* made himself master of *Roye*, *Corbie*, and *Montdidier*. In fine, when it was too late, and he was within eight days of being master of the Place,

He is bent to pursue the Siege of Nuz. Commin. Hall.

Commin.

pressed by *Edward*'s instances, he agreed, it should be delivered to a Legate, to be disposed of according to the Pope's pleasure. After the raising of the Siege, the Duke's Army was so little able to march, that instead of speedily joining the *English*, it was put into Summer quarters. Then he went himself with a very small Train, to make his excuses to *Edward*. It was difficult for the King to digest such a negligence, in so important an affair. He began from that time to open his eyes, and perceive, he was engaged in the War for the interest of others, whereas he had imagined, it was for his own. On the other hand, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s precaution, not to admit but few *English* at a time into *Peronne*, confirmed the King's suspicions. At last, he was quite undeceived by the behaviour of the Constable *de St. Pol*, who commanded in St. *Quentin*. The Constable, who was one of the chief promoters of the War, because he founded his greatness solely upon the dissention between the King of *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, had positively promised, to deliver St. *Quentin* to the King of *England*. Upon this assurance, the Duke of *Burgundy* would have conducted *Edward* into the place, that having so good a Pledge in his hands, he might be patient. But upon their approach, they were fired upon from the Town. At the same time, a body of Horse sallying out, killed some *English* Soldiers, who were most eager to enter, expecting to be admitted without difficulty. Very probably, the Duke of *Burgundy* himself was deceived, upon this occasion, by the Constable. For it is not likely, he should designedly cause such an affront to be put upon a Prince whom he yet wanted, and who had him in his power. He did all he could however to excuse the Constable, and feed the King's hopes. But finding *Edward* gave no credit to his words, but on the contrary bitterly reproached him, he left him next day, under pretence of hastening his Troops. It may be, he was not without some apprehension, that *Edward* might pursue his resentment.

1475.

He quits the Siege.

He goes to Edward *without Troops.* Commin. Hall. Hollingsh.

He is deceived by the Constable of St. Pol. Commin.

He leaves Edward,

who is greatly embarrassed. Commin. Hollingsh. Monstrelet. Stow.

Edward seeing himself thus deserted by the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Constable, and not hearing that the Duke of *Bretagne* made any motion, or there was any appearance of the Insurrections in *France*, he had been made to expect, found himself extremely embarrassed. In the mean time, a *French* Prisoner, the only one taken since the *English* Army's arrival, being released by the King's order, the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley* charged him, to present their respects to the King his master. The Prisoner discharging his Commission, *Lewis* began to think it was not without design, that this Compliment was made him, remembring what the *English* Herald told him concerning these Lords. He perceived, the Court of *England* desired to enter into Treaty, but would not make the first Advances. For his part, who was not so scrupulous, he resolved to improve this sort of overture. *Philip de Commines* says, he caused a certain Person of little note, but of good Sense, to be dressed like a Herald, and fully instructing him, sent him to the *English* army, to demand a Safe-Conduct for Ambassadors, and address himself for that purpose to the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*. The pretended Herald being admitted into the King's presence, told him, "That he was ordered by the King "his master to represent to him, that the war between "their two Kingdoms could not but be destructive to both, "and the mutual Trade of the two Nations was on the "contrary a manifest advantage, which ought to be che-"rished. Then, he excused the King his master's coun-"tenancing the Earl of *Warwick*, assuring, it was not "out of ill-will to *Edward*, but on the account of the "Duke of *Burgundy* his irreconcileable enemy. He "added, that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s and the Constable's "insincerity was so evident, that it was needless to men-"tion it, since he was very sensible of the effects. That "he was come in arms into a Country where he had "neither Castles, nor Friends, and he left it to him to "judge, whether the Conquest of *France* was so easy as "he had been made to believe: That however, the "King his master, knowing so great an Armament "could not be made without vast expence, was very "willing so to make him amends, as he should have rea-"son to be satisfied: That therefore he demanded a "Safe-Conduct for Ambassadors, with a Train of one "hundred Horse, that they might treat in a proper place, "with those of *England*, concerning a firm and lasting "Peace, between the two Kings and their Subjects."

Lewis offers a Peace. Commin.

The Herald's Speech to Edward. Commin.

(1) *Galliard de Durefort*, Lord of *Duras*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 12.
(2) There are in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 12---14, two Papers witnessed by the King at *Westminster*, *June* 20; and three dated at *Sandwich* the same day: which makes it probable that he might embark that day. But *Hall*, fol. 126. *Hollingshead*, p. 1346. say, it was not till *July* 4.
(3) *Edward* the Third's Army was a hundred thousand Men. *Rapin.*
(4) *Commines* says, he sent him before his departure from *Dover*, l. 4. c. 5.
(5) And the Commons of *England*. *Ibia.*
(6) And promised to give him a thousand Crowns more, in case matters were adjusted. *Ibid.*
(7) By the Lord *Scales*. *Commines*. *Hall.*
(8) Which he had mortgaged to him for a hundred thousand Florins. *Commin.* l. 4. c. 2.

In

1475. Edward calls a Council. August 13. Act. Pub. XII. p. 14, 15.

In *Edward*'s circumſtances, the King of *France*'s propoſal was very acceptable. Accordingly, the Herald was diſmiſſed with a Preſent (1), and the deſired Safe-Conduct. The ſame day, or the next, *Edward* called a Council (2), at which were preſent all the Lords in the Army, to the number of eighteen. It was reſolved, almoſt unanimouſly, that the Lord *Howard* and three others (3) ſhould confer with the King of *France*'s Ambaſſadors, and a full power was given them to conclude a Peace upon theſe terms: 1. That *Lewis* ſhould pay the King, within a fortnight, the Sum of ſeventy five thouſand Crowns, and from thenceforward fifty thouſand Crowns yearly, at two payments, during the Life of the two Kings. 2. That the King of *France* ſhould promiſe to marry the Dauphin his Son to the King's eldeſt or ſecond Daughter, and allow his Daughter-in-law ſixty thouſand Livres a year. Upon theſe two conditions, the Ambaſſadors were empowered to promiſe in the King's name, that he would return into *England* with his Troops, immediately after the receipt of the ſeventy five thouſand Crowns; To conclude a Treaty of Amity and Alliance between the two Kings, with promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt their rebellious Subjects; And laſtly, to ſign a Truce for ſeven years.

Conditions offered to the King of France.

The Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings (4) meeting near *Amiens*, at almoſt an equal diſtance from the two Armies, the Treaty was concluded the 28th or 29th of *Auguſt*, as *Edward* deſired, without any conſiderable alteration. Every thing being thus ſettled, ſeparate writings were drawn, on each particular Article of the Treaty.

Treaty of Amiens or Pequigny. p. 15.

By the firſt, the two Kings promiſed to decide all their differences by arbitrators, namely, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Clarence* for the King of *England*, and for the King of *France*, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and the Earl of *Dunois*. Moreover, *Edward* ingaged to quit the *French* territories, upon the receipt of the ſeventy five thouſand Crowns, without doing any damage, and to leave Hoſtages for the performance of his word.

p. 17. The ſecond concerned the ſeven years Truce, in which were included all the Allies of both the Kings, and expreſly the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, if they deſired it.

p. 19. The third contained a mutual engagement of brotherly friendſhip between the two Kings, and expreſs articles concerning the Dauphin's marriage with *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward*.

p. 20. The fourth was in form of Letters Patents, whereby *Lewis* promiſed to pay annually to *Edward* during their lives, the Sum of fifty thouſand Crowns. This the *Engliſh* Authors call a Tribute, though the Letters Patents expreſs not under what title this yearly penſion was to be paid. Some ſay, it was limited to nine years. But no other limitation appears than the lives of the two Kings.

p. 21. Laſtly, *Edward* promiſed to releaſe Queen *Margaret*, for a ranſom of fifty thouſand Crowns, which the King of *France* was to pay for her, within five years. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Margaret* was accordingly releaſed the beginning of *November* this year, and *Lewis* XI punctually paid the Sum promiſed.

The Duke of Burgundy falls out with Edward. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *Burgundy* having notice that the two Kings were beginning to treat, departed immediately from his Army, to which he was returned, and made all poſſible haſte, in expectation of preventing this blow, but found the Truce was already ſigned. He fell upon *Edward* with bitter reproaches; to which *Edward* returned a ſuitable anſwer, telling him however he had taken care to include him in the Truce. But the Duke fiercely replied, he wanted not his mediation, and valued it ſo little, that if he treated for himſelf it ſhould not be till three months after his arrival in *England*. Thus parting extremely angry with each other, the Duke retired into his Country. The Conſtable *de St. Pol* did all that lay in his power, to perſuade *Edward* to break the Truce, offering to deliver St. *Quentin*, and lend him fifty thouſand Crowns. But *Edward* was far from renewing the War for his ſake, and truſting to his promiſes after having been ſo manifeſtly deceived.

Commin.

Commin. Before *Edward*'s departure for *England*, it was thought proper, that the two Kings ſhould confer together upon *Pequigny* Bridge, with a Bar [or Grate] between them. *Lewis* came firſt to the place, attended with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and five other Lords. *Edward* arrived afterwards, accompanied likewiſe with a ſmall number of Lords (5). After they had both ſwore to obſerve the late Treaty, *Lewis* inviting *Edward* to *Paris*, told him, he would procure him agreeable diverſions with the fair Ladies of that City, and if he chanced to treſpaſs upon his chaſtity, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ſhould be his Confeſſor, who would eaſily abſolve him. After ſome other railleries, *Lewis* made a ſign to the Lords that were with him to retire, and the *Engliſh* likewiſe did the ſame. When the two Kings were alone, they talked a good while together, and it was afterwards known, that the Conſtable, and the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the ſubject of their converſation. As to the Conſtable, *Edward* would not be concerned for him. As for *Burgundy*, *Lewis* asking him, what he ſhould do if that Prince refuſed to be included in the Truce, *Edward* replied, he might do as he pleaſed, if, after another offer, the Duke ſhould refuſe. But as for the Duke of *Bretagne* he plainly told him, that he would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power, if attacked. *Lewis* thought proper to inſiſt no farther upon that ſubject, and in fine, they parted very well ſatisfied with each other (6).

1475. *Conference of the two Kings at Pequigny.* Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

The interview being ended, *Lewis* repaired to *Amiens*, where the Lord *Howard* followed him as Hoſtage. Whilſt *Lewis* was waſhing his hands before ſupper, *Howard* whiſpered him in the ear, that he would undertake to perſuade the King his maſter to take a journey to *Paris*; to which *Lewis* returned no anſwer. *Howard* frequently hinted the ſame thing at table, without the King's ſeeming to hear him. However, he cauſed him to be afterwards told, that the War he was going to wage with the Duke of *Burgundy* not permitting him to go to *Paris*, he was very ſorry he could not enjoy the honour the King intended to do him. *Philip de Commines* remarks upon this occaſion, that there was nothing more feared by *Lewis*, than to ſee *Edward* reliſh *France*, nor any thing more paſſionately deſired by him, than to ſee him return into *England*. He was under ſuch apprehenſion that *Edward* would repent of the Truce, that he privately beſtowed penſions upon his principal Counſellors, to induce them to keep him in the reſolution to obſerve it. *Commines* could ſpeak of theſe things with certainty, ſince he was then in *Lewis*'s ſervice and confidence. He adds moreover, that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was againſt the Truce, waiting upon the King of *France*, was received with extraordinary reſpect, and that the King forgot nothing to gain to his intereſt ſuch of *Edward*'s Courtiers as were in any credit. The *Engliſh* Army approaching *Amiens*, *Lewis* cauſed the gates to be kept open, and ſent orders to the publick Inns, to entertain at free coſt all the *Engliſh* that came there. Moreover, he ſent to the King of *England* a preſent of three hundred waggon-loads of wine, for the uſe of his army; ſo deſirous was he to gain the hearts of the *Engliſh*, for fear ſome one of them ſhould make *Edward* ſenſible of his error. This preſent gave occaſion to ſay, that he found means to ſend home the *Engliſh* with cart-loads of wine. At length, all *Lewis*'s fears vaniſhed with the departure of the *Engliſh*, who went away, ſays a Hiſtorian, extremely well pleaſed with the *French* gold and wine; adding, the penſions aſſigned to *Edward*'s principal courtiers, amounted to ſixteen thouſand Crowns a year (7).

l. 4. c. 10.

He gives Penſions to the Engliſh. Commin.

Lewis civilly refuſed Edward's Viſit. Commin.

Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *Burgundy* not bearing the thoughts of deſiring to be included in the Truce, made by *Edward* without his knowledge, ſtood out for ſome time, and at laſt accepted of a ſeparate Truce (8) offered him by *Lewis*. As for the Conſtable, who had deceived the three Princes, and been the principal author of their diviſion, he ſaw himſelf in the end forſaken by all, and forced to retire into the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions, upon the faith of a Safe-conduct. But notwithſtanding that ſecurity, he was delivered by the Duke to the King of *France*, who commanded his head to be ſtruck off. A notable leſſon for ſuch as labour to ſow diſcord among Princes!

The Duke of Burgundy accepts of a Truce. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Conſtable is beheaded. Commin.

Lewis would have been glad the Duke of *Bretagne* had been thus ſacrificed to him. But that Prince had in his hands a pledge which obliged *Edward* to protect him;

The Reaſon of Edward's ſtanding by the Duke of Bretagne.

(1) Of four Nobles. *Commines*, l. 4. c. 7.

(2) At *Seyntre* near *Peronne*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 14.

(3) Dr. *John Morton*, Maſter of the Rolls, *William Dudley*, Dean of the King's Chapel, and *Thomas Selynger*. *Ibid.* and p. 27.

(4) The *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries were, *John* Lord *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Saint Leger*, and Dr. *John Morton*, Maſter of the Rolls. The *French* King's were, the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, the Lord of St. *Pierre*, and the Biſhop of *Evreux*. *Hall*, fol. 130. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1347.

(5) His Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, *William* Lord *Haſtings* the Chamberlain, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* Lord-Chancellor, &c. *Ibid.*

(6) This Conference was on *Auguſt* 29. *Commines*, l. 4. c. 10.

(7) The chief Men who had Penſions, were, the Chancellor, *Thomas Rotherham*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *John Morton*, Maſter of the Rolls, *William* Lord *Haſtings*, the King's Chamberlain, and *John* Lord *Howard*; Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *Anthony Saint Leger*, Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, *Thomas Grey*, Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, &c. *Commines*, l. 6. c. 2. *Hall*, fol. 235.——King *Edward* returned to *London*, *September* 28, and was met on *Black-Heath* by the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and about five hundred Perſons more, by whom he was conducted in great triumph to *Weſtminſter*. *Hall*, fol. 236. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1349.

(8) For nine years. *Commines*, l. 4. c. 11.

1473. otherwiſe he would have regarded him no more than the Duke of *Burgundy*. This was the Earl of *Richmond*, who, tho' abſent, made the *Engliſh* Monarch extremely uneaſy. If the Duke of *Bretagne* had ſuffered that Prince, with the Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, to eſcape, they might in time have revived the *Lancaſtrian* party, and thereby expoſed *Edward* perhaps to the hazard of a thirteenth Battle, to maintain himſelf in the Throne. This was the true reaſon of *Edward*'s ſupporting the Duke of *Bretagne*, and telling *Lewis*, who earneſtly preſſed him ſeveral times to deſert that Prince, that on the contrary, he would defend him to the utmoſt of his power.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 22.

1476. This open demonſtration of friendſhip for the Duke of *Bretagne*, cauſing *Edward* to imagine the Duke would be glad of an opportunity to ſhew his acknowledgment, he ſent Ambaſſadors (1) to him, under colour of renewing their Truce. There were but few difficulties in this negotiation. The Duke readily agreed to confirm the Truce (2), though often violated on the part of the *Engliſh*. He even deſiſted from his demand of fifty thouſand Crowns, for the damages ſuſtained by his Subjects. The King on his ſide, quitted his demands upon him for the armament made in his favour. Every thing being thus upon the terms of a perfect good underſtanding between the two Princes, the Ambaſſadors acquainted the Duke with the principal buſineſs of their ambaſſy. They told him, the King their Maſter was extremely deſirous, entirely to extinguiſh the Flames of the two factions which had been ſo long kindled in *England*; that the Earl of *Richmond*, who was in *Bretagne*, being the only ſurviving Perſon of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, he intended to marry him to one of his daughters, in order to unite the two Houſes; that therefore he deſired him to ſend him the Earl, that he might give him marks of his favour, and thereby manifeſt to his whole Kingdom his earneſt deſire of procuring them a happy tranquillity.

Edward demands the Earl of Richmond of the Duke of Bretagne. Hall. Bronti. Hollingſh. Habington. Argentré. Act. Pub. XII. p. 23, 37.

The Duke gives up the Earl, and repents of it. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *Bretagne* was a good Prince, who judging of others by himſelf, and not believing *Edward* concealed ill deſigns under theſe appearances of moderation, ordered the Earl of *Richmond* to be put into the hands of the Ambaſſadors, to be conducted to *England*. Some however affirm, that a large Sum of Money preſented to the Duke by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, rendered their inſtances more effectual. However this be, they departed with their prey, to imbark at St. *Malo*'s. But whilſt they were on the road, one of the Duke's Counſellors (3) repreſented to him, that by this proceeding, he would be eternally infamous; that beſides, he could not in conſcience deliver a Prince, who thought himſelf ſafe under his protection, to his moſt mortal enemy, who demanded him only to deſtroy him, under the falſe pretence of an honorable ſettlement; that he would be accountable to God for this Action, whatever colour he might put upon it in the eyes of Men; and conjured him to conſider, what Honour, Juſtice and Religion required of him on this occaſion. Whether this remonſtrance made the Duke ſenſible of what he had not hitherto fully known, or ſtung him with remorſe of what he had done, he immediately diſpatched *Peter Landais* his favorite to St. *Malo*'s, with orders to recover the Earl of *Richmond* out of the hands of the Ambaſſadors, if they were not yet imbarked. *Landais* arrived, juſt as they were entering the veſſel that was to carry them to *England*. He immediately gave private orders to help the two Priſoners to eſcape, whilſt himſelf conferred with the Ambaſſadors. The conference being ended, the two Earls were found to have taken ſanctuary in a Church, from whence *Landais* pretended they could not be removed. The Ambaſſadors complained of this fraud; but, after ſome frivolous excuſes, he plainly told them, the Duke his maſter, upon ſecond thoughts, believed he could not deliver the Earl to the King, without an indelible ſtain on his honour; that however, he would promiſe to guard him ſo carefully that *Edward* ſhould never receive any damage. The Ambaſſadors finding themſelves the weakeſt, were forced to be content with this promiſe, which eaſed in ſome meaſure their vexation to be thus diſappointed. Thus, by a ſort of miracle, the Earl of *Richmond* eſcaped the danger to which he was expoſed, Providence having preſerved him on this occaſion, in order to place him one day on the Throne of *England*.

He gets him again from the Ambaſſadors. Hall.

Alliance with Denmark. Act. Pub. XII. p. 25, 27, 29, 39.

The reſt of the year 1476, affords nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of *England*, but a Negotiation to renew the Alliance with *Denmark*; the death of the Archbiſhop of *York* at *Guiſnes*, where he was Priſoner; and ſome other inconſiderable affairs. But it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of thoſe of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which became of great conſequence both to *England* and *France*.

1476. *Affairs of the Duke of Burgundy.* Commin.

The Duke had accepted of the Truce offered by *Lewis*, not ſo much out of fear of his Arms, as from a deſire to carry war into *Germany*. He wanted to be revenged of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the *Swiſs*, and the Duke of *Auſtria*, but this would have been impoſſible, if the War with *France* had continued. In *October*, 1475, preſently after ſigning the Truce with *Lewis* XI, he attacked the Duke of *Lorrain*, and ſubdued his whole Duchy, without meeting much reſiſtance, except at *Nanci*, which endured a Siege of two Months. *Lorrain* being conquered, he formed the Project to humble the *Swiſs*, who had dared to declare againſt him, whilſt he was imployed in the Siege of *Nuz*. He uſed for pretence the Injury they had done to *James of Savoy*, Earl of *Romont*, in ſeizing his Territories. The *Swiſs*, who made yet no great Figure in *Europe*, ſeeing the Storm approaching, humbly ſued for Peace; but the Duke was inexorable. So leaving *Lorrain* in *March* 1476, he paſſed through *Burgundy*, and threw himſelf into the Country of *Vaux*, where he took three or four Towns. Then he laid Siege to *Granſon*, where were ſeven or eight hundred *Swiſs*, bent upon making a gallant defence. The Town having at length capitulated, the Duke broke the Articles, and put the Garriſon to the ſword. Mean while, a Body of *Swiſs* was advancing to relieve the Beſieged, but came too late. The Duke, contrary to the opinion of his Council, reſolved to meet this body, which was ſtill in the narrow Paſſages of the Mountains. To that end, he detached a hundred Archers to ſeize a certain paſs, and preſently after he marched himſelf to ſupport them. Theſe Archers meeting the *Swiſs* coming out of the Mountains, haſtily retreated towards the body which was marching after them. Whereupon, the Duke's Army imagining the Horſemen were repulſed by the Enemy, were ſeized with a panick, and took to flight, without the Duke's being able to rally them. He loſt only ſeven Men at arms, but all his baggage became a Prey to the Enemy.

His defeat at Granſon.

His defeat at Morat. Commin.

This ill ſucceſs not being capable of diſcouraging him, he aſſembled his ſcattered Troops, and ſoon rendered them fit for action. About fifteen days after he took the field, and laid ſiege to *Morat*, a ſmall Town not far from *Bern*. Mean time, the *Swiſs* receiving ſupplies from ſome neighbouring Princes, marched, to the number of thirty thouſand Men, to fight him. The Battle was fought three weeks after the rout of *Granſon*, and the Duke was entirely defeated, with the loſs of eight thouſand Men.

His Concern at it.

This terrible misfortune ſo ſtruck the Duke, that he ſickened with grief. *Philip de Commines* even affirms, he was ſomewhat diſordered in mind. He remained ſix weeks at a Town called *la Riviere*, where he kept himſelf as it were concealed, and none durſt venture to ſpeak to him to comfort him. Mean time, ſeveral of the Princes who before were his Friends (4) declared againſt him. Then the Duke of *Lorrain*, perceiving it to be a favorable opportunity, appeared before *Nanci*, and took the place upon terms without the Duke of *Burgundy*'s ſtirring to its relief. At length, when it was too late, and the Town ſurrendered, the Duke of *Burgundy* approached, and his Enemy being retired, undertook the Siege, where he met with difficulties which made him loſe a great deal of time, and proved the occaſion of his ruin.

1477. *His defeat and death at Nanci.* Commin.

Mean while, the Duke of *Lorrain* drew together Forces from all quarters, *Lewis* XI finding him Money for their ſubſiſtence. When he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, he approached *Nanci*, and encamped at St. *Nicholas*, expecting the effect of his correſpondence in the Enemy's Army, with *Campobache*, a *Neapolitan* Captain, in whom the Duke of *Burgundy* entirely confided. This City being now reduced to extremity, the Duke of *Lorrain* advanced to join battle. Then *Campobache* ſuddenly deſerted his maſter with about two hundred Lances (5), and went over to his Enemy. He left in the Army fourteen Men whom he had bribed, who were to alarm the Troops during the fight, and kill the Duke of *Burgundy*, if they had an opportunity. The Battle being fought on the 5th of *January* 1477, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army was routed, and himſelf ſlain in the forty ſixth year of his age. He had reigned nine years and a half, amidſt continual troubles, employed one while in defending himſelf againſt the open or ſecret Attacks of *Lewis* XI, another while, in executing Projects beyond his ſtrength, which argued more ambition and raſhneſs, than prudence and counſel.

Alterations cauſed by the Death of the Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death made a great alteration, not only in the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, but alſo in thoſe of the neighbouring Princes. Nay, it may be ſaid to be the firſt and principal ſource of moſt of the Wars, wherewith *Europe* has been troubled ever ſince. The

(1) Doctor *Stillington* and two others, with a large Sum of Money. *Hall*, fol. 137. *Hollinſhead*, p. 1349.
(2) He confirmed it, on *January* 22, 1476; as King *Edward* did on *March* 16. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 22, 24.
(3) *John Cheulet*. *Hall*, fol. 237.
(4) The Duke of *Milan*, *René* King of *Sicily*, the Ducheſs of *Savoy*, &c. *Commin.* l. 5. c. 2.
(5) One hundred and ſixty. *Idem.* c. 8.

Duke

1477. Duke of *Burgundy* left but one Daughter, called *Maria*, who was Heireſs to his large Dominions, and whom he had in ſome meaſure promiſed to *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, Son of the Emperor *Frederic*. This Princeſs, about nineteen years old, ſaw herſelf not only forſaken by all the late Duke her Father's Friends, but moreover expoſed a Prey to *Lewis* XI, who immediately deprived her of *Burgundy*, with the Towns on the *Somme*, and even formed the Project to diſpoſſeſs her of all the reſt of her Dominions. In this preſſing neceſſity, her only refuge was the King of *England*'s aſſiſtance, whoſe intereſt it was to oppoſe the growth of *Lewis*'s Power. But *Edward*'s whole Council being bribed and corrupted by the King of *France*'s bounties, *Maria* obtained from that quarter empty wiſhes only for her proſperity, and compliments, which ended in nothing. To complete her misfortune, the young Princeſs ſaw herſelf alſo expoſed to the Tyranny of the *Gantois*, who ſeized her Perſon, removed all her Counſellors, beheaded two, and gave her a new Council entirely compoſed of their Creatures.

Lewis takes from Maria part of her Dominions. Commin. Mezerai.

Commin. l. 6. c. 2.

Maria is tyrannized over by the Men of Gant. Commin.

Mean time, this Princeſs's marriage was thought of. Some were for her eſpouſing the Dauphin of *France*. But *Lewis* having already entered into engagements with *Edward*, durſt not diſoblige him at ſuch a juncture. Others would have her married to the Duke of *Guelders*, and ſome to a *German* Prince. All but herſelf were conſulted about the choice of a Husband. Mean while *Lewis* continued his conqueſts. In *May* 1477, the Emperor *Frederic* ſending Ambaſſadors to *Gant*, to renew the Treaty concerning the Marriage of his Son *Maximilian* with *Maria*, the Ducheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*, Mother-in-law of the Princeſs, deſired her Brother *Edward* to ſend Ambaſſadors into *Flanders* to aſſiſt her in that Affair. *Edward* conſented, but would not promiſe to aid *Maria* againſt the King of *France*, though the *Flemings* and the Duke of *Bretagne* ſtrongly preſſed him. On the contrary, he agreed to prolong the ſeven years Truce concluded at *Amiens*, till a year after the death of one of the two Kings. Thus *Edward* acted directly contrary to the intereſts of *England*, in ſuffering the advancement of *France*, and the ruin of the Houſe of *Burgundy*. Three principal reaſons hindered his quarelling with *France*. The firſt, that being grown corpulent and heavy, he was no longer fit to bear the hardſhips of War. The ſecond, that his chief Counſellors were Penſioners to *France*. The third, that having promiſed his Daughter *Elizabeth* to the Dauphin, he was unwilling by any proceeding to obſtruct the marriage. Mean while, *Lewis* was extremely careful to keep him in theſe diſpoſitions, by punctually paying him the Penſion of fifty thouſand Crowns, and ten thouſand yearly for Queen *Margaret*'s ranſom.

Several Matches are propoſed for her. Commin.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 42.

Edward *refuſes to aid her.*

Act. Pub. XII. p. 45, 50.

His Reaſons for it. Commin.

Thus *Maria* of *Burgundy* ſeeing herſelf forſaken by all whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport her, had no other refuge than to marry Prince *Maximilian*, from whom however ſhe could expect no great aſſiſtance. The Nuptials being celebrated in *July*, *Lewis* XI, out of regard to the Emperor, granted the new Duke of *Burgundy* a Truce for a year, and reſtored him ſome Towns in *Haynault* which he had ſeized. Shortly after, he received Ambaſſadors from *England* (1), who were come to ſettle the arbitration agreed on, concerning the differences between the two Crowns. But he had then other Affairs, which hindered him from thinking of this, and obliged him to defer it to a more proper ſeaſon (2).

Maria eſpouſes Maximilian of Auſtria. Mezerai. *Lewis grants him a Truce.* Commin.

1478. *Death of the Duke of* Clarence. Hall. Biondi. Habington. Hollingſh.

The beginning of the year 1478 was very quiet, with reſpect to the general Affairs I have been ſpeaking of. But at the ſame time, there paſſed at the Court of *England*, things which wholly ingroſſed the attention of the publick: I mean the tragical death of the Duke of *Clarence*, which it will be neceſſary to inſiſt upon a moment. This Prince was haughty and ambitious, of ungovernable Paſſions, of an inconſtant Temper, taking no care to conceal his Sentiments; in a word, of a very mean Genius. Whilſt the King his Brother lived unmarried, he could not help entertaining the hopes of ſitting one day on the Throne, though it was very unlikely, *Edward* would always remain in a ſtate of Celibacy. The King's Marriage deſtroying theſe hopes, he was diſpleaſed with the King himſelf, and eſpecially with the Queen and her family. As he was not careful to hide his diſcontent, he drew on himſelf the averſion of the Queen and her Creatures, who did not fail to do him ill offices. So *Edward* began by degrees to neglect him, and took no care to procure him advantages, which may eaſily be procured by a King for his Brothers. The Duke ſo reſented this contempt, that he ſcrupled not to join with the Earl of *Warwick*, to dethrone his own Brother. He repented it afterwards, and his repentance, as hath been ſeen, proved *Edward*'s preſervation. He was in hopes a reward would quickly follow ſo ſignal a Service, reflecting only upon what he had done for the King, without conſidering the danger to which he had expoſed him. But *Edward*, prejudiced againſt him, thought, on the contrary, the bare pardon of the injury to be a ſufficient recompence for the ſervice he had received. Theſe Sentiments were inſtilled into him by his Queen, who having loſt the Earl of *Rivers* her Father during the Rebellion, could not forbear looking upon the Authors of it, as the objects of her vengeance. On the other hand, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, to the utmoſt of his power, privately ſowed diſſenſion between his Brothers. He was a Prince of greater ambition than the Duke of *Clarence*, but withal of a very different Character, proceeding to his ends by deep and artful Contrivances, which rendered his ways imperceptible. He always thought before he ſpoke, whereas the Duke of *Clarence* ruined himſelf by too freely diſcovering his Sentiments. It was difficult for two Brothers of ſo contrary Tempers to love one another. But in their diſcord, the Duke of *Clarence* uſed no Ceremony with his Brother, whilſt *Gloceſter* ſtrove never to give him publickly any advantage. Mean while, he gave him ſecret ſtabs, the more unavoidable, as they came from an unſuſpected hand. All the Hiſtorians agree, that from this time, the Duke of *Gloceſter* thought of ſecuring the Crown after the King's death, and therefore the Duke of *Clarence* could not but very much incommode him. This was however an undertaking, the execution whereof ſeemed very difficult, ſince his two elder Brothers had Children. But his Ambition made him think it not impracticable, in proceeding by degrees. The firſt ſtep was, to diſpatch the Duke of *Clarence*. To that end, he endeavoured to render him odious to the King, and cauſe him to conſider him as a ſecret enemy, who was privately labouring to ſupplant his Children. The Duke of *Clarence*'s raſh expreſſions were extremely ſubſervient to his deſign. On the other hand, the Queen, who had a great Influence over the King, failed not to confirm his ſuſpicions.

1478.

Matters ſtanding thus, the King, as he was hunting in a Park belonging to *Thomas Burdet* (3), Confident of the Duke of *Clarence*, chanced to kill a white Buck, in which that Gentleman greatly delighted. *Burdet* was ſo concerned for the death of his favorite Buck, that in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, he ſwore, he wiſhed the horns in the belly of him that killed it. Whereupon he was accuſed of High-Treaſon, condemned, and executed, within the ſpace of two days. Some ſay, his Imprecation concerned only the Perſon that adviſed the King to hunt in his Park. Be this as it will, the deſign, no doubt, of thoſe who ſo hotly proſecuted that unfortunate Gentleman, was, to induce the Duke of *Clarence* to expoſe himſelf by ſome raſh proceeding; of which his inconſiderate, impetuous, and haughty Temper, afforded great aſſurance. Accordingly, the Duke, who was then in *Ireland*, being returned to Court, talked very boldly to the King of his Friend's death, and bitterly complained of his diſregard for a Brother, to whom he owed his reſtoration to the Throne. In fine, he was ſo far tranſported with anger, that he threatened to be revenged. Neither was this all. After leaving the King, he dropped ſome farther no leſs imprudent expreſſions, intimating, his Brother was a Baſtard, and conſequently had no Right to the Crown. Nothing being more agreeable to the deſires of his enemies, than to ſee him thus run into their Snare, they ſo exaſperated the King againſt him, that he reſolved to deſtroy him. For that purpoſe, he held a Council, entirely conſiſting of the Duke of *Clarence*'s enemies, where it was reſolved to apprehend him, accuſe him of High-Treaſon, and bring the Accuſation before the Parliament, then aſſembled. All this was immediately executed, that the Duke might not have leiſure to repent, and beg the King's Pardon. For had he been allowed time to come to himſelf, and implored the King's Mercy, his raſh expreſſions muſt have been conſidered only as the effect of a ſudden Paſſion, which deſerved not the rigorous puniſhment intended him. His affair being brought before the Parliament (4), he was accuſed of ſeveral Crimes, under the eight following Articles. I. By his ſeditious diſcourſes, he had endeavoured to draw upon the King the hatred of his Subjects, by accuſing him of unjuſtly putting *Burdet* to death. II. He had bribed ſome of his domeſticks and others to ſpread ſuch a report.

Stow. Habington.

Stow. P. 430.

(1) *Edward*'s Ambaſſadors were, Sir *John Donn*, *John Coke* Doctor of Laws, and *Lewis Bretell*, Eſq; *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 43.

(2) This year, on *January* 16, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*: In which nothing remarkable was done, but the creating *Richard*, the King's ſecond Son, Duke of *York*, &c. See below, *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 701, 702.

(3) Of *Arrow* in *Warwickſhire*. *Stow*, p. 430.

(4) The Parliament laſt mentioned, which met on *January* 16. *Stow*, p. 450.——Whoever obſerves, what hurry the Duke's Enemies were in to take him off, and the general Indignation of the People againſt the King as a Fratricide, muſt be of Sir *William Dugdale*'s Opinion, That the Duke was not condemned and attainted in Parliament till after his death. *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 164.

1478. III. He had ſaid the King made uſe of Necromancy to know the future. IV. He had taxed the King with poiſoning innocent perſons, whom he thought he could not legally deſtroy. V. He had affirmed, the King was not Son of the Duke of *York*, but of an adulterer admitted by the Ducheſs their Mother to her bed. VI. Inferring from thence, that the Crown was fallen to him, he had diſcovered his deſign to ſeize it, by requiring many perſons to ſwear to be true to him and his Heirs, without any exception of their Allegiance to the King. VII. He had accuſed the King of uſing Magick to take away his Life, by cauſing him to conſume away like a Taper. VIII. Laſtly, He had openly ſhewn his deſign to dethrone the King, in procuring an authentick Copy of the act of Parliament paſſed during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Uſurpation, whereby the Crown was adjudged to him, after the death of *Henry* VI, and his Iſſue-Male.

All the Hiſtorians agree, it would have been very difficult to prove all theſe Articles of Impeachment, if the King had not declared himſelf a Party, and the Queen and the Duke of *Gloceſter* acted underhand to have him found guilty. Be this as it will, he was condemned to die. But there is in this Sentence a very remarkable Circumſtance. One of the chief reaſons of his Condemnation was, his affirming, the King not to be the Duke of *York*'s Son, and that very thing ſerved afterwards for foundation to the Duke of *Gloceſter* to mount the Throne, in prejudice of *Edward*'s Children. Herein muſt be admired the blindneſs of Men, and the Juſtice of God. *Edward* makes uſe of a falſe Accuſation to put his Brother to death, and thereby gives occaſion to ſuſpicions, which are to ſerve hereafter to ruin his own Children. The Duke of *Clarence* being condemned, all the favor he could obtain of the King his Brother, was, to chuſe the manner of his death. To avoid appearing on a Scaffold, he deſired (1), to be drowned in a butt of *Malmſey* (2). He left one Son named *Edward*, who inherited from his Grandfather, by the Mother's Side (3), the Title of Earl of *Warwick*, and a Daughter called *Margaret*, who was Counteſs of *Saliſbury*. As the death of the Duke of *Clarence* raiſed among the People a general Indignation, and murmurs againſt the King, it was deſigned to put a ſtop thereunto, by expoſing his body in St. *Paul*'s Church, and giving out he died of immoderate Grief. But this Artifice was not capable of amuſing the People, who too plainly ſaw, in the Condemnation of that Prince, the terrible effects of his enemy's malice (4).

He is ſuffocated in a Butt of Malmſey. Hall.

His Iſſue. Sandford. Hall.

Edward *creates his eldeſt Son Prince of* Wales, *and his youngeſt Duke of* York. Sandford.

About three Months before, the King had created *Edward* his eldeſt Son Prince of *Wales* (5), and his ſecond Son *Richard*, Duke of *York*. The rejoicings at Court upon this occaſion, expreſſed not ſo much Joy of the Favorites, for the two Princes Promotion, as their ſatisfaction to ſee the Project of the Duke of *Clarence*'s Ruin ſo near accompliſhed. *Edward* did not foreſee that his unjuſt Plot againſt his Brother, was the firſt ſtep towards the ruin of his own Sons. Had the Duke of *Clarence* lived, the Duke of *Gloceſter* would never have thought of ſacrificing them, as he did, to his ambition.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 52, ——61.

Shortly after the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, the Term taken by *Lewis* XI, and *Edward*, to decide their differences by arbitration, was further prolonged, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* appointed by *Edward* one of the Arbitrators (6), in the room of the Duke of *Clarence*.

Embaſſy from Lewis XI *to* Edward. p. 67—86.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the Truce between *Lewis* and *Maximilian* being expired, *Maximilian* entered *Burgundy*, and took ſeveral places with great eaſe, by reaſon of the People's affection to the Houſe of *Burgundy*. Probably, he would then have taken poſſeſſion of the two *Burgundies*, if he had received from the Emperor his Father, a ſupply anſwerable to his occaſions. This *Lewis* very much feared, and as he knew it to be *Edward*'s Intereſt to join forces with *Maximilian*, he forgot nothing to divert him therefrom. In *July* this year, he ſent a full power to prolong the Truce, till a hundred years after the death of the two Kings, and oblige him to the payment of the annual Penſion of fifty thouſand Crowns, ſo long as the Truce ſhould laſt. Moreover the Ambaſſador was empowered, to prolong for three years

p. 86.

the Term agreed upon, to decide the differences by Arbitrators, and to promiſe for *Lewis* and his Succeſſors, to prolong it every third year, till all things were ſettled. The Ambaſſador being arrived at *London*, *Edward* appointed Commiſſioners to treat with him, and at length the Treaty was concluded as propoſed by *Lewis*, though not till *February* the 15th, 1479 (7). 1478.

Lewis *ſhifts off the Dauphin's Marriage with* Elizabeth. p. 89, 91. Hall.

What retarded a little this Negotiation was, *Edward*'s deſire to ſecure, firſt, his Daughter *Elizabeth*'s Marriage with the Dauphin. To that end, he ſent two Ambaſſadors (8) into *France*, with power to perform the Ceremony of betrothing. But *Lewis*, it is likely, found ſome excuſe to defer it. Mean while, he made the ſecond Payment of ten thouſand Crowns for Queen *Margaret*'s Ranſom.

Lewis's *Offer to* Edward. Hall. Habington. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Thus *Edward*, contrary to his own, and the Kingdom's Intereſts, ſuffered himſelf to be managed by the King of *France*, or rather by his own Miniſters, bribed by that Prince. *Lewis* not content with diverting him by his Intrigues from aſſiſting the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, ſent him alſo a Propoſal to divide betwixt them that Princeſs's Dominions, offering him for his part *Flanders* and *Brabant* (9). *Edward* cloſed with the Propoſal, but upon this condition, that in exchange for the Towns conquered in *Flanders*, *Lewis* ſhould give him others in *Picardy*, and particularly *Boulogne* (10). But *Lewis* was too apprehenſive of the neighbourhood of the *Engliſh*, to accept that condition. If he propoſed to him the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, it was only to engage him in a war with *Maximilian* and *Maria*, for fear he ſhould one time or other repent his deſerting them.

1479. Edward *gives himſelf up to pleaſures.*

But *Edward* was far from ſuch a thought. Inſtead of meditating War, he entirely abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, with intention to paſs the reſidue of his days in effeminate Sloth. Mean while, theſe pleaſures which he ſo eagerly purſued, coſt him more than the moſt burdenſome War. And therefore, his Coffers being empty, he uſed divers illegal means to extort Money from his Subjects. The moſt terrible was, that of cauſing the rich to be accuſed of High-Treaſon, in order to confiſcate their Eſtates, or exact large Sums for their pardon. In the mean time, he continued, with ſeveral Princes, negotiations, tending to ſecure him the continuance of that repoſe he ſo paſſionately loved.

He raiſes Money by ill means. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Negotiation with Denmark. Act. Pub. XII. p. 100.

The firſt of theſe negotiations was with the King of *Denmark*, their Alliance not having been well obſerved on either ſide. At laſt, that Prince ſending Ambaſſadors to *London*, the Alliance was confirmed and renewed, and a congreſs appointed at *Hamburgh*, to decide all their differences. One of the conditions of the Treaty was, that the *Engliſh* ſhould not ſet foot in *Iſeland*, without a Paſſport from the King of *Denmark*.

Treaty between Lewis *and* Edward. p. 97, 101, 103.

Two days after the concluſion of this Treaty, the *French* Ambaſſador and the King's Commiſſioners ſigned that before-mentioned, whereby *Lewis* XI promiſed, for himſelf and Succeſſors, to pay to the King of *England* fifty thouſand Crowns every year, as well during the life of the two Kings, as a hundred years after, to commence at the death of the ſurvivor. Next day was alſo ſigned another Treaty, prolonging the Truce, Friendſhip and good underſtanding between the two Kings during their life, and between their Succeſſors, for the ſpace of a hundred years, with promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt their rebellious Subjects. The other Articles were, that if one of the two Princes was driven out of his Kingdom, the other ſhould be obliged to receive him, and aſſiſt him with all his Forces: That they ſhould make no Alliance without a mutual conſent: That the King of *France* ſhould ratify this Treaty, and cauſe it to be confirmed and ratified by the States: And that *Edward* ſhould likewiſe procure the Parliament's approbation. Laſtly, that the Dauphin's Marriage with the Princeſs *Elizabeth* ſhould be accompliſhed, according to the agreement at *Amiens*, and this new Treaty not be derogatory to the former. It does not appear that *Lewis* XI ever ratified this Treaty, which, probably, was made only to amuſe *Edward*. *Lewis* knew, he was bound to nothing without a formal ratification, which doubtleſs he was reſolved not to grant, tho' the Treaty contained only ſuch Articles as were propoſed by

(1) That it was done at his own deſire ſeems to be a miſtake. *Hall*, fol. 239, and *Hollingſhead*, p. 1350. ſay, he was privily drowned in a Butt of Malmſey, on *March* 11, or rather *February* 18. See *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 164.

(2) It ſeems that King *Edward* was afterwards very ſorry for his death; inſomuch, that when any one ſued to him for the Pardon of a condemned Malefactor, he would break out into theſe words: Oh, unfortunate Brother, for whoſe Life not one Creature would make interceſſion! *Hall*, fol. 239.

(3) *Richard Neville*, Earl of *Warwick*.

(4) His Body was buried at *Iewkeſbury* in *Gloceſterſhire*, by that of his Ducheſs, *Iſabella*, Daughter and Coheir of *Richard Neville*, the great Earl of *Warwick*. She being with Child, is ſaid to die of Poiſon a little before. *Sandford*, p. 438. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 703.

(5) *Edward* was created Prince of *Wales*, *July* 26, 1471. and his Brother *Richard* was created Duke of *York*, *May* 28, 1474, Earl of *Nottingham*, *January* 12, 1475. and Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warren*, *February* 7. the ſame year; and alſo Earl-Marſhal. On *January* 15, 1477, he married *Ann*, the only Daughter of *John Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*; by whom he left no Iſſue. *Sandford*, p. 415, 425.

(6) The others were, *Thomas Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *Thomas Rotherham* Biſhop of *Lincoln* and Chancellor, and *Anthony* Earl of *Rivers*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 64.

(7) In *July*, this Year, a Treaty of Trade and Commerce was alſo concluded between King *Edward* and *Burgundy*. *Ibid.* p. 66———92, 95.

(8) Sir *Richard Tunſtall*, and Dr. *Thomas Langton*. *Ibid.* p. 90.

(9) And to pay ten thouſand Angels towards his Charges. *Hall*, ibid.

(10) *Monſtreville* and *Abbeville*. *Commin*, l. 6. c. 7. *Hall*, fol. 241.

1479. himself. This was one of *Lewis*'s Artifices, against which it is very difficult to be prepared. With Princes of this character the shortest and most secure way, would be never to enter into a negotiation.

Project of a Marriage between Philip of Austria, and Anne, Edward's Daughter, p. 110.

As *Lewis* amused *Edward* with the Marriage of *Elizabeth* to the Dauphin, *Maximilian* used the same means to gain him to his interests. Though *Philip* his Son was but a year old, he offered *Edward* to marry him to *Anne* his third Daughter. *Edward* accepted the offer, and whilst the Marriage-Articles were settling, the two Princes sent one another Letters Patents, promising not to marry their Children without a mutual consent, during the space of three years.

and of his Daughter Catherine, *with the Infante of* Spain. p. 110.

About the same time, *Edward* had thoughts of marrying *Catherine* his fourth Daughter to *John*, *Infante* of *Castile* and *Arragon*, Son of King *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* of *Castile*. Nay, it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that Ambassadors were sent into *Spain* to hasten the Treaty, which however came to nothing.

Lewis duly pays the Pension. p. 45, 65, 111, &c. p. 112.

Mean while, *Lewis* duly paid the Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, as appears by several acquittances in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there likewise, that in *March* 1480, he compleated the Payment of *Margaret*'s ransom.

He amuses Edward, Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. *who sends him Ambassadors.* Act. Pub. XII. p. 113.

Lewis readily performed all the Articles of the Treaty of *Amiens*, except the Dauphin's Marriage, for which he still found some fresh excuse, though he still persisted in his promise to fulfil that engagement. *Edward*, surprized at all these delays, called an extraordinary Council, where it was resolved to send Ambassadors to *Lewis*, peremptorily to demand the performance of his promise and the ratification of the late Treaty at *London*. The Lord *Howard* and *Thomas Langton* Treasurer of the Church of *Exeter*, were chosen for this Embassy. *Howard*, who was one of *Edward*'s Confidents, was, very likely, the chief of those that suffered themselves to be corrupted by the King of *France*'s favours.

Lewis continues to amuse him. Hall.

Mean time, *Lewis* was not a little embarrassed. He had given his word for the Marriage, and even bound himself by a Treaty, though he had never any thoughts of accomplishing it. On the other hand, his Ambassadors at *London* had signed another Treaty upon the foot proposed by himself, and yet he was resolved not to ratify it. His sole Aim had been to amuse *Edward*, for fear of his joining with the Arch-Duke. To free himself from these difficulties, he resolved to dissemble and continue to promise the compleating of the marriage, whilst, by Ambassadors sent into *Scotland*, he tried to perswade *James* III to break the Truce with *England*. This Negotiation succeeded to his wish. King *James* suffered himself to be governed by three Favorites, raised from the Dust, without advising with any Lord of his Realm. It was very easy, for the King of *France* to bribe those mercenary Souls, who promised to induce their Master to break the Truce with the *English*. And indeed, presently after, *James* made preparations which plainly discovered his design. *Edward*, surprized at the impending rupture between the King of *Scotland* and him, readily guessed the Author. He dissembled however his resentment, and only ordered an Army to be raised, the command whereof he resolved to give to his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*. Then it was, that he began to open his eyes, and perceive the King of *France*'s insincerity, who, ever since *Burgundy*'s death, had amused him with false promises. Mean while, though he had lost all the favorable Opportunities, he turned his thoughts, though too late, to revenge. This appears in several pieces of the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, all dated the Year 1480, before the *Scots* had actually broke the Truce.

He stirs up the King of Scotland *against him.* Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 115.

Edward *begins to open his eyes.* p. 117.

1480.

Embassy to Castile. p. 119.

First, he sent ambassadors (1) to *Castile* to make reparation for certain Outrages committed by the *English*, during the Earl of *Warwick*'s administration, contrary to the Alliance between *Castile* and *England*. When a Prince offers of himself to repair the damages, his Subjects have done to another Nation, there is reason to presume it is with a view to some other design. *Edward*'s aim was to engage the King of *Castile* to make war upon *France*, or at least, to hinder his assisting *Lewis*.

Treaty with Denmark. p. 119, 121.

In the second place, he ratified the Treaty concluded by his Ambassadors at *Hamburgh*, with the King of *Denmark*.

Edward *promises to aid* Maximilian. p. 123, 124. p. 126, 127.

Thirdly, he confirmed his Treaty of Alliance with the late Duke of *Burgundy*, and promised to send *Maximilian* and *Maria* an aid of six thousand Men, pursuant to the Treaty. The Archduke promised on his part to pay him fifty thousand Crowns yearly, in case the King of *France* discontinued his Pension, and a War ensued upon that account.

Lastly, the Marriage of *Philip* Earl of *Charolois* Son of *Maximilian* and *Maria*, with *Ann* Daughter of *Edward* was concluded, with promise on both sides to cause it to be consummated as soon as the Parties were of age. By this Treaty *Edward* gave with his Daughter a hundred thousand Crowns. But by a subsequent Treaty, the Dower was set against the yearly Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, to be paid by the Archduke instead of the King of *France*, and they mutually forgave one another.

1480. *He concludes the Marriage of his Daughter with Philip.* p. 128. 134, 138.

He promises to declare against Lewis, *if he is not made Umpire.* p. 133.

By another Treaty, *Edward* promised to use his Endeavours to procure *Maximilian* a Truce with the King of *France*; to offer to be arbitrator himself between *Lewis* and him; to try to be received as such; and if *Lewis* refused, ingaged to declare against him. This Proceeding was not very fair, but probably, he did not think himself obliged to act more sincerely than *Lewis* had done.

Embassy to France. p. 135.

Edward having thus settled his matters with *Maximilian* and *Maria*, sent again Ambassadors to *France*, to press the Marriage of his Daughter *Elizabeth* with the Dauphin. If *Lewis* had complied, very likely he would not have scrupled to relinquish the Archduke. But *Lewis* according to custom, using some ill excuse, he equipped a Fleet, and gave the command to *John Middleton*, to go to the assistance of his new Allies.

A Fleet to aid Maximilian. p. 137.

1481. *The King of* Scotland *prepares for War.* Hall. Hollingsh.

Mean time, the King of *Scotland* continued his preparations with intention to break with *England*. But before I speak of the success of this War so little expected by *Edward*, it will be proper briefly to relate what passed then in *Scotland*, with the situation of the Affairs of that Kingdom.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

James III. who came to the Crown at seven Years of age, being out of his Minority, had suffered himself to be so corrupted by Flatterers, that he made his will the sole rule of his actions. Without entering into a needless detail of the outrages he commited upon his Subjects, it will suffice to say in a word, he was deemed a real Tyrant. He had three Ministers or Favorites (2), Men of mean birth, who governed him entirely and whose sole view was to render him independent of the Laws, that they themselves might rule in his name with an arbitrary power. The King had two Brothers, namely, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and *John*. The last speaking too freely of the King his Brother's conduct, was thrown into Prison, and there put to death by having his Veins opened. As the Favorites were afraid, *Alexander* would revenge his death, they perswaded the King to confine him in a Castle.

James oppresses his Subjects. He gives himself up to his Favorites.

Puts one Brother to death, and imprisons another.

Edward prepares for his Defence.

At this Juncture it was that *James*, hated by his People, and particularly by the Nobility, undertook, without the least pretence, to break the Truce with the *English*. *Edward* was vexed to see the approaches of a rupture that would divert him from the War with *France*, to which he was much more inclined. Mean while, not to neglect all necessary precautions, he gave orders for the defence of the borders, and at the same time committed to certain Persons of *Ireland*, the care of making an Alliance in his Name, with the Earl of *Ross* Lord of the *Isles*, to give his Enemy a diversion from that quarter.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 139. 142.

James enters England, and carries off some Booty.

In *June* 1481, the *Scots* made an irruption into the borders before *Edward*'s Army was ready. They carried away some booty, and that was all these mighty preparations came to. *Edward* made no haste to send an Army against *Scotland*, as well because he still hoped to end this Affair amicably, as because he knew King *James*'s circumstances to be such, that he could not do him much hurt. His grand design was to be revenged of *Lewis* XI. For though that Prince, with his usual dissimulation, still put him in hopes, he would perform his promise with respect to the Marriage, and though he punctually paid twenty five thousand Crowns every six Months, *Edward* plainly perceived, he intended not to call in his word with regard to the first Article, and that a rupture was unavoidable.

Edward thinks more of France than Scotland.

Project of Marriage between the Prince of Wales, *and* Ann *of* Bretagne. Act. Pub. XII. p. 142.

For this reason he renewed his Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and concluded the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* his Son, with *Ann* eldest Daughter of that Duke, or in case she died before consummation, with *Isabella* her youngest Sister, upon these conditions: That if there should be several Sons, the second, or next to the Heir of the Crown of *England*, should be Duke of *Bretagne*, and reside in the Country; That if the Duke should hereafter have a Son born in wedlock, he should espouse her of *Edward*'s Daughters that was most suitable to his age; That if *Edward* had no Daughter to give him, the Duke should not marry his Son without the King's content. Lastly, it was agreed betwixt them that if the King of *France* made war upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Edward* should send the Duke three thousand Men at his own

(1) *John Coke* secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, and Dr. *John Fox*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 119.
(2) *Thomas Preston*, *Robert Cockrain* a Merchant, and *William Rogers* a Musician. *Buchan.* l. 12.

1481. charge. The Duke promiſed the ſame thing in caſe of a War between *England* and *France*.

1482. *Alliance with Portugal.* p. 145. *Negotiation for a Marriage.*

In the beginning of the year 1482, *Edward* renewed his Alliance with *Portugal*. Shortly after, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Caſtile*, to conclude the marriage of his Daughter *Catherine* with the Infante. But that affair did not ſucceed to his wiſh. All theſe Treaties, theſe renewings of Alliances, theſe projects of marriages, ſhow, *Edward* intended to carry War into *France* (1).

The Duke of Albany eſcapes into England. Buchanan. Act. Pub. XII. p. 154.

Whilſt *Edward* was intent upon every thing conducive to the good ſucceſs of his undertaking, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother of the King of *Scotland*, eſcaped out of priſon, and came by Sea into *England*, to implore the King's protection. Beſides the general reaſons which all the *Scots* had to complain of their Sovereign, *Alexander* had very particular ones. The Death of the Duke his Brother, and his own impriſonment, violently inclined him to ſeek means to be revenged, and doubtleſs, ambition greatly conduced to inflame his paſſion. The *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Hiſtorians have limited his deſire of revenge, to ſome general views of reclaiming the King his Brother, and procuring to himſelf the reſtitution of his eſtate. But the *Collection of the Publick Acts* furniſhes authentick proofs, that *Alexander*'s deſign was to be poſſeſſed of the Throne.

Treaty of the Duke of Albany with Edward. June 10. p. 156.

We find there his Treaty with *Edward*, wherein he aſſumes the Title of King of *Scotland*, and promiſes to do homage for that Kingdom to the Crown of *England*. He ingages moreover to break the antient Alliance of *France* with *Scotland*, and make one with *Edward* againſt *Lewis* XI; to deliver *Berwick* to *England*, and marry *Cecily*, *Edward*'s Daughter, affianced to Prince *James* his Nephew, in caſe, by the judgement of the Church, he could be divorced from his Wife. That if he could not ſucceed, he promiſes to marry his Son only to a Princeſs of *England*. *Edward* obliges himſelf on his part, to aſſiſt him with all his power to take poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Scotland*. This Treaty being ſigned, *Edward* ſent an Army againſt *Scotland* (2), under the command of the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother, whom the Duke of *Albany* would accompany, but without taking however the title of King. Probably, this Treaty was a ſecret known to few Perſons. At the ſame time, *Edward* gave the command of a Fleet to *Robert Ratcliff*, to act againſt *Scotland*. The Duke of *Gloceſter* advancing to the borders of the two Kingdoms, took the Town of *Berwick*, and being unwilling to loſe time in beſieging the Caſtle, left it inveſted (3) and marched directly to *Edinburgh*.

The Duke of Gloceſter marches into Scotland, p. 157.

and takes Berwick. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchanan. Biondi. Habington.

Whilſt the Duke of *Gloceſter* was advancing at the head of his Army, King *James* who had wantonly undertaken this War without concerting meaſures to proſecute it vigorouſly, was greatly embarraſſed. The only means he had to reſiſt the *Engliſh* was to aſſemble the Nobility; but he durſt not attempt it, knowing how much they were diſpleaſed with him and his Miniſters. He was forced however to reſolve it, or caſt himſelf upon the mercy of the *Engliſh*. So, the Lords being ſummoned, came with their Troops to *Lauther*, where they were expected by the King. But to what ſtreights ſoever that Prince was reduced, he altered not his conduct. His three favorites were his ſole Council, and ſcarce any dared to approach him but themſelves or their creatures. The Nobles, full of indignation at this conduct, reſolved to embrace ſo fair an opportunity to be rid of thoſe by whom the King was beſet. After conſulting together upon what was to be done, ſome of them well-attended came to the King's apartment, and carrying away the three favorites who had ſheltered themſelves in his room, brought them to the Army, where they cauſed them to be immediately hanged. *James*, extremely terrified, dreading alſo an attempt upon his life, promiſed to reform his conduct for the future; but a few days after, withdrew to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. So, the army being without a leader, disbanded themſelves, and the Lords returned to their homes.

The Duke of Gloceſter becomes maſter of Edinburgh. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* hearing of this diſorder, haſtened his march to *Edinburgh*, and entered the City without oppoſition. He would have conferred with the King, but it was not even poſſible to inform him of his deſire. This obſtinacy to hearken to nothing, obliged the Duke of *Gloceſter* to publiſh, by ſound of Trumpet, in all the quarters of *Edinburgh*, that if, before *September*, the King of *Scotland* did not obſerve the Treaties made with the King of *England*, he would deſtroy the whole Kingdom with fire and ſword. King *James*'s engagement were chiefly to keep the Truce, and return the Money received for the dower of the Princeſs *Cecily*, affianced to the Prince his Son. To this the Duke of *Gloceſter* added, that he ſhould recall the Duke of *Albany* and reſtore him to his eſtate and honours. *James* equally unable to reſiſt his enemies and to perform his engagements, made no anſwer. Mean while, the Nobles being aſſembled at *Hadington*, ſent Deputies (4) to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, to acquaint him, it was their earneſt deſire, the intended marriage ſhould be conſummated, and that neither they nor the States were to be blamed, that the Truce was not punctually obſerved. The Duke of *Gloceſter* replied, the marriage being projected only to maintain a good underſtanding between the two Nations, and King *James* having wantonly broke it without any provocation, he did not know whether the King his Brother deſired the marriage to be conſummated: That however he had orders to receive the ſums that were paid in part of the Princeſs's dower: That as for the Truce, it would be aſſuredly obſerved by *England*, provided the King his Brother was put in poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Berwick*, or at leaſt, the *Scots* would promiſe not to aſſiſt the Beſieged.

1482.

The Nobility ſend Deputies to him. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Duke of Albany procures a Peace. Act. Pub. XII. p. 160, --- 168. Hall. Stow. Holling.

Matters ſtanding thus, the Duke of *Albany* demanded of the *Scotch* Lords a Safe-Conduct, and obtaining it, he went and conferred with them. In the conference it was agreed, That the Duke of *Albany* ſhould be made Regent of *Scotland*: That the Citizens of *Edinburgh* ſhould be obliged to pay the King of *England* the money received by *James*, in caſe the projected marriage did not take effect: Laſtly, That the Caſtle of *Berwick* ſhould be ſurrendered to the Duke of *Gloceſter*. For the Duke of *Albany*'s private ſecurity, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, the High-Chancellor, the Earl of *Argyle*, promiſed to procure him a general pardon for all crimes whatever, even for attempting to dethrone the King; and to cauſe him to be reſtored to his whole eſtate. On the other hand, the Duke promiſed to acknowledge the King his Brother for his lawful Sovereign, and to ſwear Allegiance to him. This gives occaſion to preſume, his Treaty with *Edward* was known in *Scotland*, or the Duke thought proper to diſcover it, that this clauſe might be included in the pardon. This agreement being made (5), the Duke of *Albany*, either out of pure generoſity, or becauſe he thought he ſhould meet with too many obſtacles, relinquiſhed his project of placing himſelf on the Throne. On the other hand, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſpent ſome time at *Newcaſtle*, till the King his Brother ſhould acquaint him with his pleaſure, concerning his Daughter's marriage (6).

James being reſtored diſſembles his Reſentment. Buchanan. Hall.

The Duke of *Albany* ſeeing himſelf thus maſter of the Kingdom, reſtored the King his Brother to his former eſtate, reſerving to himſelf only his own eſtate, and the glory of his generoſity. *James* pleaſed, as may be imagined, that his fear was his only puniſhment, ſeemed at firſt to behave very differently from what he had done before. Preſently after, he reſolved to go to *Amiens* and viſit the relicks of St. *John*, or perhaps to take new meaſures with *Lewis* XI. But I do not know whether he executed this deſign, though there is in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* a Safe-Conduct for him and a thouſand attendants. Be this as it will, his diſſimulation laſted not long. He reſumed his formed courſe of life, as well as his enmity to his Brother, and reſolved to diſpatch him. This deſign was kept ſo private, that when the Duke was told of it, he had but juſt time to throw himſelf into a fiſhing-boat, and eſcape to the Caſtle of *Dunbar* with ſome friends. From thence he ſent into *England* the Earl of *Angus* and ſome others (7) to renew with *Edward* the Treaty made the laſt year, and which was ſet aſide by the intervening agreement. This Treaty was confirmed *February* 11. 1483, with additional articles. But *Edward*'s death, which happened preſently after, prevented the execution. Mean while, the Duke of *Albany* having now, purſuant to the Treaty, delivered the fortreſs of *Dunbar* to the *Engliſh*, and ſeeing no appearance of being relieved, withdrew into *France*, where he was unfortunate-

Act. Pub. XII. p. 170.

He attempts his Brother's Life, who eſcapes to Dunbar.

1483.

He renews his Treaty with Edward. p. 173.

Buchanan.

He is killed in France. Biondi. Hall.

(1) In the beginning of this year, namely, on the 20th of *January*, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; wherein the Commons, with the aſſent of the Biſhops and Lords, gave the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth, to be levied on the Laity, except ſix thouſand Pounds to be beſtowed upon decayed Towns. They alſo granted a yearly Subſidy to be levied of all Strangers, as well Denizens as otherwiſe. They moreover allowed a yearly Rent out of the Cuſtoms, and other Revenues, to defray the King's Houſhold Expences, amounting to eleven thouſand Pounds. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 705, 706.

(2) They begun their march in *May*, and came to *Alnwick* in the beginning of *July*. ----- The number of Men in this Army, with their chief Commanders, were as follows: The Front was led by *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, under whoſe Standard were, the Lord *Scrope* of *Bolton*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *John Dickſield*, and others, to the number of ſix thouſand ſeven hundred. In the middle Ward was the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and with him the Duke of *Albany*, the Lords *Lovell* and *Greyſtock*, Sir *Edward Woodville*, and others, to the number of five thouſand eight hundred Men. The Lord *Nevill* was appointed to follow with three thouſand Men. The Lord *Stanley* led the right Wing, with four thouſand Men of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*. The left Wing was commanded by the Lord *Fitzhugh*, Sir *William Parr*, Sir *James Harrington*, with two thouſand Men. And beſide all theſe, there was a thouſand Men appointed to attend the Ordinance. *Hall*, fol. 243. *Stow*, p. 432. *Hollingſh.* p. 1352.

(3) By the Lord *Stanley*, Sir *John Erlington*, Sir *William Parr*, and four thouſand Men. *Hall*, fol. 243.

(4) On *Auguſt* 2. *Idem.* p. 244.

(5) *Auguſt* 4. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 161.

(6) The Caſtle of *Berwick* was ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*, *Auguſt* 26. *Buchan.* l. 12.

(7) *Andrew* Lord *Grey*, and Sir *James Lyddall*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 173.

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1483. ly killed with the ſplinter of a lance, at a tournament, by the Duke of *Orleans*, who was afterwards King of *France* by the name of *Lewis* XII.

Edward's affairs are in an ill way upon the Death of the Dutcheſs of Burgundy. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The War with *Scotland* being ended, *Edward* turned all his thoughts to the War he deſigned to carry into *France*. But he was far from being in ſo favorable circumſtances to be revenged of *Lewis* XI, as before the rupture with *Scotland*. *Maria* Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, being killed by a fall from her horſe in *March* 1481, the Archduke her Spouſe had ſo little authority among the *Flemings*, that he was forced to ſuffer his Children by that Princeſs to remain in the hands of the *Gantois*. Then *Lewis* XI, uſing all his policy to inſpire the *Flemings* with a dread of the Houſe of *Auſtria*'s power, managed ſo dextrouſly with the *Gantois*, that he obtained their conſent to give the Dauphin his Son, *Margaret* Daughter of their deceaſed Ducheſs, with the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Burgundy*, *Maconnois*, *Auxerre* and *Charolois*. This Treaty was made with that ſecrecy that *Edward* had no notice of it; ſo that *Lewis* ſtill continued to amuſe the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, even after it was ended to his wiſh. The firſt news they had of it, was the arrival of the young Dauphineſs, two years old, who was brought to *Paris* in *April* 1482. The nuptials were ſolemnized in *July*. This was a great vexation, and moſt outragious affront to *Edward*, who cauſed the Princeſs his Daughter to be ſtiled Madam the Dauphineſs. He had perhaps forgot the affront he himſelf put upon *Lewis* with regard to his own marriage, or thought love would excuſe it; but *Lewis* believed himſelf no leſs excuſed by politicks, and what Kings call reaſons of ſtate. Be this as it will, *Edward* full of indignation and rage, bent all his thoughts to revenge; but it was too late, the opportunities he had neglected were irrecoverably loſt. He could no longer rely upon the aſſiſtance of the *Flemings*, who had ſo openly ſhown their attachment to the intereſts of *France*. The Duke of *Bretagne* was ſeized with a melancholy, which rendered him incapable of any conſiderable undertaking. The King of *Scotland* had no reaſon to be pleaſed, and all that *Edward* could expect from his Alliance with the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, was, that they would not give any Aſſiſtance to *Lewis*. So to be revenged, *Edward* muſt, like *Henry* V, attack *France* with the forces of *England* alone. But *France* was very far from being in the ſame circumſtances, as when *Henry* V began the War. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of improbability of ſucceeding in ſuch an undertaking, *Edward* was bent upon it. For that purpoſe, he aſſembled all the Lords that were at Court or near *London*, and in a very moving ſpeech repreſented to them how great reaſon the *Engliſh* nation, and himſelf in particular, had, to reſent the grievous affronts put upon them by the King of *France*. He forgot not to diſplay the title of the Kings of *England* to the Crown of *France*. That was the chief topick to touch the hearts of the *Engliſh*. In ſhort, he added whatever he thought capable to perſwade them, not only of the neceſſity of a War with *France*, but alſo of the great probability of a happy ſucceſs. There is no need of much eloquence to induce the *Engliſh* to wage War with *France*. All the Lords unanimouſly declared, they thought the War juſt and neceſſary, and aſſured the King, they were ready to ſerve him with their lives and fortunes. The report being ſpread in the Kingdom, that a War with *France* was reſolved, an extraordinary joy appeared in Peoples faces, as if the news of ſome great victory had been received.

He prepares however for War. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

An ill Juncture for Edward. Argentré. Blondi.

Hall.

But whilſt preparations were making for this important war, *Edward* was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, which diſcovered to him the vanity of all his projects. When he found himſelf mortally ſick, he beheld with another Eye than before, whatever had ingroſſed him during his paſt Life; and it is pretended, he ſhewed marks of a ſincere repentance. But in the laſt moments, the great ſearcher of hearts alone can perfectly judge of the ſentiments expreſſed by the Tongue. *Edward* died the 9th of *April*, in the forty ſecond year of his age (1), after a Reign of two and twenty years and one month. The cauſe of his death is variouſly reported. Some accuſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* of poiſoning him. But this Accuſation being groundleſs, ought not to be too lightly credited. *Philip de Commines* pretends, *Edward* died with grief and vexation, to ſee himſelf baffled and deceived by *Lewis* XI. But what he ſays is to be conſidered only as a bare conjecture, and the rather, as *Edward* was convinced, two years before, of *Lewis*'s Inſincerity. The moſt probable opinion is, that he died of a ſurfeit, being uſed to divert his cares with exceſſive eating and drinking (2).

Death of Edward IV. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

l. 6. c. 9. Hall.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Character of Edward IV. Moor. Habington.

I have hitherto ſpoken only of *Edward* the IV's moſt ſhining Actions, by reaſon of their connexion with the publick Affairs. It will be neceſſary now to ſay ſomething of his perſon, and deſcribe the good and bad qualities of his body and mind. But firſt, I cannot forbear once more to remark, that a man muſt be upon his guard, with reſpect to the Hiſtorians that ſpeak of this Prince, as well as of his Brother *Richard* III. The greateſt part wrote when the Throne was filled with the Princes of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who were extremely jealous of their Rights, and would not willingly have ſuffered them to be blemiſhed, or the Kings of the Houſe of *York* to be praiſed. The After-writers, when the Civil Wars were forgot, tranſcribed what they found in theſe firſt Hiſtorians, and frequently gave for truth, what was only the effect of the prejudice or policy of the former Hiſtorians. For my part, who have no Intereſt to blacken this Prince's reputation, I have endeavoured to avoid that exceſs, without concealing however either his failings or ill qualities. 1483.

When *Edward* aſcended the Throne, he was one of the handſomeſt Men in *England*, and perhaps in *Europe*. This is acknowledged by all. His noble Mien, his free and eaſy Air, his affable Carriage, prepoſſeſſed every one in his favor. Theſe qualities, joined to an undaunted Courage, gained him among the People, an eſteem and affection, extremely ſerviceable to him, in many circumſtances of his Life. *Philip de Commines* affirms, he owed his reſtoration, to the Inclination, the principal *London* Ladies had for him. But that would have been inconſiderable, had he not likewiſe acquired the affection of their Husbands, and in general, of moſt part of the *Engliſh*. If he had not depended upon the hearts of the people, he would never have ventured to attempt the recovery of the Throne, with the help of two thouſand Men, who were moſtly Foreigners. For ſome time, he was exceeding liberal, but at laſt became covetous, not ſo much from his natural Temper, as from a neceſſity to ſupply the immoderate expences, into which he was thrown by his pleaſures. Though he had a great extent of wit, and a ſolid judgment, he committed however ſeveral very great errors. The firſt was, when he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by the Earl of *Warwick*. But that fault was in great meaſure repaired, by the dexterity and readineſs wherewith he freed himſelf from the Archbiſhop of *York*. The ſecond was, to truſt ſuch perſons as betrayed him, and were ſold to *France*. The third, to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo long deceived by *Lewis* XI, who was univerſally exclaimed againſt for his ill Faith. Moſt Hiſtorians have extremely aggravated this error, as being ignorant, that from the year 1480, he began to take meaſures to make war upon *Lewis*, as appears in what has been quoted from the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Two other errors are alſo aſcribed to him, which may be more eaſily excuſed. The firſt is, his breaking off the war with *France* for an inconſiderable Sum, at a time when he might have flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs. But if the circumſtances of this affair be well examined, it will be eaſily ſeen, that being forſaken by the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* his Allies, it would have been very raſh to purſue with his own Forces alone, the execution of ſo great an enterprize, which, probably, would have proved unſucceſsful. Another error laid to his charge, is, his not joining with the Heireſs of *Burgundy*, to ſtop the progreſs of the King of *France*. I own, that was a real fault. However, it may be conſiderably leſſened, by the examples of ſeveral Princes eminent for their Abilities, who obſerved the ſame conduct on the like occaſions. Uncertain of the events, Princes often imagine they ſhall be great gainers by ſetting their neighbours at variance, in hopes of their weakening one another. But the ſucceſs ſometimes happens not to anſwer their expectations. It is certain, if *Maria* of *Burgundy*, and afterwards the Archduke her Husband had more vigorouſly reſiſted the attacks of *Lewis* XI, nothing was more capable to render *Edward* the Umpire of *Europe*, than the mutual weakening of theſe two powers. By this conduct it was that he made himſelf courted by the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, becauſe he was always in condition to make the balance incline to one ſide. He hoped, perhaps, it would be always the ſame; but he had to deal with a more artful Prince than himſelf.

Faults aſcribed to Edward.

Inſtances of his Cruelty.

Theſe are properly political faults, which are often conſidered as ſuch, only becauſe of the events which are not in Man's power. But the Crimes *Edward* is more juſtly charged with, are his Cruelty, Perjury, and Incontinence. The firſt appears in the great number of Princes and Lords, whom, after taking them priſoners, he put to death on the Scaffold. If ever there was room to exerciſe Mercy in caſe of Rebellion, it was at that fatal time when it was almoſt impoſſible to ſtand neuter, and ſo

(1) See above, p. 567, Note (6).

(2) Hall ſays, he had been troubled, ever ſince his laſt Journey to *France*, with a tertian Ague and Fever, which ſuddenly turned to a Quartan, fol. 247.

difficult

1483. difficult to chuſe the juſteſt ſide between the two Houſes, that were contending for the Crown. And yet, we don't find, *Edward* had ever any regard to that conſideration. The death of the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry* VI, murdered almoſt in his preſence; and that of *Henry* himſelf, notwithſtanding his innocence, may perhaps be juſtified in ſome meaſure, by thoſe who think nothing unlawful when a Throne is in queſtion; but they will never be excuſed by thoſe who have any tincture of Religion. As for the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, I don't know whether it would be poſſible to find the leaſt ſoftning, if it be true, as it is very probable, that he was innocent.

His Breach of Faith.

Edward's breach of faith was viſible, in the unjuſt puniſhment of the Lord *Wells* and his Brother-in-law, after drawing them out of Sanctuary by a Safe-Conduct; in that of the Baſtard of *Fauconbridge*, whoſe Crime he had pardoned: And laſtly, in his Oath at *York*, taken even with intention to break it. All theſe actions are of the number of thoſe, that can be excuſed only by reaſons of State; weak excuſe in things where Honour and Religion are concerned.

His Incontinence. Moor.

As for *Edward*'s Incontinency, his whole Life may be ſaid to be one continued Scene of Luſt. He had many Concubines, but eſpecially three, of whom he ſaid, *One was the merrieſt* (1), *the other the wittieſt, and the third the holieſt in the World, for ſhe was always in a Church, but when he ſent for her.* He had however but two natural Children, both by *Elizabeth Lucy*, (to whom he is ſaid to have been contracted before his marriage,) *Arthur* ſirnamed *Plantagenet*, created Viſcount *L'Iſle* by *Henry* VIII (2), and *Elizabeth*, Wife of Sir *Thomas Lumley*. I ſhall ſay nothing of *Edward*'s Religion, ſince Hiſtorians mention it only in relating his Death-bed diſcourſes.

Hall. Stow.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

His Good-Fortune.

What is moſt ſurpriſing in the Life of this Prince, is his good fortune, which ſeems to be almoſt miraculous. He was raiſed to the Throne after the loſs of two Battles, the firſt by the Duke his Father, the other by the Earl of *Warwick*, then devoted to the Houſe of *York*. The head of the Father was ſtill upon the Walls of *York*, when the Son was proclaimed at *London*. *Edward* eſcaped, as it were by Miracle, out of his Confinement at *Middleham*. He was reſtored to the Throne, or at leaſt received into *London* at his return from *Holland*, before he had vanquiſhed, and whilſt his fortune yet depended upon the deciſion of a Battle, which the Earl of *Warwick* was ready to give him. In a word, he was ever victorious in all the Battles where he was preſent (3). 1483.

His Iſſue.

Elizabeth his Queen brought him a numerous Iſſue, namely, three Princes, and eight Princeſſes, of whom one Son and two Daughters died in their Infancy (4). We ſhall ſee preſently the fate of his eldeſt Son *Edward* his Succeſſor, and of his Brother *Richard* Duke of *York*.

Elizabeth the eldeſt of his Daughters (5) was promiſed in marriage to the Dauphin, Son of *Lewis* XI, afterwards King of *France* by the Name of *Charles* VIII. In proceſs of time, ſhe was married to *Henry* VII, King of *England*.

Cecily, who was affianced to the Prince of *Scotland*, eſpouſed the Lord Viſcount *Wells*, and after his death, another whoſe Name I know not, ſhe died without Iſſue (6).

Ann was contracted to *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* and *Maria* of *Burgundy*. But that Marriage not taking effect, ſhe eſpouſed *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, who died without Iſſue.

Bridget was a Nun, [at *Dartford*.]

Mary, who was promiſed to the King of *Denmark* died at *Greenwich* before her marriage was ſolemnized.

Catherine, whom the King her Father would have given to the Infante of *Spain*, was married to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, by whom ſhe had a Son created Marquiſs of *Exeter*, in the reign of *Henry* VIII.

It muſt be remarked, that in the *Engliſh* Hiſtories there is a continual Anachroniſm of a year, and ſometimes of two, from 1474, to the end of this reign (7).

(1) *Jane Shore.*

(2) From *Frances Plantagenet*, his ſecond Daughter, married to *Thomas Monk*, Eſq; was deſcended the late *George Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*. *Sandſ.* p. 449, 450.

(3) King *Edward* was buried at *Windſor*, in the Collegiate Chapel begun by him, and finiſhed by the Lord *Reginald Bray*. He is ſaid to have taken a thouſand Pounds a year from *Eaton* and *King's* College, to beſtow on this his new Foundation at *Windſor*. He alſo repaired the Caſtles of *Nottingham* and *Dover*, the Tower of *London*, his Palace at *Eltham*, &c. *Stow*, p. 433. *Habington*, p. 479.

(4) The Son was called *George*, who being a Child, was created Duke of *Bedford*, and ſhortly after dying, was buried at *Windſor*. The two Daughters were, *Margaret*, (the ſixth Daughter, buried in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, with a *Latin* Epitaph:) The other's name is not mentioned. See *Sandford*, p. 418, 419.

(5) Born at *Weſtminſter*, *Feb.* 11. 1466. *Idem.* p. 417.

(6) She had by *Wells* two Daughters, *Elizabeth* who died without Iſſue, and *Ann Wells*, buried at the *Auguſtin* Fryers. *Cecily*'s ſecond Husband was one *Kyme* of *Lincolnſhire*, by whom ſhe had no Children. She was buried at *Quarera* in the Iſle of *Wight*. *Idem.* p. 418.

(7) In this Reign flouriſhed ſeveral eminent Men, particularly *Thomas Littleton* Judge of the *Common Pleas*, and *John Forteſcue* Judge and Chancellor of *England*. In the year 1483, the laſt of this Reign, was born *Thomas Parr* a *Shropſhire* Man, noted for his extraordinary great Age. He lived to the year 1635, being then brought up to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel*, as a great rarity, where he died, after having lived in the Reigns of ten Kings and Queens, aged a hundred and fifty two years.

1

2

3

By an Indenture of the 4th of *Edward* IV, a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to make by Tale twenty Pounds, ſixteen Shillings and Eight-pence; and a Pound Weight of Silver, old Sterling, was to make thirty ſeven Shillings and Six-pence. By other Indentures of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 16th, and 22d of the ſame King, a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to make forty five Nobles, going for ten Shillings a-piece, or ninety half Nobles, or one hundred and eighty quarter Nobles, or ſixty ſeven and a half of the Pieces impreſſed with Angels, going for ſix Shillings and Eight-pence each, and conſequently was coined into twenty two Pounds ten Shillings by Tale; and the Silver Moneys were ſhorn at thirty ſeven Shillings and Six-pence the Pound Weight Troy. Theſe Indentures were made between the King, and the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, Maſter, Worker, and Warden, of all his Exchanges and Outchanges in *England* and *Calais*. King *Edward* IVth's Monies are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of *Edward* III, by the Form of the Letters, particularly Π which is not made like an H, as in thoſe of *Edward* III; as alſo by the Weight, his Groats being above twenty Grains lighter: moreover, the Title of *Ireland* is wanting on his Coins. The outer Circle on the Groats is wanting, leaving the Letters extended to the very edge, and generally worn part away, in other reſpects like his Predeceſſors; and of ſeveral Mints, as *London*, *York*, *Canterbury*, *Briſtol*; ſome of them, beſides the Name of the Place of Mintage on the Reverſe, have the initial Letters E. C. B. on the King's Breaſt. (*Fig.* 1.) The *Iriſh* Groats have the King's Head within a Roſe, and generally make no mention at all of *England*, with the Place of Coinage on the Reverſe, as *Dublin*, *Drogheda*, *Waterford*; the power of coining Money being taken from other Places. Theſe fall ſhort of the *Engliſh* Groats near ten Grains; the firſt difference betwixt the Standards of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Money beginning in this Reign. Of this *Iriſh* Money there is one piece having on the Reverſe, CIVITAS. DVBLINIE. with a large Star, that fills the whole Area: This is reckoned a great Curioſity. (*Fig.* 2.) There is another in *Speed*, having on one ſide the Arms of *France* and *England* quartered, inſcribed, REX. ANGLI. Z. FRANCIE. Reverſe, three Crowns, denoting the three Kingdoms DOMINVS. HIBERNIE. (*Fig.* 3.) The *Ryal* is like *Henry* Vth's Roſe Noble, only here is added a Flag at the Stern of the Ship, wherein is the Letter E. EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. IB. Reverſe, IHS. AVT. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIVM. ILLORV. IBAT. Inſtead of a Croſs, there is a Roſe in the Center, with Rays like a Sun, extending to he Lions and Fleurs-de-lis interchangeably. The *Angel* is exactly like that of *Henry* VI.

17. *ED-*

This Epitaph of King Edward IV.
is registred in a Book in the College Arms.

Carmina que letus cecini, cano tristia mestus,
Heu pater, heu pastor, heu Rex, heu bellicus armis,
Heu doctus Salomon Jonathas, Arthurus in bolte,
Heu vere legis custos, heu gloria plebis,
Edwardus quartus Anglis Rex, I decus orbis,
Tollitur a nobis Rosa mundi sola, triumphi,
Ablolom in vultu, Salomon tristi quasi cultu,
Templi fundator, castri novus & recreator
Ast nobis natis qui sit jam queso beatus
Gallus obedit ejus vultu, luctus q; subegit,
Protector Christi fidei victus nece tristi
Cella petens astri, jacuit jam colmina castri,
Sol latet obsc
Castra choris
Olim jam fle
Luce migrat
Edwardi Chr
M. semel C. qua
Tristis sed R
Natus quo m
Anglia plang
Rex tuus er
Regem nunc
Princeps Du
Spiritus ero
Omnes Angl

Gravelot del

The Monument of KIN
IN THE ROYAL CHAPE

Sol latet obscurus, grabibus dolet Anglia cuncta,
Castra choris plena psallentum sunt peramena,
Olim jam fleuntum, vix verba referre valentum:
Luce migrat celis nona Rex noster Aprilis,
Edwardi Christi matris, precibusq Georgii,
M semel C quater octo decies tribus annis,
Trilis sed Regni vicenus trinus annus;
Natus quo mense necat hunc mors illius ense,
Anglia plange parens Regis, sic Neustria nutrit,
Rex tuus ex jure moritur cur Gallia conflet;
Regem nunc Reges plangant, geniti genitores,
Princeps Duxq; comes genitrix Regina proles,
Spiritus ecorent Reges petat alta Polorum,
Omnes Angligeni quia Rex I tutor eorum.

C. Du. Bosc. fecit.

KING EDWARD IV
APEL of WINDSOR.

From a Limning in a Manuscript-book now in the Library at Lambeth.

17. EDWARD V.

1483. EDWARD V. *is proclaimed.* April 9.

AFTER the death of *Edward* IV, the Prince his eldeſt Son, between twelve and thirteen years of age, was proclaimed King by the name of *Edward* V. The reign of this Prince was ſhort and unfortunate; if the two months and twelve days that he bore the title of King, and which were wholly ſpent in depriving him of the Crown, even before he had ſolemnly received it, is not rather to be deemed an Interregnum. However, as during that ſhort ſpace, he was generally acknowledged for Sovereign of *England*, Hiſtorians have made no ſcruple to rank him among the Kings. The whole ſubject of this reign conſiſts only of the means uſed by the Duke of *Gloceſter* to diſpoſſeſs the young King his Nephew, and place himſelf in the Throne. But before I enter upon the relation of theſe deteſtable practices, it will be neceſſary to ſhew the ſtate of the Court of *England* before the death of *Edward* IV.

State of the Court before Edward's Death.

Elizabeth Woodville, who from a ſubject was become Queen, by her marriage with *Edward*, held the firſt rank at Court, as well by the privileges common to all Queens, as by her great credit. From the time of her marriage, ſhe had acquired an influence over the King which ſhe preſerved to the day of his death. Her birth by her Father's ſide was not very conſiderable (1). But her Mother, who had been Wife of the famous Duke of *Bedford*, was of the Houſe of *Luxemburgh*, illuſtrious for the Princes, Kings, and Emperors it had given to *Europe*. So, conſidering *Elizabeth* as derived from thence, it is not at all ſtrange, ſhe ſhould have a great ſoul, and think herſelf as worthy to command, as the nobleſt Lords of *England*. Mean time, as being Queen gave her no right to interpoſe in the publick affairs, ſhe artfully aſſumed it by her aſcendant over the King. Though *Edward* often proved falſe to her, ſhe bore it with patience and without any ſigns of uneaſineſs. *Edward* charmed to find himſelf at liberty to purſue his inclinations, without danger of continual reproaches, repaid this moderation with all ſorts of condeſcenſions, which the Queen knew how to improve. The advancement of Sir *Richard Woodville* her Father to the honour of Earl of *Rivers* (2), and the marriage of her Brother with the richeſt Heireſs of the Kingdom, were the firſt proofs ſhe gave of her power. After that, *Edward* heaped honours and riches upon this family, even to the deſiring to marry his Brother-in-law *Anthony* to the King of *Scotland*'s Siſter (3), as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. When the Prince of *Wales* was of age to have a Governor, this ſame Lord, become Earl of *Rivers*, was entruſted with that high Office. The Queen forgot not her own Children by her former Husband Sir *John Grey* [of *Groby*.] *Thomas Grey* her eldeſt Son, was made Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, Governor of the *Tower*, and keeper of the King's treaſures. *Richard Grey* his Brother, was created a Baron, and had a conſiderable poſt about the Prince of *Wales*.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 171.

Two Parties at Court, the old and the new Nobility.

If the Queen had confined her favours to her Sons, her Father, and her Brother, there would have been no reaſon to think it very ſtrange. But it cannot be denied, that ſhe made an ill uſe of her power, by cauſing to be created Peers, many perſons who would have had no pretenſion to that honour, if they had not been ſupported by her favour. This gave occaſion to the diſtinction in thoſe days, between the *ancient* and the *new* Nobility. But if this diſtinction redounded not to the honour of the laſt, that diſadvantage was amply repaired, by the places of honour and profit procured them by the Queen. By degrees ſhe had as it were baniſhed the ancient Nobility from the Court, where appeared ſcarce any but Lords of the new Creation, all attached to the Queen. It was much the ſame in all the reſt of the Kingdom, where the moſt conſiderable poſts were filled by ſuch as the Queen knew to be her creatures. Her aim was to preſerve her power during the King's life, and in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, to ſecure the Government of the Kingdom in her Son's name, when he ſhould be on the Throne. But by a fatality very common to the beſt contrived projects, this very thing proved the occaſion of her own and her family's ruin. 1483.

The King protects the new Nobility. Moor.

The Queen having thus openly declared againſt the ancient families, it is eaſy to conceive ſhe was not beloved. Accordingly ſhe took all poſſible care to hinder the Lords whom ſhe did not like, from having the King's ear. Mean while, it was not in her power to expel the Court three Lords of the ancient Nobility whom the King loved, becauſe they had done him ſignal ſervices. Theſe were *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *William Haſtings*, and *Thomas Stanley*.

Heads of the Nobility.

The Duke of Buckingham

The firſt, who was of a very ancient Family (4), had moreover the advantage of being deſcended from a Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſeventh Son of *Edward* the third, and enjoyed the office of High-Conſtable.

The Lord Haſtings.

The Lord *Haſtings* (5) was High-Chamberlain. The King had a ſingular affection for him, becauſe of his conſtant loyalty, of which he had given proofs in the time of his adverſity; particularly when he was forced to fly into *Holland*. This Lord was extremely attached to the King's perſon, but loved not the Queen; if he paid her any reſpect, it was with reluctance and ſolely out of complaiſance to the King his maſter.

The Lord Stanley.

The Lord *Stanley* (6), of an ancient family, was in the ſame diſpoſitions. He was devoted to the King without making much court to the Queen.

Jane Shore *King* Edward's *Miſtreſs.* Moor.

The King's Concubines held likewiſe a conſiderable rank at Court, by reaſon of their influence over him. There were three eſpecially, of whom *Jane Shore* alone was concerned in the events of this new Reign. She was Wife to a Citizen of *London*, whom *Edward* had debauched, and taken from her Husband. She was ſurpriſingly beautiful, and withal of a generoſity very uncommon in perſons of her character. The King was as much in love with her temper as her beauty. He never heard her ſpeak ill of any perſon, nor ever perceived her to try to prejudice him againſt any man whatever. If ſhe importuned him ſometimes, it was in behalf of the unfortunate. When ſhe had done a good office, ſhe ſcorned to take a reward, being unwilling to give occaſion to think ſhe acted from a motive of intereſt. And therefore ſhe had amaſſed but few riches, in compariſon of other Concubines, whoſe greedineſs can never be ſatisfied.

Diſſimulation of the Duke of Gloceſter. Moor.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* the King's Brother was embarraſſed between the two parties formed at Court, and in the Kingdom. The only way to pleaſe the King, was to make court to the Queen. But on the other hand, the Duke perceiving the Queen's aim was to ingroſs the Government in caſe the King happened to die, could not be attached to her, without forfeiting the affection of the ancient Nobility, of which he might one day ſtand in need. As he was naturally a great diſſembler, he reſolved to make his court publickly to the Queen, but in private, he joined with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Haſtings*, and the Lord *Stanley*.

Edward IV *ſends his eldeſt Son into* Wales. Moor.

It is needleſs to ſay much of the two young Princes the King's Sons, the eldeſt of whom was but twelve, and the Duke of *York* his brother but nine years old, when the King their Father died. It will ſuffice to ſay, that before *Edward* IV, was ſeized with the diſtemper that laid him in his grave, he had ſent the Prince his eldeſt Son, with the Earl of *Rivers* his Governor, into *Wales* to appeaſe ſome commotion (7). The young Duke of *York* remained at Court with the Queen his Mother.

Reconciliation of the two Parties before Edward's *death.* Moor.

Edward ſaw with ſome concern the two parties that were formed in his Court. But his affection for the Queen not ſuffering him to hold the balance even, he took no care to prevent the conſequences. So long as he enjoyed his health, he imagined, that during his life he ſhould be always maſter of both, and by ſtrengthening the

(1) The firſt mention of that Family, is in the 37th of *Edward* III, when *Richard de Wydville* was conſtituted Sheriff of *Northamptonſhire*, and Governor of the Caſtle there. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 230.

(2) This was not the name of any place, but of an ancient Family, ſometimes Earls of *Devon*. *Ibid.*

(3) *Margaret.*

(4) He was deſcended from *Robert de Stafford*, who at the time of the general Survey, in the Reign of *William* I, poſſeſſed two Lordſhips in *Suffolk*, one in *Northamptonſhire*, one in *Worceſterſhire*, twenty in *Lincolnſhire*, twenty ſix in *Warwickſhire*, and eighty one in *Staffordſhire*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. I. p. 156.

(5) Anceſtor of the Earl of *Huntington*.

(6) Anceſtor of the Earl of *Derby*.

(7) The Prince was then at *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*, that by his Preſence he might compoſe the diſorders of the *Welſh*; who, though not in actual Rebellion, yet were grown ſo unruly and diſobedient to their Governors and Superiors, that the Magiſtrates, with all their power, were not able to ſuppreſs the Diſſenſions and Diſorders, Robberies and Wrongs committed by them. *Moor*, p. 481.

1483. new Nobility hinder the old from being able to prejudice the Queen and her Children after his death. But when he came to die, he beheld this diviſion in another light. He conſidered, that he left for ſupport to his houſe only new families, which had not had time to eſtabliſh themſelves, and owed all their authority and credit entirely to his favour, of which they were going to be deprived. This thought ſenſibly troubling him, he ſought in himſelf the means to repair this error, and in his preſent condition, found no better way, than to perſuade the two parties to be reconciled for his ſake. Weak expedient! which could hardly produce the deſired effect. The regard for a dying King, never beloved by the antient Nobility, was little capable of extinguiſhing their hatred and envy of the Queen's relations, which unhappily, had been but too much fomented. However, before he expired, *Edward* had at leaſt the ſatisfaction to ſee this reconciliation, which he thought ſincere, becauſe of the ſeeming readineſs and chearfulneſs wherewith both Parties conſented to his requeſt. The Earl of *Rivers* being abſent, the Queen his Siſter paſſed her word for him, and the Marquis of *Dorſet* her eldeſt Son, as repreſenting the family of *Grey*, embraced the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings*, who were the heads of the oppoſite party. The Duke of *Gloceſter* being then at *York*, upon the King's affairs, had it not in his power to obſtruct this reconciliation, which indeed would have been very much to his prejudice had it not been inſincere.

Meaſures of both Parties to ſeize the Government.

As ſoon as *Edward*'s eyes were cloſed, the two parties forgetting their late mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, thought only of gaining the advantage one of another. Mean while, they unanimouſly agreed to proclaim the deceaſed King's eldeſt Son by the name of *Edward* V. That done, each took ſuch meaſures as were thought moſt proper to attain his ends. The chief thing was to become maſter of the King's perſon, in order to govern in his name. The Queen hoped to maintain and even to increaſe her authority, during the King her Son's Minority, and the other party ſaw themſelves irrecoverably loſt, if the young Prince was once in the hands of his Mother. However, thus far the advantage was entirely on the Queen's ſide. Immediately after the death of the King her Husband, ſhe had diſpatched a courier to the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother with the news. She told him withal in the letter, that ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary for him to raiſe forces in *Wales*, and the adjoining Counties, to enable him to conduct the new King ſafely to *London*, in order to his Coronation.

Buckingham and Haſtings ſtir up Gloceſter to ſeize the King's Perſon. Moor.

On the other ſide, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings* ſent an expreſs to the Duke of *Gloceſter* (1), acquainting him with the King's death, and the Queen's meaſures; and withal repreſenting to him, that being the King's Uncle by the Father's ſide, the Government of the Realm belonged to him, during the Minority; but if he did not prevent the Queen, it would be in vain to expect afterwards to obtain his due Right. In fine, that at all adventures, they offered him a thouſand Men well armed, and ready to march at the word of Command.

They deſign only to remove the Queen from the Government. Moor.

It is very difficult to judge, whether before the death of *Edward* IV, the Duke of *Gloceſter* had thought of mounting the Throne, to the prejudice of his Nephews. But it is ſcarce to be doubted, that he formed this deſign the moment he heard of his Brother's deceaſe. All his after-proceedings, too plainly appear to be conſequences of a Scheme laid to compaſs that end. As for the Lord *Haſtings*, his ſole Intention was certainly to take the Government out of the hands of the Queen and her Relations. His conſtant attachment to *Edward* IV, would never have ſuffered him to be concerned in a Plot to dethrone his Son. As for the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Conduct is more ambiguous. Beſides his hatred of the Queen and her Family, he had always preſerved a particular reſpect for the Duke of *Gloceſter*, which gives occaſion to ſuſpect, he had joined with him at firſt in the deſign to place him on the Throne. However, the Hiſtorians aſcribe to him (at leaſt in the beginning of this Reign,) the ſame Intention only with the Lord *Haſtings*, namely to remove the Queen from the Government of the King's Perſon,

Conference at Northampton.

and of the Realm. Be this as it will, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, upon news of the King's death, ſent back the Expreſs, with orders to deſire the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings*, to come and confer with him at *Northampton*.

The Duke of Gloceſter's Speech to his Friends.

These two Lords, with ſome others of their Party, repairing to the place appointed, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, in a long Speech, demonſtrated to them, the great and impending danger, if the Queen was poſſeſſed of the Government. He told them, "They would be expoſed to "the Mercy of an imperious Woman, and of the two 1483.
"Families of *Rivers* and *Grey*, newly raiſed by the King
"his Brother, who would never think themſelves per-
"fectly ſafe, till thoſe whom they conſidered as their ri-
"vals and enemies were deſtroyed. That the late King
"had kept them, by his Authority, within ſome bounds,
"but when they ſhould be poſſeſſed of the ſupreme Pow-
"er, in the name of the young King, nothing would be
"capable of curbing their Inſolence. He added, that no
"perſon had more Right, or was more concerned than
"himſelf, to take care of the affairs of the Kingdom,
"during the Minority of the King his Nephew. That
"every one knew his conſtant attachment to the King
"his Brother, and therefore his tender affection for his
"Children ſuffered him not to leave them to the Mercy
"of thoſe, who had never appeared to have any other
"view than their own advancement. That for theſe
"reaſons he was reſolved, zealouſly to apply himſelf to
"promote, to the utmoſt of his power, the good of the
"Nation, and the honor of his Nephew, principally by
"giving him an Education that ſhould render him capa-
"ble of treading in the Steps of his illuſtrious Anceſtors.
"But that he could not hope to execute ſuch a Project,
"without the aſſiſtance of all honeſt Men, and particu-
"larly of thoſe to whom he was ſpeaking, who, with-
"out doubt, had, like him, no other view, than the Na-
"tion's welfare and glory. That he had aſſembled them
"to conſult with them upon what was to be done in the
"preſent emergency, being reſolved not to proceed with-
"out their advice."

Reſult of the Conference. Moor.

This Speech meeting with applauſe, all the Lords entered into a ſerious debate, concerning the means to be uſed to become maſter of the King's perſon. To ſucceed by force was extremely difficult. The Earl of *Rivers* had not only aſſembled a good number of Troops, but it would have been alſo very eaſy for him to conduct the King to *London*, before they were in condition to prevent it. Beſides, they would have given him too great an advantage, if without any apparent neceſſity, they had begun ſo ſoon to take arms. Such a ſtep would have infallibly cauſed the people to ſide with their enemies, and been looked upon as tending to obſtruct the King's Coronation. Theſe conſiderations made the Lords reſolve to uſe policy. To that end, they agreed, that they ſhould continue to ſhew a great zeal for the King, in order to deprive the Queen of all pretence to raiſe Forces, or keep thoſe on foot that were aſſembled by the Earl of *Rivers*. That the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould try to perſuade her to diſmiſs theſe Troops as uſeleſs. That in caſe he ſucceeded, it ſhould be endeavoured to become maſter of the King, before his arrival at *London*; but if, on the contrary, the Queen was bent to keep theſe Forces, ſhe was to be amuſed with Negotiations, till her deſigns could be openly oppoſed.

Haſtings returns to London.

The Duke of Gloceſter's Letter to the Queen. Moor.

The Conference being ended, the Lord *Haſtings* poſted to *London*, where his preſence was neceſſary, by reaſon of his great Intereſt in the City. Preſently after, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent the Queen a Letter (2) of condolence upon the King's death, expreſſing an extreme affection for the young Prince, his Succeſſor, and an extraordinary reſpect for her. After this beginning, he told her, "He
"beheld with great Joy, all hearts united in the ſame
"Sentiments, which made him hope, that the King his
"Nephew would paſs his Minority in a perfect Tran-
"quillity. That, for his part, he would do all that lay
"in his power, to keep the People in the obedience due
"to their Sovereign, by giving them himſelf an example
"of unlimited Submiſſion. That he did not queſtion,
"ſhe would likewiſe contribute to cauſe all the King's
"Subjects, to enjoy the peace and quiet they had reaſon
"to expect. That therefore, he took the freedom to
"adviſe her, to uſe her endeavours to diſpel the old Jea-
"louſies among the great Men, and confirm, by her pru-
"dence, the Reconciliation lately made before the King
"her Husband's death. That his advice was, that with-
"out affection or prejudice, care ſhould be taken to re-
"ward Merit wherever it was found, that no man might
"juſtly complain of being neglected for mere Party-con-
"cerns. That this was chiefly to be endeavoured, leſt
"by acting otherwiſe, diviſions, which ought to be buried
"in eternal oblivion, were renewed. That therefore he
"could not forbear telling her, he was ſurprized to hear
"the Earl of *Rivers* was gathering Forces, to conduct
"the King to *London*, ſince they ſeemed to be entirely
"needleſs. That he was really convinced of the good-
"neſs of her Intention, but it was to be feared, this
"proceeding would be ill-conſtrued. That Troops,
"raiſed upon the frivolous pretence of providing for the
"King's ſafety, when none appeared to give him any

(1) He was then at *York*, to keep all things quiet in thoſe parts. *Compl. Hiſt. Moor*, p. 482.

(2) Sir *Thomas Moor* does not ſay, that he ſent the Queen ſuch a Letter, but only, that he ſecretly, and by divers means cauſed the Queen to be perſuaded, that it was unneceſſary, and would be dangerous for the King to come to *London*, with an Army of Attendants. See in *Hall*, fol. 5. He, and his Aſſociates ſent Letters; but it was to the Lord *Rivers*, and others of the Queen's Friends, that were about the King's Perſon. *Idem*, fol. 6.

"diſturbance,

1483. " disturbance, could not but breed suspicions in the opposite party, lately reconciled. That the precautions several Lords would undoubtedly take, to screen themselves from the mischiefs they would have reason to dread, were the natural and infallible fruits of these suspicions. That therefore, to avoid a groundless peril, and by a needless precaution, the peace of the whole Kingdom was indangered. That when once these suspicions should take root, and two armies be on foot in the Kingdom, God alone knew what might be the Issue. That for these reasons, of which doubtless she perceived the strength, he advised her to dismiss her Troops, that all the Nobles of the Realm might come, without fear and suspicion, to pay their respects to their young Sovereign, and contribute, every one according to his power, to the preservation of peace and union in the State."

The Queen falls into the Snare. Moor.

The Queen very imprudently followed this advice, of which she perceived not the venom. She thought it was the sooner to be complied with, as it came from a Brother-in-law, who had always been firm to the Interests of the late King, and still shewed himself very zealous for her and her Children. During *Edward* IV's Life, the Duke of *Gloucester* had been very respectful to the Queen, so that she had no reason to suspect him. Besides, there was not in his Letter a single word to induce her to think he intended to dispute the Government with her. In fine, she considered, the Duke could not aspire to the Crown, without supplanting two Nephews, and five Nieces, who were not in his power. This alone would have been capable to remove her suspicions, supposing she could have entertained any. So, believing herself sufficiently supported, since the Duke of *Gloucester* expressed so great an attachment to her Interests, she writ to the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother, that she thought it proper, he should dismiss his Troops, for fear of raising Jealousies without occasion. The Earl immediately obeyed her orders, and keeping only the King's domesticks, began his Journey to conduct him to *London*.

Rivers carries the King to London without a Guard.

The Duke of Gloucester and his Friends go and meet the King. Moor.

The young King approaching *Northampton*, the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, who had brought into the Town nine hundred armed Men (1), went to meet him, and saluted him very respectfully. In discoursing with the Earl of *Rivers*, they told him, the Town of *Northampton* was so full of strangers, and ill provided with Provisions and other Conveniences, that it would be very incommodious for theirs, and the King's Retinue to lodge in that place. Then, they advised him to carry the King to *Stony Stratford* (2), which is but twelve Miles further in the road to *London*. They added, for their part, they would return to *Northampton*, and wait upon the King in the morning, before he sat out. Upon parting, one of them proposed to the Earl, in a free and easy manner, as if it had been a sudden thought, to go and pass the night with them at *Northampton*, whilst the King rested at *Stony Stratford*. The Earl not suspecting their design, complied with this kind Invitation. He was even glad of an occasion to cement their mutual reconciliation, by this mark of Confidence.

They persuade Rivers to go with them to Northampton.

They caress him very much; Moor.

The three Lords being come to *Northampton*, spent the Evening together in perfect Harmony, with mutual protestations of friendship and offers of service. Bed-time being come, the Earl of *Rivers* withdrew to his Lodgings. But the other two passed the rest of the night in consulting what was to be done, since the Earl of *Rivers* had indiscreetly put himself into their hands. Their consultation being ended, they secured the Keys of the Inn where they lodged, under colour that they would be the first that should attend the King in the morning. For the greater precaution, they sent a good number of Men to line the way, and suffer no person whatever to enter *Stony Stratford*. At break of day they were ready to mount, whilst the Earl of *Rivers* was still in bed. Mean time, one of his People waking him, and telling him, the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* were ready to depart, and that no body was suffered to go out of the Inn, he immediately put on his Cloaths, to know the reason of this proceeding. But he found them in a very different disposition from that wherein he had left them some hours before. Upon his Approach they began to quarrel with him (3), taxing him with alienating the King's affection from his most faithful Subjects, adding, they should take care to prevent the like practices for the future. The Earl began to return a calm answer to this accusation, but refusing to hear him, they committed him to the custody of some of their Servants, and mounting their Horses rid away to the King.

and afterwards arrest him;

They found the young Prince ready to depart, and paying him their respects, re-mounted in order to attend him. Before they were out of the Town, they quarrelled with the Lord *Grey* (4), the King's Half-Brother, and charged him, that jointly with the Marquis of *Dorset* his Brother, and the Earl of *Rivers* his Uncle, he had formed the project to become master of the King's Person: And that the Marquis of *Dorset* had moreover taken out of the *Tower*, the Treasure committed to his custody by the late King. Whereupon the King said, that for what concerned the Marquis of *Dorset* he could say nothing, but would answer for the conduct of the Earl of *Rivers* and the Lord *Grey*, since they had been continually with him. To this the Duke of *Buckingham* replied, they had taken care to conceal their Plots from his Highness, which however were not the less certain. At the same time, he ordered his people to arrest the Lord *Grey*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hawse*, and instead of proceeding to *London*, carried the King back to *Northampton* (5). The same or next day the Prisoners were conducted to *Pontfract* Castle (6), the Governor whereof was the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Creature. The King appeared extremely concerned for the disgrace of his Brother and Uncle, as well as for the violence to his own Person. But he had no way to free himself from his new Governors, but his tears, which were little regarded. Mean while, they paid him outwardly all the reverence usually paid to a Sovereign, in order to blind the Eyes of the People by these marks of respect and submission.

1483. *and likewise the Lord Grey and two Knights.* Moor.

They send them to Pontfract.

They seize upon the King.

The news being brought to the Queen, she perceived her error in relying on the Duke of *Gloucester*, and suspected immediately, he would not stop there, and had formed designs still more destructive to the Royal Family. So, finding herself deprived of the assistance of her Brother and Sons, as well as of their Counsels, she saw no other refuge, than, with the Duke of *York* her Son and the rest of her Family, to take sanctuary in *Westminster* (7).

The Queen takes Sanctuary in Westminster with her Children. Moor.

The Lord *Hastings*, then at *London*, hated the Queen, as I observed, but loved the King and all *Edward* IV's Family. It is true, he was engaged in *Gloucester*'s and *Buckingham*'s plot, but it was with a belief that it tended only to hinder the Queen from assuming the Government, which he thought just and reasonable. He had intelligence in the night of what had passed at *Northampton*, and instantly sent the news to Dr. *Rotherham* the Archbishop of *York* and Lord Chancellor, assuring him withal, he had no reason to be alarmed: That the King's Person was in no danger, and very shortly what had happened would turn to the welfare of the Kingdom. The Archbishop rising that moment, went to the Queen, and carried the great Seal along with him. He found her in a disconsolate condition, sitting upon the ground, lamenting her own and her Children's Fate, whilst her Domesticks were busy in carrying such goods as were necessary into the Sanctuary. He endeavoured to comfort her, telling her what the Lord *Hastings* had declared to him. But he found her very backward to believe, that any good could come from such an Enemy. Then the Prelate, to give her hope, told her, the King's Person was safe, since the Duke of *York* his Brother was not in the power of those whom she considered as her Enemies. He added, if they should be so audacious as to put the King to death, or give the Crown to another, he assured her he would immediately crown the Duke of *York*. In fine, to give her all possible assurances of his fidelity, he left the Great Seal with her. But reflecting afterwards upon his error, in resigning so precious a pledge committed to him by the late King, he sent for it again as soon as he came home.

Moor.

The Archbishop of York gives her marks of his Fidelity.

Mean while, the whole City of *London* was in commotion. Several Citizens had taken arms, not knowing what might be the end of the news they had just received, which probably was very much aggravated. The Lord *Hastings* being sensible, that an Insurrection at *London* might break the measures of his friends at *Northampton*, instantly came into the City, and as his credit was great among the Citizens, he assured them that the King was in no danger: That indeed the Earl of *Rivers*, the Lord *Grey*, and some others, were arrested for conspiring against the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, but would be brought to a legal Trial: That however, it was no just reason for them to take arms, and it was to be feared they would be called to an account for the tumult, if they did not lay them down as readily as they had taken them up. The Citizens supposing the Lord *Hastings* to be perfectly informed, by reason he was of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Party, retired to their houses, being unwilling

Tumult at London appeased by Hastings. Moor.

(1) And had lain there some days. *Moor*, p. 483.
(2) In *Buckinghamshire*.
(3) When he asked them the reason of their keeping the Keys of the Inn. *Moor*, p. 484.
(4) *Richard Grey*.
(5) And displaced all such Persons as had Offices about the King, and in whom they could not entirely confide, *Moor*, ibid.
(6) They were at first sent into several Prisons in the North for a time, and afterwards removed to *Pontfract* Castle. *Moor*, ibid.
(7) In the middle of the night. *Ibid.*

1483. to concern themſelves with the Quarrels of the great Men.

The King is brought to London. Moor.

Shortly after, the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* conducted the King to *London*, paying him all the reſpect due to his dignity. As they travelled along, they cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the Earl of *Rivers* and the reſt of the Priſoners at *Pontfract* had intended to kill them; and their Servants ſhewed the People Barrels of Arms, which were ſaid to be found among the baggage of the Conſpirators. The news of the extraordinary reſpect paid the King, flying to *London* before his Arrival, the City grew much more quiet, becauſe there was reaſon to believe, there had been no attempt upon the King's Perſon or dignity. At his approach, the People went out in crowds to receive him, and the young King entered the City (1), attended by a great number of Lords, and particularly by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who followed him bare-headed (2). He was lodged in the Biſhop's Palace, to ſhew the Citizens the great confidence placed in them, and that his ſafety only was conſulted (3). This management entirely removed the ſuſpicions of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, raiſed by the *Northampton* Affair.

The Duke of Glocester *calls a grand Council.* Moor.

The Rejoicings for the King's ſafe Arrival being ended, it was neceſſary to think of ſettling the Government during his Minority, which was to laſt ſeven years. The moſt natural way would have been to call a Parliament, as was practiſed after the death of *Henry* V. But as, during a Parliament, all other Authority would have ceaſed, till the Government was regulated, the Duke of *Gloceſter* did not think fit to part with the power he had acquired by ſeizing the King's perſon. Indeed he might have expected, that the Parliament would confer on him the dignity of Protector of the Realm, ſince he was the only Prince of the blood capable of holding the Reins of the Government. But withal the care of the young King's Perſon and Education would have been certainly committed to others. It is a conſtant and very juſt rule not to truſt a minor King to thoſe that may be Gainers by his ruin. But this was what the Duke of *Gloceſter* feared above all things. He reſolved to continue Maſter of the King's Perſon, otherwiſe it would have been very difficult to accompliſh his deſigns. Theſe conſiderations made him think it more agreeable to his Intereſts to call a great Council, and not ſummon

He is declared Protector.

a Parliament till he had ſecured the Crown. This Council, moſtly conſiſting of the antient Nobility and the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s friends, declared him Protector of the King and Kingdom, uſurping a Privilege belonging only to the Parliament. But as I have often obſerved, it is eaſier to cauſe the Parliament to confirm what is done, than induce it to do what is deſired.

Doubtful Behaviour of the Protector.

The ſeizing of the King's Perſon, and the getting himſelf declared Protector, were the two firſt ſteps by which the Duke of *Gloceſter* intended to mount the Throne. Each had its fair and foul ſide. In the firſt place, after the death of *Edward* IV, the Queen and her Relations having no right to ſeize the Government of the Realm, it could not be thought ſtrange, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould aſſume near the King, the rank to which he was intitled by his Birth. But his fraud and violence to the Queen's Relations, gave occaſion to ſuſpect, he had formed deeper deſigns. In the next place, nothing was more natural than to ſee the King's Uncle Protector of the Realm. But at the ſame time, his affecting to obtain that dignity, without vouchſafing to call a Parliament, and his cauſing to be annexed to the office of Protector of the Realm, that of Protector of the King, which ſhould have been ſeparated from it, was an extraordinary Proceeding, which might have raiſed juſt ſuſpicions. And yet the conſequence was not perceived till it was too late to prevent it. But for fear theſe irregular things might open People's eyes, the Duke took care to conceal himſelf under the vail of an extraordinary zeal for the King his Nephew's intereſts, and a great reſpect for his Perſon.

Alterations at Court. Moor.

As ſoon as the Duke was declared Protector, he took the Great Seal from Archbiſhop *Rotherham*, who had given him a very plauſible pretence, and delivered it to the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (4). The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings* were confirmed in their places; but there were great alterations made in all the reſt of the Poſts, the new Protector putting in his own creatures in

Reaſon for retaining the Lord Haſtings.

the room of the Queen's, who filled them before. Tho' the Lord *Haſtings* was not truſted with the ſecret of his principal deſign, he did not deſpair of gaining him, when his affairs were more advanced. Beſides, *Haſtings* was a mortal enemy to the Queen and her Family, and had a great intereſt in *London*. This was ſufficient then, for, without knowing it, he could be ſerviceable to the Protector in executing his projects, which it was not yet proper to diſcover. 1483.

The Protector moves in Council to take the Duke of York *from the Queen.* Moor.

To proceeed with any appearance of ſucceſs in his deſign, it was neceſſary for the Duke of *Gloceſter* to have the young Duke of *York* in his power, as well as the King his Brother. To dethrone or murder the King, would have been to no purpoſe, ſo long as the Duke of *York* was out of reach. For he would ſtill have had the ſame thing to act over again. In order to accompliſh this Deſign, he moved in the Council whether it would not be requiſite to get the Duke of *York* out of the Queen's hands, and place him with the King his Brother. He made, upon this occaſion, a very long ſpeech, wherein, after teſtifying an extraordinary zeal for the Royal Family, and confirming what he ſaid with a great oath, he diſplayed the reaſons which required the young Prince's removal from the Queen. The firſt was, "That the "Queen's flying to ſanctuary without any apparent dan- "ger to herſelf or family, could not but be conſtrued as "an affront to the Government. In the ſecond place, "her ſole aim muſt have been to raiſe diſturbances by "making the people believe the King was in danger, "ſince no other conſequence could be inferred from her "conduct. That therefore it was neceſſary to undeceive "the people by procuring the Duke of *York*, and cauſing "him to be educated according to his quality. That "the more viſible the Queen's malice was, the more it "ſhould be endeavoured to prevent its effects. That it "was manifeſt, ſhe was ſtriving to form in the Kingdom "a party capable of ſetting her at the head of affairs, as "ſhe was in the late Reign. That it was with diffi- "culty and by great chance, that they were freed from "the imperious rule of that Princeſs and her Family; "but if the King ſhould happen to die, the Realm would "be again plunged into the ſame calamities, ſince ſhe had "the lawful Heir in her power. On the other hand, "it was neceſſary to conſider what Foreigners would ſay "when they heard, that whilſt one of *Edward* the fourth's "Sons was crowned, the other was forced to keep in "ſanctuary. That it would be diſhonorable to the Go- "vernment, to ſuffer themſelves to be thus braved by a "Woman, who had attempted to cauſe the King's "Council to be conſidered as enemies of the Royal Fa- "mily. That beſides, the King being young and want- "ing ſome diverſion, he could not have a more agreeable "companion than his own Brother, and there was no "reaſon to keep them aſunder. In fine, it would be in- "decent to proceed to the Coronation, in the abſence of "the Duke of *York*, the ſecond perſon in the State, who "having an evident right to be preſent, could not be de- "barred of it without Injuſtice. Upon all theſe accounts, "he concluded that Deputies ſhould be ſent to the Queen, "to deſire her to deliver the Duke of *York* to the King "his Brother. He added, that, in his opinion, the Car- "dinal Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (5), was the propereſt "perſon for this deputation. That if, notwithſtanding "all the Archbiſhop's arguments, ſhe ſhould obſtinately "keep the young Prince with her, and perſiſt in her "groundleſs ſuſpicions, he ſaw no reaſon why the Council "ſhould not take him away by force. This was his "opinion, and he deſired every member of the Council "to ſpeak his own with freedom."

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *is ſent to the Queen. He is againſt violating the Sanctuary.* Moor.

The Cardinal readily took upon him to go and acquaint the Queen with the Council's pleaſure, but by no means approved the motion of violating the privilege of ſanctuary. He ſaid, the Church of *Weſtminſter* was conſecrated, five hundred years ſince, by St. *Peter* himſelf, who deſcended from Heaven (6), attended by multitudes of Angels. That no King of *England* had ever dared to violate that Sanctuary, and that ſuch an attempt would certainly draw down the juſt vengeance of God upon the whole Kingdom.

Buckingham's Reaſons for it.

The Duke of *Buckingham* replied with great warmth to this part of the Cardinal's Speech. He ſhewed that ſanctuaries were intended only to protect ſuch as had reaſon to fear oppreſſion and violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious ſuſpicions, detrimental to the King and Kingdom. After many ſharp reflections againſt the Queen, he inlarged upon the abuſes of Sanctuaries, particularly as they afforded thoſe who fled thither means to eſcape. He added, tho' the Duke of *York* was neither guilty nor oppreſſed, there was room to fear the Queen his Mother would carry him out of the Kingdom, which might one day give the Queen opportunity to invade *England*, by the help of ſome foreign Prince, upon frivolous pretences, which would never be wanting. In fine, after alledging

(1) On the 4th of *May*. *Moor*, p. 486.
(2) He rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud Voice ſaid to the People, *Behold your Prince and Sovereign*. *Ibid.*
(3) At the Biſhop's Palace, the Duke of *Gloceſter* did the King homage, and invited all the Nobility to do the ſame. *Ibid.*
(4) *John Ruſſel*, a wiſe and good Man, and of very great Experience in State-Affairs. *Moor*, p. 486.
(5) *Thomas Bourchier*. (6) In the night. See *Moor*, p. 487.

1483. ſundry other reaſons, he agreed with the Protector to take the Duke of *York* by force out of Sanctuary, if the Queen refuſed to deliver him freely. This matter being taken into conſideration, the opinion of the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* prevailed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of moſt of the Eccleſiaſticks there preſent.

Conference between the Queen and the Archbiſhop. Moor.

The Cardinal being come to the Queen (1), uſed all poſſible arguments to induce her to comply, and to perſuade her that neither the King, nor herſelf, nor the Duke of *York* were in danger. He ſpoke with the greater aſſurance, as he was ſatisfied of the truth of what he ſaid, never ſuſpecting the Duke of *Gloceſter* of having ill deſigns. For, as to the violence uſed to the Queen's relations, he conſidered it as no great hurt. Beſides, as he was ignorant whether they were innocent, he did not think it any great injuſtice to detain them ſome time in Priſon, in order to prevent their diſturbing the Kingdom by their immoderate ambition. But all his eloquence was not capable to perſuade the Queen, who plainly ſaw in the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s conduct too much reaſon to ſtrengthen her fears. At laſt, the Cardinal perceiving his arguments were fruitleſs, told her, that the Council, apprehenſive of her carrying the Prince her Son out of the Kingdom, had reſolved to take him by force out of his Sanctuary, if ſhe obſtinately inſiſted upon keeping him there. The Queen hearing theſe menaces, dwelt upon the privileges of Sanctuaries, which was entirely needleſs, ſince ſhe ſpoke to a Prelate who was thoroughly convinced of the ſame. At length, ſeeing herſelf preſſed to obey the Council's order, ſhe freely declared to the Cardinal the real cauſe of her fears. She told him, ſhe could not help ſuſpecting the Duke of *Gloceſter* of having deſigns deſtructive to the Royal Family, which he could not accompliſh without having both the Brothers in his power; and that the only means to preſerve the King, was to keep the Duke of *York* out of their Uncle's reach. The Cardinal growing warm at this diſcourſe, replied, ſince ſhe obſtinately terrified herſelf with vain and groundleſs ſuſpicions, he would ſay no more upon that head. That being only the Council's deputy, and the buſineſs not concerning him in particular, he would preſs her no farther, leſt he ſhould give her occaſion to think him in the plot ſhe apprehended. That however, he ſaw with grief her ill opinion of the members of the Council. That ſhe muſt believe them to be either void of underſtanding, not to perceive what ſhe fancied ſhe ſaw ſo plainly, or elſe ſo wicked as to lend their aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Gloceſter*. That for his part, he believed he might confidently affirm, the Duke had never entertained ſuch a thought; and that the Council would be very ſorry to ſee themſelves taxed with treachery or extreme imprudence. The good Cardinal, to remove the Queen's fears, ſaid nothing but what he really thought, becauſe he was not in the Protector's confidence. Accordingly the Queen felt herſelf very much ſhaken by the aſſurances of a perſon of his character. It was apparent, that if the Council intended to deceive her, they would not have made him their inſtrument; and yet ſhe could not lay aſide her fears. Mean while, ſhe ſaw the Cardinal ready to return, and herſelf going to be expoſed to the violence of her enemies, and obliged to do by force, what was civilly deſired. So, ſuddenly reſolving to give up the young Prince, ſhe caught him in her arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and with a ſhower of tears delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to the Protector. As ſoon as he ſaw his young Nephew, he ran to him with open arms (2), to embrace him and give him marks of a feigned affection, telling him, he would always be to him inſtead of a Father. Then, he carried him to the King, who, without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed at his company. A few days after, the Protector found ſome excuſe to convey them both to the *Tower* (3), whereas before they lodged in the heart of the City at the Biſhop's Palace (4).

The Queen delivers up the Duke of York. Moor.

The Protector lodges the King and his Brother in the Tower.

He imparts his deſigns to the Duke of Buckingham, Moor.

It is generally believed, that hitherto the Duke of *Gloceſter* had not communicated his moſt ſecret thoughts to the Duke of *Buckingham*, nor imparted them to him till after he had the two Princes in his power. *Buckingham* mortally hated the Queen and her Family, becauſe it was through their means that the late King refuſed to give him poſſeſſion of certain lands in *Herefordſhire*, to which he laid claim (5). His Hatred had even paſſed to the King's Perſon, though he had not dared to ſhew it. He had joined with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, to deprive the Queen and her relations of the Government of the Realm, during the King's Minority; but it is not believed, his thoughts had gone any farther. For as he wanted only to preſerve or increaſe his credit, a Minority ſeems to have been more for his purpoſe than the Government of a grown King, ſuch as the Duke of *Gloceſter*. However, as he was a Man of ill principles, it was not difficult for the Protector to ingage him in his plot, by the hopes of a reward. It is ſaid, he promiſed not only to procure him the Lands he deſired, but alſo to give him part of the late King's Wardrobe, to furniſh his houſe in a ſtately manner, and ſecure to his Heirs the Office of High-Conſtable, of which he was in poſſeſſion (6). Be this as it will, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo ingaged in the project, to ſet the Protector on the Throne, that from thenceforward he appeared no leſs eager than the Protector himſelf to accompliſh it. The thing being reſolved, the queſtion was only how to put it in execution.

1483. *who comes in to them. Moor.*

From that time the conferences between the Duke of *Gloceſter* and his truſty friends became more frequent than before. They debated the principal difficulties that might occur in the execution of the deſign, and the means to ſurmount or prevent them. In ſhort, they came to the following reſolutions, which were conſidered as the Plan whereon they were gradually to proceed. Firſt, As the ſtrongeſt Oppoſition was probably to be expected from the Queen, it was reſolved to diſpatch the Priſoners at *Pontfract*, in order to deprive the Royal Family of their chiefeſt ſupport. The Lord *Haſtings*, to whom this deſign was imparted, readily gave his conſent, though he knew not the Protector's real motive to put theſe Lords to death. 2. It was agreed to endeavour to ingage in the plot the propereſt perſons to accompliſh it, that is in other words, Villains capable of any undertaking, without regard to honour, juſtice, or conſcience. 3. It was judged neceſſary to find ſome foundation to ſupport the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s pretenſions, that the people might be amuſed with ſome appearance of reaſon. 4. As it was no leſs requiſite to keep the Plot ſecret till matters were ripe for execution, it was reſolved ſtill to ſhew publickly a ſettled deſign to cauſe the King to be crowned, till it was no longer neceſſary to diſſemble. 5. Laſtly, It was agreed, that the Lord *Haſtings* ſhould either be gained or diſpatched out of the way. One of the two ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering his great Intereſt with the People of *London*.

Reſult of their Projects.

This Plan being laid the Protector writ to Sir *Richard Ratcliff* Governor of *Pontfract* and his Creature, to behead, on a day appointed, the four Lords that were under his cuſtody.

Orders to behead the Priſoners at Pontfract.

After that he applied himſelf particularly to gain Sir *Edmund Shaw*, then Mayor of *London*, and ſucceeded to his wiſh. The Mayor ingaged in the plot his Brother *John Shaw* a famous Preacher, and one *Pinker*, Monk and Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Fryers, who were much eſteemed by the people. To theſe the Protector joined one *Catesby*, a particular friend and confident of the Lord *Haſtings*.

The Protector gains Shaw *and* Catesby. Moor.

By means of theſe men the Protector's ſecret Council reſolved to ſpread among the people the reaſons which might ſtrengthen his pretenſions. This ſeemed very difficult, ſince there were three Princes and ſix Princeſſes before him, namely, the King, the Duke of *York* his Brother, *Edward the Fourth*'s five Daughters, the Earl of *Warwick* Son to the late Duke of *Clarence*, and *Margaret* his Siſter. One ſingle expedient ſeemed proper and ſufficient to deſtroy the rights of theſe Princes and Princeſſes; which was, to intimate that *Edward* IV's Children were all Baſtards, and *Edward* himſelf and the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother not Sons of the late Duke of *York*. To exclude *Edward*'s Children, it was reſolved to urge the validity of his pretended Marriage-contract with *Elizabeth Lucy* before he eſpouſed *Elizabeth Woodvile*, from whence it followed, that the Children by the laſt Marriage were illegitimate. This pretenſion was to be proved by the Ducheſs of *York*'s teſtimony, who had uſed that Argument to hinder the King her Son from marrying Sir *Richard Woodvile*'s Daughter. *Philip de Commines* ſays, the Bi-

A Report is ſpread againſt the Legitimacy of Edward IV *and* V. Moor.

Remark upon a Fact advanced by Comminæus

(1) Attended by ſeveral Lords of the Council; the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the reſt of the Council, remaining all the while in the *Star-Chamber* to expect the Event. *Moor*, p. 489.

(2) He was brought to him in the *Star-Chamber*. The Duke took him up into his Arms, and kiſſed him, ſaying, *Now welcome, my Lord, with all my very heart*. *Moor*, p. 491.

(3) Which was the uſual Place from whence the ſolemnity of the Coronation began; for he ſtill feigned to be making preparations for *Edward*'s Coronation. *Moor*, ibid. *Hall*, fol. 13.

(4) Which was near St. *Paul*'s.

(5) It was no leſs than half the Earldom of *Hereford*, and the Lands belonging to it, (which were then in the Crown.) He claimed them, as being deſcended from *Ann* Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, who had married *Eleanor*, one of the youngeſt Daughters and Co-heireſſes of *Humphrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*. See *Dugdale*'s *Baron*. Vol. I. p. 163, 168. And below in the beginning of *Richard* III's Reign.

(6) It appears from *Rymer* that he was not. For that Office was, *November* 14. 1482, given in Commiſſion to Sir *William Parre*, Sir *James Haryngton*, Sir *James Tyrrel*, and four other perſons. Tom. XII. p. 169.

1483 ſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* then affirmed that he married *Edward* IV to a Lady called *Eleanor Talbot*, before he eſpouſed the Queen; that it was done without witneſs, and the King had ſtrictly charged him never to mention it to any perſon whatever. But we do not find in the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, at the time we are ſpeaking of, made uſe of this reaſon, which however would have been more plauſible than that taken from *Edward*'s Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*. For, *Edward* had taken precautions with regard to this laſt, as obſerved in the Hiſtory of his Reign, whereas the firſt had been unanſwerable, being ſupported by the evidence of the very Biſhop that pretended to officiate. It is therefore unlikely the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould neglect ſo great an advantage. But it may very well be that *Philip de Commines* was wrong informed, or at leaſt miſtaken in the name of the King's Miſtreſs.

The Protector's Emiſſaries ſpread Reports againſt Edward IV. Moor.

Mean while, as it was not eaſy to prove *Edward*'s pretended Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*; and as, on the contrary, the Biſhops had declared there was no mutual Contract, the Protector's Council judged that the other point ſhould be chiefly inſiſted upon, namely, that *Edward* IV and the Duke of *Clarence* were not Sons of the late Duke of *York*. Thereby were excluded, at once, the poſterity of theſe two Princes, and then the Duke of *Gloceſter* was next Heir. To ſupport this aſſertion, it was reſolved to plead the Duke of *Clarence*'s own teſtimony, who, as was pretended, maintained that *Edward* IV was illegitimate. Moreover, ſome of the late Duke of *York*'s Servants were already ſuborned, who took care to ſpread divers reports which confirmed what was intended to be intimated to the people. They gave out, that the Ducheſs of *York* had taken to her bed certain perſons perfectly reſembling *Edward* IV and the Duke of *Clarence*, and that the Duke of *Gloceſter* alone was Son to the Duke of *York*.

Pretence to exclude the Duke of Clarence's *Heirs.* Moor.

As for the Earl of *Warwick* and his Siſter, another way was uſed to exclude them, namely, the Attainder of the Duke of *Clarence* their Father, which, as they pretended, rendered them incapable of inheriting at all. Thus, the Duke of *Gloceſter* did not ſcruple to accuſe his own Mother of Adultery. But this was one of the leaſt crimes which cleared his way to the Throne, ſo blinded was he by his ambition.

Two Councils erected. Moor.

Every thing being thus prepared, the Protector feigned to haſten the King's Coronation. For that purpoſe he appointed a particular Council, which was to meet every day (1), and regulate the preparations. He took care to compoſe this Council of ſuch Lords as were moſt attached to *Edward* IV's family, among whom the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhop of *Ely* (2), the Lord *Haſtings*, and the Lord *Stanley* were the principal. At the ſame time, he had another Council conſiſting of his Creatures, which alſo met regularly (3), but whoſe conſultations were only how to defer the Coronation, and place the Protector on the Throne.

Moor.

The Lords appointed to haſten the preparations for the Coronation, quickly perceived all their orders were retarded by obſtacles from another quarter. On the other hand, they were ſomething ſurprized, that the Protector ſeldom ſuffered the King to be ſeen; that the young Prince had but very few Attendants, whilſt the Protector's houſe was full of unneceſſary people, and a crowd of Courtiers, who were always well received and careſſed. Theſe things joined to the affected delays of the Coronation, began to breed ſuſpicion in thoſe who were really friends to the King's Perſon. The Lord *Stanley*, a Man of deep penetration, was the firſt to diſcover his fears of the Protector's ill deſigns. He freely ſpoke his mind to his Fellow-Counſellors, and declared, he did not like the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s proceedings: That the other Council which ſo frequently met, and whoſe reſolves could not be known, was to him very ſuſpicious. That therefore it was his opinion, they ſhould think betimes of means to prevent the miſchiefs which might happen. This advice was prudent; but the Lord *Haſtings*, ſtill prepoſſeſſed that the Protector thought only of humbling the Queen's Party, removed all theſe ſuſpicions. He affirmed there was no danger from the other Council, and he would pawn his Life, that if any thing were tranſacted there detrimental to the King and the State, he ſhould be inſtantly informed of it by one of the members who was entirely devoted to him. He meant *Catesby* his friend and confident (4). But he did not know that *Catesby* betrayed him, and was therefore truſted by the Duke of *Gloceſter*. So, *Stanley* and the other Lords of the ſame party preferring the Lord *Haſtings*'s aſſurances to their own judgment, took no meaſures to ſtop the Protector's progreſs, which they might eaſily have done, had they endeavoured it in time.

The Lord Stanley's *Suſpicions of the Protector,*

removed by the vain Confidence of Haſtings,

who is betrayed by Catesby.

1483.

Mean while, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, knowing what a firm friend the Lord *Haſtings* was to the King, thought it time to execute the project he had formed concerning him, that is, to engage him in the plot, or deſtroy him. To that end, he ordered *Catesby* to ſound him, but with all the caution imaginable, for fear of diſcovering the deſign before he was ſure to be gained. *Catesby* having put the Lord *Haſtings* upon diſcourſing of State affairs, told him, People talked very much of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s title to the Crown preferably to *Edward* IV's Children, and many were perſuaded this title was not groundleſs. That it was openly ſaid, it were to be wiſhed, the reaſons alledged in his favour were good, ſince it would be more advantagious to the Nation to be governed by a Man, than by a Child. That, for his part, he had not yet examined the matter, and ſhould be glad firſt to know his opinion. *Haſtings* not ſuſpecting his friend, diſcloſed all his thoughts, and imparted to him the Lord *Stanley*'s ſuſpicions of the Duke of *Gloceſter*. He added, for his part, he had rather ſee the ruin and deſtruction of the Protector, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, than the late King's Children deprived of their Right. That if he perceived any plot in favor of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, he would employ his Credit, his Eſtate, and his very Life, to prevent its ſucceeding. This reply was immediately carried to the Protector, by the treacherous *Catesby*, with many aggravations, to haſten the Lord *Haſtings*'s deſtruction, for fear he ſhould one day diſcover his treachery.

The Protector ſounds Haſtings, *and ſends him to the King.* Moor.

The Duke having thus ſounded the Lord *Haſtings*, was greatly embaraſſed. He paſſionately deſired to gain that Lord, knowing how ſerviceable he could be to him. But for that very reaſon he could not help fearing him, if he perſiſted in his attachment to the King. To free himſelf from this uneaſineſs, he ordered *Catesby* to ſound him once more. *Catesby* ſpeaking a little too plainly in his ſecond Converſation with *Haſtings*, and not doubting that his treachery was known, told the Protector, that not only he had nothing to hope from that quarter, but moreover was to expect to find in *Haſtings* a profeſſed enemy. Whereupon the Protector reſolved to diſpatch him, looking upon him now as his real adverſary.

Haſtings's *death reſolved.* Moor.

Means to bring it about. Moor.

This reſolution being taken, he called a Council at the *Tower* (5), under colour of finiſhing the affairs of the King's Coronation. He came himſelf at nine a clock in the Morning, with a chearful Countenance, courteouſly ſaluting all the Lords, as if he had nothing in his mind that gave him the leaſt uneaſineſs. After that, he went out, and deſired the Lords of the Council to continue their deliberations in his abſence.

About an hour after, he returned with an angry Countenance, knitting his Brows, biting his Lips, and ſhewing all poſible ſigns of the perturbation of his mind. Remaining ſome time without ſpeaking, he broke ſilence with theſe words: *My Lords, what puniſhment do they deſerve who have plotted againſt my Life?* The Lords not immediately anſwering, the Lord *Haſtings* replied, *Whoever was guilty of ſuch a Crime ought to be puniſhed as a Traitor. It is*, anſwered the Duke, *that Sorcereſs my Siſter-in-law, with her Accomplices.* Theſe words aſtoniſhed many of the Council who favoured the Queen, being afraid this Accuſation concerned them. But the Lord *Haſtings* was far from any ſuch fear. All knew he was ſworn Enemy to the Queen, and conſequently there was no likelihood of his joining with her in ſuch a deſign. Beſides, he had lately approved of the order ſent to *Pontfract*, to behead the Lords Priſoners, who were to be executed that very day. After a ſhort pauſe, the Protector, unbuttoning his left ſleeve, ſhewed the Council his arm, dried and withered, ſaying, with extreme emotion, *See what that Sorcereſs, and* Shore's *Wife have done by their Witchcrafts. They have reduced my arm as you ſee, and my whole body would ſoon have been the ſame, if by God's Mercy their infamous plot had not been diſcovered.* Theſe words cauſed a greater ſurprize than the former, the whole Council knowing the Duke's arm had long been in that condition. Beſides, if the Queen had framed ſuch a project, *Jane Shore* would have been the laſt perſon ſhe would have imparted it to, ſince of all Women ſhe moſt hated her. The Lord *Haſtings*, who ſince *Edward*'s death had kept *Jane Shore*, perceiving ſhe was involved in the Accuſation, could not forbear to ſhew how much he doubted her being guilty, by ſaying, *If they had committed ſuch a Crime, they deſerved to be puniſhed.* Then the Protector raiſing his voice, *What*, ſays he, *doſt thou*

(1) At *Baynard*'s Caſtle. *Moor*, p. 491.——In the mean time, Orders were iſſued out, on *June* 5, for creating Knights at the King's Coronation, which was fixed to the 22d of *June*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 185.

(2) *John Morton.* (3) At *Crosby*'s Place, in *Biſhopſgate* Ward. It was the Protector's Manſion-houſe. *Moor*, p. 491.

(4) *Richard Catesby* was a Lawyer, who had, through the Lord *Haſtings*'s means, been put into a place of conſiderable Truſt in the Counties of *Leiceſter* and *Northampton*, where this Lord's Power and Intereſt lay. *Moor*, p. 492.

(5) On *June* 13. *Moor*, p. 493.

1483. *anſwer me with* Ifs *and* Ands, *as if I forged this Accuſation? I tell thee they have conſpired my death, and thou thy ſelf art acceſſary to the Crime.* As he ended theſe words, he ſtruck the Table twice with his Fiſt, and immediately the room was filled with armed Men. As ſoon as they were in, the Protector turning to the Lord *Haſtings*, ſaid to him, *I arreſt thee for High-Treaſon. Who, Me, my Lord*, anſwered *Haſtings? Yes, Thee, Traitor*, replied the Protector. At the ſame time he delivered him to the Cuſtody of the Soldiers. During the buſtle, one of the Soldiers would have cleft the Lord *Stanley*'s ſkull with a Battle-ax. But he avoided part of the blow by ſinking under the Table; however, he was dangerouſly wounded. Probably, the Soldier had orders to kill him as it were by chance, under pretence he would have defended the Lord *Haſtings*. It is not hard to gueſs, why the Protector deſired to be rid of him. Be this as it will, having miſſed his aim, *Stanley* was arreſted with the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, it being the Protector's Intereſt to put it out of their power to hurt him, whom he knew to be zealouſly affected to the young King. As for the Lord *Haſtings*, he would ſcarce give him time to make a ſhort Confeſſion to the next Prieſt that came, ſwearing, *he would not dine till his head was ſtruck off.* Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a log which was found on the Green before the *Tower* Chapel, the time fixed by the Protector being too ſhort to erect a Scaffold. Hiſtorians inlarge upon ſundry preſages he had of his death. But though ſuch kind of remarks may have their uſe, when the Facts are very certain, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence (1). It ſuffices to obſerve only, that the Lord *Haſtings* died the ſame day and hour that the *Pontfract* Priſoners (2) were executed, to whoſe death he greatly contributed.

Stanley is wounded, and arreſted with the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of Ely. Moor.

The Priſoners at Pontfract are executed.

The Protector tries to juſtify what was done by the Mayor of London. Moor.

The Lord *Haſtings* being dead, the Protector judged it neceſſary to palliate ſo haſty and illegal an execution, for fear the *Londoners* ſhould take fire upon hearing it (3), and for that purpoſe, ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. In the mean while, he and the Duke of *Buckingham* put on two old ruſty Coats of Armour. The Mayor being come to the *Tower*, the Protector told him, the Lord *Haſtings*, and ſome others had conſpired to take away his Life, and he had no Intelligence of the plot till ten a clock that Morning. That the fact being fully proved, the King and Council had thought neceſſary to execute him immediately, by reaſon they were informed, a great number of people were all ready to riſe in his favour. That this Conſpiracy had put his perſon in extreme danger, and forced him to harneſs himſelf in old ruſty Armour, for his defence. That he had ſent for him to inform him of the truth, that he might, when he acquainted the *Londoners* with this ſudden execution, take care to appeaſe or prevent the Commotions, which ill-affected People might raiſe in the City. The Mayor and Aldermen eaſily perceived, the Protector did not tell them the whole truth, but not daring to expreſs their doubt, they withdrew, aſſuring him his orders ſhould be obeyed.

Proclamation upon that ſubject. Moor.

What the Protector had ſaid to the Mayor and Aldermen, was only to prepare the people to receive a Proclamation, publiſhed in the City two hours after the death of the Lord *Haſtings*. The King, in whoſe name it was publiſhed, was made to ſay in it, "That the "Lord *Haſtings* had conſpired to ſeize his perſon, in "order to govern the Kingdom as he pleaſed, and to "kill the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*. That "to prevent this deſign, he was forced, by advice of his "Council, to cauſe the criminal to be immediately pu-"niſhed, and that never man more deſerved to die. "That it was he that perſuaded the late King to do ſo "many things contrary to the rights and privileges of the "people. That he had endeavoured to debauch him by "his perſuaſions and example, and had lain the night "before with *Shore*'s Wife, the accomplice of all his "crimes, and particularly of that for which he was exe-"cuted." There were ſeveral other things in the Proclamation, tending to leſſen the people's affection and compaſſion for the Lord *Haſtings*, and to ſhew that his death was a judgment upon him. It was obſerved, that the Proclamation was elegantly compoſed, and fairly writen on Parchment, though publiſhed ſo very ſoon after that Lord's death. This bred a ſuſpicion that it was ready prepared (4) in order to be publiſhed immediately after the execution. Accordingly, it produced but little effect (5). 1483.

As *Jane Shore* was accuſed of being an accomplice of the Lord *Haſtings*, the Protector was obliged to proceed againſt her. So, giving orders (6) to arreſt her, he commanded her to be brought to the *Tower*, where ſhe was examined before the Council. The Duke of *Gloceſter* accuſed her himſelf of intending, by her ſorceries, to waſte his fleſh by degrees, and conſpiring with the Lord *Haſtings* to aſſaſſinate him. But, beſides that he could alledge nothing in proof of theſe accuſations, ſhe made ſo good a defence, that the Council could find no reaſon to condemn her. However, as the Protector was unwilling ſhe ſhould eſcape without puniſhment, ſhe was ſued for incontinency, as being guilty of leaving her Husband, and living with other men. Theſe were facts ſhe could not deny, ſince the whole Court was witneſs, ſhe had been kept by the late King, and afterwards by the Lord *Haſtings*. Whereupon ſhe was delivered over to the Biſhop of *London*, and condemned by the Eccleſiaſtical Court to do open penance in St. *Paul*'s Church in a white Sheet, with a Wax-Taper in her hand, before all the people (7). Moor. *Jane Shore condemned to do open Penance.*

The late executions at *London* and *Pontfract* without any form of proceſs, the impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Stanley*, left no room to queſtion the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s deſigns. Hitherto, he had given ſome colour to his conduct; but after theſe violent proceedings there was no way to hide his intentions. Every one ſaid to himſelf, theſe unjuſt doings could not but end in the King's deſtruction. But people durſt not tell their thoughts to one another, ſuch a terror was there every where ſpread. They who could have taken meaſures to oppoſe the Protector's deſigns were dead or in priſon, and if there were any left capable to make him uneaſy, the example of thoſe who had been treated with ſo much barbarity, was ſufficient to cauſe them to act with circumſpection. They plainly ſaw the imminent danger, if they did but ſeem to perceive what was plotting. *The Protector haſtens the execution of his deſign.*

Fear and conſternation having thus ſeized the great men, the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* thought the advantage ſhould be taken, and that it was time to diſcover their deſigns (8). There remained but one difficulty, and that was to get the *Londoners* to approve of the intended change. This was no eaſy matter. Indeed, private perſons may ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted, and if any are too obſtinate, they may be diſpatched as the Lord *Haſtings* had been ſerved. But the thing is to perſuade a whole Nation, they ought to approve of manifeſt acts of injuſtice, wherein they themſelves are not concerned. There are but two ways to ſucceed. The firſt is to oblige them through fear, to feign to believe what they do not believe; the other, to gain thoſe in whom they put any confidence, that they may by degrees be brought to what is deſired. After ſeveral conſultations, the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* reſolved to uſe theſe two means, the firſt whereof had already begun to have a very great effect. For the ſecond, they agreed, that, by emiſſaries, it ſhould be continued more than ever to be ſpread among the people, that *Edward* the fourth's Children were illegitimate, and their Father himſelf and the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother were not the Duke of *York*'s Sons. That theſe rumours ſhould be ſupported by a Sermon of Dr. *Shaw*, whoſe eloquence was applauded by the whole City. *He employs Dr. Shaw a famous Preacher.* Moor.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the Doctor mounted the Pulpit one *Sunday* morning at *Paul's-Croſs*, and preached upon theſe words, *Baſtard Slips ſhall take no deep Root* (9). He began with ſhewing the Bleſſings God uſually beſtowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the calamities which on the contrary fell upon the Children born out of wedlock. He did not want examples of both, as well in *ſacred* as *prophane* Hiſtory. Then he inlarged on the noble qualities of the Duke of *York*, ſlain in the Battle of *Wakefield*, and ſhewed how happy the *Engliſh* would be to have a Sovereign of the race of that great Prince. *Shaw's Sermon at Paul's Croſs.*

(1) The Preſages Hiſtorians dwell upon were, a remarkable Dream of the Lord *Stanley*'s, who dreamed, that a wild Boar with his Tuſhes, had wounded his and the Lord *Haſtings*'s head, and therefore adviſed him to fly from danger; the Sollicitations of his Concubine *Jane Shore*, that very morning not to go to the Council, nor to truſt the wild Boar; the often ſtumbling of his Horſe as he was riding to the *Tower*, and ſome other like obſervations. He was afterwards buried at *Windſor*, near King *Edward*'s Tomb. *Moor*, p. 494.

(2) *Anthony* Earl of *Rivers*, *Richard* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawſe*. See above, p. 631.

(3) The Lord *Haſtings* was in great eſteem with King *Edward*'s Friends, as being well-affected to his Family, and in no ſmall favour with the People, being reckoned a lover of the common Good. *Moor*, p. 495.

(4) By *Cateſby*. *Moor*, p. 495.

(5) People jeſted and ſaid, *it was writ by the Spirit of Prophecy*. *Idem*. p. 496.

(6) To Sir *Thomas Howard*, to apprehend her Perſon, and ſeize her Goods, which were valued at between two and three thouſand Marks. *Ibid.*

(7) Which ſhe accordingly did the next *Sunday* Morning, after this manner: She was brought, clothed in a white Sheet, by way of Proceſſion, with the Croſs carried before her, and a Wax Taper in her hand, to St. *Paul*'s Church, from the Biſhop's Palace adjoining. In all this Action ſhe behaved with ſo much modeſty and decency, that ſuch as reſpected her Beauty more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her, than now. *Ibid.*

(8) In the mean time, he iſſued out a Proclamation, importing, That the King's Coronation, for divers great and urgent Cauſes, ſhould be deferred to the 2d of *November*. *Moor*. *Hall*, fol. 17.

(9) Wiſdom of *Solomon* iv.

From

1483. From thence he took occaſion to remark, that it was to be feared, the Reign of *Edward* V would be fatal to *England*, ſince he was born of an illegitimate marriage. Moreover, that neither *Edward* IV nor the late Duke of *Clarence* were Sons of the great Duke of *York*, as was certainly known from officers of his houſhold, witneſſes of the Ducheſs their Mother's ſcandalous life. That ſhe had taken to her bed, in the ſight of all her ſervants, Men whom the two Brothers perfectly reſembled. But that the Duke of *Gloceſter* alone could truly be called the Duke of *York*'s Son. That beſides, *Edward* IV was not lawfully married to his Queen, ſince he had before plighted his faith to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, as could be ſhewn by good evidences. That conſequently his Children could be no better than Baſtards. That therefore the Duke of *York*'s real poſterity was not to be looked for in the Children either of *Edward*, or of the Duke of *Clarence*, and that their race would infallibly periſh, becauſe *Baſtard Plants ſhall take no deep Root*. But my Lord Protector, continued he, raiſing his voice, that noble Prince, the pattern of all virtue, carries in his countenance, in his air, in his carriage, in his ſoul, the perfect image of his illuſtrious Father. At theſe words, it was deſigned the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould appear, in hopes that the People, moved by the Preacher's eloquence, would ſalute him King. But the Duke happening to ſtay a little too long, the Doctor had begun another ſubject, when he ſaw him entering, which however he left, and repeated the ſame words before-mentioned, whilſt the Duke was preſſing through the crowd to come to his place. But inſtead of hearing the cry of *Long live King* Richard! as he expected, he perceived, all kept a ſullen ſilence, the People deteſting the baſeneſs of the Preacher, inſtead of applauding his eloquence. The ſermon being ended, the Doctor went and hid himſelf for ſhame, neither durſt he ever ſhow his face again in the World. It is ſaid he died preſently after with grief at his ill-ſucceſs, and for loſing the eſteem of his audience.

Iſſue of his Sermon.

The Duke of Buckingham *harangues the People at* Guild-Hall *in favour of the Duke of* Gloceſter. Moor.

Shaw's Sermon not producing the expected effect, other means were to be uſed; for the Protector had proceeded too far to recede. So the Duke of *Buckingham*, being a fine Speaker, took upon him to harangue the people, imagining, a polite Speech would be more ſucceſsful than *Shaw*'s methodical Sermon. To that purpoſe, the Lord Mayor had orders to aſſemble the Aldermen, Common-Council, and principal Citizens, in the *Guild-Hall* (1). Which being done, the Duke of *Buckingham* came to the Aſſembly (2), and taking his place near the Mayor, told the People, he was come from the Council, to acquaint them with a matter of the greateſt Importance to the whole Kingdom, but eſpecially to the Inhabitants of *London*. His Speech ran at firſt upon the Calamities endured by the People of *England* in the laſt Reign. He aggravated in a very violent manner, the Cruelty, Avarice and Incontinency of *Edward* IV, and endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to render him odious. Then, he put his Audience in mind, the Sunday before, that excellent Man, Dr. *Shaw*, had clearly proved to them, that *Edward* was not lawfully married to his Queen, and conſequently their Children were baſtards: That neither *Edward* himſelf, nor the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, were the Duke of *York*'s Sons, and to the proofs alledged by the Doctor, he himſelf could add many more, did not his reſpect for the Protector, hinder him from dwelling upon the Ducheſs his Mother's looſe Life: That for theſe reaſons, the Lords of the Council, and the Commons of the Realm, particularly of the northern Counties, had declared, that a Baſtard ſhould not ſit on the Throne of *England*, and petitioned, that the Crown ſhould be adjudged to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, only Son of the late Duke of *York:* That indeed there was reaſon to fear, the magnanimous Duke would refuſe the offer; but on the other hand, it was to be hoped, all the people, and eſpecially the Inhabitants of *London*, uniting with one accord, he would be prevailed with to take upon him the Burden of the Government, too weighty for a Child: That upon all theſe Conſiderations, he required them in his own, and the name of the Lords of the Council, to declare their Intention. Here he ſtopped, in expectation to hear the People cry, *Long live King* Richard; but every one ſtood ſpeechleſs, ſo great was their ſurprize, to hear ſo unjuſt a propoſal. The Duke, ſurprized in his turn at ſo unexpected a ſilence, asked the Mayor the reaſon; who replied, perhaps, they did not well underſtand him. If that's the caſe, anſwered the Duke, I will make my ſelf better underſtood. Then raiſing his voice, he repeated the ſenſe of what he had ſaid in other words, with a gracefulneſs and eloquence worthy a nobler ſubject. But the People ſtill kept a profound ſilence. The Duke, in confuſion that his Rhetoric ſhould produce ſo little effect, talked ſome time in a low voice with the Mayor, to conſult with him what was to be done. At length, the Mayor told him, perhaps the People were ſilent becauſe they were uſed to be harangued only by the Recorder, who was the Mouth of the City. Whereupon he commanded the Recorder (3) to ſpeak to the People, which he did with great reluctance. However, he ſo managed his Speech, that without any addition of his own, he repeated to the people the ſubſtance of what the Duke had ſaid. He concluded, with requiring the people (4) to give a poſitive anſwer, whether they would have the Duke of *Gloceſter* for King or not? At theſe words there was a confuſed murmur in the Aſſembly, and as it was yet uncertain whether the People anſwered Ay or No, ſome of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Servants, who had ſlipt in amongſt the crowd, fell to crying, *Long live King* Richard! Some of the Citizens who had been bribed, but would not venture to begin, ſeconded the Cry, and the Apprentices, with the Rabble, who ſtood near the door, followed their example, and throwing up their Hats in token of Joy, cryed out *King Richard! King Richard!* The Duke of *Buckingham* plainly perceived, the Cry came from the Rabble without, and not from the principal Citizens in the Hall. Nevertheleſs, improving this advantage, he commanded ſilence, and reſuming his Speech, ſaid, he was overjoyed to ſee ſo general and unanimous an approbation to his propoſal. *Wherefore*, continued he, *my good Friends, I deſire you to meet me here to morrow about this time, that we may all go together, and preſent our humble petition to his Highneſs, and intreat him to condeſcend to our requeſt.* Then, the Mayor diſmiſſing the people, the Citizens returned to their Houſes with tears in their Eyes, and grief in their Hearts, without daring to ſhew it, for fear of offending thoſe whoſe Intereſt it was to have it concealed.

1483.

He orders the Recorder to ſpeak to the People.

Some of the Mob cry, a Richard! Moor.

The Duke pretends it was a general Approbation.

Next day the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Mayor, Aldermen, and many other Perſons of the Cabal came to the Protector's Palace (5) and ſent a Meſſage to him, that the Magiſtrates of *London* deſired an audience. The Protector ſcrupled to appear, pretending to fear, that ſuch numbers were aſſembled for no good deſign. Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* obſerved to the Mayor and thoſe about him, that his Highneſs was not conſcious of their intent, intimating thereby that he was not concerned in the tranſactions of the foregoing day. At length, upon the repeated deſire, that his Highneſs would be pleaſed to grant an audience, he came forth with ſigns of great miſtruſt, and as not daring to approach ſuch multitudes, for fear of ſome Miſchief (6). Then the Duke of *Buckingham*, without giving the Mayor time to ſpeak, briefly ſet forth the grievance of the Nation in the late Reign. After that, he ſaid to the Protector, the People had found no better way to free themſelves from their evils, than to pray his Highneſs to aſſume the Royal Authority, which of right belonged to him. He added, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, whom he ſaw there, were come to petition him in the Name of all the people, who were united in the ſame intention.

He waits upon the Protector with the Mayor, and offers him the Crown. Moor.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* ſeeming ſurpriſed at this propoſal, anſwered, "he was convinced that all he had heard "was true: But he had ſo great a veneration for the me- "mory of the late King his Brother, and ſo tender an af- "fection for his Children, as out-weighed all the Crowns "in the world, and therefore he could not comply with "their requeſt. However he willingly pardoned their "petition, and thanked them for their affection: But ad- "viſed them to be obedient to the Sovereign under whoſe "Dominion they lived: That for his part, he would "continue to the utmoſt of his power, to give the King "his Nephew ſuch Counſels, as he ſhould judge moſt "conducive to render his Kingdom flouriſhing, and his "People happy, as he believed he had hitherto done, to "the ſatisfaction of all the world."

The Protector refuſes it at firſt. Moor.

He expects in vain that the People ſhould cry, King Richard!

The Duke of *Buckingham* ſeeming diſſatisfied with this anſwer, murmured ſome words to himſelf expreſſing his diſcontent, and at length deſired leave to ſpeak once more; and having obtained it, he plainly told the Protector, "That all people were unanimouſly reſolved not to "acknowledge for King any of *Edward* IV's Children: "That they had proceeded too far to go back, and there- "fore if he would not receive the Crown, the People "would be forced to offer it to one who would not re- "fuſe it." At theſe words the Protector began to be a little

The Duke of Buckingham *threatens to give the Crown to another.*

He repeats his Speech. Moor.

The Protector accepts of it.

(1) On the *Tueſday* following, which was the 17th of *June*. *Moor. Hall*, fol. 20.
(2) Attended by ſeveral Lords, who were privy to the deſign. *Ibid.*
(3) *Thomas Fitz-William*. *Moor. Hall*, fol. 22.
(4) It was not the Recorder, but the Duke of *Buckingham*, who continuing to ſpeak, required the People to give a poſitive Anſwer. *Moor. Hall*, fol. 20.
(5) At *Baynard*'s Caſtle in *Thames-ſtreet*, where the Protector then lay. *Moor.*
(6) He is ſaid to appear in a Gallery, with a Biſhop on each ſide of him. *Moor. Hall*, fol. 23.

From an Antient Original Painting on Board at Kensington Palace. *G. Vertue del: & Sculp.*

1483. *His Speech to the People.* Moor.

little more compliant, and at laſt, ſpoke to the people in this manner: *Since I ſee the whole Kingdom is reſolved not to ſuffer* EDWARD'S *Children to reign, for which I am extremely concerned, I am fully convinced, the Crown can of Right belong only to me, who am the undoubted Son of the late Duke of* YORK *my Father. To this Title is now joined the* free Election *of the* Lords *and* Commons *of the Realm, which of all Titles I ſhall conſider as the chief and moſt effectual. From theſe conſiderations I graciouſly receive your Petition, and inſtantly take upon me the Government of the two Kingdoms of* England *and* France, *the former to be governed and defended, and the latter by God's help, and my people's aſſiſtance, to be ſubdued.* At the cloſe of this Speech was heard a great ſhout of, *Long live King* Richard III! The Comedy being over, the people retired to their homes, making upon this occaſion ſuch reflections as were ſuggeſted by their reſpective Underſtandings, Intereſts, or Paſſions. 1483.

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18. *RICHARD* III. *Sirnamed* CROOK-BACK.

1483. RICHARD III. *is proclaimed.* Moor. Hall.

THE Duke of *Gloceſter* having attained to his ends by ſuch extraordinary ways, and in ſpite of all the obſtacles that oppoſed his ambition, was proclaimed the 22d of *June* (1), by the name of *Richard* III. He might have been crowned the next day, ſince the preparations for *Edward* the fifth's coronation were finiſhed: But he delayed the ceremony till the ſixth of *July*, expecting the arrival of five thouſand Men, which he ſent for out of the North, becauſe he did not entirely confide in the Citizens of *London*.

The Biſhop of Lincoln *is made Chancellor,* Moor. Act. Pub. XII. p. 189, 190. *and* John Howard *Duke of* Norfolk.

During this interval, he gave the Great Seal to the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (2), one of his favorites. On the 28th of *June* he conferred the office of Earl Marſhal upon the Lord *John Howard* (3), and the next day, the title of Duke of *Norfolk*. The day following, he commiſſioned him to exerciſe the office of High-Steward during the Coronation. A few days after, he created *Thomas Howard* his Son, Earl of *Surrey*, *William Berkeley* Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Lovel* one of his Confidents, Viſcount of the ſame name (4).

Archbiſhop of York *and* Stanley *are releaſed.* Moor.

Thomas Rotherham Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Lord *Thomas Stanley*, who were impriſoned the day the Lord *Haſtings* was executed, were releaſed at the ſame time, and the new King made the Lord *Stanley*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold. It was not from a motive of affection or confidence, but out of fear that the Lord *Strange* his Son (5), who was beginning to levy forces in *Lincolnſhire* (6), ſhould raiſe commotions, the conſequences whereof he much dreaded.

The Biſhop of Ely *is committed to the Cuſtody of* Buckingham. Moor.

As for Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, who was arreſted the ſame day, the King deſigned not to do him the ſame favour. But the Univerſity of *Oxford*, of which that Prelate was member, having preſented a Petition in his behalf, he did not think proper wholly to reject it, at a time when he wanted to gain the affection of his new Subjects. However, as he mortally hated that Biſhop, he could not reſolve to releaſe him entirely. He only took him out of his confinement in the *Tower*, and committed him to the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Cuſtody, who ſent him to the Caſtle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*. He was a Man of mean Parentage (7), but having ſtudied at *Oxford*, where he had taken his Doctor's Degree, was ſo eminent for his learning and parts, that he was taken from thence, and made Privy-Counſellor by *Henry* VI. The Revolution which had placed *Edward* IV on the Throne, made no alteration in his Fortune. *Edward*, it is likely, pleaſed with his complaiſance, continued him in the ſame Poſt, and promoted him to the Biſhoprick of *Ely*. From thenceforward he was wholly attached to that Prince, which drew on him *Richard*'s hatred, who put him under confinement the ſame day the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded, for fear his affection to the late King's Family, ſhould lead him to oppoſe his deſigns.

The King and Queen crowned. Moor. Hall.

The ſixth of *July*, the Coronation of the King and Queen was performed with great Solemnity (8). All the Peers of the Realm were preſent for fear of being ſuſpected by the new King, whoſe jealous temper was well known. *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, Wife of the Lord *Stanley*, and Mother of the Earl of *Richmond*, detained in *Bretagne*, held up the Queen's Train.

Richard enjoyed but two years and two months the Crown he had ſo eagerly deſired. He ſpent his whole Reign in deviſing means to ſupport himſelf in the Throne, which having mounted by Bloodſhed and other crimes, he endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion by the ſame Methods, but all his meaſures proved ineffectual, divine Providence being pleaſed to blaſt projects, founded wholly upon Injuſtice, Violence, and the ſubverſion of the Laws. The preſent circumſtances ſeemed however to be very favorable for him. The *Lancaſtrian* Family was quite extinct in *England*. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, the only branch of that Houſe, was in the hands of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who had promiſed *Edward* IV to hinder him from going out of his dominions. *Margaret* his Mother ſhewed no inclination to proſecute her Rights. Beſides, ſhe was ſubject to a Husband whom *Richard* had attached to his intereſt, by one of the moſt conſiderable Poſts at Court. As to the Princes and Princeſſes of *Portugal* and *Caſtile*, deſcended from *Philippa* and *Catharine* of *Lancaſter*, Daughters of *John* of *Gant*, they were too remote to diſturb the new King. In fine, there was not a Lord in the Kingdom that ſeemed to have credit enough to excite inſurrections, the Civil War having ſwept away great numbers, and entirely deſtroyed many ancient families. As for thoſe that were ſtill left, *Richard* hoped to win them by favours, as he had already gained the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Stanley*, and ſome others. As for the *Yorkiſts* attached to the family of *Edward* IV, namely, the *Woodvilles*, *Greys*, and others of the new Nobility, he had already diſpatched ſome, in the laſt reign, and the reſt were fled. The Queen-Widow was ſtill with her five Daughters in Sanctuary, from whence ſhe durſt not ſtir, and where ſhe ſeemed unable to hurt him. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet* her Son had likewiſe taken Sanctuary, and Sir *Richard Woodville* had abſconded. In a word, *Edward* V and the Duke of *York* his Brother were in the *Tower*, where, ſince the 27th of *June*, *Richard* had taken care to place as Governour Sir *Robert Brackenbury* his Creature. Thus, nothing ſeemed capable to ſhake the new Monarch's Throne. *Circumſtances favorable for* Richard.

Richard's meaſures for his ſafety.

Mean while, to be provided againſt whatever might happen, he formed the project to ſecure *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, the Archduke *Maximilian*, who governed the *Low-Countries* in the name of *Philip* his Son, *France* and *Bretagne*, from whence he feared his enemies might procure ſome aſſiſtance. In fine, to break all the meaſures which the friends of *Edward* the IVth's family might take againſt him, he reſolved to murder his nephews young King *Edward* V, and the Duke of *York* his Brother. Theſe were *Richard*'s firſt projects to preſerve his Crown, which created him no leſs uneaſineſs after poſſeſſion, than whilſt he was labouring to obtain it.

Embaſſy to Caſtile; Act. Pub. XII. p. 193. *to* Bretagne; p. 194.

To execute all theſe reſolutions, the 12th of *July*, he appointed for his Ambaſſador to *Caſtile*, *Bernard de la Force*, with orders to renew the antient Alliance with Queen *Iſabella* and *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* her Husband. The next day he gave the like commiſſion to *Thomas Hutton*, to treat of the prolongation of the Truce with *Francis* II, Duke of *Bretagne*. Probably, *Hutton* had ſecret inſtructions to endeavour to procure the Earl of

(1) Sir *T. Moor*, (as publiſhed in *Hall*) ſays, that *Richard* took the Reins of the Government the 19th of *June*, and the next day, *viz.* the 20th, was proclaimed King, when with great Solemnity he rode to *Weſtminſter*, and ſitting in the Seat Royal, called before him the Judges of the Realm, whom he ſtraightly commanded to execute the Law without favour or delay. *Moor. Hall*, fol. 25.

(2) *John Ruſſel.* See above, p. 632.

(3) He was Son of Sir *Robert Howard*, and *Margaret* Daughter and Coheir of *Thomas de Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*. The firſt Perſon of Note in this Family, was *William Howard* Judge of the *Common-Pleas*, in the Reign of *Edward* I. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 265.

(4) And Chamberlain. *Moor.*

(5) Having married *Joan*, Daughter and Heir of *John* Lord *Strange*, he was ſummoned to Parliament in 22 *Edw.* IV, by the Title of Lord *Strange*. *Dugdale.* Ibid. p. 249.

(6) *Hall* and *Hollingſhead* ſay, it was in *Lancaſhire*, fol. 25. p. 1386.

(7) Biſhop *Morton* was not of mean Parentage. He was Son of *Richard Morton*, a Gentleman of *Bere* in *Dorſetſhire*; whoſe Grandfather was *Robert Morton* of *Morton* in *Nottinghamſhire*, of a very antient Family.

(8) On the 4th of *July* he went to the *Tower* by water with his Wife; the 5th he rode through *London* with great pomp; and the 6th was crowned. See a particular account of his Coronation in *Hall*, fol. 25, 26; and *Hollingſh.* p. 1387, &c.

1483. to France. p. 191, 195. Moor.

Richmond, or at leaſt to renew the Treaty upon that ſubject between *Edward* IV, and the Duke. Three days after, he appointed commiſſioners to treat with *France* concerning ſome breaches of the Truce, in order to have occaſion to confirm it.

He reſolves to put his Nephews to death. Moor. Hall.

Theſe meaſures being taken, nothing remained but to execute the principal article, the murder of his two Nephews. For that purpoſe, he reſolved to remove from *London*, that their death happening in his abſence, he might be the leſs ſuſpected. With this view, he departed from *London* to viſit ſeveral Counties, under colour of reforming certain abuſes introduced to the great detriment of the people. His progreſs into the North was particularly neceſſary, to curb the inſolence of the Troops he had ſent for from thence, and who, after their return, had committed great outrages. But before he proceeded to *York*, he made ſome ſtay at *Gloceſter*, not to be too far from *London*, whilſt his orders concerning his Nephews were executing.

He goes to Gloceſter.

The Duke of Buckingham *demands the Inheritance of* Hereford. Moor. Hall.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, his intimate friend and confident, attended him to *Gloceſter*. He had loaded that Lord with eſtates and honours, both whilſt he was Protector, and after he was King. But the Duke ſtill expected another favour, of which he had received a poſitive promiſe. And that was, the moiety of the Lands of the Houſe of *Hereford*, to which he thought he had a very juſt right. The foundation of his claim will plainly appear in the following Genealogy.

His Claim.

HUMPHREY BOHUN
Earl of *Hereford* and *Northampton*.

MARY BOHUN Wife of *Henry* IV	ANN THOMAS of *Woodſtock* Earl of *Gloceſter*, Son of *Edward* III.
HENRY V.	ANN *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*.
HENRY VI.	HUMPHREY Duke of *Buckingham*.
EDWARD Prince of *Wales*.	HENRY Duke of *Buckingham*.

To conſider only this Genealogy, it is evident, the Duke of *Buckingham* had a right to claim one half of the Earl of *Hereford*'s Lands, as deſcended from one of his Daughters. But there were other reaſons which rendered his title diſputable. When *Richard* II put to death his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter* at *Calais*, he cauſed his Eſtate to be confiſcated by the Parliament, and gave what that Prince held in Right of *Ann* his Wife, to the Earl of *Derby*, who had married the eldeſt of the Siſters, and withal created him Duke of *Hereford*. Thus, the Earl of *Derby* took poſſeſſion of the whole Inheritance of the Earl of *Hereford* his Father-in-law, and afterwards mounting the Throne by the name of *Henry* IV, all his Lands were annexed to the Crown, which was thereby poſſeſſed of the whole Eſtate of the *Hereford* Family, till *Richard* the third's acceſſion to the Throne. However, when *Richard*, being Protector, intended to engage the Duke of *Buckingham* to ſerve him in his deſign to uſurp the Crown, he promiſed to reſtore him the moiety of the Inheritance confiſcated upon the Duke of *Gloceſter* his great Grandfather. But after he was King he altered his mind, whether he thought he had amply rewarded him otherwiſe, or was afraid of rendering him too powerful, and ſo giving him occaſion to aſpire to the Throne, as deſcending from *Edward* III. Be this as it will, the Duke during this Journey putting him in mind of his promiſe, received ſuch an anſwer, as left him no room to expect that Juſtice or Favour (1). The Duke, who was very high-ſpirited, was ſo offended at the King's anſwer, that he deſired leave to go and look after his own private affairs (2). *Richard* not imagining, this refuſal had made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Duke, or perhaps, not fearing the effects of his reſentment, gave him the leave he deſired, and parting from him at *Gloceſter*, he purſued his Journey to *York*.

The King denies his Requeſt; Moor. Hall.

upon which the Duke retires.

During the King's ſtay at *Gloceſter*, he ſent an expreſs order to *Brackenbury*, Governor of the Tower of *London*, to murder *Edward* V, and the Duke of *York* his Brother. *Brackenbury* more conſcientious than his maſter, returned a very ſubmiſſive anſwer, but withal, told him, he ſhould never be able to execute his Commands. *Richard* vexed to be deceived in his opinion of that Officer, ſent him by *James Tyrrel* a written order, to deliver to the bearer the Keys and Government of the *Tower* for one ſingle night. *Brackenbury* obeyed, and *Tyrrel* brought in his Agents (3) to execute the King's orders. That very night, whilſt all were aſleep, he went into the two Princes's room, and ſmothering them in their bed, cauſed them to be buried under a little Stair-caſe. This is what *Tyrrel* himſelf afterwards confeſſed, who was executed in the reign of *Henry* VII. In 1674, whilſt ſome Alterations were making in that part of the *Tower*, Bones were found, which were thought to be thoſe of *Edward* V, and the Duke of *York*, and upon that ſuppoſition, *Charles* II, who then reigned, ordered them to be put into a marble Urn, and removed to *Weſtminſter* among the Tombs of the Kings (4). As the two Princes were never more heard of ſince the day *Tyrrel* went into the *Tower*, and as their Servants were diſmiſſed, the publick doubted not that they were ſacrificed to their Uncle's ſafety.

1483. *Death of* Edward V, *and of the Duke of* York. Moor. Hall.

Their Bones are found in the Reign of Charles II. Sandford.

Richard having received the news of the death of his two Nephews, continued his Journey into the North, and came to *York* about the end of *Auguſt*. As the pretence of his Journey was to cauſe Juſtice to be impartially adminiſtred to the people, he could not help executing ſome of the northern Soldiers, who in returning from *London* had committed great outrages. Then, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned a ſecond time at the Cathedral of *York*, the beginning of *September*, and the ſame day he created *Edward* his Son, ten years old, Prince of *Wales*, with the uſual Formalities.

The King is crowned again at York. Hall. Hiſt. Croyl.

He creates his Son Prince of Wales.

A few days after his Coronation, he received the agreeable news, that *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* had prevented him, by deſiring themſelves the Confirmation of the Alliance between *England* and *Caſtile*, by an Ambaſſador ſent on purpoſe, and who was then come to *York*. The renewing of that Alliance, which he ratified himſelf the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, pleaſed him extremely. He found that *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* acknowledging him for lawful King, were forming no project to reſtore to the Throne the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, from whence Queen *Iſabella* was deſcended, being Grand-daughter of *Catherine* of *Lancaſter*, Daughter of *John of Gant*. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction by conferring the honour of Knighthood (5) upon *Geoffrey de Saſiola* Ambaſſador of *Caſtile*, who brought him the good news, and by his Letters full of eſteem, affection, and acknowledgment, to the King and Queen of *Spain*, to the Cardinal *de Mendoça*, and to the Earl of *Leryn* their Miniſters.

The Alliance with Caſtile is renewed. Act. Pub. XII. p. 199.

Sept. 8. p. 200.

p. 201, 202.

Lewis XI King of *France* died *Auguſt* the 29th (6) this year. *Charles* VIII his only Son being a Minor, ſucceeded him under the Guardianſhip of his Siſter *Ann*, Wife of *Philip de Bourbon*, Lord of *Beaujeu*, purſuant to the late King's Directions. But *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, firſt Prince of the Blood, diſputed the Regency with her. This conteſt raiſed, in the Court of *France*, diſturbances which prevented the Miniſters from attending to the renewal or confirmation of the Truce with *England*, which *Richard* earneſtly ſollicited.

Death Lewis XI. Commin. P. Daniel.

Troubles at the Court of France.

Whilſt the King was flattering himſelf with having taken all neceſſary meaſures to ſupport himſelf on the Throne, a Conſpiracy was forming againſt him, which ended in his ruin, after proving the deſtruction of its Author. I left the Duke of *Buckingham* diſſatisfied, and parting from the King in order to retire. He was a perſon of a lively and penetrating Genius, exceeding proud, ambitious, revengeful, and not very ſtrict in his Morals. During *Edward* the fourth's Life, he could never bring himſelf to ſtoop to the Queen, though ſhe had a great aſcendant over the King her Husband. He was even conſidered as head of the party of the Antient Nobility againſt the New, which wholly conſiſted of the Queen's relations and creatures. It was chiefly from his averſion to the Queen, that after *Edward* IV's death, he devoted himſelf entirely to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, for whom, as has been related, he procured the Protectorſhip, and at laſt the Crown itſelf. In return for ſo ſignal a ſervice, *Rich-*

The Duke of Buckingham *conſpires againſt the King.* Moor.

(1) That *Rapin*, and the reſt of our Hiſtorians are miſtaken in this particular, is plain from Sir *W. Dugdale's Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 168, wherein is inſerted a Bill ſigned by King *Richard*, whereby he granted the Duke of *Buckingham* Livery of all thoſe Lands to which he pretended a right by deſcent from *Humphrey de Bohun*. Among the reſt there were ſixteen Lordſhips in *Eſſex*, (particularly *Walden*, *Badow*, *Plecy*, *Waltham*, *High-Eſtre*) beſides many more in other Counties, amounting in all to the yearly value of 1084 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d.*

(2) *Dugdale* aſcribes the cauſe of his retiring, either to trouble of Conſcience, or becauſe he found himſelf neglected by the King. *Ibid.*

(3) *Miles Foreſt*, and *John Dighton*. *Moor.*

(4) In the time of Sir *Thomas Chicheley* Maſter of the Ordnance, great heaps of Records of Bills and Anſwers lying in the Six Clerk's Office, were removed to be repoſited in the white Tower; and a new pair of Stairs were made into the Chapel there, for the eaſier Conveyance of them thither. The Labourers, in digging at the foot of the old Stairs, came to a wooden Cheſt, containing the Bones of conſumed Corps covered with a heap of Stones: Which Bones King *Charles* cauſed to be interred in *Henry* VII's Chapel, near two other Royal Children, *Mary* and *Sophia*, Daughters of King *James* I, with a Monument of white Marble, and an Inſcription on it in Capital Letters. *Sandford*, p. 427---429.

(5) Which he did by putting a gold Collar round his Neck, and ſtriking him thrice on the Shoulders with his ſword *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 200.

(6) *P. Daniel* ſays, it was the 30th. Tom. VI. p. 558.

1483. *ard* had liberally beſtowed his favours upon him. Particularly he made him as it were maſter of *Wales*, and the adjoining Counties, by the Poſts and Governments given him in thoſe parts (1). But all theſe favours were forgotten, when he refuſed to grant him a Moiety of the Lands of *Hereford*. The Duke perceived the King's policy, in giving him Poſts, from which he could remove him at pleaſure, whereas in reſtoring the Lands he demanded, it would not have been in his power to reſume them without uſing force. This proceeding convinced him, that the King would always keep him in dependance, and as he perfectly knew that Prince's Character, eaſily perceived, that the leaſt occaſion would be ſufficient to make him forfeit whatever he enjoyed. Beſides, he thought it a manifeſt injuſtice, in refuſing him what he believed to be his lawful right; that moreover he broke his promiſe, and ſhowed himſelf extremely ungrateful, in making ſo ill a return for the ſervices he had received from him. All this gave him reaſon to fear, he had intended to ruin him in time.

Cauſe of his Diſguſt.

Full of theſe ſiniſter thoughts he retired to his Caſtle of *Brecknock*, where Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely* was Priſoner under his cuſtody. In his frequent converſations with that Prelate, he could not help diſcovering his reſentment againſt the King. The Biſhop, who was a Man of ſenſe, quickly found, the Duke was diſſatisfied, which imboldened him to talk to him freely. He obſerved the Duke took a pleaſure in hearing him, and would have perhaps ſpoken himſelf more plainly, had he dared to truſt him entirely. So, to inſpire him with more confidence, he affected to ſpeak of the King in a manner, which by ſhowing what he thought of him, gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould find in him a Perſon ready to ſecond him in all his deſigns. At length, after mutually ſounding each other for ſome time, they opened their minds to one another, and lamented together the unhappy ſtate of the Kingdom under ſuch a King. The late death of *Edward* V and of the Duke his Brother, afforded them freſh matter to exclaim againſt *Richard*. They concluded, that ſince he had not ſpared his own Nephews, no Lord in the Kingdom could be ſure of his life. Theſe converſations ended at length in the Duke's requeſt to the Biſhop, to tell him freely, whether he ſaw no way to prevent the miſchiefs they had reaſon to fear; promiſing with an Oath to keep the ſecret inviolably. *Morton*, who till then was under ſome apprehenſions that the Duke deſigned to inſnare him, being encouraged by this Oath, told him in plain terms, "it was his opinion, there was no other way "than to dethrone *Richard*, and ſet up another King. "He owned, that though he could have wiſhed the "Crown had continued in the family of *Henry* VI, he "had not been able to avoid following the ſtream, when "he ſaw almoſt all *England* declare for *Edward* IV. "That afterwards, *Henry* VI and the Prince his Son "being dead, he had faithfully adhered to *Edward*. "That upon *Edward*'s death he had ſerved with the "ſame zeal his young Son, whom he believed his lawful "Succeſſor. That afterwards he perceived with grief the "Duke of *Gloceſter* aſpiring to the Throne, and having "the honour to be of the Council, thought it his duty to "endeavour to oppoſe his deſign. But inſtead of ſuc-"ceeding, he had only drawn upon himſelf the hatred "and diſpleaſure of that Prince, who had thrown him "into Priſon, ſolely for adhering to the family of *Ed-*"*ward* IV. That this unjuſt violence had increaſed his "averſion for the Uſurper, and the tragical death of the "two young Princes had carried it to the utmoſt height. "That being in theſe circumſtances, he had conſidered "with himſelf what Prince would be moſt proper to be "placed on the Throne in the room of the Tyrant, and "had found no other than the Duke of *Buckingham*, de-"ſcended from a Son of *Edward* III. That the whole "race of *Lancaſter* being extinct, at leaſt in *England*, "there remained of the Houſe of *York* only the Tyrant "and his Son, with the young Earl of *Warwick* Son of "the Duke of *Clarence*. As for the laſt, he could not "pretend to the Crown, his Father's attainder having de-"barred his Heirs of the right of inheriting. That the "preſent King had by his crimes rendered himſelf un-"worthy, and to preſerve the Son's right after deſtroying "the Father, would be acting imperfectly. That there-"fore, once more, he ſaw only the Duke of *Bucking-*"*ham* capable of lawfully claiming the Crown."

The Duke and Biſhop of Ely *conſult together how to dethrone the King.* Moor. Hall.

The Biſhop propoſes to the Duke to make himſelf King. Moor. Hall.

Hall. Hollingſh. The Duke liſtened very attentively to this diſcourſe, but deferred his anſwer till next day. This delay threw the Biſhop into great perplexity, ſince it left him ſtill uncertain whether the Duke was ſincere, or deſigned only to ſift him. By the way, the Biſhop it ſeems, was not very ſcrupulous, ſince knowing the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Character, as he muſt have done, he readily offered his ſervice to ſet him on the Throne. This is a ſign that he acted more from a motive of revenge againſt *Richard*, than with a view to the good of the publick. The King and the Duke were too much alike to expect a great advantage by ſuch a change. 1483. Hall.

The Duke rejects the Propoſal, and names the Earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Next day the converſation being reſumed, the Duke, after a long apology for all his former actions, freely confeſſed to the Prelate, "he had once an intention to aſpire "to the Throne, but upon mature deliberation had en-"tirely dropped it. He conſidered, that in acting for "himſelf, he ſhould ſtir up againſt him all the friends of "the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, equally concern-"ed to oppoſe his pretenſions. That there was a Prince "nearer than he, whom the Houſe of *Lancaſter* looked "upon as their head, and he it was on whom he had caſt his "eyes to raiſe to the Throne. Then he named *Henry* Earl "of *Richmond*, who was in *Bretagne*." Adding, "that "the project to reſtore the Houſe of *Lancaſter* to the "Throne, would draw one half of the Kingdom to that "Prince's intereſt, and he had deviſed a happy expedient "to gain him the other half: And that was his marriage "with *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV, which "would make all the *Yorkiſts* his friends. That more-"over, the Nation would receive great advantage from "thence, in as much as all the ſeeds of the Civil Wars "would be deſtroyed, by the union of the two contending "Houſes. That by this means even thoſe who were in-"different for either party, would be forced, as one may "ſay, to promote the common good of their Country; "and then *Richard*'s few friends would not be able to "balance ſo great a power. Whereas if he pretended to "ſet up himſelf, the whole Kingdom would be united "againſt him, ſince there was not the leaſt colour to ex-"clude from the Throne, two Houſes that had been in "poſſeſſion above fourſcore years. In fine, he added, "that in his way to *Brecknock*, he met the Counteſs "of *Richmond*, and having ſounded her upon this head, "believed he could be ſure, ſhe would be eaſily diſpoſed "to promote the advancement of her Son."

The Biſhop likes the Propoſal. Hall.

The Biſhop liked this expedient, as more conformable to juſtice and equity, and more adapted to the good of the Realm, eſpecially as it came from the only perſon, who would have had reaſon to oppoſe it, had it been propoſed by another.

Rights of the Earl of Richmond.

Henry Earl of *Richmond*, as I elſewhere obſerved, was of *Welſh* extraction. But his Mother *Margaret* was Daughter of *John de Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, Grandſon of *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaſter*. *Margaret*'s Father dying without Iſſue-Male, *Edmund* his younger Brother inherited his title. But *Edmund* and all his poſterity being deſtroyed in the Civil Wars, *Margaret* and her Son were the only remains of that Houſe. So, it ſeemed, they ſhould have indiſputably inherited all the rights of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. But however the title was liable to great objections.

Whilſt *John* of *Gant* Duke of *Lancaſter* lived with *Conſtantia* of *Caſtile* his ſecond Wife, he kept, as his Concubine, *Catharine Roet*, Widow of Sir *Otho de Swinford*, and by her had ſeveral Children. *Conſtantia* his Wife being dead, he married his Concubine, and had intereſt enough to cauſe her Children, born before marriage, to be legitimated by an Act of Parliament, and by *Richard* II's ſubſequent Letters-Patent. However, the King and the Parliament, willing to make a diſtinction between theſe natural Children and the others born in Wedlock, gave them not the name of *Lancaſter* or *Plantagenet*, but that of *Beaufort*, the name of the Caſtle where they were born. Moreover, though in the Act of Parliament, and in the King's Letters Patent, power was granted them to hold Principalities, Dukedoms, Earldoms, *&c.* and to tranſmit them to their Heirs, there was no mention of the Crown (2). During the Reigns of *Henry* IV, and *Henry* V, the Princes of this branch durſt not aſſume the name of *Lancaſter*. It was not till about the end of *Henry* VI's reign, that *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet* being Prime Miniſter, and very zealous for the King, againſt the attempts of the Duke of *York*, began by degrees to aſſert his deſcent from *John* of *Gant*, and his kindred to the King, as being of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. It was a queſtion therefore to know, whether the Princes of this Branch could ſucceed

(1) He was Chief-Juſtice and Chamberlain of all *South-Wales* and *North-Wales*; as alſo Conſtable of all the Caſtles, and Steward of all the King's Lordſhips lying within *Shropſhire* and *Herefordſhire*. See *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 169; and *Strype*'s Notes in *Compl. Hiſt.* Vol. I. p. 530.

(2) There was mention of the Crown, but it was to exclude them abſolutely from it; as is plain from the words of the Act. They were by it intitled.---Ad quecunque honores dignitates (excepta dignitate regali) preeminentias ſtatus gradus & officia publica & privata tam perpetua quam temporalia atque feudalia & nobilia quibuſcumque nominibus nuncupentur, etiamſi Ducatus Principatus Comitatus Baronie vel alia feuda fuerint---This Act bears date *Febr.* 9. *Anno* 20. *Richard* II, and was afterwards exemplified by King *Henry* IV, on *Feb.* 10, in the 8th year of his Reign. See *Sandford*, p. 322, 323.

to

1483. to the Crown in their Turn. And ſuppoſing they could, the point was to know when their turn was to be, and whether the Heirs of *John* of *Gant*'s Daughters born in Wedlock, were not to precede the Poſterity of a Son only legitimated, and born before Marriage. If ſo, there was no leſs than ten or twelve Princes and Princeſſes in *Portugal*, *Caſtile* and *Germany*, who would have excluded the Earl of *Richmond*. On the other hand, it ſeems that by *Edward* IV's Endeavours to have the Earl of *Richmond* in his hands, he had, as it were, owned him capable of inheriting all the Rights of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. This was a queſtion which might have been debated in thoſe days, but which, having been decided above two hundred Years ſince, requires no farther Examination, unleſs out of meer curioſity thoſe that are verſed in theſe matters are willing to exerciſe their Wits.

Very likely, if the Duke of *Buckingham* had thought it in his power to mount the Throne, he would not have failed to object againſt the Earl of *Richmond*'s Title the forementioned Reaſons. But, as he had himſelf obſerved, in his diſcourſe with the Biſhop of *Ely*, he could not ſet up himſelf without oppoſing the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, that is to ſay, the whole Kingdom, which was divided between theſe two Factions. So the pretence to reſtore the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and put an end to the Civil Wars by the Union of the two contending Houſes, was by far the more natural way to be revenged of *Richard*. I ſay to be revenged, for it is hard to believe, a Man of his Character ſhould act on this occaſion from a nobler Motive.

The Duke and Biſhop inform the Counteſs of Richmond *of their Deſign.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Be this as it will, the Duke and the Biſhop having conſulted together how to accompliſh their Deſigns, came to this Concluſion: That all hope of Succeſs was founded on the Marriage of the Earl of *Richmond* with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; That therefore, before all things, that Point was to be ſecured, without which it would be to labour in vain, or at leaſt with great uncertainty. To that end they agreed, that they ſhould without loſs of time acquaint the Counteſs of *Richmond* with their Project, that ſhe might inform her Son of it, and perſwade the Queen-Dowager, Mother of the Princeſs, to conſent to the Marriage.

But as conferring with *Margaret* would have been very dangerous for the Duke of *Buckingham*, conſidering the King's extreme jealouſy of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, the Biſhop told him, he had an old Friend in the Counteſſes's Service, one [*Reginald*] *Bray*, who might ſafely be truſted with the Secret. The Duke approving this Expedient, *Bray* was privately ſent for to *Brecknock*, and the Project being imparted to him, the propoſing of it to his Miſtreſs was left to his care. More eſpecially, he was charged to tell her, that the Marriage of the Earl her Son was the Baſis and Foundation on which the whole Project reſted.

The Biſhop of Ely *flies into* Flanders. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

As ſoon as *Bray* was gone to execute his Commiſſion, the Biſhop of *Ely* deſired the Duke's leave to retire to his Biſhoprick. He was juſtly afraid of his Life, in caſe the Plot came to be diſcovered. It may be he did not wholly depend upon the Duke's Sincerity. But the Duke gave him two invincible Reaſons why he could not comply with his Requeſt. The firſt was, that he ſhould be guilty of letting his Priſoner eſcape, which alone would be ſufficient to inſpire the King with ſuſpicions. The ſecond, that in an Undertaking of this Nature, he could not proceed without his Advice. The Biſhop ſeemed to yield to theſe reaſons, but had by him ſtill ſtronger, to free himſelf from the impending Danger, in caſe the Affair was diſcovered. And therefore as he was not ſo narrowly watched by his Keepers, ſince his frequent Converſations with the Duke, he found means to eſcape, and retire to *Ely*; (1) from whence he fled into *Flanders*. Upon his Arrival, he wrote to the Duke to excuſe his eſcape, and withal, endeavoured to convince him, it was much more in his Power to promote the Execution of their intended Deſign, than whilſt he was Priſoner. He conjured him likewiſe, to continue in his Reſolution, and ſhewed him how he might carry on a private Correſpondence with him.

He writes to the Duke.

The Counteſs of Richmond *enters into the Plot*

Mean while, the Counteſs of *Richmond* being informed of what was projected in favour of the Earl her Son, ſent back her Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham* with her Compliment of Thanks; and withal let him know, ſhe was endeavouring to obtain the Queen Dowager's Conſent to the Marriage, and then would take the moſt proper Meaſures to ſend to the Earl of *Richmond*.

Elizabeth Woodville Widow of *Edward* IV, was ſtill in her Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* with her five Daughters, lamenting the Death of her two Sons, and blaming herſelf for having been the occaſion, by her eaſineſs to deliver the Duke of *York* to his Uncle. There had never been any particular Friendſhip between that Queen and the Counteſs of *Richmond*. One was Wife to a King of the Houſe of *York*, and the other was of the Family of *Somerſet*, ſworn Enemies of the *Yorkiſts*. Wherefore the Counteſs could not viſit the Queen in her Sanctuary, without cauſing great ſuſpicion. To avoid this Inconvenience, ſhe made uſe of one *Lewis* her Phyſician, (2) and having communicated the whole Affair to him, ordered him to go to *London* and ſo manage as to ſee the Queen, and inform her of what was in Agitation. Above all, ſhe charged him to tell her, that all hope of Succeſs depended upon the Union of the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, by the Marriage of the Princeſs *Elizabeth* with the Earl of *Richmond*.

1483. *She acquaints the Queen-Dowager with it.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Lewis being come to *London*, found no great difficulty, as a Phyſician, to get admittance to the Queen. He communicated to her what he had in charge, intimating it wou'd be in her own power to be reveng'd of her mortal Enemy, the Murderer of her Children, and dethrone the Uſurper, provided ſhe would conſent to the Marriage propoſed. The Queen gladly liſtened to the Overture. She charged the Doctor to tell his Miſtreſs, ſhe approved of the project, and would ſo order it, that all the King her Husband's friends ſhould join with the Earl of *Richmond*. But ſhe added, ſhe wiſhed the Earl would ſwear to marry *Elizabeth*, or in caſe ſhe happened to die, *Cecily* her younger Siſter.

Who promiſes to give her Daughter to the Earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Temper of the Nation favourable to the Conſpirators.

Matters being thus ſettled between the Queen Dowager, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, they endeavoured to ingage in the plot, their moſt truſty friends, who likewiſe drew in others (3). The *Engliſh* were as favorably diſpoſed as could be wiſhed, by three principal reaſons. Firſt, becauſe of the people's univerſal hatred of the King, who had made himſelf extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his Protectorſhip, as by his late Crime, in putting his Nephews to death, after robbing them of the Crown. He had thereby loſt moſt of the friends of the Houſe of *York*, who only wanted an opportunity to revenge the Family of *Edward* IV. In the ſecond place, all the *Lancaſtrians* ſaw with pleaſure, a project tending to reſtore the Houſe of *Lancaſter* to the Throne. Laſtly, thoſe that without regarding the Intereſts of the two Factions, had only the good of the Nation in view, could not but conſider as a great happineſs, the ſucceſs of an enterprize, which by uniting the two contending Houſes, would put an end to the Civil War, wherewith the Kingdom had been afflicted thirty years. Thus the *Lancaſtrians*, *Yorkiſts*, and even thoſe that ſtood neuter, were equally diſpoſed to concur to the downfal of the Uſurper.

The Duke begins to take meaſures to execute his deſigns. Hall. Stow. Bucking.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being the Author and head of the Enterprize, it was his part to conduct it to a happy iſſue. For that purpoſe, he firſt ſecured ſome friends in *Wales*, where his power was great, who undertook to liſt Soldiers privately, to enable him to bring, ſuddenly and ſeaſonably, an army into the field. Then, he ſettled a Correſpondence with ſome Gentlemen of *Dorſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwal*, who promiſed to raiſe Forces, and receive the Earl of *Richmond* at his arrival. His deſign was to join them himſelf, with his *Welſhmen*, that *Richard* might be leſs able to oppoſe the Earl's landing. At the ſame time, ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen were to riſe in other Counties, that the King might be at a loſs where to march firſt. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, who had lately quitted his Sanctuary (4), Sir *Richard Woodville* his Brother (5), the Biſhop of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Courtney* his Brother, and ſeveral other perſons of Quality engaged in the plot.

The Earl of Richmond *is informed of all.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the Counteſs of *Richmond* ſent two Expreſſes (6) to the Earl her Son, by different ways, to let him know what was reſolved in his favour, and how far the project was advanced. The two Expreſſes arriving almoſt together, informed him of all the circumſtances of the plot, and prayed him to repair into *England* without loſs of time, upon the Aſſurance they gave him, that every thing was ready for his reception. They told him likewiſe that *Dorſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, or *Cornwal* (7), were the moſt convenient places to land, by

(1) Where he found Friends and Money. *Hall*, fol. 36. *Hollingſh.* p. 1399.

(2) Who was a *Welchman*. *Hall*, fol. 36.

(3) *Reginald Bray* was employed by the Counteſs of *Richmond* to engage People in her Son's Party, which he accordingly did, and brought in, among the reſt, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *John Cheney*, *Richard Guilford*, *Thomas Rame*, Eſquires, and many others. *Hall*, fol. 37. *Stow*, p. 463.

(4) He repaired into *Yorkſhire*, where he raiſed large Forces; Sir *Edward Courtney* and his Brother did the ſame in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*; and in *Kent*, *Richard Guilford* and other Gentlemen gathered a great body of Soldiers, and began to commit Hoſtilities. *Hall*, fol. 39. *Hollingſh.* p. 1401.

(5) It ſhould be his Uncle. For he was Brother to *Elizabeth Woodville*, the Marquiſs's Mother.

(6) She ſent *Hugh Conwey*, Eſq; with a large ſum of Money. But *Richard Guilford*, for fear *Conwey* ſhould be ſtopped at *Plimouth*, where he intended to take Ship, ſent out of *Kent*, by the way of *Calais*, *Thomas Rame* with the ſame Inſtructions. They both arrived within leſs than an hour, at the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Court. *Hall*, fol. 37, 38. *Hollingſh.* p. 1400.

(7) *Wales*, ſays *Stow*, p. 463.

1483. reaſon of the meaſures taken with the people of thoſe parts.

He reſolves to impart the Matter to the Duke of Bretagne. Hall. Stow.

The Earl of *Richmond* was then at *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, where he had been ſeveral years, really a Priſoner, becauſe of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s engagements with *Edward* IV; but his Confinement was not ſtrict, the Duke contenting himſelf with narrowly watching him, in order to hinder his eſcape, in caſe he attempted it. In other reſpects he enjoyed an honourable freedom. He heard with great joy, that he was thought of in *England*. But when he came to conſider his preſent condition, and how little it was in his power to return into his own Country, ſo as to procure a welcome reception, he found it would be almoſt impoſſible to ſucceed in his enterprize, without the Duke of *Bretagne*'s conſent and aſſiſtance. For unleſs that Prince ſupplied him with Money, Troops, and Ships, it was not practicable to take juſt meaſures to accompliſh his deſigns. Beſides, the Duke might have made him cloſe Priſoner, by which means the whole affair would have miſcarried. So, perceiving he could not proceed without him, he reſolved to tell him the ſecret, and ingage him, if poſſible, to aſſiſt him. He found the Duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The Duke was not engaged with *Richard*, as he had been with *Edward* his Brother. Beſides, the unjuſt and violent actions of the new King had rendered him odious to all the Princes of *Europe*, and eſpecially to the Duke of *Bretagne*. Another thing likewiſe induced him to hearken to the Earl's propoſals. He had pretenſions to the Earldom of *Richmond* in *England*, formerly enjoyed by his Anceſtors, and imagined, the Earl would readily promiſe to reſtore it, if, by his means, he arrived to the Crown. It is pretended, this was the principal Article of their agreement, for which the Duke very willingly ingaged to ſupply him with Men and Ships. When the Earl was ſure of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s aſſiſtance, he ſent Expreſſes (1) to the Counteſs his Mother, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the beginning of *October*, deſiring them to prepare all things by that time. This good news preſently put all the Conſpirators in motion. Every one repaired to the poſt aſſigned him, as well to raiſe Forces, as excite Inſurrections. There was no time to loſe, good part of *September* being now paſt.

The Duke promiſes him aſſiſtance. Hall. Hollingſh.

Richard receives conflicting Notions of the Conſpiracy. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

How careful ſoever the Conſpirators had been to conceal themſelves, all theſe things could not be done, and *Richard* have no Intelligence that ſome plot was contriving againſt him. But none could tell him what it was, or who were the Authors. He was then at *York*, thinking of very different things, ſo ſecure was he in his own opinion. But theſe advices obliged him to leave the North, and approach the Center of the Kingdom. At the ſame time he ordered his Troops, which were diſperſed in ſeveral parts, to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Mean while, he prepared very ſlowly, not imagining the danger ſo near. As the Intelligence he had received, made him uneaſy, he ran over in his mind all the Lords of the Realm, who could be diſſatisfied, or had ſufficient Credit to excite Inſurrections againſt him. He found none but the Duke of *Buckingham*. He had angred him by diſappointing him with regard to the Lands of *Hereford*, and knowing him perfectly, could not doubt that he was capable of any thing, to be revenged. Beſides, he knew him to be alone in condition by his parts, his riches, and his intereſt, to form and execute great projects. His own experience would not ſuffer him to queſtion it. The Biſhop of *Ely*'s eſcape ſerved alſo to ſtrengthen this ſuſpicion. The Duke of *Buckingham* muſt have known how odious that Prelate was to him, and therefore his careleſſneſs in guarding ſuch a priſoner, could not but be deemed a colluſion and conſequence of ſome ill deſign. Upon theſe ſuſpicions, which were but too well-grounded, *Richard* reſolved to ſend for him to Court, but the Duke deſired to be excuſed, on pretence of ſome Indiſpoſition. This refuſal confirmed the King in his belief, that what he had ſuſpected was but too true. Nevertheleſs, to be more fully ſatisfied, he ſent him poſitive orders to come to him, without alledging any excuſe. The Duke perceiving diſſimulation was to no purpoſe, ſent him word, he would not expoſe his perſon to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would ſerve.

He ſuſpects the Duke of Buckingham.

He orders him to Court. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Duke refuſes, and declares againſt the King.

He takes up arms. Hall.

This was ſufficient to convince the King, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was the prime mover of the plot, which for ſome time had made him uneaſy. On the other hand, the Duke perceiving, that after ſuch a declaration there was no more Ceremony to be uſed, drew together the Forces which himſelf and friends had privately liſted in *Wales*, and began to march towards the weſtern Counties (2), where he knew the Earl of *Richmond* intended to land. There he was to be joined by thoſe who were gone before, to prepare all things againſt the Earl's arrival. 1483.

He deſigns to go into Cornwal,

Richard was not a little ſurprized to hear, that the Duke was ſo ready. However, as he had taken ſome precautions to aſſemble his Forces in caſe of neceſſity, he appointed the rendezvous at *Leiceſter*, where he repaired himſelf, with a reſolution to give his enemies Battle, before their number was increaſed. He would have found it very difficult however to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected accident had not hindered the Duke from joining his friends, who were all ready to riſe in arms in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*. The Duke was advancing by long marches (3) to *Gloceſter*, where he deſigned to paſs the *Severn*. But at the ſame time the River was ſo ſwoln, that the Country on both ſides was over-flowed, and great damage done by the waters. Never had ſo terrible an Inundation been heard of in that Country. It held ſix whole days, during which the Duke's army could neither paſs the River, nor ſubſiſt on the other ſide, where was nothing but deſolation (4). In fine, the *Welſh* Soldiers, tired with being expoſed to hunger, rains, and numberleſs hardſhips, returned to their homes, notwithſtanding all the Duke's Intreaties to the contrary (5). The deſertion was ſo general, that there remained with the Duke only one ſingle Servant. Reduced to this ſad condition, he ſaw no other remedy than to conceal himſelf till he ſhould take new meaſures. Unhappily for him, he choſe for his retreat, the Houſe of one *Baniſter*, who had been his Servant, and to whom his Father and himſelf had been very kind.

but cannot paſs the Severn. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

His Army diſperſes.

He hides himſelf at the Houſe of one of his Domeſticks. Hall. Buck.

Proclamation againſt the Conſpirators. Act Pub. XII. p. 204.

The King hearing of the diſperſion of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Troops, iſſued out a Proclamation againſt him and the Marquis of *Dorſet*, with ſome other of his Adherents, or whom he ſuppoſed to be in league with him. But as the Marquis had not yet appeared in arms, and ſo could not be ſtiled a Rebel, he made uſe of another pretence to involve him in the Sentence. He ſaid, that having taken an Oath at his Coronation, to puniſh vice and wickedneſs, he was obliged to puniſh the Marquis of *Dorſet*, notorious for his debaucheries, who had ſeduced and raviſhed ſeveral Virgins, been guilty of ſundry Adulteries, and publickly kept *Shore*'s Wife. Then he promiſed a reward of a thouſand Pounds Sterling, or a hundred pounds a year to any perſon that ſhould bring the Duke to Juſtice; a thouſand Marks, or one hundred Marks a year for the Marquis, and ſo in proportion for the reſt that were named in the Proclamation (6). The Villain *Baniſter* (7), not being able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a temptation, betrayed his maſter to the Sheriff of *Shropſhire* (8), who cauſing the Houſe to be ſurrounded by a Company of armed Men, ſeized the Duke of *Buckingham*, diſguiſed like a Peaſant, and conducted him to *Shrewsbury*. The Duke was deſirous to ſpeak with the King, but could never obtain that favour. Some ſay, he intended to kill him with a dagger which was found upon him after his death. But this is only Conjecture. However it be, he was beheaded at *Shrewsbury* (9), without any legal proceſs, by the King's bare order. Thus, this Lord, who had helped to take away the Lives of the Lord *Haſtings*, the Earl of *Rivers*, and the other priſoners at *Pontfract*, by an arbitrary Sentence, periſhed himſelf in the ſame manner, contrary to all right, by the abſolute orders of him whom he had placed on the Throne. On the other hand, we ſhall ſee preſently, that this very Conſpiracy, formed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, accomplice of all the King's ill actions, whilſt he was but Protector, proved the occaſion of that Monarch's ruin. Is it poſſible, not to perceive the direction of Providence in ſuch ſort of Events!

The Duke of Buckingham is betrayed and beheaded. Hall.

Upon the firſt news of the diſperſion of the *Welſh* Army, the Duke's friends, who expected him in the Weſt, ready to take arms the moment they ſhould hear of his paſſing the *Severn*, diſperſed themſelves. Some lurked among their friends, others fled to Sanctuary. But the

The Conſpirators diſperſe. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

(1) He ſent back *Conwey* and *Rame*. *Hall*, fol. 38. *Hollingſhead*.
(2) Towards *Saliſbury*. *Hall*, fol. 39. *Stow*, p. 463.
(3) Through the Foreſt of *Dean*. *Hall*, fol. 39.
(4) This Inundation was ſo remarkable, that for a hundred years after, it was called *the Great Water*, or *Buckingham*'s Water. It is ſaid to laſt ten days, and that Men, Women, and Children, were carried away in their Beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the Mountains were covered with the Waters. *Hall*, fol. 39. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1402.
(5) *Hall* ſays, he had enforced and compelled them into his Service, againſt their wills, rather by lordly and ſtreight Commandment, than by liberal wages, and gentle reteinour; which was the very occaſion why they left him deſolate, fol. 39.
(6) With him are named in the Proclamation, Sir *William Noreys*, Sir *William Knevet*, Sir *Thomas Bourgbchier* of *Barnes*, Sir *George Broun*, *John Cheyne*, *John Norris*, *Walter Hungerford*, *John Ruſh*, and *John Harecourt*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom XII. p. 204.
(7) His Name was *Raut Baniſtre*. King *Richard* gave him for his Reward the Manor of *Ealding* in *Kent*. See *Compl. Hiſt.* p. 532. Note.
(8) *John Mitton*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1403.
(9) So ſays *Hollingſhead*, p. 1403: but *Hall*, fol. 40, and *Stow*, p. 465. ſay, it was at *Saliſbury*.

1483. greateſt part imbarked and ſailed to the Earl of *Richmond*, perceiving there was no ſafety for them in the Kingdom. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet* was of this number.

The Earl of Richmond *comes upon the Coaſt of* Cornwal. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the Earl of *Richmond* imagining that all went there to his wiſh, ſailed from St. *Malo*'s the 12th of *October* with five thouſand Men and forty Ships, furniſhed by the Duke of *Bretagne*. But the Fleet being diſperſed by a Storm, ſome of the Ships were driven on the Coaſt of *France*, others returned into *Bretagne*. The Ship in which was the Earl of *Richmond*, reſiſting the Seas better than the reſt, arrived, after the ſtorm, upon the Coaſt of *Cornwal* (1), where he ſaw the Shore crowded with Troops, who made him a ſignal to approach. But happily for him, he reſolved not to land till his fleet had re-joined him, expecting they would ſoon be at the Rendezvous. Mean time, he ſent to inquire whether the Troops he ſaw were friends or enemies. The Commander anſwered, he was poſted there by the Duke of *Buckingham* to wait for the Earl of *Richmond*, and favour his landing. But the Perſon ſent by the Earl eaſily perceived the contrary, and informed his maſter of it, who finding his deſign was diſcovered, put to ſea, and arrived at a Port in *Normandy*. The truth is, the Troops he ſaw on the Coaſt of *Cornwal* were the Militia of the County, poſted there by *Richard*, with intent to ſurpriſe his enemy by that Artifice.

He is like to be ſurprized, but eſcapes.

He retires into Normandy.

He returns to Bretagne. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Earl of *Richmond* heard in *Normandy* of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s misfortune. As after that, there was no more appearance of purſuing his enterprize without taking new meaſures, he returned to *Bretagne*, where he found the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, with the reſt that had made their eſcapes out of *England*. Tho' his deſign ſeemed entirely blaſted, he deſpaired not of better ſucceſs another time. The fugitives told him, *Richard* was extremely hated in *England*, which he took for a good omen. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* promiſed him to continue his aſſiſtance. So, reſolving to make a freſh Attempt, he ſolemnly ſwore on *Chriſtmaſs*-Day, in the Cathedral of *Rennes*, that he would marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward* IV, or in caſe ſhe died, *Cecily* her younger Siſter. Then all the *Engliſh* there preſent ſwore allegiance to him, conſidering him as King of *England* by right though he was not ſo in fact. From thenceforward, the ſtrict enquiry made in *England* after thoſe that were concerned in the plot, forced great numbers to retire into *Bretagne*, ſo that the reſort of the *Engliſh* was very great for ſome time.

He perſiſts in his Reſolutions.

And ſwears to marry Elizabeth *of* York.

Many Engliſh *come and join him.*

Richard *puts ſeveral of the Conſpirators to death.* Hall. Hollingſh.

Mean while, *Richard* having freed himſelf from this danger more happily than he had reaſon to expect, commanded ſeveral Perſons to be ſeized, ſome of whom were immediately ſacrificed to his vengeance (2). Of this number was Sir *Thomas St. Leger* his Brother-in-law, who married his Siſter *Ann*, Widow of the Duke of *Exeter*. In order to make ſhort work, and avoid the uſual formalities of the Courts of Juſtice, he commiſſioned Sir *Ralph Aſhton* to exerciſe the office of Vice-Conſtable, with ſo extenſive a power that he could condemn and execute upon the ſpot all Perſons whatever, guilty, or ſuſpected of the crime of High-Treaſon, without having regard to any appeal (3).

An extraordinary Commiſſion to Aſhton. Act. Pub. XII. p. 205.

By virtue of this Commiſſion, *Aſhton*, who was, probably, a man after the King's own heart, came into the weſtern Counties, where he ſignalized his zeal by bloody executions of ſuch as were found guilty, or only ſuſpected of having favoured the Conſpirators. Thus were ſpent the firſt ſix months of the Reign of *Richard* III. This ambitious Prince was no ſooner on the Throne, but he had occaſion to perceive, with what difficulties he ſhould preſerve a Crown ſo eagerly deſired, and by ſo many unlawful practices procured.

1484. *The Parliament meets.* Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

In *January* 1484, the King ſummoned his firſt Parliament (4). This was done at a very ſeaſonable Juncture. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s conſpiracy ſeeming entirely ſtifled by the death of that Lord and the retreat of the Earl of *Richmond*, there was not in the Kingdom any perſon in condition to lift up his head. So the Parliament, conſiſting no doubt of Repreſentatives devoted to the King, declared *Edward the Fourth*'s Iſſue illegitimate (5), and confirmed *Richard*'s irregular election, with his pretended right to the Crown. This Act was abſolutely neceſſary for the King's ſecurity. Beſides, the Parliament thereby avoided the Trouble of inquiring after the fate of *Edward* V, whom all *England* had for ſome Months acknowledged for King. 1484.

Edward IV's *Iſſue declared Baſtards.*

Then an Act of Attainder was paſſed againſt *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* and all his Adherents, by virtue whereof all their Eſtates were forfeited to the King (6). By this Act, which declared all thoſe Rebels and Traitors that were concerned in the Duke of *Buckingham*'s and the Earl of *Richmond*'s conſpiracy, all the late executions were in ſome meaſure juſtified, becauſe ſuch as had ſuffered, were conſidered as guilty of the crime condemned by this Act (7). By good fortune none of them diſcovered that the Counteſs of *Richmond* was concerned in the Plot, whether ſhe had truſted but few perſons, or her confidents had eſcaped into *Bretagne*. However, *Richard* thinking it hardly poſſible for the Earl of *Richmond* to form an enterprize without his Mother's knowledge, ordered the Lord *Stanley* her Husband to keep her confined, to prevent her from any future attempts. He had then a perfect confidence in the Lord *Stanley*, whom he had made High-Conſtable, after *Aſhton*, as Vice-Conſtable, had been inſtrumental in his deſigns. It is likely, he did not think the Lord *Stanley* a proper perſon to exerciſe the ſeverities for which he had commiſſioned *Aſhton*, and no doubt that was the reaſon why he did not make him High-Conſtable, till every thing relating to that Commiſſion was finiſhed.

The Earl of Richmond *attainted.* Hall.

The Counteſs of Richmond *is not diſcovered.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Lord Stanley *made High-Conſtable.* Decemb. 16. Act. Pub. XII. p. 209.

Richard had reaſon to believe, that after all the rigours exerciſed upon the parties concerned, the conſpiracy was entirely cruſhed (8). But *Thomas Hutton*, who was returned from his Embaſſy to *Bretagne*, told him, the ſame Plot ſtill ſubſiſted, and the Duke of *Bretagne* had promiſed the Earl of *Richmond* the continuance of his aſſiſtance. He gave him the Names of thoſe conſpirators who were with the Earl, and informed him, they had frequent conferences together, and were very buſy. It was eaſy to conclude from thence, that the Earl of *Richmond* had not loſt all hopes, and had ſtill in *England* correſpondencies whereon he founded the execution of his deſigns. And yet ſince the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the flight of the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, and the execution of ſeveral of the ſame party, *Richard* ſaw no one in the Kingdom that ſeemed to be able to withſtand him. So, concluding the danger muſt come from abroad, he reſolved to take all poſſible precautions to hinder his enemies from being aſſiſted by foreign Princes.

The King receives freſh Advices of the Conſpiracy. Hall.

He tries to prevent the danger.

Laſt year, he confirmed the alliance of *England* with *Caſtile*, and in *June* this year did the ſame thing with regard to *Portugal*. Probably the whole ſtorm was to come from thoſe two quarters, ſince the King of *Portugal* and the Queen of *Caſtile* were both deſcended from *Philippa* and *Catherine*, Daughters of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, and conſequently might have pretended to the Crown of *England*. Mean while, the readineſs wherewith they had renewed their alliance with *England*, ſuffered not the King to ſuſpect them of having any ſuch thought.

He ſecures Caſtile *and* Portugal, Act. Pub. XII. p. 228.

Maximilian, Archduke of *Auſtria*, who governed the *Low-Countries* in the Name of his Son *Philip*, being Son of *Leonora* of *Portugal*, Grand-Daughter of *Philippa* of *Lancaſter*, might have alſo claimed the Crown of *England*, or aſſiſted the Earl of *Richmond*. This conſideration made *Richard* reſolve to ſend him Ambaſſadors, un-

and the Archduke Maximilian. p. 231, 248.

(1) At *Peel* in *Derſetſhire*. *Hall*, fol. 40. *Holling ſhead*, p. 1403.

(2) Sir *George Browne*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, and four others, were executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, *Thomas Rame*, with many more at *Exeter*. *Hall*, fol. 41. *Holling ſhead*, p. 1405.

(3) By this Commiſſion, which is to be ſeen, Tom. XII. p. 205. of *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, may be known the Office and Authority of the High-Conſtable of *England*. He was thereby empowered——Ad Audiendum & Examinandum, ac Procedendum contra quaſcumque Perſonas de Crimine læſæ noſtræ Regiæ M. geſtatis ſuſpectas & culpabiles, tàm per viam Examinationis Teſtium quàm aliter, prout vobis melius viſum fuerit ex Officio mero ſeu promoto. Necnon in Cauſis illis judicialiter & ſententialiter juxta Cauſas, Exigentiam, & Delinquentium Demerita, ſine ſtrepitu & figura Judicii, Appellatione quacumque remotâ, quandocumque vobis videbitur Procedendum, Judicandum, & finali Executioni Demandandum——*&c.* This Commiſſion is dated at *Coventry*, *October* 24.

(4) It met at *Weſtminſter* on *January* 23. *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 709.

(5) Though *Rapin*, (p. 634.) in the Reign of *Edward* V, ſays, that *Commines* was miſtaken in ſaying, the Marriage of *Edward* IV with *Eleanor Talbot* or *Butler*, (Daughter of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and Relict of the Lord *Butler* of *Sudeley*) was objected to prove the Illegitimacy of his Children; yet we find it was urged in this Bill, without any mention at all of his Pre-contract with *Elizabeth Lucy*. See *Cotton*'s *Abridg.* p. 712.

(6) *Hall* ſays, that not content with this prey, *Richard* laid on the People a great Tax and Tallage, fol. 42.

(7) The moſt remarkable Statutes enacted in this Parliament were theſe: 1. That whereas the Subjects of this Realm had of late been burdened with a new Impoſition, called a *Benevolence*, the ſame ſhould not thenceforth be exacted. 2. That every Juſtice of the Peace ſhall have power to admit a Priſoner arreſted for Felony, to bail. And that no Officer ſhall ſeize the Goods of a Priſoner arreſted for Felony, till he is attainted. 3. That no Perſon ſhall be impannelled upon Juries, but what hath twenty Shillings Freehold, or twenty ſix Shillings and Eight-pence Copyhold at leaſt. 4. That Wine and Oil-Veſſels ſhall contain as follows: Every Tun ſhall hold 252 Gallons; a Pipe 126 Gallons; a Tertian 84 Gallons; a Hogſhead 63 Gallons; a Barrel 31 Gallons and a half; a Rundlet 18 Gallons and a half. *Statut.* 1 *Richard* III. c. 2, 3, 4, 13.

(8) He ordered Sir *William Collingburn* of *Lydiard* in *Wiltſhire* to be hanged, drawn and quartered, for aiding the Earl of *Richmond*, and writing a ſatyrical Dyſtich upon him and his Favorites, Viſcount *Lovel*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Cateſby*.

The *Rat*, the *Cat*, and *Lovell* our *Dog*.
Rule all *England* under a *Hog*.

Alluding to *Lovell*'s Arms, and to one of *Richard*'s Supporters, being a wild Boar. *Hall*, fol. 42. *Holling ſhead*, p. 1406.

der

1484. der colour of renewing the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. But it is likely, the Ambaſſadors had inſtructions to ſound whether there was any project at that Court with reſpect to *England*.

K. Lud. Ambaſſadors to France, p. 221, 222, 223.

Though *Richard* did not ſeem to have occaſion to fear any thing from *France*, under a Minority diſturbed with inteſtine diviſions, he had taken care however to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Charles* VIII to deſire the prolongation, or at leaſt, confirmation of the Truce.

and tries to ſeize the Duke of Bretagne.

There remained only *Bretagne* and *Scotland* that could give him any uneaſineſs. He did not queſtion that the Duke of *Bretagne* had already aſſiſted, and was ſtill inclined to aſſiſt the Earl of *Richmond*. For that reaſon, he thought nothing ſhould be ſpared to gain that Prince to his intereſt.

Affairs of Bretagne.

Francis II, Duke of *Bretagne*, being old and infirm, was entirely governed by *Peter Landais* his Treaſurer, and committed to him the ſole management of his Affairs. This Favourite, who was the Son of a Taylor, uſed his power ſo inſolently, that he drew upon himſelf the hatred of all the *Bretons*. This very year 1484, the great Men combining together againſt him, would have ſeized him in the Duke's Palace, but miſſing their aim, ſaw themſelves expoſed to the Favourite's vengeance, who cauſed them to be declared guilty of High-Treaſon. Mean while, as the whole Country was againſt him, he believed it proper to ſupport himſelf by ſome foreign aid. To that end he ſent in his Maſter's Name Ambaſſadors to *Richard*, on pretence to make a Truce with him, which was accordingly concluded in *June* at *Pontfract*, where the King then was, and which was to laſt till the 24th of *April* following.

Richard's truce with Bretagne. p. 226.

Secret Negotiations between Richard and the Duke, to Landais his Favorite. p. 228, 229.

But this was not the only Commiſſion theſe Ambaſſadors were charged with. There are two Records in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, whereby it appears, that *Richard* had promiſed to ſend the Duke of *Bretagne* an aid of a thouſand Archers. Now this could be only for the abovementioned occaſion, ſince the Duke of *Bretagne* had then no War upon his hands. As the Duke did nothing of himſelf, very likely, to obtain this aid, *Landais* had put the King in hopes, he would deliver up the Earl of *Richmond*. And indeed the ſequel plainly ſhewed, he had enter'd into ſome ſuch ingagement. Thus *Richard* thought himſelf ſo ſecure from *Bretagne*, that inſtead of fearing the Duke would aſſiſt the Earl of *Richmond*, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of having his enemy very ſoon in his power.

Truce with Scotland. p. 207, 218. 232—244. Hall. fol. 42, &c. Hollingſh. Stow.

As he might alſo be apprehenſive that the King of *Scotland*, deſcended from a Princeſs of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, would countenance the Male-contents, as being concerned to place the Earl of *Richmond* on the Throne of *England*, he believed he ought to ſecure himſelf too from that quarter. To that end, he negotiated with *James* III. a Truce, concluded in *September* this year, and which was to laſt from the 29th of that month to the ſame day of the year 1487. At the ſame time, he concluded the marriage of his Niece *Ann de la Pole*, Daughter of his Siſter *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Duke of *Rothſay*, the King of *Scotland*'s eldeſt Son.

Death of the Prince of Wales. Hiſt. Croyl. Hall.

All theſe precautions appeared ſo juſt, that he ſeemed to be ſcreened from all danger. However, to rob the Earl of *Richmond* of all hopes of accompliſhing his deſigns, the Prince of *Wales* his Son dying in *April* this year (1), he declared his Nephew the Earl of *Lincoln* his preſumptive Heir, intending to have this declaration ratified by the Parliament. The Earl of *Lincoln* was Son of *Elizabeth* his Siſter (2), and Brother of *Ann*, who was to marry the Prince of *Scotland*.

Earl of Lincoln declared Heir to the Crown.

Embaſſy of Obedience to the Pope. Act. Pub. XII. p. 253.

Moreover, not to neglect any thing that might give his enemies an advantage, he ſent an Ambaſſador of obedience to Pope *Innocent* VIII, lately elected to the papal Throne. He had omitted this compliment to *Sixtus* IV, *Innocent*'s Predeceſſor, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. But his fear of incenſing the Pope, and affording ſome pretence to the Male-contents in the Kingdom, and particularly the Clergy, made him diſpatch his Ambaſſadors to *Rome*.

Embaſſy from France. p. 234.

Shortly after, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee that *Charles* VIII, King of *France*, deſired a Safe-Conduct for Ambaſſadors he intended to ſend to him. Thus every thing ſeemed to be happily diſpoſed in his favour. Mean while, the Earl of *Richmond* was ſtill full of life, and ſo long as that Prince was out of his power, he could not think himſelf thoroughly fixed on the Throne. This was the chief, or rather the ſole cauſe of all his trouble and care.

The Truce with *Bretagne* being to laſt but till the 24th of *April* 1485, *Richard* took occaſion from thence to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Duke to cauſe it to be prolonged. That was the pretence of the Ambaſſy. But the Ambaſſadors had orders to treat of another more important affair, with *Landais*, prime Miniſter and abſolute Maſter of the Duke, who was fallen into a kind of Lethargy, which rendered him unfit for publick affairs. And that was to perſuade this Miniſter to deliver up the Earl of *Richmond*. 1484.

Richard treats with Landais about delivering up the Earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Landais had not wanted the forementioned thouſand Archers. It was therefore neceſſary, in order to obtain what the King deſired, to make a new Treaty which might be ſo advantagious to the Duke and the Favourite, as to cauſe them to overlook all their ſcruples upon that ſubject. As for the Duke, *Argentré* affirms, he ſaw among the Records of *Bretagne*, *Richard* the third's Letters Patent, whereby he gave to Duke *Francis* the Earldom of *Richmond* with all its dependencies, as enjoyed by his Anceſtors, with the ſole reſervation of its return to the Crown in caſe the Duke died without Iſſue. With reſpect to *Landais*, as the negotiation was more ſecret, it is not well known what reward he expected for his intended ſervice. Thus much is certain, *Richard* made him very advantagious offers. But as he was a Man not to be ſatisfied with bare promiſes, there was often occaſion to ſend expreſſes to the King. Theſe delays, which, as *Argentré* poſitively affirms, were upon the Miniſter's account, proved the Earl of *Richmond*'s ſecurity. Though he was then in *Bretagne*, he was entirely ignorant of what paſſed at the Duke's Court. But the Biſhop of *Ely*, who though abſent, had good ſpies about *Richard*, being informed that the Biſhop of *Leon*, Ambaſſador of *Bretagne*, was treating very privately with the King, warned the Earl of *Richmond* that he was not ſafe in the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Dominions. This advice coming from ſo good a hand, put the Earl upon ſeriouſly thinking of freeing himſelf from the impending danger. As he knew *Landais* to be a perſon capable of committing the vileſt actions, he reſolved to retire into *France*, and for that purpoſe ſent privately to King *Charles* for a Paſſ-port (3), which was readily granted him. Mean while, informed as he was of *Landais*'s ill deſigns, he did not queſtion that he had ordered him to be narrowly watched. So the difficulty of eſcaping was not ſmall, eſpecially as he was ſurrounded with a great number of *Engliſh*, in reſpect of whom it was very hard to conceal the ſecret, and very dangerous to reveal it. To remedy this inconvenience, the Duke of *Bretagne* being at that time recovered of his illneſs, the Earl took occaſion to ſend the principal Lords of his retinue to congratulate him upon it (4), ordering them to take with them all their ſervants, under colour of doing him the more honour. His aim was not only to be more alone at *Vannes*, but chiefly to remove from his keepers all ſuſpicion of his deſiring to eſcape, whilſt he had ſo many Hoſtages at the Duke's Court. Accordingly, this artifice ſucceeded to his wiſh, ſo that, two days after, he departed from *Vannes* in diſguiſe, attended by five perſons only. As ſoon as he was out of the Town, he left the great road, and riding croſs the Fields and through by-ways, without ſtopping any where, ſafely arrived at *Angers* Capital of *Anjou*. This diligence was abſolutely neceſſary; for otherwiſe he would have been infallibly taken. Thoſe who were charged to watch him, hearing of his eſcape, purſued him ſo cloſely, that they came upon the borders of *Bretagne*, but one hour after him. In a few days the Duke being informed that the Earl was retired under an apprehenſion of ill treatment, ſeemed very angry with *Landais* for giving him occaſion to fear, not knowing doubtleſs what his Favourite was negotiating with the King of *England*. Then he gave all the *Engliſh* in his Dominions leave, to go to the Earl with his compliments and offers of ſervice. The Earl of *Richmond* received theſe civilities with ſigns of the utmoſt gratitude, and deſired the Duke's meſſenger to tell him, he would have all his favours in everlaſting remembrance. Thus the Earl of *Richmond* eſcaped, as it were miraculouſly, out of *Richard*'s ſnares. This was the ſecond time he had been thus happily delivered. The *Engliſh* belonging to his retinue, thought themſelves no leſs fortunate than he, to be freed, by the Duke's generoſity, from his unworthy Miniſter, who not long after atoned on a Gibbet for all the ill actions his avarice had prompted him to commit.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 255, 260—264. The Biſhop of Ely's diligence in procuring the Earl of Richmond's eſcape.

His danger. The Earl reſolves to make his eſcape. Hall. Stow.

The difficulty of the thing.

He eſcapes fortunately, and arrives at Angers. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Duke of Bretagne ſends him offers of Service. Hall.

The Earl of *Richmond* making but a ſhort ſtay at *Angers*, went to *Charles* VIII, then at *Langeais*, who received him very civilly. However, as the Court of *France* was not yet free from troubles, it was no favourable juncture for the Earl to procure the aſſiſtance he could no longer

Charles VIII receives him honourably. Hall. Hollingſh.

(1) At the Caſtle of *Middleham* in *Yorkſhire*. *Buck*, p. 534.
(2) And *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*. His Name was alſo *John*. See *Dugdale*.
(3) By *Chriſtopher Urſwike*. *Hall*, fol. 46.
(4) The Duke of *Bretagne* was then, for recreation and change of Air, on the Borders and Confines of *France*. *Ibid*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1408.

expect

1484. expect from the Duke of *Bretagne*. Nevertheleſs, as the young King ſeemed well-inclined to him, he deſpaired not to obtain ſome aid of that Prince, when the diſturbances at his Court were appeaſed.

The Earl of Oxford eſcapes out of Hammes, and goes to the Earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Whilſt his Affairs were in this ſtate of uncertainty, he ſaw the Earl of *Oxford* (1) arrive, whom King *Edward* IV had confined in the Caſtle of *Hammes* in *Picardy*. This Lord, who had been one of the principal friends of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, hearing in priſon that the Earl of *Richmond* pretended to the Crown, had wrought ſo effectually upon the Governor of *Hammes* (2), that he had perſuaded him to releaſe him, and declare for the Earl. He even brought him along with him to ſalute that Prince, and offer him his ſervice. The advantage of having the Earl of *Oxford* in his party, was very beneficial to the Earl of *Richmond* in *England*. Several other Lords privately ſent him word that he might depend upon their aſſiſtance, when they ſhould ſee a proper ſeaſon to declare againſt *Richard*.

Richard obliges the Lord Stanley to leave his Son in Hoſtage. Hall. Stow.

Mean while, the King had daily notice that ſomething was contriving againſt him in favor of the Earl of *Richmond*; but could not diſcover the authors of the plot, what ſpies ſoever he employed. Beſides, he knew no *Engliſh* Lord powerful enough, as he thought, to form or execute an enterprize of that nature. The Lord *Stanley* was the only Perſon he could miſtruſt, becauſe he was Husband to the Counteſs of *Richmond*. That alone rendered him ſuſpected, though otherwiſe he had no Proof againſt him. So, to ſecure himſelf from that ſide, *Stanley* deſiring permiſſion to retire upon his own eſtate, he required him to leave his Son (3) at Court as a ſort of Hoſtage. Indeed, his ſuſpicions were but too juſt, ſince that very Lord proved afterwards the principal inſtrument of his ruin.

He diſcovers the Project of the Marriage of the Earl of Richmond with Elizabeth. Hall. Stow.

Richard knew he was not beloved in *England*. On the other hand, he heard there were certain motions among the people, which, though ſecret, could not but be dangerous. However, he could not prevent the miſchief he dreaded, without knowing wherein conſiſted the plots of his enemies, and the principal authors: Upon this therefore he laid out all his pains. At length, by planting ſpies in the Country, he came to find, that the projects in favor of the Earl of *Richmond* were founded upon his promiſe to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. This diſcovery made him perceive, the *Yorkiſts* were not far from an union with the *Lancaſtrians*, ſince they conſented to this marriage. It was manifeſt that ſuch an agreement could not but occaſion his ruin, ſince in that caſe he would have only a few friends of his houſe to rely on, all the reſt declaring for his Brother's family. Finding therefore, that the Plot which was contriving againſt him, reſted upon a more ſolid foundation than he had imagined, he applied himſelf wholly to break the Earl of *Richmond*'s meaſures, by preventing this fatal marriage. He found no better way to accompliſh his ends, than to marry himſelf the Princeſs deſigned for his Enemy. But the execution of ſuch a Project was clogged with ſeveral difficulties, which to a Prince leſs ſcrupulous than himſelf, would have appeared inſuperable. The firſt was, he had a Wife already, whoſe conſtitution afforded no ſigns of her leaving this world. But he deſpaired not to ſurmount that obſtacle, either by a divorce, or ſome other leſs lawful means. The ſecond difficulty was, to draw *Elizabeth* out of the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was with the Queen her Mother. Beſides, it was no eaſy task to perſuade the Queen Dowager to give her Daughter to the murderer of her Sons. Laſtly, the Pope's Diſpenſation to marry his Niece muſt be obtained. But this obſtacle ſeemed inconſiderable in compariſon of the others, well knowing, it was not impracticable to adjuſt that affair with the Court of *Rome*.

He reſolves to marry his Niece. Hall. Hollingſh.

He gets the Queen-Dowager to give up her Daughters. Hall. Hiſt. Croyl. Stow. Hollingſh.

To begin the execution of this ſtrange project, he ſent ſeveral perſons to the Queen Dowager, to inſinuate to her, that he wiſhed to live in friendſhip with her, and to ſhew her marks of his good will: That he confeſſed, he had dealt too rigorouſly with her; but to repair in ſome meaſure the injury he had done her, he intended to aſſign her an honorable penſion, and give her two Brothers ſuch poſts as they ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied with. Moreover, he would take care of her Daughters, and help them to marriages ſuitable to their quality. But as the Queen would hardly be induced to credit his promiſes, after having been ſo cruelly deceived, the perſons he employed hinted to her, that this alteration proceeded from the death of the Prince of *Wales*. That the King being now childleſs, and without hopes of having any Iſſue, his intereſts were no longer diſtinct from thoſe of his Brother's family, and therefore he could do nothing more advantagious to himſelf and his houſe, than to marry his Nieces into the moſt conſiderable families in *England*. In fine, ſhe was told, the King's deſign was, that after his death, the Princeſs *Elizabeth* ſhould aſcend the Throne; what he had done in favour of the Earl of *Lincoln* his Nephew being eaſily revokable, ſince it had not yet paſſed into an Act of Parliament. 1484.

Theſe laſt inſinuations made deep impreſſion in the Queen's mind. Her intereſt made her imagine, what was ſaid to be very probable. On the other hand, ſhe was heartily tired of her Sanctuary, which was properly a Priſon, from whence ſhe could not ſtir without being liable to greater miſchiefs. She had an extreme love for her Brothers, as ſhe had plainly ſhewn in the life-time of the King her Husband, and the hopes *Richard* gave her concerning them, agreeably flattered her. In fine ſhe conſidered, that the plot in favor of the Earl of *Richmond* having miſcarried by the Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, ſhe could expect for herſelf and Daughters only a ſtill more rigorous fate, if by her denial ſhe ſhould farther incenſe the King. Theſe conſiderations cauſing her to forget the grievous outrages received from that Prince, ſhe was ſo exceſſively blind, as to put her five Daughters into his hands. Moreover, ſhe writ to the Marquis of *Dorſet* her Brother, to adviſe him to relinquiſh the Earl of *Richmond*, and throw himſelf into the King's arms. The Marquis as inconſiderate, and no leſs ambitious than the Queen his Siſter, flattering himſelf with the hopes of honors and preferments, privately withdrew from *Paris*, in order to paſs into *England*. But the Earl of *Richmond* cauſed him to be purſued with ſuch diligence, that he was brought back to *Paris*, and, by ſtrong reaſons, perſuaded to ſtay with the Earl. Hall.

Death of Richard's Queen. Hall. Hiſt. Croyl. Stow. Hollingſh.

As ſoon as *Richard* had his Nieces in his Power, he thought of means to execute another part of his project: And that was, to be rid of his Queen, in order to marry his Niece. Thoſe Hiſtorians that ſpeak moſt favorably of his conduct, ſay, he made the Queen die with vexation, by ſhewing an averſion for her which ſhe did not deſerve, and by grievouſly mortifying her every day. Others ſpeak plainer, and affirm, he haſtened her death by poiſon. Some add, he privately acquainted the Archbiſhop of *York* with certain ſecret infirmities of the Queen, which rendered her very diſagreeable to him. This was on purpoſe that the Archbiſhop might tell her again, which he thought would cauſe her to languiſh away, and ſhorten her days. It is ſaid farther, that the Archbiſhop, after hearing the King's diſcourſe, told ſome of his friends the Queen had not long to live. And indeed, ſhe died preſently after. Her fate would have been more worthy of pity, if her death had not been obſerved to be a manifeſt judgment upon her, for marrying the murderer of the Prince of *Wales* her firſt Husband, Son of *Henry* VI. *Richard* ſhewed an extraordinary ſorrow for his loſs, and made a pompous funeral for his deceaſed Queen. But this feigned grief was not capable of undeceiving the people, who openly accuſed him of murdering his Queen (4) as he had done his Nephews. Hall.

The Princeſs Elizabeth refuſes to marry the King her Uncle. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Notwithſtanding the extreme ſorrow he expreſſed in publick, the Queen was no ſooner in her grave, but he had the aſſurance to make his addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and offer her marriage. But ſhe ſo anſwered him, as ſhewed her abhorrence of ſuch an union, and deſired him never to mention it more (5). *Richard* being ſenſible it was no proper ſeaſon to uſe violence, was ſatisfied for the preſent with this firſt ſtep, till time ſhould furniſh him with a more favorable opportunity to preſs the execution of his project. Mean while, as he daily became more odious, many Lords and Gentlemen went over and offered their ſervice to the Earl of *Richmond*. Others took the ſame courſe, to avoid the perſecutions of that bloody Prince, if unhappily he came to ſuſpect them. Thoſe that remained in the Kingdom were no better affected, and waited only a favorable opportunity to declare againſt him.

Several Lords go over to the Earl of Richmond. Hall.

(1) *John de Vere.*

(2) *John Blunt*, and alſo Sir *John Forteſcue* Governor of the Town of *Calais*. *Hall*, fol. 47.

(3) *George Stanley* Lord *Strange*. *Idem*. fol. 49.

(4) *Buck* will have it, that her great Grief at the death of the Prince of *Wales*, her only Son, threw her into a Conſumption, which carried her off in a very little time. Her Name was *Ann*, being the ſecond Daughter and Coheir of *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick*. She died *March* 16, and was buried with due Solemnity at *Weſtminſter*. *Sandford*, p. 430. *Stow*, p. 467. *Hiſt. Croyl.* p. 572.

(5) *Buck* ſays, that there is an original Letter under *Elizabeth*'s own hand, in the Cabinet of the Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, written to the Duke of *Norfolk*, wherein ſhe deſires him to be a Mediator for her Marriage with the King, who (ſhe ſaid) was her joy and maker in the World; and that ſhe was his in heart and thought, withal inſinuating, that the beſt part of *February* was paſt, and that ſhe feared the Queen would never die. p. 568.

1484. *Siege and taking of* Hammes. Hall.

Richard hearing that the Earl of *Oxford* and the Governor of *Hammes* were gone to the Earl of *Richmond*, ſent orders to the Governor of *Calais* to beſiege that Caſtle, and reduce it to his obedience. This order was ſo readily executed, that the Earl of *Oxford*, who was marching to relieve the place, arrived not in the neighbourhood, till after the capitulation (1). However he reaped this advantage by it, that he brought away the Garriſon for the Earl of *Richmond*.

1485. Richard *lays up his Fleet.* Hall. Hollingſh.

After the Earl of *Richmond*'s attempt, *Richard* had fitted out a Squadron of Ships to oppoſe his Paſſage in caſe he endeavoured to make another deſcent. But the beginning of the year 1485, the Truce with *Bretagne* being prolonged for ſeven years, and *France* ſhowing no great willingneſs to aſſiſt his enemy, he believed he might ſave the charge of a Fleet, which he now conſidered as uſeleſs. Accordingly the Ships were unrigged and laid up in the Spring.

The Court of France reſolves to aid the Earl of Richmond. Commin. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

This proceeding encouraging the Earl of *Richmond*, he earneſtly ſollicited the Court of *France* for aid. King *Charles*'s Miniſters at length ſeriouſly conſidering his requeſt, believed it could not but be advantagious to *France*, to cheriſh the troubles in *England*. It was ſolely with this view that they promiſed the Earl an aid of two thouſand Men, with Ships to tranſport them, and gave him a Sum of money. *Philip de Commines* ſays, he never ſaw ſuch wretched Troops as thoſe deſigned for this expedition. Which is a clear evidence with what intent the Court of *France* granted the Earl this inconſiderable Supply. Beſides, he was required to leave Hoſtages in *France*, that ſatisfaction ſhould be made for what was expended by the Court. The Earl having reaſon to miſtruſt the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, embraced this opportunity to leave him in Hoſtage at *Paris*, with Sir *Thomas* (2) *Bourchier*. Then he repaired to *Roan*, where the Troops that were lent him were ordered to aſſemble.

The Earl goes to Roan. Hall.

When he came to *Roan*, he received the diſagreeable news of the Queen's death, and of *Richard*'s deſign to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth* his Niece, and to give *Cecily* her younger Siſter to one of his Favorites. His meaſures being broken by this marriage, which was repreſented to him as ready to be accompliſhed, he conſulted upon this occaſion with the Lords that attended him. The reſult of their opinions was, that ſince he could have no hopes of eſpouſing one of *Edward the Fourth*'s marriageable Daughters, he ought to think of ſome other. For that purpoſe, he was adviſed to gain to his intereſt Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Perſon of great power in *Wales*, by an offer of marrying his younger Siſter, the eldeſt being already married to the Earl of *Northumberland*. The reſolution being taken, he diſpatched an expreſs to Sir *Walter Herbert* (3) to make the propoſal. Happily for the Earl, the Meſſenger found the roads ſo narrowly watched, that he durſt not venture to purſue his Journey to *Herbert*. It is extremely probable, if this Affair had ſucceeded according to the Earl of *Richmond*'s deſire, he would have been forſaken by all the friends of *Edward the Fourth*'s family, who were very numerous. For, they had ingaged in his party, only out of hopes of his uniting the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* by his Marriage with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

He deſigns to marry Sir Walter Herbert's *Daughter.* Hall. Hollingſh.

His Meaſures are broken.

He is invited into England. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Not many days after, he received Letters from *England* (4), acquainting him, that if he would make haſte and land in *Wales*, he could not have a more favorable opportunity. That all the Nobility of the Country were for him (5). That he would find the people ready to take arms in his favour, and a good ſum of money, which had been privately gathered (6) to ſupply his occaſions. That in the reſt of the Kingdom every one was diſpleaſed with the King, who daily rendered himſelf more odious. In fine, that the Juncture was the moſt favorable, as it did not appear that *Richard* imagined him ſo ready to depart, ſince there were no extraordinary preparations in hand.

He lands at Milford-Haven. Hall.

This good news obliged the Earl to haſten his departure, without ſtaying for Sir *Walter Herbert*'s anſwer. So coming to *Harfleur*, where his Ships waited for him, he embarked his Troops (7), and ſet ſail the laſt day of *July*. He arrived the ſixth of *Auguſt* at *Milford-Haven* (8) in *South-Wales*, and next day came to *Haverford* (9), where he was joyfully received by the Inhabitants. 1485.

and marches to paſs the Severn *at* Shrewsbury Hall. Hollingſh.

From this place he ſent an expreſs to the Counteſs his Mother, to inform her of his Arrival, and Deſign to march towards *London*, deſiring her withal to aſſemble all his friends, that they might join him upon his rout with as many Troops as poſſible. This rout was to be very long, ſince having no Town upon the *Severn* at his command, he was neceſſarily obliged to croſs almoſt all *Wales*, to get to *Shrewsbury* to the head of that river, where he was told he ſhould be received. So making but a ſhort ſtay at *Haverford*, he began his march to *North-Wales*, in order to reach *Shrewsbury* before the King was ready to diſpute his paſſage.

The King hears Herbert is ſent to oppoſe the Earl's March. Hall. Stow.

Richard hearing the Earl of *Richmond* was landed at *Milford-Haven* with ſo few Troops, did not imagine he would be able to make any great progreſs. However he ſent orders to Sir *Walter Herbert*, to raiſe the Militia of the County, thinking that *Herbert* might eaſily ſtop him till he was himſelf ready to march. But *Herbert* having been privately gained by the Earl's friends, ſuffered him to paſs unmoleſted, without offering to make the leaſt oppoſition.

The Earl joined by Sir Rice ap Thomas. Hall. Hollingſh.

Some days after, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Man of great power in *Wales*, met the Earl upon his rout, and offered his ſervice, which was gladly accepted (10). He had with him a good body of *Welſhmen*. It is not ſurpriſing that all *Wales* ſhould declare for the Earl, ſince he was of *Welſh* extraction, and of one of the antienteſt families of the Country.

He is joined at Shrewsbury.

The Earl of *Richmond*'s Army being greatly encreaſed by the junction of Sir *Ralph ap Thomas*, and ſeveral *Welſh* Gentlemen (11), and the whole Country ſupplying him in his march with all neceſſaries, he arrived in a few days at *Shrewsbury*, where he was received without oppoſition (12).

The Earl of Stanley *and his Brother raiſe Forces for the King.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The King had very juſtly ſuſpected the Lord *Stanley* of being a ſecret friend to his Son-in law. *Stanley* had indeed aſſured the Earl of *Richmond*, he would favour him to the utmoſt of his power. But as he was forced to leave his Son in Hoſtage with the King, he could not openly eſpouſe his cauſe without endangering his Son's life. For this reaſon he pretended to take the King's part, and having levied about five thouſand Men, poſted himſelf at *Lichfield*, as if he intended to oppoſe the Earl of *Richmond*'s march. On the other hand, Sir *William Stanley* (13) his Brother drew together likewiſe a body of two thouſand Men, inſinuating that it was with the ſame view.

The King determined to fight Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The King was then at *Nottingham*, where, at the firſt news of his enemies landing he had given orders to aſſemble his forces (14). He at firſt conſidered the Earl of *Richmond*'s attempt as a ſort of Bravado, which he hoped to make him quickly repent. But when he heard that Sir *Walter Herbert* had ſuffered him to paſs without oppoſition, that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* had joined him, that all *Wales* had taken his part, and that he was marching to *Shrewsbury*, he perceived, the Affair was going to become more important. So, without heſitation, he reſolved to give him battle before he had made greater progreſs, and his Army was reinforced. He wiſely judged, if on this occaſion, he ſhowed the leaſt faint-heartedneſs, it would certainly cauſe the whole Kingdom to declare againſt him. On the contrary, his firmneſs was capable of keeping in awe ſuch as were inclined to ſide with his enemy. Mean while he had every day the mortification to hear his Officers and Soldiers deſerted to the Earl. He was ſtill in hopes, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would join him with their Troops, though the little correſpondence they kept with him, gave him but too much cauſe to ſuſpect them of treachery. Be this as it will, having received certain advice, that the Earl of *Richmond* intended to march towards *London*, he reſolved to expect him upon his rout between *Leiceſter* and *Coventry*, in order to put a ſpeedy end to their quarrel by a Battle.

Deſertion in his Army.

He miſtruſts Stanley. Stow.

The Earl advances to Lichfield. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Though the Earl of *Richmond*'s Army was not conſiderable, he was no leſs deſirous to ingage, becauſe he expected that the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would not

(1) It however ſtood out ſome time after his arrival, and *Thomas Brandon* found means to introduce thirty Men into the Caſtle. *Hall*, fol. 49. *Hollingſh.* p. 1411.
(2) *Hall* calls him Sir *John*, fol. 50; ſo doth *Hollingſh.* p. 1413.
(3) *Hall* ſays, this Meſſenger was ſent to *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*. fol. 50.
(4) By the hands of *Morgan Kydwelly*. *Hall*, ibid.
(5) Particularly Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Man of great Intereſt, and *John Savage* a famous Captain. *Ibid.* (6) By *Reginald Bray*. Ibid.
(7) Which conſiſted only of two thouſand Men, as is ſaid above. *Hall*, fol. 51. *Hollingſh.* p. 1413. *Stow*, p. 468.
(8) One of the moſt ſpacious and ſecure Ports in *Europe*; it contains ſixteen Creeks, five Bays, and thirteen Roads, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral Names.
(9) Called now *Harford-Weſt*. It is a County of itſelf, and is governed by a Mayor, a Sheriff, and two Bailiffs.
(10) *Henry* promiſed to make him chief Governor of *Wales*. *Hall*. fol. 51.
(11) *John Savage*, *Arnold Butler*, *Richard Griffith*, *John Morgan*, &c. *Ibid.*
(12) Here Sir *George Talbot*, with his Ward the young Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was then a minor, came to him, and brought him two thouſand Men. *Hall*, fol. 52. *Stow*, p. 468. (13) *Rapin* calls him *William Strange*.
(14) He ſent to *John Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and to his Son *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, to *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, &c. to bring him their Servants and Tenants: And ordered Sir *Robert Brackenbury* to come to him, with Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and ſeveral other Knights and Eſquires. *Hall*, fol. 52. *Hollingſh*, p. 1415.

1485. fail him in his neceſſity. With theſe hopes, he advanced to *Lichfield*, from whence, upon his approach, the Lord *Stanley* retired to *Atherſton*. Whilſt his Army was upon the march, he came privately to *Stafford*, where he had a conference with Sir *William Stanley*, in which were concerted the meaſures, the effects whereof will preſently be ſeen.

A dangerous Adventure happens to the Earl in his March. Hall. Hollingſh.

The Earl being come to *Lichfield*, heard that the King was at *Leiceſter*. So, perceiving he could not poſſibly proceed to *London* without fighting, he reſolved to march directly to his enemy (1). Whilſt he was on the road to *Tamworth*, he happened to be behind his Company, and attentively muſing upon his Affairs, miſtook his way, and loſt the track of his Army. He roved about till night, not daring to inquire the way to *Tamworth* for fear of addreſſing to ſome one of *Richard*'s party. At laſt, not being able to find the road, he was forced to paſs the night at a Village, without knowing where he was, or daring to inquire. However, next morning he found means to get to *Tamworth*, where his Army was in great pain for him, not knowing what was become of him. To excuſe ſuch a blunder which, had it been known, muſt have done him great injury, he pretended he had been to confer with ſome private friends who did not care to appear openly. That very day, he went with few Attendants to *Atherſton*, where he had a long conference with the Lord *Stanley* (2). On the morrow hearing that *Richard* was gone from *Leiceſter* to meet him, he advanced to ſave him ſome part of the way. The two Armies met at *Boſworth*, ſo near one another, that there would be no avoiding a Battle, ſuppoſing either of the two Leaders had deſired it. But they were both very far from ſuch a thought. The 22d of *Auguſt* was the day famous for the Battle which decided the quarrel of the two contending Houſes.

The two Armies meet at Boſworth, Hall. Hiſt. Croyl. Stow. Hollingſh.

and draw up. Hiſt. Croyl. Hall. Stow. Buck. Pol. Virg.

Richard perceiving his enemy to advance, drew up his Army, conſiſting of between twelve and thirteen thouſand Men. He gave the command of the vanguard to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and led the main body himſelf, with his Crown on his head, either to be better known, or to put his Troops in mind they were fighting for their King. The Earl of *Richmond* who had but five thouſand Men, drew up his Army likewiſe in two lines, of which the Earl of *Oxford* commanded the firſt, and himſelf the ſecond (3). A Hiſtorian has recited the Speeches of the two Leaders to the Soldiers before the fight. But as it is not very certain that they were really ſpoken, and as beſides they contain nothing very particular, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence.

Hall.

Conduct of Stanley *and his Brother.* Hall. Stow. &c.

Whilſt the two armies were preparing for battle, the Lord *Stanley*, who till then had continued at *Atherſton*, poſted himſelf with his Troops over againſt the ſpace, between the two armies, and his Brother, who was come from *Stafford*, took his ſtation on the other ſide, oppoſite to him. *Richard* had been hitherto in doubt, whether the Lord *Stanley* was for or againſt him, becauſe he had not yet made any publick demonſtration in favour of the Earl of *Richmond*. But when he ſaw him in that poſt, it was eaſy to perceive, he was not there to aſſiſt him, ſince he had not given him notice of his deſign. Mean while, willing to know for certain what he had to fear or hope, he ſent him orders to come and join his Army. *Stanley* anſwered, he would come when it was convenient. This anſwer not ſatisfying the King, he commanded his Son to be immediately put to death. But his Generals repreſented to him, that though the Lord *Stanley*'s behaviour was very doubtful, and even gave cauſe to ſuſpect him, he had not yet however declared for the Earl of *Richmond*: That it was not improbable, he was meditating ſome great action in favour of his Sovereign, or perhaps intended to ſtand neuter during the fight, in order to join the Conqueror. That in both theſe caſes, it was better to defer examining his Conduct till after the event, than to provoke him by putting his Son to death, to give the Earl of *Richmond* an aſſiſtance capable of making Victory incline to his ſide: That after all, in the King's preſent Circumſtances, the death of the young Lord *Strange*, could procure him no advantage. Theſe arguments ſeemed to the King of ſufficient ſtrength to cauſe him to revoke his orders. But he was guilty of an unpardonable error, in remaining doubtful as to the two Brothers, who plainly enough diſcovered their deſign. As his army was ſtill ſuperior to the Forces of the Earl of *Richmond* and the two Brothers together, he ſhould have oppoſed to theſe laſt, two Bodies equal to theirs, with orders to attack them the moment they offered to ſtir. He would thereby have debarred them of the advantage of taking their time to declare, as they afterwards did. Such an overſight in ſo able a Prince as *Richard*, cannot be looked upon but as proceeding from a particular direction of the providence of God, who had determined his deſtruction.

1485.

The two armies approaching one another, the battle began with a ſhower of Arrows diſcharged from both ſides, after which the Royal Army moved forward to come to cloſe fight. The Lord *Stanley*, who till then had been only a Spectator, perceiving the Duke of *Norfolk* widened his line to the left, in order to ſurround the Earl of *Richmond*'s Troops, gave him not time to execute his deſign. On a ſudden, he poſted himſelf on the right of the Earl's, to receive the front of the King's firſt line. This motion cauſing the Duke of *Norfolk* to halt, in order to re-cloſe his line which was too much extended to the left, the fight ceaſed for ſome moments. But preſently after, both ſides being more upon an equality, by the Lord *Stanley*'s joining the Earl, fought with great ardour.

Hall.

Mean while, *Richard* being impatient to know what paſſed at the firſt line, ſpurred his Horſe towards the place where they were ingaged. At the ſame time, the Earl of *Richmond* quitting his ſecond line, where he had taken his Poſt, was advanced as far as the foremoſt ranks of the firſt, to incourage his Troops by his preſence, being ſenſible that the ſucceſs of the day, would in great meaſure be determined by the fight of the two firſt lines. *Richard* perceiving him, inſtantly rode to attack him. He ſlew Sir *William Brandon*, the Earl's Standard-bearer, who had interpoſed in his way. Sir *John Cheney* having taken *Brandon*'s place, to oppoſe the King's furious efforts, was overthrown to the ground. The Earl of *Richmond* avoided not the Combat. But if we may judge by the manner wherein the Hiſtorians relate theſe particulars, he ſhowed no great eagerneſs to join his enemy, contented himſelf with ſtanding in a poſture of defence; and willingly ſuffered his people to come between them, and hinder them from too cloſely approaching each other.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Sir William Stanley *flanks the Troops, who are put to rout.* Hall.

At the very time that *Richard* was ſingling out the Earl of *Richmond*, to decide at once their important quarrel, it was decided very much to his diſadvantage from another quarter. Sir *William Stanley*, following the example of the Lord *Stanley* his Brother, and ſeeing that the left of the Earl of *Richmond*'s firſt line began to give ground, openly declared againſt the King, by falling upon his Troops in the flank, who were employed in fighting their enemy's in the front, and vigorouſly repulſing them. This ſo ſeaſonable an attack at ſo critical a moment, having cauſed an extreme diſorder in the right of the King's firſt line, they were ſeen ſuddenly to retreat towards the main Body, and the left quickly followed their example. This haſty retreat ſtruck ſuch a terror into the main Body, that they almoſt all took to flight, without expecting the enemy. The Earl of *Northumberland* alone, who commanded one of the wings, ſtood without motion, having firſt ordered his Troops to throw down their arms, to let the enemies ſee they had nothing to fear from him. *Richard* perceiving the day was loſt, and not being able to think of flying, or running the hazard of falling into the hands of the Earl of *Richmond*, ruſhed into the midſt of his enemies, where he ſoon met with the death he ſought. Thus fell the Uſurper, in a more glorious manner than his Crimes ſeemed to deſerve. He wore but two years and two months the Crown, he had purchaſed by ſo many ill actions.

Stanley refuſes to obey the King's Orders. The King orders his Son to be put to Death, but is diſſwaded from it. Hall.

Overſight of the King.

The Battle laſted about two hours, including the time ſpent in the purſuit of the run-aways (4). As moſt part of the King's army fled without fighting, there were not ſlain on the ſpot above two thouſand Men (5) on his ſide. The Earl of *Richmond* loſt but a hundred, of whom Sir *William Brandon* was the only perſon of note. He was Father to *Charles Brandon* afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*. On the King's part, the Duke of *Norfolk* loſt his Life valiantly fighting for him who had made him a Duke (6).

Hall.

The Duke of Norfolk *among the ſlain.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

(1) In his march he was joined by Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, who deſerted King *Richard*. *Hall*, fol. 53. *Stow*, p. 469.

(2) The ſame day Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Sanford*, Sir *Simon Digby*, and many others, left *Richard*, and came to him. *Hall*, fol. 53. *Stow*, p. 469. *Hollingſh.* p. 1416.

(3) Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanded the right Wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left. *Hall*, fol. 54. ------ Between the two Armies there was a Moraſs, which the Earl of *Richmond* left on his right hand, to ſecure him on that ſide, and in ſo doing he had the Sun at his back, and in the faces of his enemies. *Hall*, fol. 57. *Hollingſh.* p. 1420.

(4) This Battle was fought about three miles from *Boſworth*, an antient Market Town in *Leiceſterſhire*. The exact ſpot of ground is frequently more and more diſcovered by pieces of Armour, Weapons, and eſpecially abundance of Arrow-heads found there of a long and large Proportion. There is a little Mount caſt up, on which *Henry* VII is ſaid to make his Speech to his Soldiers. *Camden in Leiceſt.*

(5) *Hall* ſays, there were few above a thouſand ſlain, fol. 57. But *Stow* ſays, there were four thouſand, p. 470.

(6) The other Perſons of note that loſt their Lives, were, *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, *Robert Brackenbury*, Sir *William Conyers*, Sir *Richard Claringdon*. *Hall*, ibid. *Stow*, p. 470.

1485. He would have doubtleſs gained more honour and glory, had he employed his valour for a Prince who had better deſerved than *Richard*, that a Man ſhould hazard his Life for his ſake. The Earl of *Northumberland* was taken into favour by the Conqueror, having perhaps held Intelligence with him before the battle. It ſeems at leaſt, that it may be inferred, as well from what he did in the beginning of the rout, as from certain verſes found that very morning by the Duke of *Norfolk*, on his Tent-door, inti-
The Earl of Surrey is taken Priſoner. mating, that the King was ſold (1). The Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, was taken priſoner, and ſent at firſt to the Tower of *London*, but ſhortly after obtained his pardon and liberty. Some of *Richard*'s Adherents were treated with the ſame lenity, others had the
Catesby is executed. good fortune to eſcape. But *Catesby*, Miniſter and Confident of *Richard*, who had ſo baſely betrayed the Lord *Haſtings*, being made priſoner, was executed two days after at *Leiceſter*, with ſome others of the ſame ſtamp, who had been the Uſurper's Inſtruments.

The Lord Stanley ſets the Crown on the Earl of Richmond's head. Hill. Stow. Hollingſh. *Richard's Body is carried to Leiceſter.* *Richard*'s Crown being found by a Soldier, was brought to the Lord *Stanley*, who went immediately and placed it on the Earl of *Richmond*'s head, congratulating him upon his Victory, and ſaluting him *King*. From that time *Henry* kept the regal title, and acted always as Sovereign, as if that bare Ceremony had given him an undoubted right. *Richard*'s body was found among the ſlain ſtark naked, covered with blood and dirt, and in that condition thrown croſs a Horſe, with the head hanging on one ſide and the legs on the other, and ſo carried to *Leiceſter* (2). The body lay two whole days expoſed to publick view, after which, it was interred without any Ceremony, in one of the Churches of that City. Some time after, *Henry* VII his Enemy and Succeſſor, ordered a more honorable Monument to be erected for him on account of *Elizabeth* his Queen, who was of the Houſe of *York* (3).

The Character of Richard III. *Richard* III was ſirnamed *Crook-back'd*, becauſe he was ſo in reality. Moreover, one of his arms was almoſt withered, receiving but little or no nouriſhment. As to the defects of his mind, if we believe moſt Hiſtorians, they were ſo great and ſo numerous, that it would be difficult to find in Hiſtory a Prince of ſo ill a Character. It is certain, he had a boundleſs ambition, which often cauſed him to commit actions unbecoming a Chriſtian Prince. To this Paſſion alone muſt be aſcribed his treachery and cruelty, ſince he was treacherous and cruel only with reſpect to the acquiſition or preſervation of the Crown. He has not been the ſole Prince whom ambition has led into the like exceſſes. The Hiſtorians who writ in the reign of *Henry* VII and *Henry* VIII, have ſo aggravated the heinouſneſs of his actions, that one cannot help obſerving in their writings, a ſtrong deſire to pleaſe the Monarchs then on the Throne. Nay, very probably they have aſcribed to him ſome actions upon no very good foundation; for inſtance, his murdering with his own hand *Henry* VI, and the Prince of *Wales*. Their deſire to ſay a great deal of ill of this Prince, made them overlook his good qualities, which ought not to have been paſſed over in ſilence. Be this as it will, without pretending either to juſtify him upon what he did of ill, or condemn him generally upon all, as ſome have done. I ſhall content my ſelf with blaming what was blame-worthy, and acknowledging withal what deſerved condemnation. The Crimes he was guilty of in procuring or keeping the Crown, are, as I ſaid, effects and conſequences of his immoderate ambition, by which he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded. But their being produced by that Paſſion, does not in the leaſt leſſen their heinouſneſs. As to the reſt, 1485. he had a great deal of ſenſe, and a very ſolid Judgment, Qualities that might have been an honour to him, had they been uſed to better purpoſes. We may judge of his good ſenſe and penetration, by his precautions to ſecure himſelf from the aſſaults of his enemies. Theſe precautions could not be more juſt, if divine Providence had not been pleaſed to render them fruitleſs, as it ſometimes does with reſpect to ſeemingly the beſt concerted deſigns. On ſeveral occaſions he ſhewed an uncommon Valour, and particularly in the battle where he was ſlain. This cannot be denied him without injuſtice. He expreſſed great concern that Juſtice ſhould be impartially miniſtred to all his Subjects without diſtinction, provided the preſervation of his Crown was not concerned; for in that reſpect he made no ſcruple to trample upon all the rules of Right and Equity. This natural Inclination for Juſtice, but combated by his ambition, may afford ſome occaſion to preſume, he would perhaps have proved a good King, had he been able to fix himſelf ſo firmly in the Throne as to have feared no revolution (4). At leaſt, this cannot be ſaid to be improbable. The Emperor *Auguſtus*, who was guilty of ſo many Cruelties to arrive at the Empire, affords a memorable and well-known Inſtance of ſuch a Change, and it would not be impoſſible to find other examples. But as *Richard* was taken out of the World before he had given ſigns of any amendment, his ill actions abſorb'd whatever there might be commendable in him. There is one Hiſtorian however who has endeavoured to Buck. vindicate this Prince. But as he has ſet no bounds to this Vindication, and laboured to make him entirely innocent, he has not acquired much credit, eſpecially as he was often obliged, in order to attain his ends, to advance facts not ſtrictly true. He has however a place in the Collection of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians; but no modern Author has thought fit to take him for guide (5).

End of the Reign of the Plantagenets. Act. Pub. XII. p. 265. *Richard* left but one natural Son, who was yet a Minor when the King his Father died. Some months before, he had made him Governour of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, and of all the *Marches of Picardy*, belonging to the Crown of *England* (6). With *Richard* III, ended the *Angevin* Kings, ſirnamed *Plantagenets* (7); who, ſince *Henry* II, the firſt of this race, had poſſeſſed the Crown of *England* from Father to Son, during the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years. *Richard* was the laſt King of this Houſe; but not the laſt Male, as ſome have affirmed, ſince the Earl of *Warwick* his Nephew, Son of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, was ſtill alive. This young Prince was the ſole branch of the Male-iſſue of *Edward* III, which had been ſo numerous; but was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the late Civil War. This *and of the Civil War.* War, commenced thirty years before, was at length ended by the Battle of *Boſworth*, after deſtroying above one hundred thouſand *Engliſh-men*, and a great number of Princes of the two contending Houſes. *Philip de Commines* mounts the number to fourſcore; but it is a miſtake or exaggeration of that author, as it is eaſy to ſee by the Genealogical Table of the poſterity of *Edward* III.

Brief Recapitulation of the Hiſtory of the Plantagenets. Let us cloſe the Hiſtory of the *Plantagenets* with a brief recapitulation of the moſt memorable accidents that befel the Kings of this race, whilſt on the Throne of *England*. In this ſummary of the fourteen foregoing reigns, it will be ſeen, not without aſtoniſhment perhaps, that the happineſs and glory enjoyed by this race for above three hundred years, were almoſt nothing in compariſon of their misfortunes (8).

(1) The Verſes ſaid to be written upon the Tent-Door were theſe:

Jack *of* Norfolk, *be not too bold,*
For Dickon *thy Maſter is bought and ſold.*

John Howard Duke of *Norfolk*, Son of Sir *Robert Howard*, as is ſaid above, p. 637. Note (3) left behind him *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, and five Daughters.

(2) He was brought in that manner to *Leiceſter*, behind a Purſuivant at Arms, called *blaunche Sanglier*. *Hall*, fol. 58. *Stow*, p. 470.

(3) He was buried in St. *Mary*'s, belonging to a Monaſtery of the *Grey-Friers*. *Henry* VII put over him a Tomb of various coloured Marble adorned with his Statue in Alabaſter. This Monument ſtood till the diſſolution of the Abbies under *Henry* VIII, when it was pulled down and utterly defaced; ſince which his Grave being over-grown with Weeds and Nettles, is become very obſcure and not to be found; only the Stone-Coffin, wherein his Corps lay, was made a drinking Trough for Horſes, at the *White-Horſe-Inn* in *Leiceſter*. ---- *Richard* was not above three or four and thirty years old when he was killed. He gave five hundred Marks a year to *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*. *Sandford*, p. 434.

(4) His Enemies ſeem to own, that excepting his Cruelties to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him to be a good King: Particularly in his care to check Vice, and promote Sobriety and Virtue; witneſs his Circular Letters to the Biſhops, and in his concern for the good Government and Eaſe of his Subjects, as may be ſeen in his Proclamation againſt the Rebels in *Kent*. See *Compl. Hiſt.* Vol. I. p. 576. My Lord *Verulam* ſays of him, that he was in military Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, and likewiſe a good Law-Maker. He founded the Society of Heralds, and made them a Corporation, *&c.* See the Charter in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 215.

(5) *George Buck*, Eſq; has endeavoured to repreſent King *Richard* III as a Prince of much better Shapes (both of Body and Mind) than he had been generally eſteemed. His Work, conſiſting of five Books, is inſerted in the Collection of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

(6) In his Patent he is called *John* of *Gloceſter*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 265.

(7) I. e. *a Broom-Stalk*; the reaſon of this Sirname Antiquaries are at a loſs to find out, and give no better than this: *Fulk*, the firſt Earl of *Anjou* of that name, being ſtung with remorſe for ſome wicked Actions of his, in order to attone for them, went in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, and before the Holy Sepulchre was ſoundly ſcourged with Broom Twigs, which grow in great plenty there. From whence he ever after took the Sirname of *Plantagenet*, or *Broom-Stalk*, which was continued by his noble Poſterity. *Buck*, l. 1.

(8) It were to be wiſhed, that ſo good a Hiſtorian as *Rapin* had been more ſparing of God's Judgments; ſuch Remarks at beſt being a ſign of, great Weakneſs. But when they are built on Falſities in Fact, as is ſometimes the Caſe, they are inexcuſable. Of this we have an Inſtance even in *Rapin* himſelf. See above, p. 615. Note (11). As for the long Liſt he has given of God's Judgments upon the Houſe of *Plantagenet*, it contains nothing extraordinary, nothing but what is very common in this World, and what might eaſily be matched out of the Hiſtories of ſeveral other Nations.

HENRY

HENRY II, the firſt King of this *Houſe*, was the greateſt of all the *Engliſh* Monarchs with reſpect to extent of Dominion. Beſides the Kingdom of *England*, he poſſeſſed in *France*, *Guienne*, *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, *Auvergne*, *Limouſin*, *Perigord*, *Angoumois*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Normandy*, to which he joined alſo *Bretagne* by the marriage of one of his Sons with the Heireſs of that Duchy; and laſtly, crowned all with the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. But with all this grandeur he was ever unhappy. His conteſt with *Becket*, the vexatious perſecutions from Pope *Alexander* III, the rebellion of his Queen and Sons, and the unfortunate ſucceſs of his laſt War with *France*, ſuffered him not to enjoy a moment's repoſe.

RICHARD I, rendered his name famous in the Eaſt, by the conqueſt of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, by the taking of *Acra*, and by a great victory over the *Saracens*. But the fame he acquired in that expedition was a dear purchaſe to Chriſtendom, and particularly to *England*, by the prodigious quantity of Men and money, exported from thence, without the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine* reaping any great advantages. *Richard* himſelf at his return into *Europe*, underwent the rigours of a grievous and long impriſonment, from which he could not be freed without an exorbitant ranſom which quite drained his Kingdom. In ſhort, after a ſeveral years ſtruggle with *Philip Auguſtus* to very little purpoſe, he unfortunately periſhed by an Arrow at the Siege of *Chaluz*, undertaken from his greedy deſire of money.

JOHN Lack-land enjoyed not a moment's happineſs during his whole reign. Perſecuted by the King of *France*, then by Pope *Innocent* III, and laſtly, by his own ſubjects, his reign was nothing but a continual train of misfortunes. He loſt firſt all the Provinces poſſeſſed by his Anceſtors in *France*. After which, *Innocent* III, deprived him of his Crown, and reſtored it to him upon ſhameful and diſhonourable terms. In fine, he had the great mortification to ſee his Barons in arms againſt him, and to die at a time when all *England* was paying Allegiance to a foreign Prince.

HENRY III, a Prince of a very mean Spirit, lived in a continual ſtate of ſubjection, though ſeated on a Throne; one while a ſlave to his favorites and miniſters, another while to the imperious will of the Popes. At length, ſtript of all his authority by his own ſubjects, he remained ſome time captive to his greateſt enemies. And he was entirely indebted to a victory fortunately gained by the Prince his Son, for his reſtoration, and the tranquillity he enjoyed the two laſt years of his life.

EDWARD I, rendered his name famous by the conqueſt of *Scotland*. But after ſhedding torrents of Blood in that unjuſt quarrel, he had the mortification to loſe that acquiſition, and to die before he had recovered it. His conqueſt of *Wales* was the moſt real advantage procured for the Kingdom by any King of *England*.

The reign of *EDWARD* II, is remarkable only for that Prince's ill-conduct and misfortunes. He is the firſt inſtance of a King of *England* depoſed by authority of Parliament. Happy, if the fury of his enemies had ſtopped there! but, with an unparalleled barbarity, he was made to ſuffer the moſt cruel death that could poſſibly be deviſed, and which bore no proportion to the indiſcretions he was guilty of.

EDWARD III, was one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings of *England*, as well for his perſonal qualities as for his victories in *France*, and the famous Treaty of *Bretigny*, which reſtored to him with intereſt the Provinces, *John Lack-land* had ſuffered to be loſt. But his reign, though glorious, was not free from misfortunes. His minority was ſullied by the tragical death of *Edward* II his Father, and of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle. To puniſh theſe horrid outrages, he was forced to keep his own Mother in Priſon as long as ſhe lived. Towards the end of his days he had the mortification to ſee himſelf ſtript of all he had re-conquered upon *France*, without hopes of recovery. In a word, he ruined, as I may ſay, his own reputation, and died at a time when his ſubjects began to loſe their former eſteem for him.

Thus far it is eaſy to ſee that the race of the *Plantagenets* had enjoyed no great ſhare of happineſs. But their misfortunes, which were blended with ſome proſperities, were very inconſiderable in compariſon of what that race afterwards underwent. When a Man takes a view of what happened to the poſterity of *Edward* III, he ſees nothing but Diſaſters, tragical or untimely Deaths, Hatred, Animoſity, Revenge, Civil Wars, Cruelties unheard of, among Princes ſprung from the ſame Stock. *England* had never ſeen ſo terrible a deſtruction of her inhabitants, nor had the Scaffold been ever dyed with ſo much noble and royal Blood as during the hundred years between the death of *Edward* III, and that of *Richard* III. Let us briefly run over the ſeveral branches of *Edward* the third's family, in order to ſee their calamities.

EDWARD the *Black Prince*, one of the moſt accompliſhed Princes that ever was born, died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, having firſt buried his eldeſt Son *Edward* but ſeven years old.

RICHARD II, his other Son, who mounted the Throne after his Grandfather, was depoſed, impriſoned, and barbarouſly murdered.

LIONEL Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* III, died in a foreign Country in the flower of his age. He left but one Daughter, whoſe marriage into the Houſe of *March* was the occaſion of all the calamities *England* was afflicted with for thirty years together.

The Poſterity of *John* of *Gaunt*, *Edward*'s fourth Son, were far from being happy. *HENRY* IV, Succeſſor of *Richard* II, paſſed his whole reign under continual apprehenſions of loſing a Crown acquired by extraordinary methods, and preſerved by the violent death of *Richard* II, whom he cauſed to be murdered in Priſon.

HENRY V, one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings of *England*, after ſo great a progreſs in *France* as to be declared Regent and Heir of that Kingdom, enjoyed that conſiderable advantage but two years, or rather, had only a foretaſte of what he had ſo eagerly deſired. He died in the flower of his age, leaving a Son nine months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to compleat the work, his illuſtrious Father had ſo glorioufly begun.

The Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Gloceſter*, died all three without Iſſue. *Gloceſter* was long expoſed to the fury of his enemies, and at laſt ſacrificed to their vengeance.

HENRY VI, Son of *Henry* V, loſt all that the King his Father had acquired in *France*. After which, he was ſtript of his Royalty, impriſoned, reſtored for a ſhort ſpace, and at laſt murdered by a Prince ſprung from the ſame ſtock with himſelf.

EDWARD his Son, Prince of *Wales*, died after the ſame manner, and by the ſame hand.

In ſurveying the other branch of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, namely, that of *Beaufort-Somerſet*, hardly ſhall we find a Prince but what loſt his life in a Battle, or on the Scaffold.

The Houſe of *York*, of whom *Edmund de Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward* III, was head, was ſtill leſs favoured. Some unfortunate Stars ſeemed to be continually ſhedding their malignant influences upon that Family. Excepting *Edmund de Langley* himſelf, firſt Duke of *York*, all the Princes his deſcendents died a violent or untimely death.

EDWARD Duke of *York*, his eldeſt Son, was ſlain at the Battle of *Azincourt*.

RICHARD Earl of *Cambridge* loſt his head on a Scaffold.

RICHARD, third Duke of *York*, and his Son *EDMUND* Earl of *Rutland*, periſhed in the Battle of *Wakefield*.

GEORGE Duke of *Clarence* was afterwards condemned to die in a Butt of *Malmſey*.

EDWARD IV, after enjoying the Crown of *England* ſome years, to which he had a better title than the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, died indeed a natural death, but in the two and fortieth year of his age.

EDWARD V, and *RICHARD* his Brother, were ſmothered in their Bed.

EDWARD Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Richard* III, was taken out of the World in the eleventh year of his age.

RICHARD III, was killed at the Battle of *Boſworth*.

In fine, we ſhall ſee in the courſe of the Hiſtory, *EDWARD* Earl of *Warwick*, Son of the unfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, and the only ſurviving Male of the Houſe of *York*, end his days by the hand of the Executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the account of the diſaſters that happened to the Poſterity of *Edward* III, but to take notice that *THOMAS* of *Woodſtock*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, ſeventh Son of that Monarch, died a violent death in Priſon at *Calais*.

Were not all theſe misfortunes which fell on *Edward* the third's Poſterity the effects of the divine vengeance extended to the fourth generation, for the barbarous murder committed on the perſon of *Edward* II? At leaſt, it is difficult not to ſee in theſe events the tragical death of *Edward* II, revenged upon *Richard* II: That of *Richard* upon *Henry* VI: That of *Henry* upon *Edward* V: and That of *Edward* upon *Richard* III. (1)

THE

(1) That *Richard* III coined Money, appears by an Indenture, whereby he contracts with *Robert Braſkenbury* for the Coinage both of Gold and Silver, of

The Monument of King EDWARD and his Brother RICHARD

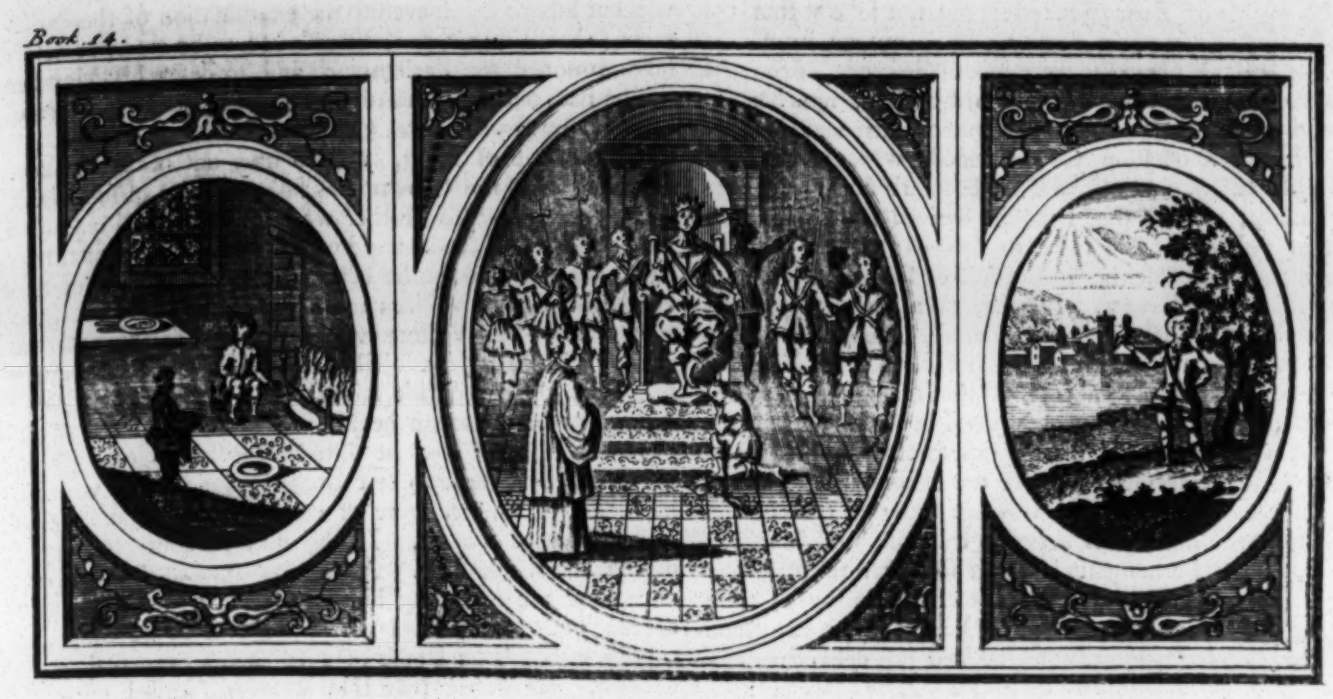
H. S. S.
Reliquiæ
EDWARDI V.ti REGIS ANGLIÆ, ET RICHARDI DUCIS
EBORACENSIS,
HOS FRATRES GERMANOS TURRE LONDIN.si CONCLUSOS
INIECTISQ. CULCITRIS SUFFOCATOS
ABDITE, ET INHONESTE TUMULARI IUSSIT
PATRVUS RICHARDUS PERFIDUS REGNI PRÆDO
OSSA DESIDERATORUM, DIU ET MULTUM QUÆSITA
POST ANNOS CXC ĈI.
SCALARUM IN RUDERIBUS (SCALÆ ISTÆ AD SACELLUM
TURRIS ALBÆ NUPER DUCEBANT)
ALTE DEFOSSA, INDICIIS CERTISSIMIS SUNT REPERTA
XVII DIE IULII A.o D.i MDCLXXIIII.
CAROLUS II REX CLEMENTISSIMUS, ACERBAM SORTEM MISERATUS
INTER AVITA MONUMENTA, PRINCIPIBUS INFELICISSIMIS
IUSTA PERSOLVIT.
ANNO DOM.i 1678 ANNOQ REGNI SUI 30.

IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

G. Vertue Sc.t

KING HENRY VII.

From an antient Limning in the Royal Collection. G. Vertue Inv. Sc



THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XIV.

The Reigns of HENRY VII; *with the* STATE *of the* CHURCH, *from the beginning of the Reign of* HENRY IV. 1399, *to the end of the Reign of* HENRY VII. 1509.

19. *HENRY* VII.

1485. HENRY VII. *proclaimed King by his Army.* Bacon.

THE battle of *Bosworth* being ended, as was said, by the flight of the Royal Army, and death of King *Richard*, *Henry* caused *Te Deum* to be sung upon the place, all the Troops falling on their knees to return God thanks for his Victory. Presently after, the whole army, as it were by Inspiration, made the air resound with the Cry of, *Long live King* Henry! which was not disagreeable to him. For, it was a sort of military Election, which might have served him for foundation to pretend to the Crown, though he had no other title. Mean while, he was embarrassed by the uncertainty he was under, whether he should keep to this Election, or found his title upon a more solid foundation. He was however, to determine without delay, either to reject the title given him by his Army, till the Parliament should confirm it, or accept it, and assert his Right independently of the consent of the Estates.

He is in suspence about taking the Title of King. Bacon.

He had three titles, or foundations, whereon he could ground his Right. The first was, his descent from the House of *Lancaster*, by *Margaret* his Mother Daughter of a Duke of *Somerset*. The House of *Lancaster* had been possessed of the Crown above sixty years, and this possession had been confirmed by many Acts of Parliament. But on the other hand, several Parliaments had afterwards condemned this possession as a continual Usurpation, and adjudged the Crown to the House of *York*, as descending from *Lionel*, third Son of *Edward* III. This question, considered originally, and independently of the Circumstances which moved the Parliaments to come to such opposite determinations, could not have been decided in favour of the House of *Lancaster*, if the Laws and Customs of the Realm had been followed. But, if setting aside the usual practice, it should be considered with respect to the Acts of Parliament, it could not but be doubtful, since the *Pro* and *Con* were equally supported by the same authority. It might also be objected to *Henry*, that indeed sundry Parliaments had decided the point in favour

1485. *The Reasons of it.*

of the same value and denomination with the Money of the fifth of *Edward* IV. Dr. *Nicolson* describes one of his Groats, as inscribed with Characters of the like Shape with those of *Henry* VI, and *Edward* IV, weighing about two penny Weights three Grains, which was the exact Standard of *Richard* III's Groats. Others in the possession of the late Archbishop of *York* and Mr. *Thoresby*, in which the Face side wants the outer Circle, the Letters of the Inscription which reach to the extremity of the Coin being generally imperfect, so that there was reason for the Provision made by Act of Parliament in the next Reign, that the new Money should have a Circle about the outermost Parts. That Coin which *Speed* gives of *Richard* II, is thought rather to belong to this King, by the word AGLIÆ instead of ANGLIÆ, in whose Reign that way of writing was used. The Author of *Num. Brit. Hist.* has two pieces of this King inscribed, RICHARDUS. REX. ANGLI. Reverse, CIVITAS EBORACI. Another, RICARDUS. REX. ANGL. Reverse, CIVITAS. LONDON. The shortness of this King's Reign makes his Coin so very rare, that *Thoresby* observes, he had seen a Series of ancient Monies from *Edward* the Confessor to the present times, *Richard* III excepted, which he had not chanced to light upon. *Speed*'s case was the same, so that he was forced to leave a Blank for this King's Money.

1485. of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, but it did not follow that the Houſe of *Somerſet* could receive any advantage from that deciſion. The *Somerſets* were indeed deſcended from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, but by a Baſtard-branch, which could pretend to the Crown only by virtue of their legitimation. Now it was a queſtion yet undecided, whether the Act of Legitimation, and *Richard* the Second's ſubſequent Letters Patents, gave to that Branch, derived from a Baſtard born in Adultery, the right to ſucceed to the Crown, though mentioned neither in the Act of Parliament, nor in King *Richard*'s Letters. Beſides, even upon ſuppoſition of this Right, another query ſtill aroſe, namely, whether the Poſterity of this legitimated Baſtard, were to have the preference of the deſcendents of the Daughters born in wedlock, of whom there were ſeveral in *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, and *Germany*. To leave theſe points to the examination of the Parliament, ſeemed therefore too dangerous for *Henry*. But on the other hand, he was not ignorant that in the deciſion of the differences between the houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, the Parliaments had not ſo much regarded the arguments of either Party, as the circumſtances of time and things. Now he could never have a more favorable juncture than the preſent, ſince he had juſt delivered *England* from a Tyrant univerſally hated. *Henry* IV, his Predeceſſor, had not done more for the *Engliſh*, when forr eward, the Crown was adjudged to him, in prejudice of the Houſe of *March*.

Henry's ſecond title was, his intended Marriage with *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV, which he had ſworn. But here, no leſs difficulties occurred. If he relied upon this Title, he was to reſolve either to reign only in right of his Wife, or to confound together the Titles of both Houſes. In the former caſe, he would have relinquiſhed his own, to leave to the Houſe of *York* a Title which had all along been conteſted, and have owned that Houſe's Right, for the ſole foundation of his mounting the Throne. Beſides, he conſidered, that in caſe *Elizabeth* happened to die without Iſſue, all her Rights would of courſe devolve to her next Siſter, and he thereby be excluded from the Throne upon the death of his Queen (1): That ſuppoſing he could get the Parliament to adjudge him the Crown during Life, he ſhould only have a perſonal right, which would not deſcend to his Children by a ſecond Wife.

In the latter caſe, on ſuppoſition of the confuſion of the Titles of both Houſes, by means of the projected Marriage, purſuant to the Intention of thoſe who had invited him into *England*, this confuſion, indeed, might be advantagious to the Children born of this Marriage. But if unhappily there ſhould be none, and his death fall out before *Elizabeth*'s, he would leave the poſſeſſion of the Crown to the Houſe of *York*, which his averſion for that Houſe would not ſuffer him to behold, even at a diſtance, without extreme concern. But if, on the contrary, *Elizabeth* ſhould die before him, he foreſaw it would prove the occaſion of renewing the troubles of the Kingdom, ſince, as ſhe reigned in her own right, her Siſter, or neareſt Relations, might pretend to ſucceed her.

Henry's third Title was, That of the Sword or Conqueſt, which his late Victory ſeemed to give him. But he conſidered this Victory was entirely owing to the aſſiſtance of the People of *England*, and therefore gave him at moſt but a right of Conqueſt over the vanquiſhed Party. Beſides, as he could ſupport himſelf only by the ſame aſſiſtance, he had reaſon to fear, that in reſting upon this pretended Title, he ſhould loſe his beſt friends, ſince ſuch a proceeding might be conſtrued as a ſettled deſign to rule with arbitrary power. He knew *William the Conqueror* had wiſely avoided that rock, by rejecting the title of the Sword, till he ſaw himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed in the Throne.

Theſe were difficulties conſiderable enough to merit *Henry*'s mature deliberation before he reſolved. But on the other hand, there was no medium to take. He was neceſſarily either to accept the Title given him by the army, and thereby engage to proſecute his Rights independently of the Parliament's approbation, or by rejecting it, ſhew, he miſtruſted his own right, and be expoſed to a troubleſome examination. After weighing the reaſons on both ſides, as far as the time would permit, he reſolved at laſt to reſt upon the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. So taking for granted, that the army in ſaluting him King, had only given him his due, he determined to aſſert the *Lancaſtrian* claim, without any mixture of that of *York*, and without ſubmitting it even to the examination of the Parliament (2). To that end, he reſolved to be crowned before he ſummoned the Parliament, and to defer his Marriage till he had obtained an Act to adjudge him the Crown as his own by Inheritance. He determined therefore to aſſume the title of King, and to iſſue out orders as ſuch, ſuppoſing that the Crown was fallen to him of full Right, though *Margaret* his Mother was ſtill alive, and ought to precede him. Notwithſtanding all the reaſons which rendered his title dubious, he believed there were likewiſe reaſons ſufficient to give him room to ſupport it, eſpecially at a time when his Victory was capable of deciding all the queſtions in his favour. This reſolution was the fountain of all the troubles of his reign.

1485. *and be crowned without bringing his Claim into queſtion.*

Mean while, though he affected to be convinced of the goodneſs of his Title, he diſtruſted it in his own Mind, knowing, if it came to be conteſted, the reaſons whereon he ſhould ground it, were of no great weight, unleſs ſupported by force of arms. In this ſtate he continued almoſt during his whole Life. Always unconcerned in appearance, and yet terrifying himſelf with the leaſt thing, and dreading that every little accident would be of dangerous conſequence. The Houſe of *York* was a perpetual terror to him. He knew that they who had called him into *England*, were not enemies to that Houſe, but only to the perſon of *Richard* III. So the Rights of the two Houſes remaining ſtill doubtful, as having been decided only by the Sword, he was very ſenſible that his could be maintained but by the ſame way, or by wiſe precautions, to prevent all future deciſions of that kind.

He is afraid of the Houſe of York.

Upon theſe conſiderations it was, that the next day after the Battle (3) he ſent a detachment of Horſe under the command of Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Caſtle of *Sheriff-Hutton* (4), to take from thence the Earl of *Warwick*, and conduct him to the Tower of *London*. This young Prince was Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was ſtifled in a Butt of Malmſey. After the death of the Duke his Father, *Edward* IV his Uncle cauſed him to be carefully educated, and created him Earl of *Warwick*; a title enjoyed by his Mother's Father (5). He was unwilling to make him Duke of *Clarence*, leſt that title ſhould preſerve the memory of an unhappy Brother, whom he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy. When *Richard* was on the Throne, he ordered this young Prince his Nephew to be confined in the Caſtle above-named, knowing how likely he was one day to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the Crown. After the Uſurper's death, the Earl of *Warwick* ſeemed to have room to expect ſome favor from his ſucceſſor; but it proved juſt the contrary. So far was *Henry* from releaſing, that he made him cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, a rigour proceeding only from his jealouſy and inward conviction that his title was not ſo undoubted as he affected to believe. But this was not all. It will hereafter be ſeen, that he put this unhappy Prince to death by the hand of the executioner, therein ſtill more tyrant than the tyrant himſelf, from whom he boaſted to have delivered the Kingdom.

He ſends the Earl of Warwick to the Tower. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The Princeſs *Elizabeth*, whom *Henry* was to marry, was kept in the ſame Caſtle by the late King's order, who did not think fit to leave her at liberty to chooſe a Husband, intending to marry her himſelf. *Henry* reſolving to repair to *London* with all poſſible diligence, thought it not proper to leave the Princeſs at ſo great a diſtance, leſt ſhe ſhould be told that ſhe had no need to mix her rights with thoſe of others. Wherefore ſhe was deſired to come and remain with the Queen her Mother at *London*. His deſign was to make it believed, he intended to eſpouſe her very ſoon, tho' he was determined to defer his marriage till after the Seſſion of the Parliament.

The Princeſs Elizabeth comes to London. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

A few days after, *Henry* ſet forward, by eaſy journies, to *London*, taking care to avoid all appearance of uſing the right of conqueſt. He was received in all places with loud acclamations, the people conſidering him as their deliverer, and as going by his marriage, to put an end to all the Calamities occaſioned by the Civil Wars. He made his entry into *London* with great ſtate (6). However, the People had not the ſatisfaction to ſee him as he paſſed through the City, becauſe he was carried all the way in a cloſe Chariot till he came to St. *Paul*'s. His Hiſtorian aſcribes this conduct to a motive of grandeur and ſecurity, as if having been proſcribed in the reign of *Richard* III, he diſdained to fawn upon the people, leſt they ſhould think he expected all from them. But I do not know whether this is better grounded than what the

Henry is well received at London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

He reſolves to take the Title of King, Bacon.

(1) The caſe would be the ſame, ſuppoſing the Queen left Iſſue, for the Crown would upon her death fall to her eldeſt Son or Daughter.

(2) Or, as the Lord *Bacon* expreſſes it, he reſolved to reſt upon the Title of *Lancaſter* as the main, and to uſe the other Two, that of Marriage, and that of Battle, but as Supporters, p. 579.

(3) Before his departure from *Leiceſter*. *Hall*, fol. 1. *Stow*, p. 470.

(4) In *Yorkſhire*.

(5) *Richard Nevill*.

(6) On a *Saturday* the 27th of *Auguſt*; and as he had alſo obtained the Victory upon a *Saturday*, he counted out of fancy, and choſe afterwards that day as a day proſperous to him. The Mayor and Companies of *London* went out to meet him at *Shoreditch*. *Bacon*, p. 579.

1485. ſame Hiſtorian adds, that *Henry* cauſed *Richard*'s Standards taken at *Boſworth* (1), to be brought into St. *Paul*'s Church, that the people of *London* might not forget that he had juſt gained a Battle, and was entering the City as a Conqueror. When a Prince has acquired a reputation for politicks, ſomething myſterious, ſuitable to the notion formed of him, is diſcovered in his moſt indifferent actions.

He ratifies his Oath to marry Elizabeth. Hall. Bacon.

Next day *Henry* aſſembled a Council (2) of all the perſons of diſtinction in the Court and City, before whom he ſolemnly renewed his Oath to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. This declaration was abſolutely neceſſary at the preſent juncture, becauſe of a rumour that he was contracted to *Ann*, eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and had not acted with ſincerity when he promiſed to marry the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. Beſides, though his deſign was not to derive his right from this marriage, it was however proper the people ſhould think ſo, till he had obtained his deſire of the Parliament, for fear meaſures ſhould be taken beforehand to obſtruct it. Indeed, he was reſolved to perform his promiſe, but was bent not to conſummate his marriage before his Coronation, leſt his Queen ſhould be crowned with him, and her title ſupported by that junction. Nay, he had reaſon to fear, that in caſe his Nuptials were celebrated before the Parliament met, ſome Clauſe in favour of the Houſe of *York* might be inſerted in the Act to ſettle the Succeſſion.

The Sweating Sickneſs. Hall. Stow. Bacon.

About the middle of *September*, the City of *London* was afflicted with a diſeaſe then unknown, which threw the Patients into a prodigious ſweat, and carried them off in four and twenty hours. Thoſe that died not within that ſpace were almoſt ſure of recovering. Happily, it laſted but till the end of *October*; however, it ſwept away multitudes of people before proper remedies were found (3). The method of cure was to keep the Patient neither too hot nor too cold, with temperate Cordials, which, without too much increaſing the heat, helped Nature to expel the humours that cauſed theſe extraordinary ſweatings.

The Earl of Oxford is made Governor of the Tower. Act. Pub. XII. p. 276.

About this time the new King make the Earl of *Oxford* (4) Conſtable of the *Tower*, who had always been attached to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and after his eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Hammes* joined him at *Paris*, and had ſince done him ſignal ſervices, particularly at the Battle of *Boſworth*.

Truce with France. P. 277.

Some time after, the King iſſued out a Proclamation, notifying that he had concluded a Truce for one year with the King of *France*, from the laſt day of *September*. It was no ſmall advantage to ſhew the people that *Charles* VIII acknowledged him for King, even before he was declared ſo by the Parliament.

The Office of High-Steward is exerciſed by Commiſſioners. Ibid.

The Coronation-day approaching, it was neceſſary to ſettle the places and claims of thoſe who were to officiate at this Ceremony. For that purpoſe, it was requiſite to create a Lord High-Steward. But as this Office for ſome time had been enjoyed only by Princes of the Blood, and there were none then in the Kingdom; the King, not to raiſe jealouſies among the great Men, cauſed it to be executed by Commiſſioners (5).

Creations. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Mean while, he would no longer delay to ſhew his gratitude to three Lords who had faithfully and effectually ſerved him in his greateſt diſtreſſes. Theſe were *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Father's Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley* his Father-in-law, and Sir *Edward Courtney*. The firſt had been a Father to him in his youth, and delivered him from the ſnares of *Edward* IV, when he was concealed in *Wales*. After that, he was his conſtant companion in *Bretagne*, and had helped him to overcome all the difficulties which occurred in his undertakings. In return for his ſervices *Henry* gave him the title of Duke of *Bedford*, vacant ever ſince the death of the famous Duke of *Bedford*, Brother of *Henry* V. The Lord *Stanley*, who had been very ſerviceable to the King at the Battle of *Boſworth*, was created Earl of *Derby*. Sir *Edward Courtney*, who had ventured to ingage in his party, and favour in the Weſtern Counties, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s plot, was honoured with the title of Earl of *Devonſhire* (6). *Henry* thought not proper to diſpence his favours to others, being willing, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, to reſerve his creations till the ſitting of the Parliament. 1485.

The King's Coronation. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The Coronation had been fixed to the 30th of *October*, and the Parliament was not to meet till the 7th of *November*. Hence it is evident, that *Henry* did not mean to bring his Title into queſtion, or leave to the Parliament's care any more than to confirm his Coronation, without ſuffering the foundations to be examined. The examples of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III had taught him, that the beſt way to gain the Parliament's approbation, was to take poſſeſſion. Indeed, there is a great difference between debating, whether a Prince who claims a crown has a right to pretend to it, or whether he is to be dethroned when in actual poſſeſſion. The former of theſe things may be done by reaſons, arguments, and ſtudied ſpeeches: The latter requires an Army ready to give weight to the reaſons. So *Henry* may be ſaid to ſet the Crown himſelf on his head, ſince he alone diſpoſed of his right, without the authority of the Parliament, who would have had much to ſay, if they had examined or been at liberty to examine, by what title *Henry* aſcended the Throne. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed by Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſuppoſing *Henry*'s right to be indiſputable, thought it not proper to inquire into the validity of his title (7).

He inſtitutes a Guard of fifty Archers.

The ſame day *Henry* inſtituted a guard of fifty Archers (8) to attend him and his Succeſſors for ever, covering with a pretence of Grandeur and Majeſty, a precaution which he believed apparently neceſſary in the preſent juncture.

The Parliament meets. Hall. Bacon.

The Parliament met eight days after the Coronation. *Henry*'s ends in calling a Parliament were chiefly four. The firſt was to be declared King *de Jure*, as he was already King *de Facto*, and to ſecure the Crown to his poſterity, by an Act in form. The ſecond, to reverſe the Attainders of all his party (9). The third, to attaint thoſe who had expreſſed a great animoſity againſt him, and moſt zeal for the late King. The fourth and laſt, was to ſhew, that tho' he had by his ſole authority placed himſelf on the Throne, to prevent his title from being queſtioned, he intended however to govern the Kingdom like his Predeceſſors, by way of Parliaments, and not aſſume a deſpotick power. This ſtep was abſolutely neceſſary for a Prince whoſe title was ſo dubious, and who aſcended the Throne without being called to it in the uſual way.

Difficulties about ſettling the Succeſſion. Bacon.

It was requiſite, for the people's ſatisfaction and the King's ſecurity, that the Parliament ſhould ſettle the Crown upon him by an expreſs Act; otherwiſe obedience to him might not be thought indiſpenſable. Though he had been powerful enough to cauſe his authority to be owned without ſuch an Act, his Heirs were not certain to be always in ſo favorable a ſituation. Mean while, it was not eaſy to pen this Act. *Henry* would not hold the Crown either by the People's election, or by the Parliament, or by the Princeſs he was to marry. He did not even intend that *Elizabeth* ſhould ſhare in the Royalty, otherwiſe than any other foreign Queen. Nevertheleſs, in this beginning of his Reign, it was proper, the People ſhould not know too much, but have ſome cauſe to believe, the King reſted upon all theſe titles. The reaſon was, the *Engliſh* were extremely jealous of the authority of their Parliaments, and generally much better affected to the Houſe of *York* than to that of *Lancaſter*. Wherefore the King finding the Parliament diſpoſed to do whatever he could deſire, intimated or dictated himſelf the words of the Act, namely, *That the Inheritance of the Crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide in the King, and the Heirs of his Body, perpetually ſo to endure, and in none other.* Which ambiguous words left it undecided, whether he had a prior Right, which was doubtful, or was only King in fact, which could not be denied. As for the limitation of the Entail, he was contented it ſhould go no further than to himſelf and to the Heirs of his body, leaving the reſt to be decided by the Law in caſe his Line came to fail. Thus by not mentioning the Houſe of *York*, the Act left it undetermined whether that Houſe was entirely excluded, or might inherit after the Heirs of the new King. In this obſcure and ambiguous manner did the Parliament draw and paſs the Act, which was afterwards confirmed by the Hall. Bacon.

(1) There were three, on one of which was the Image of St. *George*, in the ſecond was a fiery Dragon upon white and green Sarcenet, the third was of yellow tartern on which was painted a dun Cow. *Hall.* fol. 1. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1425.

(2) In the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, where he lodged for ſome time. *Bacon*, p. 580.

(3) Two Mayors, and ſix Aldermen died of it within one Week. *Hall*, fol. 3.

(4) *John Vere.*

(5) *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Nottingham*, the Lords *Stanley* and *Fitz-Wauter*, *Robert Morton*, Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Thomas Brian*, Chief Juſtice of the *King*'s *Bench*, Sir *Humfrey Starkey*, Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and Sir *Richard Croft*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 277.

(6) The Bannerets made at this Creation, were theſe, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *William Stonar*, Sir *William Troutback*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *Richard Croſby*, Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *Edward Bedingfield*, Sir *Thomas Cokeſey*, Sir *James Baſkervile*, Sir *Humfrey Stanley*, Sir *Richard de la Bere*. *Stow*, p. 471.

(7) *Hall* and *Hollingſhead* ſay, King *Henry* was crowned by the whole aſſent, as well of the Commons as of the Nobility, fol. 2. p. 1425.

(8) Under a Captain, by the name of *Yeomen of the Guard*. There are at preſent a hundred in daily waiting, and ſeventy more not in waiting; and as one of the hundred dies, his place is filled up out of the ſeventy.

(9) And among the reſt of *Henry* Lord *Clifford*, who had been concealed, and obſcurely brought up in the mountainous parts of *Cumberland*, and at *Lanſborow* in *Yorkſhire*, ever ſince the Battle of *Towton*. See *Dugdale*'s *Baron*. Vol. I. p. 343.

Pope's

1485. Pope's Bull. But *Henry* took care to have all his titles inſerted in the Bull, namely, his deſcent from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, his marriage with *Edward the Fourth*'s eldeſt Daughter, his victory at *Boſworth*, and the Act of Parliament: To which might be added alſo the Papal Bull of Confirmation. All theſe titles joined together, are a clear evidence of his uncertainty, with reſpect to his right, and of his trouble cauſed by that uncertainty.

Queſtion in Parliament decided by the Judges. Bacon.

The Act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion being paſſed, it was moved for another to reverſe the Attainders of the King's friends, whilſt only Earl of *Richmond*. But ſeveral of theſe attainted perſons were actually members of the Houſe of Commons, elected by the favor they had found with the People ſince the Revolution. There were likewiſe ſome in the Houſe of Lords. It was therefore repreſented to be incongruous, that theſe perſons ſhould give their Votes in an affair which particularly concerned them, and be Judges in their own cauſe. The King was troubled that the Acts paſſed in the late Reign ſhould be deemed valid, and his friends wanted to be purged of the Crime of eſpouſing his quarrel. He concealed however his concern, and only inſinuated, that he wiſhed the Judges to be conſulted upon the affair. The Judges being met (1), gave it as their opinion, that the Members attainted by courſe of Law, ſhould abſent themſelves till their Attainders were reverſed.

Queſtion relating to the King decided alſo by the Judges. Ibid.

But whilſt they were debating upon this queſtion, another was ſtarted with reſpect to the King himſelf, who was of the number of the attainted, having been declared Traitor and Rebel by an Act of Parliament. This queſtion was much more embarraſſing than the other. The King could not be disjoined from the Parliament without a diſſolution, neither was it probable that he would ſubmit to a Parliamentary Examination. In this puzzling caſe, the Judges unanimouſly reſolved, *That the Crown takes away all defects and ſtops in blood: And that from the time the King aſſumed the Crown, the Fountain was cleared, and all Attainders and Corruption of blood diſcharged.* This deciſion, more conformable to Politicks than to the Laws, eſtabliſhed a principle that might be attended with terrible conſequences.

Act againſt Richard III and his Adherents. Hollingſh. Bacon.

This Affair being ended, the Parliament paſſed an Act of Attainder againſt the late King, by the name of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and againſt his principal Adherents. Of this number were the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lords *Lovel*, *Ferrers*, *Zouch*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Sir *William Catesby* (2), all Miniſters or Favorites of *Richard* III, of whom ſome were killed at *Boſworth* field, others executed ſince the Battle. If the Plots which were afterwards formed againſt *Henry* himſelf had taken effect, he would doubtleſs have been ſerved in the ſame manner, with all his Adherents. So dangerous is it to carry ſeverity too far in caſes of this Nature. Accordingly we ſhall ſee hereafter, that *Henry* perceiving the conſequences, cauſed an Act to be paſſed to prevent the abuſe of ſuch a precedent. The deſign of the preſent Act was to ſatisfy the King's vengeance, and procure him the forfeited Eſtates of the attainted. Theſe confiſcations brought him in immenſe ſums, which rendered the demand of a Subſidy unneceſſary in this firſt Parliament, eſpecially as the Nation was in Peace, or Truce with all the neighbouring Princes.

A General Pardon. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

After the King was revenged of his enemies, and had filled his coffers, he publiſhed the Royal Proclamation, offering pardon to all that had been concerned in any Plot againſt him before he came to the Crown, or borne arms for the late King, provided they ſubmitted themſelves by ſuch a day. His firſt deſign was to procure this general pardon to be paſſed in Parliament, but recollecting it was an Act of Grace, he choſe rather that it ſhould wholly flow from himſelf. Many who were apprehenſive of being proſecuted, readily came and took the oath of Allegiance, in order to enjoy the benefit of the pardon. But others choſe to remain in Sanctuary, till the character of the new King was more known. The Lord *Lovel*, one of *Richard the Third*'s Favorites, took this laſt courſe.

Creation of Peers. Ibid.

Before the Parliament broke up, *Henry* was pleaſed to reward ſome of the companions of his exile, by creating them Peers of the Realm. The Lord *Chandos* of *Bretagne* was made Earl of *Bath*; Sir *Giles D'Aubeney* received the title of Baron of *D'Aubeney*, and Sir *Robert Willoughby* that of Lord *Brooke*. At the ſame time the King reſtored *Edward Stafford* to the dignity of Duke of *Buckingham*, forfeited by his Father's attainder, and to all the poſſeſſions belonging to his family, confiſcated in the late reign. This was a piece of juſtice he could hardly refuſe to the Son of a Lord, who had loſt his life in his ſervice, and been the firſt author of his advancement to the Throne. 1485.

The King demands the Pledges from France. Hall. Bacon. Act. Pub. XII. p. 278. *and offers to prolong the Truce.*

The Parliament being diſſolved about the end of *November*, *Henry* ſent into *France*, *Oliver King*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, with money to repay King *Charles* what he had lent him, and his charges in fitting out the Fleet which brought him to *England*. Whereupon the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, left as pledges at *Paris*, had leave to return home. At the ſame time, *Henry* gave his Envoy power to prolong the Truce with *France*, if he found King *Charles*'s Council inclined.

He borrows Money of the City. Stow. Bacon.

Probably his want of ready-money to pay the King of *France*, put him upon ſending to the City of *London* to borrow ſix thouſand marks. His demand met at firſt with great difficulties, becauſe he was not yet well known. However, he obtained at laſt two thouſand pounds (3), which he thankfully received, and punctually repayed afterwards. He often borrowed money in this manner in the courſe of his reign, and always paid at the day. His view was to eſtabliſh his credit in that powerful City, that he might uſe it upon any preſſing occaſion.

Morton and Fox are made Privy Counſellors. Bacon.

About the end of the year, he called to his Privy-Council *John Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, lately returned from *Flanders*, and *Richard Fox* (4). He lay under great obligations to *Morton*, particularly for his intelligence of what was plotting againſt him in *Bretagne*, and had a great value for *Fox*, knowing him to be a perſon capable of doing him great ſervice, and of a temper very like his own. In time, *Morton* was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor, Prime Miniſter, and at laſt Cardinal. As for *Fox*, the King made him firſt Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, then Biſhop of *Exeter*: After that he tranſlated him to *Bath* and *Wells*, from thence to *Durham*, and laſtly to *Winchester*, the richeſt Biſhoprick in *England*. Theſe two Prelates, with *Urſwick* the King's Chaplain, were almoſt always employed in the moſt important Commiſſions, Embaſſies, and Negotiations. *Henry* loved to employ Eccleſiaſticks, becauſe he had always Church-Preferments ready for their reward. But he took care to promote them by degrees from ſmaller to more conſiderable Sees. Herein he found his own profit; for by tranſlating Biſhops from one See to another, he made the more vacancies, and conſequently the Firſt-Fruits which accrued to the King, were greatly multiplied. Never did Prince more ardently ſeek occaſions to heap up riches. Avarice was his predominant paſſion, influenced even his meaner actions, and cauſed him to take many falſe ſteps, as will be manifeſt hereafter.

The events of this reign have ſuch a connexion with thoſe of ſome other States, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſhew in few words the ſituation of the affairs of divers Princes. Otherwiſe the motives of *Henry* the ſeventh's conduct would be but imperfectly known, who made in his time a very great figure in *Europe*, though not ſo much by his arms as policy. I ſhall begin with *Bretagne*.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argentré.

I have elſewhere obſerved, that *Peter Landais*, favorite of the Duke of *Bretagne*, entirely governed that Prince, who was old and infirm, and very much impaired in his underſtanding: That ſeveral Lords of *Bretagne* had made a league againſt that Miniſter, and intended to ſeize him; but having miſſed their aim, were expoſed to the vengeance of the favorite, who had cauſed them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of this year 1485, *Landais*, in the name of the Duke his maſter, levied an Army to execute the ſentence, and the Lords on their part took arms in their defence. While *Bretagne* was thus divided, and the two parties ready to come to a Battle, the condemned Lords cauſed it to be repreſented to thoſe who ſerved *Landais*, that in the preſent affair, the intereſt not of their common maſter the Duke, but of only his unworthy favorite, was concerned: That it was unjuſt to ſhed the Blood of their Countrymen in the quarrel of a man, who had notoriouſly abuſed his maſter's confidence: That therefore, to appeaſe at once the troubles of *Bretagne*, there was a much more natural and ready way than that of arms; namely, to rid themſelves of the Miniſter, after which, not a man would refuſe to render

(1) In the *Exchequer* Chamber, which is the Council Chamber of the Judges. *Bacon*, p. 581.

(2) And *Robert Midleton*, *William Barkley*, *Robert* and *James Harrington*, *Robert Brackenbury*, *Richard Charleton*, *Thomas Pilkinton*, *Walter Hopton*, *Roger Wake*, *William Sapcote*, *Humphrey Stafford*, *William Clerke* of *Wenlocke*, *Geoffrey St. Germaine*, *Richard Watkyns*, *Richard Revell*, *Thomas Pulter*, *John Walche*, *Andrew Rat*, *William Brampton*, *John Kendal* Secretary to *Richard* III, and *John Buck*, a Relation of *George Buck*, the Author of the Life of *Richard* III. This *John Buck* was a creature of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and loſt his head at *Boſworth*. *Hollingſh.* p. 1425. *Compl. Hiſt.* p. 581.

(3) Which was levied of the Companies, and not of the Wards. *Stow*, p. 471.

(4) The reſt of his Privy-Council were, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brooke*, Steward of his Houſhold, *Giles* Lord *Daubeney*, *John* Lord *Dynham*, Sir *Reginald Bray*, Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Richard Tunſtall*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Edward Pownynges*, Sir *John Riſley*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 3.

1485. due obedience to the Duke. The Lords of the Duke's party deeming this expedient very reaſonable, were of opinion that in effect it was for the intereſt of the Country and the Duke himſelf, that *Landais*, ſole cauſe of the troubles, ſhould be ſacrificed to the good of the publick. *Landais* hearing that the Lords of the two Armies were contriving ſomething againſt him, cauſed a Declaration to be drawn, wherein the Duke ordered that all Perſons of his own Army, who held intelligence with the proſcribed Lords, ſhould be deemed Traitors and Rebels. But this only ſerved to haſten his ruin. The Chancellor, who was in the Plot againſt him, refuſed to ſeal the Declaration, and informed the Lords of it, who reſolved to have no further regard for the Favorite. So, without giving him time to take other meaſures, they went in a body to the Palace, and ſeized *Landais* in the Duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him on condition they would ſpare his life. But that was not their intention. On the contrary, they brought him to a ſpeedy trial, and convicting him of a thouſand crimes, made him atone for them on the Gallows, before the Duke was informed of the ſentence. How much ſoever the Duke was troubled at the death of his Favorite, he could not help granting the Lords of the two Armies letters of pardon. Thus *Bretagne* would have been reſtored to her former tranquillity, had not the Duke imprudently concerned himſelf with the troubles of the Court of *France*, which proved the ruin of himſelf and Dukedom. This is what muſt now be ſhewn, ſince it was the occaſion of the War which broke out between *Charles* VIII and the Duke of *Bretagne*, and wherein *Henry* VII was concerned.

Affairs of France. Mezerai.

Lewis XI, King of *France*, dying in the year 1483, left the government of the perſon of *Charles* VIII, his Son and Succeſſor, to his Daughter *Ann*, Wife of *Peter de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujeu*. *Charles* was fourteen years old, and conſequently of Age according to the ordinance of *Charles* V. But as he had been ill-educated (1), the King his Father thought him uncapable of governing. The moment *Lewis* XI was in his grave, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, firſt Prince of the Blood, refuſed to acknowlege *Ann* of *Beaujeu* for the King's Governeſs; affirming, a Woman had no right to meddle with the affairs of the Kingdom. The States being aſſembled at *Tours* in *January* 1484, ended the Diſpute by their authority. They confirmed the late King's will, and ordered the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould be Preſident of the Council in the King's abſence.

Whilſt the States of *France* were aſſembled, the Lords of *Bretagne* made their firſt attempt upon *Landais* beforementioned, which proved unſucceſsful. The ſentence which was given againſt them, creating a dread of the Favorite's revenge, they applied to *Ann* Lady of *Beaujeu* to obtain the King her Brother's protection. On the other hand, *Landais* ſeeing his enemies had recourſe to the Lady *Ann*, thought he could not do better than rely upon the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Orleans*. To that end, he intreated him to come to the Court of *Bretagne*, putting him in hopes, the Duke would give him in marriage *Ann* his eldeſt Daughter and preſumptive Heir. The Duke of *Orleans* had eſpouſed againſt his Will, *Joanna* Daughter of *Lewis* XI; but had made againſt this forced marriage a ſecret proteſtation, which he meant to uſe in order to annull it at a more favorable juncture. So, pleaſed with the hopes *Landais* had inſpired him with, he came to *Bretagne*, where he was extremely careſſed. But he could make no long ſtay, being obliged to aſſiſt at the King's Coronation, which was performed in *June* this year. Probably, whilſt he was in *Bretagne*, he concerted with the Duke and his Favorite meaſures to diſturb the Government of *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, who was become abſolute miſtreſs of the King her Brother's perſon and affairs.

Shortly after, the Duke of *Orleans* forming a league againſt the Court, and retiring to *Boiſgency*, demanded that the States of *France* might be aſſembled. He intended to annull the regulation already made, with reſpect to the Government of the King's perſon. But *Ann* of *Beaujeu* cauſed the King to march againſt him with ſuch expedition, that he was forced to accept of ſuch terms as were granted him, becauſe his friends were not yet ready to aſſiſt him. By this agreement, the Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, who was conſidered as his chief adviſer, was baniſhed to *Aſt* in *Piedmont*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, with a command not to ſtir from thence without the King's expreſs licence.

The Duke of *Orleans* being thus compelled to diſmiſs his Troops, cauſed the greateſt part to liſt in the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Army againſt the condemned Lords. On the other hand, *Ann* of *Beaujeu* ſent likewiſe to the Barons part of the King's Troops. *Landais*'s death, which happened ſoon after, was not capable to make the Duke of *Orleans* deſiſt from his projects. He ſtood in need of the Duke of *Bretagne* to ſupport him againſt the Court, and even hoped one day to marry his Daughter. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Bretagne* having been greatly perſecuted by *Lewis* XI, and knowing, *Ann* of *Beaujeu* was of the ſame character, and followed the ſame maxims, believed he could not do better than reſt upon the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Orleans*. So, after ſome private negotiations, theſe two Princes formed a league together, into which came *John de Chalon* Prince of *Orange*, Nephew to the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and ſeveral other Princes and Lords. Some time after, the Earl of *Dunois* returned into *France* without leave, and withdrew to his Seat at *Partenay* in *Poictou*. The King was yet ignorant of the Duke of *Orleans*'s deſigns. But the Earl of *Dunois*'s return convincing him, ſome Plot was contriving in favor of that Prince who was gone to *Blois*, he ſent him a poſitive order to repair to Court. The Duke obeyed upon a ſecond ſummons; but next day being informed ſome ill was intended him, feigned to go a hunting, and retired into *Bretagne*, where he was quickly followed by the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. This was in the beginning of the year 1486. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in the *Low-Countries*.

1485.

Affairs of the Low-Countries.

Since the death of *Maria* of *Burgundy*, *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* her Husband had been involved in troubles, on account of the guardianſhip of *Philip* her Son, become Sovereign of the *Low-Countries* by the death of the Ducheſs his Mother. *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, had willingly received him for Guardian; but *Flanders* and *Hainault* refuſed to obey him as ſuch.

The obſtinacy of the *Flemings* obliged *Maximilian* to make peace with *Lewis* XI upon theſe terms: That the Dauphin *Charles*, Son of *Lewis*, ſhould marry *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian*, as ſoon as they were of ſuch an age: That *Margaret* ſhould have for Dower, *Artois*, *Franche Comté*, *Macon*, *Auxerre*, and be educated at the Court of *France*. Purſuant to this Treaty, *Lewis* kept theſe Provinces which he had already ſeized, and took *Margaret* home, till the marriage could be conſummated.

In 1483, *Maximilian* ſucceſsfully made War upon the *Liegeois*. This ſame year *Hainault* owned him for Guardian of his Son *Philip*.

In 1484, the *Flemings* ſtill perſiſting in their refuſal to acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian, appointed Governors for *Philip*, of whom *Adolphus de Cleves* Lord of *Ravenſtein* was the chief. Their obſtinacy occaſioned between them and *Maximilian* a War, in which *Charles* VIII concerned himſelf by aſſiſting the *Flemings*.

This War ended in *January* 1485, in a Treaty, importing, that the *Flemings* ſhould acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian of his Son, upon the expreſs condition that he ſhould not remove him from *Flanders* till of Age. The Treaty being ſigned, *Maximilian* made his Entry into *Gaunt*, where a few days after was a Sedition, but which was happily appeaſed. During the reſt of the year, the *Low-Countries* enjoyed a Tranquillity which afforded *Maximilian* time to take a Journey into *Germany*, to be elected King of the *Romans*. Let us now ſpeak of the *Spaniſh* Affairs.

Affairs of Spain.

Henry IV, ſirnamed the *Impotent*, King of *Caſtile*, died in 1474, leaving only a Daughter called *Joanna*, who was univerſally believed to be ſuppoſititious. For which reaſon, *Iſabella* Siſter to *Henry*, and *Ferdinand* Prince of *Arragon* her Husband, took poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Caſtile*. They had a fierce War to maintain againſt *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*, who being affianced to *Joanna*, ſuppoſed Daughter of *Henry* IV, pretended to the Crown of that Kingdom. This War ended in 1479, to the advantage of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who compelled *Alphonſo* to deſiſt from his pretenſions. By the Treaty, upon this occaſion, it was agreed, that *Alphonſo*, the King of *Portugal*'s Grandſon, ſhould marry *Iſabella* Daughter of *Ferdinand*, when the Parties were of Age to conſummate the Marriage.

John King of *Arragon* died this year, leaving to his Son *Ferdinand* the Kingdom of *Arragon*, with a War to maintain againſt *France*, the occaſion whereof was this. King *John* had mortgaged to *Lewis* XI, *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne*, for three hundred thouſand Crowns. Afterwards, the Inhabitants of *Perpignan* revolted from the *French*, whoſe Dominion did not pleaſe them. Upon this news, *John* came to *Perpignan*, to try to perſuade them to remain in ſubjection to the *French*, till he could redeem *Rouſſillon*, by payment of the mortgage. But whilſt he was labouring to appeaſe them, *Lewis* XI cauſed

(1) And was of a very infirm Conſtitution. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 573.

1485. the place to be beſieged, and *John* himſelf was ſhut up. The Siege laſted four months, and at laſt, *Ferdinand* Son of *John*, coming to his relief, obliged the *French* to retire. Shortly after, *John* being gone from *Perpignan*, *Lewis* ordered the place to be re-inveſted, and after a long Siege became maſter of it. From that time the King of *Arragon* pretended, the King of *France* ought to reſtore *Rouſſillon*, without receiving the Money lent, either by reaſon of his expence in protecting his Subjects, or becauſe the *French* had levied large Sums upon the mortgaged Countries. But the King of *France* did not think himſelf obliged to this reſtitution, without he was paid the three hundred thouſand Crowns he had lent.

In 1485 *Charles* VIII ſent an Ambaſſador to *Ferdinand*, who refuſed to receive him, without a poſitive power to reſign *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne*.

About the latter end of this year was born *Catharine* Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who was afterwards Queen of *England*, and will have a great ſhare in this Hiſtory. *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* had ſeveral other Children, namely, *Iſabella* affianced to the Prince of *Portugal*, *John* born 1477, and *Joanna* born in 1479.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

I ſhall cloſe this digreſſion with the affairs of *Scotland*. *James* III continued to govern his Kingdom with oppreſſion and violence, regardleſs of the affection of his Subjects. I have before obſerved, the Duke of *Albany* his Brother ſurrendered *Dunbar* to the *Engliſh*, and after the death of *Edward* IV retired into *France*, where he ended his days at a Tournament. From that time the *Engliſh* kept poſſeſſion of that place, though *Richard* III promiſed to reſtore it. This promiſe being unperformed when *Henry* VII aſcended the Throne of *England*, *James* reſolved to recover *Dunbar* by force of arms. For that purpoſe, about the end of this year, or perhaps the beginning of the next, he beſieged and took the Town. The Seaſon and the important Affairs which *Henry* had in the beginning of his reign, permitted him not to prepare for its relief.

Such was the poſture of the Affairs of the States with whom *Henry* VII had any concerns during the courſe of his reign. It is time now to return to our Hiſtory.

1486. *The King's Marriage.* Jan. 18. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

How great an averſion ſoever the King might have in his mind to the Houſe of *York*, he had too ſolemnly promiſed to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, not to perform his word. Beſides, this Marriage was neceſſary to amuſe the *Engliſh*, who ſtill flattered themſelves, that the King's Intention was to confound his Rights with thoſe of the Houſe of *York*, notwithſtanding his precautions to hinder her being mentioned in the Act of Settlement. The Nuptials were ſolemnized, the 18th of *January*, with much greater demonſtrations of Joy on the people's part, than on the King's. There was much leſs ſatisfaction expreſſed on the days either of the King's Entry or Coronation: Which was a clear evidence of the people's affection for the Houſe of *York*, and particularly for the Family of *Edward* IV. But this was not to be thought very ſtrange. The Houſe of *Lancaſter*, of which there remained no branch, but what was deſcended from the Daughters, had been forgot during the reigns of the Kings of the Houſe of *York*. Though *Henry* reſted upon his deſcent from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, he was known to be Grandſon of a *Welſh* Gentleman, and his Mother to be ſprung only from a Baſtard of that Houſe, whom the credit of his Father, and the circumſtances of the times had cauſed to be legitimated. As for the Princes and Princeſſes deſcended from the lawful Daughters of *John of Gaunt*, as they happened to be in *Portugal*, *Caſtile*, and *Arragon*, and were unknown in *England*, it was not ſurprizing there was no great Inclination for them. *Henry* did not like to ſee the people's Joy for his Marriage. He perceived, *Elizabeth* had a greater ſhare in it than himſelf, and conſequently he was thought really King only in right of his Queen. This conſideration inſpired him with ſuch a coldneſs for her, that he never ceaſed giving her marks of it ſo long as ſhe lived. He deferred her Coronation two whole years, and doubtleſs, would have done ſo for ever, if he had not thought it prejudicial to him to perſiſt in refuſing her that honour. Nay, perhaps he would have dealt with her, as *Edward the Confeſſor* had formerly done by his Queen, Daughter of Earl *Goodwin*, had not the deſire of Children cauſed him to overcome his averſion. He had conceived ſo mortal a hatred to the whole Houſe of *York*, that he loſt no opportunity to humble the *Yorkiſts*, behaving always to them not as a juſt King, but like the head of a Party. In the courſe of his Hiſtory will be ſeen divers proofs of his diſinclination to that Houſe.

The King's Coldneſs for the Queen.

His mortal hatred to the Houſe of York.

A three years Truce with France. Act. Pub. XII. p. 281.

The day before the King's Marriage was ſolemnized at *London*, his Envoy at *Paris* had concluded with the Court of *France* a three years Truce, which was to expire *January* the 17th 1488-9. *Charles* VIII, who began to form projects againſt *Bretagne*, willingly conſented to this Truce, to tie up the hands of the King of *England*, and hinder him from aſſiſting that Dukedom. On the other ſide, *Henry* who was ignorant of his deſigns, believed it could not but turn to his advantage to live in a good underſtanding with that Monarch, becauſe he thereby rendered himſelf more formidable to his domeſtick Enemies, who could no longer expect any diverſion from that quarter. 1486.

Shortly after, the King made *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby* High-Conſtable, and *William Stanley* his Brother Lord Chamberlain. Theſe, of all the Kingdom, were the two Perſons the King was moſt indebted to, ſince they enabled him to gain the Victory of *Boſworth*, which procured him the Crown. The Lord *D'Aubeney* was made Governor of *Calais* for ſeven years. *The Earl of Derby made High-Conſt. Ruſh. p. 299.* *p. 296.*

Henry and *Elizabeth* being ſprung from the ſame ſtock, namely *Edward* III, had wanted a diſpenſation to marry, becauſe they were Couſins in the fourth degree. It was the Biſhop of *Imola*, *Legate à Latere* in *England* and *Scotland*, that had granted the Diſpenſation, by virtue of his Commiſſion, which empowered him to grant that favour to any twelve Perſons he ſhould pleaſe. The King thought at firſt this Diſpenſation was ſufficient, and without farther reflection, conſummated his Marriage. Afterwards he conſidered, occaſion might be taken from hence to queſtion the validity of his Marriage, and to maintain, that a Power granted for twelve Perſons in general, could not be extended to Sovereigns. To prevent therefore any ſuch objection, he deſired *Innocent* VIII, who then ſat in the Papal Chair, to grant him a Diſpenſation immediately from himſelf, and peculiarly adapted to his caſe. Whereupon the Pope ordered a Bull to be drawn accordingly. But as this Bull was dated *March* the 13th, about two months after the Marriage, and mentioned not the conſummation, or the *Legate*'s diſpenſation, *Henry* deſired to have another with theſe two Articles inſerted, which was granted him the *July* following. This ſhews how careful he was, to prevent whatever would afford his Enemies a pretence to diſturb him. But the precaution he took at the ſame time makes this appear ſtill plainer. *Diſpenſation for the King's Marr. March 16. p. 294, 295.* *p. 294.* *p. 313.*

With the firſt Diſpenſation he received a Bull, confirming the Act of Succeſſion made by the Parliament. The Pope declared, " He had heard, that though the Crown " of *England* was fallen to *Henry*, not only by Conqueſt " and an unqueſtionable Hereditary Right, but moreover " by the unanimous Conſent of the Nobles and People, " and by an Act of Parliament (1), and though undoubtedly and rightfully it belonged to him and the Heirs of " his Body, yet, to put an end to the troubles which had " long diſtracted the Kingdom, he was deſirous to marry " *Elizabeth* of *York*, eldeſt Daughter and Heir of King " *Edward* IV of glorious memory: That therefore having conſidered, with his Brothers the Cardinals, his Intention in the Spirit of Charity, he had granted the " Diſpenſation neceſſary for the Marriage, and pronounced the Children, that ſhould be born of it, lawful, " and capable of ſucceeding to their Father and Mother: " That he had granted this favour, not at the requeſt of " *Henry* or *Elizabeth*, or any other in their Name, but " of his own Motion, certain Knowledge, and pure Generoſity, as it was more largely expreſſed in the Letters of Diſpenſation, to which he gave the ſame force " as if they were inſerted word for word in theſe preſents: That therefore he decreed, declared, and pronounced lawful, the Succeſſion of the Children iſſuing " from this Marriage, and confirmed the Act of Parliament concerning King *Henry*'s Title, and the Succeſſion of his Children, ſupplying by his Apoſtolical Authority, all defects of Right or Fact that might therein " occur. *The Bull confirming the Act of Settlement. March 27. Act. Pub. XII. p. 297.*

" That of his own Motion, and by his Authority, he " admoniſhed and required all the People of *England*, " and all the Subjects of King *Henry*, of what rank ſoever, to obey that Prince, and expreſly forbid them " to raiſe diſturbances about the Succeſſion, or upon any " other account whatſoever, or to infringe in any manner the Diſpenſation, Declaration, and Act of Parliament.

" That he pronounced *ipſo facto* excommunicate all " Perſons that ſhould raiſe any ſuch diſturbances, or infringe the foreſaid Letters and Acts, to be abſolved only " by the Holy See, or ſuch as ſhould be impowered by " her, unleſs at the point of death.

" That if *Elizabeth* ſhould happen to die before *Henry* " without Iſſue, he decreed, agreeably to the foreſaid Act

(1) ——Non modo Jure Belli ac notorio & indubitato proximo Succeſſionis Titulo, verum etiam omnium Prælatorum, Procerum, Magnatum, Nobilium totiuſque ejuſdem Regni Angliæ Plebis Electione & Voto, necnon Decreto Statuto & Ordinatione ipſius Angliæ Regni Trium Statuum in ipſorum Conventu, Parliamento nuncupato——*Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 297.

" of

1486. "of Parliament and Confirmation, that the Children of "*Henry* by any other lawful Wife ſhould ſucceed him "by Hereditary Right, pronouncing excommunicate, as "above, all perſons that ſhould oppoſe the Succeſſion of "his Children. Granting on the contrary his Benediction "and plenary Indulgence for all their Sins, to thoſe who "ſhould, in that caſe, aſſiſt *Henry* or his Poſterity.

"Moreover, he enjoined all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, "Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, Curates, Rectors, Priors, "and Superiors of Monaſteries, upon the Penalties ex-"preſſed in the holy Canons, to excommunicate publick-"ly, and to pronounce excommunicate, whenever they "were required, all perſons that ſhould breed any diſtur-"bances upon that account, or oppoſe in any manner "whatever the execution of the ſaid Acts, notwithſtand-"ing all Conſtitutions and Ordinances Apoſtolical to the "contrary, *&c.*"

Remarks on this Bull.

Nothing ſhews more how much *Henry* was himſelf convinced of the weakneſs of his Title, than his procuring the Pope's Confirmation. This precaution was not only needleſs, but even unlawful, ſince it was directly againſt the Statutes of *Præmunire*, of which the *Engliſh* were ſo jealous. Accordingly, he had taken care to have it ſaid in the Bull, that the Pope granted the Diſpenſation of his own motion, and without any previous requeſt; a Clauſe evidently falſe. It is certain, the Bull of Diſpenſation ran in expreſs terms, that the Pope granted it upon what was repreſented to him by *Henry* and *Elizabeth*. Beſides what the Pope affirmed, that the Crown of *England* was fallen to *Henry* by Hereditary Right, that heap and confuſion of other Titles, namely, the Conſent of the Nobles and People, the Act of Parliament, the King's Marriage with *Elizabeth*; all this, I ſay, correſponded ſo exactly with *Henry*'s uncertainty concerning his Title, that doubtleſs, it proceeded not from the Pope's own Knowledge, but rather from the King himſelf, who had as it were dictated how the Bull ſhould be worded. In fine, the Pope would never have thought of confirming the Act of Settlement, if he had not been requeſted. But it was not convenient the King ſhould appear to have deſired ſuch a Bull, ſince nothing could be more diſagreeable to the *Engliſh*. For taking ſuch a ſtep, even before the Statute of *Præmunire* was enacted, King *John* entirely loſt the affection and confidence of his Barons, with the Crown which he meant to ſecure by that expedient. *Henry* III was like to undergo the ſame fate, for taking ſome precautions of this nature. Accordingly, it will hereafter be ſeen, that this Bull was not capable of hindering the King's being frequently moleſted. The *Engliſh* were not, as formerly, ſuch Bigots, as to imagine, the Pope's Authority could give *Henry* a Title which he really had not.

The King's meaſures with regard to the Houſe of York. Bacon.

Though the King had happily attained his ends, with reſpect to the Act of Settlement and Succeſſion, he knew however, what the Parliament had done was not agreeable to the ſentiments of the People. He had been called into *England* to deliver the Nation from the Tyranny of *Richard* III, and not to diſpoſſeſs entirely the Houſe of *York*. This is ſo true, that in caſe the *Yorkiſts* had not joined with him, in order to preſerve the Crown in that Houſe, by means of his marriage with *Elizabeth*, the *Lancaſtrians* would never have been able to raiſe him to the Throne. The Queen, Widow of *Edward* IV, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Stanley*, were not friends of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, tho' private enemies to the perſon of *Richard*. To theſe however *Henry* was chiefly indebted for his greatneſs. If the People had been conſulted, and at liberty to chuſe a Sovereign, *Richard* III indeed would have been diſpoſſeſſed, but *Elizabeth* placed on the Throne, and the Earl of *Richmond* left in his exile in *Bretagne*. *Henry* therefore was conſidered only as the inſtrument of their deliverance from the Dominion of a Tyrant. But as it was reaſonable to reward him, the giving him a ſhare of the royal dignity, by means of his marriage with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, was thought a great recompence. And if it was readily agreed, that his right from the Houſe of *Lancaſter* ſhould be united with *Elizabeth*'s, it was rather to avoid freſh troubles by that expedient, than out of a belief of the lawfulneſs of his title. He had himſelf gladly accepted the propoſal, and upon that foundation it was that he formed his enterprize; otherwiſe he would have doubtleſs met with leſs aſſiſtance and much greater oppoſition. But he had no ſooner gained the Battle of *Boſworth*, but he formed the deſign of reigning in his own right only, and excluding entirely the Houſe of *York*, wherein he deceived the expectation of the *Engliſh*, and abuſed their confidence. This is what he had always in his thoughts, tho' he concealed his uneaſineſs with all poſſible care.

The King's Progreſs into the North. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

As the Houſe of *York* had moſt Adherents in the northern Counties, *Henry* reſolved to take a progreſs into thoſe parts. He hoped that his preſence, with ſome Acts of Grace and Favor he might have occaſion to diſpenſe, would be capable of producing a good effect. With this view, he departed towards the middle of the Spring, and kept his *Eaſter* at *Lincoln*. During his ſtay in that City, he heard, the Lord *Lovel*, one of *Richard the Third*'s Favorites, *Humphrey* and *Thomas Stafford*, Brothers, who had refuſed to accept of the general pardon, were gone out of Sanctuary (1), but to what place was unknown. As he was ignorant what their deſign could be, he continued his Journey to *York*. Shortly after, he received more certain intelligence concerning the Fugitives. He was told, the Lord *Lovel* was advancing towards *York* at the head of three or four thouſand men, and that the *Staffords* were in arms in *Worceſterſhire* before the City of *Worceſter*. This news gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. He ſaw himſelf in that part of the Kingdom where he knew he was not beloved, and where it was not eaſy to raiſe forces. Beſides, he had reaſon to fear the Lord *Lovel* had correſpondents in *York*, and among the Nobility of the County; conſequently there was no time to loſe. He muſt ſpeedily reſolve either to quit *York*, or take ſome courſe to oppoſe the Rebels. In this ſtrait, he choſe to ſeem unconcerned, perceiving that flight could not but produce a very ill effect. So, without ſhewing any fear, he armed ſuch of his Followers as were moſt proper to bear arms, and commiſſioned ſome truſty friends to raiſe Men in and about *York* with all poſſible diligence. He was ſo fortunate, and ſo faithfully ſerved as to aſſemble in a ſhort time three thouſand Men, of whom he gave the Command to his Uncle the Duke of *Bedford*. But theſe Troops were ſo ill armed and in ſuch diſorder, that they were not much to be relied on. Beſides, they were raiſed in a County where the Inhabitants were not well-affected to the King. For this reaſon, *Henry* expreſly charged the Duke of *Bedford* to avoid fighting if poſſible, till reinforced, but however to ſhew no fear, and proclaim, in his name, pardon to all that would lay down their arms. This precaution ſucceeded to his wiſh. The Duke of *Bedford* approaching the Malecontents, ordered the Proclamation to be publiſhed in terms denoting great ſuperiority and confidence. It had however little effect on the Rebels. But the Lord *Lovel* their Commander, fearing they would accept of the pardon, forſook them firſt. He retired all alone, and hid himſelf in *Lancaſhire* at his friend Sir *Thomas Broughton*'s, and ſhortly after paſſed into *Flanders* to the Ducheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*. His Army being without a Leader, ſubmitted to the King's Mercy. The *Staffords*, who were beſieging *Worceſter*, hearing what paſſed in the North, raiſed the Siege, and abandoning their Troops, took Sanctuary in the Church of *Colnham*, a little Village [near *Abington*.] But that Church enjoying no peculiar privilege, it was judged in the King's Bench to be no ſufficient Sanctuary for Traitors. So the two Brothers being taken thence by force, *Humphrey* the eldeſt was ſent to *London* to be executed at *Tyburn*; but *Thomas*, as being ſeduced by his Brother, was pardoned. This Rebellion, the firſt in this Reign, was like a Blaze which laſted not long. It was quenched with the blood of one ſingle Perſon. We ſhall ſee, hereafter, others which coſt the King more to extinguiſh the Flames.

1486.

Rebellion of the Lord Lovel and the two Staffords.

The King is at a great diſtance at York.

He raiſes ſome Troops.

The Duke of Bedford diſperſes the Rebels.

Lovel flies.

One of the Staffords executed.

On the 3d of *July*, the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors, who had been ſome time at *London*, concluded a Truce with *Henry*, which was to end that day three years. Act. Pub. XII. p. 285.

Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* died about this time. The King, deſigning to procure the Archbiſhoprick for Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, gave him the cuſtody during the vacancy, thereby declaring his intention, that no other Biſhop might make an intereſt for the nomination. Accordingly *Morton* was elected ſome time after, but received not the Pope's Bulls till *December*.

Death of Cardinal Bourchier. Morton ſucceeds him. p. 302, 317.

July the 22d, *John de Bouteillier*, Lord *de Maupertuis*, Ambaſſador of *Francis* II, Duke of *Bretagne*, concluded at *London* with the King, a Truce, or rather a prolongation of the Truce, which ſtill ſubſiſted between *England* and *Bretagne*, till the death of one of the two Princes. But the Trade between the two Nations, which was ſettled by ſeveral Articles of this Treaty, was to laſt till the death of the Survivor.

Truce prolonged with Bretagne. p. 303—312.

September the 20th, the Queen was delivered (2) of a Prince, tho' ſhe had been but eight Months with child. The King would have the new-born Prince called *Arthur*, in memory of the famous *Britiſh* Monarch, of whoſe race he deſired to be thought. The Family of the *Tudors* being *Britiſh* or *Welſh*, it was not unlikely that *Henry* deſigned by naming his Son *Arthur*, to inſinuate his being deſcended from that illuſtrious Monarch. It is certain however, this report was not ſpread, nor Genealogies forged to confirm it, till after the time we are ſpeaking

Birth of Prince Arthur. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

(1) At *Colcheſter*, where they had been ever ſince the Battle of *Boſworth*, *Hall*, fol. 4.
(2) At *Wincheſter*. *Hall*, fol. 5. *Stow*, p. 471.

1486. of. Thoſe who governed the State during *Henry* the Sixth's Minority, were very far from this opinion, ſince, after the death of *Catherine* of *France*, the Prince's Mother, they ordered *Owen Tudor* Grandfather of *Henry* VII to be ſent to the *Tower* for preſuming to marry the Queen. Nay, ſome affirm, he was beheaded.

Murmurs of the People.

The King's Proceedings to deprive the Houſe of *York* of their rights, had very much diſſatisfied the People, who expected quite another thing. They who had called in *Henry* had been in hopes, that the titles of the two Houſes being confounded by his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, there would be no more diſtinction between *Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtrians*, but all might equally expect the Places in the King's diſpoſal. Theſe hopes were further confirmed by the Birth of Prince *Arthur*, in whoſe perſon were united the litigious rights of the two Houſes. But it was ſeen with extreme concern, that the King ſtill conſidered the Houſe of *York* as Rivals and Enemies, and that his Jealouſy reached to the Queen herſelf, whoſe intereſt ſhould have been as dear to him as his own. For, not content to ſhew by his continual coldneſs, and by ſeveral mortifications he made her indure, the little kindneſs he had for her, he had given her a very ſenſible mark of it, in deferring her Coronation, as if ſhe had been unworthy to ſit on the Throne with him. Nay, after ſhe had brought him a Son, her Coronation was no more talked of than when they were firſt married. This conduct plainly ſhewed, the Houſe of *York* was ſtill odious to him, and that he feared to take any ſtep which might give the People occaſion to believe ſhe had ſome right to the Crown. It was impoſſible but this affectation ſhould cauſe great concern in the *Yorkiſts*, who were much more numerous than the *Lancaſtrians*.

It is rumoured that the King deſigned to put Warwick *to Death,* Bacon. Hall. *and that one of* Edward's *Sons was alive.*

This diſcontent being almoſt univerſal, ſome malicious perſons ſpread a report, that the King intended to put to death the Earl of *Warwick*, Priſoner in the *Tower*, and the ſole Male of the Houſe of *York*. Their Deſign was, no doubt, to compare *Henry* with *Richard* III, who had taken away the lives of his two Nephews to ſecure the Crown, and intimate to the People, that in changing Kings, they had only received one Tyrant for another. Moreover, it was openly rumoured, that one of *Edward* the Fourth's Sons was ſtill alive, having, as it were miraculouſly, eſcaped his Uncle's cruelty. All this plainly tended to ſound the People's inclinations. The King himſelf, whether he was the Author of this rumour, as his Hiſtorian affirms, or only fomented it by his carriage (1), was not ſorry the People ran after a Phantome, becauſe it hindered them from too firmly adhering to the Perſons of the Houſe of *York*, which really exiſted. Mean while, as the eagerneſs wherewith the People ſwallowed this falſe report, was a clear evidence how ready they would be, if a favorable opportunity offered, to liſt againſt the King, ſo it gave occaſion to the Project I am going to ſpeak of.

Project of a Prieſt. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

A certain *Oxford* Prieſt, one *Richard Simon*, perceiving the People's joy at the falſe report of one of *Edward* the Fourth's Sons being alive, took it into his head to put upon the World for *Richard*, Duke of *York*, Brother of *Edward* V, a young Man, named *Lambert Simnel*, a Baker's Son, whom he trained up in his houſe, and believed proper to play ſuch a part. He was about the Duke of *York*'s age (2), of good natural parts, and in all his behaviour had ſomething grand, and above his birth. *Simon* had ſcarce begun inſtructing his Pupil, when another rumour was ſpread, that the Earl of *Warwick* had made his eſcape out of the *Tower*. This news, though falſe, cauſed among the People ſo general a joy, that the Prieſt thought fit to alter his Project, and make *Simnel* paſs for the Earl of *Warwick*. *Simnel*'s age agreed better with the Earl's, and the circumſtance of his eſcape was ſuitable to the Plot. His Pupil was to be well inſtructed for this purpoſe, ſince he was not to perſonate a young Man taken out of his Cradle in his infancy, and concealed in ſome private place, but a Prince well known, and brought up in the Court of *Edward* IV. The Earl was about twelve years old when impriſoned by *Richard* III. *Simnel* therefore was to learn to talk pertinently of *Edward*'s Court, and to know particularly the Lords and Ladies that frequented it, as well as the King and Queen. This gives occaſion to preſume, that the Prieſt was himſelf inſtructed by perſons well-informed, and the Plot ſuggeſted to him. For, though he had the aſſurance to form ſuch a deſign, it is not likely he could inſtruct his Pupil in many particulars, which he was neceſſarily to know. At leaſt, it is certain, the King imagined, the Queen his Mother-in-law, and other friends of the Houſe of *York*, were the real Authors of this contrivance, and only made uſe of the Prieſt as an inſtrument to execute their Deſigns. The Queen-Dowager was extremely intriguing. It was ſhe that had ſet on foot the Project in favour of the King when in *Bretagne*, and thereby ſhewn her credit with the *Yorkiſts*. Beſides, ſhe could not but be very much diſpleaſed with the King's coldneſs to her Daughter, and his refuſing to have her crowned. This alone was ſufficient to cauſe the King to ſuſpect her. But it may be, there was more than bare ſuſpicions. 1486.

He makes Simnel *paſs for the Earl of* Warwick.

The King ſuſpects the Queen-Dowager. Bacon.

Be this as it will, *Simon*, or thoſe that employed him, not thinking proper to produce *Simnel* firſt in *England*, where he might be examined too cloſely, and by Perſons too knowing, judged it convenient that he ſhould act his firſt ſcene in *Ireland*, where *Simon* the Prieſt accompanied him. In all appearance, ſome meaſures had been taken for his reception in that Country. Since *Henry*'s acceſſion to the Throne, he had very much neglected the affairs of that Iſland, reckoning that being maſter in *England*, the *Iriſh* were not to be feared. Indeed, he made the Duke of *Bedford* Governor of *Ireland*, in the room of the Earl of *Lincoln*, Nephew of *Richard* III, but had continued the ſame Deputy, the ſame Chancellor, and all the reſt of the officers placed there by *Richard*. So, the Duke of *Bedford* being ſtill in *England*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* Earl of *Kildare* commanded in *Ireland* as Deputy, and his Brother was Chancellor (3).

The Prieſt carries Simnel *into* Ireland. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Simnel is received and proclaimed King. Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon.

It is more than probable, that the Earl of *Kildare* was in the Plot, and had even begun to take meaſures to cauſe *Lambert Simnel*, the pretended Earl of *Warwick*, to be acknowledged in *Ireland*. Ever ſince *June* laſt, *Henry* had received notice that ſomething was contriving againſt his ſervice in that Country, though he knew not the particulars. Upon this information, he ſent for the Deputy to Court, but the Earl found means to cauſe the Council of *Ireland* to write to him, that the Deputy's preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in the Iſland. *Simnel* being arrived at *Dublin*, addreſſed himſelf to the Earl of *Kildare* as Earl of *Warwick*, and informed him how he eſcaped out of the *Tower*. If the Earl of *Kildare* had not been in the Plot, or at leaſt, wiſhed the thing to be as *Simnel* related it, he would doubtleſs have ſeized the Pretender. It was his duty, as he commanded in *Ireland* in the King's name. But inſtead of taking that courſe, he left him at liberty, and ſo ordered it, with his Brother the Chancellor's help, that the arrival of the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was divulged, without their appearing to be concerned. They would firſt ſee how the People would be affected with the news. The Impreſſion it made, was as great and as ſudden, as the Authors of the Plot could deſire. When it was known in *Dublin* that the Earl of *Warwick* was arrived, the People expreſſed ſo great joy, that the Deputy and Chancellor believed there was no danger in acknowledging the Pretender. So, after a conference with their friends and confidents, they ſolemnly waited upon him at his lodging, and conducted him with great pomp to the Caſtle, where he was treated like a Prince (4). *Simnel* received the reſpect that was paid him with a countenance and carriage that by no means ſavoured of the meanneſs of his Birth. In a few days he was proclaimed in *Dublin* King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, by the name of *Edward* VI. The *Iriſh* regarded not the attainder of the Duke of *Clarence* his pretended Father, having newly learnt by the example of *Henry* himſelf, that the advancement to the Throne takes away all defects.

The King is embarraſſed. Hall. Bacon.

The news of ſo unexpected an event made the King very uneaſy, becauſe it ſtruck upon that ſtring, which he ever moſt feared; namely, his Title, of the goodneſs whereof he was not himſelf thoroughly ſatisfied. Indeed, the victory of *Boſworth* had given him an opportunity to decide the queſtion himſelf in his favour. But he was very ſenſible, that if the Titles of the two Houſes came once more to be put in the balance, he ſhould want a ſecond victory to confirm his, and the Houſe of *York* would have reaſons more than ſufficient, if their affairs grew proſperous. In the next place, *Ireland*, where the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was retired, was a Country wholly devoted to the Houſe of *York*, and conſequently it was not eaſy to attack the Rebels there. For that purpoſe, it would be neceſſary to lead thither a numerous Army, which could not be done without immenſe charge. In fine, it was to be feared, the flames which began to appear in *Ireland*, would reach *England*, and that there was a ſecret correſpondence between the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*. In this ſtrait, he called a Council of his moſt inti-

A ſecret Council. Hall. Bacon.

(1) The Lord *Verulam* only ſays, "Neither was the King's Nature and Cuſtoms greatly fit to diſperſe theſe Miſts, but contrariwiſe, he had a faſhion rather to create doubts than aſſurance," p. 583.

(2) About fifteen years old. *Bacon*, p. 583.

(3) Sir *James Ware* ſays, the Earl was called *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, and the Chancellor, *Thomas*.

(4) They alſo ſent Meſſengers to *England*, to deſire the moſt conſiderable Perſons, whom they knew to be well affected to the Houſe of *York*, to ſupply the young pretended King with Money. *Hall*, fol. 7.

1486. mate friends (1), privately to conſult with them upon what was to be done in the preſent emergency. It is to be preſumed, he told them, the Queen Dowager his Mother-in-law had raiſed this ſtorm, whether he had any proof, or it was only a ſuſpicion thought by him to be well grounded.

Henry confines his Mother-in-law to a Monaſtery, and ſeizes her Eſtate. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Be this as it will, preſently after holding this Council, he ordered his Mother-in-law to be confined in the Nunnery of *Bermondſey* [in *Southwark.*] Moreover he ſeized all her Eſtate, which was very conſiderable. But as he did not care to diſcover to the publick the reaſon of this rigorous uſage, becauſe he could not perhaps give ſufficient proof of her crime, he cauſed it to be reported, that ſhe was thus puniſhed for delivering the Princeſſes her Daughters into the hands of *Richard* III. This pretence rendered his action ſtill more enormous with the people. They could not help thinking it very ſtrange, that the Queen Dowager ſhould be ſo ſeverely puniſhed for a fault, which might rather be deemed a weakneſs than a premeditated malice. In the next place, it could not be conceived, why the King had ſo long neglected to inquire into this pretended crime. In the third place, ſince he had married her Daughter, he ſeemed to have owned that ſhe was innocent, or at leaſt had forgiven her. Laſtly, all knowing her to have been one of the principal inſtruments of his advancement to the Throne, they could not but abhor his ingratitude. This ſevere uſage was thought to be a plain indication of a ſettled deſign, to uſe all pretences to complete the ruin of the Houſe of *York* and its adherents. But it was not only compaſſion for the Queen's ſufferings, which gave riſe to theſe reflections; her example ſtruck terror into all the Kingdom, there being very few families but what were guilty, either of having aſſiſted *Richard* III, or of not having oppoſed him. When it was conſidered therefore, that the King's Mother-in-law was reduced to this ſad condition, for not having been willing or able to reſiſt the Tyranny of the late King, every one was afraid of being called to account for the like crimes, which were ſuppoſed to be buried in oblivion. Notwithſtanding all this, the Queen Dowager was confined to the day of her death, which happened not till ſome years after (2).

She dies in Confinement.

The Earl of Warwick is ſhown in publick. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

It was thought at firſt that the Queen Dowager's misfortune proceeded from the cauſe publiſhed by the King. But it was quickly perceived to be an effect of the decrees of the ſecret Council called by the King upon *Simnel*'s affair. Shortly after, purſuant to another decree of the ſame Council, the King ordered the true Earl of *Warwick* to be ſhown in publick, who was led through the principal ſtreets of *London*, and then conducted in ſolemn proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s, where multitudes were aſſembled to ſee him. There, all had time allowed them to view him attentively. Nay, he was made to talk with thoſe that knew him beſt, and particularly with ſuch as were known to be well affected to the Houſe of *York*; after which, he was again conveyed to the *Tower*. But the *Iriſh* maintained, that the Earl of *Warwick*, ſhown at *London*, was an impoſtor, and their's at *Dublin* the true Earl. They even took occaſion from hence to exclaim againſt the King, for proſtituting the ceremony of a proceſſion to ſuch a cheat. The King fearing the miſchief would gain ground, thought to ſtop it, by proclaiming a general pardon to all that ſhould quit the Rebels, and by promiſing a reward to thoſe that ſhould diſcover the ſecret of the plot. At the ſame time he ſent orders to guard the Ports, that the Male-contents of *England* might not paſs over and join their friends in *Ireland*. But all this was not capable to break the meaſures of his enemies.

Bacon.

The Earl of Lincoln goes over to the Ducheſs of Burgundy. Hall. Stow Hollingſh. Bacon.

It was not only in *Ireland* that troubles were preparing for him. The readineſs wherewith ſome *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen embraced this opportunity to endeavour his ruin, plainly ſhowed, the conſpiracy had been laid ſome time before in *England*. Indeed, it is not likely, a ſingle Prieſt ſhould have formed ſuch a project, without imparting it to perſons more able than himſelf to accompliſh it. Be this as it will, *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, declared by *Richard* III his Uncle, preſumptive Heir of the Crown, was the firſt that openly appeared to maintain the intereſt of the pretended Earl of *Warwick*. He was Son of *John de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Siſter of *Edward* IV, and *Richard* III. This Earl however ſeemed to act contrary to his own intereſt in taking part with the Earl of *Warwick*, who was nearer the Throne than himſelf. But as, probably, he was not ignorant, the perſon in *Ireland* was a cheat, he did not queſtion that he ſhould eaſily deſtroy him, when he had made him his inſtrument to dethrone *Henry*. So, upon the firſt news of *Simnel*'s being received and proclaimed King at *Dublin*, he embarked for *Flanders*, to concert with the Ducheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*, the means to accompliſh this undertaking. 1486.

Diſpoſition of the Ducheſs with regard to the King. Bacon.

Since the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Margaret* of *York* his Widow, Siſter of *Edward* IV, and *Richard* III, lived in *Flanders* where her Dower was aſſigned her. As ſhe had no Children by the Duke her Husband, ſhe carefully attended the education of the Archduke *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, and *Maria* of *Burgundy* her Daughter-in-law. She had with extreme concern, ſeen the revolution which reſtored the Houſe of *Lancaſter* to the Throne, in prejudice of the Houſe of *York*. She would however have been patient, if *Henry* VII in uniting the two Houſes by his marriage with *Elizabeth*, had held the balance even, and diſpenſed his favours impartially to the friends of both parties. But ſhe altered her mind, when ſhe ſaw *Henry* delayed marrying her Niece till the Crown was adjudged to himſelf, without any mixture of the Title of the Houſe of *York*. She could not ſee without trouble, that, even after his marriage, he refuſed to let *Elizabeth* be crowned, an honour no Queen of *England* had been debarred of ſince the conqueſt; and the birth of a Son had not induced him to do her that juſtice. So, perceiving his hatred of the whole Houſe of *York* was implacable, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to have much regard for him. On the contrary, ſhe believed, ſhe might without ſcruple, labour his ruin. Indeed, it is uncertain whether this Princeſs was concerned in the Prieſt's and *Simnel*'s plot, before *Ireland* declared for him. It is however very likely, ſhe had helped to manage, together with the Queen Dowager, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and ſome other friends of the Houſe of *York*. For, the Earl of *Lincoln*'s voyage into *Flanders*, upon the firſt news of *Simnel*'s arrival in *Ireland*, gives occaſion to preſume, he held private intelligence with the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, and from her expected the ſucceſs of the enterprize. The Lord *Lovel*, who was in *Flanders* before him, was likewiſe in the Plot as well as Sir *Thomas Broughton*, who ſtaid in *England* to ſend them notice of what was tranſacting there.

She promiſes to aſſiſt the Earl of Lincoln. Hall. Bacon.

Whether the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* contrived this Plot herſelf, or was only informed of it by the Earl of *Lincoln*, ſhe readily embraced this opportunity, which ſhe believed ſufficiently favorable to inſpire her with hopes of defeating *Henry*'s eſtabliſhment. Having adviſed with the Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovel*, and ſome other Fugitives, ſhe promiſed to furniſh them with two thouſand veteran *German* Soldiers, under the command of *Martin Swart* an Officer of note, with whom they ſhould paſs into *Ireland*, to ſtrengthen the new King's party. She did not at all doubt but theſe ſuccours coming from a foreign Country would encourage the *Yorkiſts* to take Arms in *England*. In this ſituation were the King's affairs about the end of the year 1486. But before we proceed to the occurrences of the next year, we muſt briefly ſee what had paſſed in the neighbouring Countries, eſpecially in *France* and *Bretagne* during the courſe of this year.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argentré.

I left the Duke of *Orleans* in *Bretagne* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. Theſe Princes were no ſooner in that Country, but many of their friends came and joined them, and even brought them ſome Troops. The Duke of *Bretagne* was old and infirm both in body and mind. Since the death of *Landais* he did not know who to truſt with the adminiſtration of his affairs, conſidering his Barons but as ſo many enemies, though he had granted them a pardon. The Duke of *Orleans* finding him thus embarraſſed, gained ſuch an aſcendent over him, that he governed *Bretagne* as if he had been the Sovereign. The advantages he enjoyed in that Country, where almoſt every thing was in his diſpoſal, drew thither many *Frenchmen*, who came to offer him their ſervice. Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne* aſſembled the States, and cauſed his eldeſt Daughter *Ann* to be declared Heireſs of the Duchy; and in caſe ſhe died without iſſue, it was decreed, her younger Siſter *Iſabel* ſhould ſucceed her.

The Lords of *Bretagne* newly reconciled to their Sovereign, perceiving, the Duke of *Orleans* ruled abſolutely in the Duke's Name, and that the *French* flocked to him in Crowds, began to entertain ſuſpicions of their Prince. They were afraid, he had ſent for all theſe Strangers to help him to be revenged of them for their outrage upon

(1) At the *Charter Houſe* at *Shene*, now called *Richmond*. *Hall*, fol. 7. *Bacon*, p. 584.
(2) She was buried at *Windſor*, by her Husband King *Edward* IV. She compleated the founding of *Queen's* College in *Cambridge*, begun by *Margaret*, King *Henry* IV's Queen. *Hall*, fol. 4. *Bacon*, p. 585.

1486. his Favorite In this belief, they assembled at *Chateaubriant* to consult what was to be done to prevent the danger with which they thought themselves threatned. They were headed by the Lord of *Rieux* Marshal of *Bretagne*. *Charles* VIII, who was apprehensive, the Duke of *Orleans* intended to make use of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Forces to raise fresh troubles in *France*, thought it his Interest to cherish the *British* Lords discontent. He hoped thereby to hinder the Duke of *Bretagne* from assisting the Duke of *Orleans*. To that end, he sent to the Barons assembled at *Chateaubriant*, *Andrew d' Epinay* commonly called the Cardinal of *Bourdeaux*, with an offer of his Protection. The offer was gladly received by many of them, some of whom perhaps were already gained by the Court of *France*. Others, foreseeing the Inconveniences that might follow, were for rejecting it. They alledged the several attempts of *Charles*'s Predecessors to become masters of *Bretagne*, and how dangerous it was to admit the *French* into the Country. In fine, to prevent this mischief, it was agreed, that a Treaty should be made with the King of *France*, to determine the number of Men he was to find them, and to set bounds to his pretensions. Pursuant to this resolution, they signed with the Cardinal a Treaty, importing, that the King should send them an aid not exceeding four hundred Lances, and four thousand Foot; that he should not take or besiege any place, neither make any demands upon the Duchy before Duke *Francis*'s death. *Charles* ratified the Treaty, but as he afterwards showed, not with design to observe it.

The Cardinal of *Bourdeaux* being returned to the King, told him, that during his stay at *Chateaubriant*, he had learnt, that the Prince of *Orange* was secretly treating of a Marriage between *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and *Ann*, eldest Daughter and Heiress of the Duke of *Bretagne*. This discovery obliged King *Charles* to form the project of seizing *Bretagne*, if perhaps it was not quite formed already. The posture of the affairs of *Europe* was extremely favorable. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Arragon* and *Castile*, little regarded the preservation of *Bretagne*. Besides, they were then employed in their wars with the *Moors* of *Granada*. But though *Charles* might have feared, that *Ferdinand* would enter into some League for the Duke of *Bretagne*'s defense, he had an infallible way to prevent him: And that was, to restore him *Roussillon*, which was of much less consequence than *Bretagne* to the Crown of *France*. *Henry* VII, who had a manifest Interest to oppose this enterprize, was embarassed with affairs that, probably, would hinder him from medling with those of others. It was precisely at the time, when the pretended Earl of *Warwick* began to appear in *Ireland*. As for the *Low-Countries*, *Charles* had not much to fear from thence. *Philip*, the Sovereign, was still a Minor. *Maximilian* his Father and Guardian, who governed these Provinces in his name, was but little regarded. Though he had made Peace with the *Flemings*, there was however a mutual distrust, which would not suffer him to send his Forces out of the Country. Besides, the war with *France* was renewed this year, on account of *Terouenne*, surprized in full Peace by the Governor of *Douay*. In short, though *Maximilian* was the Emperor's Son, and chosen King of the *Romans* in *February* this year, he was ever in extreme want of Money, his new Dignity having made no addition to his power (1).

1487. *Treaty of Commerce with the Low-Countries.* Jan. 2. Act. Pub. XII. p. 318. ---- 320.

In the beginning of the year 1487, *Henry* concluded with *Maximilian* a Treaty wholly relating to Trade, and which was only provisional, till certain Articles could be settled, upon which the *English* and *Flemings* with difficulty agreed. The Trade between *England* and the *Low-Countries* was so necessary for the Subjects of both Princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being sufferers. But for that very reason each strove to reap some advantage from the situation of affairs, which rendered the Treaties very difficult.

Fox is made Bishop of Exeter. p. 322.

The Bishop of *Exeter* being translated to *Winchester*, the King promoted to the vacant See, *Richard Fox*, who was already Keeper of the Privy Seal. Of all the Courtiers, he was the person in whom the King placed the most Confidence, next to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The King takes measures to oppose his Enemies. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh. Stow.

Mean while, *Henry* was not easy, since the Earl of *Lincoln*'s retiring into *Flanders*. He knew the Duchess of *Burgundy* to be haughty and enterprising (2), and powerful enough to assist such as would attempt to disturb him. The Earl of *Lincoln*'s retreat into *Flanders*, presently after *Simnel*'s arrival in *Ireland*, left him no room to question, there was a design formed between the Earl and the Duchess of *Burgundy*, to support the pretended Earl of *Warwick*. So, fearing the storm would divide and fall upon him both from *Flanders* and *Ireland*, he resolved to have two armies, under the command of the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*, to be ready at the same time to oppose the descent of the *Flemings* and *Irish*, if they should think of attacking *England*. Mean while, as he was not afraid of an Invasion before Summer, he resolved to improve the leisure the Winter Season afforded him, in taking a progress into the eastern Counties of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*. There was most danger from those parts, by reason of the neighbourhood of the *Low-Countries*. When he was come to St. *Edmundsbury*, he heard, the Marquis of *Dorset* was hastening to clear himself of some Imputations laid to his Charge, and to offer his service. But the King believing, that after what he had lately done to the Queen Dowager, the Marquis her Brother could have no great affection for him, refused to receive him, and sent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, with orders to carry him to the *Tower*. He let him know however, that after the troubles were appeased he should willingly hear him, and if he caused him to be arrested, it was purely to provide for his own safety, by preventing his hearkening to those that might give him ill advice (3). Then, he came to *Norwich* (4), from whence he went in Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walsingham* (5), after which he returned to *London* (6).

1487. *He visits Norfolk and Suffolk.* Hall. Bacon. &c. *He returns to London.*

It was not till the beginning of *May*, that the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Level*, and *Martin Swart*, sailed for *Ireland*, with the two thousand *Germans* raised by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, at her own expence. Presently after their arrival at *Dublin*, they proceeded to the Coronation of the pretended King, which was performed with great Solemnity, in the presence of the Earl of *Kildare*, the Chancellor, and the rest of the great Officers. He was crowned with a Crown taken from the head of the Virgin's Statue in St. *Mary*'s Church. There were but two or three Bishops that refused to acknowledge the new King (7). The History of *Ireland* says, that the pretended Sovereign summoned a kind of Parliament, where the Clergy granted the Pope a Subsidy, for fear the Court of *Rome* should take occasion from these proceedings to trouble them.

The Earl of Lincoln arrives in Ireland. May. *Simnel is crowned at Dublin.* J. Ware. Hib. Ireland.

The Coronation being over, a great Council was held to consult what was next to be done. Their success in *Ireland*, where not a Sword was drawn for *Henry*, made them expect great matters in *England*. The Leaders fancied, they were in a much better Condition to overthrow *Henry*, than *Henry* himself was when he passed into *England*, to overthrow *Richard* III. They scarce doubted of Success, being sure, as they imagined, the *English* for the most part would rise in their favour. However, some were for making *Ireland* the Seat of the war. They alledged, as the chief reason, that *Henry* would never venture to come over in person, or in case he quitted *England*, his absence would occasion in the Kingdom Insurrections which would greatly promote the Affairs of the new King. Had this advice been taken, *Henry* would have been very much embarassed. In that case, he must have had two strong armies on foot, one to subdue *Ireland*, the other to keep all quiet in *England*. It is easy to see, that at such a juncture it would not have been prudent to leave *England* without Troops, both by reason of the Correspondents, the Rebels might have there, and the neighbourhood of the Duchess of *Burgundy*, who would have taken advantage of such a neglect. Accordingly, *Henry*, as I observed, had already resolved to have two armies. But others on the contrary represented, that *Ireland* was not able to pay the *German* Troops, much less maintain a long war. That besides, the standing upon the defensive in *Ireland* was not the way to dethrone *Henry*, but the attacking him in *England*, where it was likely, they should meet with many friends. This advice was strengthened by another reason, which was not alledged, but however was the real motive thereof, namely, that the *Germans* and *Irish* were in hopes of making their fortunes in *England*, whereas in *Ireland*, they had scarce wherewithal to subsist. So, it was resolved to pass immediately into *England*, in the same Vessels that had transported the *Germans*. Mean while, *Henry* hearing of the Earl of *Lincoln*'s arrival in *Ireland* with the foreign

He resolves to pass into England. Bacon.

(1) This year, on *Novemb.* 27, King *Henry* granted *Bernard Andrews*, his Poet Laureat, an Annuity of ten Marks. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 317.
(2) The Lord *Bacon* observes, she had the Spirit of a Man, and the Malice of a Woman. p. 585.
(3) Adding, That he should always be able, (when he had cleared himself) to make him Reparation. *Bacon*, p. 586.
(4) Where he kept his *Christmass*. *Hall*, fol. 9.
(5) This place was once famous throughout *England* for Pilgrimages to the Virgin *Mary*. For in those days, whoever had not made a Visit and an Offering to our Lady of *Walsingham*, was looked upon as impious and irreligious. *Camb. in Norfolk.*
(6) By the way of *Cambridge*. *Hall*, fol. 9. *Hollingsh.* p. 1430.
(7) Namely, the Archbishops of *Cashel* and *Tuam*, and the Bishops of *Clogher* and *Ossory*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 332.

1487. Troops, was no longer embaraſſed, ſince he had only to defend himſelf from one quarter. So, giving orders, that all his Forces ſhould aſſemble near *Coventry*, he repaired in perſon to that City, which lies in the Center of the Kingdom, till he had certain advice of the deſigns of his enemies.

Henry aſſembles his Army at Coventry. Hall.

Some time after, he heard that *Simnel* was landed in *Lancaſhire* (1), in Company with the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel* and the *German* General. Sir *Thomas Broughton* joining the Rebels with a ſmall body of *Engliſh*, they all marched together towards *York*, without committing any Act of Hoſtility in their rout, in order to draw the People to their ſide. But they found themſelves deceived in their expectation. Not a Man, except what *Broughton* had brought, took arms in their favour, the *Engliſh* not liking at all to receive a King at the hands of the *Iriſh* and *Germans*. The Earl of *Lincoln*, who commanded the Army, had reſolved to avoid fighting, in expectation of being joined by great numbers of Male-contents. But ſeeing the People's coldneſs, he thought he ſhould come to a Battle as ſoon as poſſible, leſt his Army, which was but eight thouſand ſtrong, ſhould diminiſh inſtead of increaſing. So, changing his rout on a ſudden, he marched towards *Newark*, in hopes to become maſter of that place before the King ſhould arrive.

Simnel arrives in England. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The Earl of Lincoln reſolves to fight. Bacon. Hall.

Mean while, *Henry* was advanced as far as *Nottingham*, where he held a Council of War. He had yet drawn together but ſix thouſand Men, and for that reaſon ſeveral adviſed him to decline fighting till the reſt of the Troops which were expected, had joined him. But he was of another opinion. As he could not believe that the Earl of *Lincoln* had formed ſuch an enterprize, without aſſurances of being aſſiſted, he judged it requiſite to give him Battle without delay. Two days after he ſaw his Army reinforced with five or ſix thouſand men (2), whereupon all the reaſons againſt the reſolution, he had taken, entirely vaniſhed. As ſoon as he had reviewed theſe new Troops, he detached ſeveral parties of Light-Horſe to diſcover the Earl of *Lincoln*'s deſigns, and being informed, he was advancing towards *Newark*, reſolved to prevent him. To that end he marched with ſuch expedition, that he encamped between the Enemies Army and *Newark*. The Earl of *Lincoln* advanced that day to a little Village called *Stoke*, where he encamped on the ſide of a Hill. Next Morning being *June* the 6th (3), *Henry* offered him Battle, leaving only in the Plain a ſpace to ſerve for the field. But he was debarred of one great advantage, in that the ground being narrow, would not allow him to extend the Front of his Army, which was more numerous than that of the Enemy. For which reaſon he was forced to draw up his Army into three lines, having taken care to place in the firſt all his beſt Troops to the number of ſix thouſand Men. Probably the Earl of *Lincoln* had deſignedly choſen that ground, in hopes, that if he could defeat the King's firſt line, they would fall foul on the reſt of the Army and put them in diſorder, as it happened to *Richard* III in the Battle of *Boſworth*. In effect, it was the King's firſt line only that fought. They ſtood for three Hours the efforts of the *Germans*, who being uſed to War, and well diſciplined, fought with great order, and inſpired the *Iriſh* with Courage. At length the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare* (4), and *Martin Swart* being ſlain on the place, and moſt of the *Germans* killed or wounded, the *Iriſh* took to flight, not being able alone to reſiſt the *Engliſh*. It is ſaid, there were at leaſt four thouſand killed on the ſide of the Rebels, and half of the King's firſt line. Which ſhows with what obſtinacy it was fought on both ſides (5).

Battle of Stoke. June 6. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The King gets the Victory.

Earl of Lincoln ſlain. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Among the Priſoners were found the new King of *Ireland*, become *Lambert Simnel* as before, and the Prieſt his Companion and Inſtructor. *Henry*, either out of Generoſity or Policy, was pleaſed to give *Simnel* his life, and to honour, with the office of Turn-ſpit in his Kitchen, the Perſon that had boldly aſpired to the Throne, and even worn a Crown. Some time after he was preferred to be one of the King's Faulconers [in which office he died.] As for the Prieſt, he was immediately committed cloſe Priſoner, and heard of no more. Some imagined he was privately put to death, others that the King was pleaſed to ſpare his life, in order to learn the moſt ſecret circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and it may be, to confront him with the guilty, if there was occaſion. However it does not appear in Hiſtory, that *Henry* made any diſcovery by that means. At leaſt, there was nothing divulged. If the Queen Dowager was in the Plot, ſhe could not be more rigorouſly puniſhed than ſhe was already, unleſs ſhe was brought to the Scaffold. As for the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, ſhe had no occaſion to fear any Proceedings againſt her. It is ſaid the King was extremely ſorry for the death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, which robbed him of the ſatisfaction of knowing all the particulars of the Plot. As for the Lord *Lovel*, ſome ſay he was drowned in attempting to ſwim the *Trent*, others affirm, he was ſlain in the Battle. Some again report, that he ſpent the reſidue of his life in a Cave. Be this as it will, he appeared no more from that time.

1487.

The Lord Lovel appears no more. Hall. Bacon.

Preſently after the Battle, the King marched to *Lincoln*, where he made ſome ſtay, and then went to *York*. In his way, were tried many perſons accuſed of holding intelligence with the late Rebels. It is true, moſt of them were puniſhed only by Fines, the King's ſole aim being to fill his Coffers. And therefore he choſe rather that theſe Trials ſhould be ended by Commiſſioners of his own appointing, or by a Court Martial, than by the uſual courſe of Juſtice, which was not ſo favorable to his deſign. For, in accuſations of this Nature, the Laws of *England* admit of no medium between death and abſolute diſcharge, and the King would have neither. But Commiſſioners and Court Martials are not ſo ſtrictly confined to the Letter of the Law (6), but judge in a more arbitrary manner. Therefore the frequent incroachment, of what is called in *England* the Martial Law, upon the privileges of the People, has been the cauſe of reducing it within juſt bounds, ſo that it cannot take place but by an Act of Parliament made for that purpoſe (7). As for adminiſtring juſtice by Commiſſioners, it is true the King has ſtill that prerogative, but then he ſeldom uſes it, and in certain caſes only by Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* (8) as they are called. It is certain, *Henry* upon this occaſion diſcovered his covetous and ſelfiſh Temper. He pretended to favour the guilty in ſparing their lives: But this Clemency was more than balanced by his ſeverity, in ſtripping them of their poſſeſſions. The crime they were charged with was not of having aſſiſted the Rebels, but of having raiſed and diſperſed a report ſome days before the Battle, that the Royal Army was cut in pieces. The King ſuppoſing that ſuch a report was ſpread only to diſcourage his friends, and hinder them from bringing him Troops, made ſtrict Inquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of this new ſort of crime. As his ſole aim was to make an advantage of the Fines and Confiſcations, the perſons commiſſioned for Judges were more ready and leſs ſcrupulous to favour his deſign, than if the lives of the parties accuſed had been at ſtake. It may be eaſily gueſſed the King made choice of the fitteſt perſons for his purpoſe. His Hiſtorian ſays, that *Henry*'s progreſs to *Lincoln* and *York*, was more like an itinerary Circuit of Juſtice, than a King's progreſs to viſit his Counties.

Several ſuſpected Perſons are fined. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

Bacon.

When the King had drawn what he wanted from the guilty or ſuſpected perſons, he ſent for a papal commiſſion, to impower the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to abſolve thoſe that had incurred the Penalty of Excommunication decreed by the Bull before-mentioned. The Pope in this Commmiſſion took for granted, that they who had attempted to diſturb *Henry* in the poſſeſſion of the Crown, were ſtruck with bitter remorſe, and therefore he was willing, from a motive of charity, to eaſe their conſcience. But it was evident, that this was only for a further Support of the King's title.

Bull in favour of the Rebels. Aug. 5. Act. Pub. XII. p. 324.

At the ſame time *Innocent* VIII ſent a Bull to reſtrain a little the privileges of Sanctuary. It ran, That if Thieves, Murderers, Robbers, regiſtered as Sanctuary-Men, ſhould ſally out and commit freſh offences, and enter again, in ſuch caſe they might be taken out of their Sanctuaries by the King's Officers. That as for Debtors who had taken Sanctuary to defraud their Creditors, their perſons only ſhould be protected, but their goods out of Sanctuary ſhould be liable to ſeizure. As for Traitors, the King was allowed to appoint them Keepers in their Sanctuaries to prevent their eſcape. Certainly it was a great abuſe to make Churches ſerve to protect Villains. It had been long complained of in *England*, and probably the King had applied for a reformation, but could obtain

Another concerning Sanctuaries. Bacon.

Simnel is taken and made the King's Scullion, then Faulconer. Hall.

The Prieſt imprijoned Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

(1) He landed at the *Pyle* of *Fowdrey* near *Lancaſter*. *Hall*, fol. 9.

(2) With them came *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheney*, and of other Knights and Gentlemen at leaſt threeſcore and ten. *Bacon*, p. 587. *Polydore Virgil* hath a Liſt of them. *Vit. Hen.* 7.

(3) *Hall*, *Stow* and *Hollingſhead* ſay, it was the 16th; and Sir *J. Ware* the 20th.

(4) Sir *James Ware* ſays, it was *Thomas Fitzgerald*, who according to him is erroneouſly called the Earl, that was killed.

(5) In this Battle Sir *Thomas Broughton* is ſaid by our Hiſtorians to fall alſo; but *Camden* ſays, it is a miſtake, and that he eſcaped to *Witherſlack*, a Manor of his in *Weſtmoreland*, where he lived a good while *incognito* among his Tenants, and where he died and was buried; his Grave being known, and to be ſeen at this day. *Camden. Lancaſh.*

(6) *Martial Law* depends upon the juſt but arbitrary Power and Pleaſure of the King, or his Lieutenant. See *Jacob* ſub voce *Martial Law*.

(7) The putting any man to death by Martial Law, in time of Peace, was adjudged to be againſt *Magna Charta*, and Murder. 3 *Inſtit.* 52. But temporary Acts of Parliament have of late enabled our Kings to hold Courts Martial in time of Peace. See 4 and 5 *Will.* and *Mar.* c. 13.

(8) Two old *French* words, ſignifying to *hear* and *determine*.

only

1487. only what we have juſt ſeen. *Alexander* VI confirmed this Bull in 1493.

The Queen is crowned. Nov. 25. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

In the King's progreſs to *Lincoln* and *York*, he had frequent occaſion to perceive that his partiality to the Houſe of *York*, and injurious Treatment of his Queen in refuſing to have her crowned, were the main Springs of the People's diſcontent. So, contrary to his inclination, and with a ſole view to prevent future troubles, he reſolved at laſt to do her that Juſtice. He came to *London* the beginning of *November*, where he made a triumphant entry. Next day he went in Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s, and had *Te Deum* ſung for his victory over the Rebels. He was very glad to render it as conſpicuous as poſſible, in order to ſtrike terror into his Enemies. Then he commiſſioned the Duke of *Bedford* to execute the office of High-Steward at the Queen's Coronation, which was performed on the 25th of *November*, with the uſual Solemnities. The Queen was then one and twenty years old, and had now been married two years. So the King's affected delay of her Coronation, could not but be deemed a conſequence of a ſettled deſign to humble the Houſe of *York*, and the Queen in particular, whom the King conſidered as his Rival. Accordingly, as it was eaſily perceived, that his reſolution to have her crowned immediately after *Simnel*'s Affair, was the effect of his fear, he was not thanked for it, becauſe he was believed to do it with regret. He likewiſe releaſed the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* without examination, probably to give the People ſome ſatisfaction. He intended to have it thought an Act of Grace, and withal to leave the Marquiſs in the fear of being ſtill called to an account. But it is to be preſumed, that ſince he was ſo little inclined to ſhow mercy to the *Yorkiſts*, he would not have diſcharged the Marquiſs ſo eaſily, had there been proofs to convict him.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 328.

Marquiſs of Dorſet ſet at liberty. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Embaſſy to the Pope. Bacon.

Towards the end of the year, *Henry* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Pope, wherein the Ambaſſador that was Spokeſman diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his exceſſive Encomiums of the King his Maſter. His praiſes would have paſſed for extravagant, if his commendations of the Pope had not made them ſeem very moderate.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

During the King's ſtay at *York* (1), after the Battle of *Stoke*, publick diſturbances in *Scotland* gave him an opportunity to enter into a Negotiation with *James* III, from which he hoped to reap ſome advantage. I have ſpoken of *James*'s Character in the Reign of *Edward* IV, and ſhown how odious he had rendered himſelf to his great Men, even to their being forced to hang his Favorites. The War made upon him by *Edward* IV, and his danger of being dethroned, ſeemed to have ſomething moderated his paſſions, or at leaſt, obliged him to ſhow them leſs. But the Death of Prince *Alexander* his Brother, and of *Edward* IV, and the troubles in *England* during the Reign of *Richard* III, giving room to believe he had nothing more to fear, he returned to his former courſes. Without reflecting any more on the risk he had run, he entirely gave himſelf up to a new Sett of Favorites, Men of mean Birth, and no leſs odious to the Nation than the former. But this was a trifle in compariſon of the deſign he afterwards formed. As he harboured in his Breaſt a violent deſire of revenge upon the great Men who had offended him, he reſolved to diſpatch at once all thoſe whom he conſidered as his principal Enemies. To that end he careſſed them exceedingly, and became very familiar with them, the better to ſurpriſe them. When by this diſſimulation he had drawn almoſt all of them to Court, he communicated his deſign to the Earl of *Douglaſs*, and told him, he did not intend to neglect ſo fair an opportunity of deſtroying all his Enemies at once. *Douglaſs* feigned to approve his reſolution, but privately warned the Lords of their danger, and retired with them from Court. The King being diſappointed, reſolved to execute his deſign by open force, and levied Troops for that purpoſe, but the Lords likewiſe armed for their defence. As all mutual confidence was deſtroyed, and nothing to be expected from an agreement with ſuch a Prince, they found means to gain his Son, by making him apprehenſive, they were going to deliver *Scotland* to the King of *England*, if he would not put himſelf at their head. As ſoon as the Prince had joined the Lords, their party grew ſo powerful, that the King beginning to repent his enterprize, propoſed an agreement. But he was told, there was no other way to a reconciliation than the King's reſignation of the Crown to his Son. All hopes of Peace vaniſhing upon this propoſal, *James* ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, from whence he diſpatched Ambaſſadors to the Pope, and the Kings of *France* and *England*, to deſire their aſſiſtance.

1487. It was in *September*, whilſt *Henry* was at *York*, that the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland* came to him, under colour of treating of ſome differences concerning the Fiſhery of the river *Eske*. *Henry*, who had an admirable talent at turning all things to his advantage, thought this a good opportunity to be rid at once of the Queen his Mother-in-law, and her two Daughters, by marrying them in *Scotland*. For that purpoſe he ſent to King *James*, *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, who agreed with him (2) upon the following articles, with their Maſter's pleaſure.

1487. *Treaty of Henry with the King of Scotland.* Act Pub. XII. p. 325 - 327.

I. That purſuant to a former agreement, the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, a *Scotchman*, ſhould marry *Catherine*, the third Daughter of *Edward* IV.

Several Matters agreed upon. Nov. 28. p. 329. Hall.

II. That King *James* ſhould eſpouſe *Elizabeth* Widow of *Edward* IV, and Mother to the Queen of *England*.

III. That *James* Duke of *Rothſay*, eldeſt Son of the King of *Scotland*, ſhould marry another of *Edward* IV's Daughters.

IV. That the King of *England* ſhould reſign for ever to the King of *Scotland*, the Town of *Berwick*.

V. That, in order to ſettle the Articles and Conditions of the three Marriages, Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhould meet at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *January* next, and another aſſembly be held upon the ſame ſubject in *May*.

VI. That the two Kings ſhall have an interview in *July*.

VII. Laſtly, That the Truce concluded between the two Kingdoms, being to expire *July* the 3d, 1488, ſhould be prolonged to the 1ſt of *September* 1489.

As for the ſuccours which *James* expected from *Henry*, they were not mentioned in theſe Preliminaries. Probably, King *James*'s Ambaſſadors were ſatisfied with a verbal promiſe.

Henry ratified theſe Articles, the 20th of *December*, but the King of *Scotland*'s ratification is not with *Henry*'s in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Perhaps *James* was prevented by the troubles in his Kingdom, which daily increaſed, and cauſed likewiſe this project to vaniſh into air, as will be ſeen under the next year. p. 331.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. P. Daniel.

The War continued all this time in the *Low-Countries*, between *Charles* VIII and *Maximilian*, to the advantage of the firſt, whoſe Troops ſurprized St. *Omer*, and *Terouenne*. Some time after, *Maximilian* having cauſed the Lord *Ruffingheim* to be carried away and conducted to *Wilvorde*, the Priſoner found means to eſcape and retire to *Gaunt*. Upon his arrival, he ſtirred up the *Gantois* to revolt, and take arms againſt *Maximilian*. This war was of very great Conſequence with regard to the affairs of *Bretagne*, of which it is neceſſary at preſent to give a particular, though brief account, becauſe they are to be the ſubject of the Hiſtory of the five following years.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argentre. Hall. Bacon.

The King of *France*, and the Lords of *Bretagne* had treated together with very different views. The Lords imagined, it was an excellent means to ſecure them from the deſigns of their Duke, and *Charles* perceived, it was an infallible way to conquer *Bretagne*.

Charles VIII makes great Progreſs in Bretagne.

In the beginning of the Spring 1487, *Charles* ſent four armies into *Bretagne*, from four different quarters. The firſt alone was ſix thouſand ſtrong, which exceeded already the number he had promiſed to find by the Treaty. Upon news of this Invaſion, the Duke of *Bretagne* ſeeing himſelf forſaken by almoſt all his Barons, retired into the Center of his Country, being accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and ſome other *French* Lords of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Party. He ſtaid ſome time at *Maletroit*, where he very haſtily aſſembled an army of ſixteen thouſand Men, ill-armed, and undiſciplined, by reaſon of the long Peace *Bretagne* had enjoyed.

The Duke's Court was in ſo great Conſternation, that none knew what courſe to take to reſiſt ſo formidable an Invaſion. Indeed, means were found to engage the Lord *d' Albret*, then in *Navarre*, to take the Duke's part, on promiſe of a Marriage with the Princeſs *Ann*, Heireſs of *Bretagne*. The Duke himſelf, and all the reſt of the Lords, the Duke of *Orleans* excepted, gave it under their hands to procure him this Marriage, but without intention to perform their word. The Duke of *Bretagne* did not think him conſiderable enough for his Daughter. The Earl of *Dunois* deſigned to marry the young Princeſs to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange* was privately labouring to procure this rich match for the King of the *Romans*. Thus this engagement was only intended to perſwade the Lord *d' Albret* to withdraw two

(1) *Hall* and *Hollingſhead* ſay, That it was during his ſtay at *Newcaſtle*, where he ſpent the reſt of the Summer. fol. 11. p. 1432. *Stow*, p. 472.

(2) On *Novemb.* 28. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 329.

1487. Troops of Men at Arms, which he had in the *French* Army, and ſend them into the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Service. Poor refuge upon ſo preſſing an occaſion!

Mean while, the *French* being joined in one body, advanced into the Country, and laid Siege to *Ploermel*. The Duke of *Bretagne* immediately marched to the relief of that place, but had the mortification to ſee himſelf forſaken by his army, of which there remained not with him above four thouſand Men. Surprized at this unexpected accident, he retired to *Vannes*. But the *French*, now maſters of *Ploermel*, purſued him ſo briskly, that he was obliged to embark in great diſorder, and ſhut himſelf up in *Nantz*. The *French* improving this Conſternation, took *Vannes* and *Dinant*, and then beſieged *Nantz*. Some time before, the Duke had ſent the Earl of *Dunois* to *England* to deſire aſſiſtance. But though the Earl had embarked four ſeveral times, contrary winds had ſtill hindered him from purſuing his Voyage. Mean while, the Marſhal *de Rieux* head of the Male-contents, perceiving King *Charles* ſo ill obſerved the Treaty, complained of it in ſtrong terms. But inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction, he was told, that great offence was taken at his boldneſs.

Embaſſy of France to Henry about Bretagne. Faon. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt *Charles* was employed in the Siege of *Nantz*, he heard, the King of *England* had obtained a ſignal Victory over his enemies, and the affair of the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was entirely ended. 'Till then he had believed him ſo embarraſſed at home, that he had not vouchſafed to ſay any thing to him concerning the war with *Bretagne*. But when he knew him freed from his troubles, he ſent Ambaſſadors to try to divert him from any deſign he might have to interpoſe in that affair.

The French Ambaſſadors diſcourſe to the King.

The Ambaſſadors found the King at *Leiceſter*, where they had their Audience. They told him, that the King their maſter conſidering him as his beſt friend, had ſent them to impart to him the Succeſs of his arms in *Flanders*, and withal to congratulate him upon his Victory over his rebellious Subjects: That they were moreover charged to tell him, that the King their maſter was forced to enter into a juſt war with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who had received the Duke of *Orleans*, declared enemy of *France*, not to protect him, but ſolely with a view to aid him to raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom, by lending him the aſſiſtance of his arms: That the King of *France* could not omit taking proper meaſures to prevent his pernicious deſigns, and therefore his war with the Duke of *Bretagne* was properly defenſive only, though he had cauſed an army to enter his Dominions: That he that gave the firſt blow, was not to be deemed the Aggreſſor, but he that gave the Provocation: That the Duke of *Bretagne* could not deny that he had harboured in his Dominions, nay, in his very Court, *French* Rebels, and formed plots with them very prejudicial to *France*, without being able to complain of any injury: That therefore the King their maſter hoped from his Wiſdom and Juſtice, that before he concerned himſelf in the war, he would weigh the ill Conſequences of a Protection given to rebellious Subjects, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the moſt ſolemn Treaties, particularly by a *Homager*: That if he was ſomething obliged to the Duke of *Bretagne*, on the other hand, he had not, doubtleſs, forgot the aid he had received from the King of *France*, when the Duke of *Bretagne* had not only abandoned him, but was even going to deliver him to his enemy: That this aid was given contrary to the Intereſt of *France*, ſince it would be better for her, that a Tyrant, odious to all his Subjects, ſhould reign in *England*, than ſuch a Prince as himſelf: That therefore, the King their maſter hoped, he would not undertake the defence of the Duke of *Bretagne* in ſo ill-grounded a quarrel, but on the contrary, aſſiſt his real friend, or at leaſt, ſtand neuter.

The King's Anſwer. Hall. Bacon.

The Ambaſſadors avoiding, as a rock, to ſpeak of their maſter's deſign to conquer *Bretagne*, the King thought not proper to mention it in his anſwer, though it was not difficult to perceive it through all their diſguiſes. He contented himſelf with telling them, that of all perſons, he was moſt obliged to the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*. For which reaſon he was extremely deſirous to give them both real marks of his Gratitude. That therefore he would, on the preſent occaſion, diſcharge the duty of a true friend, by endeavouring amicably to end their differences, and very ſpeedily ſend them Ambaſſadors to offer his mediation.

The King has a wrong Notion of the War of Bretagne. Ibid.

Henry was not ſo blind, but he ſaw the King of *France*'s intent. But unhappily for *Bretagne*, he was poſſeſſed with a notion, that *Charles* would never be able to execute his deſigns. His belief was founded upon the Forces of *Bretagne*, which had hitherto ſucceſsfully reſiſted *France*; upon the natural Levity of the *French*, who are eaſily diſcouraged by difficulties; upon the troubles the Duke of *Orleans* could raiſe in the Kingdom, by means of his friends; and upon the diverſion, the King of the *Romans* could make in *Flanders*. Purſuant to this principle, which appeared afterwards to be very wrong, he reſolved to become only Mediator, without ſending any effective Supplies to the Duke of *Bretagne*. He did not doubt that King *Charles* would conſent to an accommodation, for fear of drawing upon him the arms of *England*. Indeed, it was evidently the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* to prevent the ruin of *Bretagne*, and therefore *Charles* muſt have thought, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe his deſign. Accordingly, *Henry* building upon this foundation, that *Bretagne* could not be ſubdued, if *England* ſeriouſly eſpouſed her quarrel, and that *Charles* would not believe him ſo impolitick as to ſuffer that Duchy to become a Province of *France*, imagined he would readily accept of his mediation, and deſiſt from his enterprize. He hoped to reap from thence two conſiderable advantages. Firſt, the reputation of making Peace between the two Princes, to whom he was equally obliged. The ſecond was much more important to him. As he was naturally very covetous, and as the deſire of heaping up riches was the chief end of all his projects, he perceived this affair would furniſh an occaſion to demand money of the Parliament, under colour of aſſiſting *Bretagne*, and that he might keep this money without employing it (1). 1487.

He offers his Mediation to both the Princes. Charles accepts of it. Hall. Bacon. Stow.

Purſuant to this ſcheme, he ſent Ambaſſadors (2) to King *Charles* to offer his mediation, and in caſe it was accepted, the Ambaſſadors had orders to make the ſame offer to the Duke of *Bretagne*. *Charles* was then employed in the Siege of *Nantz*, and as he hoped to be ſoon maſter of the place, ſaw nothing more after that, capable of hindering him from entirely conquering *Bretagne*. So, all his endeavours tended only to manage, that the King of *England* ſhould not aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretagne* before the taking of *Nantz*. When the Ambaſſadors offered him the mediation of the King their maſter, he anſwered with great diſſimulation, he willingly conſented, that the King of *England* ſhould act not only as mediator between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*, but alſo as judge, and abſolute arbiter of the peace. He was in hopes, either the Duke of *Bretagne* would reject this propoſal, or if he accepted it, he ſhould poſſibly gain time till the taking of *Nantz*; after which, he conſidered himſelf as maſter of *Bretagne*.

The Duke rejects it. Hall.

The Ambaſſadors imagining they had ſurmounted the greateſt difficulty, repaired to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was ſhut up in *Nantz*, and made him the ſame offer from their maſter. The Duke of *Orleans* told them in the name of that Prince, that at a time when his Country was invaded, and ready to be ſwallowed up by the *French*, he expected rather an effective ſupply from the King of *England*, than a mediation, which muſt be fruitleſs, ſince nothing was more eaſy than to prolong the Negotiation till *Bretagne* was loſt: That he intreated the King to remember the favours he had received in *Bretagne*, and conſider of what conſequence it was to *England* to hinder that Dukedom from becoming a Province of *France*. The Ambaſſadors returning with this anſwer to King *Charles*, he took occaſion to tell them, that for his part, he was very deſirous of Peace, as plainly appeared by his propoſal, but was ſorry to find that the Duke of *Bretagne*, beſet by the Duke of *Orleans*, would never conſent, without being forced by the continuation of the War. This he artfully inſtilled into the Ambaſſadors, who at their return into *England*, told the King, it was proper to leave the Duke of *Bretagne* in his preſent ill circumſtances, that he might be induced of himſelf to deſire the rejected Mediation.

Charles makes this Refuſal turn to his advantage.

The Earl of Dunois cauſes the Siege of Nantz to be raiſed.

Mean while, the Siege of *Nantz* was vigorouſly carried on (3). *Charles*, probably, would have at laſt taken the place, had not the Earl of *Dunois* been detained in lower *Bretagne* by contrary Winds. Whilſt he was in thoſe parts, the Inhabitants of the Country hearing their Duke was beſieged in *Nantz*, aſſembled to the number of ſixty thouſand Men, with a reſolution to relieve him. The Earl of *Dunois* perceiving them in this diſpoſition, put himſelf at their head, and approached *Nantz*, the *French* not daring to attack the undiſciplined multitude. On the contrary, they contracted their quarters for their

(1) Beſides, he was poſſeſſed with many ſecret Fears touching his own People, and therefore was loth to put weapons into their hands. *Bacon*, p. 590.
(2) *Chriſtopher Urſwick* his Chaplain. *Ibid.*
(3) During this Siege, King *Charles*, the better to maintain his Diſſimulation, ſent *Bernard* Lord *D'aubigney* to King *Henry*, earneſtly deſiring him, to make an end in ſome manner or other of this War and Controverſy between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*. Accordingly, *Henry* diſpatched the Abbot of *Abingdon*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, and *Chriſtopher Urſwick* to *France*. *Hall*, fol. 13. *Bacon*, p. 590. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1432.

1487. better defence, and ſo left the Earl of *Dunois* free to throw ſuccours into the Town. Which done, he ſuddenly retired, not deſiring to fight the *French* Army with ſuch Troops. This ſo ſeaſonable a relief, obliged the *French* to retire, in deſpair of taking the place. The raiſing of the Siege confirmed *Henry* in his belief, that the conqueſt of *Bretagne* was too difficult for *France*. So, perſiſting ſtill in his reſolution to ſtand neuter, he had not even the thought of ſending ſuccours to the Duke of *Bretagne*. He pretended however, to have his intereſt at heart; but it was only to procure a Subſidy from the Parliament, which he had ſummoned for the 9th of *November*. Mean while, he ſent again the ſame Ambaſſadors to King *Charles* and the Duke of *Bretagne*, under colour of being perfectly informed of the ſtate of this affair, in order to lay it before the Parliament, though he knew beforehand what anſwer they were to bring back.

Henry is confirmed in his wrong notion of the Affair of Bretagne.

Hall.

About this time *Edward* Lord *Woodville*, the Queen's Uncle, deſired the King's licenſe to go and ſerve the Duke of *Bretagne* with a Troop of Voluntiers. *Henry* denied his requeſt, not thinking proper to aid one of the parties when he was offering them his mediation. Nevertheleſs *Woodville* failed from the *Iſle of Wight* [of which he was Governour,] with four hundred Men into *Bretagne*. This aid, though inconſiderable, made a great noiſe at the Court of *France*. *Charles* publickly complained of it; but as *Henry* denied that the Lord *Woodville* had carried theſe Troops to the Duke with his conſent, was contented with that ſatisfaction. He was very careful, at ſuch a juncture, not to quarrel with *Henry* for ſo ſmall a matter.

Woodville carries a ſmall aid to the Duke of Bretagne. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The Lords of Bretagne *are reconciled to the Duke.* June 20.

Before the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors arrived in *Bretagne*, there had been in that Country a revolution prejudicial to the King of *France*'s affairs. The Lords of *Bretagne* who had treated with him, plainly perceiving his intention was to conquer the Duchy, made their peace with the Duke, and obtained a full pardon. The Marſhal *de Rieux*, their head, was the laſt to comply. He would firſt be thoroughly convinced of the *French* King's deſigns, which yet he only ſuſpected. For that purpoſe, after privately treating with the Duke of *Orleans*, he ſent a meſſenger to the King to tell him, that the Duke of *Orleans* offered to quit *Bretagne* with all his followers; and therefore, ſince the *French* Troops had entered *Bretagne* only to expel that Prince, he moſt humbly beſought him to recall them, purſuant to his Treaty with the Barons. *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, who was haughty and proud, imagining there was no need of any farther ceremony, told the meſſenger, the King had gone too far to recede, and would ſee the iſſue of the affair. This anſwer obliged the Marſhal to follow the example of the reſt of the Barons, and be reconciled to the Duke, who gave him the command of his Army.

The French take Dol.

Though *Charles* had raiſed the Siege of *Nantz*, he continued his conqueſts elſewhere. Soon after his Troops took the Town of *Dol* by ſtorm; whereupon the Duke not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Nantz*, thought fit to retire to *Rennes*. He ſaw himſelf extremely preſſed, and yet did not hear that preparations were any where making for his relief. In this extremity, he was perſuaded by the Prince of *Orange*, to promiſe *Ann* his eldeſt Daughter to the King of the *Romans*, though he had already promiſed her to the Lord *d'Albret*. The Prince of *Orange* made him believe that *Maximilian*, finding himſelf concerned to defend *Bretagne*, would not fail to come to his aſſiſtance with a powerful Army. But at this very time, the revolt of the *Gantois* diſabled that Prince to do any thing for *Bretagne*.

The Duke promiſes his Daughter to the King of the Romans. September.

Henry's *Ambaſſadors diſcover the King of* France's *deſigns.* Hall. Bacon.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors in *Bretagne* had frequent opportunities to be convinced that *Charles* was only amuſing the King their maſter, and intended to conquer that Duchy. *Henry* knew this ſtill better than they; but was willing, their report ſhould ſerve for foundation to demand a Subſidy for the defence of *Bretagne*, though he ſtill believed the affair might be adjuſted, without drawing the Sword. His ſole aim was to make the Parliament apprehenſive of the loſs of *Bretagne*, that they might more readily ſupply him with money, which he intended to put entirely into his Coffers. 1487.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament met the 9th of *November*, juſt after the return of the Ambaſſadors. Care had been taken to divulge the report they had brought to the King, to prepare the Commons to make a powerful effort in the defence of *Bretagne*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (1) as Lord Chancellor, opened the Seſſion with a Speech to both Houſes to this effect:

The Chancellor's Speech. Bacon.

" That the King thanked his Parliament for the Acts " paſſed in his favour at their laſt meeting: That he was " ſo well ſatisfied of their affection, that he had made it a " rule to himſelf to communicate to ſo good ſubjects all " affairs, as well foreign as domeſtick, that might happen, " and that one now occurred, concerning which he deſired " to have their advice.

" That the King of *France* (as no doubt they had heard) " was making fierce War upon the Duke of *Bretagne*: " That he alledged for reaſon the protection given by the " Duke of *Bretagne* to the Duke of *Orleans*; but others " gueſſed a very different motive: That both parties had " applied to the King, one to pray him to ſtand neuter, the other to deſire a powerful aid: That the King " having offered his mediation, found the *French* King " ready to treat, but without diſcontinuing the War: " That the Duke on the contrary, though he was very " deſirous of peace, and moſt wanted it, was averſe to a " Negotiation, not upon confidence of his own ſtrength, " but upon diſtruſt of the *French* Court's ſincerity: That " after ſundry Embaſſies tending to an amicable determination of this affair, the King had deſiſted from his mediation, becauſe he could neither remove the Duke of " *Bretagne*'s diſtruſt, nor perſuade the King of *France* to " ceaſe Hoſtilities during the Treaty: That this being " the ſtate of the caſe, he deſired their advice, whether " he ſhould ſend ſuccours to the Duke of *Bretagne*, " and enter into a defenſive league with him againſt " *France*."

After thus ſtating the queſtion, he alledged ſeveral arguments *pro* and *con*, his aim being, under colour of leaving the Parliament free to determine what they ſhould judge proper, to make them ſenſible of the neceſſity of aiding *Bretagne*. This neceſſity was in effect ſo evident, that there was need but of a very moderate knowledge of the intereſts of the State, to ſee of what conſequence it was to *England* to prevent the conqueſt of *Bretagne*. However, it is worth noting, that the King knowing how much it concerned the *Engliſh* to defend *Bretagne*, alledged theſe reaſons by the mouth of his Chancellor, only to obtain a Subſidy, without intending however, to employ it in ſupport of the oppreſſed Prince. This will plainly appear in his whole future conduct. The Parliament, according to the King's expectation, failed not to adviſe him to undertake the defence of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and granted him for that purpoſe as large a Subſidy as had ever been given to any former King (2) on account of a foreign War (3).

A Subſidy granted for the Aid of Bretagne.

The King keeps in the way of Treaty. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

As ſoon as the Parliament broke up, *Henry* reſumed the way of Negotiation with *Charles*, ſtill fancying that the terrour of his Arms would lead that Prince to an agreement. The only means however to ſave *Bretagne*, was to ſend thither a ſtrong aid, and declare War with *France*, according to the Parliament's intention. But *Henry* had laid another plan, founded wholly upon his extreme deſire that the affair might be decided, without his being forced to expend the money lately received. He was content therefore with ſending Ambaſſadors to King *Charles*, to notify to him the Parliament's reſolu-

He ſends an Embaſſy to France.

(1) Dr. *John Morton*.

(2) *Polydore Virgil* ſays, it was a Poll-Tax——Tributo in ſingula capita impoſito——But, according to *Stow*, every Man was taxed to pay the tenth Penny of all Lands and Goods, p. 473. See alſo *Hall*, fol. 16. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1434——In the firſt Parliament of this King, the Taxes granted were as follows: 1. *Tunnage*, which was three Shillings on every Tun of Wine, of Denizens; and ſix Shillings of Aliens. 2. *Poundage*, that is, one Shilling in the Pound of all Merchandizes imported or exported; except Tin, for which Aliens were to pay two Shillings. 3. *The Subſidy of Wool and Woolfells*, which was thirty three Shillings and Four-pence of Denizens, and of Aliens three Pounds ſix Shillings and Eight-pence, for every Sack of Wool, and for two hundred and forty Woolfells. And for every *Laſt of Hides*, Denizens were to pay three Pounds ſix Shillings and Eight-pence; and Aliens, three Pounds thirteen Shillings and Four-pence. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 335. The Clergy granted then the King a Tenth. *Ibid.* p. 323.

(3) In this Parliament, the Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which before ſubſiſted by the ancient common Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain Caſes by Act of Parliament. This Court conſiſted of Counſellors, Peers, Prelates, and chief Judges. It took cognizance of Forces, Frauds, Advances towards heinous or capital Crimes not actually committed. The other remarkable Statutes now enacted were theſe: 1. That if any of the King's Servants, under the degree of a Lord, did conſpire the death of the King, or any of the King's Council, or Lord of the Realm, as the Lord Steward, Treaſurer, or Comptroller, it ſhould be Felony. This Law was thought to be procured by the Lord Chancellor, who being a ſtern and haughty Man, and finding he had ſome mortal enemies in Court, provided for his own Safety. 2. The taking and carrying away Women, having Lands and Goods, (except Female-wards and Bond-ſlaves) forcibly, and againſt their wills, and the abetting of it, was made Felony. 3. It was ordained, That Clerks convict ſhould be burned in the Hand. 4. That the Sheriff ſhall certify the names of all his Priſoners at the Goal-Delivery. 5. That all Deeds of Gift made to defraud Creditors ſhall be void. 6. That Coſts ſhall be awarded to the Plaintiff, where the Defendant ſueth a Writ of Error before execution had. See *Statut.* 3 *Henry* VII; and *Bacon*, p. 594.

tion.

1487. tion. But withal, as if he was afraid of going too far, he declared that the War on the part of *England* ſhould be only defenſive, and ſolely with reſpect to *Bretagne*.

Charles's Anſwer.

The Court of *France* eaſily perceived by theſe proceedings, that the King of *England* had no great deſire vigorouſly to puſh this affair, ſince, when he ſhould have been preparing for War, he contented himſelf with ſending Ambaſſies. So, *Charles* told the Ambaſſadors, that he was always ready to accept of the King of *England* for Arbiter of the differences between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*; but did not intend to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a Treaty, which would only ſerve to give the Duke time and opportunity to reſtore his affairs. That he ſhould be always willing to treat, provided it was not meant to require a Truce deſtructive of his intereſts.

1488. *The Duke of Bretagne makes ſome progreſs.* Argentré. Mezer. i.

The Winter procured the Duke of *Bretagne* a ceſſation of Arms, which all the inſtances of the King of *England* had not been able to obtain, as it obliged the King of *France* to put his Troops into quarters, and return to *Paris*. Moreover in *March* 1488, the Marſhal *de Rieux* retook *Vannes* and *Dinant*, and garriſoned *Ancennis* and *Chateaubriant*. On the other hand, the Lord *d'Albret*'s two Troops of Men at Arms deſerted the *French* ſervice, and joined the Duke's Army. But this little turn of fortune was of no long continuance. In *April* the King took the field again, and having retaken *Ancennis* and *Chateaubriant*, razed them to the ground. After that, he marched to *Fougeres*, and beſieged at once that place and St. *Aubin du Cormier*.

Charles beſieges Fougeres and St. Aubin.

The Lord d'Albret arrives in Bretagne, and preſſes the Duke about his Marriage. The Duke evades his demand.

Mean time, the Lord *d'Albret* having accepted the propoſal made him in the beginning of the War, came into *Bretagne* to ſerve the Duke with a thouſand Horſe. Upon his arrival, he preſſed the Duke to perform his promiſe concerning the marriage. The Duke, who had privately promiſed his Daughter to *Maximilian*, being greatly embaraſſed, put the young Princeſs upon declaring, ſhe would never eſpouſe the Lord *d'Albret*, tho' ſhe was not then above eleven years old. This oppoſition gave the Duke a pretence to elude *d'Albret*'s purſuits, till the Princeſs's obſtinacy could be conquered.

He ſues for Peace to the King of France.

Mean while, the unfortunate Duke finding himſelf little able to reſiſt the *French*, and receiving aſſiſtance neither from *Maximilian* nor the King of *England*, ſent the Earl of *Dunois* to *Charles* to ſue for peace. *Charles* did not think fit to return a poſitive anſwer. He was willing firſt to ſee the ſucceſs of his two Sieges. On the other hand, he was in Treaty with *Henry* for a Truce which he expected ſhortly to conclude; and that was to determine him, either to refuſe peace to the Duke, or enter into Treaty with him. So, keeping the Earl of *Dunois* ſtill at Court, under divers pretences, he put him off from day to day, till he had received certain advice from *England*. Shortly after, he heard that *Henry* had ſigned at *Windſor* a Truce, to commence the 14th of *July* this year, and to end the 17th of *January* 1490. Thus having nothing to fear from *England*, he wholly applied himſelf to continue his conqueſts.

New Truce between France and England. Act. Pub. XII. p. 337, 344.

Remark on Henry's Conduct,

Moſt certainly *Henry*, in leaving the Duke of *Bretagne* to the mercy of his Enemy, acted directly contrary to the Parliament's intention, which had granted him a Subſidy for the aſſiſtance of that Prince. This Truce, made without any neceſſity, when the Duke of *Bretagne* was moſt preſſed, plainly ſhews, he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by the Court of *France*, or rather by the deſire of keeping the money granted by the Parliament for the aid of *Bretagne*. The Duke's occaſion for a powerful aſſiſtance could not be more preſſing. *Charles* was in the heart of his Country, at the head of a ſtrong Army, taking his Towns one after another, and he not able to make any reſiſtance. At the ſame time *Henry* was concluding with *France* a Truce which tied up his hands, and afforded King *Charles* time and facility to conquer *Bretagne*. Wherefore his Hiſtorian, prepoſſeſſed no doubt in his favor, and not imagining, he had thus cauſeleſsly forſaken the poor Duke in his diſtreſs, mentions not this Truce made with *France* at ſo unſeaſonable a time. Moreover, he makes the Succours ſent by *Henry* into *Bretagne*, to arrive there the beginning of *Auguſt* this year, whereas it is very certain they came not till *March* ſeven months after. Theſe affected delays, which ſurprized all the world, proceeded wholly from the King's wrong notion of this War, and his deſire to end it, without being obliged to uſe the money given by Parliament.

and upon an omiſſion of his Hiſtorian. Bacon.

The Duke of Bretagne refuſes to ſubmit. Argentré. Hall.

Mean time, the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marſhal *de Rieux*, were in the utmoſt confuſion. The King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, had ſeemed to eſpouſe their quarrel; but it did not appear that any of them were preparing to aſſiſt them. In this extremity, a Council was held to conſider what courſe was to be taken. Moſt were for marching to the relief of *Fougeres*, and joining Battle rather than ſuffer that place to be loſt. The Marſhal *de Rieux* oppoſed in vain this dangerous advice, by repreſenting that the loſs of a Battle would infallibly be attended with the ruin of *Bretagne*. That it would be much wiſer to delay the time till the neighbouring Princes ſhould ſee their own intereſt, ſince it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them to ſuffer *Bretagne* to be ſwallowed up by *France*. To this it was replied, that probably *Bretagne* would be loſt before any Succours arrived, and therefore the only way to ſave it was a victory. The Duke of *Bretagne*'s underſtanding was ſo impaired, that he was little able to judge ſoundly of an Affair of ſuch conſequence. So ſuffering himſelf to be governed by the Counſels of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew, he reſolved to march to the relief of *Fougeres*. But upon his approach, he found the Town had already capitulated. Then he determined to relieve St. *Aubin du Cormier*, but the Governor, for want of Proviſions and Ammunition, had ſurrendered a few days before. 1488.

The Duke of Orleans and Prince of Orange are ſuſpected.

Whilſt the Duke of *Bretagne* was marching to St. *Aubin*, all the Forces of *France* joined in one body, under the command of *Lewis de Trimouille*, for fear the Duke had intended to retake that place. In a few days, the two Armies were ſo near one another, that it was not poſſible to part without giving Battle. Whilſt they were preparing on both ſides, a rumour being ſpread among the *Bretons*, that the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were going to betray them, they were upon the point of disbanding. But the two Princes removed their fears, by going amongſt them to charge on foot. The Battle was fought the 28th of *July*, with fatal ſucceſs to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was defeated with the loſs of his beſt Troops. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* being taken Priſoners, the King commanded the firſt to be confined in the Tower of *Bourges*, but ſet the other at liberty. The four hundred *Engliſh* brought over by the Lord *Woodville*, were almoſt all ſlain with their Leader (1). As the *Engliſh* were then diſtinguiſhed by a *Red-Croſs*, twelve hundred (2) *Bretons* were joined to them with the ſame Badge, to make the *French* believe, that freſh Succours were arrived from *England*. It may be, this gave occaſion to ſome to affirm, that King *Henry* had already ſent a freſh body of Troops to the Duke of *Bretagne*. The Lord *Verulam*, who has writ the Hiſtory of this Reign, does not ſay this, but aſſures us, that eight thouſand *Engliſh* arrived within a few days, and offered the *French* Battle, who did not think proper to accept it. *Polydore Virgil* and ſeveral others ſay the ſame thing. But herein they are miſtaken. *Henry* had not yet made any Treaty with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and it was not till after the Duke's death, and in *March* the next year, that he ſent, as will be ſeen, ſix thouſand Men to the Ducheſs his Daughter.

Battle of St. Aubin, wherein the Duke of Bretagne is defeated. Mezerai. Argentré.

Woodville is ſlain, with all his Followers. Hall. Hollingſh.

Error of the Engliſh Hiſtorians in this matter.

In a few days after the Battle of St. *Aubin*, *Lewis de la Trimouille* ordered the City of *Rennes*, Capital of *Bretagne*, to be ſummoned, but the Inhabitants continued firm in their Allegiance to their Sovereign.

Rennes *refuſes to ſurrender.*

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Bretagne*, *Henry* was levying in *England* the money granted by Parliament. That was a principal Affair which he haſtened extremely, on pretence of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s preſſing occaſion for a ſpeedy aſſiſtance. All the Counties, except *Yorkſhire*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, readily paid the Tax impoſed by the Parliament. But in theſe parts, where the friends of the Houſe of *York* were very numerous, it was not collected with the ſame eaſe. Some factious perſons ſtirring up the People, the Commiſſioners for gathering the Subſidy met with ſo much oppoſition, that they were obliged to make application to the Earl of *Northumberland* (3), who immediately gave the Court notice [and deſired the King's direction.] The King anſwered, he would not have one penny abated of the money granted by Parliament, both by reaſon of the urgent occaſion, and becauſe other Counties might be incouraged to deſire the like mitigation. Upon this anſwer, the Earl of *Northumberland* aſſembled the principal Juſtices and Free-Holders of the County, and in very imperious Terms declared to them the King's intention. The rough manner in which he ſpoke to them, without ſhewing any regard for perſons who were but too much incenſed, gave them reaſon to think, he himſelf adviſed the King to ſuch an an-

Inſurrection in the North of England. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hollingſh.

(1) Beſides them, there were ſix thouſand *Bretons* ſlain; and twelve hundred of the *French*. *Hall*, fol. 15. *Hollingſh*. p. 1433.
(2) *Hall* ſays, ſeventeen hundred. fol. 15.
(3) *Henry Percy*, chief Ruler of the north parts. *Hall*, fol. 16.

1488. *The Earl of* Northumberland *is killed by the Mob.* *They threaten to fight the King.*

ſwer. This being rumoured in *York*, the Mob roſe, and aſſaulting the Earl's houſe, forced it open, and murdered him with ſeveral of his Servants. But the Mutineers did not reſt there. Preſently after, being inflamed by one *John a Chamber* an Incendiary, they ſet Sir *John Egremond* at their head, and publickly declared they were marching to *London* to give the King battle.

The Earl of Surrey *diſperſes them.*

Henry being informed of this Inſurrection, ſent into the North a body of Troops under the command of the Earl of *Surrey* (1), whom he had releaſed out of the *Tower*, and received into favour, preparing to follow him in perſon with more conſiderable Forces. But whilſt he was on his way, he heard that *Surrey* had beaten and diſperſed the Rebels, and *John a Chamber* was taken Priſoner. As for *Egremond*, he had the good fortune to eſcape and retire into *Flanders* to the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, whoſe Palace was a Sanctuary to all the King's Enemies. Though this Affair was ended, *Henry* however purſued his Journey to *York*, where he ordered *John a Chamber* to be hanged on a Gibbet raiſed in the midſt of a ſquare Gallows, on which twelve of his Accomplices were hanged round about him. After that, he returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* Preſident of the North, and Sir *Richard Tunſtal* his principal Commiſſioner, to levy the Subſidy, of which he would not remit a denier.

The King goes on to York, *and puniſhes the Ringleaders.*

He feigns to be reſolved to aid Bretagne.

Mean time, the news of the Battle of St. *Aubin* being brought to the King, he ſeemed reſolved to ſend a powerful aid to the Duke of *Bretagne*. But it was ſtill in hopes that the terror of his Arms would oblige King *Charles* to conſent to a Peace. This Artifice was not however capable of deceiving the Court of *France*, which plainly ſaw through all his deſigns.

Sad condition of the Duke of Bretagne. Haræus. Hall. Hollingſh.

The loſs of a Battle had reduced the Duke of *Bretagne* to a State worthy of pity. He could no longer ſupport himſelf with his own forces alone, and ſaw no preparations for his defence, either in *Flanders* or *England*. *Henry* had put him in hopes of aſſiſtance, but was not in haſte to ſend him any. As for *Maximilian*, inſtead of being able to aſſiſt his future Father in-law, he was himſelf detained Priſoner in a Sedition againſt him at *Bruges*, where ſeveral of his Officers were killed. His Captivity laſted from the beginning of *January* to the 15th of *May*, and his releaſe then was owing to the Emperor *Frederick* his Father, who had marched into the *Low-Countries* at the head of an Army to his relief. So inſtead of thinking to aſſiſt *Bretagne*, he was himſelf ſeeking on all ſides for foreign Succours againſt the *Flemings*. To that end, forgetting his engagements with the Duke of *Bretagne*, he ſent this very year to the King and Queen of *Spain*, to demand in marriage *Iſabella* their eldeſt Daughter, and at the ſame time *Jane* their ſecond Daughter for his Son *Philip*. The firſt of theſe demands could not be granted, *Iſabella* being already promiſed to the Prince of *Portugal*. But the other was effected in time. At laſt in *September*, *Philip de Cleves* Lord of *Ravenſtein*, heading the *Gantois* and ſurprizing the City of *Bruſſels*, *Maximilian* retired into *Germany*, leaving in the *Low-Countries*, *Albert* Duke of *Saxony* to command in his place, in the name of the Archduke his Son.

Maximilian *retires into* Germany.

The Duke of Bretagne *ſues for Peace.* *Reaſons why* Charles *granted it.* Hall. Bacon.

There was therefore no appearance of aid for the Duke of *Bretagne*, either from *England* or the *Low-Countries*, or in ſhort, from any other place. In this diſtreſs, the unfortunate Duke humbly ſued to the King of *France* for peace, who very readily complied with his requeſt, not from a motive of Generoſity, but to put it entirely out of his power to defend himſelf, by cauſing him to loſe the aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport him. Though *Henry* had agreed to a Truce with *France*, which was not to expire till *January* 1490, *Charles* was afraid however he would change his mind, and aſſiſt the Duke his Ally with all his Forces next Campain. In order therefore to divert him from this thought, he very willingly concluded a Peace with the Duke of *Bretagne*, intending to keep it no farther than was conſiſtent with his Intereſts. For in his whole Conduct, with regard to *Bretagne*, he did not ſeem more ſcrupulous than his Father King *Lewis* XI was in all his Negotiations.

Charles VIII's *Pretenſions.* Argentré.

The diſcuſſion of *Charles*'s pretenſions upon *Bretagne*, delayed for ſome time the concluſion of the Peace which was negotiating at *Verger*, a Seat belonging to the Marſhal *de Rieux*, where the King then was. *Charles* pretending, that after the deceaſe of the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Guardianſhip of his Daughters belonged to him as Sovereign Lord of the Duchy, this pretenſion was diſputed by the *Bretons*, who affirmed the Dukes of *Bretagne* had never done Liege-Homage to the Kings of *France*, and conſequently they had no right to claim the Guardianſhip in queſtion. It was no favorable Juncture to decide, to the advantage of the *Bretons*, this ſo long, and as yet undetermined diſpute. But this pretenſion of *Charles* was a trifle, in compariſon of another of much greater conſequence. He maintained, that the Duchy itſelf belonged to him, by virtue of a certain Grant to King *Lewis* XI, from the Lady *de la Broſſe*, Heireſs of the Houſe of *Blois*, who had formerly diſputed *Bretagne* with the Anceſtors of *Francis* II. This was renewing an old quarrel, which had been ended by ſeveral Treaties, and particularly by that of *Guerande*, whereby the Houſe of *Blois* relinquiſhed all claim. However, *Charles* inſiſted not obſtinately upon theſe two Articles, contenting himſelf with having intimated his pretenſions, in order to proſecute them in time and place. So, the Treaty was concluded about the end of *Auguſt*, importing, that *Charles* ſhould remain with the places he had conquered, and withdraw his Forces out of the reſt of *Bretagne*. But he did not intend to obſerve this laſt Article. The Duke ratified the Treaty at *Coyron*, where he then was, and therefore it is called by the *Bretons*, the Treaty of *Coyron*, and by the *French*, the Treaty of *Verger*, or *Vergy*.

1488.

Treaty of Verger *or* Coyron. Argentré. Mezerai.

Diſſenſions among the Bretons *upon the death of the Duke.*

A few days after, namely, on the 9th of *September*, died *Francis* II, Duke of *Bretagne*, in a very advanced age, and with his underſtanding ſo impaired, that for ſome years paſt, he had been uncapable of governing the State. *Ann* his eldeſt Daughter, about twelve years old, ſucceeded him. The Duke her Father had appointed her for Guardian, the Marſhal *de Rieux*, who was to be aſſiſted by the Earl of *Cominge*. But *Philip de Montauban* Chancellor of *Bretagne* found means to carry away the young Ducheſs to *Guerande*, where under colour of giving her advice, he made her ſpeak as he pleaſed. This occaſioned between the Marſhal and the Chancellor a quarrel, which proved extremely prejudicial to the Ducheſs, and to all the *Bretons* in general.

Henry pretends to aid the Ducheſs. Hall.

Henry hearing of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s deceaſe, openly declared, that he conſidered the Intereſt of the young Orphan Ducheſs as his own, and ſeemed to prepare in earneſt to aſſiſt her. But as he knew likewiſe that, a few days before the Duke's death, a proviſional Treaty had been concluded till all the King of *France*'s pretenſions were ſettled, he did not queſtion that the affair would be ended by way of Negotiation. The Buſineſs was only to hinder King *Charles* from taking advantage of the preſent Conſternation of the *Bretons*. This he imagined could be effected, by loudly proclaiming his concern for the Ducheſs's affairs. He ſtill believed, *Charles* feared him, and rather than break with him, would reſign much of his pretenſions. So, his aim was to become arbiter of this difference, and avoid a war which would have forced him to empty his Coffers.

He ſends Embaſſies to ſeveral Courts, Act. Pub. XII. p. 334, 336—355.

For this purpoſe it was that he ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of the *Romans*, to the Archduke his Son, and to the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, to make the King of *France* believe, he was labouring to form a League againſt him. He ſent alſo an Embaſſy to *Charles* himſelf (2), to preſs him to end entirely the affair of *Bretagne* by a Treaty. At the ſame time, he ſent *Edgecomb* and *Ainſe-* *and offers to aid* Ann. p. 348. *worth* to offer his aſſiſtance to the Ducheſs, and empowered them to promiſe in his name, to find her ſuch a number of Troops, upon ſufficient Security for the re-payment of the Charges. We ſhall ſee under the next year, to what all theſe Embaſſies tended. But before we proceed, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention the revolution in *Scotland*.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

The affair of *Bretagne* ſo employed the Kings of *France* and *England*, that *James* III could obtain no aſſiſtance from either, againſt the Lords who had the Prince his Son at their head. The Male-contents would have been very glad to decide the quarrel by a battle. But the King ſtill kept in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where it was not poſſible to force him. Though *Charles* and *Henry* had promiſed him aid, they were not very deſirous to eſpouſe his quarrel. Mean while, he was ſtill in hopes, and therefore kept cloſe, expecting the performance of their promiſe.

Whilſt his affairs were in this ſituation, he was adviſed to quit the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* for *Sterling* as the more convenient place, and there expect the foreign ſuccours. *James* taking this advice, began his march with his few Troops, and preſently the Lords were cloſe after him. He was however far enough before them to be ſecure, if the Governor of *Sterling*, bribed by his enemies, had not refuſed him admittance. So, not knowing where to go, he reſolved to return to *Edinburgh*; but meeting the Army of the Male-contents, was forced to fight, though much inferior in number of Troops. He was killed in the Battle which was fought in the month of *June*. After his death, *James* IV, his eldeſt Son, about

James III is ſlain, and James IV *his Son ſucceeds him.*

(1) *Thomas Howard.*

(2) The Ambaſſadors were, *Chriſtopher Urſewyke*, *Thomas Ward*, and *Stephen Fryan*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 347.

1488. fifteen years old, was proclaimed in his room, by the Lords who had placed him at their head. But all the *Scots* were not ſatisfied with this change. There were many that refuſed to own the young Prince, whom they taxed with being the murderer of his Father, and gave him great diſturbance for ſome time. In *July* the new King ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to notify his acceſſion to the Crown (1).

Act. Pub. XII. p. 343.

1489. On the 10th of *February* 1489, the Ambaſſadors, ſent into *Bretagne*, concluded a Treaty with the Ducheſs, of which the principal article was, that the King ingaged to ſend into *Bretagne* an aid of ſix thouſand Men. To conſider this alone, one would be apt to imagine, *Henry* acted only from a principle of generoſity, or at leaſt for the intereſt of his Kingdom. But he had no ſuch thought. His ſole aim was firſt to hinder *Bretagne* from being over-run by a ſudden invaſion of the *French*, in order to give room for a Treaty. In the next place, to draw a pecuniary advantage from the ſuccours, ſent the Ducheſs, the expences whereof he was willing to advance, in order to be afterwards re-paid with uſury. As this Treaty manifeſtly ſhows his intereſted views in this affair, it will not be improper to inſert the ſubſtance of each article: Which added to what will be ſaid hereafter, will ſerve in great meaſure to give a juſt idea of this Prince's character.

Henry's aim in his Treaty with Ann.

Treaty of Redon. Act. Pub. XII. p. 362.

I. The antient Treaties between *England* and *Bretagne* ſhall be obſerved.

II. There ſhall be a conſtant friendſhip and alliance between the King of *England* and the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*.

III. They ſhall mutually aſſiſt one another in caſe either is attacked.

IV. If the King ſhall carry War into *France* for the recovery of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, the Ducheſs ſhall find him Troops according to her power.

V. The King ſhall alſo aid the Ducheſs, if ſhe carries the War into *France* for the recovery of her right, without prejudice however to the Truce concluded between *England* and *France*, which is not to expire till the 17th of *January* 1490.

VI. Neither of the two parties ſhall admit into his Dominions the rebellious Subjects of the other.

VII. The King ſhall ſend the Ducheſs at his own charge an aid of ſix thouſand Men; upon condition, that a ſufficient number of theſe Troops be allotted to guard the cautionary Towns hereafter mentioned, which ſhall be delivered to the King. But the number ſhall not exceed five hundred.

VIII. Theſe ſix thouſand Men ſhall ſerve the Ducheſs at the King's expence till the firſt of *November*.

IX. Immediately after that day the Ducheſs ſhall find Ships with all neceſſaries, to tranſport the Troops into *England*.

X. The ſix thouſand Men ſhall be embarked at *Portſmouth* about the middle of this inſtant *February*, or at fartheſt, by the end of the ſaid month, upon Veſſels provided by the Ducheſs.

XI. The Ducheſs ingages to repay the King all his expences, for the tranſportation of the Troops both out and home, and for their maintenance whilſt in her ſervice, as alſo for the defence of the cautionary Towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The Re-imburſement ſhall be made in *England*.

XIII. It may be made at ſeveral payments; the cautionary Towns remaining in the King's hands till the whole is paid.

XIV. Immediately after the arrival of the ſix thouſand Men in *Bretagne*, the Ducheſs ſhall deliver any two of the following places the King ſhall chuſe, *Tonclaromneau*, *Hennebond*, *Avray*, *Vannes*, *Guerande*, with all their revenues, to be kept till the King is fully repaid, without any deduction, and then only ſhall he be obliged to reſtore them.

XV. If the King carries War into *France* upon his own account, and the Ducheſs find him ſuccours, her expences ſhall be deducted out of what ſhe ſhall owe the King. In like manner if the King aid the Ducheſs in an offenſive War with *France*, ſhe ſhall re-pay his charges upon that occaſion.

XVI. If any of the places now poſſeſſed by the King of *France* be re-taken, the King ſhall have liberty to chuſe one or two of theſe places, in the room of one or two of thoſe which ſhall then be in his hands. Upon condition however that he chuſe not *Breſt* and *Tonclaromneau* at the ſame time.

1489.

XVII. Two Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on each ſide, to ſettle the King's expences for the aſſiſtance of *Bretagne*.

XVIII. The Ducheſs ſhall ſwear before the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, that ſhe will not demand again the cautionary Towns till the whole Debt be paid. The Marſhall of *Bretagne* with three or four of the principal Lords ſhall take the ſame Oath.

XIX. Before the cautionary Towns ſhall be delivered to the King, they ſhall be furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of Artillery, and a fortnight's proviſions.

XX. The Fairs and Markets ſhall be kept there as uſual.

XXI. As ſoon as part of the King's Troops ſhall arrive in any Port of *Bretagne*, the Ducheſs ſhall ſend to the Ships ſixteen Hoſtages; namely,------or at leaſt four of them to be detained till the cautionary Towns are delivered.

XXII. The Ducheſs, the Marſhal, and three or four of the principal Lords ſhall ſwear upon the Holy Goſpels, that ſhe will not make a contract of marriage with any perſon whatever without the King's conſent.

XXIII. She ſhall make no alliance, nor hold intelligence with any Prince, except the King of the *Romans* and the King of *Spain*, nor even with theſe without the King's conſent (2).

XXIV. She ſhall conclude neither Peace nor Truce for above two months, nor even make a Truce for that time, without including the King.

XXV. The King promiſes the ſame thing on his part.

XXVI. The Treaty of Commerce between *England* and *Bretagne* of the 22d of *July* 1486, ſhall be renewed.

XXVII. The King and the Ducheſs ſhall give mutual ſecurity for the obſervance of the Treaty of Commerce.

XXVIII. *Engliſh* money ſhall paſs in *Bretagne* after this manner,------the King ſhall be obliged to receive the ſame Money in payment.

Remarks upon this Treaty.

It is eaſy to perceive that in making this Treaty *Henry* had three different views. Firſt, to prevent *Charles* VIII from becoming maſter of *Bretagne*, whilſt the Ducheſs was ſo little able to reſiſt him. If *Charles* ſhould have finiſhed the conqueſt of *Bretagne* next Campaign, as was very eaſy, *Henry* would have been blamed by all *Europe*. Particularly, he would have been inexcuſable to the Parliament, who had granted him a very conſiderable ſubſidy for the defence of that Duchy. His ſecond view was to frighten the King of *France*, by the ſending of *Engliſh* Troops into a compliance to end the affair by way of Negotiation. This is manifeſt from his lending the ſix thouſand Men for eight months only, and that too, when they were of no ſervice but to prevent the Court of *France* from violating the Treaty of *Vergy* then in force. His third and chief aim was, to ſecure the reimburſement of what he was going to advance, for the maintenance of the ſix thouſand Men for eight months. He had already projected the keeping for his own uſe the ſubſidy granted by Parliament for the defence of *Bretagne*, in the expectation of deciding the affair by his mediation. Mean while, he ſaw that the young Princeſs, in her circumſtances, could not reſiſt the King of *France*, if he thought of purſuing his conqueſts. So, to oblige King *Charles* to enter into Treaty, it was neceſſary to ſhow him the Ducheſs would not want Protectors, if he pretended to continue to uſe the way of Arms. He could not help therefore advancing the money, ſince the Ducheſs was not able to do it. But withal he took ſo great care not to loſe his money, that it is viſible from the Treaty, his principal aim was the re-payment of his expences. There are two farther remarks to be made upon his conduct. Firſt, 'tis probable, he would lend his Troops out but for eight months, leaſt the ſum ſhould mount too high, and conſequently become difficult to be repaid. Secondly, he was willing not only to ſecure the principal, but to receive it alſo with intereſt. For, after receiving places in mortgage for his ſecurity, he left the ſum undetermined, in order to have it ſettled by Commiſſioners. He knew that when he had the Towns in his hands, *Ann* would one day be forced to ſubmit to what he ſhould preſcribe, and it would be in his power to mount the charges of levying and maintaining his Troops as high as he pleaſed. What I am ſaying is not a bare conjecture, ſince we ſhall find in the ſequel that he raiſed this expence to an exorbitant ſum. Thus *Ann* was ſo bound by the Treaty, that this aid was no leſs expenſive to her than

(1) And at the ſame time, the Truce concluded between the two Crowns in 1486, was ratified and confirmed by *Henry*, on the 26th of *July*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12 p. 345, 346. Commiſſioners had been appointed, in the former part of the year, to treat of a Peace or a Prolongation of the Truce between both Kingdoms. *Ibid.* p. 334, 339, 340, 343.

(2) Unleſs he is expreſsly included in the ſaid Alliances. *Rymer's Fœd.*

1489. the *French* Army itſelf, which remained quiet without any attempt, though it ſtill continued in the Country. *Charles* had fully deſigned to take advantage of the conſternation of the *Bretons* after the death of their Duke. But in a Council held upon that occaſion, the Chancellor *de Rochefort* was utterly againſt it, from motives of honour and equity. His opinion made the deeper impreſſion upon the King, as he ſtill feared, that, though the King of *England* acted but faintly, he would alter his mind. Beſides *Henry*'s Embaſſies to *Spain*, to the King of the *Romans*, and to the Archduke, gave the Court of *France* ſome uneaſineſs. They were afraid of a league which would have obſtructed the execution of a grand project already formed, and which will be mentioned hereafter.

Diſſention in Bretagne. Argentré.

Whilſt the Treaty was negotiating at *Redon*, the Ducheſs's affairs were in a deplorable ſtate. She not only ſaw a *French* Army in the heart of her Country, and in poſſeſſion of ſeveral Towns; but moreover, was deſtitute of Men and money. What was ſtill more grievous at ſuch a juncture, was the diſſention among her principal Lords. The Marſhal *de Rieux* pretended to govern her, as her guardian. But *Philip de Montauban* her Chancellor had ſuch an aſcendent over her, that he cauſed her to conſider the Marſhal as an enemy, ſo that ſhe abſolutely refuſed to be under his guardianſhip. *Montauban*'s pretence to exaſperate her was, that the Marſhall would have married her to the Lord *d' Albret*. But the Chancellor repreſented to her that the Marſhal intended to ruin her, by giving her a Husband unable to protect her. He even inſinuated that the Marſhal was bribed by the King of *France*, whoſe intereſt it was to marry her to a Lord not ſupported by any Prince in *Europe*. It may be the Chancellor was himſelf gained in favour of the King of the *Romans*. Be this as it will, their diſſention was carried ſo far, that the Marſhal *de Rieux* cauſed the Gates of *Nantz* to be ſhut upon the Ducheſs, and even threatened to beſiege her in *Rennes*. It is not therefore ſurpriſing that *Montauban*, who managed the Ducheſs's affairs, ſhould agree to the Treaty of *Redon*; ſince, by the arrival of the *Engliſh* Forces his party would be exceedingly ſtrengthened.

The Engliſh *arrive in* Bretagne. Hall. Act. Pub. XII. p. 355, 360, 373, 378, 380, 381, 394.

The *Engliſh* Succours at laſt arrived in *March*, which with *Henry*'s Embaſſies to ſeveral Courts, made King *Charles* imagine, he intended to act vigorouſly in defence of *Bretagne* (1). In this belief, finding he could not execute his deſigns by open force, without entering into war with the *Engliſh*, and drawing perhaps other enemies upon himſelf, he thought ſome other courſe ſhould be taken. There was on foot a Treaty of Peace between him and *Maximilian*, and between *Maximilian* and the *Gantois*, by the mediation of the *German* Princes, aſſembled at *Francfort*. As this affair was in a good way, he did not queſtion that a Peace would inſue. He had in his power, *Margaret* Daughter of the King of the *Romans*, in order to eſpouſe her when marriageable, and was not ignorant of the late Duke of *Bretagne*'s engagement with that Prince, concerning his Daughter's marriage. So, not at all doubting, that his future Father-in-law, with whom he was going to conclude a Peace, would be ready to favour him, he ſent and offered the Ducheſs of *Bretagne* to make him Umpire of their differences. *Ann* gladly accepted the propoſal, being almoſt ſure of the favour of a Prince who expected to marry her, and *Maximilian* did not want much Intreaty to become arbiter of an affair, in which he himſelf was ſo much concerned. Thus *Charles*, *Ann*, and *Maximilian*, acted all three with Inſincerity.

Charles and Ann take Maximilian for Umpire. Argentré.

Treaty made at Francfort.

The Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Bretagne* being met at *Francfort*, concluded, by the mediation of the King of the *Romans*, a proviſional Treaty, importing, that *Charles* ſhould reſtore the places conquered upon *Bretagne*, except *Dinant*, St. *Aubin*, *Fougeres*, and St. *Malo*: That theſe four Towns ſhould be committed in truſt to *Maximilian*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the *French* Troops march out of the reſt of *Bretagne*: That on her part, the Ducheſs ſhould ſend away the *Engliſh*: And in *April* next, a Congreſs be held at *Tournay*, to adjuſt all diſputes: That, in the mean time, both parties ſhould ſend their reaſons to *Avignon*, to be examined and diſcuſſed by *Civilians*, that their opinions might ſerve for the Inſtruction of the mediators. 1489.

This Treaty was without effect, though both Parties ſeemed pleaſed with it. *Ann* was obliged by the Treaty of *Redon*, to deliver two places to the King of *England*, and theſe two places were to be kept by five hundred *Engliſh*. By the preſent Treaty, ſhe promiſed to ſend away all the *Engliſh*. But as the five hundred Men which kept the two places were not excepted, *Charles* pretended, he was not bound to execute the Treaty of *Francfort*, till all the *Engliſh* were departed from *Bretagne*, to which *Ann* could not oblige them. So, though in *November*, purſuant to the Treaty of *Redon*, the *Engliſh* Forces returned into *England*, the five hundred Men however remained, and it was not in the Ducheſs's power to ſend them away, unleſs ſhe repaid the King of *England* all his charges, which was impoſſible. The affair reſted therefore in the ſame ſtate it was before the Treaty of *Francfort*, and the two parties neither ſent their reaſons to *Avignon*, nor their Ambaſſadors to *Tournay*.

Charles keeps not the Treaty.

Mean time, *Maximilian*'s marriage with *Ann* was negotiating with all poſſible ſecrecy. *Maximilian*'s agents repreſented to the young Princeſs, the honour ſhe would enjoy of being Queen of the *Romans*, and in time, Empreſs. But with this honour, ſhe would have wanted a powerful aſſiſtance, which her Lover was not able to give her. He could not draw any Forces out of *Flanders*, and ſend them to *Bretagne*, without breaking with *France*, included in his late Peace with the *Gantois*. Beſides, this Peace was ſo ill ſecured, that it did not laſt a whole year. Thus *Maximilian*, Son of an Emperor, himſelf King of the *Romans*, and Governor of the *Low-Countries*, had only empty Titles, which gave him little power. Nevertheleſs, the young Ducheſs was ſtill made to expect a powerful aid from him, whether her adviſers wilfully ſhut their Eyes, or becauſe there was then no other Prince in *Europe*, from whom ſhe could hope for any aſſiſtance. The King of *England* might have protected her, but had entertained ſo wrong a notion of the affair, that the Iſſue alone was capable to undeceive him.

The Ducheſs is perſwaded to marry Maximilian. Argentré.

At laſt, the Marriage was accompliſhed in *November*, with a Ceremony [then altogether new in thoſe parts.] For the Prince of *Naſſau*, Ambaſſador and Proxy of *Maximilian*, put his naked Leg into the bed where the Ducheſs was laid, as a ſort of Conſummation. This was done however with ſuch ſecrecy, that neither *Charles* nor *Henry* appear to have known it, till *March* 1491. It is true, *Argentré*, Hiſtorian of *Bretagne*, ſays, that from the beginning of the year 1490, all the publick Acts ran in the name of *Maximilian* and *Ann*. If ſo, it would be hard to conceive how their marriage could be kept ſecret. But very probably, *Argentré* was miſtaken one whole year. For we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* of *England*, ſeveral Commiſſions of the year 1490, in the name of the Ducheſs alone, and the firſt there with *Maximilian*'s name, is dated in *March* 1491 (2).

The Marriage is ſolemnized by Proxy. Argentré. Hall. Bacon.

1490. Though the *Engliſh* Troops were returned, *Charles* renewed not Hoſtilities in *Bretagne*. This forbearance made *Henry* imagine he had attained his end, that is, had frightned *Charles* by the ſole appearance of rupture. The truth is, *Charles* was greatly embaraſſed. He could not think of letting go *Bretagne*, and on the other hand, perceived it would be very difficult to finiſh the Conqueſt, without drawing on himſelf a war from *England*, and perhaps from ſeveral other States.

Charles is put to a ſtand.

Mean while, *Ann* ſeeing the war would infallibly be renewed, as ſoon as her marriage was divulged, uſed all her endeavours to convince *Henry* of the neceſſity of ſending freſh Succours to *Bretagne*, without diſcovering however the true reaſon. For this purpoſe ſhe ſent to him in *February* 1490, Chancellor *Montauban*, and other Ambaſſadors, with orders to deſire aſſiſtance, and an expreſs power to promiſe in her name, that ſhe would never marry without his conſent (3). This ſhows, her marriage with *Maximilian* was ſtill a ſecret, which ſhe did not think fit to divulge. In their Inſtructions, the Ambaſſadors were ordered to acquaint the King with her proteſtation in form, againſt her Father's engagement with the Lord *d' Albret*, and with whatever *d' Albret* and *de Rieux* had done to compel her to ratify the ſame. This

Embaſſy of Ann to Henry. Act. Pub. XII. p. 387.

(1) He ſent thither a Reinforcement ſometime after, as appears by his Proclamation dated *Auguſt* 16. 1489. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 377.

(2) There was a Parliament held in the beginning of the year 1490, which met at *Weſtminſter*, *January* 13, wherein the following Statutes were enacted: 1. That no Finer of Gold or Silver, nor parter of the ſame by Fire or Water, ſhould allay any fine Silver or Gold, nor ſell either of them to any Perſon, but only to the Officers of Mints, Changes, and Goldſmiths within the Realm. And that all Silver be made ſo fine, that it may bear Twelve-penny Weight of Allay in a Pound weight. 2. That no Butcher kill any manner of Beaſt within the Walls of *London*, upon pain of forfeiting for every Ox Twelve-pence, and for a Cow and every other Beaſt Eight-pence. This to extend to every City, Burrough, and Town, walled within the Realm of *England*; *Berwick* and *Carliſle* excepted. 3. That benefit of Clergy ſhall be allowed but once. And, that Perſons convicted for Murder, ſhall be marked with an M, upon the brawn of the left Thumb; and other Felons with a T. 4. That no Perſon whatever ſhall hold more than one Farm in the Iſle of *Wight*. There were ſome other Laws then made, which are either repealed, or of ſmall conſequence. See *Statut.* 4 *Henry* VII. c. 2, 3, 13, 16; and *Bacon*, p. 596, 597.

(3) In her Letters, ſhe call King *Henry*, the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt excellent Prince, her moſt honoured Lord, Couſin, and Father. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 387.

was

1490. was an Insinuation of her wanting his assistance, as well against her own Subjects, as the King of *France*, and that *Bretagne* was in danger from both. But all this was not capable to move *Henry*. Instead of treating with the Dutchess about fresh Supplies, he sent Ambassadors to *France* (1), with power to treat with King *Charles* concerning all that Prince's differences with the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. He was still of opinion, that *Charles* dreading the junction of *England* with *Bretagne*, wanted only a Peace. In this belief, he resolved to make him pay for it, insisting upon a fresh demand, hitherto unthought of, namely, the Arrears of the Pension which *Lewis* XI was bound to pay to *Edward* IV, by the Treaty of *Pequigny*, which by a subsequent Treaty, was to continue till the death of the survivor of the two Kings. These Arrears amounted to the Sum of one hundred twenty five thousand Crowns, which the Ambassadors had orders to demand. From that time, this Article was always inserted in the King's Commissions to treat with *France*. *Henry* imagined, that in *Charles*'s Treaty with *Ann*, of which he thought himself almost sure, he would submit to this Article, least it should be an obstacle to the Peace.

Embassy from Henry *to* France. *Feb.* 21. p. 449.

He refuses to take advantage of Charles's *being at a stand.* P. 453, 454.

Whilst his Ambassadors were in *France*, he could not dispense with appointing Commissioners to treat with those of *Bretagne*. But it was only to amuse them. The Negotiation solely tended to a Treaty, which still more strongly than the former, secured him the reimbursement of his Charges on the Dutchess's account, without any mention of the desired assistance. The whole amounted to some verbal promises on the King's part, that he would never forsake the Dutchess. He believed this assistance was entirely needless in the present situation of the affair, still imagining, King *Charles* was wholly inclined to a Peace. Mean while, *Charles* in his turn, amused the *English* Ambassadors, resolving to conclude nothing, till he could more plainly discover *Henry*'s Intention. He had an army in the bowels of *Bretagne*, and several Towns in his possession, and *Ann* was little able to expel him with her own Forces alone. For this reason, he willingly waited for a favorable opportunity to end the affair, otherwise than by the King of *England*'s mediation, of whom he was too jealous. *Henry* thinking him otherwise disposed, made it his chief business to secure the payment of what he had advanced for the assistance of *Bretagne*. And therefore, under colour that the City of *Nantz* was in danger of falling into the hands of the *French*, he demanded to have it in his power, promising to restore it whenever required. But presently after he heard, the Lord *d' Albret* had prevented him, and that despairing to marry the Dutchess, he had joined with *France*, and taken that rich City, where he had made a great Booty.

He treats with Bretagne, *but upon his own Affairs.* P. 394.

P. 456.

He demands Nantz, p. 452.

but it is taken by d' Albret.

During these Negotiations, fresh troubles arose in *Flanders*, very prejudicial to the affairs of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Saxony*, who commanded in *Flanders* for *Maximilian*, having published an Edict concerning the Coin, the Inhabitants of *Bruges* refused to comply with it, and drew the *Gantois* into their revolt. The King of *France*, who desired nothing more than to see war kindled in *Flanders*, sent aid (2) to the rebels, under the Conduct of Marshal *Desquerdes* Governor of *Picardy* (3). On the other side, *Maximilian*, or the Duke of *Saxony* in his name, sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, to make a League with him against *France*.

The Flemings *revolt again.* Hall. Baco. Hollingsh.

Charles aids them.

They make great progress.

With the aid arrived from *Picardy*, the rebels made great progress, and after taking *Ipre* and *Sluce*, besieged *Dixmude*. *Henry*, angry with *Charles* for delaying his answer so long, and moreover being concerned to support the Archduke, resolved to send him aid. To that purpose, he suddenly dispatched [the Lord *Morley* (4) with] a thousand Men to *Calais*, with orders to the Lord *D'aubeney*, Governor of that place, to relieve *Dixmude*, if possible. *D'aubeney* joining a thousand Men of his Garrison (5), to those come from *England*, marched directly to *Dixmude*, which was not well invested. He entered the Town by night without opposition, and at break of day sallying out of the opposite gate, fell upon the Camp of the *French* and *Flemings*, and entirely routed them (6). This affair bred a great coldness between *Charles* and *Henry*. But *Charles* durst not complain, since he had no more right to assist rebellious Subjects, than had *Henry* to assist the Sovereign.

The Lord Daubeney *relieves* Dixmude. *July* 16. Act. Pub. XII. p. 455. Hollingsh. Bacon.

Ann enters into fresh obligations to Henry, *but without obtaining any succours.* P. 394 - 399.

Mean time, the Ambassadors of *Bretagne* waited at *London* to no manner of purpose. The King gave them however good words, which served only to ingage them the more to do his, instead of the Dutchess's, Affairs. On the 26th of *July* he required of them, an Acknowledgment that he had punctually executed the Treaty of *Redon*; a fresh engagement to reimburse all his charges; and a promise to deliver to him *Morlaix* and *Concarneau*, upon the hopes of an aid which he never intended to give. However, it was necessary, in order to attain his ends, to make the King of *France* believe, he really designed to assist the Dutchess of *Bretagne*, since it was the only means to stop his proceedings. *Charles* seemed to have some knowledge of *Henry*'s thoughts, for he appeared more cold than ever, with respect to his agreement with the Dutchess. He returned no direct answer, neither did he talk of restoring his Conquests upon *Bretagne*, or of paying the Arrears of the Pension due till the death of *Edward* IV. So, *Henry* thought it time to proceed more openly, and give that Monarch reason to fear not only the Arms of *England* but also of several other States. In the beginning of this year he had renewed the Treaties of Alliance with *Portugal* and *Denmark*. In *September* he concluded with *Maximilian* and his Son *Philip*, a League against *France* for their mutual defence, and for that of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. At the same time he published a Treaty made with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* in *March* the last year. By this Treaty, the two Kings ingaged to make war upon the King of *France*, unless he would restore *Roussillon* to *Ferdinand*, and *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry*. Moreover they agreed upon a Marriage between *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, *Henry*'s Son, and *Catherine*, third Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, as soon as the Prince was fourteen, and the Princess twelve years of age. His Treaty with the King of the *Romans* had relation to this. The three Princes were to enter *France* at the same time, each at the head of an Army as well for their own, as for the Interests of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. But by secret Articles signed two days after, there were so many restrictions concerning the time, manner, and conditions of the War, that it plainly appears *Henry*'s sole aim was to frighten the King of *France*. By one of the secret Articles, the time of this invasion was fixed to the 15th of *August*, 1492.

1490.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 374, 378, 380, 380-387. Henry *makes several Alliances.*

Act. Pub. XII. p. 393 ---410. *He publishes his Treaty with the King of* Spain. p. 411--- 429. Hall.

By the secret Articles the Alliance came to nothing. Act. Pub. XII. p. 403, 413.

The 4th of *October*, *Henry* concluded with *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* a Treaty of Alliance, containing only general Articles of Amity and good understanding. Mean while, *Henry* failed not to reap this advantage, that these Negotiations, which were openly transacting, embarassed the *French* King. Indeed, all these Treaties, the secret Articles whereof he knew not, gave him uneasiness. He had reason to fear, that a League was forming against him, which would obstruct not only the Conquest of *Bretagne*, but also that of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had been some time meditating. It was this that hindered his renewing the War in *Bretagne*, though the Dutchess's circumstances were such, that it seemed easy to dispossess her entirely. Besides *Henry*'s conduct appeared so extraordinary, that he knew not what to think. That Monarch made great noise about the League he was forming for the defence of *Bretagne*, and yet sent no aid. In this uncertainty, *Charles* resolved to send an Ambassy into *England*, under pretence of taking off *Henry* from the Dutchess's party, but in reality to know by his answer what he was to hope or fear from him. He chose for this purpose *Francis de Luxemburg* Viscount of *Martigues*, *Waleran de Sams*, and *Robert Gaguin*, General of the Order of the Trinity. These Ambassadors being arrived at *London*, had their audience of the King, where nothing particular passed. Some days after, the King having nominated to treat with them *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and some others (7), in their first conference, the General of the Order of the Trinity being the Speaker, made the most submissive and cringing Speech that ever came out of the mouth of a *French* Ambassador to a foreign Prince, if after all the matter is to be referred to *Henry* VII's Historian. As I have several reasons to suspect this Speech to be rather the Historian's than the Ambassador's, I shall only relate the principal points, without keeping to the very words, or mentioning certain Articles which seem to me altogether improbable (8).

Alliance with the Duke of Milan. p. 429.

Charles's *Embassy to find* Henry. *Dec.* 10. p. 432. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Act. Pub. XII. p. 431.

Bacon.

The *Ambassador's Speech.*

The Ambassador began with saying, "Their master

(1) *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond* and Lord *Rochford*, and the Prior of *Christ's-Church* in *Canterbury*. *Rymer*, p. 449. Bacon.

(2) Eight thousand Men. *Hollingsh.* p. 1435. Hall.

(3) He was so inveterate against the *English*, that he used to say, *He would gladly lie in Hell seven years, so he might win* Calais *from the* English. *Bacon*, p. 598. *Hollingsh.* p. 1436. Hollingsh.

(4) And *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* of *Brooke*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 455.

(5) Among whom were Sir *James Tyrrel* Captain of *Guisnes*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humfrey Talbot* Marshal of *Calais*, &c. *Hollingsh.* p. 1435.

(6) With the Slaughter, as is said, of eight thousand of the Enemy, and the loss only of a hundred of the *English*, among whom was the Lord *Morley*. *Bacon*. *Hollingsh.* ibid.

(7) The Prior of *Christ's-Church* in *Canterbury*, *John Gunthorp* Dean of *Wells*, Sir *John Don*, Sir *John Turberwyle* Treasurer of *Calais*, and *William Rosse* Victualler of the same. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 431.

(8) For instance, the Lord *Verulam* makes the Ambassador desire *Henry* that he may annul the Marriage of *Maximilian*, of which neither *Charles* nor *Henry* had yet any knowledge.

"had

1490. " had ſent them to pray a Peace with the King of *Eng-*
" *land*, and his reſpect for that great Prince induced him
" to paſs by all formalities, and make advances unuſual
" in ſuch Sovereigns as he. He would not however con-
" ceal from him another motive which made him deſi-
" rous of Peace. Having reſolved to carry his Arms in-
" to remote Countries, it could not but be for his advan-
" tage, that all the World ſhould know he was in friend-
" ſhip with all his Neighbours, and particularly with the
" King of *England*. Then the Ambaſſador himſelf took
" care to excuſe *Henry*'s ſending aid into *Bretagne* and
" *Flanders*, though it was againſt *France*, and owned it
" to be no juſt cauſe of rupture between the two Crowns.
" As for *Flanders*, he juſtified the King his maſter's ſend-
" ing Troops thither, becauſe it was his duty to protect
" the *Flemings* his Vaſſals (1), againſt the King of the
" *Romans* their Oppreſſor. After that, the Ambaſſador
" added, King *Charles* intended to make war upon the
" Kingdom of *Naples*, unjuſtly detained from him by a
" Baſtard of the Houſe of *Arragon*. That Kingdom be-
" longing to him by undoubted right, he was bound in
" honour to try to recover it. But his thoughts did not
" reſt there, his purpoſe being to make the Conqueſt of
" *Naples* ſerve as a Bridge to tranſport his Forces into
" the Eaſt, and overthrow the Empire of the *Turks*, to
" which he was invited, as by a Voice from Heaven, by
" a Rent in the *Ottoman* Family. This therefore being
" his reſolution for a holy War, he was content for the
" honour and advantage of the Chriſtian religion, to beg
" Peace at the hands of all the Princes of *Europe*, that he
" might not be diverted by any obſtacle from them.

The Ambaſſador concluded with ſaying, " He had only
" another Affair to mention, not as a ſubject of Treaty,
" but as a mark of his Maſter's great deſire to preſerve a
" good underſtanding with the King of *England*, namely,
" Being Sovereign Lord of *Bretagne*, and as ſuch Guar-
" dian of the Ducheſs, he requeſted that with the King of
" *England*'s conſent, he might diſpoſe of her marriage as
" he ſhould think fit."

The Chancellor's Anſwer in the King's Name. Bacon.

Some days after, the Ambaſſadors of *France* being ſent for to the Council, the Chancellor returned them the following Anſwer from the King: " That the King his
" Maſter had not forgot his former love and friendſhip
" with the King of *France*. That if the friendſhip was
" ſtill the ſame, there was no occaſion to talk of it: But
" if not, it was not words but deeds that muſt renew it:
" That as for the Affair of *Bretagne*, he could not help
" thinking it ſtrange that the King of *France* ſhould
" make him his inſtrument to ruin one of his beſt Allies,
" and moreover pretend, he was very much obliged to
" him for it: As for the Ducheſs's marriage, he meant
" not to meddle with it, provided the King of *France*
" would proceed by Law and not by the Sword: That
" however, what had paſſed in *Bretagne* as well as in
" *Flanders* did not make ſo deep an impreſſion, as to re-
" fuſe to treat of Peace, if all their other Affairs might
" be debated at the ſame time. That as for the War
" upon *Naples*, the King had but one thing to ſay,
" which was, as the King of *France* thought himſelf
He demands all France. " bound in honour to try to recover that Kingdom, ſo
" for the ſame reaſon the King thought himſelf obliged
" to exert his utmoſt for the recovery of *Guienne*, *Nor-*
" *mandy*, and the Kingdom of *France* itſelf, which of
" right belonged to him."

Motive of the Demand. *Henry* had eaſily diſcovered the deſign of this Embaſſy, and that, by a general propoſal to live in peace with him, *Charles* had no other view than to ſound his intentions with reſpect to *Bretagne*. Wherefore, according to the maxim he had eſtabliſhed, which was to frighten him, he threatened a War, not only for the intereſt of the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, but alſo for his own. Mean while, it is likely he ſpoiled his affairs by carrying the artifice too far, and that *Charles* was ſenſible, this anſwer was only bare words, which would not be followed by deeds. It
Charles *diſcovers it.* was not at all probable, that in the then ſituation of *France*, *Henry* who tottered as it were in the Throne of a Kingdom full of Male-contents, would renew a quarrel of that importance, of which he could not naturally expect to ſee a happy Iſſue. His reputation for being one of the moſt prudent Princes of his time, made it incredible that he would imbark in ſuch an undertaking. So *Charles* taking for granted, that he intended only to frighten him, ſtill purſued his courſe, with reſpect to *Bretagne*, and ſucceeded in the end, as will be ſeen under the next year. On the other hand, his Ambaſſadors, ſurprized at the Chancellor's Speech, anſwered with warmth, that the King their Sovereign feared not ſuch threats, and was able to maintain his juſt rights againſt any perſon whatever (2). The Chancellor calmly replied, the King expected no other anſwer from them; but would forthwith ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to acquaint him more fully with his intentions. Then he asked them whether the King of *France* would agree to have the diſpoſal of the marriage of the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, with an exception that he ſhould not marry her himſelf (3). The Ambaſſadors anſwered, the *Queſtion put to the Ambaſſadors.* King their maſter was ſo far from any thoughts of marrying the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, that he had given them no inſtructions upon that head.

1490. *The Ambaſſadors Reply.* Bacon.

During all theſe Negotiations, *Ann* was extremely troubled to ſee no aid come either from *Maximilian* or the King of *England*. She had hitherto kept her marriage ſecret; but perceiving it could not be concealed any longer, and that it was not honorable to hide it from him whom ſhe deemed her principal Protector, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy into *England*, conſiſting of the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and the Chancellor. Their buſineſs was to deſire aid, and probably, notify her marriage to the King. For, till after this Embaſſy which arrived in *England* the beginning of the next year, we do not find in the *Publick Acts*, *Maximilian*'s name joined with her's.

Ann notifies to Henry her Marriage.

In *February* 1491 *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors into *France* (4) according to his promiſe. Their Commiſſion was, to treat of all his differences with King *Charles*, and in particular of a certain ſum due to him from that Prince, as alſo of the affair between *Charles* and the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*. Theſe inſtructions alone are a clear evidence, that *Henry* deſigned not vigorouſly to puſh his pretenſions to the Realm of *France*, or at leaſt, to *Guienne* and *Normandy*. For, is it probable that he would have comprized under the general word Differences his claim to all *France*, or to two of the richeſt Provinces, and have ſpecified a debt of a hundred and twenty-five thouſand Crowns, if the firſt had been the principal? It is therefore manifeſt, he ſtill perſiſted in his deſire to end the affair of *Bretagne* without War, and to ſecure the ſums he had advanced.

1491. *Henry's Embaſſy to Charles.* Act. Pub. XII. p. 432. Bacon.

A few days after, he appointed Commiſſioners to treat with the Ambaſſadors that came laſt from *Bretagne*. Then it was probably, that the Ducheſs's marriage with *Maximilian* was imparted to him (5). Perhaps he was told of it before, though he pretended ignorance, becauſe it had not been notified to him in form.

Ann's marriage is imparted to him. p. 436, 438.

Mean while, *Charles* having at laſt heard of this marriage, which had been made a great ſecret, reſolved to uſe no more ceremony, but vigorouſly haſten the conqueſt of *Bretagne*. In all appearance, he plainly ſaw through all *Henry*'s diſguiſes, and perhaps believed the acquiſition of *Bretagne* well worth the hazarding a rupture with *England*. As for *Maximilian*, he did not much fear him, and had an infallible expedient to pacify the King of *Arragon*, by reſtoring *Rouſſillon*, much leſs important to the Crown of *France* than *Bretagne*. So, without further conſideration, he ordered *Rennes*, Capital of the Duchy, to be inveſted, where the Princeſs then was. During the Siege, which laſted ſome months, *Ann* ſent into *England*, *John Bouteiller* Lord of *Maupertuis*, and *Peter Cojalu*, to deſire *Henry*'s aſſiſtance. Shortly after ſhe ſent alſo the Counteſs *de la Val*, and the Marſhal *de Rieux*, and ſome others, to inform him of her condition, and demonſtrate to him, that *Bretagne* was going to fall into the hands of *France*. This Embaſſy furniſhed the King with a pretence to borrow money of his Subjects, to enable him to make war upon *France*. And yet, though he ſeemed extremely in haſte, he gave no orders for levying Troops, but was very intent upon collecting the Loans.

Charles *beſieges the Ducheſs in* Rennes. Argentré.

Another Embaſſy from Ann *to* Henry May 23. p. 443. *Another.* June 3. p. 444. p. 446. July 7.

Not long after, the League between *Henry* and *Ferdinand* was renewed. They agreed once more, that in *May*, or at fartheſt in *June* the next year (6), each ſhould enter *France* at the head of an army. *Maximilian* promiſed likewiſe to do the ſame, and ſent an aid of two thouſand Men to his Ducheſs. But all this tended only to make a great noiſe, in order to deter the King of *France* from his deſign to conquer *Bretagne*. It was not the intention either of *Henry*, or *Ferdinand*, or *Maximilian*, to make war upon *France*. *Ferdinand* was then

League with Ferdinand *and* Maximilian *confirmed.* p. 462. Hall. Hollingſh.

Motives of theſe three Allies.

(1) In the Lord *Bacon* it is,---*the Subjects of* Burgundy -----
(2) According to the Lord *Verulam*, their anſwer was, That they doubted not, but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Scepter, p. 601.
(3) If *Henry* had known, *Ann* had eſpouſed *Maximilian*, he would not have offered to leave to *Charles* the diſpoſal of that Princeſs's Marriage. *Rapin.*
(4) *Richard Fox*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and the Prior of *Chriſt's-Church* in *Canterbury*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 435.
(5) King *Henry* takes notice of it, in a Commiſſion dated *March* 9. this year. *Ibid.* p. 438.
(6) About the 15th of *May*, or of *June*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 463.

1491. entirely employed in the War of *Granada*, and if he leagued with *Henry*, it was only to oblige King *Charles* by the terror of the League, to reſtore him *Rouſſillon*, being very ready to deſiſt the moment he ſhould be poſſeſſed of that Province. *Maximilian*'s aim, who had neither Men nor Money, was to ingage the Kings of *England* and *Spain* in a War with *France*, and reap all the fruit, by the poſſeſſion of the Ducheſs and Duchy of *Bretagne*. So, *Henry* not being able to depend in any meaſure upon ſuch Allies, and ſeeing *Bretagne* almoſt loſt, was unwilling to ingage alone in its defence. His ſole aim was to ſecure by the dread of this League, the payment of what was owed him by *France* and *Bretagne*. Mean while, *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, in order to attain their ends, were to feign a real intention to make war upon *France*.

Charles VIII demands Ann in Marriage. Argentré. P. Daniel.

Whilſt theſe two Monarchs were taking meaſures to accompliſh their deſigns, and the Ambaſſadors of *Bretagne* were waiting in vain at *London*, *Charles* cauſed the Siege of *Rennes* to be continued. But finding the Siege was in an ill way, and the ſeaſon now far advanced, he ſought and found a readier and more effectual means than the Sword to ſecure the poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*. He gained, by his liberalities, all the young Ducheſs's Counſellors, who ſhould perſuade her to break off her marriage with *Maximilian*, and take himſelf for her Husband. Perhaps he had formed that project before. But however, he firſt diſcovered it during the Siege of *Rennes*. When he was ſecure of the concurrence of the Lords of *Bretagne*, he cauſed the Ducheſs, then above fifteen years of age, to be ſo importuned, that ſhe had not a moment's repoſe. She at firſt couragiouſly withſtood all their ſollicitations, affirming, ſhe could not reſolve to be falſe to a Prince whom ſhe had voluntarily eſpouſed. But it was repreſented to her, That *Maximilian* had forſaken her firſt: That inſtead of coming in perſon to defend her, or at leaſt, of ſending her aids proportionable to her wants, he had remained quietly in *Germany*, as if what paſſed in *Bretagne* no way concerned him: That in the preſent poſture of affairs, it was impoſſible to hinder *Bretagne* from becoming a Province of *France*, and then *Maximilian* would regard her ſtill leſs, when he ſaw her diſpoſſeſſed of her Dominions: Nay, perhaps ſhe would have the confuſion to ſee that he himſelf would cancel his marriage, and ſo loſe at once both her Duchy and Spouſe, and reduce her Subjects to ſlavery: That in marrying the King of *France*, ſhe might ſecure by a Treaty, the Sovereignty and Liberties of *Bretagne*; whereas, by an obſtinate and fruitleſs defence, ſhe would ruin her ſubjects, without reaping any advantage herſelf. In fine, That the King of *France* was more proper for one of her age: That the glorious title of Queen of the *Romans*, and Empreſs, ought not to tempt her, ſince that of Queen of *France*, with a real Kingdom, was not of leſs value. Mean while, as the Ducheſs reſiſted, *Charles* thought of another expedient to conquer her reſolution. He went himſelf and took the Duke of *Orleans* out of the Tower of *Bourges*, where he was confined after the battle of St. *Aubin*, and told him, that knowing how great confidence the young Ducheſs of *Bretagne* placed in him, he required him, in return for his freedom, to try to perſuade her to comply with his deſires. The Duke of *Orleans*, who was tired of his impriſonment, willingly accepted of the Office, and repairing to *Rennes*, ſucceeded at laſt in determining the Ducheſs to the marriage, which was accordingly concluded *December* the 16th, 1491.

He gains her Council. Hall.

She refuſes to comply.

Charles empties the Duke of Orleans;

who prevails with the Ducheſs, and the marriage is concluded. Argentré. Mezeray.

Whilſt this affair was in hand, *Charles* amuſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, being unwilling to conclude any thing, or even treat with them till he ſaw the ſucceſs of his Negotiation with *Ann*. At laſt, the Ambaſſadors hearing the marriage was upon the point of concluſion, withdrew about the end of *November*, without taking leave. Thus *Henry* ſaw, not without confuſion, that he had loſt the fruit of his avaritious Policy, not only as he had not ſaved *Bretagne*, but chiefly as the reimburſement of the ſums he had advanced, was become more precarious than ever. Nevertheleſs, he had ſtill one refuge left, which he knew how to improve, and which brought him off, if not with honour, at leaſt with a pecuniary advantage, the thing he had all along aimed at. Happily for him, *Charles* was poſſeſſed with his deſign to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*. As a rupture with *England* would have laid invincible Obſtacles in his way, he thought it ſhould by all means be avoided. *Henry* on his part, well knowing that, in the preſent juncture, *Charles* would not ſcruple to purchaſe a Peace, feigned an extreme reſentment of the affront he had received, and a reſolution to be revenged at any rate. The moment his Ambaſſadors made their report, he iſſued out orders to levy Forces, and prepare Tranſports, intimating, he was going to undertake the moſt dreadful War that had ever been between *England* and *France* (1). He ſeemed to prepare to tread in the ſteps of *Edward* III and *Henry* V, and not think of reſting till he had forced the Crown of *France* from the Houſe of *Valois*. We ſhall ſee preſently to what all this ardour tended. 1491.

The Archbiſhop of England withdraws. Hall.

Henry prepares for War. Act. Pub. XII. p. 463, 464, 471, 476. Hall. Hollingſh.

Maximilian was inraged when he heard *Charles* had thus injuriouſly robbed him of his Wife. He threatened, like *Henry*, to carry Fire and Sword into the heart of *France*, in revenge of ſo deadly an affront. On the other hand, the Archduke *Philip* demanded his Siſter *Margaret* who was at *Paris*, and affianced to King *Charles*. But the Court of *France* did not yet think fit to ſend back that Princeſs. They feared neither Father nor Son. Their whole attention was employed in laying the ſtorm with which they were threatned from *England* and *Spain*, and which appeared much more violent than it really was. But before I relate the effects of this quarrel, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention the affairs of *Scotland*.

The King of the Romans threatens high. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Since *James* IV's acceſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, he had found it very difficult to maintain himſelf in the Throne. The troubles which immediately broke out, ſtill continued by the Policy of the King of *England*, who took care to foment them. He gave from time to time the *Scotch* Male-contents ſome little aids, which enabled them to ſupport themſelves, but not to make any great progreſs againſt their King. It is a Policy very uſual with Princes, to cheriſh the troubles of their Neighbours, in a belief that it is a moſt effectual way to preſerve Peace at home, though there are ſome who would ſcruple to uſe ſuch means. But *Henry* was not of this number. He even ſeems to have been leſs ſcrupulous than many others, ſince we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Lord *Bothwel* and Sir *Thomas Tod*, both *Scots*, had engaged to deliver into his hands the Perſons of the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Roſs* his Brother, which could not be done without notorious treachery. It even appears by the Record, that he had lent the Earl of *Boghan* and Sir *Thomas Tod*, 266 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Sterling*, to enable them to execute this deſign, and that *Tod* left his Son in hoſtage for ſecurity. This Act is dated *April* the 17th, 1491.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Two Scotchmen bargain to deliver up the King to Henry. Act. Pub. XII. p. 440.

This project miſcarrying, *Henry* who was preparing for the war with *France*, would firſt be ſecured from the diverſions, the *Scots* might make in *England* during his abſence. *James* for his part, deſired nothing more than to deprive thoſe of his Subjects that were in arms againſt him, of the protection ever afforded them by the King of *England*. So, the two Kings ſending their Ambaſſadors to *Caldſtream* upon *Tweed*, a Treaty of Truce was concluded, from the 21ſt of *December*, to that day five years 1496. By this Treaty, the City of *Berwick*, with its Territory, was to ſtand neuter, and the Lordſhip of *Lorn* in *Scotland*, with the little Iſland of *Lundey* belonging to *England*, were excepted out of the Truce. *Henry* ratified the Treaty *January* the 9th, 1492. But probably, the King of *Scotland*, whether bribed by *France*, or from ſome other motive, refuſed to confirm it. He agreed however, to a much ſhorter Truce, from the 20th of *February* 1492, to the 20th of *November* following.

Truce between England and Scotland in vain.

Ib. p. 465.

p. 470.

Another Truce. p. 473.

France ſeemed to be threatened from all ſides with a furious war. *Maximilian* preſſed it to the utmoſt of his power, reckoning that his Son *Philip*, then twenty years old, would make a powerful diverſion in *Flanders*, whilſt the Allies acted in other places. *Henry* was openly preparing for war with great noiſe and boaſtings. In fine, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who had lately put a glorious period to the war with the *Moors*, by the taking of *Granada*, publickly threatned to invade *France*: *Charles* therefore would have been in great danger, had this powerful League been in reality, what it was in appearance. After taking poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, he thought of executing his grand project, concerning the Conqueſt of *Naples*. But he muſt firſt diſpel the ſtorm that was gathering in *Spain*, *England*, and *Flanders*. Whilſt he was wholly employed in this affair, *Henry* was no leſs intent upon his own concerns. 1492.

France is threatened on all ſides.

In the beginning of the year 1492, he aſſembled a Parliament, and communicated to both Houſes his deſign to carry war into *France*, not with intent to ask their advice, as in the caſe of *Bretagne*, but to acquaint them with his reſolution to exert his utmoſt endeavours to recover the Kingdom of *France*, which he called the Inheritance of his Anceſtors. To inflame them the more, he ſet before them the glorious Battles of *Crecy*, *Poictiers*, and *Azincourt*, where the *Engliſh* alone, with a ſmall

Henry acquaints the Parliament with his deſign to war upon France. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

(1) He retained ſeveral Perſons by Indenture, to ſerve him in this War, who had the following allowance. For every Man at Arms, garniſhed with his Cuſtrell [*i. e.* Servant] and Page, Eighteen-pence a day: For every half-Lance, Nine-pence a day: And for every Archer, either on foot or horſe-back, Six-pence a day. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 477——480.

1492. number of Troops, vanquiſhed the ſtrongeſt armies of *France*. He would thereby inſinuate, that he was no leſs a Warrior than *Edward* III, the Prince of *Wales* his Son, and *Henry* V. In demanding an aid of Money proportionable to the greatneſs of the enterprize, he exhorted the Commons to ſpare the purſes of the poor, and lay the Tax upon the rich, not at all queſtioning, whether what he required would be granted. Certainly great fault might have been found with his management of the former Subſidy. It was granted for the defence of *Bretagne*, and yet the Duchy was loſt without his uſing the leaſt endeavours to prevent it. But the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *France* was a very proper decoy to draw in the Parliament. The truth is, the King had no deſire to imbark in ſo hazardous an undertaking. He knew that *France* being now at unity with itſelf, the Conqueſt of it would be too difficult a task. Of his two Allies, the one had Will but not Power, and the other had Power but not Will; *Ferdinand*'s aim being, by ſhew of war to attain a Peace, which might procure him the reſtitution of *Rouſſillon*. Beſides, as he had but newly ended his war with the *Moors*, he was not in condition to begin another with *France*. However, *Henry* expreſſed to his Parliament and Council, an ardent deſire to render his name famous, by the Conqueſt of *France*, or at leaſt of *Normandy* and *Guienne*. Herein he had a view to his profit two ways, upon his Subjects for a Subſidy for the War, and upon his Enemies for a Peace, which would ſecure him the payment of what was due to him. He eaſily foreſaw, that the defection of the King of the *Romans*, and of *Ferdinand*, would afford him a plauſible excuſe to deſiſt from a war he was undertaking with ſo much noiſe. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Exeter*, were the only perſons that knew his real Intentions. Shortly after, the laſt was removed to the See of *Bath* and *Wells*.

The King's private aim.

Bacon.

Ibid.

The Parliament grants a Benevolence. Hall. Bacon.

The Parliament took fire, as the King expected, and granted him a very conſiderable Sum, which, purſuant to his deſire, was to be levied upon the rich, by the name of Benevolence (1). This ſort of Tax was introduced by *Edward* IV, and raiſed without conſent of Parliament. *Richard* III, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, aboliſhed it, but this Parliament revived it (2), and gave it the Seal of their Authority (3).

Embaſſy from France. Feb. 5. Act. Pub. XII. p. 470.

Shortly after, *Henry* received Ambaſſadors from King *Charles*, with propoſals that were not made publick. There was reaſon to believe, nothing was concluded in their Conferences with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop *Fox*, ſince the warlike preparations were ſtill ſeen to continue. However, very likely, theſe Ambaſſadors laid the firſt foundations of the Peace, which was made before the end of the year.

Birth of Prince Henry.

In *June* (4) the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who ſucceeded the King his Father by the name of *Henry* VIII.

Succours ſent to the Archduke. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The preparations which were making in *England* were very ſeaſonable for the Archduke *Philip*. Since the laſt year the *Gantois* had revolted once more, and ſet at their head *Philip de Cleves*, a great ſtickler for *France*. Some troubles in *Holland* preventing the Archduke from endeavouring to ſuppreſs this revolt, it was the middle of this year before he marched againſt *Philip de Cleves*, and beſieged him in *Sluice*. He would have found it difficult to take that place, if *Henry* had not ſent him twelve Ships, and two thouſand five hundred Men (5). With this aid he was enabled to compel the rebels to ſue for Peace, and deliver *Sluice* into his hands.

The warlike Preparations go on but ſlowly.

As the King had no Intention to puſh vigorouſly the war with *France*, he haſtened not his preparations, being glad to begin the Campain late, in order to end it the ſooner. Mean while, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *France* (6), to ſhew he was willing to try fair means before he proceeded to arms. But it is extremely probable, this Embaſſy was ſent only to finiſh, with King *Charles*, the Terms of Peace. Moreover, the King's honour was to be ſecured, who after making ſo much noiſe, was unwilling to deſiſt, without a ſeeming neceſſity. To that end he muſt act in concert with the King of *France*. At the ſame time, *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors (7) to the King of the *Romans*, and to *Ferdinand*, to ſummon them to take the Field and enter *France* according to their Treaty. But he knew they had neither Power nor Will to perform their engagements. *Maximilian* had no army, and *Ferdinand* was now in Treaty with *Charles*, for the reſtitution of *Rouſſillon*. And yet, *Henry* pretending Ignorance of theſe things, ſeemed to have great dependence upon them. In the beginning of *Auguſt*, he iſſued out orders for the levying a greater number of Forces, and on the 22d of the ſame month, appointed Commiſſioners to confer at *Caldſtream*, with thoſe of *Scotland*. All this afforded him pretences to delay his expedition. At length, though not till the 2d of *October* (8), he came to *Dover* in order to imbark (9), having conſtituted by Patent his eldeſt Son *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, Guardian of the Realm. Such of his Courtiers who were ignorant of his deſigns, could not forbear telling him, it was very late to begin a Campain. But he anſwered, *That he intended not to make a Summer's Buſineſs of the war, and therefore it did not ſignify when it began. That he had* Calais *at his back, where he might winter, in order to be ready to open the Campain early next Spring.* He arrived the ſame day at *Calais*, where his whole army being aſſembled, amounted to twenty five thouſand Foot, and ſixteen hundred Horſe (10).

1492. Henry *calls upon* Maximilian *and* Ferdinand *to invade* France. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

He makes new Levies. Act. Pub. XII. p. 482, 483.

He paſſes over to Calais. p. 487, 489. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

Bacon.

Before he embarked, *Henry* received a Letter from the Marſhal *Deſquerdes*, offering a Negotiation of Peace in *England* (11). But he thought it more proper, in order to ſalve appearances, to treat in *France* itſelf. He was ſcarce landed at *Calais*, when the Ambaſſadors ſent to the King of the *Romans* arrived, and told him, that *Maximilian* was wholly unprepared to enter *France* as he had promiſed. This news was immediately made known to the whole army. Some days after, he received from his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, Letters which were likewiſe made publick, importing, that *Ferdinand* had concluded a Peace with the King of *France*, upon promiſe to reſtore *Rouſſillon*, without demanding the three hundred thouſand Crowns lent by *Lewis* XI upon that Country. *Henry* knew all this before, but had ſo ordered, that theſe advices came together after his arrival in *France*, that it might appear, he was forced to the Peace he intended to make. Upon theſe advices, at which he feigned to be very much ſurprized, he agreed, that *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and the Lord *d'Aubeney* Governor of *Calais* ſhould enter into Conference at *Eſtaples*, with the Marſhal *Deſquerdes*. He marched however the 15th of *October*, to beſiege *Boulogne*, and in four days appeared before the Place. It muſt be remarked, that King *Charles* was then at *Tours*, and though the warlike preparations in *England* had made great noiſe, there was no army in *Picardy* to oppoſe the Invaſion of the *Engliſh*; at leaſt Hiſtory mentions no ſuch thing. This is a clear evidence that all *Henry*'s proceedings were concerted with the King of *France*, who was not ſo unprovided with Troops, but he could have ſent an army ſufficient to ſtop his progreſs. So, this pretended Siege of *Boulogne* was only an artifice to diſcourage the *Engliſh*, that by conſidering the difficulties of a Siege at ſuch a Seaſon, they might be the leſs ſurprized at a Peace. At the end of eight days, *Henry* received at the Camp before *Boulogne*, the Articles of Peace agreed by the Commiſſioners of both parties, with the approbation of the two Kings, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

He receives Advices, which give him a handle to make Peace. Hall. Bacon. Act. Pub. XII. p. 490.

He appoints Commiſſioners to treat. p. 490, 491. Bacon.

Remark on the King's Conduct.

Articles agreed upon by the Commiſſioners of the two Kings. Act. Pub. XII. p. 490.

I. That the King of *France* ſhould diſcharge the debt contracted by his Queen for the defence of *Bretagne*, which debt, according to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors account, amounted to ſix hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns of Gold, *French* Money, which is 124,000 *l.* Sterling.

II. That the King of *France* ſhould pay the King of *England* the Arrears of the yearly penſion of fifty thou-

(1) The Citizens of *London* paid 9682 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* *Stow*, p. 474.

(2) *Hall* makes a pertinent Remark upon this occaſion; namely, By this a Man may perceive, that what is once practiſed for the Utility of a Prince, and brought to a Precedent by matter of Record, may be turned to the great prejudice of the People, if rulers in authority will ſo adjudge and determine it. fol. 22.

(3) Biſhop *Morton* the Chancellor is ſaid to make uſe of this *Dilemma*, in his Inſtructions to the Commiſſioners, which ſome called his *Fork*, others his *Crutch*. *That if they met with any that were ſparing, they ſhould tell them, That they muſt needs Have, becauſe they laid up; and if they were Spenders, they muſt needs Have, becauſe it was viſible in their manner of living.* Bacon, p. 602.

(4) The 22d, at *Greenwich*. *Stow*, p. 474. *Sandford* ſays, it was the 28th, p. 479.

(5) Which were commanded by Sir *Edward Poyningi*. *Hall*, fol. 23. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1438.

(6) *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Sir *Giles d'Aubeney* Lieutenant of *Calais*, Sir *John Kendale*, Sir *William Huſey* Chief-Juſtice, Sir *James Tyrrell*, Captain of *Guiſnes*, and *Henry Aynefworth*, Doctor of Laws. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 481.

(7) *Chriſtopher Urſwicke*, and Sir *John Riſeley*. *Hall*, fol. 26.

(8) He ſet out from *Greenwich*, *September* 9. *Bacon*. p. 604.

(9) *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* of *Broke* was Admiral of the Fleet, and Sir *Robert Poyntez*, Vice-Admiral. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 484.

(10) There were with him, *Thomas Grey*, Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*, *Thomas Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*, *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edmund de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, *George Grey*, Earl of *Kent*, *Henry Bourchier*, Earl of *Eſſex*, *Thomas Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*, &c. *Bacon*, p. 604. *Speed*, p. 736.

(11) The Lord *Bacon* obſerves, that for this reaſon he hovered ſo much the longer near the Sea-ſide, p. 604.

1492. ſand Crowns paid by *Lewis* XI to *Edward* IV, amounting in all to a hundred twenty-five thouſand Crowns, which is 25,000 *l.* Sterling.

III. That the King of *France* ſhould pay theſe two debts at ſeveral times, namely, fifty thouſand Livres every year, every Livre at twenty Scutz, or Crowns, and to be paid half-yearly, till the whole was paid.

IV. Whereas in the obligation given by the Ducheſs of *Bretagne* to the King of *England*, there was no Sum ſpecified, the King of *England* ſhould be obliged to make proof of his debt before Commiſſioners of *Bretagne* or *France*, to be ſent to *England* for that purpoſe.

V. That the two Kings ſhould name ſuch of their Allies as they meant to include in the Peace, who ſhould be obliged to declare within four months, whether they would be included or not.

VI. That in caſe the King of the *Romans*, and the Archduke *Philip* his Son deſired to be included in the Treaty, and if afterwards the King of *France* ſhould, in any manner whatever, invade their Country, it ſhould be lawful for the King of *England* to aſſiſt them. But if, on the contrary, they ſhould attack the King of *France*, the King of *England* ſhould give them no aid.

VII. That in caſe the two Kings approved of theſe Articles, they ſhould give each other Hoſtages till the Treaty was drawn and ſigned in form.

Henry aſks the opinion of his principal Officers,

As theſe Articles exactly correſponded with *Henry*'s intentions, from the beginning of the War of *Bretagne*, there is no queſtion that they were framed by himſelf or his own Ambaſſadors. And yet, he would have them paſs for Propoſals from the *French* King, and feigned to doubt whether he ſhould accept or reject them. For that purpoſe, he called a Council of all the Lords and general Officers, and ſent them the Articles, with his

who adviſe him to peace.

orders to give him their real opinion. As probably this Council was managed by ſome perſon of great credit who was in the King's ſecret, all that were preſent unanimouſly agreed, he ought to accept of the Terms. They gave their reaſons in a long memorial under all their hands, which in ſhort, omitting the Exaggerations, were as follow:

Their reaſons for ſo doing. P. 490.

I. The firſt reaſon was taken from the length of the nights, the coldneſs of the Weather, the want of Proviſions as they were to come by Sea, the fear of Diſtempers, and the like.

II. The ſecond reaſon was founded upon the conſideration of the Sum offered, far exceeding any ever yet paid by *France* to the King's Predeceſſors; and likewiſe, upon the apprehenſion of the Murmurings the refuſal of a Peace might occaſion in *England* and in the Army.

III. They alledged as a third reaſon, the great advantage that would accrue by the Peace to the King of the *Romans* and the Archduke: The benefit they had already received in the reſtitution of *Sluice:* And laſtly, the fruits which the *Engliſh* Merchants would reap, ſince the Peace would ſecure their Commerce with *Flanders*.

IV. They ſaid, the King had honorably kept his word with his Allies, notwithſtanding the inſtances of his Council, who ſollicited him to defer his expedition to a more convenient Seaſon, and till his Allies ſhould be ready: That he had led his Army into *France*, put himſelf in condition to encounter alone all the Enemy's Forces, and expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers, at a time when his Allies diſappointed him. That therefore, if the War was not continued, he might very juſtly caſt the blame upon them.

V. That the King was far from being in the ſame ſituation with *Edward* IV, when he led an Army into *France:* That *Edward* was joined by the Duke of *Burgundy* with all his Forces, and by ſeveral *French* Lords who were in his intereſt: That he was in poſſeſſion of all the Towns as far as the *Somme*, and began the War in the midſt of Summer: That, on the contrary, the King was not aſſiſted with any foreign Troops: That when he marched out of the Gates of *Calais*, he entred the Enemy's Country, and was advanced to *Boulogne:* That he had razed ſeveral Places, as *Ardres* and *Montory*, and had ſtood four and twenty Days ready for Battle, defying the Armies of *France*.

VI. That very likely, the People of *England* would thank the King for a Peace which would put an end to Taxes and Exactions, and reſtore the publick Tranquillity.

VII. They added once more, that the reſtoring the Archduke to his Dominions, would redound to the King's honor, and the Nation's advantage, by reaſon of their Trade with his Subjects. 1492.

VIII. They ſaid, that before the Siege of *Boulogne*, it was thought to be a weak Place and eaſy to be taken; but, on the contrary, it was found to be well fortified, ſtrongly garriſoned, and plentifully provided with Artillery and Proviſions. That therefore, in all appearance, if the King continued the Siege, he would be forced to raiſe it with diſgrace, whereas by making a Peace, he could retire with honor.

IX. Their laſt reaſon was, that it was impracticable to continue the War during the Winter, without utterly deſtroying the Army, which would extremely afflict the whole Kingdom.

Remarks on theſe Reaſons.

If theſe reaſons are never ſo little conſidered, they will be found to be all falſe and deceitful, except the Article of the money, which was the only true one. Without weighing them too particularly, I ſhall only obſerve, that of all the inconveniencies alledged by the Officers, there was not one but what the King might have foreſeen, and actually did foreſee. He could blame himſelf only for beginning the Campain ſo late. All in the 5th Article concerning *Edward* IV is evidently falſe. As for the murmurs of the People, which were pretended to be feared in caſe the King rejected the Peace, it was much more probable, on the contrary, that the Nation would murmur to ſee the money given for a War with *France*, employed in making a diſhonorable Peace, advantagious only to the King. In a word, the King's precaution to cauſe this Peace to be approved by the Officers of his Army was a clear evidence, he was himſelf convinced of the little advantage it would be to *England*.

Treaty concluded at Eſtaples. Act. Pub. XII. p. 479. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Henry feigning to be determined by theſe reaſons to accept of the Peace, the Treaty was drawn up in form, and ſigned at *Eſtaples* the 3d of *November* (1). *Charles* ratified it the 6th of the ſame month. He was then at *Tours*, unconcerned at the ſeemingly threatened invaſion, though an *Engliſh* Army in *France* had ever made his Predeceſſors extremely uneaſy. What was peculiar to this Treaty, was, that tho' it was called a Treaty of Peace, it was however to expire with the Lives of the two Kings. But the Succeſſor of him that died firſt, was to ratify it within a year after his Acceſſion to the Crown. I imagine this was an expedient deviſed to excuſe the ſilence concerning the Kingdom of *France*, or at leaſt, *Guienne* and *Normandy*, of which there was no mention, though the War was proclaimed ſolely upon that occaſion. Mean while, this Treaty, which properly concerned only the payment of two debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the States of *France*, and the Parliament of *England*. This ſhews, it was not conſidered as a bare Truce, and indeed it was called a Treaty of Peace. But on the other hand, it is hard to conceive how a Treaty, wherein the principal difference was not ſettled, and which was to be in force but till the death of the two Kings, could be deemed a Treaty of Peace. Can any thing be more like a Truce? However this be, *Henry* took great care to ſee that the King of *France* ratified every particular Article of the Treaty, and eſpecially thoſe concerning the payment of the money. *Charles* was likewiſe, on his part, very punctual in paying the fifty thouſand Livres every year (2), as was alſo *Lewis* XII his Succeſſor.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 508, 513.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 506, 508, 509, 510, 513, 543. P. 526, &c.

Reflections on the Affair of Bretagne.

After this manner ended the War of *Bretagne*, which had laſted ſince the year 1487. I ſay the War of *Bretagne*, becauſe That I have been ſpeaking of, was only a conſequence thereof. *Henry* reaped the intended advantage, that is to ſay, large Sums of money which were not employed in the ſervice of the publick. In the firſt place, he obtained of the Parliament a Tenth of all the perſonal Eſtates of his Subjects, of which he expended no more than was neceſſary for levying and maintaining ſix thouſand Men for eight months. But this expence was only advanced, the money being repaid him with intereſt. We have ſeen that he mounted his charges to ſix hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns of Gold, a prodigious Sum in thoſe days, when money was much ſcarcer than at preſent (3). In the next place, he borrowed money throughout the whole Kingdom, which probably was never repaid. There was likewiſe granted him a Subſidy under the name of Benevolence, which amounted to a very great Sum, much beyond what was neceſſary for the maintenance of his Army, the two or three months it was on foot. Laſtly, he received a hundred

(1) King *Henry*'s Plenipotentiaries were, *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Giles* Lord *D'Aubeney*, *Chriſtopher Bainbrick* [or *Urſwick*] Dean of *York*, *Henry Aynesworth* Doctor of Laws, and Sir *James Tirell*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 499.

(2) And moreover, aſſigned great Penſions to all the King's principal Counſellors. *Bacon*, p. 605.

(3) We may gueſs how far a Shilling went in thoſe days, when a good while after, in King *Edward* the Sixth's Reign, a large Houſe, within the Precincts of the Court, in *Channon-Row* in *Weſtminſter*, was let to no leſs Perſon than the Comptroller of the King's Houſhold for thirty Shillings a year. See *J. S. Life of Thomas Smith*, p. 226.

and

1492. and twenty-five thouſand Crowns for the Arrears of the Penſion due to *Edward* IV. But on the other hand, he ſuffered *Bretagne* to be loſt, to the irreparable damage of *England*, ſince her Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne* gave her an advantage over *France* which ſhe could never after recover. Beſides, the recovery of the money advanced for *Bretagne*, is to be aſcribed rather to his good fortune than policy. He was ſolely indebted for it to the King of *France*'s deſign upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, which induced him to purchaſe a Peace with *England*. Otherwiſe, *Henry* would have found it very difficult to recover his money, and who knows what might have happened, had he been forced to obtain it by dint of ſword? But the advantages *Charles* reaped by this Peace were much more conſiderable. For the Penſion of fifty thouſand Livres paid a few years, and which he received with intereſt from *Bretagne*, he annexed that Duchy to the Crown of *France*, and deprived the *Engliſh* of their moſt conſiderable Ally.

I have dwelt the longer upon the circumſtances of this Affair, becauſe they perfectly diſcover the Genius and Character of *Henry* VII. This Monarch, ever greedy of money, having always his intereſt in view, found means to make an advantage whether of War or of Peace, and turn every thing to his profit. It was he that by his Policy, wholly bent to his own private intereſt, gave the turn we have ſeen to the Affairs of *Bretagne*.

Truce with Scotland. P. 495.

The ſame day the Peace of *Eſtaples* was ſigned, the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Scotland* concluded at *Caldſtream* a Truce, from the 3d of *November* this year, to the 30th of *April* 1494.

The King returns to England. Bacon.

Henry having concluded a Peace with *France* according to his own Scheme, ſet out for *London*, where he arrived the 17th of *December*.

Affairs of Flanders.

On the 5th of *November* the Archduke's Forces ſurprized *Arras*, which had been fifteen years in the hands of the *French*. *Philip* refuſing to be included in the Peace of *Eſtaples*, the War continued in *Flanders* till the next year.

Columbus's *firſt Voyage.*

In *Auguſt* this year 1492, *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſailed the firſt time from *Cadiz* with King *Ferdinand*'s Licenſe, in queſt of the new World (1).

1493. *Henry* imagined he might for the future hope for a peaceable Reign. He ſaw among his Subjects no appearance of revolt. Not a Prince or Princeſs of the Houſe of *York* was in condition to give him any diſturbance. He kept the Earl of *Warwick* Priſoner in the *Tower*. *Edward* IV's Daughters were in his power, and there was no Lord of the *York* party of ſufficient credit to raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom. On the other hand, he was in Peace or Truce with his Neighbours, and in the ſeven years and a half that he had been on the Throne, had by his Oeconomy heaped up ſuch large Sums of money, as none of his Predeceſſors had ever been maſter of at once. And yet this State of proſperity was not capable of diſmaying his Enemies. Whilſt he was wholly employed in the Affairs I have been relating, the Ducheſs Dowager of *Burgundy* was labouring to raiſe him troubles at home, ſo much the more dangerous as they were not ſuſpected. This Princeſs was not ignorant how well diſpoſed the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* were to the Houſe of *York*; and upon their affection ſhe chiefly built her hopes of dethroning *Henry*. Though *Lambert Simnel*'s Affair had miſcarried, ſhe did not aſcribe the ill Succeſs ſo much to the project it ſelf, as to the managers. Beſides, *Henry* was expoſed to the hazard of a Battle, which he might have loſt, and it was not impoſſible but he might be vanquiſhed for the future, if he was in the ſame caſe. Thus ſhe did not deſpair of wreſting the Crown from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or rather of *Tudor*, after which, ſhe reckoned it would be eaſy to reſtore the Houſe of *York*.

The Ducheſs of Burgundy *labours to give* Henry *Trouble.* Hall. Bacon.

She ſets up one Perkin Warbeck *to perſonate the Duke of* York. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

Since *Simnel*'s misfortune, ſhe had never ceaſed to ſpread a report, either by herſelf or Emiſſaries, that *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son of *Edward* IV, had eſcaped the Cruelty of his Uncle *Richard* III, and was ſtill alive. This ſhe did to prepare people to receive a ſecond Fantom, who was to perſonate the young Prince her Nephew, as *Lambert Simnel* had perſonated the Earl of *Warwick*. To this end, ſhe looked out carefully for young Lads of the Duke of *York*'s age, fit for her purpoſe. At length ſhe met with one, in whom ſhe fancied to ſee all the qualities requiſite to repreſent that Prince. His name was *Perkin Warbeck*, Son of [*John Osbeck*] a *Jewiſh* Convert of *Tournay*, who had long lived at *London*. *Edward* IV having occaſion to know this Jew, and receive ſome Service from him, was pleaſed to do him the honour to ſtand Godfather to one of his Children, and gave him the name of *Peter*, from whence was formed the diminutive *Peterkin*, or *Perkin*. Some years after, *Osbeck* being returned into *Flanders*, placed young *Perkin* with one of his relations at *Antwerp*, who kept him ſome time. This Boy was ſo handſome, and endowed with qualities ſo far above his birth, that many ſuſpected *Edward* IV to be his Father. And indeed it was ſomething extraordinary, that *Edward* ſhould ſtand Godfather to one of ſo mean Parentage. Be this as it will, *Perkin* going from *Antwerp*, lived in ſeveral Towns of *Flanders*, and ſhifted habitation ſo often, that when *Henry* afterwards would have traced him, in order to know the whole ſtory of his Life, he found it very difficult. As *Perkin* generally converſed with the *Engliſh* ſettled in the *Low-Countries*, he was ſo perfect in the *Engliſh* Tongue, that he might eaſily be taken for an *Engliſhman*, eſpecially as he had ſpent his Childhood at *London*. 1493.

Hiſtory of Perkin. Bacon.

This youth being mentioned to the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, ſhe commanded him to be privately brought to her Palace, and finding him fit for her deſign, took care to inſtruct him, with reſpect to the Perſon he was to repreſent. Hence we may gueſs, *Perkin* muſt have been a youth of great Wit and Senſe, to enter into the Ducheſs's deſigns, otherwiſe it would have been fruitleſs to give him Inſtructions. Be this as it will, ſhe ſo often deſcribed *Edward* IV, his Queeen, Prince *Edward* their eldeſt Son, and the Princeſſes their Daughters, that after ſeveral repetitions of her Leſſon, he could talk very pertinently of the Court, of the King his pretended Father, at leaſt as far as the Duke of *York* could be ſuppoſed to know. The natural way he had learnt of relating Circumſtances fit for a Child's memory, and certain particulars of *Edward*'s Court, made the Ducheſs believe, he would not fail to gain credit when he appeared in the World. Above all, ſhe took care to make him perfect in what he was to frame, whilſt in Sanctuary with the Queen, and when taken from thence by the contrivance of *Richard* III, and particularly in the manner of his eſcaping the hands of the Executioners, who were ordered to murder him. Theſe were particulars ſo much the eaſier to be counterfeited, as there were but few people who could contradict them. Moreover, ſhe taught him to aſſume the Air and Character of a well-bred Prince. She found the youth ſo apt a Scholar, that ſhe was herſelf ſuprized at it. In a ſhort time, *Perkin* ſo uſed himſelf to talk and act like a Prince, that one would have ſworn he had been born ſo, and educated in a Palace.

The Ducheſs inſtructs him. Hall. Bacon.

It is not known when the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* took *Perkin* home to inſtruct him. But very likely, it was not long after the battle of *Stoke*, where the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Lambert Simnel* were vanquiſhed. However that be, the affair of *Bretagne* cauſing that Princeſs to think *Henry* would ſoon break with *France*, as himſelf would have had it believed, reſolved *Perkin* ſhould appear as Duke of *York*, ſo ſoon as the war was begun. Mean while, being very ſenſible, if he appeared firſt in *Flanders*, or in any Town in the *Low-Countries*, the world would not fail to ſuſpect her, ſhe ſent him into *Portugal* (2), where he lived unknown for a year. At length, in 1492, the war between *England* and *France* ſeeming unavoidable, ſhe diſpatched orders to *Perkin* to repair into *Ireland*, where probably, ſhe had already been tampering with ſeveral perſons of note. *Perkin* inſtantly obeying, and arriving at *Cork*, called himſelf Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* IV, in which he was countenanced by the Mayor, who, it is likely, was in the plot. A few days after, he writ to the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare*, great Friends of the Houſe of *York*, acquainting them with his arrival, and deſiring them to come and join him.

She ſends him to Portugal. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Henry was then employed in his preparations for his Expedition into *France*. As the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* imagined he would depart early in the Spring, ſhe expected, he would be embarked in the war with *France*, by the time *Perkin* appeared in *Ireland*, in which ſhe was miſtaken. The report that the Duke of *York* was come from *Portugal* into *Ireland*, cauſed no alteration in the King's meaſures. He believed it to be only a contrivance to divert him from his Enterprize. However, preſently after he was told, the Duke of *York* who had appeared in *Ireland*, was gone into *France*, which made him very uneaſy. And indeed the news was but too true. It happened ſome time before, that one *Frion* Secretary to the King for the *French* Tongue, had withdrawn from Court, and retired to *Paris*, where he was very well received. This *Frion*, who followed King *Charles*'s Court, hearing the Duke of *York* was in *Ireland*, told that Monarch of it, intimating, he might make that affair turn to account.

Charles VIII ſends for Perkin *to* Paris. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

(1) *Columbus* was the Son of a Wool-Comber, and he himſelf followed that buſineſs in his younger years. He ſet out from *Port Palos de Moger* in *Andaluzia*, *Auguſt* 3. 1492, and landed at *Guana* Bay, one of the *Luccay* iſlands. He returned to *Port Palos* in *May* the next year, and died in 1506.

(2) With the Lady *Brampton*, an *Engliſh* Lady, and one to have an eye over him. *Bacon*, p. 606.

1493. Whatever *Charles* thought of this Pretender, he really believed that, though he was an Impoſtor, he might be ſerviceable to him in making a Peace with *Henry*. In this belief, he ſent *Frion* into *Ireland*, to invite the Pretender in his name to come to him, with aſſurance of his protection and aid to recover the Crown of his Anceſtors. *Perkin* ſeeing himſelf invited by a Prince ſo great and ſo capable to aſſiſt him, departed without a moment's conſideration. When he was arrived in *France*, he waited upon the King, who gave him a very gracious reception, treated him as Duke of *York*, lodged him in his Palace, and aſſigned him a Guard, under colour of doing him honor, but in reality to hinder the King of *England* from cauſing him to be ſeized. The Courtiers imitated their maſters in ſtriving to pay the ſame reſpects to *Perkin*, as they would have done to the Duke of *York*. Shortly after, above a hundred *Engliſhmen*, diſſatisfied with the King, repaired to *Paris* with offers of their Service to the Pretender. But the honours *Perkin* received at the Court of *France* were of no long continuance. As ſoon as *Charles* was almoſt ſure of a Peace, he diſmiſſed him, for fear *Henry*, who had now demanded him, ſhould make it one of the Articles of the Treaty. He was unwilling to be thought to ſurprize the young Man, in order to deliver him to his enemy; as on the other hand, he would not have the Peace miſcarry for his ſake.

He receives him as Duke of York, Bacon.

Hall.

But diſmiſſes him when ſure of a Peace. Bacon.

Perkin thought himſelf very happy to be thus freed. He was afraid of worſe uſage, when he heard a Peace was treating between the two Kings. Having readily quitted the Court of *France*, he retired into *Flanders* to the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, taking great care not to diſcover, he had ever ſeen her before. At the firſt Interview, *Margaret* acted her part extremely well. She treated him very roughly, and ſeemed much ſurprized, that in her preſence he ſhould dare to call himſelf Duke of *York*. She ſaid publickly, that having been already impoſed upon by a counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, ſhe ſhould be more upon her Guard, and it would not be ſo eaſy to deceive her the ſecond time. That therefore ſhe adviſed him to retire, leſt he incurred the puniſhment due to his boldneſs. *Perkin* ſeemed not at all troubled at theſe threats, and confeſſing ſhe was in the right to doubt, perſiſted however in affirming, he was the Duke of *York* her Nephew. The Ducheſs feigning a deſire to convince him of impoſture before her whole Court, put certain queſtions to him, to which, ſhe knew, he could make pertinent anſwers. Accordingly, he replied in ſo natural and unaffected a manner, that the Ducheſs ſeemed aſtoniſhed. In ſhort, they played their parts ſo well, that the Ducheſs pretending ſhe could not reſiſt ſuch evident proofs, owned him for her Nephew, aſſigned him a Guard of thirty *Halberdiers*, and gave him the title of *the white Roſe*, the Badge of the Houſe of *York*. *Perkin* on his part, laboured to convince the world, he was the real Duke of *York*, by his natural way of relating the principal paſſages of his Life. If at any time his diſmiſſion out of *France* was objected to him, he anſwered with a Sigh, it was not very ſtrange, a young Prince, perſecuted by fortune, ſhould be ſacrificed to the Policy of two powerful Monarchs. That this very thing was a ſtrong argument in his favour, ſince the Peace between *Charles* and *Henry* could be eſtabliſhed only upon his ruin. What *Perkin* ſaid, added to the Ducheſs's publick approbation, ſatisfied the whole Court, he was the true Duke of *York*, and from thence the rumour ſpread throughout all the *Low-Countries*, and at laſt over all *Europe*.

Perkin goes to the Ducheſs of Burgundy, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. *feigns to take him for a Bear,* Bacon.

but at laſt owns him. Hall. Bacon.

He behaves very gracefully.

News being brought into *England*, about the beginning of the year 1493, that the Duke of *York* was in *Flanders*, and owned by the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, it cauſed great motions in the Kingdom. The thing was preſently credited by an infinite number of People, ſome of whom were diſſatisfied with the King, and others greedy of novelty. Some blindly followed their Leaders, and others, whoſe Fortunes were deſperate, wiſhed for a change in the Government. The King was not generally beloved. The loſs of *Bretagne*; his late Peace with the King of *France*; the uncivil uſage the Queen and the whole Houſe of *York* had received, and daily did receive at his hands; and laſtly, his unneceſſary Taxes, were but too apt to make the people wiſh the report to be true.

Many in England believe the Duke of York to be alive. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The King's Conduct.

The King was ſurprized to ſee with what greedineſs the news was received. It convinced him of his great danger from the *Yorkiſts*, and their conſtant readineſs to embrace all opportunities to ruin him if it was poſſible. He appeared however unconcerned, leſt his fears ſhould encourage his enemies. So, continuing to act as uſual, he waited till they more plainly diſcovered their deſigns. 1493.

He ſends the Garter to the Duke of Calabria. Act. Pub. XII. p. 527. Mar. 5. Hall.

In the beginning of *March*, *Henry* ſent (1) the Order of the Garter to *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, eldeſt Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Alphonſo* had been extremely deſirous of this Honour, to inſinuate to the Princes of *Italy*, that he had in the King of *England* a Protector who would not ſuffer him to be oppreſſed. He would have thereby induced them to league with the King his Father, againſt *Charles* VIII, who was going to undertake the conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

He concludes a perpetual Peace with Ferdinand *and* Iſabella. Act. Pub. XII. p. 517. Mar. 8.

A few days after, *Henry* concluded at *London* a Treaty of perpetual peace and amity with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*. This Alliance, which was a reciprocal ingagement of mutual aſſiſtance upon all occaſions, was particular in that it extended not to all the Kings of *England* and *Spain* without diſtinction, but only to all their ſucceſſors deſcended from them (2). In this Treaty, the marriage-articles between Prince *Arthur* and *Catherine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, were confirmed and renewed (3).

Conſpiracy againſt the King. Bacon.

Mean while, the King's enemies, not content with countenancing the report concerning the Duke of *York*, were now labouring to form a conſpiracy to dethrone him. His covetous temper had alienated ſeveral of the firmeſt friends to his perſon and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, Brother of the Earl of *Derby*, *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Barley*, were the chief heads of this conſpiracy. The Lord Chamberlain had greatly contributed to his victory of *Boſworth*, by declaring for him in ſo critical a minute. The King owned it, but thought him well rewarded with the ſpoils of *Boſworth* Field, and the office of Lord Chamberlain. But *Stanley* thinking this too mean a recompence, was not ſatisfied. Sir *Robert Clifford* was Son of him that murdered the young Earl of *Rutland*, Brother of *Edward* IV, at the Battle of *Wakefield*; and afterwards loſt his life in fighting for the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. Probably, *Henry* had forgot the conſtant attachment of that family to his Houſe, and neglected to give him a ſhare in his favors. *Clifford* and *Barley* were deputed by the conſpirators to go into *Flanders*, and concert meaſures with the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* and the pretended Duke of *York*, for the accompliſhment of their deſigns. The Ducheſs gave them a very civil reception, deeming it a good omen, that profeſſed enemies of her Houſe ſhould be the firſt to offer their ſervice. Shortly after their arrival, *Clifford* writ to his friends in *England*, that the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* IV, was in *Flanders*, and that he knew him perfectly well. This news inflamed the conſpirators, and from that time, they ſpared no pains to gain adherents to the pretended Duke of *York*.

Names of the chief Conſpirators.

Clifford and Barley go over to Perkin. Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

Clifford ſends back word that the Duke of York *is really alive.*

Whilſt the King's enemies were labouring to create him freſh troubles, he himſelf was no leſs intent upon deviſing means to prevent the impending ſtorm (4). His principal buſineſs was to undeceive the people, and, to ſucceed, there was occaſion for two ſorts of proofs. Firſt, it was neceſſary to ſhew that the Duke of *York* was dead; in the ſecond place, that though he were alive, the perſon that borrowed his name was a counterfeit.

Henry ſeeks to undeceive the People. Bacon.

He orders the Murderers of the Duke of York *to be examined.* Bacon.

To prove the Duke of *York* was not living, it was neceſſary to produce the teſtimonies of thoſe who had taken away his life, or ſeen him dead, and who were but four in all; namely, Sir *James Tyrrel*, ordered by *Richard* III to put that Prince to death; *John Dighton*, employed by *Tyrrel* to commit the fact; *Miles Foreſt* his ſervant, who aſſiſted him, and the Prieſt who buried the two Princes. Of theſe four perſons, the Prieſt and *Foreſt* were dead, and there remained only *Tyrrel* and *Dighton*. Theſe were apprehended by the King's order and ſent to Priſon. Then, after a private examination, it was given out, that they agreed in their depoſitions; namely that *Dighton* and *Foreſt* ſmothered the two Princes in their Bed; and ſhewed their dead Bodies to *Tyrrel*, and that the Prieſt afterwards buried them under a ſtair-caſe. That ſoon after, *Richard* ordered them to be removed elſewhere, by the ſame Prieſt who was ſince dead, without diſcovering where he had laid them. It is likely however, that *Tyrrel*'s depoſition was not ſo favorable for the King's purpoſe as *Dighton*'s, ſince he was detained in Priſon, whereas *Dighton* was releaſed, probably, that he might divulge his own evidence.

Objections againſt the Depoſitions Bacon.

The publiſhing of theſe teſtimonies produced not the

(1) By *Chriſtopher Urſwyke* Dean of *York*, and Sir *Humphrey Talbot* Marſhal of *Calais*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 517.
(2) ——— Ex eorum Corporibus legitimè procreatos. ——— *Ibid.*
(3) About this time, *viz. April* 5, the King made his Son *Henry* Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, and Guardian of the Cinque Ports. *Ibid.* p. 525.
(4) He ſent certain Knights, with a band of Soldiers into every Port, to keep the Shores and Sea-coaſts, that no one might come in, or go out of the Kingdom, without being ſearched and examined. *Hall*, fol. 32. *Bacon*, p. 608.

1493. effect the King expected. For, what proof could a confeſſion form, taken at a private examination, and publiſhed by him whoſe intereſt it was to make it appear for his advantage? In the next place, the removal of the Bodies from the place where they were firſt interred, to another unknown, gave cauſe for ſtrong ſuſpicions. Had it not been for this removal, nothing would have been more eaſy than to prove the death of the two Princes, ſince the Bodies would have been ſtill found under the Stair-caſe. So, people imagined, the King, wanting ſo natural a proof, had invented this removal, that his not making uſe of ſo convincing a proof might not be thought ſtrange. Beſides, the teſtimony of two villains who confeſſed themſelves guilty of ſo black a crime, and whoſe evidence was ſo advantagious to the King, could not be of any great weight. Accordingly, the King, finding this method inſufficient to undeceive the people, applied himſelf chiefly to diſcover who this impoſtor was, that pretended to be the Duke of *York*.

The King ſends Spies into Flanders, Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

To ſucceed in this deſign, he found no better way than to bribe ſeveral perſons, who repaired to the counterfeit Duke, under colour of offering him their ſervice. He charged them to uſe all their endeavours to know who and whence he was, and to trace him from his birth to the day he came to the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*. At the ſame time, he ordered them to make ſtrict inquiry after his correſpondents in *England*, and obſerve narrowly every thing that paſſed about him. Eſpecially he enjoined ſome of the diſcreeteſt, to ſpare nothing to gain Sir *Robert Clifford*, much ſuſpecting him to be concerned in the ſecret. It is ſaid, that in order to make diſcoveries, he bribed the ſervants, and even the very confeſſors of the great Men he ſuſpected. Moreover, to procure his ſpies in *Flanders* the greater credit, he uſed to have them pronounced excommunicate every *Sunday* at St. *Paul*'s, by virtue of Pope *Innocent* VIII's Bull. He was ſo well ſerved by theſe ſpies, that, in ſhort, he came to know, the pretended Duke of *York* was no other than *Perkin Warbeck*. He had perfect information of his birth, life, actions, profeſſion, and of all the places he had lived at from his Childhood; which was inſtantly divulged throughout the whole Kingdom. Mean while, as the particulars were publiſhed by the King, the principal party concerned, the generality of People did not think themſelves obliged to believe him upon his bare word. Their prejudice made them require more convincing Proofs.

and cauſes them to be excommunicated, the better to conceal them.

He learns the whole Story of Perkin, *and publiſhes it.*

Whilſt the King's ſpies were acting in *Flanders* and *England*, he had two affairs upon his hands from which he wanted to be diſengaged, in caſe any troubles ſhould ariſe in the Kingdom on account of the pretended Duke of *York*. The firſt was, to make Peace with *Scotland*; the ſecond, to get the Peace of *Eſtaples* confirmed by the Pope, according to agreement with the King of *France*. For this purpoſe, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Edinburgh* and *Rome*. The former concluded with King *James* a Truce from *April* the 30th 1494, to that day ſeven years 1501, upon the ſame terms with that of *Caldſtream*, which expired the day this was to commence. It appears by the Ambaſſadors inſtructions, that he deſired to conclude a marriage between the King of *Scotland* and *Catherine* Daughter of the Counteſs of *Wiltſhire*, and Grand-daughter of the Duke of *Somerſet*. But this marriage was not propoſed, or at leaſt the Negotiation did not ſucceed (1).

Act. Pub. XII. p. 525, 529, 532.

A ſeven Years Truce with Scotland. Jan. 25. Ib. p. 534.

p. 529.

As to the affair of *Rome*, the Ambaſſadors preſented to Pope *Alexander* VI, a petition for a Bull of excommunication againſt whichſoever of the two Kings ſhould not obſerve the Treaty of *Eſtaples*. The Pope owned it to be one of the articles of the Treaty, and anſwered, he was ready to grant ſuch a Bull, provided the King of *France* did not oppoſe it, an inſtrument whereof he ordered to be given to the Ambaſſadors.

He demands the Pope's Bull for the Peace of Eſtaples. p. 531. *The Pope's Anſwer.* June 13.

The Emperor *Frederick* dying in *Auguſt* this year, *Maximilian* his Son, King of the *Romans*, aſcended the imperial Throne in his room.

Morton *made a Cardinal.*

The 21ſt of the ſame month, *John Morton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was made Cardinal of St. *Anaſtaſius*.

The King demands Warbeck *of the Archduke.* p. 544. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

Henry having had perfect information of every thing relating to *Perkin Warbeck*, ſent Ambaſſadors (2) to Archduke *Philip* to deſire him to deliver him up. He repreſented, "That it was contrary to the law of Nations, "and the alliance they had made together, to protect a "counterfeit, who ſought to rob him of the Crown by "an evident impoſture. That he was informed of all "the circumſtances of *Perkin*'s life from his cradle, and "offered to produce authentick proofs of the cheat, as well 1493.
"as of the death of the Duke of *York*, whoſe name *War-*
"*beck* borrowed. That *Perkin* being only a theatrical
"King formed by the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, he hoped
"the Archduke would not ſcruple to deliver him into
"his hands." *Philip* being ſtill a minor, his Council *The Archduke's Anſwer.* told the Ambaſſadors, "That the Archduke's intention Hall.
"was, always to preſerve a good underſtanding with the Bacon.
"King of *England*, and therefore would give no manner
"of aſſiſtance to the pretended Duke of *York*. But the
"Ducheſs of *Burgundy* being Sovereign in the lands of
"her Dowry, the Archduke could not meddle with her
"affairs, or hinder her from doing what ſhe thought
"fit."

Philip believed he had then the leſs reaſon to regard the King of *England*, as he had made a Peace with *Charles* VIII, by a Treaty concluded at *Senlis* the 23d of *May*. *Charles* had reſtored to the Archduke his Siſter *Margaret*, with the Earldoms of *Artois* and *Burgundy*; but kept ſome Towns on promiſe to deliver them as ſoon as *Philip* was of age.

Treaty of Senlis *between* Charles VIII *and* Philip. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The Ambaſſadors brought *Philip*'s anſwer to the King, and withal told him, there was colluſion between him and the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*. *Henry* was ſo provoked at this proceeding, that he broke off all commerce with the Archduke, and baniſhed all *Flemings* out of his Kingdom (3). The Archduke did the like by the *Engliſh* who were in *Flanders*. But the animoſity between theſe two Princes went no farther, each fearing he might one day want the other's aſſiſtance.

Rupture between Henry *and* Philip. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

Mean while, *Henry* having at length gained Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was intruſted with *Warbeck*'s and the Ducheſs's ſecrets, had exact information of their correſpondents in *England*. As it could not but be dangerous to let the evil increaſe, he reſolved to apply proper remedies. For that purpoſe, he cauſed to be arreſted in one day, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William D'Aubeney*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Creſſener*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*. All theſe were convicted and condemned for High-Treaſon, in adhering and promiſing aid to *Perkin*. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* was ſent Priſoner to *Calais* with ſome hope of obtaining his pardon. But his impatience cauſing him to attempt to make his eſcape, he was diſcovered and beheaded. Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William D'Aubeney* were executed immediately after their condemnation. The reſt were pardoned, and thoſe that were apprehended upon the ſame account, among whom were certain *Dominican* Friers, and [*William Worſeley*] Dean of St. *Paul*'s, were releaſed. Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, whether he was not yet informed againſt, or the King had a mind to ſtay for ſtronger proofs to convict him, was not touched at that time.

Henry *writes* Clifford, *who betrays* Warbeck's *Secrets.* Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

Some of the Conſpirators are put to death. Hall.

On the 1ſt of *November*, *Henry* writ to the King of *France*, deſiring to be included in the Peace of *Senlis*, according to the Tenor of the Treaty. The 17th of the ſame month, he notified to him the ſame thing from *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria* his Son, who were expreſly included in the Peace of *Senlis*, on the part of the Emperor and Archduke. But however King *Charles* deſiſted not from his project of conquering *Naples*.

Henry *notifies to the* King of France *that he would be included in the Peace of* Senlis. Act. Pub. XII. p. 550, 552.

England was very quiet during the year 1494. *Perkin Warbeck* ſtill remained in *Flanders* without offering to ſtir, the execution of his adherents convincing him, the King knew more of his affairs than he imagined. Mean time, *Henry* laboured underhand to inform himſelf more and more concerning the circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and what the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* was contriving in *England* and elſewhere. In this Sir *Robert Clifford* whom he had gained, was very ſerviceable. He learnt by his means, that *Perkin* had ſtill ſome dependence in *Ireland*, and had writ to the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare*, when he landed there from *Portugal*. This diſcovery made him reſolve to take care of the affairs of that Iſland, which had been hitherto much neglected. To that end, he made *Henry* his ſecond Son, then but two years old, Lieutenant or Governor of *Ireland*; but appointed for Deputy, Sir *Edward Poynings*, a Man verſed in affairs, and employed in ſeveral Embaſſies. He gave him a very extenſive power as well over the militia, as the civil Government, that he might put the Iſland upon a good foot (4).

1494. Henry *takes care of* Ireland. Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

He makes his Son Governor, Sept. 11. *and* Edward Poynings *Deputy.* Sept. 13. Act. Pub. XII. p. 558, 560. Hall.

Poynings, upon his arrival in *Ireland*, made ſtrict enquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the

(1) King *Henry* paid the King of *Scots* a thouſand Marks, by way of compenſation for the Injuries one Nation had received from the other, before the concluſion of the Truce. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 547.
(2) Sir *Edward Poynings*, and *William Warham*, Doctor of Laws. *Ibid.* p. 544.
(3) Appointing *Calais* to be the Mart for all *Engliſh* Merchandizes. *Hall*, fol. 34.
(4) With him was ſent Sir *Henry Dean* late Abbot of *Langtony*, a Man of great Wit and Diligence, who was made Chancellor of *Ireland*. *Hall*, fol. 36. They carried with them about a thouſand Men. *J. Ware*, c. 10.

King,

1494. King particularly he vigorouſly attacked the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare* (1). The firſt took care of himſelf, and kept out of the reach of the Lord-Deputy: but the Earl of *Kildare* was ſent Priſoner into *England*, from whence he was quickly ſent back by the King with marks of eſteem and good-will. As he dreaded freſh troubles in *Ireland*, where a Rebellion in his circumſtances would have been very incommodious, he thought he ſhould prevent them by acts of Grace, rather than ſeverity; and therefore ſent a Commiſſioner (2) with a general Pardon in form, as well for the Earl of *Deſmond*, as for all the *Iriſh* Rebels, to ſtifle if poſſible all the ſeeds of Rebellion in the Iſland, where the Houſe of *York* had but too many friends.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 567, 634.

A famous Parliament in Ireland.

Whilſt *Poynings* was in *Ireland*, he held a Parliament famous for the Statutes enacted to the advantage of the Crown of *England*, and of the *Engliſh* ſettled in the Iſland. One of theſe Statutes, ſtill called *Poynings*'s Law, ran, that the Parliament of *Ireland* ſhould not be aſſembled before the Lord Lieutenant and Council had acquainted the King with the reaſons, and obtained the Royal Licence under the Great Seal. It was alſo enacted, that all the Statutes of *England* concerning the publick, ſhould be obſerved in *Ireland*. Theſe two Statutes are ſtill in force to this day (3).

Poynings's Love. Hiſt. of Ireland.

Henry exacts Money by unlawful ways. Bacon. Stow.

Though *Henry* had given ſeveral proofs of his ſelf-intereſted and covetous Temper, they might be coloured with ſome pretence, becauſe the ſecret Springs of his Policy were not yet fully known. But it was not the ſame with regard to his proceedings this year, which plainly diſcovered his nature. The pretence of foreign Affairs failing him, he extorted large Sums from private perſons, by forfeitures upon penal Laws, on purpoſe to fill his Coffers. This proceeding was the more diſpleaſing to the People, as they eaſily perceived it flowed from his natural diſpoſition, ſince he was not obliged by any neceſſity to uſe ſuch extraordinary methods. He was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*. He had drawn from the Parliament two very conſiderable Subſidies, of which he had not expended a fourth part, and even that was repaid him with intereſt. Moreover, beſides divers Confiſcations, he received every year fifty thouſand Livres of the King of *France*. All this, added to the uſual Revenues of the Crown, which were no leſs than in the foregoing Reigns, ſeemed to enable him to eaſe, inſtead of oppreſſing his Subjects with frivolous accuſations to drain their Purſes. The firſt he attacked in this manner was Sir *William Capel* Alderman of *London*, who was fined two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds, and forced to compound with the King for ſixteen hundred. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was taxed with being the Contriver of theſe methods to procure the King money. But whether *Henry*'s Avarice daily increaſed, or the Miniſters who ſucceeded that Prelate were ſtill leſs ſcrupulous than he, People had but too much reaſon to lament him after his death.

Towards the end of this year, *Henry* gave a freſh inſtance of his deſire of money, which proved very injurious to his good name, eſpecially as he endeavoured to cover it with the veil of juſtice. By ſecret advices from Sir *Robert Clifford* he was informed, Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain, was one of *Perkin Warbeck*'s Adherents. Tho' that Lord had done him the greateſt Service imaginable, ſince he had procured him the Victory which raiſed him to the Throne, he reſolved to ſacrifice him to his Avarice, under colour of puniſhing his Crime. I ſay, to his Avarice, and not to Juſtice or Revenge. For if we may judge by his uſual Conduct, with regard to the State-Criminals, of whom there was nothing to be got, he would, doubtleſs, have pardoned *Stanley*, if the deſire of confiſcating his Eſtate, had not rendered him inexorable.

Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

To attain his ends, he ordered *Clifford*, who was ſtill in *Flanders*, to repair privately into *England*. When he heard the Informer was arrived, he removed to the *Tower* (4), that the great ones who ſhould be accuſed, might be arreſted more conveniently, and without noiſe. *Clifford* being come to *London* without diſcovering himſelf, the King aſſembled the Council (5) in the *Tower*, and ſent for Sir *Robert*, who falling down at his feet, craved his pardon, offering to declare whatever he knew of the Conſpiracy. The King immediately pardoned him, but on expreſs condition, he would conceal nothing of what was come to his knowledge. Whereupon *Clifford* impeached ſeveral perſons, and among the reſt the Lord Chamberlain. The King ſeeming extremely ſurprized, bid him take care what he ſaid, ſince his Life lay at ſtake in caſe the Accuſation was groundleſs. *Clifford* perſiſting, the Lord Chamberlain was preſently apprehended. Next day he was examined by the Council, where he confeſſed enough to condemn him. The great Service he had done the King and the Intereſt of the Earl of *Derby* his Brother, made him hope he ſhould not be treated with rigour. But two things rendered his Crime unpardonable. The firſt was his immenſe riches, which promiſed the King a plentiful Confiſcation (6). The ſecond, that he was accuſed, and probably, convicted of ſaying [to *Clifford*,] ſpeaking of *Perkin Warbeck*, *if he were ſure that young Man were King* Edward's *Son, he would never bear arms againſt him.* This was wounding the King in the moſt ſenſible part, ſince he ſeemed to acknowledge, the Houſe of *York* had a better Title than the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. Had he been guilty only of this Crime, it is a queſtion, whether the Judges would have ſentenced him to die, but it is likely, he was convicted of acting more directly againſt the King, and holding Intelligence with *Warbeck*, and the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*. All the favour he could obtain, was a delay of ſome weeks, to prepare for death, which he ſuffered not till the beginning of the next year (7). The King's Severity on this occaſion ſeemed exceſſive. All the World imagined he would pardon a Lord to whom he was ſo much obliged, and who had even enabled him to exerciſe Acts of Mercy, by procuring him the Crown. Beſides, he was Brother to the Earl of *Derby*, a zealous Servant, and Father-in-law of the King.

1494. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

Great Terror in England. Bacon.

The execution of the Lord Chamberlain terrified the whole Kingdom. He was condemned for a Crime of which few *Engliſhmen* were innocent, namely, for preferring the Title of *York*, to that of *Lancaſter*. But what cauſed ſtill greater dread, was, that the King was perceived to have had Spies about the Lord Chamberlain to obſerve his Conduct, which might be every Man's caſe. The great Men durſt not ſpeak their thoughts to one another, for fear thoſe whom they counted their beſt Friends, were the King's Spies. But this reſtraint was in ſome meaſure made up, by ſwarms of Libels againſt the Judges, the Council, and the King himſelf. This Licenſe ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he ordered five perſons, convicted of diſperſing theſe Libels, to be executed.

Libels againſt the King. Hall. Bacon.

Richard Fox, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, one of the King's Favorites, was tranſlated this year to the See of *Durham*.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 566.

It was likewiſe this year, that *Henry* the King's ſecond Son, two years old, was created Duke of *York* (8).

Bacon. Stow.

Negotiation with Scotland. Act. Pub. XII. p. 551, 554.

Though there was a Truce concluded with *Scotland* to the 30th of *April* 1501, there ſtill remained ſome differences between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, concerning certain Lands on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, and the Fiſhery of the River *Eske*. *Henry* always dreading ſome Inſurrection in the Kingdom, was extremely deſirous to have no Conteſts with his Neighbours. For this reaſon, he had in *May* this year, moved, that the differences between *England* and *Scotland* might be adjuſted. King *James* ſeeming to deſire the ſame thing, they both ſent Ambaſſadors to *Caldſtream*, to agree upon ſome Expedient. *Richard Fox* was at the head of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſy (9). But with all his Addreſs, he could not end an affair, which in itſelf ſeemed not very difficult. This cauſed *Henry* to ſuſpect, that the King of *Scotland* reſerved it for an occaſion of quarrel, and to order the Earl of *Surrey* to be upon his guard in the North.

p. 568.

Charles VIII *undertakes the Conqueſt of* Naples. Commin.

Charles VIII undertook this year the long meditated Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*. This affair is ſo well known, it would be needleſs to relate the particulars. It is neceſſary, however, briefly to mention the riſe and principal events.

Abſtract of the Succeſſion of the Kingdom of Naples. Colien. Capac. Summ, &c.

The Poſterity of *Charles* of *Anjou*, firſt King of *Sicily* of the Houſe of *France*, was divided into two Branches, whereof one reigned in *Naples*, the other in *Hungary*.

(1) *Maurice*, and *Gerard Fitz-Gerard*.

(2) *Richard Hatton*, Doctor of Laws. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 567.

(3) My Lord *Bacon* calls that *Poynings*'s Law, whereby all the Statutes of *England* (to the 10th of *Henry* VII.) were made to be of force in *Ireland*; which before that time were not, nor are any ſince that time, but by a ſpecial Clauſe.

(4) *January* 7. *Hall*, fol. 35. *Stow*, p. 477.

(5) A ſelected Council, ſays Lord *Bacon*, p. 610.

(6) There was found in his Caſtle of *Holt* forty thouſand Marks in Money and Plate, beſides Jewels, Houſhold-ſtuff, Stock upon his grounds, and other perſonal Eſtate, exceeding great. He had likewiſe in Land three thouſand Pounds a year of old rent. *Bacon*, p. 616.

(7) He was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, *Feb.* 16. 1495. *Hall*, fol. 35. ſays, the Cauſe of his Diſcontent was, King *Henry*'s refuſing to create him Earl of *Cheſter*. He was ſucceeded in the Office of Lord-Chamberlain by *Giles* Lord *d'Aubeney*. *Id.* fol. 36. *Bacon*, p. 611. *Hollingſhead*, p. 1444.

(8) On *November* 1. The Knights of the *Bath* made upon this occaſion were theſe: The Lords *Harington*, *Cliſton*, *Dacre* of the South, and the Lord *Waren*; Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Walter Griffith*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, Sir *Robert Harcourt*, Sir *Edward Traford*, Sir *Henry Marney*, Sir *Robert Newbrough*, Sir *Ralph Ryder*, Sir *John Sparke*, Sir *Humfrey Fulford*, Sir *Robert Litton*, Sir *Pierce Edgecombe*, Sir *Robert Clere*, Sir *Thomas fairfax*, Sir *Richard Knightley*, Sir *John Cheke*. *Stow*, p. 477.

(9) The reſt of the Ambaſſadors were, Sir *Thomas Dacre*, Sir *William Tyler*, *Chriſtopher Moreſby*, and *John Cartyngton*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. P. 554.

1494. After ſundry Revolutions, the Crown of *Naples* fell at length to *Joan* the firſt of that name. But in 1380 *Charles de Durazzo*, of the Branch of *Hungary*, pretending to the ſame Crown, and repairing into *Italy*, attacked Queen *Joan*, who finding herſelf preſſed by this Enemy, adopted *Lewis* I. Duke of *Anjou*, Uncle of *Charles* VI. King of *France*. From that time there was a continual War between the two Houſes of *Anjou*. At laſt, *Charles de Durazzo* remained in poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and was ſucceeded by *Ladiſlaus* his Son, who dying in 1414, left the Crown of *Naples* to *Joan* II his Siſter. Mean time, *Lewis* I, Duke of *Anjou*, and *Lewis* II, his Son, always ſtiled themſelves Kings of *Sicily*, and preſerved their pretenſions to *Sicily* on this ſide the *Pharo*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis* II, who died in 1417, left three Sons, namely, *Lewis* III, *Renè*, and *Charles*.

In 1421, *Lewis* III led an army into *Naples* to dethrone *Joan* II, who, for ſupport, adopted *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon*. *Alphonſo* arriving in the Kingdom of *Naples*, forced *Lewis* III to quit the Country, and retire into *France*. Shortly after, upon ſome quarrel between *Joan* and *Alphonſo*, *Joan* revoking the adoption of *Alphonſo*, adopted the ſame *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who would have deprived her of the Crown, and declared him her preſumptive Heir and Succeſſor; but *Lewis* died without Iſſue in 1431. *Joan* departed this Life the next year, having made a Will in favour of *Renè* of *Anjou*, Brother of *Lewis* III.

Renè made ſome attempts to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but to no purpoſe. *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon* kept the Crown till he died in 1458. He left the Kingdom of *Arragon* to *John* his lawful Son, and that of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his Baſtard.

Mezerai. In 1474 *Renè* made a Will, and appointed for his Heir *Charles* Earl of *Main* his Nephew, Son of *Charles* his younger Brother, to the prejudice of *Violante* his Daughter Ducheſs of *Lorrain*, and *Renè* Duke of *Lorrain* his Grandſon.

Foundation of Charles VIII's Claim. *Charles* Earl of *Main*, Nephew and Heir of King *Renè*, died in 1481, leaving *Lewis* XI, King of *France*, his ſole Heir. By virtue of which Will, *Charles* VIII, Son of *Lewis* XI, pretended, the Kingdom of *Naples* was fallen to him.

If what has been ſaid be never ſo little conſidered, it will doubtleſs be perceived, that *Charles*'s title to the Kingdom of *Naples* was very diſputable. To decide this caſe in a judicial way, it would have been neceſſary to examine two points of equal Importance in this affair. Firſt, whether *Joan* II had power to revoke the adoption of *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon*, and to adopt *Lewis* of *Anjou* in his room. It is true, the *French* Hiſtorians pretend, *Alphonſo* would have dethroned his Benefactreſs, and upon that ſuppoſition, the reaſon of the revocation ſeems juſt. But the *Arragonians* grant not the fact. They aſcribe it to *Joan*'s Levity, who was inconſtant and capricious. In the next place, ſuppoſing the Houſe of *Anjou*'s Title better than the Houſe of *Arragon*'s, this ſecond point muſt have been examined, whether King *Renè* could ſet aſide *Violante* his Daughter and her Heirs, and give the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles* Earl of *Main* his Nephew. It could not be alledged in favour of this Will, that the Kingdom of *Naples* was a *maſculine Fief*, ſince the Houſe of *Anjou*'s Title was derived from a Daughter. So *Charles* VIII could pretend to that Kingdom, only upon ſuppoſition, that the Laws decided theſe two points in his favour, which was very doubtful, not to ſay worſe. Beſides, the Houſe of *Arragon* had another Title founded upon a ſixty years poſſeſſion. But what rendered this affair very intricate was, that the Popes, as Sovereign Lords of *Naples*, ſeemed to have determined it in favour of the Houſe of *Anjou*, by inveſting the Princes of that Houſe with that Kingdom.

Cauſes of the War of Naples. Mezerai. But it was not ſo much his Title to the Kingdom of *Naples*, that induced *Charles* VIII to this Conqueſt, as the Juncture of time, and the ſituation of the affairs of *Italy*. *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* had two Sons; namely, *Alphonſo* who bore the Title of Duke of *Calabria*, and *Frederic*. *Alphonſo* had a Son called *Ferdinand*, after his Grandfather. Theſe *Arragonian* Princes were not beloved in *Naples*, nor in the reſt of *Italy*. Beſides, old King *Ferdinand* had baniſhed the Prince of *Salerno*, with all the other Heads of the *Angevin* Faction. And theſe Exiles it was that excited *Charles* to the Conqueſt of *Naples*. But this alone would not have ſufficed to determine him to this undertaking, had he not been incouraged by *Ludovico Sforza*, Uncle of the Duke of *Milan*. The occaſion was this:

Affairs of Milan. Bern. Corio. Hiſt. di Milan. The Duchy of *Milan* was paſſed from the Family of *Viſconti*, to that of *Sforza*; *Philippo Maria Viſconti*, laſt Duke of that Houſe, having adopted *Francis Sforza*, who had married *Blanch* his only Daughter.

Franciſco Sforza, becoming Duke of *Milan* after the death of his Father-in-law, died in 1466, leaving two Sons, *Galeazzo*, who ſucceeded him, and *Ludovico*, ſirnamed the Black. *Galeazzo* being aſſaſſinated, *John Galeazzo* his Son ſucceeded him, under the Guardianſhip of his Mother, a Woman infamous for her Lewdneſs, and of *Ludovico* his Uncle. Some time after, the young Duke married *Iſabella*, Daughter of *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, eldeſt Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *John Galeazzo* being a Prince of a narrow Genius, *Ludovico* his Uncle engroſſed the whole power, leaving to his Nephew only the bare Title of Duke, without his being much concerned. But *Iſabella* his Ducheſs, not bearing to ſee the Duke her Spouſe without any Authority, complained to the Duke of *Calabria* her Father of this ill uſage. Shortly after, the Duke perſuaded *Ferdinand* his Father to proclaim War againſt *Ludovico*, to compel him to reſign the Government to his Nephew. 1494.

To avoid this War it was that *Ludovico* excited *Charles* VIII to undertake the Conqueſt of *Naples*, by putting him in hopes, he would aſſiſt him with all his Forces. He had alſo a further deſign to make uſe of *Charles*'s aid, to become maſter of the Duchy of *Milan*, and diſpoſſeſs *John Galeazzo* his Nephew. He had now taken ſome private meaſures to that end with the Emperor *Maximilian*, to whom he had given *Blanch* his Niece in Marriage, with a Dower of four hundred thouſand Crowns, and *Maximilian* had privately inveſted him with the Duchy of *Milan* for him and his Heirs.

Upon the rumour of *Charles* VIII's preparations for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, old King *Ferdinand* offered him a yearly Tribute of fifty thouſand Crowns; but the offer was rejected. *Ferdinand* died a little before *Charles*'s Expedition, and was ſucceeded by *Alphonſo* his eldeſt Son.

The war of *Naples* ſeems at firſt to be entirely foreign to the Hiſtory of *England*. However, as it was the ſource and origin of many great Events in *Europe*, in the next Century, I thought it not improper to ſhew the occaſion, and for the ſame reaſon it is neceſſary to relate the principal Events.

Charles VIII departed from *Paris* in *July* 1494, and came to *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, where he fell ſick of the Small-Pox. This diſtemper detaining him at *Aſti*, he could not go from thence till the 6th of *October*, to *Turin*, where he was forced to borrow the Ducheſs of *Savoy*'s Jewels, ſo ill provided was he of Money for an Enterprize of that conſequence. *Ludovico Sforza* made haſte to meet him, and accompanied him to *Pavia*, where they found Duke *John Galeazzo* out of order, upon eating ſomething that his Uncle *Ludovico* had cauſed to be given him. When they came to *Placentia* they heard of *John Galeazzo*'s death. Then *Ludovico* left the King, to go and take poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Milan*, though the late Duke his Nephew had left a Son. *Ludovico* having obtained what he wanted, had not the ſame attachment for the King of *France* as before. On the contrary, he thought only how to drive him out of *Italy*, by a League of which he was the principal promoter. *Charles's Departure and Journey to Rome.* Commin.

Mean while, *Charles* purſuing his march, entered the State of *Florence*, and compelled *Peter de Medicis* the Duke, to deliver him four of his beſt Towns, and lend him Money. He made his Entry into the City of *Florence* the 17th of *November*, and publiſhed a Manifeſto concerning the war of *Naples*. Then he took the rout to *Rome*, and all the places in the Eccleſiaſtical State readily brought him their Keys. *Alexander* VI, upon the King's approach, deſired Prince *Ferdinand*, Son of the King of *Naples*, to depart from *Rome*, where he was received ſome time before. On the other hand, *Frederic* Brother of *Alphonſo*, who was upon the Coaſt of *Genoa* with a Fleet, came to *Naples*, where all was in the utmoſt Conſternation. Thus *Charles* having paſſed through *Italy* without the leaſt oppoſition, entered *Rome* the 28th of *December*, whilſt the Pope in a fright ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of *Angelo* for the Security of his perſon. It is time now to return to the affairs of *England*. 1495.

Precaution of Henry againſt Scotland. Act. Pub. XII. p. 568. *Henry* perceiving the Negotiation with *Scotland* proceeded very ſlowly, without his being able to diſcover any viſible reaſon, was apprehenſive that King *James* would take occaſion from their differences about the Fiſhery of the River *Eske*, to break the Truce. So, not to be ſurprized, he ſent the Earl of *Surrey* orders to levy Troops for the defence of the North, againſt the attempts of the *Scots* and *Iriſh*. Theſe attempts which he pretended to fear, were only an excuſe to put himſelf in a State of defence, in caſe the King of *Scotland* ſhould attack him.

The Duke of York is made Governor of the North. Act. Pub. XII. p. 569. Shortly after, he made the Duke of *York* his ſecond Son Preſident of the northern Marches, though he was but three years old. He had made him laſt year Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and by that means kept in his own Coffers the Salaries of theſe two Poſts, which muſt have been given to two ſeveral Lords. Never Prince better underſtood the Art of husbanding his Money, and making every thing turn to his profit.

The

1495. *Death of the Dutcheſs of York.* Sandford.

The Dutcheſs of *York*, Mother of *Edward* IV, and *Richard* III, died this year in a very advanced Age (1).

The Pope's Bull about the Rebels. Act. Pub. XII. p. 573.

In *July*, *Alexander* VI ſent into *England* a Bull, impowering all the Biſhops of the Kingdom to abſolve the Rebels, which by *Innocent* VIII's Bull was granted the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* alone.

Perkin's Attempt upon the County of Kent miſcarries. Hall. Bacon.

Hitherto *Perkin Warbeck* had not ventured to make any attempt in *England*, knowing that the King was informed of all his Correſpondents. But as the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* could not think, of relinquiſhing her hopes of gaining ſome advantage by the Idol formed by herſelf, ſhe reſolved at length to ſend him into *England*. She judged it neceſſary to ſound the People's Affection for the Houſe of *York*, without waiting any longer for the Aſſiſtance of the great Men, who being narrowly watched were very cautious. Beſides, ſhe perceived, if the people ſeemed ready to riſe, there would be no want of great Men to ſupport and conduct them. Wherefore, ſhe gave orders to draw together ſome Forces and Ships, and cauſed *Perkin Warbeck* to imbark, and make a deſcent in the County of *Kent*. Mean while, *Henry* knowing nothing of theſe preparations in *Flanders*, reſolved to go in progreſs to *Yorkſhire* (2) to viſit the Counteſs his Mother, which ſeemed to be a Juncture very favorable to *Perkin*'s deſign. But as the projected deſcent miſcarried, it was not doubted, that the King being informed of the pretended Duke of *York*'s Intent, had taken that Journey on purpoſe to draw him into the Snare, ſo perſwaded were people that Policy governed all his Actions.

Perkin, purſuant to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*'s directions, arrived upon the Coaſt of *Kent* (3), near *Sandwich*, and landed ſome Men to ſound the Inclination of the Inhabitants. Theſe Troops made great boaſts of the powerful Armament the Duke of *York* had made in *Flanders*, pretending the Ships in ſight were but a ſmall part of the Fleet which would ſoon appear. But the people perceiving, theſe Men were almoſt all Foreigners, inſtead of joining them, adviſed with the Gentlemen of the County to know how they were to behave. And it was reſolved, they ſhould feign to be ready to aſſiſt *Perkin*, in order to allure him to land and take him priſoner. Purſuant to this reſolution, the people took arms and appeared on the Coaſt, making ſigns to invite *Perkin* and his Men to land. But *Perkin* and his Counſellor *Frion* ſuſpecting the artifice, kept on board, expecting the return of ſome of their people, to inform them of what paſſed on ſhore. At laſt, the *Kentiſhmen* finding they could draw in no more, fell upon thoſe that were already landed, and cut them in pieces, except about a hundred and fifty, who being taken alive, were all hanged by the King's order. *Perkin* being Eye-witneſs of his people's misfortune, weighed Anchor and returned into *Flanders*. *Henry*, who was then on his progreſs, hearing of the deſcent, was about to turn back towards *Kent*; but preſently after receiving news of what had paſſed, he continued his Journey (4), and ſpent ſome time with the Counteſs his Mother, at the Earl of *Derby*'s Houſe (5). His intent was thereby to make a ſort of excuſe to that Lord for putting his Brother to death, and give him withal, a proof of the continuance of his favour.

Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

Remarkable Statute. Bacon.

The 13th of *October* the King called a Parliament, where it was enacted, That no perſon ſhould be impeached or attainted for aſſiſting *the King for the time being*. It is eaſy to ſee, the deſign of this Act was to hinder a cloſe examination of the King's title to the Crown, ſince let what would be the conſequence, thoſe that ſerved him would be always ſafe (6). Indeed, the precedent he had himſelf given, in cauſing thoſe to be condemned that bore arms for *Richard* III, muſt have made his friends apprehenſive of being in the ſame caſe, if the like Revolution ſhould happen. But the Clauſe added in the body of the Statute, that if for the future, any Act of Attainder ſhould paſs againſt ſuch as aſſiſted the King *for the time being*, it ſhould be of no force; this Clauſe I ſay, was void and of no effect. For how could an Act of this, limit the power of a future, Parliament, and cauſe an Act, in its nature revocable, not to be ſo? Mean while, this Statute, which ſeemed to be made ſolely for the people's ſafety, but was however, only for the King's Security, diſcovered *Henry*'s uneaſineſs and uncertainty concerning his title. 1495.

Another to pay the Benevolence. Act. Pub. XII. p. 632.

There was alſo an Act paſſed to oblige thoſe who had not paid their quota of the Benevolence, to pay the Arrears by ſuch a time. This Act brought in large Sums to the King, the Arrears of this Tax being very conſiderable, becauſe the war with *France* not having laſted any time, many perſons had declined to pay either in full or in part. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was indebted fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling (7).

Warbeck comes to Ireland. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the Parliament was yet aſſembled, the King received advice, that *Perkin Warbeck* was landed in *Ireland*. As this could not be but with ſome ill deſign, he gave order that the Coaſts ſhould be ſtrictly guarded, to be ready to oppoſe a deſcent wherever it was made. It was but too true, that the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had ſent *Perkin* into *Ireland* to raiſe a Rebellion, and to that end, ſhe had privately treated with the King of *Scotland*, who, it is likely, had promiſed to aid him. The common opinion is, that the Emperor, the Archduke *Philip*, and the King of *France*, were likewiſe in the plot: The two firſt, in revenge of *Henry*'s prohibition to his Subjects of all Commerce with the *Low-Countries*, and the other, to hinder his entering into a League that was forming in *Italy*, to which he was ſtrongly ſollicited. Be this as it will, very probably, *James*, in promiſing to eſpouſe the Intereſts of the pretended Duke of *York*, had been led thereto by ſome private view, or by the Sollicitation of ſome other Prince.

Bacon.

Warbeck goes to Scotland, and King James marries him to one of his Relations. Hall. Stow. Bacon.

Mean while, ſince *Poynings* had been in *Ireland*, the affairs of that Iſland were quite altered. So, *Perkin* not finding the Country inclined to favour his deſigns, departed for *Scotland*, where in all appearance, he knew he ſhould be welcome. When he came to *Edinburgh*, he demanded an Audience of the King, by the name of the Duke of *York*. *James* feigning an extreme ſurprize, gave him a ſolemn reception in the preſence of the whole Court. *Perkin* made a long Speech, recounting his pretended Adventures, and how he eſcaped the Cruelty of *Richard* III. Then, he inveighed againſt *Henry Tudor*, who had uſurped the Crown of *England*, and unjuſtly detained it from the lawful Heirs of *Edward* IV. He inlarged upon the methods he had uſed to endeavour t recover his Kingdom. He concluded with ſaying, that ſundry Accidents having prevented him from ſucceeding, he was come to put himſelf under his Protection, in hopes that with the aſſiſtance of ſo generous a Prince, he ſhould expel the Uſurper, and aſcend the Throne of his Anceſtors. That then he ſhould always regard him as a Brother, and never miſs an opportunity of ſhowing his gratitude.

Ibid.

James ſeemed to be moved with *Perkin*'s misfortunes, and told him, whoever he was, he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his hands. However, he pretended ſtill to have ſome doubt, to ſhow it was upon mature examination that he was convinced of the truth. Shortly after, he publickly owned him for Duke of *York*, and gave him in marriage, *Catherine Gordon* Daughter of the Earl of *Huntley*, one of the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed Ladies in *Scotland*.

Buchanan. Hall. Hollingſh.

Henry proje ts to marry his Daughter to the King of Scotland. Act. Pub. XII. p. 572.

Henry whether he had received private notice of what was plotting againſt him, or it was a pure effect of his foreſight, ardently wiſhed to live in good underſtanding with the King of *Scotland*. To that end, he had impowered his Ambaſſadors (8), who were to repair to *Caldſtream*, to treat of the marriage of *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter with that Prince. This marriage was indeed accompliſhed ſome years after; but, in all likelihood, was not mentioned in this congreſs, the Ambaſſadors of *England* having doubtleſs perceived that ſuch a propoſal would be unſeaſonable.

Continuance of the War of Naples.

The 28th of *January* 1495, *Charles* VIII departed from *Rome*, after receiving the ſtrongeſt Towns of the

(1) *Cecily*, youngeſt Daughter of *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, and Relict of *Richard* Duke of *York*, died on *May* 31, in the Caſtle of *Berkhamſted* in *Hertfordſhire*; and was buried in *Fotheringham* College in *Northamptonſhire*, by her Husband. She had lived to ſee three Princes of her Body crowned, and four murdered. See *Sandford*, p. 387.

(2) Or rather to *Lancaſhire*. He ſet out *June* 25. *Hall* fol. 27. *Stow*, p. 486.

(3) On *July* 3. *Ibid.*

(4) And ſent *Richard Guilford* to thank the Inhabitants of *Kent* for their Fidelity. *Hall*, fol. 38. *Stow*, p. 480.

(5) At *Latham*.

(6) My Lord *Bacon* obſerves, that though this Law ſeemed to aim more at the People's Safety than the King's, yet did it take off from his Party that great Tye and Spur of Neceſſity, to fight and go Victors out of the Field, conſidering their Lives and Fortunes were in ſafety, whether they ſtood or run away.

(7) The other remarkable Statutes enacted in this Parliament were theſe: 1. That Vagabonds, idle, and ſuſpected Perſons, ſhall be ſet in the Stocks three days and three nights, and have no other Suſtenance but Bread and Water, and then ſhall be put out of the Town. And whoſoever ſhall give ſuch Perſons more, ſhall forfeit Twelve-pence. This Act was afterwards explained, 39 *Elizab.* 2. That poor Perſons, who are not able to ſue according to the Laws of the Land, for the redreſs of Injuries and Wrongs to them done, ſhall be admitted in *Formâ Pauperis*, without paying Fees to Counſellor, Attorney, or Clerk. 3. That no manner of Perſon ſhall carry, or ſend any Horſe or Mare, above the value of ſix Shillings and Eight-pence, out of the Realm, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame; except it is for their own uſe. 4. That no Perſon ſhall make, or put to ſale any Feather-beds, Bolſters, or Pillows, but what are ſtuffed with dry pulled Feathers, or clean Down; and not with ſcaled Feathers, or Fenn-down. See *Statut.* 11 *Hen.* 7.

(8) The Biſhops of *Durham* and *Carliſle*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, Sir *Thomas Dacre* Lieutenant of the *Weſt-marches*, and Sir *William Tyler* Deputy-Governor of *Berwick*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 572.

1495. ecclesiastical State, with Cardinal *Cæsar Borgia* natural Son of Pope *Alexander* VI in Hostage. Whilst he was upon the march, the Ambassador of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* told him from his master, that when he promised not to molest him in the conquest of *Naples*, he did not mean that this conquest was to extend to all *Italy*. That notwithstanding, he saw him in possession of *Florence*, *Pisa*, and all the *Papal* Dominions. That therefore he declared, he did not think himself bound to the observance of their Treaty, and accordingly the Ambassador tore it in pieces before his face. *Charles* who was sailing with a prosperous gale, made a jest of these threats, and pursued his march.

Mean while *Alphonso*, the new King of *Naples*, finding himself attacked by a powerful King who was now upon the borders of his Dominions, was entirely discouraged. As he knew he was not beloved by his Subjects, he resigned his Crown to *Ferdinand* his Son, and retired to a Monastery, where he died this very year. The new King willing to defend his Kingdom, advanced towards the frontiers to endeavour to stop the King of *France*. But he saw himself suddenly deserted by his own Troops. In this extremity he would have retired to *Naples*, but found the Gates shut. In short, he was forced to seek a retreat in the little Isle of *Ischia*, having first garrisoned the Castles of his Metropolis, where he could enter without passing through the City.

In the mean time, *Charles* still continued his march. *Trivulzi* a *Milanese*, who was in the service of the King of *Naples*, having surrendered *Capua*, all the rest of the Towns sent him Deputies with offers of submission. At last, he entered *Naples* the 22d of *February*, and within few days became master of the Castles.

Such a torrent of success so blinded the young Monarch and his Council, that they knew not how to take any just measures for the preservation of this Conquest. By degrees the Towns that had submitted, returned to their Sovereign; his Army, which was not very numerous, being unable to furnish Garrisons every where. Besides, the *French* made themselves so odious to the people of *Naples*, that they soon repented of receiving them.

Bembo. But what most imbroiled the Conqueror's affairs, was a League formed against him by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Archduke, the King of *Naples*, *Ludovico Sforza* new Duke of *Milan*, and the Republick of *Venice*. This League, which was for twenty-five years, was signed the 25th of *March* 1495, and at the same time the Confederates began to assemble their Forces.

Charles found then, it was time to think of his return. But he was resolved first to make a triumphant entry into *Naples*, from whence he departed the 20th of *May* in order for *France*, leaving but few Troops to defend his Conquest. But the Allies did not intend to suffer him to retire thus peaceably. They expected him upon his rout, with an Army of forty thousand Men, and posted themselves at *Fornova* to oppose his passage. Though *Charles* was very inferior in number of Troops (1), he was determined to give them Battle, being sensible that he must either conquer or perish. The Battle was fought on the 6th of *July*, and the success was favorable to the King of *France*, who defeated that formidable Army and came to *Asti* the 15th of the same month (2).

Battle of Fornova.

Whilst he was retiring through *Italy*, *Naples* submitted again to *Ferdinand*, and almost all the rest of the Towns that were still in the *French* interest followed her example. The Duke of *Montpensier*, left by *Charles* at *Naples* with a few Troops, retired to the Castle of *le Ovo*, where after maintaining a Siege of three months, he was forced at last to capitulate. Thus *Charles* who had conquered the Kingdom of *Naples* in the space of three weeks, lost it with the same rapidity. He formed afterwards several projects to recover his Conquest, which, by the obstacles that occurred, came to nothing.

Philip *the Archduke assumes the Government of the* Low Countries. Act. Pub. XII. p. 576.

This year the Emperor *Maximilian* came into the *Low-Countries*, and resigned the Government to his Son *Philip*, though he still wanted some years of being of Age. After that, he returned into *Germany*. *Philip* being no longer under the Emperor's Guardianship, sent, about the end of the year, Ambassadors to *Henry* to desire the renewal of the Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*.

1496. *Treaty between* England *and* Flanders. Feb. 24. Ib. p. 578--591. Bacon.

The Ambassadors found no great difficulty to succeed in their Negotiation. The renewal of the Commerce which they were come to desire, was no less necessary for the *English* than for the *Flemings*. So, the 24th of *February* 1496 was concluded at *London* a Treaty of Peace and perpetual amity between *Henry* and *Philip*, and the Trade between the two nations was settled to the satisfaction of both parties. 1496.

Among the Articles of this Treaty, there were two particularly remarkable. By the first, the two Princes ingaged to give neither aid nor refuge to the rebellious Subjects of either. Particularly, *Philip* obliged himself expresly to hinder the Duchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, from harbouring the King's rebellious Subjects in the Lands she possessed, by what title soever she held them, whether of Dower or otherwise. That in case she acted contrary to this prohibition, he promised to deprive her of all her possessions in the *Low-Countries*.

By another Article it was expresly agreed, that any Vessel suffering Shipwrack on the Coasts of either of the two Princes, should not be liable to confiscation, provided there was left alive a Man, Woman, or Child, a Dog, a Cat, or a Cock.

The *Flemings* called this Treaty [*Intercursus Magnus*] or *the great Treaty of Commerce*, not only by reason of the great number of Articles, but chiefly with respect to another, made afterwards, and which not being so much to their advantage, was termed [*Intercursus Malus*] or *the bad Treaty*. Ibid. Act. Pub. XII. p. 695, 713.

We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *March* the 5th this year, the King granted a Patent to *John Cabott* a *Venetian*, and to three of his Sons (3), to go in quest of new Lands with *English* Colours (4). The Terms were, that after all charges deducted, they should give the King a fifth of the Profit (5). *Patent to* John Cabott Ib. p. 595.

Mean while, the King of *Scotland*, not content with affording the pretended Duke of *York* a Sanctuary in his Dominions, would likewise undertake to place him on the Throne of *England*. He was told, that as soon as he appeared in that Kingdom at the head of an Army, all the *Yorkists* would rise in favour of the Pretender. To that end it was, that immediately after his arrival in *England* he took care to disperse the counterfeit Duke's Proclamation, wherein the King was termed Usurper, Tyrant, and Murderer. Moreover, he promised all sorts of favours to such as would join the lawful Heir, to destroy him that unjustly detained the Crown. But this Proclamation was so ineffectual, that not a Man offered to join the *Scots*. The truth is, *Henry* was not beloved, especially in those parts. But as, since *Perkin* had begun to appear by the name of Duke of *York*, many were undeceived, and others in doubt, it was not thought proper to hazard life and fortune, without a greater assurance that it was really for a Son of *Edward* IV. Besides, the execution of the Lord Chamberlain was a terror to all, as no Man could reasonably expect the King's pardon, since that Lord was not spared. At length, *James* seeing he waited in vain that the *English* would take arms in favour of his Duke of *York*, and being unwilling wholly to lose his labour, ravaged *Northumberland* and got a great booty. Then *Perkin* feigning to be extremely moved with the calamities of the *English*, conjured that Prince, before his whole Court, to spare his miserable Subjects. This was a very artful device to perswade the Publick he was really what he pretended to be. *James* replied with a smile, he thought him very generous to be so careful for what was none of his, in order to save it for his enemy's use. Mean while, the news that an *English* Army was advancing, made him resolve to return into his own Country, being unwilling to expose his great spoils to the hazard of a Battle. Thus the expedition, from which he expected so great effects, ended only in the ruin of the People of *Northumberland*. *The King of* Scotland *and* Warbeck's *Invasion.* Buchanan. Bacon. Act. Pub. XII. p. 647. Stow. *Proclamation in the name of the Duke of* York. Hall. Bacon. *The* English *do not join him.* James *ravages* Northumberland Warbeck's *Cunning.* Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, *Charles* VIII fearing *Henry* would enter into the league of *Italy*, took care to have the Peace of *Estaples* confirmed by the States, as he was bound by the Treaty, which he had hitherto neglected, though it was confirmed by the Parliament of *England* the last year. However, as he thought not proper to assemble the States General, he caused the Peace to be approved by the States of each Province, with which, in all appearance, *Henry* was satisfied. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, the approbations of the States of *Languedoc*, *Normandy*, and several other Provinces, as likewise of particular Towns of little note, signed by great numbers of common people, as Tradesmen and Husbandmen. Charles VIII *causes the Peace of* Estaples *to be confirmed by the States.* Act. Pub. XII. p. 572, 592, 596, 597, 598, 634.

Though the King of *Scotland*'s Invasion had produced no great effect, *Henry* was however apprehensive of the consequences.

(1) He had but nine thousand Men; whereas the Confederates Army consisted of twelve thousand Horse, and above the same number of Foot. *Bembo*, p. 59. Edit. Venet. 1718.

(2) Thus is this memorable Event related by the *French* Historians. But it appears from Cardinal *Bembo*, and other *Italian* Authors, that the King of *France* retired, after this Battle, in the utmost hurry; and that *Ludovico Sforza*, and *Francisco Gonzaga*, the *Italian* General, favoured his escape. As their Forces were much superior to those of the *French* King, they might easily have cut off his Retreat, if they had not acted treacherously, as it is undeniably plain they did. See *Card. Bembi Hist. Venet.* p. 65. Edit. 1718; and *Paul Jovius*, &c.

(3) *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sancho*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 595.

(4) And with five Ships. *Ibid.*

(5) They were bound and engaged to land at *Bristol*. *Ibid.*

1486. consequences. He knew his Subjects were not pleaſed; that the *Yorkiſts* were very numerous; that *Ireland* was not well-affected; and that *Perkin Warbeck* was in *Scotland* ready to take advantage of theſe diſpoſitions. So, to prevent the danger which might ariſe from all theſe quarters, he granted firſt a general pardon to all the *Iriſh* Adherents of the pretended Duke of *York*, leſt the dread of puniſhment ſhould carry them to revolt. In the ſecond place, he commiſſioned *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Durham* to try, as of himſelf, to enter into Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, to treat of the marriage of his eldeſt Daughter *Margaret* with that Prince. Laſtly, he ſent Ambaſſadors (1) to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, to confirm his Alliance with them, and ſecure, by freſh engagements, the marriage of *Arthur* his eldeſt Son with *Catherine* their third Daughter.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 634.

Ib. p. 635, &c.

Embaſſy to Spain. Sept. 22. p. 636.

Some time before, he had diſpatched to *Rome Robert Sherburn*, who had in his name entered into the league of *Italy* (2) againſt *Charles* VIII, and the 23d of *September* ratified what his Ambaſſador had done. He thereby thought himſelf ſufficiently ſupported. For, he had nothing to fear from the King of *France*, who was elſewhere employed, and the moſt potent Princes of *Europe* were his Friends and Allies. As for the King of *Scotland*, he believed, he could eaſily reſiſt him in caſe of attack. However, though he had now taken meaſures to make Peace with that Prince, and had reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, he believed he ought not to loſe this opportunity to demand an aid of money of the Parliament, as well to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, as to revenge the inſults of the *Scots*. For this purpoſe, he called a Parliament the 16th of *January* following. It was however eaſy to foreſee, the King of *Scotland* being ſupported neither by *France*, nor the Archduke, nor the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, would not undertake to maintain alone a War for the ſake of *Perkin Warbeck*, though he was ſo blind as to believe him the real Duke of *York*.

He enters in to the League of Italy. p. 638.

Marriage of the Archduke with Jane of Aragon, and of Margaret of Auſtria with the Prince of Spain.

In *October* this year, *Jane* ſecond Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, came into the *Low-Countries* to marry the Archduke *Philip*, to whom ſhe had been contracted. *Iſabella* her eldeſt Siſter had been married in 1490, to *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*, who died ſhortly after. The ſame Ships that brought *Jane* into the *Low-Countries*, ſerved to carry *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, *Philip*'s Siſter, into *Spain*, to conſummate her marriage with Prince *John*, Heir-apparent of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* (3).

1497. The Parliament meets. Bacon.

Subſidy given for the Scotch War. Hollingſh.

The Parliament being aſſembled the beginning of the year 1497 (4), the King made a Speech to both Houſes, highly aggravating the affront received from the King of *Scotland*. He repreſented very pathetically, the calamities endured by his northern Subjects, at a time when the Truce ſhould have ſecured them from ſuch inſults. In ſhort, he told them, his honour and the protection he owed his People, would not ſuffer him to let theſe wrongs paſs unrevenged. The Parliament underſtanding him well, gave him a Subſidy (5), after which, they were inſtantly diſſolved, as having been called purpoſely for that affair.

The King raiſes the Subſidy.

Though *Henry* hoped much from his Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, he perceived it neceſſary to prepare for War. Otherwiſe Negotiations generally prove fruitleſs. The levy of the Subſidy granted by the Parliament was the firſt and principal preparation. The neceſſity of a War with *Scotland* afforded the King a pretence to haſten that affair, from which he expected the ſame advantage as from that of *Bretagne*; that is to ſay, to put the entire Subſidy into his Coffers. To that end, it was neceſſary the whole ſhould be levied before the Peace was concluded with *Scotland*, elſe the People would pay their money with reluctance. As the King ſet his heart upon this buſineſs, he gave very ſtrict orders to the Commiſſioners, who were to gather the Subſidy in the ſeveral Counties.

Rebellion in Cornwal. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The Commiſſioners proceeding with great rigour, met in the County of *Cornwal* with unexpected oppoſition. The *Corniſhmen* being leſs tractable than thoſe of other Counties, loudly complained, that for ſome petty damage done to the other end of the Kingdom, they were robbed of their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. Theſe murmurs were incouraged by one *Michael Joſeph*, a Farrier of *Bodmin*, and *Thomas Flammock*, a Lawyer. *Flammock* affirmed, that ſubſidies were not to be granted or levied for the War of *Scotland*, (the Law having provided for it by Eſcuage) much leſs when the *Scotch* Invaſion was made a pretence to fleece the whole Kingdom: That it would be a ſhame to ſubmit to ſuch an oppreſſion, and all the miſchief ſolely proceeded from the King's Miniſters, who made their Court at the poor people's coſt: That to free themſelves from theſe grievances, it was proper to take arms, and without injuring any perſon, go and preſent a Petition to the King, to pray him to deſiſt from this Tax, and puniſh his evil Counſellors, for a warning to others how they gave him ſuch advice for the future: That a greater ſervice could not be done to the Kingdom, than to deliver it from ſuch Harpies, who ruined it under colour of procuring the King's good. *Flammock*'s chief aim was at [*Morton*] Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Reginald Bray*, becauſe they were generally the King's inſtruments in affairs of this nature. 1497. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Rebels march towards London.

Flammock and *Joſeph* perceiving the people began to take fire, offered to lead them, till ſome Perſon of quality ſhould head them, which, as they ſaid, would ſoon be. And indeed, it appeared afterwards, they were incouraged by Perſons of greater conſideration. This was ſufficient to excite all the rabble of the Country to an inſurrection; and arming themſelves in the beſt manner they could, they marched under the conduct of theſe two Incendiaries into *Devonſhire*, and from thence into *Somerſetſhire*. The number of the rebels daily increaſed, by many People of the places where they paſſed, who had nothing to loſe, and were inflamed by the King's ſecret enemies. At *Taunton*, they killed a Commiſſioner (6), who had ſignalized himſelf by his rigour, in levying the Subſidy. This was all the miſchief they did in their march. Then they proceeded to *Wells*, where the Lord *Audley* (7), a Nobleman of a reſtleſs and diſcontented Spirit came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their General. *Audley* putting himſelf at their head, led them directly to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Wincheſter*, without ſuffering them to commit any violence, and obliging them to be ſatisfied with a bare ſubſiſtence. When they came to *Wincheſter*, inſtead of marching to *London*, as was intended at firſt, they forced their General to lead them into *Kent*. *Flammock* having told them, the People of that County were very fond of liberty, they fancied they ſhould be immediately joined by them, in defence of the rights and privileges of the Nation. But when they came there, they were greatly diſappointed. By the diligence of ſome *Kentiſh* Lords (8), not a Man offered to take arms in their favour. This coldneſs diſcouraged many of the rebels, who foreſeeing their enterprize would not be ſucceſsful, returned quietly to their homes. But thoſe that remained, being encouraged by the King's remiſſineſs, who had ſuffered them to proceed ſo far unmoleſted, inſolently boaſted, they would give him Battle, or take *London* before his face. In this reſolution they went and encamped (9) between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*, within a few miles of *London*. Hall. Hall. Stow. Bacon. The Lord Audley heads them. They march into Kent, where no body joins them. Hollingſh. Bacon. They march to London.

The King's meaſures againſt the Rebels. Ibid.

When the King firſt heard of this Inſurrection, he was under ſome Conſternation. A war with *Scotland*, a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and a Pretender to the Crown, ſeemed to him to be three affairs of the laſt Importance, eſpecially as they came upon him at once. Beſides, his inward uneaſineſs concerning the doubtfulneſs of his title, helped to magnify objects. He was apprehenſive that the *Corniſh* Rebellion was the beginning of a general Conſpiracy, whereof *Perkin* was waiting the iſſue in *Scotland*. Happily for him, this Rebellion was at a time when he had an army in readineſs, which was to march into the North, under the Command of the Lord *d'Aubeney*. But the news of the Inſurrection made him keep his Forces about *London*, not thinking fit to ſend them into the North at ſuch a Juncture. He contented himſelf therefore with detaching the Earl of *Surrey*, and ſending him towards the borders of *Scotland* to oppoſe King *James*, in caſe he thought of making a ſecond Inroad into *England*. Mean while, the Rebels traverſed the Counties, and the King made no motion to ſtop them. This Conduct ſurprized all the World, conſidering it was his Cuſtom ſpeedily to march to the place where danger began to appear. But upon this occaſion he thought beſt to act otherwiſe for ſeveral reaſons. Firſt, he was very glad the Rebels were ſo far from their homes, and harraſſed themſelves with long marches. In the ſecond place, he did not ſee any Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon. Hall.

(1) *Thomas* Biſhop of *London*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 636.

(2) This League conſiſted of Pope *Alexander* VI, the Emperor *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* King and Queen of *Spain*, *Auguſtin Barbadico* Doge of *Venice*, *Lewis Maria Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, and King *Henry*. *Ibid.* p. 639.

(3) This year, on *December* 18, died *Jaſper Tudor* Duke of *Bedford*, and was buried in the Abbey of *Keynſham* in *Glocesterſhire*. *Stow*, p. 479.

(4) On *January* 16. See *Statut.*

(5) Limited to the Sum of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, beſides two Fifteens. *Bacon* obſerves upon this occaſion, that his Wars were always to him a Mine of Treaſure of a ſtrange Ore, Iron at the top, and Gold and Silver at the bottom. p. 617.

(6) The Provoſt of *Perin*. *Hollingſh.* p. 781. laſt Edit. (7) *James Tuchet.*

(8) *George Grey* Earl of *Kent*, *George Nevill* Lord *Abergavenny*, *John Brooke* Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, *John Poole*, *William Scot*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 42, *Hollingſh.* p. 782.

(9) On *Black-heath*. *Ibid.*

1495. neceſſity to haſten him to attack them, ſince they committed no outrages. Beſides, he could not find that their numbers increaſed. But the chief reaſon of his flowneſs was, that he would ſee if they had any Correſpondents in other Countries, in order to divide his army, if neceſſary, or haſten to the relief of the weakeſt. In fine, Age, and the continued enjoyment of a Crown, had, doubtleſs, rendered him leſs in love with dangers. Any other way ſeemed to him leſs hazardous than a battle, to remedy Evils of this nature.

The King reſolves to give them Battle. Hall. Bacon.

But when the Rebels were encamped on *Black-Heath*, from whence they might have a proſpect of *London*, the King could no longer delay to attack them. He would have given occaſion to believe his coldneſs proceeded from fear, which might have produced very ill effects among the people. However, as he was much ſuperior to the Male-contents, both in number of Troops and Military knowledge, he reſolved ſo to diſpoſe all things, as to leave little to Hazard or Fortune. To that end, he divided his army into three Bodies, the firſt whereof, commanded by the Earl of *Oxford* (1), was ordered behind the hill, where the Rebels were encamped, to cut off their retreat, and, if neceſſary, attack them in the rear. The ſecond, led by the Lord *d'Aubeney*, was appointed to charge them in the front. The King retained the third about his own perſon, and encamped in St. *George's Fields*, that in caſe of ill Succeſs he might be ready to renew the fight, or throw himſelf into *London* and ſecure the City as he ſhould think proper. Beſides, he was not ſo far off, but he could ſuccour his people during the battle.

Diſpoſition of his Troops Hollingſh. bacon.

Battle of Black-heath, where the Rebels are worſted. June 22. Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Every thing ſucceeded as the King expected. The Rebels ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by a report he had cauſed to be ſpread, that he intended to give them battle on the *Monday* following, whereas he attacked them on the *Saturday*, which of all the days of the week he fancied to be the moſt fortunate. As they expected it not, they were ſo ſurprized that they had ſcarce time to draw up. On the other hand, for want of Intelligence, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrounded by the Earl of *Oxford*, who being poſted behind them, hindered their retreat. So, of ſix thouſand (2), which was their number, two thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and the reſt forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, there being no way to eſcape. The King for this once, cauſed to be executed only the Lord *Audley* (3), *Flammock* and the *Farrier* (4), who were taken alive, but gave the priſoners to the Captors, with leave to compound with them for their ranſoms as they ſhould judge fit. It is not unlikely, that the moderation of the Rebels in their march from *Cornwal* to *London*, tempered alſo the King's Severity; eſpecially as they had not aſſerted the title of the Houſe of *York*, a Crime he never forgave. Be this as it will, he was ſatisfied with theſe three Victims, for the expiation of this great Rebellion.

The Lord Audley and two others executed. Hall. Stow. *The King's Moderation.*

New Treaty of the Archduke. July 7. Act. Pub. XII. p. 648, 654.

Shortly after the Battle, the Archduke's Ambaſſadors ſigned at *London* Articles of Agreement, whereby, in explaining the late Treaty of Commerce, the Archduke deſiſted from the duty of a *Florin*, which he before exacted upon every piece of *Engliſh* Cloth that came into his Dominions.

p. 658.

The 18th of *July*, *Henry* ratified the Marriage-Articles between *Arthur* his eldeſt Son, and *Catherine* of *Arragon*. This Marriage had been concluded in 1491, and confirmed *October* 1. 1496.

p. 667. Aug. 28.

About the ſame time *Charles* VIII ſent an Embaſſy into *England* on purpoſe to confirm the Peace of *Eſtaples*, by the reparation of certain outrages committed on both Sides.

Buchanan. Hollingſh. Bacon.

But whilſt *Henry* was employed againſt the *Corniſh* Rebels, the King of *Scotland* thinking it a favorable Juncture, made a ſecond Irruption into *England*, and appeared before the Caſtle of *Norham*. But the Earl of *Surrey*, then in *Yorkſhire*, haſtening to its relief (5), *James* raiſed the Siege and retired into his own Kingdom. The Earl of *Surrey*, not ſatisfied with driving him out of *England*, purſued him into *Scotland*, and took the little Town of *Aton*. This war was inconvenient to the King upon ſeveral accounts. Firſt, he could not continue it, without uſing all the Money given by the Parliament, which he would have gladly avoided. Beſides, *Perkin Warbeck* made him uneaſy, and he perceived it would be eaſier to remove him from *Scotland* by Treaty, than by Arms. He would not however make the firſt advances, but wiſhed the propoſal of peace to come from another, to avoid the diſgrace of a refuſal, in caſe the King of *Scotland* was diſinclined. 1497. Act. Pub. XII. p. 663.

Whilſt he was in this perplexity, he bethought himſelf that *Don Pedro d' Ayala*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, would be a proper Inſtrument to accompliſh this affair. *Ayala* willingly undertook to go to the King of *Scotland*, and propoſe, as of himſelf, an agreement with the King of *England*. He uſed for pretence, that King *Ferdinand* his maſter, could receive no greater ſatisfaction, than to ſee the two Kings his Friends and Allies, live in peace and good neighbourhood. This expedient ſucceeded according to *Henry*'s expectation. The Ambaſſador found the King of *Scotland* ſo well inclined, that he writ to the King, if he would enter into Negotiation, he did not queſtion the ſucceſs. Whereupon the two Kings ſent their Ambaſſadors (6) to *Aton* to treat of a Peace, *Ayala* performing the office of mediator. The greateſt difficulty that occurred in this Negotiation, was concerning *Perkin Warbeck*, whom *Henry* demanded, and the King of *Scotland* would not deliver. The Biſhop of *Durham* (7) perceiving he could not gain that point, propoſed an Interview of the two Kings at *Newcaſtle*. But when it was mentioned to the King of *Scotland*, he ſaid, though he was very deſirous of Peace, he would not go and beg it of his enemy. At length, an expedient was found agreeable to both parties. And that was, the King of *Scotland* ſhould honorably diſmiſs the pretended Duke of *York*, before the Negotiation of a Peace was carried any farther, leſt he ſhould be thought to be forced to it; that afterwards they ſhould treat as if *Perkin* had never been in *Scotland*.

Henry employs the Spaniſh Ambaſſador to make peace with Scotland. Ib. p. 670, 671. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Difficulty on account of Perkin. Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Expedient to remove it.

Purſuant to this agreement, *James* told the pretended Duke, he had done for him all that lay in his power: That he had twice entered *England* at the head of an Army, to try the diſpoſition of the *Engliſh*: That not having found what was expected, there was no likelihood that with his forces alone, he could place him on the Throne, and diſpoſſeſs a King ſo firmly eſtabliſhed: That his misfortune proceeded ſolely from the *Engliſh* refuſing to eſpouſe his quarrel, and his being forſaken by thoſe who had engaged him in the undertaking, whilſt the *Scots* expoſed their Lives for his ſake: That therefore he adviſed him to ſeek his fortune elſewhere; but nevertheleſs, he would make good what he told him at firſt, *That he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his hands.* *Perkin* ſeeing the King of *Scotland* bent to diſmiſs him, thanked him for the protection he had hitherto given him, and for all his other favours, entreating him to convey him into *Ireland* with his Wife, which the King immediately granted.

James *ſends away* Perkin *to* Ireland. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

A Truce of ſeven years between Scotland *and* England. Act. Pub. XII. p. 673.

As ſoon as *Perkin Warbeck* was removed from *Scotland*, there were no farther obſtacles to a Peace. The Ambaſſadors, aſſembled at *Aton*, ſigned a Truce for ſeven years, commencing the 30th of *September*, the day of ſigning the Treaty. It was expreſsly agreed, that neither of the two Kings ſhould make war upon the other, by himſelf or Subjects, or by any other Perſon, whereby *Perkin Warbeck* was ſufficiently underſtood without naming him: That with reſpect to certain points not ſettled by the Ambaſſadors, the two Kings referred them to the deciſion of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. Afterwards this Truce, limited to ſeven years, was prolonged till a year after the death of the Survivor of the two Princes. In fine, each of the two Kings gave Letters Patents to the Mediator, deſiring him to report to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* the differences yet undecided, promiſing to ſtand to their determination. Theſe Letters were full of marks of eſteem and acknowledgment for the Ambaſſador, and the two Kings ſhowed how well pleaſed they were with his equity, wiſdom, impartiality, and the trouble he had readily taken upon him. Nothing could be more honorable for *Ayala*, whom the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Writers call *Hialas* or *Elias*, than the perfect confidence placed in him by theſe two Monarchs. But then, it may be ſaid, he had the

The two Kings make Ferdinand and Iſabella Umpires.

(1) *John de Vere*, who had with him *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*, *Edmund de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, and Sir *Humphrey Stanley*. *Hollingſh.* p. 782.

(2) *Bacon* ſays, ſixteen thouſand. p. 619.

(3) He was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Paper-Coat torn and painted with his own Arms reverſed, where he was beheaded, *June* 28. *Hall*, fol. 43.

(4) He is ſaid to pleaſe himſelf with the notion that *he ſhould be famous in after-ages*. He with *Flammock* was drawn, hanged, and quartered at *Tyburn*. The *Corniſhmen* are ſaid to ſhoot Arrows of a Yard long. *Ibid.*

(5) Together with *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, *George* Lord *Strange*, *Richard* Lord *Latimer*, *George* Lord *Lumley*, *John* Lord *Scroope*, *Henry* Lord *Clifford*, *George* Lord *Ogle*, *William* Lord *Coniers*, *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*; *Thomas* Baron of *Hilton*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *William Bulmer*, Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, Sir *Ralph Bigod*, Sir *Ralph Bowes*, Sir *Thomas Parre*, Sir *Ralph Ellecker*, Sir *John Conſtable*, Sir *John Ratcliffe*, Sir *John Savill*, Sir *Thomas Strangeways*; the whole Army amounting to little leſs than twenty thouſand Men, beſides the Navy. *Hollingſh.* p. 783.

(6) The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were, *William Warham* Maſter of the *Rolls*, and *John Cartington*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 673.

(7) The King directed Biſhop *Fox*, who was then at his Caſtle of *Norham*, to confer with *d'Ayala*, and both to treat with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners. *Hollingſh.* p. 783.

1497. good fortune to find them equally inclined to a Peace so necessary for both.

First Proposal of the Marriage of Margaret *with the King of* Scotland.

I observed that in 1495 and 1496, *Henry* empowered his Ambassadors to treat of a Marriage between *Margaret* his Daughter and the King of *Scotland*. But it does not appear, this affair was mentioned in any of the former Negotiations, or even in this I have been speaking of. It is however very probable, that *Henry*, who desired this Marriage, did not fail to insinuate the Proposal by the *Spanish* Ambassador, who was in his interest and confidence. It was a very proper occasion, since *Ayala* might make the overture as from himself, without engaging *Henry* in case of refusal. It went no farther for this time, but we shall see presently the happy effects of this Overture, which gave Birth to the Union of the two Kingdoms.

Death of the Prince of Spain. Mayern.

In the beginning of the year, *Margaret* of *Austria*, Sister of the Archduke, went into *Spain* to *Don John* her Husband. The nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity and magnificence. But in a few months after, *Don John* died, leaving the Princess with Child, who was delivered of a still-born Infant.

Marriage of Isabella *his Sister with the King of* Portugal.

By the death of *Don John*, his Sister *Isabella*, Widow of Prince *Alphonso* of *Portugal*, became Heir-apparent of the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon*. Since the death of the Prince her Spouse, she had been contracted to *Don Manuel* new King of *Portugal*, who hearing of *Don John*'s Sickness, so pressed his marriage that it was consummated before that Prince expired.

Affairs of France.

The last year, as was related, *Charles* VIII lost the Kingdom of *Naples*. Though the divisions among the Princes of *Italy*, seemed to invite him to this Conquest, he could never resolve, because he had turned all his thoughts to love and pleasure. He duly paid *Henry* twenty five thousand Livres every half year, as he was bound by the Treaty of *Estaples*, for fear of drawing upon himself new troubles from *England*.

Act. Pub. XII. XIII.

1498. After the Treaty of *Estaples*, there was neither War nor Difference between *France* and *England* during the rest of *Henry* VII's reign. *Charles* and *Henry* stood in awe of each other. *Charles*, who at first had formed vast projects, perceived, the King of *England* was the only Prince that could lay obstacles in his way. Afterwards, when he desisted from the War of *Italy*, and indulged his pleasures, he always feared that a War with *Henry* would disturb his tranquillity. *Henry* on his part dreaded all foreign Wars, and particularly with *France*, by reason of his domestick enemies. Thus the two Monarchs having the same interest, lived in Peace till *Charles*'s death, on the 6th of *April* 1498. The Duke of *Orleans*, who succeeded him by the name of *Lewis* XII, was no less careful to preserve a good understanding with *England* (1). As he turned all his thoughts to *Italy*, it highly concerned him to keep fair with *Henry*, who would have it in his power to overthrow all his projects by a diversion in *Picardy*. As soon as *Lewis* was on the Throne, he caused his marriage with *Jane* Daughter of *Lewis* XI to be annulled, in order to espouse *Ann* of *Bretagne* his predecessor's Widow. Otherwise he would have run the risk of seeing *Bretagne* once more severed from *France*, and in the hands of a foreign House.

Disputation of Charles *and* Henry *to one another.* Hall.

Death of Charles VIII *Lewis succeeds him.* Mezerai. Act. Pub. XII. p. 681, ——696, 706, 710.

Fresh troubles in England.

Though *Henry* had nothing to fear from abroad, since he was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, it was not the same with regard to his own Subjects. Before he could acquire that perfect tranquillity, he so earnestly longed for, he had a fresh attack to maintain from the *Cornishmen*. *Perkin Warbeck* himself, who having learnt to live like a Prince, could not resolve to return to his primitive state, embraced this opportunity to create him new troubles.

Insurrection in Cornwal. Stow. Hollingsh. Bacon.

The *Cornish* Rebels had been treated more gently than they had reason to expect, considering the nature of their crime, which Sovereigns never willingly pardon. Most of them had compounded for two or three shillings a Man, so miserable were they. These being returned home, publickly said, if the King had treated them with lenity, it was not from a motive of clemency, but because he was sensible if he punished all that were of their mind, he must hang up three parts in four of his Subjects. These discourses making their friends and neighbours believe, the whole Kingdom was ready to rise, they began to flock together, and shew they were not discouraged by the Battle of *Black-Heath*. At last some of the most fiery hearing *Perkin Warbeck* was in *Ireland*, proposed to send for him and set him at their head. The proposal meeting with applause, they sent to *Warbeck*, that if he would come among them, he should find no contemptible aid, and that with the assistance of other good *Englishmen*, they hoped to place him on the Throne. 1498.

The Rebels send for Perkin. Bacon.

Perkin being without any refuge in *Ireland*, and expecting nothing more either from *Scotland*, or *France*, or the *Low-Countries*, gladly accepted the invitation. He had with him for Counsellors, *Hern* a broken Mercer, *Skelton* a Taylor, and *Astley* a Scrivener, who persuaded him to take that course. They told him, he had committed a great error in relying on the Duchess of *Burgundy*, and the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, who without regarding his, had only their own interests in view: That he had been ill advised when he landed in *Kent*, which was too near *London*; but if he had been so fortunate as to have been in *Cornwal* when the *Cornishmen* took arms, he had been crowned at *Westminster* before now: That the *Scots* were not proper instruments to place him on the Throne, by reason of the aversion the *English* had for them; but, he must wholly depend upon the People of *England*, who alone were capable of procuring him the Crown: That therefore they advised him to repair into *Cornwal* where he was expected.

He comes and lands them. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Bacon.

Pursuant to this advice, *Perkin* embarked for *Cornwal*, having with him about seventy Men (2) on four small Vessels, and arrived in *September* (3) at *Whitsand-Bay*. As soon as he had landed his little Troop, he came to *Bodmin*, the Farrier's Town, who was hanged after the Battle of *Black-Heath*. There assembling about three thousand Men, he issued out a Proclamation assuming the title of *King of England*, and the name of *Richard* IV. He was very free of his reproaches and invectives against *Henry* and his Government, with magnificent promises to such as should take arms to dethrone the Usurper. After publishing his Proclamation, he formed a design to become master of *Exeter*, as well to make it serve for a magazine, as a retreat in case of need. At first, he tried to bribe the Inhabitants, with promising them the preservation and augmentation of their privileges. But finding they would not hearken to him, he resolved to storm the City. As he had no Artillery, he was forced to scale the Walls, and at the same time attempted to fire one of the Gates. But the attempt miscarried, and he lost two hundred Men in the assault.

He takes the Title of King. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

and besieges Exeter. Hall. Bacon.

The King orders his Troops against them. Bacon. Hall. Hollingsh.

Henry hearing that *Perkin* had joined the *Cornish* Rebels, and was before *Exeter*, said merrily, *he hoped now to have the honour to see him which he could never yet do.* He intimated withal, he should receive with pleasure and thankfulness, the services the Nobility should do him upon this occasion. Whereupon, several Lords and Gentlemen of *Devonshire*, and the neighbouring parts, uncalled from Court, drew some forces together, and put themselves under arms (4). On the other hand, the King ordered the Lord *d'Aubeney* to march to the relief of *Exeter*, spreading a report of his following in person with a numerous Army.

Perkin *flies to Sanctuary.* Stow. Hollingsh.

Perkin, upon news of these preparations against him, raised the Siege of *Exeter*, and retired to *Taunton* (5), where he prepared all things as if he intended to fight. But that very night he fled to *Bewley* Monastery in the *New Forest*, where he and several of his company registred themselves Sanctuary-Men. The Lord *d'Aubeney* hearing, *Perkin* had forsaken his Army, detached three hundred Horse (6) to pursue him, and prevent his escaping by Sea. The pursuers arriving too late at *Bewley*, contented themselves with besetting the Sanctuary till further orders. Mean while, *Perkin*'s Troops, which were increased to six thousand, being destitute of their head, submitted to the King's mercy, who pardoned them all except a few ring-leaders who were hanged for an example. Presently after he sent a detachment of Horse to St. *Michael*'s Mount, to bring away *Perkin*'s Wife who was retired thither, left, if she was with Child and escaped, the business should not end in the Person of *Perkin*. This virtuous Lady, who loved her Husband entirely though unworthy of her, so gained the King's favour by her modesty, that he gave her a very gracious reception. He comforted her himself in a very affectionate manner, had her conducted to the Queen, and assigned her an honorable allowance, which she enjoyed during the King's life and many years after. She was called *the white Rose*, as well on account of her beauty, as because of the name given by the Duchess of *Burgundy* to her Husband.

His Army submits. Hall. Bacon.

Henry *seizes his Wife, and uses her well.* Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

Though *Perkin* was in a place from whence he could not escape, the King however came to *Exeter*, to inquire

He goes on to Exeter. Hall. Hollingsh.

(1) He ratified the late Treaties concluded with King *Henry* by *Charles* VIII his Predecessor, and engaged to continue the payment of the yearly sum of fifty thousand Livres. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 681——696. Bacon.

(2) *Bacon* says a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and forty fighting Men, p. 622.

(3) On the seventh. *Stow*, p. 480.

(4) As *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and *William* his Son, with Sir *Edmund Carew*, and Sir *Thomas Fulford*, and likewise *Henry Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, with many brave Gentlemen, namely, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *John Halewel*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecombe*, *William* St. *Maure*, or *Seymour*, &c. *Bacon*. *Hall*, fol. 46. *Hollingshead*, p. 784.

(5) *September* 20. *Hall*, fol. 46.

(6) Five hundred, says *Hollingshead*, p. 784; and *Bacon*, p. 622.

1498. more closely into the causes and origin of the Rebellion. As he entered the City, he took his Sword from his side and gave it to the Mayor, to be always carried before him, honouring by that mark of distinction the zeal shewn by the Citizens for his service. On the morrow, he caused some of the Rebels to be hanged in sacrifice to the Inhabitants of *Exeter*, and as a sort of satisfaction for what they had suffered. For the rest who had submitted to his mercy, he gave them indeed their lives; but withal appointed Commissioners (1) to punish them by fines. He proceeded on this occasion, with excessive severity. One would have thought he repented of giving them their lives, and designed to starve the miserable wretches after freeing them from the Gallows.

Some of the Rebels are executed, and others fined. Act. Pub. XII. p. 696.

Debates about Perkin. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Bacon.

This done, he advised with his Council, upon what should be done with *Perkin*, who was still invested in his Sanctuary. Some were for taking him out by force and putting him to death, not at all questioning, that after the execution, the King might easily agree with the Pope. Others on the contrary believed, that according to the License granted by *Innocent* VIII's Bull, it sufficed to have him narrowly watched, and that, without necessity, such an advantage should not be given to the Pope. Moreover, that the King ought carefully to avoid being deemed a violator of Sanctuaries, of which his Enemies would not fail to take the advantage. In short, some there were who plainly told the King, he would never satisfy the people, that *Perkin Warbeck* was an Impostor, unless *Warbeck* himself freely undeceived those that were seduced by his artifices: That therefore the best method that could be taken, was, to ingage him by a pardon to make himself a confession of his Crime. The King following this advice, sent to offer *Perkin* his Life, if he would voluntarily surrender himself. *Perkin* readily accepted the offer. He saw himself so strictly watched and guarded, that he despaired to make his escape. Besides, supposing he could have escaped, he was destitute of all hopes, after an unsuccessful Trial of so many different means.

He surrenders himself to the King. Hall. Hollingsh.

He is carried to London, and confined in the Tower.

Shortly after, the King ordered *Perkin* to be brought to Court, as if he was entirely at liberty, but however, attended by several persons who were commanded to guard him with all care, lest he made his escape. Every one might see and talk with him; but he could never obtain leave to throw himself at the King's Feet, though the King, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him without being seen. After that, *Perkin* was conducted to *London*. He was all the way exposed to the insults and derision of the people; but seemed to bear all with great courage and constancy. Never did he act the Prince better than upon this occasion, without affecting too great an Insensibility, or shewing too much dejection. When he was come to *London*, he was made to ride twice through the City, that people might have time and opportunity to view him well, after which, he was confined in the *Tower* (2). A few days after was executed one of his chief Confidents, who not caring to take Sanctuary with him in *Bewley*, chose rather to wander about the Country in a *Hermit*'s dress (3). This execution being over, *Perkin Warbeck* was privately examined, and his Confession published, giving an exact account of all his actions, and the places where he had lived ever since he was born. But all were surprized to find no particulars of the Conspiracy or the Authors. The Duchess of *Burgundy* herself was not so much as named. Some took occasion from thence to confirm themselves in the belief, that the person called *Perkin Warbeck* was the true Duke of *York*. They were persuaded, that this affected Silence was not without mystery, and that the King durst not insert in *Perkin*'s pretended Confession, any of the circumstances relating to foreign Princes, for fear of being publickly contradicted by persons who would not have for him the same regard as his own Subjects. As for what was published concerning *Perkin*'s Life and Kindred, nothing, as they said, was easier than to invent such Stories. Some however believed the King was thus silent, out of complaisance to the King of *France*, the Emperor, Archduke, Duchess of *Burgundy*, and King of *Scotland*: And that there were even *English* Lords engaged in the plot, against whom he did not think fit to proceed.

Bacon.

Shene *Palace burnt, and* Richmond *built.* Bacon. Stow.

The year 1498, ended with an accident which gave the King no small concern. Whilst he was at his Palace of *Shene*, a fire broke out the 21st of *December* with that violence, that in few hours the building was entirely consumed, with all the rich Furniture. As *Henry* was very fond of that Palace, he caused it, soon after, to be rebuilt from the ground, calling it *Richmond*, which name it retains to this day (4). 1498.

Death of Isabella *Queen of* Portugal. *Michael her Son Heir of* Spain.

The same year *Isabella* Queen of *Portugal* was solemnly acknowledged presumptive Heir of *Castile* and *Arragon*, by the States of these two Kingdoms. But shortly after she died in Childbed at *Saragossa*, having been delivered of a Prince, who was named *Michael*, and proclaimed presumptive Successor of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

Since *Lewis* XII ascended the Throne of *France*, he had been employed in contriving how to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, which he claimed in right of *Valentina* of *Milan* his Grandmother.

1499. *Quarrel between the* English *and* Scots. Bacon. Hall. Hollingsh.

The Truce between *England* and *Scotland* being concluded, as I said, to the satisfaction of both Kingdoms, the *Scots* conversed familiarly with their neighbours the *English*, particularly with the Inhabitants of *Norham*. This Town, which was fortified with a good Castle and a strong Garrison, is situated on the little River *Tweed*, which parts the two Kingdoms. It happened one day, some *Scotchmen* walking out of the Town, stood looking attentively upon the Castle, which breeding suspicion in the Soldiers of the Garrison, they sent to them to retire. The *Scots* taking it ill to be suspected, returned an angry answer, and in short, falling from words to blows, some of them were killed. The affair being brought before the Wardens of the *Marches*, was neglected, so that after many delays, the King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors (5) into *England* to demand speedy satisfaction. *Henry*, who had no mind to quarrel with *James*, replied, that what had been done was a mere chance and without his privity: but however, he was ready to make all convenient satisfaction, and to that end would send Ambassadors to the King of *Scotland*. *Buchanan*, and the Lord *Bacon*, *Henry the Seventh*'s Historian, affirm, the first overture of the Marriage between King *James* and the Princess *Margaret* was made during this Negotiation, and that *James* himself proposed it to *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham*. Whereas it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that, above four years before, *Henry* had projected this Marriage, and probably, caused it, as I said, to be suggested to the King of *Scotland*, by some indirect means. As the Bishop of *Durham* could not be ignorant of the King's intention, since he had been twice commissioned to treat of this Marriage, he failed not to inspire King *James* with hopes, that the Business would be ended to his satisfaction. Shortly after, the Ambassadors of the two Kings (6) meeting at *Sterling* to decide the *Norham* affair, renewed the former Truce, adding certain Articles to prevent the like Accidents. After that, *Henry* appointed the Bishop of *Durham* to settle with the King of *Scotland* the Articles of the intended Marriage. This affair was not however finished till *January* 1502.

The King of Scotland *demands Satisfaction.*

Treaty of Marriage of Margaret *with* James IV. Act. Pub. XII. p. 721, 729.

p. 722.

p. 729.

Perkin Warbeck, accustomed to live like a Prince, was heartily tired of the *Tower*, where doubtless he was not treated as such. Though according to appearance, the King had ordered him to be strictly guarded, he found means to escape, and take the road into *Kent*, where he hoped to meet with some Ship to carry him out of the Kingdom. But hearing that orders were every where sent to apprehend him, he thought proper to fly to the Monastery of *Bethlehem* (7), which enjoyed the Privilege of Sanctuary (8). It was difficult for the Prior to protect such a Person, and yet he could not resolve either to let him go elsewhere, or violate the Privilege of the House, in delivering him to the King. In this perplexity, he chose to wait upon the King, and acquainting him that *Perkin Warbeck* was in his hands, petitioned for his Life, leaving him otherwise to the King's discretion. The King readily saw, it would not be possible to draw *Perkin* out of the Monastery to put him to death, without making great noise. So, on pretence of his great respect for the Prior, who was a person very much reverenced, he granted the prisoner his Life, but ordered him to be set in the Stocks a whole day, in the Palace Court at *Westminster*, and next day at the Cross in *Cheapside* (9), from whence he was conveyed to the *Tower* (10). Such a pri-

Perkin *escapes out of the Tower,* Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

and flies to Sanctuary.

He is pardoned and sent to the Tower. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Bacon.

(1) *Thomas Harrys*, *William Hatclyff*, and *Roger Holand*, *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 696.

(2) It does not appear that he was committed to the *Tower* till after he had attempted to escape. See *Holling shead*, p. 784.

(3) He was Farrier to the King's Stables, and accompanied *Perkin* in his Procession through the City, bound hand and foot upon a Horse. *Bacon*, p. 623.

(4) He gave it that name from his having been Earl of *Richmond*. *Camden*.

(5) *Marchemont* his Herald. *Hall*, fol. 48. *Buchanan*.

(6) The *English* Ambassadors were, *William* Bishop of *Carliste*, *Richard Hatton*, Doctor of Laws, Sir *Thomas Darcy*, Sir *Richard Cholmeley*, and *John Cartyngton*, *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 721.

(7) Built by *Henry* V at *Shene* in *Surrey*, and was called the Priory of *Shene*. *Hall*, fol. 49.

(8) And desired the Prior, for God's sake, to petition the King to grant him his Life, and a Pardon. *Hall*, fol. 49. *Holling shead*, p. 786.

(9) In both which places he read his Confession, of which the Reader may see a Copy in *Hall*, fol. 49; and in *Holling shead*, p. 786.

(10) On the 15th of *June*. *Hall*, fol. 50.

1499. ſoner naturally ſhould have been thrown into ſome Dungeon, and yet his Confinement was not the moſt rigorous, ſince he had the Liberty to converſe with the reſt of the Priſoners.

Perkin's and the Earl of Warwick's Plot diſcovered. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

After he had remained ſome time in this ſtate, he found means to gain four Servants of Sir *John Digby*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with whom he plotted to kill their maſter, ſeize the Keys of the *Tower*, and eſcape with the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been alſo perſuaded to come into the plot, out of hopes of recovering his liberty, of which he had been ſo long unjuſtly debarred. But unhappily for them, the affair was diſcovered before it could be executed. It was ſcarce doubted, that the King himſelf was the contriver of this plot, and that his aim was to draw at once *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick* into the ſnare, in order to put them both to death. Indeed ſeveral reaſons rendered it credible. Firſt, it was very ſurprizing, that *Perkin* was not more cloſely confined, after his attempt to make his eſcape. Secondly, it was not likely, that in his Circumſtances, unable to reward Sir *John Digby*'s Servants, they ſhould expoſe themſelves to ſuch danger for his ſake. In the third place, *Perkin* was too cunning to join with the Earl of *Warwick*, who would have hurted him only, though they had been ſo happy as to eſcape. Laſtly, ſuppoſing they had killed the Governor without being diſcovered, and got the Keys of the *Tower*, how could they expect that the Guards would have opened the gate, or ſuffered it to be opened in the night, without examining the Perſons that went out, or without the Governor's expreſs order. But what farther confirms this ſuſpicion of the King, was, that about the ſame time a young Man, one *Wilford* a Shoemaker's Son, pretended to be the Earl of *Warwick*. He was accompanied, or rather guided and directed, by an *Auguſtin* Frier called *Patrick*, who had the boldneſs to preach publickly in ſome Town in *Kent*, that *Wilford* was the Earl of *Warwick*, and exhort the people to take arms in his favour. They were both apprehended, and *Wilford* was hanged, but the Frier pardoned (1). This gave occaſion to believe, *Wilford* had been ſeduced by the Frier, and by the King's particular direction, that it might be thought leſs ſtrange, that he put him to death, under colour of cauſing freſh troubles.

One pretending to be the Earl of Warwick is hanged. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

However this be, it is certain the King was reſolved to free himſelf at once from all his uneaſineſſes occaſioned by *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick*. Though it cannot poſitively be ſaid, that he laid a ſnare for them, at leaſt this Plot furniſhed him with a plauſible reaſon to deliver them over to Juſtice. *Perkin* was condemned (2) by Commiſſioners [of *Oyer* and *Terminer*] to be hanged, and was executed with the Mayor of *Cork* (3) and his Son, who had been his conſtant companions in all his adventures. Of eight others that were condemned with them, among whom were Sir *John Digby*'s four Servants, there were but two executed. Such was the end of *Perkin Warbeck*, who had been acknowledged for lawful King in *Ireland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Scotland*, and made *Henry* ſhake in his Throne. Perhaps he would have ſucceeded in his deſigns, had he been to deal with a leſs politick Prince. However, it is certain the King was not enough careful to undeceive the publick, and that the proofs produced to ſhew *Perkin* was an Impoſtor, being taken only from a private examination, ſeemed not ſufficiently evident.

Perkin is condemned to be hanged. Hall. Bacon.

The Earl of Warwick is condemned and beheaded. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

In a few days after *Perkin*'s death (4), the Earl of *Warwick* was brought before the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of *Oxford* exerciſing, by Commiſſion, the office of High-Steward. He was arraigned, not for attempting to eſcape, which could not be deemed High-Treaſon, ſince he was not impriſoned for any ſuch crime, nor even for any other, but for conſpiring the King's death jointly with *Perkin Warbeck*. The poor Prince confeſſing that he gave his conſent to the project laid by *Perkin* and *Digby*'s Servants, was condemned to loſe his head, and the ſentence was executed on *Tower-hill* (5). He was the laſt Male-Heir of the Houſe of *York*, which in truth was the Crime that coſt him his life, the King chuſing rather to ſacrifice his own reputation, than be diſappointed of ſecuring the Crown both to himſelf and his Heirs. To leſſen in ſome meaſure People's horror of this Cruelty, the King cauſed it to be publiſhed, that King *Ferdinand* had poſitively declared, he would never conſent to marry his Daughter *Catherine* to Prince *Arthur*, ſo long as the Earl of *Warwick* was alive. Strange ſort of Apology tending to inſinuate, that the Marriage of the Princeſs of *Spain* was ſo neceſſary for *England*, that it muſt be purchaſed with Blood! But if this marriage was not requiſite for the State, it was at leaſt very beneficial to the King, who was to receive two hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold for *Catherine*'s Dowry. This alone would have induced him to ſacrifice the Earl of *Warwick*, though he had no other advantage by his death. From a like motive he had beheaded the Lord Chamberlain. Mean while, very probably, what was publiſhed concerning King *Ferdinand*, was only a mere pretence to excuſe *Henry*, ſince *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catherine* was ſolemnized by Proxy the 19th of *May* this very year, before the Earl of *Warwick*'s death (6). 1499. Act. Pub. XII. p. 754.

Lewis XII had ſolemnly ratified and ſworn the Peace of *Eſtaples*, a little after his acceſſion to the Crown. But being deſirous to ſhew *Henry*, he really intended to keep it, he cauſed it to be approved and ratified by the States General, aſſembled at *Nantz* in the beginning of the year. Then he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Pope, to pray him to confirm it by his authority. The Pope ſeeing no farther obſtacle from *France*, iſſued out a Bull of excommunication againſt whoever of the two Kings ſhould not obſerve the Treaty. *The Peace of Eſtaples confirmed by the States of France.* p. 706. p. 736.

Lewis XII becomes maſter of Milan.

It was not without reaſon that *Lewis* deſired to preſerve the Peace made by his predeceſſor with *England*. He had formed a deſign to ſeize the Duchy of *Milan*, and to that end made a league with the *Venetians*, who were to have for their ſhare all that part of the *Milaneſe* ſituate beyond the *Adda*. This ſame year the confederates attacked the Duchy of *Milan*, and *Ludovico Sforza*, the moſt perfidious of Men, being forſaken by all the World, was forced to fly to the Emperor, having loſt all his places, except the Caſtle of *Milan*. *Genoa*, of which he was poſſeſſed, followed the example of the *Milaneſe*, in voluntarily ſurrendering to the King of *France*.

The King of Naples is included in the Peace of Eſtaples. p. 720.

Frederick King of *Naples*, who had ſucceeded *Ferdinand* his Nephew, fearing the preparations in *France* were deſigned againſt him, gave *Henry* ſpeedy notice that he deſired to be included in the Peace he had lately renewed with *France*. But it was not with him that *Lewis* intended to deal this year. He reſerved the War of *Naples* after the Conqueſt of the *Milaneſe*.

A Jubilee furniſhes the Pope with means to raiſe Money. Hall. Bacon.

Alexander VI having publiſhed a Jubilee for the year 1500, the laſt of the Century, had granted by his Bull to all Chriſtians at a diſtance from *Rome*, the privilege of the Jubilee without being obliged to viſit the Churches of that City; but on condition of paying ſuch a ſum for the favour. This was an infallible way to draw money from all the States of *Chriſtendom*, where he had ſent Commiſſioners to levy it. The Commiſſioner appointed for *England* was *Jaſper Pons* a *Spaniard*, who wiſely diſcharged his Commiſſion without noiſe or ſcandal, and carried a good ſum of money to his maſter (7). 1500.

A Cruſade intended with the ſame view. *The Pope's Project.* Bacon. Act. Pub. XII. p. 747.

Beſides this affair, he was charged with another which ſeemed of great moment, but tended, like the firſt, only to fill the Pope's Coffers. He had orders to acquaint the King, that the Pope was reſolved to publiſh a *Cruſade* againſt the *Turks*: That therefore it was agreed with the Ambaſſadors of ſeveral Potentates, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* ſhould make War upon the *Turks* in *Thrace*; the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Greece*; and himſelf, with the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and Princes of *Italy*, who were moſt powerful at Sea, ſhould attack *Conſtantinople*: That in conſequence of this reſolution, he had ſent Nuncio's to all the Courts, to exhort the Sovereigns amicably to end their private quarrels, that all the Forces of *Chriſtendom* might be united together for ſo pious an undertaking. *Alexander* VI was too well known to be thought to act upon this occaſion from a motive of religion and zeal for the glory of God. Conſequently, it was eaſy to ſee that the ſole deſign of this *Cruſade* was to heap up money by voluntary contributions, as well from private Perſons as Sovereigns. However, as *Henry* was unwilling to ſhew his diſlike of this project, which probably would meet with obſtacles enough elſewhere, he told the Nuncio, "That no Prince in all *Chriſtendom* ſhould be more "zealous than himſelf, to promote this affair, to the "glory of God and the good of the Church: but as his *The King's Anſwer.* Bacon.

(1) *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrove-Tueſday*; and the Frier was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. *Bacon*, p. 625. *Hall*, fol. 49. *Hollingſh.* p. 787.

(2) On *Novemb.* 16, and executed the 23d of the ſame Month. *Hall*, fol. 50. *Stow*, p. 481.

(3) *John Awater*. His Son was pardoned. *J. Ware, c.* 15.

(4) *Novemb.* 21, and conſequently two days before *Perkin*'s death, *Hall*, fol. 51. *Hollingſh.* p. 787.

(5) He was four and twenty years old, and had been a Priſoner fifteen years, and kept ſo from the Company of Men and Beaſts, that he is ſaid not to know a Gooſe from a Capon. He was beheaded *November* 28, and buried at *Biſham*. *Hall*, fol. 50, 51. *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 481.

(6) It is reported that *Catherine*, upon *Henry* VIII's divorcing her, ſhould ſay, *That ſhe had not offended; but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in Blood.* Meaning the Earl of *Warwick*'s. *Bacon*, p. 626.

(7) This was done after the King's Return from *Calais*, which was about the end of *June*. *Hall*, fol. 52.

" Dominions

1500. "Dominions were ſo remote from *Conſtantinople*, as he "had no Galleys, and as his Mariners were not ſufficiently acquainted with the *Mediterranean* Sea, he judged "it more proper that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* "ſhould accompany his Holineſs by Sea; whereby, not "only all things would be ſooner ready, but the jealouſy "wiſely avoided, which would infallibly ariſe between "theſe two Monarchs, in caſe they ſhould march together "by land, without a Superior: That for his part, he "would freely contribute both Men and money towards "the undertaking. But if the Kings of *France* and *Spain* "ſhould refuſe to accompany the Pope, he would go himſelf and command under him, provided all differences "between the *Chriſtian* Princes were firſt appeaſed, "(which he ſhould not obſtruct, ſince he was in Peace "with all the World,) and ſome good Towns on the "Coaſt of *Italy* put into his hands, to ſerve for retreat in "caſe of neceſſity."

The Project comes to nothing.

The Pope eaſily perceived the meaning of this anſwer, and as probably the reſt of the Princes would return the like, the *Cruſade* vaniſhed into air. Mean while *Henry*, to diſplay his zeal, appointed Ambaſſadors to go to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning that affair. But I do not know whether theſe Ambaſſadors ever went from *London*. *Henry*'s anſwer being made publick, the Knights of *Rhodes* elected him for Protector of their Order, imagining there was no Prince in *Chriſtendom* more zealous than himſelf for Religion.

Henry *is choſen Protector of the Order of* St. John. Act. Pub. XII. p. 747.

The Plague having for ſome time raged in *England* (1), the King, after frequent change of places, reſolved to go and make ſome ſtay at *Calais* with his Family, till the danger was over. Upon his arrival (2), the Archduke *Philip* ſent Ambaſſadors to welcome him into thoſe parts, and expreſs his deſire of paying him a viſit. But withal, prayed him to appoint for their interview, ſome place that was not a walled Town, not but that he had a perfect confidence in him, but becauſe he had already refuſed to confer with the King of *France* in a fortified place. *Henry* very civilly accepted this compliment, and appointed the place to be at St. *Peter*'s Church without the Gates of *Calais*. Then he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Philip* to return his compliment, and tell him with what impatience he expected him. Some days after, being informed that the Archduke was near *Calais*, he rid out of the Town to receive him. When *Philip* ſaw him, he alighted and offered to hold the King's ſtirrup. But *Henry* not permitting him, they embraced, and withdrawing into the Church, had a long conference. The Archduke, willing to efface the impreſſion which his protection of *Perkin* might have made in the King's mind, ſhewed an ardent deſire to live in a good underſtanding with him, calling him his Patron and Father; as appears in the King's letter to the Mayor of *London*, acquainting him with what paſſed at the interview. It is ſaid alſo, that overtures were made of croſs marriages between *Henry* Duke of *York* the King's ſecond Son, and *Margaret* Siſter of *Philip*, and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*, and between *Charles* Son of *Philip* and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter. *Charles* was born the 24th of *February* this year, and by the death of Prince *Michael* of *Portugal*, about the ſame time, was become preſumptive Heir of the Crowns of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*.

He goes to Calais *becauſe of the Plague.* Hall.

Interview between Henry *and the Archduke.* Bacon. Hollingſh.

Project of Marriages. Bacon.

Bull upon the Peace of Eſtaples. June 12. Act. Pub. XII. p. 763.

This year, the Pope, at the requeſt of *Lewis* XII himſelf, gave a Bull, whereby that Prince was declared excommunicate, if he failed in his payments contained in the Treaty of *Eſtaples*.

Diſpenſation for the Scotch *Marriage.* July 28. p. 765.

The Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Scotland*, being at length agreed upon the terms of the marriage between King *James* and *Margaret*, the Pope granted a diſpenſation. But as the Princeſs was only between ten and eleven years old, it was not conſummated till three years after.

The King enquires after Warbeck's *Adherents.* 766.

Henry was then in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and there was no appearance of any troubles in his Kingdom. Conſequently he had no ſort of pretence to demand of his Parliament new Subſidies. This way of raiſing money, of which he was ſo greedy, failing him, other methods were to be deviſed. *Perkin Warbeck*'s affair was a plentiful fountain, which was not yet exhauſted. The Commiſſion he had eſtabliſhed whilſt at *Exeter*, regarded properly ſuch only as had actually taken arms againſt him. But though that Commiſſion had brought him in very large ſums, he was not yet ſatisfied. Under colour, that thoſe who had any way adhered to *Warbeck*'s party, were ſtill liable to the rigour of the Law, he was ready to grant them a pardon unasked; but it was on condition, they paid the fines laid upon them. For that purpoſe he appointed new Commiſſioners (3) to make inqueſt of thoſe that aſſiſted *Michael* the Farrier, author of the firſt *Corniſh* Rebellion, and *Perkin Warbeck* the impoſtor, with power to pardon them upon their paying fines at the Commiſſioners diſcretion. He ordered likewiſe the eſtates of ſuch as were dead to be ſeized and ſold, if the Heirs refuſed to make a reaſonable compoſition. It is eaſy to ſee from hence, that if the King had been favorable to the Rebels during the troubles, it was only out of fear of driving them to deſpair, whilſt they were yet heated, ſince he ſpared them not, as ſoon as he believed them to be no longer dangerous. 1500.

Death of Cardinal Morton. Hall. Stow.

Cardinal *Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was accuſed of being the author of theſe oppreſſions. But it was afterwards perceived, they ſprung from the King himſelf. The Archbiſhop died the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next year (4), little regretted by the *Engliſh*, who were greatly prejudiced againſt him. *Henry Dean* Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſucceeded him, but had not poſſeſſion till the *Auguſt* following (5). Before we cloſe this year, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed in *Italy*.

Dean *ſucceeds him.* Act. Pub. XII. p. 772, 773.

Lewis XII *and* Ferdinand *ſhare the Kingdom of* Naples. Mezerai.

After *Lewis* XII was become maſter of the Duchy of *Milan*, he turned his thoughts to the Conqueſt of *Naples*. Though, probably, he might alone have conquered that Kingdom, he made however an Alliance with the King of *Arragon*, whereby they agreed to join their Forces, and ſhare the conqueſt between them. *Ferdinand* was to have *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and *Lewis* the City of *Naples*, *Abruzzo* and *Terra di Lavaro*. This Treaty being ſigned, *Ferdinand* ſent an Army into *Italy* under the command of the famous *Gonzalvo*, commonly called the great Captain. *Lewis* gave the conduct of his Army to *d'Aubigni*, to the Earl of *Gaiazzo* and *Cæſar Borgia* the Pope's Baſtard, who having quitted the *Cardinalate*, was become Duke of *Valentinois*. The *French* Fleet was commanded by *Philip* of *Cleves* Lord of *Ravenſtein*. In a very ſhort ſpace, each of the two Kings became maſter of the portion aſſigned him by the Treaty, and the unfortunate *Frederick* King of *Naples* was forced to caſt himſelf upon the mercy of *Lewis* XII, who ſent him to live in *France* with a penſion of thirty thouſand Crowns.

The King of Naples *gives himſelf up to* Lewis.

1501. *Henry* having no war with any of his neighbours, lived in great Tranquillity, and the more, as he ſaw in *England* no Lord in condition to create him uneaſineſs. The ability he had ſhewn in ſeveral affairs, as well foreign as domeſtick, which had unexpectedly come upon him, kept his neighbours in awe, and his Subjects in obedience. So, which way ſoever he turned his eyes, he ſaw nothing capable of diſturbing his quiet. Mean while, when he leaſt expected it, he thought a new ſtorm was gathering againſt him, but he was more afraid than hurt. The Earl of *Suffolk* (6), Nephew of *Edward* IV, and *Richard* III, and Brother of the Earl of *Lincoln*, ſlain at *Stokefield*, quarrelling with a Man, had the misfortune to kill him. This accident might have given the King a pretence to free himſelf from the Earl, who could not but be odious to him, ſince he was, by his Mother, of the Houſe of *York*. However, whether the action in itſelf was not ill, or for ſome other reaſon, the King was pleaſed to forgive him, on condition he openly pleaded his pardon. The Earl, more offended at this Ignominy, than grateful for the favour granted him, retired ſhortly after into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*. *Henry* was ſtartled at his retreat, imagining he was gone into the *Low-Countries*, to contrive ſome plot againſt him. His conſtant uneaſineſs, with reſpect to his Crown, made him apprehenſive, that the leaſt beginnings would be attended with ſad conſequences. And therefore, not to give the Earl of *Suffolk* time to concert new Projects with the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, he ſo wrought with him by Meſſages, that he returned into *England*, where he was very readily pardoned. The Ducheſs of *Burgundy* was grown old, and tired with ſo many fruitleſs attempts to dethrone *Henry*. Beſides, ſhe could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the Archduke, who was willing to live in a good underſtanding with him.

The Earl of Suffolk *withdraws into* Flanders. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The King finds means to make him return.

This year abounded in Marriages, and Projects of Marriages of conſequence. The Archduke going into *Spain* by land, had an opportunity to confer with *Lewis* XII, and conclude with him a Marriage between his

Several Marriages.

(1) There died of it thirty thouſand in *London*. *Hall*, fol. 51. *Stow*, p. 482.
(2) Which was the eighth of *May*. *Ibid.*
(3) *Robert Shirborn* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and Sir *Amias Paulet*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 766.
(4) *Stow* ſays, he died in *October* at his Manor of *Knole*. p. 482.
(5) This year alſo died *Thomas Rotherham* Archbiſhop of *York*; in whoſe place was choſen *Thomas Savage* Biſhop of *London*, who was ſucceeded by *William Warham*. About the ſame time died *Thomas Langton* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and was ſucceeded by *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Hall*, fol. 52. *Stow*, p. 481, 482. *Hollingſh*, p. 788. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 767, 771.
(6) *Edmund de la Pole*, Son of *Elizabeth*, Edward's eldeſt Siſter by *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, her ſecond Husband.

1501. Son *Charles* with *Claude* eldeſt Daughter of that Monarch.

On the other hand, *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, the Archduke's Siſter, and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*, eſpouſed *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*.

Marriage of Arthur with Catherine conſummated. Act. Pub. XII. p. 780. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

In fine, *Catherine* of *Arragon*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, coming into *England* in *October* (1), her Marriage with *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* was ſolemnized the 14th of *November*. Though the Prince was but in the ſixteenth year of his Age (2), it was not queſtioned whether the Marriage was conſummated. The Prince himſelf next morning ſaid ſeveral things which left no room to doubt it. And yet, there were afterwards very warm diſputes upon it, *Catherine*, or her Council affirming, there was no Conſummation. But it is not yet time to ſpeak of this matter.

Diſpenſation granted to Thomas Wolſey. Act. Pub. XI. p. 783.

Thomas Wolſey, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, and Cardinal, who made ſo great a figure in *England*, was now Rector of the Pariſh-Church of *Lymington* in the Dioceſe of *Bath* and *Wells*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that in *November* this year, the Pope, in conſideration of his diſtinguiſhed Merit, granted him a Diſpenſation to hold two Benefices that were inconſiſtent.

1502. *The laſt agreements about Margaret's Marriage with James IV.* p. 781. Hall. Bacon.

Though the Diſpenſation for the King of *Scotland*'s Marriage was come, *Henry* made no great haſte to finiſh that affair, by reaſon of his Daughter's tender age. At length, the Princeſs being entered upon her thirteenth year the 29th of *November* 1501, *James* ſent Ambaſſadors to *London*, where every thing concerning the Marriage was ſettled, and the Contract drawn in form the 24th of *January* 1502. *Henry* gave with his Daughter thirty thouſand Angel Nobles of Gold (3), [each Noble worth twenty Groſſes, or Groats] payable in three years. *James* ſettled upon the Princeſs his Spouſe, a Jointure of two thouſand pounds Sterling a year in Land, of which however, he was to receive the Income during his Life, and allow her only a thouſand pounds a year at her own diſpoſal. It was farther agreed, that ſhe might have twenty four *Engliſh* Servants, and when one died, ſhe might appoint another in his room: That the Marriage ſhould be performed *per verba de Præſenti*, about the Feaſt of *Purification*; but the King of *Scotland* ſhould not think of having *Margaret* in his hands till *September* the 1ſt, 1503. That then *Henry* ſhould cauſe her to be conducted, at his expence, to the borders of the two Kingdoms. Before this Contract was ſigned, a Privy Counſellor repreſented to the King, that it was not impoſſible but this Marriage might one day give *England* a *Scotch* Sovereign (4). Whereupon the King replied, ſuppoſing that ſhould be, the ſtrongeſt would carry it from the weakeſt, and *Scotland* be annexed to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, which fell out accordingly.

Bacon.

Two Treaties between England and Scotland. Act. Pub. XII. p. 777, 793, 800.

The ſame day were ſigned alſo two other Treaties, one of perpetual Peace and Amity between *Scotland* and *England*, and the other concerning the outrages that might be committed on both Sides contrary to the Peace.

Death of Prince Arthur. Hall. Hollingſh. *Henry his Brother made Prince of Wales.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 11.

Whilſt the Court was rejoycing for the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland*, Prince *Arthur* her Brother was ſeized with a Diſtemper which laid him in his Grave. He died the 2d of *April*, about five months after his Marriage, and in the ſeventeenth year of his age (5). As the Princeſs his Widow might be with Child, the King delayed two or three months to create *Henry* his ſecond Son, Prince of *Wales*. The Lord *Bacon* ſays in his Hiſtory, that *Henry* was not made Prince of *Wales* till *February* 1503 (6). But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, Letters Patents of the 22d of *June* 1502, wherein he is ſtiled Prince of *Wales*, a clear Evidence that he was now inveſted with that Principality.

Henry makes the Emperor a preſent of Money. Ib. p. 3, 5, 9, 20.

Shortly after, *Henry* received an Embaſſy from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to propoſe a League againſt the *Turks*. This Embaſſy was properly only a pretence to demand of the King an aid of Money, which the Emperor promiſed punctually to repay. But the King knowing *Maximilian* to be always in want, choſe rather to make him a preſent of ten thouſand pounds, than to lend him the Sum he deſired. As for the League propoſed by the Emperor, *Henry* did not think fit to engage in it, contenting himſelf with ſtipulating, that the ten thouſand pounds ſhould be employed in the war againſt the *Infidels*. He concluded with him however a Treaty of Commerce, and another of Friendſhip and Alliance, which was to laſt one year after the death of the Survivor. Moreover it was agreed, that *Maximilian*, and his Son the Archduke, ſhould be admitted into the *Order of the Garter*, and *Henry* into that of the *Golden Fleece*. Purſuant to this agreement, *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors (7) to *Maximilian*, with the *Order of the Garter*, and to ſee him ſwear to the Treaties.

1502.

Treaties between the Emperor and Henry. p. 6---27. p. 35.

Embaſſy to Hungary. p. 4, 5.

About the ſame time *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, finding himſelf preſſed by the *Turks*, and deſiring the aſſiſtance of the *Chriſtian* Princes, *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors to treat with him. But their power was limited to the promiſe, in his name, of a Sum of Money to be employed againſt the *Infidels*.

Confirmation of the Treaty between England and Scotland. p. 30---43---76.

During the reſt of the year nothing extraordinary paſſed in *England*. *James* and *Henry* were entirely taken up with confirming and ratifying their three late Treaties, and ſwearing to obſerve them. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Ambaſſadors of the King of *England* (8) having delivered to King *James* a writing, containing the Oath he was to take, and he reading it as it was, inadvertently gave *Henry* the Title of King of *France*. But afterwards perceiving his error, he took publickly another Oath, wherein the words, *and of France*, were omitted, and made that his authentick act. He was afraid, no doubt, the King of *France* would be diſpleaſed with his giving *Henry* that Title, though it was of no great Importance.

p. 43.

Patent for diſcovering new Lands. p. 37.

We ſee likewiſe in the *Collection*, that on the 9th of *December*, *Henry* gave a Patent to *James Elliot* and *Thomas Aſhurſt* Merchants of *Briſtol*, to *John Gonſalez* and *Francis Fernandez*, Natives of *Portugal*, to go with *Engliſh* Colours in queſt of unknown Countries, upon certain terms expreſſed in the Patent (9).

1503. *The Queen's Death.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Elizabeth, *Henry*'s Queen, died the 11th of *February* 1503, without being much lamented by the King, who never loved her (10). On the contrary, he had given her ſenſible mortifications. His hatred to the Houſe of *York*, was extended to his own Wife, eſpecially as he always deemed her a dangerous Rival. The concern he gave her by confining the Queen her Mother in a Convent, and confiſcating all her Eſtate, plainly ſhowed his little regard for her (11).

The King oppreſſes his Subjects by Empſon *and* Dudley. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

At this time, the King's affairs were ſo proſperous, that he ſeemed to have all he could deſire. He was in peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and without troubles at home, or the appearance of any thing to vex or embarraſs him. But his Subjects were not the happier. As his Avarice was inſatiable, he was continually ſeeking new ways to heap up Riches, which he wanted not, ſince it was not to uſe them, and ſince never Prince was a greater Oeconomiſt than himſelf. His Inſtruments for this purpoſe were two infamous Miniſters, Sir *Richard Empſon* and *Edmund Dudley*, who regardleſs of their own and the King's reputation, ſought only to gratify his humour, and deviſe new means to fill his Coffers. *Dudley* was of a good Family, well skilled in the Laws of the Land, and able to give a favorable turn to the moſt odious actions. *Empſon* was ſprung from the dregs of the people (12), impudent to the laſt degree, and ſo little aſhamed of the injuſtices he committed, that he uſed to glory in them. Theſe are ſome of the means they uſed to draw Money from the people, into the King's Treaſury, beſides numberleſs others too long to be recounted.

Their Character.

Sundry means uſed by them to procure Money. Bacon.

In the firſt place, they cauſed ſuch as were reputed rich, to be indicted of ſundry Crimes, and when the Bills were found by the Grand-Jury, committed them, without bringing them to their Tryal, till of themſelves they deſired to compound with the King. If they delayed too long, the Miniſters found means to terrify them by Emiſſaries, who made them believe their Lives were

(1) She arrived at *Plymouth*, *Octob.* 2. *Hall*, fol. 52. *Stow*, p. 482.
(2) He was born *September* 20. 1486. See above, p 655.
(3) Ten thouſand Pounds. (4) In caſe *Arthur* and *Henry* died without Iſſue.
(5) He died at *Ludlow* Caſtle, where he was ſent to keep his Reſidence as Prince of *Wales*, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at *Worceſter*. *Hall*, fol. 55. *Sandford*, p. 475, 476.
(6) *Bacon* ſays, it was half a year's time between *Henry*'s Creation and *Arthur*'s Death. And juſt after he ſays, the *February* following (that is, ten months) *Henry* was created Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*, p. 629. *Hall* relates, that upon ſuſpicion of his Brother's Wife being with Child, he was by a month and more delayed of his Title, fol. 55. *Hollingſh.* p. 790.
(7) Sir *Thomas Brandon*, and *Nicolas Weſt*, Doctor of Laws. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 35.
(8) Sir *Thomas Darcy* Captain of *Berwick*, and *Henry Babyngton*. *Ibid.* p. 43.
(9) About this time were brought to Court three Men taken in the new-found Iſlands by *Sebaſtian Cabott*. They were clothed in Beaſts Skins, and ſpoke a Language unknown. Two of them were ſeen two years after at the King's Court at *Weſtminſter*, dreſſed like *Engliſhmen*, neither could they be diſcerned from ſuch. *Stow's Ann.* p. 483.
(10) She died in Childbed, having been delivered of a Daughter called *Elizabeth*, in the *Tower*, who died ſoon after her Mother. The Queen was buried at *Weſtminſter*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 484. *Hall*, fol. 55. *Sandford*, p. 469, &c.
(11) On *Aug.* 5, died Sir *Reginald Bray*, Knight of the Garter, often mentioned in this Reign; of whom *Hall* gives this Character, That he was a very Father of his Country, a ſage and grave Perſon, and a fervent Lover of Juſtice; who would often admoniſh the King when he did any thing contrary to Juſtice or Equity, fol. 56. About the ſame time alſo died *Henry Dean* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and was ſucceeded by *William Warham* Biſhop of *London*. *Ibid.* *Stow*, p. 484.
(12) He was a Sieve-maker's Son. *Bacon*, p. 629.

1503. in danger. By this means the parties were forced at length to come to a Compoſition, which tore from them the beſt part of their Eſtates, and which the Miniſters termed however Mitigations, as if the King had done them a favour in allaying the too great rigour of the Law.

2. They came at laſt to that point, that they proceeded without obſerving any form of Juſtice. They ſent forth their Precepts to attach and cite people before themſelves, at their own private Houſes, in a Court of Commiſſion, and there, after a ſummary proceeding by examination, without proofs or witneſſes, paſſed Sentence, and condemned them in large Fines to the King's uſe. Thus without vouchſafing to make uſe of Juries, and the methods preſcribed by the Law, they aſſumed themſelves to deal as well in Controverſies Civil, as in Pleas of the Crown. One would have thought, all Criminal Cauſes had belonged to that kind of Juriſdiction, which having been very rare in the foregoing Reigns, was grown common in this.

3. They charged the Subjects Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding falſe Offices (1), refuſing upon divers pretences and delays to admit people to traverſe thoſe falſe Offices according to Law. Hence they formed variety of Proceſſes, whereof they themſelves were the Judges, and which were always decided in favour of the Crown.

4. When the King's Wards had accompliſhed their full Age, they could never have Livery of their Lands without paying exceſſive Fines, contrary to the expreſs Tenor of *Magna Charta* (2).

5. When Men were out-lawed in perſonal actions, the Miniſters would not permit them to purchaſe their Charters of Pardon, unleſs they paid great and intolerable Sums; ſtanding upon the rigour of the Law, which upon Out-lawries gives forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of Men's Lands and Rents during two whole years.

6. They would alſo threaten the Jurors, and force them to find as they ſhould direct; and if they refuſed to act ſo unjuſtly, they were cited, impriſoned, and fined (3).

It is needleſs to repeat any more of their courſes. Theſe I have mentioned are ſufficient to ſhow, that Men of this character ſcrupled not to commit the moſt enormous Injuſtices, provided it was for the King's advantage. Herein leſs blameable than the King himſelf, who ſuffered them to abuſe thus his Name and Authority.

Remarkable Inſtance of the King's Rigor. Bacon.

We do not find in the Life of this Monarch, that he ever exerciſed one act of Grace in point of Fines or Confiſcations. On the contrary, he was always inflexible, even with regard to his moſt faithful Servants. His Hiſtorian relates a very remarkable particular, which ſerves to diſcover plainly the Character of this Prince. Of all the Lords of the Kingdom, he had the moſt confidence in the Earl of *Oxford*, who had indeed done him the greateſt Services, as well in war as in peace. One day, the King went to viſit him at his Caſtle [at *Henningham*] and was entertained with all poſſible Magnificence. When the King was ready to depart, he ſaw a great number of men dreſſed in rich Liveries, and ranged on both Sides to make him a lane. The Earl it ſeems had forgot, that it was forbid by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, to give Liveries, as was obſerved, to any but menial Servants, but the King remembred it. Wherefore turning to the Earl, he ſaid, *My Lord, I have heard much of your Magnificence and Hoſpitality; but I find they exceed all report. Theſe handſome Gentlemen and Yeomen I ſee on both Sides of me, are ſure your menial Servants.* The Earl, not perceiving the King's aim, ſmiled and anſwered, he did not keep ſo many Domeſticks, but theſe people were only his Retainers, come to do him Service on ſuch extraordinary occaſions. The King ſtartled a little, and ſaid, *By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for your good Cheer; but I muſt not ſuffer to have my Laws broken before my face. My Attorney muſt talk with you.* The Hiſtorian adds, this Treſpaſs coſt the Earl fifteen thouſand Marks (4).

The ſame Hiſtorian ſays, he had ſeen a Book of Accounts of *Empſon*'s, with the King's hand almoſt to every leaf, by way of Signing, and was in ſome places poſtilled in the margin with the King's hand likewiſe, where among many others was this Memorandum:

Item, Received of ſuch a one, five Marks for the Pardon to be procured, and if the Pardon do not paſs, the Money to be repaid; except the party be ſome other ways ſatisfied. 1503. And over againſt this memorandum of the King's own hand, was written by him in the Margin, *Otherways Satisfied.* He was unwilling to pardon the Man, and yet could not reſolve to reſtore the five Marks. Hence it is plain he did not neglect ſmall profits.

The Earl of Suffolk's Conſpiracy. Hall. Bacon.

It is eaſy to gueſs, the King's and the Miniſtry's Conduct bred great diſcontent and murmurs among the people. The great Men themſelves meeting with no better quarter than the meaneſt, groaned under the oppreſſion of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, two Leaches, who ſpared neither friend nor foe. The Earl of *Suffolk* whom the King had lately pardoned, fancied, theſe diſcontents would raiſe in the end ſome violent ſtorm againſt the King, if the people could find a perſon of diſtinction to head them. As he was of the Houſe of *York* by his Mother, he imagined, the time was come to proſecute his Rights, and the people would not fail to declare for him. In this belief he perſwaded ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen to promiſe to ſupport him at a proper Seaſon, and then retired into *Flanders*, from whence he made his Friends expect a powerful aid by means of the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* (5).

He withdraws into Flanders.

Henry diſcovers his Secrets. Bacon.

The King, ſurprized at the Earl of *Suffolk*'s retreat, did not queſtion that he had contrived ſome plot in *England* before his departure, and had his Accomplices. To be fully informed, he believed the beſt way was to recur to the ſame arts, he had uſed with reſpect to *Perkin Warbeck*. To that end, he ſent orders to Sir *Robert Curſon* Governor of the Caſtle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, whom he knew to be fit for his purpoſe, and entirely at his devotion. Purſuant to his Inſtructions, *Curſon* relinquiſhing his Government, under colour of ſome affront deſignedly put upon him by the King, came to the Earl of *Suffolk* with offers of his Service. He played his part ſo well, that the Earl imparted to him all his Secrets. By this means the King came to know, that *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire* (6), married to *Catherine*, *Edward the Fourth*'s Daughter, *William de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *James Tyrrel*, Sir *John Windham*, and ſeveral other meaner perſons, were concerned in the plot. They were all apprehended in one day (7). But as probably, there was not ſufficient Evidence againſt the two firſt, the King was contented with detaining them in priſon. This gave occaſion to think they were not guilty, but that the King uſed this pretence to ſecure them, becauſe their relation to the Houſe of *York* made him uneaſy. As for *Tyrrel*, againſt whom the Blood of *Edward* V, and the Duke of *York* cried for vengeance, he was beheaded (8) with *Windham* his Accomplice. The reſt of inferior rank ſuffered the puniſhment of Traitors.

His Accomplices are apprehended. Hall. Stow. Bacon.

The King uſes an extraordinary method to deceive him. Hall. Bacon.

Mean while, *Henry* deſiring to be better informed of the Earl of *Suffolk*'s Secrets, took care to preſerve *Curſon*'s credit, by an extraordinary method. He cauſed *Innocent* VIII's Bull of Excommunication, to be publiſhed at *Paul's-Croſs*, againſt all perſons that ſhould diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the Throne, and particularly againſt the Earl of *Suffolk* and Sir *Robert Curſon*. But when he had drawn from the Earl all his Secrets, he returned into *England*, where he was graciouſly received by the King, but the people looking upon him with horror, loaded him with curſes. The Earl of *Suffolk* being confounded by *Curſon*'s flight, roved about for ſome time in *Germany*, and at length returned into *Flanders*, where the Archduke, notwithſtanding his Treaties with *Henry*, took him into his protection.

Hall. Stow.

Project of marriage between the Prince of Wales, and Prince Henry.

The King knowing the Earl had not in *England* a party capable to ſupport him, ſhowed no farther uneaſineſs. Another affair troubled him much more. He had now received a hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, in part of the portion of the Princeſs of *Wales* his Daughter-in-law, *Arthur*'s Widow. As that Prince died without Iſſue, he muſt either ſend back the Widow to *Spain*, and conſequently return the hundred thouſand Crowns, or if he kept her in *England*, give her the third part of the Principality of *Wales* (9), which was ſettled upon her. Both were equally grievous to a Prince of *Henry*'s Temper. However, he could not diſpenſe with one or other, without breaking with *Ferdinand*, which did not agree with

(1) And ſuing them for Wardſhips, Liveries, Primier Seiſines, Alienations, &c. *Bacon*, p. 630.
(2) They vexed Men alſo with Informations of Intruſion upon ſcarce colourable Titles. *Ibid.*
(3) The Lord *Bacon* obſerves, that their principal working was upon penal Laws, wherein they ſpared neither great nor ſmall, nor conſidered whether the Law was poſſible or impoſſible, in uſe, or obſolete: And had ever a Rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at command, ſo as they could have any thing found as they pleaſed. See *Hall*, fol. 57.
(4) It is ſaid in the Original fifteen hundred, but I ſuppoſe it is an error of the Printer, for the Lord *Bacon* ſays, fifteen thouſand.
(5) *Hall* ſays, that the Earl having made a very great appearance at Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage-Solemnity, had thereby run himſelf extremely in debt, which was the occaſion of his retiring now into *Flanders*. fol. 54.
(6) He was not yet Earl of *Devonſhire*, for his Father lived till 1510. See *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. I. p. 640.
(7) At the ſame time were taken up *George* Lord *Abergavenny*, and Sir *Thomas Green*, but upon leſs ſuſpicion, and therefore were ſoon ſet at liberty. *Bacon*, p. 630. *Hall*, fol. 59.
(8) On *May* the 6th. *Hall*, fol. 55. *Stow*, p. 483.
(9) And likewiſe of the Dukedom of *Cornwal*, and Earldom of *Cheſter*, for a third of all three was ſettled upon her. *Bacon*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 664; and Tom. 13. p. 84.

his

1503. his preſent circumſtances. For indeed, the deference paid him by all the other Princes, and particularly by the King of *France*, was properly owing to his ſtrict Alliance with the *Spaniſh* Monarch. In this perplexity, he thought of a very proper expedient to preſerve the friendſhip of *Ferdinand*, with the Sum already received, and procure him the other hundred thouſand Crowns which remained to be paid. And that was to marry *Catherine* to his Son *Henry*, now Prince of *Wales*, by the death of his elder Brother. The propoſal being made to the King and Queen of *Spain*, they agreed to it, on condition the Pope's Diſpenſation was firſt obtained. This was the ſubject of an agreement between the two Crowns, the 23d of *June*, without a particular mention of the Articles of the intended Marriage. It muſt be obſerved, that in this agreement, it was alledged, as a neceſſary reaſon for demanding the Diſpenſation, not only that *Arthur* and *Henry* were Brothers, but moreover that *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catherine* was duly ſolemnized and conſummated.

Agreement between Henry and Ferdinand. June 23. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 76.

Alexander VI dying in the mean time, *Pius* III ſucceeded him. But as he out-lived not the 18th of *October*, it was to *Julius* II, elected the 1ſt of *November*, that the two Kings applied for the diſpenſation. The new Pope granted a Bull for that purpoſe, where he ſaid, that in the petition lately preſented to him, *Henry* and *Catherine* declared, that *Catherine* was married *per verba de Præſenti*, to the late Prince *Arthur*, and that the marriage was ſolemnized in form, and *perhaps conſummated* (1). Upon the word *perhaps*, it muſt be remarked, that, on this occaſion, it cannot be a Term denoting a Doubt, ſince it is not the Pope that ſpeaks in the Petition, but *Catherine*, who muſt know whether the Marriage was conſummated or not. It is only a term which gives more ſtrength to the diſpenſation, as obviating all the objections that might be made. This evidently appears in the ſequel of the Bull, where the Pope permits *Henry* and *Catherine* to remain in the ſtate of matrimony, though they were married before, publickly or privately, and had perhaps conſummated their marriage by carnal copulation. It is eaſy to ſee, the word *perhaps*, is inſerted only to give the more force to the diſpenſation, by preventing all caſes that might render it invalid. It was neceſſary to make theſe obſervations, by reaſon of the important conſequences of this affair in the following reign.

Pope Julius's Diſpenſation for the Marriage. Dec. 26. p. 89.

Margaret *is conducted to* Scotland. Hall.

The King of *Scotland*'s marriage was conſummated in *September* (2) according to agreement, *Henry* having conducted the Queen his Daughter to *York*, from whence ſhe purſued her journey into *Scotland* (3).

The Archduke returns to the Low-Countries. Mezerai.

The Archduke *Philip* returned this year into *Flanders*, having ſtaied about a year in *Spain*. As he paſſed through *France*, he endeavoured to adjuſt a difference between King *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law, and *Lewis* XII, concerning the Kingdom of *Naples*. He even took upon him to conclude in *Ferdinand*'s name, a Treaty which was afterwards diſclaimed. Had he been concerned with a Prince of leſs goodneſs and equity than *Lewis* XII, that diſclaiming might have thrown him into great trouble. But *Lewis* was ſo generous as not to take the advantage. The occaſion, in ſhort, of the rupture between the two Monarchs was this:

Rupture between Lewis XII and Ferdinand.

They had, as I have obſerved, divided the Kingdom of *Naples* after conquering it. It was hardly poſſible that theſe two Princes ſhould long poſſeſs the portion fallen to each, without ſome occaſion of quarrel. Accordingly a diſpute aroſe concerning the Province of *Capitanata*, which each would have to be in his diviſion. Whereupon the *French* and *Spaniards* came to blows. At firſt the *French* had the advantage, but afterwards loſt two Battles, one near St. *Severina* in *Calabria* the 21ſt of *April*, the other on the 28th of the ſame month at *Cerignoles*, where the Duke of *Nemours* their General was ſlain. After theſe two victories *Gonzolvo*, who commanded *Ferdinand*'s Troops, became maſter of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis* deſirous to repair his loſſes, ſent a powerful Army into *Italy*, which was by ſundry unexpected accidents rendered unſerviceable.

The French are driven out of Naples.

1504. *Subſidy given the King for the Marriage of his Daughter.* Hall.

The 16th of *January* 1504, the King aſſembled the Parliament on pretence of the neceſſity of reviving certain Statutes, and making ſome new ones. But the real motive was to demand a Subſidy for his eldeſt Daughter's Dowry. The Cuſtom of demanding money on ſuch occaſions was too advantagious to the King to ſuffer it to be aboliſhed. The Queen of *Scotland*'s portion was but thirty thouſand Nobles (4), but this Subſidy granted by the Parliament may well be thought to be much more conſiderable, beſides a handſome preſent made him by the Clergy on the ſame account. So, inſtead of emptying his Coffers by the marriage of his Daughter, he filled them the fuller. Nothing ſhows more the almoſt abſolute power of the King, than the choice of *Dudley* for Speaker of the Houſe of Commons (5). He was the moſt generally hated perſon in the Kingdom, except *Empſon* his aſſociate, who was as odious as himſelf. Wherefore it muſt be that the fear of diſpleaſing the King, by rejecting the Perſon he recommended, led the Commons to that choice.

1504

Bacon. Dudley *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.* Stow.

Advantageous Statutes for the King. Bacon.

The Subſidy was not the only thing, the King politically turned to his advantage in this Parliament. He found means to obtain Acts which ſeemed to aim wholly at the good of the publick, but in reality tended only to procure him money. For inſtance, all Patents of Leaſe or Grant were diſannulled to ſuch as came not [upon lawful Summons] to ſerve the King againſt the Rebels (6). As the number of Delinquents in this reſpect was very great, this act was a fertile ſource of treaſure to the King, by reaſon they were obliged to renew their Leaſes and Grants, which could be done only upon very hard terms.

Another Statute made all ſorts of clipped or impaired Coins of Silver not to be current in payments, without ſuffering them even to paſs for the value of their weight. As there were ſcarce any other in the Kingdom, every one was forced to bring in his ready money to the *Mint*, in order to be new coined, by which the King was a very conſiderable gainer.

The Statute againſt giving Liveries to any but menial Servants, was alſo revived, from whence *Empſon* and *Dudley* had an opportunity to attack many Perſons (7).

Thus the King continually amaſſing without being obliged to any extraordinary charge, at a time when his ordinary expences were very moderate, and husbanded in the beſt manner poſſible, could not but be extremly rich in ready money. But then he doubly ruined his Subjects; firſt by draining their purſes; and ſecondly by hindering the coin, of which he had great quantities in his Coffers, from circulating in Trade. On the other hand, *Empſon* and *Dudley* continued their extortions without any reſerve, and with a rigor unexperienced by the *Engliſh*, under any of their former Kings.

The King thinks of canonizing Henry VI, but drops it. Bacon.

About this time *Henry* had thoughts of canonizing *Henry* VI, the laſt King of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. But there were two grand obſtacles. The firſt, that the Miracles aſcribed to that Prince ſince his death were not well atteſted, and the actions of his life, which were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, ſhowed rather his weakneſs than ſanctity. But the ſecond difficulty, that is the neceſſary charges of this canonization quite fruſtrated the project. As this is an act of grace and favour, the Pope generally proportions the expences not to the Perſon of the Saint himſelf, but to the riches of him that ſollicites the canonization. The King even perceived, that the Court of *Rome*'s queſtioning *Henry the Sixth*'s ſanctity, tended only to magnify the favour, and inhance the price accordingly. This was ſufficient to cauſe him to deſiſt from his intention. So avaricious a Prince could hardly reſolve to empty his Coffers for ſo needleſs a thing, and which, at moſt, would have procured him only the praiſes of the *Lancaſtrians*. He was contented therefore to obtain a Bull for the removal of *Henry* VI's Body to *Weſtminſter* among his Anceſtors (8). He was obſcurely buried at firſt in *Chertſey* Monaſtery near *London*, from whence he was removed to *Windſor*.

Bull to remove his Corps to Weſtminſter Act. Pub. XIII. p. 103. May 20.

Proclamation in favour of the Subjects. Aug. 19. p. 106.

The 19th of *Auguſt*, *Henry* iſſued out a Proclamation, giving notice that he had appointed Commiſſioners to whom his creditors, and ſuch as had any demands upon him, might apply for the ſpace of two years, to commence the 19th of *Auguſt*, and to continue till *Michaelmaſs* come two years. It is hard to judge whether he did this from a principle of equity, and with intent to ſatisfy thoſe he

(1) ---- Cum aliàs Tu *Catherina*, & tunc in Humanis agens quondam *Arthurus*, ---- Matrimonium per Verba legitimé de Præſenti contraxiſſetis, illudque Carnali Copulâ forſan conſumaviſſetis.------ *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 89.

(2) *Stow* ſays, it was the 8th of *Auguſt*, at *Edinburgh*, p. 484.

(3) Being attended by *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*. *Hall. Hollingſh.* p. 791.

(4) *Rapin* calls them Crowns. But *Rymer*, Tom. 13. p. 118, ſays, thirty thouſand Angel Nobles, the value of each Noble being *Viginti Groſſos*. See above, p. 685.

(5) *Hollingſhead* ſays, that there was a Parliament in 1503, in which a Subſidy was granted by the Lords and Clergy; and another on *Jan.* 25. 1504, of which latter *Dudley* was choſen Speaker, p. 791.

(6) The like Act had been made before (in the 11th of this King's) for Offices, and by this Statute it was extended to Lands. *Bacon*, p. 631.

(7) The other Statutes made in this Parliament were theſe: 1. That no Pewterers and Braſiers ſell, or change, any Pewter or Braſs, new or old, at any place within the Realm, but in open Fairs or Markets, or in their dwelling Houſes. What gave occaſion to this Law, was, that many Perſons went about the Kingdom privately, buying Pewter and Braſs, which encouraged wicked People to ſteal Diſhes, Plates, *&c.* knowing they had Receivers for them. 2. It was ordained, That no Bodies corporate make any Acts or Ordinances, but what are examined and approved by the Chancellor, Treaſurer of *England*, Chief Juſtices of either Benches, or Juſtices of Aſſize, upon pain of forfeiting forty Pounds. 3. That Perſons concerned in a Riot, ſhall forfeit twenty Pounds, and be impriſoned. 4. That no Perſon bring, or cauſe to be brought into the Realm, to be ſold, any manner of Silk wrought by itſelf, or with any other Stuff, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame. See *Statut.* 19 *Hen.* VII.

(8) At the ſame time the Pope ſent a Bull, wherein he ordered, That Traytors and Robbers, *&c.* who had taken Sanctuary, ſhould be carefully watched, ſo as not to be ſuffered to eſcape; and if they did, they ſhould be then delivered to Juſtice. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 104.

had

1504. had injured, or designed only to blind People's eyes by this act of justice. The first would be most probable, if from this time he had put a stop to the exactions of *Empson* and *Dudley*. But it is difficult to believe that, whilst he suffered his Subjects to be oppressed by these Ministers, he really intended to do justice to all the World.

Death of the Queen of Castile. p. 112. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

Isabella Queen of *Castile* dying the 26th of *November*, *Ferdinand* her Spouse writ the same day to *Henry* to give him notice thereof. He told him in his Letter, that the deceased Queen had appointed him in her Will Administrator of the Kingdom of *Castile*, for *Jane* their Daughter, Wife of the Archduke of *Austria*, and who by the death of the Queen her Mother was become Queen of *Castile*.

Dispute between Ferdinand *and the Archduke his Son-in-law.*

When the Archduke received the news of *Isabella*'s death, he was employed in making War upon the Duke of *Gueldres*. This War preventing him from repairing into *Spain* so soon as he could have wished, he was obliged to leave to King *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law the Government of *Castile*, fully bent however to take it from him as soon as possible. On the other hand, *Ferdinand* improving *Isabella*'s Will, pretended to keep the Administration of that Kingdom during his life, probably, because the deceased Queen had not limited the continuance.

Henry's *uneasiness at it.* Bacon.

This dispute bred some uneasiness in *Henry*, whose case was the same with *Ferdinand*'s, in the opinion of many people. He was not ignorant that most of his Subjects' were perswaded, *Elizabeth* his Spouse had been of right the true Queen of *England*, and consequently the Crown was fallen after her decease to *Henry* her Son and lawful Successor. Though he affected to hold for certain, that the House of *York* had never any right to the Crown, he was however very uneasy, because in general the *English* were of another opinion. It is true, that besides his descent from the House of *Lancaster*, he founded his right upon two other titles; namely, Conquest, and the approbation of Parliament. But he perceived how weak these two foundations would prove, should the House of *York*,

1505. by some revolution come to gain ground. Upon this account, he was very attentive to what passed in *Spain*, looking upon the decision of this contest as a precedent for or against him. On the other hand, he was afraid that *Philip*, who had appeared for some time closely united with *Lewis* XII, would join in a League with that Monarch and the Emperour, to oblige *Ferdinand* to resign him *Castile*. In that case he foresaw, he should be forced either to abandon *Ferdinand* to these three potent enemies, or enter into a War with them to support him. Both were equally opposite to his interests. In fine, he had cast his eyes upon the Queen Dowager of *Naples*, Widow of King *Ferdinand*, for a Wife, in order to enjoy the large Dower assigned her in that Kingdom. Perhaps he hoped by marrying that Queen, to render himself umpire of the differences between *Lewis* XII and *Ferdinand*, concerning the Kingdom of *Naples*.

He projects to marry the Queen-Dowager of Naples. Bacon.

To be fully informed therefore of the disposition of the *Castilians*, and the qualities of the Queen of *Naples*, he sent three Persons into *Italy* and *Spain*, not as Ambassadors, but as travellers for their pleasure (1). However, to procure them access to the Queen of *Naples* and *Ferdinand*, he so ordered, that the Princess of *Wales* gave them Letters both for the King her Father and the young Queen. These Gentlemen's private instructions, with respect to the Queen, were very particular. The King wanted to be exactly informed of her age, complexion, stature, health, temper, inclinations, behaviour and estate. This shows he was not willing lightly to resolve. But the project vanished when the King heard from his Envoys, that indeed the Queen's jointure was very considerable; but had been changed by *Ferdinand*, since he was possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples* into a pension for life.

Affairs of Ferdinand *and* Philip.

When the Gentlemen arrived in *Spain*, the contest between *Ferdinand* and *Philip* his Son-in-law was still in the same state. They therefore acquainted the King, that *Ferdinand* continued to govern *Castile* as Administrator; and even hoped to persuade *Philip* to leave him the Administration freely during life, both by means of some of his Council whom he had gained, and by threatening him to marry again, and so give an Heir to the Kingdom of *Arragon*: That therefore, there was a project of marriage between *Ferdinand* and *Germaine de Foix*, 1505. which would be certainly accomplished, in case *Philip* molested the King his Father-in-law. They informed him moreover, that *Ferdinand*'s Secretary had discovered to them, as a great secret, that the marriage of Prince *Charles* of *Austria* with *Claude* of *France* would not take effect, because *Lewis* XII, was resolved to give his Daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his presumptive Heir. That then, on supposition that *Philip* would remain in the *Low-Countries* with his Queen, *Ferdinand* intended to demand *Mary* the King's second Daughter for the young Prince of *Austria*. These informations containing nothing certain, *Henry* could take no measures, till he saw the course of the *Spanish* affairs.

Philip and Jane take the Title of King and Queen of Castile.

Whilst *Ferdinand* and *Philip* were in Treaty concerning their difference, *Philip* and *Jane* were proclaimed King and Queen of *Castile* at *Brussels*; which showed, they intended not to resign for ever the Administration of *Castile* to *Ferdinand*, as he had flattered himself. Mean while, the War of *Gueldres*, and Queen *Jane*'s being near her time, hindered them from executing their resolution of going to *Castile*. They knew, the *Castilians* were not pleased with *Ferdinand*, and did not doubt that as soon as they appeared, all would declare for them. For the same reason, *Ferdinand* used all sorts of artifices to dissuade them from this Voyage,

Death of the Duke of Savoy.

In the mean while, *Margaret* of *Austria*, *Philip*'s Sister, lost her Spouse the Duke of *Savoy*, who died the 10th of *September*. Some days after the new Queen of *Castile* was delivered of a Princess who was called *Mary*, and was afterwards Queen of *Hungary*.

Henry's *Alliance with the Duke of* Saxony. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 114, 120.

This year was very barren of remarkable events with regard to *England*. Besides what has been related, we find only a Treaty of Alliance between *Henry* and *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Hereditary Governour of *Frise*, to whom *Henry* had sent Ambassadors (2) ever since *February*. This Treaty was concluded the 30th of *December*.

1506. Philip *and* Jane *set out for* Spain. Hall.

The War of *Gueldres* being ended, and Queen *Jane* able to travel, *Philip* resolved to carry her into *Castile*, knowing it to be the only way to secure the Government of that Kingdom. Though they intended to go by Sea, they chose the Winter, it seems, to surprise *Ferdinand*, who probably, would not expect them at that Season. They departed the 10th of *January* under a strong Convoy prepared for that purpose. But before they got out of the Channel, a terrible storm (3) dispersed their Fleet, and the Ship on which they were, with much difficulty ran into *Weymouth* (4) in *England*, having been in great danger. The King and Queen were so fatigued and sick, that contrary to the opinion of their Council they would land to refresh their Spirits.

A Storm drives them into England. *They land at* Weymouth. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hollingsh.

Mean while the People of the Country seeing a numerous Fleet, were very much alarmed. They immediately ran to their Arms, and Sir *Thomas Trenchard* at the head of some Troops marched to *Weymouth* (5), to concert measures with the Inhabitants in case of an Invasion. When he heard, the King and Queen of *Castile* were landed, he waited upon them, humbly inviting them to his House, till the King was informed of their arrival. *Philip* would have gladly re-imbarked, but perceived he should not be suffered till the King's orders were received, to whom an express was dispatched. So, without much intreaty he consented to stay till that time.

The King sends his Compliments to them. Hall.

As soon as *Henry* had notice of the King and Queen of *Castile*'s arrival, he sent the Earl of *Arundel* (6) with his Compliments, and to tell them, he would make all possible haste to come and embrace them. The Earl withal assured them from the King, that they were as much master in his Dominions as himself. *Philip* finding there was no avoiding the King's visit, believed he should gain time by going to him. To that end, he posted to *Windsor* (7), whilst his Queen followed by easy Journeys. *Henry* received them both with all imaginable marks of Friendship, but however, ruminating all the while, how to reap some advantage from the accident which had thrown them into his Dominions (8).

They go to the King at Windsor. Hall.

Treaty of Commerce renewed in favour of the English. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 123, ---132.

Some days after, he insinuated to *Philip*, that as his condition was altered, it would be proper to renew their Treaty of Commerce, to which *Philip* agreed, though the reason alledged by *Henry* was of no force. For *Philip*, by being King of *Castile*, was not less Sovereign of

(1) They were *Francis Marsin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Sty'e*. *Bacon*, p. 632.
(2) *Richard Nanfan* Deputy of *Calais*, *Nicolas West* Doctor of Laws, and *Hugh Conwey* Treasurer of *Calais*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 114.
(3) This Storm lasted from the 15th to the 26th of *January*. *Stow*, p. 484.
(4) *Falmouth*, says *Stow*, ibid
(5) And soon after was joined by Sir *John Carew*, with a choice Body of Men. *Hall*, fol. 58. *Hollingsh.* p. 792.
(6) *Thomas Fitz-Alan*. The Earl came to King *Philip* in great magnificence, with a brave Troop of three hundred Horse, and (for the more State) by Torch-light. *Bacon*, p. 633. *Hall*, fol. 58.
(7) He was received five miles from *Windsor*, in a very splendid manner by the Prince of *Wales*, who was accompanied with five Earls, and several Lords, Knights, and others, to the number of five hundred Persons; and about a mile from *Windsor*, he was met by the King himself, and most of the Nobility of the Realm, who went out to welcome him. *Hall*, fol. 58.
(8) *Philip* at their first meeting told the King, *That he was now punished for his refusing to come within his walled Town of* Calais *when they met last*. The King replied, *That Walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that he was here only to be served*. Bacon, p. 633.

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1506. the *Low-Countries*, the firſt Dignity cauſing no alteration in the laſt. But *Henry* had his aim, and *Philip* plainly perceived, that being in his power, he ought carefully to avoid all occaſions of offending him, leſt he ſhould find ſome pretence to detain him in *England*. He was not ignorant of the ſtrict Union between *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, and was under ſome apprehenſions, that *Henry* would think of obſtructing his Voyage, to oblige his Father-in-law. However this be, the Treaty was renewed, but with ſome alterations to the advantage of the *Engliſh*. Amongſt other things, an Article of the old Treaty was ſuppreſſed, which permitted *Philip*'s Subjects to fiſh on the Coaſts of *England*. This made the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* call it [*Intercurſus Malus*, or] the bad Treaty.

Henry's Marriage with the Dutcheſs of Savoy agreed upon.

This affair being finiſhed, *Henry* opened his mind to *Philip* concerning his deſign to marry *Margaret* his Siſter, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy* (1). *Philip* ſeemed very well pleaſed with the propoſal. And indeed, nothing could be more for his advantage than to make *Henry* his friend by this Alliance, leſt he ſhould openly eſpouſe the King of *Arragon*'s quarrel. So, the Marriage was concluded at *Windſor*, the 20th of *March* (2). By the Articles ſigned by both, *Philip* promiſed to give the Ducheſs his Siſter, three hundred thouſand Crowns [of *French* Gold] (3), with a yearly penſion of three thouſand eight hundred and fifty. Mean while, *Henry* fearing *Philip* would go from his word, when he was out of his power, cauſed to be inſerted in the Treaty, that the principal Lords of the *Low-Countries* ſhould ſwear, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure the accompliſhment of this Mar- riage. The Oaths of ſeveral of the Lords, in purſuance of this Article, are to be ſeen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 127, 151, 155.

Ib. p. 146—157.

Henry demands of Philip the Earl of Suffolk. Philip denies him. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Henry had one thing more to obtain of *Philip*, without which he could not think of letting him go, though outwardly he continued to careſs him. And that was, to deliver to him the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was then in *Flanders*. But at the firſt overture, *Philip* told him plainly, he could not comply with his requeſt, being bound in honour not to ſacrifice a Lord whom he had taken under his protection; that beſides, it would be diſhonorable to himſelf, ſince the World would not fail to ſay, he was uſed as a priſoner. *Henry*, who little regarded what the World ſaid, provided he obtained his ends, replied, he would take all the diſhonour upon himſelf. This anſwer threw *Philip* into great Perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the Earl of *Suffolk*, after promiſe to protect him. But on the other hand, he perceived *Henry* was bent upon having that Lord at any rate, and had in his hands an infallible means to obtain him. Beſides, in the preſent poſture of his affairs, not being yet certain, whether he ſhould not be forced to go to war with his Father-in-law, it was eaſy to foreſee, he might ſtand in need of the King of *England*, and conſequently it would be very wrong to diſoblige him. Wherefore, he ſuddenly came to a reſolution, and with an air of Confidence ſpoke in this manner: *Sir, ſince you are pleaſed to give Law to me, permit me to do the ſame by you. I will deliver the Earl, but you ſhall give me your honour not to touch his Life.* *Henry* agreeing to this condition, *Philip* deſired the thing might be done in a manner honorable for both. *I will ſo order it*, added he, *that the Earl ſhall come to* England *of his own accord, by which it will appear that I have ſollicited and obtained his Pardon, and that you were very ready to grant it.* *Henry* approving the expedient, the Earl of *Suffolk* willingly accepted the offer made him (4). Mean while, *Henry* being deſirous to have the Earl in his power before *Philip*'s departure, continued his entertainments and diverſions, on pretence of doing honour to the King and Queen of *Caſtile*, but in reality, to gain time till the Earl's arrival. He admitted *Philip* to the *Order of the Garter*, and *Philip* made the Prince of *Wales*, *Knight of the Golden-Fleece*. After that, *Henry* carried his Gueſts to *London*, where they were magnificently entertained. Shortly after, the Earl of *Suffolk* came from *Flanders*, and was conveyed to the *Tower*. Thus, *Henry* under colour of doing him honour, kept *Philip* in *England* above three months, till he had obtained his deſires (5). In all appearance, *Philip* ſaw plainly, through all the Careſſes he received, that it was not in his power to depart when he pleaſed. Elſe, it is not likely, as he intended to ſail into *Spain* in *January*, he would have willingly ſtaid in *England* till the end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*.

He complies on condition Henry would not put him to death. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

Hall. Bacon.

The Earl of Suffolk is ſent to the Tower.

Philip and his Queen ſet out for Spain.

1506. When *Philip* and *Jane* were in *Caſtile*, the people ſhewed ſo great affection for them, that *Ferdinand* could eaſily ſee, his endeavours to keep the Government of the Kingdom would be vain. Accordingly, without inſiſting any more upon his Adminiſtratorſhip, which could take place only in the Queen his Daughter's abſence, he withdrew into his own Realm of *Arragon*. Afterwards, he made a Voyage to *Naples*, where *Gonzolvo* his General began to make him uneaſy, and thereby *Philip* and *Jane* remained, though not long, in poſſeſſion of *Caſtile*. Within a few months, *Philip* was ſeized with a Diſtemper, of which he died the 25th of *September*. He left the Guardianſhip of his Son *Charles* to *Lewis* XII, who appointed the Lord *de Chievres* for his Governor. This choice, which was generally approved, and was a clear evidence of *Lewis*'s Sincerity and Diſintereſtedneſs, proved fatal to *France*, as the Governor made his Pupil more able than was neceſſary for the good of the Kingdom.

Ferdinand retires to Arragon. Pet. de Angl.

Philip's death. Hall. Bacon.

The death of *Philip* ſo affected his Queen, that ſhe loſt her reaſon, and became entirely uncapable of governing the State. Whereupon *Ferdinand* her Father reſumed the adminiſtration of affairs, which he had been deprived of but five months. He is ſaid to take no great care of the Queen's cure, leſt recovering her Senſes, ſhe ſhould ſend him back again to *Arragon*.

Jane loſes her Senſes, and Ferdinand returns to Caſtile. Bacon.

The diſintereſtedneſs ſhewn by *Lewis* XII, with reſpect to the young Archduke Prince of *Spain*, did not hold long. He had promiſed to give him *Claude* his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage, but thought it more proper to marry her to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his preſumptive Succeſſor. Moreover, being apprehenſive of a League againſt him, between the Emperor, the Archduke, and *Ferdinand*, and that the King of *England* might come into it alſo, he endeavoured to embroil young *Charles*'s affairs, by exciting the Duke of *Gueldres* to renew the war.

Lewis XII gives to the Duke of Angoulême his Daughter, promiſed to Charles of Auſtria. Hall. P. Daniel.

1507. The Archduke being too young to govern, the *Flemings* prayed the Emperor his Grandfather to take the Adminiſtration in his Grandſon's name. *Maximilian* granted their requeſt, and till he could come himſelf, ſent them *Margaret* his Daughter, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*.

Margaret Ducheſs of Savoy governs the Low-Countries.

Upon that Princeſs's arrival at *Bruſſels*, ſhe concluded with *Henry* a proviſional Treaty of Commerce, till ſome differences cauſed by the late Treaty between the Merchants of both Nations could be adjuſted. This Treaty was ſigned at *Bruges*, the 5th of *June*.

Treaty of Commerce with the Low-Countries. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 168.

The ſame Ambaſſadors that were aſſembled at *Calais*, ſpent there the reſt of the year, in treating of the Marriage of *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, and Prince of *Caſtile*, with *Mary*, *Henry*'s ſecond Daughter (6). At length, on the 21ſt of *December*, they ſigned a Treaty, that *Charles* ſhould marry the Princeſs *Mary*, as ſoon as he was fourteen years old, and that her portion ſhould be two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns of Gold (7). The young Prince ran the hazard of loſing the Kingdom of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, *Granada*, and the Principality of *Catalonia*, his Grandfather *Ferdinand* having married *Germaine de Foix*. But happily for him, they had no Children.

Marriage agreed upon between Mary the King's Daughter with Charles of Auſtria. p. 171—230. Bacon.

Though *Henry*'s Coffers were full, he was not weary of heaping up Money. We have ſeen, that in the year 1504, the Parliament gave him a Subſidy for the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* his Daughter. But the year was not expired before he iſſued out a Proclamation to levy a Benevolence, by his own Authority, and without any apparent neceſſity; ſo that this Conduct could be aſcribed only to his inſatiable deſire of hoarding up Money (8). He was grown ſo abſolute in his Kingdom, that no Man durſt oppoſe his will, or even ſhew the leaſt diſcontent. Mean while, *Empſon* and *Dudley* continued their Extortions and Oppreſſions with all imaginable rigour. This very year 1507, they ſharply proſecuted the Mayor of *London* (9), for neglecting to bring to juſtice a

Henry heaps up vaſt Riches. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Empſon and Dudley continue their Exactions. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hollingſh.

(1) The famous *Thomas Wolſey*, being then the King's Chaplain, was employed in managing this affair. *Bacon*, p. 634.

(2) This Treaty of Marriage is not found in the *Fœdera*, but is ſuppoſed and referred to by the Acts which follow the Treaty of Alliance or Commerce, dated *Feb.* 9. See Tom. XIII. p. 127, 129, 151, &c.

(3) Each Crown worth four Shillings Sterling. *Ibid.* p. 130.

(4) The two Kings ſent ſeverally for him. He landed at *Dover*, and with a ſufficient Guard was conveyed to the Tower of *London*. *Bacon*, p. 633.

(5) King *Philip* went by land to *Falmouth*, where he embarked *April* 23. *Hall*, fol. 58. *Haræus*.

(6) She was his third Daughter. See *Sandford* and *Speed*.

(7) At the ſame time the Treaty of perpetual Peace, Amity, and Alliance was renewed between the Emperor *Maximilian*, and King *Henry*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 189———212.

(8) Beſides what he got by the Recoinage of Groats and half Groats, now Shillings and Six-pences; and the five thouſand Marks which he made the City of *London* pay for the Confirmation of their Liberties in 1504, *&c.* *Bacon*, p. 631.

(9) Sir *William Capel*. He was not Mayor this year; but was now fined two thouſand Pounds, for having, in the time of his Mayoralty (which was in the year 1503,) received falſe Money, and not inflicted due Puniſhment upon the Perſon that was accuſed of having coined it. *Stow*, p. 435.

1507. Coiner of falſe Money, and becauſe he would not, or could not pay an exorbitant Fine, ſent him to the *Tower*. The Sheriffs, Aldermen, and all that had borne any office in the City, were queſtioned and proſecuted with the ſame rigour, and compelled to pay to the King Fines, proportioned not to their Abilities, but to the King's and his Miniſters rapaciouſneſs (1).

The King is ſeized with the Gout, which turns to a Ptiſick. Hall. Bacon.

Whilſt the King was wholly intent upon heaping up riches, he found himſelf frequently ſeized with the Gout. At firſt he diſregarded it, as not believing it dangerous. But by degrees the humour falling upon his Lungs, it turned to a *Ptiſick*, which made him perceive he had not long to live. He ſuffered however his two Miniſters to continue their exactions without any reſpect of perſons. He was ſo charmed to ſee his Coffers full of Gold and Silver, that he could not reſolve to put a ſtop to the ſhameful proceedings which daily brought him in freſh Sums. He is ſaid to have amaſſed eighteen hundred thouſand pounds Sterling. This Sum will appear prodigious, if 'tis conſidered that Money was then much ſcarcer in *Europe* than at preſent. He laid up his Treaſures under his own key and keeping, in ſecret places at *Richmond* (2).

He heaps up 1,800,000 l. Bacon.

1508. *Marriage of* Charles *and* Mary *ſolemnized by Proxy.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 230 ——236. Hall. Bacon. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 171 ——230. p. 236.

As the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary* with the Archduke was then the only conſiderable affair *Henry* was employed in, he ſpent the whole year 1508 in taking meaſures to ſecure its accompliſhment. The Acts of this year, in the *Collection*, ſcarce regard any other affair. At length, on the 17th of *December*, the Marriage was accompliſhed *per verba de Præſenti*, the Lord *de Berghes* being the young Prince's Proxy. As ſuch, he eſpouſed the Princeſs, gave her a Ring, and ſaluted her publickly in the name of the Prince her Spouſe (3).

Charles borrows of Henry *50,000 Crowns upon a Jewel.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 234 ——239.

About the ſame time, the Archduke pawned to the King a Jewel called the *rich Flower-de-luce* (4), for the Sum of fifty thouſand Crowns. The Emperor as Grandfather and Guardian of *Charles*, approved of the Marriage and Loan. In all likelihood, the Money was borrowed for him. He had occaſion for it to make a figure in the League of *Cambray*, which he had concluded this year, with the Pope and the King of *France*, againſt the *Venetians*, who were become formidable to all *Italy*.

Henry thinks no more of his own Marriage.

As to *Henry*'s Marriage with *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, tho' it was concluded in 1506, it was no more thought of, after that Monarch, fallen into a *Ptiſick*, perceived he was fitter to think of death than a wife.

1509. *A General Pardon.* Hall. Stow.

The King finding he daily grew worſe was pleaſed to prepare for death, by granting a general Pardon. He diſcharged likewiſe, with his own Money, all Priſoners about *London* that lay for Fees or Debts, under forty Shillings.

He orders his Heir to make Reſtitution. Bacon.

Then he made his Will, ordering that his Heir ſhould make Reſtitution of whatever his Officers and Miniſters had unjuſtly taken from his Subjects. But this remorſe came too late. As he could not reſolve to make this reſtitution in his Life-time, the Prince his Son thought not proper to part with the Money amaſſed by the King his Father.

Death of Henry VII. Hall. Bacon.

He died at *Richmond* the 22d of *April* 1509, having lived two and fifty years, and reigned three and twenty and eight months. His death is ſaid to happen very ſeaſonably, for had he lived much longer, the Prince his Son, now in his ſeventeenth year, might not have had patience to wait till his Father's death put him in poſſeſſion of the Throne. In that caſe, he might have ſupported himſelf with the Queen his Mother's Title, Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, and pretended that the King his Father reigned only in right of his Queen. This pretenſion would have been capable of reviving the old quarrel, and rekindling a Civil War in the Kingdom. But the King's death removed the fears of the *Engliſh*.

His Iſſue. Sandford.

Henry VII had three Sons (5) and four Daughters. *Arthur* his eldeſt, as was obſerved, died in his ſeventeenth year. *Henry* his ſecond, ſucceeded him, and *Edmund* his third died at the age of five years. Of his four Daughters, two died in their childhood (6), and the other two, *Margaret* and *Mary*, are ſufficiently known by what has been ſaid.

His Character. Bacon. Hall.

If the Hiſtory of this reign be read with never ſo little attention, it will eaſily be perceived, that *Henry*'s views were but two. The firſt was to keep the Crown, acquired by extraordinary good fortune, and perhaps unthought of, before he was invited into *England* by the Duke of *Buckingham*. The other was, to accumulate riches. As he never ſuffered himſelf to be diverted by other thoughts, his whole application centered upon one ſingle object, namely, upon thoroughly examining every thing that could have any relation to the two ends he had propoſed. Ambition, Honour, Glory, Love, Pleaſures, and all the other paſſions which generally diſquiet the hearts of Princes, made but little Impreſſion upon his. Content with enjoying his Crown, he thought neither of new acquiſitions, nor of rendering his name illuſtrious by great actions. All his thoughts were confined to prevent or defeat the deſigns of his domeſtick Enemies, or to well fill his Coffers. He had a wonderful Sagacity, to diſcover in the affairs that occurred, the ſide from whence ſome advantage could be drawn. This is what he plainly ſhewed in the affair of *Bretagne*, in his pretended wars with *France* and *Scotland*, and even in his domeſtick troubles, which by his addreſs, turned all to his profit (7). 1509.

Though he was ſometimes forced to take arms, never Prince loved peace more than he (8). As he had no ambition, he ſaw no advantage for him in War. On the contrary, he conſidered that all the events of a War, whether foreign or domeſtick, were againſt him. The former could at moſt but procure him ſome glory and acquiſitions abroad, of which he was not very fond; and by the latter he might be a great loſer. Beſides, a time of commotions afforded no opportunities to accumulate riches. So, laying down this fixed principle of his policy, not to engage in any War without an abſolute neceſſity, he never ſwerved from it. It is this that made him unconcernedly behold the loſs of *Bretagne*, and without reſentment ſuffer the inſults of the King of *Scotland*, becauſe it was not from the War that he intended to reap any advantage, but only from the preparations that were to be made to ſupport it. However, this policy would have been unſeaſonable when he was attacked by domeſtick enemies, whoſe aim was to rob him of his Crown. As his all was then at ſtake, he chearfully faced the danger, though with all the precautions poſſible not to run any hazard. He won two Battles upon the Rebels, one at *Stoke*, the other at *Black-Heath*. But in both he was very ſuperior in number of Troops, and fought againſt Perſons ill-armed and unſkilled in the art of War. So, it cannot be ſaid what he would have done, had he been oppoſed with equal Forces. It is no leſs difficult to know, whether it was owing to his courage that he headed his Armies in Perſon, or to his diſtruſt of thoſe that ſerved him. However this be, he was always fortunate in his domeſtick Wars, and thereby gained ſo great a reputation, that all the Princes of *Europe* earneſtly courted his Alliance. On the other hand, the eſteem Foreigners expreſſed for him, did not a little contribute to render him formidable to his Subjects. I ſay, formidable, for it is certain, he was never beloved. In a word, his method of governing, which approached to arbitrary power, eſpecially towards the end of his reign, his inſatiable avarice, his haughtineſs, his pride, and his dark and reſerved temper, were no proper qualities to win the affection of his People.

He never opened his mind to any man, except perhaps to one or two of his Miniſters. As for the reſt, he ſet them to work without their knowing themſelves the motives of their own proceedings. The World was ſo perſuaded, he had always ſome hidden deſign even in his moſt indifferent actions, that what was only a pure effect of chance, was often aſcribed to his policy.

His Spies in foreign Courts gave him an extenſive knowledge of all that paſſed there. On the other hand, his Ambaſſadors were always charged to inform themſelves by all ſorts of ways, of the ſecrets of the Princes to whom they were ſent. Very often this was the principal article of their inſtructions. By this means he made ſuch diſcoveries as enabled him to convince the foreign Miniſters reſiding at his Court, of his great inſight into their Maſter's affairs. Hence he reaped many conſiderable advantages, chiefly in that the Princes of *Europe* fearing his abilities, were very forward to live in good underſtanding with him. His ſtrict friendſhip with *Ferdinand* King of

(1) Sir *Thomas Knefworth*, Mayor in 1505, and both his Sheriffs, were impriſoned for abuſes committed in the Execution of their Offices; and not releaſed, but upon paying fourteen hundred Pounds. Sir *Laurence Aylmer*, Mayor in 1507, and both his Sheriffs, were fined a thouſand Pounds, and Sir *Laurence* impriſoned for refuſing to pay his Fine. Alderman *Hawis* was put to trouble, and died with vexation, before his buſineſs was decided. *Stow*, p. 485. *Bacon*, p. 633.

(2) This year the Sweating Sickneſs raged again in *England*. *Hall*, fol. 59. And alſo this year died *Giles* Lord *d'Aubeney*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 795.

(3) *Henry* was ſo pleaſed with this Alliance, that in a Letter to the City of *London*, he expreſſes himſelf as if he thought he had built a Wall of Braſs about his Kingdom, in having for his Sons-in-law a King of *Scotland*, and a Prince of *Caſtile* and *Burgundy*. *Bacon*, p. 635.

(4) There is in the *Fœdera* the Inventory of the Jewels contained in the rich *Flower-de-luce*, which weighed, in Gold and precious Stones, 211 Ounces and a half. Tom. XIII. p. 241.

(5) He had four Sons. The fourth, born in *February* 1500, was named *Edward*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 788.

(6) Their Names were *Elizabeth* and *Catherine*. *Sandford*, p. 477, 478.

(7) *Hall* gives however this inſtance of his Generoſity, That he lent Merchants a great deal of Money, without gain or profit, in order to encourage Trade. fol. 61.

(8) His uſual Preface to his Treaties was, *That when* Chriſt *came into the World*, Peace was ſung; *and when he went out of the World*, Peace was bequeathed. *Bacon*, p. 635.

On the South side of y Tomb towards th
near to the Kings Effigies.

HIC JACET HENRICUS EIUS N
SEPTIMUS, ANGLIÆ QUONDAM RE
RICHMONDIÆ COMITIS FILIUS, QUI
AUGUSTI REX CREATUS, STATIM
WESTMONASTERIUM DIE XXX OCT
NATUR, ANNO DOMINI 1485. MORITU
XXI, DIE APRILIS ANNO ÆTATIS LI
VIT ANNOS XXIII, MENSES VIII MIN

At the Head of the Monument.

SEPTIMUS HIC SITUS EST HENRICUS

On the Frize of this Monument, begin
South-side at the Head.

SEPTIMUS HIC SITUS EST HENRICU
CUNCTORUM, IPSIUS QUI TEMPESTAT
INGENIO ATQUE OPIBUS, GESTARUM
ACCESSERE QUIBUS NATURÆ DONA
FRONTIS HONOS, FACIES AUGUSTA, H
JUNCTAQUE EI SUAVIS CONJUX, PERP
ET FÆCUNDA FUIT; FÆLICES PROLE
HENRICUM QUIBUS

Gravelot, del.

The Monument of KING HENRY

mt. towards the Top, and
ngs Effigias.—
US EIUS NOMINIS.—
QUONDAM REX, EDMUNDI
S FILIUS, QUI DIE XXII.
US, STATIM POST APUD
DIE XXX OCTOBRIS CORO-
1485. MORITUR DEINDE
D ÆTATIS LIII. REGNA-
SES VIII MINUS UNO DIE.

The North Side of the Tomb

HONI · SOIT · QUI · MALY · PENSE

ument, beginning on the
the Head.—
HENRICUS, GLORIA REGUM
EMPESTATE FUERUNT,
ESTARUM ET NOMINE REBUM,
RÆ DONA BENIGNÆ:
UGUSTA, HEROICA FORMA,
NJUX, PERPULCRA, PUDICA,
ES PROLE PARENTES,
[illegible] ANGLIA DEBES.

A. Du Bosc, fecit

Y VII *in Westminster Abbey*.

About the Chantry or Sacelle, both within and without these Verses

Septimus Henricus tumulo requiescit in isto,
Qui Regum splendor; lumen et urbis erat,
Rex vigil, et sapiens, comis virtutis amator,
Egregius forma, strenuus atque potens;
Qui peperit pacem regno, qui bella peregit
Pluruma, qui victor semper ab hoste redit,
Qui natas binis conjunxit regibus ambas
Regibus et cunctis fedexe junctus erat;
Qui sacrum hoc struxit templum, statuit q; sepulcrum

Pro se, p
Lustra dec
Nam tri
Quindecie
Curreba
Septima t
Cum cl
Nulla ded
Anglia

A Stately MONUMENT in Memory of K: HENRY VII. and his QUEEN, curiously wrought, made of Copper an

Geo. Vertue Londini Sculpsit 1735.

ut these Verses are embossed in old *English* Characters.

Pro se, proque sua conjuge, prole, domo,
Lustra decem atque annos tres plus complebezat annis,
Nam tribus octenis regia Sceptra tulit.
Quindecies Domini centenus fluxezat annus
Cuzzebat nonus, cum venit Atza dies,
Septima tez mensis lux tum fulgebat Aprilis
Cum clausit summum tanta corona diem
Nulla dedeze prius tantum tibi secula regem
Angha vir similem posteziora dabunt.

Copper and gilt with Gold; erected in his Magnificent and Royal Chappel in WESTMINSTER-ABBEY.

1509. *Arragon*, a Prince of much the ſame character, was extremely uſeful to him. Probably, it hindered the Court of *France* from interpoſing more in the affairs of *England*, and was one of the principal cauſes of his conſtant Peace with his Neighbours.

Inſtead of increaſing the credit of the Nobility, he took all poſſible care to leſſen it. His Council was almoſt wholly compoſed of Churchmen and Lawyers, who being devoted to him, and aiming only to pleaſe him, never oppoſed his Will. This unlimited compliance of his Council, was the cauſe of his entirely addicting himſelf to his natural paſſion of heaping up money, there being no Perſon about him, that had boldneſs or conſcience enough to give him good advice upon that head. This conduct drew upon him the hatred of the *Engliſh*, which at firſt made him ſomething uneaſy, but when he had ſurmounted all his troubles, he regarded it not. On the contrary, he affected to rule with an abſolute power, making of his Council a Court of Juſtice, where all the Pleas of the Crown were decided, which had never been ſeen before.

He has been extremely praiſed for the good Laws made in his reign, as if he had been the ſole Legiſlator, and his Parliament no ways concerned. Hence perhaps was given him the glorious name of the *Solomon of England*, though he much more reſembled that Prince in the heavy yoke he laid on his People. But if theſe Laws are carefully examined, it will doubtleſs be found that the King's intereſt was the true motive, tho' in appearance they ſeemed to be made for the good of the People. Thus did *William the Conqueror* formerly act, whom our *Henry* reſembled in ſo many things, that they may be very juſtly compared. In ſhort, *Henry*'s moſt diſtinguiſhing character was, that he lived entirely for himſelf, conſidered things only with reſpect to his own private intereſt, and regarded not any affairs where that was not concerned. Indeed, ſuch a character is not uncommon among Princes. But he had this in particular, that whereas the intereſt of other Princes is uſually divided into ſeveral branches, *Henry*'s was in a manner contained in one ſingle branch, namely, to have always full Coffers.

He was extremely ſuſpicious, as are generally thoſe who act by ſecret ways, becauſe they think all the World like themſelves. The Houſe of *York*'s title, and the People's opinion concerning it, filled his mind with fears and ſuſpicions, with which he was continually racked. It is true he took great care to conceal his uneaſineſs. But his conduct and precautions plainly demonſtrated, his mind was not as he would have had it thought to be, at reſt. This perpetual diſtruſt led him inceſſantly to ſeek means to prevent the dangers, in which he was not always ſucceſsful. Witneſs the report he cauſed to be ſpread that the Duke of *York* was alive, which had a quite contrary effect to what he expected. His genius was but mean. He ſaw better near than at a diſtance, and his wiſdom conſiſted more in extricating himſelf out of difficulties, than in finding means to avoid them. The chief troubles of his reign may be ſaid to happen by his fault. However, he acquired, by a long experience, qualities which by nature he had not.

It is not ſurprizing that a Prince always intent upon preventing the Rebellion of his Subjects, and continually employed in heaping up money, ſhould have performed nothing glorious for himſelf or the Kingdom. Conquerors do not always make the greateſt Kings. On the contrary, Peace would have been very advantageous to the *Engliſh*, had it rendered them happy. But it was ſtill more fatal to them than War it ſelf, ſince the King's inſatiable avarice inceſſantly carried him to deviſe means to accumulate riches, which could be done only at their expence. There are Princes that heap up money ſolely to diſperſe it; but *Henry* kept it carefully in his Coffers, without any communication. Liberality was a virtue he did not pretend to. If he made any preſents, it was only to Spies or Informers. 1509.

As for his Religion and Morals, nothing certain can be affirmed, by reaſon of the contrarieties which met in him. He was chaſte, temperate, an enemy to open and ſcandalous vices, conſtant in the exerciſes of devotion, and obſerving ſtrict juſtice where his intereſt was not concerned. But on the other hand, his extreme avarice made him commit many injuſtices, and the fear of loſing his Crown, cauſed him to conſider as lawful, all means which could free him from that danger, how unjuſt ſoever they might be in other reſpects. The Earl of *Warwick*'s death will be an everlaſting ſtain to his memory. His making a jeſt of Religion, in cauſing a ſolemn proceſſion to be made on purpoſe to ſhew that Prince to the People, and the Excommunications he ordered to be pronounced againſt his own Spies, are clear evidences that his Religion was not proof againſt his intereſt.

In general, it cannot be denied, this Prince had great abilities. But as theſe abilities centered only in himſelf, they would have been more valuable in a private Perſon than a great Monarch. Though all his projects were crowned with ſucceſs, his reign cannot be ſaid to be happy, either for himſelf or for *England*. He lived under continual fears and ſuſpicions, and his Subjects were always expoſed either to domeſtick troubles or oppreſſion. One thing rendered this reign remarkable, namely, that by *Henry*'s abilities, the Civil Wars, which had ſo long afflicted *England*, were at length happily ended. I ſay happily, ſince it was very indifferent, with reſpect to the welfare of the *Engliſh*, whether the Kingdom was governed by a Prince of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or a Prince of the Houſe of *York*.

Henry VII was of a ſerious temper, ever thoughtful and intent upon his affairs, without being diverted by his pleaſures, to which he was little addicted. He had a Book wherein he marked down with his own hand, the qualities and characters of the Perſons he knew, in order to employ them upon occaſion. A Monkey (1) that he kept in his Chamber, having one day tore this Note-Book all to pieces, he appeared grieved as at ſome very great loſs.

He was of ſtature taller than the common ſort. His face was long, thin, and lean, like the reſt of his Body, but withal very grave, which made people ſpeak to him with fear. He could however be affable when his affairs required it. He was rather ſtudious than learned. What he read in his leiſure hours was generally in *French*, tho' he underſtood *Latin* too.

He founded a Chapel at *Windſor*, for which he obtained of the Pope privileges and indulgences. He turned into an Hoſpital the Palace of the *Savoy*, built [by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*] in the reign of *Henry* III. He founded likewiſe ſeveral Convents of *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* (2). But of all his Structures, that which did and ſtill does him the greateſt honour, is his Chapel in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, which gives not place in any reſpect to the moſt ſtately Chapels in *Chriſtendom* (3). There he was buried (4), and there the Bodies of his Succeſſors lie with his (5). Act. Pub. XII. p. 565, 591, 644, 672. XIII. p. 60. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 100, 102.

The

(1) Set on, as it was thought, by one of his Chamberlains. *Bacon*, p. 637.

(2) He built three Houſes for *Franciſcans* called *Obſervants*, at *Richmond*, *Greenwich*, and *Newark*; and three others for *Franciſcans*, called *Conventuals*, at *Canterbury*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Southampton*. *Stow*, p. 486——He alſo new built *Baynard*'s Caſtle, and enlarged *Greenwich*, calling it *Placentia*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 796.

(3) In the 18th year of his Reign, the Chapel of our Lady above the Eaſt ſide of the High-Altar at *Weſtminſter* Abbey Church, with a Tavern near adjoining, called the *White Roſe*, were taken down, and in their room was built King *Henry* VIIth's famous Chapel. *Stow*, p. 484. *Hollingſhead*, p. 790, 797.

(4) *May* 11. *Stow*, p. 486.

(5) In the fifth year of King *Henry* the VIIth it was ordained, That the Mayors of *London* ſhall have Conſervation of the River *Thames*, from *Staines-Bridge* to the Waters of *Yeuſdale* and *Medway*. In his eighteenth year, King *Henry* being himſelf a Brother of the *Taylor*'s Company, as ſeveral Kings had been before him, namely, *Richard* III, *Edward* IV, *Henry* IV, V, VI, and *Richard* II, beſides Dukes eleven, Earls twenty eight, Lords forty eight, he gave them the name of *Merchant-Taylors*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 790. In his thirteenth year, was the Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* round the *Cape of Good Hope* diſcovered, by *Vaſco de Gama* a *Portugueſe*. In his tenth year, the Body of *Alice Hackney* is ſaid to be found, in the Church of St. *Mary-Hill*, *London*, whole of Skin, and the Joints of the Arms pliable, after having been buried a hundred and ſeventy five years. In this Reign *John Collet* Dean of St. *Paul*'s founded *Paul*'s School in the Church-yard. The Colleges founded in the two Univerſities in this King's Reign, were, *Chriſt*'s College, and St. *John*'s in *Cambridge*, by *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, the King's Mother. *Jeſus* College in the ſame Univerſity, by *John Alcock*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *Corpus Chriſti* in *Oxford*, by *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Winchester*; and *Brazen-Noſe* College, by *William Smith*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 653. *Stow*, p. 482.

It appears by an Indenture of the 9th of *Henry* VII, that a Pound Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into as many, and the ſame Pieces, as in the 5th of *Edward* IV. (See the Coin-Note, at the end of that King's Reign.) The Gold Coins of *Henry* VII were a Soveraign, half Soveraign; Ryal, half Ryal, and quarter Ryal; Angel, and half Angel. His Silver Money was, Groats, half Groſſes or Two-Penny Pieces, Pennies,

The STATE *of the* CHURCH *of the Fifteenth Century.*

State of the Affairs of the Church in the XVth Century.

THE Chriſtian Church had never been in ſo deplorable a ſtate as in the XVth Century. God's Juſtice and Mercy, and Chriſt's meritorious death, were ſcarce any more the object of a Chriſtian's Faith. Moſt people's religion conſiſted in Pilgrimages, and the worſhip of the bleſſed Virgin, Saints and Relicts. As for the Clergy, their whole care was confined to the ſupporting themſelves in that height of Grandeur and Power they had enjoyed for ſeveral Centuries, and to the ſeeing that no Man preſumed to diſpute their Immunities. Diſcipline was never more remiſs. The Clergy ſeemed to look upon their Spiritual Power and Juriſdiction, only as a means to prevent the violation of their Temporal Privileges. Provided their rights were untouched, every one might do what ſeemed good in his own eyes. The authority of the Church was become the capital point of Religion.

The Papal power had ſtrangely increaſed every Century, each Pope having made it his buſineſs to enlarge it as much as poſſible. They were come at length to diſpoſe of all the Church-Preferments in *Chriſtendom*, and to be the ſupreme Judges in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. National Synods were no longer held. And indeed, of what uſe would they have been, ſince the Court of *Rome* claimed the Cognizance of all Church-matters? In a word, the Pope was become the Centre of Religion, to which every thing was to tend. The privileges of Churches, the prerogatives of Sovereigns, were all annulled by the *Non-obſtante* Clauſe, uſually inſerted in every Bull. But it was not only over Spirituals that the Popes had ſtretched their authority; they pretended alſo to extend it over Temporals, under colour that Religion was concerned in all affairs. Kings themſelves were not out of their reach. In all the Marriages of Princes there was occaſion for the Pope's Diſpenſation: Neither Peace nor Truce of any moment was concluded without the Pope's mediation or guaranty. Some Popes were ſeen to carry their pretenſions ſo far, as to enjoin Peaces or Truces without the conſent of the parties. In ſhort, it is extremely probable, they would have wholly engroſſed the Temporal Power as well as the Spiritual, if the Schiſms of the XVth Century had not cauſed them to loſe ground. The Revolutions of the following Century made them loſe ſtill more. However this be, the Popes were become real Sovereigns, not only with reſpect to the power they had aſſumed, but alſo with regard to the immenſe riches, which through numberleſs Channels flowed into the vaſt Ocean of the Apoſtolick Chamber. Tenths, Firſt-fruits, Taxes for the ſervice of the Chamber, Diſpenſations for all ſorts of Caſes, as well contrary to the Law of God, as to the Canons of the Church, Subſidies exacted from time to time from the Clergy, for the occaſions of the Holy See, Cruſades, Benefices which are ſeldom beſtowed without a previous bargain with the Apoſtolick Chamber; in a word, Simony openly practiſed by many Popes, ſome of whom were accuſed and convicted, were inexhauſtible Fountains which maintained the Affluence and Luxury of the Court of *Rome*. It was almoſt impoſſible, that purity of Life and true religious Principles ſhould be preſerved undefiled, amidſt ſo much Grandeur and Riches. On the contrary, the Popes were the more liable to make an ill uſe of their power, as moſt of them were not born for ſo high a Station. Accordingly we find in Hiſtory, that *Rome* and *Avignon* were the Centre of Pride, Avarice, Luxury, Senſuality, and all the moſt ſcandalous Vices. The Popes were neither learned nor religious. Hardly was there one to be found that might paſs for an honeſt Man, even according to the maxims of the world. And yet, all the preambles of their Bulls were only expreſſions of their Zeal, their Charity, their Humility, their Juſtice; whilſt for the moſt part what they enjoined was an authentick proof of their Pride and Tyranny. This is no aggravation, for the Authors who writ before the Reformation, have ſaid a hundred times more. Nay, it has even been publickly preached before the Councils.

It may be eaſily imagined, that ſuch Popes did not take much care to fill, what they called the ſacred College, with perſons truly pious and devout. It is true, during this Century, there were Cardinals of great repute, and eminent for their Wit, their Eloquence, their political Virtues, and their capacity for temporal Affairs. But theſe, for the moſt part, were men governed by the maxims of the world, and who conſidered Religion but as a means to eſtabliſh their fortune. The Legates, ſent to the ſeveral States of *Chriſtendom*, were ſo many Incendiaries, who ſought only to ſow diſcord and diviſion among Princes, or excite them to ſhed the blood of their own Subjects. In a word, they regarded only the Intereſt of their maſter and the *Roman* See, making no Conſcience to violate all the rules of Religion and Equity, to accompliſh their ends.

The reſt of the Clergy in general were not better. Moſt of the Biſhops were promoted to the Epiſcopacy, purely for having rendered themſelves commendable by their attachment to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*, or for their ſervices to Princes in their temporal concerns. They were perſons educated at Court, and inſtructed in the maxims of the world. Cruelty, Injuſtice, Diſhoneſty, were but too common among them. Nay, they were conſidered as ſo many Virtues, when employed in the perſecution of ſuch as were termed *Hereticks*, eſpecially of thoſe that dared to conteſt any of the Pope's or the Clergy's pretended rights.

As for real Learning, it was ſcarce heard of in this Century. School-Divinity, and the knowledge of the Canon-Law made the whole merit of the Eccleſiaſticks. It was the only thing by which they could hope to arrive at Church-Dignities. On the other hand, the Monks, who were crept into moſt of the Profeſſorſhips in the Univerſities, had overwhelmed Divinity and Philoſophy with ſuch a heap of Jargon, as ſerved only to give their Diſciples falſe notions of Learning, and teach them to wrangle.

Such was in general the ſtate of the Church in the Century we are ſpeaking of. As for the Civil Affairs of *Europe*, they were in this and the following Centuries, as in the foregoing. The Sovereigns divided among themſelves by their different Intereſts, thought only of ſupplanting one another, and making their neighbour's loſs turn to their own gain. This drew them into bloody wars, which rendered their people miſerable, and ſuffered neither Princes nor Subjects to attend to the breaches in the Church, or think of means to heal them. Corruption was ſo great in the world, and in the Church, that God ſeemed to have abandoned Men to a reprobate Senſe, ſo blind and inſenſible were they grown. We may add, for the farther repreſentation of the ſad eſtate of the Church, the great progreſs of the *Turks* in *Europe*, during this unfortunate Century. The *Greek* Empire entirely deſtroyed, and ſeveral other Chriſtian States over-run by the *Infidels*, were plain tokens of the divine wrath againſt Chriſtians, to move them to ſearch after the Cauſe. But inſtead of *ſeeking the Lord*, they perſecuted with fire

Pennies, Half-pence, and Farthings. Thoſe old Pennies that bore divers Spurs, or the Mullet betwixt the Bars of the Croſs, were to go only for Half-pennies. To avoid clipping for the future, the King cauſed new Groats and Two-pences to be coined, having a circle round the outer part; and ordered, that the Gold hereafter to be coined, ſhould have the whole Scripture, or Inſcription, about every Piece. See *Statut.* 19 *Hen.* VII. c. 5. He was the firſt that after *Henry* III added the Number to his Name. He left off the Roſe that uſed to ſurround the King's Head, and inſtead thereof, gives his Head with a Side-Face, which was uſed before only on the Coins of *William Rufus*; but was continued by all his Succeſſors, except on the bad Money of *Henry* VIII, and beſt of *Edward* VI, and likewiſe crowned with an arched Crown; having this Inſcription, HENRIC. VII. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. Z. FR. leaving out on the ſmaller Monies the Title of *France*. On the Reverſe, inſtead of the inner Circle with the place of Coinage and the Pellets, he placed the Arms of *France* and *England* quartered, which he the firſt of our *Engliſh* Monarchs uſed conſtantly, but retained the outer Circle and Motto, POSVI DEV. ADIVTORE MEV. except on the ſmall Coins, whereon ſometimes is the Place of Coinage. Of theſe, the Pennies exhibit the King in his Robes upon the Throne, with Crown, Sceptre, and Ball: Reverſe, the Keys, which diſcover it to be of the Archbiſhop's coining. Theſe are the only Pieces that have not the Number, and are inſcribed HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. In his 20th year, there were ſome few Shillings coined, and they, (being only forty in a Pound of Silver) were fair and large Pieces, a full third heavier than ours at this day. They are now choice Rarities in the Cabinets of the Curious. He is likewiſe ſaid to have coined ſmall Pieces, called *Dandy-Prats*, but of what Metal, Value, or Faſhion, is unknown. *Num. Brit. Hiſt.*

and ſword ſuch as ſought God alone, and refuſed to pay divine worſhip to Creatures.

To accompliſh a Reformation in the Church, which was ſo much wanted, all, or at leaſt the chief Princes of *Europe*, ſhould have joined their endeavours to promote ſuch a project. But how was it poſſible, that ſo many Sovereigns who had Religion ſo little at heart, ſhould ſacrifice their paſſions to ſo great a good? Or how could ſo many different Intereſts be reconciled? All *Europe* paſſionately wiſhed that the Church were reformed. Several Biſhops appeared to have the ſame deſire. Nothing was talked of in the Councils, but the Neceſſity of executing ſo noble a deſign. Nay, it ſeemed, that the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* intended to ſet about it effectually. But the well-inclined had neither prudence nor reſolution enough, to oppoſe the artifices and violence of the contrary party. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that it was the Popes, the Cardinals, and the principal Clergy who oppoſed, to their utmoſt, the projected Reformation, becauſe they were ſenſible it would prove prejudicial to their temporal Intereſts. On the other hand, when 'tis conſidered, with what eagerneſs and animoſity they laboured to root out the pretended Hereſies, which combated the temporal Grandeur of the Clergy, no other Inference can be made, than that they themſelves perceived the neceſſity of a Reformation which they would not admit, and that the Fountain of Corruption was in the principal Members of the Clergy, from whence it had but too great an Influence upon the reſt.

To repreſent to the Life the ſtate of the Church of the XVth Century, and ſet it in its true Light, it would be neceſſary to give a particular account of what paſſed at the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. But this detail would lead me too far. Beſides, the Hiſtory of the firſt of theſe Councils is lately publiſhed, and writ with that plainneſs, circumſpection, and impartiality, that there is no room to ſuſpect that the Author (1) has ſuffered himſelf to be biaſſed by paſſion or prejudice. The Hiſtory of the Council of *Baſil* by the ſame hand, is ſoon to appear (2). So, referring the Reader to theſe two Hiſtories, I ſhall only relate in few words, the moſt remarkable paſſages of theſe Councils. This knowledge will be of uſe to underſtand the ſtate of the Church of *England*, which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of.

A brief account of the Council of Conſtance. L'Enfant.

The Schiſm, begun in 1378 by *Urban* VI, and *Clement* VII, was continued to the beginning of the xvth Century, by *Boniface* IX, and *Benedict* XIII, their Succeſſors. *Boniface* ſucceeding *Urban* VI, reſided at *Rome*, and *Benedict*, Succeſſor of *Clement* VII, remained at *Avignon*, where he was kept by the King of *France*, for fear he ſhould eſcape before the Schiſm was ended.

The Univerſity of *Paris* had propoſed a method to end this Schiſm, namely, that the two Popes ſhould reſign the Pontificate, which was called *the method of Ceſſion*. *Boniface* IX, and *Benedict* XIII, pretended both to be willing to take this method, for reſtoring Peace to the Church. But withal, they uſed ſo many evaſions, that it was eaſy to ſee, they had no ſuch deſire. And therefore the King of *France* had thought fit to ſecure the perſon of *Benedict*. This Monarch's illneſs afterwards placing the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother at the head of affairs, the young Prince was a great favourer of *Benedict* XIII, and in 1404, gave him an opportunity to make his eſcape. This ſame year *Boniface* IX died, and the Cardinals of his party choſe *Innocent* VII, who behaved like his Predeceſſor, with reſpect to the *Ceſſion*. To *Innocent*, who ſat in the Papal Chair but two years, ſucceeded *Angelo Corario*, who aſſumed the name of *Gregory* XII. Thus the Schiſm ſtill continued between *Gregory* and *Benedict*. Theſe two Popes pretending a deſire to end it by the method of *Ceſſion*, long amuſed the world with their diſſimulation and artifices. In ſhort, the Schiſm having now laſted thirty years, without any appearance that the two Popes would perform their promiſe, *Gregory* XII ſaw himſelf deſerted on a ſudden by his Cardinals, who retired to *Piſa*. There remained but four with him. On the other ſide, *France*, which was the principal ſupport of *Benedict* XIII, being tired with his evaſions, withdrew from his obedience, and the Pope having loſt that protection, went and reſided in *Spain*. But his Cardinals, refuſing to follow him, choſe to join *Gregory*'s. Preſently after, the Cardinals of both parties, with one conſent, called a General Council at *Piſa*, to which moſt of the Princes of *Europe* ſent their Ambaſſadors and Prelates.

This Council, held in 1409, depoſed the two Popes, and gave the Cardinals leave to chooſe a new one, who aſſumed the name of *Alexander* V. But as *Gregory* and *Benedict* did not think themſelves lawfully depoſed, it happened, that inſtead of the two Popes before the Council, there were now three.

Alexander V dying in 1410, *John* XXIII was elected in his room, who called a General Council to meet at *Conſtance* in *November* 1414 (3). This Council found no better way to end the Schiſm, than by removing the three Popes. *John* XXIII and *Benedict* XIII were depoſed, and *Gregory* XII voluntarily reſigned the Pontificate. After that, the Council elected Cardinal *Odo Colonna*, who took the name of *Martin* V. *John* XXIII, who was committed to the Cuſtody of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, having made his eſcape, ſubmitted to *Martin* V, who honoured him with a Cardinalſhip. As for *Benedict* XIII, he ſtill kept the title of Pope, and retiring to the Caſtle of *Reniſcola*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Valencia*, was ſuffered by the King of *Arragon* to live there in quiet. After his death, which happened not till 1424, his Cardinals choſe a Canon of *Barcelona*, who took the name of *Clement* VIII. But in 1429 he quitted his Dignity in favour of *Martin* V. Thus ended the Schiſm at length, after a one and fifty years continuance.

This abſtract, though ſhort, will enable us to judge of the character of the Popes, who governed the Church during theſe fifty years. They were Men who ſacrificed the peace and tranquillity of the Church to their own private intereſts, and damned without mercy, as far as lay in their power, all that were not of their party. They would without ſcruple have ingaged all *Chriſtendom* in a bloody War for their intereſts, if the Sovereign Princes had not been wiſer than they. Surely, one cannot but form a very melancholy idea of the State of the Church of thoſe days, when it is conſidered that the Chriſtians of both ſides acknowledged for *Chriſt*'s Vicars, Popes whom they abhorred, and who indeed were ſo little worthy of the ſtation they enjoyed, that ſeveral were depoſed for Hereſy, Simony, and Perjury.

But I have ſtill one important reflection to make upon the conduct of the Council of *Conſtance*, the motive whereof is at firſt hard to be conceived. If the Council of *Piſa* was general and lawful, as that of *Conſtance* could not forbear owning, why were her deciſions not obſerved? Why was *Gregory* XII's reſignation accepted, a reſignation which ſuppoſed him ſtill to be Pope notwithſtanding his being depoſed? Why were terms offered him to induce him to quit the Pontificate? Why was *Benedict* XIII once more depoſed, when he had been already depoſed by a general Council? In ſhort, why was *John* XXIII deprived of his dignity, for not keeping his promiſe to reſign the *Papacy*, ſince it could not be queſtioned that he was really Pope and his miſſion lawful? Was not the authority of the Council of *Piſa* ſacrificed by theſe proceedings?

Let it not be objected that *John* XXIII was not depoſed for any defect in his miſſion, but for his crimes. It is certain, when his promiſe to reſign the Pontificate was required, it was ſolely with a view to put an end to the Schiſm. Had he reſigned with a good grace, he would never have been accuſed, much leſs condemned for the crime for which he was afterwards depoſed. It will be ſaid perhaps, that this inconvenience was not ſo great as that of perpetuating the Schiſm. But ſhould the ſtriking at the authority of a general Council be deemed a ſlight inconvenience? Did not the Council of *Conſtance* give occaſion to have her own authority diſputed? For, there is no reaſon why the depoſing of *Benedict* XIII and of *John* XXIII by the Council of *Conſtance* ſhould be more valid, than the depoſing the ſame *Benedict* XIII and *Gregory* XII, by the Council of *Piſa*.

However, through all this intricacy, the motive of the Council of *Conſtance*'s proceedings is diſcoverable. The Schiſm manifeſtly tended to the diſſolution of the *Papal* dignity, which ſerved for baſis and foundation to moſt of the Clergy's privileges, and to the Hierarchy itſelf. *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, had been neutral ſome years, without owning any of the contending Popes. *France* had withdrawn her obedience from *Benedict* XIII, without transferring it to *Gregory* XII. In a word, the whole World in general began to contemn their excommunications, which they ſo viſibly abuſed. There was danger therefore that by degrees a Pope would be thought uſeleſs, and thereby the foundation of the Hierarchy would

(1) Mr. *L'Enfant*, late Miniſter at *Berlin*. (2) It was publiſhed in 1724.

(3) The Deputies to this Council from *England* were, firſt the Biſhops of *Saliſbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and Prior of *Worceſter*. But upon the death of the Biſhops of *Saliſbury* and *Hereford*, the *Engliſh* Prelates underſtanding that other Churches were repreſented by a more numerous Delegation, ſent *Clifford* Biſhop of *London*, the Chancellors of both Univerſities, with twelve Doctors, to this Council. *Walſingham*, p. 387. ——The Deputies mentioned in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera* are theſe, *Nicolas* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Robert* of *Sarum*, *John* of St. *Davids*; *William* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, *John* Prior of *Worceſter*, *Thomas Spofford*, Abbot of St. *Mary*'s at *York*; *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *Henry Fitz-hugh* Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Sir *Ralph Rocheford*, *John Honyngham*, Doctor of Laws. Tom. IX. p. 162, 167, 169.

have been undermined, and perhaps a new form of Government introduced into the Church. The Cardinals and Prelates of whom the Council of *Conſtance* was compoſed, were ſo highly concerned to avoid this inconvenience, that their ſacrificing all to that end, is not ſurprizing. This is the true reaſon of their conduct. But they took care to proceed very differently with regard to the pretended Hereticks, who openly conteſted the privileges of the Clergy. To extirpate a Hereſy ſo prejudicial to them, they made uſe of Fire and Sword, rather than ſacrifice the leaſt of their intereſts. This is what we are going to ſee in the manner they went to work in this reſpect.

All the World knows that *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were burnt alive at *Conſtance*. But every one has not been at the pains to examine, for what errors they ſuffered that rigorous puniſhment. They were then, and ſtill are to this day, charged with maintaining impious, horrible, and damnable Tenets. They were condemned as ſeditious, obſtinate, and incorrigible followers and defenders of *Wickliff*; hardened, crafty, malicious, and convicted Hereticks. Had there been yet ſtronger terms to expreſs the abhorrence of theſe Hereſies, they would have been uſed without ſcruple. But, wherein conſiſted theſe Hereſies? In their being Diſciples of *Wickliff*? If the authors who ſpeak of their ſentence be conſulted, ſcarce one will be found that ſays more. *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were followers of *Wickliff*, and conſequently abominable wretches, deſerving to be burnt. In the opinions of *Wickliff* then we are to ſearch for their errors. Now herein is an ambiguity, which has been conſtantly uſed to juſtify the condemnation of theſe two Doctors. It is hardly to be queſtioned, that the Council of *Conſtance* had that ſame ambiguity in view, when ſhe cauſed the errors and memory of *Wickliff* to be firſt ſtigmatized, before *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were brought upon their Trial.

Wickliff's opinions were of two kinds. Some concerned the principal Doctrines of Faith. Others related to the Hierarchy, the Clergy, their Juriſdiction, Power, and Riches. *Wickliff* did not believe Tranſubſtantiation. He rejected the invocation of *Saints*, the adoration of the Croſs and Images, Pilgrimages, and Relicks. On the other hand, he thought the Hierarchy had no foundation in *Scripture*. From whence he drew ſeveral concluſions againſt the exceſſive authority uſurped by the Popes, the Cardinals, the Biſhops. Moreover, he taxed the Clergy with leading very immoral and diſſolute lives, and maintained that the revenues of the Church were greatly miſapplied. From theſe principles his enemies inferred numberleſs conſequences, ſome whereof had never perhaps entered into his thoughts. There were at laſt found in his writings two hundred and ſixty capital errors. His followers added many more which he had never taught, and the whole was imputed to him, as if he had maintained them all in expreſs terms.

However it be, *John Huſs* embraced *Wickliff*'s opinions, but it was only in what concerned the Hierarchy and Clergy. It is certain, he believed Tranſubſtantiation, and died in that belief. As for Images, his opinion was that a man might honour them, kneel to them, light up Wax-tapers before them, kiſs them, becauſe the intention referred that worſhip to the originals. So, it is a thing out of doubt, that he was not burnt for maintaining errors in the principal Doctrines of Faith, but for opinions which combated the exorbitant power and riches of the Church, that is to ſay, of the Clergy. All poſſible endeavours were uſed to make him confeſs, he believed not Tranſubſtantiation; but he could never be brought to ſuch a confeſſion. And yet, by the advice of the Cardinal of *Florence*, the Council condemned him upon the depoſition of the Witneſſes, who accuſed him of rejecting that Doctrine, without regarding his own expreſs declaration to the contrary. It is not very difficult to conceive the Council's aim, in cauſing that Article to be inſerted in *Huſs*'s ſentence. The Council was ſenſible, it muſt have appeared very ſtrange, that a Perſon ſhould be burnt, whoſe Principles tended to a reformation, in the head and in the members of the Church, which all *Chriſtendom* required, and which the Council it ſelf feigned to believe neceſſary. It was requiſite therefore to juſtify the ſentence, by rendering this Man odious, as rejecting a fundamental Article of Faith. For this reaſon, without diſtinguiſhing *Wickliff*'s errors, *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were condemned as followers of that Arch-Heretick. It was thereby inſinuated, that they embraced all the opinions of their maſter.

But to ſhew, by an unexceptionable teſtimony, that theſe two Men were burnt for their opinions concerning the Clergy, I need only quote what *Æneas Sylvius*, *alias* Pope *Pius* II, ſays in his Hiſtory of *Bohemia*. The Deputies of the Council having admoniſhed the accuſed to forſake their errors, and conform to the Church's ſentiments, they anſwered, *That they were indeed lovers of the Holy Goſpel, and true Diſciples of Chriſt; That the Church of* Rome, *and all the other Churches in the World were far ſwerved from the Apoſtolical Traditions: That the Clergy ran after pleaſures and riches: That they lorded it over the People, affected the higheſt ſeats at entertainments, and bred Horſes and Dogs: That the revenues of the Church, which belonged to the poor Members of Chriſt, were conſumed in vanity and wantonneſs: That the Prieſts were ignorant of the Commandments of God, or if they did know them, lightly regarded them.*

The Fathers of the Council, continues the Hiſtorian, *perceiving and knowing the invincible obſtinacy of theſe People, judged that the corrupted Members of the Church that were incurable, ought to be cut off, leſt they ſhould infect the reſt of the Body. Accordingly ſentence was paſſed upon them, all the Fathers unanimouſly agreeing, that Perſons who rejected ſound Doctrine, approved by the Church, deſerved to be burnt.*

This account moſt evidently ſhews, wherein conſiſted the Hereſy of *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*; namely, in their accuſing the Clergy of Corruption. It was therefore, to deſtroy theſe enemies of the Clergy, that the Council made no ſcruple to violate the Safe-conduct given by the Emperor *Sigiſmund* to *John Huſs*, or at leaſt to allow him to violate it himſelf. Moreover the Council had no regard to the promiſe they had publickly given to *Jerome* of *Prague*, in order to draw him to *Conſtance*. It is true, the Council had inſerted theſe words in their engagement, *Without prejudice to juſtice, and as far as the Catholick Faith requires it*, a captious Clauſe, if ever there was one. For was not the Catholick Faith the very point in queſtion; and of what uſe could the Council's promiſe be to *Jerome* of *Prague*, unleſs againſt juſtice? Did he run any hazard, or ſtand in need of ſuch a promiſe, if he had not held the Tenets he was charged with?

Let us proceed now to the decree of this Council, againſt Communion in both kinds. We ſhall ſee in this, as well as in the foregoing Article, that the authority of the Church or the Clergy was the ſole point in queſtion. The Fathers of *Conſtance* condemned not Communion in both kinds as ſinful in itſelf. On the contrary, they owned, it was practiſed in the primitive Church, and that the Church had power to grant it to the Laity, if ſhe thought proper. But they anathematized ſuch as maintained, the Church had not a right to aboliſh this practice. What did they mean then by the Church? Did they not mean the Councils compoſed of the ſeveral Members of the Clergy? It is ſo true, that, in this decree, the Council's ſole view was to ſupport the authority of the Church Repreſentative, that, ſome years after, another General Council made no ſcruple to allow the *Huſſites* the liberty of communicating in both kinds, without any apprehenſion that the Faith was therein concerned, when they were willing to receive that liberty as a favour from the Church.

As to other opinions which appeared at the ſame time, but which attacked not the Clergy, the Council of *Conſtance* behaved with an aſtoniſhing coldneſs. *John Petit*, advocate of the Duke of *Burgundy*, maintained, it was lawful for any private Perſon to kill a Tyrant, even by ſurprize. This Tenet being brought before the Council, how did they proceed? After much ſollicitation, they declared it erroneous, without naming the Author, or coming upon his Perſon, though they had ordered *Wickliff*'s Bones to be dug up thirty years after his burial. The Sect of the Scourgers (1) broached ſeveral capital errors. But the Council was content with the bare propoſal of finding ſome gentle means to reſtore them to the unity of the Church.

What reformation could be expected from a Council, which ſo rigorouſly proſecuted ſuch as conteſted the privileges of the Pope, the Cardinals and the Clergy? The reformation muſt have begun with the ſuppreſſion of moſt of theſe Prerogatives. Indeed, before *Martin* V's election, the reforming of the Court of *Rome* was talked of in the Council; and a liſt of the abuſes to be redreſſed, was drawn up. But by the artifices of ſome, and particularly of the Cardinals, this noble deſign came to nothing. A Pope was elected, and the Pope elect found means to have this Article deferred to a more convenient Seaſon.

(1) Otherwiſe called *Flagellantes*. This Sect firſt appeared at *Perouſa* in 1260, having for its Author a Hermit named *Rainerus*. They carried a Croſs in their hands, wore a Cowl on their heads, and went naked to the waſte. Twice a day, and once in the night, they laſhed themſelves with knotted Cords ſtuck with Points or Pins, which gave occaſion to their name. They affirmed, That their Blood united in ſuch a manner with Chriſt's, that it had the ſame virtue. They perſuaded the People, that the Goſpel had ceaſed, and ſuffered all ſort of Perjuries.

This

This is the ſum of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions in the Council of *Conſtance*. A very full account of theſe things will be found in the fore-mentioned new Hiſtory, to which the Reader is referred. Let us ſee now what the Council of *Baſil* acted with reſpect to the *Huſſites*, and the quarrel of Pope *Eugenius* IV, with the ſame Council. Nothing is more proper to ſhew the State of the Church of thoſe days.

Hiſtory of the Council of Baſil.

The *Bohemians*, who for the moſt part had embraced the opinions of *John Huſs*, highly reſented the uſage he had met with. This ſeverity ſerving only to confirm them in their Tenets, they reſolved to maintain them in ſpite of the Council's decrees. Communion in both kinds was the principal Doctrine. This occaſioned terrible commotions in *Bohemia*, which *Martin* V greatly inflamed by his haughty treatment of the *Huſſites*. In the midſt of theſe troubles, *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia* dying, *Sigiſmund* his Brother, who was Emperor, pretended to the ſucceſſion. But the *Bohemians* rejected him, becauſe he would not conſent, they ſhould live in the Faith they profeſſed. *Martin* V ſupporting *Sigiſmund*, publiſhed a *Cruſade* againſt the *Huſſites*, and thereby obliged them to arm in defence of their lives. It is needleſs to inquire here, whether *Sigiſmund* had any right to mount the Throne of *Bohemia* without the conſent of the States. This is a query which would lead me too far. However that be, *Ziska* a *Bohemian*, heading the *Huſſites*, defeated *Sigiſmund* ſeveral times, and made him as well as the Pope deſpair of extirpating theſe pretended Hereticks by arms. This War laſted till the Council of *Baſil*, without *Sigiſmund*'s being able to take peaceable poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Council of *Baſil*, which met in 1431, finding that the Arms of *Sigiſmund* and the *Croiſés* had not the ſucceſs that was expected, reſolved to make Peace with the *Huſſites*. Probably, their aim was to ſet *Sigiſmund* at any rate on the Throne of *Bohemia*, in order to inable him the better to take proper meaſures to extirpate theſe People. For that purpoſe, they ſent Deputies into *Bohemia*, to invite the *Huſſites* to come and produce their reaſons before the Council. They agreed to it, and their Deputies being arrived at *Baſil*, required theſe four things, for which they offered to be reconciled to the Church.

Firſt, That Communion in both kinds ſhould be adminiſtred to the *Bohemian* Laity.

Secondly, That offenders ſhould be puniſhed according to the Law of God, and by thoſe whoſe proper buſineſs it was.

Thirdly, That the word of God ſhould be preached by able Prieſts.

Fourthly, That the Clergy ſhould have no Temporal Juriſdiction.

Theſe were the ſentiments of the *Huſſites*, for which ſo bloody a War had been made upon them, even to the exciting all *Europe* againſt them. But it was not ſo much for their Doctrines that they were thus cruelly perſecuted, but for their obſtinate refuſal to ſubmit to the deciſions of the Church, and for their contempt of the Clergy. The Council uſed all poſſible endeavours to perſuade the *Bohemian* Deputies to an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the Church. But at laſt, perceiving they inſiſted upon the four Articles, the Council thought fit to grant them upon this condition, that they ſhould be firſt explained, becauſe being couched in general terms they might give occaſion to freſh diſputes. The *Huſſites* conſenting, the Council explained the four Articles as they judged convenient. After that, an agreement was drawn conformable to the four Articles and their explication.

This affair being thus ſettled, *Sigiſmund* demanded to be received for King of *Bohemia*, and was ſo accordingly, after ſigning certain conditions; namely, the approbation of the agreement, and ſome others relating thereto. It ſeemed that the perſecution againſt the *Huſſites* was thereby to ceaſe. But *Sigiſmund* was no ſooner on the Throne of *Bohemia*, but he diſappointed them. On the other hand, the Pope pretending, they obſerved not the conditions on which the four Articles were granted, poſitively refuſed to approve of the agreement. This occaſioned in *Bohemia* freſh troubles, which were always fomented by the Court of *Rome*, and which properly ended not till the middle of the laſt Century, in the utter ruin of the *Huſſites*.

Before we leave this ſubject, let us make one reflection. Let the *Huſſites* be inveighed againſt as much as you pleaſe: Let them be accuſed of holding impious and deteſtable errors, yet theſe ſame errors muſt be reduced to the four Articles exhibited by themſelves to the Council of *Baſil*. For this, *Cruſades* were publiſhed againſt them, and *John Huſs*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* were burnt. But a general Council, owned by all the world, when the agreement was granted them, judged, theſe Articles might be ſuffered without prejudice to the Catholick Faith. It follows therefore, that war was made upon them ſolely for the ſupport of the Church's authority. That was the main point of Religion. But why were they perſecuted afterwards? It was becauſe the Popes would never ſtand to the agreement, though the *Huſſites* frequently offered to ſubmit to the Church upon that condition. It is therefore evident, that the War from the beginning to the end, was wholly founded upon this Principle, That the Church has a deſpotick power, and that it is unlawful to bind her to any conditions. But what Church is this, inveſted with ſo high a Prerogative? It cannot be a General Council, ſince ſuch a Council has not judged that Article unqueſtionable. It is therefore the Pope alone which muſt be meant by the Church. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that the authority of the Council of *Baſil* is not acknowledged by a great part of the Church; but this will be groundleſs. For, the agreement with the *Huſſites* was made before the Council was removed to *Ferrara*, and the Council of *Baſil* is owned by all the world for lawful before that removal.

We are now going to ſee a quarrel of another nature, not of the Church with her heretical enemies, but of the Church with herſelf, of the Members with the Head. Till the Council of *Baſil*, the Popes and the Councils were very well agreed to improve the Church's authority, and cauſe it to be abſolutely obeyed. By the help of the equivocal word Church, an entire ſubmiſſion was required of Chriſtians, ſometimes to the Pope as the head, ſometimes to the Councils as repreſentatives of the Body, according as occaſion offered to improve that Term, for the benefit of either. As for the Chriſtian Laity, they had been long excluded out of the meaning of the word Church. However, though in confining the ſignification of the word Church to the Clergy alone, there ſtill remained ſome ambiguity, it had not yet been removed, by deciding whether the authority of the Church was lodged in the body of the Clergy, or in the Pope as head. The Councils of *Piſa* and *Conſtance* had taken ſome ſteps towards aſſuming this Authority, in depoſing the Popes themſelves. But *Martin* V, after his Election, had artfully evaded the deciſion of this important Point, either by breaking up the Council, or by confirming whatever was done with regard to the Doctrines, without meddling with any of the other Articles. He knew, it would be very prejudicial for him, if the queſtion was decided by the Council, as it would be for the Council the moment they broke up. At length, the Council of *Baſil* had occaſion to take this Queſtion into conſideration.

The Council had been called by *Martin* V, who had now appointed Cardinal *Julian Cæſarini* to preſide as Legate. *Martin* dying in 1431, before the Council was aſſembled, *Eugenius* IV was choſen in his room. The new Pope oppoſed not the opening of the Council, but intended it ſhould not continue long. For ſome time, the neceſſity of reforming the Church both in the Head and Members, had been every where talked of. Now as ſuch a Reformation muſt have been made by a General Council, ſuch a Council could not but terrify a Pope, who had not yet had time to taſte the ſweets of the Pontificate. The Council of *Baſil* was no ſooner aſſembled, but *Eugenius* fought means to diſſolve it. He found a pretence in the Council's Invitation of the *Huſſites* to *Baſil*, during the firſt Seſſion. He affirmed, theſe Hereticks having been condemned in the Council of *Conſtance*, ought not to be allowed a re-hearing. Upon this frivolous pretence he publiſhed a Bull for diſſolving the Council.

Inſtead of ſubmitting to the Pope's pleaſure, the Council reſolved to continue their Seſſions. Hence ſprung a quarrel, which produced a real Schiſm, ſome maintaining the authority of the Council, and others remaining attached to the Pope. The Council made ſeveral Decrees, which placed the authority of a General Council above that of the Pope, and the Pope annulled theſe Decrees, affirming, the body could act but by the directions of the head. The Emperor, the King of *France*, and moſt of the other Princes declaring immediately for the Council, *Eugenius* ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity to approve the Council, and conſent that the Seſſions ſhould be continued. But having ſent other Legates to preſide in his name, the Council refuſed to receive them as Preſidents. This was a freſh occaſion of diſſenſion. The Pope threatened to diſſolve the Council, and the Council threatened to ſuſpend the Pope. Accordingly, they made ſome advances to accompliſh it. Whereupon *Eugenius* finding himſelf the weakeſt, was obliged once more to approve and confirm the Council.

The forced compliance of the Pope appeaſed the quarrel for ſome time. But in 1435, the Council having ſhewn, they would ſeriouſly endeavour a reformation of the Church in the Head and Members, and made, for that purpoſe, Decrees to aboliſh the Firſt-fruits, and ſettle the rights of the Apoſtolick Chamber, the Pope ſaw himſelf ruined, unleſs he found ſome way to ſtop their proceedings. On the other hand, the Cardinals eaſily perceived, that ſince the Pope was begun with, their turn would ſoon come. There were Biſhops too, who were ſorry to ſee a Reformation going forward, which would be to their prejudice in many things, tho' they might hope to be gainers by it in ſome reſpects. This occaſioned the forming of two oppoſite parties in the Council; but however, the reformers had the majority. Mean while, the Pope continued to gain ground, ſince the Cardinals, and ſeveral Biſhops thought it for their Intereſt to ſupport him.

Another thing helped likewiſe to ſet the Pope's affairs upon a good foot. Some time ſince, [*John Emanuel Palæologus*] Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, had been vigorouſly attacked by the *Turks*. As he wanted aſſiſtance, he imagined, if he could unite the *Greek* Church with the *Latin*, the Pope and Princes of *Europe* would aſſiſt him with all their Forces, in defence of his Empire. This affair had been already propoſed to *Martin* V, and it was chiefly with deſign to accompliſh this Union, that Pope *Martin* had called the Council of *Baſil*, where the *Greek* Emperor was to come in perſon, with the Biſhops of his Church. *Eugenius* IV failed not to improve this opportunity to ſtrengthen his party. He ſent Nuntio's to this Emperor, to acquaint him, that the time was come to perform his promiſe; but, as it might be inconvenient for him and his Attendants to repair to *Baſil*, he promiſed to remove the Council to ſome good Town in *Italy*, provided he would ingage to be preſent. On the other hand, the Council ſent likewiſe Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to diſſuade the Emperor from coming to any other place than *Baſil*. But the Emperor had already reſolved to repair wherever the Pope ſhould appoint. The Fathers of *Baſil* plainly perceiving, the Pope intended to remove the Council elſewhere, made haſte and paſſed ſeveral Decrees, which very much leſſened the Papal Authority, and at length cited the Pope before them.

Eugenius little regarded the proceedings againſt him at *Baſil*. When he heard the *Greeks* were arrived at *Venice*, he publiſhed a Bull for tranſlating the Council of *Baſil* to *Ferrara*. The Council refuſed to comply with the Bull, and by a majority of Votes ſuſpended the Pope till he ſhould come in perſon and make his defence. Mean while, Cardinal *Julian* Preſident of the Council, and the reſt of the Cardinals, except one, left *Baſil*, carrying with them a good number of Biſhops, and repaired to *Ferrara*, where the Pope opened his Council the 10th of *February* 1438. Thus aroſe a new ſort of Schiſm between the Councils, which both called themſelves General, and mutually condemned each other. But the Pope's had ſoon a conſiderable advantage of the other, by the arrival of the *Greek* Emperor at *Ferrara*, with a great many Prelates of his Nation. The next year *Eugenius* tranſlated the Council to *Florence*, were a ſort of Union was made between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which laſted not long (1).

Mean time, the Council of *Baſil* ſtill continuing their proceedings againſt *Eugenius* IV, came at laſt to depoſe him, and elect another Pope in his room, namely, *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who having reſigned the Government of his Dominions, was retired to the ſolitudes of *Ripaille*. The new Pope aſſumed the name of *Felix* V. Hence was formed in the Church a double Schiſm, between two General Councils, and two Popes, who thundered their *Anathema's* againſt one another, to the great ſcandal of *Chriſtendom*. It was no ſmall embarraſſment to moſt people, to ſee thus two Popes and two Councils condemning one another, and each excommunicating the Adherents of the other party, without ſparing even thoſe who thought to eſcape by ſtanding neutral.

Charles VII, who then reigned in *France*, cauſed a Synod to be held on this occaſion, in which it was reſolved, that *France* ſhould own the Council of *Baſil* for lawful, but ſhould remain however in the obedience of Pope *Eugenius*. Another embarraſſment to the *French*. Indeed, it is pretty hard to conceive, how two ſuch oppoſite things could be reconciled.

In 1441 was held in *Germany* another ſuch Aſſembly, where no better expedient was found, than the calling a new Council ſomewhere elſe than at *Baſil* and *Florence*; and that *Germany* ſhould remain neuter till this new Council was aſſembled. A Diet held at *Francfort*, in 1442, approved of this expedient, and the Council of *Baſil* conſented to it, though with reluctance. But obſtacles occurred, that prevented the execution of this deſign.

Mean while, *Felix* V, not being pleaſed with the Council of *Baſil* for taking ſo much upon them, reſolved to withdraw to *Lauſanne*, on pretence that *Baſil* Air did not agree with him. On the other hand, *Eugenius* tranſlated the Council of *Florence* to *Rome*, in the Church of St. *John* of *Lateran*, where they began their Seſſions in 1444.

At length, in 1446, the Princes of *Germany*, aſſembled at *Francfort*, unanimouſly reſolved, that if *Eugenius* would not redreſs the Grievances complained of, they would all recognize Pope *Felix*. *Eugenius* demurred at firſt. But the Emperor telling him, he muſt comply, or reſolve to loſe all *Germany*, he granted whatever the *Germans* deſired, whereupon an Agreement was made.

This was a terrible blow to the Council of *Baſil*, who had now loſt *Italy*, *Arragon*, and ſeveral other States. As for *France*, they could not much rely upon her, ſince ſhe ſtill continued in obedience to Pope *Eugenius*. *England* had likewiſe ſo far declared for that Pope, as that we find, in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Henry* VI ſent an Embaſſy to make a league with him.

Eugenius IV died whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, and had for Succeſſor *Nicholas* V.

The Council of *Baſil* loſing great part of their Authority, and *Felix* V having but very few friends, the King of *France* held a Synod at *Lyons*, to ſeek means to put an end to the Schiſm. *Felix* V ſending Legates thither, it was reſolved, with his conſent, that if *Nicholas* V would grant him certain conditions, he would reſign the Pontificate. This was the ſubject of a Negotiation, which laſted the whole year 1448. Mean while, the Council of *Baſil*, finding themſelves forſaken by almoſt all the world, and deſpairing of farther protection at *Baſil*, ſince the Emperor and *Germany* had declared for *Eugenius*, reſolved to remove to *Lauſanne*.

At laſt, *Felix* having obtained moſt of his deſires, reſigned the Papal Dignity in 1449. But it was with the conſent of his Council, who found means to preſerve ſtill ſome remains of Authority. By their laſt Decree, they approved of *Felix*'s reſignation, created him Cardinal and *Legate a latere* (2) in *Savoy* and the *Tarentaiſe*, and allowed him to wear the papal Habit all his Life. *Nicholas* V confirmed this Decree according to Agreement. Thus ended at length the Schiſm, in which there was a complication of three Schiſms: Firſt, between *Eugenius* IV, and the Council of *Baſil*; then between two General Councils; and laſtly, between two Popes. The firſt may be ſaid not to be yet ended, ſince the diſpute which occaſioned it, ſtill ſubſiſts. The Court of *Rome*'s Adherents perpetually inveigh againſt the Council of *Baſil*, for decreeing, that a General Council is above the Pope. On the other hand, their oppoſers reſt upon the Decrees of this Council to ſupport their opinion. Very probably, this queſtion will remain long undecided.

I have a little enlarged upon what paſſed in the two famous Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, becauſe nothing, in my opinion, is more proper to diſcover the wretched ſtate of the Church of thoſe days. From the cloſe of the laſt Schiſm, to the end of the XVth Century, the papal Chair was filled with Popes cruelly bent upon the deſtruction of the *Huſſites*, contrary to the Faith of the Agreement, or wholly employed in maintaining the exorbitant power uſurped by their Predeceſſors, and generally to have an opportunity to ſatisfy their Avarice.

Calixtus III, Succeſſor of *Nicholas* V, ſo oppreſſed the *Germans*, that they were forced at length to break the *Concordat* (3) made with *Eugenius* IV, plainly perceiving it was entirely uſeleſs. 1455. *Characters of the Popes of the XVth Century.*

Pius II, lately canonized, was ſo far from conſenting to a reformation in the Head of the Church, that he excommunicated by a Bull, all perſons that ſhould dare to appeal from the Pope to a General Council. 1458.

Paul II was no ſooner choſen, than he broke the Oath taken before his Election, concerning the redreſs of certain abuſes, which himſelf, with the reſt of the Cardinals, had deemed neceſſary. Never were the *Gratiæ Expectativæ* [or Bulls for Church-Preferments before they become void] more frequent, than whilſt he ſat in the 1464.

(1) The Emperor, in order to compaſs his ends, compelled the *Greek* Fathers to aſſent to the four Articles: 1. *That there is a Purgatory.* 2. *That the Pope is Head of the Church.* 3. *That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son.* 4. *That unleavened Bread may be uſed in the Euchariſt.* But when they came home, they declaimed againſt the Council, and recanted their Subſcriptions.

(2) *Legates a latere* are properly the Pope's extraordinary Ambaſſadors to Emperors and Kings.

(3) Or Agreement. Whereby the Pope reſerved to himſelf the Collation of all Benefices in *Rome*, and two days Journey from it: The Confirmation of Metropolitans, Biſhops, &c. The Diſpoſal of certain Benefices; and the Annates.

Papal Chair. He ſpent the whole time of his Pontificate in ſtriving to aboliſh the *pragmatick Sanction* (1) in *France*, which debarred him of the liberty of doing there whatever he pleaſed.

1471. *Sixtus* IV, raiſed, by one of his Bulls, the *Hierarchy* to the higheſt degree it could be carried, at a time when the exceſſive power uſurped by the Clergy was generally complained of.

1484. *Innocent* VIII, quarrelled with *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, King of *Naples*, and by his Sollicitations inclined *Charles* VIII, to carry his Arms into *Italy*.

1492. Mezerai. *Alexander* VI, was one of the moſt corrupt Men of his age. 'Tis of him a famous *Roman* Catholick writer gives this fine Character, that he would have been the wickedeſt Man in the world, if his Baſtard Son (2) had not been more wicked than himſelf.

I paſs over in ſilence the cruel eagerneſs of all theſe Popes, to perſecute the *Bohemians*, contrary to the Faith of their *Concordat*. The *Cruſades* againſt the *Turks*, in which they would have engaged all the Princes of *Europe*, appeared very ſpecious; but Sovereigns were ſo well ſatisfied, that in publiſhing *Cruſades*, the Popes had only their own private Intereſt in view, that they could never confide in them.

Such in general was the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in the xvth Century, upon which I ſhall make but one ſingle remark, leaving my Readers at liberty to add as many as they pleaſe. What I would obſerve is, that the abſtract I have given, evidently ſhows, how trifling their opinion is, who ſay, it is not the buſineſs of private perſons to endeavour a reformation of the Church, but it muſt be left to the care of the Church herſelf. What then is this Church, from which we are to expect this happy Reformation? Doubtleſs, this is not what is meant by the word Church. It is the Pope with his Cardinals? But theſe are the very Men who have all along hindered it, and very probably, will, to the utmoſt of their power hinder it for ever. Shall a General Council undertake this Reformation? But what has hitherto paſſed in theſe Aſſemblies, affords no room to expect ſo great a benefit. Beſides, who ſhall call this General Council? of whom ſhall it be compoſed? who ſhall preſide? Can the Pope be perſwaded to convene a General Council to reform the Church? will he give the Precedency to another, that himſelf and Court may be with more freedom reformed? In a word, will it not be the Pope, the Cardinals, the Prelates, that will have the deliberative vote in this Council? but theſe are ſo many perſons concerned to leave things as they are.

Will it be ſaid with ſome, that the Church has no need of reformation? that ſhe is innocent and pure, without ſpot or wrinkle, or any thing like it? that all the Prerogatives enjoyed by the Popes, the Cardinals, the Biſhops, belong to them by divine Right? that the Pope exerciſes only the power committed to him by Chriſt? that his deciſions are infallible, as well in point of fact, as of right; and the ſame obedience muſt be paid to his Decrees, as to thoſe of God himſelf? but if, purſuant to this principle, the Popes ſhould unhappily enlarge their *Phylacteries*, and every day form new pretenſions, as it has but too frequently happened, how ſhall they be ſtopped, if 'tis confeſſed, the Church has no need of reformation, or muſt be left to reform herſelf?

State of the Church of England. After viewing the ſtate of the Church in general, it is time to proceed to that of the Church of *England* in particular. *England*, with regard to Religion, was in the ſame condition with the reſt of *Europe*. The people paſſionately wiſhed for a reformation of ſundry abuſes crept into the Church. The Clergy ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, as every change would be to their prejudice. As for the Kings, they made Religion ſubſervient to their Intereſt. When they imagined they wanted the Clergy, they found ways enough to evade the people's deſires. But when the Parliament's favour was requiſite, they aſſented to the Statutes, by which the Incroachments of the Pope and Clergy were reſtrained.

In the beginning of the Century, *Henry* IV, whoſe chief aim was to fix himſelf in the Throne, and who thought he could not effect it without the Clergy, ſeemed throughout his whole Reign to have a great deference for them. Hence proceeded all the Statutes paſſed in thoſe days againſt the *Lollards*. *Henry* V, ſhowed at firſt great inclination to ſtrip the Clergy of their riches, according to the Parliament's deſire; but afterwards, turning his thoughts to the Conqueſt of *France*, carefully avoided that Religion ſhould cauſe any troubles in his Kingdom. It was highly neceſſary, in order to execute his grand projects, that his Subjects ſhould be ready to aſſiſt him with their purſes. But on the other hand, he was no leſs concerned to live in a good underſtanding with the Court of *Rome*, leaſt ſhe ſhould hinder his enterprize. He knew what ſhe was capable of, when ſhe thought herſelf injured. So, artfully managing both the Pope and his Subjects, he prevented the firſt from abuſing his power too much, without depriving him, however, of what he poſſeſſed. By this prudent conduct, he made his Reign peaceable, with reſpect to Religion. We muſt except, however, what he did in the beginning againſt the *Lollards*. He had ſuffered himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed, that they had conſpired againſt his life; and that belief made him at firſt a little ſevere. But as he was endowed with an excellent judgement, he ſoon diſcerned the intereſts of the Clergy from thoſe of Religion, and put a ſtop to the perſecutions of the unhappy *Lollards*. *Henry* VI, was a weak Man, ever ready to receive the impreſſions that were given him. Had he held the reigns of the Government himſelf, very probably the Clergy would have gained much ground in his Reign. But the directors of his affairs, as well during his minority, as after, were Men of a very different character. Beſides, the *French* War, the diſturbances at Court after the King's marriage, and the Civil Wars which quickly followed, gave thoſe at the Helm no time to think much of Religious affairs. For the ſame reaſon, the Reign of *Edward* IV, was not diſturbed either by the *Lollards*, or their adverſaries. It is true, *Edward* ſhowed a great condeſcenſion for the Clergy, in granting them a favour conſtantly denied by the former Kings. But his complaiſance did not go ſo far as to indulge perſecution. The Reigns of *Edward* V, and *Richard* III, were wholly ſpent in domeſtick troubles, which had no influence upon the affairs of the Church. As for *Henry* VII, he made it a rule, to keep the Church upon the ſame foot he found it when he mounted the Throne. He ever avoided, as a Rock, all innovations which might obſtruct the execution of his two ſole deſigns; namely, to ſecure the Crown to himſelf and his Heirs, and to heap up Money. Such was, with regard to Religion, the diſpoſition of the Kings that reigned in *England* during the Fifteenth Century.

As for the *Engliſh* Nation, it is certain, it was generally *Wickliffite* in ſome reſpects. *Wickliff*'s opinions manifeſtly tended to theſe two principal ends: Firſt, to reform the Government of the Church, and to ſet bounds to the power of the Pope and Clergy. Secondly, to alter the Church's Creed concerning ſome Doctrines long ſince received, and which he thought contrary to Scripture. Now as he found it almoſt impoſſible, that Chriſtians ſhould return to what he believed the antient Faith of the Church, becauſe the Clergy were concerned to maintain the eſtabliſhed errors, he ſtrongly inſiſted upon the firſt point, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the attainment of the ſecond. It is certain, that with reſpect to his general aim, in the firſt of theſe two Articles, not only his profeſſed Followers, but all the reſt of the People did, as it were, join with him. For many Ages the *Engliſh* had felt the oppreſſion wherein the Pope and Clergy had kept them. In all *Chriſtendom* no Nation had more experienced the rigour of this Dominion. The Hiſtory of *England* ſhows it ſo manifeſtly, that a Man would be blind not to ſee it. But though the Hiſtory were ſuſpected, the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*, ſo frequently revived, leave no room to queſtion, that the *Engliſh* thought themſelves oppreſſed. So, it may be ſaid, that in general the *Engliſh* Nation was *Wickliffite* as to the firſt point, though many believed, *Wickliff* would have carried the reformation a little too far, and, to correct the abuſes of the Hierarchy, had run into the contrary extreme. But the nation was not generally *Wickliffite*, with reſpect to the ſecond Article; namely, the alteration of belief concerning the Doctrines. Indeed, *Wickliff* had in this reſpect many Followers, but they were not the Majority. Thus the name of *Wickliffite*, or *Lollard*, was an equivocal term, capable of being underſtood in two different ſenſes. Sometimes it ſignified a Man, who ſeparating from the Church, embraced all *Wickliff*'s opinions. It might likewiſe be underſtood of one, who remaining in the Church, as it was then, and adhering to the received Doctrines, was, however, of *Wickliff*'s opinion concerning the temporal and ſpiritual Juriſdiction of the Clergy. In this laſt ſenſe there were more *Lollards* in *England* than can be imagined. This diſtinction may ſerve to account for divers proceedings of the Parliaments in the beginning of the XVth Century, which ſeem to be contrary one to another. Sometimes they were ſeen to ſpeak and act like *Lollards*,

(1) This is an Edict paſſed in the Council of *Bourges* in the Reign of *Charles* VII. It was levelled againſt Papal Proviſions, the payment of Firſt-Fruits, and other incroachments of the Court of *Rome*. In a word, it contains the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church, and was taken out of the Acts of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*.

(2) *Cæſar Borgia*. See the Hiſtory of them lately publiſhed by Mr. *Gordon*.

earneſtly demanding, that the Clergy ſhould be ſtript of their riches, and ſometimes to condemn theſe ſame *Lollards* to the flames, when they conſidered them in the firſt ſenſe before-mentioned. The Clergy knew how to take advantage of the ambiguity of that term. When a Man was ſo hardy as to ſhow that it were to be wiſhed, ſome alteration were made in the Government of the Church, he was infallibly accuſed of being a *Lollard*, and charged with all *Wickliff*'s opinions. Hence he became odious, becauſe the true *Lollards* maintained Doctrines repugnant to the Faith of thoſe days. The firſt Parliament which petitioned *Henry* IV, to ſeize the Church-Lands, could not eſcape that imputation, which made a deep impreſſion in the King's mind. Thus it often happened, that People did not dare openly to approve *Wickliff*'s firſt opinions, for fear of being taxed alſo with holding the others, and expoſed to ſuffer for Tenets they received not, as it happened to *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*. It was not without cauſe that the Clergy proſecuted the *Lollards* with ſuch animoſity, ſince their Principles tended to no leſs than to deprive them of all their Prerogatives. At this very day, the Church of *England*, though embracing *Wickliff*'s opinions, concerning the Doctrines, cannot forbear expreſſing very little eſteem for that Doctor, becauſe he has combated the Hierarchy, which ſhe has thought proper to retain.

The *Lollards* were perſecuted, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, according to the character of the Kings, the Archbiſhops, and the reſt of the Prelates, but chiefly according to the circumſtances of affairs. In general, the beginning of the XVth Century was much more ſevere for them, than the middle or the end. The reaſon is evident. For as their number continually increaſed, their enemies found much leſs ſupport, and themſelves more protection. In the beginning of the XVth Century, which was the moſt troubleſome time for them, there were, however, but very few burnt; of which three principal reaſons may be given: Firſt, as the Statutes did not enact that all in general ſhould be burnt, who held the Tenets of *Wickliff*, but only ſuch as preached or taught them publickly, the number of the guilty was not very great. Theſe Statutes were not obſerved after the manner of the Inquiſition, but agreeably to the liberties and privileges of the *Engliſh* Nation. In the next place, the Idea which the Clergy were pleaſed to give of the *Lollards*, was, that they entirely ſubverted Religion. But often, in the examination of the parties accuſed as ſuch, it appeared that they only believed, the Pope and Clergy abuſed their power too much, which was the general opinion of the Kingdom. It was well known, the Parliament had not that in view, in their Statute againſt the *Lollards*. Laſtly, the Judges themſelves ſometimes happened to be of the Sect, and this was the occaſion of the Statute in the Reign of *Henry* V, obliging all Magiſtrates, at their entrance into Office, to ſwear to the execution of the Laws againſt the *Lollards*. But I do not know whether that Statute was ever punctually obſerved. If we believe *Walſingham* the Monk, the Judges and ſeveral Biſhops themſelves were very remiſs in the proſecution of the *Lollards*. This he aſcribes to the general corruption which reigned in *England*. But this corruption was nothing elſe but the inclination of the *Engliſh* for *Wickliff*'s opinions; or, at leaſt, their ſcruple to put People to death on account of Religion. The moſt remarkable thing in *England*, concerning the *Lollards*, is the trial and puniſhment of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, otherwiſe called Lord *Cobham*, of whom I have ſpoken in the Reign of *Henry* V. We muſt now proceed to another Subject; namely, the conteſts which *England* had with the Court of *Rome* during the XVth Century.

Diſputes between England and the Popes.

Notwithſtanding all the complaints frequently carried to the Court of *Rome*, concerning her continual incroachments, and the precautions taken by ſeveral Parliaments to ſcreen themſelves from the ſame, the Popes did not abate their pretenſions. The Acts of Parliament were to them but like Thunders without execution, which reached not their rights. Upon every occaſion, they made no ſcruple to act contrary to theſe Statutes, as if they had not been made; and aſſert their Apoſtolick power, without troubling themſelves whether they prejudiced the King or his Subjects. The Parliament, willing to remedy the abuſes flowing from the continual diſpenſations granted by the Pope without hearing the cauſe, paſſed in 1400 an Act, *That all Perſons who purchaſed or executed any Bulls to be diſcharged from the payment of* Tythes, *ſhould incur the penalties contained in the Statute of Proviſors.* It was enacted by another Statute paſſed at the ſame time, *That if any Perſon ſhould procure a Proviſion to be exempt of the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, he ſhould incur the ſame Penalties.* Theſe Acts being made chiefly with a view to the Monks, were not capable of producing the intended effect, becauſe the Pope, by the fulneſs of his Apoſtolick authority, exempted the Monks from the obſervance of theſe Parliamentary Statutes. The Biſhops, whom this affair chiefly concerned, not daring to diſpute the power aſſumed by the Pope, it was the Parliament's buſineſs to defend their cauſe, as well as their own. To that purpoſe, the Statutes upon this Subject were revived, with an additional Clauſe, prohibiting the Monks in particular, to purchaſe or execute any ſuch exemptions, upon the penalty compriſed in the *Statute of Præmunire.*

This Statute, which I have mentioned upon ſeveral occaſions, was a terrible fence againſt the Court of *Rome*'s Uſurpations. Indeed, it did not directly attack the Pope, ſince the Parliament had no Juriſdiction over him. But as it hindered the *Engliſh* from applying to the Court of *Rome* for things contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, it abridged the Pope of good part of the advantages which he pretended to reap from his Apoſtolick power. It will perhaps be thought ſtrange that the Popes ſhould be ſilent, when, and long after, this Statute was paſſed. But it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon. The Schiſm which began in 1378, and laſted till 1409, hindered them from ſtirring. The Popes received by *England*, took care to give no offence at ſuch a juncture. It is true, there was an interval of ſome years, during which *Alexander* V, and *John* XXIII, might have made ſome attempt againſt that Law. But *Alexander*'s Pontificate was very ſhort, and *John* was employed in affairs, as he thought, of more importance. *Martin* V conſidered not this affair with the ſame indifference. In 1426, he writ a thundering Letter to *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upbraiding him for his remiſſneſs, and enjoining him to exert his utmoſt that this Statute might be repealed. *Henry* VI, who then reigned, not being above five years old, the Pope thought it a favorable juncture to compaſs his ends. It will not be perhaps unacceptable, to inſert part of this Letter, which ſhows the Pope's ſentiments concerning the pretended privileges of his See.

MARTIN,

SERVANT *of the* SERVANTS *of* GOD,

To his Reverend Brother, the Archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, *Greeting, and Apoſtolical Benediction.*

Martin V's Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. T. I. Col. p. 95.

" HAD you conſidered what a ſtrict account you muſt give to Almighty God for the Flock committed to your care: Had you called to mind the obligations of your Office, and how much you are bound to maintain the rights and honour of the *Roman* Church, of whom you hold your Dignity: Had you, I ſay, duly recollected theſe things, you would never have ſuffered your ſelf to be ſeized with ſuch a lethargy and negligence. No, you would have done your duty long ſince; you would have endeavoured to ſet right the miſled, and oppoſed with all your power thoſe who had ſacrilegiouſly invaded the privileges granted by our Saviour to the Church. Was the authority of your Character beſtowed upon you only to enrich your ſelf, and give you opportunity of *ſeeking your own, and not the things which are Jeſus Chriſt*'s? If this be your opinion, you greatly miſtake the inſtructions of our bleſſed Saviour, who, when he committed his Sheep to St. *Peter*'s care, only commanded him to *feed them*; neither received he this command, till he had given his Maſter repeated aſſurances of his love. Is this then your manner of ſhewing your love to Chriſt? Is this feeding and taking care of the Flock? Will ſuch conduct as this diſcharge your duty to the Holy See? Alas! your Flock are running down a precipice before your eyes, and you are regardleſs of their danger, and make no attempt to ſave them: You ſuffer them to feed in dangerous paſtures without warning them; and, which is horrible, you ſeem to put poiſon in their mouths with your own hands: You ſee the Wolves ſcatter and tear them in pieces, and like a dumb Dog, vouchſafe not ſo much as to bark. You can behold the authority of our Bleſſed Saviour and the Holy See deſpiſed and trampled on, without dropping one word of Remonſtrance. One would have thought, you might at leaſt, have whiſpered your diſlike, though you had been ſo very prudent as not to have declared it publickly. Are you not ſenſible, you muſt one day account to the utmoſt Farthing for all omiſſions and prevarications of this kind? Do not you think, if any of your Flock are loſt by your neglect, (and, alas! there are a great many,) *their* " *blood*

" *blood will be required at your hands?* Conſider and " tremble what vengeance God denounces by his Pro-
Ezek. xxxiii 6, 7. " phet *Ezekiel: Son of man, I have ſet thee a watchman* " *unto the houſe of* Iſrael; *if thou ſeeſt the ſword come, and* " *doſt not blow the trumpet, and any perſon is taken away,* " *his blood will I require at thy hands.*'

To ſee this beginning, would not one think the point in queſtion was ſome new Hereſy, tending to ſubvert the foundations of Religion? At leaſt, one ſhould believe, the Pope had the *Wickliffites* in view. But it was not ſo: We ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the Letter what the affair was; namely, the Statute of *Præmunire*, which the Archbiſhop had not cauſed to be repealed, the Pope groundleſsly ſuppoſing, it was in that Prelate's Power to annul the Laws of the Realm. He continued in this manner:

" I leave it to your ſelf to conſider, what abomina- " ble violence has been committed upon your Province. " Pray read that Royal Law, if there's any thing in it " that is either Law or Royal. For how can that be " called a Statute, which repeals the Laws of God and " the Church? Or how can it deſerve the name of " Royal, when it deſtroys the antient cuſtoms of the " Realm; and it is ſo contrary to theſe words of Scrip- " ture, *The King loveth judgment?* Tell me then, Re- " verend Brother, whether you, who are a Catholick " Biſhop, can think it reaſonable ſuch an Act as this " ſhould be in force in a Chriſtian Country?

" In the firſt place, under colour of this execrable " Statute, the King of *England* graſps at the Spiritual " Juriſdiction, and governs ſo abſolutely in Eccleſiaſtical " matters, as if our Saviour had appointed him his Vicar. " He makes Laws for the Church and Clergy. In " ſhort, he makes ſo many Proviſions about Clerks, Be- " nefices, and the concerns of the Hierarchy, that one " would think *the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* were " put into his hands, and the Superintendency of theſe " affairs had been intruſted with him, and not with St. " *Peter*.

" Beſides theſe hideous Uſurpations, he has enacted " ſeveral penalties againſt the Clergy. Such a rigor is " the more unjuſtifiable, as the *Engliſh* Government does " not treat *Turks* and *Jews* with ſo great ſeverity. Peo- " ple of all Countries and Perſuaſions have the liberty " of coming into *England*. Only thoſe who have Cures " beſtowed upon them by Chriſt's Vicar are excluded: " Only thoſe, I ſay, are baniſhed, ſeized, impriſoned, " ſtripped of their fortunes. If any eccleſiaſtical Per- " ſon, charged with the execution of the Mandates and " Cenſures of the Holy See, happens to ſet foot on " *Engliſh* ground, and proceed in the buſineſs of his " Commiſſion, he is treated like an enemy, thrown out " of the King's protection, and expoſed moreover to " ſtill greater hardſhips. Was ever ſuch Iniquity as this " paſſed into a Law? Pray conſider whether ſuch Sta- " tutes as theſe are for the honour of the Kingdom; and " whether it becomes you to be ſilent under all this " outrage. Is this an inſtance of filial Obedience? Is " this the *Engliſh* People's way of ſhowing their regards " to their Mother Church and the Holy See? Can that " be called a Catholick Kingdom, where ſuch profane " Laws are practiſed; where application to Chriſt's Vi- " car is prohibited; where St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor is not " allowed to execute our Saviour's Commiſſion? Chriſt " ſaid to St. *Peter*, and in him to his Succeſſors, *feed* " *my Sheep*. But this Statute will not ſuffer him to feed " them, but transfers that office upon the King, and pre- " tends in ſeveral caſes to give him Apoſtolical Autho- " rity. Chriſt built his Church upon St. *Peter*; but " this Act of Parliament hinders the effect of this diſ- " poſition, not permitting St. *Peter*'s See to proceed in " the functions of Government, or to make Proviſions " ſuitable to the neceſſities of the Church. Our Lord " has ordered, that whatever his High-Prieſt *ſhall bind* " *or looſe in Earth, ſhall be bound or looſed in Heaven*: " But this Statute over-rules the divine command: For " if the immediate repreſentative of our Saviour thinks " fit to delegate any Prieſt to execute the Power of the " Keys, contrary to the intent of the Statute, he is re- " fuſed admittance, forced out of the Kingdom, ſtript of " his Effects, and made liable to farther Penalties. If " any Diſcipline, if any Apoſtolick Cenſure, appear a- " gainſt this uſage, it is puniſhed as a capital offence.

" And what does your prudence think of all this? " Is this a Catholick Statute? Can it be ſuffered with- " out diſhonour to our Saviour, without a breach upon " the Laws of the Goſpel, and the ruin of people's Souls?
Isaiah lviii. 1. " Why therefore did you not *cry aloud?* Why *did you* " *not lift up your voice like a Trumpet? ſhow your peo-* " *ple their Tranſgreſſion, and the Houſe of* Jacob *their* " *Sins, that their blood may not be required at your hands?* " If all perſons who have the cure of Souls, are bound " to this duty, how much more are you, who have both " the Prieſts and People committed to your care by the Holy " See, by whoſe favour you enjoy the privilege of Pri- " mate and Legate for the Church of *England*, and have " the honour of being Succeſſor to that glorious Martyr " St. *Thomas*, who, to remove the oppreſſion of ſuch Sta- " tutes, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice himſelf for the Intereſt " of the Church.

" Theſe things conſidered, you, who ought to have " ſet up the Church's Standard, been moſt forward in " the defence of Religion, and animated your fellow Bi- " ſhops to a noble Conteſt, are the firſt that turn your " back, and decline the ſervice. Thus, either by your " great cowardice, or, as it is generally believed, by your " downright prevarication, you diſcourage thoſe who offer " to make a ſtand. If therefore the Church complain of " your conduct; if the whole be laid to your charge, be " not ſurprized, but troubled at the Imputation. Let " this reproach ſerve to put you upon reforming your " conduct, and make you boldly perform the duties of " your Office; which, were you but inclined to make " the moſt of your power, would not be very difficult. " Exert therefore your Character among the Laity; in- " form their underſtandings in this point, and endea- " vour to reclaim them. Shew them what a ſnare this " Statute will prove, and how much guilt it will draw " upon their Conſciences. Let your Admonitions be " preſſing and ſharp, and then *the crooked will be made* " *ſtrait, and the rough ways ſmooth.*"

After ſo ſevere a reprimand, the Pope continues to tell the Archbiſhop, that he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience to deal thus plainly with him. Then he charges him, upon pain of Excommunication, to go immediately to the Privy-Council, and make what Intereſt he could, for repealing the Statute of *Præmunire*, to apply to both Houſes of Parliament for the ſame purpoſe, and let them know, that all thoſe who obey that Statute were under Excommunication. Moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the Clergy to preach publickly, and every where, the ſame Doctrine; to take with him two grave perſons to atteſt his diligence, and to certify him of the reſult of the affair.

Reaſons of the Pope's Conduct.

If it be inquired what made *Martin* V, ſo very angry with *Chicheley*, who was not concerned in the Statute of *Præmunire*, paſſed long before he was Archbiſhop, and who had not the power to procure a repeal, the reaſon is this. *Chicheley* had oppoſed to his utmoſt, the Papal Exemptions. He had diſſuaded *Henry* V, from conſenting, that *Henry Beaufort* his Uncle ſhould be made Cardinal, *Legate a latere* for Life, and hold the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* in *Commendam*. Moreover, he had ſaid publickly, that all the Pope's proceedings tended only to drain *England* continually.

The Archbiſhop willing to juſtify himſelf, did not do it to the Pope's Satisfaction. On the contrary, he drew upon himſelf a ſtill more thundering Letter, and after that a third, directed to the two Archbiſhops, wherein, to mortify *Canterbury*, *York* is named firſt. *Chicheley* fearing the Pope's threats, got ſome Biſhops to write in his behalf, but nothing was capable of pacifying him. At length, he ſent him a Letter himſelf, telling him, he heard by common report, that his Holineſs had proceeded to a Sentence againſt him, which had never happened to any Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſince the days of St. *Auguſtin*. That however, he was not certain of the thing, becauſe he was commanded by the King to bring all the Inſtruments, received from *Rome*, with the Seals whole, and lodge them in the Paper-Office till the Parliament ſate.

Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. Vol. p. 111.

Mean while, *Martin* V, reſolving to puſh this affair, writ to the King and Parliament in a more haughty ſtrain than had ever been uſed by any Pope. He admoniſhes, or rather commands them to repeal the Statute of *Præmunire*, otherwiſe he aſſures them they cannot be ſaved.

At laſt, the Archbiſhop, ſeeing the Pope thus obſtinate, and not daring any longer to diſobey him, went with ſeveral other Biſhops to the Houſe of Commons, where he made a long Speech, tending to perſwade the Houſe to repeal the Statute, and put them in mind of the danger of an Interdict upon the whole Kingdom. But neither his arguments nor threats, were capable of inducing the Commons to repeal, or even explain the Act. On the contrary, they addreſſed the King to take the Archbiſhop into his protection, and to write to the Pope in his behalf.

Pope *Martin*'s Letter, and his extraordinary endeavours for repealing the Statute of *Præmunire*, afford matter for three remarks. The firſt is, this Letter is a demonſtration, that the main of Religion was then made to conſiſt in the Pope's Prerogatives, and the Clergy's Immunities. Hence it alſo appears, how averſe *Martin* was to conſent

to

to the leaſt diminution of his pretended Rights, and conſequently to a reformation in the Head and Members of the Church, demanded with ſo much earneſtneſs at the Council of *Conſtance*, where he was preſent himſelf.

The ſecond remark is, that at all times the Popes, in their Conteſts with the ſeveral States of *Chriſtendom*, have always had great advantages. Theſe advantages conſiſted, in that, by the threats of Excommunication and Interdict, they puſhed matters ſo far, that there was need of great reſolution not to be over-awed, and loſe ground, either by agreement, or otherwiſe. But if this reſolution was proof againſt all attempts, and the circumſtances of affairs were not favorable to the Court of *Rome*, ſhe had the power to ſtop when ſhe pleaſed, in expectation of a better opportunity. They who had the misfortune to contend with her, always reckoned it a great Victory not to be vanquiſhed, being ſatisfied if ſhe would but ſuffer them to live in peace.

Conjecture upon this Matter.

The third remark, is a Conjecture which I ſhall leave to the Reader's Judgment. Though *Henry* VI, was then but five years old, and his minority ſeemed to countenance the Pope's deſign, it is certain however, *England* had never been in a more proſperous condition. The *Engliſh* were quiet, and pleaſed with the Government, and the Victories of *Crevant* and *Verneuil* had put their affairs in *France* upon a very good foot. On the other hand, the affairs of *Charles* VII, were in ſuch diſorder, that there was no appearance of their being ever reſtored; and therefore *Martin* V, could not deem it a proper time for him. Beſides, the King's two Uncles were not diſpoſed to ſuffer the Prerogatives Royal, and the People's Rights, to be trampled upon, when their affairs were in ſo flouriſhing a condition. It is therefore ſomething probable, that *Martin* V, who was much more inclined to *France* than to *England*, made then all that ſtir, only to excite troubles in *England*, which would be of ſervice to King *Charles*, and give him time to breathe. If the Archbiſhop had punctually obeyed him, and the Clergy every were preached againſt the Statute of *Præmunire*, purſuant to the Pope's expreſs orders, the Parliament would have been forced to ſupport their Act, and puniſh the Clergy's preſumption. Then the Pope would have had a pretence to put the Kingdom under an Interdict, which would have greatly embroiled the affairs of the *Engliſh* in *France*. But *Chicheley*'s prudence prevented the miſchief which might have ſprung from *Martin*'s haughty proceedings. In ſhort, *Martin* perceiving, he was ſupported neither by the King's Council, nor the Clergy, nor the People, dropped the affair, not thinking proper to expoſe his authority any farther. This conjecture is built upon *Martin*'s continual partiality to *France*, whether out of Inclination, or becauſe, indeed, it was not for the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*, that *France* ſhould be ſubject to *England*.

Before I leave the *Præmunire*, it will not be improper to obſerve, that this Statute had two principal Clauſes. The firſt, containing the Statute of *Proviſors*, made in the reign of *Edward* I, prohibiting to ſollicite and procure Benefices from the Court of *Rome* by way of Proviſion, contrary to the rights of the Crown or the Patrons. The ſecond forbid to carry to the Court of *Rome*, *or elſewhere*, Cauſes belonging to the King's Courts. The Clergy complained that by theſe words, *or elſewhere*, the King's Judges pretended to deprive the Eccleſiaſtical Courts of numberleſs Cauſes, which before they had the Cognizance of. They maintained, that theſe words, *or elſewhere*, inſerted in the Act, had no relation to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, but only to the ſeveral places where the Pope might reſide. That nevertheleſs the Judges underſtood them in the firſt ſenſe, and if there was in a proceſs the leaſt point belonging to the royal Juriſdiction, took occaſion, from theſe two words, to remove it from the Eccleſiaſtical Court, as well as from the Court of *Rome*. In 1439, the Convocation complained to the King of the explanation of theſe terms by the Lay Judges, pretending it was contrary to the intent of the Law, for ſeveral reaſons alledged in their addreſs. For that time, the Clergy had no anſwer, or, if they had, it was not to their mind. But in the Reign of *Edward* IV, they obtained the King's Charter, prohibiting his Judges to meddle with criminal matters where the Clergy were concerned. I do not know whether *Edward* granted this Charter out of policy, to gain the Clergy's protection, or was convinced that the words, *or elſewhere*, were explained contrary to the Parliament's intention.

Pat. 2. Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 3.

Other Conteſts between the Parliament and Pope.

Beſides the conteſts occaſioned by the Statute of *Præmunire* between *England* and the Court of *Rome*, there were alſo others which I ſhall but juſt mention. In 1403, in the Reign of *Henry* IV, the Parliament paſſed an Act, forbidding all Perſons that ſhould have Proviſion of any Benefice, to pay into the Apoſtolick Chamber more than was paid in old time. The penalty for offenders was, that they ſhould forfeit to the King the ſame ſum they paid the Pope. The occaſion of this Statute was a Grievance introduced ſome time before by the Court of *Rome*: Which was, that no Perſon ſhould have Proviſion of any Benefice that was void, till he had compounded with the Apoſtolick Chamber, as well for the Firſt-Fruits, as for other leſſer ſervices in that Court, and paid, beforehand, the ſum agreed upon.

But the greateſt diſpute between *England* and the Popes, was concerning the collation of the Biſhopricks. Though the Popes, when the firſt *Anglo-Saxons* were converted, had ſent *Italian* or other foreign Biſhops into *England*, it is certain that towards the latter-end of the *Saxon* Monarchy, the Biſhops were choſen by the Chapters. The ſame privilege was continued to them after the *Norman* Conqueſt, and confirmed by King *John*'s Charter. Mean while, the Popes having gradually extended their authority, aſſumed the power of beſtowing Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks, by way of Proviſion, ſometimes on one, ſometimes on another pretence. This is what I have had frequent occaſion to remark. They would have at once eſtabliſhed this rule, that the diſpoſal of all the Biſhopricks belonged to them by Divine Right; but meeting with obſtacles, bethought themſelves of another expedient; and that was, to get poſſeſſion by degrees, in order afterwards to plead preſcription. Thus being content at firſt with maintaining, that on certain occaſions they had a power to fill the vacant Sees, they afterwards framed theſe occaſions whenever they pleaſed. In ſhort, they multiplied them ſo very faſt, that hardly was there a vacant Biſhoprick but what they filled by way of Proviſion. Time and favorable junctures confirming them in this Prerogative, there was no poſſibility to wreſt it from them. Thus the Privilege of the Chapters was entirely deſtroyed.

Arundel, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dying in 1413, the Monks of St. *Auguſtin* choſe *Henry Chicheley*, Biſhop of St. *David*'s. But Pope *John* XXIII, annulled the election, declaring, that, for this turn, he had reſolved to diſpoſe of the Archbiſhoprick by way of Proviſion. However, to avoid diſputes, he made choice of the ſame *Chicheley*; preſerving thereby his pretended right, without detriment to the Perſon elected.

But *Martin* V, dealt not ſo gently with *England*. He was no ſooner ſeated in the *Papal* Chair, than he boldly diſpoſed of all the vacant Sees, without any regard to the privilege of the Chapters. In two years only he filled, by way of Proviſion, thirteen Biſhopricks in the Province of *Canterbury*. It was not only with reſpect to the Sees that *England* had cauſe to complain of the Pope; he diſpoſed likewiſe of all the other Benefices of the Kingdom, without troubling himſelf about the right of the Patrons, or the inſtruction of the People. The beſt preferments were generally conferred upon Foreigners, who underſtood not a word of *Engliſh*, or reſided not in *England*, and ſometimes even upon Children. For inſtance, he made *Proſper Colonna*, his Nephew, who was but fourteen years old, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. *Henry* V, a high-ſpirited Prince, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to complain both of theſe, and other grievances. But *Martin* V, delayed his anſwer ſo long, that the Ambaſſadors told him, the King their maſter, purely out of reſpect to the Holy See, had proceeded by way of requeſt, to which he was not obliged; but for the future, he would uſe his Prerogative: That accordingly they had inſtructions to make a ſolemn proteſtation before himſelf and the Conclave, if his Holineſs would not give them immediate ſatisfaction. I know not what anſwer the Pope returned; but not long after *Martin* having tranſlated the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to the See of *York*, by way of Proviſion, the Chapter refuſed to admit him, and the Pope was forced to revoke his Bull.

In 1438, the Univerſity of *Oxford* complained, that Church-Preferments were beſtowed without any regard to learning or merit: That the Colleges were thereby become empty, becauſe there was no need of ſtudy or learning, to be qualified for a Benefice. Whereupon the Convocation, to whom this complaint was addreſſed, paſſed a Canon, That none but Graduates in the Univerſities ſhould be capable of Benefices. But this was a weak fence againſt the *Papal* power.

See Spelman Conc. T. II. p. 675-677.

Mean while, though the Court of *Rome* made the Apoſtolick authority ſound very high, the Popes now and then met with mortifications. For example, in the Reign of *Henry* IV, the Parliament ordered, that the Peter-Pence ſhould be depoſited in the King's hands till the Schiſm was cloſed.

In the Reign of *Henry* V, the Alien Priories were ſuppreſſed without asking the Pope's conſent.

Under *Henry* VI, Pope *Nicholas* V, demanding an extraordinary Subſidy of the Clergy of *England*, for the occaſions of the Holy See, the King forbid the Clergy to grant it.

The like demand, made ſome years after by *Vicentini*, a Nuntio, was ſharply denied by the Clergy. The *Papal* power, formerly ſo dreadful to the whole Church, and particularly to *England*, began to be leſs feared. The Schiſms did the Pope irreparable damage.

Councils. Spelman Conc. T. II. p. 662, 672, 712.

During the whole XVth Century, it does not appear that any National Councils were held in *England*, but only Convocations of the Clergy, in the two Eccleſiaſtical Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*. The condemnation of the *Lollards* was almoſt the ſole buſineſs of theſe Convocations. As for National Synods, they were become uſeleſs, ſince the Popes had engroſſed the Cognizance of all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. Beſides, the leaſt appeal to the Pope was ſufficient to annul all the Canons of a Council. On the other hand, the Popes had ſo managed, that no National Synods could be held without their Licence. Now, as in theſe Synods there was but too frequent occaſion to inquire into the extent of the *Papal* authority, they were grown ſo odious to the Court of *Rome*, that the uſe of them was inſenſibly laid aſide. At this very day, in the States which have not yet received the Reformation, National Councils are no more talked of, or, at leaſt, ſo very rarely, that it is plain the Popes allow them with reluctance and very great difficulties. Of this we have in *France* a late remarkable inſtance, in the tranſactions concerning the famous Conſtitution *Unigenitus* of *Clement* XI. King *Lewis* XIV, though powerful and formidable, could never obtain the Pope's leave to call a National Council, except on ſuch terms as rendered the thing impracticable, though that Monarch's ſole Aim was to cauſe the Conſtitution to be approved.

The Article of the eminent Men, who flouriſhed in the Church of *England* during this Century, will not long detain us. Indeed, there were Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Clergymen, very famous, but it was neither for their piety nor learning. Their poſts at Court, their Embaſſies, intrigues of the Cabinet, and ſhare in the Revolutions in the Court and Kingdom, were the only things by which they were diſtinguiſhed. *Henry Chicheley*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was one of the beſt. For which reaſon he obtained not the honour of the *Cardinalate*, laviſhly beſtowed upon *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, upon *Kemp*, *Bourchier*, *Morton*, who were leſs worthy of it than he, if true merit had been regarded. But *Chicheley* wanted one indiſpenſable quality of a Cardinal; namely, to be entirely devoted to the Holy See (1).

If there were any learned Men beſides, they were ſo with reſpect to the time they lived in, when true learning was not much in vogue. And therefore it would be very needleſs to ſpeak of each in particular, ſince their fame hardly out-lived them. Some were noted for their great animoſity againſt the *Lollards*, and amongſt the reſt, *Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate, in his Funeral Sermon for *Ann* of *Luxemburgh*, *Richard* the ſecond's Queen, highly commends her for ſpending her time in reading the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue: And yet, ſome years after, in the Reign of *Henry* IV, he condemned in Convocation the tranſlations of the Bible, as very pernicious (2).

(1) In 1439, he ordained, That Vicarages ſhould not be endowed with a leſs Sum than twelve Marks a year. *Spelman Conc.* Tom. II. p. 689.

(2) As there was a ſcarcity of Perſons eminent in other parts of Learning in this rude and illiterate Century, ſo was there likewiſe of Hiſtorians. The moſt noted were:

Sir JOHN FROISSART, who wrote a General Hiſtory of the Affairs of *France*, *Spain*, &c. but chiefly of *England*. He was a *Frenchman* born, but was brought up in his Youth in the Court of *Edward* III, and familiarly converſant in that of *Richard* II. He wrote in his own Tongue, which was then the Court Language of *England*. In the *Engliſh* Edition, publiſhed by Sir *John Bourchier*, at the command of *Henry* VIII, the miſtakes that had crept into the *French* Copies are corrected. His account of matters ſeems to be plain and honeſt; and perhaps none gives a better of the affairs of *Edward* III and *Richard* II. *Rapin* has made good uſe of him.

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET, and PHILIP DE COMMINES, may not improperly be called *Froiſſart*'s Continuators. They give a faithful and complete account of the Affairs of *England*, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to thoſe of *France*, *Burgundy*, &c.

THOMAS WALSINGHAM, a *Benedictine* Monk of St. *Albans*. His *Hiſtoria Brevis* [or ſhort Hiſtory] begins at the Concluſion of *Henry* III's Reign, where *Matthew Paris* ended his. The account he gives is well enough; and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other Writer of thoſe times. His *Ypodigma Neuſtriæ* (as he calls it) gives an account of *Normandy*, from the time it came firſt into the hands of *Rollo* and his *Danes*, down to the ſixth year of *Henry* V, wherein the Readers will find many occurrences not elſewhere to be met with. Both theſe Works were publiſhed by Archbiſhop *Parker*, in 1574, and reprinted at *Francfort* in 1603.

JOHN HARDING comes next, a northern *Engliſhman*, and an inveterate Enemy to the *Scots*. He collected whatever might tend to the Proof of the ancient Vaſſalage of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*; and hearing of an old Record in that Kingdom which put the Matter paſt diſpute, he went in diſguiſe, with much ado brought it away, and ſhewed it to *Henry* V, *Henry* VI, and *Edward* IV. To the laſt of theſe he dedicated his two Books of *Chronicles* in *Engliſh* Rhime. Printed at *London*, 1543.

WILLIAM CAXTON was a menial Servant for thirty years together to *Margaret*, Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, (Siſter to *Edward* IV.) in *Flanders*. Finding, as he ſays, after his return to *England*, an imperfect Hiſtory, he continued it in *Engliſh*, under the *Latin* Title of *Fructus Temporum*. It begins with the firſt inhabiting of this Iſland, and ends (the laſt year of *Edward* IV.) 1483. Folio, printed 1515.

JOHN ROSSE, or ROUS, travelled over the greateſt part of *England*; and having made large Collections out of the Libraries where he came, he writ the Hiſtory of our Kings, which is ſtill extant in MS in the *Cottonian* Library. He died in 1491.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XV.

The Reign of HENRY VIII; *Containing the Space of Thirty Seven Years and Nine Months.*

20. *HENRY* VIII.

HENRY VIII. 1509.

HENRY VIII, Son and Succeſſor of *Henry* VII, came to the Crown at the age of eighteen years, wanting a few months (1). The Lord *Herbert*, his Hiſtorian, ſays, the King his Father deſigned him at firſt for the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, becauſe having an elder Son, there was no likelihood that This would aſcend the Throne. And therefore, continues he, care was taken to inſtruct him in all the parts of Learning neceſſary for a Prince that was one day to be a Churchman. He would have ſpoken more juſtly, if he had only ſaid, that *Henry* VII had ſuch a deſign when he firſt put him upon his Studies. But as the young Prince was become his Heir-apparent at the age of eleven years, it could not be with the ſame view, that he cauſed him to purſue the Study of ſuch parts of Learning as were proper for a Clergyman. It is more likely therefore, that the King his Father kept him to his Studies, for fear his active and fiery Spirit ſhould carry him to more dangerous employments. He was only Son of Queen *Elizabeth*, Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*. Conſequently he might have given the King his Father ſome trouble, had he thought of aſſerting his right as Heir to his Mother. However this be, *Henry* having taken a reliſh for Learning in his younger years, preſerved it ever after. He always delighted in peruſing good Books, and converſing with the Learned, even when the multitude of his affairs ſeemed to divert him from ſuch kind of employments. By this means he made advances in the Sciences very uncommon to great Princes. *Francis* I, his Cotemporary, ſtiled by the *French* Hiſtorians, *the Father of the Muſes*, was in learning much his inferior. He ſpoke *French* and *Latin* very well and readily. He was perfectly skilled in Muſick, as two entire Maſſes compoſed by himſelf, and often ſung in his Chapel, do abundantly witneſs. He was exerciſed in the moſt abſtruſe points of the *Ariſtotelian* Philoſophy, which alone was in vogue in thoſe days. But he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of Divinity, as it was then taught in the Univerſities, all ſtuffed with uſeleſs queſtions. *Thomas Aquinas*'s *Summary* was his favorite book. 1509.

His Education. Herbert. Hollingſh.

This knowledge, which was conſidered as a great accompliſhment, even in ordinary Perſons, had upon the young Prince an effect which is not unuſual. It gave him a good opinion of himſelf, which had but too much influence upon all the actions of his Life. The exceſſive commendations beſtowed upon him by all, helped to confirm him in this conceit. When he was yet unexperienced in the affairs of the State, he fancied himſelf very able; and this preſumption was the cauſe of his being often the Dupe of thoſe Princes with whom he was concerned, as will more amply appear in the ſequel of his Reign.

Henry has good Conceit of himſelf. *He is often impoſed upon.*

But in remarking that this Prince had a great deal of ſelf-conceit, I don't pretend to rob him of, or any ways leſſen the noble qualities he had from Nature or Education. In his youth he was very handſome, and expert in all bodily exerciſes, as much as, or more than any Prince of his time. Accordingly, he was paſſionately fond of all thoſe diverſions which gave him an opportunity to ſhew his activity. He was couragious without Oſtentation, of a free and open Temper, an enemy to Fraud and Inſincerity, ſcorning to uſe indirect means to compaſs his ends. His Liberality perhaps was as much too great, as the King his Father's Avarice. *Henry* VII ſeemed to have been ſollicitous to accumulate riches, only to afford his Son the pleaſure to ſquander them away without any diſcretion.

His good Qualities.

As *Henry* VIII, when he mounted the Throne, was little experienced in the affairs of the Government, he made uſe at firſt of the King his Father's Miniſters and Counſellors. The principal were, *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, [and Lord Chancellor of *England*] of whom honorable mention is made by *Eraſmus* (2) ſomewhere in

His firſt Counſellors. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

(1) He was born *June* 28. 1491, and came to the Crown *April* 22. 1509.

(2) *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam* came over into *England* in 1497, and ſtudied ſome time in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. His Inſtructions mightily promoted the new Learning, and particularly the Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue.

From a Painting in the Royal Gallery at Kenjington. *G. Vertue del et sculp.*

1509. his Writings; *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, [Secretary and Lord Privy-Seal,] who had been employed, in the late Reign, in the niceſt affairs; *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, [Lord-Treaſurer of *England*] Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſlain at *Boſworth* Field, fighting for *Richard* III; *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Steward of the King's Houſhold; *Thomas Ruthal*, Doctor of Law; Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, [Controller,] whoſe name is ſtill famous for a Statute enacted in *Ireland* in the former Reign, whilſt he had the Government of that Iſland; Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord *Herbert*, [of *Gower*, *Chepſtow* and *Ragland*,] Lord Chamberlain (1).

Henry VII's *Funeral.* Hall. Hollingſh. Stow. Herbert.

Henry VII's Funeral was celebrated with great magnificence a few days after his death. His body was interred at *Weſtminſter* in the Chapel built by himſelf, and for the adorning whereof he had ſpared no coſt. This Chapel paſſed then for one of the ſtatelieſt in *Chriſtendom*. *Henry* VII, covetous as he was, laid out fourteen thouſand, ſome ſay, twenty thouſand pounds Sterling, a very conſiderable Sum in thoſe days, when Money was much ſcarcer in *Europe* that at preſent (2).

Herbert.

While the obſequies were preparing, the new King privately retired from his Palace of *Richmond*, to the Tower of *London* (3), under colour of withdrawing on account of the King his Father's death. But it was rather to ſettle with his Miniſters ſome affairs which would not admit of delay. Whilſt he was thought in his retirement to be employed in devotion, he ordered *Henry* Lord *Staffford*, Brother of the Duke of *Buckingham*, to be apprehended, probably, upon ſome groundleſs Suſpicion, which ſoon vaniſhed, ſince, ſhortly after, he was created Earl of *Wiltſhire*.

The Lord Stafford ſent to the Tower. Hall.

Ruthal *is made Biſhop of* Durham. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 256, 258.

The See of *Durham*, vacant by the Tranſlation of *Chriſtopher Bambridge*, to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, was conferred on *Thomas Ruthal*, Doctor of Law, and one of the Privy-Council (4).

General Pardon. Proclamation to encourage the People to complain. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

A few days after (5), the King confirmed his Father's General Pardon granted before his death (6). But all offenders had not the benefit thereof. A Proclamation quickly appeared, wherein the King ſaid, that being informed, his good Subjects had been oppreſſed under the ſpecious pretence of preſerving the Prerogatives of the Crown, he gave them leave to bring their Complaints, and promiſed them ſatisfaction. The deſign of this Proclamation, was not to reſtore to his Subjects the Sums unjuſtly extorted by the late King, but only to encourage them to exhibit their Complaints againſt *Empſon* and *Dudley*, the Inſtruments made uſe of by *Henry* VII, and to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, by puniſhing theſe two Miniſters.

When this Proclamation was publiſhed, numberleſs Petitions were preſented againſt them. This was what the Court wanted, not only becauſe theſe Men were odious to the whole Nation, but moreover to ſhew the people, the new King intended to rule in a very different manner from the King his Father. Upon all theſe Petitions, *Empſon* and *Dudley* were called before the Council, where they were briefly told the principal Articles alledged againſt them (7). *Empſon* anſwered for both, "That the Accuſation was of a very new and ſtrange nature: That "uſually Men were proſecuted for acting againſt the "Laws, or diſobeying their Sovereign; but for their "part, they were accuſed by the people of executing the "Laws of which they themſelves were the Authors: "That on the other hand, the King called them to an "account for obeying his Father's expreſs orders, unheard "of Crime, the puniſhment whereof would be apt to "throw all his Subjects into rebellion: That if they "muſt be puniſhed for ſuch offences, he deſired it "might not be divulged to foreign Nations, leſt they "ſhould infer, that the final diſſolution of the *Engliſh* "Government was approaching." To this it was briefly replied, "That he had ſpoke with great freedom; but "his Eloquence was fruitleſs and unſeaſonable: That "they were not accuſed of executing the Laws, or of "obeying the King, but of ſtretching the Laws beyond "their due bounds, and exceeding their Sovereign's "Commiſſion, which Accuſations they had reaſon to fear "were too well proved." Then they were both committed to the *Tower* (8). The King was reſolved to make them an example, in order to content the people who were extremely incenſed againſt them. Thus their condemnation was reſolved before their appearance, though it was not yet known on what to ground their proceſs. In any other Country, an act of Sovereignty to ſend theſe two Men to the Gallows, would have been ſeen with joy. But it is not the ſame in *England*, where the greateſt Criminals have privileges of which they cannot be debarred, without giving the people occaſion to think, the Court is forming deſigns againſt Liberty. It was neceſſary therefore to ſearch for ſome expreſs Law to condemn them. But upon examining the Accuſation already brought againſt them great difficulties occurred. It appeared, that though they were accuſed of numberleſs offences, nothing could be proved but their mercileſs execution of the Laws. But notwithſtanding they had ſtretched theſe ſame Laws as far as the words would bear, it could not be charged to them as a Crime, ſince they had the King's Warrant, in whom the execution of the Laws is lodged. It is true, *Henry* VII, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, had acted according to the utmoſt rigour of the Statutes. But he might do it, and if the former Kings had done otherwiſe, it was more out of Condeſcenſion than Juſtice. Theſe two Miniſters therefore could not be tried for obeying him. Beſides, to condemn them for executing their maſter's orders, was publickly to diſhonour that Prince's memory, and renew the remembrance of his Severities upon his Subjects. It was reſolved therefore to put them to death upon a falſe Accuſation, of intending to withdraw their Allegiance from the King ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne. It is evident, this Accuſation was entirely groundleſs. For how could two perſons ſo odious to the whole Nation, and deprived of all Credit by the death of *Henry* VII, think of ſuch a deſign, and ſtill leſs put it in execution (9). Mean while, it was not ſcrupled to take away their Lives for a forged Crime, becauſe they were believed worthy of death, though not condemned by the Letter of the Law. Upon this frivolous Accuſation, they were brought before their proper Judges, and found guilty, whether falſe Witneſſes were ſuborned againſt them, or by a mental reſervation hitherto unknown in *England*, in Judgments of this nature. *Dudley* was tried at *London* the 16th of *July*, but *Empſon* was not condemned till the 14th of *October* (9) at *Northampton*. *Henry*, either out of ſcruple, or ſome other motive, ſuſpended their execution till the next year (11).

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They are ſent to the Tower. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Slight Accuſation againſt them. Herbert. Hollingſh. Stow.

They are condemned to die.

Hall.

Whilſt means were contriving to diſpatch theſe two Miniſters, the King and his Council had a much more important affair to take into conſideration. We have ſeen, in the former reign, Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catherine* of *Arragon*; that Prince's death without Iſſue; the reaſons inducing King *Henry* VII to deſire, that Prince *Henry*, become his Heir Apparent, ſhould marry his Brother's Widow; the conſent of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, Father and Mother of the Princeſs; and Pope *Julius*'s Diſpenſation for the Marriage. The true reaſon why *Henry* VII propoſed this match, was, his unwillingneſs to reſtore the hundred thouſand Crowns received in part of *Catherine*'s Dower. He was alſo afraid of loſing the other half, which remained to be paid. In ſhort, he foreſaw, that after the receipt of the whole, the Princeſs his Daughter-in-law would indiſpenſably enjoy her Settlement of the third part of the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, and the County of *Cornwal*. However, as it was not decent to urge ſuch a motive to the Pope, to obtain a Diſpenſation for ſo ſtrange a Marriage, which could not but be deemed ſcandalous, it was pretended to be neceſſary to preſerve the Peace between *Henry* VII and the King and Queen of *Spain*. That was the mo-

Debate about the King's Marriage with Catherine of Arragon. Herbert.

Empſon *and* Dudley *are called before the Council.* Empſon's *Defence.* Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

Herbert.

(1) To theſe the Lord *Herbert* adds, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Maſter of the *Wards*, and Conſtable of the *Tower*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, Sir *Henry Marney*, afterwards (1532) Lord *Marney*, Sir *Thomas Darcy*, afterwards (1511) Lord *Darcy*. Theſe he ſays were ſelected out of thoſe his Father moſt truſted, by the Counteſs of *Richmond* his Grandmother, and farther obſerves, that this Council was of Scholars chiefly and of Soldiers, without ſo much as one Lawyer, which he wonders at, p. 2.

(2) His Tomb, perfected by his Executors 1519, coſt a thouſand Pounds, which, as Money went then, might be thought a ſumptuous Monument. *Herbert*, p. 2.

(3) *April* the 23d. *Hall*, fol. 1.

(4) And Pope *Julius* ſent him the Form of the Oath he was to take to the Holy See, of which, the curious Reader may ſee a Copy in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 256.——About this time, the King confirmed to *John* Earl of *Oxford* the poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, granted to his Anceſtor *Alberic de Vere*, by the Empreſs *Maud*; and appointed Sir *Edward Howard* Standard-bearer, with a Salary of forty Pounds a year; and Sir *Thomas Boleyn*, Warden of the Exchange at *Calais*, with a Salary of thirty Pounds ſix Shillings and Eight-pence. *Ibid.* p. 251, 258.

(5) *April* 25. *Hall*, fol. 1. *Stow*, p. 486. *Holling ſhead*, p. 799.

(6) Out of which were excepted all Perſons guilty of Murder, Felony, and Treaſon. In the ſame Pardon, all Vagabonds and ſturdy Beggars were ordered to depart out of *London*, and repair to the ſeveral places where they were born. *Stow*, p. 486.

(7) See them in *Holling ſhead*, p. 804.

(8) Their Promoters and Inſtruments were alſo apprehended, and put in the Pillory. *Hall* fol. 1. *Stow*, p. 487.

(9) They were accuſed, as appears in their Indictments upon Record, of a Conſpiracy againſt the King and State, of ſummoning, during the late King's Sickneſs, certain of their Friends to be in Arms at an Hour's warning; and upon the King's death to haſten to *London*, from whence it was inferred by the Jury, that they intended either to ſeize the King's Perſon, or to deſtroy him. *Herbert*, p. 4.

(10) *October* 1, ſays *Stow*, p. 487.

(11) King *Henry* the VIIth's Executors made Reſtitution this year, of great Sums of Money extorted from many Perſons by thoſe two oppreſſors. *Hall* fol. 7.

tive

1509. tive alledged to the Pope, which he readily conſidered as ſufficient, though there was but too much reaſon to queſtion whether it was the true one.

Hall. Herbert. In conſequence of the Pope's Diſpenſation, *Henry* and *Catherine* were ſolemnly affianced. Nevertheleſs, whether *Henry* VII intended only to deceive *Ferdinand*, and get the remaining hundred thouſand Crowns, or was moved by the Remonſtrances of *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* concerning this Marriage, he ſo ordered it, that the Prince his Son on the very day he was fourteen years of age, made in the preſence of certain Witneſſes, a Proteſtation in form againſt the conſent he had given. But this Proteſtation was kept ſo ſecret, that it came not to the knowledge of the publick till it was neceſſary, many years after, to divulge it. Upon the news of *Henry* VII's death, *Ferdinand* ſent to the Earl of *Fuenſalida* his Ambaſſador in *England*, a very ample power to renew the Treaty of Alliance made with the deceaſed King, ordering him withal, to demand the Confirmation and Execution of that which was concluded for *Catherine*'s ſecond Marriage with Prince *Henry*, now become King of *England*.

Burnet's Ref. T. I. p. 38.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 249. May 11.

Difficulties about the Marriage. Burnet.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador having preſented a Memorial upon this occaſion, it was deliberated in Council, whether the King ſhould conſummate his Marriage with *Catherine*. This affair was debated with great attention. Againſt the Marriage it was alledged, that for a Man to marry his Brother's Widow was a thing unheard of among Chriſtians: That ſuch a Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, and therefore it was a queſtion, whether the Pope had power to diſpenſe with it. This was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s opinion, who could not forbear conſidering the Marriage as really inceſtuous. But *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was of another mind. He ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the Pope's Diſpenſation, and the unlimited power of Chriſt's Vicar. He affirmed, "That "the Pope's granting a Diſpenſation, was a certain proof "that he had the power, and was ſufficient to ſatisfy "the King's Conſcience: That no perſon upon earth "could limit, or ſo much as inquire into the Papal Au- "thority; and though ſuch a power ſhould be aſcribed "to a General Council, at leaſt the Council of *England* "could not pretend to it." To theſe Arguments concerning Conſcience, the Biſhop added others drawn from reaſons of State, and the King's particular Intereſt. He ſaid, "That probably, the King would have, during the "courſe of his reign, many diſputes with *France*, *Eng-* "*land*'s old Enemy, and whether he would attack, or "only defend, the Alliance with *Spain* was abſolutely ne- "ceſſary: That in ſending back the Princeſs *Catherine* "after having affianced her, he would affront King *Fer-* "*dinand*, which he would certainly revenge by leaguing "with *France*, and ſuch a League could not but endanger "*England*, or at leaſt be extremely expenſive to the "Nation: That moreover, if the King refuſed to con- "ſummate his Marriage with *Catherine*, he muſt reſolve "either to reſtore her Dower, or ſuffer her to enjoy her "Settlement: But by marrying her he would ſave the "hundred thouſand Crowns received by the King his Fa- "ther, gain another hundred thouſand, which the King "of *Arragon* was to pay, and avoid the great charge "he ſhould be at, in marrying another Princeſs, and "conducting her into *England*. In fine, he inlarged upon "the ſweet and virtuous Temper of the Princeſs of *Wales*, "capable of making a Husband perfectly happy." Adding, "there was no room to doubt, that the Princeſs was "ſtill a Virgin, ſince ſhe herſelf affirmed it, offering even "to be tried by Matrons, to ſhew that ſhe ſpoke the "truth."

Reaſons for and againſt it.

Pol. Virg.

Henry *reſolves to marry* Catherine.

All theſe arguments, except the firſt concerning the diſpenſation, were very ſtrong. As to that, it was ſo dangerous for a Churchman to diſpute the Pope's authority, eſpecially ſuch a Pope's as *Julius* II, who was ſtill in his vigour, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* durſt not perſiſt openly in his opinion. So, the King cloſing with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s and almoſt the whole Council's ſentiments, it was reſolved he ſhould conſummate his Marriage. But firſt he required of the Princeſs that ſhe ſhould renounce by a ſolemn Act her Dower of two hundred thouſand Crowns, and conſent that the ſum ſhould belong to the King her Spouſe, to be claimed again neither by herſelf nor Heirs, nor by King *Ferdinand* her Father, nor Queen *Joan* her Siſter, nor any Perſon living, on any pretence whatſoever. Two days after, the Earl of *Fuenſalida* made the like renunciation in the name of King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Joan*. *Catherine*'s Letters Patents, wherein ſhe ſtiles herſelf only Princeſs of *Wales*, bearing date *June* the 7th, it is evident, the King married her not on the third of that month, as Hiſtorians affirm, nor ſooner than the day theſe Letters were ſigned. Their Coronation was ſolemnized on the 24th of the ſame month, and five days after died *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* and *Derby*, the King's Grandmother (1).

1509.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 251. June 7.

Ib. p. 253, 254.

Hall, &c.

Death of the Counteſs of Richmond. Hall. Stow.

In the beginning of his Reign, *Henry* willingly left to his Council and Miniſters the care and management of his affairs. As he was in Peace with all his Neighbours, what paſſed in the Kingdom, could not keep him much employed. He thought only of ſuch pleaſures and diverſions, as were more ſuitable to his years, than application to buſineſs. But as he was naturally liberal, his entertainments at Court were very expenſive. The ancient Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Henry* VII's old Miniſter, could not help murmuring to ſee the Money laviſhed away without any neceſſity, which his deceaſed Maſter had amaſſed with ſo much care, pains and injuſtice, in which he had himſelf been employed. He threw all the blame upon the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Treaſurer, who was his rival in favour under the late King, and continued to be ſo ſtill under the preſent, by gaining the affection of his new Maſter by a blind compliance to his Will. During *Henry* VII's life he was more cloſe, and harder to part with Money than the King himſelf. How expreſs ſoever the Orders were for payments, he always found difficulties, and by that means made his Court admirably to his Maſter. Being continued in his poſt in the preſent Reign, he became quite another Man. He not only paid, without examination, whatever was ordered, but alſo put the King upon ſpending extravagantly. This gained him the favour of the young Prince, who was naturally addicted to prodigality. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* openly blamed this conduct, as highly prejudicial to the King's intereſt. But he was little regarded, in a Court where every one was ſtriving to make an advantage of the Sovereign's liberal temper. Mean while, his diſcourſes exaſperated more and more the Earl of *Surrey* and the young Courtiers againſt him, who never ceaſed to do him ill Offices with the King. Thus the Biſhop who was in ſo great credit in the late Reign, gradually loſt it in this. His diſgrace, which ſat heavy upon his mind, threw him upon deviſing means to ſupplant his rival, by introducing at Court *Thomas Wolſey*, whoſe qualifications he was no ſtranger to. *Wolſey* was a Clergyman, already eminent for his merit, though he was but a Butcher's Son of *Ipſwich*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* eaſily foreſaw, the King would ſoon be in want of Perſons about him, fit and able to eaſe him; and as he knew *Wolſey*'s genius, did not queſtion that when he was at Court, he would render himſelf neceſſary to the King. To that end, he procured him the place of Almoner. We ſhall ſee preſently that the Biſhop was not miſtaken in his Judgment, or rather that his foreſight was far ſhort of *Wolſey*'s fortune (2).

Quarrel between the Biſhop of Winchcſter *and the Earl of* Surrey. Surrey's *Character.* Pol. Virg. Herbert.

Herbert. *He introduces* Wolſey *at Court.*

About the middle of the year, the Treaties concluded between *Henry* VII and the King of *Scotland*, were confirmed or renewed by the Biſhop of *Murray*, who was ſent into *England* to congratulate *Henry* upon his acceſſion to the Crown.

Confirmation of the Treaty with Scotland, Act. Pub. XIII. p. 257, 261, 267.

The Emperor *Maximilian* ſent alſo an Embaſſy to *Henry*, to congratulate him, and confirm the Treaties made with *Henry* VII in the year 1502.

and with the Emperor. p. 260. Aug. 20.

Chriſtopher Bambridge Archbiſhop of *York*, being at *Rome*, where he was gone to have his Election confirmed, received a Commiſſion from the new King to act as his Ambaſſador. We ſhall ſee preſently the reaſon, why the Pope wanted to have an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador reſide at his Court, and why the King was deſirous to be particularly informed of what paſſed at *Rome*, and in all *Italy*.

Bambridge *Archbiſhop of* York *Ambaſſador at* Rome. p. 264. Sept. 24.

Theſe were the moſt remarkable occurrences in *Eng-*

Neceſſity of knowing the affairs of Italy, *for the full underſtanding the Hiſtory of* Henry VIII.

(1) She was buried at *Weſtminſter*. *Stow*, p. 487.

(2) *Thomas Wolſey* was born at *Ipſwich* in *March* 1471. He was ſent ſo early to *Oxford*, that he was Batchellor of Arts at fourteen years of age, and from thence called the *Boy Batchellor*. Soon after he was elected *Fellow* of *Magdalen* College, and when *Maſter of Arts*, had the care of the School adjoining to that College committed to him. Being charged with the Education of the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*'s three Sons, his Lordſhip preſented him to the Rectory of *Lymington* in *Somerſetſhire*, *October* 10. 1500. He had not long reſided at his Living, before Sir *Amias Powlet*, a Juſtice of Peace put him in the Stocks for being drunk (as is ſaid,) and raiſing diſturbances at a Fair in the Neighbourhood. By the Recommendation of Sir *John Naſant* he was made one of the King's Chaplains. In 1506, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of *Bedgrave* in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*; having then, beſides the Rectory of *Lymington*, the Vicarage of *Lyde* in *Kent*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 217. Whilſt he was King's Chaplain, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and of Sir *Thomas Lovel*, who recommended him to the King as a fit Perſon to be employed in negotiating the Marriage between *Henry* VII and *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Savoy*. He was diſpatched to the Emperor her Father, and returned with ſuch ſpeed, that the King ſeeing him ſuppoſed he had not been gone. Having reported his Embaſſy, he was made Dean of *Lincoln*, *February* 8. 1508, and on the 20th of the ſame Month Prebendary of *Walton Brinkold* in that Church. In theſe Circumſtances he was when he was introduced at Court by Biſhop *Fox* after *Henry* VII's death, where he ſoon found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his Son and Succeſſor. *Burnet*'s *Hiſt. Ref. Fiddes*,

land,

1509. *land*, during the first eight months of the Reign of *Henry* VIII. They were for the most part domestick affairs of little importance, except the King's Marriage, which was attended with very great consequences. But there passed abroad matters of great moment, which became as it were the source of the troubles wherewith almost all *Christendom* was agitated for above fifty years, and wherein *England* was but too much ingaged. For some time, the affairs of *Europe* had begun to have a new face, and what happened this year in *Italy* put them upon such a foot, as obliged almost every Sovereign to be concerned therein. *Henry* VIII unhappily intangled himself in the troubles of that Country, which seem to have had no relation to him. This makes the knowledge of the affairs of *Italy* so absolutely necessary, that without it neither the events of this Reign can be understood, nor the King's character fully known. It will therefore be proper to inlarge upon this Subject, which concerns not only the History of *England*, but also those of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*; the principal events whereof, for a long space of time, flowed properly from the affairs of *Italy*. It is true, most of the authors who have writ the Histories of these States, supposed their readers to be acquainted with what passed in *Italy* at the same time. They have thereby much shortened their Works; but withal rendered them very obscure to those who were not so fully instructed as they have supposed. For my part I intend another course. Since the affairs of *Italy* are the foundation of most of the occurrences in *Europe*, and particularly in *England*, during almost one half of the sixteenth Century, I think they ought to be spoken of something largely, which alone can clear the particular Histories proceeding from thence. But to avoid tedious digressions which would be indispensable in the sequel, it is necessary to give first a distinct idea of the state of *Italy*, as well as of the character and interests of the several Princes.

State of Italy, Milan, and Naples.

I have already related in the foregoing Reign how *Lewis* XII, assisted by the *Venetians*, conquered the Duchy of *Milan* upon *Ludovico Sforza*, pretending a right to it as Grandson to *Valentina Visconti*, Daughter of *John Galeazzo* I, Duke of *Milan*. I have likewise had occasion to speak of the Conquest of *Naples* by the united arms of *Lewis* XII and *Ferdinand*, and of the means used by the last to remain sole Master of that Kingdom. It will suffice therefore to add here, that though *Lewis* XII lost his portion of that Conquest, he desisted not from his pretensions, but was waiting for a favorable opportunity to assert them. I must now briefly speak of the other States of *Italy*, and first of the Ecclesiastical State.

Ecclesiastical State.

Before the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had set foot in *Italy*, the Popes were as Sovereign arbiters of that Country. But it was not so much by their Temporal arms as their Spiritual, of which they made frequent use. For some Centuries past they had lost great part of the *Demesns* formerly belonging to the Church. About the end of the Reign of *Otho* I, the Ecclesiastical State consisted of the City of *Rome* and its Territory, with *Tuscany*, the *Marquisate* of *Ancona*, the Duchy of *Spoleto*, *Ravenna*, all *La Romagna*, and the whole Country in general comprized formerly under the *Exarchate* (1). But afterwards, during the Wars of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* (2), the Emperors wrested from the Popes all *Tuscany* and several Towns in other parts. Some of these Towns had thought fit to withdraw their obedience from the Church, and the Popes themselves had been forced to grant others in Fee to Lords who served them, or from whom they expected assistance. At length, the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, having sold liberty to as many Cities of *Italy* as would purchase it, there were several formerly belonging to the Church that embraced the opportunity, to shake off, at the same time both the Emperor's and the Pope's yoke (3). Hence there were quickly in *Italy* almost as many Sovereignties as Cities. The strongest subdued the weakest, and fell at last themselves under the Dominion, or rather the Tyranny of some of their own Citizens, who found means to seize the whole power. In this manner were formed in *Italy* several petty States, out of the ruins of what the antient Kings of *Italy*, the Emperors, and the Popes had formerly possessed.

In the Pontificate of *Alexander* VI, the Ecclesiastical State was reduced within narrower bounds than before, though the Popes had preserved the Sovereignty of several Cities, of which they were no longer Proprietors. Of this number were *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Urbino*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Pezzaro*, *Imola*, *Cesena*, *Perusa*. Notwithstanding all these losses, they were still very powerful; 1509. because their spiritual arms gave them great advantages over their Neighbours. Moreover, besides the revenues of the Ecclesiastical State, they had very considerable incomes from all *Christendom*.

But when *Lewis* XII took possession of the Duchy of *Milan*, and *Ferdinand* of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the affairs of *Italy* had quite another face. Then the temporal power of the Popes was nothing in comparison of that of these two Monarchs, who besides their Dominions in *Italy*, had moreover at their command the Forces of two large Kingdoms. On the other hand, the *Roman Pontiffs* met with much more opposition, when they had a mind to brandish their spiritual weapons, whose force was in proportion to the weakness of those against whom they were darted. For this reason they sought all sorts of means to drive the Foreigners out of *Italy*. But as they could not by their own strength execute such a design, they were forced to make use of one of these Kings to destroy the other, in which their policy was often deceived. For, they could not humble one, without giving the other a superiority more destructive of their interests, than the equality which was between them before. This for many years was the occasion of all the Pope's intrigues, and withal an incumbrance they could never get clear of. Sometimes they joined with one to pull down the other; sometimes setting them at variance, they remained bare Spectators of the Battle; and sometimes they called in Foreigners to make the ballance incline to the side they intended to favour. But whatever was the success of these Wars, the Conqueror ever became very formidable to the Pope and all *Italy*. It is certain therefore that the Conquests of *Naples* and *Milan* gave a mortal wound to the temporal power of the Popes, and were also very prejudicial to their spiritual authority. As the Popes from thenceforward had frequent occasions of quarrel with the Kings of *France*, now become their Neighbours, they sometimes made use of their spiritual arms, but not with the same success as formerly against the Sovereigns of *Italy*. As they had to deal with Princes who did not easily bend, they only gave them occasion to examine the grounds of the *Papal* authority; and this inquiry was not to the advantage of the Popes.

Besides the interest of their See, the *Roman Pontiffs* had also that of their Family, of which they were no less mindful. Every one of them seeking to raise his Nephews or other Relations; all the Cities formerly belonging to the Church were so many objects that inflamed their desires. *Alexander* VI, who of all the Popes his Predecessors was the least scrupulous, had formed the design of making *Cæsar Borgia* his Bastard a great Prince, by erecting him a State out of several Cities or States of *la Romagna*, which still owned the Pope's Sovereignty, and were under his protection. To execute this design it was that *Cæsar Borgia*, either by fraud or force, became master of *Perusa*, *Urbino*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Pezzaro*, *Cesena*, under colour that the Possessors had not been punctual in paying the tribute or annual relief to the Holy See. But *Alexander* VI dying before his Son was well settled in his Conquests, it happened, during the short Pontificate of *Pius* III, and the interval between his death and the election of *Julius* II, that the former owners of these Cities found means to recover them. This was chiefly by the assistance of the *Venetians*, who, for their pains, kept *Faenza* and *Rimini*.

Character and Design of Julius II's Guicciard.

Julius II, who succeeded *Pius* III, formed for the House of *la Rovere*, of which he was, the same projects as *Alexander* VI had formed for that of *Borgia*. He was no sooner in the *Papal* Chair, but he begun the execution of his designs, with imperiously acquainting the *Venetians*, that his intention was to re-annex to the Church whatever had been alienated, and therefore they must restore *Faenza* and *Rimini*. Upon their refusal, he demanded aid of the Emperor *Maximilian*. This was properly the first rise of the League of *Cambray*, mentioned in the foregoing Reign, and of which I shall be obliged to speak more fully hereafter.

The Republick of Venice. Paruta. Dogleni Sabellico Bembo, &c.

The Senate of *Venice* had long passed for the wisest and most politick assembly in the World. By their prudence and abilities they had by degrees formed in *Terra firma* (4), a State, which, being supported by a very strong naval Force, was inferior to none in *Italy*. This State consisted of *Friuli*, *Treviso*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Cremona*, *Rovigo*, and the whole *Polesin*, *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*. Most of these Cities with their Territories were formerly part of the King-

(1) So was this District formerly called, because it was governed by the Emperor of *Constantinople*'s General in the West, named his *Exarch*, who resided at *Ravenna*. The first *Exarch* was under *Justin* the young, in 567, after *Belisarius* and *Narses* had driven the Barbarians out of *Italy*: The last was *Eutychius*, defeated by *Astolphus* King of the *Lombards* in 751. *Pepin*, King of *France*, turned him out of the Exarchate, and made a Present of it to the Pope.

(2) See above, p. 362. Note (1).

(3) As *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, *Bologna*, &c.

(4) The Towns belonging to the Republick of *Venice* are of two sorts: Those in *Lombardy*, that compose *Terra firma*, or *the firm Land State*; the rest are maritime, and called the *Sea-State*.

1509. dom of *Italy*. After that, they fell under the Dominion of the *German* Emperors, who governed them by their Vicars. At length, either these Vicars were become Sovereigns, or, being expelled, the Cities had recovered their liberty, to fall again afterwards under the Tyranny of some private Persons, who had usurped an absolute power. Of these the *Venetians* had acquired them, either by Money or force of arms. But however it be, when they had made these acquisitions, it is certain, the authority of the Emperors was seldom acknowledged. Mean while the Emperors still preserved their pretensions to all these Cities, as having been formerly parts of the Empire, or rather of the Kingdom of *Italy*, injoyed by some of their predecessors. *Friuli* was conquered upon the Church of *Aquileia*, to whom it was presented by *Otho* I; *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, formerly belonged to the See of *Rome*. *Rovigo* and the *Polesin* were conquered upon the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Cremona*, and *Gierradadda*, appertained to the Duchy of *Milan*, having been resigned by *Lewis* XII. *Brescia* was taken from the Dukes of *Milan*, and *Crema* freely given up by Duke *Francis Sforza*. They had still in the Kingdom of *Naples* five Maritime places, mortgaged to them by one of the Kings.

Bologna. Ghirard. Alberti.

Bologna (1) was a rich and powerful City; but not so considerable as formerly. Civil discords had at length compelled her upon certain terms to submit to the Church. After that, the City was governed by the Pope's Legates, sent thither from time to time. But their Dominion suffered frequent interruptions. The Legates oppressing the People, forced them often to shake off their yoke and expel them the City. But it was only to fall again under the Tyranny of the heads of Faction, who by their oppressions forced them to have recourse to the Pope and receive his Legates again. This is what happened several times. In the year 1440, *Hannibal Bentivoglio* became so powerful, that he was little less than a Sovereign. From that time to 1506 some one of the Family of *Bentivoglio* held the Government, though the Pope's Legates were still admitted and honoured, but without having any real power. At last *Julius* II, not content with this shadow of authority, demanded in 1506, aid of *Lewis* XII, to make himself master of *Bologna*. Though *France* had hitherto protected the *Bentivoglio*'s, *Lewis* however ordered the Governour of *Milan* to send the Pope Troops. Whereupon *John Bentivoglio*, head of that House, seeing himself forsaken by the King of *France*, quitted *Bologna* with all his Family, and retired to *Milan*, leaving the City to the Pope.

Ferrara. Sardi.

The Duchy of *Ferrara* (2) was a Fief of the Church, long possessed by the Family of *Este*, who were invested by the Pope, and paid an yearly relief in Money. This petty State bordering upon the Pope and the *Venetians*, and being very convenient for both, preserved itself by their mutual Jealousy; but however, the *Venetians* had taken from them *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*. But *Julius* II had greater views, and thought seriously of annexing the whole Duchy to the Church.

Modena and Reggio. G. Batt. Pigna.

Modena and *Reggio* were likewise under the Dominion of the Family of *Este*, not as belonging to the Duchy of *Ferrara*, but as a distinct State acquired by that Family after being possessed of *Ferrara*. *Julius* II, had also pretensions to these two Cities, as having been formerly given to the Church by *Charlemain*, and perhaps on the sole pretence, that they belonged to the Duke of *Ferrara* his Vassal.

Urbino. Cimarelli.

Urbino (3) had formerly been of the Church's demean. But the Popes had not for many years challenged more than the right of Sovereignty. *Cæsar Borgia* had seized this City, and expelled Duke *Guidobaldi Ubaldini*, who recovered it after the death of *Alexander* VI. As *Guidobaldi* had no Children, *Julius* II perswaded him to adopt *Francis Maria de la Rovere*, Nephew to both, Son of the Pope's Brother and the Duke's Sister. Shortly after, *la Rovere* became Duke of *Urbino*, by the death of *Guidobaldi* his adoptive Father.

Parma and Placentia. Alberti.

Parma and *Placentia* had been under the dominion of several Lords or Tyrants, till at last they became subject to the Dukes of *Milan*. *Lewis* XII took possession of them after his Conquest of the *Milanese*.

Florence. Machiavel.

Florence, a very potent City, and the chief of *Tuscany*, was fallen at length under the Dominion of the Family of *Medicis*. But afterwards an opposite Faction prevailing, they were driven from thence, and were now in exile, attempting however from time to time to be restored to their Country.

Pisa. Alberti.

Pisa had been formerly a very considerable City by reason of her naval Forces; but at length becoming subject to the Dukes of *Milan*, a Bastard of that Family, to whom it was given, sold it to the *Florentines*. The *Pisani* were against the Sale, and would have recovered their Liberty, but were overcome. After that, *Charles* VIII, in his way to *Naples*, restored *Pisa* to her Liberty; but as soon as the *Florentines* had nothing more to fear from him, they besieged *Pisa*, though assisted by the *Venetians*, and the Siege was still carrying on at the time of the League of *Cambray*. 1509.

Genoa. Pizano.

The City of *Genoa*, after sundry Revolutions caused by the Factions of the *Fregosa*'s, and the *Adorno*'s, was at length fallen into the hands of the *French*, in the reign of *Charles* VII. After that, *Lewis* XI resigned it to the Duke of *Milan*, and *Lewis* XII seized it after his Conquest of the *Milanese*.

Motives of the League of Cambray *against the* Venetians.

This Survey of the States of *Italy* shows, that it was then divided between six Powers, namely, Pope *Julius* II, *Lewis* XII King of *France* and Duke of *Milan*, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, the Republicks of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*. To these six may be added, the Emperor *Maximilian*, who without possessing a foot of land in *Italy*, had however pretensions to whatever was formerly enjoyed by the Emperors, and particularly to the *firm Land-State* of the *Venetians*, whose ruin the other six were equally concerned to procure. The Emperor pretended, that all the *Venetian* Dominions belonged to the Empire; he passionately desired to wrest some place from them that would give him entrance into *Italy*, and an opportunity to re-establish the Imperial power in that Country. *Julius* II, as I said, had formed a project to annex to the Church, whatever had been alienated, and especially the Duchy of *Ferrara*, and the Towns of *la Romagna*. This design could be effected only by the destruction of the *Venetians*, ever attentive to oppose the growth of their Neighbours. Besides, the Pope had a mind to begin with them, and wrest from them *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*. *Lewis* XII repented of yielding to them *Cremona* and *Gierradadda*. He wanted to dispossess them, and under that pretence, to get possession also of *Crema*, *Bergamo*, and *Brescia*, and in general of whatever had belonged to the Dukes of *Milan*. *Ferdinand* was desirous to recover without Money, the five maritime Towns of the Kingdom of *Naples* which had been mortgaged to them. Moreover, his Interest required, that there should be always troubles in *Italy*, to hinder *Lewis* XII from thinking of the Conquest of *Naples*. The Duke of *Ferrara* wished to recover *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*. Lastly, the *Florentines*, obstinately bent upon the Siege of *Pisa*, protected and defended by the *Venetians*, could desire nothing more advantagious than to see that Republick unable to assist the *Pisani*.

Hist. della Legha di Cambray.

League of Cambray.

Such were the motives of the League formed against *Venice*, of which the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *France* were the chief promoters. For the greater Secrecy, they spread a report, that the Emperor, as Guardian to *Charles* of *Austria* his Grandson, had agreed, that his differences with the Duke of *Gueldres* should be amicably adjusted. To that purpose, the City of *Cambray* was appointed for the place of Congress, thereby to intimate, that the affairs only of *Flanders* would be considered. Here the famous League against the Republick of *Venice* was concluded; and the better to deceive the Spies, was signed at first a Treaty of perpetual Peace between the Pope, the Emperor, *Lewis* XII, and *Ferdinand*, which was indeed made publick. But a second Treaty, which care was taken not to divulge, contained a League offensive and defensive against the *Venetians*, the principal Articles whereof were as follows:

Hist. della Legha di Cambray.

Treaty of the Allies against Venice. Bembo.

In the first place it was set forth in the Preamble, that the *Turks* having begun to make great progress in *Europe*, it was absolutely necessary for the Christian Princes to join their Forces against them, but that the *Venetians*, by their continual Incroachments, greatly obstructed this Union. From thence it was concluded, that they were to be dispossessed of what they had usurped. This was the pious motive of the League. And therefore it was agreed, that of their spoils, the Pope should have *Ravenna*, *Faenza* and *Rimini*; the Emperor, as such, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, and *Padua*, and as Duke of *Austria*, *Treviso*, and *Friuli*: *Lewis* XII, as Duke of *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Gierradadda*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, and *Bergamo*: The King of *Arragon*, *Manfredonia*, *Trani*, *Monopoli*, *Brindisi*, and *Otranto* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; that the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Savoy*, and the Marquis of *Mantua* should be admitted into the League if they desired it; the first to recover *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*; the second, to get the Kingdom of *Cyprus* out of the hands of the *Venetians*; and the third, to obtain satisfaction concerning certain Pretensions he had

(1) The second City of the Ecclesiastical State, and the third of the four most considerable Universities in the World, *Paris*, *Oxford*, *Bologna*, and *Salamanca*, says *la Foret*.

(2) The Birth-Place of the Poet *Ariosto*, who has a Tomb and Epitaph in the *Benedictines* Church.

(3) The Birth-Place of the famous Painter *Raphael*, and *Polydore Virgil*, who wrote the *English* History.

upon

1509. upon *Venice*. Laſtly, that all who had any claim upon the *Venetians*, ſhould be received into the League as principals, if they declared themſelves within three months. Thus, in order to wage war againſt the *Turks*, no other means were found, than to ſtrip the *Venetians* of all their *firm Land State*, and leave them only the ſingle City of *Venice*.

Projects of the Allies. Guicciard. Mezerai.

To accompliſh this deſign, it was agreed, that the King of *France* in perſon ſhould enter the Territories of the *Venetians*, the firſt of *April*, in the year 1509, with an army of forty thouſand Men: That the Pope ſhould ſend an army into *la Romagna*; and *Ferdinand* have one in *Lombardy*, with a Fleet in the Gulf; and the Emperor attack the *Venetians* from the ſide of *Germany*. But as he had lately made a three years Truce with them, an admirable expedient was deviſed to furniſh him with a pretence to break it, which was, that the Pope ſhould ſummon him as the Church's Advocate, to come and defend the Patrimony. In fine, *Julius* II engaged to thunder out all the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures againſt *Venice*. This League was ſigned at *Cambray*, *December* 10th, 1508.

Campain of the year 1509. Mezerai. Bembo.

The time of executing the projects of the League being come, *Lewis* XII departed from *Milan* the beginning of *April* 1509, at the head of forty thouſand Men, whilſt the Pope's army entered *la Romagna* under the Conduct of *Franeis Maria de la Rovere* Duke of *Urbino*, and *Raymond* of *Cardona* threw himſelf into *Lombardy* with the King of *Arragon*'s Troops. At the ſame time, the Duke of *Ferrara* took the Field in the *Poleſin*. But the Emperor contented himſelf with keeping at *Trent*, and ſeeing the reſt of the Allies act, in order to be ready to reap the fruit of their labours. Mean while, the *Venetians*, having firſt provided their Towns with Ammunition, raiſed an army, under the command of Count *Pitigliano* their General, whoſe Lieutenant was *Bartholomew d' Alviano*.

Battle of Agnadel. Bembo.

The Van of the *French* army commanded by *Chaumont*, paſſed the *Adda* the 15th of *April*, and at the ſame time the Pope excommunicated the *Venetians*, and put the City of *Venice* under an Interdict. On the 14th of *May* was fought the Battle of *Gierradadda* or *Agnadel* (1), between the *French* and *Venetians*, contrary to the opinion of Count *Pitigliano*, though General in chief of the *Venetians*, and to all reaſon. For the *Venetians* having no refuge but their army, it was by no means proper to hazard a Battle. But the heat of *Bartholomew d' Alviano* prevailed over his General's Prudence. The *Venetian* army was entirely routed, and *Alviano* taken Priſoner. Whereupon the *Venetians* being no longer able to reſiſt their Enemies, *Lewis* in leſs than a Fortnight became maſter of *Cremona*, *Peſchiera*, *Crema*, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and of all the places in general, formerly belonging to the *Milaneſe*. Moreover *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Padua*, ſent him their Keys. But as by the Treaty of *Cambray*, theſe places were in the Emperor's diviſion, he ſent their Deputies to him. *Maximilian* was then at *Trent* expecting the Succeſs of the confederate Arms. Upon the arrival of the Deputies, he ordered his Troops to advance towards the State of *Venice*, and as theſe Cities freely opened their Gates, had only to garriſon them. *Treviſo* alone refuſed him admittance, and remained firm to the *Venetians*, though reduced to the laſt extremity. *Friuli* and the Towns of *Iſtria* followed the ſtream, and ſubmitted to the Emperor. On the other hand, the Duke of *Urbino*, with the Pope's army, took *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, whilſt the Duke of *Ferrara* became maſter of *Rovigo*, and the Marquiſs of *Mantua* of ſome Caſtles which were convenient for him. Thus, in a moment, the *Venetians* ſaw all their Dominions reduced to the ſingle City of *Venice*, with five places in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which could not be of great Service to them. Mean while, they were not entirely diſcouraged amidſt ſo many Calamities, though the Senate and People were under the greateſt Conſternation. Their chief care was to draw together their ſcattered Troops, and uſe their endeavours to break ſo deſtructive a League.

Venetians loſe all their State of Terra-firma

Sardi.

Piſa ſurrenders to the Florentines. Guicciard.

The misfortune befallen the *Venetians* occaſioned the loſs of *Piſa*. This City deſpairing of being relieved by *Venice*, or the King of *France*, who had deſerted her at laſt, ſurrendered to the *Florentines*, after having endured a long Siege.

Lewis XII *returns to France. Mezerai. Guicciard.*

Lewis XII having compaſſed his ends, returned into *France*, after he had detached a Body of his Troops, under the Command of *la Paliſſe* to join the Emperor, who probably, had not Men enough to ſupply his Garriſons, and to keep an army in the Field againſt the *Venetians*, who were drawing together again. Upon the King of *France*'s departure, affairs began to have a new face. The *Venetians* took *Padua* by ſurprize, and kept it ever after. Moreover they found means to ſend into *Friuli* an army which employed the greateſt part of the Emperor's Troops. In ſhort, they appeaſed the Pope by their humble Submiſſion, and obtained his poſitive promiſe to give them Abſolution, and take off the Interdict upon certain Conditions which they could not refuſe him. On the other hand, *Ferdinand*, who had not yet reaped any benefit by the League, was eaſily gained by the offer of the five Cities held by the *Venetians* in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

1509.

The Venetians retake Padua, Bembo.

and appeaſe the Pope.

Whilſt the Senate was labouring to draw off the Pope and King of *Arragon* from the League, *Maximilian* with his own and *la Paliſſe*'s Forces, laid Siege to *Padua*, but after an unſucceſsful Aſſault, raiſed it, and retired into *Germany*. At the ſame time the *French* General alſo returned to *Milan*. By which means the *Venetians* had time to breathe a little, and continue with the Pope Negotiations, which made them hope the iſſue of the war would not be ſo fatal as they had hitherto apprehended.

The Emperor beſieges Padua in vain.

The Pope's Uneaſineſs. Mezerai. Guicciard.

The Union of the King of *France* with the Emperor, made *Julius* II extremely uneaſy. He beheld the *French* King ſo firmly ſettled in the Duchy of *Milan*, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge him. On the other hand, the Emperor could not but be formidable to him, ſince he had an entrance into *Italy*, by means of *Verona* and *Vicenza*. He did not know what to think of the powerful aid lent that Prince by *Lewis* XII, to compleat the ruin of the *Venetians*, and he was not without fear, that theſe two Monarchs had made a private Treaty together to ſhare all *Italy*. Mean while, he hardly ſaw how theſe two formidable Potentates could well be withſtood. *Venice* was come to nothing. The *Florentines* were drained by the long *Piſan* War. As for the King of *Arragon* it was almoſt impoſſible to treat with him, without being liable to be deceived. He knew how to improve all the Treaties, and ſcrupled not to forſake his Allies, when it was for his Intereſt. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Pope formed the project of putting the affairs of *Italy* upon another foot, in order to execute his firſt deſigns. He reſolved therefore to agree and league with the *Venetians*; to take off *Ferdinand* from the league of *Cambray*, by inveſting him with *Naples*; to uſe his endeavours to ſet the Emperor and King of *France* at variance; to bring a *Swiſs* Army into the *Milaneſe*; in a word, to perſwade the new King of *England* to make a diverſion in *France*. Theſe were the Pope's projects, the Succeſs whereof we ſhall ſee hereafter. He began with making peace with the *Venetians*, upon three Conditions. Firſt, that they ſhould deſiſt from all their pretenſions to the Cities of *la Romagna*, lately taken from them. Secondly, that they ſhould renounce the right of placing in *Ferrara* a certain Magiſtrate called *Biſdomina*. Thirdly, that they ſhould leave the Navigation of the Gulf free to all the Subjects of the Church. In the preſent circumſtances of *Venice*, there were no other Conditions to be impoſed upon her.

He forms new Projects

He makes Peace with the Venetians. Bembo.

After ſo long a digreſſion concerning the affairs of *Italy*, which however is not uſeleſs, as will appear in the Sequel, we muſt return to the affairs of *England*.

1510. The Parliament being aſſembled the 21ſt of *January* 1510, the Commons repreſented to the King, that certain Statutes made in the former Parliaments, had given occaſion to the King his Father's Miniſters, to oppreſs the people, by putting forced Interpretations upon them, contrary to the natural meaning of the words: That therefore it was neceſſary to ſoften, or ſo explain them, as to prevent ſuch abuſes for the future (2). *Henry* readily agreed to what was propoſed by the *Commons*, not only becauſe the thing was juſt in itſelf, but chiefly becauſe it naturally led to his deſign of having *Empſon* and *Dudley* attainted by the Parliament. Though theſe Men had been already condemned by their proper Judges, the King had deferred the execution of the Sentence. He could not help having ſome ſcruple, for cauſing them to be accuſed of a Crime of which he knew them not to be guilty. Nevertheleſs he wanted to ſacrifice them to the people, without incurring the Imputation of a falſe Accuſation, and withal to vindicate his Father's memory, by intimating, that they had exceeded his orders. To recon-

The Parliament meets. Herbert. Statutes ſoftned.

Act of Attainder againſt Empſon and Dudley. Hall. Stow.

(1) Called alſo the Battle of *Rivolta*.

(2) The benefit of Forfeitures for penal Laws was alſo reduced to the Term of three years next preceding. There was likewiſe a Sumptuary Law againſt exceſs in Apparel repealed, and a more decent one ſubrogated. *Herbert*, p. 6. ----- It having been enacted in the 3d of *Henry* VII, That a Coroner ſhould have for his Fee, upon every Inquiſition taken upon view of the body ſlain and murthered, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence of the Goods and Chattels of the Murderer; ſince the enacting of which, Coroners would not perform their Office without receiving the ſaid Sum of thirteen Shillings and Four-pence; which was contrary to the common Law, and the intent of the ſame Statute of *Henry* VII. It was therefore now enacted, That upon a Requeſt made to a Coroner, to come and inquire upon the view of any Perſon ſlain, drowned, or otherwiſe dead by miſadventure, the ſaid Coroner diligently ſhall do his Office upon the view of the body of every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, without taking any thing for it, upon pain, to every Coroner that will not endeavour himſelf to do his Office, or that taketh any thing for the doing of it, for every time, to forfeit forty Shillings. *Statut.* 1 *Hen.* 8. c. 7.

1510. cile theſe two things, he ſo managed it, that the Parliament paſſed an Act of Attainder againſt them; that is, they were condemned to dye by the Authority of the King and Parliament, without any particular mention of the crimes they had incurred, or of the proofs upon which their Sentence was founded. This method, which till then had been ſeldom practiſed, was but too frequently uſed in the Sequel of this Reign; ſo dangerous is it to eſtabliſh ſuch Precedents. Mean while, *Henry* having ſtill ſome difficulty to overcome his ſcruples, delayed their execution till the following *Auguſt* (1).

New Treaty of Alliance between Lewis XII *and* Henry VIII. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 270. March 23. Du Tillet. Herbert. Stow.

Whilſt the Parliament was thus employed, *Lewis* XII, ſent Ambaſſadors to *England* to renew with the King the Treaties made with *Henry* VII. As by the Peace of *Eſtaples*, after the death of one of the two Kings of *France* or *England*, his Succeſſor was to ſignify to the Survivor, whether he would continue the Alliance, it was *Henry*'s Buſineſs to inform *Lewis* XII of his Intention. However, he had done nothing towards it. But as he was a lively young Prince, and abounding in riches, *Lewis* thought doubtleſs it would be proper to prevent him, for fear he might ingage in deſigns deſtructive of the welfare of *France*. His Ambaſſadors therefore concluded with *Henry* a new Treaty of Alliance, wherein the former Treaties were not mentioned. By this it was agreed, that the Peace between the two Kings ſhould laſt till the death of the ſhorteſt liver: That it ſhould be confirmed by the States-General of *France*, and the Parliament of *England*: That each of the two Kings ſhould take care to obtain the Pope's approbation, with a previous Sentence of Excommunication againſt the firſt Violator.

There was nothing ſaid in this new Treaty of the 745000 Crowns that *Charles* VIII had promiſed to pay to *Henry* VII, or his Succeſſors, and for which *Lewis* XII himſelf was ingaged by a ſubſequent Treaty, becauſe the Buſineſs was only to renew the Peace between the two preſent Kings. However, *Henry* forgot not to ſecure the debt, by requiring of *Lewis* Letters Patents, wherein he promiſed to pay the Arrears by means of twenty-five thouſand Livres every ſix months, till the whole was diſcharged. After which the Peace was ratified and ſworn by both the Kings.

Act. Pub. XIII p. 277 ---- 280. 287---290.

The Pope ſends Henry *a conſecrated Roſe.*

Julius II was meditating great deſigns againſt *Lewis* XII. The Succeſs of the League of *Cambray*, though he had turned it to his advantage, made him very uneaſy. He ſaw the *French* more firmly ſettled in *Italy* than ever, and *Lewis* XII better able to protect the Duke of *Ferrara*. To accompliſh his projects againſt *France*, he doubtleſs wanted aſſiſtance; and to that end, tried to excite all the States of *Europe* againſt that Kingdom, as will be ſeen preſently. So, to inſinuate himſelf into the King of *England*'s favour, he ſent him this year the *Golden Roſe*, which the Popes, after ſolemnly conſecrating it, were wont to preſent to ſome Prince (2). Probably alſo, the King of *Arragon*, in concert with the Pope, began now to take meaſures to ingage *Henry* his Son-in-law in a League againſt *France*.

Ib. p. 275. April 9. Burnet.

Ferdinand falls off from the League.

The ſucceſs of the laſt Campain made the King of *Arragon* no leſs uneaſy than the Pope. He was ſenſible, *Lewis* never loved him, nor had any reaſon to love him, and ſaw this enemy, ſince the ruin of the *Venetians*, in a condition to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of *Naples*. On the other hand, the League of *Cambray* could not procure him any further advantages, whereas the offers made him to leave it were very conſiderable. The *Venetians* agreed to reſtore him the Cities they poſſeſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Pope was willing to depart from his claim of forty thouſand crowns, and give him the inveſtiture of that Kingdom for a *Spaniſh* Genet only. This was ſufficient to induce him to break his engagements at *Cambray*. In all appearance, ever ſince the end of the laſt year, he had taken meaſures with the Pope to form a new League againſt *France*. But as he never acted openly, he deſired theſe meaſures to be kept private, in order to attack *Lewis* the more irreſiſtibly. To that purpoſe, on the 6th of *January* this year 1510, he commiſſioned *Lewis de Caroz* of *Villaragud*, his Ambaſſador at *London*, to treat with *Henry* VIII about a ſtricter Alliance than had yet been concluded between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*. 1510.

New Treaty of Alliance between Henry *and* Ferdinand. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 284.

Whether *Henry* could not ſo ſoon reſolve to conclude this new Alliance with *Ferdinand*, or was willing firſt to finiſh his affairs with *Lewis* XII, it was not till the 24th of *May* that the new Treaty was ſigned. It was only a defenſive Alliance between the two Kings, with a promiſe of mutual aid upon occaſion. But *Ferdinand*, who had his views, cauſed theſe words to be inſerted: That in caſe one of the two Kings was attacked by any Prince whatſoever, the other ſhould be obliged to proclaim and wage War againſt the aggreſſor, though he ſhould be his Ally: That if one was attacked by the King of *France*, the other ſhould be obliged to go againſt him in perſon with a powerful Army. This Treaty ſecured to *Ferdinand* the Kingdom of *Naples*, becauſe if *Lewis* XII had intended to undertake the Conqueſt, the diverſion, he would have been threatned with from *England*, would have infallibly kept him from his purpoſe. But it is hard to conceive what advantage *Henry* could reap from ſuch a Treaty, ſince it was not likely, *Lewis* deſigned to attack him; ſo that all the advantage was on *Ferdinand*'s ſide. It muſt be either that *Henry*'s Miniſters were not very clear-ſighted, or he, from a motive of generoſity for a Father-in-law, whom he did not yet ſufficiently know, was imprudently perſwaded to this proceeding, the more ſtrange, as he had lately renewed the Peace with *France*.

Remark on that Treaty.

Henry much *only his Diverſions.* Herbert. Hall.

But it muſt not be thought that *Henry* was then a compleat Politician. He was yet young, and minded his diverſions more than the publick affairs. There was nothing every day but Turnaments, Balls, Entertainments, Conſorts of Muſick, which conſumed by degrees the eighteen hundred thouſand pounds Sterling, found in the King his Father's Coffers (3). He uſed likewiſe to play at Tennis and Dice with certain ſtrangers who cheated him of his Money, which he diſcovered at laſt, and though a little too late, ſhamefully chaſed them from Court. He was ſo paſſionately fond of Muſick, that it devoured great part of his time; which, added to the hours he ſpent in his Studies and other diverſions, left him but little leiſure to apply himſelf to the affairs of the Government, the management whereof he willingly left to his Miniſters. And therefore it may be affirmed, that in matter of Policy, never Prince committed groſſer faults, or was more impoſed upon than himſelf, eſpecially in the firſt years of his Reign.

Wolſey riſes at Court.

Whilſt *Henry* was wholly addicted to his pleaſures, there was a Perſon gradually riſing at Court, who was one day to have an abſolute power over him, and to manage all his affairs as well foreign as domeſtick. I mean *Thomas Wolſey*, who was made the King's Almoner laſt year, and in the beginning of this Dean of *Lincoln* (4). It appears in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 30th of *January* the King gave him a Houſe in *London* (5) formerly *Empſon*'s, no inconſiderable preſent, ſince the Patent mentions thirteen Gardens belonging thereto. We muſt now return to the affairs of *Italy*, which will afford us farther matter for ſeveral years.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 267, 269.

The Pope's Deſigns.

Julius II had two grand deſigns in his head. The firſt was to ſeize the Duchy of *Ferrara*; the ſecond to expel the *French* and *Germans* out of *Italy*. His Forces alone not being capable to execute theſe projects, it was neceſſary to uſe the aſſiſtance of ſome other Princes, and try to ingage them in his deſigns. His ſcheme was to league with the *Venetians*; to take off *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* from the intereſts of *France*; to break the League of *Cambray*; to perſwade the King of *England* to make a diverſion in *France*; to excite the *Switzers* to invade the Duchy of *Milan*. He executed all theſe projects, but not without encountering ſuch difficulties as would have diſcouraged any Man leſs reſolute than himſelf. Firſt, he made a private League with the *Venetians*, after which, he ſolemnly gave them Abſolution the 24th of *January*. Then, he ſecretly agreed with *Ferdinand* by promiſing him the Inveſtiture of *Naples*. That done, he quarrelled with *Lewis* XII, by filling a Biſhoprick in *Provence*, with-

He abſolves and leagues with the Venetians. Ib. p. 294.

He quarrels with Lewis XII. Bembo.

(1) They were both beheaded on *Tower-hill*, *Auguſt* 17. *Hall*, fol. 8. *Dudley* had, at the time of his Death, in Lands, Fees, and Offices, to the yearly value of eight hundred Pounds; and twenty thouſand Pounds in ready Money, beſides Jewels, Plate, and rich Furniture, *&c.* During his Impriſonment in the *Tower*, he writ a Book called *Arbor Reipublicæ*, dedicated to King *Henry*. By *Elizabeth* his Wife, one of the Daughters and Coheirs of *Edward Grey* Viſcount *Liſle*, he left Iſſue three Sons and one Daughter. *Stow*, p. 487, 488. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 217.

(2) It was dipped in Chriſm and perfumed with Musk, and ſo ſent to Archbiſhop *Warham* with Inſtructions to preſent it to the King at high Maſs, with the Pope's Benediction. *Julius*'s Letter to *Warham* in *Burnet*'s Collection is dated *April.* 5. 1510.

(3) The Reader may ſee a large account of the King's Juſts, Pageants, and other coſtly devices in *Hall* and *Hollingſhead*, who have many particulars worth peruſing, by ſuch as delight in ſuch matters.

(4) *Burnet* ſays, he not only ſerved the King in all his ſecret Pleaſures, but was leud and vicious himſelf; ſo that his having the *French* Pox (which in thoſe days was a matter of great Infamy) was ſo publick, that it was brought againſt him in Parliament when he fell into diſgrace. He had alſo the Art of attaching ſo effectually thoſe to his Intereſts, in whoſe Company the King did moſt delight, that they were always ready to forward his Views. Being of a gay, facetious, and open Temper, he would divert himſelf with them in ſuch Exerciſes (ſays *Polydore Virgil*) as were moſt agreeable to the Levity and Paſſions of Youth, and which did not perfectly ſuit with the Character of a Dean in the Church. He would deſcend to ſing, laugh, rally, and even dance with them, as if for the time he had quite laid aſide that Severity of Behaviour which became his Station. *Hiſt. Ref.* Vol. I. p. 8.

(5) A Meſſuage, called the Parſonage, lying in the Pariſh of St. *Bride*'s in *Fleet-ſtreet*; which *Empſon* held by Leaſe from the Abbot and Convent of *Weſtminſter*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 269. The King gave him alſo in *February* the next year, a Prebend of *Windſor*. *Ibid.* p. 293.

out

1510. out asking his conſent, contrary to his own promiſe. *Lewis* complained of it; the Pope denied he had promiſed any ſuch thing; and in ſhort, they came at laſt to give one another the lie in form. This was preciſely what the Pope wanted, in order to have occaſion to break with him.

and with the Duke of Ferrara. Sardi. Mezerai.

His League with the *Venetians* being publickly known, he imperiouſly commanded the Duke of *Ferrara* to renounce the League of *Cambray*, and join his Arms with thoſe of the Church. The Duke not believing, his being Vaſſal to the Holy See obliged him to be thus blindly devoted to the Pope's humours, refuſed to break his Alliance with *France*, and ſo gave his Holineſs the pretence he had long been ſeeking. When the Duke offered to pay him the Tribute due to the Church for the Fief of *Ferrara*, the Pope refuſed it, plainly intimating by that refuſal, he intended to confiſcate the Duchy.

Ferdinand *acts underhand to gain* Henry. Herbert.

Mean while, *Ferdinand* was privately acting with *Henry* VIII his Son-in-law, to draw him into the Pope's intereſt, which was become his own, in conſequence of the Projects they had formed in common. But his practices were ſo ſecret, that *Lewis* XII never miſtruſted him. On the contrary, he entirely confided in the aſſurances given him by his Ambaſſador, that his deſign was to continue firmly attached to the League of *Cambray*.

The Pope ſets the Switzers *at variance with* France. Guicciard. Mezerai.

On the other hand, *Julius* II gained the Biſhop of *Sion* (1), who having great credit among the *Switzers* found means to ſet them at variance with *France*, by perſuading them to demand an augmentation of their penſions. Their Alliance with that Crown being about to expire, they required to renew it, that their penſions might be increaſed. *Lewis* refuſing it, the Biſhop of *Sion* effectually uſed that refuſal to ſtir them up againſt *France*, to which the King himſelf alſo contributed by making an Alliance with the *Griſons*. He thereby ſo provoked the *Switzers*, that in a Diet at *Lucern* they declared for the Pope, and reſolved to ſend an Army into the Duchy of *Milan*.

He tries to reconcile the Venetians *to the Emperor.* Guicciard. Mezerai.

In fine, the Pope forgot nothing that he thought capable of perſuading the *Venetians* to agree with the Emperor at any rate, even to the adviſing them to deliver him *Treviſo* and *Padua*. He intimated to them, that the moſt effectual means to drive the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, was to diſengage the Emperor from their intereſts; and when once they were out of *Italy*, it would be eaſy to wreſt from the Emperor not only *Treviſo* and *Padua*, but all his other Conqueſts too. But the *Venetians* durſt not run ſuch a hazard.

Lewis XII *begins to ſuſpect the Pope.* Mezerai. Guicciard.

Such were the vaſt projects of the Pope. He was ſo private in his Negotiations, that *Lewis* XII imagining he had no other deſign than to ſeize *Ferrara*, contented himſelf with ordering *Chaumont*, Governor of *Milan*, to aid the Duke in caſe he was attacked. But ſhortly after, a *Venetian* Fleet, and *Papal* Army commanded by *Fabricius Colonna* attempting, though unſucceſsfully, to ſurprize *Genoa*, *Lewis* had but too much reaſon to ſuſpect, there was ſome grand deſign formed againſt him; and therefore, ſent *Chaumont* orders to have an eye to the Pope's proceedings.

Julius II *is like to be ſurprized at* Bologna.

Theſe orders came to *Milan* very ſeaſonably. *Julius* II really intended to beſiege *Ferrara*, and for that purpoſe was come to *Bologna*, till an Army, prepared on ſome pretence by *Raymond* of *Cardona* at *Naples* was ready to join his and the *Venetian* Troops. But *Chaumont* did not allow him time to execute his projects. Hearing the Pope was arrived at *Bologna*, he departed from *Milan* at the head of an Army, and made ſuch ſpeed that he would have ſurprized the Pope there, had he not ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with parleys. Whilſt he was treating with the Pope's Envoys, ſome *Venetian* Troops in the Neighbourhood entering the City, ſecured it from the danger of being inſulted. Whereupon *Chaumont*, being wholly unprepared for ſo important a Siege was obliged to retire.

He excommunicates the French *Generals, and tries to ſurprize* Genoa. Bizarro. Mezerai.

Julius II made great noiſe at this inſult of the *French*, and filled all *Europe*, and particularly the Court of *England*, with his clamours. He excommunicated all the Generals of the *French* Army, and preſently after, his and the *Venetian* Gallies made a ſecond attempt upon *Genoa*, but with no better ſucceſs than before.

The Switzers *cannot enter the* Milaneſe.

At the ſame time, twelve thouſand *Switzers* began their march in order to enter the *Milaneſe*, under the conduct of the Biſhop of *Sion*. But he found the paſſages ſo well guarded, that they deſpaired of ſucceeding in their deſign. So, not receiving beſides from the Pope the Money promiſed them, they returned into their own Country.

Lewis XII *joins in a League with the Emperor.*

War being thus proclaimed between *Lewis* XII and the Pope, *Lewis* thought himſelf under no farther reſtraint. He had done his utmoſt to be reconciled with him, even to the offering to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*. But the Pope, depending upon *Ferdinand*, and expecting great aſſiſtance from *England*, had evaded all his propoſals. Wherefore, to ſtop the fury of this impetuous old Man, *Lewis* made a new League with the Emperor, promiſing to put him in poſſeſſion of all *Italy*, except *Genoa* and *Florence*. *Maximilian* had the good fortune, that in all his Leagues he had ever great advantages, though he contributed the leaſt. On this occaſion, *Lewis* XII could hardly proceed without him, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary to continue the War in the State of *Venice*, otherwiſe the *Venetians* would have been able to give the Pope too great an aſſiſtance. The League being concluded at *Blois* in *Auguſt*, *Lewis* called a Synod at *Tours*, to conſult how he ought to behave to the Pope. The Synod were of opinion, that the King ſhould once more offer the Pope a reaſonable agreement; and in caſe of refuſal, might with a ſafe conſcience wage even an offenſive War with him. *Lewis* wanted no more to juſtify his intended proceedings. Preſently after, he concluded with *Maximilian* a new Treaty, whereby they agreed to cauſe a General Council to be ſummoned to *Piſa*, to depoſe *Julius* II. To that end, they gained nine Cardinals, who readily undertook to call the Council in their own name. Some of theſe Cardinals were now with the Pope, but found means to leave him under divers pretences; and, when he would have recalled them, refuſed to obey.

1510.

He calls a Synod, which allows his going to war with the Pope. Mezerai.

Treaty with Maximilian *to ſummon a Council at* Piſa. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Such was the ſituation of the affairs of *Italy* during the year 1510. I have ſaid nothing of the events of the War which continued all this while between the Emperor, aſſiſted by the *French* King, and the *Venetians*, becauſe theſe particulars are of little ſervice to this Hiſtory. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that *Chaumont* ſeeing *Genoa* and *Milan* in danger, had withdrawn the *French* Troops from the Emperor's Army to keep them at *Milan*. The departure of theſe Troops gave the *Venetians* ſome reſpite, who thereby were enabled to repair ſome loſſes ſuſtained in the beginning of the Campain, and to aſſiſt the Pope who ſtill deſigned to beſiege *Ferrara*.

Chaumont retires to Milan.

Chaumont's attempt to ſurprize the Pope in *Bologna*, afforded *Raymond* of *Cardona*, Viceroy of *Naples*, a pretence to march to the relief of his Holineſs. The Pope's Troops and the *Venetians* were, in *December*, joined by the *Spaniſh* Army near *Modena*, which *Fabricius Colonna* had taken in his return from his *Genoa* expedition. Though the ſeaſon was not very proper to enter upon action, the Pope was abſolutely bent to beſiege *Mirandola*. This Town belonged to the Heirs of *Joannes Picus* of *Miranda*, with whom he had no quarrel. But as it lay convenient to favour the Siege of *Ferrara*, he would not leave it in his rear, but ordered it to be vigorouſly attacked. In ſpite of his age, and the rigour of the Seaſon, he came himſelf to the Siege, to animate the Troops by his preſence; and the Town ſurrendring at laſt on the 20th of *January*, was pleaſed to enter through the breach.

The Pope's Forces and Spaniards *join.*

Siege of Mirandola. Guicciard.

Lewis XII complained to *Ferdinand* of his aſſiſting the Pope. But *Ferdinand* calling that a trifle, replied, that as Vaſſal of the Holy See he could not help defending his Holineſs's Perſon and State: That beſides, he was not concerned in the quarrels of the Pope and the King of *France*, but his intention was to keep to the Articles of the League of *Cambray*.

Hitherto *Henry* does not ſeem to be concerned with the affairs of *Italy*, though the Pope, *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians* had formed a deſign to ingage him therein. He peaceably led a life of pleaſure, without much regarding what paſſed abroad. On the 1ſt of *January* 1511, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his Queen delivered of a Prince, at whoſe birth there was great rejoicing over all the Kingdom. But the joy laſted not long, ſince the young Prince died before the end of *February* (2).

1513.

Birth of a Prince; Herbert. *and his Death.* Hall. Stow.

Mean while, *Ferdinand* was ſeeking means to engage *Henry* in the League he intended to make with the Pope againſt *France*. *Henry* was rich and powerful, and conſequently his junction to the League would be of great weight, and extremely incommode *France*. On the other hand, his youth and ſmall experience made his Father-in-law hope, it would not be impracticable to ingage him by degrees, and inſenſibly, into projects which a King of *England* ought not to concern himſelf with. It is certain, *Ferdinand* was now in agreement with the Pope. All his proceedings, and the ſeveral circumſtances of Hiſtory, render it ſo evident that it cannot be doubted. However, he uſed a profound diſſimulation in this reſpect. He feigned to intend only the peace of *Europe*, that all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* might join together in

Deſigns of Ferdinand.

(1) Or *Valais*, lying betwixt *Switzerland*, the *Milaneſe*, the Valley of *Aoſt* and *Savoy*.

(2) He was born at *Richmond*, and chriſtened *Henry*. He was preſented to the King by his Queen as a New-year's Gift, but died this ſame year, on *February* 22, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*. *Herbert*, p. 7. *Hall*, fol. 11.

1511. a War againſt the *Infidels*. But as he wanted an Army and Fleet to execute his deſigns, he pretended to have very much at heart the continuance of the War he had undertaken againſt the *Moors*. He had ſent laſt year upon the Coaſts of *Africa*, a Fleet commanded by *Peter* of *Navarre*. Shortly after, he reinforced it with ſome Troops under the conduct of a Son of the Duke of *Alva*, who attempting to land at *Gelves*, was ſlain, and all his Men cut in pieces. *Ferdinand* made uſe of this ill ſucceſs to cover his preparations againſt *France*. Under colour of being revenged on the *Moors*, he aſſembled an Army, and equipped a Fleet, which he pretended to ſend into *Africa*, but was however deſigned for *Italy*. As it was not yet time to diſcover his intentions, he carried his diſſimulation ſo far, as to demand of the King his Son-in-law a thouſand *Engliſh* Archers to ſerve in this pretended expedition. Weak aid! to be ſent for ſo far and at ſo great charge, if he had really intended to uſe them. *Henry*, not perceiving his deſigns, readily complied with his requeſt, and appointed Sir *Thomas Darcy*, on whom, at the ſame time, he conferred the title of Baron (1), to command that ſmall body (2). We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Ferdinand*'s Letter of thanks to *Henry* (3) for this aid, and for his advice not to hazard his Perſon in the undertaking: Advice, continued he, that he could not follow, becauſe Religion was concerned. And yet, it ſoon appeared, he had never intended any ſuch thing, ſince he employed againſt *France* the very Forces which ſeemed to be deſigned againſt the *Moors* (4).

He demands aid of Henry for his pretended War with the Moors. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 294. March 8.

Ib. p. 297. June. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

They try to get Henry into the League againſt France.

Nothing more was wanting to conclude the projected League againſt *Lewis* XII, but to gain the King of *England*. This was ſtrenuouſly endeavoured during the beginning of the Year 1511. The *Venetians* ſent him an Ambaſſador, under colour of thanking him for his care to reconcile them to the Pope, deſiring him withal, in their Credentials dated the 2d of *March*, to give credit to what their Ambaſſador ſhould impart to him, which could relate only to the intended League. About the ſame time it was, that the Pope conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *Chriſtopher Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York*, and Ambaſſador at *Rome*, in a Promotion the 11th of *March* at *Ravenna*. All the Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, *Bambridge* was made Cardinal, purely for labouring to ſet *Henry* at variance with *France*. *Matthew Skinner* Biſhop of *Sion*, was promoted to the ſame honour for his paſt and future Services of the like nature. In thoſe days, it was neither Learning nor Virtue that raiſed Clergymen to the Cardinalate, but ſolely their Abilities in temporal Affairs, joined to an entire Submiſſion to the Pope.

Bambridge made Cardinal. Herbert.

Henry engages with the Allies.

The endeavours that were uſed to engage *Henry* in the *Italian* League, had at length the expected Succeſs. In all appearance, it was repreſented to him, that he was highly concerned to oppoſe the progreſs of the King of *France*, who was already become too powerful by the Conqueſt of the Duchy of *Milan*, and the ruin of the *Venetians*. However this be, it appears that about the middle of the year, *Henry* was now determined to follow the Suggeſtions of the Pope and *Ferdinand*. For in *June* he appointed Commiſſioners, to take care that the Militia of the Kingdom were provided with good Arms, and ready to ſerve upon the firſt notice, which it was cuſtomary to order only when a war was foreſeen. The reaſon alledged by the King for theſe orders, plainly ſhew what was his deſign. He ſaid, though the Kingdom was in perfect Tranquillity, nevertheleſs, as the Arms were commonly ſuffered to ruſt in time of Peace, he wiſhed that his Subjects would be in a readineſs to ſerve him, as well againſt Invaſions, if any were intended, as in defence of his Allies. Theſe laſt words could reſpect only the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*; from whence it may be inferred, that the King had now given his word. But the Sequel will ſhew it ſtill more clearly.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 300.

He guards againſt Scotland.

The antient and ſtrict Union between *France* and *Scotland*, gave *Henry* juſt cauſe to fear, that as ſoon as the war with *France* was begun, the King of *Scotland*, as Ally of *Lewis* XII, would interpoſe in the quarrel. And therefore, to remove all pretence of rupture, he took care to appoint Commiſſioners (5) with power, to repair all the outrages committed ſince the late Peace. But his precautions proved ineffectual. An accident this year, afforded the King of *Scotland* afterwards that pretence of Breach which *Henry* would have prevented. 1511. Ib. p. 301.

Andrew Breton, a *Scotch* Merchant, complaining to the King of *Scotland*, that the *Portugueſe* had killed his Father, and ſeized his Ship, the King gave him Letters of Mart, after having in vain ſought redreſs from the Court of *Portugal*. Whereupon, *Breton* equipped two ſtout Ships, and found means to make himſelf ample amends for his loſſes, by falling upon all the *Portugal* Ships trading to *Flanders* and *England*. The *Portugal* Ambaſſador reſiding at *London*, complained to the Council, and repreſented, that ſince the King of *England* pretended to the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, it was but reaſonable he ſhould protect the foreign Ships that came into the Channel. Upon this Complaint, the King equipped two large Men of War, and appointed the two Sons of the Earl of *Surrey* (6) to command them, with orders to take the *Scotch* Pyrate. Theſe two Lords watched him ſo narrowly, that they met with him at laſt, as he was returning from *Flanders* to *Scotland*. *Breton* fought deſperately, but was killed in the fight, and his two Ships taken and brought into *England* (7). The King of *Scotland* hearing of this, ſent and demanded the two Ships, with ſpeedy reparation of the outrage committed againſt the Peace. The Ambaſſadors were told, that Pyrates were not included in the Peace, and that to puniſh ſuch people according to their deſerts was no breach of Treaty. Probably, *Breton* had made himſelf more than amends for the damage he had ſuſtained, as it too frequently happens on ſuch occaſions. But however King *James* not being able to obtain any thing from the Court of *England*, proteſted againſt the Injuſtice, being determined to reſent it the firſt opportunity.

Cauſe of Quarrel between England and Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Hollingſh.

The Pope rejects the French King's offers. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

I left *Julius* II, after the taking of *Mirandola*, bent upon the Siege of *Ferrara*, and only waiting the return of good Weather. Though *Lewis* XII was in good meaſure ignorant of what paſſed in *Spain* and *England*, he knew however enough not to doubt that the Pope was endeavouring to raiſe him enemies on all ſides. He was even ſatisfied, that though he ſeemed to have no other deſign than to become maſter of *Ferrara*, yet that was only the firſt Step to ſome greater project. Mean while, he was very much embarraſſed. He had properly nothing to gain upon the Pope, unleſs he would ſeize the Church's Patrimony. But he had a great deal to loſe, beſides the troubles which the obſtinate and haughty Temper of the Pope might create him. Wherefore he reſolved to try all poſſible ways to be reconciled with him. To that end, whilſt the Pope was employed in the Siege of *Mirandola*, he made him ſome overtures by *Chaumont*; but it was to no purpoſe. The Pope would hearken to nothing, and continued the Siege till he forced the Town to capitulate. At laſt, *Lewis* ſeeing there was no hopes of a reconciliation, ordered *Chaumont* to regard him no longer, and at any rate ſupport the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Chaumont* receiving theſe orders, takes the Field in the midſt of winter. His army, joined by the Duke of *Ferrara*, was not ſo numerous as the Forces of the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*; but compoſed of ſo good Troops, that the Allies durſt never hazard a Battle, though it was offered them more than once. Mean while, the Pope was greatly embarraſſed. Inſtead of quietly preparing for the Siege of *Ferrara*, he was forced to keep the Field during the winter, without knowing even how to ſave *Modena*, which was in danger of a Siege. *Ferdinand*, who foreſaw what trouble that place would give the Pope, had adviſed him to reſign it to the Emperor. Nay, that affair had been negotiated, but without Succeſs, becauſe *Maximilian* would receive it only as a place held of the Empire, to which the Pope would not conſent. At laſt, upon *Chaumont*'s approach to beſiege it, the Pope was willing to deliver it as the Emperor deſired, becauſe it was not to be ſaved without venturing a Battle. The Terms of this bargain are not preciſely known.

Lewis reſolves to regard the Pope no longer. Sardi.

Julius II gives up Modena to the Emperor. Guicciard. Mezerai.

(1) He was Captain of the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick*. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 294. ——— *Dugdale* ſays, the Title of Baron, which had ceaſed (6 *Hen.* V.) in the Daughters and Heirs of *Philip* Lord *Darcy*, was revived to this Sir *Thomas* by writ of Summons to Parliament. (1 *Hen.* VIII.) *Baron.* Vol. I. p. 374.

(2) There went over with him the Lord *Anthony Grey*, Brother of the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*; *Henry Guildford*, *Weſton*, *Brown*, *William Sydney*, Eſquires; Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Roger Haſtings*, Sir *Ralph Elderkare*, &c. They embarked at *Plymouth* about the middle of *May*, and landed at *Cadiz*, *June* 1, *Hall*, fol. 11, 12. Sir *Henry Guildford*, and ——— *Weſton*, and ——— *Brown*, Knights, were knighted by King *Ferdinand*, who gave Sir *H. Guildford* a Canton of *Granada*, and ——— *Weſton*, and ——— *Brown*, an Eagle of *Sicily*, for the augmentation of their Arms. This Body of Troops returned to *England* about *Auguſt*. *Idem*, fol. 13. *Stow*, p. 488.

(3) By this Letter, (writ in a moſt religious Strain) it appears that all our Hiſtorians, and *Dugdale* himſelf, is miſtaken in the number of the Archers ſent into *Spain*, *Ferdinand*'s Letter calling them a thouſand, whereas they are ſaid to be in our Hiſtories fifteen hundred. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 297.

(4) King *Henry* ſent alſo, in *July* this year, fifteen hundred Men into *Flanders*, under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, to aſſiſt the Duke of *Burgundy* againſt the Duke of *Gueldres*. *Ibid.* p. 302. *Hall*, fol. 13, 14.

(5) Sir *Thomas Dacre*, and Sir *Robert Drury*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 301.

(6) *Thomas* and *Edward*, which laſt was Lord Admiral. *Herbert*, p. 7. *Hall*, fol. 15.

(7) Though he was grievouſly wounded, he encouraged his Men, with his whiſtle, even to his laſt breath. The King pardoned the Men, and ſent them out of the Kingdom. *Herbert*, ibid.

But

1511. But from thenceforward all the Emperor's proceedings gave occaſion to ſuſpect, *Modena* was acquired upon Conditions very prejudicial to the King of *France* his Ally.

Ferdinand's Diſſimulation

The King of *Arragon* pretended to be in Alliance with *France*. He would not declare againſt her till he had ſecured the King of *England*, with whom he was privately negotiating a Treaty which required a long diſcuſſion. Indeed, his Troops which were to ſerve the Pope but three months, according to the terms of the Inveſtiture of *Naples*, were ſtill joined with thoſe of the Allies. But he pretended, the Viceroy of *Naples* acted contrary to his orders, in remaining in the Pope's army longer than he was commanded. Mean while, the Army was preſſed by *Chaumont* and the Duke of *Ferrara*, who followed them cloſe, and endeavoured to provoke them to a Battle. So, to gain time, *Ferdinand*, who would ſtill paſs for a neutral Prince, and well affected to the repoſe of *Italy*, propoſed a Congreſs at *Mantua* for a Peace. The Pope immediately accepted the overture. The Emperor agreed to it likewiſe, and *Lewis* XII durſt not reject it, leſt he ſhould be charged with being the ſole Author of the troubles of *Italy*. It is certain, if, at this juncture, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by a Negotiation, the ſole aim whereof was to rob him of the opportunity of puſhing his enemies, he had ordered his Troops to advance, he would have over-run the whole Eccleſiaſtical State; with ſo great a Terror had his arms inſpired the Allies. But he had to manage his Subjects as well as his Queen, who conſidered a war with the head of the Church as a Crime, though there was but too much provocation. He had himſelf likewiſe ſcruples upon that account, which he could not eaſily ſurmount. But however, he was willing to try once more, whether the propoſed Congreſs of *Mantua* would produce ſome good effect. He hoped at leaſt, that the breaking off the Negotiation, in caſe it was not ſucceſsful, would fully juſtify him. The Congreſs produced the effect expected by the Allies, that is, it cauſed the *French* to loſe a great deal of time to no purpoſe.

Congreſs of Mantua *ineffectual.* Guicciard.

The Emperor ſides privately with the Pope. Guicciard.

A few days before the Congreſs of *Mantua*, the Biſhop of *Gurck*, who was to be there from the Emperor, had a Conference at *Bologna* with the Pope, after which they pretended to part in great diſcontent. But what followed plainly ſhewed the contrary, ſince the Emperor never after did any thing agreeable to his Alliance with *Lewis* XII. He conſented however, that the Council of *Piſa* ſhould be called in his name, and the Summons ſet up at *Modena*, and ſeveral other places belonging to him, becauſe it was not yet time to declare himſelf. The Summons ran, That *Julius* II having refuſed to call a Council, purſuant to the Decree of *Conſtance*, the Cardinals were empowered by the ſame Decree to ſummon a Council in their own name. And therefore with the conſent of the Emperor and the King of *France*, they ordered the Council to meet on the 1ſt of *September*, in the City of *Piſa*, to endeavour the Reformation of the Church, in the Head and Members.

A Council ſummoned to Piſa *in the Emperor's and* French *King's Name.*

Lewis ſuſpects the Emperor and King of Arragon.

The Biſhop of *Gurck*'s Conference with the Pope, and the breaking up of the Congreſs of *Mantua*, made the King of *France* greatly ſuſpect the Emperor. On the other hand, he could not help fearing the King of *Arragon*, knowing by experience what was to be expected from him. He ſaw him making great preparations under colour of the *African* War, and knew withal, that notwithſtanding his daily aſſurances that he would not concern himſelf with the troubles of *Italy*, he was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. That is, properly ſpeaking, he was labouring to diſengage *Maximilian* from the Intereſt of *France*. In ſhort, *Ferdinand* ſent him brotherly Admonitions to make his Peace with the Pope, and not draw on himſelf the juſt reproach of waging an unnatural war with the common Father of Chriſtians. *Lewis* could not but conſider theſe Remonſtrances as a ſort of Proteſtation to aſſiſt the Pope in caſe of need. At the ſame time, he could not believe he would ingage in ſuch an undertaking without being ſecure of the Emperor. Theſe things made him uneaſy, and apprehenſive that he ſhould at laſt be the dupe of the Pope, the Emperor, and *Ferdinand*. So, for fear of being prevented, he gave expreſs orders to *Triulzi*, who commanded his army in the room of *Chaumont* lately deceaſed, to take all the advantages of the Allies that lay in his power.

He orders Triulzi *to puſh the War vigorouſly.* Guicciard. Mezerai.

Triulzi upon this order aſſaulted and took *Concordia* in the beginning of *May*, at the time the calling of the Council of *Piſa* was every where poſted up. Then he endeavoured by ſeveral marches to oblige the Allies to a Battle, without being able to ſucceed. At laſt, he reſolved to approach *Bologna*; not that he believed himſelf in condition to beſiege the City, but to draw the Allies from their advantagious Poſts, and give the *Bolonnois* opportunity to riſe in favour of the *Bentivoglio's* whom he brought with him. The Pope had now done his utmoſt to perſuade the Generals of the Allies to hazard a Battle, without being able to prevail, ſo much did they dread ingaging with the *French*. Wherefore, knowing how the army ſtood diſpoſed, and diſtruſting the *Bolonnois*, who loved him not, he retired to *Ravenna*, leaving in *Bologna* the Cardinal of *Pavia* his prime Miniſter. He was no ſooner gone, but a Tumult aroſe in the City, during which the Inhabitants called in their old maſters the *Bentivoglio's*, and put them in poſſeſſion of the Government. The Cardinal of *Pavia* had taken to flight the moment he perceived their reſolution. On the other hand, the army of the Allies advancing to one of the gates of *Bologna*, and hearing the *Bentivoglio's* were admitted, and the Legate withdrawn, ran away in confuſion, leaving in the Camp their Artillery, Baggage, and Ammunition. Whereupon the Inhabitants ſallying out, and joining with the Peaſants, completely ſtripped the ſcattered army, and rendered it entirely unſerviceable for ſeveral months. The Duke of *Ferrara* improving this opportunity, very eaſily recovered the places lately taken from him by the Allies.

1511.

The Army of the Allies takes to flight of their own accord.

The Cardinal of Pavia *ſtabbed by the Duke of* Urbino. Guicciard.

Amidſt all theſe mortifications, the Pope ſtill met with another which ſenſibly touched him. The Cardinal of *Pavia* was ſtabbed by the Duke of *Urbino*, who taxed him with being the cauſe of the loſs of *Bologna*. The Pope's concern was the greater as he durſt not puniſh, in the perſon of his Nephew, a Crime he would have thought worthy of the ſevereſt treatment, had it been committed by any other hand. His army being diſperſed, and his deſigns upon *Ferrara* vaniſhed, he quitted *Ravenna* and retired to *Rome*. In his way, he had the frequent mortification to ſee the Papers poſted up for the calling of the Council of *Piſa*, wherein he was himſelf ſummoned to appear in perſon.

The Pope retires to Rome.

Lewis orders his army to retire to Milan. Guicciard.

It was univerſally expected that *Lewis* XII would purſue his Succeſſes, and certainly in the then ſituation of *Italy*, it was his own fault that he was not maſter of *Rome*. The Pope had no remedy ſpeedy enough to free himſelf from his ſad condition. The King of *Arragon* was too remote. The *Venetians* were unable to lend him a ſufficient aſſiſtance, and the Emperor was not powerful enough to ſave him, had he been willing to attempt it. *Genoa*, *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Milan*, were in the hands of his enemies. But *Lewis*, either through ſcruple, or ſome other motive, inſtead of puſhing his point, ordered *Triulzi* to retire to *Milan* with the army, and even disband part of the Troops. Probably, he was willing to deprive the Pope of the pretence of exciting all *Chriſtendom* againſt him, and publiſhing, that he intended to ſeize *Rome* and all *Italy*. He was very juſtly apprehenſive of this from the Pope, ſince it was in effect the foundation, or rather the pretence of the League formed ſome months after againſt *France*. *Triulzi* was no ſooner at *Milan*, but *Ferdinand*'s Fleet arrived at *Naples*, with about three thouſand Men, who were ſoon to be followed by a more conſiderable Body.

Julius II *offers to agree with* Lewis XII.

It was not difficult to perceive, that the King of *Arragon* had ſent his Fleet to *Naples* to ſupport the Pope's Intereſts, and give jealouſy to the King of *France*. *Julius* II, who was better informed than any man, revived at the news, and the rather, as he well judged that *Ferdinand* would not have been altogether aſſured of the King of *England*. Since the loſs of *Bologna*, and the rout of his army, he had ſeemed willing to conſent to an agreement with *France*, and though he had made overtures more like a Conqueror than one conquered, *Lewis* had accepted them on condition they were approved by the Emperor. But when the Pope found, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was at *Naples*, and *Ferdinand* began to declare himſelf, he added new Terms to thoſe he had already propoſed, and plainly ſhewed he was no longer for Peace. This Conduct put *Lewis* XII beyond all patience. So, deſpairing to agree with ſo obſtinate an enemy, he ordered *Triulzi* to ſend Supplies to *Bentivoglio* to guard *Bologna*, and ſome time after, took *Bologna* and the *Bentivoglio's* under his protection. On the other hand, though he was not obliged to aſſiſt the Emperor, unleſs he came into *Italy* in perſon, he added however to the *German* Troops in the State of *Venice* a ſtrong re-inforcement commanded by *la Paliſſe*. Mean while, the Pope having certain advice of the good Inclination of the Kings of *Arragon* and *England* in his favour, reſolved to ſummon a General Council in oppoſition to that of *Piſa*. To that end, he publiſhed a Bull, wherein, having firſt excuſed the neglect the Schiſmatic Cardinals laid to his charge, and inveighed againſt their Inſolence, he called a Council to be held at the *Lateran* in *Rome*, the 19th of *April* 1512.

He falls out again.

Lewis *takes* Bologna *under his Protection.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 303. June 30.

He aids the Emperor.

The Pope calls a Council at the Lateran *Church.* Guicciard.

Since the Biſhop of *Gurck*'s Conference with the Pope *Maximilian*'s Conduct was ſo doubtful, that it was difficult to judge certainly of it. He had agreed to the calling of the Council of *Piſa*, which was done with his expreſs conſent.

Doubtful Behaviour of the Emperor.

He takes up Modena *in the Emperor's.* Guicciard. Mezerai.

He approaches Bologna.

1511. consent. But he had not yet appointed Ambaſſadors, neither was it known that any *German* Biſhop was preparing to go thither. Moreover, he had promiſed to command in perſon in *Italy*, and lead thither a ſtrong reinforcement. But he remained immoveable. And yet, he continued at *Inſpruck*, without ſhewing any thoughts either of the Council of *Piſa*, or the War with *Italy*. Mean while, the Conqueſts that were expected to be made upon the *Venetians* were to be all his. Thus, in the preſent poſture of the affairs of *Italy*, *Lewis* XII ſaw the burden of the war laid upon him alone, without his daring almoſt to complain to the Emperor, for fear he ſhould join with his enemies. And indeed, *Maximilian* was ſtrongly ſollicited by the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians* themſelves, who offered him a good Sum to induce him to deſiſt from his pretenſions to their Dominions. Very probably, he was yet unreſolved, and knowing the League that was forming againſt *France*, was willing, according to Cuſtom, to let the two Parties proceed, in order to take afterwards that Side which beſt ſuited with his Intereſt. This doubtleſs was the reaſon of his preſerving a good underſtanding with *Lewis* XII, in conſenting to the calling of the Council of *Piſa*, and withal, of reſerving a means to be reconciled to the Pope, in ſending neither Biſhops nor Ambaſſadors to the Council. Thus remaining almoſt equally ſuſpected by both Parties, he waited till the Succeſs of the War, or the offers from both Sides, ſhould engage him to declare for one or other.

Uncertainty of the affairs of Italy.

Mean while, affairs continued ſtill in the ſame ſituation. The Pope and the *Venetians* were alone in open War with *France*. The Emperor ſeemed to float between both ſides. The King of *Arragon* had hitherto done nothing more than afforded hopes that he would join the League when concluded. But it was not ſo yet, every one fearing to engage in it unſeaſonably. *Julius* II and *Ferdinand* knew one another too well to confide in each other. Each ſtrove to make the other ſubſervient to his deſigns, and was afraid at the ſame time of being deceived. *Ferdinand* had ſtill in *France* an Ambaſſador, who endeavoured to perſuade the King, that the preparations in *Spain* concerned only the *Moors*. On the other hand, the Pope had not ſo quarrelled with *Lewis* XII, but that he had ſtill left him ſome hopes, and continued a ſort of Negotiation with him, by means of the Biſhop of *Murray* the *Scotch* Ambaſſador, who did the office of mediator. *Ferdinand* was afraid, in caſe the Pope made a ſeparate Peace with *France*, the Kingdom of *Naples* would be in danger. The Pope had no leſs reaſon to fear, that to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* would forſake the intereſts of the Church, and leave him expoſed to the mercy of the King of *France*. In that caſe, the Pope would have nothing to expect from *England*. Thus, affairs were come to that paſs, that it was neceſſary, either that each ſhould quickly make a ſeparate Treaty, or both jointly declare themſelves, not to remain in this ſtate of uncertainty. And therefore, *Ferdinand* began at laſt to pull off the mask a little more, by ſending to *Naples*, the Troops he pretended to deſign for *Africa*, in order to hinder the Pope from thinking of a ſeparate agreement with *France*.

Guicciard.

Ferdinand ſends an Army to Naples.

Opening of the Council of Piſa. Guicciard.

Whilſt the Pope and the King of *Arragon* were thus ſounding each other, the Cardinals, who had ſummoned the Council to *Piſa* and were come to *Milan*, thought fit to open it by Commiſſioners. But this was only for form's ſake, to keep to the day appointed. Never was General Council ſo thin. The Biſhops of *France* were not yet arrived, and there was no likelihood of any from *Germany*. The Pope was enraged when he heard the Council was opened at *Piſa*. In his paſſion with the *Florentines*, for ſuffering the Council to meet in one of their Towns, he excommunicated them as well as the *Piſans*, and put both the Cities under an Interdict. But the *Florentines* forced the Prieſts to celebrate Divine Service, leaving to private Perſons the liberty to obſerve or reject the Interdict.

The Pope puts Piſa *and* Florence *under an Interdict.* Guicciard. *The* Florentines *make a Jeſt of it.*

Henry *promiſes to enter into the League.* Herbert. Pol. Virg.

It was difficult for *Julius* II and *Ferdinand*, to continue long in their preſent ſituation, without cauſing mutual ſuſpicions, capable of changing the face of affairs. The reaſon which had hitherto with-held *Ferdinand*, namely, his uncertainty with reſpect to the King of *England*, was now vaniſhed. *Henry*, after long ſuſpenſe, had at laſt poſitively promiſed to enter into the League againſt *France*. Whereupon the Negotiation of the League advanced more in one month than in a whole year before. It was a conſtant rule with *Ferdinand*, to cover all his deſigns with the cloke of Religion, little caring, that after the execution, his artifices were diſcovered. The Fleet and Army he had prepared in *Spain*, had for pretence, a War with the *Infidels*. When he was going to declare openly againſt *France*, he failed not to uſe the pretence of protecting the Church againſt the outrages of *Lewis*. As ſoon as he had gained the King of *England*, they jointly ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lewis*, to require him to leave the Pope unmoleſted, intimating, that as Chriſtian Princes they could not diſpenſe with protecting the Church, diſturbed by his ambition. *Lewis* ſaw plainly, that their meaſures being now taken, it would be too late to juſtify his conduct; and therefore, choſe to return a haughty anſwer, which was preciſely what his enemies wanted. 1511.

Henry's *and* Ferdinand's *Embaſſy to* Lewis XII.

Shortly after, on the 4th of *October*, the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians* concluded a League at *Rome*, leaving a place for the King of *England*, who had ſhewn his deſire to be included. Indeed, Cardinal *Bambridge* was concerned in the Negotiation as Ambaſſador of *England*. But he was ordered not to ſign the Treaty, becauſe *Henry* expected to make a private one, more agreeable to the intereſts of *England* than that which concerned *Italy* only. By this Treaty the Pope promiſed to find for the ſervice of the League ſix hundred Men at Arms, five hundred Light Horſe, ſix thouſand Foot(1), and twenty thouſand Ducats a month. The *Venetians* were to furniſh eight hundred Men at Arms, a thouſand Light Horſe, eight thouſand Foot, and to pay monthly twenty thouſand Ducats. *Ferdinand* was to provide twelve hundred Men at Arms, a thouſand Light Horſe, ten thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Ducats a month. It is true, neither the King of *France*, nor the Duke of *Ferrara*, were named in the Treaty as enemies of the Allies. But it was eaſy to perceive it, ſince the intent of the League was to reſtore to the Pope the City of *Bologna*, and whatever belonged to the Holy See, and to make War upon all Perſons that ſhould offer to hinder it. A place was left for the Emperor in caſe he would enter into it; and *Raymond* of *Cardona*, Viceroy of *Naples*, was declared General of the League.

League againſt France *concluded at* Rome. Guicciard.

Articles of the League. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 747. Guicciard.

Whilſt the World was in expectation of the effect of this League, the Council of *Piſa* was ſolemnly opened in that City, by the Cardinals who had convened it, and ſome Biſhops of *France* and *Milan*. The firſt Seſſion was held the 4th of *November*, though the Pope had excommunicated the Cardinals, and deprived them of their dignity. The ſecond was held the 11th of the ſame month. But becauſe there was a commotion that day in the City, the Cardinals and Biſhops were ſo terrified, that on the morrow they removed the Council to *Milan*, where they expected to be more out of danger. Indeed, the Inhabitants of *Piſa* could not look with a good eye upon a Council, which expoſed them to an excommunication and interdict, though it was not in their power to oppoſe the orders of the *Florentines* their Sovereigns.

A more ſolemn opening of the Council of Piſa. Guicciard.

The Council removes to Milan.

I obſerved that the *Switzers* were at variance with *Lewis* XII, by the practices of the Cardinal of *Sion*, or rather of the Pope himſelf, who ſet him to work. Their firſt attempt to enter the *Milaneſe* proving unſucceſsful, they reſolved this year to levy ſixteen thouſand Men, the Cardinal of *Sion* having poſitively promiſed them Money at their entrance into *Italy*, and that the Army of the Allies would employ the *French* in *la Romagna*. As this levy could not be ready till the beginning of the Winter, they began their march in *November*, and penetrated as far as *Vareſe*. *Gaſton de Foix*, Nephew of *Lewis* XII, Governor of *Milan*, was ſo deſtitute of Troops, that he knew not how to oppoſe their paſſage. However, with the few Men he had, he took the Field, to annoy them and obſtruct their march. But it was not poſſible for him to hinder them from coming to the very Gates of *Milan*. The *French* had now begun to furniſh the Caſtle with Ammunition in order to quit the City, when ſuddenly the *Switzers* hearing no news of the Pope, nor the Army of the Allies which they thought to be aſſembled in *la Romagna*, retired to their own Country, after burning ſome Villages. If the Pope had not diſappointed them of the Money he had promiſed them, and if the Army of the Allies had acted in *la Romagna*, *Milan*, *Bologna*, and *Ferrara*, would have been in great danger, ſince the *French* were at that time very weak in thoſe parts. *La Paliſſe* was then in the Emperor's Army with a large detachment of the King's beſt Troops.

The Switzers *march into the* Milaneſe. Guicciard.

They retire ſuddenly.

Nothing could be more advantagious to *England*, than to ſee the Forces of *France* turned againſt *Italy*. The Conqueſt of the Duchy of *Milan* was leſs beneficial to

Falſe Policy of Henry VIII *to meddle with the Affairs of* Italy.

(1) In the Treaty, as it ſtands in *Rymer*, it is only ſaid, that the Pope was to furniſh ſix hundred Men at Arms, without any mention of Light-Horſe and Foot: Neither is the number of Troops that was to be ſent by the *Venetians* ſpecified, but it is ſaid, they were to find a Fleet ſtrong enough to beat the Enemy's: And on the day of the Publication of the League, the Pope and the *Venetians* were to pay eighty thouſand Ducats of Gold for two months wages for their Forces. *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 307. See *Guicciardin*, l. 10.

Lewis

1511. *Lewis* XII than to *England*. For it procured *England* a ſettled Tranquillity, whereas it expoſed *France* to perpetual troubles, and an immenſe expence. It was therefore policy in *Henry* to ſuffer the *French*, *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards* to battle it in *Italy*, without involving himſelf in a War which could never procure him any advantage. To the time I am ſpeaking of, the Kings of *England* had taken care not to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, if we except *Henry* III, who being unfortunately deſirous of making his ſecond Son King of *Sicily*, ruined his own Kingdom to execute that extravagant project. But he was not a Prince to be imitated by his Succeſſors. The advantages of this policy were ſo manifeſt to all the *Engliſh*, that it required no leſs than a *Ferdinand*, the ableſt and moſt ſubtle Prince of his age, to make them ſwerve from it.

This Prince had joined with the Pope ever ſince the beginning of the year 1510, or perhaps the end of the foregoing, and yet had been near two years without declaring himſelf. This delay proceeded only from his deſire to ſecure *England* firſt, that *Henry* might make a diverſion in *France*, which would oblige *Lewis* XII to neglect the affairs of *Italy*. This diverſion muſt have been advantageous to the King of *Arragon*, ſince it would remove from *Italy*, or at leaſt, weaken, a very formidable rival. But it is hard to conceive wherein it could be ſerviceable to *England*. On the contrary, there ſeemed to be ſeveral very ſtrong reaſons to divert *Henry* from ſuch a deſign, without mentioning the Peace he had lately renewed with *France*, and confirmed by a ſolemn Oath. This probably was the cauſe of his ſo long deferring the concluſion of the League I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. Indeed it was not poſſible, but that ſome of the King's Council were clear-ſighted enough to ſee that this League was no ways advantageous to *England*, what colour ſoever was given thereto.

The Pope excommunicates all the Adherents of the Council of Piſa.

Whilſt this Negotiation languiſhed in *England*, new occurrences put *Ferdinand* upon taking freſh meaſures, and contriving all ſorts of ways to ſucceed with *Henry*. *Lewis* XII perſiſted in his deſign to hold the Council of *Piſa*, as was ſaid, and that cauſed *Julius* II to convene another at the *Lateran*, and excommunicate by the ſame Bull all Princes and others who adhered to the firſt. Among theſe Princes, was *John d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, who being allied to *Lewis* XII, blindly followed the directions of the Court of *France*. The King of *Navarre* had no ſooner declared for the Council of *Piſa*, but *Ferdinand* upon that pretence, formed the deſign to ſeize his whole Kingdom, and make *Henry* his Son-in-law the inſtrument to execute it. To that end he gave *Henry* to underſtand, that a fair opportunity offered to recover *Guienne*, taken by *France* from one of his predeceſſors, ſince the League that was going to be concluded in *Italy* would find *Lewis* XII ſo much employment, that probably, he would not be able to defend his own Country. But as the diſtance of *Guienne* might deter *Henry* from attempting this Conqueſt, *Ferdinand*, out of affection, very willingly promiſed to ſupply him with Troops, Tranſport-Ships, Artillery, Proviſions, Ammunition, without ſtipulating any thing for himſelf, but the ſole pleaſure of procuring his Son-in-law ſo great an advantage. This offer opened the eyes of *Henry* and his Council (1). The acquiſition of *Guienne* ſeemed to them a thing ſo advantageous, and withal, ſo glorious in the beginning of this Reign, that the King, without any farther difficulty, entered into the League propoſed by the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*. Such was the real motive (2) that induced the Court of *England* to break the Peace lately renewed with *France*, without alledging other reaſon than the protection granted by *Lewis* to the *Bentivoglio's*, and the calling of the unlawful aſſembly of *Piſa*. As if *England* was concerned to help the Pope to *Bologna*, and oppoſe with Arms a Council, conſiſting of a ſcore of *French* Biſhops, without power and credit even in the very place where they were aſſembled. We ſhall ſee preſently, how *Henry* was the Dupe of his affectionate Father-in-law, and how *Ferdinand* politickly made uſe of him to ſerve his own ends, without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble about his Son-in-law's affairs.

The King of Navarre is of the number.

Ferdinand deſigns to ſeize Navarre.

He makes a cautious Propoſal to Henry.

Henry reſolves upon carrying war into Guienne. Herbert. Hall.

When *Ferdinand* had gained *Henry*, he concluded at *Rome*, with the Pope and the *Venetians*, the fore-mentioned League. In this Treaty of *Rome*, it was expreſly ſaid, that all the Articles were negotiated and ſettled with the King of *England*'s knowledge, the Cardinal of *York* acting for him, and daily expecting orders to ſign it; but that for certain reaſons the concluſion of it could be no longer delayed. 1511.

League between Henry and Ferdinand for the Conqueſt of Guienne. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 311. Nov. 17.

About ſix weeks after, *Henry* and *Ferdinand* concluded at *London*, a private League for the Conqueſt of *Guienne* (3). This was a conſequence of the firſt, on the ſuppoſition that the depriving the King of *France* of that Province was a good means to ſerve and protect the Church of God, the great and principal aim of the Allies. If ever God's holy name was openly and ſhamefully taken in vain, it is in the preambles of theſe two Treaties. In the firſt, the Pope proteſted that his ſole aim in deſiring *Bologna*, and the other States which belonged to the Church, was to reſtore *Italy* to her former Tranquillity, that all Chriſtians might join their Forces againſt the *Infidels*, as he had ever wiſhed, and ſtill did wiſh with all his heart. Thus, to make War upon the *Infidels*, it was neceſſary that *Italy* ſhould be free from troubles, which could not be hoped till the Pope had executed his ambitious projects, without which *Italy* was not to expect to enjoy any quiet.

False Motives of the League of Rome.

Articles of the League of London between Henry and Ferdinand.

In the ſecond Treaty, *Henry* and *Ferdinand* ſet forth, "That they had made Alliances with all Chriſtian Princes, ſolely to be enabled to wage War with the enemies of Chriſt; and for that purpoſe, were now imployed in preparing powerful Armies by Land and Sea; but that ſuddenly, when they leaſt expected it, they were told, the King of *France*'s Troops were beſieging *Bologna*, where the Pope, old and infirm, lay ſeized with a grievous diſtemper, and attended by all his Cardinals: That being extremely afflicted at this news, they had beſought the King of *France* by Letters and Ambaſſadors, to give over his deſign: That the Pope had offered him the pardon of all his Sins, provided only he would abſtain from the patrimony of the Church, ceaſe to inflame the Schiſm, and adhere to the Council of *Lateran*: But that all this had been to no purpoſe. On the contrary, he had made himſelf maſter of *Bologna*, by the treachery of ſome of the Inhabitants; twice routed the Army of the Holy Church of *Rome*, and in contempt of the Holy See, called a Council, after having bribed ſome of the Cardinals. That ſince, the Pope had ſent a Legate to him to demand only that he would forbear to attack the Church. That the Legate not prevailing, the two Kings of *England* and *Spain* had ſent Ambaſſadors to adviſe him amicably to deſiſt from his attempts, and be reconciled with the Pope, or elſe they could do no leſs than undertake the protection of the Church; but that their advice had been ſlighted. That upon all theſe conſiderations, the two Kings perfectly knowing how detrimental ſuch an ambition might prove to the Catholick Faith, the Church of God, and the welfare of *Chriſtendom*, had thought proper to agree upon the following Articles, to the praiſe and glory of Almighty God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the whole triumphant Court of Heaven, for the defence, exaltation, increaſe of the Catholick Faith, the Chriſtian Religion, the Holy *Roman* Church, which was unjuſtly oppreſſed, and upon the frequent inſtances, exhortations, and admonitions of the Pope, the head thereof." The ſubſtance of this pious Treaty was as follows:

I. The two Kings took upon them the defence and protection of the Holy *Roman* Church, againſt all Perſons that ſhould attack her (4).

II. *Ferdinand*, as Catholick King, and to diſcharge his duty to God and the Church, promiſed to take Arms in her defence in *Italy*.

In the IIId Article it was ſaid, that the Pope and the ſacred College of Cardinals had judged, that in order to deliver the Church from the oppreſſion ſhe groaned under, it was neceſſary to wage War upon the King of *France*, not only in *Italy*, but in ſuch of his Provinces alſo as bordered upon the two Allies. And therefore it was agreed, that they ſhould carry their Arms into *Guienne*, and conquer that Province for the Crown of *England*, and that *Henry*, in aſſiſting the Church, might at the ſame time recover what belonged to him. To that purpoſe, as ſoon as *Ferdinand* ſhould have actually declared againſt the Kingdom of *France*, and taken arms in defence of the Church, *Henry*, at a proper ſeaſon, ſhould proclaim war againſt the ſame Prince in defence of the ſame Church.

(1) The Lord *Herbert* ſays, ſome of the Council who more ſeriouſly weighed the Buſineſs, were againſt a War with *France*, and more particularly for a Reaſon which *England* ſhould never forget. *Let us therefore* (ſays one of the Council) *leave off our attempts againſt the* Terra firma. *The natural Situation of Iſlands ſeems not to ſort with Conqueſts in that kind.* England *alone is a juſt Empire: Or when we would enlarge our ſelves, let it be that way we can, and to which it ſeems the eternal Providence hath deſtined us*; *and* that is by SEA. *Herbert*, p. 8.

(2) Another Inducement to *Henry* was the Pope's Promiſe to take away the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian* from the King of *France*, and confer it on him. *Ibid.*

(3) The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewſbury*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 312.

(4) ——Contra omnes illam Invadentes ſeu Oppugnantes. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 313.

1511. To perform this Article, *Henry* promiſed to ſend into *Guienne* ſome time in *April* 1512, a body of ſix thouſand Foot (1) commanded by a good General; to maintain them at his own expence, and not recall them without the conſent of the King of *Arragon*. *Ferdinand* bound himſelf, on his part, to find five hundred Men at Arms, fifteen hundred Light-Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, on the ſame terms. Moreover, he ingaged to furniſh the *Engliſh* Troops with proviſions and ammunition at a moderate price. It was farther agreed, that each of the two Kings ſhould ſend a Fleet to Sea with three thouſand good Soldiers, for ſix months, beſides the Mariners, and that neither ſhould recall his Fleet without the other's conſent.

IV. That *Ferdinand* ſhould find forty Ships, at a reaſonable rate, to tranſport the *Engliſh* Forces.

V. That in caſe the Allies ſhould take any places in *Guienne and elſewhere*, they ſhould be delivered to him of the two Kings, who had a *prior* title to the ſame.

VI. That if either of the two Kings ſhould be attacked out of *Guienne*, they ſhould jointly take care of the defence of the Country of him who wanted aſſiſtance, ſincerely and with all their power.

VII. That the two Kings conſidering that the Pope had called at *Rome* a Council, which all Chriſtian Princes ought to obey, and ſend Ambaſſadors to, and it was affirmed that the King of *France* perſiſted in his deſign to continue the Council ſummoned to *Piſa*, they agreed to adhere to whatever ſhould be decreed by the Council of *Lateran*, and oppoſe that of *Piſa*, with all its Favorers and Adherents.

VIII. That neither of the two Kings ſhould make Peace or Truce without a mutual conſent.

IX. That by this, the former Treaties ſhould not be deemed void, but, on the contrary, remain in full force.

X. That it ſhould be ratified within four months, by *Henry*, and *Ferdinand*, in his own and the name of Queen *Jane* his Daughter.

Imprudence of Henry and his Council.

Henry and his Council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantagious Treaty, ſince it was to procure them the Duchy of *Guienne*, and *Ferdinand* demanded nothing for himſelf, as if he had acted purely from a motive of Religion, and out of affection to his Son-in-law, though, in reality, he had conſulted only his own intereſt. As for the Pope's affairs, about which both Kings ſeemed to be ſo greatly concerned, it may be affirmed, they did not ſo much as think of them, as it afterwards appeared. But they wanted that pretence to dazzle the publick, though, in all appearance, the world was not ſo blind, as to imagine that two great Kings ſhould take arms on purpoſe to diſſolve a Council which called itſelf General, compoſed of a ſmall number of Biſhops, of one Nation only, and ſo little regarded, that even at *Milan*, where it was removed, the Government was forced to make uſe of their whole Authority to procure its reception.

Lewis's Suſpicions of the Emperor. Guicciard.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Emperor gave the King of *France* ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect his Sincerity, that neceſſity only obliged him to feign any further confidence in him. There was no *German* Biſhop come to the Council; and when the Emperor was preſſed upon that ſubject, he replied, It was neceſſary firſt to have the approbation of the Diet of the Empire, which he did not doubt of obtaining: That though he ſhould ſend Biſhops from his hereditary Dominions to *Piſa*, it would be more prejudicial than advantagious to the Council, ſince it would give occaſion to imagine, he deſpaired to obtain the Diet's conſent. On the other hand, inſtead of commanding in perſon his Army in the ſtate of *Venice*, as he had promiſed, he left all to the *French* Troops, who were come to his aid. In ſhort, whilſt he liſtened to the offers of the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*, he told the *French* Ambaſſador, he was ready to march to *Rome* at the head of an Army, provided his maſter would ſend him a ſtrong Re-inforcement, and a ſum of Money, proportionable to the greatneſs of the Undertaking. Amidſt theſe uncertainties, *Lewis* knew not what to truſt to. He could look upon *Maximilian* but as an ally ready to 1511. abandon him, if he found it more for his intereſt to join with his enemies. In that caſe, all the Emperor's conqueſts upon the *Venetians* would be ſo many loſſes to *France*. Mean while, the Supplies he lent him were very expenſive, and yet, he durſt not afford him a pretence to change ſides. Thus *Lewis* ſaw himſelf upon the point of being attacked by all the forces of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*, without any hope of aſſiſtance from the Emperor. As for *England*, though he was yet ignorant of the Treaty of *London*, and *Henry*'s Ambaſſador poſitively denied that his Maſter intended to be concerned, all *Henry*'s Proceedings were plain indications that he would ſoon declare againſt him. *Lewis ſuſpects Henry.*

The King of Arragon's Army joins the Pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

Mean while, the Pope, who had ever in view the taking of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, was very preſſing with the Viceroy of *Naples* to advance with his Troops, and take the command of the confederate Army. But notwithſtanding all his ſollicitations, the Junction could not be till the middle of *December*, and even then, the *Naples* Artillery not being yet arrived, the Army could be only employed in ſome trifling Expeditions in *la Romagna*, with which ended the year 1511. It is time now to return to the affairs of *England*.

Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Though *Henry* had not yet proclaimed war with *France*, *Lewis* XII knew what he was to expect. He had good intelligence by means of one *Buonviſo* a Merchant of *Lucca*, who being a Bankrupt, was retired into *England*, where he had obtained ſo much favour from the Pope as to be made a kind of Agent (2). This Man being corrupted by *France*, diſcovered to *Lewis* the ſecrets, the Pope was ſometimes forced to truſt him with; and hence it was that the Court of *France* was informed of many things which the *Engliſh* would have concealed from them. It was probably by this means that the King of *France* had the firſt notice of the League concluded at *London*, though it was made a great Secret. But ſhortly after, he had no more occaſion for ſpies to know *Henry*'s Intentions. *Lewis has notice of the League of London.*

1512. The Parliament being met the fourth of *February* (3), the King communicated his deſign of making War upon *France*. He proteſted, his ſole aim was to free the Pope from the King of *France*'s oppreſſion, and eſpecially to cauſe the Schiſmatical Council of *Piſa*, now removed to *Milan*, to be diſſolved. Though this War undertaken, as the King himſelf affirmed, ſolely to oblige the Pope, was little agreeable to the intereſt of *England*, the Parliament however gave the King a large Subſidy (4). In all appearance, the leading Members of the Houſe of Commons being informed of the true reaſons, ſo ordered it, that the reſt came into their opinion. Otherwiſe, it would have been difficult to make them perceive the neceſſity of *England*'s ingaging in a War with *France*, to reſtore *Bologna* to the Pope, and diſſolve a Council ſo inconſiderable as that of *Piſa*. Before the Parliament broke up, the King was pleaſed to reſtore *John Dudley*, Son of *Edmund Dudley*, to the rank and honours his Family had been deprived of by the Father's Attainder. From that time, he had always an affection for him, and at length, towards the end of his Reign, made him Lord Admiral of *England*. *Henry acquaints the Parliament with his deſign, and obtains an Aid of Money.* Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. *John Dudley Son of Edmund Dudley reſtored.* Herbert.

The War *Henry* intended to undertake againſt *France*, having for pretence the diſſolving of the Council of *Piſa*, he could not diſpenſe with acknowledging that of *Lateran*, and ſending thither Ambaſſadors. He made choice of *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with Sir *Robert Wingfield*, and commiſſioned them to agree in his name to whatever ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the reformation of the Church, as well in the Head as in the Members. This Clauſe was only to caſt a miſt before People's eyes, ſince nothing certainly was farther from the Pope's thoughts, than to endeavour in this Council, either his own or the Church's reformation. *Henry ſends Ambaſſadors to the Council of Lateran.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 325. February 9. Herbert.

The Marquiſs of Dorſet leads an Army into Spain. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 329. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

The Time being come to execute the projects agreed by *Henry* and *Ferdinand* in the Treaty of *London*, *Henry* gave the command of his Fleet to Sir *Edward Howard* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey* (5), and of his Army, which was to act on Land, to *Thomas Grey* Marquiſs of *Dorſet* (6). All the Troops that were to ſerve

(1) By an additional Article, dated *March* 16, it was agreed, That *Henry* ſhould ſend five hundred Men more; and *Ferdinand* find in all two thouſand Men at Arms, and three thouſand Light Horſe. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 324.

(2) His Collector and Proctor in *England*, ſays *Hall*, fol. 16.

(3) *Hall* ſays, it met *January* 15. fol. 16; and *Hollingſhead*, the 25th, p. 812.

(4) Two Fifteenths from the Commons, and two Tenths from the Clergy. *Hall*, fol. 16. *Stow*, p. 490——The moſt remarkable Statutes enacted in this Parliament were theſe: 1. That every Captain ſhall have his whole and perfect number of Men and Soldiers, and give them their full Wages, upon pain of Impriſonment, and forfeiting all his Goods and Chattels. 2. That no Cloth ſhall be exported out of the Realm, till it is barbed, rowed, and ſhorn, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame. 3. Several ignorant Pretenders and Quacks having taken upon them to practiſe Phyſick, it was now ordained, That no Perſon ſhould take upon him to exerciſe the Profeſſion of a Phyſician and Surgeon, unleſs he is firſt examined and approved by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe where he reſides, or his Vicar-General, upon pain of forfeiting ſix Pounds a month. See *Statut.*

(5) The King, by an Indenture dated *April* 8, granted Sir *Edward* the following allowance. For his own Maintenance, Diet, Wages, and Rewards, ten Shillings a day. For each of the Captains, for their Diet, Wages, and Rewards, Eighteen-pence a day. For every Soldier, Mariner, and Gunner, five Shillings a month for his Wages, and five Shillings for his Victuals, reckoning twenty eight days in the month. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 327.

(6) He was accompanied by his three Brothers, *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*; and by the Lords *Brooke*, *Willoughby*, *Ferrers*, the Baron of *Burford*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *William Sandes*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 17.

in

1512. in the *Guienne* expedition, being embarked about the end of *May* (1), in *Spaniſh* Veſſels, arrived the 8th of *June* at *Paſſage*, in the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, where the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* landed thoſe he was to command. The Lord *Herbert* ſays, theſe Troops conſiſted of ten thouſand Men, but probably, he included in that number the three thouſand that were to ſerve at Sea according to the Treaty (2).

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

The Admiral having convoyed the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* to *Spain*, put to Sea again, and arriving on the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, landed ſome Troops, and plundered the Country (3). *Henry* hearing, the King of *France* was preparing a great naval Armament, ſent a reinforcement (4) to his Admiral, which enabled him to make head againſt the *French*. The two Fleets meeting the 10th of *Auguſt*, came to a furious engagement, which ended in great loſs on both ſides. The Regent, a firſt rate Ship (5), and the *Cordeliere*, commanded by *Primauget* (6), being grappled, were both blown up, with loſs of all their Men. This accident happened by the deſperate courage of *Primauget*, who finding he could not ſave his Ship, ſet fire to the powder (7).

Ferdinand's *private deſign to conquer* Navarre.

The Treaty of League concluded at *London*, ſeemed to be made only to pave the way for *Henry* to the Conqueſt of *Guienne*. But *Ferdinand* had never any ſuch thought. His ſole aim was to conquer *Navarre* for himſelf, and employ to that end the *Engliſh* Troops he had ſent for into *Spain*. But as it was by no means proper to inform *Henry* of ſuch a project, he had been obliged to allure him with the hopes of recovering *Guienne*, in order to induce him to ſend his Troops. This is the true reaſon why *Ferdinand* ſhewed in the Treaty ſo much diſintereſtedneſs, that all the advantage ſeemed to be on the ſide of *England*. But the performance was very far from anſwering the engagement.

His many Artifices to compaſs his ends. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Marquiſs of *Dorſet* being arrived in *Guipuſcoa*, found a Commiſſioner of the King, who paid him great reſpect, and told him, the Duke *d'Alva* was taking the Field, in order to join him. And indeed, the Duke immediately put himſelf at the head of the *Spaniſh* Army. But inſtead of joining the *Engliſh* who were encamped near *Fontarabia* with deſign to beſiege with him the City of *Bayonne*, as was reſolved, he kept at *Logrogno* on the borders of *Navarre*. He intimated to the *Engliſh* General, that the King of *Navarre* being in Alliance with *France*, it would be very dangerous to attack *Bayonne* with *Navarre* behind them: That whilſt they ſhould be employed in the Siege, the King of *Navarre* might introduce the *French* into his Dominions, join with them, and by encamping between the Mountains of *Navarre* and the Sea, cut off the Proviſions which ſhould be brought to the Camp before *Bayonne*, without being obliged to give Battle, if he thought proper: That therefore it was neceſſary, before they engaged in the Siege, to try to gain the King of *Navarre* to the Intereſts of their maſters.

Theſe reaſons were ſo plauſible, that the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* was eaſily perſuaded to ſend an *Engliſh* Officer to the King of *Navarre*, to require him to join with the Allies. *Ferdinand* ſummoned him likewiſe, but more haughtily, to forſake the King of *France*, and come into the League (8). The King of *Navarre* replied, he was reſolved to ſtand neutral. But the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, jointly preſſed him to declare himſelf, or deliver four of his Towns for their Security, which that Prince would not grant. During theſe Negotiations, a *French* Army commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, approached the Frontiers of *Bearn*. Whereupon the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* complained to *Ferdinand*, that the time loſt in ſolliciting the King of *Navarre*, had ſerved only to give the *French* opportunity to come and defend their Borders, and withal preſſed him to declare, whether he would attack *Guienne*, purſuant to the Treaty of *London*. *Ferdinand* anſwered, Prudence would not ſuffer him to ſend his army to *Fontarabia* to beſiege *Bayonne*, and leave his Dominions expoſed to the Invaſions of the *French* and *Navarrois*: That it was much more convenient to paſs through *Navarre*, and ſecure three or four places, in order to hinder his enemies from making uſe of that Kingdom againſt him: That therefore he wiſhed the *Engliſh* would join the Duke of *Alva*, and his army ſhould make the Vanguard; to be expoſed to the firſt dangers: That however the Siege of *Bayonne* would not be retarded, becauſe there was no queſtion, the King of *Navarre* would be glad to be ſomething preſſed, in order to juſtify himſelf to the King of *France*, when he ſhould enter into the League. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, who did not yet ſee into his deſigns, having held a Council of War, replied, That by his Inſtructions he could undertake nothing againſt the King of *Navarre*; but if the Duke of *Alva* would paſs thro' that Kingdom, he might if he pleaſed; but for his part, being already near *Bayonne*, he could not think of taking ſo great a compaſs to join him. 1512.

The Duke of Alva *beſieges* Pampeluna. Guicciard. Hall. Herbert.

Ferdinand was not content with this anſwer. He ſtrongly inſiſted upon what he had propoſed, that the *Engliſh* Troops ſhould come and join his army, and in the mean while, gave orders to the Duke of *Alva* to beſiege *Pampeluna*, Metropolis of *Navarre*. During the Siege, he continually amuſed the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* with poſitive promiſes, that immediately after the taking of *Pampeluna*, the Duke of *Alva* ſhould join him to beſiege *Bayonne*. Mean while, the King of *Navarre* being unable to defend himſelf, was retired into *France*, where he made a Treaty with *Lewis* XII, for their common defence. But it coſt him the Town of *Salvatierra*, and all *Bearn*, which he was forced to deliver to the *French*.

The King of Navarre *retires to* France.

Pampeluna having ſurrendered by capitulation the 25th of *July*, *Ferdinand*, according to his promiſe, ſhould have ordered the Duke of *Alva* to join the *Engliſh*. But the reſt of the fortified Towns in *Navarre* ſerved him for pretence to delay the Junction. So the Duke of *Alva* continued his Conqueſts, whilſt the *Engliſh* Troops, tho' without ſtirring from their Camp, ſerved as a countenance to his deſigns. And indeed, though the *French*, who daily received freſh Supplies, ſaw themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to withſtand the Duke of *Alva*, they never dared to enter *Navarre*, for fear of coming between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*. Wherefore, being contented to remain encamped between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, they gave the Duke of *Alva* all the leiſure he wanted to ſubdue almoſt all *Navarre*.

Pampeluna *taken.*

Ferdinand *goes on with his artifices.*

The Duke of Alva *over-runs* Navarre.

The Marquiſs of Dorſet *perceives* Ferdinand's *Artifices.* Ferdinand *gets an Order for the Marquiſs to obey him.* Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Then it was that the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* plainly perceived the King of *Arragon* acted with inſincerity, and that his deſign from the very firſt was not to invade *Guienne*, but conquer *Navarre*. *Ferdinand* was very ſenſible, his Artifice would at laſt be diſcovered. So, to prevent the complaints the *Engliſh* General might make to the King his maſter, he ſends an Expreſs to *England*, to give *Henry* an account, after his manner, of the affairs of that Country, and to deſire him to order his General to act in concert with him. *Henry*, who had received nothing to the contrary from the Marquiſs, readily ſent *Windſor* Herald with the deſired orders to the General.

He has a mind to attack Bearn. Herbert.

Whilſt the Herald was on his journey, the Duke of *Alva* became maſter of St. *Juan de Pie del Puerto*. Preſently after the taking of that place, *Ferdinand* acquainted the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, that his army was ready to march into *Guienne*, and deſired him to join the Duke of *Alva* without delay. But the Marquiſs was no longer willing to be deceived. He knew, the *French* army was intrenched between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, with the River *Bidaſſoa* in Front, which muſt be paſſed within view, and beſides *Bayonne* was ſo well provided, that there was no likelihood of beſieging it. What *Ferdinand* therefore propoſed was impracticable, and only a continuation of his Artifices. From St. *Juan de Pie del Puerto*, the right-hand Road led into *Bearn*, and the left to *Bayonne*, ſo the Duke of *Alva*'s intent was to engage the *Engliſh* to enter *Bearn* with him, under colour there was no other way to draw the enemies from their advantagious Poſt, or at leaſt, to beſiege *Salvatierra*. But the *Engliſh* General having no orders to make War upon the King of *Navarre*, either in *Bearn* or elſewhere, refuſed to join the *Spaniards*. *Ferdinand* reaped this advantage from his refuſal, that he caſt the whole blame upon him, of their not invading *Guienne* according to the Treaty. After that, the Duke of *Alva* turning back, laid Siege to *Eſtella*, the only place that remained to the King of *Navarre*.

The Marquiſs refuſes to help him.

He prepares to return to England. Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

The Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, full of Indignation at theſe proceedings, and conſidering that his army was daily weakned by Sickneſs and want of Proviſions, which were grown ſcarce ſince the war in *Navarre*, deſired *Ferdi-*

(1) The ſixteenth. *Hall*, fol. 17.

(2) He ſays farther, that it appears by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, that there were among them five thouſand Archers, who carried, beſides their Bows, Halberts, which they pitched in the Ground till their Arrows were ſhot, and then took up again to do execution on the Enemy. An excellent part (ſays he) of military Diſcipline, and yet not remarked by our *Engliſh* Chronicles. p. 9.

(3) About *Conquet* and *Breſt*. *Hall*, fol. 20.

(4) Of twenty five Ships which the King came and view'd at *Portſmouth*. *Idem*. fol. 21.

(5) Commanded by Sir *Thomas Knevet* Maſter of the King's Horſe. The other Captains of note were, Sir *John Carew*, Sir *Charles Brandon*, Sir *Henry Guildford*. This Engagement happened in *Auguſt*. *Ibid.*

(6) Barbarouſly called by our Chronicles, Sir *Piers Morgan*, ſays my Lord *Herbert*, p. 11. In this Sea-Fight the *Engliſh* had forty-five, and the *French* thirty-nine Ships. *Hall* and *Hollingſhead* give a large Deſcription of the Battle. fol. 21, 22. p. 815.

(7) Upon the loſs of the Regent, the King built a Ship the greateſt ever known before, and called it Henry *grace de Dieu*. *Hall*, fol. 22. Tho' *Buchanan* and *Leſle* ſay, he imitated *James* IV King of *Scotland* in one he had made, but built it ſo, that they could not make it ſteer. *Herbert*, p. 11.

(8) It was called the *Holy League*. *Herbert*, p. 9.

1512. *nand* to furniſh him with Ships for his return. It was with great difficulty that he obtained his requeſt, *Ferdinand* ſtill proteſting againſt his departure, as directly contrary to the Treaty. Mean while, he was not ſorry for it, ſince the *Engliſh* were almoſt become uſeleſs, after the Conqueſt of *Navarre*. In the mean while, the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* falling ſick, the Lord *Thomas Howard* took the Command of the army. At the ſame time, as the Troops were going to embark, the Herald arrived from *England*, with poſitive orders to the General, to obey the Commands of King *Ferdinand* (1). But the army mutinying it was impoſſile to detain the Soldiers any longer in *Spain*, and the Embarkation being made, they arrived in *England* in *November* (2). *Henry* was at firſt very angry with his General; but being informed of all particulars during the Campain, plainly ſaw, *Ferdinand* had deceived him, and that his affected diſintereſtedneſs in the Treaty of League, was only to draw him more eaſily into the Snare. He thought proper however to diſſemble, for fear of giving *Ferdinand* a pretence to join with *France*, and leave him in ſtraits.

He arrives in England.

Henry *perceives he had been impoſed upon.*

Before the year was expired, *Ferdinand* ſaw himſelf in full poſſeſſion of *Navarre*, though the King of *France* had uſed ſome endeavours to wreſt that Conqueſt out of his hands. In *December*, the King of *Navarre*, and *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* beſieged *Pampeluna*; but not being able to take the place, were forced to abandon the reſt of the Kingdom to the *Spaniards*. After *Ferdinand* was in poſſeſſion of *Navarre*, he ſought pretences to keep it, but found no better than a Bull of Pope *Julius* II, who excommunicated *John d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, and gave his Kingdom in prey to the Conqueror. *Mezerai* affirms, this Bull never appeared; but the Lord *Herbert* ſays, it was dated *March* 1. 1512.

Ferdinand *keeps* Navarre.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Bembo.

We muſt now ſee what paſſed in *Italy* whilſt *Ferdinand* was conquering *Navarre*. The confederate army of the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*, under the command of the Viceroy of *Naples*, taking the Field in *December*, the Pope cauſed the Viceroy to be continually preſſed by Cardinal *John de Medici*, his Legate, to beſiege *Bologna*. At length, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Viceroy, and the *Venetian* General, who foreſaw great difficulties in the execution of that deſign, the Pope's Inſtances were to be complied with, and the Siege of *Bologna* being reſolved, the army of the Allies (3) appeared before the City. But *Gaſton de Foix* Duke of *Nemours*, and Governor of *Milan*, coming to its relief, compelled the Allies to raiſe the Siege. Some days after, he defeated a *Venetian* Army at *Breſcia*, and ſlew eight thouſand Men. At laſt, on the 11th of *April*, finding means to give the Allies battle near *Ravenna*, he put them to rout, and took the Legate priſoner; but was himſelf ſlain after the Battle, in too warmly purſuing a body of *Spaniards*, who were retreating in good order. After that Prince's death, *la Paliſſe* took the Command of the army, and the next day became maſter of *Ravenna*. Whereupon all the Towns of *la Romagna*, taken by the Pope after the Battle of *Agnadel*, voluntarily ſurrendered to the Cardinal of St. *Severin*, who was in the *French* Army as Legate of the Council of *Piſa*, transferred to *Milan*.

Siege of Bologna *raiſed by* Gaſton de Foix. Bembo.

He routs the Allies, but is killed himſelf.

La Paliſſe *is Maſter of all* la Romagna. Guicciard.

The Conſternation at *Rome* was ſo great, that the Cardinals went in a Body to petition the Pope to make Peace with *France*. But *Julius* II had reſſources unknown perhaps to the Cardinals. So, all they could obtain was to engage him to make ſome feigned advances, in order to gain time, and hinder the *French* from marching to *Rome*, as they might eaſily have done, without fear of meeting any obſtacle

The Pope tries to gain time.

Whilſt *Lewis*'s affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt flouriſhing condition, they were in reality going to decay. The *Switzers*, encouraged by the Cardinal of *Sion*, preparing to exert their utmoſt to invade the Duchy of *Milan*, *la Paliſſe* thought it more proper for his Maſter's Intereſt, to relieve that Country which was deſtitute of Troops, than make Conqueſts in the Eccleſiaſtical State. So, leaving the Cardinal of St. *Severin* in *la Romagna*, with five or ſix thouſand Men, he haſtily marched into *Milan*. The retreat of the *French*, when it lay in their power to march to *Rome*, inſpired *Julius* II with freſh Courage. From thenceforward he would no more hear of Peace, though *Lewis* XII offered him the ſame Terms as before his Victory. At this Juncture it was that the Council of *Lateran* was opened the 3d of *May*, which had been delayed by reaſon of the battle of *Ravenna*.

Lewis's *Affairs decline.* *The* Switzers *march to* Milan. La Paliſſe *relieves it.* Guicciard.

The Pope refuſes a Peace. Opening of the Council of Lateran.

All hope of Peace vaniſhing, the Pope excommunicated *Lewis* XII, and put *France* under an Interdict (4). He

Lewis XII *is excommunicated.* Bembo. Guicciard.

uſed for pretence the captivity of his Legate, who was detained at *Milan*, where, tho' a priſoner, he performed however the Functions of the Pope's Legate, the Inhabitants of *Milan* refuſing to own the Authority of the Council held in their City. It was a great mortification to *Lewis*, to ſee his Council contemned by his own Subjects; but this was only a ſmall part of the misfortunes to which he was expoſed this ſame year. After *la Paliſſe* had quitted *la Romagna*, all the Towns of that Country ſubmitted to the Pope. At the ſame time, *Ferdinand* became maſter of *Navarre*, and *Lewis* was forced to ſend an army into *Bearn* to hinder the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* from invading *Guienne*. On the other hand, the Emperor concluded a Truce with *Venice*, and ſecretly promiſed to withdraw from the *French* Army a body of *German* Troops, lent the King for the defence of the *Milaneſe*. And yet upon the aſſurance of this aid it was that *Lewis* recalled from *Milan* part of his own Troops, not doubting that with thoſe he left there, and the *Germans* ſent him by the Emperor, he ſhould be able to reſiſt his Enemies. Thus, the *French* finding themſelves weak in the Duchy of *Milan*, *la Paliſſe* was obliged to recall the Cardinal of St. *Severin*, with his Troops, which was the cauſe of the loſs of *la Romagna*.

1512.

The Council is contemned at Milan.

La Romagna *returns to the Pope.*

The Emperor's Truce with the Venetians. Bembo.

Mean while, the *Switzers*, to the number of ſixteen thouſand, began their march about the end of *Auguſt*, or the beginning of *September*. But inſtead of taking the direct road to the *Milaneſe*, the paſſes whereof, they did not queſtion, were ſtrongly guarded, they marched to *Trent*, with *Maximilian*'s permiſſion. Though this, if any, was an Enemy's act, he was ſtill deſirous to hide his Intentions, by telling the *French* Ambaſſador, that his Alliance with the *Switzers* ſuffered him not to refuſe them a paſſage through his Dominions; as if his Treaty with *Lewis* XII was to be leſs obſerved. The *Switzers* having paſſed unmoleſted through *Trent*, proceeded to *Verona*, and joining the *Venetians*, they marched together towards *Milan*. Whereupon the *French* entirely diſconcerted, and not having above ten thouſand Men, reſolved to retire into the fortified Towns, in order to waſte the Enemy's Army by Sieges, till the King ſent them Supplies, or the approaching Winter ſtopped the progreſs of the Allies. But they were ſoon deprived of this refuge, by the Emperor's orders for his Troops to retire immediately. Theſe orders being punctually obeyed, *la Paliſſe* found himſelf ſo weak, that deſpairing to ſave the *Milaneſe*, he reſolved to repaſs the Mountains, and return into *France*. The Prelates of the Council ſeeing *Milan* was going to be abandoned, by a ſudden Decree, removed the Council to *Lyons*, and followed the *French* Troops. They would have carried the Cardinal *de Medici* with them; but went away in ſuch confuſion, that his Friends found means to ſecure him. After the *French* were retired, all the Towns of the Duchy readily ſurrendered to the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, except *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio*, which ſubmitted to the Pope. On the other hand, *Alexander Bentivoglio*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Bologna*, departed from thence with all his Family, leaving the City to the Pope's Mercy. Thus *Julius* II, who, about a month before, ſaw himſelf in a very ill ſituation, was arrived at the height of his wiſhes by this ſurprizing revolution, which reſtored him *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, all *la Romagna*, and drove the *French* out of *Italy*.

The Emperor lets the Switzers paſs thro' Trent. Guicciard.

They approach Milan.

The Emperor withdraws his Troops from the French. Guicciard. *who return home.*

The Council removed to Lyons. *Cardinal de* Medici *makes his eſcape.*

Bologna left to the Pope's Mercy. Guicciard.

There remained ſtill four things to do to complete the Pope's happineſs, namely, to diſpoſſeſs the Duke of *Ferrara*, to reſtore the *Sforza's* to *Milan*, and the *Medici* to *Florence*; and laſtly, to expel the *Germans* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*. As for the Duke of *Ferrara*, he voluntarily delivered himſelf to the Pope, upon the faith of a Safe-Conduct. An Imprudence which would have coſt him dear, had he not been freed by *Fabricius Colonna* his Friend, who forced the Guard ſet at the gates of *Rome*, to hinder his departure.

The Duke of Ferrara *goes to Rome, and eſcapes.* Guicciard.

The *French* were no ſooner out of *Italy*, than the Allies began to diſcover their different ends in acting againſt *France*. Upon this occaſion they judged proper to meet at *Mantua*, where they could agree but upon two Articles, namely, that *Maximilian Sforza* eldeſt Son of *Lodovico* the *Moor*, ſhould be reſtored to *Milan*, and the Houſe of *de Medici* to *Florence*. In conſequence of this laſt reſolution, the army of the Allies approaching *Florence*, compelled the *Florentines* to conſent to a Treaty, whereby the *Medici* were reſtored to their Country as Citizens only, and not as Governors. But the Cardinal *de Medici* entering the City by virtue of the Treaty, whilſt the army of the Allies was at the gates, found means to introduce many Officers and Soldiers, and raiſe

Congreſs of Mantua *between the Allies.* Ibid.

Florence *ſubmits to the* Medici. Guicciard.

(1) King *Henry* promiſed at the ſame time to ſend a new Supply of Troops, under the Command of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. *Hall*, fol. 20. *Herbert*, p. 10.

(2) In the beginning of *December*. *Hall*, fol. 20.

(3) It conſiſted of eighteen hundred Men at Arms, and about ten thouſand Foot. *Guicciard*, l. 10.

(4) It is ſaid that *Lewis* cauſed ſeveral Medals to be coined with this Inſcription, *Perdam Babylonem, I will deſtroy Babylon.* Which if true, ſhews that *Rome* was not called *Babylon* firſt by Proteſtants.

a Sedi-

1512. a Sedition which made him maſter of the City. Whereupon, the Government was ſettled upon the ſame foot, it was before the baniſhment of the *Medici*.

Another Congreſs at Rome. Guicciard.

It was a great ſtep for the Pope to have reſtored the *Medici* to *Florence*, and *Sforza* to *Milan*. But this did not ſuffice to content him. The Duke of *Ferrara* was ſtill maſter of his Duchy, and the Council of *Piſa* ſitting at *Lyons*. The Allies therefore muſt be brought to turn their arms againſt *Ferrara*, and procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, that the Emperor might without difficulty abandon his Council. To that purpoſe, the Pope obtained a ſecond meeting at *Rome*, where he could gain nothing with reſpect to *Ferrara*, becauſe the Duke was protected by the King of *Arragon*. Beſides, the *Venetians* could not agree to find Men and Money to render the Pope maſter of that Duchy. As for the Peace between the Emperor and *Venice*, he found ſtill greater difficulties, though he paſſionately wiſhed to accompliſh that Project, for fear one or other of the two Powers ſhould recall the *French* into *Italy*. But the intolerable Terms propoſed by the Emperor to the *Venetians*, hindered him from ſucceeding. In ſhort, the Pope ſeeing his labour was in vain, and deſiring, at any rate, to diſſolve the Council of *Piſa*, and prevent the return of the *French* into *Italy*, concluded with the Emperor a League offenſive and defenſive againſt *Venice*. By this Treaty, the Emperor engaged to become a principal Party in the League of *Rome*, and agreed, that the Pope ſhould keep *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio*, ſaving however the Rights of the Empire. He promiſed to renounce the Council of *Piſa*, and forſake the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentivoglio*'s. The Pope engaged on his part, to aid the Emperor with all his power, thunder his Cenſures againſt the *Venetians*, declare them excluded out of the League of *Rome*, and drop the proſecution of the *Colonna*'s, for aiding the Duke of *Ferrara* to make his eſcape. The Treaty being ſigned and ratified, the Biſhop of *Gurck* as the Emperor's Lieutenant, renounced in the next Seſſion of the Council of *Lateran*, the Aſſembly of *Piſa*, and revoked whatever had been done by the Emperor towards the calling and ſupporting it.

The Pope's League with the Emperor againſt Venice. Guicciard.

Articles of the League.

The Emperor renounces the Council of Piſa. Guicciard.

Sforza is put in poſſeſſion of Milan.

About the end of *December*, *Maximilian Sforza*, eldeſt Son of *Lodovico the Moor* was put in poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Milan*, purſuant to the agreement of the Allies at *Mantua*.

Remarks on the year 1512.

I have now run over the occurrences of the year 1512, a year very remarkable for the ſeveral changes in the affairs of *Italy*, and ſtill more, for the conduct of the Princes concerned, which diſcovers their different characters. *Lewis* XII was the dupe of his ſcruples, which made him loſe the opportunity of diſabling the Pope to hurt him, and in the end occaſioned the loſs of the *Milaneſe*. *Julius* II made Religion ſubſervient to his immoderate ambition, by uſing the glory of God and the good of the Church, for a cloak to gratify his paſſions. Having formed a League to reſtore the *Venetians* to their Dominions, to the glory of God and exaltation of the Chriſtian Faith, he concluded another, on the ſame pretence, to diſpoſſeſs them of all they had recovered. *Ferdinand* drew *Henry* VIII into a War for the Pope's defence, and to procure *Guienne* for the Crown of *England*; but artfully made it ſubſervient to the Conqueſt of *Navarre* for himſelf. The Emperour *Maximilian* acted with no more ſincerity. His conduct was the more extraordinary, as he was ſolely indebted to *Lewis* XII for all he had conquered in *Italy*, after the League of *Cambray*. Nay, the very preſervation of his Conqueſts was wholly owing to that Prince's continual ſupplies. And yet, he no ſooner ſaw him upon the decline, but he moſt ungratefully helped to hurl him down the precipice. It is ſaid he had a Book wherein he marked in red Letters, the injuries received from the King of *France*. But I do not know in what colour *Lewis* XII ſhould have writ in his Book the wrong done him by *Maximilian* on this occaſion. As for *Henry* VIII, he was certainly the dupe of the King of *Arragon* and the Pope. But what is more ſtrange, after *Ferdinand* and *Julius* II, by their artifices, had ingaged that Prince in a League againſt *France*, as ſoon as affairs had taken ſuch a turn that they no longer wanted his aſſiſtance, they thought no more of him than if there had been no ſuch Perſon in the World. In all the Negotiations between the Allies, whether at *Mantua* or *Rome*, after the retreat of the *French*, Cardinal *Bambridge* was never called to them, neither was there any mention of the King of *England*. The Pope and the King of *Arragon*, ſatisfied with expelling the *French*, forſook *Henry*, without troubling themſelves about his concerns. It even appears that he was not informed of theſe Negotiations. We ſee in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the 10th of *November*, he ſtill gave full powers to his Ambaſſadors (1) at ſeveral Courts, to treat of a League in favour of the Pope, at the very time, the Pope was entirely neglecting the intereſts of *England*. About the ſame time, *Henry* ſigned Letters Patents, declaring he entered into the League concluded at *Rome* a year before, though, ſince that, *Julius* II was in poſſeſſion of *Ravenna*, all *la Romagna*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Reggio*, and his deſires had been accompliſhed by *Lewis*'s loſs of *Genoa* and *Milan*, and by the Emperor's renouncing the Aſſembly of *Piſa*. Thus, he was evidently the dupe of all theſe intrigues. He lent, without knowing it, his Troops to *Ferdinand* to conquer *Navarre*. On the other hand, the Terror of his Arms was greatly ſubſervient to the Pope's deſigns, as it hindered *Lewis* XII from keeping in *Italy* Troops, which he believed neceſſary for the defence of his Kingdom againſt the *Engliſh*. This was the real aim of *Julius* and *Ferdinand*, and *Henry* was ſo blind as to ingage, without neceſſity, in a War with *France* for their intereſt, imagining he was acting for his own. 1512.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 341.

Ib. p. 342.

Who would not have thought that *Henry*'s experience ſhould have rendered him wiſer and more circumſpect? And yet, he was farther amuſed by theſe very Princes, who told him that having nothing more to fear in *Italy*, they were going to join all their Forces to invade *France*, and if he would act likewiſe, he might eaſily recover *Guienne* and *Normandy*. *Henry* being perſwaded of their ſincerity, immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to *Bruſſels* (2), to conclude a League againſt *France* with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, *Charles* of *Auſtria* Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, and *Margaret* Ducheſs Dowager of *Savoy* his Aunt, who governed his Dominions during his Minority. *Henry* reckoned that the execution of the Treaty would immediately follow the concluſion. But it will hereafter be ſeen, that if they concluded the League, it was only to draw Money from him, and leave him to make War all alone. He was young and unexperienced, but withal ſo ſelf-conceited as to think himſelf wiſer than his Council. Beſides, he had plenty of ready Money in his Coffers. What could Perſons ſo ſubtle as *Julius*, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, deſire better than to have to deal with ſuch a Prince as *Henry*? We have already ſeen this year 1512, how artfully they improved ſo favorable a diſpoſition, and we ſhall ſee in the following years, how very little he himſelf profited by what he might have learnt by experience, during the courſe of the preſent. However this be, being reſolved to carry War into *France*, he aſſembled a Parliament the 4th of *November*, to demand an aid of Money. Shortly after, the Commons, without examining too cloſely the reaſons which induced him to take arms, granted him a Subſidy (3), and a Poll-Tax (4) upon all his Subjects, for the expences of the War (5).

Ib. p. 344.

Henry ſuffers himſelf to be farther impoſed upon

The Parliament gives the King Money. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

During the Seſſion of the Parliament, *Henry* received a Bull from the Pope, who to encourage him to puſh the War vigorouſly againſt *France*, granted a plenary indulgence to all his Subjects that ſhould aid him with their Perſon or purſes. This was all the aſſiſtance he had from the Pope for a War, the ſole motive whereof, as it was pretended, was the defence of the Church.

Bull in favour of the King. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 343.

Nothing more remains to finiſh the account of the occurrences of this year, but briefly to mention the meaſures taken by *Henry* with regard to *Scotland*.

Henry tries in vain to prevent a Rupture with Scotland. Herbert.

Whilſt *Henry* reſolved to carry War into *France*, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve a good underſtanding with the King of *Scotland*. But it was almoſt impoſſible that *England* ſhould be in War with *France*, and *Scotland* not interpoſe. However, *Henry* imagined that by the aſſurances he gave the King of *Scotland*, of his intention to obſerve punctually the Treaty of Peace, he ſhould prevent him from being concerned in the quarrel. *James* ſuffered him to think what he pleaſed, and in the mean time was preparing to aſſiſt *France* by a

(1) *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 341.

(2) Sir *Edward Poynings* Controller of the Houſhold, Sir *Thomas Boleyn*, Sir *Richard Wyngfield*, and *John Yonge*, Doctor of Laws, and Maſter of the Rolls. *Ibid.* p. 344.

(3) Two *Fifteenths* and four *Demies*. A *Fifteenth* or *Quinzime*, is a Tax of Money laid upon a City, Burrough, or other Town through the Realm, and ſo called, becauſe it amounted to a fifteenth Part of that which the City or Town had been valued at of old; and therefore every Town knew what a Fifteenth for themſelves did amount to, which was in proportion to the Land or Circuit belonging to it. Thus *Camden* ſays of *Bath*, *Geldabat pro viginti hidis*. Whereas a Subſidy was raiſed upon every particular Man's Goods or Lands, and therefore was uncertain, becauſe the Eſtate of every particular Man is uncertain. *Cowel's Dict.*

(4) Every Duke was to pay ten Marks, an Earl five Pounds, a Lord four Pounds, a Knight four Marks; every Man valued at eight hundred Pounds in Goods, four Marks; and ſo after that rate down to him who had forty Shillings in Wages, who paid Twelve-pence; after which every one above fifteen Years of Age, paid Four-pence. *Herbert*, p. 12.

(5) In this Parliament, the Benefit of Clergy was taken away from Perſons committing Murther or Felony in any Church, Chapel, or hallowed Place; and from thoſe that rob or murther any Perſons in the King's High-way, or in their Houſes. See *Statut.*

powerful diverſion, in caſe that Kingdom was attacked. Upon the firſt report that the King of *England* was going to quarrel with *Lewis* XII, *James* took care to be provided with pretences to break with him. The affair of *Breton* furniſhed him with one, and he moreover ſought others. But the true reaſon of his acting was, that, for ſome ages paſt, the Kings of *England* were grown ſo powerful, and had ſhown ſo great a deſire to unite all *Great-Britain* under their Dominion, that the *Scots* could little expect to reſiſt them but by the aſſiſtance of *France*, which had ever protected them. It was therefore more neceſſary than juſt, for *Scotland* to continue firm to the intereſts of *France*, and not ſuffer that Crown to be diſabled to aſſiſt her Allies. So, not to ſwerve from this maxim, *James* IV, who had determined to go to *Jeruſalem*, laid aſide his deſign when he heard there was like to be a rupture between *France* and *England*. He equipped a Fleet, which he intended to ſend into *France*, under colour of preſenting it to Queen *Ann*, Wife of *Lewis* XII. But this Fleet, in which was the largeſt Ship that had yet been ſeen on the Sea, was loſt or diſabled by a ſtorm and the Admiral's ill conduct.

1511 Ineffectual.

The King of Scotland prepares to aid France.

At laſt, *Henry* having proclaimed War with *Lewis* XII, *James* concluded a League againſt him with *France* the 22d of *May* this year. Shortly after, he prepared an Army, but without divulging for what it was deſigned. His intent was to make an inroad into *England*, as ſoon as *Henry* had ſent his Forces into *France*. *Henry* having notice of this armament, ſent two Ambaſſadors (1) into *Scotland*, under colour of adjuſting ſome little differences, but in reality to ſound the King's intentions. The Ambaſſadors acquainting King *James* that their maſter was ſomething jealous of this Armament, as if it was made in favour of *France*, *James* replied, That being equally an Ally of both Crowns, his deſign was to obſerve an exact neutrality. The Ambaſſadors prayed him to give that anſwer in writing; but he refuſed, on pretence it would breed a ſuſpicion in the King of *France*. Shortly after, *Henry* learnt by his Spies that a League was concluded between *France* and *Scotland*, and he even procured a copy of the Treaty (2). So, perceiving that a War with *Scotland* was unavoidable, he ſent the Earl of *Surrey* into the northern parts with power to levy an Army, and act againſt *Scotland* in caſe of neceſſity (3).

James concludes a League with Lewis XII.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 332, 333, 347.

Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 339. Herbert.

1513. *Views and Intereſts of the Princes.*

The occurrences of the year 1512 made great alterations in the intereſts of the Princes concerned, and conſequently in their deſigns and meaſures.

Of Julius II.

Julius II, pleaſed with having expelled the *French* out of *Italy*, and ſo greatly increaſed his power, by the acquiſition of ſo many places, was thinking however of ſeizing *Ferrara*. After that, he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* and *Florentines* to be able to drive the Emperor out of *Venice*, though he had lately leagued with him. As for the reſt, he had no thought of making Conqueſts in *France*; his ſole aim was to find *Lewis* XII employment at home, and entirely diſſolve the remains of the Council of *Piſa*, which however was not very formidable to him, ſince the Emperor's diſingagement.

Of Ferdinand.

The King of *Arragon*'s ſole view was to preſerve his late Conqueſt of *Navarre*. To enjoy it in peace, the only way was to keep *Lewis* XII elſewhere employed, or prevail with him not to diſturb him. To that purpoſe it was neceſſary to uſe the terror of the Arms of the Allies, and particularly of the King of *England*, that the King of *France* being attacked from ſeveral quarters, might be induced of himſelf to deſire a Peace, and leave him in poſſeſſion of *Navarre*. *Ferdinand* would not have ſcrupled to abandon his Allies, provided he could obtain at that rate ſuch a Peace as he wanted.

Of the Emperor.

The Emperor ſought only to draw Money both from his Friends and Enemies. He was very ſenſible, that with his own Forces alone, it would be difficult to make Conqueſts upon the *Venetians*; and that the Pope, though his Ally, did not wiſh it. But he was extremely reſerved to them, to procure the larger ſums in making a Peace. On the other hand, he endeavoured to embroil matters as much as poſſible, and make new Leagues, becauſe in all the Treaties of that kind, Money was ſtill given him to maintain imaginary Troops, which he never raiſed, at leaſt not ſo many as he promiſed.

Of the Venetians.

The *Venetians* were extremely deſirous to end a deſtructive War, by which they were drained. Their ſole aim was to induce the Emperor to be ſatisfied with a good ſum of Money, for the reſtitution of their Towns, and thereby put their State upon the ſame foot it was before the League of *Cambray*. But as the Emperor could not think of depriving himſelf of an entrance into *Italy* by the reſtitution of theſe places, it was their buſineſs to compel him in ſome meaſure, by new Leagues which might make him apprehenſive of loſing them without any advantage. But as this was the Senate's ſole view, they were always ready to break all their engagements, as ſoon as the Emperor would hearken to reaſon. 1513.

Of the Switzers.

The *Switzers* thought only of ſupporting *Sforza* at *Milan*, to have always in that Duchy a Prince who ſhould rely on their aſſiſtance. Conſequently, it was their intereſt to keep the King of *France* at a diſtance, and oppoſe all his attempts to recover it.

Of the King of France.

Lewis XII, extremely mortified at the good ſucceſs of his Enemies in *Italy*, ardently deſired to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. To ſucceed, the aid of the *Venetians*, the Emperor, or the *Switzers* was neceſſary. It was alſo requiſite ſo to haſten the concluſion with one or other of the two laſt Powers, that the expedition of the *Milaneſe* might be made in the Spring, for fear it ſhould be prevented by the War, the King of *England* was preparing againſt him in *Picardy*.

Of Henry VIII.

Of all *Lewis*'s Enemies *Henry* was the only one who thought of making Conqueſts in *France*, prepoſterouſly imagining, his Allies would make diverſions in ſeveral places, to facilitate the execution of his deſigns. But he did not yet ſufficiently know them. The *Venetians* had been excluded out of the late league. The Pope and King of *Arragon* had no deſire to attack *France*, but only to create *Lewis* troubles, which might hinder him from thinking of *Italy*. It was ſolely with this view that they feigned a willingneſs to ſecond the King of *England*. As for *Maximilian*, *Henry* and his Council muſt have voluntarily deceived themſelves, to hope for any aſſiſtance from him.

Of the King of Scotland.

James IV King of *Scotland*, ſeeing *France* upon the point of being attacked by the King of *England*, was preparing to aſſiſt her, deeming his own and that Kingdom's intereſts to be inſeparable. He eaſily perceived, *Henry* courted him only to hinder his interpoſing in the quarrel, and was willing to feed him with hopes of ſucceeding in his deſign. But he was however determined to break the Peace, rather than leave a Kingdom in danger, from which alone he could expect a ſpeedy and powerful protection in caſe of need. It is true, he had made a Peace with *Henry* VII, and renewed it with *Henry* VIII. But it was when theſe Princes had no quarrel with *France*, his antient and conſtant Ally. In his opinion, *Henry* by wantonly attacking *France* on frivolous pretences, violated indirectly the Peace made with *Scotland*. At leaſt, *James* pretended that in ſigning a Peace with *England*, he was not bound to forſake *France* whenever the King of *England* ſhould think of attacking her.

Such were the diſpoſitions of all theſe Potentates in the beginning of the year 1513. We muſt ſee now by what means each endeavoured to attain his ends. This new Scene will diſcover to us no leſs variety, artful managements, devices and artifices, than the former, ſince the Actors and Perſonages will ſtill be the ſame.

The Emperor offers a League to Lewis XII, in order to deceive them. Guicciard.

Whilſt *Henry* was ſeriouſly preparing for the War he was to carry into *France*, his pretended Allies were minding their own affairs, without regarding his intereſts. Since he had entered into the League of *Rome*, the Allies, it ſeemed, ſhould have done nothing without his knowledge. And yet *Julius* II had leagued with *Maximilian*, and excluded the *Venetians*, without informing him of it.

In the beginning of the year 1513, the Emperor had no farther regard for his new Allies, ſince he ſent and propoſed a freſh League to *Lewis* XII upon new Terms. He offered to aſſiſt him in recovering the *Milaneſe*, provided *Lewis* in return would aid him againſt the *Venetians*. Moreover, he demanded *Renée*, *Lewis*'s ſecond Daughter, for *Charles* of *Auſtria* his Grandſon, and that for her Dower *Lewis* ſhould aſſign him all his pretenſions to *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. But that the performance of the Treaty might not entirely depend upon the Faith of the King of *France*, he required that the Princeſs ſhould be immediately ſent to him, and *Cremona*, and all *Gierradadda* delivered to him as ſoon as the Duchy of *Milan* was recovered. Certainly, one cannot but admire the Emperor's aſſurance in making theſe propoſals. He had not hitherto been able to continue the war againſt *Venice*, without the aſſiſtance of *Lewis* XII, nay, he thought he ſtill wanted it, and yet made him an offer of his aid to recover the *Milaneſe*. But upon what Terms? Why, after *Lewis* ſhould have been at a vaſt expence to recover that Duchy, he was to reſign it to the Emperor's Grandſon, with his pretenſions to *Naples*. This is called uſing people like true dupes. But after

(1) *Thomas* Lord *Dacre* of *Greiſtock*, and Dr. *Nicolas Weſt* Dean of *Windſor*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 332, 347.
(2) See the Articles in my Lord *Herbert*, p. 12, of the *Compl. Hiſt.*
(3) This year, a great part of the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and the Chapel in the Tower of *London* were burnt. *Stow*, p. 490.

1513. the ill turn *Maximilian* had lately ſerved *Lewis* XII, it is not very likely, that he believed his propoſals would be accepted. Probably, he made them only to hinder *Lewis* from joining with the *Venetians*. At the ſame time he intended to inſpire theſe laſt with jealouſy, and a fear of his uniting with *France*, that this fear might induce them to offer him more advantagious Conditions.

Lewis tries in vain to gain the Switzers. Guicciard.

Lewis XII hearkened to theſe propoſals, as if he had ſome deſign to accept them, becauſe he thereby hoped to create ſuſpicions in the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and incline them the ſooner to join with him. As for the *Venetians*, they deſired nothing more than a ſtrict Union with *France*, and if any thing retarded the Negotiation, it was only the hope of an agreement with the Emperor, in which caſe they would have gladly renounced all ſorts of Leagues. As for the *Switzers*, it was not poſſible for *Lewis* XII to gain them to his ſide, though he offered them more than at firſt was demanded. Beſides their hatred of him, the face of their affairs was altered, ſince the reſtoration of *Sforza* to *Milan*. Whilſt that Prince was in exile, it was doubtful, whether in good policy they ought to engage in a war with *France* for his ſake. But ſince he was by their aſſiſtance in poſſeſſion of the Duchy, their Honour and Intereſt required their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport him (1). However this be, *Lewis*'s Negotiation with the *Switzers* not ſucceeding, he was under a neceſſity to join in a League either with the Emperor or with *Venice*, otherwiſe he could little expect to recover *Milan*.

Propoſals of the Venetians to Lewis XII.

In the mean time, the *Venetians* ſent and propoſed a League to him upon the ſame Terms with that of the year 1498, namely, that they would aſſiſt him to recover the *Milaneſe*, provided he would reſign *Cremona* and *Gierradadda*. *Lewis* readily liſtened to their offers; but the *Venetians* themſelves did not haſten the concluſion, by reaſon of their circumſtances preſently after.

Guicciard.

The King of *Arragon* having good Intelligence of what paſſed between *Lewis* XII and the *Venetians*, informed the Emperor, and adviſed him to offer *Verona* to the *Venetians* for a ſum of Money. This was the ſubject of a long, though fruitleſs Negotiation.

Death of Julius II. Guicciard.

Whilſt the affairs of *Italy* were in this ſtate of uncertainty, *Julius* II, who was preparing to beſiege *Ferrara* in the beginning of the Spring, died the 21ſt of *February*, having kindled a flame which his death was not capable of extinguiſhing (2). As ſoon as the news reached the Viceroy of *Naples*, who was ſtill with his army in *Lombardy*, he approached *Placentia*, and entering without oppoſition, reſtored that place to the Duke of *Milan*. *Parma* quickly followed the example of *Placentia*, and was likewiſe delivered to the ſame Prince. No one was in haſte to ſend aſſiſtance to the future Pope to preſerve theſe places for him. On the contrary, the Princes of *Italy* could not ſee without uneaſineſs, that the Popes had footing in *Lombardy*, under a pretence which might, upon occaſion, be uſed againſt moſt of them.

Parma and Placentia ſubmit to the Duke of Milan.

Leo X Pope. Act. Pub. XIII. p 349. Guicciard.

On the 11th of *March*, Cardinal *John de Medici*, who eleven months before was taken priſoner at the Battle of *Ravenna*, was elected Pope, and aſſumed the name of *Leo* X. He was but thirty ſeven years old, but had however great experience, having been employed in divers important affairs in the late Pontificate. He was neither ſo hot nor ſo haughty as *Julius* II his Predeceſſor, but was much more artful and politick. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to add to his Portraiture ſome Strokes, which will more fully ſhow his Genius and Character.

Truce for one year between Lewis and Ferdinand. Guicciard.

Before the death of *Julius* II, *Ferdinand* was employed in framing a plot perfectly anſwering the name he had in the world. The beginning of the year he had ſent two Monks into *France* to make ſome overtures to *Lewis* XII, by means of Queen *Ann*, to whom they had acceſs. But as *Lewis* perceived it was not poſſible to make a Peace, or even a Truce with *Ferdinand*, without leaving him in poſſeſſion of *Navarre*, he had appeared at firſt very cold. But at length, conſidering that he could hardly expect to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, whilſt the King of *Arragon* was his enemy, becauſe it was he that excited the King of *England* his Son-in-law, he determined, though unwillingly, to conclude with him a Truce, for a year, on condition the King of *England* was included, and *Italy* excepted. He reckoned, that during this Truce he ſhould with eaſe be able to re-conquer the Duchy of *Milan*, after which, he ſhould be ſufficiently ſtrong to defend his own Kingdom againſt the *Engliſh*. Nothing was farther from *Henry*'s thoughts than ſuch a Truce, which would have broke all his meaſures, and yet, *Ferdinand* doubted not to act in his name, as if he were ſure of his conſent. This affair was began in *January*, and the 8th of *February*, *Lewis* empowered *Odet de Foix* Lord of *Lautrec*, to treat with *Ferdinand*'s Commiſſioners. In ſhort, the Treaty was concluded at *Orthez* in *Bearn* the 1ſt of *April*. The Treaty ran, That there ſhould be a Truce for a year, out of *Italy*, between the King of *France*, the King of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Guelders* on the one part; and on the other the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, the Queen of *Caſtile*, and the King of *England*. *Lewis* XII undertook to procure the King of *Scotland*'s and the Duke of *Guelders*'s conſent, and *Ferdinand* ingaged for the King of *England*. But as *Ferdinand* knew he ſhould not eaſily obtain *Henry*'s conſent, he cauſed it to be inſerted in the Treaty, that it ſhould be ratified within a month by himſelf and *Lewis* XII, but that the other parties ſhould be allowed two months; with expreſs Declaration, that with regard to the Emperor, the King of *England*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Guelders*, the Truce ſhould take place, but from the day of the exchange of their ratifications. Never perhaps was ſeen any thing ſo bold as what *Ferdinand* did on this occaſion. He perfectly knew that *Henry* would never agree to the Truce, and yet took upon him to procure his conſent, as if he had been fully empowered to that end. The laſt Article, concerning the ratification, plainly diſcovers his thoughts. But it is ſtill more viſible, in that he not only took no ſtep to perſwade *Henry* to do what he ſeemed to deſire, but even concealed from him the Truce as far as poſſible. 1513. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 349.

Ferdinand excludes Henry without his knowledge. Guicciard.

Ferdinand complains of the Allies. Guicciard.

As ſoon as the Treaty was ſigned, *Ferdinand* took care to publiſh his complaints, that he had been very ill-uſed by the Allies of the League; that the Pope and *Venetians* had acquired many places, but for his part he had gained nothing at all, and yet the Allies refuſed to continue the Supply to which they were bound, though the King of *France* ſtill poſſeſſed ſeveral Towns in *Italy*, and the *Spaniſh* Army was ſtill in the ſervice of the League. But this was only to prepare people to ſee with leſs ſurprize and indignation, the private Truce he had juſt made with *France*, without the participation of his Allies.

The Eyes of the publick were fixed upon the new Pope, to ſee what courſe he would take. But he did not long leave the Politicians in ſuſpence. Though whilſt a Cardinal, he did not entirely approve of *Julius* II's Conduct, he purſued however his plan as ſoon as he was in his place. He was doubly concerned to keep the *French* out of *Italy*: Firſt, as Pope, ſince Neighbours ſo powerful could not but be formidable to him. Secondly, as head of the Houſe of the *Medici*, he had cauſe to fear, that if *Lewis* XII recovered the *Milaneſe*, he would undertake to reſtore the *Florentines* to their Liberty. In a word, he wiſhed to put an end to the Council of *Piſa*, which could be done only by ingaging *Lewis* XII in wars, which ſhould compel him to make his Peace with the Church. *Ferdinand* had likewiſe the ſame views, to keep the King of *France* at a diſtance from *Navarre*, *Rouſſillon*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. As for the Emperor, it was his Intereſt to diſable *France* to aſſiſt the *Venetians*. But they had, none of them, any deſire to carry war into *France*, but only ſo to manage, that this diverſion might be made at another's expence.

The Allies try to engage Henry in a war with France.

To that purpoſe they unanimouſly caſt their Eyes upon *Henry* VIII, as a Prince extremely proper to execute their deſigns. He had ready Money, warlike Subjects, and could with eaſe tranſport Troops into ſome part of *France* remote from the Borders of *Spain* and *Italy*. In fine, he was exceeding deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by illuſtrious Actions, and ſcrupled not to ſhow it publickly. So, each of them laboured with all his power to confirm him in his deſign, to wage war with *France*, by putting him in hopes of being vigorouſly ſupported, though nothing was farther from their thoughts. *Leo* X was no ſooner in the papal Chair, but under colour of notifying his Promotion, ſent him a Letter, aſſuring him, that he was fully determined to adhere to the League formed by *Julius* II his Predeceſſor, and even to conclude a new one with *England*. But at the ſame time, he preſſed the Emperor to make a Peace with *Venice*, and negotiated with the *Venetians* to hinder their Union with *France*, promiſing to uſe all his Intereſt with the Emperor to procure them an honorable and advantagious Peace. All theſe practices could not be managed ſo privately but the King of *France* had ſome Intelligence of them, ſo that he ſoon grew very jealous of the new Pope.

League concluded at Mechlin between the Allies and Henry.

Henry did not want much Sollicitation to carry his Arms into *France*. His thoughts were already bent upon a war. So, finding, the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Arragon* promiſed him to act vigorouſly, he did not queſ-

(1) He had promiſed to pay them one hundred and fifty thouſand Ducats upon his reſtoration to *Milan*, and forty thouſand yearly for five and twenty years. *Guicciard.* l. 11.

(2) He took the name of *Julius* from his inclination to War, in memory of *Julius Cæſar*. He commanded his Army in Perſon againſt the *French*; and, it is ſaid, as he marched over a Bridge on the *Tiber*, he threw St. *Peter*'s Keys into the River, and called for St. *Paul*'s Sword.

tion

1513. tion the favorableneſs of the opportunity to recover good part of what his Predeceſſors had formerly loſt. And therefore, he readily agreed to form a new League with them, not for the affairs of *Italy*, with which he was probably diſguſted, but to attack *France* from ſeveral quarters. And that the League might be the more ſecret, it was agreed, that it ſhould be negotiated at *Mechlin*, between *Margaret* of *Auſtria* Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, authorized by the Emperor her Father, and the Ambaſſadors of *England* (1), and that afterwards it ſhould be approved and ratified by the Pope, the Emperor, and *Ferdinand*. This was another ſnare laid for *Henry*, which he perceived not till it was too late to avoid it. Though *Ferdinand* was then upon the point of concluding the Truce with the King of *France*, he made himſelf however one of the principal Parties in this League, as repugnant as it was to the Truce. The Subſtance of the new League concluded at *Mechlin* the 5th of *April*, about the ſame time the Truce was ſigned at *Orthez*, was as follows.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 354, &c.

The Terms of the League.

That within thirty days after the date of this Treaty, each of the Confederates ſhould proclaim War with the King of *France*, and within two months invade him, *viz.* the Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphiné*: The Emperor in ſome place out of *Italy*: The King of *Arragon* in *Bearn*, *Guienne*, or *Languedoc*: The King of *England* in *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*, and that their Armies ſhould be ſtrong and well provided with all things.

That the Emperor (if he had not yet done it) ſhould revoke all his proceedings in favor of the Council of *Piſa*. This ſhows how little *Henry* or his Plenipotentiaries knew of what paſſed at *Rome*, ſince it was now three months or more that the Emperor had abandoned that Council.

That the Pope ſhould thunder his Cenſures againſt all the oppoſers of this League and abettors of the contrary party.

That towards the expences of the War, the King of *England* ſhould give the Emperor a hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, at three payments; thirty-five thouſand preſently after the declaration of the War, as much more when the War was begun, and thirty thouſand within three months after.

That the Emperor meant not to enter into this League as Guardian to *Charles* his Grandſon.

That the Emperor and King of *England* ſhould ratify the Treaty within a month, and the Pope and King of *Arragon* within two months; with this expreſs declaration, that in caſe the Pope and the King of *Arragon* ſhould not ratify the Treaty by the time appointed, it ſhould however be in force between the Emperor and the King of *England*.

Laſtly, The Confederates renounced all exceptions whatever, and particularly that which might be made to another's ſtipulating for them.

Never perhaps was ſeen more inſincerity than in this whole Nogotiation, ſince of all the Confederates *Henry* alone intended to keep his word. *Leo* X ratified not the Treaty; *Ferdinand*, as will be ſeen preſently, diſowned his Ambaſſador: As for the Emperor, he received the Money from the King without troubling himſelf to perform his engagements. Thus *Henry* was the conſtant dupe of theſe Princes, who were a little too politick for him.

Ferdinand's *Ambaſſador at* London *ratifies and ſwears to the League of* Mechlin. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 358.

The Treaty being brought to *London*, *Lewis Carroz de Villaragud*, *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſador, approved and ratified it by Letters Patents of *April* 18th. He declared in theſe Letters, that though he had a ſufficient power from the King his maſter, to conclude the League with the Plenipotentiaries of the confederate Princes, he had not been able, for certain weighty reaſons, to be preſent at the ſigning at *Mechlin*. But being very ſure, the Treaty contained only what was agreeable to the King his Maſter, who deſired nothing more earneſtly than it's execution, he approved and ratified, in the ſaid King's name, all the Articles of the Treaty. And to remove all occaſion of diſputing the validity of his ratification, he inſerted the Treaty word for word, in his Letters of ratification, and concluded it again with the Earl of *Surrey* the King of *England*'s Commiſſioner, by virtue of a full power received for that purpoſe. Afterwards, the 25th of the ſame month, he ſwore to the obſervance of the Articles upon the Souls of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Jane* Queen of *Caſtile*. It is uncertain whether the Ambaſſador was himſelf deceived, or whether knowing it, voluntarily helped to impoſe upon *Henry*. All that can be ſaid is, that the great precautions taken to hinder his being ſuſpected of inſincerity, are not very common with thoſe who intend to act fairly. 1533.

p. 363.

Henry is impoſed upon.

It muſt doubtleſs be thought ſtrange, that a Pope, an Emperor, and a King of *Spain* ſhould thus join, to lay ſuch a ſnare for a young Prince of twenty one years of age, and who was even Son-in-law to one of them. And yet it is ſcarce to be doubted, that the League concluded at *Mechlin*, in the abſence of the Pope's and King of *Arragon*'s Ambaſſador's, was thus projected to entangle *Henry*, under colour of keeping it the more ſecret. They ſucceeded ſo well, that *Henry* relying upon the diverſions, his pretended Allies would make in *Guienne*, *Bearn*, *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, *Burgundy*, flattered himſelf that he might eaſily extend his Conqueſts in *Picardy*. To that end, he made extraordinary preparations by Sea and Land, which put him to a vaſt expence. But whilſt we leave him employed in preparing for the next Campain, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed in *Italy*.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 364. Hall.

League between Lewis XII and the Venetians. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The *Venetians* not being able to obtain a Peace from the Emperor, who pretended to ſubject them to very unreaſonable terms, ſollicited afreſh the Negotiation they had begun with *France*. On the other hand, *Lewis* XII, to whom time was precious, readily accepted their propoſals. Thus the League between that Monarch and the *Venetians* was quickly concluded (2), upon the ſame foot as that of the year 1498. This was tranſacted by *Andrew Gritti*, who being then Priſoner in *France*, was commiſſioned to conclude it in the Senate's name. Preſently after he was releaſed, as well as *Alviano*, who returning to *Venice*, was made General of the Forces of the Republick.

Guicciard.

Lewis ſends Trimouille into Italy with an Army. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

When *Lewis* XII had concluded his Treaty with the *Venetians*, he ordered his Troops to march into *Italy*, where they arrived in *June*. As, by the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Orthez*, *Henry* was allowed two months to ſend his pretended ratification, and as that term was not yet expired, very probably *Lewis* ſtill flattered himſelf that *Henry* would perform what the King of *Arragon* had promiſed for him; otherwiſe he would not doubtleſs have ſent his beſt Troops into *Italy*. Mean while, the preparations which were continuing in *England*, and the Hoſtilities, already begun at Sea ſince *April*, between the *French* and *Engliſh*, ſhould have convinced him that *Ferdinand* had deceived him. However this be, the *French* Army commanded by *la Trimouille* being arrived upon the borders of the *Milaneſe*, *Maximilian Sforza* quitted his capital, and retired among the *Switzers*, who were to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand Men, at *Como* and *Novarra*, where they expected ſupplies from their own Country.

Ferdinand's General goes from Milan.

Upon the approach of the *French*, *Raymund de Cardona*, who was ſtill in *Lombardy* with the *Spaniſh* Army, retired without making the leaſt motion to aſſiſt the Duke of *Milan*, though *Italy* was not included in the Truce of *Orthez*. Very likely *Ferdinand* was not diſpleaſed, that the *French* ſhould make ſome progreſs in the *Milaneſe*, to keep them employed there, whilſt *Henry* carried War into *Picardy*. At leaſt, any other reaſon of his General's conduct can ſcarce be imagined. The Duke of *Milan* having no other Forces but the *Switzers* to oppoſe to the *French*, *Milan* and the reſt of the Towns of the Duchy, except *Como* and *Novarra*, ſubmitted to *la Trimouille* without offering to reſiſt, whilſt the *Switzers*, who were not ſtrong enough to take the Field, remained immured within the Walls of theſe two places. Whilſt the *French* were making theſe Conqueſts, *Alviano* took for the *Venetians*, *Peſchiera*, *Breſcia*, *Valeggio*, and at laſt *Cremona*, after a fruitleſs attempt to become maſter of *Verona* by intelligence.

Sforza loſes all Milan except Como and Novarra. Guicciard.

Genoa is reſtored to France. Guicciard.

About this time the Faction of the *Adorno*'s, who in *Genoa* ſided with *France*, found means to become ſuperior, and put the City again under the Dominion of the King (3).

La Trimouille is repulſed by the Switzers at Novarra.

Lewis XII was now in poſſeſſion of the whole *Milaneſe*, except *Como* and *Novarra*. *La Trimouille* knowing, the *Switzers* expected a ſtrong reinforcement from their own Country, thought he ſhould make haſte and beſiege *Novarra*, before the arrival of theſe Troops. He marched therefore to the Town, and in the expectation of taking it immediately, furiouſly ſtormed it. But whatever bravery the *French* ſhowed upon this occaſion, they were repulſed with a very great loſs, which even obliged the General to retire to *Riotta*, a village about two miles from *Novarra*. Mean while, the *Switzers* proud of repulſing ſo terrible an aſſault, and beginning to deſpiſe the *French*, before whom they had not yet dared to appear in the Field, ſuddenly reſolved to ſally out of *Novarra*, and attack the enemy in their Camp. This reſolution was imme-

The French Army defeated by the Switzers. Guicciard.

(1) Which were Sir *Edward Poynings* Controller of the Houſhold, *John Young* Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Thomas Boleyn*, and Sir *Richard Wyngfield*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 354.
(2) At *Blois*, *March* 14. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 305.
(3) About the end of *June*. *Rapin*.

1513. diately executed, to the great astonishment of the *French*, who not being able to resist this unexpected attack, were entirely routed. But that was not all. Their consternation after the defeat was so great, that they thought it their only safety to repass the mountains, and with all possible diligence return into *France*. The news of their flight reaching *Genoa*, the *Adorno's* quitted the City to the *Fregosa's* their enemies, who chose for Doge *Octavian Fregosa* head of their Family and Faction. Thus, within the space of a month, *Lewis* XII got and lost *Genoa* and *Milan*, and *Maximilian Sforza*, who had been expelled out of his Duchy, took possession again. But it was the latter end of the year before he recovered the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, kept by the *French* and *Venetians*.

The French *retire home.* Genoa *is lost;* *and* Sforza *is restored to* Milan.

The revolution in the King of *France's* affairs, occasioned much the same to those of the *Venetians*. *Alviano* their General no sooner heard of the *French* Army's misfortune, but he hastily retired into the territories of *Venice*, and besieged *Verona*. But *Raimund de Cardona*, who had affected a sort of neutrality whilst the *French* were in the *Milanese*, knowing they were out of *Italy*, turned his Forces against *Alviano*. He not only forced him to raise the Siege of *Verona*, but even pursuing him from place to place, obtained over him a signal Victory, which obliged the *Venetians* to refer their differences to the Pope, tho' he had declared against them by assisting the Emperor. The necessity of their affairs compelled them to take that step in order to gain time. They had lost all their Towns in the *Milanese*, and their own Country had been horribly ravaged by the *Spanish* Troops, even within sight of *Venice*.

Alviano *retires.* Guicciard. *He is defeated by the* Spaniards. *The* Venetians *made the Pope Umpire.*

Whilst these things were acting in *Italy*, *Henry* was preparing to pass into *France* with a numerous Army. But before I speak of the success of his first Campain, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed at his own Court, and which it will be worth while to insist upon a moment. *Thomas Wolsey* had been introduced to Court by the Bishop of *Winchester*. Presently after, he was made Privy-Counsellor, and as such, had opportunity to make himself better known to the King, and gain his esteem, as well by his own qualifications, as by the interest of the Bishop his Benefactor, who ceased not to cause the King to admire the strength of his genius, and observe how fit he was for the greatest affairs. *Wolsey* on his part neglected not what he thought capable of increasing the King's good opinion of him. To an indefatigable application, and extreme diligence in all the affairs he was charged with, he added a blind condescension for all his Master's passions. The King was highly pleased to see in his Court and Council a Churchman, less rigid and scrupulous than the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the old Bishop of *Winchester*. *Wolsey* danced, sung, laughed, and played with the young Courtiers who were most in favour; and if *Polydore Virgil* is to be credited, who loved him not, neither had reason to love him, he carried his complaisance so far as to lend the King his house for his most secret pleasures. However this be, his condescension, joined to his Talents for business, and a pretty extensive knowledge in Divinity which he had acquired, as well as the King, by reading the works of *Thomas Aquinas*, soon gave him the advantage over all the other Courtiers. When he saw himself well fixed, he made it his particular business to shew the King his errors since his accession to the Throne, and how his youth had been abused. By this method he insinuated to him by degrees, that he was ill-served, and wanted an able Minister, capable of easing him in the Administration of the most weighty affairs, and of shewing him the consequences. In a word, he so managed, that he became himself that Minister which he advised the King to seek, and by degrees was intrusted with the care and conduct of the King's principal affairs. His credit rendered him haughty, proud, insolent, and ungrateful to his old Friends. In short, he was taxed with all the failings of this nature, which Favorites are usually charged with, and which indeed few Favorites can avoid. *Wolsey*, like most others, grew extremely odious, chiefly because his Counsels were always self-interested, which the event discovered to all but the King, who was blind in that respect. His favor and credit, caused the most potent Princes of *Europe*, to strive to gain him to their interests, and glory, at least outwardly, in being of the number of his Friends. The reason is, because during this Reign, the affairs of *Europe* were in such a situation, that *England* was capable of making the balance incline to the side she espoused. *Wolsey* knew how to improve this advantage, to render himself the richest and most powerful Subject that ever was; but laboured not with the same ardour for his Master's honour, as for his own interest. After he was declared Prime Minister, he managed, during the space of seventeen years, all the King's affairs both Foreign and Domestick (1). 1513.

Thomas Wolsey *becomes Prime Minister.* Cavendish. Fiddes. Burnet. Pol. Virg. Stow.

Before the King was ready to pass into *France*, the War was already begun at Sea. In *April*, Admiral *Howard* had put to Sea with thirty-two Ships of War (2), whilst the *French* Fleet remained at *Brest*, expecting six Gallies, which *Pregent* (3) was to bring from *Marseilles*. The *English* Admiral approaching *Brest*, resolved to attack the *French* Ships as they lay at Anchor. But upon notice that *Pregent* was arrived at *Conquet*, he sailed that way, to endeavour to take the six Gallies, and attacked them indeed with great bravery (4). But during the fight, his Ship being grappled with *Pregent's* Galley, he entered it sword in hand, and at first caused great disorder. Unhappily, the Galley being afterwards disingaged, he was left in the hands of his enemies, with a few attendants, and, being unknown, was knocked over-board with a half-pike. The loss of the Admiral caused such a consternation in the *English* Fleet, that they durst not continue the fight (5). The news being carried to Court, the King conferred the Office of Lord Admiral upon *Thomas Howard*, Brother of the deceased. Mean while, as the *French* Fleet, by receiving a strong reinforcement, was become superior to the *English*, the last returned to some Port in *England*, expecting the arrival of the new Admiral. The *French*, encouraged by the retreat of the *English*, sailed to the Coast of *England*, and even made a descent in *Sussex*, and carried away some booty.

Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Herbert. *Sea Fight, wherein Admiral* Howard *is lost.* Hall. Stow.

Mean time, *Henry* was preparing to carry War into *France*, tho' none of his pretended Allies had yet made the least step towards performing the Treaty of *Mechlin*. *Leo* X had not ratified the Treaty, and nothing was farther from his thoughts, than the sending of an Army into *Provence* or *Dauphiné*. The Emperor began to seek excuses not to enter *Burgundy* with an Army, though he had positively promised it. As for the King of *Arragon*, he had not only concealed from *Henry* his one year's Truce with *France*, but was even trying to amuse him with hopes, that he was instantly going to make a powerful diversion in *Guienne*. He so artfully acted his part, that it was *June* before *Henry* was fully informed of the Truce of *Orthez*. Provoked at such a Fraud, he dispatched an Ambassador to the King his Father-in-law, to upbraid him with breach of Faith, and summon him to execute the Treaty of *Mechlin*, or rather, that signed by his Ambassador in his name at *London*. Whereupon *Ferdinand*, seeing he could no longer wear the mask, disowned his Ambassador, and said, he had exceeded his Instructions. He confessed however, he had concluded a Truce for a year with *Lewis* XII, being forced by the necessity of his affairs, but promised to do wonders when it was expired, and advised his Son-in-law to accept of the Truce, that they might afterwards unite their Forces, and jointly attack the common Enemy. But *Henry* could no longer rely upon such promises. Thus, by the Artifices of the Pope, the Emperor, and *Ferdinand*, he saw himself engaged to carry War alone into the Enemy's Country, which was to have been invaded in four several quarters. He was not convinced of their Insincerity till it was almost too late to recede, the greatest part of his Army having already passed the Sea, and just entring upon action. Happily for him, *Lewis* XII, deceived by the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Orthez*, had now sent his best Troops into *Italy*, imagining *Henry* would accept of the Truce according to the King of *Arragon's* Engagement.

Henry *prepares to pass into* France. Hall. *He comes to know of* Ferdinand's *one Year's Truce with* France. Herbert. Ferdinand *disowns his Ambassador.*

Shortly after *Henry* received a Letter from the Emperor, with many excuses, that it was impossible for him this year to lead an Army into *Burgundy*, but he would punctually perform his engagement next year. Mean while, to shew, he meant not to forsake him, he said, he would come and serve as Volunteer in his Army. Thus, of the four Allies who were to act at once against *France*, *Henry* alone was charged with the burden of the

The Emperor breaks his word with Henry. Herbert. Henry *resolves upon the War alone.*

(1) In the present War, the King committed to him the direction of the Supplies and Provisions to be made for the Army; which *Wolsey* took care not to neglect the Advantages of. The victualling of his Army was not, without a Sarcasm to his Birth, recommended to *Wolsey*, says the Lord *Herbert*, p. 15.

(2) *Hall* and the Lord *Herbert* say, forty two. fol. 22. p. 13. The Admiral was accompanied by *Walter Devreux* Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Wolstan Brownе*, Sir *Edward Ichyngham*, Sir *Anthony Poyntz*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Thomas Wyndham*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitz-William*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, Sir *William Sidney*, Esquires, *&c. Hall*, fol. 22. *Stow*, p. 491.

(3) Called by our Historians, Prior *John*.

(4) On the 25th of *April*. *Hall*, fol. 23.

(5) This Sir *Edward Howard* was not eldest, but second Son of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, slain at *Bosworth-field*, and attainted in the Parliament of *Hen.* VII. The said *Thomas* was restored (4 *Hen.* VII.) to the Title of Earl of *Surrey*, and to the Lands which were his Wives Inheritance. Sir *Edward* was constituted Admiral of *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Normandy*, *Gascogne*, and *Aquitain*, 4 *Hen.* VIII. *March* 19. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 267, 271.

1513. War. *Edward* IV his Grandfather had been formerly in much the ſame caſe, and thought it no diſhonour to make a ſpeedy Peace with *Lewis* XI, when diſappointed by his Allies. If *Henry* had followed his example, he would have terribly embarraſſed thoſe by whom he was deceived, but being greedy of Glory, would ſhew he had no occaſion for them. He had ſo relied on the ſincerity of his Allies, that though the Treaty of *Mechlin* was not to be ratified by the Pope and the King of *Arragon*, till the 5th of *June*, he had cauſed the beſt part of his Army to paſs over to *Calais* in the middle of *May*. It is evident, the ratification of the Treaty of *Mechlin* had been ſo long retarded, only to engage *Henry* beyond a poſſibility of receding.

He paſſes his Army over to Calais. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Before the departure of the firſt Troops (1), *Henry* had beheaded the Earl of *Suffolk*, Priſoner in the *Tower* ever ſince the reign of *Henry* VII, who gave *Philip* I, King of *Caſtile*, a poſitive promiſe to ſpare that Lord's life. But probably, he gave the Prince his Son orders like thoſe given by King *David* to *Solomon* his Succeſſor, with reſpect to *Joab*. The Hiſtorians have endeavoured to diſcover *Henry*'s Inducement at ſuch a Juncture, to put the Earl of *Suffolk* to death, who was not in condition to hurt him. But they have ſaid nothing ſatisfactory (2).

The Earl of Suffolk *beheaded.* Hall. Stow. Herbert. Du Bellay.

The two Bodies of Troops tranſported to *Calais* departed thence the 17th of *June* (3), under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* (4), and the Lord *Herbert* (5), in order to march to *Terouenne*, to which they laid Siege (6). But the King departed not from *England* till the 30th of the ſame month, having conſtituted Queen *Catherine* Regent (7). He arrived the ſame day at *Calais*, being attended by *Thomas Wolſey* his Prime Miniſter, *Charles Brandon* another Favorite lately made Viſcount *l'Iſle* (8), with many other Lords (9). Whilſt the Troops continued the Siege of *Terouenne*, he remained at *Calais* with a body of nine thouſand Men, ready to march upon the firſt occaſion. At laſt, having certain advice that the Duke of *Longueville* was approaching to relieve the Town, he haſtened from *Calais* to the Siege, where he arrived the 4th of *Auguſt*. On the 9th, the Emperor came and conferred with him between *Aire* and *Terouenne*, and three days after repaired to the Camp and ſerved as Volunteer under the King, making no ſcruple to receive a hunded Crowns a day for his pay. By this mark of eſteem, and the imaginary honour he did the King, he meant to make amends for his Breach of Faith, and the hundred thouſand Crowns received for an Expedition which he had never intended to make.

The Engliſh *beſiege* Terouenne. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 367, 372. p. 370. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Henry comes to the Siege.

The Emperor ſerves in the Engliſh *Army.* Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Mean time, the Duke of *Longueville* who commanded the *French* Army, approaching *Terouenne*, *Henry* paſſed the *Lys* with the greateſt part of his Troops, in order to meet him. The two Armies engaged, but not long. For the fight was hardly begun, when the *French*, by what accident is unknown, ran away in confuſion without any poſſibility of their being rallied. But the principal Officers choſe rather to be taken priſoners than follow ſo diſhonorable an example. The Duke of *Longueville* was of the number, with Chevalier *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Buſſi d'Amboiſe*, and ſome others of the greateſt Diſtinction. This Battle, if ſuch a rout may be ſo termed, was called, *The Battle of Guinegaſte*, and by ſome, *The Battle of Spurs*, becauſe the *French* made more uſe of their Spurs than their Swords. Whilſt the two Armies were in view, before the Engagement, a body of *French* attempted to introduce a Convoy of Proviſions into the Town, but were repulſed by the Lord *Herbert*, who was left to guard the Trenches. After the Battle, the beſieged deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered the City the 22d of *Auguſt*, and the King, in company with the Emperor, entered on the 24th. 1513.

The Battle of Spurs. Herbert. Mezerai. Hall. Aug. 16.

Terouenne *ſurrenders.* Hall. Stow.

It ſeemed to be *Henry*'s deſtiny to be always the Emperor's dupe. After the taking of *Terouenne*, *Maximilian*, who had only ſerved at the Siege as Volunteer, found means to have the place delivered to him, and immediately ordered it to be demoliſhed. It is hard to conceive what induced *Henry* to this condeſcenſion. All that can be conjectured is, that there was perhaps in the Capitulation, ſome Article againſt the razing of the place, but that altering his mind, he was willing to ſave his honour by delivering it to the Emperor. Though this were the caſe, there would be no leſs reaſon to be ſurprized at his management. 'Tis eaſy to perceive it was very advantagious to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, Grandſon of *Maximilian*, that *Terouenne* belonged neither to the *French* nor the *Engliſh*. But what Intereſt could *Henry* have to loſe ſo many Men, and ſo much time, to take a place in order to have it razed in favour of *Maximilian*, who had not merited ſuch a Condeſcenſion (10)?

Henry gives the Place to the Emperor, who razes it. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

As the Seaſon was not yet far advanced, *Henry* reſolved, before the end of the Campain, to beſiege *Tournay*, whether he heard the place was ill provided, or the Emperor's Intrigues had again influenced his Council. For, the Conqueſt of *Tournay*, which lies at ſome diſtance from *Calais*, was much leſs advantagious to *Henry* than to the Archduke *Charles*, whoſe Dominions it ſecured; whereas *Boulogne* would have been, without doubt, much more convenient for the King, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of *Calais*. Nevertheleſs the Siege of *Tournay* was reſolved, probably, becauſe the Emperor hoped the King would give him that place as he had done *Terouenne*. But he found againſt him Intereſts ſtronger than thoſe of the King himſelf, which oppoſed his deſigns.

Siege of Tournay. Mezerai. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Whilſt preparations were making for the Siege, *Henry* paid a viſit to *Margaret* Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, who was at *Liſle*, and ſtaid three days with her. Then he returned to his Army which was marching to *Tournay* (11), but the Emperor left the King upon ſome diſguſt, the reaſon whereof is unknown. Next day, the 15th of *September*, the army arrived before *Tournay*, which held out but ſeven or eight days (12). *Henry* entered the City on the 24th (13), a month after his Entry into *Terouenne*. By the Capitulation, the Inhabitants were to have their antient Privileges, upon paying to *Henry* a ſmall annual acknowledgment of four thouſand Livres *Tournois*, for ten years only (14).

Henry viſits Margaret of Auſtria. Hall. Herbert.

Tournay taken. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 377, Sept. 23. Herbert. Hall.

After the taking of *Tournay*, the King calling a Coun-

Henry kept Tournay. Herbert.

(1) On *April* 30. *Stow*, p. 491.

(2) The chief Reaſon, as my Lord *Herbert* and others ſay, was for fear, in caſe of the King's death in *France*, the People being well-affected to the Houſe of *York*, ſhould take him out of the *Tower* and make him King. *Edmund de la Pole* was Son of *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Elizabeth* Siſter of *Edward* IV. But this reaſon ſeems weak, ſince *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, the King's Siſter, was the undoubted Heir of the Houſe of *York*, in caſe the King died without Iſſue. The *French* Writers ſay, *Richard* his younger Brother commanded ſix thouſand *French* at the Siege of *Terouenne*, which ſome have thought haſtened his Brother's death. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 190. *Hall*, fol. 26.

(3) *Thomas Grey*, Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, was General of all the King's Forces both by Sea and Land, and *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Admiral. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 365, 366.

(4) *George Talbot* High-Steward of the King's Houſhold, accompanied with *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of the Order of St. *John*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* Captain of the Light-Horſe, Sir *Thomas Blount*, Sir *Richard Sachiverell*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *John Askew*, Sir *Lewis Bagot*, Sir *Thomas Cornwall*, &c. This Body conſiſted of above eight thouſand. *Herbert*, p. 15. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 372. *Stow*, p. 491.

(5) *Charles Somerſet*, natural Son by *Joan Hill* of *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet* (who loſt his Life in 3 *Edward* IV.) married *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir of *William Herbert* Earl of *Huntington*, by reaſon whereof he bore the Title of Lord *Herbert*, and as ſuch had Summons to Parliament, 1 *Henry* VIII, 3 *Henry* VIII. He was Lord Chamberlain to *Henry* VII, and continued in the ſame Office to King *Henry* VIII. From him are deſcended the preſent *Somerſets*, Dukes of *Beaufort*. He was attended by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Audley*, and *De la Ware*, the Barons *Carew*, and *Curſon*, Sir *Thomas Weſt*, Sir *Edward Huſey*, Sir *Robert Dimocke*, Sir *David Owen*, &c. He commanded ſix thouſand Men. The Baron of *Carew*, Maſter of the Ordnance, was killed the firſt night before *Terouenne* in the Lord *Herbert*'s Tent, which came ſo near him, that the *French* writ he was ſlain there. *Herbert*, p. 15. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 372.

(6) *June* 22. There were within the Town ſix hundred Horſe, and two thouſand five hundred Foot, beſides the Inhabitants. *Hall*, fol. 24. *Hollingſh.* p. 817.

(7) She was alſo General of all the Forces in *England*, and had Power, with five noble Perſonages, to take up Money upon Loan, as occaſion ſhould require, and to give Security of the Sums for maintaining and raiſing of Forces, if need ſhould require; as it is more particularly ſet forth in the Patent Rolls of theſe times. *Bacon*, p. 148.

(8) *May* 15th, 1513. His Uncle *William Brandon*, Standard-Bearer to *Henry* VII at *Boſworth-Field*, was ſlain by King *Richard* III himſelf. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 299.

(9) The King divided his own Forces into three Bodies. The Vanguard, conſiſting of three thouſand Men, was commanded by *Charles Brandon*, Viſcount *Liſle*; the right Wing by Sir *Richard Carew*, and the left by *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*; *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex* was Lieutenant-General of the Spears, and Sir *John Pechy* commanded the Horſe. *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, with ſix hundred Men, was on the King's left hand; and on the right, Sir *Edward Poynings* with the ſame number. *George Nevil*, Lord *Abergavenny*, followed with eight hundred Men; and Sir *William Compton*, with the retinue of *Fox* Biſhop of *Winchеſter*, and of *Wolſey*, which amounted to eight hundred Men, brought up the Rear. The King's Forces were in all eleven thouſand three hundred Men. *Stow*, p. 491.

(10) It bordered, it ſeems, upon his Territories, which had been much infeſted by Irruptions from thence, and therefore by his Intreaty, it was razed, ſave only the Cathedral and religious Houſes. But the *French* repaired it ſoon after. This could not but ſeem ſtrange, ſince it coſt ſo much, as *Guicciardin* doubts not to call it *Intolerable and Infinite Expence*. *Herbert*, p. 16.

(11) The King, about a Mile or two from *Liſle*, loſt himſelf in a great Miſt, neither could he nor any of his Train reſolve which way to turn, till a Victualler coming by chance from his Army, both informed him where his Army lay, and conducted him thither, to the great Joy of them all. *Herbert*, p. 16. *Hall*, fol. 35.

(12) Though the Gates bore this Inſcription, *Thou haſt never loſt thy Virginity*. *Hall*, fol. 44.

(13) *Hall* ſays, it was the 2d of *October*. The King knighted upon this occaſion, *Edward Guildford*, *William Fitz-William*, *John Dauncy*, *William Tiler*, *John Sharpe*, *William Huſey*, *John Savage*, *Chriſtopher Garnyſhe*, &c.——The number of Inhabitants in that City was eighty thouſand. *Hall*, fol. 45.

(14) And preſent payment of fifty thouſand Crowns *de ſoleil*, (or ten thouſand Pounds Sterling. *Hall*, fol. 44.) The City ſurrendered to the King by the Name of *Roy Tres-Chriſtien* [*Moſt Chriſtian King.*] *Herbert*, p. 17.

cil

1513. cil of War, it was debated, whether it was proper to keep the place, which ſeemed to be difficult, by reaſon of its diſtance from *Calais*. But after a long debate, it was reſolved to keep it, and leave for Governor Sir *Edward Poynings*, with a ſtrong Garriſon. The contrariety of the two reſolutions with reſpect to *Terouenne* and *Tournay* will, perhaps, appear ſtrange. The firſt of theſe places which was neareſt *Calais*, and ſecured the road from *Calais* to *Tournay*, was demoliſhed. The ſecond, which could not without great difficulty be relieved, was deemed neceſſary to be kept. This contrariety could proceed only from *Wolſey*'s Intereſt, who influenced the Council as he pleaſed. He had caſt his Eyes on the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, as a thing very convenient for him, whereas that of *Terouenne* was nothing in compariſon. Accordingly, he afterwards found means to obtain the adminiſtration of this See, under colour, that the Biſhop refuſed to ſwear Fealty to the King. This is the true reaſon why it was reſolved to keep *Tournay*, and perhaps of undertaking the Siege (1).

Margaret and Charles come and ſee Henry at Tourney. Hall. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Next day after the King's Entry into *Tournay*, the Princeſs *Margaret* Ducheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, and the Archduke *Charles* her Nephew, came to congratulate him upon his new Conqueſt. The fortnight they ſtaid with him, he took care to entertain them with all ſorts of Diverſions, as Juſts, Turnaments, running at the Ring, Balls, Maſquerades, and the like. Mean while, amidſt all theſe Diverſions, the Miniſters of the two Courts began a Treaty, which was concluded a few days after.

Henry returns their Viſit. New Treaty at Liſle. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 379. October 15. Herbert.

Margaret and *Charles* being returned to *Liſle*, *Henry* repaid their viſit (2), and was received with all imaginable reſpect and civility. Some days after, on the 15th of *October*, they ſigned a Treaty, importing, That though *Henry* had bound himſelf not to repaſs into *England* till the war was ended, he ſhould however, have liberty to return thither with his army.

That during the Winter, the Emperor ſhould keep in *Artois* and *Hainault* a body of four thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, for the Defence as well of *Tournay* and the *Tournaiſis*, as of the Archduke's Dominions.

That for the maintenance of theſe Troops, *Henry* ſhould pay the Emperor two hundred thouſand Crowns at ſeveral payments.

That before the 1ſt of *June* next year, *Henry* ſhould carry war into *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*, and the Emperor into ſome other Province of *France*.

That before the 15th of *May*, the Emperor, the Ducheſs *Margaret*, the Archduke *Charles*, the King of *England*, Queen *Catherine*, the Princeſs *Mary*, ſhould meet all together at *Calais* to celebrate the Archduke's Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, purſuant to the Treaty concluded between the Emperor and the late King *Henry* VII.

Remark on this Treaty.

Whatever was to be done, *Henry* muſt always find Money. *Maximilian* had already received a hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, without having executed any of his Engagements entered into by the Treaty of *Mechlin*, and found means to procure two hundred thouſand more by the preſent Treaty, beſides the advantage of razing *Terouenne*, which very much annoyed his Grandſon the Archduke's Dominions. Nay, it is very probable, the diſguſt which made him quit the King's Army, proceeded from his not being able to perſuade him to promiſe him *Tournay* alſo when taken. This manifeſtly ſhews, he looked upon *Henry* as a novice, eaſily to be inſnared. Certainly *Henry*'s many falſe ſteps in the beginning of his reign can only be excuſed by his little knowledge of the Character of the Princes with whom he treated.

Ferdinand *propoſes a new League to* Henry.

It cannot be doubted, that the King of *Arragon* was of the ſame opinion concerning *Henry* him Son-in-law. Notwithſtanding the ill turn he had ſerved him laſt year, he had ſtill the aſſurance to ſend him an Ambaſſador at *Liſle* to propoſe a new League, as if his word had been more to be relied on than ſome months before. But it does not appear that *Henry* was then inclined to truſt to his promiſes.

Henry returns to England. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Henry departed from *Liſle* the 17th of *October*, and on the 24th arrived at his Palace at *Richmond*, after a glorious Campain. I call it glorious, if the Succeſs of his Arms be only conſidered. But in another reſpect it was not very honorable, ſince he had been the dupe of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, who had thrown upon him the whole burden of the War, which ſhould have been common to all the four. It is true, he had taken *Terouenne* and *Tournay*. But the firſt of theſe places being given to the Emperor, and razed, was to him of no benefit. As for *Tournay*, he never reaped any conſiderable advantage from it, by reaſon of its diſtance from *Calais*. *Wolſey* was the only gainer by it, the Biſhoprick of that City, which he obtained in the end, together with the Abby of St. *Amand*, being of a much greater Revenue than what the King himſelf received from *Tournay* and its Territory. 1513.

The Switzers *enter* Burgundy. Mezerai. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The ill Succeſs of the *Italian* Campain had put *Lewis* XII's affairs in a bad ſituation, and the loſs of the battle of *Guinegaſte*, with the taking of *Terouenne* and *Tournay*, had entirely diſordered them. But this was a trifle in compariſon of the danger *France* was in, by a *Swiſs* Invaſion, after the *French* were driven out of the *Milaneſe*. The warlike *Switzers*, excited againſt *Lewis* by the Pope and the Emperor, not being ſatisfied with their advantages over him in *Italy*, reſolved to attack him in his own Kingdom. The opportunity was favourable, by reaſon of the ſeveral forementioned Junctures. To improve this opportunity therefore, the *Switzers* levied fifteen thouſand Men (3), to whom the Emperor joined all the Nobility of *Franche-Comté*, and ſome *German* Horſe, under the Command of *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*. This army entering the Duchy of *Burgundy*, encamped before *Dijon*, where *la Trimouille*, lately returned from *Italy*, had ſhut himſelf up with ſome Troops (4); but that place was ſo weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping it. He defended it however ſix weeks. But at laſt, ſeeing that by the loſs of *Dijon*, not only *Burgundy*, but all the reſt of *France* would be in great danger, he thought he ſhould prevent it without waiting the King's orders, which might come too late. By a Capitulation with the *Switzers*, he bound himſelf to pay them four hundred thouſand Crowns (5), of which he paid down twenty thouſand, and promiſed in the King's name, that he would deſiſt from all his pretenſions to the Duchy of *Milan*. The *Switzers*, pleaſed with their Expedition, retired into their own Country, carrying with them four Hoſtages, who found means to eſcape when they knew the King refuſed to ratify the Capitulation.

They beſiege Dijon.

La Trimouille *treats without the King's knowledge.* Guicciard. Du Bellai.

Lewis *makes a Peace with the Pope.* Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

Lewis XII finding himſelf attacked in ſo many places, and not doubting that the Pope and the King of *Arragon* created him all theſe Troubles, reſolved at laſt to be reconciled with the Pope. This agreement was the more eaſy, as *Leo* X had not, like *Julius* II, a perſonal enmity againſt him. Since the *French* were out of *Italy*, he had nothing to demand of the King, but the diſſolving of the Council of *Piſa*, without which indeed he could not conſent to a Peace. The Council was grown ſo thin, that *Lewis*, in forſaking it, made no great ſacrifice to the Pope. It is true, the ſubmitting in a point he had hitherto openly maintained, ſeemed to be ſomething diſhonorable. But as the Council of *Piſa* had been properly ſummoned againſt *Julius* II, he thought he might without reproach yield to another Pope. However, *Lewis* perceiving, that by his reconciliation with *Leo* X, he ſhould take from the Kings of *England* and *Arragon* the pretence they uſed to make War upon him, was at length induced to renounce his Council, and acknowledge that of *Lateran*. This renunciation was ſolemnly made in the tenth Seſſion, held about the end of *December*.

The Pope exhorts Henry *to Peace.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 349. March 16. Guicciard.

Leo X, in the beginning of his Pontificate, writ to *Henry*, as to all the reſt of the Princes, earneſtly exhorting him to Peace. In this manner he was to talk, in order to diſcharge the duty of the common Father of Chriſtians. *Henry*, who ſaw plainly, and was afterwards ſtill more fully convinced, that this was only grimace, replied, he could not make Peace without his Allies, and that a ſeparate Peace would be directly contrary to all his Engagements. This anſwer diſpleaſed not the Pope, who then ſought only to raiſe Enemies to *France*. But when he was ſure of his agreement with *Lewis* XII, he took occaſion to ſend another Letter to *Henry*, telling him, he never intended to perſuade him to make a ſeparate Peace, but as he had taken Arms ſolely for the defence of the Church and the Holy See, and had, by his late Victories, attained the end he had propoſed, it was reaſonable he ſhould lay them down, ſince the Prince, who oppreſſed the Church, was returned to his obedience. This Letter was dated *December* the 17th, about the time of the tenth Seſſion of the Council of *Lateran*, wherein the *French* Ambaſſadors made a ſolemn Submiſſion in their Maſter's name.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 386.

Henry *ſees he is abuſed.*

Nothing contributed more to open *Henry*'s eyes, than this ſecond Letter. He imagined, when he proteſted that he took arms in defence of the Church, his Allies

(1) *Wolſey* repreſented to the King, that it was fit *Tournay* ſhould be kept as a Trophy of his Victories, and the rather as *Cæſar* (in his *Commentaries*) acknowledges he no where met with ſo brave a Reſiſtance. However, it coſt *Wolſey* no ſmall trouble and oppoſition before he could obtain the poſſeſſion of this Biſhoprick. *Herbert*, p. 17. *Strype*'s *Mem. Eccl. Henry* VIII. p. 15.

(2) *October* 11. *Hall*, fol. 45.

(3) Twenty five thouſand, ſays *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 320. ——— *Guicciardin* ſays, they had twenty thouſand Foot, and that the Emperor ſent them a thouſand Horſe and Artillery, l. 12.

(4) A thouſand Lances, and ſix thouſand Foot. *Guicciard.*

(5) Six hundred thouſand. *Idem.*

knew,

1513. knew, he did not mean, for all that, to neglect his own Intereſt, that Language being properly only to amuſe the publick. He had the more reaſon to believe it, as, even in the Treaty of League, each of the Allies had evidently propoſed to himſelf temporal advantages. And yet, he ſaw, the Pope had no ſooner obtained his deſire, but he took the words of the Preamble of the Treaty in the literal Senſe, as if there had been indeed no other deſign than to labour for the Church, and under that colour, pretended to diſſolve a League formed by himſelf. This convinced him, that the Pope, in drawing him into a war with *France*, had only his own Intereſt in view. On the other hand, he was not better pleaſed with the King of *Arragon*, nor had reaſon to be ſo. As for the Emperor, he had performed nothing of what he had promiſed. All theſe Conſiderations having at laſt opened his Eyes, produced a Peace with *France*, which was concluded the next year. But before we cloſe this, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed during the Campain, between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*.

He reſolves to make Peace with France.

War between England *and* Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

James IV ſeeing *Henry* ready to carry War into *France*, called his Parliament, and repreſented to them the indignities *Scotland* had ſuffered from the *Engliſh*, ſince the laſt Peace. *Breton*'s affair was not forgot in this enumeration. But the beſt reaſon, he alledged to induce the *Scots* to a War, was, that *France*, the ancient and faithful Ally of *Scotland*, being about to be invaded by the King of *England*, he could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting her. This reaſon, though very plauſible, was not however univerſally approved. Many thought it ſtrange that the King ſhould thus wantonly, and without an urgent neceſſity, break a Peace advantageous to *Scotland*, ſolemnly ſworn to, and even lately renewed. But the King's Creatures and the Penſioners of *France*, whom *Lamothe*, the *French* Ambaſſador, had now prepared to ſerve the King his Maſter upon this occaſion, carried it by a great majority, ſo that War was reſolved.

James IV *enters* England. *He ſends a defiance to* Henry. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 382. Hall.

Henry was in *France*, when *James* aſſembled his Army to invade *England*, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution. But to keep ſome ſort of formality, *James* writ him a Letter, and ſent it by a Herald, who found him at the Siege of *Terouenne*. This Letter, dated the 26th of *July*, contained the Grievances, *James* believed to have cauſe to complain of, and a declaration of War in caſe he deſiſted not from his Invaſion of *France*. *Henry* could not ſend his anſwer till the 12th of *Auguſt*, the ſubſtance whereof was, "That he was not at all ſurprized to ſee "him break the Peace upon frivolous pretences, ſince he "therein only imitated the inſincerity of his Anceſtors "and Progenitors. Then he upbraided him, that whilſt "he knew him to be in *England*, he never ſhewed, "either by Letter or Ambaſſador, that he intended to "eſpouſe the King of *France*'s quarrel, but waited for "his departure to execute his unjuſt deſigns. He added, "that knowing him perfectly, he had foreſeen his "breach of Faith, and for that reaſon, before he paſſed "into *France*, had taken ſuch a courſe, and ſo well "provided for the defence of his Kingdom, that he did "not queſtion, by God's help, to fruſtrate all the en-"deavours of *Schiſmaticks*, excommunicated by the Pope "and Council of *Lateran*. That beſides, he hoped to "have it very ſoon in his power to requite him, and "in the mean time, would not fail to take the moſt ef-"fectual methods, to deprive him and his poſterity of all "hopes of ever inheriting the Kingdom, he was going "ſo perfidiouſly to invade. After that, he ſet before "his eyes the example of the King of *Navarre*, who "for taking part with *France*, was diſpoſſeſſed of his "Kingdom, without hopes of being ever reſtored. As "for the pretended grievances alledged in his Letter, he "ſaid, they had been ſo often anſwered, that all farther "mention of them was entirely needleſs. But for the "King of *Scotland*'s ſummoning him to deſiſt from the "War with *France*, he told him, he did not acknow-"ledge him for competent judge in his affairs with *Lewis* "XII, and notwithſtanding his threats, would con-"tinue the War. He concluded with ſaying, that he "might be aſſured he would omit no opportunity to be "revenged, wherein he hoped to ſucceed, with the help 1513. "of God and St. *George*."

Henry's *Anſwer*.

James ſtayed not for an anſwer to his Letter, to take the Field. On the 22d of *Auguſt*, he enter *Northumberland*, and took ſeveral places, particularly *Norham* Caſtle (1). The *Engliſh* Writers affirm his Army to be ſixty thouſand ſtrong. Nay, ſome mount the number to a hundred thouſand, which is hardly credible. It cannot however be doubted it was very numerous, conſidering the care *Buchanan* takes to ſhew, it was extremely leſſened by deſertions, and by being kept unemployed for ſome time. The Earl of *Surrey* was then in *Yorkſhire* (2), with twenty ſix thouſand Men. But at the firſt news of the *Scots* entring *England*, he marched directly towards them, and the 4th of *September* came near enough to ſend and offer them Battle, by a Herald, who reported that the King of *Scotland* accepted it for the *Friday* following. *James* was then encamped on the edge of mount *Cheviot*, where it was difficult to attack him (3). And therefore, the Earl of *Surrey*, ſeeing the *Scots* would fight only in ſo advantageous a Poſt, reſolved to ſtay till they deſcended on the plain. The *Engliſh* not appearing on the day appointed, an old *Scotch* Lord (4) took occaſion to repreſent to the King, that he had done enough to ſave his honour: That it was not prudent to fight the *Engliſh* in their own Country, but the beſt way would be to retire with his booty into *Scotland*, where it would be in his power to fight or avoid a Battle as he pleaſed: That as he had taken Arms only to make a diverſion in favour of *France*, he no leſs employed the *Engliſh* Forces, without fighting, than by hazarding a Battle: That upon this occaſion he ought not to liſten to the intereſted Counſels of the *French* Ambaſſador, who only wanted to hazard ſome great action at another's expence, in order to free the King his Maſter from his preſent ſtreights: But in ſerving *France*, *Scotland* was likewiſe to be regarded. This advice ſeemed too cautious to the King. As he had determined to give Battle, he fiercely anſwered, he would fight the *Engliſh* were they a hundred thouſand. Mean while, the Earl of *Surrey* to draw him from his Poſt, marched along a River (5) which parted the two Armies, as if he intended to enter *Scotland* thro' *Carliſle*, the road to which place he ſeemed to take. *James* having notice of it, ſet fire to his Camp, and marched along the ſame River on the oppoſite ſide. But unhappily for him, the ſmoak of his own Camp hindered him from ſeeing the *Engliſh*, who forded the River unperceived. Then *James* halting about *Floddon*, drew up his Army. Here it was the Earl of *Surrey* attacked him, having paſſed with difficulty a ſort of moraſs between the two Armies. The particulars of this Battle are ſo variouſly related by the Hiſtorians of both Nations, that the one cannot be followed without departing from the other. But as to the ſucceſs it is not the ſame. They all agree, the *Scots* loſt the day, after valiantly fighting till night, which parted the Combatants. The two Armies retiring, the *Engliſh* knew not they were victorious, till the morning, when they ſaw, their enemies had quitted the Field of Battle with all their Artillery. The *Engliſh* own, they loſt five thouſand Men in this Battle, which was fought the 9th of *September*. But they ſay the *Scots* loſt ten thouſand (6). The *Scots* pretend, there were but five thouſand ſlain on each ſide, but confeſs their loſs was very conſiderable by the great number of Lords and Officers of their nation killed in the Battle; whereas the *Engliſh* loſt not one Perſon of diſtinction (7). King *James* was never more ſeen after the Battle. The *Engliſh* imagined they found his Body wounded in two places, upon a heap of dead, and ordered it to be put into a Leaden-Coffin, without daring however to bury it, becauſe he died excommunicate. But the *Scots* affirmed it was not the Body of their King. They ſaid that before the Battle, he had cauſed five Men of his own Stature to wear the ſame Arms with himſelf, and that the Body which the *Engliſh* took for the King's was one *Elphinſton*'s who greatly reſembled him. However, they could not tell what was become of the King. One ſaid

James *takes* Norham. Herbert, &c.

Hall.

The Earl of Surrey *marches towards him, and offers him Battle.* Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingh.

It is endeavoured to divert James *from fighting.* Buchanan.

Battle of Floddon, *where* James *is defeated and ſlain.* Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The Engliſh *believe they had found his Body.* Buchanan. Hall.

(1) Which yielded after a ſix days Siege. *Hall*, fol. 38.

(2) The King had, at his departure, appointed him his Lieutenant in the North of *England*; with Orders, if the *Scots* made any Incurſions, to raiſe the Militia of the Counties of *Cheſter*, *Lancaſter*, *Durham*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Cumberland*. *Hall*, fol. 37. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 375.

(3) There was but one narrow Field to get up to him, and at the bottom of the Hill was placed all his Ordinance. On one ſide of his Army was a great Marſh, and the other parts of it were encompaſſed with *Cheviot* Hills. *Hall*, fol. 40.

(4) *Archibald Douglaſs*, Earl of *Angus*. *Buchanan*.

(5) The River *Tyll*, or elſe *Sandyford*. *Hall*, fol. 41.

(6) *Hall* ſays, there were fifteen hundred *Engliſh*, and twelve thouſand *Scots* ſlain, fol. 43. According to *Buchanan*, there fell above five thouſand *Scots*.

(7) In this Battle the Vanguard was led by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, who had with him the Lords *Clifford*, *Conyers*, *Latimer*, *Scrope* of *Upſale*, *Lumley*, *Ogle*; Sir *Nicolas Appleyard*, Sir *William Sidney*, Sir *William Gaſcoyne*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, Sir *Henry Sbirburne*, &c. The right Wing was commanded by Sir *Edmund Howard*, and the left by Sir *Marmaduke Conſtable*. The Rear was brought up by the Earl of *Surrey* himſelf, who was attended by the Lord *Scrope* of *Bolton*, Sir *Philip Tilney*, Sir *George Darcy*, Sir *Thomas Barkley*, Sir *John Stanley*, Sir *John Willoughby*, &c; the Lord *Dacres* and Sir *Edward Stanley*, with their Horſe, being appointed as a Reſerve. On the *Scotch* ſide there fell one Archbiſhop, two Biſhops, four Abbots, twelve Earls, and ſeventeen Barons, with eight or ten thouſand common Soldiers. See a Deſcription of the Battle in my Lord *Herbert*, p. 18. *Hall*, fol. 38, &c. *Stow*, p. 492.

1513. indeed he saw him ride over the *Tweed* after the Battle. But as the Fight lasted till night, this evidence is not much to be relied on. It was however the foundation Buchanan. of the report of his not being dead. Some suspected, he was killed in retiring out of the Battle by the Lord *Alexander Humes*, or his Vassals. But this Fact was never well proved. However this be, it was never known for certain, whether the Body found by the *English* on the Field of Battle, was the King's or not (1). Mean while, Henry *desires the Pope's leave to bury the Corpse.* *Henry* supposing it to be the very Corpse of *James* IV, writ to the Pope for a dispensation to interr it in St. *Paul*'s Church (2). *Leo* X, answered by a Brief, signifying, *The Pope's Answer.* Act. Pub. XIII p 385. Nov. 29. "That it was set forth to him from the King of *England*, that in a Treaty concluded between the late King "of *Scotland* and *Henry* VII, and renewed by *Henry* VIII, "the first had submitted to an excommunication in case "he acted in breach of it, and yet had broken the "Peace: That therefore he had been pronounced excommunicate by the Cardinal Archbishop of *York*, by virtue of a power granted by *Julius* II: That he died "in a Battle, without having been absolved; but in "consideration of his Royal dignity and nearness of blood, "the King of *England* desired permission to bury him "in consecrated ground. Upon these accounts, the Pope "was pleased to grant his request, considering, as he was "told and ought to believe, *James* in his last moments "showed some signs of contrition, such as his circumstances would admit. That therefore he appointed the "Bishop of *London*, or any other Bishop the King should "please to nominate, to inquire into the matter; and if "it was found, *James* had shown any signs of repentance "before his death, he gave him power to absolve him: "That however the absolution should serve for no other purpose than his interment in Holy Ground. "Moreover, he ordered the Bishop to injoin the King "of *England* to undergo some convenient or suitable "penance in the name of the deceased King."

Remark upon this Brief. Among many remarks that might be made on this Brief, I shall confine myself to this one. There was no declaration of War between *James* and *Henry* before *James*'s Letter dated the 16th of *July*, and received the 12th of *August*, nor any hostility committed before the 22d of *August*, when *James* entered *England*. So the King of *Scotland* cannot be said to have violated the Truce till that time. Now, he died the 9th of *September* excommunicated by the Cardinal of *York*, who was then Ambassador at *Rome*. Hence I think it may be inferred, that the Cardinal had excommunicated *James* without knowing the cause, or hearing his reasons, and probably upon a bare Letter sent him by *Henry*, that the King of *Scotland* intended to break the Peace; I say, he only intended to break the Peace, since there is no likelihood that from the 22d of *August*, when *James* entered *England*, to the 9th of *September*, the day of his death, the Cardinal, who was at *Rome*, could have been informed of the actual rupture, and proceeded to an Excommunication. I say nothing of the supposition that *James*, slain on the spot, showed any signs of contrition, especially as it was even uncertain whether the Body they would have interred, was the King of *Scotland*'s. I pass over likewise the limitation set to the absolution, that it should serve only for burying the dead Prince in Holy Ground, and the Penance enjoined a living Person in the name of a dead one. Every Reader may make what reflections he thinks proper on these things.

1514. *Interests and Views of the Princes of Europe.* Such being the situation of the affairs of *Europe* at the end of the year 1513, it is not surprising that the designs and interests of the Princes should be different from what they were in the beginning of the same year. It is therefore necessary, before we enter upon the recital of the events of the year 1514, to mention how the chief Sovereigns stood affected.

Lewis XII. *Lewis* XII burned with desire to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. But he perceived, that to succeed in that design, the Allies must be divided, otherwise there was not even a possibility of undertaking it. The Pope, Emperor, King of *Arragon*, and *Switzers*, were equally concerned to oppose it. And yet, as they had also their separate interests, he thought it would not be impossible to divide them, by offering to each apart, or at least to some of them, advantages as great as those they could naturally expect from their Union. Besides, he hoped, in treating with each in particular, to breed jealousies and suspicions among them, which would induce them to make haste and treat with him for fear of being deserted. He had the more hopes of succeeding this way, as most of the Princes with whom he was in War, were not over scrupulous, but rather very ready to sacrifice their Allies to their own private interest. To this artifice therefore 1514. *Lewis* recurred to free himself from his present embarassment. At the beginning of the year 1514 he took care to renew the Negotiation concerning the marriage of the Princess *Renée* his second Daughter with *Charles* Archduke of *Austria*, knowing, *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* were equally desirous of it, especially upon the terms proposed by themselves. He started however difficulties capable of continuing the Negotiation without entirely breaking it off. The Pope could not look upon this project without uneasiness. He was as much afraid of *Milan*'s being in the hands of a Grandson of the Emperor and King of *Arragon*, as of seeing the *French* King restored. His interest required that *Milan* should remain in the Family of the *Sforza*'s. The *Switzers* passionately wished it also. The *Venetians* too would have therein found a great advantage, if another interest had not prevailed. And that was, to oblige the Emperor to make Peace with them on reasonable Terms. But this they could not hope without the assistance of *France*; and this assistance could not be obtained without aiding *Lewis* XII to recover the *Milanese*.

Maximilian. *Maximilian* found his account in his War with *Venice*, because it cost him little. Since the League of *Cambray*, he had always been powerfully aided by *France*, or *Spain*, or rather, had never made War but at another's expence. His Allies were necessarily obliged to find him Men or Money, otherwise they might be sure he would quickly change sides. Since he had left *France*, the *Spanish* Troops had done all in the War with *Venice*, and the King of *Arragon*, with all his policy, was not able to dispense with acting for him. It is not therefore surprising that he was so difficult, when a Peace was on foot, or used his endeavours to inflame the divisions among the Princes.

The King of Arragon. As for King *Ferdinand*, since he was become master of *Navarre*, it was his interest to imbroil affairs, and cherish in *Italy*, the hopes and fears of the several Parties, to make himself necessary, and that a Peace might not be concluded without him. He thereby tried to hinder *Lewis* from thinking of *Navarre*, and hoped at last to come to a Treaty which should leave him in quiet possession of his Conquest. For that reason, he acted all sorts of parts, in order to attain his ends. One while, he assisted the Emperor against the *Venetians*, another while, he sollicited him in their favour. Sometimes he excited the Pope and *Switzers* not to suffer the King of *France* to become master of *Milan*; and sometimes he offered to assist the same Prince to conquer that Duchy. This was only deceit and artifice to preserve a dissention so advantagious to him. However, his policy began to fail him. He had so forfeited his reputation with respect to sincerity, that he was no longer trusted. It was merely out of necessity, or from a desire to breed suspicion in their enemies, that the rest of the Sovereigns made any Treaties with him, which, they were sensible, they could not rely on.

Henry VIII. *Henry* VIII had with glory got clear of his first Campain, but plainly saw himself indebted for his good success to *Lewis*'s passion, who had neglected the defence of his own Kingdom, by sending his best Troops to recover *Milan*. The truth is, *Henry*, depending upon the Treaty of *Mechlin*, and the diversions, his Allies were to make in several Provinces of *France*, had led into that Kingdom not above five and twenty thousand Men; too weak an Army to give him hopes of great advantages, had he been to deal with all the Forces of his enemy. Forsaken as he was by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, how would he have disingaged himself, if *Lewis* XII had resolved to defer his *Milan* expedition to another time, and march all his Troops into *Picardy*? Thus *Henry* should have considered, and in effect did consider, that he was more indebted for the Victory of *Guinegaste*, and the taking of *Terouenne* and *Tournay*, to the circumstances of the time than to his prudence or valour. He was therefore inclined to get clear of an affair, he had indiscreetly embarked in, without flattering himself any longer with the imaginary assistance of his Allies. It was necessary however to conceal his inclination, in order to draw from *France* advantagious conditions in a Treaty. Such was the posture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1514. But before I speak of those of *England* in particular, it is requisite to show what steps were taken by the Princes concerned in the troubles of *Italy*, because that was then the chief point, on which all the other affairs did depend.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

Leo X, being alarmed at the Negotiation, *Lewis* XII had renewed with the Emperor, concerning the marriage

Leo X tries to reconcile the French and Switzers. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

(1) *Hall* affirms, that it was found by the Lord *Dacres*, and showed to Sir *William Scott*, King *James*'s Chancellor, and to Sir *John Forman* his Serjeant-Porter, who knew him at first sight. fol. 43.

(2) *Stow* says, it was conveyed to *Sbene* Monastery in *Surrey*; and further adds, that he had seen it there, after the Dissolution of that Monastery, wrapped in Lead, thrown into a large room, amongst old Timber, Stone, Lead, and other rubbish. p. 494.

1514. of *Renée* his ſecond Daughter, uſed all poſſible endeavours to reconcile the *Switzers* to *France*, that *Lewis* might be the leſs inclined to treat with the Emperor and the King of *Arragon*. But he wiſhed that *Lewis* would ratify the capitulation of *Dijon* as to what concerned the Duchy of *Milan*; and on the other hand, exhorted the *Switzers* to be ſatisfied with a leſs ſum than was promiſed by *la Trimouille*. This was the plan he had formed for that reconciliation. In ſhort, he had ſo far gained his point, that the King of *France* had offered a Truce for three years, without however departing from his pretenſions to *Milan*, and many of the principal *Switzers* were ſatisfied with it. But it was not poſſible to perſwade that People to abate any thing of the Capitulation of *Dijon*. They even debated whether they ſhould make a ſecond incurſion into *France*, to revenge the breach of that Treaty. Thus the Pope's pains were fruitleſs, and the *Switzers* ſtill remained mortal enemies to *France*.

Ferdinand *prolongs the Truce with* Lewis XII. Guicciard. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 395.

Ferdinand having advice of what was tranſacting in *Switzerland*, was afraid of being deſerted, whether *Lewis* gave up his claim to *Milan*, or the *Switzers* accepted the Truce he offered them. So, without communicating any thing to his Allies, he ſpeedily ſent *Quintana* his Secretary to *Paris*, who renewed for a year the Truce with *France* upon the ſame foot with the former. Only by a ſecret Article, *Lewis* promiſed not to invade the *Milaneſe* this year. In the publication of the Truce in *France*, there was no mention of *Milan*. But *Ferdinand* publiſhed it in *Spain* with that Article; ſo that the World was at a loſs to know what to think of the matter. *Lewis* made no ſcruple to prolong the Truce, becauſe he could not undertake to invade *Milan* and *Navarre* before he had made a Peace with *England*. Beſides, he was very glad the World ſhould think, the Truce, he had prolonged with the King of *Arragon*, would be followed by a Peace.

The Pope ſtrives to make Peace between the Emperor and Venetians, *who make him Umpire of their differences.* Guicciard.

This was a very natural Conſequence, and probably, it inclined *Henry* ſeriouſly to think of a Peace. But on the other hand, *Lewis* was going to receive a great prejudice by it, in that the Pope to break his meaſures with reſpect to *Milan*, laboured with all his power to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. He deſired above all things, for the good of his See, of all *Italy*, and of himſelf, that the *French* ſhould never more ſet foot in *Italy*. Whilſt the *French* were in poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, *Italy* had never been free from troubles, the Popes had been leſs regarded than before, and the *Florentines* had preſerved their Liberty. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons to make the Pope wiſh, they might never return. Beſides, he had formed projects for raiſing his Family, which their neighbourhood might obſtruct. One great means to attain his ends, was, to deprive *Lewis* XII of the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, which would infallibly happen, if it was poſſible to find ſome Expedient to make their Peace with the Emperor. Laſt year the *Venetians*, preſſed by the *Spaniſh* Army, had agreed to make the Pope Umpire, and the Emperor had accepted him. But the affair had lain dormant ever ſince. Preſently after *Ferdinand*'s renewing of the Truce with *Lewis* XII, the Pope fearing a Peace would be concluded between the two Monarchs, at the expence of the Duchy of *Milan*, ſtrove to renew the Negotiation between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. He knew, if it ſucceeded, the King of *France* would in vain expect the aſſiſtance of the Republick to conquer *Milan*. In ſhort, with much Sollicitation, he obtained from both Parties an ingagement to ſtand to his arbitration, and to give him power to ſettle the Terms of the Peace as he ſhould think fit. However, by a writing under his own hand, he promiſed not to pronounce Sentence without both their conſents.

Difficulties of the Peace.

It was very difficult to make this Peace, becauſe the War ſtill continuing in the State of *Venice* and *Friuli*, the leaſt Succeſs was ſufficent to cauſe the Parties to riſe or fall in their demands. When the *Venetians* found themſelves preſſed, they very willingly agreed, that the Emperor ſhould keep *Verona*; but then *Maximilian* would have alſo *Vicenza*, *Padua*, and *Treviſo*. When his affairs were not proſperous, he was ready to leave them theſe three places, but then they could not think of making Peace without *Verona*. Thus the Pope, finding the various Succeſs of the War was a perpetual obſtacle to his projected agreement, paſſed a proviſional Sentence, ordering that both Parties ſhould lay down their arms: That the Emperor ſhould depoſite in his hands, *Vicenza*, and whatever was poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards* in the Territories of *Padua*, and *Treviſo*: That the *Venetians* ſhould do the like with regard to *Crema*, and pay down to the Emperor fifty thouſand Ducats: But that this proviſional agreement ſhould be deemed void, if the two Parties ſhould not think proper to ratify it; but in caſe they approved of it, he promiſed to pronounce a definitive Sentence within a year. The *Venetians* did not think proper to ratify the Sentence, being perſwaded that, in their preſent Circumſtances, a Truce was much more prejudicial than the continuation of the War. Thus the Pope's pains were ineffectual. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of *Italy* during the year 1514. We muſt ſee now what paſſed in *England*. 1514.

rejected by the Venetians.

Parliament in England. Herbert.

Henry, at his return from his glorious Campain, thought only of Mirth and Diverſions. The Parliament however met the 3d of *January*, but there was nothing done of any moment with reſpect to the publick affairs (1). Before the end of the Seſſion, the King gave the Earl of *Surrey*, the title of Duke of *Norfolk*, which his Father had enjoyed, and loſt with his Life at *Boſworth-field*, fighting for *Richard* III (2). By this change, *Thomas Howard* Son and Heir of the new Duke, became Earl of *Surrey*. *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, one of the King's Favorites, was alſo created Duke of *Suffolk*; and *Charles Somerſet*, Earl of *Worceſter*. *Margaret* of *York*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother of *Edward* IV, obtained likewiſe the title of Counteſs of *Sarum*, as Heir to the Earl of *Warwick* her Brother, beheaded by *Henry* VII (3).

The Earl of Surrey *created Duke of* Norfolk. Charles Brandon *Duke of* Suffolk. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 389. Feb. 1. Margaret *of* Clarence *Counteſs of* Salisbury.

Thomas Wolſey had now been ſome months Prime Miniſter, without receiving other particular marks of his maſter's favour. But *Wolſey* was not forgetful of himſelf. The Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* being vacant, he ſo ordered, that the King demanded it for him of the Pope, who had ingroſſed the Collations of all the Sees, by anticipated reſervations. Shortly after, *Lewis Guillard* Biſhop of *Tournay*, neglecting to repair to his Biſhoprick, ſince the City was in the hands of the King of *England*, the Pope readily ſuppoſed he had quitted his See, and gave the Adminiſtration thereof to *Thomas Wolſey*, both in Temporals and Spirituals. This was ſuddenly and almoſt at once a great addition to the new Favourite's Income. *Leo* X, not expecting much, either from the Emperor, or the King of *Arragon*, eaſily perceived, he might want the King of *England*. In order to gain his protection, he had diſpoſed of the Sees of *Lincoln* and *Tournay* in favour of *Wolſey*, to win him to his Intereſt, by preſents which coſt him nothing. But after having ſatisfied the Favourite, he muſt teſtify by ſome mark of diſtinction, his eſteem for the maſter. To that purpoſe, he ſent him a Sword and a Hat, conſecrated on *Chriſtmas-day*, which the Popes were wont to preſent to Princes or Generals who had obtained ſome ſignal Victory over the Enemies of the Church.

Thomas Wolſey *is made Biſhop of* Lincoln, p. 390---394. *and Adminiſtrator of the See of* Tournay. p. 584.

The Pope ſends Henry *a conſecrated Sword and Hat.* p. 393. Hall.

Whilſt the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Arragon*, were labouring to accompliſh their projects, *Lewis* XII was not unmindful of his own affairs (4). Among all his enemies, none gave him ſo much uneaſineſs as the King of *England*, chiefly for two reaſons. Firſt, *Henry* was young, greedy of glory, rich in ready Money, and moreover always ſure of Supplies from his Parliament, eſpecially in caſe of a war with *France*. Secondly, the Diverſion he could and did make in *Picardy*, by means of *Calais*, rendered all *Lewis*'s future projects in *Italy* abortive. He thereby kept the Forces of *France* ſo divided, that it was almoſt impoſſible to aſſiſt one another in caſe of Accident. Thus, it was the King of *France*'s great Intereſt to remove this Thorn from his Side, otherwiſe he could not undertake to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. Accordingly, he had been very ſeriouſly endeavouring it, ever ſince the end of the laſt Campain, by the Miniſtry of *Lewis* of *Orleans* Duke of *Longueville*, taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Guinegaſte*. It was this private Ambaſſador who, in his frequent Converſations with *Henry*, laboured by degrees to open his Eyes, by ſhowing him how little he could

Lewis XII *makes an offer of Peace to* Henry. Hall. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Pope's proviſional Sentence, Guicciard.

(1) In this Parliament it was enacted, That Surgeons ſhould be diſcharged of Conſtableſhip, Ward, bearing of Arms, and of all Enqueſts and Juries; by reaſon of the continual Service and Attendance they give day and night, and at all hours, to their Patients.

(2) For his memorable Victory over the *Scots* at *Flodden*, he had a ſpecial Grant from the King to himſelf and the Heirs male of his Body, of an honorable Augmentation to his Arms; namely, to bear on the Bend thereof the upper half of a Red Lyon, (painted as the Arms of *Scotland* are) pierced through the mouth with an Arrow. He was created Duke of *Norfolk*, *Feb.* 1. 1513-14. His Father derived his Deſcent (by the Heirs female of *Mowbray* and *Seagrave*) from *Thomas Brotherton*, Son to King *Edward* I. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 268.

(3) She was Wife of Sir *Richard Pole*, deſcended from an antient Stock of that name ſomewhere in *Wales*. This Sir *Richard* was made chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to Prince *Arthur*, and Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. He had four Sons by the Lady *Margaret*; *Henry*, afterwards Lord *Montague*, *Geffrey*, *Arthur*, and *Reginald* the famous Cardinal *Pole* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and one of the three that preſided at the Council of *Trent*. *Margaret* petitioned to be Counteſs of *Salisbury*, from her Grandfather *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, for all whoſe Caſtles, Manors and Lands, ſhe obtained a Grant dated *Octob.* 14, which came to the Crown by the Attainder of her Brother *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*. *Idem.* p. 292.

(4) This year *Pregent* landed on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, and burnt *Brighthelmſtone*; whereupon Sir *John Wallop* was ſent to revenge this Affront, who landed in *Normandy*, and burnt twenty one Villages and Towns. *Stow*, p. 495.

1514. could depend upon his Allies, and clearly diſcovering their artifices to draw him into their Snares. *Henry* was convinced, but, in all appearance, was told many things which he knew not before. However this be, theſe Converſations had ſuch an effect, that *Henry* told the Duke he was inclined to a Peace, provided it was upon reaſonable Terms. *Lewis* XII having notice thereof, ordered the Duke of *Longueville* privately to negotiate the affair, and try to diſcover the King of *England*'s real Intentions. Probably, *Henry* inſiſted ſome time upon his Claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*, and particularly to *Guienne* and *Normandy*, which made the Duke apprehenſive, his Negotiation would not be ſucceſsful. However, to induce *Henry* to abate ſomething of his pretenſions, the Duke had orders to demand the Princeſs *Mary* his Siſter for the King his maſter, who had loſt *Ann* of *Bretogne* his Queen, the beginning of the year. This private Negotiation, to which only *Thomas Wolſey* Biſhop of *Lincoln* was admitted, continued ſome time without making great progreſs, by reaſon of *Henry*'s exceſſive demands. At laſt, at a ſecret Conference which the King himſelf had with the Duke of *Longueville*, he ſuddenly deſiſted from the hardeſt of his demands, and plainly told him, on what Conditions the Peace might be concluded, adding, he was fully reſolved not to take leſs. Here is a Letter from the King to *Wolſey*, under his own hand, after the Conference, wherein appears what was his laſt reſolution (1).

The King's Letter to Wolſey about the Peace. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 403. June.

" MY Lorde of *Lynkecolne*, I recommande me unto
" yow. And lette yow wyte that I have ſpokyne
" with the Duke; whyche in the begynnynge was as
" yll afrayde as ever he was in his Lyffe leſt no good
" effecte ſhulde comme to pas. Nevertheles, in farther
" communyng, we wente more rondly to oure matters;
" in ſo moche that I ſayde to hym, ſeinge that the
" Kyng yowr maſter hathe ſoght ſo gentely unto us for
" bothe Amyte and Marryage, I aſſwre yow (oure ho-
" nour ſavyd) we colde be well content to gyffe herkyne
" therto, and yff the offers wer reſonable agre upon thos
" ſame; but thes be nott reſonable, excepte the Amyte
" ſhulde no lenger contynw then the payment off Mo-
" ney: And yett natt ſo, excepte ther wer a reſonable
" Summe of Mony to be payd in hand by and by:

" Yff his maſter wyll have the Maryage, I can natt
" ſee how itt can be convenyently, exceptte the Amyte
" be made duryng our Lyffes and on yer affter, to the
" intente that all ſupycyon off bothe ſydes may be ſett
" apart:

" Whyche Maryage and Amyte your maſter may
" have wnder thys maner; that is to ſay, paynge erly
" on hundred thouſand Crownes and att hys requeſt I
" natt to ſtyke for no redy Mony in hande, but I to
" ſtande contente therwith for recompenſe off all thyngs.

" Whyche, yff your maſter conſidere what herytaunce
" he holdyth from me, and what good my Amyte may
" do to helpe forth hys mater in *Italy*, I thynke he wyll
" natt grettly ſtyke at:

" Thys forther more I ſayde to the Duke, ſurly I can
" natt ſee how the Amyte made for yers can any longer
" indure then the payment, whyche expyryde ſhulde be
" occaſion off new Breche and Demans, wherby noder
" he nor we ſhulde lyff quiettly, whiche, yff ther fall
" Alyance, I wholde be lothe to ſee; wherfor I ſee no
" way to eſchewe all dangers and parraylles, and to re-
" compenſe me for withholdying off myne Inheritance
" (whyche yff I wolde be ſlake in, my Subjectes wolde
" murmure att) but to make thys Amyte duryng oure
" Lyffys and on yere affter, paynge yerly as above re-
" herſed; whyche Amyte wons grantyd the Alyance
" ſhulde natt be refuſyde, nor non other thyng whyche
" with my honour ſavyd I might do:

" Saying forther more to hyme that, yff I might de-
" mande with my honour any leſſe, or take any leſſe
" offere (ſeyng hys maſter is ſo well mynded to the
" forſayd Alyance and Amyte) I wolde be glad to do
" that att hys requeſt, but leſs then thys hit can nott
" ſtonde with my honour, nor my Subjectes wyll nat be
" content that I ſhulde take.

" My Lord, I ſhuyd him forthermore that, yff he
" thoght we myght truſt to have thys ende, I wolde be
" content that yow and they ſhulde commune on all
" other Artycylles, concernyng the Amyte and Maryage,
" tyll we myght have abſolute aſſurance in that behalfe
" for lyſyng off time.

" To whyche he anſwarde, that he colde natt aſſure
" me theroff; but that he truſtyde, ſeyng my De-
" mans wer ſo reſonable, that hys maſter wholde agre
" therto.

" On truſt hereon we woll that yow begyne to penne
" the reſydue off the Artycylles as ſoone as yow can;
" And thus fare yow well.

Wryttyn with the hande off your lovying maſter,

HENRY R.

Though this Letter has no date, it may, by ſeveral Circumſtances be conjectured to be written in *June* 1514.

Lewis XII being informed of the King of *England*'s laſt reſolution, entertained great hopes of a Peace. There were however two Articles which troubled him. The firſt was to pay annually a hundred thouſand Crowns, as a compenſation for *Henry*'s Claim to the Kingdom of *France*. This was in ſome meaſure to own the Juſtice of his Title, and pay him a ſort of Tribute, which he could not reſolve. The other Article related to *Tournay*, which he deſired to recover, and which however, was not mentioned in the King's propoſals. But as to this Article, there was an obſtacle which was not eaſily to be ſurmounted, and that was, *Wolſey* was concerned. It was not ſufficient to gain *Henry* by Flatteries, or by giving him a Sum of Money in lieu of *Tournay*; the Favourite muſt alſo be made amends for the loſs of a See which brought him a conſiderable Income. To endeavour therefore to agree upon theſe two Articles, *Lewis* ſent Ambaſſadors to *England*. He choſe for this purpoſe, *Lewis d'Orleans* Duke of *Longueville*, *John de Selve* firſt Preſident of *Roan*; and *Thomas Bohier*, to whom *Du Bellai* gives the title of General of *Normandy*, and the King, in his Commiſſion, that of Chevalier General of *France*. Mean while, the two Kings agreed upon a Ceſſation of Arms during the Treaty.

Lewis is not pleaſed with Henry's Propoſals.

He ſends Ambaſſadors to England. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 405, 406. July 29.

A Truce agreed upon.

It was eaſier for the *French* Ambaſſadors to cauſe *Henry* to alter his laſt reſolution concerning the firſt Article, than to obtain the reſtitution of *Tournay*. The reaſon is evident. In the firſt Article, the King alone was concerned, whereas in the ſecond, the Miniſter's Intereſt was properly in queſtion. Mean while, ſince *Henry* was determined to make Peace with *France*, *Tournay* could be of no farther uſe, and a Sum of Money would have been doubtleſs more advantagious than the preſervation of that place. But *Wolſey* perceived when *Tournay* ſhould be in the hands of the King of *France*, he would infallibly loſe the Adminiſtration of the See. So, the Negotiation of the Ambaſſadors upon that Article was entirely fruitleſs. It was not the ſame with reſpect to the penſion of the hundred thouſand Crowns demanded by *Henry*. They found means to perſwade him to be ſatisfied with a Million of Crowns, in which were included the ſeven hundred forty-five thouſand, contained in the Treaty of *Eſtaples*; but whereof, indeed, an inconſiderable part had been paid. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador reſiding at *London*, uſed all poſſible endeavours to intervene in the Negotiation. But *Henry* would never ſuffer him, well knowing, he only intended to obſtruct it. The Commiſſioners of the two Kings (2) having ſettled all the Articles, the Treaties were ſigned the 7th of *Auguſt*.

Henry refuſes to reſtore Tournay.

Henry would not ſuffer the Spaniſh *Ambaſſador to have to do in the Treaty.*

There were three ſeparate Treaties. The firſt concerned only the renewing of the Alliance between *France* and *England*. The ſecond was about the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary* with *Lewis* XII. The third, related to the payment of the Million of Crowns. As theſe Treaties ſerved for foundation to many others hereafter concluded, it is neceſſary to inſert the Subſtance, at leaſt, of the moſt material Articles.

Three ſeveral Treaties ſigned at London. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 413.

I. TREATY,

Of Peace and Amity between LEWIS XII *and* HENRY VIII, *concluded at* London, Auguſt 7. 1514.

p. 413. THAT the Amity between the two Kings ſhould laſt till a year after the death of the ſhorteſt liver. That the Succeſſor of him that died firſt, ſhould give notice within the year to the other, whether he would prolong this, or make a new Treaty.

That all Impoſitions laid, within fifty-two years laſt paſt, by one King on the Subjects of the other, ſhould be aboliſhed.

That the Peace ſhould not be deemed violated by the outrages committed on either ſide.

That neither of the two Kings ſhould afford protection or refuge to the Rebels of the other.

(1) The Tranſlator has thought fit to inſert the Original Letter in the very words of King *Henry*, as it is to be found in *Rymer's Fœdera*; and intends to do the ſame by all the Original Papers, which *Rapin* hath tranſlated word for word, as he has done this.

(2) The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *Richard* Biſhop of *Winchester*. *Rymer*, Tom. 13. p. 422.

By

1514. By the 14th, 15th, and 16th Articles, the two Kings bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance in three Caſes: 1. For defence of one another's Dominions: 2. For recovery of the Territories with-held by other Princes: 3. In caſe one of the two Kings ſhould be attacked on account of the preſent Treaty, and affirmed upon his honour, it was for that cauſe. In each of theſe caſes the conditions were different (1). But in the laſt, they promiſed mutual Aid, though the Aſſailant ſhould be Relation, Friend, or Ally of one only, or of both.

Lewis included in the Treaty, as his Allies, the Pope, the *Switzers*, and the King of *Scotland* (2). On *Henry*'s part, were named the Pope, *Bologna*, all the Towns of St. *Peter's Patrimony*, the Archduke of *Auſtria*, and the *Switzers* (3).

Scotland was included in the Treaty, but on condition that the *Scots* ſhould commit no Hoſtilities againſt *England*, after the 25th of *November*.

That the Treaty ſhould be ratified and ſworn by the two Kings, and confirmed by the Parliament of *England*, and the States-General of *France*.

That each of the two Kings ſhould endeavour to obtain of the Pope a Sentence of Excommunication againſt the infractor of the Peace.

II. TREATY,

Concerning the Marriage of LEWIS XII *with the Princeſs* MARY.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 423. THAT Matrimony ſhould be contracted by Proxies, and *per verba de præſenti*, within ten days after the date of this Treaty.

That the King of *England*, [within two months after the Contract,] ſhould convey at his own charge, the Princeſs his Siſter to *Abbeville*, where within four days after her arrival, the King of *France* ſhould ſolemnly marry her.

That *Mary* ſhould have in Dower four hundred thouſand Crowns, two hundred thouſand whereof ſhould be reckoned for Jewels, *&c.* and in caſe of recovery, *Lewis* ſhould be obliged to reſtore only the Jewels, *&c.* which ſhould be valued at the ſum of two hundred thouſand Crowns.

That the other half, amounting to two hundred thouſand Crowns, *Henry* ſhould pay, by deducting the ſum out of the million the King of *France* was bound to pay by a late Treaty.

That the future Queen's Jointure ſhould be as great as that aſſigned to *Ann of Bretagne*, or any other Queen of *France*.

That in caſe of *Lewis*'s death, *Mary* ſhould enjoy her Dower and Jointure during Life, whether ſhe reſided in *France* or *England*.

III. TREATY,

For the Payment of a Million of Crowns.

p. 428, 439. BY this Treaty *Lewis* XII acknowledged, that by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, *Charles* VIII was bound to pay *Henry* VII, or his Succeſſors, the ſum of 745000 Crowns, and that himſelf was obliged to pay the Arrears of the ſame.

Moreover, that *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* his Father, by an Obligation dated *March* the 7th, 1444, had owned himſelf debter in a certain ſum to *Margaret* of *Somerſet* Grandmother of *Henry* VIII.

That theſe two ſums not being yet paid, *Lewis* bound himſelf to pay to the King of *England*, or his Succeſſors, a million of Crowns, *as well for the Arrears of the ſaid two ſums, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end their amity might be the more laſting.*

That this million ſhould be paid by *Lewis* to the King of *England*, by half-yearly payments of fifty thouſand Livres *Tournois*, till the whole was diſcharged.

Thus the War, which had been undertaken on pretence of Religion, and for the Glory of God, ended in a Treaty, which mentions neither Religion, nor the Pope, nor the Church. 1514.

The Princeſs Mary proteſts againſt her Contract with Charles of Auſtria. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 409. July 30. Herbert.

On the other hand, though the Princeſs *Mary* had been ſolemnly affianced to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, *Lewis* XII and *Henry* VIII, made no difficulty concerning this ſecond marriage, neither did they ſo much as vouchſafe to demand the Pope's diſpenſation, to abſolve *Mary* from her firſt contract. Only, a few days before the ſigning of the Treaty, *Mary* declared in the preſence of a Notary Publick, and other Witneſſes, that ſhe had been forced to plight her Faith to the Prince of *Caſtile*, Archduke of *Auſtria*. That moreover the Archduke having promiſed to eſpouſe her by Proxy and *per verba de præſenti*, as ſoon as he was fourteen years of age, had broken his word. She added further, that ſhe was creditably informed, the Counſellors and Confidents of the Prince of *Caſtile* were inſtilling into him, to the utmoſt of their power, an averſion for the King of *England* her Brother. Upon theſe Allegations, the two Kings making themſelves judges in a cauſe which doubtleſs belonged to the Pope's cognizance, thought fit the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

Remark on the third Treaty. I have ſtill to remark upon the third Treaty, That, though *Henry* had declared to the Duke of *Longueville*, as appears in his Letter to *Wolſey*, that he could not make Peace unleſs the King of *France* would pay him a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns, as a compenſation for the inheritance he with-held from him, an expedient was found to ſatisfy him with much leſs. The whole was reduced to *Lewis*'s bond to pay him a million of Crowns, two thirds of which were already due before the Treaty. Beſides, that this Bond might not be conſidered as a compenſation of the King of *England*'s title to *France*, according to *Henry*'s intentions, it was expreſsly ſaid in the Treaty, to be in payment of the arrears of the ſeven hundred forty five thouſand Crowns, due to the King of *England* by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, of another ſum due from the late Duke of *Orleans* to *Margaret* the King's Grandmother, and laſtly, for *Lewis*'s good affection to *Henry*. Hereby was cauſed to vaniſh the principal foundation, on which *Henry* had built his demand of a penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns; a demand conſidered by him at firſt as the baſis of the Treaty, according to his Letter to *Wolſey*. It may therefore be affirmed, that *Henry* was no leſs over-reached by the King of *France* in the Treaty of Peace, than he had been by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, in that which had ingaged him in the War. This proceeded not from his miſunderſtanding his own intereſts, ſince it appears in his Letter, that he was very ſenſible of the conſequence of his demand. To what then can his eaſineſs be aſcribed but to the inſinuations of his Prime Miniſter, who certainly erred not out of ignorance? Probably, *Lewis* XII found means to make *Wolſey* his Friend. We ſhall ſee ſtill more plainly hereafter, that this Miniſter was much more mindful of his own than his Maſter's advantages, when they came in competition, and that he loſt no opportunity of inriching himſelf.

Death of Cardinal Bambridge. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 404. Whilſt *Wolſey* was employed with the *French* Ambaſſadors in negotiating the Peace, Cardinal *Bambridge*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died at *Rome* the 14th of *July* (4). The ſame day Cardinal *Julius de Medici*, afterwards Pope by the name of *Clement* VII, ſent the King notice, acquainting him withal that he had prevailed with the Pope, not to diſpoſe of the See of *York* before his pleaſure was known. Whereupon the King demanded the Archbiſhoprick for *Thomas Wolſey*, which was immediately granted. This Miniſter was then in ſo great favour, that he abſolutely directed all the King's affairs, who had for him a very great eſteem and affection. It may be preſumed that he was now doing *Lewis* XII ſome good Services, ſince there are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Letters from that Monarch to him, beginning with theſe kind words, *My Lord of* York, *and very good Friend.*

Wolſey is made Archbiſhop of York. p. 412, 450--455. p. 439, 455.

Lewis's Marriage with Mary conſummated. p. 448. Hall. Stow. *Auguſt* and *September* were ſpent in preparations for the new Queen of *France*'s journey, in the celebration of the marriage by Proxies, in *France* and *England*, and in the ratifications of the Treaties. After which, *Mary* was conducted to *Abbeville* with a numerous train of Lords and Ladies, where the marriage was conſummated the 9th of *October* (5).

Whilſt

(1) In the firſt Caſe, *Lewis* was to furniſh twelve hundred Lances by Land, and five thouſand Men by Sea, with convenient Shipping; and *Henry* ten thouſand Archers by Land, and five thouſand Men at Sea, with Shipping. In the ſecond, *Lewis* was to lend *Henry* ſix hundred Lances only, and *Henry* him but five thouſand Archers, with the ſame Sea-Forces on both Sides as before-mentioned. In the third, one was to aid the other at his Charge that was invaded.

(2) And the Kings of *Hungary*, *Portugal*, *Denmark*, and *Navarre*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Gueldres*, and *Lorrain*; *Venice*, *Florence*; the Biſhop of *Liege*; the Marquiſſes of *Mantua*, *Montferrat*, and *Saluzzo*; and the Lord of *Sedan*. *Rymer*, Tom. 13. p. 419.

(3) As alſo the Dukes of *Cleves*, and *Juliers*; the *Hanſe-Towns*; and the Lord *de Ligny*. *Ibid.*

(4) He was poiſoned by *Rinaldo de Modena* his Steward, or Chaplain, an *Italian* Prieſt, to revenge a Blow his maſter gave him, as *Rinaldo* confeſſed at his execution. *Wood*, p. 104. *Stow*, p. 496. There is a Letter writ by one *Pace* from *Rome*, charging *Sylveſter* (an *Italian*) Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with having a hand in his death. *Fiddes.*

(5) The King and Queen conducted her to *Dover*, and then recommended her to the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Care, who attended her to *Abbeville*. The other Perſons of note that attended her, were, *Thomas Grey* Marquis of *Dorſet*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* and

1514. Leo X proposes a new League to the King of France. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Whilst the Peace between *France* and *England* was treating at *London*, the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Arragon* omitted nothing, that they imagined would obstruct it. They plainly perceived, it could not but turn to their prejudice, and that the burden of the War would fall upon them. They were even afraid that *Henry* would join against them with *France*. *Leo* X had sent to *Henry* to persuade him to a Peace, and yet, when he saw it upon the point of conclusion, would have been glad, his exhortations had not been regarded. So, to cross the Negotiation at *London* as much as he could, he proposed a new League with the King of *France*, imagining it would be a means to abate his eagerness for a Peace with *England*. But as *Lewis* took a fortnight to give him his answer, he was afraid of being left alone, and for that reason, made haste and concluded a defensive League with the King of *Arragon* for a year only.

He makes one with Ferdinand.

Fruitless endeavours of the Emperor and Ferdinand to hinder the Peace between Lewis and Henry. Guicciard.

On the other hand, *Ferdinand* fearing, *Lewis*, after making a Peace with *England*, would invade *Navarre*, offered him his assistance to conquer *Milan*. But *Lewis* knew him too well to put any confidence in him. In short, the Emperor and *Ferdinand*, desiring at any rate to hinder him from concluding with *England*, sent him their consent in form, for the marriage of *Renée* his second Daughter with *Charles* of *Austria* their Grandson. At the same time, *Maximilian* ratified the one year's Truce made by *Ferdinand* with *France*. But all would not do. They had even the mortification to hear, that they were neither of them included in the Treaty of *London*; a clear evidence how little *Henry* valued their friendship. Notwithstanding all this, they both feigned to be extremely pleased with the Peace, though in their hearts they were exceedingly vexed.

The Pope tries to amuse Lewis XII. Guicciard.

It was expected that the King of *France* being freed from the War with *England*, would infallibly recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. The Pope was so persuaded of it, that he writ to exhort him to that expedition, though at the same time he used all his endeavours to break his measures, by an agreement between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. He even dispatched to *Venice*, *Peter Bembo*, afterwards Cardinal, to incline the *Venetians* to Peace. But these fearing the Pope was laying a snare for them, to take off the King from their Alliance, gave him immediate information, and thereby rendered him very jealous of his Holiness.

He forms vast Projects for his House. Sardi. Guicciard.

Leo X was forming at that time grand projects in favour of *Julian de Medici* his Brother. His design was to become master of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*, and to join these two States to *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Reggio*, and the City of *Modena*, lately purchased of the Emperor, in order to cast them into one State for this Brother, of whom he had a mind to make a great Prince. Nay, it is said, he intended to add the Kingdom of *Naples*; and to make that Conquest, had joined in a League with the *Venetians*. But as he saw the King of *France* would quickly invade the *Milanese*, he shewed great regard for him, lest he should make an enemy of a Prince, who, if he came to be possessed of *Milan*, would have it in his power to obstruct his designs. Mean while, *Lewis* not being pleased with the Pope, pressed him to declare himself, resolving to know for certain whether he was to consider him as a friend, or an enemy. *Leo*, who perceived his intent, amused him with fair words, without however being determined, because his purpose was to regulate his conduct by the events of the War, he foresaw.

Lewis prepares to pass into Italy. He loses the Lanthorn at Genoa.

This did not hinder *Lewis* from vigorously continuing the necessary preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, where he intended to go in Person the next spring. But whilst he was thinking of means to relieve the *Lanthorn-Tower*, which he still held at *Genoa*, and by the help whereof, hoped to become master of the City, he received the news that it was surrendered by capitulation, and immediately razed by the *Genoese*. However, this was not capable to deter him from his designs upon *Italy*.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Hubert.

Before I close the year 1514, it will not be unserviceable briefly to relate what passed in *Scotland* this year. *James* IV left two Sons, of whom the eldest, called after his own name, was not yet full two years old. By a Will, made before he took the Field, he left the Regency of the Kingdom after his death to his Queen, Sister of *Henry* VIII, during her Widowhood. The States being met the begining of the year 1514, immediately acknowledged for King, *James* V, Son and Heir to the deceased. As for the Regency, there would doubtless have been great debates, if the loss of the Battle of *Floddon* had not made the *Scots* apprehensive, that the King of *England* would improve the advantage he had over them. There had never been in *Scotland* a Queen-Regent, and that would have been sufficient to reject the Clause of the late King's Will. But it was hoped, the Queen would prevail with the King her Brother, to leave in Peace a Country whereof she had the Government. This expectation was not disappointed. The Queen being declared Regent, and writing to the King her Brother, to entreat him not to disturb the minority of the young King his Nephew, *Henry* generously answered, he was equally inclined to Peace or War, and left it to the *Scots* to chuse which they pleased. 1514.

The Queen Dowager is Regent. Herbert. Hall.

After this declaration, probably, *Scotland* would have remained in quiet under the Regency of the Queen, if that Princess had not married again some months after. She chose for her consort *Archibald Douglass* Earl of *Angus*, one of the greatest Lords in *Scotland*, and by this second marriage filled the Kingdom with confusion and trouble. As by the late King's Will she was to be Regent only during her Widowhood, the question was to appoint another in her room. *Douglass* her Husband used all his endeavours to have her continued in the Regency. He affirmed, there was no other way to preserve Peace with *England*; and besides, *Henry* would be obliged to support the Queen his Sister in case any one should pretend to disturb her. But this last consideration had a quite contrary effect to what the Earl expected, upon those who dreaded his too great advancement. They knew, that being Husband to the Regent, he would always be countenanced by the King of *England*, and by his assistance, enabled to ingross more authority than they wished him. *Alexander Hume* Governor of all the Country North of the *Frith*, was the head of those that opposed the Queen's Regency. He was a proud and haughty Man, who could not indure a superior. During the late King's life, he had been President of the *Marches* bordering upon *England*, where he had committed such outrages, that as some say, for fear of being called to an account, he killed or caused to be killed *James* IV, when he was retiring out of the Battle of *Floddon*. However this be, *Hume* used all his interest to break *Douglass*'s and the Queen's measures, and proposed *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany* for Regent. This Duke was Son of *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother of *James* III, who to avoid the Persecutions of the King his Brother, was forced to fly into *France*, where he died. He left there this Son, who being married, and adhering to the Service of *Lewis* XII (1). had received many favours from that Monarch, and acquired a great reputation. Though he had never been in *Scotland*, he was however the young King's nearest Relation, and *Hume* had interest enough to have him declared Regent. Whereupon the States sent Deputies to offer him the Regency, and to pray him to come instantly and govern the Realm in the King's name. *Lewis* XII dying whilst these things were in agitation, *Francis* I, his Successor, having great reasons not to displease the King of *England*, would not suffer the Duke of *Albany* to depart till he had finished his affairs with *Henry*. For this cause the Regent arrived not in *Scotland* before *May* 1515. During this interval, *Scotland* being without a Governor, the Dissensions among the great Men much increased, every one having time to form his Cabals against the Regent's Arrival.

She marries and loses the Regency.

The Duke of Albany is elected Regent.

The first day of the year 1515 was the last of *Lewis* XII's life (2). But the death of that Prince made no alteration in the situation of the affairs of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Valois*, who succeeded him by the name of *Francis* I, plainly discovered, by adding the title of *Duke of Milan* to that of *King of France*, that he intended to pursue his Predecessor's designs. Mean while, he did not think fit openly to declare his intentions, till he had settled his affairs both abroad and at home. 1515.

Death of Lewis XII. Francis I King of France. Mezerai. Stow. Guicciard.

By the death of *Lewis* XII, Queen *Mary* his Widow was at liberty to dispose of herself, and to follow her own inclinations rather than the politick views of the King her

The Queen Dowager of Lewis XII marries the Duke of Suffolk. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

and Admiral, *Charles Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, *Thomas Docwra* Prior of St. *John*'s of *Jerusalem*, Dr. *Nicolas West*, Dean of *Windsor*; the Lords *Delawar*, *Barners*, *Monteagle*; Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Sir *John Peche*, Sir *William Sandes*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, &c. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 449. *Hall*, fol. 48. She embarked *October* 2. After the Ceremony was over, all her Retinue were dismissed, except a few Officers and Attendants, amongst whom, says the Lord *Herbert*, was Mrs. *Ann Bulleyn*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*. *Burnet*'s *Ref.* Tom. I. p. 43, 44. Before the Coronation was over, there were solemn Justs and Tournaments held at *Paris*, by *Francis de Valois*, Heir to the Crown, at which the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Marquis of *Dorset* came off with Honour. The King and Queen of *France* were Spectators; but the King was so old and infirm, that he lay on a Couch. The Duke of *Valois* out of envy, caused, it seems, a *German* of prodigious strength and size, to be privately introduced into the Field, in order to oppose the Duke of *Suffolk*, who, though with great difficulty, got the better of the *German*. *Herbert*, p. 21. *Hall*, fol. 48, 49. *Stow*, p. 495.

(1) *Lewis*, when Duke of *Orleans*, killed the Duke his Father at a Tournament. *Rapin*.

(2) He died (says the Lord *Herbert*) after eighty days possession rather than enjoying of his Queen, leaving behind him no Issue male, though otherwise of that Esteem among his Subjects, for his care not to oppress them with Impositions longer than his Necessities required, that he was called *Father of his People*, p. 22. *Stow*, p. 496.

1514. By the 14th, 15th, and 16th Articles, the two Kings bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance in three Caſes: 1. For defence of one another's Dominions: 2. For recovery of the Territories with-held by other Princes: 3. In caſe one of the two Kings ſhould be attacked on account of the preſent Treaty, and affirmed upon his honour, it was for that cauſe. In each of theſe caſes the conditions were different (1). But in the laſt, they promiſed mutual Aid, though the Aſſailant ſhould be Relation, Friend, or Ally of one only, or of both.

Lewis included in the Treaty, as his Allies, the Pope, the *Switzers*, and the King of *Scotland* (2). On *Henry*'s part, were named the Pope, *Bologna*, all the Towns of St. *Peter's Patrimony*, the Archduke of *Auſtria*, and the *Switzers* (3).

Scotland was included in the Treaty, but on condition that the *Scots* ſhould commit no Hoſtilities againſt *England*, after the 25th of *November*.

That the Treaty ſhould be ratified and ſworn by the two Kings, and confirmed by the Parliament of *England*, and the States-General of *France*.

That each of the two Kings ſhould endeavour to obtain of the Pope a Sentence of Excommunication againſt the infractor of the Peace.

II. TREATY,

Concerning the Marriage of LEWIS XII *with the Princeſs* MARY.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 423. THAT Matrimony ſhould be contracted by Proxies, and *per verba de præſenti*, within ten days after the date of this Treaty.

That the King of *England*, [within two months after the Contract,] ſhould convey at his own charge, the Princeſs his Siſter to *Abbeville*, where within four days after her arrival, the King of *France* ſhould ſolemnly marry her.

That *Mary* ſhould have in Dower four hundred thouſand Crowns, two hundred thouſand whereof ſhould be reckoned for Jewels, *&c.* and in caſe of recovery, *Lewis* ſhould be obliged to reſtore only the Jewels, *&c.* which ſhould be valued at the ſum of two hundred thouſand Crowns.

That the other half, amounting to two hundred thouſand Crowns, *Henry* ſhould pay, by deducting the ſum out of the million the King of *France* was bound to pay by a late Treaty.

That the future Queen's Jointure ſhould be as great as that aſſigned to *Ann of Bretagne*, or any other Queen of *France*.

That in caſe of *Lewis*'s death, *Mary* ſhould enjoy her Dower and Jointure during Life, whether ſhe reſided in *France* or *England*.

III. TREATY,

For the Payment of a Million of Crowns.

p. 428, 439. BY this Treaty *Lewis* XII acknowledged, that by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, *Charles* VIII was bound to pay *Henry* VII, or his Succeſſors, the ſum of 745000 Crowns, and that himſelf was obliged to pay the Arrears of the ſame.

Moreover, that *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* his Father, by an Obligation dated *March* the 7th, 1444, had owned himſelf debter in a certain ſum to *Margaret* of *Somerſet* Grandmother of *Henry* VIII.

That theſe two ſums not being yet paid, *Lewis* bound himſelf to pay to the King of *England*, or his Succeſſors, a million of Crowns, *as well for the Arrears of the ſaid two ſums, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end their amity might be the more laſting.*

That this million ſhould be paid by *Lewis* to the King of *England*, by half-yearly payments of fifty thouſand Livres *Tournois*, till the whole was diſcharged.

Thus the War, which had been undertaken on pretence of Religion, and for the Glory of God, ended in a Treaty, which mentions neither Religion, nor the Pope, nor the Church. 1514.

The Princeſs Mary proteſts againſt her Contract with Charles of Auſtria. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 429. July 30. Herbert.

On the other hand, though the Princeſs *Mary* had been ſolemnly affianced to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, *Lewis* XII and *Henry* VIII, made no difficulty concerning this ſecond marriage, neither did they ſo much as vouchſafe to demand the Pope's diſpenſation, to abſolve *Mary* from her firſt contract. Only, a few days before the ſigning of the Treaty, *Mary* declared in the preſence of a Notary Publick, and other Witneſſes, that ſhe had been forced to plight her Faith to the Prince of *Caſtile*, Archduke of *Auſtria*. That moreover the Archduke having promiſed to eſpouſe her by Proxy and *per verba de præſenti*, as ſoon as he was fourteen years of age, had broken his word. She added further, that ſhe was creditably informed, the Counſellors and Confidents of the Prince of *Caſtile* were inſtilling into him, to the utmoſt of their power, an averſion for the King of *England* her Brother. Upon theſe Allegations, the two Kings making themſelves judges in a cauſe which doubtleſs belonged to the Pope's cognizance, thought fit the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

Remark on the third Treaty.

I have ſtill to remark upon the third Treaty, That, though *Henry* had declared to the Duke of *Longueville*, as appears in his Letter to *Wolſey*, that he could not make Peace unleſs the King of *France* would pay him a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns, as a compenſation for the inheritance he with-held from him, an expedient was found to ſatisfy him with much leſs. The whole was reduced to *Lewis*'s bond to pay him a million of Crowns, two thirds of which were already due before the Treaty. Beſides, that this Bond might not be conſidered as a compenſation of the King of *England*'s title to *France*, according to *Henry*'s intentions, it was expreſsly ſaid in the Treaty, to be in payment of the arrears of the ſeven hundred forty five thouſand Crowns, due to the King of *England* by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, of another ſum due from the late Duke of *Orleans* to *Margaret* the King's Grandmother, and laſtly, for *Lewis*'s good affection to *Henry*. Hereby was cauſed to vaniſh the principal foundation, on which *Henry* had built his demand of a penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns; a demand conſidered by him at firſt as the baſis of the Treaty, according to his Letter to *Wolſey*. It may therefore be affirmed, that *Henry* was no leſs over-reached by the King of *France* in the Treaty of Peace, than he had been by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, in that which had ingaged him in the War. This proceeded not from his miſunderſtanding his own intereſts, ſince it appears in his Letter, that he was very ſenſible of the conſequence of his demand. To what then can his eaſineſs be aſcribed but to the inſinuations of his Prime Miniſter, who certainly erred not out of ignorance? Probably, *Lewis* XII found means to make *Wolſey* his Friend. We ſhall ſee ſtill more plainly hereafter, that this Miniſter was much more mindful of his own than his Maſter's advantages, when they came in competition, and that he loſt no opportunity of inriching himſelf.

Death of Cardinal Bambridge. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 404.

Whilſt *Wolſey* was employed with the *French* Ambaſſadors in negotiating the Peace, Cardinal *Bambridge*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died at *Rome* the 14th of *July* (4). The ſame day Cardinal *Julius de Medici*, afterwards Pope by the name of *Clement* VII, ſent the King notice, acquainting him withal that he had prevailed with the Pope, not to diſpoſe of the See of *York* before his pleaſure was known. Whereupon the King demanded the Archbiſhoprick for *Thomas Wolſey*, which was immediately granted. This Miniſter was then in ſo great favour, that he abſolutely directed all the King's affairs, who had for him a very great eſteem and affection. It may be preſumed that he was now doing *Lewis* XII ſome good Services, ſince there are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Letters from that Monarch to him, beginning with theſe kind words, *My Lord of* York, *and very good Friend.*

Wolſey is made Archbiſhop of York. p. 412, 450--455. p. 439, 455.

Lewis's Marriage with Mary *conſummated.* p. 448. Hall. Stow.

Auguſt and *September* were ſpent in preparations for the new Queen of *France*'s journey, in the celebration of the marriage by Proxies, in *France* and *England*, and in the ratifications of the Treaties. After which, *Mary* was conducted to *Abbeville* with a numerous train of Lords and Ladies, where the marriage was conſummated the 9th of *October* (5).

Whilſt

(1) In the firſt Caſe, *Lewis* was to furniſh twelve hundred Lances by Land, and five thouſand Men by Sea, with convenient Shipping; and *Henry* ten thouſand Archers by Land, and five thouſand Men at Sea, with Shipping. In the ſecond, *Lewis* was to lend *Henry* ſix hundred Lances only, and *Henry* him but five thouſand Archers, with the ſame Sea-Forces on both Sides as before-mentioned. In the third, one was to aid the other at his Charge that was invaded.

(2) And the Kings of *Hungary*, *Portugal*, *Denmark*, and *Navarre*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Gueldres*, and *Lorrain*; *Venice*, *Florence*; the Biſhop of *Liege*; the Marquiſſes of *Mantua*, *Montferrat*, and *Saluzzo*; and the Lord of *Sedan*. *Rymer*, Tom. 13. p. 419.

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Leo X propoſes a new League to the King of France. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

He makes one with Ferdinand.

On the other hand, *Ferdinand* fearing, *Lewis*, after making a Peace with *England*, would invade *Navarre*, offered him his aſſiſtance to conquer *Milan*. But *Lewis* knew him too well to put any confidence in him. In ſhort, the Emperor and *Ferdinand*, deſiring at any rate to hinder him from concluding with *England*, ſent him their conſent in form, for the marriage of *Renée* his ſecond Daughter with *Charles* of *Auſtria* their Grandſon. At the ſame time, *Maximilian* ratified the one year's Truce made by *Ferdinand* with *France*. But all would not do. They had even the mortification to hear, that they were neither of them included in the Treaty of *London*; a clear evidence how little *Henry* valued their friendſhip. Notwithſtanding all this, they both feigned to be extremely pleaſed with the Peace, though in their hearts they were exceedingly vexed.

Fruitleſs endeavours of the Emperor and Ferdinand to hinder the Peace between Lewis and Henry. Guicciard.

The Pope tries to amuſe Lewis XII. Guicciard.

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He forms vaſt Projects for his Houſe. Sardi. Guicciard.

Leo X was forming at that time grand projects in favour of *Julian de Medici* his Brother. His deſign was to become maſter of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*, and to join theſe two States to *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Reggio*, and the City of *Modena*, lately purchaſed of the Emperor, in order to caſt them into one State for this Brother, of whom he had a mind to make a great Prince. Nay, it is ſaid, he intended to add the Kingdom of *Naples*; and to make that Conqueſt, had joined in a League with the *Venetians*. But as he ſaw the King of *France* would quickly invade the *Milaneſe*, he ſhewed great regard for him, leſt he ſhould make an enemy of a Prince, who, if he came to be poſſeſſed of *Milan*, would have it in his power to obſtruct his deſigns. Mean while, *Lewis* not being pleaſed with the Pope, preſſed him to declare himſelf, reſolving to know for certain whether he was to conſider him as a friend, or an enemy. *Leo*, who perceived his intent, amuſed him with fair words, without however being determined, becauſe his purpoſe was to regulate his conduct by the events of the War, he foreſaw.

Lewis prepares to paſs into Italy. He loſes the Lanthorn at Genoa.

This did not hinder *Lewis* from vigorouſly continuing the neceſſary preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, where he intended to go in Perſon the next ſpring. But whilſt he was thinking of means to relieve the *Lanthorn-Tower*, which he ſtill held at *Genoa*, and by the help whereof, hoped to become maſter of the City, he received the news that it was ſurrendered by capitulation, and immediately razed by the *Genoeſe*. However, this was not capable to deter him from his deſigns upon *Italy*.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

Before I cloſe the year 1514, it will not be unſerviceable briefly to relate what paſſed in *Scotland* this year. *James* IV left two Sons, of whom the eldeſt, called after his own name, was not yet full two years old. By a Will, made before he took the Field, he left the Regency of the Kingdom after his death to his Queen, Siſter of *Henry* VIII, during her Widowhood. The States being met the begining of the year 1514, immediately acknowledged for King, *James* V, Son and Heir to the deceaſed. As for the Regency, there would doubtleſs have been great debates, if the loſs of the Battle of *Floddon* had not made the *Scots* apprehenſive, that the King of *England* would improve the advantage he had over them. There had never been in *Scotland* a Queen-Regent, and that would have been ſufficient to reject the Clauſe of the late King's Will. But it was hoped, the Queen would prevail with the King her Brother, to leave in Peace a Country whereof ſhe had the Government. This expectation was not diſappointed. The Queen being declared Regent, and writing to the King her Brother, to entreat him not to diſturb the minority of the young King his Nephew, *Henry* generouſly anſwered, he was equally inclined to Peace or War, and left it to the *Scots* to chuſe which they pleaſed. 1514.

The Queen Dowager is Regent. Herbert. Hall.

After this declaration, probably, *Scotland* would have remained in quiet under the Regency of the Queen, if that Princeſs had not married again ſome months after. She choſe for her conſort *Archibald Douglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, one of the greateſt Lords in *Scotland*, and by this ſecond marriage filled the Kingdom with confuſion and trouble. As by the late King's Will ſhe was to be Regent only during her Widowhood, the queſtion was to appoint another in her room. *Douglaſs* her Husband uſed all his endeavours to have her continued in the Regency. He affirmed, there was no other way to preſerve Peace with *England*; and beſides, *Henry* would be obliged to ſupport the Queen his Siſter in caſe any one ſhould pretend to diſturb her. But this laſt conſideration had a quite contrary effect to what the Earl expected, upon thoſe who dreaded his too great advancement. They knew, that being Husband to the Regent, he would always be countenanced by the King of *England*, and by his aſſiſtance, enabled to ingroſs more authority than they wiſhed him. *Alexander Hume* Governor of all the Country North of the *Frith*, was the head of thoſe that oppoſed the Queen's Regency. He was a proud and haughty Man, who could not indure a ſuperior. During the late King's life, he had been Preſident of the *Marches* bordering upon *England*, where he had committed ſuch outrages, that as ſome ſay, for fear of being called to an account, he killed or cauſed to be killed *James* IV, when he was retiring out of the Battle of *Floddon*. However this be, *Hume* uſed all his intereſt to break *Douglaſs*'s and the Queen's meaſures, and propoſed *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany* for Regent. This Duke was Son of *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother of *James* III, who to avoid the Perſecutions of the King his Brother, was forced to fly into *France*, where he died. He left there this Son, who being married, and adhering to the Service of *Lewis* XII (1). had received many favours from that Monarch, and acquired a great reputation. Though he had never been in *Scotland*, he was however the young King's neareſt Relation, and *Hume* had intereſt enough to have him declared Regent. Whereupon the States ſent Deputies to offer him the Regency, and to pray him to come inſtantly and govern the Realm in the King's name. *Lewis* XII dying whilſt theſe things were in agitation, *Francis* I, his Succeſſor, having great reaſons not to diſpleaſe the King of *England*, would not ſuffer the Duke of *Albany* to depart till he had finiſhed his affairs with *Henry*. For this cauſe the Regent arrived not in *Scotland* before *May* 1515. During this interval, *Scotland* being without a Governor, the Diſſenſions among the great Men much increaſed, every one having time to form his Cabals againſt the Regent's Arrival.

The Duke of Albany is elected Regent.

She marries and loſes the Regency.

1515. The firſt day of the year 1515 was the laſt of *Lewis* XII's life (2). But the death of that Prince made no alteration in the ſituation of the affairs of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Valois*, who ſucceeded him by the name of *Francis* I, plainly diſcovered, by adding the title of *Duke of Milan* to that of *King of France*, that he intended to purſue his Predeceſſor's deſigns. Mean while, he did not think fit openly to declare his intentions, till he had ſettled his affairs both abroad and at home.

Death of Lewis XII. Francis I King of France. Mezerai. Stow. Guicciard.

By the death of *Lewis* XII, Queen *Mary* his Widow was at liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf, and to follow her own inclinations rather than the politick views of the King her

The Queen Dowager of Lewis XII marries the Duke of Suffolk. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

and Admiral, *Charles Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter*, *Thomas Docwra* Prior of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem*, Dr. *Nicolas Weſt*, Dean of *Windſor*; the Lords *Delawar*, *Barners*, *Monteagle*; Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Sir *John Peche*, Sir *William Sandes*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, &c. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 449. *Hall*, fol. 48. She embarked *October* 2. After the Ceremony was over, all her Retinue were diſmiſſed, except a few Officers and Attendants, amongſt whom, ſays the Lord *Herbert*, was Mrs. *Ann Bulleyn*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*. *Burnet*'s *Ref.* Tom. I. p. 43, 44. Before the Coronation was over, there were ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments held at *Paris*, by *Francis de Valois*, Heir to the Crown, at which the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* came off with Honour. The King and Queen of *France* were Spectators; but the King was ſo old and infirm, that he lay on a Couch. The Duke of *Valois* out of envy, cauſed, it ſeems, a *German* of prodigious ſtrength and ſize, to be privately introduced into the Field, in order to oppoſe the Duke of *Suffolk*, who, though with great difficulty, got the better of the *German*. *Herbert*, p. 21. *Hall*, fol. 48, 49. *Stow*, p. 495.

(1) *Lewis*, when Duke of *Orleans*, killed the Duke his Father at a Tournament. *Rapin.*

(2) He died (ſays the Lord *Herbert*) after eighty days poſſeſſion rather than enjoying of his Queen, leaving behind him no Iſſue male, though otherwiſe of that Eſteem among his Subjects, for his care not to oppreſs them with Impoſitions longer than his Neceſſities required, that he was called *Father of his People*, p. 22. *Stow*, p. 496.

1515. Brother. Before her Marriage, ſhe had conceived an affection for *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, a moſt accompliſhed Lord. It is even ſaid, the King had promiſed to marry her to him. But *Lewis* XII coming in the way, and her Marriage with that Prince being to make the Seal of the Peace between *France* and *England*, ſhe was under a neceſſity to ſacrifice her love to the good of the two Kingdoms. The Duke of *Suffolk* however waited upon her into *France*, though he was not of the number of thoſe who were appointed to conduct her. *Mezerai* ſays, the Duke of *Valois*, preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *France*, cauſed that *Engliſh* Lord to be narrowly watched, for fear he ſhould give the King a Succeſſor. This ſhews that the Queen's inclination was no ſecret. The death of *Lewis* XII happening within three months after his Marriage, the Queen Dowager was not willing to run a ſecond hazard, of being given to another Husband not of her own chuſing. *Henry* ſuſpecting her deſign, writ to her the beginning of *February*, deſiring her not to marry again without his participation. But the Queen believed it would be eaſier to obtain the King's pardon when the thing was done, than his permiſſion to do it (1). So, in *March*, about two months after the death of *Lewis* XII, ſhe was privately married to the Duke of *Suffolk*. Next day, ſhe ſent word of it in a Letter to the King her Brother, and taking the whole blame upon herſelf, intimated to him that ſhe had in ſome meaſure forced the Duke to this raſh action. *Henry* ſeemed at firſt very angry, but his anger was ſoon over. Their Peace being made, they returned to *Henry*, and were very well received (2).

Parliament in England.

Divers Statutes. Herbert.

The Parliament was then ſitting (3), and as *England* was in profound Tranquillity, the Houſes were only employed in domeſtick affairs, which are of little or no conſequence to Foreigners. There were however three Statutes paſſed this Seſſion which deſerve notice. It was provided by the firſt, That unwrought Wool ſhould not be exported out of the Kingdom, for the encouragement of the Woollen Manufacture. This Act has been often revived by reaſon of its importance, and yet even now, an effectual means is wanting to prevent the clandeſtine exportation of Wool. The ſecond Statute declared all the King's ſecond Letters Patents to be void, unleſs mention was made of the firſt. This was to prevent the King from being ſurprized. The third was no leſs neceſſary. It frequently happened that towards the end of a Seſſion ſeveral Members went home, imagining, there was nothing more of moment to be done. Then the Factious took advantage of their abſence, to propoſe and paſs ſuch Bills as probably would have been thrown out, had the Houſe been more numerous. It was therefore enacted, That the Members who abſented themſelves before the end of the Seſſion, without the Speaker's and Commons leave, to be entred in the Clerk of the Parliament's Book, ſhould loſe their Wages (4). I muſt now interrupt for ſome time the recital of domeſtick, to ſpeak of foreign affairs, which are to ſerve for foundation to what will hereafter be ſaid with reſpect to *England*.

The Alliance between France and England renewed

Du Bellai. Guicciard. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 473. ——476.

Francis I was too much concerned to renew the Alliance between *France* and *England*, to fail of performing the Article of the Treaty, whereby the Succeſſor of him that died firſt, was to acquaint the other whether he deſigned to prolong the time of the Alliance. As he intended to paſs into *Italy* to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the King of *England*. To that purpoſe, about the middle of *March*, he ſent to the firſt Preſident of *Roan*, his Ambaſſador at *London*, a Commiſſion to renew the Alliance with *Henry*, as well as the bond for the payment of the Million, to which *Lewis* XII was obliged. This was done by a new Treaty, ſigned the 5th of *April*, and exactly like the former.

p. 476.

Ferdinand ſeeks Henry's Friendſhip. p. 494.

After all the frauds uſed by the King of *Arragon* to *Henry*, there was no room to hope for a perfect friendſhip between them. However, *Ferdinand*, who was not eaſily diſcouraged, ſent to the King his Son-in-law a new Ambaſſador, to propoſe the renewing of their Alliance. 1515. It is likely, he did not believe, *Henry* had ſo ſoon forgot his deceits, but it was for his intereſt that he ſhould be known to have an Ambaſſador in *England*. This Ambaſſador arrived in *May*, but was ſuffered to wait in vain till *October* without being diſpatched: Nay, very probably he would never have ſucceeded in his Negotiation, if *Wolſey*'s intereſts had not cauſed the King to alter his reſolution, never to have any thing to do with the King his Father-in-law. I ſhall ſpeak more fully of this affair in another place.

His Ambaſſador is received very coldly.

Whilſt the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was waiting in vain at *London*, *Henry* had two at *Bruſſels*, who made no greater progreſs. He had not dealt very gallantly with the young Archduke, in giving the Princeſs his Bride to *Lewis* XII, without any Ceremony. Indeed, *Charles* had not repaired to *Calais* the 5th of *May* laſt year, as he was bound by the Treaty of *Liſle:* but it could not thence be inferred, he had renounced his Marriage, at leaſt before he was asked, whether he intended to conſummate it. *Henry* was afraid therefore, the Archduke, having lately aſſumed the Government of the *Low-Countries*, and made a Treaty with *France*, would think of revenging the Affront put upon him. So, in order to ſound him, or prevent the effects of his reſentment, he ſent two Ambaſſadors (5) to propoſe the renewing of the former Alliance between *Henry* VII, and *Philip* I, their Fathers. But theſe Ambaſſadors were ſuffered to wait a good while at *Bruſſels*, without being much regarded, or receiving any anſwer.

Henry tries to be reconciled with Charles the Archduke.

His Ambaſſadors are ill received.

p. 406.

Francis I. prepares to recover Milan. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The affairs of *Europe* were then in a ſituation, which would not allow the young Archduke to ingage in any Party. It was neceſſary, in order to take juſt meaſures, to wait the Succeſs of the war, *Francis* I was preparing to carry into *Italy*. In all appearance, it would produce Events capable of altering the Intereſts and Projects of moſt of the Sovereigns. Since *Francis*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, he had ſufficiently ſhewn that he intended not to ſuffer *Maximilian Sforza* peaceably to enjoy the Duchy of *Milan*. On the other hand, the King of *Arragon* was under apprehenſions for *Naples* and *Navarre*. *Francis* I was a young Prince, full of Courage and Ambition, and it could not be doubted that he had formed great projects. So the Eyes of all were upon him, to ſee in what manner he would begin his Reign. He was making preparations, which diſcovered he had ſome great deſign in his thoughts, and did not take much pains to conceal that he had *Milan* in view. Mean while, he uſed for pretence of his Armament, the Invaſion *Burgundy* was threatened with by the *Switzers*. But the League he had lately renewed with *Venice*, and his offer to *Ferdinand* to prolong the Truce, provided the ſecret Article concerning the *Milaneſe* was annulled, were plain Indications of his deſigns.

Guicciard.

Ferdinand forms a League againſt France. Guicciard.

All this was not ſufficient to make *Ferdinand* perfectly eaſy. He was afraid of being deceived by *Francis*, and that his preparations were intended for *Navarre*. To prevent this danger, he rejected *Francis*'s offer, and withal made uſe of it to induce the Emperor and *Switzers* to join with him for the defence of the *Milaneſe*, intimating there was no room to queſtion, that the King of *France* would turn his Arms that way. As for the Emperor, he did not want much Sollicitation. He readily entered into all ſorts of Leagues, becauſe he ever found means to thrive at another's expence. There was more difficulty with regard to the *Switzers*, becauſe *Francis* had among them Adherents, who endeavoured to diſſuade them from the League. But his Enemies prevailed in the end (6), and the League was concluded between the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Switzers*. *Ferdinand* played one of his uſual artifices upon this occaſion. He perſuaded the *Switzers*, that to defend the *Milaneſe*, the ſhorteſt way was to attack the King of *France* in his own Kingdom. For that purpoſe, he engaged to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of *Fontarabia*, whilſt the *Switzers* ſhould invade *Burgundy*, and the Emperor, by continuing the war in the State of

(1) The Lord *Herbert* ſays, ſhe writ before her Marriage to the King her Brother, proteſting, that if he would have her married in any place, ſave where her mind was, ſhe would ſhut herſelf up in ſome religious Houſe. She ſet the Duke of *Suffolk* but the ſpace of four days to obtain her good-will, and told him, if he could not do it in that time, he ſhould be out of all hopes of enjoying her, p. 22.

(2) He, with Sir *Richard Wingfield* and Dr. *Weſt*, were deputed to carry over *Henry*'s Letters of Condolance to the Queen, and had not been long at *Paris*, before he made his Addreſſes to her. They arrived the ſecond of *May*, and were publickly married on the thirteenth at *Greenwich*. The Queen (ſay the *French*) carried with her in Jewels, Plate, and Tapeſtry of *Lewis* XII, to the value of two hundred thouſand Crowns: Amongſt which was a great Diamond called *le Miroir de Naples*, which *Francis* would fain have redeemed at a great Price. Mrs. *Ann Bulleyn* ſtaid behind in the *French* Court. *Herbert*, p. 22.

(3) It met *February* 5. See *Statute-Book*.

(4) Theſe Wages were levied by the Sheriffs, and the moſt ancient Writs for Knights Wages extant are thoſe of 28, 29, 32 of *Edward* I. The firſt Statute concerning them is, that of 12 *Richard* II; namely, *That the lewying of the Expences of Knights ſhall be, as hath been uſed before this time.* The Wages in this Reign were four Shillings a day for Knights of the Shire, and two Shillings at leaſt for Burgeſſes, beſides the Charges of going and coming, and Fees for Writs, *&c.*——In this Parliament there was alſo another Statute made, importing, That whereas divers Felons and Murtherers did, upon feigned and untrue Surmiſes, get themſelves removed into the King's Bench, and could not by order of Law be remitted and ſent down to the Juſtices of Goal-delivery: That therefore for the future, the Juſtices of the King's Bench ſhall have full power and authority, to remand and ſend down the Bodies or Indictments of all Felons and Murtherers, into the Counties, where the Murthers or Felonies were committed. *Stat.* 6 *Henry* VIII. c. 6.

(5) Sir *Edward Poynings*, and Dr. *William Knight*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 496.

(6) The reſt of the Confederates engaged to pay them thirty thouſand Ducats a Months. *Guicciard.* l. 12.

Venice,

1515. *He deceives the* Switzers. *Venice*, hinder the *Venetians* from aſſiſting the common Enemy. His chief aim was to defend *Navarre*, in caſe *Francis* I had thoughts of turning his arms that way, and then to hinder that Prince from becoming maſter of the Duchy of *Milan*. His League with the *Switzers* was equally ſubſervient to both theſe ends. For if *Francis* I invaded *Navarre*, the *Switzers* would divert him from his purpoſe, by making an inroad into *Burgundy*. But if he really intended to conquer *Milan*, the *Switzers*, as next Neighbours, and moſt concerned, could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting that Duchy. What *Ferdinand* had foreſeen, came to paſs. *Francis* having ordered his Forces to file off towards the *Alps*, the *Switzers* ſent their Troops into *Italy*, where they ſeized the two Paſſes, through which only it was thought poſſible to enter the *Milaneſe*. When *Ferdinand* was aſſured the King of *France* was marching towards *Milan*, he disbanded the Army levied for the defence of *Navarre*, leaving the *Milaneſe* to be taken care of by the *Switzers*. The very army *Ferdinand* had in *Italy*, under the Command of the Viceroy of *Naples*, made no motion to join them. The Emperor remained without acting at *Inſpruck*. *Leo* X, who had alſo entered into the League, gave them no ſort of Aſſiſtance. Thus the whole burden of the War fell upon the *Switzers*, without even the other Allies ſending a penny of the Money that was promiſed them. But this was not ſtrange. The *Switzers* were no more exempted than the King of *England*, and ſo many other Princes whom *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had ſerved in the ſame manner.

Francis *paſſes into* Italy. Guicciard.

The Switzers *are deſerted by their Allies.*

Guicciard. Mean while, *Francis* I, having found means to march his Army through a place which ſeemed impracticable (1), the *Switzers* who guarded the Paſſes retired to *Milan*, and *Francis* advanced alſo towards the ſame City. When he approached, he offered the *Switzers* a Sum of Money to return home. This Negotiation was now in great forwardneſs, when they received a Supply of fifteen thouſand Men of their Nation. This aid rendering them more ſtout, they reſolved, by the Suggeſtions of the Cardinal of *Sion*, immediately to attack *Francis*, who lay encamped at *Marignano*, little expecting their coming. They were defeated, and ten thouſand ſlain on the ſpot. After which, they retired into their Country, leaving *Francis* maſter of all the *Milaneſe*. *Maximilian Sforza*, who had ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of *Milan*, ſurrendered it by Capitulation, and was ſent into *France*, to live as a private perſon.

Francis gains the Battle of Marignano.

Genoa *is ſubjected to* France. Guicciard. Before *Francis* I began his Expedition, *Octavian Fregoſa* had brought *Genoa* under the Dominion of *France*, and inſtead of *Doge*, ſtiled himſelf Governor for the King.

Leo X *makes his Peace with* Francis. Idem. *Leo* X had been in hopes that *Francis* would never be able to enter *Italy*. He had joined in the League againſt him, but ſo privately, that *Francis* knew nothing of it till he came to *Verceil*. During the time between the King's arrival in *Italy*, and the battle of *Marignano*, the Pope was under great perplexities. He had ſent an Army into *Lombardy*, to ſupport the Duke of *Milan*. But when he heard *Francis* had ſurmounted the difficulties of the Paſſage, he ſent orders to *Lorenzo de Medici* who commanded his army, to commit no Hoſtilities againſt the *French*. At the ſame time, he told the King, his army was there only to guard *Parma* and *Placentia*. Mean while, as the affair of *Milan* was not yet decided, he durſt not make too many advances to the King, for fear of diſpleaſing the Allies, who would have it in their power to be revenged, if the King happened to be vanquiſhed. But, after the battle of *Marignano*, he was immediately reconciled with him, and though he had grievouſly offended him, obtained however advantages which he could ſcarce have expected, had he taken his part from the beginning. The Popes make Leagues, and undertake Wars as temporal Princes, and when their affairs do not proſper, diſintangle themſelves as Heads of the Church, and Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt. Though *Leo* X's behaviour to *Francis* was ſuch, that he deſerved no favour from that victorious Prince, he obtained however whatever he pleaſed, and among other things, the abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which the Popes his Predeceſſors had hitherto in vain demanded of the King of *France* (2).

Guicciard. Burnet.

Henry is engaged in new troubles. Though *Henry* had not been able entirely to avoid the Snares laid by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, he had happily got clear, but with a firm reſolution never more to be thus over-reached. His affecting not to mention them in his Treaty with *France*, plainly ſhewed he did not much value their friendſhip. But he was not ſo fortunate as to perſiſt in this reſolution, ſince it was his own fault that he engaged in a freſh War with *France*, not ſo much for his own, as the Intereſt of others. His change may be aſcribed to three ſeveral cauſes. The firſt is, his Jealouſy of the glorious Succeſs of *Francis*'s arms in *Italy*. The ſecond, to prevent the growing power of that Neighbour. The third and principal, *Wolſey* his Favorite's Intereſt, who thinking to have reaſon to complain of the King of *France* would be revenged. The two firſt need no farther Explanation. 'Tis well known, that Princes are ſubject to Paſſions like other Men, and that Jealouſy may induce them to run counter to their Intereſt. 'Tis known likewiſe, that policy is as it were the hinge on which almoſt all their Actions turn. But on this occaſion, *Henry* proceeded upon a very wrong policy, ſince nothing was more capable of ſecuring the Peace of *England*, than the King of *France*'s Acquiſitions in *Italy*. The third cauſe requires a more particular Explanation. 1515.

Cauſes of it.

Thomas Wolſey, Archbiſhop of *York*, was Prime Miniſter, and chief Favorite. But this does not fully expreſs the thing. It muſt be added, that he ſo abſolutely governed the King, that he turned him which way he pleaſed. But he managed ſo artfully, that the King always fancied he took his own courſe, when he only followed the Suggeſtions of his Miniſter. *Wolſey* had great Talents for a perſon of his birth; but he had alſo great failings. He was exceſſively revengeful, greedy of Poſſeſſions and Honours, and intolerably proud. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf fixed in his maſter's favour, but he ſought means to remove from Court all thoſe that gave him any Jealouſy by the King's eſteem for them. *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who had been moſt in favour, received ſo many mortifications from this imperious Prelate, that at length they quitted the Court, not to be expoſed to his Inſults. *Fox* withdrew to his Dioceſe the beginning of this year (3). The two Dukes quickly followed (4), and *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* retired alſo at the end of the ſame year. Theſe old Miniſters being thus removed, *Wolſey* became ſtill more abſolute over the King, who had only him to adviſe with in his moſt important affairs. The reſt of the Privy-Council were all the Favorite's Creatures. The Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that *Wolſey*'s Intereſt was the ſole rule of the Counſels he gave the King, and as this Intereſt anſwered his reigning Paſſions, Revenge, Greedineſs, Ambition, and Pride, the Reader muſt not be ſurprized when he ſees him hereafter inducing the King to make ſo many falſe Steps.

Wolſey's *great Credit.* Pol. Virg.

Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Francis I *wants to recover* Tournay. Pol. Virg. Herbert. P. Daniel.

Wolſey *is afraid of loſing his Biſhoprick.*

Ever ſince *Francis* I came to the Crown, he had been thinking of recovering *Tournay* out of the hands of the *Engliſh*. There had even paſſed in the beginning of the year a Treaty upon that ſubject, but to no purpoſe, becauſe *Henry* demanded in exchange of *Tournay*, ſome places in the neighbourhood of *Calais* (5), which *Francis* did not think proper to grant him (6). But the greateſt difficulty came from *Wolſey*, who was far from adviſing the King his maſter to reſign *Tournay*, becauſe himſelf would have loſt the Adminiſtration of that Biſhoprick and the Abby of St. *Amand*, which brought him a great Revenue. On the contrary, he had been very urgent with *Francis* I, to beſtow ſome good Benefice on *Lewis Guillard* Biſhop of *Tournay*, that he might ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy his Adminiſtration. *Francis* had promiſed him, but without intending to keep his word. Inſtead of aſſiſting him to keep the Adminiſtration, he ſecretly perſuaded the Biſhop to ſue to the Pope for his reſtoration, and ſeconded his petition to the utmoſt of his power. He was of opinion, that when *Wolſey* ceaſed to be Adminiſtrator, the reſtitution of *Tournay* would become much eaſier.

The Pope reſtores the Biſhop of Tournay. Herbert.

Whilſt *Francis* was ſtill in *France*, employed in preparing for his *Italian* Expedition, the Pope, yet uncertain of the Succeſs of that Enterprize, did not much regard the Biſhop's Sollicitations. But when he ſaw that Prince maſter of *Genoa*, and entered the *Milaneſe* at the head of a powerful army, he readily granted a Bull to *Guillard*, reſtoring him to his Biſhoprick, and even allowing him to make uſe of the ſecular Arm to obtain poſſeſſion. This Bull, which ſacrificed the King of *England*'s and his Miniſter's Intereſt, to thoſe of the *French* King and the Biſhop

(1) Between Mount *Viſo*, and Mount *Cenis*. *Guicciard.* l. 12. Through the Valley of *Barcelonnete, Reque Sparviere, St. Pol, l'Argentiere*, &c. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 351.

(2) See a full Account of theſe Tranſactions in Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Hiſt. Ref.* Tom. III. p. 8, &c.

(3) Upon his going away, he deſired this only of the King, *That he would not ſuffer the Servant to be greater than the Maſter.* To which the King anſwered preſently, *That it ſhould be his care, that thoſe who were his Subjects ſhould obey, and not command.* Herbert, p. 24.

(4) The Duke of *Suffolk* had borrowed large Sums of Money of the King, which he hoped would have been forgiven him; but upon *Wolſey*'s calling thoſe that were indebted to the Crown to an account, the Duke withdrew from Court. *Hall. Hollingſh.* p. 839.

(5) The County of *Guiſnes* or *Ardres*. *Herbert*, p. 23.

(6) In *May* this year, King *Henry* ſent twelve hundred Carpenters and Maſons, and three hundred Labourers, to build a Caſtle for the Defence of *Tournay*. *Stow*, p. 497.

1515. ſhop of *Tournay*, would ſeem very ſtrange, if the conſideration of the time and circumſtances did not make the wonder ceaſe. *Leo* X had given juſt cauſe to *Francis* to complain of his Conduct, and ſaw that Monarch ready to take poſſeſſion again of the *Milaneſe*, and conclude a Treaty with the *Switzers* in order to ſend them back into their own Country. It was therefore his Intereſt to appeaſe him, by granting a favour he ſo eagerly deſired.

Herbert. Mean while, *Henry* was extremely offended at this Bull, which reſtored to the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, a Prelate who refuſed to ſwear Fealty to him, and on which the King of *France* and the Biſhop of *Tournay* might proceed to raiſe a Sedition in the City. He therefore gave orders to his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to expoſtulate with the Pope, and repreſent to him the conſequences of his partiality. *Leo* X could not help owning it. But at that very time *Francis* gaining the battle of *Marignano*, and preparing to make him feel the effects of his reſentment, it was no proper Seaſon to incenſe him farther by revoking the Bull. This convinced *Wolſey* that *Francis* was the real Author of the Biſhop's reſtoration. Mean while, the Pope, being embaraſſed, choſe, upon the King of *England*'s oppoſition, to leave the affair undecided, by referring it to the examination of two Cardinals, who, probably, were ordered not to haſten the concluſion. In the mean time, *Wolſey* was uncertain whether he ſhould keep the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. And that was preciſely what the King of *France* wanted, that this uncertainty might induce the ſelfiſh Miniſter to find ſome Expedient to make himſelf amends, after which it was apparent, he would no longer oppoſe the reſtitution of *Tournay*. At the ſame time, to preſerve his friendſhip, which was very neceſſary, by reaſon of his Credit with the King his maſter, he promiſed to aſſiſt him in procuring a Cardinal's Cap. *Wolſey* was extremely ambitious of that Dignity. After the death of Cardinal *Bambridge*, he was in hopes of ſucceeding him in the Cardinalate, as well as in the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. He had even employed to ſollicite it in his name, Cardinal *Adrian de Corneto* (1), the Pope's Collector in *England*, under whom *Polydore Virgil* ſerved as Sub-Collector. But Cardinal *Adrian*, inſtead of ſerving him as he had promiſed, had done him ill offices. *Wolſey* being informed of it, was ſo incenſed, that on ſome ſlight pretence, he committed *Polydore* to the *Tower*. Then he cauſed the King to write to the Pope with his own hand, to deſire him to appoint another Collector in Cardinal *Adrian*'s room. The King's Letter was ſo ſtrong and paſſionate, that the Pope thought fit to comply with his requeſt. However in his Brief of advice, he told him, he knew very well his anger againſt Cardinal *Adrian* was inſtilled into him by *Wolſey*. Mean while, *Polydore Virgil* continued in the *Tower*, till at length Cardinal *Julius de Medici*, and the Pope himſelf interceded for him, by Letters of *Auguſt* the 30th, and *September* the 3d. As this was at the very time that *Francis* was ſolliciting a Cardinal's Cap for *Wolſey*, *Wolſey* did not think proper to refuſe the Pope a thing of ſo little conſequence. So *Polydore* came out of the *Tower*, where he had been about a year. This ill Treatment was, doubtleſs, one of the reaſons that induced him to remember all the ill-qualities of Cardinal *Wolſey*, in his Hiſtory of *England*.

Francis *promiſes to help to make* Wolſey *a Cardinal.* Herbert.

Cardinal Adrian *betrays* Wolſey. *Who takes revenge, and ſends* Polydore Virgil *to the* Tower.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 515.

Wolſey *is made Cardinal.* Hall. Herbert.

He perſiſts in his deſign to be revenged upon the King of France. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

Wolſey having at length obtained a Cardinal's Cap, was tranſported with joy when he received the news by an Expreſs ſent by the King of *France* (2). But though he was highly obliged to that Monarch, this favour begat in his breaſt much leſs Gratitude, than the injury he imagined to have received in the affair of *Tournay*, had cauſed Reſentment. He reſolved therefore, in order to be revenged, to endeavour to ſet the King his maſter at variance with *Francis*, and cauſe him to enter into a new League againſt *France*. Herein he gratified three of his predominant paſſions; his Pride, in letting *Europe* ſee, that Sovereigns themſelves offended him not with impunity; his Revenge, in creating *Francis* great troubles; and his own Intereſt, in ſecuring the adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. Indeed, a rupture between the two Kings was an effectual means to hinder *Guillard*'s reſtoration to his See. This is obſerved by Hiſtorians as the principal Cauſe of the alteration we are going to behold in *Henry*'s Conduct. Jealouſy and Policy may have had ſome influence too, but leſs as true cauſes, than as motives uſed by *Wolſey* to inflame the King's mind. Probably, under colour that his honour was concerned, he repreſented to him the neceſſity of humbling the pride of the *French* King, and inſinuated, how dangerous it was for *England* that *France* ſhould grow too powerful. When he had prepared *Henry*, he privately ſent word to the Emperor, that it would not be impoſſible to diſengage the King his maſter from the intereſts of *France*. It may eaſily be gueſſed, *Maximilian* received this Overture with joy. Beſides that, being without aid and allies, he ſaw himſelf little able to preſerve his Conqueſts in *Italy*, he knew, which way ſoever he was treated with, he ſhould always be furniſhed with Money. Whilſt *Wolſey* was projecting to negotiate with the Emperor, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had heavily paſſed ſome Months at *London*, was looked upon at Court with a much more favorable Eye. Nay, a Treaty was begun with him about renewing the alliance between *England* and *Spain*, which being ended the 19th of *October*, contained however only a confirmation of the antient Treaties of Amity.

1515. Wolſey *treats privately with the Emperor.* Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Henry *renews his Alliance with* Ferdinand. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 520 —— 528. Guicciard.

Mean while, the Emperor, willing to improve the preſent opportunity, ſent to the King a *Milaneſe* Ambaſſador, to deſire aid in the name of *Franceſco Sforza*, who was in *Germany*, and had aſſumed the title of Duke of *Milan*, ever ſince *Maximilian* his Brother had reſigned his right to the King of *France*. Though *Wolſey* had taken care to diſpoſe *Henry* to a rupture with *France*, he was not, it ſeems, fully determined. *Franceſco Sforza*'s requeſt, or rather the Emperor's, ſeemed to him ſo important, that he deſired to have the opinions of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who to that intent were ſent for to Court. The Council being met to debate upon this affair, Cardinal *Wolſey* ſpeaking firſt, made a long Speech full of Reſentment againſt *France*, labouring to demonſtrate how much it was for the intereſt of *England* to oppoſe her growing power (3). The Biſhop of *Durham* and all the new Counſellors ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Cardinal's opinion. But the old ones endeavoured to diſſuade the King from breaking the Peace lately concluded with *France*, ſince the new King had given him no cauſe, and adviſed him rather to turn his arms againſt *Scotland*. *Henry*, who was already prepoſſeſſed, took a middle way, inſinuated, doubtleſs, by his Miniſter: And that was, privately to aſſiſt the Emperor and *Franceſco Sforza* (4). Whereupon, he ſent orders to *Pace* (5), his Ambaſſador to *Maximilian*, to treat with them, and, to promote the Treaty, returned him large ſums of Money (6). Thus was he gradually engaged, without foreſeeing that theſe ſteps muſt neceſſarily end in an open War, as *Wolſey* deſired.

Embaſſy of Francis Sforza *to* Henry. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Henry *calls a great Council upon it.* Pol. Virg. Herbert.

Henry *reſolves to aid the Emperor privately.* Pol. Virg. Stow. Hollingſh.

There is in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Paper, ſhewing that the Cardinal did not forget himſelf in his Negotiations. It is a promiſe from the Duke of *Milan*'s Secretary, who, by virtue of an expreſs power from the Duke his Maſter, engaged to pay the Cardinal a yearly Penſion of ten thouſand Ducats, to commence from the Day of his Maſter's reſtoration. It is true, this Paper being neither dated nor ſigned, may be conſidered only as a draught of this Contract; but it is however a proof of the Cardinal's ſelfiſh temper. The Emperor no ſooner heard that *Henry* was inclined to aſſiſt him againſt *France*, than he diſpatched to *England Matthew Skinner* Cardinal of *Sion*, to negotiate a League with him. This is the ſame Prelate, who, a little before, had encouraged the *Switzers* to give Battle to *Francis* I.

The Duke of Milan's *promiſe to* Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 525. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

The Emperor's Embaſſy to Henry. Hall. Stow.

The Parliament met again the 12th of *November*. But as it was not yet time to lay before the Houſes the King's reſolution with regard to *France*, there was no mention of War, or any foreign affair. The Clergy in a Synod held at the ſame time, returned an anſwer to the Pope concerning his demand of an extraordinary Subſidy, on pretence of an apparent War with the *Turks*. They alledged, that they were ſo exhauſted by the late War with *France*, undertaken at the inſtance of *Julius* II, for the defence of the Church, that they were not in condition to grant a new Subſidy: That beſides, by a decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, the Pope could lay no impoſition on the Clergy without the conſent of a General Council.

Parliament meets. Herbert.

The Clergy refuſe the Pope a Subſidy. Hall.

Whilſt the *Engliſh* were thus endeavouring to skreen themſelves from the oppreſſions of the Court of *Rome*, they beheld one riſing in their own Body, like a new

Cardinal Wolſey's *Pride.* Herbert. Hall. Pol. Virg.

(1) Called by our Hiſtorians *de Caſtello*——Biſhop of *Bath*, and the King's Orator at *Rome*.

(2) In *September*. *Hall*, fol. 57. He was Cardinal by the Title of *Sanctæ Cæciliæ trans Tiberim*; or, *Sancti Ciriaci in Termis*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 529, 530.

(3) He likewiſe alledged, That *Francis* had broken the Treaty by favoring *Richard de la Pole*, Brother of the late Duke of *Suffolk*, a Fugitive and Traitor; in aſſiſting thoſe *Scots* which oppoſed his Siſter Queen *Margaret*. Beſides that, *Francis* with-held ſome Goods and Jewels of Queen *Mary*. Laſtly, he ſaid, *France* might be hindered from growing more powerful, without Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood, only by privately aſſiſting *Maximilian*. *Herbert*, p. 24. *Pol. Virg.*

(4) The Lord *Herbert* ſays, the King, after the Debate was over, being inclined to the Cardinal, ſaid, *He would hinder the Deſigns of* Francis *without coming yet to an open Rupture*, p. 25.

(5) Late Servant to Cardinal *Bambridge*, who wrote the Letter mentioned before, concerning *Silveſter*'s having a hand in poiſoning his Maſter.

(6) They were put into the Hands of ſome *Genoa* Merchants, who breaking, a great part of the Money was loſt. *Hall*, fol. 59.

1515. Pope, whom they foreſaw, it would be more difficult to reſiſt than him at *Rome*, becauſe he was ſupported by the King: I mean *Wolſey*. Since that Prelate was promoted to the Cardinalate, he was grown more vain, proud, and imperious than ever. He never ſtirred without a Prince's retinue, always attended by a crowd of Domeſticks, cauſing the Cardinal's Hat to be carried before him like a ſort of Trophy, and having it placed on the Altar when he went to the King's Chapel (1). He was the firſt Clergyman in *England* that wore Silk in his Veſtments, and uſed Gold in his Saddles. In a word, he deviſed all ſorts of ways to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Every one took ſuch offence at his pride, that it was inceſſantly talked of with indignation. But no Man durſt open his Mouth before the King, ſince the old Biſhop of *Wincheſter* for only glancing upon it, was ſo ill received, that ſhortly after he withdrew to his Dioceſe. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was no leſs offended than the reſt, to ſee the Archbiſhop of *York* affect thus ſo great a diſtinction. But what gave him moſt offence was, to ſee the Croſs of *York* carried before the Cardinal, though he was in the Province of *Canterbury*. I have ſpoken elſewhere of this conteſt between the two Archbiſhops, which, after having cauſed violent quarrels, could be decided but by the King's expreſs commands to the Archbiſhops of *York*, not to have the Croſs carried before them in the other Province. But *Wolſey*, who thought himſelf much above his Predeceſſors, prepared to revive the conteſt, in contempt of theſe Prohibitions. *Warham*, who was of a peaceable temper, eaſily perceived, that though he ſhould attempt to hinder it, he ſhould not ſucceed, becauſe *Wolſey* had an abſolute ſway over the King. So, not to have continually this object before his Eyes, he deſired the King's leave to reſign the Chancellorſhip, and retire to his Palace. His requeſt was immediately granted; and the ſame day the King gave the Seals to Cardinal *Wolſey*. In all appearance, he had created *Warham* ſo many mortifications only to oblige him to quit his Office, with which he deſired to be inveſted himſelf. To ſupport the ſplendour of his dignity with more State than any other before him, the King loaded him every day with freſh favours, Prebends, Wardſhips, and the like, which continually increaſed his Revenues. Beſides the Archbiſhoprick of *York* and the Chancellorſhip, he had in Farm, upon eaſy terms, the Biſhopricks of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Hereford* (2), held by *Italians* reſiding at *Rome*. But this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy him. I muſt now, before I cloſe the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of *Scotland*, the Knowledge whereof is requiſite for the better underſtanding the events related hereafter.

He is made Lord Chancellor. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 529. Dec. 22. *The King loads him with Favours.* p. 507, 530. Hall. Herbert.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Alexander Duke of *Albany*, who had been declared Regent in 1513, arrived not in *Scotland* till *May* 1515. He found the Kingdom full of Factions and Diviſions, which made him ſenſible, the Adminiſtration committed to him would prove very troubleſome. But what gave him moſt uneaſineſs was, that the King of *England* was but too much concerned in what paſſed in *Scotland*, and fomented theſe diſſenſions to the utmoſt of his power. Under colour that *Scotland* had been ſometime without a Regent, *Henry* VIII, as Uncle of the young King, had taken the Title of *Protector of Scotland*, and by virtue thereof, his Ambaſſadors at *Rome* demanded of the Pope the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments of that Kingdom, which he beſtowed on his Creatures. But as ſoon as the Duke of *Albany* was arrived, he writ to the Pope, in the young King's name, ſharply complaining of the King of *England*'s Incroachments, and the Court of *Rome*'s condeſcenſion. He even threatned the Pope in his Letter, not to apply to him for the future upon any account whatſoever, if this Grievance were not ſpeedily redreſſed (3).

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 513. July 3.

The Duke of *Albany*, though of *Scotch* Extraction, was a ſtranger to *Scotland* (4), from whence the Duke his Father had retired in 1483. As he deſired, in the beginning of his Regency, to be informed of the State of the Kingdom, he unhappily applied to *Hepburne* Biſhop of *Murray*, a hot and revengeful Man, who took this occaſion to be revenged on his Enemies. The Biſhop, being Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, had been elected Archbiſhop of that Church in the beginning of the preſent Reign. But he was forced to reſign the Archbiſhoprick to *Forman* Biſhop of *Murray*, who was armed with the Pope's Bull. However, *Forman* would never have ventured to make uſe of this Bull, had he not been ſupported by *Alexander Hume* a potent Lord before-mentioned. By his credit and authority, *Forman* was inſtalled in St. *Andrews*, having reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Murray* to *Hepburne*, and promiſed to pay him a certain Penſion. *Hepburne* finding he had a fair opportunity to be revenged, gave the Regent ſuch a Character of *Hume*, that when he came to Court he was looked upon with a very ill Eye. *Hume* being naturally very proud and high-ſpirited, reſolving to let the Regent ſee, no Man ſhould ſlight him with impunity, went over to the Queen Dowager, and perſuading her that the King her Son was in danger, adviſed her to carry him into *England*. The Regent hearing of this plot, ſuddenly went to *Sterling* Caſtle and ſecured the young King's Perſon. But to hinder his Enemies from putting an ill conſtruction on this action, he renewed his Oath of Allegiance to the King, and committed the care of his education to three Perſons of great credit. 1515.

Alexander Hume and his Brother *William* ſeeing their Plot was diſcovered, fled immediately into *England*, and were quickly followed by the Queen and her Spouſe the Earl of *Angus*. Whereupon, the Regent ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to juſtify his conduct, and at the ſame time ſo artfully treated with the Fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into *Scotland*. But the Queen being big with Child, was forced to ſtay at *Harbottle* Caſtle in *Northumberland*, where ſhe was delivered (5) of a Daughter, called *Margaret* (6). The ſequel of this affair ſhall be related in another place. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 534.

The death of King *Ferdinand* (7), in *February* 1516, broke the meaſures taken by Cardinal *Wolſey*, to ingage all *Europe* in a War with *France*. Thus, notwithſtanding the Cardinal's projects, *Henry* was forced to remain in peace, becauſe the intereſts of the reſt of the Princes were not agreeable to his, or rather to the paſſions of his Miniſter. But though *Europe* was peaceable for ſome time, it will be however neceſſary to relate in each year of this Peace, the ſituation of the affairs of the principal States, in order to ſhew the occaſion of the following Wars. 1516. *Ferdinand King of Arragon's death.* Herbert. Hall.

Nothing remarkable paſſed in *England* in the beginning of the year 1516, except the Birth of a Princeſs, whom the Queen brought into the World the eighteenth of *February*, and called *Mary* (8). Cardinal *Wolſey* commonly called the Cardinal of *York*, ever mindful of what could procure him any advantage, cauſed thoſe who had managed the King's Money, to be called to a ſtrict account. The moſt part however were ſpared. But thoſe were ſeverely puniſhed who had not the addreſs to make the Miniſter their Friend (9). *Birth of Mary Henry's Daughter.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

After *Ferdinand*'s deceaſe, the Kingdom of *Arragon* came of courſe to *Joanna* his eldeſt Daughter, already Queen of *Caſtile*. But that Princeſs was incapable of governing her Dominions by reaſon of her defect of underſtanding, which had obliged the King her Father to keep her confined. So the Adminiſtration of theſe two Kingdoms with all their dependencies, could not be diſputed with *Charles* of *Auſtria*, *Joanna*'s eldeſt Son, and Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*. But as that Prince lived in *Flanders*, *Ferdinand* had left by his Will the Regency of *Arragon* to *Alphonſo* his natural Son Biſhop of *Saragoſſa*, and that of *Caſtile* to Cardinal *Ximenes*, till *Charles* ſhould come himſelf and aſſume the Government. Mean while, when *Ximenes* would have taken poſſeſſion of the Regency of *Caſtile*, *Adrian Florentio*, Doctor in Divinity, who managed the Prince of *Auſtria*'s affairs in *Spain*, produced Letters Patents from his Maſter, conſtituting him Charles of Auſtria *ſucceeds* Ferdinand. Mayern. Mezerai. *Affairs of* Spain.

Buchanan.

(1) He is ſaid by *Cavendiſh*, to keep eight hundred Servants, among whom were nine or ten Lords, fifteen Knights, and forty Squires. The Hat was born by ſome principal Perſon before him on a great height. He had beſides, his Serjeant at Arms and Mace, and two Gentlemen, carrying two Pillars of Silver, beſides his Croſs-bearer. *Herbert*, p. 24. *Pol. Virg.* See *Stow*, p. 501. *Burnet's Ref.* Tom. III. p. 21.

(2) The Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, the Incumbents whereof, *Adrian de Corneto*, *Silveſter Gigles*, &c. being Strangers, who had been ſent here upon Legations, King *Henry* VII, a frugal Prince, choſe rather to reward them upon their return with Preferments that coſt him nothing, than to impair his Treaſure by making them Preſents in Money. And now living abroad, to ſave the Charge of Agents, and Trouble of making Returns by them, were willing to let the Cardinal have the Revenues at eaſy Rates, with the Diſpoſal of the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments annexed to them.

(3) He alſo writ to the King of *France*, deſiring to be included in the Treaty concluded at *London*, *April* 5. 1515. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 508, 511.

(4) He was born in the time of his Father's Baniſhment, and ſuch a Stranger, that he could not ſpeak the Country Language. *Herbert*, p. 26.

(5) *October* 7.

(6) Her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, left her, and returned into *Scotland*. She ſtaid about a Year in *England*. *Hall*, fol. 58.

(7) In the ſixty third year of his age. He left the ſtile of Catholick to his Succeſſors. Though he had vaſt poſſeſſions, was much inriched from the *Indies*, proſperous in almoſt all his attempts, and of a frugal diſpoſition, yet there was hardly found in his Coffers Money enough to diſcharge his interring, though not very ſumptuous. *Herbert*, p. 26.

(8) She was born at *Greenwich* 1515-16.

(9) He ſo ſeverely puniſhed Perjury, that in his time it was little practiſed: He alſo called to account Perſons guilty of Riots, Vexing, Oppreſſion, and the like; and erected four Under-Courts to hear Complaints by Bill of poor People: Whereof the firſt was kept in *Whitehall*; the ſecond before Dr. *Stokeſly*, the King's Almoner; the third in the Lord-Treaſurer's Chamber; and the fourth at the Rolls. *Hall*, fol. 59. *Hollingſhead*, p. 838.

1516. Regent of that Kingdom. But *Ximenes* refuſed to acknowledge him as ſuch, pretending that *Charles* had not power to appoint a Regent before he was received for Governor. The conteſt was however adjuſted by this expedient, that the Orders ſhould be ſigned by both. But the Cardinal left the Doctor the bare name of Regent only, and diſcharged all the Functions himſelf. Mean while, *Charles* took the Title of *King of Caſtile*, with the conſent of the States of that Realm. But the *Arragonians*, more jealous of their Privileges than the *Caſtilians*, refuſed to give him the Title of *King of Arragon*, whilſt his Mother *Joanna* was alive. Nay, there was a party in the Kingdom who maintained, that *Joanna* herſelf could not pretend to the Crown of *Arragon*, becauſe the Daughters were excluded by the Laws of the Realm, and therefore *Charles* could not derive from his Mother a right ſhe never had. But others affirmed, that the excluſion of the Females extended not to their Male-Heirs. This was much the ſame caſe as happened formerly in *France*, in the diſpute between *Edward* III, and *Philip* of *Valois*. I ſhall enter no farther into the affairs of *Spain*. What I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew the neceſſity *Charles* was under, of going thither, and how dangerous it would have been for him, to engage in a War againſt *France*, in the beginning of ſo unſettled a Reign. Accordingly, he neglected nothing to renew the Treaties of Peace and Alliance as well with *France* as *England*, but with liberty to take other meaſures when his Affairs ſhould be in another ſituation. Juſt before the King of *Arragon*'s death, he had, as Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, renewed the Alliance with *England*, by a new Treaty concluded at *Bruſſels* the 24th of *February* this year (1). About a month after, *Henry*, who was contriving to form a League againſt *France*, ordered his Ambaſſador to treat with *Charles* upon that head. But *Ferdinand*'s death ſo changed the face of affairs, that *Henry* was forced to be ſatisfied with a bare defenſive League, which I ſhall preſently mention, having firſt related the ſucceſs of an expedition made by the Emperor into *Italy*.

Ag. Pub. XIII. p. 533 —545.

p. 545.

The Emperor's Expedition againſt Milan. Guicciard. Mezerai. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

It was not without reaſon that *Maximilian* had readily embraced the opportunity offered him by Cardinal *Wolſey*, of making War upon *France*. There was no more likelihood of his being able to keep his Conqueſts in the State of *Venice*, ſince *Francis* I was become maſter of the *Milaneſe*, and had joined Forces with the *Venetians*. Beſides, he could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the Pope, who had lately agreed with *Francis*. As for the *Spaniſh* Army, which was retired to *Naples*, it was not eaſy to cauſe them to return, ſince they were neceſſarily to march through the Eccleſiaſtical State. On the other hand, King *Ferdinand*'s death had changed the poſture of affairs, and quite deſtroyed the Emperor's hopes. So far was the new King of *Caſtile* from having any thoughts of a War with *France*, that it highly concerned him to keep Peace with that Kingdom, in order to have time to ſettle his affairs in *Spain*. Thus the Emperor, contrary to his uſual method, was forced to act alone, during this year, in the expectation of ſo embroiling affairs, that other Potentates ſhould at length be conſtrained to join with him. He had already received ſome of the King of *England*'s Money, and Cardinal *Wolſey* put him in hopes of ſtill larger ſums. With this aid, he aſſembled an Army of about twenty thouſand Men, *Germans* and *Switzers*, and in *March* entered the State of *Venice*, whilſt the *Venetians*, aſſiſted by a Body of *French* Troops commanded by *Lautrec*, were beſieging *Breſcia*. Upon his approach, the *French* and *Venetians* raiſed the Siege, and after making a ſhew of oppoſing his paſſages of the Rivers, retired to *Milan* to avoid a Battle. Thus the Emperor approached *Milan* without much difficulty.

The *French* were in ſo great Conſternation that they were like to abandon both the City and Duchy, and retire into *France*. If the Emperor had made all the haſte he could, he would have doubtleſs conſtrained them to execute that reſolution. But having ſpent two or three days to no purpoſe, by the time he came before *Milan* the *French* had received news, that ten thouſand *Switzers* of the *Cantons* in Alliance with *France* were coming to their aſſiſtance, and were within a day's march.

The arrival of the ten thouſand *Switzers* at *Milan*, threw both ſides into an equal Conſternation. The *French*, who conſidered theſe Troops as a ſure aid, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment when they heard that they abſolutely refuſed to fight againſt the *Switzers* in the Emperor's Army. Theſe laſt, on their part, demanded their pay with ſuch boldneſs, that *Maximilian* was afraid, it was a pretence not to join battle with their Countrymen newly arrived at *Milan*. He had no Money for them, and was apprehenſive the *French* had but too much to corrupt them. So, when it was leaſt expected, he ſuddenly retired, after which, having no Money to pay them, the Army disbanded of themſelves. 1516.

The Emperor makes as if he would reſign the Empire to Henry. Herbert.

Having thus miſſed his aim, the Emperor was forced upon new Trials to engage the Pope, the King of *England*, the young King of *Caſtile* his Grandſon, in a League againſt *France*. But this project was not eaſy to be executed. The Pope had his private views, which ſuffered him not to break openly with *Francis*. *Charles*'s Council were better adviſed than to agree, that their maſter ſhould ingage to gratify his Grandfather's paſſion at a time when he was neceſſarily obliged to go into *Spain*, and take poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms. Thus the Emperor's whole refuge lay in the aſſiſtance he could expect from *England*. But as there was no likelihood, that *Henry* would undertake a War of which he was to bear all the expence, *Maximilian* bethought himſelf of a Device to preſerve his good diſpoſition towards him, or at leaſt to draw Money from him; and that was, to declare to *Robert Wingfield* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at his Court, that he was tired with the burden of the Empire, and having a particular eſteem for the King his maſter, intended to reſign it to him. For that purpoſe, he charged him to write to the King, that if he would come to *Triers*, he would call a Diet and ſettle that grand affair, after which, he offered to wait upon him to *Rome*, to ſee him receive the Imperial Crown. Moreover, he put him in hopes, he would reſign to him his right to the Duchy of *Milan*, and aſſiſt him to conquer it. *Henry* eaſily perceived *Maximilian*'s aim in making ſuch an offer, and therefore writ to his Ambaſſador to thank the Emperor for his good Intention, deſiring him to defer the execution of this project to a more convenient Seaſon, when the *French* ſhould be expelled out of *Italy*. Mean while, in return for his goodwill, he ſent him ſome Money, excuſing the former defect of payment, with laying the blame on a *Genoa* Banker (2).

Francis I. forms the Project of invading Naples, but does not do it. Mezerai. Guicciard.

Whilſt the Emperor was endeavouring to imbroil the *French* affairs, *Francis* was forming new projects. He had good reaſon to be pleaſed with his glorious Campain, which, in a ſhort time, had regained him the Duchy of *Milan*. Mean while, *Ferdinand*'s death inſpiring him with freſh hopes, he formed the deſign of ſeizing the Kingdom of *Naples*, imagining, the new King of *Spain* would be unable to defend it, before he was thoroughly ſettled in his Kingdoms. Beſides, he believed he had ſo attached the Pope to his Intereſts, by the Treaty of *Bologna*, that he did not doubt to find in him all the aſſiſtance neceſſary to his undertaking, looking upon him as his beſt Friend. But he did not know *Leo* X. That Pontiff did by no means deſire, the *French* ſhould become more powerful in *Italy*, and if he teſtified to the King, that he was in his Intereſts, it was only to prevent his oppoſing the projects he had himſelf formed in favour of his own Houſe. The Emperor's Invaſion of the *Milaneſe* this year, interrupted the execution of *Francis*'s deſign upon *Naples*, and what afterwards happened, cauſed him to lay aſide all thoughts of it. However, his deſire to conquer that Kingdom occaſioned a defenſive League againſt him towards the end of the year, as will be related, after a word or two more of the *Italian* affairs.

The Pope diſpoſſeſſes the Duke of Urbino. Cimarelli. Guicciard.

Leo X was no ſooner reconciled with *Francis* I, than he deprived, upon a frivolous pretence, the Duke of *Urbino* of his Duchy, and inveſted *Lorenzo de Medici*, who aſſumed from thenceforward, the title of Duke of *Urbino*, and the old diſpoſſeſſed Duke retired to *Mantua*.

He endeavours to drive the French *out of* Italy.

It was in order to accompliſh this deſign, that the Pope had flattered *Francis* with the hopes of aſſiſting him in the Conqueſt of *Naples*. But after he was become maſter of *Urbino*, by that Monarch's Connivance, inſtead of thanking him for it, he thought only how to drive the *French* out of the Duchy of *Milan*. To that end, he held ſecret Intelligence with the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the new King of *Spain*, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by the help of his Emiſſaries, to perſuade the *Switzers* to break their Alliance with *France*. Though he acted with all poſſible precaution, he could not treat ſo privately but that his ſecret practices came to the King's knowledge, who pretended however to be ignorant of them. On the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to gain the Pope in reality to his Intereſt, otherwiſe he was ſenſible his attempt upon *Naples* would never ſucceed. *Leo* X deſired nothing better than to amuſe him, whilſt he was ſecretly acting againſt him. But at length, *Francis* perceiving more and more his Inſincerity, loſt all thoughts of the Conqueſt of *Naples*, and reſolved to treat with the

Francis tries in vain to gain him.

(1) The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, and *William Knygbt*, Doctors of Law. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 533.
(2) The Empire was then ſo bare of Money, that *Maximilian* was nick-named *Pochi Denari*, i. e. *Few-Pence*. *Herbert*, p. 25.

King

1516. King of *Spain*, who in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could not but wiſh to live in a good underſtanding with him. Thus the two Kings being equally inclined to a Peace, ſent their Plenipotentiaries to *Noyon* to conclude it.

Treaty of Noyon between Francis and Charles. Mezerai. Herbert. Du Bellai. Guicciard.

The Treaty was ſigned the 26th of *Auguſt*, the Subſtance whereof was, That *Charles* ſhould eſpouſe *Louiſa*, *Francis*'s Daughter, then about a year old. That he ſhould have with her the King of *France*'s pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and till the Marriage ſhould be conſummated, he (1) ſhould give for the young Princeſs's maintenance, a hundred thouſand Crowns a year. That within ſix months he ſhould reſign the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albret* Son of *John d'Albret*, and *Catherine*, King and Queen of *Navarre*, who were diſpoſſeſſed by *Ferdinand*, and in caſe *Charles* ſhould not perform this Article, *Francis* ſhould be allowed to aſſiſt the King of *Navarre*. Laſtly, That the Emperor ſhould reſtore *Verona* to the *Venetians*, who in return ſhould pay him two hundred thouſand Crowns, and give him a full diſcharge for the Sum of three hundred thouſand Crowns lent him by King *Lewis* XII, to maintain the war againſt *Venice*. It is very viſible, that in a Treaty ſo advantagious to *France*, *Charles* meant only to gain time, by granting him whatever he could deſire, for fear of being hindered from going to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms. Accordingly, this Treaty was afterwards very ill obſerved.

Intereſts of the Princes.

The Peace of *Noyon* was directly contrary to the deſigns of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *England*. The Pope was extremely deſirous the *French* ſhould be expelled out of *Italy*. *Maximilian* was wholly intent upon raiſing enemies to *Francis*, to hinder his aſſiſting the *Venetians*. He ſaw, he muſt reſolve either to ratify the Treaty of *Noyon*, and conſequently reſtore *Verona*, or defend his Conqueſt without the aſſiſtance of any Ally. To avoid both theſe extremes, he tried all poſſible ways to embroil affairs, and kindle a new war which might occaſion a League againſt *France*. He hoped thereby to be able to reject without danger the Treaty of *Noyon*, which he believed very prejudicial to his Intereſts. It is true, the reſtitution of *Verona* would be worth to him five hundred thouſand Crowns. But out of that Sum were deducted the three hundred thouſand, he owed the King of *France*, but never intended to pay him. So for the Sum of two hundred thouſand Crowns, he was bound to reſtore *Verona*, that is to ſay, he was to be ſhut out of *Italy*, the only thing that made him conſiderable in the preſent ſituation of the affairs of *Europe*. *Henry* VIII was no leſs deſirous of a war with *France*, being prompted thereto by Cardinal *Wolſey*, or by his Jealouſy of *Francis*. But it was not the ſame with the Archduke, to whom a Peace for ſome time was very advantageous.

Negotiations againſt France, Act. Pub. XIII. p 547.

This was the ſubject of the ſeveral Negotiations, ſet on foot from the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Noyon* to the end of *October*. The chief aim of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *England*, was to diſengage the eight *Swiſs Cantons* in Alliance with *France*, from the Intereſt of that Crown, that their Troops might ſerve to invade the *Milaneſe*. Mean while, they were labouring to form a League, wherein they paſſionately deſired to engage the new King of *Spain*. But all they could obtain was, his conſent to a defenſive League, in caſe *Francis* attacked any of the Confederates. *Leo* X according to his uſual Cuſtom, would not openly declare himſelf, but intimated, he would freely join in the League when concluded, if a place was left for him. As to the *Switzers*, it was reſolved to include them, though they deſired it not, upon the hopes of ingaging them by means of ſome of their Nation, who had been gained.

which end only in a defenſive League. Ib. p. 556.

Articles of the League of London. Ibid.

This League was therefore concluded at *London* the 29th of *October*, about two months after the Treaty of *Noyon*. It ran, that the Emperor, the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, ingaged to defend one another againſt any Prince that ſhould attack one of the three, and the number of Troops, each was to find, was ſettled (2). That all Princes, Potentates, Republicks, and States, which deſired to enter into the League, ſhould be admitted: That as the Confederates had reaſon to hope the Pope would be willing to be admitted, they declared him head of the League. Finally, That all the *Swiſs Cantons* ſhould be deemed included in the League, provided they ratified it, and to that end the Penſions, which ſhould be agreed upon with them, ſhould be aſſigned them. By a private Article, ſigned two days after, it was agreed what each of the Allies was to pay towards the Penſions which ſhould be diſtributed to the *Switzers*, *as well to the publick as to private perſons* (3), (which are the very words) to induce them to come into the League. This ſhews there was no certainty of gaining them, and that the chief reliance was upon the cabals of ſome private perſons of their Nation. 1516.

The Emperor makes Peace with Venice.

To this League, ſo inconſiderable in itſelf, tended all the motions of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *England*, during the courſe of this year. The Emperor had been in hopes of ſomething more; and though by the Treaty the Allies were, in ſome meaſure, bound to aſſiſt him, if the King of *France* continued to aid the *Venetians*, he ſoon diſ-reliſhed a League which procured him no Money. Before the year was expired, he accepted and ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*. At the ſame time, he concluded with the *Venetians* a Truce for ſome months, and with one conſent they put the reſt of their differences to arbitration. The Emperor's reſolution entirely changed the face of affairs, as will be ſeen the next year. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that preſently after the League was ſigned, *Henry* ſent *Richard Pace* to the *Switzers*, to perſuade them to come into the League; but it was to no purpoſe. On the contrary, the Emperor reſolving to make Peace with the *Venetians*, agreed, that the five *Cantons* who had refuſed to join with *France* ſhould come into the Treaty made by the other eight with that Crown. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 570.

Affairs of Scotland.

Before I end the occurrences of the year 1516, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed in *Scotland*. *Henry* having formed great projects againſt *France*, and knowing how much the Duke of *Albany* had at heart the good of that Kingdom, reſolved to compel the *Scots* to remove him from the Regency. To that purpoſe, he deſired them to ſend Ambaſſadors, to whom he might impart certain matters advantageous to both Kingdoms. This Negotiation tended only to preſs the great Men of *Scotland* to expel the Duke of *Albany*. He even writ to the Parliament of *Scotland*, that the beſt way to preſerve Peace between the two Nations, was to ſend back the Regent into *France*, under colour that it was dangerous to truſt the preſumptive Heir to the Crown, with the Guardianſhip of the young King; intimating withal, that in caſe of refuſal, he ſhould be obliged to take care himſelf by proper methods, of the ſafety of the King his Nephew. He alſo gave to underſtand, that he claimed the Regency as Uncle to the young King. But the Parliament returned ſuch an anſwer, as fully convinced hin, the *Scots* were by no means inclined to comply with his will (4). Ib. p. 549, 566.

Henry *tries to have the Duke of* Albany *removed.* Ib. p. 550.

Ib. p. 559.

Hume's Rebellion. Buchanan.

Whether *Hume* was concerned in the King of *England*'s proceedings, or was only ſuſpected, the Parliament ſummoned him to come and anſwer to the accuſations brought againſt him. *Hume* not thinking fit to appear, was condemned for default. He looked upon this Sentence as unjuſt, and in revenge committed Hoſtilities upon ſome of his enemies. Whereupon the Parliament granted to the Viceroy, a Levy of ten thouſand Men to chaſtiſe the Rebel. But his friends adviſing him to ſubmit, he caſt himſelf upon the Regent's mercy, who ſent him to *Edinburgh*, and committed him to the Cuſtody of *James Hamilton* (5) his Brother-in-law. Shortly after, *Hume* perſuaded the Lord *Hamilton* to eſcape with him, and claim the Regency, as Son of *James the third*'s Siſter (6), and conſequently as nearly related to the King as the Duke of *Albany*. He ſaid, if the Duke could alledge, he was deſcended from the Male-line, it might be objected, he was Son of a Fugitive, born out of the Kingdom, and hardly able to ſpeak the Country Language. The Regent hearing of their Flight and Contrivance, marched againſt *Hamilton* Caſtle and took it in a few days. Then *Hume* perceiving it was time to throw off the maſk, raiſed Troops, and taking *Dunbar*, utterly deſtroyed the Town.

Truce between England *and* Scotland.

Mean while, the Ambaſſadors ſent by the Regent into *England* in *May*, had concluded a Truce the firſt of *June*. But as *Henry* had granted the Truce only to facilitate the execution of his deſigns, he appeared little inclined to obſerve it, after receiving the fore-mentioned anſwer. But to avoid a War which muſt have been fatal to *Scotland*, the Regent ſent him by *Francis de la Fayette*, cer- Act. Pub. XIII. p. 574, 578.

p. 569.

(1) That is *Charles*.
(2) Each of them was to find, upon occaſion, five thouſand Horſe, and twenty thouſand Foot. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 558.
(3) ——— In Publico ac Privato & Particulari——— *Ibid.* p. 569.
(4) They told him, "The hall Three Eſtatis of the Realme, had Electit and Nemmit, with ane Conſent, the Duc of *Albany* Protector to their Sou-"verane Lord the King and his Realme; Quhilkis Ordinans and Electionn was affermit and approbate in Parliament nevir impugnit be Perſon.——And "this Ordinains of Parliament was conforme to Imperiall, Cannon, and their awin Civile Lawis: Be quhilkis Lawis is Decernit that the Nerreſt and Lauth-"ful Perſonage of the Agnatis ſide ſall have the Cure, Tutoury, and Governance, *&c.*" See *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 550, 551.
(5) Earl of *Arran*. *Buchanan*. He was created ſo *Auguſt* 10. 1503.
(6) His Mother was *Mary* Daughter of *James* II, Wife firſt of *Thomas Boyd*, Earl of *Arran*, but divorced from him, and married next, in 1474, to *James Hamilton* a Favourite, from whom the Dukes of *Hamilton* are deſcended. Others ſay, that he married her after *Boyd*'s Death. See *Anderſon*'s *Tab.*

tain

1516. tain Articles, desiring his approbation, for which he offered to come in person and pay him his respects. At that time the affairs of the rest of *Europe* having, as hath been said, taken a new turn, *Henry* agreed to prolong the Truce to the end of the year 1517.

prolonged. P. 577.

These are the most considerable events which passed in the several States of *Europe* during the year 1516. I shall only add a word concerning the Council of *Lateran*, which still continued its Sessions without having much to do. As the Council meddled neither with the Reformation of the Church, though they seemed to be called for that very purpose, nor with the extirpation of *Heresy*, they resolved, in order to keep themselves employed, to reform the Calendar, which was become very faulty. To that end, the Pope causing memorandums to be drawn, undertook to write to all the Christian Princes, inviting them to send their best Astronomers to *Rome*, or at least order them to examine what had been proposed upon that subject. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Brief addressed to *Henry* VIII, where the Pope says he had adjourned the next Session to *December*, to give the Mathematicians time to send in their opinions.

The Council of Lateran sits about reforming the Calendar.

P. 552. July 10.

1517. The Emperor having ratified the Treaty of *Noyon* as far as it concerned him, restored *Verona* to the *Venetians*, the 15th of *January* 1517, having received two hundred thousand Crowns, and an acquittance for what he owed the King of *France*. Moreover, to give the Arbitrators time to adjust the differences he still had with *Venice*, he agreed that the Truce should be prolonged for five years; but on condition that, during the Truce, the *Venetians* should pay him yearly twenty thousand Crowns. It was almost impossible to make a Treaty with him, and Money not accrue to him from it. Thus ended at length a War which may be deemed a consequence of the League of *Cambray*. The *Venetians* were engaged in it from the beginning to the end, and expended no less than five millions of Ducats of the publick Treasure, besides the infinite damages sustained by the Subjects.

The Emperor restores Verona to the Venetians, and prolongs the Truce for five years. Guicciard.

Maximilian having thus desisted from his designs upon *Italy*, went into the *Low-Countries* to see his Grandson *Charles* before he departed for *Spain*. During his stay there, he concluded with him and the King of *France* a League against the *Turks*, wherein a place was reserved for the King of *England*. The Pope and the Council of *Lateran* earnestly pressed all the Princes of *Christendom* to join in this League, on pretence of the progress the *Turks* were making in *Egypt* against the *Mamalucks* (1), after which, he pretended, their design was to attack the Christians. But what followed shewed the Pope's sole view was to heap up Money for his own use, and to inrich his Family.

He concludes with Francis and Charles a League against the Turks. Herbert. *Leo X excites the Christian Princes to war upon the Turks.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 178. Jan. Guicciard.

Mean while, *Charles*, the new King of *Spain*, thought only of speedily going to take possession of his Kingdoms. He had just made with *Francis* I a Peace so advantagious to *France*, that he did not fear, that Prince would break it, because it would not be for his interest. So, when the *English* Ambassador pressed him to ratify the *London* League, he deferred it some time on divers pretences, because, deeming it needless, he was afraid of offending the King of *France*. He ratified it however after some alterations, and at length in *August* departed for *Spain*, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Upon his Arrival, he dismissed Cardinal *Ximenes*, who died with grief. After that, he so gave himself up to the *Flemings*, whom he had brought with him, that the *Spaniards* conceived such a jealousy as carried them afterwards to great extremities.

Charles ratifies the League of London. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 171. *He arrives in Spain, and dismisses Ximenes.*

The Pope, as I have observed, continually amused *Francis* with the hopes of a strict Alliance with him, at the very time he was raising him Enemies on all sides. *Francis* was partly informed of his proceedings, but did not know all. So, in expectation of really attaching him in the end to his interests, he omitted nothing he thought capable of gaining him, even feigning to deem him his best Friend, when he most suspected him. But as the Pope knew in his conscience, he had not deserved *Francis*'s Friendship, he could not believe his advances sincere. Mean while, it was for his interest that *Francis* should publickly appear to be his Friend, and therefore he kept very fair with him, and not without cause. In the beginning of the year 1517, *Francisco Maria della Rovere*, who had been dispossessed of the Duchy of *Urbino*, prepared to recover his Dominions. When by the Truce concluded between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, the *Spanish* Troops in the State of *Venice* were become useless, *la Rovere* found means to gain and employ them in his service. With these supplies he took *Urbino*, and carried terror into *Tuscany* and the Ecclesiastical State. *Lorenzo de Medici*, the new Duke of *Urbino*, or rather the Pope his Uncle, being then unable to recover that Duchy, he was forced to have recourse to the assistance of the Christian Princes, under colour that the Church was grievously oppressed, the interest of the House of the *Medici* being then the same with those of the Church. *Francis* I, who had the gaining of the Pope ever in view, made use of this opportunity to do him a signal service, in sending him a good Body of Troops, under the command of *Lescun* Brother of *Laütrec*. This War however lasted seven or eight months, during which the Pope never ceased to press all the Christian Princes to contribute to the charges of a War, which, according to him, ought to have affected all the World. *Henry* VIII being sollicited like the rest, refused to interpose. But the Pope found means to ingage his Subjects, by levying a Tenth upon the Clergy, of which Cardinal *Wolsey* was appointed Collector. The War of *Urbino* ended in a way *la Rovere* did not expect. The Pope bribed the *Spaniards* in his Service, who came to an Agreement for him, which he was obliged to accept. Thus being once more constrained to relinquish his Dominions, he retired to *Mantua*.

1517. *La Rovere gets possession of Urbino.* Guicciard.

Francis I. aids the Pope. Mezerai.

The Pope levies a Tenth upon the Clergy. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 592. June 10. p. 596, 598. *La Rovere is driven from Urbino.*

Whilst the Pope was employed in the War of *Urbino*, he discovered a Plot against his Person, contrived by the Cardinal of *Sienna*, who had bribed a Surgeon to poison him. The Cardinal being absent from *Rome* when the discovery was made, the Pope, who passionately desired to have him in his power, scrupled not to use fraud to compass his ends. He sent him a Safe-Conduct, and moreover, promised the *Spanish* Ambassador that he would do him no hurt. The Cardinal being so weak as to come to *Rome* upon the faith of the Safe-Conduct, was immediately confined in the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and afterwards strangled in Prison. The *Spanish* Ambassador complained of this breach of faith; but was told by the Pope, a Safe-Conduct was never reckoned to extend to High-Treason, without express mention of the case. Some other Cardinals accused or suspected of being concerned in the Plot, were deposed, imprisoned, or severely fined.

Conspiracy against the Pope. p. 589. Guicciard.

Francis I never ceased courting the Pope to gain his Friendship, fearing that by his secret practices he would re-kindle the War, to deprive him of *Milan*. He imagined to have found at last an infallible means to attach him to his interests, in procuring *Lorenzo de Medici* a very advantagious marriage, with *Magdalen* Heiress of the House of *Boulogne*. This proposal was gladly accepted, and *Lorenzo* repairing to *Paris* for that purpose, stood Godfather in the Pope's name, to the *French* Dauphin, born the beginning of this year. In acknowledgment for the King's favour to *Lorenzo*, the Pope granted him Tenths upon the Clergy, under colour of the War to be waged with the *Turks*. But he took care to assign fifty thousand Livres for the charges of the Wedding, which was to be solemnized at *Paris*.

Marriage of Lorenzo de Medici with the Heiress of Boulogne. Guicciard.

The pretended War *Christendom* was to undertake against the *Turks*, seemed to the Pope to be a fair opportunity to inrich himself by the contributions of the Christians. To that end, he granted plenary Indulgences to all that would contribute, and caused them to be publickly sold at so moderate a price, that a Man must have been very careless of his Salvation not to purchase them. But it was this that made the Pope expect to reap an immense profit, for, probably, there would not be a Christian without them. Mean while, that the Money arising from the Sale might be regularly collected, all *Christendom* was parted into so many divisions, and in each were appointed Collectors to receive the Money, and Preachers to extol the Benefit of Indulgences (2). But,

Sale of Indulgences on pretence of the War with the Turks. Guicciard. Sleidan.

The Pope and Francis dissemble their Thoughts of one another.

(1) The Word *Mamaluck* signifies in *Syriac*, a *hired Soldier*. *Jovius* says, they were *Circassian* Slaves sold by the *Tartars* and *Podolians* to the Merchants, and being trained up at *Cairo* in military Exercises, were picked out for the *Soldan*'s Guard, and preferred to the highest Posts, who in 1255 resolved to obtain the Kingdom of *Egypt* for themselves. The Government was elective, and the Son could claim no Inheritancee but his Father's personal Estate. Every *Mamaluck*, whose Number in all was about sixteen or eighteen thousand, had a Vote in the Election, and required a Gold Ducat of the *Soldan* as soon as chosen. There were in all of this Race sixteen Kings, from the year before-mentioned, to the present year 1517, when *Tonombeius* II, their last King, was conquered in the first year of his Reign by *Selimus* I. Thus *Egypt* became a Province of the *Turkish* Empire, as it still continues. *Heylin*, &c. *Guicciard.*

(2) It had been still taught and believed for a good while, that the Pope, out of the inexhaustible Treasure of the Church, arising from the Merits of Christ, and Works of Supererogation of the Saints, had a power of distributing Indulgences on certain Conditions prescribed by him, to the greatest and most profligate Sinners for a plenary Remission of Sin, (as it is practised at this day in *Portugal*, &c.) These Indulgences are supposed at first to reach only to relaxation of Penances or Ecclesiastical Discipline. *Urban* II, in the beginning of the XIth Century, was the first that granted a full Remission of all Sins to those who should take up Arms for the recovery of the *Holy-Land* from the Infidels. Which Custom was kept up by his Successors, some of whom extended the Benefit of their Indulgences to such Persons who being unwilling or unable to go, maintained a Soldier in their room. At length these Spiritual Favours were distributed to those who took the Field against the Enemies of Holy Church or Hereticks.

1517. But, by an accident which at first seemed of no consequence, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, who was commissioned to appoint the preachers in *Germany*, happened to assign *Saxony* to the *Jacobins*, whereas in the former *Crusades*, the *Augustines* had been employed in that Office. The injury done to these last, rouzed their jealousy. They narrowly examined the Behaviour of the Preachers as well as Collectors, ridiculed them, and afterwards publickly complained of them. At length, *Martin Luther*, an *Augustine* Fryar and Professor in Divinity in the new University of *Wirtemberg*, published some Writings against them, not without satyrical remarks upon the Indulgences themselves. This boldness drew upon him Enemies, who, by their opposition, obliged him by degrees to inquire more carefully into the grounds of those Indulgences. In short, he was convinced, they had no foundation in the Holy Scriptures. From thenceforward, he used his utmost endeavours to undeceive the Publick concerning the hitherto received opinion of the papal Power. Hence sprung the Reformation which spread it self afterwards through *Germany*, and several other States of *Europe*.

Martin Luther begins to appear. Sleidan.

The Pope at first did not much regard *Luther*'s representations. He never imagined that the papal power, which seemed to stand upon unmoveable foundations, could be prejudiced by a single Fryar. So despising this inconsiderable opposition, he continued without interruption to sell his Indulgences. He every where published, that a powerful effort was going to be made upon the Infidels, and exhorted all Christians to contribute, according to their abilities, towards so necessary a War, which would procure them, besides many temporal advantages, deliverance from the pains of Purgatory, provided they would qualify themselves for the Indulgences. There was however one thing which very much cooled the zeal of many Christians for the *Crusade*. It was discovered that the Pope had beforehand disposed, for his temporal concerns, of the Money which was to arise from the sale of the Indulgences. For instance, he had assigned to *Magdalen de Medici* his Sister, Wife to *Francisco Cibo*, natural Son of *Innocent* VIII, part of the Money to be raised in *Germany*. Mean while, he continued his Sollicitations in all the States of *Europe*. He forgot not to write to *Henry* VIII, exhorting him to join his Forces with those of the other Christian Princes, and to excite him to this good Work, by great commendations of his constant zeal for the defence of the Holy See, and the exaltation of the Faith. All these encomiums ended in demanding two hundred thousand Ducats for the pretended War against the Infidels. But it does not appear, the King complied with his request. The *Turks* were then employed in *Egypt* and *Persia*, and the *Crusade* was founded only upon a bare conjecture that after ending these Wars, they would invade *Christendom*. A Man must have wilfully shut his Eyes, not to see, it was but a pretence to fill the Pope's Coffers. Besides, in the present situation of the affairs of *Europe*, *Henry* had no great occasion for the Pope.

The Pope continues to sollicite a Crusade.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 592.

He demands Money of Henry, who denies him.

Mean time, Cardinal *Wolsey* perceiving, the League of *London* would come to nothing, because *Francis* was not disposed to commence a new War with any of the Confederates, dreaded his making use of this time of Peace to move the affair of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*. On the other hand, he plainly saw by the time, passed since that business had been put into the hands of the Commissioners, that he was greatly regarded, as having an absolute sway over the King his Master. Indeed, nothing could be expected from the King but through his means, and for that reason all the Princes studiously made their Court to him, to gain him to their interests. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Charles* King of *Spain* assigned him this year an annual Pension of three thousand Livres, though he had yet received no Services from him. And therefore it was for those he hoped to receive for the future. Mean while, *Wolsey* was uneasy about *Tournay*. As the Pope and the King of *France* regarded him only for the sake of what he could do for them, he was in danger of losing the respect they showed for him, in case they should ever come to stand no longer in need of him. He began therefore privately to intimate to *Francis* I, that it would not be impossible to perswade *Henry* to restore *Tournay* for a sum which should be agreed upon, provided he himself was recompensed for the Administration of the Bishoprick. I shall relate next year the success of this Negotiation.

Wolsey is uneasy about the Bishoprick of Tournay.

Ib. p. 591.

He begins to treat with Francis about restoring that Place.

1517. *Henry* enjoying this year great Tranquillity, resolved to see what the Emperor intended with respect to the resignation of the Empire, which he had caused to be mentioned to him. *Maximilian* being in *Flanders* with the King of *Castile* his Grandson, *Henry* sent the Bishop of *Winchester*, with Doctor *Cuthbert Tunstal*, to renew the Negotiation with him, acquainting him withal, if he would appoint a convenient place, he would come and confer with him in person. The Emperor, who had never intended to resign the Empire to him, and still less at that time, very civilly answered, that to save the King the trouble of crossing the Sea, he would come himself and confer with him in *England*. But when the Ambassadors pressed him upon the affair they were charged with, they found he sought only to evade his own offer. One while he said, he would resign the Empire to *Henry*, but first would try to obtain of the Diet, that himself and Posterity might preserve the title of King of the *Romans*. Another while, he talked of making *Charles* his Grandson Emperor, *Henry* King of the *Romans*, *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles*, King of *Austria*, and himself only Marshal of the Empire. These Alterations convinced the Ambassadors, nothing was to be expected from the Negotiation; and acquainting the King, he was satisfied *Maximilian* had no other design than to draw Money from him.

Negotiation of Henry with the Emperor about the Cession of the Empire comes to nothing. Herbert.

There was this year an Insurrection of the *London* Apprentices against foreign Tradesmen, wherein some persons lost their Lives. But it was appeased by the punishment of some of the Seditious, who were hanged in the principal Streets of the City (1).

Insurrection at London. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

This same year the Sweating Sickness made great ravages in the Kingdom, and especially at *London*. Most of those that were seized with it, died within three hours, and no cure could be found. As this Distemper was peculiar to *England*, it was called *Sudor Anglicus*, or the *English Sweat* (2).

The Sweating Sickness Hall. Stow.

The affairs of *Scotland* were still in great disorder, by reason of the Factions in the Kingdom. *Alexander Hume* and his Brother *William*, after several Pardons, were at last beheaded (3). After the death of the two Brothers, the Duke of *Albany*, hoping *Scotland* would be in perfect Tranquillity, resolved to take a Journey into *France*, promising to return in few Months. But being detained there longer than he expected, by accidents mentioned hereafter, the affairs of *Scotland* fell into very great confusion, because of the Dissensions of the great Men, which were inflamed by those who designed to take advantage of them.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

1518. Mean while, the Pope earnestly pushed the affair of the pretended War, contriving, with the Ambassadors residing at his Court, projects which would have required more Zeal than Princes usually have, and greater Union among them. To execute his designs, he should have amassed vast Sums of Money, and that was the secret intent of the League proposed by the Pope, of which he was to be Head and Director. To that end, he exhausted, if I may so say, the Church's Treasures, to incourage the Faithful to exchange their perishing riches for everlasting advantages. This affair was carried so far, that he sent Legates to all the Courts, to excite the Sovereigns to join their Forces together, for the Destruction of the Infidels. There was not one but what outwardly showed an extreme desire to apply himself to so holy a work, provided he could be secured from being disturbed by his Neighbours. But that was the thing which rendered the execution of the project very difficult, because they had no Confidence in one another. They had no more for the Pope himself, who, since the beginning of his Pontificate, had but too plainly discovered, that the concerns of Religion were not what affected him most. So, in seeing him act with that Zeal, they could not help suspecting, that the desire of inriching himself by the voluntary Contributions of Christians, by the sale of the Indulgences, by the Tenths of the Clergy, and by the Bounties of the Sovereigns, was what most fired his Zeal. Nevertheless, not one of them showed any aversion to the

Leo X *sends Legates to sollicite the Crusade.* Guicciard. Hollingsh.

reticks. Great Sums were raised by this means, but seldom applied to the ends for which they were intended. *Leo* X resolving to follow so good Precedents, opened a General Mart for Indulgences, the benefit whereof was to extend even to the Dead, whose Souls, upon payment of so much Money, were immediately redeemed out of Purgatory. People had likewise the liberty of eating Eggs and White-meats on Fast Days, and of chusing their Confessor, and the like. *Guicciardini* says, That the Powers for releasing Souls out of Purgatory were openly played for in Taverns. *B.* 13.

(1) The chief Author of this Insurrection (which began *April* 28.) was one *John Lincoln* a Broker. He drew up a Paper full of Complaints against the foreign Merchants, which he got Doctor *Bele*, a noted Preacher, to read in his Pulpit on *Easter Tuesday*; whereupon the Mob assembled, and committed several Outrages. The Reader may see a full account of this Insurrection in *Hall*, fol. 59---63. *Hollingsh.* p. 840, &c.

(2) This Distemper continued from *July* till the middle of *December*. Many Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers of the King's Court died thereof, as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and of the common sort of People so many, as in some Towns it swept away half, in others a third of the Inhabitants. *Hall*, fol. 63. *Herbert*, p. 28 ----- There was also so great a Drougth this year, that it did not rain from the beginning of *September*, till the *May* following. And the Frost was so hard in the Winter, that Horses and Carts could pass over the *Thames* on the Ice between *Westminster* and *Lambeth*. *Stow*, p. 505.

(3) On the 16th of *October*, 1516. *Herbert*, p. 27. The 11th, says *Buchan.*

1518. design, lest he should be taxed with not having a due regard for Religion. But they gave only Words, whereas the Pope wanted Deeds. Hence the Pope's project of an universal League had not, as will hereafter be seen, the Success he expected. However, the project, though chimerical, served for pretence and a cloak to many other designs. The Emperor, desiring to have one of his Grandson chosen King of the *Romans*, used the pretence of the imaginary War Christendom was in danger of from the *Turks*, to show the necessity of continuing the Imperial Dignity in the House of *Austria*, there being no other in *Germany*, able by its own strength to withstand their Arms. *Charles* King of *Spain* made use of the same pretence for the same purpose. Besides that, as he wanted some years of Peace, he strenuously insisted upon the project of a general Truce, that the Christian Princes might be free to unite their Forces against the *Turks*. *Francis* I, plainly saw, by the defensive League made against him, that a pretence was only sought to invade him, and take away the Duchy of *Milan*. So, a general Truce could not but be advantagious to him in his present Circumstances. Besides, he had in view the recovery of *Tournay*, which could be accomplished but during a Peace. *Henry* VIII, knowing that the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had joined in a League against the *Turks*, was apprehensive that League covered some design against him. For that reason, he would not refuse to enter into the same ingagement, for fear of giving them a pretence. Thus the chief Potentates of *Europe* being concerned to improve the *Crusade*, or at least, not to reject it, the lesser Powers were also obliged to follow the Torrent. This gave the Pope great hopes he should at last effect his designs. But as in truth, not one of the Princes thought the thing practicable, the project was still very far from being executed.

The Project of the Crusade is of use to the House of Austria. Mezerai.

Negotiation about Tournay. Herbert. Stows Pol. Virg.

Whilst *Leo* X, fed himself with these hopes, *Francis* was thinking much more seriously of means to recover *Tournay*, than of the affairs of the *Crusade*. On the other hand, Cardinal *Wolsey* was afraid of losing the Administration of the Bishoprick, because he saw no likelihood of sowing discord between *France* and *England*, at a time when all the Princes of *Europe* showed a desire to live in Peace. He could not therefore keep the Administration, if *Guillard*, the true Bishop, would take the Oath to the King, to which he seemed inclined. This made him embrace the secret offers of *Francis*, to make him ample amends, if he could induce the King his master to restore that place to *France*. *Francis* was very sensible, that before all things the Cardinal was to be satisfied, not only in order to recover *Tournay*, but to procure it as cheap as possible. This was the subject of a private Negotiation between them, before *Henry* was informed of it. To succeed, *Francis* spared neither Flatteries nor Promises, nor Presents. If *Polydore Virgil* may be credited, these Presents were very considerable. But however, it was agreed between them, that the Cardinal should be recompensed for the loss of the Administration, with an annual Pension. That the King of *France* should give *Henry* six hundred thousand Crowns for *Tournay*. But as this Sum was a little too large, an Expedient, mentioned hereafter, was found to reduce it to a much less. Upon these two Conditions, the Cardinal undertook to obtain his master's Consent to the King of *France*'s desires. One of less Assurance than the Cardinal, and not so secure of the King's Confidence, would doubtless, have been greatly embarrassed, since the Business was to convince the King of the contrary, to what hitherto he had been endeavouring to make him believe, namely, that *Tournay* was no longer necessary. When *Francis* I, would have treated of the restitution of *Tournay*, *Wolsey* had represented to the King, that both for his own and *England*'s Interest, it was of very great consequence to keep that place, which was moreover a perpetual Monument of his Victories, whilst it should be in his hands. Now altering his Tone, he undertakes to perswade, and indeed does perswade, him, that the place is of no use, and the maintainance of the Garrison far outweighs all the advantages he can receive from thence. That it was better to yield it to the King of *France*, who earnestly sued for it, and, to obtain it, scrupled not to condescend to make Presents to a Minister. That nothing could be more honorable for the King, than to see that Monarch make the first advances to procure his Friendship, and render it perpetual, by the marriage of the Dauphin with the Princess *Mary*, which also he proposed. That therefore the present opportunity should be improved to receive a good Sum of Money in lieu of *Tournay*, which being so remote from *Calais*, would infallibly be lost upon the first rupture between the two Crowns. That hereby the King of *France* would be obliged to be his Friend, and their Union would render them Umpires of *Europe*. That this Union was the more necessary, as it was time to think of opposing the growing power of the House of *Austria*, who possessing the Empire, *Spain*, the *Low-Countries*, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, were infallibly going to render themselves very formidable to all the Sovereigns. The strength of these reasons was too manifest for *Henry* to resist them. All he could think strange was, that the Cardinal had not sooner proposed them, but till then had rather used directly contrary arguments, to hinder the restitution of *Tournay*. But, as it has been remarked, *Wolsey* had such an ascendent over him, that he could perswade him *Pro* and *Con* as he pleased (1). 1518.

Henry having agreed to what the Cardinal proposed, the next thing was to treat upon the matter. As soon as *Francis* I, was informed of it, he sent a solemn Ambassy to *England*, consisting of Admiral *Bonnivet*, *Stephen Poncher* Bishop of *Paris*, and *M. de Villeroy* Secretary of State (2). For form's sake, some time must be spent in this Negotiation, though the King of *France* and the Cardinal had already agreed upon the chief Articles, by the mediation of *Villeroy*, who had been in *London* ever since the beginning of *July*, whereas his Collegues arrived not till two months after. The *French* Ambassadors had full Powers to treat of the renewing of Friendship between the two Kings; of a League with the Pope and all Christian Princes who desired to be included in it, for the defence of Religion and the Church; of a Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess *Mary* Daughter of *Henry*; of the Restitution of *Tournay*, St. *Amand*, and *Mortagne*; and of an Interview of the two Kings. Moreover, they brought *Francis*'s Letters Patents, whereby he promised to pay to his good Friend the Cardinal of *York*, an annual Pension of twelve thousand Livres, in consideration of his relinquishing the Administration of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*. As the Treaties concluded upon these Articles were not ready till the beginning of *October*, I shall briefly mention another affair, transacted about the same time.

Embassy of France to Henry. Herbert. Hall. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 608, 611. p. 611. p. 613-616. p. 616. p. 610.

The Pope was ever intent upon the Business of the *Crusade*, from whence he hoped to draw great Sums. He writ last year to all Christian Princes, to notify the Victory of *Selim* Emperor of the *Turks*, over the *Mamalacks* of *Egypt*, whose Empire he had utterly destroyed. The beginning of this year, he caused the College of Cardinals to send a Letter to *Henry*, representing to him, the danger Christendom was in, after the Victory by the *Ottoman* Emperor over the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who, according to the best advices, was slain in battle. The Cardinals exhorted the King to undertake the defence of Religion jointly with all the other Christian Sovereigns, with the Pope and sacred College, who were ready to sacrifice to that end, their own, as well as the Church's Treasure. The plain meaning of all this was, that the King ought to contribute largely towards the *Crusade*, his Country being too remote from *Turky* to send Forces thither. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 603.

Some time after, the Pope sent *Legates a Latere* (3) to several Courts (4), with orders to exhort the Sovereigns to accept and preserve a five years Truce, enjoined by his Apostolick power. They were likewise to use their endeavours to perswade them to unite all their Forces, and make war upon the *Turk*. Cardinal *Laurentius Campejus* was appointed for *England*, and already departed from *Rome* in the beginning of *May*, to go and execute his Commission. But *Wolsey* deemed it a very great affront, that the Pope had not thought of him for this Legateship. So, whilst *Campejus* was on the road, he sent a trusty Messenger to *Rome*, to represent to the Pope, that by showing so little regard for a Cardinal, actually in *England*, and the King's Prime Minister, he put it out of his power to do him any service: That whatever he should say to support what the Pope required, would be of no weight, since he should be considered as one whom the Court of *Rome* durst not trust with the Legateship: That it was rather the Pope's Interest to make use of him to

Campejus sent as Legate a Latere to England. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 606, 609. Hall.

Wolsey gets himself joined in the Legateship. Stow. Hollingsh. Pol. Virg.

(1) *Polydore Virgil* observes, how artfully the Cardinal managed this Affair: He began with making the King a Present of some part of what *Francis* had given him, that he might thereby incline the King to accept of the friendly Overtures of the *French* King. Having thus prepared the way, he used the Arguments above-mentioned for the Restitution of *Tournay*. Whereupon the King said, He saw plainly now *Wolsey* would govern both himself and the King of *France*. *Pol. Virg.*

(2) And *Francis de Rochecaward*. With no less than twelve hundred Persons in their Train. *Septemb.* 30. *Herbert.* p. 31. *Hall*, fol. 65.

(3) There are four sorts of Legates. 1. They whom the Pope sends to preside at General Councils. 2. The Pope's perpetual Vicars in Countries remote from *Rome*; thus before the Reformation, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was *Legatus natus Apostolicæ sedis*. 3. They who for a certain time, and in certain places, are delegated to convene Synods for restoring Church-discipline and other emergencies. 4. The name of Legate is given to the Pope's extraordinary Ambassadors, to Emperors and Kings, who are called *Legati a latere*. At present none but Cardinals have this Character.

(4) To *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*. *Hall*, fol. 64.

1518. obtain his desires, considering the Confidence the King honoured him with, and that, without his assistance, the present affair would be in danger of miscarrying. *Leo* X, easily perceived by this representation that *Wolsey* must be contented. So by a Bull of the 17th of *May*, he joined him with *Campejus* in the same Commission (1), giving them both an equal authority, *knowing*, (says he in the Bull directed to *Wolsey*) *your great Credit with the King, and how easily you can perswade or dissuade him.* Mean while, *Campejus* arriving at *Boulogne*, *Wolsey* found means to detain him there till he had received the Pope's answer. For which reason it was the 29th of *July* before the *Italian* Legate made his Entry into *London*. As he had but a very poor train, *Wolsey* sent him twelve Mules with Coffers richly covered. But some of these Coffers happening to fall, during the Procession, and being overturned and broken, were found to be empty (2), to the great Sport and Laughter of the people, who derided this external Pageantry. There is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Bull of *Leo* X, with extraordinary powers to the two Legates, authorizing them to grant a plenary Indulgence to the faithful of both Sexes, who should be present at the Mass, which either of the Legates should celebrate in the presence of the King and Queen, or at least at the Benediction, provided they confessed their Sins, or desired to confess, and were penitent.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 606. May 31.

Campejus's Entry into London. Hall.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 609.

The Legates Commission. The Legates Commission consisted of two points. The first was, to try to obtain of the Clergy an Aid of Money for the War against the *Turk*. But the Clergy stood their ground against all their attempts. The second was, to perswade *Henry* to join in the projected League with all the Christian Princes for the defence of Religion and the Church. The Pope's design was not to undertake a War against the *Turk*, but only to heap up Money on that pretence. Thus the League he was meditating, was solely to make the world believe he really intended to war against the Infidels. After which, he had a very plausible excuse to lay Impositions upon all the Clergy, and draw Money from the Sovereigns, and their Subjects, to bear the Charges of this pretended war. With this League therefore he was to begin, and upon that the Legates were commissioned to treat with the King, who seemed inclined to agree to it, though he might easily foresee the League would signify nothing.

Cardinal Adrian deposed. As Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Credit increased in *England*, it became likewise greater at the Court of *Rome*. He had caused, as was before observed, Cardinal *Adrian de Corneto* to be removed from the Office of the Pope's Collector in *England*. But this slight punishment not sufficing to satisfy his revenge, he had so ordered it, that the King writ to the Pope, desiring him to deprive *Adrian* of the Cardinalate, and of the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, which had been conferred on him. *Leo* X could not help thinking it very strange, that the King should make such a request, without alledging any reason. However, without giving him a positive denial, he contented himself with saying, he would give him satisfaction at a more proper Season. In 1517, there was a Conspiracy against the Pope, wherein Cardinal *Adrian* being concerned, was committed to Prison. *Guicciardini* affirms, he was never more heard of, and that it is not known what became of him (3). But there is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter of Cardinal *Julius de Medici*, dated the 5th of *July* 1518, notifying to the King, that in a Consistory held that day, Cardinal *Adrian* was deposed and stript of all his Preferments, intimating withal to the King, that it was on his account. But it is more probable, he was punished for his Crime against the Pope. However this be, a few days after, the Pope gave Cardinal *Wolsey* the Administration of the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, supposing he wanted it to maintain the Dignity of Cardinal.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 607. p. 609, 622, 623.

Leo X wishes to make an offensive League against the Turk. The Negotiation of the two Cardinals proceeded very slowly, since it was not sufficient to incline *Henry* to the League, but the rest of the Sovereigns were also to give their consent. Accordingly, the Pope sollicited to the utmost of his power all the Potentates, magnifying the danger to which the Christian Religion was going to be infallibly exposed. In short, every Prince returning him the same answer, namely, that it was necessary all the Sovereigns should unite in this affair, he sent a Bull to his Legates in *England*, impowering them to conclude between the Emperor, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, a League against the *Turk*. His intent was, that the League should be offensive, else it would be of no advantage to him, unless the *Turk* really intended to invade Christendom, which was hitherto thought to be very uncertain. But *Leo* was too well known, for the Princes to be thus taken in a Snare which tended only to render the Pope master of their own, and their people's Money. So, pretending zealously to enter into his project, they contented themselves with concluding together a defensive League for the protection of the Pope, the Holy See, and their respective Dominions, against all Invaders, and particularly against the Emperor of the *Turks* (4). The Pope was declared Head of the League, provided he ratified it within such a time. But, the Treaty made no mention of what each of the Allies was to furnish. All which shows, this League, according to the Intention of the Parties, was only to cast a mist before people's eyes, to give the Pope some satisfaction, and perhaps to frighten the *Turks*.

1518.

p. 621.

The Pope ratifies the League. This was not what the Pope desired. He could have wished, all the Princes of *Christendom* had joined together in an offensive League against the *Turk*, and ingaged to send their Forces to *Constantinople*, to attack the *Ottoman* Emperor in his Metropolis. In that case, he knew, the most remote would have been easily induced to furnish their quota in Money. Since the *Frentick* Zeal for *Crusades* was over, the Popes had lost no occasion to rekindle the same zeal, which had formerly procured so many advantages to their Predecessors. But the People as well as the Princes were entirely discouraged, because it was too visible that the *Crusades* had been profitable to none but the Popes. So, for once, the Christian Princes were contented to make a defensive League, to show only, they were ready to defend *Christendom* against the attacks of the Infidels, deferring to take other measures till they should be obliged. *Leo* X seeing he could obtain no more, approved and ratified the League the 31st of *December*, after which it was never more mentioned. All the terrible preparations of the *Turks* to fall upon the Christians, as was affirmed, entirely vanished, as soon as the Pope found, his Artifices could not produce the effect he expected.

p. 681-691. Herbert. Hollingsh.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 691.

Several Treaties between France and England. Whilst these things were in agitation, Cardinal *Wolsey*, jointly with the *French* Ambassadors, was employed in preparing the Treaties, agreed upon, to be signed.

I. Treaty of Marriage between the Dauphin and Mary. p. 624-641. The first related to the marriage between the Princess *Mary* and the Dauphin, which was to be solemnized as soon as the young Prince should be full fourteen years old, each of the two Kings promising to pay five hundred thousand Crowns, in case it was his fault that the Marriage was not compleated. *Mary*'s Dower was to be three hundred thirty three thousand Crowns of Gold, one half to be paid on the day of Marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great as had ever been assigned to any Queen of *France*, and particularly to *Ann* of *Bretagne*, and *Mary* of *England*, Wives to *Lewis* XII.

II. Treaty about Tournay. p. 642. Hall. The second Treaty was upon the restitution of *Tournay*, for which *Francis* I, ingaged to pay *Henry* six hundred thousand Crowns of thirty-five-pence *Tournois* each, besides fifty thousand Livres *Tournois* due to him from the Inhabitants (5). But out of these two sums *Francis* was to keep back the Princess *Mary*'s Dower. As to the payments, he obliged himself to pay fifty thousand Livres upon taking possession of the place, and then twenty-five thousand Livres every six months till the whole sum was paid (6).

III. Treaty about outrages. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 649. The third Treaty concerned the Outrages which might be committed for the future against the Peace, by the Subjects of either King, and contained certain regulations to procure speedy reparation.

IV. Treaty about an Interview. p. 679. By the fourth, the two Monarchs agreed upon an interview in the Village of *Sandinfelt*, between *Ardres* and *Guisnes*.

Cardinal Wolsey is made amends p. 611. These Treaties being signed the 14th of *October*, the *French* Ambassadors gave Cardinal *Wolsey* their Master's Letters Patents, whereby he bound himself to pay him an annual Pension of twelve thousand Livres *Tournois*, to satisfy him for the loss of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*.

(1) At the request of King *Henry*, and the King of *France*. *Hollingsh.* p. 845.

(2) In *Cheapside* one of the Mules broke loose from her Leader, and overturned her own and two or three of the other Mules Carriages; which fell with such violence, that several of them unlocked, and there fell out of them old Hose, torn Shoes, pieces of roasted Meat, bits of Bread, Eggs, and such vile Baggage. *Hall*, fol. 64.

(3) *Polydore Virgil* says, *Adrian* bequeathed a magnificent Palace in *Rome*, to the King of *England* his Patron, which was called the *English* Palace, and is now possessed by the Family of *Colonna*.

(4) Lord *Herbert* says, this Treaty is singular in its kind, and an excellent Precedent for Peace to future Ages; and therefore recites it more at large, because (as he says) it seems to have been the Rule by which *Henry* framed his Actions many years after. See p. 31, of the *Comp. Hist.* Vol. II.

(5) The whole was but fifty thousand, whereof part was paid. See *Rymer*, p. 642. Our Historians say, the Arrears that remained due were twenty three thousand Livres. *Hall*, fol. 65; and *Stow*, p. 507.

(6) *Tournay* was delivered up to the King of *France* on *Febr.* 8. 1519. *Hall*, fol. 67.

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1518. *Espousals of the Dauphin with* Mary. p.666-678.

As soon as the two Kings had ratified the Treaties, and solemnly swore to the Peace at *London* and *Paris*, the King and Queen of *France*, acting in the name of the Dauphin their Son, affianced the Princess *Mary*, represented by the Earl of *Worcester* (1) her Proxy. This Ceremony was performed at *Paris* the 21st of *December* (2).

1519. *Death of the Emperor.* Guicciard. Herbert.

Europe enjoyed then a profound Tranquillity. But upon the death of the Emperor *Maximilian* (3), the 12th of *January* 1519, new troubles arose. By his death, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *England*, *Scotland*, the *Low-Countries*, were ingaged in Wars no less fatal to them than the former. As soon as *Maximilian* was in his Grave, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* openly declared themselves Candidates for the Empire, and began to cabal among the Electors to obtain their desires. This threw the Electors into great perplexity. On which side soever they turned, they saw for themselves, for *Germany*, for all *Europe*, advantages and inconveniencies which deserved their whole attention. It would have been the interest of *Germany* to keep the ballance even between the two Monarchs who aspired to the imperial dignity, and to reject both. But by chusing one of the Competitors, such superiority would be given him as could not but be fatal to all *Europe*, and particularly to *Germany*. I shall not farther insist upon the reasons which the Electors had to chuse one or reject both. It is well known, on these occasions, the publick good does not always serve for rule and foundation to form decisions of this nature.

Francis *and* Charles *aspire to the Empire.* Mezerai. Guicciard.

The Pope's Interests.

Leo X wished, as it was indeed his interest, the Electors would agree to chuse one of their own Body. *Charles* being possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and *Francis* of the Duchy of *Milan*, the election of one of these Monarchs could not but one day disturb the peace of *Italy*, and prove destructive to the papal power. Accordingly the Pope used his utmost endeavours to perswade the Electors to take that course. But however, he was forced to act privately for fear of making the two Candidates his Enemies, by openly declaring against them.

Death of Lorenzo de Medici. Guicciard.

Whilst the resolution of the Electors was impatiently expected, *Lorenzo de Medici* the Pope's Nephew, was seized with a distemper that laid him in his Grave. By this unexpected accident, that branch of the Family of *Medici* was reduced to the Person of the Pope, sole lawful descendent of *Cosmo* the Great, who first acquired the Sovereignty of *Florence*. Some endeavours were used to perswade the Pope to restore his Country to liberty; but he did not love the *Florentines* well enough to suffer them to enjoy so valuable a blessing, of which he had taken so much pains to deprive them. Resolving therefore to keep that State, he sent Cardinal *Julius de Medici* natural Son of *Julian* his Uncle, to govern in his name. Shortly after, he annexed the Duchy of *Urbino* to the Church, and razed the Walls of the Capital, for fear *la Rovere* should think of recovering it.

The Pope keeps Florence, *and governs it by a Legate.*

He annexes the Duchy of Urbino *to the Church.*

The Elector meets to chuse an Emperor. Guicciard. Pol. Virg.

The Electors being assembled to proceed to the Election of an Emperor, *Francis* and *Charles* sent Ambassadors to the Assembly to manage their concerns. The Pope would have a Nuntio there too, who had orders privately to endeavour to cause them both to be rejected; but however, to conform himself outwardly to the disposition of the Electors. *Henry* VIII perceiving the difficulties which would occur in the choice of either of the Candidates, sent *Richard Pace* to the Diet to try whether there was any thing to be expected for him. But as he thought of it too late, his Ambassador found the affair so advanced, that he did not think fit to expose the King's honour. He writ to him therefore, that indeed some of the Electors (4) showed an inclination to favour him: That the Pope would have likewise supported him to the utmost of his power, had he declared sooner; but that matters were so ordered, that the Election would infallibly be over before proper measures could be taken to accomplish his project. And indeed, a few days after, on the 28th of *June*, *Charles* King of *Spain* was declared Emperor, by the name of *Charles* V, or rather of *Charles Quint*, as he was then, and still is called to this day (5).

Henry *aspires to the Empire.* Herbert.

Charles *King of* Spain *is elected.* Guicciard.

1519. *Jealousy of* Francis I. *Several occasions of Quarrel between* Charles *and* Francis. Guicciard.

The Election of *Charles* was a terrible mortification to *Francis* I. All the World immediately thought, the jealousy between these two potent Princes would infallibly occasion bloody Wars; and this opinion was but too well confirmed by experience. Besides the King of *France*'s jealousy, which was, doubtless, one of the chief causes of the following rupture, there were differences between them of very great importance, and extremely difficult to adjust. *Francis* I, had pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*. Moreover by the Treaty of *Noyon*, *Charles* was bound to restore *Navarre* to *Henry d' Albret*, within four months after signing the Treaty, and this Article was yet unperformed. On the other hand, *Charles*, as Heir of the House of *Burgundy*, believed he had a lawful title to the Duchy of that name. He pretended that after the death of the last Duke his Great-Grandfather, *Lewis* XI had unjustly seized it, upon a bare Allegation that it was a Male Fee, though the contrary was evident. He had suffered his title to lie dormant during his Minority. But after he was of Age he had thoughts of reviving it, and the imperial Dignity lately obtained, helped very much to confirm him in that resolution. The Duchy of *Milan* was another cause of dispute, which would naturally beget a War between these two Monarchs. It could not be denied that it was a Fief of the Empire, and yet *Lewis* XII had seized it, and *Francis* I, re-conquered it, and was now in possession, without either's being invested by the Emperor *Maximilian*, or so much as desiring it. *Charles* therefore could alledge it was his duty to maintain the rights of the Empire, and endeavour to dispossess the King of *France* of that Duchy. The Duke of *Gueldres* afforded another occasion of quarrel between these two Monarchs. He was a professed Enemy to the Emperor, and *France* protected him openly. Finally, the Treaty of *Noyon* gave *Charles* another cause of complaint. He pretended, *Francis* had extorted from him so disadvantagious a Treaty, by threatening War when his affairs necessarily required his presence in *Spain*, to take possession of his Kingdoms: That therefore the Resignation of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the Pension of a hundred thousand Crowns, to which he had been ingaged, under the specious pretence of a maintainance for the Princess his future Spouse, were nothing else but the price of a Peace he had been made to purchase.

Interests of the Princes of Europe.

But though these two Monarchs looked upon each other with a jealous and envious Eye, and wanted not pretences for a War, neither of them durst however begin before he had sounded the rest of the Sovereigns. And how they stood affected will also be necessary to know, for the better understanding the Sequel, the interests of Princes giving to History a perspicuity, which without that assistance is sought for in vain.

of Leo X.

Leo X was equally afraid of the two Monarchs, being sensible, to which side soever the Ballance inclined, *Italy* must be in danger. If he could have set them at variance without making *Italy* the seat of the War, he would freely have done it. But that was not possible. Much less was it in his power to stand Neuter. The reason is, because he could not hinder the contests about *Naples* and *Milan* from being decided by Arms, and therefore could not avoid interposing in a quarrel, which would so nearly concern him. He took therefore the course which best agreed with his temper, and that was to be reserved and manage both the Monarchs, till he found it his interest to declare himself. But through all his disguises, he discovered however some partiality to the Emperor, in the grant of a dispensation to hold the Empire with the Kingdom of *Naples*, though that was directly contrary to the Terms on which he had given him the investiture of that Kingdom. *Francis* complained of it, but the Pope excused it as not having in his power to refuse, without involving himself in troubles from which it would not have been easy for him to be delivered. Mezerai.

of Henry VIII.

As for *Henry* VIII, the posture of affairs between *Charles* and *Francis* might have rendered his Reign very glorious, had he not entirely given himself up to the interested Counsels of Cardinal *Wolsey*. He had it in his

(1) *Rapin* mistaking the Name for the Title says *Somerset*.----- He was accompanied in his Embassy to *France* by *Nicolas West* Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord St. *John*, Sir *Nicolas Vaux*, Sir *John Pecby*, and Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*. *Hall*, fol. 66.

(2) This year was instituted the College of Physicians in *London*. King *Henry*'s Charter for that purpose bears date *October* 23. By the Appointment, in this Corporation, or College, are included the Physicians in *London*, and seven miles round that City. The Physicians named in the Charter, are, *John Chamber*, *Thomas Linacre*, *Fernand de Victoria*, *Nicolas Halsewell*, *John Francis*, and *Robert Yaxley*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. 13. p. 654.

(3) He was King of the *Romans*, and called Emperor, though never crowned by that Title. Some say, the reason was because he declined the Charge and Hazard of going into *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown at the Pope's hands. He spent his leisure-hours in *Poetry*, writing the History of his Life in *Dutch* Verse. As Knight of the Garter, his Obsequy was solemnly kept in St. *Paul*'s, by our King and the Knights of that Order. *Herbert*, p. 34.

(4) The Electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, stood so affected, that *Pace* thought if our King had put in sooner, he would have carried it. *Herbert*, p. 33.

(5) Instead of spending his Money in bribing the Electors, as *Francis* did, particularly the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, he laid it out in raising numerous Forces, which he brought to *Francfort*. Whereupon the Majority of the Electors (*viz.* the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, the Count *Palatin*, and the Duke of *Saxony*,) being thereby terrified and over-awed, agreed to chuse him. There were then but seven Electors, which, together with the four just now mentioned, were the Archbishop of *Trewes* or *Triers*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the King of *Bohemia*. See *Guicciard.* l. 13. The Electorate of *Bavaria* was appointed in 1648, and that of *Brunswic-Lunenburgh-Hanover*, in 1693.

1519. power to preſerve the peace of *Europe*, by keeping the Ballance even between the two Rivals, without ſuffering it to incline too much to either ſide. This was his grand intereſt as well as the Kingdom's, and accordingly this was his reſolution. Hence it was that he frequently ingaged in one or other ſide, but not always as the intereſt of *Europe*, the welfare of his Realm, and his own Glory required. Thus whilſt he thought to follow the maxims of good policy, he ſerved, without perceiving it, to gratify the paſſions of his Miniſter, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Both Monarchs try to gain Henry by means of Wolſey. Herbert.

Charles and *Francis* were ſo convinced of the advantages to be reaped from the King of *England*'s Friendſhip, that they neglected nothing which they thought would procure it. The beſt or rather the only means to that end was to gain Cardinal *Wolſey* to their intereſts. And therefore, they ſpared neither Flatteries nor Promiſes, nor Preſents, to make him their Friend. They took occaſion ſometimes to write to him, on purpoſe to ſtile him *Their Friend*, *Their Father*. In their Letters they extolled his Virtue, his Prudence, his Capacity, in ſuch affected Terms, that he muſt have been blind not to ſee, they had farther views than to expreſs their eſteem for him. *Wolſey* made good uſe of theſe Teſtimonies of their Friendſhip, to obſerve to his Maſter how formidable he was to theſe two Monarchs, ſince they did not diſdain even to careſs his Miniſter. But withal, it ſerved him to inſinuate how far his own merit excelled that of other Miniſters, ſince it was univerſally known. All this produced the effect he expected. *Henry* deemed himſelf the Arbiter of *Europe*, and remained ſo perſuaded of his Favorite's Capacity, that he no longer ſaw but with his Eyes, or acted but by his advice.

Their Careſſes increaſe Wolſey's Credit.

The Cardinal's Preferments.

Thus *Wolſey* was then at the top of the Wheel. He was Favorite, Prime Miniſter, Lord Chancellor, Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, Archbiſhop of *York*, ſole Legate *à Latere*, *Campejus* his Collegue being recalled. He had a Penſion from the Emperor, and the King of *France*, and received an immenſe profit from his Chancellorſhip, by the Privileges annexed thereto by the King. Beſides this, the King never ceaſed making him Preſents, and giving him continual occaſions of increaſing his Incomes. On the other hand, the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the Republick of *Venice*, ſtrove with emulation to gain his Good-Will, and ſeemed, as I may ſay, to glory in their dependence upon him. The beginning of the year, *Francis* I ſent him Letters Patents, whereby he conſented, that he ſhould alone regulate the Ceremonies of his Interview with *Henry*, giving him thereby an authentick Teſtimony of his confidence in his probity, upon a point of which Kings are commonly very jealous. Mean while, the advances ſuch great Princes made the Cardinal, did not argue ſo much their eſteem for him, as their fear of loſing the Friendſhip of the King his Maſter. *Francis* I, to give *Henry* a freſh mark of his reſpect, deſired him to ſtand Godfather to his ſecond Son, afterwards King of *France* by the name of *Henry* II. Theſe things demonſtrate *Henry*'s happy ſituation, and how glorious his Reign might have been, had he wiſely improved theſe Advantages. But unfortunately for him, inſtead of acting for himſelf and his own Glory, he laboured in effect for his Favorite's intereſts.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 691.

Henry is Godfather to Francis's ſecond Son. Herbert.

Cardinal Wolſey's extreme Pride.

It would have been hard to conceive to what height the Cardinal's Pride was carried, if all the Hiſtorians had not taken care to deſcribe it, and all in the ſame Colours. The Legateſhip of *Campejus* ſetting that Cardinal upon a level with him, he could not long bear that equality. By his credit at *Rome* he had cauſed him to be recalled (1), and himſelf appointed ſole Legate, with power to viſit the Monaſteries, and all the reſt of the Clergy (2). To obtain this Commiſſion, he had taken care to defame to the Pope all the Clergy of the Kingdom, intimating, how neceſſary it was to commit the reforming of them to his care (3). But this was only to increaſe his Authority, and ſubject the whole Church of *England* to his Orders. When he ſaw himſelf inveſted alone with the Dignity of Legate, he let looſe, if I may ſo ſay, the Reins to his Vanity. He ſaid Maſs after the manner of the Pope himſelf, not only Biſhops ſerving him therein, but Earls and Dukes giving him Water and the Towel. When he walked into the City, two Croſſes were carried before him by two of the talleſt Prieſts that could be found, mounted on the higheſt Horſes. One of theſe Croſſes was that of Legate, and the other that of *York*. At firſt theſe things ſerved only for diverſion to the People, who paſſed their jeſts upon this external Pomp (4). But preſently after, were felt much more grievous effects of the Power aſſumed by the Legate. A new Court of juſtice was erected, called the Legate's Court, the juriſdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conſcience; that is, properly ſpeaking, to all the actions of Life, ſince there is ſcarce any but where Conſcience may be ſome way concerned. One *John Allen*, being made Judge of this new Court, committed numberleſs Rapines and Extortions, under colour of reforming the Manners of the People, though he was himſelf a Perſon of an infamous Character (5). Strict enquiry was made into the Life and Manners of every Body, which gave occaſion to the new Judge to oppreſs all that obſtinately refuſed to compound with him. Particularly, he pretended that his Juriſdiction reached to all Suits ariſing from Wills or Marriage-Contracts, and drew to his Court numberleſs Cauſes, without the King's Judges daring to oppoſe it (6). On the other hand, the Legate treated the Clergy with inconceivable rigour, and conferred all the Benefices of the Kingdom on his Creatures, without troubling himſelf about the Rights of the Churches, the Monaſteries, or the Patrons. This is what had ever occaſioned violent quarrels between the Kings of *England* and the Court of *Rome*, and given birth to the famous *Statute of Præmunire*, daily violated by the Legate, the King ſuffering in him things which he would not doubtleſs have allowed in the Pope himſelf, and being informed no farther than the Cardinal pleaſed. At laſt, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſeeing ſo many oppreſſions, thought it his duty to acquaint the King, who ſeemed ſurprized, and charged the Archbiſhop to tell the Cardinal, that it was his pleaſure he ſhould amend whatever was amiſs (7). The effect of this Remonſtrance was, that the Cardinal ſtill more hated the Archbiſhop for whom he had already conceived an averſion, for ſubſcribing himſelf in one of his Letters, *Your Brother of Canterbury* (8). But ſhortly after, one *John London* a Prieſt (9), boldly accuſing the Judge of the Legate's Court, it was not poſſible to hinder the affair from coming to the King's knowledge. As the Judge was convicted of numberleſs Miſdemeanours, the King ſo reprimanded the Cardinal, that from thenceforward he became, if not better, yet more wary at leaſt.

1519.

He oppoſes the Clergy and People. Pol. Virg. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

The Legate's Court erected. Hall. Pol. Virg. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Herbert.

Herbert. Pol. Virg. Hollingſh.

Cardinal Wolſey aſpires to the Popedom by means of the Emperor. Herbert.

The Grandeur, Riches, Power, and Authority enjoyed by *Wolſey* in *England*, were not capable of ſatisfying his Ambition, whilſt there was ſtill one ſtep higher to which a Churchman could aſcend. He had begun ſome time ſince to take meaſures to become Pope, when the See ſhould be vacant, and the King of *France* had now offered him the Votes of fourteen Cardinals. But ſince *Charles* was elected Emperor, *Wolſey* thought him moſt capable to procure him the Papacy, and probably, continued a private Negotiation with him. For that purpoſe, he gradually diſengaged the King his maſter from the Intereſt of *France*, to turn him to the Emperor. Mean while, he believed he could not, without too much diſcovering himſelf, hinder the Interview of *Francis* and *Henry*, which had been deferred till the year 1520 (10). But he well knew how to prevent the ill-effects this Interview might produce againſt the Emperor his new friend. Beſides, he could not think of loſing the pleaſure of ap-

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 734. Pol. Virg. Burnet.

(1) *John Clarke*, Doctor of Law, was ſent to *Rome* for this purpoſe. The Pope's Commiſſion to *Wolſey* is dated *June* 10. 1519. *Herbert*, p. 32.

(2) By Virtue of his Legatine Commiſſion, he might ſummon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhops within the King's Dominions, to aſſemble at his Convocation. He might ſuperintend and correct what he thought irregular within their Juriſdictions; appoint all Officers in the Spiritual Courts, and preſent to all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; conſtitute Maſters of Faculties and Maſters of Ceremonies, to advance his Dignity, and exerciſe a viſitatorial Power over Monaſteries and Colleges, and all the Clergy, exempt and not exempt; and this for one whole year, from the date of the Bull. *Fiddes* Life of *Wolſey*, p. 100. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 734.

(3) The Clergy were ſo defamed by the Cardinal's Information, that they were termed, *Dati in reprobum ſenſum, given up to reprobate Senſe*, and the like, in the original Bull among our Records, which Lord *Herbert* ſays, he ſhould have inſerted at large, but that it is too long and infamous to the Hierarchy and all religious Perſons, p. 32. *Compl. Hiſt.*——The Cardinal intended to viſit all the Monaſteries in *England*, that diſcovering their corruptions, he might the better juſtify the Deſign he had to ſuppreſs moſt of them, and convert them into Biſhopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and Colleges; but was diverted from his Deſign. However, he led the way, to the total Suppreſſion of them that followed afterwards. *Burnet's Ref.* Tom. I. p. 20.

(4) Inſomuch that *Polydore Virgil* ſays, it grew to a Jeſt, as if one Croſs did not ſuffice for the expiation of his Sins.

(5) He was thought to be guilty of Perjury. *Herbert*, p. 33. *Pol. Virg.*

(6) He had a great number of Spies and Informers diſperſed every where, to let him know what Livings became vacant, that he might fill them up immediately; and what Perſons of note died in every Town or Pariſh, that he might cite their Executors to prove the Wills in his Court. *Ibid.*

(7) *Polydore Virgil* ſays, the King replied to the Archbiſhop, *That he ſhould not have heard of theſe things but by him*; adding, *that no Man is ſo blind any where as in his own Houſe; therefore, I pray you*, (ſays he) *Father, go to* Wolſey, *and tell him, if any thing be amiſs that he amend it.* Herbert, p. 33.

(8) When the Bearer of the Letter informed the Archbiſhop what offence the Cardinal had taken at his Subſcription, he ſaid, with ſome ſhew of Reſentment, *Peace, knoweſt thou not that the Man is inebriated with Proſperity.* Hollingſh. p. 848.

(9) *Rapin*, by miſtake, calls him *a Prieſt of London.* See *Herbert*, p. 33.

(10) Both Kings in the mean while agreeing, not to cut off their Beards till they ſaw one another. *Herbert*, p. 34.

1519. pearing before the Court of *France* with a magnificence little inferior to that of a King, and of ſeeing himſelf, in the preſence of the *Engliſh*, honoured and careſſed by the King of *France*, and his whole Court, as he would probably be. This was an opportunity which a perſon ſo fond of pageantry and oſtentation could not neglect.

Affairs of Spain. The Emperor had reaſon to careſs Cardinal *Wolſey*. He had met in *Spain* with unexpected difficulties. The *Caſtilians* and *Arragonians* were bent to preſerve their Privileges, which were continually attacked by the Emperor's *Flemiſh* Counſellors. On the other hand, the Emperor, on pretence of the *Cruſade* publiſhed by the Pope, having demanded a Tenth of the Clergy, that demand had cauſed throughout *Spain* Troubles which very much embarraſſed that Prince. There had been alſo an Inſurrection in *Auſtria* which was not appeaſed without difficulty. In ſhort, the King of *France* was privately labouring to raiſe the Emperor troubles in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre*, and to withdraw his Allies from him. All this made *Henry*'s Friendſhip ſo neceſſary to him, that it is no wonder he ſhould endeavour to win the Cardinal to his ſide, ſince the Miniſter's Credit was the only way to gain the maſter. The King of *France* uſed the ſame method, which exceedingly increaſed the Cardinal's pride; who ſeeing himſelf courted by theſe two Monarchs, had it in his power, if I may ſo ſay, to ſet what price he pleaſed upon his Services.

The Emperor and King of France equally Court Wolſey's Friendſhip.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Whilſt all the World was impatiently expecting the effect of the Jealouſy between the Emperor and King of *France*, the affairs of *Scotland* ſtill remained in the ſame ſituation, that is, in extreme diſorder becauſe of the Regent's abſence. When he went from *Scotland* he hoped to return in few Months, but was not ſuffered to follow his Inclination. *Francis* I, foreſeeing the want he might have of *England*, had made a private Treaty with *Henry*, promiſing to detain the Duke of *Albany* in *France*. Thus *Henry* obtained by another way, what the Parliament of *Scotland* had plainly refuſed him. It was very eaſy to conceive, why he oppoſed the Duke of *Albany*'s return. His deſign was to throw *Scotland* into trouble and confuſion, to have an opportunity to interpoſe in the affairs of that Kingdom, under colour of ſupporting the Intereſts of the young King his Nephew. He could not therefore execute it better, than by fomenting Diſcord among the Nobility, which the Regent's preſence might have remedied. But the War which afterwards broke out between *Charles* and *Francis*, and wherein he was but too much concerned, prevented the proſecution of his deſigns againſt *Scotland*. Probably this ſaved the Kingdom, which otherwiſe was in great danger of being conquered by the *Engliſh*.

France engages to detain the Duke of Albany in France. Herbert.

Diſcovery of Mexico and New-Spain. Before I cloſe the year 1519, I muſt not forget to remark, that this year the Emperor received the news of the diſcovery, and beginning of the Conqueſt of *Mexico* and *New-Spain*. The mention of this particular is the more neceſſary, though it ſeems foreign to our Hiſtory, as it was the Gold and Silver wherewith the new World furniſhed *Spain*, that contributed moſt to render *Charles* V ſo powerful as he will hereafter appear. Beſides, Money growing more plenty, by the Trade carried on by other Countries with *Spain*, the Reader muſt not be ſurprized to find hereafter more numerous Armies, greater magnificence in Princes Courts, and the Dowries of Princeſſes much larger than before. But *Spain* firſt improved the Gold and Silver of the new World, and was thereby enabled, in the Reigns of *Charles* Vth, and *Philip* IId, to aſpire to Univerſal Monarchy (1).

1520. The Confidence placed by *Francis* I in Cardinal *Wolſey*, in giving him power to regulate his Interview with *Henry*, would have been very honourable for that Miniſter, if, on the other hand, this proceeding had not ſhewn his little eſteem for him, as believing him liable to Corruption. Be this as it will, *Wolſey*, by virtue of Powers received from the two Kings, made the 12th of *March* 1520, a Regulation, importing, among other things, "that "the Interview ſhould be on the 4th of *June* (2) be- "tween *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*; That the King of *Eng-* "*land* ſhould go towards *Ardres*, as far as conveniently "he could (3), without paſſing however the *Engliſh* Pale, "and the King of *France* ſhould meet him at the place "where he ſhould ſtop." Hence, he ſo ordered it, that *Francis* paid the firſt Viſit to *Henry*. But he aſſigned for reaſon, that the King his maſter having croſſed the Seas, on purpoſe to do his Friend honour, it was very juſt, *Francis* ſhould in ſome meaſure make him amends, by advancing, to receive him, a little beyond the Limits of his own Territories in ſome open place appointed by Deputies on either ſide. The reſt of the regulation concerned the ſafety of the two Monarchs, their Queens, the Queen Dowager of *France*, Siſter of *Henry*, *Louiſa* of *Savoy* Ducheſs of *Angoulême*, Mother to *Francis* I, the Trains of the Princes and Princeſſes who were to aſſiſt at the Interview, the place where the two Kings were to meet and confer together, and laſtly, the Diverſions which the two Courts were to take.

The Regulation of the Interview between the two Kings by Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 705. March 12. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

1520.

During the time between the Regulation and the Interview, *Francis* cauſed the Cardinal to be ſounded, to know whether, by his means, he could not prevail with *Henry* to reſtore *Calais* for a Sum of Money. This propoſal was, doubtleſs, attended with ſecret promiſes to the Cardinal, anſwerable to ſo great a Service, ſince he did not think fit to reject it. He durſt not however ſpeak of it directly to the King; but tried ſo to manage, that others ſhould inſpire him with the thought, that in caſe the King adviſed with him upon it, he might give his opinion more freely. To that end, in his Converſation he would frequently turn the Diſcourſe upon *Calais*, and ſay, as it were accidentally, *What have we to do with this* Calais, *that* [*lies on the Continent and*] *coſts us ſo much? It were to be wiſhed we were honeſtly rid of it!* This artifice failing, he never ventured to make the King ſo extraordinary a propoſal, and the rather as, being reſolved to engage with the Emperor, he was not ſo deſirous to oblige the King of *France*.

Francis gains Wolſey to get Calais given up. Herbert.

But he dares not propoſe it to the King.

The time of the Interview approaching, *Henry* (4) came to *Canterbury* the 25th of *May*, in order to paſs his *Whitſuntide* there, and then proceed to *Calais*. But next day news was brought him, that the Emperor was landed at *Dover*. This arrival ſurprized the whole Court, and perhaps the King himſelf. But the Cardinal had no reaſon to be ſurprized, ſince the Emperor had the 29th of *March* laſt, promiſed by Letters Patents dated from *Compoſtella*, to give or cauſe to be given him by the Pope, the Biſhoprick of *Badajos* (5), within two months after the Conference he was to have in perſon with the King of *England*, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Hence it is plain, the Emperor's Journey to *England* had been reſolved ever ſince *March*, at leaſt between the Emperor and the Cardinal. But it is uncertain whether the King was informed of it. However this be, the Cardinal was commiſſioned to go and welcome the Emperor at *Dover*, where the King came alſo on the morrow. Then the two Monarchs went together to *Canterbury*, where *Henry* ſent for his Queen, who was extremely glad to ſee her Nephew the Emperor, having never ſeen him before (6). The Emperor's aim in this viſit was to diſſuade the King from the Interview with *Francis*; but he could not ſucceed, *Henry* making him ſenſible, he could not recede with honour. But very likely he had alſo in view, the ſecuring of Cardinal *Wolſey*, in order to gain, by his means, the King to his Intereſt. It is the common opinion, his Journey was not fruitleſs, but that he could obtain the Cardinal's favour, only by promiſing to uſe all his Credit to raiſe him to the Papacy, in caſe *Leo* X died before him. Though the Emperor had not obtained all his deſires, he departed however very well ſatisfied with his viſit. *Henry* having promiſed not to enter into any Ingagement with the King of *France* to his prejudice (7). On the 30th of *May*, *Charles* proceeded to *Flanders*, and *Henry* to *Calais* (8).

Henry ſets out for the Interview. The Emperor arrives at Dover. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 714. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

He promiſes the Pontificate to Wolſey. Hall.

I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe the Interview of the two Monarchs between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, as regulated by the Cardinal. Whilſt it laſted, there was nothing but Entertainments, Tournaments, Balls, Maſquerades, and other Diverſions, wherein the two Courts mixed to their mutual ſatisfaction. Every thing on both ſides was ſo magnificent, that the Aſſembly was called, *the Camp of the Cloth of Gold* (9). But amidſt all the pleaſures which the

The Interview of Francis and Henry. Herbert. Stow. Hall. Hollingſh.

(1) *Hernando Cortes*, Undertaker of the Expedition to *America*, going, in the year 1518, with about four hundred Foot, and fifteen Horſe, and ſeven little Field pieces, into many populous but diverſly affected Kingdoms, did ſo dexterouſly behave himſelf, that playing the part ſometimes of an Ambaſſador, and ſometimes of a Soldier, he prevailed himſelf of all. And in concluſion, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his Countrymen and Enemies, laid a Foundation of a greater Dominion than any Man before him did. *Herbert*, p. 34. See *Don Ant. de Solis Hiſt. of Mexico.*

(2) Within four days after the end of *May*. *Rymer*, p. 707. (3) A Mile. *Ibid.*

(4) He ſet out from *Greenwich*. *May* 21. *Stow*, p. 508.

(5) In *Eſtremadura*; worth five thouſand Ducats yearly. The Town of *Badajos* is deemed one of the Bulwarks of *Spain*. The Earl of *Galloway*, who commanded the *Britiſh* Troops in thoſe parts, had his right hand ſhot off here.

(6) The Emperor ſaw likewiſe the Queen Dowager of *France*, *Henry*'s Siſter, once propoſed for his Wife, at the ſight of whom (ſays *Polydore*) he was ſo ſad, (ſhe being a celebrated Beauty) that he could not be perſuaded to dance. *Herbert*, p. 36.

(7) The Treaty of Commerce made between *England* and *Germany* in 1506, was alſo now confirmed. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 714, &c.

(8) See the Liſts of the Noblemen and others that attended the King and Queen, in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 710, 711.

(9) The King cauſed a Building 328 Foot ſquare to be erected, from which a private Gallery reached to the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*. The parts of this great Building were artificially framed in *England*, and afterwards taken aſunder and brought home. The Model whereof, Lord *Herbert* ſays, was at *Greenwich* in his time. The two Kings met, on the 7th of *June*, in the Vale of *Andren*, and alighting, walked hand in hand to a Tent of

1520. *Treaty between them.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 719. June 6.

the two Courts took together, the affairs however were not neglected. The following Articles were agreed upon by the two Kings at their Conferences: That after *Francis* ſhould have paid the million of Crowns, according to the late Treaty, he ſhould give *Henry* an annual penſion, for life, of a hundred thouſand Livres *Tournois* (1); That in caſe the Dauphin ſhould become King of *England* by his marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, the penſion ſhould be continued to *Mary* and her Heirs for ever; That the differences between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, ſhould be referred to the arbitration of *Louiſa* of *Savoy* the King of *France*'s Mother, and the Cardinal of *York*. The two Kings parted not till the 24th of *June*, after paſſing about three weeks together, in continual Diverſions.

Henry goes to ſee the Emperor at Graveling.

Henry being returned to *Calais*, was pleaſed before he repaſſed into *England*, to repay the viſit received from the Emperor at *Canterbury*. To that end, he came to *Graveling* the 10th of *July*, and returned the ſame day to *Calais*.

The Emperor returns his Viſit. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

On the morrow, the Emperor, with the Lady *Margaret* his Aunt, Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, came to ſee *Henry* at *Calais*, and ſtayed three days with him. Theſe mutual viſits made *Francis* extremely jealous, and not without reaſon. Probably, in theſe Conferences were laid the firſt foundations of the Alliance afterwards concluded between the Emperor and *Henry*. In a few days after, *Henry* returned into *England*.

Letter of the Doge of Venice to the Cardinal. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 724. July 6.

The greateſt Princes very juſtly courted Cardinal *Wolſey*. He abſolutely governed his maſter, who, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could make the ballance incline to which ſide he pleaſed. The Senate of *Venice* foreſeeing that a War would ſoon break out in *Italy*, endeavoured beforehand to make *Wolſey* their Friend, by ſhewing a great eſteem for him. There is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter from the Doge to the Cardinal, to congratulate him upon the Interview of the two Kings, as a work of his conſummate Wiſdom (2).

The Pope grants the Cardinal Penſions upon Spaniſh Sees. P. 714, 725.

But this was only words, whereas the Pope, who found he ſhould quickly want the Cardinal, thought he muſt gain him by ſomething more ſubſtantial. He granted him, as appears in the *Collection*, on the 29th of *July*, as penſion of two thouſand Ducats upon the Biſhoprick of *Palencia* in *Spain*, and conſtituted him perpetual Adminiſtrator of the See of *Badajos*, without prejudice to the Benefices he had or ſhould have for the future. There is no doubt, this was done with the Emperor's Conſent, who endeavoured by degrees to gain ſo powerful a Miniſter, whoſe Credit was very neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. He had left *Spain* full of troubles, occaſioned by the greedineſs of the *Flemings*, who only ſought to inrich themſelves at the expence of the *Spaniards*. This had even obliged him to depart with ſome precipitation, for fear of being embroiled in affairs which might have prevented his going to receive the Imperial Crown. He had left for Governors in *Spain*, *Adrian Florentio* Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, and the Conſtable of *Caſtile*. But he was no ſooner gone, than ſeveral Lords, and ſome Cities of *Caſtile* joined in a League for the defence of their Liberties, and expulſion of the *Flemings*. This League was followed by an open Rebellion, which very much embarraſſed the two Governors. Mean while, having drawn together a body of Troops, conſiſting partly of the Garriſons left in *Navarre*, they formed a good Army, and at length defeated and reduced the Male-contents to obedience.

Troubles in Spain.

The Emperor is crowned.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Spain*, the Emperor was preparing for his Coronation, which was ſolemnized the 21ſt of *October* (3).

The Pope ſollicites the Elector of Saxony againſt Luther.

Luther's defection made then great noiſe in *Germany*. *Leo* X endeavoured to excite all the Princes of the Empire againſt the Doctor, who had boldly appealed to a General Council, notwithſtanding Pope *Pius the Second*'s Bull. In ſhort, after fruitleſs trials to win him by promiſes, or frighten him by threats, he publiſhed a Bull of Excommunication againſt him and his Followers. But *Luther*, regardleſs of theſe Thunders, renewed his Appeal to a Council in very harſh Terms. The Pope exaſperated that a ſingle Monk ſhould thus dare to brave him, deſired the Elector of *Saxony*, then at *Cologne*, to put him to death, or ſend him to *Rome*. The Elector refuſing, the Pope's Nuncio ordered *Luther*'s Books to be publickly burnt at *Cologne*, and *Luther*, in revenge, cauſed the [Pope's Bull and the] Decretals to be openly burnt at *Wirtemberg*, and publiſhed a Manifeſto in defence of his proceedings. He found himſelf ſupported by the Elector his Sovereign, who earneſtly deſired to ſee a Reformation in the Church.

1520. *He excommunicates him, who appeals to a Council.* Sleidan. Herbert.

The Duke of Wirtemberg loſes his Dominions.

Mean while, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who at the Inſtance of *Francis* I, had forſaken the League of *Swabia*, was driven out of his Dominions, and the Emperor purchaſed them. As the King of *France* was not then in condition to protect him, he was forced to ſubmit to the Emperor's Terms, without hopes of being reſtored.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchanan.

The troubles ſtill continued among the *Scots*, who were divided into two Factions, whereof *Andrew Hamilton*, and *George Douglaſs* (4) Earl of *Arran* were the Heads. During the year 1520, the *Hamiltonians* found means to conſtrain *Archibald Douglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, one of thoſe left by the Regent to govern in his abſence, to relinquiſh his Poſt. After which they would have taken away his Life. But with fourſcore Men he beat, in the Streets of *Edinburgh*, above a thouſand of his Enemies, and drove them out of the City. All this ſerved only to exaſperate more and more the Factions againſt one another, ſo that at laſt *Douglaſs* received into his Party all the friends of the two *Humes*, beheaded by the Regent, in order with their aſſiſtance to withſtand his Enemies. Theſe were the ſad effects cauſed by the Regent's abſence, whom the King of *England* hindered from returning into *Scotland*. Mean while, the Truce between the two Kingdoms was farther prolonged to the 9th of *April* next year, by the King of *France*'s mediation, and the Council of *Scotland* poſitively promiſed to ſend an honourable Embaſſy to the King of *England* to deſire a Peace (5).

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 727—737.

1521. *Characters and Tempers of the principal Sovereigns of Europe.*

The poſture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1521, did not promiſe the long continuance of the Peace of *Europe*. Four Sovereigns enjoyed almoſt the whole, and had a great Influence upon the Dominions they were not poſſeſſed of. They were all four young, able and ambitious enough to form vaſt projects, which could not be executed without putting all *Europe* in combuſtion.

Of Francis I.

Francis I, ſecretly envying *Charles* V, ſought occaſion to ſhew his concern at ſeeing him on the Imperial Throne, and was thinking to uſe the pretence of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples* for himſelf, and *Navarre* for *Henry d'Albret*. But his deſign of attacking the Emperor was founded upon another and more powerful motive, namely, Policy, which required his utmoſt endeavours to humble this formidable Rival, otherwiſe *France* might be in great danger. To execute this grand project, it would have been neceſſary for him to be wholly intent upon his affairs, and to be a good Oeconomiſt, in order to ſupport the expence in which he was going to engage. But unhappily for him, he was too much addicted to his pleaſures, and very often applied to other uſes, the Money deſigned for the War. Moreover, he was too eaſily governed by his Miniſters, and ſtill more by the Ducheſs of *Angoulême* his Mother, whoſe intereſts were often contrary to his. However, he fancied his affairs in ſuch a poſture, as promiſed a happy Succeſs of his undertakings. *Spain* was diſaffected and agitated with inteſtine troubles, which probably would greatly embarraſs the Emperor. On the other hand, the *Turks* threatened *Hungary*, which the Emperor could not abandon without indangering his *Auſtrian* Dominions. In the next place, *Francis* flattered himſelf with having in the King of *England* a faithful friend, who would not forſake him, and who ſeemed to

of Cloth of Gold. On the 9th, they came and view'd the Camp or Place of Exerciſe, 300 yards long, and 106 broad, with Scaffolds on the Side for the Beholders. There were alſo ſet up two artificial Trees, with the Arms of the two Kings and their Aſſiſtants, on which were affixed the Articles of the *Juſts*, &c. *June* 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, the two Kings, with ſeven Aſſiſtants each, encountered all Comers, and came off with Applauſe. *June* 16th, was ſpent in feaſting and dancing with the Queens and other Ladies. *June* 17th, being *Sunday*, and the 18th, being foul weather, they repoſed. The 19th they continued their Courſes. On the 20th the Tournay began, where our King particularly got that Honour, that a brave *French* Nobleman, with whom he fought, preſented him with his Horſe, as a Gage of his being overcome. On the 21ſt, the Sport was ſo rough, that four of the Aſſiſtants were hurt. On the 22d the Barriers began. The 23d, our King, with his Siſter Queen *Mary*, went in maſquing Habits to ſee the *French* Queen at *Ardres*, *Francis* likewiſe going to the *Engliſh* Queen. On the 24th, after many Complements, Embraces, and rich Preſents, they took leave of one another. *Herbert*, p. 37. See *Hall*, who ſeems to have been an eye-witneſs, fol. 73, *&c.*

(1) This Sum was to be paid till the Marriage was ſolemnized, *per verba de præſenti*, between the Dauphin and the Princeſs *Mary*; and then, every year afterwards to King *Henry* during his life. See *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 719, 720.

(2) In this Letter the Doge compliments him in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and ſtiles him all along *Dominatio veſtra Reverendiſſima*, and in one place, *Majeſtatis ejus pars altera*. But it ſeems the Univerſity of *Oxford* was wont to outdo the Doge, and not ſcruple to beſtow abſolutely on the Cardinal the Title of *Majeſty*, as appears from ſeveral Letters to him from that Univerſity. But it ſeems that Appellation was not then appropriated to Kings. See *Fiddes*, p. 178.

(3) At *Aix*, the ſame day that *Solyman* was crowned at *Conſtantinople*; and it is obſervable, that as *Charles* was the XIth from *Albertus*, in whoſe time the Houſe of the *Ottomans* began, ſo *Solyman* was the XIth Prince of his Race.

(4) *Rapin* by miſtake calls him Earl of *Arran*; whereas at this time the Earl of *Arran* was *James Hamilton*. See above, p. 735. Note (5).

(5) This year the Earl of *Kildare* was diſcharged from the Office of Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which was conferred on *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and Lord Admiral. He went over to his Government in the beginning of *April*, with about a thouſand Men, and remained there two years, in which time he had many Engagements with the Natives, and reduced the Earl of *Deſmond* to reaſon. *Hall*, fol. 70. *Stow*, p. 508.

be

1521. be almoſt equally concerned, to prevent the too great advancement of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In a word, he imagined to have reaſon to expect that the Pope, with whom he was in Treaty for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, inſtead of helping to increaſe the Emperor's power, would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to humble a Neighbour, who could not but be a terror to him. All this was ſtrengthened with *Francis*'s Alliances with the *Venetians* and *Switzers*, who joining with the Pope and the King of *England*, would of courſe render him ſuperior to his Enemy, whoſe Kingdoms remote from each other, were leſs capable of giving mutual aſſiſtance. Thus *Francis*, flattered by theſe appearances, formed extraordinary projects ſuitable to his Ambition and Age, being then but twenty ſeven years old.

Of Charles V

As for *Charles* V, he had not yet done any thing to give a very advantageous Idea of him. His youth had been ſpent under the Guardianſhip of the Emperor *Maximilian* his Grandfather, or of *Margaret* of *Auſtria* his Aunt, and ſince he had aſſumed the Adminiſtration of the *Low-Countries*, his Governor *Chievres* did all in the name of the Prince. His firſt proceedings, after the death of King *Ferdinand*, begot no great opinion of him, for he had ſcarce ſet foot in *Spain*, before the Country was all in commotion. His advancement to the Empire was owing, perhaps, to the little eſteem the World had for him. However, he was then the moſt potent Prince in *Europe*. Beſides the imperial Dignity, he poſſeſſed all *Spain*, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the *Low-Countries*, the Archduchy of *Auſtria*, and many other Provinces and Lordſhips in *Germany*. So, with his own Forces alone, he was able to withſtand *Francis* I, aſſiſted by all his Allies. *Henry* VIII was the only Sovereign that had at firſt embarraſſed him, by reaſon of his Union with *France*. But he had artfully drawn that Thorn out of his ſide, by means of Cardinal *Wolſey*. With this he began, as I may ſay, to diſcover his Ability, which till then had been as it were concealed. After that, he diligently applied himſelf to gain the Pope, and ſucceeded to his wiſh. Thus at the time I am now ſpeaking of, he was become very formidable not only by his Forces, but alſo by the proofs he had given of his Capacity. As ſoon as he was raiſed to the Empire, he rightly judged he ſhould find in *Francis* I, an Enemy that would ſpare nothing to make him feel the effect of his envy. For that reaſon he thought early of means to ſcreen himſelf from his attempts, not only by a juſt defence, but even by attacking him firſt. He had two plauſible reaſons: One was, that the Crown of *France* withheld from him the Duchy of *Burgundy*, ſince the death of his Great Grandfather *Charles* the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*. The other concerned the Duchy of *Milan*, whereof *Francis* ought to have received the Inveſtiture from the Emperor, ſince it was a Fief of the Empire, and yet he had never vouchſafed to ask it. He believed moreover to have cauſe of complaint for *Francis*'s extorting from him the Treaty of *Noyon* as was before related.

In vain therefore do the Hiſtorians of both ſides ſtrive to caſt the blame of the Rupture upon one or other of the two Monarchs. It is certain, both thought at the ſame time of making War, and took meaſures beforehand to execute their deſigns, though each privately endeavoured to engage his Rival in ſomething that ſhould make him be deemed the Aggreſſor. So, as the beginning of a Rupture is not to be judged of by the firſt Act of Hoſtility, but rather by the Cauſe, one can hardly be miſtaken in affirming *Charles* V and *Francis* I, to be equally Authors of a War which ſet all *Europe* in a flame. *Charles* was not above one and twenty years of Age, but of a very different Character from that of his Enemy. *Francis* was too much addicted to his Pleaſures, whereas *Charles* was too intent upon his affairs, having been uſed to it from his youth. *Francis* was of a free and open Temper, but *Charles* was much more reſerved. He maturely thought of what he had to ſay or do, and readily made uſe of artifice and evaſion to accompliſh his ends, framing his conduct by that of *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* his Grandfathers.

Of Leo X. Guicciard.

Leo X had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his lot, could he have reſolved to live in quiet. He was abſolute maſter of the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, to which he had lately added all *la Romagna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and the Duchy of *Urbino*. His own, the Church's, and all *Italy*'s grand Intereſt, was therefore to endeavour by all ſorts of means to keep the Ballance even between the Emperor and King of *France*, and to manage ſo, that neither of theſe two Monarchs ſhould become too powerful in *Italy*. This was very practicable, ſince his Dominions being ſituated between thoſe belonging to theſe two Princes in *Italy*, they neceſſarily wanted him, in order to invade *Naples* or *Milan*. Thus, by keeping a ſtrict Neutrality, he would have probably freed *Italy* from a War, and preſerved the papal Power in its full Luſtre. But he was of too active a Spirit to remain in Peace. As he had a great opinion of his addreſs, he ventured to engage in all ſorts of affairs, how difficult ſoever they appeared, becauſe, let what would be the event, he hoped to get clear by ſome artifice. Beſides, he had this in common with all the Popes his Predeceſſors, that the reſpect for his Character removed his fear of being reduced to extremities, in caſe his undertakings were not crowned with ſucceſs. As to the reſt, he was entirely addicted to his Pleaſures, ſpending moſt of his time with Muſicians and Buffoons, and in ſome ſtill leſs innocent Diverſions. This, added to his liberal Temper, threw him into ſuch exceſſive expences, that he was poor amidſt his vaſt incomes, and always contriving means to procure Money. Hence his extraordinary Zeal to form a League againſt the *Turks*, becauſe it afforded him a pretence to levy Tenths upon the Clergy, and ſell his Indulgences to the great ſcandal of all *Chriſtendom* (1). 1521.

Had this Pope been of a more narrow genius, he would have doubtleſs maintained the Tranquillity of *Italy*. But as he found himſelf capable of forming and executing great deſigns, he had a mind to render his Pontificate illuſtrious by ſome ſignal actions. Unfortunately for him and his Succeſſors, he reſolved to drive the *French*, *Spaniards* and *Germans* out of *Italy*, a project which may well be deemed extravagant. To accompliſh it, he was neceſſarily to make uſe of the one to ruin the others, and by thus cauſing the Ballance to incline all to one ſide he could not but give Maſters to himſelf and all *Italy*, which he would have avoided by ſtanding Neuter. But what chiefly engaged him in this project, was his Guicciard. deſire to ſeize the Duchy of *Ferrara*, and recover *Parma* and *Placentia*, which he could not hope to effect, whilſt the *French* were poſſeſſed of the Duchy of *Milan*. On the other hand, he was ſomething uneaſy with reſpect to *Florence*. He could not help fearing that *Francis* would think of reſtoring the *Florentines* to their ancient Liberty. He reſolved therefore to begin with the *French*; but took care not to diſcover his deſigns. On the contrary, he continued private Negotiations with the King of *France* as well as with the Emperor, and put both equally in hopes of his Friendſhip. Mean while, as his intent was always to remain in this medium, he ordered ſix thouſand Men to be levied in *Switzerland*, and ſent for them into the Eccleſiaſtical State, having demanded a Paſſage through the *Milaneſe*, under colour of providing for the defence of his Towns.

Of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII was then more advantagiouſly ſituated than any King of *England* had ever been before him. He was at Peace with all *Europe* except *Scotland*, which would have been glad to be left in quiet. Though he had now conſumed all the Money found in the King his Father's Coffers, he was however aſſured of being always ſupplied, ſince he was in a good underſtanding with his Parliament, and had the art of managing the two Houſes with a very ſingular addreſs. Thus being able to raiſe numerous Forces, and at liberty to turn them which way he pleaſed, it was doubtleſs in his Power to render himſelf Umpire of *Europe*. For that reaſon *Charles* and *Francis* with equal ardor courted his Friendſhip, being ſenſible, he could invincibly obſtruct their deſigns, and cauſe the Ballance to lean to the ſide he ſhould pleaſe to eſpouſe. It was his intereſt to keep always in this Situation, till obliged to interpoſe in their differences, to hinder the one from riſing to the prejudice of the other. And indeed this was his aim and intention. But unfortunately for him, his weakneſs for his Prime Miniſter the Cardinal was beyond all imagination. This Favorite had ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he inclined him which way he pleaſed, always under the ſpecious colour of carrying his Glory to a greater height, though in reality he had only his own Intereſts in view. We have already ſeen ſenſible proofs of his great influence over his Maſter, in what paſſed during and after the late War with *France*. He had perſuaded him to deliver to the Emperor *Maximilian* the City of *Terouenne*, which might have been of great Service to him, and to keep *Tournay*, which was of little or no advantage. Afterwards, when he was in poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, he had artfully perſuaded him that the keeping of that place would be an everlaſting Monument of his Glory. But when he ſaw, he was like to loſe the Biſhoprick, and had ample amends offered him, he found other reaſons to convince him that he ought to part with a place which was of no benefit to him. We ſhall ſee

(1) This is the Pope of whom *Bembo* his Secretary reports this Saying: *It has been long and well known how beneficial this Fable of Jeſus Chriſt has been to us and our Predeceſſors.*

1521. preſently that he led him alſo to make a very falſe ſtep in eſpouſing the Emperor's part againſt *France*, whereas his true intereſt was to keep the ballance even between theſe two Potentates. All this was done for the ſake of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who having the ambition to aſpire to the Popedom, thought to ſucceed by the Emperor's means. The Penſion procured him by *Charles* upon the Biſhoprick of *Palencia* in *Caſtile*, and the Adminiſtration of the See of *Badajos*, at a time when he had not yet received any publick Service from him, are inconteſtable proofs that the Cardinal had ingaged with him, as being ſure of governing his Maſter as he pleaſed. Theſe things afforded no very advantagious Idea of *Henry*'s penetration.

Such were the Characters, Intereſts, and Deſigns of the four principal Sovereigns concerned in the new War I am going to ſpeak of. The King of *Scotland* was yet too young to be reckoned among the Directors of the affairs of *Europe*. The *Venetians* ſought only to live in Peace, being, as I may ſay, exhauſted by the former War. However they could not avoid entering into this alſo. As for the *Switzers*, they were ſatisfied with their Penſions from *France*, and generally inclined to obſerve the Articles of their Alliance with that Crown. But they were not entirely ſecured from the ſecret practices continued by the Pope's and the Emperor's Agents with ſome of their Magiſtrates, to try to perſwade them not to take part with *France*.

Francis I. *invades* Navarre. Du Bellay. Mezerai.

Francis I, having formed a deſign to make War upon the Emperor, without incurring the blame of the rupture, reſolved to begin with what could not be imputed to him as a premeditated deſign to quarrel. By the Treaty of *Noyon*, *Charles* was bound to reſign *Navarre* to *Henry d' Albret* within four months, in default whereof, *Francis* was free to aſſiſt *Henry* to recover his Kingdom. The affairs of *Spain* being extremely imbroiled ſince the Emperor quitted that Country, *Francis* believed it a fair opportunity to invade *Navarre*. He was the more inclined to this undertaking, as the two Regents of *Spain* had been forced to draw Troops from *Pampelona* and other Places of that Kingdom, to reinforce the Army which was to act againſt the fore-mentioned League. He ſent therefore into *Navarre*, in the beginning of *March*, an Army under the command of *Leſparre* of the Houſe of *Foix*, elder Brother of *Lautrec* and *Leſcun*. This General finding the Kingdom without Troops and almoſt deſerted, became maſter of it in the ſpace of a fortnight. Had he ſtopped there, perhaps *Navarre* would have been ſtill at this day annexed in deed, as it is in name only, to the Crown of *France*, ſince the *Spaniards* were unable to expel *Henry d' Albret*, from whom the Kings of *France* of the Houſe of *Bourbon* are deſcended. But the deſire of acquiring fame, or procuring the King's advantage, carried *Leſparre* to enter the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, and beſiege *Logrogno*. The Regents of *Spain* had no thoughts of recovering *Navarre*. But when they ſaw the *French* invading *Spain* it ſelf, they aſſembled their Forces to ſtop their Progreſs. The Male-contents themſelves lately vanquiſhed, accepting a General Pardon, led all their Troops to the Regents. *Leſparre* ſeeing an Army, much ſtronger than his, coming againſt him, would have retired; but was ſo cloſely purſued that he was forced to come to a Battle, wherein he was defeated and taken Priſoner. The loſs of this Battle occaſioned the loſs of *Navarre*, which the *Spaniards* recovered in leſs time than the *French* had conquered it. Thus the King of *France* had the mortification to loſe his Army to no purpoſe, and flagrantly diſcover to the Emperor how he ſtood affected towards him.

Leſparre *becomes Maſter of that Kingdom.*

He enters Spain.

Guicciard. Herbert.

Is beaten, and taken Priſoner.

Francis *ſtirs up* Robert de la Mark *againſt the Emperor.* Bellay. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The ſame time that he invaded *Navarre*, he raiſed *Charles* an Enemy from another Quarter; namely *Robert de la Mark* Prince of *Sedan* and Sovereign of *Bouillon*, who believing to have cauſe to complain of the Emperor, for a denial of juſtice to the young Princes of *Chimay* (1), whoſe Guardian he was, implored the King of *France*'s Protection. Very probably, *Francis* had offered it before it was deſired. However, *Robert de la Mark*, ſeeing himſelf ſupported by the King, was ſo bold as to ſend a defiance to the Emperor, who was then at the Diet of *Worms*. Shortly after, the Earl of *Fleuranges*, eldeſt Son of *la Mark*, put himſelf at the head of four or five thouſand Men (2) levied in *France*, and beſieged *Vireton* a Place in *Luxemburg* belonging to the Emperor.

The Emperor calls upon the King of England *to aid him againſt* France. Herbert.

Then it was that *Charles*, who had with reluctance agreed to the League of *London*, thought proper however to make uſe of it in ſummoning the King of *England* to aſſiſt him, as obliged by the Treaty, ſince it was evident, the King of *France* had raiſed him this Enemy. *Henry*, prepoſſeſſed by the Cardinal, was glad of a pretence to caſt the blame of the Rupture upon the *French* King. Mean while, to proceed according to the Articles of the League, he ſent an Ambaſſador to require him to forbear all Hoſtility againſt the Emperor, not only in *Luxemburg* but alſo in *Navarre*. *Francis* replied, he was not Author of the War between *Robert de la Mark* and the Emperor, and all he could do was to forbid his Subjects to ſerve or aſſiſt *la Mark*. As to *Navarre*, it would have been needleſs to anſwer, ſince it was now out of his power to re-enter it. He performed his promiſe with regard to the War of *Luxemburg*, and *Fleuranges* diſbanded his Army. *Francis* took care not openly to ſupport the Duke of *Bouillon*, for fear of affording *Henry*, who had offered his mediation, a pretence to declare for the Emperor. I ſhall purſue this affair, when I have ſpoken of thoſe of *Italy*, which are of no leſs importance.

1521.

Henry *ſends an Ambaſſador to* Francis. Bellay. Mezerai.

Who cauſes la Mark *to lay down his Arms.* March 22.

In the beginning of this, or perhaps before the end of the laſt year, *Leo* X concluded with the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding at *Rome*, a Treaty whereby he joined in a League with *Francis* for the Conqueſt of *Naples*. The Treaty ran, that all that part of the Kingdom of *Naples*. lying between the Eccleſiaſtical State and *Gariglian* ſhould remain to the Pope: And the reſt ſhould be for *Henry* the King's ſecond Son; but during his Minority, the Kingdom ſhould be governed by the Pope's Legate, who ſhould reſide at the City of *Naples*. Whatever the Pope's intention was in making this Treaty, it may be almoſt affirmed, he acted with inſincerity, becauſe it muſt have been very diſadvantagious to him for the ſame Prince to hold *Milan* and *Naples*. He was too politick, and too much uſed to by ways, to be thought to proceed fairly on this occaſion. What may moſt probably be conjectured is, that his intention was to deal by *Francis* I, as *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* had done by *Lewis* XII, when he made much the ſame partition with that Prince. At leaſt *Francis*, who had frequently experienced what the Pope was capable of, could never believe he really intended to aſſiſt him in that Conqueſt. Wherefore he delayed the ratification of the Treaty, to gain time to conſider ſeriouſly of the affair.

Leo X *joins with* France *for the Conqueſt of* Naples. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Francis *puts off the Ratification of it.*

Leo X finding the time for ratifying the Treaty was expired, ſuſpected the King of projecting with the Emperor ſome agreement prejudicial to the Holy See. Thoſe that deal not ſincerely, are ready to think others like themſelves. However, the King of *France*'s affected delays afforded the Pope a motive or pretence to conclude another Treaty with the Emperor, to drive the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, and reſtore the *Sforza*'s. As he continued at once ſecret Negotiations with the Emperor and the King of *France*, it would be ſomething difficult to know his real deſign, if there was not a notable difference between the two Treaties juſt mentioned. That with the *French* Ambaſſador concerned a chimerical project, the execution whereof was almoſt impracticable in the preſent juncture of affairs, and beſides, really contrary to his true intereſt; whereas the other was to his advantage, and agreeable to the projects he had formed. So, probably, the firſt was made only to procure better Terms from the Emperor. Beſides, he had been ever wont to have, as they ſay, two ſtrings to his Bow, which he conſidered as the grand Myſtery of Politicks. His Treaty with the Emperor was no leſs advantagious, than that he would have made with the King of *France*. The chief Articles were theſe.

The Pope leagues with the Emperor. Mezerai. Guicciard.

Article of the Treaty of League. Guicciard.

That the Pope and Emperor ſhould join their Forces to expel the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, and reſtore *Franceſco Sforza*. That Prince was then at *Trent*, having retired thither, a little before his Brother *Maximilian* was diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions.

That *Parma* and *Placentia* ſhould be reſtored to the Church.

That the Inhabitants of the *Milaneſe* ſhould provide themſelves with Salt only at *Cervia*, a Town in the Eccleſiaſtical State.

That the Emperor ſhould aid the Pope to conquer *Ferrara*.

That the ſum the Emperor gave the Pope for the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould be augmented.

That the Emperor ſhould protect the Family of *Medici*.

That he ſhould grant to the Cardinal *de Medici* a Penſion of ten thouſand Ducats, upon the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*.

That *Alexander de Medici*, natural Son to *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*, ſhould have in the Kingdom of

(1) A Lord named *d'Aimeries* had ſeized the Town of *Hierge* in *Ardennes* belonging to thoſe Princes; and *d'Aimeries* was ſupported by the Emperor. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 43.

(2) Three thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe. *Ibid.*

1521. *Naples*, Lands to the value of ten thouſand Ducats a year.

They prepare for War. Guicciard.

This Treaty was kept ſo private that it came not to *Francis*'s Knowledge, till the two Allies were going to invade the *Milaneſe*. Mean while they concerted proper meaſures to accompliſh their deſigns. The Pope who had already ſix thouſand *Switzers* in his Service, took care to augment his Forces on divers pretences. The Emperor ordered the Viceroy of *Naples*, to keep the Troops of that Kingdom ready to march upon the firſt notice, and at the ſame time cauſed Levies to be made in *Germany*, to reinforce his Army in *Italy*. *Proſper Colonna* was declared General of the League.

Colonna *General of the League. Attempts upon* Genoa, Milan, *and* Como. Guicciard.

Whilſt *Francis* continued in a fatal ſecurity, and left the *Milaneſe* deſtitute of Troops, never imagining he ſhould be attacked in *Italy*, becauſe he thought himſelf ſure of the Pope, the two new Allies were contriving to ſeize at once, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Como*, before they proclaimed War againſt him. For the firſt of theſe projects they employed *Hieronimo Morone* Senator of *Milan*, who being ſuſpected by the *French*, was baniſhed the City. *Morone* having aſſembled a great number of Exiles (1) in the Neighbourhood of *Milan*; *Leſcun*, who commanded in the abſence of his Brother *Lautrec* the Governor, ſallied out of *Milan* with ſome Troops, and purſued the Exiles to *Reggio*, a Town of the Pope's, where they had retired, and even demanded of the Governor to deliver them into his hands. The Governor refuſing, *Leſcun* withdrew, and poſted himſelf about ten Miles from *Reggio*, within the Pope's Territories, and lay encamped ten or twelve days. Then the Pope, who only wanted a pretence to declare againſt *France*, called a Conſiſtory, greatly aggravated *Leſcun*'s affront, and declared that in revenge he was reſolved to join with the Emperor. But he had already done ſo, and the affair of *Reggio* was a mere pretence to delude the Cardinals.

Guicciard. Whilſt *Leſcun* was at *Reggio*, *Adorno* baniſhed from *Genoa*, attempted to ſurprize that City with ſome Gallies ſupplied by the Pope and the Viceroy of *Naples*, but could not ſucceed. A few days after, *Leſcun* diſcovered a plot to ſurprize *Como*, and was fully informed that the Pope and the Emperor were the Authors. It is therefore evident, that in caſe they had ſucceeded in their deſigns, they would have made no ſcruple to appear the Aggreſſors.

Francis *orders a Levy of* Switzers, *and ſends* Lautrec *to* Milan Guicciard.

Leſcun no longer doubting that there was a deſign to invade the *Milaneſe*, acquainted the King, and withal, ſent for the four thouſand *Switzers*, intended for *Milan*, who were ready to march. *Francis* ſurprized at the danger the *Milaneſe* was in, ſpeedily ordered a Levy of twenty thouſand *Switzers*, and ſent *Lautrec* to *Milan*, promiſing he ſhould want for nothing. But this promiſe was but very ill performed.

Colonna *beſieges* Parma. Bellay. Mezerai. *He raiſes the Siege.*

Mean while, *Proſper Colonna* having aſſembled at *Reggio* the army of the Allies, beſieged *Parma*, where *Leſcun* had now thrown in ſome Troops. But before he could take the place, *Lautrec* having received the Supplies he expected from *Switzerland*, forced him to raiſe the Siege, and purſued him even beyond the borders of the *Milaneſe*.

Parma *declares for the Pope.*

As he imagined *Parma* to be out of danger, he had drawn out *Leſcun* with the Garriſon to ſtrengthen his army. But no ſooner was *Leſcun* out of the City, than the Inhabitants declared for the Pope, and erected the Church's Colours on the Walls.

Lautrec *is deſerted by the* Switzers. Colonna *purſues him cloſely.* Guicciard.

But this was not the only misfortune *Lautrec* was to be expoſed to during the Campain. Preſently after, he was deſerted by the twenty thouſand *Switzers* he had lately received, and conſtrained to retire to *Milan*, where *Proſper Colonna* purſued him in his turn, with all poſſible diligence. Whereupon *Lautrec* deſpairing of defending

Lautrec *quits* Milan, *and* Colonna *takes it.*

Milan, quitted the Town, after ſupplying the Caſtle with Ammunition, and withdrew to *Como*, where the four thouſand *Switzers* he ſtill had, forſook him and returned home, becauſe he had no Money to pay them. So, *Colonna*, taking poſſeſſion of *Milan*, went from thence to make other Conqueſts, which *Lautrec* could not oppoſe. In a word, *Francis* loſt the whole Duchy of *Milan*, except a few places.

Death of Leo X. Guicciard.

Probably, *Lautrec* would not have been able to ſupport himſelf long in *Italy*, had not the Pope's death, on the 1ſt of *December*, afforded him ſome reſpite. *Leo* X, is ſaid to die with Joy, at the news of the good Succeſs of the League. Some however affirm, his death was haſtened by poiſon (2). However this be, the news of the

The Army of the Allies diſband.

Pope's death was no ſooner ſpread, but the Troops he maintained, diſbanded themſelves. Of the twelve thouſand *Switzers* he had in the army of the Allies, but fifteen hundred remained, and the *Florentines* retired to their own Country. Thus *Proſper Colonna* found himſelf in a few days, in as ill a ſituation as *Lautrec*. The College of Cardinals, not knowing what courſe to take, gave no orders, but deferred every thing till the Election of a new Pope. Mean while, the Duke of *Ferrara* recovered ſome of his Towns in *la Romagna*, and *Franceſco Maria della Rovere*, took poſſeſſion again of the Duchy of *Urbino*. If *Lautrec* had then been ſupplied with the Men and Money he was promiſed, he would have doubtleſs expelled the Imperialiſts out of *Milan*. But *Francis* I, entirely neglecting the affairs of *Italy*, thought only of defending himſelf in *Flanders* and *Picardy*, where he was vigorouſly attacked. He ſtill held however in *Italy*, *Genoa*, *Cremona*, the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Novarra*, with ſome ſmall places on the Lake *Gorda*.

1521.

The Duke of Ferrara *recovers his Towns.* La Rovere *takes poſſeſſion of* Urbino. Guicciard.

Campain of the Low-Countries. Bellay.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, the war at length was begun in the *Low-Countries*, in a manner very diſadvantagious to *France*. The Troops raiſed by *Robert de la Mark* to beſiege *Vireton*, being diſbanded, *Francis* thought he had ſatisfied the Emperor and the King of *England*. It was indeed ſufficient to take from *Henry* all pretence of declaring againſt him, ſince by the Treaty of League, in caſe one of the Allies was invaded, the reſt were not to declare againſt the Aggreſſor, till being ſummoned to deſiſt from the War, he ſhould have refuſed. *Francis* was ſummoned, and had deſiſted, conſequently *Henry* had no cauſe to complain. But it was otherwiſe with the Emperor, who was not contented with ſo ſlight a Satisfaction. He forbore however to complain of the King of *France*, but was reſolved to be revenged of *Robert de la Mark*, who had dared to ſend him a Defiance. Beſides, he conſidered, if *Francis* undertook to defend that Prince, as it was very likely, he would incur the blame of the Rupture, and this was what the Emperor and Cardinal *Wolſey* chiefly deſired, in order to make uſe of that inducement to perſwade *Henry* to declare againſt *France*. So, *Charles* having prepared an Army, gave the Command to *Henry* Count of *Naſſau*, who entering the Territories of *Robert de la Mark*, took and razed ſeveral places. *Francis* was patient, chuſing rather to forſake his Ally, than give the King of *England* a pretence to arm againſt him. Then *Robert* ſeeing himſelf without refuge, made his Submiſſion to the Emperor, who granted him a Truce for ſix weeks. Mean while, though the Emperor had to deal only with a petty Prince, unable to reſiſt him, and of whom he had been ſufficiently revenged, he continued to reinforce his Army. *Francis* ſeeing ſo many Troops in the neighbourhood of *Champagne*, eaſily perceived, they were not ſolely deſigned againſt *Robert de la Mark*, and that he might be taken unprovided, unleſs he prepared for his defence. Mean while, he repreſented to the King of *England*, that he could not avoid taking arms, in order to reſiſt the Emperor, who was preparing to attack him. *Henry* anſwered, he would ſide with neither, but as a common friend, offered to be their Umpire. Adding, if they would both ſend their Plenipotentiaries to *Calais* the beginning of *Auguſt*, Cardinal *Wolſey* ſhould be there, to act in his name as Mediator. *Charles* readily accepted ſo advantagious a propoſal, ſince he and the Cardinal underſtood one another. As for *Francis* he durſt not reject it, though he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with the King of *England*. But he did not yet know that *Wolſey* was wholly devoted to the Emperor. It was therefore agreed, that the Plenipotentiaries of the two Monarchs, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Cardinal Mediator, ſhould meet at *Calais* the 4th of *Auguſt*.

The King of France's *repreſentation to* Henry, *who offers to become Mediator.* Bellay. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 76.

A Congreſs at Calais *agreed upon.*

Mean while, the Lord of *Liques* (3) having levied an Army at his own charge, as he affirmed, ſurprized *Mortagne*, and St. *Amand*, in the *Tournaiſis*, on pretence of ſome claim of his Houſe. The Emperor affected to conſider this as a private quarrel, in which he had no concern, though *Liques*'s army was compoſed of his Subjects. His aim was to oblige *Francis* to take ſome ſtep which might give occaſion to accuſe him of being the Aggreſſor. Herein he only imitated that Prince who had attacked him under the name of *Robert de la Mark*. But ſome time after, the Governor of *Flanders* beſieging *Tournay* in form, it was not poſſible to put ſo favorable a Conſtruction upon that Siege, eſpecially as what paſſed then in *Italy* left the Emperor no room to diſſemble any longer. It is certain, *Francis* had been ſurpriſed as well in *Italy* as in *Champagne* and *Flanders*. He had intended no doubt to attack the Emperor, but did not expect to be invaded

The Emperor tries to lay the blame of the Rupture upon the French *King.* Bellay.

He diſcovers himſelf by cauſing Tournay *to be beſieged.* P. Daniel. Pol. Virg. Hall.

(1) Theſe were ſome of the Emperor's Adherents that had been baniſhed by the *French*. *Guicciard.*

(2) *Guicciardini* ſays, it was ſecretly whiſpered, but upon Conjectures only, that the *French* King had him poiſoned by means of one *Barnabo Malaſpina* his Chamberlain, who was impriſoned on ſuſpicion; but the Proſecution was dropped, and he was diſcharged, by the Cardinal *de Medici*, out of reſpect for the King of *France*. l. 14.

(3) Lord of *Hainault*.

first.

1521. first. For this reaſon he wanted time to prepare his Army. Mean while, the Imperialiſts took and razed the Town of *Ardres*.

Conference at Calais. Mezerai. Act. Pub. XIII p. 748. 750.

The time appointed for the Congreſs of *Calais* (1) being come, Cardinal *Wolſey* repaired thither with a numerous Retinue (2) and carried the Great Seal with him (3). It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he was furniſhed with ſeveral of the King's Commiſſions, to be uſed as he ſhould think proper. By the firſt, he was conſtituted the King's Lieutenant General to adjuſt, as Mediator, the differences between the Emperor and the King of *France*. By a ſecond, he was impowered to treat and conclude with *Francis* I, a renewal of the Alliance. But probably, this was only to ſhow the *French* Ambaſſadors *Henry*'s Impartiality and pretended deſign to join with that Prince, who ſhould be found to be unjuſtly attacked. By a third, he had Power to conclude a League between *England* and the Emperor, the Pope, the King of *France*, or any other Potentate whatever. Thus *Henry*, without having yet examined on which ſide the blame lay, left it to his Lieutenant to ingage him in which Party he pleaſed. But very probably, his reſolution was taken already, and the Congreſs of *Calais* intended only to ſhow he was not reſolved, till after a ſtrict Information, and to cauſe the blame of the rupture to be thrown upon the King of *France*. All the proceedings of the Cardinal Mediator, diſcovered, that he meant not to procure a Peace between the two Monarchs, but only to find the King his maſter a pretence to declare for the Emperor.

p. 749.

p. 750. Hall. Stow.

Henry and the Cardinal act not with Sincerity.

The Emperor's Army takes Mouzon, and ravages Champagne. Bellay. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

Whilſt theſe affairs were negotiating at *Calais*, the Imperialiſts beſieged and took *Mouzon* in *Champagne*. Then they ravaged the Country, and plundered the little Town of *Aubanton*, where the Count of *Naſſau* ſuffered his Soldiers to commit grievous outrages; after which he laid Siege to *Mezieres*. *Francis* wanting time to aſſemble his Army, could not be ready till the end of *September*: which however was ſoon enough to throw Succours into *Mezieres*, and thereby force the Count of *Naſſau* to raiſe the Siege. The Earl of St. *Pol* recovered *Mouzon* ſhortly after, and the Count of *Naſſau* retired into the Earldom of *Namur*. *Champagne* being thus freed, *Francis* ordered his Army to march into *Flanders*, where the Imperialiſts ſtill continued the Siege of *Tournay*. When his Troops were drawn together, he aſſaulted *Bapaume*, *Landrecy*, *Bouchain*, and carried them. Afterwards hearing, the Emperor, who had headed his Army, was retiring towards *Valenciennes*, he reſolved to go and attack him, but loſt the opportunity by his own fault. 'Tis ſaid, if he had been as ſpeedy as he might, and ought to have been, he would have infallibly defeated the Emperor, who giving all over for loſt, was retired with a hundred Horſe only, quitting his Army, not to be a witneſs of their deſtruction. Upon this occaſion, *Francis* I, gave the Duke of *Bourbon* Conſtable of *France*, great cauſe of diſguſt, by ſetting the Duke of *Alençon* at the head of the Vanguard, though that Poſt properly belonged to the Conſtable, when the King was in the Army. 'Tis ſaid, the King gave the Conſtable this mortification, to oblige his Mother the Ducheſs of *Angoulême*, who hated him. But he had too much reaſon afterwards to repent his Complaiſance to his Mother.

Conquests of Francis in the Low-Countries.

He miſſes the opportunity of defeating the Emperor.

He diſobliges the Conſtable Bourbon.

Campain in Navarre. Bellay. Hall. P. Daniel.

At the very time *Francis* I, was attacked in *Champagne*, he ſent an Army into *Navarre*, under the Command of Admiral *Bonnivet*, who arrived about the end of *September*, at St. *John de Luz*. At firſt, he pretended to march towards *Pampelona*. Then, after ſeveral Marches and Counter-marches, he ſuddenly approached, and beſieged *Fontarabia*. When the breach was made, he ordered the Town to be furiouſly ſtormed, but however was bravely repulſed. But the Garriſon, being little able to ſtand a ſecond Aſſault, ſurrendered by Capitulation. This Conqueſt was of very great Importance, *Fontarabia* being one of the Keys of *Spain*.

Bonnivet takes Fontarabia. Oct. 18.

Account of the Congreſs of Calais. Hall. Herbert.

Whilſt the War was vigorouſly continued in *Italy*, *Champagne*, *Flanders*, *Picardy*, *Navarre*, Cardinal *Wolſey* was buſy at *Calais* in treating with the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the King of *France*. This Congreſs laſted ten weeks, and the Parties could not be brought to agree. In all appearance, the Mediator, inſtead of cloſing, helped rather to widen, the Breach. It was long debated to know which had begun the War. This was the chief point with reſpect to *Wolſey*, who intended to throw the blame on the King of *France*. Afterwards, when the differences themſelves came to be conſidered, the propoſals of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries ſhowed a Peace was ſtill very remote. They demanded reſtitution of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, and abolition of the Homage due to the Crown of *France*, for *Flanders* and *Artois*. The only reaſon they alledged to ſupport their laſt pretenſion was, that it was unbecoming for an Emperor to do Homage to a King. Theſe two Propoſitions were of ſuch a nature, that *Francis* would hardly have accepted them, even after the loſs of many Battles. On the other hand, the *French* Ambaſſadors having notice of what paſſed in *Italy*, earneſtly demanded reſtitution of *Milan*, and that the Emperor ſhould withdraw his Troops from before *Tournay*. They inſiſted moreover upon the reſtitution of *Navarre*, to which the Emperor was bound by the Treaty of *Noyon*. If the Emperor had been afraid of *Henry*'s joining with the King of *France*, he might have granted part of theſe Demands without being forced to diſmember his Dominions. But *Francis* could not reſign *Burgundy*, without letting the Enemy into the heart of his Kingdom, nor the Homage of *Flanders* and *Artois*, without diſhonor. But as the Emperor was ſecure of the King of *England*, he perſiſted in his demands, without any abatements.

1521.

Wolſey declares he deſpairs of a Peace.

After the Mediator had long feigned to endeavour only to procure a Peace, he declared, he ſaw no way to ſucceed. Then, he preſented to the Plenipotentiaries a Treaty to ſign, containing Articles of little Importance, namely, That the *French* and *Flemings* ſhould have liberty to fiſh for Herrings till the end of *January*: That the two contending Monarchs ſhould enjoin their Subjects to purſue no Veſſel into the Ports or Harbours belonging to the King of *England*, and commit no Hoſtilities within the Territories of the ſaid King, during the War: That the Pope's Nuncio, and the Plenipotentiaries at *Calais* might freely retire with all their Train, without receiving any injury from the Troops of the two Monarchs: That the King of *England* and the Cardinal Legate his Lieutenant ſhould be the Conſervators of theſe Articles, to be ratified within ten days. We have here a very ſenſible proof of the Cardinal's Inſolence, who, in a Treaty drawn by himſelf, preſumed thus to ſet himſelf upon a level with his maſter, by being declared Conſervator with the King. Theſe Conventions were ratified by the two Monarchs the 2d and 11th of *October*, and there appears not in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the leaſt Trace of any other Treaty made at *Calais* at that time.

Treaty of little conſequence. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 752. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The Cardinal's Pride.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 755.

Remark on a Paſſage of Bellay's Memoirs.

Du Bellay (4) however ſays in his Memoirs, that the King of *England* having ſent Ambaſſadors to *Francis* I, during the Congreſs of *Calais*, they laboured ſo effectually, that at length it was agreed, the Emperor ſhould raiſe the Siege of *Tournay*, and withdraw his Troops out of the *Milaneſe*; that *Francis* ſhould retire into *France* with his Army, and their differences be referred to the arbitration of the King of *England*. He adds, after theſe Conventions, each thought the Peace concluded, but that upon the Emperor's receiving news of the taking of *Fontarabia*, he demanded, before the Treaty was ratified, the reſtitution of that place, and upon *Francis*'s refuſal, the Treaty remained unexecuted. But very probably, this illuſtrious Author, who was better acquainted with the particulars of the War, than of the Negotiations, was miſinformed. Firſt, becauſe the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, mentions not this pretended Treaty, though we ſee there another of much leſs Conſequence concluded at the ſame time. Secondly, we don't find in the *Collection*, any Embaſſy from the King of *England*, either to the *French* King or the Emperor, in the time which muſt have preceded this ſame Treaty. Thirdly, there is no likelihood, the Emperor would have withdrawn his Troops out of the *Milaneſe*, that is, would have reſtored *Milan* to *France*, and loſt the hopes of acquiring *Tournay*, which was now reduced to extremities, for the bare advantage of ſeeing *Francis* retire into his own Kingdom. In ſhort, it may have been eaſily perceived, *Henry* was very far from the thoughts of forcing the Emperor to yield to theſe Terms, and it will ſtill be more plainly perceived by what follows. Add to all theſe Conſiderations, that ſeeing the regard the Emperor and the King of *France* had for Cardinal *Wolſey*, it is not likely they ſhould conclude a Treaty without his knowledge, and by the Miniſtry of other Ambaſſadors, whilſt he was at *Calais* to do the Office of Mediator. It may be, theſe propoſals were made to *Francis*, and he was ſo blind as to imagine they would take place, becauſe he was yet ignorant of the ſecret Engagements of the King

(1) Which was *July* 25. In the mean time a ſix weeks Truce was appointed between the Emperor and King of *France*. *Rymer*, Tom. 13. p. 748.

(2) He was attended by *Charles Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter*, the Lords St. *John*, *Ferrers*, and *Herbert*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Ely*, the Primate of *Armagh*, Sir *Thomas Boleyn*, Sir *John Peche*, Sir *John Huſſey*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, and many others. He came to *Dover* the 8th of *July*, and ſailed to *Calais* the 10th. *Hall*, fol. 86.

(3) For which reaſon, many *Engliſh* were forced to go to him to receive their Diſpatches, and at home the conſtituting of Sheriffs was ſuſpended, *&c.* Which things were urged againſt him afterwards in his Tryal. *Herbert*, p. 44. *Hall*, fol. 88.

(4) *Martin du Bellay*, Brother to Cardinal *John Bellay*, was much eſteemed by *Francis* I, and employed by him in his Wars, and in important Embaſſies. He writ Memoirs, containing the moſt memorable Tranſactions under the Reign of *Francis* I, to the Reign of *Henry* II.

1521. of *England* and his Miniſter, with the Emperor, and becauſe ſuch a report was ſpread in the Court of *France*. Be this as it will, after the taking of *Fontarabia*, the War continued without Intermiſſion, and with great Animoſity. *Francis* I, became maſter of *Heſdin* about the beginning of *November*, and *Tournay* ſurrendered to the Emperor by Capitulation.

Memorial. Herbert.

Wolſey goes to the Emperor at Bruges. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Mean while Cardinal *Wolſey* ſtill remained at *Calais*, under colour of ſearching for ſome farther expedient to procure a Peace between the two Monarchs. He frequently ſent Expreſſes to both, with Propoſals which he knew they would not accept. At laſt, feigning to deſire to gain time, he went himſelf to the Emperor at *Bruges* (1), where he was received with as much reſpect as if he had been King of *England* (2). Here he concluded with the Pope and the Emperor a League againſt *France*, by virtue of the Powers he had brought with him. By this Treaty the Pope engaged to thunder the Church's Cenſures againſt the King of *France*. *Henry* was to invade him with an Army of forty thouſand Men. The Emperor and *Henry* obliged themſelves to break all their engagements with him. Moreover, *Henry* promiſed to give in marriage to the Emperor the Princeſs *Mary*, affianced to the Dauphin. Theſe were the chief Articles agreed upon by the Emperor and the Cardinal the 24th of *November* 1521, which were to be ratified and put into form of Treaty within three months. But they ingaged to be ſecret till the time of Performance. Thus was *Henry* perſwaded by his Miniſter to oppreſs his Ally the King of *France*, who had done him no Injury. The only thing he could complain of, was, that *Francis* had lately permitted the Duke of *Albany* to return into *Scotland*, doubtleſs becauſe he perceived the Cardinal was meditating ſomething againſt him. It is in vain to inquire what intereſt *Henry* had to declare againſt *France*, and cauſe the ballance to incline to the Emperor's ſide: No other can be found but the Cardinal's, who wanted to be Pope at *Francis*'s coſt. The death of *Leo* X, haſtened by Poiſon, as ſeveral affirm, and happening during theſe Tranſactions, has made ſome ſuſpect that *Wolſey* was concerned in it, and the more, becauſe he aſpired to be Succeſſor to a Pope much younger than himſelf; but no proof was ever produced. Certainly *Henry* would have acquired more glory in continuing Umpire of the Peace between the two contending Monarchs, and procuring Tranquillity to all *Europe*, than by all the Conqueſts, his Miniſter flattered him with (3).

and makes a Treaty with him againſt France. Herbert.

The Princeſs Mary *promiſed to the Emperor.*

Henry's *falſe Politicks.* Hall. Herbert.

Bull to enlarge the Legate's Power. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 734, 739.

Hitherto Cardinal *Wolſey* had puſhed his Fortune to ſuch a height, that it ſeemed difficult to make any addition to it. And yet all this was not capable to ſatisfy him. His Legateſhip had been prolonged for two years, the beginning of this year. But he thought himſelf to be too much above all other Legates, not to have a different Commiſſion from theirs. In *April* he procured from *Leo* X a Bull, impowering him to make fifty Knights, fifty Count Palatines, as many Acolyths (4) and Chaplains, forty Notaries Apoſtolick, who ſhould have the ſame Privileges as thoſe made by the Pope; to legitimate Baſtards, give Degrees in Arts, Law, Phyſick, and Divinity, and grant all ſorts of Diſpenſations. In a word, not content with all the Riches he poſſeſſed, or with the means he had to increaſe them inceſſantly, he cauſed alſo the rich Abbey of St. *Albans* to be given him this year *in Commendam*.

Abbey of St. Albans *given to* Wolſey. p. 760, 775.

Diſgrace and Death of the Duke of Buckingham. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

It is no wonder, if, being arrived to ſo high a degree of Grandeur and Riches, his pride increaſed in proportion. Though the King's blindneſs for him was inconceiveable, it was not ſo with the Courtiers, who ſaw but too plainly how groſsly he miſled his Maſter, who placed ſo great confidence in him. But none dared to take notice of it, ſuch was the dread of his haughty and revengeful temper. The Duke of *Buckingham*, Son of the Duke of the ſame Name, who in the Reign of *Richard* III, loſt his head on the Scaffold for endeavouring to procure the Crown for *Henry* VII, ſadly experienced how dangerous it was to diſcover what was thought of that proud Prelate. He happened one day to ſay, in the hearing of one who betrayed him (5), that in caſe the King died without Iſſue, he thought he had a Right to the Crown, and if ever he aſcended the Throne, his firſt care ſhould be to puniſh the Cardinal according to his deſerts. The Duke's title was not altogether groundleſs, ſince he was deſcended from *Ann* of *Gloceſter*, Grandaughter to *Edward* III. Doctor *Morton*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, preſſed the Duke his Father to endeavour to ſeize the Crown; but the Duke choſe rather to act for the Earl of *Richmond* than for himſelf, as was ſhown in the Reign of *Richard* III. What the Son had ſaid concerning his Title, was therefore rather imprudent than criminal, ſince he pretended not to the Crown unleſs the King died without Heirs. Indeed, his Title might be ill-grounded; but he had done nothing to ſupport it. His crime then conſiſted only in what he had ſaid againſt the Cardinal, who, for that reaſon, reſolved to diſpatch him. For that purpoſe, he gained ſome of his Domeſticks, and learnt by their means that he had conſulted a certain Monk (6), who pretended to foretell things to come, and had conferred with him ſeveral times ſince *April* 1512. Probably, the Duke, fond of his title, had inquired of the Monk whether the King would die without Children. And that was ſufficient to give the Cardinal occaſion to miſconſtrue all his proceedings. When he believed he had ſufficient evidence againſt him, he began with depriving him of his two principal ſupports; namely, [*Henry Percy*] Earl of *Northumberland* his Father-in-law, whom he ſent to the *Tower* on ſome pretence (7), and [*Thomas Howard*] Earl of *Surrey* (8) his Son-in-law, on whom he conferred the Government of *Ireland*, to remove him from *London*. Preſently after the Duke was apprehended (9) and accuſed of High-Treaſon. The ſubſtance of his Impeachment was, That he had ſeveral times conſulted the Monk concerning the ſucceſſion to the Crown, and affected to make himſelf popular. The Duke confeſſed he had talked ſometimes with the Monk; but denied it to be with the intent he was charged with. However, he was condemned to die as a Traitor, which he could not bear to hear when the ſentence was pronounced (10). *My Lord of* Norfolk, cried he, *you have ſaid as a Traytor ſhould be ſaid unto, but I was never one. My Lords*, continued he, addreſſing himſelf to the Peers his Judges, *I nothing maligne for what you have done to me, but the eternal God forgive you my death, and I do. I ſhall never ſue to the King for life, howbeit he is a gracious Prince, and more grace may come from him than I deſire. My Lords and all my Fellows I deſire you to pray for me.* When he ſaid he would not ſue to the King for Life, his meaning was, he thought it would be fruitleſs, knowing he was the Cardinal's victim, who had an abſolute ſway over the King. Indeed, the Miniſter had ſo ordered it, that though all the Peers of the Realm had a Right to aſſiſt at the Trial, there were preſent only one Duke, one Marquiſs, ſeven Earls, and twelve Barons (11); and probably, he had ſecured the Majority. All the favor the Duke received was to be beheaded, inſtead of dying the death of a Traitor (12). This execution was attended with loud murmurs among the People, and ſatyrical Libels againſt the Cardinal, wherein was ſaid among other things, that it was not ſtrange the Son of a Butcher ſhould delight in ſhedding Blood. But this was all the revenge that was taken for this injuſtice. He was too deeply rooted in the King's mind, to fear theſe murmurs, which beſides never reached the King's ears, all about him being either Spies or Creatures of the Cardinal.

1521

Hall. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

Hall.

The King was then wholly intent upon one affair, namely, the War he had reſolved to make upon *France*,

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

(1) On *Auguſt* 12, being attended by four hundred and ſixty horſe. *Hall*, fol. 87. *Stow*, p. 514.
(2) The Emperor met him a mile out of Town. *Hall*, fol. 87. *Herbert*, p. 43.
(3) *Wolſey* ſtaid thirteen days at *Bruges*. He returned to *England*, and landed at *Dover Novemb.* 27. *Hall*, fol. 88.
(4) An inferior Church-Servant in Popiſh Countries, who, under the Subdeacon, waits on the Prieſts and Deacons, lights the Candles, carries the Bread and Wine, and pays other ſervile Attendance.
(5) *Charles Knevet* his Steward, who was turned out of his place by the Duke, upon the Complaints of his Tenants, was the Perſon that informed againſt the Duke, and told the Cardinal all the Particulars which were alledged againſt him. The firſt thing that incenſed the Cardinal, was his ſpeaking againſt the Interview of the two Kings as an idle Expence, though no Man made a greater Figure there than himſelf. *Herbert*, p. 41. The reſt of the Witneſſes againſt the Duke were, *Gilbert Perke* his Chancellor, and *John Delacourt* his Confeſſor. *Hall*, fol. 86. The words above-mentioned were ſpoken by the Duke to *George Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*, who, for concealment, was committed to the *Tower*, as was alſo *Henry Pole* Lord *Montague*; and Sir *Edward Nevil*, the foreſaid Lord's Brother, was forbid the King's Preſence. *Hollingſh.* p. 863.
(6) One *Nicolas Hopkins*, Prior of the *Carthuſian* Monaſtery of *Hinton*, near *Briſtol*. *Hall*, fol. 85, 86.
(7) For claiming certain Wards, which he was forced to relinquiſh. *Herbert*, p. 40.
(8) The Cardinal bore the Earl of *Surrey* a Grudge for having drawn his Dagger at him on ſome occaſion. *Hollingſh.* p. 855.
(9) By Sir *Henry Marney* Captain of the King's Guard; and brought to the *Tower*, *April* 16. *Hall*, fol. 85.
(10) By the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was for the time conſtituted High-Steward. He was brought to his Tryal *May* 13. *Hall*.
(11) Namely, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Devonſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford*, and *Derby*; the Lords St. *John*, *Delaware*, *Fitzwarren*, *Willoughby*, *Broke*, *Cobham*, *Herbert*, and *Morley*. *Hall*.
(12) He was executed on *Tower-hill*, *May* 17. 1521, and was buried in the Church of the *Auguſtines* in *Broadſtreet*, *London*. *Edward Stafford* deſcended of *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, who married *Ann*, Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Son of *Edward* III, left (by *Alianore* his Wife, one of the Daughters of *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*) one Son, *Henry*, and three Daughters; *Elizabeth* married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; *Catherine* to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*; and *Mary* to *George Nevil*, Lord *Bergavenny*. With this Duke of *Buckingham* ceaſed that great place of High-Conſtable of *England*, Hereditary in his Family. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 171.

1521. as if his Glory and Grandeur had depended upon the ruin of that Kingdom, whereas his true intereſt was to ſupport *France* againſt the Emperor, who was now grown too powerful. He was already formidable to all *Europe*, even without the aſſiſtance of *England*, how much more by his Union with that Kingdom? This was owing to Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Ambition, whoſe Counſels to his maſter were always ſelf-intereſted. Probably, *France* was going to be reduced to a very ſad Condition, it being hardly poſſible for her to reſiſt ſo potent enemies, who were to invade her from ſeveral quarters. *Francis* I, imagined however he had ſtill one refuge by means of the *Scots*, who could make a conſiderable diverſion in *England*. The Congreſs of *Calais* having plainly diſcovered *Henry*'s partiality to the Emperor, he made no doubt of its being an introduction to a rupture. In this belief, though he had ingaged to detain the Duke of *Albany* in *France*, he thought proper to keep him no longer, not thinking himſelf bound to perform a promiſe, the motive whereof was now no more, namely, the mutual Friendſhip between him and *Henry*. He permitted therefore the Duke of *Albany* to return into *Scotland*, or rather ſent him back, in hopes he would employ part of the *Engliſh* Forces on the borders of the two Kingdoms. He very juſtly expected this Service from a Prince who was devoted to him, and looked upon his ſettlement in *France* as much more ſolid than that in *Scotland*, where his Regency was to laſt but few years. The Duke therefore departed for *Scotland*, and arriving the 30th of *October* 1521, after a four year's abſence, reſumed the Regency. As he intended to ſerve *France* to the utmoſt of his power, his firſt care was to oblige the Earl of *Angus*, the Queen's Spouſe, to quit the Kingdom, deeming him one of the King of *England*'s principal Adherents, and yet the Earl took refuge in *France*.

Buchanan. Hall. Hollingſh.

Progreſs of the Reformation in Germany. Sleidan.

Whilſt the Chriſtian Princes were all employed in their Temporal concerns, the Reformation made great progreſs in *Germany* by means of *Luther*'s Writings, which were read with great eagerneſs. *Luther* was ſatisfied at firſt with attacking the Sale of Indulgences, then the Indulgences themſelves, and the Pope's power to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the Grounds of the papal Authority; and being perſuaded there was nothing to ſupport it in Scripture, he writ upon that Subject without any regard to the *Roman* Pontiff. He attacked likewiſe in his Writings the Celibacy of Prieſts, Monaſtick Vows, and private Maſſes. Though at the time I am now ſpeaking of, namely, the beginning of the year 1521, he had preached and wrote againſt the Pope but three years, he had gained many followers, and ſtill more Enemies, not only by his novel opinions, but alſo by his ſharp and ſatyrical Stile, wherein he threw off all Ceremony with reſpect to the Church of *Rome*. The Book that made moſt noiſe was entitled, *Concerning the Babyloniſh Captivity*. In this Book the Popes were not ſpared.

In the ſeveral Anſwers which appeared as well againſt this as the other Books of *Luther*, the Decretals of the Popes, and the Works of *Thomas Aquina.* were urged in favour of the papal Authority. This gave him occaſion, in his Replies, to ridicule thoſe, who in defence of the papal Power, alledged the deciſions of the Popes themſelves, and the Teſtimony of *Thomas Aquinas*, who was canonized for carrying the Pope's Authority as high as poſſible. Beſides, he did not ſhew much regard for that Author's Writings; which, probably, was the chief thing that incenſed *Henry* VIII againſt him. As *Henry* had much ſtudied the Works of *Thomas Aquinas*, and from thence properly had acquired all his Theological Knowledge, he could not bear to ſee his favourite Author thus contemned (1). He thought himſelf therefore a match for *Luther*, and able to confute his Writings. But as *Leo* X had by a Bull expreſly forbid the reading of his Works, and as an Anſwer neceſſarily ſuppoſed the peruſal, Cardinal *Wolſey* applied to the Pope for a Power to permit ſuch to read them, as deſired it with intent to confute them. This was granted him by a Brief dated the 17th of *April* 1521, the Pope little thinking who the Perſon was that was going to ſupport his Cauſe. 1521. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 742.

Henry finiſhed in *September* his Book againſt *Luther*, entitled, *Concerning the ſeven Sacraments*. He defended Indulgences, papal Authority, the number of Sacraments, and other Articles combated by *Luther*, proceeding upon *Thomas Aquinas*'s Principles as upon undeniable Truths. Very probably he was aſſiſted by Cardinal *Wolſey* in compoſing this Work, which was preſented to the Pope in full Conſiſtory (2). *Leo* X, who was ſtill living, received it with great Joy, and ſpoke of it in the higheſt ſtrains of Flattery, making no ſcruple to compare it to the Works of St. *Auguſtine* and St. *Jerom*. This is no wonder. A Book compoſed by a great King in defence of the papal Authority, could not be too much eſteemed by a Pope. A few days after, *Leo* aſſembled the Cardinals, to conſult with them, after what manner he ſhould requite the King of *England*'s Service to the Church. After a long debate, they reſolved at laſt to honour that Monarch with the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith* (3). In conſequence of this reſolution, the Pope ordered a Bull to be drawn, conferring that Title on *Henry*, and all the Kings of *England* his Succeſſors (4). I ſhall not repeat here the magnificent encomiums the Pope gave the King in this Bull, and in a Letter of thanks for his Book (5). It may be eaſily imagined, he ſpared not the moſt extravagant expreſſions to flatter a Prince, who was ſo fond of being flattered, and of whom he ſtood in need, his Nuntio being then at *Calais*, negotiating with Cardinal *Wolſey* a League againſt *France* (6).

Henry VIII's *Book againſt* Luther, Herbert. Hall. *preſented to the Pope*; *who gives* Henry *the Title of* Defender of the Faith. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 756. P. 758.

I have already ſpoke of this League which was really concluded at *Bruges*. *Henry* founded his joining with the Emperor upon *Francis*'s having been the Aggreſſor, by encouraging *Robert de la Mark* to take Arms. But beſides that *Francis* denied he was concerned in that undertaking, and had even obliged *Robert* to deſiſt, it was evident the Emperor had prevented him, by joining in a League with the Pope, though their League was not ſo ſoon made known. The ſecret attempts upon *Como*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and the open War in the *Milaneſe*, by which the King of *France* loſt that Duchy, were clear evidences that the League was concluded before *Robert de la Mark*'s affair. *Henry* pretended alſo to have againſt *Francis* another cauſe of complaint, which however had no better Foundation; namely, that contrary to his promiſe, he had permitted the Duke of *Albany* to return into *Scotland*. But if it is conſidered that the Duke arrived not in his own Country till the 30th of *October*, and that the League of *Bruges* was ſigned the 24th of *November*, it will be eaſy to perceive the League was already reſolved before *Henry* could know that the Duke of *Albany* was returned into *Scotland*. But though, upon the firſt notice, he had taken a haſty reſolution to join with the Pope and the Emperor, was that a juſt cauſe to proceed to a War, which would probably ruin *France*? The truth is, theſe were only pretences to cover the injuſtice of a War undertaken by *Henry* for the Cardinal's intereſt, and perhaps without knowing himſelf the real motives of that Miniſter's proceedings.

1522. Henry's *Reaſons for making War upon* France. Hall. Stow. Buchanan.

Mean while, *Henry* perceiving the Duke of *Albany* would embarraſs him if he continued in *Scotland*, attempted a ſecond time to drive him from thence. To that purpoſe, he ſent *Clarenceux* his Herald, with orders to upbraid him with breach of promiſe, and with returning into *Scotland* to marry the Queen-Dowager, and deprive the young King of the Crown. The pretended reaſon of this laſt charge, was, that the Queen-Dowager being deſirous to have her Marriage with the Earl of *Angus* annulled, the Duke of *Albany* had ſeconded her ſuit at the

Henry *ſends to the Duke of* Albany *to go out of* Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

(1) *Wolſey* alſo much read *Thomas Aquinas*, and was therefore called *Thomiſticus*. *Pol. Virg.*

(2) The manner of Delivery was thus: Dr. *John Clarke* Dean of *Windſor*, our King's Ambaſſador, appearing in full Conſiſtory, the Pope knowing the glorious Preſent he brought, firſt gave him his Foot and then his Cheek to kiſs; after which he received the Book, and made a Speech. This Copy, richly bound, is kept in the Vatican, where Lord *Herbert* ſays, he remembers to have ſeen it. The Book is dedicated to the Pope. "In this Addreſs "your Holineſs may be ſurpriſed (ſays the King) to find a Perſon bred to war and the Buſineſs of State, engaged in a Controverſy of this Nature, with "a Man that has ſpent his whole time in the Improvements of Learning." Some have thought that this Book was compoſed, at leaſt in part, by *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Stephen Gardiner*, and Sir *Thomas Moor*. *Herbert*, p. 38. *Fiddes*, p. 251.

(3) It was debated whether he ſhould be ſtiled *Protector*; or *Defender of the* Roman *Church*; or, *of the Apoſtolick See*; or, *the Apoſtolical*, or *Orthodox King*. But *Defender of the Faith* was at laſt pitched upon. This Title had formerly been enjoyed by ſome of our Kings his Predeceſſors. *Spelman.* *Fuller* in his *Church-Hiſtory* ſays, there went a Tradition, that *Patch*, the King's Fool, perceiving the King very jocund one day, aſked him the reaſon, and when the King told him it was becauſe of his new Title, *Defender of the Faith*, the Fool made this arch Reply, *Prithee, good* Harry, *let thee and I defend one another, and let the Faith alone to defend itſelf*. *Fiddes* Life of *Wolſey*, p. 248.

(4) The beginning and end of this Bull is engraven from the Original, with the very hand-writing of the Cardinals to it, in the XIIIth Volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 756.

(5) Among other expreſſions in this Letter, there are theſe words: *Quaſi reputantes, non ſine permiſſu divino, erupiſſe adverſus Chriſti Eccleſiam, Luterianam hanc Impietatem, ut ipſa majore ſuâ cum Gloria talem Propugnatorem & Defenſorem ſortiri poſſit.* Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 758.

(6) This year 1521, Muſkets were invented, which *du Bellay* ſays were firſt uſed in this War.——This year alſo, it being obſerved there was a great decay of Tillage and Husbandry, occaſioned by the many Incloſures made by the Nobility and Gentry, who, within fifty years, had turned moſt of their Lands into Paſture, and kept them in their own hands; from whence, among other inconveniencies, it followed, That the number of Huſbandmen, and Perſons capable of defending the Country, was very much leſſened; many Towns and Villages were depopulated; and the Prices of Wool and Meat were very much enhanced, as being engroſſed by Perſons who were not obliged to ſell: To remedy all this, the King revived the Statutes made againſt Incloſures, and iſſued out his Commiſſions to Juſtices of Peace, and other Magiſtrates, to ſee them put in execution. *Stow*, p. 512. *Hollingſh.* p. 862.—The Sea overflowing the Dikes of *Holland*, drowned ſeventy two Villages, and above a hundred thouſand People.——Alſo there was ſo great a dearth in *England*, that Wheat was ſold for twenty Shillings a quarter. *Stow*, p. 514.

1522. Court of *Rome* (1). The Duke anſwered he was returned into *Scotland*, by the invitation of the great Men: That he had never done any thing to give occaſion to ſuſpect him of aſpiring to the Crown, neither had he ever any ſuch thought: That indeed, he had countenanced the Queen's ſuit, but without any deſign to marry her, having a Wife of his own.

He writ to the Parliament upon the ſame account.

Henry was not ſatisfied with ſummoning the Regent, but ſent alſo a Letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*, containing the ſame Accuſations againſt the Duke of *Albany*, and a charge to the States to expel him the Kingdom.

The Parliament's Anſwer. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 761. Feb. 11.

The Subſtance of the Parliament's anſwer was: That what had been reported to his Majeſty concerning the Duke of *Albany*'s return into *Scotland*, to take forcible poſſeſſion of the King's perſon, was utterly falſe: That the Duke did nothing with regard to the King, that could breed the leaſt ſuſpicion, ſince he did not ſo much as offer to change any of his Domeſticks, without the conſent of the States, and that it was with the Queen's advice and conſent, that they had taken care of the Guardianſhip and Education of the King: That they could not believe the Duke had ever intended to put away his Wife, and marry the Queen, or that the Queen had any thoughts of eſpouſing the Duke: That as for the Treaty with the King of *France*, to hinder the Duke of *Albany*'s return into *Scotland*, it was never communicated to them, neither had they any knowledge of it: That they could not help thinking ſuch a Treaty very ſtrange, ſince they rather imagined, his Majeſty ſhould have ſollicited the Duke to return to defend the King his Nephew againſt his rebellious Subjects, whereas they ſaw with grief, it was he who fomented the Rebellion: That if it continued thus, they did not ſee how it was poſſible to keep a good underſtanding between the two Kingdoms: That however, if he would be pleaſed to ſend away the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* from his Court, and without interpoſing in the affairs of *Scotland*, leave to the Regent and States the care of governing the Kingdom, a Truce might be concluded till the Embaſſy that was to be ſent to him, was ready. But that, in caſe he would have no Truce, unleſs they expelled the Regent, they would endeavour to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they could.

The Queen of Scotland's *Letter to the King her Brother.* Herbert.

Queen *Margaret*, to whom the King her Brother had likewiſe writ upon the ſame ſubject, ſent an anſwer, ſharply expoſtulating with him for giving ear to the report concerning her Marriage with the Duke of *Albany*. She freely owned, it was with her conſent and advice that the Duke was recalled, adding, if he had not been ſo unkind a Brother, ſhe ſhould have had no occaſion to ſeek the protection of a Stranger.

Henry *finds means to avoid a War with* Scotland. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Henry could not expect any other anſwer, ſince he was conſcious to himſelf, that his accuſations againſt the Regent of *Scotland* were only affected pretences to complain indirectly of the King of *France*. He ordered however the Lord *Dacres* (2) to march into *Scotland* with five hundred Men, and proclaim on the Borders, that if the *Scots* made not Peace with him by ſuch a time (3), it ſhould be to their peril. But he did not ſupport this Bravado (4). His ſole aim was to furniſh his Party in *Scotland* with a pretence to refuſe to ſerve the Regent, in caſe he attempted to make a Diverſion in *England* in favour of *France*. And in this he was not diſappointed. In *October* following, the Regent of *Scotland* raiſing an Army to make an Inroad into *England*, was no ſooner come to the Borders, but many of the Lords refuſed to attend any farther, alledging, they were unwilling to engage the Kingdom in an unneceſſary War with *England*. The oppoſition the Duke of *Albany* found in his Army, convincing him he ſhould be able to do nothing conſiderable, he propoſed a Truce, which the *Engliſh* gladly accepted. For, *Henry*'s aim was only to terrify the *Scots* with a dread of the Succeſs of a War with *England* during the Minority of their King. So, the Duke of *Albany* ſeeing it was not in his power to ſerve *France* as he deſired, returned about the end of *October* to *Paris*, in order to take freſh meaſures with the King. Thus *Henry* attained his ends, in avoiding a rupture with *Scotland*, as a War with that Kingdom could not but extremely incommode him, in his preſent Circumſtances. 1522.

The Regent goes back to France.

Mean while, *Francis* I, having had ſome Intelligence of what paſſed at *Bruges* between the Emperor and the Cardinal, and deſiring to convince *Henry* how directly contrary to the League of *London* his proceedings were, ſent him Letters Patents (5) inſerting the Article of the Treaty, whereby they were ingaged mutually to aſſiſt one another. Then he recited what the Emperor had done againſt him, as well in *Italy*, as in *Champagne* and *Flanders*, and ſummoned him to perform the Treaty he had ſolemnly ſworn. *Henry* in anſwer ſent a Herald to proclaim War againſt him (6), alledging, he was obliged to it by the ſame Treaty of *London*, becauſe *Francis* had firſt attacked the Emperor, and moreover had diſappointed him with reſpect to the Duke of *Albany* (7). Thus War was once more declared between *France* and *England*, upon very frivolous, not to ſay unjuſt occaſions. But *Wolſey* had the art of perſuading the King his maſter to whatever he pleaſed.

Francis calls upon Henry to aid him againſt the Emperor. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 764. Feb. 25.

Henry proclaims War. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Pol. Virg.

Henry having without cauſe proclaimed War againſt *France*, did not dare to call a Parliament to demand a Subſidy. For he could alledge neither any juſt cauſe, nor any neceſſity for undertaking a War deſtructive to the *Engliſh* Merchants. However, Money muſt be raiſed, and it was the Cardinal's Buſineſs, who had embarked him in the War, to find means. The Expedient he thought moſt proper was, to order the Sheriffs to ſend a Liſt of the names of all above ſixteen years old, with an exact account of what each perſon was worth in Land, Stock, Moveables, and Money. This was ſuch a Survey as was formerly taken in the reign of *William the Conqueror*, and had given ſo great cauſe of complaint to the Nation (8). This was followed by a general Loan of the tenth of his Lay-Subjects, and a fourth of the Clergy, according to the true value of their Eſtates, beſides twenty thouſand pounds which the King borrowed of the City of *London* in particular. Thus one Injuſtice commonly draws on another. This War was manifeſtly unjuſt, and became ſtill more ſo by the means employed to maintain it. Theſe kinds of involuntary Loans, to which certain Kings of *England* have ſometimes forced their Subjects, are a manifeſt violation of the privileges of the people, and tend directly to arbitrary power. If the King may oblige his Subjects to furniſh him with Money, when he ſhall think neceſſary, though it be by way of Benevolence or Loan, it may be aſſured, he will very ſeldom, or perhaps never think himſelf obliged to call a Parliament. It is true, *Henry* was neither the firſt nor laſt that uſed this extraordinary method to raiſe Money. But, though he was ſo fortunate as to receive no prejudice by it, ſome of his Succeſſors who were pleaſed to imitate him, were not ſo happy.

A Tax impoſed in England. Herbert. Stow.

Hall.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Murmurings againſt the Cardinal.

This general Loan made a great noiſe over all the Kingdom. Every one openly exclaimed againſt the Cardinal, who was the Author. But he little regarded the people's clamours, becauſe he was ſupported by the King. However, though at firſt he had given orders to exact Loans with the ſame rigour, as if they had been a Tax impoſed by the Parliament, he met with ſo many obſtacles, that he was apprehenſive of raiſing in the Kingdom Commotions not to be appeaſed at his pleaſure. So, the Tax was levied much more gently than at firſt was intended. This cauſed ſo great a miſtake in the Cardinal's Calculation, that the King was forced at laſt to recur to the uſual method of a Parliament to maintain the War, as we ſhall ſee preſently. The *London* Merchants were the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the levying this Tax. They were required to declare upon Oath the real value of their Effects; but they firmly refuſed it, alledging, it was not poſſible for them to give an exact account of their Effects, part whereof was in the hands of their Correſpondents in foreign Countries. At length by Agreement, the King

The London Merchants oppoſe the Tax.

(1) She was offended, it ſeems, at his leaving her at *Harbottle*, and very much nettled at the Love he bore to a certain *Scotch* Lady. She alledged, among other things, at the Court of *Rome*, that ſhe heard her Huſband *James* IV was living three years after *Floddenfield*, and therefore not dead when ſhe married the Earl, ſo much did that report prevail. *Herbert*, p. 50.

(2) Warden of the *Weſt-Marches*. *Herbert*.

(3) By the firſt of *March*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 872.

(4) King *Henry* fitted out alſo ſix Ships, under the command of *Chriſtopher Coo*, to guard *England* againſt the Inſults of the *Scots* and *French*. *Stow*, p. 514. *Hall*, fol. 91.

(5) Dated *February* 23. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 766.

(6) In the end of *March*. Whereupon King *Francis* ordered all the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Bourdeaux* and elſewhere to be ſeized. And *Henry* did the ſame by the *French* and *Scotch* Merchants in *London*, and moreover cauſed them to be impriſoned. *Hall*, fol. 92, 93.

(7) At this time, *Ann Bulleyn*, who had lived in the *French* Court ever ſince her going over with *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, and Wife of *Lewis* XII, returned to *England*. *Herbert*, p. 46. *Burnet*'s *Ref.* Tom. I. p. 44. *Fiddes*, p. 268. *Du Tillet*, p. 397.

(8) *Stow* gives an account of this Survey from an original Warrant directed to the Conſtable of a Hundred, who was commanded to charge the Conſtables of every Pariſh within the ſaid Hundred to appear perſonally before certain Commiſſioners, and to bring with them the Names of all Perſons above ſixteen years old, dwelling within the ſaid hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain Place aſſigned, with their Arms, and declare what their Names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Town or Hamlet, and who are Stewards, and who Parſons of the Town, and what their Benefice is worth, and who Owners of every parcel of Land within the ſaid Precincts, and what is the yearly Value of every Man's Land, what Stock on the Lands, and who the Owner thereof; alſo what Strangers dwell there, and what buſineſs they follow; alſo the Value and Subſtance of every Perſon above ſixteen years of age; alſo what Penſions go thence to religious and ſpiritual Men. Which being certified, the King rejoiced, finding his Kingdom ſo wealthy (ſays *Polydore Virgil.*) See *Stow*'s *Ann.* p. 515. This Warrant was dated at *Brentwood*, *March* 27. 1522.

1522. was pleaſed to accept of a Sum according to their own Calculation of themſelves.

The Cardinal is diſappointed of his hopes of the Papacy.

Cardinal *Wolſey*'s concern at not ſucceeding in this affair according to his wiſh, was not comparable to his trouble at being diſappointed in another, which touched him more nearly, and for which he had ſpared neither Money nor Pains. I mean his Election to the Papal Dignity, of which he thought himſelf ſecure. *Leo* X dying the beginning of *December* laſt year, when his obſequies were over, the Cardinals entered the Conclave, where they were not a little embarraſſed concerning the Election of a new Pope. *Julio* Cardinal *de Medici* aſpired to the Papacy, and had many Votes for him. But the Emperor's Party, and ſome Cardinals gained by *Wolſey*, openly oppoſed the Election of *Julio*. Mean while, as it is required to have two thirds of the Voices to be choſen Pope, if the Cardinal *de Medici* had not enough for himſelf, he had however enough to exclude any other. And this long detained the Cardinals in the Conclave (1). Though the Emperor had promiſed *Wolſey* his Intereſt, he intended not to keep his word. His deſign was to cauſe *Adrian Florentio* Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, Native of *Utrecht*, and formerly his Preceptor, to be choſen, reckoning when he ſhould be Pope, he would be entirely devoted to him. But this affair was managed ſo artfully, and withal ſo privately, that the Cardinals of his Party, without diſcovering their Intent, were ſatisfied with breaking the Cardinal *de Medici*'s meaſures, till an opportunity offered to carry their point.

Management of the Conclave. Guicciard. Pol. Virg.

Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

Mean while, *Wolſey* left no Stone unturned. As he built all his hopes upon the Emperor's Intereſt, he writ to him, to put him in mind of his promiſe, repreſenting the advantages to have a Pope at his devotion. At the ſame time he ordered *Pace*, who was then at *Venice*, inſtantly to repair to *Rome*, and do him what ſervice he could. The Emperor was very much embarraſſed in relation to *Wolſey*. He had promiſed to uſe all his Intereſt in his favour, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. It was his Intereſt to have a Pope at his devotion. But he knew Cardinal *Wolſey* too well, to imagine ſuch a Pope would be guided by his Counſels. It was neceſſary therefore, in order not to loſe *Wolſey*'s Friendſhip, to cauſe *Adrian* to be choſen without the Emperor's appearing to be concerned in the Election. As he had gained that Miniſter to his Intereſt, ſolely by the promiſe of procuring him the Papacy, he could not doubt, that if he ſaw himſelf deceived, he would turn his Maſter againſt him. Wherefore the Emperor concealed his deſigns, and was ſo faithfully ſerved in the Conclave, that they could not be diſcovered; neither had *Adrian* ever one Vote in the daily Scrutinies. Mean while, he kept Cardinal *Wolſey* in hopes, and threw upon the Cardinal *de Medici*'s Faction, the obſtacles which occurred in the performance of his promiſe. At laſt, when they that were in the Emperor's Secret, and managed his affairs in the Conclave, were ſecure of a ſufficient number of Votes, one day as the Cardinals were met to make a Scrutiny, ſome one propoſed Cardinal *Adrian* Biſhop of *Tortoſa* then in *Spain*. He enlarged upon the great qualities of that Cardinal, and the advantages which would accrue to the Church by his promotion. Whereupon they who were of the Party voted one after another for *Adrian*, as if they had been inſpired, and perhaps without knowing one another's deſign, ſo dexterouſly had the Buſineſs been managed. The reſt that were not in the Secret, ſeeing two thirds of the Voices for *Adrian*, voted the ſame way, leſt a fruitleſs oppoſition might turn to their prejudice. Thus the Election was made with unanimous conſent, and paſſed for a miraculous Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. It is not likely that *Wolſey* was ſuch a dupe, as to believe the Emperor was not concerned in *Adrian*'s Election, ſince the ſame was ſo plain. The new Pope, who aſſumed the name of *Adrian* VI, had been his Preceptor, and upon his recommendation was made Cardinal, and was now Regent in *Spain*. Beſides, there is no likelihood that the Cardinals would have thought of chuſing a *Barbarian*, for that's the honorable Appellation the *Italians* beſtow on thoſe that are not of their Nation, if the Election had not been managed by the Emperor. However this be, *Wolſey* ſhewed no reſentment, whether he waited for an opportunity to be openly revenged, or thought proper to keep fair with the Emperor againſt another Vacancy. For it was probable there would be one very ſoon, the new Pope being old and infirm. *Adrian* VI was elected in *January* 1522, but it was *Midſummer* before he came to *Rome*.

Guicciard.

Adrian VI choſen Pope. Hollingſh.

1522.

Wolſey hides his Reſentment.

The Emperor ſets out for Spain, and goes by England. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Emperor having made a Pope at his devotion, and ſettled his affairs in *Flanders* and *Germany*, reſolved to return into *Spain*, where his preſence was neceſſary. But as he had cauſe to fear ſome change at the Court of *England*, on account of what had paſſed in the late Conclave, he thought proper to viſit *Henry* in his way. This viſit was neceſſary, as well to confirm with that Prince the Articles agreed on at *Bruges*, as to try to preſerve Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Friendſhip, without which he could not expect to preſerve the King's. He landed the 26th of *May* at *Dover*, where the Cardinal waited on him with a magnificent Train, and *Henry* came himſelf two days after (2). From thence, he conducted the Emperor to *Greenwich*, and then to *London* (3), where he was received with all the honour and reſpect uſual on ſuch occaſions. The Cardinal Legate forgot not to ſhew his Grandeur by ſaying High-Maſs (4) before the two Monarchs, aſſiſted by ſeveral Biſhops, and ſerved by Dukes. As he had reſolved to hide his reſentment, the Emperor had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his reception, and found a ready Compliance with all his deſires. After ſome ſtay at *London* the King invited him to *Windſor*, where he was inſtalled of the *Order of the Garter*, into which his Brother *Ferdinand* alſo had been admitted the 23d of the foregoing *April* (5). This done, the two Monarchs received the Sacrament together, and ſwore to the Treaty of *Bruges*.

He is received with great honour. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 767. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

He is made Knight of the Garter. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

He ſigns with Henry the Treaty of Bruges. Herbert.

The preamble of the Treaty ran, that the Emperor and King of *France* had referred their differences to the arbitration of the King of *England*, who had ſent the Cardinal of *York* to *Calais* to decide them: That in theſe Conferences it was long debated, to know, which of the two Monarchs had been the aggreſſor, and after mature deliberation, the Cardinal had declared, it was the King of *France*, as well by means of *Robert de la Mark*, as by invading *Navarre*: That therefore the King of *England* was obliged by the Treaty of *London*, to aſſiſt the Prince attacked againſt the Aggreſſor. That moreover, he had himſelf cauſe to complain of the King of *France*, for breach of promiſe, in ſending back the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*, and for diſcontinuing the payments of the Sums due to him. Upon all theſe accounts, *Charles* and *Henry* deeming themſelves free and clear from all Engagements with the King of *France*, had reſolved to contract a ſtrict Alliance, and ſeal it with a Marriage between the Emperor and the Princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s Daughter, upon the following Terms. Of theſe Terms I ſhall recite ſuch only as may be of ſervice to the Sequel of the Hiſtory. Thoſe concerning the Marriage were to this Effect:

Articles of the Treaty. Herbert.

That the Emperor ſhould eſpouſe [by Proxy] *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry*, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be twelve years old.

That her Dowry ſhould be four hundred thouſand Crowns, out of which ſhould be deducted what the Emperors *Maximilian* [and *Charles*] had borrowed of the King of *England*.

That in caſe the Marriage ſhould not be accompliſhed by the Emperor's fault, he obliged himſelf to pay four hundred thouſand Crowns to the King of *England*, who bound himſelf in the ſame Sum to the Emperor, in caſe the Marriage was hindered on his part.

The Terms of the League were;

That before the end of *May* 1524, the Emperor ſhould enter *France* on the ſide of *Spain*, and the King of *England* in *Picardy*, each with an Army of thirty thouſand (6) Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe.

(1) The Conclave is in the Vatican, where there is a long Gallery full of Cells, which are choſen by the Cardinals by Lot. The Funeral of the deceaſed Pope laſting nine days, on the tenth each Cardinal goes to his Cell, and are ſhut up in the Conclave with one Servant called a *Conclaviſt*, with each a Secretary and Gentleman to attend them, carry their Meſſages, and manage their Intrigues. The Conclave is guarded by the Militia of the City, to prevent their receiving any Letters; and the diſhes of Meat (which are received in at a Window by the Conclaviſt) are ſearched by the Maſter of the Ceremonies for the ſame reaſon. The Cardinals meet every Morning and Evening in the Chapel for a Scrutiny, which is done by writing their Suffrages in the Billets done up in two Folds, and ſealed with two Seals. In the firſt Fold, the Conclaviſt writes the Name of the Cardinal his Maſter votes for, becauſe the Cardinal's Hand would be known. In the ſecond, the Cardinal writes his own Name; and on the outſide, the Conclaviſt writes any Motto the Cardinal pleaſes, as *Deo Volente*, &c. by which they know their own Billets when they are read, for the Fold containing the Elector's Name is not opened till the Pope is choſen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the Billets are ready, they put them, after a ſhort Prayer, into a Chalice upon the Altar, and appoint two of their Number to read the Names of the Cardinals aloud, and keep account of the Votes for each. And this they do till two thirds of the Votes fall upon one Perſon; and if they do not, the Billets are all burnt. The Court of *Rome* conſiſts at preſent of the Pope and ſeventy Cardinals; *viz.* fifty Cardinal Prieſts, fourteen Cardinal Deacons, and ſix Cardinal Biſhops, who are for the moſt part of the Pope's Privy-Council. See *Puffendorf's Introduction* to the Hiſtory of *Europe*; and *Relig. Cuſtoms.* Vol. I.

(2) See the names of the Noblemen and others, that attended the King and the Cardinal to *Canterbury*, in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 767. *Hall* ſays, *Wolſey* ſet out for *Dover* the 20th of *May*; being accompanied by two Earls, thirty ſix Knights, a hundred Gentlemen, eight Biſhops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin, and ſeven hundred Yeomen. He came to *Dover* the 26th. In the mean time, *Thomas Grey* Marquis of *Dorſet*, with the Lord *Delaware*, and a large Retinue of Knights and Gentlemen was ſent to *Calais*, to wait on the Emperor. fol. 93.

(3) On the 6th of *June*. *Stow*, p. 516

(4) On *Whitſunday*. *Ibid.*

(5) On St. *George*'s Day, and had the Order and Habits ſent him to *Noremberg*. He was afterwards Emperor. *Herbert*, p. 47.

(6) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays forty thouſand. Whereas in the Original it is only thirty thouſand or more. See *Herbert*, p. 48.

That

1522. That they ſhould make neither Peace nor Truce without a mutual conſent.

That if any places ſhould be conquered upon *France*, they ſhould be reſtored to him of the two Allies, who had a right to them; and to prevent all diſputes, each ſhould declare his pretenſions before the firſt of *May* 1524.

That if the King of *England* intended to ſubdue *Scotland*, or reduce *Ireland* to an entire obedience, or the Emperor to recover *Gueldres* or *Friſeland*; if the *Scots* invaded *England*, or the Duke of *Gueldres* made War upon the Emperor; in all theſe caſes the two Monarchs ſhould be bound to aſſiſt one another.

That they ſubmitted to the Spiritual Juriſdiction of the Cardinal of *York* as Legate, and required him to pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him of the two that ſhould firſt violate the Treaty.

That the Treaty ſhould be kept private, ſo that the common Enemy might have no knowledge thereof.

That the Pope ſhould be entreated to enter into the League as a principal Contractor, and reputed as ſuch, provided he accepted it within three months.

That the *Venetians* ſhould be likewiſe admitted, provided they renounced their Alliance with *France*.

That the two Monarchs ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the *Switzers* to forſake the *French*, or at leaſt to be neutral.

The ſame day the Treaty was ſigned, the Emperor ſigned alſo Letters Patents, promiſing to pay *Henry* whatever was due to him from *Francis*, in caſe *Francis*, on account of the preſent League, ſhould refuſe to continue the payments to which he was obliged.

The Emperor's bounty to Wolſey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 769. June 8. P. 770. July 4.

But Cardinal *Wolſey* had not waited to do his own affairs till the King's were finiſhed, for on the eighth of *June* the Emperor, by Letters Patents, ingaged to pay him the penſion of twelve thouſand Livres (1), which the King of *France* gave him for the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. Some days after, he obliged himſelf to pay him a penſion of two thouſand five hundred Ducats, till the like penſion was aſſigned him upon the vacant Churches in *Spain*, in lieu of that he received out of the Biſhoprick of *Badajos*, which the Emperor deſired to diſcharge. But the Emperor's Bounties to Cardinal *Wolſey* were amply recompenſed, by a great Sum lent him by the King before his departure.

Henry *lends him Money.* Ibid. Guicciard. Herbert.

The Emperor makes the Earl of Surrey Admiral of his Fleet. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

During the Emperor's ſtay in *England*, which was about five weeks, he ſo won the affection of the whole Court by his Civilities, Careſſes and Preſents, that he was almoſt ſure of leaving none but Friends about the King. He gained the Good-will of the *Engliſh*, chiefly by conſtituting the Earl of *Surrey* Admiral of his Fleet (2). The Commiſſion was drawn whilſt the Emperor was at *London*, before his Journey to *Windſor*. As he was to make ſome farther ſtay in *England*, the Earl of *Surrey* taking with him both the *Engliſh* and *Flemiſh* Fleets, made two deſcents into *France*, and carried away a rich Booty (3). Then he returned and conveyed the Emperor to *Spain* (4).

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

I muſt now briefly relate the Succeſs of the Wars which were waging in ſeveral places. The death of *Leo* X had put the affairs of the Allies in *Italy* in a very ill ſituation. The Troops of the Church and of *Florence* had relinquiſhed the Army, immediately after the news of the Pope's death. Beſides that, *Proſper Colonna* receiving no more Supplies of Money, either from *Rome* or the Emperor, was forced to disband moſt of his remaining Troops, and to keep but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of *Milan*. Mean while, the Emperor ordered a Levy of ſix thouſand *Landſquenets* (5), which *Franceſco Sforza*, and *Hieronimo Adorno* a *Genoeſe* were to lead into *Italy*. Shortly after, *Lautrec* received a re-inforcement of ſixteen thouſand *Switzers*, which rendered him ſuperior to the Allies, and yet he could not hinder the *Landſquenets* from joining the Emperor's army. His only refuge was to try to bring the Imperialiſts to a Battle, and for that purpoſe he beſieged *Pavia*; but *Proſper Colonna* found means to throw Succours into the place without running any hazard. Whereupon *Lautrec* deſpairing of Succeſs, raiſed the Siege, and encamped at *Monza*, and *Colonna*, who was afraid for *Milan*, poſted himſelf at *Bicocca*, a Country Seat with a large Park, capable of being eaſily fortified, being ſurrounded with a deep Ditch. Here *Colonna* intrenched himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he could not be attacked without raſhneſs. *Lautrec* had no Inclination to attack the Imperialiſts in this poſt, but could not poſſibly help it. His *Switzers* would have Money, and he had none to give them, *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, the King's Mother, having applied to other uſes the four hundred thouſand Crowns deſigned for the Army in *Italy*. Mean while, the *Switzers* preſſed their General either to give them Money, or lead them to Battle, elſe they were reſolved to return home. This put him at length upon aſſaulting the Camp at *Bicocca*, where he was repulſed with great loſs (6); after which, the *Switzers* quitting him, he was conſtrained to repaſs the Mountains, not being able to withſtand the Imperialiſts. Preſently after *Colonna* became maſter of *Genoa*. This rich City being taken by ſurprize, whilſt a Capitulation was negotiating, was miſerably ſacked. In ſhort, *Francis* had nothing left in *Italy*, but the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, and even theſe were very cloſely blocked up. 1522.

The Switzers in the French Army oblige Lautrec to fight. *Lautrec is defeated at Bicocca.* *He returns to France.* *Colonna takes Genoa.* Bizan.

In other parts where the War was carrying on during this Campain, *France* was more proſperous. After Admiral *Bonnivet* had taken *Fontarabia*, the *Spaniards* inveſted that place, and continued the Siege, without being able to accompliſh their Enterprize. At laſt, Marſhal *de Chabanes* being ſent into *Bearn* to take the Command of the *French* Army, in the room of Marſhal *de Chatillon*, who was dead, raiſed the Siege, and appointed one *Frauget* Governor of *Fontarabia*, who afterwards behaved very ill.

The Spaniards raiſe the Siege of Fontarabia. Mezerai.

In *Picardy* and *Champagne*, the Imperialiſts and *Engliſh* having joined their Forces, performed nothing of moment. The two Armies, commanded by the Count *de Bure* for the Emperor, and by the Earl of *Surrey* for the King of *England* (7), were ſo ſuperior to thoſe of *France*, that the Duke of *Vendôme*, who commanded in *Picardy*, was not able to reſiſt them. So, having furniſhed the Towns with Ammunition, he contented himſelf with inceſſantly annoying them with a ſmall Body of Troops. In *September* the two Generals beſieged *Heſdin*, but after having been five or ſix weeks before the Town, were forced to retire. From thence they marched to *Dourlens*, and finding the place deſerted, and the Gates pulled down, ſet fire to it. Then intending to approach *Corbie* in *October*, the bad weather, and the care the *French* had taken for the defence of the place, hindered their undertaking the Siege. After that, the Imperialiſts retired into *Artois*, and the *Engliſh* returned home (8).

The Imperialiſts and Engliſh do no great Matter in Picardy. Bellai. Mezerai. Hall. Hollingſh.

Thus all the efforts of the Emperor and the King of *England* would have done *Francis* no great miſchief this Campain, if he had not himſelf been the Cauſe of his ill ſucceſs in *Italy*, by neglecting to find the *Switzers* Money. Indeed, if *Lautree* had not been forced to attack the Imperialiſts at *Bicocca*, probably he would have been maſter of *Milan* before the end of the Campain. *Charles* V then perceived, that to gain any conſiderable advantages upon *France*, much greater efforts were to be uſed, and for that reaſon continued to careſs Cardinal *Wolſey*, in order to ſecure the King his Maſter's aſſiſtance. In the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, there is a Letter of his to the Cardinal, full of obliging expreſſions, plainly denoting his want of him. *I return you Thanks*, ſaid he to him, *for the good Affection you have always ſhewn me, deſiring you to continue it, as I firmly believe you will, for you are ſenſible that I place my whole Confidence in you.* Again, *I entreat you to give the ſame credit to my ſaid Ambaſſadors as to myſelf, and ſhew yourſelf, on this occaſion, as I take you to be, my good and faithful Friend, for I ſhall have a grateful remembrance of it.*

Francis's *Fault in leaving Lautrec without Money.*

The Emperor careſſes the Cardinal very much. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 776. Nov. 11.

Iſſue of the Campain in 1522 in Italy.

The extraordinary method uſed by the Cardinal to raiſe Money, having been very diſagreeable to the *Engliſh*, he judged it more proper to proceed for the future in the uſual way; and therefore the King aſſembled a Parliament the 15th of *April* 1523 (9). The Convocation 1523.

The Cardinal demands of the Clergy a Subſidy for the King. Herbert. Hall. Burnet. Stow.

(1) Or nine thouſand Crowns of Gold *de ſoleil*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 769.

(2) Lord *Herbert* has inſerted the Patent, (which is dated *June* 8.) as well for the Rareneſs of it, as the Honour of the Perſon, p. 49. *Comp. Hiſt.* Vol. II. ——The Earl returned to *England*, *Jan.* 25. 1522, from his Government of *Ireland*, wherein he was ſucceeded by *Peter Butler* Earl of *Ormond*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 766. *Hall*, fol. 90.——And on *December* the fourth this year, the ſaid Earl of *Surrey* was made High-Treaſurer. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 777.

(3) He landed *June* 13, near *Cherbourg*, and after having deſtroyed the adjacent Country, returned to *Portland*: He landed a ſecond time on *July* 1, near *Morlaix* in *Bretagne*, with ſeven thouſand Men, and burnt and plundered that Town; from whence he brought away a great Booty. *Herbert*, p. 50. See a Liſt of the moſt remarkable *Engliſh* Gentlemen in this Expedition, in *Hall*, fol. 99, 100.

(4) The Emperor embarked at *Southampton*, *July* 6. *Hall*, fol. 99.

(5) So *German* Foot Soldiers were called formerly. *Hall* calls them *Lance-Knights*.

(6) There were three thouſand *Switzers* ſlain. *Guicciard.* l. 14.

(7) The Earl of *Surrey* had about ſixteen thouſand Men. The foreward of his Army was led by *Robert Ratcliff* Lord *Fitzwalter*; the Rear by Sir *William Sandes*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*; and the main Body by the Earl himſelf. Sir *Edward Guilford* was Captain of the Horſe. *Hall*, fol. 101, 103.

(8) After having burnt and plundered ſeveral Villages. They took fourteen thouſand Sheep, fourteen hundred Oxen and Cows, thirteen hundred Hogs, and ſix hundred Mares and Horſes. *Hall*, fol. 102, 103.

(9) Which met at the *Black-friers*, in *London*. *Herbert*, p. 55.

meeting

1523. meeting at the same time according to Custom (1), the Cardinal resolved to establish a good Precedent in favour of the King, by exacting from the Clergy a considerable Subsidy. His character of Legate gave him such an interest with that Body, that he was almost sure of obtaining whatever he was pleased to demand. But to find less difficulties, he removed, on divers pretences, some of those from whom he feared to meet opposition, and gained others by promises or threats. Matters being thus ordered, he demanded of the Clergy a Subsidy of one half of their annual Revenues, payable in five years. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and a Proctor of the inferior Clergy, one *Philips*, would have opposed this exaction; but the Cardinal treated them in such a manner, as discouraged the rest from supporting them. So the Subsidy was granted, though the Clergy privately murmured, that the Pope's Legate who ought to maintain their Rights was the first to violate them.

He receives a Mortification in the House of Commons. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

This affair being thus ended with respect to the Clergy, the Cardinal repaired to the House of Commons, where he made a long Speech, endeavouring to shew the necessity of the War the King had undertaken, by aggravating the pretended injuries he had endured from the King of *France*. He concluded with demanding a Subsidy of the fifth part of the Goods of every Lay-Subject, to be paid in four years (2). This demand caused warm debates among the Commons. Several represented, that if the Kingdom was actually invaded, hardly could the King require such a Subsidy, much less for a War wantonly undertaken, and rather for the interest of the Emperor than of *England*. However, as the Court-Party were very numerous in the House, it was resolved to grant the King a Subsidy, which was but one half of what was demanded. The Cardinal, who was used to be complied with, was extremely offended at the opposition of the Commons. Herbert. p. 56. He went again to the House, and told them, *he desired to reason with those who opposed his demands*. But the Commons replied by their Speaker (3), *That it was the Order of that House to hear, and not to reason, but among themselves*. At this reply, the Cardinal withdrew, extremely mortified, perceiving he could only prejudice the King's affairs, in attempting to treat the Commons with the same haughtiness he treated the rest of the World. His sollicitation however had some effect, since there was an addition made to the Subsidy (4).

Act of Attainder against the Duke of Buckingham. Herbert.

Besides this affair, for which properly the Parliament was called, nothing remarkable passed in this Session, except an Act of Attainder against the late Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been condemned by a sentence of his Peers. As all the World was satisfied this Sentence had been procured by indirect and irregular methods, and the Cardinal publickly accused of having sacrificed that Lord to his vengeance, he had the interest to obtain this Act, in order to divert the blame thrown upon him. But withal, the Parliament shewed that the Act was passed out of mere condescension, since by another, *Henry Stafford* Son of the deceased was restored to his Estate and Honours (5).

The King has Power to repeal Attainders. Herbert.

A Statute was made also this Session, impowering the King [for his Life] to repeal all Attainders of High-Treason, by his Letters Patents under the Great-Seal (6).

Character of Wolsey.

These were the first attempts made in this Reign to render the King master of the Debates of the Parliament. Cardinal *Wolsey* was the first Author, and unfortunately for the Subjects, the King too well improved his Minister's instructions. Such Favorites as this have but too much cause to fear the Parliament, and therefore strive to the utmost of their power to lessen its Authority, by enlarging that of the Sovereign who supports them. But their labour is in vain; very few fail at last of falling into the hands of that Authority they have endeavoured to destroy. *Wolsey* is one of those who have the most openly abused their favour, not only against the Nation's, but also the King's interest, which was much less dear to him than his own. He was never contented with Estates or Honours. The 24th of *March* this year he procured for himself the Bishoprick of *Durham*, one of the richest in the Kingdom, in lieu of *Bath* and *Wells*, which he was willing to resign. Two months after, *Adrian* VI prolonged his Legateship for five years, after the expiration of the Term granted by *Leo* X. Thus Estates and Honours were incessantly heaped upon him, without however any possibility of satisfying his greediness. Indeed, he carried his desires much higher, since he still aspired to the Papacy, *Adrian*'s Age and Infirmities giving occasion to think his Pontificate would not last long. He still expected to be raised to that high Dignity by the Emperor's means, and therefore forgot nothing to preserve his favour. To this doubtless must be ascribed the honorable reception given this year to *Christiern* King of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who had married the Emperor's Sister. This Prince having by his cruelties rendered himself odious to his Subjects, and for that reason been expelled his Dominions, arrived in *England* about *Midsummer* with his Queen, and was received as a King unjustly oppressed, and not like one that had by his Barbarities drawn his misfortunes upon himself. *Henry* was not contented to do him all possible Honour, but moreover renewed with him the Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Denmark*, as if that Prince had still been in possession of his Dominions.

1523. *Adrian gives him the See of Durham, and prolongs his Legateship.* Act. Pub. XIII. p. 783, p. 788, 795. *Wolsey still aspires to the Papacy.*

Christiern King of Denmark is received in England. Hall. Hollingsh.

Henry renews the Alliance with Christiern. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 795. Jan.

This was the fruit of Cardinal *Wolsey*'s interested Counsels, who never regarded either Honour or Justice, in gratifying his Passions. He expected every thing from the Emperor, and therefore used his utmost endeavours to increase that Monarch's power, that he might be better able to perform his promise. It was not the Cardinal's fault that *France* was not utterly ruined. At least he formed, this year, in conjunction with the Emperor, projects tending to the entire dissolution of that antient Monarchy.

Project against France founded on the Constable of Bourbon's Rebellion. P. Daniel. Herbert. Stow.

Though by the Treaty of *Bruges*, ratified by the Emperor and *Henry* at *Windsor*, they were not to enter *France* till 1524, an opportunity which offered causing them to take other measures, they resolved to anticipate their expedition, and invade the King of *France* in three different places. The Emperor was to have a strong Army on the Frontiers of *Spain*, to become master of *Fontarabia* and *Bayonne*. *Henry* was to employ his Forces in *Picardy*, jointly with those of the *Low-Countries*, and the Constable of *Bourbon*, who had suffered himself to be corrupted by the Emperor, or perhaps by his own offer, was to make an Inroad into *Burgundy*. As most of the events of the following years, turn upon that Prince's disgust, it will be requisite briefly to mention the Reasons.

Causes of the Constable's Disgust. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Hall.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, had received the Constable's Sword ever since the first year of *Francis* I. He had all the qualifications necessary for that High-Post. Perhaps he had too much merit, since, if we believe *Mezerai*, *Louisa* of *Savoy*, Mother to *Francis*, wished to have him for her Husband. But as he feigned not to understand what she desired, he made her his irreconcileable Enemy. From that time, he perpetually received mortifications from the King, over whom the Duchess his Mother had too great an ascendant. The first mentioned in History, was when in 1521 the King commanding the Army in Person, gave the conduct of the van to the Duke of *Alenson*, contrary to the Prerogative annexed to the Office of Constable. But this was nothing in comparison of another, which however is related in the History of *France* only upon uncertain Reports. The King telling the Constable he should be glad to marry him to the Duchess his Mother, received an answer so injurious to the Duchess (7), that he gave him a box on the Ear. This Fact is not perhaps sufficiently attested. But however, it is certain the Duchess's affection for the Constable turned to hatred. From thenceforward he was looked upon with an evil eye at Court, and no more trusted with the command of the King's Armies. This was sufficient to give him great disgust. But his Enemy not being satisfied with these Mortifica- P. Daniel.

Mezerai.

(1) See a particular Account of this Convocation in *Burnet*'s *Hist. Ref.* Tom. III. p. 24.

(2) The Charges of the War with *France* were computed at eight hundred thousand Pounds; and the Sum demanded was four Shillings in the Pound. See *Hall*, fol. 109. *Herbert*, p. 55. *Stow*'s *Survey*, B. 3. p. 177.

(3) The famous Sir *Thomas More*.

(4) At first every Man of twenty Pounds a year was to pay two Shillings in the Pound; and from twenty Pounds downward to forty Shillings a year, one Shilling in the Pound; and under forty Shillings, every Head of sixteen years old or more, Four-pence in two years. But afterwards, by the liberal Motion of some, particularly of Sir *John Huse* a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, those of fifty Pounds a year and upwards were induced to give one Shilling more for three years to come, which at length being continued to the fourth year, and extended to those who were worth five Pounds in Goods, was all that could be obtained. *Hall*, fol. 110. *Herbert*, p. 56.

(5) He was only restored in Blood, and not to Honours and Lands. However, the King by Letters Patents bearing date the 25th of *September* this year, granted to him and *Ursula* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *Richard Pole*, by *Margaret* of *Clarence*, part of the Lands of the late Duke his Father, among which was the Castle and Manor of *Stafford*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron.* Vol. I. p. 171.

(6) This Parliament was, on *July* 31, adjourned to *Westminster*, where it sat till the 13th of *August*, and then was dissolved. The most remarkable Statutes enacted now were these: 1. That no foreign Artificer in *England* shall take any Apprentice, but what is born under the King's Obeisance; or have above two Journeymen that are not so; and that they shall have a proper Mark for their Wares, upon pain of forfeiting ten Pounds. 2. There is one confirming the College of Physicians. 3. By another, the Marriage of the six Clerks in Chancery is allowed. 4. It was ordained, That no Person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, shall kill any Hare in the Snow, with a Dog, or otherwise, upon pain of forfeiting six Shillings and Eight-pence for every Offence. For the rest see the *Statutes*.

(7) Reflecting on her loose Behaviour. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 501, 504.

1523. tions, which ſeemed to her too ſlight a Revenge for her contemned Love, commenced a Suit againſt him, for his whole Eſtate. The Cauſe was naturally to be tried by the Parliament of *Paris*; but the Ducheſs put it into the hands of the Chancellor and ſome other Commiſſioners, her Creatures, which convinced the Conſtable that his ruin was determined. So perceiving no way to avoid ſo fatal a blow, his deſpair cauſed him to throw himſelf into the Emperor's Arms. A *Flemiſh* Lord (1) was the manager of this Negotiation, wherein the King of *England* interpoſed, as being equally concerned with the Emperor to create troubles in *France*. It is hard to know exactly when this Negotiation began; but we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* of *England*, the Treaty was advanced the 17th of *May* 1523. We ſee there *Henry*'s Commiſſion to *Richard Sampſon* and *Richard Jerningham*, to treat with the Duke of *Bourbon* (2) in order to draw him into the League. This Commiſſion empowered the Envoys alſo to receive of the ſame Prince a promiſe or engagement to own *Henry* for King of *France*, to do him Homage and ſwear Fealty to him. It cannot be inferred from hence, that the Conſtable entered into any ſuch Engagement, but only that *Henry* intended to draw him into it. However this be, by the Treaty made by the Duke with the two Monarchs, after the Conqueſt of *France*, he was to have for his part, *Provence*, to be erected into a Kingdom, and was to marry *Leonora* the Emperor's Siſter, Widow of *Don Emanuel* King of *Portugal* (3). The Duke was to bring into the Field an Army of his Friends and Vaſſals, to whom the Emperor promiſed to join ſeven or eight thouſand Men. This Army was to act in the Bowels of the Kingdom, whilſt the Emperor and *Henry* invaded *Bearn* and *Picardy*.

He enters into Engagements with the Emperor, Du Bellai. Herbert. Hollingſh.

and Henry. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 794.

P. Daniel. Herbert.

Mean while, *Francis* I, ignorant of the deſigns of his Enemies, was ſolely employed in preparing to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, where he intended to command his Army in Perſon. He haſtened his preparations the more, becauſe the *Venetians* were ſtrongly ſollicited to join with his Enemies, on pretence that he amuſed them with the vain hopes of ſeeing them ſpeedily in *Italy* with a powerful Army. But notwithſtanding all his diligence, it was not poſſible to avoid that Misfortune. The *Venetians* ſeeing no *French* Army arrive, and dreading to be expoſed to the Emperor's Indignation, entered at laſt into the League againſt *France*, about the end of *July* (4).

Francis *prepares to go into* Italy. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The Venetians *declare againſt him.*

Adrian *ſuffers himſelf to be deceived by the Enemies of* France. Guicciard.

On the other hand, Pope *Adrian* VI, laboured with all his power to procure a Truce between the Chriſtian Princes, fancying after that there would be no difficulty to unite them together in a War againſt the *Turks*. But as his genius was mean, and very different from that of *Leo* X, and *Julius* II his Predeceſſors, inſtead of making the Princes ſubſervient to his deſigns, he was himſelf, without knowing it, inſtrumental to thoſe of others. The Emperor told him he heartily deſired the Truce, but intimated the neceſſity of its being for ſome time, in order to reap the intended advantage. He thereby laid an invincible obſtacle in the way, becauſe the King of *France* being lately diſpoſſeſſed of the Duchy of *Milan*, would never hearken to a long Truce, which would afford his Enemies time to ſecure their Conqueſt. That Monarch's oppoſition gave the Emperor and the King of *England* occaſion to ingage the Pope to proceed farther, by hinting to him, that after the Example of ſome of his Predeceſſors, he ſhould exert his Apoſtolick Power, which no Chriſtian Prince would preſume directly to oppoſe. Pleaſed with theſe hopes, *Adrian* publiſhed a Bull dated the 30th of *April*, enjoining by virtue of the power committed to him by God, a three years Truce between all Chriſtian Princes under pain of Excommunication and Interdict, againſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe to obſerve it. But the King of *France* diſregarding ſuch a Truce, continued his preparations for the *Milan* Expedition, and ordered his Troops to march towards *Italy*. Then the Pope was told, that *Francis* alone, by his Non-compliance and Obſtinacy, hindered the Chriſtians from joining their Forces againſt the *Turk*. By theſe ſecret practices the good Pope was gradually brought to conclude a League againſt *France* with the Emperor, the King of *England*, *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria* the Emperor's Brother, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Genoeſe*, and the *Florentines*. This League was ſigned the 3d of *Auguſt*, a few days after the *Venetians* had deſerted *France*.

He enjoins a three years Truce among Chriſtian Princes. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 790. May 1. Herbert.

Francis *rejects it.*

The Pope joins with the Enemies of France.

Italy ſeemed by this League to be ſecured from all Invaſions. And indeed, *Proſper Colonna*, who commanded in *Milan*, ſo little expected to be attacked, that he neglected to take neceſſary meaſures for the defence of that Duchy. Mean while, *Francis* purſued his project, and the more, as he heard there were no preparations at *Milan*. The Emperor ſeemed wholly to neglect the defence of that State, on purpoſe to draw *Francis* into *Italy*, reckoning that his abſence would promote the Duke of *Bourbon*'s deſigns. Nay, it is ſaid, that to induce *Francis* to abſent himſelf from his Kingdom, *Henry* had cauſed him to be privately told, there was no danger from him that year in *Picardy*.

1523. *Francis is induced by the affected Careleſſneſs of his Enemies to paſs into Italy.*

Affairs being in this ſituation, *Francis* departed for *Lyons* in order to paſs into *Italy*. In the mean while, the Emperor was preparing an Army in *Spain* to beſiege *Fontarabia* and *Bayonne*. But this Army was raiſed very ſlowly, becauſe it was not to act till *Francis* was ingaged in the War of *Milan*. On the other ſide, the Count *de Bure* (5), his General in *Flanders*, remained quiet, waiting to join the *Engliſh*, who the better to deceive the King of *France*, were not to land at *Calais* till the end of *September*. In ſhort, the Emperor ordered eight thouſand *Landſquenets* to march in ſmall Diviſions into *Franche Comté*, who were to join the Duke of *Bourbon* as ſoon as he was ready. Upon that Prince's revolt, the Allies built all their hopes, imagining that *Francis* being in *Italy*, *France* thus unexpectedly invaded in ſo many places at once, would make no great reſiſtance. Theſe hopes were the better grounded, as *Francis* having no intelligence of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Plots, had no Troops at all in *Burgundy*, few in *Guienne* and *Bearn*, and *Picardy* was in an ill State of Defence.

He ſets out for Lyons. Du Bellai. Mezerai. *Project of the Allies.* Herbert.

Mean while, the Conſtable, not to be obliged to attend the King, pretended to be ſick at *Moulins*. But *Francis*, whilſt on the road to *Lyons*, happened to be informed by two of the Conſtable's Servants, that their Maſter held private Correſpondence with the Emperor. Surprized at the news, he turned out of his way to go to *Moulins*, where he told the Duke, who ſtill feigned to be ſick, what had been diſcovered to him. The Duke freely owned, the Emperor had ſounded him by the Count *de Rœux*, but that he had refuſed to hearken to his Propoſals: That he deſigned to inform his Majeſty of it, but being prevented by his Illneſs from coming to Court, he durſt not truſt any Perſon with the ſecret. Whether the King believed what the Conſtable ſaid, or thought he could not arreſt him in his own Territories, he was contented with ordering him to follow him to *Lyons*. The Duke ſet out indeed as if he had intended to follow the King, being carried in a Litter on pretence of his Sickneſs, and travelling by very eaſy Journies. But upon notice that two of his Confidents were arreſted at Court, he privately withdrew from his attendants, and taking with him only *Pomperan* one of his Gentlemen, he eſcaped through by-ways, and ſafely arrived [at *Trent*] in *Germany*.

The Conſtable feigns ſickneſs at Moulins. *The King is informed of the Conſpiracy.* *He goes to Moulins.* *The Conſtable owns he was ſounded by the Emperor.* Du Bellai. P. Daniel. Herbert. Stow. Hall. *The King orders him to come to* Lyons. *He flies into* Germany.

The Conſtable's Flight convincing the King, there was ſome grand Plot in *France*, to be executed during his abſence, he relinquiſhed his deſign of going into *Italy*, and contented himſelf with ſending his Army (6) under the Command of Admiral *Bonnivet*, who paſſed the *Alps* about the end of *Auguſt*, or the beginning of *September*. About the ſame time the Emperor aſſembled his Army in *Spain*, the *Landſquenets* arrived in *Franche Comté*, and the *Engliſh* landed at *Calais*, to act in *Picardy* in conjunction with the *Flemings*. It will be abſolutely neceſſary briefly to relate what paſſed during this Campain in theſe four ſeveral places.

The King ſtays in France, *and ſends* Bonnivet *to* Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel. *The War is begun in four ſeveral Places.* Hall.

The Caſtle of *Milan*, where *Lautrec* had left a Garriſon, ſurrendered the 14th of *April*. So the *French* had no place of importance in the *Milaneſe*, except the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which too was ſo cloſely blocked up, that there was no likelihood of its holding out long. On the other hand, as *France* could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the *Venetians*, and as all the reſt of *Italy* was joined in a League againſt her, *Proſper Colonna* who commanded in *Milan*, did not doubt that the King would deſiſt from his deſign of carrying War into the *Milaneſe*. For that reaſon, he had neglected to repair the Fortifications of the capital City, which were in an ill State, the Ramparts being fallen down in ſeveral Places. However upon advice that Admiral *Bonnivet* was going to paſs the *Alps*,

Campain in Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

(1) The Count *de Rœux*. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 508. Together with *William Knight* Doctor of Law, the *Engliſh* Reſident with the Lady *Margaret*, and Sir *John Ruſſel*. *Herbert*, p. 58.

(2) The Name of *Bourbon* is in blank, but it is certain that it is the Conſtable which is there meant. *Rapin*.

(3) The Emperor promiſed to appoint her his Heir, in caſe he and his Brother *Ferdinand* died without Iſſue; and to give her a Dower of two hundred thouſand Crowns. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 508.

(4) *June* the 28th, according to *P. Daniel*, p. 499.

(5) *Florentius* of *Egmont*.

(6) Conſiſting of three and thirty thouſand Men. *Guicciard.* l. 15.

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1523. he drew together all his Forces to try to defend the paſſage of the *Teſin*; but he came too late. The *French* had made ſuch ſpeed, that he was forced to retire to *Milan* in the utmoſt diſorder. Nay, he reſolved to abandon that City, if by an unaccountable negligence, they had not given him ſome days time to repair the Works. He had but fifteen thouſand Men, with which he could not expect to defend, againſt an Army of above forty thouſand, ſo large a City, which alſo was open in ſeveral Places. However, as he had learnt by long experience, that it muſt not always be thought, the Enemies will do what is moſt for their advantage, he never ceaſed repairing the places which wanted it moſt, deeming he could but withdraw at laſt in caſe the *French* were as expeditious as they ought to have been. If *Bonnivet* had marched directly to *Milan*, he would have found the Gates open. But after taking *Novarra* and *Vigerano*, and paſſing the *Teſin* without oppoſition, he prepoſterouſly imagined a few days more or leſs would ſignify nothing. So having loſt to no purpoſe four or five days, he gave the Emperor's General time to put *Milan* in a poſture of Defence (1). At laſt, approaching the City when it was too late, he found it incapable of being attacked, by the good management of *Colonna*. Whereupon he reſolved to encamp at *Chiaravalla*, in hopes of cutting off the Proviſions of *Milan*, and of having the Imperialiſts at his mercy. But he took his meaſures ſo ill, that after perſiſting in his deſign till the end of *November*, he was forced himſelf to remove from *Milan* for want of Proviſions. All he did during that time was to relieve the Caſtle of *Cremona*, reduced to the laſt Extremities (2). Such was the ſucceſs of *Bonnivet*'s Campain, which might have been more glorious for him, and more advantagious for the King his Maſter, had he taken juſter meaſures, and improved his Superiority. *Colonna* died ſhortly after, and *Lanoy* Vice-roy of *Naples* took the command of the imperial Army. The Seaſon was ſo far advanced, that nothing remarkable paſſed in thoſe parts till the end of the year, when the Duke of *Bourbon* came and took the command of the Emperor's Troops, not without *Lanoy*'s great diſguſt, who unwillingly reſigned his Poſt to a Foreigner.

Campain in Bearn. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Herbert.

The Allies, as I ſaid, were reſolved not to invade *France* till *September*, becauſe it was to be preſumed, the King would then be employed in *Italy*. For this reaſon it was the beginning of that month before the Emperor aſſembled his Army in *Spain*. *Lautrec*, who commanded in *Guienne*, hearing the *Spaniards* were drawing together, haſtened to the Frontiers, to provide for the defence of *Bayonne* and *Fontarabia*, which were moſt expoſed. *Frauget*, an Officer of note, was Governor of *Fontarabia*, having been left there the laſt year by Marſhal *de Chabanes*. *Lautrec* relying upon *Frauget*'s Bravery and Experience, left him in the ſame Poſt, after having re-inforced the Garriſon, and laid in ſome Ammunition. After that, he did not queſtion, the place would be able to maintain a long Siege. Theſe precautions being taken with regard to *Fontarabia*, he repaired to *Bayonne*. He was no ſooner arrived, than the *Spaniſh* Army appeared before the Walls, ſupported by a Fleet, which threw the Inhabitants into great Conſternation, the Town being weak towards the Sea. But *Lautrec* ſo managed it, that the *Spaniards* were diſappointed, though they had expected to carry the place without oppoſition. Perceiving therefore, that the Siege would employ them too long, they ſuddenly raiſed it, and inveſted *Fontarabia*, which was baſely ſurrendered by *Frauget*, in very few days (3). He was like to have loſt his head for a fault of that conſequence. But though he preſerved his Life, he ſaved not his honour being publickly degraded.

The Spaniards became Maſters of Fontarabia. P. Daniel.

Campain in Champagne. Bellai.

The Emperor was not ſo ſucceſsful in *Burgundy* and *Champagne*. *Lamothe* of *Noyers*, the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Officer, was gone ſome time ſince into *Germany*, to conduct into *Burgundy*, Count *de Furſtemberg*, who, with ſeven or eight thouſand *Landſquenets*, was to join there the Duke of *Bourbon*. Though this project ſeemed to be fruſtrated by the Duke's flight, Count *de Furſtemberg* however entered *Champagne* with his Army. He immediately took *Coiffy* and *Monteclair*, ſmall places which made no great reſiſtance. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who commanded in that Province, knowing *Furſtemberg* had no Cavalry, aſſembled all the Nobles of the Country, and forming ſome Squadrons, cloſely followed the *Germans*. *Furſtemberg* finding himſelf too weak in the heart of the Enemy's Country, and having no Horſe to oppoſe to thoſe of the Duke of *Guiſe*, reſolved to retire into *Lorrain*. He could not however make his retreat without receiving a terrible check near *Neufchâtel*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* defeated the beſt part of his Troops.

1523. *Furſtemberg defeated by the Duke of* Guiſe.

Campain in Picardy, where the Imperialiſts and Engliſh *make no great Progreſs.* Bellai. P. Daniel. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the War was carrying on in *Italy*, *Bearn*, and *Champagne*, *Henry* imbarked his Troops under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk* (4), who landing at *Calais* (5), joined the Count *de Bure*, the 20th of *September*. Theſe two Bodies made together an Army of twenty five, or thirty thouſand Foot, and about ſix thouſand Horſe. The Duke *de la Trimouille*, who commanded in that Country, was ſo inferior in number of Troops, that he durſt not keep the Field. All he could do was to throw Succours into the places moſt expoſed, and ſpeedily inform the King of what paſſed in thoſe parts. *Francis* I, being then at *Lyons*, was extremely embarraſſed to withſtand ſo many unexpected Invaſions. 'Tis ſaid, that deceived by falſe Advices from *England*, he had been in hopes *Picardy* for this year would be unmoleſted, and yet, he ſaw it was there his Enemies intended to make their greateſt Effort. In this perplexity, he immediately diſpatched the Duke of *Vendôme*, with all the Troops he could aſſemble, both to defend *Picardy*, and ſecure *Paris*, where he did not queſtion, the alarm was very great. Indeed, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Count *de Bure* paſſing by *Terouenne*, *Heſdin* and *Dourlens*, had taken *Roye* and *Montdidier*, and were advanced as far as *Corbie*. But the news of the Duke of *Vendôme*'s march, cauſing them to be more circumſpect, they thought proper to proceed no farther, and the rather becauſe the Seaſon began to be very incommodious, and they were afraid of being ingaged between the Dukes of *Vendôme* and *la Trimouille*. Theſe Conſiderations induced them to think of retreating. In their return, they became maſters of *Bouchain*, the Governor whereof brought him the Keys, though they had no thoughts of attacking the place. Then leaving an *Engliſh* Garriſon in *Bouchain*, they retired into *Artois*. But preſently after, the *French* recovered that Town. Thus the progreſs of the confederate Army was not ſo great as *Francis* had reaſon to fear. Had the Army taken the Field ſooner, he would have been greatly embarraſſed. But, as I ſaid, the hopes the Emperor, and the King of *England* had conceived of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s undertaking, was the cauſe of their not beginning the Campain in any place, till about the end of *September*.

Hall.

Death of Adrian VI. Guicciard.

When *Adrian* VI came into the League, he had no deſign to ruin *France*, in order to compel *Francis* to wage War with the *Turks*, but he had been told, it would be a certain means to oblige that Prince to conſent to the Truce. Mean while, without the Pope's knowing any thing of it, the Emperor and *Henry* had combined to invade *France*, and divide it between them. Probably, if he had lived to the end of this year, he would have ſeen that their deſigns did not correſpond with his, but he died about ſix weeks after ſigning the League againſt *France*. He was a good Man, of a Character very different from thoſe of his Predeceſſors. Inſtead of thinking to enlarge the Eccleſiaſtical State by unjuſt Confiſcations, he had given the Duke of *Urbino* the Inveſtiture of his Duchy. He had done the ſame by the Duke of *Ferrara*, knowing that the former Popes had quarrelled with theſe Princes only to gratify their deſire of inriching their own Relations. He would have even reſtored *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, if the clamours of his Council, who could not underſtand that Juſtice ought to be the foundation of Policy, had not prevented him. He thought likewiſe of reforming the Court of *Rome*, but death ſuffered him not to execute his deſign. All theſe proceedings, ſo remote from thoſe of his immediate Predeceſſors, who had uſed the Courtiers and People of *Italy* to ſee the Popes purſue the looſe maxims of Temporal Princes, cauſed it to be ſaid, that he was indeed an honeſt Man, and a good Chriſtian, but an indifferent Pope. Accordingly the *Italian* Writers ſpeak of *Adrian* VI in Terms importing no great eſteem for him.

His Character. Guicciard. Cimar. Sardi.

Guicciard.

Julio de Medici, *Prime Miniſter to* Adrian VI.

The beginning of this year, Cardinal *Julio de Medici*, who retired to *Florence* upon the death of *Leo* X, returned to *Rome*, and was very civilly received. In a ſhort time, he gained the Good-will of the Pope to ſuch a degree, that he ſupplanted the Cardinal of *Volterra*, the Prime

(1) *Galeazzo* Viſcount of *Milan*, meeting him, and deſiring him to ſtay till he had raiſed a Tumult in the City, (which he aſſured him of in two or three days) made *Bonnivet* loſe the opportunity, *Herbert*, p. 59. According to others, *Galeazzo* put *Bonnivet* in hopes, that this City would ſurrender by Capitulation, whence he might reap great Advantages, and at leaſt get a large Sum of Money. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 516.

(2) And which *Janot d'Herbouville*, the Governor, had kept for the *French* near two years together, after the taking of the Town. *Ibid.*

(3) Being deſirous to ſave his Goods. *Herbert*, p. 59. But *P. Daniel* lays the blame on Don *Pedro*, Son of the Marſhal of *Navarre*, who held Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, Tom. VII. p. 529.

(4) *Charles Brandon*. He was attended by ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, whoſe names ſee in *Hall*, fol. 113. The Vanguard was commanded by the Lord *Sandes*; the right Wing by Sir *William Kingſton*; the left by Sir *Everard Digby*; the Rear by Sir *Richard Wingfield*; and Sir *Edward Guilford* was Captain of the Horſe. This Army conſiſted of ſix hundred Demi-Lances, two hundred Archers on Horſeback, three thouſand Archers on foot, five thouſand Bill-men, two thouſand ſix hundred Pioneers and Labourers: To whom were added ſeventeen hundred Men out of the Fortreſſes of *Guiſnes* and *Calais*. So that his whole Army was thirteen thouſand one hundred ſtrong. *Hall*, fol. 114.

(5) *Auguſt* 24. *Ibid.*

1523. Miniſter, and cauſed him to be committed to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. From thence forward he had the ſole management of the Pope's affairs, gaining more and more his eſteem, by putting on the *Devout*, and expreſſing a great Zeal to unite all the Chriſtian Princes againſt the *Turk*. By this artifice he led him to publiſh the Bull for a triennial Truce, and at length to ſign the League againſt *France*. A Miniſter like this was, doubtleſs, too politick for ſuch a Pope. *Adrian* VI died the 14th of *September*, at the very time the Armies began to take the Field. Had he lived any longer, he would, without doubt, have perceived, the League he had imprudently ingaged in, was by no means proper to procure the Union, he ſo much deſired among the Chriſtian Princes.

Cardinal Wolſey endeavours to obtain the Papacy. Herbert. Burnet. Fiddes.

Cardinal *Wolſey* having notice of the Pope's death, writ to the King to inform him of it, deſiring his aſſiſtance and protection (1). Next day he writ to him again, praying him to recommend him to the Emperor, by a Letter under his own hand. He flattered himſelf that the Emperor would have a grateful ſenſe of his late Service, in cauſing the King his Maſter to declare againſt *France*, and would now at leaſt keep his word with him, ſince he had no Preceptor to be elected as in the former Conclave. But if the *Italian* Hiſtorians are to be credited, the Emperor little thought of procuring him the Papacy, and the Conclave much leſs, who met preſently after *Adrian*'s deceaſe. Of the thirty nine Cardinals which were in the Conclave, *Julio de Medici* had fifteen or ſixteen at his devotion, beſides three who had promiſed not to be againſt him, if he was like to ſucceed in the Conclave; ſo that he had only ſeven or eight to gain, in order to have two thirds of the Voices. But this was not eaſy. Cardinal *Colonna*, his Adverſary, was at the head of a much more numerous Party, who would have infallibly carried it, if the Cardinals of that Faction could have as readily united in chuſing a Pope, as in preventing the Election of *Julio*. This made the Conclave hold fifty days. As for *Wolſey*, if he had any Cardinals for him, they could not be many, ſince he had againſt him the *French* Party, and the Emperor's Adherents were the ſame with thoſe of *Julio de Medici*. In ſhort, *Colonna*'s Faction not agreeing upon the choice of a Pope, becauſe the head would have one elected diſagreeable to his Friends, his Indignation at their obſtinacy cauſed him to be reconciled with the Cardinal *de Medici*. *Guicciardini* ſays, *Julio* gave him a promiſe under his hand to make him his Vice-Chancellor, and preſent him with his Palace, one of the moſt magnificent in *Rome*. Be this as it will, *Colonna* giving him ſeven or eight Votes which were at his diſpoſal, there was no farther obſtacle to his Election. It being reported in the Conclave, that the Cardinal *de Medici* would be elected the next Scrutiny, moſt of the Cardinals ſtayed not till day appeared, but went and made their Court to the perſon who was ſoon to be their Maſter. Their example drew in the reſt, who finding it not in their power to hinder the Election, were willing alſo to ſhew, they freely concurred. So, that very night, between the 18th and 19th of *November*, all the Cardinals went and paid obeyſance to the new Pope, and next morning his Election was confirmed by a ſolemn Scrutiny, wherein he had all the Voices. Thus it is that the Holy Ghoſt influenced the Cardinals in the choice of a Pope, who, contrary to their Intention, was to be the cauſe of the *Roman* Church's receiving the deepeſt wound ſhe had ever received. The new Pope aſſumed the name of *Clement* VII, on account of St. *Clement*'s day, which was to be very ſhortly ſolemnized. He was natural Son of *Julian de Medici*, Uncle to *Leo* X. But this defect of Birth, though contrary to the Canons, was not conſidered. *Leo* X, who made him Cardinal in the beginning of his Pontificate, took care to have it legally atteſted, that *Julian* promiſed his Mother marriage. So, taking for granted that a bare promiſe was equivalent to a Marriage, he declared *Julio* legitimate. *Alexander* VI took the ſame courſe when he made *Cæſar Borgia* his Baſtard Son Cardinal. He produced Witneſſes, who depoſed, that *Cæſar* was born of a married Woman, whence it was inferred the Child was to be deemed the Husband's Son. In this manner did the Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt abuſe Laws divine and human to gratify their Paſſions.

Recital of what paſſed in the Conclave. Guicciard.

Wolſey *hides his Diſguſt.*

The news of *Clement*'s Election was a great mortification to *Wolſey*, who, ſince the promotion of *Adrian* VI, had expected to be Pope upon the firſt vacancy. He muſt have been extremely incenſed with the Emperor, who had twice deceived him. So, it may be aſſured, conſidering his vindictive Temper, he reſolved from that moment to be revenged. But as he could not execute this reſolution without his Maſter's aſſiſtance, he was to take care not to diſcover that he acted from a motive of revenge; otherwiſe he would have run the hazard of being diſappointed. He concealed therefore, under the Mask of a feigned moderation, the reſentment he harboured in his Breaſt, and contented himſelf with telling the King, that ſeveral had voted for him in the Conclave, but his abſence had turned to his prejudice, and the ſituation of the affairs of *Italy* cauſed the Cardinals to chuſe *Julio de Medici*. A few days after, the King's Ambaſſador at *Rome* had orders to notify to the new Pope, the King's and *Wolſey*'s Joy at his promotion (2). At the ſame time, *Wolſey* deſired the continuance of his Legateſhip, affirming, that by reaſon of the King's Prerogative, it was not worth to him a thouſand Ducats a year. *Clement* VII was entirely of the Emperor's Party, and knowing of what conſequence the King of *England*'s aſſiſtance was at the preſent Juncture of affairs in *Europe*, gladly embraced the opportunity to gratify Cardinal *Wolſey*, and make him his Friend, by whoſe means he might gain the favour of the King his Maſter. In this diſpoſition, he granted the Cardinal more than he deſired. By a Bull of the 9th of *January* 1524, he gave him the *legantine* power for Life. This is the firſt and perhaps the only Inſtance of a perpetual Legateſhip.

1523.

Fiddes Coll. p. 82.

Fiddes, ibid. p. 96.

He demands the Continuance of his Legateſhip. Herbert.

Clement *grants it for Life.* Herbert. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 18.

Wolſey was now raiſed to the higheſt point of Grandeur that a Subject can aſpire to. He was Archbiſhop of *York*, Biſhop of *Durham*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, Cardinal, Legate *a latere* for Life, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Prime Miniſter and Favorite, careſſed by the Emperor, reſpected by the Pope, regarded by all the Princes of *Europe*, with almoſt an abſolute Power in *England*, where nothing material was tranſacted, either in Spirituals or Temporals, but by his ſole direction. It is eaſy to ſee, ſo many advantages were but too capable of rendering him proud and inſolent. He looked upon the King's Subjects as Slaves, and unfortunately for them, inſpired the King by degrees with the ſame principles, and inſinuated to him, that he ought to conſider the Parliament only as an Inſtrument to execute his Will. Theſe Inſinuations were but too effectual, as will be ſeen in the Sequel. In order to render him independent of the Parliament, he perſuaded him to exact from his Subjects (3) at once, the Subſidy given by Parliament, and payable in four years. Every one aſcribed to the Cardinal this illegal proceeding, which eſtabliſhed a very dangerous precedent. But he little regarded the Complaints of the people, ſince he was ſecure of the King's Countenance, and the Pope's Protection.

Wolſey *becomes every day more proud.*

He cauſes the Subſidy payable in four years to be paid at once. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

He forms the Project of founding two Colleges. Herbert. Stow. Fiddes.

He undertook this very year a thing he would never have ventured upon, had he not been fully ſatisfied that the Pope could not be without the King's aſſiſtance. And that was, to cauſe ſeveral Religious Houſes to be ſuppreſſed, to appropriate the Revenues to two Colleges, which he intended to found at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*. If the Pope had reaped any advantage, his conſent would not have been very ſtrange. But that he ſhould agree to the Suppreſſion of ſeveral Monaſteries to gratify a private Perſon, is what could hardly be expected, and perhaps had never happened. Accordingly, the Pope would never have granted it, had not the ſatisfying the Paſſion of this ambitious Miniſter been abſolutely neceſſary to his deſigns. The Cardinal's project was to found a magnificent College at *Oxford* by the name of Cardinal-College, which was to conſiſt of one hundred eighty ſix perſons, with Salaries. The other College was to be founded at *Ipſwich*, the place of his Birth, but only for Grammar, and to qualify young Scholars for his College at *Oxford*. But as theſe Projects were not accompliſhed this year, I ſhall ſpeak of them on another occaſion, and cloſe the year 1523, with an account of what paſſed in *Scotland*, where affairs were no more undiſturbed than elſewhere.

Henry *forms deſigns deſtructive to* Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall.

He foments their Diviſions;

and would remove the Duke of Albany;

Henry being ingaged in a war with *France*, juſtly dreaded the Diverſion the *Scots* might make on the Frontiers. On the other hand, the King of *Scotland*'s Minority frequently tempted him to become maſter of that Kingdom, after the example of *Edward* III his Predeceſſor, who diſpoſſeſſed the King his Nephew at a like Juncture. The Factions in *Scotland* increaſing his hopes, he never ceaſed to foment them by means of his Adherents, who were very numerous, becauſe he had wherewithal to give penſions. He uſed for pretence, his being obliged by nature to take care of the King his Nephew's concerns, who was not of age to diſtinguiſh what was advantagious, from what was prejudicial. So, as an affectionate Uncle, he did his endeavour to remove the Duke of *Albany*, under colour there was danger of that

(1) He proteſts, in that Letter which is dated *September* 30, that he thought himſelf unfit for the Papal Dignity, and that he deſired much rather to end his days with the King. Which was ſtrange diſſembling. See *Burnet*'s *Ref.* Tom. III. p. 19; and *Collect.* *Fiddes Collect.* p. 80.

(2) A Diſpatch was ſent for that purpoſe to *John Clarke* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Secretary *Pace*, and Dr. *Thomas Hanyball* Maſter of the *Rolls*, and Reſident at *Rome*. *Herbert*, p. 59.

(3) From all Perſons worth forty Pounds. *Hall*. *Herbert*, p. 60.

1523. Prince's ſeizing the Crown. He knew he ſhould never accompliſh his deſigns ſo long as *Scotland* was guarded by ſuch an *Argus*. The Queen his Siſter had made him very uneaſy in joining with the Regent, becauſe he was thereby deprived of all pretence of ſaying the King was in danger. Indeed, it was not likely, as the Parliament of *Scotland* wiſely intimated in their anſwer, that the Queen ſhould join with the Regent, to deſtroy the King her Son. *Henry* however, to give ſome colour to this accuſation, was pleaſed to ſuppoſe, the Queen his Siſter deſigned to marry the Duke of *Albany*. But finding at laſt, this ſuppoſition had not the deſired effect, he had recourſe to another Expedient, which was, to gain his Siſter, by promiſing to procure her the Regency. That done, he preſſed yet more earneſtly the Parliament of *Scotland* to remove the Duke of *Albany*, and confer the Regency on the Queen. But, to render his Inſtances more effectual, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder the Duke's return into *Scotland*. To that end, he ſent out a Fleet to take him in his paſſage (1). At the ſame time, he ordered the Earl of *Surrey* to march into *Scotland* (2), to ſhow the *Scots* what they were to expect in caſe they did not give him ſpeedy ſatisfaction. The *Scots* being without a Leader, and unprepared againſt this Invaſion, ſuſtained great damages during the Campain. The Earl of *Surrey* took *Jedworth*, and carried fire and ſword into the Country (3), without meeting any oppoſition. Mean while, *Henry*'s Adherents ceaſed not to cry, that a Peace muſt be made with *England*, ſince it was the only way to ſave *Scotland* from utter deſtruction. *Henry* ſupported them, by offering to the King his Nephew, his only Daughter *Mary* in marriage, and magnifying the advantages the *Scots* would receive from this Alliance. But withal, he required of them that they ſhould break all their Engagements with *France*. It was however very unlikely, he ſhould ſeriouſly think of giving his Daughter to the King of *Scotland*, ſince ſhe was affianced to the Emperor, and he ſtrictly united with that Prince. Beſides, ſuch a Marriage would have been of no advantage to himſelf or the Nation. To this the oppoſite Party replied, the King of *England* ſought to diſengage *Scotland* from *France*, only the more eaſily to ruin the Kingdom, and that to make an Alliance with *England* by abandoning *France*, was the ready way to be Slaves to the *Engliſh* : That this was not the firſt time the Kings of *England* by ſuch Marriages had attempted to become maſters of *Scotland*, and the worſt was to be feared from Neighbours who had ever aſpired to the poſſeſſion of all *Great-Britain*. In a word, the deſtroying with fire and ſword a Country whoſe Friendſhip was courted, was a ſtrange way of deſiring an Alliance, and propoſing a Marriage. All theſe Reaſons were anſwered by the other Party. But it tended only ſo to augment diſorder and confuſion among the *Scots*, that it was impracticable for them to come to any reſolution. Mean while, *Henry*, who only intended to terrify them, by making them feel the effects of his Arms, ordered the Earl of *Surrey* to quit *Scotland* and return into *England*. But he had ſcarce ſent his Men into Winter Quarters, when the *Scots* made Inroads on the Borders of *England*, which obliged him to march a ſecond time into *Scotland*, where he became maſter of *Jedburrough*.

and makes his Siſter Regent.

He invades Scotland ; Hall. Buchanan. Herbert. Pol. Virg. Hollingſh.

and offers his Daughter in marriage to the King his Nephew. Buchanan. Herbert.

Oppoſition of the contrary Party. Pol. Virg.

The Engliſh *Army retire.* Buchanan.

The Duke of Albany *deceives the Vigilance of the* Engliſh, *and goes to* Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

Mean time, the Duke of *Albany* hearing what paſſed in *Scotland*, burned with deſire to repair thither, to appeaſe by his preſence, the troubles cauſed by the King of *England*'s Adherents, and to ſtrengthen the *French* Party, which was in danger of being ſurmounted by the other. *Francis* I, had granted him an aid of three thouſand Foot and two hundred Men at Arms, to enable him to make a Diverſion upon *Henry* from that quarter. But it was not poſſible to tranſport theſe Troops into *Scotland*, whilſt the *Engliſh* Fleet kept the Sea to hinder their paſſage. Policy therefore was to be recurred to. For that purpoſe, he feigned to deſiſt from his deſign of going into *Scotland*, and ſent his Troops into Quarters remote from the Coaſt, with orders however to be ready to march upon the firſt notice. The Tranſport-Ships were likewiſe ſent away to certain Ports, from whence they were ordered to ſail to the appointed Rendezvous the moment they heard from the Duke. This Stratagem deceived the *Engliſh* Admiral, who being informed by his Spies, that the Duke of *Albany* was returned to Court, and had diſmiſſed his Troops and Veſſels, thought there was nothing more to fear this year, and ſo returned with the Fleet into *England*. The Duke was no ſooner informed of it, but he aſſembled his Troops and Ships, and embarking about the middle of *September*, arrived in *Scotland* the 24th (4), the ſame day the Earl of *Surrey* became maſter of *Jedburrough*. 1523.

He marches with an Army to the Borders. Buchanan. Pol. Virg. Hall.

The Regent's Arrival revived the courage of the *French* Party, who began to be extremely diſmayed, and drew from the King of *England* ſeveral Perſons who had only favoured him out of fear. Some time after, the Regent ſummoned the Nobility to *Edinburgh*, and endeavoured to convince them that the Kingdom would be in great danger, unleſs the King of *England*'s deſigns were timely and vigorouſly oppoſed. But all his Eloquence was not capable of cauſing a change of opinion, in thoſe who preferred *Henry*'s Penſions to all the Arguments that could be alledged. However he aſſembled an Army, and advanced towards the Borders, where he arrived the 22d of *October*. But when he came to march into *England*, he met with the ſame obſtacles that had ſtopped him the laſt year. That is, the Generals and Officers of the *Engliſh* Party refuſed to follow him, maintaining it was manifeſtly againſt the intereſt of *Scotland* to provoke the *Engliſh*, and therefore it was ſufficient to be upon the defenſive. They added, if the deſign was to ſerve *France*, it could not be done better than by keeping an Army on the Frontiers, which would oblige the *Engliſh* to have the like in thoſe Parts. But in the preſent circumſtances of *Scotland* it was too much to hazard a Battle, the loſs whereof would prove the ruin of the Kingdom. In ſhort, the Regent ſeeing it was in vain to perſwade them to follow him, ordered *Werk* Caſtle to be aſſaulted by the *French* Troops ; but they were vigorouſly repulſed. Mean while, upon notice of the Earl of *Surrey*'s approach at the head of a numerous Army (5), he did not think proper to expect him, but choſe to retire. Indeed, it would have been too dangerous to give battle with an Army wherein the *Engliſh* had ſo many Favorers. The Seaſon being no longer proper for one or other to keep the Field (6), the Earl of *Surrey*, content with having ſtopped the *Scots*, ſent his Troops into Winter-Quarters, and the Regent followed his Example.

They refuſe to follow him into England.

Hall. Hollingſh.

The Earl of Surrey *approaches.*

The Regent retired.

Whilſt the Flames of War were kindled in almoſt all parts of *Europe*, the Reformation made great progreſs in *Germany*, and began even to ſpread in *Switzerland*, *France*, and *England*. In the beginning of this year the *Canton* of *Zurick*, moved by the preaching of *Zuinglius*, renounced divers Articles of Religion they had hitherto profeſſed, though *Zuinglius* and *Luther* differed about the Euchariſt (7). Many likewiſe in *France* and *England* began to diſlike a Religion, that ſeemed to be founded more upon the Pope than upon *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Adrian* VI, hearing of the daily progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrine in *Germany*, diſpatched a Nuntio to the Diet of *Nuremberg*, to exhort the *German* Princes to deſtroy *Luther* and his Followers. He confeſſed however, in a Letter to them upon the ſame Subject, that many abuſes and diſorders were crept into the Church (8), throwing the blame upon thoſe who had governed before him. But he ſaid, to reform all at once, would be the way to ſpoil all, and therefore it was neceſſary to proceed by *degrees* in this Reformation. *Luther* having ſeen this Letter, publiſhed it in *German* with Notes of his own, wherein he ſaid, among other things, that the *degrees* the Pope mentioned were ſo large, that there was a hundred-years interval between each of them. On the other hand, the Diet taking advantage of the Pope's Confeſſion, demanded a Free Council in *Germany*, where every one ſhould be obliged upon Oath to ſpeak his real opinion, and that numberleſs Abuſes under which *Germany* had ſo long groaned, ſhould be reformed.

Progreſs of the Reformation. Sleidan.

Mean while, *Luther* ſtill continued to write in defence of his Doctrine. Among other things he publiſhed an anſwer to the King of *England*'s Book, wherein he uſed no Ceremony. This Behavior obliged *Henry* to complain

Luther anſwers the King of England's *Book.* Sleidan.

(1) Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with thirty ſix great Ships cruized on the Coaſts of *France*, and *Anthony Pointz* with a good Fleet guarded the weſtern Seas. As *Fitz-Williams* was cruiſing about, he diſcovered twelve *French* Ships, in which the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* and other Perſons of Quality were, whom the Duke of *Albany* had ſent before him into *Scotland*. Giving chace to theſe Ships, two of them were loſt near *Diepe* and *Boulogne*. *Herbert*, p. 56.

(2) With ſix thouſand Men. And ordered *Thomas Grey* Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, Warden of the Eaſt and middle Marches, and the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the Weſt Marches to join him. *Herbert*, p. 56. *Hall*, fol. 114.

(3) He took all the Caſtles in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*. *Buchanan*.

(4) With *Richard de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Lincoln*, beheaded in the 5th of this Reign, and three thouſand *French*. *Herbert*, p. 57.

(5) Forty thouſand Men. There were beſides ſix thouſand in *Berwick*. *Buchan*. l. 14. *Hall*, fol. 115.

(6) It was about the middle of *November*. See *Hall*, fol. 116.

(7) Their differences about Conſubſtantiation much hindered the Progreſs of the Reformation. And not being able to be compoſed, *Zuinglius*'s Party were called *Sacramentarians*, and *Luther*'s, *Ubiquitarians*. *Calvin* ſucceeded *Zuinglius*, who by his Doctrines of Predeſtination, &c. ſo widened the Breach between the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, that they became irreconcileable. Inſomuch that the *Lutherans* at *Leipſick*, where they are very rigid, have ſet up in their great Church the Picture of *Ignatius Loyala*, *Calvin* and the *Devil* in one Frame, with this Inſcription, *The three great Enemies of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion*. Such Enmity does the differing in Opinion prepoſterouſly breed among Chriſtian Sects, eſpecially where both Sides are in the wrong !

(8) His words are, *In hac ſanctâ Sede aliquot jam annis* Multa Abominanda *fuiſſe*.

1523. of him to the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*. At the ſame time he exhorted them to hinder the publication of *Luther*'s *German* Bible, for fear the Tranſlation ſhould be prejudicial to the Truth. But his Letter had no great effect.

1524. *Affairs of Italy.* Guicciard. The progreſs of the Reformation was not yet conſiderable enough, to be regarded by the chief Sovereigns of *Europe*, whoſe thoughts were wholly intent upon War. *Clement* VII refuſed to renew the League, though himſelf had ingaged his Predeceſſor in it, and declared he would ſtand Neuter. This Declaration at firſt extremely embaraſſed the Duke of *Bourbon*, becauſe the Emperor not having provided for the payment of his Troops, it was not poſſible for the Duke to ſatisfy them, ſince the Pope and the *Florentines* withdrew their uſual Subſidies. He found means however to draw ſome Money from the Inhabitants of *Milan*, and at laſt perſwaded the Pope to give him twenty thouſand Ducats, and cauſe the *Florentines* to furniſh him with fifty thouſand, on condition of Secrecy.

Capella. P. Daniel.

Not long after, the Duke of *Bourbon* receiving a ſupply of ſix thouſand *Landſquenets*, and the *Venetian* Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino* joining him, he took the Field with thirty-five thouſand Men. Mean while, *Bonnivet* was greatly embaraſſed. He had not above twenty thouſand Men, having loſt the reſt of his Army by death or deſertion during the laſt Campain. But what was worſe, he had no Money to pay his Troops. This was a common misfortune to both ſides. It is true, he expected ten thouſand *Switzers*, and five thouſand *Griſons*, but foreſaw they would be of little Service, becauſe he had not wherewithal to content them at their Arrival. This made him reſolve to go in queſt of the Imperialiſts and give them battle. But as they were informed of his condition, they determined to avoid it, though they were ſuperior in number, in the expectation of diſperſing his Army without ingaging. And indeed, the five thouſand *Griſons*, who were coming to join the Admiral, and were advanced as far as *Bergamo*, not receiving the Money promiſed them, immediately returned. As for the ten thouſand *Switzers*, they arrived indeed at *Jurea*, and even advanced to the Banks of the *Seſia*; but it was not poſſible to perſwade them to continue their march, for want of Money to pay them. Mean while, the Imperialiſts became maſters of ſeveral ſmall Towns, which very much annoyed the *French* Camp, and at laſt forced the Admiral to retire to *Novarra*. In the mean time, the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which the *French* had hitherto kept, ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts.

The French *Army repaſs the* Alps. Guicciard. Bellai.

Bonnivet, finding, that the *Griſons* were returned, that the *Switzers* would not ſtir without being ſecure of their pay, and that his Men deſerted in great numbers, reſolved at laſt to re-paſs the *Alps*. As ſoon as the Duke of *Bourbon* had notice of his march, he purſued him with all ſpeed, to compel him to a Battle. There were even between the two Armies ſeveral ſharp Skirmiſhes, in one of which the brave *Bayard* was ſlain. But notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Imperialiſts, *Bonnivet* retreated in good Order. When the *French* had re-paſſed the Mountains, the places they ſtill had in the *Milaneſe*, ſurrendered by capitulation to the Imperialiſts.

The French *loſe the* Milaneſe.

The Emperor's and Henry's *deſigns upon* France. Guicciard. Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert.

The *French* were no ſooner out of *Italy*, but the Emperor and the King of *England* thought of means to invade *Francis* in his own Kingdom. They had expected great matters from the Duke of *Bourbon*'s revolt, but hitherto it was not poſſible to make any uſe of it, becauſe the Conſpiracy was diſcovered too ſoon. The affairs of *Italy* having proſpered beyond expectation, they reſolved to make uſe of the Duke of *Bourbon* to carry War into *France*, imagining if he could have ſome conſiderable advantage, he would cauſe part of the Kingdom to rebel. The Duke himſelf fed them with theſe hopes, becauſe that was the thing which rendered him conſiderable. He would have been glad to act in ſome place near his own Territories, from whence he expected great Supplies. But it was thought more proper that he ſhould enter *Provence* with an Army, by reaſon he could eaſily be aſſiſted by the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which kept at *Genoa*; whereas by ingaging in the middle of the Kingdom, the Fleet would be of no Service. This reſolution being taken, *Henry* readily promiſed to find the Duke a hundred (1) thouſand Crowns a month, on condition, that after the firſt month, he ſhould be free to diſcontinue the payment, provided he acted himſelf in *Picardy* at the head of a Royal Army, from the firſt of *July*, to the end of *December*.

The Duke of Bourbon *prepares to enter* Provence.

Henry *binds himſelf to find him* Money. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 794, 795. Guicciard.

Though the Emperor had put the Duke of *Bourbon* in hopes he would lend him all his Army in *Italy* for his expedition into *Provence*, he could not however diſpenſe with leaving a good part at *Milan*, and other places of that Duchy, under the command of *Lanoy* Viceroy of *Naples*. On the other hand, the *Venetians* withdrew their Troops, becauſe they had promiſed by their private Treaty only to defend the *Milaneſe*. So, the Duke of *Bourbon* began his march, the 24th of *June*, much weaker than he expected (2), and entered *Provence* the ſecond of *July*. He preſently became maſter of *Aix* and ſome other places, and at laſt came before *Marſeilles*, the taking whereof was the chief end of his expedition. But a few days before, *Renzo de Ceri* an *Italian* Captain in the *French* Service, had entered with a ſtrong Garriſon. Whereupon the Duke found he ſhould meet with more reſiſtance than he had imagined, but however he opened the Siege.

1524. Mezerai. *He beſieges* Marſeilles. P. Daniel. Pol. Virg.

Mean while *Francis* I, having intelligence of *Bourbon*'s march, ordered his Forces to be aſſembled, and ſome Troops ſent to *Avignon*, for fear the Enemy ſhould ſeize it. There he reſolved to aſſemble his Army, and came himſelf to command in Perſon. It is needleſs to ſpeak either of the Siege of *Marſeilles*, or of the King's great diligence in aſſembling his Troops. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that the very day he departed from *Avignon*, in order to fight the Imperialiſts, namely, the 10th of *September*, the Duke of *Bourbon* raiſed the Siege of *Marſeilles*, and retired into *Italy*. Whilſt the King was at *Avignon*, he received the news of his Queen's death, who died at *Blois* in *July*.

Francis I. *flies to its relief;* *and forces the Duke to retire into* Italy. Bellai. P. Daniel.

The Duke of *Bourbon*'s retreat entirely changed the face of affairs. *Francis* I, who had been in danger of loſing *Provence*, ſaw himſelf at the head of an Army of above forty thouſand Men, ready to be employed in any important undertaking. So, perceiving that the Imperialiſts took a great compaſs to retire into *Italy*, he reſolved to improve that advantage, and the ſuperiority of his Army, to recover the *Milaneſe*. This reſolution being taken, he began his march, and tried to reach *Milan* before them. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bourbon* having notice that the King was taking the ſhorteſt road to *Milan*, made incredible ſpeed not to be prevented, perceiving that thereon would depend the preſervation of the Duchy. Thus the two Armies marching by different Routs, arrived the ſame day, one at *Albe*, the other at *Vercelli*. A few days after the Duke of *Bourbon* joined the Viceroy of *Naples* at *Pavia*.

The King marches into Italy *another way.* Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The two Armies arrived on the ſame day.

Whilſt the Imperial Army was in *Provence*, the Court of *England* was otherwiſe diſpoſed than before, and ſeemed to intend to follow new Maxims. *Henry* made no diverſion in *Picardy*, though he had paid but one month of the Subſidy he was to give the Duke of *Bourbon*. This was ſufficient to create ſuſpicions in the Emperor, which were confirmed by *Henry*'s unſeaſonable demand of the Money lent him at his departure from *England* (3). He could not believe, *Henry* would demand his Money at ſo improper a time, inſtead of performing his own engagements, unleſs he intended to ſeek an occaſion of quarrel. His uneaſineſs ſtill increaſed, upon advice from his Ambaſſador in *England* that a Perſon (4) was come from *France* to *London*, from the Ducheſs of *Angoulême* Regent of that Kingdom, and had long and frequent conferences with Cardinal *Wolſey*. All this, added to the Cardinal's revengeful Temper, whom he had vainly amuſed with hopes of the *Papacy*, made him juſtly apprehenſive that the King of *England* was thinking to abandon him and join with his Enemy. However, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, there was no other meaſure to take, ſince all depended on the ſucceſs of the War which was going to be renewed in *Italy*, where his Generals were not a little embaraſſed.

Henry alters his deſigns, and forſakes the Emperor. Herbert. Guicciard. Hall. Herbert. Stow.

As ſoon as the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Viceroy of *Naples* were joined, they conſulted upon what was to be done at ſo ill a juncture. At firſt, they reſolved to leave ſtrong Garriſons in *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, and take refuge in *Milan*. But the Plague had made ſuch ravage in that City, every thing there was in ſo great confuſion, and Money and Proviſions ſo ſcarce, that they were forced to deſiſt from their deſign and abandon *Milan*. So, having well ſtored *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, they withdrew to *Soncino*, where *Franceſco Sforza* alſo repaired with them.

The Imperialiſts abandon Milan. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Hall.

Mean while, *Francis* I. continuing his March towards *Milan*, and hearing the Imperialiſts were retired, cauſed his Troops to enter the City, and ordered the Caſtle to be inveſted. If, inſtead of going to *Milan* he had marched directly to the Imperialiſts, who were little able to withſtand him, he would have infallibly diſperſed them. But *Bonnivet*'s unfortunate advice induced him not only

The French *enter the City.* *The Caſtle is beſieged.* Guicciard. Bellai. *False Step of* Francis I. *He beſieges* Pavia.

(1) According to the Computation in *Rymer*, it amounted to one hundred and twenty four thouſand Crowns. Tom. 13. p. 795.

(2) He had thirteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe. *Rapin.*

(3) And likewiſe the yearly Penſion that uſed to be paid *Henry* by *France*, (See above, p. 752.) as alſo the Cardinal's Penſion of two thouſand five hundred Ducats, &c. *Guicciard.* l. 15.

(4) *John Joachim* a *Genoeſe*. *Hall*, fol. 135.

to

1524. to march to *Milan*, which must have fallen into his hands if he had defeated or routed the Imperialists, but also to resolve to besiege *Pavia*. When he appeared before that place, the Generals of the Imperialists began to take courage, in expectation that the length of the Siege and the Winter-Season, would afford them time to take some measures. Mean while they speedily sent for a Supply of ten thousand *Germans*. The Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* failing them all at once, upon the *French* King's coming into *Italy*, their only refuge was the length of the Siege of *Pavia*, which began in *November*.

The Imperialists raise Troops in Germany.

The Pope treats privately with the King. Guicciard. Herbert.

Clement VII, who in the late Pontificate had openly declared against the King of *France*, being in great perplexity, sent a Nuntio to the two Armies to procure a Truce; but not succeeding, he made his Peace with the King of *France*. Moreover he proposed to him the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and concluded with him a private Treaty, promising free passage to the *French* Troops.

Francis sends a Detachment to Naples. Jovius. Mezerai. *Clement dissembles with the Emperor.*

Presently after, *Francis* detached five or six thousand Men under the command of the Duke of *Albany*, who had left *Scotland* the beginning of the Spring, with orders to march towards *Naples*. As they were necessarily to pass through the Ecclesiastical State, *Clement* VII pretended for some time to oppose it, to make believe it was against his will. When the *French* were in the middle of his Dominions, he published his agreement with the King of *France*, as if newly made, and sent the Emperor notice, excusing himself on the necessity and constraint he was under. Though the Emperor was very flegmatick, he could not help showing, on this occasion, an extreme resentment against the Pope. He said, it was solely at the instance of *Leo* X, that he had undertaken the defense of *Italy*: That *Clement* himself had pressed *Adrian* VI to sign the League, and now he was become Pope, forsook him in his greatest need, and left him to prosecute alone a War kindled by himself: That however he hoped to come off with honour, and to the confusion of those who so basely deserted him. The event showed however, the Pope had done him signal service, in perswading his Enemy to carry war into the Kingdom of *Naples*, since he thereby caused him to divide his Forces. But it is uncertain whether the Pope had any such intention.

who is much resented against him. Guicciard.

Francis sends another Detachment to Savona. Guicciard.

Another accident farther contributed to deprive *Francis* of his great superiority over his Enemies. *Renzo de Ceri*, who defended *Marseilles*, having received the King's orders to embark ten Thousand Men on the Gallies, and join the Duke of *Albany*, who expected him in *Tuscany*, took *Savona* in his way. This Success which seemed very advantagious for *Francis*, turned to his real misfortune, as it put him upon sending a fresh detachment to *Savona*, under the Conduct of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, to take against *Genoa* what advantages should offer. The two detachments for *Naples* and *Savona* (1), so weakened the *French* army, that the Imperialists no longer feared to take the Field, in order to prolong the Siege of *Pavia*, till the arrival of the *German* Succours, which the Duke of *Bourbon* himself was gone to hasten. And indeed, within a few days *Pescara* became master of *Cassano*, a Post very convenient for his purpose. With this event ended the year 1524. But before I proceed to the next, it will be necessary briefly to mention what had passed this year in *Scotland*.

The Imperialists take the Field.

They annoy the Besiegers

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall.

The Duke of *Albany* returning into *France* in *May*, the Queen-Dowager and the Earl of *Arran* of the House of *Hamilton*, advised the young King, who was between thirteen and fourteen years old, to assume himself the reins of the Government. This advice was very interested, but *James* was yet too young to perceive it. He followed it, and summoning the States (2), declared the Authority of the Regent was ended, and for the future all orders were to be received from the King himself. After that, the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* governed in the King's Name. This Change was not made with universal approbation. The Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, concerned to see the Earl of *Arran* in possession of the Government, under colour of the King's anticipated Majority, sent for the Earl of *Angus* from *France*, to support themselves by his

End of Albany's Regency.

Interest, because he was entirely fallen out with the Queen his Wife. Upon that Lord's arrival, they combined with him, and on pretence of freeing the King from the pretended Captivity, the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* held him in, levied Troops and took *Sterling*, after which they marched to *Edinburgh* where the King was. At their approach, the Queen and the Earl carried the King into the Castle, but as they had not taken care to lay in Provisions, were forced in few days to deliver the King to the three Lords, who assumed the Title of Regents. Thus the King was again put in Guardianship under these three Lords, who agreed to rule in turns, four Months each. The Earl of *Angus* begun, and as he was in the King of *England*'s interest, sent Ambassadors to treat of the King of *Scotland*'s marriage with the Princess *Mary*, according to *Henry*'s own Scheme. To facilitate this Negotiation, the Truce which was to expire the 1st of *December*, was prolonged to the 26th of *January* 1525.

1524. Hall.

The Earl of Angus is declared Regent.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 20, 21, 23--28. Hall. Hollingsh.

As *England* was very quiet during the whole year 1524. the Affairs of that Kingdom will not take me up long. I shall only observe, that *Clement* VII finding himself in a very ill Situation between the Emperor and the King of *France*, shewed great regard for the Court of *England*, whose assistance, he thought, he might want. To that purpose, he confirmed the King's Title of *Defender of the Faith*, conferred on him by *Leo* X (3), and, to please Cardinal *Wolsey*, suppressed St. *Frideswid*'s Priory in *Oxford*, on the ground whereof the Cardinal intended to build his College, and appropriated the Revenues to the new Foundation. But as this was not sufficient for the maintenance of the College, the Cardinal procured powers to visit all the Religious Houses, notwithstanding their Immunities, and particularly those of the *Franciscans*, who pretended to be exempted. This was to make a certain list of such as might be suppressed, in order to transfer the Revenues to his Colleges. The Bull which gave him these powers, was dated the 21st of *August*. On the 11th of *September* following, the Pope granted him another Bull, empowering him to suppress as many Monasteries as he pleased to the value of three thousand Ducats a year for the same use (4).

Clement confirms Henry's Title of Defender of the Faith. p. 13.

He suppresses Monasteries for the Cardinal's Colleges. p. 15.

Bull granted to the Cardinal. p. 18.

Another Bull. p. 23. Hall. Stow.

In the beginning of *December*, Cardinal *Laurentius Campejus*, who had been the Pope's Legate in *Germany*, was made Bishop of *Salisbury* with the King's Consent. We must now return to the Siege of *Pavia*, to behold an Event which made a very great alteration in the affairs of *Europe*, wherein *England* was deeply concerned (5).

Cardinal Campejus made Bishop of Salisbury. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 29.

Francis I, still persisted in this Siege, though without making much progress, because of the rigour of the Season, and the Imperial Army, which being posted at *Cassano*, annoyed his Convoys very much. Besides, he had made three Detachments, one to besiege the Castle of *Milan*, another for *Naples*, and a third for *Savona*. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bourbon* came from *Germany* about the end of *January*, with a Supply of ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse (6), which made the Imperial Army two and twenty thousand strong. As the Generals wanted Money, and for that reason were not sure of hindering the Army from disbanding, they resolved to attempt the relief of *Pavia*. To that end, they began to march the 3d of *February* towards the Town, bent to improve what opportunities should offer. But as the Camp of the Besiegers was strongly intrenched, they waited three weeks before they executed so dangerous a resolution, which might be attended with terrible Consequence. Mean while, the *Grisons* having recalled their six thousand Men in the *French* Service, and these Troops departing, notwithstanding all the King's endeavours to detain them (7), the Duke of *Bourbon* thought he should no longer defer attacking the Enemy's Camp. This resolution was executed the Even of St. *Matthias* (8), with a Success very fatal to *Francis*, since his Army was routed, and himself unfortunately taken prisoner (9).

1525. Guicciard. Bellai. Mezerai.

The Duke of Bourbon brings Troops from Germany.

The French are attacked, and their King made Prisoner. Guicciard.

The Success of this Battle filled all *Europe* with Consternation and Dread. The Emperor was without a Rival, and in condition to over-run *Italy* with his victori-

The Emperor becomes formidable to all Europe.

(1) Both which were sixteen thousand Men. *Herbert*, p. 62.
(2) *July* 29. *Buchanan.*
(3) This Bull is dated *March* 5, and has a Golden Seal appendent to it, which is engraved in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 14. p. 14.
(4) In this Bull the Pope says, there were some Monasteries which had not above five or six Persons. *Ibid.* p. 24.
(5) In the beginning of the year 1524, Sir *Anthony Fitzherbert*, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, Sir *Ralph Egerton*, and Dr. *Denton* Dean of *Lichfield*, were sent Commissioners into *Ireland*; where they reformed several Abuses, and constituted *Gerald Fitz-Gerald* Deputy of that Kingdom, of which the Earl of *Ormond* was appointed Treasurer. *Hall*, fol. 130. *Hollingsh.* p. 883. ----- About this time also, divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Ryme was made:

Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel and Beer,
Came into *England*, all in one year.

(6) Five hundred Men at Arms, and six thousand *Landsquenets*. *Guicciard.* l. 15.
(7) Besides, three thousand *Italians*, whose Commander *Genovanni de Medici* was hurt, disbanded themselves. *Herbert*, p. 62.
(8) Being the Emperor's Birth day. *Guicciard.*
(9) In this Battle *Richard de la Pole*, often mentioned before, was slain. *Stow*, p. 522. It appears from *Du Tillet*, that *June* 20. 1523, King *Francis* concluded a Treaty with some Malecontents in *Ireland*, wherein he engaged to send over fifteen thousand Men, not only to conquer part of that Kingdom; but also from thence to invade *England*, and procure the Crown for the said *Richard de la Pole*, who had some Pretensions to it, as being Son of *Elizabeth*, Sister to King *Edward* IV. *Du Tillet*, p. 397, 412.

ous

1525. ous Army, whilſt the King of *England* his Ally, had it in his power to give *France* a mortal wound on the ſide of *Picardy*. Conſequently, the Balance of *Europe* being taken away, the Sovereigns, for the moſt part, had great reaſon to dread falling at laſt into Slavery. The *Venetians* alone perfectly knowing the danger, propoſed to the Pope a League againſt the Emperor, not queſtioning the King of *England* would alſo join in it, becauſe it was his Intereſt. This League added to the Forces *France* could ſtill bring into the Field, and the Supplies which might be received from the *Switzers* by paying them well, would have been ſufficient to keep the Emperor in awe, if it could have been ſpeedily concluded. But the Pope preferring his own Intereſt to that of *Europe* in general, haſtened his Treaty with the Viceroy of *Naples*, who acted in the Emperor's name. By this Treaty, the Emperor, among other things, was to give the Inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Franceſco Sforza*. There were alſo three ſeparate Articles concerning the Pope in particular, namely, 1. That the Inhabitants of the *Milaneſe* ſhould furniſh themſelves with Sait from the Pope's Territories. 2. That the Emperor ſhould compel the Duke of *Ferrara* to reſtore to the Church the Town of *Reggio*, ſeized after *Leo* X's death. 3. That the Pope ſhould have the diſpoſal of the Benefices in the Kingdom of *Naples*. By this Treaty, which was of no foree till ratified by the Emperor, the politick Viceroy found means to cauſe to vaniſh, or, at leaſt, to defer the project of League againſt the Emperor, propoſed by the *Venetians*, and to render the other Powers jealous of the Pope. This was the greateſt Service he could poſſibly do his maſter on this occaſion.

The Venetians propoſe a League againſt the Emperor. Guicciard.

The Pope durſt not venture upon it. He treats with the Emperor. Guicciard.

The Emperor's Generals at a loſs. They diſband part of their Army. Guicciard.

Mean while, the Emperor's Generals were greatly embaraſſed after ſo glorious a Victory, for want of Money to pay their Troops. They had indeed received a hundred thouſand Ducats from *Florence*, but that not ſufficing to pay the Arrears of the Army, and maintain the Soldiers afterwards, they were forced to diſband the beſt part of the Troops, when by the Treaty with the Pope, they were ſure of having no League to fear. Beſides *Triulzi*, who was beſieging the Caſtle of *Milan*, had now repaſſed the *Alps*, and the Duke of *Albany* was only thinking of retiring into *France* with his Army. This diſbanding of Troops would have been of very great conſequence to the Emperor, whoſe Intereſt it was to prevent by his moderation the meaſures which the alarmed States of *Italy* might take againſt him, if his Generals had proceeded accordingly. But proſperity cauſing them to be wanting in Policy, they treated the States of *Italy*, and eſpecially the *Venetians*, with a haughtineſs that gave them occaſion to think their Liberty in danger, and made them reſolve to uſe all poſſible endeavours to avoid the threatened Slavery.

The Emperor's Moderation at the News of the Victory of Pavia. Guicciard.

The Emperor could better diſſemble his Sentiments. He received the news of the Victory of *Pavia*, and the *French* King's Captivity, with great moderation, forbidding any Demonſtrations of Joy, and ſaying, *Chriſtians ought to rejoice only for Victories over Infidels.* He ſeemed to ſympathize with *Francis*'s misfortune, and, as I may ſay, to put himſelf in his place, by acknowledging it to be a mere chance, and no Prince, how brave ſoever, exempt from the like Accident. Preſently after he called his Council to debate what was to be done with the priſoner. His Confeſſor, who ſpoke firſt, was for releaſing him without Terms. He repreſented to him, that by ſuch a generous action, he would not only acquire immortal Fame, but alſo make the King of *France* his real Friend, who, not to be out-done in Generoſity, would doubtleſs ſtrive to expreſs his Gratitude: That with his help, he would give Law to *Germany* and *Italy*, without being obliged to demand the aſſiſtance of other inferior Princes. But the Duke of *Alva* anſwered all theſe Arguments, and concluded it was beſt to reap from this Victory, all the advantages it could naturally procure; and the Emperor embraced his opinion. This plainly ſhows, that his pretended moderation was but a diſguiſe to hinder the Princes of *Europe* from being alarmed, and concerting meaſures to oppoſe the execution of his ambitious deſigns.

He debates about what is to be done with his Priſoner. His Confeſſor's Advice. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The Duke of Alva's Opinion, which is followed.

The Emperor offers Terms for Francis's *Liberty.* Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

To continue this diſguiſe, he ſent the Count of *Beaurain* into *Italy* with certain Terms, on which he was willing to releaſe his priſoner. He was very ſure *Francis* would not accept them. But it was his Intereſt to make the World believe it was not his fault that the *French* King was not releaſed. Wherefore, it was every where induſtriouſly reported, that the Emperor had ſent the King very reaſonable Terms. But great care was taken not to publiſh them. Among other things, he demanded for himſelf the Duchy of *Burgundy* (1). Moreover, he had a mind to join to the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Territories, *Provence* and *Dauphiné*, and erect the whole for that Prince into a Kingdom independent of the Crown of *France*. Laſtly, he demanded that *Francis* ſhould give the King of *England* entire Satisfaction, concerning what was due to him. The firſt of theſe Conditions in Juſtice and Equity, contained nothing ſtrange. King *Lewis* XI took poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, after the death of the laſt Duke, under colour of a title which was conteſted, and of which however he made himſelf Judge. It could not therefore be taken ill, that the Emperor ſhould demand reſtitution of what was wreſted from *Mary* of *Burgundy* his Grandmother, at leaſt, till the Cauſe was legally decided. But what was ſurprizing, and very hard in the Emperor's propoſals, was, his deſire to eſtabliſh in the heart of *France*, an independent Kingdom, to gratify a rebellious Subject, the prime Author of the King's misfortune. Probably, he inſiſted on this Article only to make the firſt paſs the better, or to give occaſion for a Rupture. *Francis* I, rejected theſe Conditions with the utmoſt Indignation (2), and ſwore, he would rather be a Captive all his Life than accept them (3). But he offered, in his turn, Conditions which he thought very advantagious to the Conqueror, namely, that he would marry *Leonora* Queen-Dowager of *Portugal* the Emperor's Siſter, and give the Duke of *Bourbon* his Siſter the Ducheſs of *Alençon*, who had lately loſt the Duke her Husband: That he would agree to hold the Duchy of *Burgundy* as the Queen Dowager's Dowry, and leave it to their Male Heirs: That he would reſtore to the Duke of *Bourbon*, all his confiſcated Eſtates: That he would renounce all claim to *Naples* and *Milan*: That he would ſatisfy the King of *England* concerning what was due to him: Finally, that he would pay the ſame ranſom as King *John*, when taken priſoner at the battle of *Poictiers*. But the Emperor was not ſatisfied with theſe offers. He ſtill inſiſted that the Duchy of *Burgundy* ſhould be reſtored to him without Condition. Moreover, he affirmed that *Francis* had no right to *Naples* and *Milan*, and therefore his offer to relinquiſh it, was needleſs and chimerical.

1525.

The King rejects them.

He offers others. Guicciard. Herbert.

The Emperor rejects them.

It was not without reaſon that the Emperor perſiſted in his demands. It is eaſy to judge the Conſternation of *France*, after the loſs ſhe had lately ſuſtained. The King was a captive, and almoſt all her Generals taken or ſlain in the battle of *Pavia*. The Kingdom being exhauſted by continual Wars under this and the former Reigns, was deſtitute of Men and Money. The *Switzers* were diſheartned. The Canton of *Zurich* which had refuſed to furniſh the King with Troops for the War, was ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition from a Principle of Conſcience. *Zuinglius*, who had great Intereſt in that Canton, perſwaded the Senate, that to barter the Blood of their Citizens for Money, and ſerve the Ambition of Princes, was an infamous thing. But though all the *Cantons* had been equally inclined to find Troops, it was well known, they would not do it without being paid; and to procure the Money was no eaſy thing. On the other hand, there was reaſon to fear, the King of *England* would improve this opportunity to invade *France* through *Picardy*, whilſt the Emperor attacked the Provinces bordering upon *Spain*. In fine, there was nothing to be expected from *Italy*, ſince the Pope had made his Peace with the Emperor, it being impoſſible the *Venetians* would alone maintain the War for the ſake of *France*. Thus was ſeen on all ſides juſt cauſe of alarm. Certainly, had the Emperor and *Henry* renewed their League, and vigorouſly attacked *France*, that Kingdom in its preſent ill Circumſtances, muſt have been ruined. But at the time the Regent, and all true *Frenchmen* were under theſe apprehenſions, a ray of hope appeared, which hindered their Courage from ſinking entirely. The Pope and the Emperor could not agree together, though outwardly they ſeemed willing to unite. The *Venetians* were inclined to join in a League with the other States to oppoſe the Emperor's progreſs. In ſhort, the King of *England*, inſtead of taking advantage of the King of *France*'s misfortune, generouſly took his part. On the other hand, *Franceſco Sforza*, ſeeing himſelf as it were the Emperor's Slave, ſtrove to throw off this Yoke, and, though he miſcarried, his attempt however produced a good effect, as it ſhowed the Emperor the diſpoſition of the Princes who entered into this Plot, which it will be neceſſary to explain, in order to give a diſtinct Idea of the affairs of thoſe times, wherein *England* was concerned. But firſt it muſt be ſeen what became of the captive King.

Great Conſternation in France. Guicciard.

Several things concur to revive the Courage of the French. Guicciard.

(1) And that *Francis* ſhould renounce all Pretenſions to *Italy*. *Guicciard.* l. 16.

(2) Adding, that it was not in his power to alienate any of the Demeſns belonging to the Crown of *France*, without the conſent of the Parliament, and other Perſons veſted with the Government of the Kingdom. *Ibid.*

(3) When the Articles were preſented to *Francis*, he was ſo diſpleaſed at them, that he is ſaid in a fury to draw his Dagger and cry, *It is better for a King of* France *to die thus!* Upon which *Hernando de Alenſon* who was preſent, haſtily took the Dagger from him. *Herbert*, p. 66.

1525. Francis I. is carried into Spain. June. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The unfortunate priſoner was kept in the Caſtle of *Pizzighitone* till *Eaſter*, but with ſo much uneaſineſs on the part of the Imperialiſts, that they durſt not remove their Troops from that quarter, for fear of his being reſcued. At laſt, *Lanoy* hearing, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador at *Rome* had frequent Conferences with the Pope, was afraid ſome plot was forming to deliver the priſoner. Wherefore, without imparting his deſign to the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom perhaps he miſtruſted, he reſolved to convey him into *Spain*. But this was difficult, ſince he had no naval Force, and the *French* Gallies were at Sea. To remove this obſtacle, he inſinuated to the King, that the only way ſpeedily to obtain his Liberty, was to confer in perſon with the Emperor: That as the Emperor was a generous Prince, and had ſhewn a concern for his misfortune, their Interview could not but produce a good effect, and promote a ſpeedy Peace. *Francis* agreed to it, full of hopes that he ſhould do more himſelf in two or three Conferences with the Emperor, than his Miniſters in many Months. He even lent the Viceroy his Gallies to carry him into *Spain*, where he arrived about the middle of *June*.

He is ſhut up in the Caſtle of Madrid. Guicciard.

He flattered himſelf, he ſhould be treated in *Spain* as King *John* was in *England:* but at his arrival, he had the mortification to be confined in the Caſtle of *Madrid*, where the Emperor, inſtead of treating with him in Perſon, did not ſo much as pay him a viſit. All he could obtain was a Safe-Conduct for his Siſter the Ducheſs of *Alenſon*, who came to *Madrid* in *September*. She was empowered by the Regent her Mother to negotiate with the Emperor. But at laſt ſhe was forced to return, and nothing obtained. When ſhe came to *Madrid*, ſhe found the King her Brother ſo ill, that his recovery was deſpaired of. As there was no room to doubt, that his Grief at ſeeing his Liberty ſo remote, occaſioned his Illneſs, the Emperor poſted from *Toledo* to *Madrid*, to viſit and comfort him, in the apprehenſion of loſing, by his Priſoner's Death, the advantages he expected from his Captivity. He put him therefore in hopes of his Deliverance, in the two viſits he made him, tho' in general Terms, which however produced the deſired effect, ſince the King recovered his Health. But when, after his recovery, he would have renewed the negotiation, he quickly perceived he was farther from his deliverance than he imagined. The Emperor ſtill inſiſted upon the reſtitution of *Burgundy*, and when the King offered to eſpouſe the Princeſs *Leonora*, and hold that Duchy as her Dowry, *Charles* excuſed himſelf as having promiſed to give the Queen his Siſter in marriage to the Duke of *Bourbon*. It was no ſmall mortification to *Francis* to ſee one of his Subjects preferred before him. But what troubled him ſtill more, was, that he ſaw it to be only a pretence to retard the Concluſion of the Treaty. So, in the deſpair the Emperor's rigour threw him into, he gave the Ducheſs of *Alenſon* a Writing under his hand, whereby he conſented and even ordered, that the States of *France* ſhould crown the Dauphin his Son. This, in *France*, is called the *Edict of Madrid*. But the Parliament of *Paris* thought not fit to record it, either becauſe it was againſt the Laws of the Realm, or they deemed ſuch an imperfect Edict to be of no Authority ſince the King was not free. It may be, *Francis* thereby deſigned to let the Emperor ſee, that inſtead of having a King in his power, he ran the hazard of having only a Prince without Dominions.

The Duchess of Alenſon *comes to treat about him.*

He falls ſick.

The Emperor viſits him. Guicciard.

Difficulties about the Peace.

Francis orders the Dauphin his Son to be crowned.

The Parliament of Paris refuſe. P. Daniel.

The Emperor deals deceitfully with the Pope. He ſends an imperfect Ratification of the Treaty of Rome. Guicciard.

Whilſt the Emperor amuſed his Priſoner in *Spain*, he acted with no greater ſincerity with the Pope, who did not know what to think of his Proceedings. The victorious Monarch had courted him very earneſtly. But after making a Treaty with him by the Viceroy of *Naples*, he long delayed to ratify it, and at laſt had ſent his ratification without including the three ſeparate Articles. He ſaid, that as to the Duke of *Ferrara* he could not oblige him to deliver *Reggio* to the Pope, being a Fief of the Empire. As to the ſecond Article, whereby the Emperor was bound to oblige the Inhabitants of the *Milaneſe* to take their Salt of the Pope's Subjects, he ſaid, that concerned only the Duke of *Milan*, and for his part he could not promiſe for others. That for the Benefices of *Naples*, he could not agree to that Article, unleſs a limitation was added, which rendered it of no effect, namely, that what had been practiſed in the Reigns of the former Kings of *Naples* ſhould be conformed to. The Pope finding, the Emperor refuſed to ratify theſe three Articles, would not accept of the ratification, and they both remained upon the ſame terms as before the Treaty. But the Emperor had obtained his deſires, ſince he had obſtructed the League which was projecting againſt him, in rendering the Pope ſuſpected by the reſt of the Sovereigns.

The Pope rejects it.

The Emperor offers the Inveſtiture of Milan *to* Sforza, *on a condition not to be performed.* Guicciard.

There was another thing which ſhewed the Emperor's inſincerity, namely, having ſent the Inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Franceſco Sforza*, he clogged it with the condition that *Sforza* ſhould pay him twelve hundred thouſand Ducats in recompenſe for his charges in keeping that Duchy for him. As it was evident, *Sforza* could not poſſibly perform this Condition, it was no leſs ſo that the Emperor only ſought a pretence to continue maſter of *Milan*. Theſe things alarmed the Pope, who heard beſides, that the Council of *Spain* was not favorable to him. And indeed, ſome of the Emperor's Miniſters had adviſed him, to chaſtiſe the Pope for joining with *France* at ſo critical a juncture, and compel him to reſtore *Modena* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* to the *Bentivoglio*'s.

1525.

The Pope falls off more and more.

On the other hand, the *Venetians* ſeeing there was no likelihood, that the Emperor really intended to reſtore *Sforza*, could not but be alarmed at his keeping the Duchy of *Milan*. Wherefore, they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Pope and the King of *England* to join with them and *France* againſt the Emperor, well knowing that otherwiſe all *Italy* would fall under the Dominion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. A Letter of *Andrea Gritti* their Doge to Cardinal *Wolſey*, of the 31ſt of *March*, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſhews, that theſe able Politicians had formed this project ſhortly after the Battle. The Letter indeed is only an Ambaſſador's Credentials, who had orders to treat with the King upon a very important affair. But at ſuch a juncture, this great affair could be only the League they were projecting.

The Venetians endeavour to form a League againſt the Emperor. Guicciard.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 36.

The Pope continues undetermined.

Mean while, the Pope was extremely embarraſſed. In attempting to manage too artfully, he had made ſo many falſe Steps, that he knew not which way to turn. This is frequently the caſe of thoſe, who, quitting the great road, walk thro' by-ways. *Clement* VII could not reſolve either to be ſatisfied with the Emperor's offers, or enter into a League againſt him. In this uncertainty, he choſe to follow the example of *Leo* X, and *Julius* II, his Predeceſſors, that is, to treat with the Emperor and his Enemies at the ſame time, in order to be determined by the Events, in what would be moſt advantagious. To that end, whilſt he was treating at *Rome* with the *Venetians*, he ſent Cardinal *Salviati* to *Spain*, to negotiate with the Emperor, putting into his hands a Diſpenſation, deſired by that Monarch, to marry his Niece *Iſabella* of *Portugal*. But the Diſpenſation was not to be delivered to the Emperor till after the concluſion of the Treaty.

Guicciard.

Sforza is kept in ſervitude by the Imperialiſts. Guicciard.

The affairs of *Italy* being in this ſituation, another accident happened, which plainly ſhewed the Emperor only ſought to amuſe all the Sovereigns by a feigned moderation, whilſt in truth he was ſolely thinking of extending his Dominions. His League with *Adrian* VI, and the reſt of the States of *Italy*, was founded upon *Franceſco Sforza*'s reſtoration to the Duchy of *Milan*. As this was the common Intereſt of *Italy*, ſo was it likewiſe the only Bond by which the Emperor had found means to unite all the Potentates againſt *France*, then in poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*. That League had ſucceeded according to the deſires of the Allies. The *French* were driven out of *Italy*, and *Sforza* reſtored. But though the Emperor had pretended to give him the Inveſtiture, he had not yet done it, becauſe *Sforza* was not able to pay the twelve hundred thouſand Ducats he demanded. He was made to hope he ſhould obtain more moderate Terms, but that was only to amuſe him, and remove his as well as the Pope's and *Venetians* Suſpicion, that the Emperor intended to keep the Duchy for himſelf, or give it to his Brother the Archduke *Ferdinand*.

The Emperor lays a Snare for Sforza *in order to diſpoſſeſs him.* Guicciard. P. Daniel.

What was then but a bare Suſpicion, ſoon became a Certainty. The Duke of *Bourbon* going into *Spain*, to take care of his Concerns, *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquiſs of *Peſcara*, was commiſſioned by the Emperor to command in *Italy*. Shortly after, *Peſcara* affected to appear very diſſatisfied, and openly to complain of the Emperor's Ingratitude. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far, that at laſt he inſpired *Jeronimo Moronè*, the Duke of *Milan*'s Chancellor, with the boldneſs to ſound him, to ſee whether by his means the *Spaniards* might be driven out of the *Milaneſe*. *Peſcara* hearkened to his Inſinuations, had ſeveral Conferences with him, and managed ſo dextrouſly, that he engaged *Moronè* to cauſe the Duke himſelf to ſpeak to him about the affair. *Moronè*'s project was to kill all the *Spaniards* in the Duchy of *Milan*, and make *Peſcara* King of *Naples*. As this could not be effected without foreign Aid, *Peſcara* propoſed to engage in the plot, the Pope, the Regent of *France*, and the *Venetians*. Accordingly theſe three Powers came into it, and promiſed their aſſiſtance. When matters were almoſt ripe, *Peſcara* received the Emperor's orders to diſpoſſeſs the Duke of *Milan* entirely. He began with ſeizing *Moronè*, and then conſtrained the Duke, who was not able to reſiſt, to reſign the City of *Milan*, and all the reſt of the Towns in his poſſeſſion. Only the Caſtle of *Milan* *Sforza* would not deliver, which was therefore immediately beſieged. Thus the Emperor had a plauſible colour to ren-

Peſcara takes away all his Places, and beſieges the Caſtle of Milan.

1525. der himſelf maſter of the Duchy, and the Pope and *Venetians* could not complain of his puniſhing *Sforza*'s Treachery, ſince there were evident proofs that they themſelves were concerned in the plot.

The Venetians inſiſt upon Sforza's Reſtoration. Guicciard.

The artifice practiſed by the Emperor to ſeize the *Milaneſe*, ſerved only to confirm the *Venetians* in their reſolution, to hazard all to hinder that Duchy from remaining in the hands of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Without troubling themſelves to juſtify their Conduct, they plainly told the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who preſſed them to join with the Emperor, that *Sforza*'s reſtoration was a preliminary they would never depart from. If *Clement* VII had ſhewn the ſame reſolution, the Emperor would have been ſomething embarraſſed. But the Pope, by acting too politickly, ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, as he had been before. He had a Legate in *Spain*, who was treating with the Emperor, whilſt himſelf was negotiating at *Rome* with the *French* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, a League againſt that Monarch. He impatiently waited the Succeſs of his Legate's Negotiation, and as the concluſion was long delayed, he appointed a day to ſign a League with *France* and *Venice*. But in the interval, receiving advice, that his Treaty was concluded at *Madrid*, he would hear no more of the League. Soon after, the Emperor ſent him by an Expreſs, the Treaty concluded in *Spain*, which he found ſo equivocal and ambiguous, that he refuſed to ratify it. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador pretending to be himſelf ſurprized at the ambiguities of the Treaty, ſtrenuouſly maintained, they were undeſigned, and told the Pope, he might draw the Treaty as he pleaſed, and ingaged to have it ſigned by the Emperor within two months. This delay was only to hinder the Pope from entering into the League during that time, and *Clement* ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the aſſurance wherewith the Ambaſſador ſpoke. This was tranſacted in *December* 1525, and in the ſame month died *Peſcara*.

The Pope is in ſuſpence to declare himſelf.

He ſuffers himſelf to be over-reached by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador. Guicciard.

Peſcara's Death.

Henry thinks of ſiding with France. Guicciard. Hollingſh.

Having thus ſhewn the ſituation of affairs in *Italy*, we muſt ſee what paſſed at the Court of *England*, where was no leſs caballing than at *Rome* and *Venice*, ſince it was then really debating to preſerve the Balance of *Europe*, which leaned too much to one ſide. The equality between the two Houſes of *France* and *Auſtria*, was properly what made *England* conſiderable, and conſequently was an advantage not to be neglected. But there were other reaſons that incited *Henry* to forſake the Emperor, and join with *France*. Though the Treaty of *Bruges* or *Windſor* ſeemed to have inſeparably united the Emperor and *Henry*, it is however certain, they were not pleaſed with one another, becauſe each was deſirous to make their Union ſubſervient to his own affairs, without any regard to his Ally. Probably Cardinal *Wolſey*, who was very angry with the Emperor, did not a little contribute to diſpoſe his maſter to a rupture.

The Emperor and Henry are diſſatisfied with one another.

Cauſes of their falling out. Guicciard.

The Princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s Daughter, was affianced to the Emperor, and yet the King her Father had offered her to the King of *Scotland*. On the other hand, the Emperor had not ſcrupled to conclude his own Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, as if he had not been engaged to *Mary*, and from hence theſe two Monarchs ſhewed they had very little regard for one another. *Charles* hearing that *Henry* was treating of a Marriage between his Daughter and the King of *Scotland*, took that occaſion to throw upon him the rupture of his Marriage. In *March* (1) he ſent into *England* the Lord of *Buren*, and the Preſident of the Council of *Mechlin*, to require the King to ſend him immediately the Princeſs, pay down the covenanted Dowry, and purſuant to their League, enter *Picardy* with a powerful Army, as he ſhould have done the laſt year. It was eaſy for *Henry* to perceive, the Emperor ſought only to juſtify himſelf, without any intention to accompliſh his Marriage with *Mary*, and this way of proceeding was not very proper to preſerve a good Underſtanding. But on the other hand, the Emperor had no leſs reaſon to complain of him. *Henry* had promiſed to find a hundred thouſand Crowns a month for the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Expedition into *France*, or to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy*. But after ſetting the affair on foot by the firſt monthly payment, he had ſtopped there without making any attempt againſt *France*. Nay, he had demanded the Money due to him, when he knew the Emperor was not able to pay him. This proceeding ſeemed to demonſtrate he only ſought a pretence. Moreover the Emperor was informed, that in *October* laſt, when *Francis* I was marching into *Italy*, a perſon without Character (2) came to *London*, from the Regent, and had ſeveral Conferences with Cardinal *Wolſey*. But then *Charles* had promiſed to invade *France* on the ſide of *Spain*, without having done any thing towards it. And yet he took it very ill that *Henry* ſhould diſappoint him. Thus theſe two Monarchs who were thought ſo ſtrictly united, and whoſe Union made *France* and *Italy* tremble, were in reality eſtranged from one another, and ready to quarrel. In all appearance, the Conferences of the perſon from *France* with Cardinal *Wolſey*, had taken effect. Beſides, the Cardinal who was very revengeful, muſt have been extremely incenſed with the Emperor for deceiving him twice, after a poſitive promiſe to help him to the Papacy.

March. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

1525.

Wolſey contributes to the Rupture.

It was in the beginning of *March* that the Emperor's two Ambaſſadors diſcharged their Commiſſion. But before they had received an anſwer, the news of the Battle of *Pavia*, and the taking of the King of *France* reached *England* (3), by a Letter from the Governeſs of *Flanders*, with another from *Lanoy*, written on the very day of the Battle. As the Court of *England* then ſtood inclined, this news was by no means agreeable. Nevertheleſs as it was yet neceſſary to diſſemble, *Henry* ordered a ſolemn Maſs to be celebrated at St. *Paul*'s, where he was pleaſed to be preſent in Perſon (4), without however cauſing *Te Deum* to be ſung (5). His aim was to make the Emperor's Ambaſſadors believe, it was on account of the Victory, and withal to ſhew a regard for *France*, by avoiding to expreſs any Joy at her misfortune.

Henry ſhews a regard for France. Herbert. Hall.

Herbert.

Some days after, the Council was aſſembled to conſider what was to be done at this juncture. The queſtion was, whether this opportunity ſhould be embraced to make Conqueſts upon *France*, in proſecuting the King's Title to that Kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to aſſiſt and preſerve *France* entire, and oppoſe the growing power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. As to the firſt point, it is certain, if on this occaſion, *England* had ſtrictly united with the Emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the ſide of *Picardy*, *France*, in her preſent condition, would have been irrecoverably loſt. For, inſtead of being able to withſtand the Arms of theſe two powerful Enemies, it was not poſſible for her to reſiſt the Emperor without the King of *England*'s aſſiſtance. But on the other hand, it was conſidered, that *France* could not be ruined without rendering the Emperor too powerful: That he was already in poſſeſſion of *Spain*, and had alſo an eye upon *Portugal*, by marrying his Niece *Iſabella* as it was publickly reported: That his late Victory in *Milan* gave him ſuch a ſuperiority in *Italy*, that probably, the Pope and the *Venetians* would not be able to make head againſt him: That he poſſeſſed almoſt all the *Low-Countries* with large and rich Provinces in *Germany*; not to reckon the Imperial Dignity which was become as Hereditary in his Family: That if by a powerful diverſion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the *French* Provinces bordering upon *Spain* and *Italy*, the moſt the King could expect was, to ſhare *France* with him: But it was to be feared, that afterwards the Emperor would become his Enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their Forces, nor any State in *Europe* capable of ſupporting the weakeſt: That therefore, ſuppoſing the King had in *France* all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, in aggrandiſing himſelf in that Kingdom, he would only be involved for the future in an unequal War with the Emperor, who very probably would never be ſatisfied till he had diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh* of their Conqueſts: That what had paſſed between *Lewis* XII and *Ferdinand*, in reſpect of the Kingdom of *Naples*, was a clear evidence how difficult it is for ſuch Partitions long to ſubſiſt: That upon all theſe accounts, it was more for the intereſt of *England*, to make a vigorous effort to ſupport *France*, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: That the happineſs and glory of *England* conſiſted in the equality between the King of *France* and the Emperor, ſince thereby *England* was always in condition to remain Arbiter of *Europe*, and make herſelf courted by both ſides: That there was no other way to cauſe Trade to flouriſh, wherein conſiſted all her ſtrength, and without which the *Engliſh* could never hope to render themſelves formidable: That if, on the contrary, it was reſolved to compleat the deſtruction of *France*, and a War ſhould afterwards happen with the Emperor, of which there was great probability; at once would be loſt the Trade with *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, which would quickly reduce *England* to extreme poverty: That at leaſt, it would thereby be out of her power to have Land and Sea Forces ſufficient to balance the Emperor's power. In ſhort, if *France* came to be divided between the Emperor and the King, *Scotland* would certainly join in Alliance with the Emperor, and continue to annoy *England* by

Henry adviſes with his Council about the Courſe he ſhould take.

(1) They arrived in *London*, *March* 5. *Hall*, fol. 136.
(2) *John Jacbim de Paſſau.* See above.
(3) On *March* 9. *Hall*, fol. 136. *Herbert*, p. 64.
(4) *March* 12. Accompanied by the Ambaſſadors of the Pope, the Emperor, *Scotland*, *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Florence*. The day before, there were Bonfires in *London* on account of this Victory. *Hall*, fol. 136.
(5) *Hall* affirms the contrary. *Ibid.*

1525. frequent diverſions as ſhe had always done in favor of *France*. To theſe conſiderations another of greater weight was added, namely, that a League with the Emperor to conquer *France* was not the ſame thing, as one with the Regent in defence of that Kingdom: That in the firſt, the Emperor's ſole aim would be to make the *Engliſh* Forces ſerve to enable him to puſh his Conqueſts elſewhere; but at the ſame time he would oppoſe directly or indirectly the King's increaſe of power: That this was the uſual policy of Princes when they joined with thoſe weaker than themſelves: That it could be the leſs doubted that the Emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the Battle of *Pavia*, he had ſhewn, that he conſidered the King only as his Inſtrument to promote his deſigns in *Italy*; but if the King joined with *France*, the two Allies having the ſame view, would as is uſual in defenſive Leagues act unanimouſly: That on the other hand, in the preſent juncture, *France* not being able to ſupport herſelf without the aſſiſtance of *England*, would readily accept what terms ſhould be impoſed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain than any to be expected from the Invaſion of that Kingdom: In a word, nothing could be more glorious for the Kingdom, than to relieve *France* in her diſtreſs and free her captive King: That by ſo doing he would truly acquire the Title of *Arbiter and Deliverer of Europe*, and make of the King of *France* a Friend, who probably would eternally remember ſuch a favour.

Henry reſolves to ſupport France. He uſes for Pretence the Injuries done him by the Emperor.

Theſe were the reaſons that induced the King and Council to take part with *France*. They were perfectly agreeable to the King's and the Cardinal's inclinations, and to the meaſures they had now begun to take. The only buſineſs was to ſeek a pretence to break with the Emperor, by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing to which Princes are very attentive. When they wage never ſo unjuſt Wars, they would perſuade the World that Juſtice and Equity are on their ſide, without any motive of envy, jealouſy, ambition and avarice. The War *Henry* was meditating againſt the Emperor was, as we have ſeen, wholly founded upon policy. And that would have been ſufficient to juſtify it. But he choſe rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the Emperor. The reaſon of this conduct is evident. It ſeldom happens that Policy and Equity agree, and *Henry*, like moſt Princes, had rather be counted a great Politician, than an honeſt Man. However this be, the reſolution being taken to ſupport *France*, *Cuthbert Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield* were ſent into *Spain*, to demand of the Emperor ſeveral things which it was known he would not grant. First, That as the War was made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the King of *England* ſhould partake of the Fruits of the Victory of *Pavia*. That therefore, purſuant to their Alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in the Treaty with the captive King, that *Henry* ſhould be reſtored to what belonged to him in *France*. Secondly, That if this could not be obtained by fair means, the Emperor, according to the Treaty, ſhould prepare to invade *France* from *Spain*, whilſt the *Engliſh* acted in *Picardy*, and that the War ſhould not ceaſe till the King of *England* had acquired all that belonged to him: That the Emperor ought to be the readier to aſſiſt the King of *England* in obtaining his deſires, becauſe by his Marriage with the Heireſs of *England*, all theſe acquiſitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, That as it was ſaid in the Treaty of *Windſor*, the two Allies ſhould mutually deliver all Uſurpers upon each other's right, *Henry* required, purſuant to that Article, that the King of *France* ſhould be delivered to him the ſame day the Princeſs *Mary* was conſigned to the Emperor.

He ſends Ambaſſadors to Spain. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

His demands upon the Emperor.

The Emperor anſwers in general Terms.

Theſe demands were for the moſt part of ſuch a nature, that the Emperor eaſily perceived, *Henry* only ſought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the Princeſs *Mary*, ſince he was determined to marry *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, and much leſs would he deliver the captive King, and ſo part with the advantage he expected from his Victory. Having therefore framed his Anſwer in general terms, denoting his unwillingneſs to grant what was demanded, he afforded *Henry* the pretence he was ſeeking to join with the Regent of *France*. When this reſolution was divulged, the Court of *England* took care to publiſh the reaſons of the rupture with the Emperor. They were briefly theſe: That the Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, inſtead of providing for the War her quota of Forces, had privately treated with *France*: That the *Flemings* had broken the Treaty of Commerce in ſeveral Articles (1): That the Emperor had not paid the King the Sums due to him: That in the Terms on which he had offered to releaſe the King of *France*, he had very negligently and in general only mentioned *Henry*'s right, as a thing of little moment: That he was now treating of his marriage with the Princeſs of *Portugal*, in contempt of the Princeſs *Mary*, to whom he was contracted. Laſtly, That the *Turks* being about to invade *Chriſtendom* (2), it was neceſſary that all Chriſtian Princes ſhould join their Forces againſt them, which could not be done without a general Peace; but this Peace could not be effected, whilſt the Emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of other Princes. Theſe are the reaſons alledged in vindication of the King's conduct. But the true reaſon was the juſt jealouſy with which the Emperor's power inſpired *England*, and the reſt of *Europe*. However, *Henry* did not think proper to proclaim War againſt the Emperor, being unwilling by ſo raſh a ſtep, to prejudice his intended Treaty with *France*. He contented himſelf with ordering his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive King, though he expected little from this interceſſion. Mean while, he acquainted the Regent of *France*, that if ſhe would ſend Ambaſſadors to treat with him, there might follow a Treaty advantagious to the King her Son, and to both Kingdoms. The Regent immediately appointed *Jean-Joachim de Paſſau* Lord of *Vaux*, the ſame that had begun the Negotiation with Cardinal *Wolſey*, and *Jean Brinon* Preſident of *Roan*. Their Commiſſion was dated at *Lyons*, *June* the 9th.

Embaſſy of France to London. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 37, 45. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the Treaty between *France* and *England* was negotiating at *London*, *Henry*, knowing how it would end, committed the raiſing of Money to Cardinal *Wolſey*'s care. The moſt natural way was to apply to the Parliament. But *Wolſey* was too haughty to expoſe himſelf to a refuſal, or conteſt with the Houſe of Commons, as it had once before happened. So, reſolving to uſe a ſpeedier means, and more agreeable to his temper, he granted Commiſſions in the King's name (3), to levy throughout the Kingdom the ſixth part of every Lay-Man's Goods, and the fourth of the Clergy's (4). Theſe Commiſſions were no ſooner publiſhed, but the Nation was in a great fermentation. This method of raiſing Money was univerſally deemed a manifeſt breach of *Magna Charta*, and an Incroachment of ſo great conſequence, that there was like to have been a general Rebellion. The King being informed of it, immediately iſſued out a Proclamation, diſavowing theſe Commiſſions which had been publiſhed in his name, and declaring he would exact nothing of his People by force, nor demand any thing but by way of Benevolence, as practiſed in the Reign of *Edward* IV. But it was quickly perceived, this was only an Artifice to extort, under another name, what the People refuſed to give by force. For, the Benevolence demanded afterwards by the King was almoſt equal to what was at firſt required by way of Authority. The *Londoners* being taxed firſt, the Magiſtrates excuſed themſelves, as Benevolences were aboliſhed by *Richard* III. The Cardinal exclaimed againſt it as if it had been the moſt extravagant aſſertion in the World. He told them *Richard* III was a Tyrant and Uſurper, and therefore Laws made in his Reign could not limit the Sovereign's power. But as this Argument had no great effect, he ſent for the chief of the Common Council of the City one by one to intimidate them, deſiring, at any rate, to compaſs his ends, without being obliged to call a Parliament. But whilſt he was thus employed, there was an Inſurrection near *London* (5), which probably, would have drawn in the whole Kingdom, if a timely ſtop had not been put to it. The ſpeedy courſe that was taken to diſperſe the ſeditious, ſucceeded as the Court could wiſh. They who had taken Arms ſeeing themſelves not yet ſufficiently ſupported, ſubmitted to the King's mercy, and ſome of the Ring-Leaders were impriſoned (6). The King finding how the Nation ſtood affected, thought proper to ſatisfy them by ſhewing he was not concerned in the violent proceedings of his Miniſter. Wherefore he declared in full Council, that his intention was not to puniſh any Perſon for this Commotion. The Cardinal perceiving, the King threw all the blame upon him, vindicated himſelf as well as he could, without

Wolſey reſolves to levy Money without the Parliament. Herbert. Stow. Hall. Hollingſh.

The King diſavows it,

He demands a Benevolence.

The City of London oppoſes it.

The Cardinal keeps his ground. Hall. Stow.

Inſurrection in the Country. Hall.

It is appeaſed.

The King throws the blame on the Cardinal. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Henry reſolves to ſide with France. Herbert.

He publiſhes the Reaſons. Herbert.

(1) They had not only inſolently treated divers of our Merchants, but, contrary to a Remonſtrance made in that behalf, had raiſed the value of our Coin, and thereby ſecretly derived great Sums into their Country. Inſtead of the *Flemings*, *Rapin* hath, by miſtake, *Florentines*. See *Herbert*, p. 65.

(2) They had now taken *Belgrade* and *Rhodes*, and thereby opened ſeveral ways into *Italy* and *Germany*. *Herbert.*

(3) To the moſt conſiderable Perſons in each County. *Hall*, fol. 137.

(4) The Cardinal pretended, that this Money was to be applied towards carrying war into *France*. See *Hall*, fol. 137, 138. He demanded of Perſons that were worth fifty Pounds, three Shillings and Four-pence; of ſuch as were worth twenty Pounds, two Shillings and Eight-pence; and of thoſe that had from under twenty Pounds to twenty Shillings, Twelve-pence in the Pound. *Hall*, fol. 138.

(5) In *Suffolk*, where the Weavers and other Artificers aſſembled out of *Lanham*, *Sudbury*, *Hadley*, &c. to the number of about four thouſand. *Hall*, fol. 141.

(6) In the Fleet. *Ibid.*

accuſing

1525. accuſing the King, alledging, he had the Judges opinion for what he had done. If ſuch an excuſe were admitted, it would be no longer neceſſary for a King of *England* to apply to the Parliament for Money. The Judges being appointed by the King, it would not be difficult for him to have their opinion on his ſide. But though there have been Judges ſo hardy as to decide points of this conſequence, as in the Reigns of *Richard* II, *Charles* I, *James* II, very few eſcaped the puniſhment due to their preſumption. The Parliament never intended that the privileges of the Nation ſhould depend upon the deciſion of the Judges. The Council finding the King was not inclined to ſupport what the Cardinal had done, and on the other hand, not daring to come upon the Cardinal himſelf, thought fit to throw all the fault, without naming any Perſon, upon thoſe that had given the King wrong information, and to releaſe the Priſoners, after a ſevere reprimand. Purſuant to this reſolution, the Priſoners being brought before the Council, the Cardinal ſharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinouſneſs of their offence, and adding that the King was pleaſed to grant them his pardon, provided they would find Sureties for their good behavior for the future. But the Priſoners replying, they could find none, the Cardinal and Duke of *Norfolk* ſaid, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were diſcharged.

The Affair ends mildly.

Herbert. Hall.

Henry *receives ſeveral Complaints againſt the Cardinal.* Herbert. Hall.

When the King had diſcovered that he approved not all the Cardinal's actions, People ventured more boldly to complain of his conduct. The truth is, he oppreſſed the Nation, and more eſpecially the Clergy, in a ſtrange manner. The inſtrument of his oppreſſions was one *Allen* (1) his Chaplain, who kept no meaſures, well-knowing his Maſter's protection would not fail him on occaſion. Mean while, how great ſoever the Cardinal's power was, a private Perſon ventured to commence a ſuit againſt *Allen*, and proſecuted him ſo vigorouſly, that at laſt the affair came to the King's knowledge, who was informed at the ſame time of ſeveral other complaints of the People. He had hitherto fancied, there had never been in *England* ſo mild a Government as his, being ignorant of the ill uſe *Wolſey* made of his Authority. This information threw him into ſo terrible a rage, that the Cardinal was like to have been entirely out of favor. It was not without the utmoſt ſubmiſſion that he appeaſed the King's anger, ſhewing him withal his laſt Will, wherein he had made him his Heir. This he did to intimate that he was labouring for him, and that the outrages he committed were only to increaſe the inheritance the King was one day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully expreſs the King's ſentiments concerning him, than his Letter to the Cardinal after having pardoned him. A fragment whereof inſerted by Lord *Herbert* in his Hiſtory, is as follows:

He is like to turn him out of favour. The Cardinal appeaſes him.

The King's Letter to the Cardinal. Herbert. p. 67.

"AS touching the matter of *Wilton* (2), ſeeing it is "in no other ſtrain than you write of, and you be- "ing alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your Ser- "vants) afraid, and troubled; I marvel not that it over- "ſlipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtand- "ing the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as "I perceive by your Letter, and your default was not ſo "great, ſeeing the Election was but conditional. Where- "fore, my Lord, ſeeing the humbleneſs of your ſub- "miſſion, and though the caſe were much more heinous, "I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that "according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings "have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your be- "half, promiſing you, that the very affection I bear you "cauſed me thus to do. As touching the help of Reli- "gious Houſes to the building of your College, I would "it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, "but that it ſhould ſo appear to all the World, and the "occaſion of all their mumbling might be ſecluded and "put away; for, ſurely there is great murmuring of it "throughout all the Realm, both good and bad. They "ſay not that all that is ill-gotten is beſtowed upon the "College, but that the College is the cloak for covering "all miſchiefs. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to hear "it ſpoken of him, which I ſo entirely love. Wherefore, "methought I could do no leſs, than thus friendly to ad- "moniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own "Letter, which a little methinketh toucheth conſcience, "and that is, that you have received Money of the Ex- "empts for having of their old Viſitors. Surely, this "can hardly be with good Conſcience. For, and they "were good, why ſhould you take Money? And if they "were ill, it were a ſinful Act. Howbeit, your Legacy "herein might, peradventure, *apud Homines*, be a Cloak, "but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed "by him who ſo entirely loveth you, I doubt not, will "deſiſt, not only from this, (if Conſcience will not bear "it) but from all other things which ſhould tangle the "ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will ſing, *Te laudant An- "geli atque Archangeli, Te laudat Omnis Spiritus:* And "thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving "Letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do "mean it, for I enſure you, (and I pray you think it ſo) "that there remaineth, at this hour, no ſpark of diſplea- "ſure towards you in my Heart. And thus fare you well, "and be no more perplext. Written with the hand of "your loving Sovereign and Friend,

HENRY R. 1525.

The Cardinal removes from Court thoſe whom he miſtruſts.

This Letter ſhews the King was informed of ſeveral of the Cardinal's miſdemeanours. But he did not yet thoroughly know him, his affection for him combating in his Heart the heinouſneſs of his proceedings, and making him believe, that his faults were the pure effects of his great Zeal for the founding of his College. Had he not been thus prepoſſeſſed in his favour, he might have been more fully informed. But it was very dangerous to ſpeak directly againſt a Favorite, to whom the King ſtill ſhewed ſo great kindneſs. Mean while, the Cardinal finding by this inſtance, what his Enemies would be capable of doing againſt him, if they had the King's Ear, was very careful to remove from Court all he ſuſpected. At the ſame time, he ſtrove to preſerve the King's Love and Eſteem, by all ſorts of Condeſcenſions. He had now built at *Hampton-Court* a ſtately Palace, which outſhone in beauty all the King's Houſes. But what had lately happened convincing him it might breed a Jealouſy in the King, he made him a preſent of it (3), as if from the very firſt he had intended to build it for him. He meant to inſinuate by this Preſent, that he heaped up riches purely for his ſake, which ſucceeded accordingly. The King had the ſame Confidence in him as before, which the murmurs of the people ſeemed to have ſomething altered. This year he obtained the King's Letters Patents for founding his College at *Oxford*.

Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The King reſtores him to his Friendſhip. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 39.

About the ſame time, the King created *Henry Fitz-Roy* his natural Son Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, and High-Admiral of *England*, though he was but ſix years old (4). As he had no legitimate Son, he was extremely fond of this baſtard, whom he had by the Lady *Elizabeth Blunt* (5).

Henry *the King's natural Son made Duke of* Richmond. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 42. July 16.

Negotiation with the French *Ambaſſadors.* Hall.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the Cardinal was employed in treating with the *French* Ambaſſadors. The beginning of *June* the Regent had ſent general full Powers to her two Ambaſſadors. But in the courſe of the Negotiation they found they ſhould have occaſion for more particular Powers, to ſettle the Sums due from the King of *France* to the King of *England*, and which, conſiſting of ſeveral Articles, were to be put into one according to *Henry*'s Intention. Theſe new Powers were diſpatched the 16th of *Auguſt*. Upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion, the *French* Ambaſſadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the King of *England*'s pleaſure. Their aim being to diſingage him from the Emperor, and cauſe him to join with the King their maſter, there was no diſputing upon the Terms. But it muſt be confeſſed, that on this occa-

Henry's *Generoſity to the King of* France.

(1) *John Allen*, Doctor of Law, the ſame that was Judge of the Cardinal's Court, was made Archbiſhop of *Dublin* in 1528, and barbarouſly murdered by *Thomas Fitz-Gerard*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Kildare*, 1534. *Antiq. Oxſ.* This *Allen*, who is ſaid by *Hall* to have been a Man of more Learning than Virtue, or good Conſcience, was commiſſioned by the Cardinal, in conſequence of his Legatine Power, to viſit all religious Houſes; and accordingly he rid from one religious Houſe to another, with a great Train, in a kind of perpetual Progreſs or Viſitation, and did the Cardinal no little Service. *Hall*, fol. 148. *Herbert*, p. 67.

(2) This matter of *Wilton* was this: The Cardinal had elected a Perſon Prioreſs of the Nunnery there, for whom the King had ſome way previouſly expreſſed his diſlike. The Prioreſs of the Nunnery of *Wilton* was a Baroneſs by her Title, as were alſo thoſe of *Shaftſbury*, *Barkin*, and St. *Mary*'s in *Winchester*, which were the only ones that were ſo in *England*. See *Fiddes Lif. Wolſ.* p. 398.

(3) And the King, in exchange, permitted him to live in his Palace at *Richmond*: At which, it ſeems, the People were highly offended. See *Hall*, fol. 144.

(4) He was born in the Prior's Houſe at *Blackmore* in *Eſſex*, and firſt made Knight of the Garter, then Earl of *Nottingham*, and the ſame day Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, on the 18th of *June*. He was conſtituted likewiſe Lieutenant General beyond the *Trent*, and Warden General of the Marches of *Scotland*. After which he was bred up with *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* at *Windſor*, from whence they went both together to ſtudy at *Paris*. Their Friendſhip was indeared by the Duke's marrying *Mary* the Earl's Siſter, Daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom he had no Iſſue. He was very perſonable and of great expectation, and for abilities of Mind and Body, one of the rareſt of his time. But he departed this Life in the 17th year of his Age, and was buried at *Thetford* in *Norfolk*. *Herbert*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron*. Vol. II. p. 305.——On the ſame 18th day of *June* was *Henry Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire* created Marquiſs of *Exeter*, *Henry Brandon*, Son of the Duke of *Suffolk*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Sir *Thomas Manners*, Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Robert Ratcliff*, Lord *Fitz-walter*, Viſcount *Fitz-walter*, and Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, Viſcount *Rochford*. *Hall*, fol. 148.

(5) Daughter of Sir *John Blunt*, Widow of Sir *Gilbert Talboys*, who was thought for her rare Endowments of Nature and Ornaments of Education, to be the Beauty and Maſter-piece of her time. *Ibid.*

1525. sion, *Henry* behaved with uncommon Generosity. Though he might have demanded Towns, and even Provinces, in return for the Friendship he was pleased to contract with *Francis* I, and for the Charges he was going to be ingaged in, he contented himself with securing, by new Treaties, the Sums that were justly due to him. These Treaties being ready, were signed at *Moore*, a House of the Kings (1), on the 30th of *August*.

Treaty of Moore divided into several Treaties. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 48, &c. Du Tillet. Herbert.

The first contained a defensive League between *France* and *England*, against all Powers Spiritual or Temporal, that should invade either of the two Kingdoms. The Allies of the two Kings were included by name in the League (2), but with the limitation, that this Article was not to be understood of those who had usurped any thing upon either of the two principal Contractors since the League concluded at *London*, *October* the 1st, 1518. Hence the Emperor, who had lately conquered the Duchy of *Milan*, was excluded. Moreover, *Henry* I, ingaged to use his best endeavours to procure the Liberty of *Francis*.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 58.

The second Treaty concerned the payment of the Sums due to *Henry* from the King of *France*, namely, 1. By a Treaty of the 7th of *August* 1515, one million of Crowns of Gold. 2. By another of the 12th of *January* 1518, for restitution of *Tournay*, five hundred thousand Crowns of Gold. 3. By another of the same date, twenty three thousand Livres *Tournois*. 4. By another of *November* the 13th, 1520, four hundred sixty two thousand Crowns. For all these Sums the Regent bound herself in the King her Son's name, to pay *Henry* two millions of Crowns of Gold, of thirty five pence *Tournois* each, which being reduced to Crowns *de soleil*, of thirty eight pence, amounted to the Sum of eighteen hundred and ninety four thousand, seven hundred thirty six Crowns, and thirty two pence *Tournois* (3). This Sum was to be paid at several times, *viz.* forty seven thousand three hundred and sixty eight Crowns, within forty days after the date of the Treaty; the like Sum on the 1st of *November* next, and the same every six months till the whole was paid. This made in all forty payments, consequently the whole Sum must be paid in twenty years.

It was farther agreed by the same Treaty, that if *Henry* died before he had received the two Millions, the Arrears were to be paid to his Heirs and Successors. But in case he out-lived the payment of the whole, he should receive during Life, an yearly pension of a hundred thousand Crowns to cease at his death.

To secure the performance of the Treaty, the Regent was to swear to it solemnly before the *English* Ambassadors, and *Francis* I, was to ratify and swear to it immediately after his return into *France*. Moreover *Henry* had for Security, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Longueville*, the Earls of St. *Paul*, *Maulevrier*, *Brienne*, the Lords of *Montmorency*, *Lautrec*, and *Brezé*, the Cities of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Toulouse*, *Amiens*, *Bourdeaux*, *Tours*, and *Rheims* (4).

p. 65, 76, 90---101.

It must be observed, that in the Sum of two millions of Crowns due to *Henry*, there was no deduction of what he had received from *Francis* I, from the year 1515, to their rupture. This was all the advantage *Henry* made, which was not very great, considering how little punctual the King of *France* was in his payments.

p. 69.

By a third Treaty, the Regent engaged to pay to *Mary*, *Henry*'s Sister, Queen Dowager of *France*, all the Arrears of her Dowry at several payments, namely, five thousand Crowns within forty days after the date of the Treaty, and a like Sum every six months till the whole was discharged. Moreover she promised to let her enjoy her Dowry for the future.

p. 74.

There was also a fourth Treaty, which ran, that the King of *Scotland* should be reckoned in the number of the Allies of *France*, but on condition the *Scots* committed no act of Hostility against *England*, after the 25th of *December* next.

Lastly, by a fifth Treaty it was agreed, that the Court of *France* should consent neither directly nor indirectly, that the Duke of *Albany* should return into *Scotland* during the minority of *James* V. 1525. p. 75.

All these several Treaties, which properly were only different Articles of one and the same Treaty, were ratified and sworn by the Regent of *France* (5), and confirmed by the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Toulouse*, and *Bourdeaux*. The Lords and Cities that were to be Securities, gave their Bonds. Finally, *Francis* I, himself sent a ratification under his own hand, and dated the 27th of *December*. p. 76, 126. p. 113.

Grant of the Regent to the Cardinal. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 100.

But after having done the King's affairs, the Cardinal forgot not himself. There is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Regent's Bond of the 18th of *November*, to pay the Cardinal the Arrears of the Pension granted him in lieu of the Administration of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, being four years and a half, amounting to the Sum of twenty nine thousand seven hundred and ninety three Crowns of Gold *de soleil* (6). Moreover, she declared, that for several other weighty reasons, there was due to the Cardinal a hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, these two Sums making together one hundred and twenty one thousand, eight hundred and ninety eight Crowns *de soleil*, were to be paid in seven years, by half-yearly equal payments.

The Regent takes heart.

The defensive League between *France* and *England* being thus concluded and signed, the Regent began to be a little more at ease, and better able to dispute upon the Terms of the King her Son's Liberty. Besides, she had reason to hope, the King of *England*'s Declarations would help to determine the Pope and *Venetians*, whose fears alone hindered them from forming a League against the Emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be seen, they altered their measures upon hearing what the King of *England* had done. Mean while, the Emperor receiving advice of the Treaty of *Moore*, recalled his Ambassadors, who were still in *England* (7), and *Henry* did the same with respect to his in *Spain*. Shortly after, *Charles* concluded his Marriage with *Isabella* of *Portugal*, by virtue of a Dispensation brought him by Cardinal *Salviati*, who delivered it to him after the Conclusion of the forementioned Treaty.

Henry *and* Charles *recall their Ambassadors* Hall. Guicciard. Hollingsh. Herbert.

The Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Whilst the affairs of *Europe* took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of *Pavia*, and the *French* King's Captivity, there was no other alteration in those of *Scotland*, except that the Earl of *Angus*, who was to hold the Administration but four months, did not think fit to resign when his time was expired. Whereupon the Earl of *Argyle* withdrew greatly dissatisfied, but the Earl of *Lenox*, though likewise displeased, still remained at Court. Mean while, the Queen and the Earl of *Arran*, who had been dispossessed, were not unmindful of their Affairs. The Earl of *Lenox*'s discontent giving them room to hold Intelligence with him, they perswaded him to instill into the King a desire to be freed from the Earl of *Angus*. But as there was occasion for great precaution to deceive that Lord's Vigilance, it was not till the next year that the King found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his design.

Truce between England *and* Scotland *prolonged.* Act. Pub. XIV. p. 30.

In the beginning of the year, the Court of *Scotland* had sent an Embassy to *England*, at the head whereof was the Earl of *Cassils*, to treat of the King's Marriage with the Princess *Mary*. But as several difficulties occurred, the Truce which was to expire the 26th of *January*, was prolonged to the 23d of *March* (8), to give the Earl of *Cassils* time to take a Journey to *Scotland* for new Instructions. Mean while, it was not possible to conclude any thing, because, in all appearance, *Henry* had no intention to give his only Daughter and Heir to the King of *Scotland*. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by this Marriage. Besides, as he then intended to join with *France*, it was no longer his Interest to manage the *Scots* (9).

1526. *Negotiations at* Rome. Guicciard.

Before the Treaty of *Moore* was concluded, the Emperor

(1) In *Hertfordshire*.

(2) Their common Allies were the Pope, *Venice*, the Kings of *Hungary* and *Portugal*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*; and those named by *France* in particular, the Kings of *Scotland* and *Navarre*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorrain*, *Gueldres*; the *Switzers*; the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, the Marquis of *Montferrat* and his Mother: Those named by King *Henry*, were the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, the King of *Denmark*, the Queen-Dowager of *France*, *Margaret* Archduchess of *Austria*, the Bishop of *Liege*, the Dukes of *Urbino*, *Cleves*, and *Juliers*, the House of *Medicis*, the *Florentines*, and the *Hanse* Towns. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 14. p. 51.

(3) ----- Decies octies centum Millium Coronarum Auri de sole, & nonaginta quatuor Millium Coronarum Auri de sole, septingentarum triginta sex Coronarum Auri de sole, & triginta duorum solidorum Turonensium. ------ *Ibid.* p. 59.

(4) All these Lords and Cities were to send a Bond with their Seal annexed, within two Months, under the Obligation and Forfeiture of all their Goods. *Ibid.* p. 65.

(5) In *October*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Treasurer of the Houshold, and Dr. *Taylor*, were sent into *France*, to see the Queen-Regent swear to the observance of these Treaties. *Hall*, fol. 145.

(6) Crowns *Sol*, or *de Soleil*, were golden Coins, of old worth thirty eight Pence *Tournois*.

(7) Monsieur *de Prat*, his Ambassador, departed out of *England April* 9. *Hall*, fol. 139. *Hollingsh.* p. 891.

(8) *Hall* says, that in *January* 1526, a Peace for three years and six months was concluded between *England* and *Scotland*. fol. 146. *Hollingsh.* p. 892.

(9) This year, the King following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, fell in upon his Head, and had not one *Edmund Moody* a Footman jumped in, and raised up his head, which was stuck fast in the Clay, he had been drowned. *Hall*, fol. 139. *Stow*, p. 523. ----- *Vasco Nunnez* having, in 1513, first discovered the *South-Sea*, and *Hernando de Magellanes* passed, in 1520, through the *Straits* in *South America*, that bear his name; this year 1525, *Francesco Picarro*, a *Spaniard*, residing at *Panama*, first attempted the discovery of the *South-Sea Coast*, and at last came to *Peru*, which he ransacked. ----- *Hernando de Magellanes* aforementioned, dying in the Voyage, his Companions went on to *Borneo*, and the *Moluccaes*, whence one of the Ships returned to *Spain* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and, so first compassed the Globe; *Juan Sebastian de Cano* a *Biscainer* being Pilot. *Herbert*, p. 70.

1526. peror had a great advantage in his Negotiationss at *Rome* and *Madrid*. By reſtoring *Sforza* to *Milan*, he was almoſt ſure the Pope and *Venetians* would abandon *France*, and by deſiſting from his demand of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, he could be certain *Francis* would readily reſign *Milan*, and not trouble himſelf much with the concerns of *Italy*. But he could not reſolve to do either, and that made the Negotiations ſo tedious. After the Treaty of *Moore* was ſigned, the State of his affairs was changed. The Pope was grown more couragious, and finding himſelf deceived by the Emperor, who in a ſecond ratification of their Treaty, left the reſtoration of *Sforza* in a ſtate of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the reſtitution of the *Milaneſe*, there was no Peace to be expected. The Emperor had alſo reaſon to fear, that *Francis* I, ſeeing himſelf like to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill more incompliant with reſpect to *Burgundy*. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a League which was going to unite ſo many Princes againſt him, he was in great perplexity. There was a neceſſity of ſpeedily reſolving either to maintain, without any Ally, the impending War, or to make Peace with *France*. Both were equally perplexing. In chuſing War, he knew not where to find Money, and in making with his priſoner a forced Peace, he could not expect to reap from his Victory the advantages he propoſed. Happily for him, *Francis*, tired of his Captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to reſign the Duchy of *Burgundy*, which had hitherto been the main obſtacle to a Peace. After that the Emperor readily and ſeriouſly treated with him, whereas before he had only amuſed him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous Treaty of *Madrid*. The chief Articles to which *Francis* ſubmitted were theſe; beſides many others which it would be needleſs to recite.

The Pope refuſes all Terms without Sforza's Reſtoration. Guicciard.

The Emperor reſolves upon a Peace. Herbert.

Treaty of Madrid. Jan. 14. 1526. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 308. Herbert. Guicciard. Hall.

That the King of *France* ſhould marry Queen *Leonora* the Emperor's Siſter, and have with her two hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold.

That *Francis* ſhould be releaſed on the 10th of *March*, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the Emperor his two Sons in Hoſtage (1).

That he ſhould reſign to the Emperor the Duchy of *Burgundy* in full Sovereignty.

That he ſhould deſiſt from the Homage, the Emperor owed him for *Flanders* and *Artois*.

That he ſhould renounce all claim to *Naples*, *Milan*, *Aſti*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, and *Heſdin*, &c.

That he ſhould perſwade *Henry d' Albret* to reſign the Kingdom of *Navarre* to the Emperor, or at leaſt ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

That, within forty days, he ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* and all his Party to their Eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore *Philibert de Châlons* Prince of *Orange*, and *Michael Antonio de Saluzzo*, to their Principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Guelders*, and after that Prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavour to cauſe his Towns to fall into the Emperor's hands.

That he ſhould pay the King of *England* five hundred thouſand Crowns which the Emperor owed him.

That when the Emperor went to *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown, he ſhould lend him twelve Gallies, four large Ships, and a Land-Army, or two hundred thouſand Crowns inſtead of the Army.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the Word and Honour of a Prince, to execute all theſe Articles, or in caſe of Non-performance to return priſoner into *Spain*.

State of the Emperor's Affairs at the time of the Treaty of Madrid.

If *Francis* had not been ſo haſty to offer the Duchy of *Burgundy*, he would, probably, have ſaved himſelf many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour (2). At the time, the Treaty of *Madrid* was concluded, *Charles* was under very great perplexities. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the Princes and *Hans-Towns* of *Germany*, that had embraced *Luther*'s Doctrine, began to take meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the Calamities they were daily threatned with. To this was added, the dread of a *Turkiſh* Invaſion in *Hungary*, which greatly concerned the Emperor, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of *Auſtria*. So, in all likelihood, if *Francis* had not been ſo haſty, the Emperor would have rather deſiſted from *Burgundy*, than been expoſed to ſo many Enemies at once. Theſe were the real motives that obliged him to haſten the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Madrid*, contrary to the Inſtances and Oppoſition of many of his Counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His Chancellor even refuſed to ſign it, but as he believed he had ſtrong reaſons to run that hazard, he abſolutely concluded, in a belief, that it was the ſole means to prevent the League againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to be free at moſt, by reſtoring *Sforza* to *Milan*, which however he did not intend to do but at the laſt extremity. Mean while, by reſolving to inſiſt upon that Article, he rendered all his meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his priſoner, without obtaining *Burgundy*, or preventing the League; in ſhort, after ſuſtaining many attacks, he was, as will be ſeen, forced to part with the Duchy of *Milan*. But where is the Prince, let his abilities be never ſo great, that can foreſee all the Conſequences of his own Policy? When *Charles* V ſigned the Treaty of *Madrid*, he imagined to do a very advantagious thing. Indeed *Francis* would have dearly purchaſed his Liberty, if, when he ſigned the Treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifeſt, that when he gave his word, he deſigned to break it, ſince he had no ſooner ſet foot in his own Dominions, but he refuſed to ratify the Treaty. This was ſo little expected by the Emperor, that immediately after the Concluſion of the Peace, he wrote to the Pope, that though he had promiſed to reſtore *Sforza* to *Milan*, it was however on condition that *Sforza* cleared himſelf of the Crime of Felony and Treaſon laid to his charge. Adding, that ſince the Princes of *Italy* wiſhed, he would not give the Duchy of *Milan* to the Archduke *Ferdinand* his Brother, he would preſent it to the Duke of *Bourbon*, in caſe *Sforza* was found guilty. *Clement* VII, being informed of the Conditions of the Treaty of *Madrid*, preſently gueſſed that *Francis* had accepted of them only to obtain his releaſe, without intending to perform them. In this belief, he ſtill inſiſted upon *Sforza*'s reſtoration without Terms, being willing, before he engaged with the Emperor, to ſee what the King of *France* would do. The Senate of *Venice* being of the ſame mind, not a little contributed to keep the Pope in his reſolution.

1526. Guicciard.

The Emperor adds a new condition with regard to Sforza. Guicciard.

The Pope believes Francis will not keep the Treaty of Madrid. *He inſiſts upon Sforza's Reſtoration.*

What theſe ſubtle Politicians had foreſeen, came to paſs. *Francis* was no ſooner arrived in his own Territories, but he mounted a *Turkiſh* Horſe and rid full ſpeed to St. *John de Luz*, from whence he went next day to *Bayonne*. The 17th of *March*, he ſigned Bonds to the King of *England* for the Sums in which his Mother the Regent had ingaged him. By the way, the Hiſtorians place this Prince's deliverance on the 18th of *March*, and yet theſe Bonds are dated at *Bayonne* the 17th of the ſame month. When he came to *Bayonne*, *Lanoy*, who accompanied him as Ambaſſador, prayed him to ratify the Treaty of *Madrid*. But the King told him, that having exceeded in the Treaty, the power of a King of *France*, in granting the Duchy of *Burgundy* to the Emperor, he muſt proceed to the performance by fair means, and endeavour to obtain the conſent of the *Burgundians*, and the approbation of the reſt of his Subjects: That however, he deſigned to execute the Treaty, but wanted a little time to prepare for it. This anſwer might have ſufficiently ſhown the Ambaſſador, what the King intended. He followed him however to *Bourdeaux*, where the King's firſt care was to ratify the Treaty concluded at *Moore* with the King of *England* (3). From *Bourdeaux* he came to *Cognac*, where he made ſome ſtay, with the Viceroy of *Naples* ſtill in his Train, who preſſed him from time to time to ratify and execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, or return to *Spain*, according to his Oath. To this the King, to be excuſed, alledged, three reaſons, which were far from being ſatisfactory to the Ambaſſador. The firſt was, that it was not in his power to reſign *Burgundy*, becauſe the Kings of *France* not being Proprietors of their Dominions, it was not lawful for them to alienate any part (4). The ſecond, that he was compelled to ſign the Treaty of *Madrid*. The third, that by his Coronation Oath, he had ſworn not to alienate any part of his Kingdom, and this Oath annulled that which he had taken at *Madrid*. The Ambaſſador replied to the firſt, That though he could not alienate any of his Provinces, that was not to be underſtood of Dominions unjuſtly acquired by the Crown of *France*, as was the Duchy of *Burgundy*. To the ſecond he anſwered, That it was left to his choice either to remain in the State, the chance of War, and the Will of God had thrown him into, or to be freed by a Treaty: That he had even ſollicited it, and it was difficult to conceive, wherein the Force he com-

Francis arrives in his own Dominions. Hall. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 129. Guicciard. Herbert.

Lanoy prays him to ratify the Treaty. He ſhifts it off. Guicciard. Herbert. Bellai.

He ratifies the Treaty of Moore. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 134, 154, 175. *Lanoy preſſes him.* Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert. P. Daniel.

The King alledges Reaſons to be excuſed. Hall.

Lanoy's Reply.

(1) And ſome other Lords, among whom was the Duke of *Albany*. See *Rymer*, Tom. 14. p. 311.

(2) At the concluſion of this Treaty, *Francis* coming to the Altar, and putting his right hand upon the Bible, did ſwear by the Sacrament and the Holy Evangeliſts, not to break this Capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counſel or favour that any other ſhould break it. *Herbert*, p. 74. But it ſeems all this was a Farce: for before *Francis* ſigned the Treaty, he made a formal, though private, Proteſtation againſt it, in the Preſence of a few truſty Witneſſes and Notaries. See *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 614.

(3) Before Sir *Thomas Cheney*, who was diſpatched by King *Henry* to congratulate him upon his releaſe. *Herbert*, p. 75.

(4) Without the conſent of the principal Perſons of the Eſtate and Parliament. *Ibid.*

1526. plained of consisted. To the third he said, That when the King swore to the Treaty of *Madrid*, he was not ignorant of his Coronation Oath, and probably, did not believe the second contrary to the first; that if it was otherwise, there would be reason to think, he had intended to impose upon the Emperor's easiness. Without examining here either the King's reasons, or the Ambassador's answers, it suffices to say in a word, the King was already resolved.

The Pope's and Venetian Ambassadors go to the King at Cognac.

The Pope, the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, plainly foreseeing, *Francis* would scruple to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, had sent Ambassadors to him, who found him at *Cognac*. They were received with great civilities, and the King immediately entered into Treaty with them concerning a League against the Emperor. The League was concluded indeed at *Cognac*, the 17th of *May*, between the Pope, the King of *France*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians* (1); but it was not published till a month after, *Francis* pretending he could not ratify it till he had seen the ratifications of the other Allies. The Viceroy of *Naples*, having some notice of it, summoned the King, for the last time, to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*. Whereupon *Francis* told him plainly, it was not in his power to resign *Burgundy*, though he had promised it. But to show him, he desired to live in Friendship with the Emperor his master, he offered to give him two millions of crowns of Gold, as an equivalent for *Burgundy*, and punctually to perform the rest of the Treaty.

League at Cognac against the Emperor. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert. Hall.

Lanoy calls upon the King, who tells him plainly he will not execute the Treaty.

He offers two Millions in lieu of Burgundy.

The Emperor will abate nothing.

Thus the Emperor's measures were entirely broken. He had the King of *France* no longer in his power, and yet, was not less obliged to sustain the efforts of the League newly concluded against him; not to mention the King of *England*, who probably would one time or other act offensively. His whole refuge consisted in having the King of *France*'s two Sons in Hostage. But his embarassment was not capable of making him yield on this occasion. He chose to run all hazards rather than consent to the least alteration of the Treaty of *Madrid*. His resolution being notified to *Francis*, the League was published at *Cognac* the 11th of *June*. Two things hastened the conclusion of this League. The first, that the Castle of *Milan*, besieged by the Imperialists, being hard pressed, wanted a speedy relief, and the Pope and *Venetians* durst not send their Troops into the Field, before they were assured of the League with *France*. The second, that the King of *France* designing to offer the Emperor two millions of Crowns in lieu of *Burgundy*, he believed this offer would meet with a readier acceptance after the conclusion of the League. It is certain, this was his sole aim; and, if his offer had been accepted, he would never have ratified the League of *Cognac*. Nay, after the League was published, neither himself nor the King of *England*, ever made any considerable effort against the Emperor, their intent being only to frighten him, and obtain the restitution of the two Hostages upon reasonable Terms. Thus, for once the *Italians* were the dupes of the *French* and the *English*, which deserves notice, as a thing very uncommon. Mean while *Francis* and *Henry*, to continue their Game, made a new Treaty, promising never to make Peace with the Emperor, unless he would restore the Hostages and pay *Henry* what he owed him. But this Treaty obliged them not to take arms to procure each other the satisfaction they demanded.

The League is made publick. Bellai. P. Daniel.

Francis aims only to frighten the Emperor.

The Pope's and Venetians Army take the field Guicciard. Hall.

The Pope and the *Venetians* relying on the assistance of *France* and *England*, sent their Troops into the Field under the command of the Duke of *Urbino*, who suffered the Castle of *Milan* to be taken, and caused an attempt upon *Genoa* to miscarry, for want of sending the Allies a supply of fifteen hundred Men. *Guicciardini* insinuates, in several places, that the Duke acted but faintly against the Emperor, who was very weak in *Italy*, and that the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was returned to *Milan*, would if the least pressed, have been infallibly constrained to abandon the City.

The Colonna's make war upon the Pope. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Hall.

Whilst the Duke of *Urbino* indirectly favored the Emperor, the Duke of *Sessa* the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Rome*, and *Hugo de Moncada*, who commanded at *Naples* in the Viceroy's absence, supplied other ways the weakness of the Imperialists, by exciting the *Colonna*'s to make War upon the Pope, whilst his Troops were in the Duchy of *Milan*. This unexpected Invasion, which the Pope could ascribe only to the sollicitations of the Emperor or his Ministers, caused him to resolve to send into the Kingdom of *Naples* the Army commanded by the Duke of *Urbino* in the *Milanese*, and to that end he obtained the consent of the *Venetians*. But the Duke of *Sessa*, to avoid the Invasion, the Kingdom of *Naples* was threatened with, so ordered it, that the *Colonna*'s gave the Pope all the satisfaction he desired. The agreement was made at *Rome* the 22d of *August*, and the Duke of *Urbino* was countermanded. 1526. *They submit.*

They enter Rome on a sudden.

But about a month after, when the Pope least expected it, the *Colonna*'s with five or six thousand Men entered *Rome* in the night between the 19th and 20th of *September*, and so alarmed the Pope that he retired in a fright to the Castle of St. *Angelo*. As he was not very safe in that Castle, where he had nothing to maintain a Siege, *Moncada* went to him, and representing the danger he was in, and that besides *Rome* was going to be plundered, he perswaded him to make a separate Truce with the Emperor for four months. This was more than the Emperor wanted, who had now ordered Levies to be made in *Germany*, and was about to send back *Lanoy* to *Naples* with a good Body of *Spanish* Troops. When the Truce was signed, the Pope's Forces which served under the Duke of *Urbino* were recalled to *Rome*.

The Pope flies to the Castle of St. Angelo. Guicciard.

Truce between the Pope and Emperor.

Mean while, the Pope was extremely surprized at *Francis*'s slowness, who, though principal author of the League, made yet no effort to oblige the Emperor to restore his Sons. The King of *England*'s indolence astonished him no less, because not knowing that the League concluded at *Moore* was only defensive, he had imagined the two Kings were to attack the Emperor with all their Forces. So, to excite them by raising their jealousy, he declared he intended to go into *Spain* and concert means with the Emperor to procure the Peace of *Europe*. This declaration very much confounded the *French* and *English* Ambassadors. They were afraid there was some hidden Mystery in so extraordinary a Journey, and therefore used their best endeavor to dissuade the Pope from it. But *Henry* used a more effectual means, namely, a present of thirty thousand Ducats, which entirely diverted the pretended design of this Journey.

Clement VII *feigns to intend to go to* Spain. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Henry makes him a Present. Herbert.

Shortly after, *Clement* VII broke his agreement with the *Colonna*'s, and ordered the Troops, he had sent for to *Rome*, to march into their Territories, having excommunicated them and deprived *Pompeo Colonna* of the Cardinalate. He affirmed that his Treaty with them was void, because he was forced to it. He thereby justified, in some measure, *Francis*'s proceedings, whom, on the same pretence he had absolved from his Oath at *Madrid*.

The Pope breaks the agreement with the Colonna's. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Whilst these things passed at *Rome*, the Baron *de Frondsperg* was marching from *Germany* towards *Italy* with an Army of thirteen or fourteen thousand Men, raised for the Emperor's service. Whereupon, the Duke of *Urbino*, who kept the Duke of *Bourbon* as it were besieged in *Milan*, quitted the Neighbourhood of that City, under colour of opposing the passage of the *Germans*. Mean while, the Pope was not a little embarassed. The Truce was soon to expire. *Frondsperg* was marching to *Italy*, and the Viceroy of *Naples* was now in the Island of *Corsica*, leading to *Naples* a strong reinforcement of *Spaniards*. Mean time, the King of *France* was making no preparations to support his Allies, and the King of *England* showed the same remissness. Mean while, *Frondsperg*, still continuing his march, arrived in the *Mantuan*, where the Prince of *Orange* came to join and serve under him as a Volunteer. Afterwards, about the middle of *December*, he repaired to the borders of the *Milanese*, the Duke of *Urbino* not being able or willing to oppose his march. Here he expected the Duke of *Bourbon* who was to come and join him; but was not yet in condition to execute that design. The difficulty sprung from his having no Money to pay his Troops, who positively refused to go out of the City before they had received their Arrears, and even threatened to sack the Town. There was no other way to hinder them from executing their Threats, than to take the Plate belonging to the Churches. This served to pay part of what was due to the Troops, who had scarce received any thing since the Battle of *Pavia*, so destitute of Money was the Emperor. The Duke of *Bourbon* made use of another expedient to increase his Treasure: And that was to cause the Chancellor *Morone* to be condemned to die, who to redeem his Life gave him twenty thousand Ducats. He afterwards became one of his chief Counsellors.

Frondsperg *marches to* Italy.

The Duke of Urbino *raises the Blockade of* Milan. Guicciard. Bellai. Hall.

Francis *neglects the affairs of* Italy.

The Duke of Bourbon *is at a loss for want of Money.* Guicciard.

Whilst the Duke of *Bourbon* was employed in raising Money, *Lanoy*, who was come to *Naples* with a Body of *Spanish* Troops, amused the Pope with Negotiations tending only to hinder him from taking sure measures, by putting him in hopes of a speedy agreement with the Emperor. These hopes however became more and more remote after *Frondsperg*'s arrival. Whilst *Milan* was in danger, the Emperor had intimated to the Pope, that if he desired *Francesco Sforza* to be brought to his Trial, it was only to save the honor of the Empire, and he would give

Lanoy *arrives at* Naples. *He amuses the Pope.* Guicciard. P. Daniel.

(1) See the Articles of this League in *Guicciardini*, l. 17; and *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 620, &c. *Guicciard.* says, it was concluded the 10th, and others the 22d of *May*. *Hall*, fol. 149, &c.

the

1526. the Judges private Orders to declare him innocent. But after the arrival of the *Germans*, he demanded ſuch a pecuniary reparation, that *Sforza* was by no means able to raiſe the Sum required. Wherefore the Emperor pretended that the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* ſhould be his Securities.

Francis deceives the Pope and Venetians; Guicciard.

The Pope and the *Venetians* had expected that immediately after the concluſion of the League of *Cognac*, *Francis* would ſend a ſtrong Army into *Italy*, and with the King of *England*, make a powerful diverſion upon the borders of *Spain* and *Flanders*. But, as we have ſeen, they were very much miſtaken. *Francis* had concluded the League only to frighten his Enemy, and in hopes it would cauſe him to accept of the offered equivalent. He was deſirous to avoid a War, and even thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceeding by that means, that he had made with the King of *England* no Treaty to oblige them to take Arms unleſs they were attacked. Thus *Henry* knowing the King of *France*'s diſpoſition, took care to go no faſter than he. Expreſſes and Envoys from the Pope and the *Venetians* frequently came to the two Courts to ſollicite them to War, but it was to no purpoſe. On the contrary, even after the Pope and the *Venetians* had ſolemnly declared War againſt the Emperor, *Francis* ſent the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* to make him again the ſame offer of two millions of Crowns in lieu of the Duchy of *Burgundy*. But the Emperor rejected it with diſdain, and charged the Ambaſſador to tell his Maſter, he had acted like a Knave and a Villain, and ought not to have forgot their laſt converſation (1). Probably, the Ambaſſador thought not proper to diſcharge ſo ungrateful a Commiſſion. This afterwards occaſioned a miſtake which was not favorable to the King of *France*.

who ſollicite him to no purpoſe. Herbert.

The Emperor calls him Villain.

Wolſey *obtains Grants for his College.* Act. Pub. XIV. p. 155 ---- 184.

Whilſt *Italy*, *France* and *Spain* were in agitation, *Henry* lived peaceably in his Kingdom, and the Cardinal his Favorite was wholly employed about his College at *Oxford*, for which he inceſſantly obtained freſh Grants from the Pope and the King. The Pope durſt not refuſe him any thing at a time when he thought he wanted his credit, to incline the King his Maſter to War; and *Henry* was always ready to give him marks of his affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the Pope. This condeſcenſion of the Pope and the King proved fatal to ſeveral little Monaſteries (2), which were ſuppreſſed by the Cardinal, and the Revenues applied to his College.

The Pope endeavours to perſwade Henry *into the League of* Cognac. Ib. p. 179--185. July. Auguſt. p. 187.

Ever ſince the publiſhing of the League of *Cognac*, the Pope and *Venetians* had uſed their conſtant endeavours, to perſwade *Henry* not only to come into it, but declare himſelf Protector. It is eaſy to gueſs with what view they paid him this deference. They hoped to find him the ſame as formerly, ever ready to be inſnared, and to laviſh away his Money for the affairs of others. There are, in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Credentials of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors addreſſed to the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal, probably, to preſs the King to come into this League. There is likewiſe *Clement* VII's Commiſſion to *Hubert Gambara* and *Giovanni Baptiſta Sanga* to treat with *Henry*. In this Commiſſion the Pope ſaid, that the circumſtances of the times forcing the Allies to conclude a League without the King of *England*'s participation, they had however agreed, to declare him Protector. Wherefore he empowered his two Envoys to treat with that Monarch upon his entering into the League, and to change or alter the Articles, as ſhould be agreed with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought neceſſary, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them Powers to ſettle with him the Penſion which was to be adjudged to him as Protector of the League, if he would pleaſe to accept of the Title. But this Penſion, as appears elſewhere, was to be raiſed upon the Duchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, after they were conquered. Thus, upon the hopes of an imaginary Penſion, the Pope meant to perſwade *Henry* to declare War with the Emperor, and conſequently to draw him into very great and real Expences. But for once, *Henry* would not be his dupe. He knew by experience what it was to join with the Popes for the *Italian* affairs.

Battle of Mohatz *in* Hungary. Aug. 18. Guicciard. Hall.

This year was fought the famous Battle of *Mohatz* in *Hungary* between *Lewis* II King of that Country, and *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks*. *Lewis* loſt the day, and was drowned in a Moraſs (3). The death of this Prince was a freſh ſource of calamities for *Hungary*. *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* the Emperor's Brother, who had married *Lewis*'s Siſter *Ann*, pretended to the Crown of that Kingdom, and had for Competitor *John de Zapol*, Wayvode of *Tranſilvania*. They were both elected by two different Parties. But *John* put himſelf under the protection of *Soliman*, who cauſed him to be crowned at *Buda*, whilſt *Ferdinand* was taking meaſures to proſecute his right. 1526.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The affairs of *Scotland* ſtill remained in the ſame ſituation, except that in the courſe of this year, the Queen's and Earl of *Arran*'s or *Hamilton*'s Faction attempted to take away the King's Perſon from the Earl of *Angus*. But the attempt miſcarrying, the Earl was ſeverely revenged of the Perſons concerned.

Francis and Henry *deceive the Expectations of the Pope and* Venetians. Guicciard.

The Pope and *Venetians* had begun the War in *Italy*, in the ſole expectation that *Francis* would ſend thither a powerful Army, and the King of *England* make a diverſion from the *Low-Countries*, or at leaſt, according to cuſtom, furniſh money for maintaining the War. The eaſineſs wherewith he had been amuſed in the former Wars, cauſed his Money to be relied on as a ſure aid, though when a Peace or Truce was made his intereſts were not thought of. But the ſcene was changed. *Henry*, grown more wiſe by experience, was no longer willing to find Money for the affairs of others. Beſides, the Treaſure left him by the King his Father being long ſince exhauſted, he could raiſe Money only by means of the Parliament, who always framed difficulties, or made him purchaſe their Subſidies with ſome extraordinary favors. So *Francis* not finding in him the ſame diſpoſitions as formerly, feared to ingage too far, before he was ſecure of his aſſiſtance (4). He perceived, he was no longer inclined to favor the Emperor as before. But that did not ſuffice. It was alſo neceſſary to perſwade him to join in the League of *Italy*, otherwiſe the whole charge of the War muſt have fallen upon *France*, which was however drained of Men, Money and Generals. For this reaſon, his aim was to induce the Emperor, through fear of the League, to accept the equivalent offered him for *Burgundy*, and to continue the War in *Italy*, only till that Prince was reſolved, or the King of *England* entirely ingaged. To that end, he made the Pope and *Venetians* large promiſes, to hinder them from being impatient, but performed them very ill. A ſmall Body of Troops levied in *Italy*, under the command of the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, was hitherto all that he contributed for the League whereof he was himſelf the author and head. Mean while, the Pope was extremely uneaſy at ſeeing the ſlowneſs or rather coldneſs of the two Monarchs, on whom he relied. Indeed he had no cauſe to complain of *Henry*, who had made him no promiſe, and yet he ceaſed not earneſtly to preſs him to undertake the defence of the Church, as if the Church could not have ſubſiſted if the Emperor remained maſter of *Milan*. But he received only general Anſwers, *Henry* being unwilling to ingage in the affairs of *Italy*, where he could reap no advantage. In the mean time, the Pope was at an expence which threw him into great ſtreights. For which reaſon he privately continued with the Viceroy of *Naples* a Negotiation, with intent to haſten or retard it, according to the proceedings of the Kings of *France* and *England*. Herein he acted agreeably to his real temper, which made him conſider the having always two ſtrings to his bow, as the ſureſt maxim of policy. But he was always ſo unfortunate as to reap from his Artifices, fruits contrary to his hopes. As his ſole aim was to hinder the Emperor from keeping the Duchy of *Milan*, to that end it was, that he would have the Kings of *France* and *England* make conſiderable efforts; after which, he would not have ſcrupled to forſake them, provided the Emperor had ſatisfied him upon that Article. *Francis* was in no better diſpoſition with regard to his Allies. His view was to recover his Sons out of *Spain*; and, could he have ſucceeded by treating alone with the Emperor, he would have little regarded the concerns of the Pope and *Venetians*. As for the republick of *Venice*, it was of great conſequence to her that the Emperor ſhould not remain maſter of the *Milaneſe*, and her expences to hinder it was nothing in compariſon of the prejudice ſhe would have received, if the Emperor had peaceably held that Duchy. So, never ceaſing to ſollicite the Kings of *France* and *England*, ſhe continued the War, though faintly, in expectation that theſe two Monarchs would bear the greateſt part of the charge. The Negotiations which the Pope ſtill continued with the Vice-

Clement ſets on foot the Negotiation with the Viceroy of Naples. Guicciard.

(1) It ſeems before *Francis* went from *Spain*, the Emperor ſaid to him one day, *Are you willing to perform all that is capitulated between us?* *Francis* replied, *Yes*; *and when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me for a* Knave *and a* Villain. *Herbert*, p. 75.

(2) The following Monaſteries are named; *Daventre*, *Raverſton*, *Tykeford*, *Sandwell*, *Eanwell*, *Lytlemore*, *Pogbley*, *Thelye*, *Blackamore*, *Staneſgate*, *Typtre*, *Wykes*, *Dodneſh*, *Snape*, *Lyeſnes*, *Tonbridge*, *Begham*, and *Calicete*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 14. p. 155----184.

(3) *Lewis*, with an Army of twenty thouſand, engaged three hundred thouſand *Turks*. By his defeat and death moſt part of *Hungary* was loſt, with the Lives of two hundred thouſand *Hungarians*, who were cut off by the *Turks* in the following Rencounters. This *Lewis* was born without a ſkin, had a Beard at fifteen years of Age, at eighteen his Hairs were grey, and he was drowned in his 20th. *Heylin*.

(4) In *Auguſt* 1526. *John* Lord of *Vaulx* his Ambaſſador concluded with Sir *Thomas More* Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, a Treaty of reciprocal Engagement between the two Kings their Maſters. See *Rymer*, Tom. 14. p. 185----189. *Herbert*, p. 79.

roy

1527. roy of *Naples*, afforded the *Venetians* a plauſible reaſon not to exert themſelves, becauſe they were afraid, his inconſtancy would render all their endeavours ineffectual. The *The Emperor's Embarraſſment.* Emperor on his part was no leſs embarraſſed. As he had but little Money, a vigorous War muſt have annoyed him very much. And therefore, finding the King of *France* made no great efforts, he did not haſten the ſending of freſh Supplies into *Italy*, for fear of raiſing the attention of his Enemies. Beſides, ſince *Frondſperg*'s arrival with the *German* Troops, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the Duchy of *Milan*, which was then his chief aim. Such was the Diſpoſition of theſe Potentates in the beginning of the year 1527. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in *Italy* during this year, becauſe it ſerves for foundation to all the events ſpoken of hereafter.

The Duke of Bourbon is without Money, and at a great loſs. Guicciard. The Duke of *Bourbon* was under inconceivable difficulties for want of Money to pay his Troops. After frequent exactions upon the Inhabitants of *Milan*, he ſaw no way to maintain his Army any longer, without danger of cauſing a general revolt in that great City which was reduc'd to deſpair. On the other hand, the *Germans* brought into *Italy* by *Frondſperg*, had received no pay ſince their Liſting. It was neceſſary therefore, either to pay them what was due, or furniſh them wherewithal to make themſelves amends in ſome other place, or reſolve to ſee the *He ſees no other way but to lead his Army into the Pope's Territories.* Army disband, on which the Emperor wholly relied. To ſatisfy the Troops, there was no other way but to lead them into the Territories of the Church, of *Florence*, or of *Venice*. But the *Venetian* Towns were too well provided, to afford any hopes of booty from thence; eſpecially as the Duke of *Bourbon* had no Artillery. Beſides, very likely, he was ſure the Duke of *Urbino* would not oppoſe his deſigns, provided he did not moleſt the Republick. So, determining to maintain his Army upon the Pope's Territories, he left ſeven or eight thouſand *Germans* at *Milan*, under the command of *Antonio de Leva*, and went and joined *Frondſperg* in the *Plaiſantin*, where he ſtayed ſome time to raiſe Contributions.

The Duke of Urbino favours him. He joins Frondſperg.

War between the Pope and Viceroy of Naples. Before the Duke of *Bourbon* departed from *Milan*, the Viceroy of *Naples* had brought an Army upon the borders of the Eccleſiaſtical State, to make a diverſion, and force the Pope to recall the Troops he had ſent to the Duke of *Urbino*, ſince the expiration of the Truce. The approach of this Army had obliged the Pope to raiſe Troops to defend his Dominions, not having thought proper to recall *Clement VII is engaged in a great expence.* Guicciard. thoſe in *Lombardy*. Hence he ſaw himſelf ingaged in an unuſual expence. Hitherto the Popes had found means to wage War at the charge of others, and *Clement* VII had been in hopes to do the ſame. He had granted *Francis* a Tenth upon the Clergy of *France*, which he was to divide with him. Beſides that, *Francis* had promiſed to find forty thouſand Crowns a month for the League, and *Francis keeps not his word with him.* twenty thouſand for the Pope in particular. But of all this, he had yet paid but ten thouſand Crowns. Thus the Pope ſaw himſelf over-burdened, without knowing how to get clear of this incumbrance, ſince it was no leſs difficult to raiſe Money, than dangerous to make a ſeparate Peace *Henry ſends him a Preſent.* Herbert. in ſuch a juncture. Mean while, *Henry* VIII being informed of his neceſſities, and fearing he would relinquiſh the League, ſent him thirty thouſand Ducats (1), which helped to comfort him a little, and keep him in the reſolution to continue the War.

Truce between the Pope and Viceroy. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert. It is needleſs to give the particulars of this War between the Pope and the Viceroy of *Naples*. It ſuffices to obſerve, that whilſt it laſted, the Pope receiving advice of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s march, concluded a Truce with the Viceroy. He had ſtrong reaſons for taking this courſe. He was not only burdened with the maintenance of two Armies, but alſo ſaw himſelf daily more remote from his hopes with reſpect to *France* and *England*. *Francis* performed nothing of what he had promiſed, and *Henry* ſhewed no great inclination to come into the League. On the other hand, the Duke of *Urbino*'s proceeding, who commanded the Army of the Allies in the *Milaneſe*, daily grew more ſuſpicious. Beſides, *Florence* was in danger, and the Pope unſafe in *Rome* itſelf. The conditions of the Truce were:

Guicciard. That it ſhould laſt eight months: That the Pope ſhould pay ſixty thouſand Ducats to the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army; namely, forty thouſand on the 21ſt of the preſent month, and the reſt within eight days: And that the imperial Army ſhould march out of the Eccleſiaſtical State. The Truce being publiſhed, the Pope disbanded all his Troops, except two thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, and laid up his Gallies before he knew the Duke of *Bourbon*'s intentions, who was in the midſt of his march to *Bologna*.

The Duke's Troops conſiſted of five thouſand Men at Arms, making about two thouſand Horſe, thirteen or fourteen thouſand *Germans*, five thouſand *Spaniards*, two thouſand *Italian* Foot, and a good number of Light Horſe of the ſame Nation. This Army departed from about *Placentia* in *February*, without Money, Proviſions, Waggons, Artillery, and ſubſiſting only by means of the Contributions raiſed upon their rout. The Duke not being able to enter *Bologna*, by reaſon the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo* had thrown himſelf in with twelve thouſand Men, ſtayed ſome time in the *Bologneſe*, where his Army made a prodigious booty. Here he was informed of the concluſion of the Truce, to which he would not conſent, becauſe the Sum he was to have was not ſufficient to pay what was due to his Troops. Whereupon the Viceroy of *Naples*, who was at *Rome*, came to *Florence*, where the Duke ſent an Officer to conſer with him. As the Viceroy's intention was to cauſe the Duke of *Bourbon* to accept of the Truce, in order to ſend the Imperial Army into the State of *Venice*, he agreed with the Meſſenger that the Duke ſhould withdraw in five days; that fourſcore thouſand Ducats ſhould be paid him down, and ſixty thouſand ſome day in *May*. The Pope hearing of this new agreement, disbanded the two thouſand Men he had kept, to be eaſed of the charge. But the Duke of *Bourbon*, whether he had intended to deceive the Viceroy, or could not reſtrain his Army, after feigning to attack *Florence*, ſuddenly took the rout to *Rome*, leaving far behind him the Army of the Pope and *Venetians*, who had thrown themſelves into *Florence*.

1527. *The Duke of Bourbon's March.* Guicciard. *The Duke refuſes the Truce concluded at* Rome. *The Viceroy makes a new agreement with him.* Guicciard. *The Duke ſuddenly marches to* Rome. Guicciard.

The Pope's Diſtreſs. Guicciard. Great was then the alarm at *Rome*. The Pope ſeeing himſelf without Troops and Money, knew not what courſe to take. In this diſtreſs, he committed the defence of *Rome* and himſelf to *Renzo de Ceri*, who made him hope, that with an Army, raiſed within the Walls, he would ſecure the City from being inſulted. The Pope truſting to his General's promiſes, would neither leave *Rome* himſelf to provide for his ſafety, nor ſuffer any thing to be carried from thence.

The Duke of Bourbon *comes before* Rome. Guicciard. Du Bellai. *He ſtorms the City.* Mean while, the Duke of *Bourbon* purſuing his march, without meeting any obſtacle, appeared before *Rome* on the 5th of *May*. The ſame day, pretending a deſign to proceed to *Naples*, he ſent a Trumpet to the Pope to deſire a paſſage, which being refuſed, next morning at break of day he approached the Suburbs by means of a very thick Miſt, and ſtormed a breach which they had not had time to repair. But in the beginning of the aſſault, his Thigh-bone was broke with a Muſket-ſhot, of which he immediately died. The Prince of *Orange*, who was near him, throwing a Cloak over his Body, continued the Aſſault. At length, after two hours reſiſtance, the breach was forced, and the Imperialiſts entred the Suburbs. Whereupon the Pope withdrew to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, accompanied by thirteen Cardinals, all the foreign Ambaſſadors, and ſome other Perſons of diſtinction. Mean while, the Imperialiſts were employed in becoming maſters of the *Tyber*, which was not difficult, conſidering the conſternation the whole City was in. The Pope might ſtill have withdrawn from the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and ſecured his Perſon. But by a ſtrange blindneſs, upon news of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s death, he was obſtinately bent, without any juſt reaſon, to ſtay in a place where he had neither Proviſions, nor Ammunition, nor a Garriſon ſufficient to defend it. So many Hiſtorians have deſcribed the ſacking of *Rome*, that it is needleſs to inſiſt on it here. The Reader may eaſily conceive, what the deſire of plunder may cauſe an ill-diſciplined Army without a General, like this, to commit. Some Hiſtorians have been pleaſed to caſt the whole blame of the Rapine and Cruelty committed on this occaſion, upon the Proteſtants in *Frondſperg*'s Troops. But moſt have made no ſuch diſtinction, agreeing that the *Spaniards* ſhewed no more regard for the Holy City than the *Germans* (2).

He is ſlain. *The Breach is forced.* *The Pope retires to* St. Angelo. Guicciard. *Sacking of* Rome. May 12. Guicciard. Herbert. Hall.

Overſight of the Allies. Guicciard. Hall. If the Army of the Allies had cloſely followed the Imperialiſts, they might have fallen upon them whilſt moſt intent upon the plunder, and probably with Succeſs. But if we may believe *Guicciardini*, the Duke of *Urbino* ſo ordered it, that the Army came not before *Rome* till the end of *May*, and then raiſed ſo many objections againſt attempting the relief of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, that the Generals agreed to leave the Pope to come off as well as he could. The Allies retiring the firſt of *June*, *Clement* capitulated the 6th, having ſent for the Viceroy of *Naples* to treat with him. But the Army, having choſen the Prince of *Orange* for General, had no great confidence in the Viceroy, neither would be guided by his Counſels. The Pope therefore was forced to ſign with the Prince of

The Pope capitulates. June 6. Guicciard. Herbert.

(1) By Sir *John Ruſſel*. See *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 635.

(2) They ranſacked the City, without diſtinction of places, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven days, (two whole months, ſays *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 640.) killing above five thouſand Men, and committing all manner of Rapine and Cruelty. *Herbert*, p. 82. It was reported, ſays *Guicciardini*, that the plundering Soldiers got above a million of Ducats, in Gold, Silver and Jewels; and a much greater Sum for Ranſoms. l. 18.

1526. the Judges private Orders to declare him innocent. But after the arrival of the *Germans*, he demanded ſuch a pecuniary reparation, that *Sforza* was by no means able to raiſe the Sum required. Wherefore the Emperor pretended that the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* ſhould be his Securities.

Francis deceives the Pope and Venetians; Guicciard.

The Pope and the *Venetians* had expected that immediately after the concluſion of the League of *Cognac*, *Francis* would ſend a ſtrong Army into *Italy*, and with the King of *England*, make a powerful diverſion upon the borders of *Spain* and *Flanders*. But, as we have ſeen, they were very much miſtaken. *Francis* had concluded the League only to frighten his Enemy, and in hopes it would cauſe him to accept of the offered equivalent. He was deſirous to avoid a War, and even thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceeding by that means, that he had made with the King of *England* no Treaty to oblige them to take Arms unleſs they were attacked. Thus *Henry* knowing the King of *France*'s diſpoſition, took care to go no faſter than he. Expreſſes and Envoys from the Pope and the *Venetians* frequently came to the two Courts to ſollicite them to War, but it was to no purpoſe. On the contrary, even after the Pope and the *Venetians* had ſolemnly declared War againſt the Emperor, *Francis* ſent the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* to make him again the ſame offer of two millions of Crowns in lieu of the Duchy of *Burgundy*. But the Emperor rejected it with diſdain, and charged the Ambaſſador to tell his Maſter, he had acted like a Knave and a Villain, and ought not to have forgot their laſt converſation (1). Probably, the Ambaſſador thought not proper to diſcharge ſo ungrateful a Commiſſion. This afterwards occaſioned a miſtake which was not favorable to the King of *France*.

who ſollicite him to no purpoſe. Herbert.

The Emperor calls him Villain.

Wolſey *obtains Grants for his College.* Act. Pub. XIV. p. 155 ---- 184.

Whilſt *Italy*, *France* and *Spain* were in agitation, *Henry* lived peaceably in his Kingdom, and the Cardinal his Favorite was wholly employed about his College at *Oxford*, for which he inceſſantly obtained freſh Grants from the Pope and the King. The Pope durſt not refuſe him any thing at a time when he thought he wanted his credit, to incline the King his Maſter to War; and *Henry* was always ready to give him marks of his affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the Pope. This condeſcenſion of the Pope and the King proved fatal to ſeveral little Monaſteries (2), which were ſuppreſſed by the Cardinal, and the Revenues applied to his College.

The Pope endeavours to perſwade Henry *into the League of* Cognac. Ib. p. 179---185. July. Auguſt. p. 187.

Ever ſince the publiſhing of the League of *Cognac*, the Pope and *Venetians* had uſed their conſtant endeavours, to perſwade *Henry* not only to come into it, but declare himſelf Protector. It is eaſy to gueſs with what view they paid him this deference. They hoped to find him the ſame as formerly, ever ready to be inſnared, and to laviſh away his Money for the affairs of others. There are, in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, ſeveral Credentials of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors addreſſed to the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal, probably, to preſs the King to come into this League. There is likewiſe *Clement* VII's Commiſſion to *Hubert Gambara* and *Giovanni Baptiſta Sanga* to treat with *Henry*. In this Commiſſion the Pope ſaid, that the circumſtances of the times forcing the Allies to conclude a League without the King of *England*'s participation, they had however agreed, to declare him Protector. Wherefore he empowered his two Envoys to treat with that Monarch upon his entering into the League, and to change or alter the Articles, as ſhould be agreed with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought neceſſary, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them Powers to ſettle with him the Penſion which was to be adjudged to him as Protector of the League, if he would pleaſe to accept of the Title. But this Penſion, as appears elſewhere, was to be raiſed upon the Duchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, after they were conquered. Thus, upon the hopes of an imaginary Penſion, the Pope meant to perſwade *Henry* to declare War with the Emperor, and conſequently to draw him into very great and real Expences. But for once, *Henry* would not be his dupe. He knew by experience what it was to join with the Popes for the *Italian* affairs.

Battle of Mohatz *in* Hungary. Aug. 18. Guicciard. Hall.

This year was fought the famous Battle of *Mohatz* in *Hungary* between *Lewis* II King of that Country, and *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks*. *Lewis* loſt the day, and was drowned in a Moraſs (3). The death of this Prince was a freſh ſource of calamities for *Hungary*. *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* the Emperor's Brother, who had married *Lewis*'s Siſter *Ann*, pretended to the Crown of that Kingdom, and had for Competitor *John de Zapol*, Wayvode of *Tranſilvania*. They were both elected by two different Parties. But *John* put himſelf under the protection of *Soliman*, who cauſed him to be crowned at *Buda*, whilſt *Ferdinand* was taking meaſures to proſecute his right. 1526.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The affairs of *Scotland* ſtill remained in the ſame ſituation, except that in the courſe of this year, the Queen's and Earl of *Arran*'s or *Hamilton*'s Faction attempted to take away the King's Perſon from the Earl of *Angus*. But the attempt miſcarrying, the Earl was ſeverely revenged of the Perſons concerned.

Francis and Henry deceive the Expectations of the Pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

The Pope and *Venetians* had begun the War in *Italy*, in the ſole expectation that *Francis* would ſend thither a powerful Army, and the King of *England* make a diverſion from the *Low-Countries*, or at leaſt, according to cuſtom, furniſh money for maintaining the War. The eaſineſs wherewith he had been amuſed in the former Wars, cauſed his Money to be relied on as a ſure aid, though when a Peace or Truce was made his intereſts were not thought of. But the ſcene was changed. *Henry*, grown more wiſe by experience, was no longer willing to find Money for the affairs of others. Beſides, the Treaſure left him by the King his Father being long ſince exhauſted, he could raiſe Money only by means of the Parliament, who always framed difficulties, or made him purchaſe their Subſidies with ſome extraordinary favors. So *Francis* not finding in him the ſame diſpoſitions as formerly, feared to ingage too far, before he was ſecure of his aſſiſtance (4). He perceived, he was no longer inclined to favor the Emperor as before. But that did not ſuffice. It was alſo neceſſary to perſwade him to join in the League of *Italy*, otherwiſe the whole charge of the War muſt have fallen upon *France*, which was however drained of Men, Money and Generals. For this reaſon, his aim was to induce the Emperor, through fear of the League, to accept the equivalent offered him for *Burgundy*, and to continue the War in *Italy*, only till that Prince was reſolved, or the King of *England* entirely ingaged. To that end, he made the Pope and *Venetians* large promiſes, to hinder them from being impatient, but performed them very ill. A ſmall Body of Troops levied in *Italy*, under the command of the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, was hitherto all that he contributed for the League whereof he was himſelf the author and head. Mean while, the Pope was extremely uneaſy at ſeeing the ſlowneſs or rather coldneſs of the two Monarchs, on whom he relied. Indeed he had no cauſe to complain of *Henry*, who had made him no promiſe, and yet he ceaſed not earneſtly to preſs him to undertake the defence of the Church, as if the Church could not have ſubſiſted if the Emperor remained maſter of *Milan*. But he received only general Anſwers, *Henry* being unwilling to ingage in the affairs of *Italy*, where he could reap no advantage. In the mean time, the Pope was at an expence which threw him into great ſtreights. For which reaſon he privately continued with the Viceroy of *Naples* a Negotiation, with intent to haſten or retard it, according to the proceedings of the Kings of *France* and *England*. Herein he acted agreeably to his real temper, which made him conſider the having always two ſtrings to his bow, as the ſureſt maxim of policy. But he was always ſo unfortunate as to reap from his Artifices, fruits contrary to his hopes. As his ſole aim was to hinder the Emperor from keeping the Duchy of *Milan*, to that end it was, that he would have the Kings of *France* and *England* make conſiderable efforts; after which, he would not have ſcrupled to forſake them, provided the Emperor had ſatisfied him upon that Article. *Francis* was in no better diſpoſition with regard to his Allies. His view was to recover his Sons out of *Spain*; and, could he have ſucceeded by treating alone with the Emperor, he would have little regarded the concerns of the Pope and *Venetians*. As for the republick of *Venice*, it was of great conſequence to her that the Emperor ſhould not remain maſter of the *Milaneſe*, and her expences to hinder it was nothing in compariſon of the prejudice ſhe would have received, if the Emperor had peaceably held that Duchy. So, never ceaſing to ſollicite the Kings of *France* and *England*, ſhe continued the War, though faintly, in expectation that theſe two Monarchs would bear the greateſt part of the charge. The Negotiations which the Pope ſtill continued with the Vice-

Clement ſets on foot the Negotiation with the Viceroy of Naples. Guicciard.

(1) It ſeems before *Francis* went from *Spain*, the Emperor ſaid to him one day, *Are you willing to perform all that is capitulated between us?* *Francis* replied, *Yes; and when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me for a* Knave *and a* Villain. *Herbert*, p. 75.

(2) The following Monaſteries are named; *Daventre*, *Raverſton*, *Tykeford*, *Sandwell*, *Eanwell*, *Lytlemore*, *Pogbley*, *Thelye*, *Blackamore*, *Staneſgate*, *Typtre*, *Wykes*, *Dodneſh*, *Snape*, *Lyeſnes*, *Tonbridge*, *Begham*, and *Calicete*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 14. p. 155----184.

(3) *Lewis*, with an Army of twenty thouſand, engaged three hundred thouſand *Turks*. By his defeat and death moſt part of *Hungary* was loſt, with the Lives of two hundred thouſand *Hungarians*, who were cut off by the *Turks* in the following Rencounters. This *Lewis* was born without a skin, had a Beard at fifteen years of Age, at eighteen his Hairs were grey, and he was drowned in his 20th. *Heylin*.

(4) In *Auguſt* 1526. *John* Lord of *Vaulx* his Ambaſſador concluded with Sir *Thomas More* Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, a Treaty of reciprocal Engagement between the two Kings their Maſters. See *Rymer*, Tom. 14. p. 185----189. *Herbert*, p. 79.

roy

1527. roy of *Naples*, afforded the *Venetians* a plauſible reaſon not to exert themſelves, becauſe they were afraid, his inconſtancy would render all their endeavours ineffectual. The Emperor on his part was no leſs embarraſſed. As he had but little Money, a vigorous War muſt have annoyed him very much. And therefore, finding the King of *France* made no great efforts, he did not haſten the ſending of freſh Supplies into *Italy*, for fear of raiſing the attention of his Enemies. Beſides, ſince *Frondſperg*'s arrival with the *German* Troops, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the Duchy of *Milan*, which was then his chief aim. Such was the Diſpoſition of theſe Potentates in the beginning of the year 1527. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in *Italy* during this year, becauſe it ſerves for foundation to all the events ſpoken of hereafter.

The Emperor's Embarraſſment.

The Duke of Bourbon is without Money, and at a great loſs. Guicciard.

The Duke of *Bourbon* was under inconceivable difficulties for want of Money to pay his Troops. After frequent exactions upon the Inhabitants of *Milan*, he ſaw no way to maintain his Army any longer, without danger of cauſing a general revolt in that great City which was reduc'd to deſpair. On the other hand, the *Germans* brought into *Italy* by *Frondſperg*, had received no pay ſince their Liſting. It was neceſſary therefore, either to pay them what was due, or furniſh them wherewithal to make themſelves amends in ſome other place, or reſolve to ſee the Army disband, on which the Emperor wholly relied. To ſatisfy the Troops, there was no other way but to lead them into the Territories of the Church, of *Florence*, or of *Venice*. But the *Venetian* Towns were too well provided, to afford any hopes of booty from thence; eſpecially as the Duke of *Bourbon* had no Artillery. Beſides, very likely, he was ſure the Duke of *Urbino* would not oppoſe his deſigns, provided he did not moleſt the Republick. So, determining to maintain his Army upon the Pope's Territories, he left ſeven or eight thouſand *Germans* at *Milan*, under the command of *Antonio de Leva*, and went and joined *Frondſperg* in the *Plaiſantin*, where he ſtayed ſome time to raiſe Contributions.

He ſees no other way but to lead his Army into the Pope's Territories.

The Duke of Urbino favours him.

He joins Frondſperg.

War between the Pope and Viceroy of Naples.

Before the Duke of *Bourbon* departed from *Milan*, the Viceroy of *Naples* had brought an Army upon the borders of the Eccleſiaſtical State, to make a diverſion, and force the Pope to recall the Troops he had ſent to the Duke of *Urbino*, ſince the expiration of the Truce. The approach of this Army had obliged the Pope to raiſe Troops to defend his Dominions, not having thought proper to recall thoſe in *Lombardy*. Hence he ſaw himſelf ingaged in an unuſual expence. Hitherto the Popes had found means to wage War at the charge of others, and *Clement* VII had been in hopes to do the ſame. He had granted *Francis* a Tenth upon the Clergy of *France*, which he was to divide with him. Beſides that, *Francis* had promiſed to find forty thouſand Crowns a month for the League, and twenty thouſand for the Pope in particular. But of all this, he had yet paid but ten thouſand Crowns. Thus the Pope ſaw himſelf over-burdened, without knowing how to get clear of this incumbrance, ſince it was no leſs difficult to raiſe Money, than dangerous to make a ſeparate Peace in ſuch a juncture. Mean while, *Henry* VIII being informed of his neceſſities, and fearing he would relinquiſh the League, ſent him thirty thouſand Ducats (1), which helped to comfort him a little, and keep him in the reſolution to continue the War.

Clement VII is engaged in a great expence. Guicciard.

Francis keeps not his word with him.

Henry ſends him a Preſent. Herbert.

Truce between the Pope and Viceroy. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

It is needleſs to give the particulars of this War between the Pope and the Viceroy of *Naples*. It ſuffices to obſerve, that whilſt it laſted, the Pope receiving advice of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s march, concluded a Truce with the Viceroy. He had ſtrong reaſons for taking this courſe. He was not only burdened with the maintenance of two Armies, but alſo ſaw himſelf daily more remote from his hopes with reſpect to *France* and *England*. *Francis* performed nothing of what he had promiſed, and *Henry* ſhewed no great inclination to come into the League. On the other hand, the Duke of *Urbino*'s proceeding, who commanded the Army of the Allies in the *Milaneſe*, daily grew more ſuſpicious. Beſides, *Florence* was in danger, and the Pope unſafe in *Rome* itſelf. The conditions of the Truce were:

Guicciard. That it ſhould laſt eight months: That the Pope ſhould pay ſixty thouſand Ducats to the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army; namely, forty thouſand on the 21ſt of the preſent month, and the reſt within eight days: And that the imperial Army ſhould march out of the Eccleſiaſtical State. The Truce being publiſhed, the Pope disbanded all his Troops, except two thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, and laid up his Gallies before he knew the Duke of *Bourbon*'s intentions, who was in the midſt of his march to *Bologna*.

1527. The Duke's Troops conſiſted of five thouſand Men at Arms, making about two thouſand Horſe, thirteen or fourteen thouſand *Germans*, five thouſand *Spaniards*, two thouſand *Italian* Foot, and a good number of Light Horſe of the ſame Nation. This Army departed from about *Placentia* in *February*, without Money, Proviſions, Waggons, Artillery, and ſubſiſting only by means of the Contributions raiſed upon their rout. The Duke not being able to enter *Bologna*, by reaſon the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo* had thrown himſelf in with twelve thouſand Men, ſtayed ſome time in the *Bologneſe*, where his Army made a prodigious booty. Here he was informed of the concluſion of the Truce, to which he would not conſent, becauſe the Sum he was to have was not ſufficient to pay what was due to his Troops. Whereupon the Viceroy of *Naples*, who was at *Rome*, came to *Florence*, where the Duke ſent an Officer to conſer with him. As the Viceroy's intention was to cauſe the Duke of *Bourbon* to accept of the Truce, in order to ſend the Imperial Army into the State of *Venice*, he agreed with the Meſſenger that the Duke ſhould withdraw in five days; that fourſcore thouſand Ducats ſhould be paid him down, and ſixty thouſand ſome day in *May*. The Pope hearing of this new agreement, disbanded the two thouſand Men he had kept, to be eaſed of the charge. But the Duke of *Bourbon*, whether he had intended to deceive the Viceroy, or could not reſtrain his Army, after feigning to attack *Florence*, ſuddenly took the rout to *Rome*, leaving far behind him the Army of the Pope and *Venetians*, who had thrown themſelves into *Florence*.

1527. *The Duke of* Bourbon's *March.* Guicciard.

The Duke refuſes the Truce concluded at Rome.

The Viceroy makes a new agreement with him. Guicciard.

The Duke ſuddenly marches to Rome. Guicciard.

The Pope's Diſtreſs. Guicciard.

Great was then the alarm at *Rome*. The Pope ſeeing himſelf without Troops and Money, knew not what courſe to take. In this diſtreſs, he committed the defence of *Rome* and himſelf to *Renzo de Ceri*, who made him hope, that with an Army, raiſed within the Walls, he would ſecure the City from being inſulted. The Pope truſting to his General's promiſes, would neither leave *Rome* himſelf to provide for his ſafety, nor ſuffer any thing to be carried from thence.

The Duke of Bourbon *comes before* Rome. Guicciard. Du Bellai.

He ſtorms the City.

He is ſlain.

Mean while, the Duke of *Bourbon* purſuing his march, without meeting any obſtacle, appeared before *Rome* on the 5th of *May*. The ſame day, pretending a deſign to proceed to *Naples*, he ſent a Trumpet to the Pope to deſire a paſſage, which being refuſed, next morning at break of day he approached the Suburbs by means of a very thick Miſt, and ſtormed a breach which they had not had time to repair. But in the beginning of the aſſault, his Thigh-bone was broke with a Muſket-ſhot, of which he immediately died. The Prince of *Orange*, who was near him, throwing a Cloak over his Body, continued the Aſſault. At length, after two hours reſiſtance, the breach was forced, and the Imperialiſts entred the Suburbs. Whereupon the Pope withdrew to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, accompanied by thirteen Cardinals, all the foreign Ambaſſadors, and ſome other Perſons of diſtinction. Mean while, the Imperialiſts were employed in becoming maſters of the *Tyber*, which was not difficult, conſidering the conſternation the whole City was in. The Pope might ſtill have withdrawn from the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and ſecured his Perſon. But by a ſtrange blindneſs, upon news of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s death, he was obſtinately bent, without any juſt reaſon, to ſtay in a place where he had neither Proviſions, nor Ammunition, nor a Garriſon ſufficient to defend it. So many Hiſtorians have deſcribed the ſacking of *Rome*, that it is needleſs to inſiſt on it here. The Reader may eaſily conceive, what the deſire of plunder may cauſe an ill-diſciplined Army without a General, like this, to commit. Some Hiſtorians have been pleaſed to caſt the whole blame of the Rapine and Cruelty committed on this occaſion, upon the Proteſtants in *Frondſperg*'s Troops. But moſt have made no ſuch diſtinction, agreeing that the *Spaniards* ſhewed no more regard for the Holy City than the *Germans* (2).

The Breach is forced.

The Pope retires to St. Angelo. Guicciard.

Sacking of Rome. May 12. Guicciard. Herbert. Hall.

Overſight of the Allies. Guicciard. Hall.

If the Army of the Allies had cloſely followed the Imperialiſts, they might have fallen upon them whilſt moſt intent upon the plunder, and probably with Succeſs. But if we may believe *Guicciardini*, the Duke of *Urbino* ſo ordered it, that the Army came not before *Rome* till the end of *May*, and then raiſed ſo many objections againſt attempting the relief of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, that the Generals agreed to leave the Pope to come off as well as he could. The Allies retiring the firſt of *June*, *Clement* capitulated the 6th, having ſent for the Viceroy of *Naples* to treat with him. But the Army, having choſen the Prince of *Orange* for General, had no great confidence in the Viceroy, neither would be guided by his Counſels. The Pope therefore was forced to ſign with the Prince of

The Pope capitulates. June 6.

Guicciard. Herbert.

(1) By Sir *John Ruſſel*. See *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 635.

(2) They ranſacked the City, without diſtinction of places, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven days, (two whole months, ſays *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 640.) killing above five thouſand Men, and committing all manner of Rapine and Cruelty. *Herbert*, p. 82. It was reported, ſays *Guicciardini*, that the plundering Soldiers got above a million of Ducats, in Gold, Silver and Jewels; and a much greater Sum for Ranſoms. l. 18.

1527. *Orange*, and the chief Officers of the Army, the following Capitulation:

Articles of the Capitulation.

That the Pope ſhould pay the Army four hundred thouſand Ducats, namely, one hundred thouſand down, fifty thouſand in twenty days, and two hundred and fifty thouſand within two months, aſſigning for that purpoſe a Tax upon the whole Eccleſiaſtical State.

That he ſhould deliver into the Emperor's hands the Caſtles of St. *Angelo*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Oſtia*, *Citta Caſtellana*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*.

That the Pope, with the thirteen Cardinals, ſhould remain priſoners in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, till a hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns were paid, and then ſhould be conducted to *Naples* or *Gaeta*, there to wait the Emperor's pleaſure.

That the Chevalier *Gregorio Caſſali* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *Renzo de Ceri*, and all the reſt that were retired to the Caſtle, except the Pope and the thirteen Cardinals, ſhould be at Liberty to go where they pleaſed.

That the *Colonna's* ſhould be abſolved from all Cenſures.

That when the Pope ſhould go from *Rome*, he ſhould leave a Legate, and the Court of the *Rota* (1).

The Pope remains a Priſoner.

The Capitulation being ſigned, Captain *Alarcon*, the ſame that had the Cuſtody of *Francis* I, when a priſoner, entered the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* with three Companies of *Spaniards*, and as many of *Germans*, and ſtrictly guarded the Pope and Cardinals. During the confuſion cauſed by the Pope's Impriſonment, the Duke of *Ferrara* became maſter of *Modena*, the *Venetians* took *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, *Sigiſmund Malateſta* ſeized *Rimini*, and the *Florentines* expelling the Pope's Legate, recovered their Liberty.

Several Alterations. Guicciard.

The Imperial Army becomes uſeleſs. Guicciard.

Some time after, all the Troops which were in the Kingdom of *Naples* repaired to *Rome* to ſhare in the Booty, and glean what the avarice of the *Spaniards* and *Germans* had left. The Imperial Army then at *Rome* conſiſted of twelve thouſand *Germans*, eight thouſand *Spaniards*, and four thouſand *Italians*. But the Plague which preſently after raged among the Troops, ſo diminiſhed them, that 'tis ſaid, when they came to go upon action, there was not ten thouſand Men able to bear Arms. Mean while, the eager deſire of Plunder, cauſed the Emperor's affairs to be ſo neglected, that the army remained unſerviceable till the end of the year; whereas *Bologna* and the Towns of *la Romagna* might have been taken, which would have rendered the Emperor invincible in *Italy*. Beſides, this negligence gave *Francis* time to ſend Troops into thoſe parts, of which he would never have thought, if the Emperor's Generals had reaped from the taking of *Rome*, and the Pope's Captivity, the advantages they might have naturally expected, for the Service of their maſter. It is time now to ſpeak of the affairs of *England*, the recital whereof has been interrupted by the relation of this year's events in *Italy*, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding of the Sequel.

Guicciard.

Henry reſolves to make a League offenſive and defenſive with France. Herbert. P. Daniel. Hollingſh.

Since *Francis* had refuſed to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, he had never ceaſed to preſs *Henry* to come into the League of *Cognac*. But whether *Henry* perceived that Prince's Views, or hoped, by managing the Emperor, to make himſelf Umpire of the Peace, he had kept within the Bounds of the defenſive League concluded at *Moore*. At length, finding that probably, the Pope and *Venetians* could not long maintain the War, he was afraid, the Emperor would become maſter of all *Italy*, and with that increaſe of Power, grow too formidable to *Europe*. Indeed, it was eaſy to ſee, that to diveſt him of the Superiority he was going to acquire upon *France*, *England* would one day be forced to make greater efforts than were neceſſary to hinder his attaining it. Theſe Conſiderations were farther corroborated by the Inſtances of Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom *Francis* had taken care to gain to his Intereſt, otherwiſe all theſe reaſons, probably, would have been ineffectual. So about the end of the laſt year, *Henry* had ſent to *Paris* Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, to acquaint the King of *France*, that he was ready to join in an offenſive League with him, and give him the Princeſs *Mary* his Daughter in Marriage. *Francis* gladly embracing the propoſal, the Treaty was begun at *Paris* by the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in ordinary, and *Fitz-Williams*. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, which depended upon the King of *England*'s determination, *Francis* thought it more proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to *London*, and conclude it there. He made choice for that purpoſe of *Gabriel d'Aigremont*, or *de Gramont* Biſhop of *Tarbe*, and the Viſcount of *Turenne*, with whom were joined the firſt Preſident of *Roan*, and the Lord *de Vaux*, who were already in *England*. Theſe Ambaſſadors (2) concluded with Cardinal *Wolſey*, appointed Commiſſioner to negotiate with them, three Treaties, which were ſigned the 30th of *April* 1527, when the Duke of *Bourbon* was marching to *Rome*.

1527. Hall. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 195.

Several Treatis. April 30. Ib. p. 139, &c.

The firſt Treaty ran:

That the two Kings ſhould jointly ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, with offers concerning the ranſom of the two Hoſtages, and to demand the payment of what was due to the King of *England*.

1ſt Treaty. p. 195, &c. Herbert. p. 80. Du Tillet.

That if he rejected the offers, or gave no anſwer within twenty days, the two Kings ſhould proclaim War againſt him.

Another Article of this Treaty contained a mutual engagement for the Marriage of *Francis*, or his Son the Duke of *Orleans* with the Princeſs *Mary*, at the King of *France*'s choice, and upon ſuch Terms as ſhould be agreed on when the time came (3). Probably, this Treaty was to be made publick, in order to induce the Emperor to deſiſt from his claim to *Burgundy*, and be ſatisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed:

That in caſe the Emperor rejected their propoſals, or deferred his anſwer, all Commerce ſhould be forbidden with his Subjects, by the two Kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their Effects.

2d Treaty. Herbert. p. 81. Du Tillet.

That the two Kings ſhould make War upon the Emperor in the *Low-Countries*, with an Army of thirty thouſand Foot, and fifteen hundred Men at Arms, and that two thirds of the Foot, and all the Horſe (4) ſhould be furniſhed by the King of *France*.

That they ſhould equip a Fleet with fifteen thouſand Men, whereof the King of *France* ſhould find ten thouſand.

That if the King of *Portugal*, or any other Prince or State, ſhould join with the Emperor, they ſhould be declared Enemies to both the Kings.

That the Pope and *Venetians* ſhould be deemed included in the League, provided they continued the War in *Italy*.

That the King of *France* ſhould endeavour to perſuade the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Gueldres*, [and *Robert de la Mark*] to make War upon the Emperor.

That the two Kings ſhould uſe their joint endeavours to encourage *John de Zapol* to proſecute his right to the Crown of *Hungary*, in caſe he had not already made an Alliance with the *Turk*, in order to keep the Emperor's Brother *Ferdinand* employed in thoſe parts.

That the League ſhould be notified to the Princes of *Germany*, and the two Kings endeavour to prevent their aſſiſting the Emperor.

The Subſtance of the third Treaty was:

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 218. Guicciard. Herbert.

1. That this Treaty ſhould not derogate from that of *Moore*, which remained in force.

2. That there ſhould be perpetual Peace between *Francis* and *Henry*, and their reſpective Subjects.

3. That neither of them ſhould give aid or advice to any perſon whatever, that ſhould attack the Dominions of the other.

4. *Henry* renounced for himſelf and Succeſſors, all Right and Title to the Kingdom of *France* (5), and in general, whatever *Francis* now poſſeſſed.

5. In conſideration whereof, *Francis* bound himſelf and Succeſſors, to pay to *Henry*'s Succeſſors an annual penſion for ever, of fifty thouſand Crowns, at two payments, namely, on the 1ſt of *May*, and the 1ſt of *November*, and that the payment of the penſion ſhould commence, on the firſt of thoſe two days which ſhould happen after *Henry*'s death, without deduction of what ſhould remain to be paid after *Henry*'s deceaſe, of the two millions ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Moore*.

6. Moreover *Francis* bound himſelf to give yearly to *Henry*, fifteen thouſand Crowns worth of Salt of *Bruage* (6), beſides the fore-mentioned fifty thouſand Crowns.

(1) This Court conſiſts of twelve Prelates, called Auditors of the *Rota*, (eight of them *Italians*, two *Spaniards*, one *Frenchman*, and one *German*) who judge by Appeal of all Matters Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, between Clergymen. The Court takes its name from the marble Pavement of the Room where they meet, reſembling a Wheel.

(2) They arrived in *London*, *March* 2. *Hall*, fol. 155.

(3) *Hall* ſays, the People were very much againſt this Match, becauſe the Princeſs *Mary* being King *Henry*'s preſumptive Heir, if he died without Sons, ſhe ſucceeded of courſe to the Throne, and, on account of her Marriage, it was feared ſhe would be too much under the influence of *France*, fol. 155.

(4) Twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred Men at Arms. See *Herbert*, p. 81.

(5) ——Jus, Titulum, & verum Dominium in Regno Franciæ.——*Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 220.

(6) A Town in *Saintonge*, famous for its Salt-Pits, about eight Leagues from *Rochel*. The Salt in this Diſtrict brings in the King of *France* fourteen millions of Livres *per Annum*.

1527. 7. That, to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, *That a King can't bind his Succeſſors*, the two Kings ſhould cauſe the Treaty to be confirmed by the States of their Realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable Law.

8. That the Treaty ſhould be approved and confirmed by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and other great Men of the two Kingdoms, whoſe names were inſerted in this Article, under forfeiture of all their Goods; and by the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Toulouſe*, *Roan*, *Bourdeaux*, as well as by all the Courts of Juſtice in *England*.

Alterations in the ſecond Treaty on account of the ſacking of Rome. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 199, &c. Herbert. Du Tillet.

The news of the ſacking of *Rome* and the Pope's Captivity arriving ſhortly after the concluſion of theſe Treaties, the two Kings thought fit to alter the Article of the ſecond, concerning their carrying War into the *Low-Countries*, and to agree to act only in *Italy*. But as the *Engliſh* Troops could not be tranſported into *Italy*, without great difficulties and loſs of time, they agreed, that the King of *France* ſhould undertake the War alone, for a certain Sum (1), which *Henry* was to pay him monthly, till the end of *October*. This laſt Treaty was ſigned the 29th of *May*, about three weeks after the taking of *Rome*.

Henry's Demands upon the Emperor. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Pol. Virg. Hollingſh.

In conſequence of the firſt of the three Treaties of *April* the 30th, *Henry* ſent Sir *Francis Pointz* into *Spain*, to demand of the Emperor, that as, by their former Treaties, the War with *France* was carried on at a common charge, he would give him half the Booty taken at *Pavia*, and one of the two Hoſtages received from the *French* King. *Pointz* was accompanied with *Clarenceux* King at Arms, but incognito, that he might be ready to do his Office, when there ſhould be occaſion. The Emperor eaſily perceived, the King of *England* ſought only a pretence of quarrel. But as it was his Intereſt to prolong the time, he told the Ambaſſador he would ſend his anſwer to the King his maſter by an Expreſs.

Lautrec marches to Italy. Guicciard.

While the Ambaſſador was on his way to *Spain*, *Francis* and *Henry* hearing what had paſſed in *Italy*, thought proper that Cardinal *Wolſey* ſhould go and confer with *Francis* at *Amiens*, in order to concert meaſures agreeable to the ſituation of affairs. Shortly after, *Francis* ſent *Lautrec* with the Forces deſigned for *Italy* (2).

Wolſey confers with the King of France. Guicciard. Herbert. Hall. Stow. P. Daniel. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 202

Cardinal *Wolſey* departing from Court the third of *July*, arrived at *Calais* the 11th (3), from whence he went to *Abbeville*, and ſtayed till *Francis* came to *Amiens*. He was received at his entrance into the *French* Territories, with the ſame reſpect as would have been paid to the King of *England*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Francis*'s Letters Patents empowering the Cardinal, *his deareſt and great Friend*, to releaſe the priſoners, where-ever he came, what Crimes ſoever they were guilty of, except High-Treaſon, Rapes, [Coining, Sacrilege,] and the like, and to grant them a Pardon by his Letters Patents.

The Emperor's Memorial as to a Peace. Ib. p. 200.

Whilſt the Cardinal was at *Abbeville*, he received a Memorial from the Emperor, containing his anſwer to the King of *France*'s offers to the Viceroy of *Naples*. He had, as was obſerved, rejected theſe offers at firſt with diſdain, and refuſed to hear them mentioned. But the ſituation of his affairs being altered by the League between *France* and *England*, he believed it would be better to end all differences by a Peace, than run the hazard of maintaining the War alone againſt ſo many powerful Enemies. It was therefore in order to procure a Peace, that he ſent this anſwer to the Cardinal, wherewith he imagined to have reaſon to hope, the King of *France* and *Henry* would be ſatisfied.

As this Memorial is very proper to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of thoſe times, it will not doubtleſs be unacceptable to inſert the Subſtance thereof.

" The Emperor began with proteſting, that by what " he offered in this Memorial, he meant not to derogate " from the Treaty of *Madrid*, but in the points only " which were contrary to it. He added, that as to the " Hoſtages, the King of *France* was not ignorant of the " reaſon of their being in *Spain*, and had it in his power " to recover them. Then he ſet forth the offers made by " *Francis* to the Viceroy of *Naples*, containing the four " following Articles:

1527.

The King of FRANCE's *Offers to the Emperor.*

" I. That he would execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, " provided *Franceſco Sforza* was reſtored to the Duchy of " *Milan*.

" II. That he would give the Emperor in lieu of " *Burgundy*, two millions of Gold payable, namely, a " good Sum in hand, when Queen *Leonora* ſhould be de- " livered to him, and the reſt at a day to be appointed, " and then his Sons ſhould be reſtored; unleſs the Em- " peror had rather have the whole Sum at once, and " deliver at the ſame time the Queen and the two Ho- " ſtages.

" III. That he would pay the King of *England* what " was due from the Emperor.

" IV. He demanded that the Emperor ſhould increaſe " Queen *Leonora*'s Dowry in proportion to the Sum he " was to receive, ſince he could do it without any charge " to himſelf.

The EMPEROR's *Anſwer.*

" The Emperor replied to theſe four Articles, by the " eight following Declarations:

" I. That what ſhould be agreed upon, ſhould not be " prejudicial to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except in ſuch " things as ſhould be altered by mutual conſent.

" II. That the Emperor's right to *Burgundy* ſhould re- " main entire, as before the Treaty of *Madrid*.

" III. That all the Articles of the Treaty of *Madrid*, " except ſuch as were mentioned in theſe offers, ſhould " remain entire.

" IV. The Emperor in his fourth Declaration ſaid, " that he hoped the King of *England*, and the Lord " Cardinal would cauſe the Sum of two millions of Gold, " offered by the King of *France*, to be augmented. How- " ever, if that could not be, it ſhould be underſtood, " that this Sum was over and above what the Emperor " owed the King of *England*, as well for Money lent, as " for the Indemnity he had undertaken to diſcharge, " which Sums the King of *France* had taken upon him- " ſelf in the Treaty of *Madrid*. Beſides likewiſe the " reſtitution of the late Mr. *de Bourbon*'s Eſtate, it being " reaſonable that his Heirs ſhould partake of the benefit " of the Treaty. *Item*, That the King of *France* ſhould " punctually perform all the reſt of the Articles concluded " on his part, in the Treaty of *Madrid*, before his Sons " left *Spain*; the Emperor not being able, after what had " paſſed, to take any Security, if the Hoſtages remain- " ed not in his power till the Treaty was fully exe- " cuted.

" V. That purſuant to the Treaty of *Madrid*, what " ſhould be agreed upon, ſhould be ratified by the States " General of *France*, and approved by the Parliaments. " Or if that could not be done by the States General, " it ſhould at leaſt be ratified by the States of each " Province.

" VI. The Emperor, declared, That he could not ſend " the Queen his Siſter to *France* till every thing was accom- " pliſhed, and then the Queen and the Hoſtages ſhould " be ſent together.

" VII. That as for Duke *Sforza*, the Emperor would " appoint impartial Judges to decide his affair, and if he " was found guilty of no crime for which he deſerved to " be deprived of his Duchy, he ſhould be reſtored. But " if he was condemned, the State of *Milan* ſhould re- " main in the Emperor's diſpoſal, according to Juſtice and " Equity.

" VIII. That the King of *England* ſhould be Gua- " rantee of the future Treaty, and by his Letters-Pa- " tents engage to aſſiſt, at his own charge, with a cer- " tain number of Troops, him of the two Parties that " ſhould keep the Treaty, againſt him that ſhould not " obſerve it.

" Beſides theſe eight Conditions, which the Emperor " called Declarations, he demanded moreover in his me- " morial, that the King of *France* ſhould ſatisfy him for

(1) Thirty thouſand Ducats, or, thirty two thouſand, two hundred and twenty two Crowns *de ſoleil*, to be deducted out of what *Francis* owed him. *Herbert*, p. 83. *Guicciard.* l. 18.

(2) He ſet out, *June* 30, with eight hundred Lances. *Guicciard.* l. 18.

(3) He was met at *Boulogne* by Monſieur *de Byron* with a thouſand Horſe, and after by *John*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Chancellor of *Alenſon*, who accompanied him firſt to *Montreuil*, and then to *Abbeville*. He was attended by *Cuthbert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Sandes* the King's Chamberlain, *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, Sir *Thomas More*, with many Knights and others, to the number of twelve hundred Horſe. *Hall*, fol. 160. *Stow*, p. 531. *Herbert*, p. 83. He brought with him thirty thouſand Crowns. *Guicciard.* l. 18. *Hall* ſays it was two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds. fol. 161. *Hollingſh.* p. 897.

" the

1527. " the expences of the Leagues he had made with him, and " of which he was the ſole Author, empowering the King " of *England* to ſettle the Sum.

" Finally, he ſaid, That he did not queſtion, the King " of *England*, who perfectly knew what had paſſed be- " tween the two Parties, would not cauſe the King of " *France*'s offers to be increaſed, and that the Lord Legate, " whom the Emperor always looked upon as his good " Friend, would alſo endeavour the ſame to the utmoſt " of his power: That however, he was ſo inclined to " Peace, that if the King of *England* deſired, he ſhould " make any farther conceſſions than what were con- " tained in the eight foregoing Declarations, he would " do more for his ſake than for any Prince's in the World. " That he ſhould be very glad, all the Potentates of " *Europe* knew how much he valued his Friendſhip, and " aſcribed to him the whole Glory of procuring a Peace. " This Memorial was dated at *Valladolid* the —— of " *July* 1527.

Remark on this Memorial.

If this anſwer of the Emperor be cloſely examined, it will be manifeſt, that he ſimply and abſolutely accepted of the *French* King's offers, under Terms denoting, it was he that gave, rather than received Law, and by his Declarations only obviated all poſſible Cavils. As to what he farther demanded, it was under ſuch reſtrictions, that he ſeemed willing to ſtand to the King of *England*'s determination, which at ſuch a juncture was the ſame thing as to depart from his demands. There was but one ſingle point concerning which he could not reſolve to ſubmit; namely, the Duke of *Milan*'s affair. But this was a point newly propoſed by the King of *France*, and which had no relation to the Treaty of *Madrid*, where nothing like it was to be found. However, it is plain if that had been the only obſtacle to a Peace, he would alſo have granted it, ſince he reſerved a way to come off with honour; namely, by cauſing *Sforza* to be declared innocent, in the manner he had himſelf propoſed to the Pope. Perhaps *Francis* would have accepted the Peace, on the Terms offered in the Memorial, if the Emperor had come to that reſolution at firſt. But ſince he had made theſe offers to the Viceroy of *Naples*, the face of affairs was very much altered, as he had entirely gained *Henry* to his intereſt, and as, after the taking of *Rome*, it was to be feared the Emperor would become maſter of all *Italy*. Mean while, the Emperor's offers, which were in effect the ſame *Francis* had made to the Viceroy of *Naples*, were either to be accepted or rejected. But as it was not *Henry*'s buſineſs to return an anſwer, ſince the affair did not directly concern him, he only ſent the Memorial to the King of *France*, who no longer deſiring to make Peace, diſengaged himſelf in this manner. He demanded in the firſt place, that *Sforza* ſhould be reſtored without condition. Secondly, that his Sons ſhould be delivered before he recalled his Forces from *Italy*, where *Lautrec* was now arrived, offering to depoſite three hundred thouſand Ducats in the hands of the King of *England*, for ſecurity of his word. There could not be a plainer evidence of his little deſire to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, though the ſame Terms only were demanded, as were offered by himſelf preſently after his deliverance. He meant, after having withdrawn his Hoſtages, to have the execution of the Treaty in his own power, under colour of offering to depoſite for ſecurity, three hundred thouſand Ducats in the hands of a Prince devoted to him, and who, by a private Treaty, was ingaged to make his Intereſt his own. The Emperor, unwilling to be thus inſnared, offered on his part to depoſite the ſame Sum in the hands of the King of *England*, for pledge that the Hoſtages ſhould be reſtored. But his offer being rejected, the affair ſtopped there, and War was only thought of. Mean while, the Emperor deſiring to let all the World ſee, it was not his fault that a Peace was not concluded, gave the Ambaſſadors of *England*, of the Pope, and of the *Venetians*, the ſame anſwer he had ſent to Cardinal *Wolſey*. They all ſeemed very well ſatisfied, and ſaid their Maſters would doubtleſs accept a Peace on theſe Terms, and ſend orders to conclude it. But they knew not that the Kings of *France* and *England* had altered their minds, and taken new reſolutions.

Henry *ſends the Memorial to the King of* France. *Reply of* Francis I. Bellai, p. 1333.

Francis's *Conference with* Wolſey.

If *Francis* and Cardinal *Wolſey* were to confer together at *Abbeville*, it was not to ſeek means to make Peace, but rather to take meaſures, on ſuppoſition, that a War with the Emperor was infallible. *Francis* being come to *Abbeville* the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Cardinal waited on him, and after conferring together, they concluded, on the eighteenth, three Treaties, which properly were only Supplements, Explanations, and Reſtrictions of the three foregoing ones.

1527. *Three new Treaties.* Act. Pub. XIV. p. 205, &c.

By the firſt it was agreed:

I. That, as he had left it to the King of *France*'s choice, to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, or leave her for the Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond Son, the Duke ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs when they ſhould both be of Age. That then, and not before, ſhould be ſettled the Marriage-Articles concerning the Dowry, the education of the Duke of *Orleans* in *England*, and the like. Moreover, that, whether the Marriage ſhould be conſummated, or the two Kings think fit to diſpoſe of their Children otherwiſe, their Friendſhip ſhould remain firm and inviolable, the Marriage being only to be conſidered as a Supplement to the Treaties of the thirtieth of *April*, and not as part of thoſe Treaties.

II. That the Treaty concluded at *Moore* ſhould remain in full force.

III. That the project of the Interview of the two Kings ſhould be laid aſide, on account of the ſeaſon and circumſtances of affairs.

IV. As by the Treaty of the twenty ninth of *May*, it was agreed, that the King of *England* ſhould contribute a certain Sum for the War of *Italy*, it was concluded by this, that in caſe the Emperor accepted the offers the two Kings ſhould make him by their Ambaſſadors, the ſaid contribution ſhould ceaſe without any prejudice to the Treaty of Peace: But if he rejected them, the Treaty of League offenſive and defenſive ſhould ſubſiſt, on condition that during this Campaign the King of *England* ſhould be deemed to have diſcharged his part of the Treaty, by his Contribution for the War with *Italy*.

V. That the King of *England* ſhould form no demands upon the King of *France* on pretence of his charges for the War of *Italy*.

VI. That to prevent all diſputes, without examining the number of Troops which the King of *France* maintained in *Italy*, the King of *England* ſhould pay for the month of *June* laſt twenty thouſand Crowns, for the month of *July* laſt thirty thouſand Crowns, and thirty two thouſand two hundred and twenty two for each of the three following months. On condition however, that if in theſe three laſt months, the *Engliſh* Commiſſaries found in the Army of *Italy*, a leſs number of Troops than what the King of *France* was to maintain, the Contribution ſhould be leſſened in proportion. Moreover, if a Peace was made during theſe three laſt months, the Contribution ſhould ceaſe the day the Peace was concluded.

By the ſecond Treaty, which concerned only Trade, *Francis* promiſed to give the *Engliſh* Merchants ſuch Privileges as ſhould be agreed upon hereafter. p. 209.

By a third Treaty the two Kings were bound: p. 212. Herbert.

Firſt, Not to conſent to the calling of a General Council during the Pope's Captivity.

Secondly, To receive no Bull, Brief or Mandate from the Pope (1) till he was releaſed.

Thirdly, That till the Pope ſhould reſume the Government of the Church, whatever ſhould be determined in *England* by the Cardinal Legate, aſſiſted by the principal Members of the Clergy (2), and in *France* by the Clergy of the *Gallican* Church, ſhould be punctually executed.

Theſe Treaties being concluded, *Francis* I ratified them, and ſwore to the obſervance before he left *Abbeville* (3). Cardinal *Wolſey* did the ſame thing in his maſter's name, by virtue of his full Powers and Title of Vicar-General, which he had receved on this occaſion. After that, he returned into *England*, to give the King an account of the ſucceſs of his Negotiation (4).

Wolſey *returns to* England. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 216, —— 218.

Henry being reſolved to proclaim war againſt the Emperor, but willing to conceal the real motives, demanded of him, by his Ambaſſadors, four things, which he knew could not then be performed. The firſt was, That he

Henry's *freſh demands upon the Emperor.* Herbert. p. 86.

(1) Any way prejudicial to either of the two Kings, their Kingdoms, or to the Cardinal of *York*'s Legatine Juriſdiction *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 213, 214.

(2) ——Accitis de mandato & auctoritate prædicti——Angliæ Regis in Regno Angliæ, Prelatis, circa ſtatum & adminiſtrationem Rerum Eccleſiaſticarum in Angliâ, &c. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 214. Called together by the King's Authority, and his conſent firſt obtained to what ſhould be determined. And here (ſays Lord *Herbert*) began the reliſh our King took of governing the Church, p. 85.

(3) They were ratified at *Amiens*, *Auguſt* 18. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 216, 218.

(4) About the end of *September*. *Francis* not only richly preſented him, but conducted him through the Town, and upon his way about a Mile, being accompanied with the titular King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and his prime Nobility. At his coming to *Calais*, he ordered the Mart to be kept in that Town, inſtead of *Antwerp*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 159. *Herbert*, p. 85. ——About this time, *Wolſey* diſpatched *Gambara* to the Pope, to deſire him to make him his Vicar-General in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, during his Captivity. *Guicciard.* l. 18.

1527. ſhould pay what was borrowed of him, or of his Father King *Henry* VII. The ſecond, that he ſhould pay him the five hundred thouſand Crowns to which he was obliged, in caſe he married not the Princeſs *Mary*, to whom he was affianced. The third, That according to the tenor of their Treaty, he ſhould ſatisfy him for his Penſion from the King of *France*, whereof there was now due four years and four months. The fourth, That he ſhould releaſe the Pope, and ſatisfy him for all the damages cauſed by his Troops. The Emperor anſwered the Ambaſſadors, firſt, That he had never denied his being debtor to the King of *England*; but was ſurprized he ſhould at this juncture inſiſt ſo much upon payment: That at leaſt, when the money was required, the obligations ſhould be offered to be reſtored. Secondly, That he would write to the King their Maſter to acquaint him, why he did not think himſelf liable to the penalty of the five hundred thouſand Crowns, for not conſummating the Marriage. In the third place, That orders were ſent into *Italy* to ſet the Pope free. He ſaid nothing concerning making ſatisfaction for the Penſion, becauſe probably he conſidered it as included in the Article of the debts to which he owned himſelf bound, as indeed nothing was more reaſonable.

Guicciard. *The Emperor's Anſwer.* Herbert.

Aſſembly of the chief Men of France. Mezerai.

The Emperor's Replies were not capable of ſatisfying *Henry* who only ſought an occaſion of quarrel. On the other hand, *Francis* having called together the chief Men, that is to ſay, properly, Perſons devoted to him, declared to them all the ſteps he had made towards a Peace with the Emperor; and it may be eaſily gueſſed, he was not very careful to explain what the Emperor might alledge againſt him. Having repreſented the matter as he pleaſed, he ſaid, he was ready to return into captivity, if it was judged that he was obliged in Honour or Conſcience. The Aſſembly unanimouſly replied, That his Perſon belonged to the Realm, and it was not in his power to diſpoſe of it according to his pleaſure: That moreover, he could not alienate the Provinces of the Crown, but if the Emperor would accept of a Ranſom for the two Princes in hoſtage, they offered the King two millions of Gold to redeem them. A Man muſt have voluntarily ſhut his eyes, not to ſee what was the deſign of this Farce, entirely managed by the Court. Mean while, the King believing, after this deciſion, that he might, with a ſafe Conſcience, go to war with the Emperor, thought only of means to recover his Sons by force of Arms. He ſtill hoped however, the dread of a War would induce the Emperor to mitigate the Treaty of *Madrid*. This was not now with reſpect to *Burgundy*, ſince he could not be ignorant that the Emperor had accepted the offered Equivalent. But he was in hopes, by means of the War, to procure a new Treaty, which ſhould annul that of *Madrid*. Thus many Princes play with their Words and Oaths, and ſeek to blind themſelves, or at leaſt, the publick, whilſt none about them dare to tell them the Truth. The Emperor kept his word no better, with regard to the Duchy of *Milan*; and *Henry* VIII ſcrupled not to break his League with the Emperor, as he had before violated that with *Francis*. Princes never want excuſes when they have a mind to break a Treaty. But the publick is not always impoſed upon, though frequently they appear ſo to be. Probably, the Sovereigns themſelves are not ſo blind, but they ſee the irregularity of their Conduct, though, countenanced by the diſſimulation of the publick, they affect the great ſecurity. But the time comes at laſt, when Poſterity, leſs prepoſſeſſed, does juſtice to all the World, and calls things by their proper name.

The Aſſembly's opinion. *Francis's Aim.* Charles, Francis and Henry *act with inſincerity.*

Francis and Henry *ſend to one another their Orders of Knights of St. Michael and the Garter.* Act. Pub. XIV. p. 227, 233. p. 229. p. 232. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Francis, willing to preſerve the Friendſhip newly contracted with *Henry*, ſent him the Order of St. *Michael* (1) by *Ann de Montmorency* (2), one of the Knights. This Lord had power to diſpenſe with *Henry*'s Oath, in whole or in part, as the new Knight ſhould think fit, or even to be contented with his bare word. *Henry* was pleaſed to ſwear to obſerve all the Statutes of the Order of St. *Michael*, which were not contrary to thoſe of the Garter, or any other Order he had already received. Then he ſent the Order of the Garter to *Francis*, by *Arthur* [*Plantagenet*] Viſcount *Liſle*, natural Son of *Edward* IV (3), and *Francis* took the uſual Oath of the Order, with the ſame reſtrictions. The *French* Ambaſſador, who arrived in *England* about the end of *October*, was received with ſuch magnificence, that *du Bellai*, who accompanied him, aſſures us, he had never ſeen the like. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was received in the ſame manner in *France*, there having ever been between *Francis* and *Henry* an emulation, which frequently threw them into needleſs expences. But it was moſt inconvenient for *Francis*, by reaſon of his continual wars with the Emperor, wherein *Henry* was no farther engaged than he pleaſed: Nay, he paid the very contribution for the War of *Italy*, by way of deduction for the Sums owed him by *Francis* (4), as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Thus *Francis* was forced to disburſe all the Money employed in that War, of which I muſt now relate the Sequel.

1527. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 233.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

Clement VII was ſtill confined in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, till he could pay the Sums exacted upon him. As he had but little Money, he could only pay part of what he had promiſed, and therefore his Captivity was longer than he expected at firſt; they in whoſe Cuſtody he was, not being willing to truſt to his word. The Emperor had not advice of the ſacking of *Rome*, and the Pope's Impriſonment ſooner than the beginning of *June*, and it was above a month before he came to any reſolution. As he did not queſtion this affair would make great noiſe in the World, he was willing to ſee, before he determined what to do, how the Kings of *France* and *England* would take it, in order to proceed accordingly. The 2d of *Auguſt*, he writ to *Henry* to excuſe himſelf concerning the outrages committed by his Troops at *Rome*, and the violence exerciſed upon the Pope's Perſon, wherein he proteſted, he was not concerned. At the ſame time, he asked his advice about what was to be done on this occaſion, as if he ſtill deemed him his good Friend and Ally. But it was only to gain time, till he received *Francis*'s anſwer to the Memorial ſent to Cardinal *Wolſey*. On the other hand, the Pope, though narrowly watched, had found means to write to *Henry* (5), and cauſe the thirteen Cardinals, who were confined with him, to do the ſame, deſiring his protection, and entreating him to uſe his beſt endeavours to free them from their unhappy condition. *Henry*, upon receipt of theſe Letters, ſent orders to his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to demand of the Emperor the Pope's and Cardinals Liberty: To which the Emperor anſwered in general terms, that he would do what lay in his power for the King of *England*'s ſatisfaction. Mean while, he was thinking of conveying the Pope into *Spain*, in expectation of making a better bargain with him than if he left him in *Italy*. Of this Cardinal *Wolſey* informed *Henry* by a Letter from *Abbeville* of the twenty ninth of *July*.

Herbert.

Letter to Henry from the Pope and impriſoned Cardinals. Burnet. Vol. III. Herbert.

It is certain, *Henry*'s Inſtances in the Pope's behalf greatly embarraſſed the Emperor. He found that *Francis* and *Henry* would not fail to join their Counſels and Forces againſt him, under colour of labouring for the Pope, and this union could not but break all his meaſures, with reſpect to his affairs in *Italy*. He believed therefore, that before all things he ſhould try to divide them, by ſowing jealouſies and ſuſpicions between them. One of his expedients to this end, was to propoſe to the Cardinal a marriage between the Duke of *Richmond*, natural Son of *Henry*, and *Iſabella* Princeſs of *Portugal*, with whom he offered in Dower the Duchy of *Milan*. The Cardinal acquainted the King with it by a Letter of the 31ſt of *July*, telling him withal, that the offer was not much to be relied on, but however, it was proper to ſeem to liſten to it, becauſe it was neceſſary ſtill to preſerve ſome correſpondence with the Emperor. This related without doubt to the affair of the Divorce, which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of. For, by a Letter of the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Cardinal informed the King it was reported in *Spain*, he intended to divorce the Queen; but that it was requiſite to ſend orders to his Ambaſſadors at *Madrid* to ſtifle the rumour as much as poſſible. That to this end, they might ſay, it had no other foundation than the Biſhop of *Tarbe*'s ſcruples concerning the Princeſs *Mary*'s Marriage with the Duke of *Orleans*, as if there was room to queſtion the Princeſs's Legitimacy. The Emperor alſo uſed another way to divide *Francis* and *Henry*, by trying to gain Cardinal *Wolſey* by advantagious offers (6). But for once, he could

The Emperor tries to ſet Francis and Henry at Variance. Herbert.

A Rumour in Spain of Henry's intending to part with his Queen. Herbert.

The Emperor tries to bribe Wolſey. Pol. Virg.

(1) The military Order of St. *Michael* was inſtituted by *Lewis* XII, in 1469. The Knights wear a Golden Collar of Shell-work, one within another, laid on a Golden Chain, whereon hangs a Medal of St. *Michael* the Archangel, the ancient Protector of *France*.

(2) *Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maitre* arrived the 20th of *October*, with ſix hundred Horſe at *London*, and after Audience had been given, they were, on *November* 10, entertained by our King at *Greenwich* with a ſumptuous Feaſt, and with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princeſs *Mary* acted a Part. *Herbert*, p. 85.

(3) He was accompanied by Dr. *John Taylor*, Maſter of the Rolls, and Archdeacon of *Buckingham*, Sir *Nicolas Carew*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*, Garter King at Arms. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 232.

(4) Which Sums amounted to ſixty four thouſand five hundred and forty four Crowns. See *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 234.

(5) On *September* 24. By *Gregory de Caſſali*, the *Engliſh* Agent at *Rome*, who was now returning to *England*. *Herbert*, p. 81, 83. *Burnet*, Vol. III. p. 34.

(6) He offered him large Sums beſides his Penſion. But becauſe *Charles* had refuſed *Wolſey* the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo* the richeſt in *Spain*, to which the Cardinal vehemently aſpired, he proved inexorable. *Pol. Virg.* l. 27. *Herbert*, p. 85.

1527. not ſucceed; whether *Wolſey* was now too far engaged with *Francis*, or was bent to be revenged of the Emperor, who had twice deceived him, or whether the buſineſs of the Divorce was now reſolved, in which caſe it was not poſſible for him to promiſe to eſpouſe the Emperor's Intereſts.

Francis joins in a League with the Venetians. Guicciard.

When *Francis* heard of the ſacking of *Rome*, he perceived it was time to lay aſide artifice, and neceſſary to ſend a powerful aid into *Italy*, otherwiſe the *Venetians* would infallibly conclude a Peace with the Emperor. Indeed, it was not likely, they could or would bear alone the burden of the War. Wherefore his firſt care was to make a new Treaty with them (1), to bring each into the Field ten thouſand Men, and levy ten thouſand *Switzers* at a common charge. The *Venetians* deſired nothing more than to be ſupported by *France*, becauſe they juſtly dreaded, that the Army which had ſacked *Rome* would be employed againſt them. Indeed, if the Duke of *Bourbon* had been alive, or the Viceroy of *Naples* able to influence the Army, the *Venetians* would undoubtedly have been attacked, being the only Enemies the Emperor had in *Italy*. But happily for them, the Imperial Troops being wholly intent upon the plunder of *Rome*, without thinking of any other undertaking, the Plague which broke out among them, ſwept away two thirds of the Soldiers. In ſhort, the Diſtemper deſtroying them by heaps, they left *Rome*, and diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring Country. After which, having ſacked *Terni* and *Narni*, and extorted Money from *Spoleto*, the *Germans* parted from the *Spaniards*, and returned to *Rome*. Thus diſcord ariſing in the Army, which ill obeyed the Prince of *Orange*, though they had choſen him for General, they projected nothing to improve their Victory for the Emperor's advantage. On the contrary, by their negligence, they gave *Francis* time to ſend Troops into *Italy*, under the Command of *Lautrec*, who was declared General of the League he had newly concluded with the *Venetians*. As for the Duke of *Urbino*, he continued in the *Milaneſe* with part of the *Venetian* Army.

The Plague rages among the Imperialiſts. Guicciard.

Lautrec General of the League. Guicciard. Herbert.

He arrives in Piedmont.

Lautrec arrived in *Piedmont* in *July*, with part of the Army he was to command. The Marquiſs of *Saluzzo* was ordered to join him with his *Italians*, and the *Switzers* were to come preſently after. Whilſt he was employed in Conqueſts of little moment, waiting the junction of all his Forces, *Andrea Doria*, who had quitted the Pope's Service, and commanded the *French* Gallies, to which he had joined eight others of his own, found means to reduce the City of *Genoa* under *Francis*'s Dominion. This was a good opening of a Campain, which ſeemed to promiſe an advantagious Succeſs in the reſt of the War, eſpecially as *Lautrec*, after aſſembling his whole Army, conſiſting of twenty five thouſand Men, became maſter of *Vigevano*, *Alexandria*, and *Pavia*. *Sforza* and the *Venetians* earneſtly preſſed him to beſiege *Milan*; but he ſhewed them poſitive orders to march to *Naples*. The King of *France* took care not to employ his Army to conquer the Duchy of *Milan*, which by the Treaty of League was to be reſtored to *Sforza*, after which, the *Venetians* would give themſelves but little trouble to accompliſh his attempt upon *Naples*. Beſides, he ſtill hoped, that by conſenting, the Emperor ſhould keep *Milan*, he might recover his Sons, whereas in reſtoring *Sforza* he ſhould deprive himſelf of that means. *Lautrec* therefore began his march to the Kingdom of *Naples*, but with ſuch ſlowneſs and affected delays, that it was evident, he had private orders not to make too much haſte. And indeed, it was at the time that *Francis* expected the Emperor's final anſwer to the offers made him by his and *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors. *Lautrec* long halted at *Parma* and *Placentia*, which had opened their Gates to him. Mean while, the Duke of *Ferrara* joined with *France*, as well on account of *Lautrec*'s march, who might have eaſily ravaged his Country, as of *Francis*'s offer to give in marriage to his Son *Hercules*, *Renée* of *France*, ſecond Daughter of *Lewis* XII. The Duke of *Mantua* preſently after followed his example.

Doria *reduces* Genoa *under the Dominion of* France. Guicciard. Herbert.

Lautrec *marches to* Naples *very ſlowly*. Guicciard. Hall.

The Dukes of Ferrara *and* Mantua *ſide with* France. Sardi.

Negotiation for the Pope's Liberty. Guicciard.

Mean while, the Emperor ſeeing the ill effects of the Pope's Captivity, had diſpatched the General of the Order of St. *Francis* to the Viceroy of *Naples*, with orders to releaſe the Pope. The General finding the Viceroy ſeized with a Diſtemper whereof he died in a few days, delivered the orders to *Hugo de Moncada* to be executed. The Emperor had given general Inſtructions, that the Pope ſhould be bound to pay the Arrears due to the Army, and give Security, after having his liberty, to forſake the League. But as it was not eaſy for the Pope to find Pledges, or the Money neceſſary to pay the Army, the Negotiation was prolonged. Mean while, he continually ſollicited *Lautrec* by private Meſſengers to approach *Rome* in order to facilitate his deliverance. But *Lautrec* had poſitive orders which hindered him from making haſte, and yet his march, though ſlow, was of good Service to the Pope. *Moncada* ſeeing the Kingdom of *Naples* was going to be invaded, and that it was not poſſible to lead thither the Imperial Army which was at *Rome*, without giving them Money, concluded at laſt (2) a Treaty with the Pope to this effect: 1527.

Treaty for the Pope's Deliverance. Guicciard. Herbert.

I. That the Pope ſhould not oppoſe the Emperor in the affairs of *Naples* or *Milan*.

II. That he ſhould grant the Emperor a Cruſade in *Spain*, and a Tenth in the reſt of his Dominions.

III. That the Emperor ſhould keep *Civita Vecchia*, *Oſtia*, *Citta Caſtellana*, and the Caſtle of *Furli*.

IV. That the Pope ſhould pay down to the *German* Troops, ſixty thouſand Ducats, and thirty five thouſand to the *Spaniards*.

V. That in a fortnight after, he ſhould pay them another certain Sum, and within three months all the reſt that was due to the Emperor, amounting to above three hundred and fifty thouſand Ducats.

VI. That till the two firſt payments were made, the Pope ſhould be conducted to ſome ſafe place out of *Rome*, and give Hoſtages.

The Pope eſcapes to Orvieto. *Guicciard.*

The Treaty being ſigned, and the Cardinals of *Ceſis* and *Orſino* delivered in Hoſtage, it was agreed, that on the 10th of *December* the Pope ſhould be taken out of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and conducted to a place appointed. But as he was afraid of a longer confinement, becauſe he was unable to perform the Treaty, he eſcaped in diſguiſe the night before, and ſhut himſelf up in *Orvieto*.

Guicciard.

When *Lautrec* heard that the Pope was at Liberty, he reſtored to him the City of *Parma*, and marched to *Bologna*, where he ſtayed three weeks expecting freſh orders from the King. Some days after, he received a Letter from *Clement* VII, acknowledging himſelf indebted to him for his Liberty, intimating withal, that having been forced to grant the Imperialiſts whatever they required, he did not think himſelf obliged to perform his Engagements.

Beginning of Henry's Divorce.

It was whilſt the Pope was priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, that *Henry*'s Divorce was ſet on foot; a momentous affair, if ever there was one, as well in it ſelf, as on account of the Parties concerned, and chiefly for its effects. It was not yet thirty years ſince *Lewis* XII put away his Wife without any difficulty, or much noiſe in the world. *Henry* VIII had a mind to attempt the ſame thing, and though ſupported with much more plauſible reaſons, he met with inſuperable obſtacles, not to be ſurmounted without an extraordinary method, which gave occaſion to the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation in *England*. This effect diſtinguiſhed *Henry* VIII's Divorce from ſo many others, which are but ſlightly mentioned by Hiſtorians. The writers upon this ſubject being either Catholicks or Proteſtants, have conſidered it variouſly. The Catholicks have drawn Arguments from thence againſt the Reformation in *England*, and repreſented *Henry*'s Divorce, as the next and immediate cauſe of the change of Religion; whereas the Proteſtants affirm, it was only the occaſion. Three *Engliſh* Authors eſpecially have writ the Hiſtory of this Divorce, beſides many others of the ſame Nation, or Foreigners who have ſpoke of it in their works. *Sanderus*, or rather *Sanders*, Author of *the Origin and Progreſs of the* Engliſh *Schiſm*, makes it is his buſineſs to defame *Henry* VIII, and ſhew that the Reformation in *England*, which he terms *Schiſm*, entirely ſprung from *Henry*'s paſſion for *Ann Bullen*. He fancied by that to give a mortal wound to the Reformation, and cauſe the world to think, that a Superſtructure raiſed on ſuch a foundation, could not be the work of God. The Lord *Herbert*, in his Hiſtory of *Henry* VIII, contents himſelf with a bare recital of the events of this Reign, whereof the Divorce is one of the principal, without many reaſonings, leaving his Readers to make Inferences from the Facts he relates. Doctor *Burnet* intending to write the Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*, made it his chief aim, in ſpeaking of *Henry*'s Divorce, to ſhew, that though it occaſioned the Reformation, it was only by accident. For this reaſon he has endeavoured to refute the palpable falſehoods aſſerted by *Sanders* in his Hiſtory. He has ſucceeded ſo well, that no ſincere Man can for the future acknowledge *Sanders* for a writer worthy of Credit.

Reaſon why this Divorce made ſo much noiſe.

Remarks on Sanders, Herbert, and Burnet.

The Sequel of my Hiſtory obliges me to ſpeak, in my turn, of this famous Divorce. I ſhould be inclined to refer the Reader to the forementioned excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*, known to all the world, and to which it is difficult to make any additions, but it would not be reaſonable to oblige the Readers to remember what they have read in that Hiſtory, or to peruſe

(1) On *May* 15. *Guicciard.* l. 18.

(2) On *October* 31. *Ibid.*

1527. it again. Wherefore I ſhall chuſe, in purſuing the thread of my Hiſtory, to relate this Event, which is as the Hinge whereon do turn numberleſs other things, which that illuſtrious Author had occaſion only to mention, but which I muſt more fully explain, becauſe our ends are different. His aim in ſpeaking of *Henry* VIII's affairs with the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *France*, was to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of the Reformation, and mine is, not to meddle with the affairs of Religion any farther than they relate to the other events of this Reign.

Henry reſolves to divorce Queen Catherine. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert. Burnet.

Henry had been married eighteen years to *Catherine of Arragon*, and by her had three Children, whereof one was living, when he formed the deſign to put her away. He alledged, as the principal reaſon, his ſcruples for marrying his Brother's widow. But, as 'tis pretended, theſe ſcruples troubled him not till he was in love with *Ann Bullen*, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, it is inferred, that his doubts concerning the validity of his Marriage, ſprung from this new paſſion, and without that, would never have exiſted (1). Accordingly, ſome labour to ſhew his Divorce had no other foundation than his love for that Lady. Others again endeavour to prove, that his love and his ſcruples were independent of each other. For my part, I ſhould think it needleſs to accuſe or juſtify *Henry*, with regard to the concerns of Religion, if there was not ſome neceſſity to illuſtrate this matter with reſpect to the Hiſtory. By illuſtrating, I mean, ſhewing the impoſſibility of giving a certain Judgment about it. But before all things, it is neceſſary to deſcribe the perſon, who, as it is pretended, was the prime Cauſe of the King's Divorce, and of all the Conſequences thereof.

It is not poſſible to know whether Henry's Love was the cauſe of the Divorce.

An Account of Ann Bullen. Introd. to Ann. of Eliz. Burnet. Ref T. I. p. 43. Herbert.

Ann Bullen (2) was of a good, though not a noble, Family. Sir *Thomas Bullen* her Father, married a Siſter of the Duke of *Norfolk* (3), and by her had *Ann*, born according to *Camden* in 1507, about two years before *Henry* VIII's Acceſſion to the Throne. *Thomas Bullen* her Father was twice Ambaſſador to *France*, firſt in 1515, and again in 1527. He was made Viſcount *Rochford* in 1525, and afterwards Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond* (4). *Ann* his Daughter, being but ſeven years old, was carried into *France* in 1514, when *Mary* the King's Siſter went and conſummated her Marriage at *Abbeville*, with *Lewis* XII. That Queen being re-married ſhortly after to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and returning into *England*, *Ann Bullen* was left in *France*. It is pretended, ſhe then entered into the Service of *Francis* I's Queen, though ſhe was but eight years of age; but it is not ſaid in what quality. It is certain, a Girl of her age was not capable of doing much Service. So, it may be preſumed her Beauty, Genteelneſs, or the livelineſs of her Wit, made Queen *Claude* deſirous to keep her about her. *Camden* affirms, ſhe retained her in her Service to the day of her death, which happened in *July* 1524, and ſays not that *Ann* ever took a Journey into *England* all that time. But *Du Tillet*, and *Du Pleix*, *French* Authors, pretend, ſhe came over in 1522. The Lord *Herbert* ſays the ſame thing, but, without citing any particular Author, contents himſelf with ſaying, it appears in Hiſtory. *Camden* affirms, *Ann* remained in *France*, not only till Queen *Claude*'s death, but that, after ſhe had loſt her Miſtreſs, ſhe was taken into Service by the Ducheſs of *Alenſon*, *Francis*'s Siſter. However, he does not ſay when ſhe quitted it. Others affirm, Sir *Thomas Bullen* brought his Daughter to *England* when he returned from his Embaſſy. His Embaſſy of 1515, can't here be meant, ſince it is unanimouſly agreed, that *Ann* was in Queen *Claude*'s Service after Queen *Mary*'s departure, and continued ſeveral years in the Court of *France*. It muſt therefore be his Embaſſy of 1527. But 'tis likely, *Bullen* was not ſent to *France* till *September* 1527, ſince his ſole Commiſſion was to ſee the Treaty of the 30th of *April* of the ſame year ſworn to, which *Francis* had not ratified ſooner than the 18th of *Auguſt*, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* (5). But as, before his departure, the affair of the Divorce was already commenced, it may be affirmed, the King's love for his Daughter was later than his reſolution concerning the Divorce, if it be true that *Ann* returned to *England* with her Father, about the end of the year 1527. Indeed it may be objected, that two *French* Authors aſſert, that *Ann* went over to *England* in 1522, and that it was then the King fell in love with her. But it may be replied firſt, that it is very ſtrange, theſe two Hiſtorians, who wrote long after the fact, ſhould meet with Memoirs of the Journey of a Maid of Honour, and the more as they cite nothing to ſupport their Teſtimony. Secondly, ſuppoſing it were ſo, they don't ſay *Ann* ſtayed in *England*. Conſequently they deſtroy not *Camden*'s Teſtimony, who affirms, *Ann* ſerved Queen *Claude* till 1524, and afterwards the Ducheſs of *Alenſon*. But if it be true, that *Ann* took a Journey into *England* in 1522, and the King then fell in love with her, it cannot be ſuppoſed ſhe returned to *France*, becauſe the rupture between the two Crowns happening that year, it is not likely that in time of War, an *Engliſh* Woman ſhould go and ſerve a Queen of *France*. Beſides, if the King was then in love, would he have ſuffered *Ann* to depart the Kingdom? *Camden* therefore, or the two *French* Authors muſt have been miſtaken. This is a difficulty not to be eaſily ſolved.

Uncertainty about Ann Bullen's return to England. Burnet.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 218.

1527.

But there is a fact which paſſes for certain, namely, that *Ann Bullen* being twenty years old, was taken into Queen *Catherine*'s Service as Maid of Honour. Now this muſt have been in 1527, ſince ſhe was born in 1507. Accordingly, this is the time to which the beginning of the King's love may moſt properly be fixed. But ſtill this is only a Conjecture, which, were it well grounded, would be a ſufficient proof, that the King's Divorce was not an effect of his paſſion, ſince it was reſolved before the end of the year 1526. My aim in this Inquiry is to ſhew, that the time of *Ann Bullen*'s return into *England* is very uncertain, and the beginning of the King's affection no leſs ſo. How then can it be ſo boldly affirmed, as it is by ſome, that Love for *Ann Bullen* inſpired the King with the thoughts of annulling his Marriage with *Catherine*? We muſt ſee now whether it be eaſier to diſcover the time when *Henry* reſolved to ſue for his Divorce.

Camden. Burnet.

At what time Henry reſolved to ſue for his Divorce. Burnet. Ref. T. I. p. 36. Speed. p. 762.

When *Henry* VII concluded his Son's Marriage with *Catherine* Prince *Arthur*'s Widow, Archbiſhop *Warham* told him plainly, it was contrary to the Law of God, which the Pope could not diſpenſe with. The King without doubt was touched with this Remonſtrance. The very day the Prince his Son entered into his fourteenth year, he cauſed him to make againſt his Marriage, a ſecret Proteſtation, though before truſty witneſſes, declaring, he was conſtrained to give his conſent. After that, the King on his death-bed ſtrictly charged the Prince not to conſummate his Marriage with *Catherine*. Notwithſtanding all this, *Henry* VIII being come to the Crown, eſpouſed the Princeſs contrary to *Warham*'s opinion, to which he preferred the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s. He had by her three Children (6), two Sons and a Daughter, of whom the Sons died ſoon after their Birth. He afterwards affirmed, that he conſidered the untimely death of his two Sons, as God's curſe on his Marriage, eſpecially, when he ſaw the Queen had done breeding. It happened afterwards that *Charles* V, who was affianced to the Princeſs *Mary*, refuſed to marry her, upon the Council of *Spain*'s queſtioning the Princeſs's Legitimacy. After that, when a Marriage was treating between *Mary* and King *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans*, the Biſhop of *Tarbe* the *French* Ambaſſador, made the ſame objection, maintaining, that the Princeſs could not be deemed born in Wedlock, notwithſtanding *Julius* II's Diſpenſation.

Hall. fol. 155. Burnet.

All theſe things were more than ſufficient to raiſe ſcruples in the King's mind concerning his Marriage. But though in an Aſſembly of Lords which he afterwards called, to inform them of his reaſons for a Divorce, he affirmed, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*'s objection inſpired him with the firſt thoughts of inquiring into the matter, it appears however, that his ſcruples began ſooner. For in a Letter (7) afterwards to *Grynæus*, he told him, he had abſtained from the Queen ever ſince the year 1524.

But ſuppoſing it could be diſcovered at what time *Henry* begun, either of himſelf, or by the Suggeſtion of others, to be troubled with theſe ſcruples, it would ſignify nothing with reſpect to his reſolution concerning the Divorce, which in all appearance was taken much later. *Polydore Virgil* ſays, *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the King's Confeſſor, laboured to perſuade him of the neceſſity of the Divorce by Cardinal *Wolſey*'s order, but mentions not the time. All the Hiſtorians affirm, the King had recourſe himſelf to *Thomas Aquinas*'s works to clear his doubts, and cauſed the Biſhops to be conſulted upon that head. But none of them ſay at what time this was done. It is well known, Secretary *Knight* was diſpatched

Burnet.

(1) It was at firſt reported, That King *Henry* was to marry *Margaret* Ducheſs Dowager of *Alenſon*, and that *Thomas Bullen* Viſcount *Rochford* had brought over her Picture with him, when he returned from his Embaſſy to *France*. *Hollingſhead*, p. 897. *Pol. Virg.* l. 27.

(2) Her true name was *Ann Boleyn*, as it is always written in the *Publick Acts*. The *Engliſh* write *Bolen*, or *Bullen*, and the *French Boulen*. *Rapin*.

(3) *Elizabeth Howard*.

(4) His Mother was *Margaret* one of the Daughters and Co-Heirs of *Thomas Boteler*, Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*. His Father was Sir *William*, and his Grandfather Sir *Geoffrey Boleyn*, or *Bulleyn*, Lord Mayor of *London* in 1458, who married *Ann* eldeſt Daughter and Co-Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Haſtings*. *Dugdale*'s *Baron*. Vol. II. p. 306. *Camden*.

(5) Sir *Thomas Bulleyn* was accompanied to *Paris* by Sir *Anthony Brown*. *Hall*, fol. 157.

(6) She had, beſides, ſeveral Miſcarriages. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 36.

(7) Dated *September* 10. 1531. *Idem*. p. 38.

1527. Burnet. Herbert. to *Rome* about this affair in *July* 1527, but then the rumour of the King's meditating a Divorce had already reached the Court of *Spain*, as appears in the Cardinal's Letter to the King from *Abbeville* (1). It is also very probable, that before he engaged in this affair, *Henry* had considered of it some time before. It is scarce to be supposed a resolution of this nature can be taken lightly, or when taken, immediately executed, without thoroughly weighing the difficulties, or waiting a favorable Juncture. *Henry* said himself that the Bishop of *Tarbe* bred the thought of annulling his Marriage. But if it be true, as some affirm, that the Bishop spoke only as directed by Cardinal *Wolsey*, it may be presumed, the project of the Divorce was formed some time before, and this Ambassador made to speak only to have an excuse to commence the affair. This is what seems to me extremely probable. Indeed it is not likely the Ambassador, after thus questioning *Mary*'s Legitimacy, would have concluded the Marriage of the King his master, or of the Duke of *Orleans*, with that Princess, had he not acted in concert with the Court of *England*. These then are my thoughts, which I submit to the Reader's Judgment.

Conjecture upon this Subject. Ever since *Francis* was freed from his Captivity, he had never ceased to press *Henry* to join with him in an offensive League against the Emperor. But *Henry* had constantly excused himself, without even suffering him to entertain the least hopes in that respect. However, Lord *Herbert* says, that about the end of the year 1526, *Henry* of his own accord sent an Ambassador to *France* to propose this League, so eagerly desired by *Francis*, and to offer him his Daughter *Mary* in Marriage. This proceeding gives occasion to believe, he had now resolved upon the Divorce, and foreseeing how much the Emperor would oppose it, intended so to embarrass him as to oblige him to court his Friendship. Upon this supposition it may naturally be conjectured, that he proposed the Marriage of his Daughter with the King of *France*, only to convince the Emperor, that he really designed to be strictly united with *France*. But at the same time it is very likely, he informed *Francis* of the obstacle which would occur in the execution of this pretended project, namely, the Divorce of the Princess's Mother, which he was meditating. This Conjecture is confirmed by the coldness wherewith these two Monarchs treated of the Marriage. In the first place, *Henry* left it to the King of *France*'s choice, to have *Mary* himself, or to leave her to his second Son, as if this alternative were the same thing. In the next place, when *Francis* declared he would leave *Mary* to the Duke of *Orleans*, the treating more fully concerning the Marriage was deferred to another time. In the third place, in the Treaty *Francis* and the Cardinal concluded at *Abbeville*, they took care to insert this Clause: *That though the Marriage should not be effected, the Treaty however should subsist.* In fine, though *Knight* was now at *Rome*, or on his way thither, when the Treaty of *Abbeville* was concluded, it does not appear *Francis* ever complained to *Henry*, that he had offered him a Princess whom he was labouring to bastardize, in prosecuting his Divorce with the Queen her Mother. On the contrary, he assisted him to the utmost of his power to obtain his desires. But he must have looked upon the offer as an affront, had they not understood one another. If this Conjecture has any foundation, it may be inferred, that the resolution concerning the Divorce was taken at least about the end of the year 1526, though the execution was deferred till the middle of the next year. But in that case, it would therefore be true, that the King had resolved upon the Divorce before his passion for *Ann Bullen*, who, in all appearance, returned not into *England* sooner than *October* 1527.

From what has been said it may be gathered, that to affirm with any probability, that *Henry*'s passion for *Ann Bullen* was the cause of his Divorce with *Catherine*, these queries must be decided in favour of that opinion. At what time did *Ann Bullen* return into *England?* When did the King's love for her first begin? When was it that he came to a resolution concerning his Divorce? But upon all these questions, conjectures only, as I have observed, can properly be formed. Thus much is certain, that between the resolution about the Divorce, and the beginning of the King's love, was no great distance of time. There we must stop. But it is going too far, to ground upon this nearness, as a certain fact, that *Henry* undertook the prosecution of his Divorce with *Catherine*, on purpose to marry *Ann Bullen*. I say, moreover, that though there was no difficulty about the times, and they exactly corresponded, yet as to what passed in the King's Breast, it would be only Conjecture.

I have enlarged a little on this point, because the illustrious Author of the History of the Reformation seems to leave it something in the dark. Besides, I thought it requisite to curb the over-confident, by informing the Readers of what is true, and what doubtful in the matter. We see it in many Histories, and hear it every day positively affirmed, as if there was no difficulty, that *Henry*'s Love for *Ann Bullen* was the sole Cause of his Divorce with *Catherine* of *Arragon*, though, as I have shewn, it can only be said by conjecture, and the conjecture it self does not countenance that notion. Not that *Henry* VIII is to be considered as a Prince incapable of being misled by his Passion, even to the sacrificing *Catherine* of *Arragon* to *Ann Bullen*. Why should he have been more scrupulous with respect to *Catherine*, than he was with regard to *Ann* herself, whom he made no difficulty to sacrifice to a third Wife, as will hereafter be seen. He was a Prince of an impetuous Temper, who could bear no opposition to his Will. The Flatteries of his Subjects, and the extravagant Praises continually bestowed on him by the Sovereigns who stood in need of him, had possessed him with such a conceit of his own Merit, that he imagined his Actions ought to have been the standard of good Sense, Reason, and Justice. When therefore it is said, his love for *Ann Bullen* caused him eagerly to push the affair of his Divorce, of which otherwise the difficulties would perhaps have discouraged him, nothing is affirmed repugnant to his Character. Only care must be taken, not to assert for an undoubted Truth, what is but a bare Conjecture. 1527.

Motives of the Divorce alledged by Henry. Burnet. However this be, without dwelling longer upon the King's secret motives, and endeavouring to discover his Thoughts, which lie hid from human eyes, let us content our selves with what he published himself. In the first place, he said, He was troubled in conscience for his Marriage with *Catherine*, and indeed he had but too much reason. The wonder is, that he had not these scruples more early. He had married his Brother's Widow, and found it forbidden by the Law of *Moses*. It is true, he had the Pope's dispensation. But he could not be ignorant that many learned Divines were of opinion, that the Pope could not dispense with the Laws of God. This was sufficient to give him very just Scruples. As soon as these doubts had possessed him, he was willing to clear them, and found in *Thomas Aquinas* what he had perhaps inattentively read many times: First, that the Levitical Laws are moral and eternal: Secondly, that the Pope cannot dispense with the Laws of God, because to dispense with a Law, one must be superior [or equal] to the Law-giver. This decision of a Divine, for whom he had a great esteem, confirming his scruples, he desired Archbishop *Warham*, who had formerly declared against the Marriage, to consult the Bishops of *England* upon this occasion. Some affirm, that *Longland* his Confessor cherished his doubts, by the private orders of Cardinal *Wolsey*, which is not improbable. The Queen was Aunt of the Emperor, with whom *Wolsey* had reason to be displeased. Besides, the Favorite loved not the Queen herself, because she could not help shewing how much she was offended, that a Bishop, a Cardinal, a Legate of the Holy See, should lead so scandalous a life. However this be, soon after the Archbishop presented to the King a writing, under the Hands and Seals of all the Bishops, wherein they condemned his Marriage as contrary to common decency, and the Law of God. Only *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* refusing to set his hand, it is said the Archbishop made another write his name unknown to him (2). But the Bishops were not the only Persons of this opinion. Since *Luther*'s Works began to appear, many People in *England* were put out of their former high conceit of the Papal Power. As therefore the validity of the King's Marriage was wholly founded on *Julius* II's Dispensation, it was publickly disputed whether the Dispensation could authorize a Marriage so notoriously repugnant to the Law of God: Nay, many who were otherwise strongly attached to the Court of *Rome*, could not relish the Doctrine of the Pope's dispensing with the divine Laws. All these things conspired either to breed or confirm the King's scruples.

He labours to inform himself about his doubts. Burnet.

Wolsey helps to cherish his Scruples. Pol. Virg. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

The Bishops condemn his Marriage with Catherine. Cavendish. Burnet.

The People are of the same mind. Herbert.

Reasons of State alledged by the King. Burnet. But it was not only scruples of Conscience that *Henry* alledged to justify his design. He pretended, that though he were regardless of his salvation, or able to overcome his scruples, the good of his People required the prevention of an inconvenience which was easily to be foreseen. He had but one Daughter, and very likely should have no more Children, if his Marriage were not annulled. If therefore, after his decease, the validity of his marriage with *Catherine* should come to be questioned, he foresaw

(1) Dated *August* 1. 1527. See *Herbert*, p. 84.

(2) This particular is not very certain. See *Burnet Ref.* Tom. III. p. 38. It was signed on *July* 1. by *Warham, Tunstal, Fisher*, and the Bishops of *Carlisle, Ely*, St. *Asaph, Lincoln*, and *Bath*.

1527. *England* would again be involved, on account of the Succeſſion, in troubles from whence ſhe was but juſt freed. *Mary* his Daughter, the King of *Scotland* his Nephew, the Queen Dowager of *France*, could equally pretend to the Crown, upon very plauſible Reaſons. *Mary* could alledge the Pope's diſpenſation againſt ſuch as ſhould charge her with her being born of an unlawful Marriage. The King of *Scotland*, who was next Heir after her, could maintain, the Diſpenſation was not valid. The Queen Dowager the King's Siſter could alledge, that the firſt was Illegitimate, and the ſecond, a Foreigner. Theſe ſeveral Claims might eaſily kindle a civil war in *England*, where it was but too viſible that each would find Adherents, not to mention the foreign ſuccours they might be ſupported with. *Henry* therefore imagined there was but one way to prevent this danger, namely, by annulling his Marriage, and taking another Wife, by whom, with God's bleſſing, he might have Sons. He to whom the ſecrets of all hearts are open, can only know for certain, whether this Thought was inſtilled into him by the danger he foreſaw, by his averſion to the Queen, or by his Love for *Ann Bullen*. But however this may be, independently of the ſeveral motives aſcribed to him, it is certain, there was great danger of the Kingdom's being one day expoſed to a civil War, if the King remained till death in his preſent ſtate, and he ſaw no other way to come out of it, than by annulling his Marriage. It is true, he foreſaw great oppoſition from the Emperor the Queen's Nephew, who was then very powerful. But on the other hand, as that Monarch had himſelf ſhown on this occaſion ſcruples, which hindered him from eſpouſing *Mary*, *Henry* hoped, he would not obſtinately maintain what he had himſelf queſtioned. Beſides, the juncture ſeemed very favorable for his purpoſe. The Pope, who was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, ſeemed to have no other reſſource to be reſtored to his former ſtate, than the aſſiſtance of *France* and *England*, and *Henry* did not queſtion that *Francis*, who ſtood in need of him, would promote his Proceedings to the utmoſt of his power. As to the reſt, he never doubted the Pope's authority, reckoning that *Clement* VII could revoke a Diſpenſation granted by *Julius* II. Nay, Cardinal *Wolſey* warranted the ſucceſs of the affair, whether he had already gained the Pope, or imagined, that *Clement* in his preſent circumſtances could deny the King nothing. So, it was reſolved the Suit ſhould be moved in the Court of *Rome*, to cauſe the Marriage to be annulled.

Reaſons putting him in hopes of ſucceeding. *Burnet.*

Reaſons to be laid before the Pope. *Burnet.*

The beſt reaſon that could be alledged, was, That *Julius*'s diſpenſation was contrary to the divine Law, and that alone ought to have been ſufficient. But it would have been imprudent to begin with diſputing the Prerogative of the *Roman* Pontiffs, when a favour was to be asked of the Court of *Rome*. Recourſe therefore was to be had to another expedient, which was to find Nullities in *Julius*'s Bull, and ſhow it was procured by falſe ſurmizes, and untrue ſuggeſtions, which rendered the Bull revocable, even according to the Rules of the Court of the *Rota* (1). And this was not very difficult. The Bull was grounded upon *Henry*'s and *Catherine*'s requeſt, ſetting forth that their marriage was neceſſary to preſerve Peace between *England* and *Spain*. And here were found two reaſons for revoking the Bull. The firſt, that *Henry* being then but twelve years old, could not be deemed to have any political views, whence it was inferred, that the requeſt was not his own. The ſecond, that the ſuggeſtion was falſe, ſince as matters then ſtood between *Spain* and *England*, the Marriage was not at all neceſſary for the preſervation of Peace between the two Crowns, and conſequently *Julius* II had been ſurprized. Another Nullity was found, as the Bull having no other foundation than the maintenance of Peace and Union between *Henry* VII and the King and Queen of *Spain*, this reaſon ceaſed when the Marriage was conſummated, ſince *Henry* VII and *Iſabella* were now dead. In fine, it was alledged, that *Henry* VIII having proteſted againſt his marriage before conſummation, thereby renounced the liberty granted him by the Bull, and therefore another Bull was neceſſary to render the Marriage valid. But all theſe reaſons were produced only to afford the Pope a pretence to revoke *Julius's* diſpenſation. For, if the contrariety of the Diſpenſation to the divine Law, was not the real foundation of ſuing for the Divorce, nothing would have been more eaſy for the Pope, than to quiet the King's Conſcience, by confirming whatever had been done, by a new Bull.

Nullities in Julius's Bull.

1527.

Mean while, as the Pope's compliance was not doubted in his preſent circumſtances, the King ſent Doctor *Knight* Secretary of State to *Rome*, to deſire him to ſign four Inſtruments drawn in *England*. The firſt was a Commiſſion to Cardinal *Wolſey*, to try and decide the affair with ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops. The ſecond was a Bull Decretal, declaring the King's Marriage with *Catherine* void, becauſe *Arthur*'s with the ſame Princeſs was conſummated. By the third, the Pope granted the King a Diſpenſation to marry another Wife. By the fourth, he promiſed never to repeal any of the three foregoing Acts.

Knight is ſent to Rome about the Divorce. Herbert. Burnet.

Knight departed from *England* in *July*, about the time the Cardinal began his journey to conſer with the King of *France* (2). But as the Pope was Priſoner, and guarded by a *Spaniſh* Captain, it was impoſſible for *Knight* to have an audience. He found means however to convey to him a Memorial (3), containing the ſum of his Commiſſion, to which the Pope returned a favorable anſwer. He made believe he would grant whatever the King deſired, though the Emperor had already required him by the General of the *Franciſcans*, not to do any thing in that affair, without communicating it to his Miniſters. By the way, this ſhows, *Henry* had reſolved long before to ſue for his divorce, ſince the Emperor had time to hear of it, and ſend to the Pope. As it was not practicable for *Knight* to treat with the Pope in Perſon, the matter was carried no farther at that time. At length, the news of the Pope's going to be releaſed, reaching *England*, Cardinal *Wolſey* writ to Sir *Gregory Caſſali* (4) the King's ordinary Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to order him to join with *Knight*, and preſs the Pope to grant the King's requeſt. This Letter was worded in very ſtrong terms, and ſhowed the Cardinal's deſire that the Divorce ſhould be effected. It was dated the 5th of *December* 1527, the Cardinal not yet knowing, that the the Pope had made his eſcape the 9th of the ſame month (5).

He ſends a Memorial to the Pope. Burnet. Herbert.

Wolſey's Letter to Caſſali. Burnet.

Clement VII being retired to *Orvieto*, *Knight* went (6) and talked with him about the affair. The Pope owned he had received his Memorial, and promiſed again to do all that lay in his power for the King's ſatisfaction, but prayed him not to be too haſty. His circumſtances then were ſuch, that he did not yet know, whether he ſhould want the King of *England*, or whether the Emperor would agree with him. Wherefore he deſired to gain time, in order to proceed as ſhould beſt ſuit with his intereſt. But for that reaſon, and becauſe the King's orders were urgent and poſitive, *Knight* would not delay his Negotiation. He earneſtly preſſed the Pope, who promiſed at laſt to ſign the Acts, on condition no uſe ſhould be made of them, till the *Germans* and *Spaniards* were departed out of *Italy*. *Knight* willingly accepted of the condition, imagining, when the Inſtruments ready ſigned were in the King's hands, he would uſe them when he pleaſed. But the Pope was not eaſily to be deceived. Whilſt he feigned to have no other view than to ſatisfy the King, he was only contriving to gain time, being ready to ſacrifice him if he found it for his advantage. He uſed therefore all his art to prolong the affair, by means unſuſpected by the King. To this end, he told *Knight* that before the Inſtruments were executed, he ſhould be glad to talk with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*.

Knight *and* Caſſali *talk with the Pope*; Burnet.

who tries to gain time.

He promiſes to do what the King deſires.

The Pope having thus engaged, *Knight* and *Caſſali* fancied they had no more to do, than to prepoſſeſs in the King's favour the Cardinal, whom the Pope intended to conſult. They were at no great pains to ſucceed, ſince, beſides ten thouſand Ducats which they had in hand to reward ſuch as ſhould do them ſervice, they were empowered to make what farther promiſes, they ſhould think fit, in the King's name. The Cardinal examining the Inſtruments ſent from *England*, found very great faults, particularly in the Legate's Commiſſion, and took upon him to draw one more perfect. Which done, *Knight* and *Caſſali* waited on the Pope, and preſſed him to ſign. He did not abſolutely refuſe, but ſaid, The Emperor having required him not to act in that buſineſs without imparting it to him, it was neceſſary to find ſome expedient to excuſe ſo haſty a proceeding: That therefore it would be proper to cauſe *Lautrec* to march towards *Orvieto*, and preſs him in his maſter's name to

But he finds means to delay the performance of his promiſes. Herbert. Burnet.

(1) It is a Maxim in Law, that if the Pope be ſurpriſed in any thing, and Bulls be procured upon falſe Suggeſtions and untrue ſurmiſes, they may be annulled afterwards. *Burnet.* Tom. I. p. 40.
(2) *Knight* had Orders to adviſe with the Cardinal, by the way. *Herbert.* p. 99.
(3) By corrupting ſome of his Guards. *Burnet.* Tom. I. p. 47.
(4) The Family of the *Caſſali* being three Brothers, were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, both at *Rome*, *Venice*, and other Places. *Burnet.* Tom. I. p. 45.
(5) The Letter is dated the 5th of *December*, and not the 25th as *Rapin* ſays by miſtake; the Original is yet extant in the *Cotton. Libr. Vitel.* B. 9. See *Burnet*'s Collection, N. 3d. B. II. Vol. I.
(6) About the end of *December*. *Burnet* Tom. I. p. 47.

1527. give the King of *England* ſatisfaction. *Lautrec* being then at *Bologna*, to get him to march to *Orvieto*, there would have been occaſion for orders from the Court of *France*, which would have taken up much time. Wherefore *Henry*'s Agents rejected the expedient, their aim being to finiſh the affair before the Emperor had notice thereof. At laſt the Pope, finding himſelf extremely preſſed, delivered to them the Commiſſion for Cardinal *Wolſey*, with the Bull of Diſpenſation for the King (1), and promiſed to ſend into *England* the Bull Decretal to null the Marriage (2). But here the Pope uſed an artifice, which the Agents perhaps did not ſufficiently conſider. He dated theſe two Inſtruments from the time he was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. So, when the King had them in his power, he did not think fit to make uſe of them, leſt it ſhould be objected that the Pope had granted them only with deſign to obtain his Liberty by the aſſiſtance he expected from *England*. Beſides, all Acts executed by a Priſoner may be deemed void, whereof the Treaty of *Madrid* was a late inſtance. Thus, how urgent ſoever the King was to end the affair, he found at the cloſe of the year 1527, that he had yet made no progreſs.

Burnet, p. 48

The Pope's Artifice to gain time. Burnet.

1528. *Clement* VII had time, during his Captivity, ſeriouſly to reflect upon his paſt Conduct, which had been very unſucceſsful, becauſe he had ſwerved from the maxims of his moſt able Predeceſſors. He had prepoſterouſly engaged in a War with the Emperor, whereas *Alexander* VI, *Julius* II, and *Leo* X, after ſowing diſſention among the Princes, left them for the moſt part to decide their quarrels, and then ſided with the ſtrongeſt, or if they engaged in a War, it was commonly at other people's expence. But for once, *Clement* VII, after draining his Treaſure in maintaining an army, had loſt *Florence*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Rome* itſelf, with the beſt part of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and ſeen himſelf captive and ranſomed. This was ſufficient to make him wiſer, and take another courſe. As ſoon as the Ambaſſadors of *France*, *England*, and *Venice*, ſaw him ſecure at *Orvieto* from the outrages of the Imperialiſts, they preſſed him to declare againſt the Emperor. They thought if he could not aſſiſt the League with temporal Arms, he might at leaſt, by means of his ſpiritual, embroil the common enemy, whom he ſeemed to have no reaſon to regard. But he himſelf conſidered this affair in a different light. Having learned by ſad experience, that he had been the dupe of his Allies, he reſolved to be no longer guided by their intereſted Counſels. So, without diſcovering his thoughts, he only told them, that his joining in the League would only draw upon him freſh miſchiefs, without procuring them any advantage: That beſides, it was neceſſary for the benefit of *Chriſtendom*, there ſhould be a Mediator to labour to procure Peace, and that was all he could do in the ſtate he was reduced to. Nevertheleſs, he intimated to them, that he might take other meaſures, if *Lautrec* approached to oblige the Emperor's Troops to abandon *Rome*. This indeed was his ſole aim, to free the eccleſiaſtical State from that foreign Army, in order to be able to act moſt agreeably to his intereſt.

The Pope reſolves to keep fair with the Emperor.

Guicciard

He refuſes to join in the League.

Lautrec *marches towards* Naples. Guicciard. Hall.

At laſt, *Lautrec* departing from *Bologna* the 9th of *January*, took the road to *Naples*, having firſt ſent the Prince of *Vaudemont* and *la Trimouille* to the Pope, to preſs him to declare. But *Clement* found means to excuſe himſelf, without however a poſitive denial. He ſaw, as I may ſay, all *Europe* in motion, and was willing to wait the ſucceſs of the War, in order to take juſter meaſures than before. So, it was not poſſible by any means to bring him to a Declaration. He only made believe, that if *Francis* and *Henry* would cauſe *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be reſtored to him, he would join with them. This was an advantage he would willingly have reaped from their inſtances, without being debarred from finding ſome other evaſion, to prevent his declaring after the recovery of theſe two places. Mean while, he was thinking how to treat ſecretly with the Emperor, from whom he had greater expectations than from his Allies. Indeed, his chief aim being to reſtore the Houſe of the *Medici* to the Government of *Florence*, he perceived that he could not accompliſh it without the Emperor's help, ſince the Allies were concerned to ſupport the *Florentines*, who were become Parties in the League. But it would have been imprudent in him to declare for the Emperor, when that Monarch was weak in *Italy*, and ſo powerful an army was marching to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*. It was therefore neceſſary for him to wait, till the event of the War enabled him to reſolve with ſafety. This was the true reaſon which obliged him to uſe many artifices, to try to diſpleaſe neither the Emperor, nor the King of *France*, nor the King of *England*. If, inſtead of unadviſedly engaging in a War, he had before taken this courſe, he might have ſold his favours at any rate. At leaſt, he would not have had the mortification to be a captive in *Rome* itſelf.

Reaſons why the Pope would not act againſt the Emperor.

1528.

But though the Pope refuſed to declare, the Kings of *France* and *England* were not the leſs eager in the purſuit of their Projects. On the 21ſt of *January* 1528, their Ambaſſadors in *Spain* demanded the Emperor's leave to retire, and next day *Clarenceux* and *Guienne*, Heralds, one of *England*, the other of *France*, proclaimed war againſt him. This was done with great ſolemnity, the Emperor being ſeated on his Throne, and attended by all his Grandees. He anſwered each in particular, but in a very different manner. Speaking to the *Engliſh* Herald, he made uſe of civil and honorable Terms, denoting, he was not at all pleaſed with having the King his maſter for an enemy. He complained however, that *Henry* had uſed him ill, in deſigning to give him in marriage a Princeſs whom he propoſed to baſtardize, ſince he was ſuing to be divorced from the Queen her Mother. But he threw all the blame on the boundleſs ambition of Cardinal *Wolſey*. He ſaid, the Cardinal would have obliged him to employ his arms in *Italy* to make him Pope, and thought himſelf injured, becauſe he would not diſturb the Peace of *Chriſtendom* for his ſake. As for the Sums, of which *Henry* demanded payment, he denied, he had ever refuſed to diſcharge the debt. But added, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors not having brought with them the original obligations, nor even a power to give him a diſcharge, *Henry* was in the wrong to complain. As to the Indemnity he demanded, he knew the King of *France* had taken it upon him in the Treaty of *Madrid*. As for the penalty of five hundred thouſand Crowns, in caſe he refuſed to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, he replied, it was not his fault: That he had demanded her of the King her Father, by Ambaſſadors ſent on purpoſe, and that *Henry* had refuſed to ſend her: That beſides, before that time *Henry* had offered her to the King of *Scotland*: In ſhort, That he could not lawfully claim that Sum, before he had proved that he had himſelf performed all the Articles of the Treaty of *Windſor*. Such was the Emperor's anſwer to the Declaration of War made by *Henry*'s Herald. In his anſwer to the *French* Herald, he ſpoke not with ſo much regard and caution. He plainly accuſed *Francis* of breach of faith, and charged the Herald to put him in mind of the meſſage he ſent him by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* his Ambaſſador, *That it would be better for them to decide their quarrel by ſingle Combat*, but that he had not received any anſwer. Probably, the Ambaſſador had not thought fit to deliver that Meſſage to the King, ſince he ſeemed extremely ſurprized when he heard it from the Herald's mouth. In a few days, he ſent the ſame Herald to the Emperor, with a Challenge under his own hand, wherein he gave him the Lie in form, and required him to aſſure him the field to fight hand to hand. The Challenge was dated *March* 28. 1528. The Emperor ſent his anſwer by one of his Heralds, who was charged to tell him by word of mouth very diſagreeable things. The Herald coming to *Paris*, could not obtain leave without great difficulty, to put on (3) his Coat of Arms when he entered the City. The King expected him on his Throne, ſurrounded with a great number of Princes and Lords. But he had ſcarce began to ſpeak, before the King interrupted him, and demanded whether he had brought the *Security of the Field*. The Herald deſired leave to proceed with what he had to ſay from the Emperor; the King refuſed to hear him, ſaying, he had required only the *Security of the Field*, and that all the reſt was to no purpoſe. Thus ended this affair, which had now made great noiſe. The two Monarchs gave publick marks of their Courage, by their mutual Challenges, and yet there was no great labour required to prevent them from deciding their quarrel in a way ſo uncommon to great Princes.

Francis and Henry proclaim War againſt the Emperor. Hall. Guicciard. Hollingſh. Herbert. P. Daniel.

The Emperor anſwers. Hollingſh.

P. Daniel. Hall.

Hollingſh. Herbert.

P. Daniel. Herbert. Hollingſh.

Herbert.

Bold Act of Wolſey, which drew on him the King's Anger. Herbert. Hall.

Hugo de Mendoſa the Emperor's Ambaſſador at *London*, hearing what had paſſed in *Spain*, would have retired. But Cardinal *Wolſey* (4) ſent him word that *Clarenceux* had exceeded his Inſtructions in proclaiming War againſt the Emperor, and ſhould be puniſhed at his return. Whereupon the Ambaſſador ſent an Expreſs to inform the Emperor of what the Cardinal had ſaid. *Clarenceux*, who was ſtill in *Spain*, ſurprized that he ſhould be made accountable for what he had expreſs orders, demanded, and

(1) But he begged with many Sighs and Tears, that the King would not precipitate things, or expoſe him to be undone, by beginning any Proceſs upon the Bull. *Burnet.* Tom. I. p. 48.

(2) The Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* got of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors four thouſand Crowns for a reward for his good Service. *Ibid.*

(3) Or rather *to wear it.* He put it on as ſoon as he came into the *French* Territories. *Herbert*, p. 94.

(4) Ordered him to be taken into Cuſtody, &c. *Hall*, fol. 171.

obtained

1528. obtained an authentick Copy of the Ambaſſador's Letter (1). Upon his arrival in *England*, he waited on the King (2), before he ſpoke with the Cardinal, and ſhowed him the Letter, with three others, writ with the Cardinal's own hand, whereby he gave him expreſs orders to declare War againſt the Emperor. *Henry*, aſtoniſhed at his Miniſter's preſumption, fell into a great paſſion with him before the whole Court. Nay, he would perhaps have entirely diſgraced him, had he not been with-held by the conſideration of the affair of the Divorce, where he could not proceed without him. He made him however undergo a terrible mortification, by cauſing this affair to be examined in the Council. This Inquiry would doubtleſs have been fatal to the Miniſter, if the King had been pleaſed to purſue it, but he was contented with the Cardinal's proteſtation, that he thought to have acted agreeably to his Majeſty's Intentions.

The Cardinal aſſembles the Great Men, and tries to juſtify the War againſt the Emperor. Hall.

The Emperor's anſwer to *Clarenceux* being made publick in *England*, by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's means, the Cardinal was afraid it would cauſe ill effects among the people, conſidering the weakneſs of the motives alledged by the King for undertaking the War. For this reaſon he aſſembled in the *Star-Chamber* (3) all the great Lords then at Court (4), to whom he made a Speech, aggravating as much as poſſible the Injuries, the King had received from the Emperor, and his reaſons to demand ſatisfaction by Arms. But let him ſay what he would, though every one outwardly applauded him, what the Emperor ſaid to the Herald, that the War was cauſed only by the Cardinal's private diſcontent, made deeper Impreſſion than all the Arguments the Miniſter could alledge (5). The people openly exclaimed againſt a War which was going to ruin the Kingdom, to gratify the Favorite's paſſion. Nay, ſome went farther than murmurs. As the Trade with the *Low-Countries* was interrupted by the Declaration of War, and the Merchants would buy no more Cloth which they could not vend, the Clothiers riſe in arms (6). Whereupon the Cardinal ordered the Merchants to buy the Cloths as uſual, threatening in caſe of refuſal to buy them himſelf, and ſell them to the Foreigners. But they made a Jeſt of this threat, and continued obſtinate, reſolving not to render themſelves liable to inevitable Loſſes for his ſake. An Embaſſy from the Governeſs of the *Low-Countries* (7) to the King whilſt theſe things were in agitation, freed the Cardinal from his embaraſſment. The Ambaſſadors acquainting him, that if the King pleaſed to conſent to a Truce with the *Low-Countries*, for the mutual benefit of Trade, the Governeſs would readily agree to it; this overture being debated in Council, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the *French* Ambaſſador's oppoſition, to agree to a Truce for eight months, which was ſigned the 8th of *June*.

The People murmur. Hall.

Mutiny of the Clothiers. Hall.

The Cardinal threatens them in vain.

Embaſſy from the Low-Countries. Hall. Herbert.

Truce between England and Flanders. Act. Pub XIV. p. 288. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the affairs of *Italy* were in ſuch a ſituation as gave *Francis* room to expect *Lautrec*'s Expedition in the Kingdom of *Naples* would be crowned with ſucceſs, though afterwards it ended very unfortunately for him. *Lautrec* going from *Bologna* the 9th of *January*, arrived the 10th of *February* on the borders of *Naples*, and marching into *Abruzzo*, became maſter of that Province, and afterwards of part of *Apulia*. It was not without extreme difficulty, that the Prince of *Orange* obliged the Imperialiſts to quit *Rome*, where for ten Months they had exerciſed all ſorts of Rapine and Violence. Though the Imperial Army went not from *Rome* till the 17th of *February*, they got before *Lautrec*, who had taken a longer way in order to procure Money, which he wanted exceedingly, the King of *France*, according to Cuſtom, not having ſent him what he had promiſed. The Imperialiſts being poſted at *Troya*, he offered them battle, but as they thought proper to retire to *Naples*, purſued his march, and arrived in the beginning of *May* before that Capital, which he beſieged in form according to his orders. Sixteen *French* Gallies commanded by *Andrea Doria*, eight more under the Conduct of *Philippino Doria* his Nephew, with twenty two from *Venice*, were to block up *Naples* by Sea, whilſt *Lautrec* with thirty thouſand Men beſieged the City by Land. But when he opened the Siege he had only *Philippino*'s eight Gallies. Thoſe of *Venice* came very late, and *Andrea Doria* who was diſpleaſed with the King of *France*, and had thoughts of entering into the Emperor's Service, detained the ſixteen Gallies at *Genoa*, under divers pretences. Mean while, a Sea-fight between *Philippino* and the Imperialiſts, wherein *Moncada* was ſlain, and the Marquiſs *del Vaſto* taken priſoner, made *Lautrec* hope he ſhould reduce *Naples* by Famine, though himſelf wanted all things in his Camp. His hopes were increaſed by the arrival of the two and twenty *Venetian* Gallies, which joined thoſe of *Philippino*. The buſineſs now was to ſee who could bear Famine longeſt, the Beſiegers or the Beſieged, who were equally in want of Proviſions. But the *French* had, beſides Scarcity, a very great diſadvantage, as the Plague made terrible ravage among them, and continually diminiſhed their number. At length, *Andrea Doria* having agreed with the Emperor, recalled his Nephew *Philippino* with his eight Gallies. Shortly after, the *Venetian* Gallies being obliged to go upon the Coaſt of *Calabria* to provide themſelves with Biskets, the Beſieged took that opportunity to convey into the City abundance of Proviſions, whilſt *Lautrec* remained in a very bad condition, without Victuals or Money, and with an Army grievouſly afflicted with the Plague. Moſt of his general Officers were dead, or ſick, and to compleat the misfortune, he was himſelf ſeized with the Peſtilence, which carried him off the 16th of *Auguſt* (8). The Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, who took upon him the Command of the ruined Army, reſolving at laſt to raiſe the Siege, with great difficulty retired to *Averſa*, where he was immediately beſieged, and in few days, forced to capitulate, ſurrendering himſelf with all the principal Officers of his Army, into the hands of the Imperialiſts. Thus, the fine Army *Lautrec* had led before *Naples*, was entirely diſperſed. Moreover, *France* had lately loſt *Genoa*, taken by *Andrea Doria*, in the Emperor's name, after which, purſuant to his agreement with that Monarch, he reſtored his Country to Liberty, and eſtabliſhed a Government which ſtill ſubſiſts to this day. Thus the affairs of *Italy*, which in the beginning of the year had ſo promiſing an aſpect for *Francis*, were ſo entirely altered, that he had ſcarce any thing left in that Country.

1528.

The Plague in the French Army. Guicciard.

Lautrec's Death. Guicciard.

The Siege raiſed and Army diſperſed.

Doria reſtores Genoa to Liberty. Hiſt. de Gen.

The knowledge of what paſſed in *Italy* this Campaign will be of no little ſervice to diſcover the motives of the Pope's Conduct in the affair of the Divorce. *Henry* deemed the affair ended, when he heard the Pope had left it to Cardinal *Wolſey*'s deciſion. But when, after much difficulty, he had obtained this Commiſſion for the Cardinal, with a Bull Decretal, declaring the Marriage void, and a Diſpenſation to marry again, he found however there was yet nothing done. The Commiſſion was dated from the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, whilſt the Pope was a priſoner, which rendered it entirely null, and conſequently there was a neceſſity of renewing it. The Decretal had no Clauſe to hinder the Pope from revoking it if he pleaſed. In fine, the Diſpenſation was only conditional, in caſe the King's Marriage with *Catherine* ſhould be declared void. Beſides, there were certain reſtrictions inſerted, leaving the Pope at liberty to repeal it. For Inſtance, he granted the Diſpenſation, *as far as might be without offending God. Notwithſtanding any prohibitions of the divine Law, or other Conſtitutions and Ordinances whatever to the contrary, as far as the authority Apoſtolical reached* (9). *Henry* was not a little concerned to ſee that he could not uſe theſe Bulls, without being liable to be moleſted. Nevertheleſs, in the belief, that all this was owing to Inadvertency, he ordered Sir *Gregory Caſſali* his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to demand Bulls leſs liable to diſpute. *Caſſali* ſpoke of it frequently to the Pope, but could obtain no poſitive anſwer. Only the Pope finding himſelf preſſed, told him as a Secret, that he adviſed the King to proceed, and get his Marriage annulled, by virtue of the Commiſſion given the Legate (10), but with as little noiſe as poſſible, and marry the Woman deſired. He grounded this advice upon its being much eaſier to confirm a thing when done, than to permit him to do it. He charged *Caſſali* how-

Continuation of the Divorce. Burnet.

The Pope's Artifice to amuſe the King.

Herbert. *under the Year* 1529.

Henry *ſends to demand other* Bulls. Burnet.

Lautrec beſieges Naples. Guicciard.

Pope's advice to the King. Herbert. Burnet.

(1) As the Courier went through *Bayonne*, the Letter was opened, and copied by the Governor of that place, who ſhewed it to *Clarenceux*. *Hall.* fol. 173. *Herbert.* p. 90.

(2) At *Hampton* Court. *Ibid.*

(3) *February* 13. *Hall.* fol. 171.

(4) All Juſtices of the Peace and other honeſt Perſonages. *Ibid.*

(5) *Hall* ſays, that after the concluſion of his Speech, ſome of the hearers knocked one another on the Elbow, and ſaid ſoftly he lieth; others ſaid that evil Will never ſaid well; others ſaid, that the *French* Crowns made him ſpeak evil of the Emperor; but they that knew all ſaid, it was a ſhame to lie in ſuch an Audience. The common People were very ſorry that a War ſhould happen with the Emperor, becauſe out of his Dominions they had lately been ſupplied with Corn, when it was ſo dear in *England* that it was ſold for twenty ſix Shillings and Eight-pence a Quarter. *Hall.* fol. 166, 172.

(6) Eſpecially in *Suffolk*. *Hall.* fol. 173.

(7) On *May* 29. *Hall.* fol. 174.

(8) Of the Plague died alſo Sir *Robert Jerningham* Gentleman of the Bed-chamber both to King *Henry* and *Francis*, who had the Command of two hundred Horſe in the Army, paid by our King. *John Carew* his Lieutenant had his Company, but he died of the ſame Diſeaſe. *Herb.* p. 98.---As the Plague raged in *Italy*, ſo did the Sweating-ſickneſs all this Summer in *England*, whereof died Sir *Francis Pointz*, Sir *William Compton*, and *William Carew* Eſq; *Hall.* fol. 176.

(9) Lord *Herbert* gives not this Bull as Authentick, but as very Probable. *Rapin.*

(10) Ut ſtatim committat Cauſam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem ſequatur, mittatur pro legato, &c. *Burnet's Collect.* T. I. p. 26.

ever,

1528. ever, not to let the King know, this Suggeſtion came from him. *Henry* looked upon this advice as a Snare laid for him by the Pope. He conſidered, it was not poſſible to have ſuch a Cauſe tried without noiſe, ſince it was neceſſary the Queen ſhould be heard, otherwiſe the Sentence would be evidently void. In the next place, had he done what he was adviſed to, he would have been entirely at the Pope's Mercy, who, according to the opinion of the Canoniſts, might have refuſed to confirm the Legate's Sentence, as well as the conſequent Marriage. So, the affair being taken into conſideration, it was thought more proper to apply directly to the Pope for new Bulls. Purſuant to this reſolution, the King ſent (1) *Stephen Gardiner*, Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Secretary, and *Edward Fox* (2), to manage the affair. Their Inſtructions were to demand for the Cardinal a new Commiſſion, appointing him Judge of the Cauſe, with Powers to null the King's Marriage, if he thought proper, and yet to declare his Daughter legitimate; to preſs the Pope to give him a promiſe under his hand, not to revoke the Legate's Commiſſion; to demand a Bull Decretal to null the King's Marriage, and a Diſpenſation to eſpouſe another Wife without any reſtriction. In ſhort, the Envoys had orders to acquaint the Pope, that the Divorce was not adviſed by the Cardinal, and to diſplay the extraordinary Merit of the Lady the King intended to eſpouſe. This was *Ann Bullen*, as may eaſily be gueſſed, ſince the King no longer concealed his love for her. It was very proper to tell the Pope, that the Cardinal was not Author of the Counſel which had induced the King to ſue for a Divorce, ſince he was required for Judge. And yet the Letters he ſent by *Gardiner* and *Fox*, and which are in the Hiſtory of the Reformation, clearly ſhow he was infinitely deſirous the thing ſhould ſucceed. Finally, it appears that the King was ſtill willing to have ſome condeſcenſion for the Queen and the Emperor her Nephew, ſince he required that the Legate ſhould have Powers to declare *Mary* legitimate. Perhaps too this was an effect of the love he had for her.

Gardiner and Fox ſent to Rome to haſten the Bulls. *Their Inſtructions.* Herbert. Burnet. Strype.

Vol. I. p. 52. Collect. p. 28, &c.

When *Gardiner* and *Fox* came to *Orvieto* (3), *Lautrec* was marching to *Naples*. But his progreſs was yet ſo inconſiderable, that it was difficult to judge of the Succeſs of his undertaking, eſpecially as the Imperialiſts were now departed from *Rome* in order to oppoſe his paſſage. Nay, it was likely, there would be a Battle, and as the Event was doubtful, the Pope took care not to incur the Emperor's reſentment, in caſe his Arms were victorious. So, to gain time, he ſent the King a Letter in Cypher, as if he meant to acquaint him with a Secret, and yet it was not poſſible to diſcover his Intention. This Letter not being very welcome, the Envoys had orders to inſiſt upon their demands. But, at that time the face of affairs was ſomething changed. *Lautrec* had now made Conqueſts in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Prince of *Orange*, unable to ſtop his march, was retired to the Metropolis, which probably, was going to be inveſted. It would therefore have been very imprudent to diſoblige *Henry*, when the King of *France* his Ally was upon the point of becoming very powerful in *Italy*. So, *Clement* being greatly embaraſſed in ſo nice a juncture, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, to try to gain time. He feigned to deſire nothing ſo ardently as to ſatisfy *Henry*, though he was reſolved in his own mind to do nothing effectual in his favour. His aim was to become maſter of the affair of the Divorce, and prolong it till the events of the War ſhould determine him to content either the Emperor or the King. The Intereſt of his Houſe required that he ſhould manage the Emperor, becauſe it was by his means that he hoped to reſtore the *Medici*'s to *Florence*. That of his See was no leſs important. *Henry* demanded that he ſhould revoke a Diſpenſation granted by a Pope his Predeceſſor, upon the ſuppoſition that this Pope had not power to grant it, that is, properly ſpeaking, that he ſhould declare the *Roman* Pontiffs had hitherto aſſumed a Prerogative which belonged not to them. This was a very difficult ſtep to be taken, at a time when great part of *Germany* had thrown off the Pope's Dominion, and nothing was every where heard but complaints and murmurs againſt the exorbitant Power they had uſurped. So, *Clement*'s real deſign was to amuſe the King with hopes he would conſent to his Divorce, till it was in his power to oppoſe it with ſafety. There is no occaſion to look for other myſteries in the Pope's Conduct, as will more plainly appear in the Sequel. As for the Arguments and Authorities alledged on both ſides, with reſpect to the main point in queſtion, from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Canons, they were only ſo many amuſements which were extremely ſubſervient to the Pope's deſigns, but made little or no Impreſſion upon him.

The Pope's artful management. Herbert. Guicciard.

His Intereſt and Projects.

1528

Clement VII, being in this diſpoſition, ſcrupled not outwardly to grant the King whatever he required. On the 13th of *April* 1528, he ſigned a Bull, appointing Cardinal *Wolſey* Judge of the Cauſe, jointly with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or any other *Engliſh* Prelate he ſhould think fit to chuſe, and gave him as ample Powers as the King deſired. But beſides the above-mentioned Inconveniences in the Decretal and Diſpenſation, the King's Council found two in Cardinal *Wolſey*'s new Commiſſion. The firſt was, That there was no Clauſe to hinder the Pope, from revoking it. The ſecond, That to appoint for ſole Judge of the Cauſe, a Cardinal devoted to the King, and actually his Prime Miniſter, would be a maniſeſt nullity. Theſe conſiderations obliged the King to deſire the Pope that he would join another Legate with Cardinal *Wolſey*, and poſitively promiſe not to revoke the Commiſſion. As, when this was demanded, *Lautrec* was now before *Naples*, and it was not doubted, he would become maſter of the City, as well as of all the reſt of the Kingdom, the Pope granted whatever was deſired (4). He appointed therefore by a Bull dated at *Orvieto* the 6th of *June*, *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal of *York*, and *Lorenzo Campegio* Cardinal Biſhop of *Salisbury* for his Legates *a latere*, giving them the ſame Powers he had granted to *Wolſey* alone, appointing them his Vicegerents in the affair of the Divorce, and committing to them his whole Authority (5). He gave likewiſe, the 13th of *July*, the promiſe under his hand deſired by the King. In a word, he delivered to *Campegio* a Decretal, nulling the King's Marriage, expreſſed in the very Terms which had as it were been dictated to him. It ſeemed *Henry* could deſire nothing more. But all the artifices of the Court of *Rome* were not yet known in *England*. The Pope only intended to gain time, in order to ſee the Iſſue of the *Naples* Expedition. To that end, he always placed ſome interval between his Favours to the King. *Wolſey* was made ſole Judge in the affair of the Divorce, the 13th of *April*; *Campegio* was, in a Conſiſtory, declared his Aſſociate, about the end of the ſame month; but the Bull was not drawn till the 6th of *June*. His promiſe not to revoke the Commiſſion was not ſigned before the 23d of *July*. In all appearance, the Decretal was not drawn till *Auguſt*, nor did *Campegio* begin his Journey till after *Lautrec*'s death, or perhaps after the raiſing the Siege of *Naples*; that is, when the Pope was no longer in dread of *France*, and it was more neceſſary than ever to manage the Emperor. So, it may almoſt be affirmed, that when *Campegio* departed from *Rome*, the Pope was reſolved not to grant the Divorce. It was however requiſite, he ſhould ſtill ſeem willing to ſatisfy *Henry*, in order not to be delivered to the Emperor's Mercy, with whom he was determined to agree, and nothing was more capable to procure him advantagious Terms, than his ſeeming Union with *France* and *England*. This was moſt certainly the Secret of the Pope's Policy, and the real motive of all his artifices in this affair. In purſuance therefore of the reſolution he had taken, he gave the following Inſtructions to his Legate. Firſt, to prolong the affair as much as poſſible. Secondly, not to give Sentence upon the Divorce before the reception of his Commands in writing. Thirdly, he expreſsly enjoined him not to ſhow the Bull to any perſon but the King and Cardinal *Wolſey*, nor to part with it out of his hands, without his order, upon any pretence whatever.

The Pope gives Wolſey a new Commiſſion. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 237. Herbert. Burnet.

The King deſires the Pope to join another Legate with Wolſey.

Another Commiſſion for Wolſey *and* Campegio. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 295, 296. Burnet.

The Decretal committed to Campegio.

Inſtructions to Campegio.

Campegi departing with theſe Inſtructions, arrived not in *England* till *October*, ſix or ſeven months after he was appointed Legate. Whilſt he was on the road, the Emperor's Miniſters at *Rome* raiſed a freſh obſtacle to the Divorce, by the pretended diſcovery of a Brief of *Julius* II (6), confirming the Bull of diſpenſation for *Henry*'s marriage with *Catherine*. But there was this difference between the Bull and the Brief, that the Pope in the Bull ſaid, *The Marriage was perhaps conſummated*; whereas in the Brief, the word *perhaps* was omitted. They inferred from thence, that *Julius* II was not ſurprized, ſince he looked upon *Catherine*'s firſt Marriage as conſummated. But this Brief, of which they only gave an authentick Copy, without ſhowing the original to the King's Miniſters, was, probably, propoſed ſolely to cauſe

He retards his Journey as much as poſſible.

The Imperialiſts produce a forged Brief to retard the affair. Burnet. Col. T. I. p. 39. Herbert.

(1) They were ſent *February* 10. *Burnet*. T. I. p. 52.
(2) Provoſt of King's College in *Cambridge*, and the King's Almoner. *Gardiner* was looked upon as the ableſt Canoniſt, and *Fox* as the beſt Divine in *England*. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 52.
(3) *March* 20. *Strype's Mem.* Vol. I. p. 90.
(4) Dr. *Fox* returned to *England* in the beginning of *May*; but *Gardiner* went to *Rome* to *Campegio*. *Strype's Mem.* p. 103, 104.
(5) *Campegio* was perhaps named for Legate in the Month of *April*, as Doctor *Burnet* ſays, but his Commiſſion bears date the 6th of *June*. *Rapin*.
(6) It was neither in the Records of *England* or *Spain*, but ſaid to be found among the Papers of *D. de Puebla*, who was the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England*, at the time of the concluſion of the Match. *Burnet*. T. I. p. 57.

1528. time to be loſt in examining it. For, there were two reaſons, among many others, which manifeſtly proved it to be a Forgery. The firſt was, That this Brief granted at *Catherine*'s requeſt, ſuppoſed that Princeſs's marriage with *Arthur* to have been conſummated, and yet ſhe had ſworn the contrary. And upon that her Agents had grounded the validity of *Julius*'s diſpenſation. The ſecond reaſon was ſtill more ſtrong, namely, That the Brief was dated the 26th of *December* 1503. Now as in the date of the Briefs, the Court of *Rome* begins the year the 25th of *December*, being *Chriſtmas-day*, this date anſwered to the 26th of *December* 1502, of the common year, that is, ten months before *Julius* II. was Pope.

Proofs of its being a Forgery.

Campegio being arrived in *England*, began his Legateſhip with gravely exhorting the King to live in good underſtanding with the Queen, and deſiſt from a further proſecution of this matter. This was taken very ill from a Legate who was thought to be ſent into *England* to judge the Cauſe in favour of the King. After that, he talked the quite contrary to the Queen, endeavouring to perſuade her, that ſhe ought to comply with the King's deſire (1), and even intimated, it would be in vain to oppoſe it. But whether the Queen was told beforehand what ſhe was to ſay, or naturally ſpoke her own thoughts, ſhe anſwered, She was the King's Wife, and would be ſo, till parted from him by the Pope's Sentence (2). *Campegio* not being able to prevail with the King or Queen, affirmed, he could not proceed without freſh orders, as if his whole Commiſſion was only to make theſe exhortations. But it was ſix months before his Inſtructions arrived. Mean while, he kept the King in hopes of obtaining his deſires, and even inſinuated, that he was himſelf ſatisfied of the Juſtice of his Cauſe. To amuſe him the better, he ſhowed him the Bull he had brought with him, and gave the Cardinal his Collegue a ſight of it alſo. But when he was preſſed to ſhow it to ſome Lords of the Council, he replied, he had very poſitive orders to let no perſon ſee it but the King and *Wolſey*. *Henry* ſurprized and angry at ſuch a proceeding, complained of it to the Pope, who, inſtead of blaming his Legate, anſwered, He had done very well to follow his orders: That the Decretal was granted on condition it was ſhown to none but the King and Cardinal *Wolſey*, and on purpoſe to prevent *Wolſey*'s ruin, which otherwiſe, he was told, would be infallible: That in fine, the Bull was not to be publiſhed, unleſs the Legates gave Sentence for the King (3).

Campegio amuſed *Henry* in *England*, the Pope was taking meaſures to conclude his Treaty with the Emperor, and ſeeking pretences to leave the Kings of *France* and *England*, whom he no longer feared, ſince the *Naples* Expedition had miſcarried. He complained that theſe two Monarchs had diſappointed him, in not cauſing *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be reſtored to him according to their promiſe; thereby inſinuating, that it was not to be thought ſtrange, he made no haſte to ſatisfy *Henry*, ſince that Prince had neglected to do him Juſtice by the *Venetians* (4). He would fain have had it believed, that the affair of the Divorce was retarded ſolely on that account, and was very deſirous to have theſe two places in his power, before he concluded with the Emperor. But, what caution ſoever he uſed, his Negotiation in *Spain* could not be ſo private, but *Francis* and *Henry* had ſome intelligence of it. They complained to him by their Ambaſſadors, but he conſtantly denied he intended to depart from his neutrality. Mean while, under colour of removing theſe groundleſs ſuſpicions, he diſpatched into *England* one *Campana*, to give the King freſh aſſurances of his good intentions, but withal, ſent by him expreſs orders to Cardinal *Campegio*, to burn the Bull Decretal, and defer the ſentence of the Divorce as long as poſſible. *Campegio* immediately obeyed the firſt of theſe orders, and as for the ſecond, never ceaſed finding freſh pretences to retard the proceedings.

Campegio exhorts Henry to keep Catherine, Burnet.

and Catherine to deſiſt from her Marriage. Herbert.

He feigns to want freſh Orders. Herbert.

He ſhows the Decretal to the King and Wolſey. Burnet.

The Pope approves his Conduct. Burnet.

At laſt, *Henry* tired to ſee ſo many affected delays, and perceiving they came from the Pope, ſent, about the end of the year, Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* (5) to *Rome*, to diſcover the true Cauſe. They had likewiſe ſeveral other Commiſſions. Firſt, to ſearch the Pope's Records for the pretended Brief of *Julius* II. Secondly, to propoſe, as of themſelves, ſeveral expedients, ſpeedily to end the affair of the Divorce, and to conſult, under feigned names, the Canoniſts of *Rome*, whether they were practicable. Thirdly, in caſe they ſaw the Pope over-awed by the Emperor's threats, they had orders to offer him a Guard of two thouſand Men. Laſtly, if this had no effect, they were to balance the Emperor's menaces with others from the King. They found the Pope in a real or pretended Fright, at the Emperor's Miniſters threats to have him depoſed for a Baſtard. His anſwer therefore to the offer of the two thouſand Men for a Guard, was, that it would not be capable to ſecuring him, but rather render him more ſuſpected. He took care not to put himſelf in the King's power, when he was thinking to break entirely with him. The two Envoys ſeeing the Pope leaned to the Emperor's ſide, plainly told him at laſt, "That if he continued to deny the "King their Maſter the ſatisfaction he demanded, he "might be aſſured *England* would be loſt to him: That "the *Engliſh* were already but too much diſpoſed to "withdraw their obedience from the Holy See, and upon "the leaſt encouragement from the King, would openly "publiſh what they yet kept concealed in their hearts: "That the King their Maſter, and the King of *France*, "were powerful and very ſtrictly united, and therefore "the Pope would run a great hazard, if he ſhould cauſe-"leſsly make theſe two Monarchs his Enemies: that "though the *Naples* expedition had miſcarried, he could "not be ſure it would be the ſame with thoſe that ſhould "be hereafter undertaken; nay, it was eaſy to ſee, by "the dangerous ſtate of the Emperor's affairs, what might "happen another time: That if out of exceſſive con-"deſcenſion for the Emperor, he dealt ſo unjuſtly by the "King of *England*, as to refuſe him what even Equity "and the Law of God required, he muſt likewiſe expect "no favour or regard, when affairs ſhould be altered: "That he ought to conſider, the King of *England* had "engaged in this war to free him from captivity, and "if, inſtead of making a grateful return, he ſhould join "with his enemy, all Chriſtians would abhor his In-"gratitude." All this was not capable to divert the Pope from his deſign, and yet he would ſtill be thought unreſolved. He replied with a ſigh, That he was between the Hammer and the Anvil, and, which way ſoever he turned, ſaw nothing before him but dangers; and therefore he placed all his hopes in the protection of God, who would not forſake his Church: That as to the reſt, he had done for the King of *England* more than could be reaſonably expected, in committing the trial of his Cauſe to two Legates, who were both devoted to him: That not content with this, he ſtill preſſed him to do more, and to diſregard the cuſtomary Rules of the Church on the like occaſions, and publickly ſacrifice to him, the Emperor, the Archduke his Brother, Queen *Catherine*, the Honour, Dignity and Intereſt of the Holy See: That this was asking too much, and the King ſhould at leaſt ſuffer the affair to be decided by the Legates, appointed for that purpoſe: That it was not his fault if matters were delayed, and in caſe it was owing to *Campegio*'s negligence, he had acted contrary to his orders. This anſwer was a plain indication of the Pope's thoughts. Accordingly, the Envoys told the King, nothing was to be expected from the Pope, and that the only way was to cauſe the Legates to give a ſpeedy Sentence. The truth is, the Pope was now reſolved to agree with the Emperor; and if he ſhewed any farther regard for *Henry*, it was only to avoid an open rupture with him, for fear the Emperor ſhould take advantage of it in the Treaty they were concluding.

The Pope reſolves to agree with the Emperor. Guicciard.

The Difficulties in the affair of the Divorce increaſe. Burnet. Herbert.

Vannes and Brian ſent to Rome.

Their Inſtructions. Burnet. Herbert.

The Expedients *Brian* and *Vannes* were commiſſioned to propoſe, were, 1. Whether, if the Queen vowed Religion, the King ſhould have liberty to marry again? 2. Or if the King ſhould vow Religion as well as the Queen, whether the Pope would diſpenſe with his Vow, and allow him to take another Wife whilſt the Queen was alive? 3. Or whether the Pope would grant him a Diſpenſation to have two Wives? But it does not appear how theſe points were decided. As for the Brief produced by the Imperial Miniſters, there was not the leaſt trace of any ſuch thing among the Pope's Records, of which the *Engliſh* Envoys (6) had good Certificates. In this manner paſſed the whole year 1528, at the cloſe whereof the King found himſelf no more advanced than at the beginning, except that he had ſtill ſome hope from *Campegio*, who all along pretended to be entirely in his intereſt. It may be affirmed, that *Francis*, in neglecting to aſſiſt *Lautrec*, was the cauſe of the Turn which the affair

1528.

The Pope's Anſwer.

The Envoys threaten him. Burnet. Coll. T. I. p. 48. Stype.

He feigns to be unreſolved. Burnet.

The Envoys ſend the King word he had nothing to expect from the Pope.

Expedients propoſed by the King. Burnet. T. I. p. 60.

True Cauſe of the Pope's Delays. Herbert.

(1) He perſuaded her to renounce the World, and to enter into ſome Religious Life. *Herbert.* p. 103.
(2) Adding, ſhe would not admit ſuch partial Judges as they were to give Sentence in her cauſe. *Ibid.*
(3) He wiſhed he had never ſent it, ſaying, he would gladly loſe a Finger to recover it again, and expreſſed great Grief for granting it. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 59.
(4) The *Venetians* had taken *Cervia* and *Ravenna* from the Pope, and *France* and *England* had promiſed to intercede and uſe their Intereſt with the *Venetians* to reſtore them. *Ibid.*
(5) An *Italian*; and the King's Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue. *Herbert*, p. 103.
(6) Theſe *Engliſh* Envoys were the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and Dr. *Lee*. They gave the Emperor an Overture of the Divorce, and made ſeveral Objections againſt the Genuineneſs of *Julius* II's Brief, which the Reader may ſee in *Herbert*, p. 104, 105.

1528. of the divorce took, ſince he thereby gave occaſion to the Pope to join with the Emperor (1).

Several Monaſteries ſuppreſſed for Wolſey's Colleges. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 240—258.

Whilſt the King was thinking of his divorce, Cardinal *Wolſey* was very diligently employed in founding his Colleges. As the Pope made the King very uneaſy by his affected delays, he endeavoured to gratify him otherwiſe, in granting his Favorite whatever he deſired for his Foundations. Among the *Publick Acts* of the year 1528, there are ten or twelve Bulls, as well for the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral ſmall Monaſteries (2), as for other things concerning the two Colleges, the endowment whereof the Cardinal ſo paſſionately deſired. Wherefore, knowing how fair an opportunity preſented to obtain private favours from the Pope, he forgot not to improve it. Had he ſtayed a year longer, he would have run great risk of leaving the Work unfiniſhed.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

I have for ſome time been ſilent concerning the affairs of *Scotland*, becauſe there has been no occaſion to ſpeak of them. But as their ſituation was changed during the Courſe of this year, it is neceſſary briefly to relate what had paſſed in that Country. The Earl of *Angus*, *George Douglaſs* his Brother, and their Uncle *Archibald*, had ſtill the King's perſon in their power, and governed in his name. Queen *Margaret* however, who had cauſed her marriage with the Earl of *Angus* to be annulled, and was married again to *Henry Stewart*, had ſtill a powerful Party in *Scotland*. But as her Party could not act openly without being liable to be deemed Rebels, ſince the King was in the hands of the *Douglaſſes*, the Queen made uſe of another expedient to accompliſh her deſigns. She perſuaded the King her Son, by ſome Perſons about him, to make his eſcape and retire to *Sterling*. The contrivance ſucceeded according to her Wiſh. *James* took his opportunity, and eſcaping from the Earl of *Angus*, withdrew to *Sterling*, where it was publiſhed that the *Douglaſſes* ſhould be no longer acknowledged for Regents, and withal were forbidden the Court. This Order was notified to the Earl of *Angus*, whilſt he was marching to recover the King's Perſon. As he had but few Troops, and was unable to enter *Sterling* by force, where ſeveral great Men were come to the King's relief, he obeyed and retired.

James *aſſumes the Reins of the Government before he was of Age.*

Shortly after, the King called a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the third of *September*, and came himſelf to hold it. The *Douglaſſes*, perceiving what was preparing againſt them, attempted to ſurprize *Edinburgh*, and become maſters of the King's Perſon, with deſign to diſſolve the Parliament. But being repulſed, they were forced to retire. Whereupon the Parliament confiſcated their Eſtates to the King. But they continued in Arms, and made Incurſions, even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*.

Truce for five Years between England *and* Scotland. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 275, —282, 286.

Henry being informed of what paſſed in *Scotland*, and fearing the young King might ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced againſt him, thought it adviſeable to ſend Ambaſſadors to make Peace, ſince a War with *Scotland* could not be but very inconvenient in his preſent circumſtances. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed. A Truce only for five years was concluded at *Berwick*, and ſigned the fourteenth of *December*. It was agreed by a ſeparate Article, that the *Douglaſſes* might take refuge in *England*, on condition they delivered to their Sovereign the places they held in *Scotland*; and in caſe they entered the Kingdom, and committed any diſorders, *Henry* ſhould be reſponſible as if done by his own Subjects (3).

The Douglaſſes retire into England.

1529. *How the Pope and* Francis *ſtood affected to the Emperor.* Guicciard.

Since the Pope had determined to agree with the Emperor, his feeding the Allies with hopes, was only to obtain the better Terms from that Monarch. On the other hand, *Francis* ſuſpecting the Pope's Intentions, perceived likewiſe that a Peace only would procure him his Sons, and therefore continued a ſecret Negotiation with the Emperor. But at the ſame time, he made great promiſes to the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, Duke of *Milan*, and the Pope himſelf, to let the Emperor ſee, in caſe he did not make haſte and conclude, it would perhaps be too late when he deſired it. About the ſame time, the Emperor had certain advice, that the *Turks* were making great preparations to invade *Hungary*, and penetrate even into *Germany*. So finding that a diverſion in *Italy* might greatly embarraſs him at ſuch a juncture, he was the more inclined to Peace. Theſe diſpoſitions in the principal Parties, could not in the end but produce the Peace which was univerſally expected with impatience. Mean while, the War was continued, though faintly, in the Kingdom of *Naples* and the Duchy of *Milan*, where the *French* and *Venetians* had kept ſome places, but it was eaſy to ſee that nothing deciſive would happen. 1529.

In the mean time, the Pope was wholly intent upon his own private affairs. His aim was not only to be reſtored to *Florence*, but alſo to become maſter of *Peruſa* and *Ferrara*, and recover *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, taken by the *Venetians* during his Captivity. Under colour of uſing his Intereſt to procure a general Peace, he had ſent a Nuntio to *Spain*, to conclude a private Treaty with the Emperor. During the Negotiation, the affair of the Divorce was at a ſtand. *Clement* VII was fully reſolved to ſatisfy the Emperor, and by that *Henry* daily loſt the hopes of ſucceeding in his purſuit. Mean while, a violent diſtemper, which ſeized the Pope in the beginning of the year 1529, had like to have very much changed the face of affairs (4). Cardinal *Wolſey* having notice of the Pope's dangerous illneſs, had ſent an Expreſs to *Gardiner*, to conjure him to neglect nothing that he thought capable of procuring him the Papacy. *Henry* himſelf had writ to ſeveral Cardinals in his behalf, and the King of *France*, who was not yet ſecure of a Peace, had given him all thoſe of his Faction. It is pretended, *Wolſey* would have been ſure of more than a third of the Votes, in caſe the Pope had died. Indeed that was not ſufficient to make him Pope; but it was enough to hinder any other from being ſo. This affair was even carried ſo far, that the King had ordered his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, that if, notwithſtanding the Cardinals of *Wolſey*'s Faction, another Perſon ſhould be deſigned, they ſhould ſo manage, that theſe Cardinals ſhould proteſt againſt the proceedings in the Conclave, and then withdrawing to ſome ſecure place, ſhould themſelves come to a new Election. I do not know, whether it would have been eaſy for the Ambaſſadors to obtain ſo abſolute a reſignation to the King's pleaſure. However, it is not ſtrange that *Henry* ſhould be ſo very deſirous of procuring the Papacy for his Miniſter and Favorite. But it is ſurpriſing, that a Prince who was called *Protector of the Church*, and *Defender of the Faith*, ſhould not ſcruple purpoſely to endeavour to form a Schiſm in the Church, to gratify his paſſion. As for Cardinal *Wolſey*, nothing in his conduct ought to be thought ſtrange; ſince it is certain, he was ready to ſacrifice every thing to his ambition. The Pope's recovery put an end to all theſe cabals, which however could not be ſo private but they came to his knowledge. This made him conſider *Wolſey* as a dangerous rival, and capable of ſupplanting him if an opportunity offered, by uſing for pretence the defect in his Birth.

The Pope falls ill. Herbert. *Wolſey takes ſome Steps to attain to the Papacy.* Burnet. Herbert.

The King uſes all his Intereſt for him. Burnet, T. I. p. 64. Herbert.

When *Clement* VII was fully recovered, the proceedings for the Divorce continued upon the ſame foot as before. The Pope gave hopes, the affairs ſhould be decided in *England* for the King, by a ſentence of the Legates which he would himſelf confirm to make it more authentick. His aim was to gain time, and prevent the appearance of any miſunderſtanding between him and the Court of *England*, before he had concluded his Treaty with the Emperor, becauſe it was a means to obtain better Terms. To this end, and to hinder *Henry* from being impatient, he had put into *Gardiner*'s hands a Brief, promiſing not to revoke the powers given the Legates. But, beſides that the Brief was expreſſed in ambiguous terms, he knew Sentence would not be paſſed without his poſitive orders. This management which the Pope continued with many artifices, afforded the King ſome hopes of gaining him to his intereſt. To ſucceed the better, he prevailed with the King of *France* to ſend to the Pope the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, with orders earneſtly to ſollicite the deciſion of the affair. He could have wiſhed that the Pope of his own accord would have granted a Bull to annul his marriage, and diſpenſe with his taking another Wife, or at leaſt, have given the Legates ſuch a Commiſſion, as it ſhould not be in their choice to judge otherwiſe than in his favor. The Pope, pleaſed at his being ſo intent upon his own Projects, ſtill fed him with hopes of Succeſs. But withal, he expreſſed great fear of what the Emperor might do againſt him, and uſed that pretence to delay the favour he ſeemed to intend to grant. In every thing elſe he was always ready to content the King. The Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* being vacant by the death of *Richard Fox*, and *Henry* deſiring him to beſtow it on *Wolſey*, the Bulls for that purpoſe were immediately diſpatched. It is true, they were rated at fifteen thouſand ducats. But *Wolſey* would give but ſix thouſand, alledging, he did not want them, ſince the King had already

The Pope's Management to put off the Affair of the Divorce. Herbert. Burnet.

Burnet.

The Pope gives Wolſey *the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 283, 287,—290. Burnet.

(1) About this time, ſome murmurs and ſeditious words being diſperſed among the common People, on account of the Divorce, King *Henry* proteſted publickly in an Aſſembly of Lords, Judges, *&c.* at his Palace at *Bridewell*, That nothing but deſire of giving ſatisfaction to his Conſcience, and care of eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion to the Crown in a right and undoubted Line, had firſt procured him to controvert this Marriage; being, for the reſt, as happy in the affection and virtues of his Queen, as any Prince living. To confirm which alſo, he cauſed *Ann Boleyn* to depart the Court. *Herbert*, p. 106.

(2) Thoſe of *Rombers*, *Fyſſton*, *Brombil*, *Bliborow*, and *Montjoy*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 240.

(3) This year, on *June* 28, the King of *France* ratified the eight months Truce concluded between *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, from *June* 15. to *January* 1 29. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 258, *&c.*

(4) His Phyſicians ſuſpected that he was poiſoned. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 63.

1529. granted him the Temporalities of the Biſhoprick. This ſhews in what Spirit he thus heaped upon him the Church-Preferments. But herein is nothing ſurprizing, ſince the Pope himſelf made no ſcruple to own in his Bull that he conferred this Biſhoprick on the Cardinal, to help him to bear the expence to which he was obliged by his Rank.

The Pope's pretence to delay the Divorce. Burnet.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the Emperor haſtened, as much as poſſible, the concluſion of his Treaty with the Pope, being reſolved to grant whatever he required, rather than give him occaſion to join with his Enemies. Before the Pope was aſſured of this agreement, Policy required, he ſhould keep the Emperor in fear that the affair of the Divorce would be determined to the King of *England*'s ſatisfaction. Conſequently, it was his intereſt that the affair ſhould remain undecided, to let the Emperor ſee, it depended on the ſucceſs of the Negotiation at *Barcelona*. But when he had juſt brought him to his own Terms, he began inſenſibly to ſeek pretences to break his engagements with *Henry*. So, the reſtitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* was again moved, the Pope feigning to believe, that if *Henry* had deſired it, he ſhould have had theſe two Cities before now, and from thence took occaſion to be diſpleaſed. On the other hand, the Emperor knowing the Pope's Intention, proteſted (1), in Queen *Catherine*'s name, againſt whatever ſhould be done in *England* in the affair of the Divorce, declaring, that ſhe excepted againſt the two Legates, as one was notoriouſly devoted to the King, and the other, Biſhop of *Salisbury*. The King's Miniſters uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Pope to reject the Proteſtation. But he replied, He could not, without ſhewing himſelf too partial to the King, ſince a Proteſtation was no prejudice to the Cauſe itſelf. That it would be a very ſtrange thing to refuſe a Queen the right of proteſting, which the meaneſt Perſon could claim. All this, added to many other circumſtances, and to certain advices that the Pope was treating with the Emperor, took from the *Engliſh* Miniſters all hopes of prevailing with him. Wherefore, they writ to the King that they were only amuſed, and if the Proceſs was not ſpeedily decided in *England*, there was danger of its being brought to *Rome*. Whereupon, the King reſolved to proceed before the Legates, and not ſuffer himſelf to be any longer amuſed by deceitful promiſes. Mean while, when the Inſtrument whereby the Pope had promiſed not to revoke the Legates Commiſſion, came to be examined, it was found to be worded in general or ambiguous Terms, which left him at liberty to do what he pleaſed. So, to know whether he had acted with ſincerity (2), when he ſigned that Inſtrument, *Gardiner* was ordered to repreſent to him, that the Paper on which it was written being wet by the careleſſneſs of the Courier, and the words almoſt quite defaced, the King deſired he would ſign another. But *Clement* found ſome artifice to be excuſed. Wherefore the King, being ſatisfied there was nothing to be expected from the Court of *Rome*, where the Emperor's intereſt was too great, recalled *Gardiner* (3) and *Brian*, and ſent *Bennet* to *Rome*, only to hinder, as much as lay in his power, the avocation of his Cauſe. *Bennet* carried a Letter from the two Legates, directed to the Pope and Cardinals, wherein they ſaid, That the principal point in the Cauſe they were to judge, conſiſted in knowing whether *Julius* II could grant a Diſpenſation, or exceeded his power: That ſince the ſole Point was to decide concerning the authority of the head of the Church, they conceived it to be beyond their Commiſſion, and therefore were of opinion, the Pope would do well to avocate the Cauſe: That they doubted not, the King would conſent to it, provided he had ſome aſſurance it ſhould be decided in his favour. It is hard to conceive, what could induce Cardinal *Wolſey* to ſign ſuch a Letter, ſo directly contrary to the King's Intereſt. For, though the Legates ſeemed to ſuppoſe his Conſent, it was evident the reaſon of the Avocation ſubſiſted, whether the King conſented or not. Conſequently they afforded the Pope a plauſible pretence to avocate the Cauſe, which the King dreaded of all things. Was *Wolſey* deceived by *Campegio*, or did he ſacrifice his Maſter's Intereſt? It is difficult to believe either; and yet Hiſtorians affirm, that one of the principal cauſes of his diſgrace was a Letter he had writ to the Pope, which came to the King's knowledge by *Bennet*'s means, and it might very well be this. Indeed, he was inexcuſable if he ſigned it without the King's approbation; and on the other hand, it cannot be conceived that the King ſhould be ſo blind as not to ſee the conſequence of ſuch advice.

Proteſtation in Queen Catherine's Name. Burnet.

Henry reſolves to try his Cauſe before the Legates. Burnet.

He tries in vain to overreach the Pope.

Letter from the two Legates to the Pope. Burnet. T. I. p. 68.

Remark on the Letter with reſpect to Wolſey.

1529. Though *Campegio* came to *England* in *October* laſt year, it was now the end of *May*, and nothing done towards the Trial of the Cauſe which brought him thither. The King, having ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by the Pope whoſe Intereſt it was to gain time, had been ever in hopes of obtaining a Bull to null the Marriage, without being obliged to go through the uſual forms of a Proceſs. But at length, his Agents convincing him that his Expectations were in vain, he reſolved to proceed before the Legates. To this end, on the 31ſt of *May*, he granted them a Licenſe to execute the Pope's Commiſſion. They met the ſame day, and appointed Aſſiſtants (4) to examine the Papers and Evidences. From the very firſt Seſſion, it appeared that *Campegio* intended to prolong the Proceſs, ſince after the Commiſſion was read, he ordered the King and Queen to be cited to appear the 18th of *June*. This was too long a Term, if there had been any deſign to diſpatch the Affair, eſpecially as the Parties were in *London* it ſelf, or in one of their Palaces near the City. Tho' *Wolſey* was the ſenior Cardinal, he let *Campegio* preſide, to ſhew he intended to act without partiality. So, from the firſt day to the laſt, *Campegio* did all, without *Wolſey*'s ever appearing to oppoſe the affected delays of his Collegue between the Seſſions. I ſhall not enter any farther into the particulars of this famous Proceſs, which may be ſeen at large in the excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*, known to all the World, but content my ſelf with relating in general the moſt remarkable Circumſtances.

The Legates fit to hear the Cauſe. Burnet. T. III. p. 46. Herbert. p. 107, &c. Hall.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 296.

Artifices of Campegio *to ſpin out the Affair.* Burnet.

Wolſey *lets* Campegio *preſide.*

Proceedings in the Proceſs. Burnet. T. I. p. 73. *and* III. p. 46. Hall. Stow.

In the ſecond Seſſion, the Queen's Proctors (5) excepted againſt the two Legates. But the exception not being deemed valid, ſhe had a further day given her, to the 21ſt (6). On that day, the King and Queen appeared in perſon (7). But the Queen, without ſaying any thing to the Legates, went and kneeled down before the King, and made a very moving Speech, concluding with imploring his Juſtice and Pity; after which, ſhe withdrew, and would never more appear, nor ſuffer any perſon to defend her Cauſe (8). As ſoon as ſhe was retired, the King declared he was very well pleaſed with the Queen, and in ſuing to be divorced from her, acted ſolely from a motive of Religion and Conſcience (9). Adding, that his ſcruples concerning his Marriage ſprung from thoſe of the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, and were confirmed by the opinion of all the Biſhops of *England*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* confirmed what the King ſaid, concerning the Biſhops. But *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* denied, he ever ſet his hand to the writing which was preſented to the King. Mean while, the Queen was cited again for the 25th of *June*, but inſtead of appearing, ſhe ſent in her Appeal [to the Pope] in form, from whatever had been or ſhould be done hereafter. Nevertheleſs ſhe was declared *contumacious*. The ſame day, the Proceſs was reduced to twelve Articles, upon which witneſſes were to be examined. The principal Article was, Prince *Arthur*'s Conſummation of his Marriage with *Catherine*, which the Queen had denied with an Oath, and which notwithſtanding was proved by the Teſtimony of ſeveral Perſons,

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 299, 300.

The Queen appeals from the Proceedings of the Legates. Burnet. Herbert. p. 113, &c.

(1) *May* 15. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 67.

(2) Or rather, to obtain an enlargement of the Commiſſion, with fuller power to the Legates: and when it was new drawn, they were to endeavour to get as many pregnant and material words added as poſſible. *Idem.* p. 68.

(3) He was thought the fitteſt Perſon to manage the Proceſs in *England*, being eſteemed the ableſt Canoniſt in the Kingdom, and was ſo valued by the King, that he would not begin the Proceſs till he came. *Burnet*, ibid.

(4) *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *John Clark* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *John Iſlip* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and Dr. *John Taylor* Maſter of the Rolls. *Herbert*, p. 108.

(5) *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicolas Weſt* Biſhop of *Ely*, *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry Standiſh* of St. *Aſaph*. *Hall*, fol. 181.

(6) On the 18th of *June*, the Citation being returned duly executed, *Richard Samſon* Dean of the Chapel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appeared as the King's Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Perſon, and excepted againſt the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging the Cauſe was already avocated by the Pope, and deſired a competent Time to prove it. The Legates aſſigned her the 21ſt, and adjourned the Court till then. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 72.

(7) Biſhop *Burnet*, from the Original Regiſter of the Proceſs ſays, the King was never in the Court. *Ref.* T. III. p. 46. But the contrary is affirmed by the King himſelf in a Letter dated *June* 23, to his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, in theſe Words, *Both we and the Queen appeared in Perſon.* See *Collect.* to Vol. I. p. 78. To reconcile this Contradiction the Biſhop ſuppoſes, that they were indeed together in the Hall where the Court ſat; but that it was before the Cardinals ſat down, and had formed the Court. *Pref.* to Vol. II. p. 8.

(8) When the King and Queen were called on, the King anſwered, *Here*; but the Queen riſing from her Seat, kneeled down and ſaid to the King, "She was a poor Woman and a Stranger in his Dominions, where ſhe could expect neither good Council, nor indifferent Judges; ſhe had long been his "Wife, and deſired to know wherein ſhe had offended him: She had been his Wife twenty Years and more, and had born him ſeveral Children, and "ever ſtudied to pleaſe him, and proteſted he had found her a true Maid, about which ſhe appealed to his own Conſcience. If ſhe had done any thing "amiſs, ſhe was willing to be put away with Shame. Their Parents were eſteemed very wiſe Princes, and no doubt had good Counſellors and learned "Men about them when the Match was agreed: Therefore ſhe would not ſubmit to the Court, nor durſt her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and "aſſigned by him, ſpeak freely for her. So ſhe deſired to be excuſed till ſhe heard from *Spain*." That ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and making the King a low Reverence, went out of Court. Her Council were the Biſhops of *Rocheſter* and St. *Aſaph*, and Dr. *Ridley*. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 73.

(9) He cleared likewiſe Cardinal *Wolſey* from being the firſt Mover of the Matter, as had been ſuſpected. *Ibid.*

1529. as far as a thing of that nature can be. Theſe proofs conſiſted in the Age, Health, and vigorous Conſtitution of the Prince, and in his diſcourſes next morning after the Nuptials: ſo that *Arthur* or *Catherine* muſt not have ſpoken the truth, the one out of Vanity, or the other out of Intereſt (1).

The Pope receives News of the Concluſion of his Treaty with the Emperor. Herbert. Burnet.

Whilſt the Tryal was proſecuting in *England*, the Emperor's Miniſters were earneſtly preſſing the Pope to avocate the Cauſe to *Rome*, and *Henry*'s as vehemently ſoliciting the contrary. What is more, both Sides threatened to depoſe him, on account of his being a Baſtard. The Pope feigned to be terrified by theſe menaces, and this ſeeming fear to declare for either, afforded him a pretence to remain undetermined, till he received advice of the concluſion of his Treaty with the Emperor. At length the agreeable news being come, he reſolved to avocate the Cauſe, before the publication of the Treaty, leſt it ſhould be thought to be one of the ſecret Articles. Weak precaution to efface or prevent ſuch a Suſpicion.

Conditions of the Treaty. Guicciard.

The ſubſtance of this Treaty, which was ſigned at *Barcelona* the 29th of *June*, was, That the Emperor ſhould reſtore the Family of the *Medici* to *Florence*, on the ſame foot as formerly. That he ſhould cauſe *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be delivered to the Pope: That he ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of *Modena* and *Reggio*, ſaving the Rights of the Empire: That he ſhould aid him to become maſter of *Ferrara*: That *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to *Milan*, if innocent; but if guilty, the Emperor ſhould not diſpoſe of the Duchy to any Prince the Pope ſhould diſlike: That the Pope and Emperor ſhould employ their Temporal and Spiritual Arms againſt the Hereticks of *Germany*: That *Alexander de Medici* ſhould eſpouſe *Margaret* the Emperor's natural Daughter: That the Pope ſhould grant the Emperor a fourth of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues in his Dominions, to wage War with the *Turks*: That he ſhould abſolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and ſacking of *Rome*. What greater advantages could the Pope have expected, ſuppoſing he had been victorious in the late War? but the Emperor believed he could not purchaſe the Pope's Friendſhip too dear, who might ſtill have greatly embarraſſed him, if he had joined with *France*, *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*.

The Pope avocates the Cauſe to Rome. Burnet. Herbert.

The Pope having concluded his Treaty with the Emperor, told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors himſelf on the 9th of *July*, his reſolution to avocate the Cauſe to *Rome*. They uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſſuade him from it, repreſenting to him that the Holy See was going irrecoverably to loſe *England*. But it was all to no purpoſe. By his late Treaty with the Emperor, the Family of the *Medici* was to be reſtored to the Government of *Florence*. This alone was ſufficient to outweigh in his Mind, all the dangers to which he expoſed the Holy See; ſo great was his Affection for a Family from whence he was deſcended, though not born in Wedlock. So, the 15th of *July*, he ſigned the Bull of Avocation. Next day he notified it to *Caſſali* the King's Ambaſſador in ordinary, and to *Bennet* who had been ſent to him laſt. He alledged, in excuſe of the Avocation, ſeveral reaſons which might have been of ſome weight in the beginning of the Proceſs, on ſuppoſition he had been entirely impartial, but which had loſt all their force, after all his proceedings, and the concluſion of his Treaty with the Emperor. Three days after, he diſpatched a Meſſenger with the Bull of Avocation into *England*, where proceedings were very dilatory by the artifices of Cardinal *Campegio* who preſided in the affair.

He ſends a Courier to England.

Continuation of the Proceſs. Burnet. Herbert. Campegio's *Delays.* Act. Pub. XIV. p. 300.

The Queen, who was cited for the 25th of *June*, not appearing that day, ſhe had farther time given her to the 28th, and was ſummoned again to appear by the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, though in vain. On the 28th, ſome Depoſitions were read, after which the Seſſion was adjourned to the 5th of *July*, when by reaſon of certain Holidays kept at *Rome*, the Seſſion was deferred till the 12th. The Court met again on the 12th, the 14th, the 17th, the 21ſt, and the 23d. As there was nothing more to do but to pronounce the Sentence, every one thought all would be ended this laſt Seſſion; but People were ſtrangely

He adjourns the Court to the firſt of October. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

ſurprized when Cardinal *Campegio* was heard to adjourn the Court to the firſt of *October*. He alledged for reaſon, that it was the time of the great Vacation at *Rome*, and he was indiſpenſably obliged to comply with that Cuſtom (2). 1529.

Thus did that Legate, who was in the Pope's Secrets, amuſe the King, in the ſame manner as the Pope had amuſed him at *Rome* near two years, ever ſince the Affair was begun. *Henry* was as much inraged as ſurprized at the proceedings of the Legates, but diſſembled both his Surpriſe and Reſentment. Shortly after, he plainly perceived to what all theſe affected delays tended, when he came to know that notwithſtanding his Engagement, the Pope had avocated the Cauſe. The Bull of Avocation being arrived (3), he would not ſuffer it to be notified to him, but intimated to the Legates, that he was content they ſhould obey the Pope's orders. It was not without reaſon that he would not have the Bull notified to him. He was cited therein to appear at *Rome* within forty days, which he could not have done without acting contrary to the Laws of the Land, which prohibited to obey ſuch Citations, and carry Cauſes to a foreign Court. Upon this foundation it was that he had always inſiſted, that the Proceſs ſhould be determined in the Kingdom. Beſides that, Cenſures were denounced againſt him in the Bull, as againſt a private Perſon, if he obeyed not the Citation. Some time after, the Pope made him a ſort of reparation, in revoking theſe Cenſures by a Brief (4), where he proteſted they were inſerted contrary to his Intention. But as to the Citation itſelf, he only prolonged the day to *Chriſtmas*.

The Bull of Avocation comes to London. Burnet.

The King is cited to Rome.

The Pope revokes his Cenſures. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 346.

Remark on Cardinal Wolſey's *Behaviour.* Burnet. Herbert.

The figure Cardinal *Wolſey* made during the pretended Judgment of the Proceſs was very extraordinary. Of all Mankind he was the proudeſt and moſt haughty; he was ſenior Cardinal to his Collegue, and yet gave place to him in every thing, and ſuffered him to act as he pleaſed, without ever oppoſing his opinion. If the Affair had ſucceeded according to the King's deſire, his Conduct would doubtleſs have been praiſed. But as every thing turned againſt the King, it was not poſſible for the Cardinal to avoid the ſuſpicion of betraying his Maſter's Intereſts, or at leaſt of ſerving him very ill. *Henry* himſelf thought ſo, though he did not preſently ſhew it (5). On the other hand, *Ann Bullen*, who had ever believed the Cardinal in her Intereſt, was extremely ſurprized when ſhe was informed of what had paſſed. The King had removed her from Court (6) whilſt the Legates were employed in the Judgment of the Proceſs, but ſhe was ſent for the moment the Bull of Avocation was arrived. 'Tis pretended, ſhe did not a little contribute to confirm the King's Suſpicions of the Cardinal. She was perſuaded, if *Wolſey* had pleaſed, the Affair would have taken another turn; but that he had altered his reſolution. Whether her opinion was well-grounded, or the Vexation to ſee herſelf ſtill ſo remote from her hopes, exaſperated her againſt the Cardinal, ſhe looked upon him as an Enemy deſerving her whole Vengeance. So finding the King diſpoſed to give ear to whatever was ſaid againſt his Miniſter, ſhe neglected nothing that could help to ruin him. In this ſhe was aſſiſted by ſeveral Perſons of the higheſt Rank who had no reaſon to love that proud Prelate. Burnet.

The King is extremely uneaſy. Burnet.

It is eaſy to gueſs *Henry*'s concern to ſee himſelf on a ſudden ſo remote from his aim. The Pope had joined in League with the Emperor, which was properly his Party. *Francis* I, from whom he had expected a powerful aid in caſe of need, had juſt concluded at *Cambray* a Treaty with the Emperor, whereby he engaged not to aſſiſt that Prince's Enemies. In a word, Queen *Catherine* remained obſtinate not to accept any expedient that might debar her from being his Wife. On the other hand, *Henry*'s love for *Ann Bullen*, which he had pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of gratifying by a lawful Marriage, helped not a little to increaſe his concern. He did not know which way to get rid of the Queen, who by her obſtinacy, had very much leſſened that Eſteem and Affection he had always had for her (7). With a Mind full of theſe trouble-

He takes a Progreſs. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

(1) Particularly *Robert* Viſcount *Fitz-Water*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Anthony Willoughby*, depoſed, that they heard Prince *Arthur* ſay publickly, *I have been this Night in the midſt of* Spain. The King's Council it ſeems inſiſting moſtly on the Conſummation of the Marriage, it led them to ſay many things that were indecent; of which the Biſhop of *Rochеſter* complained, and ſaid they were things deteſtable to be heard; but Cardinal *Wolſey* checkt him, and there paſſed ſome ſharp Words between them. Lord *Herbert* has given the Subſtance of all the Depoſitions, p. 115. *Compl. Hiſt.* The place appointed for hearing and determining the Cauſe, was a great Hall in *Black Friers* in *London*, commonly called the *Parliament-Chamber*. *Ibid.*

(2) He pretended that they ſat there as a part of the Conſiſtory of *Rome*, and therefore muſt follow the Rules of that Court, which from that time till *October* was in a Vacation, and heard no Cauſes. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 77.

(3) On *Auguſt* 4. *Idem.* p. 78.

(4) Dated *Auguſt* 29. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 347.

(5) King *Henry* received Information of his having juggled in the Buſineſs, and that he ſecretly adviſed the Pope to do what was done. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 78.

(6) By *Wolſey*'s Advice, as ſhe thought. *Ibid.*

(7) Even after *Campegio*'s Arrival in *England*, the King and Queen did eat at one Table, and lodged in one Bed; there being no viſible ſign of any breach between them. But after the ſuit concerning the Divorce was commenced, they parted. See *Stow*, p. 546. About *December*, *Ann Bulleyn* returned to Court, and was more waited on than the Queen had been for ſome Years. At this the People appearing uneaſy, and ſeeming inclined to revolt; it was reſolved to ſend all the Strangers out of the Kingdom. *Burnet*, T. III. p. 42, 44.

1529. ſome thoughts, and uncertain what to determine, he reſolved to take a Progreſs into ſome of his Counties, to try to diſpel his melancholy.

Dr. Cranmer opens him a way to get over his Troubles. Burnet.

During his Journey, he lodged one night at *Waltham*, where *Edward Fox* and Secretary *Gardiner* happened to lie at a Gentleman's Houſe (1) who had two Sons committed to *Thomas Cranmer*'s Care. *Cranmer* was a Doctor in Divinity, who, having been Profeſſor at *Cambridge* (2), had loſt his Place upon being married. He had travelled into *Germany*, where he had read *Luther*'s Works, and embraced his Doctrine, but with more moderation than was uſually ſeen in the firſt diſciples of that Reformer. Whilſt they were at ſupper, *Cranmer* being at table with *Fox* and *Gardiner*, the Converſation ran upon the Affair of the Divorce, and as the maſter of the Houſe had informed the two Courtiers of *Cranmer*'s merit and capacity, they deſired him to give his opinion upon that ſubject. *Cranmer* at firſt modeſtly declined it, but they preſſed him ſo much that he could not excuſe himſelf. So, after ſtating the Queſtion, he ſaid, he ſaw no better way to extricate the King out of his difficulties, than to procure, in writing, the opinions of all the Univerſities in *Europe*, and of the moſt eminent Divines and Civilians (3). That one of theſe two things would follow, either the Univerſities and the Learned would judge *Julius the Second*'s Diſpenſation ſufficient, or deem it invalid. That in the firſt caſe, the King's Conſcience would have reaſon to be eaſy, and in the ſecond, the Pope would never venture to paſs Sentence contrary to the opinion of all the learned and able Men in *Chriſtendom*. *Fox* and *Gardiner* reliſhing this advice, imparted it to the King, who immediately taking the Author's meaning, cried out, in a tranſport of Joy, *That he had got the right Sow by the Ear*, an expreſſion, which in its coarſeneſs ſhowed how much the King was pleaſed with the Expedient. At the ſame time he ſent for *Cranmer*, who explaining more at large what he had but juſt hinted at Table, ſo gained his Eſteem, that from that moment he was ordered to follow the Court. This is the ſame Doctor who will quickly be ſeen to make a conſiderable Figure in *England*, and lay the firſt Foundations of the Reformation in that Kingdom.

The King entertains a great Eſteem for Cranmer.

Campegio returns to Rome. Herbert. Hall.

The King being returned from his Progreſs, Cardinal *Campegio*, whoſe Commiſſion was revoked, took his Audience of leave, as having no farther Buſineſs in *England*. *Henry* had ſo much command of himſelf as to take no notice of his Proceedings, and looked pleaſantly upon him.

They ſearch his Baggage.

But juſt as the Cardinal was going to imbark, the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers ſearched all his Baggage, under colour of looking for contraband Goods (4). Probably, the King hoped to find the Decretal Bull, which he had ſeen in his hands, not knowing it was burnt (5). *Campegio* loudly complained of this Inſult, and writ to the King to demand Satisfaction, as for an Affront done to the Legate of the Holy See. *Henry* coldly anſwered (6), that his Cuſtomers had done their duty, in executing orders long ſince eſtabliſhed with regard to perſons going out of the Kingdom: That he was ſurprized he ſhould talk of his being Legate when recalled, and much more that being Biſhop of *Salisbury*, he ſhould be ſo ignorant of the Laws of the Land, as to dare to aſſume that Title without his Licence. *Campegio* perceiving by this anſwer, that the King intended not to give him ſatisfaction, thought himſelf very happy in being ſuffered to depart.

He complains of it in vain.

Cardinal Wolſey's Fall. Herbert. Burnet. Fiddes.

The Cardinal had good reaſon to wiſh himſelf out of the Kingdom. With what moderation ſoever the King behaved to him, he could not be ignorant how angry he was, after ſeeing, ſome days before his departure, the courſe that was taking with his Collegue Cardinal *Wolſey*. The 9th of *October*, the Attorney General (7) had preferred a Bill of Indictment againſt *Wolſey*, as guilty of breaking the Statute of *Præmunire*. The 17th of the ſame month the King ſent and demanded the Great Seal, though it was given him for Life. For which reaſon, the Cardinal made ſome ſcruple to deliver it, but he obeyed a ſecond Command (8), and in few days the King gave the Great Seal to Sir *Thomas More*, a perſon univerſally eſteemed for his great Integrity. The Cardinal had no ſooner delivered the Great Seal, but the Attorney General preferred other Articles of Impeachment againſt him. The King having given him leave to appoint Attornies to anſwer for him, he choſe two who appeared for him, and proteſted in his name, that he did not know the obtaining of the Bulls whereof he was accuſed, was contrary to the Laws of the Land, and prejudicial to the Prerogative Royal. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged, they ſaid, he confeſſed them, and caſt himſelf entirely upon the King's Mercy. He was accuſed twice, as I ſaid, namely, on the 9th and 18th of *October*, and both times found guilty, and declared to be out of the protection of the Laws. Probably, he was indicted firſt, for obtaining ſeveral Bulls without the King's expreſs Licence, and the ſecond time for exerciſing in *England* the Office of *Legate a Latere*, without the King's Letters Patents to that end, contrary to the Intent of the Law.

1529.

He is impeached.

The King takes the Great Seal from him. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 343.

Ibid. p. 348, 350. Hall.

He is put out of the Protection of the Laws. Herbert. Hall.

As ſoon as the Cardinal was out-lawed, the King commanded him to leave *York Place*, and retire to a Country-Houſe belonging to him as Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Then he ordered an Inventory of all his Goods to be taken, which contained immenſe Riches (9), acquired by many Acts of Injuſtice. 'Tis ſaid, that of fine *Holland* alone, there was found in his Houſe a thouſand Pieces. One may judge of the reſt by this pattern. Some time after, he cauſed a very humble Petition to be preſented to the King, praying a Protection for his perſon, without which, he ſaid, he was expoſed to the Inſults of the meaneſt Enemy that would abuſe him. The King granted it, *November* the 17th, with a Power to anſwer for himſelf in all Actions that ſhould be entered againſt him for the future. Moreover, he left him the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and the See of *Wincheſter*. It is difficult to account for the King's Behavior with reſpect to the Cardinal, ſince, at the very time he ſeemed moſt incenſed againſt him, he ſent him a certain Ring, which was a token betwixt them of the continuance of his Affection. The Cardinal, who was then on the Road to his Country-Houſe near *Wincheſter* (10), was ſo tranſported with Joy at the ſight of the Ring, that he alighted from his Horſe, and fell upon his Knees in the dirt to receive it (11). But his hopes were not long-lived. His Enemies, who had the King's Ear, took ſo much pains to exaſperate him againſt him, that at laſt his Affair was brought before the Parliament (12).

Inventory of the Cardinal's Goods. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh. Cavendiſh.

The King grants him a Protection. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 351.

He ſeems inclined to Mercy.

Burnet. Fiddes. Stow. Wolſey's *Affair brought before the Parliament.*

Lord *Herbert* has inſerted in his Hiſtory the forty four Articles of Impeachment preſented to the King againſt the Cardinal by the Houſe of Lords, which differ much from thoſe preferred by *Hales* the Attorney General, either in the *Star-Chamber* or elſewhere. *Hales* had accuſed him of breaking the Statute of *Præmunire*, and exerciſing the Office of *Legate a Latere*, without the King's Licence. Therein, he proceeded according to the Tenor of the

Difference between the Articles of the Houſe, and the Attorney-General's Indictment. Herbert. p. 125, &c. Hall. fol. 189. Hollingſh.

(1) Mr. *Creſſy*.

(2) *Rapin* by miſtake ſays *Oxford*. He was bred up at *Jeſus* College in *Cambridge*, where he was Reader of Divinity in *Buckingham* now *Magdalen* College, and commenced Doctor in 1523. He was born at *Aſlockton* in *Nottinghamſhire* 1489, being Son of *Thomas Cranmer* Eſq; a Gentleman of a very antient Family. He had nothing to do with *Oxford* before he was carried there to be burnt. He was indeed invited to be a Reader of Divinity in the Cardinal's College at *Oxford*, but declined it. *Burnet*. Tom. I. p. 79, &c.

(3) Though *Fox* and others affirm, that *Cranmer* was the firſt Adviſer of conſulting the foreign Univerſities, yet *Cavendiſh Wolſey*'s Gentleman-Uſher, ſays, the Cardinal firſt propoſed it.

(4) It was ſuſpected he was carrying over *Wolſey*'s Treaſure. *Burnet*. Tom. III. p. 49.

(5) It is thought they ſearched alſo for ſome Love-Letters of the King's to *Ann Bullen*, which ſome way or other were conveyed out of the King's Cabinet, and ſent to *Rome*. They now lie in the *Vatican*. *Burnet* ſaw them in the Library, and knowing *Henry*'s Hand too well not to be convinced they were writ by him, got Dr. *Fall* to copy them for him. They were very ill wrote, the Hand is ſcarce legible, and the *French* ſeems Faulty. *Burnet*, Vol. III. p. 42.

(6) In a Letter dated *October* 22. *Herbert*. p. 123.

(7) *Chriſtopher Hales*.

(8) And delivered it to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. The King offered it to Archbiſhop *Warham*, but he declined accepting of it. *Burnet*. Tom. I. p. 80.

(9) They were valued at five hundred thouſand Crowns. *Burnet*. Tom. III. p. 50.

(10) It was not near *Wincheſter*, but at *Eſher* or *Aſhur* near *Hampton* Court, that he was ordered to withdraw.

(11) And having no other Preſent to make to the King, he ſent him his Fool *Patch*. *Stow*. p. 548.

(12) This Parliament met on *Novemb.* 3. and was on *Decemb.* 17. prorogued to the 21ſt of *April* enſuing. The moſt remarkable Statutes enacted now, were theſe: 1. That part of the Executors which take upon them the charge of a Will, may ſell any Land deviſed by the Teſtator to be ſold. 2. That for Probates of Wills, where a Man dies worth only five Pounds clear, there ſhall be paid but Six-pence; if worth forty Pounds, three Shillings and Six-pence; and if worth above forty Pounds clear, five Shillings. 3. That Mortuaries ſhall be paid only where they have been uſed to be paid; and according to the following rate: When a Man dies worth in moveables above ten Marks clear, there ſhall be paid three Shillings and Four-pence; if worth above thirty Pounds, ſix Shillings and Eight-pence; and if worth above forty Pounds clear, ten Shillings; and this to be paid only by Houſe-keepers. None to be paid in *Wales* or *Berwick*. 4. That Servants embezzling their Maſters Goods to the value of forty Shillings, ſhall be puniſhed as Felons. 5. That no ſpiritual Perſon ſhall take any Lands to ferm, upon pain of forfeiting ten Pounds a Month. That no Clergyman having one Benefice with cure of Soul, of the yearly value of eight Pounds or above, ſhall take another, unleſs qualified, as being a Doctor or Bachellor of Divinity, or Chaplain to a Nobleman. In this ſame Act the number of Chaplains every Peer may qualify is thus ſpecified: An Archbiſhop eight; a Duke or Biſhop ſix; a Marquiſs and Earl five; a Viſcount four; the High-Chancellor, every Baron, and Knight of the Garter three; every Ducheſs, Marchioneſs, Counteſs, and Baroneſs, being Widows; and the Treaſurer, and Controller of the Houſhold, the King's Secretary, Dean of the Chapel, Almoner, and Maſter of the Rolls two; the Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, one. See *Statut.* 21 *Hen* 8. *Hall*, fol. 187, &c. There was, finally, a very extraordinary Act paſſed, by which the King was diſcharged of all the Obligations or Aſſignations made for the payment of all the ſeveral Sums lent him at ſeveral times by his Subjects. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 83. Coll. p. 82.

1529. Statute of *Præmunire*, which ran, that no perſon ſhould be exempt from the Penalty, but thoſe to whom the King ſhould be pleaſed to grant his Letters Patents. Now, as the Cardinal had not taken care to have a Licence in form, he was liable to the penalty, according to the rigour of the Law. But in the Articles of the Houſe of Lords there was no ſuch thing. And indeed, it would have been contrary to Equity to accuſe the Cardinal of exerciſing the Authority of Legate without the King's Permiſſion, ſince the King was known to conſent to it, though not in the manner preſcribed by the Law. The Attorney General did well to keep to the Letter of the Law, purſuant to the duty of his Office. But it would have been wrong in the Houſe of Peers to take advantage of the want of a Formality to deſtroy one of their Body. So, the Articles exhibited by the Lords, ran upon Crimes which had no relation to the Statute of *Præmunire*. The Cardinal was chiefly accuſed of abuſing his *Legatine* Power, contrary to his Oath, when admitted to the Exerciſe of his Legateſhip: Of unjuſt proceedings as Chancellor: Of making himſelf, on ſeveral occaſions, equal to the King (1): Of iſſuing out divers orders of moment without the King's knowledge: Of acting arbitrarily on many occaſions, as if he was rather Sovereign than Miniſter. All the reſt of the Articles were of the ſame nature, and ran upon the ill uſe he had made of his Power, as Legate, Chancellor, Prime Miniſter, and Favorite. But I cannot paſs over in Silence, a very extraordinary Article, namely, that the Cardinal knowing he had the Great Pox upon him, had the confidence daily to approach the King's Perſon, frequently whiſpering in his Ear, without fearing to infect him with his Breath. Theſe Articles being ſent down to the Commons, *Thomas Cromwell* Member of Parliament, and the Cardinal's Servant, ſo undertook his Defence, as did him great Honour, and was one of the principal cauſes of his future advancement. It is true, he pretended not to clear him of the Crimes he was charged with, but only to ſhow he was not guilty of Treaſon, as the Houſe of Peers aſſerted, wherein he ſucceeded to his wiſh.

Art. VI.

Thomas Cromwell ſpeaks for him in the Houſe of Commons.

Remarks on the Peace of Cambray. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

It is neceſſary now to ſpeak of the Peace of *Cambray*, which was only mentioned by the way. The differences between *Charles* V, and *Francis* I, ſo concerned all *Europe*, that it is very difficult to underſtand the Hiſtories of the other States, without a clear notion of the affairs of theſe two Monarchs. *Francis* laboured, during the firſt part of the year 1529, to negotiate a Peace with the Emperor. After his ill ſucceſs in the war of *Naples*, he ſaw there was no other way to recover his two Hoſtages. He knew the Pope continued a ſecret Negotiation in *Spain*, and that it lay in the Emperor's power to make Peace with all the States of *Italy*, by reſtoring *Sforza* to *Milan*. So, though *France* and *England* had made the greateſt Efforts, probably, it would have ſerved only to haſten the Peace of *Italy*. But the King of *France* was not even ſure of prevailing with *Henry* to act, who was ſtill deſirous to manage the Pope and Emperor, in hopes of obtaining their conſent to his Divorce rather by fair means than by Arms. Beſides, though he was bound to contribute large Sums for the War, he payed them only in Paper, by Acquittances of what was due to him from *Francis*. So, properly ſpeaking, this was no aſſiſtance to *France*, drained by the former Wars of Men and Money. *Francis* had therefore no buſineſs to ſtand in ſuſpence. It was neceſſary for him to make Peace at any rate. However, to obtain as good Terms as poſſible, he amuſed the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, with great Promiſes, for fear they ſhould prevent him, and after they had made their Peace with the Emperor, his condition become worſe. He told them, he was reſolved to lead in perſon a ſtrong Army into *Italy*. He continued this management till he had concluded the Treaty of *Cambray*, wherein he left them all to the Emperor's Mercy. Probably, *Henry* was the only Ally that knew his Intentions. The Emperor was not ignorant of the ſituation of the *French* King's Affairs, and doubtleſs, would have made it turn more to his advantage, had not the Invaſion, the *Turks* were preparing againſt *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, and the Commotions raiſed by the Proteſtants in *Germany*, made him deſirous to leave *Italy* in quiet. Beſides, he ſaw, that a Peace was the only way to break the ſtrict Union of *France* with *England*. If theſe two Monarchs had joined in the League which the Proteſtants of *Germany* were projecting for their common defence, they would have created him troubles which might have broke all his meaſures. Theſe were the motives that inclined the Emperor to Peace, which however he made *France* purchaſe very dear. *Charles* and *Francis* being in the ſame diſpoſition, agreed together by ſecret Negotiations, upon the chief Articles of the Peace, the whole honour whereof they were pleaſed however to leave in appearance to the Ladies. In *July*, *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, the Emperor's Aunt, and Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, and *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, Ducheſs of *Angoulême*, *Francis*'s Mother, repaired to *Cambray* (2), and ſigned the 5th of *Auguſt*, a Treaty, the Subſtance whereof was as follows: 1529.

Chief Articles of the Peace of Cambray. Guicciard. Mezerai. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 326, &c. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

That the Emperor ſhould renounce his demand concerning *Burgundy*, his right to that Duchy remaining however entire.

That the King of *France* ſhould pay him two millions of Crowns of Gold *de ſoleil*, for the ranſom of his Sons, and withdraw all his Forces out of *Italy*.

That he ſhould reſign to him the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*.

That he ſhould reſtore to him the Earldom of *Aſti*, with whatever he held in the Duchy of *Milan*.

That he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

That he ſhould marry Queen *Leonora*, with whom the Emperor her Brother would give in Dower, two hundred thouſand Crowns.

In ſhort, beſides ſeveral other private Articles, he promiſed to reſtore the Heirs of the late Duke of *Bourbon* to all that Prince's forfeited Eſtates.

Francis deceives his Allies.

This Treaty being ratified (3), it was ſome time before *Francis* durſt give Audience to the Ambaſſadors of *Venice* and *Florence*, becauſe he could not without confuſion hear their juſt reproaches. At laſt, he put them off with ſome poor excuſe and freſh promiſes, which he performed no better than thoſe before the Peace. What was very ridiculous, even after the Peace was concluded, the Biſhop of *Tarbe* his Ambaſſador at *Venice*, not having timely notice, ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the Senate to ſupport the War, upon the hopes he gave them of a powerful Aid.

Henry's Generoſity to Francis. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 326.

It was ſomething ſtrange too, that, *Henry* having proclaimed War with the Emperor by a Herald, there ſhould be however no particular Treaty between them. *Henry* was ſatisfied with an Article inſerted in that of *Cambray*, whereby the King of *France* was bound to pay him the two hundred and ninety thouſand Crowns, due from the Emperor, and redeem the rich *Flower-de-luce*, pawned by the Emperor *Maximilian* to *Henry* VII, for fifty thouſand Crowns. He did more; for he generouſly forgave *Francis* the firſt Sum, and made a Preſent of the ſecond to the Duke of *Orleans*, his God-ſon (4). This ſhows, that in making Peace, *Francis* I, had not dealt with *Henry* as with the Princes of *Italy*, but had convinced him of the neceſſity, he was under, to conclude it.

1530. *The Emperor goes to Genoa,* Guicciard. Herbert. Hall.

The Emperor being agreed with *Francis* upon the principal Articles of the Peace, departed from *Barcelona* before he received advice of the concluſion, and arrived the 12th of *Auguſt* at *Genoa* with nine thouſand Men. The Peace of *Cambray* being publiſhed ſhortly after, the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Milan*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, whom the King of *France* had forſaken, ſaw no other refuge than the Emperor's Clemency, who had it in his power to make them pay dear for their Attachment to *France*. The diſcuſſion of their affairs being referred to a Conference, which the Emperor, was to have with the Pope at *Bologna*, each ſent Ambaſſadors to take care of their concerns. Here it was that the Emperor enjoined the *Venetians* to reſtore to the Pope *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, and to himſelf ſome Places they ſtill held in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Franceſco Sforza* was reſtored to the Duchy of *Milan*, on condition of paying to the Emperor four hundred thouſand Crowns in hand, and five hundred thouſand in the ſpace of ten years, at ten payments. The Duke of *Ferrara* having offered to make the Emperor Arbiter and Judge of his differences with the Pope, his offer was accepted, *Clement* VII thinking nothing could be more for his advantage than to ſubmit to the Emperor's deciſion, who was now bound by the Treaty of *Barcelona* to procure him *Modena* and *Reggio*, and aſſiſt him to take poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*. As to the *Florentines*, it was not poſſible to reconcile them with the Pope. They would not hearken to any Agreement, unleſs they were aſſured of preſerving their Liberty, being reſolved to defend it to the laſt drop of their blood. They

and afterwards to Bologna, where he ſettles the Affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

(1) He uſed to write in his Letters and Inſtructions, *The King and I. thanks*, &c. See *Herbert*, p. 126. *Strype's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 119. And *I would ye ſhould do thus. The King and I give unto you our hearty*

(2) Our King's Ambaſſadors there, were *Cuthbert Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Thomas More*. *Herbert*. p. 130.

(3) King *Henry* ſent Sir *Nicolas Carew* Maſter of his Horſe, and Dr. *Samſon* to *Bologna*, to ratify it in his name. *Hall* fol. 187.

(4) And alſo remitted ſome of the payments of the Penſion he yearly received from *France*. *Rymer*, Tom. 14. p. 358.

offered

1530. offered however to purchaſe it with a Sum of Money. But the Pope on his part, tendered them all ſorts of advantages, provided the Family of the *Medici* were reſtored to *Florence*, upon the ſame foot as before the expulſion of the Legate. The Parties not agreeing, the Emperor ordered the Prince of *Orange* to beſiege *Florence*, and reſtore the *Medici*.

He promiſes to try to ruin the Proteſtants. Seidan.

The Emperor having ended his affairs in *Italy*, was impatient to return into *Germany*, where the affairs of Religion began to give him diſturbance. For ſome time, the Proteſtants had inſiſted continually upon a free Council in *Germany*, which was poſitively promiſed though never intended. During the late War, the Emperor had all along amuſed them with the hopes of granting this Council. But no ſooner was the Peace concluded, than in his Conference with the Pope at *Bologna*, he promiſed him to do his utmoſt to reduce them, without a Council. Mean while, the Proteſtants knowing his deſign, by his menacing anſwer to their Envoys, after the concluſion of the Peace, were thinking of joining in a league for their common defence; and this made the Emperor uneaſy, and obliged him ſpeedily to finiſh his affairs in *Italy*, in order to ſettle thoſe of *Germany*. Before his departure from *Bologna*, he received the Imperial Crown at the Pope's hands the 24th of *February* 1530, on St. *Matthias*'s day, which was his Birth-day, and which, on ſeveral occaſions, had been very fortunate to him (1). He ſet out at length from *Bologna*, on the 22d of *March* 1530, for *Germany*, being attended by Cardinal *Campegio*, who was to aſſiſt, from the Pope, at the diet of *Augsburg*.

He received the Imperial Crown from the Pope. Guicciard.

Siege of Florence. Capitulation.

The Prince of *Orange* inveſted *Florence* according to the Emperor's order, and was ſlain at the Siege, which the *Florentines* deſperately maintained. At length, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, they were forced to capitulate, but however, on expreſs condition that they ſhould enjoy their liberty, leaving it to the Emperor to ſettle the form of their Government. But ſome days after, the Adherents of the *Medicis* raiſing a tumult in the City, and finding themſelves ſupported by a great number of *Spaniſh* Officers, who had entered on divers pretences, *Clement* VII. was again put in poſſeſſion of the Government. Then the Emperor, without regarding the Article of the Capitulation, eſtabliſhed *Alexander de Medici* his Son-in-law at *Florence*, on the ſame foot that his Anceſtors had formerly been, and made the Sovereignty hereditary in his Family.

The Medicis take Poſſeſſion of the Government.

Alexander de Medici firſt Sovereign of Florence.

Francis's two Sons are releaſed. Guicciard. Mezerai.

The 1ſt of *June* this year, *Francis* received his two Sons, who were Hoſtages in *Spain*, upon paying the Emperor twelve hundred thouſand Crowns in hand, and giving ſecurity for the reſt of the ſum. After that, he married *Leonora*, purſuant to the Treaty of *Cambray*. Had he been obliged to find ready-money to pay *Henry* what the Emperor owed him, according to the tenor of the Treaty, very probably he would not ſo ſoon have recovered his Sons. But *Henry* proved a generous Friend, who, to enable him to redeem them, freely gave him the Emperor's Bonds, to reſtore them to him, as well as the pawned Jewel above-mentioned (2). Moreover, he renounced all demands of his charges in aſſiſting him, which, according to *Francis*'s confeſſion, extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, amounted to the Sum of five hundred twelve thouſand two hundred twenty-two Crowns of Gold *Sol*, two and twenty pence, ſix Farthings, both in ready-money and acquittances upon the two Millions *Francis* owed him. He clogged this great Generoſity but with one ſingle condition, That in caſe *Francis* violated the Peace and Alliance they had made together, he ſhould ſtill be accountable for all theſe Sums, to which *Francis* bound himſelf by Letters-Patents.

Henry's Generoſity to Francis. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 360, 362, 378, 380. Ibid. p. 361.

p. 380.

By the execution of the Treaty of *Cambray*, the King of *France* ſaw himſelf at length in profound tranquillity, though the late War had coſt him immenſe Sums, the loſs of *Genoa* and *Milan*, the ſovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, a year's Captivity, numberleſs Vexations, and perhaps ſomething of his Honour and Reputation. But it was not ſo with *Henry*. After a vaſt charge to ſupport the intereſts of his Ally, he was ſtill embaraſſed with the affair of the Divorce, and in danger of a ſpeedy quarrel with the Emperor. However, as he was naturally ſteady in his Projects, all theſe obſtacles were not able to diſcourage him, and he reſolved to ſee the end of the affair, let what would be the conſequence. *Thomas Cranmer* being then very much in his eſteem, he ordered him to write upon the Divorce; and the Doctor did it with univerſal approbation. After that, he was commanded to accompany the Ambaſſadors ſent by the King to the Pope and Emperor, to try for the laſt time to find ſome expedient to end this affair, which ſo greatly embaraſſed him. Theſe Ambaſſadors found the Pope and Emperor at *Bologna*, and had audience of both. The Pope ſhowed an inclination to content the King, but durſt not act without the Emperor's conſent, who openly proteſted, he would never forſake the Queen his Aunt. *Cranmer* maintained his maſter's Cauſe with great warmth, which hindered not the Pope from making him his Penitentiary in *England*, to pleaſe the King, whom he ſtrove to oblige in things of little conſequence, whilſt he did nothing for him in the principal affair. 1530.

Mean while, *Henry*, purſuant to *Cranmer*'s advice, had ſent able and learned Men (3) into *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, to conſult the Univerſities concerning the Divorce. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Opinions of the Univerſities of *Angers*, *Paris*, *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Thouloufe*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Padua*, all uniform, declaring, that *Julius* IId's diſpenſation for *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catherine* being contrary to the divine Law, could not be deemed valid. It might be objected, that the determinations of the *French* Univerſities were ſuſpicious, by reaſon of the ſtrict union at that time between *Francis* and *Henry*. But the ſame thing cannot be ſaid of thoſe of *Padua* and *Ferrara*, and ſtill leſs of that of *Bologna*, a City belonging to the Pope. Dr. *Burnet* having largely handled this Subject, thoſe who have a mind to examine the matter more fully, may conſult his Hiſtory of the Reformation. It will ſuffice to obſerve here, that the queſtion was, Whether *Henry*'s Marriage with his Brother's Widow was contrary to the Law of God, and upon that ſuppoſition, whether the Pope had power to grant a Diſpenſation. The above-named Univerſities maintained, That ſuch a Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, with which the Pope had not power to diſpenſe. *Oxford* and *Cambridge* being likewiſe conſulted, decreed the ſame thing, though not without great oppoſition from ſome of the Members (4). It ſeems at firſt ſomething ſtrange, that the two *Engliſh* Univerſities ſhould be more ſcrupulous in the matter than the foreign. But the ſurprize ceaſes, when it is conſidered that theſe ſcruples aroſe, not from the queſtion it ſelf, but from the conſequence, their determination might occaſion. Moſt of the Members of the Univerſities were furiouſly averſe to *Luther*'s Doctrine, which began to ſpread in *England*, and were afraid of countenancing it, by deciding againſt the Pope. Beſides, they ſaw that the King's Marriage with *Ann Bulleyn* would follow upon his divorce with *Catherine*, and this ſecond Marriage they would have gladly prevented, becauſe *Ann Bulleyn* much inclined to the Reformation (5), and expreſſed a very particular eſteem for *Cranmer*, whoſe preferment, for the ſame reaſon, they dreaded.

Moſt of the Univerſities decide in favour of the King. Burnet. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 390, &c.

Vol. I. p. 85, &c. III. p. 54, &c.

Oxford *and* Cambridge *make the greateſt Scruple.* Burnet. Fiddes. *the Reaſon of it.* Burnet.

The Ambaſſadors who had been ſent into *Italy* (6), returning without effecting any thing, *Henry*, who till then had ſhown great regard for the Pope, reſolved to alter his behaviour towards him. He might have known by experience, that *Clement* was to be gained only by his intereſt. It is certain, if at firſt he had proceeded with more vigor, and powerfully ſupported the War in *Italy*, the Pope would never have thought of joining with the Emperor. A good *Engliſh* Fleet in the *Mediterranean* would have made *Francis* maſter of *Naples*, and ſaved the City of *Genoa*. The Pope would thereby have been ſo kept in awe, that he would have been glad to have always the King of *England* for his Friend. Inſtead of acting in this manner, *Henry* remained quiet during the whole Campain of 1528, ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by the deceitful hopes given him by the

Henry's *falſe Steps in the Matter of the Divorce.* Burnet.

Henry ſends Agents at Rome the Buſineſs of the Divorce. Herbert. Burnet. Hall.

(1) Since the time of *Frederick* 1442, no Emperor had been publickly crowned. *Herbert*, p. 136.

(2) This Jewel in the Form of a *Flower-de-luce*, is ſaid to have a piece of the Wood of the true Croſs in it. *Herbert*, p. 134.

(3) To *Orleans* and *Thouloufe* were ſent Sir *Francis Brian*, *Edward Fox*, afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*, and Mr. *William Paget*. To *Paris*, *Reginald Pool* of the Blood Royal. In *Italy*, the King's Agents were Dr. *Richard Crooke* at *Padua*, *Hieronimo de Ghinucci* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Gregory Caſſali* at *Rome*; Dr. *Stokeſly* at *Venice*; Dr. *Cranmer*, *Andrew* and *John Caſſali* were likewiſe employed in *Italy*. *Burnet*. T. I.

(4) At *Cambridge* it was carried at laſt with much ado in a Convocation, that the Matter ſhould be left to a Committee of twenty nine, *viz.* the Vice-chancellor, (Dr. *Edmunds* Head of *Peter-Houſe*) ten Doctors, ſixteen Batchellors of Divinity, and the two Proctors; the Majority of whom voted the King's Marriage unlawful, but decided not whether the Pope had Power to diſpenſe with ſuch a Marriage. The King's Agents at *Cambridge*, were *Gardiner* and *Fox*. At *Oxford* the Regent Maſters ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the King, and the Doctors and Heads were for him. So that the Matter remained in agitation from the 12th of *February* to the 8th of *April*. At laſt it was carried in a Convocation (from which by an Order from the Chancellor, ſays *Wood*, all the Maſters of Arts were excluded, but according to *Burnet*, conſiſting of all the Doctors and Maſters) that the Buſineſs ſhou'd be decided by thirty three Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity, who declared the Marriage of the Brother's Wife to be both contrary to the Laws of God and Nature, and put the common Seal of the Univerſity to their Decree, on *April* 8. *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln* was the King's Agent at *Oxford*. *Burnet*. Tom. I. p. 85, 86. See *Fiddes Coll.* p. 180, &c.

(5) Having received ſome Impreſſions of it in the Ducheſs of *Alenſon*'s Court. *Burnet*. Tom. I. p. 87.

(6) The Head of this Embaſſy was *Thomas Bulleyn* Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond* (21 *Hen.* VIII.) who refuſed at his Audience of the Pope at *Bologna*, to kiſs his Toe, though he graciouſly ſtretched it out to him. He was accompanied by *John Stokeſley* elect Biſhop of *London*, and *Edward Lee*. *Burnet*. Vol. I. p. 87, 94.

1530. Pope. So, the *French* were driven out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Pope was at liberty to treat with the Emperor concerning the recovery of *Florence*, which he would never have thought of, had the *French* been ſuperior in *Italy*. *Henry* perceived his error when it was too late to repair it, that is, after the Pope was united with the Emperor, and *Francis* bound by the Treaty of *Cambray*. He was left alone to ſupport himſelf againſt the Emperor and Pope, and it was very happy for him that the *Turks* and the Proteſtants of *Germany* ſo embaraſſed the Emperor, as to hinder him from thinking of *England*. So, all means failing to accompliſh his deſign, but what could be found in his own Kingdom, he began, though a little too late, to make uſe of the inclinations of his Subjects, who for the moſt part were not very fond of the Pope.

He is at a great Loſs.

Diſpoſition of the Engliſh to the Popes, contrary to the Intereſt of their Kings.

We have ſeen in ſeveral places of this Hiſtory, how at all times the *Engliſh* complained of the tyranny of the Popes, and the remedies applied by the Parliaments to this Grievance. It is true, the private intereſt of the Kings rendered theſe remedies in ſome meaſure ineffectual, becauſe, as they frequently wanted the Popes for their temporal concerns, the Laws were not put in due execution. But that altered not the inclinations of the *Engliſh*. The Principles of the *Lollards* were ſtill deeply imprinted in the minds of great numbers. Beſides, *Luther*'s Books, wherof many were brought into *England*, had opened the eyes of multitudes; ſo that it may be affirmed, at the time I am ſpeaking of, the *Engliſh* in general had quite another notion of Religion than their Anceſtors, eſpecially with reſpect to the Papal authority. The three laſt Popes, *Alexander* VI, *Julius* II, and *Leo* X, had ſhown ſo little Piety and Religion in their conduct, and *Clement* VII ſo cloſely followed their ſteps, that it was naturally inferred, it was impoſſible, *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhould have given the Government of his Church to ſuch Vicars. Thus the *Engliſh* were very ready to ſhake off the Pope's yoke, if the King, for the ſake of his own private intereſt, had not ſupported the exorbitant Power ſo long complained of. But *Clement* VII had no ſooner joined with the Emperor, than the King's intereſt became the ſame with the People's. To this chiefly are to be aſcribed all the changes mentioned hereafter.

The King's and People's Intereſt becomes the ſame.

Letters of Great Men to the Pope. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 405. Herbert. p. 141. Burnet.

Henry having reſolved to make the Pope ſenſible of the danger of loſing *England*, if he continued any longer to favour the Emperor, cauſed a Letter, worded in ſtrong Terms, to be ſent him by the great Men of the Kingdom, according to the example of their Anceſtors in the Reign of *Henry* III (1). They plainly told him, "That the King's Cauſe being their own, if he continued to deny them what was abſolutely neceſſary "for their quiet, they were reſolved to apply the Remedy themſelves, which was vainly expected from "him." This was ſufficient to ſatisfy him, that the patience of the *Engliſh* was almoſt worn out, and they would not ſuffer themſelves to be curbed, or even amuſed any longer by the Court of *Rome*. Indeed, the Letter had not the deſired effect, but however it ſhowed the Pope the diſpoſition of the *Engliſh*, and how neceſſary it was to uſe them gently. Wherefore he returned the great Men a very moderate anſwer, vindicating his conduct with reſpect to the King, in the beſt manner poſſible. Mean while, he ſent for Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, the King's Ambaſſador in ordinary, and hinted to him, that the affair might be adjuſted by means of a Diſpenſation, for the King to have two Wives. This we learn from the Ambaſſador's letter of the 18th of *September*, where, after acquainting the King with what the Pope ſaid, he added, that the Emperor's Miniſters were alſo deſirous that the Affair ſhould be ended by this Expedient. But *Henry* was ſo aware of all the Pope's artifices, that he took no notice of this Overture. His reſolution was, either to have a Bull to null the Marriage, or to procure himſelf, at any rate, the Satisfaction he required. And therefore, fearing that the Pope would unexpectedly ſend into *England* a Bull of Excommunication or Interdict, he iſſued out a Proclamation, forbidding under ſevere penalties, to receive any Bull from *Rome*, contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown. His deſign was to bring the affair before the Parliament and Clergy, and after gaining theſe two Bodies to his Intereſt, to cauſe it to be determined in *England*, without regarding the Pope's Proceedings againſt him. The difficulty was, to prepoſſeſs the People in his favour. To this end, he ordered to be printed and publiſhed an Abſtract of the reaſons for the divorce, that theſe reaſons being known to all the World, he might meet with leſs oppoſition in the Parliament. This Abſtract (2) contained two principal Points. The firſt was, That the King's Marriage with *Catherine* was contrary to the Law of God. The ſecond, That *Julius* II had not power to grant a Diſpenſation for that Marriage, and conſequently the Diſpenſation could not render it lawful. As this affair was the Spring of the great events which will hereafter occur, it will not be perhaps unacceptable to the Reader to ſee here the Subſtance of the arguments alledged on both Sides. 1530.

The Pope's Anſwer. Herbert. p. 143. *Expedient propoſed by the Pope.* Ibid. p. 141.

Proclamation to forbid the receiving any Bulls, &c. Sept. 19. Hall. Stow.

Henry *rejects it.*

Henry publiſhes his Reaſons for the Divorce. Burnet. T. I. p. 97, &c.

It was ſaid for the King, I. That the Levitical Law forbidding a Man to marry his Brother's Wife, was not a poſitive precept, which bound only thoſe to whom it was given, but obliged all Mankind without exception. That this evidently appeared, in its being found among many others, which forbid the crimes wherewith the *Canaanites* were polluted. Now the *Canaanites* could not be polluted with Crimes forbidden only by a poſitive Law given to another Nation.

II. Another Argument was taken from what *John the Baptiſt* ſaid to *Herod* in the *New Teſtament*, *It is not lawful for thee to take thy Brother's Wife*, becauſe St. *John* could allude only to the Laws of *Moſes*, and conſequently owned them to be divine.

III. It was ſhown from ſeveral Paſſages of *Tertullian*, and Writings of the Popes, that the Church always deemed the Levitical Laws as parts of the univerſal Law of Nature and all Mankind. To this was added the Authority of divers Provincial Synods, of the *Conſtantinopolitan* General Council, of the Council of *Conſtance* in the condemnation of *Wickliff*, of many *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, and of ſeveral Schoolmen.

IV. It was proved by the Authority of the Popes and Councils, that a Marriage is compleated by the mutual Contract of the Parties, though it be never conſummated. For that reaſon it was ſaid, *Adonijah* could not marry *Abiſhag*, who had been his Father *David*'s Wife, tho' *David* never knew her. That upon the ſame account, *Joſeph* could not put away *Mary*, without a Bill of Divorce; a clear evidence that their Marriage was compleat, though not conſummated. Hence it was inferred, that though Prince *Arthur* had not conſummated his Marriage, it was not the leſs valid. But it was maintained, that it was as certain as a thing of that nature could be, that the Marriage was conſummated. It was proved firſt by violent Preſumptions. Secondly, becauſe after *Arthur*'s death, the Princeſs his Widow was ſuppoſed to be with Child, and ſhe never ſaid any thing to the contrary. It is true, it might be objected that *Catherine* had ſince ſworn, ſhe was never known by that Prince. But it was replied, the Canon Law forbids the taking of Oaths, when there are ſtrong Preſumptions to the contrary. Beſides, the Queen's Oath could not be reckoned deciſive, ſince it was deſtroyed by the Brief produced by her own Advocates.

V. *Julius*'s diſpenſation being the ſole foundation on which the validity of the King's Marriage was eſtabliſhed, it was ſhown by a croud of Witneſſes, both antient and modern, *That the Pope has not power to diſpenſe with the Laws of God.* Nay, it was affirmed, That if he diſpenſed with the Decrees of the Church, it was Uſurpation, and that ſeveral Biſhops in *England* itſelf, had reſiſted the Popes when they would have aſſumed ſuch a liberty.

On the other ſide, the Queen's Advocates replied to theſe reaſons:

Arguments for the Queen.

I. That the Prohibitions in *Leviticus* were not parts of the moral Law, ſince God himſelf had diſpenſed with them, in commanding the Brother to marry his Brother's Widow. But of what nature ſoever the Law was, if it were diſpenſed with by *Moſes* to the *Jews*, why might it not be as well done by the Pope to the Chriſtians?

II. It was ſaid, the Law in *Leviticus* againſt marrying the Brother's Wife, muſt be underſtood of not taking her while the Brother was alive; for after he was dead, by another Law, a Man was commanded by God himſelf to marry his Brother's Wife.

III. The Crime St. *John Baptiſt* reproached *Herod* with, might be Adultery as well as Inceſt, ſince according to *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, *Herod*'s Brother *Philip* was alive when St. *John* ſpoke.

(1) Lord *Herbert* ſays, it was done by the Parliament; but that's a miſtake, the Letter being dated the 13th of *July*, it appears by the Records there could be no Seſſion at that time, the Houſes being prorogued from the 21ſt of *June*, to the 1ſt of *October*. The Letter it ſeems was ſent about to the chief Members for their Hands, and *Cavendiſh* tells us with what chearfulneſs Cardinal *Wolſey* ſigned it. It was ſubſcribed by the two Archbiſhops, four Biſhops, two Dukes, two Marquiſſes, thirteen Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty three Barons, twenty two Abbots, eleven Commoners, moſt of them the King's Servants. *Herbert*, p. 142.

(2) Learned Men were appointed to compare all that had been written on the Subject, and out of all the Tranſcripts of the Manuſcripts, of Fathers and Councils, to collect whatſoever did ſtrengthen it. Three of theſe Manuſcripts are in the *Cotton* Library. All theſe and many more were ſummed up in a ſhort Book, and printed firſt in *Latin*, then in *Engliſh*, with the Determinations of the Univerſities before it. See *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 97.

1530. IV. The Popes daily diſpenſed, contrary to the Laws of God, with Vows and Oaths, without being cenſured. Beſides, it was maintained, the Pope was the only Judge, whether the Prohibition was moral or not.

V. It was alledged, the Pope had granted the diſpenſation upon a very weighty conſideration, to keep peace between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *England*.

VI. It was urged, that the Marriage had ſubſiſted near twenty years, and never been thought invalid.

VII. Laſtly, It was affirmed, if there were any Nullities in the Bull of diſpenſation, the Pope was the only competent judge of it.

The King's Advocates replied to theſe Arguments, and were anſwered again by the Writers on the Queen's ſide, both practiſing what is very common on ſuch occaſions, that is, they evaded the force of the Reaſons of the oppoſite Party, by keeping to Generals. I ſhall ſay no more of it. Thoſe that are curious to ſee the Arguments on both ſides, may be ſatisfied, by reading the Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*, where they are fully ſet forth. It will ſuffice to remark, that in theſe ſorts of Diſputes was ſpent the whole year 1530, *Henry* being very glad the People ſhould be thoroughly informed of the affair, before it was brought to the Parliament.

Burnet, Vol. I. p. 97. &c.

Cardinal Wolſey's uncertain State.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, Cardinal *Wolſey* remained at his Country-houſe, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the King's behaviour towards him. Though all his Goods were ſeized, and that ſeemed to denote he intended to ſhew him no favour, yet he ſaw from time to time ſome rays of Goodneſs ſhine upon him (1), which made him hope that his Maſter, who had loved him ſo well, would not be for ever inexorable. And indeed, the twelfth of *February*, the King granted him a General Pardon of all his offences, of what nature ſoever. Among all the Pardons in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, there are none ſo full and particular as this. Then, the King came to an agreement with the Cardinal, by which he left him the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, with all its Revenues and Dependencies, [except *York Place*.] As to the See of *Wincheſter* and Abbey of St. *Albans*, the King reſerved to himſelf the Revenues, though he left him the Titles. But the Cardinal was bound to reſign theſe two Benefices when required. In conſideration whereof the King aſſigned him a thouſand Marks Sterling a year out of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, with a promiſe to grant him the like Penſion upon ſome other Benefice, in caſe this was taken from him. Moreover, he gave him to the value of ſix thouſand three hundred and ſeventy four Pounds, three Shillings and Seven-pence Half-penny, in [Money and] Goods, part of thoſe belonging to the Cardinal which had been confiſcated (2). All the reſt remained to the King, with the Cardinal's conſent, who owned it as a particular favour that the King was pleaſed to leave him any thing. This was all he preſerved of the immenſe riches acquired during his credit. But what afflicted him moſt ſenſibly, was, that his two Colleges, founded with ſo much pains, and called by his own name, to be an everlaſting Monument of his Glory, were likewiſe confiſcated. He writ to the King upon that ſubject, in a manner that perfectly ſhewed his extreme concern for that loſs. He even entreated *Cromwell*, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder his two Colleges from being involved in his ruin. But it was all in vain. The King took poſſeſſion of all the Lands belonging to them (3), and depriving them of the name of their Founder, endowed them anew, in his own. 1530.

The King grants him a very full Pardon. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 366, 371.

They come to an Agreement. Ibid. p. 365.

p. 375.

Wolſey tries in vain to ſave his Colleges. Burnet. Herbert. Strype's Mem. p. 118.

Notwithſtanding all this, *Wolſey* had ſtill hopes, by reaſon of ſome marks of Friendſhip, given him by the King upon certain occaſions. He had permitted him to remove to *Richmond*, where he was nearer his Perſon. Moreover, hearing he was ſick, he ſent a Lord to viſit him in his name, and even cauſed *Ann Bullen* to write to him (4). But at the ſame time that the compaſſion expreſſed for him by the King cheriſhed his hopes, it made his enemies apprehenſive of his return to Court, and therefore they never ceaſed to exaſperate the King againſt him. In ſhort, as they could not ſee him ſo near the Court without fearing the revival of the King's affection for a Miniſter, he had ſo paſſionately loved, they cauſed an order to be ſent him (5) to withdraw to his Dioceſe of *York*. Very probably, *Ann Bullen* contributed moſt to his diſgrace, ſince none but a Miſtreſs could poſſibly make the King forget ſuch a Favorite. However this be, the Cardinal being forced to ſubmit, began his journey (6) to the North with a Train, though not ſo large as uſual during his proſperity, yet conſiſting ſtill of a hundred and ſixty Horſe (7). He arrived about the end of *September* at *Cawood* (8), where he ſtaied according to the cuſtom of the Archbiſhops of *York*, till things were ready for the ceremony of his Inſtallment, which was to be performed in a month, with a magnificence, little ſuitable to his preſent condition. But whilſt he was preparing to enjoy in his Archbiſhoprick the ſmall remains of authority, which he imagined would be ſtill left him, he was arreſted by the Earl of *Northumberland* (9) for High-Treaſon. He would have inſiſted at firſt upon his privilege as Cardinal. But the Earl told him, that ſhould not hinder him from executing the King's orders. At the ſame time his Phyſician was ſeized, and ſent to *London* with his Legs tied to his Horſe. It is not known to this day, whether the King had been prepoſſeſſed that the Cardinal had a deſign upon his life, which however is not very probable. Be this as it will, he ſet forward by eaſy journies to *London*, extremely concerned to think, he was going to appear as a criminal in a City, where he had before commanded with almoſt a Sovereign Authority. But, in all likelihood, his Grief turned to his advantage, as it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, which conſtrained him to ſtop at *Leiceſter* Abbey, where he ended his days the 30th of *November* (10). Before he expired, he ſaid to the King's Officer who ſtood near his Bed: *If I had ſerved God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs.* But I do not know whether he had reaſon to boaſt of his zeal and diſintereſtedneſs in the ſervices he had done the King. He added, ſpeaking to the ſame Officer, that if, as he thought him worthy, he ſhould ever be admitted to the King's

He has ſtill ſome Hopes. Herbert. Fiddes. p. 512.

He is ſent away to York. Fiddes. Herbert. Stow. Hall.

Pol. Virg. Stow.

and arreſted of High-Treaſon. Nov. 4. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

He is conducted to London. *He dies by the Way.*

His laſt Words. Herbert. Cavend. Stow. Hollingſh.

(1) *November* 1. the King ſent Sir *John Ruſſel* to him with a *Turquoiſe* Ring, as a Token of his Care and Affection. *Herbert*, p. 125. *Stow*, p. 550.

(2) That the curious Reader may form an Eſtimate from thence of the real Proportion the Value of Money bears now to what it did then, here is a Liſt of the Money and Goods as we find it in the Original Grant: Firſt, In ready Money three thouſand Pounds. *Item*, In Plate nine thouſand five hundred ſixty five Ounces and one eighth, at three Shillings Eight-pence the Ounce, amounteth to one thouſand ſeven hundred fifty two Pounds thirteen Shillings and Seven-pence Half-penny. *Item*, Divers Apparel of Houſhold, as Hangings, *&c.* amounting to eight hundred Pounds. *Item*, Eighty Horſes and Geldings with their Furniture, valued at one hundred and fifty Pounds. *Item*, In Mules for the Saddle, four, with their Furniture, valued at ſixty Pounds. *Item*, In Mules for Carriage ſix, with their Furniture, valued at forty Pounds. In *Ling* one thouſand, valued at fifty Pounds. In *Cod* and *Haberden* eight hundred, valued at forty Pounds. In Salt eight Waye, valued at ten Pounds. In Implements of the Kitchen, as Pots, *&c.* at eighty Pounds. In Mutton (Sheep) ſeventy, valued at twelve Pounds. In fifty two Oxen, valued at eighty Pounds. In wearing Apparel, to the value of three hundred Pounds. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 375.

(3) They remained in the King's Hands till 1532, in which time ſeveral of the Manors and other Eſtates, particularly in *Eſſex*, and *Oxfordſhire*, were granted to Sir *Richard Page*, and other Courtiers. In 1532. the King by *Cromwell's* and *Gardiner's* Advice, founded anew the College in *Oxford* (now called *Chriſt Church*) and ſettled on it two thouſand Pounds a Year; but it was diſſolved again, by Commiſſion in 1545, and two months after was revived by the King's Letters Patents: And the next Year the King removed the Epiſcopal See from *Oſney* to this College. As for the Building, *Wolſey* finiſhed only the Hall, and the Kitchen. *Fiddes Life of Wolſey*, p. 306, *&c.* *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 409, 410, 443. Beſides his two Colleges, the Cardinal founded, in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Medicine, Philoſophy, Mathematicks, Greek, and Rhetorick. *Fiddes*, p. 209, *&c.*

(4) The King ſent him a Ring ſet with a Ruby, whereon was his own Picture, by Dr. *Butts*, aſſuring him he was not offended with him in his Heart. And in his Letter to *Ann Bullen* he ſays, *Good Sweet-Heart, as you love me, ſend the Cardinal a Token at my Requeſt, and in ſo doing you ſhall deſerve our Thanks.* Whereupon ſhe ſent him a Tablet of Gold which hung at her Side. The King ſent him alſo four Loads of rich Furniture. *Fiddes's Life of Wolſey*, p. 513, 514.

(5) By *Thomas Cromwell* his late Servant. *Fiddes*, p. 514.

(6) But before he ſet out, he received from the King the Sum of ten thouſand Pounds. *Cavendiſh.*

(7) And ſeventy two Carts with his Houſhold-Stuff. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 81.

(8) A Caſtle about twelve Miles from *York*, belonging to the Archbiſhops.

(9) *Henry Percy*; and by Sir *Walter Welſh*. *Fiddes*, p. 522. *Hall* ſays, that he had writ to the Pope and ſeveral Princes, Letters reflecting on the King, and ſtirred them to revenge his Cauſe. fol. 194.

(10) In his way he ſtayed a Fortnight at the Earl of *Shrewſbury's* at *Sheffield-Park*, where he was taken ill one Day at Dinner. *Cavendiſh* ſays ſpeaking of the Effects of his Diſtemper, *it was apparent he had poiſoned himſelf.* By the Mediation of the Earl, Sir *William Kingſton* Conſtable of the Tower (the Perſon to whom he ſpoke his laſt Words) was ſent by the King to convey him to *London*. With much ado, being hardly able to ſit his Horſe, he got to *Leiceſter-Abbey*, where upon their coming out to receive him, he ſaid, *Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones among you.* He was buried in the Abbey-Chapel, of which even the Ruins are not at preſent to be diſcovered. He died the 28th of *November*, according to *Burnet*; and according to *Fiddes* the 29th, of a Dyſentery, p. 529. He had begun a Monument for himſelf with his own Image, which one *Benedetto* a Statuary of *Florence* took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for ſo much, as was already done four thouſand two hundred and fifty Ducats. The Deſign whereof was ſo glorious, that it exceeded far that of *Henry* VII. But upon his Death the King ſeized what was finiſhed and called it His. Thus the Cardinal's Tomb had the ſame Fate with his College. He is ſaid to behave mighty well during the time he was in the North, after his Diſgrace, and to become very Popular. As no Man (ſays *Polydore*) did ever riſe with fewer Virtues, ſo (ſays Lord *Herbert*) few that ever fell from ſo high a Place had leſſer Crimes objected againſt him. He is ſaid (according to one of the Articles of his Impeachment) to leave two Natural Sons behind him, whereof one called *Winter*, was loaded with Church Preferments. *Herbert*, *Burnet*, *Stow*, &c. *Fiddes*, p. 524, *&c.* 530.

1530. Council, he ſhould take care what he put in his head, for he would never be able to put it out again. This ſeems to intimate, he had counſelled the King to undertake the Divorce, which afterwards he would have diſſuaded him from. And indeed, he deſired the ſame Perſon to tell the King, that he prayed him to call to remembrance what had paſſed betwixt them about the Divorce, and hoped, that when he ſhould be leſs prejudiced, he would do him more juſtice. This ſhews that he looked upon that affair as the ſole Cauſe of his diſgrace. Thus died this famous Cardinal, the proudeſt and moſt haughty of Men, and we may add, the moſt ambitious and moſt greedy of eſtates and honours. It is affirmed, that while he governed the King, he never gave him advice without a view to his own intereſt. This alone would be ſufficient to obſcure all the fine qualities he might otherwiſe have, but which, in the main, amounted only to a great Penetration, whereof he made an ill uſe. The King ſhewed a concern for his death (1). And yet, ſince he had ordered him to be arreſted for High-Treaſon, very probably, his ruin was determined. *Henry* was of a temper to accompliſh whatever he undertook (2). This will plainly appear hereafter, in his extraordinary ſeverity to Perſons, who doubtleſs were not ſo guilty as this Favorite.

The King ſhews ſome concern for his Death. Herbert.

The affair of the Divorce (3), and its conſequences, employing *Henry* during the reſidue of his life, it will for the future be the principal thing I ſhall have to ſpeak of, to the end of this Reign. But as by the alterations introduced by this Prince into his Kingdom, his affairs led him to concern himſelf with the troubles of *Germany*, it is neceſſary, for the underſtanding of the ſequel, juſt to mention what paſſed in that Country.

Affairs of Germany *as to Religion.* Sleidan.

The Emperor's aim in calling the diet of *Augsburg*, was rather to inflame than appeaſe the religious troubles. Since he made peace with *France*, and *Italy* was as it were ſubject to his yoke, he was forming vaſt projects. He ſaw himſelf maſter of *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*; his Brother *Ferdinand* was now King of *Bohemia*, and had been elected King of *Hungary*. With theſe advantages, he hoped to be able to ſubdue the reſt of *Europe*. It was neceſſary to begin with *Germany*, where he had great power, as Emperor and Archduke of *Auſtria*, becauſe if he once became abſolute in the Empire, and could diſpoſe of the forces of the *German* Princes, he imagined *France* and *England* would not be able to reſiſt him. The troubles cauſed by Religion in *Germany*, ſeemed to him a very ſpecious pretence to arm againſt the Proteſtants, judging, that after ruining them by the help of the Catholicks, theſe laſt would, in their turn, be eaſily ſubdued. I cannot be accuſed here of aſcribing to this Monarch deſigns he never really had, ſince it is notorious that himſelf and Succeſſors purſued gradually, and, I may ſay, openly, the execution of the ſame Project. The Wars that afflicted *Europe* for more than a Century, were ſolely excited by the boundleſs ambition of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, whom the other Sovereigns were concerned to oppoſe.

Progreſs of the Reformation. Sleidan.

Since *Luther*'s preaching in *Germany*, the Reformation had made ſo great progreſs, that ſeveral Princes of the Empire, and many *Hans Towns* had openly embraced it. As they were accuſed of introducing many Innovations in Religion, in anſwer to that Charge, they proteſted, their Intent was only to adhere to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and Religion of the primitive Church. And therefore, they demanded that a free Council might be held in ſome City of *Germany*, where the religious differences might be calmly examined by the Word of God. But this was a method which their Adverſaries could not allow. They ſuppoſed, as a thing certain, that the Religion profeſſed before *Luther*'s appearance, was the true Religion, and being without ſpot, wrinkle or the like, had no need of reformation. According to that principle, they thought the point was not to examine it at all, but to compel the Recuſants or Hereticks to conform. This was the conſtant Maxim, long ſince followed by the *Romiſh* Clergy, and which cauſed them to uſe fire and ſword to extirpate thoſe they were pleaſed to term Hereticks. But in the ſituation of *Germany*, at the time I am ſpeaking of, it was not eaſy to practiſe that Maxim. It was not private perſons only who declared againſt the *Roman* Church, but Cities, whole Nations, and Sovereigns. So the zealous Abetters of the old Religion were not in condition to reduce them by force. Wherefore they choſe to feed them with hopes of a free Council, till the Affairs of *Europe* were ſo diſpoſed, that it might be hoped to reduce them by way of Authority. Several Diets had been held upon that ſubject in *Germany*, where, contrary to the opinion of the Court of *Rome*, the Emperor and the Catholick Princes had been obliged to conceal their Sentiments, and conſent to a Toleration, which however left them at liberty to act another time according to their real Principles. 1530.

When *Luther* began to appear, the religious Diſputes turned only upon the exceſſive abuſes of the Papal Power, and a few other points. Then *Luther* had on his ſide almoſt all the Lay-Princes of *Germany*, and many *Hans Towns*, each of which was a Republick. From that time, he made new diſcoveries, and publiſhed them to the world. But he had not upon all the Articles the ſame number of Followers, as upon that of the Papal Authority. Beſides, the Emperor and the zealous Catholicks oppoſed with all their power the progreſs of the Reformation. Care was taken to intimidate ſuch as inclined that way, or to continue them in the old Religion by Promiſes, by Places, by Poſts, which did not a little help to confirm them in their firſt Sentiments. So for ſome years, the Reformers uſed all poſſible endeavours to gain Proſelytes, and the *Romiſh* Clergy were as diligent to hinder their progreſs. Mean time, whilſt they ſtrove only in this manner, the Reformation daily took root; which obliged the Adverſaries to ſeek other means to prevent its growth, thoſe, hitherto uſed, not proving very effectual.

In 1524 *Charles* V, coming to the Diet of *Worms*, ſent for *Luther*, and after a hearing, baniſhed him the Empire with all his Adherents, by a formal Decree in the Diet's name. But ſome pretend, the Diet was not concerned in the Decree. However, the Emperor perſiſted to maintain it. But it ſeems the *Germans* conſidered it not as obligatory. Next year, the Diet, held at *Noremberg*, produced againſt the Court of *Rome*, a hundred Grievances, of which they demanded the redreſs, by means of a free Council.

Another Diet held at the ſame place, paſſed a Decree, whereby it was reſolved to demand a free Council in *Germany*. But upon their diſſolution, the Catholicks aſſembled by themſelves at *Ratisbon*, and ordered the Decree of *Worms* to be executed.

In another Diet at *Spires* in 1526, the Emperor cauſed it to be declared, that he meant not that any reſolution ſhould be taken concerning the affairs of Religion, but only concerning the method of executing the Decree of *Worms*, till there ſhould be a General Council. But as this Council was yet very remote, the Diet decreed, the Emperor ſhould be prayed to procure a Council in *Germany* within a year, and in the mean while, every one ſhould ſo govern himſelf in point of Religion, as to be able to give an account of his Conduct to God and the Emperor.

During theſe Tranſactions, the War which the *Turks* had carried into *Hungary*, ſuſpended for ſome time the execution of *Charles* V's Projects againſt thoſe who had embraced the new Religion, becauſe he wanted the aſſiſtance of all the *German* Princes, as well Proteſtants as Catholicks (4). Beſides, his War then with *France* ſuffered him not to think much of the affairs of *Germany*. But in 1529, being upon the point of making Peace with *France*, he thought he might talk in a higher ſtrain. He called a Diet at *Spires*, where it was ordered, that thoſe who had hitherto obeyed the Decree of *Worms*, ſhould continue to obſerve it, and the reſt that had not ſubmitted, ſhould make no Innovations in Religion, nor hinder their Subjects from going to Maſs. Againſt this Decree the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Princes of *Lunenburg*, made a ſolemn Proteſtation, from whence all their Party were called *Proteſtants*. The Emperor, who was then in *Italy*, very roughly received the Proteſtation, brought to him by Deputies, and thereby obliged the Proteſtants to unite for their common defence, the Emperor diſcovering by his words, that he had ill deſigns againſt them. In the Diet which was to meet at *Augsburg* in *April* 1530, but did not however aſſemble till *June*, he was reſolved to lay the Foundation of his projected War againſt the Proteſtants.

At the opening of the Diet, the Emperor's Chancellor made a long Speech, complaining, in his Maſter's name, of thoſe who had hitherto endeavoured to alter the ancient Faith, and Cardinal *Campegio* exhorted the *Germans* to extirpate the Errors that were crept into *Germany*. That done, the Proteſtants deſired, they might declare their belief before the Diet. This was denied them, and they were made to take as a favour, the leave granted them

(1) He was very much afflicted with the News of it, and ſaid he would have given twenty thouſand Pounds he had but lived. *Herbert*, p. 148.
(2) Biſhop *Burnet* juſtly obſerves, that King *Henry* loved to raiſe mean Perſons, and upon the leaſt diſtaſte to throw them down, and ſacrifice them to publick Diſcontents. Tom. I. p. 9.
(3) It was called *the King's weighty Affair*. *Burnet*.
(4) *January* 21. King *Henry* empowered *Thomas* Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, *John Stokeſley* Biſhop elect of *London*, Dr. *William Lee*, and Dr. *William Benet*, to conclude a League with the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of *France*, *Portugal*, &c. againſt the Turk. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 354.

to

1530. to deliver their Confeſſion of Faith in writing. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* ſeeing ſo great partiality in the Diet, withdrew without taking leave; whereupon the Emperor commanded the Gates of *Augsburg* to be ſhut, ſhewing, he intended to uſe violence towards thoſe that remained in the City. But upon the Elector of *Saxony*'s Remonſtrances, he ordered them to be opened. In ſhort, after many Debates (1), he cauſed to be publiſhed in the Diet's name, a Decree entirely againſt the Proteſtants, and which upon the hopes he gave them of a General Council, obliged them to deſtroy whatever had been done in point of Religion to that day.

The Diet ending in this manner, the Emperor ordered the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* to aſſemble the Electors, to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, intending to cauſe his Brother *Ferdinand* to be choſen. The Proteſtants ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this meeting, affirming, there was no occaſion to elect a King of the *Romans*, and demonſtrating the Inconveniencies which would ariſe from his deſign to render the Imperial Crown as it were Hereditary to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In fine, ſeeing that, notwithſtanding their Remonſtrances, it was deſigned to proceed to this Election, they met at *Smalcald* the 22d of *December* 1530, and concluded a defenſive League againſt all who ſhould attack them on account of Religion. Then they made a formal Proteſtation againſt the intended Election of a King of the *Romans* without their conſent. In this ſituation were the affairs of Religion in *Germany* about the end of the year 1530.

League of Smalcald.

1531. After the Emperor had quitted *Italy*, the Pope's Nuntio continually preſſed him to pronounce Judgment upon the affair of the Duke of *Ferrara*. The Pope could not imagine but the Judgment would be in his favour, conſidering the Emperor's Engagement with him, by the Treaty of *Barcelona*. But whether the Emperor had more fully examined the matter, or for ſome other reaſon, he gave Sentence, that *Modena* and *Reggio* belonged of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*; but to ſatisfy the Pope, he ſhould pay a hundred thouſand Ducats, for which the Pope ſhould be obliged to give him the Inveſtiture of *Ferrara*, as granted to his Predeceſſors; and to begin to execute this Sentence, he delivered *Modena* to the Duke. The Pope, extremely diſpleaſed with a Judgment ſo different from what he expected, refuſed to ſubmit to it, and in hopes of ſeizing *Ferrara*, would not receive the hundred thouſand Ducats offered him by the Duke.

The Emperor diſobliges the Pope in the Affair of Ferrara. Guicciard.

Clement VII being thus incenſed againſt the Emperor, had great Inclination to be reconciled with the Kings of *France* and *England*, imagining he ſhould be received with open Arms. Indeed, *Francis* I had unwillingly agreed to the Treaty of *Cambray*, and ſolely becauſe there was no other way to recover his Sons. But ſince he had received them, he had been thinking how to retrieve what he had loſt by that Treaty. To this end, he privately laboured to ſow Jealouſies among the Princes, by making them apprehenſive of the Emperor's Ambition, and promiſing them aſſiſtance. As ſoon as he was informed of the Pope's diſcontent, he thought, nothing ſhould be neglected to gain him to his Intereſt at ſo favorable a Juncture. Wherefore he propoſed a Marriage between *Catherine de Medici* Daughter of the late Duke *Lorenzo*, and the Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond Son; an Honour to which the Family of the *Medici* durſt never aſpire, if the King had not offered it himſelf. On the other hand, *Henry* knowing the Union between the Pope and the Emperor was the ſole cauſe of the obſtacles in the affair of the Divorce, did not queſtion, he ſhould eaſily effect his deſigns, if he could ſet them at variance. But two things hindered him from applying himſelf to that means. The firſt was, he could not truſt the Pope. The ſecond, that he began to find his Subjects much more inclined to ſhake off the Papal Yoke, than he had imagined, and therefore did not think himſelf under a neceſſity to depend upon the Pope. If he had at firſt humbly addreſſed to the Pope, it was partly becauſe he feared the People's prejudice in favour of Chriſt's Vicar. But when he found this prejudice was not ſo ſtrong as he had believed, he never troubled himſelf about the Pope's oppoſition. His Kingdom being ſafe from Invaſions by Land, he had nothing to fear from any Prince in *Europe*; provided his Subjects were not terrified with the thunders of the *Vatican*. But the *Engliſh* were not in this reſpect the ſame as formerly. *Wickliff* had begun to enlighten them; the Conduct of the late Popes had increaſed their light; and *Luther*'s Books and Followers had quite opened their Eyes. Since the ſpreading of the new Doctrine in *England*, the Pope's Authority was ſo diſcredited, that the *Engliſh* for the moſt part wiſhed for a favorable opportunity to throw off a Yoke they had ſo long groaned under. This made the King reſolve to have his Cauſe tried by the Parliament and Convocation.

Francis I. tries to gain the Pope.

He offers to marry his Son the Duke of Orleans with Catherine de Medici. Henry dares not truſt the Pope.

He thinks himſelf no longer obliged to rely upon him.

1531.

The Parliament meeting the 6th of *January*, the Chancellor opened the Seſſion with a Speech, declaring, that the King earneſtly wiſhed to annul his Marriage, not from diſhoneſt motives, as ſome laboured to make his people believe, but for the peace of his Conſcience, and the welfare of the Kingdom, being unwilling to leave the Succeſſion of the Crown in danger of being diſputed. Then he cauſed a great number of Books and Treatiſes written on that Subject, with Abſtracts of ſeveral Authors both antient and modern, to be brought, with the Determinations of the Univerſities of *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, which were all left upon the Table to be examined at leiſure (2). The King's deſign was alſo brought before the Convocation, who declared, they were ſatisfied the King's Marriage was contrary to the Law of God. The King required no more at this time. He had another important affair to debate with the Clergy, which was to be decided before this was farther examined. Very likely, the Convocation being informed of the King's Intent, the more readily gave their opinion for him, as they perfectly knew how much they ſhould want his favour in the buſineſs in hand, which was of the utmoſt conſequence.

He imparts the Affair of the Divorce to the Parliament. Herbert. Burnet. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 390, &c. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Clergy decide in favour of the King. Burnet.

Cardinal *Wolſey* had been accuſed by the Attorney General, of exerciſing in *England* his *Legatine* Authority without the King's ſpecial Licence, and of diſpoſing as Legate of ſeveral Benefices, contrary to the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*. Hence it naturally followed, that thoſe who had owned his Authority, and appeared in his Courts, were equally liable to be indicted. By this means, all the Clergy were in the ſame caſe, ſince there was ſcarce one but what had occaſion to apply to him during the courſe of his Legateſhip. So, after the King had procured of the Convocation an Approbation of his proceedings concerning the Divorce, he ordered an Indictment to be brought into the King's Bench againſt all the Clergy, for breaking the Laws of the Realm (3). He had in this a double view; the firſt to draw a good Sum from the Clergy; the ſecond, to humble that powerful Body, and ſo leſſen their great Credit with the People, who before had always ſeen them ſupported by the Royal Authority. He knew he ſhould meet with the greateſt oppoſition from the Clergy in the affair of the Divorce. For that reaſon, he was very glad to put it out of their power to hurt him, by keeping them as it were in dependence, and by ſowing a kind of diviſion between the Clergy and People, by the ſatisfaction theſe laſt would probably expreſs at the diſgrace of the Eccleſiaſticks, who had ever treated them with great haughtineſs. He thereby put the Clergy under a neceſſity of recurring to the Royal Protection, and conſequently of ſhewing leſs Zeal for the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*. This ſucceeded according to his expectation. In vain did the Clergy plead, that the King himſelf had connived at the Cardinal's proceedings. What had not been ſerviceable to *Wolſey*, was not capable of excuſing them that had owned his Authority. So the Court proceeded to a Sentence, that the Clergy were all out of the King's Protection, and liable to the pains in the Statute of *Præmunire*. The People were extremely pleaſed, and particularly the Favourers of the new Religion, to ſee the Clergy humbled to ſo great a degree. On the other hand, the Clergy plainly perceived, that as the Laity ſtood affected, it would be in vain to reſiſt the King. They could expect no more aſſiſtance from *Rome*. Since the Pope had quarrelled with the King, he had loſt all his power; and as the King ſhewed he would no longer regard him, the thunders of the *Vatican* were looked upon with contempt. The Clergy, in this their ill ſituation, reſolved to purchaſe the King's favour at any rate, finding they could no longer depend upon the people, who were much altered from what they were formerly. So the Convocation of *Canterbury* having debated upon the Affair, reſolved (4) to offer the King a hundred thouſand Pounds for a pardon. Purſuant to this reſolution, ſome of their Members were ordered to draw an Act for that purpoſe. Probably, they who were charged with this Commiſſion were Friends of the Court, and had a mind to take this opportunity to give the King a Preroga-

All the Clergy are accuſed of breaking the Statutes of Præmunire. Herbert. Burnet.

They are condemned. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

They offer the King 100,000*l.* *An Act is drawn up, wherein the Clergy calls him Head of the Church of* England.

(1) In one of which, upon the Proteſtants affirming theirs was the ancient Religion, the Emperor would needs diſpute himſelf, which the *Spaniſh* Writers ſay he did with that Eagerneſs that he drew his Dagger. *Herbert*, p. 150.

(2) The King firſt brought in the Books and Determinations of the Univerſities to the Houſe of Lords, and after they were read and conſidered there, the Chancellor did on the 20th of *March*, (or, according to Lord *Herbert* on the 31ſt) with twelve Lords Spiritual and Temporal, go down to the Houſe of Commons, and ſhewed them the Books, and produced twelve original Papers, with the Seals of the Univerſities to them, which Sir *Brian Tuke* read openly in the Houſe; when that was done, the Chancellor ſpoke the Speech mentioned above. So that he did not open the Seſſion of Parliament with it, as *Rapin* ſays a few Lines above. See *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 105. *Herbert*, p. 152. *Hall*, fol. 195.

(3) Namely, the Statutes againſt Proviſions and Proviſors. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 106.

(4) On *January* 24. This Sum was to be levied in five Years. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 414.

1531. tive which none of his Predeceſſors had ever enjoyed. Lord *Herbert* and Doctor *Burnet* ſay, the Convocation reſolved to preſent a Petition to the King, to pray him to accept of a hundred thouſand Pounds. But as this Inſtrument is extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, it may now be ſpoken of with greater exactneſs. It was not a Petition, but a publick Act of the Clergy, in form of Letters Patents, whereby they gave that Sum to the King. It was ſaid in the Inſtrument, that it was, Firſt, in conſideration of his great Merit. Secondly, in teſtimony of the Clergy's Gratitude for the great benefits he had procured the Catholick Church, as well by his Pen as his Sword. Thirdly, for his Zeal againſt the *Lutherans*, who were labouring to deſtroy the Church of *England*, *of which the Clergy acknowledged the King ſole Protector, and ſupreme Head* (1). Laſtly, in hopes he would be pleaſed to grant the Clergy and all their Members, a pardon of all the offences committed againſt the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 413. March 22.

Oppoſition to that Title. Burnet. Herbert.

When this Inſtrument was read in the Convocation, many diſliked that the Clergy ſhould be made to ſay, that they acknowledged the King for *Protector and ſupreme Head of the Church of* England. Some imagined, it was inſerted through inadvertency and exceſſive flattery, whereof the Penners of the Inſtrument had not conſidered the conſequence. Others ſaid, it was intended to ſurprize the Convocation, by inſerting theſe words in the body of an Inſtrument, which was only to grant a ſum to the King. They added, theſe ſame words, which ſeemed to be put in by accident, and without deſign, were however of very great conſequence, and as the Convocation had not taken any reſolution upon that point, they were for razing them out. But on the other hand, thoſe who were in the Secret, pretended the words could not be put out by a formal reſolve, without diſpleaſing the King, and giving him occaſion to refuſe the offered compenſation. This cauſed ſuch debates, that they were forced to put off the deciſion of the affair to the next day. It was not without reaſon that ſeveral dreaded the conſequence which might very naturally be drawn from theſe words, ſince it was evident, the Clergy was thereby engaged to acknowledge the Pope no longer head of the Church of *England*, which could not have two ſupreme Heads at once. This was in effect the King's Intention, as well as their's who had penned or drawn the Inſtrument, as plainly appeared the next day. *Thomas Cromwell*, with others of the King's Council, going to the Convocation, very clearly hinted, that the Point in debate yeſterday was very agreeable to the King, and he could not but conſider the Oppoſers as very diſaffected Perſons. After ſuch a declaration, there was not one that durſt directly oppoſe it, eſpecially as the Archbiſhop and ſeveral other Prelates openly maintained, that the King was truly the ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*. So the Act paſſed as it was drawn. Only ſome moved to add this reſtriction, *as far as is conſiſtent with the Law of Chriſt*. But it was not the King's Intention to leave a door for thoſe to eſcape, who ſhould hereafter diſpute his Supremacy (2). The Inſtrument being ſealed the 22d of *March*, was preſented to the King, who very graciouſly accepted both the Clergy's preſent, and his new Title, of which he afterwards made great uſe. The Convocation of the Province of *York* reſolved likewiſe to give the King eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty Pounds. But as they omitted in the Grant to acknowledge the King ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, they were told, that their Preſent would not be accepted, if they ſpoke not like the Convocation of *Canterbury*. So the Clergy of *York* Province were forced to inſert the ſame acknowledgment in their Inſtrument. In this manner the King procured, or rather extorted from the Clergy, the Title of ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*. It is certain, that though ſome freely gave it him, yet the major part were not of that opinion (3). This is evident from the methods uſed to obtain it. This acknowledgment was procured in the manner we have ſeen, by *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cromwell*, and ſome others, who verily believed there was no occaſion for the Pope. Thoſe who flattered themſelves at firſt, that the words were inſerted without deſign in the Inſtrument brought into the Convocation of *Canterbury*, might have ſeen their error, if they had attended to another Article in the ſame Inſtrument, and which was alſo inſerted in that of the Province of *York*, namely, that the Clergy did promiſe for the future neither to make nor execute any Conſtitution without the King's Licence. This was, in other words, acknowledging the King for ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*. We ſhall ſee hereafter what uſe *Henry* made of this new Title. 1531.

The King extorts the Clergy's Conſent. Herbert. Burnet.

The Clergy of York Province are forced to follow the Example of thoſe of Canterbury.

The King being ſatisfied with the Clergy, granted them a Pardon in ample form. But when the Pardon was brought into the Houſe of Commons, they refuſed to paſs it, unleſs the Laity, who might have been guilty of the ſame offences, were alſo included (4). *Henry* offended at their oppoſition, ſent them word, he would be maſter of his own favours, and not ſuffer them to be forced from him. The King's reſolution terrified the Commons, who to avoid his Indignation, paſſed the Pardon as it was, throwing themſelves upon his Mercy as to what concerned the Laity. Then the King, ſatisfied with their Submiſſion, granted to his Temporal Subjects a Pardon like that to his Spiritual. It ſeems however, that the Colleges and Monaſteries were excepted, who not being included in the Pardons, were forced to compound with the King, as we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Pardon granted to the Clergy. *The Commons want the Laity to be included in it.* *The King offended at it.* *The Pardon paſſes.* *The Laity pardoned.* See Statut. Herbert. Burnet. Stow. *Monaſteries compound with the King.*

So far were the people from riſing, (as they would doubtleſs have done, had they been under the ſame prejudice with their Anceſtors in the Reigns of *Henry* II, and King *John*;) that on the contrary, Joy was viſibly painted on their Faces, being highly delighted to ſee the Clergy humbled. Thus that Body, ſo formidable heretofore, inſtead of daring to reſiſt the King, were conſtrained to fly to his Protection, becauſe they ſaw plainly, the people ſhewed no concern at their diſgrace, and they had no remedy elſewhere (5).

The People rejoice at the Clergy's Diſgrace.

When the Pope heard what had paſſed in *England*, he was terribly embarraſſed. He ſaw *Henry* purſuing ſuch meaſures as would probably be attended with ill Conſequences. However, he durſt not venture to proceed haughtily, for fear of ingaging in a quarrel, which he foreſaw would not be to his advantage. Beſides his not being pleaſed with the Emperor, he ſaw him upon the point of being fully employed by the *Turks*, and the *German* Proteſtants, at a time when *France* and *England* were in ſtrict Union. So, perceiving no aſſiſtance ſpeedy enough, in caſe he ſhould attempt to exert his Authority, he choſe to be ſilent, in expectation of a proper Seaſon to act, or at leaſt to be reconciled to the King.

The Pope diſſembles his Sentiments. Herbert. Burnet.

This Affair being ended, *Henry* prorogued the Parliament (6). Then, he ordered the determinations of the Univerſities to be printed, with the opinions of the Learned concerning his Marriage, that againſt the next Seſſion every one might be informed of the ſtate of the caſe and of his motives to proſecute the Divorce. Mean while, as in putting away the Queen, his Intent was to marry *Ann Bullen*, he paſſionately wiſhed, the Queen would be perſuaded to conſent to the Divorce, in order to avoid the inconveniencies which might ariſe from her obſtinacy. To that purpoſe, he ſent ſome Biſhops and Lay-Lords (7), earneſtly to preſs her, either to conſent to the Divorce, or refer the deciſion of the affair to four Prelates and four Seculars. But as ſhe could not be prevailed with to deſiſt from her Appeal to the Pope (8), he ſent her word to chuſe where ſhe wou'd reſide in any of his Manors, and,

Henry tries in vain to bring the Queen to conſent to the Divorce. Herbert. Burnet. Stype's Mem. Hall. Hollingſh. Hall. Holl.ngſh.

(1)——Cujus ſingularem Protectorem, Unicum & ſupremum Dominum, & quantum per Chriſti Legem licet, etiam ſupremum Caput ipſius Majeſtatem recognoſcimus.——*Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 414.

(2) Though Archbiſhop *Parker* and our Author ſay, the Act paſſed without the Reſtriction, yet it appears by ſeveral Paſſages in *Henry*'s Letter to Biſhop *Tunſtal*, who in the Convocation at *York* had proteſted againſt it; that the Words *quantum per Chriſti legem licet* were inſerted, and the Act ſo paſſed, by nine Biſhops, (the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* being one) and fifty two Abbots and Priors, and the major Part of the lower-Houſe of Convocation, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 112. *Herbert*, p. 151.

(3) When Archbiſhop *Warham*, upon ſome not ſpeaking for or againſt it, ſaid, *That Silence was to be taken for Conſent*, they cried out, *We are all ſilent then*. *Herbert*, p. 851.

(4) They apprehended, that, either they might be brought into trouble, or at leaſt their having tranſgreſſed the Statutes, might be made uſe of to draw a Subſidy from them. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 113.

(5) During this Seſſion of Parliament one *Richard Rouſe* a Cook, on the 16th of *February*, poiſoned ſome Soop in the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Kitchen, with which ſeventeen Perſons were mortally infected; one of the Gentlemen died of it, and ſome poor People that were charitably fed with the remainder, were alſo infected, one Woman dying. The Perſon was apprehended, and by Act of Parliament (22 *Hen.* VIII.) poiſoning was declared Treaſon, and *Rouſe* was attainted and ſentenced to be boiled to death, which was to be the puniſhment of poiſoning for all times to come; (but was repealed 1 *Ed.* VI. and 1 *Mariæ* I.) The Sentence was executed in *Smithfield* ſoon after. *Burnet*. *Stow*, p. 560. *Hall*, fol. 199.

(6) It was prorogued, on *March* 31, to the 13th of *October*. The moſt remarkable Statutes enacted during this Seſſion, were: 1. That no Maſter, Wardens, or Fellowſhip of Crafts, and Trades, nor any Rulers of Fraternities, take from henceforth of any Apprentice, or any other Perſon, for the entry of any Apprentice into their ſaid Fellowſhip, above two Shillings and Six-pence; nor for his entry, when his Years and Term is expired, above three Shillings and Four-pence, upon pain of forfeiting forty Pounds. 2. That four Juſtices of the Peace in every Shire, whereof one to be of the *Quorum*, ſhall have power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine, in the general Seſſions of the Peace, all Matters relating to Bridges and Highways. This Act alſo explains by whom Bridges and Highways are to be repaired. See *Statute* 21. *Hen.* VIII.

(7) Of his Council, the laſt day of *May*, to *Greenwich*. *Herbert*, p. 153. *Hall*, fol. 199.

(8) Her Anſwer to the Lords was, "That ſhe prayed God to ſend the King a quiet Conſcience, but that ſhe was his lawful Wife, and would abide "by it, till the Court of *Rome* declared the contrary." *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 114. *Hall*, fol. 200.

1531. the 14th of *July* 1531, took his leave of her [at *Windſor*] intending never to ſee her more (1).

Three Perſons burnt for Religion. Herbert. Fox.

What had lately paſſed in the Parliament and Convocation, encouraged the Well-wiſhers to a Reformation in the Church, to which they already ſaw ſome preparatives. For this reaſon, religious Diſputes became more frequent and publick than formerly. But the King perceiving what inferences would be drawn from his firſt proceedings, was pleaſed to ſhew, that in throwing off the Papal yoke, he deſigned not to ſtrike at the fundamental Truths of Religion. So, to fruſtrate thoſe who had any ſuch thought, he commanded the Laws againſt Hereticks to be rigorouſly executed. This occaſioned the death of three Proteſtants, namely, *Bilney*, *Bayfield*, and *Baynam*, of whom the two firſt were burnt this year, and the other in the following *April* (2).

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Herbert.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in *England*, the affairs of *Germany* were more embroiled. In the beginning of the year, *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, was elected King of the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the Proteſtation of the Confederates of *Smalcald*, and crowned a few days after at *Aix la Chapelle*. This was in conſequence of a League concluded between the Catholick Princes of *Germany* in the foregoing *November*. But this League was offenſive, whereas that of *Smalcald* was only defenſive. Never had the Proteſtants any deſign to force the Conſciences of ſuch as differed from them in opinion. But the intent of the Catholick League, was to compel the Proteſtants to return to the Church, they had forſaken. Theſe laſt proteſted againſt *Ferdinand*'s election as unneceſſary, and contrary to the uſual Forms. But their Proteſtation had no effect.

The reſt of the year was ſpent in ſundry Negotiations, wherein the Emperor ſeemed to have no other aim than to adjuſt the religious Differences, though in effect his deſign was only to amuſe the Proteſtants, and hinder them from taking meaſures for their defence, when they ſhould be attacked. As they were not ignorant of his artifices, they writ on that ſubject to the Kings of *France* and *England*, who returned them favorable Anſwers, with a promiſe of aſſiſtance in caſe it was attempted to oppreſs them. Not that theſe two Monarchs deſired to countenance the Reformation, but it was their Intereſt to protect the *German* Proteſtants, becauſe their deſtruction could not but exceedingly increaſe the Emperor's Power. Indeed, this was one of the chief means whereby that Prince intended to execute his vaſt deſigns.

1532. *Francis tries to raiſe the Emperor Troubles.* Guicciard. Mezerai.

Whilſt the Emperor was forming Projects to become maſter of *Germany*, under colour of ſupporting the Intereſts of Religion and the Empire, *Francis* I turned to all ſides to try to create him troubles capable of producing ſome change which he might improve. His vexation to have been forced to ſign the Treaty of *Cambray*, threw him upon earneſtly ſeeking means to repair his loſſes, and eſpecially to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. To this end, he careſſed or threatned the Pope, according as he ſaw it proper to uſe one or other of theſe means, and put the Proteſtants of *Germany* in hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance, in caſe they were attack'd by the Emperor (3). But chiefly he laboured to ſecure the King of *England*, becauſe he could be moſt ſerviceable to him. He confirmed him, as much as poſſible, in his reſolution to puſh the affair of the divorce, in order to keep him always at variance with the Emperor and the Pope. Sometimes he intimated to him, that if the Juſtice due to him was obſtinately refuſed, he would join in a League with him, to withdraw their Dominions from the tyrannical power of the Court of *Rome*. Then, fearing he would agree with the Emperor, he adviſed him ſpeedily to marry *Ann Bullen*, well knowing it would be a certain means to widen their Breach. Nay he ſent a Letter to the Pope, wherein he appeared no leſs concerned than *Henry* himſelf in the affair of the divorce. Among other things he told him, that if out of Complaiſance or Fear he continued to be governed by the Emperor, he muſt not think it ſtrange, that the King of *England* ſhould endeavour to procure by extraordinary means the juſt ſatisfaction he had ſo long expected in vain; adding, that his intereſts were ſo ſtrictly united with *Henry*'s, that he was indiſpenſibly obliged to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power, a Prince of whom he gloried to be the perpetual Ally. In ſhort, he prayed him to conſider, whether it was prudent to give thoſe who could not be compelled to obey, the opportunity and will to withdraw their obedience. But *Clement* ſeeing only the Emperor's Forces in *Italy*, took care not to follow ſuch dangerous counſels. 1532.

Francis and Henry try to frighten the Emperor and Pope. Burnet.

The two Kings finding at length it was impoſſible to gain the Pope, reſolved upon an Interview, to contrive means to break the Emperor's meaſures. But they thought proper firſt to ſpread a report, they were going to make a new League, in order to frighten the Pope, and hinder him from cloſing again with the Emperor, from whom he was ſomething alienated by the buſineſs of *Ferrara*. Accordingly, they concluded a League at *London*, ſigned the 23d of *June*. But it is manifeſt this Treaty was made only with the fore-mentioned view, ſince it contained but two Articles that could have reaſonably alarmed the Pope or the Emperor, had they been known to them. The firſt was, That in caſe the Emperor ſeized the *Engliſh* Merchants effects in the *Low-Countries*, the King of *France* would do the ſame with reſpect to the Emperor's Subjects, the *Germans* excepted: Nay, this Article was guarded by ſo many reſtrictions on the part of the *French* King, that it plainly appeared to be only a mere pretence to make a Treaty. By the ſecond, if the King of *England* was attacked by the Emperor, *Francis* was to ſend him an aid of five hundred Lances, and if the King of *France* was invaded, *Henry* was to aſſiſt him with a body of Foot, not exceeding five thouſand Men (4). As the Publick was not acquainted with the particulats of the Treaty, ſeveral reports were ſpread. Some ſaid, the two Kings had agreed to join in the League of *Smalcald*, or at leaſt, to ſend a powerful aid to the *German* Proteſtants. Others fancied, that as the *Turks* threatned *Auſtria*, and the Emperor would be unavoidably obliged to lead his forces into that Country, *Francis* would invade at the ſame time the Duchy of *Milan*, and *Henry* carry War into the *Low-Countries*. All theſe reports, though uncertain, made the Emperor very uneaſy, becauſe they were grounded upon very probable conjectures.

They make two Treaties to that end.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 435. June 23. Herbert.

Divers Reports about the Treaty.

Francis and Henry's Interview. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

The Interview of the two Kings, between *Calais* and *Boulogne*, was not till *October* (5). They had principally two things in view. The firſt, to divert the blame thrown on them by the Emperor, in ſpreading over all *Europe*, that whilſt *Chriſtendom* was going to be invaded by the Infidels, they remained idle Spectators of the danger, without offering the leaſt aſſiſtance to thoſe who were preparing to defend Her. Their other view was, to keep the *Italians* and *Germans* in the expectation of a freſh War, for fear they ſhould become too compliant to the Emperor's will. To effect their deſign, they gave one another Letters-Patents, whereby they engaged jointly to raiſe an Army of eighty thouſand Men, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Turks*, and to lead the ſame either into *Germany* or *Italy*, as there ſhould be occaſion. But this pretended agreement was never put into the form of a Treaty. *Du Tillet* ſpeaks of it in his Inventory of the Treaties between *France* and *England*, by the name of *Letters of agreement*: But there are no ſigns of it in the *Collection of the Publick Acts of* England. Wherefore it is not probable, theſe two Monarchs deſired to execute this pretended Project, the ſole aim whereof was to juſtify them to the World, and inſpire the Emperor and Pope with terror. Doubtleſs that was the reaſon of their affecting to publiſh it.

Francis's Deſigns.

During the Interview, *Henry* complained much of the Pope, and *Francis* even improved upon him, in a long enumeration of the complaints he had received from the *Gallican* Church, on account of the Court of *Rome*'s exactions. But this was only to amuſe *Henry*, ſince he was at that very time in ſecret Negotiation with the Pope, concerning the Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond Son's Marriage with *Catherine de Medici*. It manifeſtly appears by that Prince's whole conduct, that his ſole aim was to make the King of *England*'s Friendſhip ſubſervient to gain the Pope, in order to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, which he had always in view. Wherefore he outwardly expreſſed a ſtrong attachment to *Henry*'s Intereſt. He even preſſed him not to ſtay for the Pope's diſpenſation to marry his Miſtreſs, who was preſent at the Interview, having lately been made Marchioneſs of *Pembroke* (6). Whilſt the two Kings were together, they feaſted one another ſeveral times, a particular account whereof is needleſs in this place. *Henry* came to ſee *Francis* at *Boulogne*, and *Francis* returned his viſit at

He adviſes Henry to marry Ann Bullen.

The Kings viſit one another.

(1) She removed firſt to *Moor*, then to *Eaſthamſtead*, and at laſt to *Ampthill*, where ſhe ſtayed longer. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 114.

(2) *Thomas Bilney* Batchelor of both Laws, was burnt *Auguſt* 19. *Bayfield* a Monk of *Bury*, *November* 27. 1531, and *Baynham* a Gentleman and Lawyer, *April* 30, 1532. See *Fox*.

(3) And alſo ſtirred up the *Turks* to invade the *German* Dominions, *Herbert*, p. 154.

(4) When the *French* Ambaſſador in *England* returned into *France*, King *Henry* ſent by him fifty thouſand Crowns, to be employed in the defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Empire. *Herbert*, p. 154.

(5) King *Henry* landed at *Calais*, *October* 11, and the Interview was on the 20th. See an account of the Nobility, and other remarkable Perſons that attended him, in *Hall* fol. 206, &c. *Stow*, p. 561.

(6) *September* 1, with a Penſion of a thouſand Pounds a year. *Hall*, fol. 206.

1531. Henry *marries* Ann Bullen. Burnet, T. III. p. 70. Hall.

Calais (1). They parted the 30th of *October* to return, the one to *Paris*, the other to *London*. But by reaſon of the bad weather, *Henry* ſtaid ſome days at *Calais* (2), where it is ſaid he privately married *Ann Bullen* (3). It is more probable however, as ſome affirm, that it was not till the *January* following (4).

The Turks *threaten* Hungary.

During this whole year, the Emperor was greatly embarraſſed. *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks* threatned to invade *Hungary* with a powerful Army, which he accordingly did. *Germany* was in trouble, becauſe the Proteſtants who had now been menaced, were taking effectual meaſures for their defence, and refuſed to acknowledge *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* for King of the *Romans*. On the other hand, the Emperor was not ignorant of the Pope's diſcontent on account of the Duke of *Ferrara*'s affair, and that the Kings of *France* and *England* were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to draw him off from his Party, in order to diſturb *Italy*. Moreover, the *Italians* were quiet, only becauſe there was ſtill an Imperial Army in *Italy*, and no preparation in *France* to ſupport them, in caſe they attempted to hold up their head. Mean while, in the midſt of this ſeeming tranquillity, they eagerly wiſhed to ſee ſome revolution to free them from their apprehenſions of the Emperor's over-grown Power. In fine, the Interview of *Francis* and *Henry* extremely troubled the Emperor, apprehenſive as he was, that if *Soliman* proſpered in *Hungary*, they would embrace that opportunity to invade the Duchy of *Milan* and the *Low-Countries*. It was neceſſary therefore to think, without loſs of time, of preventing the dangers which might proceed from all theſe quarters, and to begin with the moſt urgent affair, the ſatisfying of the Proteſtants, in order to have their aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. To that purpoſe, he came, the beginning of the year, to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, where he found means to negotiate with the Proteſtants an agreement, whereby no Perſon was to be diſturbed on account of Religion, till a Council was called. He intended not punctually to perform this agreement, extorted from him by neceſſity. He received however this benefit by it, That all the Princes and States of *Germany*, as well Proteſtant as Catholick, furniſhed him with a powerful aid, which enabled him to aſſemble an Army of eighty thouſand Foot, and thirty thouſand Horſe.

The Emperor is at a loſs. Sleidan.

The Diet of Ratiſbon *grant ſomething in favour of the* Proteſtants.

Charles *obtains an Aid.*

Whilſt this Army was forming, the Emperor, willing to ſound the King of *France*'s Intentions, ſent and deſired his aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*; but received an unſatisfactory anſwer, which, added to the Interview of the two Kings, confirmed his ſuſpicion that they were contriving ſomething againſt him. But *Soliman* haſtening his Campain in *Hungary*, hindered him from thinking of means to prevent the miſchief he feared from the two confederate Kings. Indeed, the *Turks* not only advanced into *Hungary*, but even into *Auſtria*, with deſign to give him battle. But he wiſely avoided it, ſince in loſing it, he would have been without refuge, and *Auſtria*, with part of *Germany*, would inevitably have fallen under the Dominion of the *Turks*. Whereas by ſtanding, as he did, upon the defenſive, with an Army of above a hundred thouſand Men, he prevented them from making any conſiderable progreſs, and compelled them at length to return into their own Country. As ſoon as he had certain advice that *Soliman* was upon his march to *Conſtantinople*, he departed for *Italy*, from whence he deſigned to return into *Spain*.

He ſuſpects the King of France. P. Daniel.

His Campain againſt the Turks. Guicciard. Herbert.

He paſſes into Italy.

About the middle of *November* he came to *Bologna*, where the Pope waited to confer with him. As their deſigns were very oppoſite, there was not that harmony between them, as at their Interview in the year 1529. The Emperor thought only of ſecuring *Italy*, and preventing the King of *France*'s return. The Pope, on the contrary, wiſhed to keep him always uneaſy on that account, as well to render himſelf neceſſary, as to be freed from a State of dependence. The Emperor required the Pope to call a Council in *Germany*, otherwiſe he ſaw no poſſibility of finding a lawful pretence to ruin the Proteſtants. But after what had paſſed at *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, the very name of a Council was become ſo odious to the Court of *Rome*, that *Clement* VII could not reſolve to call one. He knew what had befallen *John* XXII, and *Eugenius* IV, and therefore had no mind to have his Authority queſtioned. The Emperor demanded moreover the Pope's conſent to a League, he intended to form between all the States of *Italy*, to which each ſhould contribute in proportion to its Forces, in order to ſecure the Country from all Invaſion. That is to ſay, he would have in *Italy* an Army maintained at the expence of others, and always ready to defend the Duchy of *Milan*, in caſe the *French* King ſhould think of invading it. The Pope approved of this project, not in order to keep *Italy* in its preſent ſituation, ſince it was very much to his prejudice, that the Emperor ſhould remain ſo powerful there, but to have a pretence to be rid of the *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops, who were a terror to the *Italians*. He foreſaw that a League of ſo many Parties, whoſe intereſts were different, would not long ſubſiſt, and that after it was broken, he ſhould himſelf become more neceſſary and conſiderable. He deſired only that the *Venetians* ſhould come into the League, and bear their part of the charge. In ſhort, the Emperor farther demanded of the Pope, that he ſhould give his Niece *Catherine de Medici* to the Duke of *Milan*; his aim being to engage him, for his Niece's ſake, in the defence of the *Milaneſe*, for fear in the end the King of *France* ſhould find a favorable opportunity to gain him to his intereſt. But *Clement* alledged againſt this Propoſal, his engagement with the King of *France*, who had done him the honour to demand *Catherine* for the Duke his ſecond Son. He repreſented to the Emperor, that he could not prefer the Duke of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, without making the King of *France* his irreconcileable enemy, who would never forgive ſuch an affront. So their whole Negotiation ended only in the projected League, in which the *Venetians* refuſed to be included. They contented themſelves with promiſing the Emperor, they would punctually perform their engagement with reſpect to the Duchy of *Milan*. In fine, the Emperor having ſent for Ambaſſadors from *Milan*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, it was endeavoured for ſome time to ſettle the terms of the League. But the diſpute between the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara* very much retarded the concluſion, becauſe the Duke would not come into the League before he was ſecure of peace at home. However, after great pains, the Emperor prevailed with the Pope to allow the Duke an eight months reſpite. This affair was the reaſon the League could not be ſigned till *February* next year.

1532. *He propoſes a League for the ſafety of* Italy. Guicciard.

He confers with the Pope at Bologna. Guicciard.

He demands a Council. P. Daniel.

Henry's proceedings againſt the Clergy, and his diſpoſition with regard to the Pope, greatly encouraged thoſe who longed to ſee a Reformation in the Church. To conceive a right notion how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected in this reſpect, it is neceſſary to know what the People's Sentiments were concerning Religion. It may be undeniably affirmed, that as to the Reformation of the Pope's exorbitant Power, and the Clergy's Immunities, there was ſcarce an *Engliſhman*, if you except all or moſt of the Eccleſiaſticks, but what heartily wiſhed it. It was now three hundred years ſince the Parliament firſt began to endeavour it, but without a perfect ſucceſs, becauſe it was contrary to the intereſt of the Kings. But as for a Reformation of Doctrine, the well-wiſhers to it were very far from being the majority. Theſe were not ſufficiently numerous to venture to propoſe it openly, eſpecially as they were not countenanced by the King. But when the Pope's exceſſive authority, or the pride and riches of the Clergy were exclaimed againſt, they boldly joined with the reſt of the People, without fear of being diſcovered, becauſe that was the ſentiment of all the People, or at leaſt of almoſt all the Laity. But in expreſſing their zeal againſt the Clergy, their aim was to promote the Reformation of Doctrine, becauſe they knew the chief obſtacle would always proceed from the Governors of the Church. Here therefore they believed they ought to begin, in order to arrive at a thorough Reformation. So, among thoſe that wiſhed to reduce within due bounds the Papal Power, and the Clergy's Immunities, there were doubtleſs many who had no farther views, and imagined the Reformation would end there. Others, on the contrary, hoped that after taking this firſt ſtep, it would be impoſſible to ſtop, wherein they had for warrant what had happened in *Germany*. But they took care not to undeceive the others, for fear of cooling their zeal, by ſhewing them too ſoon the conſequences of the firſt ſtep, in the buſineſs of the Reformation.

How the Engliſh *ſtood affected as to Religion.*

(1) *Francis* went back from *Boulogne* with *Henry*, in this Order, that while *Francis* was on *French* Ground, he gave place, but when he came to the *Engliſh* Pale, *Henry* gave him the Precedence. Being now come near *Calais*, the Duke of *Richmond*, *Henry*'s natural Son, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended, met them. The Lodging which *Francis* was brought to, was moſt richly furniſhed with Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, imbroidered in ſome places with Pearls and precious Stones. There ſeveral Services were brought in a hundred and ſeventy Diſhes, all of maſſy Gold. The Marchioneſs of *Pembroke* made them a curious and rich Maſk, in which both Kings danced. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were made Knights of St. *Michael*. *Stow* ſays, there was no leſs than eight thouſand Perſons in *Calais* on this occaſion. See *Hall*, fol. 207, &c.

(2) He returned to *England Novemb.* 14. *Hall*, fol. 209.

(3) *Rowland Lee*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, celebrated the Marriage in the preſence of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, her Father, Mother and Brothers. *Herbert*, p. 161.

(4) *January* 25. Others ſay it was *November* 14. *Stow*, p. 562. *Hall*, fol. 209. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 126. The news of this Marriage was ſoon carried to *Rome*. The Pope publiſhed, on *November* 15, a Brief againſt King *Henry*, in which he exhorted him, to bring back the Queen, and to put *Anne* away, within a Month after the receipt of the Brief; otherwiſe he excommunicated both him and *Anne*. *Burnet*, T. III. p. 17.

1532. The Commons are inclined to reduce the Power of the Clergy. Herbert. Hall.

The Parliament meeting the 15th of *January* 1532, the Commons were almoſt unanimouſly inclined to redreſs the Grievances ſo long complained of in vain, with reſpect to the Papal power, and the Eccleſiaſtical privileges. There had never been ſo favorable an opportunity. When formerly the Parliaments were diſpoſed to make any attempt of this nature, the Kings were unwilling to concur with them, becauſe the ſtate of their affairs permitted them not to break entirely with *Rome*. But the affair of the Divorce had put things upon another foot. The King was diſſatisfied with the Pope, and conſidered the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, as ſecret enemies, by reaſon of their attachment to the Court of *Rome*. So, his intereſt required, that the Pope and Clergy ſhould be humbled, and diviſion ſown between them and the People, knowing that the former could hurt him only in proportion to their credit with the latter. As for what Foreigners might do, he thought himſelf in no danger, ſo long as he remained ſtrictly united with *France*, and the more, as the Emperor was then employed by his war with the *Turks*, and the troubles of *Germany*.

Addreſs preſented to the King. The King's Anſwer. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

All this being artfully inſinuated to the Houſe of Commons, they preſented an Addreſs to the King (1), praying him to conſent to a Reformation of ſundry Grievances, occaſioned by the Immunities of the Clergy (2). The King anſwered, that before he gave his conſent to their requeſt, which ſeemed to him of great moment, he wiſhed to hear what the Clergy had to ſay for themſelves. But under this ſhew of equity, his intent was to intimate to the Clergy, how much they wanted his protection, ſince he could either promote or reſtrain the proceedings of the Commons as he pleaſed. Some time after, the Parliament paſſed certain Acts, which only glanced at ſome of the Clergy's Privileges, the People had moſt reaſon to complain of (3). But for that time, the Reformation was carried no farther. Nay, care was taken to make the Eccleſiaſticks amends, by paſſing an Act to releaſe them from the payment of Annates (4), which was become a heavy Burden. The Act ran, that the Kingdom was daily impoveriſhed by the great Sums paid to the See of *Rome*, for Firſt-Fruits, for Palls, for Bulls, *&c.* That ſince [the ſecond Year of] the Reign of *Henry* VII, one hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds had been paid to thoſe uſes, and that more was like to be ſhortly exported, by reaſon many of the Biſhops were very aged: That beſides, the Annates were firſt introduced only as a contribution for the War againſt the Infidels, to which however they were never applied. And therefore it was enacted, that all payments of Annates ſhould ceaſe for the future: That as for the Bulls, there ſhould only be paid five Pounds in the hundred, according to the clear annual value of the Biſhopricks. That if, on account of this regulation, Bulls ſhould be denied by the Pope, the Biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the King to the Archbiſhop of the Province for his Conſecration: That in caſe the Archbiſhop ſhould refuſe it on pretence of want of Palls, Bulls, and the like, any two Biſhops appointed by the King ſhould perform the Office, and the Biſhop ſo conſecrated acknowledged for lawful. Nevertheleſs the Parliament declared, it ſhould be in the King's power to null or confirm the Act within ſuch a time; and if in this Interval, he ſhould make an amicable Compoſition with the Court of *Rome*, it ſhould have the force and authority of a Law. But if, upon this Act, the Pope ſhould pretend to vex the Realm by Excommunications or Interdicts, ſuch cenſures ſhould neither be regarded nor publiſhed, and, all Interdicts notwithſtanding, the Prieſts might lawfully, without any ſcruples of Conſcience, celebrate Divine Service as before (5).

Statutes againſt the Clergy.

Act concerning Annates, or Firſt-Fruits.

Baldneſs of a Commoner. Herbert. Hall. Burnet.

Mean while, among the great number of Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons, there were ſeveral who were entirely againſt a rupture with the Pope. They perceived however, it would infallibly follow upon the King's Divorce. Wherefore they uſed all poſſible endeavours to prevent it. One *Temſe* a Member of Parliament was ſo hardy as to move, that the Houſe ſhould go in a body and addreſs the King to take his Queen again. *Henry* hearing of this, ſent for [*Thomas Audley*] the Speaker, and in his Perſon ſeverely reprimanded the Commons, for ſuffering a motion to be made concerning an Affair which fell not under their Cognizance (6). 1532.

The King reprimands the Commons.

Some days after (7), the King ſent again for the Speaker, and told him, that having compared the Oath taken by the Biſhops to the Pope, with that they took to the King, it ſeemed to him they were but half Subjects; and therefore he deſired the Commons to examine the matter, and take care of the intereſt of the Crown. But the Plague which raged then at *London*, and conſtrained the Parliament to break up preſently after (8), hindered the Commons from debating upon this Affair at that time (9).

He wills them to conſider the Biſhops Oaths. Burnet. Hall.

The Power given the King by the Parliament to aboliſh the Annates, or make an amicable compoſition with the Pope, was a clear evidence that the Act had been procured by the Intrigues of the Court. The Pope was extremely offended at it. But when he complained to the King's Agents, he was told, he might have ſaved himſelf that vexation, and there was ſtill a remedy, ſince the King had power to repeal the Act. This was an intimation, that he might depend upon it, the King would behave according as he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his proceedings.

The Pope complains of the Act aboliſhing the Annates. Burnet. The King's Agents Anſwer.

Thomas More, who was Lord Chancellor, and a Perſon of excellent Judgment, foreſaw now, the King's proceedings would in the end produce a total rupture with *Rome*. He would have readily conſented that ſome abuſes ſhould be reformed. But he found, as Matters were managed, the Reformation would go much farther than he deſired. He put a great difference between withdrawing entirely from the Pope's obedience, and retrenching ſome of his Uſurpations. So, being unwilling to be inſtrumental in the rupture, he reſigned the Great-Seal on the 16th of *May*. Some days after, the King made Sir *Thomas Audley*, *Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal*, till the 26th of *January* 1533, when he was made Lord-Chancellor.

Thomas More reſigns the Great-Seal, Burnet. Hall. which is given to Sir Thomas Audley. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 433, 439. p. 446.

Whilſt *Henry* uſed ſundry means to ſhew the Pope his danger, in obſtinately refuſing what he required, the Emperor was no leſs ardently endeavouring to obtain a ſentence in favor of Queen *Catherine*. The way theſe two Monarchs applied to the Pope was not by humble Intreaties, but by Menaces, which had the greater effect, as he was naturally timorous, and ſlow to reſolve upon things that required a ſpeedy reſolution. By theſe two oppoſite demands he ſaw himſelf indeed between the Hammer and Anvil, as he ſaid himſelf in the beginning of the Affair. On the other hand, he found by *Henry*'s late proceedings, that *England* was going to be loſt to him and his Succeſſors. This conſideration was very capable of putting him upon ſeeking expedients to content that Monarch, without prejudice to the honor of the Holy See. He would thereby have preſerved a Kingdom which had been ever devoted to the Popes, and from whence they had drawn large Revenues. But on the other hand, the Emperor had ſtill an Army in *Italy*, and was able to revenge his refuſal. *Clement* of all things feared the loſs of *Florence*, which the Emperor could take from him with more eaſe than he had procured him the poſſeſſion. It is no wonder therefore, if this fear, being the moſt imminent, prevailed. It would be a great miſtake to aſcribe to this Pope any motives of Juſtice, Equity, Good, and Benefit of the Church, or Religion. Theſe things for ſome time had ſerved only for preambles to Bulls. His own and his Family's intereſt was the ſole rule of his conduct. So, finding himſelf extremely preſſed by the Emperor to paſs ſentence upon Queen *Catherine*'s appeal,

The Emperor and Henry equally threaten the Pope; Burnet. who is at a great loſs.

His own Intereſt prevails.

(1) Or rather a Liſt of their Grievances comprized in a Book. It was preſented *April* 30. *Herbert*, p. 155. *Hall*, fol. 205.

(2) They complained of the Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, and eſpecially their calling Men before them, *ex officio*, and laying Articles to their charge without any Accuſer; and then admitting no Purgation, but cauſing the Party accuſed, either to abjure, or to be burnt. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 116. *Hall*, fol. 202.

(3) By ſome of theſe Statutes it was enacted, 1. That no Perſon in Holy Orders, convict of Petit-Treaſon, wilful Murder, *&c.* ſhall be admitted to make his Purgation before the Ordinary, and be ſet at Liberty; but ſhall remain in Priſon, till he has given Sureties for his good Behaviour. 2. That Clerks convict, breaking the Priſons of their Ordinaries, ſhall be adjudged Felons. There were alſo other good Statutes made; for erecting Goals in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom; againſt Perjury, and untrue Verdicts; about the Commiſſion of Sewers; that no Perſon ſhall be cited out of the Dioceſe where he lives, except in ſome particular Caſes; as alſo againſt making Feoffments of Eſtates to Chauntries, Pariſh-Churches, *&c.* See *Statut.* 23. *Henry* VIII.

(4) Or the Firſt-Fruits of the Biſhopricks.

(5) This Bill began in the Houſe of Lords; from them it was ſent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the Royal Aſſent, but had not the final Confirmation mentioned in the Act, before the 9th of *July* 1533, and then by Letters Patents, in which the Act is at length recited, it was confirmed. *Par. Rolls.* By this Act was laid the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with *Rome*. This Act is not in the Statute-Book. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 117, 118.

(6) He told the Speaker moreover, It touched his Soul; He wiſhed his Marriage were good, but the Learned had determined it to be null and deteſtable, and therefore he was obliged in Conſcience to abſtain from her, which he aſſured him flowed from no Luſt, or fooliſh Appetite. He was then forty one Years old, and at that Age theſe Heats abate. But except in *Spain* or *Portugal*, it had not been heard of, that a Man married two Siſters; and he never heard that any Chriſtian before himſelf, had married his Brother's Wife. Therefore he aſſured him his Conſcience was troubled, which he deſired him to report to the Houſe. *Ibid.* p. 122. *Hall*, fol. 205.

(7) *May* 11. *Hall*, fol. 205.

(8) It was adjourned on *May* 14, to *February* the 3d 1533. *Hall*, fol. 206.

(9) *Hall*, *Burnet*, and Lord *Herbert*, place *Henry*'s Interview with *Francis*, after this Seſſion of Parliament.

1532. Herbert. Burnet. he could no longer be excuſed from giving him ſome ſatisfaction (1). He declared therefore to the *Engliſh* Agents (2), that having long expected in vain that their Maſter would of himſelf return to the right way, he was obliged to cite him to *Rome*. *Henry* having notice of it, ſent with all ſpeed *Edward Karne*, Doctor of Law, with the new Character of *Excuſator*, to alledge the reaſons againſt a Citation to which the King of *England* could not be liable. *Karne* coming to *Rome* in *March* (3), the Pope ſcrupled to receive him as Excuſator, a character whereof there was no precedent to be found in the Chancery. However, he committed the examination of this title to a Congregation, which made no haſte to give their opinion, that the Excuſator might not have power, before he was acknowledged, to oppoſe the reſolutions already taken.

Karne ſent to Rome as the King's Excuſator. Herbert. Burnet.

A new Delay granted the King. Burnet.

At laſt, in a Conſiſtory the eighth of *July*, it was reſolved, that, without examining the King of *England*'s reaſons for not appearing in Perſon, he ſhould be intreated to ſend to *Rome* a Proxy to defend his Cauſe. Mean while, as the Vacation which was to laſt till the firſt of *October*, was then juſt begun, a delay till that time was tacitly given the King. During this Interval, the Pope ſent him a Brief to require him to ſend a Proxy to *Rome*. At the ſame time he cauſed the following Overtures to be made him: That the affair of the Divorce ſhould be examined in any indifferent place, by a Legate and two Auditors of the *Rota*; which done, the Pope himſelf would paſs Sentence. Secondly, That all the Sovereign Princes of *Chriſtendom* ſhould agree to a Truce of three or four Years, within which time the Pope promiſed to call a General Council. The King replied, by Sir *Thomas Elliot* who was ſent on purpoſe, That he could not agree to a Truce without the King of *France*'s concurrence. Secondly, That it was not a proper juncture to call a Council. Laſtly, As for the Affair of the Divorce, being King of *England*, he was to take care of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, which allowed not that any Proceſs ſhould be tried in a foreign Court. That beſides the Canons of the Church expreſly decreed, that all Matrimonial Cauſes ſhould be judged in the Countries where the Parties reſided.

The Pope's Offers. Burnet. Herbert.

The King's Anſwer. Burnet. T. I. p. 125.

The King proteſts againſt the Citation. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 416, 422. Burnet. Herbert.

To theſe reaſons, he added, a proteſtation in form, declaring that he was not obliged to appear at *Rome*, either in Perſon or by Proxy, and tacked to this proteſtation the determinations of ſome Univerſities (4), he had conſulted. However, he propoſed three things to the Pope. Firſt, he required that the Cauſe ſhould be decided by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and two other Biſhops, or elſe, by the whole Clergy of the Kingdom. But it muſt be obſerved, that the See of *Canterbury* had been vacant ſince *Auguſt*, by *Warham*'s Death (5), and if the Pope had cloſed with this Propoſal, the King would not have failed to fill the See with a Prelate devoted to him. His ſecond offer was, that the Cauſe ſhould be judged by four Arbitrators, one to be named by the King (6), another by the Queen, a third by the King of *France*, and that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould be the fourth. In the third place, he propoſed that the Cauſe being judged by the Archbiſhop, or by Umpires, if the Queen ſhould think fit to appeal from the Sentence, the appeal ſhould be brought before three Judges, whereof he would name one, the Pope another, and the King of *France* a third. The Pope replied to theſe Propoſals, that he ſaw the King would not recede from his pretended Rights, and therefore it ſhould not be thought ſtrange that he reſolved to preſerve his own.

He makes the Pope three Offers, which are rejected.

All the Obſtacles to the Divorce come from the Emperor.

It is however certain, if the Pope durſt have ſatisfied the King, he would gladly have done it, by reaſon of his fear to loſe *England* entirely. It was not the difficulties in the affair of the Divorce that hindered him from proceeding. Had they been much greater than they were, he would have readily overlooked them all. For, ſuppoſing the unlimited Power aſſumed by the Pope, it was as eaſy for *Clement* VII to null *Henry*'s Marriage, as it was for *Julius* II to grant a Diſpenſation. But he had to manage the honor of his See, and the intereſt of the Emperor, who threatened him, and was able to execute his Threats. Had not the Emperor been concerned in the Affair, it would have been very eaſy to find an expedient to content the King, without prejudice to the papal Authority. It was only to aſſure the King, the Cauſe ſhould be decided in his favor, and he would have willingly agreed that the Pope ſhould have been the ſole Judge. But the Pope could give him no ſuch aſſurance by reaſon of the Emperor's oppoſition; and therefore *Henry* could not reſolve to put the Affair into his hands at the hazard of being caſt. Upon this account it was that he propoſed infallible expedients to gain his Cauſe. But on the other hand, the Pope could not accept of theſe expedients, without injuring his Dignity. Thus the Affair was ſolely retarded by the Emperor's interpoſition. Had it not been for him, the Pope would have contented the King, and the King would have ſubmitted to the Pope, and remained as before, an obedient Son of the Holy See. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that the King's proceedings as well in the late Parliament as afterwards, flowed not ſo much from his real opinion, that the papal Authority was uſurped, as from his ſeeing no other way to be delivered from his preſent difficulties, than by denying it to be in the Pope's power to do what *Julius* II had done. It is however very likely, he was afterwards fully convinced of the Truth of what he aſſerted at firſt only out of neceſſity. On the other hand, if the Pope paſſed ſentence againſt *Henry*, as we ſhall ſee preſently, it was not from a belief that his Marriage with *Catherine* was lawful, but ſolely to ſave the honor of the Holy See, and through fear of, or complaiſance for, the Emperor. And here who can forbear admiring the ſecret ways of Providence, which rendered a reconciliation between the Pope and the King impracticable, in order to produce an event which was to be attended with ſo momentous conſequences for *England*?

1532.

Henry is cited to Rome. Herbert. Burnet.

At length the vacation being over, *Henry* was cited the fourth of *October* to appear at *Rome*, either in Perſon or by Proxy, and *Karne* ſolemnly proteſted (7) againſt the Citation. What has been ſaid happened before the Emperor's arrival at *Bologna*. *Clement* VII, who was going, immediately after the Citation, to confer with that Prince, promiſed *Karne*, that all proceedings ſhould be ſuſpended ſo long as the Emperor was in *Italy*. This was all the favor *Karne* could obtain (8).

Affairs between England and Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt *Henry* ſeemed wholly employed in the Affair of his Divorce, a quarrel aroſe between *England* and *Scotland*. *Buchanan* pretends, *Henry* willing to take advantage of his Union with *France*, and imagining, *Francis* I, would ſuffer him to oppreſs King *James*, made inroads into *Scotland* (9) as if he intended to renew the War. He adds, that the only pretence of this rupture, was, that the *Scots* had ſpoken ſome injurious words againſt the *Engliſh*. Be this as it will, the King of *Scotland* being prepared for his defence, *Henry* thought not fit to purſue his deſign. He choſe rather to agree, that the difference ſhould be decided by the King of *France*'s mediation, who for that purpoſe ſent an Ambaſſador to *Newcaſtle*. The King of *Scotland* was ſo offended with *Francis* for ſo cooly eſpouſing his Cauſe, that he was going to join with the Emperor. But at length all was happily adjuſted, and the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* remained Friends as before.

1533.

League concluded at Rome for the Security of Italy. Guicciard.

It was not for *Henry*'s intereſt to undertake a War againſt *Scotland*, when he was to prepare for his defence againſt the Emperor. It was extremely probable, the Pope had not ingaged to judge Queen *Catherine*'s appeal without being firſt aſſured, that the Emperor, the Queen's Nephew, would execute the ſentence. This indeed was his deſign, but the troubles which came upon him, hindered his ingaging in that enterpriſe. He reckoned that the *Italian* League before-mentioned, would be a ſure defence for the Duchy of *Milan*. But he ſoon perceived, he was himſelf the dupe of the politick Pope. This League was at length ſigned at *Bologna* the 24th of *February* 1533, according to his wiſh. Every Sovereign that had Dominions in *Italy*, the *Venetians* excepted, ingaged to find a certain Sum monthly, for the maintenance of an Army which *Antonio de Leva* was to command as General of the League. The Emperor's intention was, that the Army ſhould conſiſt of his own Troops, and be conſtantly maintained: But the deſign of the Confederates was very different. They had conſented to the League, only that the Emperor, having nothing to fear for *Italy*, might withdraw all his Troops. But they never meant that the Army, maintained at their expence, ſhould ſerve to

Different Views of the Emperor and the Allies.

The Allies refuſe to keep an Army in time of Peace.

(1) He writ, on *January* 25, to King *Henry* to exhort him a ſecond time to take again his Wife. See *Herbert*, p. 156. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 118.
(2) Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, and Doctor *William Benet*. *Herbert*, p. 158.
(3) He was accompanied by Doctor *Edmond Bonner*. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 120.
(4) Thoſe of *Orleans* and *Paris*. See *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 416, &c.
(5) He died *Auguſt* 23. *Stow*, p. 560.
(6) Either the Biſhop of *London*, or Sir *Thomas More*. *Herbert*, p. 161.
(7) On *November* 14. *Herbert*, p. 159.
(8) King *Henry* having obtained from Cardinal *Wolſey*, a Grant of the Archbiſhop of *York*'s Palace at *Weſtminſter*, then called *York Place*, now *Whitehall*; and got a Confirmation of the Cardinal's Grant from the Chapter of the Cathedral of *York*; did alſo this Year purchaſe the Hoſpital of St. *James*, founded by the Citizens of *London*, before the time of any Man's Memory, for fourteen leprous Maidens; and built in the room of it, the Palace now called St. *James*'s, to which he annexed the Park, and encloſed it with a Brick-Wall. *Hall*, fol. 203. *Stow*'s Survey, B. VI. p. 4.——About *June* this Year, the Pope granted King *Henry*, by a Bull, a Commiſſion to erect ſix new Biſhopricks, to be endowed by Monaſteries that were to be ſuppreſſed. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 121. This deſign was at firſt formed by Cardinal *Wolſey*, as appears from *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 273, 291.
(9) He ordered Sir *Arthur Darcey* to make thoſe Inroads, pretending for cauſe thereof the Reſtitution of the *Douglaſſes*. *Herbert*, p. 166.

keep

1538. keep them in subjection, which would necessarily be the case, if the Army continued always on foot, under the command of the Emperor's General. They represented to him therefore, that the League being only defensive, it was not proper to continue an Army without necessity, to ruin them in expences; but upon the first motion of the *French*, they would not fail to perform their agreements. What arguments soever the Emperor alledged, it was not possible to bring them to what he desired. He was forced therefore to be satisfied with their promises, because he was not in condition to maintain an Army in *Italy* at his own charge. Then he disbanded part of his Troops, and sent the rest to *Naples* and *Spain*. He departed from *Bologna* about the end of *February*, and came to *Genoa*, where he staid some time; after which, on the 8th of *April*, he embarked for *Spain*, extremely displeased with the Pope, who through all his disguises could not help showing his inclination to *France*. Indeed, he was now agreed with the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grammont* upon an Interview with *Francis*, and the Marriage of *Catherine de Medici* with the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Emperor withdraws his Troops out of Italy.

He returns to Spain.

The Marriage of the Duke of Orleans with Catherine of Medici agreed upon.

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Herbert.

The State of *Italy* was not the only thing that employed the Emperor. He had, as was observed, promised the Protestants a free Council in *Germany*. But though the word Free was equally used by those who demanded a Council, and by him that promised it, they were far from meaning the same thing. The Protestants understood by that word, that a Council should be held in *Germany*, where not only they might have free access and full liberty to produce their reasons, but also that the points in dispute should be decided solely by the Word of God. The Emperor meant, on the contrary, to retain only an outward show of the Word, and by rendering his Party superior in the Council, to cause Matters to be so decided, that the Protestants should be forced, either to revoke all their Innovations, or reject the Council's decisions. In the latter case, which was most likely, the Emperor plainly perceived, they would give him a pretence to attack them, which was the thing he intended. But in the execution of this design a great obstacle occurred; namely, a Council, let it be what it would, was a terror to the Pope. Though he knew the Emperor demanded a Council not with intent to alter Religion, yet he was afraid of being sacrificed to the Protestants, if that Monarch's interest required it. Besides, the strict Alliance between *Francis* and *Henry* made him uneasy. In short, he could not resolve to call a Council, without being sure of managing it as he pleased. And this could scarce be expected, as Matters then stood in *Christendom*. Since his being on the papal Throne, he had pleased neither the Emperor, nor the King of *France*, nor the King of *England*, nor the Potentates of *Italy*, and yet, of the Subjects of all these Sovereigns was the Council chiefly to consist. He knew himself to be a Bastard, and that alone to be sufficient to depose him, in case his enemies were superior in the Council. What had passed at *Constance* and *Basil* gave him just reason to dread, that a Council, held in a free City of *Germany*, might form the same designs. Upon all these considerations, when the Emperor desired him, at the conference of *Bologna*, to call a Council, he forbore to give a positive answer. He contented himself with committing the examination of his request to certain Cardinals, under colour of being informed of the reasons *Pro* and *Con*. The Popes have a character to sustain, which often throws them into great perplexity. In publick, they must make show of a great zeal for God's Glory, for Religion, and for the Good of the Church, and withal of a great disinterestedness for every thing which personally concerns them. But, for fear what they thus profess outwardly should be taken literally, they must in private undeceive those who treat with them, and discover to them, that their own interest is the principal subject of the Negotiation. So, what they say publickly, is always just and right, and seems to tend only to the greater Glory of God. But in the end it is too frequently perceived, that Religion serves only for a cloak to their temporal concerns. On the present occasion, a General Council seemed absolutely necessary to put an end to the troubles caused by the religious differences in several places, and particularly in *Germany*. The Pope not only agreed upon a Council with the Emperor, but even feigned to wish it heartily. Mean while, as a Council was contrary to his interests, reasons, drawn from the good and advantage of Religion, were to be found to reject it, or defer the convening. This was done by the Commissioners, appointed to examine the Emperor's request. They drew a Memorial, setting forth the necessity of a Council, but showing withal the inconveniences of admitting the Protestants to dispute upon Matters already settled, and the uselessness of the same Council if they were not admitted. This Memorial being communicated to *Francis*, he replied to it by another, demonstrating, that the inconveniences mentioned in the first ought not to hinder the calling of a Council. Moreover, he particularly chalked out the methods which were to be used, to banish all partiality. But this Memorial was not acceptable to the Emperor, because a free Council was not what he desired, but a Council that would afford him an opportunity and pretence to attack the Protestants of *Germany*; after which, he did not despair of bringing the Catholicks also under his yoke. *Francis* answered the Emperor's reasons against his Memorial, but it was to no purpose. It was almost impossible that two Princes, whose Interests were so opposite, and who were so jealous of each other, should agree in any one point. Thus the Pope had his wish, since the calling of the Council was deferred to a more proper Season. I must now speak of what passed in *England* in the year 1533.

Reasons of a Congregation of Cardinals against the Council.

The Pope is against a Council. Sleidan.

1533.

France answers their Reasons. Herbert.

The Council is put off. Herbert.

Whilst the Pope and Emperor were conferring at *Bologna*, *Henry* assembled the Parliament the 4th of *February*. As hitherto the Pope had not relaxed in the least, except that he had delayed the Excommunication, wherewith he had threatned the King, it was deemed proper to proceed farther, and let him see, he was not at all feared. So, the Parliament passed an Act, expressly forbidding all Appeals to *Rome*, on pain of incurring a *Præmunire*. This was to convince the Pope, there was no occasion for him, since at the very time that the point in question between him and the King was, to know whether the affair of the Divorce should be judged in *England*, People were forbid to carry their causes to *Rome*. But there was another reason which induced the King to procure this Act; namely, having heard that *Francis* was going to make an Alliance with the Pope, he imagined that for the future his Friend would act but faintly in his favor; and therefore he was now determined to have his cause tried in the Kingdom, without troubling himself any farther about the Pope's proceedings against him (1). The Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* being vacant by *Warham*'s death, it was necessary to fill the See, that the sentence might be given by the Primate of *England*. Wherefore, *Henry* had cast his Eyes on Dr. *Thomas Cranmer*, then in *Germany* (2). But, contrary to his expectation, he had found the Doctor more averse to accept, than others would have been eager to desire that high Dignity. It was six months before he could be perswaded to take upon him that burden. In fine, his reluctance being conquered by the King's patience, he began his journey to *London*, though very slowly, in hopes the King might alter his mind. However, as a farther delay was directly contrary to the King's measures, *Cranmer* could no longer defer submitting to his Will. The King himself undertook to demand his Bulls (3), which, though eleven in all, were rated but at nine hundred Ducats (4). The Pope forbore of his own accord to require the Annates, foreseeing they would be refused. To enable *Cranmer* to be at this charge, the King made him a present of the revenues of the Archbishoprick, from the 9th of *September* last Year. These obstacles being removed, there arose another much more considerable. *Cranmer* refused to take the usual Oath to the Pope, believing he could not do it with a safe conscience. In his first Journey into *Germany* he had read *Luther*'s Books, which entirely convinced him of the truth of many of the Protestant-Tenets, and particularly of the little foundation in Scripture, for the spiritual power assumed by the Pope over the whole Church. Consequently, he could not

Session of the Parliament in England. Herbert. Burnet. Hall.

Statute against all Appeals to Rome.

Cranmer *made Archbishop of Canterbury.* Burnet. Hall. Herbert.

He refuses to take the Oath to the Pope. Burnet.

(1) The other Acts that passed this Session were these. 1. That Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Veal, should for the future be sold by *Averdupois* Weight; and no Person take for a pound of Beef or Pork, above one half-penny; and for a pound of Mutton, or Veal, not above three farthings. 2. That a Man killing a Thief in his own Defence, shall not forfeit his Goods; which was the penalty of those who were guilty of Chance medley. 3. There was also an Act made for encouraging the destruction of Crows, Rooks, and Choughs. 4. And one for paving the Street-way between *Charing-Cross*, and *Strand-Cross*. See Statut. 24. *Hen.* 8.

(2) Negotiating the Business of the Divorce among the learned Men of *Germany*. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 127.

(3) And accordingly sent for them about the end of *January*. *Idem*. p. 128.

(4) These being the last Bulls in this Reign, it will not be amiss to give an account of them, as they are set down in the beginning of *Cranmer*'s Register. By the first, he is, upon the King's Nomination, promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*; this is directed to the King. By a second directed to himself, he is made Archbishop. By a third, he is absolved from all Censures. A fourth is to the *Suffragans*. A fifth to the Dean and Chapter. A sixth to the Clergy of *Canterbury*. A seventh to all the Laity in his See. An eighth to all that held Lands of it, requiring them to receive him as Archbishop. All these are dated *February* 21, 1533. By a 9th of *February* 22, he was to be consecrated, upon taking the Oath in the Pontifical. By a tenth, dated the 2d of *March*, the Pall was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same date, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *London*, were required to put it on him. These were the several Artifices to make Compositions high, and to enrich the Apostolick Chamber. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 128.

1533. resolve to ſwear an obedience, which in his opinion was not due to him. Mean while, *Henry* conſidering *Cranmer*, as a Perſon who by his principles and reſolution could effectually ſerve him in the deciſion of the affair of the Divorce, of which he deſired to ſee the end, preſſed him ſo earneſtly to ſwear the cuſtomary Oath, that he was prevailed with at length, by an expedient propoſed to him; namely, to make a formal proteſtation againſt the Oath he was to take (1). This is by no means one of his moſt commendable actions. However, he was conſecrated the 13th of *March*, according to *Burnet*. And yet, the King put him not in poſſeſſion of the Temporalities till the 29th of *April*. This gives occaſion to ſuſpect, there is a miſtake in the firſt of theſe dates.

He yields at laſt, but makes a Proteſtation. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 456, 457. Burnet. p. 128.

This affair being ended, the King required the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* to give their opinion upon theſe two points. Firſt, whether Pope *Julius*'s diſpenſation for the King's Marriage with *Catherine* was ſufficient, and able to render ſuch a Marriage valid? Secondly, whether it was ſufficiently proved that *Arthur* had conſummated his Marriage with *Catherine*? Whereupon, the Convocation declared on the 5th of *April*, that the Pope had not power to diſpenſe contrary to the Law of God, and that the Conſummation of *Arthur*'s Marriage was proved, as far as a thing of that nature could be. The Convocation of *York* made the like deciſion the 13th of *May* following.

The Convocation of Canterbury and York decide the Points about the Divorce for the King. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 454-472. Burnet.

Whilſt the *Clergy* were employed in debating theſe points, *Henry* writ to *Francis*, deſiring him to ſend a truſty Perſon, to whom he might diſcover ſome things which he would not make publick. Whereupon *Francis* ſent *William de Bellay* Lord of *Langeais*, ordering him to acquaint the King, that he had concluded a Marriage between his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Catherine de Medici*, and that the Pope and himſelf were to meet at *Marſeilles*, to celebrate the Nuptials: That in ſuch a juncture he believed his preſence would be very neceſſary to negotiate his own affairs himſelf with the Pope; but in caſe he did not think proper to be at the Interview, he would do well to ſend ſome perſon on his part. *Langeais* being come to *London*, the King told him, that *Clement* VII having obſtinately refuſed to appoint him Judges in *England*, he had determined at length to proceed; and therefore had already eſpouſed *Ann Bullen*, with a reſolution to have his marriage nulled by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. That however, he would keep his ſecond marriage private till *May*, to ſee what the King of *France* could do with the Biſhop of *Rome* (for ſo he called the Pope.) But if he could obtain nothing, his deſign was to withdraw himſelf wholly from the Papal authority. He imagined then, the Pope and *Francis* would meet in *May*, but it was not till *October*. He told *Langeais* further, that he had compoſed a Treatiſe upon the Incroachments of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and the Prerogatives of ſovereign Princes; but would not publiſh it, till he ſaw no hopes of reconciliation.

Francis ſends de Bellay to London. Bellay. Mezerai. Herbert.

Henry imparts his Marriage to Bellay. Herbert.

Herbert. p. 168. Strype's Mem. p. 149.

Shortly after, the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* was made publick, which certainly was very wrong. Since the King was reſolved to have his firſt Marriage nulled by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſhould have ſtaid till the Sentence was pronounced. All that can be ſaid in excuſe of this irregular conduct, is, that the new Queen was four months gone with Child, and her breeding could hardly be concealed any longer. But notwithſtanding this, the King might have cauſed his firſt Marriage to be nulled a little ſooner, or the ſecond to be publiſhed a little later, ſince there was but a month between the publication and the ſentence. However this be, *Henry* deſpairing to prevail with the Pope, and not much fearing him, thought to have no farther regard either for him or the Publick, being almoſt aſſured of ſucceeding in whatever he undertook, conſidering how the People ſtood affected. In ſhort, being fully determined to end the affair, he ſo ordered, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* demanded his leave to ſummon Queen *Catherine*. Before he came to this extremity, he tried more than once to perſwade the Queen to conſent to the Divorce. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he granted the Archbiſhop the leave he deſired. The Queen was therefore cited to appear at *Dunſtable*, in the neighbourhood of the place where ſhe reſided, the 20th of *May* (2). But as ſhe refuſed to appear, the Archbiſhop gave Sentence the 23d of the ſame month, declaring the King's Marriage with *Catherine* null, as being contrary to the Law of God. On the 28th [at *Lambeth*] by another Sentence, he confirmed the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen*, and on the 1ſt of *June* the new Queen was crowned.

He makes it publick.

Remark on that Subject.

Cranmer cites the Queen, and upon her not appearing pronounces Sentence. Herbert. Burnet. Hall. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 462-467.

1533. *and confirms the King's ſecond Marriage.*

Thus ended this famous Proceſs, the iſſue whereof afforded no leſs matter for divers reflections than the beginning, every one reaſoning, as ſwayed by prejudice or intereſt. Thoſe who were againſt the King took notice of his error in eſpouſing a ſecond Wife, before his firſt Marriage was legally diſſolved. They ſaid moreover, that of all the Prelates in *England*, *Cranmer* was the laſt that ſhould have been choſen for Judge, ſince he had ſo openly declared againſt the firſt Marriage. That his partiality was apparent, not only in his haſte to give Sentence, but alſo in his confirming the King's ſecond Marriage, which had been conſummated whilſt the firſt ſtill ſubſiſted.

Reflections on the King's Conduct. Burnet.

Thoſe who were for the King, affirmed, the Sentence was but a mere formality, which rendred not the Marriage void, but only declared it ſo. That it ſufficed, the Sentence was conformable to the determinations of the *Engliſh* Clergy, and all the Univerſities in *Europe*, and to the ſentiments of the Pope himſelf, who would have nulled the Marriage, had he not been biaſſed by worldly conſiderations. They juſtified *Cranmer*, by alledging, that having changed his Character ſince his declaring for the Divorce, that declaration ought not to hinder him from being Judge, no more than a Lawyer when he comes to ſit on the Bench is debarred the trying of Cauſes in which he formerly gave Counſel. That though there were ſome default in the Form, it could not be denied, the Sentence was juſt in itſelf, which was ſufficient to quiet the King's Conſcience, who alone was concerned in the affair. As for the new Queen, no fault could be found with her conduct, ſince ſhe proved not with Child till after her Marriage, whether the King eſpouſed her in *November* laſt year, or in the *January* following. As for Queen *Catherine*, it could not be thought ſtrange that ſhe ſhould maintain the validity of her ſecond Marriage. But it was juſtly wondered at, ſhe ſhould ſo obſtinately deny the Conſummation of the firſt, which was proved by all poſſible evidence. But as moſt people were then biaſſed on one ſide or other (3), we are not to judge of this affair by what was publiſhed in thoſe days, but by Reaſon and Equity. Let us therefore briefly conſider it in that view, independently of the prejudices cauſed by the conſequences. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to the Reader, to ſee here a ſhort Recapitulation of the conduct of the chief Actors in this Scene. I ſhall confine my ſelf to this, without fully examining the Proceſs, which is not ſo much the buſineſs of a Hiſtorian as of a Divine or Civilian.

Reaſons alledged for the King.

Remarks upon the Proceſs of the Divorce, and the Conduct of the principal Parties. Upon the King.

It is almoſt impoſſible to know poſitively, whether *Henry*, when he undertook the affair of the Divorce, was convinced that his Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, or at leaſt, really troubled in Conſcience upon that account. All that can be ſaid in his favour, is, that he himſelf affirmed as much, and none but the ſearcher of all hearts can know, whether he thought as he ſpoke. It cannot be denied, that the ſole conſideration of ſuch a Marriage is of itſelf capable of breeding ſuch ſcruples, eſpecially as the King's might be confirmed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s his Confeſſor. But, on the other hand, it may be conjectured from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was only a pretence to put away *Catherine*, and marry *Ann Bullen*. In the firſt place, he had lived eighteen years with the Queen, without ſhowing any ſcruple. In the ſecond place, if he was not in love with *Ann Bullen*, when his ſcruples firſt ſeized him, it cannot be denied, he was very much ſo, when he moſt ardently preſſed the affair of the Divorce. So, it may be conjectured, that his love might turn into belief, what at firſt was only a doubt. In the third place, very probably it was Cardinal *Wolſey* that inſpired, by himſelf or another, the King with theſe ſcruples, to be revenged of the Emperor and the Queen. This bold and daring Miniſter imagined, either the affair would eaſily ſucceed, conſidering his great credit at the Court of *Rome*, or in caſe of oppoſition, it would be no more difficult on this than on ſeveral other occaſions, to cauſe the King to alter his mind. But *Henry*'s Love unexpectedly happening, *Wolſey* found he had taken wrong meaſures. Beſides, the determinations of the Univerſities did not a little con-

(1) This Proteſtation imported, That he did not intend by that Oath, to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his Duty to God, to the King, or the Country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of thoſe. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 129.

(2) The Archbiſhop went to *Dunſtable* (about ſix Miles from *Ampthill* where the Queen was) accompanied with *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, and ſate in Court on the 10th of *May*, the King appearing by Proxy, but the Queen not at all. Upon which ſhe was declared *contumacious*, and a ſecond and third Citation were iſſued out. Then the Evidences that had been brought before the Legates of the Conſummation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur* were read. After that, the Determinations of the Univerſities, Divines, and Canoniſts, with the Judgments of the Convocations of both Provinces were produced, and the whole Merit of the Cauſe was opened. And then on the 23d, with the Advice of all that were preſent, it was declared, that the Marriage had been only *de facto*, and not *de jure*, and conſequently null from the beginning. One thing is to be obſerved, that the Archbiſhop is called in the Sentence, *The Legate of the Apoſtolical See*. Whether this went of courſe as one of his Titles, or was put in to make the Sentence firmer, the Reader may judge. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 131. *Hall*, fol. 210.

(3) The Men generally ſpake in behalf of the King, and the Women took the Queen's part. *Hall*, fol. 199.

1533. tribute, without doubt, to confirm the King in his opinion. However, without farther inquiry whether *Henry* was ſatisfied of the juſtice of his Cauſe, let us conſider, in few words, how he behaved in ſo nice an affair. He ſuppoſed, that *Julius* II could not grant a diſpenſation for his Marriage, and conſequently the Marriage was void of itſelf. And yet, he thought he wanted *Clement* VII's Bull to declare it ſo. Herein was a contradiction which could not but greatly embaraſs him. If *Julius*'s diſpenſation was null by the Law of God, it was needleſs to revoke it; and if a revocation was neceſſary, conſequently it was good till revoked. Thus, *Henry* was bound, till the Pope ſhould pleaſe to decide the point. Wherefore, when *Cranmer* had given him another notion of this affair, by intimating to him, that, independently of the power aſſumed by the Pope, the chief thing was to be aſſured of the Right, by the opinions of the Learned, he cried out in a tranſport of joy, *He had got at laſt the right Sow by the ear*; that is, he found in *Cranmer*'s advice a Solution of the difficulties, he could not get clear of, in following the doubtful Principle of the Pope's power, becauſe its extent was not ſettled. He reſolved therefore to procure the opinions of the Univerſities. But at length, weighing the conſequences of a rupture with *Rome*, he reſumed the firſt way, and applied again to the Pope. By this he wronged his Cauſe very much; for in taking the Pope for Judge, it was no longer in his power to limit the authority he was willing to acknowledge. But he was excuſable, ſince it was hardly poſſible to throw off at once his prejudice with reſpect to the Papal power, whereof he had not at firſt ſo clear an Idea as afterwards. Then, finding the Pope acted only from worldly conſiderations, which hindered him from giving him the ſatisfaction he required, he returned to the way he had left. So, proceeding upon his own conviction, and the determinations of the Univerſities, he cauſed his Marriage to be declared null, without regarding the Pope's authority, which he was reſolved to forſake. I omit the Reaſons he alledged to prove the neceſſity of his Divorce. That of Conſcience was doubtleſs the beſt, if ſincere. That relating to the uncertainty of the Succeſſion was proper to demand a Sentence, but not to ground the Divorce upon; becauſe the Divorce ſuppoſed the Marriage void, which was to be judged.

Remarks on the Pope.

Let us now conſider the Pope's conduct, where we find nothing favoring of Chriſt's Vicar. *Clement* VII never examined the Caſe by the maxims of Religion, Juſtice, or Equity, but always with reſpect to his own or his Family's intereſt. If he had attended to what Religion required, he would have examined, whether *Henry*'s Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, and whether, in that caſe, a Pope had power to grant a diſpenſation. If he had been convinced that *Julius* II aſſumed a Right which belonged not to him, he ſhould have readily granted *Henry* the Bull he demanded. But if, on the contrary, he was perſwaded, the Marriage was agreeable to the divine Law, or not being ſo, it was in the power of a Pope to grant a diſpenſation, he ſhould have confirmed it, and tried to remove the King's ſcruples, without ſeeking ſo many evaſions. That was the duty of a Pope. But inſtead of acting in this manner, he conſidered only what good or hurt might accrue to him from the King's demand, independently of the juſtice or injuſtice of the thing. Whilſt he was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, or Fugitive at *Orvieto*, and thought he ſtood in need of *Henry*, he poſitively promiſed to content him. Afterwards, he only amuſed him, till, by the Emperor's means, he had recovered *Florence*. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of that State, which he had ſo much deſired, he avocated the Proceſs to *Rome*, but, in all appearance, with intent never to decide it, if he could help it; becauſe whilſt the two Parties remained uncertain of the deciſion, he made himſelf neceſſary to both. Can it therefore be ſaid, there was any ſign of Juſtice or Religion in his proceedings? Certainly, if *Henry* was to blame, as it is pretended, to feign ſcruples on purpoſe to gratify his paſſion, *Clement* was no leſs ſo, not to try to reclaim him before the affair was begun, or to content him in caſe his ſcruples were well-grounded. Though *Henry* had acted only through paſſion, which is however very uncertain, he would have been much more excuſable than the Pope, who, in the Poſt he filled, ought to have proceeded upon very different Principles.

1533. *Remarks on the Emperor.*

As for the Emperor, he undoubtedly acted in this affair from motives of Honour, Intereſt, and Policy, without Juſtice or Religion being concerned in his Proceedings. He looked upon the Queen of *England*, his Aunt's Divorce, as a diſhonor, which, added to his intereſt to create *Henry* troubles, who was in ſtrict alliance with *France*, was but too capable of inducing him to obſtruct it to the utmoſt of his power.

Upon Queen Catherine.

As for Queen *Catherine*, very probably, ſhe acted with Sincerity. As ſhe believed the Pope's authority unlimited, ſhe thought herſelf the King's lawful Wife, and in that belief, did not think herſelf obliged to reſign her Right to another, on pretence of the King her Husband's ſcruples, which, in her opinion, were groundleſs. Beſides, ſhe could not own her Marriage null, without greatly injuring her Daughter the Princeſs *Mary*. Though ſhe had been convinced her Marriage was lawful in itſelf, ſhe believed the Pope had power to render it valid, being ready however to ſubmit to the ſame authority as ſoon as it ſhould be declared. Nevertheleſs, ſhe may be juſtly ſuſpected of having taken a falſe Oath, to make her cauſe better.

Upon Anna Bullen.

Much has been ſaid againſt *Ann Bullen*. But without inſiſting upon *Sanders*'s Invectives, which have been ſufficiently refuted (1), ſhe can be charged, before Marriage, but with one ſingle Fault, namely, her yielding to the King before his Marriage with *Catherine* was nulled. But it was very difficult for a young Lady of her rank, to have reſolution enough to reſiſt the temptation of being a Queen, if ſhe could be ſo lawfully, as it is likely the King made her believe. It cannot however be ſaid, ſhe yielded to the King's deſires before her Marriage. He eſpouſed her at the lateſt in *January*, and ſhe was not brought to bed till *September* (2). So there is nothing in that which can give occaſion for any ſuſpicion.

Upon the Pope's, the King's, and the Emperor's Agents.

As for the reſt who were concerned in this affair, as the Cardinals, and the King's, and the Emperor's Miniſters, it may be affirmed, they acted only from worldly views, without any regard to Religion.

Upon the Univerſities.

It cannot be ſaid, the Univerſities of *France* and *England* decided the Queſtions propoſed with entire freedom, ſince it is known what an influence Sovereigns have upon the actions of their Subjects, when they are concerned. As to the Univerſities of *Italy*, both Parties accuſed one another of having corrupted them, the one by Money, and the other by Threats. As for the *Engliſh* Clergy, they had lately received ſuch a Check, that they had reaſon to dread giving the King a freſh occaſion of anger. But it cannot be thence inferred, that they decided contrary to their Sentiments, ſince it often happens, the truth is not oppoſite to our intereſt. The ſame may be ſaid of *Cranmer*, who being now tinctured with *Luther*'s Doctrine, could not look upon *Julius*'s diſpenſation as capable of rendering a Marriage valid, which in itſelf was null and repugnant to the Law of God. Indeed, he may have earneſtly embraced this opportunity, to give a mortal wound to the Papal Authority, in order to promote the Reformation. But it cannot be affirmed, that he acted againſt his knowledge, in pronouncing the Sentence of Divorce. At leaſt, his whole behaviour was directly oppoſite to ſuch obliquities.

Upon Cranmer.

By what has been ſaid, it may be eaſily perceived, that in this affair, which was properly a caſe of Conſcience, very few of the Actors had any but political views, without much regard to the precepts of Religion. Nevertheleſs, God who directs all the actions of Men, without their knowing very often themſelves to what they may tend, drew from the proceedings of *Henry*, *Clement*, and *Charles*, the end he deſigned, that is, the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. If any one deſires fully to examine the caſe of *Henry* VIII's Divorce, he would do well to caſt off all prejudice, and take care not to be miſled by the Authors who have writ on this ſubject. But if a Man is contented with examining it hiſtorically, he is to conſider only the political views of the principal Actors.

Catherine remains inflexible. Burnet. Hall. Herbert.

The ſentence of Divorce being made publick, *Henry* took care to acquaint *Catherine* with it, by the Lord *Mountjoy*, who tried in vain to perſwade her to ſubmit. She ſtill remained inflexible, affirming, ſhe would be the King's Wife till the Pope had nulled the Marriage. This anſwer being brought to the King, he ordered her to be ſtiled only *Princeſs Dowager of Wales*. But ſhe

She is to be ſtiled Princeſs Dowager. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 484.

(1) *Sanders* has aſſured the World, That the King liking her Mother, ſent her Husband Sir *Thomas Bullen* Ambaſſador to *France*, and in his Abſence begot *Ann Bullen* upon his Wife. At his Return, he ſued a Divorce againſt her in the Archbiſhop's Court, but the King letting him know ſhe was with Child by him, he was, upon the King's deſire, reconciled to his Wife. Thus *Ann Bullen*, though ſhe went under the name of Sir *Thomas*'s Daughter, yet was of the King's begetting. As he deſcribes her, ſhe was ill-ſhaped and ugly, had ſix Fingers, a Gag-Tooth, and a Tumour under her Chin. At fifteen Years of Age, he ſays, both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her; and when in *France* ſhe led ſuch a diſſolute Life, that ſhe was called the *Engliſh Hackney*. That the *French* King liking her, ſhe was called the *King's Mule*. But returning to *England*, ſhe gained the King's Affection by the appearance of a ſevere Virtue with which ſhe diſguiſed herſelf. The ſame Author adds, *That the King had likewiſe enjoyed her Siſter*, with a great deal more to the Diſgrace of this Lady and her Family. Hence we may ſee to what a height of Rancour and Malice Bigotry and blind Zeal in religious Matters are capable of carrying a Man! *Burnet*, T. I. p. 41.

(2) *September* 7, of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, which afterwards mounted the Throne. *Hall*, fol, 217. *Stow*, &c.

refuſed,

1533. eſtiſed to be ſerved by any that would not treat her as Queen, and the King thought not fit to remove ſuch as would ſhow her that reſpect (1). Shortly after, he notified his Divorce, and new Marriage to all the Sovereigns, and particularly to the Emperor, who coldly told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador (2), he would conſider what he was to do in the caſe.

Henry notifies his Marriage to the Emperor. Herbert. Burnet.

The news of the King's Marriage, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence having reached *Rome*, the Pope was extremely angry with *Henry*, and the more, as a Copy of his Book againſt the Papal authority had now appeared in *Rome* itſelf. The Cardinals of the Imperial Faction improving this occaſion, very earneſtly preſſed him to give ſentence againſt the King, remonſtrating to him, that if he reſented not ſuch an affront, the authority of the Holy See would be at an end. Theſe Remonſtrances produced their effect. The Pope nulled the Archbiſhop's Sentence, and declared that the King himſelf was liable to Excommunication, unleſs, by *September* next, he reſtored the Cauſe to its former ſtate (3). He contented himſelf for this time with only threatening him, becauſe he did not yet deſpair of reclaiming him by the King of *France*'s means, with whom he was going to confer at *Marſeilles*.

The Pope nulls the Archbiſhop's Sentence. Herbert. Burnet. Hollingſh.

The Pope gives a Commina-tory Sentence againſt the King.

The Pope's aim in this Interview was, firſt to celebrate the Nuptials between *Catherine* his Niece, and the Duke of *Orleans*. In the next place, to deviſe with *Francis* ſome expedient to adjuſt his differences with the King of *England*, or if that could not be done, to diſingage *Francis* from *Henry*'s intereſt. *Francis* wiſhed with all his heart, that ſome way might be found to reconcile them, becauſe he hoped to join in a League with both, the more eaſily to recover the Duchy of *Milan*. *Henry* had uſed his utmoſt endeavors to diſſwade him from this Interview, being apprehenſive it would produce between *Francis* and *Clement* an Union which could not but be to his prejudice (4). He had ever reckoned that *Francis* would act in concert with him to frighten the Pope, and that their menaces would induce him at laſt to give him the ſatisfaction he required. But perceiving he could not prevail, he had publiſhed his Marriage. From that time, he was fully bent to widen the breach with *Rome*, unleſs the Pope and the King of *France* ſhould find, during their Interview, ſome ſatisfactory expedient, for which he was very willing to wait. Mean while, he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* (5) in Embaſſy to *Francis*, with orders to accompany him to *Marſeilles*, and ſee whether there was yet any hopes of agreement.

The Pope's Deſign in the Interview of Marſeilles.

Burnet. T. III.

Henry's Deſign.

He ſends the Duke of Norfolk to Marſeilles. Hall. Herbert, Burnet. Hollingſh.

The Duke of *Norfolk* coming to the *French* Court the 1ſt of *July*, waited upon the King who was then on his Journey to *Marſeilles* (6), intending however to make ſome ſtay in *Languedoc*, before he went to the Congreſs. He accompanied him ſome time, but hearing, the beginning of *Auguſt*, what was done at *Rome* againſt the King his Maſter, would have returned, imagining his preſence would be of little ſervice at *Marſeilles*. Nevertheleſs, at the King of *France*'s ſollicitation, he contented himſelf with ſending the Lord *Rochfort* for freſh inſtructions from the King, who immediately recalled him. However, *Francis* ſo artfully managed *Henry*, that he perſwaded him to ſend ſome Perſon to *Marſeilles*, to be a witneſs of what ſhould paſs at the Interview. *Henry* made choice of *Stephen Gardiner*, [Sir *John Wallop*] and Sir *Francis Brian*, with *Edmund Bonner*, a very proper Perſon to execute the orders he gave him.

He recalls him.

Gardiner, Brian, *and* Bonner, *are ſent to* Marſeilles.

The Pope and *Francis* met at *Marſeilles* the beginning of *October*, and within a few days, the Duke of *Orleans* conſummated his Marriage with *Catherine de Medici* (7). This affair being ended, *Francis* ſollicited the Pope in behalf of the King of *England*, and prevailed with him at laſt to give *Henry* entire ſatisfaction; but, to ſave the honor of the Holy See, he would judge the cauſe himſelf in a Conſiſtory, from which the Cardinals of the Emperor's Faction ſhould be excluded. Thus far all went very well. But *Bonner*, to whom doubtleſs it was not thought fit to diſcover this ſecret, demanding an Audience of the Pope (8), acquainted him with the King his Maſter's Appeal to the next General Council, from the ſentence given or to be given againſt him. The Pope told him, before he declared himſelf, he would adviſe with the Cardinals that were with him. Some days after (9), having ſent for *Bonner*, he gave him for anſwer, that according to the opinion of the Cardinals, the Appeal was unlawful. *Bonner*, without being ſurpriſed at this anſwer, acquainted him in the ſame manner with the like Appeal of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, from the ſentence which nulled his judgment for the Divorce. This put the Pope into ſuch a rage, that he talked of throwing *Bonner* into a Cauldron of melted Lead (10). *Guicciardini* ſays, *Francis* was ſo offended with *Bonner*'s inſolence, that he offered the Pope to do all that lay in his power to procure him ſatisfaction for this affront. But if this be true, it was only a mere compliment.

The Pope delibe-rates.

Bonner rejects Cran-mer's Appeal.

The Pope threatens him. Burnet.

Clement departed from *Marſeilles* the 12th of *November*, as much pleaſed with the King of *France* as he was diſſatisfied with *Henry*. Mean while, *Francis* not deſpairing yet to adjuſt this affair, ſent into *England John de Bellay* Biſhop of *Paris*, to propound new expedients to the King. This Prelate, who had reſided ſome time at the Court of *England* as Ambaſſador, wrought ſo with *Henry*, that he perſwaded him at length to agree to an expedient he propoſed to him (11). So, pleaſed with having obtained more than he durſt have expected, he very readily undertook to carry the good news himſelf to the Pope, though it was then in the depth of Winter. He found the Pope inclined to do what he could to end the affair amicably, and drew from him a poſitive promiſe, that the cauſe ſhould be judged at *Cambray* by ſuch as the King of *England* ſhould have no reaſon to except againſt. But *Clement* not truſting entirely to a verbal promiſe, deſired to have it under the King's own hand, that he approved of what was concerted. Moreover, to avoid all delays and evaſions, he fixed the day for the return of the Courier, who was to be ſent into *England*.

The Biſhop of Paris *is ſent to* Henry *with freſh Expe-dients.* Herbert. *Henry ac-cepts them.* Burnet.

The Biſhop goes to Rome. Herbert. Burnet.

The Pope deſires the King's Ap-probation in writing.

He fixes the Day for an Anſwer.

This weighty affair being thus upon the point of concluſion, the Emperor's Agents were very urgent with the Pope to revoke his engagement; but he told them he had given his word. However, they repeated their inſtances with ſuch earneſtneſs, that at length they got him to promiſe, if *Henry*'s anſwer came not by the time appointed, he ſhould think himſelf diſingaged. The Courier not returning on the day appointed, the Imperialiſts preſſed the Pope to give ſentence againſt *Henry*, repreſenting to him that he was amuſed, and threatning him with the Emperor's reſentment. In ſhort, they ſo ardently ſollicited him, that though the Biſhop of *Paris* only deſired a delay of ſix days, he could not obtain it. The Pope, frighted by the menaces of the Imperialiſts, was ſo entirely devoted to them, that what ſhould have been done, according to the uſual forms, in three Conſiſtories, was done in one. In a word, the Pope, without ſtaying for an anſwer from *England*, publiſhed a ſentence (12), declaring *Henry*'s marriage with *Catherine* good and lawful, and requiring him to take his Wife again, with denunciation of Cenſures in caſe of diſobedience. Two days after came the Courier with full Powers for the Biſhop of *Paris*, as the Pope had deſired. Several Cardinals moved to revoke what had been done; but the Emperor's Party preſſed him ſo cloſely, that the motion was rejected. Thus the Pope, who had amuſed the King for ſix years by affected delays, could not be perſwaded to grant him ſix days, and by this precipitation, was the cauſe of the *Romiſh* Church's loſs of the Kingdom of *England*.

The Pope refuſes a Delay of ſix Days. Herbert. Burnet.

He publiſhes a Sentence againſt Henry.

The Courier returns juſt after.

The Pope refuſes to revoke the Sentence. Herbert. Burnet.

It muſt however be confeſs'd, that it is very difficult to conceive what the King's view was in the agreement he pretended to make with the Pope. Can it be ſuppoſed he meant to quit his newly acquired Title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England?* But he appeared ſo jealous, during the reſt of his days, of this Supremacy,

Remark on the King's Conduct.

Bonner acquaints the Pope with the King's Appeal. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 476. Herbert. Burnet.

(1) *William Blount* Lord *Mountjoy* was to mix Promiſes with Threatnings, particularly concerning *Catherine*'s Daughter's being put next Queen *Anne*'s Iſſue in the Succeſſion. But all would not do. She ſaid, ſhe would not damn her Soul, nor ſubmit to ſuch an Infamy: That ſhe was his Wife and would never call herſelf by any other Name, ſince the Proceſs ſtill depended at *Rome*. *Mountjoy* having written a Relation of what had paſſed between him and her, ſhowed it her; but ſhe daſhed with a Pen all thoſe Places in which ſhe was called *Princeſs Dowager*. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 132

(2) Sir *Thomas Wyat*.

(3) The more moderate Cardinals were for finding a Temper, that the Sentence ſhould not be definitive, but ſhou'd be given upon what had been attempted in *England* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (which in the ſtile of the *Canon Law*, was called the *Attentates*,) and it was done accordingly. The Sentence was affixed ſoon after at *Dunkirk*. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 133. *Herbert*, p. 172.

(4) *Francis* acquainted King *Henry*, that his chief deſign in this Interview, was to ſerve him; but *Henry* replied, That he was ſo ſure of his Nobility and Commons, that he had no Apprehenſion of any thing the Pope could do. *Burnet*, T. 3. p. 72.

(5) Together with *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford*, Sir *William Paulet*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, attended with a hundred and ſixty Horſe. *Hall*, fol, 211. *Herbert*, p. 168.

(6) And endeavoured to diſſuade him from the Interview and Marriage propoſed, or, at leaſt, to ſuſpend it till the Pope had given our King Satisfaction; offering alſo Aid for a War in *Piedmont*, if he would ſuffer no more Money to go out of his Realm to *Rome*, and inſtead of the Pope to erect a Patriarch. *Herbert*, p. 169.

(7) The Pope himſelf married the young Couple. *Herbert*, p. 170.

(8) *November* 7. *Ibid.*

(9) *November* 10. *Ibid.*

(10) Or burning him alive. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 134.

(11) Namely, That if the Pope would put of the Execution of his Sentence, untill he had indifferent Judges ſent, who might hear the Buſineſs, he would alſo defer the Execution of what he was inclined to do in withdrawing his Obedience from the *Roman* See. *Herbert*, p. 173.

(12) On the 23d of *March*. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 136.

which

1533. which kept the Clergy in awe, whereas before, the Clergy depended more on the Pope than on him, that there is no likelihood he would think of parting with this Prerogative. And yet, how could the King's ſupremacy ſubſiſt in caſe he agreed with the Pope? Or how could the Pope reſolve to content him with reſpect to his Divorce, without requiring him to reſign his Supremacy? Certainly it is impoſſible to reconcile theſe two things; which gives occaſion to ſuſpect, the King acted not with ſincerity in his pretended agreement with the Pope, and after having juſtified his Divorce by the Sentence he would have obtained from him, meant to drop him there, and withdraw from his obedience. This ſuſpicion is confirmed by what paſſed in *England*, at the very time the King diſpatched the Courier to *Rome*, with the engagement the Pope had deſired. I have obſerved that the Biſhop of *Paris* went poſt from *London* about the end of *December*; that upon his arrival at *Rome* he ſent a Courier to the King to acquaint him with what he had obtained of the Pope; and that the King ſent back the ſame Courier with his approbation. Now what ſpeed ſoever the Biſhop and Courier could make, it is impoſſible the Courier could return to *Rome* before the middle of *January*. But at the very time the King diſpatched the Courier, he held at *Weſtminſter* a Parliament, where Acts were paſſed directly contrary to the agreement he ſeemed to deſire (1).

Burnet, T. III. p. 92.

1534. *Parliament* Herbert. Hall. Burnet.

The Parliament meeting the fifteenth of *January* 1534, opened the Seſſion with repealing the Statute of *Henry* IV againſt Hereticks. This was not with deſign to exempt them from the penalties in that Statute, ſince it was enacted in this that they ſhould be burned, but only to hinder the Clergy from being ſole judges in cauſes of this nature. That was the real intent of the new Act, whereby, for the future, Hereticks were to be proſecuted and tried according to the Laws of the Land, without any regard to the Canon Law (2).

Act to take from the Clergy the Cognizance of Hereſy.

Another Statute, whereby the King is impowered to name thirty two Commiſſioners to reform the Canons.

By another Statute, which the Parliament paſſed at the ſame time, it was enacted, Firſt, That all Convocations ſhould be called for the future by the King's Writ. Secondly, That the King ſhould name thirty two Perſons, ſixteen of both Houſes of Parliament, and as many of the Clergy, to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church, with power to abrogate or confirm ſuch as they thought fit. As it is certain the Parliament acted by the directions of the Court, it may eaſily be conceived the King was not much inclined to agree with the Pope, tho' by the engagement he did ſend, or had already ſent, to *Rome*, he ſeemed reſolved.

Act of Attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton. Hall. Burnet.

Here is another argument of the little regard *Henry* had for the Pope, at the very time he was going to obtain all his deſires. Before the news came to *England* of the ſentence againſt the King, the Parliament paſſed an Act of Attainder againſt *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called *the Holy Maid of Kent*, who pretending to be inſpired, foretold, that *if the King married* Ann Bullen *he ſhould not be a King a month longer*. This Nun having been wrought upon and inſtructed by a certain Curate, counterfeited the Propheteſs, and mixed, with her Predictions, invectives againſt the King's proceedings in the affair of the Divorce, and threats againſt his chief Counſellors. Several *Franciſcans* countenanced her pretended Revelations, ſo that ſhe was in great repute with the People; nay, Archbiſhop *Warham*, Sir *Thomas More*, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, were deceived with the reſt. But at length, the Nun and her Accomplices being apprehended by the King's order, the affair was ſo carefully examined, that the whole contrivance was diſcovered, and the counterfeit Propheteſs condemned to die, with her corrupters. However, as the affair had made a great noiſe, the King was pleaſed it ſhould be brought before the Parliament, to render their condemnation more authentick. *Sanders* would fain reckon this Nun and her Accomplices for Martyrs, though their own confeſſions ſufficiently juſtified their condemnation (3). If the King had really intended to be reconciled to the Court of *Rome*, nothing could be more unſeaſonable than to paſs this Act, when the affair of the Divorce ſeemed to be upon the point of being adjuſted to his ſatisfaction.

An Account of her. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. Strype's Mem.

1534. *She is adjudged to die.* Burnet.

The King and Parliament offended at the News of the Pope's Sentence. Herbert.

Whilſt the Parliament was employed in theſe matters, *Henry* received news of the Sentence (4) given and publiſhed againſt him at *Rome*, with all the circumſtances, demonſtrating the little regard the Pope had for his Perſon and Dignity. Theſe haſty proceedings convincing him there was nothing more to be expected from *Rome*, he no longer delayed to execute his reſolution to break off all correſpondence with the Pope. The Parliament was no leſs offended than the King with the Pope's conduct. So, the whole Legiſlature, being in the ſame mind, reſolved utterly to aboliſh the papal authority in *England*. After what *Clement* had done, there was no other way; it was neceſſary either to withſtand him vigorouſly, or prepare to indure all the ſeverities and indignities, to which *England* was liable in the Reigns of *Henry* II, and *John Lackland*. But the times were altered. The *Engliſh* were no longer willing to ſubmit to the baſe actions required, by the Popes, of their Anceſtors, neither was the King's intereſt different from that of his Subjects. Thus, every one being equally tired of the Pope's yoke, it was deemed more honorable to demoliſh at once that formidable power, under which the Kingdom had ſo long groaned, than vainly to expect, it would of itſelf be reduced within due bounds. It may be eaſily judged, the favourers of the new Religion were not ſparing of their pains to bring things to this State. The reſolution that had been taken was quickly put in execution. In a few days an Act was paſſed containing ſundry Articles, all tending to the ſame point.

Statute c. 20.

Act aboliſhing the Papal Authority.

The firſt confirmed the Statute for aboliſhing the Annates, or Firſt-Fruits.

By the ſecond it was enacted, that for the future, the Pope ſhall have nothing to do in the nominating or preſenting of Biſhops; but that, when a Biſhoprick ſhall become vacant, the King ſhall ſend to the Chapter a *Congé d'elire*, and in caſe the election ſhall not be over within twelve days after the Licenſe, it ſhall belong to the King. That the Biſhop elect ſhall ſwear fealty to the King, and then be recommended by his Majeſty to the Archbiſhop to be conſecrated. That if the Biſhop elect or Archbiſhop refuſe to obey the contents of this Act, they ſhall be liable to the penalty of *Præmunire*. Moreover, all Perſons were expreſly forbid to apply to the Biſhop of *Rome* for Bulls, Palls, and the like.

Statut. c. 21.

By another Act, were aboliſhed, Peter-Pence, all Procurations, Delegations, expeditions of Bulls, and Diſpenſations coming from the Court of *Rome*; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was appointed to grant all ſuch Diſpenſations, *&c.* as ſhould not be contrary to the Law

(1) This Year, on *June* 24, died *Mary* Queen Dowager of *France*, and Wife of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. *Hall*, fol. 217.

(2) By the Statute of *Henry* IV, Biſhops might, upon Suſpicion of Hereſy, commit any Perſon to Priſon, without Preſentment or Accuſation, contrary to what was practiſed in all other Caſes. Therefore the Statute of *Henry* IV was repealed, but thoſe of *Richard* II, and *Henry* V, were left ſtill in force, with the following Regulation: That Hereticks ſhould be proceeded againſt upon Preſentments, by two Witneſſes at leaſt, and then committed, but brought to anſwer to their Indictments in open Court; and if found guilty, and would not abjure, or were Relapſe, to be adjudged to Death; the King's Writ *De Hæretico comburendo* being firſt had. This Act is the fourteenth in the *Statute Book*, thirty third in the *Records*, thirty firſt in the *Journal*. It may eaſily be imagined how acceptable this Act was to the whole Nation, ſince it was an effectual Limitation of the Eccleſiaſtical Power, in one of the moſt uneaſy Parts of it. And this Regulation of the arbitrary Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, was a particular Bleſſing to the Favourers of the Reformation. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 147.

(3) *Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent*, in the Pariſh of *Aldington*, being troubled with a ſort of *Hyſterical* Fits, which diſtorted her Limbs ſo, that People began to think her inſpired of God, was perſuaded by *Richard Maſter* the Pariſh Prieſt, who hoped to draw great Advantages from it, to pretend to Prophecy and ſupernatural Impulſe. Whereupon he taught her to counterfeit *Trances*, and to utter Speeches againſt the Wickedneſs of the Times, particularly againſt Hereſy and Innovation. At length ſhe gave out, that on ſuch a Day ſhe ſhould be perfectly cured, if ſhe went in Pilgrimage to the Image of the bleſſed Virgin, in a Chapel within the Pariſh of *Aldington*, the Reputation whereof the crafty Prieſt had a mind to raiſe. On the Day appointed above two thouſand People were gathered together to ſee the miraculous Cure. Being brought to the Chapel, ſhe fell into one of her Fits, and ſpoke many Words of great Piety, ſaying, That by the Inſpiration of God ſhe was called to be a Nun, and that Doctor *Bocking* (a Canon of *Chriſt* Church in *Canterbury*, an aſſociate of the Prieſt's) was to be her *gheſtly* Father. Preſently after ſhe ſeemed, by the Interceſſion of *our Lady*, to be perfectly recovered, and afterwards became a Nun in the Priory of St. *Sepulchre's* in *Canterbury*, where *Bocking* frequently viſited her. He with ſome others being apprehenſive the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* might be detrimental to the *Popiſh* Religion, perſuaded the Nun to menace the King with Death. The Friers that were in the Conſpiracy, had agreed to publiſh theſe Revelations in their Sermons up and down the Kingdom. They had given notice of them to the Pope's Ambaſſadors, and brought the Maid to declare her Revelations to them. They had alſo ſent an account to Queen *Catherine*, for encouraging her to ſtand out and not ſubmit to the Laws. The King, who had deſpiſed the thing long, ordered, that in *November* the laſt Year, the Maid and her Complices ſhould be brought into the *Star-Chamber*, where, before many Lords, they all without Rack or Torture confeſſed the whole Cheat, and were adjudged to ſtand in St. *Paul's* all the Sermon time, after which, every one on the *Sunday* following read his Confeſſion openly before the People. Then they were carried to the *Tower*, where they lay till the Seſſion of Parliament. The Matter being brought before the Houſe, the Nun, *Richard Maſter*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Dering*, *Henry Gold* a *London* Miniſter, *Richard Riſby*, were attainted of High-Treaſon, and executed at *Tyburn*, *April* 21. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Abel*, and four more, were judged guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and to forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during Pleaſure. The wicked Deſigns of this Impoſture did much alienate People from the Intereſt of *Rome*, and made the other Acts both paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the People. It was alſo generally believed, that what was now diſcovered was no new Practice, but that many of the Viſions and Miracles by which religious Orders had raiſed their Credit, were of the ſame Nature; and it made way for the deſtroying of all the Monaſteries in *England*. Biſhop *Fiſher* pleaded in his Excuſe, that all he did was only to try whether her Revelations were true. And for his concealing what ſhe had told him about the King, he thought it needleſs to ſay any thing, becauſe ſhe (as ſhe ſaid) had told it to the King herſelf. So he refuſed to make any Submiſſion; and yet it does not appear that the King proceeded againſt him upon this Act. See *Hall*, fol. 219, *&c.* *Stow*, p. 570. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 150, *&c.*

(4) From *Edward Karne* and *William Revet*, who were employed to ſollicite this important Buſineſs. *Herbert*, p. 173.

1534. of God, on condition that part of the Money thence arising ſhould be paid into the King's Exchequer (1). Moreover, all Religious Houſes, exempt and not exempt, ſhould be ſubject to the Archbiſhop's Viſitation (2).

Statut. c. 22. By another Act, it was enacted, that the King's Marriage with *Catherine*, Widow of his Brother Prince *Arthur*, ſhould be held null and void, and that ſhe ſhould be reputed only Princeſs Dowager of *Wales*. On the contrary, the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* is declared valid, and the Succeſſion to the Crown ſettled upon their Iſſue. Moreover, it is ſaid, that any Perſon of what quality ſoever, who ſhall ſpeak or write againſt the King's Marriage, ſhall be adjudged a Traitor to the King and State, and that all the King's Subjects, without diſtinction, ſhall be obliged to ſwear, they will obſerve and maintain the contents of this Act. After this, follows a Liſt of the Marriages forbid by the Law of God, among which is that of a Man with his Brother's Widow; and it was enacted, that no ſuch Marriages ſhould be allowed for the future, and that ſuch as were then in being ſhould be diſſolved.

The People rejoice at it. Thus was the papal authority aboliſhed in *England* by Act of Parliament. Indeed, there were few Biſhops and Abbots preſent when the Act paſſed (3). However, there was but one ſingle Biſhop who refuſed to ſet his name to it, becauſe they made a great difference between ſubmitting to an Act paſſed by a lawful Authority, and giving their vote for it. The generality of the People expreſſed great joy to ſee themſelves freed from a yoke, which neither they nor their Forefathers could bear. None but the Monks exclaimed againſt it, and drew upon themſelves the King's indignation, the effects whereof they afterwards felt. Thoſe who wiſhed for the Reformation were highly pleaſed to ſee the main obſtacle removed, believing the reſt would quickly follow. But this Reformation, which they ſo impatiently expected, made not, in this Reign, all the Progreſs, they imagined they had reaſon to hope.

Oath taken by the Subjects according to the Act. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 487, &c.—527. Burnet. T. I. p. 146. The Parliament breaking up the 30th of *March* (4), after all the Members had ſworn to obſerve what was enjoined in the fore-mentioned Act, the King ſent Commiſſioners throughout the Kingdom, to adminiſter the ſame Oath to all his Subjects. *The Collection of the Publick Acts* contains the Oaths of ſeveral Abbots and Fryers of all Orders to this effect: That they would be faithful to the King, the Queen, their Heirs and Succeſſors: That they owned the King for ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*: That the Biſhop of *Rome* has no more juriſdiction than any other Biſhop: That they renounced his Obedience: That they would preach ſincerely Doctrines agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: That in their Prayers, they would pray firſt for the King as ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, then for the Queen [and her Iſſue,] and laſtly for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (5). Some time after, *Lee* Archbiſhop of *York* certified by a writing of the 5th of *May*, that in the Convocation of his Province it was declared, the Pope had no more power in *England* than any other Biſhop. Only *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More* late Chancellor, refuſed to ſign the Act of Parliament, which, as has been ſeen, contained three principal Articles; the ſucceſſion of the Crown, the nullity of the King's firſt Marriage, with the validity of his ſecond, and the aboliſhment of the Papal authority. They offered to ſign the firſt Article; but for the other two, they ſaid, their Conſcience would not ſuffer them to conſent to them, whereupon they were committed to the *Tower* (6). 1534.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 492.

Fiſher and More refuſe to take the Oath, and are ſent to the Tower. Herbert. Strype. Burnet.

Whilſt theſe Oaths were adminiſtring throughout the Kingdom, the King ſent the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* (7) to tell *Catherine*, ſhe muſt forbear aſſuming the Title of Queen, and lay before her the reaſons that moved the Parliament to deprive her of it. But ſhe replied, She believed her Marriage with the King good and lawful, and ſhould hold it as ſuch to her dying day: That ſhe had never conſummated her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*; and they who affirmed it, ſpoke not the truth: That ſhe was not bound to ſubmit to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence, ſince the Pope had nulled it, and decreed the contrary (8): That the King's Marriage with *Ann* was not valid, as being made during the Appeal: That ſhe was not obliged to ſubmit to the Acts of the Parliament, not being the King's Subject, but his Wife: That beſides, theſe Acts were made by the King's Subjects, upon an affair wherein he was party.

Henry acquaints Catherine with the Act of Parliament. Herbert. p. 175. *The Queen's Anſwer.*

Negotiation between Francis and Henry fruitleſs. Herbert.

Tho' *Henry* would have been very glad of *Catherine*'s ſubmiſſion to what the Parliament had enacted, it was not her obſtinacy that gave him the moſt uneaſineſs. The Emperor having undertaken to execute the Pope's ſentence, *Henry* was naturally to expect to be attacked by that powerful enemy. In order therefore to prevent him, or to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, he deſired to make a League with the King of *France*, by a new Treaty, which ſhould render their union more effectual for their common defence. *Francis* ſeemed very ready to comply, but meant that all the Terms ſhould be to his advantage, and to make *Henry* ſubſervient to his deſigns elſewhere. He had ſtill an eye upon the Duchy of *Milan*, as upon what belonged to him of right, and had been unjuſtly taken from him, and deſigned to recover it, though he had expreſly renounced it by the Treaty of *Cambray*. To this end he had ſacrificed the honour of his Houſe, in marrying his ſecond Son to a Baſtard-Branch of the Family of the *Medici*, becauſe he did not think he could proceed without the Pope. But on the other hand, he was afraid of loſing the fruit of that Alliance, by uniting too cloſely with the King of *England*, whom the Pope could now conſider but as an open enemy. In this perplexity, he endeavoured to perſuade *Henry* to act only privately, by ſending large Sums to the *German* Proteſtants, to foment the diſſention between them and the Emperor, and embroil him ſo, as to hinder him from thinking of *Italy*. *Henry* did not abſolutely reject the Propoſal. He was very willing to aſſiſt the Proteſtants with a good ſum of Money: but pretended withal, that *Francis* ſhould attack *Navarre* with a powerful Army, whilſt on his part he carried War into *Flanders*. But *Francis* could not reſolve to join ſo openly with *England*, for fear of offending the Pope. Beſides, he turned all his thoughts to the *Milaneſe*, where an accident, about the end of the laſt year, gave him an opportunity to carry his Arms. As this accident was the

(1) All Diſpenſations formerly taxed at or above four Pounds, ſhould be alſo confirmed under the Great Seal.

(2) All Monaſteries, *&c.* heretofore exempt from the Archbiſhop's Viſitation, were ſtill to be ſo, and ſuch Abbeys whoſe Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, were now to be confirmed by the King. See the Act, being 21 in the *Statute-Book*, 27 in the *Record*, and 8 in the Journal.

(3) There were preſent only the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaffe*, and *Carliſle*, with twelve Abbots. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 144.

(4) Beſides the Acts mentioned above, there were others of ſome Importance made; namely, 1. That Perſons indicted of Petit-Treaſon, wilful Murder, Robbery, or other Felony, and upon their Arraignment ſtanding mute, or peremptorily challenging above twenty of the Jury, or elſe refuſing to anſwer directly to their Indictments, ſhall not have the Benefit of the Clergy. 2. By another, the deteſtable Vice of Buggery was adjudged Felony. 3. There was alſo an Act made to prevent the deſtroying of wild Fowl, whereby it was enjoined, that none ſhould be taken from the laſt Day of *May*, to the laſt of *Auguſt*, upon pain of one Year's Impriſonment. 4. Whereas ſome People had gathered into few Hands, ſeveral Farms, and great Plenty of Cattle, particularly Sheep, ſome to the Number of twenty thouſand, whereby the Rents of Lands were not only encreaſed, but alſo Tillage very much decayed, ſome Churches and Towns had been pulled down, and the Price of Corn, Cattle, *&c.* exceſſively enhanced; it was therefore enacted, that no Man ſhould keep above two thouſand Sheep at one time: And not hold above two Farms at once, and thoſe to be in the Pariſh where he lives. 5. That no Man ſhould buy bound Books brought from beyond Sea, nor buy any ſuch by retail. See *Statut.* 25 *Hen.* VIII.

(5) *Gardiner* wrote to *Cromwell* from *Winchcſter* the 6th of *May*, that the Lord *Audley* and others, with all the Abbots, Priors, Wardens, and Curates within the Shire had taken the Oath. The Forms in which they did it are not known, for though they were enrolled, yet in Queen *Mary*'s Days *Bonner* and others were commiſſioned to examine the Records, and raze out all things done either in contempt of the See of *Rome*, or the Defamation of Religious Houſes. However, two of the Subſcriptions of Religious Orders, dated *May* 4, 1534, eſcaped their Diligence. One is by ſix Abbies, the other by the Prioreſs and Convent of the *Dominican* Nuns at *Deptford*. See *Burnet*'s Collection, No. 50. Vol. I.

(6) At a meeting of the Privy-Council at *Lambeth*, many were cited to take the Oath. *More* was firſt called, and the Oath being tendered him, he replied, after having conſidered the Act, he would neither blame thoſe that made it, nor thoſe that ſwore the Oath: but for his part, though he was willing to ſwear to the Succeſſion, if he might be ſuffered to draw up the Oath himſelf, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conſcience ſo moved him, that he could not, without hazarding his Soul, take it. Upon which, being deſired to withdraw, others were called upon, and did all take the Oath except *Fiſher*, who anſwered in almoſt the ſame manner as *More* had done. Then *More* was again brought in, and they ſhewed him how many had taken it; he ſaid, He judged no Man for doing it, only he could not do it himſelf. Being asked the reaſon, he replied, He feared it might provoke the King the more againſt him if he ſhould offer Reaſons, which would be called diſputing againſt Law: But however, if the King would command him to do it, he would put them in writing. *Cranmer* urged him with this Argument, that ſince he blamed not others for taking it, it ſeemed he was not perſuaded it was a Sin, but was doubtful in the matter: But he did know certainly, he ought to obey the King and the Law; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithſtanding his Doubtings. He anſwered, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his Conſcience leaned poſitively to the other ſide, and offered to purge himſelf by Oath that it was purely out of Conſcience that he refuſed it. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* preſſed him (with an Argument too often uſed in the like caſes) that he might ſee his Conſcience was erroneous, ſince the great Council of the Realm was of another mind. *Cranmer* in a Letter to *Cromwell*, earneſtly preſſed to accept the Oath as *More* and *Fiſher* offered; for if they once ſwore to the Succeſſion, it would quiet the Kingdom, ſince all others would acquieſce and ſubmit to the Judgments of ſo great Men. But this ſage Advice was not followed. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 156. *Strype*'s *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 174.

(7) *Edward Lee*, and *Cuthbert Tunſtal*: They waited upon *Catherine* at *Bugden* near *Huntingdon*. *Herbert*, p. 175.

(8) Adding, that ſhe would never leave the Name of a Queen, but always take herſelf for King *Henry*'s Wife. *Herbert*, p. 175.

1534. occaſion or pretence of a new War between the Emperor and the King of *France*, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention it.

The Duke of Milan beheads Merveilles the King of France's Envoy. Belly. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

Franceſco Sforza was no ſooner reſtored to *Milan*, upon very hard Terms, but he wiſhed to be freed from the Emperor's yoke, and the obligation to pay him the Sum he had promiſed. *Francis* having ſome knowledge of *Sforza*'s diſpoſition, believed he ſhould cheriſh it, in hopes of reaping by it one day ſome advantage. But as *Sforza* greatly feared to give the Emperor ſuſpicion, and conſequently the affair was to be managed very privately, *Francis* found means to keep at *Milan* an Envoy, who could not be ſuſpected. He choſe for that purpoſe a *Milaneſe* Gentleman, called *Merveilles*, who having been formerly baniſhed from *Milan* by *Ludovico the Black*, had lived in *France* ever ſince. The troubles of the *Milaneſe* being entirely ended by the Peace of *Cambray*, *Merveilles* returned home with a Letter of Credence for the Duke, to which the Duke ſent an anſwer, receiving the Gentleman as Envoy of *France*, though in publick he treated him not as ſuch. However ſecret *Merveilles*'s Negotiation might be, the Emperor had ſome notice of it; and made great complaints to the Duke, who, to remove all ſuſpicion, reſolved to ſacrifice to him this Envoy. Accordingly, he ſuborned a perſon to pick a quarrel with *Merveilles*, which ended in the murder of the Party employed, who was killed by *Merveilles*'s Servants, without however their maſter's being preſent. Whereupon *Merveilles* was committed to priſon, and two days after beheaded, without any one being ſuffered to ſpeak with him. *Francis* hearing of it, wrote a menacing Letter to the Duke, and acquainted all his Allies with what had happened. The Duke would have excuſed himſelf, by denying that *Merveilles* was at *Milan* as Envoy. What he ſaid was true in reſpect to the publick. But he could not diſown his own Letter to the King, in anſwer to the Letter of Credence. When the *French* Ambaſſador informed the Emperor of the outrage committed at *Milan* upon *Merveilles*, he coldly anſwered, he could not conceive, how the King of *France* could be affected with the death of a ſubject of the Duke of *Milan*, whom his Sovereign had puniſhed according to his deſerts. This anſwer made the King believe, the Emperor was concerned in *Merveilles*'s death, which was a freſh cauſe of diſguſt, and inflamed his deſire of revenge. But on the other hand, he was not ſorry the ſatisfaction he demanded was refuſed, becauſe he intended to take occaſion from thence, to enter the *Milaneſe* Sword in hand. To that purpoſe, he ordered a levy of *Lanſquenets* in *Germany*, and demanded paſſage of the Duke of *Savoy*, to go and chaſtiſe the Duke of *Milan*. But that Prince fearing to diſpleaſe the Emperor, would not grant it. For which reaſon *Francis*, who could not enter the *Milaneſe*, but by paſſing through the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dominions, reſolved to make War upon him, uſing for pretence certain Claims he had in right of *Louiſa* his Mother to the Inheritance of the late Duke of *Savoy*. Till every thing was ready to begin this War, he ſpent the whole year in divers Negotiations, tending to create the Emperor troubles, and diſable him to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*.

Francis takes occaſion to carry War into the Milaneſe. He demands a Paſſage of the Duke of Savoy, and upon his refuſal declares War againſt him.

Clement VII's Death. Paul III ſucceeds him. Guicciard.

Whilſt *Francis* was thus employed, the ſituation of the affairs of *Italy* was ſomething changed by the death of *Clement* VII, who was carried off by a fit of Sickneſs the twenty ſixth of *September*. The twelfth of *October* following, Cardinal *Farneſe* was choſen Pope, and aſſumed the name of *Paul* III.

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan.

There were likewiſe this year in *Germany* ſome alterations, which put the affairs of the Proteſtants in a tolerable ſituation. The *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* defeated King *Ferdinand*'s Army, commanded by the Count *Palatine*, and reſtored the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to his Dominions. *Ferdinand*, not being able any longer to reſiſt the *Landgrave*, was forced to agree to the Duke's reſtoration; but withal obtained, that both the Duke and the *Landgrave* ſhould acknowledge him for King of the *Romans*. Shortly after, the Elector of *Saxony* acknowledged him alſo, having firſt got a promiſe from him, that he would not ſuffer any perſon to be moleſted in the Empire on the account of Religion. 1534.

Henry *is bent to ſtand to the Rupture with the Pope.* Herbert. Burnet. Hall. Hollingſh.

Clement VII's death cauſed no alteration in the meaſures taken by the Court of *England*, to ſhake off entirely the Pope's Yoke. Matters had been carried too far, ever to recede. Beſides, the King having not much to fear from abroad, by reaſon of the troubles, the Emperor was like to be involved in, and his Subjects being inclined to ſupport him, it would have been imprudent to neglect ſo favorable a juncture, and leave his Work unfiniſhed. So, the Parliament meeting the third of *November*, paſſed ſeveral material Acts, of which it will ſuffice to relate the Subſtance, in order to ſhew they all tended to the ſame Point, that is, to break all the bonds which had ſerved to hold the *Engliſh* in ſubjection to the Popes.

Divers Acts paſſed upon that occaſion.

I. *Act confirms the King's Title of* Head of the Church.

The firſt Act confirmed the King's Title of ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, already given him by the Clergy (1). Though *Henry* had very willingly accepted this Title from the *Clergy*, nay, had not left them the liberty to refuſe it, he ſeemed however to doubt, whether he ſhould receive it when offered by the Parliament. He was pleaſed firſt to adviſe with his Council, and conſult ſome of the Biſhops, whether out of ſcruple, or to ſhew it was not extorted. They whom he conſulted having ſatisfied him, that the Authority aſſumed by the Biſhop of *Rome* over the whole Church had no foundation in Scripture, he baniſhed all his ſcruples, if it be true that he had any, and from thenceforward took all occaſions to improve the prerogatives which flowed from this new Title.

II. *Treaſon to ſpeak evil of the King.*

By a ſecond Act, it was declared Treaſon to ſpeak, write, or imagine any thing againſt the King or Queen (2).

III. *Concerning Sanctuaries.*

The third debarred Perſons accuſed of Treaſon, of the benefit of Sanctuary.

IV. *Form of Oath.*

By a fourth, the Parliament preſcribed a form of Oath concerning the Succeſſion, to be taken by all the King's ſubjects, and annulled all former Oaths upon that head.

V. *Grants the First-Fruits and Tenths to the King.*

The fifth was very grievous to the Clergy, as it gave the King the Annates and Firſt-Fruits of the Benefices; whereas by the Act already paſſed, the Eccleſiaſticks were in hopes of being ever freed from that burden. Moreover, by the ſame Act the yearly Revenue of the tenth part of all Livings was granted to the King (3).

VI. *Suffragan Biſhops.*

By a ſixth Statute, proviſion was made for twenty five Suffragan Biſhops, each of whom was to depend on his Dioceſan, who was to preſent two to the King for him to chuſe one. Thus was revived in the Church of *England* the uſe of *Chorepiſcopi*, introduced into the Primitive Church, but afterwards diſcontinued for ſeveral Centuries (4).

Fiſher *and* More *are condemned by the Parliament.* Burnet.

Laſtly, The Parliament condemned *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More* to perpetual Impriſonment, and confiſcated all their Eſtates, for refuſing to take the Oath enjoined by the Act of the former Seſſion. This ſentence was conſidered by ſome as very unjuſt, whilſt others admired in the ſame, the effects of God's Juſtice upon perſons that had been violent perſecutors of the *Lutherans*.

General Pardon. Burnet.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King granted a General Pardon, from which however *Fiſher* and *More* were excluded (5).

Proclamation againſt the Name of Pope. Stow. Herbert.

Shortly after, the King iſſued out a Proclamation, forbidding to give to the Biſhop of *Rome* the name of Pope, and commanding that name to be razed out of all Books, to deſtroy the remembrance of it if poſſible.

The Biſhops ſwear againſt the Pope. Gardiner's *diſſimulation.* Herbert.

Then the Biſhops voluntarily ſwore to renounce expreſly all obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome*. *Gardiner*, now Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was not the laſt to take this Oath, though in his Soul he abhorred it as very unjuſt. But a blind condeſcenſion for the King in this reſpect, was then the only means to preſerve his favor. Beſides, *Gar-*

(1) And declared, That the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, ſhall have full Power and Authority to viſit, reform, and reſtrain all ſuch Errors, Hereſies, Abuſes, and Offences, which by any manner of Spiritual Juriſdiction ought to be reformed. See *Statut.*

(2) Or to call the King Heretick, Schiſmatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Uſurper, which opprobrious Names ſome inſolent Fryers were very liberal of.

(3) To be paid between *Chriſtmas* and the firſt of *April*. It was ordered in this Act, That the Chancellor of *England* ſhould direct into every Dioceſe in the Realm, Commiſſions in the King's Name, under his Great Seal, as well to the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of every Dioceſe, as to ſuch other Perſons as the King ſhould appoint; to examine, ſearch, and require, by all ways and means, the true, juſt, and whole yearly Value of all the Manors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Rents, Tithes, Offerings, Emoluments, and all other Profits, as well Spiritual as Temporal, belonging to any Archbiſhoprick, Biſhoprick,—Archdeaconry, Deanery, Hoſpital, College, Prebend, Cathedral, or Collegiate Church,———Parſonage, Vicarage,———Free-Chapel, or any other Benefice or Promotion Spiritual. Accordingly, ſeveral Commiſſioners were appointed for each County, with whom were joined the Biſhops of the reſpective Dioceſes, and a certain number of Auditors. The Valuations that were thus taken by theſe Commiſſioners, were all returned to *Cromwell*, Maſter of the Rolls; and according to them have the Firſt-Fruits been paid ever ſince. *Strype*'s *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 211.

(4) The Towns appointed for Suffragan Sees were, *Thetford*, *Ipſwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Dover*, *Guilford*, *Southampton*, *Taunton*, *Shafteſbury*, *Molton*, *Marlborough*, *Bedford*, *Leiceſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Shrewſbury*, *Briſtol*, *Penreth*, *Bridgwater*, *Nottingham*, *Grantham*, *Hull*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, *Pereth*, and *Berwick*, St. *Germans*, and the *Iſle of Wight*. They were to exerciſe ſuch Juriſdiction as the Biſhop of the Dioceſe ſhould give to them; but their Authority was to laſt no longer than the Biſhop continued his Commiſſion to them. In *Burnet*'s Collection, N. 51. Vol. I. the Reader may ſee a Writ for making a Suffragan Biſhop.

(5) This Parliament granted the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth, to be paid in three Years. There had been no Subſidy granted for twelve Years before. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 158.

Gar-

1534. *Progress of the Reformation in England.* Burnet.

diner was thereby enabled to crofs, upon other points, the Reformers, who daily gained ground (1).

It was not only in *Germany* that the Reformation had made ſome progreſs, but alſo in many other places. In *England* it had been countenanced in ſome meaſure by Cardinal *Wolſey*, as, during his Miniſtry, no Perſon was proſecuted for Hereſy, though the Clergy wanted not occaſions to exerciſe their uſual ſeverities, had they been left to take their own Courſe. After *Wolſey*'s diſgrace, Sir *Thomas More* being made Chancellor, perſuaded the King, that what did him the moſt injury at the Court of *Rome*, was the report of his being a favorer of the Innovators, and to remove this falſe imputation, the moſt infallible way was to ſhew a zeal for Religion. *Henry* following this advice, ordered the Laws againſt Hereticks to be rigorouſly executed, and very ſtrictly prohibited the importing any of their Books into the Kingdom. But this Prohibition was not capable of hindering ſeveral of *Luther*'s Treatiſes from being brought into *England*, with *Tindal*'s Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, who was retired into *Flanders*. The Biſhop of *London* having notice of it, cauſed ſome Copies to be ſeized, and publickly burnt by the Hangman (2). But this was ſo far from injuring the Reformation, that it rather turned to its advantage. Many Perſons, full of indignation at this impious Act, inferred that the Scriptures were contrary to the Religion generally profeſſed, ſince the Clergy took ſuch care to hinder the Bible from being read, and that alone raiſed their deſire to read it. On the other hand, the diſlike the *Engliſh* had taken to the Pope, greatly increaſed, by the reading of the *Lutheran* Writings.

Perſecutions raiſed by More. Burnet. Fox.

Bible burnt at London. Hall. Burnet.

As the Reformation gained ground, the zeal of its enemies was inflamed againſt ſuch as embraced it. Whilſt *More* was Chancellor, he ſpared no pains to deſtroy them utterly. Many ſuffered Martyrdom (3) with a wonderful conſtancy, which very much contributed to ſtrengthen their Brethren. At length, the King having to manage the *German* Proteſtants, becauſe he might afterwards want them, ſuſpended *More*'s perſecution. On the other hand, *Ann Bullen* very much mollified the King in that reſpect. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* contributed to it likewiſe to the utmoſt of his power, and *Thomas Cromwell*, now in great eſteem with the King, ſeconded their endeavours as far as in him lay (4). But they had a ſtrong Party againſt them, conſiſting of the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, almoſt all the Churchmen who had any acceſs to the Court, and thoſe who, when they preached before the King, filled their Sermons with invectives againſt the Reformation. All theſe had gained *Henry*'s confidence by their compliance in the affair of the Divorce and the Supremacy, though in the laſt they acted contrary to their ſentiments. By this condeſcenſion, they were enabled effectually to oppoſe the Reformers, in all the Articles which concerned not the Pope, and eſpecially in that of the real Preſence, which the King deemed unqueſtionable, and thought ſo all his Life. In ſpite of all this, the Heads of the Reformed deſpaired not of inclining him by degrees to a farther Reformation, becauſe of the connection, the Articles of Religion have one with another. Beſides, their party grew ſtronger every day, by the junction of ſuch as read the Holy Scriptures and the religious Books which were handed about, notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition. Nothing ſhews more the number and ſtrength of that Party, than the readineſs wherewith the Parliament paſſed the Acts which tended to leſſen the Clergy's power, and ſhake off the papal yoke.

Perſecution in England Burnet. Fox.

put a ſtop to.

Cranmer and Cromwell *ſupport the Reformation.*

Strong Party againſt them. Burnet.

Francis I. *ſeems to favour the Reformation.*

The Reformation made likewiſe ſome progreſs in *France:* the King himſelf expreſſed an inclination for the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, which was privately countenanced by his Siſter *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*. But the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Lorrain*, who were in great credit with him, diſſuaded him from it ſo earneſtly, that they gained him at laſt; nay, made him a violent Perſecutor.

Peace between England *and* Scotland. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 480, 529—542. Herbert. Hall.

Before I cloſe what relates to the events of the year 1534, I muſt not forget to mention, that a twelve-month's Truce concluded the laſt year (5) between *England* and *Scotland*, was turned into a Peace the 11th of *May* this year. By the Treaty, the Peace was to laſt till the death of one of the two Kings, and *Henry* might, without breaking it, keep the *Douglaſſes* in *England*. 1534.

In the beginning of the year 1535. *Francis* I. ſent an Embaſſy to *Henry*, under colour of diſcharging the duty of a good Friend and Ally, but in reality to try to deceive him, by feigning to acquaint him with his ſecrets, and ask his advice. The occaſion of the Embaſſy was this: The Emperor having reſolved to carry his Arms into *Africa*, had a mind to amuſe *Francis*, leſt, in his abſence, he ſhould attack the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſo open a way to the Duchy of *Milan*, as he ſeemed to intend. To that purpoſe, he had diſpatched an Ambaſſador to him, with orders to propoſe a Marriage between his third Daughter and *Philip* Prince of *Spain*; and another between the Dauphin and *Mary* Daughter of *Henry* and *Catherine* of *Arragon*. Moreover, he had offered him a Penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns for the Duke of *Orleans*, upon the Duchy of *Milan*, and the Duchy itſelf, after the death of *Franceſco Sforza*, who had no Heirs. It was evident, theſe overtures were deſigned only to amuſe *Francis*, who conſidered them himſelf upon no other foot. Nevertheleſs, he imagined they would ſerve to procure him ſome advantage from *Henry*, if he let him know he was courted by the Emperor. To this end, he ſent into *England* Admiral *Chabot Seigneur de Brion*, on pretence to adviſe with the King upon theſe offers. But his chief aim was to make him uneaſy, and induce him to offer ſome advantagious propoſals. It appeared in the ſequel he would have perſuaded him to things which were very far from his thoughts. The Admiral having diſcharged his Commiſſion, *Henry* anſwered, he much wondered, the Emperor ſhould pretend to marry his Daughter, over whom he neither had nor ever ſhould have any right or power: That it was manifeſt, he only ſought to break the Union between *France* and *England*, and therefore he hoped the King of *France* would not be ſo much his own enemy, as to hearken to ſuch overtures. Shortly after, he ſent orders to his Ambaſſador at *Paris* (6), to tell *Francis*, he would give *Elizabeth* his Daughter and Heir to the Duke of *Angoulême* his third Son, upon the following conditions: That *Francis* himſelf, his three Sons, the Princes of the Blood, the principal Nobility of *France*, the Parliaments, and Univerſities ſhould ſolemnly promiſe to cauſe to be revoked the Sentence given againſt him by the Biſhop of *Rome:* That the Duke of *Angoulême* ſhould be ſent into *England* to be educated: That in caſe by his Marriage he ſhould come to the Crown of *England*, the Duchy of *Angoulême* ſhould be independent of the Crown of *France*. Theſe conditions were afterwards mitigated, and *Francis* I. ſeemed to agree to them. But he required in his turn, that *Henry* ſhould aſſiſt him in the War of *Savoy*, and forgive him the perpetual Annuity of a hundred thouſand Crowns, which he was bound to pay by a Treaty. *Henry* perceiving *Francis*'s inſincerity, told the Admiral, that inſtead of forgiving the Penſion, he expected, the King his Maſter ſhould pay the Arrears, and clear by the time appointed, all his other Debts. This anſwer put an end to the Negotiation, which probably, was undertaken only to ſound *Henry* concerning the Penſion.

1535. *Embaſſy of* France *to ſift* Henry. Bellai. Herbert.

Henry's *Anſwer to* Francis's *Propoſals.* Herbert.

Henry's *Offer.* Herbert. Hall. Hollingſh.

Francis's *Demand.*

Henry *demands what was due to him.*

Francis's grand deſign was to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, under pretence of revenging the affront done him by *Sforza*. But, to execute this project, it was neceſſary to raiſe the Emperor troubles, which ſhould hinder him from aſſiſting that Duchy. There were four ſeveral quarters from whence he hoped to imbroil the Emperor. Firſt, from the Pope and the Princes of *Italy*. Secondly, in *Germany*, by means of the League of *Smalcald*. Thirdly, by fomenting diſcord between the King of *England* and the Emperor. Laſtly, by drawing the *Turks* into *Germany*. In order to all this, he had married his Son the Duke of *Orleans* to *Catherine de Medici*; lodged a hundred thouſand Crowns in the hands of the Duke of

Francis's *Projects.*

(1) This Year, on the 11th of *Auguſt*, the Monaſteries of *Obſervant* Friers at *Canterbury*, *Greenwich* and *Richmond*, *Newark* and *Newcaſtle*, were ſuppreſſed, and *Auguſtine* Friers, (according to ſome) put in their room; though others mention not this Exchange. See *Stow*, p. 571. *Herbert*, p. 178.

(2) *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *London* being at *Antwerp* (where *Tindal* was) in 1529, as he returned from his Embaſſy at the Treaty of *Cambray*, ſent for one *Packington* an *Engliſh* Merchant, and deſired him to ſee how many of *Tindal*'s *New Teſtaments* he might have for Money. *Packington* acquainted *Tindal* with what the Biſhop propoſed. *Tindal* was very glad of it, for he was then deſigning a new and more correct Edition; but being poor, and the former Impreſſion not being ſold off, he could not go about it. So, giving *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his hands, the Biſhop paid for them, and brought them over and burnt them in *Cheapſide*. Next Year, when the ſecond Edition was finiſhed, many more were brought over, and Chancellor *More* enquiring of one *Conſtantine*, who it was that encouraged and ſupported them at *Antwerp*, was told, that the greateſt Encouragement they had was from the Biſhop of *London*, who had bought up half the old Impreſſion. This made all that heard it laugh heartily. *William Tindal*, born on the borders of *Wales*, and brought up at *Oxford*, was afterwards burnt in 1536, at *Filford*, eighteen Miles from *Antwerp*, crying out at the Stake, *Lord open the King of* England's *Eyes*. *Hall*, fol. 186, 227. *Fox*. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 159.

(3) As T. *Hitton*, in 1530, beſides *Bilney*, and the reſt mentioned above, p. 793. as alſo *John Tewkſbury* &c. See *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 162, &c. *Fox*, Tom. II.

(4) He was, on *April* 12, appointed Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 456, and, on the 21ſt of *September*, this ſame year, Maſter of the Rolls. *Stow*, p. 571.

(5) *October* 1. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 480.

(6) Sir *John Wallop*. There were moreover ſent upon this occaſion, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *William Fitz-William*, and Doctor *Fox*. *Herbert*, p. 179. *Hall*, fol. 226.

1535. *Bavaria*, to be ready upon occaſion; perſwaded *Henry* to end the affair of the Divorce in the manner we have ſeen; and had ſecret Agents at *Conſtantinople*, to treat of an Alliance with *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks*. But moſt of theſe expedients, which he thought infallible, had proved unſucceſsful. The firſt had miſcarried by the death of *Clement* VII, and by the election of a new Pope, whom it was not eaſy to gain to his Intereſt. The King of the *Romans* had fruſtrated the ſecond, by agreeing with the Elector of *Saxony*, the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. As for the third, he could not hope much from thence, becauſe the King of *England*'s intention was not to make War upon the Emperor, but only to ſtand upon the defenſive. Conſequently it was in the Emperor's power to keep him quiet, by not attacking him firſt. The *Turks* therefore alone could properly be ſubſervient to his deſigns. But, to rely upon them, it was neceſſary to commence the War in *Italy*, otherwiſe it was not likely, *Soliman* would be perſwaded to begin it in *Hungary*. Upon this account, he continued at *Conſtantinople* a Negotiation, which was diſcovered by a Letter intercepted by the Duke of *Urbino*, who ſent it immediately to the Emperor. Mean while, *Francis* ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to attack the Duke of *Savoy*, and open a paſſage to the *Milaneſe*. He reckoned, the Peace of *Germany* could not hold long; that the Emperor and *Henry* would never live in a good underſtanding; and that, when once the War was begun, the Pope, the Potentates of *Italy*, the King of *England*, would readily aſſiſt to reduce the power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* within due bounds. Above all, he depended upon the Princes of the League of *Smalcald*, fancying they would embrace this opportunity to free themſelves from their uneaſineſs, cauſed by the advancement of that Houſe. To this end, he continued his intrigues with them, and pretended to be ſo far inclined to their Religion, that he was going to invite *Melanæthon* into *France*, to confer with him. But withal, he plainly ſhowed he acted only upon political views, ſince he cauſed to be burnt in *France* thoſe that ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*. Mean while, as there was ſome difference between *Luther* and *Calvin* about Religion, and as thoſe that were burnt in *France* were *Calviniſts*, the rigid *Lutherans* not conſidering them as their Brethren, imagined *Francis* might treat them with the utmoſt ſeverity, without loſing his regard for the *Lutheran* Religion. *Francis* reſolving to uſe his endeavours to re-conquer the Duchy of *Milan*, attacked the Duke of *Savoy*, and in the firſt Campaign took from him *Savoy* and *la Breſſe*.

P. Daniel.

Deſigns of Charles V.

Whilſt *Francis* was labouring to accompliſh his deſigns, *Charles* V, was forming vaſt projects, which tended to no leſs than eſtabliſhing his Dominion over all *Europe*. Indeed, *France* and *England* being cloſely united together, could have oppoſed a ſtrong fence againſt his ambition: But he did not deſpair to diſunite them in the end. That was his chief care, whilſt on one hand, he excited the *Iriſh* to a Rebellion, and the King of *Scotland* to a rupture with *England*. But whilſt he was endeavouring to imbroil his enemies, in hopes of finding his account in it, he was himſelf uneaſy with regard to *Soliman*, who threatned *Germany* under colour of ſupporting the intereſts of *John de Zapol*, whom he had cauſed to be crowned King of *Hungary*. On the other hand, he ſaw with extreme concern the great progreſs of *Haradin Barbaroſſa*, the famous Corſair, who after expelling *Muley Haſſem*, had made himſelf King of *Tunis*. Such a Neighbour could not but diſquiet him, becauſe, to hinder him from ravaging the Coaſts of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, it would have been neceſſary conſtantly to maintain a Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, which could not be done without a great expence, and this would have diſconcerted his other projects. So conſidering the War, he had reſolved to wage with *Haradin*, as the moſt urgent affair, he made this Summer an expedition into *Africa*, where he took the Fort of *la Goulette*, after which, he became maſter of *Tunis*, and reſtored *Muley Haſſem*.

Herbert. Hall.

The Emperor's Expedition to Africa.

Hiſt. of Sp. Herbert.

Henry's diſpoſition as to Religion.

Henry gladly ſaw the Emperor ingaging in Wars, which probably would keep him long employed. Whereupon he reſolved to improve this Interval, to compleat the regulation of his domeſtick affairs, which were yet in a very doubtful State. He had aboliſhed the papal authority, and been declared ſupreme head of the Church of *England* by Acts of Parliament. But though, by the Conſtitution of the Government, theſe Acts ſeemed to be above all contradiction, it was however but too true, that this was not ſufficient. As Religion was concerned, and conſcience cannot be compelled, the Statutes themſelves wanted to be ſupported by force, that an outward obedience at leaſt might be paid them. It is certain, the uniformity which appeared in the determinations of the Parliament and Clergy, was in many the effect of fear rather than of inward perſwaſion. Nay ſome, as *Fiſher* and *More*, were ſo hardy as openly to diſapprove theſe Ordinances, and notwithſtanding the ſeverity exerciſed upon them, ſtill perſiſted in the ſame opinion. It is true, theſe inſtances of rigour to Perſons of ſuch diſtinction, made People ſilent; but were not capable of convincing them of the reaſonableneſs of the Statutes. Thus, though the King found no publick oppoſition, it was eaſy for him to ſee, that an obedience proceeding from fear could laſt no longer than compulſion ſubſiſted. On the other hand, he beheld with concern the Triumph of the Proteſtants, who imagined that after aboliſhing the papal authority, he was going to renounce all the errors they combated, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. Mean while, it was every where publiſhed, that he was upon the point of forſaking the antient Religion; ſome aſſerting it out of malice, to render him odious; and others, becauſe they wiſhed it. To clear himſelf therefore from theſe imputations, at the very time he refuſed to recognize the Pope's authority, he ordered thoſe who were called *Sacramentarians* to be burnt. By this Conduct, he made himſelf hateful to the Catholicks and Proteſtants. As for the Proteſtants, he bore their ill-will without much concern: beſides that, he feared them not, he approved of their doctrine the Articles only that oppoſed the Papal Authority, and their ſentiments of the Fryers, with whom he was extremely incenſed, becauſe they laboured with all their power to alienate from him the affections of his People. It is true, he valued and loved *Cranmer* and *Cromwell*, with ſome others, who countenanced the Reformation; but he did not look upon them as Proteſtants. He believed them Men of ſolid Virtue and Piety, who, preſerving the eſſential Doctrines of Religion, were deſirous of reforming the abuſes crept into the Church. But, as among theſe abuſes, he himſelf acknowledged only what concerned the Pope and the Fryers, he imagined the Reformers kept within the ſame bounds. They who perfectly knew him, took care not to diſcover all their thoughts. But by conforming themſelves to his Sentiments on theſe two Articles, they hoped to induce him by degrees to advance the Reformation, when by their pains he ſhould become more enlightned. For which reaſon the Reformation began in *England* with theſe two points. As to the others, which had no relation to theſe, they were not meddled with during this Reign, or at leaſt, but ſlightly. The reaſon is, becauſe *Henry* would never ſuffer his Subjects to go greater lengths than himſelf. But to ſpeak the truth, his Underſtanding was always directed by his intereſt. If all the Changes made in Religion in his Reign be examined, they will all be found to concur directly to eſtabliſh an abſolute power over his Subjects. That was ever the principal, and perhaps the ſole motive of his proceedings, when he perceived the rupture with *Rome* to be an admirable means to that end. Hence the enemies of the Reformation take occaſion to ſay, it was eſtabliſhed in *England* on political views. This may be true, if the Perſon of *Henry* VIII be only conſidered. But it does not follow, that they who promoted and embraced it, acted upon the like motive. Beſides, what was the Reformation in *Henry* VIII's days? Only a bare renouncing of the Papal power, whilſt thoſe were burnt that would have carried it farther. So, let what will be ſaid of *Henry*'s perſon, and his motives to throw off the Papal Yoke, I do not ſee that the Proteſtants are much concerned to undertake his defence.

1535.

Henry finding that many of his Subjects approved not his Conduct, would have been very glad to take from them the pretence they uſed, of the ſentence publiſhed againſt him by the Pope. To this purpoſe, he would have ingaged all *France* to join with him in procuring a revocation. But that method was impracticable, and a reconciliation with the Court of *Rome* no leſs ſo. He could never have reſolved to part with the title of Head of the Church of *England*, and the Pope would never have conſented to an agreement, unleſs things were reſtored to their antient ſtate. So *Henry* ſeeing himſelf obliged to purſue his point, reſolved to overcome by force, the obſtinacy of ſuch of his Subjects as refuſed to ſubmit to the Laws lately enacted. But on the other hand, deſiring to purge himſelf of the imputation of Hereſy, wherewith he was charged, he affected to puniſh ſeverely thoſe that embraced the new opinions. In this ſort of medium, which pleaſed neither Party, he paſſed the reſidue of his days. But this is ſaying too little. It muſt be further added, that conſidering himſelf as a pattern for his ſubjects, he compelled them to keep within the ſame bounds, and would not ſuffer them to believe more or leſs than himſelf.

It was impoſſible that after ſuch a reſolution *Henry* ſhould not live in a continual miſtruſt of his Subjects, which obliged him to have always an eye upon what paſſed in the Kingdom. Moreover, he had likewiſe to

1535 guard againſt the Emperor's attacks, who had openly threatned him. He was ſenſible, if he were once engaged in a War, thoſe that durſt not look him in the face during his proſperity, would not ſcruple to declare againſt him, if his Arms were unſucceſsful. The King of *Scotland* his Nephew was the Perſon moſt to be feared. As for the King of *France*, who profeſſed himſelf his friend, and indeed was much obliged to him, he had ſhown too plainly how ſelf-intereſted his Friendſhip was, to be relied on. They both intended to imbroil the Emperor, but with different views. Each meant to make his Ally ſubſervient to his deſigns, and to improve the advantages which flowed from their Union. Thus *Henry* ſaw no reſource but in his own ſubjects, among whom however there were many Male-contents. But as he had acted for ſome time with great haughtineſs, he found, if he relaxed on this occaſion, it would certainly be aſcribed either to his ſcruples, or to a ſenſe of his weakneſs, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to him. This conſideration, joined to his ſtern and haughty Temper, rendered him altogether untractable. From thenceforward he became fierce, cruel, inſenſible of his People's calamities, and executing without mercy, the Laws dictated by himſelf to his Parliament. In ſhort, he may, in ſome manner be ſaid, to be no longer the ſame King that had before reigned. All that can be alledged in his vindication, is, that he was often provoked by perſons, who, endeavouring to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects, attacked him in the moſt ſenſible part, becauſe his whole reliance was upon the aſſiſtance of his People.

Reaſon of the great ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh to Henry.

It will, doubtleſs, be ſurprizing to ſee in this Reign the *Engliſh* ſo patient and ſubmiſſive to their Sovereign's pleaſure, that hardly do we find, from the beginning of the affair of the Divorce, that the Parliament refuſed him any thing, though his demands were very extraordinary. But it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon. Religion was the ſole cauſe. The King, as it was obſerved, kept a ſort of medium with reſpect to Religion. But as no Man could believe it poſſible for him to remain long in that ſituation, thoſe who deſired the Reformation, imagined they could not do better than comply with him in all things, to induce him to advance it by degrees. In like manner, the friends of the old Religion, ſeeing ſuch beginnings, were afraid he would proceed, and their oppoſition but make him finiſh his work the ſooner. So, each Party ſtriving to gain him to their intereſt, there reſulted for him an authority which none of his Predeceſſors had ever enjoyed, and which he could not have uſurped in any other circumſtances, without hazarding his Crown. But both Parties were alike deceived. *Henry* kept in the ſame medium all the reſt of his Life, and made them both feel the ſad effects of that abſolute Power they had ſo eaſily ſuffered him to aſſume. It is true, he was always ſo prudent, as not to act contrary to Law. But he made uſe of his Power to procure ſuch Laws as he pleaſed, and then executed them without mercy. This will frequently be ſeen in the ſequel. But after ſhowing *Henry*'s Character and Motives, his Actions muſt be related, which will confirm what has been obſerved.

The Monks become odious to the King.

Though the Acts concerning the King's Marriage, and the Papal Power, bore the Seal of the publick authority, they were very far from being univerſally approved. As they were not aſcribed ſo much to the two Houſes as to the King, on him it was that the whole blame was caſt. Among all the Male-contents, the Monks were the moſt open, by their attempts to blacken him in the minds of the People. They could not bear his ſetting himſelf up in the Pope's room, whom they had always conſidered, and ſtill did conſider as their true Head, notwithſtanding the Statutes made againſt him. Theſe were the Men that cauſed the pretended *Kentiſh* Propheteſs to ſay, If the King put away Queen *Catherine*, and married another, he ſhould die in a month, and come to a tragical end. 1535.

Inſolence of a Franciſcan. Stow. Burnet.

A *Franciſcan*, named *Peto*, preaching before the King (1), was ſo hardy as to tell him to his face, *That God's Judgments were ready to fall upon his head: That he was always ſurrounded with a croud of lying Prophets, who foretold him good ſucceſs. But for himſelf, like another* Micaiah, *he warned him that the Dogs ſhould lick his blood, as they had done* Ahab's. This Frier's inſolence, and the daily reports of the Invectives which were every where ſpread againſt him, provoked him extremely againſt them, as well as againſt thoſe that had the boldneſs to ſpeak opprobriouſly of the Acts of Parliament. He was however very patient for ſome time, imagining that People would at length be calmed. But when he ſaw they did not ceaſe to aſperſe him with all ſorts of Calumnies, he called a Council to conſider how he ſhould behave towards thoſe who affected to contradict the Laws, and ſpeak evil of him. Some of the Council were for taking no notice of theſe offences, for fear too great a Severity ſhould have a quite contrary effect to what he deſired (2). But others repreſented to him the ill conſequence of ſuch a conduct. They ſhowed him, that theſe People's aim was to ſtir up the People againſt him, to give the Biſhop of *Rome* opportunity to aſſert his pretended authority, and therefore they were for putting the Laws in execution with the utmoſt rigor. The King himſelf was of this opinion, as moſt agreeable to his fierce and ſtern Temper, which could not bear contradiction. Beſides, he ſaw to what he ſhould be reduced in the end, if his enemies ſucceeded in their deſign to render him odious to the People. It is not therefore very ſtrange, that ſeeing himſelf thus provoked, he reſolved to treat with rigor People who laboured with all their power to ruin him.

Debate of the Council how the King was to behave. Herbert.

It is reſolved to put the Laws in execution.

Priors and Monks executed with ſome Proteſtants. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Strype. Holiingſh. Fox.

The reſolution being taken of executing the Laws without mercy, certain Priors, Monks, and others, who had been too free with the new Statutes, were apprehended, tried, and executed, according to the utmoſt rigor of the ſame Laws (3). But at the ſame time, the King fearing leſt this ſeverity ſhould be aſcribed to the inclination, he was charged with, for the new Religion, affected to uſe the ſame rigor to thoſe who had openly embraced the Reformation, and put them to death with the others. At laſt, to keep every one in awe by an example which ſhould make the boldeſt tremble, he reſolved to deliver up to the rigor of the Law, *Fiſher* and *More*, then Priſoners in the *Tower* (4). To this end, *Fiſher* was required to take the Oath of Supremacy, it being ſuppoſed he would refuſe it, as he did indeed. About the ſame time *Paul* III created him Cardinal, though he had declared, that if the Cardinal's Hat was laid at his feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up. But the Pope, whoſe aim was to encourage ſuch as oppoſed the King, conferred however that Dignity upon him, with the pompous Elogy, that he conſidered him as the Cardinal of Cardinals. This unſeaſonable honour haſtened in all likelihood *Fiſher*'s death, who being condemned, was executed the 22d of *June*, a month after his being made Cardinal, and ſome days before the Hat, ſent him by the Pope, came to *London* (5). After that, Sir *Thomas More* being required to take the ſame Oath, refuſed to anſwer, ſaying, *The Act of Parliament is like a Sword with two edges, for if a Man anſwer one way, it will deſtroy the Soul, and if he anſwer another, it will deſtroy the Body.* Upon his refuſal, he was condemned and executed. He was a Man of great Learning, and excellent Parts, but ſo addicted to jeſting, that even the preſence of death could not make him lay aſide his uſual facetiouſneſs (6). When upon the point of being executed, he had laid his head on the block to receive the mortal blow, he perceived, his Beard was got under his Chin: Whereupon haſtily riſing up, he bid the Executioner ſtay a little till he had put his Beard aſide, ſince

Fiſher is executed. Burnet, T. I. p. 155, 353. Stow. Herbert.

The Pope makes him a Cardinal.

Sir Thomas More executed. Hall. Burnet. Herbert. Strype.

Hall.

(1) At *Greenwich*, where *Henry* reſided moſt in Summer. The King bore *Peto*'s Inſolence patiently; but, to undeceive the People, procured Dr. *Curwin* to preach the next *Sunday*, who juſtified the King's Proceedings, and condemned *Peto*, as a Rebel, a Slanderer, a Dog, and a Traitor. *Peto* was gone to *Canterbury*, but *Elſton*, another Frier of the ſame Houſe, interrupted him, and ſaid, he was one of the *lying Prophets*, that ſought by Adultery, to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion to the Crown. And yet, nothing more was done to theſe two Friers, than that they were convened before the Council, and rebuked for their Inſolence. *Stow*, p. 562. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 151.

(2) They thought that Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or the like, was Puniſhment enough for thoſe, who, confeſſing the King's ſupreme Authority in all Temporal Matters, did, out of Scrupuloſity rather than Malice, oppoſe the reſt. *Herbert*, p. 182.

(3) Namely, the Prior of the *Charter-Houſe* in *London*, the Priors of *Exham*, and *Benall*, a Monk of *Sion*, and *John Haile* Vicar of *Thiſtleworth*, on *May* 4; and three Monks of the *Charter-Houſe*, on *July* 18, 1535. They were all drawn and quartered at *Tyburn*. The Proteſtants put to Death, were, *John Frith*, a Man of great Learning, and *Andrew Hewet*, on *July* 22, 1534. As alſo nineteen Men, and ſix Women, born in *Holland*. Theſe were burnt. *Hall*, fol. 225, 226. *Stow*, p. 571. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. 166, *&c.* 352. *Fox*, Tom. II.

(4) *Fiſher* was hardly uſed; his Goods being ſeized, he had only ſome old Rags left him to cover him, and he was neither well ſupplied with Diet nor other Neceſſaries. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 156.

(5) *Burnet* ſays, the Hat came no nearer him than *Picardy*. He was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of *June*. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſome other Lords, together with the Judges, ſat upon him by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*. He was beheaded in the eightieth Year of his Age, on *Tower-Hill*, and his Head was ſet up on *London-Bridge*. His Body was firſt buried in *Barking* Church-Yard, and afterwards taken up and interred with *More*'s in the *Tower*. He was many Years Confeſſor to the King's Grandmother, the Counteſs of *Richmond*. It was believed, that he perſwaded her to found her two Colleges in *Cambridge*, and upon that account was choſen Chancellor of that Univerſity. *Henry* VII, gave him the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, which he, following the Rule of the Primitive Church, would never change for a better: He uſed to ſay his Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her becauſe ſhe was poor. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 354.

(6) When he was going up the Stairs of the Scaffold, obſerving they were weak, he deſired one of the Sheriff's Officers to give him his Hand to help him up, and ſaid, When I come down again, let me ſhift for my ſelf, as well as I can. Alſo, when he was firſt committed to the *Tower*, one of the Officers, demanding his upper Garment (that is his Gown) for his Fee, Sir *Thomas* taking off his Cap, gave it him, ſaying, That was the uppermoſt Garment he had. *Hall*, fol. 226.

1535. having committed no Treaſon, it was not juſt it ſhould be cut off (1).

Paul III excommunicates Henry without publiſhing the Bull. Herbert. Burnet.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, Pope *Paul* III ſtill kept ſome correſpondence with Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, who was at *Rome*, though without Character. The Pope earneſtly wiſhed, that ſome expedient might be found to heal the breach made by *Clement* VII's too great precipitation, and conferred from time to time with *Caſſali*. But when news came of the execution of the Monks, and of *Fiſher* and *More*, for denying the King's Supremacy, he deſpaired of ſucceeding. He perceived there was no more ceremony to be uſed, ſince all regard for him was thrown off in *England*, and a ſettled deſign ſhown of ſupporting what had been done. So, to maintain the honour of his See, he drew up a thundering Bull, excommunicating *Henry*, and abſolving his ſubjects from their Oath. Moreover, he ordered all the Eccleſiaſticks to depart his Dominions, and the Nobility to take Arms againſt him. He put the Kingdom under an Interdict, and forbid all Chriſtians to have any commerce with the *Engliſh*. He annulled all the Treaties made by foreign Princes with *Henry* before his Marriage with *Ann Bullen*, declaring their Iſſue already born, or to be born, illegitimate. Mean while, as he was ſenſible, theſe ſpiritual Thunders would produce no great effect, unleſs ſupported with temporal Arms, which were not yet ready, he deferred the publiſhing of this Bull to a more convenient ſeaſon.

Embaſſy to the Proteſtants of Germany. Herbert. Burnet. T. III. 113. Strype.

But though the Bull was not publiſhed, as no great care was taken to conceal it, it quickly came to *Henry*'s knowledge. Whereupon he reſolved to join with the Proteſtants of *Germany* (2), and keep the Emperor employed in that Country. He diſpatched therefore *Edward Fox* to the League of *Smalcald* (3) whilſt *Francis* I, made uſe, for the ſame purpoſe, of *William du Bellay* Lord of *Langeais*. But it was very difficult for a good and hearty Union to be formed between theſe two Monarchs and the Proteſtants of *Germany*. The Proteſtants meant only to preſerve the liberty of profeſſing their Religion unmoleſted, whereas the ſole aim of *Francis* and *Henry* was to excite them againſt the Emperor, without any regard to the Proteſtant Religion, which they were perſecuting in their Kingdoms. It is true, to gain the Proteſtants, they feigned an inclination for their Religion, and a deſire to eſtabliſh it in their Dominions. Nay, *Henry* very much improved the conformity of his ſentiments with theirs, concerning the papal Authority. But the rigour wherewith theſe two Monarchs treated ſuch of their Subjects as had embraced the new Religion, deſtroyed whatever their Ambaſſadors could ſay. For this reaſon the Proteſtants always inſiſted upon ſettling the points which concerned Religion, and continued to require that *Henry* ſhould openly declare for the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, that their Union might be built on a ſolid foundation. *Henry* feigned to approve of what they propoſed, and to make them believe it the more, wiſhed them to ſend ſome of their Divines to confer with thoſe of *England*. But he never really intended to conform himſelf to their Notions. He rather wanted the *Germans* as well as the *Engliſh* to learn of him what they were to believe. And for this cauſe the project of the propoſed Union was never executed. However, this Negotiation made the Pope and the Emperor very uneaſy, who plainly ſaw, that in attacking *Henry* there was danger of really ingaging him to unite with the League of *Smalcald*.

Henry lays before the Council the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries. Herbert. Burnet.

But *Henry* did not depend ſo much upon foreign aſſiſtance as upon his own ſtrength. Mean while, as his Subjects were daily corrupted by the Monks, who inſinuated to them that he was going to overturn all Religion, he reſolved to take all poſſible precautions to prevent the pernicious deſigns of theſe dangerous Adverſaries. To this end it was moved in the Council, whether it would not be proper to ſuppreſs at once all the Monaſteries. This queſtion was debated with great warmth, by reaſon of the two contrary Parties in the Council. *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* looked upon the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries as a great ſtep to the Reformation. But on the other hand, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Lincoln* and others, who had with reluctance ſubſcribed to what had been done againſt the Pope, could not reſolve to conſent to this ſuppreſſion. They ſaw, after that, the Kingdom would be irrecoverably loſt to the Pope, without reckoning that the diſſolution of the Monaſteries might produce yet greater effects with regard to Religion. The King having heard the Arguments on both ſides, found he ſhould not be able to ſuppreſs the Monaſteries all at once, without giving offence to the greateſt part of his Subjects. He reſolved therefore with himſelf, to accompliſh it by degrees, and therefore to begin with a thing abſolutely neceſſary; namely, to remove the People's prejudice in favour of the Monks. To this end, he ordered a general viſitation of the Monaſteries, to know perfectly the titles of their eſtates, the behavior of the Friers and Nuns, how the rules of each order were obſerved, and other things of the like nature. He did not queſtion, this viſitation would diſcover ſeveral conſiderable abuſes, which, being made publick, would ſenſibly diminiſh the People's veneration for the Religious, and pave the way to his deſign. He was extremely incenſed with the Monks, whom he looked upon as diſturbers of his repoſe. On the other hand, the hopes of profiting by their Eſtates did not a little contribute, without doubt, towards his puſhing this affair with great earneſtneſs (4). *Thomas Cromwell* was choſen to manage this inquiry by the name of Viſitor-General. This choice was a plain indication of the King's intent, ſince he employed a Perſon who was utterly averſe to the Monks. *Cromwell* having appointed Subſtitutes or Commiſſioners (5), gave them very particular inſtructions under eighty-ſix Articles, and the viſitation began in *October*. It may be eaſily judged that among ſo great a number of Monaſteries as were in the Kingdom, moſt of which had never been viſited but very negligently, many were found abounding with irregularities, as well in reſpect of the lives of the Friers and Nuns, as in regard to the obſervance of the Rule, and the management of the Temporalities. The Viſitors, who were not their friends, and doubtleſs had orders to terrify them, told them, they were going to be expoſed to the King's utmoſt ſeverity, and the rigour of the Law. Then, they ſuggeſted to them, that to ſave themſelves harmleſs, and withal to hide their diſorders, the beſt way was to reſign their Houſes to the King (6), who, upon that conſideration, would take care to provide for each in particular. A good number of Priors being terrified by the Viſitors, choſe to follow their advice, their Monks agreeing to it, ſome to avoid puniſhment, others to enjoy their liberty, and ſome for want of reſolution to reſiſt (7). The reports of the Commiſſioners were publiſhed, that all might be ſatisfied, the King had not without reaſon and neceſſity ordered this general Viſitation. The truth is, in ſome Monaſteries were diſcovered monſtrous diſorders and horrible crimes, not only with reſpect to the debaucheries of the Friers and Nuns, but chiefly on the account of the Images and Relicks, for which a ſhameful trade was driven to enrich the Monaſteries, by cheriſhing the People's Superſtition (8).

1535.

Divers opinions upon that account.

He orders the Monaſteries to be viſited. Burnet. T. I. p. 182. Herbert. Strype.

and leaves the management to Cromwell. Burnet. Herbert. Stow. Hollingh.

Several Abbots and Priors ſurrender their houſes to the King. Burnet.

The Account of the Viſitation is publiſhed.

(1) On the firſt of *July*, Sir *Thomas More* was brought to his Tryal, and beheaded on the 6th, in the fifty third Year of his Age. Though he was afterwards ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the Intereſt and Paſſions of the Popiſh Clergy, and even aſſiſted them in all their Cruelties, yet in his Youth he had freer Thoughts of Things, as appears by his *Utopia*, where he ſeems to borrow the Diſguiſe of a Romance, only to declare his Mind with greater Freedom: He tells us, the *Utopians* allow Liberty of Conſcience, and force their Religion upon no Body: That they hinder none from a ſober Enquiry into Truth, nor uſe any Violence upon the account of a different Belief. He was, ſays *Burnet*, no Divine at all, neither did he know any thing of Antiquity, beyond the Quotations in the *Canon-Law*, and in the *Maſter of the Sentences*. Nor was he converſant at all in the critical Learning upon the Scripture; but his peculiar Excellency in Writing was, that he had a natural eaſy Expreſſion, and preſented all the Opinions of Popery, with their fair Side to the Reader, diſguiſing the black Side of them with neat Art; and had upon all occaſions great Store of pleaſant Tales, which he applied wittily enough. But for Juſtice, Contempt of Money, Humility, and a true Generoſity of Mind, he was an Example to the Age in which he lived. He is ſaid to have but one hundred Pounds a Year when he reſigned the Chancellorſhip. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 355. and Tom. 3. p. 29. *Herbert*, p. 184.

(2) And the rather, becauſe the Pope declared, he would give away *England* to ſome of the *German* Catholick Princes, being unwilling to increaſe therewith the Power of *France* or *Spain*. *Herbert*, p. 184.

(3) With Doctor *Hethe*. *Barns* had been ſent thither before. See *Burnet*, Tom. 3. p. 110. *Strype's Mem.* Tom. 1. p. 225.

(4) He wanted Money upon ſeveral Accounts; chiefly, as he apprehended a War from the Emperor, the moſt powerful Prince then in the World, and who had large Fleets of his own; therefore, to ſecure himſelf againſt his attacks, he judged it neceſſary to fortify his Ports, and to build new Harbours. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 189.

(5) Particularly *Richard Leighton*, *Thomas Lee*, and *William Petre*, Doctors of Law, Doctor *John London* Dean of *Wallingford*, &c. *Herbert*, p. 186. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 183.

(6) Before this, namely, on *February* 24. 1533, the Priory of the *Trinity*, or *Chriſt-Church*, near *Aldgate*, in *London*, was ſuppreſſed, and the Lands and Church-Plate thereto belonging, given to Sir *Thomas Audley* the High-Chancellor. *Stow*, p. 560.

(7) The firſt Surrender was by the Abbot of *Langden*, in *Kent*, on *November* 13. (*Rymer*, Tom. 14. p. 555.) who, upon Doctor *Leighton*'s breaking open his Door on a ſudden, was found in Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay-Brother. This Surrender was followed by that of the Priory of *Folkſton*, *November* 15; on the 16th, of that of *Dover*; and on *February* 21. 1536, of that of *Bilſingtoun*, all three in *Kent*. As alſo of *Merton* in *Yorkſhire*, *February* 9, of *Tilty* in *Eſſex*, and of *Hornby* in *Yorkſhire*, *March* 23. The Original of theſe and the other Surrenders are in the *Augmentation-Office*. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 191.

(8) They found great Factions in the Houſes, and barbarous Cruelties exerciſed by one Faction againſt another, as either of them prevailed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superſtition. In ſome they found the Inſtruments and other Tools for multiplying and coining. But for the Lewdneſs of the Confeſſors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houſes being found almoſt all with Child; for the Diſſoluteneſs of Abbots and the other Monks and Friers, not only with Harlots but married Women; and for their unnatural Luſts and other brutiſh Practices: Theſe, ſays *Burnet*, are not fit to be ſpoken of, much leſs enlarged on in a Work of this Nature. The full Report of this Viſitation is loſt; yet *Burnet* ſaw an Extract of a part of it concerning one hundred forty four Houſes, that contains Abominations in it equal to any that were in *Sodom*. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 191.

This

1535. *The King gives the Monks leave to quit their Monasteries.* Stow. Hollingsh.

This occasioned an ordinance of the King, who, as supreme head of the Church of *England*, discharged from their Vows such as were professed under four and twenty years of age, and allowed all the rest to quit their Houses, and live like Seculars if they pleased (1). But as most were accustomed to an idle life, and perceived, when they forsook their Monasteries, they should be forced to work for their livelihood, the liberty given them by the King produced no great effect. Besides, there were doubtless many, who, out of conscience, thought not proper to use it. So, *Henry* was obliged to take other measures.

Change of some Bishops. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 550, 552, 553. Burnet. T. I. p. 171. Stow.

It was but this year that Cardinal *Campegio* lost the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, which was given to *Nicolas Shaxton* a friend to the Reformers. Shortly after, the See of *Worcester* was taken from *Ghinucci* an *Italian*, and conferred on *Hugh Latimer*, great friend of *Cranmer*. *John Hilsey* was promoted to the See of *Rochester*, vacant by the death of *Fisher*, and *Edward Fox* to that of *Hereford*.

Henry *tries to perswade the King of* Scotland *to renounce the Pope.* Buchanan. Herbert.

Among all the King's enemies, or enviers, none gave him more uneasiness than his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, and not without reason. During the whole time of that Prince's minority, *Henry* had fomented the troubles of *Scotland*, and even shown that his designs tended to become master of that Kingdom. *James* was fully informed, and though he showed great regard for the King his Uncle, he let him see however he did not consider him as a friend. *Henry* therefore was in danger, that, if the innovations in Religion caused disturbances in the Kingdom, the King of *Scotland* would take occasion to be revenged, by assisting the Male-contents. This fear was the more just, as the Emperor knowing the King of *Scotland*'s disposition, had already laboured to inspire him with suspicions and jealousies of *France* and *England*. Nay, he would have concluded a League with him, as I observed, had not *Francis* broken his measures, by procuring a Peace between *England* and *Scotland*. But notwithstanding this Peace, *Henry* was always in distrust of that quarter. So, to make himself easy, he formed the project to instill into the King of *Scotland* the resolution to follow his example, and renounce the Pope's obedience. He considered this as a sure means to preserve between the two Kingdoms a strict Union, which would be very advantagious in his present circumstances. He sent him therefore in the first place a long Letter (2), declaring the reasons of his conduct with regard to the Pope. Then, he dispatched an Ambassador (3) to propose an interview, fancying that a conference with him would produce a greater effect than whatever he should say to him by Letter or Embassy. But though the Reformation had already crept into *Scotland*, *James* had no inclination to embrace it. So, the Ecclesiasticks about his Person easily disswaded him from accepting the Interview, where they were afraid some things might pass very prejudicial to their Religion. Mean while, *James*, not being willing openly to refuse the conference desired by the King his Uncle, gave him hopes of his consent, after certain difficulties, purposely raised, were removed. But at the same time he demanded of the Pope a Brief, to forbid his having any Interview with the King of *England*. When the Brief came, he gave the King his Uncle notice of it, who having prepared for his Journey, was extremely offended at this refusal. Hence sprung a quarrel between them, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

He demands an Interview.

James excuses himself on account of the Pope's Prohibition.

Death of the Duke of Milan. Herbert.

Before I conclude the year 1535, I must not forget to relate an event which very much changed the face of the affairs of *Europe*. I mean the death of *Francesco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, which happened in the month of *October*. As this Prince left no Issue by *Catherine* of *Denmark* the Emperor's Niece, whom he had lately married, the Duchy of *Milan* as Fief of the Empire, was fallen to the Emperor, to be disposed of as he pleased. So, the fears and jealousies of the Pope, the King of *France* and the *Venetians*, were revived on this occasion; each of these Potentates having cause to fear the Emperor would keep *Milan* for himself, or give it to his Brother the King of the *Romans*. In that case, *Italy* would of course fall again into Slavery, and the King of *France* lose his hopes of recovering that Duchy. To make them easy, the Emperor declared he had no design to keep *Milan*, but intended to present some Prince with it, who should cause no suspicion to those that were concerned to preserve the Peace of *Italy*. Afterwards, he wisely made use of it for a lure to amuse the King of *France*. But in reality he never desired to dispossess himself of it (4). 1535.

The Emperour feigns not to intend to keep that Duchy.

1536. *Death of Queen Catherine.* Herbert. Stow. Burnet.

Queen *Catherine* ended her days the beginning of the year 1536 (5). Though her virtue had gained her an universal esteem, she died however little lamented by the publick, because she equally embarassed her friends and enemies. Before she expired, she dictated a very tender Letter to the King, who seemed to be extremely moved with it (6). But, in all appearance, his grief was of no long continuance. He was very fond of her when first married, her mildness and modesty having a greater influence upon him than she could expect from her Beauty, which was not extraordinary. In time, his affection abating, he treated her with indifference, though ever with much civility. At last, after he had resolved to put her away, her obstinate refusal to comply with his Will, made him consider her as an enemy. Accordingly he used her rigorously when the sentence of Divorce was pronounced, even to the not suffering her to keep Servants who treated her as a Queen. At last he publickly forbid to give her that title, though he was forced to connive at her disobedience.

Parliament meets.

The Parliament meeting the 4th of *February*, finished the Work begun, by abolishing every thing relating to the Pope's power, not to leave the least pretence to acknowledge his authority. But the King had a farther view, namely, to suppress the Monasteries, as well to be revenged of the Monks and prevent their ill designs, as to procure their Estates. In all appearance, the late visitation of the Monasteries had convinced him that the Monks were as unserviceable to Religion, as prejudicial to his affairs in his present circumstances.

Reason of altering the Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

As among the Constitutions observed in the Church of *England*, there were not a few that had a manifest relation to the papal Authority, it was absolutely necessary to annull them and make others, which should have for foundation the King's Supremacy. The Parliament had already passed an Act, empowering the King to nominate thirty-two Commissioners to examine such as were to be abolished. But the King had not hastened this nomination, because by this confusion, his authority was much more extensive. Indeed, the papal power was abolished by Act of Parliament, and yet it still subsisted in the Constitutions, which, not being abrogated, threw the Clergy into great perplexities because they knew not what to do. But this was what the King desired, that the Clergy might be more at his devotion, since he could equally prosecute them as guilty, whether they did or did not observe them. The Parliament taking this contrariety into consideration would have cured it, by confirming the power formerly given the King, to appoint Commissioners to alter these Constitutions. This was a sort of reproach for his negligence in that respect. But he feigned not to mind it, and left the affair in the same State it was (7).

Act for suppressing the lesser Monasteries. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 575.

He had another thing in his thoughts which affected him much more, namely, to execute his design upon the Monks. In this Session, he represented to the Parliament, that the great number of Monasteries in the Kingdom were a Burden to the State, and earnestly desired them to remedy the Evil by such means as they should judge proper. Whereupon it was enacted, That all Houses of two hun-

(1) The Men, if in Orders, were to have a Priest's Habit given them, and forty Shillings in Money; the Nuns were to have only a Gown, such as secular Women wore. Some however for surrendering their Houses got small Pensions. *Herbert. Stow*, p. 572.

(2) By *William Barlow* Bishop elect of St. *Asaph*, and *Thomas Holcroft*. *Herbert*, p. 184.

(3) *William Howard* Brother of the Duke of *Norfolk*. *Herbert*, p. 184.

(4) This Year, *Wales*, which had hitherto been only a Province to the *English* Nation, was incorporated, united, and annexed for ever to the Realm of *England*. *Statut.* 27 *Hen.* VIII. c. 26.-----*John Owen* began this Year to make Brass Canons, being the first that made this kind of Artillery in *England*.-----The 8th of *May*, King *Henry* commanded all Persons about his Court to cut their Hair short, and to set them an Example, he caused his own to be cut; and likewise began to wear his Beard knotted, and was no more shaved.-----*August* 16, the King's Stables at the *Mewse* (so called because the King's Hawks were there mewed and kept) were burnt down. *Hall*, fol. 225. *Stow*, p. 571.

(5) On the 8th of *January* at *Kimbolton*, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, thirty three Years after she came into *England*. In her Will, she appointed her Body to be buried in a Convent of *Observants*, who had done and suffered most for her, but the King ordered it to be laid in the Abby-Church of *Peterborough*, which he afterwards converted to a Cathedral. *Stow*, p. 572. Queen *Ann Boleyn* wore Yellow for the Morning. *Hall*, fol. 227.

(6) In the Title she called him, *My most dear Lord, King, and Husband*, and concluded with saying, *I make this Vow, that mine Eyes desire you above all Things.* "She advised him to look to the Health of his Soul. She forgave him all the Troubles he had cast her into. She recommended "their Daughter *Mary* to him, desiring he would be a loving Father to her. She also desired he would provide Matches for her Maids, who were "but three; and that he would give her Servants one Year's Wages more than was due to them." She was a devout and pious Princess, and led a severe Life. In her Greatness she wrought much with her own Hand, and kept her Women well employed about her, as appeared when the two Legates came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of Silk about her Neck, and told them she had been within at Work with her Maids. Few such Queens now-a-days! *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 192.

(7) About this time, King *Henry* appointed an Office for all Ecclesiastical Matters, and ordered a Seal to be cut. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Title was also in Convocation ordered to be altered: Instead of Legate of the Apostolick See, he was to be called, *Metropolitan* and *Primate*. *Burnet*, Tom. 3. p. 104.

1536. Herbert. Stow. Hollingsh.

dred Pounds a year and under ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and their effects given to the King (1). Of this ſort there were three hundred ſeventy ſix, and a revenue of thirty two thouſand Pounds a year fell to the Crown, with above a hundred thouſand Pounds worth of Plate, Goods, Ornaments of the Churches, and the like. A new Court was erected, called *the Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, which was to take Cognizance of all matters concerning this new acquiſition (2). The erecting of a Court for ſo ſmall a revenue, was a clear evidence, the King had no deſign to ſtop there, but intended to ſeize the revenues of all the Monaſteries in the Kingdom (3).

Court of Augmentations erected. Burnet.

Reſolution to let the People have the Bible in Engliſh. Burnet.

The Convocation ſitting, as uſual, at the ſame time with the Parliament, a motion was made there, that there ſhould be a Tranſlation of the Bible in *Engliſh*, [to be ſet up in all Churches,] and the ſame was approved of. It muſt be obſerved, the King's intent was only to ſhew the People, there was nothing contrary to the Holy Scriptures in what was done againſt the Pope. But *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and the reſt of the Reformers had much farther views. They hoped, when the Bible was in the hands of the People, they would ſee their error in many other things which hitherto had been deemed eſſential to Religion. But they took care to hide their deſigns from the King, knowing how contrary they were to his. *Henry* was abſolutely againſt all reformation of Doctrine, and conſequently they were to bring him inſenſibly and by degrees to what they deſired. They partly ſucceeded, but they fell extremely ſhort of what they had expected at firſt. However, they thought it very conſiderable to obtain his conſent that it ſhould be moved in the Convocation, to give the People the Bible in *Engliſh*, and to have cauſed the motion to be approved. As there was then no other *Engliſh* Verſion of the Bible but *Tindal's*, made at *Antwerp* without the Publick Authority, the Convocation petitioned the King for a good Tranſlation, which he was pleaſed to take upon himſelf (4).

The King takes it upon himſelf.

The Parliament is diſſolved. Burnet.

Henry having obtained of the Parliament all he deſired, thought it time to diſſolve it, which he did the fourteenth of *April*, after having continued it ſix years. Never had Parliament held ſo long ſince the beginning of the Monarchy.

The care *Henry* took to ſecure himſelf from the Cabals of the Monks, and his other domeſtick Enemies, did not prevent him from thinking of his foreign Affairs, and of means to avoid the Emperor's attacks. *Francis* was invading *Savoy*, and it was but too manifeſt that his intent was to open a paſſage into the *Milaneſe*. But as this was a great undertaking, conſidering the then ſituation of *France*, the Emperor could not believe, he had ingaged in it without being firſt ſure of *Henry*'s aſſiſtance. Wherefore he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to break their Union. From the death of *Sforza*, he had continued a private negotiation with *Francis*, to reſign the Duchy of *Milan* to one of his Sons, and acted ſo artfully, that the Treaty ſeemed to be very near a Concluſion. This could not but inſpire *Henry* with jealouſy. He plainly ſaw if the negotiation ended to the King of *France*'s Satisfaction, he would be regardleſs of his intereſts. On the other hand, the Emperor no ſooner heard of the death of his Aunt Queen *Catherine*, but he ſent and offered *Henry* to renew their Alliance, with a mutual oblivion of all that was paſſed. But leſt he ſhould be taken at his word, he required three conditions, which left him the liberty to prolong the affair as much as he pleaſed, his aim being only to ſow diviſion between *Francis* and *Henry*, by making them ſuſpicious of each other. The firſt of theſe conditions, was, that *Henry* ſhould be reconciled to the Pope, to which end he offered his mediation. By the ſecond, he demanded a powerful aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. By the third, that purſuant to their Treaty in 1518, he ſhould join with him in the defence of *Milan*, againſt the attacks of the *French* King. *Henry* replied, That what had been done againſt the Pope could not be revoked: That as ſoon as Chriſtendom ſhould be in peace, he would act againſt the Infidels, as became a Chriſtian Prince: That he was ready to renew his alliance with the Emperor, provided it was done without prejudice to the King of *France* his Ally, that being Friend of both, he might be better enabled to labour their reconciliation, or if he could not ſucceed, to aſſiſt him that ſhould be unjuſtly attacked: That as to the reſt, he refuſed not to agree with the Emperor, provided he would own, the rupture came from him. The Emperor perceiving *Henry* was upon his guard, thought not fit to puſh this affair any farther. Indeed *Henry* could eaſily ſee, his aim was to ſet him at variance with *France*, ſince at the very time theſe things paſſed, *Francis* imparted to him the private negotiation, concerning the Duchy of *Milan*. Moreover he warned him, that the Emperor intended to force him to return to the Pope's obedience, and it was only upon that condition he offered to reſign the *Milaneſe*.

1536.

All theſe proceedings of the Emperor convincing *Henry* that he ſought occaſion to attack him, he reſolved to purſue his negotiation with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, to make him a diverſion in that Country, which ſhould break his meaſures with regard to *England*. To this ſame end, he had ſent *Edward Fox* to them laſt year. But they would not be his dupes, not imagining, as he would fain have made them believe, that he was inclined to their Faith, whilſt he ordered their Brethren to be burnt in *England*. So, not to be ingaged by faint hopes to be ſubſervient to his deſigns at their expence, they delivered to his Ambaſſador the terms on which they were willing to be ſtrictly united with him. The terms were, That he ſhould embrace the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, and defend it with all his power in a free Council: That he ſhould approve of no place for holding the Council without their conſent: That if the Pope called a Council at his own pleaſure, *Henry* ſhould join with them in proteſting againſt it: That he ſhould accept the title of *Protector of the League*: That he ſhould never return to the Pope's obedience: That he ſhould not aſſiſt their enemies: That he ſhould find a hundred thouſand Crowns for the occaſions of the League, and two hundred thouſand if the War laſted any time. Laſtly, They added, That when he ſhould have declared himſelf upon theſe Articles, they would ſent Ambaſſadors and agree with him upon the reſt.

Henry *tries to ſide with the League of* Smalcald. Sleidan. Herbert. Burnet.

The League propoſing Terms, Sleidan. Herbert.

Theſe propoſals threw *Henry* into ſome perplexity. He ſaw, the ſole aim of the Proteſtants was to ſupport their Religion, and that however was the thing which diſturbed him the leaſt. He was by no means ſatisfied with the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, and yet he perceived, in caſe he openly rejected it, there was no likelihood of his being able to join with the League of *Smalcald*. On the other hand, it was his intereſt to continue this Negotiation, as well becauſe the Proteſtants might be ſerviceable to him, as to keep the Emperor in awe by that conſideration. So his intereſt required that he ſhould favourably hear theſe propoſitions. But withal he reſolved to inſert in his anſwer ſomething which ſhould afford him occaſion to break, if he thought proper. He replied therefore, that he was willing to furniſh the ſums required, in caſe a League, of which he would treat with their Ambaſſadors, ſhould be concluded between him and the Proteſtants: That though he was ſenſible to what the title of *Protector of the League* would expoſe him, he was content to accept it, provided there were between him and them a conformity of Doctrine, otherwiſe he could not engage to defend a Faith, of whoſe truth he was not convinced: That therefore he deſired them to ſend Commiſſioners with powers to mitigate ſome Articles of the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, which he could not approve. Moreover as to the Supplies, he required that the engagement ſhould be mutual, whether he or they were attacked. In fine, he demanded an authentick approbation of his Divorce, and their promiſe to juſtify it in a Council. Theſe propoſals of both ſides were of a nature to keep a Treaty long on foot. But though the Members of the League of *Smalcald* ſaw no great likelihood of a ſtrict Union, they appointed however *Sturmius*, *Draco*, *Bucer*, and *Melancthon* to go and confer with *Henry* and his Divines. It was eſpecially provided in their inſtructions, that nothing ſhould be concluded to the prejudice of the Emperor or Empire. This Negotiation was interrupted by the death of *Ann Bullen*, which happened ſhortly after, and which very much altered the

He is at a loſs about them.

His Anſwer, March 12. Sleidan. Herbert.

The Proteſtants ſend Doctors to him.

P. Daniel.

He promiſes Milan *to a Son of* Francis,

and offers an Alliance with Henry. Herbert.

Henry's *Anſwer.* Herbert.

(1) A Commiſſion was alſo directed, on *June* 16, 1535, to the Biſhops of *Meath* and *Kildare*, to *John Allen*, Maſter of the Rolls, *Gerard Ailmer* Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and ſome others, impowering them to ſuppreſs the Monaſteries in *Ireland*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 551.

(2) The Court was to conſiſt of a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, an Attorney and Sollicitor, ten Auditors, ſeventeen Receivers, a Clerk, an Uſher, and a Meſſenger. Beſides the preſent ones, the King was to have the Lands of all thoſe Houſes that had been diſſolved within a Year before this Act. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 194.

(3) What remarkable Statutes were enacted during this Seſſion, are as follows, 1. Whereas Pirates uſed to be tried after the Courſe of the Civil Laws, it was ordered, That they ſhould be tried in ſuch Places as ſhould be directed by the King's Commiſſion, and by Juries, as Offenders at Land. 2. That every Perſon who hath a Park, ſhall keep two Mares thirteen Hands high, for breeding Foals. 3. That Clerks preſented to Benefices, ſhall not pay Tenths the firſt Year in which they pay their Firſt-Fruits. 4. That Tithes, Offerings, and other Duties, ſhall be paid according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Ordinances of the Church of *England*, and after the laudable Uſes and Cuſtoms of each Pariſh. 5. That all Bargains and Sales of Lands ſhall be made by Writing indented, ſealed, and enrolled, in one of the King's Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, or before the *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, two Juſtices, and Clerk of the Peace, of the County where the Lands lie. See *Statut.* 27 *Henry*.

(4) It is not known to whom that Work was committed, or how they proceeded in it. For the Account of theſe things has not been preſerved, nor conveyed to us with that Care that the Importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the Work was carried on at a good rate: For three Years after this it was printed at *Paris*, which ſhews they made all convenient haſte, in a thing that required ſo much Deliberation. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 196.

1536. face of affairs as well as the King's mind, in reſpect to the Reformation which ſhe openly countenanced.

The King falls in love with Jane Seymour, *and grows jealous of the Queen.* Burnet. Herbert.

The King was poſſeſſed at the ſame time with two paſſions; a violent love for *Jane Seymour*, Maid of Honour to the Queen (1), and an extreme jealouſy of his Wife (2). Very likely, the latter was a conſequence of the former. When *Ann Bullen*'s enemies found, ſhe no longer held in the King's heart the place ſhe had formerly enjoyed, inſtead of fearing to accuſe her of unfaithfulneſs to the King her Spouſe, they believed they ſhould pleaſe that Spouſe, who began to be himſelf unfaithful. It is certain the King had loſt that affection for the Queen, which made him ſurmount ſo many obſtacles to poſſeſs her; whether enjoyment had quenched this firſt flame, or the Queen's indiſcretions given the King cauſe to ſuſpect her, he ſo gave himſelf over to jealouſy, that it was not in his power to overcome it, or perhaps he never much endeavoured it. However this be, the occaſion was this. The Queen had a great friendſhip for her Brother the Lord *Rochford*, but could not indure his Wife, who lived very ill with her Husband, and had an infamous character, as will evidently appear hereafter. It was this Lady that whiſpered in the King's ear the firſt report that the Queen was unfaithful, and had a criminal Commerce with her Brother the Lord *Rochford*. Theſe ſeeds fell upon a Soil already prepared to receive them. The King, now prejudiced by his paſſion for *Jane Seymour*, was overjoyed to find in the pretended unfaithfulneſs of the Queen, a means to procure the poſſeſſion of the Perſon he loved. As ſoon as Queen *Ann*'s enemies ſaw how the King ſtood affected towards her, they took care to ruin her quite in his favour, by accuſing her of ſundry intrigues with her own Domeſticks. Theſe enemies were the ſame with thoſe of the Reformation. They imagined, ſhe had put the King upon all his proceedings againſt the Pope, on purpoſe to favour the new Religion. But though ſhe had not done this, it was ſufficient to hate her that ſhe had been the cauſe, by inſpiring the King with love, ſince that had occaſioned *Catherine*'s Divorce, and conſequently all the innovations in Religion. Policy might likewiſe enter into their project. They were ſenſible, ſo long as *Ann* lived ſhe would be an invincible obſtacle to a reconciliation with *Rome*, whereas if ſhe were dead, they hoped, all difficulties would be eaſily removed. The Duke of *Norfolk* inwardly burned with a deſire to ſee Religion again eſtabliſhed upon the ſame foot it was before theſe alterations, though, like a good Courtier, he took care not to diſcover it to his Maſter. His Quality, Zeal, and Credit, had made him head of the Party of the old Religion, and, as he had the King's ear, he could eaſily do ill Offices to the contrary Party. The King's jealouſy of the Queen was too fair an occaſion to be neglected, ſince he could at once ſerve his Party, and make his Court to his Maſter. So, it is commonly believed, this Lord contributed moſt to the Queen's ruin, becauſe among all her enemies, he had moſt acceſs to the King. But however, whether it was he or another, the King was inſpired with a jealouſy which threw him into a ſort of fury. This is not very ſtrange, conſidering his temper, the moſt impetuous and moſt impatient that ever was. The Queen was accuſed of a criminal Commerce, not only with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, but alſo with *Henry Norris* [Groom of the Stole,] *Francis Weſton* and *William Brereton* [of the King's Privy Chamber,] and one *Mark Smeton* [a Muſician.] It muſt be confeſſed, the Queen had ſome indiſcreet ways, which the King never minded, whilſt he was not prejudiced againſt her, but which afterwards were too capable of confirming his ſuſpicions (3). Beſides, as ſoon as he hearkened to what was ſaid againſt her, probably, her enemies were very diligent to give an ill turn to her moſt innocent words or actions. Without doubt, *Henry* was ſome time tormented with jealouſy before he diſcovered it, but at laſt it broke out at the ſolemn juſts held at *Greenwich* (4), from whence he ſuddenly withdrew with ſigns of great anger, the cauſe whereof could not be gueſſed. It is likely, he had obſerved ſomething that confirmed his ſuſpicions, of which none but himſelf took notice. *Sanders* ſays, the Queen dropping her Handkerchief, one of her Gallants took it up and wiped his Face with it. But this Author is the only Perſon that relates this circumſtance (5). However this be, the King was no ſooner gone from the Juſts, but he ordered the Lord *Rochford*, *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* to be arreſted. At the ſame time the Queen was confined to her Chamber, and next day conveyed to the *Tower* (6). But what plainly ſhewed the deſign of her enemies to deſtroy her, was their procuring an order for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to retire to his Palace at *Lambeth*, for fear if he could ſpeak with the King, he would find occaſion to vindicate the Queen.

Motives of the Queen's Enemies to ſacrifice her. Burnet.

She is accuſed of Adultery and Inceſt. Burnet.

Burnet.

1536. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Burnet. Herbert.

She is apprehended. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. Herbert.

Snares are laid for her. Burnet.

It is not ſurpriſing, this Princeſs in her ſad condition ſhould be diſordered, and having none to adviſe with, ſhould be enſnared by her enemies. Her Uncle's Lady, the Lady *Bullen*, was appointed to lie in her Chamber, with whom ſhe was at great variance, and from this Lady, who was placed there to watch her, it came to be known, that during her confinement, ſhe ſaid ſome things which helped to confirm the King's ſuſpicions. However, upon her examination, ſhe poſitively denied, ſhe had ever been falſe to the King. Only when ſhe was told that *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* had accuſed her, though ſhe might have eaſily ſeen it was purely to draw from her ſome confeſſion, ſhe believed ſhe ought not to conceal certain things which had paſſed between her and them. She ſaid concerning *Norris*, that asking him one day why he did not go on with his Marriage, he replied, there was no haſte. Whereupon ſhe ſaid, ſhe plainly ſaw he was in hopes of having her, in caſe the King died. This ſeems to argue there was ſome familiarity between her and *Norris*. Otherwiſe, ſuppoſing the truth of the fact, it is hard to conceive that a Queen ſhould think of talking thus to one of her Domeſticks.

She confeſſes ſome Paſſages. Burnet. Strype's Mem. T. I. 280, &c.

As for *Smeton* the Muſician, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her Chamber but twice. That the laſt time ſhe ſaw him there, ſhe asked him why he was ſo ſad; and that in her converſation with him he had the boldneſs to tell her, *No, no, Madam, a Look ſuffices me* (7).

Id.

As for *Weſton*, ſhe owned he had taken the liberty to tell her, he loved her, and that ſhe thereupon defied him (8).

Id.

But after all the queſtion is to know, whether the regiſters from whence this examination is taken are true, or whether the examination was impartially written. Indeed, this doubt alone is not ſufficient to clear the Queen. But then, when it is conſidered, ſhe had for adverſary a Husband who was King, and jealous even to madneſs, very likely, they who were employed to examine her, gave her words ſuch a turn and ſenſe, as favoured the King's deſigns, by pretending to ſet down the ſubſtance of her anſwers inſtead of her very words.

As for the Lord *Rochford*, all the evidence for his pretended familiarity with the Queen his Siſter, amounted to no more than that he was once ſeen leaning on her Bed.

Burnet.

Depoſition of the Complices. Idem. and T. III. 113.

When theſe Men were examined, *Norris* ſwore he believed the Queen innocent, and perſiſted in his aſſeveration to his laſt breath. *Smeton* confeſſed, he had known the Queen carnally three times; but he was never con-

(1) Daughter of Sir *John Seymour* of *Wolf-Hall* in *Wiltſhire*, and of *Elizabeth* Daughter of Sir *Henry Wentworth* of *Nettleſted* in *Suffolk*. *Dugdale*'s Baron, Vol. II. p. 361.

(2) She miſcarried of a Son, *January* 29, this Year. *Stow*, p. 572. This was thought to have made ill Impreſſions on the King, who from thence concluded, that this Marriage was diſagreeable to God. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 196.

(3) She was, ſays *Burnet*, of a very chearful Temper, which was not always limited within the Bounds of exact Decency and Diſcretion. She had rallied ſome of the King's Servants more than became her. Tom. I. p. 197.

(4) *May* the firſt. *Hall*, fol. 227. At theſe Juſts, *George Boleyn* Viſcount *Rochford*, was chief Challenger, and *Henry Norris*, principal Defendant. *Stow*, p. 572.

(5) *Burnet*, who was at more than ordinary Pains to learn all he could concerning this Affair, obſerves, that this Circumſtance is not in *Spelman*, a Judge at that time, who writ an account of the Matter with his own Hand, in his Common-place Book, of which *Burnet* had a Sight. *Spelman* ſays, the Buſineſs was diſcovered in a very different manner. *As for the Evidence* (ſays he) *of this Matter, it was diſcovered by the Lady* Wingfield, *who had been a Servant to the Queen, and becoming on a ſudden infirm ſome time before her Death, did ſwear this Matter to one of her*——And here unluckily the reſt of the Page is torn off. By this it ſeems there was no legal Evidence againſt the Queen, and that it was a Witneſs at ſecond hand who depoſed what they heard the Lady *Wingfield* ſwear. Who this Perſon was we know not, nor in what Temper of Mind the Lady *Wingfield* might be when ſhe ſwore. And this it ſeems was that which was brought to the King at *Greenwich* during the *Juſts*, who did thereupon immediately return to *Whitehall*. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 191.

(6) Sir *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Cromwell* the Secretary, and Sir *William Kingſton* Conſtable of the Tower, who were ſent to apprehend her, letting her know, what Crime ſhe was charged with, ſhe cried out, That ſhe was wronged, and deſired to ſee the King before ſhe was conveyed to the Tower, but in vain. When ſhe was brought to the Tower, ſhe fell on her Knees before the ſame Lords, beſeeching God to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accuſed, and deſired thoſe Lords to beſeech the King's grace to be good unto her. *Stow*, p. 572. *Herbert*, p. 194.

(7) She ſaid, "*Smeton* was never in her Chamber but when the King was laſt at *Winchester*; and then he came to play on the Virginals: She ſaid, "She never ſpoke to him after that but on *Saturday* before *May* day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the Window; and then ſhe asked him, why he was ſo "ſad? He ſaid, it was no matter. She anſwered, You muſt not expect I ſhould ſpeak to you as if you were a Nobleman, ſince you are an inferior Perſon. "No, no, Madam, ſaid he, a Look ſuffices me." *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 199.

(8) She ſeemed more apprehenſive of *Weſton* than of any body. For on *Whitſun Monday* laſt he ſaid to her, "That *Norris* came more to her Chamber "upon her account, than for any body elſe that was there. She had obſerved, that he loved a Kinſwoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not "loving his Wife. But he anſwered her, That there were Women in the Houſe whom he loved better than them both: She asked, Who is that? Your "ſelf, ſaid he; upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe defied him." *Ibid.*

1536. fronted with her; nay, he was condemned before she was brought to her Trial, that he might not be a witness. This makes very much for the Queen, since it is not likely such an evidence would have been voluntarily neglected, had it been deemed as good as it appears to be. But probably it was feared that *Smeton* would retract or the Queen confound him, if brought face to face with her. The rest pleaded not Guilty; but however were condemned and executed (1).

She is condemned with the Lord Rochford. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Burnet. Herbert.

Three days after, the Queen and the Lord *Rochford* her Brother were tried by their Peers (2), the Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord High-Steward for that occasion (3). The Queen was accused of prostituting herself to her Brother and four other Men, and conspiring the King's death. But this last Charge being without any foundation, it was not thought proper to insist upon it. The Queen and the Lord *Rochford* pleaded Not Guilty, and yet were condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence the Sentence was grounded. Judgment was given, that the Lord *Rochford* should be beheaded and quartered. As for the Queen, she was condemned to be burnt or beheaded at the King's pleasure.

Remarks on the Sentence.

Very probably, the King believed the Queen guilty, and under his present prejudice, signs and tokens were to him as good proofs. But can the same thing be said of the Peers who condemned her? Did their Conscience suffer them to condemn a Queen to death upon bare surmises? I say surmises, since had there been solid proofs, they would very likely have been published, in order to justify a Sentence of this nature, which was unprecedented in *England*. Such reserve was not afterwards used with respect to another of *Henry*'s Queens, who was really guilty of the like Crime. All that can be said in favour of those who passed sentence on *Ann Bullen* is, that their dread of turning against themselves the King's fury, if they complied not with his humour, made them consider signs as real proofs. It is observable, there were but twenty-six Peers present at the Trial, though there were then fifty-three in *England*, as appears by the Summons to Parliament directed to them shortly after. This gives occasion to conjecture, that, according to the method introduced by Cardinal *Wolsey*, in the condemnation of the Duke of *Buckingham*, care was taken to remove those, who were suspected not to have so much complaisance as to gratify the King's passion at the expence of their Conscience.

Stow. Burnet. T. I. p. 363. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 564.

T. I. p. 202, 363.

As for Dr. *Burnet*'s saying in his History, that *Ann Bullen*'s Father was among her Judges, it is known he retracted it afterwards.

The Queen is beheaded. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Herbert. Hollingsh.

The Sentence was executed the 19th of *May*. *Ann* suffered death with great constancy, after a short Speech to those that were present, wherein she neither confessed nor denied the Crime for which she was condemned. She contented herself with acknowledging her obligations to the King, with praying for him, and desiring the Prayers of the People for herself (4). It is generally believed, her fear of drawing the King's anger on her Daughter *Elizabeth*, prevented her from insisting upon her own innocence (5). As she knew the King's temper perfectly, and could not vindicate herself without charging him with injustice, she was afraid *Elizabeth* would become the sacrifice of the King her Father's Resentment. However, this was the tragical end of *Ann Bullen*, whom some have vehemently defamed, and whose conduct others have as carefully justified, without any possibility yet of knowing for certain whether she was guilty or innocent. The enemies to her Daughter *Elizabeth* and the Reformation, have blackened her Reputation as much as possible, imagining thereby to give a mortal wound to the Protestant Religion. For a contrary reason, the Protestants have forgot nothing that cou'd conduce to give of her a quite different Idea. But both have reasoned upon a false Principle, since the goodness of a Religion depends not upon the life and conversation of the Professors. For my part, if I may speak my opinion, I can never believe, the Peers, her Judges, had sufficient evidence to condemn her as guilty of defiling the King's Bed. However, it cannot be denied that by some Familiarities unbecoming a Queen, she gave too great an advantage over her. As she was young and handsome, without doubt she was not displeased to see the effect of her Beauty upon all sorts of People, imagining that the Love she inspired them with, greatly heighten'd her merit. Wee see too many Ladies liable to this infirmity. Be this as it will, it is certain, the Spirit of Party has not a little contributed to the diversity of opinions concerning the Queen. Had she not countenanced the reformation, she would have undoubtedly fewer Accusers among the Catholicks, and had she led the King to persecute the Reformed, not many of these would undertake her vindication. This is the way of the World. People are innocent or guilty according to the Party they are of. But besides this general cause, a particular reason may also be found in the carriage of *Ann Bullen*. She was of a very gay temper, which had charmed the King, but which, after some years of enjoyment, served only to raise his jealousy. On the other hand, it cannot be denied she had very good qualities, and particularly great Charity to the Poor, to whom a few days before her disgrace she had given two thousand Pounds (6). A circumstance in the story of her death shews likewise, she had a very tender Conscience. After she was condemned, she fell upon her knees to the Lady *Bullen* her Sister-in-law (7), and conjured her for God's sake, to tell the Princess *Mary*, she begged her pardon for her ill-usage of her. This Charity, and this tenderness of Conscience would little become a Woman, who should have had a shameful and criminal commerce with four Men and her own Brother. But they would be very consistent with great indiscretion and a little coquetry.

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Different opinions about the Queen. Burnet.

Henry nulls his Marriage with Ann Bullen. Hall. Herbert. p. 195. Burnet. Strype.

Tho' the King had procured the Queen's condemnation, he was not satisfied. He was pleased to give her, before she died, a fresh cause of mortification, by annulling their marriage. To this end, he caused her to be turned so many ways, that at last she confessed a contract between her and the Lord *Percy*, now Earl of *Northumberland*, tho' that Lord protested upon his Salvation, there never was any formal promise of Marriage between them. It was

(1) Their Trial came on the 12th of *May*, on which day they were tried by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in *Westminster-Hall*. They were twice indicted, and the Indictments were found by two Grand Juries in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middlesex*; the Crimes they were charged with being said to be done in both Counties. All protested their Innocence, only *Smeton* confessed, *he had well deserved to die*, which gave occasion to many Reflections. They were all beheaded but *Smeton*, who was hanged. It was generally said, he was bribed into that Confession, and had his life promised; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. *Norris* had been much in the King's favour, who sent for him, and offered him his life if he would confess his Guilt. He generously rejected the Offer, affirming, That in his Conscience he thought the Queen innocent, and that he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent Person. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 201. Vol. III. p. 120.

(2) In the *Tower* of *London*, on a Scaffold erected for that purpose in the King's Hall. *Stow*, p. 572.

(3) With him sat the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquiss of *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Sussex*, and *Huntington*; the Lords *Audley*, *Delaware*, *Montague*, *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Cobham*, *Maltravers*, *Powis*, *Monteagle*, *Clinton*, *Sands*, *Windsor*, *Wentworth*, *Burgh*, and *Mordant*. The Charge ran, *That she had procured her Brother and the other four to lye with her, which they had often done; that she had said to them, that the King never had her Heart; and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any Person whatever, which was to the Slander of the Issue that was between the King and her.* And this was Treason, according to the Statute made in the 26th year of this Reign (so that the Law made for her and her Issue, is now made use of to destroy her.) It was added in the Indictment, that she and her Complices *had conspired the King's death*; but this it seems was only put in to swell the Charge. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 202, 363.

(4) Her Carriage the day she died will best appear from the following original Letter of Sir *William Kingston* Constable of the *Tower* to *Cromwell*.

SIR,

"THIS shall be to advertise you, that I have received your Letter, wherein you would have Strangers conveyed out of the *Tower*; and so they be, "by the means of *Richard Gresham*, and *William Loke*, and *Withepole*. But the number of Strangers past not thirty, and not many hothe [other.] "And the Ambassador of the Emperor had a Servant there, and honestly put out: Sir, if we have not an Hour certain, as it may be known in *Lon*- "*don*, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good Woman for all "Men but for the King, at the Hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received *the* "*good Lord*, to the Intent I should hear her speak as touching her Innocency alway to be clear. And in the writing of this she sent for me, and at my "coming she said: Mr. *Kingston*, I hear I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my "pain. I told her, it should be no pain, it was so little. And then she said, I heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little "Neck, and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many Men and also Women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow, "and to my knowledge this Lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her, and had been since two a-Clock after "midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time, and thus fare you well."

She was beheaded a little before noon, on the Green within the *Tower*. There were present the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. Her Head was cut off by the Hangman of *Calais*, as being more expert at his business than any in *England*: Her Eyes and Lips were observed to move, after her Head was cut off, as *Spelman* writes; her body was thrown into a common Chest of Elm that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chapel within the *Tower* before twelve a-Clock. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 203. *Hall*, fol. 227. *Stow*. *Strype*.

(5) On the 6th of *May* she writ a very moving Letter to the King, wherein she insisted upon her Innocence in the strongest Terms: And at another time, affirmed, she could confess no more than she had already done. See *Herbert*, p. 194. *Strype*'s *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 283. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 206.

(6) She had distributed in the last nine Months of her Life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand Pounds to the Poor. And, in all appearance, if she had lived, the Money that was raised by the Suppression of Religious Houses, had been better employed than it was. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 190.

(7) *Burnet* says, it was to the Lady *Kingston*, the Constable of the *Tower*'s Lady. Tom. I. p. 204.

believed

1536. believed this confeſſion was drawn from her, by an intimation that the King would, on no other condition, be prevailed with to mitigate that cruel part of her Sentence of being *burnt*, into the milder part of being *beheaded*. However this be, upon this ſame Confeſſion, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was forced to paſs a Sentence of divorce between the King and her (1), and declare their Daughter *Elizabeth* illegitimate. What is moſt ſtrange in the King's proceedings, is, the artifice he uſed, in cauſing the Queen to be condemn'd before her Marriage was nulled. Had the Sentence of divorce been paſs'd before the trial, ſhe could not have been condemned for Adultery, ſince her Marriage with the King muſt have been conſider'd only as a Concubinage. But *Henry* had acquired ſuch an abſolute ſway over his Subjects, that his Will was the ſole meaſure of Juſtice and Law. Nay, he ſo little regarded the Publick and his own reputation, that he married *Jane Seymour* the next day after *Ann Bullen*'s death, wherein he expreſſed a Paſſion which ſerved greatly to juſtify the deceaſed Queen.

The King marries Jane Seymour. Hall. Stow. Burnet.

The Death of *Ann Bullen* revived the hopes of *Mary* the King's Daughter by his firſt Wife *Catherine*. Her Attachment to the Queen her Mother, and her obſtinate refuſal to ſubmit to the late Acts of Parliament, had quite thrown her out of the King's Favor, who could not bear contradiction. But the late event cauſing the Friends of *Rome* to imagine the King might be reconciled to the Pope, they adviſed *Mary* to accommodate herſelf to the times, for fear of loſing the fruit, this change might produce. As there was nothing now that obſtructed the union of the King with the Emperor, it was hoped the Act which declared her Illegitimate might be repealed, provided ſhe made her Submiſſion to the King her Father. To this end, ſhe reſolved to write a very humble and reſpectful Letter to the King, proteſting, for the future ſhe would have no other Sentiments but His. But *Henry* not ſatisfied with a Submiſſion expreſſed in ſuch general terms, inſiſted before he reſtored her to favour, upon her ſigning certain Articles which ſhe had hitherto rejected: namely, the Supremacy, the renunciation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the unlawfulneſs of her Mother's marriage. *Mary* tried all poſſible ways to be excuſed. But at length, finding the King remained inflexible, ſhe ſigned them, though contrary to her opinion, in hopes that the Ill ſhe committed in acting againſt her Conſcience, might be productive of much Good (2). As for the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, then about three years old, ſhe was diveſted of the Title of *Princeſs of Wales*, which ſhe had enjoyed from her Birth. However, the King ſtill continued to educate her at Court with all the Care and Tenderneſs of a Father.

The Princeſs Mary *reconciled to the King.* Herbert. Burnet.

Burnet. Herbert. Strype.

Parliament. A new Act of Succeſſion. Hall. Herbert. Stow. Burnet.

A new Parliament meeting the 8th of *June* (3), an Act was paſſed to ſettle the Succeſſion, That made, after their marriage being void by the Sentence of Divorce between the King and *Ann Bullen*. By this new Act the other was repealed, and the Iſſue of the King's two firſt marriages declared illegitimate, and diſabled from ever inheriting the Crown. Moreover the Act confirmed *Ann Bullen*'s Sentence as being grounded upon very juſt cauſes (4), and ſettled the Crown after the King's Death upon the Iſſue of Queen *Jane*, or of any other Queen whom he might afterwards marry. Finally they gave the King full Power to declare the Succeſſion to the Crown, either by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his laſt Will ſigned with his hand; [and if any ſo deſigned to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp upon thoſe before them, or to exclude them, they were declared Traytors,] as were alſo thoſe who ſhould maintain the lawfulneſs of the former marriages. Hence it may be eaſily gueſſed, with what an abſolute ſway *Henry* then ruled, ſince, without any examination, the Parliament approved of all his Actions, and granted him even more than he deſired, by giving him power to ſettle the order of his Succeſſors. By that it was in the King's power to replace *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in ſuch order as he pleaſed, or exclude them entirely. This is a clear evidence, that the Parliament had not juſtice and equity ſo much in view as pleaſing the King.

The Pope tries to make up matters with Henry, Burnet. Herbert.

When Pope *Paul* III heard of *Ann Bullen*'s death, he entertained hopes of a revocation of what had been done in *England*. And therefore declared his thoughts to Sir *Gregory Caſſali* formerly the King's Ambaſſador, and after ſome excuſes concerning the Sentence of Excommunication which he had given, but was not yet publiſhed, told him he would willingly cloſe with any expedients that ſhould be deemed proper to procure a good agreement between the King and him. But *Henry*, who, ſome few years before, would have done much to obtain the Pope's favour, was now of another mind. Nothing was capable of inducing him to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the authority acquired over the Clergy, as well as over the reſt of his Subjects, and which rendered his power more extenſive than he expected at firſt. On the contrary, entirely to deſtroy the Pope's expectations, he cauſed the Parliament to confirm by two new Acts whatever had been done againſt him. By the firſt, all perſons were to incur the pains of a *Præmunire*, who endeavoured to reſtore in *England* the authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; and all Officers both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical were commanded, under ſevere Penalties, to puniſh thoſe who ſhould dare to violate this Statute. The ſecond nulled and aboliſhed all diſpenſations, immunities and privileges flowing from the Court of *Rome*, ſaving to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* the power of confirming what ſhould not be contrary to the Law of God, or common decency, [which confirmation was to paſs under the Great Seal.]

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who rejects his Propoſals.

Statute againſt the Pope. Burnet. Statut. c. 10. c. 16.

In this Seſſion two conſiderable Acts were alſo paſſed, but which related not to Religion. By the firſt, it was forbid, under ſevere Penalties, to marry in the next degrees of the Blood-Royal, without the King's licence firſt had. This Statute was made on account of *Thomas Howard* the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, to whom *Margaret Douglaſs* the King's Niece [and Daughter to the Queen of *Scotland*, then living in the *Engliſh* Court] had plighted her faith, without acquainting the King her Uncle. *Henry* offended at their boldneſs, ſent them both to the *Tower*, and to prevent the like for the future, procured the forementioned Act. By the ſecond it was provided, that all uſurpations of the Parliament upon the Royal Authority, before the King was twenty four years of age, might be repealed by Letters Patents under the Great Seal. Thus both Houſes of Parliament employed their whole Authority, to give the Sovereign a power which his Predeceſſors had never enjoyed, as if they had been aſſembled for that purpoſe.

Another about the Marriage of the King's Relations. Occaſion of it. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Another Statute in favour of the King. Statut. c. 18.

But it was not only with reſpect to the Civil Government, that the bounds of the Royal Authority were enlarged. The Clergy, unwilling to yield to the Parliament in that point, uſed the ſame endeavours to become agreeable to the King, by approving all his proceedings.

The Clergy approve of the King's late Divorce. Burnet.

The Convocation being met at the ſame time, confirmed the Sentence of the invalidity of the King's marriage with *Ann Bullen*, upon the ſame ground which had ſerved to procure it, namely, a Pre-Contract with the Lord *Percy*, though that Lord denied it upon Oath.

A few days after, the lower Houſe of Convocation ſent to the upper Houſe ſixty ſeven opinions, which they thought worthy to be condemned. At the ſame time the Deputies made great Complaints againſt thoſe who were for making innovations in religion. Theſe Complaints were levelled at *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, and ſome others who were noted as Heads or Promoters of the Reformation, though they were not named (5). Care was taken to mix with theſe ſixty ſeven opinions, moſtly drawn from the doctrine of the *Lutherans*, ſeveral Tenets of the old *Lollards* and the *Anabaptiſts*, to inſinuate that thoſe who were complained of, embraced them all alike. The Enemies of the Reformers hoped to make them forfeit the King's favour, who affected a great rigour againſt ſuch as were termed Hereticks. After the death of *Ann Bullen*, they ſcarce doubted that all whom ſhe had loved or protected, would ſhare in her ruin. But they were diſappointed in their expectations: *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* were never more in the King's favour, who even gave preſently after to *Cromwell* a freſh mark of his eſteem, by conſtituting him his Vice-gerent in all Eccleſiaſtical matters (6). So, the Convocation's complaints, inſtead of being prejudicial to the Reformation, or Reformers, ſeem rather to have increaſed the credit of the two Heads. This was quickly perceived, when it was ſeen that they had

Complaints againſt the Reformers. Burnet.

Cromwell is made Vicegerent. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh.

(1) At *Lambeth*, *May* 17. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 205.

(2) There is one Circumſtance that ſhews the Frugality of that time, or rather how far Money went then, on account of its Scarcity. In the Eſtabliſhment that was made for her Family, there was only forty Pounds a quarter aſſigned for her Privy-Purſe. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 208.

(3) *Burnet* obſerves, that if full forty Days be neceſſary for a Summons, then the Writs muſt have been iſſued out the Day before the late Queen's Diſgrace; ſo that it was deſigned before the *Juſt* at *Greenwich*, and conſequently did not flow from any thing that then appeared. Tom. I. p. 209. and III. p. 118. The Writs of Summons bear date, *April* 7. See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 563.

(4) Queen *Ann* is ſaid in the Act, to have been inflamed with Pride and Carnal Deſires of her Body; and having confederated herſelf with her Complices, to have committed divers Treaſons to the danger of the King's Royal Perſon, (with other aggravating Words) for which ſhe had juſtly ſuffered Death, and is now attainted by Act of Parliament. *Burnet*. T. I. p. 210.

(5) *Burnet* obſerves, that *Cranmer* promoted the Reformation *prudently* and *ſolidly*: *Latimer*, *zealouſly* and *ſimply*: *Shaxton*, with much indiſcreet *Pride* and *Vanity*. Tom. I. p. 214.

(6) In a publick Inſtrument dated *October* 22. 1535. he is ſtiled Vicegerent: And in the Writ of Summons, 1539, (in *Dugdale*) he is ſtiled *Vicarius Generalis*. So that theſe two Titles ſeem to have been promiſcuouſly uſed. In right of his Office of Vicar-general, he ſat in Convocation above the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. See *Burnet*, Tom. III. p. 402, 123. About this time he was made Lord Privy Seal, upon the reſignation of *Thomas Boleyn* Earl of *Wiltſhire*; and on the 9th of *July* was created a Baron. *Stow*, p. 573. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 571.

1536. perſuaded the King to advance the Reformation, by retrenching in the publick Worſhip, ſuch ceremonies as were not founded upon the word of God. This reſolution being taken, the King acquainted the Convocation that he wiſhed them to examine the ceremonies, to the end ſuch as were uſeleſs and inſignificant might be retrenched.

Articles propoſed by the King to the Clergy. Hall. Hollingſh.

But thoſe who were againſt the Reformation had a much greater cauſe to be alarmed, when ſome days after, *Cromwell* brought into the Upper Houſe of Convocation, Articles drawn by the King himſelf, containing ſundry Alterations in the Doctrines, with orders to examine them, and report to the King the reſult of their debates. Then it was that the two Parties openly divided, the one to promote, and the other to oppoſe, the Reformation. *Cranmer* was at the head of the firſt, being ſupported by *Goodrich* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Shaxton* of *Sarum*, *Latimer* of *Worceſter*, *Fox* of *Hereford*, *Hilſey* of *Rocheſter*, *Barlow* of St. *David's*. *Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, was Chief of the ſecond; and with him were *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, *Tonſtal* of *Durham*, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, *Longland* of *Lincoln*, *Sherburn* (1) of *Chicheſter*, *Nix* of *Norwich* (2), *Kite* of *Carliſle*. Theſe, who were private Favorers of the Pope's intereſt, ſtill hoping a reconciliation with *Rome*, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all Innovations for fear the breach ſhould become wider. But this Party lay under a great diſadvantage, as *Cromwell* and *Cranmer*, who had the King's Ear, ſuggeſted to him that moſt of the abuſes which they deſired to be aboliſhed, directly tended to ſupport the Pope's uſurpations. In ſhort, after many debates, the Convocation agreed upon certain Articles which were digeſted in form of Conſtitutions, the Subſtance whereof was as follows:

Grand debates between the two Parties. Burnet.

Conſtitutions made by the Clergy. Fuller. Burnet. T. I. p. 215. Herbert.

I. The Holy Scriptures are laid down as the Foundation of Faith, jointly with the three *Creeds*, the *Apoſtles*, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanaſian*, and the four firſt General Councils.

II. The neceſſity of Baptiſm is eſtabliſhed in the ſecond, which forbids alſo to repeat it.

III. In the third, Penance is reckoned neceſſary to Salvation, conſiſting of Contrition, Auricular Confeſſion, and Amendment of Life.

IV. The fourth eſtabliſhes as a fundamental Doctrine the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Euchariſt (3).

V. In the fifth it is ſaid, that Juſtification is attained by Regeneration, which conſiſts of Contrition, Faith, and Charity.

VI. It is appointed in the ſixth, that Images ſhould ſtand in the Churches, but that in incenſing, kneeling, and offering to them, People ſhould not do it to the Image, but to God and his honour.

VII. In the ſeventh, *Saints* are to be honoured, but without believing, ſuch things are to be obtained at their hands, as belongs only to God to beſtow.

VIII. In the eighth, Saints are to be prayed to, provided it be done without ſuperſtition. The days ſet apart for their memories are to be obſerved; unleſs the King ſhould leſſen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

IX. The Ceremonies uſed in the Church are to be retained, as the Veſtments of the Prieſts, Holy-Water, Holy-Bread, bearing Candles on *Candlemas-day*, giving Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, bearing Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, creeping to the Croſs on *Good-Friday*, and kiſſing it, hallowing the Font, and other Exorciſms and Benedictions.

X. The tenth declares it good to pray for the dead, but that it is neceſſary to correct the abuſes advanced under the pretence of Purgatory, the Pope's Pardons, Maſſes ſaid in certain places, or before certain Images. In fine, that ſince the State and Place of Souls after death are unknown, they ought to be recommended to God's mercy in general terms only.

The King approves them.

Theſe Conſtitutions being preſented to the King, who corrected them in ſeveral places (4), were ſigned by *Cromwell*, *Cranmer*, ſeventeen Biſhops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors of the lower Houſe of Convocation, among whom was *Polydore Virgil* (Archdeacon of *Wells*,) Author of a Hiſtory of *England*, publiſhed afterwards by the King's order (5). Their publication occaſioned great variety of Cenſures. Thoſe that deſired a Reformation had gained ſome ground, with reſpect to Images and Purgatory, but chiefly in that the Scriptures were made the ſtandard of Faith, becauſe they hoped from that Principle to draw one day very great conſequences. But the determinations concerning Auricular Confeſſion, and the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Euchariſt, troubled them extremely. Not only were theſe Articles directly contrary to their ſentiments, but they ſaw how difficult it would be to meddle with them again, by reaſon of the King's prejudice, who believed them unqueſtionable. The other Party were under an unſpeakable conſternation, to ſee Articles ſo long ſince determined, brought under examination, the Papal authority aboliſhed, and the exiſtence of Purgatory called in queſtion. Thus theſe Conſtitutions pleaſed neither Party. The one thought the Reformers had acted too faintly, in not advancing the Reformation, and could not forbear blaming their compliance, in ſuffering Doctrines ſo repugnant to truth, to be eſtabliſhed. But it was replied, that every thing could not be done at once, and that it would have been imprudent obſtinately to require that the errors, the People were not yet ſenſible of, ſhould be ſuddenly retrenched. The other Party were very angry alſo with the Biſhops, for ſo baſely abandoning Truths, embraced for ſo many ages by the Catholick Church. But indeed, it was not in the power of either to act otherwiſe. The King himſelf managed the whole, having ſettled in his Cabinet-Council what he thought fit to alter or keep. But there was not any in this Council that dared to oppoſe his opinion, or believed it prudent to combat his ſentiments, for fear a too great oppoſition ſhould produce a quite contrary effect. All that could be done, was to try to enlighten the King gently and inſenſibly, without ſtriving to bring him, by a ſort of compulſion, to what was thought reaſonable.

1536. *Opinions of the two Parties upon theſe Articles.* Burnet.

The King being cited to a Council, adviſes with the Convocation. Burnet. Herbert.

Before the Convocation broke up, the King communicated to both Houſes a Summons he had received to a Council, which was to meet at *Mantua*. The Pope, without conſulting him, had called this Council in concert with the Emperor, and was to preſide by his Legates. So *Henry* might well expect to loſe his Cauſe before ſuch a Council, had he been ſo unwiſe as to ſubmit to its deciſions. Indeed he had appealed from the Pope to a General Council; but there were many Queries to be reſolved, in order to know whether this called at *Mantua* was lawful, and fortified with a ſufficient authority. Mean while, before he anſwered the Summons, he was pleaſed to adviſe with the Clergy, who, after mature deliberation, preſented to him a writing to this effect: That a true and lawful General Council was a very good means to preſerve the peace and union of the Church; but before a Council was called, it was neceſſary to conſider, Firſt, who had authority to call it: Secondly, Whether the reaſons for calling it were weighty. Thirdly, Who ſhould aſſiſt as Judges. Fourthly, What ſhould be the order of proceeding. Fifthly, What Doctrines were to be diſcuſſed. Then, it was declared that neither the Pope nor any Prince in the World had power to call a General Council, without the conſent of all the Sovereigns in *Chriſtendom*. Purſuant to this Declaration, *Henry* publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the Council which was to meet at *Mantua*, ſpeaking very plainly and freely of the deſigns and conduct of the Pope. He concluded with ſaying, that he could not conſider as Free and General, a Council where the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould preſide, which ſhould meet in a ſuſpected place, and which muſt be compoſed only of a ſmall number of Prelates, till the War between the Emperor and *France* was ended.

The Clergy's Anſwer. Burnet. T. I. p. 219. Herbert. p. 203.

The King proteſts againſt the Council of Mantua. Burnet.

The eighteenth of *July*, the Parliament was prorogued, after a Seſſion but of forty days, wherein however ſeveral Acts of moment were paſſed (6).

The Parliament is prorogued.

At this time Cardinal *Pole* was in high repute for his Learning and Eloquence. His name was *de la Pole*, but every where, except in *England*, he is ſo well known by that of *Polus*, that he cannot be called by any other, without danger of confounding the Reader. He was deſcended of *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Favorite

Reginald Pole *falls out with the King.* Herbert. Burnet. Strype.

(1) *Sherburn*, upon what Inducement is not known, reſigned his Biſhoprick, which was given to *Richard Sampſon* Dean of the Chapel; a Penſion of four hundred Pounds being reſerved to *Sherburn*, and confirmed by this Parliament. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 570.

(2) *Nix* had alſo offended the King ſignally, by ſome Correſpondence with *Rome*, and was long kept in the *Marſhalſea*, and was convicted and found in a Præmunire: But the King conſidering his old Age, upon his Submiſſion pardoned him. He died the laſt Year, though *Fuller* in his ſlight way makes him ſit in this Convocation. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 214. See *Rymer*, *Ibid.* p. 573.

(3) It is obſervable, That there are only three Sacraments mentioned in theſe Articles. *Hall*, fol. 228.

(4) The King did not correct the engroſſed and ſigned Articles, as *Rapin*, and others have been led to imagine, by miſunderſtanding *Burnet's* Words in his Vol. I. p. 217. For his meaning was, (as he explains it himſelf in Vol. III. p. 123.) That there are ſeveral Draughts of theſe Articles that are in many Places corrected by the King's own Hand, ſome of which Corrections are very long and very material. Of theſe he ſpoke, and not of the engroſſed Articles ſigned by the Convocation.

(5) And *Peter Vannes* Archdeacon of *Worceſter*. *Herbert*, p. 202.

(6) Namely, thoſe mentioned above; againſt reſtoring the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; againſt Immunities, &c.——By an Act now made, it was alſo injoined, That Tithes, and other Profits, ariſing or becoming due during the Vacancy of any Spiritual Promotion, ſhall belong to the Perſon that is next preſented thereto, toward the payment of the Firſt-Fruits. And by another, That *French* Wine ſhould be ſold by retail only eight Pence a Gallon; and *Sack* or *Malmſey* for twelve Pence. See *Statut.* 28 *Henry* VIII.

1536. of *Richard* II. From that time, this Family had been continually advanced, ſo that in the Reign of *Henry* VI, the Earl of *Suffolk* was honored with the title of Duke. After that, a Lord of this ſame Family married a Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother of *Edward* IV. Of this marriage was born, among other Children, *Reginald de la Pole*, or *Polus*, the Cardinal I am ſpeaking of, who conſequently was Couſin to the King (1). Being a younger Brother, he was deſigned for the Church, for which alſo his natural qualities rendered him very proper. In his younger years, he made ſo great progreſs in all the Sciences, that the King intending to raiſe him to the higheſt dignities of the Church, conferred on him the Deanery of *Exeter*, with ſeveral other Benefices, that he might go and finiſh his ſtudies abroad. He went firſt to *Paris*, where he ſtayed ſome years, and forfeited in ſome meaſure the King's favour, for refuſing to concur with his Agents, in procuring the determinations of the *French* Univerſities in the affair of the Divorce. Notwithſtanding this, he returned into *England*, where he aſſiſted as Dean of *Exeter*, at the Convocation, which acknowledged the King ſupreme Head of the Church of *England* (2). There is even reaſon to preſume he was not of the number of thoſe who oppoſed this new Title, becauſe he kept his Deanery ſeveral years after. At length he travelled into *Italy*, and lived ſome time at *Padua*, where he contracted a friendſhip with *Bembo*, *Sadoletti*, and other celebrated Wits. The reputation he acquired in that Country, made the King deſirous to recall him, intending to reward his merit, which was univerſally known. But *Pole* ſtill declined, on ſome pretence or other to comply with the King's deſire. At laſt, finding delays could prevail no longer, he was forced to write to the King the true reaſon of his refuſal, which was, he could not approve either of his Divorce, or ſeparation from the Apoſtolick See. *Henry*, who was extremely deſirous to gain him, ſent him a writing, containing his Apology, and the reaſons of his proceedings againſt the Pope (3). Upon which *Pole* wrote his Book *De Unitate Eccleſiaſtica*, wherein he takes the liberty to ſpeak of the King in very offenſive terms, comparing him to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and exhorting the Emperor and the reſt of the Princes to turn their Arms againſt him. He was not ſatisfied with ſending him his Book in *Manuſcript*, but cauſed it to be printed and publiſhed (4). *Henry* provoked, as may be eaſily judged, at ſuch a violent and diſrepectful Behaviour, tried to allure him into *England*, by writing to him how much he eſteemed his Book, deſiring him withal to come and explain ſome difficult paſſages by word of mouth. *Pole* took care not to be thus inſnared. So the King perceiving this artifice took not effect, diveſted him of all his dignities, the loſs whereof was amply repaired by the Pope and the Emperor. Some time after, he was rewarded with a Cardinal's Hat. He thereby became ſtill more attached to the Pope's intereſt, and a greater enemy to the King, who not being able to reach his Perſon, made his Family and Kindred feel the effects of his indignation.

Burnet. T. III. 403. Herbert.

Suppreſſions of the leſſer Monaſteries. Burnet. T. I. Coll. p. 143.

The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries, enacted in the laſt Seſſion of the late Parliament, was not executed till *Auguſt*, though the Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe had received their inſtructions in *April*. Probably, the King had a mind to ſee the Iſſue of the new Parliament before they proceeded. As their report was ſuppreſſed in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, it cannot poſitively be ſaid what it contained. Thus much is certain, the adherents of the Pope and the old Religion accuſed them of committing numberleſs extortions and robberies, and of making falſe reports of what they diſcovered in this Viſitation, to leſſen the horror of their oppreſſions. This may be partly true. Nay, it is not unlikely that theſe Men, either from a deſire to make their court to the King, or from a greedineſs to enrich themſelves, exceeded their inſtructions. On the other hand, it is alſo probable, their accuſers highly aggravated the crimes laid to their charge. However this be, immenſe numbers were extremely diſpleaſed at the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious Houſes, which were had in great veneration. All the Friers of theſe ſuppreſſed Houſes who wiſhed to become Seculars, had a diſpenſation from the King, and the reſt were removed to the larger Monaſteries, which were untouched. The Churches and Cloyſters were pulled down, and the materials ſold to the King's uſe. 1536.

Abundance of People diſcontented. Burnet.

It may be eaſily judged, the Monks ſpared no pains to excite the People to rebel. They found it the more eaſy, as great diſcontents reigned every where. The nobility and gentry took it very ill, that the King ſhould have the Lands of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries, moſt part whereof were founded by their Anceſtors. Beſides, they were deprived of the conveniency of providing for their younger Children, when they had too many, and of lodging, as they travelled, in theſe Houſes, where they were always well entertained. The poor murmured ſtill louder, becauſe multitudes lived by the Alms which were daily diſtributed in theſe Houſes. In ſhort, the devout Bigots thought the Souls of their Anceſtors muſt now lie in Purgatory, ſince ſo many Maſſes which were ſaid for their deliverance, where aboliſhed by the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries.

The diſorders of the ſuppreſſed Houſes publiſhed. Burnet.

The Court hearing of theſe murmurs, endeavoured to compoſe them, by publiſhing the diſorders, diſcovered in theſe Houſes. But this ſignified nothing. Beſides that theſe reports were deemed very much aggravated, it was ſaid, why were not theſe abuſes ſeverely puniſhed and reformed, without deſtroying whole Houſes for ever? At laſt, *Cromwell* found an expedient to allay theſe diſcontents in great meaſure, by adviſing the King to ſell the Lands of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries at very eaſy rates, and oblige the Purchaſers, under ſevere penalties, to keep up the wonted Hoſpitality (5). But this expedient was not capable of entirely appeaſing the murmurs of the People, though the King ſtrove to give them ſome ſatisfaction by re-endowing one and thirty of theſe Houſes (6).

The King ſells their Lands at eaſy rates.

Injunctions to the Clergy. Hall. Burnet. Herbert. p. 204. Stow.

Whilſt People were in this fermentation, the King publiſhed, in the name of the Vice-gerent, ſome Injunctions to regulate the behavior of Perſons in Holy Orders, many of whom led very irregular Lives. Theſe Injunctions contained nothing but what had been ordained by ſeveral Synods (7), and yet the Clergy were extremely offended, becauſe they could not endure to ſee themſelves ſubject to the orders of the Vice-gerent, by whom, they ſaid, they were going to be inſlaved much more than by the Pope. Thus the inferior Clergy, the Monks and the Bigots being equally concerned in what had been done, and in what, very probably, was intended to be done, inſpired thoſe on whom they had any influence, with a ſpirit of Rebellion, which quickly broke out into a flame.

The inferior Clergy murmur at them. Hollingſh.

Inſurrection in Lincolnſhire. Herbert. Burnet. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The firſt riſing was in *Lincolnſhire* (8), where Dr. *Mackerel*, Prior of *Barlings*, drew after him a great body of Men, whom he headed under the name of *Captain Cobler*. The Rebels ſent their grievances to the King in a very humble manner, telling him, they acknowledged his Supremacy, and were content he ſhould enjoy the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits of the Livings, but withal prayed him to adviſe with his Nobility concerning the redreſs of their Grievances. This was taxing the King indirectly with

(1) This is one of the greateſt Miſtakes concerning Families *Rapin* has been guilty of. Cardinal *Pole* was no ways related to *de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Cardinal's Father Sir *Richard Pole*, Knight of the Garter, was a *Welſhman*, and married *Margaret* Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*. See Note (3) p. 726.

(2) He ſays himſelf he was not preſent, which ſhews, that at that time he was contented to be ſilent in his Opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppoſe what was doing. *Burnet*, Tom. III. p. 124.

(3) In a Book writ by Doctor *Sampſon*. *Idem*. T. I. p. 221.

(4) *Pole*'s Book was anſwered by Biſhop *Stokeſly*, and Biſhop *Tunſtal*, in a long and learned Letter, directed to *Pole*. *Gardiner* publiſhed alſo againſt it, his Book of *True Obedience*; to which was added a Preface by *Bonner*. *Idem*. Tom. III. p. 126, *&c*. *Herbert*, p. 182.

(5) The Purchaſers being obliged to keep up the old Hoſpitality, (which they were to do upon the Penalty of paying every Month ſix Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence, to be levied by the Juſtices of the Peace, who were impowered to enquire of the Matter) the common ſort, who, like thoſe of old, that followed Chriſt for the Loaves, were moſt concerned for the loſs of a Dinner on *Sundays* and Holydays, were in a great meaſure ſatisfied; and the Gentry, by having good Bargains, were drawn in to like what was done, and to aſſiſt the Crown for ever in the Defence of theſe Laws, their own Intereſts being interwoven with the Rights of the Crown. The Commiſſioners, as was but juſt, paid all the Debts of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries: But when Relicks happened to be pawned, it ſeems they refuſed to redeem them. Thus one Man loſt forty Pounds which he had lent upon St. *Andrew*'s *Finger*, except one Ounce of Silver with which it was covered. The Writers that live near the time ſay, about ten thouſand Friers and Nuns were ſent to ſeek for their Livings. The Abbots and Priors had ſmall Penſions. *Burnet*. *Herbert*.

(6) Fifteen Abbies, and ſixteen Nunneries. The King's Letters Patents for that purpoſe are dated *Auguſt* 17. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 224. and *Collect*. p. 142.

(7) The Preamble of theſe Injunctions ran thus: "In the Name of God, Amen. By the Authority and Commiſſion of the excellent Prince *Henry*, by "the Grace of God King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth ſupreme Head under Chriſt of the Church of "*England*. I *Thomas* Lord *Cromwell*, Privy-Seal, and *Vice-gerent* to the King's ſaid Highneſs, for all his Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, do for "the advancement of the Glory of Almighty God, encreaſe of Virtue, and honour of the King's Majeſty, give and exhibit unto you——theſe Injunc-"tions following, *&c*". This was the firſt Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the two Convocations. They were penned, it is like, by *Cranmer*. They were not reliſhed by the Majority of the Clergy. The great Profits they made by their Images and Relicks, and the Pilgrimages to them, were now taken away; and yet ſevere Impoſitions were laid upon them: A fifth for Repairs; a tenth at leaſt for an Exhibitioner, in either of the Univerſities, or ſome Grammar School; and a fortieth for Charity; which were cried out upon as intolerable Burdens. Their Labour was alſo increaſed, and they were bound up to a ſtrict Life. In ſhort, the very ſame Opinions about Pilgrimages, Saints, *&c*. and about inſtructing the People in the Chriſtian Religion, in the vulgar Tongue, for which the *Lollards* were not long ago burnt, were now ſet up by the King's Authority. See *Burnet*'s *Collection*, Tom. I. p. 160, *&c*.

(8) In the beginning of *October*, occaſioned by the levying of the fifteenth lately granted by Parliament. *Hall*, fol. 229. *Stow*, p. 573. The Duke of *Suffolk* was commiſſioned to go againſt them *October* 7. *Herbert*, p. 205.

following

1536. *The Grievances of the Rebels.* Herbert. Burnet. Speed. p. 772.

following the Counſels of *Thomas Cromwell*, who was of a mean extraction. Theſe grievances were, That he had ſuppreſſed a great number of Monaſteries: That large Subſidies had been granted by Parliament without any occaſion: That he admitted into his Council Perſons of mean birth, whoſe ſole view was to enrich themſelves, inſtead of conſulting the good of the State: That ſeveral Biſhops had ſubverted the antient Faith (1), and embraced new Doctrines, at all times condemned by the Church: That having ſeen ſo many religious Houſes plundered, they were afraid the Churches would undergo the ſame fate.

The King's Manifeſto. Hall. fol. 229. Burnet. Speed.

The King returned an anſwer to theſe grievances in a large Manifeſto (2). But as his reaſons were grounded upon principles not admitted by the Malecontents, the Manifeſto had no great effect. Mean while the King was greatly embarraſſed; his Troops were few, and he had certain advice that a like inſurrection was preparing in *Yorkſhire* and other neighbouring Counties. He ordered however the Duke of *Suffolk* to march, though with very few Troops, and try to ſtop the progreſs of the Rebels. But the Duke finding himſelf too weak, thought it more proper to endeavour to appeaſe the commotion by way of Negotiation than by arms. So when he ſent to the Malecontents the King's anſwer to their grievances, he took occaſion to let them know, they ſhould not deſpair of pardon. Upon which, ſome of their heads privately ſent him word, they had joined with the Rebels only to reclaim them, wherein they hoped to ſucceed, provided the King would be pleaſed to grant them a general pardon. The Duke diſliked not this overture, which afforded him an opportunity to write to the King, and ſollicite him in their behalf, offering however to march againſt the Rebels if he was ordered. At the ſame time, the King received news that the *Yorkſhire*-Men had taken Arms, and as he feared the others would join them, made haſte and iſſued out a Proclamation, granting an abſolute pardon to all that ſhould return to their homes. The Proclamation ſucceeded according to expectation. The Rebels immediately diſperſed, and ſo freed the King from great perplexity. Some however choſe rather to join the *Yorkſhire* Rebels than accept of the pardon (3).

The Rebels accept of a Pardon.

A more dangerous Rebellion in Yorkſhire. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Aske *head of the Rebels.* Speed.

The Inſurrection of *Yorkſhire* was much more dangerous than that of *Lincolnſhire*. This laſt ſeemed to have been accidental and ſudden. The other was in purſuance of a ſettled deſign, wherein were concerned ſeveral Perſons of note, who only waited, before they declared, to ſee how the People in general were diſpoſed. One *Robert Aske*, a Man of good judgment, headed the Malecontents of thoſe parts, where the diſtance of the Court, and the neighbourhood of *Scotland*, rendered the People more bold than elſewhere, beſides that the Monks had ever been in more credit in the northern Counties than in all the reſt of the Kingdom. Since *July*, *Aske* had tried to gain the Lord *Dacres*, who had amuſed him ſome time with hopes that his Negotiation would ſucceed. Probably, this Lord ſent the King the firſt notice of the Plot. At laſt, the Male-contents took arms, and aſſembled in very great numbers about the end of *Auguſt*, juſt after the *Lincolnſhire* Rebellion broke out. When they ſaw themſelves ſtrong enough, they would not ſuffer the Lords and Gentlemen to remain neuter at home, but forced them either to fly or join with them, and ſwear they would be true to the cauſe, for which they intended to fight. This cauſe was properly Religion, as they plainly intimated, by putting a Crucifix in their Banners (4). Beſides, they re-eſtabliſhed the Monks in ſome of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries. As they met with no oppoſition, becauſe the King's Forces were employed againſt the Rebels of *Lincolnſhire*, they made great progreſs at firſt, and ſtill much greater, after *Richmondſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and the County of *Weſtmoreland* ingaged on their ſide. *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* was the only Perſon that ventured to take arms for the King without receiving his Commiſſion, though he was not ignorant that at ſuch a juncture his proceedings might be miſinterpreted. But as he meant well, he hoped the King would forgive a fault committed purely for his Service. And indeed the King ſent him a Commiſſion, conſtituting him his Lieutenant againſt the Rebels. At the ſame time, he ordered the Duke of *Suffolk* not to ſtir from *Lincolnſhire*, leſt the Male contents there ſhould think of joining thoſe of the North. Moreover, he gave Commiſſions to ſeveral Lords (5) to levy Troops, whilſt on his part, he aſſembled as many as poſſible, in order to form an Army, the command whereof he deſigned for the Duke of *Norfolk*. But, either from the backwardneſs of the People, or for ſome other reaſon, the Army was not ſufficiently numerous to reſiſt the Rebels.

1536.

The Duke of Norfolk *commands the King's Forces.*

The Archbiſhop of York *and the Lord* d'Arcy *ſurrender* Pontfract, *and are ſuſpected.* Hall. Herbert.

Whilſt the King was making his preparations, *Aske* was not idle. He approached *Pontfract* Caſtle, where the Archbiſhop of *York* and *Thomas* Lord *d'Arcy* were, and forced them to ſurrender the place. As theſe two Lords were reckoned well-affected to the Pope, many believed they were not ſorry that the want of Proviſions furniſhed them with a pretence to deliver *Pontfract* to the Rebels, and march with them in their other expeditions (6). Shortly after, *Aske* took alſo *York* and *Hull*, and by fair or foul means obliged all the Nobility of the Country to join his Army (7). Thus this affair grew daily more important, and the Court became apprehenſive that the reſt of the Kingdom would follow the example of the northern Counties. This apprehenſion was the more juſt, as at the ſame time there were in all parts Men who made it their buſineſs, to ſpread reports capable of inciting the whole Nation to rebel, by putting them in fear of the utter ſubverſion of the Religion they had hitherto profeſſed.

The Rebels take York *and* Hull.

The King tries to amuſe the Rebels.

Mean while, the King choſe to amuſe the Rebels, till his Army was ready. The 20th of *October* he ſent a Herald with a Proclamation to be read to the Troops. *Aske* gave the Herald audience, ſitting in State with the Archbiſhop on the one hand, and the Lord *d'Arcy* on the other. But when he heard the contents of the Proclamation, he ſent him away without ſuffering him to publiſh it. *Henry* finding matters were in an ill way, diſpatched the Duke of *Norfolk* with what Troops he had aſſembled, which were to be joined by thoſe under the command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and ſome others levied in haſte by the Marquiſs of *Exeter* (8). But theſe three ſmall Bodies bore no proportion to the Forces of the Rebels. So the King found himſelf obliged to publiſh a Proclamation, commanding all the Nobility to meet him [at *Northampton*] the 7th of *November*. Mean time, *Aske*, at the head of thirty thouſand Men, advanced towards *Doncaſter*, where the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquiſs of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, were encamped with five thouſand Men only, and having no other refuge but to defend the paſs of the River between the two Armies. But as it was fordable in ſeveral places, they would doubtleſs have been extremely embarraſſed, if a great rain, which fell very ſeaſonably, had not made the River unpaſſable. This was certainly a very fortunate accident for the King. If his Troops had been defeated on this occaſion, as it was very likely, conſidering their ſmall number, it would have done him an unſpeakable damage.

The Duke of Norfolk *marches againſt the Rebels.* Hall. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Accident which binders the Royal Army from being defeated. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Sentiments and Conduct of the Duke of Norfolk.

I have before obſerved, that the Duke of *Norfolk* approved not of the alterations made in Religion. And therefore, it could not but be very diſagreeable to him to command the King's Army, againſt People who had taken Arms in a cauſe which he could not diſlike. Mean while, he ſaw himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation, ſince he was as much afraid of conquering as of being conquered. In the firſt caſe, a victory over the Rebels would infallibly ruin the party he ſecretly favored. In the ſecond caſe, he ran the riſque of being ſuſpected by the King, and forfeiting his favor. Happily for him, his inability to hurt

The Earl of Shrewſbury *riſes for the King.* Herbert. Hollingſh.

(1) Particularly they complained, that four of their pretended ſeven Sacraments were taken away, and that they ſhould ſoon loſe the other three. *Hall*, fol. 228.

(2) As to the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries, he declared, That it was granted him by all the Nobles Spiritual and Temporal of his Realm, and by all the Commons in the ſame, by Act of Parliament, and not ſet forth by any Counſellors of his upon their mere Will and Fancy. *Hall*, fol. 229.

(3) Captain *Cobler*, with ſeveral others, were taken and executed. *Hall*, fol. 230. The reſt made their Submiſſion, *October* 19. *Hollingſh.* p. 941.

(4) Their March was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, and to inveigle the People, ſome Prieſts marched before them with Croſſes in their Hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with the five Wounds and a Chalice, and every one wore on his Sleeve as a Badge, an Emblem of the five Wounds of Chriſt, with the Name of *Jeſus* wrought in the midſt. All that joined them took an Oath, "That they entered into this *Pilgrimage of* "*Grace*, for the Love of God, the Preſervation of the King's Perſon and Iſſue, the purifying the Nobility, and driving away all baſe-born and evil "Counſellors; and for no particular Profit of their own, nor to do Diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill any for Envy, but to take before them the Croſs "of Chriſt, his Faith, the Reſtitution of the Church, and the Suppreſſion of Hereticks, and their Opinions." Theſe were ſpecious Pretences. So People flocked about their Croſſes and Standards in ſuch Numbers, that they grew forty thouſand ſtrong. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 229. *Hall* fol. 230. *Stow*, p. 574.

(5) Particularly to *George Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *October* 17. At the ſame time, *George Haſtings* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and *Thomas Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, ſent the King offers of their Service. *Herbert*, p. 206.

(6) They were both made to take the Oath in the Note above.

(7) *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* (17 *Hen.* VIII.) Grandſon of the Lord *Clifford*, ſlain in the firſt of *Edw.* IV. held out his Caſtle of *Skipton* againſt all that Force, though five hundred Gentlemen (retained at his Coſt) had deſerted him. Sir *Ralph Evers* alſo defended *Scarborough* Caſtle till he was relieved, though himſelf and Men had nothing but Bread and Water for twenty Days. *Herbert*, p. 206.

(8) *Henry Courtney.*

the

1536. the Rebels, freed him from this embarraſſment, by affording him a pretence to proceed with him by way of Negotiation. As he held intelligence with ſome of their Leaders, he ſo ordered it by their means, that they came to a reſolution to preſent a very humble Petition to the King. That done, they acquainted the Duke with it, intreating him to ſecond it with his intereſt. The Duke readily granted their requeſt; but told them, that to obtain a favorable anſwer from the King, there muſt be a ceſſation of Arms, during which he took upon him to go himſelf and preſent their Petition. This propoſal being accepted, the ceſſation was concluded, and the Duke departed for *London* (1). At ſuch a juncture, this ceſſation was very advantagious to the King, becauſe his Army being very weak, he wanted time to raiſe more Forces. For this very cauſe, many of the Rebels ſeeing that, contrary to all reaſon, the King had leiſure given him to aſſemble his Troops, and imagining they were betrayed by their Leaders, withdrew to their homes (2).

A Truce very advantagious to the King. Herbert.

Henry tries to gain time. Herbert.

The diſcord which began to ſpread among the Rebels, gave the King ſome hopes of coming off upon eaſy Terms. And therefore he delayed ſending an anſwer to their Petition, expecting their Army would diſperſe by degrees (3). But the Leaders perceiving at length that the Court purpoſely prolonged the Negotiation, and that thoſe delays muſt utterly ruin their affairs, renewed their Hoſtilities, and reſolved once more to attack the Royal Army. Had this reſolution been executed, it would have, probably, changed the face of affairs very much; but another great rain ſo ſwelled the River which parted the two Armies, that it was not poſſible for them to paſs it (4). The King hearing of this, thought it neceſſary to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, for fear they ſhould execute their reſolution before he was ready. To this end, he ſent them an anſwer to their Petition (5); but it was expreſſed in ſuch general terms, that they could not depend upon what was promiſed therein. At the ſame time, he propoſed, that if they would ſend three hundred Deputies to *Doncaſter*, Commiſſioners ſhould meet them there, and treat of a Peace. His aim was to gain time, in hopes, the three hundred Deputies would diſagree, and their diſſention, by prolonging the Negotiation, give him time to prepare his Army. A few days after, the Duke of *Norfolk* returning to *Doncaſter*, ſent word to the Rebels that he had brought them a general pardon, ten only excepted, ſix of whom were named, and four not. But this pardon was unanimouſly rejected, becauſe the ſix Perſons named were ſome of the heads, and every one was in fear of being one of the four whom the King had reſerved. And indeed, the King had no other view but to ſow diſcord among them, and make way for the Treaty at *Doncaſter*, which they accepted at laſt, and ſent their three hundred Deputies thither (6). The Court had expected, theſe Deputies would never agree about their demands, and ſo would afford the time that was wanted.

Artifices of the Court. Herbert.

Herbert.

Conference at Doncaſter. But as it was eaſy for the Leaders to diſcover the Court's intention, they gave the Deputies their inſtructions in writing, from which they were not to depart. Theſe inſtructions contained ten Demands, which the Deputies made at the conference held at *Doncaſter* the 6th of *December*.

The Rebels Demands. Herbert. Burnet.

I. They demanded a general pardon, without any exception.

II. That a Parliament ſhould be held at *York*.

III. That a Court of Juſtice ſhould be erected there, that the Inhabitants of the northern Counties might not be brought to *London* upon any Law-Suit.

IV. That ſome Acts of the late Parliaments which were too grievous to the People, ſhould be repealed (7).

V. That the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould be declared Legitimate.

VI. That the papal Authority ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed upon the old foot.

VII. That the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries ſhould be reſtored to their former State.

VIII. That the *Lutherans* and all innovators in Religion ſhould be puniſhed ſeverely.

IX. That *Thomas Cromwell*, and *Audley* Lord Chancellor, ſhould be removed from the Council, and excluded from the next Parliament.

X. That *Lee* and *Leighton*, Viſitors of the Monaſteries, ſhould be impriſoned, and brought to account for their briberies and extortions. 1536.

The Conference breaks up.

As the Deputies had not power to qualify theſe demands, ſo the King's Commiſſioners were not authorized to grant them. The King took care not to deſtroy in a moment the work of many years. Thus the conference ended without any fruit. The Duke of *Norfolk* was very ſorry to ſee that the affair was like to be decided by Arms. He heartily wiſhed, the King would grant the Rebels all their demands; but knew too well his humour and character, to venture to make him ſuch a propoſal. Mean while, he was extremely embarraſſed. He muſt either betray the King's intereſt, or reſolve to fight the Rebels, contrary to his own inclination, and with great danger of a defeat. At leaſt, he could not avoid, purſuant to the intent of the Court, to prolong the affair till the King was ready to march, and then he ſaw, the ruin of the Rebels was inevitable. In this perplexity, he choſe to write to the King, that the number of the Rebels daily increaſing, there was danger of their making ſome attempt which it would be difficult to reſiſt; and therefore, to prevent the threatened miſchief, it was his opinion, if his Highneſs pleaſed, that ſome of their demands ſhould be granted. Upon this Letter, the King impowered him to offer them a general pardon without exception (8), and promiſe them in his name, that the next Parliament ſhould be held in the North. But withal, he ordered him not to make uſe of theſe remedies except in extremity, and when there was no other reſource. The Duke receiving theſe Powers, thought proper to uſe them without delay, ſince it was the only way to free him from his preſent embarraſſment. He was unwilling openly to betray the King's intereſts, and on the other hand, did not care to be inſtrumental in the Rebels deſtruction, whoſe ſentiments he approved, though he durſt not ſhew it. So, after having, by his Correſpondents, prevailed with the Leaders to comply with the King's offers, the agreement was concluded, and every Man returned to his home, to the great ſorrow of the Monks and Bigots, who had expected quite another thing from their efforts to excite the People to rebel (9). But this agreement hindered not the Friers and Eccleſiaſticks of thoſe parts, from continuing to foment among the People a Spirit of Rebellion, which broke out again, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Something muſt now be ſaid of the Emperor's affairs with the King of *France*, wherein all *Europe* was concerned.

The Duke of Norfolk labours to make up Matters without a Battle. Hollingſh. Burnet. Herbert.

Hall. Burnet. Herbert.

The Rebels accept of the Pardon.

Affairs between the Emperor and Francis. Bellai. P. Daniel.

When *Francis* I. began the War in *Savoy*, about the end of the laſt year, the Emperor was in *Sicily*, upon his return from his *Tunis* expedition, but unable to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*. This made him chuſe to try to cool the King of *France*'s ardor by a Negotiation, till he could aid his Ally. The death of *Franceſco Sforza*, which happened in the mean time, furniſhed him with an opportunity. He intimated to the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding at his Court, that he would not diſpoſe of the Duchy of *Milan*, till he knew the King of *France*'s ſentiments. *Francis* being informed of it, demanded the Duchy for his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Emperor put him in hopes, he would give it to his third Son the Duke of *Angoulême*, upon certain terms, which left it in his power to prolong the Negotiation as much as he pleaſed. And indeed, he amuſed him in this manner till *April* 1536, one while inſiſting upon the Perſon of the Duke of *Angoulême*, another while ſeeming inclined to confer the Duchy on the Duke of *Orleans*. *Francis* willing to end this affair, and knowing, the Emperor intended to go to *Rome*, ſent the Cardinal of *Lorrain* for a poſitive anſwer, but leſt the events of the War ſhould bring ſome obſtacle to this Negotiation, he ordered Admiral *Brion*, who commanded in *Piedmont*, to ceaſe hoſtilities.

Negotiation about the Duchy of Milan.

The Emperor arrives at Rome.

Whilſt the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was on his journey, the Emperor arriving at *Rome*, went, a few days after, to a publick Conſiſtory, which was aſſembled at his requeſt. There, before the Pope and the Cardinals, he inveighed againſt the King of *France*, intimating, he was the ſole Author of the Wars that had afflicted *Europe* ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne. He thence took occaſion to ſay, that inſtead of ſhedding ſo much innocent

He offers before the Pope and Cardinals to decide his Quarrel with the French King in ſingle Combat.

(1) Together with Sir *Ralph Elecker* and *Robert Bowes*, whom the Rebels ſent with him. *Herbert*, p. 206.

(2) Rumours were induſtriouſly ſpread among them, that ſome of their Chiefs would compound for themſelves, and leave the reſt to the Gallows. *Herbert, ibid.*

(3) He alſo detained *Elecker* and *Bowes*, under pretence, that the Rebels had broken the Ceſſation. *Ibid.*

(4) The ſecond Swelling of the River was not, according to *Herbert*, &c. till after the Conference at *Doncaſter*, when the Rebels, upon the King's rejecting their Demands, reſolved to attack *Doncaſter*. p. 207.

(5) By the Duke of *Norfolk*. *Herbert, ibid.*

(6) Among whom were *John* Lord *Scroop*, Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, *Thomas* Lord *d'Arcy*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Aske*, &c. who were to treat with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *William Fitz-William* Admiral of *England*, &c. *Herbert, ibid.*

(7) Namely, Thoſe for the laſt Subſidy, being a Fifteenth, for Uſes, for making of Words Miſpriſion of Treaſon, for the Clergy's paying their Tenths and Firſt-Fruits to the King. *Herbert*, p. 207.

(8) Their Pardon was ſigned by King *Henry* at *Richmond*, *December* 7. *Herbert*, p. 207.

(9) The King ſent alſo a long Anſwer to their Demands, which the Reader may ſee in *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 232. and *Herbert*, p. 207.

1536. Blood, it would be better to decide their quarrel by ſingle Combat with Sword and Poignard, [in their Shirts] in ſome Iſland, or in a Boat. But the next day, the *French* Ambaſſador demanding whether he deſigned to challenge the King his maſter, he replied, he had no ſuch intention; but meant only, that the expedient he propoſed ſeemed to him more reaſonable than a War.

He prepares his Forces.

Some time after, the Emperor being at *Sienna*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* waited on him, and in his Audiences, diſcovered he had never intended to give the Duchy of *Milan* to a Prince of the Royal Family of *France*. He writ therefore to the King, that he was to expect War. And indeed, the Emperor was now aſſembling all his Forces, propoſing to bring three Armies into the Field, one in *Piedmont*, which he intended to command in perſon, another in *Picardy*, and a third in *Champagne*. This deſign was already ſo publick, that *Francis* could not be ignorant of it. So, believing the Emperor meant to make his moſt powerful effort in *Picardy*, he recalled the greateſt part of his Army in *Piedmont*, having ordered *Turin* and his other conqueſts in that Country to be well ſtored with Ammunition.

Francis draws his Troops out of Italy.

The Emperor marches into Provence. Francis forms two Armies.

The *French* Troops quitting *Piedmont*, the Emperor cauſed *Turin* to be inveſted, and during the Siege, headed his Army, and marched towards *Provence*. *Francis*, who was then at *Lyons*, ſpeedily provided *Marſeilles* with neceſſaries, and ordered two Camps to be fortified, one at *Cavaillon*, under the command of the Marſhal *de Montmorency*, the other at *Valence*, where he came himſelf. There he received the ſad news of the death of his Son the Dauphin, poiſoned by *Montecuculli*.

The Emperor beſieges Marſeilles, and raiſes the Siege,

The Emperor having entered *Provence*, took *Aix*, and then laid Siege to *Marſeilles*, which was begun the 25th of *Auguſt*, and raiſed the 9th of *September*. He had ſo ill taken his meaſures, that not knowing how to ſubſiſt his Army in *Provence*, he was forced to retire in the utmoſt diſorder, not without danger of being defeated in his retreat, if *Francis* had thought proper to attack him. He came to *Genoa* the 2d of *October*, and imbarked for *Spain*. This was the ſucceſs of the *Provence* expedition, which he had been long meditating, and by means of which he hoped to give a mortal wound to *France*.

and returns into Spain.

Campaign in Picardy.

Whilſt the Emperor was waging War in *Provence*, the Count of *Naſſau* entered *Picardy* with an Army of thirty thouſand Men, and took *Guiſe* by ſtorm. After that, he beſieged *Peronne*, which was relieved by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

Marriage of the King of Scotland with Magdalen of France. Buchanan. Mezerai.

Francis returning to *Paris* with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, at having diſappointed the Emperor's deſigns, met upon the way *James* V, King of *Scotland*, who was come to demand his Daughter *Magdalen* in marriage. He was not without great difficulty prevailed with to grant his requeſt, becauſe the Princeſs being ſickly, it was thought marriage would but ſhorten her days. However, the King of *Scotland* expreſſing a very earneſt deſire for the Marriage, it was concluded in *December*, and the Nuptials were celebrated the 1ſt of *January* 1537. Let us return now to the affairs of *England*.

1537. *Henry breaks his Word with the Rebels. Herbert. Burnet.*

The Northern Rebellion was appeaſed, but in ſuch a manner, that the cauſe ſtill ſubſiſted, the Male-contents having received no redreſs of their Grievances, except only that the King had promiſed to call a Parliament in the North, which he never intended to do. The pretence he uſed was, that they left in the Monaſteries the Monks, they had reſtored. But this was a precarious excuſe, if ever there was one, ſince it was not their buſineſs to turn them out, but the King's, who had the power in his own hands, whereas they had nothing more to ſay, after quitting their Arms. The King knowing how the People of the North ſtood affected, ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* (1) to remain there with his Army, to keep them in awe. So the Duke was employed for ſome time, with cauſing Perſons of all conditions to ſwear to be true to the King (2), a very improper remedy for ſuch ſort of evils, ſince the ſame compulſion which extorts Oaths from a diſcontented People, ſerves alſo for pretence to break them upon occaſion. In the mean time, *Aske*, who had commanded the Rebels, was ordered to Court, where he was well received; but the Lord *d' Arcy*, who had not ſo readily obeyed the like order, was ſent to the *Tower*, upon his arrival at *London*. 1537. Hall. Stow. Burnet.

New Inſurrection puniſhed.

Shortly after, two Gentlemen of the North, *Nicolas Muſgrave* and *Thomas Tilby*, put themſelves at the head of eight thouſand Male-contents, and appeared before *Carliſle*, in order to take the City. But being repulſed, and thereupon ſuddenly attacked by the Duke of *Norfolk*, they were entirely routed. *Muſgrave* had the good fortune to eſcape, but *Tilby* and ſeventy four others taken with him, were hanged on the Walls of *Carliſle*. Sir *Francis Bigod* and one *Halam* with another body of Rebels, attempted at the ſame time to ſurprize *Hull*; but were made Priſoners themſelves, and executed. Hall. fol. 231. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Aske and the Lord d'Arcy executed.

Theſe attempts rendered the King ſo fierce, that he put to death *Aske* and the Lord *d' Arcy*, notwithſtanding the general pardon to appeaſe the firſt Inſurrection. The Lord *d' Arcy* accuſed the Duke of *Norfolk* of favouring the Rebels, which perhaps was too true. But the Duke cleared himſelf, or rather, the King thought not fit ſtrictly to examine this accuſation (3). Mean while, as he knew, the Emperor was contriving ſome Plot in *Ireland*, he gave order that *Thomas Fitz-gerald*, Son of the late Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles, after a long impriſonment at *London*, ſhould ſuffer death for a terrour to the *Iriſh*. But the Earl of *Kildare*'s youngeſt Son had the good fortune to eſcape, and fled for refuge to Cardinal *Pole* (4). Hall. Stow. Herbert Hollingſh.

Six of the Families of Kildare put to death.

Hall. fol. 226, 231. Herbert.

The King ſtrives to ſuppreſs all the Monaſteries.

The King could not be perſwaded but that it was the Monks who moſt contributed to preſerve and foment the People's diſcontents. He conſidered them as the chief Authors of the late Inſurrections, and conſequently as his perſonal Enemies. He believed to ſee in their behavior, that if they had power, they would not ſpare him, and therefore he projected their ruin, to prevent their deſigns. Herein he found two conſiderable advantages, the one to free himſelf from his enemies, and the other to enjoy their ſpoils. It is not to be doubted, this laſt conſideration had alſo a ſhare in his project of vengeance upon them. The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries having only whetted his appetite, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the reſt and ſeize their immenſe poſſeſſions (5). The more eaſily to accompliſh his deſign, he uſed the ſame means, he had practiſed to ſuppreſs the leſſer Monaſteries; that is, he appointed a very ſtrict Viſitation of thoſe that remained, not queſtioning but the diſcoveries which ſhould be made, would promote his deſign. Burnet. Herbert.

He appoints a ſtrict Viſitation. Burnet.

Birth of Prince Edward.

The 12th of *October* the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who was called *Edward*. But his birth coſt his Mother her life, who died two days after her delivery (6). As the King had cauſed his two Daughters by his former marriages to be declared Illegitimate, nothing could be more acceptable than the birth of a Son, who put the ſucceſſion of the Crown out of all diſpute. And therefore in a few days he conferred on him, as his Heir apparent, the title of Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl

Hall. Herbert.

Death of Queen Jane.

Edward Seymour *made Earl of* Hertford. Hall.

(1) And the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. *Herbert*, p. 211.

(2) The Contents of the Oath they took, were, 1. To revoke all Oaths and Promiſes made in the former Inſurrection, asking the King's Forgiveneſs on their Knees. 2. To be true to the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors. 3. To obſerve and maintain all Acts of Parliament, ſince the firſt Year of the King's Reign. 4. Not to take Arms again, but by the King's Authority. 5. To apprehend all Seditious Perſons. 6. To remove all the Monks and Nuns, they had reinplaced in the late diſſolved Monaſteries. *Herbert*, p. 211.

(3) *Aske* had left the Court without Leave, and being taken again, was hanged in Chains on a Tower in *York*. The Lord *d' Arcy* and the Lord *Huſſy* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, before the Marquiſs of *Exeter*, then High-Steward, and found guilty of Treaſon. The Lord *Huſſy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*, the Lord *d' Arcy* on *Tower-hill*, the 20th of *June*, and buried in St. *Botolph*'s Church. He endeavoured to purge himſelf, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; and pleaded, that the long Services he had done the Crown for fifty Years, he being Fourſcore, together with his great Age and Infirmity, might mitigate the King's Diſpleaſure. He died much lamented, every Body thinking he had hard Meaſure. Sir *Robert Conſtable* was hanged at *Hull*; Sir *John Bulmer*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicolas Tempeſt*, and *William Lumley*, ſuffered at *Tyburn*; and *Margaret Cheney*, alias, Lady *Bulmer*, was burned in *Smithfield*. *Hall*, fol. 232. *Stow*, p. 574. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 234.

(4) *Gerald Fitz-Gerald* the eighth Earl of *Kildare*, was made Deputy of *Ireland*, in 1515, and again in 1524. But a Quarrel ariſing between him and *James Butler* Earl of *Oſſory*, the Earl of *Kildare* was charged with Male-Adminiſtration, and ordered by King *Henry* to repair to *London*. At his Departure, he left his Son *Thomas* Deputy in his room; who, upon a falſe report, that his Father, (then a Priſoner in the *Tower*) was beheaded, defied King *Henry* and his Authority, proclaimed open War, and applied to the Emperor for aſſiſtance; whereupon, he and five of his Uncles were attainted, and upon the King's ſending an Army into *Ireland*, were taken, and brought over to *London*, and now beheaded on *February* 3. *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, the Earl of *Kildare*'s youngeſt Son was packt up in a Bundle of Clothes and conveyed to *Ireland*, and ſo to *France*, and from thence to the *Low-Countries*; in both which Places being required of our King, he at length fled to Cardinal *Pole*, who finding him a fit Inſtrument for his purpoſe, kept him till he might be reſtored to his Country and Place. *Herbert*, p. 212, 181.

(5) In the Records of this Year there are extant, the Surrenders of three Monaſteries only; namely, of the Abbey of *Furneſe* in *Lincolnſhire*, on *April* 9, valued at nine hundred and ſixty Pounds a Year. Of *Bermondſey* in *Surrey*, *June* 1, valued five hundred and forty eight Pounds, and of *Buſhliſham*, or *Biſhtam*, in *Berkſhire*, *July* 5, valued two hundred and thirty ſeven Pounds. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 235. *Collect.* p. 143.

(6) The Queen was delivered at *Hampton-Court*, and died the 24th of *October*, as appears in a Journal written by *Cecil*, that was in twelve Days after *Edward*'s Birth: So it is in the *Herald*'s Office. *Strype* Correct. to *Burnet*, Tom. 3. p. 406, 419. She died not by the Cruelty of the Surgeons ripping up her Belly to make way for the Prince's Birth, as ſome Writers gave out, but as the Original Letters yet extant, ſhow, ſhe died, after being well delivered, of a Diſtemper incident to Women in that Condition. *Burnet*, Tom. 3. *ibid.* Queen *Jane* was buried in the Quire at *Windſor*, whoſe loſs ſo much afflicted the King, he having always found her Diſcreet, Humble, and Loyal, that notwithſtanding ſome good Offers, he continued a Widower above two Years. *Herbert*, p. 212.

1537. Earl of *Cheſter*. At the ſame time, he created *Edward Seymour* the Queen's Brother, and the new-born Prince's Uncle, *Earl of Hertford* (1).

The War continues between the Emperor and Francis. Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the War ſtill continued between the Emperor and the King of *France*, but was interrupted in *Picardy* by a ſix months Truce concluded in *July*, which was followed by another in *November*, for *Italy*. As by the laſt Truce, it was agreed that each ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed, the Duke of *Savoy* remained equally deſpoiled by his enemies, and by thoſe he had called to his aſſiſtance; the common fate of petty Princes!

Bellai. Truce for Picardy and Italy.

Death of the Queen of Scotland. Buchanan. The Queen of *Scotland* died in *July*, to the great joy of thoſe who dreaded the progreſs of the Reformation, becauſe that Princeſs had been educated by her Aunt the Queen of *Navarre*. *Buchanan* ſays, the Cuſtom of wearing Mourning was firſt introduced into *Scotland* on occaſion of her death, which Cuſtom, though of forty years ſtanding, was however not yet eſtabliſhed in his time.

James V demands Mary of Guiſe in Marriage. *James* V removed the uneaſineſs of thoſe, who were afraid of his being biaſſed by the deceaſed Queen in favor of the new Religion, by demanding in Marriage *Mary of Guiſe* Siſter of the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*.

Diviſions in Germany about Religion. Sleidan. The affairs of Religion daily grew more important in a great part of *Europe*, by reaſon of the progreſs of the Reformation. Thoſe who had embraced it, wiſhed only to live in quiet with liberty of Conſcience. But this was what the old Religion would never allow them. The glory of God, and zeal for the intereſts of the Church, ſerved for pretence to this refuſal. But the real Cauſes were, firſt, The pride of moſt Men, who cannot bear to be told that their opinions are wrong. Secondly, The temporal intereſt of the Clergy, who, wherever the Reformation was eſtabliſhed, ſaw themſelves deprived of their rich Benefices; the Revenues of the Church being applied by the Reformed to uſes very different from thoſe in which they had hitherto been employed. Thirdly, The Pope's intereſts, who daily loſt his Subjects, his Revenues, his Credit, his Authority. There was another particular Cauſe in *Germany*, which inflamed the troubles occaſioned by Religion, and that was, the Emperor and his Brother the King of the *Romans*, had formed a deſign to uſe the pretence of obliging the Proteſtants to reenter the Pale of the Church. For this reaſon, inſtead of healing, they fomented the diviſions to the utmoſt of their power. The Proteſtants complained, among other things, that a Council was called at *Mantua*, contrary to an expreſs promiſe that it ſhould be in *Germany*. Beſides, they meant not to ſubmit to the deciſions of a Council, where the Pope preſided, and which, as they perceived, would be far from being free. The Emperor amuſed them with evaſive anſwers, till things ſhould be ready to attack them. Mean while, the Pope, having deferred the opening of the Council from *May* to *November*, charged in that Interval the Cardinals *Contarini*, *Sadoletti*, *Pole*, *Bembo*, all Perſons of great reputation, to examine wherein the Church wanted Reformation. Theſe able Divines found nothing amiſs as to the Doctrines. They only drew up, as to Diſcipline, a liſt of ſundry trifles, which, in their opinion, deſerved to be rectified. To theſe alone they thought the Reformation ought to be confined.

They are fomented by the Emperor.

Grievances of the Proteſtants.

The Emperor's evaſive Anſwers.

The Pope orders Commiſſioners to examine the State of the Church and Religion.

The Emperor's Deſigns. Mean while, the Emperor was very ſeriouſly thinking of the affairs of *Germany*, though he took great care to conceive his deſigns from the Proteſtants. In order to free himſelf from all other incumbrances, and attack them with advantage, he had concluded the Truce with *Francis*, in hopes it would ſoon be followed by a Peace. He perceived, the *Smalcaldick* League would be an everlaſting obſtacle to the execution of his vaſt Projects, by *Francis*'s and *Henry*'s endeavours to gain it to their intereſts. So, his chief aim was to diſſolve that League, that he might afterwards proceed againſt *England* with all the Forces of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries* (2). 1537.

1538. *Henry* eaſily judged, *Charles* V and *Francis* I, had agreed to a Truce, only in order to conclude a Peace very ſoon, which would rob him of the aſſiſtance of *France*. So, finding he had no refuge but in his own Forces, in caſe of attack, he conſidered early of means to prevent Inſurrections at home, which muſt have greatly embaraſſed him, if he ſhould be engaged in a foreign War. He knew, the Monks hated him mortally. They were the Perſons that inſpired the *Engliſh* with a Spirit of Rebellion, the more dangerous, as Religion was the principal Cauſe. So, to deprive the Pope and the Emperor of ſuch a ſupport in his own Realm, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the religious Houſes ſtill remaining in *England*. He had a farther motive, which was not inconſiderable, namely, to have a Fund ſufficient to maintain the War, without being forced to over-burden his Subjects. But as the ſuppreſſion of part of the Monaſteries had already occaſioned troubles in the Kingdom, it was likely, the ſuppreſſion of all would raiſe ſtill greater. Wherefore he believed he ſhould prevent all commotions, by removing the People's veneration for the Monks. To this end, the report of the laſt Viſitation being brought to him, he ordered it to be immediately publiſhed. Very probably, the Facts inſerted concerning the diſorderly lives of the Friers and Nuns, were ſet forth ſo as to be ſubſervient to the King's deſigns (3). But what conduced moſt to recover People out of their ſuperſtitious fondneſs for the religious Houſes, was the diſcovery of the frauds committed there with reſpect to Relicts and Images. Had the buſineſs been only the debaucheries of the Monks and Nuns, it might have been objected, that it ſufficed to make ſtrict inquiry of thoſe who were guilty, and to puniſh them ſeverely. But for the pious frauds (as they are called,) it could hardly be thought but that the whole Society was concerned. For this reaſon therefore, the King, to make them as viſible as the Sun, took care publickly to expoſe the counterfeit Relicks found in the Monaſteries, and the Springs by which the Images of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, or any of the Saints were made to move, which was looked upon by the ignorant multitude as the effect of a divine Power. If the Reader deſires to ſee a particular account of theſe pious Impoſtures, he will find it, though withal very ſhort, in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*. Theſe frauds being thus detected, whatever had ſerved to engage the People in ſuperſtition, was by the King's order burnt in Publick (4). But what grieved the Votaries moſt was, to ſee the Bones of *Thomas Becket*, commonly called St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, publickly burnt. They accuſed the King of acting from a motive of a ſacrilegious Avarice, in order to have a pretence to ſeize the rich Shrine of that Saint, whereon, beſides other precious Stones, was a very fine Diamond, offered in 1179 by *Henry* I, King of *France*, when he came in Pilgrimage to *Canterbury* (5). This proceeding ſo exaſperated the Adherents of the old Religion, that they writ in a moſt virulent manner to *Rome* againſt the King, com-

1538.

Final Reſolution to ſuppreſs all the Monaſteries. Herbert. Burnet.

Henry publiſhes the Report of the laſt Viſitation. Burnet.

Several pious Frauds are diſcovered. Herbert. p. 213. Burnet.

Becket's Bones burnt and his Shrine ſeized. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

(1) Sir *William Fitz Williams* was made Earl of *Southampton*, and in *March* following Sir *William Paulet* Treaſurer of the King's Houſe, was created Lord St. *John*, and Sir *John Ruſſel* Controler, Lord *Ruſſel*. *Herbert*, p. 212.

(2) This Year, the manner of caſting Pipes of Lead for Conveyance of Water under Ground, was firſt invented by *Robert Brock*, one of the King's Chaplains; *Robert Cooper* Goldſmith making the Inſtruments, and putting the Invention firſt in practice. *Hollingſh.* p. 944.

(3) Of the Confeſſions then made to the Viſitors, there is only now one extant, which, probably, eſcaped the Deſtruction of all Papers of that kind in Queen *Mary*'s Time. It is from the *Benedictines* of St. *Andrews* in *Northampton*, wherein they acknowledge their paſt ill Life, for which the Pit of Hell was ready to ſwallow them up. They confeſs, they had neglected the Worſhip of God, lived in Idleneſs, Gluttony, Senſuality, &c. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 237,

(4) And here, ſays Lord *Herbert*, out of our Records I ſhall mention ſome of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of theſe times brought Devotion and Offerings; as our Lady's Girdle ſhowed in eleven places, and her Milk in eight. The Felt of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, a Remedy for the Head-ach; the Penknife and Boots of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a piece of his Shirt, much reverenced by great-bellied Women; the Coals that roaſted St. *Laurence*; two or three heads of St. *Urſula*; *Malchus*'s Ear; and the pairing of St. *Edmund*'s Nails; the Image of an Angel with one Wing, which brought hither the Spear's Head that pierced Chriſt's Side; an Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her Hand, which burnt nine years together without waſting, till one forſwearing himſelf thereon, it went out, and was now found to be but a piece of Wood. The Crucifix of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called the *Rood of Grace*, was a famous Impoſture, to which many Pilgrimages were made, being contrived ſo as to be able, by the help of Springs, to roll the Eyes, and move the Lips, to bow, to ſhake the Head, Hands and Feet. It was ſhewed publickly at *Paul*'s Croſs, by *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and after a Sermon upon it, there broken in pieces, *Feb.* 24. Another great Impoſture was at *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*, where the blood of Chriſt brought from *Jeruſalem* was ſhowed in a Chriſtal Vial, and was ſaid to have this Property, That if a Man was in a mortal Sin, and not abſolved, he could not ſee it. Therefore every Man that came to behold this Miracle, was forced to continue to make Preſents, till he bribed Heaven to give him the ſight of ſo bleſſed a Relict. This was now diſcovered to be the blood of a Duck renewed every week, and the one ſide of the Vial was ſo thick, that there was no ſeeing through it, but the other was tranſparent. It was ſo placed near the Altar, that one in a ſecret place behind could turn which ſide he pleaſed outward. There was brought out of *Wales* a huge Image of Wood, called *Darvel Gatheren*, which ſerved for fuel to burn one Frier *Forreſt*, who adviſed People in Confeſſion not to believe the King's Supremacy. Beſides which, the Images of our Lady of *Walſingham*, of *Ipſwich*, of *Penriſe*, of *Iſlington*, and St. *John* of *Oſulſton*, called otherwiſe Mr. *John Sborne*, who was ſaid to ſhut up the Devil in a Boot, and many others, were publickly burnt. *Herbert*, p. 213. *Compl. Hiſt. Stow*, p. 575.

(5) For three hundred years he was accounted one of the greateſt Saints in Heaven, as appears from the accounts of the Leger-books of the Offerings to the three greateſt Altars in Chriſt's Church in *Canterbury*. In one year there was offered at Chriſt's Altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* At the Virgin's Altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But at St. *Thomas*'s, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* The next year the odds grew greater: At Chriſt's Altar not a Penny; at the Virgin's only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d*; but at St. *Thomas*'s, 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* The rich Stone was offered by *Lewis* VII of *France*, which our King ſet in a Ring and wore on his Thumb. The Spoil of the Shrine in Gold and precious Stones filled two Cheſts, which were ſo heavy, that they were a Load to eight ſtrong Men to carry them out of the Church. His name was ſtruck out of the *Kalendars*: The day of raiſing his body, or as they called it, his Tranſlation, being the 7th of *July*, which was not only a Holiday, but every 50th year there was a Jubilee for fifteen days together, and Indulgence granted to all that viſited his Shrine. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 244. *Stow*, p. 576.

paring

1538. paring him to the greateſt Tyrants that ever lived. Whereupon, at *Rome* and other places, numberleſs Satyrs were penned, which painted *Henry* as the moſt execrable of Men, to thoſe who were not uſed to the hyperbolical expreſſions of the *Italians*. The King had his Spies at *Rome*, who acquainting him with what was publiſhed againſt him, told him withal, that to Cardinal *Pole* the Informations ſent from *England* were generally addreſſed, and that his ſtile was viſible in ſome of the Satyrs. This ſo highly incenſed the King againſt the Cardinal, that he made all his Family and Friends feel the effects, inſomuch that he would ſooner have pardoned any Crime, than a correſpondence with him. It is ſtrange that the Cardinal, who ſeemed otherwiſe very prudent and moderate, ſhould ſo give way to his zeal, or his paſſion againſt the King, that he feared not, by ſo unadviſed a behaviour, to expoſe his Friends to *Henry*'s utmoſt reſentment. His obſtinacy in this reſpect was ſo great, that at length he was the occaſion of his Mother's loſing her head on the Scaffold, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Bitter Invectives againſt the King ſent to Rome. Burnet.

He is very angry with Cardinal Pole.

All the King's proceedings convincing the Pope that he was to expect no change in him, he publiſhed at length the Bull of Excommunication (1), drawn and ſigned in 1535. Moreover, he tried to excite all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* againſt *Henry*, and offered the Kingdom of *England* to the King of *Scotland*. Nay, *Pole* maintained in a Book, publiſhed ſhortly after, that it was more meritorious to fight againſt *Henry*, than againſt the *Turk*. But the Pope's Thunders had ſo loſt their force in *England*, that the Bull cauſed no commotion, or if it produced any effect, it was quite contrary to what the Pope expected. *Henry* being more provoked with him, took ſo good precautions to hinder him from executing his deſigns, that he thereby advanced the Reformation much more than he intended. As ſoon as he had heard of the Bull's being publiſhed, he required the Biſhops and Abbots to ſwear again to renounce the Papal authority. At the ſame time, the new Tranſlation of the Bible being preſented to him, he ordered fifteen hundred Copies to be printed, and ſet up in the principal Churches, being ſatisfied that nothing would be found there to ſupport the exorbitant power aſſumed by the Pope over all *Chriſtendom* (2).

Paul III. *publiſhes a Bull againſt the King.* Herbert. Burnet. *A violent Book of* Pole's.

Henry orders the new Verſion of the Bible to be printed. Burnet. Stow. Strype.

Shortly after, an Injunction was publiſhed by the Vicegerent, to teach the People the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments* in *Engliſh*. Moreover, all Incumbents were ordered to inſtruct the People, by declaring, they muſt not truſt in other Men's works, but in their own; and that Relicks, Beads, and the like, were unneceſſary to Salvation. They were alſo to take down all Images, to which Offerings were wont to be made, and to ſuffer no Candles to be ſet up before any Image, except our Saviour's. In fine, they were to ſuppreſs all the *Ora pro Nobis*'s which were added to the Prayers addreſſed to the Saints (3).

The Vicegerent's Injunctions about Images. Burnet. T. I. p. 249. Strype.

Submiſſion of the Engliſh *to the King's Will.* Burnet.

This Injunction was deemed a mortal wound to the old Religion, whoſe adherents were in the utmoſt conſternation. But no Man dared to ſtir, ſo abſolute a ſway had the King acquired over his Subjects. Nay, the moſt diſcontented affected a blind ſubmiſſion to his Will, knowing the leaſt ſuſpicion would ruin them.

Gardiner *puts the King upon proſecuting the Reformed.* Burnet.

Gardiner Biſhop of *Winchester* was now returned from his Embaſſy to *France*. He was one of the zealous adherents of the old Religion. Nay, he was ſuſpected of being privately reconciled to the Pope, and of holding correſpondence with the Emperor. But he ſo artfully diſſembled his ſentiments, that he perſwaded the King, it was only the devices of his enemies, on purpoſe to ruin him. It is however certain, though the King ſeemed ſatisfied, he had no great eſteem for him, and yet ſuffered him to be near him on account of his extreme ſubmiſſion. His blind condeſcenſion to the King's Will, afforded him many opportunities to ſerve the Party he privately favored. The King conſidering him not as a ſuſpected Perſon, ſince he ſo readily complied with his Orders, freely liſtened to him when he ſpoke againſt the *Sacramentarians*, being ſtill extremely prepoſſeſſed in favor of the Doctrine of the real preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament. Then *Gardiner* could explain his ſentiments without fear, becauſe they agreed with the King's. He inſinuated to him, that ſo long as he left that Doctrine untouched, he would never be accuſed of changing his Religion, but would rather be extolled for having purged it in preſerving the Eſſentials. Thus *Gardiner* ingaged him to perſecute the *Sacramentarians*, not ſo much from a religious as from a political Motive. He knew the King's temper to be impatient of contradiction. And therefore, by engaging him to maintain a Doctrine which thoſe of the new Religion could not admit, he hoped their reſiſtance would provoke him againſt them, and thereby he would be more eaſily led to be reconciled to the Pope. That is to ſay properly, he employed, to alienate the King from the Proteſtants, the ſame means they uſed to prejudice him againſt their adverſaries. But neither could ſucceed. *Henry* reformed himſelf but by halves, and was never reconciled to the Court of *Rome*. As he was grown abſolute, he would never ſuffer his Subjects to go farther than himſelf, but compelled them to ſtop where he was pleaſed to ſtop, equally ſevere, or rather unmerciful, to thoſe who refuſed to follow him, and to thoſe who would go beyond him. He ſhowed this year an inſtance of rigour capable of making the Reformers deſpair of any farther progreſs. 1538.

Henry diſputes publickly with Lambert. Hall. Burnet. Fox. Stow.

One [*John Nicolſon*, alias] *Lambert*, being informed againſt as a *Sacramentarian* (4), the King convened a great Aſſembly in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he was pleaſed himſelf to diſpute publickly with the Party accuſed. The match was by no means equal. *Lambert* ſtood alone without a ſecond; but the King was ſurrounded with a crowd of Perſons, who applauded his arguments, and deemed them invincible; whereas none dared to approve of what *Lambert* urged. The diſpute ended with the King's putting it to the choice of the unfortunate *Lambert*, either to abjure his opinion, or be burnt. But whatever advantage the King ſeemed to have, he may be ſaid to be vanquiſhed, ſince he was forced to fly to ſo rigorous a method to convince his adverſary, after flattering himſelf to perſwade him by dint of reaſon; otherwiſe, probably, he would not have ingaged in the diſpute. However, he ſucceeded not by this extraordinary way, ſince *Lambert* choſe rather to die than abjure the opinion he ſtill believed (5). *Henry* had no occaſion to be flattered. He had but too good a conceit of himſelf. Nevertheleſs, *Gardiner* and the reſt of his Party took occaſion from this diſpute to extol him above the moſt learned Divines of the age. They inſpired him with ſuch an opinion of his Learning, that he thought his notions ought to be a Standard to all. But contrary to the expectations of his Flatterers, this conceit of himſelf was no leſs fatal to them than to the other Party, ſince he reſolved to puniſh ſeverely and indifferently all who dared to ſwerve from what he himſelf deemed reaſonable.

He is highly flattered. Burnet.

Negotiations with the German *Proteſtants.* Herbert.

About this time the Emperor concluded with *France* a ten years Truce, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently. *Henry*, not doubting, it was in order to invade him, conſidered of means to raiſe him troubles which ſhould divert him from his purpoſe. The *Smalcaldick* League furniſhed him with a good opportunity. But the preſervation of the *Augsburg* Confeſſion being the ſole foundation of that League, he did not ſee that he could poſſibly join in it, to ſupport a Religion, all whoſe Articles were not approved by him: So his deſign was, either to bring the Proteſtants to conclude with him a general League, which ſhould not be limited to the defence of their Religion, or prevail with them to be ſatisfied with the Reformation he had himſelf introduced into *England*. To this end he ſent Ambaſſadors (6) with inſtructions to ſee who were the Confederates, and in caſe the League was confined

Herbert. p. 212, 213. Strype. Mem. T. I. p. 328.

(1) On *Decemb.* 17. *Herbert*, p. 216. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 245,----248.

(2) *Graſton* the Printer, printed fifteen hundred at his own Charge, which amounted to five hundred Pounds. This Bible was preſented to the King by *Cromwell*, who procured the King's Warrant, allowing all to read it without Controul. For which *Cranmer* wrote *Cromwell* a Letter of Thanks, dated the 13th of *Auguſt*. The Tranſlation had been ſent over to be printed at *Paris*, the Workmen in *England* not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. It was recommended to *Bonner*'s Care, then Ambaſſador at *Paris*, and much in *Cromwell*'s Favour. It was printed in a large Volume; but upon Complaint of the *French* Clergy, the Preſs was ſtopt, and moſt of the Copies ſeized and burnt: But ſome were conveyed out of the way, and the Workmen and Forms brought over to *England*, where it was now finiſhed. And one of theſe Bibles were to be ſet up in every Church, at the joint Charge of the Incumbent, and the Pariſhioners. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 249. *Strype's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 308.

(3) Every Incumbent was likewiſe enjoined to keep a Regiſter of Weddings, Chriſtenings, and Burials. And to preach one Sermon every quarter of the Year at leaſt. See *Burnet*, Tom. I. *Collect.* p. 180. *Stow*, p. 576.

(4) *Lambert* had been Miniſter to the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Antwerp*, where being acquainted with *Tindal* and *Frith*, he became of their Opinion. He afterwards kept School at *London*, and hearing Doctor *Taylor* preach of the real Preſence, he came to him upon it, and gave him his Reaſons in writing, why he could not believe the Doctrine he preached. *Taylor* carried theſe Arguments to *Cranmer*, who was at that time of *Luther*'s Opinion, which he had drank in from his Friend *Oſiander*. *Latimer* was of the ſame Belief. *Lambert* being brought before them, they ſtudied to make him retract his Argument, but all was in vain, for *Lambert* fatally appealed to the King. Whereupon *Gardiner* perſwaded the King to proceed ſolemnly and ſeverely in it. The King was ſoon prevailed with. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Biſhops to come and hear this Trial. In *November*, on the Day prefixed, there was a great Appearance in the Hall. The King's Guards were all in White, and ſo was the Cloath of State. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 252.

(5) *Lambert* diſputed with ten one after another, particularly the King, *Cranmer*, *Tonſtal*, and *Stokeſly*. *Cromwell* read his Sentence, declaring him an incorrigible Heretick, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was ſoon after executed in *Smithfield* in a barbarous manner; for when his Legs and Thighs were burnt to the Stumps, there not being Fire enough to conſume the reſt, two of the Officers raiſing his Body up with their Halberts, let him fall into the Fire, where he was quickly conſumed to Aſhes. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 254.

(6) *Chriſtopher Mount*, and *Thomas Paynel*, in *March*. *Herbert*, p. 212, 217. *Strype*, p. 328.

to

1538. to Religion only, to desire them to send some of their ablest Divines, to try, whether a common Religion might not be agreed upon. The Protestants replied, their League consisted of twenty-six imperial Cities, and twenty four Princes, among whom the King of *Denmark* was lately admitted: That at present they could not be without their Divines, but desired him to declare himself positively upon the proposition made him, of embracing the *Augsburg* Confession. Some time after, they sent Ambassadors capable of disputing upon the points of Religion. But this Embassy was fruitless. *Henry* found in the *Germans* Men of a very different stamp from his own Subjects, and little inclined to compliance. They would not allow him Communion in one kind, Private Masses, Auricular Confession, Celibacy of Priests, and gave him their reasons in writing; to which he replied, though to very little purpose. As he could not put the same choice to them as he had done to *Lambert*, he was forced to dismiss them without any conclusion, being as little satisfied with them as they were with him.

The Interest of the Reformers declines at Court. Burnet.

Mean while, the interest of the Reformers began visibly to decline at Court since the Queen's death. There were only *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* that supported it by their credit and merit. The first however was accused of being too Self-interested, and of thinking much more of his own than of the concerns of Religion. As to the rest of the lower rank, there were few of eminent note. *Shaxton* Bishop of *Sarum* was proud and litigious; *Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester* was despised for his weakness and simplicity; *Barlow*, who had been Prior of *Bisham*, and afterwards Bishop of St. *Asaph*, had no great judgment. In general, the preachers of the new Religion suffered themselves to be carried away with an indiscreet zeal, and without considering the King's temper, followed the motions of their conscience, let what would be the consequence. So, never troubling themselves about the effects of their zeal, they publickly preached Doctrines, not yet approved by the King, which very much conduced to prejudice him against them, and all others who desired to advance the Reformation.

Characters of the heads of the Party.

Bonner made Bishop of Hereford, *and then of* London. Burnet.

In the mean time, *Edward Fox* Bishop of *Hereford* departing this Life, the Reformers thought to do a good act in procuring *Edmund Bonner* that See, who had been Ambassador in *Spain*, and afterwards in *France*, from whence he was lately recalled, at the instance of *Francis* I, who was not pleased with him. Shortly after, they caused him to be promoted to the See of *London*, vacant by the death of *Stokesley* (1). But they were greatly mistaken in their choice, since this same Prelate, who was so much obliged to them, became afterwards one of their most mortal enemies.

Cranmer and Cromwell *project to marry the King with a Protestant.* Herbert.

At length, *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* seeing their Party decay, and that the King began to listen to the enemies of the Reformation, in such a manner as made them dread the consequences, deemed it necessary to support their Party by means of a Queen, who should afford them protection (2). They had happily experienced, how much *Ann Bullen* and *Jane Seymour* had helped to soften the King's temper towards the Reformed, and they did not question, that in case they could give him a Wife of the like disposition, she would produce the same effect. For this reason, they turned their eyes towards *Germany*, and *Cromwell* undertook to negotiate a Marriage between the King and *Ann* of *Cleve*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve* and the Duchess of *Saxony*. We shall see next year the success of this Negotiation, after a brief mention of the foreign affairs.

They cast their eyes upon Ann *of* Cleve.

The Truce between the Emperor and Francis *is prolonged.* Bellai. Mezerai.

The Emperor's and the King of *France*'s forces were too equal, for either to expect any great advantages from a War they were left to wage all alone. *Francis* had ill taken his measures, in imagining that *Henry* would declare for him, that the Potentates of *Italy* would endeavour to shake off the Emperor's yoke, and that the Protestants of *Germany* would embrace the opportunity of the War, to establish the liberty of Conscience to which they aspired, and of which they were threatned to be deprived. But nothing of all this happening, he saw himself charged alone with almost an insupportable burden. On the other hand, the Emperor was afraid, *Francis* would at length unite all these powers against him, and the Emperor of the *Turks* improve so favorable a juncture to invade *Germany*. The Pope also feared the same thing, and that the Coasts of *Italy* would be infested by the Infidels. This, added to the desire of being revenged of the King of *England*, put him upon seeking means to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, that *Henry* being left alone, might be more easily invaded. To this end he proposed to the two hostile Monarchs a meeting at *Nice*, where he offered to come and act as Mediator. This Proposal being accepted, they all three met at that place about the middle of *June*, the Pope conferring sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, without the two Monarchs ever seeing each other during the whole Negotiation. The Pope had his reasons for hindering them from conferring together, but by his means. He had a mind to treat privately of a Marriage between *Octavian Farnese* his Nephew, and *Margaret* the Emperor's natural Daughter, Widow of *Alexander de Medici*, and indeed the Project succeeded to his wish.

1538. *The Pope and Emperor.* Herbert.

Both inclined to Peace.

Mean while, as the Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France* could not be effected, by reason of the many difficulties which occurred, the Pope obtained of the two Monarchs at last their consent to a ten year's Truce, which was almost as effectual as a Peace. The Truce being concluded, *Paul* III immediately thought of means to form a League against the *Turks*. But as several reasons hindered the Kings of *France* and *England* from coming into it, he was forced to conclude it with the Emperor, the King of the *Romans*, and the *Venetians*.

Truce for ten Years.

League against the Turks.

When *Francis* had nothing more to fear from the Emperor, he grew very cool to *Henry*, though he had extremely caressed him so long as he stood in need of him. *Henry* was exceedingly incensed, and showed his resentment, by ordering *Bonner*, in his return from *Spain*, to stop at the *French* Court, and demand an *English* Rebel, who was retired into *France*, and the arrears of his Pension, there being now four years due. *Bonner*, who was naturally very bold, delivered his Message so haughtily, that *Francis*, offended at his insolence, sent an Express to *Henry*, to know whether he had ordered his Ambassador to use such Language, and to desire *Bonner* might be recalled. *Henry* thought fit to comply with his demand. But it appeared he was not very angry with *Bonner*, since at his arrival he promoted him, as has been said, to the See of *Hereford*, and shortly after, to that of *London*.

Francis I. slights Henry. Herbert.

Bonner behaves insolently to the King of France, who has him recalled.

Whilst *Henry* used all possible precautions to secure himself from the attacks of his enemies, Cardinal *Pole* was labouring with all his power, by means of his correspondents in *England*, to alienate from him the hearts of his Subjects, by publishing every where that he had subverted all Religion to set up his own Fictions. This accusation was the most sensible wound that could be given the King, since he pretended, Religion consisted not in the things he had changed, but in those he had retained. This is what he strove to demonstrate to the People, because he plainly perceived, the general accusation of having subverted Religion could not but greatly poison their Allegiance. Accordingly, *Pole* and his Emissaries chiefly insisted upon this, in order to raise disturbances in the Kingdom. Several have thought, the Cardinal had some private views which concerned not Religion. He was of the House of *York* by his Mother, and is said also to have an inclination for the Princess *Mary*, and to bestir himself thus, in order to marry, and set her on the Throne in the room of her Father. At least, there is reason to suspect, his extraordinary zeal was fortified by some hidden views, and that in acting for the Pope, he was labouring his own advancement. But this is only conjecture. However, Sir *Jeffrey Pole*, near relation of the Cardinal (3), privately acquainted the King that he held Correspondence with *Henry Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter*, Grandson of *Edward* IV (4); with *Henry Pole* (5), Lord *Montague*; with Sir *Edward Nevil* (6), and with Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter; and that his instruments were a Priest and a Mariner. Upon this information, these Persons were apprehended, condemned and executed (7), but the Informer was pardoned, as a reward for his intelligence. No other circumstances of their Trial are known but their corresponding with *Pole*; an unpardonable crime, as the King then stood affected to that Cardinal.

Cardinal Pole labours to raise the King's Subjects. Herbert.

The Cardinal's private Views. Burnet. T. I. p. 221.

Several of his Correspondents in England *are executed.* Hall. Stow. Herbert.

During the course of this year, *Henry* established several Suffragan Bishops. He required also of all the Religious a new Oath, whereby they expressly renounced the Papal Authority, and acknowledged the King's Supremacy. There were some that refused to swear, but I know not in what manner their obstinacy was punished.

Suffragan Bishops. Act. Pub. XIV p. 577, &c. 554, &c.

(1) He was elected Bishop, *October* 20. *Stow*, p. 576.

(2) The Emperor had some time before proposed a Marriage between King *Henry*, and *Christiana* Duchess of *Milan*, second Daughter of *Christiern* King of *Denmark*; but the Proposal did not take effect. See *Herbert*, p. 214. *Hall.* fol. 233.

(3) The Cardinal's own Brother.

(4) By the Princess *Catherine*, married to the Earl of *Devonshire*.

(5) Another of the Cardinal's Brothers.

(6) Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*.

(7) The Marquis of *Exeter*, and Lord *Montague* were arraigned on *December* 31, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, *January* 2. *Thomas* Lord *Audley* sitting as High-Steward. *Hall*, fol. 233.

1538. *The Council is removed to Vicenza.* Sleidan.

The Pope and the Emperor being then employed in their preparations againſt the *Turk*, his Holineſs made uſe of that pretence to put off the meeting of the Council to the 1ſt of *May* 1540, and at the ſame time removed it from *Mantua* to *Vicenza*.

The new Queen arrives in Scotland.

The Marriage between the King of *Scotland* and *Mary* of *Lorrain* being concluded this year, the new Queen came to *Scotland* about the middle of *June*.

1539. *Surrenders of the Monaſteries to the King.* Burnet.

The laſt Viſitation of the Monaſteries tended only, as has been obſerv'd, to ſeek apparent reaſons to ſuppreſs them. The King had now reſolved it, and the enormities, true or falſe, of the Monks, were only a cover for his revenge, and perhaps for his avarice (1). The Viſitation being over, he ſent into the ſeveral Counties Commiſſioners to receive the ſurrenders, the Abbots and Priors were to make of their Houſes (2). There are extant in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, many of theſe Surrenders, which, though very involuntary, contained however the feigned reaſons which had moved the Monks and their Superiors to reſign, of their own accord, all their Lands to the King. In ſome, they were made to ſay only, they were induced thereto by juſt and reaſonable cauſes. But in others of greater length they were made to alledge, "That what "they had hitherto obſerved, conſiſted only in dumb "Ceremonies, and Conſtitutions of the Biſhops of *Rome* "and other foreign Potentates; who had taken no care "of their Inſtruction, or to reform the many abuſes which "had hitherto prevailed in their Houſes; but that deſiring "to live for the future according to the Rule preſcribed by "Chriſt, the Evangeliſts, and the Apoſtles, they deemed "it expedient for them to be governed by the King, their "ſupreme Head on earth: That therefore they ſubmitted "themſelves to his mercy, and ſurrendered to him their "Houſes, with all things belonging thereto: That they "beſought him to grant to each of them a Penſion for "their ſubſiſtence, and an expreſs Licence to take a ſe-"cular Habit, and be admitted into Livings like other "Eccleſiaſticks." Others ſaid, "They had conſidered "that Chriſtianity conſiſted not in the practice of Cere-"monies, in wearing black, grey, or white Habits, and "in nodding with the Head, wearing Cords, with great "knots about their middle, and the like, wherein they "had been inſtructed and ſeduced. But that the true way "of ſerving God was taught in the Goſpel. And there-"fore, deſiring for the future to walk by that good rule, "they ſubmitted themſelves to the ſupreme Head of the "Church of *England*, and renouncing all Superſtitions "and foreign Traditions, they reſigned their Houſes to "the King, with all things thereunto belonging." Others ſurrendered their Houſes by way of agreement between them and the King, for the Cauſes ſpecified in the Deed itſelf (3). But there are not in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, any Deeds of this kind at full length, where any of theſe Cauſes may be ſeen. It can only be gathered from what ſome Authors ſay, that theſe Cauſes were, either the Houſes were overwhelmed with Debts, or the Revenues had been ill-managed (4), or there had been committed crimes deſerving a ſevere puniſhment, from which they were exempted on account of the Surrender. Be this as it will, the King having reſolved at any rate to ſuppreſs all the Monaſteries, the oppoſition of the Abbots, Priors and Monks would have been ineffectual. Accordingly, perceiving plainly, that by fair means or foul they ſhould be forced to ſubmit to his Will, the greateſt part thought it moſt prudent to do it with a good Grace, and make the beſt bargain they could for themſelves. The Abbot or Prior, with the chief Monks of each Houſe, being gained before-hand either by promiſes or threats; the reſt had hardly courage enough to make a fruitleſs reſiſtance (5).

Suppoſed Motives thereof. Act. Pub. Tom. XIV. p. 603, &c.

Ib. p. 610, &c. Burnet. T. I. Coll. p. 150.

Burnet. T. I. p. 236.

1539.

The firſt Suppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries was done by Act of Parliament. But the King was pleaſed this ſhould appear to be entirely voluntary, as if the Abbots, Priors and Monks had been induced of themſelves to ſurrender their Houſes. A thing however ſo notoriouſly falſe, that not a Soul cou'd be ignorant how forced theſe ſurrenders were. It muſt be confeſſed, that herein *Henry* ſtrangely abuſed the abſolute power he had acquired over his Subjects, of whom not a Man dared publickly to find fault with his conduct, and ſtill leſs, openly to oppoſe his Will. However he uſed artifice to make this ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries to be received with leſs concern. Whilſt the Commiſſioners were receiving the Surrenders, he called a Parliament for the 28th of *April*. At the ſame time, he cauſed a report to be ſpread that the Kingdom was going to be invaded (6). He confirmed the report by going in perſon to viſit the Coaſts, by commanding Forts and Redoubts to be built in ſeveral places (7), and by giving preſſing orders to fit out a Fleet, and keep the Troops in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice. The intent of all theſe proceedings was, to let the People ſee that the Parliament would be obliged to lay heavy taxes to reſiſt the pretended Invaſion; but that the King acquiring a large revenue by the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries, would have no occaſion for a Subſidy. The yearly value of the Religious Houſes amounted to one hundred ſixty one thouſand [one hundred] Pounds *Sterling*, according to the rate they had been laſt farm'd at (8). But it muſt be obſerved, the Abbots and Priors foreſeeing the impending ſtorm, had ſet the yearly rents very low, and raiſed the Fines very high, that they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt when they ſhould be out of their Houſes (9). The King pretended not to mind it, being on the contrary very glad, the People were not acquainted with the whole profit which accrued to him from theſe Suppreſſions. Beſides the rents of the Lands belonging to the Monaſteries, the King had moreover a very conſiderable Sum ariſing from the Church-Ornaments, [Plate] Goods, Lead, Bells, Materials, which he thought not proper to have valued, but it may be judged of by this ſingle article, namely, that in the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury* alone there was found five thouſand Marks of Gold and Silver in Bullion (10).

The King's artifice to get the Suppreſſions received. Hall. fol. 234, 235. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. Herbert.

Revenues of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries. Speed, p. 801. Burnet. Herbert, p. 218.

The ruin of the Monks was a great occaſion of joy and triumph to thoſe who had already embraced the Reformation, or who wiſhed it could be embraced without danger. But they had not cauſe long to rejoice. *Henry* reſolving to ſhew, that in aboliſhing the papal Authority, and deſtroying the Monaſteries, he had not changed his Religion, gave very ſoon an unqueſtionable proof of it. The Parliament meeting the 28th of *April*, immediately made, by the direction of the Court, a Law, entitled, *An Act for aboliſhing diverſity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian Religion.* This is the Law that is more commonly known by the name of the bloody Statute. The penalty of burning or hanging was enacted againſt thoſe,

Henry ſhews he intends not to alter Religion. Burnet. Herbert.

The Parliament. Hall.

The bloody Statute.

I. Who by word or writing denied Tranſubſtantiation.

II. Who maintained that Communion in both kinds was neceſſary.

III. Or that it was lawful for Prieſts to marry.

IV. Or that Vows of Chaſtity may be broken.

(1) Though great Faults were diſcovered by the Viſitors, yet it is certain, that they were themſelves guilty of great Acts of Violence and Injuſtice. They embezzled moſt part of the Plate and Furniture that was found in the Monaſteries, Doctor *London*, one of the Viſitors, corrupted ſeveral of the Nuns belonging to *Chepſtow*; and generally it was cried out, that under-hand and ill practices were uſed. Therefore to quiet theſe reports, and to give ſome colour to what was done, all the foul Stories that could be invented, were publiſhed to defame the viſited Monaſteries. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 241.

(2) During the year 1538, there were twenty one Monaſteries ſuppreſſed, and in 1539, a hundred and one. See the Names of them in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 590, *&c.* and *Burnet*, T. I. *Collect.* p. 144, 145.

(3) The general Form in which moſt of the Surrenders begin, is, "That the Abbot and Brethren, upon full Deliberation, certain Knowledge, of their "own proper Motion, for certain juſt and reaſonable Cauſes, eſpecially moving them in their Souls and Conſciences, did freely, and of their own accord, "give and grant their Houſes to the King." See *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 604. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 238.

(4) The Viſitors found ſuch Depredations committed in the rich Abbey of St. *Albans*, that an Abbot could not ſubſiſt any longer, the Rents being ſo low. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 236, *&c.*

(5) Beſides Promiſes and Threats, the King had another way of gaining the Abbots to his Will. Upon a Vacancy, an Abbot was put in only to reſign up the Houſe. For after the King's Supremacy was eſtabliſhed, the Abbots formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a *Congé d' elire* to the Prior and Convent, with a miſſive Letter, declaring the name of the Perſon whom they ſhould chuſe; then they returned an Election to the King, who, upon that, gave his Aſſent to it by a Warrant under the Great Seal, which was certified to the *Vicegerent*; who thereupon confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King to take the Oaths; upon which the Temporalities were reſtored. Thus all the Abbots were now placed by the King, and were generally pickt out to ſerve this Turn. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 236.

(6) By ſeveral Princes, who were ſtirred up by the Pope and Cardinal *Pool*. *Stow*, p. 576.

(7) Many of which we have at this Day. He built particularly *Dover*-Peer. *Strype*'s *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 306. *Herbert*, p. 217.

(8) They were given in at one hundred and fifty two thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and ten Pence. *Stevens*'s *Hiſt. of Taxes*, p. 215. The number of Monaſteries ſuppreſſed firſt and laſt in *England* and *Wales*, according to *Camden*, were ſix hundred forty three, together with ninety Colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy four Chantries, and free Chapels, and one hundred and ten Hoſpitals. *Herbert*, p. 218.

(9) This had been the Practice all along, as well as juſt before the Diſſolution of the Abbies. The Abbots were wont to hold the Leaſes low, and raiſe great Fines; by that means they were not obliged to entertain a geater Number in their Houſe, and ſo enriched themſelves and their Brethren by the ſaid Fines. This turned greatly to the King's Advantage. *Burnet*.

(10) As this was the laſt Parliament the Abbots were ſummoned to, it will not be amiſs to inſert the Names and Number of the Mitred or Parliamentary Abbots, who in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign had their Writs, being twenty eight; *Abbington*, St. *Albans*, St. *Auſtin*'s *Canterbury*, *Battel*, St. *Bennet*'s in the *Holm*, *Berdeney*, *Cirenceſter*, *Colcheſter*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, St. *Edmundsbury*, *Eveſham*, *Glaſſenbury*, *Glouceſter*, *Hide*, *Malmſbury*, St. *Mary*'s in *York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramſey*, *Reading*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Taveſtock*, *Tewkeſbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Weſtminſter*, *Winchelcomb*; to whom the Prior of St. *John* may be added. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 268.

1539. V. Or that private Maſſes are unprofitable.
VI. Or laſtly, That Auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to Salvation (1).

The Laws concerning Religion ſerve to increaſe the King's Authority.

By this and ſome former Laws, which ſettled what was to be believed in matter of Religion, all the Subjects were almoſt equally liable to the pains enacted therein. Indeed, this laſt Law with thoſe that were made before againſt the Pope's authority, contained the King's belief, but not the Nation's. There was hardly a Perſon in the Kingdom but what believed either more or leſs, and yet no one dared openly to ſwerve from it either to the right or left. The Reformed however were the greateſt ſufferers by it, and indeed it was levelled againſt them. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was the real Author of it. He had intimated to the King, that it was the only means to hinder a League from being formed againſt him. That what he had aboliſhed not being eſſential to Religion, nor conſidered as ſuch by the generality of Chriſtians, no Man of ſound judgment could deem him Heretical, ſo long as he maintained theſe ſix Articles, which entirely diſtinguiſhed true Catholicks from Sectaries and Innovators. This was really taking the King by his weak ſide. But, beſides this motive, the King had another which was no leſs powerful; namely, by adding this Law to thoſe already made againſt the Pope, he rendered his Subjects ſo dependent upon him, that there was ſcarce a Man but what was obnoxious to be called to an account. So the Pope's friends and the Reformed were equally in his power. Conſequently they were equally concerned not to diſpleaſe him in any thing, but rather blindly to ſubmit to his Will. *Cranmer* alone ventured publickly, and for three days together, to argue againſt the Bill before it paſſed. But as ſoon as it had received the Seal of the publick authority, he ſent away his Wife into *Germany* till better times (2).

Gardiner *Author of the Six Articles.*

Cranmer *argues againſt them in vain.*

The Parliament grants the Lands of the Monaſteries to the King.

By another Act the Parliament granted to the King the Lands of the religious Houſes, which were ſuppoſed to have been freely ſurrendered to him. So, this Statute was rather a confirmation of what had been done, than an ordinance for the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries (3). As the King had intimated that he intended to employ the Revenues, he had acquired, in uſeful foundations, the Parliament paſſed a Bill for giving him power to erect new Biſhopricks.

He is empowered to erect new Sees. Burnet.

An extraordinary Act for increaſing the Royal Power.

Never was Parliament more devoted to the King's will. They were not ſatisfied with approving whatever the King had done, but alſo whatever he might do for the future. It was enacted this Seſſion, That the ſame obedience ſhould be paid to the King's Proclamations, or to the orders of the Council during a minority, as to the Acts of Parliament. It was pretended, that caſes might happen where the King had not time to call a Parliament, and yet it was neceſſary for the good of the Realm that his orders ſhould be executed, otherwiſe there might be danger of falling into great inconveniencies. Thus to avoid a poſſible, but withal an uncommon inconvenience, another much more conſiderable was run into, by giving the Sovereign a deſpotick power. For if his orders were to be obeyed without the concurrence of the Parliament, he had no occaſion to call one if he did not think it proper. It is true, there were ſome limitations in this Act, as that no Perſon ſhould be deprived of Life or Eſtate by virtue of the King's Proclamation, nor any Laws or Cuſtoms broken or ſubverted thereby. But theſe reſtrictions were ſo ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it was eaſy for the King to evade them. Upon this act were grounded the great changes of Religion in the Non-age of *Edward* VI. 1539.

Another about Precedency. Statut. c. 10.

In this ſame Seſſion the Parliament paſſed an Act to regulate the precedency of the Officers of State; by which *Cromwell*, the King's Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, though a Lock-Smith's Son, had the precedence of all Perſons next the Royal Family (4).

Sentence againſt the Marquiſs of Exeter, &c. is confirmed. Counteſs of Sarum and Marchioneſs of Exeter attainted. Herbert. Burnet, T. I. p. 264.

Laſtly, The Parliament confirmed the ſentence of death paſſed upon the Marquiſs of *Exeter* and the reſt who had been executed for holding a correſpondence with Cardinal *Pole*. Moreover for the ſame reaſon, they attainted the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, the Cardinal's Mother, and the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, without bringing them to a Trial. This laſt Act met with great oppoſition in the Parliament, many objecting, that to condemn Perſons unheard, was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice. But *Cromwell* having ſent for the Judges to his Houſe, asked them, whether the Parliament had power to condemn Perſons accuſed, without a hearing? The Judges replied, it was a nice and dangerous queſtion; that Equity, Juſtice, and all ſorts of Laws required that the accuſed ſhould be heard; that however, the Parliament being the ſupreme Court of the Realm, from which there could be no appeal, the validity of their ſentences, of what nature ſoever they were, could not be queſtioned. This was ſaying in other words, that the Parliament would therein commit an injuſtice, for which they could not be called to an account. *Cromwell* having reported to the Parliament the opinion of the Judges, the two Ladies of the Blood-Royal were condemned to die, by a Sentence which eſtabliſhed a precedent the moſt pernicious that had ever been ſeen in *England*, and which proved fatal to its Author, as will appear. Mean while the King granted a full pardon to the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and a reprieve to the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, who was not executed till two years after. Thus the King daily acquired ſome freſh degree of authority. It might be ſaid, he uſurped it not, ſince it was given him by the Parliament, if the circumſtances of the times had not rendered the very Parliament ſlaves to his Will.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 651. Decem. 21. Herbert.

The King takes care to encourage Cranmer. Burnet.

Cranmer had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Law of the ſix Articles, and ſuch an oppoſition would have infallibly ruined any other Perſon but that Prelate. But the King had an eſteem for him which could not be eaſily changed, becauſe he was perſuaded the Archbiſhop acted according to the dictates of his conſcience, whereas he had a quite contrary notion of the reſt of his Miniſters and Courtiers. Their blind compliance ſerved only to make him deſpiſe them, though he liked to reap the advantage of their baſeneſs. So having a real eſteem and ſincere affection for *Cranmer*, and imagining, he muſt have been extremely mortified that the Act had paſſed contrary to his opinion, and even apprehenſive of having diſpleaſed him by his oppoſition, he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to encourage him, and aſſure him of his conſtant kindneſs.

Cranmer

(1) There was firſt a committee appointed for examining the different Opinions, and drawing up Articles for an Agreement, conſiſting of *Cromwell*, the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Bangor*, *Carliſle* and *Worceſter*. But having ſpent eleven days in Debates, the Duke of *Norfolk* on the ſixteenth of *May* told the Lords, that the Committee had made no Progreſs, not being of one Mind. Therefore he offered ſome Articles to their Conſideration, that they might be examined by the whole Houſe, and a perpetual Law made for the Obſervation of them. Theſe were the ſix Articles above. *Cranmer* argued againſt them three Days together, though his Arguments are loſt, there being nothing remaining of what paſſed in the Houſe, but what is conveyed to us in the Journal, which is ſhort and defective. On the twenty fourth of *May*, the Parliament, for what Reaſon is not known, was prorogued to the thirtieth. When being met, the Chancellor moved in the King's Name, that a Bill might be brought in for puniſhing ſuch as offended againſt theſe Articles. Whereupon a Bill drawn up by the Archbiſhop of *York*, was after long Conteſt brought to the Houſe the ſeventh of *June*; it was read a ſecond time on the ninth, and on the tenth it was engroſſed, and read the third time. When it paſſed, the King deſired *Cranmer* to go out of the Houſe, ſince he could not give his Conſent to it; but he humbly excuſed himſelf, for he thought he was bound in Conſcience to ſtay and vote againſt it. On the twenty eighth, after paſſing in the Houſe of Commons, it had the Royal Aſſent. Beſides the ſix Articles, "All the Marriages of Prieſts are declared void, and if a Prieſt "lived with a Woman as his Wife, he was to be judged a Felon; and if as his Concubine, upon the firſt Conviction to forfeit all his Benefices, *&c.* and upon "ſecond Conviction to ſuffer as a Felon. The Women ſo offending were to be puniſhed in the ſame manner. For the Execution of this Act, Commiſ-"ſions were to be iſſued out to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, and ſuch others as the King ſhall name, to hold their Seſſions "quarterly or oftner, and to proceed upon Preſentments by a Jury." *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 257, *&c.*

(2) He married a Kinſwoman of *Oſiander*'s the Divine of *Noremberg* during his Embaſſy with the Emperor, about the Year 1532. *Herbert*, p. 219.

(3) This Act paſſed in the Houſe of Peers without any Proteſtation made by any of the Abbots, though it appears by the Journal, that at the firſt reading of it, there were eighteen Abbots preſent, at the ſecond twenty, and ſeventeen at the third. It was ſoon diſpatched by the Commons, and offered to the Royal Aſſent. By it no religious Houſes were ſuppreſſed, as is generally taken for granted, but only the Surrenders that either had been, or were to be made, were confirmed. The laſt Proviſo in it for annulling all Exemptions of Churches and Chapels, had been a great Happineſs to the Church, if it had not been for the Clauſe, *That the King might appoint others to viſit them.* For many of thoſe who purchaſed theſe Lands with the impropriated Tithes, got this likewiſe in their Grants, that they ſhould be the Viſitors of the Churches formerly exempted, from whence great diſorders have ſince followed; for the Incumbents being under no reſtraints, have often been ſcandalous to the Church. This abuſe, which firſt ſprung from the ancient Exemptions granted by the See of *Rome*, has not yet met with an effectual remedy. It was queſtioned, whether the Lands belonging to the Abbies ought to have return'd to the Founders and Donors by way of *Reverter*, or to have fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were holden by way of *Eſcheat*, or to have come to the Crown. The Endowments of the Heatheniſh Temples were, in *Theodoſius*'s time, after a mature debate, adjudged to the Emperor's Exchequer, upon this reaſon, that by the Will of the Donors they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. But in *England* it went otherwiſe, for when the Order of the *Knights-Templars* was diſſolved, it was then judged in favour of the Lord by Eſcheat. And this muſt have held good, if thoſe Alienations and Endowments had been abſolute without any condition. But the Endowments being generally made in conſideration of ſo many Maſſes to be ſaid for their Souls, then it was moſt juſt, that upon a Non-performance of the Condition, and when the Cheat which the Monks had put upon the World was diſcovered, the Lands ſhould have returned to the Founders, and their Heirs and Succeſſors. Now was there any grounds for the Lords to pretend to them by Eſcheat, eſpecially where their Anceſtors had conſented and confirmed thoſe Endowments? Therefore there was no need of excluding them by any ſpecial Proviſo. But for the Founders and Donors, certainly if there had not been a particular Proviſo made againſt them, they might have recovered the Lands their Anceſtors had ſuperſtitiouſly given away, and the Surrenders to the Crown could not have cut off their Title. But this Act did that effectually. It is true, many of them were of Royal Foundation, and theſe would have returned to the Crown without diſpute. See *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 262.

(4) By this Act, it was ordered, 1. That no Perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever, except only the King's Children, ſhall thenceforward ſit at any ſide of the Cloth of Eſtate in the Parliament Chamber (as the two Archbiſhops uſed to do. See *Fiddes's Life of Wolſey*, p. 302.) 2. That the

1539. *Cranmer* (1) very thankfully received this Teſtimony of the King's eſteem and goodneſs. Shortly after, the King talked with him himſelf concerning the Law of the ſix Articles, and was pleaſed that he explained to him the reaſons which led him to oppoſe it. Nay, he ordered him to put all his arguments in writing, though by the Statute it ſelf, it was a crime worthy of burning. But *Cranmer*, truſting to the King's equity, drew up a Memorial, which he intended to give him. This Writing being accidentally loſt, was found by one who was going to carry it to the King, if *Cromwell* had not prevented him (2). Doctor *Burnet* repreſents this to be an unexpected and happy eſcape for *Cranmer*. But ſince the King himſelf ordered him to compoſe this Writing, the danger does not ſeem to be ſo great, unleſs it be ſuppoſed the King would have condemned him unheard. But this ſuppoſition deſtroys itſelf, by the particular eſteem the King had for him.

He orders him to give him reaſons for oppoſing the ſix Articles. Burnet. T. I. p. 265. Herbert.

Shaxton Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *Latimer* of *Worceſter*, were not treated ſo favorably. As they could not reſolve to approve of the Law of the ſix Articles, they believed that in reſigning their Biſhopricks, they ſhould be leſs expoſed to the attacks of their enemies. But they did not come off ſo eaſily. They had no ſooner put the inſtruments of Reſignation into the King's hands, but they were preſented as having ſpoken againſt the ſix Articles, and committed to the *Tower*.

Shaxton and Latimer reſign their Sees, and are ſent to the Tower. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 641, 642. Burnet. Strype.

When the Parliament broke up, the King ſent Commiſſioners into the ſeveral Counties, to make inquiry of thoſe who were againſt the ſix Articles, being determined rigorouſly to execute the Statute. As *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* could not but be ſuſpected in this affair, the enemies of the Reformation eaſily made the King ſenſible, that to leave to them the nomination of theſe Commiſſioners would be labouring in vain. And indeed, Perſons who ſtrongly oppoſed the Act were very unfit to ſee it executed as the King deſired. Some of the contrary Party therefore were appointed, who diſcharged their Commiſſion with ſuch immoderate zeal and paſſion, that they fruſtrated the deſigns of thoſe who employed them. In the City of *London* alone, there were within few days above five hundred Perſons thrown into Priſon, and involved in the breach of the Statute. Nay, the King was ſhewn, that, contrary to his intention, the Commiſſioners had laid ſnares for theſe Priſoners, to oblige them to diſcover opinions which they intended to conceal in obedience to the Laws. Beſides, ſince in ſo ſhort a ſpace, ſuch numbers were impriſoned in *London*, it was eaſy to judge how many there might be in all the reſt of the Kingdom, and of what ill conſequence to execute the Law upon numberleſs Perſons of all Ages and Sexes. This the Chancellor, who was no enemy to the Reformation, repreſented to the King, and prevailed with him to pardon all the Priſoners. From this time to *Cromwell*'s death, the proceedings upon this Act were ſuſpended, though it ſtill ſubſiſted, and might have been executed if the King had pleaſed. Thus every thing was regulated by the King's Will, who haſtened or retarded the execution of the Laws according to the times and Perſons. This gained him a blind condeſcenſion from both Parties, every one having to fear his own ruin according to the King's humour and diſpoſition. It is certain, thoſe that deſired a Reformation, were conſtrained to feign an approbation of many things which in their hearts they deteſted, and that *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* who had moſt acceſs to the King, dared to preſs him only indirectly to advance the Work already begun. Hence they preſerved their credit, and were enabled to do their Party ſervice. Their adverſaries took the ſame courſe, and went ſtill greater lengths in their compliance, well knowing it was the only way to gain the King's confidence. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, though a favorer of the Pope, and perſuaded that the King had no ſpiritual authority, took a Commiſſion from him, which adjudged to him both the ſpiritual and temporal power of his Biſhoprick, during his good Pleaſure (3). After this, the exceſſive power which the King daily acquired muſt not be thought ſtrange, ſince every one ſtrove to ſubmit to his Will. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Winchester* was one of the principal favorers of the old Religion, to which he was very ſerviceable by a profound diſſimulation: He expreſſed great zeal to execute as well the Act of the ſix Articles, as thoſe made againſt the Pope. He thereby maintained his credit, though the King had but little eſteem for him.

1539. *Extreme condeſcenſion of both Parties for the King.* Herbert. Burnet.

Burnet, T. I. p. 267.

Inquiry of thoſe who rejected the ſix Articles. Burnet.

Hall. Stow. Burnet. Hollingſh.

The King pardons them all. Hall. Burnet.

The actual Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries was begun and ended in the courſe of this year (4). The Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, ſettled every thing relating thereto. They awarded penſions to the Abbots, Priors, Monks, and Nuns, for their livelihood. They valued the Plate, Goods, Ornaments of the Prieſts, of the Altars, of the Churches, and ordered what Buildings ſhould be demoliſhed, and what left ſtanding. I have already obſerv'd that the Rents of all the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries amounted to one hundred ſixty thouſand [one hundred] Pounds *Sterling*. But if it be true that this valuation was made only upon the foot of the laſt Leaſes, and that theſe were not above the tenth part of the real Value, as ſome affirm, it follows that theſe Rents were worth above ſixteen hundred thouſand Pounds (5), beſides the ready money which accrued to the King by the Sale of the effects (6). Here was wherewithal to make uſeful Foundations to the Church and State, had all theſe riches been employed that way. The King ſeemed at firſt to have formed ſuch a deſign. Nay, it was what had ſerved for the principal ground of the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries. But the greedineſs of the Courtiers and Favorites allowed but a very ſmall part to be expended on things uſeful and neceſſary. *Henry* had at firſt reſolved to erect eighteen new Biſhopricks (7), but as the money was laviſhed away, he found reaſons to reduce them to a much ſmaller number. In ſhort, he contented himſelf with founding ſix, and eſtabliſhing Canons in ſome Cathedrals which the Monks had poſſeſſed. In all this he employed but a revenue of eight thouſand Pounds. He laid out likewiſe part of the money in fortifying ſome Ports, and all the reſt was ſquandered away in preſents and other needleſs

Value of what the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries produced. Herbert. Burnet. T. I. Collect. p. 151, &c. Speed.

Strype.

The King lays out the Money in needleſs things. Burnet. Herbert.

the Biſhops ſhall ſit in this Order, on the right hand ſide of the Parliament Houſe; firſt, the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, then the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*, and the reſt according to the time of their Creation. 3. That the Lord Chancellor, Treaſurer, Preſident of the Council, and Lord-Privy-Seal, being Barons, ſhall ſit, on the left ſide of the Parliament-Houſe, above all Dukes, except the Royal Family. 4. That the Lord Chamberlain, Marſhall, High-Admiral, Lord Steward and Chamberlain, ſhall be placed above all Perſons of the ſame Eſtates and Degrees they ſhall happen to be of. 5. And the King's Secretary, being a Baron, ſhall ſit above all Barons. See *Statut.* 31. *Hen.* VIII. c. 10.

(1) *Burnet* ſays, the King ſent for him firſt, on *June* 28, and next day ordered the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and *Cromwell*, to dine with him. When they were at Table with him at *Lambeth*, they ran out much in his Commendation, and acknowledged he had oppoſed the Act with ſo much Learning, Gravity, and Eloquence, that even thoſe that differed from him were much taken with what he ſaid, and that he needed to fear nothing from the King. *Cromwell* ſaid, when Complaints were brought againſt any of his Counſellors, the King received them, but would not ſo much as hearken to any Complaint of the Archbiſhop. From that he went on to make a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolſey*: That the one loſt his Friends by his Haughtineſs and Pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his Mildneſs and Gentleneſs. Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* ſaid, he might beſt ſpeak of the Cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his Man. This nettled *Cromwell*, who anſwered, that though he had ſerved him, he never liked his manner, and that though the Cardinal had deſigned (if his Attempt for the Popedom had ſucceeded) to have made him his Admiral, yet he reſolved not to accept it. To which the Duke of *Norfolk* replied with a deep Oath, *That he lied*, with other reproachful Language. *Collier* ſays, *Cromwell* told the Duke, that he (the Duke) offered to ſerve the Cardinal as his Admiral, upon which the Duke ſaid that it was a Lie. This troubled *Cranmer* extremely, who did all he could to reconcile them. But they were never afterwards hearty Friends. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 265.

(2) *Cranmer*'s Secretary having writ out the Book in a fair Hand, and returning with it from *Croydon*, where the Archbiſhop was then, to *Lambeth*, found the Key of his Chamber carried away by *Cranmer*'s Almoner; ſo being obliged to go over to *London*, and not daring to truſt the Book with any one, carried it with him. Some that were in the Wherry with him, would needs go to *Southwark*-Side to ſee a Bear-baiting, where the King was in Perſon. The Bear broke looſe into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out, and left the Secretary alone. The Bear got into the Boat with the Dogs about her, and ſunk it. The Secretary ſhifting for himſelf, loſt the Book in the Water. But being brought to Land, he ſaw his Book floating upon the Water. So he deſired the Bear-ward to bring it to him; who taking it up, gave it to a Prieſt that ſtood there, to ſee what it might contain. The Prieſt finding it to be a confutation of the ſix Articles, told the Bear-ward whoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. The Secretary thinking to mend the Matter, ſaid it was his Lord's Book. This made the Fellow more untractable, being a ſpiteful Papiſt, and an Enemy to the Archbiſhop. So that he would not give it back. Whereupon the Secretary applied to *Cromwell*, who was then going to Court, where he expected the Bear-ward would be, in order to deliver the Book to ſome of *Cranmer*'s Enemies. And ſo it happened, whereupon *Cromwell* called to him, and took the Book out of his Hands, threatning him for meddling with a Privy-Counſellor's Papers. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 265, 266.

(3) The Subſtance of the Commiſſion was: That ſince all Juriſdiction, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, flowed from the King as Supreme Head, it became thoſe who exerciſed any Power only by the King's Courteſy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his Bounty; and to declare they would deliver it up again when it ſhould pleaſe him to call for it. And ſince his Vicegerent could not look into all Matters, therefore the King did empower *Bonner* in his own ſtead to exerciſe all the Parts of Epiſcopal Authority, for which he was duly commiſſioned; and this to laſt during the King's Pleaſure only. See the Original in *Burnet*, Tom. I. *Collect.* p. 184.

(4) There are fifty-ſeven Surrenders upon Record this year; and the Originals of about thirty of theſe are yet to be ſeen. Thirty ſeven of them were Abbies or Priories, and twenty Nunneries: Among the reſt, *Godſtow*, *Weſtminſter*, St. *Albans*, *Waltham*, *Glaſtenbury*, St. *Peter*'s in *Glouceſter*, &c. The method uſed in the Suppreſſion of theſe Houſes, may be ſeen in *Burnet*, Tom. I. *Collect.* p. 151, &c. The Hoſpital of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark* was alſo ſuppreſſed this year. See *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 267, 268.

(5) Some compute, that the Lands taken from the Monaſteries, at twenty years purchaſe, would amount, at this preſent time, to thirty millions, five hundred and three thouſand, four hundred Pounds. Thoſe formerly belonging to the Abbey of St. *Albans*, being worth at this day, about two hundred thouſand Pounds a year; and thoſe that belonged to *Glaſtenbury* Abbey, above three hundred thouſand Pounds yearly. See *Stevens Hiſt. of Taxes*, p. 188——216.

(6) The Treaſure found in the Monaſteries was valued at one hundred thouſand Pounds. *Ibid.* p. 217. As for an account of the other valuable effects found there, ſee *Monaſticon Anglic.*

(7) On which he intended to beſtow eighteen thouſand Pounds a Year. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 269.

1539. expences. For this cauſe he could not avoid the blame of having plundered the Church; whereas had he employed the beſt part of theſe Lands in things uſeful to the Church and State, he would have gained the Bleſſings of his Subjects and their Poſterity. As to the Parliament, they are inexcuſable for having put into the King's hands ſuch immenſe Riches deſigned for pious uſes, without taking care how they were to be employed. This is no ſlender evidence of what has been already obſerved, that the Parliaments met in this Reign only to be inſtrumental in gratifying the King's Paſſions, without ever examining either the motives or conſequences of what he required. *Henry* had alſo formed the project of founding a College for young Students, that they might be qualified for the Service of the State, either in Embaſſies or other affairs of the Government (1). But this project miſcarried with many others, becauſe the King having ſold the Lands of the ſuppreſſed Abbies, was very loth to put to ſuch uſes the ready money raiſed by the Sale. He choſe rather to laviſh it upon his pleaſures, or his Courtiers, who uſed all ſorts of Artifices, Condeſcenſions, and baſe Flatteries, to procure ſome part of theſe vaſt Treaſures.

Remarks upon the conduct of the Parliament.

Burnet. T. I. p. 269.

Whilſt *Henry* was employed in his domeſtick affairs, he had an eye however to what paſſed abroad. The Emperor feigned the laſt year a firm deſign to adjuſt the religious differences which occaſioned troubles in *Germany*. But this was only to draw money from the Proteſtants, to be expended in his War with the *Turk*. He expected that upon the bare hopes, he was pleaſed to give them, of redreſſing their Grievances, they would on his account drain themſelves of Men and Money, and ſo become leſs formidable. But the Proteſtants would not ſuffer themſelves to be deceived to ſuch a degree. They plainly anſwered to his demand, that they could do nothing for him, without ſufficient Security of being left in peace.

The Proteſtants avoid the Emperor's Snares, Sleidan.

and Henry's. *Henry* finding that a rupture between the Emperor and the Proteſtants was not very remote, ſent freſh Ambaſſadors to *Germany* to ſtrengthen the reſolutions of the *Smalcaldick* League, by hopes of his coming into it, and being declared Protector. But the *Germans* had now diſcovered his deſign, which was to amuſe them, and keep the Emperor in continual fear of his uniting with them. They returned therefore the ſame anſwer as before, that the ſole intent of their League was to maintain the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, and if the King refuſed to admit that Confeſſion, it was in vain to treat of other points: That moreover, they heard with extreme grief, that he perſecuted in his Realm ſuch as held the ſame opinions with them on ſundry Articles of Religion, and therefore, ſo long as the Act of the Six Articles ſubſiſted, there was no likelihood that he really intended to join with them. *Melanæthon* even writ him a Letter in very ſtrong, though reſpectful terms, to ſhew him the unreaſonableneſs of that Statute.

Gardiner *diverts the King from his deſigns to join with the Proteſtants.* Burnet. Herbert.

Henry, to whom all was obedient in *England*, and whoſe Will was a Law, was offended at the firmneſs of the *German* Princes. On the other hand, *Gardiner*, who dreaded of all things the King's union with the *Smalcaldick* League, failed not to uſe this occaſion to divert him from it, by flattering his vanity. He repreſented to him, that it was very ſtrange, petty Princes ſhould pretend to be a pattern to a great Monarch, and dictate to the moſt learned Prince in *Europe*, in matters of Religion. He added, that whatever the Proteſtants might pretend, they would never approve of his Supremacy in *England*, becauſe it would be a tacit engagement to own that the Emperor had the ſame right in *Germany*. This was falſe reaſoning, ſince there was a wide difference between the Authority which the King had over his Subjects, and that which the Emperor could claim over the Sovereigns and free Cities of *Germany*. However, he attained his ends, that is, he begot a great coldneſs between the King and the Proteſtants.

Bibles are ſet up in the Churches.

Gardiner's artifices might have been more prejudicial to the Reformation, if, on the other ſide, the Reformers had not raiſed a Counter-battery, of which they made wonderful uſe. The King was ſo jealous of his Supremacy, that he neglected nothing to ſupport it. Indeed, the abſolute power acquired over his Subjects placed him above all oppoſition, but he wiſhed of all things, the Nation was convinced of the juſtice of that Prerogative. Hence the Reformers took occaſion to remonſtrate to him, that nothing but the reading of the Holy Scriptures could undeceive the People of their falſe notion of the Papal Authority. By this means they had already obtained, that there ſhould be a Bible faſtned with a Chain in every Church, to be freely peruſed by all perſons. But as many ſcrupled publickly to read the Scriptures, for fear of being ſuſpected of Hereſy, *Cranmer*, meeting with a favorable opportunity, repreſented to the King, that it was neceſſary to give his Subjects leave to have a Bible in their Houſes. He inſinuated to him, that every one having liberty to read it, would eaſily be convinced, that the Pope's pretended authority had no foundation in the Scriptures. This was an innocent Stratagem, to procure the People an opportunity to inſtruct themſelves in many other Articles, though the King had only one in view. *Gardiner* readily perceived the conſequence of the Archbiſhop's requeſt, and ſeeing the King inclined to grant it, did all he could to divert it. He diſputed upon this Subject with *Cranmer* in the King's preſence, who heard them very attentively. At laſt, perceiving ſolid Learning in what *Cranmer* ſaid, and nothing but vanity in the reaſonings of his Adverſary, he ſuddenly roſe up, ſaying to *Gardiner*, that ſuch a Novice as he was not fit to contend with an old experienced General (2). Shortly after, he iſſued out a Proclamation, declaring he was deſirous to have his Subjects attain the Knowledge of true Religion in God's Word; and therefore he would take care they ſhould have an exact Tranſlation of the Bible. He forbid however, in order to prevent the inconveniencies which might ariſe from the difference of the Verſions, the ſelling of any Bible but what ſhould be approved by the Vicegerent (3).

1539.

People allowed Bibles in their Houſes. Idem.

Gardiner *oppoſes it* Idem.

Proclamation about the Bible. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 629, 650. Novem. 4. Strype.

About the end of this year was ſeen a freſh effect of the mutual confidence which appeared between *Charles* V, and *Francis* I. A mutiny ariſing in *Gaunt* by reaſon of a Tax laid upon Wine by the Governor of the *Low-Countries*, the Mutineers applied to the King of *France* to implore his protection, and even offered to ſubmit to him. But he did not think proper to accept of their offers. On the contrary, he informed the Emperor of what was plotting againſt him. This ſeems ſomething ſtrange, conſidering that hitherto he had never profeſſed much generoſity to that Monarch. But the reaſon of this proceeding was, the Emperor ſtill allured him with the hopes of the Duchy of *Milan*, and ſo diverted him from the thoughts of recovering it by Arms. However this be, the Emperor's preſence in *Flanders* being alone capable of appeaſing the Sedition of *Gaunt*, he was at ſome loſs which way to get thither in time. It was dangerous going by Sea, as well on account of the Seaſon, as becauſe he had no Fleet to convoy him. The way through *Italy* was no ſafer, by reaſon he could not afterwards croſs *Germany* without paſſing through the Territories of the Proteſtant Princes. There remained no other way but by *France*, which he reſolved upon, though he had as much reaſon to ſuſpect that Kingdom as *Germany*. But he hoped to amuſe the King by means of the Duchy of *Milan*, as he did in effect. He ſet out therefore and entered *France* with a ſmall train, upon the bare ſecurity of a ſafe-conduct. Nay, he refuſed to take in Hoſtage the Dauphin and his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, who came and received him at *Bayonne*, offering to ſtay in *Spain* ſo long as he ſhould be in the King's Dominions. Wherever he came, the ſame reſpect was paid him as to the King himſelf, and he arrived at *Paris* the firſt of *January* 1540.

The Emperor croſſes France to go to Gaunt. Hæræus. P. Daniel. Hall. Herbert.

Hall.

The King's Marriage with Ann of Cleves *is concluded.* Hall. Herbert.

Henry's Marriage with *Ann* of *Cleves* being at length concluded by *Cromwell*'s diligence, who had been charged with the Negotiation, the Princeſs arrived in *England* about the end of the year 1539 (4), at the time the Em-

She arrives in England. Stow. Hollingſh.

(1) As this was the nobleſt Deſign that ever was projected in *England*, it will not be amiſs to give ſome ſhort account of it. Sir *Nicolas Bacon* (who was afterwards one of the wiſeſt Miniſters that ever this Nation bred,) together with *Thomas Denton* and *Robert Carey*, where ordered to make a full Project of the Nature and Orders of ſuch a Houſe, which they brought to the King in writing, the Original whereof is ſtill extant. The Deſign of it was, That there ſhould be frequent Pleadings, and other Exerciſes in the *Latin* and *French* Tongues; and when the King's Students were brought to ſome ripeneſs, they ſhould be ſent with his Ambaſſadors to foreign Parts, and trained up in the Knowledge of foreign Affairs; and ſo the Houſe ſhould be the Nurſery for Ambaſſadors. Some were alſo appointed to write the Hiſtory of all Embaſſies, Treaties, and foreign Tranſactions; as alſo of all Arraignments and publick Trials at Home. But before any of them might write on theſe Subjects, the Lord Chancellor was to give them an Oath, that they ſhould do it truly without reſpect of Perſons, or any other corrupt Affection. This noble Deſign miſcarried: But if it had been well regulated, it is eaſy to gather what great and publick Advantages might have flowed from it. Among which it is not inconſiderable, that we ſhould have been delivered from a Rabble of ill Writers of Hiſtory, who have without due Care and Inquiry delivered to us the Tranſactions of that time ſo imperfectly, that there is ſtill need of inquiring into Regiſters and Papers for theſe Matters: Which in ſuch a Houſe had been more clearly conveyed to Poſterity, that can now be expected after ſuch razure of Records, and other Confuſions, in which many of theſe Papers have been loſt. *Burnet*, Tom. I. 269.

(2) *Gardiner* challenged *Cranmer* to ſhew any difference between the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Apoſtolical Canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the Apoſtles. Upon which they diſputed ſome time. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 270.

(3) And about the ſame time iſſued out a Proclamation for Uniformity in Religion, which the Reader may ſee in *Strype*'s *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 354. *Coll.* p. 295.

(4) On *December* 27, She landed at *Deale*. *William Fitz-Williams* Earl of *Southampton*, being ſent with a Fleet of fifty Sail to bring her over. *Hall*, fol. 238.——This ſame Month, King *Henry* renewed his Guard of fifty Gentlemen Penſioners, with a Salary of fifty Pounds a Year; They had been diſcontinued ſince the firſt Year of his Reign. *Hall*, fol. 237. *Hollingſhead*, p. 948.

1539. peror was travelling through *France* in his way to the *Low-Countries*. *Henry* receiving advice of her arrival at *Rocheſter*, went down *Incognito*, being very impatient to ſee whether he had been deceived. But, to his ſorrow, he found her very different from what her Picture, drawn by *Hans Holbin*, had cauſed him to expect. This firſt ſight gave him ſuch an averſion for her, that he would have immediately broke off the Marriage, if he had not been prevented by ſtrong reaſons (1). The ſame conſiderations which had made him conclude it, ſubſiſted, and there were others which obliged him to conſummate it. The Duke of *Cleves* was the Emperor's Neighbour in *Flanders*, and had alſo a pretenſion as well as he to the Duchy of *Guelders*, after the death of the Duke of that name. Conſequently, in caſe of a War between the Emperor and *England*, that Prince could give the Emperor a very troubleſome diverſion in *Flanders*. On the other hand, his Siſter was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, head of the *Smalcaldick* League, with whom it was of great moment to the King to live in a good underſtanding. But this was not all. The Emperor, then in *France*, was labouring with all his power to diſingage *Francis* I, from the intereſts of *England*. Nay, *Henry* had private intelligence, that the Emperor offered to give the Duchy of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans* upon that conſideration. If therefore, in ſuch a juncture, he had ſent back the Princeſs of *Cleves* without marrying her, he ran the hazard of an entire rupture with the Princes of *Smalcald*, at a time when he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being forſaken by the King of *France*, who by degrees forgot the aſſiſtance he had received from him in his moſt urgent occaſions. So, lamenting his misfortune to be forced to marry a Princeſs for whom he had conceived an averſion, he reſolved to make this Sacrifice the 6th of *January* 1540. But he was ſtill leſs pleaſed after his Marriage than before, and from that very moment was determined to be divorced from her. He concealed his ſentiments however as much as poſſible, though it was eaſy for all to ſee his vexation and trouble. *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into this marriage, quickly felt the effects of his reſentment, though the King was exceeding careful to hide it from him (2).

The King diſlikes her.

Stow. p. 579. Burnet. T. I. Coll. p. 197.

1540. *He marries her however*, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

and bears Cromwell an ill-will. Stow. Burnet.

The Parliament meeting the 12th of *April*, *Cromwell* made a Speech to both Houſes, informing them, that the King ſeeing with extreme concern ſo great diviſion among his Subjects in matters of Religion, had appointed Commiſſioners to examine the points in diſpute, that the Articles of Faith might be fixed without reſpect of Parties, by the word of God: That he was very deſirous his People ſhould have the knowledge of the truth; but then he was reſolved to puniſh without mercy, ſuch as ſhould preſume to prefer their private, before the eſtabliſhed, opinions. The Commiſſioners named by the King were approved of, and had orders to begin this examination without delay (3). Two days after the King created *Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex* (4).

Parliament. Hall. Herbert. *The King appoints Commiſſioners to examine the Doctrines of Religion.* Burnet. Strype.

Cromwell *created Earl of* Eſſex. *Knights of St.* John *ſuppreſſed.* Hall. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet.

During this Seſſion, the Parliament ſuppreſſed the order of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, who are now called Knights of *Malta*. Their dependence on the Pope and the Emperor was the cauſe or pretence of their ruin. There is no doubt, the deſire of injoying their ſpoils induced alſo the King to procure their ſuppreſſion. And indeed, the Parliament gave him all their Lands as they had given him thoſe of the Abbies. Though they had large Revenues both in *Ireland* and *England*, the King allowed however but three thouſand pounds for their maintenance after their ſuppreſſion (5). The affair being ended, the Parliament was prorogued to the 25th of *May*.

Cromwell's *diſgrace.* Burnet.

A few days after, there fell upon *Cromwell* a ſtorm, which probably had been gathering ſome time before. This Miniſter had many enemies, and enviers. He was Son of a Farrier or Lock-ſmith; and though his birth was ſo mean, he was raiſed to great honour, even to the having the precedence of all the Lords in the Kingdom, except the Royal Family. All the Nobility envied him. The whole popiſh Party alſo hated him mortally, deeming him the firſt adviſer of the ſuppreſſion of the Abbies, and one of the principal incouragers of the King to all the innovations he had made in Religion. Among theſe, who were very numerous, the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* were the Perſons that could do him moſt hurt, becauſe they had free acceſs to the King. Theſe two Courtiers perceiving the King's coldneſs for the new Queen, doubted not of his ill-will to *Cromwell*, for ingaging him in this Marriage, and reſolved to make uſe of this occaſion to ruin him. They hoped when he was removed, it would not be impoſſible to procure an agreement between the Emperor and the King, and then, a reconciliation with the Pope, which *Cromwell* had always oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power. Two other things greatly contributed alſo to the downfal of this Miniſter. The King had always employed him, in his correſpondence with the *Smalcaldick* League, and ſo long as he thought he wanted that League, he could not be without his aſſiſtance. But growing cold at length to the *German* Princes, as I before obſerved, and knowing, the dreaded Union between *Charles* V and *Francis* I, was only a Chimera, and conſequently he ſhould have no need of *Germany*, *Cromwell* became leſs neceſſary. The ſecond thing which helped to ruin *Cromwell* was, the King fell in love with *Catherine Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Niece. *Norfolk* finding his credit conſiderably increaſed, made uſe of it to procure the Miniſter's deſtruction. As ſoon as he had a fair opportunity, he repreſented to the King. "That there were many Male-contents in the Kingdom, and good Men could not be perſwaded that a Prince like him, would willingly give any occaſion of diſcontent to his People: That they inferred from thence, he muſt have been ill-ſerved by his Miniſter, who doubtleſs had abuſed his confidence: That as the People ſeemed diſſatisfied only with regard to Religion, it was natural to think, this happened through the Vice-gerent's fault, whoſe conduct perhaps it would be proper to examine: That he was accuſed by the publick of many things, which, if true, rendered him the moſt guilty of all others, conſidering the favours heaped on him by the King: That beſides, though no particular Fact could be proved upon him, it was however a very great crime to rob the King of the hearts of good part of his Subjects: That he took the freedom therefore to tell him, in order to quiet their minds, there was no better way than to ſacrifice to them ſo odious a Miniſter." Theſe inſinuations, which were doubtleſs ſeconded by *Gardiner* and other enemies of *Cromwell*, produced at length the deſired effect. The King, prejudiced againſt him, reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, without knowing yet of what he was guilty. But he found in his death a double advantage. Firſt, he diſcovered his reſentment againſt him on account of the Marriage, he had drawn him into. Secondly, he believed to make his People a ſacrifice capable of ſilencing all their murmurs (6). This reſolution being taken, and the Parliament meeting the 13th of *June*, the Duke of *Norfolk* accuſed *Cromwell* of High-Treaſon at the Council-Board, and received orders to arreſt him (7) and ſend him to the *Tower*. This illuſtrious Priſoner had the common fate of all diſgraced Miniſters. In a moment, he was forſaken by all but his friend *Cranmer*, who alone ventured to write to the King in his favour, though to no purpoſe.

1540. Burnet.

The Duke of Norfolk *ſtirs up the King againſt* Cromwell.

Cromwell's *death is decreed.*

He is accuſed of High-Treaſon, and ſent to the Tower. Hall. Hollingſh.

Cranmer *writes in his behalf.* Burnet.

Cromwell being in the *Tower*, the Articles of his impeachment were drawn, conſiſting in Generals, of which not ſo much as the leaſt proof was offered to be given. The King knew, if his proceſs was made according to the uſual forms, he might produce Warrants which would fully clear him, and which could not be diſclaimed. For this reaſon it was thought proper to bring his affair before

Herbert. *He is condemned without being heard.* Burnet. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. T. I. p. 278.

(1) He ſwore, when he firſt ſaw her, they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him. *Nicholas Wotton* Doctor of Law, employed in this Buſineſs, gives her this Character: She could both write and read in her own Language, and ſew very well; but for Muſick (in which the King delighted) it was not the manner of the Country to learn it. *Herbert*, p. 221.

(2) *Cromwell* asked him next Day how he liked her; the King told him, he liked her worſe than he did. For he ſuſpected ſhe was no Maid, and had ſuch ill Smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he ſhould ever conſummate the Marriage. This was ſad News to *Cromwell*, who knew how nice the King was in theſe Matters, and that ſo great a misfortune muſt needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief Promoter of it. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 273. *Stow*, p. 578.

(3) The King appointed the two Archbiſhops, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Rocheſter*, *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, and eleven Doctors, to draw up an Expoſition of thoſe Things that were neceſſary for the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man. He alſo appointed the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chichester*, *Worceſter*, and *Landaff*, to examine what Ceremonies ſhould be retained, and what was the true uſe of them. Theſe Committees were to ſit conſtantly *Mondays*, *Wedneſdays*, and *Fridays*, and on other Days in the Afternoon only. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 275.

(4) *April* 17. One would think by this that the King was not angry with him about his Marriage, ſince he conferred ſo great a Title on him. *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*, the laſt of his Family, venturing to ride a young Horſe, had the Misfortune to be thrown, and by the Fall to break his Neck. *Dugdale*, Vol. II. p. 130, 137.------On *November* 29, 1538. Sir *Thomas Audley*, Lord Chancellor, was created Lord *Audley* of *Walden*: And on *March* 9, 1539, Sir *William Poulet* was advanced to the Title of Lord St. *John*; on the 29th, Sir *John Ruſſel*, to that of Lord *Ruſſel*; and *William Parr*, to that of Lord *Parr*. *Idem*. p. 376, 378, 381.

(5) He allowed a thouſand Pounds Penſion to the Prior of St. *John*'s near *London*, and five hundred Marks a Year to the Prior in *Ireland*, (for there was but one Houſe in each Kingdom) with very conſiderable Allowances for the Knights, amounting in all to three thouſand Pounds a Year. The Houſe in *Ireland* was at *Kilmainan*. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 276. *Stow*, p. 579.

(6) See above, p. 790. Note (2).

(7) He was arreſted *July* 9. *Hall*, fol. 242.

1540. the Parliament, and cauſe a Bill of Attainder to be paſſed againſt him, without allowing him to make his defence (1). In this manner had he himſelf proceeded in the affair of the Marchioneſs of *Exeter* and the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, and therefore could not think it ſtrange the ſame thing ſhould be practiſed in his caſe. The Parliament, ever ſlaves to the King, deemed the impeachment juſt, though deſtitute of proof. So by an Act, declaring him attainted and convicted of Hereſy and Treaſon, he was condemned as a Traitor and Heretick, the Parliament leaving it to the King's choice to make him ſuffer the puniſhment of either of thoſe crimes. This, joined to ſome other foregoing, as well as following inſtances, ſhow to what height the King had carried his authority, ſince to diſcover his will was ſufficient to be immediately obeyed, even by thoſe whoſe buſineſs and intereſt it chiefly was to reduce his power within due bounds. The execution of the Sentence was deferred till after the Seſſion of the Parliament.

The King is determined to null his Marriage. Stow. Burnet. Herbert.

Henry was ſo tired of his Queen, that he could not bear the vexation to ſee himſelf ingaged for the reſt of his life in ſo diſagreeable a Marriage. He reſolved therefore to divorce her, let what would be the conſequence, eſpecially as the reaſons which induced him to marry her no longer ſubſiſted. He had loſt all hopes of making a League with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and his fears of the Emperor were vaniſhed, ſince he ſaw every thing tending to a rupture between him and *France*. He only wanted a pretence to demand a Divorce, and give ſome colour to the proceedings of the Clergy and Parliament, of whoſe concurrence he was ſure, however ſlight the pretence might be. He found one in a precontract between the Queen and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son. But this contract was ſo ſlight, that the conſequences were to be much preſſed, to make it ſerve for the foundation of diſſolving *Ann*'s Marriage with the King. The Duke of *Cleves* and the Duke of *Lorrain* had formerly, it ſeems, in a Treaty, agreed upon a Marriage between *Ann* of *Cleves* and the Prince of *Lorrain*, both minors. This agreement had never been confirmed by the Parties when of age. On the contrary, the Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Gueldres*, who acted as mediator in that Treaty, declared afterwards by an authentick Inſtrument, that this Article was deemed null. However, when *Henry*'s Marriage with *Ann* was concluded, this pre-engagement raiſed a difficulty. But the Ambaſſadors of *Saxony* and *Cleves* poſitively promiſed to clear that point, and put it out of all doubt as ſoon as the Princeſs ſhould arrive in *England*. *Ann* being come to *Greenwich*, the King, who liked her not, inſiſted upon this ſame point, in order to ſend her back. For that purpoſe, he called a Council, and ſending for the Ambaſſadors, the explanation, they had promiſed, was demanded. But they had brought nothing with them, looking upon this difficulty as little material. Mean while, the Council telling them that good proofs were expected and not bare words, they offered to produce within three months an authentick abſtract from the Chancery of *Cleves*, to prove what they had alledged. This alone would not have been capable of inducing the King to proceed, if, as has been ſaid, there had not been ſtrong reaſons to cauſe him to accompliſh his Marriage. So, the Council was of opinion, that if there were no other objection, the Marriage might be lawfully ſolemnized. The abſtract from the Chancery of *Cleves* being come, great exceptions were found to it, upon the ambiguity of the word *Eſpouſals*, becauſe it was not expreſſed whether they were Eſpouſals by the words of the preſent or of the future Tenſe. But as the King would not yet commence the affair of his Divorce, he cauſed the abſtract to be kept, in order to make uſe of it when there ſhould be occaſion. Upon this therefore he reſolved to found his Divorce.

Pretence of the Divorce. Burnet. Herbert.

The Parliament pray the King to examine the validity of his Marriage. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Herbert.

The Parliament, after a prorogation of ſome days, meeting again, *Henry* ſent the Queen to *Richmond*. A few days after, a motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, to preſent an Addreſs to the King, to deſire him to ſuffer his marriage to be tried. After what has been ſeen, it can't be imagined any Lord would be ſo hardy as to dare to make ſuch a motion, unleſs he was ſure of the King's approbation. So, the motion being aſſented to, the Lords deſired the concurrence of the Commons (2); after which, they went in a Body (3) to preſent their addreſs to the King. *Henry* proteſted to them, that he ſought only the Glory of God, the Good of his People, and the Declaration of Truth. Then he agreed that the affair ſhould be referred to the Clergy, who immediately appointed Commiſſioners to examine the Witneſſes (4). All that could be gathered from the King's own Depoſition, and thoſe of the Witneſſes, was, That there had been a Pre-contract between the Queen and the Prince of *Lorrain*, which was not ſufficiently cleared: That the King having eſpouſed the Queen againſt his Will, had not given an inward conſent to his Marriage, without which, it was affirmed, his promiſes could not be obligatory, a Man's act being only what is inward: That the King had never conſummated the Marriage: That the whole Nation had a great intereſt in the King's having more Iſſue, which they ſaw he could never have by the Queen.

1540.

The Matter is brought before the Convocation. Extraordinary reaſons alledged for the Divorce. Burnet. Stype's Mem. T. I. Coll. P. 306, 307, &c.

The King muſt have had a very ill opinion of the Convocation, the Parliament, and the Publick, to alledge ſuch extraordinary cauſes of his Divorce. The firſt had been diſcuſſed before the Celebration of the Marriage, and the Council was of opinion, it could be no juſt impediment. As to the ſecond, if that maxim took place, Contracts would be of no uſe, ſince one of the Parties might ſay, he had not given an inward conſent. This would be eſtabliſhing, without remedy, Inſincerity, Fraud and Perfidiouſneſs in the higheſt degree. As for the third, the King had doubtleſs forgot what he had alledged in the proceſs of his Divorce with *Catherine*. He then maintained, purſuant to his Clergy's opinion, that the Conſummation of *Arthur's* Marriage with *Catherine* was not neceſſary to render it valid, but that the bare conſent of the Parties made it compleat. The fourth was of no greater weight, ſince there was no neceſſity of nulling the Marriage, under colour that the King was not pleaſed to lie with the Queen. Beſides, he had now an Heir. In ſhort, his word muſt be taken, when he ſaid, he had not conſummated his Marriage; his word, who ſued for the Divorce, and who uſed this argument to obtain it. Mean while, the Clergy thought theſe Reaſons ſolid, and paſſed a Sentence of Divorce upon them, and the Parliament were ſo abject, as to proſtitute themſelves to the King's paſſion, and confirm the Sentence (5). There is no diſtinction to be made here, ſince neither in the Convocation, nor in the Parliament, was there one ſingle Vote againſt the Divorce; ſo much did every one dread to incur the King's diſpleaſure. This is a remarkable evidence of what I have often intimated, that in every thing tranſacted in *England* during the latter part of *Henry* VIII's Reign, the Parliament and Clergy ought to be conſidered only as the King's inſtruments to gratify his paſſions. To him is due the praiſe of whatever was good and uſeful, and he it is that ought to be blamed for whatever was amiſs. Mean while, the Parliament and Clergy are inexcuſable for not having endeavoured to ſupport the Cauſe of Juſtice and Truth, when they believed them to be oppreſſed.

Sentence of Divorce. Burnet.

Ann conſents to the Divorce. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Herbert.

The Queen was not much troubled at what had been done in her abſence, and even without her being examined. Probably, ſhe had entertained no great affection for a Spouſe, who had never given her any token of his love. However, though the King had thought it needleſs to ask her approbation, when he was meditating the Divorce, becauſe then the Clergy and Parliament only were concerned, whom he knew to be at his devotion, he demanded her conſent to what had been done, thinking no doubt the better to juſtify himſelf to the World. At the ſame time he offered by Letters-Patents to declare her his adopted Siſter, with a Penſion of four thouſand Pounds a year (6), and her choice either to live in *England*, or return home. She agreed to all without ſollicitation, and choſe to live in *England*, where ſhe hoped to paſs her time more agreeably than at *Cleves*, in her Brother's

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 710. Burnet.

(1) The Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, *Cranmer* being then abſent, on the 17th of *June*, and read the firſt time; and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third time, and ſent down to the Commons, where it ſtuck ten Days. And then a new Bill, conceived by the Commons, was brought up with a Proviſo annexed to it. They alſo ſent back the Lords Bill. It ſeems they rejected the Lords Bill, and yet ſent it up with their own, either in reſpect to the Lords, or that they left it to their Choice which of the two they would offer to the Royal Aſſent. Which was an unparliamentary Proceeding. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 277.

(2) The Lord Chancellor, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Durham*, were ſent to deſire their Concurrence. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 280.

(3) The whole Houſe of Peers, with twenty Commoners, on *July* 6. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 280.

(4) On the 7th of *July* it was brought before the Convocation, and the Caſe was opened by the Biſhop of *Winchester*, and a Committee appointed to conſider of it; and they deputed the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Winchester*, with *Thirleby*, and *Leighton* Dean of *York*, to examine Witneſſes that Day. *Burnet, ibid.*

(5) Sentence was given the 9th of *July*, which was ſigned by both Houſes of Convocation; and had the two Archbiſhops Seals put to it, of which whole Tryal the Record does yet remain, having eſcaped the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original Depoſitions are alſo extant. *Burnet* obſerves, this only can be ſaid for their Excuſe, that the King's Reaſons were as juſt and weighty as uſed to be admitted by the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce; and moſt of them being Canoniſts, and knowing how many Precedents there were to be found for ſuch Divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the Popes had formerly done. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 281.

(6) There is in *Rymer*, a Liſt of the ſeveral Manors and Eſtates, granted her by the King for Life; but it is no where ſaid, that they were four thouſand Pounds a Year. See Tom. 14. p. 710, *&c.* Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, it was only three thouſand Pounds a Year. See Tom. 1. p. 282.

1540. Court. Beſides, it is likely ſhe believed her Penſion would be more ſecure if ſhe remained in *England*, than if ſhe lived abroad. Every thing being thus ſettled, ſhe writ to the Duke her Brother, that ſhe approved of the Divorce, and deſired him to live in good underſtanding with the King (1).

An Act to moderate the pains of one of the ſix Articles. Burnet.

This grand affair being finiſhed, the Parliament paſſed an Act to moderate one of the ſix Articles in the bloody Statute. This Article, as the other five, made it death for the Prieſts to break their vow of Chaſtity; but by this laſt Act, the pains of death were turned to forfeiture of Goods.

Proofs of the ſlaviſh attachment of the Parliament.

All the reſt of this Reign will be only a continued ſeries of ſenſible proofs of the ſlaviſh Subjection the *Engliſh* Nation was reduced to. But, in this very Seſſion of Parliament, there are three, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

The Parliament confirms whatever the King ſhall pleaſe to enjoin in matters of Religion.

The Commiſſioners appointed by the King, purſuant to an Act of Parliament, to examine the Doctrines of Religion, having drawn a long Memorial, and ſet down certain Articles as undeniable and abſolutely neceſſary, it was moved in the Houſe of Lords, to paſs into a Law what theſe Commiſſioners had already done, and whatever they ſhould do for the future by order of the King. This motion being received, a Bill was brought in immediately, and [when paſſed] ſent down to the Commons, who agreeing to it, ſent it up again the next day. By this Statute it was enacted, That not only the Memorial drawn by the Commiſſioners, provided it were approved by the King, but likewiſe whatever the King ſhould enjoin for the future in matters of Religion, ſhould be believed and obeyed by all his Subjects. This was inveſting the King with the infallibility taken from the Pope. Greater Signs of Slavery can hardly be ſeen, ſince the Parliament gave the King Power over Conſcience, after having in a manner render'd him maſter of Life and Fortune. Moreover a Clauſe was inſerted in this Act, which under colour of limiting the King's Authority ſenſibly enlarged it, namely, *That nothing ſhould be done or determined by virtue of this Act, which was contrary to the Laws of the Realm.* Theſe contradictory Clauſes in the ſame Statute render'd the King Arbiter of the lives of his Subjects, ſince on the one hand, they were enjoined to ſubmit to the King's Will in matters of Religion, without knowing however what he would pleaſe to preſcribe, and on the other, were forbid to do any thing contrary to the Laws. Conſequently, in caſe the King commanded any thing contrary to the Law, they were liable to be proſecuted by virtue of this Statute, whether, againſt Law, they obeyed the King, or, in Obedience to the Law, refuſed to comply with his Will. The Acts paſſed in this Reign are full of ſuch Contradictions, which were not inſerted without deſign.

Law about Marriage in favour of the King.

The Parliament paſſed another Bill which carried no leſs marks of ſervitude. It was enacted, that a Marriage already conſummated ſhould not be annulled, on pretence of Pre-contract or any other impediment not mentioned in the Law of God. Without doubt the Parliament had, or perhaps feigned to have, forgot, that the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* was annulled by reaſon of a Pre-contract, and upon this ſame foundation, during this very Seſſion, they had approved the diſſolution of his Marriage with *Ann* of *Cleves*. It is true, the King declared, it was not conſummated. But *Catherine* of *Arragon* proteſted the ſame thing with reſpect to her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, and yet it was decided, that a Party concerned ſhould not be believed even upon Oath, when there were preſumptions to the contrary. Theſe were real contradictions, but not minded by the King. His aim was to legitimate the Princeſs *Elizabeth* by virtue of the former branch of the Act, and to remove, by the latter, the impediments in the Canon Law, to his intended Marriage with *Catherine Howard*, who was Couſin-German to *Ann Bullen* (2).

Intent of the Act.

Money granted to the King by the Clergy. Burnet. Strype.

Before the Parliament broke up, the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, aſſembled in Convocation, offered the King a Subſidy of four Shillings in the Pound, of all Eccleſiaſtical preferments, to be paid in two years, in acknowledgment (as they ſaid in their Addreſs) of his care to free the Church of *England* from the tyranny of the Pope. The King gladly accepted their preſent, which was readily confirmed by the Parliament. But this was not ſufficient for the King's occaſions. In a few days, he demanded alſo an aid of Money of the Commons. Though for ſome time the Parliament had been wont to ſubmit without examination to the King's pleaſure, this demand met with ſome ſort of oppoſition in the Lower-Houſe. And indeed, it could not but ſeem ſtrange, conſidering the King was in peace with all the World, and beſides, he could not be imagined to have already conſumed the Money procured by the ſuppreſſion of the Abbies. Some of the Commons repreſented, that if in time of Peace, and within the ſpace of one year, the King had ſpent ſuch immenſe Sums, there was nothing more to do but to give him all the Lands in the Kingdom, which too would not ſuffice for the expence of few years. But theſe Speeches had no great effect. It was anſwered by the King's Party, that he had laid out vaſt ſums in ſecuring the Coaſts (3), and that the keeping his Subjects in peace [and plenty] coſt him more than the moſt burthenſome War. Theſe reaſons, though very weak, paſſed for inconteſtable, and the Commons granted the King a Subſidy, as large as if he had been actually engaged in a dangerous War (4). This is a third proof of the Parliament's ſlavery. Mean while, the People could not conceive what was become of all the Money the King had lately received, and which ſhould have ſupplied his neceſſities for many years. 1540 Burnet.

The Parliament is diſſolved. A General Pardon, with abundance of exceptions. Burnet.

This Parliament, which had given the King ſo great teſtimonies of a boundleſs compliance, was diſſolved the 24th of *July*. But the King was pleaſed firſt to requite his Subjects with a free and general Pardon, as it was called, though the exceptions limited the benefit to few Perſons. All thoſe were excluded who had been condemned for denying the King's Supremacy, or for tranſgreſſing ſome one of the ſix Articles of the bloody Statute, and even thoſe who were only accuſed of theſe Crimes which were then unpardonable. The Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, Cardinal *Pole*'s Mother, and *Thomas Cromwell* were excepted by name.

Cromwell's Execution. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet.

As *Cromwell*'s execution had been deferred, he was in ſome hopes of obtaining his Pardon, and the more, as having writ to the King a very ſubmiſſive Letter, he was ſo moved with it, that he cauſed it to be thrice read. But the ſollicitations of the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, ſeconded by thoſe of *Catherine Howard*, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the Priſoner fruitleſs. The King ſigned a Warrant to cut off his head the 28th of *July* (5), about ſix weeks after his condemnation. As *Cromwell* left a Son of whom he was very fond, he would ſay nothing on the Scaffold that might do him a prejudice. He contented himſelf with ſhowing, that he willingly ſubmitted to the ſentence the Law had paſſed on him. He prayed for the King's proſperity, and declared he died in the profeſſion of the Catholick Religion (6). Theſe laſt words were variouſly interpreted, according to the paſſions and prejudices of the two Parties in matters of Religion. Though it was certain, *Cromwell* had lived in the opinions of the *Lutherans*, the contrary Party maintained, he recanted at his death, and that by the Catholick Religion was to be underſtood the old Religion, profeſſed in the Kingdom before all the Innovations. The others pretended, theſe words ought to be taken in a more general ſenſe, and at moſt to ſignify only the Religion which was then eſtabliſhed. However this be, the care *Cromwell* took when he came to die, to ſay nothing that might offend the King, turned to his Son *Gregory*'s advantage, who was this year created a Peer of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Cromwell*. The Office of Vicegerent enjoyed by the Father, died with him, no one deſiring a Poſt ſo obnoxious to envy, and ſo fatal to the firſt Poſſeſſor. Beſides, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who were then in great credit, took care not to ſollicite the King to fill a place, which would engage the Perſon who held it, to uſe all his intereſt to hinder a reconciliation with *Rome* (7). Hall. fol. 242. Stow. p. 580. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 708. Dec. 18.

Some

(1) The 10th of *July*, *Cranmer* reported to the Houſe of Lords, the Convocation's Sentence, who ſent him down to the Commons to report the ſame. On the 11th, the King ſent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to the Queen, to let her know what was done, and to make her the Offers above mentioned. Next Day, being the 12th of *July*, the Bill was brought into the Houſe for annulling the Marriage, which eaſily went through both Houſes. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 282.

(2) By other Statutes it was enacted, 1. That Phyſicians in *London* ſhall be diſcharged from Watch and Ward, and not ſerve the Office of Conſtable, or any other. That the Preſident, and four Fellows of the College, ſhall ſearch and examine the Wares and Drugs of the Apothecaries; and that they may practice Surgery. 2. By another, the Barbers and Surgeons were made one Company. 3. And by another it was ordered, That a Court of First-Fruits and Tenths, (conſiſting of a Chancellor, Treaſurer, two Auditors, two Clerks, a Meſſenger, and an Uſher,) ſhould be erected. 4. As alſo a Court of Wards. This laſt was aboliſhed 12 *Car.* 2. See *Statut.* 32 *Hen.* VIII.

(3) In building Havens, Bulwarks, and other Forts for the defence of the Coaſts. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 284.

(4) A Tenth, being two Shillings in the Pound of Lands, and twelve Pence of Goods; and four Fifteenths. *Hall*, fol. 241. *Stow*, p. 579.

(5) Which it ſeems was done very barbarouſly. *Hall*, fol. 242.

(6) His Words were, "I pray you that be here to bear me Record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, no nor "doubting in any Sacrament of the Church." *Hall*, fol. 242.

(7) *Thomas Cromwell* from being but a Blackſmith's Son at *Putney*, found means to travel into foreign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to ſee the Wars, being a Soldier in the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army at the ſacking of *Rome*. Whence returning, he was received into Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Service;

1540. *Several Perſons of both Religions executed.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Some days after *Cromwell*'s death (1), was ſeen at *London* a ſight, which very much perplexed both Parties. This was a company of People condemned and executed all together; ſome for denying the King's Supremacy; others for maintaining the *Lutheran* Doctrines. Among theſe laſt were *Robert Barnes* [Doctor of Divinity] *Thomas Gerard* [Parſon of *Hony-Lane*,] and *William Jerom* [Vicar of *Stepney*]. Theſe three being impeached before the Parliament, were condemned to be burned upon a general accuſation of ſowing Hereſy, perverting the Scriptures, and maintaining errors deſtructive of Religion, without the Act's mentioning any particulars, and in all appearance, without the Parliament's examing the proofs. By the ſame Act were condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, four Men, one of whom was accuſed of maintaining the papal authority; another for holding correſpondence with Cardinal *Pole*; a third for deſigning to ſurprize *Calais*; a fourth for harbouring a Rebel (2); and laſtly, three more convicted of denying the King's Supremacy (3) All theſe were burned or hanged at the ſame time and place. It is to be preſumed, they were not admitted to ſpeak for themſelves, ſince *Barnes*, after a declaration of his Faith to the People, asked the Sheriff whether he knew why he was to ſuffer. The Sheriff anſwering, he did not, he turned to the Stake, and ſaid, the puniſhment he was going to ſuffer, plainly taught him the crime of which he was ſuppoſed to be guilty. He prayed however for the King, and even for *Gardiner* whom he ſuſpected to be the author of his death. The Biſhop endeavoured to clear himſelf by a printed Apology; but had the misfortune not to be believed (4).

Hall.

Catherine Howard *declared Queen* Hall. Stow. Herbert.

On the 8th of *Auguſt*, *Catherine Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Niece (5) was declared Queen, the King having privately married her ſome time before. She was ſo devoted to the Duke her Uncle, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that ſhe was entirely guided by their Counſels. As ſhe had a great aſcendent over the King, very likely ſhe would have induced him to give himſelf over to the guidance of theſe two Miniſters, who were preparing to procure by her means great alterations in Religion, had not her fall, which will be preſently related, confounded their projects. However, they improved as much as poſſible ſo favorable a juncture, to ſtrike at the Reformation and the Reformed. Certainly *Cranmer* was then in a very dangerous ſituation. He could not doubt that the authors of *Cromwell*'s ruin, deſired his deſtruction with the ſame ardor, nay, were privately working it. Complaints of him were already heard in ſeveral places, and even a Member of Parliament (6) ſaid openly in the Houſe, he was the protector and head of the Innovators. Theſe things would have doubtleſs taken effect, had his enemies had a little more time to prepare all their Plots. But as they knew the King had a real eſteem for him, they intended to proceed by degrees, plainly perceiving, they could not without danger to themſelves, preſs his ruin ſo directly as *Cromwell*'s. Beſides, there was but one Article which gave them any advantage upon *Cranmer*; namely, Religion, in which too he had been very cautious, well knowing that the way to advance the Reformation under ſuch a Prince as *Henry*, was not directly to oppoſe his Will.

The Friends of the old Religion triumph at it.

Deſigns againſt Cranmer. Burnet.

The change produced at Court by *Cromwell*'s diſgrace, and the new Queen's advancement, was quickly perceived. The Commiſſioners appointed to draw up a Declaration of the Chriſtian Doctrine, having preſented their Work to the King, he ordered it to be immediately publiſhed (7). Though this Declaration corrected ſundry abuſes, the popiſh Party had ſo prevailed, that inſtead of promoting, it ſenſibly put back, the Reformation, as it is eaſy to ſee by the Abſtract Doctor *Burnet* gives of this Book in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England*. However, as ſeveral principles were laid down which might be of great uſe in a more favorable juncture, the Reformers were glad, in hopes theſe principles would ſerve one day to deſtroy the errors advanced in the Declaration. On the other hand, the popiſh Party thought they had gained much, becauſe they ſaw Doctrines laid down, to which probably the Reformers would never conſent, and hoped this oppoſition would draw the King's indignation upon their whole Party. As for themſelves, having always had an abſolute compliance for the King, they intended to purſue the ſame courſe, in order to put him entirely into the diſpoſition they deſired. Other Commiſſioners, who were ordered to reform the *Miſſals*, made ſo ſlight alterations, that excepting a few razures of thoſe Collects, in which the Pope was prayed for (8), there was nothing changed, nor was it neceſſary to re-print the Maſs-Books. Thus by the credit of the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, ſupported by the new Queen, Archſhop *Cranmer*, and thoſe of his Party, ſaw a ſtorm approaching, which probably would overwhelm them all. Perhaps it was very fortunate for them, that the King was diverted ſome time by other affairs, from his attention to what concerned Religion.

1540. *Expoſition of the Chriſtian Doctrine, which every one was obliged to receive. It is very diſadvantageous to the Reformation.* Burnet. T. I. p. 286, &c.

Reformation of the Miſſals very inconſiderable. Burnet.

The Emperor breaks his word with Francis. Belly. Mezerai.

The Emperor's paſſage through *France* ſeemed at firſt to create a ſincere reconciliation between him and *Francis* I. During his ſtay at *Paris*, he poſitively promiſed to give the Duchy of *Milan* to the Duke *Orleans*. But when *Francis* preſſed him to ſign an inſtrument of inveſtiture, he anſwered, ſuch an Act would be looked upon as extorted, if dated in *France*, and that it was more honorable for him and the King too, that it ſhould be ſigned in ſome Town of *Flanders*. Afterwards, when he was out of *France*, he found ſome freſh excuſe not to perform his promiſe. Mean while, he ſubdued the *Gantois*, and puniſhed them ſeverely for the trouble they had given him of a journey to *Flanders*. After that, when *Francis* claimed his promiſe, he clogged it with ſuch reſtrictions, that it was eaſy to perceive he had no mind to part with a Country, by which *Spain* had a Communication with his other Dominions in *Italy* and *Germany*. *Francis* vexed to be thus deceived, turned out of favour Chancellor *Poyet*, and Conſtable *Montmorency*, who had adviſed him to take the Emperor's word.

Beginning of a quarrel between Francis and Henry. Hall. Herbert.

About the end of the year 1540, there were ſome beginnings of a quarrel between *Francis* and *Henry*, which ended at length in a War. *Francis* ordered a Fortreſs to be built at *Ardres*, and a Bridge to be made over to the *Engliſh* Pale. But the Governour of *Calais* not ſuffering this incroachment, ſent a Detachment of his Garriſon and beat down the Bridge. The *French* re-built it, and the *Engliſh* demoliſhed it a ſecond time. Whereupon the King of *France* ordering Marſhal *de Biez* to raiſe

vice; and after his Fall, the King voluntarily, (for his Fidelity to his old Maſter) took him for his Servant. He obtained ſucceſſively the Offices and Dignities of Privy Counſellor, Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe, Clerk of the Hanaper, Principal Secretary of State, Juſtice of the Foreſts, Maſter of the Rolls, Lord Privy-Seal, Baron, the King's Vicegerent in Spirituals, Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Eſſex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, &c. *Herbert*, p. 225. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 370. *Strype's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 363. As his Extraction was mean, his Education was low; all the Learning he had, was, that he had got the *New Teſtament* in *Latin* by Heart. His Miniſtry was in a conſtant courſe of Flattery and Submiſſion, but by that he did great Things that amaze one, who has conſidered them well. The ſetting up the King's Supremacy, and the rooting out the Monaſtick State in *England*, conſidering the Wealth, Numbers and Zeal of the Monks, were bold Undertakings, and executed with great Method. But in the end, an unfortunate Marriage, to which he adviſed the King, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to deſtroy what himſelf had brought about, was no doubt, backward in the Deſign of breaking it when the King had told him of it. And then, upon no other viſible Ground, but becauſe *Ann* of *Cleves* grew more obliging to the King than ſhe was formerly, the King ſuſpected that *Cromwell* had betrayed his Secret, and engaged her to a ſofter Deportment, on deſign to prevent the Divorce, and did upon that diſgrace and deſtroy him. He carried his Greatneſs with wonderful Temper and Moderation, and was thankful to mean Perſons of his old Acquaintance. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 284. *Stow.* p. 580. *Hollingſh.* p. 952.

(1) *July* 30. *Hall*, fol. 243.

(2) Theſe four were, *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, *Edmund Brinholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, who were attainted for aſſiſting *Reginald Pool*, adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*, denying the King's Supremacy, and deſigning to ſurprize the Town of *Calais*. *Derby Gunnings*, was alſo attainted for aſſiſting *Fitz Gerald* a Traitor in *Ireland*. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 297.

(3) *Thomas Abell*, *Richard Fetherſton*, and *Edward Powell*. *Hall*, fol. 243. *Stow*, p. 581.

(4) At the ſame time was attainted and executed the Lord *Hungerford*. His Crimes were, keeping a Heretical Chaplain, applying to a Conjurer to know how long the King was to live, and the practiſing Beaſtiality. *Herbert*, p. 225. *Hall*, fol. 243.

(5) She was Daughter of *Edmund Howard* (third Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Son of *John* firſt Duke of *Norfolk*) by *Joyce* Daughter of Sir *Richard Culpeper* of *Hollingburn* in *Kent*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 272.

(6) Sir *John Goſtwick* Knight of the Shire for *Bedfordſhire*. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 285.

(7) It was publiſhed with a Preface written by thoſe who had been employed in it. Firſt, the true Nature of Faith is ſtated. After this, there followed an Explanation of the Apoſtles Creed, with practical Inferences. From that they proceeded to examine the ſeven Sacraments. Then followed an Explanation of the Ten Commandments, which contains many good Rules of Morality. After that, an Explanation of the Lord's-Prayer was added. Then followed an Expoſition of the Angel's Salutation of the bleſſed Virgin, and the *Ave-Maria* explained. The next Article is about Free-Will, which they ſay muſt be in Man. After this they handled Juſtification. Next Good-Works are explained, which are ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation. The Method they followed was this, (as appears in ſome authentick Writings,) Firſt, the whole Buſineſs they were to conſider was divided into ſo many Heads or Queries, and theſe were given to ſo many Biſhops and Divines, and at a prefixed time every one brought in his Opinion in Writing upon all the Queries. When their Anſwers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the Particulars, in which they agreed or diſagreed; which the one did in *Latin*, the other in *Engliſh*. As this was the way that was uſed concerning the ſeven Sacraments, (as may be ſeen Collect. N. 21. Vol. I. of *Burnet*'s Reformation,) ſo 'tis reaſonable to believe they proceeded with the ſame Maturity in the reſt of their Deliberations, though the Papers are loſt. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p, 286, *&c.*

(8) And of *Thomas Becket*'s Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whoſe Days were by the King's Injunctions no more to be obſerved. So the old Books ſerved ſtill. But in Queen *Mary*'s time, Care was taken that Poſterity ſhould not know how much was daſhed out or changed. For as all the Pariſhes were required to furniſh themſelves with new complete Books of the Offices, ſo the daſhed Books were every where brought in and deſtroyed. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 294.

1540. Troops in *Picardy*, *Henry* re-inforced the Garriſon of *Calais* (1), and repaired the Fortifications. Mean while the two Kings willing to avoid a rupture upon ſo ſlight an occaſion, agreed to ſend Commiſſioners (2) upon the ſpot, with powers to adjuſt the difference. But this conference producing no good effect, each provided for his defence in caſe of an attack.

The Order of the Jeſuits. It was this year that the famous Jeſuitical Order was founded by a Bull of *Paul* III, dated the twenty ſeventh of *September* (3).

1541. *Henry fears nothing from the Emperor and Pope.* The uneaſineſs the Emperor had given *Henry* for ſome time, was now almoſt vaniſhed, ſince *Francis* had been diſappointed in the affair of *Milan*. *Henry* knew ſufficiently that Prince's temper and character, to foreſee without much difficulty, that he would ſoon break with the Emperor. A War between theſe two Monarchs could not but be advantagious to *Henry*. It would of courſe procure him quiet, and enable him to preſerve an equality of power between them, which was the firmeſt foundation of his own and his Kingdom's ſecurity. So fearing nothing from the Pope or the Emperor, or the King of *France*, or his own Subjects, whoſe attempts muſt be in vain without a foreign aid, he confined himſelf wholly to his domeſtick affairs. He had chiefly two things in view. The firſt was, to preſerve and even enlarge the authority he had acquired; the ſecond, to take care that no alterations ſhould be made in Religion, but ſuch as he himſelf judged reaſonable. Theſe were the two affairs which wholly employed him. As he was poſitively bent upon theſe two points, and the Parliament durſt not oppoſe his Will, it may be eaſily judged, that none of his Miniſters had the courage to contradict him in any thing. So, it was himſelf alone that ordered every thing according to his fancy, his Council only approving his motions. However, there were in the Council, as well as in the Kingdom, two oppoſite Parties with reſpect to Religion. But every one had always his eyes upon the King, to try to diſcover his thoughts, for fear of combating his opinion.

He is abſolute in his Kingdom.

Cranmer's Character. Burnet. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was at the head of the Party who wiſhed for a greater Reformation. He was ſtill very much eſteemed by the King, eſpecially on account of his integrity. But ſincerity, which he profeſſed, rendered him unfit for political affairs, in a Court where inſtead of hearkening to Reaſon, Juſtice, and Equity, the King's inclination only was to be conſidered.

Audley's. Chancellor *Audley* was a Perſon of good ſenſe. He ſerved the Reformers when he could without danger. But he was too much a Courtier to inſiſt upon what he judged reaſonable, if the King was againſt it.

The Duke of Norfolk's. The Duke of *Norfolk* was as eminent for his merit as for his birth. He was reckoned a good General, but was ſtill a better Courtier. Ever ſubmiſſive to the King's Will, he outwardly approved whatever he was pleaſed to command him. But in private, he grieved at all the late innovations in Religion, and could not endure either the Reformation or the Reformed. He would have been glad to ſee the King reconciled to the Pope; but the ſmall hopes of their reconciliation made him very cautious how he offended ſo unforgiving a Maſter. Nevertheleſs, as the King was not always in the ſame diſpoſition, the Duke found frequent occaſion to ſerve his Party, eſpecially in the puniſhment of thoſe who diſliked the ſix Articles, and were ſo hardy as publickly to ſhew it. In a word, he was as head of the favourers of the Pope, and the old Religion. But he carefully concealed from the King his inclination for the former; and as for the latter, he ſhewed his Zeal only in ſupporting what the King had retained.

Gardiner's. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was in the ſame ſentiments, and behaved in the ſame manner. But he was very far from being ſo much eſteemed by the King, who made uſe of him however becauſe he was pliant and dextrous, and had an extenſive knowledge of foreign affairs. As this knowledge rendered him of greater inſight than the reſt of the Miniſters, he ſometimes ingaged the King in proceedings, the conſequences whereof might be advantagious to his Party, and of which the King himſelf did not always know the motive. By a blind ſubmiſſion to the King's Will, he kept himſelf in ſome degree of favor, being convinced himſelf, and having alſo convinced his friends, that this compliance was the only means to procure a revocation of what had been done againſt the Pope. 1541.

Bonner's. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, was alſo one of the heads of the ſame Party, but however always ready to ſacrifice every thing to his fortune. He was naturally bold, paſſionate, and exceſſively cruel, as he plainly ſhewed upon many occaſions. As he was of very little merit, he ſupported himſelf by making Court to thoſe who were in favour, and by taking the King's Will for the rule of his actions.

The Queen's. Queen *Catherine* blindly followed the directions of the Duke of *Norfolk* her Uncle, and uſed what power ſhe had over the King, to ſupport the credit of the enemies of the Reformation.

Such was the ſituation of the Court, when the King, freed from his foreign affairs, was wholly employed in his domeſtick concerns. The Kingdom, however, was in profound tranquillity, becauſe the terror with which People were ſeized, ſilenced all contradiction. In *December* the laſt year, he began the foundation of the new Biſhopricks, by converting the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* into a Biſhop's See (4). In this year 1541 he founded three more, *Cheſter* (5), *Gloceſter* (6), and *Peterborough* (7), and the next year, *Oxford* (8), and *Briſtol* (9). Theſe foundations, and ſome others of little conſequence, were the only charitable uſes to which he applied the immenſe riches acquired by the ſuppreſſion of the Abbies (10). His Courtiers magnified theſe pious Acts, whilſt others took notice of the little proportion between ſeven or eight thouſand pounds a year, employed in theſe uſes, and what was acquired by the ruin of near ſeven hundred Religious Houſes.

Foundation of ſix new Biſhopricks. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 731, 748, 754. Burnet.

The King declares Hereticks all thoſe who reject the Expoſition of Faith. Herbert. Burnet. Mean while, *Henry* had a mind to ſhew his zeal for Religion, as if his ſole aim was to procure the eternal Salvation of his People. The Book of the Expoſition of Chriſtian Faith being printed, he prefixed an Ordinance, declaring all thoſe to be Hereticks, who believed more or leſs than was contained in that Book (11). However, as it was not poſſible that all ſhould conform to it, and it does not appear, any Perſon ſuffered upon that account in the courſe of this year, it is likely the King had intimated, that he deſired not his ordinance to be rigorouſly executed.

Francis prepares to make War upon the Emperor. P. Daniel. Whilſt *Henry* was congratulating himſelf upon triumphing over the Pope, and enjoying a tranquillity which the Court of *Rome* had in vain attempted to diſturb, the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon what paſſed between the Emperor and the King of *France*, and upon the preparations in *Turkey*. The War between the Emperor and *Francis* was going to be renewed, but very unſeaſonably for the Emperor, when *Soliman* was preparing to invade *Hungary*, on occaſion of the death of *John de Zapol*, Competitor of the King of the *Romans*. Theſe two Princes, after long contending for the Crown of *Hungary*, being at laſt tired of War, were agreed that *Zapol* ſhould hold, during his Life, what he poſſeſſed, with the title of King, but after his death the Crown ſhould deſcend to *Ferdinand*. *Zapol* dying, and leaving a Son called *Stephen*, under the Guardianſhip of his Mother, *Ferdinand* expected that the Treaty ſhould be executed,

(1) He ſent fifteen hundred Workmen, to wall and fortify *Guiſnes*, and five hundred Soldiers to defend them. And alſo *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, *William Fitz-Williams*, Earl of *Southampton*, and *John* Lord *Ruſſel*, were ſent over with two hundred Horſe. *Hall*, fol. 243.

(2) The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Edward Karne*. *Herbert*, p. 226.

(3) The Founder of this Order was *Inigo* (or *Ignatius*) *de Loyala* of *Guipuſcoa* in *Spain*. He was born 1492, the very Year the *Indies* were diſcovered, and *Granada* taken by *Ferdinand*. He lived obſcurely till he came to twenty nine Years of Age, and then turned Soldier in the Wars of *Navarre* 1521, where being hurt in the Knee, the Pain thereof ſeems to have wakened Devotion in him to a religious Life; for as ſoon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of *Montſerrat*, and offered his Sword and Dagger; then giving away his Cloaths to a poor Man, took upon him a Shirt and miſerable Habit, which he girt about him with a Rope of Ruſhes; and in theſe Arms (as *Sandoval* terms them) he watched one whole Night before our Lady, and ſo went to an Hoſpital three Leagues off, and there attended ſick Perſons, whence he travelled to the *Holy Land*; being returned, and in his thirty third Year, he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two Years he attained. Then he went to the Univerſity of *Alcala*, and ſo to *Salamanca*, where being oppoſed and perſecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, and there ſtudied till he had found divers others, with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. Thus about 1536 going to *Venice*, he ſtaid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, where he obtained of *Paul* III, the Foundation of the *Jeſuites Order* 1540. *Herbert*, p. 226.

(4) With a Deanery and twelve Prebends, with the Officers for a Cathedral and a Choir. Of which *Thomas Thirleby* was the only Biſhop. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 705.

(5) *Auguſt* the fourth, out of the Monaſtery of St. *Werburgh* at *Cheſter*, with a Deanery and ſix Prebends. *Rymer*, *Ibid.* p. 718.

(6) *September* the third, out of the Monaſtery of St. *Peter's* at *Glouceſter*, with a Deanery and ſix Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 724.

(7) The fourth of the ſame Month, out of *Peterborough* Abbey, with a Deanery and ſix Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 731.

(8) *September* the firſt, out of the Abbey of *Oſney* at *Oxford*, with a Deanery and ſix Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 754.

(9) *June* the fourth, out of St. *Auſtin's* at *Briſtol*, with a Deanery and ſix Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 748.

(10) The Priories at moſt Cathedrals, as *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Durham*, *Worceſter*, *Carliſle*, *Rocheſter*, and *Ely*, were alſo converted into Deaneries, and Colleges of Prebends——As all this came far ſhort of what the King had once intended, ſo *Cranmer's* deſign was quite diſappointed. For he had projected, that in every Cathedral there ſhould be Proviſion made for Readers of Divinity, and of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and a great number of Students to be both exerciſed in the daily Worſhip of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion; whom the Biſhop might tranſplant out of this Nurſery, into all the Parts of his Dioceſe. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 300, 301.

(11) He added a ſort of a Preface about two Years after the Book was firſt publiſhed. *Idem.* p. 293.

1541. and would have taken poſſeſſion of all *Hungary*. But young *Zapol*'s Mother implored *Soliman*'s protection, which he readily granted, intending to improve this diſſention, to become maſter of *Hungary*, and penetrate afterwards into the imperial territories.

The Emperor's Artifice to divert Soliman *from invading* Hungary.

The Emperor ſeeing *Hungary* threatened with a powerful Invaſion, which might be of fatal conſequence to *Germany*, uſed all his art to pacify the Proteſtants, without giving them however any ſatisfaction, endeavouring only to amuſe them, and obtain ſome aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*. On the other hand, he laboured to perſuade *Soliman*, that he was in perfect union with the Kings of *France* and *England*, that the dread of a general League of the Chriſtian Princes might divert him from his deſign. Wherefore, he tried to amuſe *Francis*, with putting him in hopes, he would give the *Low-Countries* to his ſecond Son, and erect them into a Kingdom. At the ſame time, he gave the *Ottoman* Port to underſtand, this affair was in a manner concluded. *Francis* fell not into the ſnare. But hearing from all parts, that the Emperor's Miniſters every where gave out, the Negotiation was upon the point of concluſion, he reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Venice*, and another to *Conſtantinople*, to undeceive the Emperor of the *Turks* and the Senate of *Venice*. He choſe, for theſe Embaſſies, *Rincon* and *Fregoſa*, who ſet out in order to paſs through *Italy*. But the Marquiſs of *Guaſto*, Governor of *Milan*, receiving advice that they were to imbark at *Turin*, and go down the *Po*, cauſed them to be ſo narrowly watched, that they were murdered in the Boat. *Francis* made great noiſe about this aſſaſſination; but the Emperor gave him no ſatisfaction. This was a freſh occaſion of the rupture between the two Monarchs.

Francis to break the Emperor's Meaſures, ſends Ambaſſadors to Turkey *and* Venice. Mezerai. Bellay.

The Ambaſſadors are murdered on the Po.

The Interim granted in Germany *to the Proteſtants.* Sleidan.

About the ſame time, the Emperor called a Diet at *Ratisbon* for the fifth of *April*. As it was then no proper juncture to diſturb the Proteſtants, the Diet reſolved at laſt to grant them a ſecond delay, which was called the Interim, that they might continue quiet, and more readily ingage to furniſh Supplies againſt the *Turks*.

Battle of Buda *gained by the* Turks.

In the mean time, the King of the *Romans* ordered *Buda*, Capital of *Hungary*, to be inveſted, in hopes of taking it before the *Turks* ſhould arrive. But the Siege proving more difficult than was expected, the *Turks* had time to relieve it, and give the *Germans* battle, over whom they obtained a ſignal Victory. Shortly after, *Soliman* coming to *Hungary*, made his entry into *Buaa*, and under colour of taking young *Zapol* under his protection, became maſter of the City, and great part of the Kingdom.

The Emperor's Expedition into Africa. Hiſt. d'Eſp. Mezerai.

Mean while, the Emperor having ended the Diet, inſtead of marching into *Hungary* to aſſiſt the King his Brother, took the rout of *Italy*, and embarking at *Portovenere* with an Army of twenty thouſand men, ſailed for *Africa*, to make war upon *Barbaroſſa*, who had made himſelf King of *Algiers*. This proceeding gave occaſion for many Speculations. It was ridiculed at the *French* Court, as if, inſtead of fighting the *Turks*, he had ſought a pretence to fly from them. But as the *African* expedition was projected the beginning of the year, and the Troops were now on the Coaſt of *Italy*, it is certain he would not have had time to relieve the King of the *Romans*, if he had attempted to march his Army into *Hungary*. However this be, he landed his Army near *Algiers* the twenty ſecond of *October*. But two days after, a ſudden and violent ſtorm deſtroyed part of his Fleet. This accident obliged him to reimbark the beginning of *November*, after having loſt good part of his Troops and Ships. It is pretended, *Francis* out of mere Generoſity would not proclaim War againſt him, whilſt employed in this expedition. It is however difficult to believe that *Francis*, who actually held intelligence with *Soliman*, and afterwards ſcrupled not to make uſe of the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, ſhould ſtick at interrupting the Emperor's deſigns againſt the Infidels of *Africa*.

It miſcarries.

Mezerai.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Henry ſaw with pleaſure that the King of *France* and the *Turks* were going to find the Emperor employment, which would hinder him from thinking of *England*. But though he was eaſy in that reſpect, he was however in ſome pain with regard to the King of *Scotland*, who, though his Nephew, had no reaſon to love him, and could eaſily aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Male-contents, who were very numerous in the northern Counties. *Henry* was afraid alſo, that a religious zeal would carry that Prince to undertake ſomething againſt him, becauſe he began to ſuffer himſelf to be governed by the Churchmen, who under colour of perſuading him to deſtroy Hereſy, ſtrongly attached him to the Pope's intereſt. The Reformed had now been burned many years in *Scotland*. But theſe puniſhments cauſed there the ſame effects as elſewhere, that is, they increaſed, inſtead of leſſening the number, and yet the Clergy were ſtill obſtinately bent to root them out with fire and ſword. *James* V. was a Prince much addicted to his pleaſures, and very greedy of Money. Beſides, he had ſeveral natural Sons whom he could not inrich as he wiſhed, becauſe he had exhauſted his Treaſure in needleſs expences. There were two Parties in his Court, whereof the one favoured the King of *England* and the Reformed, and the other, chiefly conſiſting of Churchmen, was entirely againſt *Henry*, and continually ſtrove to induce the King to extirpate all who ſwerved from the old Religion. The former endeavoured to perſuade him to imitate the King of *England* his Uncle, and ſecure a large Revenue by the ſuppreſſion of the Abbies. The latter repreſented to him, that by ſtrictly executing the Laws againſt Hereticks, he would raiſe by forfeited Eſtates above a hundred thouſand Crowns a year. After ſome conſideration, *James* cloſed with the laſt advice, and ſuffering the Clergy to take their own courſe, there followed in *Scotland* a violent perſecution (1). 1541. Burnet.

Henry reſumes his Deſign of gaining the King of Scotland. Burnet. Buchanan.

Henry perceiving the King his Nephew to be thus governed by Perſons wholly addicted to the Court of *Rome*, feared, he would at laſt be led to unite againſt him with the Pope and Emperor. This apprehenſion ſeemed to him the more juſt, as he could hardly rely any longer on the aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, who was wont to direct the Court of *Scotland*, becauſe that ancient Ally was grown extremely cold to him. Whereupon, he reſolved to uſe all his art to gain the King his Nephew, and perſuade him to break, like him, with the Pope. To this end he ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire an Interview at *York*, not queſtioning, that, in an amicable conference, he ſhould have eloquence enough to perſuade him to what he pleaſed. *James* accepted the Overture, and promiſed to come to *York*, where *Henry* went and expected him. But the *Scotch* Eccleſiaſticks and their whole Party ſo beſtirred themſelves, to prevent this Interview, the conſequence whereof they perceived, that they ſucceeded at laſt, and prevailed with the King to find ſome pretence to be excuſed.

James agrees to it. Hall. Herbert.

Henry goes and ſtays for him at York. Proclamation in favour of all the People. Hall. Stow. Burnet. T. I. p. 311. Herbert.

Mean while, *Henry* who knew nothing of this change, impatiently waited at *York* for the day appointed for the Interview. In this interval, he iſſued out a Proclamation, That all who had been aggrieved for want of juſtice, by any of his former Miniſters, ſhould come to him and his Council for redreſs. His aim was to throw all paſt miſcarriages on *Cromwell*, and put his Subjects, particularly the northern People, in hopes of better times (2). But whilſt he was preparing for the King of *Scotland*'s reception, he received Letters of excuſe, that he could not have the honour of waiting upon him. He was extremely provoked, and this refuſal, which he deemed an affront, ſoon after cauſed a breach between the two Kingdoms. But his vexation at this affair was not comparable to the unexpected affliction he met with upon his return to *London*.

The Queen's Lewdneſs is diſcovered. Hall. Hollingſh. Burnet.

Herbert. p. 228.

Since his laſt marriage, he daily bleſſed God for the happineſs he enjoyed with his Queen, and upon all occaſions publickly teſtified his extreme ſatisfaction: Nay, during his journey to *York*, deſiring to give God thanks in a manner ſuitable to the ſentiments of his Heart, he ordered his Confeſſor (3) to draw up a particular Thankſgiving, and prayed him to join with him in the ſame. All this ſhewed his eſteem and tender affection for the Queen, who ſeemed to have the ſame fondneſs for him. But when he came to *London*, he heard things which it would have been well for him never to have known. Whilſt he was at *York*, one *John Laſſels* came to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who remained at *London*, and told him, that his Siſter, an old Servant of the Ducheſs Dowager of *Norfolk* [under whoſe care the Queen was brought up,] ſaid to him, that the Queen had been very lewd before and ſince her Marriage, and that two Men, among others, namely, *Dirham* and *Mannock* (4), had often enjoyed her. *Cranmer* communicating the ſecret to the Lord Chancellor

(1) *George Buchanan*, the famous *Scotch* Hiſtorian, was in danger at this time, and would have died with the reſt, had not he eſcaped out of Priſon. See his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, l. 14. The ſharpneſs of his Poems againſt the Clergy was the cauſe of his Confinement. He went beyond Sea, and lived twenty Years in Exile, and was forced to teach School moſt part of the time. In his Writings there appears not only all the Beauty and Graces of the *Latin* Tongue, but a great Vigour of Mind and Quickneſs of Thought. His Stile is ſo natural and nervous, and his Reflections on things are ſo ſolid, (beſides his immortal Poems) that he is juſtly ſtiled the beſt of our modern Authors. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 211.

(2) In *April* this Year, there broke out a new Inſurrection in *Yorkſhire*, which was ſoon ſuppreſſed. During this Progreſs, the Places the King paſſed through made their ſubmiſſion to him, thanking him for his pardon, and made him the following Preſents: *Stamford* 20 *l.* *Lincoln* 40 *l.* *Boſton* 50 *l.* *Lindſey* 300 *l.* *Keſteven*, and the Church of *Lincoln* 50 *l.* The chief Perſons of *Yorkſhire* 900 *l.* The Archbiſhop of *York*, with three hundred Prieſts, 600 *l.* The Mayors of *York*, *Newcaſtle*, *Hull*, 100 *l.* a-piece. *Hall*, fol. 244.

(3) The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, on *November* 1. *Herbert*, p. 228.

(4) Two of the Ducheſs of *Norfolk*'s Domeſticks. *Herbert*, p. 228.

and

1541. and other Privy-Counſellors, it was agreed, that the Archbiſhop ſhould inform the King of it, as ſoon as he returned to *London*, though they were not ignorant of the danger they expoſed themſelves to, if the accuſation could not be proved. But on this occaſion it was no leſs dangerous to be ſilent.

Cranmer informs the King of it. Burnet. Herbert.

Cranmer not knowing how to execute his Commiſſion, choſe to ſet it down in writing, and put it in the King's hands (1), deſiring him to read it in private. *Henry* took it at firſt for a Calumny, reſolving in himſelf to puniſh the Authors ſeverely. Nay, it was with this view only that he was pleaſed thoroughly to examine the matter, though with all poſſible ſecrecy, for fear of vexing the Queen. He ordered therefore the Lord Privy-Seal to examine *Laſſels* in private. *Laſſels* boldly ſtood to what he had ſaid upon his Siſter's report, who alſo confirmed what ſhe had told her Brother. Upon theſe depoſitions, ſome pretence was uſed to arreſt *Dirham* and *Mannock*, who diſcovered in their Examination more circumſtances than were deſired. They confeſſed not only that they had lain with the Queen, but alſo that three Court Ladies, her confidents, were commonly eye-witneſſes to her lewd practices. One of the three was the Lady *Rochford*, who accuſed the Lord *Rochford* her Husband of a criminal commerce with Queen *Ann Bullen* his Siſter (2). They farther depoſed, That the King being at *Lincoln*, one *Culpeper*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s means, was brought into the Queen's Chamber at eleven a Clock in the night, and ſtaid there till four in the morning, and that when he went away the Queen gave him [a Gold Chain and] a rich Cap. Moreover, the Queen had taken *Dirham* into her Service, which ſhewed ſhe intended to continue the ſame courſe of Life. The Queen at firſt denied all. But in a ſecond Examination ſhe confeſſed (3), that before Marriage ſhe had proſtituted herſelf to ſeveral Men. This Confeſſion ſhook the King's Reſolution, who lamenting his misfortune, could not forbear burſting out into Tears. In ſhort, after *Dirham*, *Mannock*, and *Culpeper* were condemned to die (4), he was pleaſed the Queen's Impeachment ſhould be brought before the Parliament, which met the 16th of *January* the next Year 1542.

Depoſitions are taken in private.

Several Witneſſes againſt the Queen. Hall. Burnet. Hollingſh.

The Queen's Confeſſion. Herbert. Burnet.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 737, &c.

1542. *Act of Attainder againſt the Queen and her Complices.* Burnet. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Commiſſioners (5) named by the Parliament to examine the Queen, reported, that the Facts ſhe was accuſed of, were ſufficiently proved. Whereupon both Houſes declared her guilty, and petitioned (6) the King that ſhe might be puniſhed with Death, together with the Lady *Rochford*, Complice of her lewd Practices, the Ducheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, the Lord *William Howard* and his Lady (7), the Counteſs of *Bridgewater*, five other Women, and four Men, for miſpriſion of Treaſon, in concealing what they knew of the Queen's vicious Life. Here again may be obſerved, the Servitude of the Parliament, who did not dare to condemn the Queen and her Complices, without knowing whether the King would be pleaſed to ſuffer them to be puniſhed. They did not proceed in this manner with regard to *Ann Bullen* and the Lord *Rochford*, becauſe the King's Authority was not arrived to that height, as at the time I am ſpeaking of. The King conſenting they ſhould be puniſhed, they were condemned to die by an Act of Attainder. There was alſo a very extraordinary Clauſe in the Act, declaring: "That whoever knew any thing of the Incontinence of "a Queen, ſhould reveal it under the pains of Treaſon: "That if the King or his Succeſſors ſhould intend to "marry a Woman as a Virgin, if ſhe, not being ſo, did "not declare the ſame to the King, it ſhould be High-"Treaſon; and all who knew it, and did not reveal "it, were guilty of miſpriſion of Treaſon: That if the "Queen or the Princeſs of *Wales* ſhould procure any by "Meſſages or Words, to know her carnally; or any "other by Meſſages or Words ſhould ſollicite them; "they, their Counſellors and Abettors, are to be ad-"judged high Traitors." 1542.

The Queen is beheaded. Hall. Burnet. Herbert. Stow.

Henry giving his Aſſent to the Act [by his Letters Patents (8)] the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded [on *Tower-Hill*] the 12th of *February*. The Queen ſtood to what ſhe had confeſſed, concerning the miſcarriages of her former Life before ſhe was married; but denied, upon her Salvation, that ſhe had ever defiled the King's Bed. As for the Lady *Rochford*, ſhe died unlamented by all. But her death and infamy ſerved at leaſt to raiſe again the Reputation of the Lord *Rochford* her Husband, and of Queen *Ann Bullen*, whoſe Death ſhe procured by her Evidence, which her own Condemnation cauſed to be univerſally ſuſpected.

The Act of Parliament is cenſured. Burnet.

The extreme Severity of the Parliament to the Queen's Relations was much cenſured by the Publick. It was thought unnatural to puniſh a Grandmother for not diſcovering her Grand-daughter's Incontinence (9). Accordingly the King moderated the Severity, by pardoning [her and] moſt of thoſe who were condemned, ſome of whom however remained long in Priſon. As for the laſt Clauſe, which made it Treaſon for a Woman, courted by the King, not to reveal the loſs of her Virginity, it was turned into ridicule. People jeſtingly ſaid, the Kings of *England* for the future could only marry Widows, there being no reputed Maid who would run the hazard of being attainted of Treaſon, in caſe the King happened not to like her (10).

Ireland is erected into a Kingdom. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

This affair being ended, the Parliament confirmed (11) an Act paſſed in *Ireland*, whereby that Iſland was erected into a Kingdom. From thenceforward the Kings of *England* inſerted among their Titles, That of King of *Ireland*, whereas before they were ſtiled only Lords (12).

The King deſigns to ſuppreſs the Colleges and Hoſpitals. Burnet.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King began in ſome meaſure to ſhew his intention to ſeize the Colleges and Hoſpitals as he had done the Abbies. But the execution of this deſign was very difficult. By the Local Statutes of moſt of them, the Governors, Preſidents, or any of the Fellows, had no power to ſurrender the Lands belonging to their Houſes, without the conſent of the whole Society. So it was not eaſy to gain whole Bodies of Men, who were ſo much concerned to keep the Revenues on which they ſubſiſted. It is true, the King had prevailed with ſome, who were not bound by ſuch expreſs Statutes, to reſign their Houſes to him. But, as he had his eye upon all, an expedient was to be found, for the reſt to follow this example without breaking their Oath. To this end, all the Local Statutes of Colleges and Hoſpitals were annulled by Act of Parliament, and the Governors, Preſidents and Fellows were no more to be ſworn to the obſervance thereof. This obſtacle being removed, a few more were ſurrendered to the King. But this affair was not entirely finiſhed till 1545, by a much ſhorter method.

An Act to pave the way.

(1) *November* 2. *Herbert*, p. 228.

(2) In an original Letter ſent from divers of the Council to *William Paget* our Ambaſſador then in *France*, wherein all the Circumſtances of the affair are ſet forth at large, it appears that there were three ſundry Women one after another, that had lain in the ſame bed with them when *Dirham* lay with the Queen. One of theſe Women the Queen had taken into her Service as well as *Dirham*. See the Letter in Lord *Herbert*, p. 228. *Compl. Hiſt.*

(3) To the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who took the Confeſſion of the ſame in writing ſubſcribed with her hand. *Herbert*, p. 229. This Confeſſion is extant in *Burnet's Hiſt. Ref.* Tom. III. Collect. p. 171. whereby it appears that ſhe confeſſed more than enough.

(4) *Dirham* and *Culpeper* were executed at *Tyburn*, *December* 10. *Hall*, fol. 245.

(5) *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter* examined the Queen, *January* 28. How much ſhe confeſſed to them is not very clear, neither by the Journal nor the Act of Parliament, which only ſays, *She confeſſed*, without mentioning the particulars. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 312. *Journals of Parliament.*

(6) The Bill for her Attainder was read *January* 21, for the firſt time; and for the ſecond and third times, *Feb.* 6. and 8. *Journals of Parl.*—— The Act, paſſed in both Houſes, began with petitioning the King: 1. Not to be troubled, ſince it might ſhorten his Life. 2. To pardon every thing ſpoken againſt the Queen. 3. That the Queen and her Complices might, *&c.* *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 313.

(7) *Rapin*, by miſtake, ſuppoſes theſe to be her Father and Mother, whereas they were her Uncle and Aunt. Her Father was the Lord *Edmund Howard*. As the Family of the *Howards* ſpread themſelves into ſeveral Branches, in order to prevent confuſion, it will be proper to inſert here a ſhort Genealogical Account of that Family, which ſhall be carried on in due time. Sir *Robert Howard* (*temp. Hen.* VI.) married *Margaret* Daughter and Coheir to *Thomas de Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*; by whom he had *John*, created Duke of *Norfolk*, *June* 28, 1 *Ric.* III, and ſlain afterwards at *Boſworth* fight, who married, 1. *Catherine*, Daughter of *William* Lord *Molins*, by whom he had *Thomas* created Earl of *Surrey* 1 *Rich.* III, and reſtored to the ſame Title 4 *Hen.* VII, and to that of Duke of *Norfolk* 5 *Hen.* VIII. 2. *Margaret* Daughter of Sir *John Chedworth*. The ſaid *Thomas* married, firſt, *Elizabeth* Daughter and ſole Heir to Sir *Frederick Tilney*, by whom he had *Thomas* the third Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *Edward* Knight of the Garter and High-Admiral, and *Edmund* Father of *Catherine*, fifth Wife of *Henry* VIII. His ſecond Wife was *Agnes*, Siſter and Heir of Sir *Philip Tilney*, by whom he had *William* created Baron of *Effingham March* 11. (1 *Mary*) and *Thomas* who died in the *Tower* in 1537, where he was confined about *Margaret Douglaſs* Daughter of the Queen of *Scotland*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 265——278.

(8) Which he was empowered to do by this Act. He did it *Feb.* 11.

(9) It was not her Parents (as *Rapin* repeats here again by miſtake) but her Grandmother, the old Ducheſs of *Norfolk* (under whom ſhe had been bred) that People thought was cruelly dealt by, for not telling the King her Grand-daughter was a Whore, which would have been inconſiſtent with the Rules of Juſtice or Decency. Her Parents ſeem to have been dead before now, ſeeing there is nothing ſaid of her Father ſince 12 *Henry* VIII. *Dugdale*, Vol. II. p. 272.

(10) This part of the Act was afterwards repealed in the firſt Parliament of *Edward* VI.

(11) *January* 23, as appears by the *Journals*.

(12) Among other Acts, theſe that follow were alſo then made: 1. That Perſons, who by privy Tokens and counterfeit Letters, deceitfully obtain any Money, Goods, or Chattels, ſhall ſuffer ſuch Puniſhment (except death) as ſhall be appointed by thoſe before whom they are convicted. 2. That no perſon, except what has Lands, Tenements, Fees, Annuities, or Offices, to the yearly value of one hundred Pounds, ſhall keep or ſhoot with any Gun. 3. That no Man ſhall be Juſtice of Aſſize in the County where he was born, or dwelleth. 4. By another, the Court of Surveyors of the King's Lands is ſettled. And 5. the puniſhment of thoſe that are guilty of Murder, or Bloodſhed, within the Verge of the King's Court. *Statut.* 33 *Henry* VIII.

1542. *Diſpute concerning the Verſion of the Bible.* Burnet.

Whilſt the King's affairs were thus doing in the Parliament, the Convocation, which ſat at the ſame time, were much divided about the new tranſlation of the Bible, that was going to be publiſhed. Many affirmed, it was full of faults, and to ſuffer it to be read before it was reviſed, would be very injurious to the People. *Gardiner* moved this diſpute, in hopes this reviſal would take up ſome time, and the King in the mean while alter his mind (1). His Party was ſo numerous, that he would have carried his point, if *Cranmer*, who perceived his deſign, had not moved the King to refer the peruſing of the tranſlation to the two Univerſities, where he had much more intereſt than in the Convocation. Several Biſhops ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and ſome even entered a proteſtation againſt it (2). But all ſignified nothing, ſince the King declared it to be his pleaſure: Nay, he granted, the 12th of *March*, a privilege to a *London* Bookſeller (3) to print the Bible in *Engliſh*. This gives occaſion to preſume, the Univerſities reviſed not the tranſlation, ſince it was impoſſible they ſhould have examined it in ſo ſhort a ſpace.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 745.

The King wants the Commons to offer him a Subſidy;

The King wanted Money for the War with *Scotland*, on which he was entirely bent, but durſt not ask the Commons. Not that he doubted of ſucceſs, but was afraid of alienating the hearts of his Subjects, who were much more tender of matters of intereſt than of all others. He wiſhed the Commons would voluntarily offer him Money, without being asked. It was in order to gain their affection, that he commanded a Sheriff to be impriſoned for arreſting a Member of Parliament (4), and offered to leave it to them to puniſh him as they thought fit. On the other hand, he every where borrowed Money to let them ſee his neceſſity (5). But for once the Commons feigned not to underſtand this language, being unwilling to introduce the pernicious cuſtom of granting the King Subſidies unasked. Beſides, as they were yet ignorant of the deſign of a War with *Scotland*, they ſaw no occaſion to offer him Money. So, the Parliament broke up without granting the King any thing, except the Act concerning the Colleges and Hoſpitals, which was a ſeed, the fruit whereof he was to gather in due Seaſon.

Stow. Hollingſh.

but they do not.

He endeavours to hinder the King of France from aſſiſting Scotland. Herbert. Burnet. T. III. 155.

The War with *Scotland* being reſolved, *Henry* ſent Sir *William Paget* to *France*, to ſound *Francis* I, and try to hinder him by ſome Treaty from aſſiſting the King of *Scotland*. The Ambaſſador's inſtructions were, to demand of the King of *France*, that the Treaty of perpetual Peace between *France* and *England* ſhould be renewed. *Francis* eaſily perceived there was ſome hidden Myſtery in this overture. As he knew *Henry* was diſpleaſed with the King of *Scotland*, he did not doubt that he deſired the Peace to be renewed, on purpoſe to inſert in the new Treaty ſome Article to tie up his hands, and prevent him from aiding his Ally. He anſwered therefore, that it was needleſs to renew a Treaty, the conditions whereof the King of *England* had not performed. The Ambaſſador replied, there was no ſort of terms in the Treaty of Peace, and conſequently his Maſter could not be accuſed of breaking them. But this diſpute was entirely founded on a miſtake. The Ambaſſador underſtood by the Treaty of Peace, a private Treaty of one ſingle Article; namely, That there ſhould be a perpetual Peace between *France* and *England*. But *Francis* meant ſome other Treaties ſigned the ſame day, and which belonged to the firſt, though this was written apart. It was this ſeparate Treaty which *Henry* wanted to renew, imagining he ſhould thereby hinder *Francis* from aſſiſting the King of *Scotland*. But *Francis* did not deſign that, under this pretence, *Henry* ſhould be ſuffered to cruſh an antient ally of *France*, and *France* not be able to oppoſe it. On the contrary, he deemed it a manifeſt breach of the Peace, to attack his Allies without any juſt cauſe. Mean while, as neither would mention the King of *Scotland*, though both had him in their thoughts, *Francis*, to embarraſs *Henry*, demanded, purſuant to the former Treaties, his aſſiſtance to recover the *Milaneſe*. *Henry* required on his part, that *Francis*, according to his promiſe, ſhould aboliſh the papal Authority in *France*. Theſe reciprocal demands were more apt to produce a breach than a renewal of the Treaties. Beſides, the *Engliſh* had already begun Hoſtilities, by ſeizing ſome *French* Ships which were ſuppoſed to be Pyrates, and the *French* had detained ſome *Engliſh* Veſſels by way of repriſal. So, the Ambaſſador having taken his leave without effecting any thing, reported to his Maſter, that the King of *France* was ill-affected to him; that is, he would not, without oppoſing it, ſuffer the King of *Scotland* to be oppreſſed. This was the meaning of *Francis*'s being ill-affected to *England*, he being at that time very far from wiſhing a War with the *Engliſh*, ſince he was juſt going to begin another which he much more deſired. 1542.

Embaſſy of France to the Diet of no effect. Sleidan.

Francis was ſo provoked at all the Emperor's artifices, that, to proclaim War againſt him, he only ſtaid to ſee him ſo embroiled with the *Smalcaldick* League, that there ſhould be no more hopes of agreement. To foment this diſſention, he had ſent Ambaſſadors to the Diet aſſembled at *Spire*, in *February*, under colour of clearing himſelf from the pretended Calumnies he was aſperſed with, and particularly from the imputation of making an alliance with the *Turks*. His Ambaſſadors complained to the Diet, in very ſtrong terms, of the murder of *Rincon* and *Fregoſa*, pretending that *Rincon* was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, only to diſſuade *Soliman* from his deſign of carrying War into *Germany*. However, in the ſequel of their diſcourſe, they would have perſuaded the *German* Princes, that it was their intereſt to fortify their frontier Towns and abandon *Hungary* to the *Turks*. So their preſence at the Diet having produced no great effect, they were returned very diſſatisfied.

The Pope offers a Council at Trent. Herbert.

Shortly after their departure, the Pope's Nuncio offered to the Diet, in his Maſter's name, a Council at *Trent*. The Catholicks gladly accepted the offer, and thanked the Nuncio. But the Proteſtants rejected it, becauſe they would not have a Council called by their adverſary, and in a ſuſpicious place, ſince the City of *Trent* belonged to the King of the *Romans*. The Diet however ended to the Emperor's and *Ferdinand*'s ſatisfaction, after having unanimouſly reſolved to give them a powerful aſſiſtance, under the conduct of the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

The calling of the Council of Trent.

Though the Proteſtants refuſed the Pope's offer, *Paul* III. called a Council at *Trent* for *November* following, by a Bull of the 22d of *May*. But this was only to amuſe the world. He knew that when a War between the Emperor and *France* was going to commence, there would be obſtacles enough to hinder the Council from aſſembling.

Francis invades the Emperor in five places. Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert.

And indeed at this very time *Francis* I. was bringing five Armies into the field, to attack the Emperor in five places at once; namely, in *Rouſſillon*, *Luxemburg*, *Piedmont*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*. But the ſucceſs anſwered not his expectations. The great effort he made this year to invade his enemy, ſerved only to diſable him to do the like again when he came himſelf to be attacked. The Dauphin beſieged *Perpignan* in vain. The Duke of *Orleans* his Brother took *Luxemburg* and *Montmedy*: but theſe places were retaken before the end of the Campain. As for the other three Armies, they performed nothing conſiderable.

Henry reſolves upon a War with Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Burnet.

Whilſt *Francis* was vainly endeavouring to be revenged of the Emperor, *Henry* came to a final Reſolution to make War upon *Scotland*. He had been in hopes, that in the expected Conference with the King his Nephew, he ſhould perſuade him to renounce the Papal Authority, and was extremely concerned to ſee himſelf diſappointed. This Affair ſeemed to him of the utmoſt importance, becauſe not having much to fear from abroad, where the naval Forces were not comparable to his, *Scotland* was the only Country which could give him any uneaſineſs. From thence alone could the *Engliſh* Male-contents receive any Succours, and he remembred with terror, the danger he ſhould have run when the Rebels were in Arms in the North, had they been ſupported by a *Scotch* Army. In his War therefore upon *Scotland*, his aim was not to make conqueſts, but to bend the King of *Scotland* to his will by force, ſince he could not do it by fair means. This he deemed abſolutely neceſſary, in order to procure a ſettled Peace. At the time of the northern Rebellion, the Junctures were very favorable to him; for, being then in ſtrict Union with *France*, King *James* could not engage to ſupport the *Engliſh* Male-contents without *Francis*'s conſent, who, inſtead of approving ſuch a Deſign, would have rather diverted him from it. But affairs were now upon another foot, ſince *Henry* could no longer rely upon the King of *France*'s Friendſhip. It is true, that Prince was not to be much feared, whilſt at war with the Emperor; but he conſidered that the equality of theſe two Monarch's Forces would, probably, oblige them to make Peace very ſoon, and this Peace, in which no doubt

(1) *Gardiner* had a ſingular conceit. He fancied there were many words in the New Teſtament of ſuch Majeſty, that they were not to be tranſlated, but muſt ſtand in the *Engliſh* Bible as they were in the *Latin*. A hundred of theſe he put into a writing which was read in Convocation. His deſign was viſibly to make the Tranſlation unintelligible to the People. Some of theſe words were, *Eccleſia, Penitentia, Contritus, Juſtitia, Juſtificatio, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Sacramentum, Simulachrum, Gloria*, &c. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 314.

(2) All the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, except *Ely* and St. *David*'s, proteſted againſt it. *Burnet*, p. 315.

(3) *Antony Marlar. Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 745.

(4) *George Ferrers*, Member for *Plymouth*. *Hollingſh.* p. 955.

(5) *Stow* ſays, he took in *May* a Loan of Money of all ſuch as were valued at fifty Pounds or upwards in the book of Subſidy, p. 583.

1542. the Pope would interpoſe, neceſſarily be to his prejudice; nay, it was a queſtion whether it would not occaſion a League againſt him, and the King of *Scotland* join in it. In that caſe, *England* could be invaded in the North with the more eaſe, as the northern Counties were moſt inclined to rebel. It was therefore of very great conſequence to *Henry* to gain the King of *Scotland* to his Intereſt, ſince, being ſecured from that ſide, an Invaſion was not to be much feared, which he looked upon as impoſſible, conſidering the ſuperiority of his naval Forces.

He intended to make uſe of two ways to gain the King of *Scotland* in the propoſed Conference. The firſt way was, to ſhew him that it was in his power to ſecure to him the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, after his Son *Edward*, or remove him from it, ſince, by the Act of Parliament made for that purpoſe, he could call to the Succeſſion his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, or exclude them for ever. In the former caſe, King *James* could not pretend to the Crown, till after the Poſterity of theſe two Princeſſes was extinct; but in the latter caſe, he came immediately after Prince *Edward*. As therefore to gain two degrees, was a conſiderable Advantage for the King of *Scotland*, *Henry* hoped he would not be ſo unwiſe as to ſlight it. The ſecond way he deſigned to make uſe of to win that Prince, was to lay before him the advantages which would accrue to him in caſe he renounced the Pope, as well by reaſon of the facility this would give him, to ſucceed to the Crown of *England*, if there ſhould be occaſion, as by the Riches he would acquire in ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries of *Scotland*. As *James* was very greedy of Money, *Henry* did not queſtion ſucceeding by this ſecond means, though the firſt ſhould prove ineffectual. He was therefore extremely vexed to ſee himſelf diſappointed of his hopes, by the King his Nephew's refuſal to meet him at *York*. He found, the new Queen had too great an Influence over him, and even ſuſpected it to be the effect of the Intrigues of the Pope, the Emperor, and perhaps the King of *France*. So, deſpairing to ſucceed in his Project, by fair means, he reſolved to try to accompliſh it by force.

The deſign of this War. *Scotland* was little able to reſiſt *England*, without the aſſiſtance of *France*. But *Francis* was ſo employed, that there was no likelihood of his interpoſing in the quarrel. *Henry* hoped therefore, if he could gain at firſt ſome advantage, he ſhould render the *Scots* leſs intractable, and more eaſily diſpoſe the King his Nephew to hearken to his Propoſals. Thus the War he intended to wage with *Scotland*, was properly deſigned to oblige the *Scots* to a compliance with his deſires, and not founded upon Caprice only, or to be revenged of the Affront he received, Hollingſh. as the Hiſtorians pretend. However, as he could not diſcover the real Motives, without doing himſelf a prejudice, he pretended a violation of the Truce, *James*'s denial of ſome Lands of ſmall value lying on the Frontiers, and his reception of ſome *Engliſh* Rebels. But as all this was not very capable of deceiving the world, he bethought himſelf of reviving the old pretenſions of the Kings of *England* to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. To that purpoſe, he ſet out a long Declaration, in which was inſerted the Memorial largely ſpoken of in the Reigns of *Edward* I, and *Henry* VII, containing the pretended Proofs of the Homage, *Scotland* had formerly paid to *England*. This Declaration was however ſo ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it plainly appeared, *Henry* was willing to have it in his power to quit his pretenſions without injuring his honour. It is entirely needleſs to repeat the contents of the Memorial. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that the *Engliſh* Writers ſpeak of it, as if the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland* was there demonſtrated, and the bare Citation of it ſufficient to carry the Cauſe. Doctor *Burnet*, though a *Scotchman*, ſeems to give into this opinion univerſally ſpread in *England*, ſince he ſpeaks of this Memorial in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, without making any Remarks. Perhaps he did not think proper to combat the Sentiments of the *Engliſh* without any neceſſity, in reſpect to his Hiſtory.

He revives the Pretenſions to the Sovereignty of Scotland, *Declaration upon that head.* Hall. fol. 247. Burnet.

War with Scotland. Hollingſh. Herbert. *Henry* publiſhed not his Declaration till his Army was juſt entering *Scotland*. His deſign was to ſurprize the *Scots*, which he believed the more eaſy, as there appeared to be no juſt cauſe of Breach between the two Kingdoms. However, King *James* hearing that Soldiers were raiſing in *England*, put himſelf in a poſture of defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked. In the mean while, he ſent two Ambaſſadors (1) to the King his Uncle, to ſee to content him, if poſſible, or at leaſt to gain time till the King of Buchanan. *France* could aſſiſt him. Theſe Ambaſſadors were long detained at the Court of *England* upon frivolous pretences, 1542. and whilſt *Henry* was making his Preparations, he gave them no anſwer. Nay, they were not ſuffered to return but with the Army, which was to enter their Country, under the command of the Duke of *Norfolk* (2), and where they were as Priſoners. Two other Ambaſſadors of *Scotland* who were going to *London*, meeting the *Engliſh* upon their march, were alſo detained till the Army arrived at *Berwick*.

Mean while, King *James* hearing the Duke of *Norfolk* was marching towards the North at the head of Hall. Buchanan. Stow. twenty thouſand Men, ſent a Body of ten thouſand to Burnet. the Frontiers, under the command of *George Gordon*, expecting the reſt of the Troops, who were marching from ſeveral parts to join him. But *Gordon* could not hinder the Duke of *Norfolk* from entering *Scotland* about the end of *October* (3), and ravaging the Country North of the *Tweed*. After this ſhort Expedition, the *Engliſh* Army retired to *Berwick*, the Seaſon which was now very bad, preventing them from advancing any farther. In the mean time, King *James* ordered the Lord *Max-* Hall. Buchanan. *well* to march with fifteen thouſand Men, whilſt the *En-* Leſley. *gliſh* were retiring to *Berwick*. The *Scots* pretend, upon the news of *Maxwell*'s march, the *Engliſh* retreated in ſuch confuſion, that they might have been eaſily defeated, if *Gordon* had ventured to attack them, and that the King was extremely angry with him for this diſappointment. However this be, *James* heading his Army in *The King of Scotland is reſolved to fight.* perſon, held a Council of War, and appeared fully reſolved to give Battle, let what would be the conſequence. But he was alone of that opinion. On the contrary, the danger to which the Kingdom would be expoſed, in caſe of a defeat, was ſtrongly repreſented to him. In *The Nobles refuſe to follow him.* Buchanan. ſhort, as he would not alter his reſolution, the Generals and Nobles told him, they would not obey him, if, without any neceſſity, he obſtinately expoſed the Kingdom to ſo manifeſt a hazard. This oppoſition threw him into a fury. He ſwore he would puniſh their diſobedience, and called them all Traitors, ſince they hindered him from obtaining, as he thought, a certain Victory. Cardinal *Beaton* inſpired him with this notion, by telling him, it was impoſſible for ſuch Hereticks as the *Engliſh* to conquer him. The truth is, *James* was a little diſturbed in his fancy, ever ſince he had unjuſtly put to death a Nephew of the Duke of *Albany*, whoſe Apparition was ever preſent to his Imagination. So being extremely troubled to be thus diſobeyed, he left the command of the Army to the Lord *Maxwell*, with orders to march towards the Enemy, and remained himſelf within diſtance to join him, in caſe there was occaſion to fight. But a few days after, *He gives the command of the Army to* Sinclair. Buchanan. Burnet. Leſley. as he was extremely incenſed with his Generals, and greatly miſtruſted them, he gave a Commiſſion in form to *Oliver Sinclair* his *Minion*, to command the Army. The new General, very unfit for ſuch a Poſt, repairing to the Camp, cauſed his Patent to be publickly read, at which all were offended. This bred ſuch diſcontent among the Troops, that they began to diſband, when a Body of five hundred *Engliſh* Horſe appeared on a hill, where they were poſted to watch the motions of the Enemy. This ſight increaſed the confuſion among the *Scotch* Troops, who imagined the whole *Engliſh* Army was approaching to give Battle. In this condition, being without a General, ſince *Max-* *Rout of the* Scotch *Army.* Buchanan. *well*'s Commiſſion was revoked, and none would obey *Sinclair*, they choſe to retire in a fright, which permitted them not to look back, and obſerve the ſmall number of their Enemies. The *Engliſh* Horſe ſeeing them fly with Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. ſuch precipitation, cloſely purſued them, and without meeting any reſiſtance, ſlew great numbers, took Priſoners ſeven Lords, two hundred Gentlemen, eight hundred Soldiers, with four and twenty pieces of Ordnance (4). Never was Victory ſo eaſily won. Among the chief Priſoners were the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Caſſilis*, the Lords *Maxwell*, [*Somerville*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*,] and *Oliver Sinclair* the King's Favorite.

The news of this Rout threw King *James* into a diſmal *Death of the King of* Scotland. Buchanan. Hall. melancholy, to which he was already too much inclined. He fancied, his Generals and Nobles had betrayed him, and in this belief, reſolved to put moſt of them to death. His vexation was ſtill increaſed, upon hearing that a Herald, ſent by the Duke of *Norfolk*, was murdered by an *Engliſh* Refugee. He immediately apprehended the ill conſequences of ſuch an accident, after his late misfortune. So imagining it would be impoſſible to free himſelf from his preſent embarraſſment, he could not withſtand his immoderate Grief, which brought him to his grave the 14th of *December* 1542. His death happened ſeven days after *Birth of the Princeſs* Mary. Buchanan. the birth of a Princeſs called *Mary*, of whom his Queen

(1) The Biſhop of *Orkney*, and *James Leirmouth*, Maſter of his Houſhold. *Hall*, fol. 254.
(2) The Duke was accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*; and Sir *Anthony Brown*, Maſter of the Horſe to the King, Sir *John Gage*, Controller of the Houſhold, *&c.* *Ibid.*
(3) *October* 21. *Ibid.*
(4) This Battle or Rencounter happened on *November* 25. *Idem.* fol. 255.

1542. was delivered, and who was his only Heir. A little before he loſt two Sons in one day.

Henry orders the Priſoners to be brought to London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Henry not knowing what paſſed in *Scotland*, had ordered the *Scotch* Priſoners to be brought to *London*, where they arrived the nineteenth of *December* (1). Next day (2) they were conducted thro' the City from the *Tower*, where they had been confined, to *Weſtminſter*, where the King was pleaſed to ſee and talk with them. He expoſtulated with them, for having, by their pernicious Counſels, perſuaded their King to quarrel with him, and told them they juſtly bore the puniſhment of a war raiſed by themſelves. Nevertheleſs, as he intended to make uſe of them to procure ſuch a peace as he deſired, he ended his diſcourſe with ſome obliging expreſſions, and granted them more liberty, by putting them in the Cuſtody of ſeveral Noblemen. The Earl of *Caſſilis* had the good fortune to fall into the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to receive from him, during his ſhort ſtay at *London*, ſuch Inſtructions as induced him to embrace the Reformation when he returned to his own Country.

Hollingſh. p. 959. Burnet.

He projects a Match between his Son and the new Queen of Scotland. *He ſends away the Priſoners.* Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

A few days after (3), the news of the Birth of *Mary* Princeſs of *Scotland*, and of the King her Father's death arriving together, *Henry* thought it a favourable juncture to unite *Scotland* to *England*, by marrying his Son *Edward* to the new Queen of *Scotland*. He cauſed the captive Lords to be ſounded, and finding them inclined to ſecond the overture, ſet them at liberty, on condition they would give Hoſtages for their return, in caſe the project of the Marriage did not ſucceed. This condition being accepted, they were conducted to *Newcaſtle*, from whence they returned into their country. We ſhall ſee preſently what was the iſſue of this project.

1543. *The Parliament grants the King a Subſidy.* Herbert. Burnet.

The Parliament of *England* meeting the twenty ſecond of *January*, granted the King a Subſidy (4), as well for his charges in the War with *Scotland*, as for his other occaſions. By that was meant, a War with *France*, of which there was no longer room to doubt, ſince the King was upon the point of concluding a League with the Emperor. The Union which was going to be formed between theſe two Monarchs, was like to be ſo favourable to the Adherents of *Rome* and the old Religion, that they queſtioned not but the deſtruction of the Reformation in *England* was approaching. However, at this very time they had the mortification to ſee an Act of Parliament paſſed, which much checked their hopes. This Act, moved, and at length obtained by *Cranmer*, ran, That Lords, Gentlemen, Merchants, might have in their Houſes an *Engliſh* Bible, with ſome other religious Books, mentioned in the Act, for the Inſtruction of their Families. But it was expreſly forbid to print, ſell, buy, or keep any other religious Books, and to preach or ſpeak againſt the Ordinance of the Year 1540. There was alſo a very conſiderable Clauſe in this Statute, that the offenders, if Eccleſiaſticks, ſhould not be condemned to be burnt till the third offence; and the puniſhment of the Laity, not extend beyond forfeiture of Goods and Chattels [and perpetual Impriſonment.] Moreover, the Act allowed the Party accuſed to bring Witneſſes for his own purgation, which had never been practiſed before in the caſe of Hereſy. Laſtly, It was enacted, that the accuſed ſhould be tried within a year at fartheſt after the Indictment. But on the other hand, the Law of the ſix Articles was confirmed, and the Parliament left it in the King's power to annul or alter the Act at his pleaſure. By this laſt Clauſe the King ſtill continued to be maſter of the Lives of the Reformed, ſince by repealing this Act, he could proſecute them upon the former Statutes (5).

An Act allowing the Bible in private Houſes. Burnet.

Advantagious Clauſe to Perſons accuſed of Hereſy.

Power granted the King to repeal this Act.

Henry concludes a League with the Emperor. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 768. February 11. Hall. Herbert. Burnet.

A fortnight after the Parliament broke up, *Henry* concluded with the Emperor a League, which however was not publiſhed till *June*. It was not the Intereſt of *England*, that the King ſhould join with the Emperor to render him more powerful. He was already but too potent. On the contrary, it would have been much more proper, in order to keep the balance even, to have aſſiſted *France*. At leaſt, it is undeniable, that a Neutrality would have been advantagious to the *Engliſh*. But the King's paſſion ran counter to the Nation's Intereſt. He was extremely diſſatisfied with *Francis* upon ſeveral accounts. In the firſt place, he obſerved in him a great Indifference for his concerns, ever ſince he had not wanted his aſſiſtance. Secondly, He perceived at length, that 1543. all his promiſes to renounce, like him, the Papal Authority, tended only to amuſe him. He knew, *Francis* on ſeveral occaſions, had blamed his Conduct with reſpect to Religion, and ridiculed his Marriages. In the next place, he paid neither the yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns, nor that of ten thouſand for the Salt of *Brouage*, though bound by divers Treaties. As for the debt of two Millions, *Francis* indeed could produce Acquittances for good part of that Sum, but then *Henry* had received no Money, the Acquittances being in lieu of the Succours he had voluntarily promiſed to lend him in his former Wars. However, there was a round Sum ſtill left unpaid, and the Debtor never endeavoured to ſatisfy him. Moreover, *Henry* had preſented the King of *France* with what was due to him from the Emperor, ſolely on condition he would perform the Treaties, and complained, *Francis* had not been punctual. But what moſt offended *Henry*, was, the obſtacles *Francis* had raiſed him in *Scotland*, by means of a Faction, which openly oppoſed his deſigns. Here was ſufficient cauſe for a Breach, if the Nation's Intereſt had been the ſame with the King's. But in ſuch an oppoſition, ſeldom does it happen that the People's advantage prevails over the Sovereign's. *Henry* reſolved therefore to make the King of *France* ſenſible, that it was worth his while to have ſhewn a greater regard for him, and to this end, choſe to be reconciled with the Emperor, and join in a League with him.

The advantages of this League on the Emperor's ſide.

Charles V. deſired nothing more earneſtly. He plainly ſaw that with the aſſiſtance of *England*, he ſhould ſoon bring the King of *France* to reaſon, and deſtroy all his hopes of recovering *Milan* by Arms. His conſtant fear of *Henry*'s uniting with *France* and the *German* Proteſtants, cauſed him to conſider the alliance with *England* as what would enable him to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns. He found his account much better in hindering *Francis* from ſetting foot again in *Italy*, and in ſubduing the Proteſtants, than in executing, or rather in trying to execute the Pope's ſentence againſt *Henry*; an undertaking which, probably, would not have ended to his honour. Beſides, the death of Queen *Catherine* his Aunt had much leſſened, and it may be entirely ſtifled, his deſire to revenge her. So, at the very time he was complaining to all the Princes of *Europe* that *Francis* held private intelligence with the *Infidels*, he ſcrupled not to court the alliance of an excommunicated King, who, according to the principles of the *Romiſh* Church, ought not to have been looked upon with leſs horror than the *Turk*. One ſingle difficulty retarded the concluſion of this alliance. The Emperor would have *Mary* Queen *Catherine*'s Daughter, acknowledged for legitimate, which *Henry* obſtinately refuſed. Nay, he could not grant it without condemning his Divorce with *Catherine*, and all his proceedings upon that occaſion. He promiſed however, that purſuant to the power granted him by Parliament, he would give *Mary* a place in the ſucceſſion; but would never conſent, this Article ſhould be inſerted in the Treaty. The Emperor's friends in *England* adviſed him to be ſatisfied with this verbal promiſe, apprehenſive as they were that the League, from whence they expected great advantages, would be delayed by this obſtacle. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, who had been ſent into *Spain* for this Negotiation, willingly and ardently endeavoured to accompliſh it, in hopes, that an Union between the Emperor and the King, would reeſtabliſh Religion in *England* upon the ſame foot as before the Divorce.

Difficulty upon the Concluſion of the League. Burnet.

It is removed.

Treaty of League between the Emperor and Henry. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 768. Herbert. p. 236.

The Treaty was therefore concluded at *London* the eleventh of *February* 1543. It contained a League for *England* only, with what *Henry* held in *Picardy*; and on the Emperor's part, for the Provinces of the *Low-Countries* under his dominion (6), without any mention of *Spain* or *Germany*. The League was to this effect:

That the Emperor and the King of *England* ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to declare to him, that by his ſollicitations only the *Turks* had invaded *Chriſtendom*. That therefore the two confederate Monarchs exhorted him to break his alliance with the *Infidels*, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correſpondence with them. That they demanded moreover, he ſhould ſatisfy the damages done to *Chriſtendom*, by his

Reaſons of Henry's *being diſpleaſed with* Francis. Herbert. p. 236.

(1) Being conducted by Sir *Henry Savil*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*. *Herbert*, p. 234.
(2) Two days after, *viz.* the twenty firſt. *Hall*, fol. 255. *Stow*, p. 583.
(3) *December* 22. *Hollingſhead*, p. 959.
(4) This Subſidy was as follows: Every Perſon worth in Goods 20 *l.* and upwards, paid two Shillings; from 20 *l.* to 10 *l.* Sixteen-pence; from 10 *l.* to 5 *l.* Eight-pence; from 5 *l.* to 20 *s.* Four-pence. And for Lands, Fees, and Annuities, they paid according to this rate: They that were worth 20 *l.* and upwards, paid three Shillings in the pound; from 20 *l.* to 10 *l.* two Shillings; from 10 *l.* to 5 *l.* Sixteen-pence; and they that were worth from 5 *l.* to 20 *s.* paid Eight-pence in the pound. All theſe were doubled on Strangers. The Clergy alſo granted a Subſidy of ſix Shillings in the pound; and every Prieſt having but an annual Stipend, was to pay ſix Shillings and Eight-pence. Theſe ſeveral Subſidies were to be paid in three years. *Stow*, p. 585.
(5) In this Parliament, an Act was made for authorizing the County and City of *Cheſter* to ſend, each, two Repreſentatives in Parliament; which they uſed not to do before. And another for empowering perſons that are not common Surgeons to miniſter Medicines, notwithſtanding the *Statute* 3 *Henry* VIII.
(6) The Places and Dominions mentioned on King *Henry*'s part, are, the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Iſlands of *Wight*, *Jerſey*, *Gernſey*, and *Man*; the Caſtle and Earldom of *Guyſnes*, and the Towns of *Calais* and *Berwick*: And on the Emperor's part, are named, the Kingdom of *Spain* [*regna Hiſpaniarum*,] the Provinces of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Hanow*, *Artois*, *Limburg*, *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, *Frieſeland*, the Countries of *Dureſſel*, *Utrecht*, and *Mecblin*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 769, 770.

calling

1543. calling in thoſe cruel enemies. That he ſhould give over the War he had begun in ſeveral places, that the Emperor might apply himſelf to the defence of *Chriſtendom*. That he ſhould cauſe the Town of *Maran*, taken by the *Turks*, to be reſtored to King *Ferdinand*; and to the Emperor, *Caſtro-novo*, which they had beſieged with the aid of twelve *French* Gallies. That he ſhould repair the loſſes the *Germans* had ſuſtained by the *Turkiſh* invaſion. Laſtly, that he ſhould ſatisfy the King of *England* for whatever he owed him, and give him ſecurity for the payment of the hundred thouſand Crowns.

After theſe preliminaries, the two confederate Monarchs agreed, that they would not make Peace or Truce but upon theſe conditions: That *Francis* ſhould pay the King of *England* whatever was due to him, and for ſecurity of the annual Penſion, ſurrender into his hands the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, *Boulogne*, *Montreuil*, *Ardres* and *Terouenne*, free from all Homage, for which however *Henry* ſhould conſent that the yearly Revenues thence ariſing ſhould be in lieu of the penſion. Moreover, that *Francis* ſhould reſtore to the Emperor the Duchy of *Burgundy*.

That if the King of *France* ſhould delay but ten days to accept theſe conditions, the two confederate Monarchs ſhould proclaim War againſt him, with a Declaration that they would never make Peace, till the King of *England* was in poſſeſſion of *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the Kingdom of *France*, and the Emperor of *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, *Bray*, *Corbeil*, *Peronne*, *Ham*, St. *Quintin*, and the whole Duchy of *Burgundy*.

Laſtly, They agreed, that each ſhould take the Field, and invade *France* with twenty-five thouſand Men, of whom five thouſand ſhould be Cavalry (1).

Theſe were vaſt projects. But theſe Princes were too wiſe to imagine, that with twenty-five thouſand Men each, they were able to conquer *France*. It is likely therefore, they agreed in the Treaty, to bring into the Field ſo ſmall a number of Troops, only to ingage *Francis* to make preparations accordingly. And indeed we ſhall ſee hereafter, that they invaded *France* with above a hundred thouſand Men.

Henry's chief Aim.

One of the chief reaſons why *Henry* joined in a League with the Emperor, was to find the King of *France* ſo much employment at home, that it ſhould not be in his power to break his meaſures for the Union of *Scotland* with *England*, by a Marriage between *Mary* and Prince *Edward*. *Henry* had this affair extremely at heart, and very juſtly, as it is eaſy to imagine. But unhappily for him, there was a Queen Dowager in *Scotland* of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and a Cardinal Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who being both devoted to *France* and the Pope, laboured with all their power to defeat his projects. As the affairs of *Scotland* will be very ſoon intermixt with thoſe of *England*, it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſee what paſſed in that Country, after the death of *James* V, without which it would be very difficult to underſtand what will be ſaid hereafter.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

After the deceaſe of *James* V, *Scotland* was in a very ill ſituation. The late King had not ſettled the Regency during his Daughter's minority. The next Heir to *Mary*, was *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, a Perſon of a very mean genius, a lover of Books and eaſe, but little capable of managing the publick affairs, and ſtill leſs thoſe of War (2). He had ſhewn ſome inclination for the new Religion, and thereby rendered himſelf as much ſuſpected and odious to the Clergy, as agreeable to thoſe who had embraced the Reformation. The Queen Dowager, Siſter to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, had an extreme averſion to the Reformed. This averſion was cheriſhed by Cardinal *Beaton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, a violent and cruel Man, who had already given ſeveral proofs of his barbarous temper towards thoſe who embraced the new Religion. Moſt of the Lords who, by their Counſels, could have ſupported the State in ſuch a juncture, were either ſlain in the late rout, or in the hands of the *Engliſh*. But tho' they had been alive, or in *Scotland*, it would have been very difficult to ſucceed. There had long been ſuch a diviſion among the Nobles, that what one moved was ſure to be oppoſed by another. This was the conſequence of the Factions raiſed by the Kings of *France* and *England* in the Kingdom, and which were continued by different opinions in Religion. To all theſe evils was added that of a War againſt a powerful Neighbour, who had juſt gained a very conſiderable advantage, and could eaſily improve the conſternation, all *Scotland* was under.

Amidſt this confuſion, Cardinal *Beaton* ſeeing none able to withſtand him, formed the deſign of ſeizing the Regency. To this end, he forged a Will for the late King, wherein he was appointed Regent or Vice-roy during *Mary*'s minority, with three Counſellors or Aſſiſtants, of whom the Earl of *Arran* was one, and cauſed it to be publiſhed till the Parliament ſhould meet and confirm it. Mean while, he ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to gain proper Perſons to ſupport him, as well among the People, as among the great Men. The Queen Dowager was the firſt that declared for him. 1543. Buchanan. Hall. Hollingſh.

But whilſt the Cardinal was labouring to ſtrengthen his Party, the friends and relations of the Earl of *Arran* were earneſtly ſolliciting him, not to yield the Regency to one who had no right to it. They repreſented to him, That the Will on which the Cardinal grounded his pretenſions, was a forgery, becauſe the late King never valued him ſo as to commit the Regency to him, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood: That it was a contrivance to deſtroy the *Hamiltons* with their whole party, and hinder the progreſs of the Reformation: That the Cardinal was known to be a Man of ill Principles, of little or no conſcience, cruel, and ſuperſtitious, and if once he had the power in his hands, the flames of perſecution would quickly be kindled all over the Kingdom, not only againſt the Reformed, but againſt all in general who would not blindly ſubmit to his orders, that infallibly the Princes of the Blood, and the chief of the Nobles would be firſt ſacrificed to his ambition and jealouſy. The Earl of *Arran* was of a peaceable temper, and without ambition. If he had followed his own inclination, he would have left the Cardinal quietly to enjoy the authority he had uſurped. But his friends having in a manner forced him by their remonſtrances, to proſecute the right due to his birth, he reſolved to demand the Regency, and ſhew the forgery of the pretended Will, on which the Cardinal reſted.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the Priſoners, who had been releaſed, came to *Scotland*, and with them *Archibald Douglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, and *William Douglaſs* his Brother, who had been fifteen years exiles in *England*. By their arrival, the Earl of *Arran*'s Party was conſiderably ſtrengthened, whereas the Cardinal loſt many followers, who had joined with him more out of fear than affection. It was publickly ſaid, that the Earl of *Arran*'s right was indiſputable, though the King had capriciouſly diſpoſed of the Regency in favor of the Cardinal, which however was incredible. The Parliament meeting in *March*, the Will was examined, and the forgery being detected, the Cardinal was removed, and the Earl of *Arran* declared Regent with almoſt unanimous conſent. It was not without reaſon that moſt of the Lords and Nobles were deſirous to free themſelves from the dominion of Cardinal *Beaton*. Before the Parliament met, a paper was found written with the King's own hand, wherein were ſet down the names of three hundred Lords and Gentlemen, whom he had reſolved to diſpatch. As moſt of theſe proſcribed Perſons were of the Reformed Religion, or favored the Reformation, it was not doubted, that the Cardinal had greatly contributed to put the King upon this barbarous reſolution, by repreſenting to him, that thoſe who had refuſed to fight againſt the *Engliſh*, were ſecret friends of the King of *England*, and favorers of the new opinions. It is certain, many of the Nobility were of the Reformed Religion, or well-wiſhers to the Reformation. The Earl of *Arran* was of this number, and upon that account was ſo well ſupported when he demanded the Regency, becauſe thoſe of the new Religion intended to make him their Protector. But this was an ill choice, the Earl's unactive and timorous temper rendering him very unfit to ſupport the Party who put themſelves under his protection. Buchanan.

Whilſt the Parliament was ſitting, *Henry* ſent an Ambaſſador (3) to *Scotland*, to propoſe the Marriage of Prince *Edward* his Son with the young Queen, according to the agreement with the captive Lords. The Ambaſſador was furniſhed with a good ſum of Money to facilitate the Negotiation, *Henry* knowing by experience how effectual that means was in *Scotland*. The Queen and Cardinal *Beaton* uſed all their credit and addreſs to cauſe the overture to be rejected. But as their Party was too weak to balance the King of *England*'s, the Cardinal made it his buſineſs to confound all the conferences held upon this occaſion, by long Speeches, affected Diſputes, Invectives againſt the contrary Party, with deſign to raiſe quarrels, which would obſtruct the concluſion of this affair. His artifices being at laſt perceived, he was confined to a room till the debates were ended. The moment the Cardinal no longer appeared, the King of *England*'s propoſal was accepted without much difficulty, and the Parliament appointed Ambaſſadors to go and treat at *London* with the King, concerning a Peace and the Mar- Henry *propoſes to the* Scots *the Marriage of their Queen with Prince* Edward. Buchanan. Hall. Herbert. Buchanan. Herbert. *The King's Propoſal accepted.*

(1) And alſo each of them ſhould fit out Ships, with two or three thouſand armed Men. *Rymer*, p. 775.
(2) This is *Buchanan*'s Character of him. *Rapin.*
(3) Sir *Ralph Sadler*, his Secretary. *Herbert*, p. 234.

1543. *Treaty between England and Scotland.* Act. Pub. XIV. p. 781, —796. Rymer. Burnet.

riage. *George Douglaſs*, the Earl of *Angus*'s Brother, and ſome other Lords (1) were charged with this Negotiation, which ended at length in two Treaties concluded at *London* the 1ſt of *July* 1543. The firſt was to ſettle a good and firm Peace between the two Kingdoms. The ſecond, for the Marriage of Prince *Edward* with the young Queen of *Scotland*. *Henry* did all he could to have *Mary* put into his hands. But the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors not conſenting, it was at laſt agreed, ſhe ſhould not be brought into *England* till ſhe was ten years of age: That in the mean time the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhould appoint four Lords (2) to take care of her education, and *Henry* might add a fifth of his own Nation to convey his advices to the Governors (3): That the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhould give the King ſix Hoſtages of diſtinction, for ſecurity that the Marriage ſhould be conſummated.

Buchanan.

This affair being ended, the Cardinal had a little more liberty granted him, by being given in cuſtody to the Lord *Seaton*. But that Lord ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by his Priſoner, afforded him means to make his eſcape. As ſoon as he was at liberty, he uſed all his art to break the Treaties with *England*, wherein he was powerfully aſſiſted by the Queen Dowager. As they were both firmly attached to *France* and the old Religion, they could not ſee, without extreme grief, the alliance lately concluded with a Prince whom they looked upon as a Heretick, and whoſe intereſts had for ſome time been contrary to thoſe of *Francis* I. They plainly perceived, this alliance was capable of producing great alterations as well in Church as State, and would infallibly deſtroy the antient union between *France* and *Scotland*.

Cardinal Beaton breaks theſe Meaſures.

To prevent this, the Cardinal aſſembled at his Houſe the heads of the Clergy, and repreſenting to them that Religion was in danger, he obtained a large contribution to aſſiſt him to ſupport it. This Money ſerved him to maintain his Creatures, and gain ſome of the contrary Party. In a word, he ſo well caballed, that he quickly put things in extreme confuſion. By his ſollicitations and intrigues he ſo managed, that the Priſoners who had been releaſed reſolved not to go and redeem their Hoſtages. The Earl of *Caſſilis* alone could not be prevailed with upon any conſideration to break his Word. In ſhort, the Cardinal's Party being grown very numerous by his liberalities, ſtrongly oppoſed the ſending of the Hoſtages promiſed to the King of *England* by the Treaty. Beſides this, the Cardinal reſolving at any rate, to ſet the two Nations at variance, cauſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to be highly affronted by ſome of his Party, and his Servants to be inſulted. But the Ambaſſador knowing how deſirous the King his Maſter was, that the Treaties ſhould be executed, bore all with patience, for fear of raiſing an unſeaſonable quarrel, which he ſaw to be the Cardinal's deſign. Thus the Cardinal had brought things to ſuch a paſs, that the Regent, who wanted reſolution, tried in vain to ſtop theſe violent proceedings, ſince his commands were openly diſobeyed.

His Party is ſtronger than the Regent's.

At laſt, the day being come that the three Hoſtages were to be delivered, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador demanded them of the Regent, complaining withal of the Affronts he had received. The Regent told him, "he was very ſorry "any diſreſpect had been ſhewn to his Perſon and Cha"racter, and would give him, at a more convenient ſeaſon, "what ſatisfaction he deſired, but at preſent it was no "proper juncture. That he was himſelf witneſs of the "troubles raiſed by the Cardinal, and how contemptible "the authority of the Government was rendered by that "Prelate's Cabals: As for the Hoſtages, it was no longer "in his power to put them into his hands, ſince the Car"dinal and his whole party were againſt it, who were "now grown too ſtrong to be compelled." The Ambaſſador was ſufficiently convinced of the truth of what the Regent ſaid; and as he ſaw little appearance of a change in favour of the King his Maſter, he contented himſelf with ſummoning the Priſoners to return to *England*, according to their promiſe. But in that he ſucceeded no better. They refuſed to return, tho' they were releaſed only upon Parole. The Earl of *Caſſilis* (4) alone, abhorring the perfidiouſneſs of his Fellow-Priſoners, ſet out for *London*, and put himſelf into the King's hands. This action met with its due reward. *Henry* very civilly received the Earl. He commended his Faithfulneſs, and making him rich preſents, diſmiſſed him without ranſom. Mean while, finding his party in *Scotland* was neither very ſtrong, nor firm enough to his intereſt, he reſolved to proclaim war with that Kingdom. He might eaſily have ſubdued it ſome Months before, if he would have taken advantage of the conſternation of the *Scots*, after their defeat and the death of their Sovereign.

The Priſoners refuſe to go back, except the Earl of Caſſilis.

1543.

The Queen's and Cardinal's Artifices to ſeize the Government. Buchanan. Burnet.

The Queen and the Cardinal having accompliſhed their enterprize, with reſpect to a rupture with *England*, conſidered of means to procure the Government of the Kingdom, by ſupplanting the Earl of *Arran*, Head of the contrary Faction. Indeed, they did not much fear the Earl, as they had lately ſhewn. But he bore the title of Regent, and very poſſibly, by the counſels of the able men of his party, and the King of *England*'s aſſiſtance, he might find means in the end to make himſelf formidable. The war *Henry* had juſt proclaimed againſt *Scotland* afforded them an opportunity to execute their project. They repreſented to the King of *France*, "That it was almoſt "impoſſible for *Scotland* to maintain a war againſt *Eng*"*land*, without a powerful aid from him: That the Earl "of *Arran*, Regent of the Kingdom, favoured the *Eng*"*liſh*; and, inſtead of oppoſing them, would certainly "make uſe of them to eſtabliſh his Authority, and com"pleat the Queen's projected marriage: That probably, "this Marriage would break the old Alliance between "*France* and *Scotland*, and produce a ſtrict union be"tween *Scotland* and *England:* That he might plainly "ſee how much he was himſelf concerned in a war, "which, as it would infallibly be unſucceſsful, would "cauſe him to loſe *Scotland:* That indeed they perceived "how difficult it was for him to aſſiſt them, when he "wanted all his forces againſt the Emperor: but they had "deviſed an expedient to gain time, in breaking the mea"ſures of the contrary party. The expedient was, that "he ſhould ſend over *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox* who "was in *France*, that they might oppoſe him to the *Ha*"*miltons*, whoſe ſworn Enemy he was, becauſe they had "killed his Father: That this Lord being in *Scotland*, "would be immediately acknowledged for Head of the "party againſt the Regent, and by the aſſiſtance they "were ready to ſend him, wou'd become ſo ſuperior, that "it would not be poſſible for the Regent to execute his "deſigns in favor of *England*." The better to perſuade the Earl of *Lenox* to come to *Scotland*, they put him in hopes of marrying the Queen Dowager, and of being placed on the Throne in caſe the young Queen died before ſhe was married. They told him, this would be ſo much the eaſier, as before the Birth of *Mary*, the late King had deſigned him for his Succeſſor, though farther removed than the Earl of *Arran*, becauſe he looked upon this laſt as a Baſtard, by reaſon of the unlawfulneſs of his Father's marriage. Theſe remonſtrances had the deſired effect. *Francis* I, glad to ſtrengthen his party in *Scotland*, without being forced to ſend great Supplies, ſent away the Earl of *Lenox* with all ſpeed, promiſing him his protection.

They ſend for the Earl of Lenox from France to ſet him up againſt the Regent.

The Cardinal hinders the Regent from having the Queen's Perſon in his Power.

Mean while, the Regent having ſome notice of this project, reſolved to ſupport himſelf, by becoming maſter of the Queen's perſon, then in the Caſtle of *Limnuch* or *Linlithgoe* (5). But as he was not ſecret enough, the Cardinal, who was informed of it, came to *Linlithgoe* well attended, in order to hinder the Queen's removal. Shortly after, the Earl of *Lenox* arrived from *France*, and after ſaluting the Regent, withdrew to his own Houſe where he aſſembled his Friends, to conſult with them what was to be done. He acquainted them with the motives of his return, and the hopes given him of being put in poſſeſſion of the Regency, the Queen-Mother, and the Throne, if the young Queen happened to die. The Friends he conſulted, being all Enemies to the Regent, they unanimouſly adviſed him to improve the preſent opportunity, and each made him an offer of his Perſon, his Eſtate, his Vaſſals, and his Friends. So the Earl being determined to purſue his point, drew together four thouſand Men, and putting himſelf at their head, came to the Queen, under colour of guarding her againſt the attempts of the Regent, for fear ſhe ſhould be delivered to the enemies of the Kingdom. Indeed, the Earl of *Arran* had reſolved to ſecure her, nay, was preparing to execute his deſign. But when he found himſelf prevented, and conſidered, the Queen could not be got out of the hands of the Earl of *Lenox*, without coming to an open war, he ſent to treat of an Agreement. *Lenox* conſented, on condition the Queen ſhould for the future be educated in *Sterling* Caſtle, and four neutral Lords, whom both Parties could equally truſt, appointed to guard her, and take care of her Education. The four Lords (6) being choſen

The Earl of Lenox arrives, and oppoſes the Regent's deſigns. Buchanan.

(1) *William* Earl of *Glencairn*, *William Hamilton*, *James Leirmouth*, and *Henry Balnavis*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 781.
(2) Their number is not ſpecified in *Rymer*. It is only ſaid ——— certos ejuidem regni [viz. Scotiæ] Barones ——— See p. 793.
(3) The King might ſend a Nobleman and his Wife with other Perſons, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of the Marriage, ſix Noblemen were to be ſent from *Scotland* for Hoſtages. *Rymer*, Ib. p. 794. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 323.
(4) *Gilbert Kennedy*.
(5) Under her Mother's care. *Buchanan*.
(6) *William Graham*, *John Erſkin*, *John Lindſey*, and *William Levingſton*. *Buchanan*, l. 15.

and

1543. and approved of, the Queen was removed to *Sterling* Caſtle, where, a few days after (1), ſhe was crowned.

The Regent ſides with the Queen and the Cardinal. Buchanan.

The Regent ſeeing the Party of his Enemies daily gathered ſtrength, believed himſelf unable to withſtand the ſtorm which was forming againſt him. So, his courage and reſolution failing him when moſt wanted, he choſe to give way to the torrent, rather than ſtrive in vain, as he thought, to reſiſt it. Perſwaded as he was, that he ſhould be too weak to oppoſe the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal, he believed he ought to alter his meaſures, and ſtrictly unite with them. But even here he met with difficulties, which he could not ſurmount, without acting againſt his Conſcience. He had hitherto almoſt openly profeſſed the new Religion. But the Queen and the Cardinal, as they could not reſolve to be reconciled to him, ſo long as he was engaged in the Party of the Reformed, managed him ſo well, that at laſt they perſwaded him to abjure, in the Church of the *Franciſcans* at *Sterling*. By this action he loſt all his old Friends, and was reduced to depend upon the contrary Party, with whom the Cardinal had more power than himſelf. From thenceforward he was wholly guided by the Counſels of that Prelate, who was the true Regent, whilſt the Earl, that bore the name, was only the ſhadow.

He abjures at Sterling.

The Queen and the Cardinal try to ſend back the Earl of Lenox *to* France. Buchanan.

When the Queen and the Cardinal were poſſeſſed of the Government, they were at a loſs about the Earl of *Lenox*, to whom they were no longer willing to perform their promiſe. So, their chief care was to be rid of this Lord, who greatly embaraſſed them. They agreed therefore to deſire the King of *France* to recall him, and whilſt an anſwer was expected, the Queen ſhould continue to cheriſh his hopes, but withal ſhould uſe ſundry Artifices to put off her Marriage, concerning which he began to be very urgent with her. This Project was executed as it had been reſolved. The Queen for ſome time amuſed her Lover, who, not ſuſpecting what was contriving againſt him, ſpent his time in procuring her Diverſions, imagining, that would haſten his Marriage; but the Queen ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe to defer it. This Behaviour at laſt bred in him ſuſpicions, which were confirmed by ſome Friend of greater penetration, or better informed than himſelf. He heard, the Queen and the Cardinal had writ to the Court of *France*, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the King's Intereſt, than his ſtay in *Scotland*, ſince they had gained the Regent to their ſide.

They prejudice the King of France *againſt him.*

He takes up Arms.

Lenox was ſo provoked at being thus mock'd, that he ſwore to be revenged, and without taking leave of the Queen and the Cardinal, retired to *Dunbarton*. In the mean while, *Francis*, who was not yet informed of the alterations in *Scotland*, ſent thirty thouſand Crowns to the Earl of *Lenox*, to be diſtributed among thoſe of the Party, or to gain ſome of their Adverſaries. By theſe means the Court of *France* had long maintained a Faction in *Scotland*, whilſt the Court of *England* oppoſed her by the ſame methods. This Money arriving when *Lenox* was at *Dunbarton*, he ſent part to the Lords who had the care of the young Queen, and gave ſome to his own Friends. But the Cardinal had none, though he had flattered himſelf with having the beſt ſhare, and expected it with impatience. He was ſo very angry, that he perſwaded the Regent to raiſe an Army and ſurprize *Glaſcow*, where *Lenox* was retired with his Money. The Preparations which were making at Court, though under other pretences, giving the Earl of *Lenox* ſuſpicion they were deſigned againſt him, he reſolved to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. It was not difficult for him to draw Forces together. The Cardinal had many Enemies, and the Regent had loſt his Friends, ſince they had been forſaken by him. So, the Regent's Levies were made very ſlowly, whilſt the Earl's viſibly increaſed. Within a few days, he raiſed ten thouſand Men, and ſent the Cardinal word (2), he would ſave him the trouble of coming to *Glaſcow*. The Cardinal received this Defiance with a ſeeming contempt, and pretended to purſue his Enterprize. But it was not his intention to come to a battle. He did not ſufficiently rely on the Regent's Experience, who was no Warrior. Beſides, he foreſaw, that by prolonging the time, he ſhould oblige his Enemy to diſmiſs his Troops, becauſe he wanted wherewithal to keep them long on foot.

A Peace is made to his diſadvantage.

The Cardinal has all the Power under the Regent's Name.

What the Cardinal had foreſeen came to paſs. The Earl of *Lenox* finding himſelf deſtitute of Money, and ſeeing the deſertion was great in his Army, was forced at laſt to accept a Peace that was offered him. He came to *Edinburgh*, where he was outwardly reconciled with the Regent and the Cardinal; after which they went together to *Sterling*. But a few days after, having notice that the Court had ill deſigns againſt him, he privately withdrew, and returning to *Glaſcow*, furniſhed the Biſhop's Palace with a Garriſon and Ammunition, and ſhut himſelf up in *Dunbarton*. There he was informed, that the King of *France* had been ſo prejudiced againſt him, that there was no hope of obtaining his aſſiſtance for the future. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of *Scotland*, when *Henry* reſolved to renew the war againſt that Kingdom. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in *England*. 1543.

The King's ſixth Marriage. Herbert. Hollingſh. Burnet.

In *July*, *Henry* married his ſixth Wife, the Lady *Catherine Parr* (3), Widow of [*John Nevil*] Lord *Latimer*, verifying what was only ſaid in raillery, upon the Act paſſed in 1541, that the King muſt marry a Widow. The new Queen was a favorer of the Reformed. But ſhe was to proceed with great caution, not to offend a Husband, whoſe abſolute Will it was, that none ſhould believe, but what was believed by himſelf. For this reaſon ſhe durſt not, juſt after her Marriage, intercede for three Proteſtants who were burnt at *Windſor* (4), at the inſtigation of *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This Prelate never miſſed an opportunity to exaſperate the King againſt thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the Act of the ſix Articles. But he ſhowed not the ſame zeal againſt thoſe who were ſtill attached to the Pope. This affair however went farther than he deſired, ſince it occaſioned the diſcovery of a Plot, formed to ruin ſeveral Families at *Windſor*, upon falſe accuſations. The King was ſo offended at theſe diabolical practices, that he would have the affair thoroughly examined. The iſſue was, that the contrivers of the Plot (5) were carried on Horſeback, with their faces to the Horſe-tails, and then ſet in the Pillory. 'Tis ſaid, *Gardiner* had a great ſhare in this Project. But he was a very crafty Man, who knew how to conceal the hand that gave the blow, when he thought it dangerous to ſhow it.

Proteſtants burnt at Windſor. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Fox.

Plot diſcovered and puniſhed. Burnet. Herbert.

Plot againſt Cranmer. Burnet.

It was eaſy for the enemies of the Reformation to perceive, that *Cranmer* moſt obſtructed the execution of their deſigns, and they ſhould never ſucceed ſo long as he was in favour with the King. Whereupon they reſolved to apply themſelves before all things to his deſtruction, after which, they imagined, the ruin of his whole Party would follow of courſe. There were in this undertaking two contrary things, whereof one ſeemed to promiſe good ſucceſs, and the other rendered the execution very difficult. The firſt was, the King ſeemed fully bent not to ſpare thoſe who were called Hereticks, that is, thoſe who did not entirely conform themſelves to the Declaration of Faith lately publiſhed. Now every one knew the Archbiſhop was of this number, though he uſed great caution not to give his enemies any advantage either by word or deed. The ſecond was, the King's ſingular eſteem for the Archbiſhop, againſt whom ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts had been made. Notwithſtanding this, his enemies thought, if they could convince the King, that *Cranmer*'s opinions were very different from his, it would in ſome meaſure incenſe him. After that, they hoped the King would require of him, as of the reſt of his Subjects, a blind ſubmiſſion, and that *Cranmer*'s oppoſition, would deſtroy the King's affection for him. The buſineſs therefore was to inſpire the King with ſuſpicions, which ſhould induce him to examine what were the Archbiſhop's opinions upon Religion. To this end, no occaſion was loſt to hint to the King, that it was in vain to puniſh Hereticks whilſt their chief ſupporters were ſuffered to live unmoleſted. *Henry* perceiving *Cranmer* was aimed at, made no anſwer. He hoped, his ſilence would demonſtrate, it was in vain to try to incenſe him againſt that Prelate. But at laſt theſe inſinuations were ſo often repeated, that he ſeemed to give ear to them, in order to know their intent. He hearkened therefore to whatever was ſaid againſt *Cranmer*, and deſired to have the intended Articles of accuſation, with the names of his accuſers. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and their Party, believed the Archbiſhop ruined, ſince the King was pleaſed to examine his conduct. But they took care not to make themſelves Parties, their deſign being to appear unconcerned, to ſtrike the ſurer. They cauſed therefore the accuſation to be drawn by ſome Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, and certain *Kentiſh* Juſtices of the Peace, whom they perſwaded to be his accuſers. The Articles being put into the King's hands, he went in his Barge to *Lambeth*, the

He is accuſed to the King.

Henry feigns to liſten to the Accuſation.

(1) *Auguſt* 21. *Buchanan*, l. 15.

(2) From *Leith* where he was. *Buchanan.*

(3) Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parr* of *Kendal*, on *July* 12. *Stow*, p. 584.

(4) *July* 28. Their names were, *Anthony Perſone* a Prieſt, *Robert Testwood* a ſinging Man, and *Henry Filmer* a Taylor. *John Marbeck* another ſinging Man was alſo condemned, but pardoned afterwards. He was the firſt that compiled an *Engliſh Concordance*. *Hall*, fol. 256. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 326.

(5) Dr. *London* Prebend of *Windſor*, and *William Symonds*. *Ibid.*

1543. Archbiſhop's Palace on the other ſide of the *Thames*. *Cranmer* hearing the King was coming, haſtned down to his Stairs to receive him, and by his order went into the Barge. When the King was alone with him, he lamented the growth of Hereſy in the Kingdom, and told him, he was endeavouring to find out the chief encouragers of it, to puniſh them according to the utmoſt rigour of the Law, about which he was come to ask his opinion. *Cranmer* anſwered without any concern, that his zeal was laudable; but intreated him for God's ſake to conſider well what Hereſy was, leaſt, inſtead of puniſhing Hereticks, he fought againſt God. After ſome converſation upon this ſubject, the King told him at laſt, he was the Man who was accuſed of being the protector and chief encourager of the Hereticks, and then gave him the Articles of accuſation againſt him. *Cranmer* peruſing them, fell on his knees, and freely owned to the King, he was ſtill of the ſame mind he was of when he oppoſed the ſix Articles; but that he had done or ſaid nothing againſt them. Then he humbly deſired to be tried by the Laws, becauſe he was ſure he ſhould never be convicted of tranſgreſſing them. Whereupon the King asked him, whether it was true that he was married. *Cranmer* confeſſed it, but ſaid he had ſent his Wife to *Germany* upon the paſſing of the Act of the ſix Articles. *Henry*, who had long ſeen about him only ſuch as diſſembled their ſentiments, was charmed with the Archbiſhop's candor and ſincerity. Inſtead of being diſpleaſed with his confeſſion, he could not forbear admiring his ſteddineſs, which made him dare the greateſt danger he had ever been in, and that he ſo wiſely allied it with an inviolable regard for the Laws. Wherefore he gave him a very ſenſible proof of his eſteem and affection, in diſcovering to him the Plot his enemies had laid againſt him, naming his accuſers, and ordering him to proceed againſt them. *Cranmer* excuſed himſelf; but the King told him poſitively he would be obeyed, and that he ſhould name his Judges himſelf. If *Cranmer* had been vindictive, he had a fair opportunity of being revenged on thoſe who would have ruined him, and particularly on *Gardiner* chief contriver of the Plot, as appears in Letters under his own hand. But he ſhowed ſo great backwardneſs to puſh this affair, that at length the King was tired with preſſing him, ſince he did it ſo unwillingly. Mean while, he had not the leſs value for him. Shortly after, one of his ſecret enemies, known for ſuch by the King, though he himſelf had no ſuſpicion of him, deſiring his aſſiſtance in a ſuit he had at Court, he went immediately and ſpoke to the King in his behalf. The King ſurprized to ſee him ſpeak for this Perſon, asked him if he knew him well; and upon his anſwering, that he took him for his Friend; *No*, replied the King, *he is your mortal enemy, and I command you when you ſee him next to call him Knave*. *Cranmer* modeſtly anſwered, ſuch language did not become a Biſhop; but the King inſiſted upon his compliance. Nevertheleſs *Cranmer* found means to be excuſed, and the King, content with admiring his goodneſs, would not preſs him any farther. Thus the Plot, contrived for the Archbiſhop's ruin, ſerved only to indear him the more to the King, and demonſtrate to his enemies how dangerous it was to attack him.

He informs him of the whole Plot, and orders him to proceed againſt his Accuſers.

Cranmer excuſes himſelf.

The King gives him another Mark of his Eſteem.

The Queen's Brother is made Earl of Eſſex. Herbert.

The 23d of *December*, the King created the Lord *Parr*, the Queen's Brother, Earl of *Eſſex* (1), and conferred on Sir *William Parr* her Uncle, the title of Lord *Parr* [of *Horton*,] with the Office of Chamberlain to the Queen (2).

Continuation of the War between the Emperor and France. Bellai. Mezerai. Stow.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the War between the Emperor and the King of *France* was carrying on in ſeveral places. In the beginning of the Campain, *Francis* had ſome advantages in the *Low-Countries*, where he took *Landrecy*, *Emery*, *Bapaume*, *Maubeuge* and *Luxemburg*. But the Emperor arriving about the end of the Summer with a ſtrong ſupply of *Spaniſh* Troops, *Francis* being inferior in number, was obliged to keep at ſome diſtance. This gave the Emperor an opportunity to inveſt *Landrecy*, of which however he was forced to raiſe the Siege, upon *Francis*'s finding means to throw in ſuccours. But he made himſelf amends by taking *Cambray*.

Siege of Nice by the French and the Turks.

At the ſame time *Barbaroſſa*, Admiral of the *Turks*, coming to *Marſeilles* the beginning of *July*, with a hundred and ten *Turkiſh* Gallies, found there the Earl of *Enghien*, of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, with twenty-two *French* Gallies. After their junction, they went together and attacked *Nice*, the 10th of *Auguſt*, and on the 20th, became maſters of the Town. But the Caſtle made ſo brave a defence, that the *Turkiſh* Admiral finding he loſt both time and reputation before the place, retired and wintered in *Provence*, from whence he returned to *Turky* the beginning of the Spring. I ſhall ſay nothing of the War in *Piedmont*, becauſe it produced no remarkable event (3). 1543.

1544. *The Emperor's and Henry's vaſt Projects.* Act. Pub. XV. p. 1, 2. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

During this whole Campain, *Henry* aſſiſted the Emperor only with a ſmall Body (4) of Troops, commanded by Sir *John Wallop* (5): But they both formed vaſt projects for the next year. They intended to enter *France*, the one by *Champagne*, the other by *Picardy*, each at the head of forty thouſand Men, and to join about *Paris*. To execute this project it was neceſſary to act with union and a good underſtanding. So, *Henry* cou'd not diſpenſe with performing his promiſe to the Emperor, to give the Princeſs *Mary* a place in the Succeſſion. The Parliament meeting the 14th of *January* 1544, immediately paſſed an Act, ſettling the order of thoſe who could pretend to the Crown after the King's death. I have frequently obſerved, that the Parliament was held in ſubjection, and did nothing but what the King pleaſed. Several Inſtances have been ſeen, but none more flagrant than the following. In this Act Prince *Edward* was rank'd firſt, with his Iſſue. In the ſecond place, the Heirs-Male by the King's preſent or future marriage, with their Iſſue. In the third place, the Princeſs *Mary* and her Line. Laſtly, the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and her Heirs. But there was no mention of the King's divorces with the Queens, Mothers to theſe two Princeſſes. So notwithſtanding the Acts, which approved and confirmed theſe divorces, and were never repealed, the Parliament ſeemed to conſider theſe Princeſſes as legitimate, though before they had been declared Baſtards, and, as ſuch, excluded from the Succeſſion. On the other hand, to convince them, they were indebted to the King their Father for this favor, the Act made them liable to ſuch limitations or conditions, as the King ſhould pleaſe to declare by his Letters Patents, on pain of forfeiting the right which was granted them. Moreover, in caſe of diſobedience on their part, or if they died without Heirs, the Parliament gave the King power to ſettle the Crown on any other by his Letters Patents, or his laſt Will ſigned with his own hand. Was not this conſidering theſe two Princeſſes as Baſtards, ſince their right to the Succeſſion was made to depend on the King their Father's pleaſure? Without pretending to queſtion the right of the King and Repreſentatives of the Nation to ſettle the Succeſſion as they pleaſe, I cannot forbear remarking, that this right was carried on this occaſion as far as it can be ſtretched. Suppoſing theſe two Princeſſes Baſtards, the Parliament impowered the King to call them to the Throne, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm ſince the Conqueſt. On the other hand, ſuppoſing them legitimate, they left the King free to exclude them from the Succeſſion, contrary to the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms, ſince it was in his breaſt to impoſe on them conditions impoſſible to be performed. This was a power no King of *England* had ever enjoyed, and which ſhows, this Act flowed not ſo much from the Parliament as from the King himſelf. To palliate in ſome meaſure theſe contradictions, care was taken not to mention in the Act, the King's divorces with *Catherine* and *Ann*. Only every one was free to gueſs the motives of the Act, which was not very difficult, ſince there was no other than that of complying with the King's Will. By a clauſe in this Statute, all perſons were obliged to take a new Oath againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; which whoſoever refuſed, or ſhould break any of the Articles of this Act, was to be adjudged a Traitor. 1543.

Parliament. Act to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown. Herbert. Burnet.

Remarks on this Act.

A new Oath ordained. Act. Pub. XV. p. 21.

By another Act paſſed this ſame Seſſion, the Title of *King of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, was united for ever to the Crown of *England*.

The King's Title ſettled for ever.

By another it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be indited on the Statute of the ſix Articles, but upon a Preſentment by the Oaths of twelve Men, before Commiſſioners appointed by the King: That no perſon ſhould be impriſoned but upon an Inditement; and laſtly, that the Preſentment ſhould be made within forty days after the

Act to limit the Juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

(1) He had married *Ann* Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*. *Stow*, p. 585.

(2) Alſo, ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility that came and ſubmitted to King *Henry*, *June* 3, were, on *July* 1, advanced to the following Honours; namely, *William Boruck*, or *Bourk*, alias *Macwilliam*, was created Earl of *Clanreckard*, and Baron *Dunkellyn*. *Mawer Obrien*, Earl of *Tomon*, or *Thomond*, and Baron *Inſkeoyne*. And *Conaught Obrien*, Baron of *Ibrackayn*. Sir *Conaught O-Neal* came alſo and made his Submiſſion to King *Henry*, and was created Earl of *Tyrone*. *Septemb.* 1. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 14. p. 797---800. Tom. 15. p. 7. *Hall*, fol. 247, 256.

(3) This year, the firſt caſt pieces of Iron (both Cannons and Mortars) that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckſtead* in *Suſſex*, by *Peter Baud*, *Ralph Hoge*, and *Peter van Colen*. *Stow*, p. 584. *Hollingſh.* p. 960.

(4) Six theuſand Men. *Hall*, fol. 256.

(5) Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marſhal, and Sir *Richard Cromwell* Captain of the Horſe. *Hall*, ibid. They departed from *Calais July* 22. *Stow*, p. 585.

pretended

1544. pretended offence was committed, otherwiſe it ſhould be rejected (1). Hereby the Eccleſiaſtical Courts were tied up in ſome meaſure, from oppreſſing the Subjects on pretenſe of Hereſy, ſince the ſame privileges were allowed for that crime, as were enjoyed by the *Engliſh* with reſpect to all other offences.

The Parliament declares the King clear of all debts,

Laſtly, the Parliament granted the King a Subſidy, in a manner unheard of before, by enjoining that thoſe who had lent him money ſhould be obliged to forgive the debt (2). However unjuſt this Act was with reſpect to the particular Perſons who had lent the money, the Parliament was not ſorry, the King deſired it, in order to put a ſtop to the cuſtom of Loans, which in time would have render'd Parliaments uſeleſs.

and revive the Authority to appoint Commiſſioners.

The Power formerly granted the King was alſo revived [during Life,] of appointing Commiſſioners to examine all Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, and to make the neceſſary Alterations, which the King had hitherto neglected (3).

The Lord Wriothesley *made Chancellor.* May 3.

Before the end of the Seſſion, *Thomas Wriotheſly* great friend of the old Religion, was made Lord Chancellor in the room of the Lord *Audley* deceaſed (4).

War in Piedmont. P. Daniel. *Battle of* Ceriſoles. P. Daniel. Herbert.

In the beginning of the year, *Francis* I. ſent into *Piedmont* the Earl of *Enghien* who was but two and twenty years old, to take the command of the Army in the room of *Boutiers* who had not been very ſucceſsful. This young Prince ingaging the Marquiſs of *Guaſto*, at *Ceriſoles*, obtained, the 14th of *April*, a ſignal Victory over him, which coſt the Imperialiſts ten thouſand Men, beſides the Wounded and Priſoners. In the conſternation the Marquiſs of *Guaſto* was under, after the loſs of the Battle, he would have found it very difficult to keep *Milan* for the Emperor, if the Earl of *Enghien* had not been ſtopped in the midſt of his career by expreſs orders. As the King of *France* was inform'd, that the Emperor and the King of *England* were to join and invade him in the center of his Dominions, with an Army of eighty thouſand Foot, and twenty two thouſand Horſe, he deemed it more neceſſary to provide for the defence of his Kingdom, than to think of making Conqueſts in *Italy*. For this reaſon he ordered the Earl of *Enghien* to ſend him twelve thouſand Men of his Army. This diminution diſabled the young Prince to reap any other advantage from his Victory than the taking of *Carignano*, which he reduced to the King's Obedience.

Francis recalls his Troops out of Italy.

War with Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

Mean while, the formidable Armies which were to invade *France* not being yet ready, *Henry* reſolved to make uſe of part of his Troops to finiſh the Affair of *Scotland*, which he had ever at heart. Though he had declared War againſt *Scotland*, it was not to make conqueſts upon that Kingdom, but ſolely to compel the *Scots*, by the terror of his Arms, to agree to the marriage of their Queen with the Prince his Son. He could not conceive, that in their preſent circumſtances, they could flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſucceſs, in a War ſo unequal and capable of ruining *Scotland* in one ſingle Campain. But Cardinal *Beaton*, an obſtinate Man if ever there was one, who governed in the Regent's name, choſe rather to expoſe the Kingdom to become a Prey to the *Engliſh*, than conſent to a Peace, which could not be made without ruining his fortune. So *Henry* ſeeing it was neceſſary to preſs him more cloſely, reſolved to ſend into *Scotland* part of the Troops deſigned againſt *France*. The Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle* High-Admiral, were appointed for this expedition. The former led the Army to *Newcaſtle*, where the Admiral arrived with a Fleet, and two hundred tranſport Ships, on which the Troops imbarked. The Earl of *Hertford* landing near *Leith* (5), took that Town without difficulty, and then marched directly to *Edinburgh*, of which he became maſter with the ſame eaſe. The Regent and Cardinal had not provided for their defence, imagining the King's threats would be without effect. The City of *Edinburgh* was ſack'd and burnt; but the *Engliſh* attacked not the Caſtle, for fear of being engag'd in too long a Siege. After that, they returned to *Leith*, and burning the Town, retired to *Berwick* the 18th of *May* (6). If

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Henry had reſolved to improve his advantages, he would have ſubdued all *Scotland*, conſidering the great conſternation of the *Scots* upon this invaſion. But two reaſons prevented him. The firſt, that he wanted his Troops to ſend them to *France*, where he intended alſo to go in perſon. The ſecond, that his aim was only to let the *Scots* ſee what they were to expect, if they did not ſpeedily reſolve to execute the Treaty for their Queen's marriage, and he ſcarce doubted but this method would ſucceed. Mean while, it muſt have been thought very ſtrange, that he ſhould court the young Queen of *Scotland* for the Prince his Son, in ſo extraordinary a manner, and the World was of opinion, either he had done too much, or did not do enough. 1544.

The Earl of Lenox *ſides with* Henry. Buchanan. Stow.

Tho' *Henry* had withdrawn his Army out of *Scotland*, he had not however relinquiſh'd his project of harraſſing the *Scots* till he forc'd them to agree to the marriage. To this end he improv'd an opportunity to give the Regent and the Cardinal freſh diſturbances. The Earl of *Lenox* as I ſaid, having quitted the Court, was retired to *Dunbarton*, the Governor whereof was devoted to him, but found himſelf greatly embaraſſed. His Friends in *France* had informed him, that the King was exceedingly incenſed againſt him, and accuſed him of having laviſhed away the Money ſent him to maintain the War againſt the *Engliſh*. This was in effect what had been hinted to *Francis* by the Queen-Dowager, the Regent, and the Cardinal, who were ſeconded by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, and in this manner the *French* Hiſtorians repreſent it. The Earl, willing to clear himſelf, had ſent a Man into *France*, to acquaint the King with all that had paſſed in *Scotland* ſince his arrival, and with the preſent ſituation of affairs. But the King, prepoſſeſſed by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, refuſed to give the Meſſenger Audience, nay, was going to order him to Priſon. The Earl ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken, both by the King of *France*, and thoſe who had at firſt joined him in *Scotland*, ſent to the King of *England*, to know whether he would take him into his Service, with the Earl of *Glencarn* his intimate Friend. *Henry* received the Overture more favorably than the two Lords durſt have expected. He promiſed them his Protection on certain conditions, which he would ſettle with them, if they would ſend ſome truſty perſon to *England*. Whereupon the Earl of *Glencarn* came himſelf to *Carliſle*, with the Biſhop of *Cathneſs*, Brother of the Earl of *Lenox*, and two others. In a few days after their arrival, they concluded with the King's Commiſſioners (7) a Treaty, wherein the Earl of *Lenox* and *Glencarn* promiſed,

Act. Pub. XV. p. 19.

Conventions between Henry *and the Earl of* Lenox. Ib. p. 22. May 17.

I. That they would cauſe the pure word of God to be preached in their Territories.

II. That they ſhould hinder to the utmoſt of their power, the young Queen from being carried out of *Scotland*, and do their endeavour to deliver her into the hands of the King of *England*.

III. That they would aſſiſt the King with all their Forces, to procure him (8) the direction of the Government of *Scotland*, and the Title of Protector of the Realm.

IV. That the Biſhop of *Cathneſs*, and *Hugh Cunningham*, ſhould be given in Hoſtage to the King of *England*.

The King promiſed on his part:

1. That his Army ſhould not oppreſs their Lands.

2. That he would conſtitute the Earl of *Lenox* Regent of the Kingdom, provided he would do nothing without his expreſs conſent.

3. That he would give him out of the Revenues of the Crown, what ſhould be reaſonable to ſupport the Dignity of Regent.

4. That in caſe the young Queen ſhould die, he would ſupport the Earl of *Lenox* in obtaining the Crown againſt the pretenſions of the Earl of *Arran*.

5. That he would give the Earl of *Glencarn* an yearly Penſion of a thouſand Crowns.

(1) Here is a miſtake. The Preſentment was to be made within a year after the Offence committed. And if any Preacher or Reader ſhould ſpeak any thing in his ſermon or Reading, contrary to any matter contained in the ſix Articles, he muſt be complained of within forty days, unleſs a juſt Cauſe were given why it could not be ſo ſoon. See the *Act*. This Act had clearly a relation to the Conſpiracies mentioned in the former year, both againſt the Archbiſhop, and ſome of the King's Servants.

(2) Nay, thoſe who had got payment, either in whole or in part, of the Sums ſo lent the King, were to repay what they had received, to the *Exchequer*. There was ſuch an Act paſſed in the 21ſt year of the King's Reign. See above, p. 785, Note (12). *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 330.

(3) There were thirty two Commiſſioners appointed, ſixteen of the Clergy, and the ſame number of the Laity. The Bill for examining theſe Laws was read, for the firſt time, *January* 18; and for the ſecond, third, and fourth times, the 19th, 22d, and 24th of the ſame Month, and paſſed *March* 6. Upon mention of this Bill's being read the fourth time, it is obſerved in the *Journals* of the Houſe of Lords, that Bills of moment have been uſually or often read four times. See *Jour. Procer. Burnet*, Tom. III. p. 161; and *Statut.* 35. *Hen.* 8. ---- In this Seſſion of Parliament, there was a very good Act made for the preſervation of Timber and Woods, which ought to be better obſerved. See *ibid.* c. 17.

(4) The Lord *Audley* died *April* 30, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly* was created Baron of *Tichfield*, *January* 1. this year. *Hall*, fol. 257. *Stow*, p. 585. Sir *William Petre*, *Cranmer*'s great Friend, was about this time made Secretary of State. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 331.

(5) *May* 4. *Buchanan*, l. 15. They ſet out from *London* in *March*. *Hollingſh.* p. 961.

(6) See an account of the Villages they plundered and burnt, in *Hall*, fol. 258; and *Hollingſh.* p. 963.

(7) *Thomas* Lord *Wharton* Warden of the *Weſt Marches*, and Sir *Robert Bowes* Maſter of the Requeſts. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 15. p. 23.

(8) The poſſeſſion of *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, *Roxburgh*, *Hume* Caſtle, the *Hermitage*, the *Mers*, and *Teviotdale*. *Ibid.* p. 24.

6. That

1544. 6. That he would consent, that *Margaret Douglass* his Niece should espouse the Earl of *Lenox*, provided she were willing.

This Treaty was signed at *Carlisle* the 17th of *May*, whilst the *English* Army was quitting *Scotland*, and retiring to *Berwick*.

Other Conventions. Act. Pub. XV. p. 29. Herbert.

Some days after, the Earl of *Lenox* came to the Court of *England*, where the foregoing Treaty was confirmed the 26th of *June*, with the following additional Articles:

That the Earl of *Lenox* should surrender to the King the Castle of *Dunbritton*, and the Isle of *Bute*.

That if he married *Margaret Douglass*, he should assign her an honorable Dower.

That the King ingaged on his part, to aid him with five hundred Men, to give him a Pension of seventeen hundred Marks (1) for himself, and one of a hundred Marks for *George Striveling*, Governor of *Dunbritton*.

The Earl of Lenox *cannot surrender* Dunbritton *to the King.* Buchanan. Herbert.

In consequence of this Treaty the Earl of *Lenox* came to *Dunbritton* with thirteen Ships, and about six hundred Men. Upon his arrival, he went to the Castle with a few Followers, to try to perswade the Governor (2) to deliver the Place to the King of *England*. But the Governor preferring his duty to his affection for the Earl, refused to admit the *English*. This attempt failing, *Lenox* ravaged the Isles of *Arran* and *Bute*, where he met with no opposition. Then he made a descent upon *Kintyre*, and after plundering some Villages, sailed to *Bristol*, where he expected the King's return, who was now in *France*.

Another English *Invasion in* Scotland. Buchanan.

In the mean while, the Earl of *Arran* and Cardinal *Beaton*, prosecuted, with the utmost rigour, the Earl of *Lenox*'s Friends, and confiscated their Estates. But a fresh Invasion of the *English*, who, though few in number, took *Jedborrough*, *Kelsoe*, and *Coldingham*, caused them to cease these Proceedings, and raise an Army to enable them to repulse their Enemies. The *Scotch* Army amounting to eight thousand Men, being ready to march, the Queen-Dowager, the Regent, and the Cardinal, led them to *Coldingham*, where the *English*, when they retired, had left a Garrison. But whilst they were employed in this Siege, the Regent having advice, that the *English* were marched from *Berwick* to relieve the Town, was seized with such a Panick, that speedily mounting his Horse, he fled all alone to *Dunbar*. This hasty flight threw the whole Army into such a consternation, that there was no hindering the Soldiers from disbanding. The Earl of *Angus* alone resolved to stay with a few Men, and carry off the Artillery, which was going to be deserted. The *Scots* being dispersed, the *English* ravaged without mercy, *Teviot*, *Merch*, and *Lauderdale*, compelling the Inhabitants to swear Allegiance to the King of *England*. *Buchanan* adds, that the Earl of *Angus* reviving the Regent's Courage, they assembled some Troops, and causing the *English* to fall into an Ambush, slew eight hundred (3) of their Men, and took a thousand Prisoners. But there is nothing like this in the *English* Histories.

l. 15.

Diet of Spire *favorable to the Protestants.* Sleidan.

Whilst the King of *England* was acting against *Scotland*, till Things were ready to begin the war in *France*, the Emperor was at *Spire*, where he had called a Diet, to try to obtain some assistance from the Princes of *Germany*. The Protestants at first scrupled very much to assist him, whilst he left them exposed to the Insults of their Enemies. But the moment they obtained a Decree, that they should not be disturbed in the exercise of their Religion, they granted whatever was required. This was all they desired, and it was deemed a signal favor to grant it, even with such Limitations and ambiguous Clauses, as would one day render it fruitless. So the Diet broke up about the end of *May*, to the mutual satisfaction of the States of the Empire. The Pope alone was offended at the Decree, in favour of the Protestants, and to hinder them from long enjoying the Toleration granted, till the Council should meet, he fixed the opening of the Council of *Trent* to the 25th of *March* 1545.

The opening of the Council of Trent *fixed to* March 25. 1545.

The Emperor takes Luxemburg. Bellai.

Whilst the Emperor was at *Spire*, he ordered *Luxemburg* to be invested, which surrendered about the end of *May*. Then, he headed his Army in Person, to begin the execution of the Projects concerted with *Henry*. Since the conclusion of the Treaty in *February* last year, whereby they were each to bring into the Field but twenty-five thousand Men, they had agreed to encrease the number of their Troops, to invade *France* with two Armies, which together were to make above a hundred thousand Men, and to join them about *Paris*. The Emperor's first Exploits, till the King of *England*'s arrival, were the taking of *Commercy* and *Ligny* in *le Barrois*. After that he entered *Champagne*, and besieged St. *Didier* the 8th of *July*. This place, though weak, held out above six weeks, and then was taken by a false Intelligence carried to the Governor.

1544. *The designs of the Emperor and Henry.*

The Emperor besieges St. Didier.

The Duke of Norfolk joins the Count de Bure. Act. Pub. XV. p. 40. Hall. Stow.

The War with *Scotland* having prevented *Henry* from being ready so soon as he had promised, it was about *Whitsuntide* before he embarked part of his Army for *Calais*, under the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk* (4). As for himself, he still remained in *England* with the rest of his Troops till the middle of *July* (5). When the Duke of *Norfolk* was beyond Sea, he joined the Count *de Bure*, who commanded ten thousand Men of the Emperor's Troops, and they jointly besieged the Town of *Montreuil*. This was probably with the Emperor's consent, who at the same time laid Siege to St. *Didier*. He was in hopes that place would detain him but few days, and then he should march to *Paris*, whilst *Henry* was advancing to join him. Had this project been executed according to agreement, *Paris*, and all the Country as far as the *Loire*, would have been in great danger, since *Francis* had not above forty thousand Men. But the Emperor was prepostorously bent upon the Siege of St. *Didier*, which stayed him above six Weeks. In the mean time, *Henry* arriving at *Calais* (6) with the rest of his Army, found that the Emperor's design was to leave him to march alone to *Paris*, and keep the King of *France* employed, whilst he pursued his affairs in *Champagne*. So, perceiving that instead of marching to the rendezvous, the Emperor was employed in a Siege, he ordered likewise *Boulogne* to be invested, and came himself to the Siege the 26th of *July*. By this means their project was suspended, whilst they separately amused themselves with the taking of Towns. This error proved the safety of *France*. From thenceforward these two Princes mutually charging one another with non-performance of agreements, had no longer any confidence in each other. And therefore the Emperor, by indirect means, caused a Peace to be offered to *Francis*, whilst *Henry* more openly granted a safe-conduct for *French* Ambassadors to come and treat with him, at a league from his Camp.

Treaty of Crepy between the Emperor and France. Bellai. Herbert. Mezerai.

The Siege of St. Didier breaks the Measures of the two confederate Monarchs.

Henry *arrives at* Calais.

Suspects the Emperor, and besieges Boulogne. Act. Pub. XV. p. 53. &c. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The Emperor privately, and Henry *openly, offer Peace to* Francis.

Mean while the Emperor, having at last taken St. *Didier* about the middle of *August*, sent to *Henry* to march towards *Paris*, as was agreed. *Henry* answered, that since he had given the Emperor time to take St. *Didier*, it was but reasonable the Emperor should stay till he had taken *Boulogne*, which could not be long. After the taking of St. *Didier*, the Emperor advanced to *Chateau-Thierri*, and filled *Paris* with terror and confusion. But *Henry*'s answer convincing him, it would be very difficult to execute their projects during the rest of the Campain, he renewed his private Negotiation with *Francis*, which had been suspended. Shortly after, he concluded with *France* a separate Peace, signed at *Crepy* the 19th of *September*, not only without including *Henry*, but even without acquainting him, for fear of prevention.

The Emperor takes St. Didier, calls upon Henry to march to Paris.

Henry chuses rather to take Boulogne. Act. Pub. XV. p. 50. Herbert.

Henry was not much surprized at the Emperor's proceedings. He ought not to have expected less from such a friend, who was reconciled to him only in order to do his own business. It is certain, *Charles* V, no more than *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, his paternal and maternal Grandfathers, never pretended much to sincerity, nor was integrity his principal virtue. *Henry* complained of his breach of Faith. But it was easy to alledge sundry reasons, little capable however of balancing the Oath he had taken, to conclude neither Peace nor Truce without the consent of his Ally. But these Oaths are generally so ill kept in most Leagues, that they seem to be considered only as a sort of form, not much to be relied upon. Happily for *Henry*, *Boulogne* had capitulated the 14th of *September*, before the Treaty of *Crepy* was signed (7).

Henry complains of the Emperor in vain.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 56. Boulogne *surrendered by Capitulation.*

The Emperor thought himself very politick in easing himself of the burden of the War, and leaving *Francis* and *Henry* imbroiled. Indeed, it was a great advantage, had

(1) Which made six thousand eight hundred *Scottish* Marks. *Rymer*, p. 31.

(2) His own Lieutenant.

(3) Two hundred. *Buchanan*. l. 15.

(4) Who was accompanied by *John* Lord *Russel*, Captain of the Vanguard. *Rymer*, Tom. 15. p. 43; and *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey* Marshal, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, &c. *Herbert*, p. 244.

(5) Before his departure, he appointed Queen *Catherine* Regent of the Kingdom; and named for her assistants, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor *Wriothesly*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Bishop of *Westminster*, and Sir *William Petre*. *Rymer*, Tom. 15. p. 39.

(6) *July* 14. *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* was Captain of the Middle-ward, and had with him *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford* Lord Chamberlain, *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel* the Marshal, Sir *John Gage* Controller of his Household, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, &c. *Hall*. The Ship wherein the King was conveyed over had Sails of Cloth of Gold. *Herbert*, p. 245.

(7) The Reader may see a very full account of the Siege of *Boulogne*, in a Journal of it, extant in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 15. p. 52, &c; and *Herbert*, p. 245. *Compl. Hist.*

1544. it not been acquired by breach of Faith. Immediately after the concluſion of the Treaty, he ſent orders to the Count *de Bure* to raiſe the Siege of *Montreuil*, which obliged *Henry* alſo to recall the Duke of *Norfolk*. In the ſituation of *Henry*'s affairs, he had nothing to do but retire, for fear the Dauphin, who was advancing by long marches, ſhould oblige him to fight with great diſadvantage, or retreat with precipitation. Beſides, that the Dauphin was at the head of forty thouſand Men, he would have found the *Engliſh* Army much leſſened, as well by their loſſes at two Sieges, as by the numerous Garriſon they were forced to leave at *Boulogne*. So, having well ſtored that place, and left Admiral *Dudley* Governor, *Henry* departed for *England* the 30th of *September*, whilſt his Troops were returning to *Calais*.

The Siege of Montreuil *is raiſed.* Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh. *The Dauphin marches againſt* Henry, *who retires to* Calais. Stow. Herbert. Hollingſh.

The Dauphin came a few days after (1), but did not think proper to purſue the *Engliſh*, who were too far before him, and too near *Calais* for him to expect to overtake them. He contented himſelf therefore with trying to ſurprize *Boulogne*, the breaches whereof the *Engliſh* had not time to repair. He was very like to have ſucceeded in his attempt. The *French* were now maſters of the Lower-Town, where all the *Engliſh* Ordnance lay, when a ſally from the Upper-Town compelled them to retreat in diſorder. Marſhal *Montluc* in his Commentaries, ſpeaks of this action, in a different manner from the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, though he agrees with them that the *French* were repulſed. Some days after (2), a conference was held at *Calais*, to try to procure a Peace between the two Kings. But the aim of the *French* being to perſuade the *Engliſh* to reſtore *Boulogne* upon the bare hopes of a Peace, it is not ſtrange, the conference ſhould be fruitleſs.

The Dauphin fails in his attempt to ſurprize Boulogne. Bellai. Act. Pub. XV. p. 57. Herbert. Hall. Comment. of Montluc. Herbert. *Conference for a Peace fruitleſs.* Act. Pub. XV. p. 57. Herbert.

Henry at his return to *England* took great care to put in a poſture of defence the places on the *Thames*, and on the Southern Coaſt (3), imagining *Francis* would not fail to invade him the next year. At the ſame time he ſent into *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox* who took *Dumfreys*.

Henry fortifies his maritime Places. Herbert.

This year, moſt part of the Colleges, Collegiate Churches, and Hoſpitals were ſurrendered to the King (4) by Acts and Deeds, ſeemingly voluntary, but which were no more ſo than thoſe ſigned by the Abbots and Priors, when they reſigned their Monaſteries (5).

Colleges and Hoſpitals reſigned to the King. Act. Pub. XV. p. 65, &c.

1545. In the beginning of the year 1545, the Marſhal *de Biez* encamped near *Boulogne*, in order to raiſe a Fort at *Portet* (6) to command the Harbour of *Boulogne*. But the Earl of *Hertford* who had ſucceeded *Dudley*, ſallying out with a body of Troops, diſlodged the Marſhal from his Poſt, and forced him to put off his project till another time.

Preparations of France *againſt* England. Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

Mean while *Francis* was making great preparations againſt *England*, in hopes of retaking *Boulogne*, and even *Guiſnes* and *Calais*, in order to expel the *Engliſh* entirely out of *France*. To this end he equipped in the ſeveral Ports of *France* one hundred and fifty great Ships, and ſixty ſmaller ones (7), with ten hired of the *Genoeſe*. Moreover, he had ordered five and twenty Gallies to be brought from the *Levant*, in imitation of *Lewis* XII, who, on the like occaſion, had ſent for four from thence. At the ſame time, he prepared to raiſe an Army of forty thouſand Men, with whom he intended to join twelve thouſand *Landſquenets* levied in *Germany*. His deſign was to attack *Boulogne* by Land, and ſo block it up by Sea, that it ſhould be impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to relieve it. To execute this project, he ſent a re-inforcement to the Marſhal *de Biez*, ordering him to build at *Portet* the Fort he had been forced to leave unfiniſhed, being unwilling to approach *Boulogne* before this Fort was in a ſtate of defence. The Marſhal putting him in hopes, the Work would be finiſhed by the middle of *Auguſt*, he came about the end of *June* to *Havre de Grace*, to give orders for an expedition by Sea. His Gallies and Ships arriving ſhortly after, he commanded the Fleet to ſail towards *England*. But in ſeeing it depart, he had the vexation to behold one of his largeſt, called *the Grand Carracon*, burnt before his face, ſhe having taken fire whilſt the Anchor was weighing.

Hall. Burnet. Herbert.

Admiral *Annebaut* who commanded the Fleet, arrived, the 18th of *July*, at the *Iſle of Wight*, in ſight of *Portſmouth*, where lay the *Engliſh* Fleet of ſixty Ships only. Notwithſtanding the diſproportion between the two Fleets, the *Engliſh* approached the *French*; but after a ſlight skirmiſh retired behind the Sands, with deſign to draw the enemies after them. The *French* Admiral conſulting how they might be attacked, was told, it was an impoſſible thing, becauſe the Channel which led to the place where they lay was ſo narrow, that hardly could four Ships ſail abreaſt. That beſides, there was no venturing among the Sands without Pilots. Theſe difficulties obliged the Admiral to content himſelf with provoking the *Engliſh* to fight, by means of the Gallies, in order to draw them from their poſt. At firſt the Gallies, favoured by a great calm, annoyed the *Engliſh* Ships. But a Land-breeze ariſing, deprived them of their advantage, and cauſed them to row off, for fear of being run down by the large Ships. The *Engliſh* did not purſue them very far, their deſign being to draw the enemies among the Sands, with which they were unacquainted. 1545.

Expedition of the French *Fleet.* Bellai. Hall. Stow.

At laſt, the *French* ſeeing the *Engliſh* would not loſe the advantage of their Poſt, landed in three places in the *Iſle of Wight*. But all this ended only in burning ſome Villages. It was moved in a Council of War, to fortify and keep the Iſland. But it was judged impracticable, chiefly by reaſon of the time which ſuch a project would neceſſarily require. The Admiral therefore was ſatisfied with ordering a deſcent on the Coaſt of *Suſſex* (8), imagining the King, who was at *Portſmouth*, would ſend out his Fleet to aſſiſt the Country. But he was miſtaken. The *Engliſh* Fleet ſtill lay behind the Sands, and the deſcents which the *French* made in three ſeveral places, gained them no conſiderable advantage, becauſe the Coaſts were well guarded. In the mean while, the *Engliſh* Fleet daily encreaſing, conſiſted now of a hundred Sail. So, *Annebaut* ſeeing little hopes of making great progreſs, retired towards *France*, after having watered at the *Iſle of Wight*, not without loſing ſome Soldiers and Officers.

Deſcent of the French *on the Iſle of* Wight, Hall. Herbert. Stow. *and in* England. *The* French *Fleet retires.*

Some days after, a South Wind blew the *French* back towards the Coaſt of *England*, and put their Fleet in confuſion, which the *Engliſh* reſolved to improve, if the Wind continued favourable. And indeed, the two Fleets ingaged for two hours. But as the Wind was very changeable, each endeavoured to gain it, without engaging however too far. At laſt, they parted without much loſs on either ſide; and thus ended the greateſt effort *France* had ever made at Sea.

It is driven upon the Coaſt of England. *A ſhort engagement.*

The attempt to fight the *Engliſh* Fleet, or to ravage the Coaſt, was not however the principal motive of this powerful armament. The taking of *Boulogne* was the King of *France*'s chief end, and the Fleet was properly intended only to block up that place by Sea. But as the *Landſquenets* were not yet arrived, and the Fort Marſhal *de Biez* was building not finiſhed, *Francis* was exceedingly vexed to ſee the time proper for executing his deſigns inſenſibly ſlide away. At length, hearing the *Landſquenets* were on the borders, he ſent to view the Fort, which, contrary to his expectation, and Marſhal *de Biez*'s promiſe, was yet very far from being finiſhed. Beſides, it was built in a different place from what was appointed, and did not command the Harbour. The Marſhal alledged, if it had been built at *Portet*, the Garriſon would have wanted Water. But he affirmed, the Fort he was raiſing at *Outreau* would be finiſhed in eight days. Whereupon, the King ſent him his whole Army, of which he gave him the Command, and remained himſelf at *Chateau-Montier* about ten Leagues from *Boulogne*.

The deſign of beſieging Boulogne *and* Guiſnes *miſcarries by de* Biez's *Fault.* Herbert.

The Marſhal *de Biez* lay encamped near the Fort till it was finiſhed, his deſign being to throw in ten thouſand Men to awe the Garriſon of *Boulogne*, whilſt he beſieged *Guiſnes*. But the engineer had ſo ill contrived his Work, that after much time ſpent in it, he was forced almoſt to begin again. This occaſioned a delay, which broke all the meaſures that were taken. Mean while, the King haſtened the Work the more, as he knew that ten thouſand *Landſquenets* [and four thouſand Horſe] raiſed for the ſervice of *England* were marching for *Picardy*. In ſhort, the Marſhal perceiving the Seaſon would be too far advanced before his Fort could be put in a ſtate of defence, pretended to have certain advice that Herbert, p. 250.

(1) *October* 7. *Rymer*, Tom. XV. p. 57.
(2) *October* 12. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *William Paget*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XV. p. 57.
(3) *Graveſend*, *Tilbury*, *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, &c. *Herbert*, p. 249.
(4) There were in the Kingdom ſeveral Colleges, Chapels, Chantries, Hoſpitals, and Fraternities, conſiſting of ſecular Prieſts, who enjoyed Penſions for ſaying Maſs for the Souls of thoſe who endowed them. Now the belief of Purgatory being left indifferent by the Doctrine ſet out by the Biſhops, and the trade of redeeming Souls being condemned, it was thought needleſs to keep up ſo many Endowments to no purpoſe. Thoſe Prieſts were generally ill-affected to the King's Proceedings, ſince their Trade was ſo much leſſened by them. Therefore many were dealt with to make reſignation; and twenty four of them did ſurrender this year. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 338.
(5) Alſo this year, King *Henry* reformed the publick Offices, and put out a Form of Proceſſion, with a Litany in *Engliſh*. *Burnet*, Tom. III. p. 164.
(6) A little Creek of the Sea, half a Mile from *Boulogne*. The Marſhal encamped there *January* 26, with fourteen thouſand Men. The Earl of *Hertford* diſlodged him, though he had only four thouſand ſeven hundred Men. *Herbert*, p. 249.
(7) Our King ſet out about a hundred. Theſe Ships on both ſides were only Merchantmen hired for this War. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 332.
(8) Near *Brightelmſton*, and *New Haven*. *Stow*, p. 589.

1545. the King of *England* designed to land a strong Army at *Calais*, to relieve *Boulogne* by Land; this is at least what *du Bellay* imputes to him in his Memoirs. However, the Marshal leaving the Fort unfinished, encamped on Mount *Lambert*, to be ready to oppose the Succours. But the *English* appeared not. As for the *Landsquenets* sent for by *Henry* from *Germany*, they returned home, because they received not on the borders the Money, they were made to expect. Mean while, the *French* Army continued encamped, without undertaking the Siege either of *Guisnes* or *Boulogne*, though *Francis* had made so great an effort for that purpose.

Death of the Duke of Orleans. Mezerai.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Orleans* died at *Chateau-Montier*, to the great grief of the King his Father, who, by his death, saw the Peace with the Emperor very much shaken, since it was properly founded upon that Prince's Life, as will quickly appear.

A terrible Wound cured by Ambrose Paré. Belai.

The *French* Army being encamped on Mount *Lambert*, within Cannon-shot of *Boulogne*, there were Skirmishes every day in the space between the Mount and the Town. In one of these Conflicts, the Duke *d'Aumale*, known afterwards by the name of the Duke of *Guise*, was wounded with a Lance, which entering at the corner of his Eye, came out behind his Head. This Wound, though deemed mortal by all, was however cured by the great skill of *Ambrose Paré*, the King's Surgeon, who was even forced to draw out with Pincers, the head of the Lance which remained in the wound. The Scar in the Duke's Face, gained him the firname of *Balafré* [or *Gashed.*]

The French *Army ravage* Terre d'Oye. Herbert.

The Season was now so advanced, that the Siege of *Boulogne* was not practicable. So *Francis* was forced to be contented, with ordering the Marshal *de Biez* to ravage *Terre d'Oye*, belonging to the King of *England*. But the sudden Rains made the Country so watry, that the Marshal was soon obliged to retire with his Army. Indeed, the Inhabitants were great Sufferers, because the Garrison of *Calais*, which should have protected them, was unable to resist so numerous Forces. On the other hand, *Brissac*, afterwards Marshal of *France*, defeated a Body of two thousand *English*. These were all the damages *Henry* sustained during the Campain, from an Army of above two hundred thousand Men, which had put his Enemy to a prodigious expence. In all likelihood, this expence, and the ill Success of the Campain, contributed most to the Peace which was soon after concluded.

Francis's Motives to make Peace with Henry.

Besides that *France* was exhausted, *Francis* had still another motive to make Peace with *England*. He was apprehensive of being soon compelled to renew the war with the Emperor. By the Treaty of *Crepi*, it was agreed, that the Duke of *Orleans* should marry one of the Daughters, either of the Emperor, or of the King of the *Romans*, and on account of this Marriage, should have the Duchy of *Milan*, or the Earldom of *Flanders*. In consideration of so advantagious a Settlement for the Duke his Son, *Francis* had resigned above twenty Places, which he held in *Piedmont* or *Montferrat*, and relinquished the Interest of his Brother-in-law the King of *Navarre*. So, the hopes of the advantages this Marriage was to procure, vanishing by the death of his Son, *Francis* was to find some other way to obtain them, or break a Treaty now become useless. For this reason, being desirous to know the Emperor's Intentions, he sent Admiral *Annebaut* to *Antwerp*, to offer him to renew the Treaty of Peace upon other Conditions, since the death of the Duke of *Orleans* had rendered those of the Treaty of *Crepi* of no effect. But the Emperor plainly intimated, that by the death of that Prince, he believed himself freed from his Engagement, when he told the Ambassador, he would not attack the King of *France*, if he was not first attacked. *Francis* easily judged by this answer, he should infallibly have a war with the Emperor. This, added to the little progress he had made during the last Campain, made him desirous of a Peace with *England*. But as he was unwilling to sue for it, he applied to the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League, who offered to become Mediators. This Mediation seemed the less precarious, as the Protestants themselves were highly concerned to procure a Peace between the two Kings. They saw themselves upon the brink of being attacked by the Emperor, since he had made Peace with *France*, and knew moreover, he was negotiating a Truce with the *Turks*. Nothing therefore could be more for their advantage, than a good understanding between *France* and *England*, that both Kings might be able to protect them. They sent therefore to *France*, *Christopher de Veninger*, *John Bruno* of *Nidepont*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Lewis Bambach*, and *John Sleidan*, to perform the Office of Mediators between the two Kings, in the name of the *League*. These Ambassadors meeting the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *England*, between *Ardres* and *Guisnes* (1), presently found it was not easy to make Peace. *Francis* insisted, that *Henry* should restore *Boulogne*, and *Scotland* be included in the Peace. But *Henry* absolutely rejected both these Articles. Whereupon a Truce only was negotiated, but with no better Success, because *Henry* would never agree, that the *Scots* should be comprised in the Treaty. This appears in the primitive Instructions sent to Sir *William Paget* one of the *English* Ambassadors (2), and inserted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find also in his Instructions, that Sir *William Paget* attempted to bribe *Bruno*, one of the *German* Mediators, with the offer of a considerable Pension, and, in all appearance, the Mediator hearkened to his proposals. Mean while, to obtain the better Terms, *Henry* feigned a desire to be reconciled with the Emperor, and even sent in Embassy to him, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster*. But this was only to give a Jealousy to *Francis*.

1545. *who send Ambassadors to* France *and* England. Sleidan. Herbert. Burnet.

Difficulties of a Peace,

and of a Truce.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 82, 83.

Cranmer took the advantage of *Gardiner*'s absence to advance the Reformation, which he knew that Prelate would oppose with all his power. Some vacant Bishopricks were, by his means, given to persons who favoured the Reformation, and he had thereby among the Bishops a much stronger Party than ever (3). Nay, he found means afterwards to obtain the King's consent to some alterations advantagious to Religion. But *Gardiner*, who was then at *Bruges* with the Emperor, having notice of it, sent the King word, that the Pope and Emperor being joined in a League against the Protestants of *Germany*, the least Innovation in *England*, with respect to Religion, would be apt to induce them to give the King of *France* all the Satisfaction he could desire, to ingage him in their League, in order to act all together against him. This caused *Cranmer* to find more difficulty than he expected.

Cranmer procures Bishopricks for his Friends. Burnet. Fox. Herbert.

Gardiner breaks his Measures.

Death of the Duke of Suffolk. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

In *August* this year *Cranmer* lost a good support by the death of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who had always continued in the height of favour (4). He was *Cranmer*'s Friend, and would have willingly agreed to a farther Reformation. But he was too much a Courtier, to attempt directly to oppose the King's Will. However, as *Henry* was not always in the same disposition, with regard to Religion, this Lord did the Reformed good Service, when he saw the King in a favourable Situation.

Continuation of the War with Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hollingsh.

The war with *Scotland* was faintly continued on both Sides. *Henry*'s design was only to terrify the *Scots*, and induce them to execute the Treaty concerning their Queen's Marriage. On the other hand, the *Scots* had no thoughts of invading *England*. Nevertheless, *Francis*, who, as was observed, had formed vast Projects against *England*, sent betimes to the Regent an Ambassador, called *la Brosse*, to assure him of his Protection, and a powerful Aid, which was instantly to depart. Besides that a Diversion in *Scotland* could not but be advantagious to him, he was also excited by the *Lorrain* Princes, who were desirous to support the Queen their Sister. So, causing the *Seigneur de Lorge*, Count of *Mongommeri*, to imbark with five thousand Men, he ordered him to use his utmost endeavours to persuade the *Scots* to make a powerful Diversion on the Frontiers of *England*. *Mongommeri* arriving in *Scotland* the second of *July*, joined his Troops with the *Scots*, and both making together fifteen thousand Men, advanced towards the *Tweed*. For some days several Parties passed the River, and did some damage to the *English*. But the *French* General could never persuade the *Scots* to venture with the whole Army beyond the *Tweed*. On the contrary, upon news that the Earl of *Hertford* was advancing at the head of twelve thousand Men, they hastily retired, and presently after disbanded as usual. This is all that passed in *Scotland* worth notice, during the Campain of 1545.

Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

He got the Protestant Princes to negotiate for him; Sleidan. l. 16.

The Parliament grants the King a Subsidy, and the Lands of the Colleges, &c. Herbert. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

The Parliament of *England* meeting the twenty third of *November*, the Convocation continued for two years the Subsidy given the King for Six (5). At the same time, the Parliament suppressed by an Act, all the Colleges and Hospitals, and gave their Lands to the King. The motive, or rather pretence of this Suppression was, the

(1) In *November*. *Herbert*, p. 251.

(2) The other Ambassadors were, *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *Durham*, and Dr. *Tregonel*. *Hall*, fol. 260.

(3) *Lee*, Archbishop of *York* dying, *Robert Holgate*, Bishop of *Landaff*, was promoted to that See, *Kitchen* being made Bishop of *Landaff*, who turned with every change. *Heath* was translated from *Rochester* to *Worcester*, and *Henry Holbeach* was made Bishop of *Rochester*. *Day*, a moderate Man, upon *Sampson*'s Translation to *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, was made Bishop of *Chichester*. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 333.

(4) He died *August* 24, and lies buried in St. *George*'s Chapel at *Windsor*, by the Door of the Choir near the place where *Henry* VI is interred. He had four Wives. His third was *Mary* Daughter of *Henry* VII, and Widow of *Lewis* XII of *France*. He had a Son by her, who died before him, and two Daughters. His two other Sons by his last Wife, died without Issue, 5 *Edward* VI. *Dugdale*'s *Baron*, Vol. II. p. 300.

(5) Six Shillings in the Pound. See above, p. 834. Note (4).

abuse

1545. abuſe of theſe Foundations. The Parliament deſigned it alſo towards the expence of the King's wars with *France* and *Scotland*. But this not ſufficing, the Commons granted him moreover a large Sum (1), and as they were aſſembled only for that purpoſe, they were diſmiſſed the 24th of *December*. Before the Seſſion ended, the King came to the Houſe of Lords in great Solemnity, and made a fine Speech, ſaying, among other things, that never had Prince a greater affection for his People, or was more beloved than himſelf. He added many ſuch Expreſſions, which, though very far, for the moſt part, from the truth, were however received by the people with loud Acclamations (2).

The King's Speech to the Parliament. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan.

During this year, the *German* Proteſtants began to feel the effects of the Emperor's late Peace with *France*, and of the Truce he was juſt going to conclude with the *Turk*. Hitherto they had been uſed ſomewhat gently. But the Emperor coming to *Worms*, where the Diet of the Empire was held, plainly declared to them, he could not any way diſpenſe with their ſubmitting to the Council, which was to meet at *Trent*. This convinced them, there was in reality a deſign to reduce them by force, and the more, as a certain rumour was ſpread of a league between the Pope and Emperor, which could not but be againſt them. Their Suſpicions were farther confirmed, by a Sermon preached by a certain *Franciſcan*, before the Emperor, to whom he repreſented in very ſtrong terms, that he could not diſcharge the duty of a good Emperor, unleſs he laboured to the utmoſt of his power to extirpate the *Lutherans*. They knew alſo, the Emperor had writ to the King of *Poland* to excite him againſt them. Moreover, he ſummoned the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* to appear before him within thirty days, becauſe he had embraced the Reformation, and tried to introduce it into his Dioceſe. All this ſhewed plainly what they were to expect. Nevertheleſs, as the Emperor had not yet concluded the Truce with the *Turk*, and as things were not quite ready, he ordered that a new Diet ſhould be held at *Ratiſbon* the following *January*. But the better to amuſe the Proteſtants, he decreed, that the Divines of both Parties ſhould come to *Ratiſbon*, a month before the Diet, and hold a free Conference, that ſomething might be afterwards ſettled in matters of Religion. The *Roman* Catholicks did not like this Conference, and the Proteſtants were ſtill leſs pleaſed with it, becauſe they foreſaw that the ſtiffneſs of the Divines of both ſides, on the Points which would be the ſubject of their Conference, would give the Emperor and the Diet a pretence to refer the deciſion to the Council of *Trent*. The Diet breaking up the 18th of *Auguſt*, the Emperor returned to the *Low-Countries*. Some time after, he received advice, that the Truce with the *Turks* was concluded. He thereby ſaw himſelf at full liberty to make war upon the Proteſtants, and under that pretence to ſet about the execution of his Project to become maſter of the Empire.

Remark on the Council. Sleidan. Herbert.

It was properly at the inſtance of the Proteſtants only, that the Council was to meet: But it was very far from being ſuch a Council as they had required. They expected it to be held in *Germany*, in an unſuſpected Place, and it was convened at *Trent*, a City belonging to the King of the *Romans*, whom they juſtly conſidered as their Enemy. Their deſign was to combat the Papal Authority, and it was the Pope who was to preſide by his Legates. They intended to ſhew, that the *Romiſh* Clergy had corrupted Religion, both in Doctrine and Diſcipline, and it was the *Romiſh* Clergy who were to aſſiſt as Judges. Nay, it was uncertain whether they ſhould be allowed to produce their reaſons. Mean while, it was pretended, that out of great condeſcenſion, a Council was called for their ſakes, and at their Sollicitation. It is therefore no wonder, they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch a Council, which they as much feared, as they deſired one free and impartial. So the Emperor and the Proteſtants acted directly contrary to their firſt Proceedings. The Proteſtants rejected a Council, after deſiring it with great earneſtneſs, and the Emperor, after amuſing them many years on that account, preſſed, with all his power, the meeting of the Council of *Trent*, the Authority whereof he intended to make uſe of to oppreſs them. The Pope would have been glad to have had no Council at all, but finding he was too far engaged with the Emperor to recede, had fixed the opening to the 15th of *March*. After that, he put it off, becauſe on that day there were too few Biſhops at *Trent*. But he had a much ſtronger reaſon. He was very glad to wait the iſſue of the Diet of *Worms*, in hopes that vigorous reſolutions would be taken there againſt the Proteſtants, which would ingage both Parties in an open War, and furniſh him with a pretence, either to delay the opening of the Council, or to remove it to ſome Town in *Italy*. But the Emperor, who had now formed his Plan, of making uſe of the Council's Authority to proceed againſt the Proteſtants, cauſed the Pope at laſt to order it to be opened at *Trent* the 13th of *December*. That day the Legates (meeting in the Cathedral,) declared, the Council was aſſembled for three Cauſes, to deſtroy Hereſy, to reform Diſcipline, and to ſettle a laſting Peace between Chriſtian Princes. This firſt Seſſion was properly held only for the opening of the Council. There were ſo few Prelates at *Trent*, that it would have been ridiculous for ſo ſmall a number of Perſons to pretend to make Decrees upon the Articles for which the Council was called.

1545.

Opening of the Council of Trent. F. Paul. Vargas. Herbert.

1546. The Proteſtants ſeeing a Council opened quite different from what they had required, eaſily perceived no good was to be expected from it. They had the more reaſon to fear it, as the Kings of *France* and *England* being at War with each other, there was no hopes of aſſiſtance from them. Mean while, though the *German* mediators had not ſucceeded in their Negotiation, the Peace between *France* and *England* was not more remote. The reaſon was, both Kings were equally concerned to end a War, which only did them damage, without a poſſibility for either to expect any conſiderable advantage The War continued however during the Winter of the year 1546. The Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who commanded at *Boulogne*, having intelligence that the *French* were conducting a Convoy to the Fort of *Outreau*, ſallied out (3) with part of the Garriſon to intercept it. But he ſucceeded ſo ill, that inſtead of taking the Convoy, he was himſelf defeated, and forced to retreat in great diſorder. This news extremely troubled the King, who was not wont to receive the like. Whether he thought it owing to the Earl's imprudence, or ſuſpected him of ſome hidden deſign, he recalled him immediately, and ſent the Lord *Gray* to command in his room. A few days after, he ordered the Earl of *Hertford* to depart with about ten thouſand Men, for fear the *French* ſhould ſeize ſome Poſt, and cut off the communication between *Boulogne* and *Calais*. And indeed that was their deſign. But the Earl of *Hertford*, preventing them by two days only, poſted himſelf at *Ambleville*, where he ran up two Forts which ſecured the communication. The *French* having miſſed their aim, encamped on Mount *Lambert*; and as the two Armies were not far from each other, there were ſkirmiſhes every day, but which decided nothing. It was equally the intereſt of both Kings to run no hazard, for fear of breaking off the Negotiation of the Peace, which was treating between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*.

Henry and Francis wiſh for a Peace. Act. Pub. XV. p. 80. Stow. p. 591. Hollingſh. Herbert.

Hall. Herbert.

Francis wiſhed for a Peace, becauſe his Exchequer was drained by his great and continual expence from the beginning of his Reign, and particularly by the naval Armament of the former Campain. Beſides, as he was juſt entering into a War with the Emperor, he wanted ſuch a friend as the King of *England*. In fine, he perceived, that after his fruitleſs efforts to retake *Boulogne*, it would be very difficult to recover that place by force. *Henry* was no leſs deſirous of Peace for ſeveral reaſons. He was grown ſo fat and corpulent, that it was a trouble for him to move. Nay, he had occaſion for an engine with pullies to lift him up and down ſtairs. This made him extremely uneaſy, and gave him a diſtaſte for buſineſs, ſo that he attended to affairs with ſome reluctance. In the next place he had no farther thoughts of making Conqueſts in *Picardy*. His ſole aim was, to procure what was due to him before *Boulogne* ſhould be reſtored, which was of little uſe to him, ſince *Calais* could ſerve all his purpoſes. But he had ſtill a more urgent motive to renew his old friendſhip with *Francis*. He ſaw the Emperor, with the Pope's aſſiſtance, upon the point of making War on the Proteſtants, and much queſtioned their ability to withſtand him. In this belief, he was afraid the Emperor, after ſubduing *Germany*, would turn his Arms againſt *England*, with all the Forces of the Empire, *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*. He could uſe the pretence of executing the Pope's Sentence, and even cauſe a like Sentence to be paſſed by the Council of *Trent*. It was therefore not at all advantagious to *Henry* to be in War with *France*. It was rather his intereſt to have *Francis*'s Friendſhip, as it was alſo very advantagious to *Francis* to be ſecure of *Henry*'s aſſiſtance, in caſe the Emperor turned his Arms againſt *France*.

Reaſons of both Kings for a Peace.

Burnet.

(1) Four Shillings in the Pound of Lands, and two Shillings and Eight-pence of Goods, to be paid in two Years. *Hall*, fol. 260.

(2) The moſt remarkable Acts made in this Parliament were theſe: 1. That the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* in each County ſhall be appointed by a Bill ſigned with the King's Hand; and that the ſaid *Cuſtos* ſhall appoint the Clerk of the Peace. 2. That no higher Intereſt, than ten Pounds *per Cent.* for a year, ſhall be paid. 3. An Act for the payment of Tithes in *London*. See *Statut.* 37 *Hen.* VIII.

(3) *January* 7. Sir *Thomas Poynings*, with ſeveral others, were ſlain. *Stow*, p. 591.

1546. *Difficulties of the Peace.*

The obſtacles to the concluſion of this Peace, conſiſted in *Henry*'s demand of what was due to him, and in *Francis*'s want of Money to content him. Beſides, *Francis* inſiſted upon *Boulogne*, and upon *Scotland*'s being included in the Treaty. Theſe difficulties would have been ſufficient to hinder the concluſion of the Peace, if more urgent motives had not induced the two Kings to ſeek expedients to ſurmount them. *Henry* conſented at laſt to the Article concerning *Scotland*, and as to the reſt, a way was found to ſatisfy both. *Henry* was to keep *Boulogne* till he was paid, and *Francis* promiſed to diſcharge the debt in eight years. Every thing being thus ſettled, the Peace was ſigned the 7th of *June* (1). The Treaty ran:

Treaty of Peace between France and England. Act. Pub. XV. p. 95. June 7. Hall. Stow. Herbert. p. 255.

That the King of *France* ſhall pay regularly the Penſion, due by the Treaty of *More* of the 30th of *Auguſt* 1525, confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent Treaties. As alſo the penſion of Salt contained in a Treaty of the 25th of *April* 1527, valued afterwards at ten thouſand Crowns a year. But as *Henry* pretends the ſaid penſion given in lieu of the Salt, is to be perpetual, and as *Francis* maintains, on the contrary, that it is to ceaſe at *Henry*'s death, it is agreed, that the diſpute ſhall be amicably decided by Umpires; and if the penſion ſhall be found to be perpetual, *Francis* ſhall pay it to *Henry* and his Succeſſors for ever.

Moreover *Francis* ſhall pay to the King of *England*, on the Feaſt of St. *Michael* 1554, or within a fortnight after, the Sum of two millions of Crowns *de Soleil*, as well for the arrears of the penſion of the ten thouſand Crowns, as for *Henry*'s expence in the Siege of *Boulogne*, undertaken ſolely to procure his Money, and in keeping and maintaining that place.

As to the Article of the five hundred thouſand Crowns, which *Henry* preſented to *Francis* on condition he punctually obſerved the Treaties, as the two Kings differ in point of fact, it is agreed, the diſpute ſhall be decided by Commiſſioners appointed on both ſides within ſuch a time, or by four impartial Lawyers, in caſe the Commiſſioners end not the affair.

It is further agreed, that the King of *England* ſhall keep *Boulogne* with its Territories, the Limits whereof are ſettled by the Treaty, till he receive whatever is due to him.

That when all the Sums ſhall be paid, *Boulogne* ſhall be reſtored to the King of *France*, and nothing, that is faſtened to the ground, ſhall be impaired or carried away.

That from the date hereof, to the ſurrender of *Boulogne*, neither of the two Princes ſhall raiſe any Fort or new Fortification within the territory of *Boulogne*, but thoſe already begun may be finiſhed.

The Emperor was included by both Parties in the Peace. As for *Scotland*, *Henry* agreed, it ſhould be included, on condition the *Scots* gave him no freſh cauſe to make War upon them; and in caſe they did, they were to be deemed included, no otherwiſe than according to the Treaty of the 5th of *April* 1515.

Henry's *advantages in this Treaty.*

Henry could hardly expect greater advantages than thoſe he received from this Peace, which ſeemed to ſecure him not only the payment of what was due to him, but alſo the yearly and perpetual penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns. But the moſt ſolemn Treaties are not always ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of what Sovereigns promiſe. It will appear in the following Reigns, that *Francis*'s Succeſſor not only broke this Treaty with reſpect to *Boulogne*, and the Sums for which his Father was bound, but that even the penſion was never charged in the Treaties he made with *England*.

The Peace proclaimed at London. Hall. Stow.

The Peace was very ſolemnly proclaimed at *London* the 13th of *June*, with a general Proceſſion, wherein were carried all the richeſt ſilver Croſſes, and the fineſt Copes worn, for the greater pomp. But this was the laſt time theſe things appeared in publick. Shortly after, *Henry* called them in, together with the Church-Plate, into his Treaſury and Wardrobe, without giving any other reaſon than his will and pleaſure.

Henry calls in all the Church-Plate. Stow.

Charges of the late War. Herbert. p. 256.

It is ſaid, the late War with *France* coſt *Henry* five hundred eighty ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighteen Pounds Sterling, and the Charges of keeping *Boulogne* eight years amounted to ſeven hundred fifty five thouſand eight hundred thirty three Pounds. So large a Sum, which was not to be repaid under eight years, had conſumed whatever had been granted by the Parliament, and received from the Chapels, Colleges and Hoſpitals. So that he was forced in the beginning of the year to lay a Tax upon his Subjects, under the name of *Benevolence* (2), as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Act. Pub. XV. p. 84. Strype. 1546.

The Peace reſtored between the two Kings the good underſtanding which had been interrupted ſome years, rather by the artifices of the Emperor and his Party in *England*, than for any juſt cauſe. *Catherine de Medici*, Dauphineſs of *France*, being, at this time, delivered of a Princeſs, and *Henry* deſiring to ſtand Godfather (3), he called her *Elizabeth*. Preſently after, the two Kings ſent Ambaſſadors to each other, to receive the Oaths concerning the Peace, and choſe for theſe Embaſſies their two High-Admirals (4). It is ſaid, that whilſt Admiral *Annebaut* was at *London*, he began a Negotiation about Religion, and that the two Kings intended to aboliſh the Maſs in their Dominions (5). As for *Henry*, very likely, if he had lived, he would have advanced the Reformation: Nay, it is certain, that on account of this Negotiation, he ordered *Cranmer* to ſet down in writing how ſuch a Change might be effected, and to ſtrengthen all with arguments and paſſages from the Scriptures. But this Project ſoon vaniſhed into ſmoke. Probably, *Francis* had entered into this Negotiation, only becauſe he deſired to be in ſtrict union with *Henry*, and knew by experience, that the bare Propoſal of conforming himſelf to his Sentiments in point of Religion, was a moſt effectual way to ſucceed. But it is not likely he really intended to admit of any Reformation in his Kingdom. And indeed, at this very time he was kindling the flames of Perſecution all over *France* againſt the Reformed, of whom fourteen this year were burnt at *Meaux*, and many others at *Paris*, and in other places; not to mention the maſſacre of *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*, for which none were puniſhed. The Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Tournon* his chief Miniſters, were too much incenſed againſt the Proteſtants, for any Man to believe, that ſo long as they were in favor, the King ever ſeriouſly thought of aboliſhing the Maſs in *France*.

Embaſſy from France. Hall. Stow. *Project of aboliſhing the Maſs.* Burnet. T. I. p. 340. Herbert. *Francis's deſign.*

Before the Peace between *England* and *France* was ſigned, the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* ſeeing themſelves going to be attacked by the Emperor, who had at laſt taken off the mask, ſince his Peace with *France*, and Truce with the *Turks*, ſent to *Henry*, Prince *Philip*, Brother (6) to the Elector *Palatine*, to deſire aſſiſtance. It appears in the King's Letter to this Prince, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Henry* had ſent to deſire him to come, and the Lord *Herbert* aſſures, that *Philip* aimed at marrying the Princeſs *Mary*. However this be, the King anſwered his demand of aid by ſeven Propoſitions, containing the terms on which he was willing to enter into a defenſive League with the Proteſtants. But as his Propoſitions tended only to render him head and ſole director of the League, they did not think proper to put themſelves blindly into his hands. They only told him, if he would depoſite ſomewhere in *Germany* a hundred thouſand Crowns to ſerve for the defence of the League, they would prefer his alliance to that of *Francis*. But finding they offered no advantage for himſelf, he had no ſuch zeal for the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, (from which he was yet very remote) as to engage in its protection without reaping any benefit. The truth is, the Proteſtants were perſuaded, he had no deſire to be really united with them, but intended only to encourage them, for fear they ſhould ſubmit to the Emperor, as alſo to hinder them from putting themſelves under the *French* King's protection, with whom he had not yet Peace. For the ſame reaſon it was, that under colour of continuing the Negotiation, he kept the Count *Palatine* at his Court, till he ſaw the Peace with *France* was near a concluſion.

The Emperor prepares to attack the Proteſtants. Sleidan.

Negotiation of the Proteſtants with Henry. Act. Pub. XV. p. 88. Herbert.

It was now ſome time ſince the Pope and Emperor had formed the project of a League againſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*. They had agreed upon all the Articles; but the Emperor had thought proper to defer the ſigning, that he might ſay he did it merely in his own defence. At laſt, about the middle of *June*, he ſent the Cardinal of *Trent* to *Rome*, where the League was ſigned the 26th of the ſame month. The Pope promiſed to find for ſix months twelve thouſand Foot, five hundred Horſe, and two hundred thouſand Crowns, for the War in *Germany*. Moreover, he gave the Emperor a moiety of one

League between the Pope and Emperor againſt the Proteſtants. Sleidan.

(1) The *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries were, *John Dudley* Viſcount *Liſle* Baron *Malpas* and *Sommerey*, Sir *William Paget* the King's Secretary, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XV. p. 93.

(2) This Benevolence amounted to ſeventy thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty three Pounds. *Strype*'s *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 390.

(3) Sir *Thomas Cheiny*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, ſtood, as King *Henry*'s Proxy. *Hollingſh.* p. 973.

(4) The *Engliſh* Admiral, *John* Lord *Liſle*, was accompanied by *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Durham*, and ſeveral other Lords. The *French* Ambaſſador landed at *Greenwich*, *Auguſt* 19. *Hall*, fol. 262.

(5) The Maſs was to be changed into a Communion, and *Cranmer* was ordered to draw a Form of it. *Fox. Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 340.

(6) Lord *Herbert* ſays, Nephew.

1546. year's revenue of the benefices in *Spain*, with power to alienate a hundred thouſand Crowns-worth of Church-Lands. This was a demonſtration that it was a religious War, though the Emperor affected to publiſh the contrary.

The German War.

The Emperor having notice that the Pope's Troops were beginning to march; that the Count *de Bure* had forwarded his levies in the *Low-Countries*; and Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, whom he had ingaged in his Party, was ready to act when there ſhould be occaſion, aſſembled his Army about *Ratisbon*. His deſign was to meet the Pope's Troops, who were croſſing *Tirol*, under the conduct of *Octaviano Farneſe*. At the ſame time to hinder this junction, the elector of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* marched the ſame way, with an Army of forty thouſand Men. Without entring into the particulars of this firſt Campain, I ſhall only ſay in general, that the Proteſtants, though ſuperior in number, could not hinder the junction of the *Italian* Troops, nor of thoſe of the *Low-Countries*, with the Emperor. The different tempers of the elector of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* did not a little contribute towards their taking wrong meaſures. In ſhort, the Campain laſting till *November*, without either of the two Armies deſiring to engage, the elector of *Saxony* received the ill news, that the King of the *Romans* and Duke *Maurice* were deſtroying his Country with fire and ſword. This obliging him to march with part of the Army, to the relief of his Subjects, the *Landgrave*, grown too weak by this ſeparation, choſe likewiſe to retire into his Dominions. Thus the Emperor meeting with no more oppoſition, took *Francfort*, *Ulm*, and ſeveral other Towns belonging to the League, which furniſhed him with the Money he wanted for the maintenance of his Army.

Continuation of the Council of Trent. F. Paul. Herbert.

Whilſt the War was carrying on in *Germany*, the Council languiſhed at *Trent*, and proceeded very ſlowly. Beſides that the Members were very few, they were wholly dependent on the Legates, who durſt not themſelves undertake any thing without orders from *Rome*. But it was the Pope's intereſt to prolong matters, becauſe he hoped, time would procure him at laſt ſome occaſion to diſſolve the Council, or remove it to *Italy*. Thus the Council was but an empty name, made uſe of by the Pope and Emperor for their own private views, and to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the publick.

Perſecution in Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

Religion began alſo to cauſe troubles in *Scotland*, or at leaſt to produce the ſeeds thereof, by the deſpair to which thoſe that embraced the Reformation were driven. Since Cardinal *Beaton* and the Earl of *Arran* had enjoyed the Peace procured them by the King of *France*, they thought only of being revenged on their enemies. Religion furniſhed them with a pretence, becauſe the oppoſite Faction almoſt wholly conſiſted of the Reformed. In the courſe of this year 1546, they put to death ſeveral Perſons for Religion at *Perth*, St. *Andrews*, and other places (1). The Regent ſuffered himſelf to be ſo led by the Cardinal, that he gloried in delivering to the Flames thoſe whom he had formerly conſidered as his Brethren. Among thoſe who were ſacrificed to the furious paſſion of the Cardinal, a Miniſter called *Sephocard* (2), who ſuffered Martyrdom at St. *Andrews*, was particularly remarkable. This Man being condemned to the Fire, the Regent at the inſtance of one of his Friends would have ſaved his Life, and to that end ſent a note to the Cardinal, deſiring him to ſuſpend the execution. But the barbarous Prelate, without regarding the Regent's requeſt, not only cauſed the Sentence to be executed, but would alſo feed his eyes with the ſad Spectacle, ſitting in ſtate in a great Window of his Caſtle. It is ſaid, that, before he was delivered to the Flames, the Miniſter told the Executioner, "That within few days the "Prelate who beheld him with ſuch pride from yonder "high place, ſhould lie in the ſame as ignominiouſly as "now he was ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf." This prediction proved but too true for the Cardinal. Preſently after he was murdered in his own Palace, and his Body thrown into the Street, out of the very Window from whence he looked on, while *Sephocard* was burning.

Wiſhart's Martyrdom. Buchanan. Burnet.

His Prediction about Cardinal Beaton.

The Cardinal is murdered. Buchanan.

As for *England*, Religion was ſtill upon the ſame foot, as the King had been pleaſed to eſtabliſh it. The Reformation had made ſome progreſs; but was far from being brought to perfection, and yet the Reformed could not forbear hoping, the King himſelf would carry it much farther. In this belief, they thought it prudent not to provoke him, and that they effectually conſulted the welfare of their Religion, by remaining in ſilence, and waiting for better times. This is the true reaſon why there were fewer Perſons that ſuffered for Religion in *England* than in *France*. It is not to be queſtioned, that if there had not been hopes of a farther Reformation, many People would have openly declared the opinions which theſe hopes induced them to conceal. For much the ſame reaſon, thoſe who retained all the Tenets of the old Religion, durſt not directly oppoſe the King, for fear their oppoſition ſhould carry him beyond the bounds he ſeemed to have preſcribed to himſelf. From hence ſprung a blind and univerſal compliance with the King's Will, and the exceſſive Power he had acquired over all his Subjects, of which he made a very ill uſe. He had been troubled for ſome time with an old ſore in his Leg, which was grown very painful. This, added to his monſtrous Corpulency, which rendered him almoſt unable to ſtir, made him ſo froward and untractable, that none approached him without trembling. He had been always ſtern and ſevere, but was incomparably more ſo towards the end of his days, than in the beginning. Flattery had ſo corrupted his Judgment and Senſe, that he deemed it an unpardonable Crime, to contradict his Opinions, though he changed them himſelf very frequently. I have obſerved, that he treated with Admiral *Annebaut* of aboliſhing the Maſs, and changing it into a Communion, after the manner of the Proteſtants. And yet, ſhortly after, *Shaxton*, who had reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, and been long a Priſoner for refuſing to conform to the ſix Articles, being accuſed afreſh of denying the real Preſence in the Sacrament (3), the King was pleaſed to have him tried according to the rigour of the Law, and he was condemned to be burnt. But this Man, who had endured the hardſhips of a long Impriſonment, could not behold with the ſame firmneſs the Puniſhment prepared for him. The King having ſent the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter*, to perſwade him to recant, he was prevailed upon, and abjuring his pretended Hereſy, the King granted him his pardon. He became afterwards a cruel Perſecutor of the Reformed.

1546. *The State of Religion in* England.

Henry is much troubled with a ſore Leg and his Corpulency.

He grows cruel. Herbert. p. 263.

Shaxton *is accuſed of denying the real preſence* Burnet. *He is condemned to be burnt.*

He abjures and is pardoned. Burnet. T. I. p. 340.

This example was not capable of moving *Ann Askew*, who was accuſed of the ſame Crime, and rigorouſly proſecuted, though ſhe had good Friends at Court, where ſhe was well known (4). She firmly perſiſted, notwithſtanding all the Promiſes to ſave her Life, in caſe ſhe would recant (5). Some Court Ladies, touched with compaſſion for her, having ſent her ſome Money, when in priſon, for her ſubſiſtence, were the occaſion of her being more cruelly tormented (6). Chancellor *Wriotheſley*, a great Enemy to the Earl of *Hertford*, hoping to draw ſomething out of the Priſoner againſt that Lord or his Counteſs, cauſed her to be racked. Nay, 'tis ſaid, he would be preſent himſelf, and obſerving the Executioner was moved with pity to the Priſoner, threw off his Gown, and taking upon him the honorable Office, drew the Rack ſo ſeverely, that he almoſt tore her aſunder. But this is a fact that ſcarce ſeems credible. However, the Woman's Bones being put out of joint, ſhe was carried in a Chair to the place of Execution, and burnt, with four Men condemned for the ſame Crime (7). But to add to their Sufferings, they were made to hear a Sermon preached by *Shaxton* their falſe Brother, who upbraided them with obſtinacy in very bitter and abuſive Terms. All this was not capable of ſhaking their Conſtancy, which indured to their laſt breath.

Ann Askew *burnt.* Hall. Burnet. Stype.

Fox.

Hall. Stow.

Deſigns againſt Cranmer and the Queen. Burnet. T. I. p. 342, &c.

The Enemies of the Reformation ſeeing the King incenſed againſt the Sacramentarians, thought it a favorable opportunity to ruin the Queen and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom they conſidered as the grand Protectors of the Reformed. Among the ſupporters of the old Religion, the chief were, Chancellor *Wriotheſley*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey* his Son, *Bonner* Bi-

(1) Some of the *Scottiſh* Prieſts were ſo ignorant, that they maintained, The New Teſtament was lately written by *Martin Luther*, and therefore they deſired only the Old. *Buchanan.* l. 15.

(2) The Author means Mr. *George Wiſhart*, deſcended of a noble Family, who finiſhed his Studies in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and returned to *Scotland* in 1544. See the Story of his death in *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 333; and *Buchanan*, l. 15.

(3) His words were, That Chriſt's natural Body was not in the Sacrament, but that it was a ſign and memorial of his Body that was crucified. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 340.

(4) She was nobly deſcended (being Siſter of Sir *Francis Aſcue*, or *Aſcough*, of *Lincolnſhire*) and educated beyond what was uſual in that Age to thoſe of her Sex. But ſhe was unfortunately married to one *Kyme*, who being a violent Papiſt, drove her out of his Houſe, where he found ſhe favoured the Reformation *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 341.

(5) Upon her examination, being asked by the Lord Mayor of *London*, Whether the Prieſts cannot make the Body of Chriſt? She wittily replied, I have read that God made Man, but that Man can make God, I never yet read. *Stype's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 387.

(6) Being asked what favour or encouragement ſhe had from any in the Court, ſhe would confeſs nothing, but that one in Livery had brought her ſome Money, which he ſaid came from two Ladies in the Court. This made the Chancellor put her to the Rack. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there; and it was believed the Queen had ſhowed kindneſs to her. *Burnet*, p. 341.

(7) *John Laſcelles* a Gentleman, (probably the ſame that accuſed *Catherine Heward*) *Nicolas Otterden* and ----- *Belenian* two Prieſts, and *John Adlam* a Taylor. *Hall*, fol. 263. *Stype*, Tom. I. p. 388.

1546. ſhop of *London*, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and theſe had doubtleſs, among the Courtiers, and the King's Servants, Creatures who failed not to be ſerviceable on occaſion. But whatever Project they formed, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was ſtill in their way, who having great Influence over the King, commonly broke their meaſures. So to be entirely freed from this formidable Adverſary, they reſolved to complain of him openly to the King, and accuſe him of being the Head and Protector of the Sacramentarians, and of all in general who rejected the ſix Articles. This reſolution was executed.

Cranmer is openly accuſed. Burnet. The Perſon who took upon him to ſpeak to the King, told him, there were evident Proofs ready of what was alledged againſt *Cranmer*, and if he were ſent to the *Tower*, ſo many Witneſſes would appear againſt him, that the King would be himſelf ſurprized. *Henry* was not ignorant that *Cranmer* was againſt the Six Articles in his mind, ſince he had himſelf frankly owned it. But he really loved him, and therefore would not expoſe him to a Trial which muſt have been fatal to him. Beſides, he took it very ill, that ſuch pains were taken to deſtroy a Man, for whom he had ſo often and ſo openly declared. However, reſolving to ſee how far the Malice of his Enemies would go, he conſented that he ſhould be the next day called before the Council, and ſent to the *Tower*, if they ſaw Cauſe. But in the night the

The King gives him a ſenſible mark of his affection. King ſent for *Cranmer*, and telling him what had been reſolved, deſired to know how he meant to anſwer for himſelf. *Cranmer* thanked the King, and prayed him, that ſince he was to be queſtioned for his religious Opinions, Judges might be aſſigned him who underſtood thoſe matters. The King replied, he went the wrong way to ſave his Life, for moſt certainly his Enemies had Witneſſes ready to convict him in ſuch manner, that the Judges would be forced to condemn him; and therefore ſince he took ſo little care of himſelf, he would look to it. So he ordered him to deſire the Council, to uſe him as a Privy-Counſellor, and as they would expect to be uſed in the like caſe, that is, that his Accuſers might be brought face to face before he was ſent to the *Tower*; and if his requeſt was not granted, he was to appeal to the King. At the ſame time he pulled off his Ring, and giving it to him, ſaid, if his Appeal was rejected, he ſhould ſhow the Council that token of his Protection. Next Morning *Cranmer* coming to the Council-door, was ſo long kept waiting in the Lobby, that the King hearing of this diſreſpect, ſent word, that he ſhould be preſently brought in (1). It happened as the King foreſaw, ſo that *Cranmer* was forced at laſt to produce the King's Ring, which terribly mortified his Enemies. Then they all roſe up,

The King mortifies the Archbiſhop's Enemies. and went and informed the King of what had paſſed, who told them, he thought he had a wiſer Council than now he found they were, and laying his hand on his Breaſt, ſwore, that he took the Archbiſhop to be the moſt faithful Subject he had. The Duke of *Norfolk* willing to excuſe the Council, ſaid, They meant the Archbiſhop no harm, but only to vindicate his Innocence by ſuch a Trial as would have freed him from all Aſperſions. But the King looking ſternly at him, anſwered, "He would not ſuffer Men who were ſo dear to him, "to be thus handled with Impunity. He knew the "Factions that were among them, and their Malice to "one another, which he would either extinguiſh, or very "ſpeedily puniſh." Then he commanded them all to be reconciled to the Archbiſhop. They immediately obeyed, though it was but in outward appearance. But for *Cranmer*, he heartily forgave them, as he plainly ſhowed afterwards.

The Queen is accuſed, who happily brings herſelf off. Herbert. Burnet. It ſeems, ſo great a mortification ſhould have made theſe Men more cautious. But their extreme deſire to ſucceed in their Plots, would not ſuffer them to deſiſt, with regard to the Queen. They perceived, if the King had oppoſed their accuſation of *Cranmer*, it was not to hinder the execution of the Law of the ſix Articles, but from a pure motive of affection for that Prelate. That therefore their Proceedings could not have diſpleaſed him as to the Thing, but only in reſpect of the Perſon. This made them think they ſhould find it eaſier to deſtroy the Queen, becauſe the King would never willingly ſuffer that his own Wife ſhould differ from him in matters of Religion. *Catherine Parr*, who was then on the Throne, had gained the King's Affection by her extraordinary care of him, and by giving him daily freſh marks of her Gratitude. She was a reformer in her heart, and even ſometimes took the liberty to have Sermons preached in her Privy-Chamber, before ſome of her Ladies. It came to the King's ears, but he took no notice of it. Nay, he ſuffered her to diſpute with him upon Religion, imagining ſhe did it only for Inſtruction. But at laſt theſe Diſputes having been carried too far, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at them, and even began to look more coldly upon the Queen, than formerly. This made her Enemies fancy it a fair opportunity to work her ruin, whilſt, ignorant of their deſigns, ſhe was ſeeking occaſions to inſpire the King with favorable thoughts of the Reformation. 1546.

The King firſt vented to *Gardiner* his diſpleaſure with Burnet. the Queen. He could not pitch upon a more partial Man. *Gardiner* failed not to cheriſh the King's reſentment, by aggravating the Queen's obſtinacy, and her Pains to inſtill her notions into the Ladies who ſerved her. The Chancellor, who was alſo let into the Secret, confirmed what *Gardiner* had ſaid, and hinted to the King, that the Queen had encouraged *Ann Askew* in her obſtinacy, and even inſinuated, that ſhe was plotting againſt the State. In ſhort, they went ſo far, that Articles were drawn a- Herbert. gainſt her, and ſigned by the King. The Chancellor putting up the Paper careleſly in his Pocket, it dropt from him, and the Perſon that found it carried it to the Queen, who ſeeing the King's hand to ſuch a Paper, concluded herſelf loſt. However, being adviſed by one of her Friends, to go to the King and try to appeaſe him, ſhe came into his Room with a ſettled Countenance, as if ſhe knew nothing of what had paſſed. The King received her very kindly, and began to talk of Religion. She anſwered, theſe things were above her, and ſhe ought Herbert. to learn of him, what ſhe was to believe. *Not ſo, by St.* Burnet. Mary, ſaid the King, *you are become a Doctor, and able to inſtruct us.* The Queen feigning to be ſurprized at his manner of ſpeaking to her, anſwered very mildly, "She ſaw with grief he was offended at the freedom ſhe "had ſometimes taken to diſpute with him in matters "of Religion, but ſhe had done it innocently, with the "ſole view of diverting him, knowing what Pleaſure he "took in talking of thoſe things, which none under-"ſtood better than himſelf; her chief aim had been, "not only to make him forget his pain, by ſuch ſort of "Diſcourſes, but alſo to receive Inſtruction herſelf, and "indeed ſhe had profited much; and if ſhe had ſtarted "objections, it was only to give him occaſion to clear "the difficulties, which were above a Woman's under-"ſtanding." *And is it even ſo*, ſaid the King, *then we are Friends again.* So he embraced her with great Affection, and ſent her away with very tender aſſurances of his conſtant Love to her (2). On the morrow, which Burnet. was the day appointed for carrying the Queen to the *Tower*, the King going to take the Air in the Garden, ſent for her, and preſently after came in the Chancellor, with forty of the Guard. But the King ſtept aſide to him, and after a little Diſcourſe, was heard to call him in an angry tone, *Knave*, *Fool*, and *Beaſt*. Then he came again to the Queen, who ſeeing him in a Paſſion with the Chancellor, endeavoured to appeaſe him. But the King told her, ſhe had no reaſon to plead for him.

The King begins to hate the Enemies of the Reformation. Burnet. Theſe two attempts againſt the Archbiſhop and the Queen, not only proved unſucceſsful, but alſo very prejudicial to the Enemies of the Reformation. From thenceforward the King could not endure them, being ſatisfied their chief aim was to overthrow whatever he had eſtabliſhed. *Gardiner* was turned out of favour immediately, *Gardiner's Diſgrace.* and the King would not ſuffer him to be preſent in the Council (3).

The King reſolves to put the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey to death. Herbert. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet. But a greater ſtorm fell on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*. *Henry* almoſt choaked with Fat, and perceiving his Leg viſibly to grow worſe, plainly ſaw he had not long to live. In this belief, he conſidered the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surrey*, as two Lords who could greatly imbroil the Prince his Son, during his Minority. The Duke of *Norfolk* was as it were, the Head of the favourers of the Pope, and the old Religion, though, like a good Courtier, he had outwardly complied with all the King's Innovations. *Henry* was contented with this external compliance, though he knew he was ever attached to the Pope, whoſe Party was ſtill very powerful in *England*, and that his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was in the ſame Sentiments. This ſufficed to inſpire him with a juſt fear, that after his death, theſe two Lords, aſſiſted by the Pope, the Emperor, and their

(1) Dr. *Butts* the King's Phyſician, who loved *Cranmer*, went and told the King what a ſtrange thing he had ſeen: *The Primate of all* England *waiting at the Council door among the Footmen and Servants.* Whereupon the King ſent to the Board to have him brought in immediately. *Burnet*, Rem. I. p. 343.

(2) Whether the King had really deſigned her Ruin or not, is differently repreſented by the Writers who lived next that time. Some, ſays the Lord *Herbert*, believe it was not ſo much the King's Intention to uſe the rigor of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books, p. 263.

(3) Lord *Herbert* ſays, though it appears by *Gardiner*'s ſubmiſſion, extant in our Records, that not long after he fell into the King's diſpleaſure, yet whether on this occaſion, or that he was a ſpecial Friend to the Duke of *Norfolk*, (who was now alſo in diſgrace) or any other Cauſe, is not there determined. However, the King excluded him out of the Number of thoſe whom he appointed his Executors, and Counſellors to his Son *Edward* VI. *Herbert*, p. 263.

Friends,

1546. Friends, would labour to ſet the Crown on the Head of the Princeſs *Mary*, and ſo what he had been at ſuch pains to eſtabliſh during his Reign, would be entirely overthrown. And indeed, he could not queſtion, if that Party prevailed, they would deem his Divorce with *Catherine* of *Arragon* null and void. In which caſe, *Mary* was his only lawful Iſſue, and the Prince his Son a Baſtard. He could hope for no remedy to this Evil from the Parliament, having learnt by long Experience, with how much eaſe that Body conſiſting of ſo many Members, was carried away with the prevailing Party. He thought therefore, the beſt and ſhorteſt way to prevent theſe miſchiefs, and free himſelf from his Fears, was, not to leave theſe two Lords behind him, whom he believed capable of diſturbing his Son's Minority, and even of robbing him of the Crown. For this ſole Reaſon their ruin was reſolved, after which, ſome pretenſe was to be found. And this is ſeldom wanting to thoſe who have the power in their hands. As ſoon as it was perceived, his Affection for the Father and Son was grown cold, there were Perſons ready to inſinuate, they had pernicious deſigns againſt the State (1), and only waited his death to put them in execution; that the Earl of *Surrey* had refuſed ſeveral good Matches (2) ſince the loſs of his Counteſs, and it was generally reported, he aſpired to the Princeſs *Mary*: That it was not without ſome private reaſon he uſed the Arms of St. *Edward the Confeſſor*, though his Father had taken them out of his 'Scutcheon, but however the Duke himſelf had left that quarter blank, in order to reſume that at a proper ſeaſon. Upon theſe general Accuſations, the King ordered them to be arreſted, and ſent to the *Tower* (3). After that, care was taken to let the Publick know, that they who had any thing to ſay againſt the Priſoners, ſhould be graciouſly heard, and the King would pardon all Perſons concerned in any Plot with them, who would come and make a diſcovery (4).

Herbert. Burnet.

They are ſent to the Tower. Herbert. Stow. Burnet.

Some time before this Affair was begun, the King reſtored the two Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to all their Eſtates, Rents, and Privileges, though by the Act of Parliament which gave the Lands of the Colleges to the King, they were to be ſuppreſſed. It might be thought very ſtrange, the Parliament ſhould not diſtinguiſh theſe two Univerſities from the reſt of the Colleges, conſidering their Antiquity, and the Advantages the Kingdom had thence received, and daily did receive, if it had not been now frequently ſeen, that they had long acted ſolely by the direction of the Court. It is probable, the King remained long doubtful, whether he ſhould diſſolve or preſerve theſe two Univerſities, ſince having received their humble Petitions, the beginning of the year, he made them wait for his anſwer till *October*. Nay, it was talked at Court for ſome time, of making great Alterations in their Charters. But at laſt, the King reſolved to continue them upon the ſame foot they had all along been. Shortly after, on the 19th of *December*, he founded *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, which is one of the nobleſt Foundations of that kind in *Europe* (5).

The two Univerſities are preſerved Herbert. Burnet.

Act. pub. XV. p. 106.

Mean while, diligent ſearch was making by the King's order, after every thing that could ſerve to form an Impeachment againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl his Son; the King, who found himſelf near his end, being abſolutely bent, they ſhould go out of the World before him. In this Interval, he ordered his Will, made juſt before his late Expedition into *France*, to be brought him, and peruſing it, cauſed *Gardiner*'s name to be ſtruck out of the number of the Counſellors appointed for the Council of State, during *Edward*'s Minority. Sir *Anthony Brown*, who was preſent, would have ſpoke in the Biſhop's behalf (6). But the King anſwered, he knew *Gardiner*, and though he himſelf could govern him, yet none of thoſe who were to come after him would be able to do it.

The King ſtrikes Gardiner out of his Will. Burnet. T. I. p. 349.

1546.

This Will, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, is dated *December* the 30th, 1546, and the King's name is at the bottom, with thoſe of ten Witneſſes. But it is hard to know for certain, whether it was ſigned with the King's own hand. This was afterwards queſtioned. Mr. *Rymer*, who collected the Records, would have done well to have put the thing out of diſpute, and informed the world, whether he had the Original in his hands, and if ſo, whether the King's name was his own Hand-writing. This he might have eaſily known, by comparing his name on the Will, with his uſual Signings, of which doubtleſs he had ſeveral by him (7). The Importance of this Inquiry conſiſts, in that the Act of Parliament, impowering the King to ſettle the Succeſſion, ordered, it ſhould be by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his laſt Will, ſigned with his own hand. Now it happened afterwards, that the Line of *Scotland*, not being placed in the order which belonged to them, queſtioned the Validity of the Will, maintaining, that *Henry* had not ſigned it with his own Hand-writing. Indeed it could be alledged againſt this pretenſion, that the Will being dated a month before the King's death, there was no room to ſuppoſe, *Henry* was then unable to ſign it. On the other hand, it is not impoſſible, that having ordered his Will to be tranſcribed the 30th of *December*, he delayed to ſet his hand, and ſo was prevented by death. But there is moreover a ſtrong Preſumption he did not ſign it with his own hand, namely, he was, very probably, unable to write ſeveral months before his death, doubtleſs, by reaſon his Fingers were ſo ſwoln, that he could not hold his Pen. This Conjecture is confirmed by two Papers in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, both prior to the Will. The firſt is a Power of the 31ſt of *Auguſt* 1546, given by *Henry* to three of his Miniſters (8) to ſign in his Name, all the Royal Commiſſions, and Acts of Grace. The ſecond is a like Power of the 16th of *October* following, to ſome of his Council to put the King's Stamp to, and Seal with his Signet, all Acts to which the King's hand was required (9). The reaſon alledged for theſe Powers, was taken from the multiplicity of Affairs, wherewith the King was overwhelmed. But as he had never leſs than at that time, it is extremely probable, this was only a cloke to hide his Indiſpoſition. However, as this diſpute, which concerned only the Royal Family of *Scotland*, was ended by the Acceſſion of that Family to the Throne of *England*, it is now of no conſequence. And therefore it ſuffices to mention wherein it conſiſted (10). Here follows the manner wherein *Henry* ſettled the Succeſſion, purſuant to the Power given him by Act of Parliament in the year 1543.

Act Pub. XV. p. 110.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 100.

Ib. p. 102.

Order of the Succeſſion.

I. Prince *Edward* and all his Poſterity.

(1) Their chief Accuſers were ſome of their own Family. The Ducheſs, Daughter of *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, had, for above four years, been parted from the Duke her Husband; his Daughter, *Mary* Ducheſs of *Richmond*, was grown an extreme Enemy of her Brother. From theſe two Ladies came the firſt Information againſt thoſe unfortunate Lords, as appears from Lord *Herbert*, p. 263, 264.

(2) *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey* had married *Frances* Daughter of the Earl of *Oxford*, by whom he had two Sons, *Thomas* and *Henry*, and three Daughters. The Duke of *Norfolk* would have allied himſelf to the *Seymour* Family, by engaging his Son to marry the Earl of *Hertford*'s Daughter, which his Son would not conſent to, and the Ducheſs of *Richmond* his Daughter, to Sir *Thomas Seymour*. *Herbert*, p. 263, 264.

(3) *December* 12. *Stow*, p. 592.

(4) This year, in the latter end of *March*, the publick Stews which had long been allowed by the State, were ſuppreſſed. *Stow*, p. 591. They were a continued row of Houſes along the *Thames* ſide in *Southwark*, eighteen in number, and diſtinguiſhed by Signs. In the Reign of *Henry* II, there were ſeveral regulations made concerning theſe Houſes, to be ſeen in *Stow*'s Survey of *London*, Book IV. p. 7. *Camden* thinks they were called Stews, from the Fiſh-ponds near them, for the fatting and cleanſing Pike and Tench. *Camden in Surrey*.---- *April* 27. *William Foxley* fell aſleep, and could not be waked by any means, till he had ſlept fourteen days and fifteen nights. The King's Phyſicians, as well as the King himſelf, examined him, but the Cauſe of his ſleeping thus could not be known. He was Potter to the Mint in the *Tower*. When he awoke he thought he had ſlept but one night. He lived forty one years after, till 1587, *Stow*, p. 591. *Hollingſh.* p. 972.---- Of much the ſame nature is what we find mentioned in *Rymer's Fœd.* There is, in Vol. XIV. p. 447, a Bull of *Clement* VII, for *John Scot* a Layman in the Diocеſe of *Glaſcow* in *Scotland*, who lived a hundred and ſix days without Food.------ This year, on *Feb.* 18. died the famous *Martin Luther* aged ſixty three years. *Sleidan*, l. 16.---- In *Henry* VIII's Reign (though the particular time is not mentioned) was inſtituted the Government of the Preſident of the North; *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* was the firſt Preſident.

(5) It was founded out of three others, St. *Michael*'s College, built by *Harwey* of *Stanton*, in *Edward* II's days; *King's-Hall*, founded by *Edward* III; and *Fiſhwicke*, or *Fyſycke* Hoſtel. King *Henry* founded it for a Maſter, and ſixty Fellows and Scholars, but it has been ſince augmented by ſeveral Benefactions. *Camden in Cambr.*----- About the ſame time the King alſo founded *Chriſt-Church* Hoſpital in *London*, and endowed it with five hundred Marks. It was, before the Suppreſſion, a Convent of *Franciſcans* or *Grey* Friers, but the King beſtowed both the Ground and Buildings of the ſaid Convent, as alſo the adjoining Hoſpital of St. *Bartholomew*, on the City, for the relief of the poor. *Stow*, p. 592.

(6) Thinking it was only an omiſſion. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 349.

(7) Some Gentlemen were deputed in Queen *Anne*'s Reign, by Perſons of the firſt Rank in the Kingdom, to go to the Chapter-Houſe of *Weſtminſter* Abbey, to ſearch for the original Will among the Records of the Exchequer. They found one conſiſting of ſeveral Sheets of ſoft coarſe Paper, tacked together with a braid of green and white Ribband; the Writing of a mean and ſlovenly Character. The Will was ſigned on the Top of the firſt, and the end of the laſt Page, with the King's hand-writing, as pretended, but the Character was fairer than ever he could make, and the Hand ſtiff, like a counterfeit Hand. Upon comparing his Name on the Will, with his Stamp and his uſual Hand-writing, it agreed with neither. See *Acta Regia*. p. 348. Vol. III.

(8) Sir *Anthony Denny*, *John Gate* Eſq; and *William Clere* Gent. *Rymer*, Tom. 15. p. 101.

(9) There is the like Order before, dated *October* 12. 1545. *Ibid.* p. 81.

(10) *Maitland* Secretary to the Queen of *Scotland*, accounted the ableſt Man of his Nation at that time, in a Letter to Sir *William Cecil*, afterwards Lord *Burleigh*, ſays, "The King neither ſigned the Will, nor ordered the Stamp to be put to it. He had been oft deſired to ſign it, but always "put it off: But when he ſaw his death approaching, one *William Clarke*, Servant to *Thomas Henneage*, put the Stamp to it, and ſome Gentlemen "that were waiting without, were called in to ſign as Witneſſes. For this he appealed to the Depoſition of the Lord *Paget*, and deſired the Mar- "quiſs of *Wincheſter* and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre*, Doctor *Butts*, &c. might be examined, and their Depoſitions entered "in the Chancery. He alſo appealed to the original Will, by which it would appear, that it was not ſigned but ſtamped only; and therefore not being "according to the Act of Parliament, was of no force". See this Letter in *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 349; and *Collect.* p. 267.

II. The

1546. II. The Children he might have by his preſent Queen, or any other whom he ſhould marry after her.

III. The Princeſs *Mary* and her Iſſue, provided ſhe married with the aſſent and conſent of the Executors of his laſt Will and Teſtament, or of the major part of thoſe who ſhould then be alive, given under their Hands and Seals. This conſent of the Executors, was a condition ſo annexed to the Right he granted *Mary* to ſucceed in her turn, that without it, his intent was, ſhe ſhould entirely forfeit her Title to the Crown.

IV. The Princeſs *Elizabeth* upon the ſame condition with *Mary*.

V. *Frances Brandon* eldeſt Daughter of his Siſter *Mary* and the Duke of *Suffolk*.

VI. *Eleanor Brandon*, *Frances*'s younger Siſter.

If all theſe Perſons ſhould happen to die without Heirs, or their Iſſue come to fail, it was the King's Will, that the Crown ſhould go to the next rightful Heirs. By that he could mean only *Mary* the young Queen of *Scotland*, Grand-daughter of his eldeſt Siſter *Margaret*, who ought naturally to have preceded the Children of the King's younger Siſter *Mary*.

Laſtly, he added, that in caſe *Mary* performed not the condition required of her, the Crown ſhould devolve to *Elizabeth*, as if *Mary* had died without Heirs.

In like manner, if *Elizabeth* neglected to perform the ſame condition, his intent was, that the Crown ſhould go to *Frances Brandon*, as if *Elizabeth* had died without Iſſue.

Executors. He appointed for Executors of his laſt Will thirteen Lords, moſt of whom were Privy Counſellors, as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor *Wriotheſley*, the Earl of *Hertford* young *Edward*'s Uncle, *&c.* Theſe thirteen (1) Executors were alſo nominated for the Prince his Succeſſor's Privy-Council, till he was eighteen years of age. Moreover, he named certain Perſons who were to be called to the Council upon extraordinary occaſions.

Debts. He ordered his Executors to pay firſt all his debts, and then to make good all his grants to ſeveral particular Perſons.

Heir. He made the Prince his Son Heir to all his Goods, Plate, Jewels, Money, Cannons, Ammunition, Ships, with all things belonging thereto, and charged him to be guided by the advice of thoſe who were appointed for his Privy-Counſellors, till he had attained to eighteen years of age.

Legacies. He gave, till their Marriage, to his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth* a yearly penſion of three thouſand pounds Sterling, and to each a portion of ten thouſand pounds or more, if the Executors thought proper.

He left his Queen a Legacy of three thouſand Pounds, either in Jewels or Plate, as ſhe pleaſed, and a thouſand pounds in ready Money beſides her Dower.

Laſtly, he gave five hundred Marks to each of his Executors who were Lords, and to the others three hundred each.

Remark on Henry's Settlement of the Succeſſion. The moſt extraordinary thing in this Will was, the King's paſſing over in ſilence the poſterity of his eldeſt Siſter *Margaret*, or at leaſt his placing them after the Line of his youngeſt Siſter *Mary*. Beſides, the clauſe in his Will, which ſaid that after the poſterity of *Eleanor Brandon*, the Crown ſhould go to the next Heir, muſt have been favorably explained for this firſt branch, ſince theſe general words were liable to ſundry interpretations. This was the effect of the power, the Parliament had given the King, to ſettle the Succeſſion, or rather to unſettle and put it in a horrible confuſion, if Divine Providence had not taken more care of it than he. It is not poſſible to deviſe any other reaſon of his proceedings, than his hatred of the *Scots*, and his fear that the Kingdom of *England* would one day fall under the Dominion of a Prince or Princeſs of that Nation, which however all his precautions could not hinder.

1547. *The Earl of Surrey is beheaded.* Herbert. Stow. Burnet. Hollingſh. Whilſt the King was ordering his Will to be tranſcribed, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s and the Earl of *Surrey*'s proceſs was forming with great warmth. The King being reſolved to diſpatch theſe two Lords, nothing was able to ſave them. The Son was firſt brought to his Trial at *Guild-Hall* (2), before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other Commiſſioners, and put upon an Inqueſt of Commoners, becauſe he was not a Peer of the Realm, the Duke his Father being alive. Several Witneſſes were examined, whoſe Depoſitions the Lord *Herbert* has inſerted in his Hiſtory. But there appears nothing ſufficient to convict him of High-Treaſon, of which he was accuſed. What was chiefly urged againſt him was his giving St. *Edward*'s Arms, from whence it was inferred, he aſpired to the Throne. However, the King being reſolved he ſhould die, he received ſentence of death, and was beheaded [on *Tower-Hill*] the 19th of *January* (3) 1547. Herbert. p. 263, 264.

The Duke of Norfolk tries in vain to obtain his Pardon. Herbert. p. 265. Burnet. Mean while the Duke of *Norfolk* uſed all ſorts of means to obtain the King's pardon. He knew him well enough to be ſenſible, that nothing but an entire ſubmiſſion was capable of appeaſing him. To this end, he wrote him a very humble and ſubmiſſive Letter, declaring he could not call to mind he had ever offended him, and entreated him for God's ſake to let him know the cauſe of his diſgrace. He prayed likewiſe, that his accuſers might be brought face to face before his Majeſty, or at leaſt his Council, that his cauſe might be maturely examined. He knew not, he ſaid, that he had offended any Man, otherwiſe than in appearing very zealous againſt the *Sacramentarians*. But therein he had only complied with his Majeſty's ſentiments and orders. He concluded with conjuring him, to be ſatisfied with taking all or part of his Lands and Goods as he pleaſed, leaving him only a ſubſiſtance.

This Letter produced a quite contrary effect to what the Duke expected. By clearing himſelf, he accuſed the King of injuſtice, an offence which would not have been eaſily pardoned, though his deſtruction had not been reſolved. The Duke ſeeing the King unmoved, ſigned, the 12th of *January*, before the Lord Chancellor and ſeveral other Privy-Counſellors, a Writing wherein he confeſſed, " That on ſeveral occaſions he had been guilty of " High-Treaſon, in concealing from the King that his " Son the Earl of *Surrey* bore the Arms of St. *Edward* " *the Confeſſor*, which did only belong to the King: " That himſelf had born in the firſt quarter of his Arms, " ever ſince his Father's death, the Arms of *England*, " with a difference of the Labels of Silver, which were " the proper Arms of the King's eldeſt Son, and of no " other. That he owned this to be High-Treaſon by the " Laws of the Realm; and that he ſigned this ſubmiſ- " ſion without compulſion [or advice,] and threw him- " ſelf entirely upon the King's mercy. " Herbert. p. 265. Burnet.

He is attainted in Parliament. Burnet. Very probably the Duke was induced of himſelf, or by the advice of his friends, to make this confeſſion, in the belief, he ſhould never obtain his pardon, unleſs he confeſſed himſelf guilty, that the King might have room to ſhow mercy. But it was all to no purpoſe. His ruin was reſolved, and the King was not wont to deſiſt from ſuch reſolutions when once they were taken. Mean while, as it was eaſy to ſee that the Peers, who were the Duke's proper judges, could not condemn him upon the evidences which were to be produced againſt him, the King thought he ſhould more eaſily compaſs his ends by an Act of Attainder. So the Parliament meeting at this time, a Bill of Attainder was brought into the Houſe of Lords, and read three times, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of *January*, and paſſed. In all likelihood the Duke's confeſſion under his own hand, contributed very much to the paſſing of the Bill. At leaſt it ſerved for an excuſe to thoſe who durſt not oppoſe it. The Bill being ſent down to the Commons, was read thrice, and ſent up alſo paſſed on the 24th of *January*. According to the method, too frequently practiſed in this Reign, it contained only general accuſations, without ſpecifying any thing, except the Duke's bearing the Arms of *England*, with three Labels of Silver. It was very ſtrange, that his Arms ſhould not have been taken notice of before, which he had born ſo long in the ſight of the King himſelf, and the whole Court, which he had received from his Anceſtors, and for which he had the opinion of the Heralds. The Bill having paſſed in both Houſes, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Hertford*, and ſome other Lords were commiſſioned under the Great-Seal to give the Royal aſſent (4). After that, a Warrant was ſent to the Lieute- Act. Pub. XV. p. 118.

A Warrant for his Execution. nant

(1) There are ſixteen named in all, of whom there were only ſeven that were Lords or Biſhops; *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor *Wriotheſley*, Earl of *Hertford* young *Edward*'s Uncle, Lord St. *John*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Viſcount *Liſle*, Biſhop *Tunſtal*. The reſt were, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Montague*, Juſtice *Bromley*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Harbard*, Sir *Edward Wootton*, and Dr. *Wootton* his Brother.

(2) *January* 13. *Herbert*, p. 264.

(3) *Henry Howard* (eldeſt Son of *Thomas* third Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*) died much pitied, being a Man of great Parts and high Courage, with many other noble Qualities. His Sentence was generally condemned as an Act of high Injuſtice and Severity, which loaded the *Seymours* with a popular Odium that they could never overcome. Sir *Richard Southwel* depoſing, that he knew certain things of the Earl, which touched his Fidelity to the King; the Earl vehemently affirmed himſelf a true Man, and offered to fight in his Shirt with his Accuſer. As to his giving the Arms of the Confeſſor, he ſaid he did it according to the opinion of the King's Heralds. His Siſter *Mary*, Ducheſs of *Richmond* being examined, confeſſed that the Earl her Brother ſhould ſay, *Theſe new Men* (meaning the *Seymours*) *loved no Nobility, and if God called away the King, they ſhould ſmart for it*, with ſome other paſſionate words and circumſtantial Speeches, little for his advantage. He lies buried at *Framlingham* in the County of *Suffolk*. *Herbert*, p. 263, &c. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 345, &c. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 275.

(4) Which they did *January* 27. *Journals Parl.*

1547. *He escapes narrowly.* nant of the *Tower*, to cut off the Duke's head the 29th of *January*. But happily for him the King died the night before, and the Council did not think it adviſeable to begin the new Reign with the execution of one of the greateſt Lords of the Kingdom. It is to be obſerved, that during all the proceedings both of the Court and the Parliament againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surrey*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* withdrew to *Croydon*, without ever appearing at Court. As theſe two Lords were juſtly deemed his moſt mortal enemies, he would not be accuſed of being concerned in what was tranſacting againſt them.

Cranmer retires to Croydon during the Duke's proceſs. Burnet.

The King's death approaches. Whilſt theſe Proceſſes were forming, the King was ſeized in his bed with an illneſs which brought him inſenſibly to his end. However, the conſideration of the account he was going to render to God, was not capable of moving him to uſe compaſſion towards two Lords, of one of the moſt antient Families in *England*, who had done him great Services, and hitherto were guilty of no crime which deſerved ſo ſevere a puniſhment. On this occaſion, prevailed, as on many others, paſſion and policy in the King's mind, over juſtice and mercy. He was bent, at any rate, to ſacrifice theſe two Lords to his Son's ſafety, and to eſtabliſh, by their death, all the alterations he had made in Religion, being perſwaded they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy them. The ſequel plainly ſhowed, he was not miſtaken with regard to the Duke of *Norfolk* who ſurvived him. This Lord's Life, preſerved by a ſort of Miracle, was a demonſtration, how vain are humane precautions, when contrary to the decrees of God. 1547.

He is warned of his approaching End. Burnet. The King's illneſs continually increaſed, and no Man dared to warn him of his approaching end. Every one was afraid that a Prince who was always approached with trembling, would look upon this charitable warning as a crime, and puniſh it according to an Act of Parliament, by which thoſe who ſhould dare to foretell the King's death, were adjudged Traitors. But at laſt Sir *Anthony Denny*, one of his Privy-Counſellors, had the courage and charity to warn him that he had but a few hours to live. The King thanked him, and expreſſed his great grief and horror for all the Sins of his paſt Life. Whereupon, *Denny* asked him if any Clergyman ſhould be ſent for, and he ſaid, if any, it ſhould be the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But *Cranmer*, being then at *Croydon*, could not come till the King was ſpeechleſs. He had but juſt time to deſire him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the Faith of *Chriſt*. The King ſqueezed his hand, and preſently after expired in the night between the 28th and 29th of *January* 1546-7, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, having reigned thirty-ſeven years and nine months. His death was kept private three days. Probably the Council took time to conſult whether the Duke of *Norfolk* ſhould be executed. At laſt, after three days, the Lord Chancellor ſignified to both Houſes, that the King was dead and the Parliament thereby diſſolved (1).

He ſhows Signs of Repentance. Ibid.

He ſends for Cranmer, and cannot ſpeak; He dies. Herbert. Burnet.

His Death is kept private. Burnet.

(1) The Reader may ſee *Henry*'s Character drawn at length by the Lord *Herbert*. But as his Life and Actions ſufficiently make him known, I ſhall only add what Biſhop *Burnet* ſays of him at the End of his firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. King *Henry* VIIIth is rather to be reckoned among the Great than the Good Princes. He exerciſed ſo much Severity on Men of both Perſwaſions, that the Writers of both Sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the Worſt.------King *Henry*'s Body lies buried at *Windſor*, under a moſt ſtately Tomb, begun in Copper and gilt, but not finiſhed. The Reader may ſee the Model of what it was intended to be, in *Speed*, p. 784.

By Indentures of the 1ſt. and 23d. of *Henry* VIII. a Pound weight of Gold of the Old Standard, was to be coined into twenty ſeven Pounds by Tale; *viz.* into twenty four Sovereigns, at 22 *s.* 6 *d.* a piece, or forty eight Rials at 11 *s.* 3 *d.* a piece, or ſeventy two Angels at 7 *s.* 6 *d.* a piece, or eighty one George-Nobles at 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a piece, or one hundred and forty four half Angels at 3 *s.* 9 *d.* a piece, or one hundred and ſixty two Forty penny-pieces at 3 *s.* 4 *d.* a piece; and a pound weight of Gold of the fineneſs of twenty two Carats only, was to be coined into one hundred Crowns and a half of the double Roſe, or two hundred and one half Crowns, making by Tale twenty five Pounds two Shillings and Six-pence; and a pound weight of Silver of the Old Sterling, was coined into one hundred and thirty five Groats, or two hundred and ſeventy half Groats, or five hundred and forty Sterlings, (or Pence,) or one thouſand and eighty Half-pence, or two thouſand one hundred and ſixty Farthings; ſo that every pound weight of Sterling Silver was coined into forty five Shillings by Tale.------In the 34th. of this Reign, a pound weight of Gold of twenty three Carats fine, and one Carat Allay, was coined into twenty eight Pounds ſixteen Shillings by Tale; by which Indenture there were coined Sovereigns at 20 *s.* a piece, Half-Sovereigns at 10 *s.* Angels at 8 *s.* and Quarter-Angelets at 2 *s.* a piece; and a pound weight of Silver of ten Ounces fine, and two Ounces Allay, was coined into forty eight Shillings by Tale, namely, into Teſtoons (which were 12 *d.* a piece) Groats, Half-groats, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings.------In the 36th. of *Henry* VIII. a pound weight of Gold of twenty two Carats fine, and two Carats Allay, was coined into thirty Pounds by Tale; *viz.* into thirty Sovereigns at 20 *s.* a piece, or ſixty Half-Sovereigns at 10 *s.* a piece, or one hundred and twenty Crowns at 5 *s.* a piece, or two hundred and forty Half-Crowns: And the King had two Carats of fine Gold for Coinage, which yielded him fifty Shillings. Silver was coined by the ſame Indenture, of ſix Ounces fine and ſix Ounces Allay, into forty eight Shillings by Tale. It was coined into Teſtoons, Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings.------In the 37th. of this Reign, a pound weight of Gold of twenty Carats fine, and four Carats Allay, was coined into thirty Pounds by Tale, as in the laſt; and the King had four Carats which yielded him five Pounds two Shillings: And a pound weight of Silver, of four Ounces fine, and eight Ounces Allay was coined into forty eight Shillings by Tale, which raiſed the pound weight of fine Gold to thirty ſix Pounds; and the pound weight of fine Silver to ſeven Pounds four Shillings.

The Gold Coins of *Henry* VIII. are Sovereigns, Rials, Half-Sovereigns, Angels, George-Nobles, half and quarter Angels, forty-penny Pieces, Crowns, and half-Crowns: And the Silver-Coins, Teſtoons, Groats, half Groats, Sterlings, Half-pence, Farthings; to which may be added Crown-Pieces of Silver, which were firſt coined by this King. *Henry*'s Sovereign has on one ſide HENRIC. 8. D. G. AGL. FRANCIE Z HIB. REX the King in his Robes crowned upon his Throne, with the Scepter and Ball. Reverſe, the Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly, ſupported by a Lion and a Dragon, IHS. AVTE. TRANSIENS PER MED. ILLOR. IBAT. (Fig. 5.) The Angel of this King is like his Father's; a half Angel has this Inſcription on the Reverſe, CRVX. AVE. SPES. VNICA. The Crown and Half-Crown of Gold, have on one ſide a large Roſe and Crown betwixt H. I. crowned, HENRIC. VIII. RVTILANS. ROSA SIN. SPINA. Reverſe, the Arms of *France* and *England* quartered under a Crown; and H. I.-----DEI. G. R. AGLIE Z. FRA. DNS. HIBERNIE. (Fig. 6.) As for the Silver-Coins, there were two ſorts of Teſtoons or Shillings. That of fine Silver exhibits the King half faced, whereof one has CIVITAS EBORACI. The other Shilling, called the broad-faced Shilling, of a baſer Allay, has on one ſide HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. AGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX. Reverſe, POSVI, *&c.* a Roſe crowned, with H. R. likewiſe crowned. (Fig. 1.) The Groat has his Head with the ſide Face, HENRIC. VIII. DI. GR. AGL. Z. FRANC. Reverſe, the Arms, POSVI, *&c.* (Fig. 3.) Another has HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. REX. ANGLIE. Reverſe FRANCIE. ET. HIBERNIE REX. a crowned Harp between the Letters H. and R. crowned (Fig. 7.) Some coined by Cardinal *Wolſey* at *York*, have a Cardinal's Hat under the Arms. His Pence and Half-pence give him ſeated on a Throne, with (and ſometimes without) the Globe and Scepter. H. D. G. ROSA SINE SPIA. (Fig. 2.) The Farthing has on one ſide a Portcullice (whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from Half-pence, which it was not before,) and a Croſs and Pellets on the other. (Fig. 4.)

The End of Vol. I.

DIRECTIONS concerning the Genealogical Tables.

HISTORY repreſents to us four things, which are eſſential to it: 1. The Events: 2. The Place where: 3. The Time when they happened: 4. The Perſons who were the Actors. If therefore, in order to underſtand a Hiſtory perfectly, it is neceſſary to have a Knowledge of the Country where the Scene of the Actions lies, by means of Geography, and of the Times wherein they were tranſacted by Chronology; it is no leſs requiſite to know the Perſons concerned, by the help of Genealogies, which very often diſcover the motives and reaſons of Things. Nay, Genealogy has this great advantage above Geography and Chronology, that whereas theſe laſt preſent to the Mind ſome particular Actions only; the bare Names in a Genealogical Table, form, if I may ſo ſay, an Abſtract of all the remarkable events in thoſe Perſons lives.

Nothing is more eaſy than to make Genealogies; but it is very hard to draw them up in a clear and diſtinct manner, and to obſerve a fix'd and conſtant method, which repreſents to the Eye and Mind what one looks after, without the leaſt trouble. This I have endeavoured to do, by means of the following Rules, which it will be proper to lay before the Reader.

1. The Genealogical Tables are divided by horizontal Lines, marked, 1, 2, 3, 4, *&c.* On the firſt Line is placed the Name of the common Stock, whoſe Poſterity is ſet down on the other Lines. Thus all that are placed on the ſame horizontal Line, (or between the ſame Figures) are at an equal diſtance, or in the ſame Degree from the common Original. Hence may be ſeen by the caſt of an Eye, the number of Generations from the common Root, and the Degrees of Conſanguinity between the Deſcendants. For inſtance, in the Table of *Woden*'s Poſterity, *Woden* being the common Stock of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, *Hengiſt*, firſt King of *Kent*, is placed on Line (6), by which is meant that *Hengiſt* is the fifth Deſcendant from *Woden*. Afterwards, in the Genealogical Table of the Kings of *Kent*, *Hengiſt* is placed on a Line marked (6), by which means one may immediately ſee how many degrees any one of *Hengiſt*'s Deſcendants were removed from *Woden*.

England ceaſing to be under the Dominion of the *Saxons* by the Conqueſt of the *Normans*, inſtead of *Woden*, *William* the Conqueror is made the common Root of the *Engliſh* Kings down to the preſent Time. Accordingly, in the Genealogy of *William* the Conqueror, his name ſtands upon the Line marked (1.) to denote his being the Stock from whence all the others ſpring. For inſtance, *Edward* III, in this Table, being on Line (9.) in the Table of his own Poſterity, he is placed at the ſame Number, to ſhew it is only a Continuation of the Genealogy of *William* the Conqueror.

2. The Sons are always placed according to the Order of their Birth, from the left hand towards the right, by which means the eldeſt Branches are diſtinguiſhed from the younger, at one view. The ſame Order is not obſerved with regard to the Daughters, who are placed in the void Spaces, ſo as to prevent the Lines from running out to too great a length. But however, the elder ſtands always on the left hand of the younger Siſter.

3. The Children of the ſame Prince are placed ſo, that their Father ſtands in the Line over them, juſt in the middle, which ſaves a great deal of trouble and confuſion.

4. As the only end of theſe Genealogical Tables is to facilitate the reading of this Hiſtory, ſeveral Perſons who died young, or unmarried, or without Iſſue, and the like, are omitted.

5. One of the chief things which render Genealogies plain and uſeful, is to load them with as few words as poſſible. By which means the blank Spaces will remain the larger between the names, than which nothing contributes more to make the Tables clear and diſtinct. This is the reaſon the following Abbreviations are made uſe of, as, E. for Earl, D. for Duke, K. for King, Q. for Queen, W. for Wife, d. for died. The Names written in *Italian* Character, under thoſe that are part of the Genealogy, denote the Husband or Wives. For inſtance, { Sledda / *Ricula of Kent.* } This ſignifies that *Sledda* married *Ricula* Princeſs of *Kent*. When two or more Names are under another, with Numbers before them, this means, 1ſt. Wife, 2d. Wife, 3d. Wife, or Husband, *&c.*

6. Laſtly, Each King has a Number annext, to denote the order of Succeſſion, and in what rank each ſucceeded to the Crown. This is abſolutely neceſſary in the Succeſſion to the Throne of *England*, where the order of the Branches was not always obſerved.

THE CHANNEL

THE MEDITERRANEAN

SPAIN

Bristol
Bath
Wells
Hungerford
BARKS.
London
WILTSH.
Croydon
SURREY
SOMERSET
Salisbury
Winchester
Guilford
Canterbury
HAMP. S.
KENT
Dover
Ilverton
DEVONSHIRE
DORSET S.
Southampton
Chichester
SUSSEX
Rye
Padston
Lancefton
Lyme
Pool
Exeter
Dorchester
Newport
Portsmouth
Tunbridge Wells
Boulogne
CORNWAL
Plymouth
Portland
Weymouth
I. Wight
Estampes
St. Ives
Falmouth
Start Pt.
Lizard Pt.
Dieppe
Abbeville
Aldernay I.
C. la Hague
C. Antifleur
Amiens
Guernsey I.
Caux
Caudebec
Aumale
Haver de Grace
Rouen
Jersey I.
7 Isles
Granville
Caen
Falaise
Argenton
Mante
Meulon
Evreux
Beaumont
Reimes
Meaux
Paris
Versailles
Chalons
Verdun
Metz
Landau
Ushent I.
I. Bass
Morlaix
Tegnier
C. Frehelle
St. Malo
Avranche
Sees
Nogent
Alençon
Chartres
Provins
Foulz
Nancy
Strasbourg
Brest
Landernau
Guingamp
St. Brieu
Dinant
Dol
Dinan
Vitry
Mayenne
Bellesme
Illiers
Nogent
Montereau
Sens
Troyes
Bar sur Aude
Quimper
Karhaix
Rohan
Rennes
Laval
le Mans
Montargis
Orleans
Vendosme
Blois
Langres
Glenan I.
Groais I.
Vennes
Chau Gentier
La Fleche
le Lude
Chaumont
Auxerre
Semur
Gray
Dijon
Basil
Quimberon
Roch Bernard
Angers
Ancenis
Tours
Amboise
Nantes
Saumur
Loire R.
Chinon
Vierzon
Bourges
Noirmoutier I.
la Garnache
Montaigu
Chastillon
Yssoudon
Dun le Roy
Autun
Chalon
Dole
Besançon
Bellegarde
Jeu I.
Parthenay
Poitiers
Argenton
les Sables d'Olonne
Lucon
POITOU
Fontenay
Niort
Moulins
Charolles
Re I.
La Rochelle
Rochefort
Ruffec
Sivray
Lavaux les Eglises
Guerret
BOURBONNOIS
Mascon
Cleron I.
St. Jean
Vretuil
St. Junian
Aubusson
Riom
Thiers
Lyon
Villefranche
Saintes
LIONNOIS
Garonne R.
Angoulême
Limoges
Clermont
Chambery
Uzerche
Romain
Vienne
Montluçon
Blaye
Perigueux
Tulle
Vic le Comte
Grenoble
Tournon
Montendre
Siviars
Usel
Brioude
Marcolin
Romans
Bourg
Briançon
Bordeaux
Chastillon
Sarlat
Crithac
St. Flour
le Puy
Valence
DAUPHINE
Die
Montelimart
Gap
Embrun
Bazas
Cahors
Ville Franche
Rodez
Vivier
Mende
Vaucluse
Sisteron
Digne
Agen
Condom
Tartas
Dax
Auch
Montauban
Alby
Verbres
Lodeve
Nismes
Montpelier
Arles
Aix
Forcalquier
Senez
Grasse
Antibes
Nice
Toulouse
la Vaur
St. Pons
Narbonne
Perpignan
Frejus
Toulon
Marseille
Bayonne
St. Sebastian
St. Jean
Pau
Rombe
Tarbe
Rieux
Pamiers
St. Papoul
Mirepoix
Carcassone
Alet
St. Bertrand
Olleron
Villoria
Bilboa
C. Machicaco
Vieille Embouch
Boucaut de Mimizan
Boucaut de Centres
Bassin d'Arracon
Belin
Roſan
Figeac
Cadillac
Libourne
Blaye
Montendre
Tripourne
Chastillon
Berlerac
Perigueux
Tulle
Brive
Uzerche
Siviars
Usel
Vic le Comte
Brioude
St. Flour
Crithac
Sarlat
Figeac
Cahors
Ville Franche
Rodez

To be Placed at the End of Rapins Hist. Vol I.

A New and Correct MAP OF FRANCE

Miles. 0 20 40 60

CHANNEL
THE
Alderney I.
C. la Hague
Guernsey I.
Jersey I.
7 Isles
I. Bass
C. Frehelle
Cotentin
Granville
Avranche
Sees
Falaise
Argenton
Caen
Bayeux
Harfleur
Lisieux
Elbeuf
Evreux
Caudebec
Aumale
Beaumont
Mante
Meulan
Pontoise
Dieppe
Fecamp
Caux
Rouen
Havre de Grace
Honfleur
Cherbourg
NORMANDY
Abbeville
Amiens
Corbie
Guise
Montdidier
Roye
PICARDIE
Arras
Bapaume
Cambray
Peronne
Ham
Ribemont
Vervins
Marle
Rethel
Chateau Porcien
Reimes
Fismes
Ay
Epernay
Chalons
Meaux
Paris
Versailles
Corbeil
Provins
Nemours
Montereau
Nogent
Sens
Troyes
Bar sur Aube
Bar sur Seyn
S. Florentin
Arcis
Vitry
Langres
Grancey
Chatillon
Montigni
Constans
Rupt
Gray
Dijon
Semur
Avalon
Vezelay
Auxerre
Briare
Gien
Montargis
Orleans
Pithiviers
Estampes
Dourdan
Rambouillet
Chartres
Illiers
Dreux
Verneuil
Nogent
Bellesme
Alençon
Argentan
Falaise
Mayenne
Laval
Vitry
Fougeres
Dol
Dinan
St. Brieu
St. Malo
Granville
Avranche
Morlaix
Guingamp
Landernau
Brest
Landivisiau
St. Paul
Ushant I.
Brest B.
Audierne B.
Quimper
Karhais
Rohan
Rennes
Chateaugiron
Vitre
Fougeres
Malestroit
Ploermel
Josselin
Roche Bernard
Vannes
Glenan I.
Groaux I.
Quiberon I.
Belle I.
Hedic I.
Nantes
Ancenis
Angers
Saumur
Loire R.
Tours
Amboise
Chaumont
Blois
Vendosme
Montoire
La Fleche
le Mans
le Lude
Chau Gentier
Meun
Beaugency
Clery
Canal d'Orleans
Briare
Auxerre
Joigny
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Nevers
Cosne
Pouilly
Sancerre
Bourges
Dun le Roy
Chateauroux
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Chinon
Chastillon
Loudun
Mirebeau
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Poitiers
Partenay
Fontenay
Niort
La Rochelle
Rochefort
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Lusac les Eglises
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Jeu I.
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Bilboa
St. Sebastian
Vitloria
Machicaco
Vieille Embouch.
Beaucaut de Mimizan
Beaucaut de Contis
Bassin d'Arcachon
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Bazas
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